Sanskrit manuscripts in China II

Proceedings of a panel at the 2012 Beijing
Seminar on Tibetan Studies, August 1 to 5

Edited by

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China Tibetology Publishing House
Beijing 2016

For Helmut Krasser (1956–2014)

Contents

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Preface

The "Panel on Sanskrit Studies" took place from 3 to 4 August 2012 as part of the 2012 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies. It was initiated and organized by the late Dr. Helmut Krasser, who conceived it as a continuation of the panel "Sanskrit Manuscripts in China: State and Prospects," which was held at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies.

Almost all of the lectures delivered at the 2012 panel presented reports on and results of research based substantially on information derived from Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the TAR, as do all of the articles published in this volume. While none of these articles is specifically dedicated to the preservation and safekeeping of the Sanskrit manuscripts in China, to their cataloging, their digitalization or the controlled dissemination of these images, nonetheless each of them implicitly stresses the high importance of these tasks and the need for carefully concerted international cooperation. They do this through their research results, which individually as well as together unmistakably testify to the exceptional significance and unique value of the Sanskrit manuscripts in China.

For various reasons, a number of noteworthy papers presented at the panel have not been published in this volume. We will therefore record them here:

> Shoryu Katsura/Diwakar Acharya, Paramata sections of Jinendrabuddhi's *Pramāṇasamuccaya-Ṭīkā* Chapter 3
>
> Jowita Kramer, The Proofs of the "Store Mind" (ālayavijñāna, *kun gzhi rnam par shes pa*) in Sthiramati's *Pañcaskandhaka-vibhāṣā*[1]

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[1] Cf. Jowita Kramer, "Some Remarks on the Proofs of the 'Store Mind' (Ālayavijñāna) and the Development of the Concept of Manas." Forthcom-

Li Xuezhu, Study on The opening *uddāna* of the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*

Luo Hong, A Preliminary Report on Abhayākaragupta's *Madhyamakamañjarī*

Shinya Moriyama, Ratnākaraśānti's critique against pseudo-Madhyamaka opponents[2]

Ulrike Roesler, As it is said in a Sutra: Freedom and Variation in Tibetan Quotations from the Buddhist Scriptures in Early Bka' gdams pa Literature[3]

Shobha Rani Dash, Exploring Palm Leaf Manuscript Research: With a special reference to Odisha

Ye Shaoyong, A folio of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* and Some Other Sanskrit Manuscripts Newly Found in Tibet: A Preliminary Report[4]

Helmut Krasser prepared the panel with great care and enthusiasm. Even though he had been diagnosed with lung cancer and hospitalized for several weeks, he was determined to travel from Vienna to Beijing to participate in the event himself. But in the end, he had to give in to the advice of his doctors and so did not hear the presentations in person. His terrible disease could however not diminish his dedication to his academic work and especially to the "Sanskrit manuscripts in China" project. The editing and publication of this

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ing in Bart Dessein and Weijen Teng (eds.), *Text, Philosophy, and History: Abhidharma Across Buddhist Scholastic Traditions (Proceedings of the Conference "From Abhidhamma to Abhidharma", Ghent 2013)*, Leiden: Brill.

[2] Cf. Shinya Moriyama, "Ratnākaraśānti's criticism of the Madhyamaka refutation of causality." *China Tibetology 20* (2013), pp. 53-66.

[3] Cf. Ulrike Roesler, "As it is said in a Sutra: Freedom and Variation in Tibetan Quotations from the Buddhist Scriptures in Early Bka' gdams pa Literature." *Journal of Indian Philosophy 43/4* (2014), pp. 493–510.

[4] Cf. Ye Shaoyong, "A Sanskrit folio of the Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti from Tibet." Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University 16 (2013), pp. 233–240.

proceedings volume was of great importance to him. After the panel, he felt that his health was not yet good enough for such critical work, and so he postponed it, waiting until his condition improved, keeping the articles close to his heart and locked in his desk. Since he was aware that he might need considerable time to recover sufficiently, he agreed that short or preliminary versions of the contributions could be published in the journal *China Tibetology*, if the authors wish so. Helmut Krasser died March 30 2014.

Xuezhu Li, Beijing   Horst Lasic, Vienna

前言

"梵文研究小组"作为2012年8月3至4日在北京召开的国际藏学研讨会的一部分，系由已故赫尔穆特•卡喇萨 (Helmut Krasser) 博士发起和组织的，这也被认为是2008年北京国际藏学会"梵文写本在中国研究的现状和前景"小组的延续。

从本次研讨会论文集所收录的文章可知，在梵文小组会上所发表的论文几乎都是基于西藏自治区所保存的梵文写本的报告和研究成果。虽然这些文章均未提及中国梵文写本的保护和保存、写本的编目、数字化以及影像的可控传播，但是与会专家学者都非常重视并强调写本保护任务的重要性以及国际合作研究的必要性。通过他们所取得的那些单独以及共同完成的研究成果，完全可以证明中国梵文写本的特殊意义和独特价值。

由于各种原因，有些在小组会上发表的文章未能收入本论集中，但它们也应予关注，因此，我们有必要在这里作一记述：

桂绍隆 (Shoryu Katsura) 和迪瓦卡尔•阿恰里雅 (Diwakar Acharya)：关于吉年陀罗菩提《集量论注释》第3章为他比量部分的校勘问题 (Paramata sections of Jinendrabuddhi's *Pramāṇasamuccaya-Ṭīkā* Chapter 3)。

尤维塔•克莱默 (Jowita Kramer)：安慧《五蕴论广注》关于阿赖耶识的论证 (The Proofs of the "Store Mind" (*ālayavijñāna*, *kun gzhi rnam par shes pa*) in Sthiramati's *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā*[1])。

李学竹：关于《阿毗达磨集论》摄颂的考察 (Study on The opening *uddāna* of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*)。

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[1] 参见 Jowita Kramer, "Some Remarks on the Proofs of the 'Store Mind' (Ālayavijñāna) and the Development of the Concept of Manas." Forthcoming in Bart Dessein and Weijen Teng (eds.), *Text, Philosophy, and History: Abhidharma Across Buddhist Scholastic Traditions (Proceedings of the Conference "From Abhidhamma to Abhidharma", Ghent 2013)*, Leiden: Brill.

罗鸿：关于无畏藏护《中观花蕾》的初步报告 (A Preliminary Report on Abhayākaragupta's *Madhyamakamañjarī*)。

护山真也 (Shinya Moriyama)：宝藏寂对伪中观论敌的批驳 (Ratnākaraśānti's critique against pseudo-Madhyamaka opponents[2])。

乌利克•罗斯勒 (Ulrike Roesler)：佛经如是说：早期噶当派文献引用佛教手稿时的自由与变化 (As it is said in a Sutra: Freedom and Variation in Tibetan Quotations from the Buddhist Scriptures in Early Bka' gdams pa Literature[3])。

初马•拉尼达什 (Shobha Rani Dash)：贝叶经研究的探索：特别以印度奥里萨所保存的写本为例 (Exploring Palm Leaf Manuscript Research: With a special reference to Odisha)。

叶少勇：西藏新发现的《六十如理论》残片及其他一些梵文写本的初步报告 (A folio of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* and Some Other Sanskrit Manuscripts Newly Found in Tibet: A Preliminary Report[4])。

赫尔穆特•卡喇萨博士为了这次梵文小组会倾注了极大的精力和热情。尽管他被诊断患有肺癌需住院数周，但他还是决定从维也纳前往北京参加会议。可是，最后在医生的强烈建议下，他不得不放弃北京之行，所以没有听到大家的发言。然而，可怕的疾病并没有减弱他对学术工作，特别是对"中国梵文"项目的奉献精神。他非常重视和关心本论文集的编辑和出版。会议结束后，他由于身体没有明显好转，无法胜任如此重要的工作，所以把这些文章暂时锁在办公桌里，也铭记在心中，期待病情好转后再继续

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[2] 参见 Shinya Moriyama, "Ratnākaraśānti's criticism of the Madhyamaka refutation of causality." *China Tibetology 20* (2013), pp. 53-66.

[3] 参见 Ulrike Roesler, "As it is said in a Sutra: Freedom and Variation in Tibetan Quotations from the Buddhist Scriptures in Early Bka' gdams pa Literature." Journal of Indian Philosophy 43/4 (2014), pp. 493–510.

[4] 参见 Ye Shaoyong, "A Sanskrit folio of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* from Tibet." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 16 (2013), pp. 233–240.

完成。同时，他也意识到自己的健康可能需要相当长的一段时间恢复，因此建议，如果作者愿意，可将各自的论文或其简本交由《中国藏学》发表。尽管如此，赫尔穆特·卡喇萨博士还是于2014年3月30日不幸逝世，我们深感悲痛和惋惜。在此我们深切悼念和缅怀他对中国梵文写本研究事业所做出的贡献。

李学竹 北京　　　　　　　霍斯特·拉斯科 维也纳

Rare manuscripts of works by Jitāri[1]

Junjie Chu, Leipzig
Eli Franco, Leipzig

Part One: Introduction

An agreement between the China Tibetology Research Center, Beijing, and the Austrian Academy of Sciences gave Junjie Chu the opportunity of staying for more than one month each year from 2009 at the Center, where he was able to study photocopies of two Sanskrit manuscripts of works by Jitāri (hereafter ms. A and ms. B). We take great pleasure in presenting here some of the results of our work on these manuscripts, mainly on manuscript A. We hope to return to ms. B at a later stage; at the moment we are only able to make a number of preliminary remarks about it.

Manuscript A

Ms. A, written in the so-called Proto-Bengali script, was copied from an unknown source by three different scribes. The first hand begins on folio 1b and continues up to folio 69b3. At the end of

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this part (i.e., at 69b3), which is also the end of the treatise entitled *Bhāvikāraṇavāda*, there is a short colophon in which the name Jambhaladhara appears, presumably that of the owner or the commissioner of the manuscript: *likhitam idaṃ jambhaladharasya.* "This was written for Jambhaladhara." Alternatively, one may consider Jambhaladhara to be the name of the scribe, even though we have been unable to find any other colophons in Sanskrit where the name of the scribe appears in the genitive case as it does here.

From folio 69b4 the manuscript continues in a different hand up to folio 77b3, after which a third hand begins and continues up to folio 112b, where the manuscript ends. The leaves are inscribed on both sides. In the part written in the first hand, each leaf contains six lines on each side, with approximately 60-65 *akṣaras* per line, while in the parts written in the second and the third hands, the number of lines per leaf varies from 4 to 7 (there are few leaves containing only 3 lines) with roughly 50-55 *akṣaras* per line. With the exception of a few folios (for example, folio 55b), the parts written by the first and second scribes (1b1-77b3) are generally quite clear and legible. In contrast, many passages in the third hand are illegible as the ink is often too faint to read. Two folios, 97b and 111a, are almost completely illegible.

Previous editions of works by Jitāri

As is well known, Jitāri (ca. 940-980 CE) was a renowned and influential Buddhist philosopher[2] in the later period of the history of Indian Buddhist philosophy. Until now, however, a substantial part of his work has remained largely inaccessible and little known. So far only seven works by Jitāri are available in the original Sanskrit.[3] These are:

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[2] Jitāri is also known as the author of several Tantric works. However, these works lie beyond the scope of our project.

[3] Although a considerable number of the philosophical texts authored by Jitāri were brought to Tibet, few were included in the Tibetan canon. In the Tshad ma section of the bsTan 'gyur, the following three works were included:

1. Jātinirākṛti
2. Hetutattvopadeśa
3. Anekāntavādanirāsa
4. Vedāprāmāṇyasiddhi
5. Sarvajñasiddhi

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(1) *Hetutattvopadeśa* (=*gTan tshigs kyi de kho na nyid bstan pa*, DT 4261, authorship in the colophon: Jetāri). As mentioned below, this text also survives in the original Sanskrit and was published in Tucci 1956 (cf. his "Introduction": 249-260).

(2) *Dharmadharmiviniścaya* (=*Chos dang chos can gtan la dbab pa*, DT 4262, authorship in the colophon: Jetāri). According to Iyengar (1952: viii), this text is extant in the original Sanskrit, and the manuscript has been examined by Rāhula Saṅkṛtyāyana. Kyuma 2003 offers an analysis of its contents.

(3) *Bālāvatāratarka* (=*Byis pa 'jug pa'i rtog ge zhes bya ba*, DT 4263, author: dGra las rgyal ba=Jitāri/Jetāri). This is a treatise on epistemology for beginners which follows Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and *Nyāyabindu*. It is divided into three chapters: *Pratyakṣa, Svārthānumāna* and *Parārthānumāna*. It is also clearly influenced by Dharmottara, but features some new ideas such as the division of non-cognition (*anupalabdhi*) into sixteen varieties. The entire text is critically edited in Shirasaki 1981: 32-52, supplemented by Sanskrit fragments from other post-Dharmakīrti authors of the Buddhist *Pramāṇa* tradition. In the introduction (Shirasaki 1981: 23-27) the author offers a brief discussion of the relationship between Jitāri and other authors of this tradition and concludes that "Jitāri, as a senior contemporary of Ratnakīrti and Durvekamiśra and a predecessor of Mokṣākaragupta and Vidyākaraśānti, may be placed between the middle of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century." (Shirasaki 1981: 26).

One text attributed to Jitāri is included in the Madhyamaka section of the bsTan 'gyur: the *Sugatamatavibhaṅga* which consists of verses (*kārikā*) and auto-commentary (*bhāṣya*) (*bDe bar gshegs pa gzhung rnam par 'byed pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa* [DT 3899] and *bDe bar gshegs pa gzhung rnam par 'byed pa'i bshad pa* [TD 3990]). The work follows the pattern of Āryadeva's *Jñānasārasamuccaya*, explaining the four Buddhist philosophical systems, namely, the Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. The fourth chapter on Madhyamaka was translated into Japanese in Shirasaki 1986.

6. Nairātmyasiddhi

7. *Īśvaravādimataparīkṣā[4]

The first work of Jitāri listed above, the *Jātinirākṛti* (no. 1), was also the first to be edited. It was published by Tucci (1930: 54-58, with two lacunae) on the basis of a manuscript he discovered in Nepal. A second edition of the same treatise was prepared by Iyengar, using a manuscript found by Sāṅkṛtyāyana; this edition was published in 1952 with the title *Vādasthāna* (Iyengar 1952: 72-80, which also contains a lacuna). Finally, a third edition was published by Bühnemann (1985: 30-38, where the colophon is missing). These three editions demonstrate considerable variance in their readings, and our manuscript offers many others.

The *Hetutattvopadeśa* (no. 2) was first "restored" into Sanskrit from the Tibetan by Durgasharan Chattopadhyaya (Chattopadhyaya 1939). Subsequently the original Sanskrit text was edited and published by Tucci (1956: 261-274). Miyasaka (1964) compiled Sanskrit-Tibetan and Japanese indices for this treatise. As Tucci pointed out in his introduction, in this treatise Jitāri closely follows the *Nyāyapraveśa* of Saṅkarasvāmin. He starts with the introductory verse of the *Nyāyapraveśa* and then follows its content and structure very closely, with many sentences from the *Nyāyapraveśa* repeated verbatim. This shows that even as late as the 10th century Dignāga's logic had not been completely superseded by that of Dharmakīrti.

The *Anekāntavādanirāsa* (no. 3) was edited and published in Iyengar 1952: 80-85. In the colophon, however, this treatise is called "*Digambaramataparīkṣā.*"[5] In this text, Jitāri criticizes the Jaina doctrine that propounds a multiplicity of viewpoints with regard to reality (*anekāntvavāda*) and illustrates it with "the maxim of the blind men and the elephant" (*andhagajanyāya*). Shirasaki 1974 offers a brief analysis of the contents of the treatise. Tamaru 1978 also

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[4] The title was suggested by Bühnemann; cf. below.

[5] This is attested by both our manuscripts, text no. 19 in manuscript A and text no. 6 in manuscript B. Cf. below n. 18.

provides a brief analysis of Jitāri's criticism of the Jaina position and a brief account of Jitāri's dates and works.

The *Vedāprāmāṇyasiddhi* (no. 4) was published in Bühnemann 1985: 23-26. This treatise aims at criticizing orthodox Brahmanical accounts (Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā) of Vedic authority (*prāmāṇya*). It criticizes the epistemic validity of the Veda both as an authorless (*akartṛka*, *apauruṣeya*) scripture and as the teaching of a trustworthy person (*āpta*). The core of the treatise refutes the Mīmāṃsaka attempts to develop inferential relations other than identity of nature (*tādātmya*) and causation (*tadutpatti*). The text was analyzed and translated into French in Eltschinger 2003.

The *Sarvajñasiddhi* (no. 5) was edited in Bühnemann 1985: 27-28. The manuscript she used is incomplete; one folio is missing and thus the edition was supplemented by a quotation from RN 31,13-21.2. Our manuscript provides a complete version of this text, which consists of a formal proof (*prayoga*) that the Buddha is omniscient (*sarvajña*).

The *Nairātmyasiddhi* (no. 6) was edited in Bühnemann 1985: 29. This is a very short text, consisting of approximately one folio. It disproves the tenet that an everlasting Self (*sthirātma*) is connected with a living body (*jīvaccharīra*).

Finally, the **Īśvaravādimataparīkṣā* (no. 7) was edited in Bühnemann 1985: 39-43. According to Bühnemann 1985: 19, the end of the text is missing and thus its title has not survived. Bühnemann suggests *Īśvaravādimataparīkṣā* as a tentative title for this work on the basis of similarities in structure with the *Anekāntavādanirāsa* (1985: 19). The final passage containing the title is available in our manuscript, where it is called *Īśvaranirākaraṇa*.[6] In Shirasaki 1995

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[6] Bühnemann (1982: 20) assumes that Sāṅkṛtyāyana's manuscript contains one additional unidentified work. Thanks to our ms. A, it is now clear that this is the same work, namely, the *Īśvaranirākaraṇa*. Bühnemann's **Īśvarādimataparīkṣā* (work 9) ends with *tasyaiva pratibandhasiddher asiddher ity alam bahubhāṣitayā. tasmād avasthitam etat. akartṛkam idam*; from the unidentified work 10, where only the end is legible: *viśvakarmanirmitavaicitryam iti. kṛtir iyam mahāpaṇḍitajitāripādānām.*

the author offers an analysis and a Japanese translation of the text. The main topic of this treatise is the refutation of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theism.

Of the newly available manuscripts, ms. A offers us many more works, of which more than ten were hitherto completely unknown. Furthermore, it seems from the introductory verse that the above treatises were not originally independent works, but sections or chapters in a larger work, which we have tentatively called *Vādasthānāni*. Obviously these chapters, being independent in content from one another, also circulated singly and in various combinations.

The title of the work

At the beginning of the manuscript, after a salutation to the Buddha and a somewhat Tantric *maṅgala*-verse,[7] Jitāri prefaces his work as follows:

Cf., however, our ms A 11b 2-3: *tasyaiva pratibandhasya prasiddhe¦☉r aprasiddher ity alam bahubhāṣit{{ā}}ayā | tasmād avasthitam etat akarttṛkam idam viśvaṃ karmma+nirmmitavai ¦ cittryam iti ‖ ‖ īśvaranirākaraṇaṃ samāptam iti ‖*

[7] *namo buddhāya ‖*

> *mugdhāṅgulīkisalayāṅghrisuvarṇṇakumbha-*
> *vāntena kāntipayasā ghusṛṇāruṇena |*
> *yo vandamānam abhiṣiñcati dharmmarājye*
> *jāgartu vo hitasukhāya sa mañjuvajraḥ ‖*

"May Mañjuvajra, who anoints the worshipper over the kingdom of dharma by means of the lovely saffron reddish water pouring from the golden jar [which are his] feet with shoots [in the form] of beautiful toes, be intent on your wellbeing and happiness."

This verse also appears (with some variants) at the beginning of the *Jātinirākṛti* published by Tucci (1930: 56,2-5), and by Bühnemann (1985: 30,4-7; Tucci's different readings are noted and corrected in footnotes 2-4, *ibid*). Furthermore as Luo Hong has kindly pointed out to us, this verse is included in the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* (Kosambi and Gokhale 1957: 6,9-12) and translated by Ingalls (1965: p. 67). We also thank Gudrun Bühnemann for discussing this verse with us.

suhṛdām[8] *anurodhena yathāśakti*[9] *yathāsmṛti*[10] |
hriyam vihāya likhyante vādasthānāni kānicit ||

"In compliance with the wish of friends, putting my shyness aside, some topics of debate [between Buddhists, Brahmins and Jainas] are written [here] according to my ability, according to my recollection[11]."

It would thus seem that *Vādasthānāni* was the title of the collection as a whole. However, titles of philosophical works in Sanskrit do not usually appear in plural form, and the term might be used merely as a description of the content of the work, not as its title. Since there is no colophon at the end of the manuscript, no certainty on this matter can be arrived at. But for lack of anything better, we will use *vādasthānāni* as the title of the work.

The table of contents

The cover page (folio 1a) of the manuscript lists in four columns the topics of the sections/chapters contained in the manuscript, constituting a sort of "table of contents," probably written by a user of the manuscript. The list is similar, but not identical, to the titles of the works/chapters/sections that appear in the respective colophons. Unfortunately, the legibility is very poor, especially on the right-hand side of the page. The numeration is ours.

Column a

    1. *jātyādiniṣedha*[12]
    2. *sāmānyaniṣedha*
    3. *īśvaranirākaraṇa*
    4. *nairātmyasiddhi*

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[8] Iyengar 1952: 72,2: *buddhānām*.

[9] Bühnemann 1985: 30,7: *yathāmati*.

[10] Iyengar 1952: 72,2: *śrutismṛti*.

[11] An alternative translation would be "according to the tradition."

[12] Next to the titles one finds leaf numbers. However, these are often illegible, and some of the legible ones do not match the exact folio number of the manuscript. We therefore do not mention them here.

  5. *vedāprāmāṇya*
  6. *vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*

Column b

  7. *avayaviniṣedha*
  8. *apohasiddhi*
  9. *vyāpakānupalambha*
  10. *brāhmaṇyaniṣedha*
  11. *akṣaṇikavādavicāra*
  12. *sarvvajñasiddhi*

Column c

  13. *bhāvikāraṇavāda*
  14. *śabdāprāmaṇya*
  15. *śrutikartṛsiddhi*
  16. *sāmagrībhaṅga*
  17. *kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*

Column d

  18. *jātivāda*
  19. ...
  20. ...

The colophons

The titles in the "table of contents" correspond roughly to the titles of the works as they appear in the colophons. Needless to say, colophons cannot always be relied on to convey the original title of a work. In our case, it is clear that most if not all of them were not written by Jitāri himself, who appears in honorific forms such as *jitāripāda* and *mahāpaṇḍitaśrījitāripāda* (always in the plural), which he was unlikely to have used to refer to himself. We assume, therefore, that the colophons were added by later scribes. Jitāri does not seem to make any reference to a formal division of his work and this strengthens the assumption that we are indeed dealing here with a single composition. He does, however, regularly point out the

changes of subject matter by clearly introducing new topics.[13] What-
ever the case may be, the colophons provide the following titles:

1. *Sāmānyanirākṛti* (1b1-5b6)
2. *Sāmānyanirākṛti*[14] (6a1-8a5)
3. *Īśvaranirākaraṇa* (8a5-11b3)
4. *Nairātmyasiddhi* (11b3-12a3)
5. *Vedaprāmāṇyanirākṛti* (12a3-14b4)
6. *Vijñaptimātratāsasiddhi* (14b4-20a6)
7. *Avayavinirākaraṇa* (20a6-24b6)
8. *Apohasiddhi* (24b6-32b1)
9. *Kṣaṇabhaṅgaprakaraṇa* (32b1-46a1)
10. *Dvijātidūṣaṇa* (46a1-57b4)
11. *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* (57b4-62b2)
12. *Sarvajñasiddhi* (62b2-64a4)
13. *Bhāvikāraṇavāda* (64a4-69b3)
14. *Jātivāda*[15] (69b3-70b3)
15. *Śrutikartṛsiddhi*[16] (70b3-77b4)
16. *Śabdāprāmaṇya*[17] (77b5-85b4)
17. *Sāmagrībhaṅga* (85b5-87b1)
18. *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* (87bb1-93b4)

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[13] Cf. for instance 1b2: *tatrādau tāvat jātivāda eva nirākriyate*. 8a5: *idānīm īśvaravādimatam parīkṣyate*. 11b3: *nairātmyam idānīm prasādhyate*. 14b4: *idānīm bahirarthavādo vyavadhūyate*.

[14] As pointed out above, these two chapters, bearing identical titles, consist of two different refutations of the universal. The first chapter appears as *jātinirākṛti* in Tucci 1930 and Bühnemann 1985: 30-38, and is published with the title *vādasthāna* in Iyengar 1952: 72-80. A further work or chapter refuting the existence of universals appears in the manuscript as *Jātivāda*; cf. no. 14.

[15] Presumably the title is incomplete or defective; one would expect *Jātivādanirākaraṇa* or something similar. Cf. the following titles.

[16] This chapter refutes the Mīmāṃsā tenet of *apauruṣeyatva*.

[17] This chapter targets the Vedic word as a source of knowledge.

19. *Digambaramataparīkṣā*[18] (93b4-97b5)
20. *Dvijātidūṣaṇa* (97b5-112b2)

It is remarkable that Jitāri wrote several chapters or treatises on the same topic. Three of the above refute the existence of universals (1, 2, 14) and three prove momentariness (9, 11, 18). We have not yet been able to investigate the relationships between these portions of the text in detail, but it is clear that they consist in different arguments on the same topic. Thus, the three refutations of the universal are based on three well-known arguments that appear in Dharmakīrti's writings: the universal is unreal because (1) it cannot be said to be different from or identical to the individual, (2) it is not perceived even though it is assumed to be perceptible (*upalabdhilakṣaṇaprāpta*), (3) it is incapable of producing efficient action (*arthakriyā*). The two texts called Dvijātidūṣaṇa (10 and 20) are merely two different copies of the same text (the beginning of the text is missing in the second copy). Since they display the same scribal errors, they would seem to have been copied from the same source.

Immediately after the colophon of the the *Dvijātidūṣaṇa* (93b4-112b2), the last text in the above list, one reads *granthapramāṇaṃ* 200 ‖. This indication of the length of the treatise cannot refer to the work done by the last scribe alone or even to the last chapter, *Dvijātidūṣaṇa*, which contains about 250-300 *ślokas*.

The remaining part on 112b, consisting of less than six lines, is a new text. However, the legibility is very poor and we are unable to offer a complete transliteration. Nonetheless, enough of the

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[18] As we mentioned at the beginning of this paper, folio 97b is almost completely illegible. Thus, this title is not really attested by the colophon of the text, for only the first two *akṣara*s, i.e., *diga*, can be identified. However, the title appears clearly in ms B. As mentioned above, this text was published with the title *Anekāntavādanirāsa* in Iyengar 1952: 80-85.

blurred traces can be made out to identify the text as the beginning of *Apaśabdanirākṛti,* which is available as nr. 10 in manuscript B.

Works in Manuscript B

Manuscript B contains the following works:

1. *Sāmānyanirākṛti* (1b1-6b3)
2. *Sāmānyanirākṛti* (6b3-10a1)
3. *Nairātmyasiddhi* (10a1-10b3)
4. *Sarvajñasiddhi* (11b1-12b3)[19]
5. *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* (18a-22b)
6. *Digambaramataparīkṣā* (23a1-25b3)
7. *Śrutikartṛsiddhi* (26b1-31b3)
8. *Apohasiddhi* (32a1-40b3)
9. *Avayavinirākaraṇa* (41a1-46b1)
10. *Apaśabdanirākṛti* (47a1-48b5)
11. *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (49a1-55b2)

All these texts are included in manuscript A.

Text nr. 5, *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*, is identical with nr. 11 in ms. A, *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*. However, in ms. B the beginning of the text is missing.

Text nr. 10, as mentioned above, is the same text as the last fragmentary text in ms. A. The title *Apaśabdanirākṛti* appears in the colophon at the end of the text (48b5).

Generally speaking, the legibility of ms. B is poorer than that of ms. A (especially in the first part, 1b- 69b3, written by the first scribe). Ms. B is written in rapid cursive style; in some cases the ink is too faint to read, and in other cases it is extremely blurred; thus, meaningful readings can sometimes only be obtained by consulting ms. A. However, in many cases the manuscript is in good condition and displays a beautiful fluent writing style; needless to say, it offers a valuable aid in determining the readings of ms. A.

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[19] Folios from 13 to 17 are missing. Folio 12 is photographed together with folios 18 and 19.

Concerning the differences between the texts in two manuscripts, the following should be noted:

1. Different words with similar meaning are used in two manuscripts, for instance, *avadya* in A27b2 and *avācya* in B35a3, *aṃśena* in A31a1 and *aṅgena* in B39a2.

2. Different verb forms, such as the optative and the indicative, alternate; for example, *anurudhyeta* in A25a3 and *anurudhyate* in B32a4, *sambaddhyate* in A30b6 and *sambaddhyet(a)* in B38b5.

3. Some words are either added in one manuscript or omitted in the other, in most cases this concerns indeclinable particles such as *tāvat*, *tu*, *ca*, *api*, etc.

4. Ms B uses *daṇḍa*s more frequently. In ms. A some *daṇḍa*s have been added by a later scribe.

Conclusion

As observed above, the newly available manuscripts contain a number of hitherto unknown works. Even with regard to the texts that have already been edited and published they offer valuable new readings which can be used to improve upon older editions, especially as some of the published editions are incomplete. We are therefore confident that an edition of the *Vādasthānāni* will significantly improve our understanding of Jitāri's work in particular and of tenth-century Buddhist philosophy in general.

In what follows we would like to present a diplomatic edition of the first two sections/chapters that deal with the refutation of universals. Variant readings from manuscript B have been noted, but we did not attempt to produce a critical edition.

Part Two: A Diplomatic Edition of *Jātinirākaraṇa* (1 and 2)

Editorial sigla and abbreviations

Editorial sigla

’	*avagraha*
|	*daṇḍa*
||	double *daṇḍa*
¦	*daṇḍa*-like sign at the end of lines or before string-holes
*	*virāma*
ø	absence of *virāma*
⊙	string-hole
..	illegible *akṣara*
.	illegible part of an *akṣara*
+	gap-filling sign in the manuscript equivalent to the size of one *akṣara*
x	empty space in the manuscript equivalent to the size of one *akṣara*
{{ }}	enclose *akṣara*(s) deleted by means of erasure
{ }	enclose *akṣara*(s) deleted by means of the of deletion symbol (normally one or two small strokes written directly above *akṣara*)
[ ]	enclose barely legible *aksara*s whose reading is uncertain
A	manuscript A
add.	added in
B	manuscript B
om.	omitted in

Sigla describing insertions in the manuscript

˅	sign of insertion (*kākapada*) added at the top of the line

^	sign of insertion added at the bottom of the line
‹ ›^T	*akṣara*(s) added in the top margin
‹ ›_B	*akṣara*(s) added in the bottom margin
#	line-number (#) usually added after *akṣara*(s) in the top or bottom margin
‹ ›	insertion above or below the line, directly between two *akṣara*s, or in margin/string-hole area, in most cases a *daṇḍa*, a vowel symbol or single *akṣara*

1. Sāmānyanirākṛti (1b1-5b6)

1b

1. namo buddhāya[20] ‖ mugdhāṅgulīkisalayāṅghrisuvarṇṇakumbhāv
ā[nt]ena [kā]ntipayasāghusṛṇāruṇena | yo vandamānam abhiṣiñcati
dharmmarājye jāgartu vo hitasukhāya sa mañjuvajraḥ ‖ suhṛdām
anu

2. rodhena yathāśakti yathāsmṛti hriyam vihāya likhyante vādasthā-
nā⊙ni kānicit* ‖ tatrādau tāvat*[21] jātivāda eva nirākriyate [‹|›] yad
vastuno bhedābhedābhyām abhidheyan na bhavati |

3. tat sarvvam vastu na bhavati[22] yathā vyomakamalaṃ na ca va-
stuno bhedābhedā¦⊙bhyām abhidheyaṃ[23] sāmānyam iti vyāpakānu-
palabdhiḥ | na tāvad[24] ayam asiddho hetuḥ | na hi vyaktibhyo bhin-
nam abhinna¦

4. +++m vā sāmānyaṃ + śakyam abhidhātum[25] ubhayathāpy asā-
mānyasvabhā¦⊙vatāprasaṅgāt* | tathā hi yadi tāvad vyaktibhyo

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[20] namo buddhāya : namo ratnatrayāya B

[21] tatrādau tāvat : tatra tāvad ādau B

[22] na bhavati : na bhavati | sa niḥsvabhāvaḥ | B

[23] vyomakamalaṃ : vandhyāsutaḥ rūpādivyatirekāvyatirekābhyāṃñ ca vyavasthāpanīyasvabhāvan na bhavati B

[24] tāvad *om.* B

[25] | *add.* B

’rthāntaram eva sāmānyam abhimatam vastu tadā katham tā^v‹..›[T26]
sāmānyan nā

5. ma | yat* khalu yato rthāntaran na tat tasya sāmānyam[27] yathā gor
aśvaḥ | a⊙rthāntarañ ca gor ggotvam iti viruddhavyāptopalabdhiḥ[28]
nanu ca[29] vyaktibhyo rthāntarañ ca[30] ‹[syāt]›[31] sāmānyaṃ tāsāṃ
viruddhan[32] na pa⸗

6. śyāmaḥ | na caitan mantavyam arthāntarañ ced arthāntarasya
sāmānyaṃ sarvvaṃ sarvvasya sāmānyaṃ syāt* viśeṣābhāvāt* ‹|› yad
dhi khalv ekam vastu anekatra samaveta^v‹n ta_#›^Tt tadīyaṃ sāmānyaṃ
goṣu cāśvo na samave

2a

1. ta iti katham asau gavāṃ sāmānyaṃ syād iti |[33] kuto viśeṣābhāvaḥ |
tad ayam an[ai]kāntiko hetuḥ katham iṣṭasiddhaye paryavāpnuyāt*[34] |
tad etad api[35] bālapralā[pa]m anuharati | sa[36] viśeṣo

2. buddhima{ā}tā vaktavyo[37] yaḥ sāmānyābhimatapadārthamātra-
bhāvī ⊙ san na saṅkareṇa vyavasthām upasthāpayati[38] | ayañ cāne-
kasamavāyaḥ saṃkhyāsaṃyogakāryadravyādiṣv apy a[stī]

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[26] kathaṃ tā‹..› : tāsāṃ kathaṃ B

[27] | *add.* B

[28] | *add.* B

[29] ca *om.* B

[30] ca *om.* B

[31] | *add.* B

[32] tāsāṃ viruddhan : ca syād iti na viruddhaṃ B

[33] | *om.* B

[34] iti *add.* B

[35] api *om.* B

[36] hi *add.* B

[37] vaktavyo : prayoktavyo B

[38] upasthāpayati : upādayet B

3. ti tāny api saṃkhyādimatāṃ[39] sāmānyāni syuḥ | atha manyethāḥ[40] ⊙ saty apy anekārthasamavāye yad eva samānajñānābhidhānapravṛtti-nimittaṃ tad eva sāmānyaṃ nānyat | saḥ

4. mā+nānām hi bhāvaḥ[41] sāmānyam bhavato smād abhidhāna-pratyayā⊙v iti bhāvaḥ | yad āhākṣapādaḥ samānajñānābhidhā-naprasav[ā]tmikā jātir iti | etad api svaprakriyā

5. mātradīpanam[42] | tathā hy atra vikalpadvayam udayate | kin te bheḥ⊙dāḥ svarūpeṇa samānāḥ svahetor utpannā yeṣu tat sāmānyaṃ tathāvidhabodhābhidhānavidhānapravaṇa

6. m[43] āhosvid asamānā eveti | tatra yadi te svata eva samānāḥ[44] samāne jñānābhidhāne svayam[45] eva pravarttayiṣyanti[46] kin tatra sāmānyenārthāntareṇa | tathā ca tad asāmānya[m e]

2b

1. va | tadbalena samānajñānābhidhānayor apravṛtteḥ | athāsamānā[47] na tarhi teṣāṃ sāmānyam asti ‹|› samānānāṃ hi[48] bhāvaḥ sāmānyam ity uktavān asi[49] asamānānāñ ca[50] bhāvaḥ sāmānyam iti

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[39] saṃkhyādimatāṃ : saṃkhyādibhedavatāṃ B

[40] | *add.* B

[41] | *add.* B

[42] svaprakriyāmātradīpanam : etad api prakriyāmātrapradīpanam B

[43] °ābhidhānavidhānapravaṇam : °ābhidhānaprasavanimittaṃ | B

[44] tatra *add.* B

[45] svayam : svata B

[46] janayinti *add.* B

[47] | *add.* B

[48] hi *om.* B

[49] | *add.* B

[50] ca *om.* B

2. bruvāṇaḥ ślāghanīyaprajño devānāṃpriyaḥ[51] svayam asamāna-
svabhā⊙vā api tenaiva {sā} samānās ta[52] iti cet* | kin te kriyante[53]
kiṃ nu ᵛ‹vā_#›ᵀ vyavasīyante[54] | tatra na tāvat* kriyante

3. teṣāṃ svahetubhir eva kṛtatvāt* | kṛtasya ca karaṇāyogāt* ⊙ abhū-
taprādurbhāvalakṣaṇatvāt karaṇasya | samānātmanā kriyanta iti
cet* | tan na | teṣān niṣpa××

4. nnatayā kṛñaḥ karmmatā nāsti[55] kathaṃ te kri+yante nāma | syād
e⊙tat* yena dharmmirūpeṇa niṣpannā na tena karoteḥ karmmābhā-
vam anubhavanti | samānena punā rūpeṇa

5. niṣpannās tena[56] kriyanta iti na kiñcid[57] anupapannam^ø | evaṃ
tarhi⊙ tad eva samānarūpaṃ[58] sāmānyena kriyata iti syāt* | tasya ca
tanniṣpattāv[59] anniṣpannasya kāraṇāntaraʲ

6. taḥ p{{ā}} aścād upajāyamānasya tadbhāvasvabhāvatā[60] brahma-
ṇāpi na śakyā sādhay[i]tum | arthāntaram eva tad bhavatu na kiñcid
aniṣṭam āpadyata iti cet* ‹|› sāmānyāntaram eva tarhi nityasāʲ[61]

3a

1. mānyajanyam[62] abhyupetaṃ syāt* | tathā ᵛ‹ca[63] tad api_#›ᵀ bhedānām
asamānānāṅ kathaṃ sāmānyam iti paryanuyoge tenāpi tat* vyatirik-
tasamānarūpakaraṇopa[g]ame saty aparāparakāryasāmānya

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[51] | *add.* B

[52] eva *add.* B

[53] kin te kriyante : tathā hi sati kiṃ kriyante B

[54] kiṃ nu ‹vā› vyavasīyante : 'tha vyavasīyante B

[55] | *add.* B

[56] tena *om.* B

[57] atra *add.* B

[58] | *add.* B

[59] tanniṣpattāv : bhāvaniṣpattāv B

[60] tadbhāvasvabhāvatā : tatsvabhāvatā B

[61] There are some unidentified insertions in the bottom margin of A.

[62] nityasāmānyajanyam : nityasāmānyam B

[63] tathā ca *om.* B

2. kalpanātmakam anavasthānam aprativi[dhā]nam āsajy[e]t[64] | na
ca bheda⊙nām asamānaṃ rūpaṃ[65] pracyaveta || nāpi dvitīyapakṣā-
śrayaṇaṃ śreyaḥ | na hy anyenā[ny]e samānāḥ pratī

3. yante tadvanto nāma pratīyeran* bhūtavat kaṇṭhe guṇenānyathā hi
⊙ yena kenacid anyena ye kecana samānāḥ pratīyeran pratiniyama-
nibandhanābhāvāt* | ekenāneka

4. samavāyinā anyenānye samānāḥ pratīyante tato nātiprasa⊙ṅga iti
cet*{{|}}vārttametat*‹|›nakhaluavayavidravyadvitvādisaṃkhyānām
apy ekatvā×nekasamavāyi

5. tve na staḥ | yena tato 'vayavādayo na tathāvagamyeran[∅] | atha
teṣāṃ   svāśrayeṣu   s{{ā}}amānajñānābhidhānasāmarthyābhāvād[66]
adoṣa eṣaḥ | nanu sāmānyam api bhedeṣv e

6.katvānekasamavāyābhyāmevasamānābhidhānapratyayahetutayā[67]
parikalpita[ṃ]{{|}} tau cāvayavyādīnām api yuṣmābhir abhyupetāv
iti teṣām api tathā bhāvaḥ katham apā

3b

1. kriyeta[68] | asāmānyasvabhāvatvān na te samānajñānābhidhānahe-
tava[69] iti cet* | nanv asamānajñānābhidhānahetutve[70] saty asāmānya-
svabhāvatā ‹|› tasyāñ ca satyā‹m[∅]› samānajñānābhidhānāhetutvam[71]
iti sphu

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[64] āsajy[e]t : ājyata B

[65] asamānaṃ rūpaṃ : asamānarūpaṃ B

[66] s{{ā}}amanajñānābhidhānasāmarthyābhāvād : °jñānābhidhānavidhāna°
B

[67] samānābhidhānapratyaya° : samānapratyaya° B

[68] apākriyeta : apākriyet* B

[69] °jñānābhidhānahetava : °jñānahetava B

[70] nanv asamānajñānābhidhānahetutve : nanu samānajñānāhetutve B

[71] °jñānābhidhānāhetutvam : °jñānahetutvam B

2.ṭamitaret{{ā}}arāśrayatvam|tathāhyekatvānekasamavāyābhyāṃ[72] sāmā⊙nyābhimatabhāvavad ārabhya dravyāder api kin na sāmā-nyarūpateti[73] paryanuyoge samānābhidhānapratyayāpratyạ

3. yatvād[74] ity uttaram[75] uktavān asi | tatas[76] tad api samānapratītini-mitta⊙tvaṃ nimittasya samānatvāt* samānam avayavyāder[77] api kin na syād ity asmadīye punaḥ paryanuyoge saty asāmā

4. nyarūpatvād iti bruvāṇaḥ katham itaretarāśrayadoṣān muktim ā¦⊙sādayasi | etenaitad api pratyuktam | yad uktam uddyotakareṇa na gavi gotvaṃ yena gotvayogāt* prāk° gaur evāsāv i

5. ti vyarthaṅ gotve[78] syāt* | api tu yadaiva vastu tadaiva gotvena sambadhya¦⊙te[79] gotvayogāt* prāg vastv eva nāsti | na cāvidyamā-naṃ[80] gaur ity agaur[81] iti vā śakyaṃ vyapadeṣṭum[82] iti | tathā hi

6. {{..}} yadaiva vastu tadaiva yadi gorūpaṃ tat svahetor evo[83]t-pannaṃ kin tasyānyena gotvena | athāgorūpaṃ na tarhi tasyāśvāder

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[72] ekatvānekasamavāyābhyāṃ : ekatvādeḥ samānatvān nimittasya B

[73] | add. B

[74] °ābhidhānapratyayāpratyayatvād : °ābhidhānapratyayatvād B

[75] uttaram om. B

[76] tatas : tasmāt B

[77] avayavyāder : avayavyādīnām B

[78] gotve : gotvaṃ B

[79] | add. B

[80] vastu add. B

[81] agaur : agaur vā gaur vā B

[82] vyapadeṣṭum : abhidhātum B

[83] evotpannaṃ : utpannaṃ B

eva gotvena saha sambandhaḥ[84] | na cāgor[85] bhāvo gotva+n nāma |[86]
tasmān nā ‖

4a

1. rthāntaram arthāntarasy{{ā}}a sāmānyam ity asāmānyarūpatāyā
arthāntaratvaṃ vyāptaṃ sāmānyātmtām[87] apahastayatīti kuto 'nekā-
ntaḥ | abhinnam eva tarhi[88] sāmānyam astu[89] vyatiriktasāmānyani-
‹rā›k{{ā}}araṇe[90] datta

2. sāhāyakaḥ sāṅkhya idānīṃ pratyavatiṣṭhate | sa evam vaktavyaḥ |
kiṃ nu ⊙ vai bhavān[e] vyaktīnāṃ sāmānyasaṃjñākaraṇakāma[91] āho-
svid ātmātiśayapratipādanakāmaḥ | ādye pakṣe nā

3. smākaṅ[92] kiñcit[*] [kṣa][93]yate[94] | na hi vayan nāmni vivadāmahe[95]
dvitīyo pi pa⊙kṣo mahatīṃ manorājyāsampadam āvedayati | tathā
hy atrāpi[96] vikalpadvayam udayate | kiṃ vyaktibhyaḥ sāmānyasyā

---

[84] syāt *add.* B

[85] na cāgor : hy agor B

[86] | *om.* B

[87] sāmānyātmtām : sāmānyātmakatām B

[88] tarhi *om.* B

[89] astu : astv iti | B

[90] vyatiriktasāmānyani‹rā›k{{ā}}araṇe : °nirākārākaraṇād B

[91] °kāma : °kāmaḥ | B

[92] na *add.* B

[93] A sign that looks like a long *ī* seems to have been falsely placed on top of the *akṣara* below *kṣa*; we assume that *kṣī* was intended by the scribe.

[94] kṣayate : kṣīyate B

[95] | *add.* B

[96] atrāpi : atra B

4. bhedaḥ | [97]vyakt{i}īnām vā[98] sāmānyād[99] abhedaḥ[100] | ādye vikalpe vyaktivad ane¦⊙katvam anityatvañ ca sāmānyasya syāt* ‹|› prayogo vyaktibhyo yad abhinnam tad anekam[101] anityañ ca | yathā tāsām prātisvi

5. kaṃ[102] rūpam° |[103] vyaktibhyaś cābhinnaṃ sāmānyam iti svabhāvahetuprasaṅgaḥ | nā⊙naikāntiko hetuḥ | ekatvanityatvayoge[104] sāmānyasya virudhadharmmādhyāsena vyaktibhyaḥ sukhādibhya iva cai

6. tanyasyaikāntena bhedaprasaṅgāt* | dvitīye smin[105] punar vvikalpe sāmānyavad vyaktīnām apy ekatvanityatve syātām° |[106] prayogaḥ | yat sāmānyād abhinnan na tad anekan nānityaṃ yathā tasyaiva sāmā

4b

1. nyasyātmā ‹|›[107] sāmānyād abhinnañ ca vyaktīnāṃ rūpam iti vyāpakavirūdhopalabdhiprasaṅgaḥ | na cānekāntaḥ | sāmānyād abhinnaṃ hi[108] sāmānyam eva ‹|› tac caikan nityañ ceti[109] kathan tad abhinnam anekam[110] ani

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[97] uta *add.* B

[98] vā *om.* B

[99] iti *add.* B

[100] abhedaḥ *om.* B

[101] anekam : bhinnam B

[102] prātisvikaṃ : pratisvikaṃ B

[103] | *om.* B

[104] °yoge : °yogāt B

[105] dvitīye smin : aparasmin B

[106] | *om.* B

[107] | *om.* B

[108] hi *om.* B

[109] ceti : cet B

[110] anekam : bhinnam B

2. tyañ ca nāma | evaṃ hi[111] bruvāṇaḥ sāmānyam evānekam anityañ ca brū⊙yāt* | tasya ᵛ‹ca›ᵀ sākṣād[112] ekatvanityatve pratijñāya punar upadeśāntareṇa te eva prativahatīti kathan nonmattaḥ[113]

3. | tasmād bhedābhedābhyām avācyaṃ sāmānyam[114] iti siddham | nanu cāyam[115] a⊙naikāntiko hetuḥ | yady api[116] bhedāᵛ‹bhedā_#›ᵀbhyāñ kevalāyābhyām avācyam[117] sāmānyan[118] tathāpi nāvastu[119] prakārāntarasyā[py u]bha

4. yātmatālakṣaṇasya sadbhavāt* | bhinnābhinnam eva hi sāmānyañ jaina[jai]⊙minīyāḥ pratijānate | yad āhur ghaṭamaulisuvarṇṇārthī nāśotpādasthit[i]ṣv ayam śokapramodamādhyasthyaṃ

5. jano yāti sahetukam || na sāmānyātmanodeti na vyeti vyakta⊙m anvayāt* | vyety udeti viśeṣeṇa sahaikatrodayādi sat || +yathā kalmāṣavarṇṇasya yatheṣṭam varṇṇanigraha

6. ḥ | citratvād vastuno py evam bhedābhedāvadhāraṇā || yadā tu śabalaṃ | vastu yugapat pratipadyate | tadā 'nyānanyabhedādi sarvvam eva pralīyate || ekātmakam bhaved ekam iti neśvarabhāṣitaṃ |

5a

1. tathā hi ta{{..}}d upaitavyaṃ ya[d y]athaivopalabhyate iti || atra pratividhīyate | bhedābhedāyor anyonyapratiṣedharūpatvād ekavidher aparapratiṣedhanā[120]ntarīyakatvāt* | katham anayor ekādhi ⫶

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[111] evaṃ hi : evañ ca B

[112] sākṣād : sāmānyād B

[113] pratijñāya punar upadeśāntareṇa te eva prativahatīti kathan nonmattaḥ : punar api tadvipraryayeṇa sa punar vyapadeśāntareṇa te eva prativaktiṃ sajjyati B

[114] avācyaṃ sāmānyam : sāmānyam avācyam B

[115] cāyam *om.* B

[116] yady api : yady api hi sāmānyaṃ B

[117] | *add.* B

[118] sāmānyan *om.* B

[119] nāvastu : vāstavaprakāra° B

[120] aparapratiṣedhanā : aparaniṣedhana° B

2. karaṇatvam[121] unmattetaraḥ[122] pratipadyeta[123] | tathā hi tan nāma tasmād[124] abhinnaṃ ☉ tad[125] eva yat* ‹|› bhinnañ ca tat tasmād yan na bhavati | ataś ca vyaktibhyaḥ sāmānyam bhinnam abhinnañ ceti bruvāṇo vyakta

3. yaḥ sāmānyan na ca vyaktayaḥ sāmānyam iti brūte | kathañ ca svasthaḥ ce☉tasy api tad etad āropayet* prayogaḥ yad yad eva na tad atad bhavati | yathoṣṇṇam vahnirūpaṃ nānuṣṇṇam vyaktaya eva [ca]

4. sāmānyam iti svabhāvaviruddhopalabdhiprasaṅgaḥ | ubhayathā pratī☉ter ubhayopagama iti cet | nanu pratītir apratīter bbādhikā na tu mithyāpratīteḥ | vitathasyāpi {pra}

5. pratītidarśanāt* | anyathā hi[126] pratītipathānusāriṇā bhavatā[127]¦ ☉ dvicandrādayo pi na ni{..}‿‹hno[#]›_B tavyāḥ | bādhakavaśān[128] nihnū-yanta iti cet* | ihāpy etad anumānam asi

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[121] ekādhikaraṇatvam : ekādhikaraṇam B

[122] unmattetaraḥ : anunmatteḥ B

[123] pratipadyeta : pratipadyet B

[124] tasmād : tato B

[125] tad : yad B

[126] hi *om.* B

[127] bhavatā *om.* B

[128] tu *add.* B

6. ddhyādidoṣatraya[129]rahitaliṅga+jaṃ bādhakaṅkin na paśyati devānāṃpriyaḥ | na saṃvido yuktibhir asti bādheti cet* | nanu kim iyaṃ rājājñā[130] yenāvicārya gṛhyeta | pratyakṣasvabhāvā

5b

1. saṃvit* | tac ca jyeṣṭhaṃ[131] pramāṇam[132] ato na bādhyata iti cet | kiṃ punar anumānaṃ[133] lakṣaṇopetam api[134] bādhyate[135] | evam iti cet* | na tarhīdam[136] anumānaṃ pramāṇaṃ syāt* | lakṣaṇayukte hi[137] bādhāsambhave[138]

2. ta[l la]kṣaṇam eva dūṣitaṃ syād iti[139] sarvvatrānāśvāsaḥ | athānumānā⊙bhāso bādhyate | pratyakṣābhāso pi kin na bādhyeta[140] | bādhyatām adhyakṣābhāsa[⟨ḥ⟩] pratyakṣaiva punar iya[141] saṃvittis ta ⦙

3. t kathaṃ bādhyata iti cet*[142] nanu ceyam api[143] pratyakṣābhāsarūpaivānu⊙mānena bādhyamānatvāt* | athādhyakṣam[144] eva pratyakṣasya tadābhāsatāṃ bādhakatvāt sādhayati[145] na tv anumānam ity a

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[129] traya *om.* B

[130] rājājñā : rājñām ājñā | B

[131] jyeṣṭhaṃ : jyeṣṭaṃ B

[132] | *add.* B

[133] api *add.* B

[134] api *om.* B

[135] bādhyate : bādhyet B

[136] tarhīdam : tarhi tad B

[137] hi *om.* B

[138] sarvvatra *add.* B

[139] | *add.* B

[140] bādhyeta : bādhyatāṃ B

[141] iya : iyaṃ B

[142] | *add.* B

[143] api *om.* B

[144] athādhyakṣam : atha pratyakṣam B

[145] | *add.* B

4. bhiniveśaḥ ‹|›[146] kathan tarhi jvālādiviṣayāyāḥ[147] pratyabhijñāyā vya⊙ktyapekṣayā pratyakṣābhāsatā[148] vyavasthāpyate[149] | na khalu jvālādīnām api kṣaṇikatvam adhyakṣam avadhārayati |

5. tasmād anumānam eva jvālādīnāṃ kṣaṇikatvaṃ sādha‹ya#›_Bt[150] bādhakam asyā⊙it{{i}}y akāma+kenāpi kumārilenābhyupaganta-vyam[151] | na ca śakyaṃ vaktuṃ sāmānyam eva kevalan[152] tayā[153] viṣa

6. yīkriyata [i]ti ‹|› tathābhāve hi[154] tad evedaṃ +++jvālātvam iti[155] syān na tu saiveyaṃ jvāleti | tasmān na hetur anaikāntika[156] iti | alam bahupralāpitayā || || sāmānyanirākṛti[ḥ][157] ||+

2. Sāmānyanirākṛti (6a1-8a5)

6a

1. yady atropalabdhilakṣaṇaprāptaṃ san nopalabhyate sa ta^v‹trā-sa#›^Tdvyavahāraviṣayaḥ | yathā[158] turaṅgottamāṅge[159] śṛṅgam[160]

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[146] | *om.* B

[147] jvālādiviṣayāyāḥ : jñānādiviṣayāyāḥ B

[148] pratyakṣābhāsatā : prakṣābhāmatāṃ B

[149] vyavasthāpyate : vyavasthāpayet B

[150] | *add.* B

[151] kumārilenābhyupagantavyam : abhyupaitavyaṃ B

[152] kevalan *om.* B

[153] Above the *yā* in A there seems to be a *kākapada*, and the bottom margin contains an insertion with five *akṣara*s; a tentative reading might be: *pratyabhijñāyā*. No equivalent in B.

[154] tathābhāve hi : tathā ca sati B

[155] evaṃ *add.* B

[156] na hetur anaikāntika : nānaikāntiko hetur B

[157] sāmānyanirākṛti[ḥ] : kṛtir iyaṃ mahopādyāyapaṇḍitaśrījitāripādānāṃ iti || || B

[158] yathā : tad yathā B

[159] turaṅgottamāṅge : turaṅgamottamāṅge B

[160] | *add.* B

na copa^v‹labdhi[#]›^Tlakṣaṇa prāptam[161] sāmānyam upalabhyate[162] vyaktiṣu | iti svabhāvānupalabdhiḥ |[163] na tāvad a¦

2. yam asiddho hetuḥ | tathā hi viśeṣaṇāsiddhyā ‹’›siddhir asya sambhāvyate ¦⊙ viśeṣyāsidhyā vā | tatra na tāvad viśeṣaṇāsiddhyā ’siddhir asyāpādayitum[164] śakyate[165] | na hi sāmānyasyopa ¦

3. labdhilakṣaṇaprāptabhāve vivādaḥ sambhavati | viśeṣaṇatvāt tasya sva⊙buddhyā viśeṣyam anurañjayad viśeṣaṇam bhavati | yad āha svabuddhyārabhyate yena viśeṣyan tad viśeṣaṇam i ¦

4. ti | na cā[166]nupalabhyamānam ātmīyayā dhiyā rañjayitum īṣṭe viśeṣya¦⊙m* | vaiśeṣikeṇāpi dṛśyam eva sāmānyam iṣṭam | yad āha nāgṛhītaviśeṣaṇā buddhir vviśeṣye[167] varttata

5. iti | atha sāmānyāpalāpavādino[168] dṛśyatvam[169] asiddham | turaṅgo⊙ttamāṅge pi śṛṅgasya tadabhāvavādino dṛśyatvan na kim asiddham∅ | viṣāṇasya deśakālāntare dṛṣṭatvād i

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[161] upalabhyate | *add.* B

[162] upalabhyate *om.* B

[163] svabhāvānupalabdhiḥ : °lambhaḥ | B

[164] ’siddhir asyāpādayitum : ’siddhir apādayitum B

[165] śakyate : śakyate kutaḥ B

[166] na cānupa° : nānupa° B

[167] buddhir vviśeṣye : viśeṣye buddhir B

[168] sāmānyāpalāpavādino : sāmānyāpalāpinaḥ sāmānyam B

[169] dṛśyatvam : dṛśyam B

6. ti cet*[170] na | yadi tatra dṛṣṭaṃ katham anyatra dṛśyam | āropitatvād
iti cet* | sāmānyam api tarhi tathaiva[171] tadabhāvavādino dṛśyam[172]
astu | darśanapūrvvakatvād āropasya tasya ca[173] tadabhāvā ⫶

6b

1. n naivam iti cet* ‹|› darśanam vāropanimittam[174] parābhyupagamo vā
na viśeṣam paśyāmaḥ[175] | svatantre ca sādhane paropagamāpekṣaṇād
ayuktam iti[176] cet* | nanv atra nāsty eva paropagamāpekṣā[177] na hi
parānurodhe

2. na nopalabhyata iti ᵛ‹ucyate#›ᵀ[178] | kin tarhi vastusthityaiva |
nānupalambhamātraṃ sādha⊙nam saviśeṣaṇasya tathābhāvāt tatra
cāsty eva paropagamāpekṣeti cet* | bhavatu ko doṣaḥ | avāstav{{ā}}
atā svātantrya

3. virodhinīti cet* | nanu dṛśyānupalambha[ṃ] sarvvatrāvāstavam
eva viśeṣa⊙ṇam[179] āropitatvāt tasya ‹|› na hi yo yatra nāstīti sādhyate
tasya[180] tatra[181] darśanaviṣayatā vāstavī tasmād yathā dṛśyatayā

4. ropitam anupalabhyamānam aśvaśirasi śṛṅgam asadvyavahāra-
gocare ca⫶⊙rati | tathā dṛśyatayāropitam anirūpyamāṇarūpaṃ sā-
mānyam api | ato viśeṣaṇāsidhidvārakam asiddhatvam a⫶

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170 | *add.* B

171 tathaiva *om.* B

172 dṛśyam *om.* B

173 ca *om.* B

174 vāropanimittam : vāropasya nimittam B

175 paśyāmaḥ : utpaśyāmaḥ B

176 °āpekṣaṇād ayuktam iti : °āpekṣā na yukteti B

177 | *add.* B

178 parānurodhena nopalabhyata iti ucyate : parānurodhān nāstīti B

179 | *add.* B

180 tasya *om.* B

181 tatra : tatrāsya B

5. sya nāśaṅkate kaś[ci]d vipaścit* | viśeṣyāsiddhyāpy asiddhir abuddhimatā⦙⊙m eva manasi niviśate | tathā hi |[182] upalabdhir asya sambhavantīndriyadhiyā[183] vā bhaven[184] manomanīṣayā vā | tatrendriyabu⦙

6. ddhau spaṣṭatarasādhāraṇetaranīlādyākārāyān nāparam anvayinam ākāram ābhāsamānaṃ lakṣayāmaḥ | tat katham indriyadhiyā tadīyagrahaṇam abhyupeyāt* || {yo}ᴧ‹trilocana›ʙ py āha gām upalabhya gavāśvaṃ paśya na gāṃ sa⦙

7a

1. rūpaṃn turaṅ{{ā}}am asarūpan ni+rūpayati | tatra yaiva gavāṃ sārūpyapratītiḥ saiva sāmānyapratītiḥ | na hi sārūpyāt sāmānyam anyad eva yat tasya grahaṇe py agṛhītaṃ syād iti | sārūpyamaty{e}ā hi vyaktaya ᵛ‹....›ᵀ[185] ucyante

2. | tadabhāve tv asarūpābhyas tāsāṅ ko viśeṣo yena tā eva sarūpā syuḥ || ⊙ atra brūmaḥ | sarūpāṇāṃ bhāvaḥ sārūpyaṃ sārūpyam api sarūpāṃ vyaktim antareṇa katham⁰ |[186] tataś ca yāvat sārūpyan na sidhya

3. ti tāvat sarūpā vyaktayo na sidhyanti ‹|›[187] yāvat sarūpaṃ na sidhyati tāvat sārū⊙pyam api na sidhyati ‹|›[188] sphuṭam[189] itaretarāśrayatvaṃ sutarāṃ avatarati | atha manyase na sarūpavyaktisāpekṣā sārūpyasi

4. ddhir yenaivaṃ syāt* | api tu tad eva tāḥ sarūpayati ‹|› sarūpayatīt[i] ko rtha[ḥ] kiṃ sa⦙⊙rūpavyavahāragocarāḥ karoti kiṃ vā sarūpā eva | tatra yadi sarūpavyavahāragoacarāḥ karoti tarhi tathā vya

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[182] | om. B

[183] sambhava° : bhava° B

[184] | add. B

[185] The insertion is illegible. Ms. B has only *sārūpya* and *ucyate* (not *ucyante*); between these words in A there are 6 or 7 blurred *akṣara*s.

[186] | om. B

[187] | om. B

[188] sidhyati ‹|› : sidhyatīti B

[189] sphuṭam : sphuṭaram B

5. padiśyeran aparaṃ | na punas tathā pratibhāseran | dvitīye tu pakṣe sa⦿rūpāḥ sarūpayatā piṣṭaṃ piṣṭaṃ syāt* | asarūpās tu sarūpayataḥ pratiniyatahetvabhāvāt*[190] | sarvvāsarūpasarūpaṇa ¦

6. prasaṅgaḥ | athāsarūpā[śra]ya[191] kāśc[i]t svahetuparamparāyātar ūpaviśeṣāḥ[192] sarūpyante ‹|› nanv idam eva tāsāṃ sārūpya[ṃ] yad ataddhetujanyavyāvṛttena rūpeṇotpattiḥ | tasmāt svahetubalāyātasam[ā]

7b

1. narūpāvyakta[ᵛ]‹ya› eva paraṃ[193] pratibhāsante | na punar āsāṃ sāmānya iti kuto hetvasiddhiḥ | yo pi manyate[194] d[ū]rāvasthiteṣu piṇḍeṣu viśeṣagrahaṇe[195] sāmānyam[196] astīti[197] so pi śocanīyamatir[198] manīṣiṇāṃ[199] yadi vi

2. śeṣāgrahaṇe pi sāmānyagrahaṇam iṣyate tadā taṭasthasāmānya-prati⦿bhāsaprasaṅgaḥ na caitad asti[200] kin tu vy{ā}ktīnām eva ta-tra vaṅkānān nānādeśavarttinīnāṃ pratibhāso nubhūyate ava¦

3. śyañ caitad eṣṭavyamᵉ | anyathā varṇṇasaṃsthānākārapratyayo[201] na syāt* | yadi[202] ⦿ viśeṣā eva gṛhītās tarhi grahaṇānusāriṇā niścaye-nāpi viśeṣaviṣayeṇa bhavitavyamᵉ | bhavaty eva na hy a

[190] pratiniyatahetvabhāvāt : pratiniyatābhāvāt B

[191] athāsarūpā[śra]ya : asarūpā 'pi B

[192] Ms. B seems to read: *svahetuparamparayā āyatarūpaviśeṣāḥ*; however the text is blurred and does not allow a definitive reading.

[193] paraṃ : paramparaṃ B

[194] yo pi manyate *om.* B

[195] pi *add.* B

[196] sāmānyam : sāmānye grahaṇam B

[197] astīti : astīti yo manyate | B

[198] śocanīya° : śodhanīya° B

[199] | *add.* B

[200] | *add.* B

[201] varṇṇasaṃsthānākārapratyayo : °ākārapratibhāso B

[202] hi *add.* B

4. nyathā gāva imā iti pratītir ghaṭate | sāmānyaviṣayatve hi go¦⊙tvam e{{x}}tad iti syāt* || nāpi manomatiḥ sāmānyapratibhāsinī | tathā hīndriyajñānānantarabhāvinī taditara

5. thā[203] sarvvaiva manomanīṣā nīlādiparimaṇḍalavastusaṃsthānam[204] ābhāsa⊙yati | na ca varṇṇasaṃsthānavat sāmānyam[205] vyaktes tallakṣaṇatvāt*[206] | na cānuvṛtt[i]vyāvṛtt[ī] varṇṇātmike jātivyaktī tat*dvi

6. tīyapratibhāsaprasaṅgāt*[207] | vyakter evāsau[208] varṇṇādipratibhāsa iti cet* | ko 'paras tarhi sāmānyasyānugatākāra iti cet* | nanu varṇṇasaṃsthāne virahayya kim aparam anugāmi gamyate |

8a

1. jātivyaktyoḥ samavāyabalād vibhāvitavibhāgayoḥ kṣīrodakayor iva parasparamiśraṇena pratipattir iti cet* | na [tarhi] sāmāyaviśeṣayor ekatarasyāpi svarūpaṅ gṛhītan[209] na ca svar[ū]

2. pāgrahaṇe tayor api grahaṇam iti nirālambanaiva sā tādṛśī pra⊙tipattir iti sphuṭataram[210] āveditam bhavatā nirāᵛ‹la#›ᵀmbanayā ca[211] pratītyā vyavasthāpyamānaṃ sāmānyam[212] suvyāvasthāpita

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[203] taditarathā : taditarā vā B

[204] nīlādiparimaṇḍalavastusaṃsthānam : nīlaparimaṇḍalādi° B

[205] | add. B

[206] vyaktes tallakṣaṇatvāt : vyaktes tu tallakṣaṇam B

[207] tat*dvitīyapratibhāsaprasaṅgāt : varṇṇādidvibhavapratibhāsaprasaṅgaḥ B

[208] evāsau : evam asau B

[209] | add. B

[210] sphuṭataram : parataram B

[211] ca om. B

[212] sāmānyaṃ om. B

3. m[*ø*][213] | tasmād viśe[ṣ]yāsiddhyāpi nāyam asiddho hetuḥ | sapakṣe vartta⊙māno[214] viruddha iti na vaktavyam[*ø*][215] | anaikāntikatāpy asya na saṃbhāvanām arhati asadvyavahāre anapekṣa ⁝

4. tve na[216] dṛśyānupalambho vyāptaḥ | sa[217] yadi[218] sann api tan na pravartayet[*] sāpe⊙kṣaḥ[219] syāt | tato vipakṣāt[*ø*] vyāpakaviruddhāt[*] vyāvarttamāno 'sadvyavahāre viśrāmyana[220] tena vyāpta iti ku

5. to 'naikāntikaḥ ‖ sāmānyanirākṛtir[221] iyaṃ paṇḍitajitāripādā⊙-nām[222] ‖

[213] sāmānyaṃ : sāmānyaṃ suvyavasthāpyaṃ sāmānyaṃ B

[214] 'tha *add.* B

[215] vaktavyam : mantavyaṃ B

[216] hi *add.* B

[217] sa *om.* B

[218] hi *add.* B

[219] tadāpekṣaḥ *add.* B

[220] viśrāmyana : viśrāmyanas B

[221] sāmānyanirākṛtir : kṛtir B

[222] iti *add.* B

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On the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the
Pramāṇaviniścaya

A look into the translator's workshop of rṄog Blo ldan śes rab[1]

Pascale Hugon, Vienna

Introduction

The contribution of rṄog Blo ldan śes rab (1059–1109) (hereafter: rṄog Lo) to the developments of Buddhist scholarship in general at the beginning of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (*phyi dar*) is a highly significant one. In the field of epistemology in particular rṄog Lo's translations and commentarial works constituted the corner stones for the emergence of a leading tradition of Tibetan *tshad ma* at the monastery of gSaṅ phu Ne'u thog.[2]

Tibetan epistemologists in rṄog Lo's time and the generations that followed up to the thirteenth century used the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (PVin) by Dharmakīrti (7th c. or 6th c. according to Krasser 2012) as

[2] On rṄog Lo's life and works see Kramer 2007.

their main source.[3] The translation of this text preserved in the Ti-
betan canon was carried out by rṄog Lo, Parahitabhadra and anony-
mous "others" while rṄog Lo was residing in Kashmir between 1076
and 1093. The same team also translated the *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*
by Dharmottara (8th c.) (PVinṬ).[4] A concurrent translation of the
PVin existed of which we find traces in the citations of the PVin
in Jñānaśrībhadra's commentary, which dates from the 11th c. The
way the PVin is translated in these citations is very different from
the canonical translation. According to a source this translation was,
like the translation of Jñānaśrībhadra's own commentary, the deed
of Jñānaśrībhadra himself together with Khyuṅ po Chos kyi brtson
'grus.[5] More research will be necessary to ascertain whether it had
any impact.[6]

rṄog Lo's Tibetan translation of the PVin and PVinṬ became
the original by proxy for most Tibetan thinkers who did not rely
on the Sanskrit version of the text. Modern scholars, for lack of an-

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[3] Cf. van der Kuijp 1989.

[4] This attribution is made in the colophon of the canonical versions (cf.
Kramer 2007: 63 and 66). rṄog Lo's biography by Gro lung pa confirms
this information (ibid., p. 103–104). The colophon groups the "others" with
Parahitabhadra (*paṇḍita gźan la phan pa bzaṅ po la sogs pa daṅ / bod kyi
lo tsā ba blo ldan śes rab*), suggesting that they were members of the Kash-
mirian part of the translating team rather than Tibetan scholars or students.
With no intention of downplaying the role Parahitabhadra and the anony-
mous "others" had in this task, I refer for simplicity's sake to this transla-
tion as "rṄog Lo's translation" throughout the rest of the paper.

[5] Van der Kuijp 1989: 19 gives this information based on the *Myaṅ yul stod
smad bar gsum gyi ṅo mtshar gtam gyi legs bśad mkhas pa'i 'jug ṅogs*, a
work questionably attributed to Tāranātha.

[6] In this regard I examined in particular the commentary on the PVin by
Chu mig pa, who was an abbot of gSaṅ phu in the 13th c. First referred to in
van der Kuijp 1993: 295–296, this text has now been published in the *bKa'
gdams gsuṅ 'bum*, vol. 87, 5–307. Chu mig pa indicates in the colophon of
this work that he knew Jñānaśrībhadra's commentary. My examination of
Chu mig pa's citations of the PVin is yet far from being exhaustive, but the
passages I considered hint in the direction of rṄog Lo's translation rather
than that used by Jñānaśrī.

other way, also relied on this Tibetan translation for the study of this fundamental source until the fortunate surfacing of Sanskrit manuscripts of these texts. The availability of the Sanskrit version of the PVin and PVinṬ now enables a detailed comparison with the Tibetan translation. While this comparison confirms the high quality of rNog Lo's translation, it also discloses a number of differences. As far as it could be assessed by the editors of the third chapter of the PVin, there are few cases that qualify as "major divergences" in the strong sense once transmission mistakes have been discarded. This speaks in favor of a careful preservation of Dharmakīrti's text and of the translator's competence. There remain, however, a number of variations and unexpected translations that deserve to be examined.

Part I of this paper focuses on preliminary methodological issues pertaining to the comparison of the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. We must indeed first clearly determine what we are comparing before we can draw any conclusion on the work of the translator. In the first section, I review the extant material and show that the "ideal comparands" are not available to us. In the second section, I attempt to retrieve some of rNog Lo's original translation by relying on newly recovered Tibetan commentaries on the PVin. In Part II, I discuss the factors responsible for the differences between the Sanskrit and the Tibetan, highlighting among other things the significant input of the translator as an interpreter. I hope thereby to be able to bring to the fore additional aspects of the translating technique of the rNog Lo, the "Great translator," a topic for which Lasic already set some corner stones in his study of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*.[7]

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[7] See Lasic 2006, which deals with fragments of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* translation preserved in Tabo Monastery, and Lasic 2007 on fragments of an old *Nyāyabindu* translation from Dunhuang. Lasic's studies reveal in particular rNog Lo's priorities about the execution of a revisional work, since his translation of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* relied on an earlier translation by Dharmāloka. Lasic (2006: 76) shows that rNog Lo's main concerns were (1) to improve the technical terminology and (2) to better represent the structure of the Sanskrit text. In the case of the *Nyāyabindu*, Lasic (2007: 491) concludes that "we can without hesitation exclude that the canonical version is a new translation by Blo ldan śes rab." He notes that the canoni-

Although my discussion concentrates on rṄog Lo's translation of the PVin and PVinṬ, I trust that the questions raised in both parts of the paper are similarly applicable to a broader corpus and can contribute to our understanding of commentarial techniques and issues linked with text transmission on a larger scale.

Part I — Methodological considerations

1. What are we comparing?

Ideally, a comparison of the original Sanskrit text and the Tibetan translation aimed at assessing the translator's contribution should take as comparands (1) the Sanskrit text in the version as it was known to the translator and (2) the Tibetan text as it was established by the translator. In the present case (as for most texts in the context considered) this turns out to be problematic.

(1) The Sanskrit text

PVin

The Sanskrit material of the PVin currently at our disposal consists of two complete and three incomplete manuscripts, plus a folio from a sixth manuscript.[8] Features of this material such as recognizable typical scribal mistakes, notably eye-skip errors, indicate that none of these manuscripts qualify as what I call a first-generation manuscript, that is, either an autograph by Dharmakīrti himself, or an exemplar of the work written down under Dharmakīrti's dictation. The absence of a first-generation manuscript is not excessively problematic for our purpose. Indeed, it is likely that rṄog Lo, who

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cal version is merely extracted from the translation of Vinītadeva's commentary, with slight revisions but no perceptible effort at improving on the translation. On the possibilities of retrieving parts of the "original version" of rṄog Lo's revised version of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, see also Hugon 2014.

[8] On this material see Steinkellner's introduction to the edition of PVin 1 and 2 and the introduction to the edition of PVin 3 by Hugon and Tomabechi.

lived several centuries after Dharmakīrti, did not have such material at his disposal either but, like us, had access to a later copy. Which version of the text did he rely on? How similar was it to the Sanskrit versions available to us?

The manuscripts of the PVin at our disposal suggest that the text was well preserved. Once scribal mistakes have been excluded, most of the remaining variants between them do not involve a significant change of meaning – the available Tibetan translation can in these cases indifferently reflect either one or the other Sanskrit reading.

At the risk of anticipating our conclusions pertaining to the suitable comparand for the Tibetan version, we can observe an overall correspondence of the Tibetan translation preserved in the canon with the Sanskrit version of the text in these manuscripts. This indicates that rṄog Lo's Sanskrit source was not exceedingly different. There are no notable additions, lacks or changes in the location of extended portions of text. The variations (to be investigated in Part II) are all local, usually restricted to a single word.

Could rṄog Lo's source have been one of the manuscripts available to us? The Tibetan translation preserved in the canon does not side unilaterally with any of our five later-generation manuscripts taken individually. And among the variants, there are separative readings that hint at the translator's reliance on a version of the text that is different from these five.[9]

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[9] See Steinkellner's introduction to PVin 1&2: xxxix and Tomabechi and Hugon's introduction to PVin 3: xxxiv–xxxvi. Steinkellner (PVin 1&2: xxxix) notably mentions (i) a case in the first chapter where manuscripts ABC share the mistaken reading *viśeṣyajñānāviśeṣād* (probably due to an eye-skip error), whereas the Tibetan (*khyad par gyi śes pa daṅ khyad par can gyi śes pa khyad par med pa'i phyir*) supports the correct reading *viśeṣaṇajñānaviśeṣyajñānāviśeṣād*, and (ii) the presence in the Tibetan of the phrase *de daṅ bral ba'o*, which cannot be interpreted as a gloss, whereas all the available manuscripts omit *tayā rahitam*. Steinkellner's discussion assumes the pertinence of the canonical version of the Tibetan translation as a comparand.

But we cannot simply assume that the Sanskrit comparand, rṄog Lo's source, is a later-generation copy different from ours. Indeed, we lack information not only on the sources, but also on the actual process of translation involved. We do not know whether rṄog Lo and his team relied on one or several versions of the text, nor whether their source was written or memorized, or a combination of both.[10] Further, we do not know what their "editorial policy" was: how did they proceed in the event of illegible portions, scribal or mnemonic corruptions, variants, etc.? What amount of emendations did they apply before proceeding to translate? Assuming that Parahitabhadra and rṄog Lo were accomplished thinkers, a likely hypothesis would be that they made informed choices and corrected whatever material was at their disposal when they felt it was necessary. From this angle, even part of the separative readings mentioned above may be viewed as the product of expert editorial work based on faulty manuscripts.[11]

PVinṬ

If we look for an ideal comparand for the PVinṬ, we meet with the same issues but this time on two levels:

First, we lack information about Dharmottara's source and editorial policy when he composed his commentary.[12] A single (incom-

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[10] In the colophon of some translations revised by rṄog Lo one finds mention of the use of exemplars of the text. For instance, the colophon of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* specifies that rṄog Lo used exemplars of the text from Kashmir and Magadha that were 'collected' (*bsags*) (or maybe one should understand it as 'collated'?) (*kha che'i dpe daṅ yul dbus kyi dpe dum bsags nas gtan la phabs pa*) (Kramer 2007: 53–54). The *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* was revised based on an exemplar from Magadha (ibid., p. 66–67).

[11] In particular Steinkellner's (i) (see the note 9) and possibly the one mentioned by Hugon and Tomabechi (discussed in Part II.3 [5]). It is less likely in the case of Steinkellner's (ii) that the translators would have emended the text without relying on an alternative Sanskrit version.

[12] On this topic, see Freschi (2015), where the example of Dharmottara is discussed as an illustration of a problem that affects the broader context of

plete) manuscript of the PVinṬ is currently available, which bears the mark of being a copy (numerous scribal mistakes of all kinds attest to this). Comparing this version with the extant manuscripts of the PVin, we can see that Dharmottara includes words and expressions from the PVin in three different ways: (i) explicit quotations with a lexical mark (followed by *iti*); (ii) explicit quotations without a lexical mark (when explaining a word by giving a synonym; in such a case, the Tibetan has the mark *te/ste/de*); (iii) embedding words in his explanation.

The first type amounts to a verbatim citation of the source text. The same is true for the second type but only the root of the word is representative of the source text because it is often part of an expression or compound that is being explained. The third type is only recognizable when one refers to the source text. In this regard the Tibetan might be misleading due to its lack of certain nuances;[13] thus an identical expression in the source text and in the commentary in Tibetan does not necessarily indicate that the Sanskrit versions of the PVin and PVinṬ have matching expressions.

Example

Source text: $PVin_{Skt}$ 1,2–3 (prose passage on PVin 3.1ab); $PVin_T$ D187a7–b1; P285a7–8[14]

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commentarial literature.

[13] In this regard Steinkellner (1988: 106–107) points out the lack of precision that can follow from working with texts exclusively available in Tibetan.

[14] "Inference for others is the statement of the triply characterized reason by [a proponent] wishing to generate in [the mind of] another, on the basis of a triply characterized reason, an understanding of that which possesses the reason, [an understanding] just like the understanding of that which possesses the reason which arose in his own [mind] on the basis of the triply characterized reason." (Adapted from the translation of PSV in Tillemans 2000: 3–4)

yathaiva hi svayaṃ trirūpāl liṅgāl liṅgini jñānam utpannam, tathā paratra liṅgijñānotpipādayiṣayā trirūpaliṅgākhyānaṃ parārtham anumānam	ji ltar raṅ ñid tshul gsum pa'i rtags las rtags can la (P las) śes pa skyes pa kho na ltar gźan la rtags can gyi śes pa bskyed par 'dod pas tshul gsum pa'i rtags (P rtag) ston par byed pa ni gźan gyi don gyi rjes su dpag pa ste │

Dharmottara's commentary: PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 1b4–6 (reading of the manuscript); PVinṬ$_{T}$ D2a1–3; P2b1–3

I use the following marking:

> Explicit quotations with a mark

> Explicit quotations without a mark

> Embedded words from the PVin

yathaiva hīti │	**ji ltar raṅ ñid** ces smos te │
yathaiva yenaivārthakrameṇa **trirūpāt** trīṇi rūpāṇi yasya tasmāl **liṅgini** parokṣe 'rthe ātmano **jñānam utpannam tathā** tenaivarthakrameṇa **paratra** parasantāne **liṅgi**no 'rthasya yaj **jñāna**ṃ tasy**otpipādayiṣayā trirūpaliṅga**sya yad **ākhyānam** prakāśanaṃ tat **parārtham anumānaṃ**	**ji ltar** te don gyi tshul[a] gaṅ gis **tshul gsum pa** ste │ tshul gsum gaṅ la yod pa'i rtags de las **rtags can** lkog tu gyur pa'i don la bdag ñid **śes pa bskyed pa** de **kho na ltar** te │ don gyi rim pa de ñid kyis **gźan la** ste rgyud gźan dag la **rtags can gyi** don gyi **śes pa** gaṅ yin pa de **bskyed par 'dod pas tshul gsum pa'i rtags ston par byed pa** ste │ gsal bar byed pa gaṅ yin pa de **ni gźan gyi don gyi rjes su dpag pa** yin no ‖

[a] Note the difference of translation: here *don gyi tshul* renders *arthakrama* but in the correlative one finds *don gyi rim pa* for *arthakrama*.

The examination of explicit quotations for the third chapter did not reveal significant differences with the text of the PVin based on our manuscripts. When the two complete manuscripts showed divergent readings, our manuscript of Dharmottara's text supported each of them against the other in equivalent proportions.[15] Dharmottara's source thus did not appear to have sided unilaterally with one of the versions of the PVin at our disposal. It may be that Dharmottara had

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[15] See the introduction to the edition of PVin 3, p. xxxvii.

access to another version, or that he relied on several versions and chose from the variants on a case-to-case basis.

On the second level, we meet again with the question of the translators' source when translating the PVinṬ. If rṄog Lo's team relied on a single manuscript, it was probably not the one at our disposal. Indeed we can point out several separative cases that are more conclusive than in the case of the PVin. Notably, the canonical versions of the PVinṬ (so far D and P have been consulted) lack a translation for phrases present in our Sanskrit exemplar.[16] Since these phrases are sometimes quite long and such lacks are not rare, I would exclude the possibility that all these omissions are the result of scribal oversights. Conversely, there are sentences in Tibetan where our Sanskrit exemplar does not have any equivalent. Further study of the PVinṬ will show whether some of them could be glosses by rṄog Lo himself or by a revisor, or notes by a reader included by a copyist. But there are cases that hint to the existence of an alternative Sanskrit source where these sentences are present.[17] Other cases suggest another manuscript with a variant reading.[18]

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[16] For example: *etad uktaṃ bhavati na vayaṃ brūma ekatvasyānekatvam avaśyam evan tu brūmo nekatvavyāptasya sambhave vyāpakasambhava eṣitavyo vyāpakābhāv{o}e <vā> vyāpyābhāva iti* | (PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 8a3–4); *so rthas tatsāmarthyena vyāptas* (PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 17b2); *dvayoś ca bhojanīyatvaviśeṣayoḥ pratiṣedhe* (PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 19a6); *asparśatvasya hy anvayo vya{ti}rekasahāyaḥ* | (PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 103a3); the expressions *gamayan* and *nānyatheti* in the Tibetan translation of the sentence *hetur vipakṣavyāvṛttiṃ gamayan⁰ prakṛtasya sādhyasya gamako bhavati nānyatheti śeṣaiḥ pakṣadharmmair ayam arthaḥ kathyate* | (PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 71b5; PVinṬ$_T$ D75b45, P89a6–7: *phyogs kyi chos 'di rnams kyis ni mi mthun pa'i phyogs las ldog pa daṅ ldan pa'i gtan tshigs ni skabs su bab pa'i bsgrub bya go bar byed pa yin no źes bya ba'i don 'di brjod pa yin no* ||).

[17] For instance, the phrase **de ltar 'gyur gyi** *źes bya ba ni grub par 'gyur gyi'o* || (PVinṬ$_T$ D22a7; P25b7), which refers to *evaṃ syāt* in PVin$_{Skt}$ 17,4; or *gcig rnam par gcad pa ñid gnas pa yin pa'i phyir* | *mñan bya ñid go byed du 'gyur ro* || (PVin$_T$ D71a5).

[18] For instance, the translation **gal te de ltar yin na** *źes bya ba ni the tshom med pa'i phyir ro* || (PVinṬ$_T$ D10a2; P11b7) for *yadi evam iti sandehenābhidhānā{va}d iti* | (PVin$_{Skt}$ 9a6), which suggests that the translator read *sandehābhāvād.

But as in the case of the translation of the PVin, it is possible that the translators used several sources and chose from one or the other or adopted an emended version on a case-to-case basis. An additional question concerns their editorial policy when their version(s) of the PVinṬ presented a variant with their version(s) of the PVin.

(2) The Tibetan text

When modern scholars speak of rṄog Lo's Tibetan translation of the PVin or the PVinṬ, they usually refer to the version of these texts that was preserved in the canonical *bsTan 'gyur* collections of sNar thang, sDe dge, Co ne or Peking, or the compilation (*dpe sdur ma*) of these four recently published in Beijing (1994–2008: kruṅ go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khaṅ). Paul Harrison summarizes the constitution of the *bsTan 'gyur* collections as follows:[19]

> The transmission of the bsTan 'gyur which was also compiled at the beginning of the fourteenth century at sNar thang has been considerably less complicated. To the best of my knowledge, there are five complete editions in existence, all of which apparently go back to Bu ston's substantial revision of the Old sNar thang bsTan 'gyur at Zha lu in 1334. The woodblock prints made in Peking (1724) and sNar thang (1741–1742) are both based on the second enlarged copy of Bu ston's edition made in 1688 at 'Phying ba sTag rtse by the regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho. This consisted of 224 volumes, and included over 200 texts translated or discovered since Bu ston's time [...]. There is also a Golden Manuscript bsTan 'gyur, recently published in Beijing, which is possibly an offspring of the 1724 Peking print. On the other hand, the sDe dge woodblock edition of the bsTan 'gyur (1737–1744) was compiled using a number of manuscripts, some if not all of which were derived from the Zha lu edition [...], but it preserves an earlier stage in the development of the tradition: even though it was subsequently enlarged from 209 to 214 volumes, it contains far fewer

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[19] Harrison 1996: 91, n. 55.

texts than the Peking or sNar thang prints. The Co ne edition (1753–1773) was based on the sDe dge; complete in 209 volumes, it lacks the later additions. To these must be added the two incomplete editions made at Urga or Ulan Bator (1937) and Wa ra (ca. 1945), both of which are also based on sDe dge.

All the canonical versions are the result of a complex process of text transmission, compilation and editorial work, and the earliest canonical collection was completed two and a half centuries after rṄog Lo's translation. The canonical versions of the PVin and PVinṬ are thus not representative of a "first-generation translation," that is, the Tibetan text as it was established by rṄog Lo in Kashmir, or even of the text established by rṄog Lo after subsequent revision of the initial translation.

Old individual manuscripts of the text might bring us a step closer to the original translation. But if they are copies, one must reckon with scribal mistakes, such as omissions or substitution of terms, mistakes that are not automatically identifiable as corruptions of the text being copied (in the way typos and dittos are). In addition, whether their colophon says so or not, these old versions may involve some editorial input and are thus not necessarily mere copies of the original translation.[20]

To summarize, our ideal Sanskrit comparand, the translator's source, might not be a unique manuscript — and if it is, it is not available to us at present — but a kind of "critical edition" to which we do not have direct access. And our ideal Tibetan comparand is also not available to us; we only have access to later-generation material that does not result from a vertical transmission by way of

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[20] Van der Kuijp (1994: 1-3) describes, for instance, a 110-folio manuscript of the PVin in cursive script (*dbu med*) preserved at the Tibetan Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing (catalogue no. 004780[1]). A postscript written below the colophon of this manuscript specifies that the text at hand is an edited version of rṄog Lo's translation. Van der Kuijp identifies the editor — who is referred to as "sTag sde pa" in an interlinear note — as the thirteenth-century sTag sde pa Seṅ ge rgyal mtshan (1212–1294).

successive copies of the first-generation translation. However there may be some hope of getting closer to rṄog Lo's original version.

2. Attempting to retrieve the first-generation translation of the PVin

The surfacing of rṄog Lo's commentarial work on the PVin, the *dKa' gnas,* appears to offer a promising way to palliate, at least to a certain point, the lack of an integral first-generation exemplar of the translation. Indeed, as can be expected in a commentary, rṄog Lo frequently quotes words from the PVin in this work. It makes sense to surmise that he is citing the Tibetan version according to the translation that he himself produced. Other Tibetan commentaries on the PVin by authors linked to the monastery of gSaṅ phu (of which rṄog Lo was the second abbot) are also of interest in this regard, because it is quite likely that their authors knew rṄog Lo's translation.

In order to assess the contribution this newly recovered material can make to retrieving rṄog Lo's first-generation translation, I have collected all the explicit quotations of words from PVin 3 in rṄog Lo's *dKa' gnas* (a selective commentary on the PVin), Phya pa's *'Od zer* (an extensive commentary on the PVin) and *bsDus don* (a synoptic table of the PVin), and gTsaṅ nag pa's *bsDus pa* (an extensive commentary on the PVin). I have then confronted them with the reading found in the D and P *bsTan 'gyur*.

2.1 Words cited as "markers"

A first observation is that the majority of the explicit quotations from PVin 3 in these works have the specific function of being a "marker." Namely, they point to a specific sentence or paragraph in the source text by way of indicating its first (sometimes also last) words. For example, this would amount to referring to §2 of the present paper by saying "[In the paragraph starting with the words] 'The surfacing'." If not indicated explicitly, the end of the passage that is pointed to can be understood implicitly in view of the content of the explanation or can be inferred by the quotation of the next marker, especially when the

commentary bears on the totality of the source text. In the *dKa' gnas*, only parts of the PVin are explained. But Phya pa's *bsDus don* carries out a full hierarchical organization of the PVin: the text is divided into more than 1200 portions (sometimes of the length of one sentence or less), and each of them is referred to by such a marker.[21]

The use of quotations as markers has a negative and a positive consequence for our purpose:

The negative aspect is that the words cited in this way provide us with an extremely partial access to the original translation (only one expression per subdivision). Further, the words cited in this aim instantiate parts of the text that are in most cases far from being crucial. Indeed, countless paragraphs start with "then," "therefore," or "in this regard" (*de nas, de'i phyir, de la...*).

On a more optimistic note, these markers imply the existence of a specific version of the translation shared by the author of the commentary and his intended readership. Otherwise indeed a reader would not be able to figure out which division of the text is being explained — it would be like trying to locate a chapter in a book by referring to the page numbers in the table of contents of this book in a different edition. It is thus also likely that the author was careful to accurately reproduce the words cited. While the difference between "here" (*'di la*) and "there" (*de la*) might not matter much for the understanding of a passage, such a difference does matter when the expression is cited as a marker. This remark, however, holds true only for the very first word cited. In the (less frequent) case of longer expressions used as markers, the author of the commentary could afford to be less careful with the subsequent words because they are no longer decisive for identifying the passage being discussed.

A variation of markers given in different commentaries that discuss the same topic can be explained in various ways: commentators may have divided the root text in different ways[22]; they may have adopted the same divisions of the root text but relied on translations

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[21] On this text see Hugon 2009a and 2009b.
[22] On this topic see Hugon 2009a: 65ff.

in which these particular words only vary; or they may have relied on completely different translations. Yet another possibility, which as we will see below is frequently met with, is that the variation may have been caused by a careless copyist.

2.2 Classification of variants

My comparative analysis of all the markers collected from the texts mentioned above has not revealed cases that indicate the use of a substantially dissimilar translation in which the whole syntax of the sentence would be different. There is an overall correspondence also in the way these authors divide the root text. The variants of markers and other citations of words of the PVin due to the translation can be classified in the following categories:

2.2.1 Variants due to corruption

Most variants can be identified as the result of a corrupt transmission of the text. Such mistakes are well known by scholars who rely on the canonical versions. The other texts considered here are all extant as single manuscripts with the exception of the *dKa' gnas*, for which there are two manuscripts and a modern edition based on one of them. All these texts bear the stigmata of the copying process. Copying mistakes also affect citations, including markers. For the latter I am more prone to attribute these mistakes to scribes and copyists than to postulate carelessness on the part of the author for the reason indicated in §2.1.

The devil's advocate may ask how, apart from grammatically or orthographically incorrect Tibetan expressions, one may safely classify a variant as a copying mistake and not as the result of a translation based on a different Sanskrit version. The hypothesis that the Sanskrit text of the PVin was well preserved in the course of its transmission, confidence in the competence of the translator together with a dose of good judgment and editorial expertise allows one to make such a decision with a safe degree of certainty in the majority of cases. Here are some examples:

(a) Faulty readings in the *dKa' gnas*

There are numerous cases where a copying mistake affects only one of the two manuscripts while the other retains a correct reading.

dKa' gnas 380,4–5; Ms A 93a6	rgyu **las** 'bras bu btags pa'i phyir ro
dKa' gnas Ms B 104a3	rgyu **la** 'bras bu btags pa'i phyir ro
The reading of Ms B is supported by	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 1,3–4	kāraṇe kāryopacārāt
'Od zer 143b7	rgyu **la** 'bras bu btags pa'i phyir ro
PVin$_{T}$ D187b1; P285a8	rgyu **la** 'bras bu btags (P brtags) pa'i phyir ro
The confusion of *la* and *las* is a frequent scribal mistake.	

dKa' gnas 437,12; Ms A 106b3	don **rnam par** dgag par mi nus pa'i phyir ro
dKa' gnas Ms B 118b3	don **rnams la** dgag par mi nus pa'i phyir ro
The reading of Ms B is supported by	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 35,5	**'rtheṣv** aśakyapratiṣedhatvād
'Od zer 171a1	don **rnaṃs la** dgag par mi nus pa'i phyir ro
PVin$_{T}$ D198b4; P296b2	don **rnams la** dgag par mi nus pa'i phyir ro
The mistake can be explained by a resemblance of the characters involved in cursive script.	

The modern edition itself is not exempt of copying mistakes. For instance:

dKa' gnas 401,6	**de** ni ji ltar
dKa' gnas Ms A 98a5	**da** ni ji ltar
The reading of Ms A is supported by	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 12,1	katham **idānīm** aśrūyamāṇaḥ

dKa' gnas Ms B 108b7	**da** ni ji ltar
'Od zer 154a2	**da** ni ji ltar ma thos na
PVin$_T$ D190b4; P288b3	**da** ni ji ltar ma thos na

(b) Faulty readings in the *'Od zer*

'Od zer 187b1	**de** ni
but	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 82,10	**tatra** hi
dKa' gnas 491,13	**de la** ni
bsDus pa 198a5	**de la** ni
PVin$_T$ D213a4, P319b7	**de la** ni
Omission of *la*, or copying mistake of *der*.	

'Od zer 186a7	**'di** gaṅ źig mi mthun phyogs su gtogs
but	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 78,1	kaṃ punar **atra** bhavān vipakṣaṃ pratyeti
bsDus pa 197b5	**'dir**
PVin$_T$ D211b7; P309b2	**'dir** gaṅ źig mi mthun pa'i phyogs su gtogs
Copying mistake of *'dir*.	

(c) Faulty readings in the *bsDus don*

bsDus don 12a4	de ci ni
but	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 102,6	tat kim **idānīṃ** pakṣo 'pi vipa-kṣaḥ
'Od zer 191a5	de ci **da** ni phyogs kyaṅ
PVin$_T$ D218b4; P316b5	de ci **da** ni phyogs kyaṅ
Omission of *da*.	

bsDus don 12a4	gaṅ **la** skyon
but	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 102,8–9	na ca hetoḥ sambandhopadarśa-nakāle pakṣādivikalpo 'sti, **yato** 'yaṃ doṣaḥ syāt
'Od zer 191a8	gaṅ **las** skyon 'dir 'gyur ba
bsDus pa 202a8	gaṅ **las**
PVin$_T$ D218b5; P316b6–7	gaṅ **las** skyon 'dir 'gyur ba
Confusion of *la* and *las*.	

(d) Faulty readings in the *bsDus pa*

bsDus pa 206a4	**daṅ ni**
but	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 123,11	**kim idānīṃ** nairātmyād
PVin$_T$ D225b5; P332b4	**da ni** bdag med pa las
Possibly confusion of a *tsheg* for a final –ṅ.	

bsDus pa 166b1	**yid** pa'i
but	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 3,8	**san** khalv apy arthaḥ
PVin$_T$ D188a2; P286a2	**yod pa'i** don ni
Here the scribal mistake can be explained by the occurrence of the expression *blo yid spyod las* earlier in the sentence in the *bsDus pa*.	

bsDus pa 201a2	**de raṅ yaṅ**
but	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 92,10	**tatrāpi** hi
PVin$_T$ D215b7; P313b3	**der yaṅ**

> The mistake can possibly be explained by a confusion of a *tsheg* with *ra* or *-ṅ* and the proximity of the expression *gźan dag*.

(e) Faulty readings in the canon

The availability of these earlier texts, together with that of the Sanskrit version, offers strong support to correcting faulty readings in the canon.

For example:

PVin$_T$ D193a2; P291a2	de'i phyir chos **'ga' źig** kho na
but	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 18,9	tasmāt **kevala** eva dharmo
dKa' gnas 480,21–481,1	rnam ṅes 'di ñid | de'i phyir chos **'ba' źig** kho na

PVin$_T$ D209a3; P306b5	don de **ni**
but	
PVin$_{Skt}$ 68,8	na ca sa **evā**rthaḥ
dKa' gnas 474,19	don de **ñid**
bsDus don 11a3	don de **ñid**

2.2.2 Minor variations

A number of other variations do not count as significant variants: they consist of fluctuations of orthography and the alternative use of the abbreviated or full form of some expressions, for instance *rjes dpag/ rjes su dpag pa*, *gnod bya/gnod par bya ba*, *bsgrub bya/bsgrub par bya ba*, etc. The variant *rtog pa/rtogs pa* is a borderline case. Indeed, in twelfth-century manuscripts the orthography for the Tibetan word that corresponds to *vikalpa* or *kalpanā* is also *rtogs pa*, whereas classical Tibetan distinguishes between *rtog pa* (equivalent to *vikalpa*,

kalpanā, etc., negatively connoted as mistaken) and *rtogs pa* (*prati-patti*, *adhigama*, etc., positively connoted as a correct understanding).

2.2.3 Variants indicative of revisions

The overall correspondence of divisions of the source text, of the markers and other types of citations of the PVin in the various commentaries considered supports the hypothesis that their authors relied on the Tibetan translation prepared by rṄog Lo (or on a version deriving from it) and followed to a large extent also rṄog Lo's analysis of the source text.

There is, however, a third category of variants that indicates that rṄog Lo's translation was modified over time and that these revisions, which remained isolated, occurred at an early stage. Below I list some cases that illustrate this process. Note that the line is often difficult to draw between intentional revision and corruption made by a scribe or even the author himself. Indeed we have no certitude that the authors concerned relied on a written version of the translation and consulted it whenever they cited the source text. If they did not proceed in such a way, the variants considered here can also be explained as the result of an inexact memory of the wording of the translation, to which the authors creatively palliated. In all the examples considered below, there is no reason to postulate that the variation is consecutive to access to a Sanskrit source containing a variant reading.

Examples

[1]	**PVin$_{Skt}$ 9,5 (PVin 3.5) pakṣoktiḥ**	
dKa' gnas 378,21; Ms A 93a2; Ms B 103b6	phyogs kyi ṅag	
(citation of PVin 3.4–5)		
'Od zer 151a9	phyogs tshig	
	(to be emended to *phyogs kyi tshig* for the sake of metrics)	
PVin$_T$ D190a2; P288a1	phyogs kyi tshig	

PVinṬ_T D14a5; P16b6 (Skt. 13a4   phyogs kyi tshig
pakṣoktiḥ)

The translation *phyogs kyi tshig* appears to be influenced by the transla-
tion of *pakṣavacana* as *phyogs kyi tshig* in the preceding sentences.

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[2]   **PVin_Skt 70,3 avadhatte**

dKa' gnas 475,2; Ms A 115a2; Ms B   lhur len pa
129a1

PVin_T D209b3; P307a5   lhur gñer ba

PVinṬ_T D99b1; P117b5 (no Skt.   lhur gñer ba
available)

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[3]   **PVin_Skt 18,10 samudāyasya**

dKa' gnas 481,2; Ms A 116a7; Ms B   tshogs pa
130b5

'Od zer 157a6   spyi

PVin_T D193a2; P291a2   spyi

PVinṬ_T D25b4; P29b1 (PVinṬ_Skt   spyi
24a1 samudāyaḥ)

In the sentence that precedes the translation *spyi* for *samudāya* (in this
context, the combination of subject and property to be proven) is also
attested in *'Od zer* 156b8 and in PVinṬ_T D25b2; P29a7 (PVinṬ_Skt 23b5).

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[4]   **PVin_Skt 66,6 tattve**

dKa' gnas 471,10; Ms A 113a4; Ms B   de ñid la
127b8

'Od zer 181a5   de ñid la

PVin_T D208a7; P306a2   de ñid du

The translation *de ñid la* appears to be inspired by Dharmottara's inter-
pretation of *tattve* as *padārthatatvasya* (PVinṬ_Skt 90b4), translated *dṅos
po de ñid la* (PVinṬ_T D94b1; P112a1).

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[5]   **PVinSkt 82,7 (PVin 3.63) hetunā**

dKa' gnas 488,11; Ms A 118a4; Ms B   rgyu las
132b7

'Od zer 187a2   rgyu las

PVinT D213a4; P310b7   rgyu yis

The choice of the ablative may have been influenced by the translation
of the similar verse PV 1.7. This verse reads *hetunā samagrena* instead
of *hetunā samarthena* but the Sanskrit instrumental is also translated
with the ablative *rgyu tshogs pa las*.

In the preceding prose sentence *samarthena hetunā* is translated as *rgyu
nus pas* in the canon, but as *rgyu nus pa las* in *'Od zer* 187a2 and in the
citation of the words of the PVin in PVinT$_T$ D113a7; P133a5 (PVinT$_{Skt}$
104b8–105a1).

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[6]   **PVin$_{Skt}$ 73,5 sādhyatām**

dKa' gnas 482,17; Ms A 116b6; Ms B 131a4   bsgrub par bya ba yin mod

'Od zer 184b5   bsgrub bya yin mod kyi

bsDus pa 196b1   bsgrub par bya ba yin mod

PVin$_T$ D210b1; P308a3   bsgrub par bya ba yin du zad
mod

PVinT$_T$ D102b5; P121a6 (no Skt.   bsgrub par bya ba yin mod
available)

Purely stylistic variation.

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[7]   **PVinSkt 6,12 anyathābhyupagamya**

'Od zer 150b2   de lta ma yin na

bsDus pa 168a1   gźan du khas blaṅs

PVin$_T$ D189a5; P287a5   de lta ma yin na ni khas blaṅs

Jñ D232a5   gźan du khas blaṅs źes bya ba smos
te | grub pa'i mtha' las gźan du spyi
med par khas blaṅs nas

Variant of translation revealing a different understanding of the sen-
tence.

I postulated at the beginning of §2 that rṄog Lo was citing his own
translation of the PVin in the *dKa' gnas*. We may wonder, however,

whether he did not revise some of this translation while composing the *dKa' gnas*. This is entirely possible.[23] In view of the use of citations as a marker, one should in this case postulate that from this point onward the revised translation was circulating among his students. But did it fully replace a prior translation? Did rNog Lo revise his translation even after composing the *dKa' gnas*? rNog Lo's direct successors (whose works are not available to us) may have relied on the Kashmirian translation (either because it was the only one or because they chose to ignore the revisions) or on a revised translation that may be the one attested in the *dKa' gnas*, or not. The question is even more complicated where later generations of commentators are concerned. Namely, we cannot establish which version of the translation they knew, but only which version of the translation they chose.

We can however draw some conclusions from the examples above. The readings of the citations of the PVin in the *dKa' gnas* (with the exception of readings corrupted in the course of the transmission of the text), whether they are identical with the translation produced in Kashmir or a slightly modified version of the latter, are witnesses to rNog Lo's first-generation translation. On the other hand, readings found in other early commentaries that postdate rNog Lo and in the canonical translation, unless confirmed by their occurrence in the *dKa' gnas*, cannot be assumed to match the first-generation translation (even though they probably do in most cases). Revisions or involuntary modifications of the first-generation translation indeed took place in the course of the transmission of the PVin. Examples [1] and [3] suggest revisions that took place before or in Phya pa's time, examples [4], [5] and [6] suggest revisions postdating Phya pa. The nature and apparent reasons for these changes vary: they can

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[23] Franco (1997: 287) notably interprets the variations between citations of verses of the PV in Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Rigs gter* and in the translation preserved in the canon (for which Sa skya Paṇḍita is traditionally held responsible) by arguing that "while composing the Rigs gTer he was not only reading his own translation, but also consulting Dharmakīrti's original again."

be purely stylistic ([6]), terminological ([1], [2] and [3]) or reflect a different understanding of the sentence ([7]).[24]

2.3. The translation of the PVinṬ

The PVin and the PVinṬ were translated by the same team, and their translation appears to have been carried out more or less simultaneously. The translation of the PVinṬ presupposes an established translation of the PVin. This can be observed in particular in the translation of passages of the PVinṬ in which Dharmottara cites words from the PVin as markers. In such cases, rṄog Lo does not translate the cited words themselves, but presents the first words of the relevant section in the Tibetan translation of the PVin.

For example:

Source text

PVin$_{Skt}$ 4,4	PVin$_T$ P286a5; D188a5
yas tu paraparikalpitaiḥ prasaṅgaḥ	**gźan gyis** kun brtags (P btags) pas thal ba bsgrub pa... gaṅ yin pa

Dharmottara's commentary

PVin$_{Skt}$ 5b7	PVinṬ$_T$ P7b2; D6b1
yas tv iti...	**gźan gyis** źes smos so ‖

Conversely, the translation of the PVin relies on an understanding of the text influenced by the PVinṬ, and its translation reflects the translation of the PVinṬ. A pertinent instance of this influence can be found when difficult terms of the PVin are rendered in the translation with a Tibetan word that actually corresponds to the translation of the synonym for the difficult term presented in the PVinṬ (see Part II for some examples).

This joint translation ensures a noticeable regularity in the respective Tibetan versions. Notably, words of the PVin quoted by

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[24] This line of inquiry could be extended by looking at other recently surfaced early commentaries on the PVin, such as the early-thirteenth-century commentary by Dar ma dkon mchog (cf. van der Kuijp 2003) and that by Chu mig pa (cf. n. 6 above).

Dharmottara (either as explicit or implicit quotations) and words embedded in his commentary are usually translated in the same way as they are in the translation of the PVin found in the canon (see, for example, the passage in §1 (1) PVinṬ, and examples [1] and [3] in §2.2.3).

Unfortunately, it is not possible to retrieve parts of the original translation of the PVinṬ in the way indicated for the PVin. Indeed, there are no early Tibetan commentaries on the PVinṬ itself, nor synaptic tables akin to Phya pa's *bsDus don* on the PVin. rNog Lo himself more frequently resorts to paraphrase than citation when referring to Dharmottara's interpretation in the *dKa' gnas*. This prevents us from clarifying what happened in the text transmission of the translation of the PVinṬ. It is likely that it underwent revisions and modifications as well. But, in the case of citation of the PVin in the PVinṬ, were these carried out simultaneously when the translation of the PVin was modified? This question remains in suspense for now: Cases where the canonical reading of the PVinṬ concords with the canonical reading of the PVin but differs from earlier readings of the PVin (such as [1] and [3]) could suggest a simultaneous revision. But an alternative scenario could be that the first-generation translations of the PVinṬ had for some reason a different translation than in the PVin, and that the revision of the PVin consisted in adopting the translation found in the PVinṬ. But there are also cases where the translation of the PVinṬ agrees with citations of the PVin in early commentaries but differs from the canonical translation of the PVin (for instance [6] and the remark in [5]). This would indicate that both translations were initially identical and only the PVin was revised.[25]

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[25] There remains the possibility that both were revised in different ways, with the result that the revised translation of the PVinṬ corresponds to the original translation of the PVin. But I find this scenario unlikely.

3. Summary and conclusion of Part I: Establishing a methodology for a pertinent comparison

Reviewing the available material in the first section of Part I has raised a troublesome methodological issue pertaining to the comparison of the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. Namely, we do not have at our disposal the "ideal comparands" consisting on the one hand of the Sanskrit version known to rṄog Lo and on the other hand of the Tibetan translation as it was established by rṄog Lo. As for the first, none of the extant manuscripts appear to be candidates for rṄog Lo's Sanskrit source. Further, we do not even know the nature of rṄog Lo's material — he might have had access to several manuscripts and/or oral versions — or which degree of editorial work he might have exercised in order to establish the Sanskrit version that was the source of his translation. As for the second, the available versions of the Tibetan translation are the result of a complex process of transmission that reveals the intrusion of scribal mistakes, but also of early punctual revisions. In the second section of Part I I have discussed the possibility of retrieving some of the lost original translation by relying on citations of words of the PVin in rṄog Lo's *dKa' gnas*. This possibility exists but gives us access to a very limited portion of the text, and often to parts of the text that are not crucial to its understanding (e.g., beginnings of sentences such as "therefore," "in this regard," etc.).

   This preliminary investigation directs the adoption of the following policy of comparison for the case studies to be carried out in Part II[26]: for the Tibetan version, I will consider the reading of the canonical translation preserved in the Peking and sDe dge *bsTan 'gyur*. While doing so, one must keep in mind that, unless this reading is confirmed by a citation in the *dKa' gnas*, it might not exactly match rṄog Lo's original translation. The conclusions pertaining to

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[26] In Part II I take up selected cases from the third chapter of the PVin where one can detect a difference between the comparands the origin of which dates to the moment of the translation of the text rather than to the hazards of transmission. In this connexion, see also Sakai (2010: viii–xii), which deals with some examples from rṄog Lo's translation of PVinṬ 2.

the translation that I will ascribe to rṄog Lo might therefore have to be attributed instead to a later revisor. This Tibetan version will be compared to the Sanskrit readings of the available manuscripts but without assuming *a priori* that these readings were the ones adopted by rṄog Lo as his source. Further, I take into account the potential editorial input of the translator by considering that "adoption as a source" can consist either in adopting as a source a reading extant in the material available to him or in adopting as a source an emended reading. This gives us the following options:

> (1) A Sanskrit reading attested among our manuscripts was the one adopted by rṄog Lo as his source. This can be (1a) because he had access to a manuscript or oral version with this very reading or (1b) because he did not think any of the sources available to him were correct and adopted an emended version that turns out to match the reading of one or more of the extant manuscripts.

> (2) rṄog Lo adopted as his source another Sanskrit reading than the ones in the extant manuscripts. This can be (2a) because he had access to a different manuscript reading or knew this variant from an oral version or (2b) because he did not think any of the sources available to him were correct and adopted an emended reading that turns out not to match any of the extant manuscripts.

Whenever a difference between the Sanskrit and the Tibetan comparands is examined, I will speak of the choice of translation as being "source-related" when option (2) applies because it relies on the existence or construction of an alternative source version as the basis of translation. When option (1) applies, I will speak by contrast of the difference as being "translator-" or "translation-related," as it does not presuppose a different source text, but is only a matter of how the translator decided to render the given term in the target language.

To give a fictional example, if one finds the Tibetan expression *śiṅ* in a translation whereas the extant Sanskrit manuscripts read *śiṃśapā*, it is a source-related difference if the translator was not

actually translating the word *śiṃśapā*, but intended to translate the word *taru*; however, it is a translator-related difference if he was actually proposing that *śiṅ* should translate *śiṃśapā* in this context.

As can be foreseen, it will be difficult, and often impossible, to conclusively decide which of the two options applies in each case. My goal here will not be to offer a final explanation. Rather, I would like to highlight the often neglected role of the translator by showing that most cases for which the unexpected or diverging Tibetan version would, at first sight, appear to be source-related can be interpreted instead as translator-related insofar as a cogent explanation can be given for the choice of translation, even when this choice involves features such as the addition of words.

Part II — Translation style and techniques: case studies

It is obvious that the same text in a source language can give rise to a variety of translations in a target language, even when these translations aim at staying as literal as possible.[27] Regarding the PVin, it suffices to compare rṄog Lo and Parahitabhadra's translation with the portions cited in Jñānaśrībhadra's commentary, which was translated by Jñānaśrībhadra himself and Khyuṅ po Chos kyi brtson 'grus, to realize the latitude involved in the translator's choice. At what point can one say that the Tibetan "differs" from the Sanskrit? I examine below various phenomena that can be included under the heading of "difference." In the first section I consider the specific rendering of terms or expressions where the Tibetan can be described as "unexpected." That is, for instance, when the translator himself adopted another Tibetan translation for other occurrences of the same Sanskrit expression in the same text, when another translation for this expression is more frequent in other texts or when the pair of

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[27] Regarding Buddhist philosophical texts Seyfort Ruegg discusses the case of two different Tibetan versions of the same Sanskrit text, the *Prajñā-pāramitāstotra*, in his 1992: 383–384. He points out differences that are stylistic, terminological, and differences involving interpretation ("religio-philosophical variations"). Other examples of multiple translations are mentioned on pp. 384–385.

comparands is not known to be attested in other texts at all, including cases where the Tibetan does not carry the same meaning as the Sanskrit term. I also consider in this context the alternative between a calque translation (which mirrors the Sanskrit expression) and a translation that favors meaning.

In section 2 I take up cases where the difference pertains to the syntax of a sentence. While a difference in syntax is expectable between two different languages, one can still point out cases where the syntax of the Tibetan does not reflect the structure of the Sanskrit sentence as well as cases where links between subsentences are made explicit in the Tibetan.

The third type of difference that I will examine (section 3) is the case where the Tibetan version contains one or more words that have no equivalent in the Sanskrit version.

Lastly (section 4), I address two cases where the Tibetan version lacks an expression present in the Sanskrit version.

In the passages cited below, the reading of the Tibetan passage in D and P is given without emendations. Words in italics are words from the PVin cited or re-used in commentaries, while expressions under discussion appear in bold print. For PVinṬ$_{\text{Skt}}$ I offer the diplomatic reading of the manuscript when it is available. {} contain words deleted in the manuscript, <> words added in the manuscript, () indicate unclear characters. My emendations are given in square brackets.

1. The rendering of terms and expressions

Various options often present themselves to a translator when translating isolated terms or expressions, insofar as the target language may offer a range of synonyms. For example, in one passage rṄog Lo and Parahitabhadra translate the word *pradīpaḥ* ("lamp") as *sgron ma* (PVinṬ$_{\text{T}}$ D217b5; P315b4), while Jñānaśrī and Khyuṅ po translate it as *mar me* (Jñ D274b4).[28] Both qualify as "expect-

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[28] See also Part I, §2.2.3 for cases of terms of which the translation was changed in the course of the transmission of the translation of the PVin.

able" translations.[29] Apart from synonyms another alternative that translators have, especially for complex expressions, compounds or derivatives, is to adopt a calque translation or to adopt a translation that conveys the same meaning but does not reflect the composition of the source expression. When opting for a translation in which the meaning rules over the structure, the translator's choice may follow an established usage. But there are also cases where the attested translation is unexpected. In some cases the chosen Tibetan term approximates the meaning of the Sanskrit term; in other cases it conveys a different meaning. When dealing with such cases, I will debate whether a source-based explanation or a translator-based explanation can best explain the Tibetan reading.

[1] *āveśa* — *'brel pa*

rṄog Lo translates the expression *avasthāntarāveśāt* as *gnas skabs gźan daṅ 'brel pa'i phyir*. The expression *āveśa* ("joining," "taking possession of") is rare in Dharmakīrti's writing. It occurs only one other time in PVSV 165,12 ad 1.312–313, where it is rendered by *goms pa* ("being familiar with").[30]

In the PVinṬ, Dharmottara uses the expression *avasthāntareṇa saṃsargād* "due to combination/union with another condition (*avasthā*)," translated as *gnas skabs gźan daṅ 'brel pa'i phyir*.

One can think here of both a source-related explanation and a translator-related explanation. The former would be that both Dharmottara and rṄog Lo had adopted *avasthāntarasaṃsargāt* as their source text. The latter (more likely in my opinion) would be that they both had adopted the reading *avasthāntarāveśāt*. Dharmottara

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[29] The *Mahāvyutpatti* prescribes *mar me* for *dīpaḥ* (6117), and *sgron ma* to translate *pradīpaḥ* in various compounds.

[30] PVSV$_{Skt}$ 165,11–13: *teṣām aviditārthaniyamānām **atyakṣāveśād** avidvān eva doṣopaplavaḥ kaścit tattvaṃ vyācaṣṭe nāpara iti na nyāyyam.* PVSV$_T$ D358b4–5; P525b5–6: *lkog tu gyur pa goms$_{(5)}$ pa'i phyir ñes pas bslad* (P *slad*) *ciṅ mi mkhas pa 'ga' źig don ñes pa rigs pa med pa can de dag de kho na ñid du 'chad par byed pa$_{(6)}$ yin la | gźan ni ma yin no źes bya bar rigs pa ma yin no ||*

glossed *āveśāt* with *saṃsargāt*. As for rṄog Lo, in the absence of a fixed translation for *āveśa*, he attempted to render the meaning of the whole expression by an approximating Tibetan term. The choice of term here could be directed by Dharmottara's explanation or alternatively influenced by the translation of the related term *samāveśa* as *'brel pa* in an earlier passage (PVin$_{Skt}$ 48,6–7).

PVin$_{Skt}$ 94,4	vastv ekam evāvasthāntar**āveśād** bhedadṛṣṭir iti cet |
PVin$_T$ D216a7–b1; P314a5	dṅos po gcig ñid gnas skabs gźan daṅ **'brel pa'i phyir** | tha dad par mṅon par yin no źe na |
"Objection: One conceives the distinction (between *avasthā* and *avasthātā*) because a unique entity can **enter/be joined with** another condition (*avasthā*)."	
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 115a1	*avasthāntareṇa* **saṃsarggād** *bhedadṛṣṭir* bhavati
PVinṬ$_T$ D126b2; P148a7	*gnas skabs gźan daṅ* **'brel pa'i phyir** *tha dad par mṅon pa yin*

PVin$_{Skt}$ 48,6–7	na hi sa eva brāhmaṇas tajjātiyogād abrāhmaṇaś ca dharmāntara**samāveśāl** loke pratīyate |
PVin$_{Tib}$ D203a6–7; P300b8	de'i rigs daṅ ldan pa'i phyir de ñid bram ze yin la | chos gźan daṅ **'brel pa'i phyir** de ñid bram ze ma yin pa yaṅ yin par ni 'jig rten na rtogs pa med do ||
"Indeed, it is not recognized in the world that the very same person would be both a Brahmin because he is linked (*yoga*) with the universal of this [i.e., of Brahmin-hood] and not a Brahmin because he is **endowed by/joined with** (*samāveśa*) another property [i.e., a property other than being a Brahmin]."	
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 70b4	*abrāhmaṇaś ca* brāhmaṇyād *dharmmāntareṇa* **samāveśāt⁰**
PVinṬ$_T$ D74b2; P87b8	bram ze las *chos gźan pa daṅ* **'brel ba'i phyir** *bram ze ma yin pa yaṅ yin* no źes...
Jñ D253b6	chos gźan daṅ **ldan pa** ni ser skya'am maṅ du za ba'am | riṅ ba ñid daṅ ṅo ||

[2] *vicāra — tha sñad*

The Tibetan translation of the PVin usually uses the term *dpyod pa* for the Sanskrit *vicāra* ("analysis, investigation"). On a single occasion, one finds instead the term *tha sñad* ("convention"), which usually translates *vyavahāra*. This version of PVin$_{\text{Tib}}$ is attested in Chu mig pa's commentary. Did rṄog Lo adopt *vyavahāra* as his Sanskrit source? Or if he adopted *vicāra*, why did he choose the translation *tha sñad*? The notion of "convention" or "conventional practice" does not occur in this discussion of the PVin, which concerns the nature of the subject in a philosophical discussion, i.e., the context where one undertakes an investigation (*vicāraprastāva*). Let us consider Dharmottara's commentary:

Dharmottara introduces Dharmakīrti's sentence by a hypothetical objection, which asks why a certain type of subject would not be something to be investigated (*avicāryam — rnam par dpyad par bya ba ma yin*). Dharmakīrti's sentence is the answer to this question. Dharmottara reformulates this sentence, embedding some words from the PVin and glossing others. His explanation is that a subject that is not established for both debaters does not support "a convention/conventional practice (*vyavahāra*) characterized by the acceptation of contradictory properties." To illustrate this idea, Dharmottara gives as an example of what he terms a "convention/conventional practice based on a distinction" (*bhedāśrayo vyavahāraḥ — khyad par gyi rten can gyi tha sñad du 'gyur ba*) the question of whether a given object is permanent or impermanent. It is clear that "convention/conventional practice based on a distinction" represents Dharmottara's understanding of the expression "investigation based on a distinction" (*viśeṣāśrayaṃ vicāram*) in the PVin.[31]

Thus a translator-based explanation can be offered for the translation *tha sñad* by invoking the influence of the commentary: Dharmottara's gloss was adopted to render Dharmakīrti's original expression.

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[31] Note that Jñānaśrī proceeds to the same reformulation, as he rephrases *dpyod pa'i gźir byed pa med* as *gźi tha sñad byed pa ni med de*.

PVin_{Skt} 24,10–11	na hi tathoparacito 'prasiddharūpasāmānyo viśe-ṣāśrayaṃ vicāram āśrayate |
PVin_{Tib} D194b7–195a1; P292b7	de ltar rab tu bkod pa'i ṅo bo mtshuṅs par ma grub can dag ni khyad par gyi rten can (P add yin) gyi tha sñad kyi (D om. kyi) rten ma yin pa'i phyir ro ||

"Indeed, what is thus [mentally] constructed, whose common nature is not established, does not support **investigation/convention** which has for its basis a particularity [i.e., a property]."

PVinṬ_{Skt} 32b2–4	nanu ya{ṣe}d evārthakāri ta{ya}d eva siddhānte [em. siddāntena] viśiṣṭaṃ kalpitam
	tat katham avicā{dha}ryam ity āha | na hī*ti
	yasmāt *tathā hi svecchayā upacarito* yo dharmy *aprasiddha*m anubhavena *rūpasāmānya*m ubhayor vvādiprativādinor yasya *viśeṣa āśrayo* yasya **vya-hārasya** viruddhadharmābhyupagamalakṣaṇa-sya tan *nāśrayate* |
PVinṬ_T D34b7–35a1	gal te don byed pa gaṅ yin pa de ñid khyad par can du grub pa'i mtha' brtags pa ma yin nam |
	de ci ltar rnam par dpyad par bya ba ma yin źe na | *de ltar* źes smos so ||
	gaṅ gi phyir chos can gaṅ źig raṅ gi 'dod pas *ñe bar bkod pa*'i rgol ba daṅ phyir rgol ba gñi ga la *ṅo bo mtshuṅs pa*r ñams su myoṅ bar *ma grub pa* gaṅ yod pa ni *khyad par gyi rten* gaṅ la yod pa'i **tha sñad** 'gal ba'i chos khas len pa'i mtshan ñid can de*'i rten ma yin pa'i phyir ro* ||
Jñ D242a5–7	gal te raṅ gi mtshan ñid ma yin pa dag kyaṅ dgag pa'i phyir | dpyod par byed pa ma yin nam źe na |
	de bźin du źes bya ba smos te | raṅ gi mtshan ñid gñi ga la grub pa'i gźi med pa de bźin du'o || rgol ba daṅ phyir rgol la spyir grub pa'o || 'di'i raṅ bźin ji lta bu źes dpyod pa'i gźir byed pa med de | gźi ma grub pa'i phyir ro || de'i phyir gźi tha sñad byed pa ni med de | spyir mthun pa'i tha sñad bya bar mi nus pa'i phyir ro ||
	de lta bas na brtags pa dag dgag par bya bar ni rigs kyi rtags kyi gźir bya ba ni ma yin no || raṅ ñid kyi sgras ni rtags kyi yul ston pa'i phyir ro ||

| rNam nges ṭi ka 93b7–8 | rtag mi rtag *de ltar rab du bkod pa'i* chos can gyi *ṅo bo* rgol phyir rgol 2 ka la *mtshuṅs par ma grub pa can* nam mkha'i yon gyi sgra dag *ni khyad par chos kyi* ste chos rten pa can chos can *gyi **tha sñad kyi rten*** chos can *ma yin* par tshad mas ṅes pa'i *phyir ro* ‖ |

[3] *sambaddha — med na mi 'byuṅ*

The translation of terms that occur in verses is often conditioned by the metric. However, the Tibetan language can make use of a variety of devices, notably to make up for missing syllables (the addition of a meaningless *ni* being a frequent one). In the case of the translation *med na mi 'byuṅ* for *sambaddha*, the choice of translation goes beyond mere metrical concerns. The two terms are related in meaning but *med na mi 'byuṅ* is more specific: *sambaddha* expresses the idea of something related (it is usually translated as *'brel pa*); *med na mi 'byuṅ*, which literally means "non-occurrence in the absence of," usually translates *anantarīyaka(tā)* or *avinābhāva*, which is a type of relation where one relatum is a necessary condition for the other. A common English translation is "invariably related."

The Tibetan version of verse PVin 3.13 in the canon is identical to the Tibetan version of PV 4.52. While the Sanskrit manuscripts of the PVin all have the reading *sambaddhasyaiva bādhanam*, the Sanskrit verse of the PV in the manuscript of the PV used by Saṅkṛtyāyana and in the verses integrated in Manorathanandin's commentary reads *nāntarīyakabādhanam*. But the PVA gives the verse in the form *sambaddhasyaiva bādhanam*, also translated with *med na mi 'byuṅ* in the canonical Tibetan version of the PVA. *Sambaddhasyaiva bādhanam* also appears in Prajñākaragupta's gloss on this verse but is this time translated as *'brel pa ñid kyis*.

It would appear that there were two variant versions of the Sanskrit verse in circulation but one unique Tibetan translation.

Dharmottara gives no evidence of having known a version with *nāntarīyaka* and does not use this notion in his commentary, where he merely rephrase *sambaddha* ("connected") as *sambandhī dharmaḥ* ("the property that has a connection"). But in the Tibetan trans-

lation *sambaddhasya* is translated as *'brel pa'i chos*, while *sambandhī dharmaḥ* is rendered with *med na mi 'byuṅ ba'i chos*.

The Tibetan version of Jñānaśrībhadra's commentary also introduces the notion of "not arising without" when glossing the expression *'brel ba* (indicative of the Sanskrit reading *sambaddha*).

In the case of the PVinṬ, it is clearly the translator who introduces the notion of an "invariable connection," which found its way also into the translation of the verse PVin 3.13. This choice of translation may be related to the translator's knowledge of the alternative version of PV 4.52, or he might be re-using the translation of this verse. But it may also simply be a matter of expressing in the translation the interpretation of the type of "connection" intended by Dharmakīrti.

PVin$_{Skt}$ 3.13ab (21,10)	tatrāpi sādhyadharmasya **sambaddhasyai**va bādhanam | parihāryaṃ
PVin$_{Tib}$ D193b7; P291b7	der (P de) yaṅ bsgrub bya'i chos daṅ ni ‖ **med na mi 'byuṅ la** gnod ñid ‖ spaṅ par bya
"In this case, too, [when one adopts a treatise] the invalidation of what is precisely **linked/invariably related** with the property to be proven is to be avoided."[32]	
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 28a5–6	*tatrapi* [em.: tatrāpi] śāstraparigrahe *sādhyadharmmasya yaḥ* sambandhī dharmmaḥ kṣaṇikatvasya nairātmyaṃ sambaddhan tasy*aiva* **sambaddhasya** yad bādhakan tat pariharttavyam |
PVinṬ$_T$ D30a7	bstan bcos yoṅs su len pa *der yaṅ* dper na skad cig ma ñid daṅ bdag med pa *'brel pa ltar* bsgrub bya'i chos daṅ | med na mi 'byuṅ ba'i chos gaṅ yin pa ste | *'brel pa'i* chos de la gnod pa gaṅ yin pa de ñid spoṅ bar bya ba yin te |
Jñ D204b1	luṅ gis brtsad pa *de la yaṅ bsgrub bya'i chos kyis ni 'brel bar 'gyur ba* ste | stoṅ pa ñid kyi 'brel pa mi rtag pa daṅ sdug bsṅal ba la sogs pa lta bu'i chos gaṅ med na | bsgrub par bya ba stoṅ pa ñid mi 'byuṅ ba dag *la gnod pa*'i lan gdab po ‖
PV$_{Skt}$ 4.52	tatrāpi sādhyadharmasya **nāntarīyaka**bādhanam | parihāryaṃ

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[32] Cf. the translation of PV 4.52 in Tillemans 2000: 83.

PV$_T$ 4.52	der yaṅ bsgrub bya'i chos daṅ ni ‖ **med na mi 'byuṅ** la gnod ñid ‖ spaṅ bar bya
PVA$_{Skt}$ 505,16–19	tatrāpi sādhyadharmasya **sambaddhasyai**va bā-dhanam | parihāryaṃ
	tasmāt sādhyadharma**sambaddhasyaiva** bādha-naṃ parihāryaṃ
PVA$_T$ D157a3–4	der yaṅ bsgrub bya'i chos daṅ ni ‖ **med na mi 'byuṅ** la gnod ñid ‖ spaṅ bar bya
	de'i phyir bsgrub par bya ba'i chos daṅ **'brel pa ñid kyis** gnod pa spaṅ bar bya ba'i...

[4] *dravya* — *gsal ba*

The occurrence of the Tibetan *gsal ba* ("instance") where our San-skrit manuscripts unanimously read *dravya* ("substance") — a Tibet-an version known to Phya pa and Chu mig pa — strongly suggests a source-based explanation. Indeed, the expected Tibetan transla-tion of *dravya* is *rdzas*, whereas *gsal ba* suggests in this context the Sanskrit *vyakti*. A citation of this passage in Prajñākaragupta's com-mentary suggests a Sanskrit variant with *vyakti*, but if I understand Saṃkṛtyāyana's editorial conventions correctly, this reading is the editor's own emendation of the text for which he does not give any support. This emendation is not supported by the Tibetan translation of the PVA, which contains neither *gsal ba* nor *rdzas*. Other texts that cite this passage also lack the term *vyakti* or *dravya*.[33] A trans-lator-based explanation is also possible by invoking the influence of the commentary: Dharmottara seems to have known the reading *dravya* (the manuscript is particularly hard to decipher here and the reading *dravya* can at best be conjectured); the Tibetan translation reads *rdzas*, as expected. But in the course of the explanation of the long compound in which the term occurs the Tibetan translation reads *gsal ba daṅ 'brel ba'i raṅ bźin*. The Sanskrit here is illegible, leaving two options open: the PVinṬ reads *vyakti*, and Dharmottara's gloss of *dravya* as *vyakti* has influenced the translation in the PVin, or the PVinṬ reads *dravya*, and the translator adopts the term *gsal*

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[33] See the edition of the PVin 3, p. 4, under f.

ba to express, like in the PVin$_T$, a specific understanding of the term in this context.

PVin$_{Skt}$ 4,4–5	deśakālāvasthāviśeṣaniyataika**dravya**saṃsargāvyavacchinnasvabhāvāntaravirahād
PVin$_T$ D188a5–6; P286a5–6	yul daṅ dus daṅ gnas skabs kyi khyad par ṅes pa'i **gsal ba** gcig daṅ 'dres pas rnam par ma bcad pa raṅ bźin gźan gyis stoṅ pa'i phyir te |

"...because, it is devoid of the other essential property [i.e., multiplicity], which is not characterized by being mixed with a specific instance determined in view of its specificity of place, time and condition." [transl. following Dharmottara's understanding]

PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 6a4–6	[mostly illegible]
PVinṬ$_T$ D6b7–7a2	*yul daṅ dus daṅ gnas skabs* de dag ñid gźan las khyad par du gyur pas *khyad par* te | de dag tu *ṅes pa'i* **rdzas** *gcig daṅ* lhan cig tu spyi *'dres pa* ste | rdzas yul la sogs par ṅes pa'i phyir 'dres pa yaṅ ṅes pa yin no || 'dres pa de*s rnam par ma bcad* ciṅ khyad par du ma byas pa'i *raṅ bźin gźan* gaṅ yin pa de*s stoṅ pa* ste dben pa 'am | yaṅ na de stoṅ źiṅ med pa ste de*'i phyir* ro ||
	gtan tshigs kyi don ni ṅes pa'i raṅ bźin gyis <u>gsal ba</u> <u>daṅ 'brel</u> pa'i raṅ bźin las raṅ bźin gźan med pa'i phyir ro źes bya ba yin no ||
PVA$_{Skt}$ 476,1–2	deśakālāvasthāviśeṣaniyataika(**vyakti**)-saṃsarga(sic)vyavacchinnasvabhāvāntaravirahād
PVA$_T$ D131a4	yul daṅ dus daṅ gnas skabs kyi khyad par ṅes pa gcig daṅ 'dres pas rnam par ma bcad pa'i raṅ bźin gźan gyis stoṅ pa'i phyir źes bya ba
'Od zer 149a7	bsgrub bya ni yul lasogs pa'i khyad par can gyi gsal ba gźan daṅ ldan pa ma yin te | gsal ba du ma daṅ ma 'brel ba bsgrub bya'o ||

rNam ṅes ṭi ka 81a1–2	rdzas spyi 1 po'i rnam par snaṅ pa ni chos can yul daṅ dus daṅ raṅ bźin gyis khyad par du byas pa can gźan gsal ba du ma daṅ ldan pa ste 'brel pa ma yin te | rtags ni *yul daṅ* źes so || **gsal ba** ni gsal ba de dag go || *1* ni spyi'o || yul dus 1 du *'dres pa* ni 'brel pa'o ||

[5] *sañcāra* — *byugs/byug pa*

In a discussion in the context of non-apprehension (*anupalabdhi*), Dharmakīrti explains that judgments of absence are based on a positive experience, the apprehension of something else. Answering an objection, he explains that this "apprehension" is not necessarily visual; it can also take the form of a feeling when someone determines the absence of a pot in a dark room: this person has the specific feeling of the internal contact of her own hands. The situation is described in the objection by the phrase *yathā santamase hasta**sañcāreṇa***. The term *sañcāra* is translated as **byugs (D byug) pa**; in the following sentence again, *de ltar byugs pa'i* renders *tathāsañcāriṇaḥ*. The same Tibetan term is also used in the PVinṬ and in Jñānaśrībhadra's citation of this passage of the PVin.

According to the *Mahāvyutpatti* (6114), the verb *byug* should be used to translate *upalepana* ("smearing, anointing"). *Sañcāra* conveys instead the idea of "walking through." For *sañcārya*, the *Mahāvyutpatti* prescribes the verbs *skyod* ("to stir, agitate") and *spo ba* ("to change place"). One finds this second option in the translation of several verses of the PV.[34]

A source-based explanation would be that both Jñānaśrībhadra and rṄog Lo adopted a variant reading for the Sanskrit that had the meaning of "anointing" (maybe arrived at via a graphic confusion with a form of the verb *añj*?). Another possibility is that they understood *sañcāra* in the sense of the causative form of the verb, as meaning "to cause to come together, bring into contact" — in other

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[34] See PV 3.514 *na syāt sañcāro viṣayāntare* — *yul gźan la ni 'pho mi 'gyur*; PV 3.519 *sañcārakāraṇābhāvād* — *'pho ba'i rgyu ni med pa'i phyir*; PV 3.520 *viṣayāntarasañcāro* — *yul gźan la ni 'pho 'gyur na*; PV 3.539 *viṣayāntarasañcāre* — *gal te yul gźan 'pho ba na*.

words, to clap or rub hands. In such a case, the adoption of *byug pa* as a translation could be explained as an interpretative translation that associates the idea of rubbing hands with the application of an unguent. I keep the option open that the verb also has a meaning akin to *sañcāra* which is not listed in usual dictionaries. Unfortunately, Indian and Tibetan commentators do not explain this example further.

PVin$_{Skt}$ 60,11–61,1	yathā santamase hasta**sañcāreṇa**
PVin$_T$ D206b6; P304b1	dper na mun khuṅ du lag pa **byugs** (D byug) **pa** bźin no
"like by **fumbling (with)/rubbing** hands in the darkness [there arises the thought "there is no pot, etc." even though one does not see something void of a pot]."	
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 86a2–3	*yathā santamase* santate tamasi *hasta**saṃcāreṇā**sty abhāvapratītir ghaṭādīnāṃ* [...] **saṃcarato** *hastasyāntara ātmīyo viśiṣṭaḥ*	*sparśa upalabhyate*
PVinṬ$_T$ D89b5–6	*dper na mun khuṅ* mun pa'i smag *tu lag pa* **byugs pa**s *bum pa la sogs pa med par rtogs pa yod pa bźin no* źe na [...] **byugs pa'i** lag pa'i naṅ gi bdag ñid kyi khyad par can gyi reg pa dmigs pas yin no ||
Jñ D257b4	*mun par lag pas **byug pa na** źes bya ba ni mun pa'i sa phyogs na bum pas stoṅ pa myoṅ ba med de mi mthoṅ ba'i phyir ro sñam du sems pa'o ||*

[6] *niyataprāptiḥ — gdon mi za bar 'gyur ba*

The calque translation for the Sanskrit expression *niyataprāptiḥ* (here a *bahuvrīhi* meaning lit. "whose obtaining is definite") would be the Tibetan expression *ṅes par 'thob pa*. This expression is found in the Tibetan translation of Jñānaśrībhadra's commentary. rṄog Lo instead uses the expression *gdon mi za bar 'gyur ba* (lit. "becoming without doubt") for *niyataprāptiḥ* in the PVin and *de gdon mi za bar*

'gyur for *niyatā prāptir asya* in the PVinṬ. This rendering does not necessitate postulating a distinct source text:

The rendering of *prāptiḥ* as *'gyur* is justified because in this context the term does not have the literal meaning of obtaining something but expresses a consequence that is arrived at if something is accepted. The translation of *prāptiḥ* as *thob pa* or *'gyur ba* is discussed by Franco in his studies of the various translations of the *Pramāṇavārttika* (Franco 2007): in verse PV 2.47, the older translation attested in Devendrabuddhi's commentary renders *prāpti* with *thob* (in the expression *grahaṇaprāpter*), and this translation was later revised as *'gyur*.

The rendering of *niyata* as *gdon mi za bar* is attested in the *Mahāvyutpatti* and is an acceptable alternative to *ṅes par* as far as meaning is concerned. But one can note that elsewhere in PVin 3 rṄog Lo consistently uses *ṅes pa* whenever the expression *niyata* occurs in Sanskrit, whereas the Tibetan *gdon mi za bar* translates *avaśyam* (twice in P286b5, P294b7, etc.) and once *asandigdho* (P314a5). Similarly, elsewhere in the PVinṬ *gdon mi za bar* is used mainly to translate *avaśyam*. It is exceptionally used twice in PVinṬ$_T$ (D70b3 and D70b5) for *niyamena* (PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 67a2), an expression for which he uses *ṅes pas/ṅes par* elsewhere in the commentary.

We may suggest that a reason for rṄog Lo's choice of *gdon mi za bar* over *ṅes par* is a consequence of his choice of *'gyur* to render *prāpti*. Indeed, the translation *ṅes par 'gyur* would have been ambiguous, as it could be understood either in the sense of "certainly takes place" (which is what the Sanskrit intends) or in the sense of "becomes determined," which might trigger other associations in a philosophical text.

PVin$_{Skt}$ 4,11–12	tadabhyupagame 'paro **niyataprāptir** iti durnivāraḥ	
PVin$_T$ D188b1; P286a8	de khas len na gźan **gdon mi za bar 'gyur** ba'i phyir bzlog par dka'o ‖

"When one has admitted that [impossible logical reason], the other [i.e. the impossible consequent] is **certainly arrived at**; therefore it is difficult to repress [i.e., to repress arriving at an impossible consequence from an incorrect logical reason]."

PVinṬ_Skt 8a2–3	tasmād *ta*sya vyāpyasyānekadeśasthatvasy*ābhy-upagame* paro [read: 'paro] nānātvākhyo *niyat*ā *prāptir* asyeti *nivāra*yitum aśakyaḥ |
PVinṬ_T D8b6	de'i phyir khyab par bya ba yul du ma na gnas pa *de khas len na gźan* du ma ñid de **gdon mi za bar 'gyur** ba'i phyir bzlog par mi nus so ||
Jñ D230b4	gal te du ma la 'jug pa'i gcig po *de* mi ldog par *khas len na* de la khyab par byed pa tha dad pa *gźan* de **ńes par 'thob pa'i phyir** tha dad pa *dor bar dka'o* ||

[7] *aṅgāṅgitā* — *rtags daṅ rtags can*

The expected translation for the Sanskrit term *aṅga* (lit. "member") is the Tibetan *yan lag*. A calque translation of the expression *aṅgāṅgitā* would have been **yan lag daṅ yan lag can (ñid)*. Instead, rṄog Lo renders the expression with the Tibetan *rtags daṅ rtags can*. This is a calque translation of the Sanskrit *liṅgaliṅginoḥ* ("the logical reason and what has the logical reason"), attested to translate the latter in an earlier portion of PVin 3. The choice of a different translation appears here to have been influenced by the translation of *aṅgāṅgitā* as *rtags daṅ rtags can yin pa* in the verse that directly follows (PVin 3.79). In turn, it is likely that the translation of the verse draws from the translation of the almost identical verse PV 4.186, in which *aṅgāṅgitā* is translated as *rtags daṅ rtags can*. In both cases, the choice of translation may have been guided by metrical reasons.[35] It reflects accurately the intention of the text, since the "member" under consideration is the logical reason (*liṅga*). Jñānaśrī explicates the equivalence in his commentary.

PVin_Skt 105,5–6	viśeṣaṃ punaḥ sādhyadharmiṇaṃ kṛtvā sāmā-nyaṃ hetuṃ bruvāṇasya dharmabhedād **aṅgā-ṅgitā** na virudhyate ||

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[35] See also the translation of PVin 3.27cd (=PV 4.92), which also uses *rtags* for *aṅgam* (translation attested in *'Od zer* 166b7). The prose commentary (29,10) glosses *kāryāṅgam* with *kāryalakṣaṇaṃ liṅgam*, also translated (as expected in this case) as *'bras bu'i mtshan ñid can gyi rtags* (D196b2–3; P294b2).

PVin$_T$ D219b4–5; P317b	khyad par bsgrub par bya ba'i chos can du byas te gtan tshigs su brjod pa la ni chos tha dad pa'i phyir **rtags daṅ rtags can** mi 'gal lo[a] ‖

"Further, for someone who states a generic [property] as the logical reason after having posited something specific as the subject of the thesis,[b] since [these] properties are different, it is not contradictory that they are **'member' and 'what has this member'/logical reason and what has this logical reason.**"

PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 124b8	gamyagamakabhāvo sty [read: 'sty] eva
PVinṬ$_T$ D139a3	go bya go byed kyi dṅos por 'gyur ba ñid do ‖

[a] The Tibetan in D and P omits translating *sāmānyam*. Jñ D278a1 cites the PVin in the form *gtan tshigs spyi'i chos*.

[b] For instance, to posit "following effort" as the logical reason and "sound following effort" as the subject.

PVin$_{Skt}$ 3.79ab (105,7)	bhedasāmānyayor dharmabhedād **aṅgāṅgite**-ṣyate	
PVin$_T$ D219b5; P317b8	khyad par spyi chos tha dad phyir ‖ **rtags daṅ rtags can yin par** 'dod ‖
PV$_{Skt}$ 4.186ab	bhedasāmānyayor dharmabhedād **aṅgāṅgitā** ta-taḥ	
PV$_T$ 4.186ab	des na bye brag spyi chos tha ‖ **dad phyir rtags daṅ rtags can ñid** ‖
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 124b8	*bheda*sya *sāmānya*sya ***vāṅgāṅgitā*** [em.: cāṅgā-ṅgitā]
PVinṬ$_T$ D139a3–4	*khyad par* daṅ *spyi* ni ***rtags daṅ rtags can yin*** te	

[8] *ekānta — ṅes pa ñid du*

As in the two previous cases, the translation *ṅes pa ñid du yoṅs su 'dzin pa* (adopted by Phya pa) is not a calque of the Sanskrit *ekānta-parigrahe*. While conveying the same meaning, *ṅes pa ñid du* ("in a determined way") does not reflect the structure of the Sanskrit compound *ekānta* (*eka-anta*, lit. "one-ended") like the calque *mtha' gcig* does.

The rendering of *ekānta* by *ṅes pa* alone is frequent in Tibetan. It is illustrated, for instance, in the technical expression for inconclusive

logical reasons (*anaikāntika — ma ṅes pa*). Besides, *ṅes pa* also translates *niyata* and *niyama* (cf. [6]). Elsewhere in PVin and PVinṬ rṄog Lo adopts the translations *gcig tu ṅes pa(r)* for *ekānta*.[36] This expression is a partial calque that conveys the meaning "certain/determined" while preserving the lexical equivalent of "*eka*" with "*gcig tu.*"

The rendering *ṅes pa ñid du* is thus justified in view of the meaning of the text, as confirmed by Dharmottara's commentary which glosses *ekāntaḥ* with *niyataḥ*.[37]

Interestingly, in the translation of the PVinṬ one finds the Tibetan term *mtha' gcig* as a gloss of the expression *ṅes pa ñid du* cited from the PVin rather than the other way around. The same can be observed in a subsequent passage: *ekānta°* in the expression *ekāntasādhanatvam* in PVin is rendered as *ṅes par* (translation already attested in the 'Od zer); in the PVinṬ, where this compound is explained as *ekānte sādhanatvam* and *ekānta* glossed with *niścaya*,

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[36] For instance, when citing a passage by Dignāga containing the expression *ekāntavyāvṛtteḥ* (PVin$_{Skt}$ 46,3). This expression is translated *gcig tu ṅes par* (D *pa*) *ldog pa'i phyir ro* (PVin$_T$ D202b2; P300a2). This translation is adopted in 'Od zer 175b2. Dharmakīrti explains the expression **ekāntavyāvṛttyā** (Tib. **gcig tu ṅes pa ldog pas**). In his commentary, Dharmottara explains *ekānta* as *niścaya* (PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 66b7 **ekānta**niścayasya **vyāvṛter** abhāvāc ca). The Tibetan keeps to the translation *gcig tu ṅes pa* for *ekānta* and adopts *gdon mi za bar* for *niścaya*. See also PVin$_{Skt}$ 59,10: *na cet, na kadācit kasyacit kiñcid ity* **ekānta** *eṣaḥ*, translated as ... *'i ni* **gcig tu ṅes pa** *yin no* (this translation is also adopted in PVinṬ).

[37] Dharmottara states the equivalence of *ekānta* and *niścaya* on other occasions. See, for instance, a subsequent passage of the PVinṬ where the expression *ekāntaparigraha* appears again: *yadi siddhe hetāv* **ekānta**parigraho **niścay**ākhyo nānyathā (PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 10a1). This is translated: *gal te gtan tshigs grub na* **ṅes par mtha' gcig tu** *'dzin par 'gyur gyi gźan du ni ma yin pas* | (PVinṬ$_T$ D10b). On one occasion, the Tibetan does not translate the equivalence made between the two expressions by Dharmottara: PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 67b6, commenting on the expression *ekāntenānaikāntikaḥ*, says *ekāntena niścayanena*. Instead of translating this, the Tibetan states *ṅes pa kho na ma ṅes pa ñid ni ma yin no* || (PVinṬ$_T$ D71b2).

the translation bears *ṅes par* for the word cited from the PVin and *mtha' gcig tu* for the gloss.[38]

In both cases, a purely translator-related explanation can be offered to account for both the translations of the PVin and the PVinṬ along the following scenario: the translator first chose to translate *ekānta*° as *ṅes pa ñid du/ṅes par* in the PVin, possibly under the influence of Dharmottara's commentary glossing *ekānta*° with *niyata/niścaya*. Turning to translate the PVinṬ, he had to retain *ṅes pa ñid du/ṅes par* to translate the expression cited from the PVin for coherence's sake. This generates a difficulty in translating Dharmottara's gloss because it would be tautological to have *ṅes pa ñid du/ṅes par* glossed with *ṅes pa ñid du/ṅes par*. rṄog Lo thus renders the gloss *niyata/niścaya* by resorting to the calque rendering of *ekānta*, the Tibetan *mtha' gcig*, even though this expression is not usually attested as a translation of *niyata* or *niścaya*.[39]

PVin_{Skt} 5,8	**ekānta**parigrahe syād eṣa doṣaḥ |
PVin_T D188b4; P286b4-5	**ṅes pa ñid du** yoṅs su 'dzin pa skyon 'dir 'gyur ba 'am |
"In the case that they would be taken as **established** [by the proponent], there would be this fault (due to his beliefs being different)."	
'Od zer 150a2	**ṅes pa ñid du** źes pa
PVinṬ_{Skt} 9b1	***ekānto*** *niyato* *bhāvas tasya parigrahe*
PVinṬ_T D9b3	***ṅes pa ñid du*** *źes bya ba ni mtha' gcig gis dṅos po ste ... der yoṅs su 'dzin na ni*

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[38] Jñānaśrībhadra has a different interpretation of the compound. He translates *ekānta* as *gcig* and glosses it as "perception."

[39] There are other examples of the same phenomenon. For instance rṄgog Lo translates the term *viraha* in the long compound *deśakālāvasthāviśeṣaniyataikadravyasaṃsargāvyavacchinnasvabhāvāntaravirahād* (PVin_{Skt} 4,4–5) as *stoṅ pa* (PVin_T D188a5–6, P286a5–6). When it comes to translate Dharmottara's gloss of *virahaḥ* as *śūnyatvaṃ* (PVinṬ_T 6a5), rṄog Lo retains *stoṅ pa* for the former expression and uses *dben pa* for the latter (PVinṬ_T D7a1).

Jñ D231a2–3	*gcig tu ṅes par* gcig du ma la 'jug pa ñid du *yoṅs su bzuṅ nas* rtags ma grub pa'i *skyon 'dir 'gyur* gyi

PVin-Skt 36,11–37,1	na ca pramāṇalakṣaṇavyatirikto 'nyo 'sti viśeṣaḥ pratyakṣasya | ya **ekānta**sādhanatvaṃ (variant: **ekāntaṃ** sādhanaṃ) vyavasthāpayati |
PVin_T D199a5–6; P297a3–4	gaṅ źig **ṅes par** sgrub par byed par 'jog pa tshad ma'i mtshan ñid las tha dad pa'i khyad par ni yod pa ma yin te |
"And there is no characteristic for perception apart from the definition of valid cognition that would posit it to be an **exclusive** means of establishment."	
'Od zer 172b7	khyad par gźan mi ruṅ ba ni *gaṅ źig* **ṅes par** źes pa ste
PVinṬ_{Skt} 53b6	sa **ekānte** niścaya [em. niścayaṃ] *sādhanatvaṃ na vyavasthāpayati* |
PVinṬ_T D56b4	de ni **ṅes par** źes bya ba mtha' gcig tu *sgrub par byed pa* ñid *rnam par 'jog pa ma yin* no ||
Jñ D248a2–3	gal te bye brag yod na ni bye brag des **gcig** ste mṅon sum *grub par byed pa* źes bya bar tshad mar *rnam par gźag* la |

[9] *syāt — grub par 'gyur ba*

For the Sanskrit *syāt* ("would be the case"), one finds in one passage the Tibetan *grub par 'gyur ba* ("would be established"), which suggests the Sanskrit **sidhyati* or **siddhaṃ syāt*.

Dharmottara uses *sidhyati* (Tib. *'grub par 'gyur ro*) in his commentary; Jñānaśrī's commentary uses the verb *bsgrub pa* but in neither case are these given as explicit citations of the source text.

This may invoke a source-based explanation, namely the adoption of the Sanskrit reading *sidhyati*, known also to Dharmottara and Jñānaśrībhadra. But a translator-based explanation may also be proposed, namely that the Tibetan of the PVin makes explicit the interpretation of the sentence proposed by Dharmottara.

PVin$_{Skt}$ 13,9–10	tato bāhyenārthenārthavattvam aniṣṭaṃ **syāt** |
PVin$_T$ D191a5; P289a6	de'i phyir phyi rol gyi don daṅ ldan pa ñid mi 'dod pa **grub par 'gyur ba**'am |
"Therefore, the fact of having a meaning by means of an external object [and not by its own nature only], which is unintended [by the Avyutpattivādin proponent], **would be the case/would be established** [through the same logical reason by the Vyutpattivādin]."	
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 16a5	*aniṣṭam* avyutpattivādinaḥ **sidhyati** |
PVinṬ$_T$ D17b3–4	bye brag tu bśad pa yin par smra ba *mi 'dod pa* **'grub par 'gyur** ro ||
Jñ D234b4–5	'dir raṅ gi ṅo bo tsam gyi don daṅ ldan par sgrub par 'dod la rnam par dbye bas ni *phyi rol gyi don* gyis *don daṅ ldan par* 'gyur ba'i phyir *mi 'dod pa bsgrub pa'am* |

[10] *na — mi mtshuṅs*

This case is similar to the preceding one. In answer to an objection raised by Dharmakīrti that "it would be the same also elsewhere" (*tad anyatrāpi samānam*, Tib. *de ni gźan la yaṅ* [P *'aṅ*] *mtshuṅs so*), the opponent's negative reply is introduced in the Sanskrit text by the words *na, atra...* This was also probably the reading of the version known to Jñānaśrībhadra, as the Tibetan cites the PVin in the form *ma yin te*. But in the Tibetan canonical translation we find *mi mtshuṅs te 'dir*. This translation is attested as early as Phya pa's commentary.

Here also, there is the option of a source-based variant, namely a version of the PVin with the reading **na sāmānam* or the option of a translator-based variant due to the influence of Dharmottara's commentary, where the opponent's reply is introduced with the expression *na samānam* (translated as *mi mtshuṅs te*). In this case, the first option is less likely, because the reply to the objection would be repeating a piece of information that was just given in the objection, a redundancy unlike Dharmakīrti's synthetic style.

PVin$_{Skt}$ 20,1	**na**, atra...
PVin$_T$ D193a7; P291a8	**mi mtshuṅs** te 'dir

'Od zer 160b1	*mi mtshuṅs te* źes pa'o ‖
PVinṬ_{Skt} 25a6	*na* **samānaṃ**	
PVinṬ_T D27a4	*mi mtshuṅs* te
Jñ D239a5	*ma yin te* źes bya ba ni nam mkha'i yon tan ni skabs ma yin pa ni ma yin pa'o ‖

2. Syntactic variants

[1] Affirmative sentence — double negation

In the passage under consideration, Dharmakīrti deals with the opponent's thesis that "the universal is ubiquitous (lit. "all-pervading"). The reason in favor of this thesis is that the universal is "simultaneously connected with its relata that are placed in all loci, like space."

Dharmakīrti closes the discussion by expressing that the pervasion of this reason by the property to be proven is established. Stated positively in Sanskrit, this corresponds to the expression of the positive entailment (*anvaya*) of the logical reason: the reason "simultaneously connected" is established for "all-pervading." The Tibetan translation has a double negation that introduces a subtle difference because it amounts to the statement of the negative entailment (*vyatireka*), namely the logical reason "simultaneously connected" is not established in the absence of the probandum (i.e., for what is not all-pervading).

Maybe the translator wanted to express such an interpretation (which in this case is not suggested by Dharmottara's commentary). Alternatively, the Tibetan translation may perhaps be viewed as the result of an initial corruption of *yin par* into *min par* (these are likely to be confused in cursive script), followed by a correction of the faulty reading *min par 'grub po*/*ma yin par 'grub po* through the addition of a second negation rather than through the removal of the superfluous negation.

PVin$_{Skt}$ 129,9–10	tasmād bhinnadeśair yugapatsambandhaḥ **sarvavyāpini sidhyati**
PVin$_T$ D227b4; P326b4–5	de'i phyir | yul tha dad pa dag daṅ (P om. daṅ) cig car 'brel pa ni **thams cad du khyab pa ma yin par mi 'grub po** ‖
"Therefore, the simultaneous relation with distinct loci **is established for what pervades everything/is not established for what does not pervade everything.**"	
PVinṬ$_T$ D170a6–7	gaṅ gi phyir de lta yin pa *de'i phyir yul tha dad pa dag daṅ cig car* mṅon par *'brel pa ni* spyi'i yul **thams cad khyab pa yin na grub bo** ‖

[2] Different structure

Dharmakīrti explains in a passage that in an inference the logical reason cannot be identical with the subject (for instance, one cannot prove that sound is impermanent because it is a sound). The argument in the Sanskrit version is that "the subject is not a [correct] logical reason because it is not established for both [debaters]." This also appears to have been the reading known to Jñānaśrībhadra, who explicates that "both" refers to the proponent and the opponent.

The Tibetan translation offers the explanation: "Therefore, the subject is not established as a logical reason for both." This translation appears to have been influenced by Dharmottara's commentary, not directly on this sentence of the PVin (Dharmottara does not comment on it) but on the part of verse PVin 3.78 that reads *tenāsiddhaḥ prakāśitaḥ*. Dharmottara explains this phrase as follows: "thus, what is posited as the subject is not established as a logical reason."

PVin$_{Skt}$ 100,7	tasmān **na dharmī hetuḥ | ubhayāsiddheḥ** ‖
PVinṬ$_T$ D218b2–3; P316a2	de'i phyir **chos can ni gtan tshigs su gñi ga la ma grub po** ‖
Jñ D275a4	**gñi ga la ma grub pa'i phyir** źes bya ba ni rgol ba daṅ phyir rgol ba gñi ga la yaṅ phyogs tha dad pa cuṅ zad kyaṅ ma grub bas so ‖

PVin$_{Skt}$ 3.78cd (100,5)	sādhyaḥ sādhananatāṃ nītas tenāsiddhaḥ prakāśitaḥ ||
PVin$_{T}$ D218a2; P316a1	bsgrub bya de ñid sgrub byed du || bźag pa des na ma grub bstan ||
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 120a4–5	asiddho hetutvenāyaṃ dharmmivyavadiṣṭaḥ |
PVinṬ$_{T}$ D133a3	chos can du bstan pa de ni gtan tshigs ñid du ma grub bo ||

[3] Introduction of explicit links

The Tibetan translation frequently makes explicit the link between different parts of the sentence. It may be rather neutral, like the addition of a coordinating conjunction such as la or źiṅ, or less neutral, for instance, by suggesting a causal relation. This is the case, for instance, in the translation of the sentence vyastaḥ pramāṇābhyāṃ nirākṛto viparyaye pramāṇavṛtter anāśrayaḥ pratipramāṇasya. This sentence glosses the preceding verse PVin 3.26cd in which the terms vyasta ("eliminated") and anāśraya ("is not a ground") occur. The verse, identical with PV 4.91, states that something that has already been excluded is not a proper ground for a reason, i.e., for the application of an inferential reasoning which applies only when there is a doubt.

In the prose sentence vyasta is explained as "opposed by [one of] the two valid cognitions" (pramāṇābhyāṃ nirākṛto), and hetor anāśrayaḥ is glossed as "not the basis for a counter valid cognition" (anāśrayaḥ pratipramāṇasya).

In the Tibetan translation — attested to be rṄog Lo's translation — the "opposition by one of the two valid cognitions" is given as a reason for the fact that that which is eliminated cannot be the basis for a counter valid cognition by the introduction of the particle pas. This is logically correct but not explicit in Dharmakīrti's phrasing. Dharmakīrti explicitly states the reason for this fact in terms of "because a valid cognition applies to the opposite" (viparyaye pramāṇavṛtter). Dharmottara's commentary also takes this part of the sentence to be the reason. According to him, the part "opposed by the two valid cognitions" helps remove the possibility of an antinomic reason.

PVin_{Skt} 29,3–4	*vyastaḥ* pramāṇābhyāṃ nirākṛto viparyaye pramāṇa-*vṛtter anāśrayaḥ* pratipramāṇasya
PVin_T D196a7; P294a7	bsal (D gsal) ba ni tshad ma dag gis bzlog pa yin **pas** zla po'i tshad ma'i rten ma yin te ǀ
	bzlog pa la tshad ma źugs pa'i phyir ro ǁ

"What is eliminated, **i.e., opposed by [one of] the two valid cognitions/because it is opposed by [one of] the two valid cognitions**, is not a ground for an inverse valid cognition because a valid cognition applies to the opposite."

dKa' gnas 412,20–413,1	bsal pa ni ǀ zla bo'i tshad ma'i rten ma yin te źes 'brel te ǀ de'i gtan tshigs *bzlog pa la tshad ma źugs pa'i phyir* źes bya ba'o ǁ gtan tshigs gñis pa 'di ñid ma grub pa spoṅ ba ni ǀ *bsal ba ni tshad ma dag gis bzlog pa yin* **pas** źes sbyar pa ste ǀ des na bzlog pa la tshad mar źugs par khas blaṅ ṅo ǁ
'Od zer 166a5–8	de'i rtags bsgrub pa ni *bzlog pa la tshad ma źugs pa'i phyir* źes pa'o ǀ [...]
	des na rtags 'jug pa'i yul ma yin par dam 'cha' ba na'aṅ de daṅ rtogs pa gcig pa'i *zla bo'i tshad ma'i rten ma yin te* źes gsuṅs pa yin no ǀ [...]
	de sgrub pa'i rtags kyi rten ma yin pa ci ste źe na *bzlog pa la tshad ma źugs pa'i phyir ro* źes pas de sgrub po ǀ
	bzlog pa la tshad ma źugs pa'i tshul ni *bsal pa ni* źes bya
PVinṬ_{Skt} 39b3–5	kasmāt punar vyaste hetu [em. hetur] nocyate ǀ yato hetor anāśraya ity āha ǀ *vyastaḥ pratipramāṇasya anā-śrayaḥ* kasmād anāśrayaḥ pratipramāṇasādhyasya viparyayo [em. *viparyaye*] viruddhe *pramāṇa*sya vyatteḥ [em. *vṛtteḥ*] ǀ yasya viruddhe pramāṇam vṛttaṃ ǀ tad vyastam aśravaṇatvam iva ǀ nanu ca *viryaye pramāṇa-vṛttāv* api viruddhāvyabhicāriṇo hetor āśrayo dṛṣṭa ity āha ǀ *pramāṇābhyāṃ nirākṛto vyasto* nānyaḥ
PVinṬ_T D42a1	gaṅ gi phyir gtan tshigs kyi rten ma yin par 'gyur la ǀ bsal ba la ci'i phyir gtan tshigs ma brjod ce na ǀ bśad pa ǀ *bsal ba ni zla bo'i tshad ma'i rten ma yin* no ǁ
	ci'i phyir rten ma yin źe na ǀ zla bo'i tshad mas bsgrub par bya ba las *bzlog pa 'gal ba la tshad ma źugs pa'i phyir* ro ǁ gaṅ gi phyir 'gal ba la tshad ma źugs pa can de ni bsal pa yin te ǀ mñan bya ma yin pa ñid bźin no ǁ

> gal te bzlog pa la tshad ma źugs kyaṅ 'gal ba 'khrul pa
> med pa can gyi gtan tshigs kyi rten yin par mthoṅ ba
> ma yin nam źe na | bśad pa | *gsal ba ni tshad ma dag*
> *gis bzlog pa yin* te | gźan ni ma yin no ||

3. Additions

In the critical apparatus to the edition of the PVin, cases such as the ones exemplified below have been qualified as "additions in the Tibetan version." This is intended to cover all cases where the Tibetan version contains additional terms in comparison with the reading of the Sanskrit manuscripts and/or the critically adopted reading of the Sanskrit version. If a translator-based explanation can be provided, these terms are "added," strictly speaking.[40] But in the case of a source-based explanation, they simply reflect the reading of a variant Sanskrit source.

[1] *asato virahāt — med pa **gźan** daṅ bral ba'i phyir*

In the translation of the Sanskrit phrase *asato virahāt* ("because it is devoid of 'inexistent'") one finds an additional *gźan* (lit. "other"). Jñānaśrībhadra cites this portion of the PVin without a similar equivalent (his translation of *asato viraha* is *med pas stoṅ pa*).

 Dharmottara's commentary bears the Sanskrit expression *itarasmād asato* (Tib. *med pa gźan*). In this context indeed, "inexistent" is an alternative to "existent." This specification was made by Dharmakīrti in a previous passage.[41] Here, in view of Dharmakīrti's style, the specification in Dharmottara's commentary is more likely to be a gloss than to reflect a different Sanskrit source for the PVin.

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[40] Addition by way of intruding glosses can also be envisaged if there is no evidence that the addition was present in the original translation. In such a case one has to postulate that the manuscripts in which such glosses were integrated played a major role in the compilation of the canonical version.

[41] PVin$_{Skt}$ 103,7-8: *ten<u>etarā</u>sadviraheṇa tvayopagatatvād ity arthaḥ*; PVin$_T$ D219a2; P317a4: *des na med pa gźan daṅ bral bar khyod kyis khas blaṅs pa'i phyir ro źes bya ba'i don to | źe na |* "Thus the meaning is "because you accept that it is devoid of the alternative 'inexistent'.""

Consequently, one can posit a translation-based explanation for this addition in the translation by invoking the influence of the PVinṬ.

PVin$_{Skt}$ 104,3	tathāpīdam asiddham evāsato virahād iti | vyabhicāri vā ||
PVin$_T$ D219a6; P317a8–b1	*de lta na yaṅ med pa* **gźan** *daṅ bral ba'i phyir* źes bya ba 'di ma grub pa ñid dam 'khrul par 'gyur ro ||
"Thus also [from the point of view of the opponent], this [logical reason] **"devoid of inexistence/devoid of the alternative inexistence"** is just un-established, or it is deviant."	
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 123b2	<*ta*>*thāpīdam asiddham* **itaras(m)ād** *asato virahād iti* |
PVinṬ$_T$ D137a6	de lta na yaṅ med pa gźan daṅ bral ba'i phyir ro *źes bya ba 'di ma grub pa ñid* do ||
Jñ D277a7–b1	de las grol bas 'di rtags su brjod na yaṅ rtags des bsgrub par bya ba med pa thams cad sel bar byed de *de lta na yaṅ* rtags *'di* bsgrub bar bya ba *med pas stoṅ pa źes bya bar* 'gyur bas | de ñid bsgrub par bya ba yin pa'i phyir | rtags *ma grub pa* yin no || *yaṅ na 'khrul pa can yin no* źes bya ba ni...

[2] dvasya — **gtan tshigs** *gnyis po*

In this example also the Tibetan translation (as already found in Phya pa's commentary) has an additional expression that qualifies a word of the sentence ("these two *logical reasons*") like in Dharmottara's commentary, whereas our manuscripts and Jñānaśrībhadra's commentary lack an equivalent. Here also, the addition of *gtan tshigs* in Tibetan is more likely to be an intruding gloss or a translation influenced by Dharmottara's commentary.

PVin$_{Skt}$ 46,6	asya (variant: tasya) hi dvayasyaikatra samuccayāt...
PVin$_T$ D202b4; P300a5	**gtan tshigs** gñis po 'di gcig la (D las) bsdus pas ni...
"Indeed, because of the grouping of these **two/two logical reasons** for one [too restricted property]...	

'*Od zer* 175b3	don bsdu ba ni **gtan tshigs** źes pas te |
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 67a7	*asya* **hetu***dvayasya yasmād ekasmin* dha(r)mme 'sādhāraṇe samuccayāt**
PVinṬ$_{T}$ D71a3	gaṅ gi phyir **gtan tshigs** gñis po 'di thun moṅ ma yin pa'i chos *gcig la bsdus pas ni...*
Jñ D252b3	*'di gñis gcig tu bsdus pas* źes bya ba ni rtag pa daṅ mi rtag pas bsdus pa daṅ | gcig tu ṅes pa log pa dag go ||

[3] *abhāvaniścayaḥ* — **bsgrub bya med pa las** *ldog par ṅes*

Another passage involves a longer addition: while the Sanskrit reads
abhāvaniścaya ("determination of absence") the Tibetan specifies
bsgrub bya med pa las ldog par ṅes ("determination of exclusion
from [i.e., absence in] what is not a probandum/the absence of the
probandum").

In this context, Dharmakīrti's terms for the notions of absence
(*abhāva*/*vyāvṛtti*) and of non-, opposite of (*-abhāva*/*-vyatireka*) vary.
The translation also wavers and uses *med pa* and *ldog pa* interchange-
ably. We can see in Dharmottara's commentary that the Tibetan *bsgrub
bya med pa las ldog par ṅes* translates *sādhyavyatirekābhāvaniścayaḥ*.
The specification is also likely to be a gloss, which echoes the gloss
given for *ata eva*, namely "because the absence of the probandum is
doubtful" (*sādhyābhāvasaṃdehāt* — *bsgrub par bya ba med par the
tshom za ba*).

PVin$_{Skt}$ 101,11–102,1	tata (variant: tatra) eva katham abhāvaniścayaḥ |
PVin$_{T}$ D218b2–3; P316b3	ji ltar de ñid kyis (P kyi) **bsgrub bya med pa las** (D la) ldog par ṅes
"For this reason precisely, how could there be determination **of absence/of exclusion from what is not to be proven**?"	
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 121a6	tasmāt *tata eva* sādhyābhāvasaṃdehāt *kathaṃ* **sādhyavyatirek***ābhāvaniścaya<ḥ>*
PVinṬ$_{T}$ D134b2	de'i phyir *ci ltar* bsgrub par bya ba med par the tshom za ba *de ñid kyis* **bsgrub par bya ba med pa las** *ldog par ṅes te* |

[4] ∅ — *bdag med pa med pas bdag yod par 'gyur bas*

The following yet longer addition can be understood as an intruding gloss of *yena* (Tib. *gaṅ gis na*) which reflects the explanation in Dharmottara's commentary. Indeed, the notion that "since there is no absence of soul, there would be a soul" repeats the argument that appears in the preceding sentence in the PVin: "And thus, a soul is not established for living bodies from the non-absence of soul" (*tathāpi nānairātmyād ātmā jīvaccharīre sidhyati — de lta na yaṅ **bdag med pa med pas** gson po'i lus **bdag daṅ bcas par** mi 'grub po ∥*).

PVin$_{Skt}$ 123,4–5	yenāyaṃ na vyatirekasyābhāvaṃ bhāvam icchati
PVin$_T$ D225b3–4; P324b2	gaṅ gis na **bdag med pa med pas bdag yod par 'gyur bas** 'di ldog pa med pa dṅos por 'dod pa ni ma yin te |
"...by means of which it is not the case that one accepts that this absence of an exclusion amounts to existence **insofar as the absence of non-soul would amount to the presence of a soul**."	
PVinṬ$_T$ D163a3	'di ltar bdag med pa **bdag ldog pa med pas bdag yod par 'gyur ba** rig pa can *'di ldog pa* ste | dṅos po med pa *med pa*r dṅos por 'dod pa *ni ma yin* no ∥

[5] *saṃhata* — *'dus pa **ma** yin*

I deal with this case under the category of "addition" insofar as the difference between the expected and the attested reading amounts to the addition of the negative particle *ma* in Tibetan. This case was pointed out in the introduction to the edition of PVin 3 as a separative case between the extant manuscripts that share the reading *saṃhata* and the Sanskrit source used by the translators; indeed, the translation *'dus pa ma yin* suggests **asaṃhata*, a reading supported by both Dharmottara's and Jñānaśrībhadra's commentaries.

Jñānaśrībhadra appears to have been aware of the two different readings. In such a case, it makes sense to postulate a source-based explanation for the translation. rṄog Lo might have been aware of the reading *asaṃhata* or might have chosen it as the best reading in the same way the editors of PVin 3 did.

PVin_{Skt} 114,1–2	nanu saṃhatānāṃ (variant: saṃghātānāṃ) **saṃhata°** (editorial ementation: asaṃha- ta°)paropakāraniyamābhāvād anaikāntika evety aviruddhaḥ ǀ
PVin_T D222b1–2; P321a2–3	gal te ’dus pa rnams **’dus pa ma yin pa** (D par) gźan la phan ’dogs par ṅes pa med pa’i phyir ma ṅes pa yin pas (D om. ma ṅes pa ma yin pas) ’gal ba ma yin pa ma yin nam ǀ
"Objection: Since for what is aggregated there is no determination of con- tributing to something else that is **aggregated/not-aggregated**, [the reason] is just inconclusive, therefore it is not contradictory."	
PVinṬ_T D151a2	*’dus pa rnams* **’dus pa la ma yin pa**’i *gźan* gaṅ yin pa de *la phan ’dogs* par byed pa ñid du *ma ṅes pa*’i phyir ro ‖ de’i phyir *’gal ba ma yin* no ‖
Jñ D280b1–2	*gal te ’dus pa rnams gźan* **’dus pa ma yin pa** *la phan par* źes bya ba ni ’dus pas ’dus pa ma yin pa’i don byed pa’o ‖
	kha cig ’dus pa gźan rnams gźan **’dus pa** *la phan pa* źes ’don to ‖

[6] *pratiṣedhāt — de **ma** bkag pa’i phyir*

This is another case where the Tibetan translation has a negation ab-
sent in the extant Sanskrit manuscripts. The translation, which also
does not render the *ca*, indicates that the second ablative is taken as a
reason for the first, namely: "it is not negated because it is not proper
to negate what does not have an object." The presence of the nega-
tion is here attested in rṄog Lo's *dKa’ gnas* and was also adopted by
Phya pa. Both authors understand the argument to be about a verbal
object posited as the subject when negating something, for instance,
"Primordial Nature itself" (*gtso bo ñid*) when saying "there is no
Primordial Nature." Their understanding is that in such a case there
is no possible negation (*ma bkag pa*) because a negation requires a
negandum and "Primordial Nature itself" cannot be one (it is "con-
tradictory as a negandum").

Dharmottara does not comment on this phrase, which is also ab-
sent from the parallel passage in PVSV (105,15–19).

The Tibetan translation of Jñānaśrībhadra's commentary supports the negation (but it glosses *tasya* as "doubt, etc."), hinting to the existence of an alternative Sanskrit source, which might also have been known to rṄog Lo.

PVin_{Skt} 67,6–7	tadarthapratiṣedhe dharmivācino 'prayogād abhidhānasya | tasya **pratiṣedhāt** | nirviṣayasya ca pratiṣedhasyāyogāt |
PVin_T D208b4–5; P306a7	don de dgag pa la chos can brjod pa'i tshig sbyar ba med pa'i phyir te |
	de **ma bkag pa'i phyir** yul med pa'i bkag pa mi ruṅ ba'i phyir ro źe na |
"Opponent: Because when one negates this object [expressed by the word *pradhāna*] there is no application for the term expressing the subject, because it is **negated/not negated**, and/because it is not proper to negate what does not have an object."	
dKa' gnas 473,5–7	'o na de dgag byar 'gal bas dgag bya med la | des na *yul med pa'i dgag pa mi ruṅ ṅo* źes brjod pa ni | *de ma bkag pa'i phyir* źes bya ba'o ||
'Od zer 181b4–5	'o na de dgag byar 'gal bas dgag bya med la | des na *yul myed pa'i dgag pa mi ruṅ ṅo* źes brjod pa ni *de ma bkag pa'i phyir* źes bya ba'o ||
Jñ D261a5	*de bkag par mi 'gyur te* źes bya ba ni the tshom la sogs pa dgag par mi 'gyur ba'o ||

4. Omissions

There are much fewer pertinent cases of omission (understand: cases where the Tibetan does not have an equivalent for an expression present in our Sanskrit source) than of addition. Cases that lack a word that is essential to the understanding of the text are likely to have been caused by copying mistakes. In other cases, one can invoke two kinds of source-based explanation: the translator had a Sanskrit version lacking a word present in our exemplars or he considered a given word in his Sanskrit version to be an intruding gloss and eliminated it from his "critical" Sanskrit version. A translator-based explanation other than the translator's carelessness is difficult to adduce for single terms. Note however that in the translation of

the PVinṬ there are several cases where full sentences are evidently intentionally omitted. They are, notably, grammatical explanations.

[1] *sarva* — ∅

One example of the omission of a single term is the omission in the canonical version of an equivalent for the Sanskrit term *sarva* ("all, every") attested in all our Sanskrit manuscripts and in the version known to Jñānaśrībhadra, and mentioned by Dharmottara (although not as a citation of the PVin). In this case, the citation of the phrase of the PVin with the Tibetan expression *thams cad* reflecting the Sanskrit *sarva* is attested in Phya pa's commentary. Chu mig pa does not cite a portion of the PVin with *thams cad*, but uses the expression in his gloss. Thus a likely explanation is that rṄog Lo's original translation also read *gtan tshigs thams cad* and the omission of *thams cad* in the canon is the consequence of a scribal and/or editorial mistake. Alternatively, one can postulate that Phya pa relied on an emended translation and that rṄog Lo's original translation lacked *thams cad*, in spite of the fact that the presence of this word, although not indispensable, provides a much better reading of the sentence.

PVin_{Skt} 12,8–9	tathā ca **sarvo** hetur viruddho dṛṣṭāntaś ca sādhyavikalaḥ syāt ∣
PVin_T D190b7–191a1; P288b8	de lta yin daṅ (P yin na dang) gtan tshigs 'gal ba daṅ dpe bsgrub (D sgrub) par bya bas (D byed pas) stoṅ par 'gyur te ∣
"And in such a case, every logical reason would be contradictory and [every] example would lack the probandum."	
'Od zer 154b1–2	de lta na byas pa daṅ rtsod byuṅ lasogs pa phyogs daṅ ldan yaṅ bzlog pas khyab pas na *gtan tshigs* **thams cad** *'gal ba daṅ* źes smos la ∣ chos de dag dpe' bum pa la myed pas *dpe bsgrub byas stoṅ par 'gyur ste* źes smos so ∣

rNam ṅes ṭi ka 86a6–7	'dod na 'dod pa de *lta yin daṅ* źes so ‖ thal ba ni byas pa lasogs pa'i *gtan tshigs* źes so ‖ dpe ni bum pa lasogs pa'i dpe **thams cad** do ‖ [...] rtags ni rtags **thams cad** 'gal ba yin pa daṅ dpe thams cad bsgrub bya'i chos kyis stoṅ ba *de'i phyir* źes so ‖
PVinṬ$_{Skt}$ 15a7	*hetuḥ sarvvo vaśyaṃ* [read: 'vaśyaṃ] ka-syacid dharmmasya viparyayeṇa (vy)āp-tatvād *viruddhaḥ syād dṛṣṭāntaś ca* sar-vvaḥ *sādhy*ena vikalaḥ
PVinṬ$_{T}$ D16b3–4	*gtan tshigs* **thams cad** *'gal bar 'gyur* la ǀ dpe thams cad kyaṅ bsgrub par bya bas stoṅ par 'gyur ro ‖
Jñ D233b7	*de ltar na gtan tshigs* **thams cad** *'gal źiṅ* źes bya ba bdag gis khyab par byed pa daṅ 'gal ba 'dren pa'i phyir ro ‖

[2] *saivāvinābhāvaḥ* — ∅

The canonical Tibetan translation lacks an equivalent for the phrase *saivāvinābhāvaḥ* present in all the extant manuscripts and supported by a gloss in Dharmottara's commentary. It is possible that the trans-lator relied on a Sanskrit version that lacked this phrase and that the support of the PVinṬ was not sufficient to lead to an emendation. But another possible explanation is, like in the preceding case, that the corresponding Tibetan passage was omitted in the course of the transmission of the translation due to an eye-skip error. Indeed, the translation may have been of the form **de ñid me na mi 'byuṅ ba*, thereby starting with the same syllables as the next sentence *de ñid kyis ni rjes su 'gro ba grub pa'i phyir*.[42]

PVin$_{Skt}$ 117,7	**saivāvinābhāvaḥ** ǀ
PVin$_{T}$ D223b5; P322a8	∅

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[42] A similar explanation was proposed for the omission of the phrase *lakṣa-ṇaṃ/tallakṣaṇaṃ sarva/sarvatra pratītivirodhānāṃ* (PVin$_{Skt}$ 38,8) in the Ti-betan translation. See the discussion in the introduction to the edition of PVin 3, xxxv–vi.

"This [presence of breath in what has a soul which is not mixed with what does not have a soul] is precisely invariably related [with soul]."

PVinṬ$_T$ D155b2   bdag la srog la sogs pa'i gnas pa de 'dra ba ni
                        bdag *med na mi 'byuṅ ba* yin no ||

Conclusion

In continuity with earlier discussions by Seyfort Ruegg (1992) and Franco (1997), my comparative study of the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the PVin adduces further evidence against the myth of automated translation that leads one to consider the Tibetan version as a mirror copy of the Sanskrit.[43] Some things get lost in translation,[44] but things also get added. While the translator's competence and precision may contribute to an overall impression that his translation is a mirror copy of the source, the present study highlights another aspect of the translator's contribution, his input as an interpreter of the text being translated. This input can be reflected in the choice of the Sanskrit reading to be translated as well as in the choice of the translation, which may end up conveying a meaning

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[43] Seyfort Ruegg points to this tendency in his article on the translation of Buddhist philosophical texts (1992: 382): "But has it not often been claimed that the Tibetan Lotsābas developed a special form of the Tibetan language in which they imitated and calqued the terminology, and very often even the syntax, of their Indian source-texts? And have we not sometimes heard it said that their translations differ radically for example from the majority of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, and especially from the earlier Chinese translations using the method of 'meaning-matching' (*ko-i*) by being not only highly technical but also mechanical?"

[44] Steinkellner 1988: 106–107 points in particular to the lack of precision that can follow from working with texts exclusively available in Tibetan. He recalls notably that one Tibetan term can be found to translate several original Sanskrit words, and that the Tibetan often does not differentiate meaningful morphological variations of a Sanskrit term (such as causative, abstract, etc.). In his 1980: 97 he states that "due to the schematic and concept-orientated simplified wording, these translations are paradoxically quite often ambiguous, lacking the conceptual colours of the corresponding Sanskrit expression in the originals."

not explicit in the source.[45] On this account, rṄog Lo appears to have been influenced in particular by Dharmottara's commentary on the PVin. Vetter (1966: 8) had already pointed out that the translation of some verses of the PVin is clearly directed by Dharmottara's explanations. I have shown that this influence extended to the translation of the prose passages, directing the choice of terms and on occasion motivating the inclusion of additional expressions. The same mechanism is at play in rṄog Lo's translation of the PVinṬ. Since there is no Indian commentary on this work, we may hypothesize here that the corresponding influential role was played by the paṇḍits surrounding rṄog Lo and contributing to the translation process.

The observation of this phenomenon in the case of rṄog Lo suffices to demonstrate the importance of having access to the material in its original Sanskrit version for studying the thought of Dharmakīrti. In contrast, the Tibetan translation primes when studying the influence of Dharmakīrti's text in Tibet, since it is the translated form of the text which includes a primary level of interpretation through the translator's input that shapes the course of Tibetan epistemology.

Acknowledging the role of the translator allowed us to suggest a translation-based explanation for numerous cases where the Tibetan translation was observed to differ from an expected translation

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[45] The specificity of rṄog Lo's translation of the PVin demonstrates that he was not carrying out an automatized task, but relied on an in-depth understanding of the source text and attempted to transmit a readable form in Tibetan. The latitude he takes in translating the PVinṬ appears to be even greater, especially as far as the structure of long and complex sentences is concerned. Yet in an informal communication, my colleague Masamichi Sakai pointed out to me that that rṄog Lo's translation of the PVA displays a more rigid translation that matches the Sanskrit text very precisely. One can note also that grammatical explanations of Sanskrit expressions are translated in the PVA, whereas they are systematically left out of the Tibetan translation in PVinṬ 3 and often omitted in PVinṬ 2 (Sakai 2010: viii). Krasser (informal communication) emitted the hypothesis that this is due to the fact that the translation of the PVA had been carried out early in rṄog Lo's career, whereas the translation of the PVin and PVinṬ was the product of a more mature and independent scholar.

of the extant Sanskrit version as an alternative to a source-based explanation. Although both options remain possible in most cases, I would like to advocate a "principle of economy." This principle would direct that we need not systematically postulate a ghost diverging version of the Sanskrit text, especially when a Tibetan reading can be explained by appealing to factors of influence that are clearly identifiable and there is no strong support for postulating a variant source.

Taking at face value translation-based explanations is not without consequences on editorial procedures. The Tibetan version — in particular when dealing with translators of rṄog Lo's level — remains an invaluable tool when the Sanskrit text is corrupt or when dealing with a single manuscript that is damaged. But its relation to the Sanskrit version it was based on remains opaque when the latter is not available. The Tibetan version can thus *suggest* a Sanskrit reading — this "suggestion" can have more or less weight according to the translator's method, parallel passages, etc. — but it is not the *witness* of a Sanskrit reading in the same degree that, for instance, a copy of a Sanskrit manuscript would be. We must therefore be careful as to the importance we are willing to give to the Tibetan translation for supporting reading choices and emendations in a critical edition of the Sanskrit version, and for reconstructing lacking portions in a Sanskrit text. The presence or absence of an expression in the Tibetan translation neither guarantees that the calque expression was present in the translator's source, nor that it represents the better reading to be adopted in the critical edition of the Sanskrit text. The accuracy of the reconstruction of a Sanskrit passage can reach a high degree of probability when relying on identical or quasi-identical passages in Tibetan by the same translator, passages for which the Sanskrit version is available. Nevertheless even this method does not yield absolute certainty. As already mentioned, the same Tibetan translation may be adopted for slightly different Sanskrit expressions or phrases. Also, the possibility of intruding glosses and other marks of the translator's input may not be identifiable when no Sanskrit version is available for comparison.

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Sanskrit verses from Candrakīrti's
Triśaraṇasaptati cited in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*[1]

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The present paper presents newly available Sanskrit fragments (eleven and a half verses) from the *Triśaraṇasaptati* attributed to Candrakīrti.[2] These verses are found in the Sanskrit manuscript of Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*.[3]

The *Triśaraṇasaptati* is a small verse work comprising 68 *śloka*s, the full text of which is preserved only in Tibetan translation. We find two versions (i.e. recensions) of the *Triśaraṇasaptati* in Tanjurs. Both versions are almost identical, having been translated by the same team of translators (Atiśa and Rin chen bzang po).

Sorensen translated the Tibetan text into English, and collected six verses (verses 12, 13, 33, 45, 46, 47) in Sanskrit found in the form of quotations in other works. Sorensen's English translation is, for the most part, accurate as a translation from the Tibetan text. However, when compared with the Sanskrit original, we notice that

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[2] Sorensen (1986) claims that the work was written by Candrakīrti, i.e., the author of the *Prasannapadā*, *Madhyamakāvatāra*, etc. (Establishing authorship goes beyond the scope of the present paper).

[3] For the details of its Sanskrit manuscript, see Li 2013 and Kano & Li 2012.

some renderings in the Tibetan translation are imprecise (see the "Philological remarks" below).

Quotations from the *Triśaraṇasaptati* have been found in two passages in the *Munimatālaṃkāra*: Passage A (Skt. Ms. 7v1-4; Tib. D 82a7-b3; verses 1, 34, 51, 54, 55, 67) in *Munimatālaṃkāra* chapter 1 (Bodhicittāloka Chapter) and Passage B (Skt. 132r1-3; Tib. D. 219a5-b1; 7-9ab, 22-23) in chapter 3 (Aṣṭābhisamayāloka Chapter).[4] When we collate these eleven and a half verses with the six verses independently collected by Sorensen, the total comes to seventeen and half, amounting to about 38% of the whole text of the *Triśaraṇasaptati*.

Passage A: verses 1, 34, 51, 54, 55, 67

Isoda concisely summarizes the contents of the beginning of *Munimatālaṃkāra* chapter 1, which explains the ritual and practice of receiving *saṃvara*s:

> If the *bodhisattvasaṃvara* will not arise without the *prātimokṣasaṃvara*, it should have been taught, in the *bodhisattvapiṭaka* or in a scripture that follows it, that this (i.e. *bodhisattvasaṃvara*) is rooted in it (i.e. *prātimokṣasaṃvara*) because its efficacy is certainly stated[5] [by a statement] such as the Three Refuges are essence in Mahāyāna until one reaches awakening; Candrakīrti, who follows Noble Nāgārjuna's doctrine, [teaches the following] in the *Triśaraṇasaptati*:
>
> *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Ms. fol. 7v1-2: *yadi hi prātimokṣasamvaram antareṇa bodhisatvasamvaro nodayasyeta, tadā bodhisatva-piṭakādau tada*(7v2)*nuyāyini ca granthe tanmūlo 'yam abhy-adhāsyata | prayojakaṃ hy avaśyam abhidhīyate | yathā mahāyā-ne ābodhiṃtriratnaśaraṇam maṇḍaṃ | āryanāgārjunapādama-tānusāricandrakīrttinā ca triśaraṇasaptatau.*

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[4] The verses in Passage A were identified by Isoda.

[5] Or "its efficacy [should have] been certainly stated."

The passage is followed by the quotation of *Triśaraṇasaptati* verses 1, 34, 51, 54, 55, 67. Especially in verses 51, 54 and 55 Candrakīrti claims the superiority of bodhisattvas to arhats and to noble ones of the Śrāvaka community. Verse 51 introduces Pūrvaśaila's scripture which teaches that bodhisattvas are praised by arhats and included in the Jewel of Buddha. Verses 54 and 55 maintain that the teaching of the soteriological stages of *śaikṣas* taught in the Abhidharma corresponds to that of the ten bodhisattva-stages taught in the Vaipulyapiṭaka, inasmuch as they pertain to the noble path.

[Passage A: Diplomatic transcription]

Fol. 7v2

> *āryanāgārjunapādamatānusāricandrakīrttinā ca triśaraṇasaptatau upāsakas triśaraṇāt tanmūlaṃ samvarāṣṭakam* | sambuddhadharmmasaṃghā hi śaraṇaṃ muktikāṃkṣiṇāṃ | (= v. 1) kāyadvaya munīndrasya nirvvāṇaṃ pudga*

Fol. 7v3

> *lāṣṭakam | āyāti śaraṇaṃ bhaktyā yo yātiśaraṇatrayaṃ | (= v. 34) pūrvvaśailāgame (')rhadbhir bodhisatvās tu vanditāḥ | ratnatra°yān na te bāhyā buddhe 'ntarbhāvato matāḥ | (= v. 51) phalasthāpratipannānām āryamārggaprabhāvitāḥ | bhūmay°ḥ saptaśaikṣāṇām abhidharme yathoditāḥ | (= v. 54) evaṃ vaipulyapiṭake varṇṇitā daśa bhūmamaḥ(!) | āryamārggā*

Fol. 7v4

> *tmikāḥ sarvvās tāsvanāryaḥ katham bhavet* | (= v. 55) ākāśāpramitaikaikaguṇāparyantasadguṇāḥ | bodhisatvāḥ sadā vandyāḥśaraṇañ cāpi dhīmatām iti || (= v. 67)*

Passage B: verses 7, 8, 9ab, 22, 23

The other quotations are found in a passage towards the end of the third chapter, which explains *nirmāṇakāya*. This time, Abhayākaragupta does not refer to the title of the *Triśaraṇasaptati*, merely stating: *yad uktam ācāryacandrakīrtinā*. After verses 7, 8, 9ab, 22, 23, he fur-

ther quotes seven verses from Candragomin's *Trikāyāvatāra* (Fols. 132v3-5; see Li 2015).

[Passage B: Diplomatic transcription]

Fol. 132r1

> *yad uktam ācāryacandrakīrttinā | rūpakāyo hi buddhānāṃ lakṣaṇavyañjanojvalaḥ | svādhimuktivaśād datte janānām viśvarūpatāṃ* (= v. 7)

Fol. 132r2

> || *ameyapuṇyasambhārasambhṛtaḥ sa jinātmajaiḥ | d*ṛ*śyate tena kāyena daśabhūmipratiṣṭhitaiḥ ||* (= v. 8) *dharmmasaṃ*◦*bhogataḥsoyambhujyatejinasūnubhiḥ |* (= v. 9ab) *svabhāva eva dharmmāṇāṃ sthitādhīr bbuddha ucyate || akaniṣṭha*◦*vimāne tu tatvasākṣātkriyeṣyate |* (= v. 22) *nirvikalpasya buddhasya rūpakāyasamudbhavāḥ | nirmāṇakāyāḥ sambo*

Fol. 132r3

> *dhiṃ darśayanti mahītala* (= v. 23) *iti |*

Verses of the *Triśaraṇasaptati* available in Sanskrit

In the following, we will present newly available verses quoted in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (i.e. verses 1, 7, 8, 9ab, 22, 23, 34, 51, 54, 55, 67; marked in bold) together with verses that have been identified by Sorensen in other works (i.e. verses 12, 13, 33, 45, 46, 47; verses 12, 13 are identical with *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* XV. 1-2; verses 33, 45, 46, 47 are quoted in Haribhadra's *Ālokā*) and reorder them according to the original sequence. Furthermore, we can add verse 35 quoted in Mañjukīrti's *Ādikarmāvatāra* (Ms. Göttingen Xc 14/50, fol. 13r, identified by Dr. Péter-Dániel Szántó).

Triśaraṇasaptati

> **upāsakas triśaraṇāt tanmūlaṃ samvarāṣṭakam |**
> **sambuddhadharmasaṃghā hi śaraṇaṃ muktikāṃkṣiṇām** ||1||

rūpakāyo hi buddhānāṃ lakṣaṇavyañjanojjvalaḥ |
svādhimuktivaśād datte janānāṃ viśvarūpatāṃ ‖7‖

ameyapuṇyasambhārasambhṛtaḥ sa jinātmajaiḥ |
dṛśyate tena kāyena daśabhūmipratiṣṭhitaiḥ ‖8‖

dharmasambhogataḥ so 'yaṃ bhujyate jinasūnubhiḥ ‖9ab‖

na sambhavaḥ svabhāvasya yuktaḥ pratyayahetubhiḥ |
hetupratyayasambhūtaḥ svabhāvaḥ kṛtako bhavet ‖12‖

svabhāvaḥ kṛtako nāma bhaviṣyati punaḥ katham |
akṛtrimaḥ svabhāvo hi nirapekṣaḥ paratra ca ‖13‖

svabhāva eva dharmāṇām sthitādhīr buddha ucyate |
akaniṣṭhavimāne tu tattvasākṣātkriyeṣyate ‖22‖
      a: svabhāva] Ms., abhāva Tib (*dngos med nyid la*)

nirvikalpasya buddhasya rūpakāyasamudbhavāḥ |
nirmāṇakāyāḥ sambodhiṃ darśayanti mahītale ‖23‖

buddhadharmau tathā saṃgho mārakoṭiśatair api |
bhettuṃ na śakyate yasmāt tasmāt saṃgho 'bhidhīyate ‖33‖

kāyatrayaṃ munīndrasya nirvāṇaṃ pudgalāṣṭakam |
āyāti śaraṇaṃ bhaktyā yo yāti śaraṇatrayam ‖34‖
      b: *kāyatrayaṃ*] em. (*sku gsum*), *kāyadvayaṃ* Ms

upāsakapratijñena rakṣitaṃ śaraṇatrayam |
na kāryā anyatīrtheṣu bhaktipūjānamaskriyāḥ ‖35‖[6]
      b: *rakṣitaṃ*] em., *rakṣitā* Ms, *śaraṇatrayam*] em., *śaraṇaṃ*
      trayaṃ Ms .

labdhvā bodhidvayaṃ hy ete bhavād uttrastamānasāḥ |
bhavanty āyuḥkṣayāt tuṣṭāḥ prāptanirvāṇasaṃjñinaḥ ‖45‖

na teṣām asti nirvāṇaṃ kiṃtu janma bhavatraye |
dhātau na vidyate teṣāṃ te 'pi tiṣṭhanty anāsrave ‖46‖

akliṣṭājñānahānāya paścād buddhaiḥ prabodhitāḥ |
sambhṛtya bodhisambhārāṃs te 'pi syur lokanāyakāḥ ‖47‖

pūrvaśailāgame 'rhadbhir bodhisattvās tu vanditāḥ |
ratnatrayān na te bāhyā buddhe 'ntarbhāvato matāḥ ‖51‖

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[6] Verse 35 is from Mañjukīrti's *Ādikarmāvatāra* (Göttingen Xc 14/50, 13r
= D 3971, 242b4; Cf. Nagoya Takaoka Ka 51).

phalasthāpratipannānām āryamārgaprabhāvitāḥ |
bhūmayaḥ saptaśaikṣāṇām abhidharme yathoditāḥ ||54||

evaṃ vaipulyapiṭake varṇitā daśa bhūmayaḥ |
āryamārgātmikāḥ sarvvās tāsv anāryaḥ katham bhavet ||55||
     b: *bhūmayaḥ*] em., *bhūmamaḥ* Ms.

ākāśāpramitaikaikaguṇāparyantasadguṇāḥ |
bodhisattvāḥ sadā vandyāḥśaraṇañ cāpi dhīmatām ||67||

Translation

In the following translation we have endeavoured to reflect Sorensen's translation as far as possible. Any serious, semantic differences between the Tibetan translation (≈ Sorensen's translation) and the Sanskrit text will be discussed in the section headed "philological remarks" following the translation.

[1] [One becomes] a lay-disciple after [taking] refuge in the Three [jewels]; and the eight *saṃvaras*[7] [of lay-disciples and monks] are rooted in them (i.e. three refuges). Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha are the refuge for those seeking liberation (i.e., not monks).

[7] The form-body (i.e. *saṃbhogakāya*) of buddhas is splendid with its [32] major marks and [80] minor characteristics and displays his multiple forms on the basis of people's own devotion.[8]

[8] By sons of the Victorious One who have entered into the Ten Stages, he (i.e. the Buddha) is seen qua this [form-]body as produced from an immeasurable collection of meritorious deeds.

[9ab] He (i.e. *rūpakāya* = *saṃbhogakāya*) is enjoyed by sons of the Victorious One on the basis of enjoyment of Dharma.

[12] It is not valid that own-being is produced from causes

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[7] I.e. *saṃvara*s of *bhikṣu, bhikṣuṇī, śikṣamānā, śramaṇera, śramaṇerī, upāsaka, upāsikā,* and *upavāsa*.

[8] Cf. MH 3.359.

and conditions; produced from causes and conditions, own-being would be constructed.

[13] How could own-being in any possible way be constructed? This is [not possible] because own-being is [by definition] unconstructed and independent of anything else.

[22] The wisdom located precisely in own-nature of phenomena is called Buddha. On the other hand, it is admitted that [the Buddha] directly perceives reality in the divine mansion of Akaniṣṭha.

[23] On the other hand, the Emanation-bodies (*nirmāṇakāya*) of buddha — who is free from conceptualization—produced from the form-body (i.e. *sambhogakāya*) display his perfect awakening [to trainees] on the earth.

[33] Since even a [host of a] billion Māra-devils are incapable of dividing Saṅgha, as well as Buddha and Dharma, therefore it is called Saṅgha [which means "union"].

[34] Whoever goes to the Three Refuges, takes refuge, with devotion, to the three bodies of the king of Munis (i.e. Buddha), Nirvāṇa (i.e. Dharma), and the eight kinds of people (i.e. Saṅgha).

[35] By one who has the vow as a lay-discipline, the Three Refuges are protected. To heretics, devotion, worship, and paying homage are not to be done.

[45] Having secured the twofold Enlightenment, [respectively, of Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha], these [Hīnayāna-candidates], whose minds are appalled at existence, remain satisfied having the thought that they attain Nirvāṇa after the expiration of [their] life.

[46] For them, however, there is no Nirvāṇa. [Although] [re]birth in the three spheres does not exist for them, they nevertheless sojourn in the state bereft of impurity.

[47] Subsequently, when urged by the Buddhas with the aim to eliminate the nescience bereft of passion-affliction (i.e., subtle traces of ignorance), they, too, may become World-guides,

[once] having accumulated the [two] equipments [conducive] to awakening.

[51] In the scripture of the Pūrvaśaila [tradition], on the other hand, it is maintained that bodhisattvas are praised by arhats and that they are not outside of the Three Jewels, for they are included in the [Jewel of] Buddha.

[54]-[55] Just as the seven stages of disciples consisting of the candidates and fruit-residents are taught in Abhidharma as produced from the paths of Noble Ones; likewise, the Ten [bodhisattva-]Stages are explained in the Vaipulyapiṭaka, and all [of these ten stages] are pertaining to the paths of Noble Ones. How [then] could there be an un-noble one in these [i.e. in the Ten Stages].

[67] One should always praise Bodhisattvas endowed with un-limited good virtues in which each quality is space-like and immeasurable, and [they are] refuge for the wise ones.

Philological Remarks

1ab: *upāsakas triśaraṇāt tanmūlaṃ saṃvarāṣṭakam*

The Tibetan renders the line as: *dge bsnyen gsum la skyabs 'gro ba ǁ de ni sdom brgyad rtsa ba yin ǁ* (Sorensen: "A lay-disciple's resort to the Three [Refuges] is rooted in the eight obligations"), and does not have the equivalent for the ablative case-ending of *triśaraṇāt*.

8d: *daśabhūmipratiṣṭhitaiḥ*

Instead of "abiding on the Ten [bodhisattva-]Stages," Sorensen translates the phrase as: "abiding on the ten[th] stage[s]" (*sa bcu la ni gnas*).

22a: *svabhāva eva dharmāṇāṃ*

Instead of *svabhāva eva* (≈ Munimata-Tib, D219a7: *chos rnams rang bzhin kho na la*), the Tibetan version of the *Triśaraṇasaptati* has *dngos med nyid la*, **abhāva eva*. From a semantic viewpoint, both readings are possible in the present context. The *akṣara*s of vowel *a* and ligature *sva* sometimes appear very similar, and the confusion

might have arisen due to graphical similarity (rather than phonetic error). It is, however, difficult to determine the original reading.

34a: **kāyatrayaṃ**

Whereas the Sanskrit manuscript and the Tibetan translation of the *Munimata* (D 82b7) reads: *kāyadvayaṃ munīndrasya* or *thub pa'i dbang po'i **sku gnyis** dang*, the Tibetan translation of the *Triśaraṇasaptati* has: *thub dbang gi ni **sku gsum** dang*. In view of verse 24: *thub dbang rnams kyi sku gsum ste || chos dang longs spyod rdzogs sprul pa*, the reading *kāyatrayam is preferable (although we cannot completely exclude the possibility that *kāyadvaya* there refers to *rūpakāya* and *dharmakāya*).

46bcd: **kiṃ tu janma bhavatraye dhātau na vidyate teṣāṃ te 'pi tiṣṭhanty anāsrave**

The word order is patently odd, for *anāsrave* qualifies *dhātau*, but the verb *vidyate* is inserted in between. If we can re-order *pāda* c "*dhātau na vidyate teṣāṃ*" into "*teṣāṃ na vidyate dhātau*," the syntax becomes smoother: *kiṃ tu janma bhavatraye teṣāṃ na vidyate, dhātau te 'pi tiṣṭhanty anāsrave*.

51a: **pūrvaśailāgame**

Sorensen adopts the reading *shā ri'i lung las* and translates: "In the scripture (*āgama*) of the Śāri[putra]." However, the variant reading *shar ri'i lung las* that was not adopted by Sorensen fits better with the context (cf. verse 57b has *shar gi ri pa'i* [vs. *nub kyi ri*, *aparaśaila in 57a]) and is supported by the Sanskrit. The erroneous transmission "*shar > shā*" was probably caused by a phonetic confusion.[9]

55b: **varṇitā**

The word *varṇitā* here means "explained," and its Tibetan rendering *bsngags pa* (Sorensen: "praise") is imprecise.

55d: **tāsv anāryaḥ katham bhavet**

As for its Tibetan rendering in the *Triśaraṇasaptati*: *de bas 'phags min ji ltar 'gyur*, Sorensen translates: "how (*katham*) then (*ataḥ*) could [Mahāyāna-sūtras be denoted] un-Noble (*anārya*)!" In the

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[9] See also Skilling & Saerji 2013.

Sanskrit, however, the grammatical gender of *anāryaḥ* is masculine, and does not correlate with *mahāyānaṃ* (neuter).

Appendix: Verses of the Tibetan translation of the *Triśaraṇasaptati,* as well as their counterparts in the Tibetan translation of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*

Sorensen ed.	Munimata-tib (Derge)
dge bsnyen gsum la skyabs 'gro ba ‖ de ni sdom brgyad rtsa ba yin ‖ sangs rgyas de'i chos dge 'dun ni ‖ thar pa 'dod pa rnams kyi skyabs ‖1‖	dge bsnyen gsum la skyabs 'gro ba ‖ de ni sdom brgyad rtsa ba yin ‖ rdzogs sangs rgyas chos dge 'dun ni ‖ grol bar 'dod pa rnams kyi skyabs ‖1‖
sangs rgyas kyi ni gzugs kyi sku ‖ mtshan dang dpe byad dag gis 'bar ‖ 'gro ba rang gi mos pa yi ‖ dbang gis sna tshogs skur 'dzin gang ‖7‖	sangs rgyas rnams kyi gzugs sku ni ‖ mtshan dang dpe byad rab 'bar zhing ‖ skye bo _{D219a6} rnams la sna tshogs gzugs ‖ rang mos dbang gis 'dzin par byed ‖7‖
bsod nams tshogs ni tshad med las ‖ 'khrungs pa de ni rgyal ba'i sras ‖ sa bcu la ni gnas rnams kyis ‖ mthong bar gyur **na**sku de yis ‖8‖	bsod nams tshogs ni dpag med las ‖ 'byung ba de ni rgyal ba'i sras ‖ sa bcu la ni gnas rnams kyi ‖ de lta bu yi skur gzigs so ‖8‖
chos kyi rdzogs longs spyod 'di ni ‖ rgyal sras rnams ni spyod pa yin ‖9ab‖	'di de chos rdzogs longs spyod las ‖ rgyal sras rnams kyis spyad bya'o ‖9ab‖
chos rnams dngos med nyid la ni ‖ blo gnas sangs rgyas yin par bshad ‖ 'og min gzhal yas khang du ni ‖ yang dag mngon sum yin par 'dod ‖22‖	_{D219a7} chos rnams rang bzhin kho na la ‖ gnas pa'i blo la sangs rgyas brjod ‖ 'og min gzhal yas khang du ni ‖ de nyid mngon sum bya bar bzhed ‖22‖
sangs rgyas rtogs pa mnga'**ba'i** ‖ gzugs kyi skur ni yang dag **'byung** ‖ sprul pa'i skus ni sa steng du'ang ‖ yang dag byang chub ston par mdzad ‖23‖	rnam par rtog med sangs rgyas kyi ‖ gzugs kyi sku rnams yang dag 'byung ‖ sprul pa'i sku rnams byang chub pa ‖ sa yi steng du ston par byed ‖23‖
thub dbang gi ni sku gsum dang ‖ nya ngan 'das dang gang zag brgyad ‖ sdom brtson bcas ya mos pa yis ‖ gang zhig gsum la skyabs 'gro ba ‖34‖	thub pa'i dbang po'i sku gnyis dang ‖ _{D82b1} mya ngan 'das dang gang zag brgyad ‖ de la gus pas skyabs 'gro gang ‖ gsum la skyabs su song ba yin ‖34‖

shā ri'i lung las dgra bcom pas || byang chub sems dpa' phyag byas nyid || 'di dag dkon mchog gsum gzhan min || sangs rgyas khongs su gtogs par 'dod ||51||	shar ri'i lung las dgra bcom gyis || byang chub sems dpa' phyag bya ste || dkon mchog gsum las phyi rol min || sangs rgyas nang du 'dus par dgongs ||51||
'bras bur gnas dang zhugs pa ni || 'phags pa'i lam gyis rab phye ba'i || slob pa rnams kyi sa bdun ni || mngon pa'i chos las ji skad bshad ||54||	_{D82b2} 'bras bu la gnas zhugs pa yi || slob pa bdun po rnams kyis || 'phags pa'i lam las rab byung rnams || chos mngon pa ru brjod ji bzhin ||54||
de bzhin sde snod rgyas pa las || sa bcu'i bsngags pa brjod pa yin || thams cad 'phags lam bdag nyid can || de las 'phags min ji ltar 'gyur ||55||	de ltar rgyas pa'i sde snod du'ang || sa bcu rnams su gsungs pa yis || 'phags pa'i lam gyi bdag nyid _{D82b3} can || de kun 'phags min ji ltar 'gyur ||55||
yon tan dam pa re re zhing || mtha' yas de ni mkha' dang mnyam || byang chub**la** sems rtag phyag 'tshal || blo ldan byang chub la skyabs mchi ||67||	re re'i yon tan mthar thug pa || nam mkha'i tshad kyi yon tan mchog | byang chub sems dpa' rtag phyag 'os || blo ldan rnams kyis skyabs kyang ngo ||67||

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The concept of *ākāra* in early Sāṅkhya epistemology

An evaluation of fragments

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The question of whether a cognition possesses the form of its object stood at the centre of a long-standing controversy in classical Indian philosophy. In doxographical literature, schools of thought have accordingly become classified according to whether they subscribe to a "doctrine of form-possession" (*sākāravāda*) or its opposite, *nirākāravāda*. Within this context, the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsā schools are generally presented as maintaining that cognition does not take on the form of its object. The opposing view that cognition is form-possessing (*sākārajñānavāda*) is considered predominantly characteristic for the Sautrāntika and Yogācāra schools of thought, as represented in the works of Dignāga (ca. 480-540 CE), Dharmakīrti (ca. 600-660 CE)[1] and their followers.

Some have argued that the Sāṅkhya position is close to the Buddhist view. The Naiyāyika Bhaṭṭa Jayanta (840-900 CE), for example, criticizes the Sāṅkhya school because its view in this respect does not essentially differ from that of Buddhist thinkers.[2] Among modern-day authors, Erich Frauwallner remarked that when it came to explaining the cognition of objects, the Sāṅkhya school, like vari-

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[1] Helmut Krasser, however, has proposed changing the dates of Dharmakīrti and also those of the Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila, to the mid-6th century (Krasser 2011), based on the argument that Bhāviveka knew both of them. The full consequences of this proposal, as well as its plausibility, remain to be determined.

[2] NM I 70,10: *sākārajñānavādāc ca nātīvaiṣa viśiṣyate tvatpakṣaḥ*; cf. Schmithausen 1968: 341, n. 29.

ous Buddhist schools, opted for the view that the psychic organs take on the form of the object.[3] Sāṅkhya initially taught that the *puruṣa* takes on the form of the object. It was only later, in response to criticism from other schools, that Sāṅkhya thinkers weakened their position to claim that only the intellect (*buddhi*) takes on the object's form.[4] Basing their arguments on an observed resemblance between Buddhist and Sāṅkhya views on *ākāra*s, some have gone so far as to suggest that the Buddhists might have adopted the notion of *ākāra* from the Sāṅkhya. Georges Dreyfus, for instance, speaks of "... the concept of aspect (*ākāra*), a notion that seems to go back to the Sāṃkhya but has been accepted by several other schools."[5]

It is difficult to arrive at conclusions regarding Sāṅkhya epistemology from a historical perspective, since our evidence, especially for the early period, is of a highly fragmentary nature. The oldest known exposition of a framework of *pramāṇa*s in Sāṅkhya is Vṛṣagaṇa's/Vārṣagaṇya's[6] *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, the "Manual of Sixty Principles," dated by Frauwallner to around 300 CE. The *Ṣaṣṭitantra,* short ṢT, is not preserved in its entirety, but quotations are found in later Sāṅkhya literature as well as in the philosophical literature of other schools. The positions of various commentators on the ṢT are also reflected here and there, in some instances in the form of quotations or otherwise recognizable textual fragments of an indeterminate relationship to their lost sources. Clearly, the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* was received and critically discussed in a broader philosophical environment,

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[3] Frauwallner 1953: 395. The German expression translated here as "psychic organs" is "Erkenntnisorgane." Cf. also Sinha 1969: 2ff.

[4] Frauwallner 1953: 396f.

[5] Dreyfus 2007: 1000. Cf. also Dreyfus/Thompson 2007: 102, with greater confidence: "a notion that goes back to the Sāṃkhya but has been accepted by several other schools."

[6] Franco 1999: 563, n. 2, adopts the form Vārṣagaṇya as the name of the author of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, relying on arguments by Pulinbihari Chakravarti (Chakravarti 1975: 135-138). This form is reconstructed as the basis of the term Vārṣagaṇāḥ, used in the *Yuktidīpikā* for the followers of this thinker. Frauwallner reconstructed Vṛṣagaṇa from the same expression.

and several Sāṅkhya thinkers rose to the challenge and attempted to clarify the pithy sayings in the ṢṬ in the light of newly emerging problems and criticism voiced from within other schools.

What makes early Sāṅkhya epistemology hard to grasp is therefore not only the fragmentary state of its transmission, but also the apparent existence of different positions and interpretations – a territory that can be mapped only with great difficulty. The philological basis for this endeavour, at least, has improved considerably since Erich Frauwallner published his pioneering reconstruction of Sāṅkhya epistemology more than fifty years ago.[7] Frauwallner's main source for reconstructing Sāṅkhya theories of inference and perception was Jinendrabuddhi's (ca. 710-770 CE) commentary on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and -*vṛtti* (henceforth PS(V)), the *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* (henceforth PSṬ). Both Dignāga and Jinendrabuddhi made use of the ṢṬ. Jinendrabuddhi also relates mutually incompatible interpretations of the ṢṬ in apparent quotations, and therefore must have availed himself of several commentaries. This becomes especially clear in some of the quoted passages where the views of earlier commentators are explicitly criticized. Frauwallner was able to use the PSṬ only in the canonical Tibetan translation by Dpang lo tsā ba (1276-1342). As he himself readily admitted, this translation leaves many questions open. Hattori provided more detailed interpretations of many of the relevant passages in the PSṬ in the copious annotation to his English translation of the chapter on perception from Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti*,[8] but was also only able to rely on Dpang lo tsā ba's translation.

In 2005, a diplomatic and critical edition of the Sanskrit text of the PSṬ's chapter on perception, based on photocopies of a palm-leaf manuscript kept in Lhasa, was published jointly by the China Tibetology Research Centre and the Institute for the Cultural and

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[7] Frauwallner 1958. For a general outline of Sāṅkhya epistemology cf. also Frauwallner 1953: 390ff. A general account of early Sāṅkhya interpretations of perception is given in Oberhammer et al. 2006: 51-56.

[8] Hattori 1968.

Intellectual History of Asia at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, inaugurating the series "Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region." This publication now also places the study of early Sāṅkhya epistemology on a more solid textual basis, although, as we shall see, uncertainties remain that call for more comprehensive studies. Frauwallner's second main source for Sāṅkhya theories on perception was the anonymous *Yuktidīpikā* (YD), a commentary on Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhyakārikā*s, probably composed between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century. Here, too, the philological situation has improved, as the YD is now available in a critical edition by Albrecht Wezler and Shujun Motegi (1998).[9]

As a first step towards a better founded understanding of Sāṅkhya epistemology in its historical context, Ernst Steinkellner published a brief presentation of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*'s theory of perception.[10] This brief survey was supplemented by a more extensive collection of fragments from the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* and of some of the commentaries that Jinendrabuddhi used,[11] in which Steinkellner also adumbrates a programme for the editions of a corpus of fragments from brahminical philosophical literature in the PSṬ.[12] Steinkellner is currently

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[9] For the dating of the YD, cf. Wezler/Motegi 1998: XXVIII. The YD quotes Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* yet does not know of Dharmakīrti and hence must have been written at a time when Dharmakīrti was not widely known, although the author appears to have known Kumārila. A quotation from the *Kāśikāvṛtti,* datable to 680-700 CE, determines that the YD was written after Dharmakīrti's lifetime. As for the relationship between the PSṬ and YD, I have not yet been able to find any passages indicating that one of these works depended on the other. The YD does not seem to contain any of the ṢT commentary fragments preserved in the PSṬ, although it does quote from the ṢT and relates positions of the followers of Vṛṣagaṇa/Vārṣagaṇya.

[10] Steinkellner 1999a.

[11] Steinkellner 1999b. Steinkellner's numbering of ṢT fragments in this article is adopted in the following.

[12] Kellner 2010, a study of Vaiśeṣika fragments from the PSṬ on the theory of inference, may serve as one example for the rich harvest that these materials offer.

completing this corpus, an invaluable and indispensible resource given how few philosophical works of this period have been preserved as a whole.[13]

Given the improved philological basis for studies in Sāṅkhya epistemology, it is timely to aim for a better understanding of the role of *ākāra* in Sāṅkhya accounts of the perceptual process. In its general structure, the Sāṅkhya analysis of the perceptual process owes its characteristic shape to the peculiar dualism of Sāṅkhya metaphysics. A plurality of unchanging, inactive and immaterial souls (*puruṣa*) is placed in opposition to primordial matter (*prakṛti*) and its various evolutionary products, which arise through a process of modification in the course of which material products become increasingly subtle. These material products constitute the external world, the sense organs as well as the psychic organism, referred to as the "inner sense" (*antaḥkaraṇa*). The psychic organism is subject to a variety of analyses that differ in their terminology – one finds especially *citta, manas* or *buddhi* – as well as in the number of factors that are thought to constitute it. Some Sāṅkhya thinkers assume the inner sense to be constituted by one entity, whereas others assume it to comprise three entities, the intellect (*buddhi*), the mental faculty (*manas*), and I-consciousness (*ahaṅkāra*), not all of which however are necessarily involved in every cognitive process.[14] Sentience (*caitanya*), or rather consciousness as the foundation for knowledge, is exclusively a quality of the souls. Premised on this peculiar metaphysical dualism, Sāṅkhya epistemology has to account for individual and changing perceptual processes in such a way that these depend on the soul's conscious nature and are impossible without it, for only the soul has the capacity of knowing. Yet these processes must not involve the soul in an active function, for the soul is fundamentally inactive, unchanging, and not part of caus-

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[13] Steinkellner has kindly made a preliminary version of his corpus available to me, for which I would like to express my gratitude. For the reader's convenience, however, I shall refer to his publications whenever this is possible.

[14] Schmithausen 1968: 331.

al processes. This background informs the discussion of Sāṅkhya views on perception in the first chapter of PS(V) and PSṬ, which contains the main materials pertinent to the topic of *ākāra*s.

The first part of Jinendrabuddhi's presentation of Sāṅkhya views in the commentary on PS(V) 1.25 is concerned with cooperation of the senses and the mental faculty (*manas*) in the perceptual process. This section, PSṬ 1 136,4-138,14, is based on passages from ṢT commentaries that deal with the ṢT's definition of perception, which follows immediately after the definition of inference placed at the very beginning of the work. Jinendrabuddhi begins the section with a quotation of the ṢT's definition of perception. As is customary in the *vārttika* style in which the ṢT was apparently composed,[15] the definition is given in a short nominal sentence followed by a more detailed explanation.

> ṢT fragment 1 = PSṬ 1 136,4-8:[16] *kim anumānam evaikaṃ pramāṇam? nety ucyate. śrotrādivṛttiś ca pratyakṣam. pramāṇam iti śeṣaḥ. śrotratvakcakṣurjihvāghrāṇānāṃ* <u>*manasādhiṣṭhitā*</u> *vṛttiḥ śabdasparśarūparasagandheṣu yathākramaṃ* <u>*grahaṇe*</u> <u>*vartamānā*</u> *pratyakṣaṃ pramāṇam.*

> "Is inference the only means of valid cognition? To this we say: no. Also the operation of [the sense of] hearing, etc., [i.e.] perception - [is] a means of valid cognition, [this] completes [the sentence]. The operation of the sense of hearing, of the bodily sense, of the visual, the gustatory and the olfactory senses, <u>directed by the mental faculty</u> [and] <u>occurring when</u>, respectively, sound, the tangible, colour, taste and smell, <u>are apprehended</u>, [i.e.] perception, is a means of valid cognition."[17]

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[15] Steinkellner 1999a: 251, n. 16.

[16] Sources other than PSṬ for individual Sāṅkhya fragments are not reported in the following unless they attest to substantive variants; cf. Steinkellner 1999b for further documentation concerning ṢT fragments.

[17] A fragment in Siṃhasūri's *Nyāyāgamānusāriṇī* reads *pramāṇaṃ pratyakṣam* for the concluding *pratyakṣaṃ pramāṇam* (Steinkellner 1999b: 669).

The underlined phrases *manasādhiṣṭhitā* and *grahaṇe vartamānā* are the main target for explanation in the fragments from ṢṬ commentaries that Jinendrabuddhi assembles in this section. The first two of these fragments are concerned with *manasādhiṣṭhitā*:

> ṢṬV$_a$ fragment 1[18] = PSṬ 136,9-12: **manase**ti manovṛttyā. prakṛtivikārayor abhedopacārād evam uktam. **adhiṣṭhite**ti tena sahaikatra viṣaye pravṛttety arthaḥ. sahārtho 'trādhiṣṭhānārthaḥ. tad yathā rājapuruṣeṇādhiṣṭhitaḥ pravṛttas tena saheti gamyate.

> ṢṬV$_b$ fragment 1 = PSṬ 136,13-137,14: anye tv āhuḥ – **manasādhiṣṭhite**ti manasā saṃviditā, yathoktam – <u>bāhyeṣv artheṣu indriyaṃ vyavasāyaṃ kurute. tasmiṃs tv indriyavyavasāye mano 'nuvyavasāyaṃ kuruta</u>[19] iti. anena hi granthena indriyavṛttir eva bāhyaviṣayākārā manovṛttyā saṃvedyate, na tv indriyavṛttisahitayā bāhyo 'rtha iti pratipāditam. tasmād yā śrotrādivṛttir manovṛttyā gṛhyate, sā tayādhiṣṭhitety uktā.[20] vṛttir indriyāṇāṃ svaviṣayasānnidhye tadākāreṇa pariṇāmo jñeyaḥ. sā punar dviprakārā sapratyayā cāpratyayā ca. pratyayaḥ pauruṣeyo bodha ucyate caitanyarūpo viṣayānubhavasvabhāvaḥ. etac cātmanaḥ svarūpaṃ nānyasya kasyacit, acetanatvāt. tena pauruṣeyeṇa pratyayena saha yā sampṛktā tadekarūpatām ivāpannā, sā sapratyayā. yathā taptāvasthāyām ayogolakas tejaḥsamparkād atatsvabhāvo 'pi tejaḥsvabhāvatām ivāpadyate, tathā vṛttir ananubhavarūpāpi caitanyasaṃsargāc caitanyarūpatām ivāpadyate. yā punar vṛttiḥ pradīpaprabheva kevalaṃ viṣayaprakāśikā, na tu caitanyasamparkād āsāditatadrūpeva, sāpratyayety ucyate. tatrāpratyayavṛttinivṛttaye **grahaṇe vartamāne**ty āha. **śabdasparśarūparasagandhānāṃ yathākramam** ity anena svaviṣayaviniveśavacanān niyataviṣayatvam.

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[18] The hypothetical titles *Ṣaṣṭitantravṛtti a* and *b* (ṢṬV$_a$, ṢṬV$_b$) were proposed in Steinkellner 1999b; the distinction between these two commentaries goes back to Frauwallner 1958.

[19] The underlined passage is ṢṬ fragment 2. Cf. also the closely related fragments 7-9 in Steinkellner 1999b: 671ff.

[20] Frauwallner (1958: 111) indicates parallels in SK 33-34, and 30.

Instead of offering translations of these and other fragments from
ṢṬ commentaries discussed in the following, I shall present my in-
terpretation of the main issues at stake.[21] According to the author
of ṢṬV$_a$, the operation of the external senses – "senses" referring
to the external senses excluding *manas* – applies together with that
of the mental faculty to the same external object, to the effect that
the expression "directed by the mental faculty" means "together
with the mental faculty." This situation is compared to the use of
the expression "[someone] entered directed by a king's servant,"
which conveys that the person in question entered a room accompa-
nied by the servant. In the second commentary ṢṬV$_b$, on the other
hand, the expression "directed by the mental faculty" is interpreted
as "brought to awareness" (*saṃvidita*) by the mental faculty. It is the
operation of the senses, which has the form of the external object
(*bāhyaviṣayākārā*), that is brought to awareness by the mental fac-
ulty – and not, as assumed by the author of ṢṬV$_a$, the external ob-
ject. The author of ṢṬV$_b$ justifies his interpretation with a quotation
from the ṢṬ, the work that, after all, both commentators regard as the
main authority on these matters: the sense undertakes a determina-
tion (*vyavasāya*) with respect to external objects, whereas the men-
tal faculty undertakes a subsequent determination (*anuvyavasāya*),
which applies to the initial determination by the sense. The opera-
tions of senses and mental faculty therefore have different objects.[22]
The interpretation of ṢṬV$_a$ could also have been criticized on the ba-
sis of ṢṬ fragment 13, which states that sense and mental faculty do
not determine external objects together because if one assumes two
faculties that fulfil the same purpose, they end up being ineffective.[23]

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[21] For translations cf. Steinkellner's forthcoming corpus.

[22] Cf. also Oberhammer et al. 2006: 51f. A similar process is also indicated
in *Syādvādaratnākara* 233,10ff. (cited in Schmithausen 1968: 332, n. 12).

[23] ṢṬ fragment 13: *kim bāhyeṣv artheṣv indriyamanobhyāṃ sahavyāvasāyaḥ?
nety ucyate. kasmāt? naikārthakāriṇor indriyayor kalpane sāmarthyam*; the
last sentence is ṢṬ fragment 18 (Steinkellner 1999b: 673f.).

The second part of the ŚTVb fragment[24] explains *grahaṇe vartamānā*, "occurring when ... are apprehended." Most importantly for our purposes, this part begins with defining the operation of the senses in general as their transformation into the form of their respective objects (colour, sound, etc.) when these are in proximity.[25] This view is also encountered in the *Yuktidīpikā,* where a *vārttika* states that apprehension (*grahaṇa*), identified as the operation of the senses, is their entering a state of being of the object's form (*tādrūpyāpatti*), or having the object's form; this state results from their contact with objects.[26]

This operation is now said to be of two kinds. It may be "with understanding" (*sapratyaya*), that is, accompanied by the *puruṣa*'s innate sentience or consciousness, or "without understanding" (*apratyaya*).[27] When the inert senses are in contact (*saṃpṛktā, saṃsarga*)

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[24] Frauwallner (1958: 102) does not commit to considering this second part as a fragment, but considers its views to be consistent with Vindhya-vāsin's, whom he regards as the author of the second commentary (ŚTVb). In his forthcoming corpus Steinkellner considers the entire passage to be one continuous fragment; I follow Steinkellner's assessment.

[25] Earlier in ŚTVb fragment 1, it is strictly speaking the *operation* of the sense which is said to have the form of the external object, and not the sense itself. But inasmuch as, according to PSṬ 137,1, the "operation" of the sense consists in transforming into the object's form, this can be interpreted as a condensed expression. Cf. also Frauwallner 1958: 108, and Schmithausen 1968: 332, n. 10, where this transition from "operation" to "sense" is tacitly made.

[26] YD 203,4f. ad SK 28ab: *viṣayasamparkāt tādrūpyāpattir indriyavṛtti<r> grahaṇam*, and YD 203,28f.: *viṣayākārapariṇāmātmikā vṛttiḥ*, discussing the operation of the senses. Cf. further Kondo 2010: 1135.

[27] For this use of *pratyaya*, cf. also the quotation in YD 197,22, ascribed to *vārṣagaṇāḥ*: *pradhānapravṛttir apratyayā puruṣeṇāparigṛhyamāṇā ādisarge vartate.* On the other hand, in ŚT fragment 16 (Steinkellner 1999b: 674), the operation of a sense is said to be "with understanding" (*pratyayavatī*) when the mental faculty is connected with that sense that operates with respect to external objects of the present time: *bāhyeṣv artheṣu sāmprate kāle kenacid indriyeṇa yuktaṃ yadā mano bhavati, tadā pratyayavatī vṛttir indriyasya bhavati.* This might suggest that what provides the sense with

with the soul's consciousness, their operation presents itself as if conscious, just like a heated iron ball appears to have the nature of heat, although it is merely heated up through contact (*samparka*) with heat and does not have heat for its intrinsic nature. By contrast, an operation of the senses "without understanding" is comparable to the revealing or illuminating activity of light; it is not in contact with consciousness, and would be nothing more than a revealing of the object (*viṣayaprakāśikā*). According to this interpretation, Vṛṣagaṇa/Vārṣagaṇya used the expression "occurring when ... are apprehended" to exclude a function of the sense that is not accompanied by the soul's consciousness from the definition of perception. "Apprehension" (*grahaṇa*) thus becomes semantically charged; through the particular interpretive move that is made here, it is identified with the sense's operation "with understanding." The author of the *Yuktidīpikā* also rejects the view that the senses operate like a lamp and merely reveal or illuminate their objects, and explicitly states that they operate by apprehending.[28] Summarizing his own view, the *Yuktidīpikākāra* claims that a lamp, etc. is revealing, the sense, etc. is apprehending, and the inner sense (*antaḥkaraṇa*) is determining (*vyavasāyaka*).[29] In perception, the senses do not just reveal objects, but apprehend them, and they do so only when accompanied by the *puruṣa*'s consciousness. The author of ṢTV_b then goes on to explain *śabdasparśarūparasagandhānāṃ yathākramam*: this expression conveys that the individual senses are limited to specific types of objects.

After this long extract from (or paraphrase of) ṢTV_b, Jinendra-buddhi presents an objection. Its point of departure is that the operation of the sense itself is the apprehension of the object; this can be regarded as a conclusion drawn from ṢTV_b fragment 1, and is

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"understanding" is the mental faculty, not the *puruṣa*, but perhaps the further step that there is a necessary connection of the mental faculty with the *puruṣa*'s consciousness is implicit here.

[28] YD 202,19-203,l, ending with the conclusion *tasmād yuktam etad grāhakam indriyaṃ na tu pradīpavat prakāśakam iti*.

[29] YD 203,12f.

also explicitly stated in the YD passage mentioned above. But if that is the case, what other "operation" would then exist that occurs when objects are being apprehended?[30] After all, according to the definition, perception is an operation of the senses that occurs when objects are apprehended. But does the definition then not tautologically state that the apprehension of objects occurs when their apprehension occurs? The qualifier *grahaṇe vartamānā* is without purpose if the interpretation advanced in ṢTV$_b$ fragment 1 is adopted.

Three different interpretations of *grahaṇe vartamānā* are presented as responses to this problem, aiming to provide the contentious qualifier with purpose and meaning. Their style indicates that they too are fragments from ṢT commentaries:

Position 1 of "some" (*kecit*): "occurring when ... are apprehended" means "occurring when ... are fully apprehended."

> PSṬ 1 137,16-138,3: *kecid āhuḥ − indriyaviṣayāntarālavartinī kaśābhighātavad dūrvājalavad*[31] *vā viṣaye svasminn apratiṣṭhitā vṛttir ucyate. pratiṣṭhitā tu viṣayākāreṇa pariṇāmena parinispannā grahaṇam iti. yatrāpi cāntarālaṃ nāsti ghrāṇādau tatrāpīndriyasya viṣayasaṃyogānantaraṃ vikriyopajāyamānā viṣayākāratvenāpariniṣpannā vṛttir jñeyā. tathāpariniṣpannāntargrahaṇam iti.*

Position 2 of "others" (*anye*): "occurring when ... are apprehended" means "occurring only when ... are apprehended [not when concepts are formed]."

> PSṬ 1 138,4-11: *anye tv āhuḥ − vṛttīnāṃ nirvikalpatvopadarśanārtham etad bhedena uktaṃ **śabdādīnāṃ grahaṇe vartamāne**ti. etad uktaṃ bhavati − svarūpagrahaṇamātre varta-*

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[30] PSṬ 1 137,15f.: *nanu śrotrādivṛttir eva śabdādīnāṃ grahaṇam. tatra kānyā vṛttir yā grahaṇe vartate*?

[31] The edition of PSṬ 1 emends the text of the manuscript, *dūrvājalavad*, to *ūrdhvākṣiptajalavad*, on the basis of the Tibetan translation *gyen du gtong ba'i chu lta bu*. We follow the reading *dūrvājalavad* adopted in Steinkellner's corpus and consider the Tibetan translation as an attempt to clarify the otherwise obscure example.

> *mānā pratyakṣaṃ pramāṇaṃ nānyatheti. yady api vikalpane* *'syāḥ sambhavo nāsti, tathāpi jaiminīyādibhir vikalpakaṃ* *pratyakṣaṃ kalpitam. tadapekṣayā etad viśeṣaṇam. sarvaiva tu* *vṛttir grahaṇamātre vartate, na vikalpana iti. grahaṇe varta-* *māneti tatsvabhāvety arthaḥ.*

Position 3 of "others" (*anye*): "occurring when ... are apprehended" means "occurring when ... are apprehended [with understanding]."

> PSṬ 1 138,12-14: *anye tv apratyayām eva vṛttiṃ pramāṇam* *icchanti, sapratyayāṃ tu phalam.* **grahaṇe vartamāne***ti caivaṃ* *varṇayanti. grahaṇe phale kartavye grahaṇanimittaṃ pravṛtte-* *ty arthaḥ.*

The first position of "some" (*kecit*), laconically remarked upon by Frauwallner as one where various things remain unclear,[32] introduces an operation of the sense that is "not fixed" (*apratiṣṭhita*) to its object and occurs in the space between sense and object, as when a whip has not yet hit its object, or when water is being poured on grass and has not yet touched it.[33] By contrast, the "fixed" and "completed" (*pariniṣpanna*) operation of the sense consists in the transformation of the sense into the form of the object. The completed operation of the sense is "apprehension," and this is what the qualifier *grahaṇe vartamānā* expresses. This interpretation suggests that the sense operates in different stages. While this may seem intuitively plausible in cases where sense and object are separated by space, as, for example, in visual perception, it may seem counterintuitive in those cases where senses and object touch, such as in olfactory, gustatory or tactile perception. The proponent of this position accordingly stresses that even in such cases there is first an operation that is uncompleted, when the modification of the sense has just arisen immediately after the sense has come into contact with the object (*viṣayasaṃyogānantaraṃ vikriyopajāyamānā*).

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[32] Frauwallner 1958: 103.

[33] Literally: "like in [case of] slashing by a whip, or *dūrvā*-grass [and] water."

The second position, attributed to "others," interprets *grahaṇe vartamānā* against the background of the distinction between non-conceptual perception and conceptualization: the expression is intended to convey that the operation of the senses is limited to apprehension, and does not extend to conceptualization. This position therefore presupposes that perception is by definition non-conceptual. In this respect it is consistent with Vindhyavāsin's definition of perception, for Vindhyavāsin is known to have added the qualifier "non-conceptualizing" (*avikalpikā*) to the ṢT's definition of perception.[34]

Finally, the third position, ascribed to still "others," interprets *grahaṇe vartamānā* in connection with the distinction between the means of valid cognition and its result. Here the operation of the senses without understanding is assigned the role of the means – referred to by *śrotrādivṛttiḥ* in the definition. The operation with understanding, identified with apprehension, is its result, expressed with *grahaṇe vartamānā*. This implies that for these "others" an operation without understanding is in fact within the scope of the general definition of perception as a means of valid cognition, representing a stage in the perceptual process. Their position in this respect contradicts the account from ṢTV_b fragment 1, where the expression *grahaṇe vartamānā* was aimed at excluding an operation of the senses that is not accompanied by the soul's consciousness from the definition altogether.

The following table summarizes the structure of the pertinent section as we have thus far determined it; passages containing material on the notion of *ākāra* are underlined.

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[34] Cf. Oberhammer et al. 2006: 52.

Location in the text	Identification	Content
PST 1 136,4-8	ṢT fragment 1	Definition of perception, involving the qualifiers *manasādhiṣṭhitā* (sc. *śrotrādivṛttiḥ*), *grahaṇe vartamānā*, and *śabdasparśarūparasagandhānāṃ yathākramam*.
PST 1 136,9-12	ṢTVₐ fragment 1	Interpretation of *manasādhiṣṭhitā*: both senses and mental faculty apply to the external object
PST 1 136,13-137,14	ṢTVᵦ fragment 1 (*anye*)	Interpretation of *manasādhiṣṭhitā*: Only the operation of the senses has the object's form (*indriyavṛttir eva bāhyaviṣayākārā*), while the mental faculty applies to the determination by the senses.
		Interpretation of *grahaṇe vartamānā*: The operation of the senses is the transformation into the object's form (*tadākāreṇa pariṇāmaḥ*). Distinction of operation of the senses into *sapratyaya* and *apratyaya*. The expression *grahaṇe vartamānā* serves to exclude *apratyayavṛtti*.
		Interpretation of *śabdasparśarūparasagandhānāṃ yathākramam*.
PST 1 137,15f.	Objection	The expression *grahaṇe vartamānā* is without purpose if the interpretation advanced in ṢTVᵦ fragment 1 is adopted.
PST 1 137,16-138,3	Position 1 (*kecit*); ṢT commentary fragment	Response to objection: *grahaṇe vartamānā* refers to a *vṛttiḥ* that is *pariniṣpannā* and *pratiṣṭhitā*: the transformation of the senses into the form of the object (*viṣayākāreṇa pariṇāmena*).

PSṬ 1 138,4-11	Position 2 (*anye*); ṢT commentary fragment, consistent with Vindhyavāsin's definition of perception as *avikalpikā*	Response to objection: *grahaṇe vartamānā* refers to *avikalpikā vṛttiḥ*. Perception is non-conceptual.
PSṬ 1 138,12-14	Position 3 (*anye*); ṢT commentary fragment, older than ṢTV_b[35]	Response to objection: *grahaṇe vartamānā* indicates *grahaṇa* as *pramāṇaphala*; *pramāṇa = apratyayavṛttiḥ*.

The section presents structural problems that cannot be resolved easily given that Jinendrabuddhi's sources are not available to us.[36] For this reason I also refrain from distinguishing individual types of fragments and proceed on the charitable assumption that Jinendrabuddhi presents Sāṅkhya views correctly as far as the main points are concerned.[37] A satisfactory clarification of the situation would require a more comprehensive and in-depth study of Sāṅkhya fragments than we are able to offer at this time, as well as an inquiry into the possibly distinctive ways in which Jinendrabuddhi arranges the views of other schools and makes use of source materials in general. I shall therefore confine myself to stating the main problems in brief.

To begin with, as already suggested by Frauwallner, the section shows that Jinendrabuddhi knew more than two ṢT commentaries. But can some of the three fragments in the end be assigned to ṢTV_a or ṢTV_b, the two commentaries that were postulated as the source for the two alternate positions on *manasādhiṣṭhitā* at the beginning of the section? And can the author of any one of these commentaries be identified with a particular individual? Having determined

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[35] The view expressed in this fragment is referred to in PSṬ 1 161,9, a ṢTV_b fragment. It is also logically inconcistent with the position advanced in ṢTV_b fragment 1.

[36] For a preliminary discussion of some of the textual difficulties in this section cf. Frauwallner 1958: 102.

[37] Steinkellner will offer a fine-grained typology of fragments in his corpus.

that the two first fragments belong to two different commentaries,[38] Frauwallner assumed that Jinendrabuddhi used the same two works, and in the same sequence, also in the rest of the section. For this reason Frauwallner assigned the first position on *grahaṇe vartamānā* to ṢTV$_a$, and the second to ṢTV$_b$. Since the second position draws on Vindhyavāsin's otherwise attested view that perception is non-conceptualizing (*avikalpikā*), Frauwallner regarded it as fairly probable that the author of the second commentary, our ṢTV$_b$, was Vindhyavāsin; Steinkellner basically follows his assessment.[39]

However, this line of reasoning is problematic. According to ṢTV$_b$ fragment 1, the qualifier *grahaṇe vartamānā* excludes an operation of the senses without understanding from the definition of perception: that the operation of the senses occurs when sound, etc., is apprehended means that their operation is accompanied by the soul's consciousness. In the following objection this interpretation is criticized because it makes the qualifier *grahaṇe vartamānā* redundant. Each of the three positions that Jinendrabuddhi presents in response to the objection then holds a different view on the function of this qualifier. Since the last position is criticized in a ṢTV$_b$ fragment later in the text and must therefore be taken from a commentary that predates ṢTV$_b$, Jinendrabuddhi obviously does not present his materials in chronological sequence. The three positions were not necessarily formed in response to problems arising from ṢTV$_b$ by virtue of their presentation after an objection to ṢTV$_b$. Rather, Jinendrabuddhi brings positions culled from ṢT commentaries into one conceptual space – and into dialogue with one another – regardless of the chronological sequence in which the commentaries were composed. But most importantly, the three views are not only different from one another, but also from the interpretation advanced in ṢTV$_b$ fragment 1. If Frauwallner were correct, Vindhyavāsin would have assigned two different functions to the qualifier *grahaṇe*

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[38] Note that Frauwallner does not consider the second part of ṢTV$_b$ fragment 1 as part of the fragment, but nonetheless considers the views expressed in it as conforming to Vindhyavāsin's.

[39] Frauwallner 1958: 114; Steinkellner 1999b: 670.

vartamānā: it excludes the senses' operation without understanding *and* it also excludes conceptualization. To begin with, this is not consistent with Frauwallner's general assessment that these commentaries advance well-defined positions – an assessment which is supported by the characteristics of ṢTVₐ fragment 1 and ṢTVᵦ fragment 1. If Vindhyavāsin was the author of the commentary from which the second position on *grahaṇe vartamānā* was taken, he cannot have been the author of ṢTVᵦ, and vice versa. There appear to be only two ways to resolve this puzzling situation. First, the ṢT commentaries might not be globally committed to advancing only one single interpretation of the various qualifiers in the ṢT's definition. Vindhyavāsin might have presented several alternative interpretations of *grahaṇe vartamānā*, and Jinendrabuddhi would then try to bring out contradictions between them. Alternatively, one could conclude that Jinendrabuddhi's reliance on ṢT commentaries is less straightfoward than has so far been assumed. Both approaches towards resolving the problems require more comprehensive studies of other fragments, including also those from the chapters on inference for oneself and inference for others. For the time being, the authorship of the different commentaries, the number of commentaries and their relationship remain open questions.

As puzzling as the situation may be when it comes to fragments and their distribution across an unknown number of commentaries, the materials examined above nevertheless provide new insights into the role of *ākāra*s in early Sāṅkhya epistemology. The author of ṢTVᵦ holds the view that the senses transform into the form of the object; this is basically what is meant by their "operation" of apprehending the object.[40] The author of the commentary from which the first of the three positions on *grahaṇe vartamānā* was taken also availed himself of this particular way of relating the senses to their objects. Corresponding views could also be found in various passages in the *Yuktidīpikā*. All this suggests that "taking on the form of the object," or "transforming into the form of the object" was a

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[40] In addition to the fragments above cf. also PSṬ 1 140,1-6 (*śabdākāra-pariṇatāḥ*).

more widely accepted idiom among Sāṅkhya thinkers engaged in epistemological analysis, and predicated specifically on the external senses. As no mention of *ākāra* is made in any of the identified ṢT fragments, this idiom most probably gained acceptance, or was perhaps even invented, within ṢT commentaries.

In the fragments examined above, there is no indication that any other element of the cognitive apparatus, or even the soul, might take on the form of the object. This is significant considering Frauwallner's sketch of the development of the Sāṅkhya view referred to at the beginning of this paper. Frauwallner views this development as one from a stronger claim (the soul takes on the form of the object) to a weaker one (only the "psychic organs" take on the form of the object), driven by criticism from other schools.[41]

As for the general cognitive process, the ṢT stipulates that the soul is conscious of the determinations undertaken by the senses, which are synthesized by the mental faculty, but the soul is not conscious of the mental determinations through the mediation of sensory determinations. This asymmetry is the basis for the metaphorical designation of the senses as "gates" (*dvāra*) and the mental faculty as the "gatekeeper" (*dvārin*).[42] We can be fairly confident that the ṢT indeed had nothing more specific to say on how precisely senses and mental faculty cooperate, for Dignāga would hardly have passed on the opportunity to direct criticism against its views. Different ways of characterising the relationship between soul, psychic organism and senses must have been formulated in Sāṅkhya circles not soon after Dignāga (or in sources unknown to him). The author of the YD attributes the view to followers of Vṛṣagaṇa/Vārṣagaṇya that the *puruṣa*, when approached (*āviṣṭa*) by the intellect, imitates (*anuyāti*)

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[41] Frauwallner 1953: 396f.

[42] ṢT fragment 14: *manasy ekībhūtān indriyavyavasāyān puruṣaś cetayate, na tv indriyavyavasāyair manovyavasāyān iti. tasmān mana eva dvārī dvārāṇīndriyāṇi.* Steinkellner 1999b: 673.

the operation of the intellect which in turn occurs in conformity with that of the senses.[43]

What was this "imitation" thought to involve? In Bhāviveka's *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*s and the *Tarkajvālā*, the Sāṅkhya opponent offers two different explications of how the soul imitates the operation of the intellect (*buddhivṛtti*); both are aware that the impression of a real change to the nature of the *puruṣa* must be avoided. According to the first explication, when the object is cognised by the mental faculty, a reflection (**pratibimba*) of the object comes to appear in the soul, like a reflection of the moon is seen on still water that does not thereby undergo any change. The second explication invokes the notion of a "transformation" (**pariṇāma*), again not in substantial terms, but comparable to a reflection in a mirror.[44] Bhāviveka's references to the "reflection" theory constitute the earliest currently known evidence for it.[45] But no mention of any *ākāra*s is made on any level of the cognitive process.

What, then, is the evidence Frauwallner cites for his sketch? The YD passage just mentioned, according to which the soul "imitates" the operation of the intellect, is one of his sources. But the passage does not speak of any *ākāra*s, and there seems to be no reason to assume any *ākāra*-possession as being implied.[46] Only one other pas-

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[43] YD 171,12-14: *tathā ca vārṣagaṇāḥ paṭhanti: buddhivṛttyāviṣṭo hi pratya-yatvenānuvartamānām anuyāti puruṣaḥ iti.* Cf. also NM I 69,07-09: *sāṅkhyās tu buddhivṛttiḥ pramāṇam iti pratipannāḥ / viṣayākārapariṇatendriyādivṛt-tyanupātinī buddhir eva puruṣam uparañjayantī pramāṇam / taduparakto hi puruṣaḥ pratiniyataviṣayadraṣṭā sampadyate //*

[44] MHK 6.2 with TJ; Saitō 2011: 15, Qvarnström 2012: 399, He 2013: 418.

[45] Saitō 2011: 13. In TJ ad MHK 3.53 (Saitō 2011: 18) a "reflection" account is offered as the **siddhānta* of the Sāṅkhya, but without reference to the concept of "imitation." Cf. also Qvarnström 2012: 398f.

[46] See above n. 43. It appears that Frauwallner read YD *buddhivṛttyāviṣṭo* as *buddhivṛttyāviśiṣṭo*, or tacitly emended the text, as he translates that the soul is not different from the intellect in its operation (1953: 396). If one assumes that the intellect operates by taking on the object's form, then this translation might indeed suggest the same for the soul.

sage is cited: two stanzas from an unknown source, quoted in YD 171,15-18 and introduced by *āha ca*:

> *arthākāra ivābhāti yathā buddhis tathā pumān /*
> *ābhāsamāno buddhyāto boddhā maṇivad ucyate //*
>
> *yathā yathā manovṛttiḥ puruṣo 'pi tathā tathā /*
> *buddhirūpam avāpnoti cetanātvāt parāśrayam //*
>
> "Like the intellect appears like having the form of the object, so the *puruṣa* appears, like a jewel, [and it does so] through [mediation of] the intellect. Therefore, it is called 'knower.' In the same way as the operation of the mental faculty, so also the *puruṣa*, because of [its] sentience, obtains (?) the character of the intellect, which is based on the other [i.e., *prakṛti*?]."

Frauwallner paraphrases the first sentence of the first stanza as "Ebenso wie das Erkennen in der Form des Gegenstandes erscheint, so auch die Seele." Just like the intellect appears in the form of the object, so does the soul. This paraphrase fails to account for the particle *iva*, which is, however, rather conspicuous because idioms of the kind "appears like / as if ..." occupy a special place in Sāṅkhya epistemology. They tend to be used deliberately to reinforce the dualism of a conscious, passive soul and non-conscious, active matter in explaining the cognitive process. We have seen an example of this "as if"-pattern in ṢTV$_b$-fragment 1: When the inert senses are in contact with the soul's consciousness, their operation presents itself *as if* conscious, just like a heated iron ball appears to have the nature of heat, although it is merely heated up through contact with heat and does not have heat as its intrinsic nature. Further examples for this pattern can be readily adduced. Compare, for instance, *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 20, according to which the intellect, when in contact with the conscious soul, becomes *as if* it had consciousness, and the indifferent soul, when associated with the qualities (*guṇa*) which are active agents, becomes *as if* it were an agent.[47] The point in the first of the two stanzas cited in YD is then that while the soul appears as if

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[47] SK 20: *tasmāt tatsamyogād acetanaṃ cetanāvad iva liṅgam / guṇakartṛtve ca tathā karteva bhavaty udāsīnaḥ //*

having the form of the object, it does not *really* have that form, and thus can remain indifferent and unaffected by cognitive processes – and the same applies to the material cognitive apparatus, whose elements appear as if conscious (when they are in contact with the conscious soul), but are not really conscious.

Interpreted against this background, the first stanza states that the soul and the intellect appear *as if* having the form of the object, but in fact they do not. The simile of the jewel serves to illustrate this situation, if it is understood to convey that a transparent jewel appears as if it were coloured if a colour-bearing substance is placed right next to it – but it does not in fact change its colour. The transformation into the object's form would then remain limited to the senses. The second stanza raises many questions, and the above translation is far from secure, but in any case it does not add any further details that would allow us to conclude that the soul or intellect take on the form of the object.

Frauwallner's assertion consequently has little support in the very evidence that he adduced for it. It can be understood as an attempt to account for the situation that the "reflection" model seems to exist side by side with accounts that make use of a different vocabulary – including *ākāra*s – for analyzing the perceptual process. And Frauwallner's characteristic method of accounting for such situations is to connect them as stages in a dialectical historical development in which one theory is explained as a reaction against criticism directed at another: the reflection model forms in response to external criticism directed at the earlier Sāṅkhya view that the soul cognizes objects by taking on their form.[48] Upon closer investigation the textual evidence rather indicates that early epistemological analyses in Sāṅkhya confined *ākāra*-possession more narrowly to the senses. In at least one passage, the intellect (*buddhi*) is also said to possess the object's form.[49] It is quite possible that early Sāṅkhya epistemol-

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[48] Frauwallner 1953: 395f.

[49] This is indicated by YD 181,26f. *buddhir upāttaviṣayendriyavṛttyupani-pātāt tādrūpyaṃ pratipadyate* (Schmithausen 1968: 333, n. 16). Here I take

ogy first attempted to solve more specific problems relating to the perceptual process with the help of *ākāra*s, and only encountered problems (and criticism) in generalizing the proposed solutions of these specific problems to a more comprehensive theory, which then motivated the introduction of the "reflection" model.

Given our findings, is it plausible to presume, as Dreyfus has suggested, that Buddhist epistemologists adopted the concept of *ākāra* from the Sāṅkhya? It is evident that the idea of *something* taking on the form of the object in the perceptual process was not invented by Dignāga. Commentaries on the *Saṣṭitantra* contain the view that the sense transforms into the form of the object, and a Sāṅkhya view attested in the YD also holds that the intellect takes on the form of the object. At this point, it is not clear whether this particular way of relating the senses to their objects is a fully worked out theoretical position; "taking on the form of the object" might at first just have been a convenient idiom for relating elements of the perceptual process to the perceived object. Moreover, since only passages were found where material products, evolutes of *prakṛti,* are said transform into the form of the object, this early Sāṅkhya notion of *ākāra* cannot be assimilated to the notion of a "mental image" that dominates later controversies.

It cannot be ruled out that Buddhist thinkers adopted the idiom from the Sāṅkhya that perceiving or apprehending an object means to take on the *ākāra* of that object, and that both parties were driven by the same basic attempt to account for how perceptual awareness – or elements involved in the perceptual process – relate to the object. But if this was merely a shared idiom, the claim that the concept of *ākāra* goes back to the Sāṅkhya is not a particularly substantial discovery in the history of philosophy, for it does after all not explain how a philosophically charged concept circulated and came to be adopted. It seems rather that the philosophical significance of *ākāra*-possession, culminating in the fundamental question of whether

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tādrūpya to represent *ākāra*-possession.

cognition has *ākāra*s or not, is a product of discussions that followed at a later stage.

Finally, a comparison of the early Sāṅkhya views on *ākāra* with their Buddhist counterparts reveals interesting differences as far as the conceptions of perception with which the *ākāra*-idiom comes to be connected are concerned. In the ninth chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* Vasubandhu presents the view that perceptual awareness takes on the form of the object as one of several possibilities for explaining how perceptual awareness is aware of its object which avoids attributing the activity of perceiving to it.[50] As noted elsewhere, a direct line can be drawn from this account to Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti* ad *Pramāṇasamuccaya* 1.8cd.[51] Here Dignāga presents the view that sense-perception arises from an external object bearing that object's form (*ākāra*) as a basically correct view of the perceptual process that is contrasted with the false conception that perception performs the activity (*vyāpāra*) of perceiving. Although Dignāga invests the idea of an object-*ākāra* with explanatory functions that are not found in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*,[52] both Vasubandhu and Dignāga make use of *ākāra*-possession in strictly causal accounts that rule out any activity. In the Sāṅkhya views reflected in PSṬ 1, on the other hand, the senses transform into the form of the object, and this is precisely presented as an explication of their *activity* of apprehending.

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[50] AKBh 473,23-474,9, discussed in detail in Kellner 2014.

[51] Kellner 2014.

[52] Cf. again Kellner 2014.

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TJ   *Tarkajvālā* (Bhāviveka). The text for the cited passages is edited in Saitō 2011 and He 2013.

NM I   K.S. Varadācārya (ed.): *Nyāyamañjarī of Jayantabhaṭṭa with Ṭippaṇi – Nyāyasaurabha by the Editor*. Vol. 1. Mysore 1969: Oriental Research Institute.

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PS(V)   *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (PS) and *-vṛtti* (PSV) (Dignāga). Ernst Steinkellner: *Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya*, *Chapter 1. A hypothetical reconstruction with the help of the two Tibetan translations on the basis of the hitherto known Sanskrit fragments and the linguistic materials gained from Jinendrabuddhi's Ṭīkā*. Available online http://www.ikga.oeaw.ac.at/Mat/dignaga_PS_1.pdf, last accessed 21 July 2016.

MHK   *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* (Bhāviveka). The text for the cited passages is edited in Saitō 2011 and He 2013.

YD   *Yuktidīpikā* (anonymous). See Wezler/Motegi 1998.

ṢT   *Ṣaṣṭitantra* (Vṛṣagaṇa/Vārṣagaṇya); fragments published in Steinkellner 1999b. The numbering of ṢT fragments follows Steinkellner 1999b.

ṢTVₐ   *Ṣaṣṭitantravṛtti a* (anonymous). Lost commentary on ṢT (cf. Steinkellner 1999b).

ṢTVᵦ   *Ṣaṣṭitantravṛtti b* (anonymous). Lost commentary on ṢT (cf. Steinkellner 1999b).

SK   *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (Īśvarakṛṣṇa). See YD (Wezler/Motegi 1998).

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Dignāga and the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*[1]

Philological observations on a text criticized in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*

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One of the more noticeable characteristics of Dignāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* is the blatant and rather outspoken way in which it deals with rival philosophical positions. As many titles of Dignāga's lost works indicate, this attitude might well have been a salient feature of the greater part of his philosophical work. And judging merely from the amount of space Dignāga devotes to refuting Sāṅkhya tenets in comparison to those of other schools,[2] he may well have considered the followers of this school his most significant opponents in the area of epistemology, or at least those most worthy of a lengthy rebuff. In any case, the fact that Dignāga deals extensively with Sāṅkhya tenets makes the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* a promising starting point for investigations into the nature of the so-called classical Sāṅkhya.

In 1958, Frauwallner published a more than fifty-page study on the epistemology of the classical Sāṅkhya system.[3] In the latter part of this study he presents a reconstructed piece of text as being part of Vṛṣagaṇa's[4] *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, the reconstruction consisting of passages

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[1] I thank Dr. Luo Hong for valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper. I would also like to thank Katharine Apostle, Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek, and Sophie Francis Kidd, who improved the English of this paper at several states of its development.

[2] Cf. Frauwallner 1958: 85.

[3] Frauwallner 1958.

[4] I am citing the name here as it is used by Frauwallner without intending to imply that this is the actual name of the author.

in Tibetan and Sanskrit.[5] In the preceding part of the study, Frauwall-
ner explains in detail how he assembled this text from the available
materials. He started from a number of sentences[6] that are quoted
– and in one case alluded to – by Dignāga in the Sāṅkhya section
of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*'s second chapter. He found correspond-
ing sentences embedded in a longer connected passage of text in
Jinendrabuddhi's commentary. From the fact that in the commen-
tary these sentences occur exactly in the same sequence as in the
Pramāṇasamuccaya, Frauwallner concluded that Dignāga composed
his polemic against the Sāṅkhya in response to a particular text that
he had in front of him, and that Jinendrabuddhi provides us with
a longer piece of the same text. In the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*'s third
chapter, Frauwallner discovered a passage that he found continued
the Sāṅkhya discussion at exactly the point at which Dignāga left off
in the second chapter. In this way, Frauwallner was able to identify
a continuous Sāṅkhya portion of text dealing with inference. Fol-
lowing similar lines of argumentation and including further material
discovered in Siṃhasūri's commentary on the *Dvādaśāranayacakra*,
Frauwallner reconstructed in spectacular fashion what he presents
as a part of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*.

Since then, this text has been used by scholars as a frame of ref-
erence to evaluate and allocate Sāṅkhya passages found mainly in
the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and the *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā*.[7] At the
time of his work, Frauwallner had access to the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*
and Jinendrabuddhi's commentary only in their Tibetan transla-
tions. However, a Sanskrit manuscript of Jinendrabuddhi's com-
mentary has become available since his day, and thus rereading
Frauwallner's article seemed to me to be an instructional exercise
and one that I personally felt had immense value. This is because
I have been trying to reconstruct the Sanskrit text of chapter two

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[5] For an investigation of the authorship of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, cf. Oberhammer
1960.

[6] Cf. Frauwallner 1958: 86-87.

[7] Steinkellner 1999 and 2005, PSṬ 1.

of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and needed a frame of reference for the Sāṅkhya materials occurring there. The only candidate I was able to think of is the text constructed by Frauwallner.

Nonetheless, caution is called for. To a large extent, Frauwallner put together this part of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* by relying mainly on his interpretation of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and Jinendrabuddhi's commentary. If we take this piece of text as our frame of reference to evaluate corresponding passages in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and the *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā*, it is clear that we are moving in a circle. As long as Frauwallner's assessments are correct, there is no danger in doing so. But if he was mistaken, the case is, of course, different. Reinforcing doubtful or even incorrect assessments of particular passages can easily lead to assigning an incorrect value to related passages and obscuring possible hints of different layers of arguments and texts.

The epistemological section of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* – as established by Frauwallner – has the following layout. (1) It starts with a general presentation of inference. This presentation includes a definition of inference, the depiction of the seven kinds of connections that can be used for inference, an extended version of the definition of inference, followed by an account of how an inference arises, and a description of how to cognize a logical mark with the necessary distinctness and accuracy. Next come the presentations (2) of perception and (3) of verbal testimony. The text then returns to the topic of inference by (4) discussing its sub-species up to direct and indirect proof. In connection with the elaboration on the verbal formulation of direct and indirect proof, five direct and indirect proofs regarding the existence of primordial matter are presented. Then the same scheme is applied for the remaining nine of the so-called ten main points.

With respect to the Sāṅkhya section in the second chapter of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya,* points one and four are of greater relevance. For technical reasons, I will mainly restrict the discussion here to point one.

In order to facilitate the discussion, I have provided you with the text of the section in question in appendix A. In preparing it, I have tried to follow Frauwallner's proposal exactly, replacing however Tibetan text with the now available Sanskrit passages. In the few cases where the Sanskrit is not available, I have inserted retranslations. For ease of identification, these are italicized.

In appendix B you will see my attempted reconstruction of the beginning part of the Sāṅkhya section of *Pramāṇasamuccaya* chapter two.

Let us begin with the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*. The Sanskrit wording of the definition, namely "*sambandhād ekasmāt pratyakṣāc cheṣasiddhir anumānam*," was already given by Frauwallner. If one were investigating the textual tradition of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, the quotation of the same passage in the *Yuktidīpikā*, which lacks "*pratyakṣāt*,"[8] would have to be taken into account, as well as Siṃhasūri's consideration of the variant reading "*sambaddhād*" for "*sambandhād*."[9] For present purposes, whereby I am concentrating on the version of the text that Dignāga and Jindendrabuddhi might have used, the text as given here seems acceptable.

The next passage is a little trickier. Here Frauwallner presents a passage he extracted from Jinendrabuddhi's commentary. The commentary reads:

> *'brel pa rnam pa bdun no źes pa | don rnams kyi 'brel pa ni rnam pa bdun ñid de | nor daṅ bdag po'i dṅos pos daṅ ‖ źes pa la sogs pa bśad 'grel du bśad pa'i phyir ro ‖* PSṬ[t] 117b6-7

Frauwallner explains that at this point Jinendrabuddhi quotes the beginning of a rather long sentence in order to justify Dignāga having said "'*brel pa rnam pa bdun no* (*saptavidhaḥ sambandhaḥ*, cf. PSṬ 2 94,486a1)," notwithstanding the fact that this passage, according to Frauwallner's assessment, is not taken from the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*. In line

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[8] Cf. YD 5,12, cf. Kellner 2010: 87.

[9] Cf. DNCV 240,10-11, 685,18-19. Frauwallner speaks of an "early variant" (Frauwallner 1958: 117, n. 37).

with this explanation, we might understand the present passage as follows:

> [Dignāga said:] "The connection is of seven kinds." [He is justified in saying this] because in the *Bhāṣya* the following is explained: "The connection of objects is exactly of seven kinds on account of the relation of property and property-owner or" and so forth.

Frauwallner identifies this explanatory passage with a passage quoted by Siṃhasūri. In Jambūvijaya's edition this passage reads as follows:

> *sambaddhānāṃ bhāvānāṃ svasvāmibhāvena vetyādinā saptavidhena* … DNCV 240,12

Evidently under the impression that both texts were corrupt, Frauwallner emends both passages based on each other. At the beginning of what he considered to be the quoted passage in Jinendrabuddhi's commentary he inserts "'*brel ba rnams kyi*,"[10] and in the passage quoted by Siṃhasūri he inserts "*sambandhaḥ saptavidha eva.*"[11] As a result we have an almost perfect correspondence between "*sambaddhānāṃ bhāvānāṃ <sambandhaḥ saptavidha eva> svasvāmibhāvena vā*" and "*<'brel pa rnams kyi> don rnams kyi 'brel pa ni rnam pa bdun ñid de | nor daṅ bdag po'i dṅos pos daṅ.*"

Here I should mention that in the Sāṅkhya section Jinendrabuddhi refers several times to certain passages by using expressions such as *sūtra*, *śāstra*, or *bhāṣya*. Frauwallner argues that they actually all refer to the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, the present case included.[12] However, if, accordingly, the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* read something like "*sambandhaḥ saptavidha eva*," it is difficult to believe that Jinendrabuddhi felt the

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[10] Cf. Frauwallner 1958: 117.

[11] Cf. Frauwallner 1958: 118, 123.

[12] Cf. Frauwallner 1958: 118. For practical reasons, I follow Frauwallner in treating the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* as a unitary text consisting of *sūtra* and *bhāṣya* passages. However, I do not intend to exclude the possibility that we might actually be dealing with a composite text that has two layers which might even have been composed by different authors.

need to justify Dignāga's expression "*saptavidhaḥ sambandhaḥ*." Nonetheless, if I understand Frauwallner correctly, it is exactly on account of this supposed need for justification that he considered Dignāga's "*saptavidhaḥ sambandhaḥ*" as not being a quotation from the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*. And Frauwallner's opinion that Jinendrabuddhi did not use any Sāṅkhya commentaries when explaining the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* passage under discussion[13] might have been based on the same consideration. In any case, he does not give any other reasons to substantiate his claim.

If we now look at the Sanskrit version of the passage from Jinendrabuddhi under consideration, we see that it differs in an important point from what Frauwallner supposed:

> *saptavidhaḥ sambandha iti / saptavidhatvaṃ sambaddhānām arthānāṃ svasvāmibhāvena vetyādibhāṣyavacanāt* PSṬ 2 94,4-5 (*sambaddhānām* em. : *sambandhānām*)

We see that "*rnam pa bdun ñid*" translates "*saptavidhatvam*." Thus, this passage does not support the insertion of "*sambandhaḥ saptavidha eva*." Presumably, the text identified as the saying of a *bhāṣya* consists only in the phrase "*sambaddhānām arthānāṃ svasvāmibhāvena vā*," and "*saptavidhatvaṃ*" is part of the framing statement.[14] One could then understand:

> [Dignāga said:] "The connection is of seven kinds." The 'being of seven kinds' [can be understood] from the *Bhāṣya*'s utterance [which says] "Since the connected objects have the relation of property and property-owner or" and so forth.

Unfortunately, the expression "*saptavidhatvam*" ("being of seven kinds") possesses a certain ambiguity. Is Jinendrabuddhi simply saying that one can understand from the *bhāṣya* that the relation has seven kinds, or that one can understand what these seven kinds are?

Accepting the second interpretation – whereby Jinendrabuddhi is understood as saying that this expression refers to the details of

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[13] Frauwallner 1958: 121

[14] The Tibetan translation, however, presupposes a different interpretation.

the seven kinds of connections – frees us from thinking that Jinendrabuddhi is justifying Dignāga's having inserted something into the text. We may well assume that Dignāga did quote the expression "*saptavidhaḥ sambandhaḥ*" from the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, but skipped the long enumeration and illustration of the seven kinds of connections, which may have followed immediately. Jinendrabuddhi then refers his reader for more information to the passage skipped by Dignāga. If we accept this, we have removed the strongest argument against assuming that Jinendrabuddhi inserted an excerpt from a commentary on the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* right at the beginning of the Sāṅkhya section. If we understand the expression "*saptavidhaḥ sambandhaḥ*" as being part of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, it can of course occur as *pratīka* in a commentary on it. The very next sentence in the *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* also supports this explanation:

> *sambaddhānām arthānām iti ca nirdeśāt sūtre karmasādhanaḥ*
> *sambandhaśabdo jñeyaḥ* PSṬ 2 94,5-6 (*sambaddhānām* em. :
> *sambandhānām*)

As far as I can see, neither Dignāga nor Jinendrabuddhi exploited this analysis of the word "*sambandha*" in their arguments against the Sāṅkhya position at this point in the discussion. Since I therefore see no special reason for Jinendrabuddhi to introduce this analysis here, it seems quite reasonable to assume that he copied it, together with the preceding and following explanations, from a commentary on the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*.

If, however, we opt for the other interpretation, namely that the expression "*saptavidhaḥ sambandhaḥ*" is not from the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, we have to assume that Jinendrabuddhi is speaking at this point with his own voice, or – if we nonetheless believe that he was following a commentary on the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* – that he made substantial changes in order to adjust it to the wording of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. As a further consequence of this interpretation, we would have to explain how the passage being quoted from the so-called *Bhāṣya* is syntactically connected with its environment.

Taking a hint from the *Nyāyānusāriṇī*,[15] it is possible to understand that the group of seven expressions in the instrumental case qualifies the term *pratyakṣa* in the expression "*kaścid arthaḥ kasyacid indriyasya pratyakṣo bhavati*" (appendix A, passage no. 4). My admittedly clumsy rendering is as follows: "A certain object becomes perceptible to a certain sense faculty in terms of the related objects being property and property-owner, or in terms of being basic matter and transformation" and so on. The same grammatical construction appears again at a later point in the *Nyāyānusāriṇī*:

> *svasvāmibhāvena vā prakṛtivikārabhāvena vā kāryakāraṇa-*
> *bhāvena vā nimittanaimittikabhāvena vā mātrāmātrikabhāvena*
> *vā [sahacaribhāvena vā] vadhyaghātakabhāvena vā kaścid ar-*
> *thaḥ kasyacid indriyasya pratyakṣo bhavatīti tebhyo 'tiriktasyā-*
> *vacanād eteṣām eva vacanād* DNCV 684,8-10

If we assume for the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* a sentence that has been syntactically constructed as suggested by the two passages I have just referred to, passage no. 3 now no longer fits, and we would have to shift its position, or remove it entirely.

Let us now turn to Dignāga's text. If we accept Frauwallner's reconstruction of this section of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, we have also to assume that at the beginning of the Sāṅkhya section Dignāga is presenting a part of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* with some modifications; more precisely that he has copied passage no. 1, which is the definition *sūtra*, condensed passage no. 2 to a minimal version, copied passage no. 3, which constitutes an extended and modified version of the definition, skipped passages nos. 4, 5, and 6, and copied again passage no. 7.

Now, I would like to draw your attention to *liṅgajñānaṃ tu …*
sarvam of appendix B, passage no. 2. This portion of the text corresponds to passage no. 7 of the reconstructed *Ṣaṣṭitantra*. According to Frauwallner's understanding, this passage means:

> Sometimes the cognition of the logical mark is not ascertained
> or does not correspond to the object. For this reason, all later

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[15] *sambaddhānāṃ bhāvānāṃ svasvāmibhāvena vetyādinā saptavidhena*
kaścid arthaḥ kasyacid indriyasya pratyakṣo bhavati DNCV 240,12

effort is aimed at ascertaining it [i.e., the logical mark, HL] in its particularity. In fact, an object that is perceptible in a general way, but is not grasped in an ascertaining way, is cognized in its particularity on account of seeing its particularity.[16]

If, however, we follow Jinendrabuddhi's explanation, we arrive at a completely different understanding of this passage. This paragraph is not discussing a cognizer's epistemic endeavour to improve his insufficient perception of a logical mark. It is explaining that the author of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* has written a certain paragraph in order to specify the expression "*ekasmāt pratyakṣāt*" in the definition of inference. Since perceptions are sometimes undetermined or even wrong, one must specify the perception involved in the production of inference in a way that excludes such unsuitable cases of perception. Accordingly, we can understand the passage under discussion as follows:

> However, since [according to the Sāṅkhya understanding of perception] the cognition of a logical mark is sometimes not ascertained or does not correspond to the object, [the author] writes, in order to specify [the perception intended in the definition *sūtra*], the whole [section] below which goes: "One cognizes an object that one has perceived in a general way and also one that [one has perceived] without determination [later] in its particularity on account of seeing its particularity."

Jinendrabuddhi points out that the expression "*sarvam*" ("whole") indicates the remaining passage, which he then quotes. [17] This passage can be found in appendix A as passage no. 8.

If we accept the proposed understanding of passage no. 7, Frauwallner's assumption that Dignāga took this whole passage from the

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[16] "*Manchmal ist die Erkenntnis des Merkmals nicht bestimmt oder entspricht nicht dem Gegenstand. Daher ist alle spätere Bemühung darauf gerichtet, es in seiner Besonderheit zu bestimmen. Ein Gegenstand, welcher dem Gemeinsamen nach sichtbar aber nicht bestimmt erfaßt ist, wird nämlich durch das Sehen einer Besonderheit in seiner Besonderheit erkannt.*" (Frauwallner 1958: 127)

[17] PSṬ 2 96,12-97,2

Ṣaṣṭitantra seems less plausible. That the mediating voice, which explains the relevance of the quoted passage for the definition of inference, is the voice of the author of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* himself seems rather unlikely. In order to maintain this assumption, we would have to believe that the author of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* himself was aware of a flaw in his definition of inference and tried to fix it by referring to a passage that he was going to provide at a later point, rather than by improving the definition itself. Even if we allow that the author of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* might have had his reasons for stating the definition as he did,[18] knowing that this definition is not sufficient in itself, and that he choose to make up for any insufficiently determined points by subsequently adding clarifications, we are confronted with an odd situation. The author of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* would then be presenting his definition of inference in passage no. 1, specifying in passage no. 2 the otherwise too broad meaning of the expression "*pratyakṣāt*" in the definition, be presenting a revised definition in passage no. 3, giving a description of the circumstances of the production of inferential knowledge in passages nos. 4 and 5, followed by an example in passage no. 6. Then he would be starting again, in passage no. 7, to make some necessary clarifications of one part of the definition. This, at least to my mind, seems rather implausible.

If, further, the quoted part of passage no. 7 (*sāmānyataḥ khalv api … pratipadyate*) forms a single unit with passage no. 8, as indicated by Jinendrabuddhi,[19] then this invites further considerations. Passage no. 8 mentions a perceived object that one is unsure whether it is a cow or a horse. This, however, is rather an unexpected example for an insufficiently determined logical mark. A case such as something perceived that one is unsure whether it is smoke or dust[20] would seem more appropriate. The uncertainty of whether something is a cow or a horse, however, seems a perfect example of a perception

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[18] One could, for instance, assume that this definition was already in circulation before the composition of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* and that the author felt a commitment towards it.

[19] Cf. note 17.

[20] PST 2 96,5.

that is not sufficiently determined in general. I would therefore like to suggest that the entire section, consisting of the quotes in passages no. 7 and no. 8, originally belonged to the *pratyakṣa* section and was only secondarily brought into connection with the definition of inference.

A first guess as to who made this connection might be Dignāga. Dignāga's first attack on the Sāṅkhya definition of inference (appendix B, from passage no. 3 to the end) concerns precisely that utterance embedded in passage no. 7. One could imagine that Dignāga was of the opinion – or pretended to be of the opinion – that in the present context, one must refer to the concerned utterance in order to save one part of the Sāṅkhya definition of being underdetermined, and this reference enabled his first attack. Dignāga's main argument at this point is that perception, according to a teaching of the Sāṅkhya[21] and even by the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*'s own definition, is incapable of having a generality or a particularity for its object, and that therefore, if one must cognize a logical mark in the manner delineated in passage no. 7, it is unacceptable to refer to this kind of cognition by the phrase "*ekasmāt pratyakṣāt.*"

Further on, in passage no. 5 of appendix B, we see an attempt to counter Dignāga's argument. According to this counter-argument, the word "*pratyakṣa*" in the definition of inference actually refers to the result of a perception, namely the function of the mind (*manovṛtti*). Since this function of the mind, which is called "*pratyakṣa*" in the definition, is capable of having both generalities and particularities for its object,[22] Dignāga's criticism is not justified.

If we assume that this counter-argument was not invented by Dignāga as a hypothetical possibility, but was actually put forward by a Sāṅkhya proponent, we must also assume that the argument Dignāga made use of was already known to that Sāṅkhya proponent.

One possible scenario might be as follows: somebody in the exegetical tradition of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* tried to make up for the already

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[21] Cf. PS 2.36c, SK 28ab (YD 201,11, 213,15) and YD 217,30.
[22] Cf. YD 202,2-8.

mentioned lack of determination in the definition of inference by incorporating into his explanation a passage from the *pratyakṣa* section describing how an object that was initially perceived in an incorrect or undetermined form can later be perceived in a sufficiently determined form. Then, perhaps in order to counter external criticism, presumably another commentator explained the term "*pratyakṣa*" in the definition as referring to *manovṛtti*.

This would mean that in Dignāga's opening of the Sāṅkhya section, we can distinguish at least two historical layers.

I would now like to draw your attention to passage no. 3 of appendix A. For the most part it looks like a normal commentarial rendering of the definition. Its decomposition of compounds and explanatory insertions do not present anything unexpected, with the exception, however, of one addition. Whereas the basic definition states that inference is the establishment of the rest, passage no. 3 states that inference is the *cause* of the establishment of the rest. It seems to me at least doubtful that the author of the basic definition would offer this addition without any other mention of a discussion of *pramāṇa* and *pramāṇaphala*. In the DNCV, there is a similar explanatory rendering of the basic definition of inference, here however without the addition of the word "cause" (*hetu*).[23] I cannot think of any convincing reasons why Siṃhasūri would have dropped the expression "*hetu*" if he had read it in the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, nor can I think of a reason for Dignāga to insert it, if he had copied the explanatory rendering of the definition from the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* and the expression "*hetu*" were not there. One might try to understand this situation as indicating that Dignāga and Siṃhasūri did not copy the definition from the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* itself, but from a pool of existing explanations of the definition. At this point, I would like to remind you that when reflecting on how to syntactically connect passage no. 2 (of appendix A) with its environment, one line of argumentation suggested removing passage no. 3.

I have to admit that several of the problems I have addressed here are far from being solved. Nevertheless, in conclusion I would like to state my impression that the text presented by Frauwallner as part of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*

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[23] *tasmād idānīm indriyapratyakṣāc cheṣasya apratyakṣasyārthasya yā sid-dhir anumānaṃ tat* DNCV 240,13.

is – at least with regard to the passage I have dealt with here – actually a compilation of two or even more texts.[24]

Abbreviations and bibliography

DNCV   Nyāyāgamānusāriṇī Nayacakravṛtti: *Dvādaśāraṃ Naya-cakraṃ of Ācārya Śrī Mallavādi Kṣamāśramaṇa. With the commentary Nyāyāgamānusāriṇī of Śrī Siṃhasūri Gaṇi Vādi Kṣamāśramaṇa*, Parts 1-3, edited with critical notes by Jambūvijayajī, Bhavnagar 1966-1988.

Frauwallner 1958   Ernst Frauwallner, Zur Erkenntnislehre des klassischen Sāṃkhya-Systems, *WZKSO* 2 (1958), 84-139. [= Kleine Schriften, 223-277]

K   Tibetan translation of *Pramāṇasamuccaya(vṛtti)* by Kanakavarman and Dad pa'i shes rab

Kellner 2010   Birgit Kellner, The logical reason called *virodhin* in Vaiśeṣika and its significance for connection-based theories of reasoning, in: Brendan S. Gillon (ed.), *Logic in Earliest Classical India. [Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference 10.2].* Delhi 2010: Motilal Banarsidass, 87-120.

Oberhammer 1960   Gerhard Oberhammer, The authorship of the Ṣaṣṭitantram, *WZKSO* 4 (1960), 71-91.

NV   *Nyāyabhāṣyavārttika of Bhāradvāja Uddyotakara*. Edited by Anantalal Thakur. New Delhi 1997.

PS(V)   Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya(vṛtti)

PSṬ 1   Ernst Steinkellner, Helmut Krasser, Horst Lasic, *Jinendrabuddhi's Viśālāmalavatī Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā. Chapter 1. Part I: Critical Edition. Part II: Diplomatic Edition*. Beijing – Vienna 2005..

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[24] To my mind we should apply the following changes to the text presented in appendix A in order to get closer to what the Ṣaṣṭitantra (cf. footnote 12) might have looked like: Insert *tatra saptavidhaḥ sambandhaḥ* at the beginning of passage no. 2. Remove "<*sambandhaḥ saptavidha eva*>." Remove passage no. 3. Remove "*liṅgajñānaṃ … ārabhate*" and "*iti sarvam*" of passage no. 7. Shift "*sāmānyataḥ … pratipadyata*" from passage no. 7 and the whole passage no. 8 to the *pratyakṣa* chapter.

PSṬ 2	Horst Lasic, Helmut Krasser, Ernst Steinkellner, *Jinendrabuddhi's Viśālāmalavatī Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā. Chapter 2. Part I: Critical Edition. Part II: Diplomatic Edition*. Beijing – Vienna 2012.
SK	Sāṅkhyakārikā, cf. YD
ṢT	Ṣaṣṭitantra
Steinkellner 1999	Ernst Steinkellner, The Ṣaṣṭitantra on Perception, a Collection of Fragments, *Asiatische Studien* 53/3 (1999), 667-676.
Steinkellner 2005	Ernst Steinkellner: *Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya, Chapter 1. A hypothetical reconstruction of the Sanskrit text with the help of the two Tibetan translations on the basis of the hitherto known Sanskrit fragments and the linguistic materials gained from Jinendrabuddhi's Ṭīkā*. 2005. http://ikga.oeaw.ac.at/Mat/dignaga_PS_1.pdf
V	Tibetan translation of *Pramāṇasamuccaya(vṛtti)* by Vasudhararakṣita and Seṅ ge rgyal mtshan
YD	*Yuktidīpikā, the most significant commentary on the Sāṃkhyakārikā*. Critically edited by Albrecht Wezler and Shujun Motegi, Vol. 1, Stuttgart 1998.

Appendix A: Reconstructed section of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, following Frauwallner 1958

(This compilation attempts to represent Frauwallner's conception of the beginning of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*'s chapter on inference. It is not the result of the discussion in this article, but was conceived as its starting point.)

[a]vistareṇānumānaṃ vidyeta.[a] [b]kim idam anumānaṃ nāma.[b]

(**Passage 1:**) [cd]sambandhād[1] [e]ekasmāt[d] pratyakṣāc[e] [f]cheṣasiddhir anumānam[f].[c]

(**Passage 2:**) [g]sambaddhānāṃ arthānāṃ[2g] <*sambandhaḥ saptavidha eva*> [h]svasvāmibhāvena vā,[h] [i]rājabhṛtyavat pradhānapuruṣavac ca,[i] [j]prakṛtivikārabhāvena vā, dadhikṣīravat pradhānamahadādivac ca,[j] [k]kāryakāraṇabhāvena vā,[k] [l]rathāṅgavat[l] [m]sattvādivac ca,[m] [n]nimittanaimittikabhāvena vā[n] [o]kulālaghaṭavat[o] [p]puruṣapradhāna*vṛtti*vac ca, mātrāmātrikabhāvena vā,[p] [q]śākhādivṛkṣavac chabdādimahābhūtavac ca, sahacaribhāvena vā, cakravākavat sattvādivac ca, bādhyabādhakabhāvena vā, ahinakulavat aṅgāṅgisattvādivac ca.[q]

(**Passage 3:**) [r]teṣu [s]yathāsambhavaṃ sambandhād ekasmāt[s] *pratyakṣāc cheṣasya* [t]apratyakṣasya sambandhino[t] *yaḥ* siddhihetuḥ, tad anumānam.[r]

(**Passage 4:**) [u]kaścid arthaḥ kasyacid indriyasya pratyakṣo bhavati. (**Passage 5:**) tasmād idānīm indriyapratyakṣād arthāt purastāt samūhe kṛtasambandhād buddhir aviśiṣṭasyārthasyāstitvaṃ pratipadyate. (**Passage 6:**) tad yathā puro dhūmāgnyoḥ sambandhaṃ dṛṣṭvā dhūmadarśanād agner api sattvaṃ pratipadyate.[u]

(**Passage 7:**) [vw]liṅgajñānaṃ tu kiñcid aniścitam api syād[w] [x]ayathārthaṃ ca[x] *iti* [y]viśeṣaṇārtham uttaram ārabhate[y] – [zA]sāmānyataḥ khalv api pratyakṣaṃ cānavadhāritaṃ ca[A] arthaṃ [BC]viśeṣadarśanād[C] viśeṣeṇa pratipadyata[Bz] *iti* [D]sarvam.[Dv]

(**Passage 8:**) [E]tad yathā – mandamandaprakāśe gavāśvocite deśe gopramāṇam ārūpaṃ dṛṣṭvā sandihānā buddhir viśeṣadarśanād viśeṣeṇa pratipadyate – gaur aśva iti ca.[E]

[a] **Ci** PST 2 94,1 • [b] **Ci** PST 2 94,2 • [c] **Ci** NV 53,6, DNCV 240,11, 685,18, 688,14-15, **Cie** YD 5,1-2 • [d] **Ci** PST 2 94,1-2, 2 95,8, **cf.** DNCV 701,9 • [e] **Ci** PST 2 96,7 (cor) • [f] **Ci** PST 2 96,3 • [g+h] **Ci** DNCV 240,12, PST 2 94,4-5 • [i] **Ci** PST 2 94,7 • [j] **Ci** PST 2 94,10-11 • [k] **Ci** PST 2 95,1 • [l] **Ci** PST 2 95,1-2 • [m] **Ci**

PSṬ 2 95,2 • [n] **Ci** PSṬ 2 95,2-3 • [o] **Ci** PSṬ 2 95,3 • [p] **Ci** PSṬ 95,3-4 • [q] **Ci** PSṬ 2 95,4-6 • [r] **Ci'** PSV • [s] **Ci** PSṬ 2 95,8 • [t] **Ci'** PSṬ 2 95,1-2 • [u] **Ci** PSṬ 2 95,8-12, **cf.** DNCV 685,20-22 • [v] **Ci** PSV • [w] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,4 • [x] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,6 • [y] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,6-7 • [z] **Ci** PSṬ 2 104,11-12, **cf.** PSṬ 2 96,8-11 • [A] **Ci** PSṬ 2 97,12 • [B] **Ci'e** PSṬ 2 96,11, **Ci'** PSṬ 2 97,2 • [C] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,9-11 • [D] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,12 • [E] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,12-97,2

[1] For a variant *sambaddhād*, see DNCV 240,10-11, 685,18-19 [2] *arthānāṃ* PSṬ : *bhāvānāṃ* DNCV

Appendix B: Reconstructed section of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya(vṛtti)*, Chapter 2

[a][1]sāṅkhyānām api[a] – **(Passage 1:)** [bc]sambandhād [d]ekasmāt[c] pratyakṣāc[d] [e]cheṣasiddhir anumānam[eb] *iti.*[1] [2]*tatra*[2] [f]saptavidhaḥ sambandhaḥ.[f] **(Passage 2:)** [gh][3]tena[3] yathāsambhavaṃ sambandhād[h] *ekasmāt* [i]*pratyakṣāc cheṣasya* [j]*apratyakṣasya* [4]*arthasya*[4] *sambandhino*[j] *yaḥ* siddhihetuḥ, *anumānaṃ tat.*[ig] [kl]liṅgajñānaṃ tu kiñcid aniścitam api syād[l] [m]ayathārthaṃ ca[m] *iti* [n]viśeṣaṇārtham uttaram ārabhate[n] – [op]sāmānyataḥ [5]khalv api[5] [q]pratyakṣaṃ cānavadhāritam ca[qp] *artham* [rs]viśeṣadarśanād[s] viśeṣeṇa pratipadyata[ro] *iti* [t]sarvam.[tk]

(Passage 3:) [u]evaṃ ceṣyamāṇe[u] – [v]ekasmāt pratyakṣād[v] *ity ayuktam.* [6]*kasmāt.*[6]

> [w]svārthālocanamātratvāt (**2.36c**)

pratyakṣasya.[w] **(Passage 4:)** [x]na hi śrotrādivṛtter[x] *gavādīnāṃ* [y]sāmānyaṃ viśeṣo vā viṣayaḥ.[y] *atha veṣyate, tena na sarvā* [z]śrotrādivṛttiḥ pratyakṣam,[z] [A]ayathārthatvād[A] *iti* [B]saiva viśeṣya vaktavyā,[B] [C]yathānyatra[C] – [D]avyapadeśyam avyabhicāri[D] *ityādi.*

(Passage 5:) *atha* [7]*atra*[7] [E]pratyakṣaphalaṃ pratyakṣam[E] [8]uktam,[8] [F]ekasmāt pratyakṣād[F] *ity atra* [G]*pratyakṣaphalaṃ manovṛttiḥ*[G] *pratyakṣam ucyate. tadviṣayasyāpi pratyakṣatvād adoṣa iti cet,* **(Passage 6:)** [H]tad apy ayuktam,[H] **svārthālocanamātratvāt** *pratyakṣasya. yadi pratyakṣaṃ* [I]*sāmānyaviśeṣaviṣayaṃ*[I] *syāt, evaṃ sati manovṛttir api tadviṣayam eva pratyakṣam ucyeta.* [J]*na hy anyaviṣayasya pramāṇasyānyatra phalam*[J] *iti* [K]*prāg uktam.*[K] [L]*na cānyasya*[L] *viṣayasya pratyakṣavyapadeśo yukta* [9]iti.[9]

[a] **Ci** PSṬ 2 94,1 • [b] **Ce** ṢṬ (**Ci** NV 53,6, YD 5,12 [om. *pratyakṣāc*], DNCV 240,11 [*sambaddhād*], 685,18, 688,14-15) • [c] **Ci** PSṬ 2 94,2-3 • [d] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,7 (cor.) • [e] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,3 • [f] **Ce** ṢṬ (**Ci** NV 53,15, PSṬ 2 94,4) • [g] **Ce** commentary on ṢṬ • [h] **Ci** PSṬ 2 95,8 • [i] **cf.** DNCV 240,13 • [j] **Ci'** PSṬ 2 96,1-2 • [k] **Ce'** commentary on ṢṬ • [l] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,4 • [m] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,6 • [n] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,6-7 • [o] **Ce** ṢṬ (**Ci** PSṬ 2 104,11-12) • [p] **Ci** PSṬ 2 97,12, **cf.** PSṬ 2 96,8-9 • [q] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,8 • [r] **Ci'e** PSṬ 2 96,9-11, **Ci'** PSṬ 2 97,2 • [s] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,9-10 • [t] **Ci** PSṬ 2 96,12 • [u] **Ci** PSṬ 2 97,4, PSṬ 2 98,11 • [v] **Ce** ṢṬ, cf. above, d • [w] **cf.** PSṬ 2 98,3 • [x] **Ci** PSṬ 2 97,6-7 • [y] **Ci'** PSṬ 2 97,10 • [z] **Ce'e** ṢṬ (cf. Steinkellner 1999, Fragment ṢṬ 1), **cf.** PSṬ 2 97,13 • [A] **Ci** PSṬ 2 97,11 • [B] **Ci** PSṬ 2 97,12-13 • [C] **Ci** PSṬ 2 97,13 • [D] **Ce** NS 1.4 • [E] **Ci** PSṬ 2 98,11 • [F] **Ce** ṢṬ, cf. above, d • [G] **cf.** PSṬ 2 98,13 • [H] **Ci** PSṬ 2 98,13 • [I] **cf.**

PSṬ 2 98,12 • [J] **Ce** PSV on 1.19d (cf. PSṬ 1 113,10-12) • [K] **cf.** PSṬ 2 98,14-15 • [L] **Ci** PSṬ 2 98,15-16, PSṬ 2 99,4

[1]graṅs *can pa rnams ni re źig ... źes zer ro* V, *graṅs can pa rnams ni ... źes zer ro* K • [2] *de la* V : *de ltar* K • [3] tena PSṬ : *de rnams nas* V, *de dag la* K • [4] n. e. K • [5] n. e. T • [6] or *kutaḥ* or *katham* • [7] n. e. V • [8] or *ity uktam* • [9] The assumption of "*iti*" at this point is based upon the facts that K subordinates "*na cānyasya … yuktaḥ*" to "*prāg uktam*," and in V "*de nas*" precedes the following "*idaṃ ca vaktavyam.*"

The *Dharmadhātustava* found in TAR

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1. General remarks

Although the *Dharmadhātustava* (DDhS) has been ascribed to Nāgārjuna,[1] this attribution has been questioned by Tsukinowa (1934) and Seyfort Ruegg (1971: 453–54) and rejected by Lindtner (1982: 10).[2] Judging by its content, which shows significant influence from the *tathāgatagarbha* tradition, the author of the DDhS cannot be the same as that of the *Madhyamakakārikā*. Another possible indication for the non-authenticity of this work is the fact that we do not find any Indian commentaries on it.[3]

Nevertheless, great significance has been attached to the DDhS in the Indo-Tibetan Tantric tradition. Bhāviveka,[4] Nāropā,[5] Ratnākara-

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[1] It has been brought to our attention that Lobsang Dorjee (Sarnath) and Drasko Mitrikeski (Sydney) are also working on the Sanskrit text of the *Dharmadhātustava*.

[2] In addition to Seyfort Ruegg 1971, other works investigating the DDhS include: Tsukinowa 1933, 1934, Hayashima 1987, Brunnhölzl 2007and Mochizuki 2008. However, since the Sanskrit text was regarded as lost, it has not been taken into account in any of the studies published to date.

[3] Cf. Brunnhölzl 2007: 130.

[4] A quotation is found in the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*; cf. Brunnhölzl 2007: 130. According to Seyfort Ruegg 1990 (59-71) and Krasser 2011 (231, n. 100), the author of this work is the second Bhāviveka, who lived after the sixth-century author of the *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* and the *Prajñāpradīpamūlamadhyamakavṛtti*. See the discussion on the authorship of the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* in Eckel 2008 (23-27).

[5] In his *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* (*Paramārthasaṃgraha*, SUṬ), six stanzas (18–23) of the DDhS are cited, which provide the only other Sanskrit evidence for the

śānti, Dharmendra, Atiśa, etc., as well as a large number of Tibetan authors cite stanzas from the DDhS and clearly ascribe authority to it. Upon its introduction into Tibet, numerous commentaries were written on it by the local Tibetan masters, most of whom were Sakyapa or non-Gelugpa.[6]

2. Source materials

The source materials for this edition are a Sanskrit Ms found in Tibet, the Tibetan translation by Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita and Nag tsho lo tsā ba Tshul khrims rgyal ba[7] dated to the middle of the eleventh century, and three Chinese translations, the first undertaken by 不空金剛 (Amoghavajra) in about A.D. 765 (henceforth: Ch1),[8] the second by 施護 (*Dānapāla or *Dānarakṣita) between A.D. 1015 and 1019 (henceforth: Ch2),[9] and the third, the earliest translation but with a doubtful authority, by 室利末多 (*Śrīmadda) in A.D. 707.[10]

2.1. The Sanskrit manuscript

2.1.1. Description

The present work is based on two pages of black-and-white photocopies of a Ms whose original is kept in the Potala. They show,

work; the other known quotations are in Tibetan. With the exception of one word in 18d and various scribal slips in the *Sekoddheśaṭīkā* Mss' citations, the Sanskrit quotations match up almost perfectly with the corresponding verses of the DDhS. Cf. the edition of SUṬ in Carelli 1941: 66 and Sferra & Merzagora 2006: 188, and the quotion in Seyfort Ruegg 1971: 466, n. 82.

[6] Cf. Brunnhölzl 2007: 130-152.

[7] Cf. the colophon of T and Seyfort Ruegg 1971: 463 and n. 68.

[8] Tsukinowa 1934: 425 and Chou 1945: 296.

[9] He and two Indian monks headed a project to translate 大教王經 (*Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgrahasūtra*), during the course of which this later Chinese version of the DDhS must have been made. Cf. Tsukinowa1934: 419. It is worth remarking that all the translators of the three translations had a Tantric background.

[10] Cf. § 2.3.

respectively, the *recto* and *verso* of eight folios as well as a number-
ing label. This label bears the following information in Chinese and
Tibetan: "*źwa lu*, number 53, number of folios: 8." This indicates
that the Ms came from Źalu, TAR. From the label, these eight folios
can be identified with a Ms listed in Luo Zhao's catalogue,[11] namely,
the sixth text listed under the Ms "Potala, Tanjur, item no. 8." Luo
Zhao notes: "The Sūtras, *Pañcarakṣāhṛdayabījamantraḥ* (*sic*), etc.,
are in one bundle with a label, 'Źalu, No. 53, eight folios'. Three
folios deal with the *Pañcarakṣāhṛdayabījamantra*, measuring 30.5
by 4.3 cm, black ink, Dhārikā script, 4-5 lines. The other five folios
concern some kind of *stava*, without title, with its beginning and end,
measuring 30.5 by 4.4 cm, black ink, Dhārikā script, 5 lines." The
copy of this collective Ms is now kept in the CTRC's library, Box
Nr. 185, item 6.

   In fact, it is nothing other than the DDhS that is found in the
five folios of the unnamed *stava*, which are represented as the first
five folios on each photocopy. Contrary to Luo Zhao's assessment,
the last folio of the work is missing.[12] His comment, however, that
the *Pañcarakṣāhṛdayabījamantra*, whose *recto*s and *verso*s are also
found on our copies, is contained in three folios, is correct, although
he does not mention the additional material contained in them.[13]

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[11] For Luo Zhao's catalogue, cf. Steinkellner 2007: xii, n. 5.

[12] It is possible that the seventh Ms listed under the same heading in Luo
Zhao's catalogue is the missing end of the DDhS, but in another form (dif-
ferent size, script, etc.). He states: "Some kind of *stava*, one folio, with a la-
bel 'Źalu, No. 51, one folio', palm leaf, measuring 26.1 by 4.6 cm, black ink,
Gupta script, 6 lines." If this folio indeed contains the end of the DDhS, it
could be a remnant of an earlier copy, of which the preceding five-sixths of
the text would have been replaced by the five folios listed as Źalu, No. 53.

[13] In fact, in addition to the *Pañcarakṣāhṛdayabījamantra*, the three folios
bear a colophon, other *mantra*s and a series of verses used in everyday
ritual. The preserved colophon indicates that these three folios were writ-
ten during the joint reign of King Lakṣmīkāmadeva and King Rudradeva
over Nepal. According to Petech (1958: 35-39), this must have occurred
between A.D. 1008 and 1018.

The five DDhS Ms folios are paginated with the numerals 1-5 in the left margins of the *recto*s. Each folio contains five lines, except for the left part of folio 4a, which has six lines. Each line contains from 51 to 57 *akṣara*s, with a few exceptions (50 *akṣara*s in 2b5, 58 in 4b4, 59 in 5a3, only 23 in 2a5, 20 in 4a6 and 37 in 5b5). Each folio has a string-hole in the left half, at about a third of the way into the folio. The hole is located in the third line in a vertical oblong space that interrupts the lines and is 3-4 *akṣara*s in width. The left edges of folios 3 and 4 have been damaged by insects or worms, but the text has not been overly affected. Judging from the photocopy, the quality of the original is only occasionally diminished by fading or blotting.

The Ms is written in old Nepālī[14] script which, based on Bühler (1896: plate VI, column XV), Bendall (1992: plate IV, Add. 866, 1643 and 1684) and MacDonald (2005: ix-xxii), would appear to date to the eleventh century. It might be noted that certain *akṣara*s such as *e*, *tha*, *dha*, *bha* and *gha*, preserve their older forms (forms that started to disappear after the eleventh century), while others like *kha*, *pha*, *la* and *śa*, appear in more developed forms, i.e., those that would predominate in later centuries. Initial *e* ᩮ (2a3) appears in its archaic closed form. For comparison with its developed form see MacDonald 2005;[15] see *e* of Mss dated 857 (Add. 1049) and 1008 (Add. 866) as found in Bendall's Table of Letters. *tha* ᩮ (3a2) and *dha* ᩮ (1a1), with respectively open tops, are almost the same except that *tha* has a middle horizontal line, and *dha* a pointed bottom. However, in rare cases *tha* ᩮ (2a5) has a still more pointed bottom. *bha* ᩮ (4b4) occurs in its older form, which lacks a curved stroke extending to the right beneath the left part of the *akṣara*, as seen in the developed form. *gha* ᩮ (1a3) is in its older form; see the *gha* in Bühler's plate VI, 18 and Bendall's plate IV. *kha* ᩮ (4b1) in our Ms represents a development of the older form. *pha* ᩮ (1b4)

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[14] For the arguments for designating the script as Nepālī rather than Nevārī cf. Iain Sinclair's explanation under: http://www.danielstender.com/granthinam/1373/#respond.

[15] MacDonald 2005: xix ff. and n. 19.

is similar to the modern form. *la* (1a5) has a full right vertical stroke which it often lacks in other eleventh-century forms. [16]*śa* (5b1) appears in a more developed form.[17]

It should be noted that the other three folios which have been included with the Ms of the DDhS have been copied by a different scribe.[18] However, the two Mss are almost in the same style, and can both be dated to the same period, namely the beginning of the eleventh century (see n. 12).[19]

The orthography has the following characteristics: a) alternating use of *s*, *ṣ*, *ś*, b) non-differentiation of *v* and *b*, c) occasional alternation of *kṣ* and *k*, and of *kṣy* and *ky*, d) reduction of the double consonant in *ttva* to *t*, e) gemination of consonants after the semi-vowel *r*, albeit not consistently, f) occasional alternation of *n* and *ṇ*, *t* and *th* (3a4, *prajānathaḥ* for *prajānataḥ*), g) lack of *avagraha*, h) occasional alternation of *ddh*, *dv* and *db* (2b3, *pratyātmayogitvād buddhāṇāṃ* and 2b4, *govidvānaṃ*).

Errors occur frequently due to the similarity of certain *akṣara*s; for example, *p* and *ṣ* (1b3, *ṣrabhāvyate* for *prabhāvyate*;[20] 2b1, *strīṣuṃstvaṃ* for *strīpuṃstvaṃ*; 4a5, *bodhiṣuṣṭir* for *bodhipuṣṭir*); *y* and *ṣ* (5a2, *durjaṣānā* for *durjayānā*; 5a2, *sudurjaṣā* for *sudurjayā*); and due to the random elision of *anusvāra*, the overlooking of sev-

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[16] Cf. Bühler 1896: plate VI, 42.

[17] According to Bendall (1992: xxv), this form is attested only in a Ms dated 1065. However, the DDhS Ms is probably earlier than this Ms; cf. n. 13.

[18] Characteristics of this scribe that distinguish him from the one who copied the DDhS include a thicker end of the downward curve in *ru*, *tha* and *dha* sometimes written with closed tops (however less frequently than open tops), *na* and *ra* in a slightly more hooked style, etc.

[19] On the basis of the paleographic analysis and the fact that the eight folios were bundled together, it cannot entirely be ruled out that the colophon (see n. 13) found on one of the three folios with the *Pañcarakṣāhṛdayabījamantra* was intended to belong to both the *Pañcarakṣāhṛdayabījamantra* and the DDhS.

[20] Which is then corrected to *prabhāsate*.

eral *pāda*s (4b1, <69d-71a>[21]), etc. The use of *daṇḍa* and double-*daṇḍa* is not always in accord with the metrical requirements. The places where insertions are to be made are marked in the text with upward- or downward-pointing *kākapada*s. The *akṣara*s to be inserted are found in the top or bottom margins of the Ms.

The language of the text is classical Sanskrit, with the exception of one single word, *kaḍevare* (3b4, <48a>) instead of *kalevare*,[22] and one single form, *jñānārciṣaiḥ* (5a1-2, <71c>) instead of *jñānārcir-bhiḥ*,[23] which may be Middle Indic.[24]

If we count the six *pāda*s missing in the Ms (but found in all translations) from the end of f. 4a and the beginning of f. 4b, the Ms ends at the beginning of *pāda* 86c. As we know that T has a total of 101 verses and approximately eight stanzas occupy one side of the folios of our Sanskrit Ms, the last 15 verses and a possible colophon would have filled one more complete folio.

The metre of the text is *anuṣṭubh* with *vipulā*s in 40c, 71c (*na-vipulā*), 37c (*bha-vipulā*), 2a, 9c, 15a, 22c,[25] 25c,[26] 27a, 49a, 51a,[27] 56c (*ma-vipulā*), 45c,[28] 49c and 59a[29] (*ra-vipulā*).[30]

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[21] The stanza numbering of the Skt. text is given in angled brackets <>, that of T in square brackets [ ], of Ch1 in braces {} and of Ch2 in round brackets ( ).

[22] Cf. BHSD: *s.v. kaḍevara*, CPD and EWAia: *s.v. kaḷebara*.

[23] Cf. BHSG: § 16.36.

[24] There is one other word, *ārūpam* (3a4, <40b>) instead of *ārūpyam*, which may be Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, cf. BHSD: *s.v. ārūpa*. Since *ārūpya* is an abstract form of *arūpa*, and the latter would cause the minimum change in the critical edition, here *ārūpam* in Ms. is emended into *arūpam*.

[25] With an error in the 3rd syllable.

[26] With an error in the 4th syllable.

[27] With an error in the 3rd syllable.

[28] With an error in the 4th syllable.

[29] 49c, 59a both with nine syllables.

[30] 64c, 79b has one extra syllable.

If some rhyming or near-rhyming was intended, it resulted in an awkward imitation of an *alaṃkāra*, i.e., *yamaka*, for example:

> ya eva dhātuḥ saṃsāre śodhyamānaḥ **sa eva** tu |
> śuddhaḥ **sa eva** nirvāṇe dharmakāyaḥ **sa eva** hi || <2>
>
> ya**thā hi** kṣīra**sammiśraṃ** sarpimaṇḍaṃ **na dṛśyate** |
> ta**thā hi** kleśa**sammiśraṃ** dharmadhātur **na dṛśyate** || <3>
>
> ya**thā viśodhi**taṃ kṣīraṃ ghṛtadravyaṃ **sunirmala**m |
> ta**thā viśodhi**tāḥ kleśā dharmadhātuḥ **sunirmalaḥ** || <4> etc.

2.1.2. Remarks on the text

As usual, there is more correspondence between the words, phrases and sentences of the Skt. and T than the Skt. and Ch. Nevertheless, there are quite a few cases in which one does find a correspondence between the Skt. and Ch that is not evident in T (normally in Ch1, see § 2.3). In some places there are words or phrases in Skt. which have no correspondence in the parallel texts, e.g., *cintayet* <61b> against *bsgrubs pa* [71b] and 可得 {60b}; *āśrayādhimuktānāṃ* <63c> against *theg mchog mos rnams la ’aṅ* [73c] and 勝解行 {62c}; *sarvadharmānāṃ* <78a> against *saṅs rgyas rnams kyi chos kyi* [88a] and 佛法 {77a}; *lakṣaṇaᵒ* <83b> against *ze’u ’bru can* [93b] and 臺 {82b}; *kleśair malinasattvānāṃ* <84c> against *ñon moṅs can gyi sems can gyis* [51c][31] and 煩惱攪擾心 {113c}; *ᵒajñānadagdhānāṃ* <85c> against *mi śes pas bsgribs pas* [52c] and 少福者 {114c}.[32]

Although within each stanza nearly every word has a parallel in T and Ch, the construction of the sentences in the translations sometimes takes on a new form, with, for example, shifts in case or number. This can be seen in the following examples:

> ya eva dhātuḥ[33] saṃsāre śodhyamānaḥ sa eva tu |

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[31] Strictly speaking.

[32] In the last three examples listed here, the wording of each text is different.

[33] This word is differently interpreted in either T or Ch 1.

śuddhaḥ sa eva nirvāṇe   dharmakāyaḥ sa eva hi || <2>[34]

gaṅ źig 'khor ba'i rgyur gyur pa | de ñid sbyaṅ ba byas pa las |
dag pa de ñid mya ṅan 'das | chos kyi sku yaṅ de ñid do || [2][35]

其性即生死　　淨時亦復然
清淨是涅槃　　亦即是法身{2}[36]

and

buddho hi pariṇirvāti   śucir nityaśubhālayaḥ |
kalpayanti dvayaṃ bālā   advayaṃ yoginām padaṃ || <55>[37]

gaṅ phyir saṅs rgyas mya ṅan 'das | gtsaṅ ba rtag pa dge ba'i gźi |
gaṅ phyir gñis ni byis pas brtags | de yi gñis med rnal 'byor gnas |
[65][38]

是佛般涅槃　　常恒淨無垢
愚夫二分別　　無二瑜伽句{54}[39]

and

daśabhiś ca balair bālas   tiṣṭhate bālacandravat |
kleśair malinasattvānāṃ na paśyati tathāgatam | <84>[40]

---

[34] "That very element which is in *saṃsāra*, however, is being purified. Purified, it is in *nirvāṇa*, for it is nothing but the Dharmakāya."

[35] "When that which is the cause of *saṃsāra* has been purified, just that, pure, is *nirvāṇa*, and nothing but the Dharmakāya." For *dhātu* in the meaning of *hetu*, cf. the passage from the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* cited in Zimmermann 2002: 58ff.

[36] "Its nature is *saṃsāra*, and when it is purified, it is also like that. When it is pure, it is *nirvāṇa*, and also the Dharmakāya indeed." For *dhātu* explained as "nature", cf. Schmithausen 1969: n. 116.

[37] "For the Buddha enters *pariṇirvāṇa*, pure, with a fundamental basis that is permanent and good. The spiritually immature conceive duality. For *yogin*s, there is [only] the non-dual abode."

[38] "Since the Buddha enters *pariṇirvāṇa*, [he] is pure, and [his] fundamental basis is permanent and good. Since the spiritually immature conceive duality, the *yogin* has his non-dual abode."

[39] "This *pariṇirvāṇa* of the Buddha is constantly pure and without stain. [For] the spiritually immature, [it is] the conceiving of duality, [but] the non-dual is the verse of the *yogin*."

[40] "On account of the ten powers the spiritually immature man stands like

stobs bcu'i stobs kyis byis pa rnams | byin brlabs zla ba tshes pa bźin |
ñon moṅs can gyi sems can gyis | de bźin gśegs pa mi mthoṅ ṅo | [51][41]

彼彼人現化[42]　　安住如水月
煩惱攪擾心　　不見於如來 {113}[43]

etc.

If we compile an overview of the entire Skt. text, using T as a basis for its missing conclusion, the contents can be divided into several units. These are, briefly:

1) the relationship between gnosis (*jñāna*) and defilement (*kleśa*), <1–23>

2) emptiness, <24–37>

3) the true nature of the six senses and their objects, <38–45>

4) the need to relinquish the conception of
   a. self and <46-50>
   b. objects, <51-55> [61-65]

5) the path <56–63> [66-73]

6) a. introduction of the *bhūmi*s of the bodhisattva, <64–67> [74–77]

   b. the ten *bhūmi*s of the bodhisattva, <68-77> [78-87]

7) the Dharmakāya, <78–80> [88-90]

8) the Nirmāṇakāya for

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the new moon. Because of the defilements of impure beings he does not see the *tathāgata*."

[41] "The spiritually immature are empowered by the ten powers, like the new moon. The being with defilements does not see the *tathāgata*."

[42] This *pāda* has no correspondence in the other texts. However it is clear that the object of this sentence, which is equivalent to the subject in Skt. and T, is plural as in T, as against the singular in Skt.

[43] "One after the other, [he] appears before their eyes and tranquilly abides, like the moon reflecting on the water. [Since] defilements disturb the heart, [they] don't see the *tathāgata*."

> a. the bodhisattvas who have arrived at the *bhūmi*s
>   (Buddhaputras), <81-83> [91-93]
>
> b. the normal living beings, and the Rūpakāya, <84-
>   86c, *86d-88> [51-55]
>
> 9) the Sambhogakāya, <*89–93> [56-60]
>
> 10) the Buddha. <*94-101> [94-101]

This breakdown reveals the logical, thematic structure of the DDhS and its organic development (with the proviso that some verses may be insertions). The author commences by introducing the Dharmadhātu and elucidating how it is obscured by the defilements (*kleśa*s); he then proceeds to explain selflessness (*anātman*) – of the Self, sense-objects, indeed of all things –, demonstrating that conceptuality obstructs and is not involved in awakening (*bodhi*). Subsequent to this, he expounds the components of the path to liberation, presents the *bhūmi*s and finally describes Buddhahood and the Buddha.

It is interesting to note that in all versions the contents of the first half of the hymn, stanzas 1–50, apart from a few omissions, form a fixed and integral text.[44] However, from stanza 51 onwards the order of the stanzas differs in Skt. and T, despite there being a word-for-word correspondence in the translations of the individual stanzas. Here, the order found in Ch1 and Ch2 is closer to the Skt., if one disregards a number of omissions. Stanzas <51–83> of the Skt. correspond to stanzas [61–93] of T. Stanzas <50–51> in the critical edition read as follows:

uktaṃ ca sūtravargeṣu	viharaty ātmacintakaḥ |
prajñādīpavihāreṇa	paramāṃśāntim āgataḥ || <50>
na bodher dūraṃ saṃjñī syān	na sāsannaṃ ca saṃjñinaḥ |
ṣaṇṇāṃ hi viṣayābhāso	yathābhūtaṃ parijñāya || <51>[45]

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[44] However, Atiśa's *Dharmadhātudarśanagīti* quotes ca. 20 stanzas from the first 32 stanzas of the DDhS in a different order, which is difficult to explain. Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1971: 471 and n. 119.

[45] "And, it has been said in the group of *sūtra*s: 'He remains focused on the self. Through abiding in the lamp of wisdom, he has reached the supreme peace.' One who is aware would not be far from [the state of] awakening;

These correspond to T [50 and 61], Ch1 {49–50}, Ch2 (49–50):

> śes rab mar me la gnas nas | mchog tu źi bar gyur pa yis |
> bdag la brtags pas gnas bya źes | mdo sde'i tshogs las gsuṅs pa lags | [50]

> byaṅ chub riṅ bar mi bsam źiṅ | ñe bar yaṅ ni bsam mi bya |
> yul drug snaṅ ba med par ni | yaṅ dag ji bźin rig gyur pa'o | [61]

> 說於眾契經　　住於自思惟
> 照以智慧燈　　即得最勝寂　{49}

> 菩提不遠想　　亦無隣近想
> 是六境影像　　皆由如是知　{50}

> 煩惱籠迷執　　世尊經所宣
> 智生惑染滅　　妄執勿相纏 (49)

> 去來執最勝　　體空猶可思
> 菩提非妄執　　正證亦知非 (50)

From Skt. stanza <84>, the order of the stanzas is once again no longer the same in the four texts under consideration. Stanzas <83–84> read as follows:

> anekaratnapattrābhaṃ　　lakṣaṇaṃ jvalakalpikam |
> anekaiḥ padmakoṭībhiḥ　　samantāt parivāritaḥ || <83>[46]

> daśabhiś ca balair bālas　　tiṣṭhate bālacandravat |
> kleśair malinasattvānāṃ na paśyati tathāgatam | <84>

These correspond to T [93, 51], Ch1 {82, 113} and Ch2 (75, 83).

> 'dab ma rin chen du ma'i 'od | ḍod par bya ba'i ze'u 'bru can |
> pad ma bye ba du ma yis | rnam pa kun tu yoṅs su bskor | [93]

> stobs bcu'i stobs kyis byis pa rnams | byin brlabs zla ba tshes pa bźin |
> ñon moṅs can gyi sems can gyis | de bźin gśegs pa mi mthoṅ ṅo | [51]

> 無量寶葉光　　寶光明為臺
> 無量億蓮花　　普遍為眷屬　{82}

> 彼彼人現化　　安住如水月

---

nor would that [awakening] be in the proximity of the one who is aware. For with the knowledge that is in accord with reality there is [only] a false appearance of the objects of the six [sense faculties]."

[46] "(The seat) is characterized by the light of its many jewel petals, which is like fire. It is surrounded by many millions of lotuses on all sides."

煩惱攪擾心　　不見於如來 {113}

大寶花王座　　俱胝眾妙成
莊嚴皆普遍　　功德實難思 (75)

況似頗胝寶　　隨緣現影同
物情根有感　　周普事無窮 (80)[47]

On the basis of this comparison of the stanzas it might be possible to conclude that these units, if in fact they were even recognized as units, were freely selected and combined with one another at the will of the compilers. Since the order and number of stanzas in the various texts is not identical, the meaning of the text varies correspondingly in the different versions.

Indisputably, since there are many variations between the Sanskrit and the DDhS translations due to their different transmission backgrounds,[48] a comparison of sentences and contexts would be less fruitful than one confined to words and short phrases. Thus the critical apparatus operates solely with deviations from the Skt. of words and short phrases, viz., small units of words.

2.2. Tibetan translation

The following Tibetan translations of the DDhS have been used in the critical edition. The location in each canonical version is as follows:

> Co ne (C): ka, fol. 72a7–76b4
>
> sDe dge (D): ka, fol. 63b5–67b3
>
> dGa' ldan (Golden Ms Edition, G): ka, fol. 90b1–96a1
>
> sNar thang (N): ka, fol. 70a3–74b3
>
> Peking (Qianlong, P): ka, fol. 73a7–77a8

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[47] It is doubtful whether this stanza really corresponds to stanza 84 in the Skt. text, cf. Tsukinowa 1933: 532 and Hayashima 1987: 64.

[48] For examples of various Skt. Mss. and T, cf. MacDonald 2005: xxxiii-xxxvi and Steinkellner 2007: xxxvii-xliv.

Phug brag (F): la, fol. 384a3-389b7 (F¹); sa, fol. 343a6-348a7 (F²)[49]

As mentioned above, Skt. and T correspond more closely than Skt. and Ch, although this is not consistently the case. There are also instances where the Skt. only corresponds to the Ch (see § 3.2), T corresponds only to Ch (see § 2.1.2), or T does not correspond to any other text (see § 2.1.2).

Seyfort Ruegg (1971: notes on pp. 464–471) points out many variant readings in D against the other editions.[50] When compared with the Skt. text, these distinctive readings in D often seem more reliable, i.e., are closer to the Skt., than the reading shared by the remaining four editions, e.g.: *saṅs rgyas ñid* DF¹F² instead of *sñiṅ po ñid* CGNP [15c] for *buddhatvam* <15c>;[51] *brtags pa* DF¹F² instead of *btags pa* CGNP [30b] for *kalpyamānaṃ* <30b>; *brtags pa* DF¹F² instead of *btags pa* CGNP [30d] for *kalpitaṃ* <30d>;[52] *chos kyi dbyiṅs kyi ṅo bo yin* D instead of *chos kyi dbyiṅs kyi ṅo bo yis* CF¹F²GNP[53] [41c] for *dharmadhātusvabhāvatā* <41d>; *mthoṅ* DF¹F² instead of *mtho* CGNP [46a] for *dṛṣṭaṃ* <46a>;[54] *bdag la brtags pas gnas bya źes* DF¹F² instead of *bdag lartag par gnas bya źes* CGNP[55] [50c] for *viharety ātmacintakaḥ* <50b>; *brtags* DF¹F² instead of *btags* GNP and *gtags* C [65c] for *kalpayanti* <55c>;[56] and so on. But not all of the readings in D are correct, e.g.: *dri ma* CF¹GNP instead of *ñon*

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[49] Cf. Hartmann 1996: 72 and Eimer 1993: 25 and 37. I am indebted to Dr. Ralf Kramer at Bavarian State Library, for having kindly offered me the electronic version of F¹ and F².

[50] Neither the Skt. Ms, nor G, nor F was available to him. However, execpt for [52c], *mi śes pas bsregs pas* F (*ajñānadagdhānām* <85c>) against *bsgribs pas* CDGNP (*ajñānāvṛtānām*),most of the differing readings in F can be regarded as scribal errors or peculiarities. In many cases both F¹ and F² show closer affiliation to D than to the other editions, see below.

[51] Ch1 佛體 = *buddhakāya* {15c}.

[52] Ch1 分別 {29bd}.

[53] Ch1 自性故 = *dharmadhātusvabhāvatvāt* {40d}.

[54] Ch1 見 {45a}.

[55] Ch1 住於自思惟 {49b}.

[56] Ch1 分別 {54c}.

moṅs D [21c] for *malaṃ*<21c>;[57] *zab pa la* CF¹GNP instead of *zad pa la* D [83c] for °*gambhīrā* <73c>;[58] *mi g.yo ba* CGNP instead of *mi g.yos pa* D [85d] for *akampyā* <75d>;[59] and so on.

As compared to the Skt. text, the second *pāda* of stanza [33] is missing in T. In CGNP, a *pāda* has been added between stanzas [91] and [92], perhaps in order to bring the total number of *pāda*s into balance. This added *pāda* is merely a repetition of the third *pāda* of [92]. In D, this odd *pāda* is absent, although it also lacks the *pāda* of [33].[60] [61]

More noteworthy is the shift of a block of ten stanzas in T. As has been described above, the stanzas <51–83> of the Skt. text correspond to [61–93] of T, although from the beginning to stanza [50], T parallels the Skt. text stanza for stanza. The stanzas [51–60] correspond to <84–86c> (and presumably the following stanzas) of the Skt.[62]

There are three hypotheses that might explain this variation:

1. The Tibetan translators revised the text during translation, finding their order more suitable with regard to the context than the original one. The stanzas [51–60] (which would correspond to <84–*93> in the Skt. text) are related to three *kāya*s of the Buddha. The first *kāya*, namely Dharmakāya, the Nirmāṇakāya for the Bodhisattvas, and the Buddha, which are involved with Buddhahood, are then consecutively described in [88–93] and [94–101], without the interruption as found in the Skt. While the insertion of the topic of the three *kāya*s of the Buddha between 3) "the true nature of the six

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[57] *ma* F².

[58] *zab pa daṅ* F²; Ch1 甚深 {72c}.

[59] *g.yos ba* F¹; *g.yogs ba* F².

[60] This has been noted in Seyfort Ruegg (1971: 471 and n. 117) and Hayashima (1987: 44); Seyfort Ruegg, however, considers the proper position of the additional *pāda* to be stanza [99].

[61] Here F¹ and F² follow D.

[62] Due to the missing final folio of the Skt. text, it is not certain whether the Skt. would have corresponded to all ten stanzas of T.

senses" and 4) "the need to relinquish the conception" is not particularly logical, it seems reasonable to want to connect the two parts concerning the Dharmakāya, etc.

2. The translators jumped ten stanzas, namely <84-*93>, when reading their Skt. exemplar. Like the first *pāda* in <84>, *daśabhiś ca balair bālas*,[63] the Sanskrit for the first *pāda* in [94], *stobs bcu po yis yoṅs su gaṅ*, quite possibly also began with *daśabhiḥ* and was followed closely by *balaiḥ*, which may have led to the eye skipping the ten stanzas. When discovered, the forgotten stanzas were inserted into the text at an earlier point, namely following stanza [50].

3. The Skt. exemplar used by the Tibetan translators presented the verse order as now found in T. However, since both Chinese translations confirm the stanza order of our Skt. text, their Skt. text may have had an error, i.e., the Tibetan translators had a Skt. Ms that already had the verses either inserted in the wrong place or written around the margins or on an extra folio. This would mean that it was one of the Skt. scribes whose eye skipped the stanzas, as described in the second hypothesis, and that the translators had to deal with the ten stanzas added by him afterwards.

Although there has still been no convincing evidence for a Sanskrit manuscript having been used during the redaction of D, it is nevertheless clear when comparing the alternative readings in the various editions, those in the redacted version of D seem closest to Skt.

2.3. Chinese translations

The earlier Chinese translation (Ch1) is found in Taishō 413, and the later (Ch2) in Taishō 1675.[64] The title of Ch1 reads 百千頌大集

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[63] *stobs bcu'i stobs kyis byis pa rnams* (T).

[64] Ch2 has long been recognized as a Chinese translation of the DDhS; see, e.g., Seyfort Ruegg 1971: 463. In 1933, Tsukinowa discovered that Ch1 was an earlier Chinese translation, but not all scholars took note; it has been mentioned in Hayashima (1987) and Brunnhölzl (2007: 113). Like Tsukinowa(1933), Hayashima (1987) also provides a detailed comparison

經地藏菩薩請問法身讚 (*Kṣitigarbhaparipṛcchādharmakāyastava),
"Hymn concerning Kṣitigarbha's question on the Dharmakāya in
the *Mahāsannipāta* which consists of [prose passages whose num-
ber of syllables equals] a hundred-thousand Ślokas". Here, neither
a relationship with the topic of the Dharmadhātu, nor the author
Nāgārjuna is indicated. In the eighth century, this text was regard-
ed as an appendix to the *Mahāsannipātasūtra* and was attributed to
Kṣitigarbha.

Ch1 is a direct translation of the DDhS and in its entirety con-
tains 125 four-*pāda* stanzas. While in the first 124 stanzas each *pāda*
has five syllables, which is normally regarded as an apt reflection
of the Skt. *anuṣṭubh* metre,[65] each *pāda* in the final stanza has seven
syllables, which might correspond to the Skt. *triṣṭubh* metre. Verses
{1–82} match stanzas <1–83> of the Skt. text very well, except that
stanza <20> in the latter has no equivalent in Ch1. Naturally there
are here, too, a handful of variations in the wording.[66] It seems that
stanzas {83–90} of Ch1 would be equivalent to *94–101 of the Skt.
text. Surprisingly, some of the same portion of the text that does not
correspond in position to the Skt. and T (i.e., [51–60]) is again not in
the expected position in Ch1. However, contrary to T, these stanzas
(in this case five: {113–115 and 120, 122}) have been placed at the
end, i.e., {113–115} correspond to <51–53>; {120} corresponds to
T [54], and {122} to T [55]. Stanzas {91–121, 123-124}[67] deal with
the Nirmāṇakāya, which here can also be divided into two parts. The
first twelve stanzas {91–112} describe the Nirmāṇakāya from the
side of the Buddhas; the latter eleven {113-121, 123–124} describe
the Nirmāṇakāya in the eyes of ordinary beings. In addition, 22 stan-
zas, {91-112}, reveal Tantric characteristics and have no parallel in

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of T, Ch1 and Ch2; however, Hayashima does not take advantage of this
comparison or of the critical apparatus in the Taishō edition to improve
certain readings in the main text of Ch1.

[65] For the term 五言四句, see Taishō 2059, 415b and Mair & Mei 1991:
454.

[66] Cf. notes 80-82.

[67] Stanza {122} deals with the Rūpakāya, cf. the breakdown in §2.1.2.

the other three texts.[68] The last stanza {125} describes the dissemination of this doctrine.

Ch2 bears the title 讚法界頌 (*Dharmadhātustava or *Dharmadhātustotra*). It is a less satisfactory translation,[69] and contains only 87 four-*pāda* stanzas. It is clear that many stanzas of the Skt. text are missing, while at least nine stanzas[70] have no correspondence in any other version and the correspondence of more than ten stanzas is unclear. Nonetheless, stanzas (1–75) can be recognized as a translation of stanzas <1–83> of the Skt. text, in the same order. Thus, up to verse (75) Ch2 corresponds to both Ch1 and the Skt. text. The next four stanzas, (76–79), may have corresponded to *94–101 of the Skt. text. Then follow the stanzas (80–86) on the Nirmāṇakāya and Sambhogakāya, which correspond to stanzas <84–86c> and possibly *86d–92 of the Skt. text. The concluding stanza deals with the dissemination of the work.

There is some vocabulary in the Skt. text that corresponds only to words found in Ch, e.g., 石藏 {9c} for *pāṣāṇakośe* <9c> against *rdo yi naṅ na* [9c]; 煩惱海 {15b} for *kleśasāgare* <15b> against *ñon moṅs gzeb* [15b]; 二形 (24b) for °*napuṃsakam* <24b> against *skyes pa* [24b] and 男 {23b}; 無色亦無形 {39b} for *arūpam anidarśanaṃ* <40b> against *gzugs su med pa'i dpe* [40b]; 覺 {46c} for *bodhāya* <47c> against *'gags pas* [47c]; 器 {52b} for *bhājane* <53b> against *lus 'dir* [63b]; 稻芽 {62a}[71] for *śālyāṅkurādīnāṃ* <63a> against *sā lu'i sa bon sogs* [73a]; 得生 {65d} for *jāyate* <66d> against *rdzogs śiṅ gsal* [76d][72]; 常當於佛法 {66b} for *buddhe dharme ca nityaśaḥ* <67b> against *saṅs rgyas*

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[68] Cf. Tsukinowa 1933: 540ff. Tsukinowa therefore believed that this part must have been added even after the establishment of the common content of DDhS, and that Ch1's entire text would stand after that of T and Ch2 in the transmission line, cf. ibid., p. 425ff.

[69] On the quality of translations during the Song Dynasty see Sen 2002: 27-80.

[70] Stanzas (3, 14, 28, 61, 74, 83, 84, 86, 87).

[71] It is possible that the phrase 守護稻穀種芽莖必得生 (57ab) also corresponds to {62a}.

[72] Probably 顯法身法身理無缺 (60cd) supports T.

chos daṅ dge 'dun la | rtag tu mos pa brtan po yis | [77ab]; 覺悟 {67c}
for *avabhodhena* <68c> against *ṅes rtogs pa* [78c]; 照耀得離垢 {69b}
for *prabhābhrājavinirmalā* <70b> against *dri med śes rab rab gsal bas*
[80b]; 生死海 {82b} for *bhavasāgarāt* <82b> against *'khor ba'i gzeb*
las [92b]; 無量億蓮花 {82c} for *anekaiḥ padmakoṭībhiḥ* <83c> against
pad ma bye ba du ma yis [93c]; and 有情 {115a} for *sattvānām* <86a>
against *dman pa* [53a]. There are also a number of words that Ch1
shares with T but not with the Skt. (see § 2.1.2).

In addition to these two Chinese translations, there exists another
translation, whose authority is, however, doubtful.[73] It is the second
品 (*parivarta*) called 地藏菩薩讚歎法身觀行品 (**Kṣitigarbha-*
dharmakāyastavasaṃskāraparīkṣāparivarta), "The Chapter of In-
vestigation on Predispositions, in which Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva
praises the Dharmakāya", in a *sūtra* called 示所犯者瑜伽法鏡經,
"Sūtra of the Yogadharma Mirror, revealing those who offended (the
Discipline)", in Taishō 2896. Recorded in a Buddhist canon register
from A.D. 730, it has already been acknowledged as an Apocrypha,[74]
and was therefore probably regarded as lost. This *sūtra* is only pre-
served in the form of a fragment found in Dunhuang,[75] in which its
first *parivarta* and most of the second *parivarta* is no longer avail-
able. According to its colophon, this *sūtra* was translated into Chi-
nese by 室利末多 (**Śrīmadda) in A.D. 707. If we can rely on this
dating, then it seems possible that this *parivarta* may be neither an
invention nor a re-composition based on Ch1, a Chinese translation
which was finished more than 50 years later than this text, but in fact
the earliest translation of the DDhS.[76]

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[73] Identified by Tsukinowa (1934: 46ff.).

[74] In 開元釋教錄, "Register of the Buddhist [Canon] in the Kaiyuan Era",
cf. Taishō 2154, 627b29-c12. However, it is not definitively stated there
that the second *parivarta* itself is either a rewriting of an old *sūtra* or an
apocryphal one at all, cf. Tsukinowa 1934: 49.

[75] On its preservation cf. Yabuki 1927: 23 (232).

[76] Its content also appears to support this assumption, cf. below.

This second *parivarta* (henceforth: ChX) contains only 31 four-*pāda* stanzas, in which each *pāda* has seven syllables, together with a final paragraph in prose, although no indication of the original total number of stanzas[77] has come down to us. Most of these stanzas correspond approximately to {90-125} of Ch1 in wording and order, while stanzas x+22-24 correspond to <84-86> in Skt. and [51-53] in T, and x+1 and x+29 to [101] and [54] in T too. Nevertheless, eight stanzas, {98-102} and {122-124}, have no correspondence in ChX, whereas three stanzas, x+2, 8, 14, have no match in any other texts.[78] When we compare the stanzas with those of other texts, especially x+22-24 with {113-115} and <84-86>, as follows, we can see that ChX is a more paraphrastic and literary translation than Ch1.[79]

隨諸眾生示神變　猶如明月水中現
邪智生盲惡眾生　佛對面前而不現　x+22

譬如餓鬼臨大海　盡見海水皆枯竭
如是薄德惡眾生　口常說言無有佛　x+23

此等薄德有情類　諸佛如來不能救
譬如生盲無目人　明珠對前而不見　x+24[80]

彼彼人現化　　　安住如水月
煩惱攪擾心　　　不見於如來　{113}

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[77] "x+1", "x+2" and so forth are used by the text edition in ChX for the numbering of these stanzas.

[78] Further research is required to explain these variations.

[79] Seven Chinese syllables for one *pāda* seems to be too many if we assume that the hymn section in the Skt. exemplar of ChX was also written in *anuṣṭubh* metre; cf. n. 65.

[80] "He demonstrates his supernatural power according to [the respective merit of] each being, like the moon reflected on the water [surface]. For those evil beings who have deviant intelligence and are born blind, the Buddha stands before them, yet does not show himself. Like the ghosts in front of the ocean only see that it becomes dry everywhere, such evil beings, whose merit is inferior, often say 'the Buddha doesn't exist.' All the *tathāgata* Buddhas cannot rescue such sentient beings, whose virtue is meager, like a man who is born blind without eyes and cannot see the bright pearl in front of him."

如餓鬼於海　　普遍見枯竭
如是少福者　　無佛作分別 {114}

有情少福者　　如來云何作
如於生盲手　　安以最勝寶 {115}[81]

daśabhiś ca balair bālas   tiṣṭhate bālacandravat |
kleśair malinasattvānāṃ   na paśyati tathāgatam | <84>

yadā pretāḥ samantāt tu   śuṣkaṃ paśyanti sāgaram |
tathaivājñānadagdhānāṃ   buddho nāstīti kalpanā || <85>

sattvānām alpapuṇyānāṃ   bhagavān kiṃkariṣyati |
jātya xx ∪--x   xxxx ∪-∪x || <86>[82]

We are therefore convinced that ChX represents an independent translation from a Skt. manuscript in the DDhS transmission lineage. Finally, according to ChX's prose part, the whole hymn is placed in the mouth of Kṣitigarbha, whose name appears in the title of ChX and Ch1. Hence it is obvious that Nāgārjuna was not thought to be the author of the text before the middle of the eighth century.

3. Conclusion

Thus, we see that throughout the long textual transmission of the *Dharmadhātustava*, the main textual constituent was stanzas 1-83, with the insertion of the Nirmāṇa- and Sambhogakāya descriptions of T [51-60] constituting an anomaly. The presumed positioning of these, <84-86c> and *86d-93, in the Skt. text between the two parts

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[81] "Like the ghosts on the shore, who see that it becomes dry everywhere, such ones, whose merit is inferior, have the idea 'the Buddha doesn't exist'. For the sentient beings, whose merit is inferior, what will the *tathāgata* do? In the same way one puts the most supreme of jewels in the hand of a man who is born blind."

[82] "The *preta*s see the ocean but it becomes dry everywhere, just in the same way the ones who are burned by ignorance have the false conception that 'the Buddha does not exist'. For the beings whose merit is little what will the Blessed One do? It is as if one puts the most supreme of jewels in the hand of a man who is born blind." The translation for *pāda* c and d in <86> is based on T.

of the Dharmakāya description is also a special case, since in the other three versions, [94-101], {83-90} and (76-79), the description of the Dharmakāya is found as an integral section.

The core of this text already existed in the eighth century, albeit with a different title. It spread widely, as the *sūtra* was affiliated with Tantrism together with texts traditionally associated with Nāgārjuna. Only after the end of the eighth century, or even as late as the eleventh century, was the hymn ascribed to Nāgārjuna and given the title *Dharmadhātustava*. At this time it appears to have been shortened. Revisions occurred during its translation and transmission in the respective importing lands. The order in Ch2 is 1-6, 9 and 7-8, viz., the most ideal transmission in spite of its translation. The order in the second part of the Skt. text is not logical and has no echo in other versions. The order in T is 1-3, 7-8, 4-6 and 9, and might have been the same as in Ch2 if the translators/redactors had not misread the text.

Abbreviations

AAS   Austrian Academy of Sciences

BHSD   *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, *Vol. II*: *Dictionary*, ed. Franklin Edgerton. New Haven: Yale University Press 1953.

BHSG   *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, *Vol. I*: *Grammar*, ed. Franklin Edgerton. New Haven: Yale University Press 1953.

C   Co ne bsTan 'gyur: Electronic Edition from Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (TBRC)

cf.   confer

Ch   Chinese or Chinese text

Ch1   百千頌大集經地藏菩薩請問法身讚, Taishō 413

Ch2   讚法界頌, Taishō 1675

ChX   地藏菩薩讚歎法身觀行品 in 示所犯者瑜伽法鏡經, Taishō 2896

CPD   *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, ed. Dines Andersen et al. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy 1924-.

CTRC   China Tibetology Research Center

D   sDe dge bsTan 'gyur: Electronic edition from the TBRC

DDhS   *Dharmadhātustava*

EWAia *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, ed. Manfred Mayrhofer, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag 1986-2001.

F Phug brag bKa' 'gyur: Microfiche Edition made by Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions.

F[1] the first appearance of the Tibetan translation of DDhS, i.e. *sūtra* no. 244, in F

F[2] the second appearance of the Tibetan translation of DDhS, i.e. *sūtra* no. 394, in F

G dGa' ldan bsTan 'gyur, Golden Mss Edition: Electronic edition from the TBRC

Ms(s) manuscript(s)

N sNar thang bsTan 'gyur: Electronic TBRC edition

P (Qianlong) Peking bsTan 'gyur: *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Peking Edition*, Otani University, Kyoto, ed. by Suzuki Daisetz T., Kyoto 1955–61.

Skt. Sanskrit or Sanskrit text

STTAR Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region

SUṬ *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* of Nāropā

T Tibetan or Tibetan text

TBRC Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center Library <*www.tbrc.org*>

Taishō *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, 100 Vols., Tokyo, 1924-.

TAR Tibetan Autonomous Region

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Appendix: Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation[1]

(C72a7, N70a3, P73a7) chos kyi dbyiṅs bstod pa ‖ ‖[2]

(D63b5, F¹384a3, F²343a6, G90b1) rgya gar skad du | dharma dhātu (N70a4) sta-
va[3] | bod skad du | chos kyi dbyiṅs su bstod pa | (F¹384a4) ’phags
pa[4] ’jam dpal (C72b1) gźon nur gyur pa la phyag ’tshal (D63b6, F²343a7)
lo ‖

gaṅ źig kun tu[5] ma śes (P73a8) na ‖
srid pa gsum du rnam ’khor ba[6] ‖
sems cen kun la ṅes gnas (G90b2) pa’i[7] ‖
chos (F¹384a5) kyi[8] dbyiṅs (N70a5) la phyag ’tshal lo[9] ‖ [1]

gaṅ źig ’khor ba’i (F²343a8) rgyur gyur pa ‖
de ñid sbyaṅ ba byas pa las ‖
dag pa de ñid (C72b2) mya ṅan ’das ‖
(P73b1) chos kyi sku yaṅ[10] de ñid do ‖ [2]

(D63b6) ji[11] (F¹384a6) ltar ’o ma daṅ ’dres pas ‖
mar gyi sñiṅ po mi snaṅ ba ‖

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[1] I was unable to use manuscript F in the critical edition of the Tibetan text
in my monograph *The Dharmadhātustava, A Critical Edition of the Sanskrit
Text with the Tibetan and Chinese Translations, a Diplomatic Translation of
the Manuscript and Notes*. (STTAR 17) Beijing-Vienna: CTRC-AAS 2015,
and so I have now taken this opportunity to present a new critical edition
that takes F into account.

[2] om. DF¹F²G.

[3] *dharma dhātu stabaṃ* D; *dharma dha tu stotra* CGNP; *dharma dha du
sta ba* F¹F².

[4] om. CF¹F²GNP.

[5] *du* F².

[6] *la* F¹F².

[7] *ba’i* G.

[8] *kyis* F².

[9] *’tshal ’dud* F¹F²GN.

[10] *’aṅ* F¹.

[11] *dri* F².

de bźin ñon moṅs (F²343b1) daṅ (G90b3, N70a6) 'dres pas[12] ‖
chos kyi dbyiṅs kyaṅ mi mthoṅ ṅo ‖ [3]

(D63b7) ji ltar 'o ma rnams sbyaṅs pas ‖
(F¹384a7) mar gyi (P73b2) sñiṅ po dri med 'gyur ‖
de bźin ñon moṅs rnams[13] sbyaṅ (C72b3) bas ‖
chos[14] dbyiṅs śin (F²343b2) tu[15] dri med 'gyur ‖ [4]

(D64a1) ji[16] ltar mar me bum naṅ gnas ‖
(N70a7) cuṅ[17] źig snaṅ[18] (G90b4) bar (F¹384a8) mi 'gyur ba ‖
de bźin ñon moṅs bum naṅ[19] gnas ‖
(P73b3) chos kyi dbyiṅs kyaṅ[20] mi mthoṅ ṅo ‖ [5]

phyogs ni gaṅ daṅ (F²343b3) gaṅ dag nas ‖
bum pa bu ga gtoṅ gyur pa[21] ‖
de daṅ (C72b4, F¹384b1) de yi[22] phyogs ñid nas ‖
'od kyi raṅ bźin 'byuṅ (D64a2) bar (N70b1) 'gyur ‖ [6]

gaṅ tshe tiṅ 'dzin rdo rje (G90b5) yis ‖
(P73b4) bum ba de ni bcag gyur pa ‖
de tshe (F²343b4) de ni nam[23] mkha' yi ‖
mthar thug[24] (F¹384b2) par[25] du snaṅ bar byed ‖ [7]

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[12] *ba* F².

[13] *rnam* F².

[14] om. F².

[15] *du* F².

[16] *ci* F².

[17] *caṅ* F².

[18] om. F².

[19] *na* C.

[20] om. F².

[21] *pa'i* F¹F².

[22] *de'i* F¹F².

[23] *na* GN.

[24] *thugs* F².

[25] *bar* F¹F².

chos kyi dbyiṅs ni[26] skye ma[27] yin ‖
nam yaṅ 'gag[28] par 'gyur ba med ‖
dus rnams (C72b5) kun tu[29] ñon moṅs (N70b2) med ‖
thog ma bar[30] (F²343b5) mthar[31] dri ma bral ‖ [8]

(D64a3, F¹384b3, P73b5) ji ltar (G90b6) rin chen bai ḍū rya[32] ‖
dus rnams kun tu[33] 'od gsal yaṅ ‖
rdo yi[34] naṅ na gnas gyur na ‖
de[35] yi 'od ni gsal ma yin ‖ [9]

de bźin ñon moṅs kyis bsgribs (F²343b6) pa'i ‖
(F¹384b34) chos dbyiṅs śin tu[36] dri med pa'aṅ[37] ‖
(C72b6, N70b3, P73b6) 'khor bar 'od ni gsal ma yin ‖
mya ṅan 'das[38] (G91a1) na[39] 'od gsal (D64a4) 'gyur ‖ [10]

khams yod na[40] ni las byas pas ‖
sa le sbram (F¹384b5) dag mthoṅ bar (F²343b7) 'gyur ‖
khams med par ni las byas na'aṅ[41] ‖
ñon moṅs 'ba' źig (P73b7) bskyed[42] par zad ‖ [11]

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[26] *na* F².

[27] *pa* F².

[28] *'ga'* F².

[29] *du* F².

[30] *par* F².

[31] *mtha'* CNP; *mtha'i* G.

[32] *be du rya* F².

[33] *du* F².

[34] *'i* F¹.

[35] *di* P.

[36] *du* F¹F².

[37] *pa* F².

[38] *'od* F².

[39] *ni* F².

[40] *pa* F¹.

[41] *na* D.

[42] *skyed* CF¹F²GNP.

ji ltar[43] (N70b4) sbun pas[44] g.yogs gyur (C72b7) pas[45] ||
(G91a2) so ba 'bras bu (F¹384b6) mi 'dod ltar ||
de bźin ñon moṅs (F²343b8) kyis g.yogs (D64a5) pas[46] ||
de ni[47] saṅs rgyas źes mi brtag[48] || [12]

ji ltar sbun pa[49] las grol na ||
(P73b8) 'bras ñid snaṅ bar 'gyur ba[50] ltar ||
(F¹384b7) de bźin ñon moṅs las (N70b5) grol na ||
chos kyi sku ñid (F²344a1) rab tu (C73a1) gsal || [13]

(G91a3) chu śiṅ sñiṅ[51] po med do źes ||
'jig rten na ni dper byed kyaṅ ||
de yi 'bras bu sñiṅ po (D64a6) ñid ||
(F¹384b8, P74a1) mṅar[52] po za bar byed pa ltar || [14]

sñiṅ po (F²344a2) med pa'i 'khor ba las ||
ñon moṅs gzeb[53] daṅ bral gyur na ||
de yi 'bras (C73a2, N70b6) bu saṅs rgyas[54] ñid ||
lus[55] can kun (G91a4) gyi (F¹385a1) bdud[56] rtsir 'gyur[57] || [15]

de bźin sa bon (P74a2) thams cad las ||
rgyu daṅ 'dra[58] ba'i (F²344a3) 'bras bu 'byuṅ ||

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[43] *ltan* F¹.

[44] *mas* F¹; *bas* F².

[45] *bas* F¹F².

[46] *bas* F².

[47] *nas* P.

[48] *rtag* F².

[49] *ba* F².

[50] *pa* F¹.

[51] *dṅos* F¹.

[52] *dṅar* F¹F².

[53] *gseb* F²; *gzib* P.

[54] *sñiṅ po* CGNP.

[55] *las* F².

[56] *bdu* F².

[57] *gyur* GP.

[58] *'bra* P.

sa bon[59] med [(D64a7)] par 'bras yod par ||
[(F¹385a2)] śes ldan gaṅ gis bsgrub par nus || [16]

sa bon gyur pa khams[60] de ñid ||
[(N70b7)] chos rnams [(C73a3)] kun gyi[61] rten du 'dod ||
rim[62] [(G91a5, P74a3)] gyis[63] sbyaṅs par[64] gyur pa las ||
saṅs [(F¹385a3)] rgyas go 'phaṅ thob par[65] 'gyur || [17]

dri med ñi[66] ma zla ba yaṅ ||
sprin daṅ khug rna[67] du ba[68] daṅ ||
sgra [(D64b1)] gcan gdoṅ daṅ rdul la sogs[69] ||
sgrib pa [(F²344a5)] lṅa[70] yis bsgribs par[71] 'gyur[72] || [18]

[(F¹385a4, N71a1, P74a4)] de bźin 'od [(C73a4)] gsal ba yi sems ||
'dod [(G91a6)] daṅ gnod sems le lo daṅ ||
rgod pa daṅ ni the tshom[73] ste ||
sgrib[74] pa lṅa yis bsgribs [(F²344a6)] par 'gyur[75] || [19]

ji ltar me yis dag [(F¹385a5)] pa'i gos ||

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[59] *bor* F².

[60] *khaṃs* F².

[61] *gyis* F².

[62] *rims* F¹; *rigs* F².

[63] *kyis* F².

[64] *bar* F¹F².

[65] *'phaṅs 'thob bar* F².

[66] *ñid* F².

[67] *rnam* F².

[68] *du ba khug rna* CGNP.

[69] *stsogs* F¹.

[70] *khams lṅa* F².

[71] *bar* F².

[72] *gyur* DF¹F².

[73] *tsom* F².

[74] *bsgrib* F¹.

[75] *gyur* DF².

sna tshogs (D64b2) dri mas dri ma[76] can ‖
(P74a5) ji ltar me yi (N71a2) naṅ bcug na ‖
dri ma tshig ’gyur[77] gos (C73a5) min ltar ‖ [20]

de bźin ’od[78] (G91b1) gsal ba yi sems ‖
(F²344a7) ’dod chags la sogs[79] (F¹385a6) dri ma can ‖
ye śes me yis dri[80] ma[81] bsreg[82] ‖
de ñid ’od gsal ma yin no[83] ‖ [21]

stoṅ pa ñid ni ston pa’i mdo ‖
(P74a6) rgyal bas[84] (D64b3) ji[85] sñed[86] (N71a3) gsuṅs pa gaṅ[87] ‖
de dag kun gyis ñon moṅs (F¹385a7, F²344a8) ldog ‖
(C73a6) khams de ñams par (G91b2) byed ma yin ‖ [22]

sa yi naṅ na gnas pa’i[88] chu ‖
dri ma med par gnas pa ltar ‖
ñon moṅs naṅ na ye śes kyaṅ ‖
(P74a7) de bźin dri ma med (F¹385a8) par gnas ‖ [23]

(F²344b1) chos (N71a4) dbyiṅs gaṅ phyir bdag ma (D64b4) yin ‖
bud med ma yin skyes pa min ‖
gzuṅ ba (C73a7) kun las rnam grol (G91b3) ba ‖
ji ltar bdag ces brtag par bya ‖ [24]

chags (F¹385b1) pa med pa’i (F²344b2) chos kun[89] la ‖

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[76] om. F².

[77] *gyur* F¹.

[78] *’dod* F².

[79] *las skyes* F¹F².

[80] *ñon* D; om. F².

[81] *moṅs* D.

[82] *sregs* F².

[83] *yi no* G.

[84] *de* F².

[85] *ci* F¹; om F².

[86] *ñid* F².

[87] *de* F¹; om. F².

[88] *dkyil na yod pa’i* F¹F²D.

[89] *sku* F¹.

(P74a8) bud med skyes pa dmigs ma yin[90] ||
'dod chags kyis (N71a5) ldoṅs[91] gdul[92] bya'i phyir ||
bud med skyes pa źes[93] rab bstan || [25]

(D64b5) mi rtag sdug bsṅal[94] (C73b1, F¹385b2) stoṅ pa[95] źes ||
bya ba gsum[96] (F²344b3, G91b4) pos sems sbyoṅ byed ||
mchog tu sems (P74b1) ni sbyoṅ[97] byed pa'i[98] ||
chos ni raṅ bźin med pa yin || [26]

ji ltar sbrum ma'i lto na (N71a6) bu ||
yod kyaṅ mthoṅ (F¹385b3) ba ma yin pa[99] ||
de bźin ñon (F²344b4) moṅs kyis g.yogs pa'i ||
chos kyi (C73b2) dbyiṅs kyaṅ (D64b6) mthoṅ ma yin || [27]

(G91b5) bdag daṅ (P74b2) bdag gi[100] rnam rtog daṅ ||
miṅ gi 'du[101] śes rgyu mtshan (F¹385b4) gyis ||
rnam rtog bźi po 'byuṅ ba yaṅ ||
(F²344b5) 'byuṅ (N71a7) daṅ 'byuṅ las gyur pas[102] so[103] || [28]

saṅs rgyas rnams kyi smon lam[104] yaṅ ||
snaṅ ba med ciṅ (C73b3) mtshan (P74b3) ñid med ||

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[90] *min* F².

[91] *gduṅs* CGNP; *mdoṅs* F¹; *'doṅs* F².

[92] *'dul* F¹F².

[93] *źes* DF¹F².

[94] *sṅal* F².

[95] *ba* F².

[96] *gsuṃ* F².

[97] *sbyoṅ mi* F².

[98] *ba'i* F².

[99] *ba* F².

[100] *gis* F².

[101] *'dus* F².

[102] *la* F².

[103] *sogs* F².

[104] *las* F¹; *lan* G.

(F¹385b5) so sor[105] raṅ rig sbyor (G91b6) ldan[106] ñid ‖
(D64b7) saṅs rgyas rtag pa'i (F²344b6) chos ñid can ‖ [29]

ji[107] ltar ri boṅ mgo[108] bo'i[109] rwa[110] ‖
brtags[111] pa ñid de med pa ltar ‖
(N71b1) de bźin chos rnams (F¹385b6) thams cad kyaṅ ‖
brtags[112] (P74b4) pa ñid de yod ma yin ‖ [30]

phra rab rdul gyi[113] ṅo bo yis ‖
(C73b4, F²344b7) glaṅ gi rwa[114] yaṅ yod[115] ma yin ‖
(G92a1) ji ltar sṅon bźin phyis de bźin ‖
de (D65a1) la (F¹385b7) ci źig brtag par bya ‖ [31]

brten nas 'byuṅ bar 'gyur ba daṅ ‖
(N71b2) brten nas 'gag (P74b5) par 'gyur bas na ‖
gcig (F²344b8) kyaṅ yod pa ma yin no[116] ‖
byis pas[117] ji[118] ltar rtogs par byed ‖ [32]

(F¹385b8) ri boṅ (G92a2) ba laṅ rwa (C73b5) yi[119] dpes ‖
xxxxxxx ‖
ji ltar bde gśegs chos rnams ñid ‖
dbu ma ñid du sgrub (D65a2) par byed ‖ [33]

ji ltar (P74b6) ñi zla (F²345a1) skar (N71b3) ma'i gzugs ‖

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[105] *so* F¹G.

[106] *ltar* F¹.

[107] *ci* F².

[108] *'go* F¹.

[109] *'i* F².

[110] *rag* F².

[111] *btags* CGNP.

[112] *btags* CGNP.

[113] *gyis* F².

[114] *ra ba* F².

[115] *dmigs* DF¹F².

[116] *na* F¹F².

[117] *pa* DF¹F².

[118] *ci* F².

[119] *ra ba'i* F².

dag[120] pa'i snod kyi[121] chu naṅ du ‖
(F¹386a1) gzugs brñan mthoṅ bar 'gyur ba ltar ‖
mtshan ñid rdzogs pa'aṅ[122] de daṅ (G92a3) 'dra ‖ [34]

thog ma bar daṅ mthar (C73b6, F²345a2) dge ba ‖
bslu[123] ba med (F¹386a2) ciṅ brtan (P74b7) pa yi ‖
gaṅ źig de ltar bdag med pa'aṅ[124] ‖
ji (N71b4) ltar bdag (D65a3) daṅ bdag gir brtag[125] ‖ [35]

ji ltar sos ka'i[126] dus su chu ‖
dro bo[127] źes ni brjod par[128] byed ‖
de ñid[129] (F¹386a3, F²345a3) graṅ ba'i dus su ni ‖
graṅ ṅo (G92a4) źes ni brjod pa yin ‖ [36]

(P74b8) ñon moṅs dra bas (C73b7) g.yogs pa[130] ni[131] ‖
sems can źes ni brjod par bya ‖[132]
de ñid (N71b5) ñon moṅs bral gyur na ‖
(F¹386a4) saṅs rgyas źes ni brjod (F²345a4) par (D65a4) bya ‖ [37]

mig daṅ gzugs la brten nas ni ‖
dri ma med pa'i snaṅ pa[133] 'byuṅ ‖
(P75a1) skye (G92a5) med 'gag pa[134] med ñid las ‖

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120 *daṅ* F².

121 *kyil* F².

122 *pa* F².

123 *slu* F².

124 *la* C F¹F²GNP.

125 *rig brtan* F¹.

126 *so ga'i* DF¹F².

127 *'o* D, *bos* CP.

128 *rjod bar* F².

129 *ñid ba* F².

130 *ba* F².

131 *na* CF¹F²GNP.

132 *sems źes brjod par bya ba yin* F¹.

133 *ba* F².

134 *ba* F².

chos kyi dbyiṅs (F¹386a5) ni rab (C74a1) tu¹³⁵ śes || [38]

sgra daṅ rna ba la brten¹³⁶ nas ||
(N71b6) rnam par¹³⁷ dag pa'i¹³⁸ śes (F²345a5) pa¹³⁹ gsum ||
mtshan ñid med pa¹⁴⁰ chos kyi dbyiṅs ||
rtog daṅ (P75a2) bcas pas (D65a5) thos par (F¹386a6) 'gyur || [39]

sna daṅ dri la brten¹⁴¹ nas snom¹⁴² ||
(G92a6) de ni¹⁴³ gzugs su med pa'i dpe¹⁴⁴ ||
(C74a2) de bźin sna yi¹⁴⁵ rnam śes (F²345a6) kyis ||
chos kyi dbyiṅs (N71b7) la rtog par¹⁴⁶ byed || [40]

lce yi¹⁴⁷ raṅ (F¹386a7) bźin stoṅ pa ñid ||
ro yi¹⁴⁸ khams (P75a3) kyaṅ dben pa ste ||
chos kyi dbyiṅs kyi ṅo bo yin¹⁴⁹ ||
rnam par śes (D65a6) pa gnas med pa¹⁵⁰ || [41]

(F²345a7) dag (G92b1) pa'i lus kyi¹⁵¹ ṅo bo daṅ ||
reg (C74a3, F¹386a8) bya'i rkyen gyi¹⁵² mtshan ñid dag ||

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¹³⁵ *raṅ du* F¹.

¹³⁶ *rten* F².

¹³⁷ *bar* F².

¹³⁸ *ba'i* F².

¹³⁹ *ba* F².

¹⁴⁰ *pa'i* F².

¹⁴¹ *ste* F².

¹⁴² *nom* F².

¹⁴³ om. C.

¹⁴⁴ *dpes* DF¹F².

¹⁴⁵ *sna'i* F¹F².

¹⁴⁶ *rtogs bar* F².

¹⁴⁷ *lce'i* F².

¹⁴⁸ *ro'i* F¹F².

¹⁴⁹ *yis* CF¹F²GNP.

¹⁵⁰ *ba* F².

¹⁵¹ *kyis* F².

¹⁵² *gyis* F².

rkyen dag las ni (N72a1) grol gyur pa ||
chos kyi dbyiṅs źes (P75a4) brjod par bya || [42]

yid gtsor gyur pa'i[153] chos rnams la ||
rtog (F²345a8) daṅ brtag[154] (F¹386b1) pa rnam spaṅs nas ||
chos rnams raṅ bźin med pa (G92b2) ñid ||
(D65a7) chos kyi dbyiṅs su (C74a4) bsgom par bya || [43]

mthoṅ (N72a2) daṅ thos daṅ bsnams[155] pa[156] daṅ ||
(P75a5) myaṅs daṅ reg (F¹386b2) par gyur pa daṅ ||
(F²345b1) chos rnams de ltar rnal 'byor pas ||
śes nas mtshan ñid rdzogs pa yin || [44]

mig daṅ rna ba sna dag daṅ ||
lce daṅ lus (G92b3) daṅ de (F¹386b3) bźin yid ||
skye (C74a5) mched (D65b1) drug po rnam (N72a3) dag (P75a6) pa[157] ||
'di ñid de ñid (F²345b2) mtshan ñid do || [45]

sems ñid rnam[158] pa gñis su mthoṅ[159] ||
ji ltar 'jig rten 'jig rten[160] (F¹386b4) 'das ||
bdag du[161] 'dzin las 'khor ba ste ||
so sor rig na de ñid do || [46]

'dod chags zad (F²345b3) pas (G92b4) mya ṅan (P75a7) 'das ||
źe (C74a6) sdaṅ gti mug zad pa[162] (N72a4) daṅ ||
de (F¹386b5) dag (D65b2) 'gags pas saṅs rgyas ñid ||
lus can kun gyi skyabs ñid do || [47]

śes daṅ mi śes pa dag las ||

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[153] *ba'i* F².

[154] *brtog* F¹; *rtags* F².

[155] *bsnoms* C.

[156] *ba* F¹.

[157] *rnams ba* F².

[158] *rnams* F².

[159] *mtho* CGNP.

[160] om. F².

[161] *tu* F².

[162] *ba* F¹.

lus ’di ñid la[163] (F²345b4) thams cad de ||
raṅ (F¹386b6) gi rnam par (P75a8) rtog[164] pas bciṅs ||
bdag ñid (G92b5) śes nas[165] grol bar ’gyur || [48]

(C74a7) byaṅ chub riṅ min (N72a5) ñe ba’aṅ[166] min ||
’gro min ’oṅ ba’aṅ[167] ma yin źiṅ ||
(D65b3) ñon moṅs gzeb (F¹386b7) gyur (F²345b5) ’di[168] ñid la ||
mthoṅ ba daṅ ni ma mthoṅ yin || [49]

(P75b1) śes rab mar me la gnas nas ||
mchog tu źi bar gyur[169] pa yis ||
(G92b6) bdag la brtags pas[170] gnas bya źes ||
(C74b1, F¹386b8) mdo (N72a6) sde’i tshogs las (F²345b6) gsuṅs pa lags || [50]

stobs[171] bcu’i stobs kyis byis[172] pa rnams ||
(D65b4, P75b2) byin brlabs[173] zla ba tshes pa bźin ||
ñon moṅs can gyi sems can gyis ||
(F¹387a1) de bźin gśegs pa mi mthoṅ ṅo || [51]

(F²345b7, G93a1) ji ltar yi dwags[174] rnams kyis ni ||
rgya (N72a7) mtsho bskams[175] (C74b2) par mthoṅ ba ltar ||
de bźin (P75b3) mi śes (F¹387a2) pas bsregs[176] pas ||
saṅs rgyas rnams ni med par brtags || [52]

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[163] *las* CGNP.

[164] *rtogs* F².

[165] *na* DF².

[166] *ba* DF¹F².

[167] *ba* DF².

[168] *pa’i* F¹.

[169] *’gyur* F².

[170] *rtag par* CGNP.

[171] *stogs* F².

[172] *byin* C; *byas* P.

[173] *rlabs* D.

[174] *dags* D; *dag* F².

[175] *skams* D.

[176] *bsgribs* F¹F².

dman (D65b5) pa[177] bsod nams (F²345b8) dman pa la ||
bcom ldan 'das kyis (G93a2) ci bgyir mchis[178] ||
ji ltar (F¹387a3) dmus loṅ lag pa[179] ru ||
(N72b1, P75b4) rin chen mchog ni bźag[180] pa[181] 'dra || [53]

(C74b3) sems can bsod nams byas rnams la ||
'od kyis (F²346a1) gsal źiṅ dpal[182] ldan pa'i ||
sum cu[183] (F¹387a4) rtsa gñis[184] mtshan 'bar ba ||
(D65b6) saṅs rgyas de yi[185] mdun na (G93a3) gnas || [54]

mgon (P75b5) po de yi[186] gzugs kyi skus[187] ||
bskal pa maṅ por (N72b2) bźugs (F²346a2) nas kyaṅ[188] ||
gdul bya rnams (F¹387a5) ni 'dul[189] (C74b4) ba'i phyir ||
dbyiṅs ñid tha dad gyur pa lags || [55]

sems kyi yul ni des[190] rtogs nas ||
der ni śes pa 'jug (P75b6) par 'gyur[191] ||
so sor raṅ (D65b7, G93a4) rig rnam[192] (F²346a3) dag na ||
(F¹387a6) sa rnams de yi[193] bdag ñid gnas[194] || [56]

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[177] *daṅ* DF¹F².

[178] *gyis mchos* F².

[179] *ba* F².

[180] *gźag* F¹.

[181] *ba* F².

[182] *dbaṅ* F¹.

[183] *bcu* F².

[184] om. F².

[185] *de'i* F².

[186] *de'i* F².

[187] *sku* CGNP.

[188] *ni* CGNP.

[189] *gdul* F².

[190] *ṅes* F¹; *nos* F².

[191] *gyur* D.

[192] *naṃ* F²; *rnams* P.

[193] *de'i* F¹.

[194] *nas* F².

dbaṅ phyug (N72b3) chen po'i gnas mchog daṅ ‖
'og min ñid de (C74b5) rnam mdzes pa ‖
śes pa gsum po gcig ñid du ‖
(P75b7) 'dres par[195] gyur la bdag (F¹387a7) smra 'o ‖ [57]

(F²346a4) byis pa'i naṅ na[196] yoṅs[197] mkhyen daṅ ‖
(G93a5) 'phags pa'i naṅ na sna tshogs ñid ‖
(D66a1) dbaṅ phyug chen po tshe dpag med ‖
bskal (N72b4) pa'i[198] tshe yi[199] rgyu[200] gaṅ yin ‖ [58]

(C74b6) phyi rol (F¹387a8) sems can (P75b8) khams[201] kyi yaṅ ‖
dpag (F²346a5) tu med pa'i bskal par[202] ni ‖
tshe[203] yaṅ gaṅ gis bsruṅs gyur ciṅ ‖
srog chags rnams[204] gyi[205] srog[206] (G93a6) gnas pa'i ‖ [59]

rgyu yaṅ[207] mi zad pa (F¹387b1) de ñid ‖
(D66a2) gaṅ gis 'bras bu mi zad (N72b5) gaṅ ‖
(P76a1) snaṅ ba med pa'i[208] (F²346a6) bye brag gis ‖
(C74b7) śes rab don du rab tu 'jug ‖ [60]

byaṅ chub riṅ bar[209] mi bsam źiṅ ‖
ñe bar yaṅ ni bsam (F¹387b2) mi bya ‖

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[195] *bar* F².

[196] *nas* F².

[197] *kun* CGNP.

[198] *pa* CF²GNP.

[199] *tshe'i* F¹F².

[200] *rgyud* F¹F².

[201] *mkhas* CGNP.

[202] *pa* F².

[203] *che* P.

[204] *kun* CGNP.

[205] *kyi* F¹.

[206] *srogs* F².

[207] *'aṅ* F¹F².

[208] *ba'i* F².

[209] *rab* F².

yul drug snaṅ ba med par ni[210] ||
(G93b1) yaṅ dag ji[211] bźin (P76a2) rig gyur pa'o[212] || [61]

ji ltar (F²346a7) 'o ma daṅ 'dras (N72b6) chu ||
snod gcig[213] la[214] ni (D66a3) gnas pa[215] las ||
ṅaṅ pas[216] 'o ma 'thuṅ (C75a1) byed ciṅ ||
(F¹387b3) chu ni ma yin de bźin gnas || [62]

de bźin ñon moṅs kyis g.yogs nas ||
ye śes (P76a3) lus 'dir (G93b2) gcig[217] (F²346a8) nas[218] kyaṅ ||
rnal 'byor pa yis ye śes len ||
(N72b7) mi śes pa ni 'dor (F¹387b4) bar byed || [63]

bdag daṅ bdag (C75a2) gi[219] źes 'dzin pas ||
(D66a4) ji srid phyi rol rnam brtags pa[220] ||
bdag med rnam pa gñis (F²346b1, P76a4) mthoṅ na[221] ||
srid pa'i sa bon 'gag par (G93b3) 'gyur || [64]

(F¹387b5) gaṅ phyir saṅs rgyas mya ṅan 'das ||
gtsaṅ ba (N73a1) rtag pa[222] dge ba'i gźi[223] ||
gaṅ[224] phyir gñis ni byis pas (C75a3) brtags[225] ||

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[210] *na* F¹.

[211] *ci* F¹.

[212] *pa* F¹.

[213] *cig* F¹F².

[214] *na* D.

[215] *ba* F².

[216] *pa* D.

[217] *ci* F¹; *cig* F².

[218] *gnas* F².

[219] *gis* F².

[220] *btags pa* CGNP; *rtags pa* F¹F².

[221] *nas* CGNP.

[222] *rtag pa*] om. F².

[223] *źin* F².

[224] *dag* CGNP.

[225] *btags* GNP; *gtags* C.

de yi[226] gñis med rnal (P76a5) ’byor gnas || [65]

(F²346b2) dka’ (F¹387b6) spyod sna (D66a5) tshogs sbyin pa daṅ ||
tshul khrims sems can don sdud[227] daṅ ||
sems (G93b4) can phan byed bzod pa ste ||
(N73a2) gsum po ’di yis[228] khams rgyas ’gyur || [66]

chos rnams (F¹387b7, P76a6)) kun la (F²346b3) brtson (C75a4) ’grus daṅ ||
bsam gtan la sems ’jug pa daṅ ||
rtag tu śes rab brtan[229] pa ste ||
’di yaṅ[230] byaṅ chub (D66a6) rgyas byed yin || [67]

thabs daṅ (G93b5) bcas pa’i śes rab (F¹387b8) daṅ ||
(N73a3) smon lam (F²346b4, P76a7) rnam par sbyaṅs pa daṅ ||
stobs la ṅes gnas[231] ye śes te ||
(C75a5) khams[232] rgyas byed pa’i[233] chos bźi po[234] || [68]

byaṅ chub sems phyag mi bya źes ||
smra ba ṅan[235] (F¹388a1) pa[236] smra ba ste ||
byaṅ chub sems (F²346b5) dpa’ ma byuṅ bar ||
(P75a8) chos (G93b6) kyi sku (D66a7) ni ’byuṅ (N73a4) ma yin || [69]

bur śiṅ sa bon la sdaṅ gaṅ ||
kha ra spyad par ’dod (F¹388a2) pa[237] des[238] ||
(C75a6) bur śiṅ sa bon med par (F²346b6) ni ||

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[226] *de’i* F².

[227] *bsdud* F¹F².

[228] *’dis ni* DF¹F².

[229] *bstan* DF².

[230] *ni* F².

[231] *des nas* D.

[232] *saṅs* F².

[233] *ba’i* F².

[234] *’o* D; *yi* F¹.

[235] *na* P.

[236] *bar* F².

[237] *ba* F¹.

[238] *de* P.

kha ra[239] 'byuṅ bar 'gyur ma yin ‖ [70]

bur śiṅ sa bon gaṅ bsruṅs nas ‖
(P76b1) ñe bar[240] gnas śiṅ bsgrubs pa[241] las ‖
bu ram kha ra[242] (F¹388a3, G94a1, N73a5) hwags[243] rnams ni ‖
de las 'byuṅ (D66b1) bar 'gyur ba (F²346b7) ltar ‖ [71]

byaṅ chub sems ni[244] (C75a7) rab bsruṅs nas ‖
ñe bar gnas śiṅ bsgrubs ba[245] las ‖
dgra bcom rkyen (P76b2) rtogs saṅs[246] (F¹388a4) rgyas rnams ‖
de las skye źiṅ 'byuṅ bar 'gyur ‖ [72]

ji ltar (F²346b8) sā[247] (G94a2) lu'i (N73a6) sa bon sogs[248] ‖
źiṅ pas bsruṅ[249] bar[250] byed pa ltar ‖
de bźin theg (C75b1) mchog mos[251] rnams (D66b2) la'aṅ[252] ‖
(F¹388a5) 'dren pa rnams kyis bsruṅ bar[253] (P76b3) mdzad ‖ [73]

ji ltar mar ṅo'i[254] bcu bźi la ‖
(F²347a1) zla ba cuṅ zad[255] mthoṅ ba ltar ‖
de bźin theg mchog mos (N73a7) rnams la'aṅ ‖

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[239] *kha ri* F¹.

[240] *ñes par* F².

[241] *bsruṅs ba* F¹.

[242] *kha ra] khur* F².

[243] *sa* F¹.

[244] *'di* F¹F².

[245] *bsruṅs pa* F¹.

[246] *ṅas* F².

[247] *sa* F¹F².

[248] *stsogs* F¹; *lcogs* F².

[249] *sruṅs* C.

[250] *ba* F¹.

[251] *rmos* F².

[252] *la* CGNP.

[253] *ba* CGNP.

[254] *mar ṅo'i] ṅa'i* F².

[255] *źig* CGNP.

saṅs (G94a3) rgyas (F¹388a6) sku ni cuṅ zad²⁵⁶ mthoṅ²⁵⁷ || [74]

ji ltar tshes pa'i zla ba la ||
skad cig (C75b2) skad (F²347a2) cig (P76b4) rgyas par mthoṅ ||
de bźin sa la²⁵⁸ źugs²⁵⁹ (D66b3) rnams kyaṅ ||
rim gyis rim gyis²⁶⁰ rgyas²⁶¹ (F¹388a7) par mthoṅ || [75]

ji ltar yar ṅo'i bco²⁶² lṅa la ||
(N73b1) zla ba rdzogs par 'gyur ba ltar ||
de bźin sa (G94a4) yi²⁶³ (F¹347a3) mthar thug na ||
chos kyi sku (P76b5) yaṅ rdzogs śiṅ gsal || [76]

(C75b3) saṅs (F¹388a8) rgyas chos daṅ dge 'dun la ||
rtag tu mos pa brtan po yis ||
sems (D66b4) de yaṅ dag bskyed byas nas ||
phyir mi ldog par²⁶⁴ yaṅ (F²347a4) yaṅ (N73b2) 'byuṅ || [77]

nag po'i gźi ni (F¹388b1) yoṅs (P76b6) spaṅs nas ||
dkar (G94a5) po'i gźi ni rab bzuṅ bas ||
de tshe de ni ṅes rtogs pa ||
(C75b4) dga' ba²⁶⁵ źes ni mṅon par brjod || [78]

'dod chags la sogs sna tshogs (F¹388b2, F²347a5) pa'i ||
dri mas rtag²⁶⁶ tu dri ma²⁶⁷ (D66b5) can ||
dri ma med par²⁶⁸ (P76b7) gaṅ dag pa ||
(N73b3) dri ma med ces brjod pa yin || [79]

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²⁵⁶ *źig* F¹F².

²⁵⁷ *snaṅ* CGNP.

²⁵⁸ *sa la*] *las* F².

²⁵⁹ *źus* F².

²⁶⁰ *rim gyis*] om. F².

²⁶¹ *'phel* DF¹F².

²⁶² *yar ṅo'i bco*] *yaṅ de'i bcwo* F².

²⁶³ *yis* F².

²⁶⁴ *pa* CF²GNP.

²⁶⁵ *pa* F¹.

²⁶⁶ *rab* F¹.

²⁶⁷ *la* F¹.

²⁶⁸ *pas* CF¹F²GNP.

ñon moṅs dra ba rab (G94a6) 'gags nas ||
dri med śes[269] rab rab (F¹388b3) gsal bas ||
tshad med pa (C75b5) yi mun pa (F²347a6) dag ||
sel bar byed pas[270] 'od byed pa'o[271] || [80]

rtag tu dag (P76b8) pa'i 'od kyis[272] gsal ||
'du 'dzi rnam par spaṅs pa yi ||
(D66b6, N73b4) ye (F¹388b4) śes 'od kyis rab bskor bas ||
sa de 'od 'phro can du (G94b1) 'dod || [81]

rig[273] daṅ (F²347a7) sgyu rtsal bzo gnas kun ||
bsam[274] gtan[275] rnam[276] pa sna (C75b6) tshogs (P77a1) ñid ||
ñon moṅs (F¹388b5) śin tu sbyaṅ[277] dka' las ||
rnam par rgyal bas sbyaṅ[278] dkar 'dod || [82]

byaṅ chub (N73b5) rnam pa gsum po daṅ ||
phun sum[279] tshogs (D66b7) kun bsdu ba daṅ ||
skye daṅ (G94b2) 'jig pa (P77a2) zab[280] (F¹388b6, F²347a8) pa la[281] ||
sa de mṅon du gyur par[282] 'dod || [83]

'khor lo'i bkod pas[283] (C75b7) rnam kun tu[284] ||

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[269] śe C.

[270] bas F².

[271] bas F².

[272] kyi F².

[273] rigs F².

[274] bsams F².

[275] tan F².

[276] rnams F².

[277] spyaṅ F¹F².

[278] dka' las || rnam par rgyal bas sbyaṅ] om. F².

[279] po daṅ || phun sum] om. F².

[280] zad D.

[281] daṅ F².

[282] 'gyur bar D.

[283] pa D.

[284] du DF¹F².

'od kyi dra bas[285] rtse ba daṅ ||
'khor ba'i mtsho yi[286] 'dam brgal[287] bas ||
(N73b6) de la riṅ du soṅ źes (F¹388b7) bya || [84]

saṅs (F²347b1) rgyas kyis (P77a3) ṅes 'di bzuṅ źiṅ ||
ye śes rgya (D67a1, G94b3) mtshor źugs pa daṅ ||
'bad med lhun gyis grub gyur pa[288] ||
bdud kyi 'khor gyis mi g.yo[289] (C76a1) ba'o[290] || [85]

so so (F¹388b8) yaṅ dag rig kun la ||
(F²347b2) chos ston pa yi 'bel (N73b7) pa'i[291] gtam ||
(P77a4) rnal 'byor pa[292] de mthar son pas[293] ||
sa de legs pa'i blo gros 'dod || [86]

ye (G94b4) śes (D67a2) raṅ bźin 'di yi[294] sku ||
dri (F¹389a1) med nam[295] mkha' daṅ mñam pa ||
(C76a2, F²347b3) saṅs rgyas rnams kyi 'dzin pa las ||
chos kyi sprin ni[296] (P77a5) kun[297] tu 'byuṅ || [87]

saṅs (N74a1) rgyas rnams kyi (F¹389a2) chos kyi gnas ||
spyod pa'i 'bras bu yoṅs 'dzin pas[298] ||
gnas ni yoṅs su[299] gyur (F²347b4) pa[300] (G94b5) de ||

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285 *ba* F¹F².

286 *mtsho'i* F¹F².

287 *rgal* F¹.

288 *pas* CF¹F²GNP.

289 *g.yos* DF¹; *g.yogs* F².

290 *pa'o* D.

291 *'phel ba'i* F².

292 *ba* F².

293 *soṅ ba*s F¹.

294 *'di'i* F².

295 *na* CGNP.

296 *kyi* F¹.

297 *kun ni* F².

298 *pa* F¹F².

299 *yoṅsu* GNF².

300 *ba* F².

chos kyi sku źes brjod pa[301] (D67a3) yin || [88]
bag chags las grol (C76a3) bsam[302] (P77a6) mi khyab[303] ||
(F¹389a3) 'khor ba'i bag chags bsam du (N74a2) yod ||
khyod ni kun tu[304] bsam[305] mi khyab ||
gaṅ gis (F²347b5) khyod ni śes par[306] nus || [89]

ṅag[307] gi spyod yul kun las 'das ||
dbaṅ po (G94b6) kun gyi (F¹389a4) spyod yul min ||
(P77a7) yid gyi[308] śes pas rtogs bya ba ||
gaṅ yaṅ (C76a4, D67a4) ruṅ la phyag 'tshal bstod || [90]

(F²347b6) rim gyis (N74a3) 'jug pa'i lugs[309] ñid kyis ||
saṅs rgyas sras po grags[310] (F¹389a5) chen rnams ||
chos kyi sprin gyi ye śes kyis ||
chos ñid stoṅ (P77a8) pa mthoṅ (G95a1) gyur nas || [91][311]

gaṅ tshe sems ni rab (F²347b7) bkrus (C76a5) pas[312] ||
'khor (N74a4) ba'i gzeb las 'das gyur (F¹389a6) nas[313] ||
pad ma chen po'i[314] raṅ (D67a5) bźin gyi[315] ||
stan[316] la de ni rab gnas 'gyur || [92]

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[301] *ma* F².

[302] *bsaṃs* F².

[303] *bya* F¹.

[304] *du* F².

[305] *bsams* F².

[306] *rab* F¹.

[307] *gaṅ* F¹.

[308] *kyis* F².

[309] *lus* F¹.

[310] *grag* F².

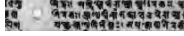[311] CGNP has one more stanza: *pad ma chen po'i raṅ bźin gyis* |.

[312] *bas* F².

[313] *gyur* GP.

[314] *po* CN.

[315] *gyis* F².

[316] *bstan* F².

(P77b1) 'dab³¹⁷ ma rin chen du ma'i 'od ‖
'dod (G95a2) par³¹⁸ bya ba'i (F²347b8) ze'u³¹⁹ 'bru can ‖
pad ma bye ba du ma yis³²⁰ ‖
(F¹389a7) rnam pa kun tu³²¹ yoṅs su³²² bskor ‖ [93]

(C76a6) stobs (N74a5) bcu po yis yoṅs su³²³ gaṅ ‖
mi 'jigs pa yis gaṅ³²⁴ dag ṅoms ‖
(P77b2) bsam mi khyab pa'i saṅs rgyas (D67a6) chos ‖
(F²348a1) spros med (F¹389a8) rnams las ñams mi mṅa' ‖ [94]

(G95a3) legs par³²⁵ spyod³²⁶ pa'i las kun gyis ‖
bsod nams ye śes rab bsags (N74a6) pa'i ‖
zla (C76a7) ba ña³²⁷ la skar ma yis ‖
(P77b3) 'khor (F²348a2) du rnam pa³²⁸ (F¹389b1) kun gyis bskor ‖ [95]

saṅs rgyas phyag gi³²⁹ ñi ma der ‖
dri med rin chen 'bar gyur des³³⁰ ‖
sras kyi³³¹ thu (D67a7) bo³³² dbaṅ bskur bas ‖
dbaṅ (G95a4) bskur ba ni kun tu stsol³³³ ‖ [96]

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³¹⁷ *mdab* F¹; *'aṅ ba* F².

³¹⁸ *bar* F².

³¹⁹ *ze* D; *zem* F².

³²⁰ *yin* F².

³²¹ *du* F².

³²² *yoṅs* F².

³²³ *yoṅs* F².

³²⁴ *yaṅ* CF¹F²GNP.

³²⁵ *bar* F².

³²⁶ *spyad* F¹F².

³²⁷ *ñi* F².

³²⁸ *ba* F¹.

³²⁹ *phyag gyis* F²; *chagi* N.

³³⁰ *te* DF¹F².

³³¹ *kyis* F².

³³² *bor* F¹; *po* F².

³³³ *gsol* F².

rnal (F¹389a2) 'byor chen (F²348a3) po³³⁴ der (N74a7) gnas (P77b4) nas ‖
rmoṅs pas (C76b1) dman pa'i 'jig rten rnams ‖
sdug bsṅal gyis g.yeṅs 'jigs pa la ‖
lha yi³³⁵ spyan gyis gzigs gyur nas ‖ [97]

(F¹389a3) de yi sku la³³⁶ 'od zer rnams³³⁷ ‖
'bad pa med³³⁸ (F²348a4) par³³⁹ 'byuṅ (D67b1) 'gyur (G95a5) te ‖
(P77b5) rmoṅs pa'i (N74b1) mun par³⁴⁰ źugs de yi³⁴¹ ‖
sgo rnams 'byed par mdzad pa yin ‖ [98]

lhag (C76b2) bcas mya (F¹389a4) ṅan 'das pa³⁴² rnams ‖
lhag med mya ṅan 'das par³⁴³ 'dod ‖
'dir (F²348a5) ni mya ṅan 'das pa ñid ‖
dri ma med par sems (P77b6) gyur pa'o ‖ [99]

sems can kun gyi dṅos med (G95a6, N74b2) pa'i ‖
(F¹389a5) ṅo bo de (D67b2) yaṅ de'i spyod yul ‖
de mthoṅ byaṅ chub sems dbaṅ po³⁴⁴ ‖
śin tu³⁴⁵ dri med chos (C76b3) kyi (F²348a6) sku ‖ [100]

dri ma³⁴⁶ med pa'i chos sku la ‖
ye śes rgya mtsho gnas (P77b7) gyur nas ‖
(F¹389a6) sna tshogs nor bu ji bźin du ‖
de las³⁴⁷ sems can don rnams (N74b3) mdzad ‖ [101]

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334 *po'i* F².

335 *lha'i* F¹F².

336 *las* F¹F².

337 *rnam* F².

338 om. F².

339 *ra* C; *bar* F².
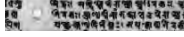
340 *bar* F².

341 *pa de'i* F¹; *yis* F².

342 *ba* F².

343 *pa* F².

344 *dpa'o* CGNP.

345 *du* F².

346 om. F².

347 *de das* CGNP

chos kyi dbyiṅs su (G95b1) bstod pa slob dpon 'phags pa[348] klu sgrub (F²348a7) kyis[349] (D67b3) mdzad pa rdzogs so ‖ (F¹389a7, P77b8) rgya gar gyi[350] mkhan (C76b4) po kṛṣṇa[351] paṇḍita[352] daṅ | lo tsā ba[353] tshul khrims rgyal bas bsgyur ba'o[354] ‖

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[348] *chen po* D; om. F¹F².

[349] *gyis* F².

[350] om. C.

[351] *krisna* F¹F².

[352] *panbita* F¹.

[353] *lo tsa ba dge sloṅ* F¹; *lo tsā ba dge sloṅ* GNP.

[354] *bsgyur ciṅ źus te gtan la phab pa* F².

A Sanskrit manuscript of Sthiramati's commentary to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*

Kazunobu Matsuda, Kyoto

As participants in a cooperative research project between the China Tibetology Research Center and the Austrian Academy of Sciences,[1] Dr. Nobuchiyo Odani, emeritus professor of Otani University, and I, together with other scholars in the Kyoto area, including professors Masaru Akimoto, Yoshifumi Honjo and Kazuo Kano, are currently working on a copy of a Sanskrit palm leaf manuscript of Sthiramati's commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* entitled *Tattvārthā*. Our reading group has been studying this manuscript at Otani University once a week for about six years. On this occasion I would like to give a brief summary of the research that has been done on the manuscript we have been reading.

1. Date of the manuscript

In the *Luo Zhao Catalogue*,[2] the *Tattvārthā* manuscript is the 34th manuscript in the Śāstra section of manuscripts held in the Potala Palace in Lhasa. The manuscript is not found in a single bundle but is made up of two bundles of palm leaf folios. One bundle consists of 58 folios, the other of 79 folios, making 137 folios in total. According to the catalogue, the manuscript is comparatively large, measuring 54.3 by 6.6 centimeters. The script is very similar to the so-called "Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type 2" script and is of the same type as the Siddham script that was transmitted to Japan. Judging from its script, it is certain that this manuscript was written in North India

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[1] Cf. Helmut Krasser 2014.

[2] Luo 1985; cf. also Luo 2009.

between the 8th and 9th century. It thus can be considered one of the oldest Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

One interesting detail about this manuscript is that two types of script are seemingly randomly used for the letter '*ya*': Gupta Brāhmī script, in which the '*ya*' is identical to that in Tibetan script, and Nāgarī script, in which the '*ya*' is the same as in Devanāgarī script. We have often noticed individual words written in some cases with the Gupta Brāhmī '*ya*' and in other cases with the Nāgarī '*ya*'. This suggests that the present manuscript was written during the period when the Gupta Brāhmī script was gradually being transformed into Nāgarī script.

2. Manuscript consisting of three bundles

Unfortunately, our manuscript does not contain the complete text of the *Tattvārthā*. We assume that the manuscript was originally divided into three bundles, which we have temporarily named 'manuscript bundles A, B and C.' Of these three bundles, only manuscript bundles A and C are preserved in the Potala Palace, which means that one third of the manuscript is missing. Bundle A covers pages 1 to 56 in Pradhan's first edition of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*,[3] that is, from chapter one to the middle of chapter two, while Bundle C corresponds to pages 219 to 460 in Pradhan's edition, i.e., the middle of chapter four to chapter eight. The commentary on the part on pages 57 to 218 in Pradhan's edition is not extant. The colophons of chapters 1, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 as found in the two manuscript bundles are as follows:

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[3] Pradhan 1967.

> Chapter 1 (Dhātunirdeśa), Bundle A, 45v6-7 || *ācāryabhadanta-sthiramatyuparacitāyāṃ prathamaṃ kośasthānaṃ samāptam** ||
>
>   <Colophons of chapters 2 and 3 missing>
>
> Chapter 4 (Karmanirdeśa), Bundle C, 14r9 || *ācāryasthirama-tyuparacitāyāṃ tatvārthāyāṃ vyākhyānataś caturthaṃ kośasthānaṃ samāptam* ||
>
> Chapter 5 (Anuśayanirdeśa), Bundle C, 35r14 || *ācāryabhadantasthiramatyuparacitāyāṃ tatvārthāyāṃ kośaṭīkāyā{mā}ṃ paṃcamaṃ kośasthānaṃ samāptaṃ* ||
>
> Chapter 6 (Mārgapudgalanirdeśa), Bundle C, 56v4 || *ācārya-bhadantasthiramatyuparacitāyāṃ tatvārthāyāṃ kośāṭīkāyāṃ <sic> vyākhyānataḥ ṣaṣṭhaṃ kośasthānaṃ samāptaṃ* ||
>
> Chapter 7 (Jñānanirdeśa), Bundle C, 69v2 || *ācāryasthiramaty-uparacitāyāṃ vyākhyānataḥ saptamaṃ kośasthānaṃ* ||
>
> Chapter 8 (Samāpattinirdeśa), Bundle C, 79v12 || *ācāryabha-dantasthiramatikṛtāyāṃ kośaṭīkyāṃ<sic> vyākhyānato 'ṣṭa-maṃ kośasthānaṃ samāptaṃ samāptā ca tatvārthā nāma ko-śaṭīkā* ||

The commentary ends with the colophon of the entire *Tattvārthā*, which follows directly after the colophon of chapter eight, showing that this manuscript, just as its Tibetan translation, never contained a commentary on chapter nine of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Pudgalanirdeśa). Thus a later/closing part of the text has not been lost, but Sthiramati himself presumably did not comment on chapter nine.

3. Tibetan translation of the Tattvārthā

The Tibetan translation of the *Tattvārthā* was undertaken rather late, namely, according to its colophon, between the 15th and the 16th centuries.[4] For this reason, in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka the *Tattvārthā* is not part of the Abhidharma section, but of the section containing miscel-

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[4] Peking ed., Otani No. 5875, Tho 56b4-565a8. cf. Ejima 1986: esp., note 4 (pp. 23-24).

laneous works. Furthermore, according to the colophon the translation was based on a set of two manuscripts: a main manuscript and an incomplete supporting manuscript, which lacked a section from the middle of chapter two to the middle of chapter four. It is thus likely that the manuscript we have been working on is the one used by the translators as the supporting manuscript. As yet, the main manuscript has not been found.

Regarding other translations of the *Tattvārthā*, in addition to the Tibetan translation fragments of a Chinese translation have been found at Dunhuang[5] and there exist some fragments of an Uyghur translation[6] translated from a Chinese translation that is now lost. These fragments of Chinese and Uyghur translations, which are presumably from the beginning of the *Tattvārthā*, indicate that Sthiramati began his work with verses of homage and a long prologue. In the homage in the Uyghur translation it is stated that Sthiramati's teacher was Guṇamati, but the name Guṇamati is not mentioned in the invocation of the Chinese translation from Dunhuang. It is worth noting that the homage in Yaśomitra's commentary states that Guṇamati and Vasumitra wrote commentaries on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[7] However neither our Sanskrit manuscript nor the Tibetan translation contains any homage verses or a prologue written by Sthiramati. The commentary begins immediately – and in my view, rather abruptly – with the first verse of chapter one of the *Abhidharmakośa*. This prompts the question of why the Sanskrit manuscripts as well as their Tibetan translation begin the commentary in such an unusual way.

Another puzzling aspect is the many instances in the Tibetan translation in which the original Sanskrit sentences have been simply transliterated into Tibetan script. Was this due to the Tibetan

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[5] Taisho Tripiṭaka No. 1565, Vol. 29, pp. 325-328. Recently a new fragment from Chapter One has been published. *Buddhist Texts not Contained in the Tripiṭaka* (in Chinese), Vol. 1, Beijing, 1995, pp. 169-250. This fragment covers Scroll Three of the Chinese translation.

[6] Shōgaito 2008.

[7] Woghihara 1932: 1.

translator being unable to translate these passages? There is no
doubt that the quality of the Tibetan translation is generally poor.
But admittedly the problematic parts of the Tibetan translation of-
ten correspond to very difficult or unclear Sanskrit sentences in our
manuscript, sentences that even modern scholars find difficult to un-
derstand. It is possible that these Sanskrit sentences were not cor-
rectly transcribed. But if two different manuscripts were used for
the translation, then why was it impossible to translate these difficult
sentences? Does this imply that the two Sanskrit manuscripts shared
these unclear and problematic sentences? In order to answer these
questions, I suggest the following steps having occurred in the trans-
mission of the *Tattvārthā*'s Sanskrit manuscript:

> 1. Manuscript X → first folio missing from manuscript X →
> three-bundle manuscript (8th to 9th century C.E.) → loss of
> bundle B → our manuscript (the supporting manuscript used
> by the Tibetan translators)
>
> 2. Copy of three-bundle manuscript → main manuscript for
> Tibetan translation (as yet undiscovered)

I propose that as the first step in this process, the first folio of Manu-
script X with the homage verses and the prologue was lost. Either
a manuscript in three bundles was then produced from Manuscript
X without the first folio, or the three-bundle manuscript itself was
Manuscript X. Subsequently a new copy was made from the three-
bundle manuscript and served as the main manuscript for the Tibet-
an translation. Bundle B was then lost from the three-bundle manu-
script and the remainder became the supporting manuscript for the
Tibetan translation. According to this scenario, the two manuscripts
used for the Tibetan translation would be genetically closely related
and both missing the homage verses and the prologue. Furthermore,
the problematic sentences that were merely transliterated in Tibetan
script may have already been corrupt at the Manuscript X stage.
Such an assumption might provide answers to all the above ques-
tions.

   The Tibetan translation of the *Tattvārthā* contains many prob-
lems. In addition to the shortcomings of the original Sanskrit manu-

script, we have come across many cases of poorly translated passages that cast doubt on the abilities of the Tibetan translator. Here I would like to introduce two simple and even rather entertaining examples of erroneous translations, neither part of a complex Abhidharma discussion:

> 1. *yas tūragaprabhṛtīnāṃ* (Bundle A, 26v5), *gaṅ shig ḥdod chags la sogs pa* (Peking ed., To 82a6).
>
> 2. *kasmād iti |* (Bundle C, 38r5), *las la sogs pa* (Peking ed., Tho 348a1).

The first example shows that the translator probably failed to understand the word *uraga* (snake) and translated it as '*ḥdod chags*,' meaning *rāga*. In the case of the second example, the Tibetan translator probably understood *kasmād iti* in the Sanskrit manuscript as *karmādi* and translated it as '*las la sogs*.' There are countless instances of other obvious mistakes perpetrated by the Tibetan translator. To date only this Tibetan translation with all its mistakes and problems has been available to the academic world. Now, however, the situation will change, given the existence of this original Sanskrit manuscript.

4. Did Sthiramati write a commentary on Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya?

In conclusion, I would like to share an interesting piece of information gleaned from the manuscript of the *Tattvārthā* (Bundle A, 17v2-5):

> apara āha | na rūpaprasādātmakaṃ cakṣurvijñānāśrayatvān mano(v3)vad iti (|) atra tu Vaiśeṣikasya ataijasatvenāpi cakṣurvijñānāśrayatvasya prāptatvāt[8] tatsiddher iṣṭavighātakṛd viruddhaḥ (|) ataś ca hetur asiddhaḥ (|) cakṣurvijñānasyānāśṛtatvā(d) dṛṣṭāntaś ca sādhanavikalaḥ (|) Kāpilasyāpy atriguṇatvenāpi hetur vyāpta itīṣṭavighātakṛd viruddhaḥ (|) manas tu na triguṇam iti *Pramāṇasamuccayopanibaṃ-*

---

[8] Read *vyāptatvāt*.

dhād vijñeyaṃ (|) tatra hi vista(v4)reṇa pratipāditaṃ (|) iha tu granthavistarabhayān nocyate (|) hetuś cāsiddhaḥ vṛtti-vṛttimator evānyatvād[9] āśrayāśritānāṃ hi bhedo dṛṣṭaḥ ku_ṇḍabadarādīnāṃ, na ca sa eva tasyaivāśrayo dṛṣṭa iṣṭo vā dṛṣṭānto 'pi sādhanavikalaḥ (|) na hi cakṣurindriyavṛt-tir mana āśritya pravartate Sāṃkhyasya (|) Bauddhasya tv abhyupetabādhā (|) sūtre bhagavatā cakṣurādīnāṃ rūpaprasā-(v5)dātmakatvābhidhānāt* (|)

This passage is found in the middle of the commentary to verse nine in chapter one of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, immediately after the opinions of the Vaiśeṣika and Sāṃkhya schools have been mentioned. The first underlined sentence reads: "It is to be known from the commentary (*upanibandha*) to the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* that *manas* does not have three *guṇa*s (*manas tu na triguṇam iti Pramāṇasamuccaya-upanibaṃdhād vijñeyaṃ*)." This is followed by the sentence: "Because it is expounded in detail there (that is, in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya-upanibaṃdha*), here it is not expounded out of concern that the text becomes [too] long." A similar sentence is found in another commentary of Sthiramati, namely on verse 19 of Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*.[10] Here Sthiramati devotes a considerable number of sentences to demonstrating the existence of *ālayavijñāna*. However, the end of the *Triṃśikābhāṣya* reads *vistaravicāras tu pañcaskandhaka-upanibandhād veditavyaḥ*: "For more detailed discussion/reflection, it should be known from the commentary to the *Pañcaskandhaka* (*Pañcasknadhaka-upanibandha*)." In other words, he refers the reader to one of his other commentaries for more details.[11] Here too, the commentary is indicated by the word '*upanibandha*;' the structure of the sentences is the same as that in the *Tattvārthā*. Thus it seems highly possible that Sthiramati is referring at this point in the *Tattvārthā* to a commentary he wrote on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, a commentary that is no longer extant.

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[9] Ms. *evadanya-*.

[10] Lévi 1925: 39:3-4, cf. Buescher 2007: 120.

[11] Kramer 2014.

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Materials for the study of the *Paramārthasevā* by Puṇḍarīka[1]

Francesco Sferra, Naples
Hong Luo, Beijing

1. The *Paramārthasevā* is one of the most important and original works of the first phase of the Kālacakra system. It is a relatively short text of 343 stanzas (in *upajāti* metre), composed by Puṇḍarīka (10th–11th cent.) in quite a complex and refined Sanskrit, likely after his *magnum opus*, the *Laghukālacakratantraṭīkā Vimalaprabhā* (henceforth *Vimalaprabhā*).

We do not know exactly where and when the *Paramārthasevā* was written, but it may well have been composed in an area of northern India where the Islamic presence was already strong in the early decades of the eleventh century, during the period immediately following the initial diffusion of the system. The *terminus ante quem* is fixed by the quotation of stanza 208 in the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* by Nāropā, who died around the year 1040.

Other verses of this work are quoted in the *Guṇabharaṇī* and in the *Amṛtakaṇikā* by Raviśrījñāna (11th–12th cent.), in the anonymous *Subhāṣitasaṅgraha* and in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* by Jagaddarpaṇa (alias Darpaṇācārya). It is cited by Bu ston rin chen grub (1290–1364) and mentioned several times in the *Deb ther sṅon po* by gŹon nu dpal (1392–1481) and in later Tibetan literature. For a preliminary list of the stanzas quoted in the available Sanskrit sources, see 3.2 below.

Together with the *Vimalaprabhā*, of which the *editio princeps* was published between 1994 and 1996 at the Central Institute of

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[1] We thank Kristen de Joseph for her help in revising the English text of this paper.

Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath, the *Paramārthasevā* is the only other text by Puṇḍarīka that survives in its Sanskrit original. Later tradition attributes to him two other works that are extant only in Tibetan translation: the *Kālacakratantragarbhavṛtti* (Ōtani 4608), which is a short gloss on the *Śrīkālacakragarbhatantra* (Ōtani 6), and the *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṅgītiṭīkā Vimalaprabhā* (Ōtani 2114). However, as John Newman has kindly pointed out to us, it is worth mentioning that Bu ston questions and mKhas grub rje (1385–1438) rejects the attribution of the latter work to Puṇḍarīka.

In the *Paramārthasevā*, Puṇḍarīka summarizes some of the Kālacakra teachings (for instance, it is worth mentioning his treatment of the 'appearance of the families' or 'sets' [*kulāgama*] in stt. 331–334), and develops some arguments which are not dealt with in other early Kālacakra texts. Particularly important are the references to other Indian traditions and to Islamic religious practices.

The laconicism of some passages, especially towards the end of the text, suggests that the author writes for other Buddhists, probably disciples, masters and perhaps also exponents of other Buddhist Tantric systems, who already knew the main Kālacakra teachings.

2. The first studies of the *Paramārthasevā* were carried out by Franz Kielhorn (1894), Watanabe Kaikyoku (1908, 1909) and Sakai Shinten (1960) on the basis of only six stanzas photographed from a single palm-leaf manuscript once kept in Gaoming Monastery on Mount Tiantai in the province of Zhejiang, China.[2] This manuscript is now preserved in Guoqing Monastery, in the same area, but unfortunately is not accessible to scholars. Only one side (a *recto* side?) of one leaf is on view to visitors in the small museum of the monastery. The leaf, which is partly damaged at the edges, contains stanzas 62c–69a. The codex is potentially important since, when we compare this visible portion of the text with the same part edited on the basis of

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[2] This manuscript was photographed there three times: by A.O. Franke in 1894, by Heinrich Friedrich Hackmann between 1901 and 1903, and by Henri Maspero in 1914. Unfortunately, none of these pictures (even though most probably illegible and for the most part out of focus) has come down to us. For further information, see Sferra 2007a.

two other manuscripts kept in Kathmandu at the Kaiser Library (see below for bibliographical details), we notice that it transmits a few equally possible readings, as is shown by the following diplomatic transcription:

(...)	enclose partly broken *akṣara*s and *daṇḍa*s
[...]	enclose line numbers
{...}	enclose *post correctionem* readings
(O)	string-hole
..	broken *akṣara*
¦	hyphenation

[1] .. .. (‖ asau) prabuddhas tava rakṣamāṇaṃ dadāti kāyaṃ khagajambukebhyaḥ | evaṃ kalatraṃ svasutaṃ svabandhu-mitrañ ca nāthaṃ śaraṇāgatañ ca ‖ mṛtyupradatta jvalanā(d)i ..

[2] .. .. (kṣa)yitu(ṃ) samarthā{ḥ} | tenaiva siddhā ṛṣayaḥ surendrā nītāḥ kṣa(O)yaṃ yāvad anantusa(ṃ)khyāḥ | svakarmma ko vārayituṃ samartho jñānānalo yāvad adṛśyamāna(ḥ |) aśā

[3] (śvataṃ sarvvam idaṃ) hy an(i)ṣṭaṃ jñānāmṛtaṃ śrīguruvaktram iṣṭam ‖ etata dvayan duḥkhasu¦(O)(kha)prasūti gṛhnāsi kiṃ naiva vicārayitvā|karosiyāvatsvaśarīrapūjāṃsaṃsāradurggabhramanasva

[4] bhāvāṃ ‖ tāvad guroḥ kin na karosi tāṃ vai nirvvāṇasaukhyaṃ sakalaṃ pradātrī | (O) (da)tvā dhanāni svayam arjjitāni gṛhnāsi nārīn narakāgnidātrī ‖ dadāsi tāṃ kiṃ na guro{ḥ} svamudrāṃ

[5] buddhāṅganāliṅgana{dā}payatrīṃ ‖ divyāṅganāḥ puṇyavasād bhavanti dhanāni dhānyāni manoramāni ‖ pāpaprabhāvā cirasañcitāni nāśaṃ prayānti pratirakṣitāni | tas(mād viśiṣṭā)

Fortunately, there is another complete manuscript of the *Paramā-rthasevā*. The original is preserved in Lhasa, while a photographic copy is retained in the library of the China Tibetology Research Center in Beijing (CTRC).[3] It is a relatively correct manuscript in 33 palm-leaves in ancient Nepalese handwriting.

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[3] The fifth item in Box 46. The images of the manuscript are printed on ten B3 pages numbered from 26 to 35.

As far as we know at present, outside China, the *Paramārthasevā* is preserved only in three palm-leaf fragments kept in Kathmandu:

a) a relatively long fragment identified by John Newman: a manuscript in the National Archives of Kathmandu, which is kept under the title *Kālacakratantra* (MS No. 5-7235 = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project [NGMPP] Mf. No. B 30/31) and which contains stanzas 5–42ab, 50–76ad;

b) a fragment identified by Harunaga Isaacson: a single leaf (folio 1 *verso*), partly damaged at the bottom, that contains approximately the first eight and a half stanzas of the work; this leaf has been included with another 20 leaves in a codex held by the Kaiser Library of Kathmandu, listed as MS 117 and microfilmed in NGMPP Reel C 13/5, which is labelled '*Pañcarakṣā* (Prakīrṇa)';

c) a fragment identified by Harunaga Isaacson: four folios (folios 3–6) containing stanzas 21c–69c of the text; these folios are held by the Kaiser Library of Kathmandu and have been grouped with another 57 folios from a different manuscript (of the *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā*), catalogued as MS 163 and microfilmed in NGMPP Reel C 17/7; it is labelled generically 'Bauddha Tantra'.

All these fragments, which together with citations in other works contain about one-fourth of the text, have been studied and published by Francesco Sferra (2007a, 2007b, 2008).

A new phase in the study of the *Paramārthasevā* started in October 2010, when an agreement was signed between the Institute of Religion Study of the CTRC and Sferra for a collaborative research project aimed at editing the whole text of the work on the basis of the complete Sanskrit manuscript preserved in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The projected outcome of the research will consist of a detailed introduction, a complete critical edition of the Sanskrit text on the basis of all the extant manuscripts kept in Nepal and China, a critical edition of the Tibetan translation done by the Kāśmīrian Somanātha (Zla ba'i mgon po) in the second half of the 11th century and an annotated English translation. The work, which is being carried out by Luo Hong and Sferra, will be submitted for publication

in the STTAR Series within a larger cooperation program for the publication of Sanskrit Tantric Texts between the CTRC, the Universität Hamburg (Asien-Afrika-Institut) and the University of Naples "L'Orientale".

3. Here follow some materials for the study of *Paramārthasevā*. These include the presentation of five passages from the still-unpublished portion of the text (3.1) and a table of the stanzas that we have so far been able to identify in other Sanskrit works (3.2).

3.1 Excerpts

Sigla, abbreviations and symbols used:

B   Beijing, Library of the CTRC, reproductions of the Sanskrit MS kept in Box 46, item 5

K^N   Kathmandu, National Archives, MS No. 5-7235 (= Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project Mf. No. B 30/31)

T   Tibetan translation of the *Paramārthasevā* (see below, *Bibliographical References*: *dPal don dam pa'i bsñen pa*)

corr.   correction

em.   emendation

ac   *ante correctionem*

pc   *post correctionem*

]   separates the accepted reading from the variant(s)

<...>   enclose restored *akṣara*s or numbers

[…]   enclose the pagination (the subscript numbers indicate the line change)

3.1.1 The fourteen *mūlāpattis*. For a similar list, see e.g. the work *Mūlāpattayaḥ* by Maitreyanātha (a.k.a. Advayavajra), a new edition of which was published by Klaus-Dieter Mathes (2015).

> caturdaśānuttaratantragītā
>> āpattayaḥ siddhiharāḥ samūlāḥ | [B 9*r*3]
> anantakalpāni vinaṣṭasaukhyāḥ [KN 11*r*, etc. missing]
>> siktasya śiṣyasya kumārgagasya || 81 ||

81a *caturdaśānuttara°* K^N **]** *caturdaśāny uttara°* B   **81b** °*harāḥ* K^N **]** °*havā* B

> āpattir ekā gurucittakhedād
>> ājñāparityāgavaśād dvitīyā | [B 9*r*4]
> bhrātṛprakopāl lapane tṛtīyā
>> maitrīparityāgavaśāc caturthī || 82 ||

> śrībodhicittatyajane śarākhyā
>> siddhāntadoṣagrahaṇāc ca ṣaṣṭhī |
> ama[B 9*r*5]ntriṇaḥ saṅkathanān nagākhyā
>> skandhapratikleśakṛd aṣṭamī syāt || 83 ||

83a *śrībodhicitta°* corr. based on T (*dpal ldan byaṅ chub sems*) **]** *tvābodhicitta°* B

> saṃśuddhadharmam aruci<r> grahākhyā
>> suduṣṭamaitrīgrahaṇād diśākhyā |
> saddharma[B 9*v*1]saṅkalpavaśād rudroktā
>> saṃśuddhasattvapratidūṣaṇe ’rkaḥ || 84 ||

84a °*dharmam* B (metrically incorrect) **]** read °*dharme-m* (with the *m* hiatus filler)?   ◇ *grahākhyā* B*pc* T (*gza' źes bya*) **]** *grahāsyā* B*ac*   **84b** *suduṣṭa°* B **]** **saduṣṭa°* T (*gdug pa daṅ bcas*)   ◇ °*grahaṇād diśākhya* B (the consonants *d d* are not perfectly readable)   **84c** *rudroktā* em. (*udr* is considered metrically short) **]** *udrauktā* B   **84d** °*pratidūṣaṇe ’rkaḥ* em. **]** °*pratiduḥkhaṇe rkkāḥ* B

> asevyamāne samaye ’py anaṅgā
>> strīṇām jugupsāsya caturdaśī syāt |
> ā[B 9*v*2]śāparityāgam api prakṛtya
>> ārādhanīyo gurur iṣṭabuddhyā || 85 ||

85a *asevyamāne* corr. (T *bsten bar ma byas pa yis*) **]** *āśevyamāne* B   ◇ *anaṅgā* corr. (T *yaṅ lag med*) **]** *anagā* B (perhaps *anaṃgā*, but the *anusvāra* is not readable)

3.1.2 A son should not ask the father about his own marriage. The father knows the right moment. In the same way the disciples should

not ask the guru for the supreme initiations. He knows those who, among his pupils, are entitled for those initiations.

> yathā svaputreṇa vivāhaheto\<r\>
>   na prārthanīyaḥ svapitā kadācit |
> vidheyaputrasya guṇānvitasya [B 10*v*2]
>   pitaiva jānāti vivāhakālam || 95 ||

95d *vivāhakālam* em.] *vivāhakāhaṃ* B

> śiṣyais tathā cottarasekahetor
>   na prārthanīyo gurur ādareṇa |
> sa caiva jānāti viśuddhata[B 10*v*3]ttve
>   yogyā na yogyā mama tatra śiṣyāḥ || 96 ||

96d *yogyā na yogyā* em.] *yogyo na yogyo* B   ◇ *mama* em.] *sama* B

3.1.3 The distinction between the social classes according to the brāhmaṇical point of view. The following verses have also been quoted by Bu ston in his commentary on the *Vimalaprabhā* (*ad Laghukālacakratantra* 2.167) and translated from Tibetan by Vesna Wallace (2004: 230).

> vaktreṇa dharmaṃ kila deśayanti
>   teneha viprā mukhataḥ prabhūtāḥ |
> kurvanti yuddhā[B 23*r*2]ni nṛpā bhujābhyāṃ
>   tābhyāṃ bhujābhyām api te prasūtāḥ || \<233 ||\>

233b *viprā* B*pc*] *viprāḥ* B*ac*

> urvor balād vaiśyajanā vrajanti
>   deśāntaraṃ tena tataḥ prasūtāḥ |
> kurvanti sevāṃ kila pāda[B 23*r*3]mūle
>   tasmāc ca śūdrāś caraṇaprasūtāḥ || \<234 ||\>

234c *sevāṃ* em.] *savāṃ* B   ◇ **234d** *śūdrāś* em.] *sūdrās* B

> anye tathāṣṭādaśa jātibhedā
>   jātāḥ svakarmaprakṛtisvarūpāḥ |

3.1.4 Simplified depiction of the Tāyins' faith and behaviour. As Alexander Berzin has pointed out (2010: 191–192), in Kālacakra literature, the Tāyins have likely to be identified with 'the adherents of late tenth-century CE eastern Ismāʿīlī Shiʿa, as followed in the Kingdom of Multān' (see also Orofino 1997). They are presented here as believing that heaven can reached by circumcision, as eating

at the end of the day and during the night and, moreover, as eating the flesh of animals that have been slaughtered and not of cattle that have died naturally by virtue of their own *karman*. According to them, there is no other way to Paradise. On the following stanzas, see also Newman 1998: 346, 365–366 and Berzin 2010: 194.

> anye punaḥ svargasukhasya hetoś
>   cchinnanti liṅgāgragataṃ svacarma |
> divāvasāne niśi bhojanaṃ ca
>   kurvanti bhogaṃ khalu [B 29*v*4] tāyinaś ca || 304 ||

304b *liṅgāgragataṃ* em.] *liṅgāgra*(space for one *akṣara*)*taṃ* B   ◇ *svacarma* em.] *svacarman* B   **304c** *divāvasāne* em.] *divāvaśāne* B   **304d** *tāyinaś* em.] *yāyinaś* B

> svakarmaṇā mṛtyugataṃ paśūnāṃ
>   māṃsaṃ na teṣām upabhuñjanīyam |
> bhojyaṃ tu tatprāṇavadhaṃ prakṛtya
>   na cānyā svargasya gatir narāṇām || 305 [B 29*v*5] ||

305d *cānyā* em.] *cānya* B

3.1.5 Parallelism between the four *vyūha*s of Vāsudeva and the four *vajra*s (delusion, passion, arrogance and envy). It is worth noting here that in Vaiṣṇava sources, the list of the *vyūha*s is usually Vāsudeva, Saṃkaraṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Nārāyaṇa is either one of the epithets of the Absolute or one of the *vyūhāntara*s stemming from Vāsudeva.

> saṃkarṣaṇo durjayamohavajra<ḥ>
>   pradyumnaśuddha<ḥ> khalu rāgavajraḥ |
> nārāyaṇo yaḥ sa ca mānava[B 31*r*3]jro
>   mahāniruddhaḥ punar īrṣyavajraḥ || <319 ||>

319d *īrṣyavajraḥ* em.] *īṣavajraḥ* B

3.2 Table of the quoted stanzas[4]

Stanzas	Source
20–21	*Guṇabharaṇī*, p. 87
30c	*Kriyāsamuccaya*, p. 76
33b	*Kriyāsamuccaya*, p. 76
33d	*Kriyāsamuccaya*, p. 76
34a	*Kriyāsamuccaya*, p. 76
50	*Subhāṣitasaṅgraha*, part I, p. 383
111	*Amṛtakaṇikā*, p. 95
154	*Kriyāsamuccaya*, p. 74
162	*Subhāṣitasaṅgraha*, part II, p. 26
163	*Guṇabharaṇī*, p. 85; *Subhāṣitasaṅgraha*, part II, p. 26. This stanza has also been imbedded in the *Yogāmbaramahātantra* (cf. Szántó 2012: 95)
165	*Subhāṣitasaṅgraha*, part II, p. 26
169	*Kriyāsamuccaya*, p. 72
178	*Amṛtakaṇikā*, p. 2 (the first *pāda* is quoted again on p. 49 and in *Guṇabharaṇī*, pp. 110–111)
179	*Guṇabharaṇī*, p. 85
185	*Subhāṣitasaṅgraha*, part II, p. 26
203	*Subhāṣitasaṅgraha*, part II, p. 26

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[4] For the convenience of the reader, in this paper we chose to adopt the numbering of the verses found in B, the only complete manuscript of the work. Note, however, that this numbering does not have an absolute value: in fact, there are cases in which, between two verses that are indicated by consecutive numbers, there is a verse that is not numbered at all (for example, between st. 112 and st. 113; in our edition, this intermediate verse has been designated with the number 112B); there are also opposite cases in which, between two numbered stanzas, there is a group of unnumbered verses, the quantity of which is smaller than would be expected (e.g. between st. 132 and st. 145, there are only five verses).

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Further folios from the set of miscellaneous texts in Śāradā script on palm leaves from Zha lu Ri phug

A preliminary report based on photographs preserved in the CTRC, CEL and IsIAO[1]

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Introduction

The present report gives an overview of further findings from the set of miscellaneous texts on Śāradā palm leaves from Zha lu Ri phug. The palm-leaf set was first reported by Kano Kazuo (2008), who made use of nine folios in two photographic images (Sferra Cat. MT 42 II/1 & 2) preserved at the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (IsIAO) in Rome with the help of Francesco Sferra. We knew on the basis of catalogue descriptions that there are further folio images from the same set preserved in other institutes, viz. the China Tibetology Research Center (中国藏学研究中心, CTRC) and the China Ethnic Library (中国民族图书馆, CEL). In other words, the photographic images of the set have been scattered and separately preserved in the three institutes. Ye Shaoyong and Li Xuezhu have independently focused on these materials in their research.[2]

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[2] See Ye 2012 and Li 2011.

It was during a lunch break on 2 August 2012 at the 5th Beijing International Seminar on Tibetan Studies at CTRC that we, the authors of this paper (Ye, Li, Kano), became aware of the fact that we were studying folios from one and the same collection. We quickly decided to collaborate by pooling all our findings and sharing all related materials (in respect of the CTRC material we shared the transcription prepared by Li). After collecting the folios together, we realized that the set comprises a total of 87 folios, of which 46 folios are found in the CTRC images (Sang De Cat. No. 100, [3], [5] = Luo Cat., 136ff., No. 44, [3], [5]) and 41 in the CEL images (Wang Cat. Nos. 10, 15, 16, 17). The nine leaves in the IsIAO images as reported by Kano (2008) overlap with those in the CEL (Wang Cat. Nos. 10, 16). These folios contain more than fifteen works, most of which are, unfortunately, incomplete. The remaining folios have yet to be found. There are also folios yet to be identified among those that are already available. In the present report we shall provide a preliminary survey of the Śāradā folios and an update on the report by Kano (2008) in terms of providing further identification.

Manuscript descriptions by Luo Zhao – Palm-leaf images from the CTRC

The folio images in the CTRC are photographs of manuscripts preserved in the Potala Palace. The 46 Śāradā palm leaves in question correspond to the following items listed in Luo Cat. under No. 44 of *śāstras* preserved at the Potala (1st class, p. 133ff.):

> 44. 《阿毗达磨毗婆沙灯论光明疏》等八种以上论典合为一函，共185叶。外系布条上写"036号"。分述如下：
>
> […]
>
> （三）《经庄严论》（*Sūtrālaṃkara* [sic]，藏文为 *mdo sde'i rgyan* |）片断。共34叶，不完整，残缺较多，叶码较凌乱，来不及细加整理，其中有 *parijayaparipākādhikāro-bhavama* 品。贝叶长53.9厘米，宽5.2厘米，每面墨书梵文7-8行，字体介于"悉昙"与"达利迦"体之间。在第30叶上写有藏文：*bal dpe* | 可知这部贝叶经是在尼泊尔写成，

由尼泊尔取回西藏的。

　　[…]

　　（五）未见题目之论典一种，共13叶（其中有一叶仅存半叶），不完整，残缺很多，叶码凌乱。贝叶长54.5厘米，宽5.3厘米，每面墨书梵文9-11行，字极小，字体介于"悉昙"与"达利迦"体之间。文字内容属于某一种《般若经》的注释，也可能杂有密宗论典的经叶。扉叶上写满梵、藏文题记，其藏文题记中有如下颂词：

> *dpyal ston gdung rabs gser gyi 'phreng ba la |*
>
> *rim par byon pa'i mkhas grub ded dpon gyis |*
>
> *rgya gar kha spu can gyi pusta ka |*
>
> *ngo mtshar rnam mang spungs pa'i lhun po che |*
>
> *nyid yin bla ma'i drin gyis bdag nyid la |*
>
> *'di dag ji bzhin klog pa'i skal bzang ldan | …*

　　这些藏文题记的字体，近似明朝时期的手写藏文。以上题记表明，这些贝叶可能原属十一世纪的杰（dpyal）译师。但是，扉叶的形制与其他贝叶稍有不同，此扉叶与其他贝叶是否同属一书，待考。

On the basis of the corresponding images from the CTRC we can point out the following: (a) Regarding the chapter title "*parijayapa ripākādhikārobhavama*" reported by Luo Zhao above, we can read the title as *sūtrālaṃkāraparicaye paripākādhikāro navamaḥ*; (b) The cover folio has a four-line note: the first line is written in Rañjanā script in a rough hand, while the second to fourth lines are written in Tibetan *dbu med* script, which Luo Zhao has transcribed in part. The full text might be as follows (partially illegible in the image):

> (line 2) *dpyal ston gdung rabs gser gyi 'phreng ba la ||*
>
> *rim par byon pa'i mkhas grub ded dpon gyis ||*
>
> *rgya gar kha spu can gyi pusta kaṃ ||*
>
> *ngo mtshar rnam mang spungs pa'i lhun po che ||*
>
> *rigs min rigs su bsdus* (or *brdus*) *pa'i g.yon can la ||*
> (line 3) *rang [srid] 'chol par ['gyur] ba'i [skyon?/ sprin]*

pa dang ||

mtshungs pa [brge bskal] dman pa'i tshogs rnams kyi ||

[ya mtshan yo byad] tshogs kun rlung la bskur ||

nga ni cung zad tsam gyi 'phags + ['d]is ||

'di dag bho ṭa gzhan la dmus long mar ||

(line 4) *nyid yin (read yi?) bla ma'i drin gyis bdag nyid la* ||

'di dag ji bzhin klog pa'i skal bzang ldan ||[3]

These verses identify the former possessor of the manuscript as a member of the dPyal clan – a probable candidate is dPyal Chos kyi bzang po (?-1217/29), a translation collaborator of Śākyaśrībhadra.[4] Sang De's catalogue (No. 100, [3], [5]) merely copies the above-quoted descriptions of Luo Cat. and provides no further information.

Sāṅkṛtyāyana's autograph memos on palm leaves

As far as the 41 Śāradā palm leaves in CEL and IsIAO images are concerned, we find the following memos by a modern hand in some of the leaf margins:
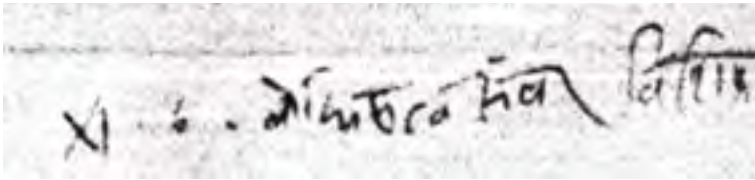
XI.6. bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikāṭīkā
[On the title page of the *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikāvṛtti*, fol. 1r]

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[3] Further research on this passage will be presented in our forthcoming paper.

[4] van der Kuijp (2009: 5, n. 13) briefly mentions the cover page: "Of no uncertain interest is of course that *Ta la'i lo ma'i bstan bcos*, 74, no. 100 (5), lists a palm leaf manuscript of another Dpyal family history titled Dpyal ston gdung rabs gser gyi 'phreng ba!" [*Ta la'i lo ma'i bstan bcos* = Sang De Cat.]
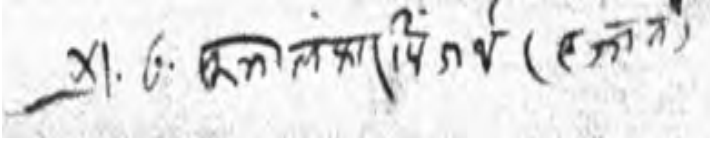
XI.6. sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha (Sajjana)

[Below the colophon of the *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*, fol. 4v]
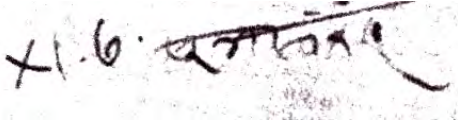
XI.6. sūtrālaṃkāra

[Below the colophon of chapter 9 of the *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya*, fol. 14v]

While looking for the label number "XI.6" in Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's catalogue (1935: 31), we came across the following item:

> XI.6, (No. 44): Sūtrālaṃkāra(vi)bhaṅga, Śāradā, 20⅔ x 2⅓, Incomplete (Zha lu Ri phug)

> [Footnote:] Owner of this book was the Indian paṇḍita Maṇikaśrījñāna, a contemporary of Bu-ston (1290-1364 A.D.).

Not only the reference numbers "XI.6" but also the size and the script correspond to those of our folios. According to Sāṅkṛtyāyana, this was found at Zha lu Ri phug, and thus we can confirm that our folios in the IsIAO/CEL images derive from the Zha lu Ri phug collection. The title *Sūtrālaṃkāra(vi)bhaṅga* in Sāṅkṛtyāyana's catalogue is probably a mistake arising from a misreading of the chapter colophon of the *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya,* which actually reads "*sūtrālaṃkāraparicaye bodhyadhikāro daśamaḥ.*"

Sāṅkṛtyāyana states that this manuscript was in possession of the "Indian paṇḍita Maṇikaśrījñāna", probably on the basis of a memo in the manuscript that we were unable to find. This "Maṇikaśrījñāna" might also be the Tibetan translator 'Bri gung Lo tsā ba Nor bu dpal bzang po (1299-1273?, or 1289-1363),[5] who is often called by the same name. The latter studied under Bu ston, and had links with the Zha lu monastery.

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[5] See Stearns 2010.

Sāṅkṛtyāyana's assistant dGe 'dun chos 'phel (1902-1951) also lists Sanskrit manuscripts in Zha lu Ri phug, and this bundle, XI.6, probably corresponds to the item *mdo sde rgyan ma tshang ba* ("*Sūtrālaṃkāra*, incomplete").[6]

Whereas the CEL/IsIAO images contain a number of folios with Sāṅkṛtyāyana's memos, those of the CTRC have no memos at all. This might indicate that folios in the CTRC images were not available to Sāṅkṛtyāyana for some reason, e.g., they were preserved in a place he was unable to get permission to enter, such as the Potala Palace.

Palm-leaf images from the CEL and IsIAO

The Śāradā palm leaves from the CEL/IsIAO images were also briefly described by Wang Cat. as four items:

> 10. *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśakāvṛtti* 菩萨律仪二十论注（有藏译本）（第十号改入大乘论部）1-3 不全 Śāntirakṣita [sic] 寂护（八世纪人）
>
> 15. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 大庄严经论（有汉藏译本）1-18（残）Maitryanātha [sic] 弥勒护
>
> 16. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha* 大乘经庄严总义 1-6 残
>
> 17. 梵文经残叶（内仍有经庄严散叶，待查）

The three Śāradā palm leaves in Wang Cat. No. 10 were all photographed by Tucci. Among these one (fol. 1) belongs to the *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikā* while the other two are from different works. Of the latter, one is from the *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya* (fol. 2? = MT 42 II/01-7, 02-8), and the other (MT 42 II/02-9) is described by Kano (2008) as deriving from "an unknown text on *gotra* quoting *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.39 and *Abhidharmasūtra*."

Eighteen Śāradā palm leaves are recorded in Wang Cat. No. 15 under the title of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. Now we know that only seven of these belong to the *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya*. Of the other eleven folios, two belong to the *Madhyamakāloka*, three to the

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[6] dGe 'dun chos 'phel 1939-40: 22.

Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya, one to the *Sūtrālaṃkārādhikārasaṃgati* and another to a text called *Nāmasaṅgītivṛtti*, while four have yet to be identified.

The six Śāradā palm leaves in Wang Cat. No. 16 were all photographed by Tucci. Only two of these belong to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*. Of the other four folios, three (MT 42 II/01-1, 2, 4, 02-1, 2, 4) are from an unidentified āyurvedic text (Kano 2008), and one (MT 42 II/01-5, 02-5) is entitled *Pratibandhasiddhiparicaya* (identified by Kano 2008). Now we have discovered two more folios in the CEL images (Wang Cat. No. 17) which probably belong to the same āyurvedic text. Furthermore, there are also Śāradā leaves from a certain *pramāṇa* text. Ascertaining whether or not they belong to the *Pratibandhasiddhiparicaya* requires further investigation.

Wang Cat. No. 17 contains 61 miscellaneous folios, including fourteen Śāradā palm leaves of the same size, in which fragments from a *Madhyamakāloka* commentary, the *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya*, the *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya*, and the aforementioned *Nāmasaṅgītivṛtti* are found. There are also a number of folios written in other scripts. Among these, three folios of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, eleven of Buddhapālita's commentary, and one folio of Candrakīrti's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* have been identified and edited by Ye (2007, 2008, 2011, 2013), and two folios from the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* and one folio of an unknown commentary on it have also been reported by Ye (2012).

Date of the manuscripts

Śāradā,[7] a local script of Kashmir and its surroundings, is normally written on birch bark, since palm leaf is scarce in that northern region for climatic reasons. In this regard, our folios are exceptional, in that they are written on palm leaves. The folios were likely written by a Kashmiri scribe in an area outside Kashmir where palm leaves were readily available.[8]

We have not found a scribal colophon that gives the year of writing. Since the script, size, and format of the folios are more or less homogeneous, we do not believe there is a large temporal gap between them, even though they were written by more than one individual.

The *terminus post quem* of the leaves is known on the basis of the date of composition of the youngest datable works contained in the set – if we assume that they were written at approximately the same pe-

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[7] The definition of "Śāradā script" is sometimes subjective. B. K. Kaul Deambi (1982: 24ff.) divides the development of this script into three periods: 8-10th, 11-13th and 14-16th centuries. Some scholars refer to the script of the first period as "Siddhamātṛkā," "Gilgit/Bahmiyan type II" and "proto-Śāradā," etc., which has caused considerable confusion (Cf. Sander 2007: 127ff.). Jean Philippe Vogel (1911: 47) divides the Śāradā script into two periods, 9-13th and 13-17th centuries, naming them "(proper) Śāradā" and "Devāśeṣa" respectively. Lore Sander (1968: 166) amends these two terms to "alter und moderner Typus der Śāradā." The paleographical features of the script on our leaves indicate that it falls into the second period of Deambi's periodization.

[8] As described by Luo Cat., the Tibetan note *bal dpe* on a folio among our Śāradā set might suggest that Nepal is one of the possible locations where these folios were written. The note *bal dpe* is found in CTRC image 100, 47, which is the blank side of folio 20 (the last folio?) of an unidentified text (Luo Zhao has mistaken the folio number 20 for 30). On the other hand, the note *bal dpe* probably added by a later Tibetan hand suggests merely that the manuscript is from Nepal and does not necessarily specify the place where it was originally written. Yet another possibility is that our folios were written in Kashmir on imported palm leaves, as in the case of the ancient palm leaves (2nd to 6th centuries) found in the Bamiyan area where palm trees also do not grow.

riod: the *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha* and *Sūtrālaṃkārādhikārasaṃgati*, respectively, by Sajjana and his son Mahājana, who were active in Kashmir around the second half of the 11th century to the first half of the 12th century and played important roles in transmitting the tradition of Maitreya's treatises, especially the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, to Tibet.[9] Given its script, authors and contents, the set of leaves is highly likely to be connected with this Kashmiri *paṇḍita* family.

The *terminus ante quem* is known from the date of the former possessor of the leaves, who is probably, according to the Tibetan verses written on the cover folio, dPyal Chos kyi bzang po (?-1217/29). Accordingly, a tentative dating of the folios can be made to around the 12th to the 13th centuries.

Contents of the manuscripts

As seen above, this set of Śāradā leaves contains more than fifteen works. As a first issue in a series of studies, the present report gives an overview of nine works in forty-one folios, which account for just under half of the total number of folios. A number of works already introduced by Kano (2008) are also included here together with updated remarks.

Title	fol(s).	Total
1. Śāntarakṣita's *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikāvṛtti*	**1**, 2	2
2. Amṛtākara's *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha*	(1)	1
3. A *Madhyamakāloka* commentary	**1**, **2**, 3, (**4**), (**5**)	5
4. *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya*	**2**?, (3?), (4?), 5, **7**, **8**, **9**, **10**, **11**, 12, 14, **x**	12
5. Sajjana's *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*	**1**, **4**	2

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[9] For more details, see Kano 2006: 29ff.

6. Mahājana's *Sūtrālaṃkārādhikārasaṃgati*	(**1**) (compl.)	1
7. *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya*	1, **3**?,(4?), (5?), **x**, y, 6, 7, **9**, **14**, **z**	11
8. A *Nāmasaṅgītivṛtti*	(**2**), (**3**), (**4**), (**5**), (**6**)	5
9. Excerpts from the *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā*	2, 3	2

Normal numeral = CTRC Bold numeral = CEL Underlined numeral = IsIAO

Numeral in parentheses = Folio number not attested on the folio x, y, z = Folio number unknown

We will survey each work below using the following sigla:

> CTRC (Plate No.) = Plate numbers labeled below plates in item No. 100 (each plate contains 5 leaves)
>
> CEL (No.) = Numbers found in Wang Cat.
>
> IsIAO (MT 42 II) = Sferra Cat., pp. 46, 74.

1. Śāntarakṣita's *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikāvṛtti* (2 fols.)

The Śāradā leaves contain the first two folios of Śāntarakṣita's commentary on Candragomin's *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikā*. Hitherto this work has been available only in Tibetan translation, and the *mūla* text of Candragomin has yet to be found. The two folios contain the commentaries on the first 9 verses (c. 30-40% of the entire text):

> Fol. (1) = CEL (No. 10), IsIAO (MT 42 II/02-7) [Comm. ad verses 1-2]
>
> Fol. 2 = CTRC (Plate No. 30/31, 1st leaf) [Comm. ad verses 3-9a]

Kano (2008) identified the first folio in the photographic image from the IsIAO and restored verses 1 and 2 quoted there. Another image of the same folio (fol. 1) is available in the CEL. With the help of the CEL image, we can now restore the opening verse of the commentator Śāntarakṣita, which is illegible in the IsIAO image:

ni[śś]eṣasaṃvarāmbhodhipāra[gān madhura]svarān |

na[tvā] vivriyate spaṣṭaṃ mayā saṃvaraviṃśikā ||[10]

Furthermore, the CEL image contains the *recto* side of the folio (cover page) that was unavailable in the IsIAO image, i.e., not photographed by Tucci. This cover page bears the title of the work:

(line 1) XI.6. *bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikāṭīkā* (in modern Devanāgarī)

(line 2) bodhisatvasaṃvaraviṃśakāṭīkāśrīśānti(!)rakṣitakṛtā | (in old Bengali script)

(line 3) .. .. *ṭīkā ||* (upside down)
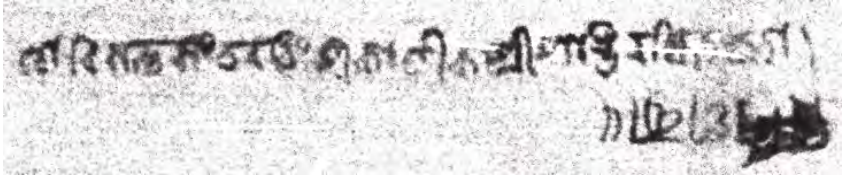
"XI.6" in the first line is obviously the catalogue number written by Sāṅkṛtyāyana (see above), whereas the script of the second and third lines is much older.

The second folio contained in the CTRC image has verses 3-9a and their commentary. We can now restore all the *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśikā* verses 1-9a in their original language.[11]

2. Amṛtākara's *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* (1 fol.)

Tucci (1956: 233-246) published an edition of the Sanskrit text of Amṛtākara's *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* on the basis of a Śāradā palm-

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[10] Cf. Śāntarakṣita's *Saṃvaraviṃśakavṛtti*, D 4082, fol. 67a6-7: *sdom pa ma lus rgya mtsho yi || mthar phyin 'jam pa'i gsung mnga' la || phyag 'tshal nas ni sdom pa'i mchog || nyi shu pa ni gsal bar dgrol ||*.

[11] Among them, verses 4-7 are available in the form of a citation in the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (see Li 2012).

leaf folio from Ngor monastery.[12] According to Tucci, the work originally consisted of two folios, and the first folio that includes the *Lokātītastava* commentary (i.e. the first of the four *stava*s) is missing. This missing first folio turned out to be present in our Śāradā leaves.

> Fol. 1 = CTRC (Plate No. 30/31, 5th leaf). [ad *Lokātītastava* 1-28 and ad the beginning of *Niraupamyastava*]
>
> Fol. 2 = Only the transcription by Tucci is known.

Although Tucci does not report the size of the palm leaf, the first leaf of CTRC and Tucci's second leaf obviously derive from the same set in terms of the number of lines,[13] the script, and contextual coherence between the two leaves:

> 1v11 (CTRC): *iti prathamasya samāsārthaḥ* || (ad *Lokātītastava*)
>
> 2v1 (Tucci): *iti dvitīyasya samāsārthaḥ* || (ad *Niraupamyastava*)
>
> 2v6 (Tucci): *iti tṛtīyasya samāsārthaḥ* || (ad *Acintyastava*)
>
> 2v9 (Tucci): *iti caturthasya samāsārthaḥ* || (ad *Paramārthastava*)
>
> 2v9 (Tucci): *catuḥstavasamāsārthaḥ paṇḍitāmṛtākarasyeti* || ||

Tucci (1956: 196) states that the folio is from Ngor monastery and included in a set of Śāradā palm-leaf folios which

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[12] See Tucci 1956: 195-196 "The Sanskrit text which is here published is found in a manuscript in śāradā characters probably of the VIII-IX [sic] century (very similar to those of the Gilgit ms. of the Bhaiṣajyagu ruvaiḍūryaprabhāsasūtra) preserved in the Ṅor monastery which contains also the Pāramitārthasaṃkṣepa [...] of Diṅnāga and a fragment of the Catuḥstavasamāsa of Amṛtākara."; *ibid*. 235 "In the monastery of Ṅor I found in the same fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript containing the Mahāyānaviṃśikā a work which in the colophon is said to be the Catuḥstavasamāsārtha." Sakai (1959) provides a Japanese translation of the *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha*.

[13] He reports the number of lines (10 lines in *recto* and 9 lines in *verso*). The palm leaf used by Tucci does not seem to be listed in Sferra Cat.

also contains Nāgārjuna's *Mahāyānaviṃśikā* and Dignāga's *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha*. However, Tucci's description does not accord with that of Sāṅkṛtyāyana, because Sāṅkṛtyāyana relates that the Śārada palm leaf of the *Mahāyānaviṃśikā* was preserved at Zha lu Ri phug.[14] This prompts the following question: where were the leaves preserved originally?

Of course, it is possible that the leaves recorded by Tucci belong not to our set but to a different one.[15] However, it is more logical to assume that Tucci's folios and those we are presently discussing originally belonged to the same set and were moved from Zha lu Ri phug to Ngor after Sāṅkṛtyāyana's visit to Zha lu Ri phug. (Yet another possibility is that Tucci's description confuses Ngor and Zha lu Ri phug.)

3. A *Madhyamakāloka* commentary (4 fols.)

These folios are from a hitherto unknown commentary on Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*. Though fragmentary, they provide us for the first time with part of the Sanskrit original of the *Madhyamakāloka*. Neither the title nor the name of the author appears on the leaves so far available:

> Fol. 1 = CEL (No. 17)
>
> Fol. 2 = CEL (No. 17)
>
> Fol. 3 = CTRC (Plate No. 32/33, 2nd leaf)
>
> Fol. (4) = CEL (No. 15)
>
> Fol. (5) = CEL (No. 15)

The text from folio 1r1 up to the upper half of folio 4v contains selected passages extracted from various sūtras. The initial and final sentences of each sūtra quotation parallel sūtra passages cited in Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*. It is for this reason that we consider these folios to be part of (or an appendix to?) a *Madhyamakāloka*

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[14] Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935: 31, No. 40 (Zha lu Ri phug) "*Mahāyānaviṃśikā*, Nāgārjuna, Śāradā, 20⅔ × 2⅓ inches" (c. 52.5 × 6 cm).

[15] See, for instance, Tsukamoto *et al.* 1989: 151.

commentary. From folio 4v5 onward, the commentator's own text starts, corresponding to the beginning of the *uttarapakṣa*:

> *oṃ namaḥ yat tāvad uktam āgamato na tāvat sarvadharma-
> nai‹ḥ›svābhāvyaṃ śakyaṃ kaiścid anabhyupagatatvāt ‹|› ta-
> tra yadi nāmāhopuruṣikayā keścin* [sic for *kaiścin*?] *na ○
> gṛ‹hī›ta āgamo neyatā vicakṣaṇair apy agrāhyo (')bhyudaya-
> ni‹ḥ›śreyasasampatphalatvāt svayaṃ tadanusaraṇāsāmarthye
> vā laṅkāvatārādau bhagavatā vyākṛta○syāryanāgārjunasya
> sūktaṃ kin nānugamyate* […][16]

4. *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya* (12 fols.)

The title of an "unknown *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* commentary" reported by Kano (2008) was identified as "*Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya*" with the aid of further folios from the same work contained in the CTRC and CEL images:

> Fol. 2? = IsIAO (MT 42 II/01-7, 02-8) = CEL (No. 10) [MSA I.8-9, 11-13]

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[16] Cf. *dBu ma snang ba*, D Tōh. No. 3887, dBu ma, Sa 147b5-148b1; Ichigo 1993: 108. *de lta bas na 'di la lan gdab* (147b6) *par bya ste* | *de la re zhig lung gi sgo nas ni chos thams cad ngo bo nyid med par sgrub nus pa ma yin te* | *de su yang khas mi len pa'i phyir ro zhes bya ba la sogs pa smras pa gang yin pa de la brjod par bya'o* ‖ [...] (b7) *de la kha cig nga rgyal gyis sam* | […] (148a2) *bcom ldan 'das kyi gsung rab rin po che thog ma dang tha ma dang bar du dge ba la mi brten du zin kyang ci de tsam gyis mkhas pa rang dang gzhan la phan pa skyed par byed pa'i thabs thob pa legs par rtog pa la mkhas pa rnams kyang rten par mi byed dam* | […] (a4) *mkhas pa mngon par mtho ba dang* | *nges par legs pa'i 'bras bu 'dod pa phun sum tshogs pa ma lus par bsgrub pa la gzo ba rnams kyis de yongs su spangs* (a5) *nas* | *gsung rab rin po che gcig tu dge ba gang yin pa de la brten par bya ba kho na'o zhes bya ba'i phyogs yin na ni* | […] (a6) *gal te bdag nyid de la brten mi nus su chug na'ang* | *'on kyang 'phags pa Klu sgrub kyi zhal snga nas* | *rigs pa'i sgron ma'i tshogs rnam pa du mas 'di gsal rab tu brjod na de'i stobs kyis kyang ci'i* (a7) *phyir khas mi len* | *de nyid kyi phyir slob dpon de ni bcom ldan 'das kyis de ston pa'i phyir dang* | *sa dang po thob pa'i phyir 'phags pa Lang kar gshegs pa la sogs pa las lung bstan to* ‖ *gal te 'dis 'di log par ston par 'gyur na ni bcom ldan 'das kyis de ltar lung* (b1) *ston par yang mi 'gyur ro* ‖

Fol. (3?) = CEL (No. 15) [MSA II.9-11]

Fol. (4?) = CEL (No. 17) [MSA II.11-12]

Fol. 5 = CTRC (Plate No. 30/31, 2nd leaf) [MSA III.1-13]

Fol. 7 = CEL (No. 15) [MSA IV.5-11]

Fol. 8 = CEL (No. 15) [MSA IV.12-26]

Fol. 9 = CEL (No. 15) [MSA IV.26-VI.2]

Fol. 10 = CEL (No. 15) [MSA VI.3-VII.4]

Fol. 11 = CEL (No. 15) [MSA VII.5–10]

Fol. 12 = CTRC (Plate No. 32/33, 5th leaf) [MSA VIII.1-12]

Fol. 14 = CTRC (Plate No. 34/35, 1st leaf) [MSA VIII.19-IX.10]

Fol. x = CEL (No. 15) [MSA IX.78, 82-86]

The manuscript might have been a draft made by the author himself, given that on many folios there are numerous alterations, erasions and insertions, and that the text on some leaves has been only partially written, then discarded and recomposed on the following pages. The title of the work is confirmed by the chapter colophons:

(4?)v8: *sūtrālaṃkāraparicaye śaraṇagamanādhikāraparicayas [tṛ]tīyaḥ* || ||

9r2: *sūtrālaṅkāraparicaye cittotpādā*(r3)*dhikāraḥ pañcamaḥ* || ◦ ||

9v6 : *sūtrālaṃkāraparicaye pratipattyadhikāras ṣaṣṭhaḥ* || ◦ ||

10v5: *sūtrālaṅkāraparicaye tattvādhikāras saptamaḥ* || ◦ ||

11v10: *sūtrālaṃkāraparicaye prabhāvādhikāro (')ṣṭamaḥ* || ||

14r9: *sūtrālaṃkāraparicaye paripākādhikāro navamaḥ* || ◦ ||

xv4: *sūtrāla(ṃ)kāraparica*◦(*ye) bodhyadhikāro daśamaḥ* || ||

It is notable that the numbers of chapters are different from those in the *editio princeps* of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* edited by Sylvain Lévi (1907) that is based on copies of a Nepalese manuscript (NGMPP Reel No. A114/1) written in Nepal in Saṃvat 798 (A.D. 1677 or 1678). The author of the *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya* has evidently divided chapter one (as in Lévi's edition) into two: I.1-6 and I.7-20. This division is, however, traceable to the *uddāna* verse of MSA X.1ab (*ādiḥ siddhiḥ śaraṇaṃ gotraṃ citte tathaiva cotpādaḥ*), the

Chinese translation (T. No. 1604), the Tibetan translation (D Tōh. No. 4020), and the commentary attributed to Sthiramati (D Tōh. No. 3034).[17]

The style of the *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya* is similar to that of the *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* in that it quotes verses of the *mūla* text in full. Thanks to this stylistic idiosyncrasy, more than one hundred verses have been preserved in our leaves, and it is possible to suggest emendations to a number of verses in former editions and recover the verses that were missing in the manuscripts Lévi used. For instance, Lévi's edition has a lengthy lacuna in MSA Chapter 2 *Śaraṇagamanādhikāra* (= Chapter 3 in the *Paricaya*), in which only verses 1-3 and 12 were preserved, with verses 4-11 missing. Now we can recover verses 9-11 from the *Paricaya*:

MSA II.9 (fol. [3?]r6)

mahāpuṇyaskandhaṃ tribhuvanagurutvaṃ bhavasukhaṃ

   mahāduḥkhaskandhapraśamam api buddhyuttamasukham |
mahādharmaskandhaṃ pravaradhruvakāyaṃ śubhacayaṃ

   nivṛttiṃ vāsāyā bhava○śamavimokṣaṃ ca labhate ||
                                                      (Śikhariṇī metre)

MSA II.10 (fol. [3?]r8-9)

śubhaudāryād dhīmān abhibhavati sa śrāvakagaṇaṃ

   mahārthatvānantyāt satatasamitaṃ cākṣayatayā |
śubhaṃ laukyālaukyan tad api paripākapraka(r9)*raṇaṃ*

   vibhutvenāvāptan tad upadhiśame cākṣayam api ||
                                                      (Śikhariṇī metre)

MSA II.11 (fol. [3?]v1, [4?]r1)

tadbhāvaprārthanāto (')bhyupagamanam idan tanmataṃ ca kṛpātas

   sarvākārajñatāto hitasukhakaraṇaṃ duṣkareṣv apy akhedaḥ |
niryāṇe sarvayānaiḥ pratiśaraṇaguṇenānvitatvaṃ ca nityaṃ

   saṃketād dharmatātas śaraṇagamanatā dhīmatām uttamāsau ||
                                                      (Sragdharā metre)

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[17] See Nōnin *et al.* 2009: 24-27.

5. Sajjana's *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha* (2 fols.)

Two folios from Sajjana's *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha* were known to be included in the images held in the IsIAO (Kano 2008), and the same two folios are found in the CEL image.

> Fol. 1 = IsIAO (MT 42 II/01-3, 02-3) = CEL (No. 16)
>
> Fol. 4 = IsIAO (MT 42 II/01-6, 02-6) = CEL (No. 16)

The title of this verse text, an "essential meaning" (*piṇḍārtha*) of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, is known from the colophon: *sūtrālaṅkārapiṇḍārthaḥ || kṛtiś śrīmatsajjanapādānām ||*.[18] Sajjana was active in Kashmir and helped rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (ca. 1059-1109) to translate the *Ratnagotravibhāga* into Tibetan at some point between 1076 and 1092, which gives us a rough date for him. Sajjana's other extant works are the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa,* also photographed by Tucci, and the *Putralekha,* which is available only in Tibetan translation.[19]

In the two opening verses, Sajjana, as in the *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya*, divides Chapter 1 of Lévi's edition into two: **ādyadhikāra* (I.1-6) and **siddhyadhikāra* (I.7-20):

> *ādis siddhiś śaraṇaṃ gotraṃ sabodhaye*[20] *cittam*
>
> *prasthānaṃ tattvārthaḥ prabhāvapākau tathā bodhiḥ ||*
>
> (Upagīti metre)
>
> *dharmādhimuktiparyeṣṭideśanāpratipattayaḥ*
>
> *yathāvad avavādaś ca sopāyaṃ karma ca tridhā ||*
>
> (Anuṣṭubh metre)

---

[18] This *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha* should be distinguished from Jñānaśrī's *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha*, another namesake.

[19] For the life of Sajjana and bibliographical information on the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa* and the *Putralekha*, see Kano 2006. Kano is currently preparing a critical edition and annotated English translation of the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstropadeśa*.

[20] Read *saṃbodhaye*?

6. Mahājana's *Sūtrālaṃkārādhikārasaṃgati* (1 fol.)

This very short work contained in only one folio is a hitherto unknown text providing a concise summary of chapters of the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*.

> Fol. (1) (compl.) = CEL (No. 15)

The colophon runs (1v7): *sūtrālaṃkārādhikārasaṃgatis samāpt[ā] kṛtiḥ paṇḍitaśrīmahājanasy[e]ti* || ||. The *Putralekha* (Sajjana's letter addressed to his son Mahājana) documents Mahājana as a son of Sajjana and as the author of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna* (D Tōh. No. 3822). He also worked as a translator in Tibet, probably in the mNga' ris region.

7. *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya* (11 fols.)

In our set of palm leaves we found eleven folios from a manuscript of a hitherto unknown commentary on verses of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*.[21]

> Fol. 1 = CTRC (Plate No. 34/35, 3rd leaf) [RGV I.1-2]
>
> Fol. 3? = CEL (No. 17) [RGV I.3-?]
>
> Fol. (4?) = CTRC (Plate No. 28/29, 5th leaf) [RGV I.4]
>
> Fol. (5?) = CTRC (Plate No. 34/35, 2nd leaf) [RGV I.5-9?]
>
> Fol. x = CEL (No. 15) [RGV I.10?-I.12]
>
> Fol. y = CTRC (Plate No. 32/33, 1st leaf) [RGV I.12-19?]
>
> Fol. 6 = CTRC (Plate No. 30/31, 4th leaf) [RGV I.23-28?]
>
> Fol. 7 = CTRC (Plate No. 30/31, 3rd leaf) [RGV I.28-29]
>
> Fol. 9 = CEL (No. 15) [RGV I.37?-47]
>
> Fol. 14 = CEL (No. 17) [RGV I.79-97]
>
> Fol. z = CEL (No. 15) [RGV I.134?-152]

Since the colophon is missing, the title of the work is unknown, but we can assume it to be *Mahāyānottaratantraparicaya*, as indicated by the abbreviation "*mahā pari*" that appears on the left-hand

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[21] Our identification of these folios and their contents is tentative. More time is needed for precise identification due to the inferior photographic quality of the images.

margins of the leaves. This assumption is also supported through analogy with similar titles, such as *Sūtrālaṃkāraparicaya* and *Pratibandhasiddhiparicaya*, included in the same set. The name of the author of this commentary has yet to be discovered.

8. A *Nāmasaṅgītivṛtti* (5 fols.)

Five folios are from a manuscript of a commentary on the *Nāmasaṅgīti*.[22]

> Fol. (2) = CEL (No. 17-3, 010A/B) [ad *Nāmasaṅgīti* vv. 4-25] ≈ D, 2535, fol. 3a3-5b4?.
>
> Fol. (3) = CEL (No. 17-3, 005A/B) [ad *Nāmasaṅgīti* vv. 26-38] ≈ D, fol. 5b4-8b4.
>
> Fol. (4) = CEL (No. 17-3, 004A/B) [ad *Nāmasaṅgīti* vv. 39-53] ≈ D, fol. 8b4-11b1.
>
> Fol. (5) = CEL (No. 17-3, 009A/B) [ad *Nāmasaṅgīti* vv. 54-70] ≈ D, fol. 11b1-14a2
>
> Fol. (6) = CEL (No. 15, 008A/B) [r: ad *Nāmasaṅgīti* vv. 70-74; v: ad *Nāmasaṅgīti* vv. 86-94] 14a2-7 (vv. 86-94 do not correspond well with D 2535.)

This commentary is very close to the *Nāmasaṅgītivṛtti* (D Tōh. No. 2535) by Zla ba bzang po grags pa'i dpal.[23] The *Nāmasaṅgītivṛtti*

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[22] We have merely checked the beginning and end of each folio, comparing them with Tib. D Tōh 2535. The location table presented here needs further research to establish the details.

[23] Cf. the colophon of D Tōh. No. 2535 (fol. 27a4: *slob dpon chen po zla ba bzang po grags pa'i dpal gyis mdzad pa rdzogs so* ‖ ‖). The same colophon refers to his transmission lineage. See *ibid*. fol. 27a3-4: *jam dpal sangs rgyas ye shes dang* ‖ *padma yan lag med pa dang* ‖ *sgeg pa bzhad pa'i rdo rje dang* ‖ *gsung gi myu gu mgrin gsum dang* ‖ *aindra po dhi legs gsungs dang* ‖ *chos skyong dang ni dpal sbas dang* ‖ *ye shes bshes gnyen ye shes grags* ‖ *tri bi dra ma chos dbang po* ‖ *skal ldan dbang phyug zla bzang dpal* ‖ *'di skad brgyud pa'i rim pa las* ‖ *bdag gis 'grel pa 'di brtsams pas* ‖ *'jam dpal go 'phang thob par shog* |

was translated by Mahājana and 'Phags pa shes rab,[24] and Mahājana is the author of the *Sūtrālaṃkārādhikārasaṃgati* that is contained in our set.

9. Excerpts from the *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā* (2 fols.)

Regarding an early Mahāyāna sūtra, the *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā*, we know of three extant Chinese translations: the first by Lokakṣema (支婁迦讖: T. No. 626) made in the late second century, the second by Dharmarakṣa (竺法護: T. No. 627) from the late third century, and a third by Fatian (法天: T. No. 628) from the tenth century;[25] there is also a Tibetan translation (D Tōh No. 216) from the ninth century. This sūtra has been frequently quoted and referred to by Indian authors, whose works are, however, only available in translation (Miyazaki 2012: 15-25). Recently, Sanskrit fragments of this sūtra (comprising 14 items) in North-Western Gupta script stemming from Afghanistan and dating to before the fifth century CE have been found in the Schøyen Collection.[26] Now two of our Śāradā leaves have turned out to contain long passages from the *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā*:

> Fol. 2 = CTRC (Plate no. 28/29, 3rd leaf) [≈ T. vol. 15, 394a23-398a26]
>
> Fol. 3 = CTRC (Plate no. 28/29, 4th leaf) [≈ T. vol. 15, 398a26-403a23][27]

Although our text is a kind of selection of excerpts or summary of the sūtra, it fills a number of gaps in the Sanskrit text available from the fragments in the Schøyen Collection.

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[24] D Tōh. No. 2535, fol. 27a5: *rgya gar gyi mkhan po paṇḍita chen po śrī mahādzana dang | sgra bsgyur gyi lo tsā ba chen po dge slong 'phags pa shes rab kyis bsgyur cing gtan la phab pa'o ||*

[25] Harrison & Hartmann 2000, Miyazaki 2012: 50.

[26] Harrison & Hartmann 1998, 2000, 2002, Miyazaki 2012: 34-35.

[27] This corresponds to Chap. III-XIa according to the chapter division by Miyazaki (2012: 34-35).

Conclusion

In the present report we have given a rough survey of an important set of Śāradā leaves. The leaves were most probably written by scribes belonging to the circle of a Kashmiri *paṇḍita* family that included Sajjana and Mahājana. These materials are significant not only because they provide us with an idea of the circulation of scriptures in Kashmir around the 12th century, but also because they contain hitherto unavailable Sanskrit originals of rare works, albeit in a mostly fragmentary state. We are preparing diplomatic transcriptions and critical editions of each work, and trying to identify the as yet unidentified works in the set (see Post Script).

Symbols Used in the Transliteration

( )	restored *akṣara*(s)
[ ]	*akṣara*(s) whose reading(s) is(are) uncertain
‹ ›	omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s) without gap in the manuscript
+	one lost *akṣara*
..	one illegible *akṣara*
.	illegible part of an *akṣara*
(')	*avagraha* (not used in the original ms.)
○	string hole
ḥ	*upadhmānīya*
ẖ	*jihvāmūlīya*

Abbreviations

CEL	China Ethnic Library 中国民族图书馆
CTRC	China Tibetology Research Center 中国藏学研究中心
IsIAO	Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Roma
Luo Cat.	Luo Zhao 罗炤. 布达拉宫所藏贝叶经目录 [A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved at the Potala Palace] (Unpublished manuscript). 1985.
Sang De Cat.	Sang De 桑德. 中国藏学研究中心收藏的梵文贝叶经（缩微胶卷）目录 [Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts (Microfilms) Preserved at the China Tibetology Research Center]. 1987.
MSA	Lévi 1907
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
RGV	E.H, Johnston. *Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*. Patna: The Bihar Research Society, 1950; Zuiryu Nakamura 中村瑞隆. *The Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantra-Śāstra Compared with Sanskrit and Chinese with Introduction and Notes* 梵漢対照究竟一乗宝性論研究. Tokyo: Sankibo.
Sferra Cat.	Francesco Sferra, "Sanskrit texts from Giuseppe Tucci's collection." In: Francesco Sferra (ed.), *Manuscripta Buddhica, Vol. I: Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection, Part I*. Roma: IsIAO, 2008, pp. 15-78.
T.	Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō大正新修大藏經. Ed. Junjirō Takakusu, Kaikyoku Watanabe, 100 vols. Tokyo 1924-1934.

Tōh.   *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)* 西藏大蔵経總目録東北帝国大学蔵版. Tōhoku Imperial University 東北帝国大学法文学部, 1934.

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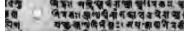
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Post Script

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Kano Kazuo 加納和雄, Buddha-nature and Emptiness: rNgog Blo ldan shes rab and a Transmission of the Ratnagotravibhāga from India to Tibet. Vienna: WSTB 2016.

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《中国的梵文写本第二辑》　　　（奥地利）霍斯特·拉塞奇　李学竹编