

# **Sanskrit manuscripts in China III**

Proceedings of a panel at the 2016 Beijing  
International Seminar on Tibetan Studies,  
August 1 to 4

Edited by

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## Preface

The panel “Sanskrit Manuscripts and Tibet”, upon which this volume is based, took place from 3 to 4 August 2016 as part of the 2016 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies, which was convened by the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC) in Beijing. The panel, jointly organized by Birgit Kellner, Jowita Kramer and Xuezhu Li, was conceived as the third in a series, continuing the “Panel on Sanskrit Studies” at the 2012 Seminar (organized by the late Dr. Helmut Krasser) and the panel “Sanskrit Manuscripts in China: State and Prospects” (organized by Profs. Duan Qing and Ernst Steinkellner) at the 2008 Seminar. The editors would like to thank the leadership of the CTRC and the convenors of the Seminar for making this panel possible, as well as for their continuous support of research on Sanskrit manuscripts in China over the years. We especially would like to express our gratitude to Prof. Lhagpa Phuntshogs, who retired as director of the CTRC in 2015. In addition, we thank Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek for improving the English of several contributions, Liudmila Olalde for proofreading all papers and bibliographies, and Vitus Angermeier for the layout.

Most of the articles in this volume report on ongoing editorial projects based on Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. They present results in the form of shorter editions, elucidate the history of individual texts, discuss problems of interpretation and analysis raised by new manuscript materials, and address aspects of palaeography and editorial methodology. Together with the book-length editions being published in the monograph series *Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region*, a joint venture of the China Tibetology Publishing House and the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, as well as the growing number of ar-

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ticles being published in scholarly journals worldwide, these articles add to the already impressive results of the international research efforts being undertaken on these unique and exceptionally valuable manuscripts materials in China. The paper by Birgit Kellner addresses digital scholarly editions of Sanskrit texts and is intended as a general methodological contribution.

Although the amount of research being done on Sanskrit manuscripts in China is steadily growing, the task ahead of us remains enormous. A new generation of Sanskrit scholars in the People's Republic of China is eager to contribute their share, but they are still few in number. Inter-institutional cooperation in China will be vital to the further development of this field. Moreover, due to the vast quantity of manuscripts and the considerable difficulty of the texts' language and contents, international collaboration remains the only sustainable way to ensure significant and high quality results in the future. But what the future holds is not in our control as scholars; we can only present our achievements and articulate clearly how, from our viewpoint as experts in Sanskrit Studies, the work should continue.

In a situation in which much has been accomplished but important tasks still lie ahead, the development of strategies for the future remains an essential concern, one that must be discussed with all involved parties in China. In addition to the papers presented at the 2016 panel, this volume therefore also includes a keynote lecture from the 2016 Beijing Seminar by Ernst Steinkellner: "Sanskrit manuscripts on palm-leaves, paper and birch-bark in the TAR: What now?" His lecture addresses the future of preservation and research on Sanskrit manuscripts in the TAR and makes proposals in this regard. It is a continuation of his paper "Strategies for modes of management and scholarly treatment of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the TAR" that was published in the proceedings of the 2008 Seminar.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Sanskrit manuscripts in China : Proceedings of a panel at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies, October 13 to 17*, edited by Ernst Steinkellner in cooperation with Duan Qing and Helmut Krasser. Beijing 2009: China Tibetology Publishing House, 279-292.

It is our hope that Steinkellner's reflections, resulting from regular exchanges with Prof. Lhagpa Phuntshogs and other members of the CTRC – including Dr. Dramdul, who has succeeded Lhagpa Phuntshogs as the CTRC's director – will be heard by those who make decisions on the future of the preservation and study of Sanskrit manuscripts in China.

Xuezhu Li, Beijing

Jowita Kramer, Munich

Birgit Kellner, Vienna







## 前 言

2016年8月3至4日,由中国藏学研究中心(CTRC)主办的“2016北京国际藏学研讨会”在北京召开。在本次研讨会上,有关专家围绕会议主题展开深入的交流和研讨。本论文集系此次研讨会“梵文写本与西藏”小组所发表的论文编辑而成。

“梵文写本与西藏”小组是由比尔吉特·克尔娜(Birgit Kellner)、优比塔·克拉玛(Jowita Kramer)和李学竹共同发起和组织的,是继“2012北京国际藏学研讨会——梵文研究小组”(由已故赫墨特·库拉萨博士发起和组织)和“2008北京国际藏学研讨会——梵文写本在中国:现状与展望”(由段晴教授和厄恩特·斯坦因凯尔勒教授共同发起和组织)之后召开的第三次梵文研究盛会。

这次“梵文写本与西藏”小组能够成功召开,这部论文集能够顺利付梓,我们首先要感谢中国藏学研究中心领导的支持和参与组织筹备此次研讨会的所有工作人员的辛勤努力;同时要感谢多年来一直支持中国梵文写本研究的所有专家学者的参与和贡献;还要特别感谢于2016年退休的中国藏学研究中心前任总干事拉巴平措教授对梵文写本研究工作一以贯之的重视和关心。此外,我们还要一并感谢辛西娅·佩克·库巴切克(Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek)对论文英文部分的审读和修改、刘德米拉·奥尔拉德·里科(Liudmila Olalde)对所有论文的校对和参考书目制作、以及维特斯·安格迈尔(Vitus Angermeier)对论文集的排版工作。

本论文集大部分文章都是围绕着西藏自治区所保存的梵文写本进行研究和讨论。作者以较短版本形式从不同侧面展示其研究成果,介绍个

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别写本的历史；讨论和分析新写本中出现的新问题和不同读法；回收已失传的梵文原典的引文片段，并探讨写本中的梵文字体以及编辑方法等。近年来，由中国藏学出版社和奥地利科学院出版社共同出版的《西藏自治区梵文文本系列丛书》，以及学者们在全球学术期刊上发表的文章数量也逐年增多，可见国际上对这些独一无二、具有特别价值的中国梵文写本的研究已经取得了令人瞩目的成就。本论文集的刊发可以说是对上述研究成果的丰富和补充。其中，比尔吉特·克尔娜发表的有关梵文写本数字化学术编辑的论文，可作为梵文写本整理的一般方法。

尽管中国梵文写本的研究工作稳步推进，取得了一批独具特色的研究成果，但目前任务仍旧非常艰巨，面临诸多挑战，任重而道远。中国新生代的梵文研究学者渴望贡献自己的力量，但从事梵文研究的人才仍然严重不足，研究机构又各自为战。因此，要实现梵文研究领域的进一步发展，中国研究机构之间有效整合力量，形成共同研究机制至关重要。此外，由于梵文写本的数量庞大，写本语言的解读难度较高，而且文本内容繁多多样，涉及多个学科领域，不易理解和把握，所以，为了确保梵文研究领域在未来能够取得重大和高质量的研究成果，必须进一步扩大开放、更加积极开展国际交流合作是唯一的可持续方式。然而，作为学者，国际合作研究的未来并不是我们所能决定的，我们只能从梵文研究专家角度，展示研究成果，并阐明未来应该怎样继续开展研究工作。虽然我们已经取得了许多实质性的工作成效，但仍有重要的任务有待完成。因此，制定梵文写本的未来发展战略是中国各学术机构必须要讨论和面对的非常重要的问题。

本论文集除了收录“梵文写本与西藏”小组提交的论文外，还收录了“2016 北京国际藏学研讨会”的主题演讲文章，即厄恩特·斯坦因凯尔勒(Ernst Steinkellner)教授主讲的《西藏自治区的贝叶、纸质和桦树皮梵文写本：何去何从？》(Sanskrit manuscripts on palm-leaves, paper and birch-bark in the TAR: What now?)。斯坦因凯尔勒教授

在演讲中,讲述了西藏自治区梵文写本的保存和研究的未来,并对此提出了许多建设性的意见。这也是他在 2008 北京国际藏学研讨会上发表的《西藏自治区梵文写本的管理模式和学术处理策略》(Strategies for modes of management and scholarly treatment of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the TAR)<sup>1</sup>的延续。斯坦因凯尔勒教授所阐述的观点是与拉巴平措教授,包括已经接替拉巴平措教授担任 CTCRC 总干事郑堆博士以及 CTCRC 其他成员定期交流的结果。因此,我们希望决定中国梵文写本保护和研究工作未来的决策者们能够听取斯坦因凯尔勒教授的建议和意见。

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<sup>1</sup> *Sanskrit manuscripts in China : Proceedings of a panel at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies, October 13 to 17*, edited by Ernst Steinkellner in cooperation with Duan Qing and Helmut Krasser. Beijing 2009: China Tibetology Publishing House, 279-292.





## Sanskrit manuscripts on palm-leaves, paper and birch-bark in the TAR: what now?

Ernst Steinkellner

In January 2006, following instructions of the former Chairman Hu Jintao an organizational group for the “Protection and Research on Tibetan Sanskrit Palm-Leaf Manuscripts” was established. The next month, the Government of the Tibetan Autonomous Region installed Prof. Tsewang Gyurme as the director of a work team and an office was opened at the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences.<sup>1</sup> The search, survey and listing of the manuscripts were begun already in September 2006. In the following years these activities were extended to all counties, prefectures and municipalities of the TAR. After being located the manuscripts were identified, listed with an inventory card (plate 1) and digitized in color.

The project was finalized in 2011 with the production of DVDs and the non-commercial publication of the collected material in a small number of copies – I have heard only of five – of sixty-one large and beautifully bound portfolio volumes, four volumes of a general catalogue, and one volume of photographic reproductions.<sup>2</sup> These are now apparently kept in different institutions in Lhasa and in Beijing. With this, the first step of “Protection and Research” on these materials seems to have been considered finished. The conclusion of this work was celebrated in Lhasa with a ceremony, which was also shown in Chinese national television.

Hardly anyone outside the PRC was lucky enough to see this celebration on TV. Only the photos published on the 3<sup>rd</sup> cover page

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tsewang Gyurme 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Saerji 2014: 293.

of *Tibet Palm-Leaf Manuscript Studies* 2014a and 2014b<sup>3</sup> provide a clear impression of the 61 volumes produced (plate 2). As to the contents, nothing more can be said than that a fine quality of the digitized material is suggested by some photos of various manuscripts in this collection that must originate from this project in the volume published in 2011 on the treasures in the Norbulingka Museum.<sup>4</sup>

There is no doubt that through the enormous effort devoted to this project it was possible to halt some of the grave dangers to which these manuscripts may have become subject, such as their deterioration, misuse, or even their loss. By localising, identifying and making preliminary descriptions of these treasures, they will now not only be better protected and kept in their current state, but are also safely preserved in this state for the future. Scholars from all over the world are and will continue to be deeply grateful to Chairman Hu Jintao, the late Prof. Tsewang Gyurme, and the Government of the Tibetan Autonomous Region for protecting one of the greatest treasures of humanity.

A few of my following remarks may seem presumptuous to some. As an outsider who is not well informed and, in particular, does not know all of the regulations, conditions and practices regarding the manuscripts in question I can only give you a general impression of how the world of scholars beyond the PRC perceives the present state of affairs and what expectations and hopes the international world of scholars has for the future.

In a contribution to the panel at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies on “Sanskrit Manuscripts in China: State and Prospects,” I proposed a number of strategies for handling the Sanskrit manuscripts in the TAR.<sup>5</sup> In this paper I first drew attention to the

<sup>3</sup> There are two publications with this subtitle, see *Tibet Palm-Leaf Manuscript Studies* 2014a in Chinese and 2014b in Tibetan. While the titles are corresponding, the contents differ. The same is the case with the two volumes that appeared in 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Ni Ma Dan Zeng 2011: 149ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Steinkellner 2009.

“Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics” as amended by the 9<sup>th</sup> National People’s Congress on October 28, 2002. While this Law was further amended in 2013 and again in 2015, the changes through these amendments are of no relevance to our subject.

At that time, my proposals concerned: the Sanskrit manuscripts as cultural relics, referring to their identification, numbering, digital documentation, description, preservation, and safe-keeping, the various forms of copying them, possible regulation and supervision of access, questions of costs and sponsorship, scholarly training and international cooperation, and further measures to be taken within the TAR and other regions of the PRC.

Among these those mentioned as being of immediate urgency are already fulfilled with the work done between 2006 and 2011 under the supervision of the late Prof. Tsewang Gyurme. Moreover, already apparent is a certain increase in the interest on the side of Chinese students, scholars, and institutions not only in these cultural relics, but also in the study of Sanskrit as the crucial precondition for any research on these manuscripts. Most importantly, an Institute for Research on Sanskrit Manuscripts has been established meanwhile at the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences in continuation of the office opened there in 2006.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, new Sanskrit teaching positions have been installed at a number of universities within the PRC, such as at Fudan University, Shanghai, at Sun Yat Sen University, Guangzhou, at Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, and at the Chinese University, Hongkong.

As to methodological training and international cooperation, Peking University’s “Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Buddhist Literature” successfully continues with publications from its staff and by providing post-graduate training for its students at

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<sup>6</sup> The publication of the two volumes referred to above (note 3) and two further volumes each published in 2015 and 2016 can testify to the work done so far.

international universities.<sup>7</sup> In 2011, a *Series of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature* was established by Prof. Duan Qing, in which five volumes have already appeared. Several editions based on Sanskrit manuscripts, including some of non-Buddhist Indian texts, have been published by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Press, the first already in 1988. Since 1990, different organizations in the PRC have been cooperating with the Śrāvaka Study Group at Taisho University in Japan on editing important texts.<sup>8</sup> Further, the newly opened “Buddhist Resource and Research Center” at Zhejiang University aims at applying modern digital technology in a broad way to Buddhist studies and cooperates with the Harvard Yenching Institute. Last but not least, be it mentioned that since 2004 the cooperations between researchers at the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC) and scholars in both Japan and Europe have been very successful; the Center’s series *Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region* (STTAR), jointly published with the Austrian Academy of Sciences, reached its 20<sup>th</sup> volume this year.

Thus, within only a few years it has been possible within the PRC to train a number of gifted students and scholars who have the potential of working on the Sanskrit manuscripts in question, and to create jobs and other possibilities for them. In developing this potential it is my impression that the various international collaborations chosen by institutions in the PRC have been useful as well.

The last twenty years or so have seen a great leap forward in the recovery of Buddhist literature, a leap that has inevitably resulted in a substantial increase of our knowledge of the development of this world religion.<sup>9</sup> In particular, there are two hoards of documents of major importance.

One is the totally unexpected appearance of Buddhist manuscripts and fragments dating between the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE and the 4<sup>th</sup>

<sup>7</sup> For a survey of the Peking University project, cf. Saerji 2014.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Yonezawa/Nagashima 2014.

<sup>9</sup> For an impressive survey of the world’s remaining holdings of Buddhist manuscripts see *FBBDD*.



century CE from the area of greater Gandhāra in today's Afghanistan and northern Pakistan. These manuscripts have found their way to antique markets due to the deplorable destruction of the Buddhist remains in these regions. They contain the oldest documents ever found of parts of the Buddhist canon as well as early exegetical texts, and even a few Mahāyānasūtras. Because of their sensational appearance and antiquity research on these manuscripts and fragments was quickly initiated and is today successfully underway.<sup>10</sup>

With these Gāndhārī documents we have regained the first written traces of early Buddhism. But Buddhism continued to develop in India for another thousand years. The second hoard is the manuscripts that have survived for centuries in the monastic and private libraries in China's Tibetan regions. This treasure was brought over the Himālayas when Buddhism was slowly driven from its motherland, and in Tibet most of the texts were gradually translated into Tibetan between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. These manuscripts contain a large array of major and minor works in the original Sanskrit, some also in Pāli, and include Mahāyānasūtras and Tantras, monastic rules, dogmatic compendia, exegetical and philosophical treatises, Buddhist eulogies, poetry, narratives, and all types of Tantric texts. And they do not only contain Buddhist literature: there are also manuscripts on Indian grammar, lexicography, poetics, medicine, and arts and crafts. After having been translated into Tibetan, the original Sanskrit manuscripts were safely kept as spiritual and cultural relics. It is our great fortune that they have survived into our times.<sup>11</sup> So much for a short summary of the current state of affairs with regard to the manuscripts in question.

We have seen that the legacy of the work and activities by the late professors Ji Xianlin and Wang Sen, and the former directors of CTRC, Dorje Cedan and Lhagpa Phuntshogs, to mention only a few,

<sup>10</sup> See Salomon 2014 for a survey of the materials and the research progress already achieved. For a survey of the Gāndhāra project of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, cf. *AkademieAktuell* 1/2013, Hartmann 2016: 32–51, Braarvig/Liland 2010, and the related papers in *FBBDD*.

<sup>11</sup> For a historical review, cf. Steinkellner 2004 and Sævi 2014: 291–293.

is being honoured by an increase of interest in the study of Sanskrit within China, by the fact that several institutions are internationally cooperating in various ways to support this line of study, and, most importantly, by the fact that the governments and institutions involved have seen to it that the material relics in question are preserved in digital form.

But: What now? At the present time, this treasure is still out of bounds for scholars, both within China and beyond.<sup>12</sup> Why? I know of no answer. Together with many others inside and outside of China, I can only speculate on the reasons.

It seems that a lock on this treasure has been put on by the TAR Government or by a higher authoritative agency in the Central Government and thus it was a political decision. It is possible to consider such a decision wise if it is intended as a temporary measure. For example, it might be a measure for safeguarding the manuscripts until the necessary preparations have been made for meaningful and regulated scholarly access to them; or until the capacity of Chinese scholarship has developed to the extent that all necessary work can be achieved by Chinese and Tibetan scholars alone, without international cooperation or participation.

Questions such as these are unavoidably being raised within the international scholarly community as long as no movement can be felt or seen with regard to this project. After all, the alternative option seems inconceivable, namely, that after all the admirable and certainly expensive efforts that have already been invested, this cultural treasure has now simply been locked away, perhaps for a long time. For the time being it is definitely a dead body of materials, and for all we are afraid of it may even remain dead for the rest of our lifetimes.

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<sup>12</sup> The collection of papers recently published from the Research Institute at the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences (see note 3) allows for the assumption that the contributors did not have access or only very limited access to this treasure either.

Is it possible then, the world is asking, that no measures are being taken, or at least being discussed by the institutions in the PRC that would be involved in commencing the second step of the “Protection and Research Project”? And if this is not the case, or if this is not even intended, what can be proposed that should now be done, five years after the end of the first step achieved?

According to the official report on the first step,<sup>13</sup> the project team has inventoried “roughly one thousand bundles with sixty thousand folios of Sanskrit manuscripts in the TAR.”<sup>14</sup> Because only a few bundles contain single texts, the number of texts in this collection must amount to about three and a half to four thousand individual texts and fragments.<sup>15</sup>

As far as I can judge from inspecting the catalogues prepared by Prof. Luo Zhao in 1984–1985 and the list of copies held by the CTRC’s library, these texts are from all types of Buddhist and non-Buddhist Indian literature. To approach the work to be done most effectively, these texts need to be sorted by scholars in terms of well-reasoned priorities.

First priority should be given to such texts that are hitherto only known through their Tibetan and/or Chinese translation, and to texts that until now have been completely unknown since they were never translated.

The next texts that should be considered are those that were edited in the past based on Sanskrit manuscripts found in Nepalese or

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<sup>13</sup> *Xi-zang-zi-zhi-qu bei-ye-jing bao-hu-gong-zuo zong-shu* (“Comprehensive report on the work of the preservation of the palm leaf manuscripts in Tibet”) by the research team in *Tibet Palm-leaf Manuscripts Studies* 2014a: 1–29. A Tibetan translation of this report appeared in *Tibet Palm-Leaf Manuscripts Studies* 2014b: 19–38.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Saerji 2014: 293.

<sup>15</sup> This is a guess made without being able to see the four volumes of the General Catalogue. The above cited comprehensive report states (p. 25) that 80% palm-leaf manuscripts and the paper manuscripts were digitized. I was told that the tantric manuscript on birch-bark kept at the Tibet Museum in Lhasa, however, was apparently not included.

Indian holdings. The new manuscripts in Tibet, as has been quickly discovered in a few cases, are not only older, but they also contain countless better readings and can provide help for filling gaps and making good for damaged parts in manuscripts already known. This means nothing less than that many of the classical Buddhist texts with which we still live and work today will need amending or even re-editing on the basis of these new materials.

The same holds good for those texts the Buddhists considered useful from their Indian cultural context and thus took along on their way North: Sanskrit grammars, literary texts, lexicography, poetics, medicine, and technical sciences.

Besides such ranking with regard to the contents, there will also be manuscripts that are important for other reasons: their illustration, writing styles, or colophons.

In general, it will be easy to distribute these manuscripts among scholars for editing. But this distribution should be done with care to avoid overlapping work and to achieve the best results.

The current situation of scholarship, in the PRC and elsewhere, is not particularly auspicious. And the task we face with this treasure trove of Sanskrit manuscripts in the TAR is not easy at all, since so much specialized knowledge is required: of a great variety of Indian literatures, of writing styles, and of editing methodology. Both within the PRC and around the world, the number of experienced scholars or people willing to undergo the necessary training is small. Even smaller is the number of those who will be able to participate in this kind of work aside of their normal occupations as academics. Considering the enormous quantity, complexity and difficulty of the texts waiting to be edited and studied, this is a main reason I think this work should be distributed worldwide and not be restricted to scholars in the PRC alone.

In my paper of 2009, I proposed regulation and supervision by a Board consisting of members from PRC institutions together with senior scholars from both the PRC and abroad. Yet, already establishing such a Board seems to be impeded by the fact that, while the problem does not seem to exist in the Sciences, in the Humanities

the various institutions, research centers, academies and universities involved within the PRC still have no regular tradition of practically cooperating on a common project. It seems feasible to me, therefore, that precisely this extensive research project might be an outstanding occasion for combining the capacities of all the governmental, administrative and academic forces within the PRC to constitute a body of administrators and scholars as a “think-tank.” The task of this “think-tank” would be to overcome the present deadlock and find a way for finally beginning the second step, which is “Research” and should begin with the installation of a supervising Board.

I would like to add that no time should be lost. For, considering what has happened throughout the world in comparable cases of locked-up treasures of this kind, we can expect that random parts of these volumes sooner or later will be appropriated, illegally and unprofessionally, and then used in various ways certainly not intended by the authoritative agencies in the PRC or by the scholarly community worldwide.

I am aware of the hesitations in this regard from certain quarters of Chinese society because of the colonial period’s history of exploitation and plunder of cultural relics. But we live today in a quite different age, when cooperation between all peoples has developed substantially in many ways. Indeed, cooperation on the same eye-level seems to be the only way to globally survive for all.

Buddhism did not remain in its motherland, but instead spread out and became one of the world’s religions. The literary heritage of fully developed Buddhism was received by the Tibetan people. And, although they translated it, they also safely kept it in its original form. The material form of this heritage – as the manuscripts on palm leaves, paper, or birch-bark – is the possession of the TAR and other parts of the PRC. But its contents are part of the heritage of the entire world. The world therefore has a right to read and know this treasure, and also has the obligation to sponsor its study and publication.

Today the People’s Republic of China is politically and economically a leading power in the world. While it has the same rights, it

also has the same obligation as the rest of the world to take care and to promote such a project with regard to one of the last great literary, religious, and philosophical treasures of humanity's past. This treasure is still waiting to receive proper attention. I have no doubts that initiating the second step of the "Protection and Research" project will be a strong signal to the world that China is truly acknowledging and honoring the value of this heritage from the past of the Tibetan people.

Plates



དཀར་ཆག་ཤོག་བྱང་།

མཁའ་

ཀ་མོ།	ནུང་།	གྲངས།	ལས་ལོ།	འགྲུབ་ཚུལ།	མཚན་ལ།	ཡིག་རིག་ལ།
འཕྲུང་།						
མིང་གཞན་ལྟར་བཞུགས་མིང་།					རྩམ་ལོ།	
རྩོམ་ལ་ལ།	མཚན་འདོད།				ལྷུངས་འདུལ།	
	མཚན་དེད།				རྩོམ་ལུགས།	
རྒྱལ་པོ།				རྒྱ་དུས།	ཡིག་ལུགས།	
ལྡེ་བ་ལྡངས།		ལྡེ་བ་ཚད།		ཡིག་ལྡེང།		དུས་ལྡངས་ལྡུ་རྒྱ།
དཔེ་བཤེ།		ཡིག་གཞུགས།		དཔེ་དབྱིབས།		རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་ལ།
ལྷག་ཚི།		དཔེ་གསལ་ལྡངས་ལྡུག་ལ།				མཚན་འདོད།
ཉར་ཚོགས།					དཔེ་དུས་རྒྱུ་རྒྱ།	
ལྷན་དྲོན་གཞན་བཞུགས།						
ལུང་མཚན།						

ཤོ་འགོ་དཔ།

ཡི་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ།

Plate 1

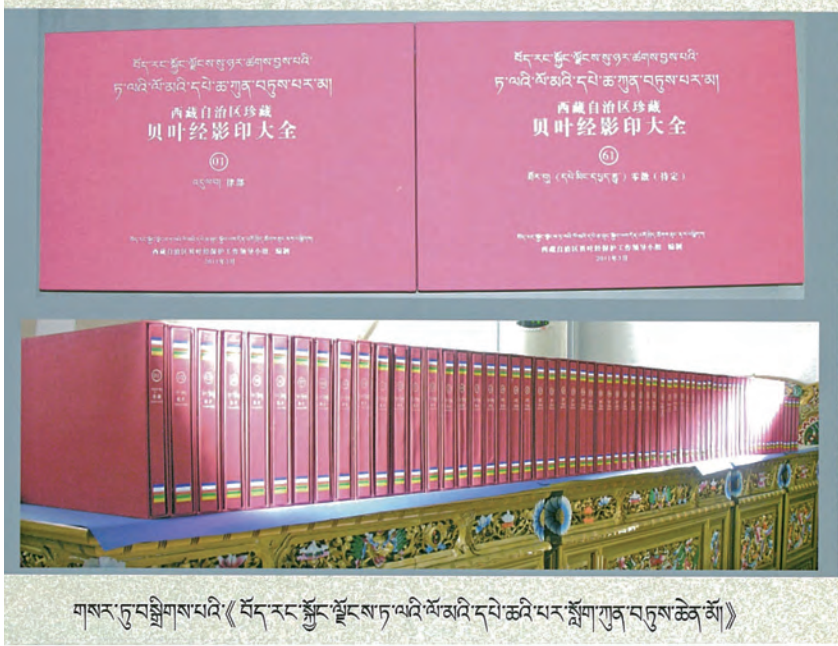


Plate 2

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## 西藏自治区的贝叶、纸质和桦树皮梵文写本：何去何从？

恩斯特·斯坦因凯勒

2006年1月，遵照时任中国国家主席胡锦涛的指示，一个致力于“西藏梵文贝叶写本保护和研究”工作的领导小组成立了。同年2月，西藏自治区人民政府任命次旺俊美教授为该项工作的负责人并在西藏社会科学院设立专项办公室。<sup>1</sup>办公室的工作人员随即于2006年9月展开对贝叶写本的调查、检视和登录。在接下来数年间，调查工作扩展到了西藏自治区的每一个县、区和市。他们对所有找到的写本进行了辨认、编目（图版1），同时以彩色数字化处理。

该计划于2011年结项，项目成果包含若干DVD和一套非盈利性且复本有限的写本全集。据我所知，这套写本全集包括61册装帧华美的大开本精装分册、4册总目录和1册复制还原件；它仅有5个复本。<sup>2</sup>很明显，这些写本全集的复本目前保存在拉萨和北京的不同研究机构里。随着这些成果的出版，由胡锦涛主席启动的针对这批资料的“保护和研究”工作中的第一项被认为是已经完成了，有关部门为此在拉萨举行了该项工作结束的庆典，中央电视台也就这场庆典作了相关报道。

生活在中华人民共和国境外的人很难有幸从电视上看到这场庆典。人们只能从2014年出版的《西藏贝叶经研究》（2014a和2014b）<sup>3</sup>封3

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<sup>1</sup> 见次旺俊美 Tsewang Gyurme 2009。

<sup>2</sup> 见 Saerji 2014, 第 293 页。

<sup>3</sup> 2014年有两本以此为名的出版品，一为中文（2014a），另一为藏文

照片获得对于这 61 册写本全集的清晰印象(图版 2)。至于其内容,我们只能在罗布林卡博物馆 2011 年出版的馆藏珍品画册中见到一些不同写本的图片。<sup>4</sup>这些图片应该源自这一个研究项目,他们显示这一个项目所制作的数字化材料的品质非常好。

毫无疑问,这个项目只有通过各方配合,一起努力,才能完成。而其中,只有这样才能避免可能的写本损毁情况发生,例如自然衰损、人为损坏、甚至遗失。借着确定这批珍宝的来源、辨识内容、并对它作初步的描写,目前该宝藏不仅仅获得了更好的保存,它在未来的存续也得到了保证。由于这一保护人类最伟大宝藏之一的贡献,全世界的相关学者都对,且将继续对前国家主席胡锦涛先生、已故次旺俊美教授和西藏自治区人民政府心怀感激。

以下为本人所提出的一些见解,可能有人认为不合适。我是一个局外人,不了解详情,尤其是我不熟悉那些与写本相关的所有法规、背景和具体处理方式。因此,我只能谈一谈中华人民共和国以外的学术界对这项计画现况的看法,以及国际上对其未来的期待和希望。

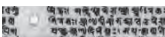
2008 年,我在北京藏学研讨会的“中国的梵文写本:现状与未来”这一分论坛上发表了一篇文章,就如何处理西藏自治区的梵文写本提出了一些战略性的建议。<sup>5</sup>在该文中,我提请大家关注 2002 年 10 月 28 日经第九届全国人大修订的《中华人民共和国文物保护法》。虽然该法规于 2013 年和 2015 年又经过两度修订,修订的部分与我们讨论的主题无关。

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(2014b)。这两本书虽然标题一致,但内容各异。2015 年出版的两本同名出版品也是这样的情况。

<sup>4</sup> 尼玛旦增(Ni ma bsTan 'dzin) 2011 年,第 149 页续。

<sup>5</sup> 见 Steinkellner 2009。



当时，我的建议涉及了对梵文写本作为文化遗产的一系列相关事项，诸如对文本的辨识工作、编号、数字化、描写、保护、和妥善保管等。同时，我也提出以不同形式复制写本的建议，并且提供我对管理和监督接触写本的方法的看法，以及有关研究花费和经费资助等的意见。我还谈到有关的研究训练和国际合作的可能性，以及需进一步在西藏自治区和中华人民共和国其他地区采取的措施。

当时我提到的一些迫在眉睫的任务，已于 2006 年至 2011 年这一段时间里，在已故次旺俊美教授带领下完成。而且，很明显地，中国学生、学者和学术机构不仅仅对于这些文化遗产，而且对于梵文本身的兴趣都有所增长。梵文是从事任何与这些写本相关的研究所不可或缺的先决条件。最重要的是，在 2006 年成立的工作小组的基础上，西藏社会科学院成立了“贝叶经研究所”。<sup>6</sup>中华人民共和国内的诸多大学也设立了梵文教席，例如上海复旦大学、广州中山大学、浙江大学、以及香港中文大学等。

关于研究培训和国际合作，北京大学梵文贝叶经与佛教文献研究所成功地持续出版其研究者的学术成果并安排学生在国外大学接受博士后培训。<sup>7</sup>2011 年，段晴教授启动了《梵文贝叶经与佛教文献》系列丛书，迄今已经出版 5 册。自从 1988 年以来，中国社会科学出版社也陆续出版数部基于梵文写本的校勘本，其中包含跟佛教无关的印度文献。此外，从 1990 年起，中国的数所研究机构跟日本大正大学声闻研究小组合作编辑出版了一系列重要的文本。<sup>8</sup>新近在浙江大学成立的“佛教资源与研究中心”正致力于将数字化技术广泛运用于佛教研究，并与哈佛燕京学社展开合作。值得一提的还有，中国藏学研究中心的学者自 2004 年以

<sup>6</sup> 在注释 3 所提到的两本出版物以及两本分别在 2015 和 2016 年出版的刊物是这个研究组工作进展的积极表现。

<sup>7</sup> Saerji 2014 提供了有关北大研究工作的更多信息。

<sup>8</sup> 见 Yonezawa/Nagashima 2014。

来成功地与日本和欧洲学者开展合作研究。藏研中心与奥地利科学院合作出版的《西藏自治区梵文文本》系列丛书迄今已出版 20 册。

仅仅几年的时间，中华人民共和国国内已经培养出一批有天赋的学生和学者，使他们具备研究这批梵文写本的潜力，并给予工作和其他发展机会。在这一发展过程中，我深感中华人民共和国国内研究机构所选择的各种类型的国际合作，是相当有帮助的。

在过去 20 年左右，佛教文献的探寻工作有了一个飞跃式的进展，这一进展大大丰富了我们对于这个世界性宗教的发展进程的认识。<sup>9</sup>这其中有两批文献的意义尤其重大。

其中之一是源于大犍陀罗地区，即现今阿富汗和巴基斯坦北部一带，书成于公元前 1 世纪至公元 4 世纪之间的佛教写本和残片，它们的出现完全出乎人们的意料之外。这些写本和残片，由于该地区的佛教遗迹遭到可叹的破坏而流入古董市场。其中有迄今为止所发现的最为古老的佛教典籍以及早期的解经文献和一些大乘佛经。由于这些古老的文献所造成的轰动，针对这些写本和残片的研究工作很快就开展起来，并且已做出可观的成绩。<sup>10</sup>

这批出自犍陀罗地区的文本使我们获得首批有关早期佛教的文字记录。然而佛教在印度的发展经历了又一个千年。第二批文献是在中国西藏寺庙和私人图书馆中保存了数个世纪的写本。这一宝藏跨越喜马拉雅山的年代，正好是佛教在其发源地开始渐趋消亡慢慢从印度走出去的年代。大部分的文本在8到14世纪间的西藏逐渐被译成藏文。这批写本所包

<sup>9</sup> 有关全世界尚存的佛教写本的一个总结性研究报告见 *FBDD*。

<sup>10</sup> 有关这一部分资料 and 目前研究进展的总结报告，见 Salomon 2014。有关巴伐利亚科学院的犍陀罗研究项目，见 *AkademieAktuell* 2013 年第 1 期；Hartmann 2016，第32至51页；Braarvig/Liland 2010；以及在 *FBDD* 上所发表的有关论文。

含的各类以梵文和巴利文写成的重要和次要文献中有大乘经、密续、戒律、宗义、注释书和哲学论典、佛教赞颂、诗歌、故事、以及各类密续文献。其中不仅有佛教文献，也有印度语法著作、辞书、诗学、医学论着以及工艺典籍。它们被译成藏文后，梵文写本的原件就被当作精神和文化遗产完好地保存下来。它们能保存至今是我们最大的幸运。<sup>11</sup>以上是我对本文中所论及的写本的现状所作的简要回顾。

近年来，我们目睹了中国国内对于梵文研究与日俱增的兴趣，以及多所研究机构以不同方式和国际通力合作支持这项研究。并且最重要的，通过有关政府部门和机构的努力，这些文化遗产已经以数字化的形式得以永久保存。这些是对已故的季羨林教授、王森教授、以及中国藏学研究中心前总干事多杰才旦和拉巴平措等人所留下的功绩的致礼。

然而，现在我们应该何去何从？目前，无论对于中国学者还是国外学者，这个宝藏依然是一个禁地。<sup>12</sup>这是为什么？对此我没有答案。和其他在中国国内和国外的学者一样，我只能猜测原因。

如果是西藏自治区人民政府或者是中央人民政府的权威人士决定封存这个宝藏，作为一个暂时性的处理方式，这也许是一个明智的决定。举例来说，这可能是在规范这些写本学术使用的相关准备工作尚未完成前，为了保护写本所采取的措施。或者希望护守这批宝藏，直到中国学界能独自完成一切必要的工作而无需与国际合作或有国际参与为止。

当国际学术界看不到这个项目有任何进展时，自然就会作上述猜想。因为很难想象还有别的可能性。即在投入了大量令人钦佩且代价不菲的努力之后，现在这个文化宝藏只是单纯地被封存起来，可能还会被封存很长

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<sup>11</sup> 有关的历史回顾见 Steinkellner 2004 以及 Saerji 2014, 第 291 至 293 页。

<sup>12</sup> 由西藏社会科学院贝叶经研究所最近出版的论文集（见注释 3）来看，这些论文的作者估计也无法或只能有限度地接触到这批宝藏。

一段时间。不管怎样，目前只能说，它沉入了死寂之中。而且我们很担心，也许在我们有生之年，它会就此沉寂。

国际学术界都在问，或许在中华人民共和国内，可能参与启动这个“保护与研究”第二阶段工作的学术机构尚未采取任何行动，或至少尚未讨论该采取何种行动？如果事实并非如此，或者这并非大家所愿，那么在项目的第一阶段完成五年之后，我们该为下一步工作提出什么样的建议呢？

根据第一阶段工作的官方报告，<sup>13</sup>工作组整理了“西藏自治区内的约 1000 函，近 60000 叶梵文写本”。<sup>14</sup>因为很少有一函中只有一个文本的情况，这批文献中大致应该有 3500 到 4000 个独立文本和残片。<sup>15</sup>

根据罗炤教授 1984 至 1985 年所编的目录册以及藏于中国藏学研究中心图书馆的复制文本目录，这些文本中包括各类佛教和非佛教文献。为了有效地开展研究工作，学者们在整理这些文本时应该有条理地区分轻重缓急。

首先应该整理那些迄今为止只有藏、汉译本存世，以及因为从未被翻译而完全不为所知的文本。

其次是那些先前根据在尼泊尔和印度所发现的梵文写本编辑过的文本。我们已有例子可以确认，在西藏发现的新写本不仅年代更为古老而且还保留了很多更好的读法，它们可以帮助我们寻回文献中佚失的部分和已

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<sup>13</sup> “西藏自治区贝叶经保护工作综述”，见《西藏贝叶经研究》（2014a）第 1 至 29 页。这份报告的藏文版见《西藏贝叶经研究》（2014b）第 19 至 38 页。

<sup>14</sup> 见 Saerji 2014，第 293 页。

<sup>15</sup> 这只能是一个大概的估计，因为我没法见到四册总目录。以上所提到的“综述”（第 25 页）称 80% 的贝叶和纸质写本内容已被数字化。有人告诉我，但拉萨的西藏博物馆所持的刻在桦树皮上的密教文献则显然还未被数字化。

知的写本中损毁的部分。这意味着我们需要利用这些新材料来修订，甚至重新编辑许多我们日常使用及工作参考的佛教经典文献。

这当然也适用于那些佛教徒根据他们的印度文化环境认为有用，因此帶著一起北上的文献，包括梵文语法、文学作品、词典学、诗词、医药、和技术等方面的文本。

除了上述涉及到文本内容的整理标准之外，有些写本的重要性体现在其他方面：其所包含的图案、文体、或是题记。

总体而言，把编辑这些写本的任务分配给不同学者来做，是一件容易办到的事。不过在分配工作的过程中一定要注意不要重复，要争取最佳成果。

目前，中华人民共和国国内和其他各地一样，学术研究都不特别兴盛。而我们所面临的整理这个保存在西藏自治区的宝藏的工作绝非易事，因为它需要许多专业知识，例如对印度文学、各种文体、以及编辑方法等的知识。就中华人民共和国国内以及全世界而言，有经验且乐于受这方面训练的学者极少。而能够在本职工作之外参与这一类工作的学者就更少了。鉴于这些有待编辑和研究的文本的庞大数量、复杂性和困难度，我认为这项工作应该在全世界范围内来分配而不是仅限于在中国的学者。

我在 2009 年发表的文章中，建议设立一个委员会来管理和监督写本的使用，委员会由来自中华人民共和国国内机构的成员和中华人民共和国国内以及国外的资深学者组成。可惜的是，委员会的设立似乎遇到了阻力。自然科学领域似乎没有这样的问题，但在人文学科领域，中华人民共和国国内的相关学术机构、研究中心、科学院和大学等仍然没有协力合作进行某项研究计画的习惯。因此我认为，这个大型的研究计画恰提供了一个绝佳的机会，让中华人民共和国国内的所有政府的、行政的、和学术的力量能够连结起来，形成一个由行政人员和学者所组成的“智库”。这个“智

库”的任务在解开当前的死结并找到最终迈出第二步的途径，即完成胡锦涛主席提出的综合计划中的“研究”工作。而完成这个工作的第一步就在于设立监督委员会。

我还想要补充一下，我们不应该再浪费时间了。因为从世界上其他同样受到封存的宝藏所受的遭遇来看，我们可以预料部分的写本迟早会遭到不合法且不专业的盗取，然后被以中华人民共和国官方或全世界的学术社群都绝不会打算这么做的方式使用。

我了解中国社会某些方面对于国际人士加入委员会存有犹疑，因为在历史上的殖民时期中国曾遭到剥削，文化遗产被掠夺。但我们现在处于完全不同的时代，这是一个不同国家的人民之间广泛开展合作的时代。我们完全可以说，平等合作似乎已成为人类生存的唯一途径。

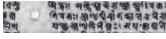
佛教没有在其发源地流传下来，反而向外传播并成为世界性的宗教之一。藏族人继承了来自发展成熟的佛教的遗产。他们虽然将其译成藏文，但同时也将其以其原始形态完整地保存下来。作为这份遗产的物质载体，那些抄录在贝叶、纸张和桦树皮上的写本属于西藏自治区以及中华人民共和国其他地区所有。然而这份遗产的内容是世界文化遗产的一部分。因此全世界有权利来查阅和了解这个宝藏，同时也有义务资助对它的研究和出版。今天，中华人民共和国在世界政治和经济上都居领导地位。它应该与世界上的其他国家一样，不仅有权利，但也有义务来支持和促进这样一个研究计画，因为它涉及到人类过去最后的文学、宗教和哲学宝藏之一。这个宝藏还在等待应有的关注。我坚信，推动前任胡锦涛主席提出的“保护和研究”计画中的第二步工作将向全世界表明，中国切实认识到并充分尊重这份藏族人所保留下来的文化遗产的价值。





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## Introductory notes to Yamāri's *Pramānavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā Supariśuddhā*\*

Junjie Chu, Eli Franco and Xuezhu Li

Prajñākaragupta (ninth century) has been widely acknowledged as one of the towering figures in the Buddhist epistemological tradition; yet his magnum opus, the *Pramānavārttikālaṅkāra* (hereafter PVA) remains largely unexplored. The reason for this is not only its daunting size and notorious difficulty, but also the fact that the single complete edition of the Sanskrit text by Rahula Sāṅkṛtyāyana is not always reliable and not the least because no commentaries on it were so far available in the original Sanskrit. A new critical edition, a translation and studies of the PVA are urgent desiderata for a well-founded understanding of Buddhist philosophy in the post-Dharmakīrti period. Portions of the PVA have been critically edited and translated by several, especially Japanese scholars (Ono, Watanabe, Moriyama, Inami et al.),<sup>1</sup> but progress has been slow. A current project at the Institute of Indology and Central Asian Studies, Leipzig University, intends to contribute decisively to this ongoing

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<sup>1</sup> See the useful bibliography in the EAST database (<http://east.uni-hd.de/buddh/ind/20/50/>).

endeavour by editing for the first time Yamāri's commentary on the first chapter, that is, the *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter.

What makes this chapter unique is that Prajñākaragupta and Yamāri, following in Dharmakīrti's footsteps, deal with typically religious (in contradistinction to logico-epistemological) issues such as the four noble truths, the reliability of the Buddha, karma and rebirth, and liberation. This chapter thus focuses on several fascinating issues on the point of intersection between philosophy and religion; it allows us to grasp the religious background of Buddhist logic and epistemology, the relationship between faith (that is, trust in the reliability of the Buddha) and reason in the Buddhist epistemological tradition, and the interreligious dialogue, albeit in the form of disputation, between Buddhists, Brahmins and Jainas.

So far, two commentaries on the PVA are known to exist, by Jayanta and Yamāri, but they are available only in their Tibetan translations, whose understanding is sometimes marred by insuperable philological problems. Of these, Yamāri's commentary is the later one and is generally considered to be superior to that of Jayanta.

This extensive commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*, the so called *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā Supariśuddhā*, composed in ca. 1050 CE, has long been considered to have been lost in the original Sanskrit. Only recently, or relatively recently, has it become known that a manuscript of this work is preserved in Lhasa, and that a photocopy of it is kept at the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC), Beijing.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to the above mentioned agreement between the Institute of Indology and Central Asian Studies, Leipzig University, and the CTRC, we have been granted access to this sensational find. The manuscript covers the commentary on the *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter of the PVA, which we propose to edit both diplomatically and critically, together with a translation and study of selected passages on Buddhist philosophy of religion. The evidence of the manuscript will not only allow us to study the work of the important Buddhist commentator and philosopher, Yamāri, for the first

<sup>2</sup> On the CTRC collection see Steinkellner 2004.

time in its original language, but will also significantly add to the evidence for the text of the PVA. The project will thus fulfil several purposes: 1) it will provide a new basis for understanding the oeuvre of an important Buddhist commentator and philosopher through the *editio princeps* of the Sanskrit original of the *Supariśuddhā*; 2) it will be the first attempt to recover significant parts of Yamāri's thought through a translation and study of selected passages where Yamāri considerably digresses from the literal explanation of the PVA; 3) it will provide a much needed, long-missed tool for understanding one of the most important works of the Buddhist epistemological tradition, the PVA; 4) it will present some significant improvements to the Sanskrit text of the PVA, especially in the part that is available only in Sāṅkṛtyāyana's edition, but also in the part that has been re-edited by Ono (see examples below). As an ancillary purpose 5), the project will also contribute to a better understanding of the PVA's earlier commentary by Jayanta, who is ometimes quoted, paraphrased and criticized in the *Supariśuddhā*.

In addition to the critical and diplomatic editions of the *Supariśuddhā*, and a contribution towards an improved new edition of the PVA, we also plan to provide a “pragmatic” edition (based on the Peking and Derge recensions alone) of the Tibetan translation of the *Supariśuddhā* with some emendations based on the Sanskrit readings. Furthermore, we plan a “pragmatic” edition of Jayanta's *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā* with cross references from the *mūla* text (in Tibetan) to the commentary and vice versa. We will identify and mark the many quotations from the PVA and glosses on its text included therein, which can be used as an additional testimony for the text of the PVA.

Now, let us add a few words on the manuscript itself and present first results of our project:

As mentioned above, the manuscript contains the text of the first chapter, i.e., the *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter, of the *Supariśuddhā*. It consists of 207 palm-leaf folios, with three folios, i.e., the first two folios and folio 197, missing; thus 204 folios are available. The first

seven folios are damaged at one or both ends of the leaf, in most cases in the first and last line. In the damaged parts, a considerable number of *akṣaras* are missing, in some cases more than 20 in a line. The damaged parts most probably contained also the folio numbers; in any case, the folio numbers, found on the left side of the verso, begins with folio 8. Apart from these damaged parts, the general condition of the manuscript, judging from its photocopies, is quite good. On most folios, but certainly not all, the text is clearly legible.

The palm-leaf on which the text is written is exceptionally large. Its measurements are given in the description of the manuscript contained in an unpublished catalog prepared by Professor Luo Zhao (罗昭).<sup>3</sup> According to him, it is 56.3 cm in length and 6.3 cm in width.<sup>4</sup> Due to their length, the leaves contain two string-holes, which separate the middle three lines (i.e., lines 3–5) of each side into three sections. Both recto and verso have seven lines, each of approximately 125 *akṣaras* without a string-hole and 117 with a string-hole. Thus, each side contains about 850 *akṣaras*. If multiplied by the number of leaves we reach 346800, or 21675 *ślokas*. The script used in the manuscript is Proto-Bengali or Vihārī, as recently suggested by Steinkellner.<sup>5</sup> It was apparently written by a single scribe whose handwriting is neat and clear. He worked very carefully with very few deletion marks, erasures or other corrections. Nevertheless, scribal errors are to be found on practically every page of the manuscript. Our manuscript was obviously not compared to its exemplar and the inevitable scribal mistakes were not corrected. There are several reasons that substantiate this assumption: 1) We find no corrections inserted between the lines or in the top, bottom or side margins of the leaves; 2) there are no *kākapadas* or any other markings to allocate corrections in the margins; 3) nothing has been written between the lines; 4) deletions of *akṣaras* are extremely rare and obviously

<sup>3</sup> On Luo Zhao's work on this catalog prepared between 1983 and 1985 in Tibet, cf. Steinkellner 2007: xii–xiii, footnote 5.

<sup>4</sup> These measurements may be only approximative, cf. Tomabechei 2009: xxvii.

<sup>5</sup> Steinkellner 2018.



represent corrections of mistakes that the scribe noticed immediately while copying from his exemplar. Cases of missing *akṣaras* are not rare, but the skipped *akṣaras* have not been supplied afterwards. Sometimes, the scribe must have noticed that he had copied one or several *akṣaras* incorrectly, but left them as they were without deletion marks and started to correctly write the words immediately afterwards. The Tibetan translation presents numerous challenges, but these deserve to be treated separately elsewhere.

The first folio is not part of the *Supariśuddhā*. On its recto one finds the famous *ye dharmā(h)* verse:<sup>6</sup>

*ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetus teṣān tathāgato hy avadat /  
teṣāṃś ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ //*

After this verse, a series of reverential salutations follow:

*namaḥ samantaprabharājāya tathāgatāya † [bhūta]samyak-  
saṃbudhāya /*

*namo mañjuśrīye kumārabhūta / tāya bodhisatvāya mahā-  
satvāya mahākāruṇikāya / tadyathā / auṃ nirālambe nirā-  
bhāse jaye jaya la .. mahāmate dakṣe dakṣiṇām ṭarito dhayesv  
āhu //*

[Some illegible words in Tibetan probably containing the name of the scribe:] *pu .. lag bde 'zhug pa yin // lag bde 'zhugs pa yin // śubham astu sarvajagatām\* //*

The Colophon on fol. 207, which is was obviously also not written by Yamāri himself, reads:

*mahāpaṇḍitaśrīyamāriṅvṛddhapādaviracite pramāṇavārttikā-  
laṅkāranibandha prathamāḥ paricchedaḥ samāptaḥ //*

This brings us to the question of the title. According to the colophon it would seem that the title is *pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāranibandha*.

This seems to be confirmed by the *maṅgala* verse, which unfortunately survived only in Tibetan (PVATS<sub>T</sub> D Phe 174b2, P 208b1):

<sup>6</sup> On this verse cf. Skilling 2003–2004.

/ *ston pa shes 'byung chos kyi grags* // *gzhan la phan byed bla*  
*ma ni* /  
 / *ye shes dpal la rab btud nas* // *rgyan gyi bshad sbyar bdag*  
*gis brtsam* /  
 / *gal te 'di ni blo ldan dag* // *don sgrub don du ma gyur*  
*kyang* /  
 / *bdag gam bdag dang 'dra ba 'ga'* // *dran pa yi ni don du*  
*'gyur* /

Bowing to the teachers Prajñākara[gupta] and Dharmakīrti who are the gurus benefiting others and to Jñānaśrī, I compose the *Alaṃkāranibandha*.

Even if this [treatise] would not be useful for intelligent people to accomplish [their] purpose, it will be useful for me and persons like me to memorize [their teaching].

However, the title according to the Tibetan translation is (PVATS<sub>T</sub> D Phe 174b1, P Phe 208a7):

*rgya gar skad du / pra mā ṅa bā rti kā lañ kara tī kā su pa ri*  
*śu ddha nā ma* /

I suggest that this corresponds to *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā Supariśuddhā*. The variant that is occasionally found in the secondary literature, *Supariśuddhī*, seems to be only a typo introduced by the influential work of Ono and repeated several times (notably by Steinkellner and Much 1995).

The title in the colophons of the Tibetan translation corresponds only to *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā*, with no equivalent to *Supariśuddhā*. So far, we have not been able to trace any further source for the addition *Supariśuddhā*, but we have favored this title because it is more evocative than “*Nibandha*.” On the one hand it evokes Jinen-drabuddhi’s title *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā Viśālāmalavatī*, on the other hand it contrasts with Jayanta’s *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā*, that is, it repeats Jayanta’s title with the addition “the correct/valid one”; as if Yamāri were saying, Jayanta has written a *ṭīkā*, but it is not correct; my work is a correct *ṭīkā*. Indeed, we have found in several places that Yamāri refers to Jayanta, also by name, and criticizes him.

We would like to conclude with an example of how we can improve the PVA with the help of Yamāri's text. Actually, we did not expect this to happen until a later stage of the project, for the beginning of the PVA has been re-edited by Ono 2000, and his edition is indeed excellent. However, already in the comments on the second *maṅgala* verse, we were able to obtain two important new variants, or in fact three. The verse in Ono's edition reads:

*prāyaḥ prastutavastuvistarabhṛto nekṣyanta evoccakair va-  
ktāraḥ paramārthasaṃgrahadhiyā vyādhūtaphalgukramāḥ /  
tenāsmiṇ viralakramavyapagamād atyantaśuddhāṃ dhiyaṃ  
dhanyānāṃ vidadhātum uddhatadhiyāṃ dhīḥ saṃvide dhī-  
yate //2//*

[Commentators] who speak clearly (*uccakais*), who deal with the topic in context extensively [and] who have shaken off the worthless procedures by means of cognition/understanding that grasps absolute reality/that holds together the final [true] meaning [of the PV], are indeed not usually seen. Therefore, due to the disappearance of the procedures without essence,<sup>7</sup> a cognition will be placed (i.e., given, imparted)<sup>8</sup> here [in the PV] in order to bestow the highly purified cognition/understanding to the fortunate ones [and] for the sake of correct understanding (*saṃvid*) for those with elevated cognition.

One notices immediately the unusual form *vidadhātum*. The infinitive should not be formed from the reduplicated present stem, but from the root. And Ono notes (2000: 1, n. 7): “*vidadhātum* ist ungewöhnliche Infinitiv-Bildung vom Präsensstamm (*metri causa?*). Vgl. Edgerton 1953: 216: *śraddhadhātum*.” (Edgerton actually: *śraddadhātum*)

<sup>7</sup> Yamāri, however, seems to take this compound differently, cf. below.

<sup>8</sup> For this interpretation (just as for the verse in general), we follow Yamāri, who explains that the verb *dhīyate* is used here in the meaning of *ādhyate*, for the simplex too can be used in this sense. To substantiate this claim he quotes *Kirātārjunīya* 3.7cd (cf. ms. 12a3–4).

What Ono seems to suggest is that Prajñākaragupta uses a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit form here. But this is unlikely. Buddhist authors in the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries use classical Sanskrit. And I do not know of any other case in the PVA where Prajñākaragupta uses a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit form. Yamāri however provides us with a new variant (folio 13b4): *pravidhātum*, which eliminates the need of a BHS assumption. Therefore, the verse should probably be emended.

Further, the verse in Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s and Ono’s editions reads: *viralakramavyapagamād*. However, *virala* (MW: “having interstices, separated by intervals (whether of space or time), not thick or compact, loose, thin, sparse, wide apart, rare, scarcely found, unfrequent, scanty, few”) does not seem to make sense. A variant to this reading can be found in folio 12b7:

*tatraītat syāt – nanu vyākhyānāntarāṇi vārttike santy eva, tat kasmād idam ārabhyate? ity āha – virasasya kramah sthitiḥ, tadvyapagamāt.*

One could object: There are already other commentaries on the *Pramāṇavārttika*. Therefore, why is this [PVA] undertaken? To answer this he says: Because the disappearance of the method, i.e., the establishment/firm standing, of the essenceless [is effected by this commentary].

The reading *virasa* is confirmed by the Tibetan translation of the PVA: *snying po ma yin pa*.<sup>9</sup> Further the analysis of the compound as *virasasya kramah* indicates that Yamāri understood it not as “essenceless method,” but as “the method of the essenceless [people/commentators].”<sup>10</sup> Highly interesting is also Yamāri’s report of Jayanta’s reading of this verse.<sup>11</sup> Obviously the final verb *dhīyate* was felt to be a bit problematic. Yamāri himself argues that it has to be un-

<sup>9</sup> PVA<sub>T</sub> 1a3.

<sup>10</sup> This interpretation is tentative. Birgit Kellner has kindly suggested: “The method, i.e. establishment, of what is without essence [i.e. ultimate truth].”

<sup>11</sup> We thank Karin Preisendanz for reading with us this difficult passage.

derstood as *ādhiyate*, and that the simplex can have the same meaning as the verb with the *upasarga*. Interestingly he quotes Bhāraṇi to substantiate this usage. Jayanta, however, has a completely different reading and a most ingenious one. He reads *saṃvidedhiyate* together. That is, does not take *saṃvide* as the dative of *saṃvid*, but reads *dedhiyate* as the intensive form of *dhā* with *saṃ* and *vi* as two *upasargas*.

In addition, one should also mention the different interpretation of the syntax. According to Jayanta, *dhanyānām* and *uddhatadhiyām* have the same referent, namely the intended audience of the PVA. According to Yamāri, however, they have different referents and the subject of the *dhanyānām* are the Buddhas.

The above will suffice, we hope, to demonstrate that Yamāri is an important commentator and that the edition of his work will bring about important new insights to our understanding of the PVA, of Buddhist philosophy in its very last phase in South Asia in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, as well as of Buddhist philosophy of religion in general. Since this paper was presented in the panel of “Sanskrit Manuscripts and Tibet” held at the 6<sup>th</sup> Beijing International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, we were able to complete a preliminary Sanskrit edition of the first half of the manuscript and we hope to publish the entire edition before long.

We conclude this short presentation by a list of some preliminary results of the project:

## Conference presentations and papers

1. Eli Franco, Yamāri on *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*'s maṅgala
2. Paper presented at the conference *Around Abhinavagupta II*. Cornell University, October 25–26, 2016.
2. Li Xuezhong and Chu Junjie, A Diplomatic Edition of the Introductory Section of Yamāri's *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā Supariśuddhā*, Folios 3a1–10a1. *China Tibetology* 1 (2016) 3–20.

3. Hiroko Matsuoka, A Study of the Opening Section of Yamāri's *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāranibandha* (P phe 208a7–210b8; D phe 174b1–176a6). [In Japanese]. *South Asian Classical Studies* 11 (2016) 75–126.
4. Li Xuezhu, Chu Junjie, and Eli Franco, A Diplomatic Edition of the Introductory Section of Yamāri's *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā Supariśuddhā*, Folios 10a1–14b2. *China Tibetology* 1 (2017) 78–87.
5. Hiroko Matsuoka, Vinītadeva, Dharmottara, Kamalaśīla and Yamāri on the Initial Statement (*ādivākya*) of a *sāstra*. Paper presented at the 18<sup>th</sup> IABS Congress, University of Toronto, August 20–25, 2017.
6. Li Xuezhu, Chu Junjie, and Eli Franco, A Diplomatic Edition of the Introductory Section of Yamāri's *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā Supariśuddhā*, Folios 14b2–20a5. *China Tibetology* 1 (2018) 40–52.
7. Eli Franco, Yamāri and the Order of Chapters in the *Pramāṇavārttika*. In: *L'espace du sens: Approches de la philologie indienne. The Space of Meaning: Approaches to Indian Philology*. Ed. by Silvia D'Intino and Sheldon Pollock. With the coll. of Michaël Meyer. Publications de l'Institut de civilisation indienne 84. Paris: Collège de France and Diffusion De Boccard 2018: 247–269.
8. Eli Franco, Yamāri and the Order of Chapters in the *Pramāṇavārttika*. In: *Proceedings of the International Conference "Issues in Indian Philology: Traditions, Editions, Translations/Transfers," Collège de France, December 5–7, 2016*. In print.
9. Eli Franco and Karin Preisendanz, On the Unreliability of Tibetan Translations for the Reconstruction of Sanskrit Works. In: *Festschrift in Honor of Prof. George Cardona*. Forthcoming.
10. Eli Franco, *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* 2.1. In: *R. Torella Felicitation Volume*. Forthcoming.

## Workshops

1. 14–18 December 2015, The 1<sup>st</sup> International Workshop on Prajñākaragupta and Yamāri. Institut für Indologie und Zentralasienwissenschaften, Leipzig.
2. 25–26 May 2016, Workshop with Shrikant Bahulkar. Institut für Indologie und Zentralasienwissenschaften, Leipzig.
3. 28 June–02 July 2019, The 2<sup>nd</sup> International Workshop on Prajñākaragupta and Yamāri. Institut für Indologie und Zentralasienwissenschaften, Leipzig.

## Bibliography and abbreviations

CTRC	China Tibetology Research Center.
Edgerton 1953	Franklin Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> . Vol. 2: <i>Dictionary</i> . New Haven 1953.
Ono 2000	Motoi Ono, <i>Prajñākaraguptas Erklärung der Definition gültiger Erkenntnis: Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra zu Pramāṇavārttika II 1 – 7</i> . Wien 2000.
PVA	<i>Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra</i> .
PVA <sub>T</sub>	Prajñākaragupta's <i>Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra</i> (Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rgyan). sDe-dge 4221, vol. 5–6, Tshad ma, Te 1b1–308a7, The 1b1–282a7.
PVATS <sub>T</sub>	Yamāri's <i>Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā Supariśuddhā</i> (Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rgyan gyi 'grel bshad shin tu yongs su dag pa). sDe dge 4226 phe 174b1–tse 251a7; Peking 5723 phe 208a7–tse 321a5.
Sāṅkrtyāyana 1953	Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, <i>Pramāṇavārttikabhāṣyam Or Vārtikālaṅkāraḥ of Prajñākaragupta</i> . Patna 1953.
Skilling 2003–2004	Peter Skilling, <i>Traces of the Dharma: Preliminary reports on some ye dhammā and ye dharmā inscriptions from Mainland South-East Asia</i> . <i>BEFEO</i> 90–91 (2003–2004) 273–287.

- Steinkellner 2004 Ernst Steinkellner, *A Tale of Leaves: On Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet, their Past and their Future*. 2003 Gonda Lecture. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences 2004.
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- Steinkellner 2018 Ernst Steinkellner, *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya, Chapters 1 and 2*. Critically Edited 2007 (STTAR 2): Further and Last Corrigenda and Addenda. 2018 (unpublished).
- Steinkellner and Much 1995 Ernst Steinkellner und Michael Torsten Much, *Texte der erkenntnistheoretischen Schule des Buddhismus. Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur II*. Göttingen 1995.
- Tomabechei 2009 Toru Tomabechei, *The Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts Critically Edited*. STTAR 5. Beijing/Vienna 2009.





## A survey of passages from rare Buddhist works found in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*\*

Kazuo Kano, Xuezhu Li

Among some 21 works attributed to Abhayākaragupta (ca. 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century), one of the last great *paṇḍitas* of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism, 19 are allocated to the Tantra section, one to the Prajñāpāramitā section, and two to the Madhyamaka section.<sup>1</sup> Of these, the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, in the Madhyamaka section, is one of the most comprehensive and systematic works among his non-Tantric works, consisting of about 220 folia in the Derge Tanjur (D 3903, *mdo 'grel*, A 73b1–293a7). One might call the work Abhayākaragupta's encyclopedic overview of the entire system of non-Tantric Buddhist doctrines and practices.

Isoda has studied the *Munimatālaṃkāra* intensively on the basis of the Tibetan text and has published very valuable editions of parts of that text. However, the content of the work has not yet been entirely clarified, and there is still room, and indeed a need, for further study. We have published critical editions of portions

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<sup>1</sup> This is according to the Derge Tanjur. For lists of Abhayākaragupta's works, see Isoda 1984: 1–2, Bühnemann 1992: 123–125, Mori 2009: 3–6 (cf. Sinclair 2011: 97), Chog Dorje 2009: xxxix, etc. For a newly available Sanskrit text of Abhayākaragupta's *Śrīsaṃvarābhisamayopāyikā*, see Szántó 2016.

of the Sanskrit text, mainly from Chapter 1 (see Appendix A). In the present paper, we shall briefly introduce basic textual features of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, study mutual cross-references in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* and the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, and survey passages from rare Buddhist works found in this text.<sup>2</sup>

### The Sanskrit manuscript<sup>3</sup>

The palm-leaf manuscript of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* was first reported in 1986 by Luo Zhao in the Sanskrit manuscript collection of the Potala Palace, but it has not been investigated until recently. It is complete, consisting of 202 folia. According to Luo Zhao's report, it is 62 x 5.8 cm in size. Each folio has two string holes. Each *recto* and *verso* usually has 4 or 5 lines, and each line contains approximately 120 *akṣaras*. The script used in the manuscript is of three kinds: fol. 1v is written in Lañca, fols. 2–56 are Proto Bengali, and fols. 57–202 are Old Nepali. The cover folio (1r) bears Tibetan text in *dbu med* script, which reads (words in square brackets indicate unclear letters):

*thub pa dgongs pa brgyan bzhugs so // jo bo abhayākaras  
mdzad pa'i pha rol du phyin [pa] mngon rtogs rgyan gyi don  
'grel [to] //*

The manuscript also contains Tibetan annotations, mostly consisting of the titles of works quoted. This recalls similar kinds of interlinear annotations found in the Tibetan translation of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (in the Peking, Narthang, and Ganden Tanjurs; not seen in other Tanjurs).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, see Li 2012 and 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Li 2012 and 2013.

<sup>4</sup> The annotations might have been inserted by dPang Lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa, a reviser of the Tibetan translation of this work. See Li and Kano 2014a: 11.

## Colophons of the Sanskrit manuscript

The Sanskrit manuscript has following colophons (words in round brackets indicate words added by the present authors as an emendation):

[Chapter colophons]

Chap. 1, fol. 70r4:

*paṇḍitābhayākaraguptakṛtamunimatālaṅkāre bodhicittālokaḥ  
prathamah paricchedaḥ /*

Chap. 2, fol. 84r4–5:

*paṇḍitābhayākaraguptaviracite munimatālaṅkāre bodhicitta-  
bhāvanāloko dvitīyāḥ paricchedaḥ /*

Chap. 3, fol. 137v2:

*paṇḍitābhayākaraguptakṛte munimatālaṅkāre 'ṣṭābhisama-  
yālokaś tritīya(h) paricchedaḥ /*

Chap. 4, fol. 201r4–v1:

*paṇḍitābhayākaraguptakṛte munimatālaṅkāre guṇālokaḥ ca-  
turthaḥ paricchedaḥ /*

[Final colophon] fols. 201v3–202r1:

*samāpto 'yaṃ munimatālaṅkāraḥ // // kṛti(r) mahāpaṇḍitābha-  
yākaraguptapā<sub>(201v4)</sub> dānām iti // //*

*sūrir vvikramaśīlasyābhayo marmmaspṛśaṃ girāṃ /  
rājye śrīrāmapālasya triṅśadabde 'karod imām //*

*sārdhapañcasahasrīyaṃ paṇḍitaiḥ piṇḍitā pramā /  
prakāṇḍamaṇḍanāyāsyaprameva hṛdi vāstavī // 5500 //*

*deyadharmmo 'yam pravaramahāyānāyāyino bhikṣupaṇḍita-  
śrī[cchākālvacchāvasteyā]<sup>5</sup> (/) [yad atra puṇyaṃ] tat bhavatu  
ācāryopādhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvvaṃgamakṛtvā sakalasaṭva-  
bandhubāndhavānām anuttarajñānaphalaprāptaya iti // //*

<sup>5</sup> This part is unclear in the manuscript. According to Ye 2009: 324, *cchākā-lvācchāva* (?) may be a transcription of Chag Lo tsā ba (Chos rje dpal).

The phrase *rājye śrīrāmapālasya triṅśadabde* corresponds to ca. A.D. 1113. This colophon, which was already available in Tibetan translation, has been studied by Bühnemann (1992: 122) and Erb (1997: 27), both of whom, following Ray's dating of Rāmapāla, have assigned Abhayākaragupta's datable works to the following years:

<i>Abhayapaddhati</i> :	the 25 <sup>th</sup> year of Rāmapāla	= ca. A.D. 1108
<i>Munimatālaṃkāra</i> :	the 30 <sup>th</sup> year of Rāmapāla	= ca. A.D. 1113
<i>Āmnāyamañjarī</i> :	the 37 <sup>th</sup> year of Rāmapāla	= ca. A.D. 1120

The colophon of the *Abhayapaddhati* is now available in Sanskrit (Luo 2010: 52):

*sūrir vikramaśīlasyābhayo marmaspr̥ṣam girām /  
rājyābde rāmapālasya pañcaviṃśe 'karod imām //*

The colophon of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* (D 1198, 316a4–5) reads:

*rnam gnon tshul mkhas 'jigs med kyis // gnad la reg pa'i tshig  
'di ni //  
dga' ba skyong gi rgyal srid lo // sum cu rtsa bdun pa la byas //*

The Sanskrit text of chapters 1–17 of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* is now available in a Sanskrit-Tibetan bilingual manuscript (see Tomabechi 2017), while that of chapters 18–40 is yet to surface. There is still another Sanskrit manuscript of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, which is currently not accessible (see Tomabechi and Kano 2008: 22).

### **Mutual cross-references between the *Munimatālaṃkāra* and the *Āmnāyamañjarī***

Abhayākaragupta himself mentions the *Munimatālaṃkāra* by title in his other works: 11 times in the *Āmnāyamañjarī* and once in the *Marmakaumudī* (see Appendix B). In turn, the *Munimatālaṃkāra* refers to the *Āmnāyamañjarī* (see fig. 1), the *Abhayapaddhati*, each twice, and the *Madhyamakamañjarī* (D 145v6) once.<sup>6</sup> As for the

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Tomabechi and Kano 2008: 23, nn. 8 and 9. As for the *Madhyamakamañjarī*, see Luo 2018. We may probably find further parallel passages of

above-mentioned three dated works of Abhayākaragupta, i.e., *Abhayapaddhati*, *Munimatālaṃkāra*, and *Āmnāyamañjarī*, they mutually refer to each other in the following manner (the arrows signs in fig. 1 indicate cross-references):

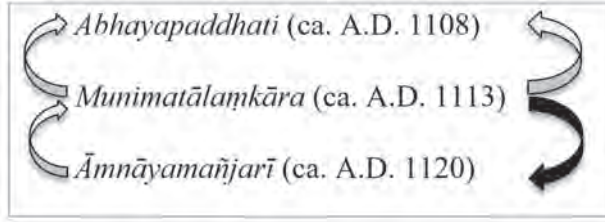


Fig. 1: Cross-references between the *Munimatālaṃkāra* and the *Āmnāyamañjarī*.

The references to the *Āmnāyamañjarī* in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* are remarkable (see Tomabechi and Kano 2008: 23). Their presence indicates that the title *Āmnāyamañjarī* was already known to Abhayākaragupta around A.D. 1113, seven years before the completion of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*. This also implies that the text portions of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* mentioned in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* had already taken shape (or were in the planning stages) at least by ca. A.D. 1113. The *Munimatālaṃkāra* refers to the *Āmnāyamañjarī* in the following two passages:

- (1) *Munimata*, Skt. fol. 13v2–3 (≈ Tib. D 89r4): *niruttarasya tu vajrasatvasamvarasya samādānavidhir ācāra*<sub>[13v3]</sub> *ś cāsmābhir āmnāyamañjaryām abhayapaddhatyāñ ca vyaktam uktau /*
- (2) *Munimata*, Skt. fol. 131v4 (≈ Tib. D 218v7–219r1): *... ityādinā pañcaśo pi kāya uktaḥ / sa tadadhimuktikair asmatkṛtaṭīkāyām āmnāyamañjaryām abhayapaddhatyāñ ca sphuṭam vijñātavya ity alam atrānārabdhaprabandhanirbbandhena /*

Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* in the *Madhyamakamañjarī*. This is to be surmised from the fact that the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (Skt. fol. 65v3) refers to the *Madhyamakamañjarī* regarding details of *ekānekasvabhāvarahitavā* related to the *Madhyamakāloka*. See below, (a1).

Passage (1) probably refers to *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Chapter 5 ad verse 51–63 (Kalpa 2-1), Skt. fol. 210v5–214r3, Tib. D 72r5–73r7, and passage (2) to several passages including *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Chapter 3 ad verse 2b *sadā sthitaḥ* (Kalpa 1-3), Skt. fol. 105r5–107r5, Tib. D 36v4–37v1, etc.<sup>7</sup>

### **A survey of passages from rare works preserved in the *Munimatālaṃkāra***

The *Munimatālaṃkāra* is a rich source of secondary references to Buddhist scriptures, some of which are otherwise only preserved in the form of a Tibetan translation, while others are otherwise not preserved at all. Passages from other scriptures are found mainly in two forms in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*: (a) passages borrowed from other scriptures and (b) passages cited from other scriptures. Let us survey the passages in each of these two categories separately.

#### **(a) Selected passages borrowed from rare works**

One of the very unique characteristics of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* is the style of writing. Abhayākaragupta frequently selects passages from works of other authors and embeds them in his own text without mentioning the titles or authors of these sources. In such cases, Abhayākaragupta usually reproduces the original text almost verbatim, not drastically changing the original wording or word order, and only exceptionally omitting words. Thanks to this mosaic-like characteristic of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, we can recover a number of passages from rare Buddhist works in the original language when those Sanskrit texts have yet to be found. For instance, we have recov-

<sup>7</sup> This (2) passage is mentioned by Toru Tomabechi in his handout “アバヤーカラグプタの仏身論” (“On Abhayākaragupta’s Buddha-body doctrine”) presented on 9 March, 2019 in Tokyo. According to Tomabechi’s study, there are several passages in the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, the *Abhayapaddhati*, and other works of Abhayākaragupta which discuss the Buddha-body. For instance, Skt. fol. 235r1–236r5 is another possible target of this reference of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*. Locating all cross-references in Abhayākaragupta’s works is yet to be done.

ered passages of Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* and Candrakīrti's *Pañcaskandhaka*, both of which are so far available only in the form of Tibetan translations (Li and Kano 2014a and 2015).

### (a1) Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*

As already pointed out by Isoda (1993), Abhayākaragupta utilizes a number of passages of the *Madhyamakāloka* in the *satyadvaya* section and the *ekayāna* section of *Munimatālamkāra* Chapter 1. From these passages we can recover the original Sanskrit of long passages in the *Madhyamakāloka*.

	<i>Munimata</i>	<i>Madhyamakāloka</i>	Skt. ed.
<i>satyadvaya</i> section	Skt. 58v2–67v2	≈ Tib. D 147v3ff. <sup>8</sup>	Li and Kano 2017, Kano and Li 2017, 2018, forthcoming-a
<i>ekayāna</i> section	Skt. 67v2–70r3	≈ Tib. D 238r1–244r7	Li and Kano 2014a

Table 1: Long passages of the *Madhyamakāloka* quoted in the *Munimatālamkāra*.

Detailed synopses of the two sections are provided by Li and Kano 2014a: 8–10, Kano 2016: 112–113 (the *ekayāna* section), Li and Kano 2017, Kano and Li 2017, 2018, forthcoming-a (the *satyadvaya* section). Isoda (1993) has surveyed the entire *satyadvaya* section, while Kapstein (2001) has provided an annotated English translation of the *satyadvaya* section on the basis of the Tibetan translation.

### (a2) Candrakīrti's *Pañcaskandhaka*

In Li and Kano (2015), we presented a critical edition of the portion of *Munimatālamkāra* Chapter 1 in which Abhayākaragupta estab-

<sup>8</sup> *Madhyamakāloka*, D 147v3–4, 149r1, 5, 149v7–150r5, 150v1, 5–6, 157r2–4, 158v4–159v1, 161r1–v5, 162v7–163r2, 165r5–v4, 168v2–169r1, 169r3–v4, 170r5–v2, 179r6–v6, 180r3–7, 222v1–223r5, 223v1–3, 225v6–226r3, 228r7–v4, 229r1–v3, 229v6–231r1, 231v3–4, 231v7–232r2, 232v1–2, 232v6–233r2, 233r5–v1, 234v2–7, 235r2–7, 235v2–236r1, 238r7–238v2, 239v3–240v1, 241v1–3, 242v4–243r4, 243v2–244r4. See Isoda 1993.

lishes the system that explains all phenomena in terms of *skandhas*, *dhātus*, and *āyatanas*. In this part, he recycles passages from Candrakīrti's *Pañcaskandhaka* (abbr. PSk),<sup>9</sup> whose Sanskrit original still awaits rediscovery. Therefore, parts of the Sanskrit original of the *Pañcaskandhaka* can be recovered from the Sanskrit text of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*.<sup>10</sup>

**Munimata**

Skt. 48r4–58v1

**Candrakīrti's Pañcaskandhaka**

≈ Tib. D 238v2–266v5

[Synopsis of all *dharmas* section in Chapter 1, Ms. 48r4–58v1, Tib. D 127r1–138r1]

Introduction (Ms. 48r4, Tib. 127r1)

The Five *Skandhas* (Ms. 48r4, Tib. 127r1, PSk 239v2)

*Rūpaskandha* (Ms. 48r4–v3, Tib. 127r1, PSk 239v6–240r3)

*Vedanāskandha* (Ms. 49v3–50r1, Tib. 128v3, PSk 242v3)

*Samjñāskandha* (Ms. 50r3, Tib. 129r3, PSk 244v3–245r3)

*Samskāraskandha* (Ms. 50v2–57r3, Tib. 129v1–136v1, PSk 245r3–265v7)

*Vijñānaskandha* (Ms. 57r3–v1, Tib. 136v1–5, PSk 265v7–266r5, 249v7)

Conclusion of the Five *Skandhas* (Ms. 57v1, Tib. 136v5–7, PSk –)

12 *Āyatanas* (Ms. 57v1–58r2, Tib. 136v7–137r1, PSk 265r7–v4)

18 *Dhātus* (Ms. 58r2–5, Tib. 137v1–7, PSk 266v4–5)

Conclusion (Ms. 58r5, Tib. 137v7, PSk –)

**(b) Selected quotations from rare works**

The *Munimatālaṃkāra* not only reuses passages of rare works, but also directly quotes a rich number of passages from works whose Sanskrit originals are otherwise not found. Many works quoted in Chapters 1 to 3 have been identified by Isoda, and we shall, on the basis of Isoda's studies, note such quotations.

<sup>9</sup> This text is sometimes also called *Madhyamakapañcaskandhaka*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Yokoyama 2014 and Miyazaki et al. 2017.



## Selected Madhyamaka works

### (b1) *Bodhicittavivarāṇa*

The *Bodhicittavivarāṇa* attributed to Nāgārjuna consists of 112 verses. A complete text of the *Bodhicittavivarāṇa* is preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations. Lindtner (1982) found 15 verses in Sanskrit (verses 12, 13a, 20, 25, 27, 45, 46, 52ab, 57, 98, 99, 105, 106, 108, 109). Following Isoda's suggestions (see Isoda 1984, etc.), we can now confidently confirm further verses in Sanskrit (verses 2, 26, 28–29ab, 47–51, 60–63, 65, 66–71, 85–90, 93, 107). The Sanskrit text of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* can be used to restore two more verses (verses 91, 92; for verses found in the *Munimatālaṅkāra* and the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, see table 2).<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, we now have in total 44 verses of this work in Sanskrit, which is about one third of the entire text. Currently available Sanskrit verses are: 2, [12, 13a, 20, 25], 26, [27], 28, 29ab, [45, 46], 47–51, [52ab, 57], 60–63, 65, 66–71, 85–93, [98, 99, 105, 106, 108, 109] (the earlier available verses are enclosed in square brackets). For a critical edition and annotated translation of all these Sanskrit verses, see Kano and Li forthcoming-b.

Verse Nos.	<i>Āmnāyamañjarī</i> Skt. Ms. fols.	<i>Munimatālaṅkāra</i> Skt. Ms. fols.
2	–	72v1–2
25–29a	–	77v2–3
47–51	217v5–218r1 (only verse 51)	77r4–5
60–63, 65	–	40r1–2
66–71	216r1–3 (only verses 67–68)	77v5–78r1
85–93	50v5–51v1 (only verses 88–93)	78r2–3 (omitting verses 91–92)
105–106	–	78r3–4
108–109	216v1–3 (only verse 108)	79r4

Table 2: Available Sanskrit verses of the *Bodhicittavivarāṇa*.

<sup>11</sup> For the *Bodhicittavivarāṇa* verses quoted in the *Āmnāyamañjarī* Sanskrit text, see Tomabechei 2017 and Kano and Li 2017 (Appendix).

(b2) *Madhyamakāvātāra*

The *Munimatālaṃkāra* (fol. 2r2–3) quotes verse 2bc of Chapter 1 of the *Madhyamakāvātāra*, which is missing in the Sanskrit manuscript (*codex unicus*) of the latter; that is, the half verse is otherwise currently unattested:

*tad uktaṃ — kṛpaiva bījaṃ jalavac ca vṛddhaye / ciropabhogasthitaye ca pākavad iti.*<sup>12</sup>

We also find many other passages from the *Madhyamakāvātāra* and Candrakīrti's auto-commentary (*bhāṣya*) in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*.

(b3) *Rājaratnāvalī*

In the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Abhayākaragupta quotes *Ratnāvalī* 3.58 and 1.97, the Sanskrit original of which has been unavailable.<sup>13</sup> The two verses cited in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* run as follows:

*Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. fol. 19r3:

*yathoktaṃ rājaratnāvalyāṃ /  
padasaptakakāle 'pi sarvasvatyāgacetasah /  
kham ivācintyapuṇyogho bodhisatvasya jāyata iti /*  
(quote from *Ratnāvalī* 3.58)

*Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. fol. 65v4–5:

*ta<sub>[65v5]</sub> thā ca rājaratnāvalī /  
vijñānāgner jagaddharmāḥ sarvva evendhanaṃ matāḥ /  
tān yathāvatpravicayajvālair dagdhvopaśamyatīti /*  
(quote from *Ratnāvalī* 1.97)

The title *Rājaratnāvalī* mentioned by Abhayākaragupta is also attested in the colophon of the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Ratnāvalī*: *rājaratnāvalyāṃ bodhisambhārasamāso nāma trītyaparicchedaḥ* and *rājaratnāvalyāṃ rājavṛttopadeśo nāma caturthaḥ paricchedaḥ* (Phutshang 2016: 27).

<sup>12</sup> Kano and Li 2012: 51.

<sup>13</sup> The latter verse was recently made available in Phutshang 2016, which provides the Sanskrit text of *Ratnāvalī* 1.77–100 on the basis of a newly available complete Sanskrit manuscript of the *Ratnāvalī*.

On the other hand, we also find hitherto available Sanskrit verses in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* but with variant readings; for instance, *Ratnāvalī* 4.78 and 4.68 are quoted in fol. 150v1, both displaying variations (bold-faced):

*karuṇāmūlakāḥ sarvve niṣyandā jñānanirmmalāḥ /*  
*uktā yatra mahāyāne<sup>14</sup> kas tan nindet sacetanaḥ //*  
(*Munimatālaṃkāra*)

*karuṇāpūrvakāḥ sarve niṣyandā jñānanirmalāḥ /*  
*uktā yatra mahāyāne kas tan nindet sacetanaḥ //*  
(*Ratnāvalī* 4.78, ed. Hahn 1982)

*guṇadoṣānabhijño vā guṇavān doṣato gataḥ /*  
*atha vā sa guṇadveṣī mahāyānasya nindakaḥ //*  
(*Munimatālaṃkāra*)

*guṇadoṣānabhijño vā doṣasamjñī guṇeṣu vā /*  
*athavāpi guṇadveṣī mahāyānasya nindakaḥ //*  
(*Ratnāvalī* 4.68, ed. Hahn 1982)

#### (b4) *Rājaratnāvalīvivṛti*

Abhayākaragupta quotes a passage from a commentary on the *Ratnāvalī*:

*Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. 131r4–v1, Tib. D 218v2:

*rājaratnāvalīvivṛtau ca / dharmmataiva kāyo dharmakāyaḥ sa*  
*ca sarvva dharmmaśarīratayā sarvvasya jagatas tathatā<sub>[131v1]</sub>-*  
*svabhāvānatikramāl laukikalokottarasarvva guṇāśrayatayā*  
*ca kāyaḥ / āśrayabhāvo pi tatpraveśaprāptyā draṣṭavya iti*  
*uktaṃ /*

This passage, discussing the *dharmakāya*, is probably a gloss on *Ratnāvalī* 3.10–13, which elucidates the *rūpakāya* and the *dharmakāya*. Ajitamitra's *Ratnāvalīṭīkā* (D 4159, 156r6–7) does not have the corresponding passage, so the author of the *Rājaratnāvalīvivṛti* remains yet to be identified. An almost identical title and quotation is found

<sup>14</sup> *mahāyāne*] em., *mahāne* Ms.

in Daśabalaśrīmitra's *Samskṛtāsamskṛtaviniścaya*, which shares a number of passages and quotations with the *Munimatālaṃkāra*:

*Samskṛtāsamskṛtaviniścaya*, D 3897, 290r4–5:

*rgyal po la gdams pa rin po che phreng ba'i rnam 'grel las /  
chos nyid kyi sku ni chos sku'o // de ni <sup>(D290r5)</sup> chos thams cad  
kyi lus nyid yin pas 'gro ba thams cad kyi de bzhin nyid rang  
bzhin las ma 'das pa'i phyir dang / 'jig rten dang 'jig rten las  
'das pa'i yon tan thams cad kyi rten yin pa nyid kyi sku'o // rten  
gyi ngo bo yang yon tan thams cad 'jug par blta bar bya'o zhes  
gsungs so //*

(b5) *Triśaraṇasaptati*

A complete text of Candrakīrti's *Triśaraṇasaptati* (in total 68 verses) is preserved only in Tibetan translation. The work is quoted twice in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, with 11 and a half verses being recovered. Sorensen (1986) earlier found six other verses in Sanskrit, so that we have 17 and a half verses of the text in Sanskrit in total, constituting 38% of the entire text. A critical edition of these Sanskrit verses was published in Li and Kano 2014b. Abhayākara Gupta considers this Candrakīrti to be a follower of Nāgārjuna, stating *āryanāgārjunapādāmatānusāricandrakīrttinā ca triśaraṇasaptatau* (“and [it is taught] in the *Triśaraṇasaptati* by Candrakīrti, who follows Ārya Nāgārjuna's thought”).<sup>15</sup>

(b6) *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* (or *Yuktiṣaṣṭi*)

A complete text of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* is preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations. In total 22 and a half verses are found in the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, among which 17 verses were hitherto unavailable in Sanskrit. When we collate all verses quoted in this text and elsewhere, 29 and a half verses are now available in Sanskrit. This is nearly half of the entire text. Some 26 verses are yet to be found in Sanskrit. Ye and Li 2014 collated all verses available in Sanskrit.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Seyfort Rugg (1981: 105), who suggested that this Candrakīrti was a follower of the tantric Nāgārjuna.

As discussed in Kano 2017: 204, the title *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* is attested in the Sanskrit text of Candrakīrti's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* (Ye 2013: 234: *jīnasya yo yuktipathānuyāyinīn nirākṛtāntadvayayuktiṣaṣṭikāṃ / cakāra tasya praṇipatyā sāmāyā vibhajyate madhyamakānusārataḥ*) and is also supported by Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakaśāstrastuti* verse 10 (*yuktyākhyāṃ ṣaṣṭikāṃ*), Ratnākaraśānti's *Muktāvalī* (on 1.1.11: *iti yuktiṣaṣṭikā*), and the \**Lakṣaṇaṣṭikā* (fol. 18v7: *yuktiṣaṣṭika* [sic]), etc.<sup>16</sup>

Although we can consider *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* as likely the original title of this work, in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (Skt. Ms. 37r4, etc.) Abhayākaragupta frequently refers to it as *Yuktiṣaṣṭi*, which thus may stand as an alternative title (possibly influenced by the ending *saptati* of Nāgārjuna's *Śūnyatāsaptati*).<sup>17</sup>

### Selected Yogācāra works

#### (b7) *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikā*

A complete text of Candragomin's *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikā* is available in the form of a Tibetan translation. Abhayākaragupta quotes *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikā* verses 4–7, 11c, and 20cd in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (Skt. Ms. fols. 9v4, 10v4–11r1, 26r4–v1), and an incomplete Sanskrit manuscript of Śāntarakṣita's *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikāvṛtti* includes verses 1–9a. Accordingly, verses 1–9a, 11c, and 20cd are so far available in Sanskrit, and a critical edition of them was provided together with a Japanese translation in Kano, Li and Ye 2015.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Kano 2017: 204.

<sup>17</sup> The title *Yuktiṣaṣṭiḥ* is also found in another part of the \**Lakṣaṇaṣṭikā*. See Yonezawa 2010: 153.

<sup>18</sup> According to Harunaga Isaacson (in a personal communication, 25 October 2015), verse 11c is also quoted in Vilāsavajra's *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*. See e.g. CUL Add 1708.1, fol. 67v2. Verse 20cd is quoted also in Abhayākaragupta's *Vajrāvalī* (see Mori 2009: 373), as well as in the section of the *Kriyāsamuccaya* section which copied that part of the *Vajrāvalī*.

(b8) *Daśabhūmika* commentary of Vasubandhu

Abhayākara Gupta quotes passages from Vasubandhu's *Daśabhūmika* commentary:

*Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. fol. 94r3–4:

*tathācāryavasubandhunā daśabhūmikavivṛtau saptamyāṃ  
bhūmāv uktaṃ /* <sup>[91r4]</sup>

(A) *tatra śrāvakaṃpratyekabuddhabhūmisamatikramo dvā-  
bhyāṃ kāraṇābhyāṃ paridīpitaḥ / upāyaprajñābhāvanābale-  
na (karuṇābalena)*<sup>19</sup> *ceti /*

(B) *ninirmittavihārayogaparyantaḥgamanārthena laukika-  
hīnalokottaramārggātikramaṇārthena dūraṅgāmeti ca /*

Passage (A) is a quotation from Vasubandhu's *Daśabhūmika* commentary<sup>20</sup> (D 3993, 215r5; Taishō Vol. 26, 177a27–28), and passage (B) is another quotation from the same work (D 3993, 112r5–6; Taishō Vol. 26, 127a24–26), as already reported by Isoda 2000: 197, nn. 37–38:

*Daśabhūmika* commentary, D 3993, 215r5:

*de la nyan thos dang / rang sangs rgyas kyi sa las yang dag  
par 'das pa ni thabs dang shes rab bsgom pa'i stobs dang /  
snying rje'i stobs dang rnam pa gnyis kyis yongs su ston to //*

*Ibid.*, 112r5:

*mtshan ma med pa la gnas par sbyor ba'i mthar phyin par 'gro  
ba'i phyir* <sup>(D112a6)</sup> *dang / 'jig rten pa dang 'jig rten las 'das pa'i  
lam dman pa las shin tu 'da' ba'i phyir ring du song ba'o //*

十地經論, Taishō No. 1522, Vol. 26, 177a27–28: 論曰。過聲聞辟支佛地者有二種相。一修行方便智力, 二大悲力故。127a24–26: 善修無相行功用究竟能過世間二乘出世間道故名遠行地。

<sup>19</sup> The word *karuṇābalena* is an addition by the present editors, on the basis of the Tibetan text of *Munimatālaṃkāra*, as well as the Tibetan version and the Chinese version of the *Daśabhūmivyākhyā*.

<sup>20</sup> The original Sanskrit of the title of this work is not known yet. According to the Tibetan translation it is called *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna*.

Abhayākaragupta again quotes the *Daśabhūmika* commentary, called *Daśabhūmikavivṛti* in the above quotation, but *Daśabhūmakavyākhyā* here:

*Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. fol. 100r3:

*tathānenaiva daśabhūmakavyākhyāyām uktaṃ / tatra sannā-  
haḥ praṇidhānam iti /*

In spite of the difference in title, this passage is traceable to the same *Daśabhūmika* commentary of Vasubandhu:

*Daśabhūmika* commentary, D 3993, 113r1–2:

*de la go cha ni smon lam 'debs* <sub>(D113a2)</sub> *pa'o* //<sup>21</sup>

There are further passages in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, especially in Chapter 4, that make use of Vasubandhu's *Daśabhūmika* commentary. Kano 2019 discusses some of them in detail (from the commentary on the first *bhūmi*) and presents the Sanskrit text of §1–12, 14, and 15 (a Sanskrit edition of §13 is under preparation). The following is an overview of the passages with the corresponding parts of the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the *Daśabhūmika* commentary (below we shall tentatively call it *Daśabhūmikavyākhyā*, abbr. DBhV):

*Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. fol. 145r2–150v4:

- §1: The ineffability of the ten *bhūmis*: MM 145r2–4 ≈ DBhV D 3993, 126a2–5, T vol. 26, 133c.
- §2: The ten stages of a child before birth: MM 145r4–v1 ≈ DBhV D 112b1–4, T 127b. Cf. Isoda 1983.
- §3: A definition of the first *bhūmi*: MM 145v1–2 ≈ DBhV D 112a1, 132a3, T 127b, 135c.
- §4: Nine kinds of *prāmodya*: MM 145v2–3 ≈ DBhV D 132a3–b1, T 135c.
- §5: A *sūtra* passage on the ten *mahāpraṇidhānas* (Ten Great Vows): MM 145v4–147r1 ≈ DBhV D 137b4–143a4, T 138b–140b.

<sup>21</sup> An equivalent sentence is, however, not found in the corresponding part of the Chinese translation (Taishō No. 1522, Vol. 26, 127b15f.: 摩訶薩者。有三種大。一願大。二行大。三利益衆生大。)

- §6: An introduction to the ten *mahāpraṇidhānas*: MM 147r1 ≈ DBhV D 144a2, T 141a.
- §7: The purpose of the ten *mahāpraṇidhānas*: MM 147r–3 ≈ DBhV D 143b5–144a2, T 141a.
- §8: The first *mahāpraṇidhāna*: MM 147r3–v1 ≈ DBhV D 137b7–138a4, T 138b.
- §9: The second *mahāpraṇidhāna*: MM 147v1 ≈ DBhV D 138b3–5, T 138c.
- §10: The sixth *mahāpraṇidhāna*: MM 147v1–3 ≈ DBhV D 141a4–5, T 139c.
- §11: The seventh *mahāpraṇidhāna*: MM 147v3–148r1 ≈ DBhV D 141b1–4, T 139c–140a.
- §12: The eighth *mahāpraṇidhāna*: MM 148r1 ≈ DBhV D 142a1–2, T 140a.
- §13: Further discussion on the Mahāyāna’s authority: MM 148r1–148v4.
- §14: The ninth *mahāpraṇidhāna*: MM 150v2 ≈ DBhV D 142b4–6, T 26, 140b.
- §15: The tenth *mahāpraṇidhāna*: MM 150v2–4 ≈ DBhV D 143a6–b3, T 26, 140c.

In these examples, Abhayākara Gupta extracts appropriate core parts of the original text so as to represent Vasubandhu’s explanations faithfully and in a concise manner.

(b9) *Mahāyānasamgraha*

Asaṅga’s *Mahāyānasamgraha* is one of the most significant of the early Yogācāra treatises. A complete text of the Sanskrit original is yet to become available. A half verse of the *Mahāyānasamgraha* is quoted in the *Munimatālaṅkāra*:

*Munimatālaṅkāra* Skt. Ms. 175v3–4:

*yathoktaṃ* — *satvadoṣān* <sup>(175v4)</sup> *na dr̥śyante bhinnabhājana-*  
*candravad* *ityādi* / (*°doṣān* is an emendation; Ms. has *°doṣām*.)

This is from the first half of *Mahāyānasamgraha* X.28A-7:<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> For the texts and details, see Nagao 1987: 116 and 393 (Taishō Vol.



*sems can nyes pas mi snang ste //*  
*snod chag pa yi zla ba bzhin //*  
 'jig rten kun la nyi bzhin du //  
 de dag chos 'od khyab par mdzad //

衆生罪不現 如月於破器  
 遍滿諸世間 由法光如日

On account of beings' faults, [the Buddhas] are not seen [by them], even as the moon[’s reflection is not seen] in a broken [water] vessel. They pervade the entire world with the light of [their] teachings, like the sun.

The Sanskrit manuscript of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* does not refer to the *Mahāyānaśaṃgraha* by name, and this absence corresponds to a similar absence of the title in the Tibetan translation in the Peking (356r1–2), Narthang, and Ganden Tanjurs.

*ji skad du gsungs pa /*  
*snod chag pa yi zla ba bzhin //*  
*sems can skyon can la snang min //*  
*zhes so //*

However, the Derge and Cone Tanjurs do mention the title, *Theg pa chen po bsdus pa* (D 264r6–7):

*ji skad du theg pa chen po bsdus par gsungs pa /*  
*snod chag pa yi zla ba bzhin //*  
*sems can skyon can la snang min //*  
*zhes so //*

This phrase, *theg pa chen po bsdus par*, is in fact written in an inter-linear gloss (*mchan*) in small script along with an insertion sign in the Peking, Narthang, and Ganden Tanjurs, the Derge and Cone Tanjurs having obviously interpolated it into the main text (see figs. 2 and 3).

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31, 150a3–4). According to Nagao, this relates to *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.16 and 53. See also Kano 2016: 120, n. 99, pointing out the same simile in the *Tathāgatopattinirdeśa*.



Fig. 2: *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Peking 356r1–2 (with an interlinear note).



Fig. 3: *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Derge 264r6 (embedding interlinear notes to the main text).

(b10) *Paddhati* of Vasubandhu

Abhayākaragupta quotes a treatise called *Paddhati*, ascribing its authorship to Vasubandhu:

*Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. fol. 100r1–3:

*ācārya*<sub>[100r2]</sub> *vasubandhunā ca paddhatau* —

*mahāsannāhasannaddha ityādi cittāt prabhṛty āśayavaipulyanirddeśaḥ / mahāyānasamprasthita iti adhimukticyābhūmeḥ prabhṛti yāvat saptamyāṃ sābhogasavikalpacaryāvasthānirddeśaḥ / mahāyānasamārūḍha ity aṣṭamyāḥ prabhṛti paramārthacaryānirddeśaḥ / tatra sannāha*<sub>[100r3]</sub> *mahatvaṃ dvidhā / sarvvasattvārtham udyogād āśayavaipulyataḥ / ekasyām eva pratipadi sarvvapratipadāṃ pūraṇena prapattivai-pulyataś ca /*

*yāvat* —

*ṣaṭpāramitāsannāha ity ucyata*

*ityantam uktam /*

The phrases *mahāsannāhasannaddha*, *mahāyānasamprasthita*, *mahāyānasamārūḍha*, and *ṣaṭpāramitāsannāha* are telltale words in the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Isoda (1999: 87, n. 45) used them to identify the following passage of the *\*Bṛhaṭṭīkā*<sup>23</sup> (which is sometimes ascribed to *\*Daṃṣṭrasena*):

<sup>23</sup> *Aryaśatasāhasrikāpañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-bṛhaṭṭīkā*, 'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'bum pa dang

\**Bṛhatṭīkā*, D 3808, 116v6–117v1: *go cha chen po bgos pa zhes bya ba la sogs pa ste / dang po'i* <sup>(D116r7)</sup> *sems nas bzung nas / bsam pa rgya che ba bstan to // theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa zhes bya ba ni mos pas spyod pa'i sa nas bzung ste sa bdun pa'i bar du rtsol ba dang bcas / rnam par rtog pa dang bcas pa'i spyod pa'i gnas skabs yin par bstan to // theg* <sup>(D116v1)</sup> *pa chen po la yang dag par gnas pa zhes bya ba ni sa brgyad pa yan chad don dam pa'i spyod pa yin par bstan to // de la go cha bgos pa yang rnam pa gnyis su bstan te / sems can thams cad kyi don la brtson pa'i phyir bsam pa rgya che ba dang / sgrub pa gcig gis sgrub pa thams* <sup>(D116v2)</sup> *cad yongs su rdzogs par byed pas sgrub pa rgya che ba'o // ...* <sup>(D117v1)</sup> *pha rol tu phyin pa drug gi go cha zhes bya'o //*

In another place, Abhayākara Gupta states (*Munimatālamkāra*, Skt. Ms. fol. 129v4):

*āryapañcaviṃśikāyām punaḥ*<sup>24</sup> *pañcavidhaḥ paddhatyā vivṛtaḥ*<sup>25</sup> (“Moreover, the *Paddhati* explains that in the *Ārya Pañcaviṃśikā* [the Buddha’s body was taught as being] of five kinds.”)

This passage leads one to believe that the *Paddhati* is a commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* that describes the Buddha’s body as being fivefold. A work titled *Paddhati* being ascribed to Vasubandhu recalls to mind the phrase in the opening verse of Haribhadra’s *Abhisamayālamkāralokā*: *ācāryo vasubandhur arthakathane prāptāspadaḥ paddhatau*.<sup>26</sup>

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*nyi khri lnga stong pa dang khri brgyad stong pa'i rgya cher bshad pa*. D 3808.

<sup>24</sup> For the texts and details, see Nagao 1987: 116 and 393 (Taishō Vol. 31, 150a3–4). According to Nagao, this relates to *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* IX.16 and 53. See also Kano 2016: 120, n. 99, pointing out the same simile in the *Tathāgatopattinirdeśa*.

<sup>25</sup> *Aryaśatasāhasrikāpañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-bṛhatṭīkā*, 'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'bum pa dang *nyi khri lnga stong pa dang khri brgyad stong pa'i rgya cher bshad pa*. D 3808.

<sup>26</sup> *punaḥ*] em., *puna* Ms.

(b11) \**Trikāyāvatāra*

Candragomin's \**Trikāyāvatāra* is known only in the form of quotations in other texts; neither the text itself nor Tibetan or Chinese translations are known to exist. Sakuma (1993) has sought out this text and managed to find six verses of it in the Sanskrit original from the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*. Li 2015 provided 16½ verses of the text (among which 13½ were new) recovered from the Sanskrit text of Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālamkāra*; the verses in question are:

Passage	Skt.	Derge	* <i>Trikāyāvatāra</i>
A	132r3–v5	219v1–4	7 verses
B	182r2	271r1–3	2½ verses
C	184r1–2	273r3	1 verse
D	185r2	274r5–v2	6 verses

Table 3: Verses of the \**Trikāyāvatāra* recovered from the *Munimatālamkāra*.

[Passage A: 132r3–5]

*āryacandragomināpy uktaṃ |*  
*tathatā dharmakāyo (')sya vikalpānām agocaraḥ*  
*svabhāvaḥ sarvvasatvānāñ ca so (')dvayaḥ ||*  
*mūrttayo viśvarūpasya jagatas tatvarūpatām |*  
*yatraikarasatām yānti nimnagā iva sāgare ||*  
*so (')yam evamvidhaḥ kāyo dharmmakāyo (')sya tāyinaḥ |*  
*sarvvākāraviśuddhā<sup>(132r4)</sup>yāḥ sambodher eva gocaraḥ ||*  
*anābhogena lokeṣu sarvvadā tasya śaktayaḥ |*  
*anantam arthañ kurvanti sūryasyeva gabhastayaḥ ||*  
*jātyandhān iva hitvāsmān svapūnyārjitalocanaiḥ |*  
*sa eko yugapat sarvvair āditya iva dṛśyate ||*  
*adyāpi tasya śṛṅvanti dharmmāmrtarasāyanam |*  
*dhanyāḥ puṅyārjitaśrotrā muktivāsmān ba<sup>(132v5)</sup> dhirān iva ||*  
*viśodhayaty asau satvān tribhir yānaiḥ kṣaṇe kṣaṇe ||*  
*anantān dikṣv anantāsu yathābījaṃ yathāśayam ||*

## [Passage B: 182r2]

*tad uktam ācāryacandragominā /  
tathatālambanam kaiścīd ādarśajñānam iṣyate /  
sarvārthākāram aparair iṣṭam sarvvārthagocaram //  
yat punaḥ samatājñānam tathatālambanan tu tat /  
kṛtyānuṣṭhānavijñānam kāryārthākāram iṣyate //  
sarvvārthā(read: sarvathā)sarvvaṃ evāsya vijñānam  
sarvvaśaktimad //*

## [Passage C: 184r1–2]

*yad ācāryacandragomī /  
yad apy ālayavijñānam ādarśajñānatām<sup>(184r2)</sup> mataṃ /  
tasyāpi kecid icchanti dharmmadhātusvabhāvatām //*

## [Passage D: 185r2–3]

*yad uktam ācāryacandragominā /  
kliṣṭam manaḥ parāvṛttam samatājñānam ucyate /  
pratyavekṣaṇakaṃ jñānam manovijñānam eva yat //  
tayoḥ sambhogakāyatvaṃ dharmmasambhogadarśanāt /  
mahatām bodhisatvānām dharmmasambhogato 'pi ca //  
ādarśajñānam apy ekakāyaṃ sām<sup>(185r3)</sup> bhogikaṃ viduḥ /  
tasyāpi tatra hetutvād upacārāt tathāpare //  
pañcendriyavijñānam tatsarvvārthaparigrahāt /  
prāpnoti satvārthe kṛtyānuṣṭhānamātratām //  
sarvvadā tac ca sarvvatra kālaṃ yathāśayaṃ /  
nirmmānatayā buddhānām sarvvanirmmāṇakāraṇāt //  
kecit tu mānasasyaiva vidu(r) nirmmāṇakāyatām /  
yat pañcendriya<sup>(185r4)</sup> [vijñānam ta]sya sambhogakāyatām //*

## Conclusion

In this paper, we have first described basic textual features of the Sanskrit text of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, and then discussed mutual cross-references within Abhayākaragupta's works, especially the ones that can be dated, i.e., the *Abhayapaddhati*, the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, and the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, which were composed in ca. A.D. 1108, 1113, and

1020, respectively. The *Munimatālaṃkāra* mentions twice the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, which was completed seven years *after* the completion of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*. This suggests that the composition of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* had already started at least before the completion of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* in ca. A.D. 1113 and that Abhayākara Gupta already had in mind the title *Āmnāyamañjarī* before that year.<sup>27</sup> The *Āmnāyamañjarī*, in turn, refers to the *Munimatālaṃkāra* eleven times (see Appendix B).

We then surveyed passages from rare Buddhist works appropriated or quoted in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*: (a) passages appropriated from Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* and Candrakīrti's *Pañca-skandhaka* and (b) passages cited from six Madhyamaka works (*Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, *Madhyamakāvātāra*, *Rājaratnāvalī*, *Rājaratnāvalīvivṛti*, *Triśaraṇasaptati*, and *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*) and five Yogācāra works (*Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikā*, Vasubandhu's *Daśabhūmikavyākhyā*, *Mahāyānasamgraha*, a *Paddhati* ascribed to Vasubandhu, and Candragomin's *\*Trikāyāvātāra*). Among these works, we have already published elsewhere the verses of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, *Triśaraṇasaptati*, *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, and *\*Trikāyāvātāra* quoted in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*:

Recovered verses extracted from the <i>Munimatālaṃkāra</i>			
	Hitherto known number of verses in Skt.	Newly found verses in the <i>Munimata</i>	Skt. verses yet to be found (approx.)/Total number of verses
<i>Yuktiṣaṣṭikā</i> / <i>Yuktiṣaṣṭi</i>	18 verses	17 (Ye and Li 2014)	25/60
<i>Triśaraṇasaptati</i>	6 verses	11½ (Kano and Li 2014)	50/68
<i>Bodhicittavivaraṇa</i>	15 verses	27 (Kano and Li forthcoming-b)	70/112
<i>*Trikāyāvātāra</i>	6 verses	13½ (Li 2015)	unknown

Table 4: Recovered verses extracted from the *Munimatālaṃkāra*.

<sup>27</sup> Of course, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that Abhayākara Gupta added the references to the *Āmnāyamañjarī* to the text of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* after the completion of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*.

There are still a number of passages from rare works which we are preparing for publication.<sup>28</sup>

## [Appendix A: Hitherto published parts of the Sanskrit text of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*]

The following parts of the Sanskrit text of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* Chapter 1 have so far been published (bold-faced parts = published Skt. editions):<sup>29</sup>

<b>Opening verses</b> (Ms. 1v1, D 73v1)	Kano and Li 2012 (Skt. ed., Jap. tr.)
<b>Intro.</b> (Ms. 1v3, D 74r6)	Kano and Li 2012 (Skt. ed., Jap. tr.)
<b>Samvara</b> (Ms. 2r4, D 74v1)	Kano and Li 2012, Li and Kano 2019 (Skt. ed., Jap. tr. [in part])
Six <i>Pāramitās</i> (Ms. 13v3, D 89r4)	
<i>Sattvaloka</i> (Ms. 35v3, D 113r6)	Cf. Isoda 1991 (Jap. tr. from Tib.)
<i>Bhājanaloka</i> (Ms. 40r2, D 118r4)	Cf. Isoda 1991 (Jap. tr. from Tib. [up to D 121v4])
<b>Sarvadharmā</b> (Ms. 48r4, D 127r1)	Li and Kano 2015 (Skt. ed.); Li, Kano and Yokoyama 2015, 2016 (Jap. tr.)

<sup>28</sup> For instance, there are some *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* quotations, as in *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. Ms. fol. 59r4–5: *yat tūktam sandhinirmocanasūtre / yā parataṃtralakṣaṇasya pariṇiṣpannalakṣaṇasya ca sarvvaprakāraṃ (59r5) sāmkleśikavaiyāvādānikenātyantarāhitatā / tasya tatrānupalabdhiḥ / idam ucyate samastaṃ sūṇyatālakṣaṇam iti; ibid.* fol. 92v4: *sandhinirmocanasūtre ca sūṣmakleśajñeyāvaraṇaprahāṇād asaṅgāpratihatājñeya-sarvvākārābhisambodham upādāya samyaksambodheḥ buddhajñānam ekādaśī buddhabhūmir ucyata iti; ibid.*, fol. 102r3–4: *iha bodhisattvo dānādibhiḥ kuśalaiḥ samanvāgato bhavati (102r4) kleśaś cāsya samudācarati tadyathādhimukticyābhūmau mṛdumadhyādhimātrāyām adhimātrādhimātrāyām adhimuktau varttamāna iti /*

<sup>29</sup> The following sections are overviewed on the basis of the Tibetan version by Isoda: *saṃvara* section: Isoda 1981, *ṣaḍpāramitā* section: Isoda 1983, *Satyadvaya* section: Isoda 1993, *Ekayāna* section: Isoda 1993.

- Satyadvaya* (Ms. 58r5, D 138r1) Li and Kano 2017, Kano and Li 2017, 2018, forthcoming-a (Skt. ed., Jap. tr.); Cf. Kapstein 2001 (Eng. tr. from Tib.)
- Ekayāna* (Ms. 67v2, D 148v7) Li and Kano 2014a (Skt. ed., Jap. tr.)
- Colophon of Chap. 1 (Ms. 70r4, D 151v4) *Ibid.*

## [Appendix B: References to the *Munimatālamkāra* in the *Āmnāyamañjarī* and *Marmakaumudī*]

### [References in the *Āmnāyamañjarī*]

- (1) *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Skt. fol. 31v5 (≈ D 12r3–4): *tato 'nye caitasāś cetanādayaḥ saṃskārā iti pañca skandhāḥ prapañcitāḥ punar muni<sup>(32r1)</sup> matālamkāre / tad evam aṣṭādaśa dhātava eva sarvadhārmāś teṣān tatvato naiḥsvābhāvyam uktaṃ /* (Cf. the *pañcaskandha* section in the *Munimatālamkāra*; see Li and Kano 2015.)
- (2) *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Skt. fol. 69r3–v1 (≈ D 25v5–7): *daśasu paryavasthāneṣu dūrībhūteṣu rāgaḥ pratigho māno 'vidyā<sup>(69r3)</sup> vicikitsā satkāyadrṣṭir anugrāhadrṣṭir mithyādrṣṭiparāmarśaḥ śīlavraparāmarśāś ceti daśānuśayānām munimatālankāra<sup>(69r5)</sup> vivṛtānām prahāṇāya punaḥ samyak\*prahāṇair vīryam ārabhamāṇena sarvasyaiva samādheḥ kausīdyam ālambanasampramoṣo laya auddhatyam anābhoga ābhoga<sup>(69v1)</sup>ś ceti ṣaḍ doṣapratipakṣā aṣtau prahāṇasaṃskārabhāvanīyāḥ /* (Cf. Li and Kano 2015: 25–28, *Munimatālamkāra*, Skt. Ms. fol. 52v1–53v2, esp. fol. 53v2.)<sup>30</sup>
- (3) *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Skt. fol. 96r1 (≈ D 33v4): *teṣāṃ savistaraṃ pratipatter ākaro munimatālankārah /* (See, e.g., *Munimatālamkāra*, Skt. fol. 145r2–171v4; See also Tomabechi and Kano 2008: 28, 34, n. 102.)

<sup>30</sup> *anuśayāḥ ṣaṭ / rāgaḥ pratigho māno 'vidyā vicikitsā drṣṭiś ca / atra rāgo dvidhā / kāmarāgo rūpyārūpyarāgaś ca / drṣṭeḥ satkāyadrṣṭiyādi-pañcadhābhedenā daśānuśayāḥ.*



(4) *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Skt. fol. 120v1–3 (≈ D 42v7–43r1): *śrāvakādiyā*<sub>(120v3)</sub> *nyebhyo munimatālaṃkāre* *vivṛtanavavidhamahatvayogān mahac ca tadyānaṃ ceti mahāyānaṃ* / (Cf. *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. fol. 148r1–150v2.)

(5) *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Skt. fol. 150v1 (≈ D 51v7–52r1): *eṣāñ ca buddhajñānānāṃ pañcajñānaikarasatvaṃ vipañcitaṃ munimatālaṃkāre* / <sub>(150v3)</sub> *tathādarśajñānaṃ tadāśrayaṃ samatājñānañ ceti dvayam ekarūpaṃ dharmadhātuvīśuddhyālabhanatvāt\** / *taditaravi*<sub>(150v5)</sub> *jñānadvayaṃ apy ekarasaṃ paropakāraikatantratvāt* / *tathatālabhanatvāc ca* / *tad dvayadvayaṃ viśuddhadharmadhātujñānāprthak\**<sub>(151r1)</sub> *svarūpaṃ* / *tādātmyena suviśuddhadharmadhātvalabhanatvāt\** / (Cf. *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. fol. 181v3ff.)<sup>31</sup>

(6) *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Skt. fol. 224r3 (≈ D 76v7–77r1): *yena tu pramāṇenāśya niḥsvabhāvatvaṃ sādhyate tad asmābhiḥ savistaram upanyastaṃ madhyamakamañjaryāṃ munimatālaṃkāre cāgamānūsārataḥ saṃkṣepa*<sub>(224r5)</sub> *tas tv abhayapaddhatyāṃ* / *ato bhāvābhāvasvabhāvābhāvāt sarvaprapañcābhāvaḥ* / (Cf. *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. fol. 65v2–3.<sup>32</sup> Cf. also *ibid.* Chapter 1, *Satyadvaya* section, Skt. Ms. fol. 58r5–62v2.)

(7) *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Skt. fol. 326r5 (≈ D 112v5–6): *tac ca sadā mahākaruṇāmahāmaitryanugataṃ tathā ca savistaram upavarṇṇitaṃ munimatālaṃkāre* / (On the *samatājñāna*, which is always associated with *mahākaruṇā* and *mahāmaitrī*, see *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Skt. fol. 178r2–3.)<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *eṣāñ ca dharmmadhātupañcajñānānāṃ kramavyavasthānaṃ ...*

<sup>32</sup> *anayoś ca pratītyasamutpannatvaikānekasvabhāvarahitatvahetvor – yat pratītyasamutpannaṃ tat paramārthataḥ svabhāvaśūnyaṃ yathā māyā, pratītyasamutpannās ca sarvadharmāḥ; yad ekānekasvabhāvarahitaṃ paramārthata(65v3)s tan niḥsvabhāvaṃ yathā pratibimbam, ekānekasvabhāvarahitās ca paramārthataḥ sarvadharmāḥ – iti prayogadvaya-sya samarthanam aviditatarkaprakriyāṇāṃ anavabodhād aśrutiśaṅkayā neha pratanyate / samāsatas tu niratiśayaṃ vyutpāditam asmābhir madhyamakamañjaryāṃ / tato 'vadhāryaṃ vicakṣanaiḥ /*

<sup>33</sup> *samatājñānaṃ yad eva bodhisatvenābhisamayakāladarśanmārgge ātmaparasamatājñānaṃ pratilabdhaṃ tadālabhanan tad evottarottara-*

(8)<sup>34</sup> *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 174v7 (Skt. unavailable): *'dir nram par thar pa brgyad dang stobs dang ma 'dres pa la sogs pa rnam s thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan du rnam par phye bas ma phye bas ma phye ste btags pa la 'thag pas ci zhig ces pa'o //* (Yet to be located.)

(9) *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 225v2–4 (Skt. unavailable): *de rnam kyis kyang sna tshogs pa'i rdzu 'phrul dang cho 'phrul la sogs (225b3) pas gdul bya'i skya bo 'dun pa'i don du rtse bar byed rol par byed pas na lha rnam te de bzhin gshegs pa rnam su bdag rdo rje 'dzin pa'i khyim zhes pa khyim du ste longs spyod rdzogs pa'i skur bde ba chen po'i ston mo gsol bar bzhed pa rnam zhugs shig dang bzhugs shig ces pa lhag ma ste / ji ltar (225b4) thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan du bshad pa bzhin no //* (Yet to be located.)

(10) *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 270r1–2 (Skt. unavailable): *mithong ba'i lam kho nar de kho na nyid mithong bas spang bya phrag brgyad cu rnam spong bar thub pa'i (270a2) dgongs pa'i rgyan du gsal bar byas so //* (Yet to be located.)

(11) *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 311r1–2 (Skt. unavailable): *bsod nams dang bsod nams ma yin (311a2) pa 'di dag kyang thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan du rgyas pa dang bcas par brjod do //* (As for meritorious and non-meritorious activities, see, e.g., *Munimatālamkāra*, Skt. fol. 6r1–v1.)

### [Reference in the *Marmakaumudī*]

(12) *Marmakaumudī*, D 3805, 61v7: *sa rnam kyī rgyas pa ni thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan las so //* See above (3).

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*bhūmibhāvanāpraka(178r3)rṣaprayogena mahāmaitrīkrpānugataṃ budhabhūmāv apratiṣṭhitanirvṣāṇapraviṣṭaṃ vicitrasaṃsthānavarṇṇātma-bhāvasandarśanopāyo vyavasthāpyate /*

<sup>34</sup> Sanskrit texts of passages (8)–(11) are currently not available, for the Sanskrit-Tibetan bilingual manuscript does not contain texts from chapter 18 onward.

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- CUL Cambridge University Library.
- DBhV *Daśabhūmikavyākhyā*.
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## Recovering the Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyamukha* of Dignāga

Shoryu Katsura

Dignāga is undoubtedly one of the most prominent figures in the history of Indian logic through his new system of ‘epistemological logic’ in which he integrated the two distinct traditions of Indian logic, viz., *vāda* and *pramāṇa*. In his manual for *vāda*, the *Nyāyamukha* (hereafter NMu), Dignāga inserted a short section on *pramāṇa* in the first of the two parts of the work, the one dealing with proof (*sādhana*). In his subsequently composed *magnum opus*, the *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti* (hereafter PSV), Dignāga expanded his theory of *pramāṇa* in the first two chapters dealing respectively with perception (*pratyakṣa*) and inference for oneself (*svārthānumāna*). He developed his theory of *sādhana* in the chapters 3 and 4, treating inference for others (*parārthānumāna*) and the example (*dr̥ṣṭānta*). Moreover, he rearranged the second part of the NMu on the subject of refutation (*dūṣaṇa*) in the last and sixth chapter of the PSV on false rejoinders (*jāti*). The PSV’s fifth chapter deals with a new topic, i.e., philosophy of language, whose germ can be found in the *pramāṇa* section of the NMu. As a result, though the NMu is available only in its Chinese translation right now, we can find many Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (hereafter PS), in the PSV, as well as in Jinendrabuddhi’s *Ṭīkā* (hereafter PST).

Among modern Buddhist scholars Hakuju Ui published the first analytical study of the NMu in which he made a critical edition of Xuanzang’s Chinese translation and explained every passage in detail.<sup>1</sup> Then Giuseppe Tucci published an English translation of the

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<sup>1</sup> Ui 1965, which was first published by Kasshisha shobō in 1929.

NMu and referred to the parallel passages in the Tibetan translation of the PS and PSV.<sup>2</sup> A generation later Hidenori Kitagawa published a monumental study of the *svamata* sections of the PSV chapters 2, 3, 4 and 6 in which he referred to all relevant passages of the NMu.<sup>3</sup> With the help of those previous studies I published a series of articles in which I made a Japanese translation of the NMu accompanied with Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels and detailed analyses of the text.<sup>4</sup>

Then Ernst Steinkellner started a project of editing a newly discovered Sanskrit manuscript of Jinendrabuddhi's PST that had been made accessible by the China Tibetology Research Center. He and his team in Vienna have already published the critical and diplomatic editions of the first two chapters.<sup>5</sup> I was asked to join his project to edit the third, fourth and sixth chapters; I have completed the editorial work on the third and fourth chapter and Motoi Ono on the sixth chapter; we would like to publish our results in the near future. Regarding the fifth chapter Ole Pind already made available many materials in his study of PSV chapter 5,<sup>6</sup> and Patrick McAllister and Horst Lasic are now working on producing critical and diplomatic editions of the PST.

Meanwhile I published three papers in which I edited PS 3 and 4 and presented some Sanskrit fragments and parallels of the example section of the NMu<sup>7</sup> and Ono now presents Sanskrit reconstructions of PS 6 in his contribution to this volume. Eventually we would like to make Sanskrit reconstructions of PSV chapters 3, 4 and 6 available online, as Steinkellner did for chapter 1.<sup>8</sup> The aim of this paper

<sup>2</sup> Tucci 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Kitagawa 1965.

<sup>4</sup> Katsura 1977, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1984 and 1987.

<sup>5</sup> PST 1 and PST 2.

<sup>6</sup> Pind 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Katsura 2009, 2011, and 2016.

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.ikga.oeaw.ac.at/mediawiki/images/4/49/Dignaga\\_PS\\_1.pdf](http://www.ikga.oeaw.ac.at/mediawiki/images/4/49/Dignaga_PS_1.pdf), last accessed 25 March 2019.

is to present Sanskrit reconstructions and parallels of the verse text of the NMu. In this connection I would like to thank Prof. Motoi Ono for providing me with his Sanskrit reconstructions of NMu vv. 19–28, as well as those of PS chapter 6, and Dr. Yasutaka Muroya for his recent study of the final verse of the NMu.<sup>9</sup>

## Verses of the *Nyāyamukha*: Xuanzang’s Chinese translation with Sanskrit reconstructions and parallels

### Section 1:<sup>10</sup> 能立 (*sādhana*)

#### 1.1. 宗 (*pakṣa*) and 似宗 (*pakṣābhāsa*)

v. 1 宗等多言說能立 是中唯取隨自意 樂爲所立說名宗 非彼相違義能遣<sup>11</sup>

= *pakṣādivacanāny āha sādhanam* tatra tu svayam /  
sādhyatvenepsitaḥ pakṣo viruddhārthānirākṛtaḥ //<sup>12</sup>

[Sources] NPra 2: *tatra pakṣādivacanāni sādhanam*; PVA p. 510: *tatra tu svayam, sādhyatvenepsitaḥ pakṣo viruddhārthānirākṛtaḥ*.

Cf. PS 3.2:

<sup>9</sup> Muroya 2017.

<sup>10</sup> The section numbers are assigned by the author of this article in accordance with his understanding of the structure of the NMu.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Yasutaka Muroya discovered this Chinese version in Kongōji manuscript of NMu and reported it at Shinshū University in August 2016. Different readings are underlined. Cf. Taisho 1628, p. 1a8–9: 宗等多言說能立 是中唯隨自意樂 爲所成立說名宗 非彼相違義能遣

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Yoshiyasu Yonezawa kindly suggested the reading “*pakṣādivacanāny āha*” instead of “*pakṣādivacanāni hi*” at the CTRC in August 2016. In reconstructions of verses that do not occur in the PS roman type is used for words from parallel texts of other sources. *Italics* are used for words that are assumed on the basis of parallel texts of other sources.

**svarūpeṇaiva nirdeśyaḥ svayam iṣṭo 'nirākṛtaḥ /  
pratyakṣānumānāptaprasiddhena svadharminī //**<sup>13</sup>

1.2. 因 (*hetu*) and 似因 (*hetvābhāsa*)

v. 2 宗法於同品 謂有非有俱 於異品各三 有非有及二  
= PS 3.9:

**sapakṣe sann asan dvedhā pakṣadharmāḥ punas tridhā /  
pratyekam asapakṣe 'pi sadasaddvidhatvataḥ //**

v. 3 有法非成於有法 及法此非成有法 但由法故成其法 如  
是成立於有法

= PS 3.13:

**na dharmī dharmiṇā sādhyo na dharmas tena dharmy api /  
dharmeṇa dharmāḥ sādhyas tu sādhyatvād dharmiṇas  
tathā //**

v. 4 說因宗所隨 宗無因不有 依第五顯喻 由合故知因  
Cf. PS 3.15:

**hetoḥ sādhyānvayo yatrābhāve 'bhāvaś ca kathyate /  
pañcamyā tatra dṛṣṭāntaḥ hetus tūpanayān mataḥ //**

NMu has 宗 (*pakṣa*) for *sādhyā* (所立) in PS, which strongly indicates that the two terms respectively belong to the *vāda* tradition and the *pramāṇa* tradition.

v. 5 常無常勤勇 恒住堅牢性 非勤遷不變 由所量等九<sup>14</sup>

= **nityānityaprayatnotthamadyamatrikaśāśvataḥ /  
ayatnāntiyanityāś ca prameyatvādisādhanāḥ //**

<sup>13</sup> Following Katsura 2011, in reconstructions of verses that also occur in the PS **bold** typeface is used for words from the PST, roman type for those from other sources. *Italics* are used for words retranslated from the Tibetan translations.

<sup>14</sup> The Sanskrit version of *pāda* b does not exactly correspond to the Chinese

[Source] NVT 247. Cf. HCD v. 7.

v. 6 所量作無常 作性聞勇發 無常勇無觸 依常性等九  
= PS 3.21:

prameyakṛtakānityakṛtaśrāvaṇayatnajāḥ /  
anityayatnajāsparsā nityatvādiṣu te nava //

Cf. HCD v. 6.

v. 7 於同有及二 在異無是因 翻此名相違 所餘皆不定  
= PS 3.22:

tatra yaḥ san saajātye dvedhā cāsaṃs tadatyaye /  
sa hetur viparīto 'smād viruddho 'nyas tv aniścitaḥ //

v. 8 若法是不共 共決定相違 遍一切於彼 皆是疑因性  
= PS 3.25:

asādhāraṇasāmānyaviruddhāvyabhicāriṇaḥ //  
dharmāḥ sarvatra yeṣāṃ ca tatra saṃśayahetavaḥ /

v. 9 邪證法有法 自性或差別 此成相違因 若無所違害  
= PS 3.27:

dharmadharmisvarūpa.sya tadviśeṣasya caiva sa /  
viparītopakāritvād viruddho 'sati bādhane //

v. 10 觀宗法審察 若所樂違害 成躊躇顛倒 異此無似因  
= PS 3.26:

pakṣadharmekṣaṇāj jñīpsor iṣṭe yasmāc ca bādhite /  
viparyāsavimarśāptir hetvābho na tato 'paraḥ //

version, but the meaning is the same.

1.3. 喩 (*dr̥ṣṭānta*) and 似喩 (*dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsa*)

v. 11 說因宗所隨 宗無因不有 此二名譬喩 餘皆此相似

Cf. PS 4.2:

**sādhyenānugamo hetoḥ** sādhyābhāve ca **nāstitā** /  
 khyāpyate **yatra dr̥ṣṭāntaḥ** **sa sādharma** **yetaro dvidhā** //

NMu has 宗 (*pakṣa*) for *sādhyā* (所立) of PS. NMu v. 11d does not correspond to PS 4.2d; it may run: *tadābhāsās tato 'pare* (cf. PV 1.1d: *hetvābhāsās tato 'pare*).

v. 12 應以非作證其常 或以無常成所作 若爾應成非所說 不  
 遍非樂等合離

= PS 4.4:

nīyatā 'kṛtakatvena nāsitvād vātra kāryatā /  
 syād **anuktā kṛtā** 'vyāpiny **aniṣṭam** ca **same 'nvaye** //

v. 13 如自決定已 恁他決定生 說宗法相應 所立餘遠離

= PS 4.6:

**svaniścayavad** anyeṣāṃ niścayotpādanecchayā /  
 pakṣadharmatvasambandhasādhyokter **anyavarjanam** //

v. 14 若因唯所立 或差別相類 譬喩應無窮 及遮遣異品<sup>15</sup>

= PS 4.11:

sahetoḥ sādhyamātrasya tadviśeṣasya vā mitau /  
 nidarśanānavasthā syād vyāvṛttīś ca vipakṣataḥ //

<sup>15</sup> At National Chengchi University in May 2017, Dr. Muroya reported that the Kasuga manuscript reads NMu v. 14d as 及不遮異品.



## Section 1a: 量 (*pramāṇa*)

### 1a.1. 現量 (*pratyakṣa*)

v. 15ab 現量除分別 餘所說因生

Cf. PS 1.3cd:

**pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham nāmajātyādiyojanā /**

NMu v. 15b does not correspond to PS 1.3d; it may run: *anyad nirdiṣṭahetuḥjam*. Cf. NK 216: *pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham anyad nirdiṣṭalakṣanam /*

v. 16 有法非一相 根非一切行 唯內證離言 是色根境界  
= PS 1.5:

**dharmiṇo 'nekarūpasya nendriyāt sarvathā gatiḥ /  
svasamvedyaṃ hy anirdeśyaṃ rūpam indriyagocaraḥ //**

### 1a.2. 比量 (*anumāna*)

v. 17 一事有多法 相非一切行 唯由簡別餘 表定能隨逐  
= PS 2.12:

**anekadharmāṇo 'rthasya na liṅgāt sarvathā gatiḥ /  
anubaddhasya vicchedaṃ gamayaty anyato yataḥ //**<sup>16</sup>

Cf. PS 5.12:

**bahudhāpy abhidheyasya na śabdāt sarvathā gatiḥ /  
svasambandhānurūpyāt tu vyavacchedārthakāry asau //**

v. 18 如是能相者 亦有衆多法 唯不越所相 能表示非餘  
= PS 2.16:

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Horst Lasic kindly provided me with his Sanskrit reconstruction of PS 2.12. Regarding PS 2.12a he has a different reconstruction: *anekadharmakārthasya* or *arthasyānekadharmasya*.

**tathāṅgaṃ yena rūpeṇa liṅgiṇaṃ nātivartate /**  
**tenaivānekadharmāpi gamayaty aparais tu na //**<sup>17</sup>

Cf. PS 5.13:

**anekadharmā śabdo 'pi yenārthaṃ nātivartate /**  
**pratyāyayati tenaiva na śabdgaṇatādibhiḥ //**

## Section 2: 能破 (*dūṣaṇa*)

v. 19ab 能破闕等言 似破謂諸類

= *dūṣaṇaṃ nyūnatādyuktiḥ tadābhāsās tu jātayaḥ* /<sup>18</sup>

[Sources] PVin 3.85ab: *dūṣaṇā nyūnatādyuktiḥ tadābhāsās tu jāta-*  
*yah*; NB 3.138 & 140: *dūṣaṇāṇi nyūnatādyuktiḥ | dūṣaṇābhāsās tu*  
*jātayaḥ |*

Cf. PS 6.2cd: **tadābhāsābhidhānaṃ ca jātiṣūttararūpakam;**

v. 20 示現異品故 由同法異立 同法相似餘 由異法分別

v. 21 差別名分別 應一成無異 顯所立餘因 名可得相似

= **nidarśitavipakṣābhyāṃ sādharmaṇyānyasādhanam /**  
**sādharmyasamam, anyat tu vaidharmyeṇa viśeṣakṛt //**  
*vikalpasamam, ekatvaprasaṅgād aviśeṣakṛt /*  
**upalabdhisamaṃ sādhyadarśanam anyena hetunā //**

NMu v. 20 a–d<sub>1</sub> = PS 6.8a–d<sub>1</sub>.

NMu v. 21 a<sub>2</sub>b = PS 6.13a<sub>2</sub>b.

NMu v. 21cd = PS 6.16ab.

Cf. PS 6.12ab<sub>1</sub>: **sādharmye 'pi viśeṣoktir vikalpasamam.**

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Lasic provided me with his Sanskrit reconstruction of PS 2.16.

<sup>18</sup> Prof. Motoi Ono kindly provided his Sanskrit reconstructions of NMu vv. 19–28 together with the information on the reconstructed Sanskrit of PS 6.

v. 22 難義別疑因 故說名猶豫 說異品義故 非愛名義准

= **saṁśayākhyārthabhedena hetoḥ saṁśayacodanā /  
vipakṣe 'rthād aniṣṭoktir tathārthāpattisaṁjñakā //**

NMu v. 22ab = PS 6.18ab.

NMu v. 22cd = PS 6.19ab<sub>1</sub>: **vipakṣe 'rthād aniṣṭoktir arthāpattisamā.**

v. 23ab 由此同法等 多疑故似彼<sup>19</sup>

= *sādharmyādiṣu hi prāyaḥ saṁśayo 'tas tadābhatā /*

Cf. PS 6.19cd: **vyabhicāro 'nyasādhyatve tatsādhyatve tadābhatā //**

v. 24 若因至不至 三時非愛言 至非至無因 是名似因闕

= PS 6.3:

**prāptyaprāptāv aniṣṭoktir hetoḥ kālatraye 'pi vā /  
te prāptyaprāptyahetvākhye hetunyūnatvarūpike //**

v. 25 說前無因故 應無有所立 名無說相似 生無生亦然

= **prāg ukter hetvabhāvena sādhyābhāvaḥ prasañjanam /  
anuktasamam utpatter anutpattisamaṁ tathā //**

NMu v. 25 a-c<sub>1</sub> = PS 6.5a-c<sub>1</sub>.

NMu v. 25c<sub>2</sub>-d = PS 6.6a-c<sub>1</sub>: **prāg utpatter ahetutvād asiddhavi-  
parītabhāk / anutpattisamaṁ.**

v. 26 所作異少分 顯所立不成 名所作相似 多如似宗說

= **kāryatvānyatvaleśena yat sādhyāsiddhidarśanam /  
tat kāryasamam etāni pakṣābhāvanibhāni tu //**

NMu v. 26a-c<sub>1</sub> = PS 6.7a-c<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>19</sup> Regarding NMu v. 23b, Ono in this volume proposes to read 似彼 following the Taisho edition (p. 4c4), against 似破 of Ui (1965) and Katsura (1984).

v. 27 俱許而求因 名生過相似 此於喻設難 名如似喻說

= **prasaṅgasamam iṣṭe 'pi dvayos tu hetumārganam /  
drṣṭāntābhāsavat tv etad drṣṭānte yadi codanā //**

NMu v. 27a–c = PS 6.20a–c.

v. 28 無常性恒隨 名常住相似 此成常性過 名如宗過說

= **anityatānvayān nityaṃ nityasamā tathāpi ca /  
nityatvāsaktir atrāpi pakṣadoṣatvarūpikā //**

≡ PS 6.4b–d: **nityākhyānityatānvayāt / nityatvāsaktir atrāpi pa-  
kṣadoṣatvarūpikā //**

### Concluding Verse

v. 29 爲開智人慧毒藥 啓斯妙義正理門 諸有外量所迷者 令  
越邪途契眞義

I once proposed the following Sanskrit reconstruction:

**mukhamātram idaṃ sadarthanīteḥ kṛtam udghaṭitajñadhī-  
viṣaḥnam /  
kuṣṭīr apavidhya tīrthyatarkabhramitāḥ katham artha-  
tattvabhājah //**  
(Meter: Mātrāsamaka)<sup>20</sup>

Having carefully studied Jinendrabuddhi's comments on the frag-  
ments of the above verse and further relevant Sanskrit and East  
Asian materials, Dr. Muroya slightly emended it as follows:

**mukhamātram idaṃ sadarthanīteḥ kṛtam udghaṭitajñadhī-  
viṣānām /  
kuṣṭīr apavidhya tīrthyatarkabhramitāḥ katham artha-  
tattvabhājah //**  
(Meter: Mātrāsamaka/Triṣṭubh-Vimalā)<sup>21</sup>

Muroya also refers to Prof. Harunaga Isaacson's proposal:

<sup>20</sup> PST 1, p. xlvii, n. 77.

<sup>21</sup> Muroya 2017: 306.

**mukhamātram idaṃ sadarthanīteḥ kṛtam atrodghaṭitajñā-  
dhīviṣāṇām /  
kusṛtīr apavidhya tīrthyatarkabhramitā ye katham artha-  
tattvabhājah //**  
(Meter: Aupacchandāsika–Mālabhāriṇī)<sup>22</sup>

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| Frauwallner 1959 | E. Frauwallner, Dignāga: sein Werk und seine Entwicklung. <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens</i> 3 (1959) 93–164.                    |
| HCD              | <i>Hetucakraḍamaru</i> (Dignāga). See Frauwallner 1959.  |
| Katsura 1977     | Sh. Katsura 桂紹隆, Inmyō shōrimonron kenkyū (I) (因明正理門論研究 [一], A Study of the Nyāyamukha [I]). <i>Hiroshimadaigaku bungakubu kiyō</i> 37 (1977) 106–126.   |
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<sup>22</sup> Muroya 2017: 307.

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- NPra *Nyāyapraveśa* (Śaṅkarasvāmin). See Tachikawa 1971.

- NVT *Nyāyavārttika-Tātparya-Ṭīkā of Vācaspatimiśra*, ed. Anantalal Thakur. *Nyāyacaturgranthikā* 3. New Delhi 1996.
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- PSV *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti* (Dignāga).

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## On editing Sanskrit texts digitally – tools, methods and implications\*

Birgit Kellner

As the contributions to this volume richly demonstrate, work on editing Sanskrit texts on the basis of manuscripts which were historically preserved in the area of today's Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) is well under way, involving Chinese and foreign scholars in collaboration. Such editorial projects are an integral part of research aimed at an understanding of the contents of these invaluable materials, which have been rightly dubbed as one of the greatest treasures of humanity.<sup>1</sup>

The specific goals of editions vary depending on the nature of the edited text and the available sources, on the history of a text's transmission and on its previous editorial history. Pragmatic considerations – such as the intent to make a newly discovered work accessible to the scholarly community as fast as possible – are also significant. A scholar may, for instance, come across a single Sanskrit manuscript for a certain work, or part of a work, that was hitherto unavailable in the original Sanskrit. The manuscript may be large and of an inferior quality; in this case, a diplomatic edition documenting the single source as closely as possible will be the primary aim. Critical editions devoting more attention to individual parts can then be produced as a second step.<sup>2</sup> A scholar might also be faced

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\* I am grateful to Patrick McAllister for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the contribution by Ernst Steinkellner to this volume.

<sup>2</sup> This is e.g. the case for the third chapter of Dharmottara's *Pramāṇa-viniścayaṭīkā*, as discussed in the contribution by Toshikazu Watanabe to this volume.

with a situation where several Sanskrit manuscripts of a work are preserved, some complete, others incomplete. Here a critical edition making judicious use of several witnesses will be the more suitable approach.<sup>3</sup>

What all the endeavors documented in this volume have in common is that they aim at producing scholarly editions informed by an ideal of reliability. “Scholarly editions make clear what they promise and keep their promises;” they are committed to “accuracy with respect to texts, adequacy and appropriateness with respect to documenting editorial principles and practice, consistency and explicitness with respect to methods.”<sup>4</sup> In practical terms, all these endeavors also share as a common feature that they are to some extent involved with the digital realm. Complementing the contributions to this volume that spring from individual editorial projects and illuminate their basis in manuscripts preserved in the TAR, this paper foregrounds the digital dimension of scholarly editing. It first sketches, specifically for the case of Sanskrit texts, how our current practices are already deeply affected by computing technology and digital resources. The main part, however, is an argument for how the inclusion of truly “digital editions” among the goals that Sanskritists pursue would benefit the research community at large, and a general discussion of the principles upon which such digital editions rely.

The personal computer is today the default working tool for textual scholarship, enabling scholars to use software tools whenever they like, independently from large mainframe computers or computing centers. When editing Sanskrit texts, we now, more or less as a matter of course, make use of a variety of digital resources

<sup>3</sup> This is e.g. the case for Prajñākaragupta’s *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkārabhāṣya*, discussed in the contribution by Patrick McAllister to this volume.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Language Association, guidelines for editors of scholarly editions (<https://www.mla.org/Resources/Research/Surveys-Reports-and-Other-Documents/Publishing-and-Scholarship/Reports-from-the-MLA-Committee-on-Scholarly-Editions/Guidelines-for-Editors-of-Scholarly-Editions>, last accessed 8 August 2019).

and tools to accomplish the various tasks involved in the production of scholarly editions of texts. Our work begins with manuscripts, which we often use in the form of digital images – ideally in a high resolution and in color – that allow us to do what is absolutely necessary: to pore over the text again and again, and to train our eyes to the peculiarities of the script and the scribe’s (or scribes’) habits. We can use image manipulation software to improve the legibility of individual *akṣaras*. Online versions of the Petersburg, Apte or Monier Williams dictionaries offered by the University of Cologne help us with the task of lexicographical research.<sup>5</sup> On the hard drives of our computers we may have stored editions of other relevant works, as well as research literature, usually in PDF format. When we look for quotations or parallels, or try to determine the use of specific words and phrases, we can avail ourselves of a number of e-texts that many have assembled over years, and look to online e-text collections like SARIT,<sup>6</sup> GRETIL,<sup>7</sup> or the Digital Corpus of Sanskrit,<sup>8</sup> for further assistance.

This is more or less how many involved in the editing of Sanskrit texts work nowadays. Naturally, we still need proper research libraries that provide us with editions and other literature, since not everything is digitally available and digital surrogates of books invariably reduce information. Moreover, the quality of the e-texts available in the above collections varies considerably; while some texts are carefully curated, meticulously analyzed and well-documented products, others are hastily prepared, full of mistakes and scantily documented. In some cases digital versions are only a first and convenient point of entry; their use needs to be supplemented with detailed consultation of the printed source(s) upon which

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/>, last accessed 8 August 2019.

<sup>6</sup> <http://sarit.indology.info/exist/apps/sarit/works/>, last accessed 8 August 2019.

<sup>7</sup> <http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/>, last accessed 8 August 2019.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.sanskrit-linguistics.org/dcs/>, last accessed 8 August 2019.

they are usually based. Still, digital resources and software tools have become our daily bread and butter.

The main methods involved in text-critical editing are collation, analysis of variants and presentation of editorial assessment. For these methods, generic word-processing software, such as Microsoft Word or the free and open-source product LibreOffice, has severe limitations; these are well-known, and alternatives are by now available. Collation and stemmatological analysis have long been of interest to computational philology; it would lead us too far to here include a survey all tools that are currently available in greater detail. For the more specific task of editing, mention should be made of the Classical Text Editor (CTE) programmed by Stefan Hagel at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.<sup>9</sup> The CTE is especially designed to facilitate text-critical work. It automatizes many regularly occurring tasks involved in producing an edition, and also offers tools for detecting affiliations between sources, thus being especially useful for editions based on a larger number of manuscripts. For the typesetting system TeX, the ledmac package facilitates the typesetting of critical editions in the software package LaTeX.<sup>10</sup> The use of these more specialized tools is, however, still generally oriented towards the goal of a printed edition, even though the CTE now also offers the possibility of export to formats typically used for digital editions (HTML, TEI/XML). It is safe to say that a printed book is what most Sanskritists have in mind as a goal when they produce editions.

When Sanskritists hear talk of a “digital edition,” many may first of all think of a file in Portable Document Format (PDF) that was used for the printing of an edition. They might assume that a “digital edition” simply means that such a file is made available for free download on a website. Offering PDFs for download undoubtedly has merit. Even in PDF-format, searchable text offers considerable gains in speed and convenience for research. It makes a real differ-

<sup>9</sup> <http://cte.oeaw.ac.at/>, last accessed 8 August 2019.

<sup>10</sup> <https://ctan.org/pkg/ledmac>, last accessed 8 August 2019. Cf. also the more recent version “reledmac” (<https://ctan.org/pkg/reledmac>).

ence when one can find quotations of a particular verse at one single keypress, whereas before one would likely have chanced upon them only by accident while browsing a printed edition. Sanskritists work with large quantities of texts, and with literatures that are characterized by complex forms of particularly dense intertextuality. In this situation, any new e-text of a scholarly edition, even a PDF-file, will be beneficial. One can only hope and wish that more recent critical editions of Sanskrit literature will become freely available as PDFs.

Nevertheless, files in PDF simply mimic print documents. They present a text that is fixed in its wording, and in its arrangement on a page limited in size. The digital humanist Patrick Sahle refers to such editions that are limited to the two-dimensional space of a “page” and to typographic means of information representation as simply “digitized.” A true “digital” edition is according to Sahle one that cannot be printed without loss of information and/or functionality.<sup>11</sup> The digital realm offers possibilities for producing, distributing and using editions that the world of the printed book cannot provide. Digital text is dynamic and changeable. With the help of the technologies that drive the World Wide Web, digital editions can be made interactive, configurable according to a reader’s taste and interests, and driven and changed by a reader’s additional input.

In the growing academic field of Digital Humanities, the notion of a digital edition is controversially discussed. Like technology itself, the theory of digital philology is rapidly changing and evolving. My focus here is more limited and practical: to put forward the argument that the research community of Sanskrit Studies is better served if editions are no longer exclusively oriented towards the printed page. Editions should be conceived in a more open way that also allows Sanskritists to reap the many benefits that the digital medium offers, while not forcing them to abandon the world of the printed book entirely. If editions are indeed conceived more openly, then the methods and tools used for producing them will have to

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<sup>11</sup> Sahle, <http://digitale-edition.de/vlet-about.html> (last accessed 8 August 2019), cited in Pierazzo 2015: 16.

be reconsidered and adjusted. The main purpose of this paper is to sketch the direction of this process.

To make a case for including digital editions among the goals Sanskritists should pursue, I will begin by comparing the printed book and the digital medium and discuss, in general terms, the respective advantages and disadvantages that they offer for scholarship and knowledge dissemination. More specifically, the point of my comparison will not be the digital medium in general – which would be far too broad –, but digital text that is encoded and marked up in TEI/XML and can be distributed over the World Wide Web.

To briefly explain, XML is an acronym for “extensible markup language.” A markup language is a system for annotating a document in a way that is syntactically distinguishable from a text, but is normally not visible when text is presented.<sup>12</sup> XML has evolved into the most widely used markup language, and now underlies a significant amount of data transfer over the internet. TEI stands for the “Text Encoding Initiative,” an international consortium of textual scholars which since 1994 collectively develops and maintains a standard for representing texts in digital form based on customized XML. The TEI produces a set of guidelines which specify encoding methods for machine-readable texts, including scholarly editions, but by no means limited to them. These guidelines are the basis for a variety of technical specifications that now allow many software products to use and produce files in TEI.<sup>13</sup>

How, then, does digital text in TEI/XML compare with the printed book? To begin with, digital text is dynamic and can be changed, while text in the printed book is static and immutable. Once a book is printed and once it has been distributed, the text is frozen. It is of course possible to produce updated printed editions, but this is resource-intensive and time-consuming. Updated editions are usu-

<sup>12</sup> See Figure 1 below on p. 102 for an example of a text-critical note encoded in TEI/XML.

<sup>13</sup> The most recent version of the guidelines is available online at <https://tei-c.org/guidelines/> (last accessed 08 August 2019).

ally only printed when there is new compelling evidence that calls for substantial revisions of existing editions, and when the edited work is of great historical significance or public interest. Digital text can by contrast be easily modified. The advantages for scholarly editions are obvious. Readers do not have to gather corrections from reviews in specialized journals that often appear several years after an edition was printed, or be made aware of the existence of corrigenda made available online on some institute's website. If a work is edited digitally and presented online, corrections can be entered straight away; information and knowledge are spread faster and in more convenient ways.

The dynamic nature of the digital medium, however, also causes problems. Files may be lost, damaged and moved. A great frequency of changes may mean that several versions of one and the same text circulate, which causes confusion. The possibility to change digital text after it has been distributed is limited. It is easy to change one file, but how can these changes be applied to all copies of a file that might have been downloaded around the world? Moreover, the modification of a digital text is not visible. When someone adds a correction to a copy of a printed book by hand, it is immediately identifiable as a correction, although only in the one copy where it has been added. Corrections to an electronic text are invisible by default. That said, using markup languages like TEI they can be documented and made visible.

In the digital realm, unlike on the printed page, changing text is easy, but it needs to be monitored, managed and documented if texts are to be reliable. For scholarly editions this is essential. It is the very definition of a scholarly edition that it is committed to high standards of reliability and trustworthiness, that it provides accurate documentation of the sources used and the processes by which the edition was produced, as well as of the state of the text itself. Digital scholarly editions can be trustworthy, but only if proper procedures for documenting changes and updates are followed.

Much criticism of digitization in the humanities has focused on the fragility and mutability of digital text. But one should not neglect

that the apparent durability of the printed book also has problematic implications. These are easily overlooked for the simple reason that the book is so deeply ingrained in contemporary scholarship. The physical longevity of printed editions may misleadingly suggest that the text they present is final, definitive and reliable. That this is an illusion should be obvious especially to Sanskritists. Large quantities of Sanskrit manuscripts still remain unstudied. The likelihood that new findings and improved readings render existing editions obsolete is rather high – not to mention that every edition naturally depends on the subjective judgement of the editor(s), and that other readers may eventually come up with new and better ideas on how to deal with problematic passages. When an edition loses its reliability because a better edition is available, this is, as a matter of course, not visible in the printed edition itself. Readers oftentimes continue to refer to old editions, remaining unaware of more recent and improved ones. However, the misleading reliability of durable print books cannot be addressed within the framework of book printing technology itself.

Conversely, it is possible to manage change in the digital realm so as to properly document different versions of an electronic edition and indicate within an edition itself that a newer and better text is available. From this point of view digital editions have a fundamental advantage over print editions, provided, again, that proper procedures are followed: the history and status of an edition can remain a part of the edition itself. Digital editions are consequently better attuned to the growth of knowledge about texts, their contents and their context. Sanskritists work under conditions where that knowledge keeps growing steadily, and rather fast, and thus stand to particularly benefit from digital editions.

Moreover, the success-story of the printed book in human civilization, and its association with stability, durability and authority, is not merely due to its physical properties. Books do not survive just because they are printed on paper and can be touched by hand. Books survive because human beings care for them and undertake measures to preserve them – be it as individuals or as collectives,



through creating and maintaining institutions such as libraries. Social structures and cultural habits, formed over centuries, contribute to the survival of printed books, but this survival can obviously not be taken for granted; libraries can be destroyed. When digital texts receive care, within properly managed structures for their maintenance, they can survive. The problem is that at the present stage these structures in many respects still remain to be created, and that their creation offers new challenges to existing institutions.

Digital texts can also be made interactive in ways that are not possible for printed books. A digital scholarly edition presented on a website might, for instance, offer the possibility to readers to propose corrections directly on that website. These proposed corrections could be instantly visible as proposed corrections, and eventually become incorporated into the edition by the editor. Readers of digital editions could also be offered the possibility to adjust the display of the text to their specific interests. When an edition is based on numerous manuscripts, readers might be interested to see the variants only for a smaller group of manuscripts. If names of persons or schools of thought are properly marked up, indices of such information can easily be created, without any additional work. With markup languages, many of the additional by-products of scholarly editing (indices, glossaries, etc.) can become a part of the edition itself, and they become automatically updated when the edition is updated. Interactive and dynamic uses of digital editions are, however, not without risk. If an online platform for digital editions provides a large number and variety of interactive features, there also has to be someone who monitors their functionality in case of software updates, etc. The more technical features are used, the greater the investment in terms of time and resources will be for keeping them functional in the future. From a pragmatic viewpoint it may therefore be wise to adopt a cautious approach and stick to essentials that do not require much maintenance: to allow readers to propose corrections and offer additional information, and to offer them a selection of specifically defined viewing options.

To whatever degree one chooses to make digital editions interactive and dynamic, what makes this possible is a basic principle that underlies TEI/XML encoding: the separation of descriptive markup and visual presentation. In the printed book, the text and its presentation in a particular font, typeface and layout simply converge. The arrangement of the different parts of a critical edition, and the information that is being displayed on the page, cannot be changed after the edition is printed. On the printed page layout and typography are the only available means for structuring information. Text marked up in TEI/XML is by contrast not tied to any particular form of presentation. Take, for instance, this example for annotating a text-critical apparatus in TEI:

```
<p xmlns="http://www.tei-c.org/ns/1.0">
  tathā <lb ed="#Th" n="7"/> hy ayam ghaṭo <app>
    <lem>nāhaṃ</lem>
    <rdg wit="#AP-B">nāhaṃ</rdg>
    <rdg wit="#Th" type="edition">nāyaṃ</rdg>
    <rdg wit="#AP-A">nāhaṃ</rdg>
  </app> ghaṭa iti pratītiḥ pratyātmavedyā
  sarvapuruṣāṅām avyutpannaśaṅketānām api
  <lb ed="#Th" n="8"/> sañjñāviśeṣollekhavimukhas
  tadanurūpa evāntarjanyaḥ
  <note resp="#bk">daṇḍa <ref target="#AP-B"/>.
  visarga a little unclear</note>
  <lb ed="#AP-B" n="4"/></p>
```

Figure 1: Example for a text-critical note encoded in TEI/XML.

On a website, this note could be rendered as a popup window that opens when an anchor is clicked, or it could simply be made to appear when one moves the cursor over the text marked as a lemma (in this case, *nāhaṃ*, the content of the `<lem>`-element). From the same

source file a PDF file can be produced for printing in which the note might appear as a footnote:

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**Sample edition Advaitabinduprakaraṇa**

AP<sub>A</sub> 66a2; AP<sub>B</sub> 12b3; AP<sub>1b</sub> 345,6-8

1 tathā <sup>T<sub>h7</sub></sup> hy ayaṃ ghaṭo nāhaṃ ghaṭa iti pratitiḥ pratyātmavedyā sarvapu-  
 2 ruṣāṇām avyutpannasanketānām api <sup>T<sub>h8</sub></sup> sañjñāviśeṣollekhavimukhas tadanurūpa  
 3 evāntarjanyaḥ.

1 nāhaṃ ] AP<sub>A</sub>, AP<sub>B</sub>: nāyaṃ AP<sub>T<sub>h</sub></sub>

3 evāntarjanyaḥ. ] daṇḍa in AP<sub>B</sub>: visarga a little unclear (Responsibility: Kellner).

Figure 2: Sample edition based on the TEI/XML-code from Figure 1.

The example shows how TEI/XML provides descriptive markup, markup that can be used for identifying and describing parts of a document. In this example, this markup encodes paragraphs (<p>), notes (<note>), line-breaks (<lb>), as well as a critical apparatus entry (<app>), lemmata (<lem>) and readings (<rdg>). Each of these elements can be further qualified with attributes, as for instance the <rdg>-element is qualified as belonging to a particular witness with the attribute “wit,” or the line-break element is qualified by a number (“n”) as well as an edition (“ed”) to which the line break belongs.

*Descriptive* markup is distinguished from *procedural* markup that consists in some command or instruction that invokes a formatting procedure.<sup>14</sup> When a web-page is produced, a stylesheet can be attached to the TEI file that instructs the browser to process an <app>-element as a popup window. When descriptive and procedural markup are separated, it becomes possible to use one and the same TEI/XML file as the source for different representations of a document in different media. In the above example, the TEI/XML-code was transformed into LaTeX using the ledmac package

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Renear 2004.

discussed earlier. A PDF file was in this case produced from the LaTeX code. But one could just as well produce an HTML-page for presentation on a website, without having to make any changes to the TEI/XML-file itself.

A last, but crucial feature that distinguishes digital from printed editions is the possibility of integrating digital text into collections and corpora, which allows for connecting texts with other texts in ways that are simply impossible in print. In a printed book, text remains displayed in isolation. We may mentally connect the text of an edition with text from other works, as we might remember the source of a quotation or recall the use of similar phrases in earlier texts. We might of course also note down such intertextual relations in our copy of a printed edition.

The digital realm offers many more possibilities. Quotations from other works may be marked up: the information that one passage is a quotation from another work becomes a part of the edition and is not conveyed through certain visual conventions on paper that one has to know. Texts can be connected with other texts by becoming part of an electronic text-collection that can be searched together, and allow for the discovery of new relationships between different works and authors.

Scholars of literature in ancient Greek and Latin already have large digital corpora at their disposal. These have been instrumental in the development of sophisticated tools for textual analysis; the Perseus Digital Library is a particularly illustrative example.<sup>15</sup> Scholars of Sanskrit are by comparison at a serious disadvantage. In part this has to do with certain complexities of Sanskrit as a language and the writing systems that are used for it, but in part this is also because the production of Sanskrit e-texts has not made use, globally, of the advantages of open encoding standards such as TEI and Unicode. The various online collections of Sanskrit e-texts such as GRETIL – in fact, not conceived as a collection of e-texts but as a “cumulative register of the numerous download sites for electronic texts in Indian

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>, last accessed 8 August 2019.

languages”<sup>16</sup> – or the Digital Sanskrit Buddhist Canon<sup>17</sup> are useful to some extent, and the effort that continues to go into their expansion and maintenance is surely greatly appreciated. But these collections use different standards for encoding characters, they follow widely different intellectual and scholarly goals, and they do not follow the principle of separating descriptive and procedural markup.

In order to promote TEI/XML for Sanskrit digital texts, and with the hope that others might follow this model, the SARIT project was founded in 2007 by Dominik Wujastyk, as an online database of TEI-encoded texts. SARIT has more recently undergone intense development within a project supported by the DFG-NEH Bilateral Digital Humanities Program from 2013 to 2017, in collaboration of the University of Heidelberg and Columbia University, directed by Sheldon Pollock and myself, and supported by an active core team comprising chiefly Patrick McAllister, Andrew Ollett, and Liudmila Olalde.

Within this projects, new texts were added to the SARIT library, special guidelines for TEI for Sanskritists were written, and a new web platform was created that – as a first such platform – offers the possibility for searching text simultaneously in Devanāgarī and romanization.<sup>18</sup> SARIT offers texts for download in different formats. Licenses are added that specify copyright conditions and permissions for further use. SARIT is currently working on stylesheets that transform TEI/XML-encoded text into critical editions in PDF, using LaTeX and the ledmac-package for typesetting. In the future, we hope that SARIT can also serve as a platform for new digital editions of Sanskrit literature, based on TEI/XML. Much more could be said about the possibilities of developing even more sophisticated tools for textual analysis and historical placement of Sanskrit texts, but this would exceed the scope of this paper.

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<sup>16</sup> <http://gretail.sub.uni-goettingen.de/>, last accessed 8 August 2019.

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.dsbcproject.org/>, last accessed 8 August 2019.

<sup>18</sup> All these resources are available at <http://sarit.indology.info/>, last accessed 8 August 2019.

This paper has argued that adopting TEI/XML for producing scholarly editions has benefits and advantages, even though at the beginning stage the learning curve is rather high. Documents encoded in TEI/XML can serve as foundations, simultaneously, of digital and print editions. Digital editions are better attuned to handling the growth of knowledge about texts than their printed counterparts. Freezing texts into a static printed form suggests a stability of text that is historically misleading and becomes increasingly impractical. When digital editions are presented on interactive platforms, they allow us to tap into the knowledge of the many, to bring the knowledge of an entire research community to bear on a single work. Digital editions can be re-used to different ends and purposes, and become part of searchable corpora, collections, and digital libraries.

From a theoretical viewpoint it is especially the separation of descriptive and procedural markup in digital editions, of structure and design, which marks a radical departure of the realm of print. In print technology, the conceptual and analytical aspects of editing are inseparably merged with one, and only one, chosen form of visual representation. Descriptive markup fosters a structural and analytical perspective on text, and an approach to scholarly editions as complex documents comprising text as well as meta-textual information of different kinds.

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# The fourth chapter of the *Tattvārthā Abhidharmakośaṭīkā*: On forbidding intoxicating liquor\*

Kazuo Kano and Jowita Kramer

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 General introduction

This paper focusses on the fourth chapter of the *Tattvārthā Abhidharmakośaṭīkā*, a commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* attributed to the Indian Yogācāra scholar Sthiramati (6<sup>th</sup> c.). A Sanskrit manuscript of this text – hereafter Ms.(A) – became available recently in the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet, copies of which are preserved at the China Tibetology Research Center in Beijing. At the last meeting of the Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies in 2012, Kazunobu Matsuda already presented a paper on Ms.(A), provided details on its most important palaeographic features, and discussed significant philological aspects of the text (Matsuda 2013

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and 2014). In the following we first summarize the available information on the manuscript and document the state of research on the fourth chapter. In the second section of this paper we discuss the comments on verse 34 of this chapter, while the last section offers a critical edition and a diplomatic transcription of the first eight lines of the manuscript portion on which we are currently working. Finally, we have also appended an edition and an English translation of the colophon of the Tibetan translation of the *Tattvārthā*.

Until recently the text of the *Tattvārthā* was only available in a Tibetan translation and some Chinese and Uyghur fragments.<sup>1</sup> One of the notable aspects of Ms.(A) is that it seems to be one of the very old manuscripts preserved in Tibet.<sup>2</sup> Based on its script, which can be classified as Siddhamātrkā, Kazunobu Matsuda has dated it to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> At the same time it is important to note that the *Tattvārthā* has been translated into Tibetan much later, namely only in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, that is six or seven hundred years later, by the Tibetan grammarian Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441–1527/28). The reasons for this late translation are unclear, and we also do not know when exactly Ms.(A) arrived in Tibet.

## 1.2 Textual materials described in the Tibetan colophon

From the Tibetan colophon and other Tibetan historical sources including Chos skyong bzang po's biography,<sup>4</sup> we get the information that the Sanskrit manuscript that Chos skyong bzang po used was in the possession of 'Gos Lo tsa ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392–1481), who is

<sup>1</sup> See Matsuda 2013: 49f. According to Tekin 1970: XVIII, there is also a Mongolian translation of the Tibetan version. Tekin obviously had access to a copy of it made by the Beijing National Library.

<sup>2</sup> However, the *Tattvārthā* manuscript does not seem as old as, for instance, the manuscript of Buddhapālita's *Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti*.

<sup>3</sup> Matsuda 2013: 48. The script has also been called Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type 2 by Lore Sander (1968). For the moment, we cannot locate the place where the manuscript was produced.

<sup>4</sup> This biography was previously studied by Ejima 1986 and van der Kuijp 2007 and 2009.



said to have received the manuscript from Byang bdag Rnam gyäl bdag bzang (1395–1475) before 1453.<sup>5</sup> 'Gos Lo tsa ba had problems with his eye-sight due to his old age and was not able to render the *Tattvārthā* into Tibetan himself. Therefore Chos skyong bzang po translated it after having been asked to do so by Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524).<sup>6</sup>

Chos skyong bzang po refers to his Sanskrit manuscript as *stag lung rgya dpe* or *stag lung dpe*.<sup>7</sup> This means that the manuscript originates from Stag lung monastery, located north-east of Lhasa, near Rwa sgrenq monastery. It is also called *dpe dpang* in the colophon of the *Tattvārthā*, which might mean a “witness manuscript,” that is, a manuscript used for collation in the context of translation, in addition to the main manuscript. Chos skyong bzang po also utilized a Sanskrit manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, as well as Tibetan translations of the commentaries by Yaśomitra and Pūrṇavardhana (see Appendix [5]). He started to translate the *Tattvārthā* in Shigatse and Lhatse and finished the translation in Kongpo (see Appendix [6]). According to Dpa' bo II (as pointed out by van der Kuijp 2007: 282) the translation was completed in 1490.

### 1.3 The relationship between the two Sanskrit manuscripts

The Sanskrit manuscript Ms.(A) at some point consisted of three bundles, the second of which is currently missing. As already pointed out by Matsuda and outlined above,<sup>8</sup> the Tibetan colophon mentions that the Tibetan translation is based on two Sanskrit manuscripts, a main and a sub-manuscript. He furthermore assumes that Ms.(A) is the sub-manuscript, referred to as “witness manuscript” in the Tibetan colophon, and that the main manuscript – hereafter Ms. (B) – is a copy of Ms.(A). We cannot state with certainty that Ms.(B) is a copy of Ms.(A), but the two at least share the lacuna of the text

<sup>5</sup> Van der Kuijp 2007: 282.

<sup>6</sup> Van der Kuijp 2007: 281–282.

<sup>7</sup> See AKTT(T) 198b6–7, 200b7, 205b4, 326a3, and 380a6.

<sup>8</sup> Matsuda 2013: 49–51.

of the opening verse and the introduction, which are available in the Uygur version and, in part, in the Chinese version.

The missing part of Ms.(A) corresponds precisely to a lacuna of the sub-manuscript described in the Tibetan colophon, namely, the portion from the middle of the second chapter up to the middle of the fourth chapter.<sup>9</sup> About Ms.(A), we therefore know that it was once preserved in Stag lung monastery at the time of Chos skyong bzang po and that it was afterwards (probably before the 1960s) moved to the Potala, where it is currently preserved.<sup>10</sup> As for the main manuscript Ms.(B), we only know that it was in the possession of Byang bdag Rnam rgyal bdag bzang before 1453, then given to Gzhon nu dpal, and finally handed to Chos skyong bzang po before 1490.

<sup>9</sup> The Tibetan colophon states: “... a witness Indic manuscript (*dpe dpang gi rgya dpe*) from Stag lung monastery, which is complete except for the second half of chapter 2, chapter 3 and the first half of chapter 4...” (see Appendix [5]). Interestingly, the format of the string holes found on each folio of the manuscript slightly differs in the two bundles available to us. The last folio (58v) of the first bundle of Ms.(A) has a Tibetan memo (cf. also the transcription by Luo Zhao in his catalogue): *mdzod kyi gnas gnyis pa'i smad ltos che ba dang / gnas gsum pa ril po / bzhi pa'i stod rnams bar 'dir ma tshang 'dug* / (“the latter half of chapter 2 of the *Kośa*, the entire chapter 3, and the first half of chapter 4 are missing here”).

<sup>10</sup> There is also a Sanskrit manuscript of an *Abhidharmakośa* commentary currently preserved at Potala, which was, according to a memo in the manuscript, gifted by Stag lung Chos rje rin po che. See Luo Zhao catalogue, Potala Śāstra, p. 118, no. 35: “扉葉、其上写有藏文題記: *mngon pa mdzod kyi 'grel pa ma tshang ba stag lung chos rje rin po ches gngang / khams bstan pa'i gnas dang po chad / gnas gnyis pa dbang po bstan pa'i yang 'ga' zhig chad / rnyed pa'i skabs nas snang yang gnas dgu pa yang mi snang /*” (“On the top folio, there is a Tibetan memo: The *Abhidharmakośa* commentary, incomplete, gifted by Stag lung chos rje rin po che. Chapter 1, *dhātunirdeśa*, is missing. Chapter 2, *indriyanirdeśa*, is also missing in part. Although chapters starting from this obtained chapter onward [i.e., chapters 2 to 8] exist, chapter 9 is not found.”). For Luo Zhao’s catalogue, see, for instance, Matsuda 2014: 2.

## 1.4 The missing main manuscript Ms.(B)

We still do not know with certainty whether or not Ms.(B) is extant somewhere. Recently, Ye Shaoyong reported that a Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript of the *Tattvārthā* (120 fols.) was stolen by Cai Zhongyi 蔡仲義 (1960–, arrested in 2011) from the Shuangguitang 双桂堂 temple located in Chongqingshi Liangpingqu 重慶市梁平区 on 27 October 1990. According to Ye, reaching at Guangdongsheng Shenzhenshi 广东省深圳市, Cai 蔡 sold the manuscript to a merchant for 150,000 Hong Kong dollars. Afterwards the manuscript disappeared and never surfaced again.<sup>11</sup> Ye also reports that this manuscript of the *Tattvārthā* was moved sometime to a temple in Wutaishan 五台山, from which Dashidaifangshan Zhuchanheshang 第十代方丈竹禅和尚 (1824–1901) attained it together with three pieces of relics and brought them back to his own temple, Shuangguitang 双桂堂, before 1864. Ye’s report contains a photograph of the manuscript. Judging from the image (with very poor photographic quality, only a few folios of the manuscript being photographed), the format is quite different from that of Ms.(A). This manuscript may therefore be the one used as the “main manuscript” for the Tibetan translation of the *Tattvārthā*. However, the number of folios that is given for it (120 folios in total) is too low. Thus, we may assume that the manuscript is not complete.

## 1.5 The history of the two manuscripts in outline

What is currently known about the history of the manuscripts can be summarized as follows:

<sup>11</sup> The report of Prof. Ye was available online at the website of the Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature at Peking University (北京大学梵文贝叶经与佛教文献研究所), but it is currently not accessible. We are grateful to Prof. Kazunobu Matsuda for sharing his knowledge about this report with us.

8 <sup>th</sup> –9 <sup>th</sup> c	Ms. A (consisting of 3 bundles) was produced in northern India.
10 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> c	Ms. B was produced in northern India (being possibly, a descendant of Ms. A); the second bundle of Ms. A was lost; Ms. A was brought to Stag lung monastery.
before 1453	Rnam rgyal bdag bzang (1395–1475) handed over Ms. B to Gzhon nu dpal; Gzhon nu dpal tried to translate Ms. B to Tibetan but was not successful; Zhwa mar IV handed over Ms. A and Ms. B to Chos skyong bzang po.
1490	Chos skyong bzang po translated the <i>Tattvārthā</i> to Tibetan on the basis of Ms. B as the main manuscript, using Ms. A as a supporting “witness” ( <i>dpe dpang</i> ).
between 16 <sup>th</sup> and 19 <sup>th</sup> c.	Ms. B was brought from Tibet to Wutaishan 五台山.
before 1864	Ms. B was brought from Wutaishan 五台山 to Shuangguitang 双桂堂 by Zhuchanhesang 禅和尚 (1824–1901).
before 1960s	Ms. A was brought to Potala.
27 Oct 1990	Ms. B was stolen from Shuangguitang 双桂堂 by Cai Zhongyi 蔡仲义 (1960–) and disappeared.

## 1.6 The lost opening part

Ejima and Matsuda suggest that the opening part of the *Tattvārthā* (i.e., the *maṅgala* verse and the *śāstrārambha*) is missing in both Sanskrit manuscripts and also in the Tibetan translation.<sup>12</sup> The opening is preserved only in the Uyghur translation and partially in the abbreviated Chinese version (Taisho No. 1561), in which the opening verse runs as follows (Taisho No. 1561, vol. 29, p. 325a11–14):<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ejima 1986 and Matsuda 2014: 9–10.

<sup>13</sup> The image of the manuscript (Pelliot Chinois, Touen-houeng, no. 3196) is accessible at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83023682> (last accessed 25 March 2019). Some parts of the *Tattvārthā*'s opening are also available in the Tibetan translation of Pūrṇavardhana's *Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī*.

稽首薄伽衆德山 稽首達磨大智海  
 稽首僧伽和合衆 掣斯論主及吾師  
 我將螢耀助陽光 隨力弘宣對法藏  
 爲利群生法久住 願以威神見護持

I bow down to the Bhagavat, the mountain of qualities. I bow down to the dharma, the ocean of great wisdom. I bow down to the *saṅgha*, the assembly. I pay homage to<sup>14</sup> the author of this treatise (i.e., Vasubandhu) and my teacher (i.e., Guṇamati).<sup>15</sup> As much as a firefly's light supports the sunshine, I shall, to the best of my ability, spread the Abhidharma treasury (i.e., the *Abhidharmakośa*), in order to benefit the sentient beings by establishing them in the dharma for a long time. May the [buddhas] look at me with divine power and protect me!

In this opening verse, Sthiramati pays homage to the Three Jewels, to the author of the treatise, Vasubandhu, and to his own teacher, Guṇamati. It is notable that in the opening verse of the \**Abhidharma-samuccayavyākhyā*, another work attributed to Sthiramati, he also pays homage to the Three Jewels, to the author of the treatise, that is, Asaṅga, and to its commentator.<sup>16</sup>

## 1.7 The Tibetan translation

A notable aspect of the Tibetan translation is the fact that the translator, Chos skyong bzang po, obviously was not able to translate some parts of the commentary and therefore in some cases only provides a transliteration, as he himself confesses in the colophon of his translation (see Appendix [4] and [7]). An example is found, for instance,

<sup>14</sup> Our translation of *che* 掣 is rather tentative, as *che* 掣 normally means “to pull” etc., and we actually would expect an expression for paying homage in this context.

<sup>15</sup> This identification is in accordance with a scribal note in the Uyghur translation. See Shogaito 2008: 22–23.

<sup>16</sup> The fact that Guṇamati (and also Vasumitra) composed commentaries on the *Abhidharmakośa* is mentioned by Yaśomitra. See Matsuda 2014: 10, n. 31 (which refers to AKVy 1.11f.: *guṇamativasumitrādyair vyākhyākāraih padārthavivṛtir yā / sukṛtā sābhimatā me likhitā ca tathāyam artha iti* //).

in AKTT(T) 45b2, where the following transliteration is provided: *ā tra tsa bri tti kī re ñai ba da nta mu tta mi ti nā trā da ra kri ya te*. The Sanskrit text (Ms.[A] 2r3) corresponding to this sentence reads: *atra ca vṛttikāreṇaiva dattam uttaram iti nātrādarah kriyate*. The Tibetan translators most probably did not understand the sentence and therefore only transliterated it. Though its exact meaning also remains obscure to us, it could possibly be translated in the following way: “And with regard to this, the answer (*uttara*) is given [in a later passage] by the very commentator (i.e., Vasubandhu). Therefore, attention is not paid to this [for the moment].”

Another example of a passage that the Tibetan translators probably did not understand properly is found at AKTT(T) 41b2: *shākya nad pa rnam la ni dmigs kyis bsal ba yin te / 'dis ni bcom ldan 'das kyi bka' las snga phyi 'gal ba spang pa yin te / thal bar 'gyur ba yongs su spang ba'i phyir zhes bya ba la chang ni lan cig 'thungs kyang zhen pa can du 'gyur te*. The corresponding passage in the Sanskrit (Ms.[A] 1r2) reads: *śākyeṣu punar glāneṣv apavādaḥ prasaṅgaparihārārtham iti sakṛtpītam api madyaṃ vyasanībhavati* (“[Forbidding intoxicating liquor] for sick *śākyas* is an exception [from the rule, being applied] in order to prevent an excessive application. [This refers to the fact that] intoxicating liquor brings about ruin even if drunk [only] one time.”). The second sentence of the Tibetan translation (*'dis ni bcom ldan 'das kyi bka' las snga phyi 'gal ba spang pa yin te*) is clearly missing in the Sanskrit text. Notably, we find exactly this sentence in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (AKVy 380,6f.): *anena bhagavadvacanasya pūrvāparavirodhaṃ pariharanti* (“Through this an internal contradiction in the Buddha’s teaching is avoided.”). Thus, in this case the Tibetan translators obviously complemented their translation of the *Tattvārthā* with a sentence from the *Vyākhyā*. Of course, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that the other Sanskrit manuscript, i.e., the main manuscript Ms.(B), includes the sentence that is missing in our manuscript Ms.(A).

## 1.8 Chinese and Uyghur versions

Fragments of the Chinese translation of the *Tattvārthā* covering only parts of the first chapter are available in the Dunhuang collection. Moreover, in Taisho No. 1561 (which actually also originates from the Dunhuang collection)<sup>17</sup> we find another text ascribed to the author Sthiramati bearing the same title (*Jushelun shiyushu* 俱舍論實義疏). However, this text is only a summary of the *Tattvārthā* and not an actual translation. No complete version of the Chinese translation of the *Tattvārthā* is available currently.

An Uyghur translation of the *Tattvārthā* was made on the basis of the (lost) Chinese translation. Fragments, which, again, include only parts of the first chapter, are available in the collections of the British Library and Lanzhou. These fragments were first dealt with in Haneda 1925. In 1970, Şinasi Tekin published a facsimile edition of one part of the collection. Finally, all fragments were transliterated and translated into Japanese by Masahiro Shogaito in 2008.

## 1.9 Available textual materials and witnesses

Our Sanskrit manuscript Ms.(A) of the *Tattvārthā* consists of eight chapters. The first chapter has been edited by Nobuchiyo Odani and other Japanese scholars in the last few years and is forthcoming in the near future,<sup>18</sup> while the other seven chapters await further treatment.<sup>19</sup> We are working on the fourth chapter of the *Tattvārthā*, the *karmanirdeśa* (“explanation of *karman*”), which covers fourteen folios, and are preparing a diplomatic transcription and a critical edition of the text. As the first part of the Sanskrit text of the fourth

<sup>17</sup> Pelliot Chinois, Touen-houeng, no. 3196.

<sup>18</sup> A Japanese translation of selected portions of the first chapter (based on the forthcoming Sanskrit text) is available in Odani et al. 2007–2017.

<sup>19</sup> As already noted by Matsuda, the *Tattvārthā* manuscript does not include a commentary on the ninth chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, that is, the “refutation of the person” (*pudgalapratishedha* or *pudgalaviniścaya*). This is probably due to the fact that at the time of the commentary’s composition the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* consisted of only eight chapters.

chapter (corresponding to verses 1 to 33) is missing, we also plan to publish a critical edition of the Tibetan translation covering this lost part of the text (which includes around 40 folios in the Derge Tanjur) in the future.

When editing the Sanskrit text of the *Tattvārthā*, not only the Sanskrit manuscript and the Tibetan translation have to be considered but also parallel passages found in related Abhidharmic works, namely Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* and \*Pūrṇavardhana's *\*Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī Abhidharmakośaṭīkā.<sup>20</sup> The *\*Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī* strongly relies on Sthiramati's commentary<sup>21</sup> and thus includes a number of identical passages. Moreover, as already noted by Yasunori Ejima (1986) and Marek Mejer (1991: 95), the *Sphuṭārthā* and the *\*Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī* have been used by the Tibetan translators of the *Tattvārthā* because parts of the two Sanskrit manuscripts of the latter were so difficult to read or understand that the translation was supplemented with words and phrases from Yaśomitra's and \*Pūrṇavardhana's texts (see Appendix [3] and [5]).*

Furthermore, the critical commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa* by Saṅghabhadra, *\*Nyāyanusāriṇī* (*Shunzhenglilun* 順正理論, Taisho No. 1562), available only in Chinese, must also be considered, as Sthiramati quotes and reuses Saṅghabhadra's words frequently in his text.<sup>22</sup> An example is found in the passage edited below (Ms.[A] 1r5f.), in which Saṅghabhadra is cited with the following statement:

As the *arhats* abstain from it, [drinking] intoxicating liquor is a transgression by way of prohibition, like eating at the wrong time.

<sup>20</sup> The *\*Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī* is only available in Tibetan (Peking 5594; short version in Peking 5597).

<sup>21</sup> See Mejer 1991: 63 and 95.

<sup>22</sup> Another work of Saṅghabhadra that should be mentioned here (but is of much lesser importance in connection with the edition of the *Tattvārthā*) is his *\*Samayapradīpika* (*Epidamocang xianzonglun* 阿毘達磨藏顯宗論, Taisho No. 1563).



(*arhadbhir anadhyācaritavāt pratikṣepaṇasāvadyaṃ vikālabhojanādivan madyam ity ācāryasaṅghabhadraḥ.*

Cf. *Shunzhenglilun* 順正理論, T No. 1562, vol. 29, 560c25: 故不言有阿羅漢亦現行故, 應是遮罪攝, 如非時食等).

The \**Nyāyānusāriṇī* is one of the most important witnesses for editing the *Tattvārthā* as Sthiramati not only quotes it but often also uses it as a source silently.

## 2. The fourth chapter of the *Tattvārthā* and the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*

The *karman* chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* consists of 127 verses, the commentary on the first 33 of which is missing in Ms.(A). There are a number of studies of *karman* in the context of the *Abhidharmakośa* corpus, of which we only mention three examples here. In 1987 Kazuya Funahashi published an annotated Japanese translation of the Sanskrit text of the *karman* chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and of Yaśomitra's *Vyākhyā*. As for studies in Western languages, the two most relevant are the doctoral dissertations of Thomas Dowling (1976) und Toshio Sako (1996), both of which have, however, never been published as monographs. Dowling investigates the concept of “non-information” (*avijñapti*) and translates the *Bhāṣya* on verses 1 to 22 of the chapter. Sako's dissertation focusses on the Indian karma concept in a wider context, beginning with Vedic ideas and extending up to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and its *Tattvārthā* commentary. Sako translates verses 1 to 12, including the *Bhāṣya* and the corresponding passages in the Tibetan version of the *Tattvārthā*. The main weakness of Sako's study is his non-critical approach to the highly problematic Tibetan translation, as he neither provides an edition of the Tibetan that he is translating nor adds any philological remarks on the Tibetan text.

Action (*karman*) is subdivided into three categories in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*: basis (*āśraya*), nature (*svabhāva*) and origin (*samutthāna*). These three correspond to the actions of the body

(*kāya*), speech (*vāc*) and mind (*manas*). While the last of these consists in intention (*cetanā*), the first two are secondary categories, in the sense that they are categorized as “intentional” (*cetayitvā*), that is, as occurring subsequent to a mental intention. Only bodily and vocal actions can be classified as being “information” (*viññapti*) or “non-information” (*aviññapti*), but these categories do not apply to the action of the mind. Bodily actions are defined as “shape” (*saṃsthāna*) by the Vaibhāṣikas (according to the Sautrāntikas they only nominally exist, i.e., *prajñaptisat*), while vocal actions are constituted by speech. In this sense both are “information” or “matter of information” (*viññaptirūpa*). Intention, that is, the action of the mind (*manas*), can neither be categorized as *viññapti* nor as *aviññapti*.

Non-information (*aviññapti*) is further divided into three classes: restraint (*saṃvara*), non-restraint (*asaṃvara*) and neither-restraint-nor-non-restraint. In general these two categories are used to account for the karmic consequences of keeping the vows of a Buddhist monk or lay practitioner in the case of *saṃvara* and, in the case of *asaṃvara*, of people whose profession it is to kill, such as butchers.<sup>23</sup> In the first case – that is, in the case of monks and lay practitioners – the existence of *aviññapti* makes sure that abstention from certain activities, prescribed in the different rules for monks and lay practitioners and so on, has positive karmic effects. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain, at least from the perspective of the Sarvāstivādins, how non-action could have a karmic effect (insofar as normally only the performance of an action is registered). In the second case, that is, non-restraint, the *aviññapti* in a way stores the information that someone has an unbeneficial profession, even if (s)he is not slaughtering an animal in every moment of his/her life.

There are eight kinds of restraint (*saṃvara*), namely of the monk (*bhikṣu*), the nun (*bhikṣuṇī*), the nun in training (*śikṣamāṇā*), the novice monk (*śrāmaṇera*), the novice nun (*śrāmaṇerī*), the male lay practitioner (*upāsaka*), the female lay practitioner (*upāsikā*),

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., AKBh 219,12–221,14.

and the practitioner of the fast (*upavāsa*).<sup>24</sup> As is well known, the lay practitioner has to keep the five vows of abstaining from killing (*prāṇātīpāta*), stealing (*adattādāna*), sexual misconduct (*kāmamithyācāra*), lying (*mṛṣāvāda*) and drinking intoxicating substances (*surāmaireyamadyapāna*).<sup>25</sup> Our manuscript fragment Ms.(A) begins at this point in the fourth chapter (at verse 34).

The topic of the first passage in Ms.(A) is the *pratimokṣa* restraint of the lay practitioner and the question why it is not allowed for the lay practitioner to drink alcohol. The corresponding verse of the *Abhidharmakośa* reads:

[The lay practitioner abstains] precisely from intoxicating liquor, which is a “transgression by way of prohibition.”

(AKBh 218,15: *pratikṣepaṇasāvadyān madyād eva*).

Then the *Bhāṣya* asks:

Why [does (s)he abstain] only from intoxicating drinks and not from the other [transgressions by way of prohibition]?

(AKBh 218,16: *kiṃ kāraṇaṃ madyād eva nānyasmāt*).

The answer is found in the remaining part of the verse:

In order to keep the other [rules]

(AKBh 218,17: *anyaguptaye*).

The lay practitioner actually only has to abstain from the four “transgressions by nature” (*prakṛtisāvadya*), which include the four most serious transgressions, namely killing, stealing, lying and sexual misconduct. In contrast, only monks and nuns have to abstain from the “transgressions by way of prohibition” (*pratikṣepaṇasāvadya*), which are less serious. Now, drinking alcohol is only a “transgression by way of prohibition,” not a “transgression by nature.” Why then does the lay practitioner have to abstain from intoxicating drinks? The answer provided in the verse explains that this is be-

<sup>24</sup> AKBh 205,18.

<sup>25</sup> AKBh 207,1f.

cause after drinking (s)he might not be able to keep the other four rules.

The portion of Ms.(A) available to us starts with the following:

In order to determine that drinking of intoxicating liquor is invariably a misbehavior, the Vinaya experts say: “[Drinking] intoxicating liquor is a transgression by nature.”

(*punar aviśeṣeṇa madyapānasya duścaritatvaprasādhānā-rtham āha – prakṛtisāvadyaṃ madyam iti vinayadharāḥ*).

This means that obviously some Vinaya experts argued that drinking alcohol is a serious transgression (and not only a *pratikṣepa-ṇasāvadya*), like, as Sthiramati explains later in the commentary, the other bodily misbehaviors (*kāyaduścarita*), including killing, stealing and sexual misconduct. According to our commentary, the reason why some regarded drinking intoxicating liquor as a *prakṛtisāvadya* was the fact that the Buddha did not allow the use of alcohol as a remedy for the sick.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, the *Bhāṣya* provides a quote of the Buddha stating that “[every means is allowed as a cure for the sick], except for a transgression by nature” (AKBh 218,22: *prakṛtisāvadyam ... sthāpayitvā*). Based on these statements one could conclude that drinking alcohol must also be a “transgression by nature.” However, as the commentary further explains, the above is only the general rule (*utsarga*), and drinking alcohol forms an exception to the rule, being forbidden not because it is a *prakṛtisāvadya* but for other reasons. As stated already in the *Bhāṣya*, alcohol is not allowed for the lay practitioner “because it makes attentiveness disappear” (AKBh 219,3: *tena ca smṛtināśāt*).

The *Bhāṣya* also says that drinking intoxicating liquor “is called a misbehaviour because it is the cause of carelessness, not because it is a transgression by nature” (AKBh 219,4: *duścaritavacanāṃ pramādashānatvāt / ... na ... prakṛtisāvadyatvād*). In his comments on this statement Sthiramati adds that drinking intoxicating drinks results in rebirth in the hells:

<sup>26</sup> See below, Ms.(A) 1r1: *yadi hi prakṛtisāvadyaṃ na syān, madyociteṣu śākyeṣu glāneṣv abhyanuñjātaṃ syāt / na cābhyanuñjātaṃ*.

[The Buddha taught] in a *sūtra* that by the frequent cultivation of the practice of the cause of carelessness, which is the liquor from grain or the *maireya* liquor, one takes rebirth in the hells after the destruction of the body (i.e., death). [This was taught] because [drinking] guides a new [*karman*] or because [*karman*] accumulated before becomes active at the moment of death.

(Ms.(A) 1r6: *uktaṃ hi sūtre surāmaireyamadya pramāda-sthānenāsevitena bhāvitena bahulīkṛtena kāyasya bhedaṅ narakeśūpapadyata iti / ākṣepād apūrvasya, vṛttilābhād vā pūrvopacitasya maraṅāvasthāyāṃ*).

Another argument applied in the *Bhāṣya* for the abstention from intoxicating liquor by the *āryas* is “because they are modest” (AKBh 219,3: *hrīmatvād*). In the *Tattvārthā* Sthiramati explicates in this regard that this statement is made with reference to the “five powers of ‘the one who is learning,’ which are taught in a *sūtra*: the power of faith, the power of energy, the power of modesty, the power of shame and the power of insight.” (Ms.(A) 1r4: *pañca śaikṣabalāni sūtre paṭhyante – śraddhābalaṃ vīryabalaṃ hrībalaṃ apatrāpyabalaṃ prajñābalaṃ ca*).

Another question addressed in the passage under discussion deals with the objection that one could consume alcohol in an amount that is not intoxicating. In this regard the *Bhāṣya* says: “They do not drink even a little because we cannot determine [the amount that causes intoxication], just as in the case of poison.” (AKBh 219,3: *alpakasyāpy apānam aniyamād viṣavat*). In the *Tattvārthā* Sthiramati explains:

Intoxicating liquor becomes an addiction even if drunk [only] once, for the Fortunate one has taught: “For him who is accustomed with three things, there is no satisfaction, namely, intoxicating liquor, sexual misconduct as well as torpor and drowsiness.” There are some, who, being very cautious, drink only an amount that does not cause intoxication for the sake of getting rid of [sickness]; Why was it not allowed for them? Depending on the material, time, [their] nature and the state of

[their] body, the same amount of [liquor] can cause intoxication and non-intoxication.

(Ms.[A] 1r2f.: *sakṛtpītam api madyam vyasanībhavati / uktaṃ hi bhagavatā – trīṇi sthānāni pratisevato nāsti tṛptir, madyam abrahmacaryaṃ styānamiddhaṃ ceti / santi hi kecīṭ pratisaṃkhyānabahuḷā ye pratikārārtham amadanīyāṃ eva mātrāṃ pibanti, teṣāṃ kimarthaṃ nānujñātam ity / dravya-kālaprakṛtīśarīrāvasthāpekṣā saiva mātrā madanīyā cāmadanīyā ca bhavatīti*).

### 3. Critical edition and diplomatic transcription

#### 3.1 Critical edition of *Tattvārthā* on AKBh IV.34

(Bundle C, fols. 1r1–8)

(Words in bold indicate lemma quotations of the AKBh.)

##### [Vinayadhara's position]

(1r1) punar aviśeṣeṇa<sup>27</sup> madyapānasya duścaritatvapasādhanārtham<sup>28</sup> āha – **prakṛtisāvadyaṃ**<sup>29</sup> **madyam iti vinayadharāḥ** / yadi hi prakṛtisāvadyaṃ na syāt,<sup>30</sup> madyociteṣu śākyeṣu glāneṣv abhyanujñātaṃ syāt,<sup>31</sup> **na cābhyanuñātam** / tasmāt prakṛtisāvadyaṃ **prānivadhādivad** iti /<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Tib. *khyad par du* (the corresponding passage in AKTL 35b4 also has *khyad par du*), suggesting the reading \**punar viśeṣeṇa*, which is semantically also possible in this context.

<sup>28</sup> *duścaritatvapasādhanārtham*] em., *duścaritatvaṃ prasādhanārtham* Ms.(A).

<sup>29</sup> *prakṛtisāvadyaṃ*] em., *sāvadyaṃ* Ms.(A). The emendation *prakṛtisāvadyaṃ* is supported by Tib. *rang bzhiṅ gi kha na ma tho ba* and AKBh 218.21.

<sup>30</sup> AKVy 379,29: *yadi hi tat prajñaptisāvadyaṃ syāt*.

<sup>31</sup> *abhyanujñātaṃ syān*] em., *abhyanujñāta syā* Ms.(A). Cf. Tib. *gnang bar 'gyur ba zhig na*.

<sup>32</sup> *cābhyanuñātam*] em. (= AKBh), *cābhyanuñānaṃ* Ms.(A).

yasyāryā janmāntareṣv akaraṇasaṃvaram<sup>33</sup> pratilabhante tat prakṛtisāvadyam, tadyathā prāṇātipātādattādānādaya iti /<sup>34</sup>

kāyaduṣcaritavacanāc ca prakṛtisāvadyam, tadanya(1r2)kāyaduṣcaritavat / caturvidhaṃ hi kāyaduṣcaritam uktaṃ prāṇātipāto 'dattādānaṃ kāmamithyācāro madyapānam iti<sup>35</sup> /<sup>36</sup>

### [Ābhidharmika's position]

utsargavihitasyāpīti sāmānyavihitasya / kathaṃ bhadanta glāna upasthātavyaḥ / sthāpayitvā prakṛtisāvadyam<sup>37</sup> ity ayam utsargaḥ /<sup>38</sup>

śākyeṣu punar glāneṣv apavādaḥ prasaṅgaparihārṛtham iti sakṛtpītam api madyaṃ vyasanībhavati / uktaṃ hi bhagavatā – trīṇi sthānāni pratisevato<sup>39</sup> nāsti trptiḥ, madyam a(1r3)brahmacaryaṃ styānamiddhaṃ ceti /<sup>40</sup>

<sup>33</sup> akaraṇasaṃvaram] em., akaraṇaṃ saṃvaram Ms.(A).

<sup>34</sup> ≈ AKTL 35b6f.: gang zhig 'phags pa rnam s kyis tshe rabs gzhan du mi byed pa'i sdom pa thob pa de ni rang bzhin gyis kha na ma tho ba yin te / srog gcod pa dang ma byin par len pa la sogs pa bzhin no.

<sup>35</sup> The passage *caturvidhaṃ hi kāyaduṣcaritam uktaṃ prāṇātipāto 'dattādānaṃ kāmamithyācāro madyapānam* echoes the following passage of the *Shunzhenglilun* 順正理論, T vol. 29, 560b1–16: 阿笈摩者謂契經言。身有四惡行，殺生至飲酒不應遮罪是惡行攝。 See also AKVy 380.1. As for this *sūtra* quotation, see Honjō 2014, no. 4045.

<sup>36</sup> ≈ AKTL 35b7–36a1: lus kyi nyes par spyod pa zhes kyang 'byung ba'i phyir rang bzhin gyis kha na ma tho ba yin te / de las gzhan pa'i lus kyi nyes par spyod pa bzhin no // lus kyi nyes par spyod pa ni rnam pa bzhi gsungs te / srog gcod pa dang / ma byin par len pa dang / 'dod pas log par g.yems pa dang / myos par 'gyur ba 'thung ba'o.

<sup>37</sup> AKBh 219,1: *prajñaptisāvadya-*.

<sup>38</sup> ≈ AKTL 36a1: *spyir bstan mod kyi zhes bya ba rgyas par 'byung ste / thun mong du bstan mod kyi // btsun pa ji ltar bro g-yog bgyi // rang bzhin gyis kha na ma tho ba ma gtogs pa zhes bya ba 'di ni spyir bstan pa yin la.*

<sup>39</sup> AKVy 380,11: *pratiṣedhamānasya* (read: *pratiṣevamānasya*) in place of *pratisevato*. For the emendation *pratiṣedhamānasya* to *pratiṣevamānasya* in AKVy, see Funayashi 1987: 199, n. 4.

<sup>40</sup> ≈ AKTL 36a1–3: *shākya nad pa rnam la ni dmigs kyis bsal ba yin te /*

santi hi kecit pratisaṃkhyānabahulā<sup>41</sup> ye pratikārārtham amadanīyām eva mātrāṃ pibanti, teṣāṃ kimarthaṃ nānujñātam ity ata āha – **madanīyamātrāṇīyamād** iti / dravyakālaprakṛtiśarīrāvasthāpekṣā hi<sup>42</sup> saiva mātrā<sup>43</sup> madanīyā cāmadanīyā ca bhavatīti<sup>44</sup> / pūrvavākyavyākhyānānusaṃdhinā cedam uktaṃ<sup>45</sup> – **madanīyamātrāṇīyamād** iti <sup>46</sup>

**ata eva kuśāgrapānapratiśedha** iti prasaṃgaparihārā(1r4)-rtham <sup>47</sup> katham / prajñaptisāvadyam ity avetya,<sup>48</sup> alpadoṣatvāt taratamābhivṛddhikrameṇāsya viśeṣaṇād yāvanmadanīyamātrāpānam<sup>49</sup>

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*'dis ni bcom ldan 'das kyi bka' la snga phyi'i 'gal ba spangs pa (D adds: ma) yin te / thal bar 'gyur ba yongs su spang ba'i phyir zhes bya ba la chang ni lan cig 'thungs kyang zhen pa can du 'gyur te / bcom ldan 'das kyi kyang gnas gsum po chang dang / mi tshangs par spyod pa dang / rmugs pa dang / gnyid bsten pa ni tshim pa med do zhes gsungs so //; sakṛtpūtām api ... styānamiddhaṃ ceti ≈ AKVy 380.10–12.*

<sup>41</sup> The phrase *pratisaṃkhyānabahulāḥ* does not appear in the Tibetan translation.

<sup>42</sup> *hi*] em., *di* Ms.(A).

<sup>43</sup> Tib. *chang (madya)* instead of *mātrā*.

<sup>44</sup> *dravyakālaprakṛtiśarīrāvasthāpekṣā ... madanīyā cāmadanīyā ca bhavatīti* ≈ AKVy 380.13f.

<sup>45</sup> The phrase *pūrvavākyavyākhyānānusaṃdhinā cedam uktaṃ* does not appear in the Tibetan translation.

<sup>46</sup> ≈ AKTL 36a3–4: *gang dag phyir bco ba'i phyir myos par mi 'gyur ba'i tshad du 'thung ba kha cig yod pa de dag la ci'i phyir ma gnang zhe na / de'i phyir myos par 'gyur ba'i drod ma nges pas zhes bya ba smos te / tshad de nyid rdzas dang dus dang rang bzhin dang lus kyi gnas skabs la ltos nas myos par 'gyur ba yang yin la / myos par mi 'gyur ba yang yin no.*

<sup>47</sup> ≈ AKTL 36a3: *de nyid kyi phyir rtswa'i rtse mos 'thung ba bkag pa yin no zhes bya ba ni / thal bar 'gyur ba spang ba'i phyir.*

<sup>48</sup> *avetya*] em., *avetyā* Ms.(A).

<sup>49</sup> It is also possible to read *yāvan madanīyamātrāpānam* as two separate words.



api syād iti prasaṅgaparihārārthaṃ<sup>50</sup> kuśāgrapratiśedhaḥ / eṣāṃ hi prasaṅga eva vicchidyate /<sup>51</sup>

**āryair anadhyācaraṇaṃ hrīmattvād** iti pañca<sup>52</sup> śaikṣabalāni sūtre pathyante – śraddhābalaṃ vīryabalaṃ hrībalaṃ apatrāpyabalaṃ prajñābalaṃ ca / ato hrīmattvān na pibanti<sup>53</sup> / hrīmadbhir na pātavyam ity atra kiṃ kāra(1r5)ṇam ity ata āha – **tena ca smṛtināśād** iti / madyaṃ hi pibataḥ kāryākāryasmṛtir naśyati /<sup>54</sup>

yady evam alpakaṃ yāvatyā smṛtir na naśyati,<sup>55</sup> tat kimarthaṃ na pibatīty<sup>56</sup> ata āha – **alpakasyāpy apānam aniyamād viṣavat** / yathā kālaprakṛtiśaktiyogād alpam api viṣaṃ kadācin mārayati, evaṃ madyam api madayatīti /<sup>57</sup>

<sup>50</sup> The passage *alpadoṣatvāt taratamābhivṛddhikrameṇāsya viśeṣaṇād yāvanmadanīyamātrāpānam api syād iti prasaṅgaparihārārthaṃ* does not appear in the Tibetan translation.

<sup>51</sup> ≈ AKTL 36a4–5: *de ltar na ni thal bar 'gyur pa nyid gcod pa yin no.*

<sup>52</sup> *pañca*] em., *paṃcā* Ms.(A).

<sup>53</sup> *pañca śaikṣabalāni ... na pibanti* ≈ AKVy 380.17–19.

<sup>54</sup> ≈ AKTL 36a5–7: *'phags pa rnam mi spyod pa ni ngo tsha dang ldan pa'i phyir zhes bya ba ni / mdo las stobs lnga 'byung ste / dad pa'i stobs dang / brtson 'grus kyi stobs dang / ngo tsha shes pa'i stobs dang / khrel yod pa'i stobs dang / shes rab kyi stobs zhes bya ba yin no // de'i phyir ngo tsha dang ldan pa'i phyir mi 'thung bar zad do // ngo tsha dang ldan pa dag gis btung bar bya ba ma yin no zhes bya ba la rgyu ci zhig yod ce na / de'i phyir des kyang dran pa nyams par byed pa'i phyir zhes bya ba smos te / chang 'thung ba ni bya ba dang bya ba ma yin pa'i dran pa nyams par 'gyur ro.*

<sup>55</sup> *yady evam ... na naśyati* ≈ AKVy 380.21f.

<sup>56</sup> We understand this sentence as “If so, why doesn’t he drink (*kimarthaṃ na pibati*) a small amount [of liquor], by which amount (*yāvatyā*) his attentiveness does not disappear?”

<sup>57</sup> ≈ AKTL 36a7–b1: *gal te de ltar na ji tсам gyis dran pa nyams par mi 'gyur ba cung zad cig ci ste mi 'thung zhe na / de'i phyir cung zad kyang mi gsol te / dug bzhin du ma nges pa'i phyir zhes bya ba smos te / dper na dus dang rang bzhin dang mthu dang ldan pa dug chung ngus kyang res 'ga' 'chi bar byed pa de bzhin du chang yang myos par byed do; yathā kālaprakṛtiśaktiyogād ... api madayatīti* ≈ AKVy 380.23f.

arhadbhir anadhyācaritatvāt pratikṣeṣaṇasāvadyaṃ<sup>58</sup> vikālabho-  
janādivan madya(1r6)m

ity ācāryasaṅghabhadraḥ /<sup>59</sup> etan nānavadyam ity ajñāyānadyā-  
caraṇāt /<sup>60</sup>

**duścaritavacaṇaṃ pramādashānatvāt, na prakṛtisāvadya-  
tvād** ity abhiprāyaḥ / **ata evātrey** atra śikṣāpade – surāmaireya-  
madyapramādashānaṃ prahāyeti /<sup>61</sup>

**nānyeṣv** iti prāṇātipātādiviraṭiṣu<sup>62</sup> / agrahaṇe kāraṇam āha –  
**prakṛtisāvadyatvād** iti / **atyāsevitene**ti vistaraḥ / uktaṃ hi sūtre –

<sup>58</sup> *pratikṣeṣaṇasāvadyaṃ*] em., *pratikṣeṣeṇa sāvadyaṃ* Ms.(A).

<sup>59</sup> *Shunzhenglilun* 順正理論, T vol. 29, 560c25: 何故不言有阿羅漢亦現  
行故, 應是遮罪攝, 如非時食等.

<sup>60</sup> *etan nānavadyam ity ajñāyānadyācaraṇāt*] conjecture, *etac ca nava-  
dyaṃ ity ajñānādyācaraṇāt* Ms.(A). This conjecture might need further  
improvement. For the moment, we understand this as “This is because  
[the arhats] do not practice [drinking liquor] after recognizing that it (i.e.,  
drinking) is not faultless.” The Tibetan translation reads: *’di yang myos par  
’gyur bar shes nas lhag par mi spyod pa’i phyir ro* (“Because, having known  
that it causes intoxication, he does not practice [drinking liquor].”). This  
might correspond to Sanskrit *\*etan madanīyam ity ajñāyānadyācaraṇāt*.  
The reading *anavadya* or *avadya* could have been confused with *madya*.  
On the other hand, the reading of the manuscript *ajñāna-* corresponds to  
*ajñātaṃ* in AKVy 380.19f.: *yadi hrīmattvāt tadanadyācaraṇam* (Wogi-  
hara read: *tad anadyācaraṇam*), **ajñātam** *udakādivat kasmān na pibantīty*  
 (“If [the arhats] do not practice it (i.e., drinking liquor) because of their mo-  
desty, why don’t they drink unrecognized [liquor] just like water, etc.?”).  
Dr. Toshio Horiuchi kindly drew our attention to this AKVy passage.

<sup>61</sup> ≈ AKTL 36b1–2: *nyes par spyod pa zhes ’byung ba ni / bag med pa’i  
gnas yin pa’i phyir te / rang bzhin gyis kha na ma tho ba yin pa’i phyir ni  
ma yin no snyam du bsams pa’o // de nyid kyi phyir ’di la zhes bya ba ni  
bslab pa’i gzhi ’di la ’bru’i chang dang sbyar ba’i chang bag med pa’i gnas  
spangs te zhes smos so; śikṣāpade surāmaireyamadyapramādashānaṃ  
≈ AKVy 380.26f. Cf. also, for instance, the *Upasaṃpadājñapti*: *yathā te  
āryā arhanto yāvajjīvam adattādānaṃ kāmamithyācāraṃ mṛṣāvādāṃ  
surāmaireyamadyapramādashānaṃ prahāya* *surāmaireyamadyapramā-  
dashānāt prativiraṭaḥ* (Chung 2011: 7).*

<sup>62</sup> *prāṇātipātādiviraṭiṣu* ≈ AKVy 380.28.

surāmaireyamadya(1r7)pramādashhānenāsevitenā bhāvitenā bahulī-  
kr̥tenā kāyasya bhedān narakeṣūpapadyata iti,<sup>63</sup> **ākṣepād** apūrvasya,  
**vṛttilābhād vā** pūrvopacitasya maraṇāvasthāyām /<sup>64</sup>

**sarvaprāmādāspādatvād** iti sarvasmṛtisampramoṣapramādānām  
prāṇātipātādihetubhūtānām madyapānam<sup>65</sup> āspadabhūtaṃ punaḥ  
**pramādashhānam** iti / kr̥tyanirapekṣasyākṛtyapraṇatā pramādaḥ /  
tannimittam (1r8) pramādashhānam /<sup>66</sup> madyapītas tādajīrṇe na sam-  
varam ādadyāt, pramādashhānatatvāt<sup>67</sup> /

<sup>63</sup> *sūtre ... bhedān narakeṣūpapadyata iti* ≈ AKVy 381.2. According to Yaśomitra, this quotation originates from the *Nandikasūtra*.

<sup>64</sup> ≈ AKTL 36b2–4: *gzhan la ni ma yin te zhes bya ba ni srog gcod pa spong ba la sogs pa dag la'o // ma smos pa'i rgyu bshad pa ni de dag ni rang bzhin gyis kha na ma tho ba yin pa'i phyir ro // ha cang kun tu bsten pas zhes bya ba rgyas par 'byung ba ni bcom ldan 'das kyis mdo las / 'bru'i chang dang sbyar ba'i chang bag med pa'i gnas kun tu bsten cing goms par byas / lan mang du byas pas lus zhis nas dmyal ba dag tu skye'o zhes gsungs so // 'phen pa ni sngon med pa'o // sngon bsags pa ni 'jug pa thob pa'i phyir te / 'chi ba'i gnas skabs su 'jug pa thob pa'i phyir ro.*

<sup>65</sup> *sarvasmṛtisampramoṣapramādānām prāṇātipātādihetubhūtānām madyapānam* ≈ AKVy 381.14–16.

<sup>66</sup> The passage *kr̥tyanirapekṣasyākṛtyapraṇatā pramādaḥ / tannimittam pramādashhānam* / corresponds to the following part of the *Shunzhenglilun* 順正理論, T vol. 29, 561b16–17: 言放逸者, 不顧應作, 趣不應作, 故名放逸. 是放逸因名放逸處. ≈ AKTL 36b7–37a1: *bya ba la ltos pa med par bya ba ma yin pa la gzhol ba nyid ni bag med pa ste / de'i rgyu ni bag med pa'i gnas so.*

<sup>67</sup> The passage *madyapītas tādajīrṇe na samvaram ādadyāt, pramādashhānatatvāt* (“The one who has drunk liquor should not receive a vow as long as he has not yet digested the liquor because it will become the foundation for carelessness”) corresponds to the following part of the *Shunzhenglilun* 順正理論, T vol. 29, 561b25: 若飲酒已不吐未消, 彼必不能受律儀等. 酒是放逸所依處故. The corresponding passage in the Tibetan text is constructed differently: *chang ni de spang ba'i sdom pa can la sbyin par mi bya ste bag med pa'i gnas yin pa'i phyir ro.*

### 3.2 Diplomatic transcription of *Tattvārthā*, Ms.(A) fol. 1r1–8

In the following transcription, a *virāma* is represented by an asterisk (\*), a string hole by a circle sign (○).

#### 1r1<sup>68</sup>

punar aviśeṣeṇa madyapānasya duścaritatvaṃ prasādhanārtham āha /  
sāvadyaṃ madyam iti vinayadharāḥ yadi hi prakṛtisāvadyaṃ na syān  
madyociteṣu śākyeṣu glāneṣv abhyanuññāta syā na cābhyanuññātaṃ  
tasmāt prakṛtisāvadyaṃ prāñivadhādivad iti yasyāryā janmāntareṣv  
akaraṇaṃ saṃvaraṃ pratilabhante tat prakṛtisāvadyaṃ tadyathā  
prāñātipātādattādānādaya iti kāyaduścaritavacanāc ca prakṛtisā-  
vadyaṃ tadanya

#### 1r2

kāyaduścaritavat caturvīdhaṃ hi kāyaduścaritam uktaṃ prāñātipāto  
dattādānaṃ kāmamithyācāro madyapānam iti utsarggavihitasyāpīti  
sāmānyavihitasya kathaṃ bhadanta glāna upasthātavyaḥ sthāpayitvā  
prakṛtisāvadyam ity ayam utsarggaḥ śākyeṣu punar glāneṣv apavādah  
prasaṅgaparihārārtham iti sakṛtṛpītam api madyaṃ vyasanībhavati  
uktaṃ hi bhagavatā ttrīṇi sthānāni pratisevato nāsti tṛpti madyam a

#### 1r3

brahmacaryaṃ styānamiddhaṃ ceti santi hi kecit pratisaṃkhyāna-  
bahulāḥ ye pratikārārtham amadanīyām eva māttrāṃ pibanti teṣāṃ  
kimarthaṃ nānuññātam ity ata āha madanīyamāttrānīyamād iti dra-  
vyakālaprakṛtiśārīrāvasthāpekṣādi saiva māttrā madanīyā cāmada-  
nīyā ca bhavatīti pūrvvavākyavyākhyānānusaṃdhinā cedam uktaṃ  
madanīyamāttrānīyamād iti ata eva kuśāgrapānapratīṣedha iti pra-  
saṃgaparihārā

#### 1r4

rthaṃ kathaṃ prajñaptisāvadyam ity avetyā alpadoṣatvāt taratamābhi-  
vṛddhikrameṇāsya viśeṣaṇād yāvan madanīyamāttrāpānam api syād

<sup>68</sup> In the upper margin: *chang kha na ma tho ba ...*

iti prasaṅgaparihārārthaṃ kuśāgrapratiṣedhaḥ eṣān hi prasaṅga eva vicchidyate āryair anadhyācaraṇaṃ hrīmatvād iti paṃcā śai-kṣabalāni sūtre paṭṭhyante śraddhābalaṃ vīryabalaṃ hrībalaṃ apatrāpyabalaṃ prajñābalaṃ ca ato hrīmatvān na pibanti hrīmadbhir nna pātavyam ity attra kiṃkāra

### 1r5

ṇam ity ata āha tena ca smṛtināśād iti madyaṅ hi pibataḥ kāryā-kāryasmṛtir nnaśyati yady evam alpakaṃ yāvataḥ smṛtiḥ nna naśyati tat kimarthaṃ na pibatīty ata āha alpakaśyāpy apānam aniyamād viṣavad yathā kālaprakṛtiśaktiyogād alpam api viṣaṃ kadācin māra-yaty evaṃ madyam api madayatīti arhadbhir anadhyācaritvatvā pratikṣeṇa sāvadyaṃ vikālabhojanādivan madya

### 1r6

m ity ācāryasaṅghabhadraḥ etac ca navadyam ity ajñānādhyā-ca<sup>69</sup>raṇāt\* duścaritavacanāṃ pramādashānatvān na prakṛtisāvadyatvād ity abhiprāyaḥ ata evāttrety attra śikṣāpade surāmaireyamadyapramādashānaṃ prahāyeti nānyeṣv iti prāṇātipātādiviratiṣu agrahaṇe kāraṇaṃ āha / prakṛtisāvadyatvād iti atyāseviteneṭi vistaraḥ uktaṃ hi sūtre surāmaireyamadya

### 1r7

pramādashānenāsevitena bhāvitena bahulīkṛtena kāyasya bhedān narakeṣūpapadyata iti ākṣepād apūrvvasya vṛttilābhād vā pūrvvopacitasya maraṇāvasthāyāṃ sarvvapramādāspadatvād iti sarvvasmṛtiśampramoṣapramādānāṃ prāṇātipātā o dihetubhūtānāṃ madyapānam āspadabhūtaṃ punaḥ pramādashānam ity kṛtyanirapekṣasyākṛtyapravaṇatā pramādaḥ tannimittaṃ

### 1r8

pramādashānaṃ madyapītas tadajīrṇṇe na saṃvaram ādadyāt\* pramādashānagatatvād

<sup>69</sup> -ca- is corrected from -cā- in the manuscript by the scribe.

## 4. Appendix: The translator's colophon in the Tibetan version of the *Tattvārthā*

Derge Tōhoku no. 4421, fol. 386b3–387a7<sup>70</sup>

### 4.1 Translation

[1] Regarding this *Abhidharmakośaṭīkā Tattvārthā* composed by Ācārya Sthiramati, previously, there had been only rumours among scholars that there is a commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa* composed by Sthiramati, entitled *Spark of Lightning* (*Gnam lcags thog zer*).<sup>71</sup> Afterwards, an Indic manuscript of this work fell down to the hand of the omniscient dharma lord Gzhon nu dpal (1392–1481).

[2] The lord himself tried to translate it,<sup>72</sup> to the best of his ability, [but] it was not completed. Afterwards, the dharma lord, Zhwa dmar crown-holder Chos kyi grags pa Ye shes dpal bzang po (1453–1524), who revered the precious doctrine and who is the matchless, the excellent guide of all beings including divine beings, asked me [motivated] by a pure intention: “Can you translate this (i.e., the Indic manuscript of the *Tattvārthā*) into the Tibetan language?”

[3] [I replied:] “Some parts in the middle of the text, some lacunae (i.e., untranslated words; cf. below [4] and [7]) may remain [in my translation], but there are the basic verses and [auto-]commentary of the *Abhidharmakośa* and also commentaries by Yaśomitra and \*Pūrṇavardhana, which had been translated before. I shall collate [the *Tattvārthā*] with each word and meaning of these [texts]. Since I know the previous translators' method of translating the teachings a

<sup>70</sup> For a Japanese translation of the colophon, see Ejima 1986. Cf. also van der Kujip 2007 and 2009.

<sup>71</sup> According to Ejima 1986, *Gnam lcags thog zer* is an alternative title of Saṅghabhadra's \**Nyāyānusāriṇī* (*Shunzhenglilun* 順正理論), i.e., *Jusheba-olun* 俱舍電論, mentioned by Huang Tsan 玄奘 in his *Datangxiyuji* 大唐西域記, vol. 4, and the ascription of it to Sthiramati in this colophon is a confusion influenced by a statement found in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*.

<sup>72</sup> The meaning of *mdzad pa mthar phyin pa* is not entirely clear. It could also mean “died.”

bit as well as the theory of scholastic Sanskrit grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), I will probably be able to translate the most part [of the *Tattvārthā*] into the Tibetan language.”

[4] [Then Zhwa dmar Chos kyi grags pa said:] “If so, it would definitely be nice to translate this because it is our duty with regard to the teaching. Even in the translations of [a great scholar] like Dpang Lo tsā ba (Blo gros brtan pa, 1276–1342), there are lacunae (i.e., untranslated words) in the *mantras*. Thus, there will be joy if someone else completes the translation [of the *Tattvārthā*] in the future. Go ahead, translate it!” After saying thus, he organized [supporting] conditions [for the translation].

[5] The one called Zha lu Lo tsā ba Dharmapālabhadra (i.e., Chos skyong bzang po) collated its Indic manuscript itself (*di'i rgya dpe ngo bo*, i.e., the main manuscript, Ms.(B)) with a witness Indic manuscript (*dpe dpang gi rgya dpe*, i.e., Ms.(A)) from the Stag lung monastery, which is complete except for the second half of chapter 2, chapter 3, and the first half of chapter 4, also together with the Indic manuscript of the auto-commentary (i.e., the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) and the above-mentioned<sup>73</sup> Tibetan manuscripts (i.e., the commentaries of Yaśomitra and Pūrṇavardhana, see above [3]), and then investigated it.

[6] Following the translation standards (*bkas bcad*) of previous scholars, I started [its Tibetan translation] in Gzhi ka lhung grub gling (i.e., Shigatse) and Lhung grub lha rtse (i.e., Lhatse), and then completed it at the Dga' ldan ma mo temple in the eastern province of Khongpo. Its scribe (*yi ge pa*) was a *kalyāṇamitra*, the practitioner Sangs rgyas dpal from Gnyen.

<sup>73</sup> We have emended the phrase *sngar smod pa'i dpe rnams* to *sngar smos pa'i dpe rnams*, and interpreted this phrase as referring to the previous passage in the same colophon (AKTT[T] 386b6–7: *bar skabs su hor kong cung zad lus pa 'dug na'ang sngar mngon pa mdzod rtsa 'grel dang 'grel bshad rgyal po sras dang gang spel la sogs pa 'gyur 'dug pa 'di dag gi tshig don la lar gtugs*). The phrase may be translated without the emendation as “the Tibetan text that had been criticized earlier,” but the meaning remains obscure. See van der Kuijp 2007: 282.

[7] Moreover, regarding [passages] that I in part clarified by putting some glosses (*mchan bu*) in the lacunae (i.e., the untranslated and only phonetically transliterated Sanskrit words) still remaining in the middle of this [text], I shall request scholars who have mastered Sanskrit grammar and the Abhidharma system to be patient and to investigate [these passages], [if] there are doubts in understanding [my] explanation of the meaning and if there are mistakes in [my] translation.

[8] The accumulation of merit that I obtained through the translating activity of this great treatise, which elaborates the supreme wisdom, which is the excellent ornament of the Jambūdīpa, and which is the clarifier of the doctrinal system – thanks to this accumulation, may the whole world destroy the darkness of ignorance by means of the illumination of wisdom and may they attain the state of omniscience! Also, on the way [to this goal], through the illumination of the celebration (*dga' ston*) of the teaching, which increases the fine discourse (*legs bshad*) of the Abhidharma ocean, may excellent teaching-holders in all directions reach the fine discourse and play!<sup>74</sup>

#### 4.2 Tibetan text<sup>75</sup>

[1] chos mngon pa mdzod kyi 'grel pa'i rgya cher bshad pa don gyi de kho na nyid ces slob dpon (386b4) blo gros brtan pas mdzad pa 'di / sngar gangs can du mdzod kyi 'grel bshad slob dpon blo gros brtan pas mdzad pa gnam lcags thog (P: thogs) zer zhes bya ba yod do zhes mkhas pa rnam la de tsam grags pa ma gtogs ma 'gyur ba las / 'di'i rgya dpe chos (386b5) kyi rje thams cad mkhyen pa gzhon nu dpal ba'i phyag tu byung ba /

<sup>74</sup> After this dedication verse, the formula *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā...* continues.

<sup>75</sup> For the variant readings of the Derge and Peking editions, we used the collated text included in the 中華大藏經, vol. 119 (Bstan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma, Beijing: 中国藏学出版社, 2003), adding some corrections.



[2] rje nyid mdzad pa mthar phyin (P: phyr) pas 'gyur mdzad pa ma grub pa las / bstan pa rin po che la gcig tu gces spras mdzad cing lha dang bcas pa'i skye dgu'i 'dren pa dam pa mtshungs med chos kyi (386b6) rje (P omits rje) rin po che zhwa dmar cod pan 'dzin pa bzhi pa chos kyi grags pa ye shes dpal bzang po'i zhal snga nas thugs dgongs rnam par dag pas bka' gnang ste / 'di nyid bod skad du bsgyur ba nus sam zhes gsungs pa las /

[3] bar skabs su hor kong cung zad (386b7) lus pa 'dug na'ang sngar mngon pa mdzod rtsa 'grel dang 'grel bshad rgyal po sras dang gang spel la sogs pa 'gyur 'dug pa 'di dag gi tshig don la lar gtugs / sngon gyi lo tsā ba rnams kyi chos bsgyur tshul dang sgra'i gzhung lugs phyogs tsam rtogs (387a1) pas phal che (P: cher) ba bod skad du bsgyur nus pa 'dra zhes gsol pa la /

[4] de lta na bstan pa'i bya ba yin pas cis kyang bsgyur ba legs / dpang lo tsā ba lta bu'i 'gyur la'ang hor kong sngags su lus (P: yus) 'dug cing da phyis gzhan gyis (P: gyi) rdzogs par 'gyur ba (387a2) yang dga' bas bsgyur cig ces bka' gnang zhing mthun rkyen stsal te /

[5] zha lu lo tsā ba dharma pā la bha dra (P omits dra) zhes pas 'di'i rgya dpe ngo bo dang / dpe dpang gi rgya dpe stag lung nas gnas gnyis pa'i smad dang gsum pa dang bzhi pa'i stod rnams ma gtogs tshang ba zhig (387a3) rnyed pa dang rang 'grel gyi rgya dpe dang sngar smod pa'i bod dpe rnams la gtugs shing dpyad de /

[6] sngon gyi mkhas pa rnams kyi bkas bcad bzhin gzhis kha lhun grub gling dang lhun grub lha rtse nas mgo brtsams te / shar phyogs ko (read: kong) bo'i sa'i cha dga' ldan ma (387a4) mo'i gtsug lag khang du rdzogs par bsgyur (P: sgyur) ba'i yi ge pa ni dge ba'i bshes gnyen yo ga pa sangs rgyas 'phel zhes bya bas bgyis so //

[7] da dung 'di'i bar skabs su lus pa'i hor kong rnams las cung zad mchan bus gsal bar byas pa la'ang don gyi 'grel pa (387a5) rtogs dgos (read: dogs) yod pa dang 'gyur nor 'khrul mchis pa rnams sgra dang mngon pa'i gzhung lugs mthar phyin pa'i mkhas pa rnams kyi (P: kyi) bzod cing dpyod (P: gcod) par gsol lo //

[8] lhag pa'i shes rab brjod byar byed pa'i 'dzam gling rgyan mchog gzhung lugs gsal byed (P: byed pa) bstan (387a6) bcos chen

po 'di bsgyur las // dge tshogs gang zhig thob pa de yis ma lus 'gro  
 rnam mi shes mun pa ye shes snang bas rab bcom ste // kun mkhyen  
 go 'phang mchog thob gyur cig gnas skabs su yang chos mngon (P:  
 mngon pa) rgya mtsho'i legs bshad 'phel (D: 'bal) ba'i bka' (387a7)  
 mchid kyi (P: kyis) // dga' ston snang bas phyogs rnam kun tu bstan  
 'dzin mchog rnam legs bshad 'byor bas rnam par rtsen pa nyid gyur  
 cig //

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- AKTL *Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī Abhidharmakośaṭīkā*, Tibetan translation, Derge 4093.
- AKTT(T) *Tattvārthā Abhidharmakośaṭīkā*, Tibetan translation, Derge 4421.
- AKVy *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, ed. U. Wogihara. Tokyo 1932.
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## Dignāga and his treatment of competing positions in *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, chapter two

Horst Lasic

In this article, I will deal with a certain paragraph of the second chapter of Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. In doing so, I have a few interconnected aims: I will try to get a better understanding of Dignāga's strategies of dealing with opinions of opponents or opposing traditions. I am especially interested in how closely he follows the course of argumentation as he found in his sources, and how strictly he abides by the original contexts. I am also interested in questions such as whether Dignāga, at certain points, reacts to critiques actually brought up against his ideas, or whether he has merely identified material conflicting with his own opinions and presented it for rhetorical purposes as if it were explicitly directed against his writings or teachings. My further objective is to demonstrate, using a selected passage, how I deal with the available materials for the purpose of reconstructing the Sanskrit text of the second chapter of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. I am especially concerned here with the two available Tibetan translations by Vasudhararakṣita/Zha ma Seng ge rgyal mtshan (V) and Kanakavarman/Dad pa'i shes rab (K).<sup>1</sup> Since the reconstruction of the whole chapter, which is currently under

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<sup>1</sup> As dates of the translations by Vasudhararakṣita/Zha ma Seng ge rgyal mtshan and by Kanakavarman/Dad pa'i shes rab, Mejer proposes "towards the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century" (Mejer 1991: 178) and "about 1100 A.D., perhaps even ... the very beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century" (Mejer 1991: 179) respectively. Van der Kuijp places the translation by Vasudhararakṣita/Zha ma Seng ge rgyal mtshan in the twelfth century, and holds that by Kanakavarman/Dad pa'i shes rab to be somewhat earlier (van der Kuijp 2013: 127).

preparation, will contain the final result but not the steps that led to it, I think it is worthwhile to present here an explicit case as an example. In the course of this presentation we will also encounter some interesting points concerning Dignāga's rhetorical strategies, understand the course of his discussion better, and learn more about the ideas the discussion feeds on. In general, I hope to demonstrate that my analysis, which has profited a great deal from the Sanskrit text of Jinendrabuddhi's commentary, the *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā*, noticeably improves our understanding of an important passage of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*.

The passage under scrutiny, edited in Kitagawa 1965: 450,9–452,6, concerns the object of inference. The discussion starts with an objection challenging Dignāga's opinion that, without exception, the object of inference is the *sāmānya*.

V	K
gal te 'di ltar rjes dpag thams cad spyi'i yul can no zhes ni brjod par mi bya ste / ci'i phyir zhe na /	'on te thams cad spyi'i yul can yin no zhes ba de yang brjod par mi bya'o / ci'i phyir zhe na /

<sup>2</sup>*atha – sarvam (anumānam)<sup>V</sup> sāmānyaviṣayam iti tan (/ tad  
api)<sup>K</sup> na vaktavyam. kasmāt?*

This prose passage, which introduces verse PS 2.3cd, has no support from any Sanskrit text.

Kanakavarman's translation has no equivalent of *anumānam*. Whether this is a case of omission in K or an addition in V, or in the respective Sanskrit manuscripts, cannot be decided with certainty. Since the passage harks back to *anumānam ca sāmānyaviṣayam* (PSV to PS 2.3ab), *anumānam* seems rather redundant at this point. Both Tibetan translations end this passage with *zhe na*. It is hard to say with certainty whether this is a translation of *iti*, or *iti cet*, or whether the translators simply added it for the sake of the Tibetan readers. There is not enough material available to form a solid opin-

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the Sanskrit text of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya(vṛtti)*, words that are not testified to in other works are printed in italics.

ion on Dignāga's predilections in such matters. In general, he has a succinct style. My current plan, therefore, is to drop the *iti cet* here, as well as in other similar passages.

The content however is quite clear: Dignāga must not say that all inferences have a *sāmānya* for their object. The following quarter-verse gives the reason for why this would have been wrong.

**asāmānye 'pi dṛṣṭatvāt** (PS 2.3c)

Because also with regard to a non-general (*asāmānya*) [object, inferences] have been seen.

The Tibetan translations of the explanation of this quarter-verse in PSV are noteworthy. For convenience, I have here as well as in the following inserted possible Sanskrit equivalents into the Tibetan text. In several cases, I added a hypothesis on the Sanskrit manuscripts below the Tibetan text.

V	K
spyi ma yin la'ang ( <i>asāmānye 'pi</i> ) <b>zhes</b> <b>bya ba ni</b> ( <i>iti</i> ) <b>mthong ba'i</b> ( <i>dṛṣṭa-</i> ) rlung la sogs pa'i rang bzhin (vāyvādi- svabhāve) reg bya la sogs pas ( <i>sparśādi-</i> <i>bhir</i> ) rjes su dpog pa'o ( <i>anumānaṃ</i> ) //	rlung la sogs pa (vāyvādi-) spyi'i ( <i>sāmā-</i> <i>nye</i> ) rang bzhin (svabhāve) ma yin ( <i>a-</i> ) pa la yang ( <i>api</i> ) reg bya la sogs pa rnams kyī ( <i>sparśādibhir</i> ) rjes su dpag pa ( <i>anumānaṃ</i> ) mthong ba yin no ( <i>dṛṣṭam</i> ) //
<i>asāmānye 'pīti dṛṣṭa&lt;ṃ&gt;</i> vāyvādisva- bhāve <i>sparśādibhir anumānam</i> .	vāyvādy- <i>asāmānyasvabhāve 'pi</i> (← <i>asāmānye &lt;&lt;vāyvādi&gt;&gt;svabhāve 'pi</i> ) <i>sparśādibhir anumānaṃ dṛṣṭam</i> .

I would like to draw your attention to *zhes bya ba ni* and to *mthong ba'i* of Vasudhararakṣita's translation, printed in bold. The fact that in Vasudhararakṣita's translation *asāmānye 'pi* is explicitly marked as an expression taken up from the verse text might be understood as evidence that *asāmānye 'pi* had the absolute front position in this sentence. That *mthong ba* is construed as a genitive attribute of *rlung la sogs pa'i rang bzhin* can be understood as indicating that *dṛṣṭam* may have been positioned somewhere near the beginning of the sentence, and that the Sanskrit manuscript read *dṛṣṭavāyvādisvabhāve* instead of *dṛṣṭam vāyvādisvabhāve*. This would then result in something like *asāmānye 'pīti dṛṣṭa<ṃ>* vāyvādisvabhāve *sparśādibhir anumānam*.

Since Dignāga usually does not appear to mark expressions taken up from the verse text explicitly when explaining his own verses, *zhes bya ba ni* may be understood as the translator's addition.

Kanakavarman's translation is rather problematic. It seems to indicate that in the Sanskrit manuscript on which this translation was based, *sāmānya* was inserted in the midst of *vāyvādi-svabhāve*, the only expression in this sentence that is testified by Jinendrabuddhi's commentary. It is ambiguous which word the negation *ma yin* belongs to. From the context one would understand that it negates *sāmānya*. So we would expect *asāmānya*, as we have it in the verse. The position of *rang bzhin* makes it very probable that the underlying Sanskrit was *asāmānyasvabhāve*. My further assumption is that a scribe originally skipped *asāmānye*, *vāyvādi*<sup>o</sup> or *°svabhāve*, and that this mistake was corrected in the margin. A later copyist or the translators then inserted the missing part in the wrong place. This could have resulted in *vāyvādy-asāmānya-svabhāve* instead of *asāmānye vāyvādisvabhāve*.

Problematic is still the exact position of *dr̥ṣṭam*. Since *vāyvādisvabhāve* evidently has the purpose of explaining *asāmānye* in the verse by way of an example, separating the two expressions with *dr̥ṣṭam* is rather irritating. Therefore, I would rather expect *dr̥ṣṭam* somewhere toward the end of the sentence. This would also better follow the pattern of PS 2.3c. If on the other hand we accept that Dignāga marked *asāmānye 'pi* as words taken up from the verse text, positioning *dr̥ṣṭam* at the beginning seems acceptable.

Relying on the reconstructed text based on Vasudhararakṣita, we would understand the following:

With [the words] “Also with regard to a non-general [object]” [and so on, the author of the verse says the following]: With regard to things like air, the inference on account of a tactile quality and so on has been seen.

Relying on the reconstructed text based on Kanakavarman, we would understand:



Also with regard to a non-general [object], such as a thing like air, the inference on account of a tactile quality and so on has been seen.

With the admittedly weak argument of stylistic probability, I follow Kanakavarman in this matter.

*asāmānye 'pi vāyvādisvabhāve sparśādibhir anumānaṃ dṛ-  
ṣṭam.*

The opponent then backs up his argument by quoting a *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*:

yathāha – sparśaś ca, na ca dṛṣṭānāṃ sparśa (VS 2.1.9–10)  
*ityādi.*

At this point I would like to ask whether a follower of the Vaiśeṣika system actually discussed the inference of air on account of a tactile property with the aim of refuting Dignāga's opinion that inference can only have a *sāmānya* for its object. This is something I rather doubt. One reason is that I have been unable to find a passage in any later work that points in this direction. Another reason is that at the end of the whole discussion, Dignāga says that in the same way he has refuted the Vaiśeṣika proof of air, one should also refute the Sāṃkhyas' inference of *pradhāna* and so on. Dignāga seems to be launching an attack in all directions rather than responding to a challenge specifically aimed at his assigning the two kinds of objects to each of the two *pramāṇas*, respectively.

Why exactly is the inference under discussion taken to have an *asāmānya* as its object? We can find an answer to this question in a passage of Jinendrabuddhi's commentary that very possibly originates from a commentary on the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras*:

And the [air] has not been seen previously, since it has been cognized for the very first time on account of a distinct tactile property. [This] inference has therefore an *asāmānya* as its object.<sup>3</sup>

This statement does not at all look like it is targeted against Dignāga, but one can easily understand that Dignāga may have seen this kind of statement as menacing his opinion.

<sup>3</sup> *na cāsau pūrvam dṛṣṭaḥ, tatprathamataḥ sparśaviśeṣeṇa grahaṇād ity asāmānyaviśayam anumānam* PST 2 14,10–11.

In response to the Vaiśeṣika's argument, Dignāga says:

**na, tatsāmānyasūcanāt. (PS 2.3d)**

V	K
de min mtshon bya spyi yin phyir //	de min spyi ni mtshon pa'i phyir //

It is interesting to note that both Tibetan translations are based on a grammatical analysis that is different from the one provided by Jinendrabuddhi, which I follow here. The difference is that Jinendrabuddhi understands *tat* as forming a compound with *sāmānyasūcanāt*,<sup>4</sup> whereas the two Tibetan translations understand *tat* to be an independent part of the sentence (*na tat, sāmānyasūcanāt*).

Dignāga himself provides two interpretations of this quarter-verse, which possible have caused the interpretational differences of Jinendrabuddhi and the translators.

**na** hi tad vāyvādiṣv *anumānam*, *yataḥ sparśādeḥ sāmānyam āśritatvaṃ guṇatvena sūcyate.*

We can understand that Vasudhararakṣita and Kanakavarman take the word *tat* in the prose text as repeating the one of the verse text; in contrast, Jinendrabuddhi understands *sparśādeḥ* as representing the *tad* of the verse.

Dignāga's first interpretation of PS 2.3d is:

This is certainly not an inference with regard to air and so on, because [this inference] indicates a general [fact] of the tactile property and so on, [namely] that it is supported [by something] on account of its being a property.

Dignāga's second interpretation reads:

**na** vā vāyvādiṣvabhāveṣu *viśiṣṭeṣv anumānam*, *yatas tasya sāmānyam dravyatvamātraṃ sparśādīnām dravyāśritvena sūcyate.*

Or [this is] not an inference with regard to specific properties of air and so on, because [this inference] indicates a general

<sup>4</sup> Cf. PST 2 14,12–13 and 15,4.

[fact] of this [air and so on], [namely] simply that it is a substance on account of the tactile property and so on being supported by a substance.

It is very likely that *tasya* represents *tat* of the verse. This gives some weight to Jinendrabuddhi's syntactical analysis of the verse text.

The Tibetan translations offer again some difficulties:

V	K
gang gi phyir (yataḥ) rdzas nyid tsam gyi spyi ( <i>dravyamātram sāmānyam</i> ) de la (tasya) reg bya la sogs pa rnams kyi ( <i>sparśādīnām</i> ) rten ( <i>āśrayasya</i> ) rdzas nyid du ( <i>dravyatvena</i> ) mtshon par bya ba yin ( <i>sūcyate</i> ) pa'i phyir ro //	de (tasya) reg bya la sogs pa rnams kyi ( <i>sparśādīnām</i> ) spyi tsam ( <i>sāmānyamātram</i> ) rdzas la brtan ba nyid du ( <i>dravyāśritatvena</i> ) mtshon par byed ba yin no ( <i>sūcyate</i> ) //
yatas <b>tasya</b> <i>dravyatvamātram sāmānyam sparśādīnām āśrayasya dravyatvena sūcyate.</i>	<yatas> <b>tasya sāmānya</b> <ṃ dravyatva> <i>mātram sparśādīnām dravyāśritatvena sūcyate.</i>

The peculiarity of Kanakavarman's translation can be explained by assuming that *yatas* and *dravyatva* were omitted in the Sanskrit manuscript, or that the translators overlooked them. The assumption that *dravyatva* was skipped by the scribe or the translators leads to the further assumption that the word order was *sāmānyam dravyatvamātram* and not *dravyatvamātram sāmānyam*, which Vasudhararakṣita's translation seems rather to support.

Both translations also differ in the wording of the reason: V corresponds to *sparśādīnām āśrayasya dravyatvena*, while K rather corresponds to *sparśādīnām dravyāśritatvena*. I cannot decide whether this difference is based on a difference in the Sanskrit manuscripts being used for the translations, or whether it reflects only a difference in the 'style' of the translators. A short explanation by Jinendrabuddhi lends a bit of support to my reconstruction based on Kanakavarman's translation, which I have therefore adopted in the main text, reproduced in entirety in the Appendix: *sparśasya guṇatvād dravyāśritatve 'numite dravyatvamātram arthataḥ sidhyati* (PST 2 15,6–7).

It might be worthwhile to point out how Dignāga proceeded up to this point. After presenting the Vaiśeṣika's claim that there are inferences that have an *asāmānya* for their object and that this can be substantiated with a reference to VS 2.1.9–10, Dignāga counters this by saying that the Vaiśeṣika's inference does not prove what the Vaiśeṣika claims. His explanation of why this is the case evidently does not take the entire cited passage of the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* into account, but only the first part, *sparsāś ca*. Dignāga provides two interpretations to the effect that this passage expresses an inference. Jinendrabuddhi provides the respective Buddhist standard formulations:

- 1) *yo guṇaḥ, sa āśritaḥ, gandhavat. guṇaś ca sparśaḥ. svabhāvaḥ* (PST 2 15,2–3).
- 2) *yo guṇaḥ, sa dravyāśritaḥ, gandhavat. guṇaś ca sparśa iti svabhāvaḥ* (PST 2 15,5–6).

The second inference (or proof) is an extended version of the first, or maybe only a more explicit version. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that evidently neither of these versions could possibly have been claimed by any Vaiśeṣika to substantiate his opinion that there are inferences that have an *asāmānya* for their object. Actually the word *sparsā* in the Sūtra is only a part of the description of the intended inference or proof of air. And the contents of the formulations 1) and 2) only constitute a preliminary step that prepares the ground for the inference of air. One might try to explain Dignāga's use of the word *sūcyate* in this sense. He would say that the *āśritatva* and *dravyāśritatva* of *sparsā* are indirectly indicated by the concerned inference, insofar as this inference presupposes them. One has certainly to admit that the two preliminary inferences do not have air itself, or a specific property of air, as their objects, but Dignāga insinuates that this holds for the main inference of VS 2.1.9–10 too and that this already obliterates the opponent's argument. With PS 2.3d and the commentary thereupon, Dignāga provides us with some information about that interpretation of VS 2.1.9–10 which he is targeting, and at the same time makes his audience believe that he is

already presenting a decisive argument against the opponent's position.

The Vaiśeṣika continues:

*atha pariśeṣasiddhiḥ. pariśeṣād vāyvādisvabhāveṣu tad anumānaṃ sidhyati.*

V	K
gal te ( <i>atha</i> ) kun gyi rjes thogs las // grub ( <i>pariśeṣasiddhiḥ?</i> ) ste 'di ltar ( <i>evam/ tad?</i> ) kun gyi rjes thogs las ( <i>pariśeṣāt</i> ) rlung la sogs pa'i 4 rang bzhin ( <i>vāyvādi- svabhāveṣu</i> ) rjes su dpag par ( <i>anumānaṃ</i> ) grub pa'o ( <i>siddham/sidhyati</i> ) //	gal te ( <i>atha</i> ) yongs su lhag pas grub pa ( <i>pariśeṣasiddhiḥ</i> ) yin te yongs su lhag pa las ( <i>pariśeṣāt</i> ) rlung la sogs pa'i rang bzhin rnam la ( <i>vāyvādisvabhāveṣu</i> ) rjes su dpag pa ( <i>anumānaṃ</i> ) 'di ( <i>tad?</i> ) 'grub par 'gyur te ( <i>sidhyati</i> ) /

There are several uncertainties in this passage with regard to its exact wording.<sup>5</sup> And concerning the interpretation, I see different possibilities to understand the function of the expression *atha*. It could belong to the moderating voice of Dignāga (“[The Vaiśeṣika might] then [say]....”), which then could serve to express that the opponent has admitted a weakness in his argumentation and is now making a new attempt. Or one could attribute it to the Vaiśeṣika himself. It would then connect the current passage to what he has already said (“Next [follows] the establishment by elimination [of all other possibilities]....”). This short expression, namely *atha pariśeṣasiddhiḥ*, is then explained:

The inferential knowledge with regard to specific properties of air and so on is being established by the elimination [of all other possibilities].

This is then supplied with a reference to part of VS 2.1.10, which we met already above:

yathāha – na ca dr̥ṣṭānāṃ sparśa (VS 2.1.10') *ityādīti cet*

<sup>5</sup> For the assumption of *pariśeṣasiddhir*, cf. *pariśeṣād iti pariśeṣasiddhir anumānam eva, liṅgajativād iti manyate* PST 2 15,9–10.

V	K
de skad du ( <i>tathā/tad</i> ) yang (ca) reg bya (sparśaḥ) ni mthong ba rnams kyi (dṛṣṭānām) yang (ca) ma yin (na) no zhes bya ba la sogs pa ( <i>ityādi</i> ) brjod do ( <i>āha</i> ) zhe na ( <i>iti cet</i> ) /	ji skad du (yathā) mthong ba rnams la (dṛṣṭānām) reg bya (sparśaḥ) yod ba ma yin (na) la / <u>ma mthong ba rnams la yang ma yin no</u> ( <i>na cādṛṣṭānām</i> ) zhes bya ba la sogs pa ( <i>ityādi</i> ) lta bu ( <i>part of the translation of yathā</i> ) yin no // zhe na ( <i>iti cet</i> ) /
<i>tathā/tac</i> cāha – na ca dṛṣṭānām sparśa <i>ityādīti cet</i>	yathā – na dṛṣṭānām sparśaḥ, <i>na cādṛṣṭānām ityādīti cet</i>

Building on the knowledge achieved in the previous step – that any tactile property is supported by a substance – the Vaiśeṣika now tries to narrow down the tactile property he intends as the logical mark by distinguishing it from those varieties of tactile properties that occur in perceptible substances. It is interesting to note that Kana-kavarman offers an extended version of the Sūtra that also takes into account the tactile properties that occur in imperceptible substances. Dignāga responds to the Vaiśeṣika’s statement as follows:

na, tatsattvāsiddheḥ pratiśedhatulyatvāc ca.

No, because its existence is unproven and the negation is the same.

Elaborating on this refusal, Dignāga then states two conditions that must be fulfilled in order to be able to infer the specific substance air by means of a specific tactile property. One condition is that it must already be established at this point that air exists at all. The second is that the negation must not be possible. Dignāga does not mention the object of the negation. In accordance with my understanding of how the argument develops further, I understand the second condition to the effect that it must be impossible to negate that the specific tactile property pertains to air.<sup>6</sup> Only if these two conditions are fulfilled, it is possible to infer a specific substance from a specific

<sup>6</sup> Since the wording of this condition is rather short and my understanding of the sentences that follow it is somewhat uncertain, this interpretation is only tentative. Cf. also Oetke 1996: 520 n. 11.

property by circumventing the general property on account of the substance's connection with that specific property (or alternatively: with one or several specific qualities).<sup>7</sup>

siddhe hi *vāyvādisattve* pratiṣedhāsambhave ca guṇaviśeṣa-sambandhād guṇasāmānyam ujjhitvā guṇaviśeṣeṇa dravyaviśeṣānumānaṃ kriyate.

V	K
rlung la sogs pa yod par ( <i>vāyvādisattve</i> ) grub na (siddhe) ni (hi) mi ldog pa yang srid de (pratiṣedhāsambhave ca) / ... byed la /	yod pa la ( <i>sattve</i> ) 'gog ba mi srid cing (pratiṣedhāsambhave ca) / ... byed na / <u>rlung la sogs pa rnams grub pa yin</u> <u>no</u> //
siddhe hi <i>vāyvādisattve</i> pratiṣedhā-sambhave ca ... kriyate.	siddham <hi> <i>vāyvādi sattve</i> prati- ṣedhāsambhave ca ... kriyate.

Vasudhararakṣita's translation fits the reconstructed Sanskrit text well. Kanakavarman's divergence can be explained either as a result of the translators having relied on a Sanskrit manuscript that read *siddham* instead of *siddhe*, or from the translators having erroneously read *siddham* instead of *siddhe*. They then interpreted *vāyvādi* as not being part of a compound with the following *sattve* and possibly understood the whole sentence as meaning:

<sup>7</sup> It is uncertain whether the expression *guṇaviśeṣa*, which occurs twice in this sentence, should be interpreted as having the same meaning in both positions. Under the assumption that they do, we might understand the following: "After leaving aside the general property [namely the general tactile property] on the grounds that [the substance under investigation] is connected with a specific property [namely a tactile property that has a specific quality], one infers from [this same] specific property a specific substance."

If we allow the expression *guṇaviśeṣa* to have different meanings in this sentence, we can understand the following: "After leaving aside the general property [namely the general tactile property] on the grounds that [the tactile property that is used as a logical mark] is connected with a specific quality, one infers from [this tactile] property, which is specific [because of its connection with a specific quality], a specific substance."

The wind and so on is established, if one – provided that it exists and that one cannot negate it – makes an inference ...

Having pointed out that these two conditions are necessary for the inference of air, Dignāga states that they have not been fulfilled:

sattvaṃ tv asiddham. tulyaś ca pṛthivyādibhiḥ pratiṣedhaḥ,  
*yasmād* guṇaviśeṣābhāvaḥ.

But the existence [of air] is not established. And the negation [to the effect that the specific tactile quality that the Vaiśeṣika uses as a logical mark does not belong to air] is the same as [that of] earth and so on, since [the tactile property used by the Vaiśeṣika] is [in truth] not a specific property [that belongs only to wind and not to earth].<sup>8</sup>

The already mentioned commentary on the *Vaiśeṣkasūtras* provided by Jinendrabuddhi describes the tactile property used in VS 2.1.9–10 as being free of coldness and hotness (*śītoṣṇatvaviśeṣarahita*).<sup>9</sup> Specified in this way, however, the logical mark is easy to find fault with: The two criteria that are mentioned only enable one to negate that a specific tactile property belongs to fire or water. But they cannot serve to limit a specific tactile property exclusively to air, since the tactile property of earth is also free of coldness and hotness. We can find this idea in Harivarman's *Satyasiddhiśāstra*.

I quote the following passage from N. Aiyaswami Sastri's re-translation from the Chinese (cf. T.1646, 32: 270c10–271a29):

*anyasyāpi kasyacid vacanam upalabhyate – yathā vāyor udakatejaḥsaṃyogāc chūtoṣṇasparśaḥ, tathā vayoḥ pṛthivīsaṃyogād anuṣṇāśītasparśo 'stīti. tatra nāsti vinigamakaṃ yad udakāvayavās tejovayavā eva vā vāyum anugacchanti, na tu pṛthivyavayavā iti. yathā bhavatāṃ sūtram – trayāḥ sparśā sparśakāyā vā na pṛthivyudakatejasām ity adrṣṭaliṅgo vāyur* (cf.

<sup>8</sup> Or if we allow for different meanings of the two occurrences of *guṇaviśeṣa* in this context: "... since there is no specific quality that would distinguish the tactile property of air from the tactile property of earth."

<sup>9</sup> PST 2 14,4.



VS 2.1.10) *iti jñāyate. anena vacanena trividhāḥ sparśā vāyau kadācid āgantukā vā'nāgantukā vā syuḥ. kasmāt. trividhāḥ sparśā yady adṛṣṭalingāḥ, tadā vāyavīyāḥ. bhavato mataṃ yat – dṛṣṭa udake tejasi sītoṣṇasparśau staḥ, na tau vāyavīyāv iti. evaṃ dṛṣṭapṛthivyām anuṣṇāsītasparśo 'sīti so 'pi vāyavayavīyo na syāt. yadi pūrvam evāsti pṛthag vāyusparśo na pṛthivīsaṃyogāt, tarhi vaktavyam ayaṃ sparśo vāyavīyaḥ. ādau tu na dṛśyata iti kathaṃ jñātavyam – vāyusparśamātram anuṣṇāsītam, na tu pṛthivyavayava iti. vayam api vadāmaḥ – rūparasagandhasparśāḥ pṛthivyām eva santi nābādiṣv iti // (SSŚ 140, 1–11)*

In later sources we find the Vaiśeṣikas providing further specifications of the tactile quality used in VS 2.1.9–10 in an attempt to ward off this retort.<sup>10</sup> Since Dignāga does not explicitly mention which criteria used by the Vaiśeṣika he is aiming at, my interpretation of his refusal is to some extent uncertain.

When comparing the Tibetan translations with each other and with Jinendrabuddhi's commentary, some further difficulties are revealed.

V	K
<p><u>reg na</u> yod par ni grub pa med do (sattvaṃ tv asiddham) // sa la sogs pa las log pa dang (pṛthivyādibhiḥ pratiśedhaḥ) yang (ca) mtshungs par (tulyaś) 'gyur te / yon tan gyi bye brag <u>ma mthong</u> (guṇaviśeṣādarśanam) zhing ... pa'i phyir ro (yasmād) //</p>	<p>yod pa ni ma grub pa yin (sattvaṃ tv asiddham) la (ca) sa la sogs pa dang 'gag ba (pṛthivyādibhiḥ pratiśedhaḥ) mtshungs pa (tulyaś) yin te / yon tan khyad par med pa'i (guṇaviśeṣābhāvaḥ) phyir ro (yasmād) //</p>

According to Vasudhararakṣita's translation, *sattvaṃ tv asiddham* is stated without any further substantiation of this claim. And the word *guṇaviśeṣābhāvaḥ*, or rather *guṇaviśeṣādarśanam*, is rendered as expressing the reason or cause of *tulyaś ca pṛthivyādibhiḥ pratiśedhaḥ*. According to Kanakavarman's translation, *guṇaviśeṣābhāvaḥ* is construed as expressing the reason or cause for both *sattvaṃ tv*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *apākaja* PPBh 8,9; PVSVT 66,23; PVV 294,14; *gandhādyasahacārīn* PST 2 15,10, evidently based on some Vaiśeṣika text; *rūpādirahita* NKand 128,9.

*asiddham* and *tulyaś ca pṛthivyādibhiḥ pratiṣedhaḥ*. Jinendrabuddhi interprets *sattvaṃ tv asiddham* and *tulyaś ca pṛthivyādibhiḥ pratiṣedhaḥ* as being the reasons or causes for *guṇaviśeṣābhāvaḥ*.<sup>11</sup>

Since Dignāga started this section with the reasons *tatsattvāsiddheḥ* and *pratiṣedhatulyatvāt*, it seems obvious that *sattvam asiddham* and *tulyaś ca pṛthivyādibhiḥ pratiṣedhaḥ* should be understood as Dignāga's main argument here. Since I do not see how *guṇaviśeṣābhāvaḥ* can be thought of as a reason or cause of *sattvam asiddham*, I take it as exclusively belonging to *tulyaś ca pṛthivyādibhiḥ pratiṣedhaḥ*. The underlying chain of thought would be the following: since the tactile property that is neither cold nor hot, which the Vaiśeṣikas use as a logical mark, can – even according to Vaiśeṣika doctrine – belong to earth as well as to air, there is no specific tactile property that justifies one to negate earth as its support and not also wind.<sup>12</sup>

The first part of the next passage is well known, since Dharmakīrti quoted it twice and we find it quoted by his commentators as well:

yady adarśanamātreṇa dr̥ṣṭebhyaḥ pratiṣedhaḥ kriyate, na ca so 'pi yuktaḥ. na hy adr̥ṣṭebhyaḥ sparśapratīṣedhaḥ (*sidhyaty*)  
<sup>v</sup> amūrtimatām anabhīghātād guṇānumeyatvāc ca manasaḥ.

V	K
ma mthong ba 6 tsam gyis (adarśa- namātreṇa) mthong ba las (dr̥ṣṭebhyaḥ) log par grub (pratiṣedhaḥ/vyatirekaḥ <i>sidhyati</i> ?) pa'i phyir ro // de ltar yang (so 'pi) rigs pa ma yin te (na ... yuktaḥ) /	gal te (yadi) ma mthong ba tsam gyis (adarśanamātreṇa) ma mthong ba 'gag pa (adr̥ṣṭa-pratiṣedhaḥ) byed (kri- yate) na de yang (so 'pi) mi rigs te (na ... yuktaḥ) /
<yady> adarśanamātreṇa dr̥ṣṭebhyaḥ pratiṣedhaḥ / vyatirekaḥ <i>sidhyati</i> , na ca so 'pi yuktaḥ.	yady adarśanamātreṇādr̥ṣ- ṭ[ā]ebhyaḥ> pratiṣedhaḥ kriyate, na ca so 'pi yuktaḥ.

<sup>11</sup> *yasmāt sattvam asiddham tulyaś ca pṛthivyādibhiḥ pratiṣedhaḥ, tasmād guṇaviśeṣābhāvaḥ* PST 2 17,13–15.

<sup>12</sup> I understand °*ādi*° of *pṛthivyādibhiḥ* as referring to things that would play the same role in discussions about inferences of specific objects other than air (cf. *vāyvādisvabhāveṣu*, and *vāyvādisattve*) as it plays in the current discussion.

V	K
<p><u>mthong ba</u> lus can (mūrtimatām) thogs  pa dang bcas pa tсам las (abhighātād  <i>eva / abhighātāmātrād?</i>) / yid kyi (manasaḥ)  yon tan rjes su dpgog pa'i phyir (guṇānu-  meyatvāc) reg bya ldog par grub pa ma yin  no (na <i>sparśapraṭiṣedhaḥ / -vyatirekaḥ</i>) //  <i>grub pa</i> is possibly supplied by the Tibetan  translator for clarification.</p>	<p>lus can ma yin pa (amūrtimatām)  ni (hi) gnod par bya ba ma yin  pa'i phyir (anabhighātād) dang (ca) /  yon tan gyi rjes su dpag pa'i phy-  ir (guṇānumeyatvāc) ma mthong  ba rnames la (adṛṣṭebhyaḥ) yid gyi  (manasaḥ) reg bya dgag ba (<i>sparśa-  praṭiṣedhaḥ</i>) ni (hi) ma yin (na) gyi</p>
<p>na &lt;hy a&gt;drṣṭ[a]&lt;ebhyaḥ&gt; <i>sparśa-  praṭiṣedho / -vyatireko</i> mūrtimatām  a&lt;na&gt;bhighātād <i>eva</i> guṇānumeyatvāc ca  manasaḥ.</p>	<p>na hy adṛṣṭebhyaḥ <i>sparśapraṭi-  ṣedho</i> 'mūrtimatām anabhighātād  guṇānumeyatvāc ca manasaḥ,</p>

This passage has been understood as saying in the first part (*yadi ... yuktah*) that negating something does not prove its non-existence if the negation is done by *adarśanamātra*. And the purpose of the second part has been understood as substantiating this with two reasons. Oetke (1996: 456) paraphrases:

If, on the other hand, it were asserted that the mere non-observation [of the characteristic properties of the other substances together with the crucial touch-quality] excludes all the visible substances, this is not appropriate. First of all, all incorporeal substances (like space and soul) cannot be affected by this argument. Moreover, the mind among the non-visible substances cannot be excluded because its characteristic qualities are only inferred [and since they are non-observable in principle their non-observance in a particular situation cannot rule out the mind as a possible candidate for the status of a substratum of the crucial touch-quality].

Here I am not concerned with the details, but with the general structure of this passage. My first point is that it seems grammatically implausible for a main clause which is preceded by a conditional clause to contain the coordinating conjunction *ca*. We would rather expect to see *tadā*, *tarhi*, or no conjunction at all. My attempt to solve this

problem is to interpret *yady ... kriyate* as expressing a further condition that must be fulfilled if the inference of wind from a tactile property is to be acceptable. I understand that the main clause has been omitted and must be understood through the context:

[The inference of wind from a specific tactile property is only acceptable] if one [successfully] negates the [occurrence of this specific tactile property] in the observable substances by mere non-observation. And such (*saḥ*) [a negation] is also not possible.

*api* (“also”) would emphasize that already the first two conditions are not fulfilled.

The second problem concerns the two reasons *amūrtimatām anabhighātād* and *guṇānumeyatvāc ... manasaḥ*. In this connection, I would like to refer to the discussion of the inference of air in Śrīdhara’s *Nyāyakandalī* (NKand 128,9–129,5):

- (1) *yo 'yaṃ rūpādirahitaḥ sparśaḥ pratīyate sa kvacid āśritaḥ sparśatvād itarasparsavat. na cāsya pṛthivy evāśrayo rūpaviprayogāt. asty atrāpy anudbhūtaṃ rūpam iti cen na, upalabhyamānasya pāṛthivasya sparśasyopalabhyamānarūpeṇaiva sahāvyaabhicāropalambhāt, na ceha rūpasyāsty upalambhas tasmān nāyaṃ pāṛthivaḥ sparśaḥ. na codakatejasor ayam āśrito 'nuṣṅāśītattvād ghaṭādisparśavat.*
- (2) *nāpy amūrteṣv ākāśakāladigātmasu vartate, sparśasya mūrtāvyaabhicāropalambhāt. manasāṃ ca sparśavattve paramāṇūnām iva teṣāṃ sajātīyadravyārambhakatvaṃ syāt, na caivam, tasmāt teṣāṃ api na bhavati, ato yatrāyam āśritaḥ sa vāyur iti pariśeṣaḥ.*

There, in a first step, the visible substances are excluded from being the support of the tactile property that serves as the logical mark for the existence of wind: This particular tactile property cannot have any of the visible substances, namely, earth, water or fire, for its support, because it has no connection with color (*rūpaviprayogāt*) and is neither cold nor hot.

In a second step, all invisible substances other than air are eliminated. These invisible substances are divided into two groups: the group of incorporeal invisible substances, namely ether, time, space and the soul on one side, and the mental organ (*manas*) on the other. The specific tactile property in question cannot belong to any substances in the first group, since it is an observed fact that tactile properties occur only together with corporeal substances. Further, the specific tactile property cannot belong to the mental organ, since if mental organs had a tactile property, they would unite with others to build extended substances of the same sort, as atoms (*paramāṇu*) do. But this is not the case.

The two arguments presented in the second step are the important part here. Even though they are not identical with the two reasons mentioned in the PSV, namely *amūrtimatām anabhighātād* and *guṇānumeyatvāc ca manasaḥ*, they display a similarity that makes it plain that the two reasons mentioned in the PSV are meant to be in support of the Vaiśeṣika position, rather than against it.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore we must understand that Dignāga does not use these two reasons in order to point out that mere non-observation is not sufficient for ruling out that a specific tactile property can occur in any substance other than air. He rather negates that the two reasons under discussion can prove that the tactile property does not occur in invisible substances other than air. Thus, he is saying:

It is indeed not the case that the negation to the effect that tactile properties do not occur in invisible [substances] is established on the grounds that incorporeal [substances] have no [potential of] colliding [with something else] and that the mental organ has inferable properties.

The underlying assumption of these two arguments is that any support of a tactile property must have the potential of colliding with

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<sup>13</sup> This passage makes it also very likely that PST 15,10–15 is closely based on a Vaiśeṣika text, rather than having been created by Jinendrabudhi to make Dignāga's arguments understandable.

something else, and that the mental organ cannot have a perceptible property, whereas a tactile property is perceptible.

Dignāga himself does not explain why these two arguments do not have the wished for effect. The two arguments of the Vaiśeṣika have in common that they mention certain properties of the invisible substances other than air that are considered incompatible with the tactile property. According to Jinendrabuddhi, however, the assumed incompatibility does not exist. He says with regard to the first argument:

Why should there be any incompatibility between the [missing potential of colliding with something else] and the specific tactile property? To explain: In the case of sunbeams (*ātapa*) and so on, there is no colliding with pots and so on. And the (sunbeams) have however a tactile property.<sup>14</sup>

On the second argument, Jinendrabuddhi says:

This is also no sound reason, since there is no incompatibility. To explain: In the same way as the soul's property called all-pervasiveness is inferable, and [its] pleasure and so on are however perceptible, so could also the minuteness and isolatedness of the mental organ be its two inferable properties, and the tactile property could be [its] perceptible property. There is therefore no incompatibility at all.<sup>15</sup>

Our analysis shows that in the passage starting with *yady adarśana-mātreṇa* and ending with *manasaḥ*, Dignāga claims that the means applied by the Vaiśeṣika for establishing that the adduced logical mark does not occur in substances other than air are ineffective, without however stating any arguments that would substantiate his claim.

<sup>14</sup> *kutaḥ punas tasya sparśaviśeṣeṇa virodhaḥ. tathā hi – ātapādiṣu ghaṭādīnām anabhighāto 'sti. atha ca te sparśavantaḥ* PST 2 19,12–13.

<sup>15</sup> *ayam apy ahetuḥ, avirodhāt. tathā hi – yathātmano vibhutvaṃ nāma guṇo 'numeyaḥ, atha ca sukhādayaḥ pratyakṣaḥ, tathā manaso 'py aṇutvam ekatvaṃ cānumeyam etadguṇadvayaṃ syāt, atha ca sparśaḥ pratyakṣo guṇaḥ syād iti na kaścid virodhaḥ* PST 2 19,18–20,3.

With Jinendrabuddhi's help, the final part of the passage under discussion can be understood as meaning that the tactile property in general has been observed in visible substances, and that possible variants of the tactile property can be understood as being included, provided there is no evidence to the contrary.<sup>16</sup> Since there are many visible substances, a doubt might arise regarding which one a particular tactile property belongs to. But this does not mean that this particular tactile property cannot belong to one of them, especially since tactile properties have not been seen in invisible substances. Therefore the inference of air by negating the occurrence of a specific tactile property in any other substance is not possible.

The final passage of this section has again some difficulties:

kiṃ tarhi. dr̥ṣṭeṣu ca dr̥ṣṭatvād (*adr̥ṣṭeṣu cādr̥ṣṭatvād*)<sup>V</sup> dr̥ṣṭā  
eva sparśāḥ. teṣāṃ cānekatvāt saṃśayaḥ – *sa kasyeti. tasmān  
na sarvatra pratiṣedhena vāyvanumānam.*

V	K
gang gi phyir (kiṃ tarhi ?) mthong ba rnam las mthong ba'i phyir (dr̥ṣṭeṣu ca dr̥ṣṭatvād) <u>ḍang / ma mthong ba rnam las ma mthong</u> <u>ba'i phyir</u> ( <i>adr̥ṣṭeṣu cādr̥ṣṭatvād</i> ) reg bya ni mthong ba rnam kho na'o ( <i>dr̥ṣṭā eva sparśāḥ</i> ) //	'on kyang (kiṃ tarhi ?) snang ba rnam la mthong ba'i phyir (dr̥ṣṭeṣu ca dr̥ṣṭatvād) reg bya rnam ni snang ba nyid yin no ( <i>dr̥ṣṭā eva sparśāḥ</i> ) //
kiṃ tarhi. dr̥ṣṭeṣu ca dr̥ṣṭatvād <i>adr̥ṣṭeṣu cā-</i> <i>dr̥ṣṭatvād</i> (cf. PST 2 20,8) <i>dr̥ṣṭā eva sparśāḥ.</i>	kiṃ tarhi. dr̥ṣṭeṣu ca dr̥ṣṭa<tvād <i>adr̥ṣṭeṣu cādr̥ṣṭa&gt;tvād dr̥ṣṭā</i> <i>eva sparśāḥ.</i>

It is again difficult to decide whether *adr̥ṣṭeṣu cādr̥ṣṭatvāt* is an addition in V or the related Sanskrit manuscript, or if there is an omission in K or the related Sanskrit manuscript. Jindendrabuddhi's *adr̥ṣṭeṣu tasyāpi darśanam nāsti* (PST 2 20,8) lends itself to be adduced in favor of both assumptions.

16 Cf. PST 2 20,4–16.

V	K
de rnams ni (teṣāṃ ca) du ma yin pa'i phyir (anekatvāt) 'di gang gi yin zhes ( <i>sa kasyeti</i> ) the tshom du (saṃśayaḥ) ni 'gyur ro // de'i phyir ( <i>tasmāt</i> ) thams cad bkag nas ( <i>sarva-pratiṣedhena?</i> ) rlung rjes su dpog pa ni rigs pa ma yin no //	de dag khyang (teṣāṃ ca) du ma yin pa'i phyir (anekatvāt) reg bya 'di gang gi yin zhes ( <i>sa kasya sparśa iti</i> ) <u>reg bya la</u> ( <i>sparśe</i> ) the tshom za bar (saṃśayaḥ) 'gyur gyi ( <i>tasmāt?</i> ) thams cad la bkag pas ( <i>sarva- tra pratiṣedhena</i> ) rlung rjes su dpog pa ( <i>vāyvanumānam</i> ) ni ma yin no (na) /
teṣāṃ cānekatvāt saṃśayaḥ – <i>sa kasyeti. tasmān na sarva- pratiṣedhena vāyvanumānam.</i>	teṣāṃ cānekatvāt saṃśayaḥ – <i>sa kasya sparśa iti sparśe. tasmān na sarvatra pratiṣedhena vāyvanumānam.</i>

Jinendrabuddhi's interpretation of this passage introduces several ideas that are not directly conveyed by Dignāga's words, that is, by the reconstructed text. But since I am at a loss for providing an alternative explanation and since the reconstructed text has some uncertainties, I accept his interpretation for the moment.

This interpretation says that since tactile properties in general have been observed in visible substances, one cannot exclude the possibility that the specific tactile property that is meant to be the logical mark in the inference of air also occurs in visible substances. If Dignāga's closing words actually mean to say this, then it could explain why he was not interested in a detailed refutation of the opponent's proof that the specific tactile property cannot occur in invisible substances other than air, a proof that would then be of minor importance.

We have seen that Dignāga's text is rather short and not very explicit, which makes it difficult to understand. This does not come as a surprise. However, there are some specific points of the passage under discussion that deserve special attention. One is how Dignāga introduces to his audience a supporting argument by the opponent and at the same time discredits it by pointing out that it does not fulfill a certain task that the opponent did not even have in mind. We see this at the very beginning of the discussed section. Whether this is part of a conscious rhetorical strategy that tries to convince



by repeatedly saying NO, I cannot yet confirm with certainty, and requires further investigation.

That Dignāga, some lines later, alleges that certain arguments used by the Vaiśeṣika are ineffective, without giving any reason for this claim at all, strikes me as revealing a similar kind of rhetorical trick.

It is also noteworthy that when discussing the two necessary conditions, Dignāga does not point out what specificity of the tactile property his opponent has in mind, although Dignāga presents his argument with surprising redundancy, apart from this one point. One attempted explanation I can offer is that Dignāga in this case chose ambiguity to make his argument applicable to several concurrent interpretations on the part of the Vaiśeṣikas.

## Appendix: Reconstruction of *Pramāṇasamuccaya* 2.3cd and the beginning of the *Vṛtti*

*atha* – <sup>1</sup>*sarvaṃ*<sup>1</sup> *sāmānyaviśayaṃ* <sup>2</sup>*iti tan*<sup>2</sup> *na vaktavyam. kasmāt.*

<sup>a</sup>*asāmānye* <sup>pi</sup><sup>a</sup> *dr̥ṣṭatvāt.* (PS 2.3e)

<sup>3</sup>*asāmānye* <sup>pi</sup> <sup>b</sup>vāyvādisvabhāve<sup>b</sup> *sparsādibhir anumānaṃ dr̥ṣṭam.*<sup>3</sup> <sup>c</sup>yathāha<sup>c</sup> – <sup>d</sup>sparsāś ca, na ca dr̥ṣṭānāṃ sparsā<sup>d</sup> *ityādi.*

<sup>a</sup>*asāmānye* <sup>pi</sup><sup>a</sup> *dr̥ṣṭatvāt.* <sup>e</sup>*na, tatsāmānyasūcanāt.*<sup>c</sup> (PS 2.3d)

<sup>f</sup>*na* hi tad vāyvādiṣv<sup>f</sup> *anumānam, yataḥ* <sup>g</sup>sparsādeḥ **sāmānyam** āśritatvaṃ guṇatvena sūcyate.<sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup>na vā vāyvādisvabhāveṣu<sup>h</sup> *viśiṣṭeṣv anumānam,* <sup>4</sup>*yatas tasya sāmānyam* <sup>i</sup>*dravyatvamātraṃ* <sup>i</sup> *sparsādīnāṃ dravyāśritvena sūcyate.*<sup>4</sup>

*atha pariśeṣasiddhiḥ,* <sup>j</sup>pariśeṣād<sup>j</sup> *vāyvādisvabhāveṣu* <sup>5</sup>*tad*<sup>5</sup> *anumānaṃ sidhyati.* <sup>k</sup>yathāha<sup>k</sup> – <sup>6</sup>na ca dr̥ṣṭānāṃ sparsā<sup>6</sup> *ityādīti cet,* <sup>m</sup>na, tatsattvāsiddheḥ<sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup>pratiśedhatulyatvāc ca.<sup>n</sup> <sup>7</sup>siddhe hi<sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup>vāyvādisattve<sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup>pratiśedhāsambhave ca<sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup>guṇaviśeṣasambandhād<sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup>guṇasāmānyam ujjhivā<sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup>guṇaviśeṣeṇa<sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup>dravyaviśeṣānumānaṃ kri-

yate.<sup>u8</sup>sattvaṃ<sup>8</sup> tv asiddham,<sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup>tulyāś ca pṛthivyādibhiḥ pratiṣedhaḥ,<sup>w</sup>  
yasmād <sup>x</sup>guṇaviśeṣ<sup>9</sup>ābhāvaḥ<sup>9</sup>.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>yz10</sup>yady adarśanamātreṇa<sup>z</sup> drṣṭebhyaḥ pratiṣedhaḥ kriyate.<sup>10</sup> na ca  
so 'pi yuktaḥ.<sup>y</sup> <sup>11A</sup>na hy adṛṣṭebhyaḥ<sup>A</sup> sparśa<sup>B</sup>pratiṣedhaḥ [sidhyaty]<sup>VB</sup>  
<sup>C</sup>amūrtimatām anabhighātād<sup>C</sup> <sup>DE</sup>guṇānumeyatvāc ca<sup>E</sup> manasaḥ.<sup>E11</sup>  
<sup>F</sup>kiṃ tarhi.<sup>F</sup> <sup>G</sup>drṣṭeṣu ca drṣṭatvād<sup>G</sup> <sup>12</sup>adrṣṭeṣu cādrṣṭatvād<sup>12</sup> drṣṭā eva  
sparśāḥ. <sup>H</sup>teṣāṃ ca<sup>H</sup> <sup>J</sup>anekatvāt saṃśayaḥ<sup>I</sup> – <sup>13</sup>sa kasyeti.<sup>13</sup> *tasmān  
na sarvapṛatiṣedhena vāyvanumānam.*

<sup>a</sup> Ci PST 2 13,13; api Ci PST 2 13,13 <sup>b</sup> Ci PST 2 13,14 <sup>c</sup> Ci PST 2 13,15 <sup>d</sup> Ce  
VS 2.1.9–10 <sup>e</sup> Ci PST 2 14,12; tat Ci PST 2 14,12 (n.); PST 2 15,4 (n.) <sup>f</sup> Ci  
PST 2 15,1 <sup>g</sup> Ci'e PST 2 15,1–2 <sup>h</sup> Ci PST 2 15,4–5 <sup>i</sup> cf. PST 2 15,7 <sup>j</sup> Ci PST  
2 15,9 <sup>k</sup> Ci PST 2 15,10 <sup>l</sup> Ce VS 2.1.10 <sup>m</sup> Ci PST 2 16,1 <sup>n</sup> Ci PST 2 16,7 <sup>o</sup> Ci  
PST 2 16,10 <sup>p</sup> Cf. PST 2 16,11–13 <sup>q</sup> Ci PST 2 16,13 <sup>r</sup> Ci PST 2 16,15–16;  
guṇaviśeṣa<sup>o</sup> Ci PST 2 16,16 (n.); <sup>o</sup>sambandhāt Ci PST 2 16,17 (n.) <sup>s</sup> Ci PST  
2 16,17 <sup>t</sup> Ci PST 2 17,1 <sup>u</sup> Ci PST 2 17,2; viśeṣa<sup>o</sup> Ci PST 2 17,5 (n.) <sup>v</sup> Ci PST  
2 17,13 (cor.); <sup>Ci'e</sup> PST 2 17,14–15 <sup>w</sup> Ci' PST 2 17,14 <sup>x</sup> Ci' PST 2 17,14–15  
<sup>y</sup> Ci PVSV 14, 20–21; PVin 2 97,8–9; Ci PVSVT 66,26–27; PVV 294,16;  
Cie PVSVT 67,11–12; Vibhū 291,17–18 <sup>z</sup> Ci PST 2 18,3–4; mātra<sup>o</sup> Ci PST 2  
18,4 (n.) <sup>A</sup> Ci PST 2 18,10; hi Ci PST 2 18,11 <sup>B</sup> cf. PST 2 19,13–14 <sup>C</sup> Ci PST 2  
18,11; PST 2 18,17 <sup>D</sup> ex PST 2 19,16–17 <sup>E</sup> Ci PST 2 19,15 <sup>F</sup> Ci PST 20,4 <sup>G</sup> Ci  
PST 2 20,5; ca Ci PST 2 20,5 <sup>H</sup> Ci PST 2 20,15 <sup>I</sup> Ci' PST 2 20,15

<sup>1</sup> sarvam anumānam V <sup>2</sup> 'di ltar ... *ḥes ni V : ḥes ba de yañ K; yañ represents possibly an api after tad, or ca at the beginning of the sentence (atha ca)* <sup>3</sup> vāyvädyasāmānyasvabhāve 'pi (← asāmānye <<vāyvädi>>svabhāve 'pi) sparśādibhir anumānam drṣṭam K : asāmānye 'piti drṣṭa<ṃ> vāyvädisvabhāve sparśādibhir anumānam V <sup>4</sup> <yatas> tasya sāmānya<ṃ> dravyatva>mātraṃ sparśādīnām dravyāśritatvena sūcyate K : yatas tasya dravyatvamātraṃ sāmānyam sparśādīnām āśrayasya dravyatvena sūcyate V <sup>5</sup> 'di K : 'di ltar V <sup>6</sup> na ca drṣṭānām sparśāḥ, na cādrṣṭānām K <sup>7</sup> siddham hi vāyvädi sattve pratiṣedhāsambhāve ca K <sup>8</sup> reg na yod par V <sup>9</sup> °adarśanam V <sup>10</sup> <yady> adarśanamātreṇa drṣṭebhyaḥ pratiṣedhaḥ sidhyati V : yady adarśanamātreṇādrṣṭ[a]<ebhyaḥ> pratiṣedhaḥ kriyate K <sup>11</sup> lus can ma yin pa ni gnod par bya ba ma yin pa'i phyir dañ / yon tan gyi rjes su dpag pa'i phyir ma mthoñ ba rnam la yid gyi reg bya dgag ba ni ma yin gyi / K : mthoñ ba lus can thogs pa dañ bcas pa tsam las / yid kyi yon tan rjes su dpog pa'i phyir reg bya ldog par grub pa ma yin no // V <sup>12</sup> om. K; cf. adrṣṭeṣu tasyāpi darśanam nāsti PST 2 20,8 <sup>13</sup> sa kasya sparśa iti sparśe K

## Symbols

[a]	inherent vowel “a” that came into effect because of the omission of another vowel
←	resulting from
<>	omitted
<<>>	added in margin
/	separates alternatives

## Bibliography and abbreviations

Ce / Ci / Ci' / Cī'e	citation from another text marked as such by the author / citation in another text marked as such by the author / citation in another text not marked as citation by the author / citation in another text not marked as citation by the author and with redactional changes (Cf. Steinkellner et al. 2005: Introduction lii–liv)
ex	explained by way of paraphrase
K	Tibetan translation of the <i>Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti</i> by Kanakavarman and Dad pa'i shes rab, as edited in Kitagawa 1965.
Kitagawa 1965	H. Kitagawa, <i>Indo koten ronrigaku no kenkyū: Jinna no taikei [Studies in Classical Indian logic: Dignāga's System]</i> . Tokyo 1965.
Lasic et al. 2012	H. Lasic, H. Krasser, E. Steinkellner, eds., <i>Jinendra-buddhi's Viśālāmalavatī Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā. Chapter 2. Part I: Critical Edition</i> . Beijing – Vienna 2012.
Mejor 1991	M. Mejor, On the Date of the Tibetan Translations of the <i>Pramāṇasamuccaya</i> and the <i>Pramāṇavārttika</i> . In: <i>Studies in the Buddhist Epistemological Tradition. Proceedings of the Second International Dharmakīrti Conference, Vienna, June 11–16, 1989</i> , ed. E. Steinkellner. Wien 1991, 174–197.
n.	quoted without case ending

- NKand Nyāyakandalī: *Nyāyakandalī. Being a commentary on Praśastapādabhāṣya, with three sub-commentaries*, ed. by J. S. Jetly and V. G. Parikh. Baroda 1991.
- Oetke 1996 C. Oetke, Ancient Indian logic as a theory of non-monotonic reasoning. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 24/5 (1996) 447–539.
- PPBh J. Bronkhorst and Y. Ramseier, *Word index to the Praśastapādabhāṣya*. Delhi 1994.
- PS Pramāṇasamuccaya
- PSṬ 2 Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā, chapter 2: cf. Lasic et al. 2012.
- PSV Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti
- PVin Pramāṇaviniścaya: Ernst Steinkellner, ed., Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya. Chapters 1 and 2. Beijing - Vienna 2007.
- PVSVṬ Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛttiṭīkā: Rāhula Saṅkṛtyāyana, ed., *Ācārya Dharmakīrteḥ Pramāṇavārttikam (svārthānumānaparicchedaḥ) svopajñāvṛtṭyā, Karṇakagomiviracitayā taṭṭikayā ca sahitam*. Ilāhābād 1943.
- PVSV Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti: Raniero Gnoli, ed., The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti, the first chapter with the autocommentary. Text and critical notes. Roma 1960.
- PVV Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti: Rahula Saṅkṛtyayana, ed., *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika with a commentary by Manorathanandin*. Appendix in *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 24–26. 1938–1940.
- SSŚ Satyasiddhiśāstra: *Satyasiddhiśāstra of Harivarman. Vol. 1: Sanskrit Text*, by N. Aiyaswami Sastri. Baroda 1975.
- Steinkellner et al. 2005 E. Steinkellner, H. Krasser, and H. Lasic, eds., *Jinendrabuddhi's Viśālāmalavati Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā. Chapter 1. Part I: Critical Edition*. Beijing – Vienna 2005.

- V Tibetan translation of the *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti* by Vasudhararakṣita and Zha ma Seng ge rgyal mtshan, as edited in Kitagawa 1965.
- van der Kuijp 2013 van der Kuijp, Some Remarks on the Textual Transmission and Text of Bu ston Rin chen grub's *Chos 'byung*, a Chronicle of Buddhism in India and Tibet. *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 26 (2013) 115–193.
- Vibhū Vibhūticandra's (?) supplement edited as Appendix I in: *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika with a commentary by Manorathanandin*, ed. R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana. Appendix to *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 24, 25, 26. Patna 1938–1940.
- VS M. Honda, A reading in the Vaiśeṣika Sūtra. *Dōbō Daigaku Kiyō* 4 (1990) 172–79 = (1)–(94).





## An improved critical edition of the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* in the Gilgit manuscript\*

Zhen Liu

The birch bark manuscript of the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* (henceforth: *Maitr-vyāk*) found in Gilgit<sup>1</sup> is one of the six extant Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Maitr-vyāk*.<sup>2</sup> Based on its later form of Proto-Śāradā script, this Gilgit manuscript can be dated to circa 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript is not free from scribal errors and is charac-

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\* I am indebted to Gudrun Melzer (Munich), who made the first transliteration in 2005, from which my edition developed, Dragomir Dimitrov (Marburg), Seishi Karashima (Tokyo) and Noriyuki Kudo (Tokyo), who gave me a lot of valuable suggestions on my research.

<sup>1</sup> This manuscript is preserved in the H. P. Shastri Collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, with the number 4806, cf. Majumder 1959: i. Its black-white photocopy can be found in GBM 7. 1536–1542, on which my diplomatic edition was based. Its coloured photocopy can be found in Kudo 2017: 73–76 with an introduction on pp. liii–lviii, which improved my former edition. It is notable that Kudo (2017: liii) has corrected the reading of the folio numbers, i.e., folios 306–309 instead of folios 206–209 in GBM. For the description of this manuscript, cf. v. Hinüber 1979: 344 and v. Hinüber 2014 (improved version): 99.

<sup>2</sup> Among these manuscripts, two are complete: one from Tibet (Li & Nagashima 2013), and the other one from Nepal (Ishigami 1989). Two are incomplete: one from East India (Lévi 1932), the other from Gilgit (Majumder 1959), i.e., the one dealt with in this paper. The remaining two are highly fragmental, of which one is from Afghanistan (?) (Hartmann 2006) and the other is from Qizil (?) (Wille 2004; identified by Karashima [2010: 464–466]).

<sup>3</sup> For a description of a manuscript in the same physical condition and its Birgit Kellner, Jowita Kramer, Xuezhu Li (eds.), *Sanskrit manuscripts in China III. Proceedings of a panel at the 2016 Beijing International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, August 1 to 4*. Beijing 2020, pp. 163–182.

terized by ambiguous grammar and semantics,<sup>4</sup> as well as unnecessary repetitions.

After Lévi's first edition of the manuscript in 1932,<sup>5</sup> in the late 1950s, Majumder published his edition of the text.<sup>6</sup> Yet a noticeable amount of the *akṣaras* transliterated by Majumder is not attested in the manuscript.<sup>7</sup> The edition does not properly reflect the sentential features of the manuscript, and also the subsequent two editions<sup>8</sup> which employ his edition as a reference of comparison, are not satisfactory in this regard. Therefore, an improved edition of the manuscript is desired.<sup>9</sup>

Only through an edition that truthfully records the manuscript's features can we arrive at the following conclusion: In terms of content and sentential construction, this Gilgit version of the *Maitr-vyāk* differs greatly from other extant versions, though some of its wording parallels that of the Tibetan translation.<sup>10</sup>

### Conventions for the critical edition

- The following orthographic peculiarities are not documented or corrected to standard forms tacitly:

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dating, cf. Melzer 2006: 2.

<sup>4</sup> In my edition some ambiguous semantics is not emended if the grammar is correct and the context remains understandable or interpretable (cf. stanzas 62 and 81).

<sup>5</sup> Lévi 1932.

<sup>6</sup> Majumder 1959.

<sup>7</sup> He emended many *akṣaras* without any annotation, and his edition does not provide an adequate critical apparatus. Moreover, quite a few of his readings are wrong according to the manuscript.

<sup>8</sup> Ishigami 1989 and Li & Nagashima 2013.

<sup>9</sup> There is a re-edition of stanzas 70–75b in Matsumura 1985. I am grateful to G. Schopen for allowing me to complete the edition (cf. v. Hinüber 2014: 99) that he initially planned to work on.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Liu 2018.



1. replacement of consonant *b* with *v*,
  2. gemination after *r*-,
  3. *anusvāra* instead of classic nasal,
  4. occasional use of *jihvāmūlīya* (*h*) and *upadhmānīya* (*h*),
  5. omission of consonant *t* in the ligature *ttva*.<sup>11</sup>
- When other written symbols, such as • and :, are used in lieu of the *daṇḍa*, efforts have not been made to report them. In other words, these symbols have been replaced by the *daṇḍa*.
  - Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit forms are retained, rather than being “corrected” and rendered into Classical Sanskrit forms. Thus, *prakiriṣyanti* (83c) and *vikiriṣyanti* (50d, 89d) remain as they are, although they appear in the MS along with standardized forms such as *prakariṣyanti* (87c).

### Text-critical symbols

..	one illegible <i>akṣara</i>
.	illegible part of an <i>akṣara</i>
+	one lost <i>akṣara</i>
+	sign of insertion added in the manuscript
(abc)	restored <i>akṣara</i> (s)
[abc]	<i>akṣara</i> (s) whose reading(s) is (are) uncertain
{{abc}}	erased <i>akṣara</i> (s) in the manuscript
«abc»	interlinear insertion
*	<i>virāma</i>
,	<i>avagraha</i>
/	<i>daṇḍa</i>
○	punched string-hole
◎	painted but unpunched string-hole
•	punctuation mark

<sup>11</sup> However, *satva* will not be changed to *sattva*, following Bhattacharya 2010.

:	<i>visarga</i> used as punctuation
<i>ḥ</i>	<i>upadhmānīya</i>
<i>ḥ</i>	<i>jīhvāmūlīya</i>

## Abbreviations<sup>12</sup>

conj.	conjecture
em.	emendation
G	the manuscript of the <i>Maitr-vyāk</i> found in Gilgit
GBM	<i>Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts</i> , ed. Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra, (Śata-Piṭaka Series 10/1–10), New Delhi 1959–74
I	the edited text in Ishigami 1989
L	the edited text in Lévi 1932
M	the edited text in Majumder 1959
Mn	citations from the footnotes of Majumder 1959, mostly his own peculiar readings in this Gilgit manuscript
ms	manuscript
om.	omitted
X	the edited text in Li & Nagashima 2013

<sup>12</sup> For the sake of Dragomir Dimitrov's project, namely, a conclusive study on *Maitr-vyāk*, I follow his abbreviation system instead of those in the previous studies.

### Critical edition<sup>13</sup>

daśamāsāṃś ca<sup>14</sup> (306r1) nikhilāṃ dhārayitvā mahādyutim /  
supuṣpīte 'sminn<sup>15</sup> udyāne Maitreyajanāni tataḥ // (31)

na niṣaṅṅā nipannā vā sthitā sā dharmacāriṇī /  
drumasya śākhām ālambya Maitre(306r2)yaṃ<sup>16</sup> janayiṣyati // (32)

alīptam<sup>17</sup> garbhapaṅkena kuśeśayam ivāmbunā /  
traidhātukam idaṃ sarvaṃ prabhayā pūrayiṣyati // (33)

prīto 'tha taṃ sahasrākṣo devarājā Śacīpatiḥ<sup>18</sup> /  
(306r3) jāyamānaṃ grahītā sa Maitreyaṃ dvīpadottamam // (34)

padāni jātamātraś ca saptāsau prakramiṣyati /  
pade pade nidhānaṃ ca padmaṃ padmaṃ bhaviṣyati // (35)

dīśāś catasra(306r4)ś codvīkṣya vācaṃ pravayāhariṣyati /  
iyaṃ me paścimā jātir nāhaṃ<sup>19</sup> bhūyaḥ punarbhavaḥ<sup>20</sup> /  
na punar abhyāgamiṣyāmi nirvāsyāmi nirāsravaḥ // (36)

saṃsārā(306r5)ṛṇavamagnānāṃ satvānāṃ duḥkhabhāginām /  
ṛṣṇābandhanabaddhānāṃ kariṣyāmi vimocanam // (37)

śvetaṃ cāsya surāc chatraṃ dhārayiṣyanti mūrdhani /  
śītoṣṇa(306r6)vāridhārābhyāṃ nāgendrau snāpayiṣyataḥ // (38)

<sup>13</sup> This edition is based on the transliteration by Gudrun Melzer in 2005. However, for the convenience of reference, this edition follows Ishigami 1989 and Li & Nagashima 2013 and the numbering (here in brackets after each stanza) found in Majumder 1959.

<sup>14</sup> *daśamāsāṃś ca* conj. (L31a, I31a, X29a) ] The Gilgit manuscript begins with *nikhilān*.

<sup>15</sup> *supuṣpīte 'sminn* ] *supuṣpīte+{{ca}}«smi[m]»* ms.

<sup>16</sup> *Maitreyaṃ* conj. (L32d, I32d, X31d) ] .e + *yaṃ* ms.

<sup>17</sup> *alīptaṃ* em. ] *alīptam* ms; *alīpto* M.

<sup>18</sup> *Śacīpatiḥ* em. (L35b, X34d) ] *śacīpa* .. + ms.

<sup>19</sup> *nāhaṃ* ] *nāsti* M.

<sup>20</sup> *punarbhavaḥ* em. ] *punarbhava* ms.

pratigṛhya ca taṃ dhātṛī dvātriṃśadvaralakṣaṇam /  
śriyā jvalantaṃ Maitreyaṃ<sup>21</sup> mātṛe samupaneṣyati // (39)

manoramām ca (306r7) śivikām nānāratnavibhuṣitām /  
ārūḍhām putrasahitām<sup>22</sup> atha vakṣyanti devatāḥ<sup>23</sup> // (40)

tatas tūryasahasreṣu vādyamāneṣu tat puram /  
praviṣtamātṛe Maitre(306r8)ye puṣpavarṣaṃ patiṣyati // (41)

drṣṭvaiva putraṃ Subrahmā dvātriṃśadvaralakṣaṇam /  
pratyavekṣyātha<sup>24</sup> mantreṣu tadā prīto bhaviṣyati // (42)

gatidvayaṃ kumārasya yathā (306v1) mantreṣu<sup>25</sup> drṣyate /  
narādhipaś cakravartī buddho vā dvipadottamaḥ // (43)

sa ca yauvanasaṃprāpto Maitreyaḥ puruṣottamaḥ /  
cintayiṣyati dharmātmā duḥkhitā khalv iyāṃ prajā // (44)

(306v2) brahmasvaro mahāghoṣo hemavarṇo mahādyutiḥ /  
viśālavakṣaḥ pīnāṃsaḥ padmapatranibhekṣaṇaḥ // (45)

hastāḥ pañcāśad ucchrāyas<sup>26</sup> tasya kāyo bhaviṣyati /  
visṛ(306v3)taś ca tato 'rdhena<sup>27</sup> śubhavarṇasamucchrayaḥ // (46)

aśītibhiś<sup>28</sup> caturbhiś ca sahasrais saṃpuraskṛtaḥ /  
māṇavānām<sup>29</sup> sa Maitreyo mantrān adhyāpayiṣyati // (47)

atha Śaṅkho narapa(306v4)tir<sup>30</sup> yūpam ucchrāpayiṣyati /  
tiryam ca ṣoḍaśavyāmam ūrdham vyāmasahasrakam // (48)

<sup>21</sup> *maitreyaṃ* ] {{mā}}+«mai»treyaṃ ms.

<sup>22</sup> *putrasahitām* ] *putrasahitāṃm* ms.

<sup>23</sup> *atha vakṣyanti devatāḥ* em. ] *aśa vakṣyaṃti devatā* ms; *vahiṣyanti ca devatā* M.

<sup>24</sup> *pratyavekṣyātha* ] *pratyavīkṣātha* M.

<sup>25</sup> *mantreṣu* em. ] [*m*]. *ntreṣu* ms.

<sup>26</sup> *ucchrāyas* ] *ucchrāya* M.

<sup>27</sup> *'rdhena* ] *'rdheṇa* M.

<sup>28</sup> *aśītibhiś* em. ] *agītibhiś* ms.

<sup>29</sup> *māṇavānām* ] *mānavānām* M.

<sup>30</sup> *narapatir* ] *narapatiḥ* M.

sa taṃ yūpaṃ narapatir nānāratnavibhūṣitam /  
pradāsyati dvijātibhyo<sup>31</sup> (306v5) yajñam kṛtvā purassaram // (49)

taṃ ca ratnamayaṃ yūpaṃ dattamātraṃ manoramam /  
brāhmaṇānām<sup>32</sup> sahasrāṇi vikiriṣyanti tatksaṇe<sup>33</sup> // (50)

xxx tasya Maitreyo dr̥ṣṭvā caitā(306v6)m anityatām /  
kṛtsnam vicintya saṃsāraṃ pravrajyāṃ rocayiṣyati // (51)

yanv ahaṃ pravrajitveha spr̥ṣeyam amṛtaṃ padam /  
vimocayeyaṃ janatām vyādhirmṛtyujarā(306v7)bhayāt // (52)

aṣṭibhis sahasrais tu<sup>34</sup> caturbhiś ca puraskṛtaḥ /  
niṣkramiṣyati Maitreyaḥ pravrajyāṃ agrapudgalaḥ // (53)

Nāgavṛkṣas tadā tasya bodhivṛkṣo bhaviṣyati /  
(306v8) pañcāśadyojanāny asya śākhā ūrdhvaṃ samucchr̥tāḥ<sup>35</sup> // (54)

niṣadya tasya cādhasṭān Maitreyaḥ puruṣottamaḥ /  
anuttarāṃ śivāṃ bodhim samavāpsyati<sup>36</sup> nāyakaḥ // (55)

yasyā(307r1)m<sup>37</sup> eva ca rātrau sa pravrajyāṃ niṣkramiṣyati /  
tasyām eva ca rātrau hi parāṃ bodhim avāpsyati // (56)

aṣṭāṅgopetayā vācā tatas sa puruṣottamaḥ /  
deśayiṣya(307r2)ti<sup>38</sup> saddharmaṃ sarvaduḥkhāpahaṃ śivam // (57)

prasannāṃ janatām dr̥ṣṭvā satyāni kathayiṣyati /  
duḥkham duḥkhasamutpādam duḥkhasya samatikramam // (58)

āryaṃ cāṣṭāṅgikaṃ<sup>39</sup> (307r3) mārgaṃ kṣemaṃ nirvāṇagāminam /  
taṃ cāpi dharmaṃ saṃśrutya pratipatsyanti śāsane // (59)

<sup>31</sup> *dvijātibhyo* em. ] *dvijātibhye* ms.

<sup>32</sup> *brāhmaṇānām* ] *brāhmaṇāṇām* M.

<sup>33</sup> *tatksaṇe* ] *tatksaṇāt* M.

<sup>34</sup> *tu* ] *sa* M.

<sup>35</sup> *samucchr̥tāḥ* ] *samucchritāḥ* M.

<sup>36</sup> *samavāpsyati* em. (*avāpsyati* G.56d) ] *samavīpsyati* ms.

<sup>37</sup> *yasyām* conj. (*tasyām* G.56c) ] *ya + m* ms.

<sup>38</sup> *deśayiṣyati* em. (L59c, I56c, X59c) ] *deśa .i + ti* ms.

<sup>39</sup> *cāṣṭāṅgikaṃ* em. (L60c, X60c) ] *cāṣṭāṅgi ..* ms.

udyāne puṣpasamchanne sannipāto bhaviṣyati /  
pūrṇaṃ ca yojanaśataṃ parṣat ta(307r4)sya bhaviṣyati // (60)

śrutvā narapati rājā Śaṅkho nāma mahāyaśāḥ<sup>40</sup> /  
dattvā dānam asaṃkhyeyaṃ pravrajyāṃ niṣkramiṣyati<sup>41</sup> // (61)

aśtibhiś caturbhiś ca sahasraiḥ<sup>42</sup> pa(307r5)rivrīṭaḥ /  
narādhipānāṃ niṣkramya<sup>43</sup> pravrajyāṃ upayāsyati // (62)

anenaiva pramāṇena mānavānāṃ<sup>44</sup> puraskṛtam /  
Maitreyasya pitā tatra pravrajyāṃ (307r6) niṣkramiṣyati // (63)

tato gṛhapatis tatra Sudhano nāma viśrutaḥ /  
pravrajiṣyati śuddhātmā Maitreyasyānuśāsane // (64)

strīratnam atha Śaṅkhasya Viśākhā nāma vi(307r7)śrutā /  
aśtibhiś caturbhiś ca sahasraiḥ saṃpuraskṛta /  
nārīnāṃ abhiniṣkramya pravrajyāṃ rocayīṣyati // (65)

prāṇināṃ<sup>45</sup> tatra samaye sahasrāṇi śatāni ca /  
(307r8) pravrajyāṃ upayāsyanti Maitreyasyānuśāsane // (66)

supuṣpīte<sup>46</sup> sminn udyāne sannipāto bhaviṣyati /  
samantato yojanaśataṃ parṣat tasya bhaviṣyati // (67)

(307v1) tataḥ kāruṇikaḥ śāstā Maitreyaḥ puruṣottamaḥ /  
samitiṃ vyavalokyātha imam arthaṃ pravakṣyati // (68)

sarve me<sup>47</sup> Śākyasiṃhena gaṇiśreṣṭhena<sup>48</sup> tāyinā /  
arthato loka(307v2)nāthena parīttābhūrīmedhasāḥ<sup>49</sup> // (69)

<sup>40</sup> mahāyaśāḥ em. ] mahāyaśā ms.

<sup>41</sup> niṣkramiṣyati em. (niṣkramiṣyati G.63d) ] niṣkraṣyati ms.

<sup>42</sup> sahasraiḥ em. ] sahasrai ms.

<sup>43</sup> narādhipānāṃ niṣkramya ] narādhipo viniṣkramya M.

<sup>44</sup> mānavānāṃ em. ] māṇavānāṃ ms.

<sup>45</sup> prāṇināṃ ] prāṇinaḥ M.

<sup>46</sup> supuṣpīte em. ] suṣuṣpīte ms.

<sup>47</sup> me ] te M.

<sup>48</sup> gaṇiśreṣṭhena em. ] gaṇiśreṣṭhena M.

<sup>49</sup> parīttābhūrīmedhasāḥ ] dṛṣṭvā saddharmaghātunā M; parīttā

chatradhvajapatākābhir gandhamālyavilepanaiḥ /  
kṛtvā stūpeṣu satkāram āgatā hi mamāntikam<sup>50</sup> // (70)

saṅghe dattvā ca dānāni cī(307v3)varam pānabhojanam /  
vividham glānabhaiṣajyam āgatā hi mamāntikam // (71)

kunkumodakasekaṃ ca candanenānulepanam /  
dattvā Śākyamuneḥ<sup>51</sup> stūpeṣv āgatā hi mamā(307v4)ntikam // (72)

śikṣāpadāni cādāya Śākyasiṃhasya śāsane /  
paripālya yathābhūtam āgatā hi mamāntikam // (73)

upoṣadham upoṣyeha āryam aṣṭān(307v5)gikaṃ śubham /  
caturdaśiṃ pañcadaśiṃ pakṣasyehāṣṭamīm tathā /  
prātihārikapakṣaṃ cāpy aṣṭāṅgaṃ susamāhitam // (74)

śīlāni ca samādāya samprāptā ma(307v6)ma<sup>52</sup> śāsanam /  
buddham dharmam ca saṅgham ca gatvaite śaraṇam gatāḥ /  
kṛtvā ca kuśalam karma macchāsanam upāgatāḥ // (75)

tenaite preṣitāḥ satvāḥ<sup>53</sup> pratīṣṭās ca mayāpy amī /  
(307v7) gaṇiśreṣṭheṇa<sup>54</sup> muninā parittābhūrimedhasā // (76)

prasannam janatām dṛṣtvā satyāni kathayiṣyati /  
śrutvā ca te tato dharmam prāpsyanti padam uttamam // (77)

prāti(307v8)hāryatrayeṇāsau śrāvakān vinayiṣyati /  
sarve te āsravās tatra kṣapayiṣyanti sūratāḥ<sup>55</sup> // (78)

prathamas sannipāto 'sya śrāvakāṇām bhaviṣyati /  
pūrṇāḥ ṣaṇṇa(308r1)vatih<sup>56</sup> koṭyaḥ śrāvakāṇām bhavacchidam // (79)

*bhūrimedhasā* Mn.

<sup>50</sup> °*āntikam* ] °*āntike* Mn.

<sup>51</sup> °*muneḥ* em. ] °*mune* ms.

<sup>52</sup> *samprāptā mama* ] *samprāptāni ca* M.

<sup>53</sup> *satvāḥ* ] *sattvā* M.

<sup>54</sup> °*śreṣṭheṇa* em. ] °*śreṣṭhena* ms.

<sup>55</sup> *sūratāḥ* ] *suratāḥ* M.

<sup>56</sup> *pūrṇāḥ ṣaṇṇavatiḥ* em. (L78c, I75c, X81c) ] *pūrṇā* [s]. + *vatih* ms;  
*pūrṇāḥ ṣaṇṇavati*° M.

dvitīyas<sup>57</sup> sannipāto 'sya śrāvakāṇām bhaviṣyati /  
pūrṇāś caturnavatiḥ<sup>58</sup> koṭyaḥ śāntānām bhūrimedhasām // (80)

tr̥tīyaḥ sannipāto 'sya<sup>59</sup> (308r2) śrāvakāṇām bhaviṣyati /  
pūrṇā dvāviṃśatiḥ<sup>60</sup> koṭyaḥ śāntānām śāntacetāsām // (81)

dharmacakram pravartyātha vinīya suramānuṣān /  
sārdham śrāvakasamghena pure pi(308r3)ṇḍaṃ cariṣyati // (82)

tataḥ praviśatas tasyām ramyām ketumatīm purīm /<sup>61</sup>  
riddhiś cāpy anubhāvaś ca mahārthaḥ prabhaviṣyati /  
māndārakāṇi puṣpāṇi paṭiṣyanti purottame /  
(308r4) devatāḥ prakiriṣyanti tasmim puragate munau // (83)

catvāraś ca mahārājāḥ Śakraś ca ṛḍaśādhipaḥ /  
Brahmā devagaṇaiś sārdham pūjām tasya kariṣyati // (84)

utpa(308r5)laṃ kumudaṃ padmaṃ puṇḍarīkaṃ sugandhikam /  
agaruṃ<sup>62</sup> candanaṃ cāpi divyaṃ mālyam paṭiṣyati // (85)

cailakṣepam kariṣyanti devaputrā mahardhikāḥ /  
taṃ loka(308r6)nātham udvīkṣya praviśantaṃ purottamam // (86)

divyaś ca tūryanirghoṣo divyaṃ mālyam paṭiṣyati /  
devatāḥ prakariṣyanti<sup>63</sup> tasmim puragate munau // (87)

ye tu ketuma(308r7)tīm ke cid vāsayiṣyanti<sup>64</sup> mānuṣāḥ /  
te 'pi taṃ pūjayiṣyanti praviśantaṃ purottamam // (88)

pathi bhūmyāstaram tatra mṛdutūlapicūpamam<sup>65</sup> /  
vicitraṃ ca śubham mālyam vi(308r8)kiriṣyanti te tadā // (89)

<sup>57</sup> *dvitīyas* em. (L79a, I76a, X82a) ] . *itīyas* ms.

<sup>58</sup> °*navatiḥ* ] °*navati*° M.

<sup>59</sup> 'sya em. (L80a, I77a, X83a) ] [*s*]. ms.

<sup>60</sup> *dvāviṃśatiḥ* ] *dvāviṃśati* M.

<sup>61</sup> *tataḥ ... purīm* ] *tataḥ muniśatas tasya hyā kuṃkumakesarān* Mn.

<sup>62</sup> *agaruṃ* ] *aguruṃ* M.

<sup>63</sup> *prakariṣyanti* ] *prakiriṣyanti* M.

<sup>64</sup> *vāsayiṣyanti* ] *vāsayaṣyanti* M.

<sup>65</sup> °*picūpamam* ] °*picopamam* M.



chatradhvajapatākābhir arcayiṣyanti mānuṣāḥ /  
śubhaiś ca tūryanirghoṣaiḥ prasannamanaso narāḥ // (90)

taṃ ca Śakras sahasrākṣo devarājaś śacīpatiḥ<sup>66</sup> /  
(308v1) prahrṣtaḥ prāñjalir bhūtvā Maitreyaṃ stoṣyate jinam // (91)

namas te puruṣājanya namas te puruṣottama /  
anukampasva janatāṃ bhagavann agrapudgala // (92)

mahardhiko (308v2) Devaputras tasya Māro bhaviṣyati /  
sa cāpi prāñjalir bhūtvā stoṣyate lokanāyakam // (93)

śuddhāvāsasahasraiś ca bahubhiḥ parivāritaḥ /  
pravekṣyate ca Mai(308v3)treyo lokanātho vināyakaḥ // (94)

brāhmeṇa<sup>67</sup> parivāreṇa Brahmā cāpi girā sphuṭam<sup>68</sup> /  
kathayiṣyati saddharmaṃ brāhmaṃ ghoṣam udīrayam // (95)

ākīrṇā pṛthivī (308v4) sarvā arhadbhiś ca bhaviṣyati /  
kṣīṇāsravair vāntadoṣaiḥ prahīṇabhavabandhanaiḥ // (96)

hrṣṭā devamanuṣyāś ca gandharvā yakṣarākṣasāḥ /  
śāstuh pūjāṃ kari(308v5)ṣyanti<sup>69</sup> nāgāś cāpi mahardhikāḥ // (97)

te vai nūnaṃ bhaviṣyanti hy anighāś<sup>70</sup> chinnaśaṃcayāḥ /  
utkṣiptaparikhā<sup>71</sup> dhīrā anādānā nirutsukāḥ /  
brahmacaryaṃ cari(308v6)ṣyanti ye<sup>72</sup> Maitreyasyānuśasane // (98)

te 'pi nūnaṃ bhaviṣyanti amamā aparigrahāḥ /  
ajātarūparajatā aniketā asaṃstavāḥ<sup>73</sup> /  
brahmacaryaṃ cariṣyanti ye Mai(308v7)treyaṃśasane // (99)

<sup>66</sup> śacīpatiḥ em. ] śacīpa«ti» ms.

<sup>67</sup> brāhmeṇa ] brāhmaṇa M.

<sup>68</sup> girā sphuṭam ] girāsphuṭam M.

<sup>69</sup> kariṣyanti em. (L93c, I91c, X97a) ] kaṣyaṃti ms.

<sup>70</sup> hy anighāś ] cyānaghāś M.

<sup>71</sup> utkṣiptaparikhā ] utkṣiptaparikhāḥ M.

<sup>72</sup> ye ] om. M.

<sup>73</sup> asaṃstavāḥ em. ] asaṃstavā ms.

te vai pārāṃ gamiṣyanti chitvā jālam ivāmbujāḥ<sup>74</sup> /  
 dhyānāni copasāṃpadya<sup>75</sup> prītisaukhyasamanvitāḥ /  
 brahmacaryaṃ carīṣyanti ye<sup>76</sup> Maitreyasyā(308v8)nuśasane // (100)

ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣasahasrāṇi Maitreyo dvipadottamaḥ /  
 deśayiṣyati saddharmaṃ śāstā lokānukampayā // (101)

śatāny atha<sup>77</sup> sahasrāṇi prāṇināṃ sa vināyakaḥ<sup>78</sup> /  
 (309r1) vinīya dharmo kālena<sup>79</sup> tato nirvāṇam eṣyati // (102)

tasmimś ca nirvṛte vīre<sup>80</sup> Maitreye dvipadottame /  
 daśavarṣasahasrāṇi saddharmaṃ<sup>81</sup> sthāsyati kṣitau // (103)

prasāda(309r2)yati<sup>82</sup> cittāni tasmāc Chākyamunau jine /  
 tato drakṣatha Maitreyaṃ saṃbuddhaṃ dvipadottamam // (104)

tasmād buddhe ca dharme<sup>83</sup> ca saṃghe cāpi gaṇottame /  
 prasādayata<sup>84</sup> ci(309r3)ttāni bhaviṣyati mahārthikam // (105)

taṃ tādrśaṃ kāruṇikaṃ Maitreyaṃ dvipadottamam /  
 ārādhayitvā kālena tato nirvāṇam eṣyatha // (106)

idam āścaryakaṃ śrutvā (309r4) drṣṭvā ca rdhim analpikām<sup>85</sup> /  
 ko vidvān na prasīdeta api kṛṣṇābhijātiṣu<sup>86</sup> // (107)

<sup>74</sup> *ivāmbujāḥ* em. ] *ivāmbujā* ms; *eva bhujāt* M.

<sup>75</sup> *copasāṃpadya* ] *copa*+«*sa*»*ṃpadya* {{tu}} ms.

<sup>76</sup> *ye* ] om. M.

<sup>77</sup> *śatāny atha* ] *śatāni ca* M.

<sup>78</sup> *vināyakaḥ* em. (I96b, X102d) ] *vin.* + + ms.

<sup>79</sup> *dharmo kālena* ] *dharmakāyena* M.

<sup>80</sup> *vīre* ] *dhīre* M.

<sup>81</sup> *saddharmaṃ* em. ] *saddharma* ms.

<sup>82</sup> *prasādayati* em. ] *prasād. yati* ms.

<sup>83</sup> *buddhe ca dharme* ] *dharme ca buddhe* M.

<sup>84</sup> *prasādayata* ] *prasādayati* M.

<sup>85</sup> *rdhim analpikām* ] *vibhāvanalpikām* M.

<sup>86</sup> *°ābhijātiṣu* em. (*°ābhijātikah* L101d) ] *°āpijātiṣu* ms; *°āsu jātiṣu* M. I follow Dimitrov's (2016, 768, s.v. L101d) correction of the emendation by Majumder. It is worthy to note that in this Gilgit manuscript *bhi* and *hi*

tasmād ihātmakāmena mähātmyam abhikāṅkṣatā /  
saddharmo guru(ka(309r5)rtavyaḥ<sup>87</sup> smaratā buddhaśāsanam // (108)

Maitreyavyākaraṇaṃ samāptam

## Diplomatic edition (GBM 1536–1542)

### 306 *recto* (GBM 1536)

- 1 nikhilāṃ dhārayitvā mahādyutiṃ supuṣpita<sup>+</sup> {{ca}}«smi[m]»  
udyāne maitreyajananī tataḥ na niṣaṇṇā nipannā vā sthitā sā  
dharmacāriṇī · drumasya śākhām ālamvya .e +
- 2 yaṃ janayiṣyati · a[l]iṃptaṃ [garbha]pa[m]kena kuśeśa[ya]m  
ivā[mvun]ā : traidhātukam idaṃ sarvvaṃ prabhayā pūrayiṣyati  
· prīto tha taṃ sahasrākṣo devarājā śaciṃpa .. +
- 3 jāyamānaṃ grahitā sa maitreyaṃ dvipadottamam\* padān[i]  
jātamāttraś ca saptāsau prakramiṣyati · pade pade nidhānaṃ  
ca padmaṃ padmaṃ bhaviṣyati · diśaś catasra
- 4 ś codvīkṣya vācaṃ pravyāhariṣyati · iyaṃ me pa○scimā jātir  
nāhaṃ bhūya{{+}}ḥ punarbhava / na punar abhyāgamiṣyāmi  
nirvāsyāmi nirāsravaḥ saṃsārā
- 5 rṇavamagnānāṃ satvānāṃ duḥkhabhāgināṃ · tṛ○ṣṇāvandha-  
navaddhānāṃ kariṣyāmi vimocanaṃ · śvetaṃ cāsya surac  
chatraṃ dhārayiṣyanti mūrdhani · śītoṣṇa
- 6 vāridhārābhyāṃ nāgendrau snapayiṣyataḥ pratigrhya ca taṃ  
dhātṛī dvātṛṃśadvaralakṣaṇaṃ : śriyā jvalantaṃ {{mā}}<sup>+</sup>-  
«mai»treyaṃ mātṛe samupaneṣyati : manoramāṃ ca

as well as *hi* and *pi* can easily be confused. Furthermore, the reading *api kṛṣṇāhi jātikaḥ* in I99d and X106b makes no sense and can be emended to *api kṛṣṇābhijātikaḥ*, too, since *hi* and *bhi* in both manuscripts, which are written in the Pracalita Newarī script (I, Dimitrov 2016, 414) and allegedly in the Bengalī script (X, Li & Nagashima 2013, 217) respectively, are similar and could be easily miscopied.

<sup>87</sup> *gurukartavyaḥ* em. ] *gurukartavya* ms.

- 7 śivikāṃ nānāratnavibhūṣitāṃ · ārū[ḍh]āṃ putrasahitāṃm  
a[ś]a vakṣyaṃti devatā · tatas tūryasahasreṣu vādyamāneṣu tat  
puram\* praviṣṭamātre maitre
- 8 ye puṣpavarṣaṃ patiṣyati · drṣṭvaiva putraṃ suvrahmā dvā-  
triṃśadvaralakṣaṇam · pratyavekṣyātha maṃtreṣu tadā prīto  
bhaviṣyati · gatidvayaṃ kumārasya yathā

### 306 verso (GBM 1537)

- 1 [m]. ntreṣu drṣyate · narādhipaś cakravarttī vuddho vā dvipado-  
ttamaḥ sa ca yauvanasaṃprāpto maitreya[h] puruṣottamaḥ  
cintayiṣyati dharmātmā duḥkhitā khalv iyāṃ prajā
- 2 vrahmasvaro mahāghoṣo hemavarṇo mahādy[u]tiḥ viśāla-  
vakṣaḥ pīnāṃsaḥ padmapatranibhekṣaṇaḥ hastāḥ paṃcāśad  
ucchrāyas tasya kāyo bhaviṣyati · viṣṭ
- 3 taś ca tato rdhena śubhavarṇasamucchrayaḥ agītibhiś caturbhiś  
ca sahasrais saṃpuraskṛtaḥ māṇavānāṃ sa maitreyo mantrān  
adhyāpayiṣyati · atha śāṅkho narapa
- 4 tir yūpaṃ ucchrāpayiṣyati · tiryam ca ṣoḍaśavyā◊mam  
ūrdham vyāmasahasrakam · sa taṃ yūpaṃ narapatir nānā-  
ratnavibhūṣitaṃ · pradāsyati dvijātibhye
- 5 yajñaṃ kṛtvā purassaram · taṃ ca ratnamayaṃ yūpaṃ da◊tta-  
mātraṃ manoramam · vrāhmaṇānāṃ sahasrāṇi vikiriṣyaṃti  
tatkṣaṇe · tasya maitreyo drṣtvā caitā
- 6 m anityatām · kṛtsnam vicimtya saṃsāraṃ pravrajyām roca-  
yiṣyati · yanv ahaṃ pravrajitveha sprṣeyam amṛtaṃ padaṃ ·  
vimocayeyam janatām vyādhirmṛtyujarā
7. bhayāt\* aśtibhis sahasrais tu caturbhiś ca puraskṛtaḥ niṣkra-  
miṣyati maitreyaḥ pravrajyām agrapudgalaḥ nāgavṛkṣas tadā  
tasya vodhivṛkṣo bhaviṣya[t]i
- 8 paṃcāśadyojanāny asya śākhā ūrdhvaṃ samucchṛtāḥ niṣadya  
tasya cādhasṭān maitreyaḥ puruṣottamaḥ anuttarāṃ śivāṃ  
vodhiṃ samavīpsya[{}m]ti nāyakaḥ ya +

**307 recto (GBM 1538)**

- 1 m eva ca rātrau sa pravrajyāṃ niṣkramiṣyati · tasyāṃ eva ca rātrau hi parāṃ vodhim avāpsyati · aṣṭāṃgopetayā vācā tatas sa puruṣottamaḥ deśa .i +
- 2 ti saddharmaṃ sarvaduḥkhāpahaṃ [ś]ivaṃ · prasannāṃ janatāṃ dṛṣṭvā satyāni kathayiṣyati · duḥkhaṃ duḥkhasamutpādaṃ duḥkhasya samatikramaṃ · āryaṃ cāṃṣṭāṃgi ..
- 3 mārgaṃ kṣemaṃ nirvāṇagāmināṃ : taṃ cāpi dharmāṃ samśrutya pratipatsyaṃti śāsane · udyāne puṣpasamcchanne sannipāto bhaviṣyati · pūrṇaṃ ca yojanaśataṃ parṣat ta
- 4 sya bhaviṣyati · śrutvā narapati rājā śaṃkho nā○ma mahāyaśā · datvā dānam asaṃkhyeyaṃ pravrajyāṃ niṣkraṣyati · aśītibhiś caturbhiś ca sahasrai pa
- 5 rivāritaḥ narādhipānāṃ niṣkrāmya pravrajyāṃ u○payāsyati · anenaiva pramāṇena māṇavānāṃ puraskṛtaṃ : maitreyasya pitā tatra pravrajyāṃ
- 6 niṣkramiṣyati · tato gṛhapatis tatra sudhano nāma viśrutāḥ pravrajīṣyati śuddhātmā maitreyasyānuśāsane · strīratnam atha śaṃkhasya viśākhā nāma vi
- 7 śrutā · aśītibhiś caturbhiś ca sahasraiḥ saṃpuraskṛtā nārīṇāṃ abhiniṣkrāmya pravrajyāṃ rocayiṣyati · prāṇināṃ tatra samaye sahasrāṇi śatāni ca ·
- 8 pravrajyāṃ upayāsyāṃti maitreyasyānuśāsane · suṣuṣpīte sminn udyāne sannipāto bhaviṣyati · samamṭato yojanaśataṃ parṣat tasya bhaviṣyati ·

**307 verso (GBM 1539)**

- 1 tataḥ kārūṇikaḥ śāstā maitreyaḥ puruṣottamaḥ samitiṃ vya-valokyātha imam arthaṃ pravakṣyati · sarve me śākyasiṃhena gaṇiśreṣṭhena tāyinā · arthato loka

- 2 nāthena parīttābhūrimedhabhāḥ cchatradhvajapatākābhir gandhamālyavilepanaiḥ kṛtvā stūpeṣu satkāram āgatā hi mamāntikaṃ · saṃghe datvā ca dānāni cī
- 3 varam pānabhojanam · vividham glānabhaiṣajyam āgatā hi mamāntikaṃ · kuṃkumodakasekaṃ ca candanenānulepanam · datvā śākyamune stūpeṣv āgatā hi mamā
- 4 ntikaṃ · śikṣāpadāni cādāya śākyasiṃhasya ○ śāsane · paripālya yathābhūtam āgatā hi mamāntikaṃ · upoṣadham upoṣyeha āryam aṣṭām
- 5 gikaṃ śubham · caturdaśiṃ pañcadaśiṃ pakṣasyehāṣṭa○mīm tathā · prātihārikapakṣam cāpy aṣṭāṃgam susamāhitam · śīlāni ca samādāya samprāptā ma
- 6 ma śāsanam : vuddham dharmam ca saṃgham ca gatvaite śaraṇam gatāḥ kṛtvā ca kuśalam karma macchāsanam upāgatāḥ tenaite preṣitāḥ satvā«ḥ» pratīṣṭās ca mayāpy amī ·
- 7 gaṇiśreṣṭhena muninā parīttābhūrimedhasā · prasannām janatām dṛṣṭvā satyāni kathayiṣyati · śrutvā ca te tato dharmam prāpsyamti padam uttamam\* prāti
- 8 hāryatrayeṇāsau śrāv{{i}}akān vina[yi]ṣyati [sarve] te ā[sravā] s tatra kṣapa[y]iṣya[m]ti sūratāḥ · prathamas sannipāto sya śrāvakāṇām bhaviṣyati · pūrṇā [ṣ]. +

### 308 *recto* (GBM 1540)

- 1 vatiḥ koṭyaḥ śrāvakāṇām bhavacchidām . i tī[ya]s [sann]i[pāt]o sya [śrā]vakāṇām bhaviṣ[y]a[t]i [pūrṇ]āś caturnavatih koṭyaḥ śāmtānām bhūrimedhasām · tṛtīyaḥ sannipāto [s].
- 2 śrāvakāṇām bhaviṣyati · pūrṇā dvā[viṃsatih koṭyaḥ śānt]ā[n]ām śāntacetāsām\* dharmmacakraṃ pravartyātha vinīya suramānuṣān\* sārdham śrāvakasamghena pure pi
- 3 ṇdam cariṣyati · tataḥ [p]raviśatas tasy[ām ra]myā«m\*» ketuma[tīm purī]m\* riddhiś cāpy anubhāvaś ca mahārthaḥ prabhaviṣyati · māndārakāni puṣpāni patīsyamti purottame ·

- 4 devatāḥ prakiriṣyaṃti tasmī[m] puragate munau · ○ catvāraś  
ca mahārājāś śakraś ca tṛdaśādhipaḥ vrahmā devagaṇais  
sārdhaṃ pūjāṃ tasya kariṣyati · utpa
- 5 laṃ kumudaṃ padmaṃ puṇḍarīkaṃ sugandhikaṃ · aga○  
[ru]ṃ candanaṃ cāpi divyaṃ mālyam patiṣyati · cailakṣepam  
kariṣyaṃti devaputrā mahardhikāḥ taṃ loka
- 6 nātham u[d]vīkṣya praviśaṃtaṃ purottamaṃ · divyaś ca  
tūryanirghoṣo divyaṃ mālyam patiṣyati · devatāḥ pra-  
k{{i}}ariṣyaṃti tasmīṃ puragate munau · ye tu ketuma
- 7 tīṃ ke cid vāsayiṣyaṃti mānuṣāḥ te pi taṃ pūjayiṣyaṃti  
praviśaṃtaṃ purottamaṃ · pathi bhūmyāstaraṃ tatra mṛdu-  
tūlapicūpamaṃ · vicitraṃ ca śubhaṃ mālyam vi
- 8 kiriṣyaṃti te tadā · chatradhvajapatakābhīr arcayiṣyaṃti mā-  
nuṣāḥ śubhaiś ca tūryanirghoṣaiḥ prasannamanaso narāḥ taṃ  
ca śakras sahasrākṣo devarājaś śacīpa«ti »

### 308 verso (GBM 1541)

- 1 prahrṣtaḥ prāṃjalir bhūtvā maitreyaṃ stoṣyate jinaṃ · namas  
te puruṣājanya namas te puruṣottama · anukampasva janatāṃ  
bhagavann agrapudgala : mahardhiko
- 2 devaputras tasya māro bhaviṣyati · sa cāpi prāṃjalir bhūtvā  
stoṣyate lokanāyakaṃ · śuddhāvāsasahasraiś ca vahubhiḥ  
parivāritaḥ pravekṣyate ca mai
- 3 treyo lokanātho vināyakaḥ vrāhmaṇa parivāreṇa vrahmā cāpi  
girā sphuṭaṃ · kathayiṣyati saddharmaṃ vrāhmaṇ ghōṣam  
udīrayaṃ · ākīrṇā pṛthivī
- 4 sarvā arhadbhiś ca bhaviṣyati kṣīṇāsravair vāṃta○doṣaiḥ  
prahīṇabhavavandhanaiḥ hrṣtā devamanuṣyāś ca gandharvā  
yakṣarākṣasāḥ śāstuh pūjāṃ ka
- 5 ṣyaṃti nāgāś cāpi mahardhikāḥ te vai nūna[m] bhavi○ṣyaṃti  
hy anighāś chinnaścaṃcayāḥ utkṣiptaparikhā dhīrā anādānā  
nirutsukāḥ vrahmacaryaṃ cari

- 6    śyaṃti<sup>+</sup> «ye» maitreyasyānuśasane · [te pi] nū[naṃ bha]vi-  
 śyaṃti amamā aparigrahāḥ ajā[tarūpara]jātā a[n]iketā asaṃ-  
 stavā · vrahmacaryaṃ carīśyaṃti ye mai
- 7    treyānuśasane · te vai pāraṃ gamīṣyanti chitvā jālam ivāṃv[u]  
 jā · dhyānāni copa<sup>+</sup>«sa»ṃpadya {{tu}} prītisaukhyasamanvitāḥ  
 vrahmacaryaṃ carīśyaṃti ye maitreyasyā
- 8    nuśasane · ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣasahasrāṇi maitreyo dvīpadottamaḥ  
 deśaiśyati saddharmaṃ śāstā lokānukampayā · śatāny atha  
 sahasrāṇi prāṇināṃ sa vi[n]. + +

### 309 *recto* (GBM 1542)

- 1    vinīya dharmo kālena tato nirvāṇam eṣyati · tasmīś ca  
 nirvr̥te vīre maitreya dvīpadottame · daśavar[ṣa]sahasrāṇi sa-  
 ddharma sthāsyati kṣītau · prasā[d].
- 2    yati cittāni tasmāc chākyamunau jine · tato drakṣatha maitre-  
 yaṃ saṃvuddhaṃ dvīpadottamaṃ · tasmād v[u]ddhe ca dha-  
 rme ca saṃghe cāpi gaṇottame · prasādayata [ci]
- 3    ttāni bhaviṣyati mahārthikaṃ · taṃ tādr̥ṣaṃ kāruṇikaṃ mai-  
 treyaṃ dvīpadottamaṃ · ārādhayitvā kālena tato nirvāṇam  
 eṣyatha : idam āścaryakaṃ śrutvā
- 4    dr̥ṣtvā ca rdhim analpikāṃ · ko vidvān na prasīdetā api  
 kṣṇāpijātiṣu · ta[smā]d ihā[tmakā]mena mähātmyam abhi-  
 kām̐kṣatā · saddharm[o] guruka
- 5    rttavya smaratā vuddhaśāsanam // ◎[maitre]ya○vyākaraṇam  
 samāptam // ◎



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Out of the mists of translation:  
preliminary observations on a newly  
available Sanskrit manuscript of the  
*Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*\*

Anne MacDonald

One of the extremely precious gems – for Madhyamaka scholars certainly a crown jewel – being investigated under the “General Agreement” of cooperation between the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia (IKGA) in Vienna and the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC) in Beijing is a palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscript of Candrakīrti’s (c. 570–650)<sup>1</sup> *Madhyamakāvatāra* (MA) together with its *bhāṣya* (MABh).<sup>2</sup> The manuscript is to date

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<sup>1</sup> Candrakīrti’s exact dates remain uncertain. D. Seyfort Rugg (1981: 71 and n. 228) has estimated Candrakīrti’s dates as 600–650 CE. Karen Lang (2003: 7) suggests ca. 550–650. Toshihiko Kimura (1999: 211) argues for 570–640 on the basis of Candrakīrti’s reference to Dharmapāla as a contemporary (Dharmapāla’s dates are usually estimated as 530–561; Kimura proposes 550–620).

<sup>2</sup> The “General Agreement” of cooperation between the IKGA and the CTRC was first signed, thanks to nearly two decades of untiring efforts by Prof. Ernst Steinkellner, in 2004 for a term of three years, and then extended by way of further three-year contracts, with the most recent agreement having been worked out in 2019 by CTRC colleagues and Prof. Birgit Kellner, the present Director of the IKGA. The work done in Vienna focuses prima-

our only source, with the exception of a limited number of scattered quotations, for the Sanskrit of this important work. It is one of the substantial group of Sanskrit manuscripts that were preserved in the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), some of which are over 900 years old,<sup>3</sup> originally brought there during the two disseminations of Buddhism by visiting *paṇḍitas* and travelling Tibetan scholars and translators. That important Sanskrit manuscripts could be discovered and recovered in Tibet was first announced by Rāhula Sāṅkrṭyāyana in accounts of his investigatory tours to Tibetan monasteries in the 1930s,<sup>4</sup> and soon thereafter also reported by Giuseppe Tucci, who undertook a number of trips to Tibet in the 1930s and 1940s and, like Sāṅkrṭyāyana, made photographs and handwritten copies of some of their texts.<sup>5</sup> Long presumed lost or destroyed during the Cultural Revolution,<sup>6</sup> a surprising number of the manuscripts have survived to the present day. Most are now kept in Lhasa, having

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rily on manuscripts with philosophical content, and has the aim of producing new critical and diplomatic editions, translations, and analyses.

<sup>3</sup> Saerji (2014: 297) states that preliminary investigations reveal that most of the manuscripts are from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Shao-yong Ye estimates that the incomplete Sanskrit manuscript of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* as well as the incomplete manuscript of Buddhapālita's commentary on it may date to the seventh century; see Ye 2007: 117f. and Ye 2009: 309f. and 316.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Sāṅkrṭyāyana 1935, 1937, and 1938. Sāṅkrṭyāyana (cf. Saerji 2014) recorded 363 manuscripts: three at Lhasa's Kun bde gling monastery, eight at sPos khang monastery in the rGyal rtse area, 156 at Zha lu monastery, 134 at Ngor monastery, 63 at Sa skya, four at Thub rtan rnam rgyal monastery in rTa nag (five manuscripts were recorded twice, thus 363 instead of 368).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sferra 2008 and Nalesini 2008.

<sup>6</sup> Reports about the destruction of monastery libraries are well known. On a trip to Tibet in 2006, I was told by the abbot of the North Monastery at Sa skya that during the difficult and impoverished years of the 1960s the Sa skya townspeople gathered precious palm-leaf folios from the ruins of dynamited libraries and temples on the North Monastery hillside not in order to preserve their contents but to use them in their stoves: palm leaf burned longer than paper.

been collected from various Tibetan monasteries, some brought to the capital city as early as 1959, with the majority of them transferred there in 1962 under the auspices of the “Cultural Relics, Historical Sites, Documents and Archives Management Committee” of the Tibetan Working Committee, others over the following three years.<sup>7</sup> Luo Zhao, a scholar from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, catalogued the manuscripts from 1983 to 1985, and was in charge of their microfilming in 1987. From 2006 to 2012, around sixty thousand manuscript folios were inventoried and photographed (in colour), and finally published in the sixty-one volumes of the “Complete Collection of Photographic Reproductions of Palm-leaf Scriptures Preserved in the TAR.” Most regrettably, none of the volumes – or the manuscripts themselves – may at this date be viewed by scholars.<sup>8</sup> The “General Agreement,” however, allows specific IKGA researchers and cooperating associates access to selected Buddhist texts via paper photocopies made from the microfilms of the manuscripts.

The MA together with the MABh – the latter almost certainly an autocommentary – represents Candrakīrti’s only independent work on Madhyamaka thought, and as such is of crucial importance for our comprehension and analysis of his interpretation of the views expressed by the school’s founder, Nāgārjuna (second/third c.), as well as for our appreciation of Candrakīrti’s seventh-century Buddhist intellectual environment, its self-understanding, and its challenges. From the perspective of the history of ideas, Candrakīrti’s discussions shed light on developments that had occurred within the Madhyamaka tradition in the centuries that had passed since Nāgārjuna composed his MMK, and are especially significant for the study of the evolution of Candrakīrti’s own thought, since the MA and MABh – cited and referred to in other works of his – appear to have been his first disquisitions on Madhyamaka. His presumably

<sup>7</sup> For details, see Steinkellner 2004: 19ff., Luo 2009, and Saerji 2014: 292.

<sup>8</sup> Steinkellner (2009: 281) has rightfully stressed the urgent need for digitization of the manuscripts, as well as the need for scholarly access to the facsimile volumes (see also his contribution in the present volume).

later compositions elucidating the Madhyamaka standpoint are commentarial (though he occasionally takes the liberty of engaging in lengthy digressions to impart and propagate his own ideas),<sup>9</sup> and include the *Prasannapadā* (PsP), a commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MMK), the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti*, a commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikārikā*, the *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti*, a commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Śūnyatāsaptatikārikā*, and the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā* (CŚT), a commentary on Āryadeva's *Catuḥśatakakārikā*.<sup>10</sup> While the impact his treatises had on Madhyamaka thinking in India during Candrakīrti's lifetime and in the decades, even centuries, following his death remains largely unknown,<sup>11</sup> his views are considered to have influenced Śāntideva (late seventh to mid-eighth c.) and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* commentator Prajñākaramati (c. 950–1030), who makes explicit reference to and cites from the most philosophically oriented section of the MA and MABh, viz., the sixth chapter. The MA and MABh were of fundamental importance for Atiśa (982–1054), who cites the MA and praises Candrakīrti's understanding of ultimate truth,<sup>12</sup> recommending to his audience Candrakīrti's

<sup>9</sup> The *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, attributed to Candrakīrti, deals with Abhidharma topics yet discusses the mental factor *prajñā* from the Madhyamaka point of view. Its authorship by Candrakīrti has been called into question by Felix Erb (1997: 106, n. 9). In Erb's view (private communication), the *prajñā* section was quite possibly composed by Candrakīrti but it is an insert, and the rest of the work was authored by someone else.

<sup>10</sup> The entire *Prasannapadā*, around one-third of the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā*, and a couple of folios of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* are extant in Sanskrit. The *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti* is available only in a poor Tibetan translation.

<sup>11</sup> See Vose 2009 for the view that Candrakīrti's works were virtually ignored until the eleventh century. This view is called into question in MacDonald 2015a, Vol. I: 3–6.

<sup>12</sup> Atiśa mentions Candrakīrti by name and cites MA VI.80 in *Satyadvayāvatāra* verse 19. He also names Candrakīrti ten times in "A General Explanation of, and Framework for Understanding, the Two Realities" (*bden gnyis spyi bshad dang bden gnyis 'jog tshul*), a work that probably records an oral lecture given by him in Tibet; he cites the MA in it and also makes reference to the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti*. See Apple 2016.

instructions for realization of it, and it was obviously familiar to Abhayākaragupta (fl. late eleventh to early twelfth c.), who in his *Munimatālamkāra* cites the MA and MABh,<sup>13</sup> and to Ratnākaraśānti (c. 970-1045), who finds it necessary to refute specific theories propounded by Candrakīrti.<sup>14</sup> Although many of Candrakīrti's views were vehemently rejected by the twelfth-century Tibetan scholar Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169) and his disciples, by the fourteenth century these had been successfully defended by other Tibetans, with the result that his interpretation of Madhyamaka dominated Tibetan philosophical discourse the following centuries, and his writings, particularly the PsP's dispute about the use of consequences (*prasaṅga*) in debates concerning the ultimate status of things and the MA and MABh's illuminating explanation of the two truths, gained wide renown, and continue to be studied to the present day both in Tibet and the diaspora.<sup>15</sup>

The versions of the MA and MABh available to and relied on by Tibetan scholars were of course translations from the Sanskrit. Two renderings of the MA can be found in the Tanjur: one by Nag tsho tshul khriims rgyal ba (1011–1064) and Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita,<sup>16</sup> and one by Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (b. 1055) and Tilakakalaśa. The former was heavily edited by Pa tshab and Tilakakalaśa following their under-

<sup>13</sup> See Matsumoto 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Luo forthcoming.

<sup>15</sup> I am aware of fifteen Tibetan commentaries on the MA/MABh. These were composed by: Tsong kha pa (1357–1419); Red mda' ba (1348/9–1412); Rong ston shes bya kun rig (1367–1449); Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal (1376–1451); dGe 'dun grub, the 1<sup>st</sup> Dalai Lama (1391–1474); Śākya mchog ldan (1428–1507); Go ram pa bsod nams seng ge (1429–1489); Se ra rje btsun, Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1469–1544); Dge 'dun rgya mtsho, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dalai Lama (1475–1542); Mkhas grub bstan pa dar rgyas (1493–1568); Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554); Ngag bdang blo bzang rgya mtsho, the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama (1617–1682); 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1648–1721); Sum pa mkhan po, Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704–1788); and 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846–1912).

<sup>16</sup> Nag tsho's MA translation is contained in the Peking canonical edition, but is not in Derge.

standing of Candrakīrti's intent, and little remains in terms of alternate interpretations of the verses, any differences being primarily formal. Pa tshab's translation of the MA appears to have been extracted from his translation of the MABh (the verses are contained within it), which was prepared, together with Tilakakalaśa, in the late eleventh century in Śrīnagar's Ratnagupta monastery, and later revised in Lhasa, on the basis of a second MABh manuscript found there, by Pa tshab and the Kashmiri *paṇḍita* Kanakavarman.<sup>17</sup> That Nag tsho also translated the MABh is evident from references to, citations from, and paraphrases of it in Red mda' ba's and Tsong kha pa's commentaries (Tsong kha pa relies on Pa tshab's translation, though occasionally notes that he prefers Nag tsho's rendering of certain passages),<sup>18</sup> but his translation was not included in the Tanjur as we have it, presumably because it was considered inferior to Pa tshab's. Pa tshab's Tibetan translation is in general indeed of excellent quality, yet it contains numerous corrupt and unclear or ambiguous readings, some of which may be the result of problems in the Tibetan transmission or Pa tshab's misunderstanding or misrendering of Candrakīrti's intent, others the outcome of erroneous readings in Pa tshab's Sanskrit exemplars. Some of the less challenging textual problems pointed out by Louis de La Vallée Poussin in his translation of the MA's and MABh's first five chapters and partial translation of chapter six,<sup>19</sup> as well as in the notes to his critical edition of the Tibetan translation (henceforth LVP<sub>MABh</sub>),<sup>20</sup> can be solved by comparison with the Derge edition – as can be attested by

<sup>17</sup> On Pa tshab's translation, see MacDonald 2015b.

<sup>18</sup> For details, see Tauscher 1981: 10–12 and Tauscher 1983.

<sup>19</sup> De La Vallée Poussin translated the rest of chapter six, but his translation of this section unfortunately burned in 1914, presumably a casualty of WWI.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. La Vallée Poussin 1907–1912. De La Vallée Poussin's edition was prepared in dependence on the Peking and Narthang editions, with some consultation of a non-canonical edition made available by T. Stcherbatsky, and occasional checking of readings in Jayānanda's *Madhyamakāvātāraṅkā*.



R. Uryuzu and M. Nakazawas' 2012 critical Tibetan edition, which takes into consideration Narthang, Peking, Derge and Cone, as well as the Golden manuscript and a couple of modern editions.<sup>21</sup> Knot-tier textual problems often cannot be solved through collation of the Tibetan editions or even the most daring of philological acrobatics, and thus the importance of the Sanskrit manuscript cannot be overstressed.

The palm-leaf manuscript of the MABh comprises ninety-seven folios, and with the exception of its missing second leaf,<sup>22</sup> it provides the full Sanskrit text for both the MA and the MABh. It was catalogued by Luo Zhao in the mid-1980s as part of the Potala manuscript collection; his catalogue entry reports that it measures 56.1 cm x 5 cm.<sup>23</sup> The leaves contain two stringholes separating out three blocks of text, each block with five lines of writing, with approximately 120 *aḥṣaras* per line (40 per line on each block). The colophon unfortunately does not provide a date or other details, stating merely that the MA, on the basis of the MABh, has been completed, and that it is a work by Candrakīrti: *madhyamakāvatāraḥ ya (sic) samāptaḥ bhāṣyataḥ // // kṛtir ācāryacandrakīrttipādānām //*. We are left to estimate the manu-

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Uryuzu & Nakazawa 2012. This new edition greatly facilitates scholarly research, but one must still proceed with care because it at times favours Derge, at the expense of Peking which tends to contain older readings that have not been “smoothed out” by Tibetan editors. Variants have also occasionally been overlooked.

<sup>22</sup> Folio two's missing text corresponds to LVP<sub>MABh</sub> 3.13–8.2.

<sup>23</sup> See Ye 2009: 320, which refers to Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 128f. and Sangdhag Cat.: reel 7, no. 136/1. Luo Zhao (Luo 2009: 228) reports that he catalogued the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Norbulingka from April to November 1984, and the Potala manuscript collection from November 1984 to June 1985. He writes: “The manuscripts preserved in these two palaces are the best in the TAR in terms of value, and the collections are the largest ... After the TAR government had made an initial investigation of the Sanskrit manuscripts, a portion of these manuscripts were collected and brought to Lhasa. Fortunately, this endeavor ensured the survival of these manuscripts, as otherwise they would have been destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.”

script's age on the basis of its script, a still very conjectural and thus often imprecise science when it comes to Indian manuscripts. The most characteristic feature of the script are the hooks added to the tops of certain *akṣaras* (most conspicuously in *ka, ja, ta, da, na, bha, ra, la, va*), which could lead one to assume that the manuscript was copied by a Nepalese scribe in the Kathmandu Valley – or by a travelling Nepalese scholar in India, Kashmir, or elsewhere – sometime between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, when the so-called Nepalese hooked style was in vogue.<sup>24</sup> The script, however, also exhibits features more commonly associated with Bengali writing, Proto-Bengali to be specific (the forms of *ta* and *bha* immediately catch the eye). Péter-Dániel Szántó informs me that the hooked style is also found in a number of Pāla manuscripts and that its use was probably not, as is usually maintained, limited to Nepal and its writers. Agreeing that our manuscript can be identified as a Pāla manuscript, Diwakar Acharya suggests the late twelfth or early thirteenth century as a possible date. The MABh manuscript thus appears to be a late product of the Pāla kingdom, copied either in Pāla territory in India or in Nepal by an individual hailing from there.

Lamentably, those of us editing the Sanskrit of the MA and MABh do not have access to either the actual palm-leaf manuscript itself or colour photos thereof, or even to a copy of the black-and-white microfilm, and must rely on quite mediocre, occasionally blurred, black-and-white photocopies, with the result that not infrequently the discernment of some of the individual *akṣaras*, words, compounds, and occasionally even entire sentences is impossible. I have been informed that the beginning and end of some of the MA

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<sup>24</sup> I mentioned in a previous publication that the earliest manuscript in the hooked style that I was aware of at the time attests a date equivalent to c. 1128 CE (see MacDonald 2015a, Vol. I: 42ff.). It has been brought to my attention that the Schøyen Collection contains a *Devīmāhātmya* manuscript (MS 2174) written in “early Bhujimmol script” whose date is given as “11<sup>th</sup> Century AD” and Indoskript (<http://www.indoskript.org/manuscripts/details/523>) records the details of and presents a folio of a *Viṣṇudharmaśāstra* manuscript (ID 523) dated Nepal Samvat 167, which converts to 1046 CE. My thanks to Dr. Yasutaka Muroya for the references.

verses are marked in red, but these important demarcators are not perceptible or are indistinguishable from *danḍas* in the photocopies. The poor quality of our working basis also hinders the deciphering of the many marginal corrections, most of which were made by a proofreader who wrote in a thinner, lighter hand that betrays a Bengali background. There are sometimes only two to four corrections on a folio, but we often find six or seven, up to eleven corrections on a single recto or verso. These marginal corrections consist of *akṣaras* to be inserted into the main text, sometimes single *akṣaras*, but also parts of words, entire compounds and whole sentences that were dropped by the main scribe due to eyeskips (assuming the proofreader was relying on the same exemplar the scribe used), all of which are crucial to the MA's and the MABh's textual reconstitution. In the many cases where a marginal correction is too faint to read, the Tibetan translation naturally often offers hints for Sanskrit equivalents, but creating the critical edition of such a seminal philosophical work on the basis of educated guesses is neither an optimal nor a satisfying mode of procedure, and indeed an often time-consuming and frustrating chore given our awareness of the existence of excellent colour facsimiles of the manuscript in China. In addition, nearly every folio contains a great deal of writing in Tibetan *dbu med* script, penned in a diminutive hand, which appears above the first line, below the last line, and squeezed between the lines of Sanskrit; the few instances where the Tibetan can be read turn out to be translations of adjacent Sanskrit words or phrases. Access to the colour facsimiles of the manuscript would make possible the examination and study of all of the *dbu med* additions, which could potentially provide valuable information concerning the manuscript's usage and possibly even the MA's and MABh's early reception in the Tibetan cultural sphere. It is hoped that those in charge of the control and dissemination of the facsimile editions will soon realize how crucial their access is for the advancement of research on the precious TAR Sanskrit manuscripts and for achieving the desired excellence in Buddhist Studies scholarship in China and abroad.

As indicated above, the IKGA–CTRC collaboration on the MA and MABh has the aim of preparing a critical Sanskrit edition of the MABh manuscript’s entire text (including the MA), as well as a diplomatic edition of the same. The editing team, originally Dr. Helmut Krasser (IKGA, †2014), Dr. Horst Lasic (IKGA), and I (IKGA), together with Dr. Xuezhong Li (CTRC), commenced working on chapters one through five in round-table sessions in Vienna, which were attended by additional IKGA scholars who contributed to the editorial decision-making. According to the official agreement at the time, the manuscript could be worked on only when Dr. Li was in Vienna (maximum three months per year); it was therefore later decided to divide the workload: Krasser, Lasic and I would complete the editing of the first five chapters, and Dr. Li, aided by Prof. Shoryu Katsura in Kyoto, would edit the chapter-six verses, as well as chapter seven to the end of the text (MA and MABh). Unfortunately, Dr. Krasser’s long illness interrupted the editing of chapters one to five, but Dr. Lasic and I were able to resume the work in 2016 and have now nearly completed it; the Sanskrit critical and diplomatic editions of chapters one through five will be finalized in 2019 and published in the “Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region” series (STTAR, Vienna Academy of Sciences Press/China Tibetology Publishing House).<sup>25</sup> With the aforementioned division of labour, it was also decided that Vienna would take responsibility for editing MABh chapter six (the *abhimukhī bhūmi*, “the Directly Facing”), the most philosophically oriented chapter, and the longest in the work, in the present manuscript taking up over three-fifths of the text (inclusive of the MA, approximately 62 out of 97 folios).<sup>26</sup> Thanks to the generosity of the Austrian Science Funds (*Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung* [FWF]), I am now in the process of editing this chapter of the MABh within the frame-

<sup>25</sup> Chapters one to five are being finalized within a subproject of the running FWF project P27452, headed by Dr. Horst Lasic.

<sup>26</sup> Chapter six commences on folio 18b4 and ends on 81a2. In comparison, chapters one through five comprise 18 folios, chapter seven to the end 17 folios.

work of two back-to-back projects.<sup>27</sup> Given that the sixth chapter contains over two-thirds of the MA's verses (226 out of 330), my work on the commentary is being greatly assisted by Dr. Li's critical edition of the MA *kārikās*;<sup>28</sup> further scrutiny of the manuscript's text is allowing us to emend a few of Li's verses. The MA's and MABh's chapters are structured after the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*'s (DBhS) system of ten stages (*bhūmi*) of spiritual progress, each aligned with a distinct perfection (*pāramitā*), such that chapters one through five consider the first five *bhūmis* and their affiliation with generosity (*dāna*), correct behaviour (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), effort (*vīrya*), and concentration (*dhyāna*), respectively, with the sixth chapter illuminating the perfection of insight (*prajñāpāramitā*), and chapters seven to ten cursorily covering the last four perfections, namely, efficient strategies (*upāyakauśalya*), the aspiration/vow (*prañidhāna*), power (*bala*), and gnosis (*jñāna*); the final two chapters focus on the ten perfections' qualities and fruits. It is primarily in the weighty sixth chapter that Candrakīrti expounds the Madhyamaka view as regards the true nature of both persons and the things of the world and takes to task Buddhist and non-Buddhist opponents for their inadequate, misleading and soteriologically deleterious ontological theories. Briefly, the first half of the sixth chapter (MA VI.1–MA VI.119),<sup>29</sup> sometimes referred to as the *dharmanairātmya* ("selflessness of phenomena") section, is organized within the framework of the denial of the arising of things from themselves, from other things, from both themselves and other things, and without a cause, with the result that this section can, in an extended sense, be viewed as a wide-ranging and detailed expository supplement to the first *kārikā* of the MMK,<sup>30</sup> and thus of primary relevance for

<sup>27</sup> FWF P27479-G15 and FWF P32118-G32, with the latter running until the end of 2022.

<sup>28</sup> Dr. Li's praiseworthy edition of MA chapter six was published in 2015. He had earlier (2012) published a critical edition of the first 97 of the chapter's verses.

<sup>29</sup> The section finds its equivalent at LVP<sub>MABh</sub> pp. 73–233.

<sup>30</sup> MMK I.1: *na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyāṃ nāpy ahetutaḥ / utpannā*

any investigation into Candrakīrti's interpretation of and elaboration on Nāgārjuna's views on reality and the ontological notions he was intending to discredit. Included in the larger section in which Candrakīrti repudiates the possibility of the arising of things from something different from themselves (*parataḥ*) is a protracted attack on Yogācāra tenets: fifty-two verses (MA VI.45–97) elucidated by extensive commentary sketch and expose the faults inherent in keystone Yogācāra tenets and theories.<sup>31</sup> The latter half of the sixth chapter (MA VI.120–MA VI.226),<sup>32</sup> in comparison to the first half in which the possibility of the arising of truly existing phenomena is denied – for the sake of establishing dependent-arising on the surface level (*saṃvṛti*) and non-existence on the ultimate (*paramārtha*) – focuses on refuting a truly existing self of persons (*ātman*, *pudgala*), on demonstrating the erroneousness of the claim that Mādhyamikas are *vaiṭaṇḍīkas*, in this case persons who merely refute opponent tenets without establishing their own position, and on explaining *in extenso* the sixteen types of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). The initial part of this half, to wit, Candrakīrti's exposition on the selflessness of the person (*pudgalanairātmya*) (MA VI.120–165), is intended as the counterpart to the discourse in the first half of the chapter on the selflessness of phenomena (*dharmanairātmya*);<sup>33</sup> the sixteen types of emptiness in the final part (MA 179–226) are explained as subdivisions of *dharmanairātmya* and *pudgalanairātmya*. Potentially of relevance to our understanding of the development of Candrakīrti's thought is the section defending Madhyamaka logical procedure,

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*jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kvacana kecana //*

<sup>31</sup> The dispute with the Yogācāras takes up nearly half of the *dharmanairātmya* section. In the sections prior to and following the attack on Yogācāra doctrines, Sāṅkhya, Ābhīdharmika, Jaina, and “Svabhāvavādin” positions are repudiated.

<sup>32</sup> The section finds its equivalent at LVP<sub>MABh</sub> pp. 233–342.

<sup>33</sup> The introduction to MA VI.120 reads: *tad evaṃ yuktyāgamābhyāṃ dharmanairātmyam udbhāvyātaḥ paraṃ pudgalanairātmyam udbhāvayann āha.*

which contains reasoning and citations that call to mind his later defense of Buddhapālita in PsP chapter one.<sup>34</sup>

To date, our editing of the first five chapters and the first half of the sixth chapter of the MABh manuscript has brought many pleasant surprises. The Sanskrit provides, as might be expected, more precise word explanations and glosses for the many cases in which the Tibetan is unclear or suggests various Sanskrit equivalents, and thereby allows for the correction of de La Vallée Poussin's proposed Sanskrit reconstructions.<sup>35</sup> Words whose meanings are uncertain or conjectural in their Tibetan translation, such as words referring to Indian medicinal or botanical items, are easily recognized and identified in the Sanskrit, and once properly determined, regain their original connection to and impact in the line of reasoning being adduced by Candrakīrti. Phrases and sentences the syntax of which is ambiguous or incomprehensible in the Tibetan, due to either corruptions in the Tibetan tradition or Pa tshab's occasional strained attempts to rigorously mirror the Sanskrit, have become crystal clear, and instances of argumentation that seem slightly imprecise in the Tibetan are revealed in the Sanskrit to be coherent, unequivocal and sound. The numerous long and complicated Sanskrit sentences that were rearranged for the sake of Tibetan readers but whose flow of reasoning and/or precision was affected in the process – some of which involve intricate descriptions of natural phenomena for the sake of exemplifying an ontological, epistemo-

<sup>34</sup> The identity of the MABh opponent in this section remains to be determined. Tauscher (1981: 117, n. 59) remarks that Tsong kha pa claims the opponent is Bhāviveka.

<sup>35</sup> A simple illustration is the explanation of the word *dvaita* referred to in MA VI.21d (*dvaita 'pi taiḥ kim atha kiṃ vigatadvaye taiḥ ||*), where de La Vallée Poussin (1910: 297, n. 2), commenting on *gnyis nyid* of the verse, writes, “La stance porte sans doute le mot *dvitva*.” The MABh Tibetan reads *gnyis kyi dngos po ni gnyis nyid yin zhing gnyis nyid la yod pa ni gnyis nyid do ||*; de La Vallée Poussin supposes *dvibhāva* for *ngyis kyi dngos po* and *dvitve bhavatīti dvitvam* for *gnyis nyid la yod pa ni gnyis nyid*. MABh Sanskrit, however, reads *dvayor bhāvo dvitā, dvitāyā bhavaṃ dvaitam*.

logical, or conceptual state of affairs (such as the description of wind on the ocean creating waves used as an analogy for the Yogācāra conception of *vāsanās* in the *ālayavijñāna* creating *vijñānas*) – reveal themselves to be much more understandable and evocative in the language in which they were composed. Even words, phrases and sentences that were thought to be correct in the Tibetan can now be improved on the basis of the Sanskrit, as can de La Vallée Poussin’s and others’ Tibetan-based translations. For example, and as Klaus-Dieter Mathes demonstrates,<sup>36</sup> LVP<sub>MABh</sub> on MA VI.97 (p. 201, l. 17–19), as well as Uryuzu and Nakazawas’ edition on the same verse (p. 84, l. 13), accepts the reading *ngos po byas pa can la ma rig par rang bzhin ’ba’ zhig mngon sum du mdzad pas de nyid thugs su chud pa’i phyir sangs rgyas zhes brjod do //*. Our MABh Sanskrit, however, reads *kṛtakapadārthāsamsparśena kevalasya svabhāvasya sākṣātkāraṇāt tasyaiva buddhatvād buddha ity ucyate /*. De La Vallée Poussin (1911: 255), reconstructing *avidyāsvabhāva* for *ma rig par rang bzhin*, translates “Le Bouddha porte le nom [de Bouddha] parce qu’il voit d’une vue immédiate que les choses fabriquées [par les causes] **ont seulement pour être en soi l’ignorance** (*avidyāsvabhāva*), et que, par là, il comprend (*avabudh*) la réalité (*tattva*).” The Sanskrit thus allows us to emend *ma rig par* to *ma reg par*, and of course to produce a more accurate translation. In addition to supplying an abundance of Sanskrit citations from *sūtras* and *śāstras* no longer extant, the manuscript attests many citations whose readings diverge from their versions in modern critical editions and/or extant manuscripts. These citations tend to be challenging to edit because they often also diverge from their counterparts in the Tibetan version of the MABh. We refrain from “correcting” them in reliance on the MABh Tibetan because, as I have already detailed in a previous publication,<sup>37</sup> Pa tshab did not personally translate the majority of the Sanskrit citations in Candrakīrti’s works into Tibetan. In a verse in the final colophon to his MABh translation he informs his readers that “the sources (i.e., citations)

<sup>36</sup> See Mathes forthcoming.

<sup>37</sup> See MacDonald 2015b.



were for the most part written in conformity with the *sūtras*,<sup>38</sup> that is, he usually did not translate the *sūtra* citations he encountered in his MABh Sanskrit manuscript(s) himself, but instead relied on the “cut-and-paste” method, copying them in from the already existing, i.e., proto-canonical, Tibetan translations of these *sūtras*. Given that the Tibetan translations of the copied-in citations were often made in reliance on Sanskrit texts that read differently than Candrakīrti’s source texts, it would be foolish to blindly “revise” the MABh Sanskrit to accord with the MABh Tibetan. A prime example for the cases of divergent Sanskrit readings is the DBhS, a work, as indicated earlier, of fundamental importance for Candrakīrti that he cites throughout the chapters of the MABh. The wording of the DBhS in the MABh manuscript frequently differs from that of the parallel passages in Rahder’s and Kondo’s critical editions of the DBhS (and from that in each of the DBhS manuscripts collated by them); as might be expected, the MABh Tibetan translation is not of much use for decisions concerning the MABh’s DBhS Sanskrit because it has been copied in from a Tibetan translation of a later Sanskrit version of the DBhS. Fortunately, facsimiles of two old DBhS manuscripts not taken into consideration by previous DBhS editors have been published by K. Matsuda, and interestingly, yet not surprisingly, the MABh’s citations often agree with the wording they attest, especially with that in the oldest extant DBhS manuscript, namely Matsuda’s “Manuscript A,” which possibly dates to the early seventh century, that is, to Candrakīrti’s lifetime.<sup>39</sup> The correspondence between the wording of the text in Matsuda’s manuscripts and that of the MABh manuscript is, however, by no means always exact, and more research is required to determine their relationships. The fact that the MABh preserves unique DBhS readings showcases its value

<sup>38</sup> *khungs rnams phal cher mdo bzhin bris* // In a verse similar to that in the MABh colophon, Pa tshab states in the PsP colophon that “The sources (i.e., citations) have been written as they are known” (*khungs rnams ji ltar grags bzhin bris*).

<sup>39</sup> See Matsuda 1996.

as source for the recovery of material for a variety of *sūtras* and *śāstras*, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist.<sup>40</sup>

Before closing, two works also of relevance for editorial decisions concerning the Sanskrit text of the MABh which should be mentioned are Jayānanda's extensive twelfth-century *Madhyamakāvataṛāṭikā* (MAT), the sole Indian commentary on the MA and MABh, which exists, however, only in its Tibetan translation, and the \**Lakṣaṇaṭikā* (\*LT), a work which Yoshiyasu Yonezawa assigns to the early twelfth century.<sup>41</sup> Jayānanda cites many of Candrakīrti's MA verses and large parts of the autocommentary in the MAT, and attempts to clarify difficult passages by explaining the dissolution of compounds, disclosing the import of metaphors, etc., and providing his own interpretation of Candrakīrti's intent. It is recorded that Jayānanda met with and even collaborated on a translation with Pa tshab when he traveled to Central Tibet,<sup>42</sup> but it is not clear how he worked with Pa tshab's translation of the MABh (it seems he did have access to it) when he transposed his MAT from Sanskrit into Tibetan later in Xixia,<sup>43</sup> for numerous discrepancies in wording and meaning can be noted when Jayānanda's citations of MABh pas-

<sup>40</sup> An intriguing example of divergent readings is also found in a Cārvāka/Lokāyata verse cited in MABh on MA VI.100. The MABh Sanskrit reads *loko 'yaṃ*, whereas MABh Tibetan for these two words attests *skyes bu*. The same verse is cited in the PsP with *puruṣo* instead of *loko 'yaṃ*, with the Tibetan translation again reading *skyes bu*. Interestingly, the verse is cited three times by the Jain scholar Jinabhadra, thought to have been a contemporary of Candrakīrti's, each time with *puruṣo*, as in the PsP citation. The later Jain scholar Haribhadrasūri, however, cites the *loko 'yaṃ* version of the verse. For comments and references, see Del Toso 2019.

<sup>41</sup> Yonezawa (2004: 118) identifies the \*LT's author as the Tibetan translator Dharma grags and suggests that he wrote it under the supervision of Abhayākara Gupta. The single extant manuscript of the \*LT is well preserved but attests numerous scribal errors.

<sup>42</sup> The colophon to the translation of the *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya* lists Jayānanda, Pa tshab and Khu Mdo sde 'bar as its translators.

<sup>43</sup> Both the MAT and its translation were prepared in Xixia; see van der Kuijp 1993: 190ff.

sages are compared against Pa tshab's versions. Nevertheless, the MABh readings preserved in Jayānanda's commentary, in conjunction with Pa tshab's translation, occasionally aid in our endeavour to recover and understand the Sanskrit in places where the text in the extant MABh manuscript is unreadable or corrupt. The \*LṬ contains citations of individual Sanskrit words, compounds, and short phrases copied from manuscripts of the PsP, MA/MABh, and the CŚṬ, respectively, with brief explanatory glosses on these citations; it appears to represent student notes rather than formal commentary on these Madhyamaka works. Although the \*LṬ's testimony for the readings transmitted by the MABh manuscript that was available to its author is limited, even minimal information – as my earlier investigation into the \*LṬ author's citations from his PsP manuscript has shown – can be extremely valuable and, in some cases, supply unique original readings.<sup>44</sup>

It will be obvious that the new Sanskrit manuscript, like a wish-fulfilling jewel, has the potential to bestow upon scholars working on Madhyamaka and beyond a wealth of information. Its readings will be critical for discerning ideas particular to and essential to Candrakīrti's own conception of Madhyamaka, viewed not only as a unique tradition but also within its more global relationship to the Buddhist ideas it inherits. As is well known, contemporary scholars who deal with Madhyamaka diverge, often strikingly, in their interpretations of Nāgārjuna's and Candrakīrti's thought; the present-day differences are at times even more extreme than those of the early Tibetan scholars who, grappling with the subtleties of Candrakīrti's presentation of topics such as the two truths and his views on apprehension of the ultimate and the perception of a *buddha*, arrived at differing interpretations and ended in intense disputes. Any serious attempt to reconcile the modern disagreements and answer the many conundrums concerning Candrakīrti's thought will have to be based on rigorous textually based argumentation facilitated by skill-

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<sup>44</sup> See, e.g., MacDonald 2015a Vol. II: 72, n. 155, where it is shown that the \*LṬ is the only source to have preserved the correct reading for a decisive word in a challenging paragraph in the PsP.

ful philological sleuthing. Certainly the new access to the MABh manuscript's Sanskrit will provide inestimable aid in our quest to unveil the intent of this giant of the Madhyamaka tradition.

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- CTRC China Tibetology Research Center
- DBhS Daśabhūmikasūtra
- Del Toso 2019 K. Del Toso, Where do those Beautiful Ladies and Wolf's Footprints Lead Us? The Mādhyamikas on Two Cārvāka/Lokāyata Stanzas [Part 1 of 3]. *Annali, Sezione Orientale* 79 (2019) 205–235.
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- FWF Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Austrian Science Fund)
- IKGA Institut für Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens (Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia)
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- LVP<sub>MABh</sub> Louis de La Vallée Poussin's Tibetan edition of the MA and MABh.
- MA *Madhyamakāvātāra*
- MABh *Madhyamakāvātārabhāṣya*
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- TAR Tibetan Autonomous Region
- Tauscher 1981 H. Tauscher, *Candrakīrti. Madhyamakāvatārah und Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣyam (Kapitel VI, Verse 166–226)*. Vienna 1981.
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## A Sanskrit manuscript of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* from Tibet: An abbreviated version with a short commentary

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According to the unpublished catalogue of Professor Luo Zhao, who investigated the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the Potala Palace, there is a package of manuscripts registered as no. 32 in the *Śāstra* section. This package comprises four Abhidharma manuscripts written on palm leaves, the details of which are as follows.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Abhidharmakośa(kārikā)* by Vasubandhu, 30.5 x 5.6 cm, 28 folios, complete.
2. *Pañcaskandhaka* by Vasubandhu, 28.3 x 4.9 cm, 6 folios (folios 2 to 7), incomplete.
3. *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā* by Sthiramati, 31 x 5.8 cm, 73 folios, complete.
4. Unknown *śāstra*, 30.8 x 5 cm, 26 folios, complete.

Among these four, no. 2, Vasubandhu's *Pañcaskandhaka*, was published by Dr. Li Xuezhong and Professor E. Steinkellner in 2008.<sup>2</sup> No. 3, Sthiramati's commentary to the *Pañcaskandhaka*, was published by Dr. Jowita Kramer in 2014.<sup>3</sup> No. 1 of the remaining two manuscripts is registered as *Abhidharmakośa* in Luo Zhao's catalogue. I had no chance to take a look at the photographs of this manuscript, however, judging from its size and the folio numbers as recorded in the catalogue, and if it is a complete manuscript as

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<sup>1</sup> Luo Zhao Catalogue, *Śāstra* Section from Potala, no. 32, cf. Sang De Catalogue, no. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Li and Steinkellner 2008.

<sup>3</sup> Kramer 2014.

reported in the catalogue, it can be assumed to be a manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośakārikā* that is currently unknown to the scholarly world. The last manuscript, manuscript no. 4, is described as a complete manuscript consisting of 25 folios with the dimensions of 30.8 cm in length and 5 cm in width. Judging from its script style, it can be dated to the eleventh to twelfth century CE. The contents are not clearly identified in the catalogue, which only states it contains an “unknown *śāstra*.” In this short report, I would like to briefly introduce the contents of manuscript no. 4.

## 1. Chapter colophons of manuscript no. 4

Although manuscript no. 4 is complete, neither the title of the text nor the name of its author is included within the manuscript. To reveal my conclusion in advance, this manuscript contains nothing less than an abbreviated version of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. Furthermore, the text is not just a simple abbreviation, but occasionally also contains simple commentarial remarks. The colophons of each chapter are as follows:

Chapter 1 (*Dhātunirdeśa*): 4r1 // prathamam sthānam //

Chapter 2 (*Indriyanirdeśa*): 9r8 // dviṭīyam sthānam //

Chapter 3 (*Lokanirdeśa*): 11v11 (No chapter colophon.)

Chapter 4 (*Karmanirdeśa*): 16r10 // caturtham\* //

Chapter 5 (*Anuśayanirdeśa*): 18v11 // pañcamam\* //

Chapter 6 (*Mārgapudgalanirdeśa*): 23r6 // ṣaṣṭha(m) sthānam //

Chapter 7 (*Jñānanirdeśa*): 25r4 // saptamam sthānam //

Chapter 8 (*Samāpattinirdeśa*): 26v3 // aṣṭamam sthānam //

With the exception of Chapter 3, all the seven chapters have simple colophons with chapter numbers, which can be recognized as referring to the eight chapters of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. Moreover, following the colophon of Chapter 8, the manuscript ends with two verses quoted in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

*karikūpasaktucandanakalabhārāmāḥ kapeś ca svabhiṣekaḥ /  
aśucikapīḥ paṭakalahāv iti daśa dr̥ṣṭā nr̥peṇa kṛkiṇā svapnāḥ //*  
= AKBh 124,5–6

*kṛtvā(26v4)budho 'lpam api pāpam adhaḥ prayāti kṛtvā bu-  
dho mahad api prajahāty a(na)rtham\* / majjaty ayo 'lpam api  
vāriṇi samhatam hi pātrīkṛtam mahad api plavate tad eva //*  
= AKBh 357,1–4

The first verse is about the ten dreams of King Kṛkin, which is quoted in Chapter Three of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. At present, it is not clear to me why these two verses are located at the very end of this manuscript. In addition, after these two verses, the manuscript ends unexpectedly, without a colophon for the entire text, and with no indication of title or author of the text.

## 2. The beginning part of manuscript no. 4

In the following I present a slightly edited transcription of the beginning part (folios 1v1 to 2r4) of manuscript no. 4. This short transcription corresponds to the first eighteen verses in Chapter 1 (*Dhātunirdeśa*) of the *Abhidharmakośa*. However, note that the corresponding section in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* takes up the first twelve pages in Pradhan's first edition. This demonstrates that the author of our text applied a high degree of abbreviation.

In the following edition, bold type indicates material from Vasubandhu's *kārikā* text. Material from the AKBh is printed in roman typeface, while italics are used for commentarial remarks added in the text of manuscript no. 4. Bold italics are used to highlight the two of these commentarial passages which are more extensive.

- ( )      enclose restored letters
- [ ]      enclose damaged letters
- { }      enclose superfluous letters, to be deleted

## Folio 1 verso

- 1 om̐ namo buddhāya // anāsravaḥ pañcaskandhako 'bhidharma  
(2.4–5) *ity anāsravasamvaras tasmin\* kalāpe rūpaskandhaḥ /*  
*yā vedanā yā saṃjñā yās cetanādiḥjātyādayo yad vijñānaṃ te*  
*catuḥ skandhāḥ // anye tu vyācakṣate śāstram api sānucaram*  
*iti / tatra śā(straṃ) jñāna-*
- 2 *prasthānan (/) tasya śarīrabhūtasya ṣaṭ pādā anucarāḥ / pra-*  
*karaṇapādaviḥjñānakāyadharmaskandhaprajñaptiśāstradhā-*  
*tukāyasaṅgūtiparyāyā iti eṣāñ ca saṅgrahakārā yathākramam̐*  
*āryakātyāyanīputrasthaviravasumittrasthaviradevaśarmāsā-*  
*ripu-*
- 3 *tramaudgalyāyanapūrṇamahākauṣṭhilādayaḥ śrūyante // sva-*  
*lakṣaṇadhāraṇād dharmāḥ / tad ayaṃ paramārthadharmam*  
*vā nirvvāṇaṃ dharmalakṣaṇam vā pratyabhimukho dharma*  
*ity abhidharmaḥ (2.9–10) // pratisaṃkhyetyādi (I-6a) / yaḥ*  
*sāsravair dharmair viśaṃyogaḥ sa pratisaṅkhyāni-*
- 4 *rodhaḥ / duḥkhādīnām āryasatyānām prati pratisaṃkhyānam̐*  
*pratisaṃkhyā prajñāviśeṣas tayā prāpyo nirodhaḥ pratisaṃ-*  
*khyānirodhaḥ (4.1–2) / utpādetyādi (I-6c) / anāgatānām dha-*  
*rmāṇām utpādasyātyantavighnabhūto viśaṃyogāt\**
- 5 *yo 'nyo nirodhaḥ yo pratisaṃkhyānirodhaḥ / na hy asau pra-*  
*tisaṃkhyayā labhyate (/) kin tarhi pratyayavikalpāt\* (4.11–*  
*12) // ta evetyādi (I-7c) / ta eva saṃskṛtā dharmā gatagaccha-*  
*dgamiṣyadbhāvād adhvānaḥ / adyante 'nityatayeti vā / kathā vā-*
- 6 *kyan tasyā vastu nāmābhidheyaṃ kathāvastu / niḥsaraṇaṃ*  
*niḥsāraḥ sarvvasya saṃskṛ(ta)sya nirvvāṇaṃ tad eṣām astīti*  
*saniḥsārāḥ / sahetukatvāt\* savastukāḥ // ye sāsravā (I-8a)*  
*ityādi / tatra upādānāni kleśās tatsaṃbhūtatvāt\**
- 7 *upādānaskandhās trṇatuṣāgnivat\* / tadvidheyatvād vā*  
*rājapurūṣavat\* / upādānāni vā tebhyaḥ sambhavantīti*  
*puṣpaphalavr̥kṣavat\* / raṇā hi kleśā ātmaparavyābādhanāt\**  
*tadanuśayi(ta)tvāt saraṇāḥ / āryāṇām prati-*

- 8 kūlatvāt\* duḥkhaṃ / samudety asmād duḥkhaṃ iti samudayaḥ /  
lujyate iti lokaḥ / dṛṣṭir asmin tiṣṭhaty anuśayanād iti dṛṣṭisthā-  
nam / bhavatīti bhavaḥ / **rūpaṃ dvidhetyādi** (I-10a) / varṇṇa-  
samsthānato dvidhā / **viṅśatidhā** (I-10a) tadyathā nīlaṃ pītam  
lohitam avadā-
- 9 taṃ / dīrghaṃ hrasvaṃ vṛttam parimaṇḍalam unnatam ava-  
natam sātamaṃ visātaṃ abhraṃ dhūmo rajo mahīkā cchāyā āta-  
pa āloko 'ndhakāraṃ / *tatra sātavisāte samavisame sthāne* /  
mahīkā nīhāraḥ / ātapaḥ śūryaprabhā / ālokaś ca-
- 10 ndrādiprabhā / chāyā yatra rūpāṇān darśanam / viparyayād  
andhakāraḥ // **śabdāḥ tv aṣṭavidhaḥ** (I-10b) / upātānupātta-  
mahābhūtahetukaḥ satvāsativākhyāś ceti caturvvidhaḥ / sa  
punas manojñāmanojñabhedād aṣṭavidhaḥ // **rasaḥ ṣoḍhā** (I-  
10bc) / madhurāda-

## Folio 2 recto

- 1 *yaḥ prasiddhāḥ* // **caturvvidho gandhaḥ** (I-10c) / sugandha-  
durggandhayoḥ samaviṣamagandhatvāt\* // **spṛśyam ekā-  
daśā**{**daśā**}**tmakam** (I-10d) / *prthivī-āpatejovāyuh ślakṣṇa-*  
*tvam karkkaśatvam laghutvam gurutvam śītam jighatsā*  
*pipāsā* (cf. 7.8–9) / *tatra śītam uṣṇābhilāṣakṛt\** (7.10) /  
*jighatsā-*
- 2 *pi(pāse bhojanapānābhilā)*{*śak*}{*ṛt*}*au* / kāraṇe kāryopacārāt\*  
(7.11) / yathā “buddhānāṃ sukhā utpādaṃ sukhā dharmā-  
sya deśanā / sukhā saṃghasya sāma[grī] samagrāṇān tapaḥ  
sukhaṃ” (7.12–13) // **avijñaptir** (I.11d) iti rūpakriyāsvabhāvāpi  
satī vijñaptivat paraṃ
- 3 na (vijñāpayatīty avijñaptiḥ) (8.7–8) / [samā](sata)s tu vi(jñā)-  
ptisamādhisambhūtaṃ kuśalākuśalaṃ rūpaṃ avijñaptiḥ  
(8.9) / **saṅghabhadrasya dūṣaṇam** (Ms. *dūṣaṇaḥ*) / **nyūnam**  
**śāstrāpetam hānir atasya prasajyate tatvam** / **apiśa**{**bdādhi-**  
**kavacanam viśeṣyam aviśeṣitañ cātra** //} **kr-**

- 4 *te* (*'pi visabhāge 'pi citte cittātyaye ca yat*) / *vyā[kṛtāprati] ghaṃ rūpaṃ sā hy avijñaptir iṣyate / dhṛtyādīty* (I-12c) *ādiśabdār\** saṅg(r)ahapaktivyūhanaḥ (8.16) // **svabhāveneti** (I-18c) na parabhāvena (12.11) / kiñ kāraṇaṃ (12.11) **parabhāvaviyogataḥ** (I-18d) //

The two more extensive commentarial passages in the above transcription, marked in bold italics, merit comparison with corresponding remarks in Yaśomitra's and Sthiramati's commentaries.

### 3. The compilers of the seven Abhidharma *Śāstras*

Ms., 1v1–3: anye tu vyācakṣate śāstram api sānucaram iti / tatra śā(straṃ) Jñānaprasthānaṃ (/) tasya śarīra-bhūtasya ṣaṭ pādā anucarāḥ / Prakaraṇapāda-Vijñānakāya-Dharmaskandha-Prajñaptiśāstra-Dhātukāya-Saṅgītiparyāyā iti eṣaṃ ca saṃgrahakārā yathākramaṃ ārya-Kātyāyanīputra-sthavira-Vasumittra-sthavira-Devaśarmā-Śāriputra-Maudgalyāyana-Pūrṇa-Mahākauṣṭhīlādayaḥ śrūyante //

#### Yaśomitra's commentary<sup>4</sup>

anye tu vyācakṣate śāstram iti Jñānaprasthānaṃ. tasya śarīrabhūtasya ṣaṭpādāḥ. Prakaraṇa-pādaḥ Vijñānakāyaḥ Dharmaskandhaḥ Prajñaptiśāstraṃ Dhātukāyaḥ Saṅgītiparyāyā ity atas tad api śāstram sānucaram eva ... śrūyante hy Abhidharmaśāstrāṇaṃ kartāraḥ. tadyathā Jñānaprasthānasya ārya-Kātyāyanī-putraḥ kartā. Prakaraṇa-pādasya sthavira-Vasumittraḥ. Vijñānakāyasya sthavira-Devaśarmā. Dharmaskandhasya ārya-Śāriputraḥ. Prajñaptiśāstrasya ārya-Maudgalyāyanaḥ. Dhātukāyasya Pūrṇaḥ. Saṅgīti-paryāyasya Mahākauṣṭhīlāḥ.

<sup>4</sup> Wogihara 1932–1936: 9,11–14 and 11,25–29.

### Sthiramati's commentary<sup>5</sup>

Ms. Bundle A, 9r1: dharmmapravicyasya mohapratipakṣatvān mūḍhasyaiva ca kleśopakleśotpattisambhavo nāmūḍhasyety, ato nānyo dharmmapravicyasya ... *lacuna* ... Devaśarmmā Prakaraṇapādasya sthavira-Vasumittra evam anyeṣām apy anya iti (/)

This commentarial passage records the titles and the names of the compilers or authors of the seven *Abhidharmaśāstras* in the Sarvāstivādin tradition, among which the *Jñānaprasthāna* is considered to be the body and the other six to be its limbs. In comparison to the passages from Yaśomitra and Sthiramati, one can see that our manuscript gives nothing more than a single remark combining the two sentences from Yaśomitra's commentary. In the manuscript of Sthiramati's commentary, there is a lacuna in the corresponding text and it is impossible to understand the entire text. However, one can guess that it is somewhat different in form from Yaśomitra's commentary.

### 4. Saṅghabhadra's criticism of *Avijñapti* defined by Vasubandhu

Ms., 2r3–4: Saṅghabhadrasya dūṣaṇam / nyūnaṃ śāstrāpetam hānir atasya prasajyate tattvaṃ / apiśa[bdādhikavacanam viśeṣyam aviśeṣitañ cātra //] kṛte ('pi visabhāge 'pi citte cittātyaye ca yat) / vyā[kṛtāprati]ghaṃ rūpaṃ sā hy avijñaptir iṣyate /

### Yaśomitra's commentary<sup>6</sup>

*atrācārya-Saṅghabhadra idam avijñaptilakṣaṇasūtram dūṣayati  
nyūnaṃ śāstrāpetam hānir atasyāḥ prasajyate tattvaṃ /  
apiśabdādhikavacanam viśeṣyam aviśeṣitaṃ cātra //*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Matsuda 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Wogihara 1932–1936: 30,21–23 and 32,19–23.

*tvadīye 'py avijñaptilakṣaṇe śubho 'vijñaptyanubandho 'cittakam adhikṛtya na viśeṣitaḥ  
kṛte 'pi visabhāge 'pi citta cittātyaye ca yat /  
vyākṛtāpratighaṃ rūpaṃ sā hy avijñaptir iṣyata iti.*

### Sthiramati's commentary

Ms. Bundle A, 21r4ff.: ācārya-Saṅghabhadras tv āha, naitan niravadyam avijñapti-lakṣaṇam ... (21a6) ... āha ca *nyūnaṃ śāstrāpetam hānir atasya prasajyate tatvaṃ (/) apiśabdādhika-vacanaṃ viśeṣyam aviśeṣitaṃ cāttra (/) ... (21r8) ... iti tenaivānyathā tallakṣaṇam uktaṃ (/) kṛte 'pi visabhāge 'pi citta cittātyaye ca yat\** (/) *vyākṛtāpratighaṃ rūpaṃ tad avijñaptir iṣyate /*

This corresponds to the well-known verse 11 of Chapter 1 in the *Abhidharmakośa*, where Vasubandhu explains the definition of *avijñapti*.<sup>7</sup> In our text, Saṅghabhadra's criticism of Vasubandhu's definition is illustrated in a verse in *āryā* metre. The very same verse also appears in Yaśomitra's and Sthiramati's commentaries. Furthermore, Yaśomitra also quotes a verse from the *Nyāya-anusāra*, which Saṅghabhadra adapted from Vasubandhu's verse 11.<sup>8</sup> Regarding this part, it is not clear from which commentary, Yaśomitra's and Sthiramati's, the author of our text has borrowed. In either case, however, it seems quite clear that the commentarial remark in our text is not original, but has been borrowed from one of the other existing commentaries.

### Concluding remarks

For an abbreviated version of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, as is well known, one may recall the *Marmapradīpa* by Dignāga. The

<sup>7</sup> Pradhan 1967: 8,1–2: *vikṣiptācittakasyāpi yo 'nubandhaḥ śubhāśubhaḥ / mahābhūtāny upādāya sa hy avijñaptir ucyate //*

<sup>8</sup> 作等餘心等 及無心有記 無對所造性 是名無表色 (T. 29, 335c7–8).



*Marmapradīpa* was composed with the clear intention to extract only the principle explanations, trimming out subordinate discussions given in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. I have briefly checked the entire manuscript and read in detail through its first chapter. My impression is that the text in this manuscript does not seem to follow any clear policy in abbreviating the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. At this point, the author's intention of excerpting some parts and ignoring the other parts is not evident. Further studies on the other chapters will hopefully help to shed light on this problem. Although the text in manuscript no. 4 seems to be an adaptation from other commentaries on the AKBh, it also occasionally presents independent commentarial remarks and preserves variants for the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* text given in Pradhan's edition. For these reasons the manuscript is valuable as research data.

## Bibliography and abbreviations

- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| AKBh                     | Abhidharmakośabhāṣya. See Pradhan 1967.   |
| Kramer 2014              | J. Kramer, <i>Sthiramati's Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā</i> . Part I: Critical Edition, Part II: Diplomatic Edition. Beijing 2014.   |
| Li and Steinkellner 2008 | X. Li and E. Steinkellner, <i>Vasubandhu's Pañcaskandhaka</i> . Beijing 2008.   |
| Luo Zhao Catalogue       | Luo Zhao, <i>A Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts Preserved at the Potala Palace</i> (in Chinese, unpublished manuscript). 1985.  |
| Matsuda 2016             | K. Matsuda, A Sanskrit Manuscript of Sthiramati's Commentary to the <i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> . In: <i>Sanskrit Manuscripts in China II. Proceedings of a Panel at the 2012 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies, August 1 to 5</i> , ed. H. Lasic and X. Li. Beijing 2016. |
| Pradhan 1967             | P. Pradhan, <i>Abhidharma-Kośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu</i> . Patna 1967.  |



- Sang De Catalogue      Sang De, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts (Microfilms) Preserved at the China Tibetology Research Centre* (in Chinese, unpublished manuscript). 1987.
- Wogihara 1932–1936      U. Wogihara, *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. Tokyo 1932–1936.



# The relation of the three principal witnesses for the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkārabhāṣya*

Patrick McAllister

## 1. Introduction

This article discusses an incomplete manuscript of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkārabhāṣya* (PVABh), the main work of Prajñākaragupta, a Buddhist scholar active at the end of the eighth century and beginning of the ninth century CE.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript has not yet been systematically used in any edition of the PVABh. It is reproduced in Watanabe 1998, and is there called “MS E” (henceforth, PVABh-msE). On its seventy-one folios, it contains the text of Prajñākaragupta’s commentary on verses 37 to 182 of the chapter on perception in Dharmakīrti’s (ca. mid sixth century CE) *Pramāṇavārttika* (PV *pratyakṣa*),<sup>2</sup> and so corresponds to nearly seventy of the more than six hundred pages in Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s complete edition (PVABh<sub>2</sub> 205.16–272.29).

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<sup>1</sup> See Naudou 1968: 104–105 for Prajñākaragupta’s dates, and cf. n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> For the dates of Dharmakīrti, see Krasser 2012. The sequence of chapters in Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇavārttika* varies in the tradition following him. Prajñākaragupta apparently considered the chapter on perception the second chapter, when it would seem that Dharmakīrti intended it to be the third chapter (following the chapters on inference for oneself and on the proof that the Buddha is a means of valid cognition). See Kellner 2004 for a study of this shift and its causes, partly in soteriological concerns. In order to avoid confusion, I will refer to the chapters by names rather than numbers, saying “PV *pratyakṣa*” instead of “PV 3.”

In the following, I will first generally characterize PVABh-msE with respect to the textual material it provides and the relevant circumstantial factors that need to be considered for any edition of the PVABh. After that, I will investigate a few passages that allow us to determine the relation of PVABh-msE to the other witnesses of PVABh. From these observations, I hope to clarify the usefulness of PVABh-msE for establishing the text of the PVABh, and so to help scholars editing sections covered by it to decide on their editorial strategies.

## 2. Sources

The analysis here is limited to the commentary on PV *pratyakṣa* 53d–84 for practical reasons.<sup>3</sup> This section of the PVABh has the following three witnesses that cover it in its entirety:

1. Sanskrit manuscript PVABh-msB and
2. Sanskrit manuscript PVABh-msE, both discussed below (section 2.1);
3. A Tibetan translation, *tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rgyan* (PVABh-tib), by skal ldan rgyal po (\*Bhavyarāja), and (rngog) blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109).<sup>4</sup>
  - (a) The translation has a complicated history of revisions. See Kramer 2007: 65 f., n. 71 for an astute summary of the positions. Most importantly (for our purposes), the final revision was probably done by rngog together with Sumatikīrti, with whom he also translated Yamāri's commentary, the PVATŚ-tib, into Tibetan.
  - (b) In addition, Franco (1997: 280) holds that the *Pramāṇavārttika* verses in PVABh-tib were corrected in

<sup>3</sup> PVABh-msE is very hard to decipher from its reproduction in Watanabe 1998, and I have not had time to expand my inquiry beyond this section.

<sup>4</sup> These dates follow Vostrikov 1970: 39. See Kramer 2007: 32, n. 6 for a discussion of possible alternatives for his year of birth. Kuijp 1983: 268, n. 72, referring to Vostrikov 1970: 39–40, n. 98, notes that 1107 or 1119 are also recorded as years of death.

view of sa skya paṇḍita's (1182–1251)<sup>5</sup> revision of rNgog's *Pramānavārttika* translation.<sup>6</sup>

To these sources, we have to add the following sources which are secondary in the sense that they do not cover the whole edited section:<sup>7</sup>

1. *tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi 'grel pa and tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi 'grel pa las le'u gsum pa (pramānavārttikavṛtti and pramānavārttikaṭīkāyām ṭṭīyaparivarta)* (PVV(R)-tib) by Ravigupta (end of eighth/beginning of ninth century CE):<sup>8</sup> this work contains extensive paraphrases of the PVABh;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Jackson 1987: 24, 29 for these dates.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Franco 1997: 280: “[...] after the official or standard translation of the *Pramānavārttika* was prepared by Sa paṇ and Śākyaśrībhadra, someone removed rNgog lo tsā ba's translation of the verses from the *Pramānavārttikālaṅkara* and inserted in their place the more up-to-date translation of Sa paṇ. More precisely, since Sa paṇ's version is only a revision of rNgog's, the latter only had to be corrected or modified at the appropriate places.”

<sup>7</sup> We use the broadest notion of sources (or, more precisely, witnesses). The situation at this point, i.e., before all our sources have been evaluated as to their value for the planned edition, is very similar to the typical instance of several witnesses presented in Maas 1958: §8: “Given are the witnesses A to J [...], all differing in date and in kind (manuscripts, printed copies, epitomes, excerpts, paraphrases, quotations, imitations, translations, &c.). No witness gives explicit information about its exemplar.” He here explicitly includes translations and prints, and even imitations and paraphrases, in the category of “witness.” I have here, somewhat artificially but following common practice, divided the witnesses into two groups, the second being more removed from the text than the first in that they are not very extensive witnesses of the work: its members contain the commentaries, Ravigupta's work, and citations. In effect, this is a preliminary distinction of all the witnesses, and each of them would have to be evaluated individually.

<sup>8</sup> Ravigupta can be dated based on the facts that he was a direct pupil of Prajñākaragupta and that he was known to Bhaṭṭa Jayanta. See the succinct summary of the estimation of Ravigupta's dates in Moriyama 2014: 3, n. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ono 2000: xv f. Whilst Franco (1997: 280) states that “the translator of R[avigupta's commentary] is unknown, and we have no external data to

2. *tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rgyen gyi 'grel bshad* (*pramāṇa-vārttikālaṃkāraṭīkā*) (PVAT-tib) by Jayanta (tenth century CE),<sup>10</sup> a commentary on the PVABh;
3. *tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rgyan gyi 'grel bshad shin tu yongs su dag pa* (*pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāraṭīkā supariśuddhā*) (PVATS-tib) by Yamāri (eleventh century CE),<sup>11</sup> a second commentary on the PVABh;
4. Quotations in various other works, e.g.:
  - (a) Bhāsarvajña's (ca. tenth century)<sup>12</sup> *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* (NBhūs);
  - (b) Bhaṭṭa Jayanta's (late 9<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>13</sup> *Nyāyamañjarī* (NM);
  - (c) Vidyānanda's (ca. 775–840) *Aṣṭasāhasrī*,<sup>14</sup>
  - (d) Mokṣākaragupta's (between 1050 and 1202 CE)<sup>15</sup> *Tarkabhāṣā* (TBh<sub>2</sub>) (“in the final section,” so Ruegg 1981: 118);
  - (e) Quotations in Tibetan non-canonical sources (collected works of various masters, e.g.). They are im-

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rely on,” Kramer (2007: 68) notes that “Bu ston attributed the translation of this work to rNgog lo,” and, on the next page, that this text lacks a translation colophon. Ravigupta must have been a contemporary of Prajñākaragupta, and probably his peer; he refers to him as his *kalyāṇamitra* (Franco 1997: 279, n. 9).

<sup>10</sup> See Ono 2000: xxi.

<sup>11</sup> On Yamāri's commentary, see also the paper by Chu, Franco and Li in this volume. Yamāri lived after the other commentator, Jayanta, and after Jñānaśrīmitra, whose pupil Tibetan sources tell us he was (Ono 2000: xxiii–xxiv, nn. 49–51). Kramer (2007: 66) reproduces the translators' colophon, and notes: “According to the brief addendum to the translation colophon, the text found in the bŕTan 'gyur was ‘copied from the actual original written by the great translator rNgog.’”

<sup>12</sup> See Joshi 1986: 12 for Bhāsarvajña's dates.

<sup>13</sup> See Graheli 2016: 3–11 for Jayanta's biographical details.

<sup>14</sup> See Steinkellner and Much 1995: 74 for this and the previous reference.

<sup>15</sup> See Kajiyama 1998: 6–11 for Mokṣākaragupta's dates.

portant since they might not have undergone the editing that the canonical quotations did.<sup>16</sup>

5. Earlier sources that the PVABh draws from, e.g., Devendrabuddhi's (ca. second half of 6<sup>th</sup> century) *tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi dka' 'grel* (*pramānavārttikapañjikā*) (PVP-tib).<sup>17</sup>

## 2.1 Sanskrit manuscripts

Details	PVABh-msA	PVABh-msB	PVABh-msC	PVABh-msD	PVABh-msE
Corresp. to PVABh <sub>2</sub>	341.13–648.16	start–end	?	?	205.16–272.29
Corresp. to PVABh-msB	172b–314b	–	?	?	101a–136b
Complete	no	yes	no	no	no
Extent	ad PV <i>pratyakṣa</i> 302–end	314 leaves	12 leaves	115 leaves	71 leaves; 200a–272b (225, 235 missing)
Place of discovery	sgo rum lha khang, sa skya	phyag dpe lha khang, sa skya	zhwa lu	zhwa lu	ngor
Date of discovery	1934	1936	1936	1936	1934(?)
Script	Vartula	Māgadhī	Māgadhī	Māgadhī	Māgadhī
Date	1204–1214 (Kellner 2010: 166)	before 13 <sup>th</sup> cent. (script)			before 13 <sup>th</sup> cent. (script); also copied in the north?
Material	Paper	Palm leaf	Palm leaf	Palm leaf	Palm leaf
First notice	Sāṅkrtyāyana 1935b: 42, item 179	Sāṅkrtyāyana 1937: 21, item 183	Sāṅkrtyāyana 1937: 37, item 252	Sāṅkrtyāyana 1937: 37, item 253	Watanabe 1998: iii, v, n. 15

Table 1: Coverage of PVA mss (Sources: Sāṅkrtyāyana 1935b: 42, item 179; Sāṅkrtyāyana 1937: 21, item 183, and 37, items 252, 253; Watanabe 1998: Preface; Kellner 2010: 166 ff.)

<sup>16</sup> Wedemeyer argues that since extra-canonical Tibetan texts did not go through the same process of normalization as the canonical texts they might preserve (philologically) valuable readings (Wedemeyer 2006: 154).

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., Franco 1991: 40, n. 8. I thank Prof. Eli Franco for reminding me of the usefulness of Devendrabuddhi's work. Devendrabuddhi's dates follow from his having been a pupil of Dharmakīrti (see section 1).

First, it will be helpful to discuss what is known about the Sanskrit manuscripts.

### PVABh-msB

This manuscript is the only known complete manuscript of the PVABh. It was written, by at least two different scribes,<sup>18</sup> in the so-called early Old Bengali script, though certain characteristics (*e*, *pa*, *ṇa*) that belong to Proto Bengali can also be observed.<sup>19</sup> It was found in Tibet by Sāṅkrṭyāyana in 1936, in the phyag dpe lha khang of the

<sup>18</sup> See Kellner 2010: 169, n. 24:

1. PVABh-msB 1b–47b,
2. PVABh-msB 48a–83b,
3. PVABh-msB 84a–314b.

Kellner further notes that possibly the first and third part were “written by the same scribe,” and observes that Sāṅkrṭyāyana (1953: p. da) “[w]ithout giving any reasons, [...] assumes that Dānaśīla was the scribe of the middle part,” and that Ono (2000: xiv) “mentions Dānaśīla as ‘the’ copyist of the entire manuscript, but likewise without adducing any reasons.”

<sup>19</sup> Cf. table 2 for these letters. The name “Old Bengali script” is used by Dimitrov (2002: 29, 38) and Kellner (2010: 168). Dimitrov (2002: 29) suggests the following general, but explicitly preliminary, periodization:

1. Early and late Proto-Bengali: end of tenth, eleventh, twelfth century (cf. also Dimitrov 2002: 34);
2. Early and late Old Bengali;
3. Early and late Premodern Bengali;
4. Modern Bengal.

Another variant name for the script, “Maithili,” is considered too broad to be useful (Dimitrov 2002: 29).

The script used in PVABh-msB and PVABh-msE does, however, show some features that Dimitrov (2002: 49, 53) ascribes to the Proto Bengali script.

Attention should be drawn to the initial “i” (Dimitrov 2002: 37–38), as well as to the fact that PVABh-msE regularly writes what Dimitrov (2002: 38) describes as a form of “ī.” Equally characteristic are the *ṇa* and the *pa*:

- *ṇa* (an “important test letter” acc. to Dimitrov 2002: 46 f.): the *ṇa* clearly corresponds to the *la*-like form Dimitrov describes;
- *pa* (a letter that changes from Proto-Bengali to Old Bengali script, acc. to Dimitrov 2002: 49); in PVABh-msE, it has the form of the Proto-Bengali type.



lha khang chen mo in sa skya monastery. The manuscript belonged to Dānaśīla, a *mahāpaṇḍita* from the eastern monastery of Jagadala who is known as a member of Śākyaśrībhadrā's entourage during his travels in Tibet from around 1204 to 1212 CE.<sup>20</sup> Taking into consideration also that it is written on palm leaf, a material not easily available in Tibet, we can conclude that this manuscript originated either in the north-eastern area of modern India or in Nepal.<sup>21</sup> For the same reasons, it is very likely that this manuscript was written before Dānaśīla arrived in Tibet, that is, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, even though it is uncertain how Dānaśīla was involved in its production (see table 1).

This region of origin and date are consistent with the palaeographical evidence: early Old Bengali suggests the same provenance as well as a date before, or very early in, the thirteenth century.

akṣara	Old B.	PVABh-msB	PVABh-msE	Vibhū
i*/*ī				
u				
e				
ṇa				
pa				

Table 2: Proto Bengali and Old Bengali

<sup>20</sup> See Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1953: pp. da–dha for the attribution of this manuscript to Dānaśīla, based on material on the flyleaf and in the margins. See Jackson 1987: 107–111 for the date and context of Śākyaśrībhadrā and the Indian paṇḍits traveling with him in Tibet. See Ruegg 1981: 117, n. 378 for a disambiguation of the various people called Dānaśīla.

<sup>21</sup> This argument is made in Pecchia 2015: 113.

### PVABh-msE

This incomplete manuscript of the PVABh was discovered by Sāṅkṛtyāyana in ngor in 1934.<sup>22</sup> Sāṅkṛtyāyana did not correctly identify the manuscript, and did not use it in his editions of the PVABh<sub>2</sub>. The first notice of this manuscript is spread across different entries in Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935b and Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937, according to Much 1988: item 26. But even though Sāṅkṛtyāyana's published lists do not show this, he apparently did come to recognize that this was one manuscript, since Much (1988: item 26) reports that the manuscript's "three fragments have been labeled by Sāṅkṛtyāyana 'Pra. vā. ṭī', 'Pra. vā. ṭī 2' and 'Pra. vā. ṭī 3' respectively."

The manuscript was correctly identified by Watanabe (1998: iii, v, n. 15, 16), who states that Sāṅkṛtyāyana misidentified this manuscript as containing a part of *Praṃāṇavārttikaṭīkā*, and "refers only briefly [to it] in the list S<sub>2</sub>," i.e., in the list that was titled "MSS. Photographed or copied" and published in Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937: 54–57. PVABh-msE is item 31 in that list. Watanabe (1998: iv) further characterizes this manuscript as being "full of obvious errors by the copyist," and lacking "corrections on the text in the margins. Nevertheless, it is a valuable Ms. as a new reference to the existing PVBh Mss."

To my knowledge, Franco and Notake 2014 is the only publication to date that has consulted PVABh-msE at all. They utilize it for two things: to determine the readings of the *kārikās* taken from Dharmakīrti's work, and to correct readings of selected passages from Prajñākaragupta's commentary.

According to Franco and Notake (2014: 25), the comparison of PVABh-msE with the other sources used by them results in four additional variants for the verses covered by PVABh-msE, i.e., PV *pratyakṣa* 38–63. This would, at a first glance, somewhat oppose Watanabe's observation that this manuscript is full of scribal errors: four variants for 25 verses does not seem too bad. They also use

<sup>22</sup> According to Watanabe (1998: iii, notes 16, 17), this manuscript is first mentioned in Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937, but not in Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935b where one would have expected it. Cf. also Kellner 2010: 170, n. 29.

PVABh-msE in their readings of the PVABh, though apparently not systematically (at least there is no indication in the introduction of how they used this manuscript with regard to the sections of the PVABh that they edit). It might thus be useful to give a closer description of PVABh-msE, and to generally characterize its position within the transmission of the text of the PVABh.

Watanabe (1998: v, n. 9) characterizes PVABh-msE as having been written in the same script as PVABh-msB, Māgadhī. My own analysis of the palaeographic evidence confirms this, but it did not allow me to judge whether this manuscript is earlier or later than PVABh-msB. Both exhibit the same features of Proto Bengali and early Old Bengali that Dimitrov 2002 describes.<sup>23</sup>

We might here remind ourselves of two other manuscripts: one is a manuscript of the *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti* by Manorathanandin (second half of eleventh century), PVV-ms.<sup>24</sup> It belonged to Vibhūticandra, who, like Dānaśīla, belonged to Śākyaśrībhadrā's Tibetan entourage, and bears his comments in the margins. At the same time, we know that Vibhūticandra wrote his own (perhaps only partial) copy of the PVABh, either in Nepal or, more likely, in Tibet, and that this manuscript (PVABh-msA), now inaccessible, can be tentatively dated to 1204–1214.<sup>25</sup>

A comparison of Vibhūticandra's script in PVV-ms and the script of PVABh-msE adds to the certainty of the latter's antiquity. Comparing the *pa* in Vibhūticandra's hand<sup>26</sup> to the *pa* as it is found in PVABh-msE, it is clear that PVABh-msE was written by an older hand. The initial *i* is also consistent with this differentiation, cf. the initial *i* in *indriyamāvilaṃ jñānañ ca tathā* PVV-ms 41a, lower mar-

<sup>23</sup> See n. 19.

<sup>24</sup> See Steinkellner and Much 1995: 36 for this date, but note also the recent observations in Pecchia 2015: 38–40 that caution us as to the time of Manorathanandin.

<sup>25</sup> See Kellner 2010: 166, and n. 16.

<sup>26</sup> E.g., PVV-ms 30b lower margin, second addition, *yuga\*pa\**, indicative of the Late Old Bengali *pa* as Dimitrov 2002 describes it.

gin, third addition: it shows the form where “the lower diagonal line is detached from the main body of the letter,” so that “[t]he letter form found both in the early and late Proto-Bengali writing is clearly distinct.” (Dimitrov 2002: 38) In view of these observations, I feel confident in dating PVABh-msE to the second half of the twelfth or very early thirteenth century.

However, the scribe of PVABh-msE quite obviously did not do a very good job: the manuscript was not corrected (as can be deduced from the lack of marginal corrections noted in Watanabe 1998: iv), yet many idiosyncrasies and obvious errors are present.

### Known but unavailable manuscripts

Three other incomplete Sanskrit manuscripts of the PVABh are known to have been found by Sāṅkṛtyāyana, PVABh-msA, PVABh-msC and PVABh-msD.<sup>27</sup> All of them are unavailable to me. PVABh-msA was used in the partial first edition of the PVABh in Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935a, as also for the first complete edition PVABh<sub>2</sub>. The other two manuscripts have not been used in any editions. Watanabe (1998: iii) states that PVABh-msC and PVABh-msD are mentioned in Sen 1985, a catalogue of Sanskrit palm leaf manuscripts preserved in the Library of Nationalities in Beijing.<sup>28</sup>

### Temporal relations of main witnesses

As noted above, PVABh-msB most probably stems from north-eastern India and was copied before 1204; PVABh-msE can be dated to around the same time on palaeographic evidence. This, in view of

<sup>27</sup> See Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935b: 42, item 179 and Much 1988: 23–24, item 27 for what is known of PVABh-msA, and Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937: 37, items 252–253 and Much 1988: 24, items 29–30 for PVABh-msC and PVABh-msD.

<sup>28</sup> Bechert et al. (1991: 69) report that most of the Sanskrit manuscripts discovered by Sāṅkṛtyāyana in Tibet were then in the “Central Institute of Nationalities (Zhongyang Minzu Xueyuan)” in Beijing. H. H.-v. Hinüber (2006: 283) reports that a number of Sanskrit manuscripts that had been brought to Peking from Tibet were returned to Lhasa in 1993. An appendix (H. H.-v. Hinüber 2006: 297–337) reproduces Sen 1985.

the fact that rngog lived in the second half of the eleventh century and translated at least a first draft of the PVABh in Kashmir, allows us to formulate two hypotheses:

1. The Tibetan version is the oldest witness that we have of the PVABh, since we know it was produced at least half a century earlier than the two Sanskrit manuscripts that survived in Tibet. It must therefore have been made from a Sanskrit exemplar that was older than PVABh-msB and PVABh-msE.
2. The Tibetan version was in all likelihood based on a Kashmiri transmission line, that is, from the north-west of India: that is where rngog worked on the translation initially. It is, however, unknown which sources were available for the revisions carried out in Tibet after rngog's translation.

These hypotheses abstract from what we know of the difficult history of rngog's translation, which was apparently revised twice during his lifetime, once without any involvement of rngog and once by himself and Sumatikīrti, as well as from the transmission process of the Tibetan canon in general.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to be aware of the exact temporal relation between our main witnesses.

### 3. Textual evidence

#### 3.1 A critical edition of the PVABh

I use the term “critical edition” here according to what has become known as Lachmann's method:<sup>30</sup> the aim of textual criticism is

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Kuijp 1983: 31–32 and Kramer 2007: 42 for the revisions during rngog's lifetime, and see Wedemeyer 2006: 152 f. for a concise appreciation of the reasons for the “standardisation and univocality of canonical reference works” that we find in the Tibetan collections today.

<sup>30</sup> As outlined in Maas 1958. See Timpanaro 2005 for the invention and history of this method.

therefore the constitution of a text that is as close as possible to the original version that the author of the text wrote (cf. Maas 1958: 1).

This is not meant to imply that a critical edition in this sense is the only correct method for editing this text or texts like it. It is, however, the most common paradigm among editors of Buddhist epistemological texts, and perhaps also among editors of Sanskrit texts generally. There are, however, exceptions, like the excellent edition of Vallabhadeva's commentary on the Raghuvamśa by Goodall and Isaacson (2003), in whose introduction they argue that neither the stemmatic approach nor the 'best-text' method would be useful for editing Kalidāsa (Goodall and Isaacson 2003: xxxii). Another exception is the recommendation by O. v. Hinüber (1980: 40), that, in editing anonymous Sanskrit texts, the critical apparatus should aim "[...] to show why and how the editor has reconstructed the printed text from [...]" the manuscripts, and to create a "historical apparatus." The tool chosen must fit the work to be done, and in the case of Prajñākaragupta's text it should be useful to have an idea of the stemmatic relation between the witnesses even if only to decide that the reconstruction of any version before our witnesses is impossible.

The textbook sequence of steps in preparing such a critical edition is that one first performs a *recensio*, which establishes the current state of transmission, and then an *examinatio*, which establishes what should count as original. The question, simply put, is whether the production of such a critical edition is possible for the section of the PVABh discussed here. In the following, I will comment on each step of the procedure, and apply them to the current case.

### Possible relations of the sources

What has survived of the PVABh? Limiting ourselves to the main sources as explained above, we have one complete and one incomplete manuscript of the Sanskrit text, as well as a complete Tibetan translation. For the largest part of the text, we thus have two witnesses, and for a smaller part we have three.

Assuming that all three witnesses are independent of each other, which is yet to be proven, we would be justified in expecting the fol-

lowing situation: for the part that is not covered by the incomplete manuscript it will, according to Maas 1958: §7a, c), be possible to

1. determine the dependency relation between the two witnesses, and to
2. reconstruct the archetype<sup>31</sup> to the extent that no more than two variants are recorded for each reading.

For the part that is covered by the incomplete manuscript, that is, for the part where we have three witnesses, decisions can be made with a higher degree of certainty. It is this latter expectation that I will analyze in the following (since the section edited here lies wholly within the part with three witnesses).

It is important, first, to ascertain whether all three witnesses are independent of each other. For if they are not, the situation would change significantly: if any two of them were dependent on the third, those two would have to be eliminated, leaving us in the situation of having a *codex unicus*. We can, of course, exclude this possibility right away, because, on the one hand, PVABh-msB and PVABh-msE certainly do not derive from the Tibetan translation, and, on the other, the Tibetan translation is older than the two Sanskrit manuscripts and thus is not a translation of the text as preserved in these manuscripts.

But it could be that one of the Sanskrit manuscripts is dependent on the other, so that we would have the same situation as for the larger part of the text, i.e., two witnesses, and a critical edition could not make use of stemmatic relations in deciding readings.

### 3.2 Relation between PVABh-msB, PVABh-msE, and PVABh-tib

In order to make decisions in editing the text according to Lachmann's method, one has to have a theory about the dependency relations between the sources, expressed in a diagram called a *stemma* (cf. Maas 1958: §§21–22). This theory says how the sources are relat-

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<sup>31</sup> The archetype is the exemplar in the state before the first surviving variations (see Maas 1958: §5).

ed to each other, and is explicit in its positing of intermediate states that the text had in its transmission: these states are not preserved in any single witness, but are the result of a reconstruction that is based on the witnesses.

The relation of PVABh-msB and PVABh-tib has been well established in the various critical editions that have been made of sections of the PVABh: they are closely related, but not the same, as Franco (2004: 153 f.) has already observed:

[...] the Tibetan translators certainly did not use the Sanskrit manuscript that is available to us [...] but [...] the Sanskrit manuscript that was used by the Tibetan translators must have been extremely close to the Sanskrit manuscript photographed by Sāṃkṛityāyana—in no way can one speak of two recensions [...].

For the parts of the PVABh where we have only these two witnesses, this means that we can reconstruct an archetype with at most two variants for any given passage.<sup>32</sup>

The matter gets more complicated for the passages covered by other witnesses: whilst two witnesses will have one out of three possible relations to each other, the addition of only one other witness gives us 22 combinations to consider and choose from.

For some parts of the PVABh where other witnesses are available, like the passages quoted in the NBhūṣ, scholars like Franco and Ono have already made their critical decisions. But for PVABh-msE, such an evaluation has not yet been done.

<sup>32</sup> Franco 2004: 153 characterizes the options like this: “Thus, theoretically, one would have to decide whether one follows the evidence of the available Sanskrit manuscript or the virtual Sanskrit text which is reflected in the Tibetan translation, or whether one combines the evidence of the Sanskrit manuscript and reconstructed readings from the Tibetan translation in order to arrive at a Sanskrit text which is more satisfactory than the one available, assuming and hoping that this composite product comes closer to Prajñākaragupta’s original work than either of its component parts.” He then points out that Ono 2000 and Watanabe 2000 both choose the latter method.



In the following, I artificially disregard (for the largest part) all witnesses except PVABh-msB, PVABh-msE and PVABh-tib; this is necessary for the format of this article, but also means that the result must be considered rather preliminary. However, since we have no other witnesses covering the same passage in its entirety, a clear understanding of these three witnesses seems to be the natural starting point for evaluating any other more fragmentary witnesses.

The easiest strategy is to focus, first, on what Maas (1958: 42) calls “separative errors,” errors that establish a witness’s independence from another witness, and can be defined as follows: a witness A must have an error vs. a witness B such that this error must be considered irrecoverable, meaning that any witness relying on the erroneous witness A will have preserved the same error. If such an error exists in A, this means that A marks the start of a new branch in the stemma or descendancy diagram of the transmission line.

Note that generally two such errors are necessary to establish a mutual difference, and are thus necessary to prove a proper bifurcation of the text tradition: if witness A is erroneous in this way vs. witness B, but A does not have such an error vs. B, it would indicate that A is the descendant of B.

### Relation between PVABh-msE and PVABh-msB

Let us first analyze some distinctive errors in the Sanskrit manuscripts that are characteristic of the general situation.

#### Separative error PVABh-msE vs. PVABh-msB

Due to the rather careless work of the scribe of PVABh-msE, the errors separating it from PVABh-msB are many. A particularly striking example is found in these two passages, corresponding to PVABh<sub>2</sub> *pratyakṣa* k. 259a–c and its introduction:<sup>33</sup>

1. PVABh-msB 110b2–3:
  - (a) *praītīr anumānātmikā pramāṇam / tathā hi //*
  - (b) *liṅgaṃ tallakṣaṇatvena kāryādi gamakaṃ matam /*

<sup>33</sup> In the following passages, the quotations preserve most peculiarities of the manuscripts except for the continuous script.

- (c) *tallakṣaṇatvād aparāṃ* [...]
- (d) *sarvānumānapratītir evam / bhūte ca sannihitakāra-  
ṇaṃ ca dhūmasya rūpaṃ viśeṣeṇa kenaci°*
2. PVABh-msE 218b3–5:
- (a) *pratītir anumā*
- (b) *pratītir evaṃ bhūte ca sannihitakāraṇ ca dhūmasya  
rūpaṃ viśeṣe / (= 1d)*
- (c) *tallakṣaṇatvād aparāṃ* [...]
- (d) *sarvānumānapratītir evam / bhūte ca sannihitakāra-  
ṇañ ca*
- (e) *nātmikā pramāṇaṃ / tathā hi / liṅgaṃ tallakṣaṇa-  
tvena kāryādi gamakammatāṃ / (= 1a–b)*
- (f) (*?ṇa*) *kenaci°*

What has happened is that phrase 1a–b and 1d have become mixed up in PVABh-msE: the sequence *°nātmikā pramāṇaṃ / tathāhi / liṅgaṃ tallakṣaṇatvena kāryādi gamakaṃ mataṃ /* has been dropped, in PVABh-msE, into a later sentence, where it makes no sense. In addition, *pratītir evaṃ bhūte ca sannihitakāraṇ ca* has been duplicated in PVABh-msE. This kind of problem could hardly have been repaired without consulting other witnesses, and is thus a clear error that shows PVABh-msE stands apart from both PVABh-msB and what is attested in PVABh-tibD te 207b2–5, P te 246b4–7. This error is interesting for another reason: such a swapping of two closely adjacent passages is often due to a graphical feature of the exemplar, e.g., a line or page break that lets the eye skip, or corrections that are misunderstood. Since PVABh-msB does not show any such features in this passage, we can assume that PVABh-msE was not copied from PVABh-msB.

### Separative error PVABh-msB vs. PVABh-msE

For all its problems, PVABh-msE also preserves some variants that are probably correct, and for which PVABh-msB contains less attractive variants. An example is found in Prajñākarapupta's commentary on PV *pratyakṣa* 60, where the opponent is questioning whether memory is not also an inference since it arises due to similarity between two things (the present and the past). This opponent

considers this connection based on similarity to be on an equal footing with the two inferential relations admitted by Dharmakīrti (*svabhāva-* and *kāryakāraṇapratibandha*):

1. PVABh-msB 110a5: *nanu smaraṇam eva tatra sambaddhād bhavati / tac ca sambandhāder apīti sa evātiprasaṅgaḥ /*
2. PVABh-msE 218a5: ... *sadrśāder apīti* ...
3. PVABh-tibD te 207a6, P te 246a7: ... *de ni 'dra ba las kyang yin pas ha cang thal ba de nyid do zhe na /*

All three witnesses here support slightly different readings: the Tibetan and PVABh-msE both generally support a form of *sadrśa*, but the Tibetan does not support the *ādi*. Given the context of the argument, one would expect *sambandhāder* in PVABh-msB to be an erroneous reading. It could have resulted from the scribe carrying over the idea of the *sambaddhāt* in the previous sentence. And since the correction of *sambandhāder api* back to *sadrśāder api* would be too unlikely to occur to a scribe, this would be an error particular to PVABh-msB, thus separating it from both PVABh-msE and PVABh-tib.

Two further points are interesting to note about this variant: first, PVABh-msB 110a shows a marginal addition reading *sadrśāderapi pāṭha*.<sup>34</sup> Like Sāṅkṛtyāyana apparently did, I would also not accept this as a correction to the text, but as the scribe or a reader noting a variant. Furthermore, PVATŚ-tibD me 117b7, P me 156a7 supports *sadrśād api: 'dra ba las kyang zhes bya ba ni ma 'brel pa las so*. Jayanta's and Ravigupta's commentaries do not contain helpful material on this point.

It thus appears quite certain that one of the variants with *sadrśād* should be preferred, and that therefore PVABh-msB is separated from both the Tibetan translation and PVABh-msE.

A second error that was easy to make but difficult to correct is this one:

<sup>34</sup> In PVABh<sub>2</sub> 222, n. 2 this addition was deciphered as *grahāṇāder api pāṭhaḥ*.

1. PVABh-msB 110a1 (correcting *tkā* to *tkara*): *na hi ... sākṣā[tkā→tkara]ṅākāraḥ sākṣātpratīyate /*
2. PVABh-msE 217b1–2: *na hi ... sākṣātkaraṅākāraḥ / nanv asāv ākāraḥ sākṣāt pratīyate /*
3. PVABh-tibD te 206b3–4, P te 245b2–3: *dn̄gos su byed pa'i rnam pa yod pa ma yin no / gal te rnam pa 'di dn̄gos nyid du rtogs pa ma yin nam /*

The scribe of PVABh-msB must have skipped from the first triplet of letters, *kā-ra-ḥ*, in the word *karaṅākāraḥ* to the second, thus skipping over *ākāraḥ / nanv asāv*. The Tibetan supports the reading found in PVABh-msE. Once made, this error would likewise be very difficult to correct without additional sources.

### Relation between PVABh-msE and PVABh-tib

Let us next consider the relation between PVABh-msE and the Tibetan translation.

#### Separative error PVABh-msE vs. PVABh-tib

The errors in PVABh-msE that separate it from PVABh-msB also separate it from the Tibetan version when the Tibetan and PVABh-msB agree. This is the case for the error discussed above, section 3.2, since the Tibetan, for the general sequence of sentences, supports the same reading as PVABh-msB.<sup>35</sup>

#### Separative error PVABh-tib vs. PVABh-msE (and PVABh-msB)

More interesting are the errors that individuate the Tibetan translation against the Sanskrit manuscripts. The following passage is from the PVABh *ad* PV *pratyakṣa* 84 (corresponding to PVABh<sub>2</sub> 230.7–10):

1. *dvividhaṃ hi sādhyam vastu tatpratīṣedhaś ca.*
2. *vastuni sādhye vyāpakaṃ sādhyam.*
3. *yatas tad vyāpakaṃ vyāpyacetaso nimittam.*
4. *tac ca vyāpyasya liṅgasya svabhāvo vā kāraṇam vā.*

<sup>35</sup> Cf. PVABh-tibD te 207b2–5, P te 246b4–7.

5. *tac ca vyāpakacetaso nimittam iti*
6. *pāramparyeṇa pratibandhasambhavāt pramāṇam.*

This sequence of sentences is supported by both Sanskrit manuscripts (PVABh-msE 226a5–6 and PVABh-msB 114b1–2). The Tibetan version has the following, PVABh-tibD te 214a5–6, P te 255b5–7:

1. *bsgrub par bya ba ni rnam pa gnyis te dngos po dang de dgag pa'o.*  
= **Skt 1:** *dvividhaṃ hi sādhyam vastu tatpratiṣedhaśca.*
2. *dngos po bsgrub par bya ba la ni khyab par byed pa bsgrub bya yin la.*  
= **Skt 2:** *vastuni sādhye vyāpakaṃ sādhyam.*
3. *de yang khyab par bya ba rtags kyi ngo bo'am rgyu yin no.*  
= **Skt. 4:** *tac ca vyāpyasya liṅgasya svabhāvo vā kāraṇaṃ vā.*
4. *gang gi phyir khyab par byed pa de khyab par bya ba'i sems kyi rgyu mtshan yin la.*  
= **Skt. 3:** *yatas tad vyāpakaṃ vyāpyacetaso nimittam.*
5. *khyab par byed pa de yang khyab par bya ba rtags kyi ngo bo'am rgyu yin no.*  
~ = **Skt. 4:** Here, the Tibetan testifies to a Sanskrit source that might have read as follows: *\*tac ca vyāpakaṃ vyāpyasya liṅgasya svabhāvo vā kāraṇaṃ vā.*
6. *de yang khyab par byed pa'i sems kyi rgyu mtshan yin pas*  
= **Skt 5:** *tac ca vyāpakacetaso nimittam iti*
7. *brgyud pas 'brel pa yod pa'i phyir tshad ma yin no /*  
= **Skt. 6:** *pāramparyeṇa pratibandhasambhavāt pramāṇam.*

It is clear that the Tibetan is wrong here, having inserted the fourth sentence of the Sanskrit version between the second and the third sentence. It is easy to imagine that the Sanskrit exemplar that the Tibetan was made from already had this error, or that perhaps the correction marks were not clear. Whatever the reason, though, I think a recovery from this error would have been difficult: the problem is that this reading does make sense, at least grammatically. Whilst an

attentive reader might realize that something was amiss here, the decision which occurrence of the repeated sentence to delete might have been too difficult to make.

### 3.3 Conjunctive errors for PVABh-msE and one of the other witnesses

We can find two instances where the Tibetan translation preserves a metrical construction, but the Sanskrit as found in the manuscripts does not.<sup>36</sup> PVABh-msB 109b6–7 and PVABh-msE 217a5 both support:

*yasya svatantram grahaṇam tatra spaṣṭapratibhāsātā / yasyānyathā tadaspaṣṭapratibhāsam atīndriyam paroḥṣam /*

In the Tibetan we find, PVABh-tibD te 206b1, P te 245a6–7:

*gang zhig rang dbang du gzung ba / der ni gsal bar snang  
'gyur la /  
gang zhig de lta min de ni / mi gsal bar snang dbang po 'das /*

In a later passage, PVABh-msB 111a6 and PVABh-msE 220a4 support:

*prāgabhāvādyavedane sarvam eva nityam bhavet / na kāryam  
nāpi kāraṇam / tathā ca pratipādayiṣyate /*

The Tibetan again testifies to a metrical construction here, PVABh-tibD te 209a1, P te 248b1:

*snga na med sogs rigs med na / thams cad rtag pa nyid 'gyur te /  
'bras med rgyu yang med pa nyid / de ltar yang ni ston par  
'gyur /*

Since the chances of a verse getting corrupted so that it turns into prose is a mistake much easier to make than one that warps a prose passage into a metrical one, I would suggest that the manuscripts both show an error versus the Tibetan transmission. It is, perhaps, also suspicious that both Sanskrit sentences make good sense:

<sup>36</sup> Iwata (1993: 95) has noted differences in the verse count also for the Sanskrit and Tibetan witnesses of the *parārthānumāna* chapter, so this does not seem to be an isolated case.

for this could mean that an even older error, which corrupted the metrical text, was corrected at some point before PVABh-msB and PVABh-msE, but without restoring the metrical form that was to be found originally.

For these reasons, the two Sanskrit manuscripts are more likely to be connected to a common ancestor that is stemmatically closer to them than to the Tibetan translation.

### 3.4 Conclusion

Our examination of the position of PVABh-msE with regard to the other witnesses thus shows, if only by a few examples, that it shares a common ancestor with PVABh-msB, a *hyparchetype* that is closer to the two Sanskrit manuscripts than to the Tibetan translation, as shown in fig. 1. It can, therefore, not be eliminated due to its position in the stemma, because it is independent from both PVABh-msB and the Sanskrit exemplar (or exemplars) that the Tibetan translation was made from. Any critical edition of a portion of the PVABh that is covered by PVABh-msE will thus have to take it into consideration in order to decide cases where the Tibetan translation and PVABh-msB disagree: for in these cases the reading found in PVABh-msE, when it agrees with the Tibetan, will be the correct one.

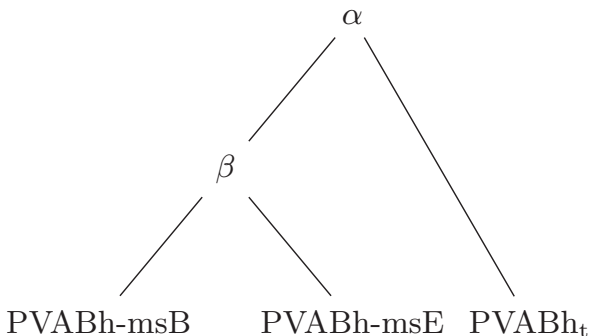


Figure 1: Stemma for the main sources of PVABh.

This state of affairs is also coherent with what was already known about the relation of PVABh-msB and the Tibetan translation of the PVABh, namely that the latter was made from a different, though not very different, exemplar.

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- PV *pratyakṣa* Dharmakīrti, Pramāṇavārttika: chapter on perception. In: *Bukkyō ninshikiron no kenkyū: hōshō "Pramāṇavārttika" no genryōron*, ed. H. Tosaki. 2 vols. Tōkyō 1979–1985.
- PVABh Prajñākaragupta, Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkārahāṣya.
- PVABh<sub>2</sub> Prajñākaragupta, Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkārahāṣya. In: *Pramāṇavārtikabhāṣyam or Vārtikālaṅkāraḥ of Prajñākaragupta (Being a Commentary on Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārtikam)*, ed. R. Sāṅkṛtyāna. Patna 1953.
- PVABh-msA Prajñākaragupta, Pramāṇavārttikabhāṣyam: Manuscript A. See table 1.

- PVABh-msB Prajñākaragupta's *Pramāṇvārttikabhāṣyam*: Manuscript B. In: *Sanskrit Manuscripts of Prajñākaragupta's Pramāṇvārttikabhāṣyam: Facsimile Edition*, ed. S. Watanabe. Patna and Narita 1998, 1–81.
- PVABh-msC Prajñākaragupta, *Pramāṇvārttikabhāṣyam*: Manuscript C. See table 1.
- PVABh-msD Prajñākaragupta, *Pramāṇvārttikabhāṣyam*: Manuscript D. See table 1.
- PVABh-msE Prajñākaragupta's *Pramāṇvārttikabhāṣyam*: Manuscript E. In: *Sanskrit Manuscripts of Prajñākaragupta's Pramāṇvārttikabhāṣyam: Facsimile Edition*, ed. S. Watanabe. Patna and Narita 1998, 83–101.
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- PVAṬ-tib Jayanta, *tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rgyen gyi 'grel bshad (pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāraṭīkā)*. Trans. by Dīpaṃkararakṣita and zhang zhung gi lo tsā ba chen po mang 'or pande byang chub shes rab. D 4222, de 1–ne 312a7; P 5720, de 1b1–ne 375a8.
- PVP-tib Devendrabuddhi, *tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi dka' 'grel (pramāṇavārttikapañjikā)*. Trans. by Subhūtiśrī(śānti) and (rma) dge ba'i blo gros. D 4217 che 1–326b4; Peking 5717b che 1–390a8.
- PVV Manorathanandin, *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti*. In: *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika with a Commentary by Manorathanandin*, ed. R. Sāṅkrtyāyana. Patna 1938–1940.
- PVV(R)-tib Ravigupta, *tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi 'grel pa and tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi 'grel pa las le'u gsum pa (pramāṇavārttikavṛtti and pramāṇavārttikaṭīkāyām ṭṛṭiyaparivarta)*. D 4224 and 4225, *tshad ma*, pe 293b1–398a7 and phe 1b1–174a7; Peking 5722 and 5726, *tshad ma*, phe 1–208a7 and tshe 137a8–266a6.

- PVV-ms Manorathanandin's Pramāṇavārttikavṛttiḥ: Manuscript. In: *A Sanskrit Manuscript of Manorathanandin's Pramāṇavārttikavṛttiḥ: Facsimile Edition*, ed. S. Watanabe. Patna and Narita 1998, 1–29.
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# Remarks on the Kundeling manuscript of Śāntarakṣita's *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*\*

Yasutaka Muroya

## 0. Introduction

One of Dharmakīrti's original contributions to the Buddhist tradition of logic was his transformation of a non-Buddhist debate theory, namely, that of the grounds for defeat, into a component of Buddhist logic using new concepts and terminology. In one of his later works, the *Vādanyāya* (VN), Dharmakīrti defines the “points of defeat” (*nigrahasthāna*) and fundamentally criticizes the competing theory from the brahmanical tradition of dialectics.

It was in 1935–36 that the text of the VN was first published by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1893–1963) together with its commentary *Vādanyāyaṭīkā* (VNT) by Śāntarakṣita (ca. 725–788 CE). Sāṅkṛtyāyana's discovery of the text and his edition remain monumental still today.

The first edition of each of these two works was based on a single manuscript. The manuscript of the VN was discovered by Sāṅkṛtyāyana at Ngor monastery in the Tsang (Tib. Gtsang) province, in the western part of Central Tibet, in 1934. The manuscript of the VNT (VNT [MS]) originally stems from Kundeling (Tib. Kun bde gling) monastery in Lhasa, the capital of the Tibetan Autonomous Region.<sup>1</sup> Ernst Steinkellner recently thoroughly collated

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Sāṅkṛtyāyana's edition of the VNT against a photographic copy of the aforementioned "Kundeling manuscript" held at the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC) in Beijing. The collation, published in 2014, provides an extensive list of improvements to the original edition. In this publication, Steinkellner also suggested, in view of a future task of preparing a first critical edition of the VNT, that its Tibetan translation might "serve its purpose of external support to a carefully scrutinized extent" (Steinkellner 2014: xvi). This cautious mention of the text-critical potential of the Tibetan translation (VNT [T]) leads us to a number of methodological considerations. This is mainly due to the fact that the "Tibetan translation is often relatively free in the sense that it follows the meaning but not necessarily all the details of the wording" and "differs substantially from almost all other Tibetan translations of works from the *pramāṇa* tradition" (Steinkellner 2014: xvi) with regard to precision and literal agreement with the Sanskrit text.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On Sāṅkṛtyāyana's edition of the VN and the VNT, cf. Steinkellner/Much 1995: 43–44, § 7.9 and 63, § 14.2, respectively, as well as Much's detailed introduction to his edition of the VN. On a seemingly lost second manuscript of a commentary on the VN once kept in Ngor monastery, see Much 1988: 26, no. 37 and Steinkellner 2014: Introduction, vii–viii with n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Steinkellner 2014: xvi.



An independent resource for a text-critical re-examination of the VNT is found in the new editions of Vātsyāyana's (ca. 5<sup>th</sup> c.) *Nyāyabhāṣya* (NBh) and Uddyotakara's (ca. 6<sup>th</sup> c.) *Nyāyavārttika* (NV), which were published by the eminent pandit Anantlal Thakur in the late 1990s. These editions are superior to any earlier editions of the NBh and NV because Thakur had access to two exceptional manuscripts in Jaisalmer.<sup>3</sup> As is well known, innumerable passages from the fifth and last chapter of both these works were quoted extensively by Dharmakīrti (ca. 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> c.) in his VN as well as by Śāntarakṣita in his VNT. Since Thakur's new editions appeared later than Michael Torsten Much's critical edition of the VN, published in 1991, Much consulted earlier editions of the NBh and NV that do not contain the substantially better readings of the Jaisalmer manuscripts, which at the time had not yet been examined thoroughly. Thus some of the text-critical information in Much's exhaustive and elaborate critical apparatus with regard to the NBh and NV can be updated and re-evaluated based on the textual material found in Thakur's editions.

A fresh evaluation of independent testimonies such as the NBh or the NV will help us gain a certain degree of objectivity in the text-critical analysis of the textual tradition of the VN and the VNT. The present paper aims at evaluating the extent to which the Sanskrit manuscript of the VNT is reliable, and at determining its relationship to the Sanskrit source of the VN and to the Tibetan translations of both texts. The examination offered in this article, however, is not intended to be comprehensive; it must be considered a preliminary study. A discussion of the textual transmission of the NBh and NV is also beyond the scope of the present examination.

### 0.1. Brief information about the witnesses

First, let us briefly look at the primary sources related to the VN and the VNT, mainly based on Much's introduction (1991: xxvi–xxvii

<sup>3</sup> On the importance of the manuscripts at the Jain Jñānabhaṅḍār in Jaisalmer, see, e.g., Thakur 1968–1969 and Muroya 2006.

and xxix) and supplemented with additional information wherever available:

- VN (R): Edition based on Sāṅkrṭyāyana's transcription, made in 1934, of a VN manuscript; this transcription has been lost.<sup>4</sup> The manuscript, comprising 20 leaves, is undated and was at the time of the transcription kept in Ngor monastery in the Gtsang province, in the western part of Central Tibet. A new set of photocopies of this manuscript is currently held at the China Tibetology Research Center, Beijing (CTRC) (box 178, no. 2; cf. Steinkellner 2013–2014). Scribe: Vāgīśvara. According to Sāṅkrṭyāyana, the manuscript, written in “Kuṭīla” script, “can be assigned to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. on paleographical ground” (VN [R], Introduction, xi).
- VN (T): Tibetan translation, translated by the Kashmiri *pandit* Jñānaśrībhadrā with Dge ba'i blo gros in ca. 1050 CE (according to Much) and revised by Atīśa and Dar ma grags; according to Mejor, this was in ca. 1050–1076 (1991: 180, n. 51; cf. also 183, n. 69 and 186, n. 85).
- VNT (MS): Manuscript dated 29 July 1152 CE, during the reign of Ānandadeva (r. 1147–1167).<sup>5</sup> This manuscript of 90 leaves was formerly found in the collection of Kundeling (Kun bde gling) monastery in Lhasa; today it is kept in the collection in Norbulingka. Glass-negatives of the manuscript prepared by Sāṅkrṭyāyana are kept at the Bihar Research Society, Patna (boxes 33 and 34; cf. Much 1988: 26, entry 36). Copies thereof are found in the Göttingen State and University Library (cf. Bandurski 1994: 109, no. [Cod. Ms. Sanscr. Rah] Xc 14/88). In both collections a copy of the verso pages of folios 13–18 is missing. According to Steinkellner (2014:

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Much 1988: 12; Much 1991: xxiii; Steinkellner 2013–2014: 183.

<sup>5</sup> Petech 1984: 61: “5) Ms. *Vādanyāyatīkā*, Kun-bde-glin monastery in Lhasa, Tibet. Colophon: *Samvat 200-70-2 Śrāvaṇa-kṛṣṇa-ekādaśyam*[sic] *likhitam mayā / R.-P.-Pb.-śrīmad Ānandadevapādīya-vijayarāje śubhadīne*[.] The date corresponds to July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1152.” For further bibliographical information, see Steinkellner 2014: vii, n. 4.

Introduction, viii–ix, n. 6), the copy at the CTRC (box 43, no. 2), which was the basis of Steinkellner's collation with the Patna copy,<sup>6</sup> is a photostat copy of photos of the complete manuscript taken in 1987. It is described in Prof. Luo Zhao's unpublished catalogue (1985–1987, vol. Norbulingka) as follows: “90 leaves, 29.3 × 6.4 cm; Gupta-script by one hand” (cf. Steinkellner 2014: Introduction, viii).

- VNṬ (T): Tibetan translation, translated by the Kashmiri Kumāraśrībhadra with 'Phags pa shes rab and 'Bro Seng dkar Śā kya 'od in ca. 1100 CE in Bsam yas (according to Much; cf. also Mejer 1991: 186, n. 88).

## 1. Corrections of VN (R) on the basis of VNṬ (MS)

In examining the relationship between the primary sources of the VN and VNṬ, a tricky textual situation becomes apparent regarding Dharmakīrti's and Śāntarakṣita's quotation of *Nyāyasūtra* (NS) 5.2.17: *avijñātaṃ cājñānam*. The relevant sources reproduce this *sūtra*, which defines the “point of defeat” (*nigrahasthāna*) called “non-apprehension” (*ajñāna*), in the following different ways:

- VN (ed. Much) 56,8: *avijñātaṃ cājñānam*. [Critical note by Much: “*avijñātaṃ cājñānam* Ś (= VNṬ; YM) 120.6, NS: *avijñārthaṃ* (recte: *avijñātārthaṃ*; YM) *cājñānam* P (= VN [T]; YM) 394b2, X (Śāntarakṣita's *varia lectio*) 120.11: *avijñātam ajñānam* R”]
- VN (R) 120,1: *avijñātam ajñānam*. [Remark: absence of *ca.*]

<sup>6</sup> For details on the “three photocopies,” namely, from Patna, Göttingen and Beijing, see Steinkellner 2014: xi–xiii. Scans of the photos from Patna, which were acquired from the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen (Germany), are available on the website of the Institute for the Cultural Intellectual History of Asia, Austrian Academy of Sciences ([http://www.ikga.oew.ac.at/Kundeling\\_Manuscript](http://www.ikga.oew.ac.at/Kundeling_Manuscript), last accessed 27 February 2019); cf. Steinkellner 2014: ix, n. 7 and xvii, n. 13.

- = VN (T), D350b7, P394b2: *don rnam par mi shes pa yang mi shes pa yin te* / [Remark: addition of \**artha* and preservation of \**ca*]
- VNT 120,6 (reading option 1): *avijñātam cājñānam*. [Remark: agreement with the NS and with Much's edition of the VN]
- = VNT (T), D133b7, P163a4: *don rnam par dbye ba mi shes pa* / [Remark: addition of \**artha* and omission of the *nañ*-affix of *avijñātam* and \**ca*; P omits *dbye ba*; *rnam par dbye ba* for *vijñāta* could be emended to \**rnam par mi shes pa*<sup>7</sup>]
- VNT 120,11 (reading option 2): *avijñātārtham cājñānam*. [Remark: the addition of *artha*; identical with the passage as quoted in NBhūṣ 371,29]
- = VNT (T), D134a2–3, P163a7: *don mi shes pa yang mi shes pa yin*. [Remark: with \**artha* and without the prefix *vi*-]

The textual relationship between these sources is not straightforward. The only source that follows the text of the NS as inherited within the Nyāya tradition is the Kundeling manuscript of the VNT, one of the major sources for Much's correction of Sāṅkṛtyāyana's edition. The other sources include the additional word *artha* (Tib. *don*) and/or lack the particle *ca* (Tib. *yang*), as noted above in brackets. In particular, there is a clear gap regarding *artha* (Tib. *don*): while the Tibetan translations of the VN and VNT include \**artha*, the corresponding Sanskrit lacks an equivalent (see VN [R] and VNT [reading option 1]). The question might be raised whether the Tibetan translations were based on versions of the Sanskrit text different from what is attested in the manuscripts as known to us. It might even be asked whether the VN and VNT Sanskrit manuscripts lacking *artha* might represent a secondary level of the textual transmission. The current state of research on the Nyāya tradition, however, corroborates the superiority of the textual tradition of the VN

<sup>7</sup> In the present article, the presentation of the Tibetan translation of the VN and VNT is based on the xylographs of the "Peking" and the Sde dge versions; text-critical remarks are confined to noting variants between these two.

and VNT̄ as known through their Sanskrit manuscripts. This will be discussed below.

As he explains in a critical note, Much edited the VN by comparing the NS and VNT̄ (MS) (= “Ś” in Much’s abbreviation) with Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s transcription of the VN.<sup>8</sup> His not selecting Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s version, VN (R), demonstrates that there is at least one case in which the text of VNT̄ (MS) is more reliable to constitute the text of the VN than VN (R). The sequence in terms of the closeness of the text to Much’s critical edition in the present case is: VNT̄ (MS) → VN (R) → VN (T) → VNT̄ (T) (see VNT̄, reading option 1, above).

It is interesting to observe that Śāntarakṣita mentions a variant reading of NS 5.2.17 with the additional *artha* (i.e., VNT̄ [reading option 2; see above]). He considers this addition to be due to an error (*bhrāntīyā*),<sup>9</sup> obviously preferring the absence of *artha*. What is significant is that this variation is not found in the manuscript tradition of the NBh. One might assume that the Sanskrit manuscript of the VN, if in this passage Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s transcript is faithful to its exemplar, belongs to a textual tradition different from the manuscript used for the Tibetan translation. This is not the case for the VNT̄.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Dwarikadas Shastri’s editions of the VN and VNT̄ read the relevant passages like Sāṅkṛtyāyana; cf. VN (Sh) 114,7 (*avijñātam ajñānam*) and VNT̄ (Sh) 114,23 (*avijñātaṃ cājñānam*) and 114,28–29 (*avijñātārthaṃ cājñānam*).

<sup>9</sup> According to Śāntarakṣita, this “error” (*bhrāntī*) was influenced by the detailed exposition (*vivarāṇa*) as found in the NBh. See VNT̄ 120,10–11: *anye punar vivaraṇe ’rthagrahaṇaṃ paśyantah sūtre ’py arthagrahaṇaṃ bhrāntīyā paṭhanti. avijñātārthaṃ cājñānam iti so ’nyeṣāṃ pāṭhaḥ*. (Translation: “Others, however, noticing the mention of ‘meaning’ (*artha*) in the exposition [of the NBh], teach the mention of *artha* even in the *sūtra* due to an error. [Thus,] *avijñātārthaṃ cājñānam* is the text [of the *sūtra*] pertaining to [the] others.”)

<sup>10</sup> For a case of confusion in foliation/pagination in VNT̄ (MS), see Much 1991: xxvii–xix and Steinkellner 2014: xiii, “On the switch of folios 7 and 9.” According to Steinkellner, “it can also be concluded that this exemplar [of the Tibetan translation; YM] was no other than the Kundeling manuscript.”

## 2. Śāntarakṣita's quotations from the *Nyāyabhāṣya* and the *Nyāyavārttika*

While commenting on the last “point of defeat” (*nigrahasthāna*) of Nyāya, namely, “pseudo-reasons” (*hetvābhāsa*), Śāntarakṣita discusses two of the Naiyāyika's five types of pseudo-reasons (*hetvābhāsa*), which are concretely listed in NS 1.2.4 (*savyabhicāraviruddhaprakaraṇasamasādhyasamāṭitakālā hetvābhāsāḥ*<sup>11</sup>) = VNT 136,13–14.<sup>12</sup> To examine various theories pertaining to these, Śāntarakṣita includes an extensive quotation from Vātsyāyana's NBh, as well as quotations from various other commentaries on the same topic, including lost ones. The quotations of these Nyāya texts will no doubt be significant testimonies to evaluate the textual tradition of the VNT Kundeling manuscript.

One of the main points criticized by the Buddhist philosopher is that the Naiyāyikas' theory and classification of *hetvābhāsa* are

<sup>11</sup> A text-critical problem of NS 1.2.4 is related to the question of whether the fifth pseudo-reason is to be read as *kālāṭīta* or *atītakāla*. The best manuscripts of the NBh (J1, J2, T) and the NV (J1, J2), as well as independent testimonies, including the VNT, confirm the reading of *atītakāla* for NS 1.2.4, and, in contrast, *kālāṭīta* for NS 1.2.9. The term *atītakāla* is already attested in the famous *vādamārga*-section of the *Carakasamhitā*; cf. TPhSI (I/24–25, s.v. *atītakālam*) and Preisendanz 1994: II/329. The reading of *kālāṭīta* for NS 1.2.4 is secondary and found in the later tradition of the manuscripts of the NBh, but I will not go into the details here. Cf. nn. 14, and 17 below.

<sup>12</sup> In the manuscript of the VNT (MS f. 84r6–7) the *sūtra* appears with an *iti* (marked in bold below) that is not attested in the manuscript tradition of the NBh: *savyabhicāraviruddhaprakaraṇasa(ma)sādhyasamāṭitakālā **iti** hetvābhāsā **iti***; VNT (T), D144b6–7, P175b4–5: *'khrul pa dang bcas pa dang / 'gal ba'i rnam pa dang / skabs dang mtshungs pa dang / 'das pa dang mtshungs pa zhes bya ba gtan tshigs ltar snang ba yin no zhes*. The round brackets in the printed edition indicate Sāṅkṛtyāyana's emendation to *prakaraṇasama* from the form *prakaraṇasa*, as appears in MS f. 84r6; cf. Steinkellner 2014: 57 (s.v. 136,13). On Sāṅkṛtyāyana's use of round brackets for “editorial proposals,” see Steinkellner 2014: x–xi.

not legitimate within Dignāga's system.<sup>13</sup> Before approaching text-critical questions, it is worth mentioning a historiographical piece of information provided by Śāntarakṣita on an aspect of the relationship between the Nyāya tradition and the Buddhist *pramāṇa* tradition established by Dignāga:

Because the Master Dignāga had discarded that view of the “Old Naiyāyikas,” here [in the context of explaining that the Naiyāyikas' pseudo-reasons are not legitimate], the “Modern [Naiyāyikas],” beginning with Vātsyāyana, have presented their fixed position. [They say,] “We [Naiyāyikas] reply to the [criticism] in the following manner.”<sup>14</sup>

This passage introduces a discussion of the two problematic pseudo-reasons (*hetvābhāsa*) “equal to discussion” (*prakaraṇasama*; NS 1.2.7) and “time-lapsed” (*kālātīta*; NS 1.2.9). If my interpretation of the above passage is correct, Śāntarakṣita's “Old Naiyāyikas” (*vṛddhanaiyāyika*) were already censured by Dignāga; his “Modern [Naiyāyikas], beginning with Vātsyāyana” (*idānīntanā vātsyāyanādayaḥ*), are refuted in turn in the VNT, subsequent to

<sup>13</sup> Cf. VNT 136,23: *kecid atra hetvābhāsā eva na yujyante, kecit tu hetvābhāsā api na saṅgrahītāḥ* (recte: *saṅgrhītāḥ*). VNT (T), D145a3, P176a2: *gtan tshigs ltar snang ba'i nang du 'dus pa*; the Tibetan translation seems considerably incomplete. Translation: “Of these [pseudo-reasons as presented by Naiyāyikas], some [kinds of] pseudo-reasons are not suitable, while some pseudo-reasons are not even accepted [as such].”

<sup>14</sup> VNT 136,28–30 (MS f. 84v4): *tad iha<sup>a</sup> vṛddhanaiyāyikānām apāsyā matam ācāryadi<sup>nn</sup>nāgapādair dūṣitatvād<sup>b</sup> idānīntanā vātsyāyanādayo 'mum eva sthita<sup>c</sup>pakṣam āhuḥ. tatraivaṃ brūmaḥ*. Variants: a. *iha*] MS; *iha* (/*)* ed. – b. *dūṣitatvād*] MS (T: *sun 'byin zin pa'i phyir*; cf. also Steinkellner 2014: 58); *bhāṣitatvād* ed. – c. *sthita<sup>o</sup>*] MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 58); *sthi* ed.; VNT (T), D145a5–6, P176a5–6: *rigs pa can rgan po rnams kyi gzhung de ni 'dir slob dpon phyogs kyi glang pos sun 'byin zin pa'i phyir ro // da ni bad tsha ya na la sogs pa 'dir gnas pa'i phyogs kyi gnas pa de la brjod par bya'o //* Sa skya paṇḍita (1182–1251), who is said to have studied the VNT with the Newari paṇḍit Saṅghaśrī (cf. Jackson 1987: 110), seems to have been aware of the historiographical explanation by Śāntarakṣita; cf. Jackson 1987: 376, n. 19 (without referring to the VNT).

Dharmakīrti's refutation of them. Disregarding for the moment the content of the Buddhist criticism, Śāntarakṣita's explicit temporal contrast reflects his historical understanding of the Nyāya tradition's development. It is possible that Śāntarakṣita was in a position of being able to concretely recognize relevant passages and had access to the views of the "Old Naiyāyikas" tackled by Dignāga in his writings such as the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* or the lost *\*Nyāyaparīkṣā*.<sup>15</sup>

The alleged motivation to respond to Dignāga, implied by the use of the ablative ("because the Master Dignāga had discarded the view of the 'Old Naiyāyikas'"), seems to refer to the compositional activity of Vātsyāyana and his followers. From the viewpoint of the unsettled relative chronology of Dignāga and Vātsyāyana, Śāntarakṣita's reference to Vātsyāyana's NBh apparently placed at the head of this "modern" defense against Dignāga's refutation is remarkable. Nevertheless, Śāntarakṣita's clear separation of Vātsyāyana from the older Nyāya generation may be regarded as indicating that Dignāga had not known Vātsyāyana's commentary, as scholars today generally agree with this.

Vātsyāyana's awareness of such earlier commentaries has been demonstrated through numerous identifications of earlier NS commentaries by the editors of the first and second chapters of Jinen-drabuddhi's (ca. 700–770) PST.<sup>16</sup> It is also attested by a passage in which Vātsyāyana criticizes an interpretation of a certain proponent, probably a Naiyāyika, with regard to the "time-lapsed" pseudo-

<sup>15</sup> For Śāntarakṣita's reference to *Nyāyaparīkṣā*, see VNT 142,13–15; for further information, see Hattori 1968: 9 and Pind 2001: 157, n. 30. According to Mimaki (1984: 579 = 1579), Sa skya paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* contains fragments concerning sophistic rejoinders (*jāti*) as criticized by Dignāga in the latter's *Nyāyaparīkṣā*. See also Jackson 1987: 376–377, n. 19, who points out that Sa-paṇ, who bases himself on the *Nyāyaparīkṣā* in his enumeration of the *jātis* ("futile rejoinders"), adduces the *dus las 'das pa* (*\*kālātīta*); cf. also Hugon 2012: 28 (with n. 2) and 33.

<sup>16</sup> For these fragments ("? [commentary on NSū]"), see PST 1 96, n. b; 106, n. a; PST 2 64, n. x; 72, n. j.



reason (*kālātīta* or *atītakāla*).<sup>17</sup> This earlier interpretation can be related to an adversary's view that Dignāga tackles in the third chapter of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*.<sup>18</sup> This could indicate that Dignāga and Vātsyāyana here draw on a common source.

## 2.1. Comparison of the *Vādanīyāṭikā* with the *Nyāyabhāṣya*

As mentioned above, one of the five pseudo-reasons, the reason called “time-lapsed” (*kālātīta*), is defined in NS 1.2.9 (*kālātyayāpadiṣṭaḥ kālātītaḥ*),<sup>19</sup> and the text is cited in VNT 136,18.<sup>20</sup> Śāntarakṣita in this context quotes a longer passage from the NBh commenting on this *sūtra*. As will be shown below, this quotation agrees with the text of the NBh to a rather high degree. This situation improves the basis for textual criticism on both sides. The testimony by an eighth-century scholar who is independent of the vertical textual tradition of the NBh in general serves as an important source for textual criticism of the NBh; the cases of close agreement that we have determined so far suggest, even more, that the VNT is a highly reliable source. In turn, if a critical text of the NBh can be constituted on the basis of reliable primary witnesses, this will help in a reexamination of the text of the VNT from a text-critical point of view.

Tentative editions of the respective passages are given below. For the text of the VNT, two emendations were taken into account (v.l. “d” and “h”; marked in bold below) which had been suggested in hand-written annotations of Erich Frauwallner (1898–1974) in his copy of Sāṅkṛtyāyana's edition (today in the South Asian, Tibetan

<sup>17</sup> Cf. TPhSI I/24 (s.v. *atītakālam*), TPhSI II/80–82 (s.v. *kālātītam*) and Randle 1930: 192.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Okazaki 2005: 441, n. 868, with the translation of the relevant passages in Vācaspati Mīśra's (ca. 10<sup>th</sup> c.) NVT (with the identification of the source with some *bhadanta*; NVT 302,4–12) and in Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*.

<sup>19</sup> Translation: “The ‘time-lapsed’ [reason] is [that which is] indicated [in connection] with the lapse of time.”

<sup>20</sup> VNT (T), D145a5, P176a5: *dus gzhan du sbyar ba ni dus 'das pa'o* // Cf. n. 8 above.

and Buddhist Studies Library at the University of Vienna). In the case of the NBh, the reconstituted text is based on the three most important manuscripts, two from Jaisalmer (J1 and J2) and one from Trivandrum (T). For visual convenience, the text is not italicized.

### Passage 1

VNT 136,30–137,8 (MS f. 84v4–9): (tatraivaṃ brūmaḥ.) kālātyayena yukto yasyārthaikadeśo 'padiśyamānasya sa kālātyayāpadiṣṭaḥ kālātīta ity ucyate. nidarśanam<sup>a</sup>: nityaḥ śabdaḥ saṃyogavyaṅgyatvād<sup>b</sup> rūpavat. prāg ūrdhvaṃ ca vyakter avasthitam rūpaṃ pradīpaghataśaṃyogena vyajyate. tathā śabdo vyavasthito bherīdaṇḍa<sup>c</sup>śaṃyogena dāruparaśu<sup>d</sup>yogena vā vyajyate. tasmāt saṃyogavyaṅgyatvān nityaḥ śabda iti. ayam ahetuḥ,<sup>e</sup> kālātyayāpadeśāt. vyañjakasya saṃyogasya kālam na vyaṅgyasya<sup>f</sup> rūpasya vyaktir atyeti. sati pradīpasam̐yoge rūpasya grahaṇaṃ bhavati. na nivṛtte<sup>g</sup> saṃyoge rūpaṃ gṛhyate. nivṛtte tu dāruparaśu<sup>d</sup>śaṃyoge dūrasthena śabdaḥ śrūyate vibhāgakāle. seyaṃ śabdasya vyaktiḥ saṃyogakālam atyetīti **na**<sup>h</sup> saṃyoganimitā<sup>i</sup> bhavati. kāraṇābhāvād dhi kāryābhāva iti.

Variants: a. *nidarśanam*:] cf. ed. (*nidarśanam* (/)). – b. °*vyaṅgyatvād*] ed.; °*vyaṃgatvād*(?) MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 58). – c. °*daṇḍa*°] MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 58); °*karṇṇa*° ed. – d. °*paraśu*°] em. (*sta re* T); °*parṇa*° ed. (only with a stroke-like marking by Frauwallner), MS. – e. *ahetuḥ*,] *ahetuḥ* / MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 58); *ahetuḥ* ed. (without punctuation). – f. *vyaṅgyasya*] ed.; *vyaṃgasya* MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 58). – g. *nivṛtte*] MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 58); *nivṛtta*° ed. – h. **na**] em. by Frauwallner (*ma yin te* T; cf. NBh below); om. ed., MS. – i. °*nimitā*] ed.; °*mimitā* MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 58).

NBh 45,11–46,5 = NBh (C) 388,3–389,8 on NS 1.2.9 (T ff. 16v6–17r1, J1 f. 294r8–294v2, J2 f. 10v11–15): kālātyayena yukto yasyārthaikadeśo 'padiśyamānasya sa<sup>a</sup> kālātyayāpadiṣṭaḥ kālātīta ity ucyate. nidarśanam. nityaḥ śabdaḥ saṃyogavyaṅgyatvād<sup>b</sup> rūpavat. prāg<sup>c</sup> ūrdhvaṃ ca vyakter avasthitam

rūpaṃ pradīpaḥaṣaṃyogena vyajyate. tathā<sup>d</sup> śabda<sup>e</sup> 'vasthito<sup>f</sup> bherīdaṇḍasaṃyogena<sup>g</sup> dāruparaśusaṃyogena vābhivyajyate<sup>h</sup>. tasmāt saṃyogavyaṅgyatvān<sup>i</sup> nityaḥ śabda iti. ayam ahetuḥ, kālātyayāpadeśāt. vyañjakasya saṃyogasya kālaṃ na vyaṅgyasya<sup>j</sup> rūpasya vyaktir<sup>k</sup> atyeti. sati pradīpa'saṃyoge rūpasya grahaṇaṃ bhavati. na nivṛtte saṃyoge rūpaṃ gṛhyate. nivṛtte tu<sup>m</sup> dāruparaśusaṃyoge dūrasthena śabdaḥ śrūyate vibhāgakāle. seyaṃ śabdasya<sup>n</sup> vyaktiḥ saṃyogakālam atyetīti na saṃyoganimittā<sup>o</sup> bhavati<sup>p</sup>. <sup>(1)</sup>kāraṇābhāvād dhi<sup>q</sup> kāryābhāva iti<sup>(1)</sup>.

Variants: a: *sa*] ed., C, T; *hetoh sa* ed. (“J”), J1, J2. – b. °*vyaṅgyatvāt*] ed., C, J1, J2; °*vyajyatvāt* T. – c. *prāḡ*] ed, C, J1, T; *yathā prāḡ* ed. (“J”), J2. – d. *tathā*] J1, J2; *tathā ca* ed., C, T. – e. *śabda*] ed. (“J”), J1, J2, T; *śabda 'py* ed., C. – f. 'vasthito] ed., J1, T; *vyavasthitaḥ* J2. – g. °*yogena*] J1, J2, T; °*yogena vyajyate* ed., C. – h. *vābhivyajyate*] J1, J2; *cābhivyajyate* T; *vā* ed., C. – i. °*vyaṅgyatvān*] ed., C, J1, J2; °*vyajyatvān* T. – j. *vyaṅgyasya*] ed., C, J1, J2; *vyaṅgya* T. – k. *vyaktir*] ed., C, J1, J2; *vyaktam* T. – l. *pradīpa*<sup>o</sup>] ed., C, T; *pradīpaḥaṣa*<sup>o</sup> ed. (“J”), J1, J2. – m. *tu*] ed. (“in J only”), J1, J2, T; om. C. – n. *śabdasya*] ed., C, J1, J2; *vyaktaśabda* T. – o. °*nimittā*] ed., J1, J2, T; °*nirmitā* C. – p. *bhavati*] T; *bhavati. kasmāt* ed., C, J1, J2. – q. *dhi*] ed., C, J1, J2; om. T.

Source: (1) VS 1.2.1 (without *hi*).

For this as well as the following passages from the VNT, a tentative English translation and the Tibetan translation are presented in a separate appendix to this paper.

A comparison of the two Sanskrit texts immediately shows that the manuscript of Śāntarakṣita's commentary retains the original text from the NBh very precisely. Where emendations (“d” and “h”) to the VNT (MS) text are required according to the NBh, there is additional support in the Tibetan translation, despite the fact that the early twelfth-century translation is not considered a literal rendering of the Sanskrit.

In his PST, renowned as an inestimably rich collection of fragments from lost philosophical works, Jinendrabuddhi seems to quote the same NBh passage, although his style and method of quoting are different from Śāntarakṣita's.<sup>21</sup> The quote is attributed to Pakṣila, a name commonly used to refer to the author of the NBh. This fragment is found in the third chapter of the PST (on *parārthānumāna*). The Sanskrit text of this chapter (PST 3) is as yet unpublished; the following text has been provided by Professor Shōryū Katsura (italics follow the original draft).<sup>22</sup>

### Passage 2

PST Ms B, ff. 166b7–167a2 (on PSV 3.51b): pakṣilas tv āha – kālātyayena yukto yasyārthaikadeśo 'padiśyamānasya sa kālātyayāpadiṣṭaḥ. yathā nityaḥ śabdaḥ<sup>(a→)</sup>saṃyogavyaṅgya<sup>b</sup>-tvād rūpavad *iti*. prāg ūrdhvaṃ cābhivyakter avasthitam *ni-tyam eva*. ayam ahetuḥ, kālātyayāpadeśāt. *yasmād vyaṅgyasya rūpādeḥ saty eva vyañjake* pradīpa<sup>(←a)</sup>saṃyoge grahaṇam bhavati, nātyeti<sup>c</sup>. yadi ca śabdaḥ saṃyogavyaṅgyaḥ<sup>d</sup> syāt, sa rūpavad<sup>e</sup> vyañjakasannidhāv eva gamyeta, na tadatyaye. atīte 'pi tu vyañjake dāruparaśusamṃyoge dūrād vyavasthitaiḥ<sup>f</sup> śabdo vibhāgakāla upalabhyate. tataś cābhivyaktiḥ saṃyogakālam atyetīti na saṃyoganibandhanā. tato 'yaṃ hetvābhāsa *iti*. (so 'yaṃ sādhyasamān<sup>g</sup> na bhidyate, saṃyogasya śabdābhivyakti nimittapratīṣedhāt. tasmād asiddha evāyam.)

v.l.: (a→)saṃyoga<sup>o</sup> ... pradīpa<sup>o</sup>(←a)] a lacuna in the MS, which is reconstructed by the editors of PST 3. – b. °vyaṅgya<sup>o</sup>] ed. of PST 3; *mngon par gsal bar bya ba* T. – c. *nātyeti*] em. in PST 3 (cf. 'das pa na ni ma yin no T; or probably \*nātīte

<sup>21</sup> Jinendrabuddhi tends to “summarize” fragments of Pakṣila, as is also seen in other cases; see the pertinent remark by the editors of PST 1, Introduction, liv, n. 88.

<sup>22</sup> I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Shōryū Katsura and Dr. Toshikazu Watanabe for kindly allowing me to use this passage in advance of their publication of a critical edition of the third chapter of the PST (version dated 4 November 2014).

with a minimal emendation of the manuscript, YM); *nātīti* / MS. – d. *śabdaḥ saṃyogavyaṅgyaḥ*] em. in PST 3; *śabdaḥ saṃyogavyaṅgyaḥ* MS; *sgra dang ldan pa'i gsal bar bya bar T.* – e. *sa rūpavad*] ed. of PST 3; *de gzugs T.* – f. *vyavasthitaiḥ*] ed. of PST 3; *gnas pa rnam kyis T.* – g. *sādhyasamān*] em. in PST 3 (cf. *bsgrub bya dang mtshungs pa las T*); *sāmān* MS.

A comparison of the above three Sanskrit texts shows us that the two eighth-century Buddhist scholars quote the same source in completely different ways. Śāntarakṣita's quotation is rigorous – precise and faithful to the text of the NBh as it is known to us. In contrast, the reference made by Jinendrabuddhi, “an elder contemporary of Śāntarakṣita” who was presumably familiar with (part of) the latter's *Tattvasaṅgraha*,<sup>23</sup> is rather free by nature. It abridges the original and contains a large number of modifications and glosses. Having Śāntarakṣita's witness, we can safely exclude the possibility that Jinendrabuddhi had access to a substantially different version of the NBh than has been transmitted to us.<sup>24</sup>

## 2.2 Comparison of the *Vādanyāyaṭikā* with the *Nyāyavārttika*

The text below is cited immediately after the quotation of the passages from the NBh discussed above.

### Passage 3

VNT 137,8–12 (MS ff. 84v8–85r1): *nanv ayam anaikāntika eva-saṃyogavyaṅgyatvād iti. anityam api saṃyogena vyajyamānaṃ*

<sup>23</sup> On Śāntarakṣita's relationship to Jinendrabuddhi as his “elder contemporary,” see Funayama 1999: 91 and PST 1, Introduction, xxxix–xl.

<sup>24</sup> This appraisal rests on the assumption that the Pakṣila referred to by Jinendrabuddhi is identical to the author of the NBh. This assumption can be substantiated by Jinendrabuddhi's knowledge of Śāntarakṣita, who also uses the appellation Pakṣila (VNT 110,22) or Pakṣilasvāmin (VNT 129,14) for the author of the NBh. In view of the tiny number of relevant primary works that have survived from the pertinent period, however, the possibility cannot be entirely excluded that Jinendrabuddhi literally or closely quoted a different commentary, one that he ascribed to Pakṣila.

dr̥ṣṭam, yathā ghaṭa iti. na, saṃyogavyaṅgya<sup>a</sup>tvenāvasthānasya sādhyatvāt. na brūmo nityaḥ śabda iti, api tv avatiṣṭhate śabda ity ayam pratijñārthaḥ. tathā<sup>b</sup> ca saṃyogavyaṅgyatvād ity ayam hetur **nānaikāntikaḥ**<sup>c</sup>. na hy anavasthitam<sup>d</sup> kiñcit saṃyogenābhivyañyamānaṃ dr̥ṣṭam<sup>e</sup> iti. (tad anena prakāreṇa saṃyogavyaṅgyatvam eva śabdasya pratiṣidhyata iti nāyam asiddhād vyāvartate.)

v.l.: a. saṃyogavyaṅgya<sup>o</sup>] MS; saṃyoga vyamgya<sup>o</sup> ed. (with a space) – b. tathā] MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 58); tadā ed. – c. **nānaikāntikaḥ**] em. (cf. NV below); **anaikāntikaḥ** ed., MS (*ma nges pa yin te T*) – d. <sup>o</sup>s<sup>h</sup>itām] ed.; <sup>o</sup>s<sup>h</sup>itaṃ MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 58) – e. <sup>o</sup>vyajyamānaṃ dr̥ṣṭam] MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 58); <sup>o</sup>vyajyamāna(h) katham ed.

NV 168,1–5 = NV (C) 389,12 (J1 f. 53v7–8, J2 f. 50v13–15): nanv ayam anaikāntika eva – saṃyogavyaṅgyatvād iti. anityam api saṃyogena vyajyamānaṃ dr̥ṣṭam, yathā ghaṭa iti. na, saṃyogavyaṅgyatvenāvasthānasya sādhyatvāt. na brūmo nityaḥ śabda iti, api tv avatiṣṭhate śabda ity ayam<sup>a</sup> pratijñārthaḥ. tathā ca saṃyogavyaṅgyatvād ity ayam hetur **nānaikāntikaḥ**<sup>b</sup>. na hy anavasthitam kiñcit saṃyogena vyajyamānaṃ dr̥ṣṭam iti.

v.l.: a. ayam] ed., J1, J2; om. C. – b. **nānaikāntikaḥ**] ed., C; **nānaikāntika iti** J1, J2.

There is a substantial difference between the two Sanskrit texts: the negation, or its absence, of *anaikāntikaḥ*. The parallel passage in the manuscript of the VNT (see note “c” in the apparatus) does not contain this particle. The corresponding passage in the Tibetan translation supports its absence. Turning to the point in dispute, however, the opponent, whose identity we have not been able to determine, holds that the logical reason *saṃyogavyaṅgyatvāt* should be regarded as inconclusive (*anaikāntika*) rather than being classified, as in Nyāya, under the “time-lapsed” pseudo-reason (*kālātīta-hetvābhāsa*). Thus, it can be expected that Uddyotakara’s reply would disprove this objection, with him expressing his rejection by using the negative particle. This argument supports a conjectural emendation of *anaikāntikaḥ* to *nānaikāntikaḥ* in the VNT passage.

### 3. Śāntarakṣita's quotations from lost Nyāya works

After the above quotations from the NBh and NV, and the subsequent refutations of the respective views expressed therein, Śāntarakṣita proceeds to discuss the interpretation of “some other [scholar]” (*anya*, sg.; henceforth “commentator/Naiyāyika [A]”). This unidentified Naiyāyika (A) seems to be the author of a commentary on the NBh, or at least on the NS, because he quotes a passage from the NBh (cf. *tathā bhāṣyavacanam apy asti*), applying this to the interpretation of a *sūtra*. Śāntarakṣita records two fragments, most probably faithfully, from this lost author's commentary regarding the definitions of *kālātīta* and *prakaraṇasama*. The following examination will not only involve text-critical issues of the VNT, but will also provide an extensive survey of the historical implications of the first of these hitherto little explored fragments (a study of the other fragment will be undertaken on another occasion).

#### 3.1. A fragment ascribed by Frauwallner to Aviddhakarṇa

With regard to the fragment on *kālātīta*, one finds an interesting note in the margin of Frauwallner's copy of the VNT (p. 138, left margin):<sup>25</sup> “Aviddhakarṇaḥ ε.”<sup>26</sup> This succinct *scholium*, written seemingly in his own hand and without indication of a date, suggests that Frauwallner identified Naiyāyika (A) as Aviddhakarṇa, commonly known as the author of a certain *Bhāṣyaṭīkā* on Vātsyāyana's

<sup>25</sup> On Frauwallner's “Arbeitsexemplar,” see Much's introduction (1991: xxx, § 2) to his edition of the VN.

<sup>26</sup> The same handwriting is also found on pp. 64 and 67 of the same copy. The Greek letter “ε” appears to denote a conjecture, as is known from Frauwallner's note in the right margin of p. 47: “*ity atrāyam ε*,” which suggests that *iti yat ko 'yaṃ*, the text of Dharmakīrti's VN (R) 47,8, should be corrected to such, as he notes; cf. Much's critical note on VN 12,3, although Much emends this further to *iti pakṣe 'yaṃ* on the basis of the Tibetan translation. In the present case, I do not understand Frauwallner's “ε” as suggesting that *anyas* or another word should be emended to “Aviddhakarṇaḥ.”

NBh.<sup>27</sup> There is no record of a reason for Frauwallner’s ascription. But considering the fact that in the same context Śāntarakṣita later quotes a fragment of Bhāvivikta,<sup>28</sup> another author of a *Bhāṣyaṭīkā* (VNT 88,17), Frauwallner’s opinion deserves special attention and its consistency with other fragments that can clearly be ascribed to Aviddhakarṇa should be examined.<sup>29</sup> However, a systematic analysis of this is beyond the scope of the present article. Rather, we shall take a closer look at commentator (A)’s interpretation of the “time-lapsed” pseudo-reason:

#### Passage 4

VNT 138,25–139,5 (MS ff. 86r8–89v4): (anyas tv anyathedaṃ sūtradvayaṃ<sup>a</sup> vyācaṣṭe.) yo hetur hetukāle ’padiṣṭo ’tyety apaiti. kasmād apaiti. pratyakṣeṇāgamenobhayena vā pīḍyamāṇaḥ sa kālam atīta iti kālātīta ity ucyate. kutaḥ punaḥ pratyakṣāgama-

<sup>27</sup> Cf. VNT 78,22: *aviddhakarṇas<sup>a</sup> tu bhāṣyaṭīkāyām idam āśaṅkya parijihṛṣati<sup>b</sup>*. v.l.: a. *aviddhakarṇas*] em.; *abiddhakarṇas* ed. – b. *āśaṅkya parijihṛṣati*] MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 34 confirming a *daṇḍa* at the end); *āśaṅkyparijihṛṣati* (I) ed. On the fragment related to this passage, see Solomon 1971: 20–21 under (c).

<sup>28</sup> Should one follow the Tibetan translation “Rna ma phug” (D148b4, P180a3f.), the text could read “Aviddhakarṇa” and not “Bhāvivikta,” as found in the edition. In other places where the Sanskrit manuscript of the VNT reads *bhāvivikta*, the Tibetan translation reads Dngos po (D115a1, P141a4 for VNT 88,17) or ’Od [dang] dben pa (?) (D150b7f., P182b5f for VNT 142,26–27; cf. Steinkellner 2014: 62–63, n. 7: “normally the translations render the name as *dŋos po rnam par ’byed pa* (for \*Bhāvavivikta)”). The Tibetan rendering with Rna ma phug (or Rna ma phug pa) in the VNT (T) is consistently attested for Aviddhakarṇa. Accordingly, this rendering in the passage in question is problematic. This confusion, if it is one, could be due to the translators’ sporadic conjectural judgement, for whatever reason, since the same usage is observed once more, namely, in VNT 96,23, where the text of the MS, *bhāviviktaḥ*, corresponds to *rna ma phug gi* (D120a7, P147a6) in its Tibetan translation.

<sup>29</sup> On Aviddhakarṇa, see Steinkellner 1961: 153–155 and Shiga 2008: 120, n. 164; 2009: 127, n. 218. See Prets 2012 for an overview of lost Naiyāyikas (with a useful appendix).



virodho labhyata iti cet, <sup>(i)</sup>**caturlakṣaṇo hetur** <sup>(i)</sup>iti vacanāt. tathā hi <sup>(ii)</sup>“pūrvavac cheṣavat<sup>b</sup> sāmānyato 'dṛṣṭam<sup>c</sup> ca”<sup>(1)</sup> ity<sup>(ii)</sup> atra catūrūpo<sup>d</sup> hetur iṣṭaḥ. <sup>(iii)</sup>pūrvavan nāma<sup>e</sup> sādhye vyāpakam. śeṣavad iti tatsamāne 'sti. sāmānyataś **cādrṣṭam**<sup>f</sup>. caśabdād<sup>g</sup> aviruddhaṃ ceti<sup>(iii)</sup>. tathā bhāṣyavacanam apy asti. “yat punar anumānaṃ pratyakṣāgamaviruddhaṃ<sup>h</sup> nyāyābhāsaḥ saḥ”<sup>(2)</sup> iti. tad evaṃ trairūpye sati pratyakṣāgamābhyāṃ yo bādhyate<sup>i</sup> sa kālātyayāpadiṣṭaḥ. sa ca tridhā bhidyate – pratyakṣaviruddha āgamaviruddha<sup>j</sup> ubhayaviruddhaś ceti<sup>k</sup>. pratyakṣaviruddho yathā<sup>l</sup> anuṣṇo 'gnir dravyatvād udakavat. āgamaviruddho yathā brāhmaṇena surā pātavyā dravatvāt kṣīravat. ubhaya- viruddho yathā'raśmivac cakṣur indriyatvād ghrāṇādivad iti. na cāyaṃ kila pakṣavirodhaḥ, pakṣavirodhasya pratikṣepād iti. (tad etat trairūpyalakṣaṇānavabodhavaśīśasam<sup>m</sup>.)

v.l.: a. °*dvayaṃ*] ed.; °*dvaya* MS (cf. Steinkellner 2014: 59). – b. *cheṣavat*] ed., MS (pc); *cheṣat* MS (ac). – c. 'dṛṣṭam] em.; *dṛṣṭaṅ* ed., MS (cf. *mthong ba'o* T). – d. *catūrūpo*] ed., MS (pc); *carūpo* MS (ac). – e. *nāma*] ed., MS (pc); *nāma* .. MS (ac). – f. **cādrṣṭam**] em. (cf. *ma mthong ba* T); *ca dṛṣṭaṅ* ed., MS. – g. *caśabdād*] em. with MS; *ca śabdād* ed. (cf. *ca, śabdād* in VNT [Sh]). – h. °*viruddhaṃ*] ed.; °*viruddhaṃ* / MS (Steinkellner 2014: 59). – i. *bādhyate*] MS (Steinkellner 2014: 59); *vādhyate* ed. – j. °*viruddha*] MS (pc, seemingly *secunda manu*); om. MS (ac). – k. *ceti.*] ed. (“*ceti* (/)"); *ceti* MS (i.e., without a *danḍa*). – l. *yathā*] ed.; *yathā* / MS. – m. *vaiśasam*] MS (cf. *sdug bsngal ba yin te* T; cf. also VNT 136,26: “*vaiśasam*(?)”); *vaiśadyaṃ* ed.

Sources: (1) part of NS 1.1.5.<sup>30</sup> (2) NBh 3,13–14.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> NS 1.1.5: *tatpūrvakaṃ trividham anumānaṃ pūrvavac cheṣavat sāmānyatodṛṣṭam ca*. The vulgate version of the *sūtra* contains *atha* at the beginning; this addition, which is secondary in the textual transmission, has already been attested from the NVTṬ onwards; cf. Muroya 2006: 34–37, § 3.2 (“The *atha* in NS 1.1.5”).

<sup>31</sup> *yat punar anumānaṃ pratyakṣāgamaviruddhaṃ nyāyābhāsaḥ saḥ*. Translation: “Furthermore, an inference that is contradicted by perception

In the Sanskrit text, one important emendation has been made (see note “f”) in addition to some improvements to help the textual understanding (e.g., compounding with *caśabdād* instead of *ca śabdād* in the edition under note “g”). The original text *ca dṛṣṭaṅ* in the manuscript must be corrected to *cādṛṣṭam* (“and not cognized”), by adding an *alpha privativum* with support of the Tibetan translation. In theory, the suggested text, *sāmānyataś cādṛṣṭam*, is supposed to denote the third characteristic of a valid reason, known as, for instance, *vipakṣād vyāvṛttiḥ* or *vipakṣe ’sattvam* (“a reason’s complete absence from the dissimilar instances”).

With regard to this conjecture and the special function of *ca* in the above example, there are several intriguing theoretical issues and historical points, some of which will be addressed in the following.

First of all, the account of the four characteristics of a valid reason is of historical importance. This is especially due to an indisputable indication of a quotation from an earlier, clearly authoritative source (cf. *iti vacanāt*; henceforth “author [B]”). As the following passages marked (ii) and (iii) demonstrate, the advocate of this theory appears to presuppose the *trairūpya* theory, possibly of Dignāga’s. The source in question may attest to one of the earliest attempts to integrate the Buddhist *trairūpya* theory into the Nyāya tradition by use of NS 1.1.5, even though the unknown source mentions four rather than three characteristics. Author (B) of the statement marked (i) seems to be a Naiyāyika and may have discussed various facets of terms employed in NS 1.1.5. Yet the paucity of the transmitted information is not sufficient for us to judge whether he wrote a direct commentary on the NS or whether his gloss is related to Vātsyāyana’s NBh.<sup>32</sup>

In the *apare*-fragment, the phrase *tathā hi* following passage (i) explains this pithy sentence and connects it to the following parts (ii) and (iii). This next portion may again be a fragment/fragment(s), whether literal or a paraphrase, by the same author (B), or it may have been taken from another earlier source which directly eluci-

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and authoritative testimony is pseudo-reasoning.”

<sup>32</sup> On the possible identity of author (B), see also pp. 273–274 below.

dated passage (i). The particle *iti* in portion (iii) concluding with *ceti* can be variously interpreted, for instance, as a quotation marker for the preceding passage(s), or as the conclusion of the explanation of *catūrūpa*. The latter could be the case if the passage *atra catūrūpo hetur iṣṭaḥ* (without any marking above) stemmed from the same author as part(s) (ii) and/or (iii). In this case, it would be probable that passages (ii) and (iii) are an uninterrupted text.

If one assumes that author (B) of passage (i) is identical to the author of passages (ii) and (iii), the terminological shift from *caturlakṣaṇa* in (i) to *catūrūpa* inserted between (ii) and (iii) would be conspicuous, given the contextual proximity. This shift rather raises a question about the author of the passage *atra catūrūpo hetur iṣṭaḥ* and its relation to part (i) as well as to parts (ii)–(iii). A further question is whether the author of the passage *atra catūrūpo hetur iṣṭaḥ* is identical with the author of (ii) and (iii).

A similar theory found in the NV contains passages (ii) and (iii), testifying to the expression *caturlakṣaṇa* (cf. pp. 269–270 below), but not *catūrūpa*. If Uddyotakara silently quoted from a common source which commentator (A) used, it could be assumed that passages (ii) and (iii) are an elaboration that also belongs to author (B).<sup>33</sup> This implies that the passage *atra catūrūpo hetur iṣṭaḥ* was an editorial insertion by commentator (A) to link passages (ii) and (iii). However, this evaluation of the mutual relationship between passages (i) to (iii) must be left open for further discussion.

<sup>33</sup> This assumption could be disproved by a similar idea found in the NM, in which *sāmānyato 'dṛṣṭam* with the inclusion of *nañ* (cf. *akāraprasleṣa*) is explained as fulfilling the third condition. The fragment allegedly “cited” in the NM from an earlier source makes no mention of the function of *ca*, which is supposed to indicate the fourth characteristic. The idea presented in the source is criticized by Jayanta as insufficiently demonstrating Akṣapāda’s “dexterity” (*sūtrakārasya kauśalam*; cf. NM I 333,15) and, furthermore, as incapable of excluding the two pseudo-reasons *kālātyayāpadiṣṭa* and *prakaraṇasama* because they do not subscribe to the theory of the fivefold characterization (*pañcalakṣaṇa*) of a valid reason as taught by the Nyāya system (cf. NM I 333,16–17); cf. Oberhammer 1962: 96–97. See also nn. 34 and 47 below.

What is unique to the theory linked to author (B) is how he interprets the third type of inference, *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa*, as adduced in NS 1.1.5. For him, *sāmānyato 'dṛṣṭam* (“[a reason that is] not cognized universally [in dissimilar instances]”) is equivalent to the third characteristic (\**vipakṣe 'sattvam*), an interpretation which is obtained by affixing a negation to *dṛṣṭam*. Using the exegetical method of applying the “coalescence of the vowel *a*” (cf. *akāraprasāṣa*<sup>34</sup>) in order

<sup>34</sup> Cf. NM I 333,8–9: *sāmānyatodṛṣṭam ity anena vipakṣād vyāvṛttam liṅgam ucyate. katham. akāraprasāṣāt sāmānyato 'dṛṣṭam iti*. Translation: “By this [word] *sāmānyatodṛṣṭam* it is stated that an inferential sign is excluded from the dissimilar instances. How [can this be stated by this word]? By [applying] the coalescence of the vowel *a*, [namely,] as *sāmānyato 'dṛṣṭam*.” On the term *akāraprasāṣa*, which is found in the same context, see Bhaṭṭa Vāgīśvara’s (ca. 10<sup>th</sup> c.) NTD 4,13–14: *tad evam avadhāraṇākāraprasāṣābhyām hetutrayaparatvena padatrayam yojanīyam*. Translation: “Therefore, in this manner, the three words [i.e., *pūrvavat*, *śeṣavat* and *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* adduced in the *sūtra*] are to be used as focused on the three [conditions] of a valid reason on the basis of [the word denoting] limitation [i.e., *eva*] and the coalescence of the vowel *a*.” In this passage, Vāgīśvara offers two ways to interpret *trividha* as justified in the framework of the *trairūpya* theory, first in combination with Uddyotakara’s *kevalānvayin*, *kevalavyatirekin* and *anvayavyatirekin* (NTD 4,2–9), and then with the three kinds of logical reasons or inference adduced in the *sūtra*, i.e., *pūrvavat*, *śeṣavat* and *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa*, which are coordinated with *anvayin*, *vyatirekin* and *anvayavyatirekin*, respectively (NTD 4,9–13). The first interpretation is based on Uddyotakara’s theory, but incorporates the explicit functions of *eva* (cf. *avadhāraṇa* “limitation”). Vāgīśvara’s usage of *akāraprasāṣa*, though different from Uddyotakara’s and Jayanta’s, is found in the second interpretation, which, as such, is not known in extant Nyāya works of the early medieval period; on Viśvanātha Pañcānana’s (ca. 17<sup>th</sup> c.) interpretation, which is similar to Vāgīśvara’s version, see Okazaki 2005: 143, n. 47. For the use of the term *akāraprasāṣa*, see also SVR 528,3 (part of the passage parallel to the NM); cf. Okazaki 2005: 143, n. 47.

Interestingly, both the *apare* in the NM and Bhaṭṭa Vāgīśvara confine themselves to interpreting *trividha* in the sense of its fulfilling the threefold characteristics of a valid reason, in contrast to other Naiyāyikas’ theory of fourfold or fivefold conditions, as found in the VNT, NV, NBhūṣ and NVT. Cf. also NM I 333,11–12: *itthaṃ trirūpaṃ liṅgam ebhiḥ śabdair uktaṃ bhavati*.

to insert an *alpha privativum* between *sāmānyataḥ* and *dr̥ṣṭam*, author (B) provides the term in question with a different meaning than *sāmānyatodr̥ṣṭa* (“[inference as] cognition with regard to a general feature”).

Similarly, as mentioned above, the interpretation of the particle *ca* at the end of the passage in NS 1.1.5 enables Nyāya logicians to elaborately excavate or resurrect the theory of the triple characterization (*trairūpya*) in NS 1.1.5. This interpretation may already have been programmed in the initial assertion of a valid reason’s fourfold characteristic (*caturlakṣaṇa*), and thus possibly be ascribed to author (B). The connective particle (cf. *caśabda*) is then understood to point to an invisible element outside the written text.<sup>35</sup> This element is the “non-contradiction” (*aviruddha*) of a valid reason, which author (B) counts as the fourth characteristic.

The expression “contradiction with perception, authoritative testimony or both” (*pratyakṣāgamavirodha*, or *viruddha*), logically opposed to *aviruddha*, may have been introduced by commentator (A) to whom Śāntarakṣita refers directly in the VNT. The fact that *pratyakṣāgamaviruddha* is not found in parts (i), (ii) and (iii) related to *caturlakṣaṇa*, but instead before and after these parts, may indicate that commentator (A) is the author of the expression *pratyakṣāgamaviruddha*. This more elaborate terminology, providing a clear limitation to relevant means of cognition, points to a more advanced stage of theoretical development in the line of the NBh. By contrast, the range of related epistemic proof methods for invalidating a logical reason is left open by the simpler and more equivocal *aviruddha*.

It is plausible that the compositional arrangement of the theoretical elements in the *apare*-fragment is unique to commentator (A). This anonymous scholar skillfully weaves the theory of the fourfold characterization of a valid reason into the explanation of the

<sup>35</sup> For the use of the expression *caśabdāt* in similar contexts, see also NV 43,16 (cf. 268–272 below) and NBhūṣ 191,25. On Vācaspati’s interpretation of Uddyotakara’s usage, see n. 41 below.

“time-lapsed” pseudo-reason, adapting it to reinforce the new interpretation of *kālātīta*. The source for this adaptation is apparently Vātsyāyana’s theory (*bhāṣyavacana*) of “fallacious argumentation” or “pseudo-reasoning” (*nyāyābhāsa*) (cf. note [2] on “Sources” on p. 261), which is quoted immediately after part (iii).<sup>36</sup> When considering the relationship between commentator (A) and Uddyotakara, it is interesting to observe that the theoretical interaction between *aviruddha* and *kālātīta*, as well as the conformity between *kālātīta* and *pratyakṣāgamavirodha/viruddha*, is not mentioned in Uddyotakara’s commentary at all (cf. section 2.2 above). There, the interpretation of Vātsyāyana’s *nyāyābhāsa* is discernibly detailed. Uddyotakara examines altogether four contradicting cases, seeking to conform to the Naiyāyika standard of the four means of correct knowledge. However, he does not mention the third case of commentator (A), the contradiction with both perception and scripture (*ubhayaviruddha*).<sup>37</sup> Might they have been ignorant of each other?

<sup>36</sup> Jayanta seems to be aware of the connection between *nyāyābhāsa* and the fourth condition (*abādhitatva*), and refers to this passage in the NBh when rejecting the *anumānabādhā* (“invalidation by inference”); cf. NM I 293,16–18; cf. also Ono 2002: 11, where Uddyotakara’s “ambivalent” treatment of *anumānaviruddha* and its interpretation by later commentators is also discussed; cf. also Okazaki 2005: 215–217, nn. 239 and 244, as well as 464–465 on the relation of *nyāyābhāsa* to Dignāga’s theory of *pakṣābhāsa*. For a historical overview of *pakṣābhāsa*, see Inami 1991.

<sup>37</sup> How this type of contradiction is concretely employed in the disproof is not clear from the example mentioned. The inference adduced by commentator (A) appears to represent the Buddhist position in the famous controversy about eye-rays (*raśmi*) that was generally conducted between Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika proponents and Buddhist philosophers; cf. Hattori 1968: 124–126, n. 3.22 and Preisendanz 1989. Striking in the fragment in question is that the logical formulation adduced in the VNT is found closely phrased, though not exactly the same, in Bhāviveka’s *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* 3.56ab: *na cakṣū raśmivad yuktam akṣatvād itarākṣavat* †; cf. Ejima 1980: 282 for its edition; on the verse, see Preisendanz 1994: II/473. On the proof by Nyāya besides NS 3.1.34 (*raśmyarthasannikarṣaviśeṣāt tadgrahaṇam* = NS \*3.1.30 in Preisendanz 1994: I/102), see, e.g., NV 34,1–2 (on NS 1.1.4): *prāpyakāri cakṣur indriyatvād ghrāṇādivat, ghrāṇādīndriyaṃ prāpyakāri*

As a theoretical contribution, most probably to be attributed to commentator (A), we may consider the paraphrase of Vātsyāyana's *apadiśyamāna* and *apadiṣṭa* with the help of the expressions *pīḍyamāna*, *bādhyate* and *viruddha*. In particular, the semantic identification of *apadiś-* (“indicate”) with *bādh-* (“obstruct, invalidate”) is of significance in historical terms. The emergence of the concept of *bādh-* may be considered a lost forerunner for the later Naiyāyika theory of the fivefold characterization (*pañcalakṣaṇa*) of a valid reason.<sup>38</sup> In addition to depending on the *trairūpya* theory, the later system, apparently at least from Bhaṭṭa Jayanta (9<sup>th</sup> c.) onwards, also presupposes *asatpratipakṣa* (“[a reason for which] a counterargument is absent”) and *abādhitaviśayatva* (“[a reason whose] object [i.e., the property to be proved] is not invalidated [by a means of valid cognition]”).<sup>39</sup> This theory is reflected in the full-fledged version of five types of pseudo-reasons, in which *asatpratipakṣa* and *abādhitaviśayatva* are closely associated with *prakaraṇasama* and *kālātīta*, respectively. Inasmuch as the expression *aviruddha* in passage (iii) stands in a direct relationship to *pratyakṣāgamaviruddha*, the connection of these two elements by commentator (A) may have formed a preliminary stage in the terminological transformation of *aviruddha*/*\*abādhita* into *abādhitaviśayatva*.

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*dr̥ṣṭam, tathā ca cakṣuḥ, tasmāt prāpyakārīti.*

<sup>38</sup> With regard to other forerunners, mention should be made of the unparalleled role of Īśvarasena, a commentator on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, who is known for his theory of the sixfold characterization of a valid reason (*ṣaḍlakṣaṇa*), which is criticized by Dharmakīrti in the HB. The fourth of the six criteria for a valid reason advocated by Dharmakīrti's teacher is *abādhitaviśayatva*, to the effect that the reason's “object, the *probandum*, must not have been cancelled by perception”; cf. Steinkellner 1966: 84 and 1967: 193, n. 1 and 194, n. 6. Cf. Steinkellner 1967: 192–213 for his detailed elucidation on the relevant passages in the HB.

<sup>39</sup> See, e.g., NM I 283,3–5: *kāni punaḥ pañcalakṣaṇāni. pakṣadharmatvam, sapakṣe sattvam<sup>a</sup>, vipakṣād vyāvṛtīḥ, abādhitaviśayatvam, asatpratipakṣatvam ceti.* [v.l.: <sup>a</sup> *sapakṣe sattvam*] “ka” of ed.; *sapakṣadharmatvam* ed.] On this passage, see Steinkellner 1967: 194, n. 6, Okazaki 2005: 143, n. 47, and Watanabe 2013: 14.

### 3.2. A parallel fragment in the *Nyāyavārttika*

As briefly mentioned above, it is noteworthy that the VNT passages marked with (i), (ii) and (iii) in the *apare*-fragment are also found in the NV with a remarkably high degree of literal agreement. The passages that show such agreement are marked with (iv), (v), and (vi) below.

NV 43,13–16 = NV (C) 145,4–146,7 on NS 1.1.5 (J1 f. 14v4–5; J2 f. 76v5–6): atha vā trividham iti <sup>(iv)</sup>pūrvavat cheṣavat sāmānyato 'dṛṣṭam ceti<sup>(iv)</sup>. pūrvaṃ sādhyam, tad vyāptyā yasyāsti<sup>a</sup> tat pūrvavat. sādhyasajātīyaḥ<sup>b</sup> śeṣaḥ, sa yasyāsti tac cheṣavat. <sup>(v)</sup>pūrvavan nāma sādhyavyāpakam. śeṣavad iti tatsamāne<sup>c</sup> 'sti. sāmānyataś cādṛṣṭam. caśabdāt pratyakṣāgamāvīruddham ceti<sup>(v)</sup>. evaṃ pañcalakṣaṇaṃ <sup>(vi)</sup>caturlakṣaṇam<sup>d,(vi)</sup> anumānam iti.<sup>40</sup>

v.l.: a. *yasyāsti*] J1, J2; *yasyāstīti* ed., C. – b. *°sajātīyaḥ*] ed., J1, J2; *°tājājīyaḥ* C, NVTT. – c. *tatsamāne*] ed., J1, J2; *samāne* C. – d. *pañcalakṣaṇaṃ caturlakṣaṇaṃ*] J1, J2; *caturlakṣaṇaṃ pañcalakṣaṇaṃ* ed., C.

<sup>40</sup> Translation: “Or [the term] ‘three kinds’ [mentioned in the *sūtra*] refers to [the three kinds of inferences such as] ‘having the former (*pūrvavat*),’ ‘having the rest’ (*śeṣavat*), and ‘cognition with regard to a common feature’ (*sāmānyatodṛṣṭa*). The ‘former’ means what is to be proved; that to which this [i.e., what is to be proved] pertains pervasively (*vyāptyā*) is ‘having the former.’ The ‘rest’ means that which is of the same kind as what is to be proved; that to which this [i.e., the ‘rest’ or the similar instances] pertains is ‘having the rest.’ An [inferential mark] ‘having the former’ is that which pervades what is to be proved. An [inferential mark] ‘having the rest’ is that which is present in the [instances] similar to this [i.e., what is to be proved]. And [the third inferential mark is the one that is] not cognized universally [in the dissimilar instances]. On the basis of the word ‘and’ [mentioned in the *sūtra*, an inferential mark is to be] not obstructed by perception and authoritative testimony. In this manner, some inferences have five characteristics [concerning its inferential mark and others have] four characteristics.” For other translations, see Jha 1984: I/164 and Okazaki 2005: 142–143.



Passage (iv) corresponds to passage (ii), the partial quotation from NS 1.1.5. Passage (v) corresponds to passage (iii), i.e., *pūrvavan nāma sādhye vyāpakam. śeṣavad iti tatsamāne 'sti. sāmānyataś cādr̥ṣtam. caśabdād aviruddhaṃ ceti*. Finally, passage (vi) corresponds to passage (i), i.e., *caturlakṣaṇo hetuḥ*. The authors of both texts, author (B) and Uddyotakara, interpret NS 1.1.5 in terms of the *trairūpya* theory by obtaining the vowel *a* (*nañ*) to bring about the third condition in *sāmānyato 'dr̥ṣtam*. However, there are also notable differences. First, the commentarial association is different. In NS 1.1.5, Uddyotakara is offering an alternative interpretation of *trividham* (“threefold”) connected with the partial quotation from NS 1.1.5. In contrast, in the VNT fragment, author (B) directly relates this quotation to the fourfold characterization. Moreover, commentator (A) applies the same theory to the interpretation of the fourth pseudo-reason, but without mentioning the role of *trividha*.

Secondly, Uddyotakara provides an interesting variant. In the discussion of NS 1.1.5, he in effect expands threefoldness to fourfoldness and/or fivefoldness in the concluding passage (vi), by explaining the function of the particle *ca* in this *sūtra*. By relying on almost the same passage as the one marked (v), Uddyotakara skillfully presents an additional condition for a good reason, one more than those found in the *apare*-fragment (passage [iii]), and offers two sets of characteristics, five (*pañcalakṣaṇa*) and four (*caturlakṣaṇa*) in number. His mention of *pañcalakṣaṇa* can be regarded as making quite a monumental move in view of later developments (cf. p. 267 above), considering that *pañcalakṣaṇa* was not mentioned by either commentator (A) or author (B) in the fragment in the VNT. However, if *pratyakṣāgamāviruddha* is counted exclusively as the fourth characteristic (and not as the fourth and fifth combined), what is meant by the fifth characteristic is unclear since there is no specification mentioned.<sup>41</sup> According to later Naiyāyikas, the need for

<sup>41</sup> Irrespective of Uddyotakara's intention behind the fourth and fifth characteristics (cf. nn. 44 and 46), Vācaspati, who obviously tries to harmonize this with the later system, interprets Uddyotakara's use of *caśabda* as implicitly indicating that (*sūcīta*) *asatpratīpakṣatva* is the fifth, possibly presup-

Uddyotakara to have two models is validated by a well-known peculiarity of his logical theory: the distinction of reason or inference into three kinds, that is, into *anvayavyatirekin*, *kevalānvayin* and *kevalavyatirekin*. In the case of the latter two, where dissimilar or similar instances are respectively absent, the third (\**vīpakṣe 'sattvam*) and second (\**sapakṣe sattvam*) out of the three characteristics do, respectively, not apply.<sup>42</sup>

posing that *pratyakṣāgamāvīruddha*, the equivalent of *abādhitaviśayatva*, should be attributed to the fourth. At the same time, Vācaspati appears to point out a nuanced difference between Uddyotakara's interpretation of *caśabda* and that of the *sūtra*, when he states that the word *ca* in the *sūtra* brings together (*samuccita*) the two characteristics (*rūpadvaya*), namely, *abādhitaviśayatva* and *asatpratipakṣatva*. Cf. NVTṬ 142,21–22: *vārttike caśabdenāsatpratipakṣatvam api sūcitam. tena sūtrasthena caśabdenā-bādhitaviśayatvam asatpratipakṣatvam api rūpadvayaṃ samuccitam ity uktam bhavati*. Cf. nn. 35 and 42.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. NVTṬ 142,23–143,3: *etad uktam bhavati. abādhitaviśayaṃ asatpratipakṣam pūrvavad iti ca dhruvaṃ kṛtvā śeṣavad ity ekā vidhā, sāmānyato 'dṛṣṭam iti dvitīyā, śeṣavat sāmānyato 'dṛṣṭam\* ceti tṛtīyā. tad evaṃ trividham anumānam. tatra caturlakṣaṇaṃ dvayam, ekam pañcalakṣaṇam iti; v.l.: \* 'dṛṣṭam] em.; dṛṣṭam ed. (Translation: “The following is meant. Making constantly [required such three conditions as] ‘the non-sublation of the object [i.e., probandum],’ ‘the absence of counterargument,’ and ‘having the predecessor [i.e., thesis],’ the first kind [of inference, i.e., *kevalānvayin*] is [to fulfill the condition] ‘having the remnant [i.e., the similar instances],’ the second [kind, i.e., *kevalavyatirekin*] is [to fulfill the condition] ‘the universal non-cognition [in the dissimilar instances],’ and the third [kind, i.e., *anvayavyatirekin*] is [to fulfill the two conditions, namely,] ‘having the remnant [i.e., the similar instances]’ and ‘the universal non-cognition [in the dissimilar instances].’ Therefore, in this manner, inference is [said to be] of three kinds. Of them, two kinds [of inference, i.e., *kevalānvayin* and *kevalavyatirekin*] must [fulfill] four characteristics and one [kind of inference, i.e., *anvayavyatirekin*, must fulfill] five characteristics.”) Giving a much more concise account than Vācaspati, Bhāsarvajña explains the variation with “the dropping of either of the two conditions” (*anyataralopa*), i.e., *śeṣavat* and *sāmānyato 'dṛṣṭa*, without explicit reference to the term *caturlakṣaṇa*; cf. NBhūṣ 191,26–27: *evaṃ ca pañcarūpaliṅgam uktam bhavati. kevalavyatirekikevalānvayinor lakṣaṇaṃ śeṣavatsāmānyato'dṛṣṭapadayor anyataralopena vyākhyeyam.**

Furthermore, Uddyotakara's use of the term *pratyakṣāgamāvīruddha* in passage (v) is striking. In passage (iii) of the VNT fragment, author (B), or another earlier author, employs the much shorter and thus more succinct term *aviruddha* as the fourth characteristic. Uddyotakara's more specific term introduces a theoretical restriction. What kind of theoretical presupposition enabled Uddyotakara to make this modification? If passage (iii) is a real fragment from an earlier source which commentator (A) adopts, the question is whether Uddyotakara's idea of *pratyakṣāgamāvīruddha* was formed, and applied to the interpretation of NS 1.1.5, without his knowledge of that earlier commentary. But considering the terminological proximity, it seems more plausible to presume that Uddyotakara drew upon the idea of commentator (A).

The chronological and theoretical relationship between Uddyotakara's theory and the fragment of commentator (A) in the VNT remains yet to be ascertained after a fuller evaluation of further materials. Nevertheless, it seems safe to presume that commentator (A) for his part was unaware of Uddyotakara's reference to the fivefold characteristics (*pañcalakṣaṇa*) as well as to passage (v). The evidence rather indicates that these two NBh commentators had recourse to a common source, a source that was the Naiyāyikas' earliest application of the Buddhist *trairūpya* theory in the post-Dignāga period. If we assume that commentator (A) and Uddyotakara did not know each other, this might help to explain Uddyotakara's silence about the theoretical relationship of *kālātīta* to *aviruddha*

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Although Śāntarakṣita does not mention Uddyotakara's theory directly, he may have been aware of it when referring to an opinion rejecting the *dvilakṣaṇa*, *caturlakṣaṇa* and *pañcalakṣaṇa* of a valid reason; cf. VNT 141,29. For an explanation of the two models characterizing a valid reason, see Okazaki 2005: 143, n. 47, which also includes parallel material found in Jain literature; cf. Vādirājasūri's (ca. 11<sup>th</sup> c.) NViVi 203,5–204,11 or 203,6–12 (beginning with *vārttikakāreṇa*) and Vālidevasūri's (ca. 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> c.) SVR 527,23–528,19. Cf. also Steinkellner 1967: 192, referring to Durvekamiśra's mention of *pañcalakṣaṇa* and *caturlakṣaṇa* under the heading *adhunātānāḥ* (rectified from *adhunatanāḥ* in the edition), whom Steinkellner identifies as Bhāsarvajña; cf. HBTĀ 402,24–26.

or *abādhitaviṣayatva*. However, relying merely on the argument of silence, particularly in view of Uddyotakara's usage of the expression *pratyakṣāgamāvīruddha* instead of *avīruddha*, might be challenged on the ground of his otherwise elaborate integration of ideas by earlier Naiyāyikas into his writings. Any investigation of Uddyotakara's indebtedness to earlier and contemporary Naiyāyikas will benefit from a detailed examination of other extant philosophical fragments including the materials preserved in the VNT.

Let us now, as a final step, turn to the analyses of modern scholars to see how the implications of the passage of the NV have been interpreted in more recent times. Although they have not taken Śāntarakṣita's quotation into account, the divergences in their interpretations is worthy of being mentioned and compared, since the present article does not cover all of the relevant aspects related to the historical significance of the passage in the NV. In addition to Steinkellner 1967,<sup>43</sup> Preisendanz 1994,<sup>44</sup> Watanabe 2005,<sup>45</sup> and Oka-

<sup>43</sup> Steinkellner 1967: 194, n. 6 (original in German): "It [i.e., *abādhitaviṣayatva*; YM], as a characteristic, is attested on the side of the Nyāya. <...> Vācaspatimiśra's interpretation of the *Nyāyavārttika* (NVT p. 146, 17–21) must be considered with caution, but nevertheless allows, in my opinion, to ascertain at least that our characteristic is included in the five characteristics of the reason that are adduced by Uddyotakara."

<sup>44</sup> Preisendanz 1994: II/323, n. 88 (original in German): "In order to demarcate the mentioned two kinds of pseudo-inferences [*anumānābhāsa* as derived from *nyāyābhāsa*; YM] from valid inferences, Uddyotakara interprets a further characteristic of the valid reason in [NS; YM] I.1.5 (as the fourth, or the fourth and fifth?), namely, *pratyakṣāgamāvīruddha*. To my knowledge, however, a corresponding pseudo-reason has not yet been mentioned in the *Nyāyavārttika*." Cf. n. 41 above.

<sup>45</sup> Watanabe 2005: 18 (original in Japanese): "The theory presented by 'others' (*apare*) in the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* corresponds to that of each relevant passage found in the *Nyāyavārttika*, *Nyāyavārttika-Tātparyāṭikā* and *Nyāyamañjarī*. <...> The theory by 'others' (*apare*) in the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* is, in terminology and content, absolutely identical with the theory by 'someone' (*kaścit*) in the *Nyāyamañjarī*." On the relationship between the fragment in the NM and the NBhūṣ, see n. 47 below.

zaki 2005,<sup>46</sup> the observations made by Oberhammer (1962) are quite relevant in the present examination:

Already from the episodic nature of Uddyotakara's interpretation of this Sūtra it is clear that it [i.e., the relevant passage; YM] certainly could not come from his pen. <...> Uddyotakara takes it out of its context and employs it solely to enrich his list of possible interpretations of the word *trividham*. <...> Further, in the development of the awareness of the logical problems, the *pañcalakṣaṇahetuḥ* becomes important in the reaction against Dignāga, so that it would be difficult to imagine that a Nyāya author after Uddyotakara would return from the *pañcalakṣaṇahetuḥ* again to the old *trilakṣaṇahetuḥ* of Dignāga. It is thus clear that Source 1b [= a passage in the NM parallel to the NV; YM] is older than Uddyotakara, and thus we come to know of another Nyāya work before Uddyotakara. We can with some probability say that this was a subcommentary to Pakṣilasvāmin's *Nyāyabhāṣyam*, <...>.<sup>47</sup>

In Uddyotakara's "episodic" demonstration in terms of *pañcalakṣaṇa*, Oberhammer recognizes the step of enriching the "list of possible interpretations of the word *trividham*," as is noted by Okazaki as well. Through a comparison of the common theory found in the NM, Oberhammer argues, in particular, that this enrichment resorts to a source that "is older than Uddyotakara" and is "quoted from another Nyāya work before Uddyotakara." He concludes that

<sup>46</sup> Okazaki 2005: 142–143, nn. 45 and 47 (original in Japanese): "'Further (*atha vā*)' is, in general, often used [by Uddyotakara; YM] to introduce the next theory, but here it may mean an explanation from another point of view. <...> In Nyāya works after Uddyotakara, all adduce 'absence of an objection' (*asatpratipakṣatva*) and 'the fact of the object being not obstructed' (*abādhitaviṣayatva*) as the remaining two characteristics in addition to the three characteristics of a valid reason. There is considerable doubt about whether these two are equal to the 'non-contradiction with perception' (*pratyakṣāviruddha*) and 'non-contradiction with scripture' (*āgamāviruddha*), as Uddyotakara advocates." Cf. n. 41 above.

<sup>47</sup> Oberhammer 1962: 97.

one “can with some probability say that this was a subcommentary on Pakṣilasvāmin’s *Nyāyabhāṣyam*.”<sup>48</sup> Oberhammer’s assessment can now be corroborated by the *apare*-fragment in the VNT, but with certain reservations: the character of the work by author (B) is at present unknown, and Oberhammer’s main criterion for relativizing Uddyotakara’s theoretical demonstration was the intricate and probably composite nature of Jayanta’s description of the theory at issue, which does not fully correspond to the theory by author (B) or commentator (A) in the VNT.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> By calling this “a subcommentary,” Oberhammer (1962: e.g., 93) appears to hold that “Source 1b” (NM I 332,10–333,14 = NM [KSS] I 115,15–30 as used by Oberhammer), supposedly utilized by Jayanta, comprises a unified text or a commentarial work on the NBh as “introduced by the words *anye punaḥ*” (Oberhammer 1962: 93). Oberhammer’s division suggests that the account of *anye* is summarized at the end by Jayanta as the theory ascribed to *kaścit*: NM I 333,14 = NM [KSS] I 115,15: *tad evaṃ lakṣaṇe kaścit sarvaṃ sūtram ayojayat* / (“Therefore some [teacher as mentioned above] applied all [the words in the] *sūtra* (NS 1.1.5) to the definition [of inference] in this manner.”). As pointed out by Oberhammer (1962: 96), the main idea of *anye* / *kaścit* is to let *trividha* function as part of the *anumāna*-definition in order to distinguish inference from analogy (*upamāna*) and other things, and thereby to avoid the over-extension of the definition (*ativyāpti*); cf. NM I 332,10–11: *anye punar upamānādyativyāptivyudāsāya trividhagrahaṇaṃ vyākhyātavantaḥ*. Their unique interpretation also lies in the rendering of the term *trividha* in two ways, first in the sense of three characteristics (*trirūpa*) of inferential marks (*liṅga*), and secondly, figuratively in the sense of the three kinds of cognitions based on three kinds of inferential marks, although each kind of cognition is not concretized; cf. NM I 332,13–15: *liṅgaṃ <...> pakṣadharmādirūpatrayayogād vā trirūpaṃ trividham ucyate, liṅge ca trividhe sati tadālbanaṃ jñānam upacārāt trividham abhidhīyate*. For another analysis beyond the relationship between the relevant passages in the NBhūṣ (191,13–15 with *anye* and 191,20–27 with *apare*), see Watanabe 2006: 8–10, 20 (Table), and 28, n. 39. See also nn. 33 and 34 above.

<sup>49</sup> On an anomaly in Jayanta’s description, see n. 33 above.

#### 4. Conclusion

In the present article, four cases have been examined as part of a text-critical investigation into the relationship between the so-called Kundeling manuscript of the VNT, the canonical Tibetan translation of the VNT, and Dharmakīrti's source text. One focus of this brief investigation has also been to evaluate how the Tibetan translation of the VNT can be applied in textual criticism of the VNT. As noted, the translation is quite free and does not consistently provide a literal rendering of the Sanskrit as we know it. If applied in editing the VNT at all, it has been used to a limited extent, as is seen in the conspicuously small number of references to it, as for example, in Much's critical edition of the VN.

In the text-critical analysis of the VNT, the present examination has been based on comparing various independent testimonies quoted by Śāntarakṣita. In the first out of the altogether four cases that we discussed (cf. section 1), it has been shown that the text of Sāṅkṛtyāyana's transcript of the VN can be corrected by drawing on the Sanskrit manuscript of the VNT. The second case, discussed in section 2.1, demonstrates that Śāntarakṣita quotes Nyāya sources almost verbatim, at least if it is evaluated in relation to the textual tradition of the NBh. Śāntarakṣita's rigor in his quotation is in this particular case in sharp contrast to Jinendrabuddhi, who modifies the text relatively freely. As for the third case, which involves a quotation from the NV (cf. section 2.2), I have suggested an emendation that goes against the textual evidence found in both the VNT and its Tibetan translation. In the fourth and final case (cf. section 3), which discusses Śāntarakṣita's reference to a lost Nyāya work, we have encountered an instance of an emendation being needed in the Sanskrit manuscript of the VNT based on the Tibetan translation and other parallel materials. Individual cases of relatively minor textual disagreement between the witnesses in question have been left open. The scholarly and literary style of the relevant authors of these

quotations and the references to them would have to be examined in more detail before any generalizations can be made.<sup>50</sup>

Generally speaking, it has turned out that any agreement between the VNT's Sanskrit manuscript and the Tibetan translation allows for no definitive conclusions about the text's course of transmission. Even those parts of the Tibetan translation that deviate from the Sanskrit manuscript need to be inspected. While the Tibetan translation will continue to serve as an "external support" (Steinkellner 2014), with clearly limited value for any text-critical analysis, detailed comparisons should nonetheless continue to be undertaken.

In the fourth case, since the textual fragment is quite significant historically, we have addressed the relevant aspects of the history of logical theory in greater detail. This examination was prompted by one of Frauwallner's many marginal notes in his exemplar of the VNT. He appears to have identified the fragment (cf. section 3.1), whose original text is now lost, as being by Aviddhakarṇa, a pre-Dharmakīrti Naiyāyika. The quotation shows not only how invaluable the VNT is historically, it has also offered a clue for re-evaluating the background of Uddyotakara's interpretation of NS 1.1.5 and his indebtedness to earlier sources, especially a passage in the NV (cf. section 3.2) that has often been discussed by modern scholars. Due to the overall methodological complexity of examining fragments from lost works, the results of this analysis must remain hypothetical, as a matter of course. Nonetheless, this case study of a single fragment shows that Śāntarakṣita's intellectual activity as a Buddhist epistemologist, as presented in the VNT, deserves meticulous analysis and comprehensive study.

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<sup>50</sup> Regarding Kamalaśīla's manner of quoting from the NV in his *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā*, one should consult the systematic and comprehensive investigation in Steinkellner 1963.



## Appendix: English and Tibetan translations of the analyzed passages

### Passage 1

(We answer in the following way with regard to this [criticism].) [When] a part of the meaning/object of the [logical reason] being indicated is connected with the lapse of time, it is called the time-lapsed [pseudo-reason], inasmuch as [it is] “indicated [in connection] with the lapse of time.” An illustration [of this is as follows]: “Sound is eternal, because it is manifested by conjunction, like the color [of a lamp].” The color [of a pot] that persistently exists before and after its manifestation is manifested by the conjunction of a lamp and the pot. Similarly, sound, persistently existing, is manifested by the conjunction of a drum and a stick or the conjunction of a piece of wood and an axe. Therefore sound is eternal because [it is] manifested by conjunction. The [reason adduced here] is an incorrect reason due to the indication [in connection] with the lapse of time. The manifestation of a color that is to be manifested does not exceed the time of conjunction that makes [it] manifest. When there is a conjunction [of a pot] with a lamp, the color [of the pot] is cognized. When the conjunction [of the lamp and the pot] has disappeared, the color is not cognized [any more]. On the contrary, [even] when the conjunction of a piece of wood and an ax has disappeared, one who is at a distance hears the sound, [namely, still] at the time of [their] disjunction. [To put it another way,] this manifestation [of sound], here, goes beyond the time of conjunction [of the piece of wood and the ax]. Therefore the [manifestation of sound] is not based on the conjunction. For the absence of an effect is due to the absence of a cause.

VNT (T), D145a6–145b3, P176a6–176b2: (*de la brjod par bya'o //*)  
*dus gzhan dang ldan pa gang gi don gyi phyogs gcig bstan pas ma*  
*lus pa la rigs pa bstan pa [D; P omits bstan pas ... bstan pa] ni dus*  
*'das pa zhes bshad do // dper na sgra ni rtag ste / 'brel pa gsal ba'i*  
*gzugs bzhin no // [P; // de D] snga ma dang phyi mar gsal ba rnam*  
*par gnas pa'i [P; pa la brjod par bya'o // dus gzhan dang ldan pa D]*  
*gzung 'dzin bum pa 'brel pa las gsal bar 'gyur ro // de bzhin du rnga*

*bo che la sgra gnas pa [D; om. P] dbyug pa la 'brel pa yin pa dang / shing sta re dang 'brel pa las gsal bar [P; par D] 'gyur ro // de'i phyir sgra rtag pa yin te / 'brel pas gsal ba'i phyir ro // gtan tshigs 'di ni dus gzhan bstan pa'i phyir 'brel pas gsal ba'i dus ni gsal bar bya ba'i [P; bya'i D] ngo bo gzhan gsal ba ni ma yin te / sgron ma dang 'brel pa'i ngo bo 'dzin par 'gyur gyi / 'brel pas ngo bo ldog par 'gyur ba 'am / sta re dang 'brel pas shing gi ngo bo ldog par 'gyur ba ni med do // rnga brdungs pa'i [D; brdung ba'i P] dus dang 'brel pa'i [P; ba'i D] sgra ring po na gnas pa yang sgra gsal bar thos par 'gyur ro // dus dang 'brel pa'i gzhan yin no zhes bya ba'i 'brel pa'i rgyu mtshan ma yin te / rgyu med pa'i 'bras bu med pa bzhin no zhe na /*

## Passage 2

By the way, Pakṣila states [in the following way]: [When] a part of the meaning/object of the [logical reason] being indicated is connected with the lapse of time, it is [the pseudo-reason called] “indicated [in connection] with the lapse of time.” [There is a logical formula] like “sound is eternal, because it is manifested by conjunction, like the color [of a lamp].” What persistently exists before and after the manifestation is nothing but eternal. This [reason adduced here] is an incorrect reason due to the indication [in connection] with the lapse of time. For the color and other [things] that are to be manifested are cognized whenever [these are] connected with a lamp that makes [them] manifest, [and their cognition] does not exceed [the time of conjunction] (or, reading *nāīte*: [and] not [cognized] when [that which makes them manifest has] gone away). Furthermore, if sound were to be manifested by conjunction, it would be apprehended only in the presence of that which makes [it] manifest, like color, [and] not [known] when exceeding this [i.e., the time of the presence of that which makes it manifest]. But, even when the conjunction of a piece of wood and an ax as that which makes [a sound] manifest has gone beyond, the sound is cognized [still] at the time of [their] disjunction by those who are at a distance. And hence, because the manifestation [of the sound] goes beyond the time of conjunction [of the piece of wood and the ax], the [manifestation] is not based on con-

junction. Hence this is a pseudo-reason. [Jinendrabuddhi:] This [reason presented] here is not different from the [pseudo-reason called] “equal to what is to be proved” (*sādhyasama*), because conjunction is negated as the cause for the manifestation of sound. Therefore this [reason in question] is nothing but “unestablished” (*asiddha*).

PST (T), D209b4–210a1, P238a7–238b4: *phyogs can len* [P; *lan D*] *smra ba / gang gi don phyogs gcig ston bzhin pa'i dus las 'das par sbyar ba / dus las 'das pa ston pa ste / dper na sgra rtag ste / ldan pas mngon par gsal bar bya ba nyid kyi phyir gzugs bzhin zhes pa lta bu ste / sngar dang phyis kyang mngon par gsal ba'i gnas skabs ni rtag pa nyid do // 'di ni gtan tshigs ma yin te / dus las 'das par bstan pa'i phyir ro // gang gi phyir gsal bya gzugs la sogs pa / [D; om. P] gsal bar byed pa 'od dang ldan pa ldan pa yod pa kho na ni 'dzin par 'gyur gyi 'das pa na ni ma yin no // gal te [P; te de D] yang sgra dang ldan pa'i gsal bar bya bar gyur na de gzugs gsal bar byed pa nye ba kho na ni [P; na D] rtogs par 'gyur gyi / de 'das pa na ste gsal bar byed pa 'das pa na ni ma yin no // shing dang sta re ldan pa na ring po nas gnas pa rnam kyis sgra rnam [P; rnam D] par dbye ba dang dus su [D; om. P] nye bar dmigs te / de las kyang mngon par [P; bar D] gsal ba ldan pa'i dus las 'das so zhes pas ldan pa'i rgyu can ma yin no // de'i phyir gtan tshigs ltar snan ba'o zhes pas [P; pas // D] de 'di bsgrub bya dang mtshungs pa las tha dad pa min no // ldan pa sgra mngon bar gsal ba'i rgyu mtshan yin pa bkag pa'i phyir / de'i phyir 'di ma grub pa kho na'o //*

### Passage 3

[Opponent:] Isn't it that this [reason], namely, “because [sound is] manifested by conjunction,” is nothing but inconclusive [and not the time-lapsed reason as you argue]? It is experienced that something, even if it is impermanent, is manifested, like [the color of] a pot. [Naiyāyika:] No, [the reason is not regarded as inconclusive], because persistent existence is what is to be proved by [the logical reason, i.e.,] the property of being manifested by conjunction. We do not claim [as the meaning of the thesis] that sound is eternal, but the meaning of the thesis [on this regard] is that sound persistently

exists. Thus similarly, this reason, “because [sound is] manifested by conjunction,” is not classified as inconclusive [as you argue]. For it is not experienced that something that does not persistently exist is manifested by conjunction. [Śāntarakṣita:] Then, in this manner, precisely the manifestation by conjunction is negated in reference to sound. Thus, this [reason] is not distinct from unestablished [reason].<sup>51</sup>

VNT (T), D145b3–5, P176b3–5: *'o na gtan tshigs 'di ni ma nges pa nyid yin te / mi rtag pa yang 'brel pas gsal bar [D; bas P] mthong ste bum pa bzhin no // 'brel pas gnas skabs kyi gsal ba ma yin te / bsgrub par bya ba yin pa'i phyir ro // mi rtag ste / sgra yin pa'i phyir ro zhes rnam par gnas pa ni mi smra ste / sgra zhes bya ba 'di dam bca' ba'i don yin pa de bzhin du 'brel pas gsal ba'i phyir ro zhes bya ba 'di yang gtan tshigs ma nges pa yin te / 'brel pas gsal bar bya ba [bya ba D; byas pa ma P] mthong ba ni cung zad cig [D; cig kyang P] gnas pa med do // des na rnam par gnas pa 'dis [D; 'di P] 'dir 'brel pa gsal bar byed pa nyid sgra la bkag pas [D; pa P] 'di ma grub pa las ldog par mi 'gyur ro //*

#### Passage 4

[Śāntarakṣita:] However, another [commentator] explains these two *sūtras* differently. [Naiyāyika: The “time-lapsed” reason is] the reason which, [even though it is] indicated at the [appropriate] occasion of [setting forth] the reason, passes by, [namely,] goes away. Why [does it] go away? [Because,] being obsessed by perception, authoritative testimony, or both, this [reason] has gone beyond the time. Therefore it is called a “time-lapsed” [reason]. [Objection:] How, then, is the obstruction by perception and authoritative testimony understood? On the basis of the [authoritative] statement that the logical reason has four characteristics. To wit, in this [*sūtra* 1.1.5],

<sup>51</sup> Okazaki (2005: 439, n. 867) remarks that the identity of the opponent who regards the reason as inconclusive (*anaikāntika*) is not determined. Jinendrabuddhi's criticism is reminiscent of Śāntarakṣita's above refutation; see passage 2; cf. also NVT 302,1–2, referring to the *samyogavyaṅyatva*, reducible to *sādhyasama*.

“having the former, having the rest, cognition with regard to a general feature, and,” the logical reason is intended to have four forms [of conditions to be fulfilled]. (1) [The inferential mark (*liṅga*)] “having the former” is that which is universally extant in what is to be proved. (2) [The mark] “having the rest” is that [mark] which is extant in the [instances] similar to it (what is to be proved). (3) And [the mark is] not cognized with regard to a general feature. On the basis of the word “and” (*ca*), [it is supplemented] that [the mark is] not obstructed. [This fourth mark is] also explained in the *Bhāṣya* in a similar way. Furthermore, an inference that is obstructed by perception and authoritative testimony is a pseudo-inference. In this way, therefore, when [a logical reason] fulfills the three forms [i.e., conditions], that which is sublated by inference and authoritative testimony is [the reason that is] indicated [in connection] with the lapse of time. And this [reason] is divided into three, namely, [reasons] obstructed by perception, obstructed by authoritative testimony, and obstructed by both. [The reason] obstructed by perception is like [the logical formula,] “Fire is not hot, because it is a substance, like water.” [The reason] obstructed by authoritative testimony is like, “Wine should be drunk by a Brahmin, because it is fluid, like milk.” [The reason] obstructed by both is like, “Sight does not have a ray of light, because it is a sense, like the nose and the others.” But this is not, as some say, a contradiction of the thesis, because [the theory about] the contradiction of the thesis is rejected [by us]. [Śāntarakṣita:] This here is the suffering due to the inapprehension of the definition of the triple characterization [of valid logical reasons].

VNT (T), D147a4–147b2, P178a8–178b7: *gtan tshigs gang gtan tshigs kyi dus su dus su 'das pa brjod pa yin no // ci'i phyir dus 'das pa yin zhe na / mngon sum mam lung ngam gnyi ga las [D; la P] 'das pa dang / ma lus pa las 'das pa ni dus 'das pa zhes brjod do // gal te yang mngon sum dang lung dang 'gal ba ci'i phyir zhe na / mtshan nyid rnam pa bzhir bshad pa yin te / 'di ltar snang ma dang ldan pa dang / lhag ma dang ldan pa dang spyir [P; phyir rgol ba D] mthong ba'o zhes gtan tshigs kyi [D; kya P] mtshan nyid bzhi 'dod do // snga ma dang ldan pa dang / spyir mthong ba ni khyab par byed pa'o //*

lhag ma dang ldan pa ni spyi la yod pa'o // spyir mthong ba ni **ma mthong ba**'o // dang gi sgras ni 'gal ba'o // de ltar rnam bshad byed pas brjod pa [D; yod pa P] yin te / gang yang rjes su dpag pa dang mngon sum dang lung dang 'gal ba ni rigs pa ltar snang ba yin no zhe'o // des na de ltar na rjes su dpag pa dang tshul gsum pa'i rtags su gyur [D; 'gyur P] pa dang / mngon sum dang / lung dang 'gal ba gsum gyis bstan pa yin no // de yang rnam pa gsum yod de mngon sum dang 'gal ba dang [D; / P] lung dang 'gal ba dang gnyi ga dang 'gal ba yin no // mngon sum dang 'gal ba ni dper na me [D; mi P] grang ba [D; grangs ma P] yin te / rdzas yin pa'i phyir chu [D; tshul P] bzhin no // lung dang 'gal ba ni bram zes chang btung bar bya ste / rdzas yin pa'i phyir 'o ma bzhin no // gnyi ga dang 'gal ba ni mig la snang ba med de dbang po yin pa'i phyir sna la sogs pa bzhin no zhes bya ba'o // 'di phyogs dang 'gal ba ni [D; mi P] 'gal ba ma yin no // phyogs dang 'gal ba ni spangs pa'i phyir ro // des na 'di ni tshul gyi mtshan nyid dang 'gal bas sdug bsngal ba yin te /

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- PST 3 An unpublished critical edition of the third chapter of Jinendrabuddhi's *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā*, in preparation by Shōryū Katsura et al.
- PST Ms B Manuscript B of the PST; cf. the Introduction in PST 1.
- PST (T) Tibetan translation of PST by (Dpañ lo) Blo gros brtan pa: Sde dge edition: Tohoku No. 4268, tshad ma, ye 1–314a7. Peking edition: Otani No. 5766, vol. 139, re 1a1–355a8.
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- VN (T) Tibetan Translation of the VN. Sde dge edition: Tohoku no. 4218, mdo che 326b4–355b5. Peking edition: Otani no. 5715, mdo ce 364b8–400a7.
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- VNṬ (MS) A manuscript of the VNṬ. Scans of copies of the Bihar Research Society's glass negatives of the Kundeling manuscript at the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen (Cod. Ms. Sanscr. Rah Xc 14/88).
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# The importance of the *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* manuscript for research on the Buddhist *vāda* tradition\*

Motoi Ono

## 0. Introduction

For several years, a project being directed by Prof. Shōryū Katsura and motivated by Prof. Ernst Steinkellner has been underway to edit chapters 3, 4 and 6 of a unique Sanskrit manuscript of the *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* (PST), Jinendrabuddhi's commentary on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya(vṛtti)* (PS/PSV). My team (consisting of Dr. Yasutaka Muroya, Dr. Toshikazu Watanabe and myself) has been working for the last seven years on chapter 6 of the PST (Ms 243a1–260a3), based on a transliteration by the staff of the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna. The critical edition of this chapter is now nearly finished. In this paper, I would like to present and discuss some of the results of our research.

Studies on other chapters of the PST manuscript have already uncovered important information helping to better understand not only of the history of Buddhist logic and epistemology, but also

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of the history of Indian philosophy in general. Editions of the first and second chapters of the PST dealing, respectively, with perception (*pratyakṣa*) and inference for oneself (*svārthānumāna*), were already published by Steinkellner, Dr. Krasser and Dr. Lasic (cf. PST I, PST II). The immense value of the PST manuscript for reconstructing Dignāga's PS and PSV, lost in the original Sanskrit, has been demonstrated through Steinkellner's reconstruction of the PSV's first chapter (cf. PSV I), as well as Katsura's reconstruction of all *kārikās* of chapters 3 and 4 dealing, respectively, with inference for others (*parārthānumāna*) and examples as well as pseudo-examples (*drṣṭānta/drṣṭāntābhāsa*).<sup>1</sup> With regard to PS chapter 5 dealing with the *apoha* theory, Dr. Pind published his dissertation (cf. Pind 2015),<sup>2</sup> which also contains materials from PST, chapter 5, in the footnotes. A full critical edition of PST 5 is currently being produced by Lasic and Dr. McAllister in Vienna. Concurrent with work on PST I and II, Steinkellner collected and evaluated fragments, first from the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* (Steinkellner 1999), and, more recently, with a more comprehensive scope covering the entire range of sources Jinendrabuddhi used (Steinkellner 2017).

When compared to the other chapters, the specific importance of the Sanskrit manuscript of the PST's chapter 6 dealing with false rejoinders (*jāti*/過類) lies in the following feature. Dignāga devoted an entire chapter of the PS and the PSV to false rejoinders.<sup>3</sup> From Dharmakīrti onward, this topic, which belongs for the most part to the field of dialectics (*vāda*), was discussed only rarely by Indian Buddhist logicians. In contrast, it was actively discussed by Naiyāyika and Jaina logicians until later periods. And before

<sup>1</sup> PS 3,1–31 is found in Katsura 2009, PS 3,32–43ab in Katsura 2011 and PS 3,43cd–51 and 4,1–21 in Katsura 2016. See also Katsura's contribution to the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> Many further studies are referred to in Katsura 2011.

<sup>3</sup> The *svamata* section of this chapter has already been partially translated into Chinese by Prof. Lu Cheng (cf. Lu 1928), and has been fully translated into Japanese and elucidated by Prof. Kitagawa (cf. Kitagawa 1965: 282–351).

Dignāga it was also a focus of Buddhist thinkers: *jāti* is one of the main topics of the Buddhist *vāda* tradition as represented in texts such as the \**Upāyahrdaya* (UH, 方便心論 *Fangbian xin lun*; ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.),<sup>4</sup> the dialectical section of the Spitzer manuscript (Spitzer Ms, ca. 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.),<sup>5</sup> the \**Tarkaśāstra*<sup>6</sup> (TŚ, 如実論反質難品 *Rushi lun fan-zhinan pin*; ca. 5<sup>th</sup> cent.), the *Vādaavidhi* (VV<sub>i</sub>, 論軌 *Lungui*; ca. 5<sup>th</sup> cent.) and the *Nyāyamukha* (NMu, 因明正理門論 *Yinming zhengli men lun*; ca. 6<sup>th</sup> cent.). The information gained through examining the Sanskrit manuscript of the PST's chapter 6 thus enables us not only to interpret Dignāga's *jāti* theory more exactly than hitherto, but also to elucidate the history of the Indian Buddhist *vāda* tradi-

<sup>4</sup> A considerable number of the twenty rejoinders (相應 \**samaprasaṅga*?) found in the last chapter of the UH correspond to *jātis* of later periods. However, it should not be overlooked that in the UH, these rejoinders are regarded as correct rejoinders, unlike in the case of *jātis*. According to Prof. Kajiyama, these “correct” rejoinders in the UH were later criticized in the *Nyāyasūtra* as false rejoinders (*jāti*) (cf. Kajiyama 1984: 15–16; Ishitobi 2006: 148).

<sup>5</sup> The contents of the sections on dialectics in this ancient Sanskrit manuscript have been examined by Prof. Franco (cf. Franco 2004: 462–505). Despite the fragmentary condition of the material, he has succeeded in clarifying that the last chapter of this portion of the manuscript explains several *jātis* (cf. Franco 2004: 498–505). Connected to this, he states that the \**Tarkaśāstra* (TŚ) “displays the strongest similarity to the Spitzer fragments” (cf. Franco 2004: 498). This view is, of course, true for the first chapter of the dialectic portion of the manuscript. Indeed, the similarity between this chapter and the first chapter of the TŚ is remarkable, as Franco successfully shows (cf. Franco 2004: 465–466). For the last chapter on *jātis*, however, I believe the UH is quite relevant. Although Franco mentions that there are parallels between the Spitzer Ms and the UH (cf. Franco 2004: 500, n. 209), this observation might be expanded upon. In my opinion, it is possible that the *jāti* theory in the Spitzer Ms was influenced by the theory of correct rejoinders in the UH. Cf. Ono forthcoming a.

<sup>6</sup> I use this title here for the sake of convenience. I wonder, however, whether this hypothetical Sanskrit title, which is widely accepted by modern scholars, is appropriate. Frauwallner's justification of this title is quite debatable. Cf. Ono 2017a: 910–912.

tion before Dignāga's time. Until now, most of the information we had about this was transmitted only through Chinese translations.

In the following, I would like to present some examples concerning the PST's chapter 6 with regard to its contribution: 1) to a more precise understanding of the PSV's *jāti* theory, 2) to a better understanding of the NMu's *jāti* section, 3) to elucidating theories concerning *jāti* before Dignāga's time, especially the *jāti* theory in the VVi and its relationship to the TS.

### 1. Sanskrit reconstruction of *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, chapter 6

In the process of critically editing the sixth chapter of the *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā*, it was of course also necessary to reconstruct the twenty-five *kārikās* of the PS, including the three final *kārikās* that conclude the entire work. Very few Sanskrit fragments of the *kārikās* from this chapter have been identified so far.<sup>7</sup> However, on the basis of *pratīkas* and allusions in the PST, and with the help of the two Tibetan translations, we are now able to propose the following reconstruction:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The *kārikās* 7 and 12ab' defining two kinds of *jātis*, i.e., *kāryasama* and *vikalpasama*, are found in the PVA (cf. PVA 44,29–45,4; see Katsura 1987: 51, 55; Watanabe 2010: n. 12). The *jāti* “*kāryasama*” is the only one mentioned by Dharmakīrti (cf. Katsura 1987: 55; Watanabe 2010). In addition, several of these *kārikās* have equivalents in the verses of the Chinese translation of the NMu (正理門論), either in whole or in part, as is shown in the following footnotes and in the second section of this paper (cf. Take-mura 1968: 281–284).

<sup>8</sup> Following Katsura's latest method (cf. Katsura 2016: 1237), **bold** typeface is used for words from *pratīkas* in the PST, roman typeface for those alluded to in the PST and in other Sanskrit fragments. *Italics* are used for words retranslated from the Tibetan translations. The meaning of « » and < > will be explained below. On this occasion, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Harunaga Isaacson for having kindly checked this reconstruction during his stay at Tsukuba University in March 2016.



**pramāṇabhāsavaktṛṇām** yuktāvayavavādivat /  
 pakṣasiddhiḥ *samā* mā bhūd iti nyūnādy udīritam //1//  
**tatpradarśanam evāto** yuktam uttaram ucyate /  
 tadābhāsābhīdhanam *ca jātiṣūttararūpakam* //2//<sup>9</sup>  
**prāptyaprāptāv aniṣṭoktir hetoḥ** kālatraye 'pi vā /  
*te* «*prāptyaprāptyahetvākhye*» (hetunyūnatvarūpīke) //3//<sup>10</sup>  
**arthe hetāv** (asiddhābhe) «*nityākhyā*» **nityatānvayāt /**  
**nityatvāsaktir** *atrāpi* (pakṣadoṣatvarūpīkā) //4//<sup>11</sup>  
**prāg ukter** hetvabhāvena sādhyābhāvaprasañjanam /  
 «*anuktasamam*»<sup>12</sup> **āropya vaktur vacanasādhanam /**  
 (asiddhābhāsam) (ūnābham) **prāg ukteḥ sādhanam prati** //5//  
**prāg utpatter ahetutvād** asiddhaviparītabhāk /  
 «*anutpattisamam*»<sup>13</sup> (dvedhā) **dvayādhyāropato matam** //6//  
**kāryatvānyatvalesēna** yat sādhyāsiddhidarśanam /  
 tat «*kāryasamam*» etat tu (tridhā) vaktrabhisandhitāḥ //7//<sup>14</sup>  
**nidarśitavipakṣābhyām** sādharmyeṇānyasādhanam /  
 «*sādharmyasamam*» «*anyat*» *tu vaidharmyeṇa samatvataḥ* //8//<sup>15</sup>  
*dvedhā* (sādharāṇābhāsam) *paratrāsiddhidarśanāt /*  
*sāmyena siddhāv iṣṭāyām* (viruddhāvyabhicārivat) //9//  
*drṣṭāntābhasadoṣoktir apy atra syād ananvayāt /*  
*viparītānvayatvāc ca sādhyadrṣṭāntasāṅkarāt* //10//  
*hetos tādātmyabhedena* vyabhicārinibham dvayam /  
**na tu prayoge pūrvatra hetur aikāntikaḥ kṛtaḥ** //11//  
**sādharmye 'pi viśeṣoktir** «*vikalpasamam*»<sup>16</sup> *atra tu /*  
*vyabhicārivīśeṣeṇa nityāsaktes* (tadābhatā) //12//  
**asāmānyena vaikatvaprasaṅgād** «*aviśeṣakṛt*»<sup>17</sup> /

<sup>9</sup> Cf. NMu k. 19ab: 能破闕等言 似破謂諸類。

<sup>10</sup> Cf. NMu k. 24: 若因至不至 三時非愛言 至非至無因 是名似因闕。

<sup>11</sup> Cf. NMu k. 28: 無常性恒隨 名常住相似 此成常性過 名如宗過說。

<sup>12</sup> Cf. NMu k. 25abc: 說前無因故 應無有所立 名無說相似。

<sup>13</sup> Cf. NMu k. 25d: 生無生亦然。

<sup>14</sup> Cf. PVA 44,29–30; NMu k. 26abc: 所作異少分 顯所立不成 名所作相似。

<sup>15</sup> Cf. NMu k. 20abcd': 示現異品故 由同法異立 同法相似餘 由異法。

<sup>16</sup> Cf. PVA 45,2; NMu k. 20'd–21a: 分別 差別名分別。

<sup>17</sup> Cf. NMu k. 21b: 應一成無異。

*sādhyahetvaviśeṣād v(āsiddhābhāsam) tu tan matam //13//*  
**sādhyabādhakadharme 'pi tulyatvenāviśeṣakṛt /**  
 hetor doṣe <viruddhābhā> doṣābhāve tu dūṣanam //14//  
**uttarāni syur ekānte yadi dr̥ṣṭam na bādhatē /**  
**abādhane viruddhatvaṃ sādhyabādhakasādhanāt //15//**  
 «**upalabdhisamaṃ**» *sādhyadarśanam anyahetunā*<sup>18</sup> /  
**sādhyānekāntam āropya** hetau <tatpratirūpatā> //16//  
**avyāpitvena** hetoś *ca sādhye 'bhāvavikalpanāt /*  
 <asiddhābhām> **dhvanisthena na hi sarvaṃ prasādhyate //17//**  
 «**saṃśayākhyā**» *rthabhedena* hetoḥ *saṃśayacodanā*<sup>19</sup> /  
**sādhyārope tv <anekāntanibhaṃ> hetor <asiddhavat> //18//**  
**vipakṣe 'rthād aniṣṭoktir** «*arthāpattisamā*» *tra tu*<sup>20</sup> /  
**vyabhicāro 'nyasādhyatve tatsādhyatve <tadābhatā> //19//**  
 «**prasaṅgasamaṃ**» *iṣṭe 'pi dvayos tu hetumārgaṇam /*  
 <dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsavat> **tv etad**<sup>21</sup> **dīnmātraṃ sarvajātiṣu //20//**  
**viparītānṛtatve ca vādavidhau tu jātiṣu /**  
**doṣatrayaṃ viruddhatvaṃ naiva bhedo 'tra lakṣyate //21//**  
**nyāyasūkṣme 'pi jātīnāṃ lakṣanottaraduṣṭatā /**  
*jñeyā nyāyaparīkṣātas taddiśā cānyajātiṣu //22//*  
**tarkamātrabalās tīrthyāḥ so 'py anirdiṣṭalakṣaṇaḥ /**  
*svaprayogaviruddhaś ca na ceṣṭārthaprasādhakaḥ //23//*  
**sudūranaṣṭās tu munīndraśāsanān nayanti ye tarkapathena**  
*dharmatām /*  
*tathāpi tāthāgatadharmalakṣaṇaṃ parīkṣyatām yady upayāti*  
*vikriyām //24//*  
**pramāṇarāśer** *guṇadoṣavistaraparakāśanād yac chubham atra*  
*sañcitam /*  
*tad astu lokasya vimokṣajanmanor guṇāguṇajñasya kṛtānta-*  
*śāntaye //25//*

About 80% of the Sanskrit text of the *kārikās* have been recovered from the Sanskrit manuscript of the PST.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. NMu k. 21cd: 顯所立餘因 名可得相似。

<sup>19</sup> Cf. NMu k. 22ab: 難義別疑因 故說名猶豫。

<sup>20</sup> Cf. NMu k. 22cd: 說異品義故 非愛名義准。

<sup>21</sup> Cf. NMu k. 27: 俱許而求因 名生過相似 此於喻設難 名如似喻說。

### 1.1. On the *svamata* section (kk. 1–20)

The *svamata* section of this chapter consists of *kārikās* 1–20 (and the PSV thereon). Here, Dignāga describes his own interpretation of fourteen kinds of *jātis* (words within “《》”).<sup>22</sup> The same fourteen kinds of *jātis* are also discussed in his earlier work, the NMu. And they are also found in Vasubandhu’s VVi.<sup>23</sup> However, the order of the *jāti* descriptions has been drastically changed by Dignāga in his two works.<sup>24</sup> *Jātis* are false rejoinders that an opponent offers against a proponent who is constructing a correct syllogism. Until Vasubandhu’s VVi, the reason why *jātis* are false had not been explained from a “purely logical” viewpoint.<sup>25</sup> In the NMu, Dignāga establishes a strategy of explaining *jātis* from a logical viewpoint by dissolving (or incorporating) the dialectical character of *jātis* into his system of logic.<sup>26</sup>

In chapter 6 of the PS, Dignāga follows the same strategy. In the beginning, Dignāga defines a correct rejoinder (*yuktam uttaram*) as properly indicating logical fallacies in a proponent’s syllogism, such as, for example, its lack of necessary required members (*nyūna*)<sup>27</sup> or its having fallacies in individual members (*avayavadoṣa*) (kk. 1–2ab). After this definition, he identifies *jātis* as being pseudo-

<sup>22</sup> Indeed, twelve of the fourteen are mentioned by name. Only two, *vaidharmyasama* and *aviśeṣasama*, are not. These two are nonetheless referred to, the first by the word “*anyat*” and the second by the word “*aviśeṣakṛt*.” I therefore enclose them in double angle brackets, as I have also done with the names of the other *jātis*.

<sup>23</sup> In the TŚ, 16 kinds of *jātis* have been enumerated. In the VVi, Vasubandhu reduced this number to 14 (cf. Frauwallner 1957: 129).

<sup>24</sup> Dignāga has changed the order of description of *jātis* twice, i.e., first when composing the NMu and again when composing the PSV (cf. Take-mura 1968: 326–327; Ono forthcoming b). Dr. Kang has analyzed the intentions behind the second change (cf. Kang 2012).

<sup>25</sup> See the third section of this paper.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Tucci 1930; Kitagawa 1965: 282–351; Katsura 1984; Katsura 1987; Ono 2017b: 49–50; Ono forthcoming b.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Watanabe 2017.

rejoinders (*uttararūpaka*), i.e., non-genuine or false rejoinders (k. 2cd).<sup>28</sup> With this definition in place, it is possible to explain all *jāti*s as rejoinders that falsely indicate (that is, only pretend to indicate) certain logical fallacies in the opponent’s syllogism.

Following this principle, in *kārikās* 3–20 (and the PSV thereon) Dignāga shows that each of the fourteen rejoinders is false by clarifying which logical fallacy the respective *jāti* is pretending to indicate. For example, the first two *jāti*s, called *prāptyaprāptisama* and *ahetusama*, are characterized by Dignāga as falsely indicating the lack of a reason in proponent’s syllogism (*hetunyūnatvarūpika*, literally “similar to the [indication of] the lack of a reason”) and as falsely indicating that the reason is unestablished (*asiddhābha*, literally “similar to the [indication of] an unestablished reason”) (kk. 3–4a). Likewise, the third *jāti*, *nityasama*, is characterized as falsely indicating that the proponent’s thesis is false (*pakṣadoṣatvarūpika*) (k. 4b–d), and so on.

In this manner, the method of explaining *jāti*s from the viewpoint of logical fallacies that Dignāga established in the NMu is skillfully summarized in only twenty *kārikās* of PS chapter 6. In the Sanskrit reconstruction of the *kārikās* presented above, the logical fallacies that are being falsely indicated by the respective *jāti*s are marked with “⟨ ⟩.”

The Sanskrit *kārikās* thus clearly show Dignāga’s strategy, summarized in the following table:

PS 6	Name of <i>jāti</i>	Types of falsely indicated logical fallacies (x- <i>ābhāsa</i> , etc.)
vv. 3–4a	prāptyaprāptisama	hetunyūnatvarūpika, asiddhābha
	ahetusama	
v. 4	nityasama	<i>pakṣadoṣatvarūpika</i>
v. 5	anuktasama	asiddhābhāsa, ( <i>hetunyūnābha</i> , [udāharaṇanyūnatābhāsa])

<sup>28</sup> Cf. NMu k. 19ab: 能破闕等言 似破謂諸類。

v. 6	anutpattisama	dvedhā [ <i>asiddhābhāsa</i> , <i>anaikāntikābhāsa</i> ]	
v. 7	kāryasama	tridhā [ <i>asiddhābhāsa</i> , <i>viruddhābhāsa</i> , <i>asādhāraṇatayānaikāntikābhāsa</i> ], [ <i>drṣṭāntadoṣābhāsa</i> ]	
vv. 8–11	sādharmyasama	<i>sādhāraṇābhāsa</i> , <i>viruddhāvyabhicārivat</i>	
	vaidharmyasama		
vv. 12–13a'	vikalpasama	tadābhatā [= <i>sādhāraṇāsādhāraṇānaikāntikābhāsa</i> ], [ <i>viruddhānaikāntikābhāsa</i> (= <i>viruddhāvyabhicāryābhāsa</i> )], [ <i>anaikāntikābhāsa</i> ]	
vv. 13'a–14	aviśeṣasama	I	[ <i>anaikāntikābhāsa</i> ]
		II	<i>asiddhābhāsa</i>
		III	<i>viruddhābha</i>
vv. 16–17	upalabdhisama	I	tatpratirūpatā [= <i>anaikāntikābhāsa</i> ]
		II	<i>asiddhābha</i>
vv. 18	saṃśayasama	anekāntanibha, <i>asiddhavat</i> [= <i>asiddhābhāsa</i> ]	
vv. 19	arthāpattisama	<i>tadābhatā</i> [= <i>anaikāntikābhāsa</i> ]	
vv. 20	prasaṅgasama	<i>drṣṭāntābhāsavat</i>	

\* Falsely indicated logical fallacies in square brackets appear in the PSV, but not in the PS.

## 1.2. On the *paramata* section (kk. 21–22)

The *paramata* section of chapter 6 is much shorter than the *svamata* section and consists of only two *kārikās* (together with the PSV). Here, Dignāga criticizes the *jāti* theories of the VVi and of the Naiyāyika. Dignāga's criticism of the Naiyāyika's *jāti* theory (*kārikā* 22 with PSV) is short and does not seem particularly important.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> In *kārikā* 22, he refers his reader to his other treatise, the *Nyāyaparīkṣā*, for detailed criticism of the Naiyāyika's theory of false rejoinders (cf. Muroya 2017: 99–100). This text is, however, not preserved (cf. Hattori 1968: 9). It is noteworthy that Sa skya Paṇḍita mentions the *Nyāyaparīkṣā*'s

However, his criticism of the VVi's *jāti* theory (*kārikā* 21 with PSV) together with Jinendrabuddhi's commentary are historically important, as we shall discuss in the third section of this paper.

### 1.3. On the final *kārikās* (kk. 23–25)

The last three *kārikās* of PS chapter 6 are the final *kārikās* that conclude the entire work. As was pointed out by the late Helmut Krasser, we here find central statements by Dignāga regarding the relationship between the Buddha's teaching and logic and epistemology. Krasser translated the 24<sup>th</sup> *kārikā* into English on the basis of the PST manuscript and the two Tibetan translations of the PS and the PSV:

[Those] who lead (*khrid*) to *dharmatā* by way of *tarka* have gone far away from (*sudūranaṣṭa*) the teaching of *muni*. Nevertheless, the characterization (*lakṣaṇa*) of the *dharma* [as propounded] by the Tathāgata has to be examined as long as (*yadi*) it undergoes a change.<sup>30</sup>

Although Krasser did not provide a Sanskrit reconstruction of the *kārikā*, the Sanskrit text he presumed as the basis for his rendering was probably nearly the same as the one I have adopted:<sup>31</sup>

**sudūranaṣṭās tu** munīndraśāsanān *nayanti* ye tarkapathena  
dharmatām /  
tathāpi tāthāgatadharmalakṣaṇaṃ parīkṣyatām yady upayāti  
vikriyām //24//

criticism of the Naiyāyika's *jāti* theory in his treatises, i.e., the *Mkhas 'jug* and the *Rigs gter* (cf. Jackson 1987: 254–255; 326–328; 375–376).

<sup>30</sup> Krasser 2004: 134. Cf. PSV(V) [D]85b3f., [P]93a5f.: *gang zhig rtog ge'i lam las chos nyid la khrid na // thub pa'i bstan las cher bsrings nyams par byas pa yin // de lta'ang de bzhin gshegs pa'i chos rnam kyi mtshan nyid // gal te gzhan du 'gro na dpyad par bya ba'i 'os //*; PSV(K)177a2–4: *thub pa'i dbang po'i bstan pa las ni yun ring nyams gyur pa // gang yin rtog ge'i lam gyis chos nyid bgrod par byed ma yin // de lta na yang de bzhin gshegs pa'i rtog ge'i mtshan nyid ni // gal te rnam par 'gyur bar 'gro bar byed dam brtag par gyis //*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Krasser 2004: 134, n. 16.

In this reconstruction I make two small specific suggestions: “*na-yanti*” and “*tāthāgata*” (instead of “*tathāgata*”). The lengthening of the first *a* in *tathāgata* to *ā* is suggested for metrical reasons, since the *Vaṃśastha* meter must have a long vowel in the fourth *akṣara* of the *pāda*. As for “*na-yanti*,” Krasser’s choice to follow Vasudhararakṣita’s translation “*khrid na*” over Kanakavarman’s translation *bgrod par byed ma yin* is probably correct. For the pre-supposed Sanskrit, I propose “*na-yanti*,”<sup>32</sup> since this can reasonably be considered to be the basis of both translations; Kanakavarman’s “*bgrod par byed ma yin*” can be regarded as a translation of *na yanti*. It also satisfies metrical constraints (short/long/short).

## 2. The importance of the Sanskrit manuscript of *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* 6 for interpreting the *Nyāyamukha*

As has been pointed out on several occasions, there are many parallels between chapter 6 of the PS/PSV and the *jāti* section of the NMu.<sup>33</sup> It is possible to re-examine these parallel passages quite precisely by using the Sanskrit reconstruction of PS/PSV chapter 6 based on the Sanskrit manuscript of PST chapter 6.<sup>34</sup> By doing this, new light can be shed on our understanding of the NMu, for which a Sanskrit manuscript, though reported to be in the TAR, is unfortunately still not accessible to the general scholarly community.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Jinendrabuddhi apparently paraphrases this word as “*niścinvanti*” (cf. PST(Ms) 259b3).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Tucci 1930; Kitagawa 1965; Katsura 1984; Katsura 1987.

<sup>34</sup> My team has been also working on a reconstruction of the entire chapter 6 of the PSV. In comparison to the work of reconstructing the *kārikās*, however, quite a few matters still remain to be considered. We would like to finish this reconstruction, too, in the near future.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Steinkellner 2011: xx–xxi; Katsura 2016: 1237; Do rgya dbang drag rdo rje 2016: 72. The NMu, together with the *Nyāyapraveśaka* (因明入正理論), is one of the *mūla*-texts for Buddhist logic in Eastern Asia. Its study is important for elucidating the *yinming/inmyō* tradition. According to old catalogues of Buddhist literature in China and Japan, it seems that quite a

A closer examination of certain prose passages has already been undertaken by Muroya.<sup>36</sup> Previous scholars have already pointed out correspondences between *kārikās* in the PS's chapter 6 and the eight *kārikās* (kk. 20–22, kk. 24–28) in the NMu's *jāti* section.<sup>37</sup> There is at least one case of a NMu *kārikā* being reused in its entirety in chapter 6 of the PS (NMu k. 24 reused as PS 6.3). In other cases, the NMu *kārikās* have been modified somewhat by Dignāga when reusing them.

Here, I would like to present two examples to illustrate how information gained from the Sanskrit manuscript of the PST's chapter 6 has contributed to our understanding of difficult *kārikās* in the NMu.<sup>38</sup>

### 2.1. *Nyāyamukha* k. 23ab: 由此同法等 多疑故似彼/破

Regarding NMu k. 23ab, two variants of the text in *pāda* b are hitherto known: 多疑故似破 and 多疑故似彼.<sup>39</sup> In their interpretations,

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few commentaries were written on the NMu in China, Korea and Japan. However, with few exceptions, they are now missing. Recently, Prof. Moro of Hanazono University in Japan began to study a manuscript of a NMu commentary written by a 9<sup>th</sup>-century Japanese monk, a manuscript that no one had as yet examined (cf. Moro 2015). My team has begun a collaboration with Prof. Moro within the framework of our research project.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Muroya 2017.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Tucci 1930: 54–70; Kitagawa 1965: 284–347; Takemura 1968: 281–284; Katsura 1984; Katsura 1987.

<sup>38</sup> See also Ono forthcoming b, in which I attempt to reconstruct the Sanskrit text of all *kārikās* (kk. 19ab–28) in the NMu's *jāti* section. Regarding the reconstruction of the *sādhana* section (kk. 2–4, 6–10), example section (kk. 11–14), *pramāṇa* section and final *kārikā* (k. 29), see Katsura 2009, Katsura 2016, Katsura 1982 and Muroya 2016, respectively.

<sup>39</sup> The former is supported by the Ming (明) edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, whereas the latter is attested in the Song (宋) and Yuan (元) editions and the Korean Tripiṭaka (高麗大藏經) (cf. Taishō Vol. 32, p. 4, n. 4; Korean Tripiṭaka's NMu 435a11). These two variants are also found in old manuscripts of the NMu preserved in Japan.



Tucci, Ui and Katsura unanimously adopt the former variant “似破.”<sup>40</sup> Tucci’s translation of k. 23ab is as follows:

Since there are many doubts [which derive from these arguments based upon] this homogeneity etc. [these *jātis*] are fallacies of refutation (似破; MO).

To be sure, the expression “似彼” in itself seems somewhat curious, whereas the expression “似破” seems more natural since this expression commonly appears in *yinming/linmyō* literature to render the word “*dūṣaṇābhāsa/uttarābhāsa*.” In this case, however, the expression “似彼” is more appropriate. The reason is the following:

The passage preceding k. 23ab is Dignāga’s initial reply to the question why, unlike in explanations by other teachers (like Vasubandhu), the first seven *jātis* are explained in the NMu together.<sup>41</sup> There Dignāga answers briefly that the seven *jātis* must be explained together, “since [these *jātis* are] the same kind of false rejoinders.”<sup>42</sup> Since the relevant half-*kārikā* is located immediately after this answer, it would therefore be reasonable that it also explains how these *jātis* are the same. If we take the above-mentioned principle of Dignāga’s criticism of *jātis* into consideration,<sup>43</sup> the *jātis*’ sameness should consist in the fact that the same logical fallacies are falsely indicated by them. By adopting the variant “似彼” this is possible in the following way:

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Tucci 1930: 59f.; Ui 1929: 670–672; Katsura 1984: 63. Tucci’s interpretation is obviously not correct; Ui and Katsura have reached an interpretation of this half-*kārikā* that is more fitting, although their selection of the variant may, I suspect, be incorrect.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. NMu 4c2f.: 復由何義此同法等相似過類異因明師所說次第. Of the first seven *jātis* in the NMu, i.e., from *sādharmyasama* to *arthāpattisama*, the first four, i.e., from *sādharmyasama* to *aviśeṣasama*, are explained together as a group at the beginning also in the VVi and TŚ. In contrast, *upalabdhisama*, *saṃśayasama* and *arthāpattisama* are explained in the VVi and TŚ in the seventh, eighth and twelfth position, respectively.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. NMu 4c3: 似破同故.

<sup>43</sup> See the first section of this paper.

[For,] since these [seven *jāti*s] such as *sādharmyasama*, etc. [indicate the] inconclusiveness [of the reason] in most cases (多; \**prāyas*), [all of them are the same in that] they are similar to [the indication of] that (i.e., inconclusiveness) (似彼).

Unfortunately, it is difficult to reconstruct the Sanskrit of this half-*kārikā*. Nevertheless, it is most likely that the Sanskrit equivalent of 似彼 was “*tadābhatā*” (meaning *anaikāntikābhatā* in this context), which is attested in PS 6.12d on the basis of the Sanskrit manuscript of the PST.<sup>44</sup>

**2.2. *Nyāyamukha* k. 25:** 說前無因故 應無有所立 名無說相似 生無生亦然

With regard to NMu k. 25, the Chinese translation of *pāda*-abc corresponds well to PS 6.5abc’: “*prāg ukter hetvabhāvena sādhyābhāvaprasañjanam | anuktasamam*.”<sup>45</sup> However, *pāda*-d “生無生亦然” does not correspond to PS 6.5’cd, and is, moreover, difficult to understand in itself. Tucci interpreted this *kārikā* as follows:

“Balancing the non-expressed” (*anuktisama*) is called [that *jāti* which consists] in arguing that since the reason before [being expressed], is non-existent, the probandum also must necessarily be non-existent. The same [must be understood] as regards [the other *jāti* called “balancing the] produced and the non-produced” (*utpatti-anutpattisama*).<sup>46</sup>

Tucci apparently understood the expression “生無生” as a copulative compound (*dvandva*), probably in analogy to *jāti* pairs such as *varṇyāvarṇya*, *prāptyaprāpti*, *upalabdhyānupalabdhi* or *nityānitya* in the *Nyāyasūtra*. The *jāti* pair “*utpattyanutpatti*” is, however, not

<sup>44</sup> Cf. PST(Ms) 249a2. The expression “*tadābhatā*” was probably used in PS 6.19d as well. As Sanskrit equivalents for 似彼, adjectives such as *tadābhāsa*, *tadābha*, etc. are also possible.

<sup>45</sup> The character “應” is also found in NMu k. 21b (應一成無異), which probably corresponds to “*ekatvaprasaṅgād aviśeṣakṛt*” (PS 6.13’ab). “應” can be, therefore, regarded as rendering *pra√sañj*.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Tucci 1930: 65–66.

found in other texts.<sup>47</sup> One way to solve this problem is to take PS 6.5–6 into consideration as a whole:

**prāg ukter** hetvabhāvena sādhyābhāvaprasañjanam /  
 anuktasamam āropya vaktur vacanasādhanam /  
 asiddhābhāsam ūnābham prāg ukteḥ sādhanam prati //5//  
**prāg utpatter** ahetutvād asiddhaviparītabhāk /  
 anutpattisamaṃ dvedhā dvayādhyāropato matam //6//

As has been shown above, these two *kārikās*, describing *anuktasama* and *anutpattisama*, respectively, can be easily reconstructed from the Sanskrit manuscript of the PST. The structure of the first *pādas* of both is almost the same. The difference between the expressions *hetvabhāvena* and *ahetutvād* is probably based only on metrical needs. What this most likely means, I believe, is that Dignāga divided the related k. 25 of the NMu into these two *kārikās* in the PS.

To begin, we can safely assume that the *pādas* abc' of NMu k. 25 (說前無因故 應無有所立 名無說相似) and PS 6.5abc' were identical:

**prāg ukter** hetvabhāvena sādhyābhāvaprasañjanam /  
 anuktasamam (.. . . . . . . . . . . = 生無生亦然) //

What Sanskrit words should then be placed inside the brackets to correspond to “生無生亦然”? The word “*anutpatti(sama)*” to correspond with “無生” should be supplied for showing the name of what is to be defined (*lakṣya*). A word like “*tathā*” corresponding to “亦然” should also probably be included. Lastly, I propose adding the ablative noun “*utpattēḥ*” as a correspondence of “生,” which in this context may be an abbreviation for “*prāg utpatter hetvabhāvena sādhyābhāvaprasañjanam.*” This assumption is in harmony with the NMu’s running commentary.<sup>48</sup> Thus, a Sanskrit equivalent of “生無

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Katsura 1987: 51, 53.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. NMu 5b7–8: 生無生亦然者。生前無因故無所立，亦即說名無生相似。 [Translation: “生無生亦然” means: If somebody argues that since the reason before being produced is non-existent, it follows that what is to be proven (also must) be non-existent; this (kind of arguing) is also called “*anutpattisama*”; Katsura 1987: 53] Kitagawa also suggests that “生無生亦然” corresponds to PS 6.6abc’ (Kitagawa 1965: 296, n. 702).

生亦然” might be “*utpatter anutpattisamaṃ tathā*” and the entire *kārikā* can be reconstructed as follows:

**prāg ukter** hetvabhāvena sādhyābhāvaprasañjanam /  
anuktasamam *utpatter anutpattisamaṃ tathā* //

If this is accepted, NMu k. 25 can be translated as follows:

*anuktisama* is [called that *jāti* which consists in arguing that] since the reason before being expressed (*ukteḥ*) is non-existent, it follows that what is to be proven [also] must be non-existent. Likewise, *anutpattisama* is [called that *jāti* which consists in arguing that since the reason before] being produced (*upatteḥ*) [is non-existent, it follows that what is to be proven also must be non-existent].

### 3. Sanskrit fragments of the *Vādavidhi*

#### 3.1. Fragments of the *Vādavidhi* collected by Frauwallner

In his article “Vasubandhu’s *Vādavidhiḥ*,” published in 1957, Frauwallner tried to elucidate the structure and contents of the VVi (論軌 *Lungui*),<sup>49</sup> one of the logical works of Vasubandhu, by reconstruct-

<sup>49</sup> In the Chinese translation of the NMu, two references to “*Lunshi* etc. (論式等)” are found. Regarding the first, Shentai (神泰; 7<sup>th</sup> cent.) commented that “etc.” means the *Lungui* (論軌) and the *Lunxin* (論心), and ascribed all three works to Vasubandhu (cf. NMuJ 77a28f.: 言論式等. 則等取論軌及論心. 此三論並世親所造). None of them were, however, translated into Chinese, and only the name and some fragments of the *Lungui* and the *Lunshi* have been transmitted to Buddhists in Eastern Asia. Frauwallner, following Tucci’s view (Tucci 1929b: 482), identified the VVi as the *Lunshi* (cf. Frauwallner 1957: 104, n. 3; Ono 2012: 1011f.; Kuijp and McKeown 2013: 55). Ui was, in contrast to Tucci and Frauwallner, of the opinion that the *Vādavidhāna* and the VVi were translated as the *Lunshi* and the *Lungui*, respectively (cf. Ui 1929: 477–478). Ui’s opinion is justified for the following reason: According to Wengui (文軌; 7<sup>th</sup> cent.), one of the disciples of Xuanzang (玄奘, 602–664), Dignāga stated in his PS that “*Lungui* regards a property-possessor (有法 *dharmin*) like a pot to be a positive

ing the entire structure of the text from fragments in the Tibetan translations of the PSV and the PST as well as in Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārttika*. His main sources were the Tibetan translations, especially that of PST chapter 6. In fact, about 70% of the VVi as reconstructed by Frauwallner consists of fragments from the Tibetan translation of this chapter. The manuscript of PST chapter 6, therefore, enables us to obtain the greater part of the VVi in Sanskrit.

### 3.2. Sanskrit fragments of the *sādhana* section of the *Vādaividhi*

With regard to the *sādhana* section of the VVi, critical editions of chapters 1 and 2 of the PST have already clarified the Sanskrit equivalents of the Tibetan fragments that Frauwallner reported in the appendix of his article.<sup>50</sup> These fragments are as follows:

- **Ffrg. 1** (definition of *pakṣa*):<sup>51</sup> PST II 62,1: vicāraṇāyām iṣṭo 'rthaḥ pakṣa iti.

Cf. PST(Ms) 115a4: vicāraṇāyām iṣṭo 'rthaḥ pakṣa iti ...

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example (同喩 *sādharmyadr̥ṣṭānta*),” and that “*Lungui* is not the work of Vasubandhu or a work in which Vasubandhu was not skilled,” and further that “When he became skilled, he composed the *Lunshi*, which regards the statement ‘whatever is being produced is impermanent’ as the essence of a positive example. [That] is not different from our position.” (cf. NPSH 333,22–334,1: 又集量論中陳那云。論軌論中以瓶有法爲同喩者，其論非是世親所造，或是世親未學時造。學成以後造論式論，卽以所作無常爲同喩體，不異我義; Hattori 1968: 114–115, n. 2.4; Katsura 2014: 102, n. 2). Since in his PSV Dignāga criticized the VVi in the same way that Wengui reports Dignāga’s criticism of the *Lungui* (cf. PSV I 5,17–20; PST I 86,4–87,2; PSV ad PS 4.14cd = **Ffrg. 5**), we now know that the *Lungui* must be identical with the VVi. However, the PSV contains no passage stating any view similar to the one reported by Wengui regarding the *Lunshi*. Nonetheless, a view similar to the one reported by Wengui is found in Uddyotakara. Ui conjectures that the reported statement is from the *Vādaividhāna* (cf. NV 136,21–24; Ui 1929: 483f.; Frauwallner 1933: 301, Fragment A I 8).

<sup>50</sup> Regarding these fragments, Steinkellner 2017 includes a comprehensive set of notes as well as an English translation.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Steinkellner 2017: 136–137.

- **Ffrg. 2** (definition of *pratijñā*):<sup>52</sup> PST II 62,1–2: sādhyābhidhānaṃ pratijñeti.  
Cf. PST(Ms) 115a3–4: vādavidhau sādhyābhidhānaṃ pratijñālakṣaṇam.
- **Ffrg. 3** (definition of *pratijñā*):<sup>53</sup> PST II 62,8–9: agnibījānitya-tvānām anumeyatvenodāharaṇāt. dharmamātram anumeyatvenābhimatam iti gamyate.  
Cf. PST(Ms) 146a6: na hi sādhyadharmavyatirekeṇa vādavidhāv anyat sādhyam uktam, sādhyadharmaviśiṣṭasya dharmiṇaḥ sādhyatvenābhidhānāt.
- **Ffrg. 9** (definition of *pratyakṣa*):<sup>54</sup> PST I 87,3–12: tato 'rthād vijñānaṃ pratyakṣam iti. yasya viśayasya vijñānaṃ vyapadiśyate, yadi tata eva tad utpadyate, nānyataḥ, nāpi tato 'nyataś ca, taj jñānaṃ pratyakṣam. tad yathā rūpādijñānaṃ sukhādijñānaṃ iti. etena bhrāntijñānaṃ nirastam, yathā śuktikāyāṃ rajatajñānaṃ. tad dhi rajatena vyapadiśyate rajatajñānaṃ iti. na ca tad rajatād utpadyate, śuktikayaiva tu tad upajanyate. samvṛtijñānaṃ apy anenāpāstam. tathā hi tad ghaṭādibhir vyapadiśyate, ghaṭajñānaṃ ghaṭajñānaṃ ity evam. na tu tat tebhyo bhavati, teṣāṃ samvṛtisattvenākāraṇatvāt. rūpādibhya eva hi tathāsanniviṣṭebhyas tad bhavati. anumānjñānaṃ apy anenaiva nirastam. dhūmajñāna andhasmṛtibhyām api hi tad bhavati, nāgnita eva. tato bhavaty eva, na tu na bhavatīty ayam apy atrārtho 'bhimataḥ.
- **Ffrg. 10** (definition of *anumāna*):<sup>55</sup> PST II 60,1–6: nāntarīyākārthadarśanaṃ tadvido 'numānaṃ iti. yo 'rtho yam antareṇa na bhavati, sa tasya nāntarīyakaḥ, yathāgner dhūmaḥ. tasya darśanaṃ anumānaṃ, anumīyate 'neneti kṛtvā. anumeyārthajñānaṃ tu phalam. anena vyabhicāridarśanaṃ nirastam.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Steinkellner 2017: 137–138.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Steinkellner 2017: 138.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Steinkellner 2017: 23–24.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Steinkellner 2017: 135–136.

sambandhasmrtyapekṣatām liṅgadarśanasya darśayitum – tadvida ity uktam. yas taṃ veti – nāntarīyako 'yam iti, tasyā-numānam, nānyasya.

With regard to fragments representing the VVi's theories of reason/pseudo-reason (*hetu/hetvābhāsa*) and example/pseudo-example (*dr̥ṣṭānta/dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsa*), Katsura and his team have collected Sanskrit fragments from chapters 3 and 4 of the PST. In those cases where the PST does not contain fragments, they have reconstructed Sanskrit texts corresponding to the Tibetan fragments from the same chapters of the PSV. These are as follows:<sup>56</sup>

- **Ffgr. 4** (definition of *hetu*), Katsura 2011: 1240, 6–10: tādr̥gvinābhāvidharmopadarśanam hetur iti. yo 'rthaḥ śabdānityatvādīḥ sādhyāḥ tādr̥ṣā tajjātīyena vinā yo 'rtho na kvacid bhavati, yathā prayatnāntarīyakatvam anityatvenāgninā dhūma iti, sa tādr̥gvinābhāvī dharmas tasyopadarśanam, upadarśyate 'neneti vacanam, yathā prayatnāntarīyakatvād ityevamādīḥ, sa hetuḥ. yena tu nopadarśyate, sa na hetuḥ. yathā cākṣuṣatvād anityāḥ śabda ityevamādīḥ.
- **Ffgr. 5** (definition of *dr̥ṣṭānta*), Katsura 2016: 1244, n. 11; cf. Ono 2012: 1009: PSV ad PS 4.14cd: *vādavidhāv uktam – tayoh sambandhanidarśanam dr̥ṣṭāntaḥ, yad idam abhidhānam – yathā ghaṭa iti, yena ca ( : vā) sambandho nidarśyate – yat prayatnāntarīyakaṃ tad anityam iti.*<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> As for texts from the PST, I show here, with only one exception, the critical texts of Katsura's team without any editorial remarks. These will be included in the publication of the critical edition of PST chapters 3–4. In the Sanskrit reconstruction of the PSV, **bold** typeface is used for words from pratīkas in the PST, roman typeface for words alluded to in the PST and in other sources. *Italics* are used for words retranslated from the Tibetan translations. In the Sanskrit text of the PST, in contrast, **bold** typeface is used for words from the PSV.

<sup>57</sup> As is suggested by Wengui (cf. note 49) and confirmed in the PSV (cf. PSV ad PS 4.14cd: **evam ca** yathā ghaṭa ity etad ayuktam, **nidarśya-syādr̥ṣṭāntatvāt, iyatā** cāvinābhāvitvasyānidarśanāt), Dignāga seems to be criticizing the VVi's theory of the example when arguing that the *Vādavidhi*'s statement of the example, as comprising just the mention of

Cf. PST(Ms) 183a1–2: **tayoḥ sambandhanidarśanam dṛṣṭānta** iti. **tayos** tādr̥ktadavinābhāvinoḥ sādhyasādhanayoḥ **sambandho** 'vinābhāvitvaṃ **nidarśyate** yena, sa **dṛṣṭāntaḥ**. tasya svarūpaṃ darśayann āha – **yad idam abhidhānam yathā ghaṭa** iti. **yena** ca vākyena (*em., cf.* ngag gang gis T: yenāvācākyena Ms) **sambandho nidarśyate**, sa dṛṣṭāntaḥ. tat punaḥ kīdr̥ṣam ity āha – **yat prayatnānantarīyakam tad anityam** iti; PST(Ms) 255b3: **tayoḥ sambandhadarśanam dṛṣṭāntaḥ**, **tadvipakṣayor veti vacanāt**.

- **Ffgr. 6:** PSV ad PS 3.7b': [**vāda**vidhau tv **ayam viruddhahetāv/ viruddhahetvābhāsa antarbhūtaḥ**.]<sup>58</sup>

the property possessor such as “like a pot,” fails to show the invariable connection. The last sentence of this Sanskrit reconstruction of **Ffgr. 5**, then, should not begin with “*yena vā*,” contrary to what Katsura and I once proposed in earlier papers (cf. Katsura 2016: 1244, n. 11; Ono 2012: 1009; this reading is suggested by Kanakavarman’s Tibetan translation: PSV[K] 152b6; cf. also Katsura 1986: 54; 110, n. 55), but should begin with “*yena ca*,” as I have shown above. In this way, according to the VVi’s definition of the example, the mention of just the property possessor, here “*yathā ghaṭa*,” is sufficient to show the invariable connection, here “*yat prayatnānantarīyakam tad anityam*.” Adopting the reading “*yena ca*” appears to be in harmony with the PST’s explanation and Frauwallner’s interpretation as well (cf. Frauwallner 1957: 119: “Das Beispiel ist die Mitteilung der Verbindung dieser beiden. Wodurch die Verbindung (, d. h. die untrennbare Verbindung (*avinābhāvaḥ*), dieser beiden, d.h. des solchen und des untrennbar damit Verbundenen, also des zu Beweisenden und des Beweisenden,) mitgeteilt wird, das ist das Beispiel, wie wenn man sagt: ‘wie ein Topf’; ferner wodurch (\**yena ca*; MO) man die Verbindung aufzeigt: ‘Was durch eine Bemühung entstanden ist, das ist nicht ewig’.”). I would like to correct my previous reconstruction as well as my interpretation thereof (cf. Ono 2012: 1009).

<sup>58</sup> This is a tentative reconstruction by Katsura’s team. In spite of the mention of the *Vāda*vidhi in **Ffgr. 6**, Katsura does not take this to be a fragment of that text. It is, however, clearly a statement by Dignāga. Dignāga asserts here that the logical fallacy of *pratijñāvirodha* in *Nyāyasūtra* 5.2.4 (*pratijñāhetvor virodhaḥ pratijñāvirodhaḥ*) should have been included in the category of pseudo-reasons as set out in the VVi (cf. Kitagawa 1965: 144). Although this statement is certainly related to the VVi’s second



- **Ffrg. 7** (definition of *hetvābhāsa*), Katsura 2016: 1244, n. 2: PSV ad PS 3.49a: *vādaividhau tāvad asiddhānaikāntikaviruddhārthā eva hetudoṣā/hetvābhāsā iti. ...*<sup>59</sup>  
Cf. PST(Ms) 163a3–4: vaiśeṣikasya indriyakāni sāmānyāni santi. ata **aindriyakatvād anitya** iti sādhayatas tad viruddha ity ucyate.  
Cf. PST(Ms) 163a5: **sāṅkhyasya sat kāraṇe kāryaṃ sambhavād** iti sambhavyasya sattvena virodha iti pratijñārthanirākaraṇād **dvitīyaḥ** kila **viruddhaḥ**.
- **Ffrg. 8** (definition of *dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsa*), Katsura 2016: 1244, n. 11: PSV ad PS 4.18ab: **asiddhārthatā dr̥ṣṭāntadoṣaḥ**, *yathā buddhivad ghaṭavac cety uktam*.  
Cf. PST(Ms) 184a2–3: asparśatvān nityaḥ śabdo **buddhivad** iti sādhyadharmāsiddhatā, **ghaṭavad** iti sādhyasāadhanadharmāsiddhatā.

When viewed in light of these results, Frauwallner's judgement to ascribe these fragments to the VVi can be accepted for the most part, with the exception of **Ffrg. 6**. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that Frauwallner's hypothesis concerning the entire structure of the VVi's *sādhana* section is without problems. In my opinion, his hypothesis that the VVi, unlike Yogācāra's works teaching the eight *sādhanas* (八能立), adopted the so-called three-member syllogism and excluded verbal testimony (*āgama*) from valid cognition must be reconsidered.<sup>60</sup>

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*viruddhahetu* mentioned in **Ffrg. 7**, it still cannot be regarded as a VVi fragment.

<sup>59</sup> Katsura does not provide a Sanskrit reconstruction of remaining part, probably because there remain many unclear points. My tentative reconstruction is as follows: *tatrāsiddhādīnām udāharaṇam evāsti, na tu lakṣaṇam, yathā cākṣuṣatvād adhrauvyam ity asiddhaḥ*, amūrtatvān nitya ity anaikāntikaḥ, vaiśeṣikānām **aindriyakatvād anitya** ity eko viruddhaḥ, sāṅkhyasya **sat kāraṇe kāryaṃ sambhavād** iti dvitīyaś ca viruddhaḥ.

<sup>60</sup> See Ono 2012 and Kuijp and McKeown 2013.

### 3.3. Sanskrit fragments of the *jāti* section of the *Vādaividhi*

In terms of the remaining **Ffrg. 11–24**, my team has recovered Sanskrit fragments from the PST manuscript and produced reconstructions of the PSV from the Tibetan translation in those cases where the PST manuscript did not contain fragments.<sup>61</sup> In addition, I provide corresponding passages in the TŚ.<sup>62</sup>

- **Ffrg. 11** (classification of *jāti*): PSV ad PS 6.21: *vādaividhau tu – viparītatvābhūtatvaviruddhatvāny uttaradoṣā ity uktam*. Cf. PST(Ms) 254b2: tatra **viparītaṃ** pūrvapākṣikaprayukta-hetuvilakṣaṇam. asatyam **anṛtaṃ** yasyā artho na tathā yathā pratijñāyate. **viruddho** yasyāḥ sahanavasthāyī. Cf. TŚ 30b25–26: 難有三種過失。一顛倒難，二不實義難，三相違難。若難有此三種過失，則墮負處。
- **Ffrg. 12** (*jāti*s characterized as being inverted): PSV ad PS 6.21: **tatra tāvad viparītaṃ sādharṃyavaidharṃyavikalpāviśeṣaprāptyaprāptyahetūpalabdhisamśayānuktikāryasamādi**. Cf. TŚ 30b26–c1: 一顛倒難者。立難不與正義相應，是名顛倒難。顛倒難有十種。一同相難，二異相難，三長相難，四無異難，五至不至難，六無因難，七顯別因難，八疑難，九未說難，十事異難。

<sup>61</sup> As for fragments from the PST, I show here in principle (with the exception of a few crucial points) the critical text edited by my team without any editorial remarks. These will be included in the publication of the critical edition of PST chapter 6.

<sup>62</sup> With few exceptions (cf. Frauwallner 1957: nn. 61, 63), Frauwallner did not refer to specific correspondences in his article, although he definitely recognized the close correspondences between the two texts as a whole (cf. Frauwallner 1957: 129: “Schließlich, was das Wichtigste ist, die Erklärungen der einzelnen falschen Einwände stimmen im Tarkaśāstram, bei Vasubandhu und Dignāga durchwegs überein.”; “Schon der Vergleich, wie beide die falschen Einwände behandeln, ist belehrend. Vasubandhu hat die Zahl der falschen Einwände um zwei verringert. Er bespricht nur zwei unrichtige und zwei widersprechende falsche Einwände, während das Tarkaśāstram je drei kennt. Seine Darstellung ist knapper und straffer. Aber inhaltlich hat er kaum etwas geändert.”).

- **Ffrg. 13:** PSV ad PS 6.21: [**tatra caturṇām viparītatvam. anaikāntikena tu sādharmyādinaikāntikahetvanumānaṃ codayati. aikāntikasya tv anaikāntiko yathā viparītas tathā viruddho 'pi, sahānavasthānāt. arthādhiGAME caikāntikah satya ity anaikāntiko nāmāsatyatvena śakyate vaktum.**]
- **Ffrg. 14a (vikalpasama):**  
Cf. PST(Ms) 248b4–6: tad yathānityaḥ śabdaḥ prayatnānantarīyakatvād ghaṭavad iti. jātivādy āha – **saty etasmin sādharmye** ghaṭa eva pākyaś cākṣuṣaś ca. tena **ghaṭa eva cākṣuṣatvāt pākyatvāc cānityo bhaviṣyati, na śabdaḥ.** śabda evācākṣuṣo 'pākyaḥ śrāvaṇaś ca, na ghaṭaḥ. tena **śabda evācākṣuṣatvāditvān nityo bhaviṣyati, na ghaṭa iti.**  
Cf. TŚ 31a16–20: 外曰。汝立聲與瓦器同相，因功力生故，別有所以。一可燒熟不可燒熟，二爲眼所見不爲眼所見等。如是別聲與瓦器各有所以。聲因功力生常住，瓦器因功力生無常。是故聲常住。
- **Ffrg. 14b:** PST(Ms) 254b5–6: vādavidhau hi pākyatvasyānaikāntikatvadarśanāyoktam – na vinānityatvena prayatnānantarīyakatvaṃ dṛṣṭam, agnineva dhūma ity anumānāya tad uktam. **na tu pākyatvādinā vinā na dṛṣṭam vyajanānilādiṣv anityatvam.** ato viparītam etad iti.  
Cf. TŚ 31a20–25: 是難顛倒。何以故。我立因與無常不相離，與常相離。顯此因爲無常比智，譬如爲火比智顯煙。煙者與火不相離。是故我立因成就不可動。汝顯別聲不可燒熟，是故常者，欲瞋苦樂風等不可燒熟，而是無常。是故不可燒熟不可立爲常因。
- **Ffrg. 14c:** PST(Ms) 255a2–4: vādavidhāv uktam – śrāvaṇatvaṃ ca śabdasya prayatnānantarīyakasyāpi sato dṛṣṭam. ataḥ prasaktam apy asmād aśrāvaṇatvānumānaṃ dṛṣṭasāmarthyān nivartate. na tu prayatnānantarīyakasyāpi sato 'sya nityatvaṃ dṛṣṭam, yat sāmartyād anityatvānumānaṃ nivarteta. ato viparītam evaitad iti.
- **Ffrg. 14d:** PST(Ms) 255a5–7: [(**satyam etad** iti) vādavidhikāraḥ. iha dvidhānaikāntikatvaṃ codyate, sādharmyeṇa vā vipakṣe 'pi

hetor astitvapradaśānāt, vaidharmyeṇa vā sādhyavyāvṛttau hetor vyāvṛtṭiyabhāvapradaśānāt. tatra **yady** asmābhiḥ pākyatvasya **sādharmyeṇā**naikāntikatvam **ucyeta**, tadā **satyam etat** – na tu pākyatvādinā vinā na dr̥ṣṭam ityādikam uttarāṃ pūrvapakṣeṇa na sambadhyeta. na **tu** sādharmaṇocyate, kiṃ tarhi **vaidharmyeṇa**. pareṇa hy apākyatvādinā śabdasya nityatvam uktam. tatra **sādhyābhāve hetor abhāva upadarśyaḥ**. **na cāpākyatvaṃ sādhyasya** nityatvasyā**bhāve nāsti**. ato 'naikāntikam iti.]<sup>63</sup>

- **Ffrg. 14e:** PST(Ms) 255b3–4: **na tu kasyacīc chrāvaṇasya nityatvaṃ dr̥ṣṭam aśrāvaṇasya caikāntenānityatvam, yat sādharmaṇyavaidharmaṇyābhyāṃ nityatvam anumīyeta**. ta-smād viparītam etad iti.
- **Ffrg. 15a** (*prāptyaprāptisama*): PST(Ms) 256a3–4: **yady ayam hetuḥ prāpya sādhyati, aviśiṣṭaḥ sādhyena prāpnotītyādinā ya uktaḥ**

Cf. PSV ad PS 6.3: *tad yathā prayatnānantarīyakatvād anityaḥ śabda iti sodāhāraṇe hetāv ukte yady ayam hetuḥ prāpya sādhyam sādhyati, aviśiṣṭaḥ sādhyena prāpnoti, prāptasaritsāgarajalāviśeṣavat. na cāsiddhena prāptiḥ. sādhyam cet siddham kasyāyam hetuḥ. athāprāpya, aprāptair aviśiṣṭatvād ahetubhir asādhanam.*

Cf. TŚ 31c7–13: 外曰。若因至所立義，共所立義雜，則不成立義，譬如江水入海水無復江水。因亦如是故不成因。若所立義未成就，因不能至。若至所立義，已成就用因何爲。是故因不成就。若因不至所立義者，則同餘物不能成因。是故因不成就。若因不至，則無所能，譬如火不至不能燒，刀不至不能斫。

- **Ffrg. 15b:**

Cf. PST(Ms) 256a2: pūrvapakṣavādinā jñāpako hetur uktaḥ, paras tu kārakam adhyāropya dūṣayati. ato viparītam ucyate, jñāpakahetuviparyayeṇa codanāt.

<sup>63</sup> With regard to **Ffrg. 14d**, Frauwallner himself hesitated to admit it as a real fragment and did not include a translation of it in his German reconstruction of the VVi (Frauwallner 1957: 140, n. 5). I think his judgment is correct.

Cf. TŚ 31c13–15: 論曰。是難顛倒。因有二種。一生因，二顯不相離因。汝難若依生因，則成難。若依顯因，則是顛倒。

• **Ffrg. 16a** (*upalabdhisama*):

Cf. PSV ad PS 6.16ab: **anyenāpi hetunā sādhyasyopalabdhir upadarśyate yena, tad upalabdhisamam. tad yathā pūrvavad anityatve kṛte nāyaṃ hetur anityatve, vidyudādāv anyataḥ pratyakṣatvāder anityatvasiddheḥ. na hi tat tasya hetuḥ, yad yena vināpi bhavati. aparas tv etad evānyathā prayuñkte – nāyam anityatve hetur avyāpakatvāt, tad yathā caitanye svapanam.**

Cf. TŚ 32a9–23: 依別因無常法顯故，此則非因。是名顯別因難。外曰。若依功力聲無常者，若無功力處，即應是常。如電光風等不依功力生，亦為無常所攝。是故立無常不須依功力，功力非因故。若是因者，離功力餘處應無無常。譬如離火立煙，煙是火正因，煙與火不相離故。功力則不如此。是故不成因。復次，功力不能立無常義。何以故。不遍故。依功力生若遍者，得立無常。若不遍者，則不得立無常。譬如有人立義一切樹有神識。何以故。樹能眠故，譬如尸利沙樹。有人難言。樹神識不成就。何以故。因不遍故。一尸利沙樹眠，餘樹不眠。是眠不遍一切樹。是故眠不能立一切樹有神識。依功力生亦如是。不遍一切無常故，是故不能立無常。

• **Ffrg. 16b**: PST(Ms) 256a4–6: **vādaividhāv uktam – na hy evam avocāma – prayatnānantarīyakatvenaivānityatvaṃ sidhyati, nānyatheti. yady anyad api jñāpakam asti, prītāḥ sma ity etad kila viparītam, prayatnānantarīyakatvād anitya eveti vivakṣite prayatnānantarīyakatvād evānityatvādhyāropād iti.**

Cf. TŚ 32a24–26: 論曰。是難顛倒。我說不如此，不說依功力生是因能顯一切無常餘因不能。若有別因能顯無常，我則歡喜，我事成故。

• **(Ffrg. 16c = NV 543,17–18: yad eva prayatnānantarīyakam tad eva tasmād anityam iti.)**

Cf. TŚ 32a30–b4: 若我說一切無常依功力生者，汝可難言。依功力生是因不遍故不成就，此難則勝。我說聲等有依功力生者悉是無常。不說一切無常皆依功力生。是故汝難顛倒。

• **Ffrg. 17a** (*anuktisama*):

Cf. PST(Ms) 256b5–6: jātivādinā hi prāg ukter hetvabhāvena sādhyābhāvaḥ prasañjitaḥ. yadī prayatnānantarīyakatvād ity etasmād dhetor anityaḥ śabdaḥ, prāg ukter hetvabhāvān nānitya iti prāptam. ataḥ prān nityaḥ san katham anityaḥ ka-riṣyata iti.

Cf. TS 32c7–10: 外曰。若說依功力言語爲因聲無常者，則何所至。未說依功力言語，前聲是常，是義得至。前世聲已常，云何今無常。

• **Ffrg. 17b**: PST(Ms) 256b7: atra vāda vidhikāreṇoktam – viparītam etat. yasmāj jñāpaka iti kṛtvā hetur ukto na dhvaṃsaka iti. jātivādī tu dhvaṃsakaṃ kṛtvā dūṣayātīti.

Cf. TS 32c10–13: 論曰。是難顛倒。何以故。我立因爲顯義，不爲生不爲滅。若我立因壞滅，汝難則勝。若汝難我未說前未了聲無常，是難相似。若以壞滅因難我，是難顛倒。

• **Ffrg. 18a** (*kāryasama*):

Cf. PSV ad PS 6.7abc': tad yathānityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakatvād ghaṭavad iti yadī ghaṭo 'nyena kāryatvenānityaḥ, kim atra śabdasya.

• **Ffrg. 18b**: PST(Ms) 257a3: yena tena prakāreṇa sāmānyena yat kṛtaṃ tad anityam iti sādhye ghaṭakāryatvādinā viśeṣeṇa pratyavasthānād viparītam etad iti vāda vidhikāro manyate.

Cf. TS 32c17–20: 論曰。是難顛倒。何以故。我不說與器同事故聲無常，我說一切物同依因得生故無常，不關同事。譬如瓦器故聲無常。烟是異物而能顯火。瓦器亦如是能顯聲無常。

• **Ffrg. 19** (*jāti*s characterized as being untrue) = PSV ad PS 6.21: **abhūtaṃ prasañgārthāpattisamādi**.

Cf. TS 33a5–8: 二不實義難者。妄語故不實，妄語者不如義無有義。是名不實義難。不實義難有三種。一顯不許義難，二顯義至難，三顯對譬義難。

• **Ffrg. 20a** (*prasaṅgasama*): PST(Ms) 257a5: anityaḥ śabdo naimittikatvād ghaṭavad iti kṛte jātivādinoktam – ghaṭa eva tāvad anitya ity atra ko hetur iti.

Cf. TŚ 33a9–13: 論曰。聲無常。何以故。依因緣生故。譬如瓦器。是義已立。外曰。我見瓦器依因緣生。何因令其無常。若無因立瓦器無常者。聲亦應不依常因得常。

- **Ffrg. 20b:** PST(Ms) 257a5f.: atra vāda vidhikṛtoktam – **abhūtam** etad iti. kasmāt. **na hi dṛṣṭam apy arthaṃ hetusādhyam kathayāmaḥ**, dṛṣṭam caitat – naimittiko ghaṭo nātyantabhāvīti.

Cf. TŚ 33a13–15: 論曰。是難不實。何以故。已了知不須更以因成就。現見瓦器有因非恒。有何須更覓無常因。是故此難不實。

- **Ffrg. 21a** (*arthāpattisama*): PST(Ms) 257a7–b1: nāsty ātmānupalabdher vandhyāputravād iti kṛte jātivādinoktam – arthād āpannam upalabhyamānānām sattvam, upalabhyamānam api kiñcin nāsty evālātacakrādīti.

Cf. TŚ 33a16–21: 論曰。無我。何以故。不可顯故。譬如石女兒。此義已立。外曰。是義義至。若可顯定有不可顯定無者。可顯或有或無。不可顯亦應如是。譬如火輪陽焰乾闥婆城。是可顯而不能立有。若可顯不能定立有。則不可顯不能定立無。

- **Ffrg. 21b:** PST(Ms) 257b1: **abhūtam** etad iti vāda vidhau. **upalabdheḥ sattvāpattir ity adhyāropād** iti.

Cf. TŚ 33a21–28: 論曰。是難不實。有何道理是義義至。不可顯物畢竟不有。是義不至。可顯物者有二種。有義至有非義至有。義至者。若有雨必有雲。若有雲則不定或有雨或無雨。由烟知火。於此中不必有義至。若見烟知有火。無烟知無火。是義不至。何以故。於赤鐵赤炭見有火無烟。是故顯物義至難不實。

- **Ffrg. 22** (*jāti*s characterized as being contradictory): PSV ad PS 6.21: *viruddham anutpattinityasamādi*.

Cf. TŚ 33c16–19: 三相違難者。義不並立。名為相違。譬如明闇坐起等不並立。是名相違。相違難有三種。一未生難。二常難。三自義相違難。

- **Ffrg. 23a** (*anutpattisama*):

Cf. PST 257b1: **viruddham etad asan nityaś cetīti** (*em., cf. zhes pa ... zhes pa T: ceti Ms*), [asattvanityatvayor ekatrānavasthānāt.]<sup>64</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Here, the Tibetan translation of the PST (*med pa rtag go zhes pa 'di*

Cf. TŚ 33c22–25: 論曰。是難相違。何以故。未生時聲未有。未有云何常。若有人說。石女男兒黑女兒白。此義亦應成就。若不有不得常。若常不得不有。不有而常則自相違。

- (Ffrg. 23b = NV 539,6–11: *apare tu prāg utpatteḥ kāraṇābhāvād ity ukte 'rthāpattisamaiveyam iti, prāg utpatteḥ prayatnānantarīyakatvasyābhāvād arthād aprayatnānantarīyako 'prayatnānantarīyakatvāc ca nitya iti kṛta uttaraṃ brūyāt. nāyam niyamo 'prayatnānantarīyakaṃ nityam iti. trayī hi tasya gatiḥ, kiṃcin nityam ākāśādi, kiṃcid anityaṃ vidyudādi, kiṃcid asad evākāśakusumādi.*)<sup>65</sup>

Cf. TŚ 33c25–34a2: 此難與義至難不實難相似。何以故。非是實難故。依功力聲無常。是義已立。是義至得。若不依功力。則應是常。此義不實。何以故。不依功力者有三種。常無常不有。常者如虛空。無常者如雷電等。不有者如空華等。此三種悉不依功力。而汝偏用一種爲常。是故不實。

- Ffrg. 24a (*nityasama*):

Cf. PSV ad PS 6.4bcd: *tad yathānityaḥ śabda iti tasya nityam anityatayā yogaḥ prāptaḥ, ajaḍasvabhāvatvād dharmāṇām, (ataś ca nitya eveti ...).*

Cf. TŚ 34a3–5: 外曰。於無常處常有無常。一切法不捨性故。無常中有常。依無常故得常。

- Ffrg. 24b:

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*ni 'gal pa ste zhes pa med pa nyid dang rtag pa nyid dag gcig tu mi gnas pa'i phyir ro*) requires an emendation of the Ms's reading “*viruddham etad asan nityaś ceti, asattvanityatvayor ekatrānavasthānāt*” to “*viruddham etad asan nityaś cetīti, asattvanityatvayor ekatrānavasthānāt*.” If this is accepted, then the quotation must be presumed to end at “*cetīti*.” Moreover, the preceding part of the PSV, i.e., “*yasmāt prāg utpatteḥ śabda eva nāsti, tasmād,*” can be, in my opinion, included in the VVi's explanation of *anutpattisama*, since the corresponding section of the TŚ includes this sentence. The ascription of the portion in square brackets will be discussed on a later occasion.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Frauwallner 1957: 128, n. 63.



Cf. PST(Ms) 257b3: **nityasamam api viruddham** uktam. katham nāmānitya eva sa nityaḥ setsyatīty (atrāha – **nityasamam apītyādi**).

Cf. TŚ 34a6: 是義相違. 何以故. 若已無常云何得常.

Detailed interpretations of these fragments can be found in Ono 2017b.

### 3.4. Some problems regarding the fragments of the *Vādavidhi* collected by Frauwallner

In light of the new evidence provided by the PST manuscript, almost all the fragments identified by Frauwallner can now be accepted as fragments of the *Vādavidhi*. **Ff. 13** and **Ff. 23a**, however, along with the above mentioned **Ff. 6**, need to be reconsidered. Frauwallner interpreted **Ff. 13** in the following manner:

[Davon sind die vier (ersten) verkehrt. Denn während mit Hilfe eines sicheren Grundes eine Schlußfolgerung vorgebracht wird, erwidert (der Gegner) mit Hilfe einer unsicheren Gleichartigkeit usw. So wie das Unsichere dem Sicheren gegenüber verkehrt ist, so ist es aber auch widersprechend, weil (beides) nicht nebeneinander bestehen kann. Denn da beim Erkennen eines Gegenstandes das Sichere wahr ist, kann man zeigen, daß das Unsichere nicht wahr ist.]<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Frauwallner 1957: 122; PSV(V)[D]83b6–7, [P]91a1–3: *de la bzhi po rnam kyis phyin ci log nyid ni 'di ltar phyogs gcig tu nges pa'i gtan tshigs kyi rjes su dpog par brjod la / ma nges pa ni (D: pa'i P) chos mthun pa la sogs pas 'gal zla 'jog par byed do // phyogs gcig tu nges pa ni ji ltar ma nges pa dang phyin ci log bzhin du 'gal yang lhan cig mi gnas pa yin pa'i phyir ro // bden na yang don phyogs gcig tu nges par sbyor ba'i lta na ma nges pa yin pas brdzun yin yang rnam par rtog pa mtshungs par brjod nus so //*; PSV(K)[P]175a2–4: *de la bzhi ni phyin ci log yin te / gang gi phyir nges pa'i gtan tshigs kyis dpog pa la ma nges pa chos mthun pa la sogs pas rtsod par byed pa yin no // nges pa la ni ji ltar ma nges pa phyin ci log yin pa de bzhin du 'gal ba yang yin te lhan cig mi gnas pa'i phyir ro // don rtogs pa la ni nges pa bden pa yin pas ma nges pa zhes bya ba ni mi bden pa nyid du bstan par nus pa yin no //*

While hesitating to regard this passage as a literal quotation, Frauwallner recognized it as at least representing an idea of Vasubandhu and added it to his German translation of the VVi.<sup>67</sup> I believe, however, that this idea did not derive from Vasubandhu.

In order to clarify this problem, the context of this passage must be reconsidered. At the beginning of the *paramata* section of PS chapter 6, Dignāga uses the following *kārikā* to summarize his criticism of the VVi's *jāti* theory:

**viparītānṛtatve ca vādaavidhau tu jātiṣu /**  
**doṣatrayaṃ viruddhatvaṃ naiva bhedo 'tra lakṣyate //PS 6.21//**

In the *Vādaavidhi*, on the other hand [i.e., unlike in my explanation of *jāti*s in previous *kārikās*], the triad of fallacies (*doṣatraya*), i.e., invertedness (*viparītatva*), untruthfulness (*anṛtatva* = *abhūtatva*) and contradiction (*viruddhatva*), are [indicated] regarding false rejoinders. [However,] no difference is found in this [triad].

Continuing the train of thought of this *kārikā*, Dignāga paraphrases *pādas* abc in his running commentary with the quotation from the VVi:

*vādaavidhau tu –viparītatvābhūtatvaviruddhatvāni uttaradoṣā ity uktam. tatra tāvad viparītaṃ sādharmaṃvaidharmaṃvikaḥkalpāviśeṣaprāptyaḥprāptyaḥhetūpalabdhisamśāyanuktikāryasamādi. (Ff. 11–12)*

In the *Vādaavidhi*, on the other hand (i.e., unlike in my explanation of *jāti*s in previous *kārikās*) [it is said that] “fallacies of rejoinders are invertedness, untruthfulness and contradiction. Among these, at first, *sādharmaṃsāma*, *vaidharmaṃsāma*, *vikaḥpasāma*, *aviśeṣasāma*, *prāptyaḥprāptisāma*, *ahetusāma*, *upalabdhisāma*, *samśāyasāma*, *anuktisāma*, *kāryasāma* etc., are [characterized as being] inverted.”

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Frauwallner 1957: 122, n. 38: “Dieser Absatz ist wohl kein wörtliches Zitat, dürfte aber Gedanken Vasubandhu's wiedergeben.”

The passage in question (**Ffrg. 13**) comes immediately after this paraphrase. Our Sanskrit reconstruction and translation of it are as follows:

**tatra caturṇām viparītatvam. anaikāntikena tu sādharmyādī-  
naikāntikahetvanumānaṃ codayanti. aikāntikasya tv anai-  
kāntiko yathā viparītas tathā viruddho 'pi, sahānavasthānāt.  
arthādhigame caikāntikaḥ satya ity anaikāntiko nāmāsatya-  
tvena śakyate vaktum.**

Among these [ten *jātis*], the [first] four are [characterized as being] inverted. Certainly (*tu*), [the opponents in these four *jātis*] raise an objection against the inference endowed with a conclusive reason by using an inconclusive (*anaikāntika*) [reason] through similarity, etc. However (*tu*), just as an inconclusive [reason] is inverted against a conclusive [reason], [the former] is also contradictory [to the latter], since [the two] cannot co-exist. And an inconclusive [reason] can also be called untrue (*asatya*),<sup>68</sup> since [the reason that is] conclusive for the understanding of an object is true.

The structure of the sentences “*tu...tu...*,” which is not necessarily clear from the two Tibetan translations used by Frauwallner, can be ascertained on the basis of the Sanskrit manuscript. The author of this paragraph first recognizes that the first four *jātis*, i.e., *sādharmyasama*, *vaidharmyasama*, *vikalpasama* and *aviśeṣasama*, are characterized as being inverted (just like they are classified in the VVi), since the opponents in those *jātis* raise an objection against the inference endowed with a conclusive reason by bringing up an inconclusive reason, such as “formlessness” (*amūrtatva*) in the case of *sādharmya/vaidharmyasama*, or “uncookableness” (*apākyatva*) or “invisibleness” (*acākṣuṣatva*) in the case of *vikalpasama*.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> This “*asatya*” can be understood as a synonym of “*anṛta/abhūta*” (cf. PST(Ms) 254b2: *asatyam anṛtam* yasyā artho na tathā yathā pratijñāyate; PST(Ms) 257b2f.: *yataś cāsan nityatvam asatyam*, ato 'bhūtam; also note 73 of this paper).

<sup>69</sup> Cf. PST(Ms) 254b3f.: **tatra caturṇām** iti sādharmyasamādīnām. **anaikāntikena tu sādharmyādineti** sādharmyavaidharmyasamayor amūrta-

Although Vasubandhu, unlike Dignāga,<sup>70</sup> does not seem to use the concept of the “inconclusive” (*anaikāntika*) reason in his criticisms of first four *jātis*,<sup>71</sup> the first two sentences of this paragraph could possibly be ascribed to Vasubandhu. However, the following sentences (*aikāntikasya tu ...*) cannot be ascribed to him; on the contrary, they should rather be ascribed to someone who disagrees with Vasubandhu, since they assert that there is no difference between the three classifications in the VVi. This is done by showing that a *jāti* like *sādharmyasama*, which is classified as *viparītatva*, can also be classified as both *viruddhatva* and *anṛtatva/abhūtatva*.

This “someone” is none other than Dignāga himself, as is also confirmed by Jinendrabuddhi’s commentary.<sup>72</sup> Dignāga expressed the same viewpoint also in his criticism of the VVi’s explanations of the last four *jātis*. There he criticizes that *prasaṅgasama* and *arthāpattisama*, classified as *abhūtatva* in the VVi, can also be classified as both *viparītatva* and *viruddhatva*, and that *anutpattisama* and *nityasama*, classified as *viruddhatva* in the VVi, can also be classified as both *viparītatva* and *abhūtatva*.<sup>73</sup> And finally, Dignāga

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tvena, vikalpāviśeṣasamayor apākyācākṣuṣatvādinā.

By the way, it is not fully clear to me whether Jinendrabuddhi’s intention here is to relate *aviśeṣasama* to “*apākyācākṣuṣatva*.” In this context, *aviśeṣasama* should rather be related to “*prameyatva*.”

<sup>70</sup> Cf. PSV ad PS 6.8–14.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Ffrg. 14abc, 14e. It is, however, worthy of note that Vasubandhu exemplifies the inconclusive reason in his *Vādavidhi* as follows: “Sound is permanent, because it is formless.” (cf. PSV[K]145a5; PSV[V](D)57a7–8, (P)61a3; Kitagawa 1965: 397).

<sup>72</sup> “He (= Dignāga) shows that there is no difference (*abheda*) [among the three classifications] by [saying] ‘*aikāntikasya tu*’ and so on. ...” (cf. PSṬ(Ms) 254b4f.: **aikāntikasya tv** ityādinābhedaṃ darśayati. **sahānavasthānād** iti. na hy aikāntikānaikāntikayoḥ sahāvasthānam asti. tathā hy aikāntike saty anaikāntiko nivartate.).

<sup>73</sup> Cf. PSV(V)[D]84b6–85a3, [P]92a5–b3; PSV(K)[P]176a4–b2; Our Sanskrit reconstruction of this portion is as follows: **abhūtaṃ prasaṅgā-rthāpattisamādi**. *tatra tāvat prasaṅgasamam* abhūtam. na hi dṛṣṭam apy arthaṃ hetusādhyam kathayāmaḥ. **atra ca viparītaṃ** śakyate vaktum,

concludes his criticism of the VVi's *jāti* theory by stating that the VVi's three classifications of fallacies regarding *jāti*s cannot be mentioned as being exclusive (*asaṅkareṇa*).<sup>74</sup> Thus, **Ffrg. 13** must be regarded as a statement of Dignāga and can be excluded from the list of fragments.

Frauwallner's misunderstanding of this issue seems to have also influenced his identification of **Ffrg. 23a** and interpretation of **Ffrg. 23b**.<sup>75</sup> First, Frauwallner's judgement to admit "*asattvanityatvayor ekatrānavasthānāt*" as a part of **Ffrg. 23a** seems to have been influenced by his ascription of **Ffrg. 13** to Vasubandhu, in which "contradiction" is explained as "being unable to co-exist" (cf. *viruddho 'pi saḥānavasthānāt*). As has been described above, however, this

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viruddham api. *adr̥ṣṭaṃ hi dr̥ṣṭād viparītaṃ api, viruddhaṃ ca. arthā-pattisamam apy evam. yathaiḥva hy anupalabdher asattve sādhye 'rthād upalabdhēs sattvāpattir ity adhyāropād abhūtam, tathā viparītaṃ api, viruddhaṃ ca. viruddham anutpattinīyasamādi. tatra yasmāt prāg utpatteḥ śabda eva nāsti, tasmād viruddham etad asan nityaś ceti. viparītaṃ api caitad abhūtaṃ ca, sato 'rthasya nityatvād* asato nityatvaṃ viparītam asatyam ceti *kṛtvā. nīyasamam api yathā viruddhaṃ tathā viparītaṃ api śakyate vaktum, abhūtaṃ ca. yathā hy anityena nityaṃ viruddham, evam viparītaṃ apy etad anityasya nityatvam iti, abhūtaṃ ca.* See also note 75.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. PSV ad PS 6.21: **tasmān** na jātiṣv asaṅkareṇa viparītabhūta-viruddhatvāni doṣāḥ śakyā vaktum; PST(Ms) 257b3–4: **tasmād** iti. yasmād evaṃ sarvāsu sarve doṣā yujyante, **tasmān na jātiṣv asaṅkareṇa** viṣaya-vibhāgena **viparītatvādayo doṣāḥ śakyā vaktum**; Kuijp and McKeown 2013: 156,2–13.

<sup>75</sup> **Ffrg. 23a** appears in Jinendrabuddhi's commentary on Dignāga's following description of *anutpattisama*: PSV ad PS 6.21: *viruddham anutpattinīyasamādi. tatra yasmāt prāg utpatteḥ śabda eva nāsti, tasmād viruddham etad asan nityaś ceti. viparītaṃ api caitad abhūtaṃ ca, sato 'rthasya nityatvād* asato nityatvaṃ viparītam asatyam ceti *kṛtvā*. [= *anutpattisama*, *nīyasama*, etc., are contradictory. Among these, this (*anutpattisama*) is contradictory because (it indicates that sound) is permanent and (at the same time) non-existent, since sound itself is non-existent before being produced (*upatteḥ*). This is, however, also both inverted and untrue because (the assumption that) a non-existent (thing) is permanent is both inverted and untrue, since (only) an existent thing (can be) permanent.]

explanation really belongs to Dignāga, and therefore the expression “*asattvanityatvayor ekatrānavasthānāt*” can be regarded as an explanation of Jinendrabuddhi that follows Dignāga.<sup>76</sup> Second, Frauwallner recovered **Ffrg. 23b** from the *Nyāyavārttika*. This fragment, mentioning the second interpretation of *anutpattisama*, has a correspondence in the TŚ,<sup>77</sup> and is obviously derived from the VVi. The only problem is that Frauwallner interprets the first sentence of this fragment, “*arthāpattisamaiveyam*,” as follows:

[ ... Daher ist diese Erwiderung (*anutpattisama*; MO) widersprechend.] Dieselbe Erwiderung ist aber auch unrichtig, und zwar als entsprechende (Erwiderung) auf Grund einer selbstverständlichen Folgerung (*arthāpattisamaḥ*).<sup>78</sup>

Frauwallner seems to have understood that the VVi regards this *jāti*, i.e., *anutpattisama*, not only as contradictory, but also as untrue, since it is similar to *arthāpattisama*, which is characterized as untrue. This interpretation, however, is impossible because the VVi, as has been shown above, does not recognize overlapping classifications of *jāti*s. Rather, “*arthāpattisamaiveyam*” should be simply rendered as “this (*jāti*) is none other than (*eva*) *arthāpattisama*.” The VVi’s second interpretation of *anutpattisama*, in short, identifies the *jāti* called *anutpattisama* with *arthāpattisama*, so that this *jāti* is no longer contradictory, but only untrue.

To conclude, I would like to add the following two statements within “《》,” statements that Frauwallner did not ascribe to the VVi, as being possible fragments after all.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Cf. note 64.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Frauwallner 1957: 128, n. 63.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Frauwallner 1957: 127. Frauwallner’s interpretation may derive from his understanding of the corresponding section of the TŚ (cf. TŚ 33c25: 此難與義至難不實難相似; Tucci 1929a: 29,3–4: etad asatkhaṇḍaneṣv arthāpattisamam). However, this passage should be interpreted as “this *jāti* is similar (or equal) to *arthāpattisama*, (which is) characterized as an untrue *jāti*” (cf. Katsura 1987: 53).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Ono 2017b: 59–60; 62–63.

- **Fragment 1** (*aviśeṣasama*): PST(Ms) 255b6–7: **hetvabhāva eva pareṇa codita** iti. prāgutpattyabhāvasya sādhyatādhyāropād dhetusādhyayor aviśiṣṭatvam uktaṃ pareṇa – «anatyantabhāvitvam ubhayor» iti.

Cf. TŚ 31b19–23: 外曰。因與立義二無無異。... 因與立義同無有故。

- **Fragment 2** (*ahetusama*): PSV ad PS 6.3: «*yadi prāk sādhyā dhetuḥ, asati sādhye kasyāyaṃ hetuḥ. atha paścāt, siddhe sādhye na hetur bhavati. atha sakṛt, hetuhetumadbhāvo na sidhyati savyetaragoviṣāṇavad*» ity eṣāhetusamā.

Cf. TŚ 31c22–25: 若因在前世立義在後世者，立義未有，因何所因。若在後世立義在前世者，立義已成就復何用因爲。若同世俱生，則非是因。譬如牛角種芽等一時而有不得言左右相生。

The first can be considered a fragment of the VVi describing the second interpretation of *aviśeṣasama*, in which the Jātivādin objects that the reason and what is to be established in the proponent's syllogism would amount to the same. The reason I presume the second to be a fragment of the VVi lies in its stylistic similarity to **Ffrg. 15a**. If the latter can be regarded a fragment, then it comes as no surprise that this portion can as well.

### 3.5. The *Vādaividhi* and the *Tarkaśāstra*

As shown above, the correspondence between the VVi's *jāti* section and TŚ chapter 2 is remarkably close. Sentences in the two texts often seem to have nearly the same structure, so much so that it is possible to assume that much of the Sanskrit text of the TŚ's chapter 2 was identical to the VVi's *jāti* section.<sup>80</sup> For example, the VVi's second interpretation of *upalabdhisama* is as follows:

<sup>80</sup> There are, of course, passages that are found only in TŚ chapter 2, and conversely, only in the VVi's *jāti* section. The latter passages (cf. **Ffrg. 14c,e**) are significant for seeing the development of Vasubandhu's thought from the ideas found in the TŚ. **Ffrg. 14e** seems to discuss *asādhārāṇānaikāntika*. This issue remains for a future study.

na hy evam avocāma – prayatnānantarīyakatvenaivānityatvaṃ  
sidhyati, nānyatheti. yady anyad api jñāpakam asti, prītāḥ sma  
ity etat kila viparītam,

We have not said that impermanence is proved only by *prayatnānantarīyakatva* and not by other means. If there were also other (means) for letting impermanence be known, we would rejoice. Therefore, this [*jāti*] is said to be (*kila*) inverted.

Cf. TŚ 32a24–26: 是難顛倒。我說不如此。不說依功力生是因能顯一切無常餘因不能。若有別因能顯無常。我則歡喜。我事成故。

Here, even the rhetorical expression “*prītāḥ smaḥ*” in the VVi has a correspondence in the TŚ, namely “我則歡喜。” In this respect, the word “*kila*” in the above citation is noteworthy. It is possible that by adding “*kila*,” Vasubandhu is making it clear that his explanation of *upalabdhisama* has been quoted from other texts, such as the TŚ.<sup>81</sup> And it is possible that this kind of borrowing relationship extends to all of the *jāti* descriptions in the VVi. In any case, future research should reconsider the relationship between the VVi and the TŚ carefully.

#### 4. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I have tried to show how the study of Sanskrit manuscripts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region can contribute to a better understanding of the Buddhist *vāda* tradition. Since this tradition has deeply influenced the East Asian *yingming/inmyō* tradition, these manuscripts are also significant for the study of Buddhist logic in Eastern Asia. If this paper has helped to highlight this point, it will have achieved its intention.

<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, the possibility that Jinendrabuddhi added “*kila*” cannot be excluded.



## Bibliography

### Primary sources and abbreviations

- AAS Austrian Academy of Sciences.
- CTRC China Tibetology Research Center.
- DhPr Dharmottarapradīpa (Durvekamiśra): *Ācārya-Dharmakīrti-kṛta-Nyāyabindor ācārya-Dharmottara-kṛta-ṭīkāyā anuṭīkārūpaḥ paṇḍita-Durvekamiśra-kṛto Dharmottarapradīpaḥ*, ed. D. Malvania. Patna 21971.
- Ffrg. Fragments of Vasubandhu's Vādaśāstra according to Frauwallner 1957: *Anhang I*.
- NB Nyāyabindu (Dharmakīrti): see DhPr.
- NMu Yinming zhengli men lun [因明正理門論, Nyāyamukha] (Dignāga). Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 32, No. 1628.
- NMuJ Li men lun shuji [理門論述記] (神泰 Shentai). Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 44, No. 1839.
- NPSH Yinming ru zhengli lun shu [因明入正理論疏] (文軌 Wengui). In: J. Y. Shen (沈劍英), 敦煌因明文獻研究 [A Study on Hetuvidyā Manuscripts in Dunhuang]. Shanghai 2007.
- NV Nyāyavārttika (Uddyotakara): *Nyāyavārttikam. A Critical Gloss on Nyāya Darshana Vatsyayana's Bhashya*, ed. V. P. Dwivedi and L. S. Dravida. Varanasi 1916.
- PS *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (Dignāga). See PSV[K], PSV[V].
- PST I *Jinendrabuddhi's Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā, Chapter 1 Part 1: Critical Edition. Part 2: Diplomatic Edition*, ed. E. Steinkellner and H. Krasser. Beijing/Vienna 2005.
- PST II *Jinendrabuddhi's Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā, Chapter 2 Part 1: Critical Edition. Part 2: Diplomatic Edition*, ed. H. Lasic, H. Krasser, and E. Steinkellner. Beijing/Vienna 2012.
- PST(Ms) *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* (Jinendrabuddhi). Sanskrit manuscript. See PST I: ix–xxxvi (Manuscript description by Anne MacDonald).
- PST(T) *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* (Jinendrabuddhi). Tibetan translation: P 5766, Vol. 139, Re 1–354b8b4.
- PSV I Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, Chapter 1, ed. E. Steinkellner. [http://www.ikga.oew.ac.at/Mat/dignaga\\_PS\\_1.pdf](http://www.ikga.oew.ac.at/Mat/dignaga_PS_1.pdf). Last accessed 2 March 2019.

- PSV[K] Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti (Tibetan) (Dignāga) translated by Gser gyi go cha (Kanakavarman) and Dad pa shes rab: P 5702, Vol. 130, Ce 93b4–177a7.
- PSV[V] Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti (Tibetan) (Dignāga) translated by Vasudhararakṣita and Zha ma Seng rgyal: P 5701, Vol. 130, Ce 13a6–93b4; D 4204. Vol. 1, Ce 14b1–85b7.
- PVA Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra (Prajñākaragupta): *Pramāṇavārtikabhāshyam or Vārtikālāṅkāraḥ of Prajñākaragupta (Being a commentary on Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārtikam)*, ed. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana. Patna 1953.
- TAR Tibetan Autonomous Region.
- TŚ Rushi lun fanzhinanpin [如実論反質難品, \*Tarkaśāstra]. Taishō Tripiṭaka Vol. 32, No. 1633.
- UH Fangbian xin lun [方便心論, \*Upāyahṛdaya]. Taishō Tripiṭaka Vol. 32, No. 1632.
- VVi Vādaividhi (Vasubandhu): see Ffrg.

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## Preliminary studies on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*: focus on the seventh Bhūmi

Saerji

At present we have several Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, four published Sanskrit editions, five Chinese translations, and two Tibetan translations. In addition there are several Indian commentaries. Nonetheless, the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* poses innumerable textual difficulties. Thirteen years ago, Akira Yuyama published his “Critical survey of philological studies of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*.” Based on his studies, I would like to give some further observations.

### I. The Sanskrit text

1.1 For the Sanskrit text of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, we have four published Sanskrit editions: those by Rahder (1926), Rahder and Susa (1931, 1932), Kondō (1936), and Vaidya (1967), but none of them is satisfactory. As Yuyama pointed out, “text-critical studies on the basis of the original manuscripts are badly needed, even in the prose portions” (Yuyama 1996: 267).

1.2 In 1996, Kazunobu Matsuda published the photocopy of two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* preserved at the National Archives in Kathmandu. Neither of them was consulted for the previous editions. One of them dates to the fifth to seventh centuries CE, and most probably is the oldest available manuscript of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*. The following observations are based on my reading of these two manuscripts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> After the 6<sup>th</sup> Beijing International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Kazunobu Matsuda kindly made and sent me photocopies of the Sanskrit *Daśa-* Birgit Kellner, Jowita Kramer, Xuezhong Li (eds.), *Sanskrit manuscripts in China III. Proceedings of a panel at the 2016 Beijing International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, August 1 to 4*. Beijing 2020, pp. 331–372.

1.3 As far as I know, an incomplete Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript is preserved in the Potala, Lhasa. According to Luo Zhao's Catalogue, it belongs to the eighth bundle, which includes the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* itself and the *Dākinīvajrapañjaramahātantrarājakaḷpa* (D 419). Only 58 folios of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* survive out of a probable 80 original folios. The first folio is lost, and the titles of only chapters one to three and six to eight are preserved. The manuscript measures 56.6 × 5.3 cm; each side has six lines written in a Gupta script. A note in Tibetan adds that this text came from the hands of Smon lam grags pa; this is probably Rgyus smon lam grags, active in the eleventh century, who is listed in the *Gangs ljongs skad gnyis smra ba du ma'i 'gyur byang blo gsal dga' skyed* (1983: 213). We hope we can utilize this precious manuscript in near future.

1.4 One folio of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* has been found in the Gilgit manuscript collection; it has not yet been edited (von Hinüber 2014: 109). Three fragments of the first Bhūmi of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* were found in Xinjiang in the early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

## II. Tibetan translations

2.1 The *Daśabhūmikasūtra* is not only embedded in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* section in the Tshal pa and the Them spangs ma Kanjurs, but it is also an independent *sūtra* included in Kanjurs belonging to the Them spangs ma branch such as the Stog Palace (S 38), Ulan Bator (U 85), and Shel dkar (L 14) manuscripts, as well as in local Kanjurs like the Phug brag (F 349). The independent version is a different translation with its own individual title and concluding colophon.

2.2 The main discrepancy between the two Tibetan versions is that the one embedded in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* section has verses which summarize or repeat the sense of the prose part, and occur at both

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*bhūmikasūtra*. I very much appreciate his help.

<sup>2</sup> Waldschmidt, Clawiter and Holzmann 1965: no. 414, p. 187. For a transliteration, see Wille 2012: 407–410.



the beginning and end of each Bhūmi while the independent version does not have any such verses. Besides this, the vocabulary and syntax differ in many places. We can safely say the two Tibetan translations are different versions based on different Sanskrit recensions.

2.3 Perhaps the existence of the two translations is already evident in the early registers of texts translated into Tibetan. The *'Phang thang ma* lists the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* as having seven *bampos*, 2,020 *ślokas* (Kawagoe 2005: 7, no. [20]), but the *Lhan dkar ma* lists the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* as having eight *bampos*, 2,400 *ślokas* (Lalou 1953: 320, no. [20]). How can the counts of *bampo* and *śloka* for the same text be explained? Since we know that in general the Tibetan translators take 300 *ślokas* as one *bampo*, here the numerical discrepancy between two registers is one *bampo*, or 380 *ślokas*. In Vaidya's Sanskrit edition the summarizing verses amount to 337 *ślokas*; if we take this as a basis for comparison, it seems possible that one of the records of the early registers refers a translation without summarizing verses. Furthermore, in the Stog Palace Kanjur, the independent translation of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* has seven *bampos*. Based on these observations, it is likely that the *'Phang thang ma* refers to a translation of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* without summarizing verses which at some point was included in certain Kanjurs as an independent version.

2.4 Fragments of a Tibetan translation of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* are preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts (La Vallée Poussin 1962: nos. 82–85, 116.2, 132). Most of them are short, with the exception of no. 82, which has 66 folios and preserves last four *bampos*. Generally speaking, the Dunhuang manuscript is closer to the independent translation. It is also without summarizing verses.<sup>3</sup>

2.5 It seems that the Tibetan translation preserved in the Tshal pa Kanjurs preserves some archaic idioms and presents a kind of unrevised version, but this is not always the case.

<sup>3</sup> For further details see Saerji, forthcoming.

### III. Textual problems

3.1 All of the translations give the title as *Daśabhūmika*, except for Dharmarakṣa's translation, which is entitled *Jian bei yi qie zhi de jing* 渐备一切智德经. According to the colophon of the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscript,<sup>4</sup> and the alternative title given at the end of the *Daśabhūmika*,<sup>5</sup> the title of Dharmarakṣa's translation can be tentatively reconstructed as \**Sarvākārasarvajñājnānaguṇasaṃcayasūtra*.<sup>6</sup>

3.2 All of the Chinese translations contain summarizing verses. These are absent in some Sanskrit manuscripts, including the two published by Kazunobu Matsuda, and in the Tibetan translation transmitted in the Them spangs ma branch. In other words, if we take the Sanskrit manuscripts without summarizing verses as the base text for a new edition, we should consult the independent Tibetan translation of the Them spangs ma branch, rather than the version embedded in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, as it is closer to the Sanskrit text in question.

3.3 With regard to the Chinese translations, there are some significant differences between Śīladharma's translation and the four earlier translations. As I understand the seventh Bhūmi, when the Bodhisatva ascends from the sixth stage to the seventh, he has ten virtues, the first three of which are quite different in Śīladharma's translation in comparison with the four earlier translations. On this point, the reading of four earlier translations can be traced in the

<sup>4</sup> No. 132: *byang cub sems dpa'i sde snod / sangs rgyas phal po che theg pa chen po'i mdo la rims kyi / thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes kyi 'byung gnas shes bya ba sa bcu pa bstan pa'i le'u.*

<sup>5</sup> Kondō 1936: 205: *sarvākārasarvajñājnānaguṇasaṃcaya-dharmamukha-parivarta*. S 38 149b3–4: *rnam pa thams cad du thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes kyi yon tan bsogs pa'i chos kyi sgo'i le'u.*

<sup>6</sup> We do not know whether *jian bei* 渐备, literally “gradual possession”, could be a translation of *sarvākāra* or *saṃcaya*; perhaps *jian* 渐 is a misreading of *sarvākāra* as *sarvakrama*, and *bei* 备 translates *saṃcaya*. Let us note that the colophon of the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscript has the phrase *rims kyi*, which might correspond to Chinese *jian* 渐.

MS\_A, which in the fourth virtue contains an abrupt interpolation and seems to be out of order, if we do not consult the Chinese translation. We can compare and reconstruct the first four virtues as follows:

The first virtue:

- Kondō 1936: 114.8–9: *sūnyatānimittāpraṇihita-samādhi-superibhāvita-mānasaś ca bhavati, mahāpuṇya-jñāna-sambhāropacayañ ca sambharati* /
- MS\_A 30a5–6: *subhāvita-sūnyatānimittāpraṇihita-samādhi-superibhāvita-mā ... jñāna-sambhāropacayañ ca sambharati* /
- D 44, *kha*, 228b4–5: *stong pa nyid dang mtshan ma med pa dang / smon pa med pa'i ting nge 'dzin shin tu bsgoms pa'i yid dang yang ldan la bsod nams dang / ye shes kyi tshogs chen po yang yang dag par stogs pa yin //*
- S 38 93b6–7: *stong pa nyid dang / mtshan ma med pa dang / smon pa med pa shin tu bsgoms pa'i yid dang ldan la / bsod nams kyi tshogs chen po bsog pa yang bsogs pa yin /*

Dharmarakṣa	Kumārajīva	Buddhabhadra	Śikṣānanda	Śīladharma	Commentary <sup>7</sup>
謂行空事、無相、無願，所遵真諦，成就忍力，愍傷慈哀，念于眾生，	善修空、無相、無願，而以慈悲心處在眾生；	善修空、無相、無願，而以慈悲心處在眾生；	雖善修空、無相、無願三昧，而慈悲不捨眾生，	善修空、無相、無願三摩地，而集廣大福德資糧；	善修空、無相、無願，而集大功德助道；

Several points call for attention: Some translations reflect the presence of the Sanskrit word °*samādhi*° (Śikṣānanda, Śīladharma and D), but others do not (Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, Buddhabhadra, and S). According to the Chinese translations, the first sentence seems to be *subhāvitasūnyatānimittāpraṇihita*°, which is partly traceable in MS\_A, and may be the more archaic reading. As re-

<sup>7</sup> Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Daśabhūmikāsūtra*, translated by Bodhiruci.

gards the second sentence, only Śīladharma's Chinese translation and the two Tibetan translations give a corresponding translation, while the four other Chinese translations have a different sentence, to be discussed further below.

The second virtue:

- Kondō 1936: 114.9–10: *nirātmya-niḥsattva-nirjīva-niṣpoṣa-niṣpudgalatām ca dharmmāṇām avatarati, caturapramāṇābhinirhāraṃ ca notsrjati /*
- MS\_A 30a6: *nirātmya-nirjīva-niṣpudgalatām ca dharmmāṇām avatarati, caturapramāṇa-jñānābhinirhāraṃ ca notsrjati /*
- D 44, *kha*, 228b5–6: *bdag med pa dang / gso ba med pa dang / gang zag med pa'i chos la 'ang rab tu 'jug la tshad med pa bzhi mngon par bsgrub pa yang yongs su mi gtong ba yin /*
- S 38 93b7: *bdag med pa dang / srog med pa dang / gang zag med pa'i chos rnam la yang 'jug la tshad med pa bzhi mngon par bsgrub pa yang mi gtong ba yin /*

Dharma-rakṣa	Kumārajīva	Buddhabhadra	Śikṣānanda	Śīladharma	Commentary
奉行佛法，樂供如來，	隨諸佛平等法，而不捨供養諸佛；	隨諸佛平等法，而不捨供養諸佛；	雖得諸佛平等法，而樂常供養佛；	證入諸法無我、無壽者、無數取趣，而不捨修四無量心；	入諸法無我、無壽命、無眾生，而不捨，起四無量；

For the second virtue, four Chinese translations (Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, Buddhabhadra and Śikṣānanda) give a different expression, and only Śīladharma's Chinese translation and the two Tibetan translations give a corresponding translation. According to the Tibetan translations, MS\_A's reading (*nirātmya-nirjīva-niṣpudgalatām*) is more reliable.

The third virtue:

- Kondō 1936: 114.10–11: *punya-dharmmocchrāya-pāramitābhisamṣkāraṃ cābhisamskaroti, na ca kiṃcid dharmmam abhiniviśate /*

- MS\_A 30a6: *puṇya-dharmmocchrāya-pāramitābhisamṣkāraṃ cābhisamskaroti, na ca kiṃcid dharmmam abhiniviśate /*
- D 44, kha, 228b6: *bsod nams kyi tshogs kyis shin tu mtho ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa mngon par bsgrub pa 'ang mngon par sgrub la / chos gang la 'ang mngon par chags pa med pa yin //*
- S 38 94a1: *bsod nams kyi tshogs pha rol tu phyin pa mngon par 'du bya ba yang mngon par 'du byed la yang mngon par zhen pa med pa yin //*

Dharma-rakṣa	Kumārajīva	Buddhabhadra	Śikṣānanda	Śīladharma	Commentary
篤信無違，心抱慧門，常順空義，積累功德，無窮之福。	常樂思惟空智門，而廣修集福德資糧；	常樂思惟空智門，而廣修集福德資糧；	雖入觀空智門，而勤集福德；	發起廣大福德及法修行，增上到彼岸行，而於諸法無少執著；	起功德法，作增上波羅蜜行，而無法可取；

Only Śīladharma's Chinese translation and the two Tibetan translations give a translation that corresponds to the Sanskrit. The first sentence of the four other Chinese translations (Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, Buddhabhadra and Śikṣānanda) is different from the Sanskrit, and the second sentence can be tentatively reconstructed as *\*puṇya-sambhāropacayañ ca sambharati*, which reminds us of the nearly identical expression in the first virtue.

The fourth virtue:

- Kondō 1936: 114.11–12: *sarvvatraidhātuka-viveka-prāptaś ca bhavati / traidhātuka-viṭhapanālaṃkārabhinirhāraṃ cābhinirharati /*
- MS\_A 30a6–b1: *sarvvatraidhātuka-vive... mahākṛpa-maitraibalānuṣṛṣṭāśayaś ca bhavati sarvvasatveṣu buddhadharma-samantā-gataś ca bhavati tathāgata-pūjābhilāṣā-pratiprasrabdha-jñānamukha-sūnyatā-cintakaś ca bhavati traidhātuka-viṭhapanālaṃkārabhinirhāraṃ cābhinirharati /*
- D 44, kha, 228b6–7: *kham s gsum pa las dben par gyur pa'ang thob la kham s gsum pa bsdu ba dang / rgyan mngon par bsgrub pa yin /*

- S 38 94a1–2: *khams gsum pa thams cad las dben par gyur pa yang thob la / khams gsum pa'i rgyan rnam par bsgrub pa mngon par bsgrub pa yang mngon par bsgrub pa yin /*

Dharma- rakṣa	Kumāra- jīva	Buddha- bhadra	Śikṣā- nanda	Śīladharma	Commen- tary
解三界虛， 在於三世， 勸化群 黎，永以消 穢。	遠離三 界，而能 莊嚴三 界；	遠離三 界，而莊 嚴三界；	雖遠離三 界，而莊 嚴三界；	已得遠離一 切三界，而能 引發三界莊 嚴；	得遠離三 界，而能 應化起莊 嚴三界行；

For the fourth virtue, the Sanskrit, the Tibetan translations, and the Chinese translations are almost the same, but we should notice that the MS\_A has three sentences, from *mahākṛpa*<sup>o</sup> to *°śūnyatācintakaś ca bhavati*. At first glance, this looks out of place, as if it is a corruption or an interpolation, but when if we consult the four Chinese translations (Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, Buddhahhadra and Śikṣānanda), we can trace all three sentences:

- the first sentence corresponds to the second sentence of the first virtue (Kumārajīva: 以慈悲心處在眾生 = *mahākṛpa-maitraibalānusṛṣṭāśayaś ca bhavati sarvvasatveṣu*);
- the second sentence corresponds to the second virtue (Kumārajīva: 隨諸佛平等法，而不捨供養諸佛 = *buddhadharma-samantā-gataś ca bhavati tathāgata-pūjābhilāṣā-pratiprasrabdha*);
- the third sentence corresponds to the first sentence of the third virtue (Kumārajīva: 常樂思惟空智門 = [*ābhilāṣāpratiprasrabdha*]-*jñānamukha-sūnyatā-cintakaś ca bhavati*).

Disregarding the summarizing verses, on the basis of these comparisons we can perhaps say that the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* had at least two main text lineages, one earlier and another later. At present, we do not know when or why the two lineages formed. It seems that Vasubandhu's commentary follows the later lineage while the four Chinese translations follow the earlier one.

3.4 In at least one place we find the alternation of *yāna* and *jñāna*. The Sanskrit text has *pratyekabuddhayāna* (Kondō 1936: 116.3), but

the Derge Kanjur reads *rang sangs rgyas kyi ye shes* = *pratyekabuddhajñāna* (D 44, *kha*, 230a1), which is confirmed by Kumārajīva's translation (辟支佛智慧).

**3.5** Two texts in the Chinese Buddhist canon were translated by Śīladharma: one is the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* and the other is the *Hui xiang lun jing* 迴向輪經 (\**Pariṇāmacakrasūtra*). It is also recorded that a Śīladharma translated two Buddhist texts from Chinese into Tibetan. These have been preserved in the Tibetan Kanjur: one is the '*Phags pa yongs su bsngo ba'i 'khor lo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (\**Pariṇāmacakrasūtra*), which corresponds to the second text mentioned above; the other is the '*Phags pa ting nge 'dzin gyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (\**Samādhicakrasūtra*), for no Chinese counterpart has so far been found. Evidence indicates that the two Śīladharmas are one and the same person.<sup>8</sup> This means that Śīladharma had some kind of contact with the Tibetan translator(s). His role, including the influence of his Chinese translation of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* on the Tibetan translation of the same text, if such turns out to be the case, needs further research.

## IV. Editorial strategy

**4.1** Since the Sanskrit manuscripts that are available at present represent two redactions, perhaps we need treat the prose and the verses separately when we edit the text. For the prose, the Tshal pa branch or the independent Tibetan translation should be taken as main reference according to the different redactions of the Sanskrit text.

**4.2** Since at present we cannot establish a satisfactory text genealogy simply by confronting the variant readings of the different Sanskrit texts, the best procedure is to retain the original readings, to consult the Tibetan and Chinese translations, and to suggest emendations or make comments in the footnotes.

**4.3** For the Tibetan translations, we also need to edit separately the version embedded in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* and the independent

<sup>8</sup> For more details, see Saerji 2011: 185–222.

version which is only preserved in the Them spangs ma branch, and for the latter, we can also consult the Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang.

## V. Edited example of the seventh Bhūmi

dūraṃgamā nāma saptamī bhūmiḥ /

yo 'yaṃ bhavanto jinap(utrā bodhi)<sup>[MS\_A 30a5]</sup>satvaḥ ṣaṣṭyām bodhi-  
satvabhūmau suparipūrṇṇabhūmimārgaḥ<sup>9</sup> saptamīḥ bodhisatva-  
bhūmim ākrāmatī<sup>10</sup> / sa daśabhir<sup>11</sup> upāyaprajñābhir nirhṛtaiḥ<sup>12</sup>  
mārgāntarārambhaviśeṣair<sup>13</sup> ākrāmatī<sup>14</sup> / katamair daśabhiḥ yaduta  
subhāvitaśūnyatānimittāpraṇihitasamādhi{suparibhāvita}mā(nasaś  
ca bhavati<sup>15</sup>mahāpuṇya)<sup>[MS\_A 30a6]</sup>sambhāropacayañ ca sambharati<sup>16</sup> /

<sup>9</sup> °bhūmimārgaḥ: R °bodhisatvamārgaḥ, MS\_B °bodhimārgaḥ. D sa'i lam, S IOL Tib J 82 lam. Cp. Dharmarakṣa 道地, Śīladharma 地道.

<sup>10</sup> R ākrāmatī.

<sup>11</sup> MS\_A darśabhir.

<sup>12</sup> upāyaprajñābhir nirhṛtaiḥ: K R upāyaprajñāññābhinirhṛtair, the latter reading can be confirmed by Vasubandhu's commentary, D 3993 208a6.

<sup>13</sup> mārgāntara: D lam, S IOL Tib J 82 lam gzhan.

<sup>14</sup> R ākrāmatī.

<sup>15</sup> MS\_B and R śūnyatānimittāpraṇihitasamādhisuparibhāvitamānasaś ca bhavati, confirmed by D stong pa nyid dang mtshan ma med pa dang / smon pa med pa'i ting nge 'dzin shin tu bsgoms pa'i yid dang yang ldan la, cf. Śīladharma 善修空、無相、無願三摩地, Śikṣānanda 雖善修空、無相、無願三昧 = subhāvitaśūnyatānimittāpraṇihitasamādhi? S IOL Tib J 82 stong pa nyid dang // mtshan ma med pa dang // smon pa med pa shin tu bsgoms pa'i yid dang ldan la = subhāvitaśūnyatānimittāpraṇihitamānasaś ca bhavati, cf. Dharmarakṣa 謂行空事無相無願, Kumārajīva 善修空無相、無願 = subhāvitaśūnyatānimittāpraṇihita? The Sanskrit seems corrupt, and I am unable to decide which reading is better.

<sup>16</sup> For mahāpuṇyasambhāropacayañ ca sambharati, following MS\_B (34a4), confirmed by S IOL Tib J 82 bsod nams kyi tshogs chen po bsogs yang bsogs pa yin. Cf. Śīladharma 而集廣大福德資糧. MS\_A and R mahāpuṇyajñānasambhāropacayañ ca sambharati (MS\_A sambhavati), cf. D



nirātmyanirjīvaniṣpudgalatām<sup>17</sup> ca dharmmāṇām<sup>18</sup> avatarati caturapramāṇābhinirhāraṃ<sup>19</sup> ca notsrjati / puṇyadharmmocchrāyapāramitābhisamskāraṃ<sup>20</sup> cābhisamkaroti<sup>21</sup> na ca kiṃcid dharmmam abhiniviśate<sup>22</sup> / sarvvatraidhātukavive(kaprāptaś ca<sup>23</sup> bhavati)<sup>24</sup> [MS\_A 30b1] traidhātukaviṭhapanālamkārabhinirhāraṃ<sup>25</sup> cābhinirharati / atyantaśāṃtopaśāntaś ca sa<rvva>kleśajvālāpagamād bhavati sarvvatva(rāgadveṣamohakleśajvālāpraśamābhinirhāraṃ)<sup>26</sup> [MS\_A 30b2] cābhinirharati / māyāmarīcivapnapratibhāspratīśrutkodakacandrapratibimbanirmāṇasvabhāvādvayānugataś<sup>27</sup> ca bhavati karma-

*bsod nams dang / ye shes kyi tshogs chen po yang yang dag par stsogs pa yin = mahāpuṇyajñānasambhāropacayañ ca sambharati.*

<sup>17</sup> *nirātmya*<sup>o</sup>: R *nirātmyaniḥsattva*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> R *sarvadharmāṇām*.

<sup>19</sup> *°apramāṇā*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *°apramāṇajñānā*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> For *°apuṇyadharmā*<sup>o</sup>, cf. Śīladharma 福德及法, F *bsod nams kyi chos*. D S IOL Tib J 82 *bsod nams kyi tshogs = puṇyasambhāra*<sup>o</sup>, it can be confirmed by Kumārajīva 福德資糧.

For *°abhisamskāraṃ*, cf. BHSD 57 performance, accomplishment, S IOL Tib J 82 *mngon par 'du bya ba*, Śīladharma 行. MS\_B *°abhinirhāraṃ*, D *mngon par bsgrub pa*.

<sup>21</sup> D *mngon par sgrub la = abhinirharati*?

<sup>22</sup> *abhiniviśate*: D *mngon par chags pa*, S IOL Tib J 82 *mngon par zhen pa*, the latter can be confirmed by Mvy 2219.

<sup>23</sup> *sarva*<sup>o</sup> can be confirmed by IOL Tib J 82, cf. Śīladharma.

<sup>24</sup> MS\_A adds ... *mahākṛpamaitraibalānusiṣṭāśayaś ca bhavati sarvvatveṣu buddhadharmmasamantāgataś ca bhavati tathāgatapūjābhilāṣāpratiprasrabdhajñānamukhaśūnyatācintakaś ca bhavati*, the words appear superfluous and out of place, but the content can be confirmed by the Chinese translations (Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, Buddhahadra and Śikṣānanda); according to the Chinese translations, the sentences indicate part of the first and third virtue, and the whole second virtue.

<sup>25</sup> *°viṭhapanā*<sup>o</sup>: D *bsdu ba*, S IOL Tib J 82 *nmam par bsgrub pa*, cf. Mvy 7233 *nmam par bsgrub pa nye bar gnas pa'i mtshan nyid = viṭhapanapratyupasthānalakṣaṇam*, BHSD 486.

<sup>26</sup> *°moha*<sup>o</sup>: R omits.

<sup>27</sup> *°nirmāṇasvabhāvādvayānugataś*, follows MS\_B. S IOL Tib J 82 *sprul*

kriyāvibhakti yapramāṇāsāyatām cābhinirharati<sup>28</sup> / ākāśasamakṣetra-  
 pathasubhāvitamanāś<sup>29</sup> ca bhavati buddhakṣetraviṭhapanālaṃkā-  
 rābhinirhāraṃ<sup>30</sup> cābhini(rharati / prakṛtidharmmakāyatām) [MS\_A 30b3]  
 ca sarvvabuddhanām avatarati<sup>31</sup> rūpalakṣaṇānuyyañjanaviṭhapa-  
 nālaṃkā rābhinirhāraṃ{tām} cābhinirharati<sup>32</sup> / anabhilāpyarutagho-  
 ṣāpagatam<sup>33</sup> ca prakṛtiśāntam tathāgataghoṣam adhimucyate sarvva-  
 svarāṅgavibhakti viśuddhyalaṃkā rābhinirhāraṃ<sup>34</sup> cābhinirharati<sup>35</sup> /

*pa'i rang bzhin lta bur gnyis su med pa*, cf. Śikṣānanda and Śīladharma 自  
 性無二. MS\_A *nirmāṇabhāvābhāvadvayānupagataś*°, R *nirmāṇabhāvā-  
 bhāvasvabhāvādvayānugataś*°, D *sprul pa'i rang bzhin lta bur yod pa  
 dang / med pa dang / gnyis ka ma yin pa thams cad*.

°*anugataś*°: MS\_A °*anupagataś*.

<sup>28</sup> *cābhinirharati*: MS\_A *cābhinirhāratām cābhinirharati*.

<sup>29</sup> °*kṣetrapatha*°: the size of the field, D *zhing gi tha gru*, S IOL Tib J 82  
*zhing gi thag gru*, but Śīladharma 刹土道 = *the road of the field*.

<sup>30</sup> For °*viṭhapanā*°, D *yongs su sbyong = pariśoddhana*, Chinese transla-  
 tions (Kumārajīva, Śikṣānanda and Śīladharma) have 清淨. S IOL Tib J 82  
*rnam par bsgrub pa*.

<sup>31</sup> IOL Tib J 82 *sangs rgyas thams cad chos kyi sku'i rang bzhin du'ang  
 'jug la*, S *sangs rgyas thams cad kyi sku'i rang bzhin du yang 'jug la*, D  
*sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rang bzhin dang / chos dang / sku nam mkha'  
 lta bur yang rab tu 'jug la*, cf. Śīladharma 了知諸佛法身為性猶如虛空.  
 For *prakṛtidharmmakāyatām*, according to Kumārajīva and Śikṣānanda's  
 translations, the words perhaps developes as *prakṛtidharmmakāyākāyam*  
 → *prakṛtidharmmakāyatām* or *prakṛtidharmmakāyākāśam*.

<sup>32</sup> *rūpa*°: R *rūpakāya*°.

From °*ālaṃkā rābhinirhāraṃ* to here, MS\_B only has °*ālaṃkā rābhi*.

<sup>33</sup> °*rutaghoṣāpagatam*: S IOL Tib J 82 *sgra dbyangs dang bral te*. D *sgra  
 dbyangs dang ldan pa = rutaghoṣānugatam*.

<sup>34</sup> °*viśuddhya*°: cf. S IOL Tib J 82 *rnam pa dag pa*, Śikṣānanda 清淨.  
 MS\_B and D omit.

*sarvvasvarāṅga*, D *sems can thams cad kyi dbyangs kyi yan lag = sarvva-  
 satvasvarāṅga*, confirmed by the Chinese translations (Dharmarakṣa,  
 Kumārajīva and Śikṣānanda).

<sup>35</sup> This sentence can be confirmed by S IOL Tib J 82, D has a little bit  
 different translation.

ekakṣaṇatryadhvānubodham<sup>36</sup> ca buddhānām bhagavatām avatarati<sup>37</sup> nānālakṣaṇa(kalpasamkhyā<sup>[MS\_A 30b4]</sup>vi)bhāvanān<sup>38</sup> cānupraviśati satvāśayavibhāvanāya<sup>39</sup> / ebhir bhavanto jinaputrā<sup>40</sup> daśabhir upāyaprajñābhinirhṛtibhiḥ<sup>41</sup> mārgāntarārambhaviśeṣair<sup>42</sup> bodhisatvaḥ ṣaṣṭhyā bodhisatvabhūmeḥ saptamīm bodhisatvabhūmim ākrāmati<sup>43</sup> //

sa khalu punar bhavanto jinaputrā<sup>44</sup> bodhisatva eṣām daśānām upāyaprajñābhi(nirhṛtānā)<sup>[MS\_A 30b5]</sup>m<sup>45</sup> mārgāntarārambhaviśeṣānām ābhāsagātānām abhinirhārataḥ saptamīm bodhisatvabhūmim ākrānta ity ucyate //<sup>46</sup>

<sup>36</sup> °kṣaṇa°: be confirmed by Chinese translation. MS\_B omits. S IOL Tib J 82 *mtshan nyid* = *lakṣaṇa*.

<sup>37</sup> S *sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams kyis*, apparently takes *buddhānām bhagavatām* as subject.

<sup>38</sup> *nānālakṣaṇakalpasamkhyāvibhāvanān*: D *dus dang bskal pa'i grangs mtshan nyid tha dad pa* = *nānālakṣaṇakālakalpasamkhyā*, °*kālakalpa*° can be confirmed by the Chinese translations (Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva and Śikṣānanda) 時、劫.

°*vibhāvana*°, S IOL Tib J 82 *shes pa*, cf. Dharmarakṣa 分別, Kumārajīva 知.

<sup>39</sup> *vibhāvana*°: S IOL Tib J 82 *brjod pa*.

<sup>40</sup> *jinaputrā*: MS\_A *jinaputrā bodhisatvo*.

<sup>41</sup> *upāyaprajñā*: R *upāyaprajñājñānā*. °*ābhinirhṛtibhiḥ*: MS\_B °*ābhinirhṛtai*.

<sup>42</sup> *mārgāntara*: D *lam*. S IOL Tib J 82 *lam gzhan*.

<sup>43</sup> *bodhisatvaḥ ṣaṣṭhyā bodhisatvabhūmeḥ saptamīm bodhisatvabhūmim ākrāmati*: S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa' byang chub sems dpa'i sa drug pa nas byang chub sems dpa'i sa bdun pa gnon to*. D *byang chub sems dpa' sa drug pa la rnam par dbye ba shin tu byas pa / sa bdun yongs su gnon to*.

*ākrāmati*: R *ākrānta ity ucyate*.

<sup>44</sup> *jinaputrā*: MS\_B *jinaputrā e*.

<sup>45</sup> *upāyaprajñā*°: MS\_A and R *upāyaprajñājñānā*°.

<sup>46</sup> For this paragraph, confirmed by S IOL Tib J 82, R omits, D has different translation: *kye rgyal ba'i sras dag / de ltar byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po lam gyi tshogs thabs dang shes rab kyis mngon par*

sa saptamyām bodhisatvabhūmau sthito bodhisatvaḥ<sup>47</sup> 'pra-  
māṇaṃ satvadhātum avatarati / apramāṇaṃ ca buddhānāṃ bhaga-  
vatāṃ satvaparipācanavinayakarmmāvatarati<sup>48</sup> / apramāṇaṃ lo-  
kadhātuḥjālam<sup>49</sup> avatarati / (apramā)<sup>[MS\_A 30b6]</sup>ṇaṃ ca buddhānāṃ  
bhagavatāṃ buddhakṣetrapariśuddhim<sup>50</sup> avatarati / apramāṇaṃ ca  
dharmmanānātvam<sup>51</sup> avatarati / apramāṇaṃ ca buddhānā(ṃ) bha-  
gavatāṃ jñānābhisambodhim<sup>52</sup> avatarati / apramāṇaṃ (ca) kalpa-  
saṃkhyāpraveśam<sup>53</sup> avatarati / apramāṇaṃ ca buddhānāṃ bha-  
gavatāṃ (tryadhvānubodham avatarati / <sup>[MS\_A 31a1]</sup>apramāṇaṃ ca  
satvānāṃ adhimukti)nānātvaviśeṣam<sup>54</sup> avatarati / apramāṇaṃ ca  
buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ nāmarūpakāyanānātvasaṃdarśanam<sup>55</sup> ava-  
tarati / apramāṇaṃ (ca) satvānāṃ āśayendriyanānātvam<sup>56</sup> avatarati /

*bsgrub pa'i byang bar snang bar gyur pa 'di dag mngon par bsgrubs pas /  
byang chub sems dpa'i sa bdun yongs su gnon ces bya ste.*

<sup>47</sup> *bodhisatvaḥ*: MS\_B *bodhisatvabhūmiḥ*.

<sup>48</sup> °*karma*°: Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva 法 = *dharma*.

<sup>49</sup> *lokadhātuḥjālam*: F 'jig rten gyi khams mang po.

<sup>50</sup> *buddhakṣetra*: R *buddhaśetra*, MS\_B *kṣetra*. Dpe bsdur ma (Y1 P Li Co) *sems can gyi zhing* = *sattvakṣetra*.

<sup>51</sup> *dharmmanānātvam*: MS\_A *satvanānātvam*, MS\_B *dharmadānātvam*.

<sup>52</sup> *jñānābhisambodhim*: S IOL Tib J 82 *ye shes mngon par rdzogs par thugs su chud pa* = *jñānābhisambodhyanubodham*.

<sup>53</sup> *praveśam*: cf. S IOL Tib J 82 *rtogs pa*, D and Dpe bsdur ma omit.

<sup>54</sup> *nānātvā*: D and Dpe bsdur ma omit.

<sup>55</sup> *nāmarūpa*°: cf. D *mtshan dang / sku gzugs dang*, S IOL Tib J 82 *ming dang gzugs (kyi sku)*. R *rūpa*°.

°*saṃdarśanam*: R °*darśanam*.

<sup>56</sup> *āśayendriya*: Dpe bsdur ma *bsam pa dang / dbang po*, understands it as a *dvandva*, S IOL Tib J 82 *bsam pas dbang po*, understands it as a *tatpuruṣa*, the latter can be confirmed by Vasubandhu, who explains this compound as *āśayāt īndriya*, cf. D 3993 210a5–6: *sngon gyi bsam pa las byung ba'i dbang po rtul po dang / 'bring dang rnon po rnams la ci rigs par chos ston pa ni gang gi phyir sems can rnams kyi bsam pas dbang po tha dad pa tshad med pa la yang 'jug la / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams kyi gsung brjod pas sems can gzhan tshim par mdzad pa tshad med pa la yang 'jug go zhes gsungs pa'o.*

apramāṇaṃ ca buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ<sup>57</sup> ghoṣodāhāraparasatva-  
 samtānasamtoṣaṇam<sup>58</sup> avatarati / apramāṇaṃ satvānāṃ citta-  
 caritanānā(tvam<sup>59</sup> avatarati / [MS\_A 31a2]a)pramāṇaṃ ca buddhānāṃ  
 bhagavatāṃ jñānaprasarānugamam<sup>60</sup> avatarati / apramāṇaṃ śrāva-  
 kayānaniryāṇādhimuktim<sup>61</sup> avatarati / apramāṇaṃ ca buddhānāṃ  
 bhagavatāṃ mārgadeśanāvātāram adhimucyate<sup>62</sup> / apramāṇaṃ  
 pratyekabuddhayānasamudāgamaniṣpattim<sup>63</sup> avatarati / apramā-  
 ṇaṃ ca buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ gambhīrajñā(namukha<sup>[MS\_A 31a3]-</sup>  
 pra)veśanirdeśam<sup>64</sup> avatarati / apramāṇaṃ<sup>65</sup> bodhisatvānāṃ bodhi-  
 satvacaryāprayogam<sup>66</sup> avatarati / apramāṇaṃ ca buddhānāṃ bhaga-  
 vatāṃ mahāyānasamudayāvātāradeśanāṃ<sup>67</sup> avatarati //

tasyaivam bhavati evam apramāṇaḥ khalu punas tathāgatā-  
 nām arhatāṃ samyaksambuddhānāṃ viṣayo yasya na sukarā

<sup>57</sup> From *rūpakāya*° to here, MS\_B omits.

<sup>58</sup> °*parasatva*°: R °*satva*°. D *gsung brjod pas / sems can yongs su smin par mdzad pa = ghoṣodāhārasatvaparipācana*. S IOL Tib J 82 *gsung brjod pas / sems can gzhan tshim par mdzad pa = ghoṣodāhāraparasatvasamtoṣaṇam*.

<sup>59</sup> *nānātvam*: Dpe bsdur ma omits.

<sup>60</sup> *prasara*: D 'byam klas pa, S rab 'byams, IOL Tib J 82 rab 'byam.

<sup>61</sup> *śrāvakayānaniryāṇādhimuktim*: follows D S IOL Tib J 82 Dpe bsdur ma. MS\_A *śrāvakayānaniryāṇādhimuktinānātvadhiśeṣam*. R MS\_B *śrāvakayānaniryāṇādhimuktinānātvam*.

<sup>62</sup> *adhimucyate*: R *avatarati*.

For *mārgadeśanāvātāram adhimucyate*, cf. S IOL Tib J 82 *lam bstan pa (tshad med pa) la 'jug pa la yang mos (so/mo)*. D *lam shin tu bstan pa'i ye shes la 'jug pa (tshad med pa) la 'jug cing mos par byed do = mārganirdeśanaññānāvātāram avatarati adhimucyate*.

<sup>63</sup> *pratyekabuddhayāna*°: MS\_A *śrāvakapratyekabuddhayāna*°, S IOL Tib J 82 *rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa*. D *rang sangs rgyas kyi ye shes = pratyekabuddhajñāna*, cf. Kumārajīva 辟支佛智慧.

<sup>64</sup> *gambhīrajñānamukha*: MS\_A *gajñānamukha*.

<sup>65</sup> R adds *ca*.

<sup>66</sup> *prayoga*: D IOL Tib J 82 *sbyor ba*, cf. Mvy 2317. S *spyod pa*, apparently is wrong.

<sup>67</sup> *deśanām*: R *nirdeśanām*, cf. D *shin tu bstan pa*.

saṃkhyā kartuṃ kalpakoṭīśataiḥ kalpa(koṭīśahasraiḥ) [MS\_A 31a4]\_  
kalpakoṭīśatasahasraiḥ yāvad etāvadbhir api kalpakoṭīniyuta-  
śatasahasraiḥ<sup>68</sup> sa ca buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ viṣayo 'smābhiḥ<sup>69</sup>  
samupasthāpayitavyaḥ anābhogataḥ<sup>70</sup> 'kalpāvikalpataś ca paripūrayi-  
tavya iti /

sa evaṃ supratyavekṣitajñānābhijñāḥ satatasamitam abhiyukta  
upāyaprajñāparibhāviṣeṣu mārgānta(rārambhaviśeṣeṣu)<sup>71</sup> [MS\_A 31a5]\_  
supraṭiṣṭhito<sup>72</sup> bhavaty avicālyayogena<sup>73</sup> / sa ekakṣaṇam api mā-  
rgābhinirhārān<sup>74</sup> na vyuttiṣṭhate sa gacchann apy evaṃ jñānābhi-  
nirhārayukto bhavati<sup>75</sup> / tiṣṭhann api niṣaṇṇo 'pi śayano 'pi sva-  
pnāntaragato 'py apagatanivaraṇaḥ sarvveryāpathe<sup>76</sup> sthitaḥ /  
avirahito bhavaty ebhir evaṃrūpaiḥ saṃjñāmanasikārais tasya  
cittotpā(dair da)<sup>[MS\_A 31a6]</sup>śānāṃ bodhisatvapāramitānāṃ sam-  
udāgmaparipūriḥ samudāgacchati / tatkasmād dhetos tathā hi sa  
bodhisatvaḥ<sup>77</sup> sarvvāmś<sup>78</sup> cittotpādānutpannotpannān mahākaru-  
ṇāpūrvvakān buddhadharmmasamudāgamāya<sup>79</sup> tathāgatajñānāya

<sup>68</sup> From *yasya* to here, S IOL Tib J 82 *de ni bskal pa bye ba khrag kh-  
rig brgya stong ji snyed pa de snyed kyis kyang bgrang bar sla ba ma  
yin ste* = *yasya na sukarā saṃkhyā kartuṃ yāvad etāvadbhir api  
kalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasraiḥ*, cf. Kumārajīva 不可以若干百千萬億劫算  
數所知.

<sup>69</sup> *asmābhiḥ*: D IOL Tib J 82 *bdag gis*, S *dag gis*.

<sup>70</sup> *anābhogataḥ*: MS\_A MS\_B *tac cānābhogataḥ*.

<sup>71</sup> *mārgāntarārambhaviśeṣeṣu*: D *lam gyi tshogs rgya chen po'i ye shes* =  
*mārgasambhāravistīrṇajñāna?*

<sup>72</sup> *viśeṣeṣu supraṭiṣṭhito*: MS\_B *viśeṣeś ca praṭiṣṭhito*.

<sup>73</sup> *avicālyayogena*: MS\_B *acālyayogena*.

<sup>74</sup> *mārgā*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *mārgāṅgā*.

<sup>75</sup> *jñānābhinirhārayukto bhavati*: MS\_A *jñānābhinirhārān vitiṣṭhate  
'bhiyukto bhavati*.

<sup>76</sup> *sarvveryāpathe*: MS\_A *sarvveryāpatha*.

<sup>77</sup> *bodhisatvaḥ*: MS\_A *bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ*.

<sup>78</sup> *sarvvāmś*: MS\_A *sarvvāmś tāṃś*.

<sup>79</sup> *buddhadharmma*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *buddhadharmmān*.

ca pariṇāmayati / tatra yaḥ<sup>80</sup> (kuśalamūla)<sup>[MS\_A 31a7]</sup>sya satvebhya  
 utsargo buddhajñānaparyeṣamāṇasyeyam<sup>81</sup> asya dānapāramitā /  
 yaḥ praśamaḥ sarvvakleśaparidāhānām iyam asya śīlapāramitā /  
 yā kṛpāmaitrīpūrvaṅgamā sarvvasatveṣu kṣāṃtir<sup>82</sup> iyam asya  
 kṣāṃtipāramitā / ya uttarottarakuśaladharmm(ātrīpta<sup>[MS\_A 31b1]</sup>ta)-  
 yāraṃbhaḥ<sup>83</sup> parākrama<sup>84</sup> iyam asya vīryapāramitā / yāviprati-  
 sāryavisṛtamārgatā<sup>85</sup> sarvvajñāñānābhimukhatheyam<sup>86</sup> asya dhyāna-  
 pāramitā / yā sarvvadharmmāṇām<sup>87</sup> prakṛtyanutpādābhimukhī  
 kṣāṃtir<sup>88</sup> iyam asya prajñāpāramitā / yo 'pramāṇājñānābhinirhāra'<sup>89</sup>  
 iyam asyopā(yakauśalapāramitā / ya uttarottara) <sup>[MS\_A 31b2]</sup>jñāna-  
 spharaṇābhinirhāra<sup>90</sup> iyam asya praṇidhānapāramitā / yā sarvvapara-

<sup>80</sup> *yaḥ*: K *yas tasya mahākaruṇayā satvān manasikurvato 'smād āraṃ-  
 vaṇasya*, confirms by MS\_A *yas tasya mahākaruṇayā satvān manasi-  
 kurvvata ...*

<sup>81</sup> *buddhajñānaparyeṣamāṇasyeyam*: MS\_A *buddhajñānaparyyasti  
 iyam*.

<sup>82</sup> *kṣāṃtir*: D *'tshig pa med pa*, S IOL Tib J 82 *gnod pa mi byed pa =  
 anapakāra?*. MS\_A *kṣaṇyā na?*

<sup>83</sup> *kuśala*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *kuśalamūla?* *āraṃbha*: D *tshol ba*, S IOL Tib J 82  
*btsom ba*.

<sup>84</sup> *parākrama*: D *dam 'cha' ba*, S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>85</sup> *avipratisāryavisṛtamārgatā*: MS\_A *avipratisāritā avisṛtamārgatā*. D  
*'gyod pa med pa'i lam dang ldan pa = avipratisāryamārgatā?* S *lam las mi  
 'phyin ba*, IOL Tib J 82 *lam las mi 'phyar ba = avisṛtamārgatā?*

<sup>86</sup> *sarvvajñāñānābhimukhatheyam*: MS\_A *sarvvajñāñānābhimukhatayā  
 'pīyam*. Cp. D *thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes mngon du bya ba'i phyir*.

<sup>87</sup> *sarvvadharmmāṇām*: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>88</sup> *kṣāṃtir*: S IOL Tib J 82 *bzod pa*. D omits.

<sup>89</sup> *'pramāṇājñānābhinirhāra*: D *ye shes tshad med pa mngon par bsgrub  
 pa*, understand *apramāṇājñāna* as *karmadhārya*, S *ye shes kyis tshad med  
 par mngon par sgrub pa*, IOL Tib J 82 *ye shes kyi tshad med pa mngon par  
 bsgrub pa*.

<sup>90</sup> *uttarottarajñānaspharaṇābhinirhāra*: K R *uttarottarapraṇidhānajñān  
 aspharaṇābhinirhāra*. MS\_A ... *mādhijñāna*<sup>o</sup>. D *gong nas gong du ye shes  
 la dmigs shing mngon par bsgrub pa*, S *ye shes kyi gong nas gong du mngon  
 par sgrub pa*, IOL Tib J 82 *ye shes kyis gong nas gong du mngon par sgrub*

pravādimārasaṃghair<sup>91</sup> mārgānācchedyateyam asya balapāramitā/yā  
 yathāvat sarvvadharmmajñānanistīraṇateyam<sup>92</sup> asya jñānapāramitā /  
 evam asya bhavanto<sup>93</sup> jinaputrā bodhisatvasya dūraṃgamāyām  
 bodhisatvabhūmau sthitasyemā<sup>94</sup> daśapā<sup>[MS\_A 31b3]</sup>ramitāḥ<sup>95</sup> kṣaṇe  
 kṣaṇe paripūryante / evaṃ<sup>96</sup> catvāri saṃgrahavastūni<sup>97</sup> catvāri  
 cādhiṣṭhānāni<sup>98</sup> saptatrimśadbodhipakṣyās ca<sup>99</sup> dharmmās trīṇi ca  
 vimokṣamukhāni samāsataḥ sarvvabodhyaṃgikā<sup>100</sup> dharmmāḥ  
 kṣaṇe kṣaṇe paripūryante //

evam ukte vimukticandro bodhisatvo vajragarbhaṃ bodhisatvam  
 etad avocat //

kiṃ punar bho<sup>101</sup> jinapu(trāsyām eva<sup>102</sup> sa) <sup>[MS\_A 31b4]</sup>ptamyām bo-  
 dhisatvabhūmau sthitasya bodhisatvasya<sup>103</sup> sarvvabodhyaṃgāni<sup>104</sup>

*pa.* For °*spharaṇa*°, D *dmigs*, S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>91</sup> *sarvvaparpravādimārasaṃghair*: D *phas kyi rgol ba thams cad dang bdud kyi tshogs thams cad kyiis = sarvvaparpravādibhiḥ sarvamārasaṃghair?*

<sup>92</sup> *sarvvadharmmajñānanistīraṇateyam*: R *sarvvadharmmajñānanistīraṇateyam*. MS\_A *sarvvadharmmajñānanistīraṇā iyam*. °*jñāna*°: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>93</sup> *bho*: K R *bhavaṃto*. D S IOL Tib J 82 *kye*.

<sup>94</sup> *sthitasyemā*: MS\_A *sthitasya bo(dhisatvasya)?*

<sup>95</sup> *daśa*°: MS\_A S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>96</sup> *evaṃ*: MS\_A omits.

<sup>97</sup> *saṃgrahavastūni*: MS\_A adds *paripūryante*.

<sup>98</sup> *catvāri cādhiṣṭhānāni*: S IOL Tib J 82 *gnas bzhi*. D *byin gyi rlabs bcu = daśādhiṣṭhānāni?*

<sup>99</sup> *saptatrimśadbodhipakṣyās ca*: MS\_A *saptatrimśac ca bodhipakṣyā*.

<sup>100</sup> *sarvva*°: MS\_A *sapta*.

<sup>101</sup> *bho*: K *bhavaṃto*. D S IOL Tib J 82 *kye*.

<sup>102</sup> *eva*: D 'ba' *zhig*, S IOL Tib J 82 ('di) *nyid*.

<sup>103</sup> *bodhisatvasya*: D *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po = bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya*.

<sup>104</sup> *sarvvabodhyaṃgāni*: K R *sarvvabodhyaṃgikā dharmmāḥ*.



kṣaṇe kṣaṇe paripūryante āho svit<sup>105</sup> sarvvāsu daśasu bodhisatva-  
bhūmiṣu<sup>106</sup> //

vajragarbho bodhisatva āha //

sarvvāsubhojinaputra<sup>107</sup> daśasubodhisatvabhūmiṣubodhisatvasya  
sarvvabodhyaṃgāni kṣaṇe kṣaṇe paripūryante / tadatirekeṇa punar  
asyām eva sapta(myāṃ bodhisatva)<sup>[MS\_A 31b5]</sup> bhūmau<sup>108</sup> / tatkasya  
hetoḥ / iyaṃ bho<sup>109</sup> jinaputrā<sup>110</sup> bodhisatvabhūmiḥ<sup>111</sup> prāyogika-  
caryāparipūrāṇī<sup>112</sup> ca jñānābhijñācaryākramaṇī ca / api tu khalu  
punar bho jinaputrā<sup>113</sup> prathamāyāṃ bodhisatvabhūmau sarvva-  
praṇidhānādhyālambanena bodhisatvasya kṣaṇe kṣaṇe sarvva-  
bodhyaṃgāni<sup>114</sup> paripūryante / dvitīyāyāṃ (cittamalāpana)<sup>[MS\_A  
31b6]</sup> yanena<sup>115</sup> / trtīyāyāṃ praṇidhānavivardhanatayā<sup>116</sup> dharmmāva-  
bhāsapatilambhena ca / caturthyāṃ mārḡavatāreṇa<sup>117</sup> / pañca-

<sup>105</sup> *āho svit*: K 'ho svit. D 'on te ma yin gyis, S IOL Tib J 82 'on te.

<sup>106</sup> *sarvvāsu daśasu bodhisatvabhūmiṣu*: D sa bcu po thams cad la 'ang de bzhin du yongs su rdzogs par 'gyur, S IOL Tib J 82 sa bcu po thams cad la yang de bzhin du yongs su rdzogs par 'gyur. According to the Tibetan, the Sanskrit should be *sarvvāsu daśabhūmiṣu ca evam paripūryante*.

<sup>107</sup> *jinaputra*: K R jinaputrā. D S IOL Tib J 82 rgyal ba'i sras.

<sup>108</sup> °*bhūmau*: MS\_A adds ...*bhūmau sthitasya bodhisatvasya*.

<sup>109</sup> *bho*: MS\_A *bhavaṃto*.

<sup>110</sup> *jinaputrā*: D S IOL Tib J 82 rgyal ba'i sras = *jinaputra*.

<sup>111</sup> *bodhisatvabhūmiḥ*: MS\_A *bodhisatvasya bhūmiḥ*.  
*bodhisatva*°: S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa' rnam*s.

<sup>112</sup> *prāyogika*°: D *nan tan du bya ba*, S IOL Tib J 82 *sbyor ba can*. Cp. Mvy 7412 *sbyor ba las byung ba*.

<sup>113</sup> *jinaputrā*: D S IOL Tib J 82 rgyal ba'i sras = *jinaputra*.

<sup>114</sup> *bodhisatvasya kṣaṇe kṣaṇe sarvvabodhyaṃgāni*: MS\_A *bodhyaṃgāni kṣaṇe kṣaṇe*. D *byang chub sems dpa'i byang chub kyi yan lag thams cad = bodhisatvasya sarvvabodhyaṃgāni*, S *byang chub sa yan lag rnam*s. IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub gi yan lag rnam*s = *bodhyaṃgāni*.

<sup>115</sup> *cittamalāpanayana*: D *sems kyi dri ma thams cad bstsal bas*.

<sup>116</sup> *praṇidhānavivardhanatayā*: MS\_A *praṇidhānavibaddhāpanayana-vivardhanatayā*.

<sup>117</sup> *caturthyāṃ mārḡavatāreṇa*: MS\_A *caturthyā mārḡavatāreṇa na*.

myām<sup>118</sup> lokakriyānuvṛtyā<sup>119</sup> / ṣaṣṭyām<sup>120</sup> gaṃbhīradharmma-  
 mukhapraveśena<sup>121</sup> / asyām tu saptamyām bodhisatvabhūmau  
 sarvvabuddhadharmmasa(mutthāpanata)<sup>[MS\_A 31b7]</sup>yā<sup>122</sup> kṣaṇe kṣaṇe  
 sarvvabodhyāṃgāni paripūryante<sup>123</sup> / tatkasya hetoḥ / yāni bodhi-  
 satvena prathamām bodhisatvabhūmim<sup>124</sup> upādāya yāvat sapta-  
 mī bodhisatvabhūmir<sup>125</sup> ity abhinirhṛtāni jñānābhinirhāraprayo-  
 gāṃgāni<sup>[MS\_A 32a1]</sup>(mā)ny<sup>126</sup> aṣṭamīm bodhisatvabhūmim ārabhya  
 yāvad atyaṃtaparyavasānam ity<sup>127</sup> anābhogena pariniṣpadyante /  
 tadyathāpi nāma bho jinaputra dvayor lokadhātvoḥ<sup>128</sup> saṃkliṣṭa-  
 viśuddhāyās ca lokadhātor ekāntapariśuddhāyās ca lokadhātor  
 lokāntarikā duratikramā na śakyā yathātathātikramitum anyatra<sup>129</sup>

<sup>118</sup> *pañcāmāṃ*: MS\_A adds *bodhisatvabhūmau*.

<sup>119</sup> *lokakriyānuvṛtyā*: D 'jig rten gyi spyod pa'i rjes su 'brang bas, S 'jig rten gyi bya ba dang mthun par 'jug pas. IOL Tib J 82 'jig rten gyi bya ba dang 'thun par 'jug pas.

<sup>120</sup> *ṣaṣṭyām*: MS\_A adds *bodhisatvabhūmau*.

<sup>121</sup> °*praveśena*: MS\_A *praveśanena*.

°*mukha*°: K °*mukhanaya*°. D adds *byang chub kyi yan lag thams cad yongs su rdzogs par 'gyur te*.

<sup>122</sup> °*samutthāpanatayā*: D *yongs su sgrub pas*, S *yang dag par skyed pa*. IOL Tib J 82 *yang dag par skyed pas*.

<sup>123</sup> *kṣaṇe kṣaṇe sarvvabodhyāṃgāni paripūryante*: S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub kyi yan lag rnam yongs su rdzogs par 'gyur ro = bodhyāṃgāni paripūryante*.

<sup>124</sup> *bodhisatvabhūmim*: MS\_A *bhūmim*.

<sup>125</sup> *bodhisatvabhūmir*: MS\_A *bhūmir*.

<sup>126</sup> °*prayoga*°: S *spyod pa*. IOL Tib J 82 *sbyor ba*.

<sup>127</sup> *ārabhya yāvad atyaṃtaparyavasānam ity*: is not traceable in Tibetan. D S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa'i sa brgyad pa yan cad lhun gyis grub par yongs su 'grub bo*.

<sup>128</sup> *dvayor lokadhātvoḥ*: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>129</sup> *duratikramā na śakyā yathātathātikramitum anyatra*: K *duratikramā-nyatra*.

*duratikramā*: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit. For *na śakyā yathātathātikramitum*, D 'dod 'dod brgal bar mi nus so, S IOL Tib J 82 *gya tshom du 'da' ba mi nus so*.

mahato ('bhijñāba)<sup>[MS\_A 32a2]</sup>lādhānāt<sup>130</sup> / evam eva bho jinaputra<sup>131</sup>  
vyāmiśrapariśuddhā bodhisatvacaryāntarikā<sup>132</sup> duratikramā<sup>133</sup> na  
śākya yathātathātikramitum anyatra mahāprañidhānopāyaprajñābhi-  
jñābalādhānāt<sup>134</sup> //

vimukticandro bodhisatva āha //

kiṃ punar bho jinaputra saptasu bodhisatvabhūmiṣu kleśacaryā-  
saṃkliṣṭā bodhisatvacaryā<sup>135</sup> pratyetyā<sup>136</sup> /

(va)<sup>[MS\_A 32a3]</sup>jragarbho bodhisatva āha //

prathamām eva bho jinaputra<sup>137</sup> bodhisatvabhūmim upādāya<sup>138</sup>  
sarvvā bodhisatvacaryāpagatakleśakalmāṣā<sup>139</sup> bodhipariñāmanā-  
dhipatyena pratyetyā<sup>140</sup> / yathābhāgīyamārgasamatayā<sup>141</sup> na ca  
tāvāt saptasu bhūmiṣu<sup>142</sup> samatīkrāntā kleśacaryā iti vācanīyaḥ /

<sup>130</sup> *mahato 'bhijñābalādhānāt*: MS\_A *mahāprañidhānopāya ... lādhānād*. confirmed by D *smon lam dang / thabs dang shes rab dang mngon par shes pa'i stobs dang / shugs chen po*. For °*balādhāna*, D *stobs dang shugs*, S IOL Tib J 82 *stobs bskyed pa*. Cp. Mvy 7228 *balādhāna = stobs bskyed pa*.

<sup>131</sup> *jinaputra*: K R *jinaputrā*. D S IOL Tib J 82 *rgyal ba'i sras = jinaputra*.

<sup>132</sup> °*antarikā*: D *bar*, S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>133</sup> *duratikramā*: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>134</sup> °*ādhāna*: D *shugs*, S IOL Tib J 82 *bskyed pa*.

<sup>135</sup> *bodhisatvacaryā*: MS\_A *bodhisatvānāṃ caryā*.

<sup>136</sup> *pratyetyā*: K adds *aho svid viśuddhā //*, MS\_A *aho ... D yid ches par bya ba*, S IOL Tib J 82 *shes par bya ba*.

<sup>137</sup> *jinaputra*: K R *jinaputrā*. D S IOL Tib J 82 *rgyal ba'i sras = jinaputra*.

<sup>138</sup> *prathamām ... bodhisatvabhūmim upādāya*: D *byang chub sems dpa'i sa dang po rab tu dga' ba nyid bzung ba yan cad du*.

<sup>139</sup> °*apagatakleśakalmāṣā*: MS\_A *apagatakleśadharmā*. D *nyon mongs pa'i rnyog pa dang bral ba*, S IOL Tib J 82 *nyon mongs pa dang 'dres pa med pa*.

<sup>140</sup> *pratyetyā*: D *yid ches par bya*, S IOL Tib J 82 *shes par bya*.

<sup>141</sup> *yathābhāgīyamārgasamatayā*: K R *yathābhāgimārgasamatayā*. D *gar 'os pa'i tshul gyi lam mnyam pa nyid kyis*, S IOL Tib J 82 *ji ltar mthun pa'i lam mtshungs pa nyid kyis*.

<sup>142</sup> *saptasu bhūmiṣu*: K R *saptasu bodhisatvabhūmiṣu*. D *sa bdun po*

tadyathāpi nāma bho jinaputra<sup>143</sup> rājā (cakravartī divyaṃ<sup>144</sup> hasti)  
 [MS\_A 32a4]ratnam abhirūḍhaś caturo dvīpān ākramati<sup>145</sup> manuṣya-  
 duḥkhadāridryasaṃkleśadoṣāṃ<sup>146</sup> ca prajānāti na ca tair doṣair  
 lipyate / na ca tāvat samatīkrāṃto manuṣyabhāvaṃ<sup>147</sup> bhavati /  
 yadā punar manuṣyāśrayaṃ hitvā brahmaloka upapanno bhavati /  
 tadā brāhmyavimānam<sup>148</sup> abhirūḍhaḥ sāhasraṃ lokadhātum alpa-  
 kṛcchreṇa<sup>149</sup> paśy(aty anuvicarati / [MS\_A 32a5]brahma) pratibhāsaṃ<sup>150</sup>  
 cādarśayati / na ca manuṣya iti prabhāvyaate /

evam eva bho jinaputra<sup>151</sup> prathamam bhūmim<sup>152</sup> upādāya bo-  
 dhisatvaḥ<sup>153</sup> pāramitāyānābhirūḍhaḥ<sup>154</sup> sarvvajagadanuvicaran<sup>155</sup>  
 saṃkleśadoṣān<sup>156</sup> prajānāti / na ca tair doṣair<sup>157</sup> lipyate samyagmā-  
 rgābhirūḍhatvāt<sup>158</sup> / na ca tāvat samatīkrāṃ(taḥ sarvvajagatsaṃ-

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*rnams su*, S IOL Tib J 82 *sa bdun po rnams la*.

<sup>143</sup> *jinaputra*: K R *jinaputrā*. D S IOL Tib J 82 *rgyal ba'i sras = jinaputra*.

<sup>144</sup> *divyaṃ*: D *lha rdzas*, S IOL Tib J 82 *lha*.

<sup>145</sup> *dvīpān ākramati*: K *dvīpāmākramati*.

<sup>146</sup> °*dāridrya*°: D *phongs pa*, S IOL Tib J 82 *dbul ba*. °*doṣa*°: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>147</sup> *manuṣyabhāvaṃ*: MS\_A *manuṣyātmabhāvaṃ*.

<sup>148</sup> *brāhmyavimānam*: MS\_A *brāhmyaṃ vimānam*.

<sup>149</sup> *alpakṛcchreṇa*: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>150</sup> *brahmapratibhāsa*: D *tshangs pa'i gzugs brnyan*, S IOL Tib J 82 *ts-hangs par snang ba*.

<sup>151</sup> *jinaputra*: K R *jinaputrā*. D S IOL Tib J 82 *rgyal ba'i sras = jinaputra*.

<sup>152</sup> *bhūmim*: D S *byang chub sems dpa'i sa = bodhisatvabhūmim*.

<sup>153</sup> *bodhisatvaḥ*: S omits.

<sup>154</sup> *pāramitā*°: S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa'i pha rol tu phyin pa = bodhisatvapāramitā*°.

<sup>155</sup> *sarvvajagadanuvicaran*: MS\_A *sarvvañ jagadanuvicaran*.

<sup>156</sup> *saṃkleśadoṣān*: MS\_A omits.

<sup>157</sup> *na ca tair doṣair*: MS\_A *sarvvajagadsaṃkleśadoṣā na ca tair doṣair*.  
*doṣair*: D S IOL Tib J 82 *kun nas nyon mongs pa = saṃkleśair*.

<sup>158</sup> *samyagmārgābhirūḍhatvāt*: MS\_A *samyagmārgarūḍhatvāt*.

kleśadoṣād<sup>159</sup> vaktavyaḥ / )<sup>[MS\_A 32a6]</sup>saptasu bhūmiṣu sarvvaprāyogikacaryāṃ<sup>160</sup> vihāya saptamyā bhūmer aṣṭamīm avakrānto<sup>161</sup> bhavati / tadā (pariśuddhabodhisatvayānam abhirūḍhaḥ sarvvajagadanuvicaran sarvvajagatsaṃkleśadoṣān<sup>162</sup> prajānāti na ca tair doṣair lipyate<sup>163</sup>) <sup>[MS\_A 32b1]</sup>samatikrāntatvāl lokakriyābhyaḥ<sup>164</sup> /

asyāṃ<sup>165</sup> punar bho jinaputra saptamyāṃ bodhisatvabhūmau sthito bodhisatvo bhūyastvena<sup>166</sup> rāgādipramukhaṃ sarvvakleśagaṇasamatikrānto bhavati / so 'syāṃ (dūraṃgamāyāṃ<sup>167</sup> bodhisatvabhūmau caran bodhisatvo 'saṃkleśāniṣkleśa iti vaktavyaḥ<sup>168</sup> / tatkaśmād dhetos<sup>169</sup> asamudācāratvāt<sup>170</sup> sarvvakleśānām)<sup>171</sup> <sup>[MS\_A 32b2]</sup>na saṃkleśa iti vaktavyaḥ / tathāgatajñānābhilāṣād aparipūrṇābhiprāyatvāc ca na niṣkleśa iti vaktavyaḥ / so 'syāṃ saptamyāṃ bodhisatvabhūmau sthito bodhisatvo 'dhyāsayapariśuddhena kāyakarmaṇā samanvā-

<sup>159</sup> *sarvvajagat*<sup>o</sup>: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>160</sup> *sarvva*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *yadā* ... *sarvvaprāyogikacaryāṃ*. S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>161</sup> *avakrānto*: MS\_A *bodhisatvabhūmiṃ apākṛānto*.

<sup>162</sup> *sarvvajagatsaṃkleśadoṣān*: D *kun nas nyon mongs pa'i nyes pa thams cad* = *sarvvasaṃkleśadoṣān*, S IOL Tib J 82 *kun nas nyon mongs pa'i nyes pa rnam* = *saṃkleśadoṣān*.

<sup>163</sup> *na ca tair doṣair lipyate*: D *nyes pa de dag gis kun nas nyon mongs par gyur ces mi bya'o* = *na ca tair doṣair saṃkleśo bhavati iti vaktavyaḥ?*

<sup>164</sup> *na ca tair doṣair lipyate samatikrāntatvāl lokakriyābhyaḥ*: S IOL Tib J 82 *shin tu 'das pas de dag gis gos par gyur zhes mi bya'o* = *na ca tair lipyate iti samatikrāntatvāt vaktavyaḥ?*

<sup>165</sup> *asyāṃ*: MS\_A *asyāṃ khalu*.

<sup>166</sup> *bhūyastvena*: D *shas che bar*, S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>167</sup> *dūraṃgamāyāṃ*: MS\_A *saptamyāṃ* ... D omits.

<sup>168</sup> *'saṃkleśāniṣkleśa iti vaktavyaḥ*: D *nyon mongs pa can shes kyang mi bya / nyon mongs pa med pa zhes kyang mi bya'o*, S IOL Tib J 82 *nyon mongs pa dang bcas pa zhes kyang mi bya / nyon mongs pa med pa zhes kyang mi bya'o*.

<sup>169</sup> *tatkasmād dhetos*: K R *tatkasmāt*.

<sup>170</sup> *asamudācāratvāt*: D *rgyu ba med pas*, S IOL Tib J 82 *kun tu mi 'byung bas*. Cp. Mvy 7431 *samudācāra* = *kun tu 'byung ba'am rgyu'am spyod pa*.

<sup>171</sup> *sarvva*<sup>o</sup>: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

gato bhavati / adhyāśayapariśuddhena vākkarmaṇā<sup>172</sup> adhyāśa-  
yapariśuddh(ena manaskarmaṇā sama)<sup>[MS\_A 32b3]</sup>nvāgato bhavati /  
sa ceme<sup>173</sup> 'kuśalāḥ<sup>174</sup> karmapathās tathāgatavivarnītās tān<sup>175</sup> sar-  
rvveṇa sarvvaṃ<sup>176</sup> samatīkrāṃto bhavati / ye ceme kuśalāḥ<sup>177</sup>  
karmapathāḥ samyaksambuddhānubhāvitās<sup>178</sup> tān satatasamītam  
anuvartate<sup>179</sup> / yāni cemāni laukikāni śilpsthānakarmasthānāni  
yāny<sup>180</sup> abhinirhṛtāni pañca(myāṃ bodhisatva)<sup>[MS\_A 32b4]</sup>bhūmau<sup>181</sup>  
tāny asya sarvvāny anābhogata eva pravartante / sa ācāryaḥ saṃ-  
mato bhavati trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātau / sthāpayitvā ta-  
thāgatān arhataḥ samyaksambuddhān<sup>182</sup> aṣṭamīṃ bhūmim<sup>183</sup>  
upādāya ca<sup>184</sup> bodhisatvān<sup>185</sup> / nāsyā kaścit samo bhavaty āśayena

<sup>172</sup> MS\_A adds *samanvāgato bhavati*.

<sup>173</sup> *sa ceme*: MS\_A *sa ya ime*.

<sup>174</sup> 'kuśalāḥ: MS\_A R *daśākuśalāḥ*.

<sup>175</sup> *tān*: D *kun nas nyon mongs pa dang bcas pa de dag = saṃkleśān tān*.

<sup>176</sup> *sarvvaṃ*: R omits.

<sup>177</sup> *kuśalāḥ*: MS\_A R *daśa kuśalāḥ*.

<sup>178</sup> °*anubhāvitās*: MS\_A *anuññātāḥ*.

<sup>179</sup> *anuvartate*: MS\_A *anuvartante*.

From *ye* to *anuvartate*, S IOL Tib J 82 *dge ba'i las kyi lam gang dag yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyis bka' stsal pa / de dag la rtag par rgyun du rjes su 'jug pa yin no*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit. Cp. D *gang 'di dag dge ba'i lam yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyis bsngags pa de dag gi rjes su rtag tu rgyun mi 'chang par 'brang ba yin*.

<sup>180</sup> *yāny*: D *ji ltar = yathā*, S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>181</sup> *bodhisatva*°: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>182</sup> *tathāgatān arhataḥ samyaksambuddhān*: MS\_A *tathāgatānām arhatāṃ samyaksambuddhā{ddhā}nām*.

<sup>183</sup> *samyaksambuddhān aṣṭamīṃ bhūmim*: K *samyaksambuddhāṣṭamī- bhūmim*.

*bhūmim*: D S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa'i sa = bodhisatvabhūmim*.

<sup>184</sup> *ca*: MS\_A omits.

<sup>185</sup> S IOL Tib J 82 add *stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi kham su slob dpon du grags pa yin te*.

vā prayogeṇa vā / yāni cemāni dhyānāni<sup>186</sup> sa(mādhayaḥ sa)<sup>[MS\_A 32b5]</sup>māpattayo 'bhijñā vimokṣāś ca tāny asya<sup>187</sup> sarvveṇa sarvvam āmukhībhavaṃti bhāvanābhīnīrḥāramukhākāreṇa<sup>188</sup> / na ca tāvad<sup>189</sup> vipākataḥ pariniṣpannāni<sup>190</sup> bhavaṃti tadyathāpi nāmāṣṭamyāṃ bodhisatvabhūmau<sup>191</sup> / tasyāsyāṃ<sup>192</sup> saptamyāṃ bodhisatvabhūmau sthitasya bodhisatvasya sarvvacittotpādeṣu prajñopāyabhāvanā-(balaṃ<sup>193</sup> paripū)<sup>[MS\_A 32b6]</sup>ryate / bhūyasyā mātrayā<sup>194</sup> ca<sup>195</sup> sarvva-bodhyaṃgāni pratilabhate<sup>196</sup> /

so 'syāṃ saptamyāṃ bodhisatvabhū(mau sthitaḥ san su<sup>[MS\_A 33a1]</sup> vicitavicayaṃ<sup>197</sup> ca nāma bodhisatvasamādhiṃ<sup>198</sup> samāpa)dyate / suvicīṃtitārthaṃ<sup>199</sup> ca nāma viśeṣamatim ca nāma prabhedārthakośāñ ca nāma sarvvārthavicayaṃ ca nāma yathāvad dharmmārthavicayaṃ

<sup>186</sup> *dhyānāni*: MS\_A *sthānāni*.

<sup>187</sup> *tāny asya*: MS\_A *tasya*.

<sup>188</sup> *bhāvanābhīnīrḥāramukhākāreṇa*: K R *bhāvanābhīnīrḥārākāreṇa*. D *bsgom pa mngon par bsgrub pa'i sgo'i tshul gyis*, S IOL Tib J 82 *bsgom pa'i sgo'i tshul gyis*.

<sup>189</sup> *tāvad*: D *da dung*, S IOL Tib J 82 *de tsam gyis*.

<sup>190</sup> *pariniṣpannāni*: MS\_A *pariniṣpannā*.

<sup>191</sup> R adds *sthitasya bodhisatvasya*.

<sup>192</sup> *tasyāsyāṃ*: R *āsyāṃ*.

<sup>193</sup> *prajñopāyabhāvanābalaṃ*: D *shes rab dang / thabs dang / bsgom pa'i stobs*, understands it as a *dvandva*, S IOL Tib J 82 *shes rab dang / thabs bsgom pa'i stobs*, understands it as a *tatpuruṣa*.

<sup>194</sup> *bhūyasyā mātrayā*: D *sngon pas kyang*, S IOL Tib J 82 *de bas kyang shes cher*.

<sup>195</sup> *ca*: K R omit.

<sup>196</sup> *pratilabhate*: MS\_A *pratipūriṃ pratilabhate*.

<sup>197</sup> *svicitavicayaṃ*: K *savicitavicayaṃ*. Cf. D S IOL Tib J 82 *shin tu rnam par phye ba*.

<sup>198</sup> *bodhisatvasamādhiṃ*: D *byang chub sems dpa'i ting nge 'dzin rnam par dbye ba*, S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa'i ting nge 'dzin rnam par 'byed pas*.

<sup>199</sup> *svicīṃtitārthaṃ*: D S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa'i ting nge 'dzin don shin tu bsam pa*.

ca nāma<sup>200</sup> supratīṣṭhitadr̥dhamūlaṃ ca nāma jñānābhijñānamukhaṃ  
 ca nāma dharmmadhātuparikarmaṃ ca nāma tathāgatānuśaṃsaṃ<sup>201</sup>  
 ca nāma vicitrārthakośasamsāranirvāṇamukhaṃ ca <sup>[MS\_A 33a2]</sup>nāma  
 bodhisatvasamādhiṃ<sup>202</sup> samāpadyate / sa evaṃ pramukhāni ma-  
 hābhijñājñānamukhāni paripūrṇāni daśasamādhiśatasahasrāṇi  
 bhūmipariśodhikāni<sup>203</sup> samāpadyate / sa eṣāṃ samādhiṇām upāya-  
 prajñāsupariśodhitānām pratilambhān mahākaruṇābalena<sup>204</sup> cāti-  
 krānto bhavati śrāvakaḥpratyekabuddhabhūmiṃ<sup>205</sup> / abhimukha(ś ca)  
<sup>[MS\_A 33a3]</sup>bhavati prajñājñānavicāraṇabhūmeḥ /

tasyāsyāṃ saptamyāṃ<sup>206</sup> bodhisatvabhūmau sthitasya bodhisat-  
 tvasya apramāṇaṃ kāyakarma nimittāpagataṃ pravartate / apramā-  
 ṇaṃ vākkarma nimittāpagataṃ pravartate / apramāṇaṃ manaska-  
 rma<sup>207</sup> nimittāpagataṃ pravartate<sup>208</sup> / suviśodhitam<sup>209</sup> anutpattika-  
 dharmmakṣāntya avabhāsitam //

vimukticandro bodhisatva āha //

<sup>200</sup> *sarvvārthavicayaṃ ca nāma yathāvad dharmmārthavicayaṃ ca nāma*: R *sarvvārthavicayaṃ ca nāma*. Cf. D *chos ji lta ba bzhi du rnam par 'byed pa zhes bya ba dang = yathāvad dharmmavicayaṃ ca nāma*, S IOL Tib J 82 *don ji lta ba bzhi du rnam par 'byed pa zhes bya ba dang = yathāvad arthavicayaṃ ca nāma*.

<sup>201</sup> *anuśaṃsa*: D *yon tan*, S IOL Tib J 82 *phan yon*. Cp. Mvy 2626 *phan yon*.

<sup>202</sup> *bodhisatvasamādhiṃ*: K *samādhiṃ*. D *don sna tshogs kyi mdzod*, S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa'i don sna tshogs kyi mdzod*.

<sup>203</sup> *pariśodhikāni*: MS\_A *pariśodhakāni*.

<sup>204</sup> *mahākaruṇābalena*: D *snying rje dang snying brtse ba'i mthus*, S IOL Tib J 82 *snying brtse ba dang | snying rje'i stobs kyiis = krpākaruṇābalena*.

<sup>205</sup> *śrāvakaḥpratyekabuddhabhūmiṃ*: MS\_A *śrāvakabhūmiṃ pratyekabuddhabhūmiṃ*.

<sup>206</sup> *saptamyāṃ*: MS\_A omits.

<sup>207</sup> *manaskarma*: MS\_A *maskarma*.

<sup>208</sup> *pravartate*: D *tshad med pa rab tu 'byung ngo*.

<sup>209</sup> *suviśodhitam*: MS\_A *supariśodhitam*.



[MS\_A 33a4] na nu<sup>210</sup> bho jinaputra prathamāyām<sup>211</sup> eva bodhisatva-  
bhūmau sthitasya bodhisatvasya apramāṇaṃ kāyavānmanaskarma  
sarvvaśrāvakapratyekabuddhacaryāṃ samatikrāntaṃ bhavati //

vajragarbho bodhisatva āha //

bhavati bho jinaputra tat punar<sup>212</sup> buddhadharmmādhyālaṃbana-  
māhātmyena<sup>213</sup> / na punaḥ svabuddhivicāreṇa / asyāṃ tu<sup>214</sup> punaḥ  
saptamyāṃ bodhisatvabhūmau svabuddhigocaravicāra<sup>[MS\_A 33a5]</sup>-  
pratilambhād<sup>215</sup> asaṃhāryaṃ śrāvakapratyekabuddhair<sup>216</sup> bhavati /  
tadyathāpi nāma bho jinaputra rājakulaprasūto rājaputro<sup>217</sup> rāja-  
lakṣaṇasamanvāgataḥ / jātamātra eva<sup>218</sup> sarvvāmātyagaṇam<sup>219</sup> abhi-  
bhavati rājādhipatyena na punaḥ svabuddhivicāreṇa<sup>220</sup> / yadā punaḥ  
sa saṃvṛddho bhavati tadā svabuddhibalādhānataḥ<sup>221</sup> sarvvāmātya-  
kriyāsamatikrāṃto<sup>222</sup> bhavati/evameva bho jinaputra (bodhi)<sup>[MS\_A 33a6]</sup>-  
satvaḥ saha cittotpādena sarvvaśrāvakapratyekabuddhān abhibhavaty

<sup>210</sup> na nu: D de lta go ... ji rob?

<sup>211</sup> prathamāyām: MS\_A prathamām.

<sup>212</sup> bhavati ... punar: S de ltar yang yin te, IOL Tib J 82 de ltar yang  
[yang] yin te, D de lta'ang ma yin te = na bhavati ... punar?

<sup>213</sup> °māhātmyena: D mthur zad kyi, S IOL Tib J 82 che ba nyid kyis gyur  
tu zad kyi.

<sup>214</sup> tu: MS\_A omits.

<sup>215</sup> °pratilambhād: K °pratirambhād.

<sup>216</sup> śrāvakapratyekabuddhair: MS\_A K omits. D nyan thos dang rang  
sangs rgyas thams cad kyi, S IOL Tib J 82 nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas  
thams cad kyis.

<sup>217</sup> rājaputro: D IOL Tib J 82 rgyal po'i bu, S omits.

<sup>218</sup> jātamātra eva: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>219</sup> sarvvāmātyagaṇam: K sarvvam amātyagaṇam.

<sup>220</sup> svabuddhivicāreṇa: K svabuddhibalavicāreṇa.

<sup>221</sup> °balādhānataḥ: D mthus, S IOL Tib J 82 stobs bskyed pas.

<sup>222</sup> sarvvāmātyakriyāsamatikrāṃto: MS\_A sarvvam amātyakriyam  
atikrāṃto.°kriyā°: D byed pa'i tshul, S IOL Tib J 82 bya ba.

adhyāśayamāhātmyena<sup>223</sup> na punaḥ svabuddhivicāreṇa<sup>224</sup> / asyāṃ tu saptamyāṃ bodhisatvabhūmau sthito bodhisatvaḥ svaviśayajñānaviśeṣamahātmyāvasthitatvāt<sup>225</sup> sarvvaśrāvapakapratyekabuddhakriyātikrāṃto<sup>226</sup> bhavati / sa<sup>227</sup> khalu punar bho jinaputra bodhisatvo<sup>228</sup> 'syāṃ saptamyāṃ (bodhisatvabhūmau sthito gaṃ<sup>[MS\_A 33a7]</sup> bhīrasya) viviktasyāpracārasya kāyavānmanaskarmaṇo lābhībhavati / na cottaraṃ<sup>229</sup> viśeṣaparimārgaṇābhiyogam<sup>230</sup> avasrjati<sup>231</sup> / yena parimārgaṇābhiyogena nirodhaprāptaś ca bhavati na ca nirodhaṃ sākṣātkaroti<sup>232</sup> //

vimukticandro bodhisatva āha //

katamāṃ bho jinaputra bodhisatvabhūmim upādāya <sup>[MS\_A 33b1]</sup> bodhisatvo nirodhaṃ samāpadyate //

vajragarbho bodhisatva āha //

ṣaṣṭhīm bho jinaputra bodhisatvabhūmim upādāya bodhisatvo nirodhaṃ samāpadyate / asyāṃ punaḥ saptamyāṃ bodhisatvabhūmau pratiṣṭhito bodhisatvaś cittakṣaṇe cittakṣaṇe nirodhaṃ samāpadya (te

<sup>223</sup> °māhātmyena: D *bdaḡ nyid chen pos*. S IOL Tib J 82 *che ba nyid kyis*.

<sup>224</sup> *svabuddhivicāreṇa*: D *rang gi blos rnam par brtags pa*, S IOL Tib J 82 *rang gi blos rnam par dpyad pas*.

<sup>225</sup> *svaviśayajñānaviśeṣamahātmyāvasthitatvāt*: MS\_A *svaviśayajñānaviśeṣamahātmyavyavasthitatvāt*. S IOL Tib J 82 *rang gi yul gyi ye shes la gnas pas* = *svaviśayajñānavasthitatvāt*? D *rang gi yul gyi ye shes kyi stobs kyi shugs kyis* = *svaviśayajñānavasātmyāt*?

<sup>226</sup> *sarvva*<sup>o</sup>: D omits. °*kriyā*<sup>o</sup>: D *byed pa'i tshul*, S IOL Tib J 82 *bya ba*.

<sup>227</sup> *sa*: MS\_A *na*.

<sup>228</sup> *bodhisatvo*: D *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* = *bodhisatvo mahāsatvo*.

<sup>229</sup> *cottaraṃ*: K *cottara*.

<sup>230</sup> *viśeṣa*<sup>o</sup>: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>231</sup> *avasrjati*: K *evotsrjati*.

<sup>232</sup> MS\_A adds *uttariviśeṣādhi*. ...From *yena* to *sākṣātkaroti*, D has a different translation: *yongs su btsal ba'i brtson 'grus des kyang yang dag pa'i mthar gnas pa la gnas te | khyad par gong ma shin tu thob par bya ba'i phyir | yang dag pa'i mtha' mngon du 'ang mi byed do //*, S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

ca vyuttiṣṭhate ca<sup>233</sup> / na ca nirodhasākṣātkṛta itī vaktavyaḥ / tena so  
 'cintyena kāyavānmanaskarmaṇā sa)<sup>[MS\_A 33b2]</sup>manvāgata ity ucyate /  
 āścaryam<sup>234</sup> bho jinaputra<sup>235</sup> yatra hi nāma bodhisatvo bhūtaḥkoṭi-  
 vihāreṇa ca<sup>236</sup> viharati na ca nirodham<sup>237</sup> sākṣātkaroti / tadyathāpi  
 nāma bho jinaputra puruṣaḥ kuśalo mahāsāgaravārīlakṣaṇābhijñāḥ<sup>238</sup>  
 paṃḍito vyakto medhāvī tatra<sup>239</sup> tatropagatayā<sup>240</sup> mīmāṃsayā samanvā-  
 gataḥ /<sup>241</sup> mahāsāgare mahāyānapātrā(rūḍho<sup>242</sup> vahanakuśalaś<sup>243</sup> ca)  
<sup>[MS\_A 33b3]</sup> bhavati vāyukuśalaś ca<sup>244</sup> vārikuśalaś ca bhavati<sup>245</sup> / na ca  
 mahāsamudre vāriḍoṣair<sup>246</sup> lipyate / evam eva bho jinaputrāsyām<sup>247</sup>  
 saptamyām bodhisatvabhūmau pratiṣṭhito bodhisatvo<sup>248</sup> mahāyāna-  
 sarvvajñajñānasāgarāvātīrṇaḥ<sup>249</sup> pāramitāmahāyānapātrābhirūḍho

<sup>233</sup> *vyuttiṣṭhate ca*: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>234</sup> *āścaryam*: MS\_A *āścaryam idaṃ*. S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>235</sup> *jinaputra*: D *rgyal ba'i sras dag*.

<sup>236</sup> *ca*: MS\_A omits.

<sup>237</sup> *nirodham*: D *yang dag pa'i mtha' = bhūtaḥkoṭim*.

<sup>238</sup> *lakṣaṇābhijñāḥ*: MS\_A *doṣāṇām*.

<sup>239</sup> *tatra*: MS\_A R omits.

<sup>240</sup> *tatropagatayā*: MS\_A *tatrāpi tayā*.

<sup>241</sup> From *kuśalo* to *samanvāgataḥ*, D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>242</sup> *mahāsāgare mahāyānapātrārūḍho*: MS\_A *mahāsāgaramahāyāna-  
pātrā ....* D S IOL Tib J 82 *rgya mtsho chen po'i gru chen por zhugs*.

<sup>243</sup> *vahanakuśalaś*: D S IOL Tib J 82 *rgal ba'i thabs la mkhas =  
vahanopāyakuśalaś?*

<sup>244</sup> *vāyukuśalaś ca*: K R omit. D S IOL Tib J 82 *rlung la mkhas pa*.

<sup>245</sup> *bhavati*: MS\_A omits.

<sup>246</sup> *mahāsamudre vāriḍoṣair*: D S IOL Tib J 82 *rgya mtsho chen po'i chu'i  
nyes pas = mahāsamudravāriḍoṣair*.

<sup>247</sup> *jinaputrāsyām*: MS\_A *jinaputra*.

<sup>248</sup> *bodhisatvo*: D *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po = bodhisatvo  
mahāsatvo*.

<sup>249</sup> *mahāyānasarvvajñajñānasāgarāvātīrṇaḥ*: MS\_A *sarvvajñajñāna  
hāsāgarāvātīrṇaḥ*. D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

bhūtakoṭivihāreṇa viharati na ca nirodham<sup>250</sup> sāksātkaroti / na ca saṃskṛtātyantavyupāśa(mavitarkadoṣair li)<sup>[MS\_A 33b4]</sup>pyate /<sup>251</sup> sa evaṃ jñānabalādhānaprāptaḥ<sup>252</sup> / samādhijñānabalabhāvanābhinihr̥tayā<sup>253</sup> buddhyā mahatopāyaprajñābalādhānena<sup>254</sup> saṃsāramukhaṃ cādarśayati / nirvāṇagatāśayaś ca bhavati<sup>255</sup> / mahāparivāraparivṛtaś ca dṛśyate<sup>256</sup> / satatasamitaṃ ca cittavivekapratilabdho bhavati / traidhātukopapattiṃ ca praṇidhāna(vaśenābhinirhara)<sup>[MS\_A 33b5]</sup>ti / satvapariṇāpanārtham<sup>257</sup> na ca lokadoṣair<sup>258</sup> lipyate<sup>259</sup> / śāntaprasāntopāśāntaś<sup>260</sup> ca bhavati / upāyena ca jvalati jvalaṃś ca na dahate<sup>261</sup> / saṃvartate<sup>262</sup> ca buddhajñāne vivartate<sup>263</sup> ca śrāvakaṃpratyekabuddhabhūmibhyāḥ / buddhajñānaviśayakośa-

<sup>250</sup> *nirodham*: D yang dag pa'i mtha' = bhūtakoṭiṃ.

<sup>251</sup> *na ca saṃskṛtātyantavyupāśamavitarkadoṣair lipyate*: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>252</sup> °*balādhāna*°: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>253</sup> °*balabhāvanābhinirh̥tayā*: MS\_A *balanidhānatayā upāyakauśalyabhāvanābhinirh̥tayā*. °*balabhāvanā*°: confirmed by S IOL Tib J 82 *stobs bsgom pa*. D *stobs dang shugs kyis* = *balādhāna*.

<sup>254</sup> *balādhānena*: MS\_A *balādhāna*.

<sup>255</sup> *nirvāṇagatāśayaś ca bhavati*: D *mya ngan las 'das pa'i bsam pa dang yang mi 'bral ba yin*, S IOL Tib J 82 *bsam pa mya ngan las 'das pa la gnas pa yang yin*.

<sup>256</sup> *dṛśyate*: confirmed by D S IOL Tib J 82 *snang*. K R *bhavati*.

<sup>257</sup> *satvapariṇāpanārtham*: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>258</sup> *lokadoṣair*: K *sarvvalokadoṣair*.

<sup>259</sup> From *traidhātukopapattiṃ* to *lipyate*, D *kham s gsum du skye ba yang smon lam gyi dbang gis mngon par sgrub la 'jig rten gyi nyes pas kyang mi gos pa yin*, S IOL Tib J 82 *smoṅ lam gyi dbang gis kham s gsum du skye ba yang mngon par sgrub la / 'jig rten gyi nyes pas kyang mi gos pa yin*.

<sup>260</sup> *śāntaprasāntopāśāntaś*: MS\_A *śāntaprasāntopāśāntagataś*. D S IOL Tib J 82 *zhi zhing rab tu zhi ba* = *śāntaprasāntaś*?

<sup>261</sup> *dahate*: MS\_A *dahyate*.

<sup>262</sup> *saṃvartate*: MS\_A *āvartate*.

<sup>263</sup> *buddhajñāne vivartate*: R *buddhajñānena / vivartate*. D *phyir mi ldog pa* = *na vivartate*? S IOL Tib J 82 *ldog pa*.

prāptaś<sup>264</sup> ca bhavati / māraviṣayagataś<sup>265</sup> ca dṛśyate / caturmāra-  
 pathasamatikrāntaś ca bhavati / māraviṣayagocaraṃ<sup>266</sup> cādarśayati /  
 sarvvatīrthyā<sup>[MS\_A 33b6]</sup>yatanopagataś<sup>267</sup> ca dṛśyate / buddhatīrthyā-  
 yatanānutsrṣṭāśayaś ca bhavati / sarvvalokakriyānugataś ca dṛśyate /  
 lokottaradharmmagatisamavasaraṇaś ca bhavati / sarvvadevanāga-  
 yakṣagandharvāsuraḥgaruḍakinnaramahoragamanuṣyāmanuṣyaśakra-  
 brahmalokapālātirekavyūhālaṃkāraḥviṭhapanāprāptaś<sup>268</sup> ca bhavati /  
 sarvvabuddhadharmmaratimanasikāraṃ<sup>269</sup> ca na vijahāti /

<sup>[MS\_A 33b7]</sup>(tasyaivaṃ jñānasamanvāgatasyāsyāṃ dūraṃgamāyāṃ)  
 bodhisatvabhūmau sthitasya bodhisatvasya bahavo buddhā ābhāsam  
 āgacchanty audārikadarśanena<sup>270</sup> ca<sup>271</sup> praṇidhānabalena ca / bahūni  
 buddhaśatāni bahūni budhasahasrāṇi / bahūni buddhaśatasahasrāṇi  
 bahūni buddhaniyutaśatasahasrāṇi bahvo budhakoṭyo<sup>272</sup> bahūni  
 budhakoṭī(śatāni bahūni) <sup>[MS\_A 34a1]</sup>buddhakoṭīśahasrāṇi bahūni  
 buddhakoṭīśatasahasrāṇi bahūni buddhakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇy  
 ābhāsam āgacchanty audārikadarśanena ca praṇidhānabalena

<sup>264</sup> *buddhajñānaviṣayakośaprāptaś*: D *sangs rgyas kyi yul gyi mthil du yang phyin*, S *sangs rgyas kyi yul gyi mthil du yang son*, IOL Tib J 82 *sangs rgyas kyi yul gyi thil du 'ang sond*. According to the Tibetan, the Sanskrit seems to be *buddhaviṣayakoṭīprāptaś*.

<sup>265</sup> *ogata*: D S IOL Tib J 82 'dug pa.

<sup>266</sup> *māraviṣayagocaraṃ*: D *bdud kyi yul dang spyod yul*, S IOL Tib J 82 *bdud kyi spyod yul*.

<sup>267</sup> *opagata*: D S IOL Tib J 82 'dug pa.

<sup>268</sup> *omahoraga*<sup>o</sup>: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit. *omanuṣyāmanuṣya*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *manuṣyāmanuṣyaḥ*.

*vyūhālaṃkāra*<sup>o</sup>: D *rgyan dang lhab lhub*, S IOL Tib J 82 *bkod pa = vyūha*. Cp. Mvy 6000 *rgyan = alaṃkāra*, 6003 *lhab lhub = vibhūṣaṇa*.

*lokapāla*<sup>o</sup>: D 'jig rten gyi mgon po, S IOL Tib J 82 'jig rten skyong ba. Cp. Mvy 3145 'jig rten skyong.

<sup>269</sup> *sarvvabuddha*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *buddha*. D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>270</sup> *audārika*<sup>o</sup>: D S IOL Tib J 82 *rgya chen po = audārya*. *darśana*: D *lta ba*, S IOL Tib J 82 *mthong ba*. Cp. Mvy 1441 *lta ba*.

<sup>271</sup> *ca*: MS\_A omits.

<sup>272</sup> *budhakoṭyo*: MS\_A *budhakoṭyaḥ*.

ca<sup>273</sup> / sa tāms tathāgatān arhataḥ samyaksambuddhān dṛṣṭvo-  
dārādhyāśayatayā<sup>274</sup> satkaroti gurukaroti mānayati<sup>275</sup> pūjayati /  
cīvarapiṇḍapātraśayanāsana(glānapratyayabhaiṣa) <sup>[MS\_A 34a2]</sup>jya-  
pariṣkāraiś<sup>276</sup> ca pratipādayati bodhisatvasukhopadhānam copa-  
saṃharati<sup>277</sup> saṃghagaṇasaṃmānanām ca karoti / tāni ca kuśala-  
mūlāny anuttarāyām samyaksambodhau pariṇāmayati / tāṃś ca  
tathāgatān arhataḥ samyaksambuddhān<sup>278</sup> paryupāste / teṣāṃ ca  
sakāśād<sup>279</sup> gauravacitrīkāreṇa<sup>280</sup> satkṛtya<sup>281</sup> dharmmadeśanām  
śṛṇoty udgṛhṇāti dh(ārayati / śrutvā ca) <sup>[MS\_A 34a3]</sup>yathāvat<sup>282</sup>  
samāpattiprajñāñjānālokatayā<sup>283</sup> prayujyate<sup>284</sup> / pratipattitaś cā-  
dhārayati<sup>285</sup> śāsanasaṃdhārakaś ca bhavati teṣāṃ buddhānām

<sup>273</sup> ca: MS\_A omits.

<sup>274</sup> °adhyāśayatā: D *bsam pa* = *āśayatā*, S IOL Tib J 82 *lhag pa'i bsam pa*.

<sup>275</sup> *satkaroti gurukaroti mānayati*: D *rim gro byed do // bkur sti byed do // bsti stang byed do //*, S IOL Tib J 82 *bsti stang byed / btsun par byed / ri mor byed /*. Cp. Mvy 1756 *mānanā* = *ri mor byed pa*; 1760 *satkāra* = *bkur stir byed pa*; 1761 *gurukāra* = *bla mar byed pa (btsun par bya ba)*.

<sup>276</sup> °piṇḍapātra°: D *bsod snyoms*, S IOL Tib J 82 *zhal zas*. Cp. Mvy 8671 *piṇḍapāta* = *bsod snyoms*. °glānapratyayabhaiṣajya°: D *snyun gyi rkyen sman*, S IOL Tib J 82 *snyun gsos sman*.

<sup>277</sup> *bodhisatvasukhopadhānam copasaṃharati*: D *byang chub sems dpa'i bde ba'i yo byad thams cad kyang yongs su 'bul lo*. °*sukhopadhāna*: S IOL Tib J 82 *bde bar sbyar ba*. Cp. Mvy 5889 *bde ba'i yo byad dam bde bar sbyar ba*; 6140 *bde ba'i yo byad dam bde ba'i 'tsho chas sam bde bar sbyar*.

<sup>278</sup> *arhataḥ samyaksambuddhān*: D omits.

<sup>279</sup> *sakāśād*: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>280</sup> *gauravacitrīkāreṇa*: D *rjes dang rim gros*, S IOL Tib J 82 *gus pa dang / zhe sa dang*.

<sup>281</sup> *satkṛtya*: D *nan tan du*, S IOL Tib J 82 *bsti stang byed*.

<sup>282</sup> *yathāvat*: S IOL Tib J 82 *ji lta ba bzhin du*, D *ma nor ba'i (snyoms par 'jug pa)* = *abhrānta(samāpatti)*? Cf. Mvy 4468 *abhrāntalakṣaṇa* = *ma nor ba'i mtshan nyid*.

<sup>283</sup> °*ālokatayā*: MS\_A *ālokena*.

<sup>284</sup> *prayujyate*: D *rab tu brtson par byed*, S IOL Tib J 82 *rab tu sbyor ro*.

<sup>285</sup> *cādhārayati*: MS\_A *cārādhāyati*.

bhagavatām / asaṃhāryaś ca<sup>286</sup> sarvvaśrāvakaḥpratyekabuddhābhi-  
samayaparipṛcchāsu / tasya bhūyasyā mātrayā satvānugrahāya<sup>287</sup>  
gambhīradharmmakṣāntir<sup>288</sup> viśuddhyati<sup>289</sup> /

tasyāsyāṃ dūraṃgamāyāṃ bodhisatvabhūmau sthita(sya bodhi-  
satva)<sup>[MS\_A 34a4]</sup>syānekān<sup>290</sup> kalpāṃs<sup>291</sup> tāni<sup>292</sup> kuśalamūlāny utta-  
pyante pariśuddhyaṃti karmaṇyāni ca bhavanti paryavadānaṃ  
cāgacchanty<sup>293</sup> anekāni kalpaśatāny anekāni kalpasahasrāṇy anekāni  
kalpaśatasahasrāṇy anekāni kalpaniyutaśatasahasrāṇy anekāḥ  
kalpakotyo<sup>294</sup> 'nekāni kalpakoṭīśatāny a(nekāni kalpakoṭī)<sup>[MS\_A 34a5]</sup>-  
sahasrāṇy anekāni kalpakoṭīśatasahasrāṇy anekāni kalpakoṭīni-  
yutaśatasahasrāṇi tāni kuśalamūlāny uttapyante pariśuddhyanti  
karmaṇyāni ca bhavanti paryavadānaṃ cāgacchanti<sup>295</sup> /

tadyathāpi nāma bho jinaputra<sup>296</sup> tad eva jātārūpaṃ sarvva-  
ratnapratyuptaṃ bhūyasyā mātrayottaptataraṃ bhavati<sup>297</sup> / pra-

<sup>286</sup> *asaṃhāryaś ca*: MS\_A *asaṃhāryaḥ*. D *kyang mi 'phrogs pa yin*, S IOL Tib J 82 *mi 'phrogs par 'gyur ro = asaṃhāryaś ca bhavati?*

<sup>287</sup> *satvānugrahāya*: D *sems can la phan 'dogs pa'i*, S IOL Tib J 82 *sems can la phan 'dogs pas*.

<sup>288</sup> *gambhīra*<sup>o</sup>: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>289</sup> *viśuddhyati*: D *rnam par dag par 'gyur ba yin*, S IOL Tib J 82 *rnam par dag par 'gyur ro = viśuddhir bhavati?*

<sup>290</sup> *°anekān*: MS\_A *anekāni*.

<sup>291</sup> *kalpāṃs*: MS\_A *kalpaśatāni*.

<sup>292</sup> MS\_A adds *ca*.

<sup>293</sup> *cāgacchanty*: S IOL Tib J 82 omit. From *tāni* to *cāgacchanty*, D omits.

<sup>294</sup> *kalpakotyo*: MS\_A *kalpakoṭīḥ*.

<sup>295</sup> *cāgacchanti*: MS\_A *gacchanti*. S IOL Tib J 82 omit. From *tasyāsyāṃ* to *cāgacchanti*, D has different translation: *de ltar byang chub sems dpa'i sa ring du song pa 'di la gnas pa'i byang chub sems dpa' de'i dge ba'i rtsa ba de dag sngon pas kyang bskal pa du ma dang / bskal pa brgya phrag du ma dang / ... bskal pa bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong phrag du mar shin tu dag cing yongs su byang bar gnas so //*

<sup>296</sup> *jinaputra*: MS\_A *jinaputrās*. S IOL Tib J 82 *rgyal ba'i sras dag*.

<sup>297</sup> *bhavati*: MS\_A *ca bhavati?uttaptataraṃ bhavati*: D omits.

bhāsvarata(ram bhavaty)<sup>298</sup> [MS\_A 34a6] asaṃhāryataram<sup>299</sup> ca bhavaty  
 anyābhyo<sup>300</sup> bhūṣaṇavikṛtibhyaḥ / evam eva bho jinaputra<sup>301</sup> bodhi-  
 satvasya<sup>302</sup> saptamyām<sup>303</sup> dūraṃgamāyām bodhisatvabhūmau<sup>304</sup>  
 sthitasya<sup>305</sup> tāni kuśalamūlāny upāyaprajñāñānābhinirhṛtāni<sup>306</sup>  
 bhūyasyā mātrayottaptatarāṇi<sup>307</sup> bhavaṃti prabhāsvaratarāṇi parya-  
 vadātatarāṇy<sup>308</sup> asaṃhārya(tarāṇi ca bhavanti sarvvaśrāvaka)<sup>[MS\_A</sup>  
<sup>34a7]</sup>pratyekabuddhaiḥ /

tadyathāpi nāma bho jinaputra<sup>309</sup> sūryābhā asaṃhāryā bhavati  
 sarvvajyotirgaṇacandrābhābhiḥ<sup>310</sup> / caturṣu mahādvīpeṣu<sup>311</sup> sa-

<sup>298</sup> *prabhāsvarataram bhavaty*: MS\_A *prabhāsvarata ... ātatarāṇ ca*. D *ches 'od gsal zhing dang ba = prabhāsvarataram paryavadātatarām*.

<sup>299</sup> *asaṃhāryataram*: S IOL Tib J 82 *mi 'phrogs pa*, D *mi thub pa*. Cp. Mvy 5201 *asaṃhārya = mi 'phrog pa (mi phrogs pa)*.

<sup>300</sup> *anyābhyo*: MS\_A *anyābhir*.

<sup>301</sup> *jinaputra*: S IOL Tib J 82 *rgyal ba'i sras dag*.

<sup>302</sup> *bodhisatvasya*: MS\_A *bodhisatvo 'syām*, confirmed by D S IOL Tib J 82 ... *'di la .... D byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*.

<sup>303</sup> *saptamyām*: MS\_A *saptamām*. D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>304</sup> *bodhisatvabhūmau*: S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa' rnam kyī byang chub sems dpa'i sa = bodhisatvānām bodhisatvabhūmau*.

<sup>305</sup> MS\_A adds *bodhisatvasya*.

<sup>306</sup> *kuśalamūlāny upāyaprajñāñānābhinirhṛtāni*: D *thabs dang shes rab kyis bsgrubs pa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba*, omits °*ñāna*°, S IOL Tib J 82 *dge ba'i rtsa ba thabs dang shes rab dang ye shes kyis mngon par bsgrubs pa*.

<sup>307</sup> *mātrayottaptatarāṇi*: MS\_A *mātrayottaptatamāni*.

<sup>308</sup> *paryavadātatarāṇy*: MS\_A *ca bhavaṃti*. D *dang ba*, S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>309</sup> *jinaputra*: S IOL Tib J 82 *rgyal ba'i sras dag*.

<sup>310</sup> *sarvva*°: D omits.

<sup>311</sup> *caturṣu mahādvīpeṣu*: MS\_A *caturṣu ca mahādvīpeṣu*. D S IOL Tib J 82 *'dzam bu'i gling na = jambudvīpeṣu*.



rvvasnehagatāni<sup>312</sup> bhūyastvena<sup>313</sup> pariśoṣayati<sup>314</sup> sarvvaśasyā-  
 ni<sup>315</sup> paripācayati<sup>316</sup> / evam eva bho jinaputra<sup>317</sup> bodhisa(tva-  
 syāsyām dūraṅgamāyām [MS\_A 34b1]bodhisa)tvabhūmau<sup>318</sup> sthi-  
 tasya<sup>319</sup> tāni kuśalamūlāny<sup>320</sup> asaṃhāryāṇi bhavaṃti sarvvaśrā-  
 vakapratyekabuddhaiḥ / caturviparyāsagatāni ca sarvvakleśa-  
 snehagatāni bhūyastvena<sup>321</sup> pariśoṣayanti kleṣāvilāni ca sarvva-  
 santānāni<sup>322</sup> paripācayanti<sup>323</sup> /<sup>324</sup> tasya daśabhyaḥ pāramitābhya  
 upāyakausālyapārami(tātirikatatamā<sup>325</sup> bhavati / na ca pariśeṣāsu  
 na [MS\_A 34b2]sa)mudgacchati yathābalaṃ yathābhajamānam /

<sup>312</sup> *sarvvasnehagatāni*: MS\_A *sarvvasnehāpagatāni*. D S IOL Tib J 82  
*rlan gyi bag yod pa thams cad?*

<sup>313</sup> *bhūyastvena*: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>314</sup> *pariśoṣayati*: MS\_A *pariśodhayati*. R *pariśoṣayanti*.

<sup>315</sup> MS\_A adds *ca*.

<sup>316</sup> *sarvvaśasyāni paripācayati*: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>317</sup> *jinaputra*: S IOL Tib J 82 *rgyal ba'i sras dag*.

<sup>318</sup> *bodhisatvabhūmau*: S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa' rnam kyi  
 byang chub sems dpa'i sa = bodhisatvānām bodhisatvabhūmau*.

<sup>319</sup> MS\_A adds *bodhisatvasya*.

<sup>320</sup> D adds *sngon pas kyang = bhūyasyā mātrayā*.

<sup>321</sup> *bhūyastvena*: MS\_A *ca.caturviparyāsagatāni ca sarvvakleśasneha-  
 gatāni bhūyastvena*: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>322</sup> *sarvvasantānāni*: MS\_A *satvasantāni*. S IOL Tib J 82 *sems can thams  
 cad = sarvvasatvāni*.

*kleṣāvilāni ca sarvvasantānāni*: D omits.

<sup>323</sup> *paripācayanti*: D S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>324</sup> From *caturviparyāsagatāni* to here, D and S IOL Tib J 82 have  
 a different translation, according to D *phyin ci log bzhi ldan ba'i nyon  
 mongs pa'i rlan gyi rnam pa thams cad kyang / yongs su skem mo =  
 caturviparyāsagatāni ca sarvvakleśasnehagatāni pariśoṣayanti*, accord-  
 ing to S IOL Tib J 82 *sems can thams cad kyī nyon mongs pa'i rnyog pa  
 yang yongs su skems so = kleṣāvilāni ca sarvvasatvāni pariśoṣayanti*.

<sup>325</sup> °*kausālya*°: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

iyam bhavanto<sup>326</sup> jinaputrā<sup>327</sup> bodhisatvasya<sup>328</sup> dūraṅgamā nāma  
 saptamī bodhisatvabhūmiḥ samāsanirdeśataḥ / yasyām pratiṣṭhito  
 bodhisatvo<sup>329</sup> bhūyastvena vaśavartī bhavati devarājaḥ kṛtī pra-  
 bhuh<sup>330</sup> satvānām abhisamayajñānopasaṃhāreṣv<sup>331</sup> aparyantaḥ (sar-  
 vvaśrāvakaḥ paratyekabuddha)<sup>[MS\_A 34b31]</sup> pariṣcchāsu<sup>332</sup> / kuśalaḥ sa-  
 tvān<sup>333</sup> niyāmam avakrāmayitum<sup>334</sup> / yac ca kiñcit karmārabhate<sup>335</sup>  
 dānena vā priyavadyatayā vārthakriyayā vā samānārthatayā vā tat  
 sarvāṃ avirahitaṃ buddhamānasikārair dharmamānasikāraiḥ saṃ-  
 ghamānasikāraiḥ<sup>336</sup> bodhisattvamanasikāraiḥ bodhisatvacaryāmana-  
 sikāraiḥ<sup>337</sup> (pāramitā)<sup>[MS\_A 34b4]</sup> manasikāraiḥ bhūmimanasikāraiḥ<sup>338</sup>  
 balamanasikāraiḥ vaiśāradyaṃ manasikāraiḥ āveṇīkabuddhadharma-

<sup>326</sup> *bhavanto*: MS\_A *bho*.

<sup>327</sup> *jinaputrā*: D *rgyal ba'i sras*.

<sup>328</sup> *bodhisatvasya*: D *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rnam kyī* = *bodhisatvānām mahāsatvānām*, S IOL Tib J 82 *byang chub sems dpa' rnam kyī* = *bodhisatvānām*.

<sup>329</sup> *bodhisatvo*: D *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* = *bodhisatvo mahāsatvo*.

<sup>330</sup> MS\_A adds *śakto bhavyaḥ pratibalaḥ*.

<sup>331</sup> *abhisamayajñānopasaṃhāreṣv*: D *mngon par rtogs pa'i ye shes yang dag par bstabs pa la mkhas shing mthu yod pa ste*, S IOL Tib J 82 *mngon par rtogs pa'i ye shes nye bar sgrub pa'i gtso bor gyur pa dang*.

<sup>332</sup> *aparyantaḥ sarvvaśrāvakaḥ paratyekabuddhāpariṣcchāsu*: S IOL Tib J 82 omit.

<sup>333</sup> *satvān*: MS\_A *satvāni*.

<sup>334</sup> *avakrāmayitum*: MS\_A *avakramitum*.

*kuśalaḥ satvān niyāmam avakrāmayitum*: D *sems can skyon med par shin tu bslab par bya ba la 'ang mkhas pa yin te*, S IOL Tib J 82 *sems can rnam skyon med pa la 'dzud mkhas pa yin no*. For *niyāma*, cp. Mvy 6502 *nyāma* = *skyon med pa*.

<sup>335</sup> *karma*<sup>o</sup>: D *dge ba'i rtsa ba* = *kuśalamūla*?

<sup>336</sup> *saṃghamanasikāraiḥ*: MS\_A *avaivarttikasaṃghamanasikāraiḥ sahāya*.

<sup>337</sup> *bodhisatvacaryāmanasikāraiḥ*: MS\_A *vipulabodhisatvacaryāmanasi kāraiḥ*.

<sup>338</sup> *bhūmi*<sup>o</sup>: D *byang chub sems dpa'i sa* = *bodhisatvabhūmi*.

manasikārair yāvāt sarvākāravāropetasarvajñajñānāmanasikāraih / kim iti sarvasattvānām agryo bhaveyaṃ śreṣṭho jyeṣṭho varaḥ pravara uttamo<sup>339</sup> 'nuttamo<sup>340</sup> nāyako vināyakaḥ<sup>341</sup> pariṇāyako yāvāt sarvajñajñānapratisaraṇo<sup>342</sup> (bhaveyam /) [MS\_A 34b5] ākāṅkṣaṃ ca tathārūpaṃ<sup>343</sup> vīryam ārabhate yathārūpeṇa vīryārambheṇaika-kṣaṇalavamuhūrtena<sup>344</sup> samādhikoṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ<sup>345</sup> ca pratilabhate samāpadyate ca / buddhakoṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ<sup>346</sup> ca paśyati / teṣāṃ cādhiṣṭhānaṃ saṃjānīte / lokadhātukoṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ<sup>347</sup> ca kampayati / kṣetrakoṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ<sup>348</sup> cā- (kramati /<sup>349</sup> loka)[MS\_A 34b6] dhātukoṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ<sup>350</sup> cāvabhāsayati / sattvakoṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ<sup>351</sup> ca paripācayati / kalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ<sup>352</sup> ca tiṣṭhati / kalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ<sup>353</sup> ca pūrvāntāparāntataḥ<sup>354</sup> praviśati / dharmamukha-koṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ<sup>355</sup> ca pravīcinoti / kāyakoṭīniyutaśatas-

<sup>339</sup> *uttamo*: MS\_A *uttaro*. D omits.

<sup>340</sup> *'nuttamo*: MS\_A *'nuttaraḥ*.

<sup>341</sup> *vināyakaḥ*: D omits.

<sup>342</sup> *sarvajñajñāna*<sup>o</sup>: S IOL Tib J 82 *rnam pa thams cad kyi mchog dang ldan pa'i thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes* = *sarvākāravāropetasarvajñajñāna*.

<sup>343</sup> *ākāṅkṣaṃ ca tathārūpaṃ*: MS\_A *ākāṅkṣaṃś ca tathāgatarūpaṃ*.

<sup>344</sup> *yathārūpeṇa vīryārambheṇa*: D omits.

<sup>345</sup> *°niyuta*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *nayuta*.

<sup>346</sup> *°niyuta*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *nayuta*.

<sup>347</sup> *°niyuta*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *nayuta*.

<sup>348</sup> *°niyuta*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *nayuta*.

<sup>349</sup> *lokadhātukoṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ ca kampayati / kṣetrakoṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ cākramati /*: D omits.

<sup>350</sup> *°niyuta*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *nayuta*.

<sup>351</sup> *°niyuta*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *nayuta*.

<sup>352</sup> *°niyuta*<sup>o</sup>: MS\_A *nayuta*.

<sup>353</sup> *kalpa*<sup>o</sup>: D *bskal pa ... mang po* = *mahākalpa*.

<sup>354</sup> *pūrvāntāparāntataḥ*: K *pūrvāntaparāntataḥ*.

<sup>355</sup> *kalpa*<sup>o</sup>: D *bskal pa ... mang po* = *mahākalpa*.

hasraṃ<sup>356</sup> cādarśayati / kāyaṃ kāya(ṃ ca ko)<sup>[MS\_A 34b7]</sup>ṭīniyutaśata-  
 sahasraṃ<sup>357</sup> parivāraṃ cādarśayati<sup>358</sup> / tata uttare praṇidhānabalikā  
 bodhisattvāḥ praṇidhānavaiśeṣikatayā vikurvanti / yeṣaṃ na sukarā  
 saṃkhyā kartuṃ / kāyasya vā prabhāyā vā ṛddher vā cakṣuṣo vā  
 gocarasya vā svarasya vā caryāyā vā vyūhasya vādhiṣṭhānasya vā-  
 dhimukter vābhisam(ṣkāraṇāṃ vā yāvad etāva)<sup>[MS\_A 35a1]</sup>dbhir api  
 kalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrair<sup>359</sup> iti //  
 dūraṃgamā nāma saptamī bhūmiḥ<sup>360</sup> //

## Bibliography anf abbreviations

BHSD	F Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> . New Haven: Yale University Press 1953 (repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 1998).
Co	Co Ne Kanjur: refer to Dpe bsdur ma.
D	Derge Kanjur: H. Ui, M. Suzuki, Y. Kanakura, and T. Tada, <i>A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)</i> . Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University 1934.
Dpe bsdur ma	中國藏學研究中心《大藏經》對勘局對勘、編輯：《中華大藏經甘珠爾(對勘本)》(藏文)，北京：中國藏學出版社 2006年。[krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang gyis dpe sdur dang dpe sgrig zhus, bka' 'gyur (dpe bsdur ma). pe cin: krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang 2006].

<sup>356</sup> kalpa°: D bskal pa ... mang po = mahākalpa.

<sup>357</sup> koṭīniyutaśatasahasraṃ: MS\_A koṭīnayutaśatasahasra. D S IOL Tib J 82 add byang chub sems dpa' = bodhisatva°.

<sup>358</sup> parivāraṃ cādarśayati: MS\_A parivāraṃ ādarśayati.

<sup>359</sup> kalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrair: MS\_A kalpakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrair. D bskal pa du ma dang / bskal pa brgya phrag du ma dang / bskal pa stong phrag du ma dang / bskal pa brgya stong phrag du ma dang / bskal pa bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong phrag du ma.

<sup>360</sup> bhūmiḥ: D S IOL Tib J 82 add byang chub sems dpa' = bodhisatva°.

- F Phug brag Kanjur: J. Samten, *A Catalogue of the Phug Brag Manuscript Kanjur*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives 1992.
- Gangs ljongs skad gnyis smra ba du ma'i 'gyur byang blo gsal dga' skyed* *Gangs ljongs skad gnyis smra ba du ma'i 'gyur byang blo gsal dga' rang skyong khul rtsom sgyur cu'u* 1983.
- IOL Tib J 82 Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript, no. 82, download from the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) website.
- K See Kondō 1936.
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- L Shel dkar Kanjur: U. Pagel and S. Gaffney, *Location List to the Texts in the Microfiche Edition of the Śel dkar (London) Manuscript bKa' 'gyur (Or. 6724)*. London: The British Library 1996.
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- Li Li Thang Kanjur: refer to Dpe bsdur ma.
- Matsuda 1996 K. Matsuda, *Two Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Daśabhūmikāsūtra Preserved at the National Archives, Kathmandu*. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunkyo 1996.
- MS\_A Nepalese Manuscript A, see Matsuda 1996.
- MS\_B Nepalese Manuscript B, see Matsuda 1996.

- Mvy 柳亮三郎著,《梵藏漢和四譯對校翻譯名義大集》,京都帝國大學文科學部叢書3,京都:真言宗京都大學,1916年,1925年(初版),東京:鈴木學術財團,1973年(第五次印刷)[Ryōzaburō Sakaki, ed., *Mahāvvyutpatti*. Parts 1 and 2. Kyoto: Kyoto Imperial University, 1916 and 1925].
- P Peking Kanjur: refer to Dpe bsdur ma.
- R See Rahder 1926
- Rahder 1926 J. Rahder, ed., *Daśabhūmikasūtra et Bodhisattva-bhūmi, Chapitres Vihāra et Bhūmi, publiés avec une Introduction et des Notes (Prose Portion)*. Société Belge d'Études Orientales: Louvain 1926.
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- S Stog Palace Kanjur: T. Skorupski, *A Catalogue of the Stog Palace Kanjur*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies 1985.
- Saerji 2011 Saerji, The Translation of the Khotanese Monk Śīladharma Preserved in the Tibetan Bka' 'Gyur. *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2010*, Vol. 14 (2011) 185–222.
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- Yl Yong Le Kanjur: refer to Dpe bsdur ma.
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Excerpts from the *Amṛtadhārā* by  
Śrībhānu: an unpublished commentary  
on the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* kept in the TAR\*

Francesco Sferra

### Introductory remarks

1. Until now, the author of the *Amṛtadhārā*, the most extensive commentary on the *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra*, has generally been known as Bhago, an unusual name that we find in the canonical Tibetan translation of the final colophon of the *Amṛtadhārā*<sup>1</sup> and that is also reported in the Ōtani and Tōhoku catalogues of the Tibetan canon.<sup>2</sup> A Buddhist master named Bhago, who is probably to be identified

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<sup>1</sup> *rdo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud kyi rgyal po rgya cher 'grel pa bdud rtsi 'dzag pa zes bya ba dños grub thob pa'i slob dpon chen po bha gos mdzad pa rdzogs so || ||* (*Amṛtadhārā*-T, D fol. 104r<sub>6</sub>).

<sup>2</sup> Ōta. No. 2523, Tōh. No. 1651.

with the author of the *Amṛtadhārā*, is also mentioned by Tāranātha in chapter 31 of his *rGya gar chos 'byuñ*. Here, in connection with the Buddhist masters active during the reign of king Mahīpāla, around the turn of the millennium,<sup>3</sup> Bhago is reported to be a disciple of \*Amṛtaguhya (bDud rtsi gsañ ba) – in his turn a pupil of the Kashmiri \*Gambhīravajra (Zab pa'i rdo rje) – and master of Vimalabhadra.<sup>4</sup> Tāranātha connects Bhago with the teaching and dissemination of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* both in South and North India.<sup>5</sup> How-

<sup>3</sup> Mahīpāla is to be identified here with Mahīpāla I, who, according to Dragomir Dimitrov, ruled between *circa* 980 and 1028 (Dimitrov 2016: 750–756).

<sup>4</sup> The name of this master is attested in the only currently known manuscript of his work, the *Vajrāmṛtapañjikā* (cf. Ōta. No 2521, Tōh. No. 1649), which was seen at Žva lu in 1936 by R. Sāñkrṭyāyana and described by him in 1937: 45. This manuscript is now kept in Lhasa (Nor bu gliñ ka Palace): No. 89 in Wang Sen's catalogue (2006, cf. Hu-von Hinüber 2006: 311). For a slightly revised transcription of the beginning and end of this manuscript, see Sferra 2017: 411–412.

<sup>5</sup> *dus 'dir slob dpon bha go zes bya ba rdo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud las grub pa thob pa žig byuñ ste | [...] de'i slob ma ni slob dpon bha go ste | [fol. 181v] de yañ ro lañs kyi dños grub grub | de la brten nas gter gyi bum pa bzañ po mañ po bsgrubs te | phyogs bži'i skye bo thams cad tshim par mdzad pa groñ khyer pra ya ka dañ ñe bar de bžin gšegs pa rigs lña'i lha khañ chen po dañ | lho phyogs ka rña țar rdo rje bdud rtsi'i lha khañ chen po yañ bžeñs śiñ pañđi ta dri med bzañ po la sogs pa mañ po la rgyud kyañ bsad do || slob dpon de rnams kyi drin las ma ga dhār yañ rgyud 'di lhag par dar bar gyur to zes grags so || (rGya gar chos 'byuñ, fols. 180r<sub>4-5</sub>, 181r<sub>6</sub>–181v<sub>4</sub>)* “In this period there lived a master called \*Bhago, who attained perfection by means of the \**Vajrāmṛtatantra*. [...] Master \*Bhago was his [i.e. Amṛtaguhya's] disciple. He too [like his master's *guru* \*Gambhīravajra] obtained power over a \**vetāla* (\**vetālasiddhi*).<sup>A</sup> On the basis of this, he attained many auspicious treasure pots (\**nidhibhadraghața*). He pleased all the people in the four directions and erected a big temple of the Tathāgata of the five families near the city of \*Prayāga, as well as a big temple of Vajrāmṛta in \*Karṇāța, in the south. He also taught the [*Vajrāmṛta*]tantra to \**pañđita* Vimalabhadra and many others. It is known that, through these masters, this Tantra became extremely popular in \*Magadha as well” (cf. also Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya 1970: 287, 288).

<sup>A</sup> Note that the entire tenth chapter of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* deals

ever, the name Bhago is most likely the result of a corruption of the Sanskrit Bhānu – the genitive *bhānoḥ* is attested in the final rubric of a Sanskrit manuscript of the *Amṛtadhārā* kept in the Tibetan Autonomous Region (in the Nor bu gliñ ka Palace, Lhasa): *kṛtir iyam ācāryaśrī*[34v<sub>9</sub>]*bhānoḥ*. In 2014, the authorities of the CTRC kindly gave me permission to consult and transcribe a photographic copy of this manuscript preserved in Beijing at the CTRC library,<sup>6</sup> with a view to a complete edition of the work for the STTAR series. This manuscript, the only one of this text now known to be extant, can be dated on paleographic grounds to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (cf. below). The correct name of this author was thus most likely Bhānu or, perhaps better, Śrībhānu. In addition, one could note that the name Bhānu is not completely absent from Tibetan sources – Dan Martin points out that in the *dkar chag* of the so-called *Black Hat Tanjur*, the author of the *rDo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud kyi rgyal po rgya cher 'grel pa / bdud rtsi 'dzag pa* is spelled as Bha no.<sup>7</sup>

To the best of my knowledge, there are no hagiographies dedicated to Śrībhānu. In addition to the scant information given by Tāranātha, all that can currently be said about this author (his education, affiliation, teaching, etc.) must necessarily be deduced from the

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with a *vetālasādhana* ritual (cf. Sferra 2017: 439–441).

<sup>6</sup> In the list of the photographs kept in Beijing compiled by Sandhak, the *Amṛtadhārā*-MS is listed as the second item in Box 50/8/0385 (cf. Sandhak n.d.: 29). Cf. also Luo 1985: 48.

<sup>7</sup> *rdo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud kyi rgyal po rgya cher 'grel pa | bdud rsi 'dzag pa bha nos mdzad pa | la chiñs yon tan 'bar dan klog skya śes rab brtsegs kyi 'gyur | dpal gdan bži pa dan rdo rje bdud rtsi'i bskor rim par phybe ba'o ||* (*rJe rañ byuñ rdo rje'i thugs dam bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag*, fol. 28r [= p. 469], lines 2–3). Probably misled by the spelling Bha no (instead of Bhā no/Bhā nu), Martin has expressed skepticism about the correctness of this name: “Here the author’s name is oddly spelled as Bha no” (Martin 2014, *sub voce* Bhago). As regards the *dkar chag* of the *Black Hat Tanjur*, Martin observes that “[u]nfortunately there is no special information about the composition of this catalog at the beginning or end of the text. It is little more than a listing of the contents of a Tanjur manuscript set made by or for the Third Karmapa.”

*Amṛtadhārā*, which is so far the only known work recorded in his name. Among other things, a study of which works are mentioned in the *Amṛtadhārā*, and of the quotations that occur in the text, provides some further evidence for the probable dating of the work and its author, and gives some hints also for his possible doctrinal affiliation.

Let us start by saying that the *Amṛtadhārā* contains citations and references to a relatively small group of texts. Among the earliest scriptural sources that are quoted by Śrībhānu, we find texts that may have been composed in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE; the *Paramādyā* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (= *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*) are merely named,<sup>8</sup> while there are proper quotations from the *Guhyakośa* (five prose passages),<sup>9</sup> the *Guhyamañitilaka* (two *pādas* and one prose passage),<sup>10</sup> the *Guhyasamāja* (a few words drawn from the prose pas-

<sup>8</sup> *sarvantantreṣv iti paramādyasamājādiṣu mūlottaratantreṣu* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 3r7, ad 1.5ac); *tattvasaṃgrahādaḥ bāhyavajrakulinaḥ svahr̥dayaṃ nivedayanti* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 14r7, ad 2.34ab).

<sup>9</sup> *tathā cokaṭaṃ guhyakośe – guhyapate* (em. supported by *Amṛtadhārā*-T; *guhyamme Amṛtadhārā*-MS) *vajrapāṇe vajragandhārīm prāpya sattvārthaṃ kuru | vajrapāṇir api tāṃ dṛṣṭvā aho krodhety anayā sarvasattvārthaṃ kariṣyāmītyādi* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 2r6–7, ad 1.1; translated in metrical form in *Amṛtadhārā*-T, cf. D fol. 54v6–7); *tathā cokaṭaṃ guhyakośe – guhyam nāma vajrapāṇer ācāryam iti* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 3r5, ad 1.4); *uktaṃ ca guhyakośe – vajrapāṇe* (em.; *vajrapāṇi Amṛtadhārā*-MS) *strīṃ* (em.; *strī Amṛtadhārā*-MS) *śiṣyaṃ kṛtvā sarvaṃ etat kathanīyam iti* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 3r6–7, ad 1.5ac; translated in metrical form in *Amṛtadhārā*-T with no rendering of the word *vajrapāṇe*, cf. D fol. 56v1); *uktaṃ ca guhyakośe – vajrapāṇe yathā sthūlena śephena hatā nārī nānyaṃ patim icchati | tathā guhyayogabhāvanayā hatā devī nānyaṃ vajriṇam icchati* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 9r8–9, ad 2.3; translated in metrical form in *Amṛtadhārā*-T, cf. D fol. 65r5); *tathā cokaṭaṃ guhyakośe – yady uṣṇā sā nādī tadā krodharūpaṃ bhāvayed iti* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 31v3–4, ad 9.9; translated in metrical form in *Amṛtadhārā*-T, cf. D fol. 99r5).

<sup>10</sup> *tathoktaṃ guhyamañitilake – yadi śītaṃ bhavati tadā niścalaṃ sthāpayet |* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 27r5–6, ad 7.12); *uktaṃ ca guhyamañitilake – padmamādhye maṇipramāṇavedhasphaṭikamaṇimuktāphalasa-dṛśam* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 27r9, ad 7.14).

sage after st. 17.75),<sup>11</sup> the *Samayasañcara* (two *pādas*)<sup>12</sup> and from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara*, here referred to simply as *Samvara* (six *pādas*).<sup>13</sup> There are seven quotations that are not attributed to a specific text, but that are referred to simply as authoritative statements (*vacana*). Among these, one *pāda* (quoted a second time in abridged form) can be traced in the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*,<sup>14</sup> but it is not certain that this tantra is the source from which Śrībhānu has drawn it. I was unable to trace the source of the other *vacana* quotations. Three might belong to a tantric scripture;<sup>15</sup> two are drawn

<sup>11</sup> *tathā coktaṃ guhyasamāje – sarvatathāgatadayitāṃ kāmāyan | tuṣṇīm abhūd iti* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 4v<sub>1</sub>, ad 1.11ab). The *Guhyasamāja* is also referred to at two other points in the commentary: ad st. 1.5ac (see above note 9) and ad st. 2.34ab: *tathā ca guhyasamāje yāvad dīpaṅkaraprabhṛtibhir na deśitaṃ tattvam* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 14r<sub>6-7</sub>).

<sup>12</sup> *tathā coktaṃ samayasañcare – jñānamudrāsamāpattir yoga ity abhidhīyate |* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 11r<sub>1</sub>, ad 2.13). Cf. *Samājottara* 33ab: *prajñopāyasamāpattir yoga ity abhidhīyate |*

<sup>13</sup> *tathā coktaṃ saṃvare – atattvāśayayogānāṃ devatālambanaṃ prati | pratibimbamayo yogo niṣiktādiṣu jāyate ||* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 11r<sub>3-4</sub>, ad 2.13cd; cf. *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara* 1.20–21ab [*anantatyāntayogānāṃ devatālambanaṃ prati | pratibimbamayo yogo niṣiktādiṣu jāyate || sa tattvāśayayogānāṃ devatālambanaṃ prati |*]; note that this stanza corresponds also to *Vajradākamahātantra* 1.6); *tathā coktaṃ saṃvare – sarvabhāvān [sic] bhavaty asau | iti* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 11r<sub>8</sub>, ad 2.14cd; cf. *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara* 1.11d, 1.16d: *sarvabhāvāṃ bhavaty asau*, 5.12b: *sarvabhāvā bhavaty asau*, 6.79d, 6.82b: *sarvabhāvāṃ bhavaty asau*); *tathā coktaṃ saṃvare – paśavaḥ piṣṭakamayā iti |* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 24r<sub>2</sub>, ad 6.12ab; *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara* 9.397a in Szántó's forthcoming edition). Szántó has kindly pointed out to me that this *pāda*, which is missing in the partial printed edition of the work, occurs on fol. 49v of the manuscript kept in Paris (see below References) and that the corresponding Tibetan translation is imprecise on this point (cf. sDe dge, bKa' 'gyur, *rgyud 'bum*, Vol. KA, Tōh. No. 366, fol. 184v: *bag zan las ni byas pa'i phyugs*).

<sup>14</sup> *trimukhāḥ ṣaḍbhujāḥ sarvā iti vacanāt* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 5v<sub>4</sub>, ad st. 1.19); *trimukhāḥ ṣaḍbhujāḥ iti vacanāt |* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 22v<sub>9</sub>, ad 6.4); see *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* 14.50c, 54a.

<sup>15</sup> *divyagandham iti | vajriṇe kuṅkumam iti vacanād divyagandham*

from a *nāṭyaśāstra* text.<sup>16</sup> A Buddhist tantric scripture could also be the source of four quotations introduced with the words *yad uktaṃ*, *tathā coktaṃ* or *uktaṃ ca*.<sup>17</sup>

There are no references to or citations from the Buddhist *tripiṭaka*, Mahāyāna *sūtras* or other works of the Buddhist commentarial literature, nor mentions of their authors. Stanza 74 of the *Dohākośagīti* by Saraha is silently introduced without reference to its source or author.<sup>18</sup>

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*kuṅkumam* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 5r<sub>8</sub>, ad 1.17d. Péter-Dániel Szántó has pointed out to me that the source of this *pāda* could be *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara* 9.373, where we read *vajriṇaḥ kuṅkumam tathā*; see MS, fols. 43r-43v, sDe dge, fol. 180r: *rdo rje can la gur gum yin*); *akṣasūtravajraghaṇṭādharmaṃ sādhakam agrato likhed iti vacanāt* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 22v<sub>3</sub>, ad 6.1); *devīparivṛtam <iti> vacanāt* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 30r<sub>4</sub>, ad 8.7–8ab), cf. *Sāadhanamālā* 31: *aṣṭadevīparivṛtam evaṃbhūtaṃ padmanarteśvaralokanāthaṃ bhāvayet*.

<sup>16</sup> *bhāratyādayo bharate smṛtā iti vacanāt* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fols. 25v<sub>9</sub>–26r<sub>1</sub>, ad 7.9); *yā vākpradhānā vīrādbhutarasapṛāyāḥ sā bhāratī | yatra vidūśakanaṭīpāripārsāvīkāḥ sūtradhāreṇa sahālāpaṃ kurvate tad bhāratīrūpakam | amukam nāma nāṭakam nartayitavyam | kim akāraṇam rudyata ityādivacanāt* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 26r<sub>1</sub>–2, ad 7.9). Similar words occur in the later *Rasārṇavasudhākara* 3.164ab, 166abc: *vidūśakanaṭīpāripārsāvīkaiḥ saha saṃlapan | [...] sūtradhāro yatra naṭīvidūśakanaṭīdibhiḥ | saṃlapan [...] (ed. pp. 401–402).*

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *yad uktaṃ – kuliśacumbanaṃ cumbite sati harṣitaḥ | pramudito bhūtvā prahasann iti* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 4v<sub>8</sub>–9); *tathā coktaṃ – candra-prabhamahākāvyaḥ śarakuṭṭītake<.. ..> | pakāraṃ padmarāgas tu ekāraḥ kanakas tathā || vakāraś candrakāntyābho varṇā varṇopadeśīkāḥ | ṇakāro vaśyasamjñas tu vakāraḥ puṣṭir ucyate || śyākāraḥ śāntījanako varṇāḥ karmābhīdhānakāḥ ||* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 19v<sub>7</sub>–8); *tathā coktaṃ – guhyaṃ darśayed yas tu [sic] praṇamāmīti nirdīśed iti* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 25r<sub>5</sub>–6; cf. the equally unmetrical line *guhyaṃ darśayed yā tu liṅgaṃ tasyāḥ pradarśayet* [*Cakrasaṃvaratantra* 21.6ab; *Sampuṭatantra* 4.4.5ab]); *uktaṃ ca – nrtyaṃ nrtyan juhuyād iti* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 27r<sub>3</sub>).

<sup>18</sup> *tathā coktam – jettium paśai jalahiṃ jalu tettiūṃ samarasu hoi | dosagunāra citta ūa vaḍha paūivakkha na ko vi | iti |* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 12r<sub>5</sub>, ad 2.18). On this quotation (here transcribed verbatim; for its edition and *chāyā*, see ed. Bhayani p. 27), see also Del Toso 2014: 549, n. 27.

We further note that the text lacks quotations from grammatical sources (even though *vaiyākaraṇa* terminology is occasionally used, e.g. in fols. 10<sub>v8</sub>, 14<sub>r9</sub>, 17<sub>v1</sub>, 19<sub>v5</sub>, 25<sub>r7</sub>, 26<sub>v7</sub>) or from lexicons. Sometimes technical terms are explained by means of citations from *nāṭyaśāstra* work(s) (fols. 18<sub>r9</sub>–18<sub>v1</sub>, 25<sub>v4</sub>–26<sub>r2</sub>, 26<sub>v8</sub>–27<sub>r3</sub>), *saṅgītaśāstra* work(s) (fol. 15<sub>r4</sub> and 15<sub>r7</sub>) or *kāmaśāstra* work(s) (fols. 7<sub>v4</sub>–8<sub>r5</sub>, 9<sub>r2</sub>). In the commentary on 1.27–28, Śrībhānu quotes six stanzas from a *kāmaśāstra* that describe six postures of the *yogin* and the *yoginī* during sexual union (*bhramarāmreḍita*, *dolāvata*, *kurpara*, *sūcī*, *preṅkha* and *suprasārīta*). With slight variants, four of these stanzas occur also in the *Yogaratanmālā* by Kṛṣṇācārya *ad Hevajratantra* 2.11.<sup>19</sup> Another stanza, quoted from a still untraced *kāmaśāstra ad* 2.1 and occurring also in the *Trivajraratnāvalīmālikā* by Kelikuliśa,<sup>20</sup> is parallel to a verse of the later *Smaradīpikā* by Mīnanātha (14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cent.).<sup>21</sup> In connection with the description of the different styles of dancing, there are references to two plays of Harṣa, the *Nāgānanda* (fol. 26<sub>r2</sub>) and the *Ratnāvalī* (fol. 26<sub>r7</sub>).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The two stanzas that are not quoted in the *Yogaratanmālā* and that describe the *bhramarāmreḍita* posture and the *preṅkha* posture run respectively as follows: *meḍhropari samārūḍhā cakravad bhrāmāyeta kaṭim | karaṇaṃ bhrāmaṇaṃ hy etad bhramarāmreḍitaṃ matam ||* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 7<sub>v4</sub>); *nāryā pādatalanyāso naranābhiniṃlataḥ | pādānte ca samutkṣepāt puṃsaḥ preṅkhaḥ prakīrtitaḥ ||* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 8<sub>r3</sub>).

<sup>20</sup> I owe this reference to Harunaga Isaacson. In the manuscript of Kelikuliśa's *Trivajraratnāvalīmālikā*, this quote occurs on fol. 238<sub>r</sub>.

<sup>21</sup> *kūmaprṣṭhagajaskandhapadmatuṇḍasusaṃvṛtāḥ | nirlomasukhavi-stīrṇāḥ* (note that here the *akṣara* °su° could also be read °mu°; the reading °sukha° is supported by *Amṛtadhārā*-T [*bde ba*]) *ṣaḍ ete subhagā bhagāḥ ||* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 9<sub>r2</sub>); *atha bhagalakṣaṇaprakaraṇam –kūmaprṣṭhā gajaskandhā padmanābhisaṃmā tathā | alomā mṛduvistīrṇā ṣaḍ ete subhagā bhagāḥ ||* (*Smaradīpikā* st. 57).

<sup>22</sup> *atrodāharaṇaṃ nāgānande tv avaseyam* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 26<sub>r2</sub>); *ratnāvalīnāṭikāyāṃ praṇayakupitā vāsavadattā pādapanādinā vatsarājena prasādītey evam udāharaṇam avaseyam* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 26<sub>r7</sub>–8).

The text shows no influence of *Hevajratantra*'s practices and doctrines. As a matter of fact, we do not find reference to any Yoginītantras other than the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* itself (fols. 2v<sub>2</sub>, 6v<sub>5</sub>, 14r<sub>8</sub>), which could thus qualify as one of the earliest texts belonging to this category. One of such three internal references is particularly significant: in the commentary *ad* 1.2, Śrībhānu cites two *pādas* (*sthūlapadmaṃ nirīkṣitvā mayā tattvaṃ prakāśitam* |) that are not present in the published Sanskrit fragment of the *mūla* text<sup>23</sup> and are not even represented in its canonical Tibetan translation.<sup>24</sup> This suggests that Śrībhānu had access to a version of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* whose text was slightly different from that of the Sanskrit version available to the Tibetan translator Gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer (10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> cent.). Further confirmation of this fact is found in the commentary on the first chapter: between stanzas 1.27 and 1.28, Śrībhānu quotes and comments on some words and expressions that are not present in the Tibetan translation of the *mūla* text (i.e. *dolā*, *kurparim*, *atrāpi dolayet*) and that belong to a line, or perhaps even an entire stanza, that describes two postures of the *yogin* and the *yoginī* during sexual union, i.e. the Swing posture (*dolāvat*) and the Knee posture (*kurpara*).

Péter-Dániel Szántó has pointed out that a portion of the *Amṛtadhārā* has surprisingly been embedded in the *Samputatantra* 7.4.<sup>25</sup> It is therefore certain that the *Amṛtadhārā* was written between the composition of the *Dohākośagīti*, which was likely produced in the 9<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>26</sup> and the composition of the *Samputatantra*, a text that was already known at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>27</sup> The absence of references to the *Hevajratantra* could move the *terminus ante quem* still further back, since the *Hevajratantra* is not attested

<sup>23</sup> See Sferra 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Ōta. No. 74, Tōh. No. 435.

<sup>25</sup> See Szántó 2016: 414–415. The portion imbedded in the *Samputatantra* (MS ASB, fols. 67v<sub>1</sub>–68r<sub>4</sub>; MS RAS, fols. 73v<sub>3</sub>–74v<sub>2</sub>) corresponds, with some variants, to the commentary by Śrībhānu on *Vajrāmṛtatantra* 4.6–12 (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fols. 18v<sub>3</sub>–19r<sub>6</sub>).

<sup>26</sup> See Del Toso 2014: 549.

<sup>27</sup> See Szántó 2016: 403.



before the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This suggests that the *Amṛtadhārā* might have been composed between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, most likely towards the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century if, following Tāranātha, we believe that Śrībhānu was active during the reign of Mahīpāla I.

Śrībhānu never features debates with supporters of other points of view or with other interpreters of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*. Sometimes his short *avataraṇikās* stress the connection between stanzas or between different *pādas* inside the stanzas, which are presented as the answers to questions that may have arisen in the mind of the reader while studying the text. The commentary is usually clear, but there are some stylistic oddities here and there. For instance, we note the preference for the slightly odd stock phrase *tad uktaṃ bhavati* (fols. 3r<sub>8</sub>, 11v<sub>2</sub>, 12r<sub>5</sub>, 14v<sub>1</sub>, 15r<sub>8</sub>, 16v<sub>5</sub>, 17r<sub>3</sub>, 17r<sub>7</sub>, 20v<sub>9</sub>, 22r<sub>5</sub>, 24r<sub>6</sub>, 25v<sub>5</sub>, 27r<sub>3</sub>, 28v<sub>7</sub>, 29r<sub>4</sub>) over the more usual *etad uktaṃ bhavati*, which instead occurs only three times (fols. 3v<sub>4</sub>, 7v<sub>1</sub>, 9v<sub>7</sub>); the form *tattvarājā* for the more common *tattvarājah* (*ad* 2.26ab, 7.16 and 7.19); and the preference for the unusual form *vakṣyamāṇaka* (fols. 3v<sub>7</sub> *ad* 1.6c, 4v<sub>9</sub> *ad* 1.13, 10r<sub>2</sub> *ad* 2.7, 14v<sub>6</sub> *ad* 3.1, 16v<sub>5</sub> *ad* 3.14, 29r<sub>8</sub> *ad* 8.1), which however is not rare in Buddhist texts<sup>28</sup> and can sometimes often be found in non-Buddhist works.<sup>29</sup>

The reference to the *ālayavijñāna* and to the typical terminology of the Yogācāra (see below, excerpt No. 2), as well as a paraphrase of a famous passage that occurs in the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* in which the whole threefold sphere of existence is stated to be nothing but mental representation (see *Amṛtadhārā*-MS *ad* 2.15ab: *sarvaṃ ca traidhātukaṃ vijñaptimātram*, fol. 11v<sub>1</sub>; *vijñaptimātram ca traidhātukam*, fol. 11v<sub>2</sub>),<sup>30</sup> suggest that Śrībhānu adhered to the posi-

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. *Abhisamayālaṃkāralokā* p. 29, *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* p. 26, *Hetubinduṭīkālokā* p. 253, *Pradīpoddyotana* pp. 54, 56, 59, 73, 77, 83, 87.

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. *Nyāyavārttika* p. 376 (*ad* 1.2.5), *Śivasamhitā* 5.53d.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Daśabhūmikasūtra* chapter 6: *cittamātram idaṃ yad idaṃ traidhātukam* (ed. p. 49). A similar expression occurs in many texts. Just to quote a few instances, see *Bhāvanākrama* I: *vijñaptimātram traidhātukam iti bhāvayan vijñānavādī bāhyārthanairātmīyam avatarati* (ed. pp. 22–23); *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, *avataraṇikā ad* 1965: *pratītyasamutpādaviśeṣa-*

tions of this tradition.<sup>31</sup> The *Vajrāmṛtatantra* itself (in particular its second chapter) seems to be influenced by the *Yogācāra*, although obviously the philosophical component is not preponderant in this text.

2. The manuscript consists of 34 palm leaves, and is complete and undamaged. There is a single writing area, which as a rule contains 9 lines, each comprising 65 to 70 *akṣaras*, with a single string-hole placed slightly towards the left portion of the folio. The folios are numbered in the left margin of the *verso* sides. The writing, which shows the typical characteristics of medieval Nepalese and north-eastern Indian manuscripts, such as the gemination of consonants after superscript *r* and the degemination of *t* in the cluster *ttva*, is one of the variants of what has sometimes been called *kuṭilā* or Hooked *Nepālākṣarā* in modern secondary literature.<sup>32</sup> In particular, the script of this manuscript shows a close resemblance to the writing of the manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* photographed by Rāhula Sāṅkrṭyāyana and Giuseppe Tucci in *Žva lu Ri phug* in Tibet, respectively in 1938 and 1939,<sup>33</sup> and of the manuscript of the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭikā* by Vajragarbha kept in the Kaiser Library of Kathmandu, which was produced in Vikramaśīla, likely around the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century:<sup>34</sup> the vowels *e* and *o* are written

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*ṇasamarthanārtham idānīm vijñānavādīdam upakṣipati – tatra vijñaptimātram evedaṃ traidhātukaṃ [...]; Sāghanamālā 73: ādau tāvad raktābjapuñjapratimaṃ śrītherukarūpam ātmānaṃ niṣpādyā vijñaptimātraṃ ca traidhātukaṃ ākalayya [...]* (ed. p. 146); and *Sākārasiddhi* by Jñānaśrīmitra: *tathā ca sūtram – vijñaptimātraṃ bho jinaputrā yad uta traidhātukaṃ iti* (ed. p. 367).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. also the commentary *ad* 11.21d: *yogācārajñānaṃ samuccīyate ’sminn iti jñānasamuccayam* (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 34v<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>32</sup> Cf., for instance, Sāṅkrṭyāyana 1935, 1937 and 1938, and the description of manuscripts in the online catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts kept in the Cambridge University Library: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/sanskrit/1>.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Sāṅkrṭyāyana 1938: 145; Sferra 2008: 47.

<sup>34</sup> See in particular the copyist’s colophon: *śrīmadvikramaśīlamahāvihāre likhāpitaṃ* [2 broken *akṣaras*] *viśuddhirakṣitena svārthaṃ parārthaṃ ca* (*Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭikā*, Kathmandu, Kaiser Library, MS 128 = NGMPP C14/6, fol. 59r<sub>5-6</sub>).

only as *prṣṭhamātra*, while the short vowel *i* is regularly made just with a small arc above the syllable to which it is joined. The *visarga* resembles the Arabic numeral 8. In all three manuscripts, the *ductus* is inclined slightly to the right.<sup>35</sup> The copyist of the *Amṛtadhārā* is generally more regular and accurate, especially in comparison with the copyist of the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā*. The final nasal at the end of the period (before the *daṇḍa* or double *daṇḍa*) is typically represented as a small *m*; the final *t*, if followed by a *daṇḍa*, is usually written with its specific sign. The manuscript is not dated, but it is very probable that, like the manuscript of the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā*, this too was produced in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The syllables that are supposed to be erased are marked with one or two small vertical strokes, which unfortunately are not always easily visible in the black and white photographic reproduction I was allowed to consult in Beijing. Difficulties in reading obtain especially at those points where the scribe has squeezed several syllables into a small space, writing each of them smaller, probably after a deletion. A direct examination of the manuscript would likely solve many doubts.

The text begins on fol. 1v (see below, excerpt No. 1). The *recto* side of folio 1 contains two lines in Tibetan in *dbu med* script (contracted syllables are underlined):

1. *rdo rje bdud rts'i 'grel pa 'dab ma 34 yod ||*
2. *rdo rje bdud rts'i rgyud kyi rgya cher 'grel pa bdud rts'i rgyun zes bya ba slob dpon dpal gyi ñi mas mdzad pa bžugs ||*

Above the words *dpal gyi ñi mas* of the second line, the syllables *śrī bhā nu* are written in *dbu med* script with slightly smaller characters.

The colophon and the final rubric of the work are as follows: *va-jrāmṛtamahātantrasyāmṛtadhārā nāma ṭīkā parisamāptā ||* (crossed-

<sup>35</sup> The script of these manuscripts resembles the writing of a manuscript of the *\*Saddharmaparīkathā*, photographed by both R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana (see Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1938: 160–162) and G. Tucci (see Sferra 2008: 48), the only notable difference being that the latter is not slanted.

vajra fleuron) || *kṛtir iyam ācāryasrī*[34v<sub>9</sub>]*bhānoḥ | asya granthasya pramāṇam anuṣṭupchandasā* (anuṣṭupchandasā em. ] anuṣṭupacchandasā MS) *ślokaśatāni daśeti* || O ||

Two extra, unnumbered leaves are placed at the end of the manuscript, likely with a protective function. The first is written only on one side. There we find the following words on two lines: 1) *bhāna*; 2) *amṛtadhārāṭīkā* |. The second leaf contains two lines in Tibetan in *dbu med* script on one side (1. *gsar du bsabs pa la gcig źus*; 2. *dharma sta la bha dras bgyis te grub* || .. .. |<sup>36</sup>) and three Sanskrit verses on the other side. The first verse, preceded by the *siddha* sign, is an *anuṣṭubh*, which can be found, with a few variants, in other sources, such as the *Garuḍapurāṇa* (1.115.27, 2.49.30) and the *Kulārṇavatantra* (1.31):<sup>37</sup>

*śataṃ jīvanam atyalpaṃ nidrā tatrārdhahārīṇī |*  
*bālyarogajarāduḥkhair arddha<ṃ> tad api niṣphalam ||*

The other two stanzas are written by a later and less accurate hand. The first of these stanzas, ending with the word *candramā*, is hardly legible and I was unable to identify its source. A visual examination of the original would certainly allow us to say more and perhaps even to transcribe the entire stanza. The last verse is an *āryāgīti* that corresponds to stanza 3.73 of the *Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa* by Vāgīśvarakīrti (my insertions in angled brackets):

*ūrdhvādhobhyāṃ sampuṭayogaṃ yaḥ kurute satataṃ*<sup>38</sup> *hi<ta-*  
*yogaṃ |>*  
*tasya suruṣṭo <'>py avihatatejā<ḥ> kiñcitkārī no yamarājā |<|>*

3. The Tibetan translation made by \*Tārapāla and Chiñs yon tan 'bar, and revised by Śī la ku dzha badzra (*sic*) and Glog skya śes

<sup>36</sup> This lines end with three syllables that I was unable to decipher.

<sup>37</sup> In the *Kulārṇavatantra*, we find the reading *nidrālasyaṃ tadardhakam* in the second *pāda*, according to the edition by Gunnar Carlstedt (1974: 33). Cf. also *Rudrayāmalam Uttaratantra* 1.175cd, 177ab; *Śāktānandatarāṅgiṇī* 1.96; and *Śrītattvacintāmaṇi* 1.17.

<sup>38</sup> *kurute satataṃ* ] *satataṃ kurute* in *Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa*.

rab brtsegs,<sup>39</sup> sometimes diverges from the Sanskrit text currently available to us, and we cannot exclude that the manuscript(s) used by the Tibetan translators and revisors contained readings that were at times substantially different (for instance, *ad* 2.12, where *ādānarūpam* is rendered with *rgya che ba'i gzugs* [= *ātatarūpam*, *udāttarūpam*, etc., P fol. 77v<sub>2</sub>, D fol. 67r<sub>5</sub>]; *ad* 7.13, where *asyeti* is rendered as if it were *ity atra* [*śes pa 'dir*, P fol. 106v<sub>3</sub>, D fol. 93r<sub>1</sub>]). Some divergences, however, could simply depend on the translators' choices and interpretations, such as the tendency to render prose quotations or even summary sentences in metrical form, for instance in the commentary on the *vijahārapāda*, where the Sanskrit words *yadā sakalakleśavigatena bhagavatā cintāmaṇir ivācintyādvayasamādhijo dharmadeśanāmṛtavarṣaḥ pravarṣito jagati tasminn avicchinnadharmadeśanāsamādhānakāle* (fols. 1v<sub>5-6</sub>) have been rendered as follows:

*gañ žig ñon moṅs mtha' bral ba'i* ||  
*bcom ldan yid bzün nor lta bu* (lta bu D; bu lha P) ||  
*bsam gyis mi khyab gñis med pa* ||  
*tiñ 'dzin skye ba'i chos ston pa* ||  
*bdud rts'i char ni 'gro la 'bab* ||  
*de ru rgyun mi chad* (chad D; 'chad P) *pa ru* ||  
*chos mams ston pa mñam gžag dus* || (P fol. 62r<sub>2-3</sub>, D fol. 54r<sub>1-2</sub>)

## Excerpts

In the following passages, sandhi and orthography have been standardized. The punctuation, as well as the layout, reflects what seems

<sup>39</sup> The colophon of *Amṛtadhārā*-T runs as follows: *rgya gar gyi mkhan po tā ra pā la dan* | *bod kyi lo tsā* (D, tsa P) *ba la chiñs yon tan 'bar gyis bsgyur cin žus te gtan la phab pa* | *phyis pañḍi ta śī la ku dzha badzra dan* | *klog skya śes rab brtsegs kyis bal* [P 119v] *yul du gtugs te gtan la phab po* (P, pa D) || || (P fols. 119r<sub>8</sub>–119v<sub>1</sub>, D fol. 104r<sub>7</sub>). The retranslation of the name Śī la ku dzha badzra with Śīlaguhyavajra (e.g. Tōhoku Catalogue, p. 261) is quite doubtful, since one would not expect *guhya* to be corrupted to *ku dzha*.

to me the most plausible interpretation of the text. The stanzas of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* that are enclosed between double square brackets ([[...]]) have been retranslated from the canonical Tibetan translation. No doubt other retranslations/solutions are also possible.<sup>40</sup> Their function is primarily to facilitate the reading of the commentary.

The sigla, symbols and abbreviations adopted here are the following:

- MS Photographs of a palm-leaf manuscript kept in Beijing in the library of the China Tibetology Research Centre (MS 50/8/0385 No. 2).
- MS<sub>CUL</sub> Cambridge University Library MS Or.158.1. [The readings of this fragmentary manuscript are recorded only when they diverge with respect to the edition published in Sferra 2017, to which the reader is referred for a full critical apparatus. A digital reproduction of this manuscript is visible online at the website of the Cambridge University Library: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00158-00001/1>]
- T *rDo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel pa* (= *Vajrāmṛtamahātantrarājaṭīkā*) by Śrībhānu, Tibetan translation by \*Tārapāla and Chiñs yon tan 'bar, revised by Śī la ku dzha badzra and Klog (Glog in D) skya śes rab brtsegs, Ōta. 2523, P, bsTan 'gyur, rGyud 'grel, vol. YA, fols. 61v<sub>2</sub>–119v<sub>1</sub>; Tōh. 1651, D, bsTan 'gyur, vol. RA, fols. 53v<sub>2</sub>–104r<sub>7</sub>.
- T<sub>m</sub> *rDo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud* (= *Vajrāmṛtatantra*), Tibetan translation by Gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer, Ōta. 74, P, bKa' 'gyur, rGyud, vol. CA, fols. 17r<sub>3</sub>–28r<sub>8</sub>; Tōh. 435, D, bKa' 'gyur, rGyud, vol. CA, fols. 16v<sub>5</sub>–27r<sub>6</sub>; sTog 401, bKa' 'gyur, rGyud, vol. ŃA, fols. 398v<sub>3</sub>–413v<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately I was unable to consult the manuscript of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* presently kept in the Nor bu gliñ ka Palace, which has been listed as No. 147 in Wang Sen's catalogue (2006; see Hu-von Hinüber 2006: 286, 320).

- ] separates the accepted reading, emendations or conjectures from other readings
- ◇ separates the commentary on different lemmas within the same compound or series of words that are graphically connected
- [...] enclose the pagination of MS
- <...> enclose restored *akṣaras*
- {...} enclose *akṣaras* that should probably be erased
- | || , – punctuation marks
- / separates two different retranslations of the *mūla* text
- <sup>ac</sup> *ante correctionem*
- conj. conjecture
- deest* absent/omitted in
- em. emendation
- <sup>pc</sup> *post correctionem*
- r* *recto*
- v* *verso*
- $x \rightarrow y$  from *x* to *y*

**Passage no. 1**(Beginning and Commentary on stt. 1.1–3)<sup>41</sup>[1v<sub>1</sub>] (*siddham*-sign) namo vajrasattvāya ||

guhyābjatejovarabindudhautam  
 rāgāṃśusaṅgād aruṇendubhāsam |  
 vajrāmṛtasyāṅghriyugam praṇamya  
 ṭīkām pravakṣye kulīśāmṛtasya ||

asya tantrasyābhidheyo guhyamaṇḍalātmako bhagavā[1v<sub>2</sub>]n vajrā-  
 mṛtaḥ | tadvācakatvād idaṃ tantraṃ<sup>42</sup> tadabhidhānam | ato 'bhi-  
 dhānābhidheyayor vācyavācakalakṣaṇaḥ<sup>43</sup> sambandhaḥ | tadvineya-  
 janāvarjanaṃ prajojanam | nirvāṇāmṛtādīphalaprāptiḥ prajojana-  
 prajojanam ity abhidhānābhidhe[1v<sub>3</sub>]yasambandhaprajojanaprajoya-  
 janaprajojanāny<sup>44</sup> avagantavyāni | idaṃ ca tantraṃ ekādaśanirde-  
 śātmakam ity ādau guhyamaṇḍalakaraṇābhinayanirdeśasvabhāva-  
 tāṃ bhagavataḥ saṅgītikartrī māmakī sthānādisampatkatha[1v<sub>4</sub>]na-  
 pūrvakam upakṣipanty āha – **evam mayetyādi**<sup>45</sup> |

**evam mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvatathā-  
 gatakāyavākcittahṛdayavajrāmṛtaguhyapadmeṣu vijahāra** ||

**evam** ity ātantraparisamāptyarthasūcako<sup>46</sup> 'yaṃ nipātaḥ | **mayeti**  
 māmakyā sāksān na parasmād āyātam | **śrutam** iti sānubhava-

<sup>41</sup> The text and commentary of the first three stanzas of the *Amṛtadhārā* have been read during a workshop held in Procida (*The Manuscripta Buddhica Workshop & The Second Vikramaśīla Workshop Organized Jointly by the Manuscripta Buddhica Project and the Vikramaśīla Project, September 7-13, 2016, University of Naples "L'Orientale" Scuola di Procida per l'Alta Formazione*). I owe thanks to all the participants for their suggestions, in particular (in alphabetical order): Arlo Griffiths, Kengo Harimoto, Harunaga Isaacson, Shanshan Jia, Kazuo Kano, Kenichi Kuranishi, Tai-ken Kyuma, Gregory M. Seton, Péter-Dániel Szántó, Ryugen Tanemura.

<sup>42</sup> *tantraṃ* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *tatrantraṃ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> °*lakṣaṇaḥ* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °*lakṣaṇa*° MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> °*prajojanaprajojanaprajojanāny* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °*prajojanaprajojanāny* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> *evam mayetyādi* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *evam ityādi* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> *evam ity ātantra*° MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *tantra*° MS<sup>ac</sup>.



dharmaparyāyam<sup>47</sup> evaṃśa[1v<sub>5</sub>]<bdena saṅkṣiptam adhigatam><sup>48</sup> |  
 kadā śrutam ity āha – **ekasminn** ityādi | **ekaśabdo** 'samādhāna-  
 kālapratiṣedhakaḥ | tad uktam bhavati – yadā<sup>49</sup> sakalakleśavigatena  
 bhagavatā cintāmaṇir ivācintyādvayasamādhijo dha[1v<sub>6</sub>]rmaḍeśa-  
 nāmṛtavarṣaḥ pravārṣito jagati tasminn avicchinnadharmadeśanā-  
 samādhānakāla iti | kutaḥ śrutam ity āha – <**bhagavān** ityādi |><sup>50</sup>  
**bhagavān vijahārety** atra sambandhaḥ | **bhagavata**<sup>51</sup> eva deśakatve-  
 na<sup>52</sup> prastu[1v<sub>7</sub>]tatvād bhagavataḥ sakāśād ity adhyāhāryam<sup>53</sup> | amṛta-  
 yogaiśvaryād bhagavān | sarvāvaraṇapratipakṣānuttaraprajñā bhago  
 'syeti<sup>54</sup> bhagavān | kutra sthito bhagavān idam āhety āha – **sarva-**  
**tathāgatetyādi** | sarve ca te [1v<sub>8</sub>] tathāgatās ceti **sarvatathāgatāḥ**  
 kāyavajrādayaḥ | yathoktāmṛtopāyenāmṛtaḥ gatās **tathāgatāḥ** |  
**kāyavajro** vairocanaḥ | **vāgvajro** 'mitābhaḥ | **cittavajro** 'kṣobhyaḥ |  
 teṣāṃ **hṛdayam** paramānandajananam a[1v<sub>9</sub>]nāhatam<sup>55</sup> | kāraṇe  
 kāryopacārāt tasyaiva **vajrāmṛtā**bhidhānam | tad yeṣu guhyapadmeṣu  
 sthitaḥ tāni guhyapadmāny abhipretāni | **guhyapadmānīti**<sup>56</sup> loca-  
 nātārāpāṇḍarāhvānām dharmodayāni tridevyāsana[2r<sub>1</sub>]yogapīṭha-

<sup>47</sup> *sānubhava*° MS ] \**svato* 'nubhava° T (*bdag nīd kyis nams su myon ba*, P fol. 62r<sub>1</sub>, D fol. 54r<sub>1</sub>); read *svānubhavato* ?

<sup>48</sup> *evaṃśabdena saṅkṣiptam adhigatam* conj. (the *akṣaras* enclosed between angled brackets are cancelled and unreadable in the reproductions of MS); see T: '*di skad kyī sgras bsdus par rtogs so* || (P fol. 62r<sub>1</sub>, D fol. 54r<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>49</sup> The words *yadā* → °*kāla* are rendered in metrical form in T (see above, Introductory Remarks § 3).

<sup>50</sup> The restored words are not represented in T.

<sup>51</sup> *bhagavata* em. ] *bhagavān* MS.

<sup>52</sup> *deśakatvena* em. ] *daiśakatvena* MS.

<sup>53</sup> *ity adhyāhāryam* em. ] *ityādhyāhāryam* MS; \**ityādy ādhyāhāryam* T (*žes pa la sogs pa śugs kyis go ba'o*, P fol. 62r<sub>4</sub>, D fol. 54r<sub>3</sub>).

<sup>54</sup> The syllables '*syeti* are partly unreadable in MS.

<sup>55</sup> *anāhatam* em. ] *ānāhatam* MS.

<sup>56</sup> *abhipretāni* | *guhyapadmānīti* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *abhipretānīti* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

bhūtāni<sup>57</sup> | teṣu<sup>58</sup> vineyajanānugrahārtham ṛddhyā **vijahāra** |

yadi vā trikulābhedena **hr̥dayaniṣpannavajrāmṛto bhagavān** | sād-  
dhāraṇadharmodayakūṭāgāramadhye trikoṇayogapīṭhopari**guhya-**  
**pa**[2r<sub>2</sub>]**dme** sahasradalakamalavaratake mrgarāja iva vane **vijahāra** |

**vijahāreti** vicitravajrāmṛtadeśanayā<sup>59</sup> māmakīmano hr̥tavān ity  
arthah ||

kim ekākī bhagavān teṣu viharati na vety āha – **krīdate bhagavān**  
ityādi |

**krīdate bhagavān vajrī māmakyā sahitaḥ pure** |  
**pr̥chate tatra sā devī rahasye tu vyavasthitā** || 1 ||

**krīdata** i[2r<sub>3</sub>]ti krīdā devībhiḥ sahanuttaravilāsaḥ | vajrāmṛto ni-  
kaṭavartinīm māmakīm dṛṣṭvā tṛtīyaślokābhiprāyeṇa vajrāmṛ-  
tatattvam asyām sthitam anayaiva sidhyata ity upasūcya tadde-  
śānbhilāṣakrīdāvilāso [2r<sub>4</sub>] māmakyā saha vilasatīty arthaḥ |  
aiśvaryaḍiguṇayogād **bhagavān** | pañcasūcikaṃ<sup>60</sup> jñānavajram  
asyeti **vajrī** vajrāmṛtaḥ | **māmakyeti** vajrakulādhipadevatā pra-  
siddhā | svapādamūlikādūtībhiḥ<sup>61</sup> [2r<sub>5</sub>] parivṛtā | tayā saha | ane-  
nāptopadeśasadbhāva udbhāvitaḥ<sup>62</sup> | tadā kimartham bodhisattvā-  
diparṣan nokteti vikalpe parihāraḥ – māmakyādimudrāsamyo-  
gabhāvanayā yathābhūtattvopadeśānubhavaḥ [2r<sub>6</sub>] kartuṃ śa-  
kyate sādhayitum,<sup>63</sup> ataḥ parṣadrūpeṇa māmaky evopadarśitā na  
bodhisattvādiparṣad iti vaktavyaḥ<sup>64</sup> | tathā coktaṃ guhyakoṣe –

<sup>57</sup> The syllables °sana° are partly unreadable in MS.

<sup>58</sup> teṣu MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the ante correctionem reading is unclear.

<sup>59</sup> °deśanayā em. ] °deśanāyām MS; cf. T: *bstan pa'i*, P fol. 62v<sub>3</sub>, *bstan pas*, D fol. 54v<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>60</sup> °sūcikaṃ MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °sucikaṃ MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> °dūtībhiḥ MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °dūtībhiḥ MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> °sadbhāva udbhāvitaḥ MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °sadbhāvodbhāvitaḥ MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> The infinitive *sādhayitum* could be a secondary addition; the Tibetan translation represents this word but suggests a different interpretation of the entire sentence (see next note).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. T: *ci'i phyir byañ chub sems dpa' la sogs pa'i 'khor ma gsuñs zes pa'i dogs pa bsal* (bsal D; gsal P) *ba'i phyir | mā ma kī la sogs pa'i phyag*

guhyapate<sup>65</sup> vajrapāṇe vajragandhārīm prāpya sattvārthaṃ [2r<sub>7</sub>] ku-  
ru | vajrapāṇir api tāṃ dṛṣṭvā aho krodhety anayā sarvasattvārthaṃ  
karisyāmītyādi |  **pura**  ity anantarokte pradeśe | evaṃ sthānādikam  
upodghāṭyedaṃ<sup>66</sup> amṛtākhyam tantraṃ śrotukāmā bhagavato  
dharma[2r<sub>8</sub>]deśanārambhe satīdānīm<sup>67</sup> adhyeṣaṇām āha –  **pṛchate  
tatra sā devītyādi | pṛchata**  iti vakṣyamāṇakam upadeśam |  **tatre-  
ti**  prāsāde |  **seti**  māmakī | saddharmakrīḍārhatvād  **devī | rahasye  
tv**  ity anyabodhisa[2r<sub>9</sub>]ttvādidevatāpagate<sup>68</sup>  **sthitā**  satī |  **tuśabdaḥ  
satyarthe** <sup>69</sup> | nirastasamastavāsanādoṣānuttarāmṛtam prāptam |  
tadadhigamopāyadeśanābhilāṣaṃ vajriṇam avagamya pṛchatīty  
abhiprāyaḥ ||

kiṃ pṛchatīty āha –  **ukta** [2v<sub>1</sub>] **m**  ityādi |

**uktaṃ deva tvayā pūrvam tantraṃ vajrāmṛtam param |  
amṛtam sādhanopāyaṃ kathayasva mahāsukha || 2 ||**

**uktaṃ**  iti sūcitam | apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇe<sup>70</sup> divi bhavo  **devaḥ** <sup>71</sup> | prāyaśo  
bhartrviṣaye strīṇāṃ  **devaśabdena**  sānurāgālāpa ity anye |  **tvayeti  
vajrāmṛtena | pūrvam**  iti prathamam iha sannihitāṃ māmakīṃ [2v<sub>2</sub>]

*rgya dan yañ dag par sbyor bar bsgoms pas ji lta bar* (bar D; bur P) 'gyur  
ba'o || *de kho na ñid kyi man ñag ñams su* [P 63r] *myoñ ba bsgrub par* (par  
D; par 'khol P) 'dod pas dños su byed de | *rdo rje 'khor gyi tshul du mā ma  
kī yañ ñe bar bstan gyi | byañ chub sems dpa'i 'khor ni ma yin źes brjod  
pa'o* || (P fols. 62v<sub>7</sub>–63r<sub>1</sub>, D fol. 54v<sub>5</sub>–6).

<sup>65</sup> *guhyapate* em. supported by T (*gsañ bdag*, P fol. 63r<sub>2</sub>, D fol. 54v<sub>6</sub>) |  
*guhyamme* MS.

<sup>66</sup> *upodghāṭyedaṃ* conj. ] *upodghāṭyedānīm* MS; note however that T  
supports the reading *idānīm* (*da ni*, P fol. 63r<sub>3</sub>, D fol. 55r<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>67</sup> *satīdānīm* MS ] \**satīha* / \**saty atra* T ([...] 'dir, P fol. 63r<sub>4</sub>, D fol. 55r<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>68</sup> °*devatāpagate* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °*devāpagate* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> *satyarthe* MS (see also ad 2.1: **tuṣṭeti** *guhyamaṇḍalaśravaṇād eva  
harṣitā satī* | **tuśabdaḥ satyarthe** |) ] \**satyārthe* em. supported by T (*bden  
pa'i don to*, P fol. 63r<sub>5</sub>, D fol. 55r<sub>2</sub>–3).

<sup>70</sup> °*nirvāṇe* em. ] °*nirvāṇo* MS.

<sup>71</sup> *uktaṃ* → *devaḥ* ] the Tibetan translation differs here: *gsuñs źes pa ni*  
(ni D, *deest* in P) *mi gñas pa'i mya ñan las 'das pa bsduṣ pa'o* || *lha'i dños  
ni lha'o* || (P fol. 63r<sub>7</sub>, D fol. 55r<sub>4</sub>).

dr̥ṣṭvety arthaḥ | prathamam paṛṣatsannihitām māmākīm<sup>72</sup> dr̥ṣṭvā  
vajrāmṛtena tantrārtha upasūcitas tṛtīyaślokābhīprāyeṇāvaganta-  
vyaḥ | tathā ca vakṣyati –

sthūlapadmaṃ nirīkṣitvā mayā<sup>73</sup> tattvaṃ prakāśitam | (st. ?)

iti | yadvā [2v<sub>3</sub>] dvādaśasāhasrikam **vajrāmṛtatantṛam pūrvam  
uktam** | tad idānīm api saṅkṣepāt kathayeti<sup>74</sup> atkālāpekṣaḥ **pūrva-  
śabdo**<sup>75</sup> draṣṭavya ity anye | kim uktam ity āha – **tantram** ityādi<sup>76</sup> |  
vajrāmṛtasya hr̥nmantramaṇḍalabhāvanādīsūca[2v<sub>4</sub>]nāt tantraṇād vā  
**tantram** | kiṃnāmety āha – **vajretyādi** | **vajrāmṛtākhyam** | sarva-  
tantrotkr̥ṣṭatvāt **param** | **amṛtam** nirvāṇam | tasya **sādhanopāyaḥ**<sup>77</sup> |  
sākṣātkaraṇārtham upāyo hetuḥ | taṃ<sup>78</sup> **kathayasveti** prakāśaya ||  
[2v<sub>5</sub>]

evam adhyeṣito bhagavān pūrvopasūcitam tantrārtham abhyupa-  
gacchatīti darśayanty āha – ity āha **bhagavān** ityādi |

**ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |  
acintyam avyayaḥ sūkṣmam amoghaṃ ca nirindriyam |  
param śāntam viśuddham tu vajrāmṛtam udāhṛtam || 3 ||**

itiśabdo 'dhyeṣaṇānantaram | āheti vadati | kim āhety āha – **aci-  
ntyam** ityādi | **u**[2v<sub>6</sub>]**dāhṛtam** ity atra sambandhaḥ | **acintyam** iti  
cintāpagatasya dharmadhātoḥ kāraṇatvāc cintārahitam | vyayaḥ  
kṣayotpādau<sup>79</sup> | na vyayo 'vyayaḥ, anutpādānirodhadharmatāhetur

<sup>72</sup> *māmākīm* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *mādhamakīm* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> *mayā* em. ] *mayādra* MS.

<sup>74</sup> *kathayeti* em. ] *kathayati* MS; cf. T: *brjod par bya zes pa ste*, P fol. 63v<sub>2</sub>, D fol. 55r<sub>6</sub>.

<sup>75</sup> *pūrva*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *purva*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> *tantram ityādi* MS ] according to T, the entire second *pāda* is quoted here: *rdo rje bdud rtsi rgyud kyi mchog || ces pa las sogs pa'o* || (P fol. 63v<sub>3</sub>, D fol. 55r<sub>6-7</sub>).

<sup>77</sup> *opāyaḥ* em. ] *opāyam* MS<sup>pc</sup>; the *ante correctionem* reading is unreadable.

<sup>78</sup> *taṃ* em. ] *tat* MS.

<sup>79</sup> *ayaḥ kṣayotpā*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is unreadable.

ity arthaḥ | rūpādiviṣayebhyo<sup>80</sup> vyāvṛtti[2v<sub>7</sub>]kāraṇatvāt **sūkṣmaḥ**<sup>81</sup> |  
kecit sūkṣmaśabdenātmādayo bhāṇyante | teṣām abhāvasūcakatvāt  
**sūkṣmam** ity vyācakṣate | moghaṃ viphalam | na mogham **amogham**,  
saphalam ity arthaḥ | **nirindriyam** iti kāyavākcaḥsurindriyādī[2v<sub>8</sub>]-  
nām<sup>82</sup> indriyānām aviṣayaḥ | dharmatattvahetutvān **nirindriyam** |  
indriyaśabdena kāraṇam ity ucyate,<sup>83</sup> caḥsurādīndriyakāraṇa-  
rahitatattvopasūcanān<sup>84</sup> **nirindriyam** ity apare | **param** utkrṣṭa-  
tvāt | rāgādiharmopāśamahe[2v<sub>9</sub>]tutvāc **chāntam** | sarvāvaraṇapra-  
hāṇakāraṇatvād **viśuddham** | **vajrāmṛtam** iti<sup>85</sup> vajram abhedyam  
jñānaṃ yasminn amṛte nirvāṇe tat tathā | taddhetukatvād **vajrā-  
mṛtam** | tad evaṃbhūtaṃ mayodāhṛtaṃ prāk sūcitam eva | ane[3r<sub>1</sub>]  
na svābhyupagamo me darśito bhagavateti ||

## Passage no. 2

(Commentary on stt. 2.10–13ab)

prcchāṃ visarjayitum āha – ity āhetyādi |

[[ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |]]<sup>86</sup>

itiśabdaḥ prcchāsamāptau<sup>87</sup> | āheti vakti | ko vaktīty āha – **bhagavān**  
ityādi | **bhagavān** iti prajñāvān | pañcasūcikaṃ jñānavajram  
a[10v<sub>2</sub>]syeti **vajrī** | vajram ivābhedyāmṛtanirvāṇasukhasaumanasya-  
svabhāvatvād **vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ** ||

kim āhety āha – śrṇu tattvenetyādi |

<sup>80</sup> rūpādiviṣayebhyo conj. (see T: *gzugs la sogs pa'i yul rnam las*, P fol. 63v<sub>8</sub>, D fol. 55v<sub>4</sub>) ] rūpādiviṣaye MS.

<sup>81</sup> sūkṣmaḥ em. ] sūkṣmaṃḥ MS.

<sup>82</sup> °vākcaḥsu° MS<sup>ac</sup> ] °vākṣu° MS<sup>pc</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> Read *indriyaśabdena kāraṇam ucyate* ? No rendering of *iti* is present in T: *dbañ po'i sgras ni byed par brjod do* || (P fol. 64r<sub>2-3</sub>, D fol. 55v<sub>5-6</sub>).

<sup>84</sup> °rahita° em. ] °rahitaṃ MS.

<sup>85</sup> *iti* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *ivi* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 18v<sub>8</sub>, D 18r<sub>1</sub>, sTog 401r<sub>2</sub>]: *de nas bcom ldan rdo rje yis* || *rdo rje bdud rtsi* (P sTog; rtse D) *bde chen bśad* (P sTog; pad chan mśad D) ||

<sup>87</sup> °samāptau MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °samāpatau MS<sup>ac</sup>.

[[māmakī śṛṇu tattvena jñānaṃ yogavibodhanam || 10 ||]]<sup>88</sup>  
 śṛṇv ity ākarṇaya | tattvenety avisamvādena<sup>89</sup> | kiṃ śṛṇv ity āha –  
 jñānaṃ yat tva[10v<sub>3</sub>]yā pṛṣṭam | kiṃviśiṣṭam<sup>90</sup> tad ity āha – **yoge-**  
 tyādi | **yogo** devatāyogas tasya **vibodhanam** utpādanam | yadi vā  
**yogas** tattvaviceṣṭam<sup>91</sup> tasya **vibodhanam** arthaprakāśanam<sup>92</sup> ||

[[atisūkṣmaṃ mahāgūḍhaṃ jñānajñeyasvarūpakam |  
 evam etan mayoddiṣṭam<sup>93</sup> buddhabodhiprasādhakam || 11 ||]]<sup>94</sup>  
 atisūkṣmaṃ<sup>95</sup> iti nāḍīśuśirānandādirūpatvād durlakṣyam | tasya  
 sū[10v<sub>4</sub>]kṣmatattvam evāha<sup>96</sup> – **gūḍham** ityādi | **gūḍham** ity apra-  
 kāśyam | **jñānaṃ** iti yogajñānasvabhāvam | **jñeyam** iti tasyaiva jñā-  
 nasya yo viśayaḥ | **tatsvarūpam** ||

[[akṣayaṃ cāvayānityam anādyādyavivarjitam |  
 astitvanāstitvābhāvaṃ sendriyaṃ ca nirindriyam || 12 ||]]<sup>97</sup>

<sup>88</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 18v<sub>8</sub>, D 18r<sub>1</sub>, sTog 401r<sub>2</sub>]: *ñon cig* (D sTog; gcig P) *de ñid mā ma kī* (D sTog; ma ma kī P) || *ye śes sbyor ba 'big*s [sic] *byed pa* || As for the irregular vocative in *-ī* in the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, see Sferra 2017: 416. See two instances below, stt. 11.6b, 11.8b.

<sup>89</sup> *avi*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *savi*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> *°yā pṛṣṭham* | *kiṃviśiṣṭam* t<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> (*°yā pṛṣṭham kiṃviśiṣṭam t<sup>o</sup>*) ] the *ante correctionem* reading is unreadable.

<sup>91</sup> *tattvaviceṣṭam* MS ] *\*tattvaviśeṣaḥ* T (*de kho na ñid kyi khyad par*, P fol. 77r<sub>5-6</sub>, D fol. 67r<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>92</sup> *vibodhanam arthaprakāśanam* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *vibodhanam arthaṃ ca prakāśanam* MS<sup>ac</sup>; T suggests the reading *\*vibodhanārthaṃ prakāśanam* (*rnam par rtogs par bya ba'i don du gsal bar byed pa'o*, P fol. 77r<sub>6</sub>, D fol. 67r<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>93</sup> Or, perhaps, *evam etan mayā proktaṃ* / *etat sarvaṃ mayoddiṣṭam* / *etat sarvaṃ mayākhyātaṃ* etc. Note however that no rendering of *evaṃ* or *sarvaṃ* is present in the Tibetan translation of this *pāda* (see next note).

<sup>94</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 18v<sub>8-19r<sub>1</sub></sub>, D 18r<sub>1-2</sub>, sTog 401r<sub>2-3</sub>]: *śin tu phra ba gsañ chen po* || *ye śes śes* [P 19r] *bya ño bo ñid* || *de ni bdag gis bśad bya ste* || *sañs rgyas byañ chub rab bsgrub* (P D; sgrub sTog) *pa* ||

<sup>95</sup> *atisūkṣmaṃ* em. supported by T (*śin tu phra*, P fol. 77r<sub>6</sub>, D fol. 67r<sub>2</sub>) ] *sūkṣmaṃ* MS.

<sup>96</sup> *evāha* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *evañ cāha* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 19r<sub>1-2</sub>, D 18r<sub>2</sub>, sTog 401r<sub>3-4</sub>]: *mi 'jigs zad med rtag pa ni* || *gdod*

vināśābhāvād **akṣayam** | nāpaneyam ataḥ kiñcid ity **avyayam** | [10v<sub>5</sub>] nityapadārthasyābhāvasūcakatvād **anityam** | **anādyā**<sup>98</sup> ity anutpādaḥ | **ādya** ity utpādaḥ | tābhyāṃ **varjitam** rahitam | **astitvam** grāhyagrāhakābhiniveśatvam, abhūtaparikalpāvasthāyāṃ **nāstivam** | tayō[10v<sub>6</sub>]r **abhāvatvam** pariniṣpannāvasthāyāṃ | cakṣurādipravṛttirūpendriyaiḥ saha vartata iti **sendriyam** ādānarūpam<sup>99</sup> | cakṣurādipravṛttivijñānanivṛtter<sup>100</sup> **nirindriyam**, suptasarpa ivālaya-vijñānakāram<sup>101</sup> ||

a[10v<sub>7</sub>]nenaitat kathayati – yat tvayā pṛṣṭo 'haṃ tad evambhūtam adṛśyam iti | ata evāha – **adṛśyam** ityādi |

[[**adṛśyam sarvabhūteṣu yogamārgena dṛśyate** ]]]<sup>102</sup>

keṣāṃ adṛśyam ity āha – **sarvabhūteṣv** ityādi | bhūtāḥ sattvāḥ | teṣāṃ **adṛśyam** | cakṣurādivijñānair apy asaṃve[10v<sub>8</sub>]dyam, sūkṣmādigu-ṇātmakatvāt | ṣaṣṭhyarthe saptamī |

tat tattvaviceṣitam bahuvaktavyam, nālpēna granthena nirdeṣṭum pāryate | svalpaganthārthavistīrṇam idaṃ tantram abhipretam ity abhiprāyaḥ | yady api tad vilasitam ni[10v<sub>9</sub>]rdeṣṭum aśakyam tathāpy upadeśamātreṇa kathayāmy eva | tad vistaragranthabhayāt samāseṇa nirdeṣṭum āha – **yogamārgenetyādi** | **yogeti** bodhicittabhāvanānāḍī-kṣīrapariniṣpannakāyavākēcitta[11r<sub>1</sub>]vijñānābhedātmako<sup>103</sup> devatākā-rah | tathā coktaṃ samayaśāncare –

*ma med ciñ dañ po* (em.; dbaṅ po P D sTog) *spaṅs* (P D; spoṅs sTog) || *yod ñid dañ ni med ñid kyañ* || *dbaṅ po dañ bcas dbaṅ po med* ||

<sup>98</sup> *anādyā* em. ] *anādyam* MS.

<sup>99</sup> *ādānarūpam* MS ] \**ātatarūpam*, \**udāttarūpam*, etc. T (*rgya che ba'i gzugs*, P fol. 77v<sub>2</sub>, D fol. 67r<sub>5</sub>).

<sup>100</sup> *°nivṛtter* em. ] *°nivṛttar* MS<sup>pc</sup>; *°nivṛttir* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> *ivālaya*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *ivālayam* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 19r<sub>2</sub>, D 18r<sub>2-3</sub>, sTog 401r<sub>4</sub>]: *'byuñ ba kun tu ma mthoñ ba* || *sbyor ba lam gyis mthoñ ba'o* ||

<sup>103</sup> *°bhāvanānāḍīkṣīra*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *°bhāvanāstrināḍīkṣīra*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>ac</sup>; \**°bhāvanādināḍīkṣīra*<sup>o</sup> T (*bsgoms pa la sogs pa'i rtsa'i* [rtsa'i P; rtsi'i D] *'o ma*, P fol. 77v<sub>7</sub>, D fol. 67v<sub>2</sub>).

jñānamudrāsamāpattir yoga ity abhidhīyate |<sup>104</sup>

tasya<sup>105</sup> **mārgo** bhāvanākramaḥ | tena **drśyate** pratibhāsate jñāyate sāksādbhavaṭīti yāvat<sup>106</sup> | [11r<sub>2</sub>] kiṃ bahunoditena | yat tvayā tattvavilasitaṃ jñātum abhipretam tad **yogamārgeṇa drśyata** ity uktam bhavati ||

### Passage no. 3

(Commentary on stt. 7.13bcd–25ab)

tato bhagavān amṛtabhāvanāṃ kartum ārabdha ity āha<sup>107</sup> – **amṛtaṃ dhyānam** ityādi |

**amṛtaṃ dhyānam ārabhet** |<sup>108</sup>

**amṛtaṃ dhyānam** iti sarvanāḍīr ekīkṛtya madāvahāṃ kṣīradhārāṃ sravantīṃ<sup>109</sup> bhāva[27r<sub>7</sub>]yed ity arthaḥ ||

tato nāḍīkṣīrabindubhir anāhataṃ bhāvayed ity āha – **dhyāyata** ityādi |

**dhyāyate paramaṃ tattvam amṛtaṃ bindurūpiṇam** || 13 ||<sup>110</sup>

**dhyāyata** iti nāḍīkṣīrajam anāhataṃ āmukhīkaroti | tad eva darśayati – **paramam** ityādinā | **paramam** ity anuttaram | **tattva**[27r<sub>8</sub>]**m** iti svasaṃvedanāvīparītam<sup>111</sup> | amṛtadravam iva binduḥ, akṣarākāra-

<sup>104</sup> Cf. *Samājottara* 33ab: *prajñopāyasamāpattir yoga ity abhidhīyate* |

<sup>105</sup> After *tasya* one *akṣara* that I was unable to decipher has been erased.

<sup>106</sup> *yāvat* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *yāvatt* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> *kartum ārabdha ity āha* MS ] \**kartukāma etad artham āha* T (*byed par 'dod pas don 'di gsuñs pa*, P fol. 106r<sub>8</sub>, D fol. 92v<sub>6</sub>).

<sup>108</sup> Stanzas 13–15 are quoted, with slight differences (i.e. *sthito devaḥ* for *sthitaṃ devi*, in st. 15a, and *sthitaḥ* for *sthitam* in st. 15d), by Ratnākaraśānti in the *Guṇavatī*, p. 18. Cf. also Ōmi 2013: 140 [27]. Śrībhānu comments on the first *pāda* of stanza 13 (*tiṣṭhate niścalaṃ vidyā*) together with stanza 12, and for this reason it has been omitted here.

<sup>109</sup> *sravantīṃ* em. ] *śravantīm* MS.

<sup>110</sup> *Pāda* d occurs also in *Mahāmāyātantra* 1.21d.

<sup>111</sup> *svasaṃvedanāvīparītaṃ* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *svasaṃvedanāvīnduparītaṃ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.



rūpam asyety<sup>112</sup> **amṛtaṃ bindurūpiṇam**, hakāram ity arthaḥ ||

tattvam evam adhigamya<sup>113</sup> māmakyāḥ prakāśayed ity āha – **khamadhyā** ityādi |

**khamadhye śāśisaṃkāśaṃ sūnyatattvam udāhṛtam |**  
**akṣayam avyayaṃ sūkṣmaṃ vajrasattvam anāhatam || 14 ||**

**khamadhyā**<sup>114</sup> iti khaga[27r<sub>9</sub>]mukhābhiantare padmavarataka-  
maṇivedhadeśe | **śāśisaṃkāśaṃ**<sup>115</sup> candradravasadrśam | uktaṃ ca  
guhyamaṇitilake – padmamadhye maṇipramāṇavedhasphaṭika-  
maṇimuktāphalasadṛśam<sup>116</sup> iti | kalākalarahitabindurūpa[27v<sub>1</sub>]tvāc<sup>117</sup>  
**chūnyam** | paramānandāvīparītatvāt **tattvam** | **udāhṛtam** iti dvitīye  
nirdeśe prakāśitam | tat santānaprabandhāvicchedād<sup>118</sup> **akṣayam**<sup>119</sup> |  
sthīrālayarūpatvād<sup>120</sup> **avyayam** | nāḍīśuśīrālayatvāt<sup>121</sup> **sūkṣmam**<sup>122</sup> |

<sup>112</sup> Note that *asyeti* is rendered in T as if it were *ity atra* (*zes pa 'dir*, P fol. 106v<sub>3</sub>, D, fol. 93r<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>113</sup> °ga° MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear (perhaps the copyist was starting to write the letter *m*).

<sup>114</sup> *khamadhyā* conj. supported by T (*nam mkha'i dbus*, P fol. 106v<sub>4</sub>, D fol. 93r<sub>2</sub>) ] *kham* MS.

<sup>115</sup> śāśi° em. (cf. T: *zla ba*, P fol. 106v<sub>5</sub>, D fol. 93r<sub>2</sub>) ] śīśira° MS<sup>pc</sup>; the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear.

<sup>116</sup> This quotation has been rendered in metrical form in T, with some differences: *padma'i dbus su nor bu'i tshad || nor bu śel bzin rig pa ste || zes gsuñs pa'i 'bras bu dan 'dra'o <||>* (P fol. 106v<sub>5</sub>, D fol. 93r<sub>2-3</sub>).

<sup>117</sup> *kalākalarahitabindurūpatvāc* em. (cf. T: *cha dan cha min las grol ba'i thig le'i tshul nīd kyis*, P fol. 106v<sub>5-6</sub>, D fol. 93r<sub>3</sub>) ] *kalākalarahitaṃ | bindurūpatvāt* MS; read *sakalākalarahitabindurūpatvāc* ?

<sup>118</sup> °āvicchedād MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear; perhaps the copyist was starting to write the letter *kṣ*.

<sup>119</sup> *akṣayam* MS<sup>pc</sup> (*akṣayaṃ*) ] *akṣaram* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> *sthīrālaya°* MS ] \**deśānānaya°* T (*bstan pa'i tshul*, P fol. 106v<sub>6</sub>, D fol. 93r<sub>4</sub>).

<sup>121</sup> °śuśīrā° em. ] °śuśīrā° MS.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. comm. ad 2.8: [...] *nāḍīśuśīrānurūpatvād vā sūkṣmam | sadṛśāt sadṛśaṃ kāryam | santānāvicchedād akṣayam | grāhyagrāhakarāhitatvāt sūkṣmam | nāpaneyam atah kiñcit prakṣeptavyaṃ na kiñcanety avyayam |* (MS fol. 10r<sub>4-5</sub>).

vajrāmṛta[27v<sub>2</sub>]niṣpattihetutvād **vajrasattvam** | tālvoṣṭhapaṭādi-  
yatnair<sup>123</sup> na hanyate noccāryata ity **anāhatam**, hakāram ity arthaḥ ||

kiṃ padme<sup>124</sup> tat sarvatra sthitam | nety āha – **nābhir** ityādi |

**nābhimadhye sthitam devi karṇikāgūḍhagocare** |

**nābhir** iti padmavaraṭakam, ratāgamakāle [27v<sub>3</sub>] yatra pīḍanam, ta-  
nmadhye | kasya sā nābhir ity āha – **karṇiketyādi** | **karṇikāgūḍha-**  
**gocaram** padmam | tasya ṣaṣṭhīsthāne saptamī ||

tatra **sthitam** iti katham jñāyata ity āha – **sravata**<sup>125</sup> ityādi |

**sravate śukrarūpeṇa bhagaliṅgāntare sthitam** || 15 ||<sup>126</sup>

**bhagaliṅgasam̐yogāntare** ma[27v<sub>4</sub>]dhye samaratakāle viṣamarata-  
kāle vā<sup>127</sup> **sravate**<sup>128</sup> retorūpeṇa sukhaṃ<sup>129</sup> **sravate**<sup>130</sup> | ratikāle sva-  
sam̐vedanapratyakṣeṇaivopalabhyata<sup>131</sup> ity upadiśaty anena ||

vajrapadmasam̐yogena<sup>132</sup> vinā katham tad avagamyata [27v<sub>5</sub>] iti  
sakalaguṇasamudāyabhūtatvāl laukikaguṇasam̐jñayāpi tat katha-  
yann āha – **sa evetyādi** |

<sup>123</sup> The word *puṭa* is not rendered in T: *rkan dan mchu la sogs pa'i rtsol bas* (P fol. 106v<sub>7-8</sub>, D fol. 93r<sub>4</sub>).

<sup>124</sup> The word *padme* is not rendered in T, where the entire *avataraṅikā* is translated as follows: *ci 'di rnam s thams cad du gnas sam žes pa la ma yin par gsuñs pa | lte ba* (P; lte ba'i D) *žes pa la sogs pa'o* || (P fol. 106v<sub>8</sub>, D fol. 93r<sub>5</sub>).

<sup>125</sup> *sravata* em. ] *śravata* MS.

<sup>126</sup> St. 15 is also cited by Rāmapāla in the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (ad st. 22, ed. p. 185).

<sup>127</sup> *samaratakāle viṣamaratakāle vā* conj. ] *samarataviṣamaratakāle vā* MS; \**samaratamadhye* / \**samaratāntare* T (*mñam par chags pa'i dbus su* [D; dbus P, sic for *dus su* ?], P fol. 107r<sub>2</sub>, D fol. 93r<sub>7</sub>).

<sup>128</sup> *sravate* em. ] *śravate* MS.

<sup>129</sup> *sukhaṃ* em. (cf. T: *bde ba*, P fol. 107r<sub>3</sub>, D fol. 93r<sub>7</sub>) ] *mukhaṃ* MS.

<sup>130</sup> *sravate* em. ] *śravate* MS; read *dravate* ?

<sup>131</sup> °*vedana*° MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °*vedanaṃ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>132</sup> °*padmasamā*° MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear (perhaps the copyist was starting to write the *akṣara ya* or *pā*).

[[sa eva prāṇinām prāṇo vijñānaskandha āśraye |  
buddhas tathā vajradharo<sup>133</sup> brahmāviṣṇumaheśvarāḥ || 16 ||]]<sup>134</sup>

sa eveti tattvarājā | yadā pañcaskandhakarmasthānam āśrayate tadā  
prāṇinām sattvānām prāṇo jīva [27v<sub>6</sub>] iti maheśvaravādino manyante  
| vijñānaskandhaśabdena pañcaskandhasamudāyo bhāṇyate<sup>135</sup> | sāmkyadarśanam  
adhikṛtyāha – buddhetyādi | yadā prakṛtipuruṣāntarajñas<sup>136</sup> tadā  
bhedāvabodhād buddhaḥ | yadā [27v<sub>7</sub>] ca sakalāśubhakarmopetaḥ<sup>137</sup>  
svarge dharmeṇa rājyaṃ kārayet tadā vajradharaḥ śakreti prasiddhaḥ |  
brahmeti brahmavādinaḥ śabdaṃ brahmarūpam ācakṣate | paramahaṃsavādino  
vaiṣṇavā viṣṇuḥ paramahaṃsety<sup>138</sup> ācakṣate | [27v<sub>8</sub>] maheśvaravādino  
nityo maheśvareti rāraṭati<sup>139</sup> ||

aparā vyākhyā – brahmāviṣṇumaheśvarā ekamūrtayas trayo  
devā ity<sup>140</sup> ekasvabhāvavādino manyante ||

lokāyatam adhikṛtyāha – pṛthivītyādi |

<sup>133</sup> Instead of a *bha-vipulā*, one possible *pathyā* retranslation could be *tathā vajradharo buddho*.

<sup>134</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 24v<sub>8</sub>, D 24r<sub>2</sub>, sTog 409r<sub>4</sub>]: 'di ni srog chags rnam kyī srog || rnam par śes pa'i phuṅ po rten (P D; brten sTog) || saṅs rgyas de b'zin rdo rje 'dzin || tshaṅs pa khyab 'jug dbaṅ phyug che || The first *pāda* also occurs in the *Hevajratāntra* (st. 2.2.10a in Snellgrove's ed.).

<sup>135</sup> °te MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear.

<sup>136</sup> °āntarajñas MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °ānantarajñas MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>137</sup> °śubhakarmope° MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear.

<sup>138</sup> °no vaiṣṇavā viṣṇuḥ para° MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear.

<sup>139</sup> rāraṭati em. ] rāraṭanti MS.

<sup>140</sup> ity conj. Kenji Takahashi (see aslo T: *lha gsum ni gzugs gcig ces*, P fol. 107r<sub>8</sub>, D fol. 93v<sub>4</sub>) ] *deest* in MS.

[[pṛthvī jalam tathā vahnir vāyur ākāśam eva ca |<sup>141</sup>  
 sthāvaram jaṅgamaṃ viśvas tridhātukam aśeṣataḥ |  
 tad ahaṃ dhyāyate tasya  
 / tan mayā dhyāyate nityam]]<sup>142</sup>

sarvasattvo[27v<sub>9</sub>]pajīvyatvena sa ādhāra upakārāpakāranirvikāra-  
 tvena<sup>143</sup> vā pṛthivī | sarvapaḍārthānām abhiṣyandisāmyenāpo<sup>144</sup>  
 jalam | sarvapaḍārthaparipākahetutvāt tejo vahnīḥ | sarvapaḍārthān  
 pravartaya[28r<sub>1</sub>]tīti vāyuh | prakṛtiprabhāsvaratvād avakāśadānatvāc  
 cākāśam<sup>145</sup> | vṛkṣādidevatāsvabhāvatvāt sthāvaram | calādhiṣṭhātrtvāj  
 jaṅgamaṃ pādacārī | viśvo brahmāgnidevatāviśeṣaḥ | kāmarūpā-  
 rūpyasvabhāvā[28r<sub>2</sub>]t tridhātukam | aśeṣata ity aśeṣaṃ prāpya |

kiṃ bahuvārṇitena | tad evambhūtaṃ laukikalokottaram<sup>146</sup> hetu-  
 phalamayaṃ tattvam, ahaṃ vajrāmṛtaḥ, dhyāyate dhyāyeyam  
 te prakāśanāya, vidhināmukhīka[28r<sub>3</sub>]romīty arthaḥ<sup>147</sup> | tasyeti  
 karmaṇi ṣaṣṭhī ||

na kevalaṃ dhyāyeyam,<sup>148</sup> tasmād ahaṃ utpanna ity āha – tatpra-  
 bhūtetyādi |

<sup>141</sup> A parallel for *pādas* ab can be found in the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* 5.49ab, ed. p. 28. The *Amṛtadhārā* suggests that the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* contains an unmetrical first *pāda*: *pṛthivī jalam tathā vahnir*.

<sup>142</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 24v<sub>8</sub>–25r<sub>1</sub>, D 24r<sub>2-3</sub>, sTog 409r<sub>4-5</sub>]: *sa daṅ chu daṅ de* [P 25r] *bžin me* || *rluṅ daṅ nam mkha' kho na yaṅ* || *g.yo daṅ mi g.yo sna tshogs pa'i* || *kham s gum la ni ma lus par* || *de ni bdag gis rtag tu b sam* || (*pāda* 17e is retranslated two times, the first in accord with the readings suggested by the commentary, the second in accord with T<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>143</sup> *ādhāra upakārāpakāra*° em. ] *ādhāropakārāpakāri*° MS.

<sup>144</sup> °*sāmyenāpo* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °*sāmyenopo* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. T: *raṅ bžin gyis 'od gsal ba ṅid kyis daṅ* | *go skabs 'byed pas* (D, pas na P) *nam mkha'o* || (P fol. 107v<sub>3</sub>, D, fol. 93v<sub>6</sub>). Read *avakāśadānāc* ?

<sup>146</sup> *laukika*° em. ] *laukeika*° MS.

<sup>147</sup> No trace of the pronoun *te* is present in T: *bsam gtan bya ba ni gsal bar bya ba'i phyir cho gas mñon du bya žes pa'i don to* || (P fol. 107v<sub>5-6</sub>, D fol. 94r<sub>1-2</sub>).

<sup>148</sup> *dhyāyeyam* MS (*dhyāyeyam*) ] \**dhyeyam* T (P fol. 107v<sub>6</sub>, D fol. 94r<sub>2</sub>).

[[**tatprabhūtas tvayā saha** || 17 ||]]<sup>149</sup>

tasmāt prasūto vajrāmṛtatvena jāto 'haṃ **tvayā**<sup>150</sup> saṃyogabhāvanayā **saha**, nāḍīkṣī[28r<sub>4</sub>]rabindubhir ity abhiprāyaḥ ||

na kevalam ahaṃ dhyāyeyam, brahmādayo 'pi mahābrahmatvādinīṣpattau vajrāmṛtapadaniṣpattaye vā dhyāyantīty āha<sup>151</sup> – **brahmā viṣṇur** ityādi |

[[**brahmā viṣṇuś ca devendro**<sup>152</sup> **bodhisattvās tathāgatāḥ** |  
**dhyāyanty uttaram evaite**<sup>153</sup> **jñeyajñānātmakam prabhum**  
|| 18 ||]]<sup>154</sup>

**bodhisattvā** iti yauvarā[28r<sub>5</sub>]jyābhiṣiktā maitreyādisadṛśās te 'pi vajrāmṛtapadāvāptaye vajrāmṛtatantravidhinā ghaṭante | **tathāgatā** vai-rocanādayo vajrāmṛtam deśayitum tad āmukhīkurvanti | **jñeyam**<sup>155</sup> iti bhūmipā[28r<sub>6</sub>]ramitādikam | **jñānam** nirvikalpādvayākāram | **tadātmakam prabhum** ity adhipatiṃ bodhisattvā **dhyāyantīti** yojyam ||<sup>156</sup>

<sup>149</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25r<sub>1</sub>, D 24r<sub>3</sub>, sTog 409r<sub>5</sub>]: *de las bskyed de bdag dan khyod* ||

<sup>150</sup> *tvayā* conj. (cf. T: *khyod*, P fol. 107v<sub>7</sub>, D fol. 94r<sub>2</sub>) ] *bhayā* MS (the *akṣara bha* is not completely clear and might be read as *ta*).

<sup>151</sup> No equivalent of *vā* is present in T: *bdag ñid gcig pu bsam gtan bya ba ni ma yin te | tshañs pa la sogs pa yañ tshañs pa chen po la sogs par rdzogs nas rdo rje bdud rtsi'i go 'phañ du rdzogs par bsam gtan bya zes gsuñs pa* | (P fol. 107v<sub>7-8</sub>, D fol. 94r<sub>3</sub>).

<sup>152</sup> Alternatively, trying to keep present the rendering of the word *sogs* in T<sub>m</sub> (see below), the first *pāda* might be retranslated with a *bha-vipulā* as *brahmendraviṣṇuprabhṛtir*.

<sup>153</sup> Other retranslations, such as *dhyāyanti param evaite*, are of course also possible.

<sup>154</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25r<sub>1-2</sub>, D 24r<sub>3-4</sub>, sTog 409r<sub>5-6</sub>]: *tshañs pa lha dbañ khyab 'jug sogs || byañ chub sems dpa' de bžin gšegs || śes bya śes pa'i bdag ñid gtso || de ñid dam pa de bsam mo* ||

<sup>155</sup> *jñeyam* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] after *jñeya* the copyist was starting to write the first part of the letter *t*.

<sup>156</sup> The Tibetan translation suggests a slightly different reading of the Sanskrit text: *śes pa* (D; *zes pa* P) *ni rnam rtog med pa gñis su med pa'i rnam pa'i bdag ñid do* || *gtso bo ni bdag po ste byañ chub sems dpa' bsam gtan bya zes sbyar ro* || (P fol. 108r<sub>2-3</sub>, D fol. 94r<sub>5</sub>) = \***jñānam** nirvi-

na kevalam brahmādayo dhyāyanti, tacchāsanapratipannā<sup>157</sup> api  
tam devaṃ dhyāyantīty āha – [28r<sub>7</sub>] **jāyata** ityādi |

[[**jāyate mriyate caiva līyate tatra sarvaśaḥ** |  
**sa sṛṣṭiṃ prati kartaikaḥ svayambhūm ekadaivatam** || 19 ||]]<sup>158</sup>

sṛṣṭikāle prathamam īśvaro **jāyate** svayam utpadyata ity etadrūpeṇa  
tadbhaktimantaḥ | **mriyata** iti kālavādino mṛtikālarūpeṇa<sup>159</sup> | **līyata**  
iti saṃhārakāle | yo layo nirle[28r<sub>8</sub>]pākāśasamas tasminn īśvaro  
layaṃ yātīty etadākāreṇa māheśvarāḥ | **sa**<sup>160</sup> iti<sup>161</sup> tattvarājā | **sarvaśaḥ**  
sarvayogavān | sakalajagatsṛṣṭiṃ **prati kartā** svatantra iti trayī sṛṣṭi-  
kartṛrūpaṃ bhāvaya[28r<sub>9</sub>]ti<sup>162</sup> | **svayambhūm** iti mahādevaḥ kila  
saṃhārakāle layati<sup>163</sup> tirobhāvena tiṣṭhati, sargakāle<sup>164</sup> svayam eva<sup>165</sup>  
āvīrbhavaṭīti svayambhūh, tadrūpaṃ māheśvarāḥ | **ekadaivatam** iti  
tam eva kecid arghanārīśvararū[28v<sub>1</sub>]pam ||

[[**sarvajñam sarvataḥ sarvaṃ śāntaṃ ca vyāpinam śivam** ||]]<sup>166</sup>

sarvaṃ jānātīti **sarvajñah** | tam trayī bhāvayed iti | **sarvata** iti catuḥ-  
ṣaṣṭipāṣaṇḍināṃ<sup>167</sup> liṅgaṃ prāpya **sarvo** mahādevaḥ | tam ākāraṃ

*kalpādvayākārātmakam* | **prabhum adhipatiṃ bodhisattvā dhyāyantīti**  
*yojyam* ||

<sup>157</sup> *tacchāsana*<sup>o</sup> em. ] *tatsāsana*<sup>o</sup> MS.

<sup>158</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25r<sub>2-3</sub>, D 24r<sub>4</sub>, sTog 409r<sub>6-7</sub>]: *skye ba dan ni śi ba dan* || *thams cad de la 'dus pa* (D sTog; ba P) *yin* || *skyed* (D sTog; bskyed P) *pa byed pa po de gcig* || *rañ bdag gyur pa lhan cig pa* ||

<sup>159</sup> *mṛti*<sup>o</sup> em. (cf. T: 'chi ba'i, P fol. 108r<sub>4</sub>, D fol. 94r<sub>7</sub>) ] *mṛyateiḥ* MS<sup>pc</sup>; *mṛyatei* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> *sa* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *seta* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>161</sup> The words *sa iti* are not represented in T.

<sup>162</sup> *bhāvayati* em. ] *bhāvayanti* MS.

<sup>163</sup> *layati* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *layaditi* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>164</sup> *svargakāle* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *svargakāla* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>165</sup> *svayam eva* conj. based on T (*rañ ñid*, P fol. 108r<sub>7</sub>, D fol. 94v<sub>1</sub>) ] *svamādhayam* MS.

<sup>166</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25r<sub>3</sub>, D 24r<sub>4</sub>, sTog 409r<sub>7</sub>]: *thams cad mkhyen pa kun nas kun* || *ñi nas* (D sTog; gnas P) *ñi ba khyab pa po* ||

<sup>167</sup> *°pāṣaṇḍināṃ* em. ] *°pāṣaṇḍināṃ* MS.

pāṣaṇḍinaḥ<sup>168</sup> | **śivam** iti sakalāvasthāyām<sup>169</sup> umāmaheśvarau kecin  
māheśvarāḥ | [28v<sub>2</sub>] **śāntam**<sup>170</sup> iti niṣkalaṃ trayī | bhagaliṅgarūpeṇa  
vyāptam teneti śaivam **vyāpinam** iti śaivāḥ<sup>171</sup> ||

puruṣavādinam<sup>172</sup> adhikṛtyāha – **pūrayed** ityādi |

[[**pūrayet puruṣaḥ pūram ataḥ puruṣavādinah** || 20 ||]]<sup>173</sup>

**pūram** iti brahmāṇḍaparyantaṃ sraṣṭā pūrayatīti **puruṣaḥ** |  
**puruṣa**[28v<sub>3</sub>]**vādinah** tīrthikāḥ | ta evam āhur – ādipuruṣo 'sti yaḥ  
prajāṃ sṛjati saṃharatīti puruṣaḥ | **atas** te puruṣaṃ dhyāyanti<sup>174</sup> |  
sāṃkhyaparikalpito<sup>175</sup> vā **puruṣaḥ** | puraṃ śārīraṃ śubhāśubha-  
karmanā pūrayatīti **puruṣo** vai[28v<sub>4</sub>]ṣṇavaḥ<sup>176</sup> | indriyapuruṣo vi-  
jñānapuruṣo baudhaikadeśāḥ santīti tṛṭīyā vyākhyā ||<sup>177</sup>

[[**dehe nivasanād dehī vyutpatter jñātum icchataḥ** |  
**ātmanā budhyate devātmātas deva itīṣyate** || 21 ||]]<sup>178</sup>

<sup>168</sup> *pāṣaṇḍinaḥ* em. ] *pāṣaṇḍinaḥ* MS.

<sup>169</sup> *sakalāvasthāyām* em. ] *sakalāvasthām* MS.

<sup>170</sup> *śāntam* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *śāntām* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>171</sup> The passage *śāntam* → *śaivāḥ* || is interpreted as a single sentence in T: *ḥi bar ḥes pa ni cha daṅ bral bar rig byed gsum bha ga daṅ rtags kyi tshul gyis thams cad du khyab ste khyab pa ni des te ḥi ba ṅid kyis so* || (P fol. 108v<sub>1-2</sub>, D fol. 94v<sub>3-4</sub>).

<sup>172</sup> °*vādinam* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °*vādinām* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25r<sub>3</sub>, D 24r<sub>4-5</sub>, sTog 409r<sub>7</sub>]: *ci phyir khaṅ pa de bkaṅ bas* || *de bas skyes bur bśad pa yin* ||

<sup>174</sup> *dhyāyanti* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *dhyāyantīḥ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>175</sup> °*parikalpito* em. ] °*parikalpeito* MS.

<sup>176</sup> *puruṣo vaiṣṇavaḥ* em. ] *puruṣaṃ vaiṣṇavaṃ* MS.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. T: *dbaṅ po ni skyes bu daṅ rnam par ḥes pa skyes bur 'dod pa ni saṅs rgyas pa'i phyogs gcig la brten te bśad pa gsum* (P; gsuṅs D) *pa'o* || (P fol. 108v<sub>4-5</sub>, D fol. 94v<sub>6</sub>); read *vijñānapuruṣaś ceti* ?

<sup>178</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25r<sub>3-4</sub>, D 24r<sub>5</sub>, sTog 409r<sub>7-v1</sub>]: *lus la gnas phyir lus can te* || [sTog 409v] *śed* (P D; ḥes sTog) *byed phyir na ḥes par 'dod* || *bdag la bdag gis rig pa'i lha* || *de phyir lha ḥes 'dod pa yin* ||; the retranslation of *pādas* b → d is highly tentative. The underlying idea should be that the *ātman* is known as *deva*, since it lives in the body (cf. *Yogaratnamālā*: [...] *saiva*

**dehe** nivasan **dehī** sakalāvasthaḥ, taṃ śaivaikadeśāḥ | dehe nivasatī-  
ndriyādikaraṇair<sup>179</sup> nīlādikaṃ **budhyate** [28v<sub>5</sub>] prativedyata ity **ātmā**  
bodhako dīpavad<sup>180</sup> arthaṃ prakāśayatī<sup>181</sup> śaivādvaitavādināḥ<sup>182</sup> ||

haritantram adhikṛtyāha – **svayam** ityādi |

[[**svayaṃ vibudhyate devo**<sup>183</sup>  
**viśanād viṣṇur ity āhur vācā vajradharo bhavet** ]]<sup>184</sup>

varṣāsu jalaśayane supto viṣṇuḥ | kārttikapūrṇamāsyām **svayaṃ**  
pra[28v<sub>6</sub>]tibudhyate **vibudhyate** yasmād **devo** 'tas taṃ vaiṣṇavā  
bhāvayanti | anekamāyayā sarvatra viśatī<sup>185</sup> **viṣṇuḥ**, ato māyārūpaṃ  
haritantrayogināḥ | **vāg** bṛhaspatir devaguruḥ<sup>186</sup> | tadrūpeṇa gaṇakāḥ |  
**vajradharaḥ**<sup>187</sup> [28v<sub>7</sub>] śakro **bhavet**, ato devāḥ śakrarūpeṇa bhāva-  
yantīti sarvatrāvaseyam ||

tad uktaṃ bhavati – vajrapadmasamāyogam antareṇa laukika-  
guṇasaṃjñayāpi sarvaguṇamayam tad avagantavyam<sup>188</sup> iti ||

*devatā* | *dehe vasatīti kṛtvā*, p. 125).

<sup>179</sup> *nivasatīndriyādi°* conj. ] *nivasann indriyādi°* MS<sup>ac</sup> (the *post correctionem* reading is not fully clear; it might be *nivasandriyādi°* or *nivasanandriyādi°*, considering that only the upper part of the *akṣara nni* is cancelled with a stroke).

<sup>180</sup> *dīpavad* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *dīpakavad* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>181</sup> *prakāśayatīti* em. (cf. T: *gsal bar byed ces pa ste* |, P fol. 108v<sub>6</sub>, D fol. 94v<sub>7</sub>) ] *prakāśayatei* MS.

<sup>182</sup> *śaivādvaitavādināḥ* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *śaivādvaiyitavādināḥ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>183</sup> This *pāda* is not present in T<sub>m</sub>.

<sup>184</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25r<sub>4</sub>, D 24r<sub>5</sub>, sTog 409v<sub>1</sub>]: *'jug las khyab 'jug ces gsuñs te || ṅag gis rdo rje 'dzin du 'gyur* || Cf. also *Hevajratantra* 1.5.13b: *viśanād viṣṇur ucyate*.

<sup>185</sup> *viśatīti* em. ] *viśatīti* MS.

<sup>186</sup> *devaguruḥ* MS ] *\*jñānaṃ* T (*śes pa*, P fol. 108v<sub>8</sub>, D fol. 95r<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>187</sup> *vajradharaḥ* em. ] *vajradhara* MS.

<sup>188</sup> These words have been rendered in metrical form in T: *rdo rje padma sbyor gyur pas || 'jig rten pa yi yon tan yañ || yon tan kun gyi rañ bžin rnams || de ru rtogs par bya ba yin* || (P fol. 109r<sub>1-2</sub>, D fol. 95r<sub>3</sub>).



yad eva laukikalo[28<sub>v8</sub>]kottaraguṇātmakeṣu tad aprakāśyam ity āha – **idam**<sup>189</sup> |

[[**idam guhyam anirdeśyam gopanīyam prayatnataḥ** || 22 ||]]<sup>190</sup>  
anantaram<sup>191</sup> upadiṣṭam keṣāṃ gopyam ity āha – **śaṭheṣv** ityādi |

[[**śaṭheṣu kāpaṭiṣu ca dhūrteṣu nāstikeṣu ca** |  
**samayadvīṣv akathyam vai**]]<sup>192</sup>

satkriyām abhyavagamyā<sup>193</sup> na sevayanta iti **śaṭhāḥ** | anadhimukti-  
kopacārāt kuśalakapaṭe [28<sub>v9</sub>] **kāpaṭinaḥ** | vañcakā **dhūrtāḥ**<sup>194</sup> |  
**nāstikā**<sup>195</sup> iti mithyādrṣṭikāḥ | mantratantradūṣakāḥ **samayadvīṣaḥ** |  
eṣāṃ **akathyam** ity ājñā ||

keṣāṃ prakāśayed ity āha – **gurubhaktetyādi** |<sup>196</sup>

<sup>189</sup> Note that the Tibetan translation here presupposes a different text, \**aparakāśyam ityādi* (*gsal mi bya zes pa la sogs pa'o*, P 109<sub>r2-3</sub>, D fol. 95<sub>r4</sub>), and could support the reading of the parallel quoted in the following note.

<sup>190</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25<sub>r4-5</sub>, D 24<sub>r5-6</sub>, sTog 409<sub>v1-2</sub>]: *ston du med pa gsañ ba 'di || nan tan du ni gsañ bar bya ||* Among the many parallels of this line, see *Laghusaṃvaratantra* (*Herukābhīdhāna*) 26.8cd: *aparakāśyam idam guhyam gopanīyam prayatnataḥ* | (the same line occurs in *Abhidhānottara* 3, *Mānabajra* *Bajrācārya* E 29260 = NGMPP E 1517/7, fol. 10<sub>r</sub>). Other re-translations are of course possible; in particular, the last *pāda* could be as follows: *rakṣitavyam* / *rakṣaṇīyam* / *gopitavyam prayatnataḥ* etc.

<sup>191</sup> *anantaram* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *antantaram* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>192</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25<sub>r5</sub>, D 24<sub>r6</sub>, sTog 409<sub>v2</sub>]: *skyon can min dañ g.yo* (D; *g.yon* P sTog) *can min || dam tshig la ni mi ldañ ba || chad par lta ba med pa la ||*

<sup>193</sup> *abhyavagamyā* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *avabhyavagamyā* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>194</sup> The letters *rt* are not very clear in the manuscript.

<sup>195</sup> *nāstikā* em. ] *nāstike* MS.

<sup>196</sup> The words *eṣāṃ* → *gurubhaktetyādi* | are rendered as a single sentence in T: *'di rnams la gsal bar mi bya bar śes na gañ rnams la gsal bar bya zes pa la gsuñs pa | bla ma dag la gus zes pa la sogs pa ste* | (P fol. 109<sub>r4-5</sub>, D fol. 95<sub>r5-6</sub>).

[[gurubhakte vinītake || 23 ||  
 īrṣyārāgavinirmukte praviṣṭe guhyamaṇḍalam |  
 vajraśāsanaśiṣye ca vistīrṇaśroṇi deśayet |  
 tathatām khyāpayet parām || 24 ||]]<sup>197</sup>

sarvātmanā paryeṣṭikuśalo guru[29r<sub>1</sub>]bhaktaḥ | śīlasamayasampa-  
 nno vinītaḥ | guhyamaṇḍalapraviṣṭo 'bhiṣiktaś ca | vajraśāsana<sup>198</sup>  
 iha tanre siddhisādhane<sup>199</sup> pravṛttaḥ<sup>200</sup> | ṣaṣṭhīvyatyayāt saptamī |  
 eṣām khyāpayet kathayed iti niyamaḥ | vistīrṇā śroṇi[29r<sub>2</sub>]ḥ kaṭir  
 yasyāḥ sā tatheti sambodhane<sup>201</sup> ||

abhiṣekakramam āha – vidyāyuktam ityādi |

[[vidyāyuktābhiṣekaṃ taṃ tasyācāryō dadātu vai ||]]<sup>202</sup>

vidyā<sup>203</sup> prāg uktā | caṇḍālādīmudrāsamyogena yo 'bhiṣekah sa vi-  
 dyāyuktābhiṣekah | tam iti<sup>204</sup> tasya śiṣyasya tam abhiṣe[29r<sub>3</sub>]kaṃ  
 dadyāt | paścād idam tattvam iti devatāyogaṃ mantrasahitaṃ pra-  
 kāśayet | tam abhiṣekaṃ spaṣṭayann āha – ācāryetyādi | ācāryō yo  
 'bhiṣiktaś tasya vajraṃ śiṣyō mudrā ca cumbayet | ācāryō [29r<sub>4</sub>] 'pi

<sup>197</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25r<sub>5-6</sub>, D 24r<sub>6-7</sub>, sTog 409v<sub>2-3</sub>]: *bla ma la chags 'dul ba can || phrag dog chags pa spon byed pa || dkyil 'khor la ni žugs pa dan || rdo rje bstan pa'i slob ma dag || de la rgyas pa'i bstan pa 'di || de bžin ñid mchog bśad par bya ||*

<sup>198</sup> vajraśāsana em. ] vajraśāsanam MS<sup>ac</sup> (this is the reading presupposed by T<sub>m</sub>, see previous note, and also by \*Guṇabhadra's commentary: *rdo rje bstan pa'i slob ma dag | ces pa ni | rdo rje theg pa bstan pa'i slob ma ni yin pa |*, D fol. 47v<sub>2</sub>); vajraśāadhanam MS<sup>pc</sup>; \*vajraśāadhanam T (*rdo rje'i sgrub thabs*, P fol. 109r<sub>6</sub>, D fol. 95r<sub>6</sub>).

<sup>199</sup> °sādhane em. ] °sādhana° MS.

<sup>200</sup> Alternatively one could correct the text to *vajraśāsanam iha tanre siddhisāadhanam, tatra/tasmin pravṛttaḥ*.

<sup>201</sup> sambo° em. ] rusambo° MS<sup>pc</sup>; the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear.

<sup>202</sup> T<sub>m</sub> [P 25r<sub>6</sub>, D 24r<sub>7</sub>, sTog 409v<sub>3</sub>]: *slob dpon rig ma dan ldan nas || de la dbaṅ bskur sbyin par bya ||*

<sup>203</sup> Before *vidyā* the copyist was starting to write the first part of the *akṣara dra*.

<sup>204</sup> *tam iti* em. ] *tad iti* MS; \**vidyetyi* T (*rig ma žes pa ni*, P fol. 109r<sub>8</sub>, D fol. 95v<sub>1</sub>).

mudrāyāḥ padmaṃ cumbayed<sup>205</sup> amṛtāsvādanaṃ kuryāt | evam abhi-  
 śikto bhaved atra | tad uktaṃ bhavati – yathāvad guhyamaṇḍalaṃ vi-  
 likhya praviśyācāryaḥ samājābhiṣekapūjāstutyantaṃ vidhiṃ sampā-  
 [29r<sub>5</sub>]dya yathoktavidhinā śiṣyaṃ praveśya praṇāmapūjābhiṣekādi-  
 karma<sup>206</sup> nṛtyapūrvakaṃ sarvaṃ sampādayed iti ||

#### Passage no. 4

(Commentary on stt. 11.4–24)

tato bhagavān pṛcchānurūpaṃ kathayatīty āha – **tatas tv ityādi** |

**tatas tu bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |**  
**hasamāna idaṃ vākyaṃ netram udghāṭya cābravīt || 4 ||**

**idaṃ** i[33r<sub>4</sub>]ti hṛdayasthitam | **netram udghāṭyeti** samādhitō  
 vyutthāya ||

tad vākyaṃ āha – **pūrvam te kathitam ityādi** |

**pūrvam te kathitaṃ tattvam amṛtaṃ śukrarūpiṇam |**  
**svādayet sadā nityaṃ<sup>207</sup> pañcāmṛtasamanvitam || 5 ||**

**pūrvam** iti prathamānirdeśe<sup>208</sup> | **te tava mayā kathitam** | kim kathitam  
 ity āha – **amṛtam** ityādi | **amṛtaṃ** dvī[33r<sub>5</sub>]ndriyasamāpattijaṃ<sup>209</sup>  
 śukraṇīmūtraraktamāmsasamanvitam āsvādayet pratidinaṃ bha-  
 kṣayet | tena sidhyatīti bhāvaḥ | pañcāmṛtasamayo 'yaṃ cittavajra-  
 svabhāvena sūcitaḥ ||

<sup>205</sup> *cumbayed* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *cumbayet* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>206</sup> *praṇāma*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> ] after the *akṣara pra* in MS there is a cancelled syl-  
 lable that I was unable to decipher.

<sup>207</sup> This *pāda* is unmetrical. Read *svādayet tu* ?

<sup>208</sup> Cf. *Vajrāmṛtatantra* 1.6cd: **amṛtaṃ śukram ity uktaṃ tatprasūtaṃ jagatrayam** || (for the critical apparatus, see Sferra 2017: 429). Śrībhānu annotates this line with the following words: **amṛtaśabdena śukram | śukram** iti retobinduḥ, retobindur ivotpattikāraṇatvād vakṣyamāṇakaṃ hṛdayākṣaram | kvacit prakaraṇavaśād yathārutaṃ bodhicittam eva bhānyate | **tad** iti tasmād evaṃvidhād amṛtākṣarāt | **prasūtam** iti jātam | **jagatrayam** trikoṇarekhānvitam maṇḍalam ity arthaḥ || (*Amṛtadhārā*-MS, fol. 3v<sub>6-8</sub>).

<sup>209</sup> *dvīndriya*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *dvīyendriya*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>ac</sup>.

eṣāṃ dravyāṇāṃ prati pra[33r<sub>6</sub>]ti phalam āha – **ekaikasyetyādi** |  
**ekaikasya tu mähātmyaṃ dravyāṇāṃ śṛṇu māmakī** |  
**prathamam prāsayec chukraṃ jñānajñeyaprasādhakam** || 6 ||  
**kāyavākcittasiddhyartham mahāraktam prasādhayet** |

**prathamam** amṛtaṃ bhakṣayed ity anena samayāsvādanakrama  
upadarśitaḥ<sup>210</sup> | **jñānam** iti sarvajñajñānam | **jñeyam** iti bhūmi-  
pāramitādikaṃ jñātavyam | vāgvajrasvabhāve[33r<sub>7</sub>]na samayam  
āha – **mahāraktam** ityādi | **mahāraktam** mānuṣaraktam | tat **kāya-**  
**vākcittasiddhyartham sādhyen** niṣpādayet svādayet ||

raktaviśeṣam āha – **kanyetyādi** |

**kanyāyās tu sadā gṛhyaṃ yasyās tasyāḥ**<sup>211</sup> **priyāpi vā** || 7 ||  
**sarvakāryakaro hy eṣa mahāraktam tu māmakī** |

**kanyā** trayodaśavarṣā | tasyā **raktam** | **yasyā**[33r<sub>8</sub>]s **tasyā veti**<sup>212</sup>  
brāhmaṇakṣatriyādivarapramadā | tasyā **raktam** svādayet | **sarva-**  
**kāryāṇi sādhyati** ||

kāyavajrasvabhāvena<sup>213</sup> samayadravyam āha – **haṭhamṛtyu-**  
**vanetyādi** |

**haṭhamṛtyuvanam prāpya mahāmāṃsam samāharet**<sup>214</sup> || 8 ||  
**śūlam udbaddhakam vāpi raṇe vā yas tu ghātitaḥ** |  
**bhakṣayed dṛḍhagambhīraḥ**

**haṭhena** balena **mṛtyuprāptānāṃ vanam** [33r<sub>9</sub>] śmaśānam | tat  
**prāpya mahāmāṃsam samāhared** gṛhṇīyāt<sup>215</sup> | śūlabhinnodbaddha-  
raṇaghātitaṃ prasiddham<sup>216</sup> sarvam ādāya prati prati triṣkālam

<sup>210</sup> The syllable *u*<sup>o</sup> is *post correctionem*; the *ante correctionem* reading is undecipherable.

<sup>211</sup> *yasyās tasyāḥ* reading supported by the *Amṛtadhārā* ] *yasya tasya* MS.

<sup>212</sup> Read *yasyās tasyāḥ priyāpi veti* ? No rendering of the words *priyāpi* is present in T: *gañ yañ ruñ ba'i žes pa ni* (P fol. 116v<sub>4</sub>, D fol. 101v<sub>7</sub>).

<sup>213</sup> °*svabhāvena* em. ] °*svabhāvatvena* MS T (*rañ bžin ñid kyis* [P, kyi D], P fol. 116v<sub>5</sub>, D fol. 102r<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>214</sup> *samāharet* em. ] *tu āharet* MS.

<sup>215</sup> *gṛhṇīyāt* em. ] *gṛhṇīyāt* MS.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. T: *gsal śiñ gis zug* (D, phug P) *pa dan* | *steñ du bcins nas dpyans*

**bhakṣayet** | **ḍṛḍhagambhīro** yogī | nirbhayatvād ḍṛḍhaḥ | nirvikalpatvā[33v<sub>1</sub>]d gambhīraḥ<sup>217</sup> ||

eṣāṃ samayadravyāṇāṃ kramāt phalam āha – **āyurārogyavardhanam** ityādi |

**āyurārogyavardhanam** || 9 ||

**kāmadaṃ saukhyadaṃ caiva buddhabodhiprasādhakam** |  
**vajrasattvam ivāyuṣyaṃ sarvakāmaphalapradam** || 10 ||

haṭhamṛtyubandhanam māṃsam āyurārogyavardhanam | sūlabhinnaṃ<sup>218</sup> **kāmapradaṃ sukhadaṃ ca** | udbaddhaṃ **buddhabodhiprasādhakam** | raṇaghā[33v<sub>2</sub>]titaṃ vajrāmṛtāyurbalasiddhipradaṃ<sup>219</sup> ca ||

aparam api vāgvajrasambandhi samayadravyaṃ kathayitum āha – **vajrodakam** ityādi |

**vajrodakam puriṣam tu ātmavidyā tu bhakṣayet** |  
**sūkṣmacūrṇam tataḥ**<sup>220</sup> **kṛtvā mahāraktena bhāvayet** || 11 ||  
**pratyūṣe**<sup>221</sup> **tu sadā kāryaṃ pradoṣe madhyāhne tathaiva ca** |  
**triṣkālam bhakṣayed yogī pibed vajrodakam tataḥ** || 12 ||

kasya<sup>222</sup> tad ity āha – **ātmavidyetyādi**<sup>223</sup> | **ātmavidyetyi** svadharmapatnī sādhanē sthitopasthā[33v<sub>3</sub>]yikā vā | asya samudāyārthaḥ – svavidyāyā vajrodakam vairocanaṃ ca, samabhāgaṃ sūkṣmacūrṇīkṛtya **mahāraktena** paribhāvya caṇakapramāṇāṃ gulikāṃ **kṛtvā triṣkālam**

(D, spyāṅs P) *pa daṅ* | *rma bsnun* (D, snun P) *pa rnamṣ ni grags pa'o* || (P fol. 116v<sub>6</sub>, D fol. 102r<sub>2</sub>). Perhaps *mahāmāṃsaṃ* or *māṃsaṃ* is to be understood.

<sup>217</sup> °*tvād gambhīraḥ* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °*tvād gīmbhīraḥ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>218</sup> °*bhinnaṃ* em. ] °*bhinna*° MS.

<sup>219</sup> °*pradaṃ* MS (°*pradaṅ*) ] \*°*phalapradaṃ* T ('*bras bu rab tu ster ba*, P fol. 117r<sub>1</sub>, D fol. 102r<sub>4</sub>).

<sup>220</sup> *tataḥ* em. ] *tu tataḥ* MSCUL (cf. Sferra 2017: 442).

<sup>221</sup> *pratyūṣe* em. (this orthography is more common and also occurs in *Vajrāmṛtatantra* 4.24b: MSCUL, cf. Sferra 2017: 431) ] *pratyūṣe* MSCUL (cf. Sferra 2017: 442).

<sup>222</sup> *kasya* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. T: *de gaṅ gi rig ma źes pa la sogs pa'o* || (P fol. 117r<sub>2</sub>, D fol. 102r<sub>5</sub>).

**bhakṣayet** | **tato vajrodakaculukam** [33v<sub>4</sub>] **pibed** anupānam iti pratipakṣacāturdaśikam<sup>224</sup> **triṣkālam** jñātavyam, na sarvadety upadeśaḥ ||  
asya samayasya phalam āha – **dine dina** ityādi |

**dine dine tu māmakyā sādhayed yas tu sādhaḥ** |  
**nirvyādhī tu bhavet kāyam jarārogavināśanam** || 13 ||  
**saubhāgyam suvapustejo rājadvāre jayāvaham** |  
**sarvakāmandadā hy eṣā {pra}varatattvaṃ tu prāpyate** || 14 ||  
**sa yogī sa ca sarvajño vajrasattvaḥ** |  
**rāgadveṣavinirmukto lobha-īrṣyāvivarjitaḥ**<sup>225</sup> |  
**sidhyate sādhanam**<sup>226</sup> **tasya vajrāmṛtamahāsukham** || 15 ||

**dine dina** iti<sup>227</sup> karmakālābhiprāyikaṃ vacanam, na tu sarvadā jñeyam<sup>228</sup> | **ya**[33v<sub>5</sub>]**s tu sādhayed** iti niṣpādyā bhakṣayet tasyeme guṇā nirdiṣṭāḥ – **ya** evam anuṣṭhātā **sa yogī** yogavān | **sa ca sarvajña** ity ātmahitāhitajño **rāgādidōśarahitaś ca** | sādhanē yaḥ praviṣṭas **tasya** [33v<sub>6</sub>] **vajrāmṛtaḥ sidhyati** sākṣādbhavati<sup>229</sup> ||

asya vajrāmṛtatantrasya pramāṇam nirdeṣṭum āha – **idaṃ vajrāmṛtatantram**<sup>230</sup> ityādi |

**idaṃ vajrāmṛtaṃ tantraṃ bahvarthaṃ gūḍhavikramam** |

<sup>224</sup> *pratipakṣa*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *pratipakṣam iti* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>225</sup> °*vivarjitaḥ* em. ] *ca varjitaṃ* MSCUL (cf. Sferra 2017: 442).

<sup>226</sup> Should we read *sidhyati sādhanē*, although it is metrically poor?

<sup>227</sup> *dine dina ityādi* | *dine dina iti* conj. ] *dine dina iti* MS<sup>pc</sup> T (see next note); *dine dine iti* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. T: *dam tshig 'di'i 'bras bu gsuñs pa | ñi ma re re źes pa ni las kyi dus su dgoñs pa'i tshig yin gyi thams* [D 102v] *cad du ni ma yin par śes par bya'o* || (P fol. 117r<sub>5</sub>, D fols. 102r<sub>7</sub>–102v<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>229</sup> T punctuates this in a different way: *de yañ thams cad mkhyen źes pa ni bdag ñid la phan pa dañ mi phan pa śes pa'o* || *'dod chags la sogs pa'i skyon dañ bral ba dañ | sgrub thabs la gañ źig źugs pa des rdo rje bdud rtsi 'grub par 'gyur źiñ mñon sum du 'gyur ro* || (P fol. 117r<sub>6-7</sub>, D fol. 102v<sub>1-2</sub>).

<sup>230</sup> I interpret this *pratīka* (unmetrical in itself) as an explication of the way the *mūla* text (metrical, but not grammatically smooth) should be understood.

**bahvartham**<sup>231</sup> iti bahavo buddhadharmāḥ phalarūpeṇātroktā iti kṛtvā **bahvartham**, sūtra[33v<sub>7</sub>]sthānīyatvād<sup>232</sup> vā<sup>233</sup> **bahvartham** | **gūḍhavikramam** iti svalpaganthaparimāṇam<sup>234</sup> ||

vajrāmṛtatantrapūrvakaṃ mantrayānam ity ākhyātum āha – **nikhilam** ityādi |

**nikhilam vajrayānasya ato devī vinirgatam** || 16 ||

**nikhilam** iti mūlottaratilakādikaṃ niravaśeṣam | **vajrayānam** ma[33v<sub>8</sub>]ntrayānam | tad **ato nirgatam** | prathamābhisambuddhena bhagavatā deśitam idam | tataḥ prabhṛti sarvā<sup>235</sup> mantradeśanāḥ pravṛttāḥ | tadartham **ato nirgatam** ity uktam | ye tv atra bāhyaguhyarahasyavidhayaḥ proktās te cānya[33v<sub>9</sub>]tra<sup>236</sup> ekadeśenopāttāḥ, tasmād **ato nirgatam**<sup>237</sup> vajrayānam ity uktaṃ bhavati | dvitīyā vyākhyā | yasmād ādau svalpaganthābhyāsenā vistaraganthāvabodhā utpadyante tasmād **ato nirgatam** ity apare [34r<sub>1</sub>] ||

na yatheṣṭam idaṃ prakāśitavyam ity āha – **kathitam** ityādi |

**kathitaṃ te tu**<sup>238</sup> **sadbhāvam atirāgeṇa rāgitam** |

**na mayā kasyacid ākhyātaṃ sthūlapadmā**<sup>239</sup> **tu māmakī** || 17 ||

<sup>231</sup> *bahvartham* MS (the letter *m* is hardly readable) ] \**bahv iti* T (<du> ma žes pa ni, P fol. 117r<sub>8</sub>, D fol. 102v<sub>3</sub>).

<sup>232</sup> *sūtrasthānīyatvād* em. ] *sūtrasthānīyatvād* MS; \**sukhasthānena* T (*bde ba'i gnas kyis* [D, kyī P], P fol. 117r<sub>8</sub>, D fol. 102v<sub>3</sub>).

<sup>233</sup> *vā* conj. (cf. T: [...] *don mañ ba'am* [...] *don mañ ba'o* ||, P fol. 117r<sub>8</sub>, D fol. 102v<sub>3</sub>) ] *deest* in MS.

<sup>234</sup> *°parimāṇam* MS ] \**°pariṇāmam* T (*gyur pas*, P fol. 117v<sub>1</sub>, D fol. 102v<sub>3</sub>, cf. Negi 1993–2005: vol. 2, p. 521).

<sup>235</sup> *sarvā* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *sarvāḥ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>236</sup> *te cānyatra* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *te cānyetra* MS<sup>ac</sup>; \**te cānyatantra* (T: *de yañ rgyud gžan du*, P fol. 117v<sub>3</sub>, D fol. 102v<sub>5-6</sub>); read *ta anyatanreṣv* ?

<sup>237</sup> *nirgataṃ* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *nirgataḥ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>238</sup> *te tu* conj. supported by T<sub>m</sub> (*khyod la*, D fol. 27r<sub>1</sub>) ] *tatvan tu* MS<sup>CUL</sup> (cf. Sferra 2017: 443).

<sup>239</sup> *sthūlapadmā* em. ] *sthūlapadmaṃ* MS<sup>CUL</sup>. The same epithet occurs in *Vajrāmṛtatantra* 2.1, 2.6, 7.11 and 10.18 (*mūlapadmā* in 10.18 of MS<sup>CUL</sup> [cf. Sferra 2017: 441] has to be corrected into *sthūlapadmā*); the ex-

tattvaṃ<sup>240</sup> **sadbhāvaṃ** yogaviśvāsam | kīdrśaṃ tad ity āha –  
**atirāge**tyādi<sup>241</sup> | saṃyogabhāvanāyām **atyantābhiniveśa** āsaktī<sup>242</sup>  
**rāgaḥ** | tena **rāgitaṃ**<sup>243</sup> yogānu[34r<sub>2</sub>]kūlikṛtaṃ | ata evāha – **na mayā**  
**kasyacid** anyasyākhyātam iti ||

na kevalam adhikṛtair anyaiś ca pṛthagjanasaugatair ajñātam,  
bhūmipraviṣṭair apy avijñātam ity āha – **idaṃ ca rahasyam** ityādi |

**idaṃ rahasyaṃ paramaṃ rāmyaṃ sarvātmani sthitam** |  
**bodhisattvair avijñātam arūpyaṃ**<sup>244</sup> **sūnyam akṣaram** || 18 ||

**idaṃ** i[34r<sub>3</sub>]ty anantaram eva viśvastam<sup>245</sup> | **rahasyam** ity advai-  
tam<sup>246</sup> | **paramaṃ** sarvotkṛṣṭam | **rāmyam** iti yogabhāvanāra-  
mañādhiṣṭhānam | **sarvātmanī**ti varāṅganābhagākāśe sukhasva-  
bhāvena yat **sthitam**,<sup>247</sup> bodhicittadravatvād **virū**[34r<sub>4</sub>]**pam**,<sup>248</sup>  
kalākalavinirmuktatvāc<sup>249</sup> **chūnyam**, **akṣaraṃ** śukrābhedād anāha-  
tam, tad **bodhisattvair**<sup>250</sup> bhūmipraviṣṭair mantrādhikṛtair apy

planation of this *bahuvrīhi* is given in the *Amṛtadhārā ad 2.1*: **sthūlaṃ**  
**gajaskandhākāraṃ padmaṃ bhagaṃ yasyāḥ sā tathā** | *anena subhaga-*  
*tvam asyāḥ pradarsītam*, MS fol. 9r<sub>1-2</sub>.

<sup>240</sup> *tattvaṃ* conj. ] *tava* MS<sup>pc</sup>; *tava* MS<sup>ac</sup> (the *akṣara va* was simply writ-  
ten in a less clear way; in both MS<sup>pc</sup> and MS<sup>ac</sup>, *tava* is followed by a small  
blank space); \**tattvena* T (*de kho na ñid kyis*, P fol. 117v<sub>5</sub>, D fol. 102v<sub>7</sub>).

<sup>241</sup> Cf. T: *de kho na ñid kyis bden pa'i rnal 'byor de yid ches* (P, śes D) *pas*  
*ji lta bu zes pa la | de gsuñs pa | śin tu chags pas zes* [D 103r] *pa la sogs pa*  
*ste* | (P fol. 117v<sub>5-6</sub>, D fols. 102v<sub>7-103r1</sub>).

<sup>242</sup> *āsaktī* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *āsakti* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>243</sup> *rāgitaṃ* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *rāgetaṃ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>244</sup> Read *virūpaṃ* (see the commentary below) ?

<sup>245</sup> *viśvastam* MS (*viśvastaṃ*) ] \**viśvāni/viśve* T (*sna tshogs pa rnam*s, P  
fol. 117v<sub>8</sub>, D fol. 103r<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>246</sup> *advaitam* em. ] *advayitaṃ* MS.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. T: *thams cad bdag ñid ni lus thams cad do* || *nam mkha'i dkyil du*  
*bde ba'i rañ bžin gyis gañ žig gnas pa'o* || (P fol. 118r<sub>1-2</sub>, D fol. 103r<sub>3-4</sub>).

<sup>248</sup> *virūpaṃ* em. supported by T (*gzugs med pa*, P fol. 118r<sub>2</sub>, D fol. 103r<sub>4</sub>) ]  
*irūpaṃ* MS.

<sup>249</sup> *vinirmukta*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *vinirmuktaṃ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>250</sup> *bodhisattvair* MS<sup>pc</sup> (*bhodhisatvair*) T (*byañ chub sems dpa'*, P fol.



**avijñātam**<sup>251</sup> | tathābhūtaviśvāsavikalatvād bhūmipraviṣṭānām api dharmakṣamā[34r<sub>5</sub>]m ājñāya deśanīyam iti bhāvaḥ ||

tasyaiva tantrasya paryāyasaṃjñām<sup>252</sup> āha – **etat tantraṃ** ityādi |

**etat tantraṃ mahāvidye vajracūḍāmaṇiḥ smṛtam** |

vajrās tathāgatāḥ | teṣāṃ cūḍāmaṇiḥ<sup>253</sup> | ratnabhūtatvād **vajracūḍāmaṇiḥ** iti **smṛtam** | dvitīyā saṃjñeyaṃ dvyartha[34r<sub>6</sub>]pratipādikā – sarvadevatābhiṣekamukūṭo maṇi<sup>254</sup> ratnabhūto bhāvyaḥ | tilakabhūtam idaṃ tantraṃ vijñeyam, nottaraṃ na mūlatantram iti ca | maṇiśabdas tilake vartate mukūṭe ca ||

māmakyās ta[34r<sub>7</sub>]ntradhāraṇapaṭhanānujñām<sup>255</sup> dadātīty āha – **suguptaṃ dhārayed devītyādi** |

**suguptaṃ**<sup>256</sup> **dhārayed devī pitāputrair na viśvaset** || 19 ||

yato vajracūḍāmaṇisaṃjñitaṃ tasmāt **suguptaṃ**<sup>257</sup> dhāraya granthato ṛthataś ca manasikuru | suguptatvam evāha – **pitetyādi** | sama[34r<sub>8</sub>]yāpraviṣṭayoḥ pitāputrayor<sup>258</sup> buddhabodhisattvayor api **na viśvaset** | āstāṃ tāvad upadeśaḥ | pustakam api na darśayen nāpi coccaiḥ paṭhed ity abhiprāyaḥ ||

118r<sub>2-3</sub>, D fol. 103r<sub>4</sub>) ] *bodhicittasatvair* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>251</sup> *avijñātam* MS<sup>pc</sup> (*avijñātaṃ*) ] the *ante correctionem* reading is undecipherable.

<sup>252</sup> °*saṃjñām* em. ] °*saṃjñam* MS; this word is not rendered in T (*rgyud 'di ñid kyī nram graṅs gsuñs pa rgyud 'di žes pa la sogs pa'o* ||, P fol. 118r<sub>4</sub>, D fol. 103r<sub>5-6</sub>).

<sup>253</sup> °*maṇiḥ* MS<sup>pc</sup> (these *akṣaras* are hardly readable) T (*gtsug gtor* [P, tor D] *gyi nor bu*, P fol. 118r<sub>4-5</sub>, D fol. 103r<sub>6</sub>) ] the *ante correctionem* reading is undecipherable.

<sup>254</sup> *maṇi* em. ] *maṇi* MS.

<sup>255</sup> *tantra*° em. (cf. T: *rgyud*, P fol. 118r<sub>6</sub>, D fol. 103r<sub>7</sub>) ] *tentra*° MS.

<sup>256</sup> *suguptaṃ* reading supported by the *Amṛtadhārā* ] *guptaṃ tu* MS<sup>cul</sup> (cf. Sferra 2017: 443).

<sup>257</sup> *suguptaṃ* MS<sup>pc</sup> (*suguptan*) ] *suguptaṃn* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>258</sup> °*putrayor* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °*putrayoḥ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

kasya punar viśvased ity āha – **atyantagu**[34r<sub>9</sub>]**pta**<sup>259</sup> ityādi |

**atyantagupte vīre ca gurubhakte dṛḍhavrata |**  
**deyaṃ tasya idaṃ tattvaṃ yad icched bodhim uttamam || 20 ||**

**gupto** mantragopakaḥ | acapalo 'nuddhato **vīraḥ** | akhaṇḍasama-  
yānuṣṭhito **dṛḍhavrataḥ** | ācāryaparyeṣṭikuśalo<sup>260</sup> **gurubhaktaḥ**<sup>261</sup> ||  
devyāḥ sādhanānujñāṃ dadātīty āha – **ida**[34v<sub>1</sub>]**m** ityādi |

**idaṃ vajrāmṛtaṃ tantraṃ sukhasādhyam sudurlabham |**  
**sādhayet subhage saumyaṃ sāraṃ**<sup>262</sup> **jñānasamuccayam || 21 ||**

**sukhasādhyam** iti duṣkaravratācaryābhāvāt **sukhasādhyam**, pañca-  
kāmapabhogena sādhyam ity arthaḥ | **saumyam** ity avighnam | rūpādi-  
viśayasamśkāraśasārīkṛtabuddhaguṇapraroḥatvāt<sup>263</sup> **sāraṃ** | [34v<sub>2</sub>]  
yogācārajñānaṃ samuccīyate 'sminn iti **jñānasamuccayam** ||

tantramāhātmyam āha – **vajrāmṛtamahātantre yo 'bhiṣiktas tu**  
**sādhaketyādi** |

**vajrāmṛtamahātantre yo 'bhiṣiktas tu sādhaḥ |**  
**buddhāś ca bodhisattvāś ca taṃ vai sarvo 'bhivandati || 22 ||**  
**namaskṛtvā tu triskālam ācāryaṃ subhagottamam |**  
**tvam eva sarvasattvānāṃ saṃsāroddharaṇaṃ prabhuḥ || 23 ||**

**yo vajrāmṛtatantrābhiṣekavidhinābhiṣiktaḥ** sarvācārya[34v<sub>3</sub>]tāṃ  
gataḥ sa tathāgatāir daśadigvyavasthitair<sup>264</sup> āgatya vandyate na-

<sup>259</sup> *atyanta*° MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *atyanta i*° MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>260</sup> *ācārya*° MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *ācāryayā*° MS<sup>ac</sup> ◇ before the *akṣara ṣṭi* the copyist was starting to write the first part of the *akṣara śa*.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. T: *g.yo sgyu med pa'i sri źu'i dga' bas bla ma la gus pa'o* || (P fol. 118v<sub>2-3</sub>, D fol. 103v<sub>4</sub>).

<sup>262</sup> *sāraṃ* em. ] *sāra*° MS<sup>scul</sup> (cf. Sferra 2017: 443).

<sup>263</sup> *rūpādi*° em. ] *rūpādidarśana*° MS<sup>pc</sup>, the *ante correctionem* reading is undecipherable; cf. T: *gzugs la sogs pa'i yul rnam sbyaṅs śiṅ bkug nas sñiṅ por byas te | saṅs rgyas kyi yon tan rab tu skyed pa ṅid kyi* (P fol. 118v<sub>4-5</sub>, D fol. 103v<sub>5</sub>).

<sup>264</sup> *daśa*° MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *dagaśa*° MS<sup>ac</sup> ◇ °*vyavasthitair* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] °*vyavasthitaiḥ* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

maskriyate<sup>265</sup> | namaskṛtya<sup>266</sup> caivaṃ vadanti<sup>267</sup> – **tvam eva sarva-**  
**sattvānāṃ saṃsāroddharaṇaṃ prabhur iti ||**

vajrāmṛtatantraṃ tadupadeśaṃ ca māmakyā[34v<sub>4</sub>]h<sup>268</sup> samarpa-  
yatīty āha – **vajrāmṛtam** ityādi |

**idam avocad**<sup>269</sup> **bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |**  
**vajrāmṛtamahātantraṃ nikṣepaṃ kathitaṃ priye |**  
**sūkṣmarūpaṃ tato vajri bhagākāśe vyavasthitaṃ || 24 ||**

**nikṣepam** iti mahānidhānam iva sthāpitam | na kevalaṃ tantraṃ sa-  
marpitam api tu<sup>270</sup> hṛdayam api samarpitam ity āha – **sūkṣmam** ityādi |  
nāḍīśuśirānurūpatvā[34v<sub>5</sub>]t **sūkṣmam**<sup>271</sup> | **vajrīti** vajrāmṛtahrdayam |  
**bhagākāśe** yad **vyavasthitaṃ** tad hṛdayasaṃsthitam iti bhāvaḥ |  
ādau yathodghāṭitaṃ<sup>272</sup> tathaivopasaṃharaṭīti darśayaty anena |  
sarvanirdeśopasaṃhāram<sup>273</sup> āha – [34v<sub>6</sub>] **idam avocad** ityādi | **idam**  
ity ekādaśanirdeśaparyantam<sup>274</sup> | amṛtayogaiśvaryād **bhagavān** ||

<sup>265</sup> Cf. *Gurupañcāśikā* 2: *abhiṣekāgralabdho hi vajrācāryas tathāgataiḥ |*  
*daśadiglokadhātusthais trikālam etya vandyate ||*

<sup>266</sup> *namaskṛtya* em. ] *namaskṛtye* MS.

<sup>267</sup> The *akṣara nti* is hardly readable.

<sup>268</sup> *māmakyāḥ* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *māmakyā* MS<sup>ac</sup>.

<sup>269</sup> *avocad* em. ] *avod* MSCUL (cf. Sferra 2017: 443).

<sup>270</sup> *samarpitam api tu* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is undecipherable.

<sup>271</sup> See also above *ad* 7.14.

<sup>272</sup> *yathod*<sup>o</sup> em. ] *yathothod*<sup>o</sup> MS (note that *yathotho*<sup>o</sup> is a *post correctionem* reading; the *ante correctionem* reading is undecipherable) ◇ *°ghāṭitaṃ* em. ] *°ghāṭitaṃ* MS.

<sup>273</sup> *°saṃhāram* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is undecipherable.

<sup>274</sup> *°ty ekādaśanirdeśa*<sup>o</sup> MS<sup>pc</sup> ] the *ante correctionem* reading is undecipherable.

## General abbreviations

- CTRC China Tibetology Research Center.  
 Ōta. Ōtani catalogue of the Tibetan canon.  
 STTAR Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region.  
 TAR Tibetan Autonomous Region.  
 Tōh. See Tōhoku Tōh in the list of Secondary Sources below.

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*rDo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud kyi bśad pa (\*Vajrāmṛtatantraṭīkā) by Yon tan bzañ po (\*Guṇabhadra)*

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# On a manuscript of Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*\*

Toshikazu Watanabe

## Introduction

An incomplete manuscript of Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* (hereafter PVinṭ) is currently held in the Potala's Tanjur collection. The PVinṭ is the only extant Sanskrit commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (hereafter PVin) that is known today. The manuscript covers only a part of the second chapter and most of the third chapter of the PVin; the folios covering the first chapter and the first half of the second chapter have been lost. Nonetheless, the manuscript is very important, not only for interpreting Dharmakīrti's text more precisely, but also for understanding the historical development of Indian theories on epistemology and logic, especially within Buddhism.

Thanks to the general agreement on cooperation between the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC) and the Austrian Academy of Sciences, first signed in 2004, a number of research fellows at the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia (IKGA) have been editing various parts of the PVinṭ on the basis of a photocopy of this manuscript in the CTRC's library. Sections of the second chapter have been critically edited and translated into German

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in Sakai 2010 (on PVin 2 76,11–80,9 [*kṣaṇikatvānumāna* section]) and Ishida 2011 (PVin 2 89,11–91,12 [*niyama* section]). As for the third chapter, Pascale Hugon is currently preparing a critical edition of its opening section (fols. 1–5). Hugon has also been preparing a diplomatic edition of the entire third chapter. I have been collaborating with her in this project, and am also producing critical editions of two sections on my own: the *prasāṅga* section (fols. 5b6–11b2 on PVin 3 4,4–6,12) and the *hetvābhāsa* section (fols. 111b4–126b; on PVin 3 91,1–107,9). This paper presents results of my research on the history of the manuscript as revealed by palaeographic analysis.

## 1. The handwriting of the main body of the text

According to the information given by Prof. Ernst Steinkellner in his introduction to the critical edition of the PVin chapters 1 and 2, which is based on the descriptive catalogue prepared by Prof. Luo Zhao, the manuscript of the third chapter of the PVinṬ (hereafter **Dh3**) was kept in a bundle together with the manuscript of the second chapter (hereafter **Dh2**). Both **Dh2** and **Dh3** are incomplete. For **Dh2**, the following description is given:

**Dh2** contains 71 folios, numbered 65–74, 76–103, and 105–137, measuring 28.6 × 5.8 cm, with 7 lines of 65–72 *akṣara* ... Written by one scribe in Proto-Bengali script, flat-topped, clear, upright, with regular lines. ... A few marginal corrections and additions of *akṣara* by another hand, with line numbers and *kākapāda* marks or dots. (Steinkellner 2007: xxx)

Although a detailed description of **Dh3** is not directly relevant for Steinkellner's edition of the pertinent chapters of Dharmakīrti's PVin, he nonetheless provides the following information:

**Dh3** contains 120 folios, numbered 1–90, 101–126 and 157–160, measuring 28.6 × 5.7 cm, with 7 lines (ff. 1–87) of 62–68 *akṣara* and 8 lines (ff. 88–160) of 70–78 *akṣara*; ... one square blank space for the binding hole, to the left of centre, from the third to fifth line (up to f. 87), and one vertical oblong blank

space, from the third to sixth line (from f. 88). Written by one scribe, or possibly two scribes with very similar hands, in Proto-Bengali script, flat-topped (both hands), clear, upright, with regular lines (first hand), and tighter and less regular lines (second hand). ... A few (first hand) and numerous (second hand) marginal additions by the scribes and other hands, often with line numbers and occasionally visible *kākapāda*. (Steinkellner 2007: xxxii)

### 1.1 Change of scribe in Dh3 – f. 88a

Although the main body of both **Dh2** and **Dh3** is written in the same script, Proto-Bengali (or Vihārī),<sup>1</sup> Steinkellner suggests that **Dh2** was completed by one scribe, whereas **Dh3** was written by two. This seems to be based on his observation of a change between f. 87b and f. 88a. These two folios are different both in the number of lines (7 lines up to f. 87b and 8 lines from f. 88a) and the writing style. In Hugon's introduction to the critical edition of the PVin 3, she reports the following in this regard:

[T]he text on folio 88a does not continue that of folio 87b, but, instead, repeats it. The text on folio 87b contains a number of errors, of which ten are corrected by means of marginal additions. On folio 88a, these mistakes are not repeated, but other scribal errors are found. One can also note modifications between the two versions of this passage with regard to punctuation (for instance: 87b1 *syāt na* : 88a1 *syāt\** | *na*), and to sandhi (for instance 87b7 *kuto 'samarthatvāt* : 88a1 *kuto asamarthatvāt*). These elements might confirm that the copy of folio 88ff. was done by a second hand. It is unlikely that the second scribe's repetition of the text of 87b is the result of a mistake. Rather, one might suppose that the second scribe considered the text on folio 87b worth recopying in view of the numerous mistakes made by his predecessor. The varia-

<sup>1</sup> This name has been newly proposed by Steinkellner for the script in Steinkellner 2016: xv, n. 10.

tions regarding punctuation and sandhi would then be due to the scribe's preference. (Hugon 2011: xx)

The following table presents a comparison of a part of the transliterated texts of 87b and 88a with the relevant passages in the critical edition of PVinT.<sup>2</sup>

	87b	88a	Critical edition of PVinT (on PVin 3 62,11–63,7)
A	(1.1) syāt tatra caitat pramāṇam syāt <sup>0</sup> na tāvatad abhāvād bhavati   yasmān nābhāvaḥ kasyacit kāraṇam sāksāt paraṃparayā vā kuto 'samarthatvāt*	(1.1) syāt tatra caitat pramāṇam syāt*   na tāvad abhāvād bhavati   yasmān nābhāvaḥ kasyacit kāraṇam sāksāt paraṃparayā vā kuto asamarthatvāt*	... syāt tatra caitat pramāṇam syāt. na tāvad abhāvād bhavati. yasmān <b>nābhāvaḥ kasyacit</b> kāraṇam sāksāt paraṃparayā vā. kutaḥ. <b>asamarthatvāt</b> . PVinT <sub>T</sub> (D91a5–6, P108a4–6)
B	(1.1–2) sama(rth)as tarhi bhaviṣyati   bhāva e<va> tarhi syāt*   sāmārthyarūpatvā[2]dra <sup>2</sup> <t <sup>0</sup> > bhāvasya cākāro nte vakṣyamāṇo bhinnakramaḥ	(1.1–2) samarthas tarhi bhaviṣyati   bhāva eva tarhi syāt <sup>0</sup>   sāmārthyarūpatvād abhā[2]vasya cākāro nte vakṣyamāṇo bhinnakramaḥ	samarthas tarhi bhaviṣyati. bhāva eva tarhi syāt, <b>sāmārthyarūpatvād bhāvasya. cākāro</b> 'nte vakṣyamāṇo bhinnakramaḥ. PVinT <sub>T</sub> (D91a6–7, P108a6)
C	(1.2) kiñ cānyat tasyā<bhā>vasyānapāyāt <t>atkāryan nitya <sub>m</sub> bhavet <sup>0</sup>   na <(ca)> sahakāryanurodhān nityo pi kadācit karoti   anapekṣatvāt <sup>0</sup>	(1.2) kiñ cānyat tasyābhāvasyānapāyāt* tatkāryan nityam bhavet <sup>0</sup>   na ca sahakāryānnarodhān nityo pi kadācit karoti   anapekṣatvāt*	kiñ cānyat <b>tasyābhāvasyānapāyāt tatkāryam nityam</b> bhavet. na ca sahakāryanurodhān nityo 'pi kadācit karoti, <b>anapekṣatvāt</b> . PVinT <sub>T</sub> (D91a7–91b1, P108a6–7)

<sup>2</sup> My thanks are due to Dr. Hugon for allowing me to make use of the diplomatic edition, which is still under preparation. Note that due to various editorial reasons, some of the signs used in my table of the diplomatic edition are different than those of Hugon. The meanings of the signs I use are as follows: ' – *avagraha*; \* – *virāma*; <sup>0</sup> – absence of expected *virāma*; ṃ – *anusvāra*; ṁ – right-placed *anusvāra*; | – *daṇḍa*; | – slashed *daṇḍa*; •• – illegible *akṣara*; ⊙ – string-hole; () – contain character(s) whose reading is unclear; *italics*<sup>2</sup> – indicate character(s) whose reading is uncertain; √ – downward-pointing *kākapada*; <> – contain character(s) added in the margin; ( ) – contain character(s) deleted by parentheses; { } – contain character(s) deleted by one or two small strokes above the character, or by being crossed out; <<> – contain character(s) added to the marginal notes. Words printed in bold face in the critical edition are material taken from the PVin.



D	(1.2–3) ka(th)am anape- {v <sup>o</sup> }<kṣo>  3  (pi yā ya- di še(s)akātarupatvāt*) <apekṣāyā viśeṣ <sup>o</sup> alābha- rū <sup>o</sup> parivā <sup>o</sup> t <sup>o</sup> >	(1.2–3) katham anape- kṣo pekṣāyā [3]viśeṣa- lābharūpatvāt*	<i>katham anapekṣaḥ. ape- kṣāyā viśeṣalābharūpatvāt.</i> PVinT <sub>T</sub> (D91b1, P108a7–8)
E	(1.3–4) tasyāpi viśeṣo bhavi⊙(s)yati   bhava- tu abhāvas tu na syāt <sup>o</sup> kuta <sup>o</sup> z ta <sup>o</sup> llakṣaṇatvād iti   pūrvvarūpatyāgo rū- pāntarasambandhaś ca bhāvasvabhāvo yadi tāv abhā[4]ve staḥ bhāva evā- sau nābhāvaḥ   tasmān n(ā)bhāvād aya <sub>m</sub> pra- tya⊙y <sup>o</sup> yo sya viśayaḥ   ayañ ca tatra pramāṇa <sub>m</sub> syāt*	(1.3) tasyāpi viśeṣo bha- viṣyati  ⊙  bhavatu abhāvas tu na syāt* kutas tallakṣaṇatvā{t*}d iti   pūrvvatyāgo rūpāntara- sambandhaś ca bhāva- svabhāvo yadi tāv abhā- ve staḥ   bhāvva [4]evā- sau nābhāvaḥ   tasmān nābhāvād aya <sub>m</sub>   praty- ayaḥ yo sya vi:⊙:śayaḥ   ayañ ca tatra pramāṇaṃ syāt*	<i>tasyāpi viśeṣo bhaviṣya- ti. bhavatu. abhāvas tu na syāt. kutaḥ. tallakṣaṇa- tvād iti. pūrvvarūpatyāgo rūpāntarasambandhaś ca bhāvasvabhāvaḥ. yadi tāv abhāve staḥ, bhāva evāsau nābhāvaḥ. tasmān nābhā- vād ayaṃ pratyayaḥ, yo sya viśayaḥ, ayaṃ ca ta- ttra pramāṇaṃ syāt.</i> PvinT <sub>T</sub> (D91b1–3, P108a8–108b2)
F	(1.4) abhāva ity apīty api samuccaye 'yañ ca do- ṣaḥ abhāvaśabden{o} a na bhāvo [5]abhāva iti bhāvapratiśedha ucyate   tathā ca saty abhāvā⊙d bhavati bhāvapratiśe- dhād bhavati bhāvān na bhavatīti sāmāthyād vākyārthaḥ syāt <sup>o</sup>   na- ñ <sup>o</sup> samāso hi yenārthena sā[6]mānādhikaraṇye- na vaiyadhikaraṇyena vā saṃbadhyate tato rthāt tathairottaraṇā <sup>o</sup> dā <sup>o</sup> rthan nivarttayati	(1.4–6) abhāva ity apīty api samuccaye 'yañ ca doṣaḥ   abhāvaśabdena na bhāvo 'bhāva iti bhā- vapraṭiśe[5]dha ucyate   tathā ca saty abhāvād bhavati bhāvaprati(śe)- dhād bhavati ⊙ bhā- vān na bhavatīti sāmā- rthyād vākyārthaḥ syāt*   nañ <sup>o</sup> samāso hi yenārthe- na sāmānādhikaraṇyena vaiyadhikaraṇyena vā sa <sub>m</sub> badhyate [6]tato rthāt tathairottaraṇāpadārthan nivarttayati	<i>abhāva ity apīty api sa- muccaye. ayaṃ ca doṣaḥ – abhāvaśabdena na bhā- vo 'bhāva iti bhāvaprati- śedha ucyate. tathā ca saty abhāvād bhavati bhāva- pratiśedhād bhavati bhā- vān na bhavatīti sāmā- rthyād vākyārthaḥ syāt. nañsamāso hi yenārthena sāmānādhikaraṇyena vai- yadhikaraṇyena vā sāmba- dhyate, tato 'rthāt tathai- vottaraṇāpadārthaṃ nivarta- yati.</i> PVinT <sub>T</sub> (D91b3–5, P108b2–4)
G	(1.6–7) yathā abhāvo 'brā- hmaṇo bhāvo na bhavatī gatir abhāvena kṛta <sub>m</sub> {bhām iti pratīti} <bhāve- na «na» kṛtam iti [7]{s} <•••> tathā 'bhāvād bha- vati bhāvān na bhavatīty uktau hetur asya praty- asya niśiddhaḥ syāt*   tato <(')>hevukatvam ukta <sub>m</sub>	(1.6–7) yathā abhāvo '⊙brāhmaṇo bhāvo na bhavatīti gatir abhāve- na kṛtaṃ bhāvena kṛtam iti pratīti tathā 'bhāvād bhavati bhāvān na bha- vatīty uktau hetur a[7] sya pratyasya niśiddhaḥ syāt <sup>o</sup>   tato 'hetukatvam ukta <sub>m</sub> *	<i>yathā 'bhāvo 'brāhmaṇo bhāvo na bhavatīti gatir abhāvena kṛtaṃ bhāvena na kṛtam iti pratīti, tathā 'bhāvād bhavati bhāvān na bhavatīty uktau hetur asya pratyasya niśiddhaḥ syāt. tato 'hetukatvam uktam.</i> PVinT <sub>T</sub> (D91b5–6, P108b4–6)

H	(1,7) atha nañ <sup>0</sup> samāsa uttarapadārthābhāvopalakṣite dravye varrtate tato <(')>bhā	(1,7–8) atha nañ <sup>0</sup> samāsa uttarapadārthābhāvop{ā}alakṣite dravye varrtate tato bhāva eva kaścid abhāvaḥ   evaṃ tarhi nāmāntareṇa bhāva evoktaḥ syāt*   ta:[8]to bhāvapratyaya evāyam iti katham abhāvaviṣayaḥ   anena śabdārtho pi nābhiprāyānugata iti darśita <sub>m</sub> bhavati   tasmān nāsyābhāvapratyayasya viṣayābhāvād anutpatter asti sambhavaḥ kiñ ca pratyakṣagr	<i>atha nañsamāsa uttarapadārthābhāvopalakṣite dravye varrtate. tato bhāva eva kaścid abhāvaḥ. evaṃ tarhi nāmāntareṇa bhāva evoktaḥ syāt. tato bhāvapratyaya evāyam iti katham abhāvaviṣayaḥ. anena śabdārtho 'pi nābhiprāyānugata iti darśitaṃ bhavati. tasmān nāsyābhāvapratyayasya viṣayābhāvād anutpatter asti sambhavaḥ.</i> PViñT <sub>T</sub> (D91b6–92a1, P108b6–8)
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As Hugon has pointed out, judging from the fact that from f. 88a, a different style of sandhi and punctuation is adopted, it is most likely that f. 88a was copied by another scribe, even though no clear paleographical differences can be seen. The questions to be discussed here are the following: (1) whether f. 88a was based on a different exemplar from that of f. 87b, and (2) whether the scribe of f. 88a saw the corrections added as marginal notes on f. 87b and incorporated them into his copy of f. 88a.

As for the first question, because f. 87b and f. 88a share a mistake – “*pratyasya*” (87b7 and 88a7, in row G) instead of the correct form “*pratyayasya*” – they seem to be based on the same exemplar.

With regard to the second question, it seems that he did not see the corrections in the marginal notes. For this, first, certain differences between the script of the main body of the text and that of the marginal notes should be noted. F. 87b has ten or eleven marginal notes. Among them, one of the longest, “*apekṣāyā viṣeṣalābharū<sup>2</sup>patvā<sup>2</sup>t<sup>0</sup>*” (in row D), contains an Old Bengali-like “*pa*,” whereas the main body of text of f. 87b and f. 88a (as well as the entire main body of text of Dh3 and Dh2) contains only the Proto-Bengali “*pa*.” In the Proto-Bengali script, the form of “*pa*” is very similar to that of “*ya*,” that is, the left line begins directly at the upper horizontal

line, bends inward, then curves around to the right, meeting the right vertical line in its lower half (e.g. 𑒧 87b6). But in the Old Bengali script, which was used later than Proto-Bengali, the head of “*pa*” is round, nearly a circle, and meets the right vertical line in its upper half (e.g. 𑒧 73a\_above 1.1) (see Figure 1 in the Appendix of this paper). This form of “*pa*” can be found at various places in the marginal notes of **Dh3**, including, as mentioned, the note on f. 87b. As Dimitrov (2002: 49) describes it, “[t]his modification must have been introduced sometime during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries and may be regarded as an innovation of the early Old Bengali script”. However, this difference in the script between the main body of f. 88a and the marginal note “*apekṣāyā viśeṣ’alābharū’patvā’t*” does not necessarily mean that the marginal note was written later than the main body of f. 88a and that the scribe of f. 88a did not see it. There is certainly also the possibility that when the scribe of f. 88a made his copy, marginal notes already existed on f. 87 and he did incorporate their corrections into his copy, however, not using the Old Bengali script, but the older script, Proto-Bengali, as found in his exemplar.

Nonetheless, the instance in row B, i.e., “*sāmarthyarūpatvādra’t*”<sup>0</sup> *bhāvasya*” of f. 87b and “*sāmarthyarūpatvād abhāvasya*” of f. 88a, suggests that the scribe of f. 88a actually did not see the marginal notes on f. 87b. In this case, the marginal note on f. 87b “*t*”<sup>0</sup> seems to intend the replacement of “*dra*” or “*da*” in the main body of f. 87b with “*t*” to give the correct reading “*-tvāt bhāvasya*” instead of “*-tvād abhāvasya*.” However, the scribe of f. 88a wrote “*-tvād abhāvasya*” without regard to this marginal note. Other different (and correct) readings of f. 88a, such as “*eva*” in row B and “*-ābhāvasyā-*” in row C, are just additions of single *akṣaras* and might thus be explained as simply more careful copying of the exemplar. These cases, combined with the fact that the marginal notes on f. 87b contain the Old Bengali style of “*pa*,” make it possible to postulate that the copy of f. 88a was made before the marginal notes were written on f. 87b.

This raises another question: (3) what was the source of the additions (or corrections) made by the scribe of f. 88a? As will be discussed below in section 2, there are a few signs that indicate (an)

other manuscript(s). But it is not clear whether the different readings given by the scribe of f. 88a are based on another manuscript, on more careful copying, or on his knowledge. But if his mistake “pratyasya” (in row G), shared with the scribe of f. 87b as discussed above, represents his faithfulness to his exemplar, then we can conclude that most of his additions (or corrections) were based on the exemplar and hence, as Hugon has pointed out, the errors found in the body text of the f. 87b are simply due to the scribe of f. 87b.

## 1.2 First change of scribe in Dh3 – f. 64a

In addition to the change in scribe at f. 88a, a paleographical investigation of **Dh3** has also revealed that at least four different hands can be discerned in the main body of **Dh3**.

The main indicators for discerning the different hands are the initials “*e*” and “*ha*.” The initial “*e*” of the two scribes of f. 87b and f. 88a discussed above shares the same features: a rounded top and a hook-like bottom part slanting upward (e.g. ㄹ 87b1, ㄹ 88a1). However, from f. 1b until f. 63b, a different type of initial “*e*” is used. Its left part looks something like an F-clef (9) and touches the vertical line at its upper part (e.g. ㄹ 1b2 and ㄹ 63b1; the only exception I could find is ㄹ in 30a5) (see Figure 2.1). In contrast, from f. 64a to f. 125b, initial “*e*” is written in the same way as in 87b and 88a (e.g. ㄹ 64a1 and ㄹ 125b7). The same distribution is found in the case of the letter “*ha*.” While the letter “*ha*” used from f. 1b up to f. 63b has a rather large s-curved part and a dilated form (e.g. ㅎ 1b1 and ㅎ 63b2), the letter used from f. 64a up to 125b is somewhat simplified (e.g. ㅎ 64a1, ㅎ 87b2, ㅎ 88a2, and ㅎ 125b8) (see Figure 3.1). Moreover, a stylized final “*t*” – an F-clef-like symbol (e.g. 9 1b2 and 9 63a4) – is used quite frequently (more than two hundred times) until fol.63a, line 4, but from f. 64b it is rarely found in the main body of the text. There are only three exceptions: in 70b3, 90a8, and 121a3. These variations seem to indicate that the first change of scribe took place at f. 64a.

Another interesting difference between the two parts – folios 1b–63b and folios 64a onward – can be observed. In the marginal notes

of **Dh3**, it is possible to recognize several different hands. Among them are notes written in very small letters (probably Proto-Bengali in form) that are found at the very edge of the folios (hereafter **N-1**) (see Figure 4). This type of note is very common in **Dh3**, but only until f. 63b. This also suggests that f. 63b was a kind of breakpoint in the process of this manuscript's creation.

### 1.2.1 The relationship between Dh2 and Dh3

The initial “*e*” found in **Dh2** is very similar to the form of the letter in folios 1b–63b of **Dh3** (see Ishida 2011: xxix). Also, as far as I have checked, the letter “*ha*” in **Dh2** has very similar features to that used in these first **Dh3** folios. A stylized final “*t*” is also found very often in **Dh2**. This seems to indicate that if **Dh2** was indeed written by a single scribe, as Steinkellner maintains, then the same scribe also copied folios 1b–63b of **Dh3**. This assumption is, moreover, confirmed by the fact that **Dh2** also has a number of marginal notes with the same (or quite similar) style as **N-1**, i.e., they are written in very small letters and placed at the very edge of the folios (e.g. 77b, 80b, 81a, 82a, 88b, ..., and 134b). A natural assumption might be that the reason for this placement and size was to leave blank space for other marginal notes to be added later. Also since **N-1** show no characteristics of the Old or Modern Bengali scripts, it can be assumed they were added at an early stage in the process of **Dh2** and **Dh3**'s folios 1b–63b being copied.

### 1.3 Third change of scribe in Dh3 – f. 126a

After the second change of scribe at f. 88a, one more change of scribe can be detected. In this case, too, the initial “*e*” plays a role as an indicator of this change. From f. 126a the form of the initial “*e*” returns to that used in folios 1b–63b (e.g. 𑄢 126a1, 𑄢 157b1) (see Figure 2.2). However, the form of “*ha*” used in folios from 126 onward does not show any obvious difference from that used in folios 64a–125b (e.g. 𑄣 126a4, 𑄣 160a2) (see Figure 3.2). Moreover, the handwriting of the scribe of folios 126a–160a is often more angulated. This is particularly clear when we examine letters containing a part

that is round, e.g. “*na*” or *visarga* (see Figure 5). From this feature, it can be presumed that the scribe from 126a onwards was also not the same as the first scribe of **Dh3** (i.e., fols. 1b–63b).

As shown above, it can be postulated that **Dh3** was written by (at least) four different scribes.

First scribe	1b–63b (the same scribe probably also copied <b>Dh2</b> )
Second scribe	64a–87b
Third scribe	88a–125b (although 91a–100b are missing)
Fourth scribe	126a–160a (although 127a–156b are missing)

The interesting thing to be noted here is that these changes of scribe are unrelated to the contents of the text. F. 88a and f. 126a start with “*syāt*” and “*varttate,*” which belong to the sentence continuing from the previous folio, and f. 64a begins with “*tyakto,*” which constitutes one word with the “*pari*” at the end of the previous folio. This fact gives the impression that the change of scribes was systematically organized by a (some) supervisor(s).

## 2. The number of exemplars used for **Dh3**

In the sections copied by the second and third scribe, there are some unusual parts. Since they seem related to the number of exemplars from which **Dh3** was copied, I shall look at them next.

These unusual parts can be classified into two groups. The first type is found in folios 65b, 104b and 111b, where there are marginal notes that are two lines long. These long notes are not glosses on the main text of the PViñT, but are passages that should belong to the main text. These omission mistakes were probably caused by eye-skip over one or two lines of the exemplar. In the case of f. 111b, for example, the main body of the text reads as follows (Figure 6):

... dvidho hetuḥ | kāraś ca bījā[111b8]di(r) jñāpako hetus ...

Here, between “*di*” and “*(r)jñā,*” a *kākapada* (◌) is found; it indicates the position to insert the two-line marginal note written below the 8<sup>th</sup> line of f. 111b. It runs as follows:

• • • • • • • • • • pakaś ca liṅgaṃ .....<sup>3</sup>

The edition of this passage, taking into account the Tibetan translation, reads as follows:

*dvidho hetuḥ – kārakaś ca bījādir jñāpakaś ca liṅgam.*<sup>4</sup> ... ..  
*jñāpako hetuḥ* ...

Due to the later repetition of the word “*jñāpaka*,” it seems quite plausible that the scribe suffered an eye-skip and left out a large part of the text.

However, the second group, that is, f. 73a and 85a, cannot be explained as eye-skip. From the last part of the 4<sup>th</sup> line to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> line of f. 73a and a small part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> line of f. 85a, the letters in the main body of the text become very narrow (Figure 7). This suggests the following situation: Due to an illegible passage in the exemplar, the scribe left a blank space in his copy. Later, he or another person filled the space with text, but since the space was not large enough, the scribe was compelled to write very narrow letters. If these passages were indeed added later, what material were they copied from? There are two possibilities: they were copied from another manuscript, or someone was later able to decipher the passage in the original exemplar.

If there was a second manuscript (or even more), it may have been the basis for some of the other additions and corrections in the margins of **Dh3**. This would help explain the existence of corrections to the marginal notes. On f. 87b, for example, the marginal note “*bhāvena kṛtam iti*” is corrected with the negative particle “*na*” inserted to produce “*bhāvena na kṛtam iti*” (see Figure 8, and row G in the table comparing f. 87b and f. 88a above). Since it seems, as discussed above in section 1.1, that the same exemplar was used by the scribes of both f. 87b and f. 88a, with the scribe of f. 88a correcting some of the scribal errors on f. 87b, it is likely that the exemplar for both f. 87b and f. 88a did not contain the “*na*,” but read “*bhāvena*

<sup>3</sup> For the signs used in the transliteration, see above, footnote 2.

<sup>4</sup> PVinT<sub>T</sub> (D122b1, P143b3): *rgyu ni nram pa gnyis te | sa bon la sogs pa byed pa po dang shes par byed pa po rtags so ||*

*kr̥tam iti*,” as copied in f. 88a. It might therefore be assumed that the addition of “*na*” in this marginal note was based on a different manuscript. Another example of an addition to a marginal note is found on f. 126b (see Figure 8). Here, the marginal note “*na*” with the numeral 8 was first written at the lower edge of the folio, intending to correct the word “-*bādham*” in the eighth line. However, it was later deleted and a new note reading “*ka*” was added below the same word. This passage is a commentary on PVin 3 107,9; in PVin 3 the text reads, without variants, “*sujñānabādhanam*.” The fact that the corrector replaces “*na*” with “*ka*,” despite the fact that “-*bādhana*” and “-*bhādaka*” can express same meaning, might also suggest the existence of another manuscript.

But it is also possible to explain the narrow-lettered additions on f. 73a and f. 85a without assuming the existence of different manuscript(s): When first looking at the exemplar, the scribe could not decipher the letters, but later he – or another person – succeeded in reading the passage. Indeed, it is more natural to imagine that the person who was able to decipher the passage was not the scribe himself. If this assumption is correct, corrections of marginal notes such as on f. 87b and f. 126b must have been based on the corrector’s knowledge or preference.

Nonetheless, although there is no decisive evidence for either of these two possibilities so far, I am inclined to think that another manuscript (or manuscripts) was used to complete **Dh3**.

### 3. Remarks on the marginal notes

A variety of hands and styles can be recognized in the marginal notes of **Dh3**. While I have not yet classified them systematically, in the following I will present a few interesting features that I have discovered.



### 3.1 Modern Bengali (?) “ha” in marginal notes

A few cases of the letter “ha” found in the margins of **Dh3** (e.g. 46b\_below 1.7) seem very similar to the letter “ha” (𑒧) as found in the first inscription from Barakar dated 1461 CE (Chakravarti 1936: 21) and which is, according to Dimitrov (2002: 54), almost identical to the modern Bengali letter “ha” (see Figure 3.3). This fact suggests that corrections to **Dh3** or its use as study material was continued until at least until the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

### 3.2 Glosses in the margins of Dh3

Some of the marginal notes in **Dh3** do not correct the main body of the text, but are glosses or simply notes for the reader. On f. 7b the script of such a gloss seems to be a bit later than Proto-Bengali because the letters “pa” used here are more similar to Old Bengali script (see Figure 9). This gloss runs as follows:

*vyāpakaviruddhopalabdhiḥ prasaṅgaprayoge | viparyaye viruddhopalambhaḥ |*

In the *prasaṅga*-formulation, [the logical reason put forth is] the cognition of [something] incompatible with the pervader. In the *viparyaya*[-formulation, however, it is] the cognition of an incompatible thing.

Curiously enough, Dharmottara’s own view on *prasaṅga* and its *viparyaya*, which is also explained on f. 7b, is quite different from what is described in this gloss. If we describe the *vyāpti* relation of property “A” by the property “B” with regard to the subject “S” as “S: A → B,” Dharmottara’s view can be expressed as follows:

Prasaṅga	<i>sāmānya : anekavṛttitva → anekatva</i>
Prasaṅgaviparyaya	<i>sāmānya : anekatvaviraha → nānekavṛttitva</i>

Since he maintains that the logical reason in the *prasaṅga* argument is not proper because, due to the non-existence of the subject (e.g. *sāmānya*) of the argument, it does not fulfil the first characteristic (*pakṣadharmatva*) of the proper logical reason and thus should

be regarded as an *asiddhahetu*, Dharmottara does not mention the types of logical reason in the *prasaṅga* argument. For the logical reason in the *prasaṅgaviparyaya* argument, he gives the following account in f. 7b5:

*tasmād vyāpakānupalabdhir iyam akṣarārūḍhā prasaṅgaviparyayaheś ca.*

Therefore, [only] this non-cognition of *vyāpaka* (*vyāpakānupalabdhī*) is apparent from [Dharmakīrti's] words [in PVin 3 4,4–8], and it is the logical reason of *prasaṅgaviparyaya*.

This being the case, whose view does the gloss on f. 7b represent? It is interesting that a similar view is found in f. 10a4–5, where Dharmottara criticizes someone's (*kaścit*) proposal. This proposal, according to Bu ston rin chen, is to be ascribed to Vinītadeva (ca. 710–770) (Iwata 1993: 53–54).

*yathā kaścid brūyād “yady ekaṃ sāmānyam, ekatvād anekavṛttir na syāt. anekavṛtti ca. tasmād ekaṃ na bhava<sub>[5]</sub>tī” ty atra prasaṅge vyāpakaviruddhopalabdhir viparyaye ca viruddhavyāptopalabdhir asiddhā, tathā ...* (fol.10a4–5; PVin<sub>T</sub> D11a1–3, P13a3–4)

For example, suppose that someone (i.e., Vinītadeva) says “if a universal is single, then due to its singularity it cannot occur in several things. But, [according to the proponent, it] occurs in several things. Therefore, it is not single.” In this case, [the logical reason of] “the non-cognition of what is incompatible with *vyāpaka*” (*vyāpakaviruddhopalabdhī*) in the *prasaṅga* and [that of] “the cognition of what is pervaded by a thing incompatible [with the property to be proved]” (*viruddhavyāptopalabdhī*) in the [*prasaṅga*-]*viparyaya* are not established. Similarly ...

While the view expressed in the gloss on the *prasaṅga* argument is in perfect agreement with the view of Vinītadeva, it differs with regard to the *prasaṅgaviparyaya*, although a slight similarity can be observed between the two. As a paleographic examination shows, the gloss seems to have been written after the main body

was copied, and hence it is possible to imagine that the writer of this gloss may have read this part of discussion on *prasaṅga* and *prasaṅgaviparyaya* and that he attempted a challenge of both Dharmottara and Vinītadeva. In any case, this example shows that **Dh3** was copied not merely for a manuscript collection, but for the actual study of Buddhist *pramāṇa* theories.

#### 4. Concluding remarks

An examination of the differences between the styles and the forms of letters in the main body of text of **Dh3** seems to show that at least four scribes were involved in the copying process. Since as far as I know, it is rather uncommon to find the text of a single manuscript to have been completed by several scribes,<sup>5</sup> this can be regarded as one of the outstanding characteristics of **Dh3**, and it also provides important information on the transmission of Buddhist manuscripts in general.

As for the number of exemplars used for copying the manuscript, although there is no clear evidence, it is quite possible to presume that more than one manuscript was used for the additions and corrections to the main body of **Dh3**'s text, as well as for the corrections found in the marginal notes.

While the main body and some of the marginal notes are written in Proto-Bengali, there are a number of marginal notes containing letters from later scripts, i.e., Old or Modern Bengali. Although a more systematic study of the letters' forms is still needed, it might nonetheless already be possible to say that **Dh3** received corrections over a long period of time and was used for teaching or the study of Buddhist *pramāṇa* theory for several centuries from around the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>5</sup> Melzer (2014) reports that the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Dīrghāgama* from the Gilgit region was copied by five or six scribes. Melzer (2014: 246–252) also provides a very interesting discussion about the process of copying this manuscript. I would like to thank Prof. Harunaga Isaacson for drawing my attention to this article.

## Appendix: Figures

Figure 1











“pa” in main body of the text – Proto-Bengali			
 (87b1: t paramparayā)	 (87b7: padārthā)		
 (88a2: napekṣo pekṣāyā)	 (1b1)	 (64a1)	 (136a1)
Old Bengali “pa” in the marginal notes			
 (87b below 1.7: apekṣāyā viśeṣ’alābharū’patvā’t <sup>0</sup> )			
 (34a below 1.7: pakṣa 7)	 (73a above 1.1)	 (121a below 1.8)	

Figure 2.1












Initial “e” in fols. 87b and 88a			
 (87b1)	 (87b4)	 (88a1)	 (88a4)
Initial “e” in fols. 1b–63b			
 (1b2)	 (30b7)	 (63b1)	 (30a5, only the exception)
Initial “e” in fols. 64a–125b			
 (64a1)	 (102a1)	 (125b7)	

Figure 2.2









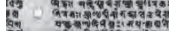
Initial “e” in fols. 126a–160a			
 (126a1)	 (157a8)	 (157b1)	 (159a7)

Figure 3.1

“ha” in fols. 1b–63b			
 (1b1)	 (20a4)	 (30a2)	 (63b2)



“ha” in fols. 64a–125b			
হি (hi, 64a1)	হ (88a2)	হ (101a4)	হ (125b8)

Figure 3.2

“ha” in fols. 126a–160a		
হ (126a4)	হ (159b4)	হ (160a2)

Figure 3.3 – “ha” written in Modern Bengali(?)

<p>হি (1461 CE, see Chakravarti 1936: 21, and plate 4, line 10)</p>	<p>হি (hi, 46b below 1.7; a part gloss) (he, 121b below 1.8) হি (122b below 1.8) হি (he, 125b below 1.8)</p>
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Figure 4 – Marginal notes written in very small letters at the edge of folios

fol. 8a	
	<p>marginal note: dharma ihāpi sāmānya</p> <p>line 1: ṅga {na viparyaya} ity ukta<sub>m</sub> syā...</p> <p>(This marginal note should be understood to be placed after “ukta<sub>m</sub>.”)</p>
fol. 63b	
	<p>marginal note: tra 2</p> <p>line 1: vidhyaṅ gamyeta  </p> <p>line 2: pakṣo vā ya{pra}</p> <p>(This note should be placed after “ya” in the second line instead of deleted “pra.”)</p>



fol. 85a3	
line 3: lambhaḥ ṭṛṣa(y)ā(nupalambhaḥ pratyakṣeṇaiva s)iti   tasmād ayam a (From “ṭṛṣa” up to “ti   ta”, the letters are narrow.)	

**Figure 8 – corrections of marginal notes**

fol. 87b below line 8	
	correction of marginal note: na marginal note: bhāvena kṛtam iti
fol. 126 below line 8	
	line 8: sujñānabādhaṁ aśakya second marginal note: ka first marginal note: (ne) 6 {na} 8

**Figure 9 – gloss on fol. 7b**

vyāpaviruddhopalabdhiḥ prasaṅgaprayoge	viparyaye viruddhopalambhaḥ

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# Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Vinayasūtravṛtti-abhidhāna-svavyākhyāna*

Yoshiyasu Yonezawa

## 1. Preamble

The *Vinayasūtra* (VS) is a compendium of monastic codes based upon the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*. Nowadays the entire Sanskrit text of VS is available. Among commentaries on the VS,<sup>1</sup> we have access to the incomplete Sanskrit text of the *Vinayasūtravṛtti-abhidhāna-svavyākhyāna* (VSS). The present paper, limiting itself to the first chapter called *Pravrajyāvastu*, summarizes bibliographical information on the Sanskrit MSS of VSS.

## 2. On MSS of VS and VSS

A series of contributions to textual studies of VS by Dr. Luo Hong reveal that there are four Sanskrit MSS and two incomplete Sanskrit MSS of VSS.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In the Tibetan canon, the following commentaries are included: 'Dul ba mdo'i 'grel pa mngon par brjod pa rang gi rnam par bshad pa (= VSS, D no. 4119 'Dul ba zhu lb-zu 247a7; P no. 5621 'Dul ba'i 'grel pa 'u 1-yu 342a8); 'Dul ba mdo'i rgya cher 'grel pa (= *Vinayasūtraṭīkā*, D no. 4120 'Dul ba 'u 1-yu 388a7; P no. 5622 'Dul ba'i 'grel pa ru 1-lu 464a8); 'Dul ba mdo'i rnam par bshad pa (= *Vinayasūtravyākhyāna*, D no. 4121 'Dul ba ru 1b1-263a7; P no. 5623 'Dul ba'i 'grel pa śu 1-314a6); 'Dul ba mdo'i 'grel pa (= *Vinayasūtravṛtti*, D no. 4122 'Dul ba lu 1b1-344a7; P no. 5624 'Dul ba'i 'grel pa su 1-429a8).

<sup>2</sup> See Luo 2007, 2009a, 2009b, and 2010.

Among the four Sanskrit MSS of VS, VS<sub>MSA</sub> and VS<sub>MSB</sub> are complete, whereas VS<sub>MSC</sub> and VS<sub>MSD</sub> are incomplete or fragmentary. VS<sub>MSB</sub>, now reproduced in *dBu med* MSS, was the only basis for <sup>RS</sup>VS, which used to be the primary Sanskrit text of VS. It is to be noted, however, that several texts in VS<sub>MSB</sub> are not reproduced in this posthumous edition, i.e., <sup>RS</sup>VS.<sup>3</sup> The main text of VS<sub>MSB</sub> is transliterated in <sup>VSPSG</sup>VS. The other MSS, that is, VS<sub>MSA</sub>, VS<sub>MSC</sub>, and VS<sub>MSD</sub>, are sources newly identified by Dr. Luo Hong. His new critical edition based not only on Sanskrit MSS but also on Tibetan source materials is a *desideratum* in the VS study.

Information on the two incomplete Sanskrit MSS of VSS, i.e., VSS<sub>MSA</sub> and VSS<sub>MSB</sub>, is provided below.

## 2.1 VSS<sub>MSA</sub>

This MS is listed as no. 193 in RS Report. In this entry, however, it seems that two separate texts are included.<sup>4</sup> No. 193 in RS Report corresponds to nos. 61 and 58a in Bandurski 1994.<sup>5</sup> Although the latter half of RS Report no. 193 (i.e., Bandurski 1994: no. 58a) has not been checked by the present author, it is certain that the first half of RS Report no. 193 (i.e., Bandurski no. 61), consisting of 38 leaves, is VSS<sub>MSA</sub>. In the photo data obtained from Göttingen, there are 11 plates, in which seven or eight folios are included. The photo data of these folios is as follows: As plates nos. 8 and 9 are identical, ten plates are actually available. Among these ten plates, three plates contain seven folios, whereas the remaining seven plates include eight folios. As one folio is doubled (II a 1 = II b 5), 76 folios, viz., 38 leaves, in total are extant in the photo data. The doubled folio must have been folio 9a, but the *verso* is not included in the photo data. Furthermore, folios 12a, 12b, and 20a are missing in the photo data.

<sup>3</sup> See *dBu med* MSS SG 2001: 17.

<sup>4</sup> See RS report: 22, note 3. “From its letters, there seem to be two separate MSS., one up to 38 leaves dealing with four Pārājikas, and the other 34 leaves deal with Prāyaścittika (sic) and others.” See also Bandurski 1994: 101.

<sup>5</sup> Bandurski 1994: 100–101 and 97–98.

In sum, the photo data contains 37 leaves and folios 9a and 20b. Therefore, the original MS must have consisted of 39 or 40 leaves (in case the 12<sup>th</sup> leaf was simply not photographed by mistake).<sup>6</sup>

This MS contains the *Pravrajyāvastu* of VSS and the initial portion of the *Vibhaṅga*. The former is edited in <sup>BG</sup>VSS, while the latter is the basis of a series of Nakagawa's editions.<sup>7</sup>

## 2.2 VSS<sub>MSB</sub>

This MS corresponds to no. 244 in RS Report, entitled “Vinasūtra-ṭīkā.” Bandurski 1994 lists it in two entries, i.e., nos. 62(b) and 63, and, based on the contents, he assumes that the two represent VSS. This 36-leaf MS, identified as VSS, is reproduced in *dBu med* MSS. In this MS, the VSS text from the *Pravrajyāvastu* to the middle of the *Poṣadhavastu* is included. However, there are many omissions in this MS and therefore it is named an “extract version.”<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, this MS is also an important source for the text critical study of VSS. For instance, some of the text missing in the photos of VSS<sub>MSA</sub> can be retrieved from the VSS<sub>MSB</sub>.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, a series of VSPSG's *Pravrajyāvastu* editions utilize this MS.<sup>10</sup> However, the contents of this MS, especially the part from the *Vibhaṅga*, has not yet been explored in detail.

## 2.3 Collation table of <sup>BG</sup>VSS, VSS<sub>MSA</sub>, and VSS<sub>MSB</sub>

In order to summarize the two MSS described above, a collation table of <sup>BG</sup>VSS, VSS<sub>MSA</sub>, and VSS<sub>MSB</sub> for the *Pravrajyāvastu* is provided below. For convenience, VS sutra numbers follow those

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the photo data of VSS<sub>MSA</sub>, see VSPSG 2012. Cf. Nakagawa 1999.

<sup>7</sup> Nakagawa 1987, 1991, 1996, 2000a and 2000b.

<sup>8</sup> See *dBu med* MSS SG 2001: 22.

<sup>9</sup> For instance, see Yonezawa 2017.

<sup>10</sup> VSPSG 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, and 2014.

in <sup>BG</sup>VSS.<sup>11</sup> The folio numbers of VSS<sub>MSA</sub> are given on the basis of the photo data.<sup>12</sup> In the column “Photo,” the plate number, *recto* or *verso*, and the folio in the plate are indicated.<sup>13</sup> In the column “Omitted parts,” missing texts are indicated referring to their location in <sup>BG</sup>VSS. The folio numbers given in parentheses show the text that has been reconstructed from the Tibetan in <sup>BG</sup>VSS.

<sup>BG</sup> VSS	VS nos.	VSS <sub>MSA</sub>	Photo	VSS <sub>MSB</sub>	Omitted parts
		1a	I a 1	1a	
3,3–4,2	1–	1b	I b 1	1b	
4,2–31	–2	2a	I a 2	2a	
4,31–5,29	3–4	2b	I b 2	2b	2b1:5,21–6,11
5,29–6,27	4–6	3a	I a 3		2b5: 6,32–8,4
6,27–7,24	6–13	3b	I b 3		
7,24–8,22	13–22	4a	I a 4		
8,22–9,20	22–30	4b	I b 4	3a	3a1: 8,20–26
9,20–10,17	30–34	5a	I a 5		3a2: 9,1–9
10,17–11,16	34–43	5b	I b 5		3a6: 9,29–13,17
11,16–12,15	43–59	6a	I a 6		
12,15–13,13	59–70	6b	I b 6		
13,13–14,11	70–73	7a	I b 7	3b	3b2:14,8–15,8
14,11–15,7	73–80	7b	I a 7		3b4:15,15–17,14
15,7–16,5	80–88	8a	I a 8		
16,5–17,2	88–96	8b	I b 8		
17,2–29	96–98	9a	II a 1 = II b 5		
17,30–19,4	98–102	9b	Missing	4a	4a1:(18,9–19)
19,4–20,9	103–111	10a	II a 2		4a4: 19,11–22,12

<sup>11</sup> The sutras are to be carefully numbered based upon comparison with the other source materials. For instance, see VSPSG 2009: (85)–(86); 2010: (49)–(50).

<sup>12</sup> Most of the folio numbers are illegible. See VSPSG 2012.

<sup>13</sup> See “2.1. VSS<sub>MSA</sub>” above.

B <sup>G</sup> VSS	VS nos.	VSS <sub>MSA</sub>	Photo	VSS <sub>MSB</sub>	Omitted parts
20,9–21,7	111–120	10b	II b 2		
21,8–22,3	120–130	11a	II a 3		
22,4–31	130–134	11b	II b 3		
23,1–	135–	12a	Missing	4b	4b1:(23,8–22)
25,16	–150	12b	Missing		4b3:24,4–28,11
25,17–26,24	151–152	13a	II a 4		
26,24–27,23	152–156	13b	II b 1		
27,23–28,21	156–165	14a	II a 5		
28,21–29,19	165–178	14b	II b 6		4b5: 28,16–18
29,19–30,17	178–192	15a	II a 6		4b6: 28,23–30,19
30,18–31,16	192–203	15b	II b 7		4b7: 30,26–35,16
31,16–32,15	203–221	16a	II a 7		
32,15–33,15	221–245	16b	II b 8		
33,16–34,16	245–265	17a	III a 1		
34,17–35,19	265–288	17b	III b 1		
35,19–36,18	288–297	18a	III a 2	5a	5a2: 36,3–39,28
36,18–37,21	297–336	18b	III b 2		
37,21–38,24	336–359	19a	III a 3		
38,24–39,21	359–373	19b	III b 3		
39,21–40,26	374–389	20a	Missing		5a3:(40,3)–41,16
40,26–41,28	389–405	20b	II b 4		5a4: 41,19–42,14
41,28–43,1	405–428	21a	III a 5		5a5: 42,23–51,7
43,1–44,4	428–447	21b	III b 5		
44,4–45,8	447–480	22a	III a 6		
45,8–46,12	480–501	22b	III b 6		
46,12–47,13	501–517	23a	III a 7		
47,14–48,14	517–537	23b	III b 7		
48,14–49,15	537–550	24a	III a 8		
49,15–50,21	550–576	24b	III b 8		
50,22–51,25	576–588	25a	IV a 1		5a7: 51,18–52,15
51,25–52,30	588–596	25b	IV b 1		5a8: 52,27–53,13

BGVSS	VS nos.	VSS <sub>MSA</sub>	Photo	VSS <sub>MSB</sub>	Omitted parts
53,1–54,4	596–617	26a	IV a 2	5b	5b1: 53,17–54,4
54,4–55,1	617–624	26b	IV b 2		5b2: 54,10–13
					5b4: 54,24–28
55,1–56,2	624–631	27a	IV a 4		5b6: 55,12–56,13
56,2–57,5	631–635	27b	IV b 4		5b8: 56,22–58,21
57,5–58,4	635–637	28a	IV a 5		
58,4–59,7	637–644	28b	IV b 5	6a	
59,7–24	644–647; 1–7	29a	IV a 6		6a3: 59,9–24; 1–7

### 3. Additional information on the VSS

Besides the two MSS of VSS described above, the Sanskrit text of VSS can be partially retrieved from the interlinear notes of VS<sub>MSB</sub>.<sup>14</sup> The VS<sub>MSB</sub> is included in *dBu med* MSS, together with VSS<sub>MSB</sub>, the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*<sup>15</sup> attributed to Nāgārjuna, and the *\*Lakṣaṇaṭīkā*.<sup>16</sup> This bundle seems to have been brought to Tibet by sTeng lo tsā ba Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas (Śīlākāra) who translated VSS, which was circulated in Mathurā (*Māthurī Vinayavrṭti*), into Tibetan in the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Nakagawa 2002, 2010; VSPSG 2013 and 2014.

<sup>15</sup> See *dBu med* MSS SG 2001: 23–25; Yonezawa 2008.

<sup>16</sup> Concerning this text and *dBu med* MSS, see *dBu med* MSS SG 2001: 3–8.; Yonezawa 2014.

<sup>17</sup> For details, see Yonezawa 2016.

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- <sup>RS</sup>VS R. Sāṅkrītyāyana ed., *Vinayasūtra of Bhadanta Guṇaprabha*. Singhi Jain Śāstra Śīksāpītha Singhi Jain Series 74, Bombay 1981.
- VS *Vinayasūtra*.
- VS<sub>MSA</sub> A complete 120-folio palm-leaf manuscript of the *Vinayasūtra* from the Potala (Lhasa). Written in Nepalese hook-topped script and dated 1270 CE.
- VS<sub>MSB</sub> A complete 66-folio palm-leaf manuscript of the *Vinayasūtra* from Zha lu Monastery (Tibet). Written in Tibetan *dBu med* script and copied perhaps around the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Included in *dBu med* MSS.
- VS<sub>MSC</sub> An incomplete 35-folio Nepālī paper manuscript of the *Vinayasūtra*. Written in old Nepalese script and dated 1793.
- VS<sub>MSD</sub> A fragment of VS from Central Asia. Written in Proto-Śāradā script.
- VSPSG *Vinayasūtra*'s Pravrajyāvastu Study Group.
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- VSPSG 2010 *Vinayasūtra's Pravrajyāvastu Study Group, Ritsukyō Shukkeji no kenkyū* (6) 『律經』「出家事」の研究 (6). *Sōgōbukkuyō kenkyūjo nenpō* 綜合佛教研究所年報 [Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University] 32 (2010) (48)–(84).
- VSPSG 2011 *Vinayasūtra's Pravrajyāvastu Study Group, Ritsukyō Shukkeji no kenkyū* (7) 『律經』「出家事」の研究 (7). *Sōgōbukkuyō kenkyūjo nenpō* 綜合佛教研究所年報 [Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University] 33 (2011) (65)–(104).
- VSPSG 2012 *Vinayasūtra's Pravrajyāvastu Study Group, Ritsukyō Shukkeji no kenkyū* (8) 『律經』「出家事」の研究 (8). *Sōgōbukkuyō kenkyūjo nenpō* 綜合佛教研究所年報 [Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University] 34 (2012) (29)–(44).
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- VSS *Vinayasūtravṛtti-abhidhāna-svavyākhyāna*.
- VSS<sub>MSA</sub> An incomplete 72\*-folio palm-leaf manuscript of the *Vinayasūtravṛtti-abhidhāna-svavyākhyāna* from Sa skya Monastery (Tibet). Written in Proto-Bengali script and undated.
- VSS<sub>MSB</sub> An incomplete 36-folio palm-leaf manuscript of the *Vinayasūtravṛtti-abhidhāna-svavyākhyāna* from Zha lu Monastery. Written in Tibetan *dBu med* script by the same scribe as VS<sub>MSB</sub>. Included in *dBu med* MSS.
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