

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI "L'ORIENTALE"
ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT
UNIVERSITÉ DE LAUSANNE

Series Minor

LXXXIX

Archaeologies of the Written: Indian,
Tibetan, and Buddhist Studies in Honour of
Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

Edited by
Vincent Tournier, Vincent Eltschinger,
and Marta Sernesi



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Cristina Scherrer-Schaub at the XIIIth Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, December 2002.

Prefatory Words

The present volume is a token of appreciation and admiration offered to a distinguished scholar and an inspiring mentor, colleague, and friend. Over the past four decades, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub has contributed in numerous ways to the fields of Buddhist and Indo-Tibetan Studies. As is testified by the list of her publications, which precedes the present collection of essays, she has written many in-depth studies on topics as diverse as Indian Mādhyamika philosophy, the religio-philosophical programme and ritual apparatus of Indian Mahāyāna and its Central Asian legacy, the transmission of Buddhist texts accross Asia, royal ideology, and the history of the Tibetan empire. Her familiarity with classical studies allowed her to do pioneering work in the fields of (especially Tibetan) codicology, epigraphy, and diplomatics, all of which are now flourishing. Her rare erudition is combined with a constantly renewed curiosity and an obstinate refusal of monotony, resulting in a genuinely humanistic intellectual approach.

Attached to the French/Belgian/Swiss *paramparā* in which she was introduced by her own teachers Constantin Régamey and Jacques May, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub has remarkably served this tradition of learning through her appointments at the University

of Lausanne (1998–2013) and at the École pratique des hautes études (EPHE, 1999–2015) in Paris. Her commitment to the field at large has also been demonstrated by her long-standing dedication to learned societies such as the Société asiatique, serving as editor in chief of the *Journal Asiatique* (2000–2008), and the International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS), for which she served as general secretary (2003–2010). In particular, she has been active in the International Association of Buddhist Studies, serving as President of the society from 2011 to 2015.¹ She has also developed long-lasting collaborations with major centres of research: for instance, since 1992, she has been continuously involved in several research projects at the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences, joining with colleagues from these institutions to conduct fieldwork in Tibet and across the Himalayas. Indeed, fieldwork observation has always nourished her work and inspired her research questions. The present volume testifies to the close ties (and enduring friendships) she has kept over the years with colleagues—archaeologists, historians, and philologists alike—in Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Thailand, and the United States.

The seminars taught as Professor of “History of Late Indian Buddhism” (Histoire du bouddhisme indien tardif [II^e-XII^e s.]) at the Sorbonne’s now vanished salle Marcel Mauss, where two of the present editors and several contributors benefitted from her teaching, illuminated her *manière*. She developed her distinctive way of looking at sources as diverse as Dunhuang secular documents, the *Ratnāvalī*, or the *Kriyāsaṅgrahaḥaṅjikā* as multi-dimensional objects embedded in complex semiotic systems. As a scholar and a teacher, she very much shares in the ability she recognised in Sylvain Lévi and Paul Demiéville to “move across sources as in an ever-opening space.”² A running thread in Cristina Scherrer-Schaub’s investigations is indeed the multi-layered

¹ A more detailed list of Scherrer-Schaub’s academic commitments is available in the page dedicated to her in the *Dictionnaire prosopographique* of the EPHE (<https://prosopo.ephe.fr/>).

² Scherrer-Schaub 2007a: 177, n. 11.

understanding of cultural phenomena and social practices related to written texts: this “archaeological” approach is expressed eloquently in one of her most representative studies, whose title inspired that of the present florilegium.

The *raison d’être* of this volume is primarily to celebrate a special person, to thank her for everything that she brought us, and fundamentally for being who she is. The twenty-seven contributions gathered in this volume were authored by some of Cristina Scherrer-Schaub’s closest pupils and colleagues, and even include a lengthy essay by one of her dearest mentors. We refrained from arranging articles thematically but opted for alphabetical order: although some pieces obviously dialogue with each other and could be clustered under headings, each contributes in its own way to pointillistically map an Asian landscape familiar to the honorand, from Tepe Sardar to Candi Sewu and mTho lding, and from Abhinavagupta to the *Prasannapadā*. It is our hope that the diversity of the contributions assembled here may succeed in partly mirroring Scherrer-Schaub’s broad intellectual horizon and her impact on many scholarly trajectories.

We offer our heartfelt thanks to all contributors for submitting original and in some cases quite substantial essays. The authors have been remarkably patient with respect to both the long gestation of this voluminous book and our attempts to harmonise the contributions into a coherent whole. In some instances we respected the author’s preferred conventions with regards to bibliographical references or transliteration and editorial practices. We are also grateful to Jacques Scherrer for answering our queries, providing us with a photograph that Cristina Scherrer-Schaub would approve of, and identifying two recent publications missing from the list compiled by the two Vincents. We owe an especially profound debt to Francesco Sferra, who not only enthusiastically agreed to include this book in the Series Minor, but did not lose his enthusiasm even as he watched the editor’s work-load increase. He shared in our wish to produce a harmonious book—both in terms of contents and layout—and personally dedicated countless hours to that end. We should also thank two anonymous reviewers for their painstaking work and very helpful comments and corrections.

Finally, we are grateful to the Fonds De Boer of the University of Lausanne, to the École française d’Extrême-Orient, and to the

Prefatory Words

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Strasbourg—Paris, April 2020

Vincent Tournier, Vincent Eltschinger, and Marta Sernesi

Publications of Cristina A. Scherrer-Schaub

Monograph

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- 2015 (With Patrick McAllister and Helmut Krasser [†]) *Cultural Flows Across the Western Himalaya*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, 83).

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- Schaub, and Helmut Krasser (†), 393–409. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, 83).
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*Akaniṣṭha as a Multivalent Buddhist
Word-cum-Name
With Special Reference to rNying ma
Tantric Sources*

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1. Introductory Remarks

The complexity of the notion, or rather notions, of the word-cum-name Akaniṣṭha (Pāli: Akaniṭṭha) was first brought to my attention while I was studying the various conceptions of Buddhahood on the basis of the treatises of the eleventh-century rNying ma scholar Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (henceforth Rong zom pa). In his *Sangs rgyas kyi sa chen mo*, Rong zom pa presents three such conceptions based on what he calls (a) some “common *sūtras*” (apparently some non- or early Mahāyāna *sūtras*), (b) “uncommon” *sūtras* (apparently some later Mahāyāna *sūtras* and a number of *tantras*, obviously those of the “lower” Tantric systems), and (c) “some Tantric systems” (obviously referring to the “higher” ones). He mentions Akaniṣṭha in connection with the second and third conceptions, stating that according to the scriptures upon which the second conception is based, the place where *buddhas* attain awakening is Akaniṣṭha (here referring to *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774 as scriptural support), while according to the scriptures upon which the third conception is based, a *buddha* abides in Akaniṣṭha in the form of Vajradhara or Vajrasattva, the Lord of all

buddhas. It soon becomes clear that the Akaniṣṭhas mentioned in connection with these two conceptions are not one and the same thing. However, while at the time I could not determine with certainty the exact identity of Akaniṣṭha referred to in connection with the second conception (which seems, however, unlikely to be the Akaniṣṭha of the Rūpadhātu, i.e., Akaniṣṭha in its Abhidharmic sense), it was very obvious that the Akaniṣṭha of the third conception is to be understood in the sense of the Dharmadhātu.¹ During this brief attempt to investigate the matter, it soon became clear that a separate, more comprehensive study was needed, that is, one that would discuss the various meanings of the term and point out the difficulties faced when attempting to understand its intended meaning in any given passage and context. The following is thus an endeavour to present and discuss several of the notions associated with the word-cum-name Akaniṣṭha as found in selected Indic and Tibetic sources, including attempts to explicate and systematise them by scholars from both the Indian and Tibetan cultural spheres, and with special reference to Tibetan rNying ma Tantric literature and its unique Indic sources.

2. *The Word-cum-Name Akaniṣṭha in Its Abhidharmic Sense and Its Renderings into Tibetan*

As we all know, in its basic and straightforward meaning in a cosmological context, Akaniṣṭha, as the word-cum-name itself suggests, is first and foremost a designation of the upper realm within the Rūpadhātu (Realm of [Pure] Matter), the abode of the Akaniṣṭha gods.² It is rendered into Tibetan as 'Og min thereby reflecting the literal meaning of the Sanskrit word. The *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*—an early Tibetan commentary which contains explications of selected Buddhist terms found in the well-known *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, the Sanskrit-Tibetan bilingual glossary of (Buddhist) terms compiled to help Tibetan translators achieve

¹ See Almogi 2009: 78–79, 241–244, 286, n. 34, 324, n. 86.

² See, for example, the table of Buddhist cosmology (including the Kāmadhātu and the Rūpadhātu) in Grönbold 1984: s.v. Kosmologie und Kosmographie, where further bibliographical references are provided. See also Gyurme Dorje and Kapstein 1991, vol. I: 14–15.

standardised translations—includes an entry for the word-cum-name Akaṇiṣṭha. As one would expect, it provides the commonly known etymology of it in its meaning as the highest realm within the Rūpadhātu, “above which there is no [other realm].” In addition, it explains the word-cum-name Aghaniṣṭha as likewise referring to the uppermost part of the Rūpadhātu, being the “[upper] limit of the conglomerate [of material entities].” The *sGra sbyor bam ṅo gnyis pa* states:³

[As for] the word “*akaṇiṣṭha*,” *a* means “not being” and *kaṇiṣṭha* “below.” Generally, [the word refers to] the first [realm] of the Rūpadhātu, and hence, since there is no other [material realm] above [it], [it] is called Akaṇiṣṭha (’og min, lit. “not being below [any other material realm]”). In some *sūtras* the word *aghaniṣṭha* appears. [The word] *agha* [means] “conglomerate of fine atoms,” *niṣṭha* [means] “end.” Hence, since [it] is the uppermost part of the Rūpadhātu, [it] is also called Aghaniṣṭha (*bsags pa’i mtha’*, lit. “[upper] end of the conglomerate [of material entities]).” [These two words] should be employed and assigned in accordance with the given context.

Several Indian sources provide definitions of both variants of the name.⁴ The unusual meaning of the word *agha* in Aghaniṣṭha has already been noted by other scholars. The etymology provided by the *sGra sbyor bam ṅo gnyis pa* presented above is confirmed by

³ *sGra sbyor bam ṅo gnyis pa* (A: no. 391; B: p. 197): *akaṇiṣṭha zhes bya ba a ni ma yin pa | kaṇiṣṭha ni ’og ma la bya | spyir na gzugs kyi khams kyi dang ṅo ste | gong na gzhan med pas* [ad. na B] ’og min zhes bya | yang [ad. na B] *mdo sde kha cig gi nang nas aghaniṣṭha zhes byung ste | agha ni ’rdul phra mo’* [om. B] *bsags pa | niṣṭha ni mihar thug* [gtugs B] *pa ste | gzugs kyi khams kyi* [om. B] *ya thog yin pas bsags pa’i* [om. B] *mtha’ zhes kyang bya ste skabs dang sbyar zhing gdags* |.

⁴ See, in particular, the closely related definition provided in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya ad 2:72ab* (170.22–24): *evaṃ vistareṇa sarvaṃ anukramya sudarśanebhyo yāvad adho jambūdvīpas tāvad ūrdhvam akaṇiṣṭhānām sthānam | ta-smād ūrdhvaṃ na punaḥ sthānam asti | ata eva jyeṣṭhabhūtvād akaṇiṣṭhā ucyante | aghaniṣṭhā ity apare | aghaṃ kila cittasthaṃ rūpaṃ tanmātraniṣṭheti* |. For an English translation of the passage, see de La Vallée Poussin 1988–1990 [1923–1931], vol. II: 467. Notably, Vimuktisena also alludes to both variants and provides a definition of Akaṇiṣṭha that he attributes to the Tāmraparṇīyas. See the *Abhisamayālamkāravṛtti* 30.24–31.1: *utkṛṣṭasampattivāt naiṣāṃ kaṇiṣṭha ity akaṇiṣṭhā iti bhadantatāmravarṇīyāḥ*. See also the discussion of this passage in Skilling 1993: 162–163. For brief lexicographical discussions, see Hōbōgirin, s.v. Akanita, where the form *aghaniṣṭha* is also briefly discussed, and the ITLR, s.v. Akaṇiṣṭha(1) at <http://www.itlr.net/hwid:600415>, and s.v. Aghaniṣṭha(1) at <http://www.itlr.net/hwid:148156> (accessed on 09.05.2017).

Indian and Chinese sources. The form Aghaniṣṭha is found, for example, in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. This was already noted by Unrai Wogihara, who, finding it a “strange transformation” (“merkwürdige Umformung”) of the name Akaniṣṭha, remarks that while one would expect that Aghaniṣṭha would mean “that which is located at the end (*niṣṭhā*) of suffering (*agha*),” the Chinese translation suggests the meaning “[that which is located at] the end of the real world.” Wogihara also notes that the same meaning of the word *agha* in Aghaniṣṭha is also suggested in Yaśomitra’s *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, where it is defined as “[upper] end of the aggregate of matter.”⁵ The same meaning of *agha* is also put forward by the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, that is, not only in the aforementioned definition of the names Akaniṣṭha and Aghaniṣṭha, but in another context as well.⁶ Notably, the form Aghaniṣṭha occurs in Central Asian manuscripts, alongside the more common form Akaniṣṭha.⁷

To be noted is that the *Mahāvvyutpatti* lists seven pure abodes (*gnas gtsang ma’i sa*) instead of the expected five:⁸

- (3101) [0] *gnas gtsang ma’i sa’i ming la*
 (3102) [1] *mi che ba: avrha* (a variant of *abrha*)
 (3103) [2] *mi gdung ba: atapa*
 (3104) [3] *gya nom snang ba: sudṛśa*
 (3105) [4] *shin tu mthong: sudarśana*
 (3106) [5] *’og min: akaniṣṭha*⁹

⁵ See Wogihara 1908: 16, s.v. *aghaniṣṭha*, where the term is discussed and where the relevant references to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* are provided along with the Sanskrit text of the pertinent passage from the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* and a translation of it into German.

⁶ See the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya ad 1:28ab*, where the word *agha* is explained along the same lines, with two slightly different interpretations. For an English translation of the passage, see de La Vallée Poussin 1988–1990 [1923–1931], vol. I: 89.

⁷ For references to occurrences of this form in Central Asian manuscripts, see SWTTF, s.v. *aghaniṣṭha* and Akaniṣṭha.

⁸ The *Mahāvvyutpatti* numbers provided here are according to *Mahāvvyutpatti* A. The corresponding numbers in *Mahāvvyutpatti* B are 3098–3105.

⁹ Note that *Mahāvvyutpatti* A also provides the Tibetan rendering *’od min*, which is obviously erroneous. Also note that *Mahāvvyutpatti* B erroneously provides in addition the alternative Tibetan rendering *gzugs mtha’*, which is in fact the rendering of the following item, namely, *aghaniṣṭha*. See *Mahāvvyutpatti* B, no. 3103. See also the ITLR, s.v. Akaniṣṭha(1) at <http://www.itlr.net/hwid:600415> (accessed on 10.05.2017).

(3107) [6] *gzugs mtha'*: *aghaniṣṭha*¹⁰

(3108) [7] *dbang phyug chen po che ba'i gnas* / *dbang phyug chen po che ba'i skye mched*: *mahāmaheśvarāyatana*

Aghaniṣṭha—rendered into Tibetan in conformity with the etymology given in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* as *gzugs mtha'* (“[upper] end of material [realms]”)—is listed as the sixth. However, the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*—where, as we have just seen, Aghaniṣṭha is rendered as *bsag pa'i mtha'* (“[upper] end of the conglomerate [of material entities]”)—understands it to be an alternative designation for Akaniṣṭha, with a virtually identical meaning, adding that the two “should be employed and assigned in accordance with the given context” (*skabs dang sbyar zhing gdags*). As already noted,¹¹ an almost identical formulation is added to the entry Aghaniṣṭha in the Leningrad manuscript of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*. Mahāmaheśvarāyatana (*dbang phyug chen po che ba'i gnas* / *dbang phyug chen po che ba'i skye mched*)—to which we shall return—is listed in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* as the seventh pure abode. However, as we shall see, according to some sources it is another designation for Akaniṣṭha, or for at least parts of it. Thus, if we take both Aghaniṣṭha and Mahāmaheśvarāyatana to equate (at least partly) to Akaniṣṭha, one could justifiably argue that the *Mahāvvyutpatti* still lists altogether five pure abodes and not seven, as it may seem at first.

3. *Akaniṣṭha as the Actual Place of Awakening*

In some Mahāyāna scriptures one finds the notion that the place where the Buddha attained (or a *buddha* attains) awakening is

¹⁰ Note that *Mahāvvyutpatti* A provides for *aghaniṣṭha* the alternative Tibetan rendering *nam gzugs mtha' yas*, which is, however, clearly erroneous. Moreover, since the editors of *Mahāvvyutpatti* B took *gzugs mtha'* as an alternative rendering of *akaniṣṭha*, they have it provide no Tibetan rendering for *aghaniṣṭha*, and merely note that the Leningrad manuscript (L) adds the phrase *sgra dang sbyar zhing gdags*. See *Mahāvvyutpatti* B, no. 3103. The additional phrase in L has obviously been taken over from the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (see above, note 3). However, while the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* reads *skabs*, the phrase in L has *sgra*, which makes less sense. Also note that the Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharma-kośabhāṣya* renders the word as *thogs mtha'*, which is synonymous with *gzugs mtha'*. See the ITLR, s.v. Aghaniṣṭha(1) at <http://www.itlr.net/hwid:148156> (accessed on 10.05.2017).

¹¹ See above, note 10.

Akaniṣṭha. This notion was formulated, perhaps for the first time, in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. The most frequently cited scriptural support for this notion is probably *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774, which states:¹²

A *buddha* does not become awakened
 In either the Kāmadhātu (Realm of Desire) or the Ārūpya[dhātu]
 (Immaterial Realm).
 He becomes awakened among the desireless
 Akaniṣṭha gods of the Rūpadhātu (Realm of [Pure] Matter).¹³

It is unclear what the origin of the notion of Akaniṣṭha being the actual place of awakening was, but it possibly had its roots in early canonical sources. It is not only that in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* the Buddha narrates that he visited the realm of the Akaniṣṭha gods, but perhaps more importantly that among the five types of Non-Returner (*anāgāmi*: *phyir mi 'ong pa*, i.e., one who no longer

¹² *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774:
kāmadhātau tathārūpye na vai buddho vibudhyate |
rūpadhātvakaniṣṭheṣu vītarāgeṣu budhyate ||.

The Tibetan translation reads (T 349b1–2; D 187b1):
'dod pa'i kham dang gzugs med du ||
sangs rgyas nam par 'tshang mi rgya ||
gzugs kyi kham kyi 'og min du ||
'dod chags bral khyod 'tshang rgya'o^a ||.

^a Possibly the Tibetan translators read *budhyase* rather than *budhyate*, which is preferable (cf., however, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 2:50d, which reads *vītarāgeṣu budhyase*).

¹³ See also the English translations in Suzuki 1932: 284–285, and in Lessing and Wayman 1968: 22, n. 9. Likewise see Suzuki 1930: 375 (*Sanskrit-Chinese-English Glossary*, s.v. Akanishṭha), where the etymology of the term and the idea of Akaniṣṭha as the place of awakening is briefly discussed. Suzuki, in addition to citing *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774, provides there further references to the same work. This verse has been cited over the centuries and discussed by numerous Tibetan scholars as the locus classicus for the notion of Akaniṣṭha as the place of awakening. As mentioned earlier, the verse is cited (with slight variation) by Rong zom pa in his *Sangs rgyas kyi sa chen mo*. See Almogī 2009: 241–242 (English translation), 392 (Tibetan text). A rather recent example is found in bDud 'joms 'jigs bral ye shes rdo rje's (1904–1987, TBRC: P736) *bsTan pa'i nam gzhag* (128.6), of which an English translation is found in Gyurme Dorje and Kapstein 1991, vol. I: 129. Note, however, that bDud 'joms rin po che, in his discussion of the issue of the Buddha's awakening cites another verse, which he erroneously ascribes to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (13.3–16.2, for the entire discussion, and 16.1–2, for the citation in question). An English translation is found in Gyurme Dorje and Kapstein 1991, vol. I: 412–413. On the verse in question and its erroneous ascription to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, see the discussion below.

returns to the Kāmadhātu) the “one who proceeds upstream to [the realm of the] Akaniṣṭha [gods]” (*uddhaṃsota-akaniṣṭhagāmī*) is said to enter *nibbāna* (*nirvāṇa*) there.¹⁴ Although this is a reference neither to the Buddha himself nor to his attaining Buddhahood, but rather to one type of Non-Returner and to attaining *nirvāṇa* (“extinction”), it could have served as an inspiration for the notion that Buddhahood is attained in Akaniṣṭha.

The following verse from the *Ghanavyūhasūtra* is likewise often cited by Tibetan authors in connection with the notion of Akaniṣṭha being the place of awakening, apparently with the aim of providing a rationale behind it, namely, that only thus is it possible for *buddhas* to act in the Kāmadhātu for the sake of sentient beings:¹⁵

¹⁴ See Malalasekera 1937–1938, s.v. *Akaniṣṭhā devā*, where *Akaniṣṭhā*, as the abode of the Akaniṣṭha gods, is briefly discussed and references to the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* and *Visuddhimagga* that are relevant to our discussion are provided. The *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya* II.52.16–24) reads: *Atha kho ’haṃ bhikkhave Avihehi devehi saddhiṃ yena Atappā devā ten’ upasaṃkamimī. Atha khvāhaṃ bhikkhave Avihehi ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Sudassā devā ten’ upasaṃkamimī. Atha khvāhaṃ bhikkhave Avihehi ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi Sudassehi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Sudassī devā ten’ upasaṃkamimī. Atha khvāhaṃ bhikkhave Avihehi ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi Sudassehi ca devehi Sudassīhi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Akaniṣṭhā devā ten’ upasaṃkamimī.* For the Sanskrit version of this passage, see *Mahāvastu-sūtra* 160. An English translation of this passage is provided in Walshe 1987: 220 as follows: “Then I went with the Aviha *devas* to see the Atappa *devas*, and with these to see the Sudassī *devas*, and with these to see the Sudassi *devas*, and with all of these to see the Akaniṣṭha *devas*.” The *Visuddhimagga* (710.13–15) reads: *Uddhaṃsota, Akaniṣṭhagāmī ti yathuppanno, tato uddhaṃ yāva Akaniṣṭhabhavā āruyha tattha parinibbāyati.* A German translation of this passage is provided in Nyanatiloka 1975: 854, as follows: “Als der ‘stromaufwärts zu den Höchsten Göttern Eilende’ (*uddhaṃsota-akaniṣṭhagāmī*) gilt, wer von dort, wo immer er wiedererschienen ist, aufwärts bis zum Dasein der Höchsten Götter steigend, dort das Nirwahn erreicht.” See also the *Sakkapañha Sutta*, where Sakka (i.e. Indra) declares the place of his last rebirth as Akaniṣṭha, as follows (*Dīgha Nikāya* II.286.32–33):

*te paṇītatara devā Akaniṣṭhā yasassino,
antime vattamānamhī so nivāso bhavissatīti.*

[Even] more excellent gods are the famed Akaniṣṭhas.

Progressing towards [my] final [existence,] this will become [my] abode.

Also note that the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins (as well as Pāli commentaries) identify another kind of *anāgamin*, the *antarāparinirvāyin* (/ *tatra parinirvāyin*), who is stated to attain *nirvāṇa* among the gods of the Pure Abode (*śuddhāvāsa*)—though Akaniṣṭhā is not specifically mentioned there. On this, see Tournier 2017: 230–231. On the typology of *anāgāmins* in the Āgamas and Abhidharma literature, see also Lin 2012.

¹⁵ *Ghanavyūha* (D 17b6–7; T 315b2–3):

[As for] the awakening of a *samyak[sam] buddha*,
 [If] one did not become a *buddha*
 In the supreme domain of Akaniṣṭha,
 The activities [of] a *buddha* could not be carried out in the Kāmadhātu.¹⁶

4. *Akaniṣṭha as a Buddhist Word-cum-Name and the Typological Schemes Devised in order to Capture Its Multivalency*

Buddhist scholars possibly wondered whether the Akaniṣṭha that is the place in which awakening is said to occur is the Akaniṣṭha in the Abhidharmic sense, that is, the highest realm of the Rūpadhātu. Reflections on or discussions of this question have led to various identifications of the Akaniṣṭhas related to these two concepts. Moreover, in the course of time one also witnesses an increasing number of occurrences of the word-cum-name Akaniṣṭha, particularly in later (Tantric) literature, where it is clearly no longer employed in the sense of a “location” within the Buddhist cosmology, but is rather used to express varying aspects of Buddhist philosophical ideas and praxes. It is thus not surprising that some Buddhist scholars from various schools and traditions, first in India and later in Tibet, made attempts at systematising these different usages and meanings of Akaniṣṭha. In the following I shall mainly, but not solely, focus on some rNying ma sources and their Indic predecessors. As regards my translation into English of the categories suggested by the cited traditional sources, I follow the method suggested by Dorji Wangchuk for the typology devised by him for *bodhicitta*, another multivalent Buddhist term. His method (and terminology) not only captures the different usages of the term *bodhicitta* found in Buddhist literature—thereby enabling one to better understand its diverse applications—but also offers a way to consider how such multivalent terms could be rendered into English without losing the

yang dag sangs rgyas byang chub tu ||
'tshang rgya 'og min gnas mchog tu ||
sangs rgyas ma gyur 'dod khams su ||
sangs rgyas mdzad pa mi mdzad [T mjed] de ||.

¹⁶ For citations of this verse by Tibetan authors, see, for an early example, the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (81.8–9) and, for a later one, the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (15.4–16.1). For an English translation of the latter, see Gyurme Dorje and Kapstein 1991, vol. I: 413.

diverse meanings and nuances they convey in general, and their specific meanings in a given context, in particular.¹⁷ However, unlike in the case of *bodhicitta*—where no systematic typology reflecting all meanings in which the term is employed has been offered by the tradition, the typology suggested by Wangchuk reflecting his own endeavour at systematisation—the typologies of Akaniṣṭha outlined in the following represent systematising efforts made by scholars of the tradition itself. Moreover, although Wangchuk’s categories for rendering into English the different types of *bodhicitta* determined by him proved to be most suitable for rendering some referents of Akaniṣṭha offered by the tradition, they had to be adjusted and expanded in order to accommodate additional referents offered for it.

4.1. *Buddhaguhya’s Typology*

Buddhaguhya is often referred to by rNying ma scholars as having expounded a sixfold typology of Akaniṣṭha in his **Guhyagarbhatantra* commentary, widely known in Tibet as *sPyan ’grel* (**Cakṣuṣṭikā*). However, the Indic origin of this work is yet to be confirmed. The commentary in question is only found in the larger *bsTan ’gyur* editions (i.e., Peking, sNar thang, and Golden/dGa’ ldan) and has neither author nor translation colophons. The work is, nonetheless, ascribed by the rNying ma tradition to Buddhaguhya. Moreover, the work contains glosses, although it is unclear whether they are authored by the same person who authored the commentary or whether they are later additions. I have, nonetheless, taken the glosses into consideration in the following translation, especially since without doing so it would have been difficult (or even entirely impossible) to understand what the different categories of Akaniṣṭha expounded here (or at least some of them) actually mean. The pertinent passage reads as follows:¹⁸

[The following] shows the nature of the place in which [the Buddha] abides: Where [i.e., place] does he [i.e., the Teacher] abide? The place of abiding is stated as being

¹⁷ See Wangchuk 2007: 195–233, where a fivefold typology of *bodhicitta* is suggested as follows: (a) ethico-spiritual, (b) gnoseological, (c) ontological, (d) psycho-physiological, and (e) semeiological.

¹⁸ For the Tibetan text of the pertinent passage from Buddhaguhya’s **Cakṣuṣṭikā* (*sPyan ’grel*), see the Appendix, § 1.

the realm of Akaniṣṭha. From among [the six Akaniṣṭhas]—[that is,] (1) Physiological (lit. “secret”) Akaniṣṭha (*gsang ba'i 'og min*) [i.e., the female sex organ], (2) Quasi-Akaniṣṭha (*bgrangs pa'i 'og min*) [i.e., in which gods abide within the worldly realms], (3) Conceptually Constructed Akaniṣṭha (*brtags pa'i 'og min*) [i.e., the lowest (*ma tha*) of the Rūpadhātu], (4) Ontological (lit. “ultimate”) Akaniṣṭha (*don gyi 'og min*) [i.e., the Dharmadhātu], (5) Akaniṣṭha of Great Gnosis (*ye shes chen po'i 'og min*) [i.e., the *tathāgatas'* gnosis, which is free from the object–subject dichotomy], and (6) Great Akaniṣṭha (*'og min chen mo*) [i.e., [that which is] indivisible]—[his] appearance to disciples [takes place] in the last one.

Interestingly, Klong chen pa Dri med 'od zer (1308–1364, TBRC: P1583; henceforth Klong chen pa), in his own **Guhyagarbhatantra* commentary, widely known as *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel*, offers a typology, which he ascribes to Buddhaguhya. He does so in the conclusion of his discussion of the “subclassification” (*dbye ba*) of the Excellence of Place (*gnas phun sum tshogs pa*) under three rubrics, namely, (i) Akaniṣṭha of the *dharmakāya* (*chos sku'i 'og min*), (ii) Akaniṣṭha of the *saṃbhogakāya* (*longs sku'i 'og min*), and (iii) Akaniṣṭha of the *nirmāṇakāya* (*sprul sku'i 'og min*).¹⁹ However, Klong chen pa does not provide an exact citation of the pertinent passage from the **Cakṣuṣṭikā*, but rather a paraphrase reflecting his own interpretation of it, which is not always in agreement with the interpretation offered by the glosses. One wonders in fact whether the version Klong chen pa consulted included the glosses (if it did not, this could indeed be a hint of their not being an integral part of the commentary but of being rather a later addition, and thus have not been transmitted in all circulating manuscripts). More important, however, is the fact that some of Klong chen pa's designations of the six categories differ from those offered by Buddhaguhya. In addition, Klong chen pa offers his own description of these six “locations” and concludes in each case with a justification as to why they are designated Akaniṣṭha, always in the sense that each of them excels, or surpasses, by reason of its unique characteristics. He states:²⁰

The **Cakṣuṣṭikā* (*sPyan 'grel*) composed by Ācārya Buddhaguhya states:

(1) Ontological (lit. “the ultimate”) Akaniṣṭha (*don gyi 'og min*), which is the Sphere of Reality (*dharmadhātu*): It is the abode of all *buddhas*,

¹⁹ For Klong chen pa's outline of his discussion, see the Appendix, § 2.1.

²⁰ For the Tibetan text from Klong chen pa's *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel*, see the Appendix, § 2.2.

and [it is called Akaniṣṭha] because there is no other [Reality] above it. (2) Semeiological Akaniṣṭha (*rtags kyi 'og min*), which is the symbol of the indivisibility of the sphere and gnosis: [It] manifests in the form and colours of a celestial palace. [It] is the abode of the *saṃbhogakāya*, and [it] is a symbol that signifies the Dharmadhātu. [It is called Akaniṣṭha] because there is no other [such symbol] above it. (3) Gnoseological Akaniṣṭha (*rig pa'i 'og min*), which is the gnosis (*rig pa'i ye shes*) that cognises (*rtogs pa*) how entities actually are: [It] is the abode of the *dharmakāya* endowed with the two purities.²¹ [It is called Akaniṣṭha] because there is no other [form of] gnosis (*rig pa*) above it. (4) Physiological (lit. “secret”) Akaniṣṭha (*gsang ba'i 'og min*), which is the female sex organ (lit. “the consort’s sphere”): [It] is the abode of the esoteric Body. [It is called Akaniṣṭha] because there is nothing above it [in terms of] paths [to awakening] and the [ensuing] qualities.²² (5) Conceptual Akaniṣṭha (*rtog pa'i 'og min*), which is a celestial palace that is meditatively imagined by a beginner: [It] is the abode of an “extra” samādhi *maṅḍala*.²³ [It] makes one grasp the universal. [It is called Akaniṣṭha] because there is no other [meditatively imagined abode] above it. (6) Cosmological Akaniṣṭha (lit. “Akaniṣṭha that is a worldly abode”) (*'jig rten gnas kyi 'og min*), which is the uppermost (*ya ta*) of the five Pure Abodes. [It] is the abode of the Noble Ones, and it is a material realm. [It is called Akaniṣṭha] because there is no other [material realm] above it.

These six topics were included earlier. The Ontological and Gnoseological Akaniṣṭhas are subsumed under the *dharmakāya*, Semeiological [Akaniṣṭha is subsumed under] the *saṃbhogakāya*, and the other three are subsumed under the *nirmāṇakāya*. Cosmological Akaniṣṭha is the actual (*ngos*) one (i.e., Akaniṣṭha in its original Buddhist cosmological sense), and the Physiological and Conceptual Akaniṣṭhas, since [they] are experienced on the path of a *nirmāṇakāya*, are subsumed under it.

Klong chen pa’s presentation-cum-interpretation of Buddhaghya’s sixfold typology of Akaniṣṭha (including the glosses) may be

²¹ The two purities are (1) natural purity (*praktiviśuddhi*: *rang bzhin gyis rnam par dag pa*), referring to the natural purity of reality regardless of whether it is polluted by adventitious stains, and (2) the purity characterised by stainlessness (*vaimalyaviśuddhi*: *dri ma med pa'i rnam par dag pa*), that is, purity from adventitious stains. On these purities, see, for example, Takasaki 1966: 315–316.

²² On Physiological Akaniṣṭha excelling in terms of qualities generated, see the passage from the **Vajrasattvamāyājālaguhyasarvādarśa* in the Appendix, § 4, particularly lines 16–17, which may have been the inspiration for Klong chen pa’s interpretation.

²³ According to Rong zom pa, “extra” *samādhi maṅḍalas* (*lhag pa ting nge 'dzin gyi dkyil 'khor*) represent a form of *samādhi* that features the visualisation of individual aspects of deities including their “family,” colour, hand implements, and the like. See Almqvist 2009: 132, n. 324.

best juxtaposed as follows (though some slight discrepancies remain, particularly the variation (or confusion?) regarding the verbs *rtags/bgrangs* and *rtog/brtags*):

	Klong chen pa		Buddhaguhya
1	Ontological Akaniṣṭha (<i>don gyi 'og min</i>)	=4	Ontological Akaniṣṭha (<i>don gyi 'og min</i>)
2	Semeiological Akaniṣṭha (<i>rtags kyi 'og min</i>)	=6?	Great Akaniṣṭha (<i>'og min chen mo</i>)
3	Gnoseological Akaniṣṭha (<i>rig pa'i 'og min</i>)	=5	Akaniṣṭha of the Great Gnosis (<i>ye shes chen po'i 'og min</i>)
4	Physiological Akaniṣṭha (<i>gsang ba'i 'og min</i>)	=1	Physiological Akaniṣṭha (<i>gsang ba'i 'og min</i>)
5	Conceptual Akaniṣṭha (<i>rtog pa'i 'og min</i>)	=3	Conceptually Constructed Akaniṣṭha (<i>brtags pa'i 'og min</i>)
6	Cosmological Akaniṣṭha (<i>'jig rten gnas kyi 'og min</i>)	=2?	Quasi-Akaniṣṭha (<i>bgrangs pa'i 'og min</i>)

4.2. *Sūryasimḥaprabha's Typology*

A classification of Akaniṣṭha into three categories is found in *Sūryasimḥaprabha's* **Guhyagarbhatantravyākhyāna*, in the context of comments on the place in which a *buddha* resides according to the **Guhyagarbhatantra*—namely, the realm of Akaniṣṭha, which has neither boundaries nor a centre. The three categories listed by him are as follows: (1) Ontological Akaniṣṭha (*rang bzhin gyi 'og min*), (2) Cosmological Akaniṣṭha (*gnas kyi 'og min*), and (3) Gnoseological Akaniṣṭha (*rig pa'i 'og min*), as follows:²⁴

Where is the place in which such an Awakened One, an Exalted One, abides? In order to [answer this] it has been stated that [a *buddha*] resides “in the realm of Akaniṣṭha, which has neither boundaries nor a centre.”²⁵ This is a statement primarily made [with reference] to the domain of the Dharmadhātu in [its] entirety. That which is referred to as the realm of Akaniṣṭha is of three [categories]. [These] are conceived of as the [following] three: (1) Ontological Akaniṣṭha (lit. “natural Akaniṣṭha,” *rang bzhin gyi 'og min*), (2) Cosmological Akaniṣṭha (lit. “Akaniṣṭha that is a Place,” *gnas kyi 'og min*), and (3) Gnoseological Akaniṣṭha (*rig pa'i 'og min*).

Of these, (1) Ontological Akaniṣṭha: [It is] the non-dual sphere, which, [as such], is characterised by its being free from the one and the many, is

²⁴ For the Tibetan text from the **Guhyagarbhatantravyākhyāna* (passage 1), see the Appendix, § 3.1.

²⁵ This is a reference to the **Guhyagarbhatantra* (P 108b6; D 110b3). The canonical text reads identically (i.e., *'og min gyi gnas mtha' dang dbus med pa na ...*).

true reality (*de bzhin nyid: tathatā*), the Dharmadhātu. Such a domain is undemonstrable (*bstan du med pa: anidarśana*), a domain that is the infinite Dharmadhātu. As for the *maṇḍala* in which [he] abides, all aggregates, elements, and sense-bases relating to all aspects of appearance, which consist of the receptacle world and its inhabitants, are [manifested in it as] pure [entities] in the form of deities. This should be known from the second chapter on the “initiatory steps” (*gleng bslangs*) made by the male and female [*buddhas*] (*yab yum*).

(2) Cosmological Akaṅiṣṭha: It should be known as the place that is on top (*yang thog*) of the five Pure Abodes (*gnas gtsang ma ris/rigs*²⁶ *Inga: śuddhāvāsakāyika*), and as Mahāmaheśvarāyatana (*dbang phyug chen po'i gnas = dbang phyug chen po che ba'i gnas / dbang phyug chen po che ba'i skye mched*). In this regard the following has been stated:

The *samyak[sam] buddha* becomes awakened there,
 In the delightful realm of Akaṅiṣṭha,
 Which is separate from (*spangs: *vivarjita*)²⁷ the [five] Pure Abodes.
 [His] *saṃbhogakāya* emanation
 Becomes awakened ...

[The location] on top of the five Pure Abodes should be known as Mahāmaheśvarāyatana. The *maṇḍala* in which [he] abides should be known as follows: It consists of [his] *saṃbhogakāya*, which enjoys all the royal luxuries of the Doctrine while encircled by *bodhisattvas* of the “resultant type” (*bras bu rigs*), and serves as the basis for incessant emanations of sages.

(3) Gnoseological Akaṅiṣṭha: It should be known as the female sex organ, [which is] the origin of all deities, the birthplace of all who are born from the womb, and the female’s “lotus.” The *maṇḍala* in which [he] abides

²⁶ Both *gnas gtsang ma(‘i) ris* and *gnas gtsang ma(‘i) rigs* as renderings of *śuddhāvāsakāyikā* are found. See Negi 1993–2005, svv. *gnas gtsang ma‘i rigs* and *gnas gtsang ma‘i ris*, and the various occurrences in the texts cited in the present article (for which see the pertinent footnotes and the Appendix).

²⁷ The employment of *vivarjita* ([*mam par*] *spangs pa*) in this sense is unusual. This seems to have resulted from a “mutation” of *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:38ab, where, however, *vivarjita* (*mam [par] spangs [pa]*) is used in its common meaning of “be free from.” For the lines in question from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, see below, note 46. Generally, commentators understood *vivarjita* ([*mam par*] *spangs pa*) as used in the above-cited verse (and, as shall be seen below, in other, similar verses as well) and which is translated here rather literally as “be separate from,” to mean “be above.” See the verse from the *Tattvasaṃgraha* cited below, note 60, where *vivarjita* has been rendered into Tibetan as *steng gnas pa* (“located above”), and the verse from the *Kāyatrayastotranāvivaraṇa*, likewise cited below (note 53), where the Tibetan text reads *steng* in the same context. More importantly perhaps are the readings *upari* (“above”) in two similar verses that have been preserved in Sanskrit. See below, notes 50 and 51.

should be known as follows: It is a samādhic *maṇḍala*, a secret *maṇḍala* [representing] the realisation of all syllables as the fruit of awakening—that is, “surplus *bodhicitta*” (**adhibodhicitta*).²⁸ This should be known from chapter four on the array of the rosary of syllables.²⁹

In agreement with Buddhaguya and Klong chen pa, as cited above, Sūryasiṃhaprabha defines Ontological Akaniṣṭha as the *dharmadhātu* and describes its *maṇḍala* as an array of pure deities. Cosmological Akaniṣṭha is defined by him as equating to Mahāmaheśvarāyatana, a location on top of the five Pure Abodes and thus clearly transcending the Rūpadhātu. Its *maṇḍala* is said by him to feature a *saṃbhogakāya* that is the source for the unceasing manifestations of Buddhahood in the world. A few words should be perhaps said here regarding Sūryasiṃhaprabha’s identification of Cosmological Akaniṣṭha as Mahāmaheśvarāyatana, which, according to him, is located outside the Rūpadhātu. As stated earlier, Mahāmaheśvarāyatana is listed in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* as the last of seven names of Pure Abodes, but it seems to be occasionally either fully or partly equated with Akaniṣṭha (in the sense of the upper realm within the Rūpadhātu). The *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, for example, provides the following definition for Mahāmaheśvarāyatana, clearly locating it within Akaniṣṭha, which in turn, although not explicitly stated, appears to be the Akaniṣṭha in its Abhidharmic sense as being located within the Rūpadhātu.³⁰

Mahāmaheśvarāyatana is a location within Akaniṣṭha in which Mahāvairocana abides among powerful *bodhisattvas*. It is called “The Great Abode of the Great Lord” because it is the place where the perfect enjoyment of the Doctrine is demonstrated and experienced.

²⁸ Regarding the term “surplus *bodhicitta*,” Dorji Wangchuk has pointed out that Rong zom pa, in his commentary on the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, employs it to collectively designate (i) the symbolical signs (*mudrā: phyag rgya*) corresponding to what Wangchuk calls ethico-spiritual, gnoseological, and ontological *bodhicitta*, and (ii) the means of access to these three. Wangchuk adds that these two meanings can be perhaps equated with what he terms respectively semeiological and psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*. See Wangchuk 2007: 196–197.

²⁹ That is, the fourth chapter of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* (and accordingly also the fourth chapter of Sūryasiṃhaprabha’s **Guhyagarbhatantravyākhyāna*).

³⁰ *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (A, no. 392; B, p. 197): *mahāmaheśvarāyatana zhes bya ba ’og min gyi phyogs kyi gnas zhig na byang chub sems dpa’ dbang phyug chen po’i nang na mram par snang mdzad chen po bzhugs te | chos kyi longs s’pyod rdzogs par bstan zhiṅg [cing B] mnyong bar gyur pa’i gnas yin pas na dbang phyug chen po che ba’i gnas zhes [shes B] bya |*.

Such a position is also presented by Śraddhākaravarman in his *Yogānuttaratāntrārthāvatārasaṃgraha*, where he too cites *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774 as scriptural support for the notion that the place of awakening is located within the Rūpadhātu.³¹

In support of his interpretation of Mahāmaheśvarāyatana as being a realm called Akaniṣṭha that is, however, located outside the Rūpadhātu, Sūryasiṃhaprabha cites a verse the source of which he does not specify. A discussion of this verse and its possible source will be offered in the following paragraphs within a wider context. Interestingly, Sūryasiṃhaprabha understands Gnoseological Akaniṣṭha in the sense of Physiological Akaniṣṭha as presented by both Buddhaguhya and Klong chen pa, that is, as the female sex organ. This interpretation is clearly in line with what is referred to in the rNying ma tradition as the Way of Efficient Strategy (*thabs lam*), that is, an interpretation of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* that mainly exploits physical (i.e., sexual) practices as its main method for attaining the spiritual goal—as opposed to what is known as the Way of Release (*grol lam*), that is, an interpretation that mainly exploits mental (i.e., meditational) practices to attain the same goal. Its *maṇḍala* is described by Sūryasiṃhaprabha as a samādhic *maṇḍala* and as a secret *maṇḍala* consisting of syllables expressing the fruit of awakening.³²

Question: What is the Excellence of Place? [In this regard] it has been stated that “[a *buddha* resides] in the realm of Akaniṣṭha, which has neither boundaries nor a centre.”³³

This has been objected to by the Hīnayānists, who state that it has been taught that Akaniṣṭha does have boundaries and a centre, and that these are identical with the boundaries and centre of the aerial sphere (*rlung gi dkyil ’khor: vāyumaṇḍala*), which [serves as] an underpinning, while Akaniṣṭha, which [rests] upon [it], covers the entire extent of the trichilio[cosm] (*trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu*, i.e., the billionfold—the third-order thousand—universe) and is equal in size to the substratic aerial sphere which supports the trichiliocosm from below. [However], for the sake of the Hīnayānists—inasmuch as theirs is a lesser discriminating insight (*shes rab: prajñā*)—the Exalted One taught that Akaniṣṭha is small in size. Had [he] not taught [that it was] small in size, they would have

³¹ For the Tibetan text of the passage from Śraddhākaravarman’s *Yogānuttaratāntrārthāvatārasaṃgraha*, see the Appendix, § 6.

³² For the Tibetan text from the **Guhyagarbhatantravyākhyāna* (passage 2), see the Appendix, § 3.2.

³³ For the location of this phrase in the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, see above, note 25.

been gripped by fear or a sense of discouragement, and thus [he] taught that both the size of [Akaniṣṭha, which rests] upon [a/the substratic aerial sphere] is small and that the number of *nirmāṇakāyas* is [merely] one billion (lit. “a hundred times ten million”). In Mahāyāna contexts, the Tathāgata taught—for the sake of *bodhisattvas* of the “resultant type,” who possess excellent discriminating insight—that Akaniṣṭha has neither boundaries nor a centre. [Accordingly], the world systems have been taught as being as many as the existing atoms, and the *nirmāṇakāyas* as being likewise [as] inconceivable [in number as] fine particles. It is for this reason that the phrase “has neither boundaries nor a centre” has been stated. Concerning such a place, although it is regarded as a location, in order to remove conceptual [doubts as to] what sort of palace it is, and whether or not there are numerous Akaniṣṭhas, words such as “infinite” have been stated.

4.3. *Typologies of Akaniṣṭha: Preliminary Conclusions*

Above we have seen several endeavours at typologising Akaniṣṭha so as to cover the various meanings conveyed by this word-cum-name. Generally speaking, the categories suggested can be subsumed under a sixfold typology, expressed by the terms Ontological, Semeiological, Gnoseological, Physiological, Conceptual, and Cosmological Akaniṣṭha. We have also seen that a given category is not necessarily understood by all authors in exactly the same manner. Needless to say, the employment of the word-cum-name Akaniṣṭha found in the scriptures is often ambiguous and far from straightforward, a state of affairs that clearly contributes to the discrepancies found in the commentarial literature, particularly when it comes to attempts at offering an adequate typology. It is beyond the scope of the present article to systematically locate scriptural examples for all suggested six categories.³⁴ In order, however, to illustrate the complexity of the issue, I would like to provide here some examples from two rNying ma *tantras*.³⁵ One of the *tantras* belonging to the *Buddhasamāyogatantra* corpus found in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* explicitly refers to two of the categories of

³⁴ For some references to occurrences of Akaniṣṭha in Indian literature, see Edgerton 1953, s.v. *akaniṣṭha*.

³⁵ See also the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (64.2–69.2), where various relevant citations from several Tantric scriptures are found, particularly rNying ma *tantras*. For an English translation of bDud 'joms rin po che's treatment of the topic, see Gyurme Dorje and Kapstein 1991, vol. I: 447–449.

Akaniṣṭha mentioned above. On one occasion it understands Akaniṣṭha to be the *dharmadhātu* (i.e., in an ontological sense), and on another to be the female sex organ (i.e., in a physiological sense). On yet another occasion, however, it equates the female sex organ with the *dharmadhātu*, which amounts to equating the Ontological and Physiological categories of Akaniṣṭha.³⁶ The **Vajrasattvamāyājālaguhyasarvādarśa* (*rDo rje me long aka sGyu 'phrul rdo rje*), which devotes a passage to the location where *buddhas* abide, appears to allude to three of the categories mentioned above, namely, Physiological, Ontological, and Semeiological.³⁷

Now, it appears that Buddhaguhya's sixfold typology of Akaniṣṭha has been more influential among Tibetan authors than the threefold one by Sūryasiṃhaprabha. Klong chen pa's reference to Buddhaguhya's typology cited above is the earliest such reference by a Tibetan author I have been able to locate thus far. Needless to say, several of the later Tibetan **Guhyagarbhatantra* commentaries, and other works by rNying ma authors, refer to Buddhaguhya's typology of Akaniṣṭha, though not necessarily to all six categories presented by him, and likewise not necessarily faithfully. For example, sMin gling lo chen Dharma shrī (1654–1717/1718?, TBRC: P667) extensively discusses Akaniṣṭha in his *gSang bdag zhal lung*, where he cites Buddhaguhya's typology (though he does not explicitly mention the number six). He does so more faithfully than Klong chen pa, but lists only five categories, the Gnoseological form being missing (apparently not intentionally but due to authorial or scribal error).³⁸ In his *gSang bdag dgongs rgyan*, however, he offers his own fourfold subclassification, consisting of Ontological, Gnoseological, Physiological, and

³⁶ See the *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor* 4.4–5: 'og min rang byung chos kyi dbyings ||; ibid. 30.1: 'og min bha ga ling gar btob ||; ibid. 30.4–5: yum gyi bha ga chos kyi dbying ||.

³⁷ For the entire relevant passage from the **Vajrasattvamāyājālaguhyasarvādarśa*, see the Appendix, § 4. For the allusions to the Physiological, Ontological, and Semeiological categories of Akaniṣṭha, see ibid., particularly lines 17, 23, and 32.

³⁸ *gSang bdag zhal lung* 146.5: *de yang | sphyan 'grel las | (1=1) gsang ba'i 'og min dang | (2=2) grags pa'i 'og min dang | (3=3) btags pa'i 'og min dang | (4=4) don gyi 'og min dang | (5=6) 'og min chen po las | gdul bya'i snang ba lam mtha' nyid du'o || zhes dang |*. Note that the variation/confusion regarding the verbs *rtags/ bgrangs/ grags* and *rtog/ brtags/ btags* persists and in fact intensifies.

Cosmological categories of Akaniṣṭha.³⁹ Yon tan rgya mtsho alias Yon dga' (b. 19th century, TBRC: P6961) in his *Yon tan mdzod kyi 'grel pa*, to name another example, explicitly refers to Buddhaguhya's sixfold typology, but cites there only the three categories essential for his discussion, namely, Conceptual, Semeiological, and Ontological.⁴⁰

5. *The Notion of Akaniṣṭha as Transcending the Pure Abodes and Its Sources*

Now let us go back to Sūryasiṃhaprabha's identification of Akaniṣṭha that is the place of awakening (regarded by him as Cosmological Akaniṣṭha) with Mahāmaheśvarāyatana, and its location as "being separate from" the Pure Abodes, and thus outside (i.e., above) the Rūpadhatu. Needless to say, this contradicts *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774, which explicitly locates the place of awakening as the Akaniṣṭha of the Rūpadhatu. As we have seen, Sūryasiṃhaprabha cites some lines of verse in scriptural support of his position.⁴¹ The source of this verse is yet to be identified with certainty. It is, however, likely that we have here a different Tibetan translation of another, very similar, verse that is often cited by Tibetan authors in this same context. This latter is cited, for example, in Kong sprul's *Shes bya mdzod*, where he, obviously wrongly, attributes it to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*:⁴²

³⁹ gSang bdag dgongs rgyan 34a5–b2: dang po ni | 'og min zhes sogs te | de la spyir 'og min ni bla na gzhan med pa'i don yin la | bye brag tu dbye na | (1=4) chos dbyings don gyi 'og min dang | (2=5) rig pa'i 'og min dang | (3=1) gsang ba'i 'og min dang | (4=6?) gtsang ris kyi lha lnga'i nang tshan 'jig rten gnas kyi 'og min rnams las | 'dir 'og min chen po zhes bya ba longs spyod rdzogs pa sku'i sangs rgyas kyi bzhugs gnas gtsang ma'i gnas las spangs pa gang yin pa ste |.

⁴⁰ *Yon tan mdzod kyi 'grel pa* 776.5–777.2: des na de dag dkyil 'khor du dgod pa'i tshul de ni | slob dpon sangs rgyas gsang bas 'og min drug gsungs pa las | (1=3) rtog pa'i 'og min lhag pa ting nge 'dzin gyi dkyil 'khor du bsdu'o || 'o na 'dir 'bras bu'i yon tan brjod pa'i skabs yin pas 'brel to snyams na lam dus su de ltar bsgoms pa las bar chad med lam mngon du gyur nas 'bras bu'i dus gzhi snang (2=2) lhun grub rtags kyi 'og min dbyings dang ye shes dbyer med pa'i rang snang longs spyod rdzogs pa'i zhing du mngon par sangs rgyas shing (3=4) chos dbyings don gyi 'og min la sbyor ba'i cha nas skabs 'dir don gyi 'og min du smos pa yin par gsungs so ||.

⁴¹ **Guhyagarbhatanatravākyāna* (P 222a4; B 455.8–10).

⁴² *Shes bya mdzod* 149.25–27: lang kar gshegs pa las | gtsang ma'i ris dag spangs pa yi ||

The *samyak[sam]buddha* became awakened
 In the supreme and delightful realm of Akaniṣṭha,
 Which is separate from (*spangs pa*) the Pure Abodes;
 One manifested [form] became awakened here.

mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang (1385–1438, TBRC: P55), in his *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag*, cites these lines (with slight variations) when discussing the Definiteness of Place and explains that the place of awakening is the Akaniṣṭha that is a *buddha* field called Ghanavyūha, which is located above the Akaniṣṭha of the Pure Abodes. He states:⁴³

Where is that Akaniṣṭha? The ultimate [location of] the abodes of the gods is Akaniṣṭha of the Pure Abodes. Above it (*de'i gong na*) is the Akaniṣṭha that is a *buddha* field called Ghanavyūha. The *sūtra* states:

The *samyaksambuddha* became awakened
 There [in] the delightful realm of Akaniṣṭha,
 Which is separate from (*spangs pa*) the Pure Abodes;
 [His] one manifested [form] became awakened here (i.e., Kāmadhātu).

The *sambhogakāya* resides in Akaniṣṭha, and the *nirmāṇakāya* acts in the land of humans as if [actually performing] the twelve deeds.

As we have just seen, mKhas grub rje does not specify the source of the verse either, simply referring to it as a *sūtra*. Lessing and Wayman could not track it down, but they do point out other “similar verses” including *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774 and 10:39b, and still others found in the *Ghanavyūhasūtra* (location unspecified) and the *Kosalālamkāra*. bDud 'joms Rin po che, too, cites the verse

'og min gnas mchog nyams dga' bar ||
 yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
 sprul pa po gcig 'dir sangs rgyas ||
 zhes dang |.
⁴³ *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag* 22.3–11: 'og min de gang na yod ce na | lha'i gnas
 rnam kyī mthar thug pa ni gtsang ma'i gnas kyī 'og min te | de'i gong na 'og min stug po
 bkod pa zhes bya ba'i sangs rgyas kyī zhing de yod de | mdo las |
 gtsang ma'i gnas dag spangs pa na ||
 'og min gnas ni nyams dga' ba ||
 yang dag rdzogs sangs der sangs rgyas ||
 sprul pa po gcig 'dir 'tshang rgya ||
 zhes so | longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku de 'og min du bzhugs nas | sprul pa'i skus mi'i yul du
 mdzad pa bcu gnyis kyī tshul ston te |.

Compare the English translation in Lessing and Wayman 1968: 23.

in his religious history and, like Kong sprul, ascribes it to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.⁴⁴ Gyurme Dorje and Kapstein identify the source as *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:38ab and 39cd.⁴⁵ But while the lines in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* are similar in terms of content, the wording is somewhat different, and, most crucially, the word *vivarjita* (*rnam (par) spangs (pa)*), which in the previously cited verses (there *spangs pa*) clearly refers to Akaniṣṭha as “being separate from” the Pure Abodes, refers here to Akaniṣṭha as being “free from” all detrimental elements (*sarvāpāpa: sdig pa thams cad*), which has no bearing upon the location of Akaniṣṭha. The lines in question from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (10:38ab and 10:39cd) state:⁴⁶

There, in the celestial palace of Akaniṣṭha,
Which is free from (*vivarjita: mam (par) spangs (pa)*) all detrimental
elements,
[...]
The *sambuddhas* become awakened;
The manifested [forms, however,] become awakened here
(i.e., Kāmadhātu).⁴⁷

mKhas pa lDe’u (b. 13th cent.; TBRC: P6968) in his religious history cites two verses in this context, the first of which is the above-mentioned *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774, and the second is the present verse (with slight variations), which he, however, ascribes to the *Guhyendutilakatantra*.⁴⁸ Klong chen pa, too, in his *sGyu ma ngal gso’i*

⁴⁴ bDud ’joms chos ’byung 16.1–2.

⁴⁵ Gyurme Dorje and Kapstein 1991, vol. I: 413.

⁴⁶ *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:38ab, 39cd:

akaniṣṭhabhavane divye sarvāpāpavivarjite | (10:38ab)

[...]

tatra budhyanti sambuddhā nirmītas tv iha budhyate || (10:39cd).

The Tibetan version reads (T 309b3–4, b5; D 160b1, b2):

lha yi pho brang ’og min po [D no] ||

sdig pa thams cad ’mam spangs par [T *mam par spangs*] || (10:38ab)

[...]

rdzogs pa’i sangs rgyas der ’tshang rgya [T *sangs rgyas*] ||

sprul pa mams ni ’dir ’tshangs rgya || (10:39cd).

⁴⁷ Compare the translation in Lessing and Wayman 1968: 22, n. 9, and Suzuki 1932: 229.

⁴⁸ *lDe’u chos ’byung* 38.1–4: *zla gsang thig le las kyang* |

gtsang ma’i gnas ’di rab spangs te ||

’og min stug po nyams dga’ bar ||

yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||

sprul pa po ni ’dir ’tshang rgya ||.

'grel pa, cites the present verse and ascribes it to the *Guhyendutilakatantra*.⁴⁹ The latter clearly relies on the **Māyāadhanakrama-vṛtti* (*sGyu ma lam gyi rim pa'i 'grel pa*) ascribed to *Niguma (on which see below). I have not been able thus far to locate these lines of verse in the *Guhyendutilakatantra* (Tibetan version). Nonetheless, like *Niguma's text, Vilāsavajra's commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*—the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*, which has also been preserved in Sanskrit—ascribes the verse to the *Guhyendutilakatantra*.⁵⁰ Further, another similar verse, likewise preserved in Sanskrit (this time with no Tibetan translation) is found in the *Sākārasiddhiśāstra* by the tenth-century Vikramaśīla scholar Jñānaśrīmitra,⁵¹ while the pertinent five lines, in a somewhat modified form, can again be found in the **Vajrasattvamāyājāla-*

⁴⁹ *sGyu ma ngal gso'i 'grel pa* (A, 659.6–660.6, 661.4–662.2; B, 1051.2–1052.4, 1053.4–1054.5; see also C, 90.1–16, 91.6–16). For a translation of the entire passage, see below. For the Tibetan text, see the Appendix, § 8. The scriptural source of this verse is yet to be determined. Note, however, that the second line, in which Akaṅiṣṭha is equated with Ghanavyūha (*'og min stug po nyams dga' bar*), is found in the *Vajrasākhātantra* (P 167a2; D 146b3; B 443.9–10).

⁵⁰ *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* 31a5–6: *yathoktam śrīguhyendutilakatantra*
akaṅiṣṭhabhuvane ramye śuddhāvāsopari sthite |
tatra buddhyanti sambuddhā nirmītas tv iha buddhyate ||

iti gāthā.

I would like to thank Harunaga Isaacson (Universität Hamburg) for drawing my attention to this source and for providing me with the Sanskrit text. The Tibetan translation reads as follows (P 57a8–b1; D 48b7–49a1; B 126.10–13): *de ltar zla gsang thig le'i rgyud las gsungs pa |*
gnas gtsang ma mams spangs pa'o ||
'og min gnas ni nyams dga' bar ||
rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas de sangs rgyas ||
sprul pa po ni 'dir sangs rgyas ||
zhes tshigs su bcad do ||.

Notice that while the Sanskrit reads *upari* (“above”), which is commonly rendered into Tibetan as *steng*, the Tibetan version reads *spangs pa* (“be free from”), which commonly renders *vivarjita*. One wonders whether this Tibetan reading is the result of attempts on the part of editors of the Tibetan Buddhist canon to harmonize translations of the same (or similar) passages, particularly if these are quotations of other canonical works, a policy that they generally took pains to implement.

⁵¹ *Sākārasiddhiśāstra* 435.1–2, MS fol. 95a1:

akaṅiṣṭhe pure ramye śuddhāvāsopari sthite |

buddhyante [MS; *buddhyante* ed.] *tatra sambuddhā arūpye na* [MS; *arūpyeṇa* ed.] *kim anyathā ||.*

I would like to thank Martin Delhey (Universität Hamburg) for bringing this verse to my attention, and for some other useful remarks.

guh-yas-aru-vādarśa (widely known in Tibet as *rDo rje me long* or *sGyu 'phrul rdo rje*):⁵²

There, in the great supreme realm of Akaniṣṭha,
Which is separate from the Pure Abodes,
The *samyak[sam]buddha* becomes awakened.
In order to tame the less worthy beings,
[His] manifested [form] becomes awakened here.

Virtually identical verses are cited in Śākyaśrīmitra's *Kosalā-
lamkāra*, the *Kāyatrayastotranāvivaraṇa* ascribed to Nāgārjuna,
Ratnākaraśānti's *Ratnapradīpa*, and Śraddhākaravarman's *Yogā-
nuttaratantrārthāvatārasaṃgraha*, all four with no specification of
the source.⁵³ Similar verses are also cited in Smṛtijñānakīrti's *Nā-
masaṃgītilakṣabhāṣya* and Vāgīśvarakīrti's *Saptāṅga*.⁵⁴

⁵² For the Tibetan text of the five lines in question from the **Vajra-
sattvamāyājālaguh-yas-aru-vādarśa*, see the Appendix, § 4, lines 6–10. Note that the
first two lines are repeated (with slight variations) not far down from them in the
text, and the first line is repeated once more in between. See the Appendix, § 4,
lines 37–38 and 12.

⁵³ *Kosalālamkāra* (P Wi 9a7; D Yi 8b2; B 19.18–21): *ji skad du |*

gtsang ma gnas ni rnam spangs shing ||
'og min gnas ni nyams dga' bar ||
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
sprul pa dag ni 'dir 'tshang rgya || [om. || P]
zhes tshig su bcad pa gsungs pa'i phyir ro ||.

Kāyatrayastotranāvivaraṇa (P 85b3–4; D 74a1; B 214.10–12): *de nyid kyi phyir na |*

'og min gnas ni nyams dga' bar ||
gtsang ma'i gnas kyi steng bzhugs te ||
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
sprul pa dag ni 'dir sangs rgyas || [om. || P]

zhes bya ba gsungs pas so ||.

And *Ratnapradīpa* (D 136b3; B 1066.15–17):

'og min gnas ni nyams dga' bar [ba D] ||
gtsang ma'i gnas kyi steng du ni ||
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
sprul ba mams ni 'dir 'sangs rgyas' ['tshang rgya P] ||

zhes gsungs pas so ||.

For the verse cited by Śraddhākaravarman's *Yogānuttaratantrārthāvatārasaṃ-
graha*, see the Appendix, § 6.

⁵⁴ *Nāmasaṃgītilakṣabhāṣya* (P 103a1–2; D 89a2–3; B 1040.5–10): *de la sangs rgyas*
zhes pa longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku ste |

gtsang ma'i gnas ni nyams dga' bar ||
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||

Another passage of relevance is a citation of two verses, likewise from an unspecified source, found in Vilāsavajra’s **Guhyagarbhatantraṭīkā*, which states:⁵⁵

There, in the great supreme realm of Akaniṣṭha,
Which is separate from the Pure Abodes,
The Lord of the Buddha families—who is a [Buddha]-Body that is a spontaneously accomplished *mudrā*,
Free from the one and the many,
The embodiment of all *buddhas*,
A primordial treasure of the supreme Mahāyāna [doctrines]—
Instantly appears therefore
To disciples who have eliminated all obscurations.

The same eight lines are cited (with slight variations) twice by Klong chen pa—once in his *sNgags kyi spyi don* and a second time in his *Phyogs bcu’i mun sel*, in the latter case during a discussion of what he calls the Akaniṣṭha of the *saṃbhogakāya*.⁵⁶ Klong chen pa explicitly ascribes these verses to the **Vajrasattvamāyājālaguhyasarvādarśa* (*sGyu ’phrul rdo rje*). In his *Phyogs bcu’i mun sel*, he then goes on to explain the meaning of the phrase “is separate from the Pure Abodes” (*gtsang ma’i gnas spangs*), which, according to him, means “transcending them” (*de las ’das pa ste*). However, he conti-

sprul pa po ni ’dir sangs rgyas ||
zhes ’byung ste | ’og min du sangs rgyas pa de la de skad bya’o ||
And Vāgīśvarakīrti’s *Saptāṅga* (P 235a5–6; D 197b5; B 1105.6–9): *de skad du |*
gtsang ma rigs [ris D] kyi steng gnas pa ||
grong khyer rab dga’ ’og min du ||
rdzogs pa’i sangs rgyas der ’tshang rgya ||
sprul pa dag ni ’dir sangs rgyas ||
zhes gsungs so ||

⁵⁵ **Guhyagarbhatantraṭīkā* (P 135b8–136a1; B 279.21–280.4):

gtsang ma’i rigs dag spangs pa yi ||
’og min chen po’i gnas mchog na ||
rigs bdag phyag rgya lhun grub sku ||
grig dang du ma nmams [= nmam] spangs pa ||
sangs rgyas kun gyi spyi gzugs te ||
gdod nas theg mchog mdzod nyid phyir ||
sgrib pa mtha’ spangs gdul bya la ||
skad cig grig gis snang bar mdzad ||

⁵⁶ For these eight lines as found in the **Vajrasattvamāyājālaguhyasarvādarśa*, see the Appendix, § 4, lines 37–44. For the text as cited by Klong chen pa, see the *sNgags kyi spyi don* (4.13–18) and the *Phyogs bcu’i mun sel* (A, 41.5–42.1; B, 12b4–5; C, 78.8–12).

nues, although this Akaniṣṭha transcends worldly appearances-cum-perceptions, it is uncertain whether it is indeed physically located above the Pure Abodes, for it is merely one's own perception (and the appearances accompanying it) of the abode of the *buddhas*.⁵⁷

The notion that the place of awakening is located outside or, more precisely, above the five Pure Abodes is supported by other citations as well. Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, for example, in his *Baidūrya g.ya sel*, cites the following five lines of verse from a *sūtra* titled *Chos dang longs spyod mngon par sangs rgyas pa'i mdo* (yet to be identified):⁵⁸

The delightful realm of Akaniṣṭha,
Which is adorned with various riches,
Is located above the Pure Abodes.
The *samyak[sam]buddha* becomes awakened there.
A manifested [form] becomes awakened here.

The same verse is cited by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364; TBRC: P155) in his religious history, in the context of the Five Definitenesses (*nges pa lnga*) while explaining the Definiteness of Place. He, however, wrongly ascribes it to the *Lankāvatārasūtra*.⁵⁹ A similar verse, albeit one missing the fourth line, is found in Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* (note the Tibetan rendering *steng gnas pa* for *vivarjita*),⁶⁰ and likewise in Ratnākaraśānti's *Sūtrasamu-*

⁵⁷ *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel* (A, 42.1–2; B, 12b5–6; C, 78.12–15): *de'ang gtsang ma'i gnas spangs zhes pa ni de las 'das pa ste | jig rten gyi snang ba las 'phags pa yin gyi de'i [A de yi] ya rol na yod pa'i nges pa med de | sangs rgyas gang na bzhugs pa'i rang snang yin pa'i phyir ro ||*.

⁵⁸ *Baidūrya g.ya sel*, vol. 2: 884.6–885.1:

rin cen sna tshogs mdzes pa yi ||
'og min gnas ni nyams dga' bar ||
gtsang ma'i gnas kyi steng bzhugs te ||
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
sprul pa po zhig 'dir 'tshang rgya ||.

⁵⁹ For the pertinent passage from the *Bu ston chos 'byung*, see the Appendix, § 5.

⁶⁰ *Tattvasaṃgraha* II.775.6–7, st. 3550:

akaniṣṭhe pure ranye suddhāvāsavivarjite |
budhyante tatra sambuddhā nirmitas tv iha budhyate ||.

The Tibetan translation reads (P 154b5–6; D 129b3; B 316.13–15):

'og min gnas ni mchog gyur pa ||
gtsang ma'i gnas kyi steng gnas par ||

ccayabhāṣya, where this time the third line is missing⁶¹ and where the source likewise remains unidentified.

According to Bu ston, the Definiteness of Place is located in one of the regions of the Pure Abode Akaniṣṭha. Moreover, as just pointed out, unlike Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, who attributes the verse to a *sūtra* titled *Chos dang longs spyod mngon par sangs rgyas pa'i mdo*, Bu ston attributes it to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. Bu ston then goes on to cite the line *gtsang ma'i gnas ni spangs pa na ||* (i.e., the first line of the verse discussed earlier), for which he simply identifies the source as a *tantra* (*rgyud*). In conclusion he cites a passage from an unspecified work by Kamalaśīla.⁶² The cited passage is found in the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, and is in fact Kamalaśīla's commentary on the above-mentioned *Tattvasaṃgraha* 3550.⁶³ According to Kamalaśīla, there are several Akaniṣṭhas, those within the Pure Abodes, which are the abodes of the gods and in which only Noble Ones abide, and Mahāmaheśvarāyatana, which is located above them and in which only bodhisattvas who abide at the tenth stage, and thus are in their last saṃsāric existence, are born.

To sum up the discussion of the verses cited above, although their scriptural source could not always be determined with certainty, it could be said that some of the lines have been shared by several sources and that they very probably have a common origin (be it a single text or a cluster of related texts). It has also become clear that in the course of time there was a tendency, particularly in Tantric literature, to locate Akaniṣṭha that is the place of awakening above the Pure Abodes, which is in contrast to earlier sources, particularly *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774. An interesting

yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
sprul pa po ni 'dir sangs rgyas ||.

Compare the English translation in Jha 1939: 1547 (there st. 3351).

⁶¹ *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya* (P 258a1–2; D 219a6; B 624.13–16): ... *ji skad du |*
rin cen sna tshogs mdzes pa yi ||
'og min gnas ni nyams dga' bar ||
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
sprul pa po ni 'dir 'ishang rgya ||
zhes 'byung ba'i phyir ro ||.

⁶² *Bu ston chos byung* 78.12–22. For the Tibetan texts, see the Appendix, § 5.

⁶³ *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* II.775, *ad st.* 3550 (Tib: P 391a6–8; D 320b2–4; B 1771.2–7). For an English translation, see Jha 1939, vol. II: 1547 (there *ad st.* 3351). See also the Appendix, § 5.

instance in this connection is the above-mentioned passage from Śraddhākaravarman's *Yogānuttaratantrārthāvatārasaṃgraha*, where he first cites *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774 to support the notion that awakening takes place within the Rūpadhātu, which is thus conceived as the abode of the Buddha in his *sambhogakāya* form (that is, Mahāmaheśvarāyatana, which is said to be located within the Akaniṣṭha of the Pure Abodes), where he teaches the Dharma to *bodhisattvas* at the tenth stage, and then goes on to cite the verse in question in order to support the notion that the *nirmāṇakāya* is active in the Kāmadhātu.⁶⁴

6. Early General Discussions of Akaniṣṭha by Two rNying ma Authors

In the following I shall briefly present selected passages from two early discussions of Akaniṣṭha by two key rNying ma authors, namely Rong zom pa and Klong chen pa, including their elucidations of Akaniṣṭha in relation to the three Bodies.

6.1. Rong zom pa on Akaniṣṭha

One of the earliest discussions of Akaniṣṭha by a Tibetan author is found in Rong zom pa's writings. As mentioned earlier, he refers to it, if only briefly, while dealing with conceptions of Buddhahood, as either the place of awakening or as the abode of the Ādi-buddha. But in his commentary on the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, the *dKon cog 'grel*, again in the context of the Five Excellences (*phun sum tshogs pa lnga*), Rong zom pa devotes an entire passage to the topic. His extensive discussion cannot be cited here in full, but in the following I wish to present a passage in which he equates Akaniṣṭha with the *dharmadhātu*, expounding it as being infinite in both size and number. He states:⁶⁵

In order to teach the Excellence of Place, it has been stated [in the **Guhyagarbhatantra*] "in the realm of Akaniṣṭha, which has neither boundaries nor a centre."⁶⁶ The pure field of the *buddhas* is the purified *dha-*

⁶⁴ For the Tibetan text of the passage from Śraddhākaravarman's *Yogānuttaratantrārthāvatārasaṃgraha*, see the Appendix, § 6.

⁶⁵ *dKon cog 'grel* (B, 59a1–b2; G, 42a1–7; D, 94.19–95.11). For the Tibetan text, see the Appendix, § 7.

⁶⁶ For the location of this phrase in the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, see above, note 25.

madhātu. This has been taught in the Sūtric scriptures of definitive meaning, and it is accepted by the Mantric system. In regard to the perception-cum-appearance of the different qualities of the [*buddha*] fields, there are no limitations in regard to [their] directions or locations either, on account of the disciples' worthiness and the *buddhas*' compassion. As has been taught:⁶⁷

There are an inconceivable [number of] different [*buddha*] fields
On the tip of even one single strand of hair.
Their various shapes are different,
They are not intermingled with one another.

One should not maintain that there are no fields of other *buddhas* above the field of the Exalted Sākyamuni. One should not state either that this field of the Exalted One is an impure field. As shown above,⁶⁸ just as even though the sun and moon discs are not impure (i.e., obscured by impurities) the blind are not [able to] perceive them, so too even though the *buddha* fields are not impure, beings who are unworthy cannot perceive them as pure. It is on account of a *buddha*'s compassion that he appears to concealed beings as inferior and meagre. The reason for this is that had [he] appeared in a pure form, [he] would not have [been able to] complete the activities of a *buddha*. Thus regarding, too, what one calls the realm of Akaniṣṭha, there is no need to look with [one's] intellect for a special location. That [location], where [a *buddha*'s] special qualities appear on account of the purified *dharmadhātu*, should be known to be a *maṇḍala* of the Victorious One.

6.2. *Klong chen pa on Akaniṣṭha*

Klong chen pa, in his *sGyu ma ngal gso'i 'grel pa*, presents the positions of various Tantric systems regarding the place of awakening—silently relying upon and partly borrowing from the **Māyādhanakramavṛtti* (*sGyu ma lam gyi rim pa'i 'grel pa*) ascribed to *Niguma.⁶⁹ According to him, both the Yogatantra and Yoga-niruttaratantra systems maintain that the historical Buddha attained awakening in Akaniṣṭha, and it is merely his emanation that attained awakening in this world. As scriptural support, he cites

⁶⁷ This is a citation from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (B 319.17–18).

⁶⁸ This is an allusion to his earlier abridged paraphrase of a passage from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*. See the *dKon cog 'grel* (B, 47b3–4; G, 34a2–3; D, 82.16–19): *gang nyi ma dang zla ba yongs su ma dag gam | dmus long rnams kyis mi mthong | de bzhin du nga'i sangs rgyas kyis zhing 'di ni | sangs rgyas rin po che'i rgyan bkod pa'i zhing kham bzhin du rtag tu 'di dra ste | khyed rnams kyis ni mi mthong ngo || zhes shā ri bu la gsungs pa lta bu dang |*. Cf. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* Chap. 1: § 15 (A: 12, B: 42).

⁶⁹ For the passages borrowed from the **Māyādhanakramavṛtti*, see the Appendix, § 8.

the previously discussed verse (in one of its many versions), which he, as mentioned earlier, ascribes to the *Guhyendutilakatantra*, followed by two verses from a *tantra* titled *'Dus pa don yod pa'i rgyud* (yet to be identified).⁷⁰ He then proceeds to discuss the position of the Yoginītantra system. According to him, in this system—which sets forth the fourth empowerment as a means of attaining Buddhahood—Akaniṣṭha is conceived of as the female sex organ, that is, in the sense of the above-discussed Physiological Akaniṣṭha.

Concerning the question as to where the Akaniṣṭha in which *buddhas* become awakened is located, Klong chen pa presents three positions: (1) It is the Akaniṣṭha of the Pure Abodes. He rejects this position as untenable with the argument that it is invalidated through the statement that Akaniṣṭha transcends the Pure Abodes. (2) It is a delimited hidden place located beyond the Akaniṣṭha of the Pure Abodes. He likewise rejects this position with the argument that it is invalidated by the statement that Akaniṣṭha is immeasurable both in direction and size. (3) It is what may be referred to as Gnoseological Akaniṣṭha, that is, the genuine (or: actual) Vairocana, the primordial *buddha*, where the Body and gnosis have become one. As scriptural support he relies on a *tantra* titled *Ye shes bla na med pa'i rgyud* (yet to be identified) and the *Dharmadhātustava*. He states:⁷¹

According to the Yogatantras, Prince Siddhārtha went to Akaniṣṭha, and, having been empowered by *buddhas*—[as numerous] as [the number of seeds] in a blossoming *sesamum indicum* (*til gyi gong bu kha bye ba*)—attained awakening by means of the five *abhisambodhis* (*mngon [par] byang [chub pa]*).⁷² The Yoganiruttaratāntras maintain that, having received an empowerment from the Great Vairocana-Vajradhara in Akaniṣṭha, [he] became awakened there, and then his emanation attained the awakening in Jambudvīpa. The *Guhyendutilakatantra* states:

⁷⁰ Note that, like other sources, the **Māyādhānakramavṛtti* refers to it as the *Dul ba don yod pa'i rgyud*.

⁷¹ *sGyu ma ngal gso'i 'grel pa* (A, 659.6–660.6, 661.4–662.2; B, 1051.2–1052.4, 1053.4–1054.5; see also C, 90.1–16, 91.6–16). For the text, see the Appendix, § 8.

⁷² For a discussion of Śākyamuni's awakening in Akaniṣṭha during the five *abhisambodhis*, as expounded in the *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra* and its commentaries, see Skorupski 1985a. Note that a summary of the early Sa skya scholar bSod nams rtse mo's (1142–1182; TBRC: P1618) view on the nature of Akaniṣṭha is likewise provided in Skorupski 1985a: 88, but this is beyond the scope of the present article.

The *samyak[sam]buddha* became awakened
In the delightful Akaniṣṭha, that is, Ghana[vyūha],
Which is separate from (*spangs pa*) the Pure Abodes;
[His] manifested [form] became awakened here.

The *Dus pa don yod pa'i rgyud* states:⁷³

The Lord, the chief of *bodhisattvas*,
Having initiated [Śākyamuni] within the Dharma-palace
In the sublime Akaniṣṭha which is a secret supreme location,
Empowered [him so that he assumed]
The Samantabhadra-Vajradhātu Body, the Bodhicittavajra,
By means of the *abhisambodhis*.
[Śākyamuni], having been transformed into Vajradhara, the
unsurpassable essence,
Attained awakening, [consisting in] a great self-occurring bliss.

As for the Yoginītantras, the celebrated Buddha [abiding on] the eleventh stage—after having received the complete four empowerments in the realm of Akaniṣṭha, the midst of the palace of a *vajra*-queen—attained the thirteenth stage of a *vajradhara* by relying on a supreme woman.
[...]

Where is the Akaniṣṭha in which awakening takes place? Some maintain that it is the Akaniṣṭha of the Pure Abodes. However, this [position] is untenable, for it is invalidated through [the statement that Akaniṣṭha] is separate from the Pure Abodes. Some state that [its distance] from the Akaniṣṭha of the Pure Abodes is estimated to be as much as [the prescribed distance] between a town and a solitary place (e.g., a monastery or hermitage). However, [this position] too is untenable, for it is invalidated by the statement that [Akaniṣṭha] is immeasurable in direction and size. Here [in this system (i.e., rDzogs chen)], the pure own perception-cum-appearance [of the place] of the primordial awakening is the Gnoseological Akaniṣṭha, for it is [the sphere in which] the Body and gnośis have become one. It is as stated in the *Ye shes bla na med pa'i rgyud*:⁷⁴

The very mind [is] innate great bliss,
The supreme pure realm of Akaniṣṭha.

And in the *Dharmadhātustava*:⁷⁵

I avow that
The three [types of] knowledge are blended into one
[In] the beautiful Akaniṣṭha

⁷³ For the readings of the same citation found in the **Māyāadhanakramavyṭti*, which clearly has been Klong chen pa's source, see the Appendix, § 8.

⁷⁴ For the readings of these two lines of verse found in the **Māyādhana-kramavyṭti*, on which Klong chen pa relied, see the Appendix, § 8.

⁷⁵ *Dharmadhātustava* (P 75b6–7; D 65b7; B 183.11–12; Liu 2015: 38: v. [57b–d]). For the canonical reading, see the Appendix, § 8.

6.3. *Akaniṣṭha in Relation to the Three Bodies*

As alluded to above, Klong chen pa also discusses the Excellence of Place in his **Guhya garbhatantra* commentary known as *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel*. However, due to the great length of his discussion it cannot be thoroughly discussed within the framework of the present paper.⁷⁶ Here I shall therefore merely summarise some of the relevant points. Klong chen pa generally differentiates between what he calls the “ordinary (lit. “mere”) Akaniṣṭha” (*'og min tsam*) and the “Akaniṣṭhas of the three Bodies”—namely, (i) Akaniṣṭha of the *dharmakāya* (*chos sku'i 'og min*), (ii) Akaniṣṭha of the *sambhogakāya* (*longs sku'i 'og min*), and (iii) Akaniṣṭha of the *nirmāṇakāya* (*sprul sku'i 'og min*). The “ordinary Akaniṣṭha,” being identified as the highest realm of the Rūpadhātu, is associated by him with the *lokadhātu*, while the “Akaniṣṭhas of the three Bodies” are associated with the *buddhakṣetras*. The Akaniṣṭha of the *dharmakāya* is for him the “genuine Akaniṣṭha” (*yang dag don gyi 'og min*). He identifies the Akaniṣṭha of the *sambhogakāya* as Ghanavyūha and refers to it as the “Great Akaniṣṭha” (*'og min chen po*). According to him, it transcends both the Akaniṣṭha of the Pure Abodes (*gtsang ma'i 'og min*) and the Akaniṣṭha of the Naturally Manifested Body, which manifests to those *bodhisattvas* who abide at one of the stages (*sar gnas kyi snang ba rang bzhin sprul sku'i 'og min*). The Akaniṣṭha of the *nirmāṇakāya* is understood by him to be twofold: (a) the “[*buddha*] field of the Naturally Manifested Body (*rang bzhin sprul sku'i zhing*), which is accessible to *bodhisattvas* from the first *bhūmi* onwards, and (b) the Akaniṣṭha of the Pure Abodes (*gtsang ma'i rigs kyi 'og min*), which is accessible to disciples of varying degrees of spiritual progress (i.e., comprising those who have not yet reached the first *bodhisattva* stage).⁷⁷

⁷⁶ For a detailed outline of Klong chen pa's discussion, see the Appendix, § 2.1.

⁷⁷ For a detailed presentation of Klong chen pa's Excellence of Place (*gnas phun sum tshogs pa*), see his *sNgags kyi spyi don* (3.8–9.15). A summary of Klong chen pa's position is provided by Kong sprul in his *Shes bya mdzod* (151.25–152.17), which also includes his interpretation of Buddhaguhya's sixfold typology presented above. Also note that Kong sprul briefly discusses Tārānātha's position, which, however, cannot be addressed here. See the *Shes bya mdzod* (152.18–153.8).

This scheme of the Akaniṣṭhas of the three Bodies is apparently based on the rNying ma rDzogs chen *tantra* known as the *Kun byed rgyal po*, which states:⁷⁸

The abode of the Teacher [in the form of] the *dharmakāya*
(i.e., Ādibuddha)
Is the Akaniṣṭha that is the palace of the *dharmadhātu*.
This has been explained as the genuine Akaniṣṭha.
The abode of the Teacher [in the form of] the *sambhogakāya*
Has been explained as the Akaniṣṭha that is a place that transcends all the
characteristics of the world,
The Akaniṣṭha that is a celestial palace in the form of a multistoried
mansion (*khang bu brtsegs pa kūtāgāra*).
The abode of the Teacher [in the form of] the *nirmāṇakāya*
Has been explained as the abode of Śākyamuni, the seventh [in the line
of *buddhas*],⁷⁹
The Ḡḍhrakūṭa abode,
The abode in which [an] indefinite [number of] manifestations [appear
on account of the *buddhas*'] sublime compassion.⁸⁰

Although less explicit, similar notions can be found in other canonical sources, such as Nāgabodhi's *Nīlāmaradharavajrapāṇi-tantraṭīkā*.⁸¹

Along the same lines, Rong zom pa, in his *Grub mtha'i brjed byang*, names Ghanavyūha, Akaniṣṭha, and Jambudvīpa as the

⁷⁸ *Kun byed rgyal po* 16a7–b1:

ston pa chos sku'i gnas ni 'di lta ste ||
'og min chos kyi dbyings kyi pho brang ste ||
yang dag don gyi 'og min de ru bshad ||
ston pa longs spyod rdzogs pa'i gnas bstan pa ||
'jig rten mtshan ma kun gyi steng gyur pa ||
gnas kyi 'og min khang bu brtsegs pa yi ||
gzhal yas khang de gnas kyi 'og min bshad ||
ston pa sprul pa'i sku yi gnas gtan [= bstan] pa ||
sprul pa'i sku ni rab [= rabs] bdun shakya thub ||
gnas na [= ni] bya rgod phung po'i gnas stan [= bstan] te ||
yang dag thugs rje sprul pa nges med gnas ||.

For the formation of this *tantra* and its sources, see Almogi 2019.

⁷⁹ For references to the list of *buddhas* (Śākyamuni and his six predecessors), see Wangchuk 2007: 79, n. 29. See also Tournier 2019.

⁸⁰ Compare the English translation in Neumaier-Dargay 1992: 79–80.

⁸¹ *Nīlāmaradharavajrapāṇitantraṭīkā* (P 112a7–8; D 88b2; B 1327.8–9):

bcom ldan rdo rje 'chang chen pos ||
'og min chos dbyings pho brang du ||
rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
sprul pa po ni 'dir sangs rgyas ||.

places where the three Bodies appear:⁸²

The *dharmakāya* is epistemically accessible to *tathāgatas*, for [it] exists without having any characteristics and without any effort as the domain of activity of all *buddhas* in the realm of Ghanavyūha. The *sambhogakāya* is accessible to *bodhisattvas*, for it teaches the Dharma by means of *samādhi* to a great *maṇḍala* consisting of a retinue of *bodhisattvas* in Akaniṣṭha. The *nirmāṇakāya* is accessible to those [*bodhisattvas*] on the *adhimuktica-ryābhūmi* (i.e., on the *sambhāramārga*: *tshogs lam* and *prayogamārga*: *byor lam*) and [other] worthy sentient beings, and it appears in billions of Jambudvīpas.

7. Conclusion

The above deliberations have been a modest attempt to discuss the multivalent Buddhist word-cum-name Akaniṣṭha (including its variant Aghaniṣṭha) by primarily, but not only, resorting to literature of the rNying ma school of Tibetan Buddhism. It has touched upon various issues, including the literal meaning of the word, the multiple connotations and meanings it has taken on in the course of time, attempts at systematisation by typologising its diverse applications, and an identification of the “location(s)” or “domain(s)” it refers to. We have seen that Akaniṣṭha has over time taken on various meanings within the Buddhist tradition, reflecting different doctrinal systems and different levels of discussion. It has become clear that the intended meaning of the word—which initially designated a group of gods, and by extension their realm (a location well defined within the Abhidharmic Buddhist cosmology)—can be captured only within a given context, and that, too, often only with the help of a commentator (i.e., particularly in the Tantric context).

We have also seen that Tibetans chose to translate all instances of the word-cum-name Akaniṣṭha in the same manner—that is, as

⁸² *Grub mtha'i brjed byang* (B, 345a5–b2; D, 222.24–223.7): *de la chos kyi sku ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i spyod yul du yod de | stug po bkod pa'i zhing khams na | sangs rgyas thams cad kyi spyod yul du mtshan ma med par lhun gyis grub par yod la | longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku ni byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi spyod yul du yod de | 'og min gyi gnas na byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi 'khor gyi [D gi, B kyi] dkyil 'khor chen po la ting nge 'dzin gyis chos ston par mdzad do || sprul pa'i sku ni mos pas spyod pa'i sa pa dang | 'gro ba skal ba [D pa] dang ldan pa rnams kyi spyod yul du yod de | 'dzam bu'i gling bye ba phrag bryar snang bas yod do ||.*

'Og min—thus remaining faithful to its literal meaning in Sanskrit, while leaving it to the commentators to elucidate its specific meaning in each given context. As a result of its multiple meanings, several typologies have been devised by traditional scholars in order to facilitate an understanding of its multifaceted usage and semantic range. In addition to presenting these traditional endeavours, an attempt has been made to further systematise these typologies in a manner that not only conveys its multiple meanings and nuances as found in the sources (both Indic and Tibetan) but also one that offers solutions for preserving these meanings in current discussions. Despite discrepancies between the various typological schemes offered in traditional sources, six principal categories of Akaniṣṭha—or, in other words, six usages of the term-cum-name Akaniṣṭha—could be identified, namely, Ontological, Semeiological, Gnoseological, Physiological, Conceptual, and Cosmological.

It is not at all surprising that Buddhist scholars have on numerous occasions attempted to determine the exact identity and “location” of what has been regarded in different contexts as the “Akaniṣṭha that is a Place” (i.e., Akaniṣṭha in its Abhidharmic cosmological sense). Generally speaking, in regard to the “location” of Akaniṣṭha, we have seen that it is at times conceived as a place among the five Pure Abodes—that is, in accordance with its meaning within the Buddhist cosmology of the Abhidharma—and at other times beyond them or, more precisely, above them—particularly when it is referred to as the place of awakening. Furthermore, while on some occasions Akaniṣṭha (particularly as the place of awakening) is identified with Ghanavyūha, on other occasions Akaniṣṭha and Ghanavyūha are regarded as two distinct realms (or domains). Not seldom, one and the same author may assert either of the positions within different contexts. The association of these two realms with one of the three *buddha* Bodies also varies accordingly. As we have seen, mKhas grub rje (in his *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag*) and Klong chen pa (in his *sGyu ma ngal gso 'grel pa*) identify the Akaniṣṭha that is the place of awakening as the *buddha* field Ghanavyūha, which is located above the Akaniṣṭha of the Pure Abodes. Along the same lines, Klong chen pa, in his *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel*, identifies the Akaniṣṭha of the *sambhogakāya* as Ghanavyūha, referred to by him as the “Great

Akaniṣṭha,” which transcends both categories of Akaniṣṭha associated with the *nirmāṇakāya*. In a somewhat different scheme Rong zom pa, in his *Grub mtha'i brjed byang*, associates Ghanavyūha, Akaniṣṭha, and Jambudvīpa with the *dharmakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya*, respectively. Similarly, in his *Yid kyi mun sel*, Klong chen pa describes Ghanavyūha according to the Atiyoga system as being a location pervaded by the *buddha*'s *maṇḍala*, here clearly *buddha* in the sense of the *dharmakāya* (and in agreement with Rong zom pa's above-mentioned scheme).⁸³ Along the same lines, Rong zom pa, in his *dKon cog 'grel*, lists numerous epithets and descriptions of a *buddha* according to the Mahāyoga system, including “[one] who abides as the ornament of Ghanavyūha—which is the spontaneously [present] Body, Speech, and Mind in the sphere of the ‘fourth time of equanimity’ owing to [the fact that] all phenomena are inseparable as to [their] nature, which is primordially fully awakened, and are characterized by being neither one nor many.” Obviously, here, too, a *buddha* is referred to in the sense of the *dharmakāya*.⁸⁴ As we have seen, these varied identifications and associations can also be found in other sources, both Tibetan and Indic.⁸⁵

More generally, it is hoped that the above discussion of the word-cum-name Akaniṣṭha and its multilayered meaning, the endeavour to systematise suggested typologies, and the attempt to offer schemes that adequately convey the various meanings in modern languages would raise awareness to similar cases of multivalent Buddhist(-philosophical) terms and perhaps serve as a working example, offering a stimulus for further reflections and deliberations as to how such terms could be dealt with, particularly when translating them into modern languages.

⁸³ For an English translation and the Tibetan text, see Almogi 2009: 480, 483 (§3.2.2.3), respectively.

⁸⁴ See Almogi 2009: 286 (English translation) and 417 (Tibetan text).

⁸⁵ For some additional references, see Almogi 2009: 243, n. 20.

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Abbreviations

- B In canonical works: Beijing (*dPe bsdur ma*) *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*. [For the employment of B in non-canonical works, see the pertinent bibliographical entries.]
- D In canonical works: sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*. Catalogue numbers according to Ui et al. 1934. [For the employment of D in non-canonical works, see the respective bibliographical entries.]
- Hōbōgirin Lévi, Sylvain et al. (eds.). 1929–. *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises*. Tokyo: Maison franco-japonaise.
- ITLR “Indo-Tibetan Lexical Resource.” <http://www.itlr.net/test.php?md=view>.
- N sNar thang *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*.
- P Peking *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*. Catalogue numbers according to Inaba et al. 1960 [Reprint 1985].
- SWTTF Bechert, Heinz et al. (eds.). 1994–2014. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- T sTog *bKa' 'gyur*. Catalogue numbers according to Skorupski 1985b.
- Tb mTshams brag Ms Edition of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*. 46 vols. Facsimile edition. Thimphu: The National Library of Bhutan, 1982 (TBRC W21521). Catalogue numbers according to *The Tibetan & Himalayan Library*, at <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/ngb/>.

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Appendix

1. *Buddhaguhya’s (ascribed) *Cakṣuṣṭīkā (sPyan ’grel)*

P 56a7–b1; N 58b5–59a1; see also B 128.3–8⁸⁶

{gang na gnas pa bzhugs tshul ngo bo bstan} de {gnas} gang du ltar bzhugs ce na⁸⁷ ’og min gnas bzhugs gnas |⁸⁸ zhes pa | (1) **gsang** {bha ga} **ba’i** **’og min** dang | (2) **bgrangs pa’i** {’jig rten pa la de ba bzhugs pa’i} **’og min** dang (3) **brtags** {gzugs khams kyi ma tha} **pa’i** **’og min** dang | (4) {chos dbyings} **don gyi** **’og min** dang | (5) {gzung ’dzin bral ba’i ye shes ni | de bzhin gshegs pa} **ye shes chen po’i** **’og min** dang | (6) **’og min** {dbyer med} **chen po** las | gdul bya’i snang ba tha ma nyid du’o ||

2. *Klong chen pa, Phyogs bcu’i mun sel*

2.1 *An Outline of Klong chen pa’i Discussion of the Excellence of Place*

Klong chen pa’s discussion of the Excellence of Place is found within the context of an “extensive explanation of the subclassification of the *sambhogakāya*” (*longs spyod rdzogs pa’i dbye ba rgyas par bshad pa*), which he discusses in terms of the three Excellences

⁸⁶ Note that the glosses in the P version available to me are partly illegible due to an excess of ink. The readings provided here are based on N (and supported by B, where, however, the locations of the intralinear insertions differ from mine).

⁸⁷] P, || N

⁸⁸ gnas] *em.*, nas| P, nas|| N

of (A) Place (*gnas*), (B) Teacher (*ston pa*), and (C) Retinue (*'khor*). (*Phyogs bcu'i mun sel*: A, 40.2–104.3; B, 14a4–30b3; see also C, 77.6–124.10). The following is his detailed outline (*sa bcas*) of his discussion of the Excellence of Place:

- A. *gnas* (A, 40.3; B, 14a5; C, 77.7)
- I. *spyi don* (A, 40.3; B, 14a5; C, 77.8)
1. *sgra don* (A, 40.3; B, 14a6; C, 77.9)
 2. *mtshan nyid* (A, 40.4; B, 14a6; C, 77.10)
 3. *dbye ba* (A, 41.2; B, 12b1; C, 77.20)
 - i. *chos sku'i 'og min* (A, 41.2; B, 12b2; C, 78.1)
 - ii. *longs sku'i 'og min* (A, 41.4; B, 12b3; C, 78.5)
 - iii. *sprul sku'i 'og min* (A, 46.1; B, 14a1; C, 81.10)
 - a. *gdul bya sa la gnas pa'i don du rang bzhin sprul sku'i zhing* (A, 46.2; B, 14a2; C, 81.12)
 - b. *'dres ma'i don du gtsang ma ris kyi 'og min* (A, 47.6; B, 14b2; C, 82.17)
- [Ø. Typology of *Akaniṣṭha*] (A, 48.5; B, 14b6; C, 83.10)
4. *rtsod pa spang pa* (A, 50.1; B, 15a5; C, 84.9)
- II. *gzhung don* (A, 52.5; B, 16a2; C, 86.7)
1. *longs spyod rdzogs pa sku'i zhing khams* (A, 52.6; B, 16a2; C, 86.8)
 2. *gzhal yas khang* (A, 53.3; B, 16a5; C, 86.17)
 3. *bkod pa phun sum tshogs pa* (A, 57.6; B, 17b3; C, 90.3)
 - i. *rgyan gyi bkod pa phun sum tshogs pa* (A, 57.6; B, 17b4; C, 90.4)
 - ii. *khri'i bkod pa phun sum tshogs pa* (A, 63.5; B, 19b1; C, 94.8)
- B. *ston pa* (A, 67.6; B, 20b6; C, 97.10)
- C. *'khor* (A, 96.6; B, 30a4; C, 119.1)

2.2. *Klong chen pa's Presentation of the Typology of Akaniṣṭha*
Phyogs bcu'i mun sel (§ A.I.3.Ø): A, 48.5–50.1; B, 14b6–15a4; see also C, 83.10–84.8

gzhan yang slob dpon sangs rgyas gsang bas mdzad pa'i spyan 'grel
 las |

(1) don gyi 'og min chos kyi dbyings te |⁸⁹ sangs rgyas thams cad kyi bzhugs gnas yin zhing de'i gong na gzhan med pa'i phyir ro ||
(2) rtags kyi 'og min dbyings dang ye shes dbyer med kyi rtags gzhal yas khang gi dbyibs dang kha dog tu snang ba ste | longs spyod rdzogs pa'i⁹⁰ sku'i bzhugs gnas yin zhing chos kyi dbyings mtshon byed kyi rtags de'i gong na gzhan med pa'i phyir ro ||
(3) rig pa'i 'og min dngos po'i gnas lugs ji lta ba bzhin rtogs pa'i rig pa'i ye shes te | dag pa gnyis ldan gyi chos sku'i bzhugs gnas yin zhing de'i gong na rig pa gzhan med pa'i phyir ro || (4) gsang ba'i 'og min yum gyi mkha' ste gsang ba sku'i bzhugs gnas yin zhing | lam gnas dang yon tan gong na gzhan med pa'i phyir ro || (5) rtog pa'i 'og min las dang po pas 'og min gyi gzhal yas khang bsgom pa ste | lhag pa ting nge 'dzin gyi dkyil 'khor gyi bzhugs gnas yin zhing | don spyi 'dzin byed kyi rtog pa de'i gong na gzhan med pa'i phyir ro || (6) 'jig rten gnas kyi 'og min gtsang ma ris kyi lha lnga'i ya ta ste | 'phags pa rnam kyi bzhugs gnas yin zhing gzugs khams kyi gnas de'i gong na gzhan med pa'i phyir ro ||⁹¹

zhes pa'i don drug byung yang snga ma'i khongs su 'du ste | don dang rig pa'i 'og min chos skur 'du zhing |⁹² rtags kyi longs sku | gzhan gsum sprul skur 'du ste | gnas kyi 'og min dngos yin la | gsang ba dang⁹³ rtog pa'i 'og min sprul sku'i lam nyams su len pas de'i khongs su 'dus so ||

3. **Sūryasiṃhāprabha*, **Guhyagarbhatantravyākhyāna*

3.1. **Guhyagarbhatantravyākhyāna*, Passage 1

P 221b6–222a7; N 201b5–202a7; see also B 454.16–455.20

de lta bu'i sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de bzhugs pa'i gnas gang na⁹⁴ bzhugs zhes bya ba'i phyir ni | 'og min gyi gnas mtha' dang dbus med pa na bzhugs zhes bya ba smos te | yul chos kyi dbyings

⁸⁹]] A, *om.* B

⁹⁰ pa'i] AB (a.c. pa B)

⁹¹]] A, *om.* B

⁹²]] A, *om.* B

⁹³ dang] A, dang]] B

⁹⁴ na] *em.*, nas PN

ji⁹⁵ snyed pa la gtsor smos pa yin no || de 'og min gyi gnas zhes bya
ba smos pa la gsum ste | (1) rang bzhin gyi⁹⁶ 'og min dang |
(2) gnas kyi 'og min dang | (3) rig pa'i 'og min dang gsum du
dgongs pa yin no ||

de la (1) rang bzhin gyi 'og min ni | de bzhin nyid chos kyi dbyings
gcig dang du mar bral ba'i bdag nyid gnyis su med pa'i dbyings te |
yul 'di lta bu zhig bstan du med pa ste | yul chos kyi dbyings mtha'
klas pa la bya ste | de ltar bzhugs pa'i dkyil 'khor ni snod dang bcud
du bcas pa'i rnam par snang ba'i rnam pa thams cad la | gang
phung po dang khams dang skye mched thams cad lha ru rnam
par dag pa ste | de ltar yang le'u gnyis pa yab yum gyis gleng
bslang pa la shes par bya'o ||

(2) gnas kyi 'og min ni gtsang ma rigs lnga'i yang thog dang |⁹⁷
dbang phyug chen po'i gnas la shes par bya'o || de ltar yang gsungs
pa |

gtsang⁹⁸ ma rnam dag spangs gnas⁹⁹ ni ||
'og min gnas ni nyams dga' bar ||
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||¹⁰⁰
sprul pa po longs¹⁰¹ spyod rdzogs pa'i sku ||¹⁰²
sangs rgyas [...]

zhes te | gtsang ma rigs lnga'i yang thog na dbang phyug chen po'i
gnas la shes par bya'o || der bzhugs pa'i dkyil 'khor ni | chos kyi
rgyal srid thams cad longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku 'bras bu rigs kyi
byang chub sems dpa' rnam kyis bskor te gnas pa | thub pa'i sprul
sku rgyun mi 'chad pa'i rten du bzhugs pa de la shes par bya'o ||

⁹⁵ ji] *em.*, ci PN

⁹⁶ gyi] *em.*, gyis PN

⁹⁷ Compare the virtually identical phrase that occurs immediately after the
cited verse, where the text reads *na* instead of *dang*.

⁹⁸ gtsang] N, gtsad P

⁹⁹ gnas] *em.*, nas PN

¹⁰⁰ ||] *em.*, om. PN

¹⁰¹ longs] N, thongs P

¹⁰² ||] *em.*, | PN

(3) rig pa'i 'og min ni yum gyi bha ga lha thams cad kyi 'byung gnas | mngal gyi skye gnas pa thams cad kyi skyes te | yum gyi padma la shes par bya'o || der bzhugs pa'i dkyil 'khor ni ting nge 'dzin gyi dkyil 'khor yi ge thams cad sangs rgyas pa'i 'bras bu lhag pa'i byang chub sems su rig pa'i | gsang ba'i dkyil 'khor la shes par bya ste | de ltar le'u bzhi pa yi ge 'phreng ba bkod pa las rtogs par bya'o ||

3.2 **Guhyagarbhatantravṛyākhyāna, Passage 2*

P 218b4–219a2; N 198b6–199a4; see also B 448.16–449.11

gnas phun sum tshogs pa gang zhe na zhes pa dang | 'og min gyi gnas mtha' dang dbus med pa na zhes bya ba smos so || de la rgol te | theg pa chung ngu ba na re | 'og min la mtha' dang dbus yod do || 'og gi rlung gi dkyil 'khor dang mtha' dbus mnyam ste | steng gi 'og min yang stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i khyab par gnas la | 'og gi rlung gi dkyil 'khor gyis kyang | stong gsum gyi stong chen po 'jig rten gyi khams las | yar bsten pa'i tshad mnyam zhes gsungs pa dang | de'i phyir theg pa chung ngu ba¹⁰³ shes rab chung ba'i phyir ram | don du bcom ldan 'das kyes 'og min yang rgya chung bar bstan to || gal te rgya chung bar ma bstan du zin na¹⁰⁴ ni skrag gam sgyid lug gis dogs nas | steng gi tshad kyang chung ba | sprul pa'i sku yang bye ba phrag brgyar bstan to || theg pa chen po'i gnas skabs na shes rab mchog dang ldan pa'i 'bras bu rigs kyi byang chub sems dpa' rnam la ni | de bzhin gshegs pas 'og min mtha' dang dbus med par bstan la | 'jig rten gyi khams yang rdul snyed du bstan |¹⁰⁵ sprul pa yang rdul phran bsam yas so || de'i phyir mtha' dang dbus med ces bya'o || gnas de lta bu na gnas su zin kyang | gzhal yas khang ni ci lta bu | 'og min mang ngam mi mang | zhes pa'i rtog pa bsal¹⁰⁶ ba'i phyir | gzhi tshad med ces bya ba la sogs pas bstan to ||

¹⁰³ ba] N, pa P

¹⁰⁴ na] N, nas P

¹⁰⁵ bstan] N, bstan P

¹⁰⁶ bsal] N, gsal P

4. **Vajrasattvamāyājālaguhyasarvādarśa* (rDo rje me long aka sGyu
'phrul rdo rje)

P 133b6–134a5; D 136a2–b1; Tb 492.2–493.5

- de yi gnas mchog bshad bya ba || (1)
'byung dang bzhugs¹⁰⁷ dang rten pa dang || (2)
mtshon pa byin gyis brlabs phyir ro || (3)
thabs dang lam gyi¹⁰⁸ khyad par gyis || (4)
kun bdag rdo rje 'chang chen nyid || (5)
gtsang ma rigs¹⁰⁹ dag spangs pa yi || (6)
'og min gnas mchog chen po der || (7)
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas || (8)
skal med skye bo 'dul ba'i phyir || (9)
sprul pa po ni 'dir sangs rgyas || (10)
sangs rgyas kun gyi bzhugs pa'i gnas || (11)
gtsang ma rigs dag rnam spangs pa || (12)
'jigs rten las kyi¹¹⁰ mthar¹¹¹ gyur pa || (13)
'og min 'bar ba'i gzhal yas khang || (14)
phyogs bcur¹¹² rgya yongs ma chad pa'i || (15)
yon tan khyad par 'phags pa ni¹¹³ || (16)
gsang ba yum gyi bha ga la || (17)
bcu gsum sa yi dbang phyug ldan¹¹⁴ || (18)
rdo rje 'chang chen dpag med dang || (19)
til 'bru'i tshul du¹¹⁵ rab tu bzhugs || (20)
chos rnams kun gyi de bzhin nyid || (21)
thog ma tha ma dbus med pa'i || (22)
rang bzhin don gyi 'og min ni || (23)
rgyal ba kun gyi pho brang phyir || (24)
'das dang da ltar ma byon pa'i || (25)

¹⁰⁷ bzhugs] PD, zhugs Tb

¹⁰⁸ gyi] DTb, gyis P

¹⁰⁹ rigs] PTb, ris D

¹¹⁰ kyi] Tb, kyis PD

¹¹¹ mthar] PD, thar Tb

¹¹² bcur] PD, bcu Tb

¹¹³ 'phags pa ni] Tb, spags pa na D, lpag pa nas P

¹¹⁴ sa yi dbang phyug ldan] PD, dbang phyug ldan pa yi Tb

¹¹⁵ du] DTb, tu P

- rgyal ba kun gyi bsten¹¹⁶ pa'i gnas || (26)
de dag nye bar mtshon pa yi¹¹⁷ || (27)
yid dang mtshan ma las gyur pa'i¹¹⁸ || (28)
bsgoms¹¹⁹ dang bris dang byas la¹²⁰ sogs || (29)
de dang 'dra ba'i gzhal yas khang || (30)
rgyal ba sngags dang byin brlabs kyis || (31)
der gnas don phyir mtshon pa'i gnas || (32)
thun mong thun mong ma yin pa'i || (33)
bsod nams ye shes khyad par can || (34)
bsags pa sna tshogs las byung ba'i || (35)
longs spyod rdzogs pa¹²¹ chen po ni || (36)
gtsang ma rigs¹²² dag spangs pa yi¹²³ || (37)
'og min chen po'i gnas mchog na || (38)
rigs bdag¹²⁴ phyag rgya lhun grub sku || (39)
gcig dang du ma rnam spangs pa || (40)
sangs rgyas kun gyi spyi gzugs te || (41)
gdod nas theg mchog mdzod nyid phyir || (42)
sgrib pa rnam¹²⁵ spangs gdul bya la || (43)
skad cig gcig gis snang bar¹²⁶ mdzad || (44)

5. *Bu ston Rin chen grub, Bu ston chos byung*
78.12–22

dang po ni nges pa lnga ldan te | gnas nges pa 'og min ni bkas bcaḍ
bar par 'og min gtsang ma'i gnas kyi logs shig na yod par bshad |
lang kar gshegs par |

¹¹⁶ bsten] PD, brten Tb

¹¹⁷ yi] PD, yis Tb

¹¹⁸ mtshan ma las gyur pa'i] PD, mtshan mar gyur pa yi Tb

¹¹⁹ bsgoms] D, sgom, Tb, sgoms P

¹²⁰ la] DTb, las P

¹²¹ longs spyod rdzogs pa] Tb, rdzogs longs spyod pa PD

¹²² rigs] PTb, ris D

¹²³ spangs pa yi] D, rnam spangs pa'i Tb, spangs pa yin P

¹²⁴ bdag] PD, dag Tb

¹²⁵ rnam] Tb, mtha' PD

¹²⁶ snang bar] Tb, spangs par D, spangs bar P

rin chen sna tshogs mdzes pa yis ||
'og min gnas ni nyams dga' bar ||
gtsang ma'i gnas kyī steng bzhugs nas ||
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
sprul pa po de 'dir 'tshang rgya |

zhes pa dang | rgyud las kyang |

gtsang ma'i gnas ni spangs pa na ||

zhes pa dang| slob dpon ka ma la shī las |¹²⁷

'og min zhes bya ba ni dag ste || de dag gi phyogs gcig na gnas
gtsang ma'i ris kyī lha rnam yod do || der 'phags pa nyid 'ba'
zhig gnas so || de dag gi steng na dbang phyug chen po'i gnas
zhes bya ba'i gnas yod de der sa bcu pa la bzhugs pa'i byang
chub sems dpa' srid pa tha¹²⁸ ma ba kho na skye ba bzhes pa yin
la 'dir ni de lta bu'i sprul pa dmigs pa yin no || zhes bya ba'i lung
yin no ||

zhes pas 'og min phal pa'i steng na yod par bshad pas| gzhi dang
snying po me tog gis brgyan pa'i zhing khams nyid longs sku'i
zhing du chos kyī bshes gnyen bzhed do ||

6. *Śraddhākaravarman's Yogānuttaratantrārthāvatārasaṃgraha*
P 121a6–b2; D 109a7–b2–3; see also B 291.13–292.3

de ni 'og min du dbang phyug chen po'i gnas zho'i spri lta bur
gyur pa snying po byang chub tu mngon par byang chub pa bstan
nas byang chub sems dpa' chen po sa bcu pa rnam la chos kyī
longs spyod par mdzad pa yin no || de yang ji skad du |¹²⁹

¹²⁷ This is a citation of Kamalaśīla's *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* (P 391a6–8; D 320b2–4; B 1771.2–7). The canonical version reads slightly differently: *rigs* for *ris*; *bcu* for *bcu pa*; *zhugs* (only D) for *bzhugs*; *tha ma pa* for *mtha' ma ba*; *'dir ni de'i dbang gis de lta bu'i* for *'dir ni de lta bu'i*; *zhes bya ba ni* for *zhes bya ba'i*.

¹²⁸ *tha]* *em.*, the edition reads *mtha'*

¹²⁹ du |] D, du P

'dod pa'i khams dang gzugs med du ||
sangs rgyas rnam par 'tshang mi rgya ||
gzugs kyi khams kyi 'og min du ||
'dod chags bral khyod 'tshang rgya'o ||¹³⁰

zhes gsungs pa yin no ||¹³¹

gzhan yang chos kyi sku dang | longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku ni byin
gyis brlabs¹³² las byung ba sprul pa'i skus kyang 'dod pa'i khams su
sangs rgyas pa'i tshul gyis 'gro ba dang rjes su mthun par sku bstan
pa yin no || de yang ji skad du |

gtsang ma'i gnas ni rnam spangs nas ||
'og min gnas ni nyams dga' bar ||
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
sprul¹³³ pa po dag 'dir sangs rgyas ||¹³⁴

zhes gsungs pa yin no ||.

7. *Rong zom pa, dKon cog 'grel*

B, 59a1–b2; G, 42a1–7; D, 94.19–95.11

gnas phun sum tshogs pa bstan pa'i phyir 'og min gyi gnas mtha'
dang dbus med pa na zhes smos te | de la sangs rgyas kyi zhing
yongs su dag pa ni chos kyi dbyings rnam par dag pa yin te | 'di ni
nges pa don gyi mdo sde las kyang gsungs la | gsang sngags kyi
tshul las kyang bzhed de | zhing rnams kyi yon tan so sor snang ba
yang gdul bya'i skal ba dang | sangs rgyas kyi thugs rje'i dbang gis
phyogs dang ris su chad pa med do || de yang 'di ltar

spu'i¹³⁵ rtse mo gcig la yang ||
zhing rnams dbye ba bsam mi khyab ||

¹³⁰ rgya'o ||] D, rgya'o P

¹³¹ This is a citation of *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10:774, for which see above, note 12.

¹³² byin gyis brlabs] P, byin gyi rlabs D

¹³³ sprul] P, sgrub D

¹³⁴ rgyas ||] D, rgyas P

¹³⁵ spu'i] L, spu yi B

sna tshogs dbyibs kyang tha dad de ||
de dag 'dres par gyur pa med ||

ces gsungs pa lta bu ste | bcom ldan 'das¹³⁶ shākya thub pa'i zhing
'di'i gong na yang¹³⁷ sangs rgyas gzhan gyi zhing khams gzhan med
do zhes brjod par mi bya'o || bcom ldan 'das kyi zhing 'di nyid
kyang yongs su ma dag pa'i zhing khams yin no zhes kyang brjod
par mi bya ste | gong du bstan pa bzhin du nyi ma dang zla ba'i
dkyil 'khor ma dag pa ma yin mod kyi | dmus long rnam kyis mi
mthong ba bzhin du | sangs rgyas kyi zhing yongs su ma dag pa ma
yin kyang | skal ba med pa rnam kyis dag par mi mthong ba dang |
sangs rgyas kyi thugs rjes¹³⁸ sems can khengs pa rnam la ngan cing
dbul bar snang ste | dag par snang bas sangs rgyas kyi mdzad pa mi
'grub pa'i phyir ro || de bas na 'og min gyi gnas zhes bya ba 'di yang
gnas kyi phyogs blos btsal mi dgos te | chos kyi dbyings rnam par
dag pa'i dbang las yon tan gyi khyad par gang du snang ba de nyid
rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor du shes par bya'o ||

8. *Klong chen pa, sGyu ma ngal gso'i 'grel pa*

A, 659.6–660.6, 661.4–662.2; B, 1051.2–1052.4, 1053.4–1054.5; see
also C, 90.1–16, 91.6–16¹³⁹

gsang sngags rnal 'byor gyi lugs kyis¹⁴⁰ rgyal bu don grub 'og min
du byon pa dang | til gyi gong bu kha bye ba lta bu'i sangs rgyas
rnam kyis byin gyis brlabs te mngon byang lngas sangs rgya bar
'dod do || rnal 'byor bla med rgyud las ni | 'og min du rnam snang
rdo rje 'chang chen po la dbang zhus nas der sangs rgyas pa'i sprul
pa 'dzam bu'i gling 'dir sangs rgya bar 'dod do || zla gsang thig le
las |¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ 'das] B, *om.* L

¹³⁷ yang] B, *om.* L

¹³⁸ rjes] *em.*, rje'i BL

¹³⁹ The first passage cited here is an almost verbatim borrowing from the **Māyāadhanakramavṛtti* (P 197a8–b7; B 942.18–943.16). The second passage selectively relies on the **Māyāadhanakramavṛtti* (P 199a8–b4; B 944.4–945.5) in its presentation of three distinct positions, including the citation from the *Ye shes bla na med pa'i rgyud* (the citation from the *Dharmadhātustava* is Klong chen pa's own addition).

¹⁴⁰ kyis] *em.*, kyi AB (testimonia: **Māyāadhanakramavṛtti*)

¹⁴¹ The **Māyāadhanakramavṛtti* reads as follows: *zla gsang thig le las* |

gtsang ma'i rigs dag spangs pa yi¹⁴² ||
'og min stug po nyams dga' bar ||
yang dag sangs rgyas der sangs rgyas ||
sprul pa po zhid 'dir sangs rgyas ||

zhes pa dang | 'dus pa don yod pa'i rgyud las |¹⁴³

gsang ba'i gnas mchog 'og min dam par ni ||
byang chub sems dpa'i gtso¹⁴⁴ chen dbang phyug des ||
chos kyi pho brang der ni dbang bskur bas ||
kun tu¹⁴⁵ bzang po rdo rje dbyings kyi skur ||
byang chub sems kyi rdo rje byin gyis brlabs ||
de nyid du ni mngon par byang chub pas ||
bla med snying po'i rdo rje 'chang du gyur ||
rang byung bde ba chen por mngon sangs rgyas ||

zhes so || ma rgyud pa ni | grags¹⁴⁶ chen gyi sangs rgyas sa¹⁴⁷ bcu
gcig de 'og min gyi gnas rdo rje btsun mo'i gzhal yas dbus su dbang
bzhi rdzogs zhus nas bud med mchog la brten nas bcu gsum rdo
rje 'dzin pa'i sa thob bo ||
[...]

gtsang ma'i rigs dag spangs nas ni ||
'og min stug po nyams dga' bar ||
yang dag rdzogs sangs der sangs rgyas ||
sprul pa po cig 'dir sangs rgyas ||

zhes pa dang |.

¹⁴² yi] *em.*, yis AB (testimonia: **Māyādhana*kramavytti, among others)

¹⁴³ The **Māyādhana*kramavytti reads as follows: 'dul ba don yod pa'i rgyud las |

gsang ba'i gnas mchog 'og min dam par ni ||
byang chub sems dpa' gtso chen dbang phyug des ||
chos kyi pho brang der ni dbang bskur bas ||
kun tu bzang po rdo rje dbyings kyi skur ||
byang chub sems kyi rdo rjes byin brlabs pas ||
de nyid du ni mngon par yang dag byang chub pas ||
bla med snying po rdo rje 'chang du gyur ||
rang byung bde ba chen por mngon sangs rgyas ||

zhes so ||.

¹⁴⁴ gtso] *em.*, mtsho AB (testimonia: **Māyādhana*kramavytti)

¹⁴⁵ tu] B, du A

¹⁴⁶ grags] *em.*, khrag AB (testimonia: **Māyādhana*kramavytti)

¹⁴⁷ sa] *em.*, om. AB

gang du'ang sangs rgyas pa'i 'og min de gang na yod ce na | kha
cig de gtsang ma ris kyi 'og min du 'dod pa yang mi 'thad de |
gtsang ma'i gnas dag spangs pas gnod do || kha cig gtsang ma'i 'og
min las grong las dgon pa'i tshod tsam zhes pa'ang mi 'thad de |
phyogs dang rgya khyon tshad med pa'i || zhes pas gnod do || 'dir
ni thog ma sangs rgyas pa'i rang snang dag pa de rig pa'i 'og min
yin pas sku dang ye shes dbyings gcig tu brnyes pa der bshad de |
ye shes bla na med pa'i rgyud las |¹⁴⁸

sems nyid bde chen lhan cig skyes ||
'og min gtsang ma'i gnas mchog go ||

zhes pa dang| chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa las |¹⁴⁹

'og min de nyid rnam mdzes pa ||
shes pa gsum pa gcig nyid du ||
'dres¹⁵⁰ par gyur la bdag smra 'o ||

zhes pa ltar ro ||

¹⁴⁸ The citation found in the **Māyādhānakramavytti* is virtually identical except for one instance where it reads *bde stong* instead of Klong chen pa's *bde chen*.

¹⁴⁹ *Dharmadhātustava* (P 75b6–7; D 65b7; B 183.11–12; Liu 2015: 38: v. [57b–d]). The canonical version reads with slight variation as follows:

'og min nyid de rnam mdzes pa ||
shes pa gsum pa gcig nyid du ||
'dres par gyur la bdag smra 'o ||.

This verse is not extant in the available Sanskrit version (nor does it exist in the Chinese translation).

¹⁵⁰ 'dres] *em.*, 'dren AB (testimonia: *Dharmadhātustava*)

*The Body in Enlightenment:
Purification According to dGe lugs Works on the
Guhyasamāja Tantra**

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*For Cristina,
the kindest person among scholars
and the wisest of persons.*

1. Prelude

dByang can dga' ba'i blo gros (1740–1827) relates the following anecdote:¹

When the previous Paṅ chen conferred the Guhyasamāja initiation to monks from rGyud stod at Brag yer pa, he said:

Some Tibetans asked Atiśa whether it is possible to attain awakening in one lifetime and one body. Atiśa replied that it is possible to be awakened in one lifetime, but not in one body. The Tibetans said that this was not Atiśa's intention. Yet, since Atiśa had a profound understanding of key points of mantra, this is very true, and the Tibetans did not understand Atiśa's explanation.

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¹ 'Grel pa bzhi sbrag zin bris 36.

We may surmise that the great master Atiśa bestowed perfect teachings upon his Tibetan disciples, but they could not apprehend his explanation. Indeed, how could there be enlightenment in one lifetime but not in one body? If *yogins* must abandon their present bodies and take a new rebirth, they are not awakened in a single lifetime. How can they acquire another body without undergoing death and rebirth? Moreover, if they cannot be awakened in their own bodies, in what body are they awakened? We also learn that unlike Atiśa's Tibetan disciples, the Paṅ chen Rin po che comprehended Atiśa's intention, but without further explanation, dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros moves on to another point.

Chos rje Ngag dbang dpal ldan (b. 1797), dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros's disciple, repeats this anecdote in his highly acclaimed work *gSang chen rgyud sde bzhi'i sa lam nam gzhas*,² and adds: "This should be investigated." Once again, the riddle remains unresolved. While teaching this work in California in 2003 and 2004, Kirti mTshan zhabs Blo bzang 'jigs med dam chos (1926–2006) clarified:³

This process involves more than one body, since an exchange of bodies takes place. Therefore, it may be inferred that enlightenment is not attained in a single body.

2. *Awakening in the Present Life and Purification of the Contaminated Body*

At times, the tantric innovation is taken as two-fold in nature: First, while Mahāyāna *bodhisattvas* are required to strive for three incalculable eons, tantric *yogins* can attain enlightenment in the present lifetime. Second, unlike practitioners of the Perfection Vehicle, *tātrikas* can transform their ordinary impure human bodies into *buddha* bodies. Yet, awakening in the present life and awakening in the present body are not always synonymous.

At the time of his awakening under the *bodhi* tree, Buddha Śākyamuni reached "*nirvāṇa* with remainder" (Tib. *phung po lhag ma dang bcas pa'i mya ngan las 'das pa*, Skt. *sopadhīśaṇnirvāṇa*), or *nirvāṇa* with the residue of the aggregates, which put an end to his

² *gSang chen rgyud chen* 30b6–31a2/578.6–579.2.

³ Kirti Tsenchab Rinpoché 2011: 235.

afflictive emotions (Tib. *nyon mongs pa*, Skt. *kleśa*). Upon his death, when his impure aggregates ceased to exist and no physical or mental constituents produced by previous *karman* remained, the Buddha attained “*nirvāṇa* without remainder” (Tib. *phung po lhag ma med pa'i mya ngan las 'das pa*, Skt. *nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*). This account indicates that, during his life, the Buddha’s mind could transform from an impure to a pure state or from ignorance to enlightenment, but his physical body could not have been purified. The notion of the impurity of the ordinary body is exemplified as well by the common Buddhist “meditation on foulness” (Tib. *mi sdrug pa bsgom pa*, Skt. *aśubhabhāvanā*), intended to counter the afflictive emotion of desire.

Against this background, the Buddhist notion of reaching enlightenment in the present body—the product of previous *karman* and afflictive emotion, comprised of impure aggregates—is rather enigmatic. Diverse solutions to the question of awakening in the present defiled body are found in Buddhist texts, many of which concern methods for purification (Tib. *sbyong ba*, Skt. *śodhana*) of this contaminated body. Notably, the notion of purification implies that the transformation of the impure into a pure entity is possible. Speaking of “Hindu Tantra,” Gavin Flood begins his paper on “The Purification of the Body in Tantric Ritual Representation” with the following remark:⁴

The purification of the elements in the body, the *bhūtaśuddhi* or *dehaśuddhi*, is an important part of the tantric practitioner’s sequence of daily rites. Indeed, if any practice is characteristic of tantric traditions it is the *bhūtaśuddhi*. It signifies the destruction of the impure, material body through the absorption of the elements within it, which is followed by the creation of a divine body through the imposition of mantras (*nyāsa*), mental or internal worship (*antara-/mānasayāga*), and external worship (*bāhyayāga*).

Buddhist tantras, too, offer methods with a magic-like power to transform the contaminated body into a pure essence, as alchemy is said to transform iron into gold. In his *Samājasādhanaavyavasthōli*, Nāgabuddhi, one of the fathers of the Ārya tradition of the *Guhya-samājatantra*, cites Śāntideva’s *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*⁵ on the

⁴ Flood 2002: 25.

⁵ *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* 1:10.

alchemy-like power of the *bodhicitta* to transform an impure body into a priceless bejeweled image of the Buddha. Nāgabuddhi presents the metaphor of a piece of brass that is made first into a spittoon, where people spit, then made into a serving dish, from which food is eaten, and finally into an image of the Buddha, which is worshipped. He continues:

Likewise, the ordinary body—when it is saturated with desire, hatred, ignorance and so forth, is a cause for *samsāra*. Later, however, when one completely understands intrinsic nature and becomes thoroughly purified, it turns into a cause for attaining the stage of all-knowing.⁶

Significantly, the brass itself undergoes major transformations prior to its different uses. The purification, then, is not only in the eye of the perceiver, as it takes place primarily not in the subject but in the object. For this reason, it differs from most types of purification discussed by Sferra in “The Concept of Purification in Some Texts of Late Indian Buddhism.”⁷ We might mention that the transformation of the piece of brass is obvious, but the process undergone by its referent, the ordinary body, is remarkably vague. The crucial point is that the impure body can transform into a pure entity. The nature of this transformation is less clear.

The problem of enlightenment in this present body can be overcome in other ways as well. A common approach is based on the notion of *tathāgatagarbha*: sentient beings are pure by nature, since beginning-less time; thus, they do not require any fundamental purification.⁸ The stains of their present bodies are adventitious, removable elements. However, we will not proceed in that direction.

In the present paper, I would like to examine the possibility of purifying the present impure body as attested by dGe lugs scholars of Tibetan Buddhism, who maintain that the present body changes when enlightenment is attained. The focus will be the context of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, which emphasizes the illusory body.

⁶ *Samājasādhanavyavasthali*, ch. 3, Tanaka 2016: 126–127.

⁷ Sferra 1999.

⁸ Sferra 1999 discusses this concept. See also Bentor 2017.

3. The Nature of the Transformation into a Buddha-Body

According to the *Guhyasamāja* and other *tantras*, the transformation of the ordinary body into a *buddha*-body is made possible through special links that are thought to exist between the impure psycho-physical elements of the human body and their purified aspects in the forms of the deities of the *maṇḍala*. The *Guhyasamājatantra* relates the body's components to the five *buddhas* of the *maṇḍala* and so forth:⁹ “The five aggregates are proclaimed as the five *buddhas*, the *vajra-āyatanas* as the supreme *maṇḍala* of *bodhisattvas*.” Importantly, the five aggregates are not explicitly equated here with the five *buddhas*; rather, they are proclaimed (Tib. *rab tu bsgrags*, Skt. *prakīrtita*) as *buddhas*. Hence, there is a certain ambiguity regarding the nature of these relations and the extent to which the aggregates and the *buddhas* are to be regarded as identical.

On the one hand, numerous Buddhist *tantras* call for going beyond distinctions between purity and impurity. Thus, in commenting on the above-cited verses of the *Guhyasamājatantra* in his *Pradīpodyotana*, Candrakīrti emphasizes the identity of the aggregates and the *buddhas*:¹⁰ “The natures of the five aggregates are Vairocana and so forth; the five physical elements, earth and so on, are the nature of Locanā, and so forth.” Similarly, some *tantras*, including the *Hevajra* and *Samvarodaya tantras*,¹¹ contain a whole chapter on the identity of bodily constituents and the deities of the *maṇḍala* (called in fact purity, Tib. *nam par dag pa*, Skt. *viśuddhi*). On the other hand, it seems that a certain transition from the impure to the pure stage must be acknowledged. In the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*, Āryadeva, for his part, glosses the above line of the *Guhyasamājatantra* as follows:¹²

It is taught that the aggregates, sensory spheres and sense bases, which since time without beginning abide with the identity of the ordinary, now have the nature of being produced from tiny particles of all *tathāgatas*.

⁹ Ch. 17, st. 50; Matsunaga 1978: 109; S 74b4.

¹⁰ *Pradīpodyotana* Chakravarti 1984: 214; D 186a.

¹¹ *Hevajratantra*, ch. 9; *Samvarodayatantra*, ch. 4.

¹² *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*, ch. 2, Wedemeyer 2007: A 7b.

Here, a distinction is made between the state of things in the past and in the present; the nature of the passing from the former to the latter remaining unclear. Such ambiguities often play an important role in debates, when each party accuses the other of falling into one or another of the extremes rather than straddling over both.

Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419) maintains that the ordinary human body changes when buddhahood is attained. In his *rNam gzhag rim pa'i rnam bshad*, Tsong kha pa states:¹³

Since the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* and the *Pradīpodyotana* teach that *yogins* who are awakened in one lifetime are awakened after changing their bodies, *yogins* meditate on the path first in human bodies; however, eventually, when the fruit is attained, their bodies change.

mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang po (1385–1438), Tsong kha pa's disciple, follows him in this regard:¹⁴

It is not possible that for attaining awakening in this life, the present body, produced by previous *karman* and afflictive emotions, would transform into a *buddha*-body.

The canonical authorities Tsong kha pa invokes for his position are Āryadeva's *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*¹⁵ and Candrakīrti's *Pradīpodyotana*,¹⁶ both stating that when *yogins* are awakened in the present lives, their bodies have to change (Tib. *brje ba*, Skt. *parivarta*) before they can attain the *vajra*-body. Not all Tibetan scholars agree on this point. In following Candrakīrti's explanation cited above, some maintain that the impure bodily constituents of the aggregates, etcetera, do not differ in essence from the deities of the *maṇḍala*.¹⁷

¹³ Tsong kha pa, *rNam gzhag rim pa'i rnam bshad* 19a–b.

¹⁴ mKhas grub rje, *bsKyed rim dngos grub rgya mtsho* 4a1.

¹⁵ Wedemeyer 2007: B 63b: *kalevaram parivartya vajrakāya; phyung po'i khog pa brjes te rdo rje'i lus su gyur nas* [the Tibetan translation corresponds to **skandha-kalevaram*]. See also Wedemeyer 2007: B 71a: *atra svarūpaparivartato bhavati; 'dir rang gi gzugs yongs su brjes par 'gyur ro.*

¹⁶ Chakravarti 1984: 86: *ihaiva janmani svarūpaparivartanāt; D 68b4: tshe 'di nyid la rang gi ngo bo brje ba yin pas.*

¹⁷ See for example, Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge (1429–1489), *Rigs pa'i mtshon cha* 2b–5a.

The position of these early dGe lugs scholars, namely, that the ordinary present impure elements cannot continue in buddhahood, accords with the view of “*nirvāṇa* without remainder” of earlier Buddhism. The following questions then arise: How is it possible to reach enlightenment in the present life, but not in the present body? How can the body be changed without undergoing death and rebirth? If *yogins* abandon their present bodies and take other types of bodies, are they awakened in their present lives? If the present impure body cannot transform into a *buddha*-body, what kind of body can be taken upon reaching enlightenment? Finally, if the present body is forsaken and a *buddha*-body arises, what carries on into buddhahood; in other words, on what basis is the *buddha*-body attained? Leaving aside in the present article the question of what carries the merit and *karman* of *yogins* to awakening, I wish to discuss the bodily aspects that continue in enlightenment. The early dGe lugs scholars themselves posed these very questions, as for example mKhas grub rje says:¹⁸

How, after the present body is forsaken, is a *buddha*-body attained? If the present body is abandoned and a *buddha*-body is obtained by taking a new birth, then the premise that one is awakened in this life would be vitiated. On the other hand, if the present body is abandoned and a *buddha*-body adorned with the major and minor marks of a Buddha is attained without taking a new birth, then the *buddha*-body arises without a homogenous cause, and this is unacceptable.

Our current concerns, then, have a long history. Before turning to a discussion of them, however, we shall take a moment to consider the corporeal elements in buddhahood.

4. The Corporeal Basis of the Buddha-Body

The notion of “*nirvāṇa* without remainder” assumes that the ordinary body, together with all other physical aspects, is discarded. Yet, from early Buddhism on, buddhahood has been described in terms of the two or more bodies or *kāyas* of the Buddha, thus affirming a certain corporeality in the awakened state. Similar to

¹⁸ mKhas grub rje, *bsKyed rim dngos grub rgya mtsho* 4a1–2.

the term “corpus,” *kāya* carries meanings that include “a collection” as well as “a *physical* entity.” Specifically, in the *rūpakāya* certain corporeal elements are present, such as the major and minor marks of the Buddha, the *saṃbhogakāya* or the seven features of union.¹⁹ Hence, the “physiology” of buddhahood is different from that of “*nirvāṇa* without remainder.” There is a body in awakening, or, to put it differently, buddhahood entails an embodiment.

Tsong kha pa emphasizes that at the end of the completion stage, the tantric practice must include a homogenous cause (*rigs 'dra'i rgyu*) of the *rūpakāya* endowed with the major and minor marks of buddhahood.²⁰ Likewise, in the passage above, Tsong kha pa's disciple, mKhas grub rje, calls for a homogenous cause of the *buddha* bodies; that is to say, a cause that is of the same type as the result. For a cause of the *rūpakāya* to be a “homogenous cause” it must have certain corporeal features. In other words, the tantric practice as well must consist of tangible or concrete aspects. According to mKhas grub rje, a mind that abides in bliss, clarity and non-conceptuality as such, or the four joys as such, cannot result in awakening, since they cannot serve as homogenous causes for the *rūpakāya*.²¹ We may ask then, how do the early dGe lugs scholars, who maintain that the present ordinary body must be abandoned, explain the corporeal basis of the *buddha*-body?

5. The Illusory Body

The solution to the puzzle lies in the illusory body (Tib. *sgyu lus*, Skt. *māyādeha*) of the completion stage (Tib. *rdzogs rim*, Skt. *niṣpannakrama* or *utpannakrama*), especially emphasized in the so-called father *tantras*, such as the *Guhyasamājatantra*. The illusory body is the main bodily aspect during the completion stage that is similar in type to the *rūpakāya* and will give rise to it. In his *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, Tsong kha pa explains how the illusory body is the substan-

¹⁹ Tib. *kha sbyor yan lag bdun*. These seven features encompass the characteristics of all three bodies: resources, union, great bliss, absence of intrinsic nature, uninterrupted continuum, compassion, unceasing.

²⁰ Tsong kha pa, *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, ch. 2, 56a2; for an English translation, see Kilty 2013: 118.

²¹ mKhas grub rje, *bsKyed rim dngos grub rgya mtsho* 4a3–b3.

tial cause (Tib. *nyer len*) for the resultant *rūpakāya* endowed with major and minor marks of the Buddha:²²

For attaining a body adorned with the major and minor marks of the Buddha—which is distinct from the ordinary body produced by *karman* and afflictive emotions and the body created by the mind through the meditation on the body of a deity during the generation stage²³—it is necessary to practice a special deity yoga. You need a method to attain an illusory body from the winds, because the substantial cause of this body cannot be but the winds.

The illusory body is attained from the winds (Tib. *rlung*, Skt. *prāṇa*), which brings us to a new perspective on human physiology, one in which the relations of mind and body are quite distinct from what we saw above. The mind is said to be riding on a subtle wind, like a rider mounted on a horse, and these two cannot be separated. Moreover, the wind has certain subtle corporeal aspects that give rise to the bodily elements present in buddhahood. The winds are the substantial cause for the illusory body, and the illusory body, in turn, “is the unique cause of the *rūpakāya*,” endowed with major and minor marks of the Buddha.²⁴

Since in this framework body and mind or wind and mind cannot be separated, the illusory body possesses a mind as well. The substantial cause for the mind of the illusory body is the preceding mind of clear light that arises for advanced *yogins* during the phase of mind-isolation in the completion stage (Tib. *sems dben*, Skt. *cittaviveka*); the substantial cause for its body is the wind on which the mind of mind-isolation is mounted.²⁵ Hence, the illusory body is formed of mere-wind-and-mind (*rlung sems tsam*).

The illusory body is the key to resolving the paradox of attaining buddhahood in this life, after discarding the impure old body but without undergoing death and rebirth. It is in the illusory

²² Tsong kha pa, *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, ch. 2, 56b1–3; for another English translation, see Kilty 2013: 119.

²³ The generation or creation stage, Tib. *bskyed rim*, Skt. *utpattikrama*.

²⁴ Tsong kha pa, *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, ch. 8, 243a6; for an English translation, see Kilty 2013: 444.

²⁵ Tsong kha pa, *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, ch. 7, 213b6–214a1; for an English translation, see Kilty 2013: 396.

body that *yogins* reach the moment of their awakening. Unlike the coarse contaminated body, the subtle illusory body formed of mere-wind-and-mind can be purified just prior to the attainment of enlightenment. At the same time, as we shall see, the illusory body carries a certain subtle corporeality into buddhahood. Moreover, the illusory body can be attained during the practice of the completion stage, without the *yogin* being subjected to the process of dying and being reborn. It is the illusory body, then, that makes it possible to attain enlightenment in one lifetime but not in one body.

6. *The Illusory Body and the Intermediate Being*

For the early dGe lugs scholars like the illusory body, the intermediate being (Tib. *bar do*, Skt. *antarābhava*) is formed of mere-wind-and-mind.²⁶ However, while the illusory body can carry the *yogin* to awakening, the intermediate being leads to *samsāra* alone, as the following lines of the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* indicate:²⁷

For ordinary ignorant beings, the so-called intermediate being—the cause of *samsāra*—will take place. But for those who have obtained the transmitted instruction of all *buddhas* through the lineage of the *gurus*, the so-called self-blessing stage will emanate as embodiment whose essence is the *vajra*-body... endowed with all the excellent qualities of the *buddhas*.

Thus, when ordinary people die, they return once more to *samsāra* as intermediate beings who will be reborn in worldly realms. *Yogins* who engage in tantric practice, however, can attain the so-called “self-blessing stage” (Tib. *bdag la byin gyis brlab*, Skt. *svādhi-ṣṭhāna*). The “self-blessing stage” is the third of the five stages of Nāgārjuna’s *Pañcakrama*,²⁸ regarded as the illusory body.²⁹ From

²⁶ See Tsong kha pa, *rNam gzhag rim pa’i mam bshad* 28b, 43a; *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, ch. 2, 63b1–3; for an English translation, see Kilty 2013: 129–130.

²⁷ D ch. 6, 85b2–4, reading *rdo rje sku’i* for *rdo rje sems dpa’i sku’i*; For Skt. and Tib. editions, as well as an English translation, see Wedemeyer 2007: B 42a. For another English translation see Kilty 2013: 130.

²⁸ This is the title of the third chapter of the *Pañcakrama*.

²⁹ In the *Rim lnga gsal sgron* (ch. 2, 54a3–4) Tsong kha pa states: “At the end of the three states of emptiness, during mind isolation, the conventional illusory

this stage will ultimately emanate the *vajra*-body, “endowed with all the excellent qualities of the *buddhas*.”

According to Tsong kha pa, just like the illusory body, the intermediate being arises following the dawn of clear light. When an ordinary person dies, at the end of the clear light of death, within the old body the intermediate being formed of mere-wind-and-mind naturally arises, separates itself from the old aggregates, and begins a new life.³⁰ The illusory body of a *yogin* skillful in the completion stage can leave the *yogin*'s coarse body, just as the intermediate being separates itself from the dead body.³¹ The actual base of both the illusory body and the intermediate beings are mere-wind-and-mind, which is not a completely new entity but appears as a result of homogenous causes and conditions, carrying certain corporeal features.

In the tantric physiology, then, it is not possible to discard all bodily aspects, as occurs in “*nirvāṇa* without remainder,” just as death in this system does not put a total end to the previous life, since the intermediate being carries on certain subtle elements from its former existence.

7. *Reaching Buddhahood*

The practice of the illusory body is the fourth among the six stages in the completion stage.³² Briefly, this practice begins with the three isolations of the body, speech and mind, and, as we have seen, the illusory body arises from the clear light of mind-isolation. In the fifth stage, the mind of innate great bliss realizes emptiness-

body, formed from the winds in the five colors of light, arises. This is the illusory body, the so-called ‘self-blessing stage,’ the third among the five stages.” For another English translation, see Kilty 2013: 115.

³⁰ Tsong kha pa, *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, ch. 2, 63b1–3; for an English translation, see Kilty 2013: 129–130.

³¹ Tsong kha pa, *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, ch. 7, 214a; for an English translation, see Kilty 2013: 396.

³² The six stages of the completion stage are: body isolation (Tib. *lus dben*, Skt. *kāyavivēka*), speech isolation (*ngag dben*, *vāg̃viveka*), mind isolation (*sems dben*, *cittavivēka*), illusory body (*sgyu lus*, *māyādeha*), clear light (*'od gsal*, *prabhāsvara*) and union, (*zung jug*, *yuganaddha*). For the relation between these six stages and the five steps of the *pañcakrama*, see, for example, Tsong kha pa, *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, ch. 3, 69b–83b; for an English translation, see Kilty 2013: 143–164.

clear-light, and at the culmination of the sixth stage when bliss and emptiness are united with the illusory body, buddhahood is attained. The mind of innate great bliss, which directly realizes emptiness, results in the *dharmakāya*; and the illusory bodies purified by the actual clear light result in the *rūpakāya*. For Tsong kha pa,³³ these are the two exclusive causes of a *buddha*-body at the culmination of the completion stage.

Since *yogins* who attain the illusory body do not change their bodies by dying and taking on a new life, it is within a single lifetime, but not in a single body, that they are awakened. They change their bodies by discarding their coarse ordinary bodies while retaining the subtle corporeal elements of the wind upon which the subtle mind rides. This wind then gives rise to the corporeal aspect of buddhahood, but only after together with the mind it is purified more than once by the clear light. In this way, the illusory body formed of mere-wind-and-mind solves the conundrum of awakening in a single life after having left behind the present contaminated body, but without going through death and rebirth. At this point, we shall revisit the term “formed of mere-wind-and-mind.”

8. *Formed of Mere-Wind-And-Mind*

As noted above, the term “formed of mere-wind-and-mind” is held in common by Tibetan scholars belonging to various schools, including the bKa’ brgyud,³⁴ Sa skya,³⁵ and Ris med.³⁶ However, Tsong kha pa interprets this term in a unique way. To demonstrate his method, let us consider his explanation of a verse from the *Pañcakrama*. The Nāgārjuna who composed this work says:³⁷

³³ Tsong kha pa, *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, ch. 8, 258a6–b2; for an English translation, see Kilty 2013: 470.

³⁴ See the fifth Zhwa dmar dKon mchog yan lag (1525–1583), *Rab gsal nyi ma’i snying po* 93b1 and Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal (1512/3–1587), *Legs bshad nor bu’i ’od zer* 139b4; for an English translation, see Roberts 2011: 568.

³⁵ See Red mda’ ba gZhon nu blo gros (1348–1412), *Yid kyi mun sel* 243, and sTag tshang Shes rab rin chen (b. 1405), *Zhabs lugs rdzogs rim snying gi thig le* 134.

³⁶ Kong sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas (1813–1899), *Shes bya kun khyab*, vol. 3, 225; for an English translation, see Guarisco and McLeod 2008: 144.

³⁷ Ch. 3, v. 16; Tomabechi 2006: 157; D 52b.

“By the mind ignorant beings are bound in *saṃsāra*, and by that very mind *yogins* reach the abode of the *sugatas*.” This line echoes the theory of Mind Only (Tib. *sems tsam*, Skt. *cittamātra*), but for Tsong kha pa, Nāgārjuna taught nothing but Mādhyamika. As such, the theoretical grounds of the Ārya tradition of the Guhyasamāja must be Mādhyamika. Therefore, he explains:³⁸

This teaches that sentient beings are born through the power of the wind and mind of the clear light of death, while for *yogins* skillful in means, this very wind and mind that circle in *saṃsāra* arise as the illusory body and become awakened. Commentaries on the *Pañcakrama* explain the meaning of this verse differently.

Fully aware that his interpretation does not accord with the traditional commentaries on the *Pañcakrama*, Tsong kha pa glosses “mind” in Nāgārjuna’s *Pañcakrama* with “wind and mind,” arguing that such wind and mind arise as the illusory body. Tsong kha pa justifies his reading on the basis of the passage in Āryadeva’s *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*, cited above, which explains that instead of the intermediate being—the cause of *saṃsāra* for ordinary beings—for *yogins* endowed with transmitted instruction the illusory body arises. While modern scholars have suggested a different chronology for these tantric teachers,³⁹ Tsong kha pa understands Āryadeva to be a disciple of Nāgārjuna who is clarifying his master’s works.

In Tsong kha pa’s reading of the above-cited passage, Nāgārjuna is saying that by means of the (wind and) mind, ignorant beings are bound in *saṃsāra*, and by that very (wind and) mind, *yogins* reach the abode of the *sugatas*. By glossing “mind” as “wind and mind” in a work by Nāgārjuna, Tsong kha pa not only eliminates any indication of theories of Mind Only from this context.⁴⁰ In this move, he also links the mere-wind-and-mind, which is the cause of the intermediate being at the ground, to the mere-wind-and-mind that gives rise to the *rūpakāya* when buddhahood is attained. Thus, while in the original verse the mind is the founda-

³⁸ Tsong kha pa, *Rim lnga gsal sgron*, ch. 7, 208a6–b1; for another English translation, see Kilty 2013: 387–388.

³⁹ See Tomabechi 2008.

⁴⁰ Elsewhere as well, Tsong kha pa glosses mind-only, *sems tsam*, as *rlung sems tsam*, mere-wind-and-mind. See Bentor 2015: 186–191.

tion of both *samsāra* and enlightenment, according to Tsong kha pa the ground of everything is the mere-wind-and-mind, as he states in his *Rim Inga gsal sgron*:⁴¹

The root of everything animate and inanimate is none other than mere-wind-and-mind, and such mere-wind-and-mind is then generated into the single body of the stage of union [at the culmination of the tantric path].

9. Conclusions

Seeking a solution to the paradox of enlightenment in this very life but not in this very body, we have traced various Buddhist approaches to the prospect of purifying the ordinary human body. In the process, we discussed a diversity of views regarding the relations between mind and body. Those who maintain that awakening in this very body is possible while regarding the ordinary body as contaminated must take for granted the availability of a method for rendering the impure body pure. Among them, for the Tibetan scholars who accept the theory of *tathāgatagarbha* and thus maintain that the present body is only adventitiously tainted, no extensive metamorphosis is required. Those who do not accept this approach, however, must assume a radical transformation of the impure corporeal constituents before enlightenment in this very body can be attained. Since numerous *tantras* and tantric exegeses affirm that the bodily constituents are in essence no different from the deities of the *maṇḍala*, many Tibetan authors presume the contaminated present body can be purified by means of the tantric path. Yet scholars who do not hold that the ordinary contaminated body can be purified must provide an alternative explanation for awakening in the present life and body. The early dGe lugs scholars do so on the basis of the illusory body formed of mere-wind-and-mind during the completion stage of the *Guhya-samājatantra*. They maintain that while the *yogins* discard their coarse bodies, the subtle—yet corporeal—elements of their bodies are purified at the culmination of the tantric path. Since *yogins* abandon their ordinary impure bodies without dying and being reborn, they attain awakening in their present lives but not in their present bodies.

⁴¹ Tsong kha pa, *Rim Inga gsal sgron*, ch. 9, 276b6–277a1; for an English translation of the entire passage, see Kilty 2013: 505.

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*Sacrifice in Brahmanism, Buddhism,
and Elsewhere: Theory and Practice**

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There is a widespread conviction among human beings that the world we live in, our ordinary reality, is not all there is. There is also a higher reality, different from and more real than our everyday world. We can enter into contact with this higher reality, in various ways. One of the most frequent methods to do so is ritual. Ritual acts can be understood as procedures to anchor important transactions, transitions and relationships into this higher reality. A wedding ceremony gives a deeper reality to a specific transaction between two parties, making it irreversible. Initiation rituals, similarly, anchor transitions into this higher reality, adding a dimension to transitions that might otherwise be considered normal and inevitable.

One human concern is particularly important in this context: hierarchical relationships. In a hierarchical relationship one party is superior, the other inferior. Such a relationship finds its most visible expression when a superior person takes from the inferior

* This paper brings together and further elaborates ideas presented in earlier publications of mine mentioned in the references below. These publications provide further details and references.

person something that is dear to the latter, in the final resort even the inferior person's life. Such acts of violence occur all the time among humans, and have no special connection with religion, ritual or sacrifice. However, such unequal relationships can be anchored into a higher reality and thus rendered permanent and unchangeable. This requires ritual enactment of the hierarchical relationship. In such a ritual both the superior and the inferior person (or persons) have to participate of their own free will. A typical ingredient of such a ritual is that the inferior persons, of their own free will, part with something that is dear to them or even, in extreme cases, with their own life.

I will use the word sacrifice to designate rituals that concern the hierarchical relationship between a superior and an inferior person. Both the superior and the inferior person can be human, but often the superior person is divine. This does not affect the general scheme, because there are examples from different cultures where both persons are human. When the Roman emperors had their subjects perform sacrifices to them, only modern scholars could come up with the idea that only the divinization of the emperors could explain this. In reality such sacrifices concerned the relationships between two humans: the emperor and his subject. Sometimes this relationship between humans is hidden, yet discernible to those who look. The ancient Indian Horse Sacrifice anchored a hierarchical relationship between humans in a higher reality: it established the superiority of the initiator of the sacrifice, a king, over rival neighbouring kings. The sacrifice yet culminates in a ceremony in which the king sacrifices a horse to gods, but this merely reveals the triple structure of this sacrifice: it establishes the superiority of the king with respect to his rivals, while at the same time subordinating him to the gods. A similar situation prevailed among the Aztecs. They took the most prized possessions of their neighbours, i.e., their best warriors, and ritually put them to death. The superior position of the Aztecs with respect to their neighbours is there for all to see, and the fact that those captive warriors were sacrificed to gods does not change this.

We have already seen that a sacrifice (in the sense here used) requires agreement from all parties, including the inferior party. It is striking to see that often the inferior party does not only consent to participate, but actually takes the initiative. This should not sur-

prise us. The human predisposition to social hierarchy does not only account for the urge to be superior to others, but also, and often simultaneously, for the urge to be inferior. This latter urge may indeed be a factor contributing to the human tendency to believe in superior divine beings: it is no doubt safer to practice one's inferiority with respect to such beings rather than toward the first passing robber baron who has succeeded in imposing his will.

So far we have skipped the most important questions. Why are so many people convinced that there is a higher reality, more real than our ordinary world? And what procedures are required in order to get into contact with that higher reality? How and why does ritual succeed in gaining access to it? And how does one anchor transactions, transitions and relationships into a higher reality?

All these questions allow of a single answer, which is of a psychological nature. The way our mind works predisposes us to believe in a higher reality, and it determines the ways in which we believe we can enter into contact with it. So how does it work?

It is well known to psychologists and philosophers that ordinary perception is interpreted perception. We do not see the world as it is, but as interpreted in the light of our memories, expectations and other mental contents. Briefly put, numerous mental associations contribute to our awareness of the world, to what we consider ordinary reality. Different mental associations result in different ways in which we experience the world. So does a reduced number of mental associations. A reduced number of mental associations leads to a less interpreted perception of the world.

We know that in all cultures there are individuals who, for whatever reason and by whatever means, have extraordinary experiences that they think put them into contact with a higher reality. This is the result of a strong reduction in mental associations. Such strong reductions of mental associations are not accessible to everyone, but to a more limited extent such reductions, and with them a changed perception of the world, are common to all of us. The reason is that there is a logic behind the reduction of mental associations. We reduce mental associations by concentrating, by getting absorbed, and the deeper the absorption, the fewer mental associations contribute to our perception of the world. We may not be aware that in states of absorption we cognize the world dif-

ferently, but we do seek out activities and places that facilitate absorption in situations where that higher reality plays a role. Fixed and repetitive movements have that effect, and it is known that such movements characterize rituals. Meditation and prayer, too, can induce absorption, and there is no need to remind you that these are frequently used means to enter into contact with higher reality.

Let us return to the sacrifice. One can impose one's superiority without the help of rituals: one can simply destroy the other party's property, or the inferior person herself. One does not need rituals to manifest one's inferiority either. But if one wishes to anchor that hierarchical relationship into higher reality, if one wishes to solemnize it and make it permanent, then the destruction of property of the inferior person, or the destruction of the inferior person herself, has to take place in a ritual setting. This means, in a setting that facilitates absorption, in a solemn ceremony that is preferably repetitive, and free from disturbances.

I can now further specify the way I use the term sacrifice: A sacrifice is a ritual that solemnizes a hierarchical relationship. Since it is a ritual, this definition does not normally cover "sacrifices" that a person can make for his motherland, his family, etc. (even though there may be situations where such "sacrifices" take on ritual features). The definition also excludes rituals that do not concern hierarchical relationships, such as many rites of passage, initiation rituals, etc.

However, the definition includes behaviours that are not normally thought of as sacrifices. Buddhism, for example, is said to be a religion without sacrifices, and indeed, Buddhism is critical of the Vedic tradition of sacrifice, especially animal sacrifices. But Indian Buddhist literature is full of a theme that looks very much like it: devoted Buddhists—including prominently future Buddhas—give away their body or parts of it. And this is not only a literary theme. The Chinese pilgrim Yijing reports that in his time there were Buddhists in India who burned their own bodies as an act of religious fervour. And in China, from the fourth century CE onward, there were instances of bodily self-mutilation, sometimes on a massive scale, in conjunction with the worship of relics or *stūpas* (Benn 2007).

This last element is important. Bodily self-mutilation in conjunction with relic or *stūpa* worship is a ritual manner of abandoning part of one's body in favour of a Buddha or Bodhisattva. It is therefore a ritual that solemnizes a hierarchical relationship, and is therefore a sacrifice as I am using the term.

I am not the first to see a parallel between Vedic sacrifice and Buddhist self-destruction. Perhaps the most recent author who has drawn attention to it is Reiko Ohnuma, who refers back to Hubert and Mauss, Paul Mus and Edith Parlier. She sees here a historical continuity between Vedic and Buddhist thought. This is indeed the way in which historians frequently deal with similar phenomena in different cultural or religious traditions. They propose a historical connection, and therefore an influence of one on the other. Often this leads to satisfactory explanations, but not always. The similarity of the Vedic sacrifice and Buddhist self-mutilation is an example where it does not work. Buddhism was critical of the Vedic sacrifice, so the claim that they imitated elements of it in their own religious practices is a priori improbable. It becomes even less probable when we remember that the Vedic sacrificer only rarely, if ever, went to the extent of destroying his own body or parts of it; he was more than happy to maintain that he was represented by the sacrificial victim (an animal or other offering). Why then should certain Buddhists go beyond this and do to their own bodies what the Vedic sacrificer was unwilling to do? And finally, why should the most extreme cases of Buddhist self-immolation occur in China and beyond, far from the region where the Vedic sacrifice had ever been practiced?

It should be clear from the above that the similarity between the Vedic sacrifice and Buddhist self-immolation cannot be due to historical continuity or influence. The only alternative explanation is that they are both due to the way the human mind works. This can find expression in recognizably similar ways in different cultures and religions, even in cultures and religions that have not influenced each other.

This last point hardly needs detailed proof. Sacrifices were part of altogether different cultures, some of which never entered into contact with each other. I mentioned the Aztecs earlier, and they constitute an example of a culture that practiced what we may call

sacrifice in complete isolation from other sacrificial cultures of the ancient world.

I therefore return to my point of departure. Sacrifice in its multiple manifestations can be looked upon as expressions of the functioning of the human mind. This mind is predisposed to believe that there is a reality different from ordinary reality, a higher reality. Human beings all over the world have developed methods to enter into contact with that higher reality. Some of these fall under the common denominator of rites: often solemn and repetitive behaviours that facilitate absorption, and therefore access to that different reality. Sacrifices (as I use the term) are rites, and involve therefore solemn and repetitive behaviours that emphasize hierarchical relationships between human and divine beings. Hierarchical relationships can and do exist without sacrifices to solemnize them. But there were situations in human history where sacrifices may have been thought of as extra guarantees for deepening or keeping in place hierarchical relationships. As said earlier, these hierarchical relationships may be between human beings, or between human beings and beings that inhabit higher reality, such as gods.

By way of conclusion I wish to draw attention to an article that came out in the journal *Nature*. Its title speaks for itself: “Ritual human sacrifice promoted and sustained the evolution of stratified societies” (Watts et al. 2016). The article provides and analyses important evidence showing that human sacrifice and hierarchy go hand in hand. In this respect it supports the position taken in this article. However, the article does create the impression that human sacrifice is a means in the hands of the hierarchically superior to assert their power over those lower on the hierarchical ladder. This may often correspond to reality, and the choice of examples considered in the article no doubt strengthens this conclusion. But this conclusion is one-sided, if our reflections so far are correct. Sacrifice, including human sacrifice, has much to do with hierarchical relations between conscious beings (human or divine), but the superior party does not always take the initiative. Sacrifice in some of its forms does not only give expression to the wish of some to establish their superiority over others, but also to the wish of others (or even of the same persons) to establish their relative inferiority.

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Il dkar chag del monastero di Lamayuru (Ladakh)

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1. Nota introduttiva

Nel congresso dello IATS (International Association of Tibetan Studies) tenuto a Ulan Bator (Mongolia) nel luglio del 2013 il mio intervento,¹ presentato all'interno del *panel* diretto dalla professoressa Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, riguardava il contenuto del *dkar chag* di Lamayuru.²

Nell'articolo spiegavo anche come ero riuscita a ottenere il permesso di fotografare il testo dall'allora abate del monastero, il nono rTogs ldan rin po che,³ durante un mio viaggio di studio in Ladakh avvenuto nel settembre del 2010 (da ora testo A1). Il mio interesse era nato da una nota in Petech 1977: 138 circa le fonti riguardanti gli eventi della conquista Dogra (1834–1842) in cui il Professore ricordava tre fonti citate nel *Bla dwags rgyal rabs chi med gter* (Gergan 1976: 594) che all'epoca non fu in grado di consulta-

¹ La dottoressa Michela Clemente lesse l'articolo per me, che non ero potuta essere presente alla conferenza.

² Sul monastero di Lamayuru vedi Thubstan 1976: 8.

³ dKon mchog bstan dzin thub bstan rgyal mtshan, nato a Durbuk nel 1939.

re e fra queste: «An account of the mishaps and destructions undergone by the Lamayuru monastery during the war, compiled in 1862 by its *bla zur* dKon mchog rang grol». Perciò quando ebbi l'opportunità di visitare il monastero di Lamayuru mi informai dell'esistenza di quel testo. Inoltre, nel maggio del 2012 nella Songtsen Library a Dehradun trovai altri due brevi testi (testo B e C)⁴ relativi a Lamayuru e, fatto più importante, una copia (da ora testo A2) in *dbu can* di quello stesso *dkar chag* fotografato a Lamayuru, due anni prima, copia procuratami dal mKhan po Shes rab del Kagyu College di Dehradun. Inoltre, la copia fotografica del testo in *dbu med* non era per me di facile lettura e sono grata al dottor Alessandro Boesi per avermi aiutato nella traslitterazione, e anche alla professoressa Marta Sernesi che ha rivisto e completato di due fogli mancanti la trascrizione. Eventuali errori e omissioni sono però da attribuire soltanto a me.

La particolare composizione dei *dkar chag*, espressione di un genere letterario tipicamente tibetano, rende, come è noto, questo genere uno dei più adatti a contenere notizie di storia, di storia e geografia religiosa e non solo.⁵

Il *dkar chag*, dal titolo *g.Yung drung dgon dang po ji ltar chags rabs dang da ltar ji ltar gnas tshul gyi nam dbye bi dza har ti sma*, è un manoscritto in *dbu med* che misura circa cm. 20 × 5, con sette righe per foglio (testo A1, fols. 1a–15b). Lo specchio laterale è delimitato da due righe verticali di color rosso (vedi fig. 1).

L'autore del testo, come indicato da Petech, è il *bla zur* dKon mchog rang grol nyi ma, che scrisse il *dkar chag* in occasione dei restauri del monastero. A lui viene anche dato il titolo di Bakula, secondo della serie, nato a sKyid ring nella famiglia (o località, nel testo: *khyim*) chiamata Gong ma steng pa. Di lui sappiamo che compì gli studi primari nel monastero g.Yung drung/ Lamayuru,⁶

⁴ Testo B: *de yang mang yul la dwags gsham phyogs phyi nang sa mtshams su thub bstan g.yu* (sic) *drung dgon gyis lo rgyus sa bcad tsam bkod pa la*; Testo C: *g.yung drung thar gling dgon gyi chags tshul dang// rten gsum ji ltar bzhengs dang bzhugs pa dang// 'dus sdes bslab gsum nyams len mdzad tshul sogs// cung zad gleng la lhag ltas gnang bstsol*.

⁵ Sull'importanza dei *dkar chag* come fonte letteraria vedi Martin 1996: 500–514.

⁶ È bene ricordare che Tucci (1932: 69) individuò nel toponimo g.Yung drung la forma dotta di Yu ru, nome originario del villaggio, che era da riconnet-

che a diciotto anni si recò in Tibet dove prese i voti di *dge bsnyen* a 'Bri gung thel, e che dopo gli studi tornò in Ladakh⁷ in seguito ad un sogno durante il quale gli apparve il 'Bri gung skyabs mgon.⁸

Il *dkar chag* non cita le fonti delle sue informazioni se non genericamente (*'khrul med zhib tig gi yig cha*) e dichiara di scrivere per sentito dire (*thos lo*) le notizie tramandate per tradizione orale, dove a volte la memoria di avvenimenti realmente accaduti confonde nomi ed epoche dando origine ad errori storici, duri a morire. Mi riferisco agli episodi relativi a 'Bhag dhar skyabs (A1, fol. 3b) e al re 'Jam dbyangs rnam rgyal (A1, fols. 6b–7a).⁹

L'autore dichiara di raccontare la storia di Lamayuru a partire da un tempo antecedente all'arrivo dei Tibetani fino ai suoi giorni.

Nella narrazione è da notare a quali fatti il testo dia maggiore o minore rilevanza e come la microstoria del monastero si innesti nella macrostoria del Ladakh.

Poiché, per varie ragioni, i lavori presentati in quel particolare *panel* del congresso IATS di Ulan Bator non furono pubblicati, destinai il mio contributo, con un sommario dettagliato del *dkar chag*, ad altra pubblicazione (De Rossi Filibeck 2017).

Prima di intraprendere lo studio di questo piccolo testo cercai di sapere dove e se fosse reperibile. Mi rivolsi al compianto E. Gene Smith che mi informò che il *dkar chag* non era tra i testi di TBRC (*e-mail* 5–15 ottobre 2010) e mi chiese di inviargli la copia a studio ultimato. Inoltre consultai la bibliografia degli studi sul

tere a nomi di località in *ru* così frequenti nella toponomastica del Tibet indiano come Miru, Suru, Taru. Nel manoscritto il toponimo Yu ru è sempre distinto dal nome del monastero che viene indicato come g.Yung drung dgon pa.

⁷ Queste informazioni si trovano nel Testo C: */sku phreng gnyis pa rang grol nyi ma rang nyid ni skyid ring du gong ma steng pa zhes pa'i khyim du ltas bzang po sna tshogs dang bcas bltams/* (644). Nel lignaggio spirituale dei Bakula rin po che dKon mchog rang grol occupa il diciottesimo posto, ma qui è detto seconda incarnazione dal momento che fu il secondo Bakula a rinascere in Ladakh. Vedi anche Nawang Tsering Shaksपो 1988: 439: «sKin dyang born Bakula dKon mchog Rang gro Nyi ma (sic)»; vedi anche Gergan 1976: 439, 594.

⁸ Notizia riportata anche in testo A 1, fol. 10b5.

⁹ Il primo, attivo nel XIII secolo (Vitali 1996: 388), viene collocato cronologicamente come contemporaneo di Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), mentre al secondo (c. 1590–1616) si attribuisce il primo incontro con i 'Bri gung pa avvenuto invece con bKra shis rnam rgyal (c. 1555–1575) (Petech 1988: 366). Vedi anche De Rossi Filibeck 2017.

Ladakh (Bray 1988) con i relativi aggiornamenti che compaiono regolarmente nei Ladakh Studies (Bray 2008–2015), senza successo. Soltanto nel 2014 ne trovai menzione senza però poter accertare l'avvenuta pubblicazione.¹⁰

Sono lieta di dedicare a Cristina Scherrer-Schaub la trascrizione completa del testo del *dkar chag*, sperando che questo breve lavoro possa essere utile come un ulteriore esempio del *modus scribendi* degli autori tibetani di questo particolare genere letterario.

2. Il testo del *dkar chag*

Nella trascrizione del testo A1 sono indicate in nota tutte le varianti rinvenute nella copia in *dbu can* (testo A2), le cui pagine sono indicate dai numeri in grassetto. Le abbreviazioni sono state sciolte e le varianti di punteggiatura non sono registrate. In carattere più piccolo, le sillabe che appaiono come note interlineari nel testo A1. Abbreviazioni: *om.*: *omittit*; *add.*: *addit*.

Titolo (1a)

/g.Yung drung dgon dang po ji ltar chags rabs dang da ltar ji ltar gnas tshul gyi rnam dbye bi dza har ti sma/

1b

- 1 thabs mkhas thugs rjes shākya'i rigs su 'khrungs// gzhan gyis mi thub
- 2 bdud kyi dpung 'joms pa// gser gyi lhun po lta bur brjid pa'i sku// shākya'i rgyal po de la
- 3 phyag 'tshal lo// zhes mchod par brjod pa'i tshig gis sngon bsus te gleng bar bya ba'i
- 4 don la/ de yang mang yul mnga' ris la dwags sham phyogs phyi pa dang nang pa'i sa mtshams su khod pa'i¹¹

¹⁰ Vedi Blancke 2014: 274, n. 1, che così scrive: «... it is being translated by K. H. Everding». Sfortunatamente non sono riuscita a sapere se questa traduzione sia stata pubblicata o meno.

¹¹ khod pa'i] bzhengs pa'i

5 thub bstan g.yung drung dgon gyi lo rgyus sa bcad tsam bkod
pa la¹² // sngon bod chos rgyal gyi

2a

- 1 gdung brgyud la dwags la ma phebs dus/ la dwags stod phyogs
rnams su ni yul grong ma
- 2 chags par thang stong dang lung stong du yod cing/ sham
phyogs rnams su yul chags pa rnams 'brog pa zhes kla klos
- 3 bzung (2) nas lung pa re nas rdzong chung re byas gcig la cig
dgra jag 'gyed cing bsdad pa'i tshe¹³
- 4 g.yu¹⁴ ru zhes pa'i lung pa 'di mtsho ru 'khyil nas yod skad/ re
shig dgra bcom nyi ma gung pa rgya gar
- 5 nas kha che'i yul du phebs skabs shig la/ lho phyogs gar zha nas
zangs kar brgyud de sa phyogs

2b

- 1 'dir phebs pas/ yul 'di'i lung pa ni mtsho ru 'khyil te yod pas
shar phyogs kyi ri'i rtser phebs te gzig pas
- 2 mtsho 'khyil ba'i dbus na gad pa 'bur po zhig rtse 'thon¹⁵ te yod
pa kun gyis mthong ba de la phyag bstan te
- 3 pha gyi mtsho de skams pa dang dkyil 'bur po de'i steng du
ston¹⁶ pa shākya thub pa'i chos mdo sngags zung 'brel gyi bstan
pa rin po che
- 4 dge 'dun gyi sde dang bcas pa tshugs par 'gyur ro zhes lung
bstan mdzad pas shar ri'i sa phyogs de la skam 'bur zhes ming du
- 5 thogs/ de nas dgra bcom nyi ma gung pa rdzu 'phrul gyis mtsho
(3) dkyil gad 'bur rtse der phebs nas gzhi bdag gi¹⁷ klu sogs
- 6 la chu gtor sbyin nas phyag gis 'khar¹⁸ gsil brkyang ste mdo'i
mtsho mjug rdzu 'phrul gyis bkral nas kha
- 7 che'i yul du phebs song ba'i mus la mtsho 'grol skabs mtsho
dkyil nas 'dam seng gnyis thon pas sa der seng ge

¹² la] las

¹³ tshe] om.

¹⁴ g.yu] yu

¹⁵ 'thon] thon

¹⁶ ston] bston

¹⁷ add. lha

¹⁸ 'khar] mkhar

3a

- 1 sgang zhes ming du thogs/ chu gtor mdzad dus kyi gtor nas¹⁹
'bru rnam mtsho 'khrugs pa'i rba rlabs kyi
- 2 phyogs bzhi nas dbus phyogs la spungs pa gad steng sa dang
rlan 'dres te g.yung drung ris kyi ljang pa'i myu gu skyes yod pas
- 3 rjes su gzhi der dgon pa chags dus g.yung drung dgon zhes ming
du thogs 'dug/ de rjes jo bo nā ro pa rgya gar nas kha che'i
- 4 yul du phebs pa'i dus gcig la lho phyogs nas zangs kar²⁰ rdzong
khul phug tu phebs shing/ de nas brgyud sa phyogs 'dir
- 5 phebs te g.yung drung myu gu skyes pa'i gad pa'i rtse 'dir phug
pa byas gdan chags pas (4) thog mar ni nā ro pa'i zhabs kyi
- 6 bcags pa'i gdan pa yin 'dug cing/ rje nā ro pa'i sku thog nas
bzungs kha che'i yul nas g.yung drung dgon 'di'i bar gyi yul
- 7 sde thams cad la nang pa sangs rgyas pa'i chos lugs dar rgyas su
yod tshul yang da ltar pu rig gi yul mang po dang sbal ti yul sogs
la sku rnyan

3b

- 1 gyi brag dang lha khang hrul po/ ma ni/ mchod rten rnying pa
la sogs bstan pa'i lag rjes yod skad dang/ rje 'bri gung pa 'jig rten
- 2 mgon po'i che ba brjod pa'i gtam las kyang nub phyogs na 'bru
sha dang 'gyi lid²¹ tshun chad nga'i chos 'og tu tshud ces gsungs
pa dang mthun 'dug
- 3 pa dang/ des mtshungs dgon 'di'i chos sde dar rgyas yod tshul
yang grub thob chen po grung pa rdzong pa zhes pa la sogs bod
na²² gdan phebs
- 4 pa'i skyes bu dam pa 'ga' nas bstan pa 'dzin skyong spel gsum
yod pa'i thos lo dang/ 'khrul med zhib tig (5) gi yig cha yod pa
- 5 re ni bstan pa'i dar rgud kha shas byung thal ba'i mtshams su
chas kyi 'phro stongs skabs dbyings su yal bas/ da lta rags rim
tsam gyi
- 6 thos lo ni/ sngon thog skabs shig tu khri dpon bhag dhar skyabs
ces²³ pa'i dpon po zhig gis kha che'i sa mtshams nas mar yul

¹⁹ nas] om.

²⁰ kar] dkar

²¹ 'gyi lid] 'gyil 'gyid

²² na] nas

²³ ces] zhes

- 7 la tshun chad srid du bzung ste yod skad/ des mnga' ris skor
gsum na mtshan yongs su grags pa'i lo tsā ba rin chen bzang
po gdan

4a

- 1 drangs te/ kha che sa mtshams mdud bzhi la nas bzungs ti se'i
la tshun chad du mchod rten brgya dang brgyad/ lha khang
- 2 brgya dang brgyad bzhengs pa sogs bstan pa'i bya ba rlabs po
che'i sgo nas ljongs 'di'i skye 'gro'i bsod nams kyi nyin byed gsal
bar mdzad
- 3 pas/ de'i nang tshan²⁴ g.yung drung dgon 'di'i yul gyi phyogs
bzhi dbus dang lnga la lha khang lnga rgyud²⁵ sde bzhi'i rten
dang brten par bcas
- 4 pa bris 'bur mtha' yas pa dang/ phyi ru rgyud (6) nas gsungs
pa'i mchod rten mang po bzhengs 'dug pa'i/ de ltar thun²⁶
mong dang thun mong ma
- 5 yin pa'i mdzad pa'i sgo nas bka' gdams kyi bstan pa shin tu dar
ba zhig byung ba yin tshod la/ de bzhin dgon pa 'dir
- 6 yang de nas gzungs bod yul dbus nas mkhan po zhig phebs srol
tshugs te/ sde pa gzhung gi bka' shag gi yig tshang las
- 7 kyang/ g.yung drung mkhan por dos khal drug cu zhes yod cing
de ltar gnang srol yod pa dang/ physis su dgon pa 'di 'bri gung

4b

- 1 pas bdag 'dzin mdzad pa nas bzungs rim gyis bri nas dos khal
sum cu nyi shu'i skor du yod skabs bod rgyal tshab mtsho mo
- 2 gling pa'i sku thog la lo phyag pa bha bha ag mad shan gyis lam
yig bka' shog rnying pa bka' shag tu phul nas
- 3 ag mad shan de ni sku tshe brjes song nas deng phyin chad lam
yig bka' shog phyag rtags res gnang ba dang mi gnang ba
- 4 gnyis su 'dug cing/ (7) de ltar lo tsā rin bzang gi phyag rjes
mchod rten sa 'bum re dang dbus kyi lha khang da lta'ang skyon
- 5 med du bzhugs yod cing/ de ltar bka' gdams kyi chos lugs dar
zhing rgyas pa'i rang bzhin can dang/ de rjes bar skabs shig

²⁴ tshan] mtshan

²⁵ rgyud] brgyud

²⁶ thun] mthun

- 6 la mang yul spu rangs gu ge gsum la bod chos rgyal gyi gdung
brgyud rgyal po mgon gsum bzhugs pa'i gdung brgyud sras gcig
- 7 la dwags la phebs te thog mar sle ru gdan sa chags nas chu pi'i
grong tsho tshugs/ de nas she chu shod bcas la yur ba

5a

- 1 bton nas yul btsugs shing sham phyogs 'brog yul rnams la dmag
drang ba sogs kyis mnga' 'bangs che rgyas byung ba dang
- 2 rjes su la dwags stod sham thams cad du rgyal ba nyi ma'i gnyen
gyi bstan pa dar zhing rgyas par gyur pa ni/ lho nas gar zha'i yul
tshun chad
- 3 la dwags rgyal po'i mnga' zhabs su gtogs pa dang/ nub na kha
che'i yul mtsho kha shas (8) pu rig brgyud nas la dwags thug²⁷
chabs cig pa dang/ nub byang
- 4 na 'bru sha dang 'gyi lid²⁸ nas shi khar brgyud la dwags su gtogs
shing dam pa'i chos dar rgyas yod pa sogs sngar gyi thos lo
dang/ da lta'ang de rnams su lha
- 5 khang mchod rten brag la brkos pa'i sku gzugs sogs yod pa de
rnams su sleb pa thams cad kyi mig lam du gyur 'dug/ de ltar
rgyal 'bangs
- 6 chos srid thabs shes gang gi sgo nas dar zhing rgyas par gyur
na'ang/ la dwags ljongs 'di'i lho nub byang gsum gyi nye skor
na mtha'i
- 7 rgyal khab chen po rnams dang 'brel yod pas ljongs 'di dpon
'bangs rnams la dar rgud mang po byung yod skad dang/ yang
chos bzhin skyong

5b

- 1 pa'i rgyal po sku bsod nams dang ldan pa rim bzhin byung ste
dam chos kyang je cher rgyas pa'i rtags ni rjes su sa skya pa/
rnying ma/ 'brug pa/
- 2 'bri gung pa sogs grub mtha' mang po'i chos sde da lta'i bar du
yod cing/ dgon 'di'ang (9) bar skabs shig nas rgyal rabs kha

²⁷ thug] thugs

²⁸ 'gyi lid] 'gyil lid

- 3 shas kyi ring la chos lugs zhwa dmar par yod pa'i skad cha dang
grwa rgyun byang yangs pa can du 'gro lugs yod pa'i thos lo
dang/ 'di ga'i chas kyi phro²⁹ la bka'
- 4 brgyud pa'i sgom zhwa sul med rnying song mang pos khom
gsum bzhi bskangs yod³⁰ pa bdag gis³¹ kyang mthong/ chos rje
bya btang pa zhes
- 5 pa'i bla ma'i sku rnyan byin can bka' gnyan pa zhid da lta'i bar
du nang rten gyi gtso bor bzhugs yod/ sku rnyan 'di la rtse
- 6 gcig tu mos pa rnams la gsol ba gang btab lhun tu³² 'grub pa
dang/ dgon 'di'i char gtogs pa gang la mi bsrin pa'i bya ba
- 7 byas ba rnams la rtags dang mtshan ma mngon sum du byung
ba sogs thams cad kyis gleng 'dug/ yongs kyi gleng mo la bod
na dga' ldan tshe dbang

6a

- 1 zhes pa'i dmag dpung la dwags la sleb skabs kha chul nas kha
che'i dmag dpung che bar thon (10) pas
- 2 dgon 'di'i ka ca rnams bsdu gsog byed skabs nang rten rin po che
wam la zhes pa'i yul du sna³³ bar gdan zhus pas/ wam la'i lhung
- 3 sgo nas phar la sus kyang ma theg par g.yu ru 'di gar tshur gdan
zhu dgos byung³⁴ ba'i skad dang/ de ltar nges can yin pa'i rtags
- 4 kyang/ wam la'i klungs mgo³⁵ 'i zhing dkyil zhid tu nang rten
gyi bzhugs khri zhes pa'i brtsigs pa 'dug/³⁶ phyi zhid na dmag
- 5 kha chul du log skabs kha che'i dmag dpon gyis rten kha chul
du khyer par yu ru'i klungs³⁷ mgor mig mthong³⁸ sar
- 6 sleb pa dang sus kyang bsgul mi nus pa zhid tu gyur nas/ kha
che rnams kyis lag brtsed du chu mang po zhid 'thor
- 7 nas bzhag song ba dang/ rang re'i mi gcig gis tshur gdan zhus
pa yin zer ba'i gleng brjod 'dug cing/ de lta bu'i

²⁹ forse per 'phro; cf. Roerich 1986, vol. 6: 151.

³⁰ yod] *om.*

³¹ gis] *om.*; *add.* ba ku la rang grol nyi mas

³² tu] gyis

³³ sna] sba

³⁴ byung] *om.*

³⁵ klungs mgo] klung sgo

³⁶ *add.* da lta'ang

³⁷ klungs] klung

³⁸ mthong] thong

6b

- 1 rtags mtshan mang po 'dug pa'i rten kyad par can dang bstan pa
'dzin pa'i 'dus sde sogs dar rgyas yod na'ang/ (11) rgyal srid kyi
- 2 ljongs skabs shig tu yar khen nas hor gyis mnon pa dang/ skabs
shig tu sbal tis mnon pa sogs bya zing
- 3 mtshams su dar rgud byung ba'ang rang gshis la grub pas/ bar
skabs dgon pa 'di bdag 'dzin byed pa chung ba zhig tu
- 4 gyur skabs shig la/ la dwags rgyal po zhig gis smyur la'i dgun sar
thang la yul 'dzug³⁹ par la dwags stod sham
- 5 thams cad kyi 'bangs bsdus te/ he mis rong mthil gyi la 'bru nas
chu rong du drang ba'i thabs mdzad nas ri 'gram nas
- 6 yur ba bzos shing/ la mgo nas phyed tsam brus sa la de'i sa
dong nas btsangs pa'i gzugs pi wam gyi tshad tsam zhig
- 7 cho 'phrul du thon byung bas/ las mi rnams kyis tog rtse
brgyabs te bsad pas/ de'i rkyen gyis rgyal po 'jam

7a

- 1 dbyangs rnam rgyal zhu ba zhig⁴⁰ bsnyun mdze drag pos thebs
nas 'o brgyal⁴¹ shin tu che bas/ sman dpyad
- 2 rim gro sogs gang gi sgo na'ang ma phan (12) pas/⁴² gangs ti
se'i 'bri gung dgon pa rgyang grags nas chos rje mdan ma
- 3 zhes grub pa thob pa'i rnal 'byor pa chen po sa lam la gnas pa'i
sems dpa' khyad du 'phags pa'i bla ma zhig bzhugs pa/ de
- 4 gdan 'dren zhus te rim gro mdzad pas rgyal po'i snyun mdze
phral du dwangs/⁴³ de nas chos rje mdan ma rgyal po'i dbu
- 5 blar khur nas sgang sngon bkra shis chos rdzong zhes pa chos
gzhis su phul nas der dgon pa btab/ de dang sbrags g.yung
drung
- 6 dgon 'di chos srid gdan sar phul ba dang/ lhag don du dgon
pa⁴⁴ 'di phyi nang sa mtshams su yod pa'i skabs
- 7 yin par rten thar pa gling du mnga' gsol nas/ rgyal po'i mnga'
zhabs su gtogs pa'i phyi pa dang nang pa stod sham kun

³⁹ 'dzug] 'dzugs

⁴⁰ zhu ba zhig] *om.*

⁴¹ brgyal] rgyal

⁴² *add.* lha dang bla ma rnams kyis lung bstan dang bka' rtags las/

⁴³ *add.* zhes lung bstan pas de bzhin gdan 'dren nas

⁴⁴ pa] sa

7b

- 1 gyis bkur dgos pa dang/ dpon 'bangs gang la nyes (13) par gyur pa'i nag can srog la bab pa sogs kyang dgon
- 2 pa 'di'i zhabs 'jus la⁴⁵ 'ongs pa rnams yul mgo yul mjug⁴⁶ gi dar po che'i nang tshun chad du sleb pa
- 3 thams cad thar dgos pa'i srol dang/ der ma tshad la dwags sham phyogs kyi rdzong yog kha shas la rgyal khirms kyi steng du chos
- 4 khirms kyi lugs rgyug pa sogs kha drag bshe mong zhig chos rgyal chen po tshe dpal rnam rgyal dang/ chos blon chen po tshe
- 5 dbang don grub bar gyi sku thog tu 'dug cing/ de bzhin du dgon pa 'di thar gling du mnga' gsol te kha che'i
- 6 rgyal po pa sha a langi⁴⁷ zhes pa'i bka' tham⁴⁸ dang/ dhu ran na bhab rgyal po rnams kyi bka' shog kha che'i yi ge dang/
- 7 nang rten gyi bzhugs khri kha chul nas phul pa'i shi sha'i me long la phar rtsi'i yi ge brkos⁴⁹ pa'i rtan⁵⁰ tshig

8a

- 1 zhib mor yod par rten kha chul gyi pho nya 'grang gi ma lig zhes pa 'khor yog nyis brgya sum brgya dang
- 2 bcas (14) lo gsum bar du yong skabs la dwags stod sham rnams kyi lam thog thams cad la 'phrog bcom sogs sdang rtsub yod kyang/ yul
- 3 'dir rta 'ul 'u lag sogs ci'ang mi 'bab cing/ 'phrog bcom sogs sdang rtsub byed pa phar bzhag nas tha na yul du
- 4 me mdag gi⁵¹ skad tsam phyung mi chog par kha che rnams kyis kyang rtsi⁵² 'jog dgos pa sogs yod pa dang/ de ltar phyi nang
- 5 chos lugs thams cad kyi mos btud bsti⁵³ stang gyi gnas yin pas/ des na la dwags dang sbal ti sogs 'thab brtsod chen por byung

⁴⁵ la] om.

⁴⁶ mjug] 'jug

⁴⁷ a langi] a li

⁴⁸ tham] dam

⁴⁹ brkos] rkos

⁵⁰ rtan] gtan

⁵¹ me mdag gi] me mda'i

⁵² rtsi] brtsi

⁵³ bsti] sti

- 6 tshe dgon pa 'dis gnyis ka'i mtshams na⁵⁴ legs 'dum gyi phyin⁵⁵
'grig pa dang/ yas mas kyi mchad tho'i dpang byed pa
- 7 sogs tshad 'jog pa byas te/ dgon pa 'di nas la dwags rgyal blon
rnams la lo gsar gyi tshes phyag dang/ sbal ti rgyal po

8b

- 1 skar mdo'i jo la phyag pa pho nya zhig brdzong⁵⁶ ba ma gtogs
chos srid la khral (15) rigs spu tsam med pa'i
- 2 rang btsan pa yin cing/ bya ba lugs gnyis gang gi sgo nas legs
lam phun sum tshogs shing/ dge 'dun gyi sde'ang
- 3 sngon thog mang⁵⁷ skabs sum brgya bzhi brgya nas mi nyung
bar dos che tsam tshogs shing/ rten mchod sogs khyad 'phags
- 4 bzang la dos che ba/ longs spyod ni rnam thos kyi bu la 'gran
nus pa tsam rang mkhos la dpag na ma yin
- 5 pa dang ma 'grig pa'i sgo gang yang med cing/ phyi nang gi
skyabs gnas 'gro ba lha mi'i mchod sdong du
- 6 tshugs te lo mang lon pa dang/ la dwags chos rgyal rim phebs
kyi mjug chos rgyal chen po tshe dpal rnam rgyal
- 7 gyi sku thog tu la dwags rgyal srid 'jam mu rā dza'i mnga' 'og tu
tshud song/ de nas lo ngo dgu tsam na/ 'jam

9a

- 1 mu'i bka' blon gras na/ bdzri jo ra war zer ba dang/ bod
'khrugs skabs⁵⁸ la dwags pas bod la
- 2 mdun bstan pas/ 'jam mu nas dhe wan ha ri can zer ba (16)
zhig gi gtsos dmag dpon re dang dpung re sbrags te
- 3 kha chul nas la dwags grang tse'i bar du dmag dpung gis gang
bas⁵⁹/ de dus la dwags yul sde rdzong khag thams cad sham
- 4 stod lho byang ma lus par brlag⁶⁰ song/ dgon pa 'di'ang
gzhung lam yin gshis yul mi rnams ni ri la bros⁶¹

⁵⁴ na] nas

⁵⁵ phyin] ching

⁵⁶ brdzong] brdzang

⁵⁷ mang] ma

⁵⁸ add. la

⁵⁹ bas] las

⁶⁰ brlag] rlag

⁶¹ bros] 'bros

- 5 pas/ dbyar thog gcig gi ring la dmag 'grul nas yul dang dgon
bla 'brang⁶² thams cad gsang gsum rten mchod
- 6 cha la sogs pa thams cad 'joms nas stongs pa ma tshad/ nang gi
sgo skar khung 'byed 'jug tsam ma lus par song ba
- 7 dang/ de nas ston⁶³ mtshams su rgyal khag yas mas kyi phyin⁶⁴
'grig ste 'jam mu'i dmag rnams log zin pa dang

9b

- 1 mi rnams ri nas yul du bab ste lta⁶⁵ dus/ bla 'brang 'di'i rten bris
bur⁶⁶ thams cad kyi nang na/ 'bri gung zhabs drung bstan 'dzin
- 2 padma'i rgyal mtshan gyi 'dra sku sman 'dam las grub pa khru
gang (17) pa zhig ni sus kyang lag ma thug par 'dug/ de dang
- 3 cha lag rnams kyi nang na hor sbub cha gcig lus 'dug/ de gnyis
ma gtogs/ gzhan khyer 'dod pa
- 4 rnams ni khyer nas mi 'dug cing/ mi dgos pa rnams ni bshig
nas nor 'dod pa zhig gcig kyang ma lus
- 5 shing/ rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'ang⁶⁷ nang du phub ma
brgyang ba bzhin du blug nas de dang mnyam du 'du khang
nang gi
- 6 phugs rnams su ti pi chag sogs rta rnams dang/ mjug⁶⁸ 'khor
du dre'u dang bong bu sogs bkag nas/ dgon
- 7 khang gi 'dab skar nas phyi ru ltas te bong bus dngar⁶⁹ sgra
sgrog⁷⁰ pa sogs/ de ltar bstan pa'i bgegs chags

10a

- 1 ci⁷¹ mi legs pa thams cad byung 'dug cing/ tshogs pa'i slob
dpon gyis gtsos grwa pa kha shas kyang/ brdeg brdung

⁶² 'brang] brang

⁶³ ston] bston

⁶⁴ phyin] 'ching

⁶⁵ lta] blta

⁶⁶ bur] 'bur

⁶⁷ 'ang] om.

⁶⁸ mjug] 'jig

⁶⁹ dngar] ngar

⁷⁰ sgrog] slogs

⁷¹ ci] cing

- 2 mtshon sogs kyis bkrongs 'dug/ de rjes dge 'dun gyi sde thams
cad kyang rang rang so so'i yul sogs su bros pa lta bus thor
- 3 (18) nas/ tshogs rgyu⁷² re yong skabs bcu phrag tsam las med
cing/ ri nas bab pa'i skabs shig la thog mar drug
- 4 sde zhig 'dzom nas rdza'i me tam zhig bum pa byas/ rdza'i
mchod kong⁷³ ting re rnyed pa'i mchod cha byas/
- 5 yul srung kha che zhig gi lag na yod pa'i dril bu skye 'bud cig
nyos te rol mo byas te 'das po zhig gi byang
- 6 sreg bgyis 'dug/ de lta bu nyam thag 'u thug gi ngang la yod
skabs su/ ngos⁷⁴ bla ming dkon mchog rang grol nyi ma sngon
du dmag
- 7 zing skabs byang phyogs rdo mkhar gyi phu la bros te rdza
khrod cig tu spyil bu zhig brtsigs te bsdad yod par/ der yu

10b

- 1 ru'i yul mi thun⁷⁵ mong gi 'bod mi gnyis sleb ste/ bla 'brang 'di
khang stong du gyur pas/ mi ma yin gyi 'grim 'grul
- 2 tshag tshig re'ang thos 'dug/ zhig gso'i do khur zhig byed
mkhan yong tshe/ ngos rnam kyis ma zhing kun
- 3 tshad la bzhag⁷⁶ ste dgos cha re gang lcogs⁷⁷ (19) sgrub rgyu yin
zer byung/ ngos kyis bsam pa la khong mi skya rnam kyis de
tsam gyi
- 4 blo yod na nga 'gro'i⁷⁸ bsam pa zhig dang/ yang sngon du ngos
rang bod nas gnas skor pa'i tshul du yong skabs dgongs
- 5 re bzhin rmi lam du 'bri gung skyabs mgon rnam gnyis rgyun
mi 'chad⁷⁹ du mjal ba dang/ mar yul la thon pa'i
- 6 zhag⁸⁰ da bde bar song zhig gsungs sam⁸¹ snyam/ rnam gnyis
kyis kha tag dkar po'i sba dar re gnang yod par mjal
- 7 de nas phyin ma mjal ba'i/ ngos kyis bsam tshul da dgra jag

⁷² rgyu] brgyu

⁷³ add. dang

⁷⁴ ngos] dngos

⁷⁵ thun] mthun

⁷⁶ bzhag] zhag

⁷⁷ lcogs] cog

⁷⁸ 'i] om.

⁷⁹ 'chad] chad

⁸⁰ zhag] bzhag

⁸¹ gsungs sam] gsung ngam

chom rkun sogs lam gyi 'jigs pa thams cad las thar ba
8 yin 'dra snyam⁸² nas 'ongs te/ rtse mo thog chen gyi se ra lung
du 'gro ba'i 'dabs lam zhig na gangs ti se'i

11a

- 1 dbu rtse mjal ran pa dang/ pha yul du sleb pa'i bzang ngan ci
shar yong gi rnam rtog khur nas 'jam dpal mtshan
- 2 brjod 'don gyin yongs pas/ tshangs pa'i g.yul sa rtse (20) nas
gnon⁸³/ zhes pa dang gangs kyi dbu rtse mjal bas
- 3 dge ba'i las re sgrub na lam 'gro yong ngam bsam/ de lta bu'i
ltas bzang re 'ang yod sgrub yong snyam nas yu ru la
- 4 yong ba'i khas⁸⁴ blangs/ de'i nub mo rmi lam du nang gyi⁸⁵
gtsos sku thams cad ma zhig par bkra⁸⁶ lam me yod par
mthong⁸⁷
- 5 thams cad zhig zer ba rdzun yin 'dug snyam pa dang/ sgang
sngon gyi dbu tshe dbang bkra shis 'dra ba'i grwa pa zhig gis
kyang sto
- 6 gnyen rang mi 'dug zer 'dug/ gnyid sad pa dang mtshan ma
bzang snyam ste 'gro ba'i blo thag chod/ phyi lo
- 7 dbyar smad la yu ru ma sleb nas phyogs gang bde re la⁸⁸ bsod
snyoms slongs⁸⁹ mo re bskul ba dang/ rang la 'ang phran bu re
gang yod

11b

- 1 pa bde bcad⁹⁰ nas zhig gso la mgo tshugs pas lo gnyis kyi ring la
sman 'dam las grub⁹¹ pa'i sku rnams legs par grub/
- 2 de nas lo gnyis kyi ring la rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po ches gtsos
(21) gsung rab rnams grub/ de rjes lo kha shas ring la

⁸² snyam] snyams

⁸³ gnon] mnon

⁸⁴ khas] mkhas

⁸⁵ add. rten

⁸⁶ bkra] phra

⁸⁷ mthong] thong

⁸⁸ la] ba

⁸⁹ slongs] slong

⁹⁰ bcad] spyod byas

⁹¹ grub] bsgrub

- 3 mchod cha'i rigs dang/ mgon po dang bka' brgyad gnyis ka'i
gtor bzlog⁹² gar 'chams sbrags⁹³ pa'i chas thams cad grub/ de
nas yang
- 4 stod sham yongs rdzogs la slong mo rna ba zad la thug gi bar du
yang nas yang du bskul ba byas thabs ci drag gi sgo nas mchod
- 5 pa nyams chag rnams kyang gsos te spyi thog gnyer las re bskal
te/ thog mar nya stong la gso sbyong dang/ khyad par
- 6 gnam gang la so so thar pa'i mdo 'don pa dang/ gnas bcu'i cho
ga btsugs/ de ltar zla re'i ngo re la/ tshes gsum dang nyer
- 7 gsum la rdo rje phag mo'i dkyil chog/ tshes brgyad la sman bla'i
mdo chog/ tshes bcu la pad gling drag po'i sgo nas tshes bcu'i

12a

- 1 mchod pa/ tshes bcu bzhi la dgongs pa yang zab las rgyal ba zhi
khro'i dkyil chog/ bco lnga la mi 'khrugs⁹⁴ cho ga/
- 2 bcu dgu la bka' brgyad bde (22) 'dus 'bring po'i las byang tshogs
mchod/ nyer lnga la bla ma mchod pa/ nyer dgu la bde mgon
- 3 gyi bskang gsol rgyas pa/ yang tshes⁹⁵ lnga⁹⁶ nyer drug sogs la
sbyin bdag re bskul nas sgröl dkar mandala bzhi ma bcas dang/
- 4 gzhan yang tshogs bar⁹⁷ snga phyi'i dal khom la dpag ste chos
spyod smon lam dang bcas pa dang⁹⁸/ dus rgyun du gzhi gsum
nas gsungs
- 5 pa'i rgyun chags gsum pa dang/ chu gtor brgya rtsa chag med
bcas sgrub⁹⁹ brgyud 'di pa'i lugs kyi tshogs 'don rnams zla'i
khongs su
- 6 tshang thabs dang/ sngar chags kyi dgon pa chos sde 'di bzhin
bdag 'dzin byed pa'i dge 'dun gyi sde tshugs thabs su rang
mkhos
- 7 la dpag pa'i bstan pa'i zhabs 'deg de tsam zhig grub na'ang/
chos nor dpal 'byor mnga' thang stobs dang ldan pa rnams kyi

⁹² bzlog] zlog

⁹³ sbrags] sbrag

⁹⁴ add. pa'i

⁹⁵ tshes] nyer

⁹⁶ add. dang

⁹⁷ bar] bur

⁹⁸ dang] om.

⁹⁹ sgrub] bsgrub

12b

- 1 mthong yul du ni byis pa'i rtsed mo tsam gyi¹⁰⁰ bgyi ba las med pas snying rje'i yul du gzig las che (23) na 'ang/ bdag¹⁰¹ rang ni bya ba
- 2 gzhan spangs pa'i ri khrod pa'i lugs la gyur pas rgyu chas sogs lag thog tu ci'ang med pa zhig dang/ dad ldan gyi sbyin bdag rnam
- 3 ni de dus tha dmag gis bshigs pa'i shul sogs kyi thabs sdug na'ang/ 'di tsam grub pa de¹⁰² ni bla ma dkon mchog gsum gyi¹⁰³ byin¹⁰⁴ mthu dang/
- 4 yi dam mkha' 'gro srung ma'i 'phrin las thugs rje mngon sum du byung¹⁰⁵ ste/ gang dgos la thogs pa med pa lta bu'i ngang nas dka' 'tshogs med par lhun
- 5 gyis grub pa'i/ gzhig pa gting nas byed¹⁰⁶ na ya mtshan gyi gnas su gyur¹⁰⁷ 'dug/ bla 'brang¹⁰⁸ gi phyi nang bar gsum
- 6 rtsa ba'i rtsi¹⁰⁹ sprod sogs ni sus kyang gsob¹¹⁰ thub mkhan ma byung/ sa thog tu ni ma hā rā dza'i dngul khral sogs ma gtogs
- 7 dge 'dun 'tsho ba'i mthun rkyen la phan pa'i nges pa ma shes/ nub phyogs kha che nas brgyud pu rig gi sde (24) thams cad phyi pa kla klo'i

13a

- 1 chos lugs rim bzhin rgyas¹¹¹ te dgon pa 'di dang nye skor du sleb yod pa dang/ nub byang sbal ti'i yul thams cad
- 2 phyi pas khyab ste/ dgon pa 'di'i bstan pa'i sbyin bdag gi sa mtshams la thug yod na'ang/ da lta'i bar du ni g.yung drung

¹⁰⁰ tsam gyi] *om.*

¹⁰¹ *add.* ba ku la

¹⁰² de] *om.*

¹⁰³ gyi] gyis

¹⁰⁴ *add.* rlabs kyis

¹⁰⁵ byung] 'byung

¹⁰⁶ byed] bye

¹⁰⁷ gyur] 'gyur

¹⁰⁸ 'brang] brang

¹⁰⁹ rtsi] rtsis

¹¹⁰ gsob] gsos

¹¹¹ rgyas] brgyas

- 3 dgon pa 'di'i chos dang sdes khyab ste/ 'di nas gyen la kla klo'i
chos ma rgyas pa yin 'dug kyang/ da ni 'tsho ba'i
- 4 mthun rkyen zhan pas tshogs pa'i zhal grangs kyang sngar las
bri nas/ da lta phyogs gzhis¹¹² tha dag sdoms te phogs 'thob
- 5 rigs nyis brgya'i skor tsam gzhugs yod pa'i¹¹³ da phyin 'dus sde
tshugs thabs su rgyun ja zhid dgos gal 'dug kyang/ de ni
- 6 bstan don lar rgyar gzigs pa'i gong pa¹¹⁴ dpon po zhid la rag las
pa'i/ de lta'i snyan sgron zhu mi re'ang zhu spobs pa su
- 7 gang yang med pa'i snyoms las kyi ngang nas bstan pa je lod
'gyur ba las gzhan (25) mi 'dug/ phran cag rnams

13b

- 1 kyi s dge sbyor du dmigs nas cung zad re bsgrubs kyang/ da
dung sngar lam du yod pa'i rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che
- 2 gsung sgrog byed pa'i rgyu zhid ni thabs gang gi sgo nas kyang
ma 'grig par yod/ lo re bzhin sngar khrims
- 3 ltar dag 'don zhid sgrub nus na bstan pa dang sems can gyi don
du 'gyur nges shing/ bdag gzhan 'brel thogs rnams
- 4 kyi tshes rabs kun la phan pa'i mi lus la snying po len pa'i skal
can du 'gyur ba ni gdon¹¹⁵ mi za ba'i spro ba shin
- 5 tu che na'ang/ gnas skabs kyi dus 'di la thabs bde ba zhid gzhi
nas ma byung ba'i tshul ni/ rtsa ba'i rtsi sprod
- 6 la 'bru nas shig gnyer la gzhang na ni/ mi dred dpon du 'gyur
zhing bdag po yog tu 'gyur te lam du lus
- 7 pa'i re ba mi 'dug/ sa zhid re gzhang na ni/ ma hā rā dza 'di'i
mnga' zhabs su gtogs pa'i sa zhid

14a

- 1 gang na yod pa la dngul khral 'bab pa (26) yin phyin de'ang ma
bde ba sogs kyi lus yod cing/ dgon pa 'di dang po
- 2 tshugs pa'i rgyu dus gsum gyi rgyal ba sras bcas rnams kyi byin
gyis brlabs¹¹⁶ te/ gangs can bstan pa'i sgo gtan du phyi nang so

¹¹² gzhis] bzhis

¹¹³ tsam gzhugs yod pa'i] la sleb 'dug pa'i

¹¹⁴ pa] om.

¹¹⁵ gdon] gton

¹¹⁶ brlabs] rlabs

- 3 tshis srung ba'i gnyen por grub pa zhig¹¹⁷ yin nges 'dug pa'i/
'di nas bdag lta bu snyoms chung gyi na ba'i rang gshis¹¹⁸
- 4 can rnam kyis kyang/ lhag bsam rnam par dag pa'i smon 'dun
ni/ 'dzam gling gangs can 'di na rnam 'dren bzhi pa'i bstan
- 5 pa 'dzin skyong mdzad pa'i gong ma rnam kyis dgon 'di spyang
rgyang gi gzigs pa nas skyong nas/ da dung dge 'dun tshogs
pa'i 'tsho
- 6 ba bzhes pa sngar srol bzhin rgyas pa'i thog/ bslab gsum 'dzin
pa'i 'dus sde dar zhing rgyas te/ rgyal ba zas gtsang sras
- 7 kyi bstan pa rin po che/ phyi nang gi sa mtshams 'di nas 'dzin
skyong spel gsum thub pa dang/ rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur

14b

- 1 rin po che'ang (27) bri 'don klog gsum rgyun mi 'chad du thub
cing/ bstan pa yar 'phel yong ba'i 'phrin las yar zla dang
- 2 dbyar mtsho'i¹¹⁹ dpal ltar 'grub par shog cig pa'i smon lam gyi
ngang nas gnas so// zhes rab byung¹²⁰ yid kyi nang tshan
- 3 rnga chen lo'i chu stod zla ba'i nang/ bdzri sa heb kashmir nas
la dwags la phebs dus/ la dwags stod nas sku drag thams cad gdan
- 4 bsu ru phebs skabs/ ru shod dpon ga ga tshe ring bkra shis
dang zhal 'dris par brten/ da lta gangs can zhing khams
- 5 rdo rje gdan¹²¹ gnyis pa'i yul dbus su lo phyag gi 'phrin las
mdzad sgo la phebs skabs 'byon skyems snyan gyi bdud rtsi ri
khrod
- 6 sdom bu ba'i gang dran gyi tshig 'di bzhin thugs nang¹²² dag
pa'i sgo nas zhus pa yin pa'i dgongs khrol dbyings khrel med
- 7 pa zhu/ zhes g.yung drung dgon gyi lo rgyus sngon du ji ltar
byung (28) ba dang/ da ltar ji ltar yod tshul sngon rgan rabs kyi/

15a

- 1 rna bar brgyud pa'i thos lo dang/ yul phyogs 'ga' na lha khang
gtsug lag khang re bzhengs pa'i dkar

¹¹⁷ zhig] *om.*

¹¹⁸ gshis] bshis

¹¹⁹ 'i] yi

¹²⁰ byung] 'byung

¹²¹ gdan] *om.*

¹²² nang] gnang

- 2 chags re dang/ mang yul chos rgyal rim phebs kyi rgyal rabs deb ther¹²³ sogs 'ga' nas lung rig dpyad gsum bgyis
- 3 te/ g.yung drung bla zur¹²⁴ dkon mchog rang grol nyi mas zur shag bkra shis nyi ma 'khyil pa nas bris pa sarba mangga lam//¹²⁵

3. *Indice dei nomi*

- Kla klo (2a, 12b, 13a)
dKon mchog rang grol nyi ma g.Yung drung bla zur (9, 10a,15a),
Ba ku la (9, 23, 28)
bKa' gdams (4a, 4b)
sKam 'bur (2b)
sKar mdo' (Skardo) (8b)
Kha chul /Kha che (Kashmir) (2a, 3a, 3b, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7b, 8a, 9a, 10a, 12b)
Gar zha (2a, 5a)
Gu ge (4b)
Grang tse (Tankse) (9a)
Grung pa rdzong pa, grub thob chen po (3b)
dGa' ldan tshe dbang (5b)
'Gyi lid (Giligit) (3b, 5a)
rGya gar (2a, 3a)
rGyang grags, 'bri gung dgon pa (7a)
sGang sngon bkra shis chos rdzong (7a, 11a)
mNga' ris, mNga' ris skor gsum (1b, 3b)
Chu pi (4b)
Jo ra war (Zorawar Singh), 'Jam mu'i bka' blon bDzri Jo ra war (9a)
'Jam dbyangs rnam rgyal (6b–7a)
'Jam mu (9a) (Jammu)
'Jam mu rā dza (Jammu rāja) (8b)
'Jig rten mgon po, rje 'bri gung pa (3b)
Nyi ma gung pa, dgra bcom (2a, 2b)

¹²³ ther] mthor

¹²⁴ add. ba ku la

¹²⁵ add. // bkra shis//

rNying ma pa (5b)
Ti se (4a, 7a, 10b)
bsTan 'dzin padma'i rgyal mtshan, 'Bri gung zhabs drung (9b)
Thar pa gling (7a)
mDan ma (lDan ma), chos rje (7a)
Dhe wan Ha ri can (Dewan Haricand) (9a)
Dhu ran na bhab rgyal po (7b)
Nā ro pa (Nāropā) (3a)
Pu rig (3a, 5a, 12b)
sPu rangs (4b)
Bya btang pa, chos rje (5b)
Byang yangs pa can (5b)
'Bri gung skyabs mgon (10b)
'Bri gung pa (3b, 4a, 5b)
'Bru sha (3b,5a)
'Brug pa (5b)
'Brog pa (2a)
'Bhag dhar skyabs, khri dpon (3b)
sBal ti (3a, 6b, 8a, 13a)
Ma lig (8a)
Ma hā rā dza (mahārāja) (13b)
Mang yul (1b, 4b, 15a)
Mar yul (3b, 10b)
Tshe dpal rnam rgyal, chos rgyal chen po (7b, 8b)
Tshe dbang don grub, chos blon chen po (7b)
Tshe ring bkra shis, Ru shod dpon Ga ga (14b)
mTsho mo gling pa (4b)
bDzri Sa heb kashmir (14b)
rDzong khul phug (3a)
Wam la (6a)
Zhwa dmar (5b)
Zangs kar (Zanskar/Zangskar) (2a, 3a)
Yar khen (Yarkand) (6b)
Yu ru/ g.Yu ru (2a, 6a, 10a–b, 11a)
g.Yung drung dgon pa (Lamayuru) (1a, 1b, 3a, 4a, 7a, 13a,14b)
Rin chen bzang po (3b, 4b)
La dwags (stod /sham) (1b, 2a, 4b, 5a, 6a, 6b, 7b, 8a, 8b, 9a, 14b)
Shi khar (Shi dkar) (5a)
Sa skya pa (5b)

Se ra lung (10b)
Seng ge sgang (2b–3a)
Sle (Leh) (4b)
He mis (6b)
A langi, rgyal po pa sha (7b)
Ag mad shan (Ahmad shah) lo phyag pa bha bha (4b)

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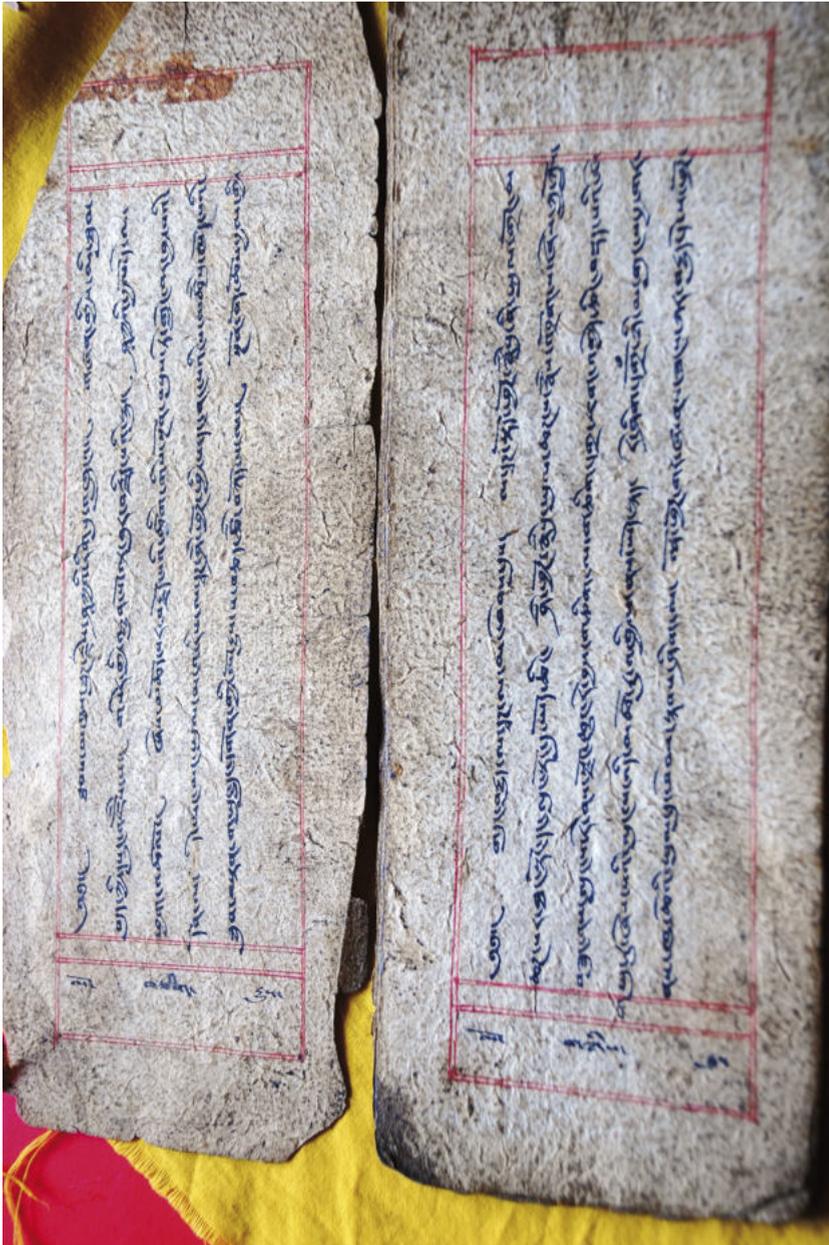


Fig. 1
Manoscritto del *dkar chag* di Lamayuru, foll. 1b–2a
(Foto E. De Rossi Filibeck)

Aśvaghōṣa and His Canonical Sources:
4. *On the Authority and the Authenticity of the*
Buddhist Scriptures *

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1. *Introduction*

The present essay takes as its point of departure a series of exegetical notes related to Aśvaghōṣa's ideas on scriptural authority and authentication (BC 25:37–49). In spite of Yoshifumi Honjo's very valuable 1993 article, unfortunately too short to do full justice to the topic, much remained to be said about the eschatological ideology and the metaphorical repertoire at work in these impor-

* Most sincere thanks are due to Oskar von Hinüber. My translations from the Chinese (see § 4) have greatly benefitted from the help and advice of my friend Luo Hong. All remaining mistakes and inconsistencies result from my own inability to appropriate his learned explanations. My translation policy in the following deserves a brief explanation. As a non-native English writer and as a specialist of Aśvaghōṣa, I regard Johnston's translations of the BC and the SNa as almost impeccable. In spite of his impressive erudition, however, Johnston did not, and actually could not, given the state of the field in the late 20s, identify the Chinese and/or Sanskrit canonical parallels of most episodes and sermons. In many cases, I have used Johnston's original English translation *as a point of departure* that I have freely adapted in the light of the parallels and according to my own understanding of the text. This situation is reflected in the formula "Cf. Johnston 1928/1984: x." In all other cases, I have listed in brackets the modifications introduced.

tant stanzas. As I shall try to demonstrate (§4), our understanding of BC 25:37–49 has much to benefit from a close comparison with canonical materials such as the MPSū (which Honjo briefly did) and, more specifically, with passages from the SĀ/SN. In what follows, my analysis of the stanzas is preceded by an overview of Aśvaghōṣa’s ideas on the authority of the Buddha and the “scripturalization” of his word—a *pramāṇa* according to the poet. This lengthy introduction is aimed, first and foremost, to provide a more systematic picture of the poet’s position on scriptural authentication. But it is also meant to lay renewed emphasis on Aśvaghōṣa’s *Buddhist identity*. For in my opinion, while rightly insisting on Aśvaghōṣa’s intimate acquaintance with the brahmanical world (mythology, ritual, philosophy, sciences, etc.), much of post-Johnston scholarship has tended to portray him as a consensual Buddhist somehow sympathetic of Brahmanism. The Sarvāstivādin Aśvaghōṣa was all but oecumenical, however. As a dedicated Buddhist apologist, he criticized in the most uncompromising manner *all* beliefs, practices and institutions considered eschatologically and soteriologically relevant by the non-Buddhists¹—the only exception being the caste-classes, a rather surprising absence in view of the fact that a specifically anti-caste tract, the VSū, was ascribed to him.² For Aśvaghōṣa, Brahmanism is little more than the religion of king Śuddhodana and his subjects, i.e., the religion

¹ See Eltschinger 2014a: 6–12.

² On the VSū, see, e.g., Mukhopadhyaya 1960, Bhattacharya 1966 and Kanazawa 2010. This attribution may result from modern scholarship rather than Indic traditions, for the Sanskrit colophon of the VSū ascribes the work to a certain *Siddhācāryāśvaghōṣa* who needs not be the same as our poet. Note that the Chinese translator Fatian (法天, active during the last quarter of the 10th c. in Nālandā) ascribes the tract (T 1642) to (a) Bodhisattva *Dharmakīrti (法稱菩薩, *Dharmayaśas?). Aśvaghōṣa’s ŚPr apparently contained at least some arguments against the brahmanical rhetoric of the caste-classes. Shortly after Śāriputra’s encounter with the Buddha, the Vidūṣaka remarks that accepting a *kṣatriya*’s preaching is not fitting for a brahmin such as Śāriputra. Here is the latter’s answer: “Wie, bringt etwa eine Arznei [*auśadha*] den Kranken keine Heilung [*rogapraśama*], wenn sie von einem Manne aus niedrigerer Kaste (*varṇāvāra*) verordnet ist? [...] brennt etwa nicht [*dahanakarman*] [...], oder bringt etwa das Wasser dem von Hitze Gequälten keine Erquickung, wenn ein Mann von geringer Kaste [*niskṣṭavarma*] es ihm angezeigt hat?” Translation Lüders 1911: 207 (for the extremely fragmentary Sanskrit text, see Lüders 1911: 206). For similar arguments, see Eltschinger 2012: 101–102.

of a pre-enlightenment or pre-Buddhist society whose wrong beliefs and religious practices must be criticized and abrogated even if its worldly institutions can—and actually must—be tolerated.

Contrary to what I have attempted in the first three essays of this series, my aim here is not to draw or to validate hypotheses about Aśvaghōṣa's sectarian affiliation, even though some of the materials alluded to in §§ 3 and 4 below undoubtedly provide consolidating evidence for a (Mūla)sarvāstivāda ordination lineage. My concern is rather to reconstruct the ideas of the poet on authority by adducing parallels and bridging rhetorical gaps. While doing so, I have sought to provide a picture of the *litteratus* Aśvaghōṣa in the process of composing the BC, i.e., selecting, adapting and conflating the most relevant canonical materials available to him. I am indeed increasingly convinced that we can gain very concrete insight into Aśvaghōṣa's compositional practices provided we succeed in identifying the canonical sources which provided him with a narrative frame, a lexical and metaphorical repertoire as well as a doctrinal line.

As noted by Honjo, BC 25:45 is the likely prototype of a doctrinal and metaphorical complex much resorted to by later philosophers. The Buddha is pictured advising his disciples not to rely on his words out of mere deference to him, but on the basis of a critical examination (*parīkṣā*). This (ironically) untraceable *logion* was reinterpreted by these philosophers as an injunction to submit all and every presumed source of authority—Buddhist *āgamas*, Veda, etc.—to a rational evaluation. I deal with this aspect of the posterity of Aśvaghōṣa's BC in an appendix of the present essay.

2. Authority and Authorization

2.1. In the works of Aśvaghōṣa, the Buddha is, first and foremost, the seer (*ṛṣi*) or the great seer (*maharṣi*).³ He is not a seer among

³ *ṛṣi* (*drang srong*) in BC 1:34, BC 2:18, BC 13:50, BC 13:56, BC 14:104, BC 20:55, BC 21:20, BC 22:38, BC 27:4, BC 27:60, BC 27:82, BC 28:60, BC 28:69, SNa 7:17. *maharṣi* (*drang srong che/chen po*) in BC 13:33, BC 13:48–49, BC 13:72, BC 14:83, BC 14:86, BC 14:103, BC 17:20, BC 18:15, BC 18:57, BC 19:5, BC 25:75, BC 26:20, BC 26:24, BC 26:76, BC 26:90, BC 26:102, SNa 4:31, SNa 5:34, SNa 13:1, SNa 17:74.

others, but a steadfast seer of unbounded wisdom (*amitamati*), the supreme holy seer (*drang srong dam pa mchog*), the moon among the great seers (*maharṣicandra*), the best of seers (*drang srong mchog*),⁴ incomparably more accomplished than the Vedic seers of old. As an ascetic tells him, “it is clear from your unfathomable depth, from your brilliance and from your bodily signs, that you will obtain on earth a position as teacher, such as was not won even by the seers of the golden age.”⁵ Several visual metaphors are derived from this ubiquitous description of the Buddha as a seer. Of himself, the Buddha declares that he developed eyesight for an unprecedented liberation.⁶ He possesses the supreme sight (*mchog gi spyan*) and sees the past, the future and the present (*'das dang ma 'ongs pa dang da ltar gzigs*).⁷ In sum, the Buddha is the eye of the world (*'jig rten gyi mig*).⁸ What does this seer see, then, besides the three times? First and foremost, the highest and the excellent law (*mchog gi chos kyi rtogs pa po*, *mchog gi chos ni mkhyen pa*), but also the (right) path (*lam mkhyen pa*, *sanmārgavid*), salvation (*thar pa gzigs pa*), what is right (*nyāyavid*), the method (*krama-jñā*), the causes (*rgyu gang shes*), and the universe (*'gro ba'i kham rig*).⁹ The Buddha is the best of those who know the truth (*de nyid rig pa'i mchog*), the one who sees the real nature of things (*de nyid gzigs pa*, *tattvadarśin*).¹⁰ In short, he is omniscient¹¹ (*sarvajñā*) and “omniseeing”¹² (*thams cad gzigs pa*). Not only does the Buddha

⁴ Respectively BC 12:107, SNa 10:58, BC 27:4. In the ŚPr, the Buddha is also described by his disciples as *municandramas*, “der mondgleiche Weise” (Lüders 1911: 199).

⁵ BC 7:57: *gambhīratā yā bhavatas tv agādhā yā dīptatā yāni ca lakṣaṇāni | ācāryakam prāpsyasi tat pṛthivyām yan na rṣibhiḥ pūrvayuge 'py avāptam ||*. Translation Johnston 1984, vol. II: 107.

⁶ BC_{Weller} 15:38: [...] *sngar med pa'i | | mam par thar phyir bdag gi spyan mig skyes pa'o |*. Weller (1928: 155, n. 23) understands *mam par thar phyir* as rendering *vimokṣāya*.

⁷ Respectively BC 27:6; BC 24:10, BC 27:58.

⁸ BC 24:10 and BC 27:58.

⁹ Respectively BC 26:2, BC 28:70; BC 15:26, BC 24:8, SNa 5:6; BC 21:19; BC 10:20; SNa 13:9; BC 14:68; BC 28:53.

¹⁰ Respectively BC 24:13 and BC 20:5.

¹¹ *sarvajñā* (*thams cad mkhyen*, *kun mkhyen*) in BC 17:6, BC 17:23, BC 17:25, BC 20:53, BC 22:40, BC 23:61, BC 24:2, BC 25:17, BC 25:25, BC 25:36, BC 27:43. Omniscience (*thams cad mkhyen pa nyid*, i.e., *sarvajñatā*) in BC 14:86.

¹² BC 25:75.

possess clairvoyance; he is also radiant, as a few photic metaphors suggest: he is the lamp of knowledge (*jñānapradīpa*) and the dispeller of darkness in the world (*jagatas tamonuda*);¹³ he “shines forth as a sun of knowledge in the world to dispell the darkness of delusion,”¹⁴ and “appearing with wondrous form like that of the rising sun, just as the sun dispells the darkness, he dispells the darkness of ignorance of the people, who were devoted to the objects of the senses and followed many and varied paths.”¹⁵

2.2. In nearly all ancient Indian traditions, the *ṛṣi*s do not only see, but also “objectively” teach, out of compassion, what they have seen. Aśvaghōṣa’s Buddha is no exception to this. For the highest benefit of the suffering world,¹⁶ he is the teacher¹⁷ (*śāstṛ*, *upadeṣṭṛ*), but a teacher without a teacher¹⁸ (*ston pa med*, *anācāryaka*) insofar as what he has discovered is a religious method which had been hitherto unheard¹⁹ (*ma thos chos kyi cho ga*). He is an educator²⁰ (*vināyaka*, [*yongs su*] *’dren pa*), the best, the supreme and the incomparable master²¹ (*bstan pa mchog*, *ston pa bla na med pa*, *ston pa mtshungs med*), the guru,²² the guide²³ (*[su]daiśika*, *deśika*), the

¹³ Respectively BC 13:63 and SNa 10:58. Note also Maudgalyāyana’s veneration of the Buddha in the ŚPr: *mohāndhasya janasya darśanakaram* [...] *vande*, “Ich verehere ihn, der die wahnverblendete Menschheit sehen machte.” Translation Lüders 1911: 199.

¹⁴ BC 1:69cd: *jagaty ayaṃ mohatamo nihantuṃ jvalisyati jñānamayo hi sūryaḥ ||*.

¹⁵ SNa 3:16: *viśayātmakasya hi janasya bahuvivīdhamārgasevinaḥ sūryasadyśava- pur abhyudito vijahāra sūrya iva gautamas tamaḥ ||*. Translation Johnston 1928, vol. II: 16 (with “he dispells” instead of “dispelled”).

¹⁶ In BC 18:77, Aśvaghōṣa presents preaching as an apotheosis of giving.

¹⁷ *śāstṛ* (*ston pa*) in BC 24:33, BC 26:79, BC 27:51, SNa 7:1, SNa 17:62, SNa 17:65, SNa 18:6. *upadeṣṭṛ* in SNa 17:32.

¹⁸ BC 15:4. I thank Vincent Tournier for suggesting the Sanskrit *anācāryaka* here.

¹⁹ BC 15:38. As Vincent Tournier again points out to me, Tib. *ma thos* likely reflects a Skt. *anamuśruta* (Anālayo 2010: 81-82, n. 84). See also below, §2.2, and n. 51.

²⁰ *vināyaka* (*mam par ’dren pa*) in BC 16:33, BC 21:2, BC 22:16, BC 24:31, SNa 13:3, SNa 17:70. **nāyaka* (*’dren pa*) in BC 26:3. **parināyaka* (*yongs su ’dren pa po*) in BC 27:6.

²¹ Respectively BC 21:30, BC 28:33 and BC 27:5.

²² *guru* (*bla ma*) in BC 1:27, BC 25:11, BC 25:17, BC 25:75, BC 27:13, BC 27:26, BC 27:51, BC 27:74, BC 28:40, SNa 4:30, SNa 4:32, SNa 4:34–35, SNa 4:45, SNa 5:4, SNa 5:19, SNa 7:16–17, SNa 7:52, SNa 12:11–12, SNa 17:30, SNa 18:1–2, SNa 18:20, SNa 18:48.

²³ BC 13:62 and SNa 18:41 (*daiśika*), SNa 18:8 (*sudeśika*), SNa 18:50 (*sudaiśika*).

(supreme) spiritual director of the world²⁴ (*'jig rten slob dpon*, *'gro ba'i mchog gi slob dpon*, *paramācārya*), a trainer skilled in all didactic means.²⁵ As such, the Buddha is the best of those who know to speak (*smras pa mkhyen pa'i mchog*), the best of speakers (*vadatām varaḥ*, *bruvatām śreṣṭhaḥ*) who utters ambrosia-like words (*vāgamṛta*).²⁶ He is the appeaser of the mind with the water of his words (*sems la gsung gi chab kyis rab tu tshim mdzad pa*) and the chief of comforters (*zhi byed mgon po*),²⁷ a leader for those who are overcome by the suffering of the world²⁸ (*'jig rten sdug bsngal dag gis mngon par bcom pa'i mgon*). Born for the salvation of all creatures (*'jig rten rnams kyī thar pa [...] rab bltams*), he has preached the law for the sake of the world (*'jig rten ched du chos kyang thub pa khyod kyis gsungs*) and proclaimed the way of salvation (*ākhyāsyati hy eṣa vimokṣamārgam*).²⁹ In short, the Buddha is the saviour (*trāṭṛ*). He took the way to Vārāṇasī to beat the drum of the deathless law³⁰

²⁴ BC 25:14 (*'jig rten slob dpon*), BC 25:17 (*'gro ba'i mchog gi slob dpon*), SNa 11:4 *paramācārya*.

²⁵ Note SNa 13:3 and 7: *ślakṣṇena vacasā kāmścīt kāmścīt paruṣayā girā | kāmścīd ābhyām upāyābhyām sa vinīnye vināyakaḥ || śleṣaṃ tyāgaṃ pṛīyaṃ rūkṣaṃ kathāṃ ca dhyānam eva ca | mantukāle cikitsārthaṃ cakre nātmānuvṛttaye ||*. “The Educator converted some by soft words, some by harsh speech and some by both methods. At the time of giving counsel he made use of now joining, now separation, now pleasant methods, now harsh ones, now fables and now mystic meditation, for the sake of healing, not at his own whim.” Translation Johnston 1928, vol. II: 72, with “Educator” for “Teacher.” Among the many characterizations of the Buddha’s skill in means, note RĀ 4:94–96: *yathaiṅva vaiyākaraṇo mātykām api pāṭhayet | buddho vadat tathā dharmam vineyānām yathākṣamam || keṣāñcid avadad dharmam pāpebhyo vinivṛttaye | keṣāñcit puṇyasiddhyartham keṣāñcid dvayaniśṛitam || dvayaniśṛitam ekeṣāṃ gambhīraṃ bhīrubhīṣaṇam | sūnyatākaraṇāgarbham ekeṣāṃ bodhisādhanam ||*. “Just as a grammarian could teach even [so elementary a matter as] the alphabet [if need be], the Buddha taught the law to the trainees according to their [respective] capacities. To some he taught the law in order that they get rid of [their] sins(/sinful actions); to others, so that they produce merits(/meritorious actions); to some, [he taught a law] based on duality; to others, [a law] not based on duality; to [yet] others, [he taught] a means to liberation [that was] profound, terrific to the fearful, [and] having emptiness and compassion for its essence.” On this passage, see also Lopez 1988: 2–3.

²⁶ Respectively BC 17:7; BC 6:42; BC 22:1; SNa 13:9; SNa 10:54.

²⁷ Respectively BC 17:27 and BC 24:13.

²⁸ BC 1:33.

²⁹ Respectively BC 1:27; BC 19:34; and BC 1:72 (see also BC 21:19).

³⁰ BC 22:44–46 (BC_{Tib} D79b3–45/P96a3–5): *| khyod kyī chos la yid gyur pa | | de ni khyod kyī^a bdag nyid don | | mi rtag gson pa'i 'jig rten na | | chos las gzhan na nor yod*

(*bā rā ṇa sīr 'gro der ni 'chi med chos kyi rdu dag rdung ba ste*) and, abiding there, set in motion the wheel of the law (*kā sī gnas su chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba ste*)—a definitive (*naiṣṭhika*) law.³¹ As the SNa has it,

having reached comprehension of the supreme, unaging truth, he took his way in his all-pervading mercy to the city girdled by the Vārāṇasī to expound the everlasting victory over death. Then for the benefit of the world the seer turned in the assembly there the wheel of the law, whose hub is the truth, whose felloes are steadfastness, right views and mental concentration and whose spokes are the ordinances of the rule. And explaining in detail with its three divisions and twelve separate statements the supreme fourfold truth, which is unequalled, pre-eminent and incontrovertible, namely, 'This is suffering, this is its origin which consists in the persistence of active being, this is its suppression and this the means', he converted first of all him of the Kauṇḍīnya *gotra*.³²

No wonder, then, that the Buddha is variously described as the king of the law (*dharmarāja*), the guru of the law (*chos kyi bla ma*), the law incarnate (*dharmasya sāksād iva sannikarṣe*, Johnston), and, in a more metaphysical vein, as self-arisen (*svayambhū*) in respect of the law (*chos la rang byung*).³³

2.3. One of the most decisive criteria of the Buddha's authority is his status as a physician—a dominant metaphor in Aśvaghoṣa's works³⁴ as well as in Buddhism as a whole, where the

min || *nad kyi*^b *nad med 'joms pa ste* | | *rga bas lang tsho gcod pa nyid* | | *'chi bas srog ni len pa ste* | | *chos kyi* *rgud pa yod ma yin* | | *gang phyir dga' ba mams dang bral* | | *mi dga' ba mams dang sbyor zhing* | | *mugon par 'dod pa thob pa na* | | *de phyir chos ni mchog tu 'gro* |. ^aP: D *kyis*. ^bD: P *kyi*. "Your mind is turned to the law, that is your real wealth (*artha*); for since the world of the living is transitory, there are no riches outside the law. Health is borne down by illness, youth cut short by age, and life snatched away by death, but for the law there is no such calamity (*vipat*). Since in seeking [for pleasure] one obtains only separation from the pleasant and association with the unpleasant, therefore the law is the best path." Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 67.

³¹ Respectively SNa 17:74, BC 15:6, BC 27:30, and BC 1:76.

³² SNa 3:10–13: *avabudhya caiva paramārtham ajaram anukampayā vibhuh | nityam amṣtam upadarśayituṃ sa vārāṇasīparikarām ayāt purīm || atha dharmacakram ṛtanābhi dhṛtimatisanādhinenimat | tatra vinayanīyamāram ṣṣir jagato hitāya pariṣady avartayat || iti duḥkham etad iyaṃ aśya sanudāyatātā pravartikā | śāntir iyaṃ ayam upāya iti pravibhāgaśaḥ param idaṃ catuṣṭayaḥ || abhidhāya ca triparivartam atulam anivartyam uttamam | dvādaśanīyatavikalpam ṣṣir vinināya kauṇḍīnasagotram āditāḥ ||*. Translation Johnston 1928, vol. II: 16.

³³ Respectively BC 1:75, BC 27:55, BC 10:6, and BC 15:4.

³⁴ In one form or another, the medical metaphor occurs at BC 11:40, BC 13:61, BC 15:10, BC 15:32, BC 21:33, BC 23:55–56, BC 24:50–56, BC 25:78, BC

sequence of the four noble(s') truths has been consistently compared with a doctor's diagnosis (suffering), his opinion about the etiology of the illness (origin of suffering), the patient's recovery (cessation of suffering) and the idoneous treatment (path leading to the cessation of suffering).³⁵ Here as elsewhere, the Buddha is the chief of physicians (*bhīṣakpradhāna*), the great physician (*mahābhīṣaj*), the great compassionate physician (*brtse ldan sman pa chen po*).³⁶ As he himself says,

[p]ain is defined as twofold according as it originates in the mind or in the body; and so there are two kinds of physician for it, those skilled in the methods of the sacred lore and those expert in medical treatment. If therefore your disease is of the body, explain it promptly to a physician, holding nothing back, for the sick man who conceals his illness falls into a worse calamity. But if your suffering is mental, tell me and I shall expound its cure to you; for the physicians for minds which are the prey of the darkness of ignorance or of passion are those who know the soul from thorough investigation.³⁷

The Buddha is thus a knower of things internal/psychological (*adhyātma*), a doctor of the mind (*cetas, manas*) healing illnesses of a mental nature (*duḥkham manomaya*). According to SNa 8:5, the sickness humans most suffer from is passion and the darkness of ignorance, as we have just seen, a description that fits well with other characterizations of human pain encountered in the

26:73, BC 27:49, SNa 5:47–48, SNa 8:2–6, SNa 9:2, SNa 10:43 and 45, SNa 10:55–56, SNa 11:11, SNa 11:16, SNa 11:20, SNa 11:28, SNa 12:6, SNa 12:16; see also SNa 12:25, SNa 13:3–7, SNa 15:65, SNa 16:40–41, SNa 16:57, SNa 16:59–64, SNa 16:68–69, SNa 17:9, SNa 17:33–34, SNa 17:69, SNa 17:74, SNa 18:7–10, SNa 18:12–13. What follows exploits only part of this certainly non-exhaustive list.

³⁵ Note SNa 16:41: *tad vyādhisañjñāṃ kuru duḥkhasatyē doṣeṣv api vyādhinidānasañjñāṃ | ārogyasañjñāṃ ca nirodhasatyē bhīṣajyasañjñāṃ api mārgasatyē ||*. “[T]herefore in the first truth think of suffering as disease, in the second of the faults as the cause of disease, in the third of the destruction of suffering as good health and in the fourth of the path as the medicine.” Translation Johnston 1928, vol. II: 93. On the medical metaphor in Indian religio-philosophical literature, see e.g. Wezler 1984; on Bhīṣajguru as a distinct Buddha in the Mahāyāna, see Zwilling 1980.

³⁶ Respectively SNa 17:73; BC 13:61 and SNa 10:55; BC 24:54.

³⁷ SNa 8:3–5: *dvividhā samudeti vedanā niyataṃ cetasi deha eva ca | śrutavidhyu-pacārakovidā dvividhā eva tayoś cikitsakāḥ || tad iyaṃ yadi kāyiki rujā bhīṣaje tūrṇam anūnam ucyatām | vinigryhya hi rogam āturo nacirāt tīvram anartham ṛcchati || atha duḥkham idaṃ manomayaṃ vada vakṣyāmi yad atra bhīṣajam | manaso hi rajastamasvino bhīṣajo 'dhyātma*vidhāḥ parikṣakāḥ ||. Translation Johnston 1928, vol. II: 42.

BC and the SNa: the disease of ignorance (*mi shes nad*), the disease of passions (*rogeṣu rāgādiṣu*) and the disease of attachment, old age, etc. (*chags dang rga sogs kyi nad*).³⁸ Disease is defined here according to what the Buddhist analysis of causality regards as the remote and the proximate causes of suffering, i.e., ignorance (*avi-dyā, ajñāna, moha*) and craving (*tṛṣṇā, rāga*). Aśvaghōṣa's other descriptions of the humans' disease follow the same line: addiction to lusts (*'dod pa mams la chags pa*), suffering (*duḥkha*) tout court, and the moral faults (*doṣa*), i.e., the defilements originating from ignorance.³⁹ Quite unsurprisingly, the reason why sick human beings are (or rather, should be) looking for a benevolent and knowledgeable (if not omniscient) doctor⁴⁰ is deliverance or recovery from sickness (*mukto rogād arogaḥ*), i.e., following the thread of our metaphor, to reach religious peace (*chags pa'i zhi ba*) by knowing reality (*tattvavid*):⁴¹

Just as, when people are ill, the doctor prescribes medicine for them according to their constitutions, in order to cure the disease, so the sage, knowing the dispositions of beings who are afflicted by the diseases of passion, old age, etc., gave them the medicine of knowledge of the real truth.⁴²

³⁸ Respectively BC 15:32; BC 13:61, SNa 10:43; BC 23:56.

³⁹ Respectively BC 15:32, SNa 16:41, SNa 16:69.

⁴⁰ See SNa 17:33–34 (*maitrī, sāstrajñatā* and *sarvajñatā*); see also SNa 18:12.

⁴¹ Respectively SNa 17:33 and 18:13; BC 15:32; SNa 17:34.

⁴² BC 23:55–56 (BC_{Tib} D82a4–5/P99a3–4): | *ji ltar rang bzhin gyis mkhas pa'i* | | *sman pas sman ni gsungs pa ste* | | *nad nmams nye bar zhi phyir ro* | | *de bzhin chags dang rga sogs kyi* | | *nad kyis 'byung po nyam thag la* | | *thub pas bsam pa mkhyen nas ni* | | *de nyid shes pa'i sman byin to* |. Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 74. But as Aśvaghōṣa insists, the mere sight of a doctor or availability of an antidote does not bring about recovery/salvation: sick people must cultivate the antidote prescribed by the physician and are responsible for its proper administration. BC 25:78 (BC_{Tib} D88b3–4/P106b5–6): | *ji ltar sman ni bsnyen par mi byed skyes bu yis* | | *sman pa mthong ba las kyang nad ni 'joms min te* | | *de bzhin bdag gi^a ye shes 'di ni ma bsgoms na* | | *bdag ni mthong ba las kyang sdug bsnal 'joms ma yin* |. “Just as a man does not overcome disease by the mere sight of the physician without resort to medicine, so he who does not study (*bhāvaya*) this my knowledge does not overcome suffering by the mere sight of me.” ^aP: D *gis*. Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 90. BC 26:73 (BC_{Tib} D92b5/P111b3–4): | *sman pa rang bzhin yang dag legs par shes nas ni* | | *nad pa nmams la dam pa'i sman ni brjod bya ste* | | *de yi dus kyis sbyar bar nges par bsten pa la* | | *nad pa gang de bdag po yin te sman pa min* |. “It is for the physician, after full consideration of their constitutions, to explain the proper medicines to his patients, but it is the sick man, not the physician, who is responsible for attending to their administration at the proper time.” Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 100.

As an antidote, the Buddha prescribes the law, which is unfailing and inexhaustible (*nor med chad pa med chos*), knowledge (*jñānau-ṣadhā, ye shes mchog gi sman*), especially of the real truth (*de nyid shes pa'i sman*), and the noble path (*āryamārga*).⁴³ This antidote (*agada*) is the elixir that removes all suffering⁴⁴ (*sarvaduḥkhāpa-ham amṛtam*), even if, as most of the efficient medicines, it can be disagreeable to taste and cause at first still greater pain.⁴⁵

3. The Law as a Teacher

3.1. Satisfied with his or her doctor and the prescribed treatment, a patient would almost certainly be much concerned if (s)he were to learn of the good doctor's imminent demise. This is precisely the kind of anxiety that the Buddha's likely passing arouses in his disciples and lay supporters. For example, the Licchavis lament that "[t]he great compassionate physician has the medicine of excellent knowledge, yet, abandoning the world which is sick with mental diseases, he will depart."⁴⁶ With very evocative similes, Aniruddha expresses a similar concern when he complains that "[t]he world, on losing the Blessed One, is like a chariot abandoned by the chariotteer, or a boat by the steersman, or an army by the general, or a caravan by the leader, or a sick man by the physician."⁴⁷ And indeed, losing the Blessed One does not only amount to losing a dedicated doctor/teacher, but also to being deprived forever of his beneficial advice. According to general Siṃha, "[w]hen the sage (*muni*), the spiritual director of the world (*lokā-*

⁴³ Respectively BC 20:33; BC 13:61, BC 24:54; BC 23:56; BC 15:10, SNa 17:34.

⁴⁴ SNa 12:25.

⁴⁵ SNa 5:48, SNa 10:43, SNa 11:16.

⁴⁶ BC 24:54 (BC_{Tib} D85a2-3/P102a8-b1): | *brtse ldan sman pa chen po ni* | | *ye shes mchog gi sman mnga' bas* | | *sens nad kyis na 'jig rten ni* | | *bor nas nges par gshegs par 'gyur* |. Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 81.

⁴⁷ BC 27:49 (BC_{Tib} D97a4-5/P117a3): | *ji ltar kha lo sgyur pas shing rta bor^a ba dang* | | *skya ba 'dzin pas gru dang tshul gyis sde^b dang ni* | | *tshong dpon gyis^c ni tshong ba sman pas nad pa ste* | | *de bzhin 'jig rten bde bar gshegs pas^d mam par dman^e* |. ^aP: D *dor*. ^bD: P *sda*. ^cD: P *gyis*. ^dD: P *pa*. ^eP: D *sman*. Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 111. Note also BC 25:20 (BC_{Tib} D86a5/P103b6-7): | *nyon mongs mtha' dag bsregs nas kyang* | | *ye shes kyī ni stobs ldan kyang* | | *'gro ba'i mchog gi slob dpon ni* | | *rab tu nyams phyir gshegs par gyur^a* |. ^aD: P *'gyur*. "Though the excellent spiritual Director of the world has the strength of knowledge and has entirely burnt up the sins, yet He is going to destruction." Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 84.

cārya), he who is the bellows (*bhastrā*?) of the final good (*śreyas*?), like bellows for blowing up a fire, is lost, the law will be lost too.”⁴⁸ A few stanzas later, the general further laments that “[w]hen the omniscient guru, solid as Meru, shall pass away, who in the world will have the wisdom (*buddhimat*, *matimat*?) that will make him an object of trust (*viśrambhagamanārha*?)?”⁴⁹

3.2. As the latter two excerpts suggest, the Buddha’s passing raises the questions of the appointment of an authorized successor as the head of the community and of the perennality of the law—two questions which in Buddhist perspective amount to just one. One of their most straightforward formulations appears in a well-known passage of the MN. Not long after the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa*, the brahmin Gopaka Moggallāna asks Ānanda whether there is “any single *bhikkhu* who possesses in each and every way all those qualities that were possessed by Master Gotama, accomplished and fully enlightened?”⁵⁰ Ānanda answers that

[t]here is no single *bhikkhu* [...] who possesses in each and every way all those qualities that were possessed by the Blessed One, accomplished and fully enlightened. For the Blessed One was the arouser of the unarisen path, the producer of the unproduced path, the declarer of the undeclared path; he was the knower of the path, the finder of the path, the one skilled in the path. But his disciples now abide following that path and become possessed of it afterwards.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Note BC 25:14 (BC_{Tib} D86a2/P103b2): | *me ni ’phel phyir sbud pa bzhin* | | *gang gis sbud pa dge legs phyir* | | *’jig rten slob dpon thub pa der* | | *nyams tshe chos ni nyams par ’gyur* |. Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 111 (Sanskrit equivalents mine). On Simha’s laments, see BC 25:9–28 (Johnston 1984, vol. III: 83–85).

⁴⁹ BC 25:17 (BC_{Tib} D86a3–4/P103b4–4): | *gang du bla ma lhun po’i snying* | | *kun mkhyen nyid kyang rgud ’gyur na* | | *blo gros ldan pa ’jig rten na* | | *blo gtad la ’gro ’os pa su* |. Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 84 (Sanskrit equivalents mine).

⁵⁰ Adapted from MN III.8.4–7: *atthi kho, Ānanda, ekabhikkhu pi tehi dhammehi sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam samannāgato, yehi dhammehi samannāgato so bhavam Gotamo ahoṣi araham sammāsambuddho ti*. Translation Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001: 880. On the *Gopakamoggallānasutta* (MN no. 108) and its Indic and Chinese parallels, see Anālayo 2011, vol. II: 623–630.

⁵¹ MN III.8.8–15: *na ’tthi kho [...] ekabhikkhu pi tehi dhammehi sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam samannāgato, yehi dhammehi samannāgato so Bhagavā ahoṣi araham sammāsambuddho. so hi, brāhmaṇa, Bhagavā anuppannassa maggassa uppādetā asaṅjātassa maggassa saṅjānetā, anakkhātassa maggassa akkhātā, maggaññū maggavidū maggakovidū, maggānugā ca pana etarahi sāvakā viharanti pacchā samannāgatā ti*. Translation Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001: 880–881.

In the meantime, the brahmin Vassakāra, the chief minister of Magadha, has joined Gopaka and Ānanda and asks the latter whether a single monk has been appointed (*thapita*, Skt. *sthāpita*) by the Buddha or chosen (*sammata*) by the community as its refuge (*paṭisarāṇa*, Skt. *pratisaraṇa*) and recourse in the absence of the Buddha. On Ānanda's negative answer, Vassakāra further asks: "But if you have no refuge, Master Ānanda, what is the cause for your concord?"⁵² Here is Ānanda's famous reply: "We are not without a refuge, brahmin. We have a refuge; we have the law as our refuge."⁵³ Ānanda continues:

Brahmin, the Blessed One who knows and sees, accomplished and fully enlightened, has prescribed the course of training for *bhikkhus* and he has laid down the Pātimokkha. On the Uposatha day as many of us as live in dependence upon a single village district meet together in unison, and when we meet we ask one who knows the Pātimokkha to recite it. If a *bhikkhu* remembers an offence or a transgression while the Pātimokkha is being recited, we deal with him according to the law in the way we have been instructed. It is not the worthy ones who deal with us; it is the law that deals with us.⁵⁴

According to this interesting statement, the genuine successor of the Buddha is not one of his monks, not even a person, but the law, equated here with the *prātimokṣa* (a religious order's penitential, so to say), both of which are characterized as the refuge of the community. The following passage of the MPSū goes even one step further while describing the *prātimokṣa* not only as a refuge (*niḥsaraṇa*), but as a teacher (*śāstrī*), i.e., as the community's only guide and authority once the Buddha has departed:

Should [the following] occur to you, O monks, after I have passed away, i.e., 'Our teacher is extinguished (/has entered *nirvāṇa*), now we have nei-

⁵² MN III.9.21–22: *evaṃ appaṭisarāṇe ca pana bho ānanda ko hetu sāmaggīyā ti*. Translation Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001: 882.

⁵³ MN III.9.23–24: *na kho mayaṃ brāhmaṇa appaṭisaraṇā. sappaṭisaraṇā mayaṃ brāhmaṇa dhammapaṭisaraṇā ti*. Translation Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001: 882 (with "law" instead of "Dhamma").

⁵⁴ MN III.10.8–16: *atthi kho, brāhmaṇa, tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena bhikkhūnaṃ sikkhāpadaṃ paññattaṃ pātimokkhaṃ uddiṭṭhaṃ. te mayaṃ tadahuposathe yāvaticā ekaṃ gāmakkhetaṃ upanissāya viharāma, te sabbe ekajjhaṃ sannipatāma, sannipatitvā yassa taṃ vattati, taṃ ajjhesāma. tasmim ce bhaññamāne hoti bhikkhussa āpatti hoti vitikkamo, taṃ mayaṃ yathādhammaṃ yathāsattaṃ kāremāti. na kira no bhavanto kārenti; dhammo no kāretiti*. Translation Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001: 882 (with "law" instead of "Dhamma").

ther a teacher nor a refuge,' you should not see it in this way. The *prātimokṣa* that I have caused you to recite every half month is from now on your teacher and your refuge.⁵⁵

This or a very similar passage likely inspired Aśvaghoṣa as he composed BC 26:26: “When I have gone to the beyond (*mamātyayāt*), you should revere (*sev[itaṅ]ya* ?) the *prātimokṣa* as your spiritual director, as your lamp, as your treasure. That is your teacher, under whose dominion (*vaśa* ?) you should be, and you should repeat it just as you did in my lifetime.”⁵⁶ Here, the *prātimokṣa* (/ *dharma*) is not only described as the teacher (*ācārya*, *sāṣṭr*) and the treasure (*artha*) of the monks, but also as their lamp (Tib. *sgron ma* = Skt. *dīpa*).

3.3. This characterization of the law as a lamp for the community brings us to another set of famous statements about the transmission of authority after the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa*. In a dialogue with Ānanda and the subsequent sermon, the Buddha who has fallen seriously ill reacts as follows on Ānanda’s anxiety⁵⁷ that the master might depart without delivering his last instructions:⁵⁸

⁵⁵ MPSū III.386 (§41.1–2): *syāt khalu yuṣmākaṃ bhikṣavo mamātyayāt | parinirvṛto ’smākaṃ sāstā | nāsty etarhy asmākaṃ sāstā nihsaraṇaṃ vā | na khalu evaṃ draṣṭavyam | yo vo mayānvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣa uddeśitaḥ sa vo ’dyāgreṇa sāstā sa ca vo nihsaraṇam |*. On *adyāgreṇa*, see BHSD 5a, s.v. *-agreṇa*. On this passage, see Bareau 1970, vol. II:135–137.

⁵⁶ BC 26:26 (BC_{Tib} D90a4–5/P108b3–4): | *slob dpon bzhin du sgron ma bzhin du don bzhin du | | bdag ’das tshen na so sor thar pa bsten^a bya ste | | khyed kyi ston pa de yin de ’i dbang gis ’gyur bya | | kho bo gnas pa na yang de tsam nyid smra ’o |*. ^aP: D *bstan*. Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 94. BC 26:30 (BC_{Tib} D90a7–b1/P108b7–8) contains yet another description of the *prātimokṣa*: | *rnam pa de ltar tshul khrims yang dag bsdu pa ’di | | thar pa ’i rtsa ba zhes pa^a so sor thar pa ste | | ’di las ting nge ’dzin rnam rab tu skye ba ste | | ye shes thams cad rnam dang mthar thug rnam^b ’da ’o^c |*. ^aD: P om. *zhes pa*. ^bP: D *rnam*. ^cD: P *’di ’o*. “In this way the *prātimokṣa* is the summary (*saṅgraha*, *samuccaya* ?) of the discipline (*śīla*), the root of liberation (*muktimūla* ?); from it arise (*praJAN* ?) the concentrated meditations (*samādhi*), all forms of knowledge (*jñāna*) and the final goals (*niṣṭhā* ?).” Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 95.

⁵⁷ In the MPSū (Bareau 1970, vol. I: 141), Ānanda is “en proie à tous les symptômes de la plus vive inquiétude: le corps faible comme s’il était ivre, ne sachant dans quelle direction se tourner, les idées obscurcies, la pensée inquiète et effrayée, le cœur serré et l’esprit troublé par le chagrin, soupirant sans cesse, n’ayant plus qu’un souffle de vie et pensant constamment à l’éventualité de la disparition soudaine du Buddha.”

⁵⁸ On this episode, see Bareau 1970, vol. I: 137–147. The town is variously known as *Veḷuḡāgāmaka* and *Veḷuḡrāmaka*. “*Veḷumati*” is the form adopted by

What, then, Ānanda? Does the Order expect that of me? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine; for in respect of the truths, Ānanda, the Tathāgata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher, who keeps some things back. Surely, Ānanda, should there be anyone who harbours the thought, ‘It is I who will lead the brotherhood,’ or, ‘The Order is dependent upon me,’ it is he who should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the Order. Now the Tathāgata, Ānanda, thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the Order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the Order?⁵⁹

According to this statement, the Buddha considers the cycle of his dispensation to be closed and to have left nothing unrevealed.⁶⁰ In what remains of the Sanskrit version, he claims as well that “a Tathāgata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher (*ācāryamuṣṭi*),” nothing “that he may think should remain hidden (*pratichhādayitavya*),”⁶¹ and provides what is apparently meant to be an

Aśvagoṣa in BC 23:62 (Tib. ’od [D: ’o P] *ma ldan pa’i grong*, D82b1/P99a8), who mentions Veṇumatī in passing but does not allude in this context to the Buddha’s illness or to our sermon.

⁵⁹ DN II.100.1–11: *kiṃ paṇ’ānanda bhikkhu saṃgho mayi paccāsiṃsati? desito ānanda mayā dhammo anantaraṃ abāhiraṃ karitvā; na tath’ānanda tathāgataṃ dhammesu ācāriyamuṣṭhi. yassa nūna ānanda evaṃ assa ahaṃ bhikkhusaṃghaṃ pariharissāmīti vā mam’uddesiko bhikkhusaṃgho ti vā, so nūna ānanda bhikkhusaṃghaṃ ārabha kiñcid eva udāhareyya. tathāgataṃ kho ānanda na evaṃ hoti ahaṃ bhikkhusaṃghaṃ pariharissāmīti vā mam’uddesiko bhikkhusaṃgho ti vā. kiṃ ānanda tathāgato bhikkhusaṃghaṃ ārabha kiñcid eva udāharissati?* Translation Rhys Davids 1910: 107. The corresponding part of the Sanskrit recension is badly corrupt (see MPSū II.196–197 [§14.10–14]). For a comparison between the different extant versions, see Bareau 1970, vol. I: 141–142.

⁶⁰ In the context of the last words of the Buddha (BC 26:83–88 [Johnston 1984, vol. III: 101–102]), the BC (26:83–84 [BC_{Tib} D93a5–6/P112a5–7]) contains a somewhat similar statement: | *gang phyir bskal par gnas kyang de ni nyams pa ste* | | *phan tshun du ni ’du ba nges par yod^a ma yin* | | *bdag nyid kyi dang gzhan gyi don ni byas nas ni* | | *kho bo’i^b gnas pa la ni dgos pa yod ma yin* | | *gang rnams mkhar dang sa na bdag gi gdul bya rnams* | | *de rnams thar par byas shing rgyun la bcug pa ste* | | *’di las gzhan du slob ma rim dang rim rnams kyis* | | *nga yi chos ’di skye dgu rnams la gnas par ’gyur* |. ^aD: P *yongs*. ^bP: D *bo*. “Since a being may last for an aeon and yet must come to destruction, there is certainly no such thing as mutual union. Having completed the task both for Myself and for others, there is no gain in My further existence. All those in the heavens and on earth, who were to be converted by Me, have been saved and set in the stream. Hereafter My Law shall abide among men through the successive generations of mendicants.” Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 101.

⁶¹ Adapted from MPSū II.196 (§14.14): *na tatrānanda tathāgatasya dharmeṣu ācāryamuṣṭir yaṃ tathāgataḥ pratichhādayitavyaṃ manyeta* |. “The Tathāgata does

exhaustive and final list of his teachings, i.e., the thirty-seven ancillaries of enlightenment (*bodhipākṣika*): the four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*), the four rightful exertions (*samyakprahāṇa*), the four bases of supernatural abilities (*ṛddhipāda*), the five faculties (*indriya*), the five powers (*bala*), the seven limbs of enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*), and the noble eightfold path (*āryāṣṭāṅgo mārgaḥ*).⁶² In the sermon that follows, the Buddha prescribes the attitude to be adopted, the ideal to be strived for and the means to be implemented by the monks in order to get the better of his passing and develop themselves further. This rightly famous sermon starts with a short reminder of impermanence meant as an intellectual antidote to Ānanda's sorrow:

Therefore, do not grieve, O Ānanda, do not be weary. Why would it be, how could it be that what is born, engendered, made, conditioned, experienced (*vedayita*) and dependently originated; that what is subject to exhaustion, to decay, to cessation and to destruction does not break down? There is no such possibility. I have already explained beforehand, O monks, [that] from all cherished [and] dear [things], from [all] loved and charming [things] separation and deprivation must occur, disjunction and dispossession [must occur]. Therefore, O Ānanda, today or after my passing, abide with yourself as an island, with yourself as a refuge, with the law as an island, with the law as a refuge, with nothing else as an island, with nothing else as a refuge. For what reason? [Because] those who, today or after my passing, will have themselves as an island, themselves as a refuge, the law as an island, the law as a refuge, nothing else as an island, nothing else as a refuge, will be the best of my disciples in quest of [religious] training(/instruction). And, O Ānanda, how does one have oneself as an island, oneself as a refuge, the law as an island, the law as a refuge, nothing else as an island, nothing else as a refuge? Here, [when] a monk abides contemplating the body with respect to the internal body, [being] zealous (*ātāpīn*), aware and mindful, [then] covetousness and dejection(/dejectedness) relating to the world are removed, [and the same is true when he contemplates the body] with respect to the external body and with respect to both the internal and the external bodies.⁶³

not withhold anything here concerning the doctrinal points [that he preaches], which the Tathāgata might regard as being to remain hidden.”

⁶² MPSū II.196 (§14.13). On the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣikadharmas*, see, e.g., Gethin 1992.

⁶³ MPSū II.198–200 (§14.20–25): *mā tasmāt tvam ānanda soca mā klāma | ka-smād eva tat | kuta etal labhyaṃ yat taj jātaṃ bhūtaṃ kṛtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ vedayitaṃ pratītyasamutpannaṃ kṣayadharmāṃ vyayadharmāṃ nirodhadharmāṃ pralobhadharmaṃ na prarujyate | nedam sthānaṃ vidyate | prāg eva bhikṣavo mayākhyātaṃ sarvair iṣṭaiḥ kāntaiḥ priyair manāpair nānābhāvo bhaviṣyati vinābhāvo viprayogo vi-*

After a short statement on transitoriness, the Buddha exhorts the monks to self-sufficiency. He advises them to be their own island (*dvīpa*) or shelter and to take the law for their sole refuge, something they will achieve by cultivating the four applications of mindfulness (the text does not allude to the remaining thirty-three ancillaries to awakening⁶⁴): being mindful of the body (*kāya*), of the affective sensations (*vedanā*), of the mind (*citta*), and of the factors (*dharmā*).⁶⁵

A very close, at times even literal equivalent of this important sermon occurs in Aśvaghōṣa's BC, though not where one would expect to find it, i.e., around BC 23:62,⁶⁶ but right after Ānanda has learned that the Buddha has gotten rid of his life forces (*āyuhśaṃskāra*):

Knowing the nature of the world, Ānanda, be not grieved. For [being] conditioned [and hence] of an impermanent nature, this entire world is

*saṃyogaḥ | tasmād ānandaitarhi mama vātyayād ātmadvīpair vihartavyam ātmaśaraṇair dharmadvīpair dharmāśaraṇair ananyadvīpair ananyaśaraṇaiḥ | tat kasmād dhetoḥ | ye kecid ānandaitarhi mama vātyayād ātmadvīpā ātmaśaraṇā dharmadvīpā dharmāśaraṇā ananyadvīpā ananyaśaraṇās te 'graṃ bhaviṣyanti yad uta mama śrāvakāṇāṃ śikṣākāmānām | kathaṃ cānanda bhikṣur ātmadvīpo bhavaty ātmaśaraṇo dharmadvīpo dharmāśaraṇo 'nanyadvīpo 'nanyaśaraṇaḥ | iha bhikṣur adhyātmaṃ kāye kāyānupaśyī viharaty ātāpī samprajānaḥ smṛtimān vinīyābhidyā loke daurmanasyam | bahīrdhā kāye 'dhyātmabahīrdhā kāye [...] |. anirodha- em.: virodha- Ed. bpralopa- em.: praloka- Ed. This passage also appears in the GASū 369.3–371.9 (see Kritzer 2014: 100–102). Kritzer 2014: 101, nn. 711–713, provides useful explanations of the expressions *adhyātmaṃ* and *bahīrdhā* in the present context. I come back to this passage as well as to Aśvaghōṣa's reformulation of it in the context of a study of the poet's ideas on mindfulness (Eltchinger 2020: § 8.1).*

⁶⁴ This somehow echos MN I.63, which describes the four *satipaṭṭhānas* as the/an *ekāyano maggo*, an expression Aśvaghōṣa resorts to as well (see BC 25:29 below, and n. 69 [*bṛvod pa gciḡ pa 'i lam, *ekāyano mārgaḥ*]), and whose meaning is debated: “leading to [just] one [aim]” (Schmithausen 1976: 245, n. 12, “zu [nur] einem [Ziel] gehend/führend”), i.e., “sure,” “reliable,” or rather “the single/only path [towards the purification of the living beings]” (Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 178, n. 1, “la voie unique [de la purification des êtres animés]”). See Schmithausen 1976: 245, n. 12, and Anālayo 2003: 27–29.

⁶⁵ Note Bareau 1970, vol. I: 146: “Ces précisions ont évidemment pour but d'attribuer une importance essentielle à ce type de méditation, qui fut et demeure certes l'un des plus recommandés par le Bouddhisme indien. Elles ont probablement été ajoutées par des moines appartenant à un groupe qui était spécialisé dans la pratique et la diffusion de ces quatre bases de l'attention.” On the four *smṛtyupasthānas*, see also BC 26:62–64, Lamotte 1970: 1121–1123, Schmithausen 1976 and 2012, Anālayo 2003 and 2012, and Eltschinger 2020.

⁶⁶ See above, n. 58.

simply produced. It is impossible that what is conditioned, ephemeral, born, dependently originated [and other-]dependent may remain forever by itself. If beings on earth were permanent, [their] existence being not precarious, who would care for salvation? [For] thus the end would be [the same as] the beginning. Or again what is the desire you and other beings have for me? For you have done without me the effort [that you have] produced [so far]. I have steadfastly explained the path to you in its entirety; you should understand that the *buddhas* withhold nothing.⁶⁷ Whether I remain or whether I pass to peace, there is only the one thing, [namely] the *tathāgatas*' body of the law (*dharmakāya*); of what use is this [mortal] body to you? Before? or after my passing my lamp has been lit through [religious] emotion and vigilance, [therefore] the lamp of the law (*dharmadīpa*) goes on for ever.⁶⁸ Devoting steadfast energy to this, being freed from the pairs (*nirvāṇa*) [and] recognising your own goal/good, let not [your] mind depend on other things. [This] should be known as '[having] oneself as a lamp' (*ātmadīpa*). The lamp of discernment (*prajñādīpa*?), with which the skilful and learned man dispels [ignorance], as a lamp the darkness, this should be known as '[having] the law as [one's] lamp' (*dharmadīpa*). For obtaining the highest bliss, there are four spheres of action (*gocara*), to wit, the body (*kāya*), sensation (*vedanā*), the mind (*citta*), and selflessness (*nairātmya*?).⁶⁹

⁶⁷ See above, n. 61.

⁶⁸ Tib. *sgron ma* unambiguously renders *dīpa*, "lamp," as the context of the sentence already makes clear. According to Bareau (1970, vol. I: 145), the two Chinese versions of the sermon (T 1 and T 6) read "lamp," i.e., "feu très ardent" (熾燃) and "réchaud" (錠). The French buddhologist interprets *dīpa* as a "sanskritisation postérieure" (1970, vol. I: 146). The argument for preferring "island" over "lamp" is the association of the word with the verb *viharati*, "to abide, to sojourn, to dwell," which makes little sense with a Middle-Indic *dīpa* interpreted as "lamp."

⁶⁹ BC 24:14–24 (BC_{Tib} D83b3–84a1/P100b5–101a4): | 'gro ba'i rang bzhin shes nas ni | | mya ngan ma byed^a kun dga' bo | | 'dus byas ngo bo mi rtag cing | | 'gro ba 'di kun mdzad^b pa nyid | | [...] 'dus byas g.yo ba skyes pa gang | | rten nas 'byung ba dbang med de | | bdag gi rtag par gyur cig ces | | 'di ni rnyed par mi nus so | | sa steng^c 'byung po rtag gyur na | | 'jug pa g.yo ba ma yin zhing | | thar pas bya ba su yis 'gyur | | de phyir mthar thug gdod^d ma'o^e | | ci ste khyod dam skye bo gzhan | | bdag la khyod kyi sred pa ci | | gang phyir ngal ba skyes pa 'di | | khyod kyis bdag dang bral bas byas | | lam ni mtha' dag khyed cag la | | bdag gi brtan^f cing bshad pa ste^g | | sangs rgyas rnam la^h slob dpon gyiⁱ | | dpe mkhyud med ces gzung mdzod cig | | bdag gi gnas sam nyer zhi na | | don ni de tsam nyid yin te | | de bzhin gshegs rnam chos kyi sku | | lus kyis khyed cag la don ci | | de phyir dang ngam bdag 'das tshe | | skyo ba yis dang bag yod dang | | bdag gi sgron mas gal byas te | | chos kyi sgron ma rtag par ro | | der zhugs brtan 'grus brtan pa dang | | rtsod med bdag gi don la mkhas | | blo ni gzhan dbang ma yin pa | | bdag gi sgron ma zhes shes bya | | rig pa dang ldan mkhas pa ni | | gang gi^k sgron mas mun pa bzhin | | shes rab sgron mas 'joms pa ste^l | | chos kyi sgron mar shes par bya | | dge legs nye bar thob bya'i phyir | | de dag rnam kyi sphyod yul bzhi | | lus dang tshor ba nyid dang ni | | sems dang bdag med pa nyid do | .^aP: D byad. ^bP: D 'dzad (*kṣīyate?). ^cP: D stengs. ^dP: D 'dod. ^eem.: DP pa'o. ^fP: D bstan. ^gD: P de. ^hP: D dang. ⁱD: P gyis. ^jP: D gi. ^kP: D gi. ^lD: P ni. Cf. Johnston 1984, vol. III: 77–79.

Here again, after a few words on impermanence aimed at comforting Ānanda (vv. 14–17), the Buddha claims to have brought his dispensation to a close and to have left nothing hidden (vv. 18–20); he then admonishes the monks to be autonomous and to rely on the law (vv. 21–23) before sketching the means to be resorted to in order to achieve self-sufficiency, i.e., the four applications of mindfulness (vv. 24–30). As stated above, I shall deal with the many remarkable features of Aśvaghoṣa’s version of the sermon in another context.

3.4. To sum up, after the Buddha’s extinction, the community will have to rely on the law and the discipline as a refuge (*pratīsarāṇa*, *niḥsarāṇa*), as a treasure (*artha*), an island (*dvīpa*) or a lamp (*dīpa*), as a spiritual advisor (*ācārya*) or a teacher (*śāstrī*). Being mindful of the body, of the affective sensations, of the mind and the factors/selflessness, the monks will become self-sufficient, independent of any other (source of) authority. But by emphasizing that his teaching was complete and that he had kept nothing hidden, the Buddha was also suggesting that any *logion* ascribed to him posthumously would have to be regarded as an apocryphon unless it can be proven to conform to the law known to have been spoken by him during his lifetime.⁷⁰

4. Authority and Authentication

4.1. Scriptural authentication and external criticism are the issues at stake in BC 25:37–49, a sermon pronounced by the Buddha in Bhoganagara (Tib. *longs spyod grong*) on his way from Vaiśālī to Pāpā (Tib. *sdig pa’i grong*).⁷¹ The discourse addresses the measures to be taken in order to preserve the good law from adventitious elements after the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa*. Here is the first part of this important sermon:

⁷⁰ Bateau 1970, vol. I: 143: “Nos auteurs voulaient sans doute montrer par ces paroles attribuées au Maître que l’enseignement donné par celui-ci et transmis par ses fidèles disciples était complet et que, par conséquent, toute doctrine présentée comme un complément sous forme d’enseignement demeuré secret ou de révélation d’un ordre quelconque, devait être rejeté comme apocryphe.”

⁷¹ On the names Bhoganagara(ka) and Pāpā(grāmaka), see Bateau 1970, vol. I: 223 and 251–252.

Today (*etarhi*) or after I have passed away (*mama vātyayāt*), you must fix your best attention on the law (*dharmā*). It is your highest goal (*artha*); anything else is but toil. Whatever does not conform (*avaTR*) to the *sūtras*, does not appear (*sanDRŚ*) in the *vinaya* and is opposed (*pratibaddha*?) by reason(ing) (*yukti*) should not be accepted (*grāhya*?) [as my words] by any means. For that is not the law (*dharmā*) nor the *vinaya* nor my words; though many people report(/claim) [them to be my words], these are [nothing but] black [i.e., pernicious] authorities (*kālāpadeśa*) [and as such] should be rejected (*heya*?). That in which this does not occur consists in the contrary (*viparyaya*?) [i.e., in] immaculate authorities (*śuddhāpadeśa*?) [which] should be accepted (*grāhya*?) [as my words], for that is the law, the *vinaya*, my words. I therefore succinctly (*saṅkṣepataḥ*?) call these [teachings] authoritative (*pramāṇa*): whatever does [that, i.e., conforms to the *sūtras*, appears in the *vinaya* and stands up to reason(ing).] this is authoritative, and apart from this there is no authority (*pramāṇa*).⁷²

These five stanzas would remain little intelligible without reference to the canonical locus Aśvaghoṣa most certainly relied upon while composing them, i.e., MPSū II.238–252 (§24.1–49) or a parallel text, the prototype of the (*Catur*)*mahāpadeśasūtra* or *Sūtra of the (Four) Great Authorities*.⁷³ This well-known passage spells out the “rules of criticism that [are] to be applied during the discussion of whether or not a text or interpretation [is] to be considered authoritative.”⁷⁴ In order to do so, the text designates “[f]our specific situations [...] as normative in the transmission of the

⁷² BC 25:37–41 (BC_{Tib} D86b7–87a2/P104b2–5): | *da ltar ram ni bdag 'das nas* | | *chos la mchog tu gzhol bar bya* | | *de ni khyod^a kyi^b don mchog ste* | | *gang gzhan de ni ngal bar 'gyur* | | *gang zhig mdo sder ma zhugs shing* | | *'dul ba na yang mi snang la* | | *rigs par^c so sor gnod pa ste* | | *de ni cis kyang gzung^d mi bya* | | *de ni chos min 'dul ba min* | | *de ni bdag gi tshig ma yin* | | *mang po nmams kyi tshig yin kyang* | | *nag po'i gdams pa de dor bya^e* | | *dag pa'i gdams pa gzung^f bya zhing* | | *gang la yod min bzlog^g pa ste* | | *de ni chos yin 'dul ba ste* | | *de ni bdag gi tshig yin no* | | *de phyir bdag gis^h mdor bsdus nas* | | *tshad ma 'di nmams bshad pa ste* | | *gang zhig byedⁱ de tshad ma yin* | | *'di las gzhan du tshad ma min* |. ^aD: P *khyed*. ^bD: P *kyis*. ^cTo be read *pas*? ^dD: P *zung*. ^eD: P *byas*. ^fD: P *zung*. ^gP: D *zlog*. ^hD: P *gi*. ⁱUncertain reading. Cf. Johnston 1984, vol. III: 86.

⁷³ On the (*catur*)*mahāpadeśa(sūtra)*, see La Vallée Poussin 1938: 158–160, Lamotte 1947 (esp. 218–222), Jaini 1977: 22–29, Davidson 1990: 297–303 (esp. 300–301), and An 2002 (with an overview of the translations of *mahāpadeśa* proposed so far, pp. 55–56). For references to the most important primary sources, see Lamotte 1947: 219. On the six parallel versions of the passage and a detailed comparison between them, see Bareau 1970, vol. I: 4, 222, n. 1, 222–239, and Waldschmidt 1944: 136–140.

⁷⁴ Davidson 1990: 297.

dharma.⁷⁵ Indeed, a monk might turn up (*bhikṣur āgacchet*) claiming to have directly (*sammukham* [...] *antikāt*) heard and received (*śrutam* [...] *udgṛhītam*) a certain logion from (1) the Buddha himself, (2) a great monastic community with its elder(s) and leader(s) (*mahān bhikṣusaṅghaḥ* [...] *sasthaviraḥ sapramokṣaḥ*),⁷⁶ (3) numerous monks specializing in *sūtra*, *vinaya* and dogmatic matrices (*sambahulā bhikṣavaḥ* [...] *sūtradharā vinayadharā mātykādharāḥ*), and (4) a single monk who is an elder or not (Tib. *gzhan*, **anya*) an elder, a learned person or not a learned person, (a leader or⁷⁷) not a leader (? *dge slong gnas brtan dang gnas brtan las gzhan shes pa dang shes pa las gzhan dang gtso bo las gzhan dag cig*). In all four situations, the *logion* under consideration is claimed to be the law, the *vinaya*, and the teaching of the Teacher (*śāstrī*).⁷⁸ How are those listening to such a monk expected to behave? According to the Buddha,

neither should the [statement] of this [monk] be encouraged nor should it be censured [from the outset]. Listening [to it] without encouraging nor censuring [it] and [simply] receiving these sentences (*pada*) and syllables, the latter should be shown to conform to the *sūtra* [and] to appear in the *vinaya*.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Davidson 1990: 300.

⁷⁶ *-pramokṣaḥ* is Waldschmidt's reconstruction on the basis of the Pāli (*-pāmokkha*, DN II.124.21–22: *saṃgho viharati satthero sapāmokkha*.) and the Tibetan (*gtso bo*). Indeed, the MS of the MPSū is lacunary in both places (§§29.10 and 29.33). As revealed by SWTTF IV.338b, s.v. *sasthavira*, however, parallel formulations read *sasthaviraḥ saprātimokṣaḥ*, where *-prātimokṣaḥ* is most likely an erroneous sanskritization of the Middle-Indic *pāmokkha* which, in other contexts, was “correctly” sanskritized into *prāmukhya* (see BHSD 393a, s.v. “chief, principal”). **prāmukhya* is here equivalent to Pāli *pāmokkha* “chief, first; leader” (PED 453b, s.v.), as Lamotte (1947: 219, “et des Chefs”), La Vallée Poussin (1938: 159) and, apparently, the Tibetan (*gtso bo*; see also Negi 2003: 4695b) understood. Bareau's reading of *sapramokṣa* as “pourvu de délivrance (c'est-à-dire un *arhant*)” (1970: I.226), taking *pramokṣa* as “liberation” (see MW 687b, s.v., “final deliverance,” and SWTTF III.206a, s.v., “Befreiung”), is unsatisfactory.

⁷⁷ I am inclined to conjecture *gtso bo dang gtso bo las gzhan* instead of *gtso bo las gzhan* alone in order to restore the symmetry with the other two expressions.

⁷⁸ MPSū II.238 (§24.5), and passim: *ayaṃ dharmo 'yaṃ vinaya idaṃ śāstrī śāsanam*. “This is the law, this is the *vinaya*, and this is the teaching of the Teacher.”

⁷⁹ MPSū II.238 (§24.6): *tasya bhikṣavas tan notśāhayitavyaṃ nāvasādayitavyam | anutsāhayitvānavasādayitvā śrotram avadhāya tāni padavyaṅjanāny udgṛhya sūtre 'vatārayitavyaṃ vinaye sandarśayitavyam |*. On *avatārayati*, see SWTTF I.159ab, s.v. *avatārayitavya* and *avaTṚ* (2), and Bareau 1970, vol. I: 231.

In other words, the Buddha urges his disciples to check whether a *logion* that is claimed to be his word occurs in, and conforms to, the *sūtras*⁸⁰ and the *vinaya*, a procedure which will decide over its authenticity.⁸¹ Thus it is that

if [these teachings,] while having to be shown to conform to the *sūtra* and to appear in the *vinaya*, [actually] neither conform to the *sūtra* nor appear in the *vinaya* and[, moreover,] contradict the way things are (*dharmatā*), this [monk] ought to be answered [as follows]: ‘Truly, O venera-

⁸⁰ On Buddhaghosa’s understanding of *sutta* and *vinaya* in the context of the four *apadesas*, see Jaini 1977: 24–25. On the *sūtras*, see ADīpa 197.6–8.

⁸¹ In both the MPSū and the BC, this procedure is actually threefold. But whereas its third stage consists, in the MPSū, in checking whether a given statement is compatible with the way things are (*dharmatā*; on this translation, see Rahula 1974 and Davidson 1990: 301), it consists, in the BC, in checking whether it stands to reason(ing) (*yukti*). Aśvaghoṣa’s deviation from the MPSū is somehow symmetric to a deviation observed in the BoBh with regard to another key element in the Buddhist doctrine of interpretation. Traditional Buddhist hermeneutics knows of four exegetical principles or “refuges” (*pratisaraṇa*), the first of which advises the monks to rely on the law/teaching (*dharma*), not on the personal authority of the teaching person (*puḍgala*) (see Lamotte 1949). Interestingly, the BoBh twice replaces *dharma* by reason(ing), thereby enjoining the monks to rely on reason(ing) rather than personal charisma (BoBh_D 175.14–176.7/BoBh_W 256.23–258.3 and BoBh_D 76.8–77.1/BoBh_W 108.2–109.5; see Eltschinger 2014a: 203–208). *dharma* (the law/teaching) and *dharmatā* (the way things are) are not the same, however. A plausible though somewhat speculative explanation of Aśvaghoṣa’s choice of *yukti* could resort to the early Yogācāra notion of the four *yuktis* or (modes of) reason(ing). Texts such as the ŚrBh distinguish between reason(ing) on/of dependence (*apekṣāyukti*), reason(ing) on/of the production of an effect (*kāryakaraṇayukti*), reason(ing) that proves by means of arguments (*upapattisādhanayukti*), and reason(ing) on/of the nature of things/the way things are (*dharmatāyukti*) (ŚrBh 118.10–13, etc.; see Sakuma 1990, vol. II: 99–102, nn. 596–605, Yoshimizu 1996: 114–119, n. 85, Deleanu 2006, vol. II: 494–495, n. 74). The ambiguity of the English rendering of the terms reflects the early Yogācāras’ understanding of the four *yuktis* as modes of reasoning (*yukti*, “causa cognoscendi”) based on, or mirroring, real structures, causal chains and correlations (*yukti*, *yoga*, *upāya*, “causa fiendi”) (ŚrBh 119.2–3, ŚrBh 119.11–12, ŚrBh 120.9–10). Thus, in this doctrinal complex, reason(ing) is explicitly regarded as reflecting and conforming to the way things are. However, the fourth type of reason(ing) likely provides a more straightforward explanation. According to the ŚrBh, the *dharmatāyukti* accounts for the way things are, i.e., answers questions such as why and how things (the five constituents, the four great elements, cosmology, *nirvāṇa*, etc.) are as they are, i.e., have the nature (*prakṛti*, *svabhāva*) they have, and itself operates on this basis. Although Aśvaghoṣa most likely was very close to early, non-Mahāyānist Yogācāra circles (see Yamabe 2003), there is nothing to demonstrate that he was familiar with the four *yukti* doctrine.

ble, either the Blessed One has not uttered these teachings (*dharma*) or the venerable has wrongly grasped them, for these teachings, while having to be shown to conform to the *sūtra* and to appear in the *vinaya*, [actually] do not conform to the *sūtra*, do not appear in the *vinaya*, and contradict the way things are. Knowing that this is not the law, this is not the discipline [and] this is not the teaching of the Teacher, one should reject them.⁸²

On the contrary,

if [these teachings,] while having to be shown to conform to the *sūtra* and to appear in the *vinaya*, [effectively] conform to the *sūtra*, appear in the *vinaya* and do not contradict the way things are, this [monk] ought to be answered [as follows]: ‘Truly, O venerable, the Blessed One has uttered these teachings and the venerable has rightly grasped them, for these teachings, while having to be shown to conform to the *sūtra* and to appear in the *vinaya*, [effectively] conform to the *sūtra*, appear in the *vinaya* and do not contradict the way things are. Knowing that this is the law, this is the discipline [and] this is the teaching of the Teacher, one should keep them.’⁸³

At least in the (Mūla)sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra traditions, the statements which conform to the *sūtras*, the *vinaya* and the way things are are called *mahāpadeśas* (“great authorities,” otherwise known as *śuklāpadeśas*, “white [i.e., pure] authorities”), whereas those which do not are labelled *kālāpadeśas* (“black [i.e., pernicious] authorities,” otherwise known as *kṛṣṇāpadeśas*).⁸⁴ And in-

⁸² MPSū II.242–244 (§24.6–8): *yadi sūtre ’vatāryamāṇā vinaye sandarśyamānāḥ sūtre nāvataranti vinaye na sandṛśyante dharmatām ca vilomayanti sa evaṃ syād vacanīyāḥ | addhāyuṣmann ime dharmā na bhagavatā bhāṣitāḥ | āyuṣmatā veme dharmā durgyhītās tathā hīme dharmāḥ sūtre ’vatāryamāṇā vinaye sandarśyamānāḥ sūtre nāvataranti vinaye na sandṛśyante dharmatām ca vilomayanti | nāyaṃ dharmo nāyaṃ vinayo nedaṃ śāstuh śāsanam iti viditvā chorayitavyāḥ |*. See also MPSū II.240 (§24.12–14), MPSū II.242 (§24.18–20), and MPSū II.244 (§24.24–26).

⁸³ MPSū II.246 (§24.29–31): *yadi sūtre ’vatāryamāṇā vinaye sandarśyamānāḥ sūtre ’vataranti vinaye sandṛśyante dharmatām ca na vilomayanti sa evaṃ syād vacanīyāḥ | addhāyuṣmann ime dharmā bhagavatā bhāṣitāḥ | āyuṣmatā ceme dharmāḥ sugryhītās tathā hīme dharmāḥ sūtre ’vatāryamāṇā vinaye sandarśyamānāḥ sūtre ’vataranti vinaye sandṛśyante dharmatām ca na vilomayanti | ayam dharmo ’yaṃ vinaya idaṃ śāstuh śāsanam iti viditvā dhārayitavyāḥ |*. See also MPSū II.246–248 (§24.35–37), MPSū II.248–250 (§24.41–43), and MPSū II.250 (§24.47–49).

⁸⁴ Note BoBhVy D129a1–2/P157b1–2: *nag po bstan pa ni mdo sde la mi ’jug ’dul ba la mi snang chos nyid dang ’gal bar gnas so || de las bzlog pa dkar po’i phyogs ni chen po bstan pa’o ||*. “The black authorities are [doctrinal] points that do not conform to the *sūtra*, do not appear in the *vinaya* and contradict the way things are. The

deed, the extant Sanskrit MPSū, a (Mūla)sarvāstivāda recension of the text, is the only of the six recensions of the *sūtra* to allude to both the *mahāpadesās* and the *kālāpadesās*:

Here, O Ānanda, the first four have been labelled ‘black [i.e., pernicious] authorities.’ The monks [carefully] acquire(/collect) [and] examine them, and concluding that this is not the law, this is not the discipline and this is not the teaching of the Teacher, they should reject them. The last four have been labelled ‘great authorities.’ The monks carefully acquire(/collect) and examine them, and concluding that this is the law, this is the discipline and this is the teaching of the Teacher, they should keep/adopt them.⁸⁵

white category (*suklapakṣa*), which is contrary to them, is [called] a great authority.” On *sukla-* and *kṣṇapakṣa*, see Deleanu 2006, vol. II: 488–489, n. 53. BoBhVĪ D175b7–176a1/P221b2–3: *gang mdo sde la ’jug cing ’dul ba la snang la | chos nyid dang mi ’gal ba de ni chen po bstan pa yin la | de las bzlog pa ni nag po bstan pa’o ||*. “That which conforms to the *sūtra*, appears in the *vinaya* and does not contradict the way things are is [called] a great authority. [That which is] contrary to it is [called] a black authority.” For the context of these two explanations, see Eltschinger 2014a: 203–207. ADīpa 197.4–6: *uktaṃ hi bhagavatā – yad bhikṣavaḥ sūtre nāvatarati vinaye na dṛśyate dharmatām ca vilomayati nedaṃ sāstuh śāsanam iti kṣṇāpadesaḥ | suklāpadeso viparyayeṇa |*. “For the Blessed One has said: ‘O monks, that which does not conform to the *sūtras*, does not appear in the *vinaya*, and does not contradict the way things are, this is not the teaching of the Teacher, [and] thus [is nothing but] a black [i.e., pernicious] authority. In the opposite case, it is a white [i.e., pure] authority.” On the meaning of the expression (*mahā*)*apadesā*, see La Vallée Poussin 1938: 158, n. 21 (to whom the contrary expression *kālāpadesā* was known but unintelligible), and Lamotte 1947: 219. Often quoted (La Vallée Poussin 1938: 158, n. 21; Lamotte 1947: 219) in this connection is Buddhaghosa’s gloss on *mahāpadesa*: *mahāpadeso ti [...] buddhādayo mahante mahante apadisitvā vuttāni mahākāraṇāni ti attho*. “Causes (ou autorités) alléguées en se référant au Buddha ou à d’autres grands personnages.” Translation Lamotte 1947: 219.

⁸⁵ SBhV_{Tib} (as quoted in MPSū II.253): *de la kun dga bo de la gang thog ma’i bzhi po nag po’i phyogs su smras pa de ni dge slong dag gis dge ba shin tu yang dag par sbyar te | yang dag par brtags la ’di ni chos ma yin | ’di ni ’dul ba ma yin | ’di ni ston pas bstan pa ma yin no zhes shes par byas te dor bar bya’o || gang phyi ma bzhi po chen por bshad pa de ni dge slong dag gis yang dag par sbyar te | yang dag par brtags la | ’di ni chos so || ’di ni ’dul ba’o || ’di ni ston pas bstan par shes par byas nas gzung bar bya’o || ’di bzhin du kun dga bo dge slong dag gis mdo sde’i mtha la brten gyi gang zag la brten par mi bya’o ||*. The extant Sanskrit fragments run as follows (MPSū II.252 [§24.50–52]): (*tatr*)*ānanda ye te pūrvakāś ca(t)v [...] nāyaṃ dharmo nāyaṃ vinayo nedaṃ sāstuh śāsanam iti viditvā chorayitavyāḥ | tatrānanda ye te [...] ayaṃ dharmo ’yaṃ vinaya idaṃ sāstuh śāsanam iti viditvā dhārayitavyāḥ | evaṃ evānanda bhikṣubhiḥ sūtrāntapratīsarāṇair bhavitavyaṃ na pudgalapratīsarāṇaiḥ |*.

That Āsvaghoṣa also explicitly refers to these two antinomic types of *apadeśas* in precisely the same narrative frame provides consolidating evidence for his indebtedness to a (Mūla)sarvāstivāda recension of the MPSū.

4.2. The importance of this authentication strategy can hardly be overestimated. As long as the Buddha will be alive, he will act as a teacher, a lawyer, and a therapist, as an arbiter of orthodoxy and orthopraxy, and as a warrant of monastic cohesion and the possibility of salvation. After his *parinirvāṇa*, however, all these functions will be transferred to the law itself. As a result, any laxity in the observance of the above procedures, hence in the preservation of the *dharma*, could only have devastating consequences in terms of Buddhist social order, the duration of the *dharma*, and the realizability of salvation, and lead to what the Buddhist traditions generally refer to as the “demise of the good law” (*saddhamavipralopa*).⁸⁶ And indeed, whereas most recensions of the MPSū limit themselves to a rather mechanical account of the four situations, the two or three procedures, and the behavior expected from the monks, other versions (T. 5, T. 6) are much more explicit in their description of the dangers⁸⁷ threatening the good law unless proper measures are taken. Some of these measures are of an “editorial” character and anticipate those that have come to be associated with the communal recitation (*saṅgīti*) held in Rājagṛha.⁸⁸ Others are much more radical in summoning the

⁸⁶ On the demise of the good law, see Lamotte 1976: 210–222, Nattier 1991, and Eltschinger 2014a: 73–92.

⁸⁷ T 5 provides a fairly detailed picture of those endangering the good law. Mentioned are, e.g., monks who wish to teach the *dharma* without any prohibitions and precepts (I, 167a21–22), monks who add and withdraw *sūtras* and precepts (I, 167a23), monks who are in doubt concerning them (I, 167b3–4), etc. See Bareaux 1970, vol. I: 237, and especially Waldschmidt 1944: 137–139.

⁸⁸ T 6, I, 183a15–19: 言說應經者用，不合者棄。是佛所說比丘所受，必善持之。若今如後，凡講論經當言聞如是，一時佛在某國某處與某比丘俱，說是經。若其經是，不得苟言非佛所說。相承用如是者，比丘，法可得久住。^avar. 令。 “The statements which conform to the *sūtras* should be put into practice [and] those which disagree [with them] should be rejected. That which has been uttered by the Buddha [and] received by the monks, you should preserve it well. Be it now or after [my passing], anyone who preaches a *sūtra* should say: ‘Thus I have heard. At a certain time, the Buddha was staying in such a country, in such a place, together with such a monk, [and] uttered this *sūtra*.’ If the *sūtra* is correct, [then] you should not lightly claim that it was not uttered by the Buddha. If you pass it

monks to degrade if not to exclude those of their coreligionists who do not recognize the *sūtras* and fail to conform to the precepts.⁸⁹ Resorting to a canonical *topos*,⁹⁰ the compiler(s) of T 5 insist(s) that keeping and obeying the Buddhist scriptures is the only way to secure monastic harmony, to delight gods and men, and to prevent the demise of the good law:

[O monks,] preserve these *sūtras* and precepts! You should not excoriate [them] saying that they have not been uttered by the Buddha. You should teach each other [and] you should pass [them] on to each other and practise [them]. The elder and the younger [monks] must inspect and check each other. You should not fail to pass [them] on to each other and to practise [them] on the grounds that the Buddha has passed away in *parinirvāṇa*. If you pass [them] on to each other and practise [them], all gods and humans will be pleased [and] everyone will obtain merits, [and this] may cause the *sūtras* of the Buddha to last for a long time.⁹¹

Possibly in dependence on a version of the MPSū, Aśvaghōṣa also connects scriptural authentication to the eschatological motif of the demise of the good law. To be sure, expressions such as (*sa-*

on to each other [and] practise it like this, O monks, the law may possibly last for a long time.” Cf. Bareau 1970, vol. I: 235–236; see Waldschmidt 1944: 139.

⁸⁹ T 6, I, 183a5–8: 是爲受持護法者也。其不承經戒者，衆比丘當黜之。穉穉不去善穀苗。弟子不善壞我道法。當相檢校，無得以佛去故不承用教。“This is for receiving, preserving and protecting the law. Those who do not pass on the *sūtras* and the precepts, the monks should degrade (/banish/expel) (黜) them. If you do not remove darnels and weeds, they will do harm to the good grains/corns. If the disciples are not good, they will destroy my law (道法). You should inspect and examine each other. You should not fail to pass on [and] to practise the teaching on the grounds that the Buddha has passed away.” Cf. Bareau 1970, vol. I: 235; on the simile of the herbs to be eradicated, see also Waldschmidt 1944: 138.

⁹⁰ See, e.g., DN III.211.15–20: *atthi kho āvuso tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena eko dhammo sammadakkhāto. tattha sabbeḥ’ eva saṃgāyita-bbaṃ na vivaditabbaṃ yathayidaṃ brahmacariyaṃ addhāriyaṃ assa ciraṭṭhītikaṃ tad assa bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya athāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ*. “There is one *dhamma* which has been correctly proclaimed by the Blessed One, the knower, the seer, the worthy one, the truly and fully awakened one. With regard to this, it should be recited by all of us together, and should not be disputed, in order that this holy life may endure for a long time, which will be for the benefit of the many, for the happiness of the many, [for] compassion for the world, for the good, for the benefit, for the happiness of gods and humans.” Translation Skilling 2009: 54. For other recensions of this passage, see Skilling 2009: 73, n. 2, and Waldschmidt 1955: 314 (/274) for a Sanskrit text.

⁹¹ T 5, I, 167b19–23: 持是經戒。不得呵言非佛所語，當轉相教，轉相承用。長幼當相檢押。無得以佛般泥洹去故，不相承用。相承用，諸天人民助喜，皆得福。可使佛經長久。 See also Bareau 1970, vol. I: 238–239.

ddharma) *vipraloṣa* apparently do not occur in his extant works. However, the poet refers here to a “semblance” or “counterfeit” (of the good) law⁹² (*saddharmaṣratirūpaka*) the emergence of which numerous Buddhist scriptures—but, as far as I can see, no recension of the MPSū—associate with the demise of the good law. In BC 25:42–45, Aśvaghōṣa prophesizes the advent of a counterfeit (of the good) law:

Out of delusion (*moha*?) there will arise ideas (*buddhi*?) of the law (*dharma*) [mistaking it] for what is not the law (*adharma*) through uncertainty (*avyavasthāya*?) and ignorance (*ajñātvā*?) about these subtle (*sūkṣma*?) intentions (*āśaya*, *abhiprāya*?) of mine. Either by views (*dṛṣṭi*?) associated with darkness (*tamas*, *andhakāra*?), or from ignorance of the difference (*viśeṣājñāna*?), men are cheated by brass (*tāmra*?) which looks like (*susadyśa*?) gold.⁹³ Similarly that which is not the law (*adharma*), [but merely] a counterfeit of the good law (*saddharmaṣratirūpaka*), is a deception, arising from lack of discernment (*prajñā*) or from failure to grasp true reality (*tattvāgrahaṇa*?). Therefore you should test (*parīkṣ*?) it by means of the *vinaya*, the sūtras and reason(ing) (*yukti*), just as expert (*pañḍita*?) [goldsmiths test] gold by filing (*nikāṣa*?), cutting (*cheda*?) and heating (*tāpa*?) it.⁹⁴

The last stanza of this passage functions as a summary of Aśvaghōṣa’s ideas on scriptural authentication and canonization. As already noted by Y. Honjo,⁹⁵ BC 25:45 is the likely source of an oft-quoted statement ascribed to the Buddha⁹⁶ by later Buddhist scholars:

⁹² On this problematic concept, see Nattier 1991: 66–89. On the meaning of the expression *pratirūpaka*, *paṭirūpaka*, and *prātirūpaka*, see Nattier 1991: 87–89.

⁹³ Here is Johnston’s only footnote on this passage: “Still a common form of fraud in India.”

⁹⁴ BC 25:42–45 (BC_{Tib} D87a2–4/P104b5–8): | *bdag gi dgongs pa phra mo de* | | *rnam par ma bzhaḡ ma shes nas* | | *rmongs las^a chos ma yin pa la* | | *chos kyi blo rnam* | *’byung bar g’gur* | | *mun pa dang bcas pa lta^b bas sam* | | *khyad par rnam ni shes min* | *las* | | *gser dang rab tu mi shungs pa yi* | | *ji ltar zangs kyi slu bar byed* | | *shes rab khyab* | *pa med pas sam* | | *de nyid ’dzin pa ma yin pas* | | *dam pa’i chos kyi gzugs brnyan gyi* | | *de^c ltar chos ma yin pas^d slu* | | *brdar las bcad^e las bsregs pa las* | | *mkhas pa rnam kyi^f* | *gser bzhin du* | | *’dul ba mdo las rigs pa las* | | *de phyir yongs su rtogs par rigs* | . ^aD: P nas. ^bD: P bla. ^cD: P da. ^dD: P pa. ^eP: D gcaad. ^fD: P kyi. Cf. Johnston 1984, vol. III: 86.

⁹⁵ Honjo 1993: 484 (/63).

⁹⁶ TSP_K 878.12/TSP_ṣ 1063.18: *ata eva viśuddhasuvarṇavat pariḡsya grāhyam etad vicakṣanair iti bhagavatoktam* [...] |. “This is the reason why the Blessed One has declared: ‘Like pure gold, this [word of mine] should be accepted by the wise after examining it.’” On the later Buddhist philosophers’ recontextualization of the motif, see below, Appendix.

Clever people, O monks, should accept what I say after putting it to the test, just as they accept gold after testing it by melting it, scratching it and scraping it on a whetstone. They should not believe what I say out of deference to me.⁹⁷

The last segment of this famous stanza (“They should not believe what I say out of deference to me”) has no equivalent in the BC but strongly echoes an intriguing passage from the KṣV. Here, the Buddha admonishes the monks not to join him out of mere personal inclination:

Nanda, scripture (*āgama*) is unnecessary, and wisdom (*prajñā*) is unnecessary. Whatever you see with your fleshly eye (*māmsacakṣus*?), know (*sambUDH*?) it for what it really is, and you will be liberated by correctly analyzing (*sambUDH*?) [things] as you have seen [them]. Nanda, do not go to me because of faith (*śraddhā, prasāda*?); do not go to me because of fondness (*rati*?); do not go to me because of hearsay (*anuśrava*?); do not go to me because of reflection (?) on my form (*ākāra*?); do not go to me by way of having an audience with the Ascetic (*śramaṇa*); do not go to me because of acceptance toward the views and thought (*dṛṣṭamata*?) of the Ascetic; do not go to me because of respect (*gaurava, ādara*?) for the Ascetic; do not go saying, ‘The Ascetic Gautama is my master (*guru*).’ Nanda, instead go off secretly by yourself (*ekākī raho GAM*?) and reflect upon (*CINT*?), ponder (*TUL*?) and examine (*upapavĪKS*?) whatever doctrines (*dharma*) I have thoroughly realized (*abhisambUDH*?) thanks to [my] understanding (*abhiJÑĀ*?).⁹⁸

⁹⁷ TS_K 3588/TS_ξ 3587 = NBPS 480.14–17 (§1.2.i): *tāpāc chedāc ca nikaṣāt suvarṇam iva paṇḍitaih | pariṅksya bhikṣavo grāhyaṃ madvaco na tu gauravāt ||*. Note also JSS k. 31 (D27b5/P30b4–5): | *bsregs bcad bdar ba’i gser bzhin du | | dge stong dag gam mkhas rnam kyis | | yongs su brtags la nga yi bka’ | | blang bar bya yi^a gus phyr min |*. ^aD: yis P. Translation Hayes 1984: 664.

⁹⁸ KṣV D Tha 149b6–150a2 (as edited in Kritzer 2014: 368): *dga’ bo lung yang mi dgos shes rab kyang mi dgos | khyod kyis sha’i mig gis ji tsam mthong ba de kho na la yang dag par rtogs shig dang | ji ltar mthong ba la yang dag par brtags pa nyid kyis thar par gyur ro || dga’ bo khyod nga la dad pas ma ’gro | dga’ bas ma ’gro | rjes su thos pa ma ’gro | rnam pa la rtog pas ma ’gro | dge sbyong du lta bas ma ’gro | dge sbyong gi lta ba rtog pa bzod pas ma ’gro | dge sbyong la gus pas ma ’gro | bdag gi bla ma dge sbyong go’u ta ma’o zhes ma ’gro shig | dga’ bo ’on kyang gcig pu lkog tu song la | ngas chos gang dag nyid kyī mngon par mkhyen pas | mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa de dag som shig dang | gzhol cig nye bar rtogs shig |*. Tib. *soms shig dang gzhol cig nye bar rtogs shig* is symmetric to BoBh_D 76.9/BoBh_W 108.4–5: *cintayitukāmas tulayitukāma upa-pariṅsitukāmah*. Translation Kritzer 2014: 100–101 (Sanskrit equivalents mine; with “scripture is” instead of “teachings are,” “hearsay” instead of “what you have heard [me say],” and “and reflect upon [...] understanding” instead of “and, whatever doctrines I have perceived, contemplate those perfectly enlightened [doctrines]. Exert yourself and investigate”).

4.3. Is there any rationale behind Aśvaghoṣa's use of the gold/goldsmith simile while expounding his ideas on authentication?⁹⁹ In a prophetic and partly apocalyptic vein, his Buddha announces the advent of a counterfeit of the good law. This pseudo-law will originate in delusion (*moha*), the cause of the humans' misunderstanding of his subtle intentions, of their lack of discernment and their failure to grasp true reality. Blinded by darkness and ignorant of the difference, people will be as incapable to distinguish between the good law and its counterfeit as they are to differentiate between gold and brass/copper. But as we have seen, in spite of certain allusions to the demise of the good law, there is no reference to either the *saddharmapratirūpaka* or the gold/goldsmith simile in the extant versions of the MPSū. In other words, did Aśvaghōṣa invent the metaphorical association between the pseudo-law and the pseudo-gold, or did he borrow it? There is, I think, every reason to believe that the poet had a *sūtra* of the SĀ in mind (or before his eyes?) as he composed BC 25:42–45. Consider the following excerpt from a/the ([Mūla]sarvāstivāda) recension of the SĀ (T 99):

O Blessed One, what is the reason, what is the cause why in the past, the Blessed Ones promulgated [only] few precepts (戒) for the *śrāvakas* [but] there were then numerous monks who mentally enjoyed practising [them, whereas] nowadays, [the Blessed One] promulgates numerous precepts for the *śrāvakas* but the monks little enjoy(/[only] few monks enjoy) practising [them]? The Buddha said: 'That's the way it is, Kāśyapa! [Due to the] corruption of the life span (*āyuskaṣāya*), the corruption of the defilements (*kleśakaṣāya*), the corruption of the aeon (*kalpakaṣāya*), the corruption of the living beings (*sattvakaṣāya*), [and] the corruption of the false views (*dyṣṭikaṣāya*), the *kuśaladharmas* of the living beings are decaying; therefore, the great Teacher promulgates numerous precepts (禁戒) for the *śrāvakas*, [but only] few [monks] enjoy practising [them]. Kāśyapa! For example, when the aeon is about to collapse, true jewels (眞寶) have not yet disappeared [but] there are counterfeit(/fake) jewels (相似偽寶) appearing in the world; once counterfeit(/fake) jewels (偽寶) have appeared, the true jewels then vanish. In the same way, O Kāśyapa, when the good law of the Tathāgata is about to disappear, there is a counterfeit law (相似像法) that arises; once the counterfeit law has appeared in the world, the good law then disappears. For example, a boat [sails] on

⁹⁹ For other metaphorical uses of gold (enlightened condition) and gold refining (mental development of the Buddhist practitioner), see Covill 2009: 184–214.

the ocean carrying many precious jewels (? 珍寶) [and] then suddenly sinks; the good law of the Tathāgata, however, is not like this, [for] it declines [only] gradually.¹⁰⁰

Here is the Pāli version of the passage, with a clear reference to gold:

Venerable sir, what is the reason, what is the cause, why formerly there were fewer training rules but more *bhikkhus* were established in final knowledge, while now there are more training rules but fewer *bhikkhus* are established in final knowledge? That's the way it is, Kassapa. When beings are deteriorating and the true *dhamma* is disappearing there are more training rules but fewer *bhikkhus* are established in final knowledge. Kassapa, the true *dhamma* does not disappear so long as a counterfeit of

¹⁰⁰ T 99, II, 226b28–c9: 世尊，何因何緣世尊先為諸聲聞少制戒，時多有比丘心樂習學，今多為聲聞制戒，而諸比丘少樂習學。佛言。如是迦葉。命濁，煩惱濁，劫濁，衆生濁，見濁，衆生善法退減故，大師為諸聲聞多制禁戒，少樂習學。迦葉，譬如劫欲壞時真寶未滅，有諸相似偽寶出於世間，偽寶出已真寶則沒，如是迦葉，如來正法欲滅之時有相似像法生，相似像法出世間已，正法則滅。譬如大海中船載多珍寶，則頓沈沒，如來正法則不如是，漸漸消滅。On the translation of *saddharmaṃpratirūpaka* by 相似像法, see Nattier 1991: 87, n. 78. Here is the same passage in the second Chinese translation of the SĀ, T 100 (II, 419b18–28): 世尊，以何因緣如來初始制戒之時，極為尠少，修行者多。今日何故制戒轉增，履行者少。佛告迦葉。如是如是。衆生命濁，結使濁，衆生濁，劫濁，見濁。衆生轉惡，正法亦末。是故如來為諸弟子多制禁戒，少有比丘能順佛語，受持禁戒。諸衆生等漸漸退沒。譬如金寶漸漸損滅乃至相似金出，如來正法亦復如是，漸漸損滅，像法乃出。像法出故，正法滅沒。迦葉當知。譬如海中所有船舫多載衆寶，船必沈沒，如來教法，亦復如是。以漸滅沒。“O Blessed One, what is the reason, what is the cause, why at the time when the Tathāgata first promulgated the precepts, [these] were extremely few [in number, but] those who practised (修行) [them] were numerous? [And] how [is it that] nowadays, while the promulgation of precepts is increasing, those who practise (履行) [them] are few[er in number]? The Buddha addressed Kāśyapa [as follows]: ‘That’s the way it is! [Nowadays,] the living beings [are prey to] the corruption of the life span, the corruption of the defilements, the corruption of the living beings, the corruption of the aeon, and the corruption of the false views. The living beings become deteriorated and the good law, too, [is nearing its] end[, and] this is the reason why the Tathāgata has promulgated numerous precepts for all the disciples, [but very] few are the monks who are capable to conform with the word of the Buddha [and] to hold the precepts. All living beings are gradually declining. Just as [pure] gold (金寶, *suvarṇa*) gradually extinguishes until counterfeit(/fake) gold (?相似金) arises, so the good law is exactly like this, it gradually extinguishes [and] then a counterfeit law appears. Because a counterfeit law arises, the good law disappears. Kāśyapa, you should know [this]. Just as a boat [that sails] on the sea carrying jewels will certainly sink, so the Tathāgata’s teaching of the law is exactly like this. It [simply] disappears gradually.’” On the translation of *saddharmaṃpratirūpaka* by 像法, see also Nattier 1991: 87, n. 78.

the true *dhamma* has not arisen in the world. But when a counterfeit of the true *dhamma* arises in the world, then the true *dhamma* disappears. Just as, Kassapa, gold does not disappear so long as counterfeit gold has not arisen in the world, but when counterfeit gold arises then true gold disappears, so the true *dhamma* does not disappear so long as a counterfeit of the true *dhamma* has not arisen in the world, but when a counterfeit of the true *dhamma* arises in the world, then the true *dhamma* disappears. It is not the earth element, Kassapa, that causes the true *dhamma* to disappear, nor the water element, nor the heat element, nor the air element. It is the senseless people who arise right here who cause the true *dhamma* to disappear. The true *dhamma* does not disappear all at once in the way a ship wrecks.¹⁰¹

Aśvaghoṣa's metaphorical inspiration likely goes back to a canonical association between counterfeit/true law and counterfeit/true gold(/jewels). Warning against any unwarranted "scripturalization," the poet associated the pseudo-law that would result from this biased authorization with the canonical motif of the counterfeit of the good law. He thus inherited the accompanying simile of counterfeit/true gold and recontextualized it accordingly. In other words, Aśvaghoṣa conflated a doctrine of scriptural authentication inherited from the MPSū with a prophecy concerning the rise of a counterfeit law stemming from the SĀ.

4.4. The third and final part of the sermon (BC 25:46–49) provides a further hint at the demise of the good law. Here are these four stanzas in Johnston's translation:

¹⁰¹ SN II.224.2–26: *ko nu bhante hetu ko paccayo yena pubbe appatarāni ceva sikkhāpadāni ahesum | bahutarā ca bhikkhū aññāya saññahimsu | ko pana bhante hetu ko paccayo yenetarahi bahutarāni ceva sikkhāpadāni appatarā ca bhikkhū aññāya saññahanti | evaññhetam kassapa hoti | sattesu hāyamānesu saddhamme antaradhāyamāne bahutarāni ceva sikkhāpadāni honti | appatarā ca bhikkhū aññāya saññahanti | na tāva kassapa saddhammassa antaradhānam hoti yāva na saddhammapatirūpakam loke uppajjati | yato ca kho kassapa saddhammapatirūpakam loke uppajjati atha saddhammassa antaradhānam hoti | seyyathāpi kassapa na tāva jātarūpassa antaradhānam hoti yāva na jātarūppatirūpakam loke uppajjati | yato ca kho kassapa jātarūppatirūpakam loke uppajjati atha jātarūpassa antaradhānam hoti | evam eva kho kassapa na tāva saddhammassa antaradhānam hoti yāva na saddhammapatirūpakam loke uppajjati | yato ca kho kassapa saddhammapatirūpakam loke uppajjati atha saddhammassa antaradhānam hoti | na kho kassapa pathaviḍhātu saddhammam antaradhāpeti | na āpodhātu | pe | na tejodhātu | pe | na vayodhātu saddhammam antaradhāpeti | atha kho idheva te uppajjanti moghapurisā ye imam saddhammam antaradhāpentī | seyyathāpi kassapa nāvā ādikeneva opīlavati na kho kassapa evam saddhammassa antaradhānam hoti |* Translation Bodhi 2000: 680–681. On this passage, see also Nattier 1991: 87, and for the simile of the ship, see Bodhi 2000: 809, n. 313.

Those are not wise men who do not know the doctrines (*sāstra*); they determine that as the course to be followed (*nyāya*) which is not the right course and see in the right hearing the wrong one. Therefore it is to be accepted with the right hearing according to the meaning and the word; for he who grasps the doctrine wrongly hurts himself, as one who grasps a sword wrongly [by the blade] cuts himself. He who construes the words wrongly finds the meaning with difficulty, as a man at night finds a house with difficulty, if he has not been there before and the way is winding. When the meaning is lost, the law is lost, and when the law is lost, capacity is lost; therefore he is intelligent whose mind abides unperverted in the meaning.¹⁰²

According to the Buddha, misconstruing or “misarranging” the words (*pada*) makes it difficult to penetrate the meaning (*artha*). Now, misconstrued words and misinterpreted meanings are regarded as two factors bringing about the demise of the good law in the AN:

Bhikkhus, there are these two things that lead to the decline and to the disappearance of the good law. What two? Badly set down words and phrases and badly interpreted meaning. When the words and phrases are badly set down, the meaning is badly interpreted. These are the two things that lead to the decline and disappearance of the good law. Bhikkhus, there are these two things that lead to the continuation, non-decline, and non-disappearance of the good law. What two? Well-set down words and phrases and well-interpreted meaning. When the words and phrases are well set down, the meaning is well interpreted. These are the two things that lead to the continuation, non-decline, and non-disappearance of the good law.¹⁰³

¹⁰² BC 25:46–49 (BC_{Tib} D87a4–6/P104b8–105a3): | *bstan bcos rnam par mi shes pas* | | *mkhas pa rnams ni ma yin zhing* | | *tshul min la tshul blo gros dang* | | *tshul la tshul min mthong ba nyid* | | *de phyir don dang tshig gis ni* | | *yang dag thos pas gzung bya ste* | | *bstan bcos log par gzung^a ba yis* | | *mtshon cha^b bzhin du rnam par joms* | | *sngar med^c ldan pas khyog^d mang po'i* | | *mtshan mo'i 'od byed^e khyim la bzhin* | | *tshig ni log par brjod pa yi* | | *don la sdug bsngal gyis jug go* | | *don nyams pa las chos nyams shing* | | *chos nyams pa las nus pa ste* | | *de phyir ma log don la ni* | | *gang gi blo de blo ldan no* |. ^aD: P *bzung*. ^bD: P *bya*. ^cD: P *mid*. ^dP: D *khyogs*. ^eTo be read *med*? Translation Johnston 1984, vol. III: 86–87. The simile of BC 25:48ab is not clearer to me than it was to Johnston. I am inclined to understand *khyog man po'i* in the sense of “[and the way is] very tortuous/[on a path] with tight bends/curves” rather than “and the way is winding” (a translation which Johnston himself regarded as “doubtful,” adding that “*khyogs man po* may refer to the ruinous state of the house”).

¹⁰³ AN I.51.15–26: *dve 'me bhante dhammā saddhammassa sammōsāya antaradhānāya samvattanti* | *katame dve* | *dunnikkhittaṅ ca padavyañjanam attho ca dunnīto* | *dunnikkhittassa bhikkhave padavyañjanassa attho pi dunnayo hoti* | *ime kho bhante dve*

There is little doubt that Aśvaghoṣa was acquainted with this or a very similar canonical statement as he composed BC 25:46–49. His indebtedness would even be reflected in the wording of the BC if Tib. *log par brjod pa* (“He who construes [...] wrongly” in Johnston’s translation) could be shown to render the verbal form *durnikṣipta*. Whatever the case may be, just as misinterpreting the meaning is said to lead to the decline (*sammosa*, Skt. *sam[pra]moṣa*) and the disappearance (*antaradhāna*, Skt. *antardhāna*) of the good law in the AN, it is claimed to bring about the *chos nyams pa* (“the law is lost” in Johnston’s translation) in the BC. What about the sequence *chos nyams pa las nus pa ste*, now, which Johnston renders: “and when the law is lost, capacity is lost?” This translation of *nus pa ste* is quite unlikely, for one would expect either an explicit equivalent of the second “is lost,” or a syntactic formulation allowing *ñams pa* to qualify both *chos* (“the law”) and *nus pa* (“the capacity”), which is not the case. This problem is easily solved, however, once *nus pa* is emended to *nub pa*, a very frequent Tibetan rendering of Skt. *antardhāna*, “disappearance.” Besides fitting much better into the context than the hardly intelligible “capacity,” *nub pa* makes Aśvaghoṣa’s indebtedness to the above-quoted passage even more evident: provided *ñams pa* renders (*sampra*)*MUṢ* (or a derivative) and *nub pa*, *antarDHĀ* (or a derivative), the sequence of the BC matches exactly that of the AN, where *saddhammassa (a)sammosāya (an)antaradhānāya saṃvattanti* occurs four times.

Appendix

As suggested above, BC 25:45 and its simile have been partly recontextualized by later Buddhist philosophers in their theoretical elaborations on scriptural authority (*āgamaṣṭrāmāṇya*).¹⁰⁴ One of the earliest extant adaptations I am aware of occurs in the ninth chapter of the TJ:

dhammā saddhammassa sammosāya antaradhānāya saṃvattanti | dve ’me bhante dhammā saddhammassa ṭhitiyā asammosāya anantaradhānāya saṃvattanti | katame dve | sunikkhitaṅ ca padavyañjanaṃ attho ca sunikkhito | sunikkhittāssa bhante padavyañjanassa attho pi sunayo hoti | ime kho bhante dhammā saddhammassa ṭhitiyā asammosāya anantaradhānāya saṃvattanti ti |. Translation Bodhi 2012: 150 (with “law” instead of “Dhamma”). See also Skilling 2009: 54–55.

¹⁰⁴ See above, §4.2.

[When] certain ignorant [persons] think of a glass jewel (*kācamaṇi*?) as being a genuine jewel (*ratna*) and [this glass jewel is but] a pseudo-jewel (*ratnābhāsa*?), [some expert] points out that it is [but a] glass [jewel] because it does not resist [tests] such as being melted (*tāpa*?) or being scraped on a whetstone (*nikāṣa*?). In the same way, one is not justified in concluding that this [or that treatise] is an [authoritative] scripture when it is established in this way [i.e., without any preliminary test]. On the contrary, this [alone] is [to be considered authoritative] scripture which does not undergo any alteration (*vikriyā*?) [when it is critically examined], like genuine gold that resists [the tests of] being melted and being scraped on a whetstone.¹⁰⁵

Let it be reminded here that Aśvaghoṣa's stanza was concerned with the authentication of logia ascribed to the Buddha by various alleged authorities. Its import was therefore purely intra-buddhist. In stark contrast to this, the TJ betrays a strong concern for scriptural authority in general. The simile (with jewels instead of gold, as in T 99¹⁰⁶) is now resorted to in the context of the assessment of scripturality irrespective of the confessional identity of the treatises under consideration—Buddhist, Vedic, or other. The important point here is that the function of the threefold procedure and its simile has shifted from authentication to apologetics. This extension of the scope of the simile and its apologetic use are reflected in its mature, classic re-contextualization, which presupposes Dharmakīrti's (fl. 550–650?) theory of knowledge and the procedures devised by him in order to evaluate a treatise's reliability (*avisamvāda*). Dharmakīrti's epistemological system admits of two means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*, i.e., perception [*pratyakṣa*] and two types of inference [*anumāna*], an "objective" and a "scripturally based" one) that are requested to assess a treatise's internal consistency and reliability in empirical matters.¹⁰⁷ This recontext-

¹⁰⁵ TJ D279a7–b1/P315b5–7: *ji ltar mi mkhas pa 'ga' zhiḡ nor bu 'ching^a bu la | yang dag pa'i rin po che yin no snyam du sems pa la | de ni rin po che ltar snang ba yin te^b | bsreg pa dang bdar ba la sogs pa mi bzod pa'i phyir | 'ching^c bu yin no zhes bstan pa bzhin zhes bsgrubs na de nyid yang lung yin no zhes sgrub par byed cing rtog pa ni rigs pa ma yin gyi | yang gang zhiḡ bsreg pa dang bdar ba bzod pa'i gser bzang po bzhin du rnam par 'gyur ba med pa de ni lung yin no ||. ^aP: D mching. ^bP: D no. ^cem.: D mching, P 'chi.*

¹⁰⁶ See above, § 4.4.

¹⁰⁷ On these procedures, see, e.g., Yaita 1987, Tillemans 1993, Eltschinger 2007, and Krasser 2012; on Dharmakīrti's theory of knowledge, see, e.g., Vetter 1964, Dunne 2004, Eltschinger 2010, and Franco 2017.

tualization finds its locus classicus in the works of Śāntarakṣita (725–788?) and his pupil Kamalaśīla (740–795?), e.g., in the latter’s NBPS:

There are indeed three types of objects (*artha*): (1) that which is perceptible (*pratyakṣa*), (2) that which is [presently] imperceptible (*parokṣa*), and (3) that which is radically imperceptible (*atyantaparokṣa*). Among those [types of objects, every] perceptible object of the [Buddha’s holy] word [should be] tested (*parīkṣya*) by perception (*pratyakṣa*), as gold is tested by melting (*tāpa*). [Every presently] imperceptible object [should be] tested by inference (*anumāna*), as [gold is tested by] scratching (*nikāṣa*). [Every] radically imperceptible object of the [word of the Buddha should be] tested for its internal consistency (*parasparāvirodha*), as gold [is tested] by scraping on a whetstone (*cheda*). For it is on the basis of such a pure (*pariśuddha*) scripture (*āgama*) that [practically] rational (*prekṣāvāt*) [persons], trusting (*pratīl?*) that it is a *pramāṇa*, engage in action even though the object is imperceptible (*parokṣaviṣaya?*).¹⁰⁸

In the different versions of the MPSū and the BC, the threefold procedure was aimed at assessing a *logion*’s conformity to the *sūtra*, the *vinaya* and the way things are (reason[ing] in Aśvaghōṣa). In the later philosophers, this threefold procedure now consists in ascertaining that a treatise is falsified neither by perception nor by the two types of inference. Moreover, the purpose of the threefold procedure has changed: it is no longer meant to authenticate statements attributed to the Buddha, but to demonstrate the latter’s exclusive authority in ethically and soteriologically relevant matters. And just as the earlier sources, Kamalaśīla ascribes this new apologetic concern to the Buddha himself:

This is the reason why the Blessed One has said that wise [people] should accept this [word of his] after testing it just as pure gold [is put to the test]. Just as pure gold, when it is tested by being melted, etc., does not undergo any change, in the same way, the jewel consisting in the Blessed One’s word does not change [when it is tested] by perception, [which is]

¹⁰⁸ NBPS 480.19–481.6 (§1.2.i): *’di ltar don ni mnam pa gsum ste | mngon sum dang lkog tu gyur pa dang shin tu lkog tu gyur pa’o || de la bka’i don mngon sum la ni bsregs pas gser bzhin du mngon sum gyis brtags pa yin no || don lkog tu gyur pa la ni bdar ba bzhin du rjes su dpag pas brtags pa yin no || de nyid kyi don shin tu lkog tu gyur pa la ni bcad pas gser bzhin du phan tshun mi gal ba’i sgo nas brtags pa yin te | de ltar yongs su dag pa’i lung las^a ni yul lkog tu gyur kyang rtog pa dang ldan pa tshad ma yin par yid ches pa mams ’jug pa’i phyir ro ||*. ^aem. (see below, TSP_K 878.12–17/TSP_Ṣ 1063.18–23): la Ed. Cf. Hayes 1984: 664.

similar to melting, by inference functioning by the force of real entities, [which is] like scraping on a whetstone, and by scripturally based inference, [which is] hinted at by the example of scratching. Therefore, [people] acting rationally are justified in engaging in action on the basis of such a scripture, [but] not on the basis of another. Such is [Śāntarakṣita's] intention.¹⁰⁹

The most unambiguously apologetic use of the threefold procedure and its simile is precisely the one Kamalaśīla was commenting upon. In this passage, Śāntarakṣita bombastically resorts to this doctrinal and metaphorical complex in order to demonstrate the Buddha's superiority over his concurrents:

And [it is] the [omniscience] of the Sugata [and not of Kapila and other religious founders that has been] established (*iṣṭa*, explained *siddha*, Tib. 'grub), because [it is he who] first (*ādau*) promulgated selflessness. Therefore the Tathāgata stands at the head of all the religious founders (*tīrthakṛt*). [In that they are] teaching things [that are] contradicted [by the ordinary means of valid cognition], the other [religious founders] do not possess any similar [logical] reason [for possessing a superior knowledge] as the [Tathāgata] who possesses a perception of true reality that is [entirely] consistent with the means of valid cognition. [And] indeed, those are far from possessing the capacity to cognize [radically] imperceptible [things] whose speech is undermined (*ākula*, Tib. *dkrugs*) by invalidation through the means of valid cognition [even] as regards the domain of the [ordinary] means of valid cognition. [Contrary to these, the teaching of the Sugata] is [internally] coherent, provided with a practicable (*anugūṇa*) means, and it sets forth a human goal [such as *nirvāṇa*]; even in empirical matters it is not invalidated in the least by [any of] the two means of valid cognition, [and is] like pure gold that does not undergo any alteration when one puts it to the test by melting it, scratching it or scraping it on a whetstone.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ TSP_K 878.12–17/TSP_§ 1063.18–23: *ata eva viśuddhasuvarṇavat parīkṣya grāhyam etad vica^akṣaṇair iti bhagavatoktam [...] yathā kaladhautam [...] amalam [...] parīkṣyamāṇam tāpādibhir na vikriyāṃ pratipadyate | tathā bhagavadvacoratnaṃ pratyakṣeṇa tāpasadyśena vastubalapravyūttānumānena nikaṣaprahnyeṇāgamāpekṣānumānenāpi chedadṛṣṭāntasūcitenā na vikriyate | ataḥ prekṣāpūrvakāriṇa evambhūtād evāgamāt pravṛttir yuktā nānyata ity abhiprāyaḥ |*.^aTSP_§: *vivaca-* TSP_K.

¹¹⁰ TS_K 3340–3344/TS_§ 3339–3343: *etac ca sugatasyeṣṭam ādau nairātmyakīrtanāt | sarvotīrthakṛtāṃ tasmāt sthito mūrdhni tathāgataḥ || tena pramāṇasaṃvāditattvadarśanayoginā | na tulyahetutānyeṣāṃ viruddhārthhopadeśinām || pramāṇagocare^a yeṣāṃ pramābādhakulam vacaḥ | teṣāṃ atyaḥsavijñānaśaktiyogo hi dūrataḥ || sambaddhānugūṇopāyaṃ puruṣārthābhīdhāyakam | dṛṣṭe 'py arthe pramāṇābhyāṃ iśad apy aprabādhitam || tāpāc chedān nikaṣād vā kaladhautam ivāmalam | parīkṣyamāṇam yan naiva vikriyāṃ pratipadyate ||*.^aem. (Tib. *spyod yul la*): *-gocarā* Eds.

As I have argued elsewhere, this shift from the authentication of *logia* to the evaluation of religio-philosophical truth-claims most likely reflects the Buddhist intellectual's gradual turn from intra-buddhistic, intersectarian Abhidharmic controversy to overt polemical interactions with the non-Buddhists. Behind this new front, however, the various Buddhist denominations never gave up attempting to impose their own dogmatic interpretation of the Buddhist law against competing groups and their interpretations. Quite unsurprisingly, our simile was also resorted to in this particular context, as is testified by the following claim of an anti-Madhyamaka opponent:

Because [the scriptures that do not teach the essencelessness of all factors] are not contradicted by (*aviruddha*?) perception, inference and [their statements'] mutual incompatibility (*parasaparavirodha*?), just as pure gold [is not proved to be non-genuine] by being melted (*tāpa*), being scraped (*cheda*) and being scratched (*nikāṣa*), and because the other scriptures (*āgama*) [i.e., those that teach the essencelessness of all factors] are just the contrary (*viparyaya*?) [i.e., are contradicted by perception, inference and their statements' mutual incompatibility], clever [people] (*pañḍita*) who long for prosperity (/elevation) (*abhyudaya*) and the summum bonum [of liberation] (*niḥśreyasa*) as [their] results (*phala*) and strive (*ābhoga*?) for the realization of all perfections (*sampad*), should renounce (*pariHĀ*) [the second set of scriptures] and rely (*āŚRI*) on the jewel of the [Blessed One's] word (*pravacanaratna*?), [the first set of scriptures] which is exclusively (*ekāntena*?) good (*kuśala*).¹¹¹

¹¹¹ MĀ D148a3–6/P160a7–b1 (see also Keira 2006: 190[/625], n. 16): 'on te bsregs pa dang bdar ba dang bcad pa dag gis gser bzang po bzhin du mngon sum dang rjes su dpaḡ pa dang phan tshun 'gal ba dag gis mi 'gal ba'i phyir dang lung gzhan yang de las^a bzlog pa nyid kyi phyir 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 bzo^b ba rnams kyi de yongs su spangs nas gsung rab rin po che gcig tu dge ba gang yin pa de la brten par bya ba kho na'o [...] ||. ^aD: P la. ^bP: D gzo. See also Keira 2006: 182(/633). Note also MAV 332.2–7: de bzhin gshegs pa'i gsung rab thog ma dang | bar dang | tha mar dge ba | gser bzang po lta bur bsreg pa dang | bcad pa dang | bdar^a ba dang | 'dra ba'i mngon sum dang | rjes su dpaḡ pa dang | rang gi tshig rnams kyi gnod par ma gyur pa ni 'khor ba rnams dang ma 'dres pa'i ye shes kyi de kho na shin tu 'thibs po la 'khrug pa med par mthong nas [...]. ^aem.: brdar Ed. "The word (*pravacana*) of the Tathāgata, [which is] good (*kuśala*) at the beginning (*ādī*), [good] in the middle (*mādhyā*) and [good] at the end (*anta*), is invalidated (*BĀDHI*) neither by perception (*pratyakṣa*) nor by inference (*anumāna*) nor by [the Tathāgata's] own statements (*svavacana*?), [which are respectively] like melting (*tāpa*), scratching (*cheda*) and scraping (*nikāṣa*) pure gold [on a whetstone when one puts it to the test]; observing that [this empirically assessable word] is not incompatible (*asaṅkula*?) with the extremely profound (*atigāhana*?) nature/truth (*tattva*) of the knowledge (*jñāna*) of him who is not mixed

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Abbreviations: Primary Sources and Reference Works

ADīpa	<i>Abhidharmadīpa</i> . See Jaini 1977.
AN I	Morris, Richard. 1883. <i>The Aṅguttara-Nikāya</i> . Part I: <i>Ekanipāta and Dukaniṣṣāpāta</i> . London: Pali Text Society.
BC	<i>Buddhacarita</i> , Āsvaghoṣa. See Johnston 1984.
BC _{Tib}	<i>Buddhacarita</i> , Āsvaghoṣa, Tibetan version. D 4156, <i>Ge</i> 1–103b2, P 5356, <i>Ñe</i> 1–124b8.
BC _{Weller}	Tibetan Text of BC 1–17 as edited in Weller 1926–1928.
BHSD	Edgerton, Franklin. 1970. <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> . Vol. II: <i>Dictionary</i> . Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass [19531].
BoBh _D	Dutt, Nalinaksha. 1978. <i>Bodhisattvabhūmiḥ [Being the XVth Section of Asaṅgapāda's Yogācārabhūmiḥ]</i> . Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.
BoBh _W	Wogihara, Unrai. 1971. <i>Bodhisattvabhūmi. A Statement of Whole Course of the Bodhisattva (Being Fifteenth Section of Yogācārabhūmi)</i> . Tokyo: Sankibo Buddhist Book Store [19361].
BoBhV _ṛ	<i>Bodhisattvabhūmivṛtti</i> , Guṇaprabha. D 4044, <i>T</i> 141a1–182a2, P 5545, <i>Yi</i> 176a3–229a6.
BoBhV _y	<i>Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā</i> , *Sāgaramegha. D 4043, <i>Yi</i> 1–338a7, P 5548, <i>Ri</i> 1–425a6.
D	Derge (sDe dge) Edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. Barber, A.W. 1991. <i>The Tibetan Tripitaka, Taipei Edition</i> . Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc.
DN II	Rhys Davids, T.W., and J. Estlin Carpenter. 1947. <i>The Dīgha Nikāya</i> . Vol. II. Oxford: Pali Text Society [19031].
DN III	Carpenter, J. Estlin. 1947. <i>The Dīgha Nikāya</i> . Vol. III. Oxford: Pali Text Society [1911 ¹].
GASū	<i>Garbhāvakraṅtisūtra</i> . See Kritzer 2014.
J	Jäschke, Heinrich August. 1990. <i>A Tibetan-English Dictionary, with Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects</i> . London [1881 ¹].
JSS	<i>Jñānasārasamuccaya</i> , Deutero-Āryadeva. D 3851, <i>Tsha</i> 26b2–28a3, P 5252, <i>Tsha</i> 29a5–31a3.
KṣV	<i>Kṣudrakavastu</i> of the <i>Mūlasarvāstivādinaya</i> . D 6, <i>Tha</i> 1b1–310a7.
MĀ	<i>Madhyamakāloka</i> , Kamalaśīla. D 3887, <i>Sa</i> 133b4–244a7, P 5287, <i>Sa</i> 143b2–275a4.
MAP	<i>Madhyamakālaṅkāraṇjīkā</i> , Kamalaśīla. See MAV.

with those engaged in *samsāra*? [...]” See also Keira 2006: 183(/632). Kamalaśīla’s MAP 333.2–4 comments as follows: *thog ma dang bar dang tha mar dge ba zhes bya ba ni thos pa dang bsam pa dang bsgoms pa’i dus su go rim bzhin pa’am | yang na mngon sum dang rjes du dpag pa dang phan tshun dpyod pa dag tu’o ||*. “Good at the beginning, [good] in the middle and [good] at the end,’ i.e., at the time of listening (*śruti*), reflecting (*cintā*) and cultivating (*bhāvanā*), respectively (*yathākramam*), or in perception, inference and the search for mutual [inconsistencies] (*parasparacintā*?).”

- MAV Ichigo, Masamichi. 1985. *Madhyamakālamkāra of Śāntarakṣita with his own Commentary Vṛtti and with the subcommentary or Pañjikā of Kamalaśīla*. Kyoto: Kyoto Sangyo University.
- MN I Trenckner, V. 1935. *The Majjhima-Nikāya*. Vol. I. London: Pali Text Society.
- MN III Chalmers, Robert. 1899. *The Majjhima-Nikāya*. Vol. III. London: Pali Text Society.
- MPSū Waldschmidt, Ernst. 1950–1951. *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra. Text in Sanskrit und Tibetisch, verglichen mit dem Pali nebst einer Übersetzung der chinesischen Entsprechung im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften herausgegeben und bearbeitet*. 3 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- MW Monier-Williams, Monier. 1963. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass [1899¹, Oxford].
- NBPS Tosaki Hiromasa 戸崎宏正. 1984. “Kamalaśīla saku Nyāyabindupūrvapakṣasaṃkṣipta, genryo sho no tekisuto to wayaku Kamalaśīla 作 Nyāyabindupūrvapakṣasaṃkṣipta – 現量章のテキストと和訳 [Kamalaśīla’s *Nyāyabindupūrvapakṣasaṃkṣipta*, the first chapter (*Pratyakṣa*), Tibetan text and Japanese translation with notes].” *Acta Indologica* 4: 477–493.
- P Suzuki, Daisetz T. 1957. *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, Kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto*. Tokyo and Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute.
- PED Rhys Davids, T.W., and William Stede. 1993. *Pali-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass [1921–1925¹, London].
- RĀ Hahn, Michael. 1982. Nāgārjuna’s *Ratnāvalī*. Vol. I: *The Basic Texts (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese)*. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
- SĀ *Samyuktāgama*. T. 99 and T. 100.
- SAH *Samyuktābhīdharmahydaya*, Dharmatrāta. T. 1552.
- SBhV^{Tib} *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Tibetan version. Quoted according to MPSū.
- SN II Feer, Léon. 1970. *Samyutta-Nikāya*. London: Pali Text Society [1888¹].
- SNa *Saundarananda*, Aśvaghōṣa. See Johnston 1928.
- ŚPr *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*. See Lüders 1911.
- ŚrBh *Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group*. 1988. *Śrāvakabhūmi. Revised Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation. The First Chapter*. Tokyo: The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism (Taisho University); Sankibo Press.
- SWTTF Bechert, Heinz, et al. 1973, 2003, 2008, 2014. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*. 4 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- T Takakusu, Junjirō and Kaigyoku Watanabe. 1924–1934. *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo, The Tripitaka in Chinese*. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taisho Issaikyo Kankokai.
- TJ (*Madhyamakahydaya*)*tarkajvālā*, Bhāviveka/Bhavya. D 3856, Dza 40b7–329b4, P 5256, Dza 43b7–380a7.
- TS(P)_K Krishnamacharya, Embar. 1984. *Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita with the Commentary of Kamalaśīla*. 2 vols. Baroda: Oriental Institute [1926¹].

- TS(P)₅ Dwarikadas Shastri, Swami. 1981. *Tattvasaṅgraha of Ācārya Shāntarākṣita with the Commentary 'Pañjikā' of Shri Kamalshīla*. 2 vols. Varanasi: Bauddha Bharati [1968¹].
- VSū Vajrasūci. See Kanazawa 2010 and Mukhopadhyaya 1960.

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*The Myth of Yima in the Religious Imagery
of Pre-Islamic Afghanistan:
An Enquiry into the Epistemic Space
of the Unwritten**

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There are scholars who seem not to be affected by the ever-latent conflict between depth and breadth. To them, the rigour of a focused discipline does not exclude a vivid attention to insights from other fields. Cristina Scherrer-Schaub is certainly one of them. For this reason, I feel encouraged to present to the expert of Buddhist written sources an attempt at “reading” a cluster of unwritten data provided by archaeology. In a way not dissimilar from written sources, culture’s materiality is a multilayered space where ideas are given an order and translated into symbolic representation. Wherever a culturally defined space is devised, any artefact which is created to delimit it or to be exhibited in it is a carrier of both individual and collective meaning, insofar as it encapsulates individual creativity and skills (of either the single artist or the whole workshop) as well as the collective grasp of contextual realities, mythologems, learned conventions and vernacular traditions. The associative schemes that form the *bricolage*, when coherently structured, may crystallise into adaptive models that can be

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variously transposed into different domains. This is the case with the symbolic use of walls in pre-Islamic Central and South Asia, which finds expressions in a variety of forms, some of them, however, suggesting a well-defined set of underlying notions. Whatever the original source may have been, this conceptual substructure ranges over different cultural spaces for a long period of time, in a cross-fertilising process which made an echo of the ancient Iranian myth of Yima reach a Buddhist sacred area in the Afghanistan of the mid-first millennium CE.

1. Introduction

Walls bearing strong symbolic values rather than serving a mere defensive role represent a quite common occurrence in Iranian/Central-Asian monumental architecture. Fortress-like temples as well as miniature replicas of walls in ritual objects and ostrotheques, which are known from various times and places, bear witness to a persistent tradition that strongly affects the concept and physical layout of sacred spaces (figs. 1-2).¹ The sources of inspiration for a symbolic or decorative use of military architectural features, and the reasons for adopting them, may vary according to circumstances. The present article does not aim to tackle the whole set of interrelated issues but only to evaluate specific archaeological contexts that seem to share common cultural conventions.

Especially during the Kushan period, under the umbrella of vaster geopolitical ties, Central Asian models and techniques entered the circuit of a wide cultural *koiné* that expanded their original semantic field and integrated them into new religious and artistic

¹ Scattered but significant evidence confirms the transversality of this paradigm across different categories of material culture of macro- to micro-scale. See for instance the peculiar pattern of the settlements of the Bronze Age in Bactria and Margiana (scattered small sites centred on a fortress), still echoed by the medieval *qal'a* (Talmage Hiebert 1994: 129). Among ritual objects, worth mentioning are the “architectural” ossuaries from Central Asia, often decorated with merlons and loopholes (fig. 1). According to F. Grenet these are to be interpreted as miniature replicas of the *dakhma*, the Zoroastrian building for the exposure of the corpse (Grenet 1984a: 263). Of uncertain function, but even more interesting, is a small square vessel (?) in steatite, on a high foot, from Novaja Nisa, which has the form of a miniature palace decorated by false loopholes (Atagarryev and Berdyev 1970: fig. 1; here, fig. 2).

concepts. This is the case with the “fortress-like temple,” which, also thanks to propitious coincidences with a pan-Indian religious imagery, merged into a permanent, widespread vocabulary of visual forms. In particular, a symbolic use of military architectural features can be detected in archaeological settings and iconographic patterns of ancient Afghanistan. Besides the interest per se, these contexts allow us to observe a process of experimentations and adaptations whereby notions later acknowledged and formalised in prescriptive literature or codified artefacts started taking shape.

Since visual forms translate—particularly in their monumental expression, and especially in ancient time—strong and assertive ideologies aimed at impacting the social environment, investigation into their material forms and symbolic meanings may reveal much of the cultural and political trends of the historical period they belong to. In particular, we will analyse here the myth of Yima as a key to understanding the physical features of archaeological materials from different contexts. This implies that the myth must have contained metaphors of social significance so deeply embedded in the areas lying within the Iranian cultural sphere as to intersect with a range of beliefs, values and rhetorical frames, from Kushan royal ideology to Buddhist imagery.

2. The Myth of Yima

The number and variety of the mythological accounts about Yima witness to the existence of different traditions, which we imagine unevenly distributed across time and space. In addition, it is difficult to extrapolate from the sources clear insights into the process of juxtaposition and stratification of—sometimes contradictory, often indistinguishable—concepts. The multifarious, and somehow ambivalent, figure of Yima poses questions that are largely beyond the limited scope of my pursuits and competencies. Nor can I afford to adequately summarise the debate that the matter has given rise to among specialists.² I will confine myself to what I deem highlights specific links between archaeological, numismatic and literary evidence.

² I refer to Skjærvø (2012) for an insightful overview. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Adriano Rossi, Antonio Panaino and Touraj Daryaee, who promptly answered my questions and provided me with relevant information.

Speaking in very general terms, Yima's complex character is basically known from Zoroastrian sources and, historicised under the name of Jamšid, in later Persian literature. Although very little is known about pre-Zoroastrian mythology of the Iranian world, behind the Yima of the Avestic literature most likely lie pre-existent beliefs, which some scholars trace back to a proto-Indo-European scenario (Malandra 1983: 175). The Zoroastrian Yima embodies archetypal images such as the first king, the ruler of a paradisiacal golden age, the culture hero who promotes civilisation, the preserver and re-creator of life, all coalesced into one single figure. In Yima's age of gold, as frequently mentioned in the *Avesta*, the inhabitants participated in Yima's immortality and youth. Life prospered, to the extent that Yima had to expand the earth three times to prevent overpopulation. Once the earth reached its maximum size and the population on it had to be reduced, the assembly of gods and men summoned by Ahura Mazdā and Yima decided that this was to be achieved by means of a natural catastrophe (severe winters followed by huge snowmelt and floods). In order to prevent life from being extinguished, Yima then selected the best specimens of living beings as well as plants and fires and sheltered them in a fortress-like enclosure (*vara*) made of earth and traversed by a stream of water.

However, in the Ahuric re-shaping of the earlier religious universe, Yima's myth (evidently a well-rooted one) had to be adjusted to the Zoroastrian ethical perspective and eschatological beliefs (cf. Boyce 1975: 93; Eliade 1978: 331; Lincoln 1991: 37–39). In particular, the Zoroastrian monotheistic view and linear notion of historic time implied that Yima's paradisiacal kingdom could not last forever. According to the Avestic accounts, Yima's kingdom ends in a fall, the blame for which is put on Yima himself. He is explicitly condemned by Zarathustra as a sinner, although the nature of the sin remains obscure (Skjærvø 2012: 6). Because of his arrogance, Yima loses his royal fortune and glory (the *xvarənah*, or *farn*), which, in the guise of the falcon Vārəyna, abandons him. As a consequence of his sin, Yima also loses immortality not only for himself but for mankind as well. From the Zoroastrian perspective, indeed, the same loss which causes a diminution of Yima's rank also establishes grounds for an eschatological renewal of immortality.

Despite the Zoroastrian remodelling, and particularly in the cultural milieu of present-day Afghanistan, Yima seems to have tenaciously held his pristine role—probably derived from an old, pre-Zoroastrian Iranian substratum (Zaehner 1961: 134–135)—as the glorious first king and the munificent ruler of the *vara*. Besides, what literary sources do not tell us is how the myth of Yima impacted cultural mentalities and how, or whether, this was interwoven with religious and royal imagery. In order to frame this question we have to turn to empirical archaeological data. Then faint but unmistakable clues emerge about traditions other than—or in addition to—those we know from written sources, which project the image of Yima and his *vara* into the sphere of social and political relations.

3. The vara as a Model: Archaeological Testimonies

As mentioned above, the myth of Yima and, particularly, of his safe enclosure most probably belongs to a very early folk repository. This mythologem is likely to have originated or to have had a special meaning among archaic pastoralist societies. The Avestic accounts preserve abundant traces of such a background: after declining the offer made to him by Ahura Mazdā of becoming a propagator of the faith, Yima accepts the role of king, promising that under his command the world will suffer no excess of heat or cold, nor paucity of nourishment; living being will be immortal, plants and water will never dry up. As a token of the covenant, Ahura Mazdā gives Yima a goad and a second tool, variously interpreted by scholars as a whip, a golden pick, a shepherd's flute or a horn (Malandra 1983: 176; Skjærvø 2012: 3). These two objects clearly feature a concept of kingship based on the model of an idealised shepherd, a circumstance also recalled by Yima's epithet "rich in herds," or "having good flocks" (Skjærvø 2012: 12).

Yima's undertakings as a king-shepherd appear especially consonant with the ideological universe of nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralist societies. As a matter of fact, they may well have mythologised crucial issues such as the demographic excess—a disrupting factor which forcedly leads to the search for new land—as well as extreme seasonal hardships, unavailability of water and, moreover, the enclosure where livestock can take refuge (Malandra

1983: 176f.), all elements that significantly characterise the stories about Yima.

Several scholars, particularly in the field of Central-Asiatic archaeology, have paid attention to the possible relationship (not unanimously accepted) between early forms of fortified settlements and the ideal *vara*. This hypothesis was first put forward by S. P. Tolstov (1948: 77–82), who compared to the Avestic *vara* the early Chorasmian fortresses that he called “towns with inhabited walls.”³ According to E. E. Kuzmina, the embryonic form of the fortified settlement in Eurasian steppes might be traced back to an elementary defensive strategy adopted in the camps of travelling people and consisting of a circle of wagons forming a shelter in the centre (Kuzmina 2007: 34). The ring formed by that basic defensive device would also have affected the Avestic notion of the *vara*, which according to some scholars was conceived as a circular structure (Panaino 2012).

The original form of the mythical *vara*—whatever that may have been—cannot however be intended as an unalterable model. What is important and permanent is rather the idea of the safe enclosure which hems in a place blessed with happiness and plenty.

4. *Yima in the Kushan Royal Imagery*

4.1. *The Numismatic Evidence: Huviška and Iamšo*

The most direct and noteworthy evidence of a perception of Yima as a virtuous cultural model is represented by a gold coin of King Huviška, which bears on the reverse the image of a male character identified by the legend as *Iamšo* (figs. 3–5). Yima is depicted here in “Kushan” dress. He wears a sleeved short tunic and a headwear with high cone and hanging ribbon, and carries the weapons of highest-ranking aristocracy: a long straight sword with a curved

³ Serious attempts at identifying interfaces between archaeology, anthropology and cultural ecology can be badly distorted. A case in point, with particular relevance to our topic, is represented by Arkhaim, an impressive, fortified archaeological site of the Bronze Age in the Southern Urals steppe that has become a centre for esoteric, mystic and supernationalist organisations on account of its alleged connection with the origin of the Arians and the Slavs and with other Iranian and Zoroastrian legends, among them the *vara* of Yima (for an overview see Lamberg-Karlovsky 2002: 69).

pommel (zoomorphic?), hanging transversely from the belt (and, quite unusually, against the right hip), and a spear with leaf-shaped head and a fluttering ribbon just below the flange, which Yima holds in a vertical position with the left hand. The right hand, stretched out, holds a crested, long-tailed bird, which we imagine is about to take flight. The coin was first published by R. Göbl (1984: 41; pls. 127 and 171), and discussed, in the same year, by F. Grenet in the framework of an enquiry into the Iranian aspects of the Kushan pantheon (Grenet 1984b: 253–258). Grenet interprets *Iamšo* as an abbreviation of *Iamo šao* (King Yama)—a form which the scholar compares to the Kafirian *Imrā* (Yama *rājā*)—and the bird on the right hand of the figure as the Avestan *Vārəyna*, i.e., the *xʷarənah* that, in the shape of a bird, flew away from Yima after the latter fell into disgrace because of his sin.

In Grenet's view, the Yima of the coin is to be intended as the equivalent of the Indian Yama, the god of the world of the dead, to whom sacrifice was made in order to prolong life. The interpretation proposed by Grenet has been questioned by some scholars (Gnoli 1989; Humbach 2004; Daryaei 2012), who mainly revised, though based on different arguments, the equation established between *Iamšo* and the god Yima/Yama, proposing more convincingly an identification of the character depicted on the coin as the Yima king/hero.

According to Gnoli, the iconography of the coin is to be framed within a different historical religious background and understood in light of Huviška's royal propaganda.⁴ In Gnoli's view, the presence of Yima on the obverse of a coin does not necessarily imply that he is regarded by the Kushans as a god. In line with the Zoroastrian tradition, and consistently with the emphasis Huviška places on iconographic representations of royal splendour and glory, Yima would embody here another master-symbol fashioning Huviška's royal identity.

The derivation from *Iamo šao* of a contracted form, *Iamšo*, is called into question by Humbach, who rather considers *Iamšo* an

⁴ This aspect also involves the debate about the equivalence between the Iranian Yima and the Indian god of the world of dead Yama, not unanimously accepted, or not accepted to the same extent and with the same implications. See for instance the different standpoints expressed by the essays in Azarnouche and Redard (2012).

abbreviation of *Iamšēdo* (Humbach 2004: 69, n. 3), corroborating his hypothesis with the occurrence of the proper name *Iamšo* in the Bactrian onomastic tradition of the post-Kushan period. As a matter of fact, Bactrian documents record a number of compounds and variations such as *Iamšo* (*Iamšano*), *Iamšobandago*, *Iamšolado*, *Iamšoanindo*, *Iamšospalo* (*Iamšospalēlo*) (Sims-Williams 2000: 194), and *Iamš-x^vadēw-bandag* (in Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011: 58, 184, as *Yamsh-khwadēw-bandag*). Also worth mentioning, even if of uncertain interpretation, is a dedicatory inscription in a seal ascribed by P. Callieri to the Kidarite period (end of 4th to beginning of 5th century CE; Callieri 1997: Cat. U 7.40, pp. 230–231, 311–312, pl. 64; here, fig. 6), which has been tentatively read by Sims-Williams as *friyo iamšo xoēo-mi*, “dear (to?) Yima (is?) my lord” (Sims-Williams 1994: 177).

Besides the philological implications, the Bactrian documents are of particular significance insofar as they bear incontrovertible witness to the popularity enjoyed by *Yima* among the lay members of society. Interestingly, the proper name *Yima* is still in vogue in present-day Afghanistan, where it is consciously and unmistakably related to the glorious first king. This evidence accentuates the weak point in Grenet’s interpretation; that is, the odd equation it establishes between the king’s ideological manifesto and a symbol of royal failure.

The same view is shared by T. Daryaee, who also identifies the *Iamšo* of *Huviška*’s coin not with the god of the underworld but with the mythical *Yima/Jamšid* that embodies “the king *par excellence* of the Iranians,” the ruler of a golden age, the architect of the *vara* and its paradisiacal state (Daryaee 2012: 5). Based on a study by C. Redard (2012), Daryaee goes further and hypothesises that the bird perched on *Yima*’s hand is not *Vārəyna* but *Karšiptar/caxrawāk*, which in the Avestan sources is said to have brought the Zoroastrian religion to the *vara* of *Yima* (Daryaee 2012: 8). However, Daryaee calls into question the identification of the bird *caxrawāk* with the crow, which Redard derives from a comparative analysis of Iranian, Armenian and Indian traditions, and suggests as a more obvious alternative the bird *čakāvak*, a species of (crested?) lark quite common in Afghanistan. As Daryaee points out, the *čakāvak* is not only plausibly cognate with the Avestan *caxrawāk*, it is also frequently found in the lore of Afghanistan,

Iran and Tajikistan as a symbol of heavenly songs and the messenger of daybreak and victory. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the identification with Vārəyna is also possible, as its significance is not necessarily connected with the story of the loss of the *x^varənah*. Actually, in the iconographic language of Kushan coinage the stretched hand of the divine or mythical *comites augusti* depicted on the reverse is consistently associated with the meaning of bestowing, granting or imparting (the diadem, the flame, the blessing). No doubt, the gesture is addressed to the king depicted on the obverse. The stretched hand of Yima thus suggests a transmission rather than a loss of kingship, as if Yima himself, in compliance with his pristine role as primordial king, is passing the divine fortune on to a legitimate successor.

The use of Yima's image by Huviška is clearly related to the king's ambitions and grandeur and to the celebration of his reign, which in actuality marked one of the brightest periods in the history of the Kushan dynasty. As Daryaee aptly remarks, the Yima on the coin reflects the king's desire to equate his own reign with the golden age ruled by Yima (Daryaee 2012: 6), thus ideally tracing back his lineage to the mythical maker of the blissful *vara*.

4.2. The Archaeological Evidence: Surkh Kotal

The myth of Yima, his safe enclosure and his heroic deeds in the line of kingship may also provide a link with the grandiose and still enigmatic temple of Surkh Kotal (Northern Afghanistan, ancient Bactria), excavated between 1952 and 1963 by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan under the direction of D. Schlumberger (Schlumberger, Le Berre, and Fussman 1983). The temple lies on the homonymous hill, which rises at a short distance from the mountain range that delimits the Pul-i Khumri plain in the west. The importance of this plain as a vital node and way-station in the ancient road network has been rightly stressed (Foucher 1942–1947, vol. I: 12, fig. 4; Schlumberger, Le Berre, and Fussman 1983: 12), but the temple itself is the most telling evidence that, as in many other areas in Afghanistan, the archaeological potential of the land remains largely unexplored.⁵

⁵ See for instance the two large fortified sites of 'Alīābād and Qal'a-ye Gūrī reported by Ball (1982: I, 34 no. 29 and 207 no. 846 respectively).

Built by Kaniška and restored under Huviška, Surkh Kotal is a true dynastic temple, certainly not in the sense that it was dedicated to deified kings, but rather in the sense that it was destined to strongly assert the tautological correspondence between the Kushan lineage and the auspiciousness of its era. The plausible relation of the deity/deities venerated in the temple to the victory (that is, the royal fortune) suggests the indirect, and yet explicit, aim at glorifying a royal lineage that, as demonstrated by facts, was legitimated and assisted by the heaven's favour.

I will limit myself to the original plan of the temple, which was patently designed to impress the visitors already from a distance (Schlumberger, Le Berre, and Fussman 1983: pls. 2.2, 2.3, and especially 3.6; here, fig. 7). Not only the hilltop, where the temple lies, but also the entire hill was occupied and exploited by the project, to the extent that the physical characteristics of the place and the architectural features of the buildings were fused into a single inseparable unit. The focal parts of the sanctuary were the so-called "Temple A," surrounded by a porticoed court, and the majestic reshaping of the steep east slope, across which three massive terraces were created (Schlumberger, Le Berre, and Fussman 1983: 49; here, fig. 8). The terraces, 72 m to 75 m wide, were partly built up and partly cut into the cliff. The inter-terrace gaps were connected through a central monumental staircase that led to the temple. The overawing appearance of the sanctuary was further enhanced by a double fortified perimeter fencing the eastern slope. The innermost one was constituted by the temple's enclosure. On the east side, the northern and southern walls of this enclosure run down across the slope and join the outermost wall at the foot of the hill. More than 5 m high and 3 m wide, with hollow square towers decorated by arrow loopholes, these walls give the temple the illusory and yet dramatic appearance of a fortress (fig. 9). Besides fortifications, the most emphatic element in the layout of the temple is represented by the three imposing terraces, of which the excavators underline the anti-ergonomic concept and functional uselessness.

One wonders whether this apparently pointless endeavour, rather than simply stressing the magnificence of the temple, was consciously connected with the idea of kingship embodied by Yima, who expanded the world on behalf of its population and

protected life in his safe enclosure. This is what one might also expect from the Kushan kings, who probably considered themselves, as suggested by the iconography of Iamšo on the coin, the legitimate heirs of Yima's royal fortune. Such a symbolic meaning of the three terraces of Surkh Kotal would certainly comply with the ultimate function of the temple: the celebration of Kaneško Oanindo, i.e., the Victory of Kaniška or, according to the alternative reading of the inscription, the Victorious Kaniška. In such a grandiose place the importance of water was so crucial that, as the renovation inscriptions (SK₄ M, A and B) found at the site inform us, its lack caused the abandonment of the (still unfinished?) monument until the year 31 (of Kaniška, i.e., in the first years of Huviška's reign), when a high official named Nokonzok had the sanctuary restored and a well excavated.⁶ Water was certainly required for functional and ritual purposes, but it is significant that the Nokonzok inscription puts the greatest emphasis on it (cf. Gershevich 1966: 100) while other restoration works—certainly of considerable scale if, as it has been supposed, they included the construction of the two additional half-terraces at the base of the site (Schlumberger, Le Berre, and Fussman 1983: 141)—are not mentioned. Though very cautiously, one may infer that water was not only an elementary need but an essential part of the sanctuary layout, which replicated the functional and symbolic role of the stream in the *vara* of Yima.

5. The Myth of Yima in the Post-Kushan Period: Archaeological Evidence from Tapa Sardar

The extent to which the myth of Yima was part of a widely shared popular memory is shown by its filtering through diverse cultural contexts. Particularly indicative in this regard is the evidence from the Buddhist site of Tapa Sardar, in Ghazni, excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan.⁷

⁶ For a synopsis of Bactrian inscriptions of the Kushan period I refer to Sims-Williams 2012. As for the “well” mentioned in the inscription, we should probably understand it as a euphemistic reference to more complex hydraulic works (cf. Schlumberger, Le Berre, and Fussman 1983: 142).

⁷ The Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan, presently directed by the author, was established in 1957 as one of the permanent branches of field activity of the then IsMEO (Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East), afterwards

This imposing sanctuary is composed of a main sacred area (the Upper Terrace) on the top of a hill and of minor cultic areas built on lower artificial terraces. Founded in the 2th/3rd century CE, the site was probably in use until the 9th century CE. Over the course of this long period destructions, renovations, and superimposition of building phases have cancelled or obliterated most of the ancient structures. In addition, the use of perishable materials (clay and wood) for most of the monuments and their decoration makes it extremely difficult to reconstruct the original appearance of the site. Discontinuity and limitations imposed by adverse circumstances to the excavation plan and the incompleteness of the investigations have further aggravated the situation and made itemising phases and relevant chronologies problematic.⁸

However, the available evidence enabled the excavators to preliminarily distinguish three main periods: Early Period 1 (3rd cent.

IsIAO (Italian Institute for Africa and the Orient, since 1995). Following the closing down of IsIAO in 2011, the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan was administrated by the University of Naples “L’Orientale” until 2016. Since 2017 it has come under the aegis of the ISMEO (International Association for Mediterranean and Oriental Studies), which is to be considered the scientific heir of the former IsMEO and IsIAO Institutes. For an overview of the work of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan and related bibliography, besides Filigenzi and Giunta 2009, I refer to the Mission’s website: <http://ghazni.bradyus.net/>.

⁸ The importance of the site was first noticed by Umberto Scerrato (Scerrato 1959: 53). The first limited soundings were carried out by D. Adamesteanu in 1959 and 1960, followed by S. M. Puglisi in 1961. In 1962 a stratigraphic inspection was carried out in the north flank of the hill by M. Taddei, who later on, in 1967, was entrusted by G. Tucci with the direction of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan (for a short summary see Taddei 1968: 110). Though systematic investigations continued regularly every year until 1979, budget restrictions imposed on more than one occasion seriously limited activities, especially during the last three years. In particular, the absence of restorers in some of those campaigns, resulting from a lack of financial resources, forcibly oriented investigations towards areas that were expected not to yield large amounts of clay sculptures and wall paintings. In 2002, after the long hiatus caused by the political situation in the country, the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan was reconstituted under the direction of G. Verardi. A preliminary campaign of inspection of the site and the relevant materials (which for the most part were retrieved unharmed in the Mission’s storage in Ghazni and in the Kabul Museum) was followed by a new excavation campaign in 2003. The results of this campaign merged into a general reassessment of the evidence (Verardi and Papparatti 2005). Field work at Tapa Sardar, and in the Ghazni Province in general, was again stopped in 2004 for security reasons.

CE), Early Period 2 – Phase A (4th cent. CE), Early Period 2 – Phase B (4th to 6th cent. CE) and Late Period (late 7th–8th/9th cent. CE).⁹ This preliminary chronology was further detailed by Verardi and Papparatti (2005), who divided the life of the settlement into nine phases, spanning the 2nd/early 3rd cent. CE to *c.* 750–800 CE.

A large destruction, which was caused or followed by a big fire, marks a clear dividing line between the Early Period(s) and the Late Period. The clearest evidence of this event comes from the Upper Terrace, where (after a lapse of time of uncertain duration) the area was cleared of debris, completely refurbished and also expanded across the additional surface created by the filling layers (layers 5 and 6) that had resulted from the removed debris.

The hundreds of fragments of sculptures belonging to the Early Period(s) and contained in the filling layers provide clear evidence of the stylistic distance that separates the artistic production of the periods before and after the destruction/reconstruction of the site.¹⁰ While the sculptures of the Early Period(s) (fig. 10) are characterised by a compliance with a formal language of “Gandharan” descent (as we know for instance from sites such as Haḍḍā), the sculptures of the Late Period (fig. 11) reflect different artistic trends that are distinguished by a calligraphic idealisation of both physical features and postures, and also by the use of a red clay especially for the finishing layers. All in all, these characteristics call for a close comparison with Fondukistan, which also provides a reliable chronological indication.¹¹

⁹ This periodisation was proposed by Taddei in the lessons he held at the Collège de France in 1986. The text of the lessons remained unpublished but it formed the basis for a later article (Taddei 1999), where nonetheless the author tackles the problem of the site’s chronology from a more comparative, less analytical viewpoint. The chronological scheme reproduced here is taken from Verardi and Papparatti (2005: 405, n. 1), which draws on Taddei’s manuscript (Taddei 1986 [*non vidī*]).

¹⁰ The sculptural fragments contained in these layers were taken at the beginning for terracotta ([Taddei] 1969: 546). Only later it could be ascertained that they were actually unbaked clay accidentally turned into terracotta by the fire that destroyed the early sanctuary.

¹¹ On Fondukistan see Hackin 1959 (a short report based on unpublished notes by J. Carl). The reference point is the votive deposit that was found in Niche E, where two figures (the princess in “Indian” dresses, the prince wearing a rich caftan with double lapel and boots) are represented symmetrically and

However, it is to be noted that visible artistic changes, which no doubt reflect important developments in the ideological sphere as well as in ritual practices, mark the production of the Early Period 2. Evidence is unfortunately patchy and discontinuous, and no stratigraphic connections can be established between architectures and sculpted decoration, the latter only rarely and insufficiently preserved *in situ*. Nevertheless, a new artistic panorama is outlined by the absolute gigantism of the cult statues and the large use of gilding, the latter already attested, according to Verardi and Paparatti (2005: 415–416), from the end of Phase 3 (4th cent. CE). The experimentation with new artistic forms in Early Period 2 testifies to extraordinary inventiveness. This is on full display in minor monuments and shrines, often designed to emphatically stress the cosmic dimension of the ritual space. The forms of the *stūpas* in cult rooms and the presence of standing images at the corners reflect structuring principles patterned after the directions of space, in which one may detect the initial stage of three-dimensional mandalic arrangements (figs. 12–13).

I refer to the available literature for further details and will limit the discussion here to the case at issue, the sacred area around Stūpa 64 (hereafter, SAS 64; fig. 14). This cultic space occupies an area of approximately 90 m² on the south-west slope of the *tepe*, in axial correspondence with the entrance to the Upper Terrace. As for the chronological frame, the first description of the area contained in the short annual report points out the only incontrovertible macro-evidence: the area lies below layer 6, a circumstance which provides a clear (though only in terms of relative chronology) stratigraphic connection with the Early Period ([Taddei] 1971: 422). In a later work, Taddei ascribed the SAS 64, or at least the second phase of it (see below), to the Early Period 2 (Taddei 1999: 392). However, with regard to

frontally sitting at the sides of a pile of cushions on which they prop one elbow. Two cinerary urns (in all evidence pertinent to the princely donors of the portrait sculptures) were found inside the base. One of the urns contained two coins of the Sasanian king Khusraw II (590–628); one of them, re-struck by an Arab governor in 689 (Göbl 1967, vol. II: 313), offers a precious *terminus ante quem non* for the sculptures or, at least, for the funerary deposit. Obviously, this is only to be considered an approximate indication for the sculptures of the Late Period at Tapa Sardar.

absolute dating he remained cautious, pointing out the lack of safe reference points for a satisfactory itemisation of the architectural and sculptural remains of the site, and maintained that the only incontrovertible evidence from the stratigraphy and the archaeological assemblage is that the beginning of the Late Period cannot be earlier than the 5th century CE. In their reassessment of the building phases, Verardi and Paparatti give a more precise indication and assign the SAS 64 to Phase 4 (5th century CE; Verardi and Paparatti 2005: 416–418).

As a whole, the sacred area is composed of four monuments: Stūpa 64 and monuments nos. 65, 69 and 71. Monument no. 65 (the oldest one; fig. 15, monument to the right), built directly on the bedrock, is most probably a *stūpa* (Verardi and Paparatti 2005: 411–412), although it was not recognised as such in the old reports ([Taddei] 1972: 383). It belongs to the earliest phase of the site (Phase 1 according to Verardi and Paparatti 2005: 411–412) and preserves almost intact two sides of the first storey, made of small slabs and blocks of schist and decorated with half columns, above which there is a moulded cornice. It must have belonged to the monumental arrangement of the zone in front of the Main Stūpa on the Upper Terrace, where the slope was terraced and provided with a staircase (Verardi and Paparatti 2005: 406, 409, 411, 416). Instead, its functional and chronological relationship with the area of Stūpa 64 remains unclear. The only safe stratigraphic datum that the partial excavation of the site could ascertain is the obliteration of its plinth below the first pavement of the SAS 64.

Be that as it may, the SAS 64 is representative of that real explosion of creativity recalled above. To begin with, the *stūpa* (c. 1.80 m at the base; fig. 15) displays innovative features with respect to the “traditional” form attested by the Main Stūpa and other minor *stūpas* of the Early Period 1 (cf. Verardi and Paparatti 2005: 416), as it is characterised by the octagonal form of the drum between the square basement and the circular *aṇḍa*, the latter already lost at the time of the discovery apart from the springing line. Sixteen trefoil arches on the octagonal body (two on each side) were most probably decorated with small applied Buddha figures, now lost, which reinforced the importance attached by Buddhism to the number eight and its multiples.

As for the octagon, since early time Buddhist architecture largely exploited—though in less explicit ways than in this specific case—the symbolic value of this form, which exemplifies the progression from a square to a circle and, by extension, from earth to heaven.¹² How deeply this concept had penetrated the religious artistic imagery is attested by its persistence in Islamic architecture and iconography, which adopted it with exactly the same mystic value.¹³

Moreover, the SAS 64 is enclosed in a precinct of a very peculiar shape. Only partially preserved, the precinct is formed by monuments nos. 69 and 71, both made of small schist slabs. Monument 69 (fig. 16), which bounds the sacred area to the south, is *c.* 45 cm high and preserves on top stretches of a plaster coat; Monument 71 (fig. 17), at the north-west corner of the area, is formed by two orthogonal walls, only partially preserved, running north-south and east-west respectively. The presence of towers, arrow loopholes, machicolation and other decorative

¹² Other *stūpas* with octagonal body, both of miniature and monumental size, are attested in different places (see a partial list in Filigenzi 2005: 423, n. 8). As for Tapa Sardar, a monument with the same features (Stūpa 11, or more probably a small *vihāra*; see Taddei 1986; Verardi and Paparatti 2005: 418, as Monument 11) is to be found in the Upper Terrace, in the north-east corner of the open air space between the Main Stūpa and the wing of chapels. First built in Phase 4 (5th century CE) according to Verardi and Paparatti, this *stūpa* was somehow included, later on, in the very last (and probably incomplete) rearrangement of the *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, when a row of alternating *stūpas* and thrones was built. On this subject see Taddei and Verardi 1985; Verardi and Paparatti 2005: 438; Filigenzi 2009: 66–67; for a hypothetical rendering of these monuments see: http://ghazni.bradypus.net/buddhist_sites#revivifyingthepast. See also de La Vaissière and Marquis (2013) for the possible existence in Bactria of an octagonal Buddhist monastery. This is the interpretation proposed by the authors for the octagon-shaped space revealed by aerial photographs around the Top-i Rustam, the *tepe* where Foucher localised the famous Nawbahār *stūpa* recorded in Chinese, Persian and Arabic sources (Foucher 1942–1947, vol I: 84–98). However, in the lack of specific archaeological investigations, date and function of this octagonal structure remain a matter of speculation. In fact, an attribution to the Islamic phase of the site cannot at present be excluded, although also in this case we should not dismiss a possible connection with the symbolism under discussion.

¹³ See for instance the “Mystic House” of Humayun, where the jewelled throne of the emperor was housed in an octagonal room, i.e., “at the crossing of these cosmic directions [the four corners of the earth and the four intermediate directions], in the centre of the universe, just like the *cakravartin* ...” (Malecka 1999: 24–25).

devices quite faithfully reproduces real models that give the precinct the form of a miniature fortification. However, with respect to the latter, the perspective is reversed and the inner face of the walls takes the aspect of an external curtain, with the evident purpose of strengthening the worshipper's awareness of moving inside a fortified enclosure.

The sacred area underwent at least one renovation. This is attested by a floor made of beaten clay, which obliterated the original pavement of schist slabs. The new clay floor was decorated with the pot-and-foilage or *pūrṇaghāṭa* (vase of plenty) motif (preserved height *c.* 1.50 m) and a *brāhmī* inscription of exceptionally large size (more than 3 m long, 1.50 m high), both incised with a stick on the still wet surface. The inscription, as we have it, consists of 5 *aḥṣaras*, whose unusual *ductus* was certainly meant to produce a great ornamental effect (figs. 18–19).

Given the graphic peculiarity of the inscription and its unusual technique, specific setting and geo-cultural context, a palaeographic analysis proves to be difficult and, ultimately, even insufficient. Following the discovery, the inscription was tentatively read by S. Parlato (1979) as *Ghama/Yama rthe hvam ra*, which she translated “In favour of Ghama/Yama.” Later on, the inscription was only briefly mentioned by Salomon (1998: 153), who described it as “unusual and enigmatic.” The reading remains doubtful and to date, apart from extemporaneous scholarly discussions, no further contextual approaches have been proposed for a systematic re-examination.¹⁴

¹⁴ I would like to thank Harry Falk and Richard Salomon for their personal communications (which I take the liberty to cite here) following my presentation of a preliminary study on this topic at the 20th Conference of the European Association for South Asian Archaeology and Art, held in Vienna in 2010. According to Falk, no mention of Yama is contained in the inscription, which he tentatively reads as *samaddhivvamra*, i.e. a possible misspelling of *samādhivaram* “the light/lustre of meditation.” Salomon notices instead the resemblance of the last three syllables with the word *vihāra*, in which case the first two might be *ghama*, *yama*, or *sama*. At the same time Salomon himself admits that this is not a convincing interpretation. I would like to quote here his comment: “It is strange that the inscription is so large and carefully written, and yet so incomprehensible. Its physical form is also peculiar and unusual. In such cases we epigraphists often blame incompetent scribes, who do exist, though often this is an excuse for our own incomprehension. There may be something unknown and (for now) insoluble, such as an unfamiliar language underlying the problem.”

The preliminary excavation reports ([Taddei] 1971, 1972) give only a summary description of the area. Any attempt at explaining such a puzzling layout was avoided, in the wait for dedicated studies and, moreover, supporting evidence from further investigations. Unfortunately, as has been mentioned above, the planned agenda could not be realised and the full exploration of the site remained unachieved. An overall interpretation of the sacred area was tried by C. Silvi Antonini, who explained it as a mandalic structure bearing a subsidiary funerary meaning, given the basic function of the *stūpa* as a reliquary and the possible mention of Yama in the inscription (Silvi Antonini 1979). This interpretation is rejected by Verardi and Paparatti, though in a very short comment. The authors instead suggest a symbolic representation of a paradise, but without attempting to provide any detailed explanation (2005: 418 and n. 11).

As mentioned above, the reading of the inscription remains doubtful. While H. Falk categorically excludes the presence of any reference to Yama, R. Salomon adopts a more neutral position, acknowledging that the response to the riddle posed by the inscription may simply lie beyond our present capacity to understand its meaning, both literally and contextually. As for the interpretation of the SAS 64 that I dare to propose here, in fact it does not depend on the presence of Yama (either real or presumed) in the inscription. Whatever the meaning of the latter (which, in any case, would not refer to the Yama of the world of dead as suggested by Silvi Antonini), other features suggest that the layout of the sacred area was modelled after the Iranian garden of Yima/Jamšid, namely the emphatic fortress-like aspect of the enclosure and the vase of plenty incised on the floor.

A Buddhist adaptation of the Yima's enclosure does not sound odd or improbable if we consider that in Afghanistan, as we have seen, this archetypal myth seems to have been a component of the local cultural reservoir. It appears even less strange in light of the fortune and different versions of this imagery far beyond its original cradle. The *vara* of Yima, the garden where mankind keeps under control the potential chaos and danger of nature, is the prototype of the Iranian *paridæza* (the Greek *parádeisos*), a tenacious notion inherited by the Arabian *firdaws* (the "garden of paradise") and, through the latter, transmitted to Medieval Europe.

Here it became part of the imagery mainly connoting mystic and puritanical sects. Such is the case of heretical pre-Reformation environments, which fostered paper-making and continued to exist secretly long after the papacy had formally suppressed them (Bayley 1912, vol. I: 1–4). “Heretic” symbols thus migrated into the repertory of water-marks, partly constituted by thought-fossils that nonetheless represent a coherent and unbroken chain of emblems: one of them is exactly the walled garden (Bayley 1912, vol. II: 231; here, fig. 20). In this specimen a particularly striking analogy with our sacred area is provided by the vase full of flowers that evidently stands for a conventionalised hint at a garden. The same meaning is probably to be assigned to the vase depicted on the floor of the SAS 64 at Tapa Sardar next to the inscription, which is not to be regarded as a generic *pūrṇaghaṭa* but rather as an emblem that transforms this bare space into the mental image of the garden.

As in the cult rooms mentioned above, the distinguishing feature of the SAS 64 is the search for an unambiguous definition of the sacred enclosure, where the wall symbolises the protected space, carved out of the fluttering chaos and centred on a *stūpa* containing an octagon, the transitional form towards the eternal perfection symbolised by the circle.¹⁵ In a time rich in experimental innovations across arts and philosophy, we see materialised here an enclosure within which such a transition can be realised. This borrowed its form from a model at easy reach in that cultural milieu, i.e. the garden of Yima, but we are only a step away from what will later be elaborated and formalised as a *maṇḍala*.

¹⁵ While the distance of time and lack of material evidence prevent any direct comparison, a significant coincidence exists with the royal Mughal gardens (often symbolic representations of the *firdaws*, or “garden of paradise”), where the octagon (in particular the octagonal pavilion) and the squared circle are recurrent features. These ideas, though compliant with the Islamic mysticism, traces its origin back to the *paridazea* of Iranian ascendance. On this subject see Wescoat and Wolschke-Bulmahn 1996, especially p. 24.

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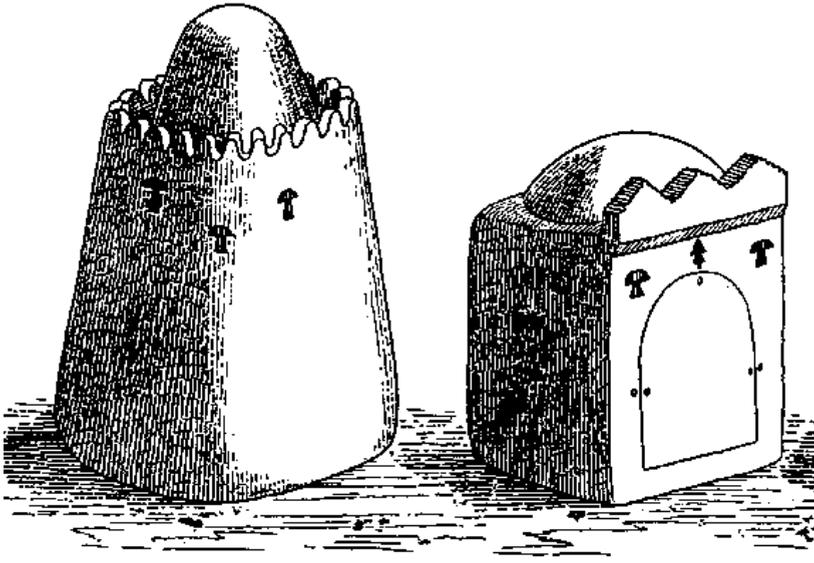
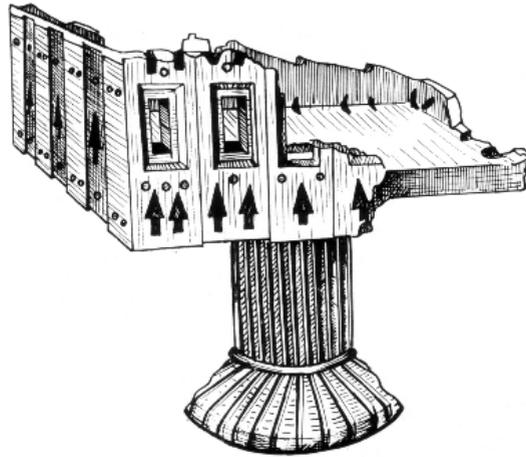


Fig. 1
“Architectural” ossuaries from Jambas Kala, Chorasmia; approximately dated at the turn of the Common Era (after Lo Muzio 1993: fig. p. 126)



0 5 CM

Fig. 2
A miniature replica of a fortified palace from Novaja Nisa; uncertain date (after Atagarryev and Berdyev 1970: fig. 1)



Iamšo 1

230 A/1

Göbl 1982

Figs. 3-4
Coin of Huiška (2nd cent. CE) with the image of Iamšo on the reverse
(after Göbl 1984: 41; pls. 127 and 171)



Fig. 5
Iamšo (after Grenet 1984b: drawing p. 253)



Fig. 6
A Kidarite seal (end of 4th to beginning of 5th cent. CE) bearing the name Iamšo in the legend (after Callieri 1997: pl. 64)



Fig. 7
Surkh Kotal: view from NE (after Schlumberger 1969: fig. p. 63)

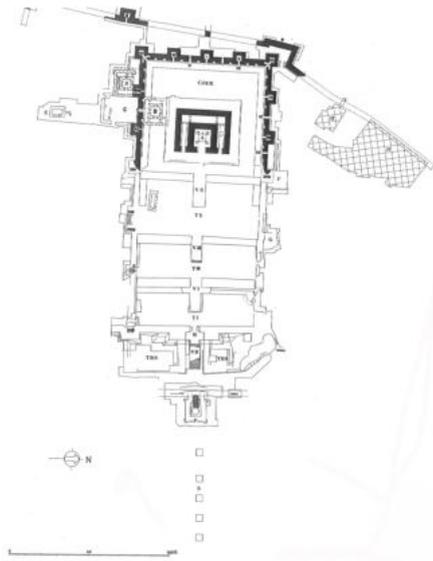


Fig. 8
The temple of Surkh Kotal: ground plan
(after Schlumberger, Le Berre and Fussman 1983: pl. IV)

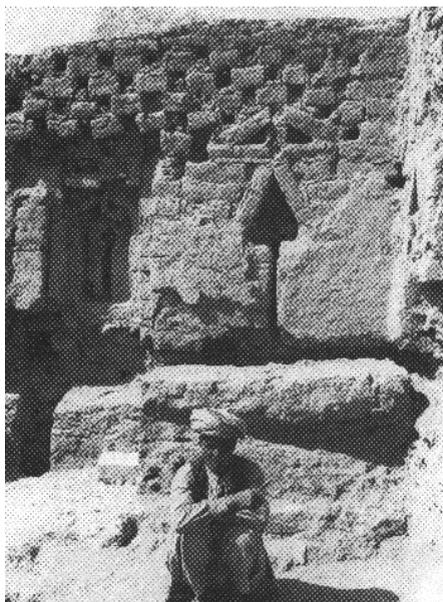


Fig. 9

Surkh Kotal: a detail of the Tower XII, viewed from E
(after Schlumberger, Le Berre and Fussman 1983: pl. 19.47)



Fig. 10

Tapa Sardar: a sculpture of the early Period (TS 1871)
(© Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan)



Fig. 11
Tapa Sardar: a sculpture of the Late Period (TS 1220)
(© Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan)



Fig. 12
Tapa Sardar, Early Period 2: Room 75
(© Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan)



Fig. 13
Tapa Sardar, Early Period 2: Room 41
(© Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan)

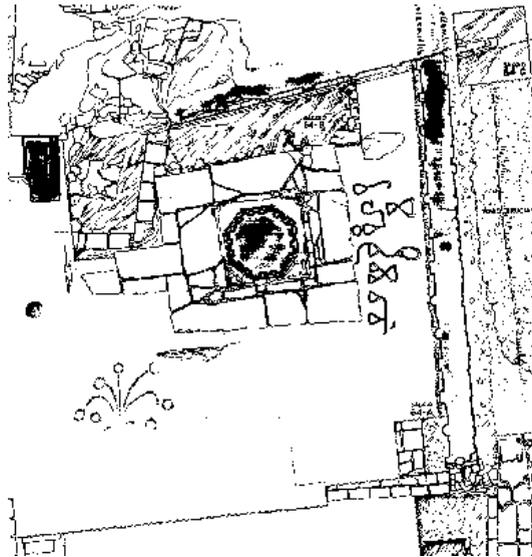


Fig. 14
Tapa Sardar, Early Period 2: sacred area of Stūpa 64
drawing by N. Labianca [detail]
(© Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan)



Fig. 15
Tapa Sardar: Stūpa 64
(© Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan)



Fig. 16
Tapa Sardar: Monument 69
(© Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan)



Fig. 17
Tapa Sardar: Monument 71
(© Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan)

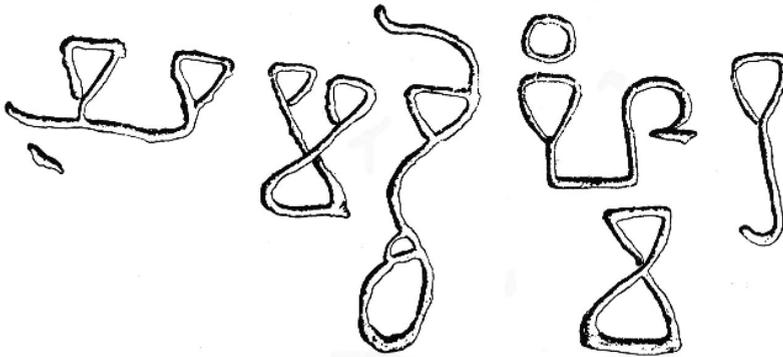


Fig. 18
Tapa Sardar: the *brāhmī* inscription on the mud floor, drawing by N. Labianca
(© Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan)



Fig. 19
Tapa Sardar: the *brāhmī* inscription on the mud floor
(© Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan)

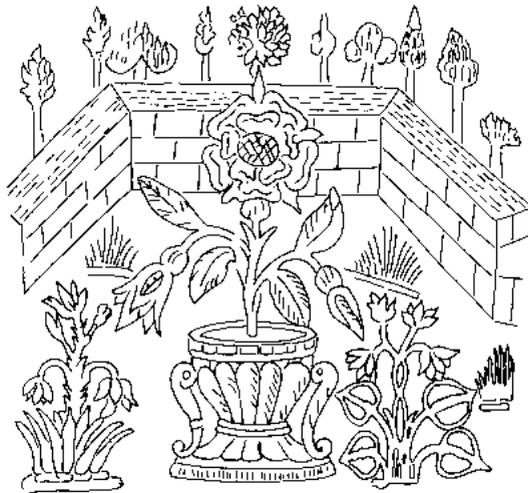


Fig. 20
Water-mark representing the “walled garden” (after Bayley 2007, vol. II: 231)

*Tying Down Fame with Noose-Like Letters: K. 1318,
A Hitherto Unpublished Tenth-Century Sanskrit
Inscription from Kok Romeas*

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This article is a small offering of friendship and admiration intended to honour and divert Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, some of whose learned lectures I attended with great pleasure when I first installed myself in Paris in 2011 after ten years posted in the EFEO's Pondicherry Centre. I would be unable to make a contribution to this volume in any of the core areas of her expertise, but since she enlivened many of the vigorous discussions that took place in the sessions of the seminar of the CIK project ("Corpus des inscriptions khmères"¹) in the months before I left Paris to return to Pondicherry in April 2015, I feel sure that a contribution throwing light on a Sanskrit inscription that we pored over in that seminar a little earlier, in the beginning of 2013, would be not unwelcome. In January of that year, Gerdi Gerschheimer first began to study the inscription in question from photographs of the stone (see figs. 1 and 2), which proved extremely difficult to

¹ For this project, see Gerdi Gerschheimer's short presentation "Le corpus des inscriptions khmères" (2003–2004) and the dossiers of articles in numbers 100 and 102 of the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*. See also the website cik.efeo.fr.

read in certain patches. Serendipitously, while in Cambodia in January 2013, I attended a reading-session of Khmer inscriptions animated by Ang Chouléan, Julia Estève, and Dominique Soutif at the APSARAS headquarters in Siem Reap, where I met a participant, Heng Than, who had come bringing digital photographs of estampages that he had made of what proved to be the same inscription to show to the group (see figs. 3 and 4). Swathes of text that had until then proved undecipherable and unguessable suddenly became apparent from the photographs of these beautiful estampages, and so we read the inscription once again in the CIK seminar thereafter.

I am therefore now able to present here an edition and translation of K. 1318, a hitherto unpublished stela with two inscribed faces, each bearing 20 lines, on the basis of photographs of estampages kindly presented in January 2013 to Dominique Soutif by Heng Than, to whom I am most grateful. I have not seen the inscribed stela itself, but I am informed that it was found in a temple known as Prasat Top at a place called Phum Kok Prich in the district (Sruk) of Thma Puok, in the sub-district (Khum) of Kok Romeas in Banteay Meanchey Province. Ang Chouléan kindly informed me (personal communication in January 2017) that *kok* is a Northern Khmer term for an area of ground that typically never floods and that *romeas* is a “rhinoceros.” The exact circumstances of the discovery are not known to me, but it seems possible, as will be further explained below, that a mechanical digging machine was involved. In October 2014, with the help of the Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, the stela has been installed in the Museum of Banteay Meanchey (see fig. 5). An unpublished report produced in 2013–2014 by T.S. Maxwell reproduces photographs that were taken on 26th October 2012, from which we can know that the inscription had come to light in 2012, and it gives the total height of the stela as 91 cm, the width around 36 cm, the depth around 6 cm, and the height of the individual letters as plus or minus 1.25 cm.

The inscription, although not dated, appears to be from the time of the reign of Jayavarman IV and takes the form of a paean of praise of a guru of that king called Sakalavindu, apparently penned by his grandson Sadāśiva. The name Sakalavindu has not, as

far as I am aware, been attested until now in Cambodia, but *-vindu* (presumably the word meaning literally “drop” which is more commonly spelt *bindu*, although one cannot exclude the possibility that it is the word meaning “learned” and written *vindu*) is a not uncommon ending for Khmer names, where it may be preceded by names of Śiva (Īsvaravindu in K. 127 and K. 235, Śivavindu in K. 449, K. 868 and K. 278, Rudravindu in K. 133, Śaṅkaravindu in K. 155) or by what might be the names of Śaiva mantras (Hṛdayavindu in K. 263 and in K. 598, Śikhāvindu in K. 1167, K. 184, K. 690 and K. 1198). It may also occur by itself as a name (e.g., *ku vindu*, a *vilāsini* given as property to the god Maṅḍaleśvara in K. 129 [pre-Angkorian]), or following words that do not seem religion-specific (e.g., Candravindu in K. 115, K. 360 and K. 493 [all pre-Angkorian], Akṣaravindu in K. 1148, Nāgavindu in K. 22 [pre-Angkorian], Vidyāvindu² in K. 13 [pre-Angkorian], and Vidyāvaravindu³ in K. 652 [also pre-Angkorian]). As the above non-exhaustive list suggests, *-vindu* as a final name-element may have no distinctively Śaiva flavour in pre-Angkorian times, but in the Angkorian period it seems to be common as an ending for Śaiva names. Unlike in the case of names ending in *-śiva*,⁴ we know of no textual evidence from the Indian sub-continent for Śaiva initiatory names ending in *-bindu*; but it seems not unlikely, on the strength of the above-cited Cambodian examples alone, that Sakalavindu should have been a Śaiva name: the element *sakala* might refer to a particular tantra’s root mantra of Śiva, for instance, or it might refer to an embodied (*sakala*) aspect of Śiva, which, for followers of the Śaivasiddhānta, would refer to the Sadāśiva form. We may note that Sakalavindu’s grandson was called Sadāśiva, the name of the principal deity of the Śaivasiddhānta, but, other than that weak pointer, there is no indication that I can detect in the text—no allusions to distinctive doctrines, for example—of Sakalavindu having adhered to any particular current of

² This man’s name, for metrical reasons, is given in the first quarter of stanza VIII of K. 13 thus: *vidyādivindvantagḥitanāmnā*, which led Barth (1885: 33) to suppose that he was called Vidyādivindvanta.

³ It seems to me, on the basis of an examination of the EFEO estampage n. 719, that one could equally suppose this name to be Vidyādhavindu.

⁴ For such names in Cambodia, see the sections on onomastics in chapter 8 of Estève 2009 and see Goodall 2015: 21–25.

Śaivism. Nonetheless, this in itself makes it likely that he should have been a Saiddhāntika, since the Śaivasiddhānta was probably the dominant Śaiva school of the time.

The inscription is in twenty stanzas that are split evenly across the two sides of the stela. All but the penultimate stanza, which is in *triṣṭubh*, are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre. The lettering is neat and clear, and the second side is perfectly preserved; the first side, however, has suffered some damage: four thin lines have been scored diagonally from the top right across parts of its right-hand side, which do not much affect legibility, but these are interspersed with three roughly parallel but much thicker marks that judder across the same area like heavy cross-hatching, and those have unfortunately obliterated several letters. In addition, one broad, smooth surface mark moves diagonally across the stela from the left-hand edge of line 8 to the right-hand edge of line 11, again erasing parts of several letters.⁵

The first five stanzas are given over to praises of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Umā and Sarasvatī respectively. There follows a laudatory genealogy of Yaśovarman (st. VI), Harṣavarman (st. VII), Īśānavarman (st. VIII) and Jayavarman [IV] (stt. IX–XII), under whom we learn that a certain Sakalavindu served as guru (stt. XIII–XIV). The gifts he received from them are summarily enumerated (stt. XV–XVII) and then his religious foundations are mentioned (st. XVIII), namely a *līṅga* installed in a place called Śivāsana, which might or might not refer to the place in which the stela was found, as well as an unspecified number of *līṅgas*, sculpted images of worship and *āśramas* elsewhere. The penultimate stanza, XIX, which is the only one in *triṣṭubh* metre, appeals to future kings to protect the foundation, and the final one proclaims that Sakalavindu's fame is tied down here in the letters of the inscription while being paradoxically bruited abroad at the same time by his grandson Sadāśiva. This presumably means that Sakalavindu's grandson composed the poem that forms the text of the inscription.

⁵ My colleague Bertrand Porte has suggested to me (personal communication in January 2017) that the rhythmic scarring looks to be the result of the surface of the stone having been scraped by the juddering blades of some heavy machinery: perhaps the stela was discovered by accident when a prospective building site was being cleared with a mechanical digger?

A brief remark on Sakalavindu's grandson's name, Sadāśiva, is called for. It may be tempting to some to equate this man with the most famous Sadāśiva of Cambodian history, namely the Sadāśiva of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom (K. 235, st. LXII), who was the son of the sister of the unnamed Sivācārya who served under Jayavarman V and Sūryavarman I, in other words from the end of the tenth into the beginning of the eleventh century. But in that case, why would the sequence of kings praised in our inscription end with Jayavarman IV, whose reign appears to have ended in 942 CE?⁶ It seems much more natural to assume that this Sadāśiva was simply a different man. The name, besides being an extremely well-known theonym, was probably quite commonly used as an anthroponym in the Angkorian period, and we are aware of seven other individuals so-named (for a list, see Goodall 2015: 25). Palaeographically too, a mid-tenth century date seems not implausible: compare, for example, the style of writing in K. 286 (EFEO estampage n. 555), of 948 CE.

Whatever ructions and struggles may have accompanied the transitions between the reigns of the four kings praised here, Sakalavindu appears, like the “Vicar of Bray” in the eponymous seventeenth-century song, to have been able to maintain his position throughout. Should one conclude that this was because little in fact changed at the level of the “deep state”? Or was Sakalavindu just far away enough in the North West from turbulence at the heart of the court? Or particularly canny? Or simply lucky?

For all its fustian, our inscription seems not to add anything to the sum of knowledge about Cambodian regnal history. Nothing, I think, can be concluded from the varied choice of kennings meaning “king” applied to the different sovereigns in stanzas VI–IX, for I suspect that there is no difference of nuance intended: the motivation for the choice seems rather to be to achieve alliterative effects. Thus in stanza VIII, *manujeśvara* is clearly chosen to echo the *n* and *j* of the previous word; similarly, in stanza IX, *rājādhirāja* echoes the *j* in the word before it; and in stanza VI, *mahābhūpāla* echoes *bhūpendra* in the preceding quarter-verse.

The poetry of the first five stanzas makes use of familiar tropes but they have been inventively turned. Less effort has been

⁶ See the genealogical table between pages 54 and 55 of Dupont 1943.

expended for the praise of the various kings, until we reach the eulogy of Jayavarman IV, perhaps because he was still reigning at the time of the erection of the inscription. The factual portion following that is again relatively unembellished, and the poet then reaches for a higher register for the last two stanzas.

Face A⁷

I

- 1  namaś śivāya yasyākṣi ◊ ṭṭīyaṃ rājate bhṛ(śa)m
2 arkendunayanottuṅga◊padalābhādarād i(va) ||

Reverence to Śiva, whose third eye shines intensely, as though because of setting great store by taking a position higher than those of the eyes that are the sun and the moon!

Śiva's two ordinarily positioned eyes are the sun and the moon. The third eye, in the middle of his forehead, is fire, which might be supposed to shine less brightly than the celestial luminaries, but the conceit here is that this especially powerful ocular fire, which famously burnt the body of Kāmadeva, shines brighter as though out of pride at being positioned above the sun and moon.

For the initial meandering decorative element () , which may be described as a “*gomūtrikā* symbol,” see the note on the sign preceding the first stanza of Face A of K. 1320 (Goodall and Jacques 2014), and see also the opening liminal sign of C. 217 (discussed by Griffiths and Southworth 2007: 352).

⁷ In the edition below, I have followed the conventions of the CIK project in placing partially legible syllables within round brackets and syllables that I have supplied that are not legible (but that probably once were) within square brackets. A capital X indicates an illegible syllable; a capital C indicates an illegible consonant; a capital V indicates an illegible vowel. The sequence ‘(g/d)’ indicates that one might read ‘g’ or ‘d.’ I have not explicitly transcribed the *virāma*-marks (at the end of 1b, for instance, I could have transcribed ‘bhṛ(śa)m.’ instead of just ‘bhṛ(śa)m’), because there seemed to be nothing to be gained from doing so in this particular inscription, since no part of it is in Khmer, whose orthographic latitude may make recording such a detail more often worthwhile. Following the suggestion of Vincent Tournier, I have employed a diamond symbol (◊) to indicate the space consistently left after each odd-numbered *pāda*: one advantage of this convention is that it allows one to distinguish the engraver’s spacing, which emphasises metrical structure, from word-spacing, which has of course been introduced by the editor. (Only between VIc and VI d is such a space not discernible, but the beginning of VI d is nonetheless aligned with the beginnings of the other *pādas*.)

II

- 3 vijitañ cakriṇā bhāti ◊ pāñcajanyañ (śva)[dhū]sarā
4 saṃsaktamaṇḍaroddhūta◊dhautadu(gdhe)[va] yattan [u]ḥ ||

In the third *pāda*, °maṇḍaro° is a possible Cambodian spelling of °mandaro°.

Victorious is Viṣṇu, whose body shines white [literally: not gray] with the rays from [his conch] Pāñcajanya, as though pure milk splashed up by Mount Mandara [when it was used as a stick to churn the milk-ocean] were [still] clinging to it.

III

- 5 padmāsano vijayate ◊ padmāsanamṛ[ṇā]likā[m]
6 icchanta iva saṃbhūya ◊ rājahaṃsā (va)hanti ya(m) ||

Victorious is Brahmā, whom royal geese, having gathered together, carry along as though yearning [to reach] for the lotus-fibres of his lotus-throne.

IV

- 7 umāṃ namāmi yannābhi◊dīptiṃ śambh[uka](ra)ḥ spṛśan
8 (o?)mamiśro namaskāra ◊ iva ta(t)[s](tha)guṇe dhike ||

I venerate Umā, touching the light-rays of whose navel Śiva's hand joins with that of Umā (/ is mixed with flaxen [light]) as though in a gesture of reverence, the positive qualities residing in it being [thus] increased.

The damaged letter at the beginning of line 8 could perhaps be an *o* or an *au*. In any case, what seems to be intended is *aumamiśro*, meaning both “mixed with what belongs to Umā” and “mixed with what is flaxen.” It is possible, but not certain, that we are to imagine Umā fused with Śiva as the left half of his body in the iconographic form known as Ardhanārīśvara. Her flesh is the pale yellow of flax. The flattening of the diphthong *au* to *o* is not infrequent in Cambodian Sanskrit.⁸

The last *pāda* reminds us that the *namaskāra* of Śiva alone would already be potent, because of the powers in his hands, but the *namaskāra* of Śiva and Umā combined must be yet more extraordinary. What is not quite clear is whether the

⁸ The scribe of K. 528, for example, has corrected °mauli° to °moli° in stanzas 147, 195 and 198.

Umā-half is actually pressing her hand against the hand of the Śiva-half or whether the flaxen light from her navel gives the impression of her hand pressing against the hand that Śiva is holding at the height of the navel. The use of *iva*, an enclitic particle, at the beginning of the *pāda*, is arguably inelegant, but we find it elsewhere in some of the most ambitious Cambodian poetry (e.g., K. 528, st. XXIVb, XXVIIId [Finot 1925]), and once more in this inscription, in stanza XIX below.

V

9 bhāratī pātu bhava[t](o) ◊ ya(s)yāḥ kāntatarā kalā

10 brahmavānīmālatīmālā ◊ ma(ka/ṅ) X

C(g/d)V(ra)sām śr[u]tau ◎ ||

As in many other Cambodian inscriptions, florets (transcribed here with ◎) may be used as heavy punctuation, particularly for marking the ends of thematic sections of text. Here they occur after stanza V, thus marking the end of the eulogy of gods off from the royal genealogy that now follows; after stanza XVII, marking the end of the treatment of the particulars that this inscription records; after stanza XVIII, marking the end of the allusions to other foundations elsewhere; after stanza XIX, marking the end of the exhortation to future kings to protect the foundation; and after stanza XX, marking the end of the whole text. In modern Sanskrit, *puṣpikā* (“floret”) is often used to refer to the para-textual statements to the effect that a work or chapter has been concluded (in other words, what many indologists refer to, rightly or wrongly, with expressions such as “internal colophon”), and we find indeed that old Nepalese manuscripts sometimes mark the ends of chapters not with para-textual statements but with just such florets. An example is the ninth-century manuscript transmitting the *Sarvajñā-nottaratantra* that has been microfilmed by the NGMPP under the reel number A 43/12.

May Sarasvatī protect you, whose loveliest part is the jasmine-garland of Vedic utterances (*brahmavānīmālatīmālā*), juicy with(/as) nectar (*ma[karaṇḍa]rasā*), [resting as an ornament] upon her ear (/residing in our ears/being scriptural revelation).

The above interpretation depends on assuming that the final *anusvāra* on the word °*rasām* is a mistake. The *anusvāra* in question is in fact plainly engraved, using the characteristic hooked shape of the period, so it is impossible to confuse it with an accidental blemish. We would therefore be assuming that the engraver made a mistake, just as he appears to have done with the word *saṃsikta*° in the second stanza. The interpretation also assumes that the damaged word was *maka-ṛaṇḍarasā*. From the estampage, I can discern what might be a *ka* as the second syllable, and then nothing until what might be a subscript *da*. (I have proposed restoring *makaṛaṇḍa* rather than *makaranda*, which would be the regular form in the Indian subcontinent, on the grounds that *makaṛaṇḍa* is the form we encounter in Cambodia, in the second stanza of the hospital inscriptions (K. 290, K. 701,

K. 283, K. 1228.) I could therefore have transcribed the last *pāda* as follows: *ma(ka)[raṇ](da)rasām śr[u]tau*. But the visible parts of the damaged letters could perhaps be interpreted differently and I had earlier been inclined to transcribe *ma(ṇ)[dārāṇ](g)[i]rasām śr[u]tau*, resulting in a rather different interpretation of the verse:

May Sarasvatī protect you, whose loveliest part is the blossom-garland of Vedic utterances (*brahmavāk-*) from the Mandāra trees that are the Atharvan hymns [resting as an ornament] upon her ear (/in scriptural revelation).

The conceit would be that the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* would be the most beautiful part of Speech, personified as Sarasvatī, since they would be like a blossom-garland of blooms from the celestial coral trees (*maṇḍāra* would be a possible Cambodian spelling of *mandāra*) resting upon her ear (*śrutau*) or occupying their place in Vedic revelation (*śrutau*). This reading would also require assuming a small mistake on the part of the scribe, for although we can make out through the damage what could be interpreted as a subscript *g*, we can clearly see above that the apparently undamaged space in which we would expect to find the vowel-sign for a short *i*, and no engraving is to be seen there: if he intended to write °*ṅgirasām*, he forgot to write the vowel *i*. An additional oddity would be such emphasis placed on the *Atharvaveda*, whose importance seems in fact to have been relatively diminished in Cambodia (for a passage where we might expect to see the *Atharvaveda* mentioned and do not, see, for instance, Bhattacharya 1961: 68–69).

For this reason this interpretation now seems to me less plausible. As for the sense of *brahmavāk*, which I have rendered with “Vedic utterances,” it is perhaps conceivable that it refers instead to the final part of the Vedic revelation, the Vedānta or Upaniṣads, since it is there that are held to be found in some concentration statements about the nature of the soul and of *brahman*.

VI

11 āsīd viśuddhasaundaryyo ◊ yuddhoddhataparākra[maḥ]
12 bhūpendraḥ śrīyaśovarmmā (ma)hābhūpālavaditaḥ ||

There was once a king, Śrī Yaśovarman, of beauty pure, of proud valour in battle, venerated by great kings.

VII

13 rājārccitāṅghrikamalo ◊ babhūva vilasa(d)yaśāḥ
14 tasya śrīharṣavarmmeti ◊ tanayo dha(raṇ)[i]śvaraḥ ||

To him was born a son, [also] a king whose lotus-feet were revered by kings, called (*iti*) Śrī Harṣavarman, whose fame shone bright.

VIII

15 abhavat tasya saudaryyo ◊ yo nuj(o) manujeśvaraḥ
16 śrīśānavarmmanāmāri◊tamo(mā)rttandavikramaḥ ||

He had a younger uterine brother, who was the king called Śrī Īśānavarman: his progress/valour was as that of the sun to the shadows that were his enemies.

IX

17 ājau rājādhirājo y(o) ◊ vidvitpātanapāṭavaḥ
18 bhūbhṛtas tasya vandhu[ś ś](r)[ī]◊jayavarmmā mahipatiḥ ||

At the end of the fourth *pāda* we must of course understand *mahīpatiḥ*.

The relative by marriage of that king was the king Śrī Jayavarman [IV], who was king of kings, [inasmuch as he was] skilled in felling his enemies in battle,

X

19 kīrttiḥ puṇyāmvunidhijā ◊ sarvvāśāsu priyādhikā
20 yadīyā śrīsamānāpi ◊ dṛṣṭā kṛṣṇāṅgavarjjiṭā ||

whose Fame, born from the ocean of his meritorious deeds, popular (*priyā*) and ever waxing (*adhikā*) in all directions, was visibly equal even to Śrī, [except that his Fame was] devoid of contact with a black body [viz. the body of Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa],

Śrī, being the consort of Viṣṇu, takes the form of a whorl of hair on Viṣṇu's chest called the Śrīvatsa and so clings to Viṣṇu's dark body, whereas the king is here supposed by the poet to be of desirably pale complexion: he is thus not "in contact with" a dark embodiment. For another such trope that plays upon the darkness of Kṛṣṇa's body, see K. 731, st. XXV (as interpreted by Goodall 2011: 52). As Arlo Griffiths has suggested to me, we could equally understand *priyādhikā* as a compound describing the king's personified Fame and meaning "having many lovers."

Face B

XI

- 1 sapravodhe śarady eva ◊ saroṣeva gadādhare
- 2 sarvvarttusupravodhe mā ◊ yasmin saktakarābhavat ||

on whom Lakṣmī (*mā*) came to lay her hand, he being thoroughly awakened in every season, as though she were angry with Him who bears the mace [viz. with Viṣṇu], [since he is] awakened only (*eva*) in autumn [after the *cāturnāśya* of the rains, during which Viṣṇu sleeps].

XII

- 3 kiñ citram astraśastena ◊ śambhunā vijita smaraḥ
- 4 yasya dīptatarā kāntiḥr api strī jitamanmathā ||

In the second *pāda*, we understand that what was intended was *vijitaḥ smaraḥ*. The loss of a *visarga* before a sibilant in ligature with a following unvoiced stop is permissible, but scribes in many regions, such as the Tamil-speaking part of South India, for instance, extend this practice and choose to omit the *visarga* also before a sibilant in ligature with a nasal or semi-vowel.

Is it astonishing that Śambhu, who is renowned for his arrows, should have conquered Love, [given that] his [viz. Jayavarman's] dazzling Loveliness, although a woman [because grammatically feminine], has [by her beauty] defeated Love?

XIII

- 5 teṣāṃ dharāpatīndrāṇāḥm ācāryyo mantriṇāṃ varaḥ
- 6 āsīt sakalavindur yyo ◊ vahupanditavanditaḥ ||

In the last *pāda*, °*pandita*° is one possible Cambodian spelling of °*pandita*°.

These great kings had a preceptor, the best of mandarins, [called] Sakalabindu, who was revered by many pandits,

XIV

- 7 yo vudhānukrame mānyaḥ ◊ śabdaśāstrādīśāstravit
- 8 devarājābhyudayado ◊ vṛhaspatir ivāparaḥ ||

who, knowledgeable in such disciplines as grammar, was revered in the succession of wise men (/gods) as though he were a second Bṛhaspati, in as much as he caused the uplift of princes (/of Indra).

Bṛhaspati was the preceptor of the gods, under the leadership of Indra.

XV

9 dolāṃ hiraṇmayīṃ bhūri ᱫ bhājanaṃ katisūtrakam
10 bhājanaṃ bhasmano haimaᱫm akṣamālāṃ hiraṇmayim ||

In *pāda* b, we assume that *kati*^o is a Cambodian spelling of *kaṭi*^o. At the end of the stanza we must understand *hiraṇmayīm*.

A palanquin of gold, many vessels, a waist-string [of gold], a golden ash-receptacle, a rosary of gold,

XVI

11 aṅgulyābharaṇaṃ hema[ṃ] ᱫ padmarāgaśriyādrikām
12 karṇabhūṣādikām bhūṣāṃ ᱫ surasindhuprabhām iva ||

Instead of *hema[ṃ]*, one expects *haima[ṃ]*, as in the previous stanza.
In the third *pāda*, *kaṛṇa*^o is a possible Cambodian spelling of *kaṛṇa*^o.

a golden finger-ring, ornaments whose radiance was like that of the Ganges, and which was made more beautiful by the lustre of rubies, such as earrings,

XVII

13 kalaśaṃ yas sitacchatraṃ ᱫ karaṅkaṃ hemanirmmitam
14 teṣāṃ rājādhirājānāṃ ᱫ samavāpa mahādarāt ☉ ||

a pot, a white parasol, a bowl fashioned of gold—[all the above] he received, because of the great respect of these kings of kings.

XVIII

15 śivāsane pure śambhuᱫliṅgaṃ sa samatiṣṭhipat
16 liṅgam anyatra cārccāñ ca ᱫ pureṣu vividhāśramam ☉ ||

He installed a *śivaliṅga* in the town [called?] Śivāsana and a *liṅga* and image[s] elsewhere, [and] various *āśramas* in [different] towns.

XIX

- 17 bhṛśaṃ kṛtārthā puruṣottame śrīṅr ivāmbudhe
rakṣati dakṣavuddhyā
18 dharmmasthitir yyā mahataḥ prasūtā ḍ rakṣākṣatan
tāṃ puruṣottamas tvam ◎

Do you (*tvam*) [future king of this territory], being yourself Puruṣottama [in the sense that you are “best of men”], protect (*rakṣa*) unceasingly (*akṣatam*) this exceptionally (*bhṛśam*) successful (*kṛtārthā*) religious foundation (*dharmasthitih*) that was created (*prasūtā*) by a great man (*mahataḥ*), which is like Śrī while Viṣṇu (*puruṣottame*) [resting] upon the ocean (*ambudhe*) protects (*rakṣati*) [her] with his cunning mind.

Kings may be described as Puruṣottama because, although it is by convention a distinctive name of Viṣṇu, its literal meaning is “best of men.” Furthermore, as Vincent Tournier has privately suggested to me, kings may be so described on the grounds that each king may be regarded as a partial incarnation (*aṃśa*) of Viṣṇu. For an earlier Cambodian instance of an allusion to this idea, see, for instance, stanza XII of K. 1254 (Gerschheimer and Goodall 2014).

XX

- 19 tasyākṣareṇa vaddhāpi ḍ kīrttiḥ pāsānukāriṇā
20 naptrā sadāśivākhyena ḍ bhṛśaṃ kenāpi digrutā || ◎ ||

Although (*api*) his fame has been tied down [here] by letters, which are like unto nooses, somehow (*kenāpi*) his grandson, called Sadāśiva, has also [at the same time] shouted it out in all directions (*digrutā*) loudly (*bhṛśam*).

References

Some of the items in this bibliography are not named in the text above, but they have in fact been referred to here in as much as they give editions and translations of inscriptions that I have consulted and mentioned. Thus, I have used Barth 1885 for K. 278, Bergaigne 1893 for K. 184, Finot 1928 for K. 598, Pou 2001 for K. 1148, and so forth. Several others appear in the *Inscriptions du Cambodge (IC)* of Coëdès, whose eighth volume furnishes a concordance from which it can be determined where the various inscriptions published before that eighth volume have appeared.

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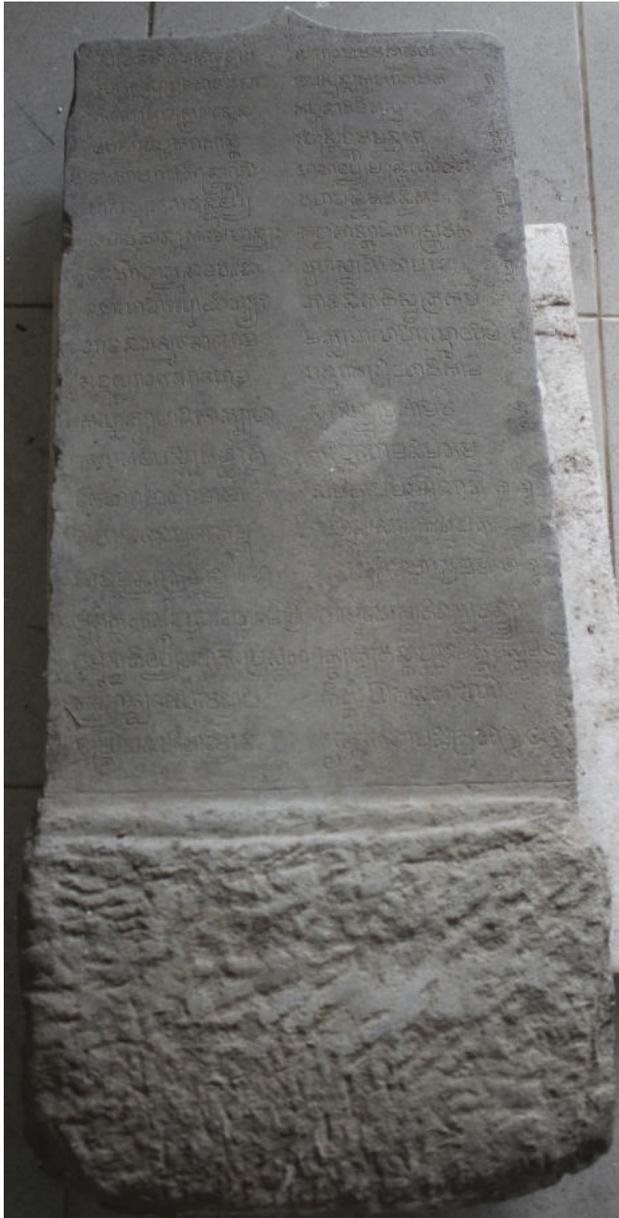


Fig. 1

Face A of K. 1318 before installation in the museum of Banteay Mancheay (also known as the Depot of the Ministry of Culture in Sisophon).
Photo: Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum, Phnom Penh.

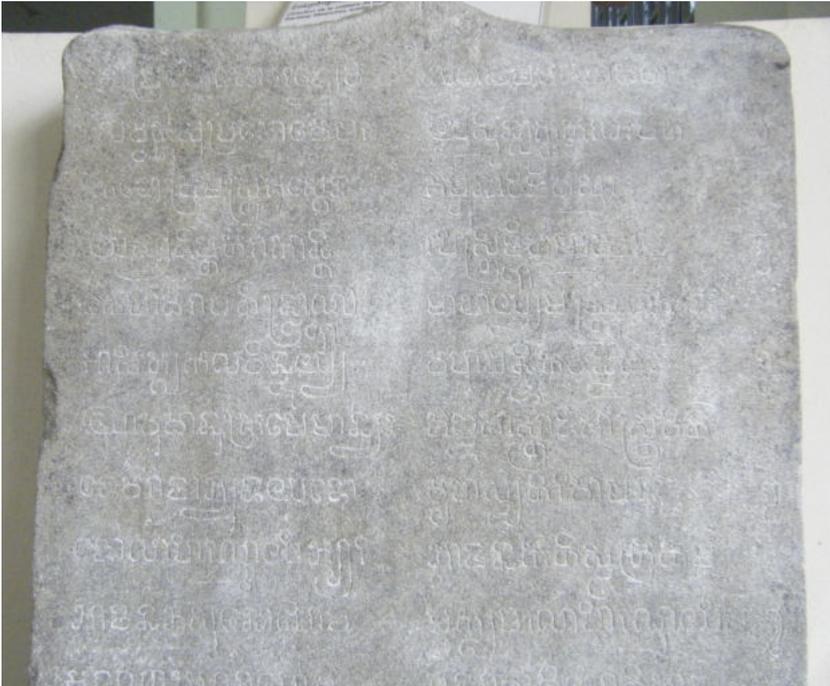


Fig. 2

Detail of Face A of K. 1318. This was one of the photographs on the basis of which Gerdi Gerschheimer began to study the inscription in the seminar on the “Corpus des inscriptions khmères” at the EPHE in Paris in January 2013.

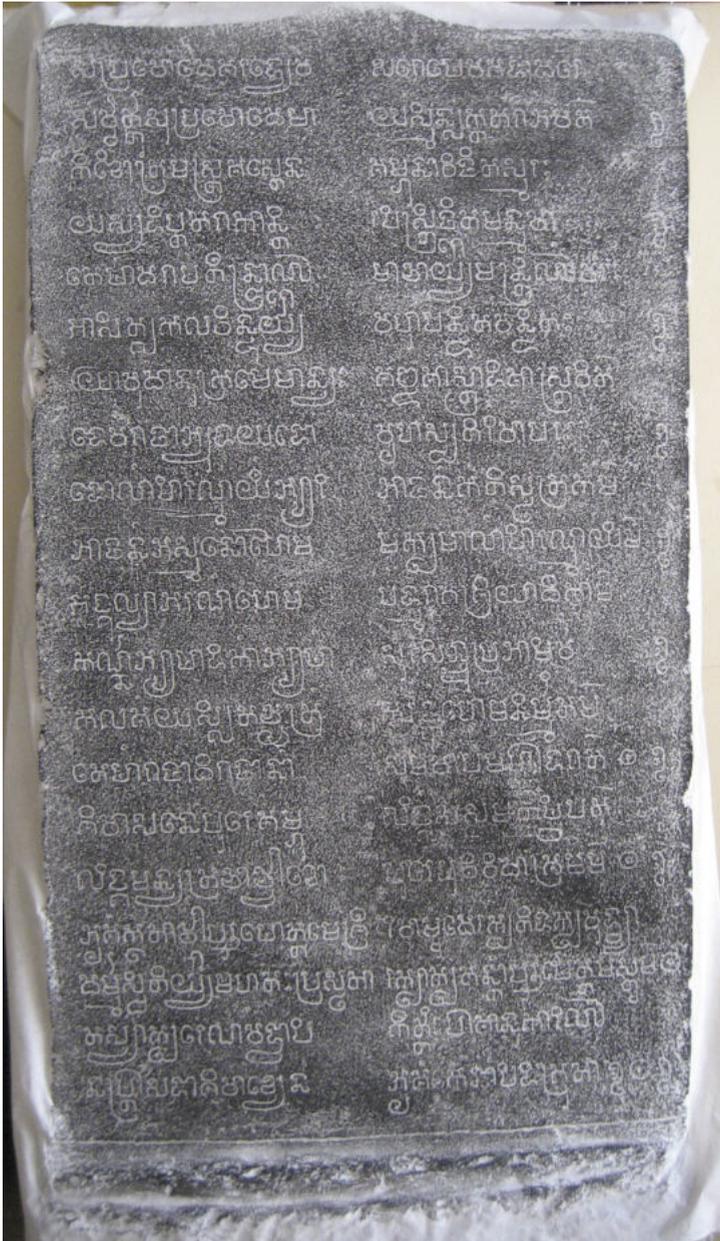


Fig. 3
Photograph, kindly supplied by Mr. Heng Than,
of his estampage of Face A of K. 1318.



Fig. 4
 Photograph, kindly supplied by Mr. Heng Than,
 of his estampage of Face B of K. 1318.



Fig. 5

With some assistance from Socheat and Sok Soda of the Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum, Phnom Penh, the stela K. 1318 was installed in the museum of Banteay Manchey in October 2014. Photo: Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum, Phnom Penh.

*The Old Malay Mañjuśrīgr̥ha Inscription
from Candi Sewu (Java, Indonesia)**

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Introduction

The text whose study I offer here to a dear *kalyāṇamitra* is unique in the small corpus of Old Malay inscriptions, as it is largely composed in verse-form; it is also one of only a handful of Old Malay texts recovered from Java.¹ No more than three epigraphical verse-texts composed in a vernacular language are known in all of Indonesian epigraphy, the other two being the Śivagr̥ha inscription of 778 Śaka, probably related to the magnificent Śaiva complex Loro Jonggrang at Prambanan,² and the undated Dawangsari inscription, that must have been composed about the same time as the Śivagr̥ha inscription and was found at a nearby site.³ Both

* I gratefully acknowledge the help and feedback received from Véronique Degroot, Tom Hogervorst, Péter-Dániel Szántó and Vincent Tournier in writing this article.

¹ See Griffiths 2018.

² The inscription was published by de Casparis 1956: 280–330; see, among numerous subsequent publications that refer to it, Hunter 2011 and Sundberg 2016.

³ See Rita Margaretha Setianingsih 1989; Herni Pramastuti et al. 2007: 52–55; Griffiths 2011a.

these latter texts are in Old Javanese. Like the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription, they stem from Central Java (fig. 1), and the Dawangsari inscription shares with the Mañjuśrīgṛha text its preference for the *anuṣṭubh* meter.⁴ The Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription, dating as it does from 792 CE, yields the oldest evidence of the birth of a tradition of written poetry in a vernacular language of Indonesia, the same tradition that would culminate in the court poetry of the famous Old Javanese *kakavins* of the 9th century and later.⁵ After a beginning in which, for all we know, Malay took the first steps as a literary vernacular, while (epigraphical) Sanskrit poetry was also still being composed on the island of Java, by the 10th century CE the local literary tradition seems to have decided to use Old Javanese to the exclusion both of Sanskrit and Malay.⁶

But perhaps even more so than in its literary form, the importance of the inscription lies in what we learn from it for the history of Buddhism in ancient Indonesia. It records one of only three texts styled as *pranidhāna* in the epigraphy of this part of the Buddhist world, the other two being the Talang Tuwo inscription from Palembang in South Sumatra, and the Sambas foil from western Borneo, both also using Old Malay in whole or in part.⁷ As such, it expresses the aspiration to awakening of a Buddhist in Java in the late 8th century, and does so in a manner that reveals interesting new facets of the relations that connected ancient Java with other parts of the Buddhist world, notably with its heartland in north India.

⁴ For the sake of completeness, I should mention that one further epigraphical *anuṣṭubh* stanza in Old Javanese is known to me: it is the final stanza of the Pereng or Wukiran inscription, which is otherwise formulated in Sanskrit verse and Old Javanese prose. See Griffiths 2011a: 140.

⁵ As an aside, it may be noted that no epigraphic verse texts in vernacular language are known to have been written in any of the cultures that flourished in mainland Southeast Asia simultaneously with the three inscriptions from Java singled out here. The history of Mon, Khmer, Cam, etc., as literary languages starts much later.

⁶ For the benefit of Indonesian readers, who tend no longer to think of their own national language Bahasa Indonesia as Malay (this label having been usurped by the Melayu identity of neighboring Malaysia), I note here that when I write Malay, I mean nothing else than Bahasa Indonesia and its ancestor languages attested in the historical record.

⁷ See Cœdès 1930: 38–44 for the former, and Griffiths 2014: 141–150 for the latter.

In short, we have here a unique document of Indonesian cultural history, for the place of the Buddhist tradition in this history, and simultaneously a valuable document for the history of the Malay language. As a first step towards the exploration of the various perspectives from which this document begs to be investigated, I offer here a critically constituted text, a translation that aims to be literal rather than elegant, along with historical and philological commentary.

Previous Research

The stone on which the inscription is engraved (fig. 2), using the local so-called Kawi script, was discovered in July 1960 by the balustrade of a minor shrine in the western row of the Candi Sewu complex (fig. 3).⁸ It is now preserved at the Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya (Cultural Heritage Conservation Office) for Jawa Tengah province, at Prambanan, where it bears inventory number 0002/BP3/AND/08.⁹ In July 2009, the director of this office kindly gave me permission to have an inked estampage made¹⁰ and this has since entered the collection of estampages of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris under the number n. 1865 (fig. 4).

Two provisional readings of the inscription, prepared respectively by Boechari and Kusen, were included in a poorly distributed government publication that appeared in 1991–1992, and which also included a translation into Indonesian done by Kusen.¹¹ A xerox of Boechari's undated original typescript for his "provisional transcription" was at my disposal when I prepared the publica-

⁸ Damais 1963: 580, translated from the Indonesian-language report published anonymously in *Berita Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia* 5 (no. 2), 1961, pp. 60–61.

⁹ This is the number recorded in the Office's database. The number 02 is marked in yellow paint on the stone, which also bears the numbers 1328 (in white), 506 (in white); a fourth number marked in red is no longer legible.

¹⁰ The work was done by Khom Sreymom, an estampage expert from the National Museum of Cambodia. As is clear from fig. 2, Véronique Degroot also lent a helping hand.

¹¹ Anom and Tri Hatmadji 1992. Herein are included Boechari, "Provisional transcription of the inscription of Mañjuśrīgṛha," p. 93; Kusen, "Alih aksara dan terjemahan prasasti Mañjuśrīgṛha," p. 94a–b. Kusen's translation is also given on p. 56.

tion of his collected papers including as chapter 32 a substantial number of transcriptions—among which the one that concerns us here.¹² This typescript helped to identify a few misprints in the 1991–1992 version.

The inscription is in rather poor state of preservation, having been carved using tiny *akṣaras* into relatively low-grade andesite, so that the readings are difficult to establish already from a strictly physical point of view. The problem of the physical state of preservation and legibility of the lines of text is compounded by the limitations posed on our understanding due to the fact that the Old Malay language is known only from a very small corpus of texts. Comparison with newer forms of Malay is not always helpful to determine the meaning of words in Old Malay, because a great percentage of this language’s vocabulary has been replaced by loanwords from Arabic and other languages in the classical and modern varieties.

These factors, and others, explain that the readings produced by Boechari and Kusen cannot be considered anything more than provisional, while Kusen’s translation corresponds only in a very distant way to the actual contents of the inscription.

Metrical Structure

As noted above, the main part of this inscription is composed in metrical form. It is entirely made up of stanzas of the type known in the Sanskrit tradition as *anuṣṭubh* (often called *śloka*). Boechari does not seem to have taken into account all the requirements of the meter in determining his readings, while it is clear that Kusen’s readings do not heed the metrical structure at all. It turns out that paying close attention to meter leads to several very plausible improvements on the work of these predecessors. In order to allow readers not familiar with meters from the Sanskrit tradition to evaluate the choices that have to be made in determining the proper reading of this text, I refer to the appendix accompanying this article, where I explain in detail how a proper *anuṣṭubh* (*paṭhyā*) is composed and what are the permissible variations (*vipulā*).

¹² Boechari 2012, ch. 32, no. II: “Provisional Transcription of the Mañjuśrī-grha Inscription,” p. 476.

My study of the inscription has revealed that the versification in the Old Malay stanzas of this inscription generally follows the rules of the common Indian metrical canon as we find them applied in *anuṣṭubh* versification throughout South and Southeast Asia, including in the Old Javanese *kakavin* literature.¹³ I have noticed two apparently undeniable transgressions of these rules: the *pādas* Va and VIa; to these a third (Ic) and fourth (IIIc) must be added if the scansion proposals in notes 23 and 28 are judged to be invalid.

Edition

The text presented below was constituted in the following manner. Boechari's edition was first entered into a computer file. His edition was then checked against the estampage to identify problematic readings. The choices of reading were finally determined by a number of philologically relevant factors, not least of which are meter and grammar. With regard to grammar, I have made use of the excellent survey provided in Mahdi 2005 of the Old Malay language as it is found in the 7th-century inscriptions of Śrīvijaya. The metrical regularity of the text often hinges on the choice of a short or long *i/ī*, which the physical evidence available often does not help to determine. I therefore always give our poet the benefit of the doubt in reading *i* or *ī* as required by meter. In my text and apparatus, the symbol \sim stands for a short, $-$ for a long, and \simeq for a free (short or long) syllable. I use parentheses to indicate uncertainty of reading; but I do so only sparingly, generally giving the benefit of the doubt to Boechari's reading unless I have specific reason to suspect it may be incorrect. Variant readings of Boechari have been systematically noted (B), but from the much inferior edition prepared by Kusen (K) I have generally reported variants only if there was a Boechari variant as well. In reporting their readings, I have silently converted their romanization system into mine; differences of word division between my text and theirs are also passed by in silence unless there was ano-

¹³ The same seems to be the case in the above-mentioned Dawangsari inscription, whose text and translation I have already prepared and which I intend to publish one day. For the time being, see my observations in Griffiths 2011a.

ther reason to cite the readings in question. The system for transliteration and normalized transcription used here is the one based on ISO 15919 proposed in Acri and Griffiths 2014, with the exception, imposed by the editors of this volume, that the *anusvāra* sign is represented here as *ṃ* and not as *m̄*.

(1) śrī svasti śakavarṣātīta 714 kārttikamāsa caturddaśī śuklapakṣa śukra(2)vāra vās· pon· tatkālaṇḍa daṃ nāyaka di raṇḍa lūravaṃ¹⁴ nāmaṇḍa maṃdṛṣṭi¹⁵ diṃ (3) vajrāsana mañjuśrīgr̥ha nāmāṇaṃ¹⁶ prāsāda tlas· sida¹⁷ maṃdṛṣṭi maṇamvaḥ (4) sida di¹⁸ daṃ hyaṃ daśadiśa li(kh)ita¹⁹ yaṃ praṇidhānaṇḍa²⁰ (naras samanta punta rān·)²¹ ||

¹⁴ *lūravaṃ* B ◊ *luvara* K. Sundberg (2006: 108, 127) reads *luvaṃ*, but this reading does not have the advantage of being susceptible to a plausible interpretation. See my commentary below, p. 236.

¹⁵ *maṃdṛṣṭi* ◊ *maṃdṛḍhi* BK. On this particular problem of reading, see Sundberg 2006: 107f., 125–127. Sundberg reads *maḍṛṣṭi*. I prefer a verb form with prefix *maṃ-* = /mḍN-/, both on grammatical grounds (see Mahdi 2005: 197, table 6.6) and because of the fact that the very same verb form occurs in the next line. The *anusvāra* is clearly identifiable on the estampage.

¹⁶ *nāmāṇaṃ* ◊ thus B (misprinted *nāmānān* in the 1991–92 version) and K.

¹⁷ *tlas· sida* ◊ *tlas· sina* B, *tūstina* K. Boechari inserts a note on his reading *sina* (1): “Everywhere in this inscription the reading *sida* instead of *sina* is also to be considered, since the form of the *na* and the *da* in these cases looks very much alike.” We expect the regular Old Malay pronoun *sida* (Mahdi 2005: 193, table 6.5).

¹⁸ *sida di* ◊ *sina di* B, *sadadi* K.

¹⁹ *li(kh)ita* ◊ *vinita* B, *likita* K. Doubt about the reading cannot be removed on the basis of the available physical evidence for the inscription itself, but external evidence strongly supports the reading chosen here. One typically finds indication of the writer with the construction *likhita* NAME at the end of Central Javanese prose inscriptions.

²⁰ *praṇidhānaṇḍa* K ◊ *praṇidhānaṇḍa* B.

²¹ (*naras samanta punta rān·*) ◊ *naras samanta (p)untārā-* B, *narassamantapantara kamā sira* K. The reading of the entire sequence after *praṇidhānaṇḍa* is certainly still incorrect in parts; unable to propose significant improvements, I tentatively retain Boechari’s reading. With reference to the syllables *punta rān·*, which he reads *(p)untārā-*, Boechari here inserts a note (2): “The first *aḥsara* can also be read as *wa*, whereas the last one with *wirāma* is not clear.” The final *aḥsara* with *wirāma* sign is in my view most likely to be *n·*, and I think the preceding one can be read as *nta* rather than *ntā*, to yield the common title *punta* (see Cœdès 1930: 73–74 and Damais 1970: 952).

- I. pha(5)lānku maṃmaṅgap·²² puṇya diṃ janmeni paratra lai
kalpavṛkṣa mu°ah²³ °āku diṃ (6) jagat· sacarācara (||)²⁴
- II. sarvvasatvopajīvyāku²⁵ sarvvasatvekanāya(7)ka
sarvvasatvaparitrātā²⁶ sarvvasatvekavāndhava ||
- III. praṇidh(ī)ni²⁷ mahā(8)tyanta śraddhāvegasamudgata
mañjuśrīgrha samumbhṛta²⁸ sarvvaśrīśukha(9) (bh)ājana²⁹
- IV. prāsādeni kumaṅgap· ya puṇyāṇḍa śrī nareśvara
°ihajanma para(10)trāku³⁰ jaṇan·³¹ sarak· daṇan· sida³² ||

²² *maṃmaṅgap* ∅ *marmaṅgap* B, *mammaṅgap* K. Any reading involving the expected word *umaṅgap* would be metrically incorrect. With *maṃmaṅgap*, we have a properly formed (although *caesura*-less) *ma-vīpulā*. See my commentary on the verb *umaṅgap* below, pp. 247–251.

²³ *mu°ah* BK ∅ The *visarga* sign here seems to make the preceding syllable long by position.

²⁴ *sacarācara* (||) ∅ *sacarācarā* B, *savarācarā* K.

²⁵ *-jīvyāku* ∅ *-jīvyaku* BK. The reading *-jīvyaku* is unmetrical whereas the *ā*-marker is quite clear.

²⁶ *-paritrātā* K ∅ *-paritrāta* B. The final position metrically allows both short and long syllable, but sense requires *ā* (*paritrātā* is a nom. sg. form, borrowed as such, from the word *paritrāṭṛ* “protector”). The *ā*-marker is quite clear.

²⁷ *praṇidh(ī)ni* ∅ *praṇidhini* BK. The estampage neither imposes nor forbids assuming that a long *ī* was indeed written, but it is required both by the metrical prohibition of the pattern $\approx \sim \sim \approx$ in the first foot, and by the sense (*praṇidhīni* is the result of vowel sandhi for *praṇidhi ini*: cf. Ib *janmeni* and IVa *prāsādeni*).

²⁸ *samumbhṛta* B ∅ *samudgata* K. Boechari here inserts a note (3), which I cite from the typescript, as the 1991–1992 version shows some errors: “We can also consider the reading *samumbhrata*, but *bhṛta* is more likely. Another point is the reading of *umbhṛta*; the *ma* is very clear, but we would rather expect a *da* in this position, because *udbhṛta* makes more sense. Another point is that metrically we have one syllable too much.” This last point is indeed very important, as it is the sole case in this text, a fact that pleads for an emendation to reduce the number of syllables by one. Presuming that Boechari’s reading is correct, I tentatively choose and translate an emended reading *sambhṛta*, which allows the easiest explanation of how the erroneous reading came about (copying of *mu* from the preceding sequence *samu*). In order to obtain correct scansion, we must pronounce *sambhṛta*.

²⁹ *-sukha(bh)ājana* ∅ *-sulavājana* BK. The reading adopted by Boechari and Kusen makes no sense. The estampage definitely permits reading *kha*, and seems to permit reading *bhā*, which yields a Sanskrit compound that suits the context.

³⁰ *paratrāku* ∅ *paratrāṅku* B, *marahyaṅku* K. I see no trace of the *ṅ* that Boechari seems to have seen, unless his *ṅ* is an error for *ṅ* (i.e., *m*), in which case Boechari and Kusen both saw *anusvāra*. It is possible but, in my view, not necessary to read *anusvāra*.

³¹ *jaṇan* ∅ *jānan* B, *janān* K. There is no trace of any *ā*-marker.

³² *sida* K ∅ *sina* B.

- V. °ini janma kūmintā³³ ya³⁴ nissāra ka(11)dali (d)iga³⁵
 °ājñā narendra sārāṇa³⁶ (pṛṣṭam)³⁷ ≃ ≃ jagattraya³⁸ ||
- VI. °ājñā(12)ṇḍa kujumjum nitya³⁹ diṃ janmeni paratra lai
 (v)aram⁴⁰ kārya⁴¹ mahābhāra (13) °āku⁴² mū°ah⁴³ susārathi ||

³³ °ini janma kūmintā ◇ °ini janma kuminta B, saṅgana jada kusika K. Leaving Kusen's completely wrong reading out of discussion, both mine and Boechari's are unmetrical, for neither the sequence *kūmintā ya* nor *kuminta ya* corresponds to any acceptable pattern in this position. The reading *kū* seems to receive significantly better sanction from the estampage than does *ku* (cf. the *ū*-marker in *mū°ah*, VIId and VIIIId). The *mi* that is common to our readings is a bit problematic when compared to the estampage, but assumption of a form of the base *mintā* "to request" does seem to get support from the apparent occurrence of *pṛṣṭa* (Skt. "asked") in the next hemistich. Alternatively, one might think of *kūcinta* (*ci* instead of *mi* is permitted by the estampage).

³⁴ *ya* BK ◇ if required for syntactic reasons, one could read *yam* here.

³⁵ *nissāra kadali* (*d*)iga ◇ *nissāraka dalibiga* B, *nissara kadali siga* K.

³⁶ *sārāṇa* ◇ *sārāṇa* BK. I see no clear trace of a *ṇa*, and a reading *sārāṇa* is hard to make sense of—its interpretation as the personal name *Sārāṇa* (Wisseman Christie 2001: 35, 37) is implausible for several reasons, the first being that, contrary to Wisseman Christie's claim that *Sārāṇa* "appears elsewhere in inscriptions as a personal name," only variants of the Sanskrit word *śaraṇa* are recorded as proper names by Damais (1970: 478), and the second that the text was read *sārāṇa* and not *sārāṇa* by BK. Clearly, Wisseman Christie's statements were based on the assumption that graphic distinctions *ś/s* and *a/ā* can be ignored, which should, in my view, only be a solution of last resort. For my part, I presume that the BK reading was a typing error (*ṇ* for *ṅ*). In the context, a repetition of the word *sāra*, that was seen in *nissāra* in the preceding *pāda*, would not be surprising. On the issue of the name of the *narendra* in question, see pp. 254–255.

³⁷ (*pṛṣṭam*) ◇ *pṛṣṭam* B, ... K. The reading *pṛṣṭan* attributed to Boechari in the 1991–1992 publication is an error for the *ṣ* (i.e., *m*) seen in his typescript. The reading seems very uncertain to me, but the estampage does not allow me to make a more convincing proposal.

³⁸ ≃ ≃ *jagattraya* ◇ – – *diṃ jagattraya* B, *jagattaya* K. After the lacuna, Boechari inserts a note (4): "On the stone can be seen traces of three, or at least two *akṣaras*. Metrically we need only one syllable here." Boechari's observation is based on the reading *diṃ jagattraya* after this illegible sequence. Kusen does not read *diṃ*, and its presence seems very doubtful to me too. So we may assume that the lacuna was occupied by a bisyllabic word.

³⁹ This *pāda* is unmetrical as it stands. To obtain an admissible *ma-viṣulā*, we would have to emend *ku* to *kū*.

⁴⁰ (*v*)aram ◇ *baram* BK. The consonant *b* is not normally used in Old Malay, *v* being used to represent both /b/ and /w/ (Mahdi 2005: 186). There is no certain case of *b* in this inscription. The two signs can become indistinguishable in case a stone has suffered damage, as is the case here, so I prefer to assume *v*.

⁴¹ *kārya* B ◇ *karyya* K. The *ā*-marker is rather clear.

⁴² *mahābhāra* °āku B ◇ *matāṅga ri māku* K.

⁴³ *mū°ah* BK ◇ The first vowel is written long here (and in VIIIId below) *metri causa*.

- VII. svāmikāryya⁴⁴ (kada)kṣā(ku)⁴⁵ svāmicitta⁴⁶ (14) kuparñaman·
svāmibhakti dṛḍhābhedyā⁴⁷ phalabhukti °anindita⁴⁸ ||
VIII. (15) phala puṇya kubhukt(ī)ya⁴⁹ dari °ājñ(ā)⁵⁰ nareśvara
diṃ janmaga(16)ticakreni⁵¹ svāmi mū°aḥ parāyaṇa (•)⁵²

Translation

(1–4) Fortune! Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 714, month of Kārttika, fourteenth of the waxing fortnight, Friday, Vās (of the six-day week), Pon (of the five-day week). That was the time that the reverend chief (*dañ nāyaka*) at Raṇḍa, called Lūravañ, had a vision at the Vajrāsana. The temple of which he has a vision was called House of Mañjuśrī. He made obeisance to the venerated ones (*dañ hyaṇ*) of the ten directions. His resolution (*prañidhāna*) was written by Naras Samanta lord Rān.

⁴⁴ -kāryya ∅ -karyya BK.

⁴⁵ (kada)kṣā(ku) ∅ kadakṣāku BK. I have not found any reading more satisfactory than that proposed by Boechari and Kusen which, except for the *akṣara kṣā*, seems quite uncertain; in any case it is hard to translate. The possibly most fitting alternatives would be to read *kaḥakṣāku* or *traḥakṣāku* corresponding morphologically with Mod. Malay **kepaksa* or *terpaksa* plus *aku*, but with a different meaning for *paksa* that is current in Old Javanese. See below, n. 62.

⁴⁶ svāmicitta K ∅ sāmivitta B (typing error for svāmi-).

⁴⁷ dṛḍhābhedyā ∅ dṛḍhabhedyā B, dṛḍhabhedyā K. Boechari's and Kusen's readings are unmetrical, whereas the *ā*-marker is quite clear.

⁴⁸ °anindita K ∅ °ānindita B. Boechari's reading is unmetrical. There is no trace of an *ā*-marker on the estampage.

⁴⁹ kubhukt(ī)ya ∅ kubhukti ya BK. The estampage neither imposes nor forbids assuming that a long *ī* was indeed written, but the meter demands that the third syllable of this word be long.

⁵⁰ °ājñ(ā) ∅ °ājña BK. The estampage seems to permit reading this word with long final *ā*, as in Vc. On the other hand, the form with short final *a* is known in Old Javanese epigraphy, so would not be very problematic either. The position is metrically free.

⁵¹ janmagaticakreni B ∅ janma gati catreni K.

⁵² Both Boechari and Kusen print a full-stop at the end of their text. It is not clear from the estampage whether the text is, or is not, terminated by any kind of dot-like punctuation. See below, p. 245, for the suggestion that the text is in fact incomplete. If this is indeed the case, then one does not expect here any kind of special, terminal, punctuation sign.

- I. My fruit *maṅgap*s as merit in this life as well as (*lai*)⁵³ in the next: may I be (*muah āku*)⁵⁴ a wish-tree in the world with its moving and stationary beings.
- II. (May) I (be) one on whom all beings can depend (*upajīvyā*), the sole leader of all beings, the protector of all beings, the sole relative of all beings.
- III. This (*ini*) resolution (*praṇidhī*), great and limitless, has arisen due to the impulse of faith. Assembled (*sambhṛta*, as an equipment of merit),⁵⁵ the House of Mañjuśrī, will yield universal fortune and happiness.
- IV. This temple is *maṅgap*ed by me as the merit of the illustrious (*śrī*) lord of men (*nareśvara*).⁵⁶ In life here, as well as yonder, may I not be separated (*sāra*k) from him.⁵⁷

⁵³ On the problem of the meaning of *lai*, see de Casparis 1956: 21–24. The meaning “as well as” seems to impose itself in the present context (repeated in VIIb below).

⁵⁴ On the problem of the meaning of Old Malay *muah*, see Coédès 1930: 75–76 and de Casparis 1956: 24f., 349. De Casparis’s suggestion that it might correspond to C/IM *buah* is not evidently confirmed by this text, where *muah* occurs three times (see also VIId, VIIIId below). The meaning that seems most naturally to fit these three contexts is that of a morpheme adding optative semantics, as was already proposed by Coédès for Śrīvijayan Old Malay. Cf. pp. 249 and 252.

⁵⁵ I.e., *puṇyasambhāra*. Cf. p. 250 below.

⁵⁶ The syntactic function of the syllable *ya* in this clause, and in Va (and perhaps VIIa) below, where it follows immediately after an apparently unsuffixed verb-base in a undergoer-voice (“passive”) construction, is not entirely clear to me. It seems unlikely that we have here three cases of a subjunctive (i.e., *irrealis*) marker (-*a*) added to the locative applicative verbal suffix -*i* (Mahdi 2005: 197–198), which would together probably appear as -*ya* when combined. At least such a suffixation sequence has not been recognized, to my knowledge, elsewhere in Old Malay. In slight defiance of the *pāda*-boundaries, I presume here and in Va that it stands as subject at the head of a sentence.

⁵⁷ The construction of *sāra*k with the preposition *daṅan* /*dəṅan*/ at first sight seems a little surprising, for later Malay usage leads one to expect the preposition (*dari*)*pada* (cf. the attestations of *sarak* retrievable through the Malay Concordance Project at <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/>). But the Talang Tuwo inscription of Śrīvijaya (l. 10, Coédès 1930: 39–40) attests the same construction: *janān marsāra*k *dān* *daṃ* *hyaṃ* *ratnatraya* “may (they) not be separated from the venerated Three Jewels.”

⁵⁸ As it stands (with *ini* before *janma*), the sentence would seem to mean “this is the life requested by me.” But we have seen several cases of noun + *ini* in what precedes, and I therefore suspect that the order *janma ini* has been avoided *metri causa*; *ini janma* can also be seen as a calque on Skt. *thajanma*.

- V. This life⁵⁸ has been requested by me.⁵⁹ Like⁶⁰ a plantain, it is devoid of a substantial core. The instruction of the lord of men is its substantial core. It is requested ... the three worlds.
- VI. His instruction is always held high⁶¹ by me, in this life as well as yonder. Whenever (his) task is a great burden, may I be (his) trusty charioteer.
- VII. The master's task is my expertise.⁶² The master's thought is put at ease by me. Devotion (from me) to the master is stead-

⁵⁹ This interpretation is doubtful, and the uncertainty is compounded by the fact that the reading *kūmintā* is unmetrical. It is unclear whether the force of *ini* is locational (see *Candragomīprañidhāna* 6: *mā kudeśesu janma* “May I never be born ... in barbaric lands,” Szántó 2017: 230–231) or temporal (see *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 3:25: *adya me saphalaṃ janma sulabdho mānuṣo bhavaḥ | adya buddhakule jāto buddhaputro 'smi sāmpratam ||* “Today my birth is fruitful. My human life is justified. Today I am born into the family of the Buddha. Now I am the Buddha's son,” transl. Crosby and Skilton 1995).

⁶⁰ The word *diga* does not seem to have been recorded in any form of Malay, but exists in this meaning in Old Sundanese (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006: 351); the word has survived as *jiga* and *sigā* in Modern Sundanese (Eringa 1984: 337 and 701), although in the middle of the 19th century Rigg (1862: 107) still was able to record *diga*. When compared to the estampage, which, admittedly, seems to display the *bi* that Boechari reads, but that seems to make no sense in Malay or any related language, the reading *di* is not so problematic. Kusen's “translation” of the passage in question (“*gelisah lagi tak berdaya mengerti maksud perintah narendra*”) displays no awareness of the possible interpretability of his reading *sigā* with the meaning this word has in Modern Sundanese, and this might mean his reading, taken directly from the stone, was not inspired by a particular understanding, and hence objective; still, *diga* seems more likely.

⁶¹ Although Vikør (1988: 76) judges it “very improbable that the *anusvara* had any other pronunciation than /ŋ/ and /m/,” it seems at least as probable that the spelling *juṃjuṃ* here must be interpreted phonemically as /juṃjuṃ/ (like in C/IM) as that it would stand for /juṃjuṃ/ (while /jumjuṃ/ is of course out of the question).

⁶² If the reading *kadaḥṣāku* is correct, then this would apparently have to be a noun with pronominal clitic *-ku* derived from the Skt. adjective *dakṣa* “skilled” by means of prefix *ka-*. No such *ka-* derivation is listed by Mahdi 2005: 198, table 6.7, and so the reading is grammatically improbable while the word *dakṣa* does not seem to suit the context either. If my alternative reading *traḥpaḥṣāku* (with *tra-* representing the Mod. Malay prefix /tər-/ , not so far attested in Old Malay, and the spelling perhaps *metri causa*) or—more likely—*kaḥpaḥṣāku* (with *ka-* prefix in the sense of Mod. Malay *ter-*, see Mahdi 2005: 197, table 6.6) is accepted, it may be possible to obtain a meaningful text, because Zoetmulder (1982: 1238) records for verbal derivatives from *paḥṣa* the meanings “to strive by all means to attain (obtain, etc.) st.; to force oneself to.” The translation could then perhaps be “I am totally committed to the master's task.”

fast (and) unbreakable. The enjoyment of fruits is irreproachable.

VIII. The fruit (which is) merit, (following) from (faithfulness to) the instruction of the lord of men, will be enjoyed by me⁶³ in this wheel of birth and departure. May the master be the refuge.⁶⁴

Commentary

1. *Date and Protagonist*

The date expressed in lines 1–2 corresponds to 2 November 792, and is the oldest attestation of the Javanese cyclical calendar system.⁶⁵

For the sequence *daṃ nāyaka di raṇḍa lūravaṃ*, presented as *daṃ nāyaka dirāṇḍalūravaṃ* by Boechari (2012: 476), I provisionally adopt the word divisions proposed by Damais (1970: 226, 707), but in fact I am inclined to split *raṇḍa lūr avaṃ*, and to understand this as equivalent to *raṇḍa luhur (h)avaṃ* which would imply either a toponym Raṇḍa Lūr “Upper Raṇḍa” and a proper name Avaṃ or a toponym Raṇḍa and a proper name Lūr Avaṃ. The former option seems most plausible. The main problem with this hypothesis is that one would expect *lūr* to be written as a separate word, with *virāma*.⁶⁶

The title *nāyaka*, of common occurrence in Old Javanese epigraphy, is not normally preceded by *daṃ*, the Javanese cognate of

⁶³ I interpret the sequence *kubhukt(i)ya* as undergoer-voice construction, with subjunctive/*irrealis* affix, to the base *bhukti*, which here still clearly has the same meaning as it has in the Sanskrit donor language (contrast Mod. Malay *bukti* “evidence”). Cf. *larīya* from *lari* in Śrīvijayan Old Malay (Mahdi 2005: 198).

⁶⁴ Normally in *prañidhānas*, the speaker himself aspires to become a refuge (*parāyaṇa*), as in the example cited on p. 252. The apparently different meaning expressed here is so surprising that we may have to completely reconsider the interpretation and translate: “O master, may (I) be the refuge!”

⁶⁵ Cf. see Damais 1963: 580 and 582.

⁶⁶ Cf. Damais (1968: 325): “L’indépendance d’esprit des Javanais est révélée par le fait que, d’une façon générale, les mots sentis comme indépendants sont normalement écrits séparément, contrairement à l’usage sanskrit, ce qui a pour résultat un emploi fréquent du *paten* [i.e., of the *virāma* — AG].” It seems that Damais, as also de Casparis whose work he was reviewing, was thinking about cases of /-C C-/ , not /-C V-/ . The same spelling tendency applies to the latter situation, but there are certainly exceptions.

Malay *dañ*.⁶⁷ I therefore infer that the presence of the honorific is meaningful here, and assume it indicates a religious dignitary as *dañ* would in Old Javanese.

2. *The Phrase mamdyṣṭi diṃ vajrāsana*⁶⁸

The historically most significant terms in the opening lines of prose, and in the inscription as a whole, are no doubt contained in the short phrase *mamdyṣṭi diṃ vajrāsana*. The verb *mamdyṣṭi* has been discussed by Sundberg (who reads *madṣṭi*) in the Appendix to his 2006 article, pointing out that the reading *mavyddhi* proposed by Boechari and Kusen, along with all the conclusions for the architectural history of Java that have been built upon this single word, is untenable. But he has not seen the importance of the term *vajrāsana*. Regarding the latter, which according to the rules of Sanskrit nominal composition and depending on the meaning of the term *āsana*, could theoretically designate an object (“diamond throne”), a person (“the diamond-throned one”), or a posture (“diamond posture”), I should first mention that Kusen, with his translation “*prāsāda yang bernama Wajrāsanamañjuśrīgṛha*,” assumed a temple called *Wajrāsanamañjuśrīgṛha*, implying the presence of a statue of Mañjuśrī in *vajra* posture (*vajrāsana*). The reasons which lead me to reject that interpretation, are, in the first place, that *vajrāsana* does not seem to have become commonly used as an iconographic term until several centuries after the date of this inscription and, secondly, that the known names of ancient temples in Java never include such an iconographic attribute.⁶⁹

So what could the term *vajrāsana* mean here? Sources of the first half of the first millennium CE express the idea that the place of the Buddha’s awakening was of adamant nature. Thus, in

⁶⁷ Cf. de Casparis 1956: 19 with n. 16, 37, 227–228, 329, n. 101 (“*Nayaka* and *patih* denote functions frequently mentioned in the Old Javanese edicts, always as executors of orders issued by higher authorities such as the king and dignitaries with *rakai* and *pamṅgēt* titles”). Also cf. Damais 1970: 178–179, 967–968.

⁶⁸ In this section of my commentary, and the next, I draw liberally from valuable notes on the opening lines of the inscription shared with me by Vincent Tournier.

⁶⁹ Cf. the *Tārābhavana* of the Kalasan inscription and the *Śivagṛha* of the eponymous inscription, and see Griffiths 2011a: 148, n. 46.

the *Mahāvastu* we find a list of sixteen attributes of this special Location (*prthivīpradeśa*), among which the following:

ya-m-idaṃ siṃhāsanaṃ ti prthivīmaṇḍalaṃ saṃkhyāto bhavati bhikṣavaḥ
sa prthivīpradeśo | **vajropamo** ca bhikṣavaḥ sa prthivīpradeśo bhavati ⁷⁰

Monks, this circle of earth called the Lion Seat is the Spot of Earth. And, monks, that Spot of Earth is like a diamond (*vajra*).

This may be compared with the *Lalitavistara*:

sa ca prthivīpradeśas trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātuvajreṇābhidiṛḍhaḥ
sāro **'bhedya vajramayaḥ** saṃsthito 'bhūt | yatra bodhisattvo niṣaṇṇo
'bhūd bodhim abhisambodhukāmaḥ || iti hi bhikṣavo bodhisattvena
bodhimaṇḍam upasaṃkramatā tathārūpā kāyāt prabhā muktābhūt ...
(p. 278, ll. 17–21)

And that Spot of Earth, where the Bodhisattva was seated when he desired to awake unto Awakening, was fixed as the quintessence (of Awakening), of the nature of an indestructible diamond, compacted by the diamond of the trichiliomegachiliocosm. Thus, monks, when the Bodhisattva approached the Terrace of Awakening, he emitted such an irradiance from his body ...

Although it does occur occasionally in some early texts,⁷¹ the term *vajrāsana* is not common to designate the place of Awakening in early Buddhist literature, which seems to prefer the designations *prthivīpradeśa* and *bodhimaṇḍa*. The Bodhgaya inscription commemorating a temple dedication by the Sinhalese monk Mahānāman, dated to 587 CE and analyzed in detail by Vincent Tournier, adopts the latter:⁷²

āmradvīpādhivāsī pṛthukulajaladhīs tasya śiṣyo mahīyān-
laṅkādvīpaprasūtaḥ parahitanirataḥ sanmahānāmanāmā |
tenocair **bbodhimaṇḍe** śāśikaradhavalāḥ sarvato maṇḍapena •

⁷⁰ The larger passage is found in vol. II, 262.9–263.14. The quotation is from 263.8–9, checked against the oldest manuscript of the text, designated as Sa, folio 198b6–199a1. *ya-m-idaṃ*] Sa; *yad idaṃ* Sen. • *prthivīmaṇḍalaṃ*] Sa; *prthivīmaṇḍale* Sen. • *bhavati bhikṣavaḥ*] Sen.; *bhava bhikṣava* Sa. • *prthivīpradeśo*] Sen.; *prthivīpradeśo bhavati* Sa. I owe these readings to Vincent Tournier, to whose 2017 monograph I refer for further information on manuscript Sa and its philological significance.

⁷¹ In the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (4th c.) and *Saṅghabhedavastu* (2nd–5th c.), both related to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin transmission, by contrast with the *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistara*.

⁷² Ed. and transl. Tournier 2014: 22–23 and 29.

kā[nta]ḥ prāsāda eṣa smarabalajayinaḥ kārīto lokaśāstuḥ ||
vyapagataviśayasneho hatatimiradaśaḥ pradīpavad asaṅgaḥ
kuśalenānena jano bodhisukham anuttaraṃ bha[ja]tām · ||

His [i.e., Upasena's] foremost disciple, who resides in Āmradvīpa, the ocean of whose family was vast, who was born on the island of Laṅkā, who delights in the well-being of others, is the well-named Mahānāman. He caused to be erected on the exalted Terrace of Awakening a temple—together with a pavilion—of the conqueror of Smara's army,⁷³ the teacher of the world, which was white like a moonbeam and pleasing from all sides. By this meritorious act may people [or: may this person], having removed the attachment to sense-objects and having destroyed the condition of [mental] darkness, being detached, like lamps [or: like a lamp], *the oil of whose receptacle has gone [consumed] and whose wick was spent and black*, enjoy the ultimate bliss of Awakening.

In the Buddhist heartland in north India, we see the term *vajrāsana* make its first epigraphic appearances in the 7th century. The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, who visited Bodhgaya around the year 637, explicitly glosses this term and asserts that it is identical to *bodhimaṇḍa*.⁷⁴ The Nalanda inscription of Yaśovarmadeva, datable to around 730 CE,⁷⁵ designates the Buddha as *vajrāsanastha*,⁷⁶ which might here mean “present at the Vajrāsana” or “present on the Diamond Throne,” either way implying a sculptural representation of the defeat of Māra. And an inscription found in the village of Ghosrawan, just a few kilometers from Nalanda, dating from the time of the famous Pāla king Devapāla, i.e., only a few decades after our inscription from Candi Sewu, uses the term *vajrāsana* no less than three times, in stanzas II, VIII and XIII.⁷⁷ Its first occurrence is in the second of two invocatory stanzas:

asyāmadguravo babhūvur avalāḥ sambhūya harttuṃ manaḥ
kā lajjā yadi kevalo na valavān asmi trilokaprabhau |
ity ālocayateva mānasabhuvā yo dūrato varjitaḥ
śrīmān viśvam aśeṣam etad avatād vodhau sa **vajrāsanah** ||

May the glorious (Buddha), who has his diamond throne by the Bodhi tree, protect this whole universe!—he, from whom the mind-born (Māra)

⁷³ Smara here means Māra: see n. 81.

⁷⁴ See the references cited in Tournier 2014: 31, n. 120.

⁷⁵ Sircar 1957–1958: 108.

⁷⁶ Sastri 1942: 78–82, st. XIV.

⁷⁷ I cite these stanzas in the edition and translation published by Kielhorn (1888). These were reproduced in Sastri 1942: 89–91.

drew far aloof, thinking, as it were, that if his betters had, united, been powerless to captivate the mind of (Buddha), why need *he* blush for failing in strength, single-handed, against the Lord of the three worlds!

For the crucial last *pāda*, alternative translations are imaginable. The word *vodhau* may not indicate the place, but rather the purpose of the Buddha's protection: "May the glorious Diamond-Throned (Buddha) protect this whole universe in (view of) Awakening!". But the context here excludes taking the word *vajrāsana* as indicating the place of Awakening rather than the Buddha himself. The inscription goes on to narrate how the monk Vīradeva—a native of Nagarahāra in what is now Afghanistan—came to Bodhgaya:

vajrāsanam vanditum ekadātha śrīmanmahāvodhim upāgato 'sau |
draṣṭum tato 'gāt sahadeśibhikṣūn śrīmadyaśovarmmapuram vihāram ||

To adore the diamond-throne, he then once visited the glorious Mahābodhi. From there he went to see the monks of his native country, to the *vihāra*, the glorious Yaśovarmapura.

It would again be possible to translate "To adore the Diamond-Throned (Buddha)," as in st. II, but the absence of any honorific perhaps supports Kielhorn's translation cited above. The third stanza containing the word *vajrāsana* in this inscription reads as follows:

tenaitad atra kṛtam ātmamanovad uccair
vajrāsanasya bhavanam bhuvanottamasya |
saṃjāyate yad abhivikṣya vimānagānām
kailāsamandaramahīdharaśṛṅgaśaṅkā ||

He erected here for the diamond-throne, the best thing in the world, this mansion, lofty like his own mind, the sight of which causes those moving in celestial cars to suspect it to be a peak of the mountain Kailāsa or of Mandara.

Again it is possible that *vajrāsana* means "Diamond-Throned (Buddha)" rather than "diamond-throne," but regardless of this question, it is important to note that the word *atra* here probably refers to the last place mentioned in the inscription, that is Nalanda. One must assume that there was a temple at Nalanda built by the monk Vīradeva which enshrined an image of the Buddha in *bhūmisparsamudrā*, and that this temple or the Buddha occupying it was known as *vajrāsana*.

To sum up, it seems that the term *vajrāsana* initially designated the precise location at Bodhgaya where the Buddha took seat to attain Awakening, but that subsequently any place with a statue representing this throne and the Buddha defeating Māra could become an equivalent to the original Diamond Throne. Anyhow, Buddhists manipulating the term *vajrāsana* did not limit themselves to its use in that meaning: occasionally, although much more rarely, they also used it to designate the Buddha as a Diamond-Throned being, as we have seen in st. II of the Ghosrawan inscription.

Returning now to the Old Malay text, we might thus theoretically interpret the word *vajrāsana* either as the Buddha or the place called Vajrāsana, and, depending on the pragmatic situation that we imagine, we might want to translate *maṃ-dṛṣṭi* (where *maṃ-* stands for the active voice prefix *meN-* of Mod. Malay) either as “viewed” or “had a vision.”⁷⁸ In this case, the strong tendency in ancient languages of Indonesia for honorifics to be applied in front of names for humans and superhuman beings suggests that Vajrāsana in the sequence *di-ṅ vajrāsana*, which lacks any such honorifics, is a toponym rather than an epithet of the Buddha. The combination of the preposition *di* and the definite article *ṅ* may indeed be interpreted as indicating just this, in which case we can translate “saw/visualized the Diamond Throne;”⁷⁹ its *prima facie* interpretation, however, is as indication of the place of the action of the main verb, in which case *maṃ-dṛṣṭi di-ṅ vajrāsana* is most likely to have the meaning assumed in the translation above. The question, then, is whether the Vajrāsana intended here desi-

⁷⁸ Sundberg’s (2006: 127) observations on this verb form reveal that this scholar is treading on philological terrain for which he is not prepared: *dṛṣṭi* is not a “past participle” and there is no “verb stem *dṛṣṭi*,” *dṛṣṭi* is an action noun derived from the verbal root (not stem) *dṛṣ*. And the use of forms from this root to express the idea of visualization is too common to require any comment.

⁷⁹ The Old Malay corpus is too small for the details of usage of the preposition *di* and the definite article *ṅ* to be teased out. But in the case of the cognate morphemes (*r*)*i* and *ṅ* in Old Javanese, which was probably the local language of the area where Candi Sewu is situated, this combination typically announces toponyms. See Zoetmulder 1983 (1950): 11, citing as example from the Old Javanese *Ādīparva: kunaṅ ṅaranikaṅ tīrtha riṅ Sobhadra, riṅ Poloma, riṅ Karandhama* “And the names of the sacred bathing places were: S., P., and K.” In such contexts, the preposition does not indicate the place where something takes place, but serves only to mark that what follows is a toponym.

gnated the place of the Buddha's awakening at Bodhgaya, or a namesake in Java.⁸⁰

There is a distinct possibility that the latter was the case, because the Sanskrit inscription of the former village Kelurak, which records a foundation of a temple of Mañjuśrī made in 782 CE, just ten years prior to our inscription, and which all scholars agree must be connected somehow with ours, contains the following stanza:

atra vuddhaś ca dharmmaś ca saṅghaś cāntargataḥ sthitaḥ |
draṣṭavyo dṛṣṭaratne smin smarārātinisūdane ||

Here (in this temple) is included, is present, is visible the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṅgha inside this Destroyer of the enemy (named) Smara despite the fact that he has no visible jewels.⁸¹

The stanza is not unproblematic in other ways, but the term *smarārātinisūdana* unmistakably designates an image of the Buddha depicted as Māravijaya,⁸² and this raises the possibility

⁸⁰ Cf. Lamotte 1962: 200, towards the end of n. 105: “Au sens figuré, *bodhi-maṇḍa* signifie simplement la présence toute spirituelle de la loi, ou du *dharmakāya* des Buddha, et ceci indépendamment de toute localisation matérielle. ... Dans cette perspective, Bodh-Gayā, Bénarès et Kuśinagara se confondent.” In this logic, any Buddhist temple in ancient Java could be added to the list.

⁸¹ St. XIV. The inscription has been edited several times. I use here the editions by Bosch (1928), Sarkar (1971–1972, vol. I: 41–48) and Long (2014, chapter III). (b) *-gataḥ sthitaḥ*] B; *-gataḥ sthitaḥ* S; *-gataḥ sthit<ā>ḥ* L. Neither Sarkar nor Long comments on the disagreement in number they assume. One is tempted to read or emend *-gataḥ sthitaḥ*. (c) *draṣṭavyo*] *dṛṣṭavyo* BSL. Neither Bosch nor Sarkar notes that *dṛṣṭavya-* is grammatically impossible; Long (p. 92, n. 34) seems to accept the form as “a variant spelling,” while the published facsimile clearly shows the expected form with initial *dra-*. Sarkar proposes the emendation *-vyā*, which is attractive but requires that we also make the emendation proposed under (b), whereas the published facsimile clearly shows *-vyo*. • *dṛṣṭaratne smin*] *dṛṣṭaratne 'smin* BSL. No *avagraha* sign ' is actually written, but this is unexceptional; in my view, the context seems to impose that we assume not one but two such elided *a-* vowels, and understand *'dṛṣṭaratne 'smin*. But it is not impossible also to assume *dṛṣṭaratne 'smin*, in which case one could translate “... inside this jewel (i.e., best thing) among things to be seen, the Destroyer of the enemy (named) Smara.”

⁸² Cf. the equivalent *smarabalajayin* in the aforementioned Bodhgaya inscription of Mahānāman and the commentary of Tournier (2014: 31–32, n. 123) who points out that *māra*, *kāma* and *smara* are synonyms in the *Amarakośa* and cites another Bodhgaya inscription which uses the term *jitamāra*; closer to Java, stanza VI of the Ligor inscription of 775 CE designates the Buddha as *māranisūdana* (Long 2014: 25).

that the place where it stood was known by the name Vajrāsana.⁸³ It is therefore possible that our protagonist, the *nāyaka* Raṇḍa Lūravaṇ, saw or had a vision at a Vajrāsana on Java. But the hypothesis I favor here is that of a vision experienced while at Bodhgaya for pilgrimage. Elsewhere in the Buddhist world, over the centuries, we find accounts of momentous visions experienced at the (original) Vajrāsana. A 16th-century example that would be quite analogous to our case has been discussed by Vincent Tournier in his recent monograph:⁸⁴

Parmi les nombreux établissement[s] religieux de Patan se trouvent un temple et un *bāhā* voués à Mahābuddha (ou Mahābauddha) et rattachés au Vaṅkulimahāvihāra (new. Uku *bāhā*). Plusieurs sources liées au lignage du Mahābuddha retracent la fondation du temple au séjour effectué par l'*ācārya* Abhayarāja à Bodhgayā, au temps du roi Amaramalla (r. ca. 1529-1560). La *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī*, qui fut en partie au moins compilée par les descendants d'Abhayarāja, intègre ainsi deux modules textuels qui semblent tout droit tirés d'une chronique familiale. Selon cette chronique, le religieux néwar eut en Inde une expérience visionnaire, qui l'in-

⁸³ On the question with which monument(s) the Kelurak and Mañjuśrīgṛha inscriptions were originally associated, see the important observations of Marijke Klokke (2006: 57): "The inscription of Kelurak was found closest to Candi Lumbung, and also closer to Candi Bubrah than to Candi Sewu, so that the place of discovery would rather suggest a connection with Candi Lumbung or Candi Bubrah. Of course, the inscription could have been moved. It is tempting to connect the inscription of Mañjuśrīgṛha, mentioning a temple for the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, with the inscription of Kelurak, which documents the installation of a statue of the same Bodhisattva. However, although the former was found in the compound of Candi Sewu, it was found far from the centre of the temple complex. In this case, the finding-place may suggest a connection with Candi Sewu, but a connection with the main temple is not self-evident. Furthermore, this inscription could also have been moved. If one does assume a relationship with Candi Sewu as a whole, the inscription would therefore suggest a Mañjuśrī image as the main image of the temple. However, no image has survived in the central cella. Stutterheim suggested a huge seated Buddha image because of the form of the surviving platform and on the basis of a large bronze Buddha haircurl found in the neighbourhood (Stutterheim 1929a [= my Stutterheim 1929 – AG]). A Buddha would seem more likely to me, too, on the basis of the iconographic programmes in other Central Javanese temples. [...] Perhaps the [Mañjuśrīgṛha] inscription refers to one of the larger subsidiary temples (Dumarçay 1981: pl. XLVIII YG 70: nos 78, [79], 80, 81, 82, 83 [84], or 85). Groups of six or eight Bodhisattvas were known in Central Java, and one of these six or eight temples may have been devoted to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Otherwise Bubrah and Lumbung would seem more probable than the Candi Sewu complex as a whole."

⁸⁴ Tournier 2017: 384–385.

cita à rentrer dans sa ville d'origine, emportant avec lui une copie de l'image du Vajrāsana, afin de fonder un temple qui lui serait dédié.

A case directly contemporary with ours is that of the tantric master Buddhajñānapāda, whose **Mañjuśrīmukhāgama*, surviving only in Tibetan translation, has recently been studied by Ronald Davidson (2002: 309–316) and critically re-examined by Péter-Dániel Szántó (2015: 540–554). The latter observed (p. 540):

The core of the text is a series of innovative revelations said to have been heard directly from the mouth of Mañjuśrī in a vision, after the author's disappointing spiritual search at the feet of a host of teachers. The work opens with a description of this journey, beginning with studying with Haribhadra and culminating in his vision of the deity.

I am unfortunately unable to read this author's work in Tibetan, but from Davidson's summary of the relevant passage (p. 313) it is clear that this vision was finally experienced in a forest near the Vajrāsana.⁸⁵ Subsequently this master served kings Dharmapāla and Devapāla (Szántó 2015: 538–540). It is tempting to speculate that he would have been an acquaintance of the master mentioned in some partly damaged stanzas of the Kelurak inscription (VII–VIII, XI), who came from Bengal (*gauḍīdvīpaguru*), served the Javanese king as officiant (*rājaguru*) and went by the name Kumāraghoṣa. There would thus be nothing surprising if our *nāyaka* Lūravaṇ really did travel to India, received a vision of a *prāsāda* for Mañjuśrī while he was there, and traveled back to his homeland to build such a temple.

3. *Formulating a prañidhāna and Making Obeisance to the buddhas of the Ten Directions*

In his commentary on the 7th-century Talang Tuwo inscription from Palembang, the only inscription from ancient Indonesia that is directly comparable with the one from Candi Sewu, George

⁸⁵ According to a personal communication from Peter-Dániel Szántó (email of 13 April 2018), this happened some miles north of Bodhgaya in the grove called *ku ba rtsa* (= **kuvaca*?, contemporary Koch?): "Buddhajñānapāda is very precise about that. But undeniably, *vajrāsana* is the gravitating point for him, his *āśrama* is also described as NE of *vajrāsana/bodhimaṇḍa*."

Cœdès (1930: 43) has cited definitions of the technical term *praṇidhāna* given by several illustrious specialists of Buddhism. But results of buddhological research in the 20th century makes it necessary to update several aspects of the understanding of this term. Summarizing such more recent work, and emphasizing only those aspects which are relevant in the present context, it can be said that the term *praṇidhāna* (or its synonym *praṇidhi*) denotes the aspiration, most often conceived in the first person singular and formulated with optative verb forms in Sanskrit, of one who has entered on the Bodhisattva path to become a *buddha*, and that the fruit of meritorious actions accomplished on the occasion of the expression of this aspiration are dedicated to the realization of the perfect Awakening of the speaker himself (in the interest of living beings), or of a group of people, or of all beings.⁸⁶

Despite the surprising absence of any expression of such an ultimate aim—giving reason to wonder if the inscription, which does not cover the entire prepared surface of the stone, was left incomplete—in our *praṇidhāna* the idea seems to be that the merit from building the temple was dedicated to reaching Awakening. In Buddhist literature on the path of those who have taken *praṇidhāna*, i.e., those who become *bodhisattvas*, we find that the propitiation of the *buddhas* of the ten directions takes an important place. By way of example, I may cite Étienne Lamotte’s translation of a passage from the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*):⁸⁷

Enfin les Bodhisattva, trois fois le jour et trois fois la nuit, accomplissent régulièrement un triple exercice (*triskandha*) : (1) Le matin, rejetant leur

⁸⁶ See besides Har Dayal (1932: 64–67) also Buswell and Lopez (2014: 662), and especially the elaborate discussion in Konczak 2014, chapter 2.

⁸⁷ T 1509, XXV, 110a2–10; Lamotte 1944–1980, vol. I: 421–422. The ritual framework and several of the terms used in this extract from the treatise, translated into Chinese and reworked by Kumārajīva, may be compared with the following passage from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (181.16–25): *tato bodhisattvena tathāgatapratimāyāḥ purataḥ svayam eva bodhisattvaśīlasaṃvarasamādānaṃ karaṇīyam | evaṅ ca punaḥ karaṇīyam | ekāmsam uttarāsaṃgaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇaṃ jānumaṇḍalaṃ pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya purato vā utkuṭukasthītena idaṃ syād vacanīyam | aham evaṃnāmā daśasu dikṣu sarvāṃs tathāgatān mahābhūmiḥpraviṣṭāṃś ca bodhisattvān vijñāpayāmi | teṣāṅ ca purataḥ sarvāṇi bodhisattvaśīkṣāpadāni sarvaṃ bodhisattvaśīlaṃ samādāde saṃvaraśīlaṃ kuśaladharmasaṃgrāhakaṃ sattvārthakriyāśīlaṅ ca*. The per-

manteau sur l'épaule (*ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā*) et joignant les mains (*kṛtāñjali*), ils rendent hommage aux Buddha des dix régions en disant : « Moi, un tel, en présence des Buddha actuels des dix régions, je confesse les fautes et les péchés du corps, de la voix et de la pensée que j'ai commis durant d'innombrables Kalpa, dans mes existences présentes et passées. Je fais le vœu de les effacer et de ne plus les commettre ». Pendant la nuit, ils répètent trois fois cette formule. — (2) Ils commémorent les Buddha des dix régions et des trois temps, leurs actions (*carita*), leurs qualités (*guṇa*) ainsi que celles de leurs disciples. Ils les approuvent (*anumodante*) et les exhortent (*samādāpayanti*). — (3) **Ils supplient les Buddha actuels des dix régions de faire tourner la roue de la loi et invitent les Buddha à rester longtemps dans le monde, durant d'innombrables Kalpa, pour sauver tous les êtres. En accomplissant ce triple exercice, les Bodhisattva gagnent des mérites immenses et se rapprochent de l'état de Buddha. C'est pourquoi ils doivent inviter ces derniers.**

A briefer statement of the same ideas is found in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, chapter 3, stanzas 4–6:

sarvāsu dikṣu sambuddhān prārthayāmi kṛtāñjaliḥ |
 dharmapradīpaṃ kurvantu mohād duḥkhaprapātīnām ||
 nirvātukāmāṃś ca jinān yācayāmi kṛtāñjaliḥ |
 kalpān anantāms tiṣṭhantu mā bhūd andham idaṃ jagat ||
 evaṃ sarvaṃ idaṃ kṛtvā yan mayāsāditāṃ śubham |
 tena syāṃ sarvasattvānām sarvaduḥkhaḥpraśāntikṛt ||

Holding my hands together in reverence, I beseech the perfect Buddhas in every direction, “Set up the light of the Dharma for those falling into suffering in the darkness of delusion.”

Holding my hands together in reverence, I implore the Conquerors who wish to leave cyclic existence, “Remain for endless aeons. Do not let this world become blind!”

With the good acquired by doing all this as described, may I allay all the suffering of every living being. (transl. Crosby and Skilton 1995)

Although I have found no direct association of the taking of a *prañidhāna* with obeisance to the *buddhas* in the ten directions in the

tinence of this passage from the Śīlapaṭala of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* to the present discussion has been brought out by Tournier (2017: 93, n. 367): “Ce passage prescrit comment, en l’absence d’un coreligionnaire (*sahadhārmika*) qualifié, l’impétrant qui a préalablement aspiré à l’éveil (*kṛtaprañidhāna*) doit formellement adopter les *bodhisattvasīla*, en prenant à témoin les *buddha* et les *bodhisattva* peuplant l’espace.” The passage introducing the *bodhisattva* as *kṛtaprañidhāna* begins on p. 152 in Wogihara’s edition. On the *triskandha*, see also Python 1981 and Nattier 2003: 117–121.

Buddhist literature that I am able to access in original language,⁸⁸ it is nevertheless clear enough that we must interpret the Old Malay words *dañ hyañ daśadiśa* in the light of the passages quoted above. The grammatical construction is at first surprising, for one would have expected the pair of honorific particles to be followed by a name or a noun parallel to *ratnatraya* in the expression *dañ hyañ ratnatraya*, meaning “the venerable Triple Jewel,” that we twice find in the aforementioned Old Malay inscription of Talang Tuwo,⁸⁹ and to other explicit designations of Buddhist objects of veneration found in Old Javanese sources.⁹⁰ From all this evidence, it is clear that *dañ hyañ daśadiśa* is an elliptic expression designating none other than the *buddhas* of the ten directions. The Old Malay verb form *mañamvah* derives from the base *samvah* (Mod. Malay *sembah*), which means to make obeisance with folded hands, and is hence equivalent to the Chinese 合掌 in the *Dazhidu lun* and the Sanskrit *kṛtāñjali* in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

4. The Old Malay Verbal Base (u)maṅgap

In an article published a few years ago (Griffiths 2011b), I edited the fragmentary Śrīvijayan Old Malay inscription of Kambang Purun (in Palembang), of which an estampage is shown here in fig. 5. This text contains the phrase *jāñan· mu°ah kāmumangap· dya*, which I provisionally translated “You should not *umaṅgap* him any longer.” I pointed out in a note that the Bukit Seguntang inscription, another fragmentary text from Palembang (fig. 6), reads in l. 16: *jāñan· mu°ah ya °umaṅga(p·)*, which unmistakably demonstrates that we are dealing in both phrases with a verb *umaṅgap*, as already supposed by de Casparis (1956: 352), so that the sequence

⁸⁸ Vincent Tournier points me to Nattier’s (2003: 118) discussion of a passage from the *Ugraparipṛcchā*, preserved only in Chinese, where one finds an initial homage to the *buddhas* of the ten directions combined with a concluding wish that “by accumulating deep roots of goodness, may my own Buddha-world be thus,” which may be taken as equivalent to the expression of a *prañidhāna*.

⁸⁹ One of the two phrases has been cited above, in n. 57.

⁹⁰ Two Javanese inscriptions indexed by Damais (1970: 968) mention *dañ hyañ guru* and *dañ hyañ guru mahā*. In his dictionary, Zoetmulder (1982: 362) cites from the Buddhist work *Saṅ Hyañ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* the collocations 42.8 *dañ hyañ sarvasiddhi*, 62.1 *dañ hyañ vairocana*, 64.5: *dañ hyañ śrī śākya-muni*, 66.4: *dañ hyañ tathāgata*.

kāmuṃmaṅgaḥ in the Kambang Purun inscription must stand for *kāmu ṃmaṅgaḥ*. I further noted that the same verb seemed to be attested twice in the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription, that the translations proposed by de Casparis on the sole basis of his partly erroneous reading of the context of the Bukit Seguntang attestation did not allow for a persuasive interpretation of all four occurrences,⁹¹ and that I hoped to be able on the occasion of my publication of the Mañjuśrīgṛha text to be able to propose a translation suitable in all contexts. The time has now come for me to attempt just this.

The verb form at issue seems to be one of the key words of our text, because it is used right at the beginning of the poem in stanza I, and then used again in st. IV. The form *kumaṅgaḥ* readable without trouble in st. IX can be interpreted as *ku-maṅgaḥ*, from an otherwise unknown base *maṅgaḥ*, or as *ku-ṃmaṅgaḥ*. While the second interpretation would have the advantage of making it possible to assume that our inscription is using the same word as we have seen in the two from Palembang, it is very difficult to justify a hypothetical reading °*maṅgaḥ* in st. I, because it is unmetrical and the estampage seems to show twice *ma:* my reading *maṃmaṅgaḥ* and Boechari's *marmaṅgaḥ* are both metrically correct, justifiable in the light of the estampage, and derivable from a base *maṅgaḥ*. The base *ṃmaṅgaḥ*, on the other hand, that is indisputably used in the Palembang inscriptions, can only be explained as a fossilized derivation from a base *aṅgaḥ* with an affix (-)um- that is not otherwise productive in Malay (see Mahdi 2005: 196). I propose that our base *maṅgaḥ* is a variant of the same derivation, because verbal bases with fossilized *m-* instead of *um-* are attested throughout the history of Malay (ibid.). As for the choice between my reading *maṃmaṅgaḥ* and Boechari's *marmaṅgaḥ*, I should first note that an *anusvāra* seems clearly present on the first *akṣara*,

⁹¹ De Casparis (1956: 352) in his glossary under *ṃmaṅgaḥ* states the following: "I translated 'devour, swallow' (p. 4); a better translation might be 'to seize'; cf. *taṅgēp* in Javanese. The word must have existed in Old Javanese, as follows from *sāṅgaḥpan*, 'nine', i.e., one taken off (*viz.* from ten)." For his initial translation, he was probably thinking of Malay *mangaḥ*, i.e., /maṅaḥ/, which seems unlikely to be connected to the base under discussion, since /ŋ/ and /ŋg/ are distinctive in Malay and Javanese.

while the presence of a *repha* on the second is less evident. Furthermore, accepting the form *marmaṅgap* here implies accepting the possibility of usage in Java of the stative prefix *mar-* which is so far not attested outside the 7th-century corpus of Śrīvijayan inscriptions (Mahdi 2005: 183–184; Griffiths 2018)—on Java, in the late 8th century, we really would expect *var-*. The active form *maṃmaṅgap* is also not unproblematic, because one might expect the /mƏN-/ prefix before a base with initial /m/ to show up as *ma-*, to yield a form *mamaṅgap* (cf. Mahdi 2005: 187, table 6.3A). But *mamaṅgap* would be unmetrical and so one may explain the use of *anusvāra* as motivated, at least in part, by metrical considerations, and as expressing the sound [m] (Mahdi 2005: 188, table 6.4): *maṃ+maṅgap* = [məmmaṅgap]. From a syntactic point of view, in an apparent AGENT VERB PATIENT phrase, an active form (*maṃmaṅgap*) is arguably more suitable than a stative one (*marmaṅgap*), although stative forms with transitive syntactic behavior are not unknown in Old Malay.

Let us thus proceed on the assumption that we are dealing with four manifestations of slightly different but related derivations from what is ultimately the single base, *aṅgap*, and assume also, instead of my earlier translation “any longer” (like Mod. Malay *lagi*), that *muah* adds optative semantics (like Mod. Malay *semoga*):⁹²

- *jāñan· mu°aḥ kāmumangap· dya* (Kambang Purun, Palembang)
“May you not *umaṅgap* him!”
- *jāñan· mu°aḥ ya °umaṅga(p·)* (Bukit Seguntang, Palembang)
“May he not *umaṅgap* ...!”
- *phalāñku maṃmaṅgap· puṇya* (Mañjuśrīgṛha, st. I)
diṃ janmeni paratra lai
“My fruit *maṅgaps* the meritorious works in this life as well as in the next.”
- *prāsādeni kumaṅgap· ya* (Mañjuśrīgṛha, st. IV)
puṇyāṇḍa śrī nareśvara
“This temple is *maṅgaped* by me as the meritorious work of the illustrious lord of men.”

We are left now with the task of determining which meaning or meanings this verb had in the 7th and 8th centuries. For Mod. Malay *anggap*, Wilkinson records the following (1959: 31):

⁹² See also p. 19.

- I. Challenging (with a nod); signalling to another to join in or take one's place. Esp. of a dancer calling on another to relieve him in a *pas de deux*. Anggapkan: so to challenge; Běranggap-anggap: one after another in turns as challenged.
- II. (Batav.) To look carefully at.
- III. A bird-name; sp. unid.

Although Wilkinson knew the second meaning only in dialectal Malay from Batavia, it seems that this is the basic one from which the first is derived. Indeed, this is roughly the meaning of *anggap* in Bahasa Indonesia today, and Bob Blust's *Austronesian Comparative Dictionary* has the headword "PWMP *a(ŋ)gap think carefully about, consider."⁹³ Anyhow, none of these meanings seems suitable to all our contexts. The contexts of the Palembang inscriptions are too limited to be able to exclude some meaning like "to look at;" but in the Mañjuśrīgṛha text, we need a verb that can take *phala* "fruit" (st. I) as subject and *puṇya* "merit" (st. I) as well as *prāsāda* "temple" (st. IV) as object.

Since the inscription is laden with Sanskrit terms giving expression to crucial Buddhist concepts, I am tempted to think that the word *maṅgap* in our context represents some specific Sanskrit technical term. It seems that meanings such as (1) "to assemble, to prepare," which would correspond to the Skt. verb *sambhṛ* (see st. III *sambhṛta*), (2) "to transform, to ripen," corresponding to Skt. *pariṇam*, a term that expresses both the ripening of fruit and the notion of transfer of merit,⁹⁴ or (3) "to pile up" (corresponding to Skt. *cita*),⁹⁵ would all potentially be fitting in this inscription:

- (1) "My fruit **assembles** the meritorious works in this life as well as in the next."
"This temple **is assembled** by me as the meritorious work of the illustrious lord of men."
- (2) "My fruit **ripens** as the meritorious works in this life as well as in the next."
"This temple **is transferred** by me as the meritorious work of the illustrious lord of men."

⁹³ See <http://www.trussel2.com/acd/>, cognate set no. 11134. At present, attestations are cited in this set from only three languages (Aklanon, Iban and Jakartan Malay). But cognates could be added, i.a., from Sundanese.

⁹⁴ Har Dayal 1932: 188.

⁹⁵ Edgerton 1953: 229: "*cita* (orig. ppp. of Skt. *ci-*), orig. piled up, heaped up; so, thick, dense (of hair), stout, large (of fingers), full, stout (of the space between the shoulders), in cpds."

- (3) “My fruit **piles up** as the meritorious works in this life as well as in the next.”
“This temple **is piled up** by me as the meritorious work of the illustrious lord of men.”

If any one of these hypotheses is correct, it would seem that the base *maṅgap* is only a near-homonym of Mod. Malay *anggap* and possibly has no significant connection with *umaṅgap* in the Palembang inscriptions either. I am unable to make any persuasive identification with known Malay vocabulary, although I wonder whether an etymological connection might exist with the Mod. Malay words *tegap* / *tegak*. In his entry for the former, Wilkinson (1958: 1182) records the meanings I “Compact; sturdy; well-knit (of a man’s build)” and II “Erect; = *tegak*.”

5. The Sanskrit Vocabulary in the *praṇidhāna*

Having already pointed out some of the many ways in which our Old Malay inscription reflects the Buddhist culture of its author, I wish to point here briefly to some of the elements typically found in Buddhist discourse about the Bodhisattva path and the aspiration to awakening.

In st. III, the *praṇidhāna* (here designated by the synonymous word *praṇidhī*) is said to be *śraddhā-vega-samudgata*, words found in more than one important Buddhist text.⁹⁶ The idea expressed in st. III–IV that the temple of Mañjuśrī in question was *sambhṛta* as the *puṇya* of the king clearly alludes to the concept of *puṇya-sambhāra* “equipment of merit.”⁹⁷ Sanskrit texts which speak of *praṇidhānas* typically allude to this *puṇyasambhāra* as indispensable requisite of the *bodhisattva*, and the qualification *sarvasattvopajīvyā* is among the most typically used for a *bodhisattva*.⁹⁸ The epithet

⁹⁶ *Lalitavistara* 8.1–7: *bodhisattvasya* [...] *praṇidhānasamudgatasya sarvabuddhadharmasamudāgatabuddheḥ* [...] *aparimitapuṇyasaṃbhāralakṣaṇānūvyañjanasamalaṃkṛtakāyasya* ...; *Sikṣāsamuccaya* (140.10–12): *kiṃtu śraddhāvegaṃ bodhicittavegaṃ sarvoṣṭaragavegaṃ ca pramāṇīkṛtyāvicārataḥ pravartitavyaṃ avasāyaṃ buddhabodhisattvam ihaiva yatheṣṭasiddhiś ca bhavati* ||.

⁹⁷ Har Dayal 1932: 169–170.

⁹⁸ *Karuṇāpuṇḍarikasūtra* 187.12–13: *puṇyasaṃbhāro bodhisattvānaṃ sarvasattvopajīvyatāyai saṃvartate*; *Lalitavistara* 35.12–13: *puṇyasaṃbhāro dharmāloka-mukhaṃ sarvasattvopajīvyatāyai saṃvartate*, *Ratnāvalī* 5:97: *sarvadoṣair vinirmukto guṇaiḥ sarvair alaṃkṛtaḥ | sarvasattvopajīvyas ca bhava sarvajña eva ca* ||.

sarvasattvaikabāndhava is found in such contexts too, although it is not exclusive to *bodhisattvas*.⁹⁹

The idea that the *bodhisattva* serves as a wish-tree (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*),¹⁰⁰ which our author introduces right at the beginning of the *prañidhāna*, is very widespread.¹⁰¹ One passage written by a master as renowned as Śāntideva, whose work may well have been in vogue in the circles and places frequented by our author,¹⁰² deserves more elaborate comment, because it casts light on the lexicographical problem of Old Malay *muah*, which has been translated above as an optative marker. The following lines from *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 3:18–19 and 3:21 contains several Sanskrit optative forms:

dīpārthinām ahaṃ dīpaḥ śayyā śayyārthinām aham |
dāsārthinām ahaṃ dāso bhaveyaṃ sarvadehinām ||
 cintāmaṇiḥ bhadraghataḥ siddhavidyā mahausadhiḥ |
bhaveyaṃ kalpavṛkṣas ca kāmadhenuś ca dehinām ||
 evam ākāśaṇiṣṭhasya sattvadhātor anekadhā
bhaveyam upajīvyo 'haṃ yāvat sarve na nirvṛtāḥ ||

May I be a light for those in need of light. May I be a bed for those in need of rest. **May I be a servant for those in need of service, for all embodied beings.**

For embodied beings **may I be** the wish-fulfilling jewel, the pot of plenty, the spell that always works, the potent healing herb, **the magical tree that grants every wish**, and the milch-cow that supplies all wants.

So may I be sustenance of many kinds for the realm of beings throughout space, until all have attained release. (transl. Crosby and Skilton 1995)

⁹⁹ *Ratnāvalī* 1:1: *sarvadoṣavinirmuktaṃ guṇaiḥ sarvair alaṅkṛtam | praṇāmya sarvajñam ahaṃ sarvasattvaikabāndhavam* ||. Nearly equivalent *jagadekabāndhava* occurs in *Ratnaketuḥparivarta* 4:29.

¹⁰⁰ For representations of the wish-tree in Old Javanese literature, generally without any connection to Buddhism, see Aichele 1927 (published also in Dutch translation as Aichele 1928).

¹⁰¹ See, e.g., the expression *kalinavakalpadruma* “new wish-tree of the Kali (age)” in the Kelurak inscription, st. XVII: *da ~ bodhicittamūlah karuṇāskandho mahākṣamāśākhaḥ | abhivāñchitāśrayalavaḥ kalinavakalpadrumo jayati* || • *bodhicittamūlah*] Sarkar Long; (*dhicitta*)*mūlah* Bosch.

¹⁰² See Harrison (2007: 215): “One cannot deny the importance and usefulness of the works of Śāntideva as summary statements of Mahāyāna Buddhism in its fully developed 7th- or 8th-century form. His *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (or *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*) is especially well known, having exerted a strong influence on Tibetan formulations of the *bodhisattva* path, and has remained a favourite source of inspiration and instruction for followers of the Mahāyāna to this day.”

When our author writes *kalpavykṣa muah āku* in stanza I and lists several of the above-mentioned epithets in the next stanza, including *sarvasattvopajīvyā*, the hypothesis retained here, viz. that the particle *muah* expresses optative semantics, has as corollary that his choice of words may be a direct paraphrase of Śāntideva's *bhaveyam kalpavykṣas ... bhaveyam upajīvyo 'haṃ*. When, in stanzas VI and VIII, he further writes *mūah susārathi* and *muah parāyaṇa*, this would then seem to represent underlying Sanskrit phrases *bhavyam susārathiḥ* and *bhavyam parāyaṇam*, which are attested almost literally elsewhere in Sanskrit literature¹⁰³—and this is why the *prima facie* interpretation of stanza VIII as describing the “master” (*svāmi*), tentatively retained above, is so hard to accept.

By contrast with all these *topoi* of *bodhisattva*-related discourse, the image of the hollowness of the plantain used by our author is not limited to Buddhist literature. The erudite scholar to whom this volume is dedicated has herself written the definitive note on this *topos*, from which I will quote here only a part before bringing this paper to conclusion:

Le stipe du bananier, résultant de la concrétion de ses feuilles, donne de prime abord l'illusion d'un tronc. Cet exemple se trouve dans la séquence des cinq comparaisons appliquées aux cinq agrégats et étant, dans l'ordre, l'écume (*phena* ou *pheṇa*, pāli *pheṇa*), la bulle (*budbuda*), le mirage (*marīci*), le stipe du bananier (*kadalī-skandha*) et le prestige magique (*māyā*). [...] Le *kadalī-skandha* illustre l'insubstantialité des *saṃskāra* [...].¹⁰⁴

Conclusion: The Meaning of the Inscription

The preceding discussion has, I hope, succeeded in bringing out several aspects of the meaning of this text that have so far not

¹⁰³ *Mahāvastu* III.46.14–17: *na taṃ bhaveyam na dadeha dānaṃ aharahaṃ va pūraye tarpaye haṃ | parāyaṇam ahaṃ sa kalpavykṣo ... paṃṣaphalopapeto ||*; in the same text, we find in six different contexts the phrase *aho punar ahaṃ pi anāgatam adhvānaṃ bhaveyam tathāgato araho samyaksambuddho vidyācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavid amuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathiḥ śāstā devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ ca*, which presents a list of buddha-epithets that was certainly known in Indonesia (see Griffiths 2014: 183). For the specific term *susārathi*, see *Āryamañjuśrīnāmāṣṭaśataka* 14: *gambhīras cānavadyas ca kalyāṇamītrasaṃpadah | vaidyas tvam śalyahartā ca naradamyasusārathiḥ (naradamyā em., ed. naradamyah) ||*. See Edgerton 1953: 348, s.v. *puruṣadamyasārathi*.

¹⁰⁴ Scherrer-Schaub 1991: 222 n. 400. I leave it to the reader to consult this note with its numerous precious references to primary and secondary sources.

drawn scholarly attention. We are dealing with a devout Buddhist's declaration of his aspiration to Awakening, an aim towards which he apparently intends to dedicate the merit accrued by the construction of a temple (*prāsāda*) called Mañjuśrīgrha, conceived in the form of a vision on the occasion of a visit to the Vajrāsana, i.e., the place of the Buddha's awakening in India. His declaration, explicitly called *praṇidhāna* and replete with stereotypical expressions known for such texts from Buddhist Sanskrit literature, does not throw any light on the issue of the concrete identification of the Mañjuśrī temple near which the stela was presumably once erected: was it any of the buildings still known today, within or without the perimeter of Candi Sewu?

I have suggested that perhaps the text as we have it is incomplete, more of the surface of the stone having been intended to be engraved. If this was indeed the case, it might help to explain why certain aspects of the meaning of the text remain unclear. One of these is the role of the "lord of men" (*nareśvara*, *narendra*) or "master" (*svāmi*) who figures in a role of human object of dedication that seems untypical for a *praṇidhāna*. Should we imagine that we are dealing with a case of transfer of merit, in other words that the protagonist *nāyaka* is making his foundation in name of his king? Although not within the context of a *praṇidhāna*, a comparable case might be that of an 8th-century vase inscription in Sanskrit from southeastern Bangladesh, dated to the reign of a king Devātideva, where a chief minister (*mantrimukhya*) makes a donation in favor of a monastery in name of (*uddiśya*) the king.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ The passage in question has been provisionally deciphered as follows by Bhattacharya (1996: 243): *sarveṣāṃ asmākaṃ samakṣam eva sukraṇya kṛtvā paramabhaṭṭārakaśrīmaddevātidevapādān uddiśya haritakadharmasabhavihāre bhagavadbuddhadharmapurāṣara ... ṇatāryabhikṣusaṅghasya puṇyopabhogāya vihārasya ca jīrṇaśīrṇasphuṭitapṛatisaṃskaraṇāya niryātītān*. Bhattacharya does not furnish a translation, and his interpretation of the text as a whole, as transparent from his summary, is probably in need of substantial revision. See Furuu (2017: 47), who summarizes the meaning of the larger context of this passage as follows: "They, namely the members of the *adhikaraṇa*, were ordered by *mahāpradhāna-dauvārika* Saubhāgyakīrti (l. 5). It is said that in front of all of 'us', namely Saubhāgyakīrti and the *adhikaraṇa* members, *mahāpradhāna-mantrimukhya* Nayaparākramagomin purchased twenty-two *pāṭakas* of land consisting of eleven *pāṭaka* land of village Vedagoṅgajavī belonging to Mobhināda-*khaṇḍa* from people accompanied by Sañja, Oru, Ehiśūri and Ṭihū, and eleven *pāṭaka* land of village

Alas the Mañjuśrīgrha inscription itself contains nothing else, besides repeated forms of the problematic verb *maṅgap* whose meaning remains unsure, that might allow us to confirm such a hypothesis, any more than it contains any element allowing us to determine which king we would be talking about, although the dating to 792 CE would make the inscription fall in the reign of Panaraban alias Panuṅgalan.¹⁰⁶

Indeed, one is left wondering whether perhaps the terms *nareśvara*, *narendra* and *svāmi* do not, or at least not all, refer to a human king.¹⁰⁷ It seems imaginable that the term *svāmi* was actually intended in the meaning of *dharmasvāmin*, a common epithet of the Buddha,¹⁰⁸ in which case it becomes possible to imagine for the words *svāmikārya*, *svāmicitta* and *svāmībhakti* in stanza VII to be read as equivalents to the terms *buddhakārya*, *buddhacitta* and *buddhabhakti*, all of them attested, although only the first commonly, in Sanskrit sources. Since at least the term *buddhakārya* is evidently construed as mirror of the common expression *rājakārya*, a double entendre is quite likely to have been intended.¹⁰⁹ This might then also affect the manner in which the words *ājñā narendra* are to be interpreted, whether as equivalent to *rājasāsana* or to *buddhasāsana*.

Appendix: *anuṣṭubh* Verse

This appendix reproduces, with several slight modifications and expansions, as well as one omission, Anne MacDonald's English translation (MacDonald 2007: 52) of Appendix 4 in Roland

Pitisonḍa from *bhaṭṭa*-Mitra, Vesi, Anukūla, Daddiśūrika and others (ll. 5–6). Then in the name of king Devātideva, he donated it for the enjoyment of merit by the *bhikṣusaṃgha* and for repairs of worn, broken and opened part of the *vihāra* at Haritaka-Dharmasabha-vihāra (ll. 6–7)."

¹⁰⁶ Cf. n. 36 above. See also Sundberg 2009: 346–347.

¹⁰⁷ The king is, in the epigraphy of Java in the 9th through 10th centuries, quite consistently designated as *śrīmahārāja*. No other epigraphical attestations of *nareśvara* and *narendra* are recorded by Damais; but there are very rare attestations of synonyms *naranātha*, *nṛpati* and *naraṇpati* (Damais 1970: 170–171), while *nareśvara* is rather common in Old Javanese literary sources (starting from the c.-9th-century *kakavin Rāmāyaṇa*), so it is probably impossible to draw any firm conclusion from the non-use of *śrīmahārāja*.

¹⁰⁸ See, e.g., Lamotte 1944–1980, vol. II: 897, with n. 2.

¹⁰⁹ See Tournier 2017: 239–246 on *buddhakārya*, notably the passage from the *Kāśyapaṇḍarivarta* cited in his n. 417.

Steiner's original German article on the *anuṣṭubh* rules as taught by Indian authors on metrics, or *chandaḥśāstra* (Steiner 1996). As above, the symbol ∪ stands for a short, – for a long, and ≃ for a free (short or long) syllable.

One *anuṣṭubh* stanza is composed of four quarters (*pāda*), eight syllables each, and hence comprises a total of thirty-two syllables. The first and third *pādas* are referred to as odd *pādas*, the second and fourth as even *pādas*. For ease of reference, scholars customarily refer to the four quarters (*pāda*) of each stanza as a, b, c and d. The *anuṣṭubh* stanza is not only defined by the number of syllables per unit, but also by rules for the patterning of long and short syllables, a long syllable being constituted either by nature, in the case that its nucleus is formed by a long vowel (*ā, ī, ū, ṛ, e, o, ai, au*), or by position, if a short syllable in the nucleus is immediately followed by two or more consonants. The most common pattern is called *pathyā*, while the permitted variations are called *vipulā*. Four general rules apply for *pathyā* and *vipulās*:

1. The 1st and 8th syllables of each quarter are free, i.e., may be either short or long (≃).
2. Syllables 2 and 3 may in none of the quarters both be short; thus, the only three combinations allowed are ∪ –, – ∪ and – –.
3. Syllables 2–4 in *both* of the *even* quarters may not show the pattern – ∪ –.
4. Syllables 5–7 must be patterned ∪ – ∪ in both of the even quarters.

In the *normal form* (*pathyā*), syllables 5–7 must be patterned ∪ – – in both of the odd quarters. This gives the following overall pattern:

$$\begin{array}{cccc|cccc|cccc|} \simeq & \circ & \circ & \simeq & \cup & - & - & \simeq & | & \simeq & \circ & \circ & \cup & - & \cup & \simeq & | \\ \simeq & \circ & \circ & \simeq & \cup & - & - & \simeq & | & \simeq & \circ & \circ & \cup & - & \cup & \simeq & | \end{array}$$

According to general rule 2, syllables 2–3 (○ ○) in the odd quarters may not be short. In accordance with general rules 2 and 3, syllables 2–4 (○ ○ ○) of the even quarters may be patterned neither ∪ ∪ ≃ nor – ∪ –.

The rules for *permitted variations* (*vipulā*) concern the structure of syllables 2–7 in at least one *odd* quarter; the other odd quarter can take the form of a *pathyā* or any other *vipulā*. In accordance with general rule 4, *both* of the *even* quarters are always constructed in the normal form. The names of the *vipulās* follow the system

of *gaṇas*, or (syllable) “patterns” retrievable from the mnemotechnic line *ya-mā-tā-rā-ja-bhā-na-sa-la-gā* (which means that, for instance, the symbol **ma** denotes a *gaṇa* ---, **bha** - ∪ ∪, or **la** ∪ -). Some *vipulās* require a *caesura*, or word-break, between particular syllables. This obligatory *caesura* is indicated below by the sign /.

na-vipulā ≅ ○ ○ - ∪ ∪ ∪ ≅
bha-vipulā ≅ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ ≅ or, rarely, ≅ - - - / - ∪ ∪ ≅
ma-vipulā ≅ - ∪ - - / - - ≅
ra-vipulā ≅ ○ ○ - / - ∪ - ≅

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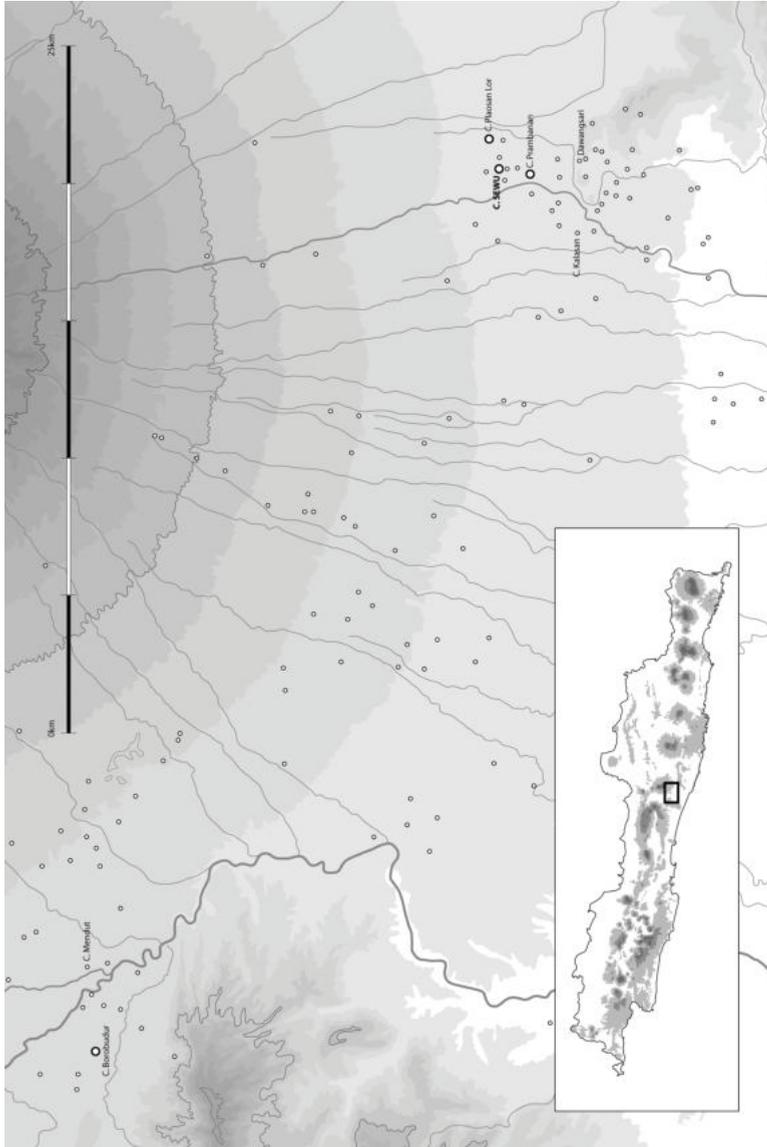


Fig. 1
Map (Véronique Degroot) of the archaeological sites in Central Java mentioned in this article.



Fig. 2
Photograph (Arlo Griffiths) of Khom Sreymom and Véronique Degroot
preparing the estampage of the Mañjuśrigha inscription.

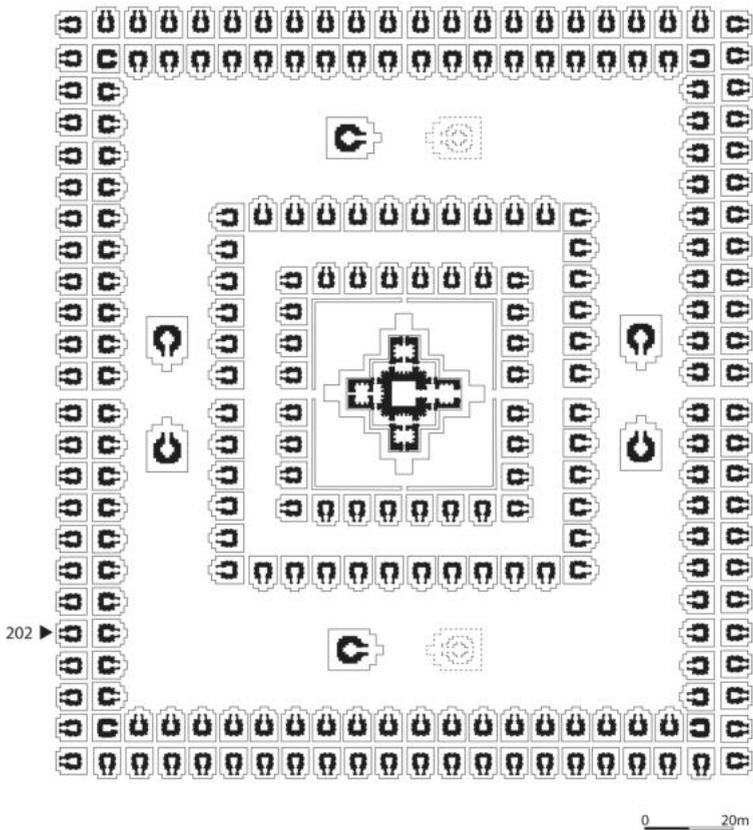
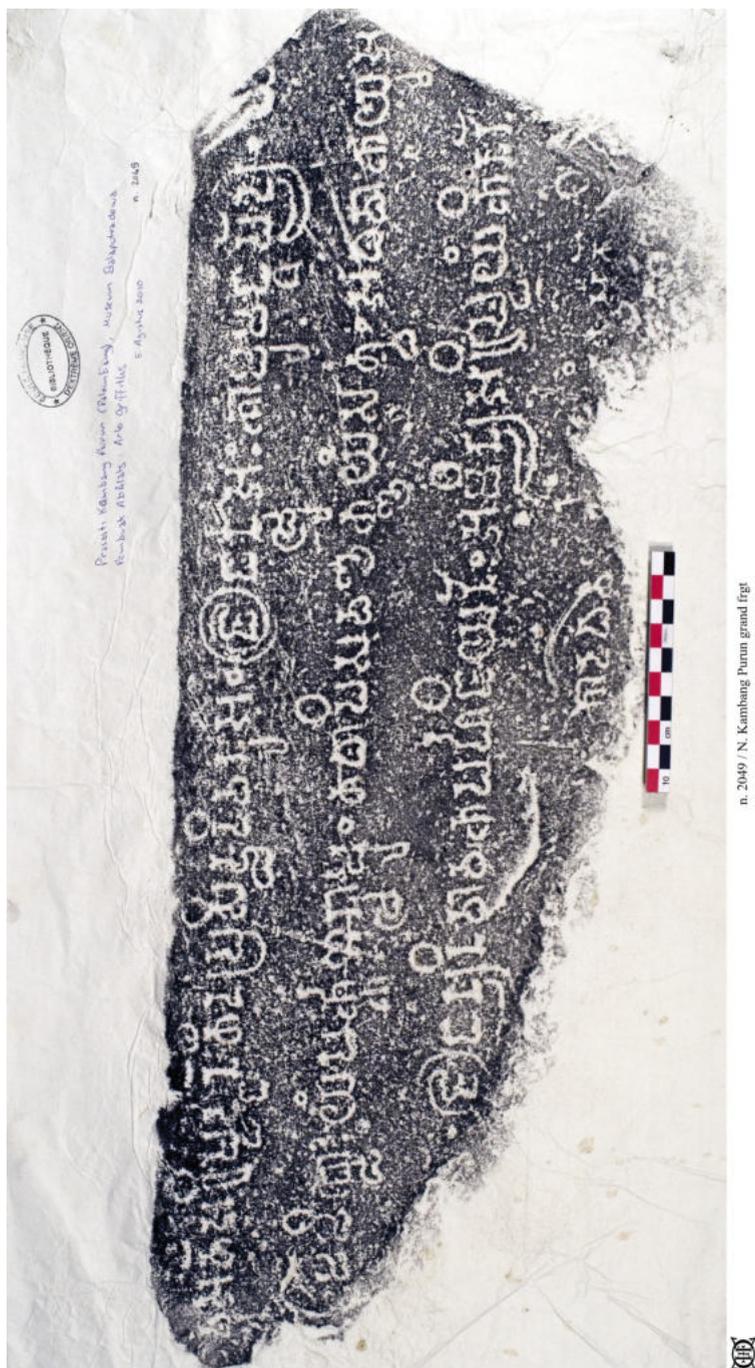


Fig. 3
Groundplan (Véronique Degroot) of the Candi Sewu complex showing shrine 202 by whose side the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription was discovered.



Fig. 4
Photograph of EFEO estampage n. 1865 for the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription.



n. 2049 / N. Kambang Purun grand frgt

Fig. 5
Photograph of EFEO estampage n. 2049 for the Kambang Purun inscription.

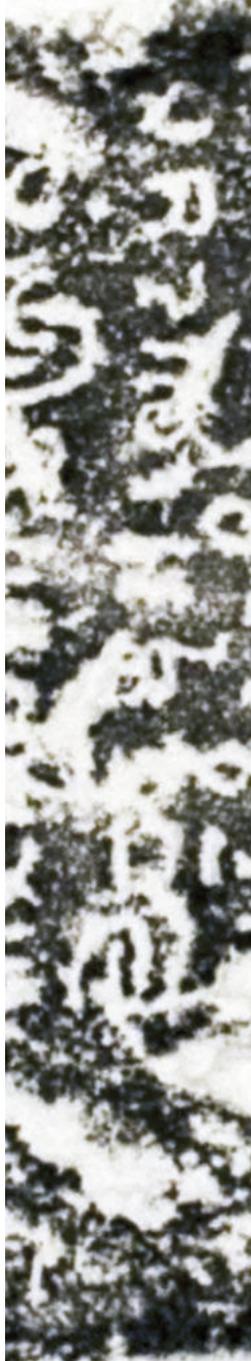


Fig. 6
Extract from a photograph of EFEO estampage n. 2052 for the Bukit Seguntang inscription.

*Remarks on Recently Identified Sanskrit Fragments
of the Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra**

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As is appropriate when submitting a paper in honour of an old friend, the small contribution I offer here involves a long look back. In the late 70s, when I was completing my doctoral dissertation on the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra* at Australia National University under the supervision of Professor Jan Willem de Jong, only one Sanskrit fragment of the text was known to exist. Held in what was then the India Office Library, with the shelf mark Hoernle MS, No. 143, S.A. 3, it had been published in 1916 by F. W. Thomas with additional notes supplied by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle in the latter's well-known *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan*, pp. 88–93. My dissertation, eventually published in 1990 under the title *The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present*, included (on pp. 272–302) a new edition of this single fragment in the light of a closer examination of the Tibetan and Chinese parallels, with an

* My thanks go to Klaus Wille for comments on an earlier draft of this paper and to Sam van Schaik for kindly providing me with high-resolution images of the fragments from the British Library. I also thank Seishi Karashima and Ursula Sims-Williams for their assistance.

English translation and various notes, presented, of course, with the hope that more fragments would come to light some day. And there things remained for some considerable time, during which I turned away from this text and busied myself with other projects.

In the last few years, however, the systematic study and publication of the Buddhist manuscripts in the British Library in the Hoernle, Stein and other collections by Seishi Karashima, Klaus Wille and others has resulted in the identification of additional pieces of the *Pratyutpannabuddhasammukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra* (hereafter PraS). At present I know of six new fragments, most of which have been published in the series *British Library Sanskrit Fragments* (BLSF),¹ as follows:

- ◇ Or.15008/47: 2 fragments, presented as a first transliteration by Klaus Wille pending a revised edition by me, in BLSF III.1, pp. 222–223.²
- ◇ Or.15009/257: 1 fragment, transliterated with parallel Chinese text by Jundo Nagashima, in BLSF II.1, pp. 263–264.
- ◇ Or.15009/258: 1 fragment, transliterated with parallel Chinese text by Jundo Nagashima, in BLSF II.1, pp. 264–265.³
- ◇ Or.15010/15: 1 fragment, transliterated with parallel Tibetan text and references to the Chinese by Seishi Karashima, in BLSF II.1, pp. 348–349.⁴
- ◇ Crosby 252/253: 1 fragment, transliterated in Wille 2006: 505–506 (No. 14).⁵

To these we should add, for the sake of completeness:

- ◇ Or.15011/16: 1 almost complete folio. Under a new number, this is Hoernle MS, No. 143, S.A. 3, first edited by Thomas in

¹ The BLSF volumes form part of the unnumbered series *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia*. Three have appeared so far, in 2006, 2009, and 2015.

² These fragments were identified by Klaus Wille in 2013.

³ It is not recorded who identified Or.15009/257 & 258.

⁴ This fragment was identified by Shin'ichirō Hori in 2003 (personal communication).

⁵ The fragment was not yet identified when published, but I subsequently recognized it as belonging to the PraS.

1916, and later re-edited by me. A new edition is expected in a future BLSF volume.⁶

In what follows I will present a partial reconstruction and re-edition of the first three items on this list, but before doing so some remarks on the relationship of all these fragments are in order. It had already been noticed by Nagashima that Or. 15009/257 and Or.15009/258 belonged to the same manuscript, and by Wille that Or.15008/47 belonged to it too. However, my examination of the images of the above fragments has led me to the conclusion that, with the single exception of Crosby 252/253, it is possible that they all come from the same manuscript, a paper manuscript written in Early South Turkestan Brāhmī with ten lines to the side and a single string-hole towards the left end of the folio. This string-hole is preserved only on Or.15011/16; the other fragments come from somewhere in the middle or towards the right end of their respective folios. This conclusion—that these fragments may all belong together—is not only based on the similarity of the script, the line spacing, the width of the folios (approx. 11.5 cm for the two with both top and bottom edges intact) and so on, but on the even more compelling grounds that four of the fragments (Or. 15008/47 frag. 1, Or.15008/47 frag. 2, Or.15009/257, and Or. 15009/258) have a similar, distinctively irregular shape, which includes part of the top edge. From this we can safely infer that they were discovered together, one on top of the other, as a single clump, and in this light it is no surprise that they turn out to come from consecutive folios. Or.15010/15 is a larger piece, and on it all ten lines are preserved, as is the case with Or.15011/16. These two fragments come from different parts of the *sūtra*, and their relationship to the four smaller pieces is more open to question.⁷ If we locate them according to the chapter divisions of the Tibetan text and the subsections into which my own edition and translation of that text are divided, Or.15010/15 carries text from §§ 9B–9E while

⁶ Images of all these fragments, with the exception of the Crosby Collection piece, can be found on the website of the International Dunhuang Project.

⁷ That is to say, there are slight differences in the hand, so we cannot at this stage rule out the possibility that Or.15010/15 and Or.15011/16 are to be assigned to another manuscript or to another scribe working on the same manuscript.

Or.15011/16 covers §§ 14E–14J. As noted, the only fragment that cannot belong to this manuscript is Crosby 252/253. Thanks to images kindly put at my disposal by Klaus Wille, it is clear that this is a six-line manuscript in a slightly different hand. It carries text from §§ 6 D–E.⁸ All these fragments appear to have come from the Khotan area, possibly from Khādaliq.⁹

Leaving aside Or.15010/15 and Or.15011/16, which have already received sufficient attention, and turning back to the four fragments in our clump, we see that the greater part of the text they carry deals with the well-known Ten Powers of a Tathāgata. Sanskrit versions of the *Daśabalasūtra* contain a number of variants, so we can hardly say there is a standard form, but one version runs as follows (the basic armature is in bold):

*iha tathāgataḥ sthānaṃ ca sthānato yathābhūtaṃ prajānāty
asthānaṃ cāsthānato yat tathāgataḥ sthānaṃ ca sthānato
yathābhūtaṃ prajānāty asthānaṃ cāsthānataḥ | idam prathamam
tathāgatabalaṃ yena balena samanvāgatas tathāgato
’rhaṃ samyaksaṃbuddha udāram ārṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ prati-
jānāti brāhmaṃ cakraṃ vartayati pariśadi samyak siṃhanādaṃ
nadati |*¹⁰

We see pieces of a formula resembling this in our fragments. If we put the scattered pieces together, we get something like this:

*punar aparam gṛhapate tathāgataḥ ... yathābhūtaṃ samyakpra-
jñayā prajānāti | yad api tathāgataḥ ... yathābhūtaṃ samyakpra-
jñayā prajānātīdaṃ gṛhapate prathamam [or whatever num-
ber] tathāgatasya tathāgatabalaṃ yad balam āgamyā tathāgato*

⁸ In the light of parallel versions, the following minor observations can be made on Wille’s transliteration: A4: at the beginning of the line what remains could be part of the *ṇa* of *vistareṇa*. A5: at the beginning what is read by Wille as [*p*]. is probably part of a *ya* (from *tathatvāya*). A6: Wille reads *e[va]*, but the *va* definitely has something above it, probably a large *anusvāra*. Hence I read *evaṃ*, which is supported by Tib. in § 6E: *tshig kyang ’di skad du ... zhes zer zhing*.

⁹ This despite the different current pressmarks and original assignment to different sections of the Hoernle Collection. Cf. BLSF II.1.25–72 (esp. 25–32). See also Hoernle 1916: 85.

¹⁰ See Lamotte 1970: 1506–1509; Chung 2009.

*ṛhan samyaksambuddha udāram āṛṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ pratijānāti
pariṣāsu samyak siṃhanādaṃ nadati brāhmaṃ cakraṃ pravarta-
yati apravartitaṃ śramaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā kenacit punar
loke saha dharmeṇa | idam api grhapate bodhisattvena prathamam
tathāgatabalam pari-*

Nearly all this wording is actually attested at some point or other in the fragments, but unfortunately the available evidence does not quite allow us to complete the composite picture. At the end, however, we expect a verb meaning “to seek,” “to acquire,” or “to perfect,” probably in the gerundive. A likely candidate is *paripūrayitavyam*.¹¹

As noted long ago (Harrison 1990: 156–157), the order of the powers differs in each of the three extant versions of the PraS (T 418, T 416, Tib.). Given that for the section of text preserved in Or.15011/16 (§§ 14E–14J) it is clear that the closest parallel is provided by the *Dafangdeng daji jing xianhu fen* 大方等大集經賢護分 (T 416), translated by *Jñānagupta et al. in 595 (see Harrison 1990: 300–302), we might expect that to be the case here too, as far as the order is concerned, and we might also expect the wording to be similar.¹² The treatment of what comes in T 416 as the second *bala*, *sarvatragāminī pratipad*, indicates a structure similar, but not identical, to that which we have reconstructed from the Sanskrit (T 416, XIII, 893a7–14):¹³

復次賢護。是中如來一切至處道力者。如來於一切處道
差別。皆以正智如實知故。賢護。如是一切至處道事。
如來能以正智如實知者。此則如來至處道力也。如來得
此力已知真實處。於大眾中作師子吼。轉大梵輪昔所未
轉。若諸世間沙門婆羅門。若天若梵若魔若人。終無有

¹¹ Cf. *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* 66.8–9: *bodhisattvena mahāsattvena daśa balāni paripūrayitavyāni*. Cf. also *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* IV.138.22–25. I owe these references to Klaus Wille.

¹² In fact, we can be sure the order is the same only for *balas* 2, 3, 8, 9, 10 and possibly 5, since all identifying wording is lost for 1, 4, 6 and 7. However, if more than 50% is the same, the chances are good that the sequence in both versions was identical.

¹³ Text downloaded from the SAT Daizōkyō Text Database, with grateful acknowledgement.

能如是轉者。賢護。是爲如來第二智力。菩薩摩訶薩應當修學具足成滿。

Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, in this regard, as for the Tathāgata's power of the way which goes to all places, it is because he knows fully with correct insight and in accordance with reality what is distinctive about the way that goes to all places. Bhadrapāla, that in this way the Tathāgata knows with correct insight and in accordance with reality what pertains to the way that goes to all places, this then is the Tathāgata's power of the way that goes to all places. Having obtained this power, the Tathāgata knows the place of truth, he roars the lion's roar in the great assembly, he turns the great Brahmic wheel which has not been turned for a very long time, which none of the *śramaṇas* or the *brāhmaṇas* of this world, or the gods, or the Brahmās, or the Māras, or any human beings are ever able to turn in the same way. Bhadrapāla, this is the Tathāgata's second power consisting in insight, which bodhisattvas and mahāsattvas should cultivate, fulfil and perfect.

The Chinese here adds detail to the final formula, inter alia increasing the list of beings who cannot turn the wheel as the Buddha does (若諸世間沙門婆羅門。若天若梵若魔若人。), and suggesting three verbs at the end rather than one (修學, 具足, 成滿), but the same basic structure is evident, with several iterations of the power in question and what is obviously a rendition of the phrase *yathābhūtaṃ samyakpraññayā praññānāti*, thus amplifying the simpler Sanskrit formula in more ways than one.

The *daśabala* section in the PraS is preceded on Or.15008/47, fragment 2 verso (Side B) by an enumeration of the 18 qualities exclusive to a Buddha (*āveṇikabuddhadharma*) (§ 22A in the Tibetan version), while on the recto of that same fragment we find a few vestiges of the series of verses concluding the previous chapter (§ 19D, vv. 1–10 in the Tibetan version). Only parts of a few *pādas* survive, just enough to establish that the metre may be Triṣṭubh-Jagatī (as in the verses on Or.15011/16), although it seems that not all the wording fits that metre. It is possible in some places to relate the surviving text to the Chinese and the Tibetan translations, and by this means to adjust Wille's preliminary transliteration, but some lines continue to resist any attempt to work them out. If from the same manuscript as Or.15011/16, the verses would have been numbered, but we appear not to have the ends of any verses and hence find no verse numbers on our fragment.

In the following pages I present the Sanskrit fragments with the corresponding Chinese text from T 416. The approach to and conventions used for recording the Sanskrit follow that of the series Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. Words in the Chinese possibly matching what is left of the Sanskrit are in bold face. For the relevant wording of the Tibetan please see Harrison 1978: 166ff.

Or.15008/47, frag 2; A = recto

T 416, XIII, 892b16–894b25

1	(i)[me] bhaddapāla + .. ¹ .pr(a)[t](ilabhante?)	賢護。是爲彼善男子善女人 所獲 八法也。 爾時世尊爲重明此義。以說偈曰 智人不起有相想 亦當除 慢 及我心 於深 忍 中無取著 彼能速宣此三昧 [1] 空中本來滅諍根 涅槃無相大寂定
2	(ta)[th]aivādimāna(m)* janitva ksānt[ī] .. ² <v. 1>	於佛無 嫌 不謗法 彼能速宣此三昧 [2] 智者不興嫉妬意 念佛知恩及法僧
3	(a)viru[d]dha śāstunā [sa] [tādṛ]śa e (ta samādhi?) ³ <v. 2>	所生降伏無遷移 如是寂靜持三昧 [3] 無有 嫉妬 亦無 疑 思惟深法真實信
4	[amatsa]ri vigata[t](a)[m](a)- a[kau](kṛtya) ⁴ <v. 4>	精進不懈離諸欲 彼能如是得三昧 [4] 常行 比丘 乞食法 捨諸 別請 況求財
5	.. ⁵ .. [re]ya bhikṣur [nni]- (mant)[r](a)ṇam .. ⁶ <v. 5>	斷除垢染證真如 彼能如是得三昧 [5] 誰能有此三摩提 我應聽受廣流布
6	.. tva dhā[r](e)ya [pa] ..m ca vā[c]. ⁷ <v. 6>	於教師所起佛想 彼能如是得三昧 [6] 若人修行此三昧 當具功德超世間
7 [aṣṭ](au dha)rmām parigr[hṇi] ⁸ <v. 7>	彼應速受 八種法 稱諸佛心淨無垢 [7] 持戒清淨無有邊 三昧菩提及勝見
8 [guṇ](a) sa ... [yo] .. ⁹ <v. 8 or 9?>	智慧清淨不受有 住以最妙 功德 聚 [8] 得彼多聞未曾忘 布施離垢入無爲 勇猛精進得菩提 其爲智人 功德 藏 [9] 若諸智者善行此 彼入無上深妙禪 [10]
9	.. .[ī] .[o]	

1. While it is tempting to read *aṣṭau dharmāḥ* here, it does not fit what we can see of the relevant *akṣaras*. The subscript *pra* is also set very low, with no sign of an *uḥ* above it, but *npra* or *ṭpra* remain possibilities. In this light the reconstruction is not very sure: perhaps *dharmā yān pratilabhante?*

2. We can see the curling top of an *i* above the missing letter. Cf. Tib. v. 1c: *bzod pa rdul bral 'dus ma byas bskyed nas*. The line may end with *vimalān asaṃskṛtām*.

3. Cf. Tib. v. 2c–d: *mi bskyod chos can ston pa dang yang 'thun | de 'dra des ni ting 'dzin 'di lung mnos*.

4. Cf. Tib. v. 4a: *'jungs pa med cing mun bral mi rtsub la*. The correspondence with Tib. and T 416 is not exact, but T 418 (916c20) provides excellent support for this reading and reconstruction: 心不懷**嫉**遠**窺**冥 不起**狐疑**常有信。

5. There is a piece here with writing on it which has folded over from the other side.

6. *va* or *ca*? Cf. Tib. v. 5a–b: **dge slong rtag tu bsod snyoms spyad bya ste | mgron du bos pa** 'ang *spang na sogs ci smos*. We may have a verb in the optative at the beginning of the line, e.g., *dhāreya* or *careya*.

7. Here we expect a sequence of verbal actions corresponding to v. 6, with *tva* suggesting a gerund. What precedes *tva* is obscured by folding at the edge. The final sequence is perhaps *pa(ra)m ca vā[c](am)* or *pa(ra)m ca vā[c](eya)*, cf. Crosby 252/253, line A6: *evaṃ ca vācam bhāṣīya*. Cf. Tib. v. 6b: *bcangs sam gžhan dag la yang bstan byas na*.

8. Cf. Tib. v. 7d: *nmam par dag pa'i chos brgyad myur du 'dzin*.

9. I can do nothing with this line, which may correspond to Tib. v. 8a or 9a *m khas pa gang la yon tan 'di snang ba*.

B = verso

		爾時世尊。復告賢護菩薩摩訶薩言。賢護。彼諸菩薩摩訶薩。復當成就十八不共法。何等名為不共法也。所謂如來初成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。乃至般涅槃。於其中間 (1)
2	如來所有三業智慧為首。一切身業隨智慧行。 (2)
3	(apra)ti h(a)t(am) jñānada- [rś](a)[n](am)	一切口業隨智慧行。 (3) 一切意業隨智慧行。 (4)
4	(nāsti muṣitam)ṛ'ti(tā nāst)i [nān](ātvasamjñā)	又諸如來知見過去無有障礙。 (5)
5	nā[st]i samā[dh]e[r] (hā)[ni]	知見未來無有障礙。 (6) 知見現在無有障礙。 (7) 又諸如來所為無有錯誤。 (8)
6	.. .[i ² la]bha(nte)	言無漏失 (9) 意無忘念 (10) 無別異想。 (11) 常在三昧 (12) 無不知已捨。 (13)
	[puna](r apa)raṃ bh(a)- (ddapāla)	又諸如來意欲無減 (14) 精進無減 (15) 禪定無減 (16) 智慧無減 (17) 解脫無減 (18) 解脫知見無減。賢護。是為如來十八不共法。彼菩薩摩訶薩當應修習具足成滿。
7 ³ [vante kata ⁴ me] (da)śa : [y](ad uta) ⁵	復次賢護。 若菩薩摩訶薩。成就具足甚深難見攝受正法。即欲宣說是三昧者。應當更受十種勝法。何等為十。所謂如來十力。云何十力。賢護。是中如來是處非處力者。如來於諸處非處事。能以正智如實知故。賢護。如是處非處事。如來能以正智如實知者。此則如來處非處力。如來得此力已知真實處。於大眾中作師子吼。轉大梵輪昔所未轉。若有沙門婆羅門若天若梵若魔若人。一切世間終無有能如是轉者。賢護。是為如來第一智力。菩薩摩訶薩應當修學具足成滿。
	BALA 1	
8	(saṃmyakpra)jñā)yā pra- (j)[ānā](t)i ya[d] a[p]i	
9	(tathāgatasya) p[r]athamam ta[thāgatabalaṃ] ya ..	
10	(śramaṇena vā) brahmaṇe- [na] ⁶ (vā k)[e](na)[c](it)	

1. Wille reads ..., but the *ṛ* can be made out beneath the indistinct *akṣara*.

2. Wille reads *.ī* here, but when compared with *ti* on line 4, the reading *i* is more likely. The *akṣara* could be *ti* or *ni*. One might expect *pratīlabhante*, but when the piece at the edge is folded back from the recto, it becomes clear that it is not a *pra*.

3. The *akṣaras* are too indistinct to permit the verb here to be identified. The small piece at the left edge may be from somewhere else.

4. Wille reads the *ta* as *bh.*, a reading suggested by the fact that part of the *ka* almost touches the *ta*.

5. *yad idam* also possible here?

6. *Sic.* Emend to *brāhmaṇe[na]*.

Or.15008/47, fragment 1; B = recto

BALA 2

- 1 (sarvatragāminīm pra)[t]i-
padām¹ ... [r]. + +
2 (gr)hapate tathā[ga]tasya
dviṭ[ī] (yaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ)
3 (pravartayati) [a]²pra[vartti]-
[taṃ śramaṇe]na [vā]
br(āhmaṇena vā)

復次賢護。是中如來一切至處道力者。
如來於一切處道差別。皆以正智如實知故。
賢護。如是一切至處道事。如來能以正智
如實知者。此則如來至處道力也。如來得
此力已知真實處。於大眾中作師子吼。轉
大梵輪昔所未轉。若諸世間沙門婆羅門。
若天若梵若魔若人。終無有能如是轉者。
賢護。是為如來第二智力。菩薩摩訶薩應
當修學具足成滿。

1. The *pa* looks like *pu*, but this is probably adventitious imprinting. Curiously the very clear *dām* is followed by a space, with the next *akṣara* (possibly a *bhā?*) appearing to have a long subscript *r* beneath it from the following *akṣara*, which is obscured by a folded over edge. One would expect here *yathābhūtam*, etc.

2. There is heavy imprinting here, but beneath it the initial *a* is clear.

BALA 3

- 4 (grhapa)[te ta]thā[ga]tō
[n]ā[nādh]ātukam (lokam
anekadhātukam)
5 (anekadhāt)u[k](am)
[ya]thā[bhūtam
saṃm](ya)[kpr](a)jñā[yā]
(pra)jñāti)
6 (pratijānā)ti [pa]r[i]śāsu
saṃ[mya]k
siṃ[h](anādam) (nadati)
7 ... [s¹ t]ṛ[t]īyaṃ tathā-
(gatabalaṃ)

復次賢護。是中如來世間種種界力者。如來
於世間種種諸界無量差別。能以正智如
實知故。賢護。如是世間種種界事。如來
皆以正智如實知者。此則如來世間界力也。
如來得此力已知真實處。於大眾中作
師子吼。轉大梵輪昔所未轉。若諸世間
沙門婆羅門。若天若梵若魔若人。終無有能
如斯轉者。賢護。是為如來第三智力。
菩薩摩訶薩應當修學具足成滿。

1. Here we would expect *bodhisatvena*, but it is possible that the text read *bodhi-satvais tṛtīyaṃ* etc. instead.

BALA 4

- 8 [yad ap]i gr(hapate)¹
9 .. + ... [i]²

復次賢護。是中如來心行力者。如來於諸
眾生種種心行無量差別。皆以正智如實知
故。賢護。如是眾生種種心行無量差別。
如來能以正智如實知者。此則如來知心行
力也。如來得此力已知真實處。於大眾中
作師子吼。轉大梵輪昔所未轉。若諸世間
沙門婆羅門。若天若梵若魔若人。終無有

能如是轉者。賢護。是爲如來第四智力。
菩薩摩訶薩應當修學具足成滿。

1. After *gr* a piece folded over from the verso obscures the *aḥṣaras*.
2. There is too little left on this line to hazard any reconstructions. Note that *bala* 4 probably runs through the missing line 10 and over onto the verso.

A = verso

BALA 5

2 +++ .. +++ +++ ++
3 +++ +++ ++
4 +++ re¹ .[ā]. [sa] +++
5 [5]²

復次賢護。如來知衆生諸根差別力者。如來於衆生諸根種種差別。皆以正智如實知故。賢護。如是衆生諸根種種差別。如來皆以正智如實知者。是則如來諸根差別力也。如來得此力已知真實處。於大衆中作師子吼。轉大梵輪昔所未轉。若諸世間沙門婆羅門。若天若梵若魔若人。終無有能如是轉者。賢護。是爲如來第五智力。菩薩摩訶薩應當修學具足成滿。

1. The *re* is clear, and what Wille reads as [*v*]. looks more like *sa*. Perhaps reconstruct *pareṣam satvānām indriyaḥaparātām?*
2. Wille's tentative identification of this as the number 5 is certainly correct. Cf. Frenzt 1987: 23–24.

BALA 6

punar a(param gr̥hapate)¹
6 [v/c]. [pra](t)[ijā](n)ā(t)[ī]
(ya)[d] (a)p[ī] (g)ṛ(hapate)
7 (saṃmyakpra)[j](ñayā) [pra]jā]-
(nāi i)[dam] ..
8 (siṃhanā)[d](aṃ na)dati
(b)[r](āhmaṃ) [c](ak)[r](aṃ
pravartayati?)²
9 .. [gr̥hapate bodhisatv](ena) ..

復次賢護。是中如來禪定力者。如來於一切禪定解脫三昧。生起煩惱及以滅除。斯以正智如實知故。賢護。如是一切禪定解脫三摩跋提生起煩惱乃至清淨。如來皆以正智如實知者。是則如來禪定力也。如來得已知真實處。於大衆中作師子吼轉大梵輪先所未轉。若彼世間沙門婆羅門。若天若梵若魔若人。終無有能如是轉者。賢護。是爲如來第六智力。菩薩摩訶薩應當修學具足成滿。

1. Faint traces of the *r* under the expected *gr* can be seen.
2. An *i* at the end of the line, two *aḥṣaras* after *cakram*, does not fit this wording. Here *varteti* would not fit either.

BALA 7

10¹ .. [t] .. pa .. ++

Or.15009/257 recto

1 (ya)thābhūtaṃ saṃmyakpra-
(j)ñ(ayā) [pr](ajānāti)
2 (pari)śāsu samyak
sin[h]anādaṃ nada(ti
b)r(āhmaṃ cakram)

復次賢護。如來業力者。如來於彼一切諸業種種差別。及彼未來和合得報亦無量差別。如來斯以正智如實知故。賢護。如是諸業種種差別。未來得果亦復差別。如來皆以正智如實知者。斯則如來知業力也。如來得已知真實處。於大衆中作師子吼。轉大梵輪先所未轉。若彼世間若沙門婆羅門。若天若梵若魔若人。終無有能如斯轉者。賢護。是爲如來第七業力。菩薩摩訶薩應當修學具足成滿。

3 (saha dha)rm[e]ṇ(a)² ida[m
a]pi gr[ha]pa[t]e

1. The tangled piece at the beginning of this line could be from another folio. There is also obvious water damage.

2. There is an unusual mark here after *ṇa*, which could be imprinting or some kind of punctuation.

BALA 8

4 (viśuddhenātīkrā)[nt](a)-
mānu[ṣ]yake[na sa]t[v]āṃ
[paśy]ati [c](avamānān)¹

5 (kāya)duṣcaritena
sama[n]vā[ga]tā
vā(ṇmanoduṣcaritena
samanvāga)²

6 n³ tā kāya[s]ya [bh]eḍāt
pa(raṃ maraṇād)

7 .. dhi ..⁴ [sa]m[an]vāga[t]ā
manas[s]u[c](aritena)

8 .. ā[t]i ..⁵ yaṃ deveṣūpapadya-
(t)[i] + ..

9 + .. .[e] .. + .. [thā] .. .o

Or.15009/257 verso

2 + .. + .. + .. + .. ra ..⁶ + + + + +

3 (pa)riṣā(s)u samyak
siṃhanā[d]aṃ (nadati)

4 (gr)[h](a)pa[t]e
[b]odhisa[tv]eṇāṣṭamaṃ
tath[ā]ga[t](abalaṃ)

1. There is no sign of a y subscript under the *c*.

2. Or in this version the three modes are given separately, viz. *vāgduṣcaritena samanvāgatā manoduṣcaritena samanvāgatā*, as suggested by T 416.

3. This *akṣara* and the ones below it (underlined) simply do not fit the wording here, and are misaligned in relation to the following *akṣaras*. I conclude that they belong to another folio, part of which has adhered to the surface of this one.

4. Consistent with *bodhisatva*.

5. Consistent, e.g., with *jānāti*.

6. What remains of the surrounding *akṣaras* is consistent with *paraṃ maraṇād*.

BALA 9

5 tīro (>)pi jātīḥ cata[sr]o
>(>)pi j)ā(t)[i](h)
6 (jātiśatān)[i] a)nekā(ny a)[p]i
jāti[sa]hasr[ā]ṇi a(nekāny api)
7 (eva?)ā[t]ya e[v](ā)hāra
[e]vāyuspramā(ṇa)
8 (pūrvenivāsa)m

復次賢護。如來天眼力者。如來常以清淨
天眼過於人眼。見彼未來諸衆生輩死此生
彼。其所受身或美或醜或善或惡。所得諸
色或好或惡或妙或麤。或生善道或生惡趣。
又見衆生所作諸業或善或惡。有諸衆生。
具身惡業具口惡業具意惡業。訶罵聖
人誹謗正法壞和合僧。具足如是諸惡業
故。身壞命終生於惡道。又諸衆生。具身
善業具口善業具意善業。恭敬聖人尊重正
法供養衆僧。具行如是諸善業故。命終得
生人天善趣。如是等事皆如實知。賢護。
如來以淨天眼見諸衆生死此生彼。乃至命
終生於天上。是則如來生死智力。得是力
已知真實處。於大衆中作師子吼。轉大梵
輪昔所未轉。若彼世間若沙門婆羅門。若
天若梵若魔若人。終無有能若斯轉者。賢護。
是爲如來第八智力。菩薩摩訶薩應當
修學具足成滿

- a[n]u[sm]ara[t]i [ya]d api
gṛhapa(t)e
9 ca[tvā]ri[m]śad a[p]i
[pa](ñ)[c](ā)[śa]d api
jā (tīśatam api)
10 (saṃvartaka)[pā] anekāpi
vi(vartakalpā a)[n]e[k]ā(pi
saṃvartavivartakalpā)

Or.15009/258 recto¹

- 1 (cavi)tvā amatropapadyi²
(tasmād api ca) [v] (it)v(ā) ..
2 (tathāga)tabalaṃ yad [b]alam
āga[m]ya] (ta)thāgata ar(han
saṃmyaksambuddha)
3 (śramaṇena vā bra)hmaṇā vā
kenaci(t*) punar lloke
sa(ha dharmeṇa)

1. The reading of this side is greatly complicated by the imprints left on it by the facing folio.

2. Emend to *amutropapadyi*.

BALA 10

- 4 cetovim[u]kṭim
prajñāvimu[kt]iṃ dṛṣṭai¹ ..
5 (yad a)pi gṛha(pa)te
tathā(ga)[ta] [āśra]vā(nāṃ
kṣayād)
6 (kṛtam) karaṇī(yaṃ)
[nāparam ithyatvā] ..²
7 (si)mhanā(da)m [nada]ti
brāhmaṇ cakram
(pravartayaty)
8 (bodhisatv)e(na) [d]aśamaṃ
tathāgatabalaṃ
pari(pūrayitavyaṃ?)
9 +++ .. ++ .i .. + p. g.³ .o
+ .. +++

作。如是善惡如是憂喜。如是苦樂乃至若干壽命等。亦如實知。又於某處捨彼身已復生某處。如是身相如是所說如是所經。乃至壽命諸過去事。皆悉知故。賢護。如來能以種種無量諸宿命智。知彼衆生宿命所經。始自一生及無量生。乃至壽命諸過去事如實知者。是則如來宿命智力也。得是力已處大衆中作師子吼。轉大梵輪昔所未轉若彼世間沙門婆羅門。若天若梵若魔若人。終無有能若斯轉者。賢護。是爲如來第九智力。菩薩摩訶薩應當修學具足成滿。

復次賢護。如來漏盡力者。如來能盡一切諸有。無復諸漏。心慧解脫自覺法已。是故唱言。我生已盡梵行已立。所作已辦不受後有。賢護。如來如是能盡諸漏。心慧明脫自證知故。故言我生已盡乃至不受後有。如實知者。是則如來漏盡智力也。如來得已處大衆中作師子吼。轉大梵輪昔所未轉。若彼世間沙門婆羅門。若天若梵若魔若人。終無有能若斯轉者。賢護。是爲如來第十智力。菩薩摩訶薩當修學具足成滿。賢護。若諸菩薩摩訶薩。讀誦受持思惟修習是三昧者。則能攝受如來十力也。爾時世尊爲重明此義。以偈頌曰
十八不共等覺法 十力明智諸佛同
菩薩修習此妙禪 自然成就斯二種

1. Nagashima reads *dṛṣṭai*, quite rightly, and the tip of the following *akṣara* suggests a *ca*; it is certainly not an *e*. *dṛṣṭa eva dharme* is expected here, but we have something different.

2. The expected wording in Sanskrit is *nāparam asmād bhāvaṃ*, but the faint traces remaining of the relevant *akṣaras*—some of which can be found partially imprinted on Or.15009/257 verso—put this out of the question. My reading is very tentative, given the danger of misreading imprinting from the facing folio, and given too that it yields an otherwise unattested form. *ithatvam* would be in line with Edgerton's entry on this term, see BHSD, *s.v.*, but, puzzling as it is, the *y* subscript is fairly clear. Cf. Pāli *nāparaṃ ithattāyā* (see, e.g., Cone 2015: 371) and

the formula as preserved in the *Mahāvastu* III.447.7–8: *kṣīṇā me jātir uṣitam brahmacaryam kṛtam karaṇīyam noparim itthatvam iti prajānāti*. In the *Mahāvastu* manuscript Sa 423a4–5 this reads: *kṣīṇā me jāti uṣitam brahmacaryam kṛtam karaṇīyam nāparam itthatvam iti prajānāti*, which is slightly closer to our text; see Yuyama 2001, vol. I: 212 and, for a useful note on *itthatvam*, Tournier 2017: 432. I thank Vincent Tournier for bringing the reading of Sa to my attention.

3. Or *ś*? The preceding *p*. may be *pu* or *pr*.

Or.15009/258 verso

大集經賢護分隨喜功德品第十五
爾時世尊。復告賢護菩薩言。賢護。若菩薩摩訶薩具足成就四隨喜故。即當得斯現前三昧。速疾成滿阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。何等名為四種隨喜也。所謂彼菩薩摩訶薩應作如是念。如彼過去一切諸如來應供等正覺各於往昔行菩薩時。皆因隨喜得是三昧。因三昧故具足多聞。由多聞故速疾成就阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。如我今日亦應如是。依因隨喜得是三昧。因三昧故具足多聞。由多聞故速得成就無上菩提。賢護。是為菩薩摩訶薩第一隨喜功德聚也。賢護。彼菩薩摩訶薩。復應如是念。如彼當來一切諸如來應供等正覺行菩薩時。皆因隨喜得是三昧。因此三昧故具足多聞。由多聞故速疾成就阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。如我今日亦應如是。當因隨喜得是三昧。歸憑三昧求滿多聞。由多聞故速疾成彼無上菩提。賢護。是為菩薩摩訶薩第二隨喜功德聚也。賢護。是菩薩摩訶薩。復應如是念。而今現在無量無邊阿僧祇諸世界中。一切諸如來應供等正覺。各於往昔行菩薩時。亦因隨喜得是三昧。因是三昧具足多聞。由多聞故現皆得成無上菩提。然我今日亦應隨喜。乃至為欲速成無上菩提故。賢護。是為菩薩第三隨喜功德聚也。復次賢護。彼菩薩摩訶薩。復應如是念。我今已得仰學。三世一切諸如來本於過去行菩薩時。皆因隨喜得是三昧。皆因三昧具足多聞。皆由多聞而得成佛。今我以此隨喜功德。願與一切衆生共之。同生隨喜同獲三昧。同具多聞同悉成就阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。賢護。是為菩薩摩訶薩第四隨喜功德聚也。復次賢護。而彼菩薩既得成就。如是隨喜如是三昧。如是多聞如是速疾成就菩提。以是功德悉與衆生。共同迴向阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。如是功德難可稱量。我今為汝略開少分。汝宜諦聽善思念之。

2 ++ .. ++ .. + .. ++++++
3 .. + ya ..¹ [a]nāga[t]e
<’>[ddhvā]ni .i ++
4 pi (i)[ma](ṃ)
samādhim anu .. ++
5 (punar apa)raṃ
bha[d]dapā[l](a bodhi)[sa]-
tvenai[s]a .. ++
6 ++ yathā t[ai]s ta[th]āgatair
bodhisatv. ..
7 ++ .i t. pi [i]maṃ
samādhi +
8 (puna)[r ap]araṃ
bhadda[p](āla)
bodhisatvenai(vam?)
9 + [y]aṃ saṃva(rtta)tu
[b]āhu(ś)r[ut]yapratilā(bhāya?)
10 (anumodan)āsaḥagatena
puṇya . . .² + [i] . . .

1. Possibly *yathā*.
2. Consistent with *skandhena*.

Many problems remain in this section of the manuscript for which I cannot offer solutions, and what is preserved is certainly insufficient to attempt a full reconstruction of the text. Nevertheless, there is enough here to enable us to make a few observations, in big matters as in small. First, on the level of overall structure, it is absolutely clear that our Sanskrit manuscript accords very closely with T 418 and T 416, and especially the latter, in its arrangement of the material, i.e. it presents the 18 *āvenikadharmas* before the 10 *balas* and omits altogether the listing of the 4 *vaiśāradyas*, without adding any verses relevant to this content, except perhaps the single summary verse at the end that we find in T 416. The Tibetan translation, on the other hand, gives the 10 *balas* first (20A–J), followed by thirteen verses recapitulating them (20K), then the 4 *vaiśāradyas* (21B–D), followed by six verses (21D), then the 18 *dharmas* (22A, followed by 12 verses (22B) (cf. Harrison 1990: 156, n. 1). Furthermore, the Tibetan treatment of the *balas* is cursory for all items, which is not the case for the Sanskrit or T 416, which give extended descriptions for *pūrvanivāsānumṣṭi*, *divyacakṣus* and *āsravakṣaya* (cf. Harrison 1990: 160–162). Nor do we find in the Tibetan the important injunction at the end of each *bala*, that the *bodhisattva* should attain it, although something similar does occur in the *vaiśāradya* chapter. Once again we see the extreme variability of Mahāyāna *sūtras*: markedly different recensions of the PraS were circulating, and it is not always easy to understand the processes which led to their diverging from each other to the degree they did. In this case material was not simply rearranged, but some 31 new verses were added as well (if we assume that the recension represented by the Tibetan version was later). Where did these verses come from? Who added them, and when? At this point we have no way of finding answers to these questions.

Secondly, it appeared on the basis of the single Sanskrit fragment of this version previously at our disposal that Bhadrāpāla was always addressed as *grhapate*, but with more of the text now in view we can see that it alternates between *grhapate* and Bhaddapāla (note, not Bhadrāpāla!). Interestingly, the Tibetan always has the Buddha address him by his name (bZang skyong). Whether this reflects the Sanskrit exemplar used or is the result of a deliberate choice by the Tibetan translators to impose consistency on their translation, we can only guess.

It would be remiss of me to conclude without drawing attention to some more fragments of the PraS which recently came to light, not extensive, to be sure, but of great importance. The first piece—or group of pieces—to appear carried part of the text of §§ 7E–7F written in the Kharoṣṭhī script and the Gāndhārī language. A full account of this find was presented in Harrison, Lenz and Salomon 2018. However, as that paper went to press, a further set of fragments appeared, possibly belonging to the same manuscript, and containing a substantial portion of Chapter 9 of the *sūtra*. These fragments will be the subject of a second paper, which will among other things report on the results of an experiment in radiocarbon dating in which pieces of this and other Gāndhārī manuscripts were tested independently in two different laboratories, one in Australia and the other in New Zealand.

These new discoveries provide welcome confirmation of the fact that the PraS was, as we might have expected, circulating in Greater Gandhāra at around the same time that Lokakṣema first translated it into Chinese in Luoyang far to the east, probably using a Gāndhārī version himself, in 179 CE. We thus have two indications that the text dates back to the first centuries of the Common Era, one of which places it in the Northwest of India (in the broader historical sense). We look forward to the publication of the second instalment of this important find in due course. Meanwhile, other fragments of this *sūtra* may still be hiding in the various collections from Central Asia, waiting to be identified, as most of the ones dealt with in this paper were until quite recently. When they appeared, it was for me like seeing an old acquaintance again after a long separation, so in that light this small contribution to their study seems a fitting way of expressing my esteem and affection for someone who has been a good friend and colleague for so many years.

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*The “Anti-Buddhist Law” and Its Author in
Eighth-Century Tibet
A Re-consideration of the Story of Zhang Ma
zhang Grom pa skyes*

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1. Introduction

The present contribution addresses the broader issue of the much-debated and complex topic of the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet in the period of the empire (7th–9th c.).¹ What proves to be complex in this respect often simply results from the difficulty of reconciling statements from later history with the data from imperial sources. The story of the “additional law” (*khri ms bu chung*) issued during the minority of Khri Srong lde btsan, the later first Buddhist emperor (742–c. 800), represent such a case where it is difficult to ascertain its historic reality, all the more as for the most part it exists only in the reworked form of the later Buddhist tradition. The person behind this law, which was intended to prohibit the practice of Buddhism, was the “wicked” minister

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Zhang Ma zhang Grom pa skyes, whose destructive activities reportedly lasted until just before the laying of the foundation stone of bSam yas monastery.

In the context of an ongoing project on the “Tibetan tumulus tradition”² I was in the first place interested in the account of Grom pa skyes’ violent death, which states that he was buried alive in a grave near Lhasa. The details of this story permit the identification of this tomb and from here also the further mapping of other burial sites related to Grom pa skyes’s lineage, which was the sNa nam. The story of Grom pa skyes’ spectacular elimination evidently also wants to convey that his law was buried with him. This leads me to reconsider this figure in the power structure of the critical transition period of the mid to second half of the 8th century, and finally to take a closer look at his law. Supplementary to the comments on Ma zhang’s *khriims bu chung* in earlier studies, I suggest seeing this additional law in the context of the earlier history of Tibet’s legal system and its conventional moral footing, something that in the imperial period we first encounter in the “great law” ascribed to emperor Srong btsan sgam po (d. 649 CE).

2. The “Great Law” and Its Author

We find the introduction of a writing system and the writing of laws as one of the first uses of this highly effective bureaucratic aid as standard characteristics in the history of early state formation. In Tibet the introduction of writing and the drafting of a law book took place in the formation phase of the empire in the 7th century, which developed from the territorial consolidation of older chiefdoms or regional principalities, where—so we can assume—a legal culture and customary laws in a more or less harmonised form already existed. No piece of this first written law has ever surfaced; according to the narrative context in which the introduction of written laws is related in the *Old Tibetan Annals (OTA)*, it may have been primarily concerned with activities related to the territorial reorganisation of the 640s or the period after the conquest of Zhang zhung.

² For this project see the website www.oeaw.ac.at/tibetanumulustradition (hereafter TTT).

As is well known, the later historical tradition glorifies the emperor Srong btsan sgam po (d. 649 CE) as the author of the early legislation, although it has been demonstrated that the respective catalogues (as listed in the “Section on Law and State” of the later chronicles) actually prove to be the composition of institutions from different periods of the empire (including even elements from the post-imperial period).³ At the same time some of the legal regulations and standardisation measures noted in these post-imperial accounts (and also fragmentarily in old Tibetan documents) can be seen as adaptations of even older legal practices originally handed down as part of customary law.

In terms of ordering principles, there was only one origin in old Tibetan political theory: the celestial realm of the ancestor (formulaically described as the one who arrived from heaven as ruler of men),⁴ whose quality was transmitted through the lineage of the (Yar lung) kings and later emperors. In the same formulaic statements what happened in the reality of the social world between heaven and earth is simply given as the “custom” (*chos*) related to the divine order; often it is combined with the attribute “good”—the “good custom” or the “good custom of ancient times” (*gna'i chos bzang*), also “customs of heaven and earth” (*gnam sa'i chos*), corresponding more or less with *lugs* (“tradition”) or the “tradition of the (royal) ancestors” which is a good one (*lugs bzang*).⁵ The same terms were also used in the later context to describe Buddhist situations, where especially *chos* (but also *gtsug lag*; see n. 5) developed to acquire a different meaning. The edicts (*bka' gtsigs*) accompanying the bSam yas inscription (kept in *KG*)⁶ represent a good example of the appearance of *chos* in its double meaning in one and the same document—the distinction between “old custom” (*chos mnying*) and religion, i.e., the “*chos* of the Buddha,” is drawn.⁷

³ See Dotson 2007a, and his references to earlier studies.

⁴ For this formula, see Hill 2013.

⁵ Another term that often appeared combined with these concepts of “custom” is the much-debated *gtsug lag* (lit. “crown and arms”); on this see most recently Bialek 2015: index, s.v.

⁶ Hereafter given as *edict 1* (*KG* 370.9–373.9) and *edict 2* (*KG* 373.10–376.9); Richardson 1998: 91–99.

⁷ In this passage of *edict 2* (*KG* 374.7f.) the *bod kyi chos mnying* is referred to in negative terms, and the *sku lha gsol* (worship of the *sku lha*) is mentioned by

In the oft-cited passage in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (*OTC*) that relates the reformations under the “profound” Khri Srong btsan (Srong btsan sgam po), the term *chos* evidently refers to its non-Buddhist context, when it says: “All the good foundations of the Tibetan customs (*chos*) appeared from the reign (lit. life) of the *btsan po* Khri Srong btsan.”⁸ These foundations notably include the script (“which the Tibetans did not possess before”) and the introduction of the “great law” (*bka’ *khrims *chen po*) as well as other principal institutions.⁹

In the famous “laws of the ten virtues”—the main body of the “sixteen great pure codes of human conduct” popularly ascribed to Srong btsan sgam po (Dotson 2007a: 404)—it is religion that constitutes the decisive moral basis. The emperor reportedly introduced this religion-based law (*chos khrims*) in old age, while the “royal law” (*rgyal khrims*) was his early work. The *chos khrims* is related to the establishment of the ’Phrul snang in Lhasa and other Buddhist temples attributed to Srong btsan sgam po. While the existence of early 7th-century temples as manifestations of the Three Jewels is out of the question, it is debatable, however, how far (and if at all) Buddhism had influenced the conventional administration of legal justice before the actual (and official) establishment of the new religion in the late 770s (i.e., the period of the sworn bSam yas edict). On the basis of Old Tibetan legal and bureaucratic documents it has been demonstrated that the legal practice was traditionally interlinked with divination; manuals in this respect were used to decide legal disputes, with the old territorial divinities often appearing as the actual authorities behind this intertwining of ritual prognoses (*mo*) and bureaucratic decisions (Dotson 2007b). This also points to the characteristic aspect of “custom” in the early days, according to which even in the core

name, among other things; the same *sku lha* (referring to regional deities) are positively spoken of in *edict 1* (*KG 371.22*), when it states that they were called (together with the *lha dgu* and other categories of indigenous deities) to witness the sworn edict. This represents only one example of the often-observed fluctuation of one and the same term in different contexts with respect to the early period of Tibet’s assimilation of Buddhism.

⁸ Transl. in Bialek 2015: 235.

⁹ For details of this passage (*TDD 222: 451–454*) see Bialek 2015: 337; Dotson 2007b: 5ff.; Kapstein 2000: 55.

area of the bureaucratic system the sphere of ritual (the “religious”) and the profane formed an inseparable unit (see also Kapstein 2000: 55).

What we can state is that the (written) “great law” evidently was an internal part of what the authors of the *OTC* referred to as (old) custom; as far as I can see it—and this is important for my argument in the following sections—there is no indication in imperial era sources of an (official) repeal or removal of this custom before Buddhism was enacted as the state religion and consequently became the new moral authority of law.

According to a popular account, Srong btsan sgam po was offered the first writing sample by his minister Thon mi Sambhota at the residence in Byan chen (*OTA*: brDzen tang) on the sKyid chu river (TF 235). Whoever is behind this script inventor from the Thon family (cf. van Schaik 2011), the writing was apparently in use already in the middle of the 7th century, at least in 648, the year in which according to the *Tang Annals* the Tibetan emperor asked the Chinese court for “workmen to manufacture paper and ink” (Bushell 1880: 446). This request was granted, and we may assume that the paper produced in this context was above all intended for the writing of the “text of the official laws” (*bka’ grims gyi yi ge*), a task which (according to the *Annals*) was conducted by the chief minister mGar sTong btsan yul bzung a few years later (655/56 CE). This happened in ’Gor ti in dBu ru lung, at the headwaters of the sKyid chu, an area where, for reasons that we do not exactly know, (besides the residence site of Nyen kar, see Hazod 2009: 224ff.) the *btsan po* preferably resided in the critical period of administrative reorganisation (fig. 1).¹⁰

¹⁰ Apart from ’Gor ti in this area the residence sites of Zrid and Mer khe as well as the assembly site of sKyid Sho ma ra were located. sKyid Sho ma ra is known from later sources as the seat of mGar sTong btsan in his function as the person in charge of the administration of Bod (Hazod 2009: 167); there, much later (in 744/45) the red account (*khram dmar*) was transferred to yellow paper by order of the *btsan po*; on this *OTA* entry see Bialek 2015: 129ff. Other sites in this northern area of dBu ru recorded in the *OTA* for the earlier period include places around sNying grong (in neighbouring ’Dam gzhung), Yul mar of gTsam (location unknown, but likely in northern dBu ru), sPrags (in north-eastern ’Dam gzhung) and Ris pu. This, I think, is the Ribu of today (given as Ris phu in modern place-name catalogues), situated opposite Mer khe (Hazod 2014: 55; below fig. 1). sTong btsan died here in 667/68, after a suicide (or murder?)

mGar was not the author of the laws (at least the *OTA* entry provides no evidence for such a conclusion);¹¹ his work, which fell in the reign of Khri Mang slon mang btsan (r. 649–676), is rather to be seen as the implementation of what had been decided within the orbit of leading officials committed to the throne. However, later chronicles contain a narrative according to which he single-handedly started collecting older versions for his work. It says that mGar deviously brought a minister from the old *rgyal* (royal) dynasty of mChims (and / or Dags) in Lho kha to hand him over the knowledge and manner of older administrative practices, before he, equipped with “six *mdzo* loads of paper,” retreated to his seat.¹² Given that this was indeed the paper manufactured in 648/49, it may well be that the 655/56 entry in the *OTA* recorded the completion of a work that had actually started in the last year of the emperor Srong btsan sgam po.

Now, while the *OTC*, summarising, speaks of the “great law,” which was ultimately under the responsibility of the emperor, later chronicles also mention the issuing of laws by certain governmental posts or members of the aristocracy, such as the “law created by governors” or the “small (or additional) law” (*khirms bu chung*; lit. “young child law”) specified as the “*khirms bu chung* of (Khri Srong

attempt the year before at the emperor’s residence in Lower Zrid (Bialek 2015: 257ff.; see also Dotson 2009: 88). For the identification of ‘Gor ti and Zrid (and lDu nag of Zrid), see Hazod 2014, which also states that earlier suggestions for locating these sites (in Hazod 2009) are obsolete.

¹¹ For a different view, see, e.g., van Schaik (2011: 53): “The *Annals* state explicitly that the laws were written down by the order of the minister Gar Tongtsen, the *de facto* ruler of Tibet after Songtsen Gampo passed away.” Yet it only says mGar wrote the laws (and not ordered its writing), something which also revitalises the assessment of this statesman as Tibet’s “*de facto* ruler” (from 649/50).

¹² On this story, first studied by Uray 1972 (based on *KG* 185–86), see more recently Dotson 2007a: 351–357, which includes the version in *lDe’u-2* (271–272). The latter source favours mChims (‘Chims Mang bzher) as the actual person who handed his knowledge of administration matters over to mGar. It is also the version in *lDe’u-2* that speaks of the use of paper as a substitute for the previous wooden slips, whereas *KG* mentions writing on six *mdzo* loads of wooden tablets. Note that sKyems stong, the later name of the core area of old mChims yul, is known as the central area for *shog* or paper production, the so-called sKyems *shog*, and it cannot be excluded that mGar’s meeting with mChims was actually related to the situation of (Tibet’s first) paper production in this area (situated in present-day sNang County).

Ide btsan’s consort) ’Bro bza’ Byang chub.”¹³ This same term, *khriims bu chung*, is used in later sources to describe the law which was issued by a minister after the death of Khri lDe gtsug btsan (d. c. 753/54 CE), the emperor (aka Mes Ag tshoms) who in the Buddhist tradition is depicted as the prophesied fulfiller of Srong btsan sgam po’s (religious) testament (written down by mGar).

3. The (Eighth-Century) “Additional Law” and Its Author

3.1 Zhang Ma zhang Grom pa skyes

The authorship of this 8th-century law is usually given as *ma zhang gi khriims bu chung*, in Nel pa paṇḍita’s chronicle (Uebach 1987: 78–79), and it also somewhat ambiguously described as *ma zhang gi khriims bu chung blon *pos byas*, “the small law of Ma zhang created by a minister;” this refers to Ma zhang Grom pa skyes (var. Zhang Ma zhang [Ma zham] Khrom pa skyes/skyabs, also Khron pa skyes, see below). Elsewhere also the *zhang blon gsum*, or the unspecific (“wicked”) ministers, are mentioned as the authors. Whether there were similar (minister-made) *khriims bu chung* in an earlier or later period is uncertain. As already referred to by Uebach in this context, the *sBa bzhed* (the main source for the Ma zhang story) states that also during the minority of Khri lDe srong btsan (d. 815) there were discussions about enacting a *khriims bu chung*, and that at that time it was remembered that there had been such an additional law during the minority of Khri Srong lde btsan:

Earlier, when the father (Mes Ag tshoms) died and the king’s son was still underage, the rulership was given to the *zhang blon gsum* and after they had issued the *khriims bu chung* they destroyed the holy *dharma*.¹⁴

Ma zhang and his law are not mentioned in the *OTA* either before or after the lacuna in the *Annals* (748–755), and due to the fact

¹³ The two laws are namely listed as two of the “five types of laws;” for this catalogue (in the Section on Law and State) see Dotson 2007a: 259–265. Byang chub’s addition (in *lDe’u-2* 268.16–18)—it concerns the issue of gender-specific division of labour within the household organisation and the setting of field stones in accordance with the Chinese trigram system to increase wealth—is slightly different in *KG* 378.20–23.

¹⁴ *sBa bzhed* (Stein ed., p. 68, quote and German transl. in Uebach 1987: 97, n. 436); see also *MS* 414.18–415.5. For the compound *zhang blon gsum*, see Dotson 2004.

that in 756 Khri Srong lde btsan is recorded as *btsan po*, the “regency” of Grom pa skyes and the time of the small law’s effective period have been dated only to the short term spanning from the death of the father (c. 753/54) until Khri Srong lde btsan’s enthronement (Uebach 1987: 97). On the other hand, *edict 2* suggests that the proponents of the anti-Buddhist law were active and still present, at least up to the time when the emperor reached the age of 20 (761/762), before rigorous measures by the state authority put an end to this law and its followers. In light of the later historiography, the violent elimination of Grom pa skyes (not mentioned in the edict) was the starting point of this counter action.

Taking the mention of Chief Minister ’Gos Khri bzang yab lag as the person behind the elimination of Ma zhang (see below) at face value, then Ma zhang’s death is not to be dated before 764, the time when ’Gos is first noted as chief minister in the *OTA* (Dotson 2009: 133, 152). In the classical representation, the story of Ma zhang’s death comes immediately after sBa gSal snang’s return from Nepal, which led to the invitation of Śāntarakṣita.¹⁵

The year 764 (or a little later) is also the period to which the famous Zhol inscription is to be dated. This inscription is dedicated to the general, inner minister and later chief minister sTag ra Klu khong. The latter was undoubtedly a major figure in the critical events of the second half of the 8th century; he was highly regarded by the emperor, who ennobled him (and the Ngan lam family line as a whole) for his loyalty and benefits. One of Klu khong’s achievements, the inscription states, was to have brought the disloyalty of Chief Minister ’Bal Ldong tshab and Minister Lang Myes zigs to the notice of the *btsan po*: the two are described as having been responsible for the death of the latter’s father, Khri lDe gtsug btsan, and reportedly also as having planned to take action against the son and successor. The later chronicles provide a number of contradictory pieces of information concerning these events, for which to my knowledge there is still no satisfactory

¹⁵ In the same sources it is chronicled that there was a previous campaign to China by gSal snang (and ’Ba’ Sang shi), from where the group returned with many religious texts, which they ultimately had to bury because of “Ma zhang’s persecution” (see, e.g., *Deb sngon* 67.8–10; BA 41).

explanation (see already Beckwith 1987). Here the small law and its author form the reference point for the questions that entail these inconsistencies: what was the relationship of the two renegades, 'Bal and Lang, to Grom pa skyes and his law? According to *dBa' bzhed* 4a (and *sBa bzhed* 8.22) both ministers were executed by Ma zhang (see Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 36, n. 64). What role did the minister sKyes bzang rGyal kong play in the affair, given that according to the *OTA* he convened the council of 756/57, in the course of which the calculation of the wealth of 'Bal and Lang was completed? He is evidently identical with Cog ro sKyes bzang rGya gong (also Cog gru sKyes ngas rGyal mgon) of the later sources, who acted at the side of Ma zhang Grom pa skyes and who was executed in a spectacular way (probably at the same time as Ma zhang) for his backing of Ma zhang's law (see below § 4.1).¹⁶ Last but not least, what was sTag ra Klu khong's interest in the establishment of the *khriims bu chung*? As is known, the classic historiography calls him an (original) companion of Grom pa skyes. Thus in the *rGyal rabs gsal*, for example, it says: “Although the king (Khri Srong lde btsan) was devoted to Buddhism, the ministers Ma zhang Khrom pa skyes, and sTag ra klu gong etc. were very powerful, and nobody else was capable of fighting (them)” (Sørensen 1994: 365).¹⁷ In this critical phase, from the establishment of the additional law until its (official) dissolution in around 764 (?), there were evidently several turncoats (or, less polemically, converted reformists) within the circles of the aristocracy. Ma zhang Grom pa skyes, it appears, was not among them.

¹⁶ The chronicles list one Cog ro sKyes gza' rgyal 'gong (also lCog ro sKya bzangs rgyal po) among the ministers who founded temples in the late 8th and 9th century. See *De'u-2* 297.17; Uebach 1987: 116.

¹⁷ The conflicting image of Klu khong in the sources continues when he is listed among the leading “Bon speakers” in the so-called “*chos-bon* debate” (reportedly held in a pig year [759 or 771], at the emperor's residence place of Zu spug rKyang bu tshal, i.e., gZi sbug of eastern Mal gro); the meeting is mentioned in *dBa' bzhed* (14a–b) after the elimination of Grom pa skyes, an event in which, according to one version of this account, also Klu khong was involved (*TB* 51.3–52.5). Bon po sources (namely the *Srid rgyud*), which locate this debate at the emperor's birthplace in Brag dmar, speak of Ngam (= Ngan lam) sTag ra Klu gong and sNa nam Phrom pa skyes (= Khrom pa skyes) as the nominated Bon po proponents (Karmay 2001: 88). Here it was also Phrom pa skyes who prompted the king to initiate the meeting, a representation reflecting hardly any historical facts (see already Sørensen 1994: 603).

The negative image of Grom pa skyes in historiography also seems to be expressed in the odd name part of *ma zhang* (lit. “not *zhang*”), a nickname as has been suggested (Uebach 1987: 96, n. 435); he is also dubbed *zhang ma zhang*, which one may read as “*zhang*, (but) not (the real) *zhang*” (see also Sørensen 1994: 363); yet in *dBa’ bzhed*, the first textual evidence of this figure, the name of the minister is mostly (five times) given as “Ma zham Khrom pa skyes” (once [in a gloss]: Ma zhang), where Ma zham appears to be a deformation of Mang zham, known from Old Tibetan documents as a form of (first) personal names (cf. rNgegs Mang zham sTag tshab, mGar Mang zham Sum snang); thus (zhang) ma zhang Grom pa skyes rather seems to represent the later folk-etymology of a name which was originally (Zhang) Mang zham Khrom pa skyes.¹⁸

The form Zhang points to the position of mother-brother (*zhang*), as long as *zhang* is not short for *zhang lon*, aristocrat.¹⁹ Grom pa skyes came from the sNa nam lineage (first mentioned in *dBa’ bzhed* 4a: sNa nam Ma zham Khrom pa skyes); in *Blon po bka’ thang* (chap. 3) he is listed as one of four sNa nam ministers of the imperial period.²⁰ sNa nam is the lineage which after the

¹⁸ I am grateful to Joanna Bialek for these references and the suggested reconstruction. This prompted me to abandon the original idea of seeing “ma zhang” as corrupt for *ma sangs*—this in connection with the second name “Grom pa skyes,” which I thought could be related to the well-known geomantic (and original [?] ancestrally used *ma sangs*) site of Grom pa (Gron pa) in Ba lam of the sKyid chu area (on this site, see RCP 575ff. *et passim*). In Bon sources Khrom pa is given in the spelling of Phrom pa, i.e., (sNa nam) Phrom pa skyes (see n. 17).

¹⁹ On this term see most recently Bialek 2015: 353ff. In the first of altogether 17 entries in his *KG*, dPa’ bo speaks of Grom pa skyes of “*zhang blon* Ma zhang Grom pa skyes” (*KG* 303: 12–13); for the rest it reads uniformly as Zhang Ma zhang, as does the *rBa bzhed* that dPa’ bo quotes from.

²⁰ They are listed in the order: rGya tsha lHa snang, Mang snya bSe btsan, Ma zhang Khrom pa skyabs (= Grom pa skyes) and bTsan pa ’U ring (*KT* 437.2–3). This does not represent a chronological order since rGya tsha lHa snang (i.e., rGyal tshan lHa snang) and (his son) bTsan pa ’U ring lived after Grom pa skyes (see below § 4.3). Mang snya bSe btsan apparently is the sNa nam bSe btsan who is listed in *dBa’ bzhed* 17b among the first Tibetans who were trained in the Indian (Sanskrit) language (see *lDe’u-2* 302.2, where he is called Zhang Se btsan lHa na). This group also includes another sNa nam: Zhang lHa bu, the son of (sNa nam) Zhang Nya(ang) bzang (var. Nyam bzang, perhaps identical with Zhang rGyal nyen Nya bzang, Nyang bzang Zhang po Khri rgyal; see Sørensen 1994: 372, 396); lHa bu is listed (in some sources) among the *sad mi* (first Tibetan monks), as also gTsang Legs grub (Uebach 1987: 100); the Vairocana

birth of Khri Srong lde btsan from the queen and mother, the Lady of sNa nam, sNa nam bza’ Mang mo rje bZhi steng, became a candidate for the exclusive circle of *zhang* lineages (in addition to the already existing ’Bro, Tshes pong, and mChims); this refers to bride-giver lineages and lineages in which an heir to the throne was born (Dotson 2004). Uebach suspected that Ma zhang was a real *zhang*, in other words, the brother of sNa nam bza’ (d. 742, at or shortly after the birth of her son). Significant in this connection is the note in Nyang ral (in his [isolated] version of the post-imperial sNa nam bza’—Kong jo jealousy story), which says that after the prince Khri Srong lde btsan had reached the age of five “sNa nam Zhang Khrom pa skyes and the sNa nam pa” (officially) declared that the prince was their maternal relative (*tsha bo*) (MS 273.4–11; according to this, the *zhang* status apparently used to come into operation not with the birth of the heir but was linked to a certain chronological age of the prince). Ma zhang’s closer collateral lineage relatives perhaps also included Zhang sNa nam Khri thog rje Thang la ’bar, who in *dBa’ bzhed* 4b is mentioned as a close companion of Grom pa skyes, but perhaps also Zhang (sNa nam) Nya bzang (n. 20), who was from the other party that concocted the plan to eliminate Ma zhang (see below). One of Ma zhang’s contemporaries was sNa nam rGyal rta rGan mo chung, the commander of the Upper Central Horn recorded for the period between 744 and 763 (Dotson 2007a: 202); he is not addressed as *zhang*, however.²¹

companion (see, e.g., Karmay 1988: 22) is probably identical with sNa nam Legs grub mentioned in the *Zhang zhung sNyan rgyud*; Karmay 2001: 86f.). Since Nya bzang is recorded as a (pro-Buddhist) minister of the bSam yas founding period, the list in *KT* is apparently incomplete, as it is also evident from the accompanying sKar cung edict (reign of Khri lDe srong btsan). This edict lists five sNa nam officials, including (the *nang blon*) Zhang sNa nam lHa bzher sPe btsan (=sNa nam bSe btsan?); *KG* 412.3ff.; Dotson 2009: 157–158.

²¹ rGan mo chung (“little old lady”) in rGyal rta rGan mo chung seems to be a (later) nickname, and the horn-commander could well be the rGyal ta Khri gong of the *OTA* entry 756/57 who, together with the aforementioned sKyes bzang rGyal kong, acted as convenor of the winter assembly of this year. The latter, as said, appears to be identical with Cog ro sKyes bzang rGyal gong of the Ma zhang story, where he is mentioned in tandem with Khri thog rje Thang la ’bar (see § 4.1 below). In view of these parallels it has been suspected that rGyal ta Khri gong and Khri thog rje Thang la ’bar refer to one and the same person (Szerb 1990: 19, n. 11), a somewhat farfetched speculation. On the name part

It has been argued that Ma zhang's *khirms bu chung* possibly concerned a more general regulation, according to which a supplementary law could have been decided by the mother's brother during the emperor's minority, in other words that the issue was in the area of authority of the *zhang* in the context of the customary system of succession to the throne (Uebach 1987: 97). Since we actually know of only one such *zhang*-made law from the sources, this theory remains rather speculative. What we can state, however, is that irrespective of the condemnation of Ma zhang's law the sources nowhere speak of this legislation as an arbitrary or unauthorised act. The fact of being anti-Buddhist in its orientation may also be the reason why Ma Zhang's addendum is not registered in the catalogue of the "types of laws" where only the (Buddhist-inflected) *khirms bu chung* of 'Bro bza' is listed (see n. 13).

3.2. *The Core Issue of Ma zhang's Law*

In his preamble to the edicts, dPa' bo (the author of *KG*) states:

Formerly Ma zhang Grom pa skyes and others took pains to destroy the religious law; and so that such a thing might not happen in future, it was prohibited by a solemn oath and by an edict that no Tibetan should destroy the religious law. Two edicts were made to that effect (*KG* 370.9–12; Richardson 1998: 93).

The edicts have much of a narrative with apologetic or legitimising inflections. The central message is to announce that the previous order is no longer valid; this order is described as the "law against the practice of the religion of the Buddha" (*sangs rgyas kyi chos bgyid du mi gnang ba'i bka' khirms*; *KG* 374.1–2). Yet we actually do not see in the mention of this law any fabrication of a historical antithesis, but in fact an allusion to the situation of Ma zhang's *khirms bu chung*.

In its first paragraph *edict 1* explains:

There is no one who has not been born before. Having been born he acts with purpose or without. Then he dies. And having died he is born again in a good or bad situation (*KG* 370.19–21; transl. in Richardson 1998: 93–94).

Thang la 'bar, see below n. 28. In the list of ministers who served during the youth of Khri Srong lde tsan, he is mentioned together with Cog ro sKyes bzang rGyal gong, but his name is given (erroneously?) as 'Chims Khri thog rje Thang la 'bar (see *De'u-2* 301.9).

This reads like a direct response to the key message of the *khriṃs bu chung*, whose argument, if we give credence to the account in *sBa bzhed*, was: “It is a lie that there is a future life. The misfortunes of this life will be averted by the *bon (po)*.”²²

As already noted by Macdonald (1971: 370) (Ma zhang’s *khriṃs bu chung* was primarily aimed at the practice of the *tshé* ritual; this is the death ritual which was part of the *rgya chos* (Chinese Buddhism) introduced by the Chinese Princess Jengchen after her arrival in Tibet (710 CE). It says that, after her visit to the image of Śākyamuni in Lhasa, she was moved by compassion for the Tibetan nobility, whom she wanted to participate in the Buddhist concept of rebirth into a better life, and therefore initiated the weekly Buddhist ritual (lasting over a period of seven weeks after death).²³

In *Nel pa paṇḍita* the small law is pejoratively defined as *bon po’i khriṃs bu chung* (“small law of [/for] the *bon po*”); *sBa bzhed* more specifically speaks of the *’bangs gum pa la tshé bgyir ma gnang ba’i khriṃs bu chung*, “the small law that prohibits the conduct of the *tshé* ritual on the death of a subject.” And the (older) *dBa’ bzhed* (4b) says:

Zhang (Ma zham) ordered all the subjects: “From now on, if people die, it is forbidden to perform *tshé* rituals. If somebody practices the doctrine of China, he will be condemned to an unmarried life (*pho reng*).”²⁴

The focus thus was the principal question of what happened after death, a basic theme in the first conversion histories related to the late 8th- / early 9th-century Buddhist Tibet, where initially it was about convincing sceptics to refrain from the old concept of the paradisiacal “land of joy” (see Imaeda 2007). This issue essentially touches upon the traditional funeral practices, which with respect to the nobility was a burial mound tradition, ritually administered by the *bon po* and *gshen* priests. We do not know whether the *tshé*

²² *sBa bzhed* 8.19–20 (parallel *KG* 303.14–15): *tshé phyi ma skye ba len zer ba rdzun yin | tshé ’di’i rkyen zlog bon gyis bya (KG: byed) |*; Uebach 1987: 97, n. 436.

²³ On the Chinese *tshé* and its origin see Stein 1980: 329, referred to in Kapstein 2000: 38ff.

²⁴ Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 37; see also *sBa bzhed* 15.20–21; *KG* 304.22–305.1; 310.7–8; the last part of the passage may indicate that the followers should not produce any offspring.

rites caused any external changes in the customary burial—changes in architecture, as we find it, in form of the later (probably late 8th-/9th-century) *stūpa* mounds, or in tombs with *tsha tsha*-filled walls and other Buddhist adaptations (Hazod 2018: 10). In any case, however limited the numbers of followers of *tshé* may actually have been, we see the establishment of Ma zhang’s *khrim*s *bu chung* simply as historical evidence that these new rites and the significant break with conventional ideas related to them were not accepted by those who were entrusted with government affairs at the time. We do not know very much about the older concept of the afterlife, its possible changes in the chiefdom and imperial periods, its social implications etc., although it is safe to say that the idea of life after death (based on its own moral requirements) must also have been current. When in the *khrim*s *bu chung* it says that there is no future life, then this aspect evidently addresses reappearance in this world according to the entirely different (samsarically defined) moral bonds associated with the Buddhist religion. Hence the law evidently draws a dramatically negative depiction of Buddhism, where no compromises are possible.²⁵

The events in the aftermath of the small law as characterised in the sources—the destruction of the new temples (from the time of Khri lDe gtsug btsan), the desecration of the older ones (such as the transformation of the Ra sa temple into a slaughterhouse and the carting off of its central Jo bo statue) etc.—all sound much like a religious war; but essentially it was a question of law: the small law as it is depicted in the sources was an order *in addition* to the existing legal code which was part of “custom” that came to be fundamentally questioned by the propagation of the *tshé* practice.

As noted above with reference to Dotson’s analysis, the legal practice (like so many other aspects of everyday life) had been closely associated with divination, and it appears from the descriptions in later chronicles that inauspicious prognostications explained as results of Buddhist practice also influenced the issue of an additional law. Faith in providence played indeed an essential

²⁵ This is only a theoretical conclusion and, as we know, in practice compromise was common throughout the phases of transition to Buddhism, particularly in the area of funeral, where we see evidence of religious co-existence or forms of convergence without radical changes to the traditional framework of burial. For Buddhist additions to the royal burial, see Hazod 2013.

part in policy. Against this background, one understands the statement in the sKar cung inscription (from the reign of Khri lDe srong btsan), which almost imploringly calls not to destroy the Three Jewels on whatever account of divination and dream omen (*mo dang rmyi ltas*) the order of destruction had come from (*OTI* 23, 1.30–32); this statement is related to the declaration that spiritual advisers were to teach (future) *btsan pos* during their minority (*OTI* 23, 1.33–37),²⁶ evidently an allusion to the (now overruled) position of the *zhang* in his function as the authority behind the under-age heir to the throne.

4. The Fate of Grom pa skyes and the Zhang sNa nam of the Eighth and Early Ninth Century

4.1 Grom pa skyes’s Death: Two Histories in One Grave

The *dBa’ bzhed* continues the passage cited above by stating:

Not long after (the persecution of the holy doctrine), Zhang sNa nam Khri thog rje Thang lha ’bar (*KG* 305.1: Thog la ’bar) was taken to the foothills of Thang la (i.e., Mount gNyan chen Thang lha) and died screaming for a long time “*kva, kva*” (*sBa bzhed* 9.18, *KG* 305.1–2: “*a, a, a*”); Cog ro sKyes bzang rgyal gong died by having his tongue and all limbs dried out. As far as Zhang Ma zham is concerned, (...) diviners who were given some reward said: “the divination for the king is very inauspicious,” then he (i.e., Ma zham) was sent to be buried alive as a ransom (*sku glud*).²⁷

What is described here seems to refer to the execution according to a specific (and customary) punishment routine, although in the first two examples it remains unclear which execution method is actually meant.²⁸ As to Ma zhang’s death, there are more detailed

²⁶ For translations of these passages, see Richardson 1985: 79; Li and Coblin 1987: 326–327.

²⁷ Translation according to Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 38–39, with minor modifications (and additions in brackets) by the present author.

²⁸ Behind the shout “*kva, kva*” (or “*a, a, a*”) from the mouth of the delinquent Khri thog rje Thang la ’bar (n. 21) one may hear the birds (or vultures), who were to devour the body, thus indicating a form of “sky burial” alive; for examples of execution in the mountain regions (related to the ministers of dPal ’khor btsan) see Hazod 2013: 104. But it is more likely to read “Thang la ’bar” (“burned at Thang lha”) as the posthumous name of the delinquent, which points to the execution by burning. As to Cog ro’s tortures, the parallel passage in *sBa bzhed* (and both *KG* and *KG-2*) reads: *cog ro skyes bzang rgyal ’gong ni lee rkan dang rkang lag ril gu gu thul du song nas gum |*. Note that *ril gu gu thul* (“a wheel that is a rolling up

(later) versions which clearly point to his burial in a grave mound. The great minister 'Gos Khri bzang yab lhag (or *blon* 'Gos rgan)²⁹ is here the central figure who, in consultation with other ministers (notably sNa nam Nya bzang) and the king, conspired to eliminate Ma zhang. In short it says:³⁰ The (Buddhist) ministers announced that the king and the monarchy were threatened—as in *dBa' bzhed* the announcement is based on the predictions given by some bribed diviners (*mo pa* or *mo ma*, *ltas mkhan*, or also *rtsis pa*, astrologer)—and that this could only be averted by a great minis-

bent"?) perhaps refers to a sort of rack or instrument for breaking up on the wheel as suggested by Bialek (personal communication, November 2016). This recalls the Chinese execution method of "tearing off an offender's head and four limbs by attaching them to chariots" which is listed among the forms of death sentences in the catalogue of "five Punishments" of ancient China (; see also Brook et al. 2008). Bu ston in his rendering of this account says that "(he) broke his back and died" (*BC* 139b; Szerb 1990: 19); in this version of the story, the delinquent's name is mistakenly (?) given as Thang la 'bar. For a short (*sBa bzhed*-based) version of the two minister's execution, see also *Nyi ma* 114.6–8.

²⁹ Khri bzang yab lhag (registered as *blon* in 755/56) was appointed as chief minister in 764 (see above). In some of the later accounts the *blon chen po* 'Gos is given as (*blon*) 'Gos rgan, "old 'Gos" and it has been debated of whether 'Gos Khri bzang and this old 'Gos refer to one and the same person; cf. the two forms used in *KG*: mGos kyi *blon chen* Khri bzang yab lhag (*KG* 377.3), and *blon chen* mGos rgan gyi sras mGos Khri bzang yab lhag (377.21). For further references and discussion, see also Vitali 2007: 288ff.; Sørensen 1994: 395–396. According to one source, Khri bzang yab lag died age 67 (arguably sometime before the bSam yas edict [c. 779], as he is not listed among the edict's signatories), probably at his then seat in Myang stod, at the place of the later gNas rnying monastery (founded in the 820s; see Vitali 2007: 289). This minister himself never became a Buddhist. He is said to have politely refused Khri srong lde btsan's endeavour to convert him to Buddhism, stating that he felt too old to adopt the religion for himself (*KG* 333.5–8, based on *sBa bzhed* 35.4–8). This is one example that speaks in favour for the identity of 'Gos rgan and Khri bzang yab lhag. At the same time, the passage reliably points to the situation that even leading proponents of the Buddhist state likewise had problems abandoning the old concepts to personally practice the new religion.

³⁰ Based on *sBa bzhed* (17.5–18; Stein ed. 13–15; *KG* 311.11–312); similarly the fifth Dalai Lama's chronicle (*GS* 55.13–20); see also *Deb sngon* 67.19–68.4; Bu ston's *chos 'byung* (*BC* 140a, in Szerb 1990: 20–23); *Nyi ma* 115.10–15. The story offered in Klong chen pa's *gTer 'byung rin po che lo rgyus* (*TB* 51.3–52.5) includes a few additions (mainly related to the involvement of Ta ra Klu khong) and appears to represent a version separate from the *sBa bzhed*-based accounts. Another separate version seems to be addressed in S.C. Das' summary of the account (cited in Chattopadhyaya 1999: 224) as well as in Dungkar Rinpoche's rendition (in *Dungkar* 1590a).

ter entering a secluded place for the period of three months. The grave that was under construction in sTod lung (sNa nam Brang phu, sTod lung Brang phu) was proposed for this self-sacrificing act. The two, 'Gos Khri bzang ('Gos rgan) and Ma zhang then entered the grave after 'Gos had previously dressed himself in boots covered by vulture (feathers) and a coat made of puffball (fungi) (*rkang la bya rgod kyi lham gyon | lus la pha ba dgo dgo'i thul pa gyon*). When later the two were called back, 'Gos left the tomb (through the opening above), while Ma zhang—vainly clutching at the feet of 'Gos and visually obstructed through the puffball dust—was left behind with a handful of vulture feathers.³¹ The grave's (*mchad pa*) entrance was then closed with a large boulder. In S.C Das' summary of the popular account (n. 30) there is the addition that the grave was three times as deep as a man's height, and that the friends of 'Gos threw a rope, “by means of which he climbed up and escaped.”

It is characteristic of Buddhist historiography to historically dramatise crucial events in new combinations, often with coincidences that possibly never existed in this form. (Note that in the *dBa' bzhed* account 'Gos did not enter the grave.) The process is as it were part of the teaching of history. In this case it tells, in spectacular form, that Ma zhang's death precisely marks the departure from the old tradition. The legend of the two savers of the king is not without a touch of irony: the one remained in the grave (and, as it were, so did his law with him), and the other, *blon chen po* 'Gos, started a career in the service of the state and the new religion,

³¹ This passage apparently seeks to explain that 'Gos rgan's dress served as means to prevent Ma zhang from following 'Gos out of the tomb: first Ma zhang clutched at the boots but slipped off, and when he grasped at the coat the puffball produced dust (or smoke, *thal ba*) so Ma zhang was unable to see the exit and completely lost his orientation. The (giant) puffball (*pha ba dgo dgo*; *calvatia gigantea*) is known from medical texts as “ash medicine that is not based on burning” (*ma bsregs thal sman*), and its smoke is among the “three sorts of smoke without fire” (*me med du ba nam gsum*); Olaf Czaja, personal communication, November 2016. 'Gos rgan's outfit is actually reminiscent of a pre-Buddhist situation, a *bon po* (or shamanist?) milieu: the *bya rgod* and the *pha ba dgo dgo*, being symbols of above and below (sky–earth), appear in reverse order (*bya rgod*–foot; *calvatia*–coat / upper part of the body). Note that 'Gos himself reportedly was not a practising Buddhist (n. 29), which may explain why the authors of this story dressed him in this (traditional priestly?) garment.

with reputations surviving within his lineage that echoed far into the later dissemination history of Buddhism.³² In *Nel pa paṇḍita* (in a gloss) this issue is brought to the point: “after Ma zhang was put into an earth pit (*sa dong*) the holy doctrine started to spread and was made flourishing” (Uebach 1987: 96). Interesting in this ransom story is also the fact that it leaves the image of Ma zhang Grom pa skyes as the one who evidently acted with loyalty to the throne (something which we also observed in Ma zhang’s reported sentencing of the renegades ’Bal and Lang; above § 3.1). The soothsayers were the actual authority that Ma zhang followed here to sacrifice himself for the sake of the king, while ’Gos, the contriver, was free to leave the scene. The meaning of ’Gos’s specific dress (n. 31) and some other details of this account still remain to be explained, however.

³² ’Gos’s service to the state notably included the revision of the “early laws;” *KG* 377.21–23; see Dotson 2007a: 211ff.). He was granted large areas in Myang stod (referred to as “mGos [’Gos] yul stod gsum”) by Khri Srong lde btsan, the starting point of a flourishing period of Buddhist establishments in this area of present-day Gyantse. Another ’Gos branch was represented by the ’Gos Padma Gung brtsan, considered in some sources as the son of Khri bzang yab lag, while others list him as a grandson (Vitali 2007: 288–289). He represents the link to the incarnation line of the Yol mo *sprul sku*, the central religious lineage of the highly representative Tibetan Buddhist peripheral area (and hidden land, *sbas yul*) of Yol mo (Northeast of Kathmandu). This starts with Yol mo ba Śākya bzang po (fl. 15th/16th c.), the opener of the *sbas yul*, who is considered the reincarnation of *chos blon* ’Gos Padma Gung brtsan. The Yol mo ba is known as the restorer of the great *stūpa* of Bodnath (Bya rung kha shor) in the Kathmandu Valley: the restoration work was based on the prophecies given in the history text of this monument, which Yol mo ba Śākya bzang po discovered in bSam yas (Ehrhard 2007: 27). As is well known, the foundation myth of Bodnath addresses the establishment of Buddhism in 8th-century Tibet and its central monument, bSam yas monastery; the triad of Śāntarakṣita, Khri Srong lde btsan and Padmasambhava are the main protagonists, but so is Grom pa skyes (depicted as *bdud blon*, “demonic minister”) who enters the scene together with the “sinful king” Glang dar ma. Behind the two are the animals (elephant and donkey) that carried the material for the construction of Bodnath, which out of envy wanted to be reborn as the above-mentioned king and minister and to destroy the building. But the appearance of dPal gyi rDo rje (the “historical” slayer of Glang Dar ma) and of *chos blon* ’Gos saved the monument (see Ehrhard 2007 for references concerning the various versions of this story; see also Dowman 2002). In other words, the legend of this famous *stūpa*, a core element of the ’Gos based Yol mo ba identity, as it continues the story of Grom pa skyes, who was tricked to death by *blon chen* ’Gos. For a depiction of the “donkey Grom pa skyes” (by the third Yol mo sprul sku) see Bogin 2013: 49.

4.2 The Zhang sNa nam Burial Site in Lower sTod lung

The question is what of this post-*dBa' bzhed* fabrication of Ma zhang's burial (but also of the story in *dBa' bzhed* itself) can be identified as its possible historical essence? Given that the minister Ma zham Khrom pa skyes represents a historical figure—and there is actually little room to doubt this—then the burial in a suitable grave can at least be assumed, although the tomb or *mchad pa* is not mentioned by name in the *dBa' bzhed* account. The above description evidently refers to a typical elite burial mound, a walled structure of stone and rammed earth, and with the burial chamber (and side chambers) set half below the surface and covered by a large stone. A characteristic feature of the tumuli as we find them today is the recess on top of the mound that was left from the previous entry by grave robbers who knew how the tombs were constructed. Such knowledge of earlier historical grave opening may also have served as the actual source of the description of Ma zhang's burial. The statement of three times a man's height for the depth of the grave pit gives a reasonable size of the distance from top of the mound to the bottom of the chamber, a section which—from the few examples we know of archaeological excavations in central Tibet—was built as a shaft using layers of stone (with or without a staircase) with the entrance closed by a stone slab (see Feiglstorfer 2018).

The sources agree that the burial of Ma zhang happened in sTod lung—in (sTod lung) Brang phu, or sNa nam Brang phu (*TB* 52.2: sTod lung Brang mda'). The site as burial ground is first mentioned by Richardson (1963, in Richardson 1998: 231), later in Hazod 2009; the cemetery is now recorded as site no. 0163 in the above-mentioned Tibetan tumulus project (see n. 2). The site is not unknown to the locals, and is known also from earlier archaeological surveys, being addressed in Dungkar Rinpoche's entry on Ma zhang Grom pa skyes, and in his reference to the “three great earth mounds of sTod lung Brang phu” in this context (*Dungkar* 1590a). What is missing in the previous descriptions is the reference to the fact that this Brang phu is located in an old sNa nam land, as referred to first by Sørensen (1994: 365). In the list of the *dbang ris bco bryad*, the earliest territorial division (probably dating back to the 7th century), the district of Brang is listed

together with the adjacent gZhong pa as the *yul* (territory) of sNa nam (Hazod 2009: 193).³³

The area is located in Lower sTod lung, due west of Lhasa, a section that today has almost been swallowed up by the expanding city. The “Tiger Rock” (sTag brag) with the sTag brag monastery at the foot of the mountain (it supposedly has an imperial history; TF 200: no. 6), approximately marks the juncture between Brang and gZhong pa. There are four cemeteries in this area (fig. 2); the one in Brang phu (0163) actually includes four separate sections of altogether *c.* 40 graves, with only section 2 having larger elite tombs (fig. 3). Three of these graves (i.e., the three earth mounds noted in *Dungkar*) are located within the walls of the sTag brag military camp (established sometime in the late 1950s or early 1960s). This proximity also makes an on-site investigation impossible, so one has to rely on satellite imagery. The trapezoidal mound M-1 is a massive walled grave mound of about 50m (front-side), with the typical marks of violent opening, which in this case—with a downright halving of the mound—is quite serious (fig. 4). In front of the grave some contours of stone steps can be made out; they are characteristic of larger mound graves and have been identified by archaeologists as sacrificial trenches (Hazod 2018: 12).

³³ We do not know the original size of this early Brang gZhong pa; the next valley upstream on the sTod lung river is Ram pa, which in texts (and also locally) is described as the birthplace of mGar sTong btsan (RCP 582). Opposite is the Yab valley, which was closely related to the sNa nam of the 11th century (RCP 430, 661, 667). gZhong pa is perhaps the gZhong phyag of the *Annals*, where during the summer 711/12 the council was convened (Dotson 2009: 107); the area (and its central physical sanctum, gZhong pa lHa chu) is known from the story of Padmasambhava’s civilising tour (*De’u-2* 345.8–10; *sBa bzhed* 27), apparently corresponding to what in Nyang ral (*MS* 282.19) is given as sTod lungs Bram bu’i tshal (*PK* 367.1: Gram bu tshal) in this context. This early sNa nam territory was arguably not the lineage’s only territorial link at that time. As mentioned above (§ 3.1), the sNa nam held the post of the Horn Commander (*ru dpon*) of Upper dBu ru in the 8th century (geographically including the later ’Bri gung pa area in gZho Valley, branch-seat of Zhang sNa nam in the 11th century; RCP 719; Hou 2014: 295), and a sNa nam land is registered for Lower Myang, i.e., the Pa nam district = land of (branches of) the Pa tshab and sNa nam (RCP 75, 407). The first mention of sNa nam is in the Dri gum btsan po account in PT 1287, i.e., sNa nam bTsan bzhong rgyal (*TDD* 201: l.22) who according to context was active in the Myang district of gTsang. The name part “bzhong rgyal” is perhaps related to gZhong pa, i.e., the “royal bZhong pa /gZhong pa” (cf. the parallel forms mChims rgyal, Dag[s] rgyal).

The identification of M-3 and M-5 is somewhat uncertain, as too is the structure marked as M-0. The latter is contoured on older satellite imagery while on modern photographs it has disappeared; apparently the place was completely demolished by dredging. What we see on the satellite imagery of January 2013 refers to a trapezoidal mound of 60m at the front.

There is some reason to identify M-1 (or M-0) as the grave of the Ma zhang Grom pa skyes, who was buried in (sNa nam) Brang phu;³⁴ this identification is simply based on the assessment that in correspondence to his position a grave of the higher elite category (between 50 and 70m; see Hazod 2018) was provided. As suggested in his death story, building may have started while he was still alive, something that can also be assumed in other examples (Hazod 2018: 28). It is likely that some more members of the sNa nam were buried in the 0163 cemetery—representatives of the closer family of Grom pa skyes, perhaps including sNa nam Khri thog rje, who was also addressed as *zhang*. He may have been a brother or a closer collateral relative of Ma zhang, who after his torture at Thang lha (see n. 28) was brought to this land of sNa nam. It is also possible that the horn commander of Upper dBu ru, sNa nam rGyal rta rGan mo chung (see above n. 21), was buried here, arguably in one of the larger grave mounds. Yet not all the other graves of Brang and Gzhong pa are necessarily to be seen as lineage-specific tombs.

4.3 The Zhang sNa nam of Grva

As with most of the great family lines of the imperial period, the sNa nam had several territorial links, with branches in Lower Myang (rGyal rtse area), and in the Lho kha region, namely in

³⁴ It is noteworthy to refer here to the Lhasa ritual landscape, where Brang phu is known to form the (south-)western corner of the “Lhasa *maṅḍala*,” corresponding to the western of the four cardinal Glang Dar ma (emperor U’i dum btsan) sites of the Lhasa area (RCP 576). The local tradition describes the grave mound ruins as a “residence” of Glang Dar ma, who used to wash his hair at the site of the opened mound inside the military camp’s enclosure walls (i.e., M-1). See Hazod 2009: 184; Hazod 2014. This is perhaps to be read as a distant echo of Ma zhang’s resting place, if we consider that Glang Dar ma and Ma zhang Grom pa skyes developed to become representations of the enemies of religion in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, who used to appear together as demonstrated in the Bodhnath legend (n. 32).

Grva (in today Grva nang County) and the 'On valley (opposite Yar lung, on the other side of the gTsang po).

The dominion in Grva represents a somewhat later history: reportedly under Mu rub btsan po (= Mu rug btsan, r. 800–802)³⁵ the sNa nam was given the three (neighbouring) districts of Grva, Dol, and gZhung (RCP 171). This likely refers to the branch lineage of sNa nam Zhang rGyal tshan lHa snang (d. 796), known from the list of ministers swearing the bSam yas edict, and from the *OTC*, where rGyal tshan lHa snang is listed after sTag ra Klu khong as chief minister (Doston 2009: 151, 153). We see evidence of rGyal tshan's territorial affiliation with Grva in the fact that he founded the Grva'i lha khang, "temple of Grva," there (Uebach 1987: 115; *lDe'u-2* 297.20). Its exact location is unknown, but we suspect it was the precursor to the later (1090) foundation of the Grva thang temple in Lower Grva. The sources also mention other lineage links with these Lho kha territories, all related to the late 8th or 9th century (RCP 171). There are a number of burial mound fields in Grva and the neighbouring districts of Dol and gZhung, yet only the well-known burial ground of gSer khung (0047 in our TTT list), not far south-west of the Grva thang temple, represents a significant elite field (with altogether ten graves, including one *stüpa* tomb; see TTT: site no. 0047). It is again the size of the mounds the criterion for identifying a resting place of an official in the position of chief minister. This refers to the 70m mound of M-1 of 0047, an exceptional monument in this area of Lho kha, which we think indeed represents a good candidate for the identification of the tomb of Zhang sNa nam rGyal mtshan lHa snang (fig. 5). The other graves (or some of the other tombs) of 0047 would then arguably be ascribed to members of his *bu tsha rgyud* (lineage descendants), of which only the son sNa nam Zhang bTsan pa dBu ring (bTsan bzher 'U rings) is known from the sources (fig. 6). His reported killing by Mu rug btsan in the chronicles is related to the critical situation of the throne succession after Khri Srong lde btsan's death (or the latter's decision to retreat from the throne; see *MS* 410), when the (Zhang) sNa nam again played a crucial role.³⁶

³⁵ See Dotson 2007c.

³⁶ For the killing by Mu rug btsan (referred to in the sources as Mu tig btsan po) and sNa nam's revenge on the king see *lDe'u-2* 359.1–6; *MS* 410; Sørensen

Mu rug btsan is said to have later built the temple of Khra sna—as an atonement for his killing of ’U rings. It was thought to be located in the above-mentioned district of ’On (Uebach 1987: 104). ’On is registered as a sNa nam branch (described as the sNa nam Zha lnga, RCP 559), and with the burial ground 0024 (M-1 50m at the front) the area also has a significant elite grave field. We do not know the birthplace of ’U rings, but it may have been that this temple foundation by Mu rug btsan was to fulfil its function as an atonement only if it was built in an area associated with the victim or the victim’s family. This would argue for ’U rings’ burial in ’On.

However that may be, most likely both Grva and ’On were areas associated with the Zhang sNa nam branch of the later (Buddhist) period of the empire—like the later establishment of a lineage history that had its starting point in the sNa nam home of sTod lung Brang gZhong pa sometime in the 7th century. This chronology in terms of branch establishments seems to support our observation in identifying imperial elite grave fields in Central Tibet: the lineage members were usually buried where they had their territorial connections, and not in a central lineage cemetery, which (with few exceptions) we only find in the case of the royal necropolis of Phying ba. However, in the case of Grom pa skyes, whose actual homeland is unknown, there may well have been the consideration that for this statesman a place in the lineage’s central homeland in dBu ru, Brang gZhong pa, was the only adequate site for building his tomb.

5. *Final Remarks*

In his conclusive reconstruction of the “*zhang* rotation” in early Tibet, Dotson suggests seeing Zhang sNa nam rGyal mtshan lHa

1994: 387, 407 for further references; see also Dotson 2007c: 13–14. As noted above (n. 20), a number of Zhang sNa nam officials are recorded for the period of Khri lDe srong btsan, and the sNa nam pa were highly represented also in the later phase of the empire’s throne politics; thus for example the junior wife of Khri gTsug lde btsan was from the sNa nam, as well as (according to *KG*) the senior wife of Glang Dar ma; and not least the mother of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, the founder king of the West Tibetan Buddhist Kingdom, was of sNa nam origin (see Sørensen 1994: 438 *et passim*, and the references given there).

snang as a first generation *zhang* of this lineage, “considering that a Sna nam lady mothered Khri srong-lde-btsan” (Dotson 2004: 85). This may be true, but only if one ignores Grom pa skyes.

There is the old theory (first put forward by Petech), which proposed seeing Ma zhang’s regency after Khri lDe gtsug btsan’s death as an invention of Tibetan historiography or as a distorted version of the regency of the mGar in the late 7th century (see Chattopadaya 1999: 225). But this theory is untenable. It remains indeed somewhat strange that Ma zhang is not recorded in the *Annals* (after the lacuna, i.e., from 755/56), or in the Zhol inscriptions, and that he is also not mentioned in Chinese sources; for the rest there is much allusion to this figure and its activities in imperial-era sources, which ultimately also allow us to identify the historical essence of the later recounted long story of Ma zhang Grom pa skyes: there was a minister named Ma(ng) zham Khrom pa skyes who, from the time of the *dBa’ bzhed* at the latest, was usually referred to as Ma zhang (Grom pa skyes), and who was the author of a supplementary law issued after the death of emperor Khri lDe gtsug btsan. In its chronological classification we see this type of small law as an addendum to the earlier law (or what in the *OTC* is summarised as the “great law”) and as corresponding to the anti-Buddhist *bka’ khrims* that is addressed in the Khri Srong lde btsan edicts. We may moreover add that the author of this law died in around 764 (or shortly afterwards), and was buried in the sNa nam land of Brang in Lower sTod lung, in a grave that in its size (and arguably also in its customary furniture) was appropriate to the rank of this aristocrat.

Coming back to Zhang sNa nam rGyal mtshan lHa snang, it seems that the great minister and his closer and wider lineage relatives (and further all the later Zhang sNa nam of the post-imperial period) were the heirs of an already earlier *zhang* relation, represented by this 8th-century “regent” of sNa nam origin. The inconsistencies we observe in the sources with regard to the persons involved in the events following his *khrims bu chung* seem to reflect the complex role of Ma zhang: he was loyal to the emperor (and to the “old tradition”), but never became a friend of the Buddhist party. What was left was the legacy of an anti-Buddhist minister, one that lives on as a prominent enemy of religion in cultic representations that relate the founding history of Tibet’s Buddhist Empire (see n. 32).

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<i>Annals</i>	See <i>OTA</i> .
BA	Roerich, George N. 1995 [1949]. <i>The Blue Annals</i> . Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
<i>dBa' bzhed</i>	See Wangdu and Diemberger 2000.
<i>sBa bzhed</i>	sBa gSal snang, <i>sBa bzhed</i> . Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1980.
<i>sBa bzhed</i> (Stein ed.)	See Stein 1961.
<i>Deb sngon</i>	'Gos lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal, <i>Deb ther sngon po</i> . Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpes krun khang, 1984.
<i>Dungkar</i>	IHag pa Phun tshogs et al. (eds.). 2002. <i>Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo</i> . Beijing: Krung go'i bod rigs pa dpe skrun khang.
ITJ	IOL Tib J; see <i>TDD</i> .
KG	dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba, <i>Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston</i> . Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986 (TBRC W7499).
KG-2	dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba, <i>Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston</i> . Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1980 (TBRC W28792).
KT	O rgyan gling pa, <i>bKa' thang sde lnga</i> . Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986.
<i>Lde'u-2</i>	mKhas pa lDe'u, <i>rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa</i> . Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1987.
MS	Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, <i>Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud</i> . Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1988.
<i>Nyi ma</i>	Gu ge Pandita Grags pa rgyal mtshan, <i>Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs dang zla ba'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs</i> . In <i>Gangs can gtsug lag rin chen phreng ba</i> , vol. 7. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2014 (TBRC W1AC233).
<i>OTA</i>	<i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> . See Dotson 2009.
<i>OTC</i>	<i>Old Tibetan Chronicle</i> (PT 1287). See <i>TDD</i> .
<i>OTI</i>	Iwao, Kazushi, Nathan Hill, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi (eds.). 2009. <i>Old Tibetan Inscriptions</i> . Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
PK	O rgyan gling pa, <i>Padma bka'i thang yig</i> . Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1996.
PT	Pelliot tibétain. See <i>TDD</i> .
RCP	Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod, in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo. 2007. <i>Rulers on the Celestial Plain. Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung-thang</i> . Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
TB	Klong chen pa Dri med 'od zer, <i>gTer 'byung rin po che'i lo rgyus</i> . In <i>sNying thig ya bzhi</i> , vol. 7, 16–120. Delhi: Sherab Gyaltzen Lama, 1975 (TBRC W12827).

- TDD *Tibetan Documents from Dunhuang*. See Imaeda, Kapstein, and Takeuchi 2007.
- TF Sørensen, Per K. and Guntram Hazod, in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo. 2005. *Thundering Falcon: An Inquiry into the History and Cult of Khra-brug, Tibet's first Buddhist Temple*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- TTT Tibetan Tumulus Tradition:
www.oeaw.ac.at/tibetantumulustradition.

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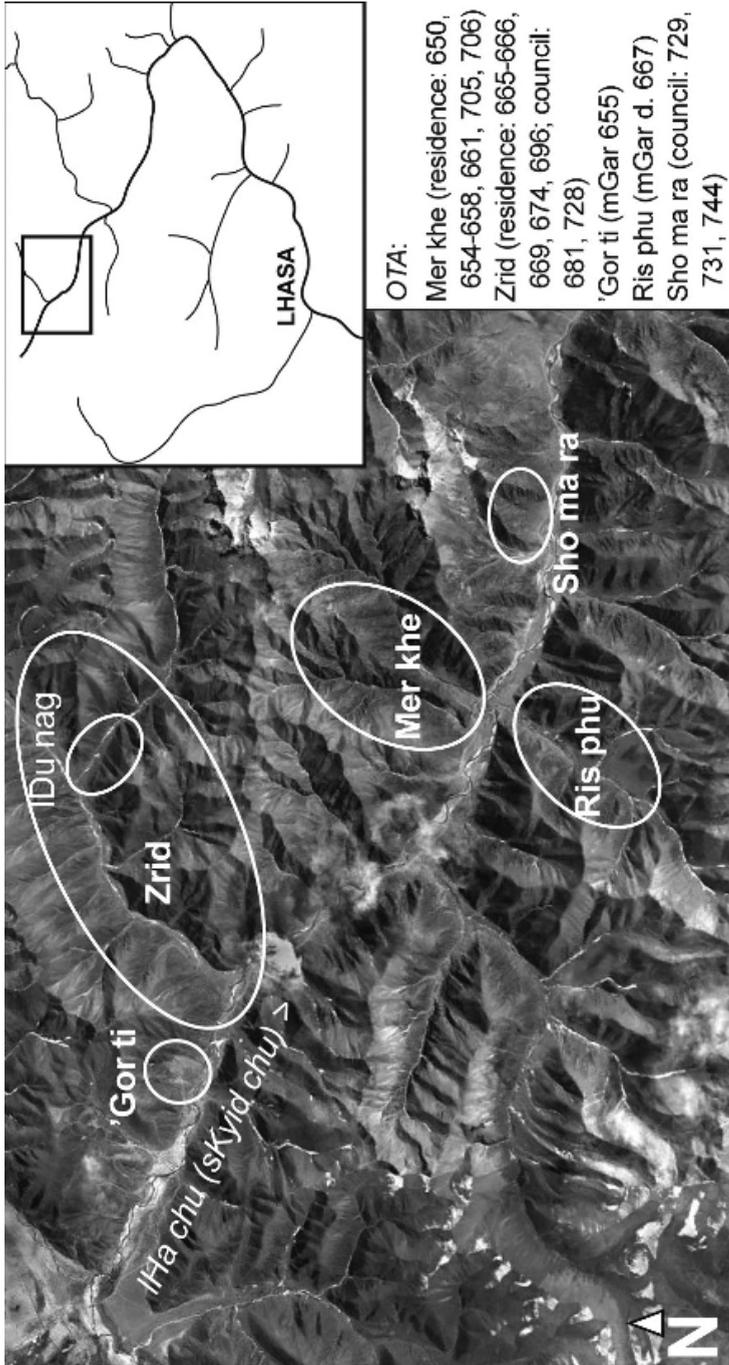


Fig. 1
 dBu ru lung on the upper reaches of the sKyid chu, and the sites of the *Old Tibetan Annals* located in this area
 (G. Hazod, based on satellite photo 2011; Digital Globe 2016)

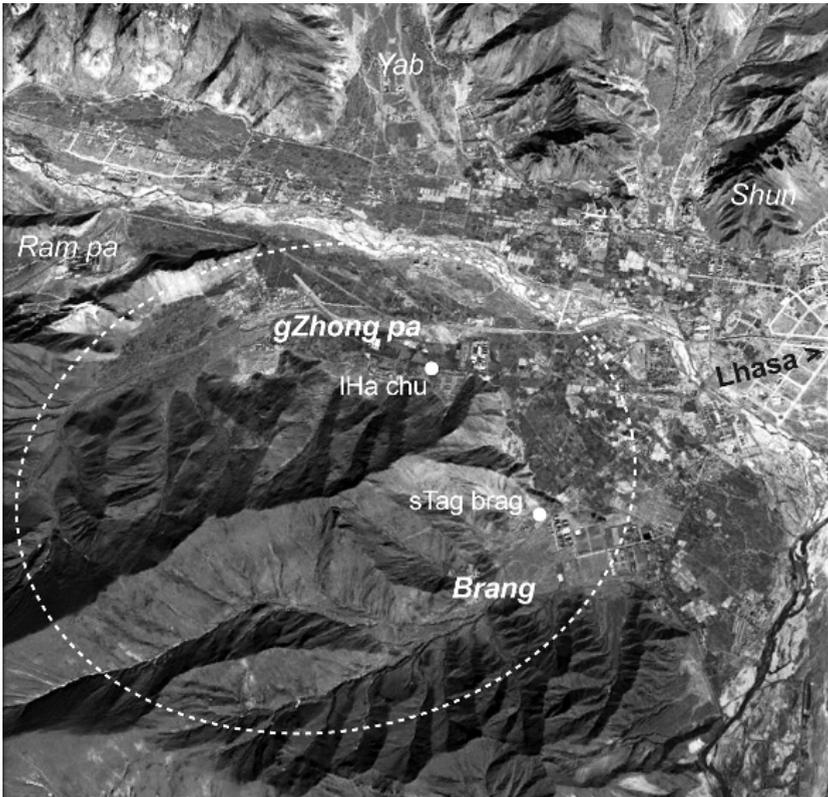


Fig. 2
The district of Brang gZhong pa in Lower sTod lung
(G. Hazod, based on satellite photo 2010; Digital Globe 2016)

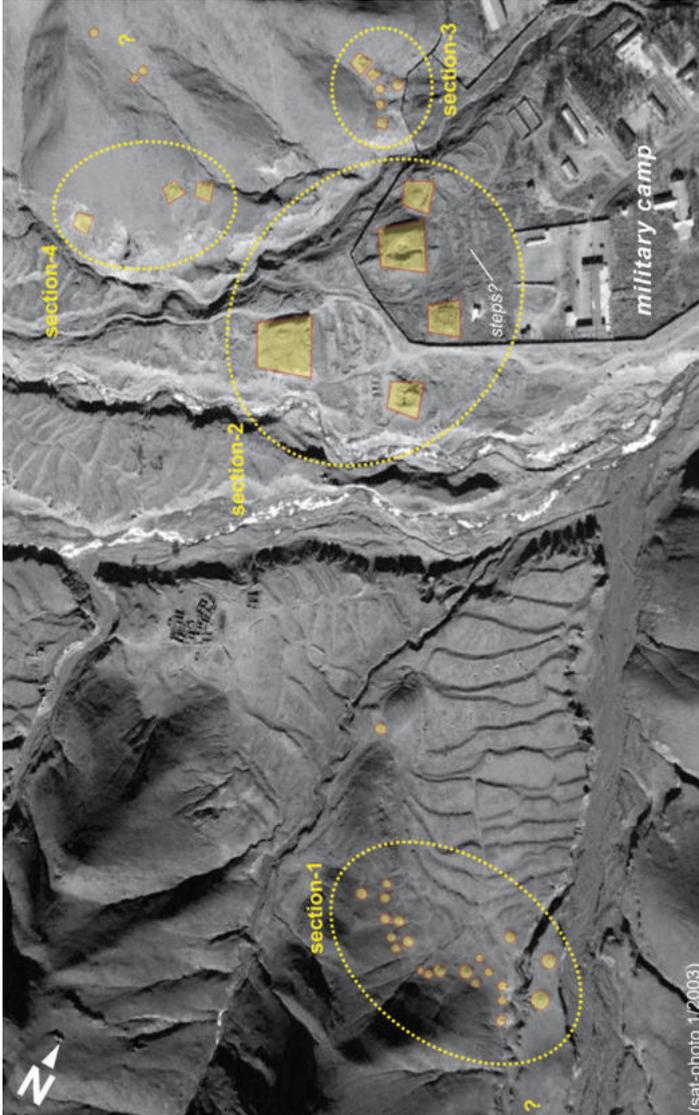


Fig. 3
The grave fields of Brang phu
(G. Hazod, based on satellite photo 1/2003; Digital Globe 2016)



Fig. 4
Section 2 of the grave field 0163 of Brang phu
(G. Hazod, based on satellite photo 1/2003; Digital Globe 2016)



Fig. 5
The central elite grave mound of gSer khung (0047) in Grva
(Photo: G. Hazod 2008)

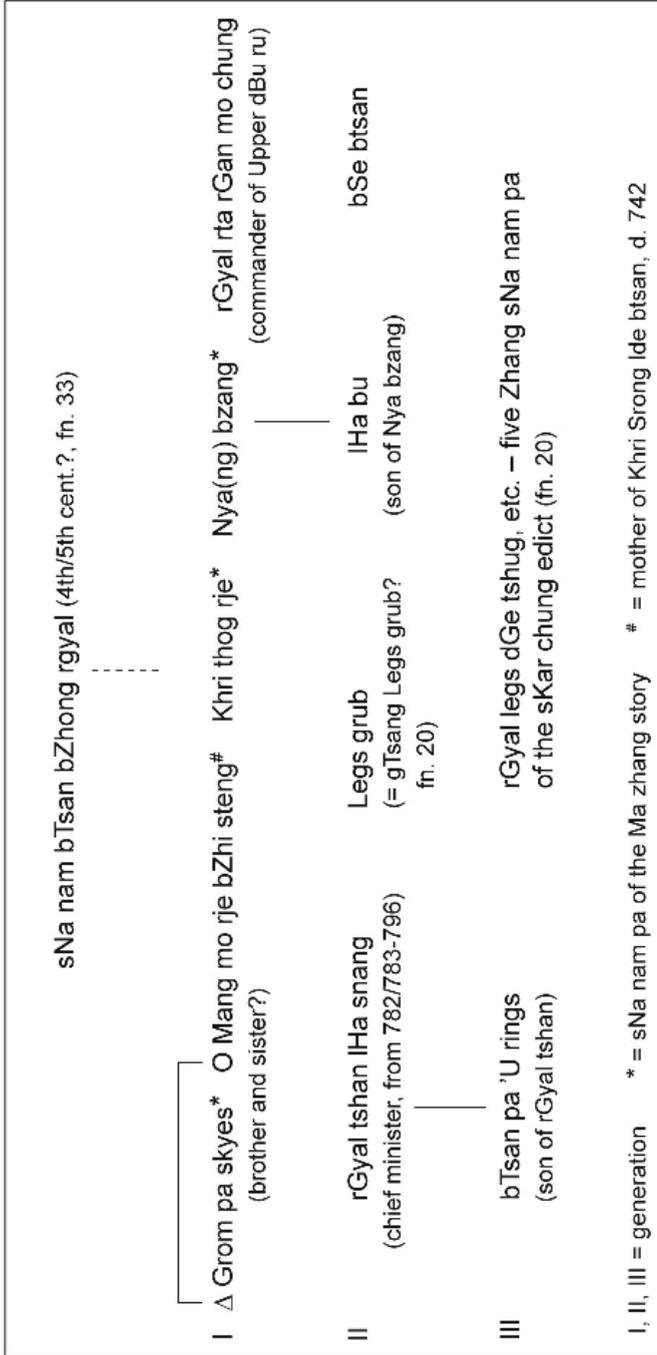


Fig. 6
Zhang sNa nam pa branch lines in the 8th and early 9th century.

*Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka: A Fleeting Episode in the History of Tibetan Madhyamaka**

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Outline

This paper investigates the category “Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka,” a division of Madhyamaka characterized by adopting, at the level of conventional reality, a perspective akin to the Vaibhāṣika philosophical system. While “Yogācāra-Madhyamaka” and “Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka” are well-known doxographical categories, the mention of “Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka” is not as frequent in doxographies. This perspective does not seem to have attracted very many supporters. It was, however, adopted by several Tibetan scholars

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around the twelfth century. In an earlier paper I discussed the adoption of this perspective by the famous Phya pa Chos kyī seng ge (1109–1169) and some of his followers, and their refutation of other options.¹ The present paper inquires into a likely source of influence for Phya pa's position in the newly recovered works of rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags (12th c.), one of Phya pa's teachers. I examine in particular a section of rGya dmar ba's *dBu ma'i de kho na nyid gtan la dbab pa* in which the author discusses the perspective to be adopted by Mādhyamikas at the level of conventional reality and declares himself a partisan of Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka. This section, supplemented by numerous notes written on the manuscript, introduces us to a fascinating intra-Tibetan debate that involved a number of eleventh- and twelfth-century scholars whose works are no longer extant. To conclude, I address the question of the origin and support for the Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka perspective in Indian literature and reflect on the probable causes for its lack of popularity and its disappearance from the Tibetan Madhyamaka landscape.

1. Doxographical Divisions of Madhyamaka

The pioneering studies on the Tibetan divisions of Madhyamaka by Mimaki and Seyfort Ruegg² reveal the effort of Tibetan scholars to categorize the various trends they recognized in the Indian corpus. Tibetan scholars further used these divisions to characterize their own position. Three distinctions stand out in these classifications, distinctions which are frequently combined or blended:

- I Between *rang rgyud pa* (*svātantrika) and *thal 'gyur ba* (*prāsaṅgika).
- II Between *sgyu ma lta bur gnyis su med par smra ba* (*māyopamādvayavādin*) and *rab tu mi gnas par smra ba* (*sarvadharmāpratiṣṭhānavādin*).
- III Between *mdo sde spyod pa'i dbu ma* (*sautrāntika-madhyamaka) and *mal 'byor pa'i dbu ma* (*yogācāra-madhyamaka), sometimes with the addition of other options (see below §1.1 for the details).

¹ See Hugon 2016.

² Mimaki 1982: 27–54, Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 55–58. See also Werner 2014: 7–17 for a survey of Tibetan doxographical literature, including new findings published in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*.

The divisions and their associated terminology can for a large part be traced to late Indian Buddhism. Distinction (I) may have already been in use among the late Indian scholars with whom Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (11–12th c.) had studied.³ Distinction (II) is attested in several Indian eleventh-century works, such as the *Tattvaratnāvalī* of Advayavajra.⁴ The basic pair in distinction (III) is attested in an eleventh-century Indian text, the *Pañcakramaṭīkā* of the Kāśmīrī nun Lakṣmī.⁵ But this third distinction is already found in one of the earliest Tibetan doxographies, one that predates the Indian text by two centuries, the *lTa ba'i khyad par* of Ye shes sde (9th c.).⁶ This work is a likely source for subsequent Tibetan authors mentioning this distinction.⁷ Ye shes sde links the two orientations with Bhāviveka (6th c.) and Śāntarakṣita (c. 725–788), respectively, but other thinkers are sometimes named by later scholars.⁸

³ See Dreyfus and Tsering 2009.

⁴ Mimaki 1982: 33. Seyfort Ruegg (2000: 34, n. 60) additionally mentions the **Paramārthabodhicittabhāvanākrama* of Śūra (/Aśvagoṣa) and the **Ratnamālā* of the Kāśmīrī master Candrahari (11th c.). Almogi (2010: 139–163) discusses the relevant passages of these three works and other Indian sources.

⁵ Mimaki 1982: 43.

⁶ See Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 217 and Mimaki 1982: 31 and 40–41. This distinction also figures in the *lTa ba'i rim pa* of Nyi ma 'od, which may predate Ye shes sde's work, and in several Dunhuang manuscripts (Mimaki 1982: 42–43). The passages of the *lTa ba'i khyad par* cited below are based on the sDe dge edition. As noted by Seyfort Ruegg (1981: 213), some portions of the text are not in the right order. But this does not concern the passages cited here.

⁷ See for instance dBus pa blo gsal's reference to Ye shes sde's division (Mimaki 1982: 173). See also Śākya mchog ldan's reference (but giving “*lTa ba'i brjed byang*” as the title of Ye shes sde's work) with regard to these two options in his *dBu ma'i byung tshul* (7b4–6): *slob dpon 'di* (i.e., Bhāviveka) *'i bshad rgyun de ltar 'dzin pa mtha' dag la dbu ma rang rgyud pa zhes grags te | de la yang dpal sbas dang | ye shes snying po sogs nas rim par brgyud pa dang | byang chub sems dpa' zhi ba 'tsho yab [7b5] sras las rim par brgyud pa dag ste | srol gnyis po 'di la go rim bzhin du | lo tstsha ba chen po ye shes sdes mdzad pa'i lta ba'i brjed byang las | mdo sde spyod pa'i dbu ma pa dang | rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma pa zhes bshad [7b6] do ||*. See also Go rams pa's *Nges don rab gsal* 28a2–4: *lnga pa ni* (= *rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma*) *ye shes snying po dang | zhi ba 'tsho la sogs pa ste | klu sgrub kyi rjes su ye shes [28a3] sdes physis don khas len mi len gyi gsal kham byung pa la | legs ldan byed kyis phyi don khas blangs pas mdo sde spyod pa dang | ye shes snying pos snang ba sems su bshad pas rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma byung || zhes snga rabs pa mams la [28a4] grags te | de ltar na 'di gnyis ka rang rgyud pa'i dbye ba'o ||*.

⁸ For instance, the *bDen gnyis spyi bshad*, an early bKa' gdams pa work on the Two Truths attributed to Atiṣa (982–1054) (although not written by Atiṣa him-

1.1 Divisions of Madhyamaka Pertaining to the Conventional Level

Distinction (III) is to be understood as a division that pertains to the position adopted by Mādhyamika thinkers with respect to the conventional level in the Two-Truth framework. This is clear in Ye shes sde's doxography: the author explains that Śāntarakṣita—who is characterized as a Yogācāra-Mādhyamika—establishes at the conventional level (*kun rdzob tu*) mere consciousness in agreement with the Yogācāra tradition of Asaṅga, and explains that ultimately (*don dam par*) even consciousness is devoid of an own nature.⁹ Ye shes sde also ascribes to Kamalaśīla (c. 740–795) the claim that Yogācāra-Madhyamaka and Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka differ only slightly with regard to the conventional level, but agree with regard to the ultimate level.¹⁰ That the criterion for distinction (III) pertains to the perspective adopted at the conventional level is also stated, for instance, in the *ljon shing* of Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216), in the 16th-century (?) *gZhung lugs legs par bshad pa*,¹¹ and by Śākya mchog ldan (1428–1507) in his account of the classification of ancient teachers.¹² Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge's discussions on this topic in his Madhyamaka summary (*sNying po*)

self, it reports Atiśa's oral teaching), mentions that Atiśa gave a teaching in Tibet on the Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka system of Bhāviveka and on the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka system of Buddhajñāna. Nāgārjuna's position, which was the subject of a third teaching of Atiśa, is referred to in this text as Madhyamaka or Great Madhyamaka. See Apple 2016: 630.

⁹ *lTa ba'i khyad par* 213b2–4: *bar* (em. : *par*) *gyi* [213b3] *mkhan po shānta rakṣi ta zhes bya bas ātsārya a sang* (em. : *sā*) *gas rnam par shes pa tsam du bshad pa'i bstan bcos rnal 'byor spyod pa mdzad pa la brten te | kun rdzob tu de'i lugs dang mthun par rnam par shes pa tsam du bsgrubs la | don dam par rnam par shes pa yang rang bzhin med par bshad pa'i dbu* [213b4] *ma'i bstan bcos dbu ma'i rgyan zhes bya ba zhig mdzad de | [...]* and *lTa ba'i khyad par* 214a1: *de la rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma'i lugs ni kun rdzob tu ni rnam par shes pa tsam du smra ba dang mthun te |*. See Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 217–218.

¹⁰ *lTa ba'i khyad par* 215a1–2: *ātsārya* (em. : *ārya tsārya*) *kamala shīlas dbu ma'i bstan bcos dbu ma snang ba zhes bya ba mdzad pa las ni dbu ma 'di gnyis kun rdzob tu cung zad mi mthun yang |* [215a2] *don dam par phyi nang gi dngos po thams cad rang bzhin med par 'dod du 'dra bas na 'gal ba med do zhes 'byung ngo |*. See Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 219.

¹¹ The *gZhung lugs legs par bshad pa*, which is wrongly attributed to Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251), was more likely composed in the 16th century (van der Kuijp 1985: 84).

¹² Mimaki 1982: 31–32 and 36.

and his doxography also make this point explicit.¹³ Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) also notes that the Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka/Yogācāra-Madhyamaka division “made by earlier *kalyāṇamītras*” relates to their view regarding conventional truth.¹⁴

The items listed in distinction (III) are often associated with the notion of “adopting a position” (*phyogs ’dzin pa*), sometimes with “adopting the position of a philosophical system” (*grub mtha’ phyogs ’dzin pa*). This notion is often contrasted with the “Madhyamaka of the original texts” (*gzhung phyi mo’i dbu ma pa*). It thus refers to perspectives introduced by exegetes of the foundational Madhyamaka treatises of Nāgārjuna.¹⁵

The “philosophical systems” being discussed are the ones in the well-established fourfold division of Indian Buddhist philosophical systems, which distinguishes, on one hand, external realist positions from idealist ones, and on the other, representationalist positions from non-representationalist ones.

	Non-representationalist	Representationalist
Idealist	Non-representational (<i>nirākāravāda</i>) Mind-only (<i>yogācāra</i> , <i>vijñaptimātra</i>)	Representational (<i>sākāravāda</i>) Mind-only (<i>yogācāra</i> , <i>vijñaptimātra</i>)
External realist	Vaiḥāṣika	Sautrāntika

Tibetan authors agree that none of these systems is ultimately acceptable. They commonly apply a refutation along a “gradual scale of analysis,” in which lower systems are successively refuted, leading to the establishment of Madhyamaka. The issue here is the application of these systems at the conventional level.

a. Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka and Yogācāra-Madhyamaka

Ye shes sde limits the division of Madhyamaka to two, Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka and Yogācāra-Madhyamaka.¹⁶ A restricted twofold

¹³ See Hugon 2016: 57.

¹⁴ See Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 96.

¹⁵ See for instance the typology of ’Jad pa gZhon nu byang chub (§1.2.ii) or that attributed to ancient scholars by rGya dmar ba and Go rams pa (§2.3.1.a). See Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 96 regarding Tsong kha pa’s remark on this point.

¹⁶ See *lTa ba’i khyad par* 216a5: *dbu ma mnam gnyis kyi tshul* and *lTa ba’i khyad par* 213b4: *dbu ma’i bstan bcos lugs cung zad mi mthun pa gnyis byung bas*. Ye shes sde sub-

division is also found, among other places, in the commentary on the *Man ngag lta phreng* of Padmasambhava (8th) by the rNying ma pa Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (11th c.),¹⁷ and in the doxography of sTag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (b. 1405).¹⁸ A number of later doxographies of the dGe lugs pa school, and Tsong kha pa himself in his *Lam rim chen mo*, also limit distinction (III) to a two-fold division, but many introduce further subdivisions within Yogācāra-Madhyamaka.¹⁹

b. “Unspecific” Madhyamaka

In a classification that rGya dmar ba ascribes to “ancient scholars,” which is also mentioned by Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge (1429–1489) (see below §2.3.1.a), the pair Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka/Yogācāra-Madhyamaka is supplemented by a third category, the “*spyi bzung zhal che ba*” (or “*spyi phung zhal che ba*” in Go rams pa’s text) or the “*gnyi ga’i lugs dang mi ’gal ba*.” These appear to be two alternative names for the same perspective, rather than two options for this third category. While the first is difficult to translate (maybe “those who judge in general”?), the second term obviously refers to a position that is “not incompatible with the two traditions [of Yogācāra and Sautrāntika].”

I suspect that this category is identical with the “*dbu ma spyi gzhung gi zhal mchu ba*” listed by the rNying ma scholar Rog bande Shes rab ’od (1166–1244).²⁰ Rog bande associates this category

sumes these two under the perspective of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, based notably on the Prajñāpāramitā, which advocates essencelessness and complete absence of production at the ultimate level and illusory production at the conventional level. See *lTa ba’i khyad par* 213b4–214a1. See Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 217.

¹⁷ But this distinction is not mentioned in the source text. See Mimaki 1982: 44.

¹⁸ See *Grub mtha’ kun shes* 87b6–88a5.

¹⁹ See the classifications by Se ra rJe btsun pa Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1469–1546), dGe ’dun rgya mtsho (1475–1542), ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1648–1722), lCang skya Rol pa’i rdo rje (1717–1786), dKon mchog ’jigs med dbang po (1728–1791) and Thu’u bkwan Blo bzang Chos kyi nyi ma (1737–1802) in Mimaki 1982: 29–31. For Tsong kha pa’s discussion, see Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 96.

²⁰ *Chos ’byung grub mtha’ chen po* §167–168, pp. 45–46: *phyogs ’dzin pa’i dbu ma la gsum ste | mdo sde spyod pa’i dbu ma dang | rnal ’byor spyod pa’i dbu ma dang | dbu ma spyi gzhung gi zhal mchu pa’o | [...] dbu ma spyi gzhung gi zhal mchu ba ni | snang ba mkhan po ka ma la shi’i la’i zhal nas | don dam mthar thug pa la yul kyang med la | sems kyang med | spros pa thams cad bral bas chog la | kun rdzob tu phyi rol gyi don yod*

with Kamalaśīla. He describes it as a perspective that leaves undecided the option of external realism or idealism at the conventional level—which corresponds to the idea of a perspective that is “not incompatible with Sautrāntika and Yogācāra.”

As such, this perspective would correspond to the position ascribed to Gangs pa she’u in the Madhyamaka work of rGya dmar ba that I will consider in Section 2 (see below, §2.3.2).

Possibly also conveying the same idea, the *gZhung lugs legs par bshad pa* lists as a third category the “*gang dang yang mi ’gal bar smra ba’i dbu ma pa*.”²¹

c. Madhyamaka “Upholding Illusion”

Grags pa rgyal mtshan is, as far as I know, the only scholar who lists the category “*sgyu ma lta bu dbu ma*” in distinction (III). Go rams pa, in his commentary on this passage of Grags pa rgyal mtshan’s work, associates this category with Śūra/Aśvaghōṣa (Tib. *slob dpon dpa’bo*), providing a long quote from the latter’s **Paramārthabodhicittabhāvanākrama*.²²

d. Madhyamaka “Following Worldly Agreement”

A category more frequently mentioned in the context of distinction (III) is that of Madhyamaka following “worldly agreement” (*’jig rten grags*, suggesting the Skt. *lokaṣṭrasiddha/lokaśiddha*).²³ Although it does not amount to “adopting a philosophical system,” it is nonetheless classified among the options for “adopting a position.” Notably, it is included in the classifications by:

- (i) Grags pa rgyal mtshan (*’jig rten grags sde pa*),²⁴
- (ii) his nephew Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) (*’jig*

par ’dod pa dang | sems su ’dod pa gnyis gang ltar byas kyang chog phyi rol gyi don yod na yang yod | med na yang med zer ro |. Cabezón (2013: 200) translates this category as “the upholders of the general textual tradition.” Rog bande’s three-fold division is mentioned in Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 56.

²¹ Mimaki 1982: 32–33, van der Kuijp 1985: 84, n. 22.

²² *Nges don rab gsal* 27a4–28a2. Mimaki 1982: 31–32. See also below §1.2.vii.b. For an edition and a translation of the passage of Śūra’s text cited here by Go rams pa, see Almogí 2010: 140–143 and 184–196.

²³ On the term referring to this category, see also Mimaki 1982: 38–39 and Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 58, n. 124.

²⁴ Mimaki 1982: 31–32. See also below, §1.2.iii.

- rten grags sde dang bstun*),²⁵
- (iii) bCom ldan ral gri (1227–1305) (*'jig rten grags sde spyod pa'i dbu ma pa*),²⁶
 - (iv) Ral gri's pupil dBus pa blo gsal (c. 1300) (idem),²⁷
 - (v) Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) (idem),²⁸
 - (vi) the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud scholar 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391) (idem),²⁹
 - (vii) Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyogs las mnam rgyal (1376–1451) (*'jig rten grags sde dang mthun par spyod pa ≠ 'jig rten grags sde spyod pa*),³⁰
 - (viii) Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge (1429–1489), commenting on (i),³¹
 - (ix) and Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554) (*'jig rten grags sde spyod pa'i dbu ma*).³²

gSer mdog paṅ chen Śākya mchog ldan ascribes the trio Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka, Yogācāra-Madhyamaka and *'jig rten grags sde spyod pa'i dbu ma pa* to “ancient teachers.”³³ Paṅ chen bSod nams grags pa (1478–1554) ascribes the same trio—using the term *'jig rten grags pa ltar spyod pa'i dbu ma pa* for the third category—to an unidentified earlier scholar.³⁴

Go rams pa also reports that some of his predecessors include the “*'jig rten grags sde spyod pa*” as a subcategory of those who adopt an external realist position at the conventional level (see §1.2.vii.a).

Yet earlier than the occurrence of this category in the 12th-century doxographical discussion of Grags pa rgyal mtshan (i), I will

²⁵ Sa skya Paṅḍita distinguishes this category from the category of the “Mādhyamikas who follow a substantialist system at the conventional level.” *Rigs gter* I 48.5–7: *dbu ma pa'ang don dam par spros pa dang bral zhing kun rdzob tu dngos por smra ba de dag gi rjes su 'jug kyang rung | 'jig rten grags sde dang bstun yang rung ste*.

²⁶ *Grub mtha' rgyan gyi me tog* 62a6–7: *'di ni kun rdzob 'jig rten pa dang 'thun par smra bas 'jig rten grags sde spyod pa'i dbu ma pa ces kyang zer la snang ba la mi dpyod pa'i dbu ma pa ces kyang zer ro ||*. See *Grub mtha' rgyan gyi me tog* 61b1–62b1 for the threefold division in the section discussing the Madhyamaka views on the “material basis” (*gzugs kyī gzhi*), and in particular 62a4–b1 for the category of Madhyamaka “in agreement with worldly conventions.”

²⁷ Mimaki 1982: 27.

²⁸ Bu ston identifies this category with the *dBu ma thal 'gyur ba* (**prāsaṅgika-mādhyamika*). See Mimaki 1982: 33–34.

²⁹ Mimaki 1982: 34.

³⁰ Mimaki 1982: 35. See also below, §1.2.v.

³¹ See Mimaki 1982: 31–32 and Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 56, and below, §1.2.vii.b.

³² Mi bskyod rdo rje's threefold classification is mentioned in *dGongs gcig 'grel* 14b7–15a1, translated in Higgins and Draszczuk 2016: 38.

³³ Mimaki 1982: 36.

³⁴ Mimaki 1982: 37.

discuss in §2.3 evidence for such a position having been adopted by an 11th–early 12th c. Tibetan scholar referred to as “Jo btsun,” whose perspective is known to and criticized by Gangs pa she’u and rGya dmar ba.

Still earlier than this, the *bDen gnyis spyi bshad*, reporting Atiśa’s teaching, mentions a method of dividing correct and incorrect conventionalities “in dependence upon the worldly” (*lo ka la ltos pa*), which is associated with Candrakīrti via a citation of *Madhyamakāvatāra* 6:25.³⁵

The name Candrakīrti is always mentioned when this position is associated with an Indian thinker (e.g., ii, iii, iv, v, viii). Go rams pa (viii) argues that Candrakīrti is a representationalist and an external realist who does however not accept a remote object projecting its aspect in the way the Sautrāntikas propose. Candrakīrti’s adoption of a position “in agreement with the world” is supported by passages common to the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* and the *Prasannapadā*, in which Candrakīrti quotes from Nāgārjuna (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24:10) and Āryadeva (*Catuhṣataka* 8:19), and from a *sūtra*.³⁶

Additionally associating this category with Buddhapālita is only done by bCom ldan ral gri (iii) and Bu ston (v). bCom ldan ral gri (iii) and his pupil dBus pa blo gsal (iv) name Jñānagarbha. sTag tshang Lo tsā ba (b. 1405) was aware of some of his predecessors’ association of this category with Jñānagarbha, which he criticizes.³⁷ Bo dong Paṅ chen (vii) adopts an idiosyncratic distinction between the *’jig rten grags sde dang mthun par spyod pa* and the *’jig rten grags sde spyod pa*, associating the first with Jñānagarbha, the second with Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Candrakīrti and Śāntideva.

bCom ldan ral gri (iii) and ’Ba’ ra ba (vi) link “following worldly agreement” with the idea of an “absence of analysis” (*sngang ba*

³⁵ This method of division is opposed to the division relying on philosophical tenets (*grub pa’i mtha’ la ltos pa*) and the one depending on yogic awareness (*mal byor pa’i blo la ltos pa*). See Apple 2016: 641. See p. 661 for the question whether Atiśa himself was a Mādhyamika who adopted philosophical tenets.

³⁶ *Nges don rab gsal* 26b2–27a1. The passages cited correspond to MABh 276a2–3, 258b7, 258b6 ≡ PP 118b4–5, 164a3–4, 118b4. On the source of the *sūtra* quotation see Tillemans 2018.

³⁷ *Grub mtha’ kun shes* 88a2–5 (see below n. 53). See Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 58, n. 124.

mi dpyod pa). bCom ldan ral gri (iii) explains these two notions and associated terms by citing *Madhyamakāvatāra* 6:35,³⁸ 6:159d³⁹ and SDV 5:21.⁴⁰ His pupil dBus pa blo gsal (iv) repeats the first and the third citations.⁴¹

e. Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka

When mentioned, the category “Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka” or “Madhyamaka in agreement with Vaibhāṣika” is listed in the context of the distinction (III) always together with the basic pair Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka/Yogācāra-Madhyamaka, sometimes with additional categories. I list below in § 1.2 the occurrences I have as yet located, which will be augmented by the material that will be examined in § 2.

1.2 Mentions of the Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka Category in Doxographical Discussions

The following scholars mention the category of Madhyamaka in agreement with Vaibhāṣika in their own typology, or when reporting the typology of earlier thinkers:⁴²

³⁸ Tib. *’jig rten gyi tha snyad bden la rnam par dpyad mi bya*; Skt.: *na tato vicārah kāryo hi lokavyavahārasatyē* |.

³⁹ Tib. *’jig rten grags pa’i kun rdzob ma brlag cig*; Skt.: *mā saṃvṛtiṃ nāśaya lokasiddhām* ||.

⁴⁰ Tib. *ji ltar snang bzhin ngo bo’i phyir* || *’di la dpyad pa mi ’jug go*.

⁴¹ Mimaki 1982: 171–173.

⁴² The Vaibhāṣika-Mādhyamikas could theoretically be included in Sa skya Paṇḍita’s category termed “Mādhyamikas who follow the substantialists at the conventional level” (*kun rdzob tu dngos por smra ba de dag gi rjes su ’jug*) (see the passage cited in n. 25). The substantialist positions mentioned in the preceding part of the sentence include the non-Buddhist Tīrthikas, theists, Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, and the Buddhist Śrāvaka and Mind-only. But Sa skya Paṇḍita’s category most likely intends to include exclusively the Buddhist substantialist systems. In commenting on this passage, Śākya mchog ldan (maybe because he himself does not recognize Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka as a category) only distinguishes two items in this category: Mādhyamikas who follow Sautrāntika at the conventional level and Mādhyamikas who follow Yogācāra. See *Rigs gter rol mtsho* 11a7–b1: *dbu ma don dam par spros pa dang bral zhiṅ* | *kun rdob tu rten ’brel sna tshogs su snang ba ’di* | *gnas skabs su mdo sde pa dang* | *mal ’byor spyod pa dang* | *’jig rten grags sde dang mthun par ’jog pa gsum yod do* ||. Similarly, the 16th-c. (?) *gZhung lugs legs par bshad pa* does not name this category explicitly, but potentially includes it within the “External realist Mādhyamikas whose account of the conventional is in agreement with a Śrāvaka system” (*tha snyad kyi rnam gzhas nyan thos dang mthun pa’i phyi rol don yod par smra ba’i dbu ma pa*) (see van der Kuijp 1985: 84, n. 22).

i. 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/1005–1064)

According to a remark by Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554) in his *dGongs gcig 'grel*, 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas mentions in his *gSung rgyun zin bris* the existence, in India, of “*bye brag tu smra ba spyod pa'i dbu ma pa*.”⁴³ The Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka category is explained as being made up of followers of the Vaibhāṣika system who, when they became Mādhyamikas, maintained the tenets of their earlier affiliation at the conventional level.⁴⁴

ii. 'Jad pa gZhon nu byang chub (11/12th c.)⁴⁵

Eric Werner located an early mention of “Vaibhāṣika-Mādhyamikas” in a commentary on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* by 'Jad pa gZhon nu byang chub. The author proposes the following classification of “Mādhyamikas who adopt a philosophical position regarding the level of conventional truth” (*kun rdzob gyi bden pa la phyogs 'dzin pa'i dbu' ma pa*):⁴⁶

⁴³ *dGongs gcig 'grel* 15a1–2: 'brom ston gyi gsung rgyun zin bris su | bye brag tu smra ba spyod pa'i dbu ma pa zhig kyang rgya gar du yod de | rgya gar na rang sde gnyis dang sems tsam pa'i grub mtha' gang la gnas pa gsum ste dbu ma pa la zhugs pa'i tshe | tha snyad kun rdzob kyi bden pa ni | sngar rang gi grub mtha' tha snyad ji ltar 'jog dang po de nyid physis kyang 'dzin pa yin zhes gsung la |. Translated in Higgins and Draszczyk 2016: 38: “According to the *Notes on the Oral Tradition (Gsung rgyun zin bris)* by 'Brom ston, “there also existed in India one [called] Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka. When those in India who had abided by the two [early] Buddhist schools (*rang sde*) and the third, Cittamātra, joined the Mādhyamikas, then whatever conventions they previously posited regarding conventional truth in their respective philosophies, they also maintained later on [when they became Mādhyamikas].” I am grateful to David Higgins for pointing out this reference.

⁴⁴ A similar idea is expressed with regard to adepts of Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika turning to the Mahāyāna in an early Tibetan commentary on the *Satyadvayāvatāra*, whose author was active around 1100 and a disciple of scholars of the second generation in the teaching lineage coming from 'Brom ston. See the translation of the relevant passage in Apple 2013: 288: “Mahāyānists, when initially [3b] a monk or novice from the Sautrāntika, posit all conventional things like the Sautrāntika, and, if among the Vaibhāṣika, posit conventional things like the Vaibhāṣika.”

⁴⁵ Van der Kuijp proposes the approximate dates 1150–1210 for 'Jad pa gZhon nu byang chub (van der Kuijp 2013: 1389), who was the teacher of Khro phu lo tsā ba (1173–1236) (van der Kuijp 2013: 1396–1397).

⁴⁶ *Kun btus sgron me* 6b2–7. See Werner 2014: 34–35 and n. 114 for a citation of the whole passage and details about the other categories.

- a. External realists (*phyi rol gyi don yod par smra ba*)
 - a1. Vaibhāṣikas (*bye brag smra ba*)
 - a2. Sautrāntikas (*mdo sde ba*)
- b. Anti-realists (*[phyi rol gyi don] med par smra ba*)
 - b1. True representationalists (*mam bden*)
 - b2. False representationalists (*rnam brdzun*)

iii. Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216)

Grags pa rgyal mtshan includes “Madhyamaka similar to Vaibhāṣika” (*bye brag smra ba dang tshul mtshungs pa*) in his fivefold classification of Madhyamaka with respect to the conventional level.⁴⁷ This category is consequently also mentioned by Go rams pa in his commentary on this passage (see vii.b below).

iv. Klong chen rab ’byams pa (1308–1364)

The rNying ma thinker Klong chen rab ’byams pa does not discuss the subdivisions of Madhyamaka and their tenets in detail, but his doxography does mention several of them. Among the ones he mentions one finds, in addition to the Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka and the twofold Yogācāra-Madhyamaka category (representation-
alists and non-representationalists), “some Mādhyamikas who adopt a philosophical position with regard to conventional reality, who are in agreement with Vaibhāṣika” (*kun rdzob kyi bden pa’i phyogs ’dzin pa’i dbu ma pa kha cig bye brag tu smra ba dang mthun par smra [ba]*).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Ijon shing* 30a1–2 (=p.59): *rang gi ’dod pa brjod na | kun rdzob kyi bden pa dang | don dam pa’i bden pa’o || dang po la lnga | jig rten grags sde ba dang | bye brag smra ba dang | tshul mtshungs pa dang | sgyu ma pa dang | mdo sde spyod pa dang | rnal ’byor spyod pa’i dbu ma’o ||*.

⁴⁸ *Grub mtha’ mdzod* 42a4–7: *kun rdzob kyi bden pa’i phyogs ’dzin pa’i dbu ma pa kha cig bye brag tu smra ba dang mthun par smra ste | dus mnyam par gzung ba dang ’dzin pa’i dngos por nye bar ’du ba’i rgyu tshogs pa snga ma las skyes pa ste | de yang tha na rtogs pa med pa’i shes pa la gzung char gsal ba thams cad phyi rol gyi don du sgyu ma tsaṃ du bden no zhes smra ba dang |* I am extremely grateful to Eric Werner for pointing out this passage to me. Comparing Klong chen pa’s doxography with that of Phya pa, Werner has highlighted the fact that Klong chen pa not only adopted the structure of Phya pa’s doxography, but also imported, with some adaptations, whole sections from the latter, especially regarding the discussion of Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika and Yogācāra positions (Werner 2014: 37–40). Further study will be needed to ascertain whether Klong chen pa’s depiction of Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka and other Madhyamaka orientations is based on Phya pa’s presentation or other sources.

v. Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1376–1451)

The Vaibhāṣika-orientation (*bye brag tu smra ba spyod pa*) of Madhyamaka is also mentioned in the classification of Bo dong Paṅ chen:⁴⁹

•rtog ge spyod pa	
▪bye brag tu smra ba spyod pa	→ Āryavimuktisena, etc.
▪mdo sde spyod pa	→ Bhāviveka, etc.
▪rnal 'byor spyod pa	
- rnam bden spyod pa	→ Śāntarakṣita, Haribhadra, etc.
- rnam rdzun spyod	→ Asaṅga, etc.
▪'jig rten grags sde dang mthun par spyod pa	→ Jñānagarbha, etc.
•'jig rten grags sde spyod pa	→ Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Candrakīrti, etc. + Śāntideva

The author provides some details regarding the views involved in the adoption of this orientation. In particular, he notes with regard to “the basis” (*gzhi*) that the upholders of this position adopt as “correct conventionalities” what the Vaibhāṣikas hold to be “ultimately real,” and as “incorrect conventionalities” what the Vaibhāṣikas hold to be “conventionally real.”⁵⁰

Bo dong associates this category of Madhyamaka with the name of Āryavimuktisena (Tib. *grol sde*), the 6th-century author of a commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, and gives as the textual source the “*gsum gyi snang ba la sogs pa*.”⁵¹ This could refer to commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* having the word “*snang*” in their

⁴⁹ Mimaki 1982: 35. The relevant passage is found in *Bo dong gsung 'bum*, vol. 11, 322a2–328b5 (p. 641–654). See in particular 322a2–324a6 (pp. 641–645).

⁵⁰ *Bo dong gsung 'bum*, vol. 11, 322a6–b2 (pp. 641–642): *gzhi ji ltar bkral ba la yang | kun rdzob kyi gzhi dang | don dam pa'i gzhi'o || de la dang po ni bye brag du smra ba rnams kyi don dam pa'i bden pa [p. 642] gang yin pa de nyid 'dir yang dag pa'i kun rdzob dang | de'i kun rdzob gang yin pa de nyid 'dir log pa'i kun rdzob yin no || don dam la yang gnyis las | skye med dang stong nyid lasogs pa ni rnam grangs pa'i don dam yin la | gang du 'ang rjod par mi nus pa ni rnam grangs pa ma yin pa'i don dam yin no ||*

⁵¹ *Bo dong gsung 'bum*, vol. 11, 322a4–5 (p. 641): *bshad bya'i bka' ni snga ma bzhin no || bstan bcos ni gsum gi snang ba lasogs pa'o || slob dpon ni 'phags pa grol sde la sogs pa'o ||*. Note his final comment on this category; *Bo dong gsung 'bum*, vol. 11, 324a6 (p. 645): *phyogs 'di ni grol sde'i rjes su 'brangs pa ste | bye brag tu smra ba spyod pa gzhān yang yod srid pas | lugs 'di kho na bzhin du bsam par mi bya'o ||*. See Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 101 on Āryavimuktisena and the Madhyamaka-Prajñāpāramitā synthesis.

Tibetan short title. Indeed, Āryavimuktisena's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-ṅrtti* and Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā* are called by Pañ chen bSod nams grags pa, respectively, the *Nyi snang* and the *rGyan snang*.⁵²

vi. sTag tshang Shes rab rin chen (b. 1405)

As mentioned above (§1.1.a), sTag tshang himself adopts a twofold division in distinction (III). He associates Bhāviveka and Jñānagarbha with Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka, and criticizes the typology of earlier Tibetans who linked Jñānagarbha with “Madhyamaka following worldly agreement” (see §1.1.d). In the same passage, he mentions earlier Tibetans who held Bhāviveka to have been a Vaibhāṣika-Mādhyamika.⁵³

vii. Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge (1429–1489)

In his work on the Two Truths, Go rams pa mentions the category of Madhyamaka “similar to Vaibhāṣika” (*bye brag tu smra ba dang tshul mtshungs pa*) on two occasions:

a) Presentation of the typology of an earlier scholar

Go rams pa examines in his work the typology of “ancient scholars” (see § 2.3.1.a, n. 82) (who do not mention this category), then discusses also the view of “some subsequent scholar” (*phyis kyi mkhas pa kha cig*) who adopts the following division on Madhyamaka at the conventional level:⁵⁴

⁵² See Kano 2016: 38 and n. 76.

⁵³ *Grub mtha' kun shes* 88a2–5: *bod snga ma dag gis | legs ldan ni bye brag smra ba spyod pa'i dbu ma par byas pa grub mtha'i gtso bo* [88a3] *mtshun pa tsam la brten nas 'gal ba med mod | ye shes snying po | ji ltar snang ba bzhin ngo bo'i phyir* | (SDV 21) *zhes sogs kyis zla grags dang lhan cig 'jig rten grags sde spyod par bshad pa ni mi 'thad de | ma brtags* [88a4] *ma dpyad par kun rdzob khas len zhes pa tsam gyis der 'jog na | zhi 'tsho seng bzang glebs ldan sogs kyang der 'gyur bas so || de dag gis de ltar dod pa'i lung khungs rgyas ni | dogs pa'i gnas chung ba* [88a5] *dang yi ge la rtsegs pas ma bris so* ||. It is not entirely clear whether the lack of textual basis mentioned in the last sentence also refers to the classification of Bhāviveka as a Vaibhāṣika-Mādhyamika, or only to the characterization of Jñānagarbha.

⁵⁴ *Nges don rab gsal* 26a4–5: *kun rdzob khas len tshul la snang ba sems su khas len pa* [26a5] *dang | snang ba phyi don du khas len pa gnyis | phyi ma la 'jig rten grags sde spyod pa dang | bye brag tu smra ba dang tshul mtshungs pa dang | mdo sde spyod pa gsum du nges zhes pa'ang cung zad mi 'thad de* |.

- Idealists (*snang ba sems su khas len pa*)
- External realists (*snang ba phyi don du khas len pa*)
 - Following worldly agreement (*'jig rten grags sde spyod pa*)
 - Similar to Vaibhāṣika** (*bye brag tu smra ba dang tshul mtshungs pa*)
 - Sautrāntika (*mdo sde spyod pa*)

b) Commentary on Grags pa rgyal mtshan's typology
 Commenting on Grags pa rgyal mtshan's typology (see iii. above), Go rams pa associates four of Grags pa rgyal mtshan's five categories with Indian scholars. But he states that the exegetical source for the category of Madhyamaka "similar to Vaibhāṣika" is unclear.⁵⁵

GRAGS PA RGYAL MTSHAN	GO RAMS PA
•kun rdzob bden pa	
▪'jig rten grags sde pa	→ Candrakīrti (26b2)
▪ bye brag smra ba dang tshul mtshungs pa	→ <i>'grel byed 'di yin ces pa gsal bar mi snang</i> (27a1)
▪sgyu ma pa	→ Śūra (27a3)
▪mdo sde spyod pa	→ Bhāviveka (27a2)
▪rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma pa	→ Jñānagarbha, Śāntarakṣita (28a2)

Go rams pa (like 'Brom ston, see i.) explains that upholders of this category are Vaibhāṣikas who embraced Madhyamaka. He gives as an example Bla ma Byams pa'i rnal 'byor pa.⁵⁶ This could refer to *Maitrīyogin, who was an Indian teacher of Atiśa.

After Go rams pa, the latest mention of this category I am aware of is the indirect reference to the category "Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka" in the 16th century by Mi bskyod rdo rje via his citation of 'Brom ston (see i. above).

1.3 Adoption of the Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka Perspective by Tibetan Scholars

While a number of scholars include the Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka category in their typology, or are aware of some of their precedes-

⁵⁵ *Nges don rab gsal* 26a6–28a4. See Mimaki 1982: 31–32 and Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 56.

⁵⁶ *Nges don rab gsal* 27a1–2: *'grel byed 'di yin ces pa gsal bar mi snang yang | [27a2] thog mar bye brag tu smra ba'i grub miha' la gnas pa phyis dbu ma la zhugs pa'i tsho | de dang tshul mtshungs par 'dod pa nges par dgos te | bla ma byams pa'i rnal 'byor pa bzhin no ||*.

sors having done so, actual partisans of this view among Tibetan scholars are rare.

In a previous paper I have shown that the famous Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169) upheld such a perspective, although he did not himself adopt the label “Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka,” but described himself simply as a “proponent of the awareness of an extra-mental object without representation” (*Mun sel* 8a8: *kho bo cag rnam pa med par phyi rol gyi don rig par smra ba*).⁵⁷ The only significant point of agreement between Phya pa’s perspective at the conventional level and the Vaibhāṣika system is the claim that object and cognition are distinct but simultaneous. Phya pa does not mention any sources for the perspective that he adopts. Its adoption is grounded in the refutation of all the other alternatives being considered, namely, Sautrāntika representational external realism and the two types of idealism corresponding to representational and non-representational Yogācāra.

Few of Phya pa’s successors followed his lead on this issue. The only instances I am aware of are mTshur ston gZhon nu seng ge (c. 1150–1210) (who had been a pupil of Phya pa’s student gTsang nag pa [?–after 1195]) and the anonymous author of the *Tshad bsdus*, an epistemological summary wrongly attributed to Klong chen rab ’byams pa (1308–1363), which most likely post-dates Phya pa by one or two generations.⁵⁸ mTshur ston does not adopt the label “Vaibhāṣika-Mādhyamika” and resorts to the same characterization as Phya pa.⁵⁹ But the author of the *Tshad bsdus* describes his own position as being “in agreement with the Śrāvaka Vaibhāṣikas” (*nyan thos bye brag tu smra ba dang mthun pa*).⁶⁰

In the next part of this paper I will deal with a work by the 12th-century scholar rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags. This author is a likely source of influence for Phya pa’s adoption of a Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka perspective. His discussion broadens our under-

⁵⁷ See Hugon 2016.

⁵⁸ On this work, see van der Kuijp 2003.

⁵⁹ *sGron ma* 30b1: *’dir dngos po sems pa’i blos dpyad na tha snyad du don rig rnam med kyi phyogs nyid rigs pas de’i lugs ltar khas blang par bya’o* ||. “In this regard, when analyzing with a mind that considers what is real, conventionally, the position that there is cognition of an object without representation is the one that is correct.”

⁶⁰ *Tshad bsdus* 5,6 and 173,13.

standing on this topic, whereby we are introduced to an intensive, early intra-Tibetan debate around the issue of subdivisions of Madhyamaka.

2. *rGya dmar ba on Madhyamaka Divisions and His Adoption of Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka in the dBu ma de kho na nyid*

2.1 *rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags*

rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags lived between the end of the 11th and the 12th century (his floruit can be situated around 1095–1135) and was active in sTod lung.⁶¹ He is known as a student of Khyung Rin chen grags and Gangs pa She'u Blo gros byang chub, who were both students of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109), and as the principal teacher in Madhyamaka and epistemology of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge.⁶²

In terms of intellectual lineage, rGya dmar ba is clearly situated within the rNgog-tradition associated with the monastery of gSang phu. It is not known, however, whether rGya dmar ba actually studied there or was trained elsewhere by representatives of this monastery.

rGya dmar ba constitutes an important link for our understanding of the early developments of Madhyamaka and epistemology up to Phya pa's time. Only a little is known about rGya dmar ba's views from mentions in later works. His Madhyamaka theories are referred to explicitly by Śākya mchog ldan (on his definition of ultimate and conventional truth) and by rGyal tshab rje (1364–1432).⁶³ A number of views in later epistemological works

⁶¹ See van der Kuijp 1983: 60, Akahane 2010: 78 and Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 420, n. 25. The third also list the relevant sources and enumerate the available information about rGya dmar ba's life and works.

⁶² See Śākya mchog ldan's *rNgog lo rol mo* 4b5: 'dis dang po khyung gi slob ma | rgya dmar ba byang chub grags la dbu tshad gsan and *dBu ma'i byung tshul* 12b4–5: *de'i bshad srol 'dzin pa mang po dag las gtso bo ni khyung rin chen grags | de'i slob ma rgya dmar byang [12b5] chub grags pa dang* |. In Śākya mchog ldan's *rNgog lo rol mo* (4b3) Khyung rin chen grags is likewise singled out as rNgog Lo's major disciple in the fields of Madhyamaka and epistemology. His relation with both Gangs pa she'u and Khyung is mentioned by Padma dkar po (b. 1527) in his *Chos 'byung*, cited in van der Kuijp 1978: 355. See also Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 36 and n. 63.

⁶³ See van der Kuijp 1983: 293, n. 212. The reference by Śākya mchog ldan (*Theg chen dbu ma rnam nges*, chap. 4, vol. 15, 36b6–7 (p. 72): *rgya dmar ba byang chub grags ni | gnas tshul la sems pa'i rigs pas brtag bzod pa ma yin pa dang | des bzod*

are identified as those of “rGya.” There are notably 66 mentions of “rGya” in the *Tshad bsdus*.⁶⁴ While van der Kuijp is of the opinion that these should be ascribed to rGya Grags pa bsod nams, a senior contemporary of Phya pa,⁶⁵ there is clear evidence in several cases that the views being mentioned can be associated with rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags.⁶⁶

While rGya dmar ba’s contributions to the domain of epistemology have yet to surface,⁶⁷ three of his Madhyamaka works have now appeared in the *bKa’ gdams gsung ’bum* collection:⁶⁸

- A commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva (c. 7th–8th c.).⁶⁹
- A commentary on the *Satyadvayavibhāṅga* of Jñānagarbha (8th c.).⁷⁰
- A treatise on Madhyamaka.⁷¹

pa’o zhes ’chad |) appears to be a paraphrase. The source of the former definition can be traced to *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 8a6: *brtag bzod ma yin ba’i shes bya ni kun rdzob ste*. The two references in rGyal tshab rje’s work have yet to be examined.

⁶⁴ Listed in van der Kuijp 2003: 416.

⁶⁵ Van der Kuijp 2003: 417.

⁶⁶ For instance in the case of the first attribution of a view to “rGya” (*Tshad bsdus* 11,2), a parallel can be found in rGya dmar ba’s *dBu ma de kho na nyid* (13a8–b2) and the verse cited in this connection in an interlinear note on the manuscript of the *Tshad bsdus* (which appears in smaller script in the edition) turns out to be an almost literal citation of *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 11a5. I argue in Hugon 2015: 71 that the view attributed to “rGya” in *Tshad bsdus* 36,1 also finds support in rGya dmar ba’s *dBu ma de kho na nyid*.

⁶⁷ A khu chin Shes rab rgya mtsho reports in his *Tho yig* that rGya dmar ba authored two epistemological works: a commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (No. 11809) and a “Summary” (*Tshad ma bsdus pa*, No. 11810). Cf. van der Kuijp 1983: 60–61. Van der Kuijp (1983: 293, n. 212) notes that according to a gloss reading “*kha shas*” the latter might have been fragmentary.

⁶⁸ For the first two, the author is identified as “Byang chub grags” in the colophon. The author of the third is identified as “rGya dmar pa” in the colophon. The name “Byang chub grags” also appears in an earlier verse (accompanied by an interlinear note reading “*rgya dmar ba*”).

⁶⁹ *bKa’ gdams gsung ’bum*, vol. 6, 11–174. The title on the first folio reads *Byang chub sems dpa’i spyod pa la ’jug pa’i ti ka*. In the colophon the text is referred to as *Byang chub sems pa’i* [sic] *spyod pa la ’jug pa’i tshig dang don gsal bar bshad pa*.

⁷⁰ Incomplete manuscript published in the *bKa’ gdams gsung ’bum*, vol. 19, 247–316. As discussed in Akahane 2010, the *dBu ma bden gnyis kyi ti kā* is a commentary on Jñānagarbha’s *Satyadvayavibhāṅga*, including many references to Śāntarakṣita’s *Satyadvayavibhāṅgapañjikā*. In the closing verse the text is referred to as “*bDen gnyis rnam bshad ti ka dag dang bcas*.” This text would thus correspond to the work of rGya dmar ba referred to by A khu chin under the title *dBu ma bden gnyis kyi tikka* (*Tho yig*, No. 11347).

⁷¹ *dBu ma de kho na nyid*, 31-folio manuscript published in *bKa’ gdams gsung ’bum*, vol. 31, 7–67.

2.2 The *dBu ma de kho na nyid*

The third text, on which the present paper focuses, is referred to in its colophon as the “*dbu ma de kho na nyid rnam par spyod*⁷² *pa*,” that is “Madhyamaka—a thorough investigation of the real nature,” or “A thorough investigation of the essentials of the Madhyamaka.” The first folio bears the title “The establishment of the essentials of the Madhyamaka composed by rGya dmar ba” (*rGya dmar bas mdzad pa’i dbu ma’i de kho na nyid gtan la dbab pa*).⁷³

The core of the treatise focuses on the Two Truths.⁷⁴ rGya dmar ba’s work might be characterized as a “Summary of Madhyamaka.” It qualifies not only as a precursor of Phya pa’s “Summaries” but as a recognizable source of influence on them. One can at the outset note that the structure of Phya pa’s Madhyamaka summary (*sNying po*) mostly follows that of the *dBu ma de kho na nyid*.

Table 1
General Outline of the *dBu ma de kho na nyid* and
Corresponding Sections in Phya pa’s *sNying po*⁷⁵

<i>dBu ma de kho na nyid</i>		<i>sNying po</i>
Verses of invocation	1b1	
Introductory discussion recalling the three Turnings of the Wheel	1b1–2a4	
Presentation of Madhyamaka (<i>gzhung dbu ma’i bka’i rtogs par bya ba’i don gtan la ’bebs pa</i>)	2a4–2a5	11 <i>bden pa gnyis kyi dbye ba</i>
I Basis of the division of the Two Truths (<i>dbye ba’i gzhi</i>)	2a8	111 <i>dbye ba’i gzhi</i>
II Object of the division of the Two Truths (<i>dbye ba’i don</i>)	2b1–5a8	112 <i>dbye ba’i don</i>
III Meaning of the terms (<i>ming gi don</i>)	5a8–7a6	114 <i>ming gi don</i>
IV Determination of the number (<i>grangs nges pa</i>)	7a6–8a6	113 <i>grangs nges pa</i>

⁷² *sPyod pa* is to be read as *dpyod pa*.

⁷³ The translation “essentials” for *de kho na nyid* (< Skt. *tattva*) was suggested by van der Kuijp (2003: 381) in relation to an epistemological work bearing a title with a similar expression, the *Tshad ma’i de kho na nyid bsdu pa* (= *Tshad bdsus*).

⁷⁴ rGya dmar ba’s discussion of the Two Truths in his commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, chap. 8, begins in a similar way.

⁷⁵ The numbering of the *sa bcad* of the *sNying po* is that of Tauscher’s edition.

V	Definiens of the Two Truths (<i>mtshan nyid</i>)	8a6–15a7	12 <i>mtshan nyid</i>
1	Explicit definiens of the Two Truths (<i>bden gnyis mtshan nyid dngos</i>)	8a6–9b3	121 <i>bden pa gnyis kyi so so'i mtshan nyid</i> 121.1 <i>rang gi lugs</i> 121.11 <i>kun rdzob kyi bden pa'i mtshan nyid</i> 121.12 <i>don dam pa'i bden pa'i mtshan nyid</i>
2	Respective divisions (<i>so so'i dbye ba</i>)	9b3–9b5	
3	Definiens of the sorts of conventionalities (<i>kun rdzob kyi mam par dbye ba'i mtshan nyid</i>)	9b5–10a6	121.13 <i>kun rdzob kyi bden pa'i bye brag gi mtshan nyid</i> ... 122 <i>mtshan nyid gnas pa'i rten mtshan gzhi bsam pa</i> 122.1 <i>don dam dang kun rdzob kyi bden par mtshon pa'i mtshan gzhi</i> 122.2 <i>yang dag pa dang log pa'i kun rdzob du mtshon pa'i mtshan gzhi</i> 123 <i>mtshan gzhi la brtsad pa spang pa</i>
4	What has the definiens (<i>mtshan nyid dang ldan pa</i>)	10a6–15a7	122.2 <i>yang dag pa dang log pa'i kun rdzob du mtshon pa'i mtshan gzhi</i> 123 <i>mtshan gzhi la brtsad pa spang pa</i>
VI	Valid cognition determining that the definiens applies (<i>tshad ma</i>)	15a7–29a5	124 <i>mtshan gzhi nges byed kyi tshad ma</i>
	Concluding discussion recalling the refutation of all other systems and the establishment of the Madhyamaka system	29a5–39b1	...
	Versified summary	30b1–30b8	
	Closing verses and statement of authorship	31a1–31a3	

In addition to giving us firsthand access to rGya dmar ba's position, the *dBu ma de kho na nyid* also offers a fascinating glimpse into the active intellectual environment of 11th/12th-century Tibet, as rGya dmar ba discusses the views of a number of scholars whose works are otherwise not extant. This aspect of the text would have remained quite obscure were it not for the numerous interlinear notes on the manuscript, which in all evidence were written by a well-informed reader or a diligent student. These notes provide the kind of information that would be expected in an oral teaching. They shed light on the structure of rGya dmar ba's exposition (rGya dmar ba's use of explicit *sa bcad* divisions is limited), provide glosses, examples and additional explanations. Moreover, they

identify by name the various (inter)locutors in the discussions featured in rGya dmar ba's work.

In the discussion under consideration in this article, the notes reveal that rGya dmar ba is discussing the position of various other scholars, who themselves discuss the position of still other scholars. The protagonists involved are identified as "Jo btsun," "Me tig," "Lo tsa" and "Gangs pa." Other names that appear in other sections in the interlinear notes of the text are "dGe bshes" and "Khyung." All these names are also found linked to a number of views in the *Tshad bsdus*.⁷⁶ The scholars thus referred to were not only active in the field of Madhyamaka, but also in the field of epistemology.

"Lo tsa" (one also finds elsewhere in the text "*lo tsa ba*") in all probability stands for rNgog Lo tsā ba, i.e., rNgog Blo ldan shes rab.⁷⁷ "Gangs pa" evidently stands for Gangs pa She'u Blo gros byang chub, and "Khyung" for Khyung Rin chen grags. As mentioned in § 2.1, the latter two figure among the main disciples of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab and were teachers of rGya dmar ba. According to the interlinear notes, the addressee of the second verse of dedication of the *dBu ma de kho na nyid* is Gangs pa she'u.⁷⁸ "Me tig" is probably the same person referred to as "Me dig pa" in the *Tshad bsdus*. He appears to have been the assistant teacher of Khyung Rin chen grags.⁷⁹ The identity of "Jo btsun" and "dGe bshes" remains to be ascertained.⁸⁰ Van der Kuijp has noted that

⁷⁶ See van der Kuijp 2003: 415–417 for a list and an attempt to identify the scholars referred to in this way.

⁷⁷ The interlinear note *khyung lo tsa* ("Khyung and rNgog blo ldan shes rab") glosses rGya dmar ba's mention of *slob dpon dge bshes dag* ("the spiritual friends and teachers") in *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 8b7. And the note *lo tsa la sogs pa* ("rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, etc.") glosses *rje btsun dam pa mkhas mams* ("the learned excellent reverend ones") in *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 15a6.

⁷⁸ *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 1b1: *yon tan dpag myed rin cen dang lhan 'gro na nyi bzhin gsal byed rab grags pa || nam 'byed blo gros dri myed byang chub sems^α dpa' rje btsun dag la rab tu 'dud ||*.

Interlinear note ^α *gangs pa blo gros byang chub*.

⁷⁹ This information is provided in the *Zhib mo rdo rje* of dMar ston Chos kyi rgyal po (c. 1197–1258), see Stearns 2001: 134 and 137.

⁸⁰ Van der Kuijp notes (2003: 417): "The expression *jo btsun* is a title rather than a name in religion. This Jo btsun must therefore be distinguished from Jo btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan, of whom Glo bo Mkhan chen writes that this no doubt fourteenth century scholar was the author of a PV study." See van der Kuijp 2003: 416 for some hypotheses about the appellation "*dge bshes*" in the *Tshad bsdus*.

“Me dig pa, Gangs pa and Jo btsun seem to be anterior to rGya, and Jo btsun flourished before, or more likely, was a senior contemporary of Gangs pa. This means that he was fully contemporaneous with rNgog Lo tsā ba.”⁸¹ This relative chronology is confirmed in the interlinear notes of the *dBu ma de kho na nyid*, which indicate that Jo btsun refuted certain positions of Lo tsa, and that Jo btsun’s positions were in turn refuted by Gangs pa.

2.3 rGya dmar ba on the Divisions of Madhyamaka

2.3.1 Divisions of Madhyamaka

a) Typology of ancient scholars

A first discussion of the division of Madhyamaka takes place at the very beginning of the core part of the text (*dBu ma de kho na nyid* 2a4–7), before rGya dmar ba starts to discuss the Two Truths. rGya dmar ba first reports and criticizes the following division of ancient scholars (*snga rabs pa dag*):⁸²

- a) Madhyamaka of the original texts (*gzhung phyi mo'i dbu ma*)
- b) Madhyamaka adopting a philosophical position (*phyogs 'dzin pa'i dbu ma*)
 - I - Regarding the ultimate level (*don dam la*)
 - 1) Those who claim [that phenomena are] like illusions (*sgyu ma ltar smra ba*)
 - 2) Those who hold [that phenomena] do not abide whatsoever (*rab du mi gnas par 'dod pa*)
 - 3) Those who hold what is paradoxical to be ultimate (*'gal 'dus don dam par 'dod pa*)
 - II - Regarding the conventional level (*kun rdzob la*)
 - 1) Yogācāra (*mal 'byor spyod pa*)
 - 2) Sautrāntika (*mdo sde spyod pa*)
 - 3) (3i) “Not incompatible with both traditions” (*gnyi ga'i lugs dang mi 'gal ba*) or (3ii) “Those who judge by apprehending in general (?)” (*spyi bzung zhal che ba*) (see §1.1.b)

⁸¹ Van der Kuijp 2003: 417.

⁸² *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 2a5: *phyogs 'dzin pa yang don dam pa la sgyu ma ltar smra ba dang | rab du mi gnas par 'dod pa dang | 'gal 'dus don dam par 'dod pa'o || kun rdzob la mal 'byor spyod pa dang | mdo sde spyod pa dang | gnyi ga'i lugs dang mi 'gal ba zhes sam | spyi bzung zhal che ba zhes* ^α *'chad pa ni* ^β *mi bzang ste |*.

Interlinear notes: ^α *snga rabs pa dag*; ^β *de dgag pa*.

Compare with the almost identical typology ascribed to “ancient scholars” by Go rams pa (*Nges don rab gsal* 24a5–25a4). The passage on their division pertaining to conventional reality is cited in n. 54.

rGya dmar ba does not accept (b.I.3) and (b.II.3) to be correct divisions. In particular, his arguments against (b.II.3i) point out that the Vaibhāṣika category has been left out, and that it is impossible to adopt a perspective that is not incompatible with two positions that are themselves incompatible (one being antirealist, the other one realist). Against (b.II.3ii), he argues that there is no textual source that takes the two traditions into consideration but does not adopt one in particular.⁸³

b) rGya dmar ba's own typology

rGya dmar ba's own typology of the "Mādhyamikas who adopt a philosophical position" (*phyogs 'dzin pa*) is the following:

I - Regarding the ultimate level (*don dam la*)

- 1) Those who claim [that phenomena are] like illusions
(*sgyu ma [ltar smra ba]*)
- 2) Those who hold [that phenomena] do not abide whatsoever
(*rab du mi gnas pa[r 'dod pa]*)

II - Regarding the conventional level (*kun rdzob la*)⁸⁴

- 1) Yogācāra (*rnal 'byor spyod pa*)

According to the interlinear notes:

⁸³ rGya dmar ba's refutation of the first option is given in *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 2a6: *mdo sde spyod pa dang rnal 'byor spyod pa bas ma bsdu pa'i bye brag du smra ba ltar 'dod pa^α yod pa'i phyir dang | gnyi ga'i lugs dang mi 'gal ba 'dod pa mi srid dang |^β gal ba gnyis dang mi 'gal ba'i grub mtha 'dzin na rtog ldan mkhas par mi rung ba'i phyir ro ||^γ.*

Interlinear notes: ^α *yees (=ye shes) snying po lasogs* (see §3.i); ^β *phyi rol don yod med phan tshun spangs 'gal yin la*; ^γ *cha shas dang bcas par dmigs pas cig ma yin la de ma yin pas du ma yang ma yin la | cha shas dang bcas pa de dmigs pa la cig gis khyab pas.*

The refutation of the second option is given in 2a6–7: *zhal che byas pa spang myed kyi | lugs gnyis rjes su brjod nas rang gis phyogs [2a7] gang yang ma bzung ba gzhung la mi snang ba'i phyir ro ||.*

Compare with Go rams pa's refutation of this part of the typology of "ancient scholars" in *Nges don rab gsal* 26a2–4: *kun rdzob 'dod [26a3] tshul kyi dbye ba de'ang mi 'thad de | rnal 'byor spyod pa dang | mdo sde spyod pa gnyis su ma 'dus pa'i bye brag tu smra ba dang tshul mshungs pa dang | 'jig rten grags sde spyod pa gnyis kyang yod pa'i phyir dang | snang ba sems su [26a4] khas len pa dang | snang ba phyi don du khas len pa gnyis 'gal bas | gnyis ka dang mi 'gal ba zhes pa'ang mi 'thad pa'i phyir ro ||.* Go rams pa significantly adds the *'jig rten grags sde spyod pa* (which rGya dmar ba does not recognize as distinct) to the categories not included among the Sautrāntika and Yogācāra.

⁸⁴ This part of the typology is identical with that proposed by 'Jad pa gZhon nu byang chub (see §1.2.ii).

- 1.i True representationalists (*nam bden*)
- 1.ii False representationalists (*nam rdzun*)
- 2) External realists (*phyi rol gyi don yod pa*)
 - 2.i Those who hold the view of the Sautrāntikas
(*mdo sde spyod pa ltar 'dod*)
 - 2.ii Those who hold the view of the Vaibhāṣikas
(*bye brag smra ba ltar 'dod pa*)

2.3.2 The Perspective to be Adopted at the Level of Conventional Reality

Subdivisions of Madhyamaka pertaining to the level of conventional reality are discussed in more detail in the *dBu ma de kho na nyid* in the section in which the respective instances of the two types of conventional reality—correct (*yang dag pa'i kun rdzob*) and incorrect (*log pa'i kun rdzob*)—are being examined (V.4 in Table 1). This is the same context in which the same is discussed in Phya pa's *sNying po* (122.2 in Table 1).⁸⁵ This discussion is not to be confused with the refutation of all non-Mādhyamika systems that rGya dmar ba presents at the end of the *dBu ma de kho na nyid*.

The discussion in Section V.4 unfolds in quite a complicated way; fortunately, the interlinear notes help clarify it. In these notes, the various orientations of Madhyamaka being discussed are not associated with the names of Indian scholars (as is usual in doxographical discussions), but with those of their Tibetan upholders.⁸⁶ Based on the information provided in the interlinear notes, the general structure of the section can be described as follows:

Table 2
General Outline of Section V.4 of the *dBu ma de kho na nyid*

1 rGya dmar ba's refutation of other scholars	10a6–13a7
1 Presentation of Jo btsun's position	10a6–11a3

⁸⁵ See *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 29a5–30a8. See also rGya dmar ba's commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*sPyod 'jug ti ka* 60a7f.), which presents the list *'jig rten phal pa, mal 'byor pa, mu stegs kyi mal 'byor, sangs rgyas pa'i mal 'byor* among which *bye brag du smra ba, mdo sde ba, sems tsam pa* among which *sems tsam pa nam bden pa, sems tsam pa nam brdzun pa, dbu ma pa*, in which each system is refuted by the next. The arguments against specific systems might correspond to those adduced when discussing optional systems to be adopted at the conventional level, but in the discussion in Section V.4 the author's goal is not to establish a final position (it is agreed that it is Madhyamaka), but to determine which system (if any) best fits at the conventional level.

⁸⁶ See § 3.i below for an exception.

1	Jo btsun’s own position: adopting a philosophical system is impossible since they can all be refuted	10a6
2	Jo btsun’s refutation of philosophical systems	10a6–11a3
	a Presentation and refutation Lo tsa’s non-representationalist position	10a6–10b5
	b Refutation of Sautrāntika representationalism	10b5–6
	c Refutation of idealism	10b6–11a1
	Summary	11a1–11a2
2	<i>Refutation of Jo btsun by rGya dmar ba</i>	11a3–12a5
	1 Examining which of Jo btsun’s arguments against the philosophical systems are correct	11a3–11a5
	2 Refuting the position that rejects any philosophical system in favor of worldly conventions	11a5–12a1
3	<i>Presentation of Gangs pa she’u’s position</i>	12a5–12b7
	1 Gangs pa’s refutation of other scholars	12a5–12b5
	a Gangs pa’s refutation of the non-representationalist position akin to that of Lo tsa	12a5–12b5
	b Gangs pa’s refutation of Jo btsun’s adoption of worldly conventions and rejection of all philosophical systems	12b2–3
	c Gangs pa’s refutation of the (anonymous) view rejecting the division between correct and incorrect conventional	12b3–5
	2 Statement of Gangs pa she’u’s own position	12b5–7
4	<i>Refutation of Gangs pa’s own view by rGya dmar ba</i>	12b7–13a7
2	rGya dmar ba’s own position	13a7–15a7

This section opens with the general question of whether Mādhyamikas should or shouldn’t actually adopt a philosophical system when dealing with conventional reality. The latter position is ascribed to “Jo btsun,” who argues that none of the four philosophical systems previously distinguished is to be adopted because they are all faulty.⁸⁷ Even the Scriptures do not enable a choice to be made because some support idealism and others support external realism. Philosophical systems are thus to be rejected in favor of worldly conventions. Jo btsun thus qualifies as an early upholder of the doxographical category “Madhyamaka following worldly agreement” (see §1.1.d). It is not explicit in the text or the

⁸⁷ The four systems are introduced here using slightly different terminology than in the passage discussed in § 2.3.1.a, and the subdivision of Yogācāra is made explicit in the text. See *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 10a6: *slob dpon dag ’di skad gsung ste | yul sems gnyis* ^α*sam [ka] | [kha]rnal ’byor spyod pa ’am | [ka]bye brag du mdo sde spyod pa ’am | bye brag du smra ba dang mthun par spyod pa ’am | [kha]rnam pa bden rdzun zhes gzhas par ma nus te | ’jog na sun <byin> par byed do ||*.

Interlinear note: ^α *’dod pa* *

notes whether Jo btsun’s position was influenced by Candrakīrti. Although this author probably lived before the spread of Candrakīrti’s works by Pa tshab Nyi ma grags, Jo btsun may have been exposed to the Candrakīrti teaching lineage that was brought to Tibet at the time of Atiśa’s visit.⁸⁸

Jo btsun criticizes in particular an (external realist) non-representationalist view ascribed to Lo tsa (1.1.2.a). This perspective—characterized in terms of “Madhyamaka in agreement with Vaibhāṣika”—deserves a separate detailed investigation that goes beyond the scope of the present paper.⁸⁹ It involves the controversial tenet that all non-conceptual cognitions are correct and have a true object, including the case of dreams and hallucinations. Establishing this point revolves about the interpretation of specific passages in Jñānagarbha’s work on the Two Truths.⁹⁰

rGya dmar ba rejects Jo btsun’s mere adoption of worldly agreement at the conventional level (1.2.2). He does however endorse most of Jo btsun’s arguments against the philosophical systems that Jo btsun has considered (1.2.1), with the exception of one argument that affects his own position (see below §1.4.b1).

The position of Jo btsun and a view similar to that of Lo tsa are also criticized by Gangs pa she’u (1.3). Gangs pa she’u was one of rGya dmar ba’s teachers and probably his main teacher on the topic of the Two Truths if one believes the identification of the addressee in the verse of dedication at the beginning of the text (see n. 78). Gangs pa’s own view (1.3.2) is a representationalist perspective that leaves the option between external realism and idealism undecided; the existence of external objects remains doubtful due to the lack of probans and the undefined scope of

⁸⁸ See Apple 2013: 265 and 268 for the evidence from an early commentary on Atiśa’s *Satyadvayāvatāra*.

⁸⁹ The elucidation of rNgog Lo’s views will hopefully benefit from the discovery, in the Tangut collection in Khara-Khoto, of a work entitled *Exposition of the Two Truths According to rNgog lo tsā ba*. See Solonin 2015: 854.

⁹⁰ See in this connection, rGya dmar ba’s *dBu ma bden gnyis kyi tī kā* 38b6 (*ad* SDVV following SDV 24ab): *bye brag du smra ba dang mthun pa’i dbu ma’i gzhung btsugs pa yin no* |. rGya dmar ba mentions that he has already refuted the interpretation of the commentary on this point (idem: *’di la ti kas rmi lam gi yul lasogs pa kun tha dad du yod par bshad pa ni* | *rigs pa dang lung gis dgag par sngar rjod pas na* | *nor ba yin_no* ||). This might refer to the refutation found in the *dBu ma de kho na nyid*.

the refutations. Gangs pa would thus be a representative of the doxographical category of “unspecific Madhyamaka” (see §1.1.b).

By the time rGya dmar ba turns to presenting his own position (2) he has already achieved, by way of his own arguments and the arguments already put forward by his predecessors, the refutation of the following positions:

Position

[Jo btsun]

- (i) Refusal of any philosophical system
- (ii) in favor of worldly agreement at the conventional level

Refutation (summary of the main arguments)

[rGya dmar ba]

- (i) Not all arguments against the various philosophical systems are sound. Acceptance of valid cognition is needed to refute other systems. The four options are exhaustive.
- (ii) Worldly agreement includes conventional means of valid cognition. Worldly agreement amounts to the acceptance of external objects known without aspects.

[Gangs pa]

- (ii) Personal reasoning is needed to discern who is competent in the world, reasoning which makes worldly expertise unnecessary.

Idealism

[Jo btsun]

The idealist’s neither-one-nor-many argument for refuting external objects also refutes the existence of the mind.

Representational idealism

[Lo tsa]

External reality is established by perception. The “certitude of co-apprehension”-inference for proving representationalism is not correct.

Sautrāntika representational external realism

[Jo btsun]

There is no probans for external reality being the cause of appearance. The argument against the idealist’s refutation of external objects (i.e., it only refutes their ultimate existence) applies mutatis mutandis to the refutation of God (no criterion to define the scope of the refutation).

[Gangs pa]

Unspecific representationalism

[rGya]

There is no doubt regarding external reality: there are probans (perception) and a

criterion for defining the scope of potential refutations.
The awareness-inference for proving representationalism is incorrect.

[Lo tsa]

“Extreme” non-representationalist involving (i) acceptance of dreams & hallucinations as veridical objects and (ii) the argument that refutations against the former only refute ultimately

[Jo btsun]

(i) This would destroy the accepted account of causality and karmic retribution.
(ii) This would be liable to a parallel argument (also adduced against Sautrāntika) implying the conventional acceptance of God.

[Lo tsa dang mthun pa]

(i') all non-conceptual cognitions have a true object,
(iii) grounded in the SDV

[Gangs pa]

(i') This has overreaching absurd consequences.
(iii) This is contradicted by other passages of the SDV.

Absence of distinction between correct and incorrect conventionalities from the point of view of error

[Gangs pa]

A distinction is required for transactional usage, as otherwise there would be absurd consequences.

2.4 rGya dmar ba's Position

2.4.1 Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka

rGya dmar ba introduces his own view in a straightforward way, saying:

We accept the duality of object and mind in agreement with Vaibhāṣika.⁹¹

What does it mean, for rGya dmar ba, to adopt “Madhyamaka in agreement with Vaibhāṣika” (*bye brag du smra ba dang mthun pa'i dbu ma*)? Earlier in this section, rGya dmar ba defined “Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka” with two minimal criteria:

⁹¹ *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 13a7: *bdag nyid kyi lugs ji ltar zhe na | yul sems gnyis bye brag du smra ba dang mthun par 'dod*. My translation “duality of object and mind” for “*yul sems gnyis*,” rather than “the object and the mind, the two,” is based on rGya dmar ba's recurrent use of this expression to refer to the acceptance of the distinction between the apprehending mind and an apprehended object.

- (i) Acceptance, at the conventional level, of extra-mental objects that are cognized via a non-representational cognition
- (ii) Acceptance of emptiness at the ultimate level.⁹²

The “agreement with Vaibhāṣika” is thus circumscribed by non-representational external realism being adopted at the conventional level.⁹³ Ultimately, of course, Vaibhāṣika is refuted, as all other substantialist systems are, in favour of the Madhyamaka view that everything lacks a nature.⁹⁴

Based on the two minimal criteria given for this position, rGya dmar ba argues that the “agreement with worldly conventions” advocated by Jo btsun actually amounts to adopting a philosophical system: one in agreement with the Vaibhāṣika system. Indeed, what ordinary people agree upon is precisely that external objects exist and are being apprehended without any aspects intervening.

⁹² These criteria are provided in the context of the refutation of Jo btsun’s position. *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 11b1: *tshad ’bras lasogs pa thams cad rnam med kyis don ’dzin pa bye brag du smra ba dang mthun* ^α *pa’i dbu ma zhal gyis bzhes pa ste | tha snyad du rnam med kyis don grub pa dang | don dam par stong pa nyid ces bya ba’i bden pa gnyis las bye brag du smra ba dang mthun pa’i dbu ma la* ^β *msham nyid gzhan med pa’i phyir ro ||*. “The result of valid cognition, etc., all of this being the apprehension of an object by a non-representational cognition, is called the Madhyamaka in agreement with Vaibhāṣika. There is no definiens of Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka other than [their distinction of] the Two Truths as follows: ‘Conventionally, an external object is established by a non-representational [cognition]; ultimately, [one holds] emptiness.’”

Interlinear notes:

^α A gloss in *dbu med* is provided on top of the folio: *pa ** gzhag ** cir ’gyur zhe na | tha snyad du yang tshad ma chad par mi gyur cig ces | tha snyad pa’i tshad mas de ltar rnam par gzhag pa la (tshad?) ma gzhan gyis gnod pa mi srid pa’i phyir tha snyad du rnam med kyis phyi’i don grub pa dang | don dam par dpyad pa’i yul du bden pas stong ba ni bzhed pa’i phyir | bye brag tu smra ba dang ’thun*. The gloss is repeated almost literally, with additional interlinear notes, at the end of the last folio, in *dbu can* script: *pa ’di la gzhag par bya’o | <de ltar yin pa ci ste na> des cir ’gyur zhe na | tha snyad du yang tshad ma chad par ma gyur cig ces tha snyad pa’i tshad mas de ltar <phyi rol gyi don lasogs par> rnam par gzhag pa la tshad ma gzhan gyis gnod pa mi srid pa’i phyir | tha snyad du rnam med kyis phyi’i don <’dzin par> grub pa dang | don dam par spyad <na thamd (=thams cad) stong bas> pa’i bden pa’i stong ba ni <jo btsun nyid> bzhed pa’i phyir bye brag du smra ba dang mthun pa’i*.

^β *grags pa dang mthun nas bzhas pa de las*

⁹³ See in this regard Mimaki’s remark as to what the label “Sautrāntika-Mādhyamika” entails, namely, external realism and representationalism (Mimaki 1982: 52).

⁹⁴ See *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 29a7. Vaibhāṣika is said to be refuted via the refutation of atoms; no other argument is necessary.

The tenet that the object and the subject (its cognition) are distinct and simultaneous (*tha dad dus mnyam*) was, in the case of Phya pa, a significant point of agreement with Vaibhāṣika. This point is not explicitly stated among the criteria for holding a Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka position, but comes up in rGya dmar ba's defense of non-representationalism. In this later discussion, a further point of agreement with the Vaibhāṣika model of cognition (which Phya pa will not subscribe to) is indicated by rGya dmar ba: the view that the agent of cognition is a sense faculty (see § 2.4.2.c).

2.4.2 Justification for External Realism and Non-representationalism

In the first part of Section V.4, in which he refutes other scholars (1), rGya dmar ba has already cleared the way for non-representational external realism via the refutation of idealism and representationalism. When presenting his own position (2), he provides arguments supporting non-representational external realism and answers objections against this position, some of which already came up in Jo btsun's criticism of philosophical systems (1.1.2).

a. External reality exists at the conventional level — distinguishing the scope of the arguments

One point that came up in several of Jo btsun's objections is that there is no criterion for discerning which arguments refute ultimate existence and which arguments refute existence also at the conventional level. This lack of "distinction of arguments" (*rigs pa'i nam dbye*) is a problem for the idealists. If they claim that the neither-one-nor-many argument refutes the conventional existence of external objects, they face the problem that this argument would similarly refute the conventional existence of the mind.⁹⁵ This is also a problem for external realists. In order to secure their position, external realists want to say that the neither-one-nor-many argument only refutes the ultimate existence of external objects. But they cannot explain why this would be the

⁹⁵ The argument is presented in the form of an "argument by parallel," a method of argumentation that will be profusely applied by Phya pa. See Hugon 2008.

case for the neither-one-nor-many argument but not for the inference refuting the existence of God. They would thus have to admit that God, just like external objects, exists at the conventional level.

rGya dmar ba mentions already in his examination of Jo btsun's arguments (1.2.1) that he does not consider the objections invoking the "lack of distinction of arguments" to be sound. The first point in the presentation of his own view thus consists in offering a criterion of distinction (*dBu ma de kho na nyid* 13a8–13b7). rGya dmar ba's idea is that these two can be distinguished based on their negandum (*dgag bya*): whether the negandum is not analysed (*ma dpyad pa*) or is subjected to an analysis (*dpyad pa*), such as distinguishing parts. Here what rGya dmar ba calls "negandum" is actually the phenomenon whose negation constitutes the logical reason. Thus the "existence as causally efficient" that is negated in the refutation of "God" via the logical reason "lacking causal efficacy" qualifies as a "conventional negandum." The inference that negates the existence of God thus refutes its conventional existence. But in the neither-one-nor-many argument, the "oneness" that is negated consists in atoms or moments of mind; this constitutes an "ultimate negandum." Thus, the neither-one-nor-many argument refutes the ultimate existence of external objects or the mind. The existence of external objects and the mind remains unrefuted when there is no analysis into parts. Hence the "external objects" that are accepted at the conventional level are not atoms, but things with a spatial extension such as pots.

Thanks to this criterion, rGya dmar ba can preserve the argument targeting the idealists, but avoid the objection targeting the external realists.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ This solution will be criticized by Phya pa, who proposes another explanation to account for the difference in scope between the neither-one-nor-many inference and the inference refuting God. See Hugon 2016: 115–118. Phya pa's argument is that the logical reason of the neither-one-nor-many inference qualifies everything that is knowable, whereas the logical reason adduced for refuting God does not. The pervasion of the latter by the property "void of being conventional entity" is unproblematic, hence this reason can be adduced to refute God's existence at the conventional level. But in the case of the neither-one-nor-many inference, the pervasion of the logical reason by the property "void of being conventional entity" would entail the problematic consequence that there could not be any conventional entities. Therefore, the logical reason "neither-one-nor-many" cannot be adduced to refute conventional existence.

b. Defense of Dualism in Contrast to Idealism

rGya dmar ba's "positive argument" in favour of dualism and non-representationalism, and against representationalism, can be summarized as follows: "External objects exist as causally efficient and distinct from the mind because they appear as such."⁹⁷ This argument is presented in the form of an argument "by parallel" involving a parallel case on which the external realists and the idealists agree: that of "pleasure."⁹⁸ The realist holds that (a) "external objects" are real because they are causally efficient and (b) are distinct from the mind because they appear as such. The idealist disagrees, but wants to support the claims (a') that "pleasure" is real because it is causally efficient and (b') that "pleasure" is distinct from "suffering" and appears as such. Based on the parallel between the two cases, any attempt by the idealist to counter the realists' claims would generate a similar objection regarding his own tenets.

c. Defense of Non-representationalism

Two issues that non-representationalism has to face were already pointed out in an earlier passage of Section V.4, identified in the interlinear notes as Jo btsun's presentation of Lo tsa's view, which, as I mentioned earlier (§ 2.3.2), was characterized in terms of "Madhyamaka in agreement with Vaibhāṣika:"

(i) Non-representationalists have to explain how the external object and cognition can stand in an "object"- "subject" or "apprehended"- "apprehender" rapport if they are held to be distinct and simultaneous, which would prevent that they stand in either a relation of identity or of causality.

(ii) Non-representationalists also have to account for the distinction between individual episodes of awareness (for instance, a cognition of sound and a cognition of form, or a cognition of white and a cognition of yellow) if this distinction is not to be explained, as in a causal model of cognition, by distinguishing between their respective causes.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ See *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 13b6–7.

⁹⁸ On "arguments by parallels" see the reference provided in n. 95.

⁹⁹ *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 10a8: ^α *phyogs 'di la tha dad dus mnyam pas* ^β *'brel pa mi*

Lo tsa's answer was to concede that he did not accept the *ultimate* status of “apprehender” and “apprehended” of a cognition and its object. But he held this status to be unrefuted at the conventional level, which is “like a mirage” (*sgyu ma lta bu*). Lo tsa's answer is evoked when rGya dmar ba takes up the issue in the context of presenting his own view,¹⁰⁰ but rGya dmar ba provides a more refined answer to these two objections. Leaving the details and identification of the potential textual background for rGya dmar ba's entangled discussion for another occasion, I will limit myself here to summarizing the main points.¹⁰¹

c.1 Explaining the status of object and subject without a relation between the two

To respond to the first of the above-mentioned issues (i), rGya dmar ba again proceeds by parallel argumentation.¹⁰² Mirroring the claims that cognition (a) knows its object without an aspect, (b) is simultaneous with that object, and (c) has no relation of identity or causality with the object, he introduces as a parallel a model of self-awareness that holds that (a') self-awareness, for instance self-awareness of “pleasure,” does not involve an aspect, (b') “pleasure” and the “experience of pleasure” are simulta-

srid pas gzung 'dzin mi rung ba dang | ʸ don so sor rig pa'i nye ba'i rgyu ᵟ med pa lasogs pas kyang^ε mi gnod de |.

Interlinear notes: ^α *bye brag du smra bar spyod pa'i*; ^β (long illegible note); ^γ *brel ba med par **la*; ^δ *mig shes kyis gzugs rtogs la sgra mi rtogs pa'i*; ^ε *phyi rol don kun rdzob du khas blangs **

“This position is not refuted by arguments such as (1) because [the object and the cognition] are distinct and simultaneous, there cannot be a relation [between them]. Therefore it is improper that they would be what is apprehended and what apprehends. Or (2) there would be no immediate cause for the distinct episodes of awareness of objects.”

¹⁰⁰ *dBu ma de kho na nyid 13b7: ^α rnam <pa> med pa<r> don la 'dzin par mi rigs^β so zhe na | don dam pa'i dpyad pas mi gnod pa'i ʸ 'dzin pa khas mi len no zhes slob dpon ᵟ dag lan 'debs so |.*^ε

Interlinear notes: ^α *shes pa la yul gyi*; ^β *te don 'dzin pa la shes pa la don kyi rnam pa 'char dgos pa la de med pas_so zhes rgol ba'o*; ^γ *phyi rol don*; ^δ *lo tsa*; ^ε *me tig pa gsung_ngo*

¹⁰¹ *dBu ma de kho na nyid 13b7–14b4 ('dod pa'i phyogs nyid gzung ba dang don dang 'dzin pa ma grub pa'i brtsad pa spang pa nyid dang bcas).*

¹⁰² *dBu ma de kho na nyid 14a7–b3.* In the text, this comes after the discussion of point (ii), on which see §2.4.2.c.2 below.

neous, and (c') there is self-awareness even though there is no agent/patient-relation between self-awareness and what it is aware of.¹⁰³ Objections against rGya dmar ba's non-representationalist model of cognition would thus entail corresponding objections to the accepted model of self-awareness.

c.2 Explaining the distinctiveness of apprehensions

To account for the distinctiveness of apprehensions (*'dzin pa tha dad*) (ii), rGya dmar ba first appeals to the distinction between the sense faculties (*dbang po*). Thus an "apprehension of form" (*gzugs 'dzin*) is distinct from an "apprehension of sound" (*sgra 'dzin*) because the first involves the faculty of seeing (referred to as "the eye"), the second involves the faculty of hearing ("the ear"). What rGya dmar ba seems eager to imply is that this explanation is also accepted by the representationalist Sautrāntika, and accounts for the distinctiveness of apprehension without appealing to aspects. In the context of this discussion, rGya dmar ba puts forward the Vaibhāṣika view that the agent of cognition is a sense faculty (Skt. *indriya*).¹⁰⁴ The relation between the notions of "apprehending" (*'dzin pa*) and "understanding" (*rtogs pa*) is also clarified as follows: distinct apprehensions are states of affairs (*don*) that are also defining characteristics (*mtshan nyid*) grounding the distinction between the respective conventions (*tha snyad*) or definienda (*mtshon bya*), e.g., the convention "understanding of form" (*gzugs rtogs*) for the first, the convention "understanding of sound" (*sgra rtogs*) for the second.

To account for the difference between the "apprehension of white" (*dkar 'dzin*) and the "apprehension of yellow" (*ser 'dzin*)—in which case the sense faculty is the same—rGya dmar ba invokes the "specificity of the apprehending element" (*'dzin cha'i khyad par*) resulting from the specificity of the sense faculty (*dbang po'i*

¹⁰³ Support for this model is drawn from the *Madhyamakālaṅkāra* (k. 18 and k. 17 are cited, and rGya dmar ba composes a parallel verse for the case of the cognition of external objects) and, according to an interlinear note, Jñānagarbha's work (probably SDVV at SDV 6d).

¹⁰⁴ *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 14a3–4: *des na bye brag du smra ba dbang po nyid lta bar 'dod pa de la bsams na | legs so ||*. "Thus, if one considers the Vaibhāṣika acceptance that the sense organ itself is what sees, this is correct." This view is attested, for instance, in AK 1:42 and AKBh 30.4–12.

khyad par). The latter is itself a matter of the specificity of the “conjunction” (*’tshogs pa’i khyad par*). This expression must probably be understood as a reference to the Vaibhāṣika model of cognition, in which a sense faculty, the object and consciousness “come together” (Skt. *sannipātaḥ*).¹⁰⁵ “Apprehension of white” and “apprehension of yellow” thus differ because the “conjunction” involves a white object in the first case, a yellow object in the second.

Experience of	sense (<i>dbang po</i>)	apprehension of (<i>’dzin pa</i>) – state of affairs/ definiens	“understanding of” (<i>rtogs pa</i>) – convention/ definiendum
sound	ear	apprehension of sound	“understanding of sound”
form	eye	apprehension of form/ color	“understanding of form”
white	eye	apprehension of white	“understanding of white”
yellow	eye	apprehension of yellow	“understanding of yellow”

At the end of the day, it is thus the object that is responsible for the specificity of the cognition, as in the Sautrāntika’s model. But rGya dmar ba’s point is that the object is simultaneous with cognition and merely characterizes cognition in the same way a stick held by a person characterizes the person as a “stick-holder”; the stick does not cause the stick-holder or modify it.¹⁰⁶

2.4.3 Correct and Incorrect Conventionalities

The last portion of rGya dmar ba’s presentation of his own position addresses the identification of correct and incorrect conventionalities, which was the object of Section V.4.¹⁰⁷

He distinguishes correct and incorrect conventionalities based on the criterion of “causal efficacy”—which corresponds to the

¹⁰⁵ See AKBh 143.2–3 ad AK 3:30b on the simultaneity and contact of a sense, an object and its cognition and AKBh 34.3–4 on the simultaneity of a sense and cognition. But note that rGya dmar ba refers in the present discussion to the distinctiveness of “apprehension” as “a phenomenon that is an effect of the sense faculty” (*dbang po’i ’bras bu’i chos*). This point remains to be clarified.

¹⁰⁶ See *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 14b3. The “stick” (*dbyug pa*) simile is said in the interlinear note to come from a work by Dharmottara. This could refer to the discussion on characteristic and characterized (*khyad par/khyad par can*) in PVinṬ I 53b–54a.

¹⁰⁷ *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 14b7–15a6.

one given by Jñānagarbha in SDV 12ab.¹⁰⁸ He combines it with the criterion of “absence of opposition by a valid cognition.” Thus, things such as pots are “correct conventionalities”; they are established as being causally efficient by experience, and this cognition is not opposed. In contrast, things such as double moons or objects in dreams are “incorrect conventionalities.”

rGya dmar ba thus rejects the controversial view that the objects of dreams and hallucinations are correct conventionalities, or, more generally, that all non-conceptual cognitions have veridical objects, which was associated with Lo tsa and his followers. Lo tsa’s position was labeled “in agreement with Vaibhāṣika.” But rGya dmar ba argues in the conclusion of this section that those who hold this view cannot claim to be in agreement with the Vaibhāṣikas, because their position does not match what is explained by Vasubandhu in the *Abhidharmakośa*.¹⁰⁹

3. Possible Source(s) of the Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka Orientation

rGya dmar ba’s perspective appears to constitute a modified (and less extreme) version of the position that was adopted by Lo tsa and some of his followers. But the question remains of which (if any) Indian textual sources did rGya dmar ba (and before him, Lo tsa) rely on to support this perspective. I list here the various hints that I could so far gather from the sources I have examined.

i. Jñānagarbha

In the *dBu ma de kho na nyid*, in the presentation of Lo tsa’s view by Jo btsun, Jñānagarbha’s SDV and a commentary are mentioned in connection to the controversial tenet that dreams (or all non-conceptual cognitions) have a veridical object. Commenting on this passage of the SDVV in his *dBu ma bden gnyis kyi tī kā*, rGya dmar

¹⁰⁸ According to the early bKa’ gdams pa work attributed to Atiśa, this criterion was adopted by most scholars who divided conventional reality in dependence upon philosophical tenets. See Apple 2016: 641.

¹⁰⁹ *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 15a5–6: ^α rnam med kyis don ’dzin pa la rtog med ’khrul pa mi ’dod pa rnams ni bye brag du smra ba’i ’dod pa ^β yang ma rig [15a6] pa ste | slob dpon dbyig gnyen gyis mdzod du bshad pa dang ma mthun pa’i phyir ro |.

Interlinear notes: ^α shes pa; ^β r byed pa yang bye brag pa’i ’dod pa.

ba identifies it as the passage “that founds the system (*gzhung btsugs pa*) of Madhyamaka in agreement with Vaibhāṣika.”¹¹⁰

In Gangs pa’s presentation of the view of those who follow Lo tsa, a commentary on SDVV *ad* SDV 3cd and *ad* SDV 4d is mentioned as the source (*khyung byed*) for their non-representationalist position.¹¹¹ This commentary (*ti ka*) is also mentioned in connection to the ascription of non-representational external realism to “this teacher” (here: Jñānagarbha) in rGya dmar ba’s *dBu ma bden gnyis kyī tī kā* on SDV 3cd cum *vytti*.¹¹²

This indicates that Lo tsa and those who adopted his perspective regarded non-representational external realism in general to be the position of Jñānagarbha. Did rGya dmar ba also think this? An interlinear note attached to rGya dmar ba’s initial discussion of the divisions of Madhyamaka in the *dBu ma de kho na nyid* seems to confirm this. In the passage in which rGya dmar ba criticizes his predecessors’ typology, noting that they left out the Vaibhāṣikas, an interlinear note below “Vaibhāṣika” reads: “Jñānagarbha, etc.” (see §2.3.1, n. 83).

While characterizing Jñānagarbha as a Vaibhāṣika might sound peculiar, if one thinks of the minimal criteria by which rGya dmar ba defines Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka, it does not differ so much from the later characterization of Jñānagarbha as a “Mādhyamika following worldly conventions” by bCom ldan ral gri and dBus pa blo gsal (see §1.1.d). Note, however, that none of the doxographies known to me that mention Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka associate it with Jñānagarbha.

ii. Śubhagupta (and Arcata)

I evoked in my study of Phya’s position the possible influence of Śubhagupta on the adoption of the view that object and cognition are simultaneous, a view that makes Phya pa’s perspective, to some extent at least, “in agreement with Vaibhāṣika.” The Tibetan trans-

¹¹⁰ See n. 90.

¹¹¹ *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 12a5.

¹¹² See *dBu ma bden gnyis kyī tī kā* 11a4–5: ‘*dir mthong pa ni mnam pa gnyis te zhes pas yang dag pa dang log pa’i bye brag gis kun rdzob gnyis su ti kas bshad pa ltar | slob dpon [11a5] ‘di’ kun rdzob du mnam med kyis don ‘dzin par bzhed pa’i phyir rtog med la snang pa blo’i mnam par mi ‘dod pas | zla ba gnyis lasogs pa’ang kun rdzob du phyi rol gi don du bzhed de*].

lation of Śubhagupta's **Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā* dates to the time of the Early Diffusion of Buddhism and was thus potentially available to Phya pa and earlier scholars.¹¹³ The many verses from this work cited in the *Tattvasamgraha* and its *Pañjikā* were also available to them. I showed that verse 81 of the **Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā*, which is not cited by Phya pa but is cited in the epistemological work of Phya pa's student gTsang nag pa, was a likely source for Phya pa's account of the status of object and subject in the case the object and its cognition are distinct and simultaneous, since Phya pa mentions the notion of their "having the same causal complex," which is found in this verse.

My hypothesis that Phya pa could base himself on Śubhagupta finds some external support in the fact that in the doxography of dBus pa blo gsal, verse 81 of the **Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā* is cited in the presentation of the Vaibhāṣika system precisely to answer the problem related to the lack of relation between subject and object if they are held to be distinct and simultaneous.¹¹⁴

dBus pa blo gsal's involving Śubhagupta in the context of the presentation of the Vaibhāṣika system is in contrast to earlier discussions, such as Grags pa rgyal mtshan's doxographical presentation, which relies mainly (if not exclusively) on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. It finds a precedent in the doxography of his teacher bCom ldan ral gri.¹¹⁵ Discussing the same issue,¹¹⁶ bCom ldan ral gri interestingly distinguishes the views of Śubhagupta and Arcaṭa (Tib. Chos 'byung byin = Skt. Dharmākara-datta)¹¹⁷ from those of the "Vaibhāṣikas who follow the *Abhidha-*

¹¹³ See Steinkellner and Much 1995: 52–54.

¹¹⁴ Text edited in Mimaki 1982: 67–68.

¹¹⁵ *Grub mtha' rgyan gyi me tog* 36b3–44b3.

¹¹⁶ See *Grub mtha' rgyan gyi me tog* 39b8–40a8 (*gal te nam pa med kyang don rig na thams cad kyis thams cad rig par 'gyur la | tha dad dus mnyam la 'brel pa 2 ka med pas rig pa mi rung ngo zhe na |*).

¹¹⁷ In the section on Vaibhāṣika, Arcaṭa is mentioned a second time together with Śubhagupta on the issue of the existence of the three times (*Grub mtha' rgyan gyi me tog* 42a5–6). Their view (which rejects the substantial existence of the three times) is contrasted to those of Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Vasumitra, and Buddhadeva. bCom ldan ral gri comments that Śubhagupta and Arcaṭa are Vaibhāṣikas and not, like these four, Sarvāstivādin. They are only "logicians [who hold a view] similar to those" (*Grub mtha' rgyan gyi me tog* 42a6–7: *de la snga ma 4 ni [42a7] thams cad yod par smra ba yin la phyi ma dag ni bye brag tu smra ba yin kyang thams cad yod par smra ba ni ma yin gyi de dang 'thun pa'i rto ge pa yin no |*)). Śubha-

rma[kośa]” (*bye brag tu smra ba chos mngon pa ba rnams*). He supplies an additional explanation ascribed to “some non-representationalist Tibetan teacher” (*bod kyi slob dpon shes pa rnam med du smra ba kha cig na re*).¹¹⁸ Verse 81 of the **Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā* is cited by bCom ldan ral gri when presenting the answer of Śubhagupta and Arcaṭa.¹¹⁹

rGya dmar ba’s answer to this first issue does not appeal to the notion of “arising from the same causal complex.” It rests, as we have seen, on the parallel with self-awareness (see §2.4.2.c.1). But let us consider a second issue that comes up both in dBus pa blo gsal’s discussion of the Vaibhāṣika view and in rGya dmar ba’s text, namely, the question of explaining the specificity of various cognitions without appealing to an immediate cause (§2.4.2.c.2). dBus pa blo gsal cites verses 92 and 106–107a of the **Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā* as the Vaibhāṣika answer to this problem.¹²⁰ Verse 106 contains the idea that the specificity derives from the distinctiveness of the sense faculty, which corresponds precisely to rGya dmar ba’s initial answer.

Additional “hard” evidence would be desirable to exclude the possibility that the similarities of Phya pa’s position and rGya dmar ba’s position with Śubhagupta’s statements are merely incidental.

iii. *Maitrīyogin

Go rams pa, who noted that it is unclear which Madhyamaka interpreter should be associated with this category, explained that upholders of this category were Vaibhāṣikas who embraced Madhyamaka. He gave as an example Bla ma Byams pa’i rnal ’byor pa, which could refer to *Maitrīyogin, who was an Indian teacher

gupta is mentioned without Arcaṭa on the issue of atomism, in the context of which verses 45 and 46 of the **Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā* are cited (*Grub mtha’ rgyan gyi me tog 37a5–7*).

¹¹⁸ Compare this explanation with the passage that comes after the citation of v. 81 in dBus pa blo gsal’s doxography and with *dBu ma de kho na nyid 14a1*.

¹¹⁹ *Grub mtha’ rgyan gyi me tog 40a1–7*. Verse 81 is cited on 40a4–5. While the version of the verse cited by dBus pa blo gsal corresponds to the Tibetan translation of the **Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā* preserved in the canon, the version cited by bCom ldan Ral gri is identical with that cited by gTsang nag pa, which is a slightly modified version of the one found in the Tibetan translation of the *Tattvasaṃgrahaṇājñikā*.

¹²⁰ Text edited in Mimaki 1982: 68.

of Atiśa (see §2.1.2.vii.b). A similar explanation was reportedly given by 'Brom ston (see §1.2.i) but no name was mentioned in this connection.

iv. Āryavimuktisena

Bo dong Paṅ chen associates Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka with Āryavimuktisena, the author of a commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (§1.2.v). Further research in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*-related corpus might allow additional light to be shed on the dawn of Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka as a category and its adoption in the rNgog-tradition, as well as on its link to the Madhyamaka-Prajñāpāramitā synthesis issuing from the works of Vimuktisena. One can note in this regard that Vimuktisena's work was translated by rNgog Blo ldan shes rab.¹²¹ However, one should keep in mind that, unlike Bo dong, other scholars, such as sTag tshang Lo tsā ba and Paṅ chen bSod nams grags pa (1478–1554), associate the name Āryavimuktisena with the category of Yogācāra-Madhyamaka.¹²²

v. Bhāviveka

sTag tshang Lo tsā mentions that some scholars associate Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka with Bhāviveka (§1.2.vi). The relevant source remains to be identified.

vi. Dharmottara

Kevin Vose recently pointed out to me a surprising passage from Pa tshab's recovered works, in which the view that "object and cognition are distinct and simultaneous" is ascribed to Dharmottara.¹²³ While this possibility cannot be excluded given that Dharmottara was a student of Śubhagupta and Dharmākara-datta/Arcaṭa (see above ii.), I was unable to find any potential sources for such an ascription in Dharmottara's epistemological works. It is however possible that Pa tshab was referring to

¹²¹ See Apple 2009 on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* literature in Tibet, and p. 18 on rNgog Blo ldan shes rab's contribution.

¹²² For sTag tshang's classification of Āryavimuktisena, see *Grub mtha' kun shes* 87b5–88a2. For bSod nams grags pa's association, see Mimaki 1982: 37.

¹²³ *Tshig gsal ba'i dka' ba bshad pa* (in *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* vol. 11, 29–203), p. 160.ii.9–10: *slob dpon chos mchog yul dang shes pa dus mnyam du 'dod do* |.

Dharmottara, the author of the *Abhidharmahṛdaya*, and not Dharmottara the logician.

Conclusion

rGya dmar ba acknowledges in his conclusion to the discussion on division of Madhyamaka at the conventional level that his explanation differs in many ways from the ones of earlier Tibetan scholars, but claims that “it does not cause any displeasure to the learned ones.”¹²⁴ Nevertheless, it is obvious that his Vaiḥāṣika-Madhyamaka perspective never became a popular option in the Tibetan tradition. Its adoption was limited to rGya dmar ba’s pupil Phya pa and a limited number of the latter’s successors. The lack of adepts certainly also played a role in the fact that this category fell for the most part into oblivion in Tibetan doxographies.

Among the probable causes for this lack of success might be the fact that Vaiḥāṣika-Madhyamaka lacks a clear (or at least unanimously accepted) basis in Indian sources, in contrast notably to Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka or Yogācāra-Madhyamaka.

For Tibetan scholars who were also active in the epistemological field, another problem may have been the incompatibility of this position with the Sautrāntika/Yogācāra perspectives advocated by Dharmakīrti. The *dBu ma de kho na nyid* mentions that some scholars (such as Jo btsun) adopted differing attitudes in the epistemological context and the Madhyamaka context: they followed Dharmakīrti in the former context but refused any philosophical system in the latter. But rGya dmar ba himself rejects this option. The issue of the compatibility of the Vaiḥāṣika perspective with Dharmakīrti’s works is only raised indirectly in the *dBu ma de kho na nyid* in connection with rGya dmar ba’s refutation of Gangs pa’s representationalist position. rGya dmar ba’s refutation includes a critique of the proofs of representationalism based on the logical reasons “certitude of co-apprehension” and “awareness,”¹²⁵ which are logical reasons supported by Dharmakīrti. rGya dmar ba’s answer to the charge of “contradiction with the Scriptures” is that the relevant passages from Dharmakīrti’s works consist “merely in

¹²⁴ *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 15a6: *des na mkhas rams mi mnyes med* ||.

¹²⁵ *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 13a6–7 (*bkag pa la lung dang gal ba spang pa*).

the explanation of the doxographical positions.” An interlinear note completes the sentence: “but not Dharmakīrti’s statement of his own view.” In other words, rGya dmar ba’s refutation does not touch Dharmakīrti himself, but only the philosophical systems that Dharmakīrti discusses.¹²⁶ This would mean that rGya dmar ba did not consider Dharmakīrti’s final position to be either Sautrāntika or Yogācāra.

I have shown that both Phya pa and mTshur ston acknowledge that their own position diverges from Dharmakīrti on this point and that they do not seem to view this divergence as problematic. But Sa skya Paṇḍita strongly criticized his predecessors and contemporaries who claimed to interpret Dharmakīrti correctly while refuting the Sautrāntika and idealist perspectives advocated in his works. It may thus have become difficult, after the 13th century, for scholars to ignore the issue of “faithfulness to the founding fathers” when developing their own systems.

Even for those who were ready to downplay this aspect, or did not aim at merging epistemology and Madhyamaka, the Vaibhāṣika-option may not have been appealing for other reasons. In particular, Vaibhāṣika did not have a particularly good reputation among Buddhist systems. As a philosophical option, it is systematically placed at the lowest end of the scale of analysis. Some of the tenets it supports even place it at the brink of being categorized as “non-Buddhist.” For such reasons, scholars might have been reluctant to label themselves “Vaibhāṣika-Mādhyamikas.”

The (arguably) intuitive nature of the main “points of agreement” with the Vaibhāṣika was used by rGya dmar ba for arguing that “Madhyamaka following worldly conventions” was in fact “Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka.” The same point could have been a reason for scholars who supported an external realist non-representationalist perspective but did not want to be associated with the name “Vaibhāṣika” to label themselves “Mādhyamika following worldly agreement,” rather than “Vaibhāṣika-Mādhyamikas.” However, whether in the perspective of Jo btsun or that of later fol-

¹²⁶ *dBu ma de kho na nyid* 13a7: ^α yang na grub mtha’ tshul lugs bshad du zad pas slob dpon gyis ^β rigs par bshad pas bdag la gnod pa ni ma yin no ||.

Interlinear notes:

^α slob dpon chos kyi grags pa rang mi bzhed kyi; ^β rnam bcas skyong ngo she na.

lowers of Candrakīrti, the category of “Madhyamaka following worldly agreement” involves the rejection of any philosophical system. This is not just because “substantialist” systems are refuted in final analysis, but because, even at the conventional level, they are not held to be sound.

In this regard, another probable cause for the limited success of the Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka perspective might just have been its weakness as a maintainable philosophical system. The arguments in defense of non-representational external realism put forward by rGya dmar ba were manifestly not considered convincing enough: the objections that rGya dmar ba intended to answer are indeed reiterated by later authors rejecting Vaibhāṣika non-representational external realism as a potential perspective to be adopted at the conventional level.¹²⁷

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Madhyamakālaṅkāra(vṛtti)

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*The Materiality of the Bāmiyān Colossi, across
Three Millennia*

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This study is dedicated to Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, distinguished colleague, friend, and intrepid companion, with whom I have travelled to many distant corners of the globe, but never—alas—to Bāmiyān. Fate ran before us. Nonetheless, the humanistic framework she defined in her writings on the evolution of Buddhist culture in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent have deeply influenced my own perceptions of the nature of Buddhism as it was lived in Eastern Afghanistan and the Hindu Kush from the 7th till 10th century. Cristina’s systematic approach to the study of Tibetan manuscripts (Scherrer-Schaub 1999), has served as a model for my own work on visual media, and I believe has been decisive in the present enquiry. The descriptive analysis of the two colossal Buddha images proceeds from the “... point of view of their spatio-temporal coordinates and their bifunctional role as both archaeological object (materiality) and intellectual or cultural message (textual content)” (Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2008: 304). The resulting multi-disciplinary analysis, in this instance, parallels for the visual texts the analysis of the codicology and philology of the written text (ibid.: 303). And finally, the process of comparative analysis reveals the network of factors which influ-

enced the colossal images and contributed to the changing perceptions of the images over time.

The End

Without a doubt, one of the most poignant and dramatic symbols of the short but violent 21st century is still the image of the exploding Bāmiyān Buddhas. At the beginning of the new Millennium, the colossal Buddhas fell victim to political opportunism and ignorance. In February 2001 the Taliban rulers of Afghanistan reversed their earlier edict protecting cultural heritage and instead decreed that all pre-Islamic statues should be destroyed. Thus, a tremendous assault occurred at the Kabul Museum resulting in the loss of tens of thousands of artifacts. On 2 March 2001—after a heated international quarrel—the Taliban began to destroy the two colossal Buddhas. By 18 March, as the world learned, the destruction was completed.

The paintings and sculptures retrieved from the rock-cut chapels in Bāmiyān, Kakrak, and Fondukistan were fortunately among the several thousand treasures of the Kabul Museum secretly removed from the Museum and hidden by the Museum staff (fig. 1). The whole Hindu Kush collection was previously reported to have been lost. The objects are still not on display in the National Museum.¹

The Goal of this Article

Until now, discussions of the colossal Buddha statues have largely focused on two questions: a) dating the construction of the statues, and to a lesser extent the associated chapels; b) the reception of the colossal Buddha statues at different points in time, as evidenced by the literary sources recording both direct and indirect witnesses to the colossal Buddha images. In contrast, this present discussion will focus on the material and literary evidence for change in the appearance and substance of the colossal Buddha statues in the Bāmiyān valley from the 7th to the 21st century.

¹ To date the only publication showing the treasures saved from the Buddhist sites of the Hindu Kush is Klimburg-Salter 2006.

The dramatic destruction of the Buddhas was widely seen as a symbol of Muslim iconoclasm in the 21st century. Strangely, most authors scarcely discussed the material nature of the images. This present discussion will examine the purported role of iconoclasm in the history of Bāmiyān through a close study of the materiality and mode of production of the colossal Buddha images, particularly the 55m Buddha image. My goal is to understand the materiality and the history of the images from the time of their creation until their demise. An analysis of the materials and techniques used to assemble the 55m Buddha allows us to understand the phases of dissolution of the image as a continuous ongoing process. Thus, I hope to demonstrate that the condition of the colossal Buddhas in the 20th century (before restoration) was a result of natural processes of decay over 1300 years of exposure to the elements and human agency in the 10th and 12th centuries (fig. 2). This position contrasts with the view that the violent destruction by the Taliban was the last in a series of iconoclastic attacks by the Muslim society against the Buddha images (Flood 2002: 648).

I have been unable to find support in the primary sources for the widespread theory that the Buddhas were the object of iconoclastic attacks in the preceding centuries. Probably the most influential article on the topic written by the distinguished scholar of Indian Islamic art, Finbarr Barry Flood, was published in *The Art Bulletin* in December 2002. The core of the article deals largely, and more convincingly, with the subject of medieval Islamic iconoclasm as evidenced in India. Unfortunately, the arguments and sources used for the Bāmiyān Buddhas are disappointing. Flood's logic appears to be similar to that of all 19th-century British travelers. That is, that the Buddhas evidenced clear signs of destruction. Particularly the condition of the faces suggested Muslim iconoclasm.

In support of the argument that the Buddhas were subjected to degradation at various points in their existence, Flood refers to the period before the Buddhas were constructed. He also discusses the evidence supporting the suggestion that the Buddhas' faces had been deliberately destroyed. Unfortunately, Flood apparently read none of the literature that analyzes the identical condition of both Buddhas' faces and concluded that they originally had movable masks. He remarks:

It has often been stated that the Buddhas were originally provided with masks of wood or copper, but little evidence has been adduced for this. It is equally possible that the upper parts of the faces were deliberately mutilated reflecting the activities of medieval iconoclasts for whom the face would have been an obvious target. (Flood 2002: 648)

Flood cites none of the relevant scholarly literature of the last few decades. Therefore, I assume that had he read the publications by Tarzi (1977), Sengupta (1989) or even myself (Klimburg-Salter 1989), he might have come to a different conclusion.

The following discussion attempts to identify the evidence for the changes in the fabric of these colossal sculptures. It will be demonstrated that the experience of the “wonders” (Arabic *‘Ajā’ib*) in the Bāmiyān valley resulted from the combined impact of the colossal images and the paintings of extraordinary creatures depicted in glowing colors. As the painting faded and the colossal images began to crumble, the descriptions of the sculptures were no longer tied to their identity as foreign idols. The only first-hand information about the sculptures comes from reports written at the time when Bāmiyān was a major resting place along the transnational trade routes, and the political center of the Hindu Kush. In order to demonstrate the historical context under which the dissolution of the physical fabric of the Buddhas took place, I shall turn in some instances to supporting evidence from the other monumental Buddha statues and painted chapels from the Bāmiyān and associated valleys (Kakrak and Foladi).

I believe that a close consideration of the materials, the techniques of manufacture of the sculptures, geographical and geological position of the Bāmiyān valley, as well as the religious and historical contexts will demonstrate that the progressive decay of the colossal sculptures resulted for the most part from a natural process of disintegration. Despite persistent speculation from Western writers from the late 18th to the 21st century, only in the 21st century do we have confirmed deliberate massive attacks on the Buddhas themselves. In support of this position, evidence will derive from: a) discussion on the materials and the techniques of manufacture; b) contemporaneous literary accounts and c) later reports in several languages, from the 13th to the 20th century. As we shall see, the identity of the Buddhas as *buddhas* was lost and

the colossi were given other names that tied them to the history of the valley and those who lived there (Inaba 2019).

Studies on the Materiality of the Colossal Images

In addition to my own on-site analysis of the images, made possible by several extended visits to the Bāmiyān valley at the beginning of the Archaeological Survey of India's restoration work and afterwards up to 1975, there are also the testimonies of the archaeologists who worked on the site at various times. In addition, recent studies in conservation research have also provided important information (Klimburg-Salter forthcoming). My present enquiry adopts a chronology of the colossal Buddhas which I summarized elsewhere (Klimburg-Salter 2008 and 2019). This chronology results from the ¹⁴C dates for mural paintings and the colossal Buddha sculptures, which is also supported by a comparative art historical analysis. The most important evidence so far can be obtained from the 43 samples of wall paintings from the three valleys in the Hindu Kush (figs. 4a, 4b) (Nakamura 2006: 117–129), and the ¹⁴C dates for the colossal Buddha sculptures resulting from the ICOMOS research (Blänsdorf et al. 2009: 231–236). The radiocarbon dating for both the paintings and the sculptures is derived from controlled tests of straw fragments and other organic material.

Observations on the fabrication and assembly of the great Buddhas are also derived from the few articles on the relevant conservation research published to date. Several studies of materials and techniques used for the fabrication of the great Buddhas were written by members of the German ICOMOS team. The articles are published in *The Giant Buddhas of Bamiyan. Safeguarding the Remains*, edited by Michael Petzet (2009). The most relevant studies for the present discussion are:

(1) Blänsdorf et al. 2009: details for the materials tested and methods of analysis are superficial, thus the results have only been accepted in their broad outlines. None the less, in my view, the summary of the ¹⁴C results (p. 235) is useful and can be generally summarized to indicate that the 38 m Buddha may be attributed to the late 6th century and the 55 m Buddha to the early 7th century. These dates are also compatible with the art historical analysis. The art historical summaries (chart p. 231) are not reliable.

(2) Blänsdorf and Melzl 2009 provides basic information on the technique of fabrication of the colossal Buddha sculptures. Particularly useful, is a well-illustrated discussion of the techniques of modelling of the robes of the two colossal Buddhas. Regrettably the article contains only one reference to the specialized literature—an inaccurate summary of the theories regarding the masks that had originally covered the Buddhas' faces.²

(3) Blänsdorf, Pfeffer, and Melzl 2009 is concerned with the analysis of 275 small painted fragments taken from the debris of the destroyed colossal Buddhas. The most useful section of this contribution deals with an analysis of the pigments used to paint the colossal Buddhas' robes. There is some debate within the scientific community as to the validity of the conclusions based on such a small statistical sample. Considering the enormous mass of the robes of the original two colossal sculptures, relative to the extremely small number of samples used in the study, the conclusions appear at this moment premature. Should further research of this kind be conducted, it may be possible one day to integrate this information into a theory regarding the painted robes during the last phase of the Buddhist period (*c.* 9th century). In summation, in my view, the basic scientific studies contain some interesting and useful observations, but the conclusions are weakened by the lack of reliable and informed reference to the art historical literature.

In contrast, the few studies providing information about techniques of mural painting at the Buddhist sites of the Hindu Kush (Taniguchi 2007, Taniguchi and Otake 2008) provide valuable insights into the high level of technical competence achieved by the artists of the Hindu Kush.

² Although Blänsdorf and Melzl (2009: 213) publish Tarzi's sketch (1977), they evidently did not read the text nor consult the other relevant art historical literature (Klimburg-Salter 1989: 88–89 and Sengupta 1989). Sengupta's concluding sentence to this description is inverted to say that this unusual structure cannot be explained. What Sengupta in fact concluded is that the mystery of the missing faces was thus solved. For an explanation of the construction of the metal masks see below "Metal Parts."

The Historical Witnesses

The most detailed report of how the Bāmiyān Buddhas looked, and the only one containing an indication of the techniques used, is that of the famous Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang who, according to Shōshin Kuwayama (2002), visited the valley in the 630s (fig. 3). The pilgrim describes his visit to the monumental pilgrimage site in the Bāmiyān valley:³

In a niche in the mountain to the north-east from the royal city there is a standing stone statue of the Buddha, one hundred and forty or fifty feet high, swaying with golden color, [and] shining with [its] bejeweled decoration. To the east there is a monastery which was built by a former king of this kingdom. To the east of the monastery there is a standing statue of the Buddha Śākyamuni [covered with] brass, more than one hundred feet high, [and with] parts of [its] body separately casted [and then] assembled together.

Two or three miles east of the city, inside of a monastery, there is a statue of a reclining Buddha entering *nirvāṇa*, more than one thousand feet long. The king of this [kingdom] regularly arranges a “Great Assembly Without Restriction” in this [place]; starting with his wife and children down to the kingdom’s treasures he completely uses up his royal storehouse, and even donates his own person, and the officials and the government assistants then have to ransom [him] from the monks—this way has been made an official task [for them].

Thus, Xuanzang describes the main ceremonial purpose of the Bāmiyān valley, the *pañcavārsika-pariṣad* identified by Deeg as the “Great Assembly.” The paintings of the row of figures on either side of the soffit in the 38m Buddha niche are believed to depict the nobles assembled at the time of this ceremony (fig. 5b; see also Klimburg-Salter 1989: pl. XLIII; 2005).

I have advanced the hypothesis that the monumental site was dedicated to the spiritual career of the Buddha Śākyamuni: thus, the pilgrim followed a route starting from the Bodhisattva’s encounter with the Buddha of the Past, Dīpaṃkara (55 m Buddha), then he circumambulated around Śākyamuni (38 m Buddha) and finally he finished the ritual circumambulation with Śākyamuni’s

³ I cite here from Max Deeg’s draft translation and commentary of this section of the *Xiyuji* 西域記 (T. 2087, LI, 873b13–21) and thank him for sharing this material with me.

parinirvāṇa (Klimburg-Salter 1989; 2019). The exact location of the latter is still debated (fig. 3).⁴

What is important for us is that the Chinese pilgrim tells us that there were three colossal Buddhas, that they were in part sculpted out of the rock but also made of different parts of metal, a copper alloy, melded together. No other visitor or even second-hand report ever mentioned the third Buddha.

Both remaining colossi, and probably also the third, were built up against a core image chiseled out of the conglomerate rock façade. A composite clay body was built up upon the rock core and the subsidiary wooden and rope armature were affixed, final details such as the robes were finished in several layers of gypsum plaster which were, in a final phase, painted.⁵ An extremely complex painting technique, consisting of various layers of binder, undercoating and pigments, was used to paint the outer and the under of the Buddha's monastic garments (Blänsdorf and Melzl 2009). A similar technique was employed for finishing the surface of the unbaked clay sculptures from the nearby Buddhist monastery of Fondukistan (Novotny 2007, 2009).

There is no archaeological evidence for the third Buddha, and all translators and editors of this text complain about the difficulty in deciphering this passage. Therefore, not only is the exact location of this Buddha debated but also the size. The cliffs from which the Buddhas were carved are made of a layered conglomerate stone, which is very fragile and disintegrates easily. As the third Buddha was a lying figure it could have been built up against the cliff, rather than placed in a monumental niche as were each of the standing Buddhas. Thus, today there is no trace of this Buddha. There is no doubt, however, that the *parinirvāṇa* Buddha was also a colossal statue. Given, the fragile nature of the conglomerate stone it is most likely that the façade, as a result of a seismic shock, fell down covering the third Buddha (Klimburg-Salter 2019).

⁴ For a detailed discussion of the identification of Dīpaṃkara Buddha and the hypothesis of a unified iconographic program, see Klimburg-Salter 2019.

⁵ See Klimburg-Salter 1989: 87–98, 157; Sengupta 1989; Blänsdorf and Melzl 2009.

The Beginning

Let us consider the colossal Buddha sculptures in chronological order. At the center of the great cliff, exactly underneath the crowning elevation, stands today the empty niche that had once protected the smaller (38 m) monumental Buddha identified by Xuanzang as Śākyamuni (figs. 5a, 5b).

The most recent evidence from ¹⁴C tests of organic fragments from both Buddhas, with a 95.4 % probability, suggests a date for the Śākyamuni Buddha of 544–595 CE (Blänsdorf et al. 2009). Hence, these results roughly point to the late 6th century CE. The wall paintings in the connected group of caves organized vertically around the Buddha (C1 and 2, D1 and 2, and lower A1 and 2) are dated by ¹⁴C to late 6th–early 7th century (fig. 6). The caves were connected by stairs that allowed one to go up each side of the Buddha, and also gave access to the niche of the 38 m Buddha and a sort of gallery around the head.⁶ These caves facilitated the construction of the Buddha image and the painting of the niche, and also allowed the worshipper to perform a sort of vertical *pradakṣiṇā*. There was also a gallery running around the back of the Buddha's head. At the floor of the gallery were indentations where massive beams had rested (Klimburg-Salter 1989: pl. XXVIII, fig. 32). These must have been used for the scaffolding, which made it possible to paint on the soffit. But it also seemed to me, when I visited there several times in the early 1970s, that they could have supported a balcony allowing the nobleman to marvel at the paintings in the soffit of the niche and to view the ceremony below. This balcony would have been the real counterpart to the scene painted at the edges of the soffit composition to either side of the solar deity (fig. 5b; Klimburg-Salter 1989: pl. IV, fig. 4, pl. XLIII). In short, the paintings in the niche were completely visible, and therefore we must assume meaningful.⁷ The interpretation of these paintings is crucial to understand the cultural

⁶ See Klimburg-Salter 1989: pls. L, LII–LV. For a detailed description of the caves and for the connected system of stairs for circumambulation, see Klimburg-Salter 1989: 146–155.

⁷ For an extended description of the structure around the head of the 38 m Buddha and a review of theories regarding the interpretation of the paintings in the soffit, see Klimburg-Salter 2005: 537–538.

contexts of this initial phase of the monumental pilgrimage site. Now that there is a reliable relative chronology for these paintings (fig. 4a) that attributes them to the late 6th century, it is to be hoped that they will soon be the subject of a comparative art historical analysis.

The Buddha of the Past Dīpaṃkara

Before the 38m Buddha sculpture was completed, the work on the larger “West” Buddha began. According to the evidence from the ¹⁴C, the great western Buddha—i.e., the 55m high colossus, which I propose to identify with Dīpaṃkara—was built between 591 and 644 CE (Blänsdorf et al. 2009). A judicious dating would be the first quarter of the 7th century for the larger Buddha (fig. 7), since we know the image was completed (although apparently not the paintings in the niche) by the time of Xuanzang’s visit. There were certain iconographic differences between the two Buddhas. The 55 m Buddha’s feet were each placed on a lotus-shaped pedestal, and above his shoulders were structures that contained many deep holes, in some of which wooden pieces could still be observed. My hypothesis was that these held flames made of clay on wooden armature: thus, this Dīpaṃkara Buddha had flaming shoulders. The technique of manufacture, however, was fundamentally the same for both images as described above, although the larger size of the Dīpaṃkara Buddha necessitated deeper folds of the monastic garments; this in turn called for thicker wooden pegs and ropes to secure the folds resulting in a much deeper profile to the folds. The great western Buddha (Dīpaṃkara) was the first to be visited by Xuanzang. It was possible to circumambulate the Buddha at the base going through a series of connecting caves (caves I through IX).⁸ It was also possible to go up on the Buddha’s head from a gallery along the back. The access to this gallery was a staircase carved into the rock cliff. The original staircase was heavily reconstructed by the French Archeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA), during their early research at Bāmiyān, and in the 1970s by the Archaeological Survey of India. The magnificent paintings (fig. 8) that filled the soffit and were

⁸ Klimburg-Salter 1989: 173–174, pl. LXX, fig. 89.

visible from this gallery were not painted before the third quarter of the 7th century, so they do not enter the present narrative.

The fact that the dates of fabrication of the two standing colossal Buddhas are overlapping is indicated by the ¹⁴C evidence and by the evidence of the reworked small fragments of the Śākyamuni Buddha's robes (Blänsdorf and Melzl 2009), and also by the original stylistic similarity between the two Buddha images. This last point can be seen in the important photographs taken by Benjamin Rowland in 1936. A comparative study of this documentation reveals that the figure style and the treatment of the drapery of the two Buddhas were quite similar. This is more easily noticeable comparing two photos of the standing colossi, which Rowland was able to take from almost the same angle relative to each standing image (figs. 5a, 7). These photos are taken prior to the addition of the buttress on the west side of the 38 m Buddha niche by the DAFA; and prior to other repairs, such as the smoothing of the form of the 38 m Buddha niche, and the narrowing of the entire lower body of the image of the Śākyamuni Buddha by the Archaeological Survey of India (Sengupta 1989: 204). Using these early photographs as a guide, the stylistic comparisons of the two colossi with the stele of Śākyamuni and the Śrāvastī Miracle from Paitava, and with the Dīpaṃkara Buddhas from Shotorak, both in Kapiśa (fig. 9), are striking. All those Buddhas are frontal and hieratic in style with stocky proportions and a rather large head on a short neck. In Kapiśa, the image of Dīpaṃkara with his flaming shoulders and massive proportions is always overwhelmingly larger than the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni represented to his left. An earlier example of this same image from Shanxi Province China is identified by inscription as Dīpaṃkara and dated to 489–495 (fig. 10.1). The monumental stele also has a Bodhisattva image depicted on the reverse (fig. 10.2). Buddhas with flaming shoulders are known only rarely from Gandhāra and Swat (ancient Uḍḍiyāna). Flaming shoulders are an essential attribute of images of Dīpaṃkara in China, Kapiśa (which had long historical connections to China), and Bāmiyān. The narrative of Dīpaṃkara was overwhelmingly popular in Kapiśa, as seen from the remains at Shotorak. Other iconographic functions for the shoulder flames were found throughout Kapiśa, particularly the miracle of Śrāvastī. The earliest example of the latter theme in the area is

from Kham-i Zargar, but the best known is from Paitava, a later example in a totally different style (Klimburg-Salter 1995: pls. 176, 177). Other examples of seated meditating Buddhas with shoulder flames are known elsewhere in the caves of Bāmiyān, but the iconographic programs are incomplete. An important exception was the painting on the eastern wall of the niche of the 55 m Buddha (Klimburg-Salter 1989: pl. XLI, fig. 48).

Metal Parts

In a still unpublished translation and study of Xuanzang's *Xiyuji*, Max Deeg says that "the sculpture may have been (partly?) covered with plates of metal coating," including a mask and perhaps other movable parts that were attached separately, thus giving the Chinese pilgrim the sense that the image had been "assembled of different parts." Deeg goes on to say:

The Chinese word used for the metal is *yushi* 鑠石 (*lectio vulgata* of *toushi*, in which the first character 鑠 / **thəw*, seems to be a partial transliteration of Iranian / Arabic *tūtiya*), which I translate here as brass, a copper alloy which is well known in the Tang period and probably before as coming from Persia.

A wooden frame anchored the metal masks to the faces (Sengupta 1989: 205). The conclusions have been obtained from a comparative art historical analysis and the archaeological evidence. Some of the most salient points of the argument can be seen from the images published here, such as the remains of charcoal lodged in the crevices of the face depressions and the structural features (fig. 12a). From the still visible holes and Xuanzang's description we can conclude that the Buddhas might also have worn earrings, and possibly other jewelry (fig. 13). These conclusions were reached independently by several scholars working in Bāmiyān during the early seventies of the last century.⁹ Crowned and jeweled Buddhas are a distinctive feature of the iconography of the Hindu Kush. They occur throughout the wall paintings of the Hindu Kush from

⁹ Sengupta 1989; Tarzi 1977; Klimburg-Salter 1989 (first suggested in Klimburg-Salter 1976).

the earliest paintings in the soffit of the 38 m Buddha until the latest paintings in Foladi. The identical clear cut, with a chiseled trough above the chin (fig. 12a) that was filled with debris, was clearly visible when standing next to the head of the Buddha. Tarzi (1977) has drawn very precise sketches (fig. 12b, c) showing the identical sharp cut above the lips of the faces of each Buddha each with a trough above the chin clearly meant to anchor a mask-like structure. Rowland's photograph shows the complex deep ridges in front of and below the ear (fig. 13). It is so precise that it could only have been made when the scaffolding was in place; the only explanation I can think of is that there was anchored a mask and/or an earring and crown.¹⁰ Tarzi's sketches clearly show that both faces have an identical vertical slit with a shelf and a small trough behind the slit, where the mask would have been anchored, and underneath, and around, what would have been the ears, are holes that show that the mask was also anchored there. According to Xuanzang's description, at least one Buddha had a crown. As in the paintings in the Hindu Kush, the crowned Buddhas also wore earrings, hence the holes under the ears. The interpretation of the 55 m Buddha as a monumental representation of Dīpaṅkara, wearing a copper alloy mask to which a crown and jewels were attached, is supported by the iconography of that Buddha in Nepal, which survives into the modern period (fig. 17).

The forearms were made of thick wooden beams to which metal sheets were attached: indeed, the holes for the thick wooden armature for the forearms were clearly visible (figs. 7 and 11). This interpretation can be evaluated also in the light of the vast mineral deposits in central Afghanistan, particularly the very large copper mine at Mes Aynak. There is also literary evidence for skillful metal working in the region such as the life-size Buddha described by Xuanzang in Kapiśa. The most recent research at the site of Mes Aynak, which was certainly the largest copper mine in Inner Asia, shows that it was not only a site for metal extraction but also for the smelting of copper and presumably the working of copper as well.

¹⁰ For a detailed description in English of both Buddha sculptures, including the faces and the masks, see Sengupta 1989: 205 and Klimburg-Salter 1989: 87–90, 157, 172; Klimburg-Salter 2019.

Copper production at Mes Aynak continued over a very long period of time, including the 6th to 9th centuries. Mes Aynak lay along the trade routes connecting Kabul, Kapiśa and Bāmiyān (Klimburg-Salter 2010a). Thus, the evidence not only for copper and other important minerals, but also for the production of diverse artifacts in Afghanistan means that the topics of metal extraction, production, and distribution deserve serious consideration.

Although precious metal images and artifacts were usually melted down and reused, a large number of statues of crowned and bejeweled Śākyamuni Buddhas have survived from the region and period under discussion. A precious testimony for the identification of a jeweled and crowned Buddha as Śākyamuni is the inscription on the base of a finely cast image of a seated Buddha where the attributes, crown, jewels, and bejeweled three-pointed cape, are virtually identical to those displayed in several Bāmiyān paintings. The image was produced within the realm of the Kabul Shahi and is thus contemporaneous with some of the painted images at Bāmiyān (Klimburg-Salter 2010b).

Dissolution

The Bāmiyān valley is located in a seismically active zone. The cliffs into which the Buddhas and caves are excavated consist of a fragile conglomerate rock. These two factors contributed to the dissolution of the images as a continuous ongoing process. The patrons and artists of the monumental complex appear to have become more skillful in adapting their choice of materials and techniques of production to these conditions since the only evidence we have for structural damage and repair dates from the early phase of construction.

The earliest recorded earthquake in this area during the period under discussion occurred in June of 819 and appears to have been quite massive. A second earthquake is recorded in 849 as having been particularly strong around the Herat area and the Central Hindu Kush. It is probable that because the two earthquakes occurred within 30 years of each other, the destabilization of the rock façade, which began after the first earthquake, was further intensified by the second. As we have seen, it is possible that the third Buddha image (the *parinirvāṇa* Buddha) lies buried under the collapsed cliff. The double severe earthquakes also

would have caused some damage to the two standing Buddhas and this could well account for the signs of ancient repair and repainting on the Buddhas' robes (Blänsdorf and Melzl 2009: 211ff.). However, Sengupta (1989) noticed that there were very deep cracks that were filled in with clay and painted over at the time that the soffit painting of the 55 m Buddha niche was executed. But the latter earthquake damage must have occurred during an early phase of the excavation of the niche at the beginning of the 7th century.

It is important to note, however, that there is no evidence for damage and re-painting of the mural paintings in the caves from which samples for analysis have been taken by the Tokyo team working in Bāmiyān. Nakamura (2006) provides a complete list of evidence for each of the 43 samples which covers all of the most important painted caves.

Assembly: Building up the Image

I will now attempt to demonstrate shortly, in a very general and not too technical way, how the Buddhas were assembled. I am concentrating here on the larger Buddha, for a variety of reasons. First, the smaller Buddha was often heavily restored, so that our photographic documentation is not very reliable. Second, and more importantly, the larger Buddha was made after the smaller Buddha, and used a much more sophisticated technique. According to the analysis of the fragments uncovered from Bāmiyān, it has been proposed—logically in my view—that changes were made to the surface of the smaller Buddha in the same material as that used on the final surface of the larger one. This only could have taken place at the time of the completion of the construction of the 55 m colossus.

Both the contemporaneous literary evidence as well as the testimony of the images themselves suggest that the Buddhas were assembled on the rock core that had been hewn out of the cliff. This rock core, which can clearly be seen in a picture of the seated Buddha from Niche E (fig. 14), is relatively shallow. Undoubtedly, over the approximately 1300 years that the image was exposed to the elements, the outer layer of possibly lime or gypsum plaster literally weathered away. Thus, the Buddha was created negatively: the great niches were excavated out of the living conglomerate

rock and the core of the Buddha image was exposed or created following this negative technique. The upper layers and finished form were then built up by adding layers of progressively finer clay mixed with small pebbles, and finally the finishing layer which was painted (fig. 15). We have already noted that the face and the fore-arms had an armature of heavy wood to which copper alloy plates or masks were added.

The final layer of the 55 m Buddha image, which was not as heavily restored in the 20th century as the 38 m Śākyamuni Buddha, is quite clearly built up of horizontal slabs of composite clay, with an outer layer of lime or gypsum plaster which was painted in a final step. These horizontal units (figs. 7, 16) were laid on top of a securing mechanism that consisted of wooden pegs, anchored horizontally from one side of the body to the other. Upper layers of lime or gypsum plaster were built around this network of pegs and ropes and molded into drapery (fig. 15). If one considers the right hand of the Buddha, which from the position of the arm and the holes was clearly raised—as one sees in the sculptures of Dīpaṃkara from Shotorak (fig. 9) and from Mes Aynak (Klimburg-Salter 2018: fig. 17)—one notes that the edges of the robe were extremely thick and deep. The remaining holes and wooden staves extant in Bāmiyān suggested to the restorers of the Archaeological Survey of India a correspondingly deep and thick fold.

The photo taken by the French delegation in 1928 (fig. 16) shows the location of the fold of the outer monastic garment: we can see how heavy it was from the much larger holes; this meant that much larger wooden pegs were needed to carry the fold. What appears on the photo to be deliberate destruction is actually showing that an entire section of this heavy, protruding fold had become damaged over the centuries due to the heavy weight of the construction and the long-term weathering resulting from the extreme climate. The rain and the snow, and the occasional earthquake, eventually caused the entire section—from under the arm down to the bottom of the garment down to the ankles—to pull away and fall off. Thus, this large section of both Buddha images was missing, which gave rise to speculation regarding deliberate destruction. In three photos, taken at three different times in the 20th century, one can observe this process of dissolution: on the first one (fig. 16), taken *c.* 1928, note the hole and the damaged

left lower leg; the second one (fig. 7), taken in 1936, shows how this section has further deteriorated; on the third one (fig. 11), dating from 1973, this section is totally broken away and probably smoothed out by the A.S.I. conservators.

Although a study of the slightly later Buddhist sculptures and paintings of the Hindu Kush would take us beyond the parameters of this discussion, it is useful to note that the craftsmen of the Hindu Kush continued the high-quality innovation first evidenced by the extraordinary monumental Buddhas discussed here. As I have already noted, a similar complex multi-layered technique of binding material, undercoating, and upper pigment layers was also used to finish the surface of the unbaked clay images at Fondukistan (Novotny 2007, 2009). A complex painting technique has also been shown to have been used in the extremely refined wall paintings of the *c.* 8th century (Klimburg-Salter forthcoming a). They were identified by Prof. Taniguchi as the earliest evidence of oil painting ever found. For our present purposes, the important point is that the technique of production and the high level of artistry found in the colossal Buddha images documents the first phase of an affluent and sophisticated culture, which was able to utilize complex building, sculpting, engineering, and painting skills as well as artistic materials of the highest quality.

Evidence of Destruction: Human Agency

In addition to the process of natural decay and dissolution discussed above, there is also some damage that may have resulted from human agency. On the proper upper left leg of the 55 m Buddha, there is a depression, which looks as if it could have been caused by a single canon shot, as interpreted by some western observers (Burnes 1834). This is the only indication that I found on either Buddha image which might suggest deliberate destruction. On the other hand, we have just discussed the manner in which the heavy lower fold of the outer monastic garment of this image deteriorated and pulled away from the rock core. The hole in the leg may also have resulted from this process of dissolution. The latter explanation appears more plausible as there is no clear evidence for violent destruction mentioned in the reports of the various conservators and scholars working at the site during the 20th century.

There are several indications of repair: 1) after the 7th century, there was apparently a small fire around the arm of the 55 m Buddha, as evidenced by some charred wood. There is a repair of the wooden armature and fragments of various texts were placed in this hole as relics. The latest of these fragments can be attributed to the c. 7th century. Therefore, the repairs could have taken place only after that date. How such a limited fire could have occurred is difficult to explain, as there are no other traces of fire anywhere on the Buddha. Perhaps it was lightning which hit the exposed wooden armature. Or, perhaps, the forearm became unstable and needed to be repaired. It is not impossible that the fragments used to fill up the hole—including the manuscript fragments—bore traces of fire that had actually occurred somewhere else.

The Gradual Transformation of Buddhist Society

A discussion of the chronology and evolution of the Buddhist sites of the Hindu Kush lies outside the scope of this paper (for the latest research, see Klimburg-Salter 2019 and forthcoming). However, the art historical, archaeological, and technical studies all suggest a very strong continuity throughout the life of these Buddhist sites. Essentially, this is based on political continuity as well as on continuity in the domain of religious ideology. I have earlier suggested (Klimburg-Salter 1989) that Buddhism in Bāmiyān can be associated with the Lokottaravādin branch of the Mahāsāṃghikas. Buddhist texts that came from Afghanistan and were acquired on the antiquities market are generally accepted to have come from the Hindu Kush and perhaps even the Bāmiyān valley (Tournier 2017: 50, n. 203). Recent studies of these manuscripts (Braarvig 2000–2016) indicate that some of these texts were associated with a Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin community. This association is also mentioned by Xuanzang in the early 7th century. The recent publication of an indispensable scholarly study of the *Mahāvastu* (Tournier 2017) forecasts a new phase in the study of the Buddhist art of the Hindu Kush. These new textual studies should enable the art historians to clarify to what degree the tenets of this school, as expressed in their canonical texts, could have served as a basis for the artistic programs in Bāmiyān from the 7th century onwards.

We have no clear understanding of when Buddhism ceased to be practiced in the Bāmiyān valley. There seems to be a long period of social evolution and adaptation. But the complete Islamization of the Bāmiyān region seems to have only occurred during the Ghaznavid period.

The next question is the problem of dating phases in the changing perception of the colossal images. If anything is remarkable, it is that there is no sign of massive destruction, nor are there signs that the caves or the Buddhist sculptures were reused for any other purpose other than local habitation after the disappearance of Buddhism. It should be noted that, except for the one early example of repainting, which seems to have taken place at one time and shortly after the great Buddhas were constructed, we see no evidence for any further repainting anywhere in the three valleys of the Hindu Kush, i.e., Bāmiyān, Kakrak, and Foladi (Nakamura 2006).

There is only one archaeological indication for the final phase of occupation of the Buddhist community, and that comes from the Buddhist chapels in Kakrak, the valley adjacent to Bāmiyān (fig. 3). The magnificent painted cupola and drum divided between the Musée Guimet and the Kabul Museum was preserved because the monks, apparently before leaving, covered the paintings with a kind of mud plaster which protected the surface and the brilliant colors until they were discovered by French archaeologists in the 20th century. Thus, I would tentatively conclude that, similarly to the monks responsible for caring for the shrines in Kakrak, those who were associated with the chapels in Bāmiyān had enough time to prepare an orderly retreat. Thus the metal parts and mask were voluntarily removed and transported away. It is of course also fruitless to speculate as to where the metal parts were taken. Only two points need to be mentioned here: first, much monumental and important metal work was lost over the centuries because they were so easy to melt down and reuse in other more desirable forms; second, the collections of—sometimes very monumental—metal work from Northwest India in the Potala in Lhasa provide ample evidence of the ability of indigenous peoples to adequately preserve and ship large scale metal objects across the long and difficult routes that traversed the Hindu Kush into the high Himalayas (Klimburg-Salter 2010b and 2015).

Adaptation and Re-appropriation of the Buddhist Sites

The colossal Buddha images were only objects of worship during the first 300 years of their existence. During their more than 1300-year history, the images were known by different names, and these names reflected their changing roles within the life of the district. As they aged, and the fabric of the images, and the brilliant painted paradises decorating the niches, were worn away by the harsh climate and periodic earthquakes, the reception of the colossi also changed.

At the end of the first millennium CE, as Buddhist practice was disappearing from the Bāmiyān valley, the images were identified in a Persian geography (Minorsky 1970: 109) as *Surkh-but* and *Khing-but*. Gradually their identity as *buddhas* disappeared from collective memory, although the colossal images continued to be identified as non-Muslim images and called the red (*surkh*) idol and white/grey (*khing*) idol. The images were always described within their marvelous painted environments, where they are reported to be fabulous in their appearance and even identified as “wonders of the world” (Arabic *‘Ajā’ib*). Following the destruction of the city of Bāmiyān by the Mongols, knowledge of, and interest in the great Buddhas disappeared. No longer remembered as *buddhas*, they were integrated into the Muslim cosmography as pre-Islamic idols, mentioned also in the Quran (Inaba 2019), and finally they became integrated into the local mythic history of the Bāmiyān valley. For instance, by the time of Babur’s visit at the beginning of the 16th century CE, the colossal images are identified as characters in a local narrative. In a Moghul text, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, three colossal images are described—the largest is identified as male, the next in size as a female, and the smallest is identified as their child (Inaba 2019). The local residents continued to repeat these identifications to all later travelers. Since we do not know how much of the smaller Buddhas was visible in the 17th century neither in the largest niche H nor in niche E (fig. 14) nor even in the smallest niche “i,” it is impossible to understand if the reference was to one of these smaller seated Buddhas or to the standing Buddha image in the adjacent Kakrak valley. By the early 19th century the colossal images are understood as heroic figures from the mythic past (Burnes 1834: 184–188).

In the early 20th century Ria Hackin and Ahmad Ali Khozad recorded the most widespread legend about the colossi which they published in a book of Afghan folk tales. Both the names of the two heroes and their biography reflect the post-Mongol literary tradition. The largest image was named Salsal, a legendary warrior who had terrorized the valley until he was converted to Islam by Hazrat-i Ali at the time of the Prophet. Since then, Salsal, a defender of the True Faith, and his wife Shahmama have lived in harmony with the people of the Valley (Hackin and Khozad 1953: 20–21).

Considering the great fame the Buddhas enjoyed in antiquity, there are relatively few first-hand descriptions of the colossi. Throughout the millennia, these were left by people who had travelled from very distant places to this hidden valley. Thus, none of the observations reflect a profound knowledge of either the images or their contemporary social and historical contexts.

It was only in the 20th century, when the archeologists of the DAFA began their exploration of the Bāmiyān valley, that the images regained, at least in educated circles, their Buddhist identity. The first Afghan historical “witness,” the French-trained scholar Ahmed Ali Khozad, published his research on Bāmiyān in Dari and French in the early 20th century (Khozad 1334[1955]). Khozad, in his Dari guide to Bāmiyān, identified the colossi as Buddhas but also recorded their locally used names. The people of the Bāmiyān valley continue to identify the colossi as Salsal and Shamama.

More than a thousand years after the last community of Buddhist monks had left the Bāmiyān valley and Buddhist pilgrimage had ceased, the Taliban briefly brought the Bāmiyān colossi once again onto the world stage. Then, they destroyed them.

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Fig. 1
Kabul Museum/UNESCO, inventory of Hindu Kush collections:
S. Novotny and D. Klimburg-Salter with staff of the Kabul Museum, 2005



Fig. 2
Great cliff at Bamiyān
(photo: D. Klimburg-Salter, 1974, WHAV)

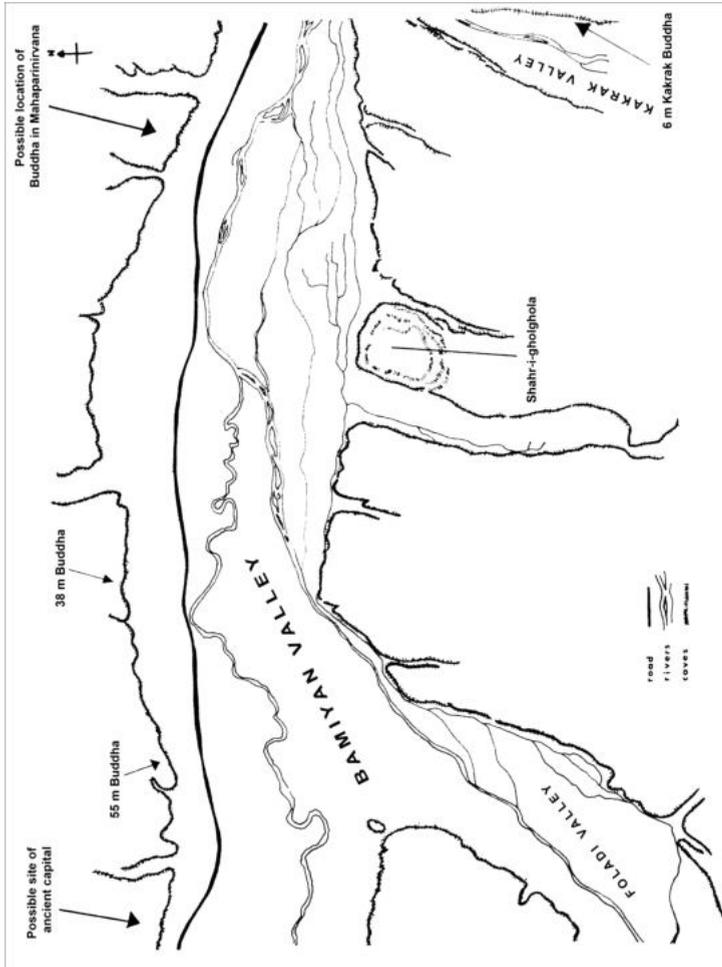
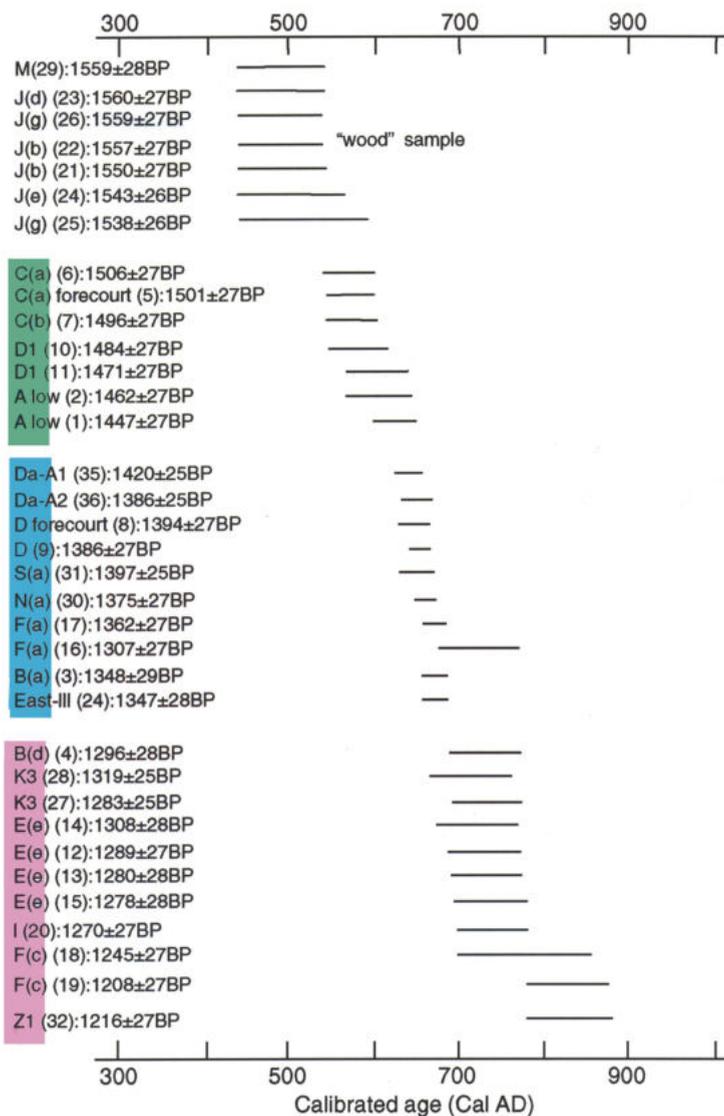


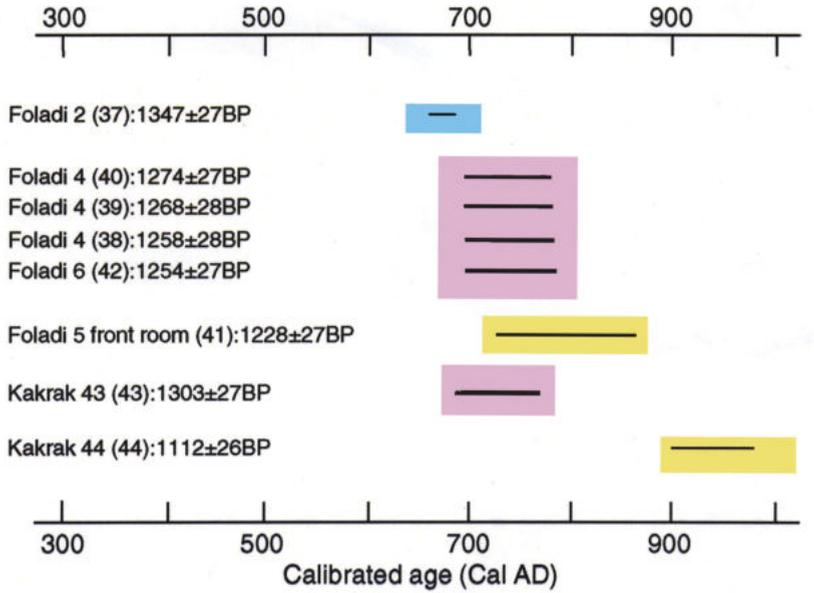
Fig. 3
Bāmiyān valley
(after Klimburg-Salter 1989: map 2)



Calibrated age ranges estimated from the obtained ¹⁴C ages for samples related to the mural paintings in the caves at the Great Cliff

One sigma error ranges are shown. Names of the caves where the samples were collected, report number and ¹⁴C ages are also indicated.

Fig. 4a
Summary of ¹⁴C dating from the great cliff at Bāmiyān
(after Nakamura 2006: fig. 170a)



Calibrated age ranges estimated from the obtained ^{14}C ages for samples related to the mural paintings in the caves at the Foladi and Kakrak valleys

One sigma error ranges are shown. Names of the caves where the samples were collected, report number and ^{14}C ages are also indicated.

Fig. 4b
Summary of ^{14}C dating from Foladi and Kakrak
(after Nakamura 2006: fig. 170b)



Fig. 5a
Bāmiyān, niche of the 38 m Buddha
(photo: B. Rowland Archive, 1936)



Fig. 5b
Bāmiyān, niche of the 38 m Buddha. Sketch of the soffit painting
(after Klimburg-Salter 1989: pl. IV)

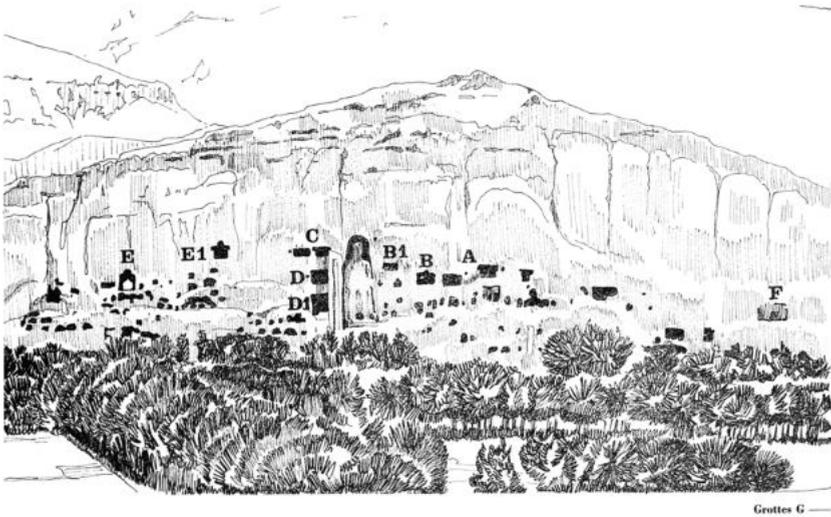


Fig. 6
Bāmiyān, niche of the 38 m Buddha, with connecting caves A through D1
(after Tarzi 1977: pl. A6, detail)



Fig. 7
Bāmiyān, niche of the 55 m Buddha
(photo: B. Rowland Archive, 1936)



Fig. 8
Bāmiyān, soffit above the head of the 55 m Buddha
(photo: M. Klimburg, WHAV)



Fig. 9
Stele of the Buddha Dipamkara from Shotorak, Kabul Museum
(photo: B. Rowland Archive)



Fig. 10.1
Stele of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara from Shanxi Province, China,
dated 489–495 CE (Metropolitan Museum, Acc. No. 65.29.3)



Fig. 10.2



Fig. 11
Bāmiyān, niche of the 55m Buddha
(photo: D. Klimburg-Salter, WHAV, 1973)



Fig. 12a
Bamiyān, chin of the 55 m Buddha
(photo: D. Klimburg-Salter, WHAV)

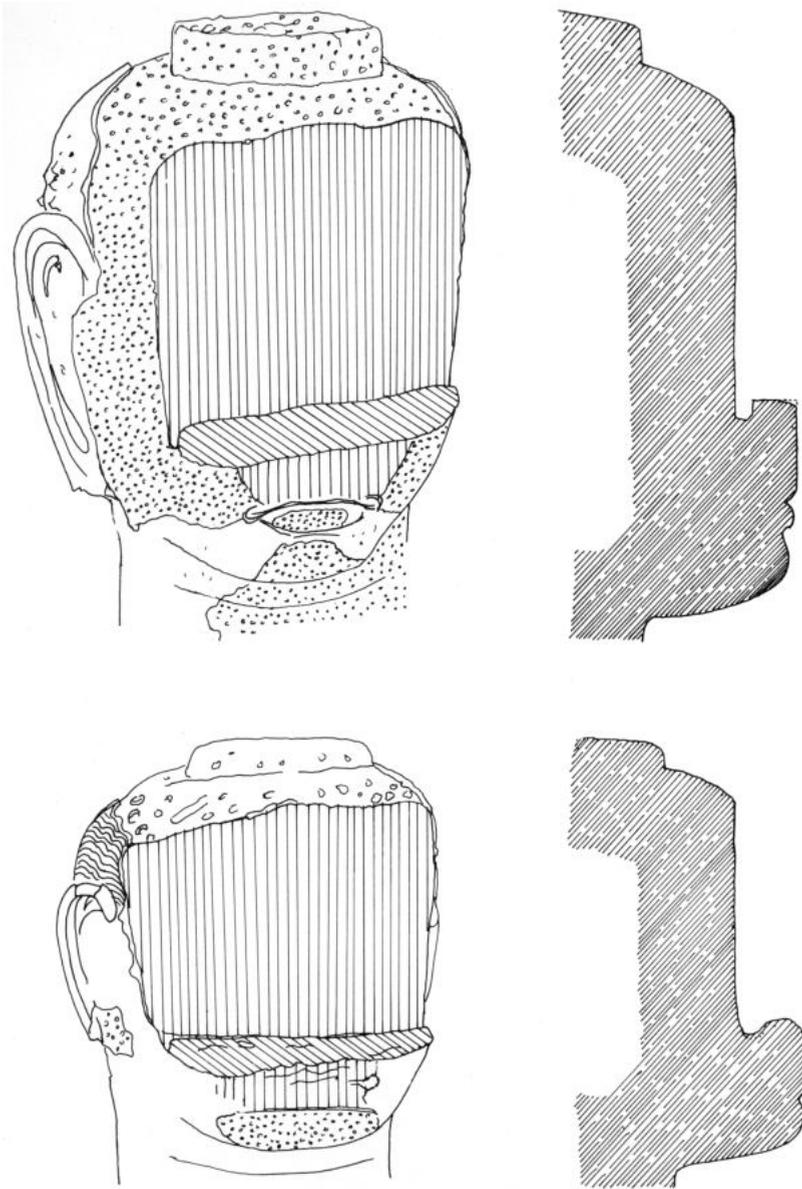


Fig. 12b
Bāmiyān, sketches of the great Buddhas' faces
(upper drawing: 55m Buddha; lower drawing: 38m Buddha)
(after Tarzi 1977: 115)



Fig. 13
Bāmiyān, niche of the 38 m Buddha. Detail of the Buddha's ear
(photo: B. Rowland Archive, 1936)



Fig. 14
Bāmiyān, niche E. Soffit painting and head of the seated Buddha
(photo: D. Klimburg-Salter, WHAV)



Fig. 15
Bāmiyān, paintings in the 55 m Buddha niche
(photo: D. Klimburg-Salter, WHAV)

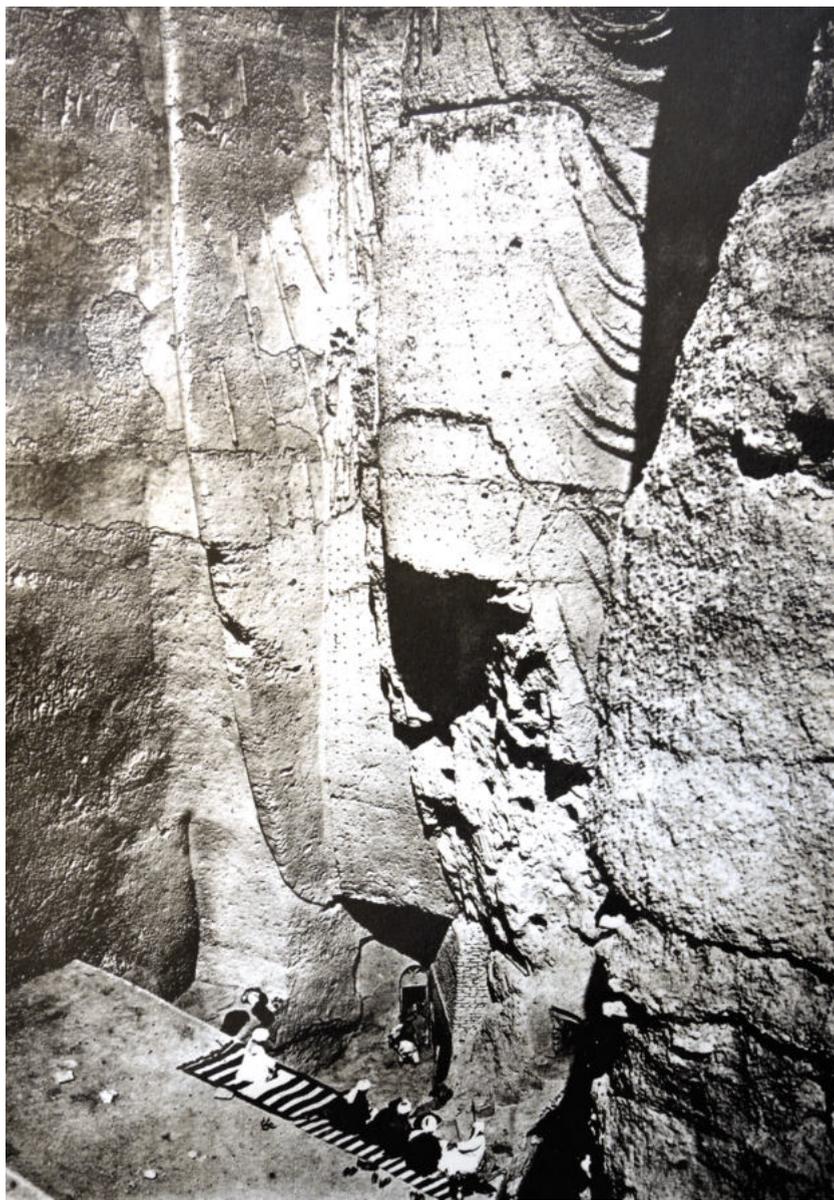


Fig. 16
Bāmiyān, niche of the 55 m Buddha
(after Hackin 1928)



Fig. 17
Dīpaṃkara Buddha. Copper alloy monumental mask, sitting on fabric torso,
carried in procession during the Samyak festival, Bhaktapur, Nepal
(Photo: A. Graldi, 2012, WHAV)

*A Note on the “Old” and the “New” Tibetan
Translations of the Prasannapadā*

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This brief paper is the unexpected offspring born from the notes for some research I did for an essay on the corpus of philosophical texts that are attributed to Bhāviveka (*c.* 490/500–*c.* 570), which a colleague and I published some years ago.¹ And it adds but a trifle to A. MacDonald’s recently published magisterial editions of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the first chapter of Candrakīrti’s (7th c.) *Prasannapadā* [= PP] exegesis of Nāgārjuna’s (2nd c.) *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* [= MMK], which was accompanied by an exhaustive, annotated English translation.² Yet, it is only fitting that, in spite of their brevity, I changed these earlier notes into this essay on the occasion and in celebration of our dear friend Cristina’s retirement, since, to my knowledge, her very first article focused primarily on the ways in which, well, Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti used the term *yukti*!³

To begin, one day, while reading through Se ra Byes seminary’s Se ra rJe btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan’s (1449–1544/46) undated study

¹ He and van der Kuijp 2014.

² MacDonald 2015a.

³ Scherrer-Schaub 1981.

of the more knotty issues, the so-called *dka' gnas*, of the arguments that thread through Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa'i dpal's (1357–1419) large 1418 *dGongs pa rab gsal* commentary on Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* [= MABh]—of course Candrakīrti wrote the MABh prior to the PP—I came across one passage that piqued my interest. The passage in question centered on his interpretation of the interpretations of MMK 1:1, specifically on the logic of the argument that it is not the case (*na, ma yin*) that “things” (*bhāvāḥ, dngos po*) come into being from themselves (*svataḥ, bdag las*), that is, that they are self-caused.⁴ Candrakīrti cites this verse in MABh *ad*MA 6:7. In 1561, Se ra rJe btsun's disciple rJe Drung Shes rab dbang po (1500–1586) completed a similar work on Tsong kha pa's study in his monastery of Chab mdo Byams pa gling wherein he often paraphrases or simply repeats his master's earlier analyses. These paraphrases also include the said passage that we find in Se ra rJe btsun's work.⁵ And it means that we have a measure, if only one ever so slight, of philological control over the retyped versions of these two treatises, since we have access only to a xylograph of Se ra rJe btsun's work.

The key-verse of MMK 1:1 reads uncontroversially in Sanskrit and Tibetan:⁶

na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyāṃ nāpy ahetutaḥ |
utpannā jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kvacana kecana ||

bdag las ma yin gzhan las min ||
gnyis las ma yin rgyu med min ||
dngos po gang dag gang na yang ||
skye ba nam yang yod ma yin ||

In the course of his discussion of the way in which Bhāviveka criticized Buddhapālita's (c. 370–c. 540) interpretation of the first *pāda*

⁴ Se ra rJe btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *sKal bzang mgul rgyan* A 98a–115a; B 205–241. This section ends with his comments on the important question of the extent to which doctrinal opponents should be in agreement on the topic of a debate (*chos can mthun snang*) [113a–115a, 237–241] in order that a debate *überhaupt* makes sense.

⁵ rJe Drung Shes rab dbang po, *gTan la 'bebs pa dgongs pa yang gsal* 231–281.

⁶ See MMK_S 8 and MMK_Y 12, and now also MacDonald 2015a, vol. I: 138, and, for the various translations, 2015, vol. II: 48–50, 401. As noted, this verse is also cited in the MABh, for which see MA_{LVP} 81; see also below.

and to which Candrakīrti gave a response, Se ra rJe btsun cites a careful deliberation of an unidentified individual whom he respectfully designates “lord among scholars” (*mkhas pa'i dbang po*) and adds his own comments.⁷ What is of considerable interest is that this learned, still elusive, exegete of yore had quoted from an “old” (*'gyur rnying*) and a “new” translation (*'gyur gsar*) of the PP! While Se ra rJe btsun’s work was published some time ago, to my knowledge no one has drawn attention to this particular passage. It is not at all clear, at least not to me, who this “lord among scholars” might have been. Elsewhere, Se ra rJe btsun mentions severally “my lama, the lord among scholars” (*bdag gi bla ma mkhas pa'i dbang po*),⁸ whereby he begs to differ with his opinion in the first of these references. According to the rather terse study of his life by his disciple Paṅ chen bDe legs nyi ma, Se ra rJe btsun’s main teachers included Kun mkhyen Chos 'byor dpal bzang, Paṅ chen Lung rigs rgya mtsho (1418–after 1480), and Paṅ chen Ye shes rtse mo (1433–?), all of whom belonged to bKra shis lhun po monastery, as well as mKhas mchog Don yod dpal ldan (1445–1524) from Se ra monastery.⁹ It is thus possible that this “lord among scholars” may have been one of these four men.

To date only one Tibetan translation of the PP, that is, PP[T2], is known to have been made. The colophons of the text of the PP[T2] that is contained in the printed bsTan 'gyur-canon as well as in the so-called Golden manuscript bsTan 'gyur, all of which were produced in the eighteenth century, indicate that they concern the translation that was prepared in Lhasa by Pa/Spa tshab Lo tsā ba Nyi ma grags [pa] (11th–12th c.) and his learned informant Paṅḍita Kanakavarman.¹⁰ Using a manuscript from “the eastern borderland,” this translation, PP[T2], was itself a revision of the earlier translation that Pa tshab had executed with

⁷ Se ra rJe btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *sKal bzang mgul rgyan* A 106a ff.; B 221 ff. [= rJe Drung Shes rab dbang po *gTan la 'bebs pa dgongs pa yang gsal* 235 ff.].

⁸ Se ra rJe btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *sKal bzang mgul rgyan* A 33a, 90b; B 68, 188.

⁹ Paṅ chen bDe legs nyi ma, *rJe btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar* 11 ff.

¹⁰ For the latest words on him and his translations, see MacDonald 2015b: 252 ff. and Yoshimizu 2016.

Mahāsumati in Kashmir on the basis of a Kashmirian manuscript.¹¹ We do not know what may have happened to this translation—did it enjoy a measure of circulation?—which we might, hypothetically, designate as PP[T*2]. This very same scenario is implied by or holds equally true for the relevant entry of this translation in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century lists of titles or catalogs of actual texts that were part of different manuscript editions of the *bsTan 'gyur*.¹² To be sure, as I was kindly reminded by my friend Yoshimizu Chizuko, we can certainly not exclude the possibility that the said “old” and “new” translations of the PP may in fact refer, respectively, to the translation by Pa tshab-Mahāsumati, that is, PP[T*2], and its subsequent revision by Pa tshab-Kanakavarman, that is, PP[T2]. While this is indeed a possible scenario, I nonetheless believe this to be rather unlikely and, truth be told, I know of not one single precedent for this in the Indo-Tibetan literature. But one has to keep an open mind, for this may very well change with the steady stream of new publications of Tibetan manuscripts that has been ongoing during the last several decades.

A comment on Pa tshab: Pa tshab's alleged year of birth, 1055, is still frequently given in the secondary literature, even if there is no real, credible evidence for it. In fact, it appears to be a view that was put into the world by several much later authors. And the *only* reason why they did offer this date seems to have been that they presumed that he was the re-embodiment of Atiśa (982–1054), whom they assert to have been an apagogist or a *Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika like Candrakīrti, rather than an autonomist or a *Svātantrika-Mādhyamika like Bhāviveka. Be this as it may, to judge from an inspection of the citations in those works that the tradition has assumed to have come from Atiśa's pen, it emerges that he himself may have barely been acquainted with Candrakīrti's philosophical writings.¹³ In fact, he not once cites a passage

¹¹ *bsTan 'gyur* A 60, 1–483; pp. 484–512 contain the variant readings. The so-called Golden *bsTan 'gyur* contains the same translation; see *bsTan 'gyur* G 111, 1–557.

¹² For these, see Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 32 ff. and below.

¹³ For Atiśa and the difficulty in assessing what we might call his intellectual persuasion, see Nagashima 2004: 65–98 and especially Miyazaki 2007a: 62, 71, 79–80. To be sure, much of Nagashima's argumentation has been challenged in

from the PP or from Candrakīrti’s *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāṭīkā* and *Catuḥśataka-ṭīkā*. True, he does seemingly “incorporate” MA 6:80 into verse 19 of the *Satyadvayāvatāra*, his tract on the two kinds of truth/reality, but this is in all likelihood based on his thorough familiarity with the pseudo-Bhāviveka’s (? 9th c.) *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* in which this very same verse is cited! The Sanskrit text of MA 6:80 reads as follows:¹⁴

upāyabhūtaṃ vyavahārasatyam upēyabhūtaṃ paramārthasatyam |
tayor vibhāgaṃ na parāiti yo vai mithyāvikalpaiḥ sa kumārgayātaḥ ||

The translation of Pa tshab and Kanakavarman of MA 6:80 has:¹⁵

tha snyad bden pa thabs su gyur pa dang ||
don dam bden pa thabs byung gyur pa ste ||
de gnyis rnam dbye gang gis mi shes pa ||
de ni rnam rtog log pas lam ngan zhugs ||

Its quotation in the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* that was translated by rGya Lo tsā ba Brtson ’grus seng ge (?–1041) and Nag tsho in the monastery of Somapuri reads:¹⁶

Seyfort Ruegg 2010: 189–192, albeit not unproblematically, and much of Nagashima’s and Miyazaki’s exposition is based on the assumption that the *Bodhimārgadīpapañjikā* was written by Atiśa, an ascription that has been called into question by the Tibetan tradition itself! Indeed, Apple 2013 presents us with what is so far the most persuasive case, albeit on the basis of an early commentary on Atiśa’s little versified tract on “the two truths,” the *Satyadvayāvatāra*, that Atiśa was indeed an apagogist—*thal ’gyur pa*; for a study of the Tangut translation of this work, see Solonin and Liu 2017. The fact that a number of works that the early tradition has attributed to Atiśa may not actually have been written by him remains an important problem. Contained in an edition of what allegedly are Atiśa’s collected writings, one of those that was no doubt not written by Atiśa is the *dBu ma’i man ngag gi ’bum* in which not only the PP and the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāṭīkā* are mentioned, but in which even the Bon po are addressed and Atiśa himself is referenced; see, for example, Atiśa, *dBu ma’i man ngag gi ’bum* 648–649, 659, 652, 659; see also the annotated translation in Apple 2013. Thus, this work, which is also titled *bDen chung gi ’bum*, was clearly not written by Atiśa himself, but rather by one in close proximity to his lines of doctrinal transmission.

¹⁴ Li 2015: 14.

¹⁵ MA_{LVP} 175; *bsTan ’gyur* A 60, 570. The revised translation of Nag tsho Lo tsā ba Tshul khrims rgyal ba (1011–c. 1070) and Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita of MA 6:80 is identical; see *bsTan ’gyur* A 60, 528. For the latter, see below.

¹⁶ *bsTan ’gyur* A 57, 1491.

thabs su gyur pa kun rdzob bden pa dang ||
thabs las byung ba don dam bden pa dag^a ||
gnyis po'i dbye ba gang gis ma rtogs pa ||
de ni log par rtogs [sic!] nas ngan 'gror 'gro ||

^a Beijing and sNar thang: *nyid*.

The *Satyadvayāvātāra* was translated by Atiśa and rGya Lo tsā ba and it is thus hardly surprising that the translation of verse 19 should come so tantalizingly close to the verse of the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*; it has:¹⁷

thabs su gyur pa kun rdzob bden pa dang ||
thabs las byung ba don dam bden pa dag ||
gnyis po'i dbye ba gang yin mi shes pa ||
de dag log par rtog^a pas ngan 'gror 'gro ||

^a Only sNar thang has the correct *rtog*; the other witnesses read *rtogs*.

But why *vyavahārasatya* should have been translated by *kun rdzob bden pa* in both the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* and the *Satyadvayāvātāra* is a mystery. Tibetan *tha snyad* commonly renders Sanskrit *vyavahāra*, whereas *kun rdzob* renders *saṃvṛti*! The only explanation that I can think of is that rGya Lo tsā ba was responsible for this. Note also the semantically neutral *ste* in the Pa tshab-Kanaka-varman translation, and the dual particle *dag* for which there is no equivalent in the Sanskrit text. The translation of *kumārgayātaḥ* by *lam ngan zhugs* also seems preferable over *ngan 'gror 'gro*! Lastly, it is striking that rGya Lo tsā ba and Nag tsho tried to maintain the Sanskrit word order as much as possible in their translation. One person who explicitly states that Atiśa was an autonomist-*rang rgyud pa* is lHa btsun bSam yas pa bSod nams dpal ldan, who did so in his 1398 exegesis of Sa skya Paṇḍita's (1182–1251) study of the three vows, the *sDom gsum rab tu dbye ba*.¹⁸

¹⁷ *bsTan 'gyur* A 63, 1051. It is quite doubtful that Atiśa understood Tibetan at this time, so that he must have acted as an informant rather than as a co-translator. Atiśa stayed in West and Central Tibet from 1042 to 1054. Apple 2016: 624 surmises that at one point he may have actually been able to lecture in Tibetan, but frankly, given his age, I find this not altogether likely.

¹⁸ bSam yas pa bSod nams dpal ldan, *sDom gsum rab tu dbye ba'i rgya cher bshad pa* 358. He was a disciple of the Sa skya hierarch Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal

Another work that appears to be associated with Atiśa without controversy is the *Ratnakaraṅḍodghāta*. A rather problematic instruction on Madhyamaka philosophy and much else besides, it cites Candrakīrti’s *Triśaraṇasaptati* 22a–b.¹⁹ Two lines of verse from Candrakīrti’s MA, namely MA 6:117a–b, are cited in an enlarged recension of the *Theg pa chen po’i blo sbyong rtsa tshig*, a succinct treatise on spiritual purification that was allegedly written by him on the basis of instructions he received from the Javanese Dharmakīrtiśrī.²⁰ However, what appears to be the original unadulterated actual text of the *Theg pa chen po’i blo sbyong rtsa tshig* is much shorter, contains no quotations and, what is more, is not part of any of the editions of the bsTan ’gyur that are currently available,²¹ nor of the collection of minor works that are attributed to Atiśa that is known as the *Jo bo’i chos chung brgya rtsa*.²²

Besides the early dGe lugs pa tradition, several fifteenth century Sa skya pa scholars have followed suit in declaring Atiśa an apogist. Examples are sTag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (1402–1477), Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge (1429–1489), and gSer mdog Paṅ chen Shākya mchog ldan (1428–1507) all of whom quite explicitly and firmly located Atiśa in Candrakīrti’s camp.²³ Mang thos Klu grub rgya mtsho (1523–1596), another Sa skya pa

mtshan (1312–1375) and was repeatedly requested by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan, his fellow disciple of Bla ma dam pa, to write something like this commentary.

¹⁹ See Miyazaki 2007b: 50 and Apple 2010: 165; for an edition and translation of this work, the Tibetan text of which is owed to Atiśa and Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), see Sørensen 1986 and also Kano and Li 2014. We should add that Atiśa and Nag tsho translated Candrakīrti’s *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* into Tibetan; see Lindtner 1979.

²⁰ Atiśa, *Theg pa chen po’i blo sbyong rtsa tshig* 771 and MA_{LVP} 230; see also the Sanskrit text in Li 2015: 18, where, however, the two lines are registered as MA 6:117c–d. Dharmakīrtiśrī is no doubt the same as his “Javanese (*ya ba dwi pa*) teacher” whom he cites in his *Ratnakaraṅḍodghāta*, for which see Miyazaki 2007b: 68 and Apple 2010: 181.

²¹ For a translation of this recension and a somewhat enlarged version, the so-called *mchan bsgrags ma*, see Thupten Jinpa 2006: 71–73, 75–82.

²² See van der Kuijp 2014: 129–130, n. 43.

²³ See, respectively, sTag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen, *Grub mtha’ kun shes nas mtha’ bral sgrub pa* 289–290, for example, Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge, *dBu ma’i de kho na nyid spyi’i ngag gis ston pa nges don rab gsal* 98, and gSer mdog Paṅ chen Shākya mchog ldan, *dBu ma’i byung tshul rnam par bshad pa’i gtam yid bzhin lhun po* 177.

scholar, goes even one step further. He indicates without argument that Candrakīrti had re-embodied himself in Atiśa and that Atiśa then did the same in Pa tshab!²⁴ Much of this is no doubt connected to the disastrous notion put forth by Atiśa, as for example in his *Ratnakaraṅḍodghāṭa*,²⁵ and by most probably such late scholars as his teacher Dharmakīrtiśrī, that the Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti who belong to one of the two major Indian lines along which the *Guhyasamājantra* was transmitted were in fact identical with their Mādhyamika counterparts, and that their relationship was one of teacher and disciple. Thus, the *Ratnakaraṅḍodghāṭa*'s implicit *guruparamparā* sequence Nāgārjuna-Candrakīrti-Bhavya/Bhāviveka/Bhavyakīrti can be correctly interpreted if and only if we bear in mind that these men were all namesakes of their earlier counterparts and with the realization that this particular Bhavya wrote a very detailed commentary on this particular Candrakīrti's *Pradīpoddyotana*—commentary on the *Guhyasamājantra*, and that, in addition, *this* Candrakīrti refers very favorably to *this* Nāgārjuna!²⁶ To my mind, there is no question that the notion that Nāgārjuna lived for six hundred years as found in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (8th c.)²⁷ is germane to the argument of this transmission of the *Guhyasamājantra*. Pa tshab cooperated with Tilakakalaśa and Alaṃkakalaśa—these were members of one and the same Kashmiri family or clan²⁸—in translating this tantra as well as a number of related works, including a complete translation of the *Pradīpoddyotana*. What this might very well suggest is that some of the works of Candrakīrti the Mādhyamika and some of those of Candrakīrti the exponent of the *Guhyasamāja* precepts were transmitted in one bundle of texts as if these Candrakīrtis were one and the same person.

mKhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags (1572–1641), a disciple of the aforementioned Mang thos, asserted in his 1629 study of six

²⁴ Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho, *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* 116.

²⁵ Miyazaki 2007b: 60, 65 and Apple 2010: 173, 178–179.

²⁶ For some judicious and illuminating remarks on this tradition, see Wedemeyer 2007: 7–62 and Vose 2009: 28–36.

²⁷ Though rather dated, the appraisal of the sources on various Nāgārjunas in Jan 1970 is still the most useful one.

²⁸ For members of this family/clan, see van der Kuijp forthcoming a.

different doctrinal entities of the Sa skya school that a senior and a junior Rig pa'i khu byug [*Vidyākoka] had been followers of [a] Candrakīrti and that one of these was a teacher of Atiśa.²⁹ This can be interpreted as an insinuation that Atiśa was familiar with [a] Candrakīrti's œuvre. If so, then this Candrakīrti must have flourished around 950 CE. The mKhan chen then goes so far as to assert that that Atiśa was a wondrous manifestation (*rnam 'phrul, vikurvaṇa*) of Sangs rgyas snang ba mtha' yas [= Buddha Amitābha] and thus nowhere associates him with Pa tshab's or Candrakīrti's doctrines.

To be sure, what truly further stretches the credibility of Pa tshab's alleged year of birth, 1055, is that he evidently co-translated Atiśa's *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya* with Khu Lo tsā ba mDo sde 'bar and the Kashmirian scholar Jayānanda, who most probably arrived in Tibet in the 1140s or so at the earliest,³⁰ and not in the late eleventh century as has often been averred. It is therefore arguably rather unlikely that Pa tshab would have still been in the business of working on translations when he was in his mid eighties! There is of course no question that he was a contemporary of rNgog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab (?1059–?1109), since he co-translated Dharmottara's (8th c.) *Paralokasiddhi* with *Bhavyarāja,³¹ who must have been the same *Bhavyarāja with whom rNgog Lo tsā ba rendered some four works relating to Dharmakīrti's (7th c.) thought into Tibetan. I would therefore be inclined to conjecture that he was born in the 1070s, at the earliest, the more so since he was also

²⁹ mKhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags, *Pod chen drug gi 'bel gnam* 112. He also states that neither Rig pa'i khu byug left a literary legacy, but this may not be entirely accurate. *bsTan 'gyur* A 47, 226–229, contains a translation of an *Ārya-tārāstotra* by Dad byed go cha rin chen [*Śraddhākaravarmaratna] that is attributed to a Lo tsā ba Rig pa'i khu byug.

³⁰ For this compendium, see Mochizuki 2002; the same author published an edition of the Tibetan text with the same publisher in Mochizuki 2004. For the interesting colophon found only in the Beijing and sNar thang xylographs, see *bsTan 'gyur* A 65, no. 3192, 527. For Jayānanda, see van der Kuijp 1993 and Vose 2009: *passim*.

³¹ This work was studied in Steinkellner 1986. The colophon states that it was translated in the monastery of Ratnaraśmi that was located in what is now Shrinagar, Kashmir, during the lifetime of Hariśadeva [= Harṣadeva], who apparently reigned from 1089 to 1101. For a discussion of rNgog Lo tsā ba's dates, see van der Kuijp forthcoming b.

contemporary of Shar ba pa Yon tan grags (1070–1141), one of the better known disciples of Pu to ba Rin chen gsal (1025–1107). These two men appear to figure in a work that Brag dgon Zhabs drung dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas (1801–after 1867) references as the *Pa tshab dang shar ba pa gnyis kyi dris lan* in his capsule biography of Khri sprul Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1689–1762).³² Lastly, there are at least two Lo tsā ba-translators who belonged to the Pa tshab clan of 'Phan po, our Pa tshab and Pa tshab Lo tsā ba Tshul khirms rgyal mtshan (d. after 1130), the translator of the massive *Āryasaddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*.³³ And there is a manuscript of a biography of a hitherto unattested member of the Pa tshab family/clan—his name in religion is Tshul khirms 'bar—who had studied with *inter alia* Pu to ba and a Pa tshab.³⁴ Lastly, Lha btsun bSam yas pa included a curious narrative about Pa tshab in his aforementioned work.³⁵ He has it that Pa tshab and Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169) were contemporaries and that he had gone to Kashmir, but also acknowledges that some unnamed individuals had held that he was a contemporary of rNgog Lo tsā ba. This, too, would be correct. It is quite amazing that while both must have moved in similar circles, it was only Pa tshab who encountered the works of Candrakīrti while rNgog Lo tsā ba's activities as a translator or author do not in the least attest to a familiarity with these and Phya pa is known to have been an ardent opponent of Candrakīrti's apagogist program.³⁶ True or other-

³² See Brag dgon Zhabs drung dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *mDo smad chos 'byung* 280. A manuscript of this work was located at the Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing, under catalog no. 006091(7). It consists of four folios, that is, folios 42–45, of a larger volume marked Ga. Evidently, Sha ra ba was already a senior scholar and a person of means, for he apparently sat at the head of, or presided over, a gathering of more than two thousand clergy and was able to give some fifty young clergy the financial wherewithal to study Madhyamaka with Pa tshab. The anonymous author of this little tract states that he wrote it on the basis of a work (*gsung*) by a certain Kong ston Bla ma.

³³ See van der Kuijp 2009: 7 ff. and the large-scale study of its second chapter in Stuart 2015.

³⁴ See sGom chen(?), *Pa tshab sku drin can gyi rnam thar rin chen phreng ba*.

³⁵ Bsam yas pa bSod nams dpal ldan, *sDom gsum rab tu dbye ba'i rgya cher bshad pa* 358–359.

³⁶ Vose 2009: 139–169; see also gSer mdog Paṅ chen Shākya mchog ldan, *dBu ma thal rang gi g.yes mtshams dang grub mtha'i gnas rnam gsal bar bstan pa le'u gnyis pa* 414–418.

wise, Lha btsun bSam yas pa also relates that Pa tshab had a difficult time in getting Candrakīrti’s ideas across with the absence of a live Indic pundit. And that it was Kanakavarman’s arrival in Central Tibet that finally legitimized these novel ideas that then took on a life of their own to the extent that these eclipsed the autonomist interpretations of Nāgārjuna. Some years ago, a manuscript of a treatise that was attributed to Pa tshab was published under the misleading title of *dBu ma rtsa ba shes rab kyi ’grel pa / bstan bcos sgron ma gsal bar byed pa*, that is, it was judged to be a typical MMK commentary.³⁷ But matters are a bit more complicated, for G. Dreyfus and Drongbu Tsering isolated three different texts in this one manuscript that was written in a uniform hand.³⁸ The first [pp. 29–132] is a work that purports to be a MMK commentary that allegedly reflects the exegetical position (*bshad lugs*) of Paṇḍita Hasumatī [= Mahāsumatī]. Dreyfus and Drongbu are of the opinion that the peculiar spellings of certain words indicate that it was written out “prior to the reform of the Tibetan language carried out during the Sa skya rule.” This is a very strange assertion, and cannot be accepted without corroborating evidence. The fact that they provide none actually has a good reason, for, indeed, as far as I am aware, there was never any attempt at a trans-local orthographic reform during the period when Sa skya monastery nominally ruled Central Tibet for the Mongols from the 1260s to the 1350s or as a matter of fact at any other time in the history of traditional Tibet. The second work [pp. 132–136] is much shorter and consists of a study of the interconnections of the chapters (*le ’brel*) that follows Pa tshab’s instruction (*man ngag*). The third [pp. 137–203] is a brief study of some of the difficult points in the PP.

There is at least one later reference in which mention is made of further tinkering with what I assume to have been the PP[T2], Pa tshab’s Tibetan translation of the PP. Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524) reports in his 1517 biography of ’Gos Lo tsā ba

³⁷ Pa tshab Nyi ma grags, *dBu ma rtsa ba shes rab kyi ’grel pa / bstan bcos sgron ma gsal bar byed pa* 29–203. For this work and some problems associated with it within the context of early Madhyamaka thought in Tibet, see the notes in Doctor 2014: 48–51, 60 ff.

³⁸ Dreyfus and Drongbu 2010: 390–398 and now also Yoshimizu 2014.

gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481) that, in the ox-year, that is roughly in 1445, his master had been in a position to consult an unidentified Sanskrit manuscript (*rgya dpe*) of the PP and “had questioned several sections and listened to many explanations” (*skabs ’gar dri ba dang bshad pa mang po gsan*) that were given to him by Vanaratna (1384–1468) during this Chittagong scholar’s second visit to Central Tibet in 1433–1436.³⁹ ’Gos Lo tsā ba himself did not write on the PP[T2], but he did compose a study of Candrakīrti’s MA in 1446–1447.⁴⁰ It is quite possible that this work may have reflected some or all of Vanaratna’s considerations. Unfortunately, this tract has yet to surface. In this same work by Zhwa dmar IV, Pa tshab’s own study of the PP[T2] is referred to as the *Tshig gsal nag ’byam*.⁴¹

While none of the earlier bsTan ’gyur catalogs breathe a word about yet another fully-fledged translation of the PP, there is one notable exception, albeit not a catalog *per se*, but a title list. Without mentioning the word *bstan ’gyur*, the list of titles of translated literature—and some other writings besides—by Dar ma rgyal mtshan (1227–1305), alias bCom ldan {rig[s] pa’i} ral gri indicates that Nag tsho had in fact translated the PP prior to Pa tshab.⁴² If so, then this could very well mean that the so-called “old translation” that I mentioned earlier refers to Nag tsho’s and that the “new translation” indicates Pa tshab’s rendition of the PP. And if so, then the Tibetan version prepared by Nag tsho [possibly with Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita] can therefore, and I do so here, be designated PP[T1]. As far as I am aware, a manuscript of this translation has not been sighted, so that all that we have for now are quotations of a few passages from it. One of these will be analyzed below. Even if the jury is still out on the possible implications of the presence of two translations of the PP that could have been used in various Tibetan intellectual communities, it does mean that we now may have to reckon with two different Tibetan translations of the PP in

³⁹ Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes, *gZhon nu dpal gyi mam thar* 496.

⁴⁰ Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes, *gZhon nu dpal gyi mam thar* 481, 542.

⁴¹ Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes, *gZhon nu dpal gyi mam thar* 561.

⁴² Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 220 *ad* 25.3, where the passage *ad* 25.3 actually lists not one but three titles: *dbu’ ma’i* [1] *tshig* [2] *’jug gnyis* [3] *don dam par bstod pa!*

our future dealings with the development of Madhyamaka thought in Tibet. Nonetheless, it is strange that the references to the “old translation” only center on the passage where Candrakīrti interprets MMK 1:1. Thus, I cannot help but wonder whether these references are based on access to but a fragment of this “older translation.” And even more to the point, one must also consider the possibility that this fragment could have been taken not only from Nag tsho’s translation, but from a translation whose author was someone other than Nag tsho.

Neither Tsong kha pa in his large MMK commentary of 1407 nor in his *dGongs pa rab gsal*, nor his colleague Lo tsā ba sKyabs mchog dpal (c. 1320–1410),⁴³ an erstwhile disciple of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), who completed his own exegesis of MA[T1] in 1399, made any references to these different Tibetan translations of the PP.⁴⁴ The founder of Chos ’khor sgang monastery in gTsang, Lo tsā ba sKyabs mchog dpal’s disciple sTag tshang Lo tsā ba, wrote his biography, which, unfortunately, has not yet been located.⁴⁵ To be sure, Tsong kha pa does on occasion, in his

⁴³ Albeit without the prefix of “Lo chen” or “Lo tsā ba,” Ye shes rdo rje dpal bzang po (1343–1403) mentions him in his biography of Rin chen bzang po (1317–1383), alias rMa se sTon pa and Ra ti rMa se sTon pa, in an entry for some time between 1336 and 1351; see Ye shes rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Rin chen bzang po’i nam thar* 10. It is unclear what he may have translated. There is a sKyob pa dpal bzang po—he was a disciple of Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtshe mo (1315–1379)—who was the translator of Sthavira *Buddharakṣita’s *Śrīhevajrābhisamayatilaka*, for which see *bsTan gyur* A 5, 1216–1277. It is unclear whether he and the Lo tsā ba are one and the same person.

⁴⁴ Lo tsā ba sKyabs mchog dpal, *dBu ma la ’jug pa’i rgya cher bshad pa*. This text is dated 1397 and was explicitly written with Candrakīrti in mind, as written in Lo tsā ba sKyabs mchog dpal, *dBu ma rtsa ba shes rab gyi ’grel pa tshig don rab gsal* 205; the latter is his MMK commentary which, too, makes no mention of the two translations of the MA or the PP! Tsong kha pa is usually credited—see, for example, Huntington 1995: 698, n. 16 and others—with having rejected the *Ga las jigs med* [**Akutobhayā*] as Nāgārjuna’s very own commentary on the MMK, but we already find this very observation with the same arguments in Lo tsā ba sKyabs mchog dpal, *dBu ma rtsa ba shes rab gyi ’grel pa tshig don rab gsal* 27. And Tsong kha pa had not made this observation prior to 1397, the year in which the Lo tsā ba had written his work. Having met him several times, Tsong kha pa was familiar with the Lo tsā ba, who was present when he composed his *Lam rim chen mo* of 1402. It is well known that the mis-identification of the **Akutobhayā* as Nāgārjuna’s auto-commentary is found in Avalokitavrata’s (7th–8th c.) study of the *Prajñāpradīpa*.

⁴⁵ sTag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen, *Shes rab rin chen gi nam thar* 37 under *chos ’khor ba yab* [= Lo tsā ba sKyabs mchog dpal] *sras gsum gyi gsol ’debs nam*

dGongs pa rab gsal, refer to different translations of the MA [and MABh], namely, the ones by Nag tsho and Pa tshab, which he mentions as the *nag tsho'i 'gyur* and *pa tshab kyi 'gyur*.⁴⁶ Lo chen sKyabs mchog dpal did not do so, but an earlier precedent for Tsong kha pa's exegetical method would of course be the undated MA commentary by one of his main teachers, Red mda' ba gZhon nu blo gros (1348–1413), who used Nag tsho's as well as Pa tshab's translations. And, indeed, there are probably earlier precedents for this.

The printed Peking and sNar thang bsTan 'gyurs and the Golden bsTan 'gyur manuscript contain two translations of the MA. The first of these was translated by Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita and Nag tsho, after which it was “somewhat revised in accordance with [the text] translated” (...*bsgyur ba ltar cung zad bcos*) by Pa tshab and Tilakakalaśa. The entire nominal phrase, the patient of the transitive verbal noun *bris* [*pa*] in which the translators' credits are given, states:⁴⁷

X...*slad kyis rgya gar gyi mkhan po ti la ka ka la sha dang* | *bod kyi lo tsā ba pa tshab nyi ma grags kyis bsgyur ba ltar cung zad bcos pa* | *don tshang zhing tshig bde bar bris pa'o* ||

This note has often been interpreted as if Pa tshab and Tilakakalaśa corrected Nag tsho's translation, but I should like to propose a different interpretation. Taking “X” to be the text of the translation itself, I would interpret “X...*bcos pa*” as one large nominal phrase in which lies embedded another nominal phrase that extends from *slad kyis* to *bsgyur ba* where *rgya gar...nyi ma grags kyis* is the agent of the transitive verbal noun *bsgyur ba*—and X is the patient; *ltar* is used in the sense of “in accordance with, like, as” and the transitive verbal noun *bcos pa*—*don tshang zhing tshig bde bar* is of course an adverbial phrase—should be rendered passively, since it is without an agent. Thus, I end up with the interpretation

thar ma re la 'grel pa dang bcas pa. For a sketch of his life and the date of his passing, see Karma bde legs, *bKa' gdams pa'i gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig thengs gsum pa'i dkar chag* 95–97.

⁴⁶ Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa'i dpal, *dGongs pa rab gsal* 88, 97 ff. Tsong kha pa mentions Nag tsho's translation some twenty-one and Pa tshab's some five times.

⁴⁷ *bsTan 'gyur* A 60, 553.

that their translation was edited in accordance with the text that had been translated by Pa tshab and Tilakakalaśa, and *not* that these two men had edited it. The second translation is the version prepared by Pa tshab and Tilakakalaśa, and every available edition of the bsTan ’gyur, five in all, contains this one.

Each of the five available editions of the bsTan ’gyur contain but one translation of the MABh, which is the one that was prepared by Pa tshab and Kanakavarman, that is, MABh[T2]. With a manuscript from “the eastern borderland” in hand, they had revised the earlier version that Tilakakalaśa and Pa tshab had prepared in Kashmir on the basis of a local manuscript. Yet Tsong kha pa cites variants from what he states to have been Nag tsho’s translation of the MABh—I will designate this MABh[T1]—in, for example, his comments on MABh *ad* MA 6:28, and *ad* the very last verse of the MA.⁴⁸ Indeed, it would appear somewhat counterintuitive if Nag tsho had translated only the MA without recourse to MABh; the good news is that a Sanskrit manuscript of the MABh has survived in Tibet.⁴⁹ A manuscript of MABh[T1] has yet to surface.

Except for the entries in Dar ma rgyal mtshan’s title list, Bu ston Rin chen grub’s 1335 catalog of the Zhwa lu monastery bsTan ’gyur, the 1362 catalog of what I believe to be the Sne’u gdong or rTse[d/s] thang bsTan ’gyur that was wrongly attributed to sGra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal (1318–1388), Bu ston’s disciple and successor to the abbatial throne of Zhwa lu, mNga’ ris Chos rje Phyogs las rnam rgyal’s (1306–1386) undated catalog of the Byang Ngam ring bsTan ’gyur, and Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po’s (1382–1456) 1447 catalog of a/the manuscript bsTan ’gyur of dPal brag dkar theg chen gling monastery in Glo bo Mustang⁵⁰ do *not*

⁴⁸ Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa’i dpal, *dGongs pa rab gsal* 207, 532. For the relevant passages in MABh[T2], see MA_{LVP} 409. But see also Tauscher 1983 who, in addition, addresses the fact that the text of Pa tshab’s MABh[T2] shows various degrees of contamination, and Apple 2013: 268, and the literature he cites there, made it quite clear that different Tibetan authors used translations of Madhyamaka text that cannot be readily identified and that Jayānanda appears to have used a manuscript of the MABh that was differently filiated from the one[s] used by Pa tshab.

⁴⁹ Li 2015.

⁵⁰ See, respectively, Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 220 *ad* 25.3, 245 *ad* 28.3, Bu ston Rin chen grub, *bsTan ’gyur gyi dkar chag* 578; sGra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal, *bsTan bcos ’gyur ro ’shal gyi dkar chag* 512; mNga’ ris Phyogs las rnam

countenance two translations of the MA and the PP, and certainly none of them indicate that Nag tsho had also translated the MABh.

Se ra rJe btsun does not discuss these different translations, but he does at one point make a text-critical comment to the effect that a reading of Jayānanda’s commentary on the MABh (*’grel bshad*) suggests that the text (*dpe*) [he had at his disposal] was not correct (*ma dag*).⁵¹ Be this as it may, Tsong kha pa’s disciple Kun mkhyen [Mus srad pa] Blo gros rin chen seng ge of Se ra Byes monastery and the author of its first set of text books (*yig cha*) went one step further in his glosses on Tsong kha pa’s *dGongs pa rab gsal*—he must have completed these before the mid-1460s⁵²—in that he carefully distinguished between them on far more occasions than his master.⁵³ Stating that these are “good” (*bde’o*), he often sides with Nag tsho’s renditions and this just might be interpreted as an indirect criticism of Tsong kha pa’s work, which relies to a much, much greater extent on Pa tshab’s translations and in which only once in a while we read that he considered Nag tsho’s renditions to be preferable. The text of Kun mkhyen’s work is slightly incomplete and the typed out version of an original xylo-

rgyal, *bsTan bcos ’gyur ro ’tshal gyi dkar chag* 131; Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po, *bsTan bcos ’gyur ro ’tshal gyi dkar chag* 582.

⁵¹ Se ra rJe btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *sKal bzang mgul rgyan* A 10a; B 18.

⁵² Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge, *rNam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal gyi de nyid gsal byed*. Pañ chen bDe legs nyi ma, *Se ra rJe btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar* 22–23, writes that Se ra rJe btsun had studied his œuvre including his piecemeal-*sTong thun* treatment of a/the Tibetan translation of the PP and his topical outline of mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang po’s (1385–1438) *dBu ma stong thun skal bzang mig ’byed* and he even reports that Se ra rJe btsun had a dream in which an individual had said that he, Se ra rJe btsun, was none other than mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang po in an earlier life!

⁵³ See Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge, *rNam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal gyi de nyid gsal byed* 57, where he glosses the quotation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*: “in both translations of the [auto-]commentary” (... *’grel pa’i ’gyur gnyis kar*) *ad* MA 1:1a, on the term “The listener is born...” (*nyan thos...skyes*); see here also the remarks in Apple 2015: 8–9. The Kun mkhyen contrasts the translations of the *sūtra* quotation with the corresponding passage in sNa nam Zhang Lo tsā ba Ye shes sde’s *circa* 800 rendition of this *sūtra*. This would be one of the exceptions to the observation in MacDonald 2015b: 260ff. of Pa tshab’s “insertion technique” whereby he often simply inserted passages of canonical material that had already been translated [and were available to him] for the quotations found in, for example, the MABh and the PP. See further the rewarding remarks on him in Yoshimizu 2016.

graph of perhaps 156 folios is not dated, but the other two texts in this volume do contain the dates on which printing blocks were prepared for them, and the first of these could serve as its *terminus ad quem*. Thus the final date of the printer’s colophon of the first, a topical outline of that is titled *rNam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal gyi snying po’i bsdus don*, is dated the fourth day of the *mgo* [**mārga-śrīṣa*]-month of the fire-male-dog year [December 11, 1466], whereas that of his MA commentary is dated the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the fire-female-hen year [August 24, 1477].⁵⁴ The Sne’u/Snel lord dPal ’byor rgyal po, uncle and nephew, and the uncle’s wife Bu khrid dPal ’dzom financed the carving of the printing blocks for these two treatises, and we should probably also include his large study of the *dGongs pa rab gsal* to have been among their printing projects.⁵⁵

Kun mkhyen first notes Nag tsho’s translation, MABh[T1], in his discussion of Tsong kha pa’s interpretation apropos of a passage of MABh[T2] *ad* MA 1:1b.⁵⁶ Then, after mentioning the translator’s name well over a dozen times, he, without warning or further specification, suddenly signals two readings of what he terms an “old translation,” one with respect to a quotation of Nāgārjuna’s *Ratnāvalī* 6:7–65, and the other in connection with a sentence of MABh[T].⁵⁷ We can only conclude that he used *gyur mying* as just another way of referring to MABh[T1], as he did in a more explicit fashion when he notes a reading in the *’grel pa gyur mying*.⁵⁸ The inconsistency of the way in which he refers to Nag tsho’s translation should not be a cause of worry,

⁵⁴ Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge, *rNam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal gyi snying po’i bsdus don*, 53, and *dBu ma la ’jug pa rang gi ’grel pa rje thams cad mkhyen pas legs par phye pa’i ’grel bshad la brten nas gzhung gi snying po len pa la gtso bor ’bad pa’i ngag don*, 552.

⁵⁵ They also financed the printing of the so-called Lhasa edition of the *rGyal rabs gsal ba’i me long*; see Sørensen 1994: 36, n. 105.

⁵⁶ Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge, *rNam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal gyi de nyid gsal byed* 60, *ad* Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa’i dpal, *dGongs pa rab gsal* 14–15 *ad* MA_{LVP} 4.

⁵⁷ See Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge, *rNam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal gyi de nyid gsal byed* 81 *ad* MA_{LVP} 21.1—see also Hahn 1982: 115—and Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge, *rNam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal gyi de nyid gsal byed* 85 *ad* MA_{LVP} 28.15–17.

⁵⁸ Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge, *rNam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal gyi de nyid gsal byed* 118.

since, much like our world, the Tibetan world is not one that is consistent and is at times exasperatingly ambiguous.

Kun mkhyen writes in connection with the comment of the MABh *ad* MA 6:7, that the phrase *de la 'dir* in the “old translation” is “good” as opposed to *de phyir 'dir*, which we find in MABh[2].⁵⁹ He then draws attention to what he calls an “old” translation of the PP, that is, PP[T1]. While by no means earthshaking as far as its content and its difference from the “new” translation, it is to my limited knowledge the earliest reference to the “old” translation so far. It is also the only occasion in his work that he has done so, and he did this apropos of the phrase and the idea that things (*bhāvāḥ, dngos po [rnams]*) do not ever exist (*na jātu vidyante, nam yang yod ma yin*) of MMK 1:1c–d. Immediately following the quote, Candrakīrti “wrote” in the MABh[T2]:⁶⁰

nam yang zhes bya ba ni gzhar yang zhes bya ba'i don to || gang na yang zhes bya ba'i sgra 'gar yang gi sgra'i rnam grangs rten gyi tshig gis ni yul dang dus dang grub pa'i mtha' bshad do || gang dag gi sgra rten pa'i tshig ni phyi dang nang gi dngos po brjod pa'o || des na phyi dang nang gi dngos po rnams ni yul dang dus dang grub pa'i mtha' 'gar yang bdag las skye ba srid pa ma yin no zhes 'di ltar sbyar bar bya'o ||

The expression *nam yang* has the sense of *gzhar yang*, “at some time.” The expression *gang na yang*, synonymous with *'gar yang*, “no matter where,” a term for the receptacle-basis, explains the object, time, and philosophical system. The expression *gang dag*, a term for the contents, is a statement of external and internal things. Hence, one should understand that it is not possible that external and internal things arise from any object, time, or philosophical system.

On the other hand, Candrakīrti’s PP and the text of the PP[T2] gloss this as follows:⁶¹

tatra jātu iti kadācid ity arthaḥ | kvacanaśabda ādhāravacanaḥ | kvacicchabdaparyāyāḥ | kecanaśabda ādheyavacanaḥ kecicchabdaparyāyāḥ | tataś caivam sambandhaḥ — naiva svata utpannā jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kvacana kecana | evaṃ pratijñātrayam api yojyam ||

⁵⁹ Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge, *rNam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal gyi de nyid gsal byed* 111, *ad* MA_{LVP} 81.4.

⁶⁰ MA_{LVP} 81; see MacDonald 2015a, vol. II: 48–50, 402–403; see also de La Vallée Poussin 1910: 279, where he remarks, in n. 2, that *gzhan yang* sometimes renders *kadā cit* and sometimes *jātu*.

⁶¹ MacDonald 2015a, vol. I: 138–139; translation and Tibetan text in MacDonald 2015a, vol. II: 49–50, 401–402.

In this context, “ever” (*jātu*) means “at any time” (*kadācit*). The word “anywhere” (*kvacana*), referring to the location (*ādhāra*), is a synonym for the word “any place” (*kvacit*). The word “any” (*kecana*), referring to that which is located, is a synonym for “some” (*kecit*). And therefore the [syntactical] connection is thus “Definitely not (*naiva*) arisen from self do any things ever exist anywhere.” The [remaining] triad of propositions (*pratiñā*) [“from other,” “from both” and “without a cause”] is to be connected in that same manner.

de la gang dag ces bya ba'i sgra ni rten pa'i tshig^a ste su dag ces bya ba'i sgra'i mam grangs so || gang na yang zhes bya ba'i sgra ni rten gyi tshig ste | 'ga' zhis na yang zhes bya ba'i sgra'i mam grangs so || nam yang zhes bya ba' gzar yang zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go^b || de'i phyir bdag las dngos po gang dag na yang skye ba nam yang yod pa ma yin no zhes de ltar sbyar bar bya'o || de bzhin du dam bca' ba gsum po la yang sbyar bar bya'o ||

^a Here, the Tibetan text does not have what corresponds to *ity arthaḥ* and instead presupposes *adhāravacanaḥ*.

^b The Sanskrit and Tibetan texts are different, for *kecanaśabda ādhe-yavacanaḥ kecicchabdaparyāyaḥ* would be rendered **nam yang zhes bya ba ni bten pa'i tshig ste gzar yang zhes bya ba sgra'i mam grangs so ||*. Tibetan *zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go ||* is the usual rendering of Sanskrit *iti yāvat*, and sometimes also of *ity arthaḥ ||*.

Zhang Thang sag pa Ye shes 'byung gnas, one of Pa tshab's disciples, wrote a study of PP[T2] and his comment on PP[T2] *ad* MMK 1:1, is of some interest.⁶² Isolating four discrete theses or propositions that were rejected by Nāgārjuna,⁶³ he then says that were this verse to be explained in terms of the Sanskrit text, then the Tibetan would have to read:

*dngos po gang dag gang na yang ||
skye ba nam yang yod ma yin ||
bdag las ma yin gzhān las min ||
gnyis las ma yin rgyu med min ||*

This is strange and is explicitly rejected by Tsong kha pa and others!⁶⁴ Another work that, according to its title page, was allegedly written on the Tibetan translation of the PP by sKyo ston

⁶² Yoshimizu and Nemoto 2013: 44–45. The same is also signaled in rMa bya Byang chub brtson 'grus, *dBu ma rtsa ba shes rab kyi 'grel pa 'i had pa'i rgyan* 57, which also belongs to the twelfth century.

⁶³ For their detailed study, see Yoshimizu 2010.

⁶⁴ Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, *dBu ma rtsa ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa shes rab nam bshad rigs pa'i rgya mtsho* 46–47; see also Geshe Ngawang Samten and Garfield 2006: 48–49.

sMon lam tshul khirms (1219–1299), the eighth abbot of sNar thang monastery, was the *dBu ma tshig gsal gyi spyi don*.⁶⁵ In spite of its title, *General Exposition of the Prasannapadā*, it turns out that this somewhat curious contribution has no overt connection with Candrakīrti at all. Rather its content bespeaks the title that we find in the colophon, namely, *Chos bshad nyan la 'jug pa snang byed 'od zer rab tu rgyas pa*. Thus, it was a work on how to explain and study Buddhism in general. Could it have functioned as a possible introduction to the study of Candrakīrti's work? Yes, it could have. But there is nothing to suggest that this was the case. sKyo ston himself had received his transmission of the PP from mChims Nam mkha' grags (1210–1285), his immediate predecessor on sNar thang's abbatial throne and teacher, who also wrote a work that is somewhat similar to the *Chos bshad nyan la 'jug pa snang byed 'od zer rab tu rgyas pa*.⁶⁶ mChims himself mentions, in his record of the texts and practices he had studied (*gsan yig*) with various teachers whom he identified, albeit somewhat cryptically, that Zhang Chos kyi bla ma (1184–1241), sNar thang's fifth abbot, had taught him the PP.⁶⁷ Yet, we learn from mChims' biography by sKyo ston, that he received instructions in the PP from a certain Phyar bSod nams grags pa (?–?)—Zhang is not mentioned—and that, in addition, he had also written a study of the PP.⁶⁸ It would appear that this work of his has not [?yet] been located.

Now Tsong kha pa glosses the passage of MABh[T2] by:⁶⁹

nam yang dang gzhaz yang ni nram grangs so | gang na yang zhes pa'i sgra | 'gar yang gi sgra'i nram grangs gang du mi skye ba'i gzhi ston pa rten gyi tshig gi ni | yul dang dus dang grub pa'i mtha' bshad do | gzhi de gsum du gang zhig mi skye ba'i gang dag gis [read: gi] sgra rten pa'i tshig ni | phyi nang gi

⁶⁵ sKyo ston sMon lam tshul khirms, *dBu ma tshig gsal gyi spyi don*.

⁶⁶ See sKyo ston sMon lam tshul khirms, *mKhan chen po'i snar thang pa'i gsan yig* 13; mChims Nam mkha' grags, *Chos bshad la 'jug pa'i yan lag tshig gi sgron mas don gyi mu sel ba*, a manuscript that contains many glosses.

⁶⁷ mChims Nam mkha' grags, *mKhan po mchims pa'i gsan yig* 38; Zhang himself had received the PP from a certain Slob dpon Shākya seng ge; see mChims Nam mkha' grags, *Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma'i nram thar* 307. This same Shākya seng ge also taught mChims a number of Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka writings for which see mChims Nam mkha' grags, *mKhan po mchims pa'i gsan yig* 45–46.

⁶⁸ sKyo ston sMon lam tshul khirms, *mChims nam mkha' grags kyi nram thar* 8a, 38a.

⁶⁹ Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa'i dpal, *dGongs pa rab gsal* 161.

dn̄gos po brjod pa'o || *des na bdag las zhes sogs gyi gzhung gi don ni* | *phyi nang gi dn̄gos po rnam̄s ni yul dus grub pa'i mtha'* 'gar yang *bdag las skye ba srid pa ma yin no* || *zhes 'di ltar sbyar te bshad par bya'o* ||

And this is neither very informative nor particularly startling! However, referring to the “old translation” of the PP, that is, PP[T1], Kun mkhyen wrote:⁷⁰

gang na yang zhes bya ba'i sgra ni zhes sogs 'dra'o || [112] *tshig gsal* 'gyur rnying du |

nam yang zhes bya ba ni res 'ga' yang zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go ||

zhes 'byung ngo || *des na 'grel pa 'di'i 'gyur rnying bde bas don ni* | *skye ba dus nam yang res 'ga' yang yod pa ma yin no* || *zhes bshad gzhir sbyar te bshad do* || *shes rab sgron mer*

de la re zhis bdag las ma yin zhes bya ba ci zhis ce na | *skye ba nam yang yod pa ma yin zhes bya ba la sogs pa ste* | *re re dang sbyar bar bya'o* ||⁷¹

zhes 'byung bas dgag sgra snga phyi la bshad gzhi sbyar ba'i don gyi bshad pa byas 'dug cing | *'di'i 'gyur rnying ltar na yang bshad gzhi sbyar gyi don du snang zhis* | *sbyor tshul gong 'og gi khyad par tsam mo* || *des na skye ba nam yang med do* || *skye ba ji lta bu zhe na* | *mtha' bzhi'i skye ba med do* || *ci lta bu zhis tu ce na* | *yul dus grub mtha' 'gar yang mtha' bzhi'i skye ba med ces te* | *nam yang dang* | *gang yang zhes pa dn̄gos dang dogs dpyod yin pas mi zlos so* ||

Key here is the equation of *nam yang* with *res 'ga' yang* of PP[T1] as opposed to PP[T2]'s *nam yang* with *gzhar yang*. It is [for me] an open question as to how significant this might be, the more so, since the term *res 'ga' yang* is also used to render *kadācit* [*apī*] as in, for example, Guṇākaraśrībhadrā's and Lha bla ma Zhi ba 'od's (1016–1111) translation of Śāntaraksita's (8th c.) *Tattvasaṃgraha* and Devendrabhadra's and Grag's 'byor shes rab's (11th c.) translation of his disciple Kamalaśīla's *pañjikā*-commentary on it.⁷² Nonetheless, Kun mkhyen appears to prefer this reading, for he writes that this fragment of the older translation [of *kadācit*] is a good one (*bde ba*), but the reason that he gives is not altogether clear to me.

⁷⁰ Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge, *rNam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal gyi de nyid gsal byed* 111–112.

⁷¹ This is a quote from Bhāviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa*, for which see *bsTan 'gyur A* 57, 913.

⁷² Negi 2004: 6512 and Watanabe 1985: 243.

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Abbreviations

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- MA_{LVP} La Vallée Poussin, Louis de. 1907–1912. *Madhyamakāvatāra par Candrakīrti — traduction tibétaine*. St. Petersburg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences.
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*Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra 5.9 and Its Khotanese Translation**

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The many extant Central Asian manuscript folios and fragments of the Sanskrit Mahāyāna text titled *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra* show that it circulated widely in Chinese Central Asia.¹ This Buddhist work was one of the first ones to be translated into the East Middle Iranian language of the ancient Saka kingdom of Khotan, as is suggested by the earliest manuscripts of an Old Khotanese version that are presumably to be dated to the fifth or sixth century.² In Khotanese, the feminine substantive *uysānā-* /*uza:naa:-* (< Old Iranian **uz-ānā-kā*³ “[breathing as] life soul,” cf. Vedic *prāṇá-* “life

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¹ See Skjærvø 2004, vol. I: xxxiii–xxxvii, and 2009. On the variant, later titles, see Nobel 1937: xii–xvi.

² Skjærvø 2004, vol. I: lxii and Sander 2005: esp. 137 with n. 51 and 138, fig. 3 on manuscript Or.

³ Bailey 1930: 64, n. 1, and 1979: 38. Traditionally, *uysānā-* is considered an *-ā-* stem (see Emmerick 1968: 300–302). From a descriptive point of view, the stem can also be given as a phonological stem *uysāna-*, to which *-ā-* declension

soul”⁴) is regularly used in Khotanese translation literature⁵ to render Sanskrit *ātman-* “the self” and, just like Sanskrit *ātman-*, also functions as the reflexive pronoun “oneself” for all numbers and genders. While surveying the bilingual evidence of the use of *uysānaā-* for a study on the pre-Buddhist Khotanese words for soul and the etymology of *aysmua-* /*azmua-* “mind, thought, intention,”⁶ I came across a problematic occurrence of *uysānaā-* in *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 5.9. Inspection of the corresponding Buddhist Sanskrit original revealed that its awkward wording induced the Khotanese translator to resort to an approximate translation. An analysis of the Sanskrit passage and the solution adopted by the Khotanese translator may not be without interest to Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, to whom I dedicate it in esteem and gratitude.

Verse 5.9 of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* is part of a passage in the Chapter on Emptiness (*Sūnyatāparivarta*) which provides a summary exposition of Buddhist psychology. In his edition of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, Prods O. Skjærvø established the Sanskrit text of the verse (in *triṣṭubh/jagatī* metre) as follows:⁷

cittam ca sarvatra saḍ-īndriyeṣu
śakunir iva cañcala-gatendriya-saṃpraviṣṭam |
yatra ca yatrendriya saṃśritaṃ ca
na cendriyaṃ kurvati jānam ātmakam || 9

Johannes Nobel’s edition differs in just a few details:⁸

cittam ca sarvatra saḍīndriyeṣu
śakunir iva cañcalam indriyasampraviṣṭam |
yatra ca yatrendriya saṃśritaṃ ca
tatrendriyaṃ kurvatu jānam ātmakam || 9⁹

endings are appended (cf. Hitch 2015: 296–297, n. 7). I retain the traditional notation, which is a convenient way to include morphological information.

⁴ See Bodewitz 1991: 46–48 and Preisendanz 2005: 133–134 and 146–148, who prefers the term “vital soul.”

⁵ Cf. Maggi 2009 and 2015.

⁶ Maggi 2016.

⁷ Skjærvø 2004, vol. I: 77.

⁸ Nobel 1937: 57.

⁹ The corresponding verse 6.9 in the first Tibetan translation (first half of the eighth century) was established by Nobel 1944–1950, vol. I: 43 as follows (here converted to the Wylie transliteration system): *sems ni dbang po drug po thams cad*

Although it was not used either by Nobel or Skjærvø in their editions, nor by Ronald E. Emmerick for his translation (see below), I give here also Bun'yū Nanjō and Hōkei Izumi's edition of the verse for the sake of comparison:¹⁰

cittam ca sarvatra saḍindriyeṣu
śakunir iva cañcalaṃ indriyasampravṛṣṭam |
yatra yatrendriyasamśritam ca
na cendriyaṃ kurvatu jānam ātmakam || 9 ||

The tradition of this verse clearly had a chequered history, as is evidenced by the many variants mirrored in the different editors' choices and the apparatuses accompanying their editions, as well as by the conspicuous metrical irregularities, which cannot be simplistically cleared away because they are reflected in ancient translations.¹¹

la | dbang por bzhugs pa bya bzhin g.yo bar 'gyur | dbang po gang dang gang du gnas bcas pa | dbang po de ni shes par bdag nyid byed ||.

¹⁰ Nanjio and Idzumi 1931: 50, v. 6.9. The verse is identical in Sitansusekhar Bagchi's edition (1967: 31), which relies on the Japanese edition. Since the Japanese edition uses the Devanāgarī script, which is not ideal for philological purposes, its conventions should be emulated in the transliteration with the consequence that not all word boundaries are marked by blanks (*śakuniriva* and *jānamātmakam*). In the present case, however, I divide *śakunir iva*, which is trivial, and *jānam ātmakam*, which is not so trivial (see below), in the light of Izumi's translation (1933: 48 with n. on p. 49) of the end of the verse: *kasho ni mare kon wa jiga o shiru koto nashi* 何處にまれ根は自我を知ることなし [wherever that sense is, it is not that (the mind) knows itself] (one should note that Izumi substitutes *kuṭraci* for *kurvatu* of his and Nanjō's edition).

¹¹ The second *pāda* is hypermetrical (see Skjærvø's text above). Either *śakunir iva gatendriyasampravṛṣṭam* (possibly $\underline{\underline{u}} - \underline{\underline{u}} \underline{\underline{u}} - \underline{\underline{u}} \underline{\underline{u}} - \underline{\underline{u}} \underline{\underline{u}} - \underline{\underline{u}} - \underline{\underline{u}}$, a *trīṣṭubh* with substitution of two light syllables for a long one in the first and fourth positions, provided that one reads *śakunir iva* against the manuscripts: cf. Edgerton 1946: 199, §§ 10 and 22, 200, § 36, and Karashima 2016: 197 and 202–203) or something like *cañcala-gatendriya-sampravṛṣṭam* (?) might be conceivable. However, on the one hand *śakunir iva* “like a bird” (which “is against metre” according to Nanjio–Idzumi 1931: 50, n. 18) corresponds to Khotanese *muri māñamdu* (see below) and Tibetan *bya bzhin* and, on the other, *cañcalagata*^o “having a fickle motion” corresponds to Khotanese *drāca* ^x*tsūmata* (MS *ts[ü]mata*; in Skjærvø's usage, a raised multiplication sign \times before a word indicates a certain restored form and brackets enclose missing parts of manuscripts) and Tibetan *g.yo bar 'gyur* (see Skjærvø 2004, vol. I: 77 and vol. II: 136 with reference to Nobel 1944–1950, vol. II: 33).

In order to lay a sound foundation for a comprehensive edition and translation of the substantially preserved Khotanese versions, Emmerick translated the Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* into a European language for the first time in 1970 and contributed thus to the improvement of the Sanskrit critical text as established by Nobel.¹² In the preface to the first edition of his translation, Emmerick wrote: “Translation usually highlights textual difficulties, and I hope that by offering a translation I may succeed in attracting scholars to the task of solving them.”¹³ One such difficulty is found in verse 5.9, which was translated by Emmerick as follows: “And in the case of all six senses the mind, flighty like a bird, enters the senses and whatever sense it bases itself upon, it gives that sense its peculiar knowledge.”¹⁴ The problem lies in the fourth *pāda*, whose translation by Emmerick as “it gives that sense its peculiar knowledge” is unconvincing. The rendering “knowledge” follows a suggestion in the edition by Nobel, who adopted *jānam* in the text but, since it cannot obviously mean “birth, origin, birth place” here, proposed emending it to *j(ñ)ānam* “knowledge.”¹⁵ Likewise, Frederick W. Thomas had restored *jñānam* in a wide gap in the Central Asian manuscript H. 143a SB 9 (= IOL Khot 204/4) verso, l. 6, on the basis of the readings of three late manuscripts (Nobel’s manuscripts A, B, and F), a restoration also recorded in a note to Nanjō and Izumi’s edition.¹⁶ However, manuscripts A, B, and F, like all other Nepalese manuscripts apart from G, derive from manuscript J—unknown to Nobel but used by Skjærvø—which “clearly represents an archaic stage of the text” and has *jānam* in the passage under consideration.¹⁷ Accordingly, *jānam* is most likely the original reading and must be accounted for. Furthermore, the adjective *ātmaka-* does not mean “peculiar,” nor, for that matter, does it function as a reflexive pronoun.

¹² See Emmerick 1970, which enjoyed one reprint and two further editions (3rd ed. 1996); cf. Nobel 1937 and see now Skjærvø 2004.

¹³ Emmerick 1970: vii (quoted in 1996: vii).

¹⁴ Emmerick 1970: 21 (= 1996: 21).

¹⁵ Nobel 1937: 57, n. 25.

¹⁶ See Thomas 1916: 111 (cf. Skjærvø 2002: 450 and 2004, vol. I: xxxiii, xxxv) and Nanjō and Izumi 1931: 50, n. 23.

¹⁷ Skjærvø 2004, vol. I: xxxvii, 77.

Sanskrit *ātmaka-* is construed with the genitive to mean “belonging to or forming the nature of” or much more commonly occurs at the end of possessive compounds to mean “having or consisting of the nature or character of; consisting or composed of.”¹⁸ That this actually applies also to Buddhist Sanskrit texts is confirmed by such Tibetan translations of Sanskrit possessive compounds as *Mahāvvyūtpatti* § 878 *maitryātmakaḥ* = *byams pa'i bdag nyid can* “having benevolence as his character” and § 879 *karuṇātmakaḥ* = *snying rje'i bdag nyid can* “having compassion as his character”¹⁹ with *bdag nyid* “substance, essence” and *can* “having, provided with.” Because the *jānam* that precedes *ātmakaṃ* is not a genitive, the possibility remains that *jānamātmakaṃ* is a possessive compound. For one thing, *-m-* is the most common of the sandhi consonants used in Buddhist Sanskrit as hiatus fillers both between words and between compound members.²⁰ Secondly, *jāna-*, rather than a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *jñāna*, can be regarded as an active present participle from *jānant-* to *jñā-* “to know, perceive.” The correspondence between *jānam* and the Khotanese active present participle *haysānando* from *haysān-* “to be aware of”²¹ was pointed out by Skjærvø, who suggested that “*jānam* might be a corruption of *jānant*” with elision of the ending in verse before an initial vowel.²² The problem with this suggestion is that, although a Buddhist Sanskrit nominative-accusative singular neuter *jānantam* (= *jānat*²³) agreeing with the preceding *indriyaṃ* is quite possible,²⁴ such an interpretation leaves the resulting independent *ātmakaṃ* unexplained. The postulated underlying *na cendriyaṃ kurvati jānant' ātmakaṃ* cannot mean “it makes that sense perceive (lit. perceiving) itself.” Also an interpretation of *ātmakaṃ* as a substantivised adjective (“it makes that sense perceive what pertains to

¹⁸ See Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875, vol. I: 619; Monier-Williams 1899: 136; Bechert 1994: 240.

¹⁹ Ishihama and Fukuda 1989: 47; Sakaki 1916: 68, §§ 876–877.

²⁰ See Edgerton 1953, vol. I: 35–36, §§ 4.59–60 and cf. von Hinüber 2001: 209–212, §§ 271–276 (esp. 210, § 272).

²¹ Emmerick 1968: 148.

²² Skjærvø 2004, vol. II: 136 (quotation, with reference to Edgerton 1953, vol. I: 33, § 4.29) and 363–364.

²³ This was already suggested by Degener 1989: 41: “Khot. tr. **jānann*.”

²⁴ See Edgerton 1953, vol. I: 102, § 18.12.

itself”) seems all too far-fetched and presupposes a fairly unnatural wording. However, *-ant-* stems can be reduced to *-a-* stems especially in composition in Buddhist Sanskrit, so that it is possible to regard *jāna-* as a thematicised variant of *jānant-* “knowing, perceiving.”²⁵ This and the common use of *-m-* as a sandhi consonant indicate that *jāna-m-ātmakaṃ* is in all likelihood a possessive compound meaning “having the nature of that which perceives.”

The definitely Middle Indian features of *jāna-m-ātmakaṃ* have a counterpart in the Middle Indian character of the preceding verb *kurvatu* and the pronoun *na* “that” at the beginning of the *pāda*. This was misunderstood as *na* “not” by Izumi.²⁶ The phrase *na cendriyaṃ* “that sense” (with redundant *ca* “and”) was a problem also for Nobel, who replaced it with *tatrendriyaṃ* on the basis of manuscript G’s *pāda* “*tatrandriyaṃ tatra viṣaya cā(?) x*”²⁷ but against the consistent reading *na cendriyaṃ* found in all other manuscripts known to him and subsequently confirmed by their common ancestor J used by Skjærvø. That *na* is a demonstrative pronoun and that *na cendriyaṃ* corresponds exactly to Tibetan *dbang po de ni* and Khotanese *ttu indriyu* was pointed out by Skjærvø.²⁸ As for the third singular imperative active *kurvatu* with analogical thematic present stem,²⁹ the reading is assured by its occurrence in the old manuscript J and others against meaningless *kurvaṃtu/kurvantu* in a few late manuscripts.³⁰ Accordingly, since the Sanskrit imperative, like the optative, may be used in main clauses as a modal form to express possibility and the like (“it may make, it is as if it

²⁵ See Edgerton 1953, vol. I: 103–104, §§ 18.52–53 with examples of °*jāna-* for °*jāna(n)t-* and vol. II: 241, s.v. *jāna-*; cf. von Hinüber 2001: 277, § 420 and 309, § 490.

²⁶ See n. 10.

²⁷ So read by Skjærvø 2004, vol. I: 77 (italic indicates here “retouched second-hand text written over the original” [p. 5] and x stands for an illegible *akṣara*). Nobel 1937: 57 has *tatrendriyaṃ* in his apparatus.

²⁸ Skjærvø 2004, vol. I: 77 with reference to Edgerton 1953, vol. I: 117, § 21.48 on the pronoun *na*; cf. von Hinüber 2001: 260, § 389. On the occurrence of the ending *-a* for *-am/-ad* of nominative-accusative neuter mostly in verses see further Edgerton 1953, vol. I: 51, §§ 8.31–33 (nouns) and 34 (pronouns).

²⁹ See Edgerton 1953, vol. I: 136, § 28.6 and 207; cf. von Hinüber 2001: 290–291, § 451.

³⁰ Nobel 1937: 57, n. 24 and Nanjio and Idzumi 1931: 50, n. 22.

makes”),³¹ there is strictly no reason to emend it to a third singular indicative active *kurvati* with Skjærvø, notwithstanding the Tibetan present *byed*³² and the Khotanese third singular present indicative middle *padīmāte*.

Before proposing a revised reading and translation of *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra* 5.9 in the light of the preceding discussion of its fourth *pāda* it is appropriate to recall that the verse under consideration closes a brief sketch, in verses 5.4–9, of standard Buddhist psychology. According to this, the contact of the six sense organs (*indriya*, including the mind) with the six sense objects (*viṣaya*) gives rise to six kinds of consciousness (*viññāna*), and the interplay of senses, objects, and consciousness types brings about cognition.³³ The relationships between the eighteen elements (*dhātu*) comprised of senses, objects, and corresponding kinds of consciousness are as follows:

Organs	Objects	Consciousness types
1 <i>caḥṣus</i> eye	7 <i>rūpa</i> form	13 <i>caḥṣur-viññāna</i> visual consciousness
2 <i>śrotra</i> ear	8 <i>śabda</i> sound	14 <i>śrotra-viññāna</i> auditory consciousness
3 <i>ghrāṇa</i> nose	9 <i>gandha</i> smell	15 <i>ghrāṇa-viññāna</i> olfactory consciousness
4 <i>jihvā</i> tongue	10 <i>rasa</i> taste	16 <i>jihvā-viññāna</i> gustatory consciousness
5 <i>kāya</i> body	11 <i>sparsā</i> touch	17 <i>kāya-viññāna</i> tactile consciousness
6 <i>manas</i> mind, mental faculty	12 <i>dharmā</i> mental objects	18 <i>mano-viññāna</i> mental consciousness

Whereas elements 1–5 and 7–11 are physical and element 12 can be either physical or mental, elements 6 (*manas*, the mind as sense organ) and 13–18 (consciousness types based on the pairs of senses and objects) listed in bold in the table above are purely men-

³¹ See Speijer 1886: 261–262, § 342; 265, § 344; 271–274, §§ 348–353 (esp. 273, § 352).

³² Cf. Nobel 1937: 57, n. 24: “Dem Tib. byed entspräche einfach karoti.”

³³ See the summary in Lamotte 1958: 29–33.

tal. The six senses cannot perceive each other's objects and are therefore compared to thieves in a village in *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* 5.4:³⁴

*ayaṃ ca kāyo yatha śūnya-grāmaḥ
 ṣaḍ-grāma-cauropama indriyāṇi |
 tāny eka-grāme nivasanti sarve
 na te vijānanti paraspareṇa || 4*

And this body is like an empty village. The senses are like six thieves in the village: they all dwell in the one village but they do not perceive one another.

The mind (*manas*), however, not only operates like the other senses in that mental consciousness arises from the contact between it and mental objects, but can also perceive and think about what the other five senses perceive, so as to coordinate the various senses, as it were.

This is exactly what is explained in verses 5.7–9, with the last *pāda* read and interpreted as indicated above:³⁵

*cittaṃ hi māyopama cañcalaṃ ca
 ṣaḍ-indriyaṃ viśaya-vicāraṇaṃ ca |
 yathā naro dhāvati śūnya-grāme
 ṣaḍ-grāma-caurebhi samāśritaś ca || 7
 cittaṃ tathā ṣaḍ-viśayāśritaṃ ca
 prajānate indriya-gocaraṃ ca |
 rūpaṃ ca śabdaṃ ca tathaiva gandhaṃ
 rasaṃ ca sp̥arśaṃ tatha dharma-gocaram || 8
 cittaṃ ca sarvatra ṣaḍ-indriyeṣu
 śakunir iva cañcala-gatendriya-saṃpraviṣṭaṃ |
 yatra ca yatrendriya saṃśritaṃ ca
 na cendriyaṃ kurvatu jāna-m-ātmakaṃ || 9*

(7) The mind is fickle like magic and the six senses consider their (own) objects. As a man runs about in an empty village

³⁴ Ed. Skjærvø 2004: 75; trans. Emmerick 1970: 20 (= 1996: 21).

³⁵ Text after Skjærvø 2004: 76–77 apart from *pāda* 5.9d.

and is dependent on the six thieves in the village, (8) so, the mind (*citta* = *manas*) bases itself upon the six (sense) objects and distinguishes the sphere of the (six) senses: form, sound, as well as smell, taste, touch, and the sphere of mental objects. (9) And the mind, with respect to all six senses, enters the senses with a fickle motion like a bird; and, whatever sense it bases itself upon, it is as if it makes that sense have the nature of that which perceives.

As for the Khotanese version of verse 5.9, it should be recalled with Skjærvø that “in some instances, no doubt the translator did not quite understand the original himself, or the original was too corrupt already, in which case he sometimes chose to translate ad sensum, or what he thought was the meaning of the original.”³⁶ In the case in point, the Khotanese translator, too, apparently experienced some difficulty with the fourth *pāda* and especially with °*ātmakam*, so he decided on an approximate rendering in line with doctrine:³⁷

aṣṣmṃvī biśuvo **paṃjuvo* **indriyo* **muri māñamdu drāca* **tsūmata indriyyau tramdye* . *kāmo diśo kāmiye indriye vātū patārottū ttu indriyu haysānando padīmāte uysānye* .

The mind having entered, with respect to [Skjærvø: through] the senses, into all the five senses, resembling a bird, erratically, in whatever direction, on whatever sense (it is) supported, that sense it [i.e., the mind] makes a ‘sensor’ for itself.

That the Khotanese version contrasts the mind as a mental sense with the five physical senses instead of “all six senses” of the original (cf. Tibetan 6.9 [= 5.9] *dbang po drug po thams cad la* “in all six senses”) need not detain us here, because six senses are regularly mentioned in verses 5.4, 7, and 8. More interesting is the fact that the translator interpreted *jāna-* as an active present participle (see above), though the meaning of the compound *jāna-m-ātmakam*

³⁶ Skjærvø 2012: 127.

³⁷ Ed. and trans. Skjærvø 2004, vol. I: 76–77 (translation slightly modified). For the raised multiplication sign × see n. 11.

eluded him, so that he opted for translating *ad sensum* what he read as *jānam ātmakaṃ* by the somewhat ambiguous Khotanese *haysānando* (...) *uysānye*, where the present participle *haysānando* “perceiving, being aware of” in the accusative singular—governed by *padīmāte* “makes” (Sanskrit *kurvatu*) and agreeing with *ttu indriyu* “that sense” (Sanskrit *na* [...] *indriyaṃ*)—renders Sanskrit *jānam*, and the reflexive pronoun *uysānye* in the genitive-dative renders *ātmakaṃ* somehow or other.

Since the direct object of an *-anda(a)-* present participle is either in the accusative or in the genitive-dative,³⁸ *uysānye* can theoretically be the direct object of the participle, and the clause *ttu indriyu haysānando padīmāte uysānye* can be taken to mean “(the mind) makes that sense be aware of itself” (cf. Almuth Degener’s translation “setzt diesen Sinn (*indriya*) in Kenntnis seiner selbst”³⁹). Such a statement is unlikely, however, if *uysānye* refers to a single sense (*ttu indriyu*) other than the mind because it is only the mind as organ of sense that elaborates the various kinds of sense consciousness. Things are even worse if *uysānye* refers to the mind itself, because the physical senses cannot perceive each other’s objects, let alone the mind.

The only possibility is to take *uysānye* as an indirect object referring to the mind, as Skjærvø does: “that sense it [i.e., the mind] makes a ‘sensor’ for [the mind] itself.” Or, in other words: “(the mind) makes that sense that which perceives on behalf of (the mind) itself,” which is, after all, the intended meaning of the original.

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³⁸ See Degener 1989: 33, § 4.8.3.

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The Dharma of the Tocharians

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1. The two Tocharian (henceforth Toch.) languages, Toch. A and Toch. B belong to the wide array of languages of Central Asia which feature a terminology for Buddhist notions through lexemes which are translated or adapted from Indo-Aryan sources, basically from Sanskrit, alternatively from some Middle Indic language which spread in Central Asia, first and foremost Gāndhārī. The Tocharian speaking monks who were responsible for the composition and transmission of texts endeavored to design a literary language of their own, which was felt appropriate for works of the canonical or para-canonical Buddhist literature. The latter category covers narratives (*avadāna*, *jātaka*) and eulogies (*stotra*), which are very well represented in the corpus of the two languages. The lexicon shows many divergences between the two Toch. languages, which developed for a long time, probably during some centuries, independently from each other. This concerns all fields of the vocabulary: designations of parts of the body, concrete and abstract nouns of all sorts, various descriptive adjectives, adverbs, etc.¹ Nonetheless, the influence of Indo-Buddhist

¹ Lane 1966: 221–226.

culture and “belles-lettres” can be traced at all levels of the vocabulary and phraseology of Toch. literary texts.² The Indo-Aryan influence is of course even more pervasive in the technical vocabulary proper to Buddhist texts, which were translated from Sanskrit or earlier from Prākṛit. But the first translators of Buddhist texts into Toch. B or Toch. A were eager to make understood the content of the Buddhist notions by a large audience, which should include also lay people invited to support the Buddhist communities. Therefore, they coined Buddhist terms which were understandable in their respective native languages, for the sake of disseminating efficiently the Buddhist teachings. The following list of basic Buddhist terms, which occur in almost every text, shows the discrepancies in the lexicon of the two languages:

Sanskrit	Toch. A	Toch. B
<i>karman-</i>	<i>lyalypu</i>	<i>yāmor</i>
<i>satya-</i>	<i>kārme</i>	<i>empreṃ</i>
<i>duḥkha-</i>	<i>klop</i>	<i>lakle</i>
<i>puṇya-</i>	<i>pñi</i>	<i>yarpo</i>
<i>dharma-</i>	<i>mārkampal</i>	<i>pelaikne</i>
<i>dhyāna-, samādhi-</i>	<i>plyaskem</i>	<i>ompalskoññe</i>
<i>daśabala-</i>	<i>ška-tampeyum</i>	<i>ška-maiyya</i>

This fact has been duly noted by Sylvain Lévi, who attributed these differences to different Buddhist missions who had reached separately the speakers of the two languages.³ However, there is no significant doctrinal content of the texts which would point to the affiliation of speakers of Toch. A and Toch. B to different Buddhist schools. It can be positively shown that the canonical texts in both languages belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school, with additional and marginal impact of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school.⁴ The Toch. A manuscripts are more recent (dating from around the 7th/8th century CE, judging from the ductus of the Brāhmī

² See Pinault 2003 and 2015.

³ Lévi 1933: 33–35.

⁴ Schmidt 1979 and Thomas 1992; see also Pinault 2008: 61–88, 159–162, 169–177.

script) than the earliest manuscripts in Toch. B (late 4th–early 5th century CE),⁵ but this chronological ordering of the materials is independent from the dialectal divergences that started in the common prehistoric language, Common Tocharian, which accounts for the differences in the lexicon of the languages, as well as in their phonology and morphology. Consequently, the differences which affect the technical vocabulary do not depend on different stages of the Buddhist missions, so that the Buddhist missionary activity would have been somewhat more recent on the side of Toch. A speakers. It would be more realistic to assume the existence of different scholarly and literary traditions, which flourished independently from each other in different areas of the Tarim basin where Buddhist communities had settled. There was no need, nor any doctrinal superstructure, for the unification of the terminology across all Tocharian speaking communities. In addition to the etymological sources which depend on the native languages themselves, one factor would have been alternative ways of commenting on, explaining and finally translating Buddhist concepts: these competing options are reflected in the technical vocabulary. This history has to be partly reconstructed on the basis of the philological investigation of the texts. In the limits of the present paper, I will not review the formation of all the technical terms which have been mentioned above. Alternative strategies can be observed side by side: loans from Sanskrit with phonological adaptation, calques of Sanskrit terms, and translations, sometimes based on the interpretation of the terms which had to be rendered.⁶ I concentrate on the notion of *dharma*, which is admittedly fundamental in the Buddhist faith, and which features in the triad of jewels (*tri-ratna*), Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha, to which the Buddhists declare their appurtenance in the ritual of entrance into the community and ordination, according to the formula of the threefold refuge (*tri-saraṇa-gamana*).⁷ My paper aims to contribute, with all resources of philology and linguistics, to the semantics and history of a concept.

⁵ Pinault 2016: 181–183.

⁶ Discussion of several items in Pinault 1995 and 2002; general survey in Pinault 2016: 185–197.

⁷ Pinault 1995: 13–17.

2. For rendering Skt. *dharma-*, the Tocharian speaking Buddhists did not resort to the device of mere borrowing, nor calque. Going back to the preceding list, speakers of Toch. B used the device of calque to transpose Skt. *karman-* nt. “act,” which was analyzable as an action noun based on the root *kar-/ky-* “to do, make, perform, accomplish, cause,” by *yāmor*, which is the action noun of the root Toch. B *yām-* “to, do make.”⁸ Instead, the Toch. A speakers did not use a parallel formation from the root Toch. A *ya-/yām-* “to do, make,” but a totally different lexeme, *lyalypu*, literally “rest,” which is the substantivization of the preterit participle of the causative of the verb *lip-* “to remain, be left over,” caus. “to leave behind.”⁹ This preterit participle is the basis of the absolutive *lyalyipwāṣ* which means as expected “having left behind.” Toch. A *lyalypu* is the gloss of Skt. *karman-*, since every act, either bad or good, leaves a rest or residue which carries on to the next existences, according to Buddhist doctrine. This word has been totally lexicalized as a technical term, the etymological meaning of which has entirely vanished: it became the standard equivalent of Skt. *karman-*, and it should be thus understood in reading the texts, including the texts which are not word-for-word translations of Buddhist canonical works. Obviously, this device was not used for translating or glossing Skt. *dharma-*. This is not due to the derivational opacity of this noun, because it could be connected by Buddhists which were simultaneously Sanskrit scholars with the root *dhar-/dhy-* “to support, uphold, give foundation to, maintain.” The sense of “foundation” lies at the beginnings of the Indian concept of *dharma*: the thematic stem *dharma-* has replaced the neuter noun *dhárman-* found already in the Saṃhitā of the *Ṛgveda*, where “foundation” corresponds to the derivation from the root in question.¹⁰ Starting from “foundational ritual” or “foundational authority” this noun has known a complex evolution which is not necessary to discuss again for the present purpose. By the epoch of the Epic and the Dharmaśāstras, *dharma* came to refer to the rule of a righteous

⁸ Actually, Toch. B *yāmor* is the action noun based on the preterit participle *yāmu* of the verb in question, according to a Toch. basic derivational pattern, cf. Pinault 2008: 26, 33, 533.

⁹ Malzahn 2010: 851.

¹⁰ See the summary in Brereton 2009: 60–63.

king and essentially to the proper religious life, in Brahmanism as well as in Buddhism. Nonetheless, the notion of “maintaining” and “upholding” can still be traced in the specific Buddhist understanding of *dharma*, according to several scholars.¹¹ The Tocharian speakers did not build a calque of Skt. *dharma-* probably because the notion was too rich and multifarious to be transposed by a single derivative from a root which would have been more or less synonymous with Skt. *dhar-/dhy-*: this would have meant something like “established thing,” “maintained entity,” or the like. The meanings which can be distinguished for Pāli *dhamma-* and in the early Buddhist literature hold also for the Sarvāstivāda school: (1) “teaching” of the Buddha; (2) “good conduct” or “good behavior”; (3) the “truth” realized by the Buddhist path; (4) any particular “nature” or “quality” possessed by something; (5) the “natural law or order” of things which the Buddha has discerned; (6) a basic mental or physical “state” or “thing,” a plurality of which came to be conceived, in the Abhidharma tracts, as forming the world of experience.¹² These semantic components should have motivated the choice of the Tocharian terms which were devised to translate Skt. *dharma-*. This complex of notions surrounding *dharma* can be synthesized around two basic meanings which are peculiar to Buddhist thought: (a) the practices and the ways of life recommended by the Buddha, (b) the fundamental entities that constitute reality.¹³

Toch. A *märkampal* and B *pelaikne* have as expected many occurrences in the texts, and they feature all uses that have been defined above.¹⁴ They are found in the following phrases: A *märkampal äks-*, B *pelaikne äks-* “to teach (lit. announce, proclaim) the *dharma*,” A *märkampal klyos-*, B *pelaikne klyaus-* “to listen to the *dharma*,” A *kāsu märkampal*, acc. *krant märkampal*, B acc. *krent pelaikne* “the good law,” translation of Skt. *śad-dharma-*, A *märkampalši wär-*

¹¹ Gethin 2009: 108–112; Cox 2009: 122–125, with previous literature.

¹² Gethin 2009: 93–94. Compare the similar glosses of Skt. *dharma-* in SWTF II: 516b.

¹³ Gethin 2009: 112; as for the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins, see Cox 2009: 127–156.

¹⁴ References are available in Poucha 1955: 225–226 and on the CEToM website.

känt, B *pelaikneṣṣe cākkär* or *yerkwantai*, transposition of Skt. *dharmacakra*–“the wheel of the Law,” A *märkampalṣi kapśāñi* “dharma-body” (one of the three bodies of a Buddha), A *märkampalṣi wäl*, B *pelaikneṣṣe walo*, transposition of Skt. *dharmarāja*–“just and righteous king,” etc. One may note in addition the relatively frequent use of the loc. sg. A *märkampalam*, B *pelaiknene* to describe the entrance of someone into the Buddhist community, “according to the way (or: the doctrine) of the Buddha.” The term can refer also to the specific rules of conduct (*śīla*-), as corresponding to the *dharmas* of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, which induces the redactors to coin calques as matching the Skt. terms, for instance A *wärkṣantāñ märkampäläntu*, B *ipäṣṣeñcana pelaiknenta*, translating Skt. *pāṭayantikā dharmāḥ*.¹⁵ Because these two words had become the standard translation of Skt. *dharmā*-, they came to be used, especially in the plural, to render Skt. *dharmā*- in the sense specific to Buddhist philosophy of “quality, entity, mental or physical factor.” This occurs especially in the phrase B *po pelaiknenta kärsau*, A *puk märkampäläntu kärso* “knowing (having understood) all the *dharmas*,” translating literally Skt. *sarva-dharma-jñā*-, as epithet of the Buddha. The alternative option was to use instead a Toch. noun which meant “thing, object” in its ordinary usage: B *wäntare* (pl. *wäntarwa*), A *wram* (pl. *wramäm*), which do appear relatively often in the philosophical sense common to Abhidharmic discussions. This corresponds to the choice made by other Buddhist languages, for instance Khotanese Saka, which resorts to two different words for the two basic meanings of Skt. *dharmā*:- *dāta*- “rule, law” and *hāra*- “thing, element.” Except in these instances of the philosophical sense, it is always possible to translate in most occurrences Toch. A *märkampal*, B *pelaikne*, by “rule, law.” In translating Toch. texts which refer to the *dharmā*, singular, as the doctrine taught by the Buddha, I personally use “Law” (French *loi*, following Eugène Burnouf), but this is no more than a compromise and a typographic expedient.

¹⁵ See further examples in the manuscript A 353, edited by Schmidt (1989: 74, 77, 80).

3. The standard equivalents of Skt. *dharma-* in the two languages, Toch. A *märkampal*, Toch. B *pelaikne* have obviously one element in common: Toch. B *pele*, A *pal* “correct manner, fashion, rule, norm.”¹⁶ This lexeme goes back to CToch. **pälæ*. Actually, it was close to Skt. *dharma-* in the sense of “rule, norm,” since it is found in the negative compound Toch. B *empele* (which has been borrowed as Toch. A *empele*) “horrible, terrible, dreadful, awful” < **æn-pälæ*, literally “without rule, against the rule, out-law.” This compound is the calque of Skt. *a-dharma-* masc. “unrighteousness, injustice, wickedness, demerit, guilt” (MW: 20a), cf. Pāli *adhamma-* masc. 1. “what is not *dhamma*; not the correct behavior; not the teaching,” 2. “what is not right or just; wrong doing; the wrong way” (DP II: 475).¹⁷ Toch. B *empele* underwent a semantic evolution which is not disturbing, but in addition a change of category, if it was simply the calque of the noun *adharmā-*: being an adjective, it is rather the match of Skt. *adharmya-* adj. “unlawful, contrary to the law or religion, wicked” or *adharmin-* adj. “unrighteous, wicked, impious,” cf. Pāli *adhammika-*, *adhammiya-* 1. “not in conformity with the rule,” 2. “not acting rightly, doing wrong; unjust,” 3. “unlawful; not in conformity with what is right” (DP II: 476–477). The semantic coloration of Toch. B *empele* implies also the influence of Skt. *adhama-* adj. “lowest, vilest, worst; very low or vile, bad” (MW: 19c). Since there are no geminate consonants in the phonological system of Tocharian, the contamination—through popular etymology—of *adharmā-* (Prākṛit *adhamma-*) by *adhama-* was possible. In any case, the internal evolution of Toch. B *empele* triggered the creation of a further term which will eventually be the transparent match of Skt. *a-dharma-*, and which is used as a noun in the same sense: B *snai-pele* (A *sne-pal*), a compound with the preposition B *snai* (A *sne*) “without” as first member. This construction is used in a productive way to transpose Skt. privative compounds, whereas the use of the prefix B *e(n)-* (< **æn-*, yielding several variants) is recessive. See the following passages:¹⁸

¹⁶ Compare “(rechte) Art, Recht, Gesetz” (TEB II: 113, 212), “way, law” (Adams 2013: 427).

¹⁷ Compare “das dem Dharma (= Lehre, rechtes Verhalten) Widersprechende; Unrecht,” for Skt. *adharmā-* (SWTF I: 33a).

¹⁸ In the following, the Tocharian texts are quoted after the standard editions; if not otherwise indicated, the translations are my own.

SI B 119(2) b2 (= U16 Lévi) *snai-pele enikormem rinormem pelai(kne)* “after having chosen the lawlessness, after having abandoned the Law,” translation of Skt., Uv 28:39b *adharmam samādāya vihāya dharmam*.

PKAS 5C a 3 (= S6 Lévi) *mā no kante pikwala snai-pelempa rittowo saul arttoymar 31 (Udānastotra)* “And for hundred years may I not approve the life, being bound with lawlessness.”

A 101a4 *kus tanaṃ sne-pal naṣ päklyoṣ* “hear which is the wickedness in that (= that behavior).”

A 72a2 *sne-plā wlamtrā was tāloṣ* “we, miserable ones, we will die by the unrighteousness.”

A 222a3 *sne-palṣṇāṃ riteyo* “through the desire pertaining to wickedness.”

The noun Toch. B *pele*, A *pal* could have been by itself the translation of Skt. *dharmā-* in the sense of “rule, prescribed manner, norm.” It was felt however as having an array of meanings which was too large: “customary way, habit, manner,” without having a normative or ethical component, see for instance:

B 93a4 *mā ṇi pele ste waike weṃtsi* “This is not my habit to tell a lie.”¹⁹

A 340b3 *s_ukuntu wärpānt ṇākciṃ pal* “they [the man and the woman] enjoyed the delights (of love) in the way of gods,” i.e., as god and goddess ordinarily do.²⁰

It is used also as referring to the way of speaking, i.e., to a particular language: *yentukāñe pele* “Indian language” (i.e., Sanskrit), *k_uṣiñ pele* “language of Kuṣi (= Kucha),” i.e., Toch. B.

4. To sum up, Toch. B *pele*, A *pal* is rather infrequent outside of the compound B *snai-pele*, A *sne-pal*. On the other hand, in the sense of Skt. *dharmā-*, it has been replaced by a compound, to wit B *pelaikne*, A *märkampal*. The analysis of Toch. B *pelaikne* is straightforward: **pelé-ykne* < **pelé-yäkne*, through the effect of the accent on the second syllable of the first member of a compound. The second member is the bound form of Toch. B *yakne*, A *wkäm* “man-

¹⁹ Compare: “Es ist nicht meine Art, eine Lüge zu sagen” (Schmidt 2001: 325).

²⁰ This scene is seen by Koṭikarṇa during his stay in the city of Pretas; compare: “[und] genossen Glückgüter nach himmlischer Art” (Sieg 1952: 38).

ner, fashion, way, custom, habit” < CToch. **w’äknae*. The building of compounds²¹ from the juxtaposition of nouns which express synonymous or complementary notions is commonplace in Tocharian: the most famous example is Toch. B *ñem-kälywe*, A *ñom-klyu* “renown” = “name [and] glory”; a further one is Toch. B *ere-pate*, A *arämpät* “form, beauty” (= Skt. *rūpa-*); more recent is Toch. A *ak-mal* “face” = “eye [and] nose,” compare the fixed phrases Toch. B *saim waste*, A *sem waste* “refuge [and] protection” (translating Skt. *saraṇa-*), Toch. B/A *śwātsi yoktsi* “food [and] drink,” B *kest yoko*, A *kašt yoke* “hunger [and] thirst,” B *karyor pito* “buying [and] selling” = “business,” etc.²² In the case of Toch. *pelaikne*, the semantic fusion of both components, which were quasi synonymous, makes difficult to ascribe the notion of correctness or righteousness more to the one or the other. This has become a single lexeme, the gloss of which as “norm [and] correct way” would hold only in diachrony. As for the second term Toch. B *yakne*, A *wkäṃ*, it has a well-accepted etymology, as going back to PIE **ueǵʰ-no-*, based on the root **ueǵʰ-* “to go, to transport on a vehicle, to drive.”²³ The nominal derivatives of this root can designate the way, the course of travel (cf. Old English *weg*, Old Norse *vegr*, English *way*, German *Weg*) or the vehicle, cf. Gk. ὄχος, OCS *vozū* “carriage” (< **uóǵʰ-o-*), Ved. *vāhá-* “drawing, conveying, carrying,” masc. “draught animal,” OHG *wagan*, OIcel. *vagn*, OE *wægn*, Middle Dutch *wagen* (< **wagnaz* < **uóǵʰ-no-*), Old Irish *fén* “wagon” (< **ueǵʰ-no-*), further Ved. *váhni-* “driving,” masc. “draught animal,” Skt. *vāhana-* “idem,” etc. One can easily conceive that the CToch. word derived its attested uses from the primeval meaning “way,” then “manner, fashion, habit,” etc., and especially “way of doing” and “way of understanding.” This could not make alone the equivalent of Skt. *dharma-*. The combination of Toch. B *yakne* with B *pele* implies that this latter term could have been understood as closer to the notion of rule or norm, which is also presupposed by its use in the compound *snai-pele* as translating Skt. *adharmā-*, in the ethical sense, and in Buddhist context.

²¹ Pinault 2008: 566–568.

²² For those and further examples, see Thomas 1972.

²³ IEW: 1118–1120, LIV²: 661.

5. It is however difficult to trace back the meaning of Toch. B *pele*, A *pal* < CToch. **pələ*, because this noun looks fully isolated, and is deprived of any corresponding form in any IE language. The reconstruction of CToch. **pələ* as from PIE **pod-lo* would be formally possible, but the connection with the root **ped-* “to contain,”²⁴ as per Van Windekens (1976: 345) is semantically unattractive. I have proposed to start from PIE **pól-o* “manner, rule,” as related to the root **pel-* “to fold.”²⁵ This root is mostly known with dental suffixes, cf. Gothic *falpan*, OE *fealdan*, OHG *faldan* “to fold,” OIcel. *feldr* “garment,” Gothic *ain-falps*, OHG *einfauld*, OE *ānfeald* “simple” (“one-fold”). It gives very few primary nominal derivatives, cf. OIcel. *fel* “parting, fold,” Gk. πέλλος “woven cloth, blanket.” The best attested thematic derivative is the stem **-pl-o-*, which is found only as second compound member: Lat. *simpplus* “single,” *dupplus* “double,” Old Irish *díabul* “double,” Gothic *twēifls*, OHG *zīfal* “doubt,” also in Gk. ἀπλός “single, simple,” διπλός “double,” remade as ἀπλόος and διπλόος respectively. Since this bound form **-pl-o-* could be theoretically issued from **pel-o-*,²⁶ one may speculate about the existence of a parallel action noun **pól-o* of the type Gk. τόμος, λόγος, νόμος, etc. The evolution from “fold” to “line, rule” is perfectly in order, compare the various usages of French *pli* “fold” and its evolution towards “disposition, habit” (in the phrase *prendre le pli*). This would entail however the reconstruction of a PIE item as devised only for explaining the Tocharian noun. One can instead search for a derivative which was built inside the prehistory of CToch., according to a well-spread derivational pattern. As a matter of fact, the formation of thematic action nouns on the accented /o/ grade of the root (PIE **CóC(C)-o-*), according to the type of Gk. τόμος “cutting” (< **tómh₁-o-*), has been very productive in Tocharian. This formation makes abstracts, which may receive as usual a concrete meaning. Several of these stems are inherited, without connection to any Tocharian verbal root, e.g., B *werke*, A *wark* “hunt, chase”

²⁴ IEW: 790, cf. OE *fet*, OIcel. *fat*, etc., “cask,” OE *fetel*, OHG *fezzil*, etc., “girdle.”

²⁵ IEW: 802–803. See Pinault 1991: 248.

²⁶ To be exact, the accentuation of PIE **sṃ-pl-ó* “simple” (“having one fold”) could have triggered the reduction of an original derivative **pel-o-*.

(< **wærkæ* < **uórg̃-o-* “work”), B *kene*, A *kaṃ* “tune, melody” (< **kæ-næ*), B *taupe*, A *top* “mine,” B *spelke*, A *spaltäk* “zeal, effort,” B *serke*, A *sark* “circle,” B *meske*, A *masäk* “joint” (< **mæskæ* < **mózgo-*). This pattern has triggered in pre-CToch. the formation of such nouns from all sorts of roots, e.g., B *klautke*, A *lotäk* “manner, behavior,” cf. the verbs B *klutk-* “to turn, become,” A *lutk-* “to turn into,” B *klepe* “theft” from B *kälyp-* “to steal,” B *trenke* “clinging, attachment,” cf. the verbs TA *träñk-*, B *trenk-* “to adhere, cling to,” B *kerke* “fetters” from B *kärk-* “to bind,” B *preñke*, A *prañk* “island” from A/B *prañk-* “to keep away,” B *prautke*, A *protäk* “enclosure, prison” from A/B *prutk-* “to shut up.”²⁷ Along the same track, one may consider connecting CToch. **pælæ* with the root A/B *päl-* “to praise,”²⁸ which is traced back correctly to PIE *(*s*)*pelH-* “to say aloud, recite.”²⁹ This root is found in well-known words such as Gothic *spill* “tale,” OHG *spel* “idem,” OE *spell* “tale, discourse,” English *gospel*, OHG *bispiel*, German *Beispiel*. This would be formally unproblematic and economical. Nonetheless, the semantic aspect is not as easy as one would wish. Since verbs meaning “to teach” can derive from roots meaning “to speak, proclaim,” the original meaning of **pælæ* would have been “teaching,” more precisely than “tale,” which captured but one aspect of the use of the Buddhist *dharma-* as being taught by the Buddha. One should admit that its meaning has been much widened in parallel to the one of Skt. *dharma-*, so as to cover “rule” and “manner,” even in Tocharian non-Buddhist context, as seen above. An alternative evolution would start from the resultative meaning of the original derivative, as referring to “what is praised, recommended,” or the like, hence “proper behavior,” “correct manner,” which corresponds to Skt. *dharma-* through a different channel, while admitting an alternative extension of usage. It ought to be recognized that Toch. B *pele* and A *pal* do not feature any connection in synchrony with the verb *päl-*, but this could be explained by the evolution of the noun, as influenced by Skt. *dharma-* in the usage of Tocharian speakers.

²⁷ Malzahn 2013: 165–168.

²⁸ Malzahn 2010: 713–714.

²⁹ IEW: 985, LIV²: 576, with the gloss “öffentlich sprechen.”

6. Whereas Toch. A *pal*, the match of Toch. B *pele* is found apparently in Toch. A *märkampal*, which ought to be a compound of the same type as Toch. B *pelaikne*, the boundary between the two members is not so transparent. First of all, Toch. A **märka*, or **märkam*, cannot be connected to any Tocharian lexeme. There is a verbal root which is formally close, but the meaning obviously does not fit: B/A *märk-* “to smudge, besmirch,” maybe found also in the adjective *snai-markär* as translating Skt. *anāvīlah* “not bleary, not muddy, clear.”³⁰ If one follows the path of a PIE source, there exists one root **merǵ-* “boundary, border,” which yields nominal derivatives: Old Irish *mruig*, Gaulish *Allo-broges*, Goth. *marka*, OE *mearc*, OHG *marca*, OIcel. *mörk*, Lat. *margō, -inis* “limit, border,” etc.³¹ While these nouns have a spatial or material reference, a separate evolution towards the notion of intellectual demarcation would account for the sense of “correctness,” as distinguished from “wickedness,” and finally of “rule,” in Tocharian only. As far as the form is concerned, the point of departure of Toch. A **märka* < CToch. **märka* could have been PIE **myǵ-o-* or **merǵ-o-*.³² Even though there is no reflex of such thematic derivatives in any language, this cannot be excluded in principle. As an alternative which makes more sense from the Buddhist point of view, I would propose the option of a loan from Skt. *mārga-* masc. “way, path” through a Middle Indic intermediary. The doctrine of the Buddha was currently referred to as “the eightfold noble path,” which concerns the rules of proper conduct: Skt. *ārya-aṣṭāṅga-mārga-*, translated by the well-attested phrases Toch. B *oktatsa klyomña ytārye*, A *oktatsi klyomiñ ytār*, cf. Old Turkic *säkiz türlüg tüzün yol*. The point of departure of the loan would have been Middle Indic *maggā-* for Skt. *mārga-*, cf. Pāli *maggā-*, Aśoka Pkt. *maga-*, Pkt. *maggā-*. This form was borrowed³³ into Toch. A as **makka* and wrongly re-Sanskritized as **marka*, of course after the Skt. form *mārga-*. Then, **marka* yielded **märka* through an inner-Toch. A development,

³⁰ Malzahn 2010: 755–756. This root would admittedly go back to PIE **h₂merǵ-* “abstreifen, (ab)wischen,” cf. LIV²: 280, IEW: 738.

³¹ IEW: 738.

³² Pinault 1991: 248.

³³ Through regular phonological transposition, since Tocharian does not have voiced stops.

that is raising of the middle vowel /a/ in the first closed syllable, compare Toch. A *wärkänt* “wheel” < **warkänt*, which is the expected match of Toch. B *yerkwantai*, oblique singular of *yerkwanto**. The latter stem is based on an enlargement with nasal suffix from **w’ærkwänt-* < **h₂uērg-u-nt-*, cf. Hitt. *hurki-* “wheel.”³⁴ As independent parallel for the introduction of the resonant /r/ in **marka*, one can refer to Toch. A *appärmāt* (variants *apärmāt*, *apprämāt*), the match of Toch. B *appamāt*, both found in the phrase with the verb “to make,” Toch. A *appärmāt ya-/B appamāt yām-* “to treat badly, with disdain; to dispise.”³⁵ The Toch. A form is due to the wrong Sanskritization of **appamāt* (cf. the Toch. B form) < Pkt. *appamāta-*, cf. Pāli *appamatta-* “little, slight, mean” < Skt. *alpa-mātra-* “only small, merely a little” (MW: 95c), hence “not significant, negligible.”³⁶ The trigger could have been a false connection with Skt. *a-pramata-* adj. “not considered” (actually not recorded, based on *pra-man-* “to think upon,” MW: 685c) or *a-pramada-* masc. “not pleasure, joylessness” (MW: 58b).

7. This scenario accounts well for Toch. A **mārka* as making the first member of *märkampal*. The remaining problem concerns the *-m-* before the second member. This cannot be interpreted as the suffix of the first compound member, because Toch. A has no formation with secondary suffix *°am*. Since the first member was originally **mārka*, *-m-* appears as some kind of coordinative morpheme between the two members, which would be in accordance with the fact that these copulative compounds are based on juxtapositions (see above §4). There is no comparable coordinative particle in Tocharian, however. The source of this *-m-* has to be analogical. As a matter of fact, one can find a first model in the same semantic field. The Toch. B compound *empele* was originally the calque of Skt. *a-dharma-* (§3): its expected Toch. A match would have been **ampal*, which could be still connected with *pal*,

³⁴ Hilmarsson 1987: 67, Pinault 2008: 101, pace Adams 2013: 547. This solution is in principle better than the costly assumption of two different PIE prototypes for the forms of the two Toch. languages.

³⁵ TEB II: 78, 163.

³⁶ Pinault 2008: 213; Carling 2009: 11b. Adam’s account (2013: 17–18) is not up-to-date.

as much as Toch. B *empele* was originally connected with *pele*. Before being replaced by Toch. A *sne-pal* = B *snai-pele*, it was liable to segment this noun as **a-mpal*, because the negative prefix CToch. **æ(n)-* used to drop its final nasal before consonant, e.g., Toch. B *aknātsa*, A *āknats* “ignorant, fool” (< **ā(n)knātsā* < **æn-knātsā* “not knowing”).³⁷ The more influential model is found in a further compound, Toch. A *arämpāt* “form, beauty,” which features an intermediate nasal by contrast with its semantic and etymological match Toch. B *erepate*, same meaning, both translating Skt. *rūpa-*. The latter noun can be explained from the univerbation of two quasi synonymous nouns: B *ere* “appearance, form” < **eræ* < **oros*, neuter < **h₃ér-os* and **pāte* “figure, stature” < **pātæ* < **pwātæ* < **b^huh₂-to-* “becoming.”³⁸ Besides, there exists a noun *ersna*, pl. tantum, “form, shape, beauty,” equivalent of Skt. *rūpa-*. This was based on a collective formation derived from the *-s*-stem neuter < **ær-s-nā*, from **ær-s-* < **ors-* < **h₃ér-s-*. The Toch. A match of B *ersna* is *aräm* “appearance, form.”³⁹ The compound parallel to B *ere-pate* (< **eré-pāte* < **eræ+pātæ*) was originally A **aräm+pāt(a)*, with the collective as first member. This yielded *arämpāt* through assimilation, which could be re-segmented as *arä-m-pāt*. From this copulative compound, the element *-m-* was extended to a further binomial expression, to wit **märka-pal*, which was remade as *märkam-pal*, alternatively read as *märkam-pal*, cf. Toch. B *empele*, borrowed in Toch. A as replacement of the original **ampal*. To see the matter from a broader angle, this coordinative pseudo-morpheme *-m-* occurs always before bilabial consonant: A *arämpāt*, *märkam-pal*.⁴⁰

³⁷ Hilmarsson 1991: 11–14, 193–198.

³⁸ Somewhat differently Adams (2013: 99), following Van Windekens (1976: 149), connects the second term with the root **b^heh₂-* “to shine” (IEW: 104; LIV²: 68), but his reconstruction **b^heh₂-to-* does not fit for the vocalism of the CToch. form; one should rather set up **bhh₂-to-* > CToch. **pātæ*. As for the first term, Adams connects it with the root **h₁er-* “to move, reach” (LIV²: 238), rather than **h₃er-* “to rise, set in motion” (LIV²: 299), but his would be at variance with the structure of an *-s*-stem neuter, which had /e/ grade of the root in the strong stem.

³⁹ Carling 2009: 15a with previous literature.

⁴⁰ This could explain nicely why an intrusive nasal occurs in Toch. *ālam-wāc* “one another, each other,” by contrast with Toch. B *ālyauce*, same usage, which goes back to the same univerbated phrase. But the discussion of these controversial words lies beyond the scope of the present paper and has no bearing on the present argument.

8. Taking stock of the preceding discussion, Toch. A *märkampal* meant originally “[right] path [and] correct way.” It was coined as the appropriate translation of Skt. *dharma-*, because *mārka*^o expressed by itself one aspect of the Buddhist Law, being more specific than the second term alone. Going back to the issue (§1) of the discrepancy between Toch. B *pelaikne* and A *märkampal*, we can observe that the two languages solve the same problem in different ways, while using in part the same lexical means, that is the reflexes of CToch. **pälæ*, in Toch. B *pelaikne* as first member, in Toch. A *märkampal* as second member. This inherited term was deemed insufficient to express alone the meaning of the Buddhist *dharma-*. The formation of these different terms does not entail the involvement of distinct monastic orders (*nikāya*) in the transmission of Buddhist texts to the regions concerned. It confirms that the Buddhists speaking Toch. A, at the stage prior to the formation of *märkampal*, were geographically and politically separated from the Buddhists speaking Toch. B. Actually, the noun **mārka* is due to a learned transmission from Sanskrit, which did not leave any reflex in Toch. B. Therefore, it would be convenient to postulate different teams of composers of the first translations of Buddhist texts into Tocharian, which resorted to alternative interpretations of the original Sanskrit (or Prākṛit) terms in order to make them understood at best by their public. The term *märkampal* was anchored in the Toch. A tradition, long before the stage when the influence of Toch. B on Toch. A became spreading, as testified by the numerous loans from Toch. B into Toch. A in all fields of the vocabulary.

9. In the Old Uyghur Buddhist texts the regular equivalent of Toch. B *pelaikne*, A *märkampal* is OT *nōm* “law, doctrine.”⁴¹ It has a plural *nomlar* and is the basis of the denominative verb *nomla-*, in the phrase *nom nomla-* “to teach the Law,” i.e., the Buddhist doctrine. OT *nom* is a loanword, from Sogdian *nwm*, itself borrowed, through Syriac, from Gk. νόμος “custom, law.” This was adopted by the Manichaeans as a technical term meaning “law, doctrine,”

⁴¹ Clauson 1972: 777 (no:m). For the sake of simplicity, I will use henceforth the spelling *nom*. The original spelling is *nwm* in Uyghur alphabet, as in the Sogdian alphabet.

and then it passed to the Uyghur Buddhists, who used it to translate Skt. *dharmā* in all its uses.⁴² This can be warranted also by the OU texts which translate Toch. A texts. In addition, there is a further OT term which has a close meaning, covering in part the semantic field of Skt. *dharmā*, without being the standard translation of *dharmā* in the Buddhist uses: OT *törü*, alternatively *törö*,⁴³ “traditional, customary, unwritten law.” The exact form should be *törü*, because the final vowel was presumably long.⁴⁴ This noun is known already in the Runic inscriptions (Orhon): it was one of the basic political concepts of the Turks as nomads and non-Buddhists. This concept was associated with *äl* “realm,” the sphere of ruling power, as administered by a *kagan* “ruler.” It was adopted as a religious term by the Buddhists and Manichaeans as referring to any “rule” or “custom,” but conceived as subordinate to the prescriptions of the true doctrine or religious law, designated by *nom*.⁴⁵ It has been early borrowed in Mong. *döre/töre*. In Osmanlı times, Turkish *töre* was considered as a loan from Hebrew *tōrah*, without any historical ground.⁴⁶ In the Uyghur Buddhist texts, OU *törü* shows a wide range of uses, which can be expressed by Skt. *dharmā* “law” and “quality, entity” in the philosophical sense, but also by Skt. *sāmīcī* “proper conduct or procedure, respectful behavior,” *nīti* “right or moral conduct, policy,” *vrata* “rule, holy

⁴² Compare the following glosses: “Lehre, Gesetz, Religion; Lehrtext, Gebet; Vorstellung” (ATG: 348b); “Religion, Lehre, Predigt; Lehrbuch; Kapitel, Abschnitt; Lebensetappen des Buddha; Ding, Phänomen” (BT IX, 2: 72a); “Lehre; Buch, Schrift, Vers, Geschichte; Daseinsgegebenheit (= Skt. *dharmā*)” (Wilkens 2016: 1019a).

⁴³ Spelling *twyrw* in Uyghur alphabet, *törö* according to Brāhmī spelling (TT VIII: 100). Transcription *törü*, *törö* (ATG: 373b), *törü* in several handbooks and editions (Hamilton 1971: 133a; ZusTreff passim, etc.), recently *törö* (Wilkens 2016: 1080a). In the following, I will quote this word as *törü*, which does not preclude any interpretation.

⁴⁴ Hamilton 1971: 133a; Clauson 1972: 531b (*törü*, *törö*).

⁴⁵ Clauson 1972: 531b. I am much indebted to Prof. Jens Peter Laut (Göttingen), who has provided me (March 2017) with much relevant information, as well as with an extract of the lemma *törö* in the dictionary of OU prepared by Wilkens and Özertural. Needless to say, I remain alone responsible for all opinions expressed in the present essay.

⁴⁶ Hebrew *tōrah* stems from the root *y-r-h* “to teach, reveal,” and refers mostly in the Bible to the “doctrine,” the teaching issued from God and kept by his people. It has been translated by Gk. νόμος, but not in the legalist sense of “law,” cf. Harl 2001: 892.

practice,” *vidhi*- “ordinance, statute, precept, law.” It makes binomial phrases, alias hendiadys, such as *nom törü*, equivalent to *nom* = Skt. *dharmā*- “law, doctrine,” *törü çizig* “rule [and] line” = “ordinance.”⁴⁷ Some relationship of OT *törü* with a Tocharian word has been suspected for long: Toch. B *teri*, A *tiri* “way, manner, rule,” which does not provide the standard rendering of Skt. *dharmā*- in the sense of Buddhist law or doctrine. There is indeed some formal resemblance between the Toch. forms and the OT form. But the possible relation has been traced in both directions, either as a loan from Turkic into Tocharian or the reverse.⁴⁸ In any case, this noun is totally isolated in the vocabulary, while being deprived of any connection with other Tocharian lexemes.

10. Before tackling the problem of the formation of Toch. B *teri*, A *tiri*, a brief review of their uses is in order. The meaning “rule, traditional way or manner” is warranted by the following example, which belongs to the commentary of the genesis of the social classes:

PK AS 16.2b2–3 *se tane t(e)ri ste ente pañākti saiṣṣene mā tsāmoṣ tākaṃ*
 • *twak māka krātayuk (pre)ścīyaṃne k_vse cai orolsts(e)-cāmpam(ñ)e(cci bo)dhisatvi tākaṃ cai ot tāmpak yāknesa rṣāki māskentār* “This is here [= in this world] the rule: When the Buddhas have not [yet] grown in the world, the many ones who then in *kṛtayuga* times happen to be Bodhisattvas endowed with great power, they become ascetics (*rṣi*) in exactly that manner.”⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Compare the following glosses: “Gesetz, Verfassung, Zeremonie, Regierung, Lehre = skr. *dharmā*: Vorstellung, Begriff, Objekt des Denkens” (ATG: 373b); “Sitte, Gesetz; Sinnesobjekt” (BT IX, 2: 129b), “institutions, coutumes, règles de conduite, loi, ordre public” (Hamilton 1971: 133a); “Sitte, Gesetz, Regierungsgewalt, Anordnung, Befehl, *dharmā*, Möglichkeit, (Pl.) Manieren, Etikette, Gewohnheit, Verhaltensweise, Gebotenes, Reich” (Wilkins 2016: 180a).

⁴⁸ The issue is left as ambivalent by Adams (2013: 324). Van Windekens (1976: 506), after review of previous literature, opted for a PIE origin and a connection with Germanic, but this hypothesis is impossible on phonological grounds and semantically not cogent.

⁴⁹ Text and translation after Pinault 1989: 155, 196. For *teri* “rule” the Sanskrit would have *dharmatā* in this context, as kindly reminded to me by Vincent Tournier.

The next passage belongs to a legend (*Ṣaddanta-jātaka*) which refers to an Indian, non-Buddhist, custom:

A 66a6 *nātāk taṃ ṣurmaṣ tu mar yutkatār k_v yalte tiri tṣaṃ tmāk māk* “O lord, for this reason, you, do not worry, because such [is] definitely not the custom here [= in this case]”:⁵⁰ then comes the explanation by the princess Bhadrā, of the traditional procedure of the *svayaṃvara*, competition of suitors for the conquest of the bride, so that her father should not fear about the future jealousy of the failed competitors.

The construction with the reflexive possessive pronoun proves that the rule in question depends on a specific person, social group or religious circle:

B 373a3 /// (*ṣa*)ñ *k<o>truññe teri ṣpyārta* “he made turn the rule of his own clan (*gotra*).”
A 106a5 *ñuk nu ṣñi tiri pāsmār* “but I (feminine) will observe my own custom.”

This may also refer to the “rule” or the “doctrine” of a Brahmanical teacher, i.e., heretic from the Buddhist point of view. The pupils speak as follows to their *gurus*, the brothers Nadī-kāśyapa and Gayākāśyapa:

B 108a7–8 *se yesi śarāṃ ārttalñe tākaṃ cau yes terine rittātrā caune (ya)k wes rittemtār* “Whoever may be approved by you as the refuge, to which doctrine you bind yourselves, to that we will bind ourselves too.”⁵¹

11. In several passages, the Toch. nouns in question have the general meaning of “way, manner, conduct”:

B 44b8 *mā=cārne ṣpārta mā yakne tiri krent yāṃṣate* “he did not remain in good behavior (*ācāra*), he did not accomplish the good conduct and manner.”⁵²

⁵⁰ Compare: “O Herr, aus diesem Grunde sei du nicht bekümmert, denn Veranlassung hierzu [ist] überhaupt nicht” (Sieg 1952: 9).

⁵¹ Cf. Pinault 2008: 165, 167.

⁵² Compare: “Er blieb nicht bei dem [guten] Wandel [und] betätigte nicht die gute Art und Weise” (Sieg and Siegling 1949: 65).

The binomial phrase *yakne tiri* uses the quasi synonymous *yakne* “manner, way” (see §4). The perlativ *terisa* has the same meaning as *yaknesa* in the following passage:

B 199a5 *sem taiseṃ terisa vaibhāṣikas kāṣṣintas welñe kārsanalye* “This [doctrine] expressed in this manner has to be understood as the speech of the Vaibhāṣika teachers.”

The phrase Toch. B *taiseṃ (taisū) terisa* is similar to the more frequent *tu (te) yaknesa* “in that way,” and parallel to Toch. A *taṃne tiryā*, also in the perlativ, cf. A 4b1, 19a3, 38a4, 83b2, 432b1.

The word can refer to the way of managing a Buddhist community, as in the letter of a monastery of the Kucha region,⁵³ PK DA M.507(32) a11. It may include the means of government:

A 317 a7 *ype-pāslunešinās tirintu watkurāṣ* “after having decided the ways of watching over the country.”

The following passage seems to refer to a ritual, judging from the Sanskrit parallel text:

A 250b2 *puk talke(yāntu puk) plāślaneyntu puk tirimtu puk pā(rkowāntu)* “All sacrifices, all penances, all ways [to the bathing-place], all auspicious things...,” cf. VAV II, 73ab *na sarvayajñā na tapovratāni, na sarvatīrthāni na maṅgalāni* “Weder sämtliche Opfer noch Askesegeleübde, weder alle Wallfahrtsbadeplätze noch Glücksprüche [...]”⁵⁴

B 331a5 (commentary of the rule *Pāṭayantika-dharma* 74 of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*) *toṃ teṃ-yiknesa śārmana mā tākaṃ ṣamānentse śwer meñtsa auṣaṣ kākone lamatsi teri mā ṣ ste* “If such reasons are not there, then the monk has no way to stay longer than four months by (lit. on) invitation.”

The fragmentary nature of the corpus in both languages prevents any rash assumption on the basis of the number of occurrences of Toch. B *teri* and A *tiri* respectively. Nonetheless, whereas the

⁵³ Text and translation in Pinault 1984: 24, 32.

⁵⁴ Text and translation after Hartmann 1987: 133, 134.

corpus in Toch. A is much smaller than the one in Toch. B, the word A *tiri* is attested comparatively more often.⁵⁵

12. There are few examples of the *Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka* where Toch. A *tiri* is translated by OU *törü* in the parallel text, *Maitrisimit nom bitig*:

YQ 1.10 [II.12] a7 (*tāṣ praṣṭanäk präñ*)käts(i) mā tiri naṣ kāswoṇe kuly-pamāntāp: *sol kapṣaṇi krant ākāl mā lmāsaṃntrā* “(At this time indeed) there is no rule to hinder him who desires virtue; life [and] body are unable to impede the good wish,”⁵⁶ cf. OU MaitrHami II, 13b26 *antī antay [27] törü yoq kim ädgülüg iškä tidīy tutuy [28] sim-tay köngül turγursar* “Es gibt jetzt kein Gesetz, das ein für gute Taten hinderliches und nachlässiges Herz entstehen ließe.”⁵⁷

YQ 1.22 [III.2] a2 *tām praṣṭaṃ sākkiñ tiri yāmtsānt äntāne ptānkū(t kāsṣi ätlāsṣi märkampal āksismāṃ naṣ tmäk kuli sam) mā yäl* “At that time the Śākya nobles set up a rule: Whenever Buddha-god (the teacher is preaching the Law to the men, any woman) [is] not to come,”⁵⁸ cf. OU MaitrHami III, 2a10 *ol oγurda šaki töz-lüg [11] bäglär antay bk bädük törü turγurdilär .. qačan [12] tngri tngri burxan irkāk aṅānkā nom [13] nomlayu yrliqasar .. anta iṣilär qunčuy bäg[14]lär ariti [yaṣrīnmīš] krgāk* “Zu jener Zeit erließen die Fürsten von Śākya-Stamm ein bindendes Gesetz: Wenn der Göttergott Buddha den Männern das Gesetz zu predigen geruht, müssen die Frauen vollständig [abwesend] sein.”⁵⁹

The latter passage is all the more interesting since it opposes Toch. A *tiri* “rule” of the Śākya to *märkampal* “Law” as taught by the Buddha, which occurs repeatedly in the phrases *märkampal āks-* “to teach the Law” and *märkampal klyos-* “to hear the Law” in the following lines (a3.5.8, b1.3.4.6), parallel to the opposition of OU *törü turγur-* to *nom nomlayu-* “to preach the Law” and *nom tīngla-* “to hear the Law,” respectively, in the translation of the same text.

⁵⁵ See the references in Poucha 1955: 125–126 and under B *teri* on the CEToM website.

⁵⁶ JWP: 124, 125.

⁵⁷ Text and translation after ZusTreff: 162, 163. In the following, I have quoted extracts of OU texts as they have been edited, although different editors use somewhat alternative conventions of transcription of the Uyghur script.

⁵⁸ JWP: 150, 151, with additional restorations.

⁵⁹ Text and translation after ZusTreff: 174, 175.

Whereas the Buddhist term *mārkampal* is regularly matched by OU *nom*, the noun *tiri*, belonging to the profane part of the lexicon, does not have a unique rendering. Conversely, there are instances where OU *törü* corresponds to different Toch. words which mean “way, manner, rule.”

MaitrHami II, 7a8 *artuq [9] busušluγ qadyuluγ bolmanglar [10] yirtinčü yir suwnung törüsi munta[11]γ ärür* “Seid nicht mehr so kummervoll! Das Gesetz dieser Welt ist so.”⁶⁰ The parallel Toch. A text reads: YQ 1.13b1 (*mar yutko*)š *naš klyomäš saṃsāris wkām säš tanne-wkänyo* “Do (not) feel depressed, o noble ones! This course of the *saṃsāra* is of such a kind.”⁶¹ Here, Toch. A *wkām* (match of B *yakne*) “way, manner” is translated by *törü*. Besides, Toch. B has a standard phrase *saṃsāršse pele* “the rule of the *saṃsāra*” (B 66a1, 67a2, 274b5), with again a different term, *pele*, which we have met before (§5) as partial rendering of Skt. *dharmā*. This phrase refers to the lasting course of lives and existences. A further OU variation of this stereotype is found in an important text: DKPAM, 00328–00329 *atayim oghum sansarniγ törösi muntag ok ol* “Mein Kleiner, mein Sohn, das Gesetz des *saṃsāra* ist eben so!”⁶²

Those Toch. and OU phrases correspond distantly to Skt. compounds such as *saṃsāra-saraṇi-* “the course of the *s°*,” *-padavī-* “the road of the *s°*,” *-mārga-* “the way of the *s°*,”⁶³ unless they develop by an independent term the concept of “eternal and inexorable way” contained in the word *saṃsāra*- itself. This would be a further case of hybrid transposition or half-translation, such as Toch. B *cintāmaṇi wamer*, A *cindāmaṇi wmār* “the gem *cintāmaṇi*,” where the second member *maṇi-* is translated by Toch. B *wamer*, A *wmār*.⁶⁴

13. Therefore, we may assume that OT *törü* was used to translate Toch. A *tiri* because these two words covered the same range of notions, and not because they shared a vague formal resemblance. Let us reopen the morphological issues. At first glance, OT *törü* (or *törö*) cannot be the loan from Toch. A *tiri*, nor from

⁶⁰ ZusTreff: 136, 137.

⁶¹ JWP: 96, 97 with modification of the translation.

⁶² Text and translation after Wilkens 2016: 220, 221.

⁶³ MW: 1119c.

⁶⁴ Pinault 2011: 160.

Toch. B *teri*. The OT word contains two front and rounded vowels,⁶⁵ whereas the Toch. words contain two front and unrounded vowels, close /i/ and half-close /e/. Nor does it seem possible to assume a loan from OT into Tocharian, as per Stumpff (1990: 103–104), because parallel instances for word-final development of OT vowels in borrowings are lacking.⁶⁶ To take the matter from the opposite corner, the assumption of the OT word as a loan from either Toch. B *teri* or Toch. A *tiri*, at the stage of tight contacts between Uyghurs and Tocharian speakers, in the regions of Yanqi and Xočo, at the time of early Uyghur Buddhism (from 9th c. CE onwards), is excluded by the fact that OT *törü* (*törö*) is well attested in OT texts, and already in Orhon inscriptions (early 8th c. CE), accordingly in pre-Buddhist times. By contrast with Toch. A *tiri*, there is some variation in the Toch. B forms. The form *teri* is found in all stages⁶⁷ of the language: archaic (IOL Toch 250a4), classical or standard (B 373a2, 529a4), late (B 108a7, 199a5, 331a5, 361b3, 332frg.3b) and colloquial (PK DA.M.507(32) a5.8.11). But the variant *tiri* is by no means proper to late texts: it is found already in classical texts (B 44b8, 611b4, PK AS16.1a3, pl. *tirinta*). One cannot attribute simply the form *tiri* to a phonological development internal to Toch. B, which would be the closing and fronting of the first vowel under the influence of the second. If the form *tiri* was found only in late texts, one could invoke the stray instances of the development *e* > *i* in palatal context, where it is triggered by a neighboring palatal consonant.⁶⁸ As far as Toch. A is concerned, *tiri* is not the regular match of Toch. B *teri*, and there is no parallel development *e* > *i* (if the Toch. A word was a loan from Toch. B), or *a* > *i* inside Toch. A. The Toch. B form *teri* could be traced back in theory to CToch. **tæri* or **tæriäy*, but these prototypes would not yield Toch. A *tiri*. Therefore, the reconstruction of a CToch. form could be deemed impossible, if it was based on a recorded and live pattern of derivation, see below §14. From the phonological point of view, a more promising perspective is offered by the cases of the evolution *e* > *i*, which occur apparently in

⁶⁵ Erdal 2004: 45–46.

⁶⁶ Peyrot 2008: 160.

⁶⁷ According to the classification of Peyrot 2008.

⁶⁸ Peyrot 2008: 59–60.

closed and unstressed first syllables;⁶⁹ see for instance the conjunction Toch. B *ente* (archaic, classical and late) vs. *inte* (late, but already classical, albeit a minority).⁷⁰ The most telling example of this phenomenon is Toch. B *iprer* “sky, air,” which is the majority form, frequent in archaic, classical and late texts, while *eprer* is found only in few occurrences in classical and late texts; this classical and late form has been borrowed into Toch. A *eprer*. The point of departure is evidently PIE **mbʰ-ro-* “cloud” (cf. Ved. *abhrá-*, Av. *aβra-*, Lat. *imber*) > CToch. **æmpræ* > **æβræ*, which ought to yield B **eprē*. But this noun was suffixed in CToch. or in pre-Toch. B by the suffix **-uær* (< PIE **-uor*), which makes collectives: CToch. **æβræ.wær* (“mass of clouds,” hence “sky”) > pre-Toch. B **eprē.wer*, which underwent the regular contraction after loss of /w/ between two identical vowels.⁷¹ At the intermediate stage **eprē.er*, with hiatus, the word had three syllables, and was accented in Toch. B regularly on the second syllable **epré.er*, which yielded **ipré.er* > *iprer*. The classical and late form *eprer* is due to a regularization along the well-spread pattern of thematic two-syllable nouns, of the type B *kene*, *werke*, *treinke*, etc. (see above §5), which had two identical successive vowels /e/. As a consequence, we may admit that Toch. B *tiri* goes back to **tir(C)íyā* < **terCíyā*, a form that had originally three syllables and where the first syllable was closed. This form would have been borrowed as such in Toch. A *tiri*, unless it comes from the same prototype as the Toch. B form. How can we account for the prevalent form Toch. B *teri*? The final vowel was prone to be lost in final position, and the interior cluster was simplified, then **ter(C)íy* underwent the shift of accent on the first syllable, hence *téri*. This was originally a variant of the longer form **ter(C)íyā*, but it became established by superficial conformity with nouns of similar shape: Toch. B nouns of the shape *leki* “bed” or *teki* “illness,” which were accented on the first syllable. An additional trigger could have been the original plural form: **teríyā-ntā* > **terí-ntā* (> B *terínta*), from which the singular was remodeled as **téri* with accent on the first syllable, according to the current

⁶⁹ Peyrot 2008: 60 and note 1.

⁷⁰ Data in Peyrot 2008: 172.

⁷¹ Pinault 2011: 165.

model of accent shift in nouns having two syllables: B *yárke* (<**yárke*) “homage”: pl. *yárkénta*, B *ékñi* “possession,” pl. *ekñínta*, etc.

14. The last hint leads us to the issue of the assignment of Toch. B *teri* (A *tiri*) in the derivational morphology. The Toch. B form by itself recalls two different sets of derivatives, which are based originally on verbal roots. 1) The type of B *leki*, A *lake* “bed,” from the root reflected by B *lyäk* “to lie down” (PIE **leg^h-*);⁷² *reki* “word” (pl. *rekauna*), A *rake* “speech” (pl. *rakeyántu*); B *telki* “sacrifice” (pl. *telkanma*), A *talke* “idem” (pl. *talkeyántu*). This type became productive, especially in Toch. A, to form action nouns with various, apparently secondary plurals, e.g., A *tampe* “power” (pl. *tampeyántu*) from the root A/B *cämp-* “to be able,” *rape* “music” (pl. *rapeyántu*), *peke* “painting” from the root A/B *pik-* “to paint, write,” *wanke* “chat,” *štare* “effort,” etc. This class goes back to primary derivatives with suffix *-*oj* > CToch. *-*äy* > Toch. B *-i*, A *-e*.⁷³ It has been augmented by former root nouns with /o/ grade and by action nouns of the type Gk. *τόμος*, Toch. B *werke* (A *wark*). If Toch. B *teri* had been the genuine ancient form, one would expect as match Toch. A **tare*, which would have been preserved because of the productivity of this type. 2) The type of B *teki* “illness,” pl. *tekanma*, from the root A/B *täk-* “to touch.” This class is one of the avatars of the PIE action nouns based on neuter *-*men*-stems.⁷⁴ It enjoyed some productivity to build abstracts based on living verbal roots: B *näki*, A *näkäm* “blame” from A/B *näk-* “to blame,” B *wäki*, A *wäkäm* “separation, difference” from A/B *wäk-* “to split,” B *pläki*, A *pläkäm* “agreement” from A/B *pläk-* “to agree.” The original shape of the suffix remains visible in the plural, based on PIE *°*C-mn-h₂* > *°*C-ämnā* > B *°*Cänmā* through regular metathesis, hence the forms B *nakanma*, *wakanma*, etc., which serve as the model for analogical plurals of various types of nouns. It is clear that Toch. B *teri* cannot belong to this class either, because there is no root *tär-* to which it could be semantically related. Furthermore, the expected match Toch. A **taräm* does not exist. The plural forms,

⁷² IEW: 658–659; LIV²: 398.

⁷³ Pinault 2008: 443–444, 455.

⁷⁴ Pinault 2008: 495–496.

B *terinta* and A *tirintu*, speak also against this assignment, although this type of plural suffix is very common, and is not diagnostic by itself for the derivational class.⁷⁵ The plural in *-ntu* is the most common one in Toch. A, and could be made for *tiri* at any time. Nonetheless, this type of nouns offers a glimpse into the phonological prehistory of CToch., because it can be shown that the outcome of the pre-CToch. suffix **-mä(n)* < PIE **-m̥* underwent an evolution of the bilabial nasal by lenition into **-ɱ* > **-ɱ̥*, between vowels. This explains nicely the shape of Toch. B *erkau* “cemetery,” singular vs. pl. *erkenma* (A *arkämnä-ši* < **erkämnä*) < **erkæ-wä* < **erkæ-mä(n)*.⁷⁶ On the other hand, the shape of Toch. B *näki* and similar examples shows the result of the palatalization of the nasal: **°C-i* < **°Cäy(ä)* < **°Cäw’ä* extended from the sequence **°Cäü’æ* < **°Cäm’æ*, which reflected originally the PIE collective **-mēn*.⁷⁷ Therefore, it is conceivable that Toch. B *teri* < **tærCiyä*, as suggested above (§13), goes back to **tær(ä)yyä* (through the normal development of palatalized **w’* > B *yod*)⁷⁸ < **tær(ä)w’iyä* < **tæräü’äyä*, which would point ultimately to CToch. **tæräm’äyä*.

15. This purely internal reconstruction leads to the possibility that CToch. **tæräm’äyä* was the borrowing from Skt. *dharmya-* or hybrid Skt. *dharmiya-* at an early stage. In ancient loans from Iranian the vowel /a/ is reflected by CToch. **æ* > Toch. B *e*, A *a*, cf. Toch. B *perne*, A *paräm* “splendor, dignity, rank” < CToch. **pærna-*, itself borrowed from Iranian (Scythian) **farnah-* (Old Persian *farnah-*) “fortune, glory.”⁷⁹ A similar transposition can be assumed for an early loan from Indo-Aryan. The further developments of this form are commonplace: the initial voiced aspirate stop was transposed by a voiceless stop, the final vowel was weakened and then lost, the internal cluster was resolved by anaptyxis, hence **tærämyä*, which triggered the palatalization of the bilabial nasal. The rest is due to the internal Toch. factors. The lenition of the internal nasal and its independently warranted evolution towards a

⁷⁵ TEB I: 122–127; Pinault 2008: 496–497.

⁷⁶ Further examples and discussion in Malzahn 2005: 389, 393–399.

⁷⁷ Pinault 2008: 496, slightly different from Malzahn 2005: 398.

⁷⁸ Pinault 2008: 444.

⁷⁹ Pinault 2002: 246, 2008: 393, 2016: 191–192.

bilabial fricative has a decisive interest. It is likely that in the form **teräw'äy(ä)*, the close front vowel /ä/ before the palatalized /w/ could be rounded into /y/, that is the vowel noted by OT <ü>. This is reflected precisely in Old Turkic, because OT *törü* can be traced back readily to **terü* through backward vowel assimilation, a phenomenon which is old for assimilation of rounding.⁸⁰ The vowel CToch. /æ/ is admittedly close to /e/, since it yields regularly Toch. B *e*. Accordingly, the ancestor of OT *törü* was borrowed either from CToch. or from pre-Toch. B at the stage when the word had the shape **teräw'äy*. To put it differently, the shape of OT *törü* adds a formal confirmation to the hypothesis of a loan from Tocharian, but at a much earlier stage than it was vaguely assumed in the past. This formal scenario would be totally futile if it was not founded on the fact that OT *törü* and Toch. B *teri/tiri*, A *tiri* share uses and semantic components that belonged to the same sphere as Skt. *dharma-*, but not exclusively in the Buddhist technical senses.

16. Skt. *dharmya-* (from Manu onward) is an adjective derived from *dharma-*, meaning “legal, legitimate;” “usual, customary.” This would fit for the source of the CToch. words, while admitting that this adjective was substantivized. About a person, this adjective means “just, righteous, virtuous;” “endowed with qualities or properties.”⁸¹ Actually, the source of the CToch. word could have been a hybrid Skt. form *dharmiya-* as well, compare Pkt. *dhammīya-* (*dhammīa-*, cf. Gāndhārī *dhāmī'a-*) and Pāli *dhammīya-* besides *dhammīka-* adj., from Skt. *dhārmīka-* (from the Upaniṣads onward), with similar meanings (“righteous, virtuous, pious, just”): 1. “in conformity with the rule or regulation;” 2. “righteous, just, acting rightly;” 3. “lawful, legitimate; in conformity with what is right.” It is known as substantive, albeit rarely, in the sense “right, justice.”⁸² As for the chronology, it is impossible to date with sensible means the stage of CToch., but since the earliest Toch. B manuscripts are situated at the very end of the 4th century CE,⁸³ and considering

⁸⁰ Erdal 2004: 87.

⁸¹ MW: 513a; CDIAL: 386b.

⁸² DP II: 476b.

⁸³ Peyrot 2008: 201–209, with previous literature.

the divergences between Toch. B and Toch. A, it is not too adventurous to situate the period of CToch. before the beginning of the Common Era, by one or two centuries. At that time the Tocharian speakers were not yet fully converted to Buddhism, but part of them had probably some acquaintance with Buddhist and Indian culture that spread from Gandhāra. In the absence of dated written documents in Tocharian for that period, the evidence could be only of indirect nature, and based on borrowings from Gāndhārī proper, or from other forms of Middle Indic, and in addition from Middle Iranian languages (Sogdian, Khotanese Saka, Bactrian), if the chronology allows it. Be that as it may, the uses of Toch. B *teri/tiri*, A *tiri* show that these words are not bound to the conversion to Buddhism: they have no doctrinal bearing. The loan of this lexeme would be based on the importance of “dharmic” behavior in the whole Indian culture. The linguistic scenario which is claimed in the present paper would be of secondary interest for non-linguists if it could not make sense from the historical and cultural point of view. The loan and phonological adaptation of Skt. *dharmya-* (or *dharmiya-*) antedated the full conversion of Tocharians to Buddhism and at that stage they transmitted the word and the notions connected with it to the Turks of the northern steppes, as testified by OT *törü* in the Runic inscriptions of Mongolia. With the recourse to independent evidence, I have made a case in previous studies for early contacts, in pre-Buddhist times, between Tocharian speakers and speakers of Old Turkic, and for some kind of cultural continuum.⁸⁴ The present scenario would provide an additional piece to the same picture. The Tocharians kept this word along until the dialectal split which led to the two Tocharian languages. Since the words in question were deprived of any Buddhist pedigree, and had become totally opaque, the first missionaries and translators of Buddhist texts into Tocharian (B and A) felt obliged to create specific Buddhist terms for the notion of *dharma*, to wit B *pelaikne* and A *mārkampal*. I hope that the preceding pages have added some historical depth about the integration of a typically Indian notion, loaded with many connotations and interpretations, among peoples of Central Asia, before and after their conversion to Buddhism.

⁸⁴ See Pinault 1998.

References and Abbreviations

Abbreviations: Languages

Av.	Avestan
CToch.	Common Tocharian
Hitt.	Hittite
IE	Indo-European
Lat.	Latin
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
OE	Old English
OHG	Old High German
OIcel.	Old Icelandic
OT	Old Turkic
OU	Old Uyghur
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Skt.	Sanskrit
Toch.	Tocharian
Ved.	Vedic

Abbreviations: Primary Sources and Reference Works

ATG	Gabain, Annemarie von. 1974. <i>Altürkische Grammatik. Dritte Auflage.</i> Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
BT IX	Tekin, Şinasi. 1980. <i>Maitrisimit nom bitig. Die uigurische Übersetzung eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāsika-Schule.</i> 1. Teil: Transliteration, Übersetzung, Anmerkungen. 2. Teil: Analytischer und rückläufiger Index. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
CDIAL	Turner, Ralph Lilley. 1966. <i>A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages. Vol. I: Text.</i> London: Oxford University Press.
CEToM	<i>A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts.</i> http://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian (accessed 28.04.2017).
DKPAM	<i>Daśakarmaphāvadānamālā.</i> See Wilkens 2016.
DP I	Cone, Margaret. 2001. <i>A Dictionary of Pāli.</i> Part I: <i>a – kh.</i> Oxford: Pali Text Society.
DP II	Cone, Margaret. 2013. <i>A Dictionary of Pāli.</i> Part II: <i>g – n.</i> Bristol: Pali Text Society.
IEW	Pokorny, Julius. 1959. <i>Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.</i> Bern and Munich: Francke.
JWP	Ji Xianlin. 1998. <i>Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka of the Xinjiang Museum, China.</i> Transliterated, translated and annotated by Ji Xianlin in collaboration with Werner Winter, Georges-Jean Pinault. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
LIV ²	Rix, Helmut. 2001. <i>Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen.</i> Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel und Helmut Rix. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
MW	Monier-Williams, Sir Monier. 1899. <i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary.</i> Oxford: Clarendon Press.
SWTF	Waldschmidt, Ernst, et al. 1973–2014. <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden [und der kanonischen Literatur der</i>

- Sarvāstivāda-Schule*]. 4 vols. in 26 fasc. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- TEB Krause, Wolfgang, and Werner Thomas. 1960–1964. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*. 2 vols. Bd. I. *Grammatik*; Bd. II. *Texte und Glossar*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- TochSprR(A) Sieg, Emil and Wilhelm Siegling. 1921. *Tocharische Sprachreste*. Band I: Die Texte. A. Transcription. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co.
- TT VIII Gabain, Annemarie von. 1954. *Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII: Texte in Brāhmīschrift*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Uv Bernhard, Franz. 1965. *Udānavarga*. Bd. I: Einleitung, Beschreibung der Handschriften, Textausgabe, Bibliographie. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- VAV *Vaṃṃārahavamaṣṭotra* by Mātṛceṭa. See Hartmann 1987.
- ZusTreff Geng Shimin and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. 1988. *Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya. Die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit*. In Zusammenarbeit mit Helmut Eimer und Jens Peter Laut hrsg., übersetzt und kommentiert von Geng Shimin und Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. Teil I: *Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

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*A Note on Śaṅkaranandana's "Intuition"
According to Abhinavagupta **

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Our knowledge of Śaṅkaranandana's works has greatly expanded in the last decades:¹ several editions and translations of treatises by the famed Kashmirian author that have survived in Sanskrit manuscript sources are either complete² or underway,³ and among the issues pertaining to this great figure that were once hotly debated and are now settled is the matter of his religious affiliation.

* The following lines are a very humble token of my admiration for Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, whose seminars at the École Pratique des Hautes Études I had the great privilege of attending when I began studying Indian philosophy in Paris. The paper hardly mentions Tibet and its sources are mostly Śaiva, which makes it a pathetically ill-suited tribute to such a great specialist of Buddhist and Tibetan studies; I nonetheless hope that Cristina will forgive me, bearing in mind that it deals (at least in part) with a fascinating Buddhist author who has aroused the scientific curiosity of several dear friends of hers, among whom the much missed Helmut Krasser.

¹ For a detailed account of this progress see Eltschinger 2010 and 2015.

² See Krasser 2002 for an edition, annotated translation, and study of Śaṅkaranandana's *Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa*; Eltschinger 2008 contains a diplomatic edition of the *Sarvajñāsiddhi* and a brief survey of its doctrinal contents.

³ Vincent Eltschinger is editing and translating the *Anyāpohāsiddhi*; Vincent Eltschinger and myself are editing and translating the second chapter (*Nairātmāsiddhi*) of the *Dharmālaṅkāra*.

Raniero Gnoli, who initiated the debate on the latter in the Introduction to his edition of Dharmakīrti's PVSV, held that Śāṅkaranandana was originally a Buddhist but ended up converting to Śaivism;⁴ Helmut Krasser, following a Tibetan tradition,⁵ contended on the contrary that he was a Śaiva who converted to Buddhism at a rather late stage of his life;⁶ Toru Funayama, for his part, considered that Śāṅkaranandana's "syncretic attitude" was that of a Hindu who, while never converting to Buddhism, composed some Buddhist works,⁷ whereas Alexis Sanderson could find "no evidence at all," in the works invoked by the upholders of the conversion thesis, that Śāṅkaranandana had ever been a Śaiva or had ever converted to Śaivism.⁸ Vincent Eltschinger's study of newly available manuscript sources has shown once and for all that Śāṅkaranandana's works were in fact all clearly Buddhist,⁹ and the goal of the following article is not to state again the now blindly obvious fact that Śāṅkaranandana wrote as a Buddhist, but merely to try and determine what may have been the original meaning of an intriguing allusion to Śāṅkaranandana in a work by the famous Śaiva nondualist author Abhinavagupta (c. 975–1025)—an allusion that was once considered a proof of Śāṅkaranandana's conversion to Śaivism.

Abhinavagupta's Much discussed "Testimony" on Śāṅkaranandana's Conversion

One of the two main arguments used by Raniero Gnoli to reverse the Tibetan legend of Śāṅkaranandana's conversion from Śaivism to Buddhism was (besides his now obsolete claim that Śāṅkaranandana's *magnum opus*, the *Prajñālaṅkāra*, was a Śaiva work)¹⁰ a brief pas-

⁴ See Gnoli 1960: xxv–xxvi.

⁵ On the story of this conversion as reported by Tāranātha and others, see Gnoli 1960: xxvi and Krasser 2001: 494 and 496, n. 30. This "conversion hypothétique" is also mentioned by Naudou (1968: 107), who wonders (p. 103) if Śāṅkaranandana may have been "un transfuge du śivaïsme."

⁶ See Krasser 2001.

⁷ See Funayama 1994: 372.

⁸ See Sanderson unpublished: 2.

⁹ See Eltschinger 2010 and 2015, which both contain an analysis of introductory and/or concluding stanzas in these works.

¹⁰ On the fact that the *Prajñālaṅkāra* had to be a Buddhist work, see Eltschinger 2015: 339ff.

sage in the ĪPVV, Abhinavagupta's lengthy commentary on the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-Vivṛti* by the Śaiva nondualist Utpaladeva (c. 925–975).¹¹ Abhinavagupta knew and abundantly quoted Śaṅkaranandana's works,¹² and according to Raniero Gnoli, the depiction by Tāranātha of Śaṅkaranandana's conversion is not quite accurate,

[...] and this is suggested by an eulogizing epithet that Abhinavagupta gives to Śaṅkarananda [sic],¹³ of whom he says that "he recovered illumination thanks to the force of asceticism and to a constant exercise of thought on consciousness, owed to the maturation of his good actions carried out earlier." Such an epithet fits well one who, after having followed a doctrine held to be false (in this case, Buddhism), finally opens his eyes and becomes aware of how things really are.¹⁴

The passage mentioned here by Raniero Gnoli occurs in the ĪPVV as Abhinavagupta is explaining the beginning of Utpaladeva's ĪPK 1.5:14, according to which consciousness' "realization" or ability to actively become aware of itself (*vimarśa*) "is [nothing but] its flashing forth" (*sphurattā*). Abhinavagupta comments on this by invoking several Śaiva sources that define the core of consciousness as a dynamic, vibrant and radiant reality described as a "vibration" (*spanda*), a "wave" (*ūrmi*) and, as Somānanda puts it in the second verse of the ŚD, "a blissful, flashing forth consciousness" (*sphurannirvṛtacit*). Abhinavagupta explains that "in such [texts], the words 'vibration,' 'wave' and 'flashing forth' (*sphurattā*) [all] express [consciousness'] power of realization (*vimarśa*)"¹⁵ before adding:

What is the point of [saying] much [about this]? [For] even the master Śaṅkaranandana—who [must] have recovered/obtained (*pratilabdha*)

¹¹ Utpaladeva's treatise *On the Recognition of the Lord* (*Īśvara-pratyabhijñā*) is made of stanzas (the ĪPK) that he composed along with a brief prose explanation (*Vṛtti*), but he later composed a second, more detailed commentary, the *Vivṛti*, which explains both the ĪPK and *Vṛtti*. Abhinavagupta has authored, besides the ĪPVV on Utpaladeva's *Vivṛti*, a much shorter, synthetic explanation of Utpaladeva's stanzas, the ĪPV.

¹² On these quotations see Bühnemann 1980.

¹³ On Śaṅkaranandana's name, see Frauwallner 1933: 241 and Krasser 2001: 489.

¹⁴ Gnoli 1960: xxvi.

¹⁵ ĪPVV II.199: *ityādau spandaśabdena [...] ity ūrmiśabdena [...] iti sphurattāśabdena sā vimarśaśaktir ukta.*

this intuition (*unmeṣa*) thanks to his repeated realization of [the nature of] consciousness (*saṃvīṭparāmarśābhyāsa*) and the force of his asceticism (*tapahprabhāva*) [all] resulting from the maturation of some meritorious acts from past [lives] (*prāktanakuśalavīpākapravartita*)¹⁶—has explained¹⁷ that “the immediate experience [of consciousness?] is established by itself; for it is [nothing but] the fact that this [consciousness?] has a flashing forth nature (*sphuradrūpatā*).”¹⁸

Helmut Krasser has criticized Ranielo Gnoli’s understanding of the passage in the following way:

The rendition of *pratīlabdhonmeṣa* by “he recovered illumination” in the sense of a conversion from Buddhism to Śaivism is certainly an overinterpretation, since then the statement “he recovered illumination” would imply that Śāṅkaranandana had previously already acquired illumination and had lost it by converting to Buddhism or in some other way. However, also Gnoli does not assume this, and there is no other indication that Śāṅkaranandana acquired illumination more than once, or changed faith more than once. Thus the point referred to by Gnoli cannot be used to clarify the direction of Śāṅkaranandana’s conversion and *pratīlabdhonmeṣa* is better understood as “he obtained illumination.”¹⁹

Helmut Krasser rightly points out that the idea of a “recovered illumination” seems somewhat odd if Abhinavagupta had in mind a conversion from Buddhism to Śaivism: if Śāṅkaranandana was not a Śaiva in the first place, why would he have *recovered* illumination by becoming a Śaiva? It should be noted, however, that Raniero Gnoli may have understood the expression in the sense that it might have for Śaiva nondualists, according to whom liberation means recognition (*pratyabhijñā*): the fundamental principle of Utpaladeva’s system is that all ordinary individuals have forgotten who they really are (i.e., Śiva himself), yet they never actually lose their identity with Śiva, so that *discovering* the truth is nothing but

¹⁶ The compound in its entirety could also be understood as meaning that Śāṅkaranandana “recovered/obtained this intuition thanks to the force of his asceticism and the repeated realization of [the nature of] consciousness that results from the maturation of some meritorious acts from past [lives];” thus Eltschinger 2015: 352 seems to prefer the latter order.

¹⁷ In the *Prajñālaṅkāra*, as already noted in Bühnemann 1980: 196.

¹⁸ ĪPVV II.199: *kiṃ bahunā, prāktanakuśalavīpākapravartitasamvīṭparāmarśābhyāsatapahprabhāvapratīlabdhonmeṣeṇa bhāṭṭasaṅkaranandanenāpi — sāṅśātkārah svataḥsiddhaḥ sā sphuradrūpatāsyā hīti nirūpītam.*

¹⁹ Krasser 2001: 494–495.

recovering it. So even if we choose to translate *pratilabdha* as "recovered" rather than "gained," this does not entail that Śāṅkaranandana had to be a Śaiva before turning to the Buddhist faith and then rediscovering Śaivism: in Abhinavagupta's perspective it may simply mean that Śāṅkaranandana experienced a genuine insight into the nature of consciousness. More to the point is the question whether Abhinavagupta's words must be interpreted as an allusion to a conversion—and Helmut Krasser rightly emphasizes that Raniero Gnoli reads too much into these lines. This is clear in particular from the fact that several scholars have since then interpreted the passage quite differently, without having recourse to the hypothesis of Śāṅkaranandana's conversion.

Thus Raffaele Torella is of the following opinion:

The *pratilabdha*-phrase is most probably to be taken as an allusion to the fact that now and then in his (Buddhist) works some unexpected Śaiva ideas come to the foreground, but integrated to the Buddhist context. This is very interesting as, so far, we were only aware of the very significant presence of Buddhist ideas in Śaiva philosophy. So this shows that, at least to a limited extent, also the other way round obtained, thus giving also a philosophical counterpart to the much debated issue of the reciprocal influence between the Śaiva and Buddhist tantras.²⁰

Raffaele Torella apparently accepts Raniero Gnoli's suggestion that the compound *sphuradrūpata* was a peculiarly Śaiva technical term²¹ and believes that by mentioning an "intuition" gained by the Buddhist Śāṅkaranandana, Abhinavagupta was probably referring to a mere *influence* of the Śaiva ideas and terminology on Śāṅkaranandana's otherwise firmly Buddhist works.

It is of course quite possible that Śāṅkaranandana borrowed this compound from Śaiva sources. But not to mention that it can be interpreted in a way that is fully compatible with the Dharmakīrtian system—i.e., as a reference to the Buddhist principles that consciousness is by nature radiant (*prabhāsvara*)²² or imme-

²⁰ Electronic communication by R. Torella (14/08/2005) quoted in Eltschinger 2015: 352, n. 137.

²¹ See Gnoli 1960: xxv, citing the *Prajñālañkāra* fragment in question and adding in parentheses: "Note the term *sphurat*, common in the Kashmirian Śaiva school."

²² This is suggested in Eltschinger 2015: 352.

diately aware of itself (*svasaṃvedana*)²³—, the use of the verb (*pari-*)*sphur-* in epistemological and phenomenological contexts is far from alien to the Buddhist philosophical literature that predates the rise of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy,²⁴ so that by itself, this quotation from the *Prajñālaṅkāra* seems hardly conclusive regarding the question as to whether Śaiva philosophy may have had any significant influence on Buddhist works.²⁵

Alexis Sanderson, for his part, has yet a different way of reading Abhinavagupta’s remark—one that is farther from Raniero Gnoli’s:

[...] as far as I can see, this passage refers to a Buddhist illumination or at least to the fruit of Buddhist practice. For he states that the illumination is the result of *prāktanakuśalaviṇṇāhā*, “the maturation of virtuous acts in former lives.” The expression *kuśalaviṇṇāhā* is peculiarly Buddhist, the word *kuśala-* in this ethical sense being alien to Brahmanical or Śaiva terminology. I can see no reason for Abhinavagupta’s having chosen this Buddhist turn of phrase other than to convey that the virtues in question were those of Buddhist practice.²⁶

Alexis Sanderson thus sees the passage as entirely devoid of any reference to any conversion to, or influence from, Śaivism: according to him, Abhinavagupta is simply saying that the Buddhist Śāṅkaranandana gained—thanks to his Buddhist virtues—an intuition of consciousness’ nature and acknowledged its dynamism. It should be noted, however, that Abhinavagupta uses the

²³ It is striking that this *sphuradrūpatā* is equated in the fragment with an “immediate experience” (of consciousness?) that is “established by itself,” which could be a definition of *svasaṃvedana* as understood in the Dharmakīrtian tradition, i.e., as cognition’s ability to manifest itself while manifesting its object, just as light (*prakāśa*) does. See, e.g., PV 3:329: *prakāśamānas tādātmyāt svarūpasya prakāśakah | yathā prakāśo ’bhīmatas tathā dhīr ātmavedinī ||*. “Just as light is considered to be what manifests its own nature while being manifest, by virtue of its [very] nature, in the same way, a cognition is aware of itself.”

²⁴ Dharmakīrti for instance uses the present participle of *parisphur-* as meaning simply “manifesting oneself,” “being manifest.” See, e.g., PVSV 38: [...] *buddhiparivartinām eva bhāvānām ākaraviśeṣaparigrahād bahīr iva parisphuratām sāmānyam* [...]. “The [universal,] which belongs only to those entities which occur in the cognition [and yet] manifest themselves (*parisphurant*) as if they were external because they have a particular aspect...” See Ratié 2015: 48–49, for other such occurrences in Buddhist literature.

²⁵ For a survey of the latter issue see Ratié 2015.

²⁶ Sanderson unpublished: 2.

compound *kuśalapariṣāka* (obviously equivalent to *kuśalaviṣāka*)²⁷ in a context entirely unrelated to Buddhism. Thus while commenting on the BhG,²⁸ Abhinavagupta explains:

To begin with, [it is] when the knot of sinful acts has been undone thanks to asceticism [that] there occurs an eagerness [towards the Lord] thanks to the maturation of meritorious acts; so asceticism comes first, [and] faith, which is nothing but devotion, [arises] from asceticism.²⁹

Yet this does not undermine Alexis Sanderson's main point, namely that nothing indicates that the virtues mentioned by Abhinavagupta as being Śāṅkaranandana's might be specifically non-Buddhist, or even Śaiva. As pointed out by Vincent Eltschinger,³⁰ they could even be seen as an allusion to Śāṅkaranandana's formulations of the Mahāyānistic belief that only the cultivation of such virtues during many lives can lead to enlightenment.³¹

In any case, how are we to understand the overall meaning of the passage? Is Abhinavagupta simply *praising* Śāṅkaranandana for achieving this intuition, thereby openly professing his admiration for a Buddhist rival and underscoring an idea shared by Buddhists and Śaivas alike? If so, Abhinavagupta's position could be seen as a manifestation of what Toru Funayama understands as a "syncretic attitude"³² typical of Medieval Kashmir, or—perhaps more accurately—of the Śaivas' ambivalent relationship (of competi-

²⁷ That the compounds are equivalent at least in Abhinavagupta's eyes is obvious from IPVV III.11, quoted below (n. 53).

²⁸ BhG 18:67: *idaṃ te nātapaskāya nābhaktāya kadācana | na cāśuśrūṣave vācyam na ca mām yo bhyasūyati ||*. "This should not be taught by you in any circumstance to [anyone] who neglects asceticism, is not devout or not keen on learning, or who disrespects me."

²⁹ GAS 278: *tapasā tāvat pāpaganthau viśīrṇe kuśalapariṣākonmukhatā bhavatīti pūrvam tapaḥ, tapasaḥ śraddhā, saiva bhaktiḥ [...]*.

³⁰ See Eltschinger 2015: 352.

³¹ Cf. for instance the final stanza of the *Bṛhatprāmāṇyaparīkṣā* (edited and translated in Eltschinger 2015: 331; the translation has been slightly modified here, following an anonymous reviewer's judicious suggestion): *pramāṇatattva-pravivecanodayāc chubhāc chubhaṃ syāt phalam etad eva me | bhavēṣu bodhivratā-caryayā caramś cirāya bhūyāsam atandritendriyaḥ ||*. "From the merit (*śubha*) arisen from the discrimination of the true nature of valid cognition, may this auspicious result be mine: while I am engaged for a long time, in [innumerable] existences, in the practice of the vow of awakening, may my faculties remain sharp."

³² On this so-called syncretic attitude, see Funayama 1994.

tion, but also of influence) with the Buddhists. One could even detect here, as Raffaele Torella does, a rare clue that Śaiva philosophers might not have been unilaterally influenced by their Buddhist counterparts, and that even though Śāṅkaranandana never converted to Śaivism, his ideas (or at least their formulation) sometimes betrayed a Śaiva imprint. Or is Abhinavagupta *sarcastically* noting that there is no point in defending the view that the essence of consciousness is its dynamism, because anyway nobody doubts this, since *even a Buddhist may understand this basic truth?* This is the interpretation defended by Vincent Eltschinger:

Taking into consideration the immediate context of this strange (and endless) epithet, I feel inclined to read it, not as the eulogizing expression of an illumination and/or conversion, but as *sarcasm* at the expense of Śāṅkaranandana's *Buddhist persuasion* [...] My translation of *api* by "even" rather than "too/also" reflects my understanding of the epithet not as the eulogizing expression of Abhinavagupta's agreement, even less as bearing witness to an "illumination" of any kind, but as the expression of sarcasm targeting Śāṅkaranandana's Buddhist affiliation [...] Śāṅkaranandanana does not owe this sudden intuition to his erudition or to his intellectual penetration, as one may expect, but to the "power of asceticism" [...] and to the "constant exercise of thought on consciousness" [...] that has been "provoked by the maturation of former good deeds" [...] In other words, Śāṅkaranandana has obtained the intuition of the *sphuradrūpatā* in spite of a Buddhist persuasion that should have prevented him from discerning the true nature of consciousness.³³

Raffaele Torella, while conceding that the latter interpretation is "not to be excluded," is of the opinion that it is "rather unlikely," and that Abhinavagupta was more probably pleased with the hints of Śaiva metaphysics that he could detect in Śāṅkaranandana's Buddhist works;³⁴ Alexis Sanderson does not seem to have taken a stance on whether Abhinavagupta was being sarcastic; for my part, I was convinced, when Vincent Eltschinger published his 2010 and 2015 articles, that as suggested there, the passage is ironical, and that Abhinavagupta meant that even (*api*) a Buddhist such as Śāṅkaranandana had miraculously managed to understand something about his own consciousness *despite his Buddhism* so to speak.³⁵

³³ Eltschinger 2015: 350–352 (and already Eltschinger 2010: 115).

³⁴ See Eltschinger 2015: 352, n. 137.

³⁵ See the electronic communication (April 28, 2010) quoted in Eltschinger 2015: 351, n. 132: "Il me semble que selon Abhinavagupta, même Śāṅkarananda-

We now know that in any case, Abhinavagupta was not alluding to a conversion by Śāṅkaranandana; yet the interpretative issue—admirative comment or sarcasm?—is still of some importance, because it tells us something about the complex relationship that the Śaiva nondualists had in Medieval Kashmir with their Buddhist counterparts,³⁶ and also because this passage is perhaps the last element—at least among those at our disposal to date—that might still be taken as evidence that Śāṅkaranandana, even though he did not convert, somehow had a special affinity with Śaivism. So in what follows, I would like to present another passage in Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV that does not deal with Śāṅkaranandana, but that nonetheless sheds some light on the aim of Abhinavagupta's remark regarding Śāṅkaranandana's "intuition."

The Distinction between Exclusive Difference (bheda) and Variety (vaicitrya) in Utpaladeva's Vivṛti

Before turning to this second passage in Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV, however, a brief summary of its context is indispensable, since the full meaning of this new ĪPVV excerpt can only be grasped from the text on which it was commenting, namely Utpaladeva's *Vivṛti* on his own ĪPK and *Vṛtti*.³⁷ Until a few years ago, this important text was only known in the form of a very incomplete manuscript (covering the commentary on 13 stanzas out of the 190 verses that constitute the entire treatise) edited and translated by Raffaele Torella;³⁸ but many new fragments have come to light in the past

ndana (qui pourtant est un bouddhiste) en vient à expliquer (tout comme les śivaïtes) que la manifestation consciente est une forme de fulguration, et Abhinavagupta insiste sur le fait que Śāṅkaranandana parvient à cette explication non pas grâce à sa science bouddhique, mais grâce à sa pratique ascétique et à son *saṃvidvīmarsābhyāsa* obtenu grâce à ses bonnes actions passées. [...] S'il y a bien une forme de sarcasme [...], il me semble que le sarcasme est plutôt dirigé contre la logique et l'épistémologie bouddhiques (*en dépit desquelles* Śāṅkaranandana semble être parvenu à une position semblable à celle des śivaïtes...): Abhinavagupta semble souligner le prodige par lequel un bouddhiste a pu, malgré son bouddhisme, comprendre quelque chose à sa propre conscience."

³⁶ On this relationship, see the seminal Torella 1992; see also Ratié 2010, 2011 and 2015 and McCrea 2016.

³⁷ See above, n. 11.

³⁸ On this discovery, and for a bibliography on the subject, see Torella 2014.

years, including a segment of the text that covers several chapters (and happens to be the lengthiest *Vivṛti* fragment known to date) in the margins of manuscripts of Abhinavagupta's two commentaries on the Pratyabhijñā treatise.³⁹

Now, in his *Vivṛti* on ĪPK 2.1:4, Utpaladeva distinguishes between two kinds of multiplicity⁴⁰—namely, on the one hand, difference (*bheda*), which occurs in things that exclude each other and is contradictory with unity (an apple is not a pear); and on the other hand, variety (*vaicitrya*, *citratā*), which is also a difference, but one that, far from being contradictory with unity, is grounded in it, and where the various elements do not exclude each other (as variegated patches of colour are not apprehended as a collection of heterogeneous objects but as a unitary painting).⁴¹ This distinction between exclusive difference⁴² and variety is of para-

³⁹ On this discovery, and for a bibliography on the subject, see Ratié 2017 and the edition and annotated translation of the *Vivṛti*'s Chapter 2.1 in Ratié forthcoming. In what follows, the words of the *Vivṛti* that are underlined and in bold are those quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary.

⁴⁰ On this distinction see, e.g., Ratié 2013a.

⁴¹ On the idea that variety is a difference that has unity as its background (*bhitti*), and on the example of our apprehension of a painting, see ĪPK 2.3:15ab, according to which consciousness “is comparable to the surface of the even background of the painting that is the variety of the universe” (*viśvavaicitryacitrasya samabhittitalopame*). Cf., e.g., ĪPV II.122–123 (as edited in Ratié 2013a: 393): *yadi hi nīlapīṭādikam pṛthag eva parāmyśyate tadā svātmaviśrāntesu teṣu tathāvānyonyaviśaye jaḍāndhabadhīrakalpāni jñānāni svaviśayamātranīṣṭhitāni, vikalpās ca tadanusāreṇa bhavantas tathāiveti citram idam iti kathāṃkāraṃ pratīpattiḥ. ekatra tu nimnonnatādirahite bhittitale rekhāvibhaktanimnonnatādivibhāgajūṣi gambhīranābhir unnatastanīyam iti citrāvabhāso yuktah, tadvad ekaprakāśabhittilagnatvena vaicitryātmakabhedopapattiḥ.* “For if one grasped the blue, the yellow and [other patches of colour in a painting] separately [from each other], then, since these [various objects only] rest in themselves, in the same way, [our perceptual] cognitions [of them], being confined to their own respective object, would be as it were insentient, blind and deaf with respect to their mutual objects; and conceptual cognitions, which occur while conforming to the [perceptions that precede them,] would be exactly in the same case; so how could the understanding ‘this is a painting’ [ever occur]? On the contrary, the manifestation of a painting in the form ‘this [woman] has a deep navel and prominent breasts’ is possible on the unitary surface of a background that is [itself] devoid of [properties] such as ‘deep’ and ‘prominent,’ [and yet] bears different aspects, such as ‘deep’ and ‘prominent,’ that are differentiated thanks to the lines [drawn on the background]. In the same way, the difference [constituted by the universe’s] variety is possible [only] if this [variety] rests on the background that is the unitary manifesting consciousness.”

⁴² Elsewhere Utpaladeva calls it a “single-flavoured (*ekarasa*) difference” (see, e.g., ĪPK 3.1:8).

mount importance to Utpaladeva, who criticizes Advaita Vedānta as presenting a particularly poor kind of nondualism, one that merely *excludes* all differences from reality (thereby understanding the latter as essentially limited by what it is not) instead of realizing that the ultimate nonduality, because it is absolutely boundless, *includes* or encompasses all differences: according to Utpaladeva and his followers, the whole universe is nothing but consciousness, understood as a single, dynamic reality that has the power of manifesting itself in infinitely manifold ways without losing its fundamental unity. So exclusive difference is the way in which things wrongly appear to exist outside consciousness as long as we do not realize that the whole material world is one consciousness playfully manifesting itself as if it were external to itself (as when, in dreams, we apprehend things and people as distinct from us whereas they are only forms taken on by our consciousness); but variety is so to speak the core of ultimate reality inasmuch as the ultimate consciousness is a pure freedom to manifest itself in infinitely varied ways without ever losing its unity.

Utpaladeva's Remark about Dharmakīrti in the Vivṛti

Here is what Utpaladeva says of this distinction between exclusive difference and variety in the *Vivṛti* passage that is of interest to us here:

What consists in consciousness [can] have variety even though [it] has a unity, whereas [exclusive] difference is contradicted by unity, because of the mutual exclusion [that it entails]. And accordingly, the distinguished (*ārya*) Dharmakīrti [has said]: "[A colour] such as blue [that appears] in a variegated cognition [and] is a property (*upādhi*) of the cognition [itself] cannot be perceived [as] not mixed with anything else; for [someone] distinguishing it [from other colours] focuses on the object [itself, not on the cognition]." ⁴³ For when [colours] such as blue are

⁴³ PV 3:220. On this famous verse see, e.g., Dunne 2004: 410–411, and Inami 2011: 182–183. It is well known among Śaiva authors; see, e.g., Abhinavagupta's paraphrases of it in ĪPVV II.85 or III.212. See also, e.g., PSV 19, on which see Bansat-Boudon and Tripathi 2011: 91 and n. 372, although I understand the verse quite differently. It seems to me in particular that the issue here is not that the content of the cognition may be "always variable," but that a single perceptual (and strictly momentary) cognition can have as its object a variegated colour (rather than a colour that is merely blue, or merely yellow, etc.). Besides, given the way in which Manorathanandin understands *ananyabhāk* and *aśakyadarśanaḥ*

made to exist separately, while being distinct from each other, [and] in the form of objects, there is a spatial sequence, and there is no unity; whereas since, due to [its] unity insofar as it consists in consciousness, [a cognition can be] divided [into a multiplicity] while [each element thus divided] retains [the ability to appear] together with the others, the same [Buddhist authors] admit that variety belongs to the reality that is the Brahman (*brahmatattva*)! ⁴⁴

Whatever Dharmakīrti's exact intention may have been in composing the verse quoted in the *Vivṛti*, ⁴⁵ Utpaladeva interprets it (as can be seen from his short explanation following the quotation) ⁴⁶ as saying that in the cognition of a variegated patch of colour, we

as going together, if one follows him, the latter compounds cannot mean that the blue in the cognition “does not partake of anything else” such as “the colour yellow” and that it “cannot be perceived [differently, viz., as the colour yellow]” (Bansat-Boudon and Tripathi 2011: 91); they must rather mean that the blue cannot be perceived apart from the other colours. See PVV 184: *ananyabhāg ākārāntarāsahacarah kevala ity arthaḥ, tāḍṛśo 'śakyadarśanaḥ sahaiṅvākārāntaravedana-niyamāt*. “It cannot be perceived (*aśakyadarśana*) as being such that (*tāḍṛśa*) it is not mixed with anything else (*ananyabhāk*), that is to say, alone, while not being accompanied by any other aspect, because it necessarily occurs (*niyama*) along with the awareness of other aspects, [and] only with [them].” Abhinavagupta gives a similar interpretation: see his paraphrase of the verse in ĪPVV II.85 (quoted below, n. 47); see also ĪPVV III.11, where Abhinavagupta, explaining this passage in the *Vivṛti*, quotes the two compounds together (*anyonyāparitṛyāgena paricchedād ity anenānanyabhāk | aśakyadarśana ity [...]*).

⁴⁴ *Vivṛti* on ĪPK 2.1:4: [...] *citravam* ekatve'pi *bodhātmano** bhavati, bhedas tu parasparāparihārād** ekatvena virudhyate. *tathā cārya*dharmakīrtiḥ: *nīlādīs citravijñāne jñānopādhir*** ananyabhāk | aśakyadarśanas tam hi pataty arthe vivecayan || iti. nīlādīnām* hi vibhāgenānyonyabhinnatayā vyavasthāpane saty arthatvena deśākrama ekatvābhāvas ca, bodharūpatayā tv aikyād *anyonyāparitṛyāgena paricchedāt tair eva**** brahmatattvasya citratocyate [...]*. [**bodhātmano* S12 a.c., J11 p.c.; *citrajñānasya* S12 p.c., J11 a.c.; cf. ĪPVV III.11 (*bodhātmana* iti *citrajñānasya*). ***parasparāparihārād* S12; *parasparāparihārād* J11. ****jñānopādhir* corr.; *jñānopādhir* S12, J11. *****tair eva* S12 a.c.; *tair etāvoktarūpair nīlādībhir brahmādībhir vāva* J11; *tair eva* ? S12 p.c. (In S12 words are written above the marginal annotation and marked as an addition to be inserted after *tair eva*, but they are illegible on the scan at my disposal; anyway, given the corresponding passage in ĪPVV III.11 and the absence of *iti* indicating a quotation there (see below, fn. 49), I assume that Abhinavagupta's gloss of *tair eva* has crept in the *mūla*-text.)]

⁴⁵ This intention remains debated (see, e.g., Dunne 2004: 63 and 98ff., Inami 2011: 182ff., and Kellner 2011: 292–293).

⁴⁶ Cf. ĪPVV III.11: *etaḍ vacaḥ saṅkṣeṣeṇa vyācāṣṭe nīlādīnām ityādīnā*. “[With the sentence] beginning with ‘For when the blue, etc.’, [Utpaladeva] provides a brief explanation of this quotation.”

cannot apprehend each colour apart from the others as long as we focus on the way in which this patch appears within our cognition, because then all the colours are grasped as having the fundamental unity of the single cognition that perceives them together;⁴⁷ whereas when we start distinguishing this or that specific colour within the variegated patch, we have already left the plane of the cognition's unitary appearance for that of the objects themselves. So according to Utpaladeva, Dharmakīrti's verse acknowledges in its last quarter that exclusive difference merely concerns objects (that is, in Utpaladeva's perspective, the appearance of objects seemingly existing outside consciousness in a material world determined by spatial distinctions), whereas the first three quarters of the verse show how variety—i.e., a difference grounded in unity—belongs to the very nature of consciousness.⁴⁸

Quite intriguing, however, are Utpaladeva's last words here: why does he say that "the same [Buddhist authors] admit that variety belongs to *the reality that is the Brahman (brahmatattva)*"? Here is Abhinavagupta's explanation:

Thus "the same"—[that is to say, the same Buddhist authors] who contend that the blue [within a variegated patch] has the nature [just] stated [in Dharmakīrti's verse]—and the Brahmvādins [all] admit in the same way that the reality that is the Brahman is varied, whether they claim—[as the Buddhists]—that [this reality] is perishable/alien to speech (*anākṣara*), or—[as the Brahmvādins]—that it is imperishable/speech (*akṣara*).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ See Abhinavagupta's paraphrase of the verse in ĪPVV II.85: *citrarūpajñāne hi yo jñānasyopādhir jñānatādātmyena nirbhāsamāno nilādih, sa vijñānād yato bhedanāśakyadarśanaḥ, tato 'nanyabhāk san pūṭādiviviktaḥ sann aśakyadarśanaḥ [...]*. "For [a colour] such as blue that is manifest in a cognition endowed with a variegated form, [being] a property of the cognition—insofar as it consists in that cognition—cannot be perceived as distinct from the cognition; therefore it cannot be perceived (*aśakyadarśana*) [as] not being mixed with anything else (*ananyabhāk*), [i.e., as] being distinct from the yellow and [the other colours]."

⁴⁸ Cf. ĪPVV III.11: *tathā ceti citrabodhaikatvabhedaikatvatayoś ca virodhe vāgbharam āryavacanena karoti. ādyaṃ hi pādātreyeṇātroktam, anyat tu turyeṇa*. "[In the passage beginning with] 'And accordingly....,' [Utpaladeva] gives weight to his [own] words by quoting the distinguished [Dharmakīrti] on the contradiction [that may be considered to exist] on the one hand between unity and a variegated cognition, and [on the other hand] between unity and difference. For the first one is described with the first three quarters of the verse, [where it is shown not to be real,] whereas the other one [is described] in the fourth [quarter of the verse]."

⁴⁹ ĪPVV III.11: *tair evety uktarūpanīlavādibhir* brahmvādibhir vaivaṃ tāvad vadadbhir anaṣaram akṣaram api brahmatattvaṃ citram aṅgikṛtaṃ bhavati*. [*uktari-

According to Abhinavagupta, here Utpaladeva is jokingly pointing out that Dharmakīrti ends up acknowledging in the quoted verse that variety belongs to the very nature of ultimate reality *whereas this thesis belongs to his main opponents*—Brahmanical authors.

Who are the Brahmanical opponents with whom Dharmakīrti thus willy-nilly shares a basic metaphysical tenet? Given the thesis that Utpaladeva has in mind, the fact that he massively and explicitly borrows from the author of the VP throughout Chapter 2.1,⁵⁰ as well as Abhinavagupta's use of the words *anākṣara/ākṣara*, it seems fairly obvious that the Brahmvādins in question are followers of Bhartṛhari. For contrary to Advaitavedāntins, Bhartṛhari, although a Brahmvādin, confers an ontological value on variety by acknowledging that the Brahman has a multiplicity of powers (*śakti*); and the famous introductory verse of the VP⁵¹ (to which Utpaladeva has already alluded in his *Vṛtti* on a previous verse of this chapter)⁵² describes the Brahman as *ākṣara*—a word that means “imperishable” but also denotes phonemes or speech, and that should certainly be read in both senses in Bhartṛhari's stanza (which states that the Brahman is “without beginning or end” *and*

panīlavādibhir conj.; *uktarūpair nīlādibhir* Ed.] The conjecture is tentative, all the more since Abhinavagupta's gloss has apparently crept in the only legible marginal annotation quoting this passage of the *Vṛtti*, and the annotation has the same reading as the ĪPVV edition (*uktarūpair nīlādibhir*); however, I do not see how an alternative between “the blue, etc.” and the *brahmvādins* would make sense here. As indicated in ĪPVV III.11, n. 1, manuscript Ga consulted by the editors reads *brahmādibhiḥ* instead of *brahmvādibhiḥ*, but from the context it seems obvious that the right reading is *brahmvādibhiḥ*. So I assume that the correct reading must have been something like *uktarūpanīlavādibhir* and that °*nīlavādibhir* in particular got corrupted into *nīlādibhir* just as *brahmvādibhiḥ* got corrupted into *brahmādibhiḥ*.

⁵⁰ Utpaladeva names and quotes him in his *Vṛtti* on the next verse, but as pointed out by Abhinavagupta, Bhartṛhari is omnipresent in the whole chapter (Abhinavagupta quotes no less than three verses by the grammarian-philosopher in his sole commentary on ĪPK 2.1:4; see ĪPVV III.9–10, citing VP 2:22, 3.9:4 and 3.9:5).

⁵¹ VP 1:1: *anādinidhanam brahma śabdatattvaṃ yad akṣaram | vivartate rthabhāveṇa prakriyā jagato yataḥ ||*. “This Brahman without beginning or end (*anādinidhana*), the essence of which is the Word, which is speech/imperishable (*ākṣara*), which appears as the [various] objects, from which the production of the universe [arises]...”

⁵² Cf. *Vṛtti* 42, on ĪPK 2.1:2, where Utpaladeva says that the Lord's action, i.e., his self-realization (*ātmavimarsā*), is “without beginning or end” (*anādinidhana*).

that it "has the word as its essence"). Dharmakīrti's and Bhartṛhari's systems are separated by a conceptual abyss that the term (*an-*)*akṣara* suffices to conjure up: whereas the Buddhist philosopher defends universal momentariness and considers that ultimate reality is free of any verbal construction, the author of the VP believes that the Brahman is eternal and that its very essence is speech. Yet, according to Utpaladeva, Dharmakīrti cannot help embracing the essential Brahmanical truth stated in the VP: although the Brahman (i.e., the ultimate reality, which Dharmakīrti acknowledges to be consciousness) is free of exclusive difference, it is possessed of variety.

When the Buddhists Get It Right: Abhinavagupta's Explanation of Utpaladeva's Remark

Abhinavagupta then adds the following to explain Utpaladeva's use of the particle *eva* in "the same [Buddhist authors]":

Because [the Buddhists] admit that the consciousness of the omniscient [Buddha] is variegated (*citra*) with phenomena of entities and non-entities associated with all times and places, and [because they admit that this consciousness] is [nonetheless] in and of itself unlimited by place and time due to its being consciousness, this [thesis of ours,] which *they* seek to refute, flashes forth *precisely in them* as soon as they recover/obtain a clear intuition [of reality] (*pratibhāpratīlambha*), [an intuition that may] arise thanks to the favour of the Great Lord [Śiva] when He is kindly disposed [towards them] due to the maturation of [their] meritorious acts (*kuśalaparīpāka*) and [their consequent] realization of [the nature of] consciousness (*saṃvītparāmarśa*)! This is [the meaning of] the particle *eva* here [when Utpaladeva says "the same (Buddhist authors...)"].⁵³

Abhinavagupta reminds his readers that the Buddhists "seek to refute" the thesis that variety belongs to reality: from the outset of the treatise, and against the nondualist Śaivas' core view that consciousness is dynamic, Utpaladeva's Buddhist interlocutor has been denying that action may be a power (*śakti*) of consciousness (the latter being understood, as Utpaladeva does, as a unitary entity) on the grounds that action is both one and many, which in

⁵³ ĪPVV III.11: *sarvajñabodhasya sārvalīkasārvadeśikabhāvābhāvābhāsacitrasya svayaṃ ca bodharūpatayā deśakālānākalitasyāṅgīkaraṇād yair dūṣayitum abhīṣṭaṃ tat teṣāṃ eva saṃvītparāmarśakuśalaparīpākāprasannamaheśvarāprasādotītāvadātapratibhāpratīlambhād eva sphuritam ity evakāraḥ.*

itself is absurd, and that anyway action, since it involves a multiplicity, cannot belong to a unitary possessor.⁵⁴ As Abhinavagupta makes clear, the Buddhist's strategy entirely rests on the assumption that unity and plurality are necessarily contradictory;⁵⁵ and elsewhere (perhaps following Utpaladeva's lead in a lost passage of the *Vivṛti*) he further explains that the Buddhists share in this respect a fundamental mistake with the Advaitavedāntins, since the representatives of both currents of thought ignore their own, most immediate experience as conscious beings (who are always capable of grasping a multiplicity of objects within a single cognition) when they claim that unity and plurality are incompatible.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ See ĪPK 1.2:9: *kriyāpy arthasya kāyādes tattaddesādijātātā | nānyādṛṣṭer na sāpy ekā kramikaikasya cocitā* ||. “[– The Buddhist:] As for action, [in fact] it is the arising of an object—e.g., a body—in various places, etc.; it is nothing beyond [this, since we] do not perceive [anything over and above this multiplicity of momentary events]; nor can this [action] occur in sequence [and] be one [or] belong to a unitary [entity].”

⁵⁵ See, e.g., ĪPVV III.2: *tathā hi yac coditam — ekā kramikā ca katham kriyā, āśrayasya ca tadyoge katham ekasvabhāvatā, sambandhas ca dvīṣṭhādirūpa ekah katham iti tatreyān saṅkṣepaḥ — ekam anekasvabhāvaṃ katham syād iti*. “To explain, that which was objected [by the Buddhist], namely: ‘How could action be [both] one and successive? And if a substrate possesses it, how could [this substrate] have a unitary nature? And how could relation be one [and yet] have a nature residing in two [relata], etc.’—[all of this] amounts to this much: *how could there be something one [and yet] possessed of a multiple nature?*”

⁵⁶ See ĪPV II.117–118 (as edited in Ratié 2013a: 391): *satyato hi yadi bādhaka evaikatārasya syāt tat tadudaye sa eva bhāgaḥ punarunmajjanasahiṣṇutārahito vidyudvilāyāṃ vilīyeta, na caivam. ata eva bhedābhedayor virodhaṃ duḥsamartham abhimanamānair ekair avidyātvenānirvācyatvam, aparaiś cābhāsālagnatayā sāṃvṛtyatvam abhidadhadbhīr ātmā paraś ca vañcītaḥ. saṃvedanaviśrāntaṃ tu dvayam api bhāti saṃvedanasya svātantryāt. sarvasya hi tiraśco 'py etat svasaṃvedanasiddham yat saṃvidantarviśrāntam ekatām āpādyamānaṃ jalajvalanam apy aviruddham*. “For if, [as regards difference and unity, one of them] really contradicted the other, then, when the [one supposedly contradicting the other] arises, the very aspect [supposedly contradicted,] being deprived of the ability to appear again, should vanish as a flash of lightning vanishes—but it is not the case. For this very reason, some, [i.e., the Advaitavedāntins] who consider that the contradiction between difference and unity is impossible to justify, [being] inexplicable (*anirvācyā*) since it consists of nescience (*avidyā*)—, and others [i.e., Vijñānavādins], who talk about its ‘relative truth’ (*sāṃvṛtyatva*) because it entirely rests on appearances (*ābhāsa*), have fooled themselves as well as the others. Rather, both [unity and difference] are manifest [insofar as] they rest on consciousness, by virtue of consciousness’ freedom. For even water and fire, insofar as they receive unity [by] resting inside consciousness, are not contradictory: this is established by [mere] self-awareness (*svasaṃvedana*) for all—even for an animal!”

Here though, instead of pointing out an error that is common to Buddhist and Brahmanical authors, Utpaladeva underscores a shared truth, one acknowledged both by the Buddhists and the (Śabda-)brahmavādins, as well as, of course, the Śāivas. The irony of it—obviously enjoyed by Abhinavagupta—is that the Buddhists unwittingly end up embracing it *while trying to refute it*.

Now, the terms used by Abhinavagupta in the latter passage are almost identical with those he uses when talking about Śāṅkaranandana's understanding of the "flashing forth nature" of consciousness: there he had mentioned that Śāṅkaranandana had "recovered/obtained this intuition" (*pratilabdhoneśa*), here he says that the Buddhist authors in question have "recovered/obtained this intuition" (*pratibhāpratilambha*);⁵⁷ and in both passages, he explains that it arose thanks to the "realization of [the nature of] consciousness" (*saṃvitparāmarśa*) and "the maturation of meritorious acts" (*kuśalavipāka*, *kuśalapariṣāka*). The compounds are strikingly similar;⁵⁸ and as far as our inquiry is concerned, the most interesting element of the second passage is that, now that we have at our disposal the text on which Abhinavagupta was commenting, we know that the Buddhist authors about whom Utpaladeva was talking here were in fact Dharmakīrti himself—and Dharmakīrti is in no way suspect of having embraced Śāivism or borrowed from it.⁵⁹ This gives much

⁵⁷ Note that in Śāiva nondualist literature, *unmeśa* and *pratibhā* may have distinct technical meanings but can also be synonymous when they simply denote a nonconceptual insight into the nature of nondual reality. See, e.g., PTV 106: *bhavati cedam astamitodeśyadubhayavikalpajñānāntarālavarty unmeśapratibhādisabdāgamagītam* nirvikalpaṃ* [...]. [**unmeśapratibhādisabdāgamagītam* corr. (cf. Padoux 1990: 182, n. 39); *unmeśapratibhādisabdāgamagītam* Ed.] "And this nonconceptual [cognition], celebrated under the names *pratibhā*, *unmeśa*, etc., in the [Śāiva] scriptures, indeed occurs in the interval between two conceptual cognitions, one of which has disappeared whereas the other is about to rise..."

⁵⁸ This similarity may be due to the fact that Abhinavagupta is in both instances paraphrasing a source that I could not identify (and that could well be the *Vivṛiti* itself, important parts of which remain unknown to date); alternatively, Abhinavagupta could be so pleased with his own joke (formulated several hundreds of pages earlier in his commentary) that he cannot resist the temptation to make it again.

⁵⁹ The plural *tair eva* could be understood either as a polite way of mentioning Dharmakīrti or as designating Dharmakīrti and his followers (just as Abhinavagupta mentions *brahmavādins* while obviously having in mind Bhartṛhari and his followers).

weight to Alexis Sanderson's opinion that Abhinavagupta was not alluding to any Śaiva influence on Śaṅkaranandana, and to Vincent Eltschinger's "sarcastic" interpretation of the compound qualifying Śaṅkaranandana: in both passages, Abhinavagupta is not saying that the Buddhists have willingly become Śaivas or even that they have used a Śaiva terminology in their treatises; he rather seems to be making fun of Dharmakīrti and Śaṅkaranandana for stumbling upon a truth that is quite contrary to their Buddhist doctrine while defending it with Buddhist arguments. As for the virtues that, according to him, are responsible for this insight, Abhinavagupta's point in mentioning them might well be ironical too: both passages can certainly be read as meaning that the Buddhists must owe their understanding of the specific point at hand to some unseen, remote cause such as meritorious acts performed in their past lives (*prāktana*, says the compound qualifying Śaṅkaranandana), since at any rate such an insight is never observed to result from the Buddhist inefficient philosophical system. In any case, in the second passage, Abhinavagupta makes clear that these virtues themselves can only be considered to have brought about the said intuition inasmuch as Maheśvara, pleased by them, has chosen to bestow his grace: ultimately, it is Śiva's favour that enables the Buddhists to see the light.

Conclusion: On the Śaivas' Inclusivistic Humour

To sum up, in the much debated passage that was once interpreted as a proof of Śaṅkaranandana's conversion, is Abhinavagupta praising Śaṅkaranandana as a Buddhist who gained *through his Buddhism* an insight that happens to be shared by the Śaivas? Is he praising him as a Buddhist who gained this insight *thanks to the influence of Śaivism*? Or is he mocking him for stumbling upon a Śaiva truth *despite his Buddhism*? It seems to me that the third option is the right one.

The second hypothesis, that of an allusion to a Śaiva influence on the Buddhist Śaṅkaranandana, lacks evidence in its favour and appears quite implausible given that as shown above, Abhinavagupta uses almost identical words when talking about Dharmakīrti, whose writings were certainly not influenced by Śaiva nondualism. As for the first hypothesis (according to which

Abhinavagupta simply praised Śāṅkaranandana as a Buddhist, without any irony), it seems improbable too if we consider it in light of this second passage of the ĪPVV where Dharmakīrti is targeted: there Abhinavagupta explains that Dharmakīrti achieved his insight on the reality of variety whereas, in accordance with his own doctrine, *he was desperately trying to refute the point in question*; Abhinavagupta even specifies there that the virtues to which Dharmakīrti might be thought to owe this insight could only have been a secondary cause of this achievement, since ultimately only Śiva's grace could have enabled such a realization!

Admittedly, the Śaivas' joke has a serious stake: behind its playfulness lies the general inclusivistic strategy that enables them to claim that all rival doctrines are in fact inferior or incomplete expressions of the truth contained in the Śaiva scriptures⁶⁰—a strategy that is particularly obvious in Chapter 2.1 of the Pratyabhijñā treatise. Thus before turning to Dharmakīrti, Utpaladeva shows in his *Vivṛti* on ĪPK 2.1:3 that the Vaiśeṣikas are wrong to see time as a distinct substance whereas it is in fact nothing but the sequence (*krama*) found in worldly actions; but as pointed out by Abhinavagupta, rather than simply rejecting the Vaiśeṣikas' understanding of time, Utpaladeva attempts to demonstrate there that it is an incomplete view that only acquires its validity and full meaning from the ultimate, Śaiva standpoint.⁶¹ Similarly, in his commentary on ĪPK 2.1:4 (the verse about which Utpaladeva quotes Dharmakīrti), Abhinavagupta implicitly presents Bhartṛhari as a Śaiva by noting that the author of the VP sees temporal

⁶⁰ On this inclusivistic strategy, see, e.g., Hanneder 1998: Introduction, and Ratié 2013b: 413–424.

⁶¹ See Abhinavagupta's summary of Utpaladeva's strategy in ĪPVV III.8: *tatraiva coktanīyā nityatvaikatve yadi vyavahriyete, dravyatvaṃ ca svātantryārophaṇa, tadā kāṇādamatasāpī na kācīt kṣatīḥ saty asmaddarśanaśaraṇabhāvopagamana ity ākūtam*. "And if [someone] talks about the permanence and unity [of time, as the Vaiśeṣikas do,] while only referring to [sequence, because,] according to the reasoning stated [in the *Vivṛti*, all worldly actions involve sequence,] and [if someone says] that [time] is a substance [as the Vaiśeṣikas do] by superimposing autonomy onto it[, because, as explained in the *Vivṛti*, the use of the substantive word 'time' leads to this superimposition,] then even the Vaiśeṣikas' doctrine incurs no harm provided that one acknowledges that our [Śaiva nondualist] doctrine constitutes [its only] safe harbour! This is what [Utpaladeva] is hinting at [here]."

sequence as presupposing the ultimate consciousness' absolute freedom or sovereignty (*aiśvarya*).⁶² Explaining that the Buddhist philosophers end up formulating the principles defended by Utpaladeva is of course part of this general endeavour to reduce all non-Śaiva doctrines to limited aspects of the highest (and Śaiva nondualistic) truth, and Abhinavagupta takes the trouble of emphasizing in this connection that *some* of the Buddhist beliefs contain this truth in nuce: the doctrine of the Buddha's omniscience clearly amounts in his eyes to the acknowledgement of the Śaiva principle that a single consciousness is capable of encompassing the universe's infinite variety without being limited by space or time. Yet he also underscores the inferiority of the Buddhist system, that is, its essential self-contradiction: despite their doctrine of omniscience, Dharmakīrti and his followers are deluded by their own principles into thinking that the very possibility of a coexistence of unity and diversity must be refuted, so that their miraculous acknowledgement of variety in a single cognition can only be accounted for as a result of the causes usually invoked to explain phenomena that resist all attempts at a rational explanation: karmic law and Śiva's grace.

The Śaivas' inclusivistic rhetoric thus consists both in conceding that the others' doctrines are of some value and in highlighting their inferiority; and although the relative stress put on these two aspects may vary, it is never without humour—a humour which, in the two ĪPVV passages examined above, seems encapsulated in the use of two small particles: *api* in the ĪPVV passage targeting Śaṅkaranandana, *eva* in the *Vivṛti* excerpt on Dharmakīrti. In the first case, there is no point in demonstrating the obvious because *even* the master Śaṅkaranandana, surely due to some extraordinary past good deeds, has somehow come to realize it; in the second case, surely due to Śiva's grace, the *very same* Dharmakīrtians who keep denying the possibility that one thing may be plural end up rediscovering the Śaiva wheel so to speak—

⁶² ĪPVV III.10: *anena hi svātantryam ābhāsanānābhāsanayor vadataiśvaryam uktam, sa hi bhagavān citratayābhāsān karoti*. "For [Bhartṛhari,] by describing [time as a] freedom with respect to manifesting and not manifesting [things], expresses the sovereignty (*aiśvarya*) [of the entity endowed with that power]; for it is the Lord who produces phenomena as being varied."

the essential dynamism of consciousness, that is, its ability to embrace plurality without losing its unity, or to manifest itself as other without ceasing to be itself.

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*Bhāviveka on prajñā**

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In analyzing Bhāviveka's discussions of the two truths found in Ch. 3 of the *Madhyamakahr̥dayakārikā* (MHK) as well as his two other authentic works, the *Prajñāpradīpa* (PP) Ch. 24 and the **Hastaratna*, it is no doubt crucial for us to consider what role the concept of *prajñā*, or "intellect," plays in them. In the first thirteen verses of MHK Ch. 3, the concept is used in the same sense as *mati*, *buddhi* and *dhī*,¹ and intellect (*prajñā*) or intelligence (*mati*) is held to be of two kinds in relation to the two truths.

The present paper deals with the following three points: first, what is the difference between Vasubandhu and Bhāviveka's usages of *prajñā* in the context of the two truths in *Abhidharma-kośabhāṣya* (AKBh) Ch. 1 and MHK Ch. 3, respectively? Second, in this regard, what sense does Bhāviveka have in mind when he uses

* The present article is a slightly revised and enlarged version of my paper read at the International Workshop on Bhāviveka and the Two Truths, Ryūkoku University, May 28–29, 2016. The above paper appeared in Saito 2017. I am also indebted to Eckel 2016. However, any errors remain my own responsibility.

¹ For the relationship between *prajñā*, *mati*, *buddhi* and *dhī*, see also Scherrer-Schaub 1991: 185–186, n. 283.

the same term in PP Ch. 24 (*śrutacintābhāvanāmayī prajñā or “intellect derived from learning, reflection, and meditation”) while discussing one of the three analyses (*Bahuvrīhi*) of the compound *paramārtha*? Third, in what sense can we then understand the title of his commentary on Nāgārjuna’s *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MMK), the *Prajñāpradīpa*?

1. The Title of Bhāviveka’s Commentary, *Prajñāpradīpa*

First, let us turn to the third question, the meaning of the title of Bhāviveka’s commentary, *Prajñāpradīpa*. Although Bhāviveka provides no direct clues for understanding the meaning of this title, verse MHK 3:6 indicates his understanding of the usage and relationship of the words comprising it, *prajñā* and (*pra*)*dīpa*: “Intellect (*prajñā*) is the nectar that brings satisfaction, the lamp whose light is unobstructed, the steps on the palace of liberation, and the fire that burns the fuel of the defilements.”² Bhavya, the author of the MHK commentary called *Tarkajvālā* (TJ), explains the above “intellect” as follows: “The intellect in question is [compared to] a lamp because it removes the darkness of ignorance.”³

According to MHK 3:6 and Bhavya’s commentary on it, the intellect can be compared to a lamp to remove the darkness, steps to walk up, and fire that burns fuel. The darkness here is used as a metaphor for “ignorance.” Applying this explanation of “lamp” to the title *Prajñāpradīpa*, we can understand the compound *prajñāpradīpa* as a *Karmadhāraya* that means a “lamp-like intellect,” i.e., an intellect which removes ignorance (**ajñāna*), just as a lamp removes darkness.

2. The Usage and Meaning of *prajñā* in Bhāviveka’s MHK and PP

In order to make clear Bhāviveka’s usage and understanding of *prajñā*, let us turn now to my first question about the difference in Vasubandhu and Bhāviveka’s use of the concept in the context of the two truths. The following are Bhāviveka’s first twenty-

² MHK 3:6: *prajñāṃṣṭaṃ typtikaraṃ dīpo ’pratihataprabhaḥ | mokṣaprasādasopānaṃ kleśendhanahutāsanaḥ ||*.

³ TJ, D Dza 54b7, P Dza 58a6–7: *shes rab de nyid sgron ma ste | mi shes pa’i mun pa ’joms pa’i phyir ro ||*.

two verses from his MHK, Ch. 3, titled “Inquiry into the Knowledge of Reality” (*tattvajñānaiṣaṇā*):

A person who has the eye of knowledge and not the other [eye] has a [true] eye. For this reason, a wise person should concentrate on inquiring into the knowledge of reality [3:1]. Even if an intelligent person is blind, he sees the three worlds without any obstruction; he sees whatever he wants to see, whether it is far away, subtle, or concealed [3:2]. Even with a thousand eyes, [Indra] is blind because he does not see the right and wrong paths to heaven and liberation [3:3]. A person whose eyes opened by the intellect (*prajñā*) does not practice [the perfection of] giving, etc., like thorns poisoned by desire for, visible or invisible, excellent and desirable results [3:4]. He practices [the perfection of] giving, etc., pure in three ways, with compassion and for [the acquisition of] omniscience on which, however, his mind is not fixed [3:5]. Intellect is the nectar that brings satisfaction, the lamp whose light is unobstructed, the steps on the palace of liberation, and the fire that burns the fuel of the defilements [3:6]. It is accepted that there are two kinds of intelligence (*mati*) depending on the two truths since [intelligence] leads to the discernment of correct convention (*tathyasamvṛti*) and real facts (*bhūtārtha*) [3:7]. Conventional intellect (*prajñā sāmketikī*) is known as being based on the twelve sense-fields in the following regard. It fulfills the prerequisites called “giving”, etc., “merit” and “knowledge”; it ascertains those causes, results, and the relation [between causes and results], along with the characteristics [of those prerequisites], etc.; and it sustains and matures sentient beings by practicing great compassion and pity [3:8–9]. Ultimate intellect (/insight) (*prajñā pāramārthikī*) enables us to negate the entire network of concepts, and it moves without moving into reality that is immaculate as the sky, which is peaceful, individually known, non-conceptual, non-verbal, and free from unity and diversity [3:10–11]. It is certainly impossible to climb up to the top of the palace of reality without the steps of correct convention. Therefore, one should first have a discerning mind by means of the conventional truth, and then ascertain the particular and universal characteristics (*svasāmānyalakṣaṇa*) of *dharmas* [3:12–13]. A sagacious person should practice concentration of the mind, and also knowledge derived from learning because it gives rise to the other knowledge [derived from reflection and meditation] [3:14]. [...] When the mind is concentrated, one should examine with intellect (*prajñāyā*) in the following way: is the intrinsic nature of *dharmas* that is grasped conventionally (*vyavahārataḥ*) also grasped ultimately (*paramārthataḥ*) when it is examined with intelligence (*dhīyā*)? If so, then it is reality (*tattva*). If not, it should be investigated [3:21–22].⁴

⁴ MHK 3:1–14, 21–22: *yasya jñānamayaṃ cakṣuś cakṣus tasyāsti netarat | yatas tasmād bhaved dhīmāṃs tattvajñānaiṣaṇāparah* [3:1] || *paśyaty andho 'pi matimān^a didṛkṣur viprakṣṭakān^a | sūkṣmavyavahitān arthāṃs trailokyāhatadarśanaḥ* [3:2] || *sahasreṇāpi netrāṇāṃ anetro buddhivarjitaḥ | svargāpavargasadbhūtamārgāmārgāsamiḥṣaṇāt* [3:3] || *dṛṣṭādṛṣṭāviśiṣṭeṣṭaphalāsāviśakaṇṭake | pravartate na dānādau prajñonmilitalocanaḥ* [3:4] || *trimaṇḍalaviśuddhe hi dānādāv abhiyujyate | kāruṇyat*

The following points are worth noting regarding Bhāviveka's explanation of the role of *prajñā* or "intellect": first, the concept of *prajñā* is an alternative for that of *mati*, *buddhi*, and *dhī*. Second, the concept of *prajñā* "intellect" or *mati* "intelligence" is of two kinds in relation to the two truths, viz., conventional and ultimate. Third, at a glance, Bhāviveka's usage of *prajñā* reminds us of Vasubandhu's explanation of the meaning of *abhidharma* in the AKBh, in which he uses the same term *prajñā* in the context of the two truths. Fourth, as will be later dealt with, because of their different understandings of the two truths, Bhāviveka and Vasubandhu differ in their usage of the concept of *prajñā* in relation to the two truths.

3. Vasubandhu's Usage of *prajñā* in His Explanation of the Two Levels of *abhidharma*, Ultimate and Conventional

Before analyzing Bhāviveka's intention in using the concept of *prajñā*, let us consider Vasubandhu's usage of the same concept in the first chapter of AKBh:

What is this "*abhidharma*"? *Abhidharma* is an immaculate intellect (*prajñā*) with its retinue [1:2a]. In this [verse], "intellect" means the discernment of *dharmas*. "Immaculate [intellect]" means pure [intellect]. "With its retinue" means with its attendants. Thus, it is said that "*abhidharma*" consists of five pure aggregates. This is, to begin with, the ultimate (*pāramārthika*) *abhidharma*. On the other hand, the conventional (*sāṃketika*) one is: The [intellect] for the acquisition of that [immaculate intellect] and also the treatise [1:2b]. The impure intellect derived from learning, reflection and meditation or acquired by birth, along with its retinue

sarvavittvāya tatrāpy asthitamānasaḥ [3:5] || *prajñāmr̥taṃ typtikaraṃ dīpo 'pratiha-*
taprabhaḥ | mokṣaprasādasopānaṃ kleśendhanahutāśanaḥ [3:6] || *sā ca satyadva-*
yāpekṣā dvividhābhimatā matīḥ | tathyaśaṃvṛtibhūtārthapravivekānugūnyataḥ [3:7] ||
dānādīpunyājñānākhyasaṃbhāra^bparipūraye^b | taddhetuḥphalasaṃbandhalakṣaṇādivi-
nīścaye [3:8] || *mahāmaitrikr̥pābhyāsatvasaṃgrahapācane | prajñā sāṃketikī jñeyā*
dvādaśāyatanāśrayā [3:9] || *aśeṣakalpanājālapratīśedhavidhāyini | śāntapratyā-*
tmasaṃvedyanirvikalpanirakṣare [3:10] || *vigataikatvanānātve tattve gagananirmale |*
apracārapracārā ca prajñā syāt pāramārthikī [3:11] || *tattvaḥprāsādaśīkharārohaṇaṃ na*
hi yujyate | tathyaśaṃvṛtisopānaṃ antareṇa yatas tataḥ [3:12] || *pūrvam saṃvṛtisatye-*
na praviviktamatir bhavet | tato dharmasvasāmānyalakṣaṇe suviniścitaḥ [3:13] ||
abhiyujyeta medhāvī samādhānāya cetasaḥ | tathā śrutamayajñāne tadanyajñānahetu-
taḥ [3:14] || [...] *samāhitamatīḥ paścāt prajñayaivaṃ parikṣayet | yo 'yaṃ svabhāvo*
dharmāṇāṃ gṛhyeta vyavahārataḥ [3:21] || *vicāryamāṇas tu dhiyā kim ayam*
paramārthataḥ | yadi syāt tattvam evāyam ato 'nyas cet sa mṛgyate [3:22] ||

^a = L; *didyḥṣuviprakṣṭakān* E; om. Ms. ^b = E, Ms; *-paripūraṇe* L.

[i.e., five aggregates], is also [the conventional *abhidharma*]. And the treatise for the acquisition of the pure intellect is also called “*abhidharma*” since it is a requisite for the [pure intellect].⁵

The intellect is traditionally regarded by the Sarvāstivāda school as one of the ten universal (*mahābhūmika*) mental functions. Further, as the above explanation states, the intellect is of two kinds, pure (*anāsrava*) and impure (*sāsrava*). Also noteworthy is that the intellect, pure or impure, is therein defined as the discernment of dharmas or (physical and mental) elements (*dharmapṛavicaya*). This interpretation of *prajñā* contrasts with that of Bhāviveka, who in the above MHK 3:10–13 states both that ascertainment of the particular and universal characteristics of dharmas is done by a discerning mind by means of the conventional truth, and that the ultimate intellect (*prajñā pāramāthikī*) enables us to negate the entire network of the world’s concepts.

4. Bhāviveka(/Bhavya)’s Understanding of *prajñā* Found in PP ad MMK 24:8 and TJ ad MHK 3:26 in Relation to the Two Truths

4.1. PP ad MMK 24:8

In his *Prajñāpradīpaṭīkā* (PPT), *Avalokitavrata explains Bhāviveka’s comments on the two truths (*dve satye*) found in MMK 24:8. After having explained *lokasaṃvṛtisatya* or the “worldly truth of convention,” *Avalokitavrata turns to interpret the concept of paramārtha or “the ultimate object(/purpose).” He engages in two etymological analyses of the compound: as *karmadhāraya* and as *tatpuruṣa*. He calls both the ultimate truth in the ultimate sense (**pāramāthikam paramārthasatyam*). *Avalokitavrata then proceeds to explain as follows the three kinds of ultimate truth in the conventional sense (*sāṃketikam paramārthasatyam*):

⁵ AKBhp 2.2–10, AKBhe 2.9–18: *ko ’yam abhidharmo nāma | prajñāmalā sānu-carābhidharmaḥ | tatra prajñā dharmapṛavicayaḥ | amaleti anāsravā | sānucareti saparivārā | evam anāsravaḥ pañcaskandhako ’bhidharma ity uktam bhavati | eṣa tāvat pāramāthiko ’bhidharmaḥ || sāṃketikas tu tatpṛāptaye yāpi ca yac ca sāstram | yāpi ca śrutacintābhāvanāmayī sāsravā prajñōpāpattipratilambikā ca sānucarā | yac ca sāstram asyāḥ pṛāptyartham anāsravāyāḥ prajñāyāḥ | tad api tatsambhārabhāvād abhidharma ity ucyate |.*

Now, the characteristics of the ultimate [truth] in the conventional sense are explained. The [*paramārtha*] also designates (1) non-conceptual knowledge whose object is *paramārtha*, (2) the teaching of the cessation (**nirodha*) [of suffering], and (3) intellect (*prajñā*). Among the [three conventional *paramārthas*], first, in order to explain (1) non-conceptual knowledge whose object is *paramārtha*, [Bhāviveka] says, “**Non-conceptual knowledge whose object is the [*paramārtha* in the ultimate sense] is also *paramārtha* in the manner of having no object because it has *paramārtha* within.**” Among the [three conventional *paramārthas*], in order to explain (2) the teaching and (3) intellect, [Bhāviveka] says, “**The teaching of non-origination, etc., which is consistent with the cessation (**nirodha*) [of suffering] and the intellect derived from learning, reflection, and meditation are also *paramārtha* because they are the means to realize *paramārtha* [in the ultimate sense] and, therefore, are correct.**”⁶

The above explanation speaks of the nature and role of intellect as follows: First, *prajñā* is described as one of the three kinds of conventional ultimate truth (**sāṃketikam paramārthasatyam*). Second, just as Vasubandhu stated in the first chapter of AKBh (see above, section 3), the intellect should be derived from learning, reflection, and meditation.⁷ Third, the intellect as well as the teaching of non-origination, etc., are a means to realize the ultimate truth in the ultimate sense.

4.2. TJ ad MHK 3:26

Next, let us turn to Bhavya’s explanation of the meaning of *paramārtha*, in which he refers to the role of intellect as well as to the meaning of the propositional restriction “ultimately” (*paramārthataḥ*). The explanation is found in TJ ad MHK 3:26 as follows:

The “*artha*” of [the compound] “*paramārtha*” means an object(/purpose) because it is “to be known,” i.e., it means “to be investigated” and “to be

⁶ PPT, D Za 236b2–6, P Za 282b2–6: *da ni brdar btags (brtags P) pa'i don dam pa'i mtshan nyid bstan par bya ste | de yang rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes don dam pa'i yul can dang | de 'gog pa'i bstan pa dang shes rab la nye bar gdags so || de la re zhig rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes don dam pa'i yul can bstan pa'i phyir | rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes de'i yul can yang yul med pa'i tshul gyis don dam pa ste | de la don dam pa yod pa'i phyir ro zhes bya ba smras te | [...] de la 'gog pa'i bstan pa dang | shes rab bstan pa'i phyir de 'gog pa dang rjes su mthun pa skye ba med pa la sogs pa bstan pa dang | thos pa dang | bsams pa dang | bsgoms pa las byung ba'i shes rab kyang don dam pa ste (te P) | don dam pa rtogs pa'i thabs kyi phyir phyin ci ma log pa'i phyir ro zhes bya ba smras te |. Sentences in bold are quotations from Bhāviveka’s PP. Cf. Akahane et al. 2013: 75.*

⁷ See Saito 1999: 79.

understood.” The “*parama*” is the word meaning “ultimate(/highest).” The compound “*paramārtha*” means an object that is ultimate [= *kaṃmadhāraya* interpretation of “*paramārtha*”]. Or it means “the object of the ultimate,” i.e., it is the object of the ultimate because it is the object of the ultimate non-conceptual knowledge [= *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of “*paramārtha*”]. Or it means “consistent with the ultimate object,” i.e., it is consistent with the ultimate object because intellect (*prajñā*) consistent with the ultimate object has *paramārtha* within [= *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of “*paramārtha*”]. The [word for the propositional restriction] “ultimately” (*paramārthataḥ*) refers also to this [*bahuvrīhi* interpretation of] *paramārtha*.⁸

The above explanation of Bhavya’s is important in that the author clearly regards intellect as having a *bahuvrīhi* meaning of *paramārtha* because intellect consistent with realizing the ultimate object has *paramārtha* within.⁹ Also noteworthy is that, following Bhavya’s commentary, it can safely be said that taking *paramārtha* in a *bahuvrīhi* sense, Bhāviveka applies the restriction “ultimately” (*paramārthataḥ*) to both Nāgārjuna’s and his own propositions, which means “with intellect consistent with, or leading to, the ultimate object(/purpose).”

Conclusion

From the above examination of Bhāviveka’s usage and understanding of *prajñā*, we can draw the following conclusions: first, like Vasubandhu in his explanation of *prajñā* in the first chapter of AKBh, Bhāviveka also uses the term in relation to the two truths. They also share the same understanding of *prajñā* as something derived from learning, reflection, and meditation. In this respect, it may be tenable to render the concept *prajñā* as “intellect” (知力, 理解力), which can be deepened by learning,

⁸ TJ, D Dza 59a7–b2, P Dza 63a1–4: *don dam pa zhes bya ba la don zhes bya ba ni shes par bya ba yin pa’i phyir (phyir | P) don te | brtag par bya ba dang go bar bya ba zhes bya (ba zhes bya om. P) ba’i tha tshig go || dam pa zhes bya ba ni mchog ces bya ba’i tshig gi sgra yin te | don dam pa zhes bsdu ba ni de don yang yin la dam pa yang yin pas don dam pa’o || yang na dam pa’i don te (de P) rnam par mi rtog pa’i ye shes dam pa’i don yin pas dam pa’i don to || (| P) yang na don dam pa dang mthun pa ste don dam pa rtogs (rtog P) pa dang rjes su mthun pa’i shes rab la don dam pa de yod pas don dam pa dang mthun pa’o || don dam par na zhes bya ba ni don dam pa de nyid du’ang (du’am P) don dam par ro ||.*

⁹ This point is worthy of note. Cf. Hayashima 2011: 4.

reflection, and meditation. Second, unlike Vasubandhu, however, Bhāviveka stresses that the individual and universal characteristics of dharmas are to be ascertained by a discerning mind in relation not to the ultimate truth but to the conventional one. Third, the individual and universal characteristics of *dharmas* are negated when they are examined with intellect (*prajñā*) or intelligence (*dhī*) based on the ultimate truth. The intellect of this level is a means to realize the ultimate object. It is in this sense that the intellect is also classified in the context of *paramārtha* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound because the intellect (*prajñā*) consistent with or leading to the ultimate object has *paramārtha* within. Lastly, only the ultimate intellect(/insight) (*prajñā pāramā-rthikī*), which moves without moving into the clear sky of reality, enables us to negate the entire network of the world's concepts.

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*A Mongol Xylograph
(hor par ma) of the Tibetan Version of the
Mahāyānasūtrālamkārabhāṣya**

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Cristina Scherrer-Schaub is a pioneer in the study of Tibetan codicology. Indeed, her article “Towards a methodology for the study of old Tibetan manuscripts: Dunhuang and Tabo” (1999) laid out for the first time a systematic approach for the codicological and palaeographical study of Tibetan manuscripts. This fundamental contribution was conceived while studying and cataloguing the manuscript collection of Tabo monastery, and was followed by many other important articles on Tibetan book culture, and more generally on the translation and transmission of Buddhist literature across the Himalayas and in Central Asia.¹ I am thus happy to dedicate to her, with reverent affection, this small contribution,

* I am very grateful to Christian Luczanits for granting me access to the photographic documentation of the volume here described, courtesy of Namgyal Monastery. Sincere thanks are due to Sherab Sangpo for sharing images of Yuan-period printed books with me. I thank M. Bujard, V. Caumanns, K. Kanō, and J. Heimbel for their remarks on a preliminary version of this paper.

¹ Scherrer-Schaub 1999, and Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002 are the fundamental contributions laying out the principles of Tibetan codicology. For Buddhist book culture and trans-Himalayan textual transmission, see also Scherrer-Schaub 2009a; 2009b; 2010; 2012; 2016; 2017.

describing an early Tibetan printed book produced in the plurilingual and multi-cultural environment of the Yuan court.

It is well known that during the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) Buddhist texts in Tibetan were printed with imperial patronage. At that time the Mongol Khanates controlled much of Eurasia, from the Yellow Sea to the Black Sea, ensuring a century of stability that facilitated economic and cultural exchanges. The court acquired a cosmopolitan character, and was a hub of knowledge transfer and technological innovation. Tibetans at court participated in this lively environment, while generous imperial patronage extended to teachers and monasteries in Tibet proper had long lasting consequences.² Besides the Imperial Preceptors (Ch. *dishi* 帝師), of the Sa skya order, also other noticeable Tibetan Buddhist masters became close to Mongol rulers: for example, O rgyan Rin chen dpal (1230–1309) travelled to the capital Dadu (大都, Tib. Ta'i tu, alias Khanbaliq, modern day Beijing), and had a copy of the Tibetan translation of the *Laghukālacakratantra* printed, in order to “fulfil the [last] intention of the Lord of Men, the Emperor [Khubilai], or bring stability to the reign of the Empress Mother (Ch. *taihou* 太后) [Kököjin] and her son [Temür Öljejtü]” (*mi dbang rgyal po'i thugs dgongs rdzogs pa'am tha'i hun yum sras chab srid brtan byas nas*).³ Xylographic printing was already an established practice for Chinese-language books, and thus it is not surprising that it was adopted for books in Tibetan.⁴

These editions are generally known as “Mongol xylographs” (*hor par ma*) and predate the widespread adoption of the xylographic

² For cultural transmission in Eurasia during the Mongol Empire, see Allsen 2009; Biran 2015. For Tibetans at court as doctors and astrologers, see Beckwith 1987; for Western (i.e. Greek and Islamic) influences on Tibetan medicine, see Martin 2011. For the Yuan-Sa skya administration, and the Imperial Preceptors at court, the reference work is Petech 1990a; see also Petech 1990b; Franke 1997 and its review by van der Kuijp 1998.

³ See van der Kuijp 2004: 21–22, and *passim* for the role of the Kālacakra corpus in the textual and ritual traditions of Tibetan Buddhism at the Yuan court. The edition by O rgyan pa was already mentioned in Jackson 1983: 6; for the description of a copy, see Sangpo 2013: 205–207 (text 2), and pl. 2. For the prominence at the late Yuan court of another bKa' brgyud master, namely Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340–1383), see Sperling 2004.

⁴ For xylographic printing in China during the Song and Yuan dynasties, see e.g. Chia and De Weerd 2011.

printing technology on the Tibetan plateau, which is usually dated to the early 15th century. For this reason, they are of particular interest for the history of printing in Central Asia.⁵ Only a few exemplars of these printed books have been identified and described so far, but this scant data allows us to glimpse their subject matter and formal features. In fact, during the period of the Yuan rulers and their Sa skya imperial preceptors, a wide typology of texts was printed: tantric scriptures and commentaries, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (a text famously known for its employ in rituals for the protection of the realm), texts of Abhidharma (*mngon pa*) and Pramāṇa (*tshad ma*), and a medical text.⁶ These editions were commissioned by the emperors or by their consorts, and prepared at the capital Dadu. The colophons regularly include the dedication of the merits accrued from the enterprise to the long life of the ruler and his family members, and to the prosperity and stability of the reign.

In particular, I will focus on a collection of books commissioned by Empress Bulukhan (Tib. 'Bol gan/ Bhol gan), wife of Temür Öljeitü Khan (alias Chengzong 成宗, r. 1294–1307), in the Earth-pig year 1299. They were “written at the Blue Stūpa (*mchod rten sngon po*), and printed at the White Stūpa (*mchod rten dkar po*), of the great royal palace Dadu.”⁷ The latter site is the

⁵ For a re-appraisal of the introduction of printing in Tibet, see Sernesi 2017. Note the remark in van der Kuijp 2014: 4 that the term *hor par ma* does not refer so much to the geographical place of origin of the printing blocks, as “to the ethnicity of the patron or patrons in question.” For the role of the Tanguts in the development and spread of printing in Inner Asia at the beginning of the second millennium, see Galambos 2016: 136–137; Kychanov 1984. At least one printed book in Tibetan was found in Kharakhoto; see Shi 2007.

⁶ Yuan-period xylographs of Tibetan texts are described in van der Kuijp 1993; 2004; 2014; Sangpo 2013; 2016. Among the tantric texts figure root-texts and commentaries of the Kālacakra tantric cycle (van der Kuijp 2004: 20–31; Sangpo 2013: 205–207 [text 2], 218–221 [text 8]), and of the *Guhyagarbhatantra* (Ehrhard 1997: 262–263, n. 23; Sangpo 2013: 216–218 [text 7]). The medical text is the *Yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po* (Sangpo 2013: 212–214 [text 5]). Among the philosophical and logico-epistemological texts, are Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* (*Tshad ma rnam 'grel*), the *Tshad ma rigs gter* by Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251), the *Prasannapadā* (*dBu ma rtsa ba'i 'grel ba tshig gsal*), and the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (*Tshad ma rnam par nges pa*); see below.

⁷ See Sangpo 2013: 209: *sa mo phag lo zla ba bdun pa'i tshes bcwa lnga la pho brang chen po ta'i tu'i mchod rten sngon por bris | mchod rten dkar pos [= por] grub pa dge'o*]. This is an extract from the colophon of one of the texts printed in the set, i.e. the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*; see below. I thank Marianne Bujard for her assistance in identifying the two stūpas.

Baita (白塔), built under Emperor Khubilai Khan (1215–1294) following the design of the famed Nepalese artist Anige (1245–1306). Constructed on the ruins of a Liao *stūpa* dating from 1096, and completed in 1279, it is still standing at the West of the Imperial City.⁸ The Blue Stūpa (Qingta 青塔) was standing further West, near the Fucheng (阜成) gate, but it was already in ruins by the 18th c.⁹ Therefore, it seems that while, starting from the Ming period, Tibetan texts were printed at the Fanjingchang 番經廠, during the Yuan period the main locus of printing activity was the White Stūpa.¹⁰

I shall describe an incomplete copy of an edition, which, on the basis of its subject matter and formal aspect, may be ascribed to this set. It is a copy of the earliest commentary to the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra*, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (*mDo sde'i rgyan gyi bshad pa*) attributed to Vasubandhu (dByig gnyen).¹¹ This exem-

⁸ For Anige and the design of the *stūpa*, see Jing 1994: 49–52; Karmay 1975: 21–23. The temple associated to the *stūpa*, the Baitasi 白塔寺, was also known as Miaoyingsi 妙應寺: it remained an important Tibetan Buddhist centre throughout the Qing dynasty, and, in particular, it was the locus of the cult of the *bo-dhisattva* Mañjuśrī; see Naquin 2000: 443–444, map 12.1, 587–589.

⁹ Apparently, a “lane of the Green/Blue Pagoda” (Qingta hutong 青塔胡同) still exists near where the monument once stood. During the Yuan dynasty, the *stūpa* and its associated temple were called Da Yongfusi 大永福寺 (Great Temple of the Eternal Happiness). The *stūpa* is mentioned in a Qing period text, the *Study of “Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne”* (*Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下舊聞考), dated 1782. By that time the pagoda was already in ruins, but the source quotes a 1575 stele that mentions the foundation of the monument and its renovation under the Ming. I owe this information to Li Weiwen 李緯文, whom I thank (personal communication 31 January 2020). For the *Rixia jiuwen kao*, its dating and sources, see Naquin 2000: 457–458.

¹⁰ For sources on the Fanjingchang, that is the “Barbarian (i.e., non-Chinese language, including Tibetan) *sūtra* printing workshop,” see e.g. Shen 2007: 60–61, 80.

¹¹ *mDo sde'i rgyan gyi bshad pa* (*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya*) D 4026 *sems tsam*, *phi* 129v₁–260r₇; P 5527 *sems tsam*, *phi* 135v₇–287r₈ (vol. 108, pp. 56–117); N *phi* 129v₇–279; G *mdo 'grel*, *phi* 170v₁–371r₂. For the first edition of the Sanskrit text (based on a paper manuscript written in Nepal in 1677/8), and its French translation, see Lévi 1907 and 1911. Lists of corrigenda to the *editio princeps* have been published since (Nagao 1958, Bhattacharya 2001), and some portions of the text reedited. The text was popular in Tibet: for the discovery of eight folios of a Sanskrit manuscript (12th/13th c.) from Ngor monastery, their edition and study, and an up-to-date survey of the available manuscripts and bibliography, see Kanō 2012; 2013; Kanō et al. 2014. For a (controversial) English translation of the root-text and commentary from Tibetan, see Jamspal et al. 2004. For translations of

plar was photographed by Christian Luczanits, and it is located in Namgyal Monastery (rNam rgyal chos sde), Mustang (Nepal).¹² Recorded as book 116 of the library collection, it is preserved between two non-decorated wooden boards.

The Book Commission

The set of books commissioned by Empress Bulukhan has been described by Kawa Sherab Sangpo.¹³ He has identified four printed books that, according to his study, are sealed by “an introductory verse, the colophon and a prayer of dedication” which provide the circumstances of production of the xylographic editions. These are copies of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (*Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde rgyan*), the *Prasannapadā* (*dBu ma rtsa ba'i 'grel ba tshig gsal*), the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (*mNgon pa kun las btus pa*), and the *Pramāṇavinīścaya* (*Tshad ma rnam par nges pa*). Sangpo provides only the text of the colophon of the copy of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, found at the gNas chu lha khang of 'Bras spungs monastery. In this colophon the Empress is said to have commissioned the “inexhaustible printing” (*mi zad par*) of the treatise in order to attain the state of Sugata, in order to spread the Buddhist teachings, and in order to retain the teachings in all her lifetimes.¹⁴ The formula clearly reflects the belief in the effectiveness of the xylographic technology to reproduce Buddhist texts in countless exemplars, for as long as needed, thereby greatly contributing to the diffusion of the Dharma. In particular, the colophon states that the Empress had four hundred copies of each of the following texts printed:¹⁵

the root verses together with Tibetan commentaries, see Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2014; Padmakara Translation Group 2018.

¹² It was first photographed in 2017, and the documentation completed in 2019, within the AHRC-funded research project “Tibetan Buddhist Monastery Collections Today,” led by Christian Luczanits. For an introduction to the collection of Namgyal monastery, and important findings therein, see Luczanits 2016a; 2016b.

¹³ See Sangpo 2013: 207–212 (texts 3 and 4).

¹⁴ See Sangpo 2013: 208: | *dpal ldan chen mo 'bol gan dad blo yis* | | *bde gshegs mgo 'phang thob par bya phyir dang* | | *de yi bstan pa rgyas par spel phyir dang* | | *skye ba kun tu dam chos gzung bya'i phyir* | | *chos gter mi zad bar [= par] du bsgrubs pa yin* |.

¹⁵ See Sangpo 2013: 209: *theg pa chen po mdo sde rgyan dang* | *dbu ma rtsa ba'i shes rab dang* | *mngon pa kun las btus pa dang* | *mngon pa mdzod dang* | *tshad ma rnam par nges pa dang* | *rigs gter mam par du bsgrubs shing* | *re re la bzhi brgya bzhi brgya btav nas* |.

- *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* (*Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde rgyan*)
- *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (*dBu ma rtsa ba'i shes rab*)
- *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (*mNgon pa kun las btus pa*)
- *Abhidharmakośa* (*mNgon pa mdzod*)
- *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (*Tshad ma rnam par nges pa*)
- *Tshad ma rigs gter*

Copies of the *Abhidharmakośa* (*mNgon pa mdzod*) have not surfaced yet. The *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (*dBu ma rtsa ba'i shes rab*) is listed instead of the *Prasannapadā* (*dBu ma rtsa ba'i 'grel ba tshig gsal*) identified by Kawa Sherab Sangpo: possibly, this is not a mistake, but both texts were printed together, in order to provide the commentary together with the root-text. Moreover, there is evidence that other texts were printed at the time, not included in this list. In particular, an edition of Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251)'s *sDom gsum rab dbye* was also commissioned by Empress Bulukhan at the same time, that is to say, as stated in the colophon, “at the time of having copied, carved, and printed the stainless commentaries on the Speech of the Sugatas” (*| bde bar gshegs gsung dgongs 'grel dri med rams | | bris nas rkos shing par du sgrubs pa'i dus |*).¹⁶

This sentence distinguishes three actions: writing down the text (*bris*) (which entails establishing the correct text to be printed, and copying it out on the printing sheets for the engravers), carving the text into wooden blocks (*rkos*), and printing copies out of the blocks into paper (*par du sgrubs*). And in fact, it seems that, at that time, new blocks were not engraved for all the mentioned texts: in particular, the four-hundred copies of the *Tshad ma rigs gter* by Sa skya Paṇḍita were printed from an existing set of blocks, commissioned by Empress Chabi (1227–1281), consort of Khubilai Khan, and completed by Queen Kōkōjin in 1284. A note added at the end of the colophon of this earlier edition states as much.¹⁷

There is also evidence that different individuals were involved at different stages of the production of the books. The colophon

¹⁶ See Sangpo 2013: 211 (text 4).

¹⁷ For this edition, see van der Kuijp 1993: 280–281, 291–292; 2014: 2; Sangpo 2013: 202–205 (text 1); 2016: 38–40, fig. 3.1. For Empress Chabi, see Cleaves 1979–1980.

of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* interestingly mentions the names of those who contributed in establishing the text: these individuals include learned Tibetan masters (the holder of the Buddhist teachings 'Jam dbyangs and dGe slong Rin chen 'phel), the translator (*sgra bsgyur*) Dam pa Ka ra na da, plus Padmasena Du lag yang nga (possibly the transcription of a Mongolian name?), Saṃghada, and Zam chung. Even though these persons are otherwise unknown, their names and titles seem to indicate a group of individuals with different expertise and possibly from different ethnic backgrounds, which reflects the cosmopolitan and multicultural climate of the Yuan court. The text thereby established was written down (*bris*) by the Tibetan master scribe (*yig mkhan mkhas pa*) Chos skyabs, and then carved (*legs par brkos*) by unnamed master artisans (*bzo rigs mkhas pa*).¹⁸ In fact, it has been suggested that block carving for Yuan editions was performed by Han-Chinese craftsmen, because the pagination marked on the margins invariably includes both Tibetan and Chinese numbers:¹⁹ the latter would indicate the order of the manuscript folios to the carvers. It may also be added that the Chinese numbering would help the printers (probably also Han-Chinese), to order the loose pages of the book into volumes. Indeed, the xylographic technology was widespread for Chinese language books in the 13th century, and thus skilled artisans, capable of carving Tibetan letters and to perform the printing from wooden blocks, would have been readily available in the capital of the Yuan Empire.

Only few images of Yuan period Tibetan printed books have been reproduced so far. The page layout, however, is distinctive: the regular *dbu can* script is framed by a vertical line on each side. Sometimes, large, square images of deities or masters in a distinctive style are included on the right and left side at the beginning

¹⁸ See Sangpo 2013: 208: *bde gshegs chos tshul kun 'dzin 'jam dbyangs dang* | | *kun dga' dbang phyug dge slong rin chen 'phel* | | *sgra bsgyur dam pa ka ra na das dang* | | *bad ma se na du lag yang nga dang* | | *saṃ gha das dang zam chung la sogs kyis* | | *rab tu brtsams pa'i 'di yis lag len gyis* | | *yig mkhan mkhas pa chos skyabs zhes bya bris* | | *bzo rigs mkhas pa rnam kyis legs par brkos* |. The expression *rab tu brtsams pa'i 'di yis lag len gyis* is unclear, but it points to participating in the phase of thorough compilation of the text, or practising on the basis of their well-compiled treatise.

¹⁹ See van der Kuijp 2014: 2: "And this [i.e. the Chinese language pagination] likely indicates that Han-Chinese craftsmen were responsible for the carving of the blocks."

of the text (i.e., on fol. 1v).²⁰ The pagination is indicated on the margins. In particular, the Chinese foliation specifies if it is recto (上) or verso (下), and the folio number, plus sometimes includes a character as volume number. The five extant volumes of the 1299 imperial commission, as described by Sherab Sangpo (2013: 207–8, 211), all have five lines per page (six in the colophon page) and volume numbers as follows:

- *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*: Tib. vol. *Ka* / Ch. vol. 地 (“earth”)
- *Prasannapadā*: no volume number
- *Abhidharmasamuccaya*: Tib. vol. *Nga* / Ch. vol. 月 (“moon”)
- *Pramāṇaviniścaya*: no Tib. vol. number / Ch. vol. 天 (“sky”)
- *sDom gsum rab dbye*: Tib. vol. *Ha* / Ch. vol. 元 (“origin”)

As may be seen, the method for ordering the volumes is not easily detected. However, for our purposes, it is relevant to note that the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* bears both the Tibetan volume number *Ka* and the Chinese volume number 地 (“earth”). Indeed, the Namgyal monastery copy of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* bears the same Chinese volume number, and the Tibetan volume number *Kha*. It may thus be suggested that it was printed together with the root-text, and intended to follow it, in the same commission. Moreover, note that Sherab Sangpo (2013: 207) states that the volume consists of 232 “pages” (i.e. folios?), which corresponds to the calculated length of the volume of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (see below). Therefore, it is also possible that the volume described by the Tibetan scholar includes also the commentary, and that the book preserved at Namgyal monastery is another copy of the same edition listed by Sherab Sangpo.²¹

²⁰ Besides the images included in Sangpo 2013 and 2016, few other images of Yuan-period Tibetan language xylographs circulate. Photographs of fols. 1r–v, 70r–v of a copy of the *Pramāṇavārttika* probably printed sometime between 1284 and 1287—as studied in van der Kuijp 2004: 1–2—are published in *Par mdzod* 2–5 (no. 01219). For the reproduction of a copy of the *Tshad ma rigs gter* printed in 1315—as studied in van der Kuijp 2014: 2–3—see TBRC W1CZ2047. For the style of this period’s illustrations, see Karmay 1975: 35–54.

²¹ Unfortunately, I have been unable to access images of the copy described by Sherab Sangpo.

The Copy of the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya

The witness of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* documented at Namgyal Monastery is unfortunately incomplete. It lacks the beginning and the end folios, and thus any dedicatory preface or printing colophon. The folios bear five lines of *dbu can* script framed by a vertical line on each side (see figs. 1 and 2). The left recto margin bears the Tibetan pagination (vol. no. *Kha* and folio numbers spelled in letters, e.g. *gcig*, etc.); the right margin bears the Chinese pagination on both the recto and verso (vol. no. 地 [“earth”], 上 or 下 [recto/verso], folio number) (see figs. 2 and 3). The dimensions of the folios are 64.5 cm × 11.7 cm, closely matching those of the volume of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, recorded as 64.5 cm × 11.5 cm by Kawa Sherab Sangpo (2013: 207). Moreover, when compared to the page layout of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, the resemblance is striking.²² Therefore, this edition of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* must have been produced within the set commissioned by Empress Bulukhan, and may be dated to *c.* 1299 with a high degree of confidence.

The first extant folio is no. 5, which bears a handwritten inscribed line reading (see fig. 1):

@ || *bstan bcos 'di ni byams chos sde lnga'i grangs nas mdo sde brgyan gyis 'brel*
[read *gyi 'grel*] *ba yin 'dug mchis | na ga dzu nas yig chung bris* ||

“This treatise is the commentary on the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, [which is] among the five sets of teachings of Maitreya. It was written [as a] short text by Nāgārjuna.”

This must have been added to the first extant page once the volume was already lacunary, and although it correctly identifies the subject matter, it provides a fanciful attribution. The remaining portions of the book are as follows:

- Beginning (fol. 5): | *kyis bsdus pa'i rton pa yang chung la | dus kyang thung ste | tshe gsum tsam gyis kyang de'i don 'thob pa yin |* (...) (corresponding to D 4026, 131v₆)
- Extant: fols. 5–6, 8–9, 12–13, 15–21, 24–25, 27–41, 43–45, 51–54, 57–58, 59 (misplaced after fol. 54), 60, 62, 63 (mis-

²² See Sangpo 2013: pl. 3. No images of full folios from the other copies of the book set have been published so far. For the close-up of a folio of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, see Sangpo 2013: pl. 4.

- placed after fol. 162), 65, 71–85, 89–110, 113–115, 117–162, 165–170, 172–180, 183.
- Fragmentary: fol. 184 (cut on both sides, no folio number, misplaced after fol. 41, ending *de'i rgyu can gyi nyon mongs pa dag gdon mi za bar 'byung bar...*, corresponding to D 4021, 239v₇), fol. 200 (cut on left side, Chinese folio number, placed at the end, corresponding to D 4021, 242v₅–243r₆).
 - Missing: fols. 1–4, 7, 10–11, 14, 22–23, 26, 42, 46–50, 55–56, 66–70, 87, 163–164, 171, 181–182, 185–199, 201–? (end).
 - Handwritten: 61, 64, 86, 88, 111–112, 116.

The last extant, torn, folio is no. 200, whose text corresponds to that at fol. 243 in the sDe dge (Derge) canon edition. In the latter the text spans a total of 130 folios (numbered 129v–260r), hence, we can calculate that the following 17 folios of Derge text would have probably covered another 30 folios of text in the old edition. Thereby, it can be estimated that the Yuan edition was approximately 230 folios long.²³ Seven folios are handwritten, testifying to a time when an effort was made to restore the full text of the volume. Fol. 27v is inscribed on the left margin: *don par 'gyur tun nas mku* (possibly *don par 'gyur mthun nas mgu* “I am glad that the translation agrees with the meaning,” or perhaps *'don par 'gyur thun nas mgu* “I am glad after a session of recitation”?) (see fig. 4).²⁴

Following Scherrer-Schaub 1999, other palaeographic elements to note are: the *mgo yig* (at the beginning of each recto folio) (see fig. 5); the decorative elements marking section breaks (fol. 8v, fol. 13r, fol. 31r, fol. 140v) (see fig. 6);²⁵ the proportion of the letters, with relatively short descending strokes (e.g. in letters *ka*, *ga* and *na*) (see figs. 1 and 2).²⁶ When compared with the

²³ As mentioned above, according to the description of the volume in Sangpo 2013: 207, the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* copy has 232 pages. Without access to the book described, such discrepancy cannot be clarified.

²⁴ Both interpretations are speculative and problematic. In particular, in the first instance, *mthun* would need the second term of comparison marked by the associative case (*dang*), and not the terminative case (*par*). In the second interpretation, the future tense *'don par 'gyur* is difficult to account for, and one would rather expect *'don pa thun* or *'don pa'i thun*.

²⁵ Compare with the similar section break marker figured in Sangpo 2013: pl. 5 (*Yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po*, 1311).

²⁶ Compare the squarish, well-spaced letters in Sangpo 2013: pl. 3 (*sDom gsum rab dbye*, 1299), pl. 4 (*Tshad ma mam par nges pa*, 1299), pl. 5 (*Yan lag brgyad pa'i*

known copies of Yuan-period Tibetan printed books, the *mise en page* and palaeography of the volume resemble the most those of the books commissioned by Empress Bulukhan.

The version of the text transmitted in the old edition agrees overall with the text included in the bsTan 'gyur, translated by Śākyasiṃha, dPal brtsegs, and unnamed others.²⁷ However, minor variants in both wording and orthography may be observed. Among the latter figures prominently the archaism *ma ya tags* (e.g. *myi* for *mi*, *myed* for *med*, and *smyin* for *smin*) (see figs. 1 and 2). Being this xylographic edition datable to *c.* 1299, it is earlier than the bsTan 'gyur editions (D, G, N, P), and therefore it is among the earliest extant witnesses of the Tibetan translation of the treatise.²⁸

Conclusions

As may be seen, the fragmentary printed book kept in the library of Namgyal Monastery (no. 116), in Mustang, is a copy of a Yuan-period xylographic edition (*hor par ma*) of the Tibetan version of the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkārahāṣya*. Unfortunately, it lacks the final section with a colophon, but it can be dated on the basis of its formal features: indeed, its page layout is distinctive of Yuan-period editions, and it bears Chinese foliation, as well as the volume number 地 (“earth”). It was most probably realized by initiative of Empress Bulukhan (Tib. 'Bol gan/ Bhol gan), who, in 1299, in the capital Dadu, commissioned the printing of a set of scholastic treatises, including the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*. The imperial preceptor at the time was Bla ma Grags pa 'od zer (1246–1303), who was appointed *dishi* in 1291, and confirmed in 1294, after the death of Khubilai Khan, by the new emperor Temür Öljeitü. The books

snying po, 1311). In contrast, see the longer descending strokes of the same letters and the close-packed ductus (filling 6 lines per folio) in Sangpo 2013: pl. 1 (*Tshad ma rigs gter*, 1284); TBRC W1CZ2047 (*Tshad ma rigs gter*, 1315).

²⁷ See D 4026, 260r₆₋₇: || *rgya gar gyi mkhan po shākya singha dang | zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba bande dpal brtsegs la sogs pas bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa* ||.

²⁸ Three (undated) manuscript fragments of the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkārahāṣya* are found within the Kharakhoto materials; see Takeuchi and Iuchi 2016: nos. 47, 71, 72 (the latter two are from the same leaf). Apparently there are no copies among the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts; see Hakamaya 1985. I thank Kazuo Kanō for these references.

were distributed to the “holders of the Tripiṭaka,” which, in this context, may point to the monastic community at large, or specifically to its learned members, who would benefit the most from receiving copies of the treatises.²⁹

Commenting on this enterprise, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub (2016: 161) remarked on “the preeminent role of royal ladies in religious matters” and “the close relationship linking the imperial ladies with the imperial preceptors,” and commented that “[t]his interesting selection of texts, destined to be carved and impressed, appears as an exemplary small collection of the essential for the monastic educative program” (*ibid.*, n. 21). Indeed, these texts were part of Sa skya study curricula by the 15th c., and they were included in the list of the “eighteen texts of wide renown” (*grags chen bco brgyad*), thus it is very plausible that they were printed by Empress Bulukhan to be distributed to monasteries for study purposes.³⁰ Copies must have been brought to Central Tibet and Sa skya monastery, and, from there, the Yuan-period printed book of the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkārahāṣya* must have reached Mustang through Sa skya monastic networks. In fact, during the 15th c. the royal house of Mustang invited and supported foremost Sa skya masters such as Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po (1382–1456) and Shākya mchog ldan (1428–1507). They both travelled to the

²⁹ See Sangpo 2013: 209: | *ti shri bla ma grags pa ’od zer gyis bstan pa skyong ba’i dus su* | (...) | *sde snod ’dzin pa rnams la phul ba’i dge bas* | (...) For Grags pa ’od zer, see Petech 1990a: 73–75. The epithet *sde snod ’dzin pa* (Skt. *tripiṭakadhara*), while being occasionally employed in Tibet to characterize learned individuals, does not seem to indicate a specific group of monastics.

³⁰ Unfortunately, little is known of monastic study curricula in the earlier period. For texts and topics studied in Sa skya institutions in the 15th c., see Caumanns 2015: 39–176; Heimbrel 2017: 109–190; Jackson 2007: 348–350. The “eighteen texts of wide renown” of the Sa skya tradition were apparently codified as a textual corpus for Sa skya study curricula during the time of Red mda’ ba (1349–1412), and are listed as follows: the five treatises of Maitreya (including the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*) and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* about Prajñāpāramitā, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, the *Pramāṇavārttika*, and the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* about Pramāṇa, the *Pratimokṣasūtra* and the *Vinayasūtra* about Vinaya, the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and the *Abhidharmakośa* about Abhidharma, the *Mūlamadhyamakārikā*, the *Madhyamakāvatāra* and the *Catuḥśataka* about Madhyamaka, and, finally, the *Tshad ma rigs gter* and the *sDom gsum rab dbye* by Sa skya paṇḍita; see *Dri lan gyi yig chung* (I thank Volker Caumanns for this reference). Cf. Jackson 1987, vol. 1: 158, n. 72; Caumanns 2013: 82, n. 94. As may be seen, all known texts printed by Empress Bulukhan, except for the *Prasannapadā*, are included in this list.

Himalayan kingdom, trained disciples, and established a long lasting relationship that involved also book production and gift exchange: it is likely that Yuan and Ming period books, from the library of Sa skya monastery or from the masters' personal collections, made their way to Mustang as donations to highly born monastics and close disciples, or as bequest to the libraries of newly founded monasteries. In particular, in 1436–1437, Ngor chen renovated and expanded Namgyal monastery, renaming the new foundation Thub bstan dar rgyas gling, and provided it with a Sa skya study curriculum.³¹

The pious gift of Bulukhan, realized in the same year that she was made Empress (1299), was dedicated to the long life of the Emperor, of herself, and of their offspring, as well as to the diffusion of the Buddhist teachings throughout the realm, and to the universal attainment of supreme Awakening. However, the devoted woman's wishes for her family would not be exhausted: in fact, her son died in 1306, just six months after having been appointed heir apparent. Therefore, when the Emperor himself passed away a year later, conflict for the throne erupted. Her efforts in taking the regency and securing the throne to the candidate of her choice (prince Ananda) failed, and when Khaishan Külüg Khan (alias Wuzong 武宗, 1281–1311, r. 1307–1311) ascended the throne, she was arrested and then executed. It is interesting to note that prince Ananda was a Muslim, further evidence of the cosmopolitan character of the Mongol court, and the plural allegiances of individual nobles. In fact, the influence of Tibetan Buddhism

³¹ For the three journeys of Ngor chen to Mustang, and later exchanges between Mustang and Ngor, see Heimbrel 2007: 271–343; see especially pp. 305–308 for the foundation of Thub bstan dar rgyas gling, and 314–326 for the production of bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur manuscript copies. Note also that, on his deathbed, Ngor chen sent gifts to his disciples in Mustang (Heimbrel 2017: 383). For the monastic curriculum at Namgyal monastery, see Heimbrel 2007: 300–301; Caumanns 2015: 184–185. For the activities of Shākya mchog ldan in Mustang, see Caumanns 2015: 181–201. In the years 1474/77 in Mustang, Shākya mchog ldan supervised the printing of a set of books of the monastic curriculum, which included the *Abhisamayālamkāra*, the *Pramāṇavārttika*, the *Tshad ma rigs gter*, the *sDom gsum rab dbye* and the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*. Kun dga' grol mchog (1507–1566) remarked that the craftsmanship displayed in the carving of the latter text bore comparison with the “Chinese editions” (*'jam dpal mtshan brjod rgya par ma dang 'gran bzod de brkos shing*); see Caumanns 2015: 190–192.

remained strong at court, and Tibetan texts continued to be printed until the end of the dynasty.³²

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³² For the role of Empress Bulukhan at court, and in the conflict for the throne in 1307, see Hsiao 1994: 504–507. For the *pax mongolica* as *pax religiosa*, see Zieme 2011. For contacts between Hülegü Khan, the founder of the Ilkhanate, and Tibetan Buddhist masters, and the influence of Buddhism on the Western Mongol court, see Sperling 1990; Samten and Martin 2015, and references contained therein. For Yuan-period xylographs of Kālacakra texts dated 1351, see Sangpo 2013: 218–221 (text 8).

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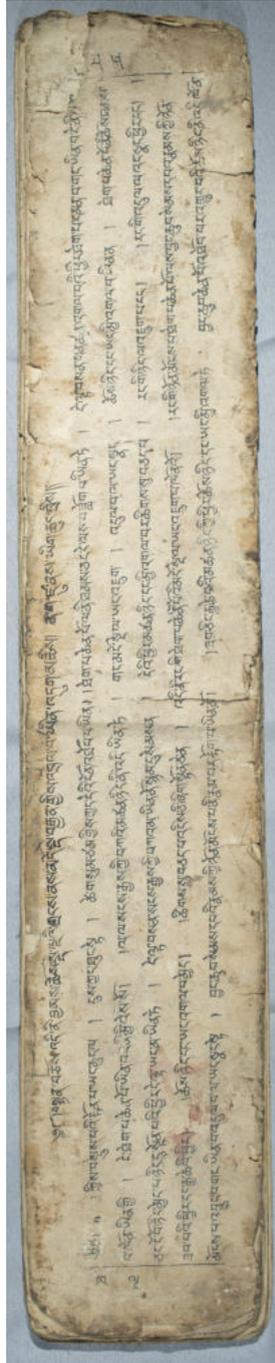


Fig. 1
mDo sde'i rgyan gyi bshad pa, fol. 5r
 (photo C. Luczanits 2019, courtesy of Namgyal Monastery)

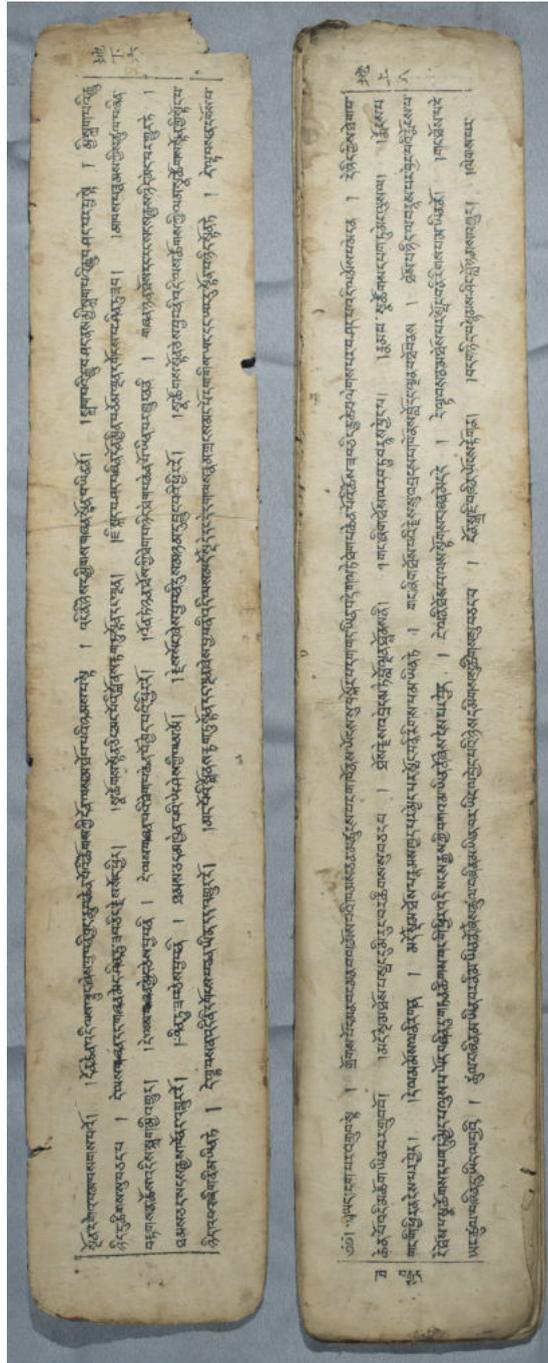


Fig. 2
mDo sde'i rgyan gyi bshad pa, fols. 7v-8r
 (photo C. Luczanits 2019, courtesy of Namgyal Monastery)



Fig. 3
mDo sde'i rgyan gyi bshad pa, fols. 7v–8r
detail of the pagination
(photo C. Luczanits 2019, courtesy of Namgyal Monastery)

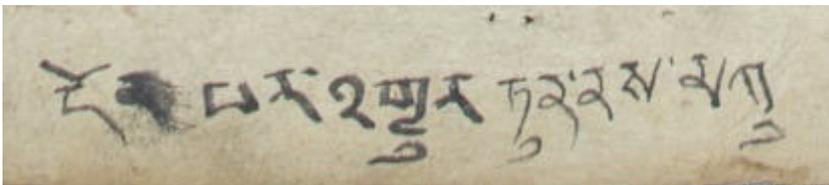


Fig. 4
mDo sde'i rgyan gyi bshad pa, fol. 27v
detail of the marginal handwritten note
(photo C. Luczanits 2019, courtesy of Namgyal Monastery)



Fig. 5
mDo sde'i rgyan gyi bshad pa, fol. 15r
detail of *mgo yig*
(photo C. Luczanits 2019, courtesy of Namgyal Monastery)



Fig. 6
mDo sde'i rgyan gyi bshad pa, fols. 8v, 13r, 31r, 140v
detail of the section break marks
(photo C. Luczanits 2019, courtesy of Namgyal Monastery)

*Remarks on Updating, Renewal, Innovation, and
Creativity in the History of some Indian and
Tibetan Knowledge Systems and Ways of Thought*

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Prologue

In much of contemporary thinking it is widely believed that innovation and creativity are disruptive forces bringing with them the destruction of the pre-existing. In its extreme expression, this view chimes with determinist progressivism and a kind of cultural eugenics. Accepted as a model among economists (though no doubt not by all economists), the idea of destructive innovation has acquired wide currency. It is now practically a hallmark of modernity in so far as the latter is understood as being antithetical to tradition. And it has even become a model with which investigators in the humanities are often expected to operate. It is as if a law of evolution decreed that the old “corporation” of tradition must make way for new “start-ups” producing some stipulated form of innovation.

In the study of Indian thought—and in accord with the old fictional notion of an Unchanging East—tradition and innovation are sometimes seen as antithetical. In Part I of this paper it may be useful, therefore, to survey some Indian ideas of the new and/or innovative, and of renewal and/or rupture, as found in certain

Indian philosophical traditions and knowledge systems. Instances will also be considered where creative intellectual development and linear and progressive chronological periodization have been admitted, either explicitly or implicitly, in Indian and Tibetan Buddhist thought.

When operating within the frame of traditional thinking, innovation may be regarded as consisting essentially in updating—a kind of “aggiornamento”—and in accommodation to new audiences in changing historical and cultural situations. (Compare, and contrast, the idea of *upāyakaśālyā* “expertness in salvific means” in Buddhist thought.) Innovation may then be regarded not as disruptive or destructive but as in some way incremental and cumulative in relation to pre-existing tradition. In connexion with updating and accommodation, Buddhist thinkers developed a hermeneutics (not just a defensive or justificatory apologetics, be it noted!) that underpins both the continuity and the renewal of a tradition. Novelty for its own sake was something generally rejected as inauthentic and as wilfully arbitrary. Still, the processes of renewal and innovation may necessitate reconfiguration—a rebalancing and altered equilibrium—inside a historically developing tradition. And Indian sources do at times show that newness has been explicitly claimed and favourably regarded, for instance in the case of Navyanyāya or the “New Logic;” more generally, however, it was received critically and hesitatingly or repudiated altogether when it was judged to be nothing but novelty.

In India tradition has not automatically and necessarily excluded updating. A measure of innovation and creativity is also recognized. Part II of the present paper considers four distinct kinds of innovation and creativity within Buddhist traditions in India and Tibet.

In principle, a given content and its exposition may sometimes appear to be new and innovative (case 1). This characterization describes the Buddhist Pramāṇa-school of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, a line of thought in logic and epistemology that was, however, by no means intent on throwing “traditional” Buddhism overboard. This case might be described as an instance of new wine in a new bottle, yet one where the new vintage is meant to satisfy a continuing taste in the shape of old requirements and traditional themes.

On the other hand, it sometimes happens either that traditional contents have been reconfigured in a renewed form—old wine in a new bottle as it were—or that, conversely, a new development has been expressed in what was a quite traditional form—new wine in an old bottle so to speak. In either case, innovation is incremental and cumulative, albeit in different ways. Philosophically and historically, the first of these two cases can be exemplified by later Mādhyamika thinkers who employed instruments drawn from the logic and epistemology of the Pramāṇa-school (Tib. *tshad ma*) for the purpose of expounding and explicating Madhyamaka thought going back to Nāgārjuna and beyond (case 2a). Such is found in the Madhyamaka writings of Bhāviveka (6th c.) and Śāntarakṣita (8th c.). It can be further documented by comparing Candrakīrti's (probably 7th c.) treatises on (*Prāsaṅgi-ka-)Madhyamaka with Tsoñ kha pa's (1357–1419) works on the subject. As for the second situation (case 2b), it can sometimes be controversial and attended by polemics; followers of old forms—of familiar “tradition”—might simply be rejecting the new as being arbitrary substitution and inauthentic supplantation. (Mahāyāna has been so regarded by some so-called “Hīnayānists,” i.e., by certain followers of Śrāvakayānist schools.)

Finally, it has happened that what might be regarded as the new and innovative is internalized and integrated, more or less thoroughly if not entirely seamlessly, into a tradition, in which case it may indeed be deeply rooted in the old. This appears to be what happened in the case of the doctrine of the so to speak “buddhamorphic” *tathāgatagarbha* (case 3). This doctrine is indeed linked to the ancient Buddhist notion of the *prabhāsvaraṃ cittam* (*sems 'od gsal ba*) “luminous mind” attested already in the old Buddhist canon; it can be linked, too, with the ideas of *gotra* and *buddhabīja* or *buddhāṅkura*, the “buddha-seed” known also from some Pali texts. Reprising the oenological metaphor, this situation could perhaps be described as new wine from old-established vines.

In Buddhist sources, varying hermeneutical approaches to the *tathāgatagarbha/prakṛtisthagotra* doctrine can be identified. Interpreters of *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine have regarded it as forming part of the third and final period in the teaching of the Buddha. But its exact relationship to the doxographers' second period of

the teaching represented by Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, in which (*svabhāva*)*sūnyatā* was explicitly taught, then became moot and a crucial problem for philosophy and hermeneutics. Certain hermeneuts saw *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine as a chronologically final teaching that was also definitive in sense (*nītārtha*, Tib. *ñes don*), and as thus superseding the teaching given in the middle period on the Emptiness of self-existence (*svabhāvasūnyatā*, Tib. *rañ stoñ*), with which it appears to be in conflict and which is judged, therefore, to be only provisional in sense (*neyārtha*, Tib. *drañ don*) (case 3a). Many Tibetan gZan stoñ pas later inclined to such a view. On the contrary, according to another group of interpreters, it is the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine that is to be regarded as provisional and “intentional” in sense (*ābhiprāyika*, Tib. *dgoñs pa can*) inasmuch as it was intended for a particular audience, such as trainees (*vineya*) who would be terrified by the explicit teaching of the Emptiness of self-existence or non-substantiality (*niḥsvabhāvatā*) (case 3b). Among sources cited for this second view of the matter are the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and Candrakīrti’s *Madhyamakāvatāra*. In Tibet, proponents of this view in some form were important and respected masters such as Sa skya paṇḍi ta Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) and Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364). But a third group of interpreters held both of these doctrines to be definitive in sense and “non-intentional.” For them, the doctrine of *tathāgatagarbha* attached by doxographers to the third period of the teaching and the doctrine of *sūnyatā* attached by them to the second period are in fact only *prima facie* non-concordant. In reality, they are (as it were asymptotically) convergent—i.e., in ultimate hermeneutical harmony—yet complementary and non-redundant because they are assignable to two distinct periods of the Buddha’s teaching having distinct purposes or motives (*prayojana*, Tib. *dgos pa*). These hermeneuts would affirm that *tathāgatagarbha* is *sūnyatā* (but, very significantly, without asserting the reverse proposition “**sūnyatā* is *tathāgatagarbha*”), with the two factors being described as being “co-referential” (*ekārtha*) (case 3c). Advocates of this last interpretation were Tibetan masters such as rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432) and Guñ than dKon mchog bsTan pa’i sgron me (1762–1823), who are classified doxographically as Rañ stoñ pas following the *Prāsaṅgika branch of Madhyamaka. In the abstract, the last interpretation might per-

haps seem the most innovative and, indeed, creative. But given the philosophical and hermeneutical complexity of the topic—and of our sources, too—it is difficult to discern a progressive linear evolution between the two doctrines. It might even be argued that Nāgārjuna himself had already admitted both these views in parallel, one in his apagogic and deconstructivist “Analytic Corpus” (the Rigs tshogs of the Tibetan doxographers) of writings expounding a *rañ stoñ* approach and the other in his constructivist and cataphatic “Hymnic Corpus” (the bsTod tshogs of these doxographers) expounding an approach closer to *gžan stoñ*. By their respective proponents, both the *gžan stoñ pa* and the *rañ stoñ pa* interpretations of the matter were held to be supported by the fact that the fundamental Sanskrit *śāstra* relating to *tathāgatagarbha*—the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and its great Sanskrit commentary—might be read as validating their respective views. (*Prima facie* at least, this *śāstra* is perhaps more readily understood in the sense of *gžan stoñ*.)

Views opposing complementarity and (asymptotic) convergence to real incompatibility and non-convergence of the two doctrines at issue—namely *svabhāvaśūnyatā* assigned to the second period of the teaching and *tathāgatagarbha* assigned to the third and final period of the teaching—have thus been historically attested in varying forms, modalities and configurations depending on the philosophical presuppositions and hermeneutical methods adopted by different thinkers and what they accentuated in their tradition. It appears, then, that the innovative and the new may be integrated—or perhaps just harmonized—with the old and traditional in varying ways. Tradition is indeed anything but static and frozen; it may show very considerable internal dynamism, and resilience in changing circumstances. In the course of its renewal or updating, moreover, a tradition may later pick up old material not yet fully actualized and exploited in its earlier stages; and it may contain seeds which come to visible fruition only at a later time, in the course of the development of the tradition. Thus a creative innovation held *prima facie* to be non-iterative and destructive may on occasion turn out to be (at least to a very important extent) incremental and cumulative, that is, an updating or renewal rather than a total rupture with the old and “traditional.” In the case of *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine, its origins and antecedents appear in fact to be ancient, and indeed “traditional,” in so far as

it represents a development of the old canonical idea of the *prabhāsvaram cittaṃ* referred to above.

Incidentally, the tension at issue here between gradual and incremental innovation on the one side and rupture on the other side is in some respects reminiscent of, and parallel to, the contrast mapped out, in a very different context, between the Gradual (*kramaṇa/kramāt, rim gyis*) and the Simultaneous (*yugapad, [g]cig c[h]ar*) in the description of spiritual progression, notwithstanding the fact that the latter two systems are situated on a different analytical axis, with the first being characterized in terms of progressive development whilst the second is characterized as “simultaneous,” i.e., extra-temporal, instantaneous and even spontaneous. This particular opposition between progressivity and rupture found expression in the Great Debate of bSam yas (Central Tibet) c. 800 CE and has been explored by the present writer in *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism* (1989).

In this paper, it will be of interest to consider also how some knowledge systems and ways of thought in India and Tibet have themselves regarded updating, renewal, innovation, and creativity. Some of these processes involved changes of horizon while retaining a recognizable connexion with the relevant tradition; others represented paradigm shifts and alterations in systemic equilibrium and philosophical configuration while also remaining recognizably attached to tradition. In either case it has to be kept in mind that Buddhist philosophical thought has regularly conjoined tradition (*āgama = luñ*) and reasoning (*yukti = rigs pa*), the latter fostering both updating and creativity within tradition.

As is to be expected, the impulse for innovation could come not only from outside a tradition but also from internal problems or a theoretical disequilibrium arising at some point within the history of a theory or doctrine. A need for updating may thus result either from an external influence or from a systemic imbalance due to internal theoretical problems.

In summary, the radical binary opposition of tradition to innovation and creativity has only limited applicability when considering developments in Indian and Tibetan knowledge systems and ways of thought. These tend to be largely incremental and cumulative, with finely honed exegetical and hermeneutical instruments being brought to bear to permit updating, renewal, innova-

tion and creativity within the frame of tradition. Here development cannot, therefore, be described simply in terms of the model “tradition vs. innovation.” Instead of necessarily adhering to a model of destruction and substitution, which presupposes discrete, sequential stages of stasis and will be pertinent only occasionally, it is appropriate to think in terms of a dynamic where tradition may innovate creatively by rethinking and rebalancing when, in the course of its long and complex history, intellectual or other cultural forces disturb a former equilibrium.

This exploratory paper is offered in honour of Professor Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, whose writings have led to the better understanding of the humanistic significance of intercultural study relating to the civilizations of India and Tibet and of Buddhism, and in appreciation of her eminent contribution during her term as president of the International Association of Buddhist Studies.

PART I. SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE THEME OF
TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN INDIAN AND TIBETAN THOUGHT

1. The Problem in Indian and Tibetan Perspectives

Several years ago an Indological research project was launched with the express purpose of describing and evaluating later products in Indian intellectual history belonging to Sanskrit “knowledge systems.” The latter correspond approximately to what are known in Sanskrit as *śāstras* or *vidyāsthānas* and include much of what was called *ānvīkṣikī* “investigative (science).”¹ The attention of researchers participating in the project was directed in particular to the domains of logic and epistemology, grammar, poetics and literary aesthetics, mathematics and astronomy, and medicine. Emphasis was thus placed on areas of Indian thought deemed to be neither purely religious nor religio-philosophical in character.² The project, entitled “Sanskrit knowledge systems on the eve of

¹ On this notion see Preisendanz 2000 and 2008a.

² See Pollock 2001a, 2001b, and 2002. For a critical discussion see Hanneder 2002. It may be noticed by the way that, according to a famous Indian chronicler,

colonialism” has occasioned symposia, such as the one entitled “Theory and method in Indian intellectual history” in Paris in 2004. It has also borne fruit in the shape of a number of published articles (for example in the *Journal of Indian Philosophy* [JIP] 30/5 [2002], 33/1 [2005] and 36/5–6 [2008]).

The reason for the restriction “on the eve of colonialism”—i.e., down to the seventeenth/eighteenth century—is perhaps not altogether clear. This prospective, indeed proleptic, description was apparently adopted not because a philosophical notion of backwards, or teleological, causation was being subscribed to, but because it could be thought that the knowledge systems, or *śāstras*, in question had by then been in existence in some form for many centuries, and that the issues of continuity and change, tradition and innovation/originality, could advantageously be examined within this particular frame of reference, the more so since the impact of European sciences starting in the eighteenth century was soon to produce an intellectual break in the Indian world. From that time onwards Indian thinkers began to be progressively integrated into the more or less globalized network of what is now termed modernity. An article on Navyanyāya in JIP 33 by K. Preisendanz (2005) thus covered the period from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century; other articles from the same 2004 symposium also covered a fairly long time-span ending about the same time. With such a description, the problems attaching to any more

contemplation of the vicissitudes of life, if expressed in appropriate literary form, can touch the “heart” and induce in the cultivated reader the aesthetic feeling (*rasa*) of pacification (*śānta*, which can thus lead to spiritual liberation). See vv. 21–24 of the prologue in Kalhaṇa’s *Rajataranṅgiṇī*, where such a historical-literary composition is likened to a medicine (*bhaiṣajya*). In verses 3–5 Kalhaṇa has described the qualities of the excellent chronicler-poet, i.e., a *kavi* possessing poetic inventiveness/inspiration (*pratibhā*) enabling him to “see” *bhāvas*—matters and/or emotions—to be experienced by all (cf. Slaje 2008a and 2008b: 318–319, 327). It thus appears that, in the right hands, a literary composition on factual history, which is by definition secular, may assume a literary-aesthetic dimension ultimately possessing soteriological value, and hence that, in India, no hard and fast line separating the secular from the religious was always and necessarily present (see also below). History does not figure as a distinct literary genre among the major *vidyāsthānas* (although it may share its [sometimes semi-legendary] historical subject matter with the minor one of drama or *nāṭaka*, and more especially with quasi historical *kāvya*).

or less essentialist periodization must be borne in mind: continuities of course persist despite apparent rupture.

The description of the Project as being concerned with Sanskrit knowledge systems was seemingly straightforward and justified by the fact that the documents to be considered in it were mainly composed in that language which, until the nineteenth century, was the *lingua franca* of Brahmanical intellectuals in India, however diverse their regional origins might in fact have been.³ No account was, therefore, to be taken of the fact that Sanskrit intellectual life in both the religio-philosophical and secular areas was being continued to a not inconsiderable extent both among Tibetan religious scholars as inheritors of Buddhism—that tradition of Indian origin which, in India, came regularly to use Sanskrit as its vehicle of expression—and even among some Tibetan laymen. In Tibet this activity was mostly conducted in a form of Tibetan that was moulded by the Sanskrit language in both its syntax and terminology. The situation in Tibet may be compared (and also contrasted) with the study and cultivation of Greek and Roman civilization starting with the Renaissance in Christian Italy and Northern Europe. A significant difference lies in the fact that, while being well aware of their distinctive history and ethnicity, Tibetans very often felt a sense of deeply rooted religious continuity with their Indian Buddhist teachers, sources and models (see below).

Numerous Tibetans were thus to cultivate and continue Sanskritic culture, albeit mostly in Tibetan linguistic garb.⁴ Once they reached Tibet, the Indian knowledge systems and ways of thought in question can for this reason be appropriately described as Sanskritic (rather than as Sanskrit); they might, moreover, be

³ It is to be noted that, in India, an Islamicate version of Ptolemaic astronomy and European astronomy was, for a time, taught and transmitted in Sanskrit. See Pingree 1981: 30–31.

⁴ For principles governing the translation from an Indian language into Tibetan and Mongolian as set out by lCañ skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786), see Seyfort Ruegg 1973b and 2016. These principles of translation go back to the *sGra sbyor bam po gn̄is pa* officially promulgated in Tibet in the early ninth century; for this work which includes a bilingual lexicon, see Seyfort Ruegg 1998. For an important early “Sanskritic” treatise on doxography composed in Tibetan, see Seyfort Ruegg 1981a.

described as Indic (if not as Indian in the narrow and strictest sense).⁵

This Project has demonstrated how several of the Indian scholarly authors falling within its scope made use in their respective traditions of the idea of the new, as in Navyanyāya, so that a differentiation between “new”—the *nūtana*, *ādhunika* (cf. *arvācīna*)—and “old”—the *prācīna*, *cirantana*, etc.—was able to become a defining feature in a later phase of several of these knowledge systems. A distinction between “new” and “old” is found also in the history of Indian ritual thought or (Pūrva-)Mīmāṃsā and in the science of poetics and literary aesthetics or Alaṃkāraśāstra.⁶

In the course of the Project, several features characterizing these later Indian sciences or knowledge systems have been identified, for example historical awareness and self-consciousness (at least as compared with the basically timeless outlook of so many earlier works belonging to the same traditions) and the decision

⁵ Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 2004a: 321ff., where the “Indic” (i.e., what is typologically Indian although not actually attested in an extant Indian source) is distinguished from the “Indian” (i.e., what is historically attested in a source of Indian origin), both being describable (albeit in differing ways) as “Sanskritic.”

⁶ In his *Materials for the study of Navya-Nyāya logic* (1951: 5), D. Ingalls wrote: “This term New Nyāya is not to be understood as implying any great originality in theory on Gaṅgeśa’s part, but rather an originality in method. The great revolution in the doctrines of the school come with Raghunātha.” For “New” Alaṃkāraśāstra, see Tubb and Bronner 2008. An example taken from Viśveśvara’s (18th c.) *Alaṃkāraustubha* relating to the definition of *upamā* “simile” has been examined by K. Bhattacharya (2010: 38–39). For a “New” Mīmāṃsā, see McCrea 2008. For a Neo-Āyurveda see n. 43 below. Concerning the “new” path of the philosophy of Pratyabhijñā, see Utpaladeva, *Īśvaraṣṭyabhijñānākārikā* 4:16 (*iti prakāṭito mayā sughaṭa eṣa mārgo navo mahāgurubhir ucyate sma śivadyṣṭiśāstre yathā* [...]), referring to Somānanda’s seminal treatise; going back as it does to Somānanda (and indeed to Śiva), this Śaiva doctrine itself is not exactly new, but Utpaladeva’s easily understandable exposition thereof is declared to be so. Instead of self-description as “new,” however, reference is also made in later Indian tradition to an *unmajjana* “(re)surfacing, (re)emergence,” and so “restoration;” see, e.g., the *vaiyākaraṇamattonmajjana* in the case of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, referred to by J. Bronkhorst (2005: 16). The idea of *unmajjana* is related to that of *uddhāra/samuddharaṇa* “extraction, restoration.” The older Nyāya master Jayantabhaṭṭa (c. ninth century) in fact questioned the possibility of conceiving anything truly new and preferred to speak of a diversified form of words being offered by himself for the consideration and delectation of scholars (*Nyāyamañjarī*, verse 8): *kuto vā nūtanaṃ vastu vāyam utprekṣitum kṣamāḥ | vacovinyāsavaicitryamātram atra vicāryatām* ||. This was the stance of most traditional scholars, Indian and Tibetan.

taken by some of their representatives to turn from mainly writing commentaries on the foundational texts (*mūla*) of their tradition(s), together with subcommentaries and supercommentaries, to composing more or less extensive independent works on fundamental, and sometimes disputed, topics—only for commentaries to come into fashion once again in a further, third, phase of a tradition’s history.⁷

2. Innovation in Commentarial Exegesis and *utsūtra* Interpretation

A Sanskrit term for commentarial practice involving innovative exegesis is *utsūtra* interpretation. The term *utsūtra* “deviating from the foundational text”—that is, in effect, text-transcendent as opposed to text-immanent—concerns cases where a commentator or interpreter steps beyond the limits and purview of the source text (*mūla*) of his tradition upon which he is commenting by introducing ideas and developments standing outside or deviating from what was the meaning of this source text and its author’s intention as expressed in it. It was precisely in commentary in general that so many important developments in the history of Indian philosophical and śāstraic thought are to be found. Strictly speaking, in itself, *utsūtra* is not a term expressing censure. But an opponent of a commentator who has resorted to *utsūtra* interpretation that departs from the meaning of the text commented upon could object that this commentator was going well beyond the legitimate remit of the reliable interpreter and that, in so doing, he had injected into the *śāstra* unwarranted ideas and novel developments that were his own and did not belong to its tradition.

The term corresponds in part to what is covered by the Tibetan notion of *rañ bzo* “personal and novel creation,” a term which is, however, usually derogatory. While *utsūtra* interpretation might be permissible provided that it is solidly grounded in well-established and sound exegetical and hermeneutical methods, *rañ bzo* was generally rejected in Tibet.⁸ Further reference to the matter of *rañ bzo* will be made below when discussing creativity, innova-

⁷ See Preisendanz 2005: 64ff., 69–70, 76, 80.

⁸ Some aspects of *utsūtra* interpretation have been discussed in Seyfort Ruegg 1985: 312, 321, and Seyfort Ruegg 1990: 61. Concerning the expression *rañ bzo*, it

tion (continuous or non-iterative) and novelty in relation to tradition and conservatism.

It is possible to regard the basic text—a *mūla*—of a learned tradition as expressive of the innovating part of that tradition, and its commentaries as only epigonal. Yet the *mūla* could also be, and was in fact, a point of departure for creativity in the following tradition, including already even in an autocommentary. But in the tapestry that is a tradition, the warp of the *mūla* and the weft of commentary have related to each other variously in different situations. At all events, the fundamental part so often played by a major commentary of the *bhāṣya* and *vytti* type in particular, and not only a *svavytti* or auto-commentary, in the establishment and explication of a tradition can hardly be overstated.

3. On Comparable and Parallel Developments in a Knowledge System or Way of Thought Cultivated in both India and Tibet

Certain later developments in Tibetan thought are found to run parallel to more or less closely contemporaneous developments in India, and the question may arise as to whether the former are dependent on the latter. These later developments in the history of some Tibetan knowledge systems and ways of thought are to be seen in the context of the Tibetan internalization and extensive utilization of older, classical, Indian scholarship—*pāṇḍitya*—by scholars such as Sa skya paṇḍi ta Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Sa paṇ), for example in his renowned manual for scholars entitled *mKhas pa mams 'jug pa'i sgo*. This work documents the extent to which at least some Tibetan scholars might possibly be described as Indologists *avant la lettre*.⁹ It will be a task for future research to

is interesting to note that together with *rañ bzor byas pa* “(poetic) creation” it was used to translate Skt. *kāvya*—i.e., what is neither Sūtra nor Vinaya nor Abhidharma—; a *rañ bzo mkhan* is then a *kavi* (= *sñan dñags byed pa*) “poet.” In Prajñākaramati’s comment on the expression *yathāgamam* in *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1:1, Tib. *rañ bzor rtsom pa spon ba* renders Skt. *svātantryaparihāra* “avoidance of independence (i.e., what is ungrounded in tradition).” The rejection of *rañ bzo* is no doubt related to the *pratisaraṇa* (*rton pa*) following which it is *dharma* rather than an individual (*pudgala*) to which one must have recourse. (Tibetan *gter ma* seems to represent only an apparent exception to the rejection of *rañ bzo* inasmuch as “Treasure Texts” are considered to stem from a major master held to be reliable and authoritative, and who was regarded as a fountainhead of tradition.)

⁹ On the spiritual and temporal components—the “religious” and “secu-

explore in detail just how far the Tibetan side might have been influenced, in the course of later developments in a branch of knowledge, by at least partly comparable later developments in Indian scholarship in the *sāstras*. In this place it may be useful simply to point out that comparable tendencies became increasingly apparent in Tibetan works dating from early in the “Second Propagation” [*phyi dar*] of the Buddhist Dharma in that country beginning in the eleventh century.

The extent to which an interest in history among Tibetan writers was intrinsic to their culture—as reinforced to a greater or lesser extent by contacts with China, a country with a strong and well-known tradition of historical writing—is perhaps not entirely certain and still requires further elucidation.¹⁰ It may be that, having once reached a certain advanced stage of development, a traditional science or knowledge system tends to become increasingly aware of its own history, whilst in its earlier expressions, in particular in its foundational texts, that science had appeared as a sort of *philosophia perennis* outside the frame of time and the contingencies of history. At all events, by fairly early in the second millennium, historical awareness of its traditions was becoming clearly manifest in some Tibetan traditions. For any given development or innovation in an Indo-Tibetan science, chronological priority respecting a given feature will of course belong either to Indian or to Tibetan thinkers according to the particular case under consideration; a presumption of priority no doubt rests generally on the Indian side.

4. Continuity and Change in Indian and Tibetan Philosophical Thought

An important literary genre in Tibet is made up of doxographic works that set out, classify and examine the Indian (or Indo-Tibetan) philosophical doctrines of Buddhism. These are known as *Grub mtha'* (= *siddhānta*) treatises, and sometimes also as the

lar”—in Tibetan civilization and literature, very much of it deriving from Indian sources or models, see below, and Seyfort Ruegg 1995, Part 2. Cf. also Gold 2007. For Sa paṅ's mKhas 'jug, see Jackson 1987.

¹⁰ O. von Hinüber has suggested that in ancient India Buddhists were innovators in writing an account of a historical event, taking as his example the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* in the *Dīghanikāya*. See von Hinüber 2009: 65.

lTa ba (= *darśana*) genre.¹¹ These Tibetan compositions correspond roughly to Indian works such as the Jaina Haribhadrasūri's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* and Mādhava's *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. One of the very earliest Tibetan representatives of this category, Ye šes sde's *lTa ba'i khyad par* (c. 800), is only slightly more recent than Haribhadra's work just mentioned. Being more historically oriented, this Tibetan doxographical genre is, however, somewhat different from comparable Indian treatises, including Buddhist works such as Bhāviveka's sixth-century *Madhyamakahrdayakārikās* (with the *Tarkajvālā* commentary) or Śāntarakṣita's late eighth-century *Tattvasamgraha*, two works that are also in large part doxographical and could be seen, at least in part, as Indian forerunners if not models of the Tibetan *Grub mtha'* genre. The structure of texts of this Tibetan doxographical genre is noteworthy, the treatment of a doctrine consisting of (i) the statement of a preliminary view (the *pūrvapakṣa*), (ii) an analysis and refutation of this view, (iii) the statement of the final view preferred by the proponent (the *siddhānta*), and, eventually, (iv) further discussion of the topic together with a refutation of objections. This structure is reminiscent of many Sanskrit *śāstra* treatises; but compared with their Sanskrit forerunners Tibetan works of the doxographical category very often display a pronounced interest in chronology and historical matters. Scholastic and doxographic treatment of topics in the treatises does not necessarily exclude the philosophically creative (and hence the potentially innovative).¹²

¹¹ See Mimaki 1982 and 1994.

¹² See Preisendanz 2008: 606ff. Zimmermann (2008: 647) has preferred the distinction "explanation"/ "interpretation" (cf. *exetasis/theoria*) to "doxographic(al)"/"creative." The present writer would agree, in particular if to "interpretation" is added the qualification "hermeneutical." It has become something of an unexamined commonplace to regard tradition and creativity as antithetical, as in the title of the conference volume *Conflict between tradition and creativity in Indian philosophy* (Wada 2006). But it appears that this opposition is in urgent need of reconsideration and reformulation; for it appears that there can exist creativity within tradition as well as creativity against tradition. Compare recently McCrea and Patil 2006. In Tibet, efforts to formulate a doxography of the three periods of the Buddha's teaching (*chos kyi 'khor lo*) postulated by Buddhist scholastics led to a good deal of creative hermeneutical philosophizing within the frame of tradition, for example in the interpretation of the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine (see Part II/1 of the present paper, pp. 601ff.).

In the history of the Indo-Tibetan Madhyamaka, it is possible to document both change and continuity by comparing two important “prolegomena” to Madhyamaka thought. The first, from India, is Candrakīrti’s (seventh century) extensive discussion in his *Prasannapadā* of some general philosophical issues inserted in his comment on the first verse of Chapter 1 of Nāgārjuna’s *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*. The second, from Tibet, is the *dKa’ gnad brgyad kyi zin bris* going back to Tsoñ kha pa’s teaching as recorded by his disciple rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432), which identifies and discusses eight crucial points in Madhyamaka thought. Comparison of these texts on Madhyamaka separated by some eight hundred years reveals continuity constituted by a number of themes as well as change relating to form (expository style) and to methodology and contents (i.e., the topics and issues treated).¹³ Tsoñ kha pa’s understanding of Madhyamaka reflects this Tibetan thinker’s deep-going philosophical exegesis and hermeneutical “reading” of two foundational Indian works of his school, namely Nāgārjuna’s *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* and Candrakīrti’s *Prasannapadā Mūlamadhyamakavṛttiḥ*, and his incorporation into it of later philosophical materials (notably from the Pramāṇa school of Buddhism).

A feature that sometimes characterizes certain developments in Indo-Tibetan knowledge systems is a concern with philological and textual issues.¹⁴ Tibetan scholasticism has on occasion shown awareness of the significance of variant readings and parallel Tibetan translations of the same Indian source. These concerns seem to have grown with time. It is demonstrated in eighteenth and nineteenth century works from the Bla brañ bKra šis ’khyil monastic seminary in A mdo province, even though examples are to be found earlier and elsewhere also. Interest in grammatical and lexicographical matters has been characteristic of large portions of Indian and Tibetan scholarly tradition from early times (see below).

The opposition between “Ancients” and “Moderns” has not taken a totally identical form in India and Tibet. Originality of a personal kind ungrounded in tradition—i.e., novelty, called

¹³ See Seyfort Ruegg 2002.

¹⁴ See Preisendanz 2005: 81, 84, 86.

ran bzo in Tibetan—was frowned upon by Tibetan scholars, even though creative thinking within tradition, and a decidedly hermeneutical stance in it, has in fact been well represented there. Like Jayantabhaṭṭa (cited above in note 6) and other Indian authors, a Tibetan scholar would not usually describe his own contribution to his school's tradition as “new.”

As an exception mention might be made of the “New bKa' gdams” (*bka' gdams gsar ma*)—a name of the dGa' ldan pa/dGe lugs pa school (*chos lugs*) which descends from Tsoñ kha pa (1357–1419). But this school is in fact regarded as continuing the bKa' gdams pa tradition going back to Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (Atiṣa, 982–1054) and his great disciple 'Brom ston; and Atiṣa indeed continued to be regarded by the dGa' ldan pas as one of their chief and foremost spiritual ancestors. This exception is, then, more apparent than real, the word “new” being intended here to refer to chronological sequence and continuity through time rather than to any real rupture.

When a great master came to be regarded as the initiator of a movement, however, he could be referred to in Tibetan as a “way-opener” or “path-breaker” (for a religious Vehicle, *śiñ rta'i srol 'byed*), as was Tsoñ kha pa.¹⁵

Concerning the well-known Tibetan distinction between rñiñ ma (pa) and gSar ma (pa), it refers respectively to “old-transla-

¹⁵ The “vehicle” (*śiñ rta = ratha*) in question is a religio-philosophical way of thought and practice such as, in India, the Madhyamaka (whose path-breaker, or initiator, was Nāgārjuna) and the Vijñānavāda/Cittamātra (whose path-breaker was Asaṅga), or, in Tibet, the dGa' ldan pa chos lugs (whose *śiñ rta'i srol 'byed* or path-breaker was Tsoñ kha pa). In fact the “vehicle” being referred to is regarded as going back ultimately to the Buddha himself, the function of a later “path-breaker” being then to make explicit, and/or to explain in detail, the relevant “thought” or “intention” (*dgoñs pa*) of the Buddha, which had hitherto remained inexplicit and/or unexplained. The Buddha is thus placed at the head of each such Buddhist religio-philosophical tradition. But for the Indian secular sciences integrated in Buddhist culture, this is, of course, not the case. In Brahmanism it is a Ṛṣi, or eventually Īśvara, who occupies this place. Compare the final verse in Vātsyāyana's *Nyāyabhāṣya* where the highly meaningful verb *prati-bhā-* “to flash forth inspirationally in the mind” relates to the Ṛṣi and Muni Akṣapāda as the source of the Nyāyadarśana and the author of the *Nyāyasūtras*; the causative verb *vartay-* “to cause to proceed” has as its subject the commentator, the author of the *Bhāṣya*: *yo 'kṣapādam ṛṣiṃ nyāyah pratyabhād vadatām varam | tasya vātsyāyana idam bhāṣyajātam avartayat ||*.

tion” (*sña ’gyur*) traditions belonging to the “Early Propagation” (*sña dar*) of the Dharma in the time of the Old Tibetan Empire and to “later-translation” (*phyi ’gyur*) traditions in the “Later Propagation” (*phyi dar*) of the Dharma starting from the beginning of the second millennium, after the break-up of the Old Tibetan Empire. This division does not, then, appear to refer to two distinct and separate stages within a spiritual tradition that would result from the appearance of innovation amounting to rupture but, simply, to two successive chronologically defined strands within Tibetan Buddhism.¹⁶

5. “Worldly” and “Transworldly” Knowledge Systems (*sāstra*, *vidyāsthāna*)

In Indian and Indo-Tibetan Buddhism there exists an important division between “worldly” or “mundane” (*laukika* = *’jig rten pa*) sciences, sometimes described as “external” (*bāhyaka*), on the one side, and the religio-philosophical science classified as “transmundane” (*lokottara* = *’jig rten las ’das pa*), and also as inner (*adhyātma-vidyā*), on the other side. This differentiation between the *laukika* and the *lokottara* is somewhat more subtle than might perhaps appear at first sight.¹⁷ The worldly or “secular” *vidyāsthānas*—namely the Indian (and Indo-Tibetan) sciences or knowledge systems of grammar, poetics, medicine as well as of eristics (*vāda*) and epistemology (*pramāṇavidyā*)—in fact formed an important and recognized component of the education and culture of a Buddhist scholar, and in particular of the *bodhisattva*. They were regarded as essential and necessary auxiliary sciences, complementing what was the Buddhist religio-philosophical branch of

¹⁶ In Buddhist literature there is attested the compound word *navayāna*, and the question arose as to just what it denoted. In the commentary to *Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra* 1:153, we find the compound *navayānasamprasthita* qualifying certain *bodhisattvas*; but the meaning then is “newly set out in [his] Vehicle” (Tib. *theg pa la gsar du žugs pa*)—used of a “young,” i.e., beginner, *bodhisattva*—rather than “set out in a new Vehicle.” In (Deutero-) Āryadeva’s *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* 1, there is found the word *navayāna* (Tib. *theg pa [g]sar pa*) in apposition with *ekasmytisamādhi*, and following a reference to *buddhayānāsāya*; the precise sense of the expression here is not totally clear to the present writer.

¹⁷ Cf. Minkowski 2008: 588 and Zimmermann 2008: 645f.

knowledge in the strict sense, namely *adhyātmaśāstra* (*nañ rig*).¹⁸ In Buddhist thought and practice, moreover, the distinction between the worldly (*laukika*) and the transmundane (*lokottara*) is not infrequently a dynamic rather than a static one, the former being capable of being so to speak translated, or trans-valued, on to the level of the latter.¹⁹ From among the “external” or “secular” sciences (*bāhyaka śāstra*), logic-cum-epistemology (*pramāṇavidyā = tshad ma*) was for instance promoted by certain Buddhist thinkers to a position making it an “inner” science having a soteriological function.²⁰

In the classical forms of Indian and Tibetan civilization with which this paper is mainly concerned, the integration of the “secular”—the “worldly” or *laukika*—is not essentially and of necessity linked with processes of up-dating and innovation: both Indian and Indo-Tibetan Buddhism have usually (if perhaps not invariably) found a place in their world-views for the “worldly” or mundane, inclusive of the “secular.” (In these traditions, at all events, the “religious” and the “profane” were not radically dissociated from each other.)

¹⁸ Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1995a. This literature is included in the standard Tibetan collection of *śāstras* in translation, the bsTan ’gyur. Already in the royal period, the lHan/lDan dkar ma catalogue of books kept in the citadel known as the sToñ than ldan dkar includes a section containing Buddhist texts on logic (*tarka’i phyogs*); see Lalou 1953: 336 and Frauwallner 1957. No such section is found in the *dKar chag ’Phaṅ than ma*.

¹⁹ The relationship in India between Buddhism and Brahmanism/Hinduism has all too often been presented chiefly in terms of borrowing, principally by the former from the latter. In the domain of religion and Tantra, this “borrowing” was assumed to have been made mostly by Buddhists from Śaivism. In the areas of philosophy, logic and epistemology it has also been suggested that influences, impact and appropriation also proceeded from Buddhism to Śaiva thought; see recently Ratié 2015. Analysing this complex matter mainly in terms of borrowing seems altogether inadequate, however. “Borrowing” there may very well have been on occasion, but that was not the whole and the only story. By their Indian birthright and education, Buddhist and Brahmanical scholars very often shared a common cultural background; and some shared systems of thought and *śāstras*, at least on what a Buddhist would call the level of the *laukika*, however much the two groups might differ respecting the nature of the *lokottara*. The idea of borrowing appears too narrow and restrictive, therefore; the interrelation or symbiosis in question frequently requires to be seen in terms of the sharing of a common culture and of closely related religious attitudes. See Seyfort Ruegg 2008.

²⁰ See Seyfort Ruegg 1995a: 105–106. See also Jackson 1994.

6. *Navyanyāya* or “New Logic,” and the New in an Indo-Tibetan Knowledge System

A convenient place for introducing a brief consideration of an Indian knowledge system in relation to its Tibetan counterparts and progeny is the field of logic and epistemology (*pramāṇa* = *tshad ma, nyāya*). To be considered on one hand are the later Brahmanical Nyāya and the Navyanyāya, an innovating form of Nyāya of which a forerunner was Udayana (c. eleventh century); and on the other hand there are the Indian Buddhist epistemologists and logicians, Dharmakīrti in particular, with their Tibetan successors.

Udayana’s contribution in Nyāya studies—still to be consolidated in Gaṅgeśa’s (fourteenth century) “New Logic”—included works on definition (*lakṣaṇa*); this matter influenced later Indian thinkers including authorities in other areas also such as grammarians and aestheticians.²¹ On the Tibetan side, there is the formalistic statement-cum-reason (*thal phyir*) style associated with the seminary of gSañ phu sNe’u thog and its renowned abbot, Phy(v)a pa/Cha pa Chos kyi seṅ ge (1109–1169), the author of *bsDus pa*-type manuals as well as of larger treatises.²² This Tibetan style constructed philosophical propositions having a predicate concluding with *thal* (= Skt. *prasajyate*, in the special meaning of “it occurs, it is the case that”) with the reason or evidence for it indicated by the particle *phyir*. This formalistic *thal phyir* structure, employed in particular in the styles and methods of works on types of logi-

²¹ For the history of Navyanyāya, see Bhattacharya 1958, Wada 2007, and n. 6 above. And in the framework of the Knowledge Systems Project mentioned above, see Preisendanz 2005 and 2008b.

²² For the *bsDus pa* (“Summary”) genre of text, see, e.g., Koñ sprul Yon tan rgya mtsho, *Śes bya kun khyab* I 565. Cf. van der Kuijp 1978 and Hugon 2009. On this Tibetan master’s work in the realm of Madhyamaka, see Tauscher 1999 and 2003, Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 37ff. Concerning the *bsDus grva* genre in particular, see Onoda 1992 and 1996, Dreyfus 2003: 137ff., 142ff., 306ff. And for a philosophical assessment of this genre, see Tillemans 1999, Chapter 6, which refers to *blo rigs* and *rtags rigs* on p. 118, concerning which see Chapter 7 of the same book. Among the best-known larger *bsDus grva* works is the *Rva stod bsdus grva* by mChog lha ’od zer (1429–1500); an important later work is one by bSe/Sras Nāg dbañ bkra śis (1678–1738).

cal reasons (*rtags rigs*) and cognitions or judgements (*blo rig[s]*), was sometimes adopted in other Tibetan knowledge systems also.

The philosophical presuppositions in the two traditions—the Brahmanical Indian and the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist—are far from identical, however. Unlike (Navya-)Nyāya, the Tibetan tradition is not based on a realistic metaphysics. *bsDus pa/bsDus grva* treatises are largely concerned with dialectics and eristics (*vāda = smra ba*). In Navyanyāya, the form of definition is characterized by what it called “limitors” (*avacchedaka*) and “describers” (*nirūpaka*). The Tibetan system is comparable at least to the extent that it was concerned with definition (*mtshan ñid = lakṣaṇa*) along with its two kinds of object or content termed *mtshan gži* and *mtshon bya*, both lexemes being the Tibetan equivalents of Sanskrit *lakṣya*;²³ together these factors make up a triplet known as the *mtshan mtshon gži gsum*. Philosophers using the vocabulary and technical methods employed in this branch of Tibetan philosophy are known as *mtshan ñid pas*; and their seminary or faculty is known as a *mtshan ñid grva tshan*.²⁴ In Tibetan seminaries, such treatises and manuals on dialectics and eristics together with epistemology came to complement (without to be sure replacing) Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇavārttika* and *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and the great Indian (and Tibetan) commentaries on these works. The proliferation of Tibetan texts of the kind just noted may be compared with the multiplication in Navyanyāya of specialized works of annotation (*ṭippaṇī*) and investigation (*krodapattra*). Some of the Tibetan works are comparable in content to the *lakṣaṇāvalī/lakṣaṇamālā* type of work in Sanskrit, examples of the latter being Udayana’s *Lakṣaṇāvalī*, a work on philosophical definitions relating to Vaiśeṣika, and the *Lakṣaṇamālā*, a work ascribed to the same writer on definitions relating to Nyāya. As noted above, Udayana occupied a transitional position between classical Nyāya and the New Nyāya proper of Gaṅgeśa. (The apparent dating to 984/5 [?] of a manuscript of the former author’s

²³ For the distinction between *mtshan gži* and *mtshon bya*, see, e.g., Seyfort Ruegg 2002: 175–178, n. 43, and below, Part II/3.

²⁴ For further details see below, Part II/3. (It goes without saying that, unlike Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas, Indian and the later Tibetan *Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyaṁikas posit no foundationalist *svalakṣaṇa*, even if they are counted as *mtshan ñid pas*.)

Lakṣaṇāvalī is problematic since Udayana and Ratnakīrti were apparently contemporaries, and the former appears to refer to the latter in addition to citing the latter's teacher Jñānaśrīmitra.) Technical discussions in various areas of Tibetan scholastic literature taking the form of propositions (*dam bca'* = *pratijñā*) may be compared and contrasted with the *phakkikās* ("theses, [pro]positions, arguments") of Sanskrit works on logic and grammar. And just as in India the expository style characteristic of Navyanyāya was to be deployed also in knowledge systems outside the confines of logic and epistemology, so in Tibet expository techniques deriving from the gSañ phu sNe'u thog seminary have been in wide use outside works on Pramāṇa strictly speaking.

What is sometimes referred to in Tibet as New Logic-cum-Epistemology (*tshad ma gsar ma*) had its inception with the renowned scholar rÑog Blo ldan šes rab (1059–1109), an earlier abbot of gSañ phu sNe'u thog who had studied in Kashmir and there translated Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* with Parahitabhadrā. He was the source of the Tibetan rÑog lugs. This Pramāṇa tradition thus dates to the beginning of the Later Propagation (*phyi dar*) of the Dharma in that country. It did not, however, represent quite the new turn that Navyanyāya was to represent in the new Indian logic and epistemology. But a kind of turn in Tibetan study of logic and epistemology has been traced to the influence of Sa skya paṇḍi ta Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Sa paṇ, 1182–1251), a disciple of the Kashmiri Śākyaśrībhadrā, with whom he produced a revised Tibetan version of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*. Sa paṇ's tradition is known as the Sa lugs. In the field of logic and epistemology this important scholar focussed his scholarly attention on the *Pramāṇavārttika* rather than on the same author's later *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, which had attracted the attention of Tibetan scholars in earlier times.²⁵ Although Sa paṇ's system

²⁵ Shorter works by Dharmakīrti as well as by Dignāga had already been translated into Tibetan at the time of the old Tibetan kingdom; they are listed in the *lDan dkar ma* and *'Phaṅ than ma* catalogues. For the expressions *tshad ma rñin pa* and *tshad ma gsar ma*, see, e.g., Koñ sprul Yon tan rgya mtsho, *Šes bya kun khyab* I 565ff.; the *tshad ma rñin pa* "Old Pramāṇa" is there associated with the earliest period of the Second Propagation (*phyi dar*) of the Dharma in Tibet. Concerning the history of Tibetan Tshad ma, see van der Kuijp 1983, Jackson 1987, Dreyfus 1997, Hugon 2009. Concerning the life of rÑog lo, see Kramer 2007.

has been seen as constituting a kind of turn in the history of Tibetan Pramānavidyā, it does not seem to have ever received the designation of “new;” but it did represent a turning to the textual source that came to be regarded in Tibet as the central classical source for Pramānavidyā, Dharmakīrti’s *Pramānavārttika*.

The literature just mentioned is all highly scholastic in expression and content, and it did not lay claim to being novel. Yet it was not all entirely epigonal either, and such scholasticism did not entirely rule out new approaches, insights, nuances, and accents. Such renewal was no doubt necessary if only when translating across cultural frontiers, from India to Tibet. But if there indeed was a “turn” in the field of logic and epistemology in Tibet, this appears to have taken place in the twelfth century with Phy(v)a pa Chos kyi señ ge of gSañ phu sNe’u thog, the old monastic seat of rÑog Blo ldan šes rab. The significance (or even the lack thereof) of the near synchrony with respect to the development of techniques of definition between the contributions of Udayana, the eleventh-century forerunner of Navyanyāya, and of Phy(v)a pa Chos yi señ ge, the twelfth-century initiator of a turn in the study of tshad ma in Tibet, remains to be investigated in more detail.

Later in Tibet, the seventeenth century was to mark an active period in the study of Sanskrit grammar owing in large part to the work of Indian *paṇḍitas* who were then travelling to Tibet and working there with leading Tibetan scholars.²⁶ In India this time saw a renewal of grammatical studies with Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (16th–17th c.) and his nephew Kaundabhaṭṭa (17th c.).²⁷ In the late eighteenth-century, furthermore, the Tibetan scholar Thu’u bkvan Blo bzañ Chos kyi ñi ma was to quote (presumably from Jñānaśrī’s commentary on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*) the initial verse of Bhartṛhari’s *Vākyapadīya* in connexion with his exposition of the doctrines of the Tibetan Jo nañ pa school.²⁸

²⁶ For a sketch of the history of the transmission of *vyākaraṇa* and lexicography between India and Tibet, see Seyfort Ruegg 1996 and 1998. An indispensable history of Indian grammar in Tibet is Verhagen 1994 and 2001.

²⁷ Cf. Bronkhorst 2005, Bronkhorst 2008a, and Houben 2008.

²⁸ See Seyfort Ruegg 1959: 91–92; cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1963: 84. This quotation was noted at the same time by H. Nakamura (1955: 123). Not all later commentarial literature in Tibetan has, of course, invariably employed the scholastic style characterized by the *thal phyir* and *mtshan ñid* techniques, to which attention has

The relations, and the possible interconnexions, between the intellectual developments outlined above—where a trans-Himalayan collaboration between a Tibetan scholar and an Indian one might take place in India/Kashmir (as in the case of rÑog lo tsa ba) or in Tibet (as in the case of Sa skya pañḍi ta)—clearly merit continued investigation, one which could also make possible deeper philologically validated insights into the eventual relationship of innovation to tradition. The same holds for issues to be discussed in the following pages.

7. *Creativity, Inventivity, Inspiration in Thinking, and the Concept of pratibhā*

Here a brief word is in order about what is called *pratibhā* (mentioned already in note 2 above) and its relation to creativity and innovation.

The term has denoted a mental factor consisting in ready inventiveness in expression, and in the creative poetic inspiration of the kavi. In Rādhākānt Dev’s Sanskrit dictionary, the *Śabdaka-ḥpadruma*, *pratibhā* is explained as *navanavonmeṣasālinī prajñā* “wit abounding in ever revealing the fresh;” almost the same explanation is provided by Tārānāth Tarkavācaspati’s *Vācaspatya*. In Hemacandra’s *Kāvyaṅuśāsanavytti* (12th c.), the definition found is: *pratibhā navaṅvullekhasālinī prajñā* “*pratibhā* is wit abounding in ever delineating the fresh.”²⁹ Here *navanava* (better rendered by “ever fresh” rather than “ever new”) is what is immediate (and hence no doubt not time-bound). In Buddhist thought, *pratibhā*

been called above and which came into generalized use in the *mtha’ dpyod* type of commentarial works of *yig cha* literature. (This style and its methodology are absent also in the Sanskrit commentarial writing of the relatively late scholiast on Candrakīrti’s *Prasannapadā* published by Y. Yonezawa, and in the also relatively late scholia by Vairocanarakṣita on some “Maitreya Texts.” On these texts found in Tibet, see Yonezawa 2004 and Kano 2008.)

²⁹ See Hemacandra’s *Vytti* on *sūtras* 3–4 of his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, vol. I, pp. 3 and 6. This definition of *pratibhā* is said to go back to Bhaṭṭa-Tauta; see Masson and Patwardhan 1969: 18. For the word *ullekha* “delineation,” compare Kuntaka’s *Vakroktijīvita* 3:2: *nirmitir nūtanollekhalokātikrāntagocavā*. According to Hemacandra, this *pratibhā* may be either innate (*sahajā*) or conditioned (*auṣādhiḥ*). See also Abhinavagupta’s gloss in his *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka* 1:6: “*pratibhā*” *apūrvavastunirmāṅakṣamā prajñā*. Concerning the concept of *pratibhā* found with the poeticians Rājāśekhara, Kuntaka and Jagannātha, see Shulman 2008.

was represented by Mātṛceṭa as issuing from pellucid confidence in the Buddha (*muniprasādapratibhā: Śatapañcāśatka* 153, where *pratibhā* is rendered by Tib. *spobs*).

The faculty of *pratibhāna* (Tib. *spobs pa*)—one of four *pratisamvids*—is a distinct, but not entirely unrelated, quality involving the capacity—and more specifically the discriminative knowledge (*prajñā*, Tib. *śes rab*)—that enables one to speak pertinently in a given (new) situation, distinguishing without hindrance what is correct and what is not. (The word *pratibhāna* has sometimes been translated “eloquence,” but verbal fluency would appear to be more an outcome of this mental faculty rather than the faculty itself.) What characterizes this very important faculty is, then, less novelty than the capacity to express with freshness and immediacy—readily and pertinently—what is required and to the point—and on occasion, no doubt, to do so inventively and even strikingly with the enhanced aesthetic force of singularity.

For Bhartṛhari the term *pratibhā* designates the non-analysed—i.e., total and undivided—meaning of a sentence (*Vākyapadīya* 2:143: *vicchedagrahaṇe 'rthānāṃ pratibhānyaiva jāyate | vākyārtha itī tām āhuḥ padārthair upapādītām ||*). Such a view was taken also by Dignāga (*Pramāṇasamuccaya* 5:47, quoted in Kamalaśīla's *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* 922: *apoddhāre padasyāyaṃ vākyād artho vivecitah | vākyārthaḥ pratibhākhyo 'yaṃ tenādāv upajanyate ||*).³⁰ According to Śāntarakṣita, that *apoha* consisting in the image produced from the linguistic unit that is a word (composed of a sequence of sounds), and all at once, is termed *pratibhā* (*Tattvasaṃgraha* 1027: *pratibimbātmako 'pohaḥ padād apy upajāyate | pratibhākhyo jhātīty eva padārtho 'py ayam eva naḥ ||*).³¹

³⁰ Compare the summary of the doctrine of the Śākyas (i.e., Buddhists) in a commentary on *Vākyapadīya* 2:1–2.

³¹ See *Tattvasaṃgraha*, verse 1005 for the *arthapratibimba* that shines forth in conceptual cognition; and verse 1163 on the positively determined conceptual construct (*vidhyavasāyī [...] vikalpo jāyate*) that arises through language. Verse 1027 just cited above relates to verse 922 reporting Kumāri's objection expressed in his *Ślokaṃvārttika* (*Apohavāda* 40): *asaty api ca bāhye 'rthe vākyārthaḥ pratibhā yathā | padārtho 'pi tathāiva syāt kim apohaḥ prakalpyate ||*; this criticism is reported in *Tattvasaṃgraha*, verse 920, with the variant *pratibhālakṣaṇo yathā* instead of *vākyārthaḥ pratibhā*. The *Tattvasaṃgraha* also contains a critique of a *pratibhāpakṣa* in verse 891 and verse 901ff. Śāntarakṣita's formulation of the *apoha* doctrine would seem to be an innovation taking account of Kumāri's objec-

While in the second chapter of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* the word *pratibhā* often has the meaning just mentioned, in its first chapter, the *Brahmakāṇḍa*, the word has been used in a meaning near to "intuitiveness." This faculty governs what Bhartṛhari called *itikartavyatā*, a term close in meaning to "(instinctive) activity; (innate) behaviour."

In the case of *pratibhā*, then, rather than just originality or novelty, the watchwords would seem to be singular freshness of creative vision or imagination with poeticians, and, in the sentence, trans-sequential semantic immediacy with philosophers of language. Etymologically, in these contexts, the term *prati-bhā-* may refer to the flash of the poet's fresh creative insight that shines forth in his literary composition; or it may refer to the undivided meaning of the sentence that shines forth through its individual and sequential linguistic components.

The idea of freshness is present, albeit in a slightly different form, in a definition of *pramāṇa* "right cognition" provided by certain later Buddhist epistemologists. The description *pramāṇam samyagjñānam apūrvagocaram* "*pramāṇa* is correct knowledge bearing on the new/fresh" is found in Mokṣākaragupta's *Tarkabhāṣā* §1. A similar description is found in Jitāri's earlier (eleventh century) *Bālāvatāratarika* (Tibetan translation, D, f. 325b), and later in Vidyākaraśānti's *Tarkasopāna* (p. 275). For *tshad ma = pramāṇa*, Tibetan Dharmakīrtians adopted the definition *gsar du mi bslu ba* "unfailing in freshness/immediacy," the term *mi bslu ba = avi-samvādin* "congruent, indefeasible, unfailing, reliable" harking back to Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* (2:3). Reference can also be made in this context to Dharmakīrti's definition of *pratyakṣa* "direct perception" not only as *abhrānta = ma 'khrul ba* "not straying, non-erroneous" but also as *kalpanāpoḍha = rtoḡ pa dañ bral ba* "free from conceptual construction" (*Nyāyabindu* 1:4). On the contrary, conceptual construction is there stated to be linked with

tions, as argued by M. Hattori (1980). Concerning the specification *jhaṭiti* "all at once" in *Tattovasaṅgraha*, verse 1027, a comparison may be made with the commentaries on *Pātañjalayogasūtra* 1:47, where *adhyātmaprasāda* in the *sūtra* is explained as a *prajñāloka* which is *kramānanurodhin* "non-sequential" = *yugapad* "simultaneous, sudden." For the immediate and non-conceptual, and the non-sequential and simultaneous as opposed to the gradual, see Seyfort Ruegg 1959: 77 and Seyfort Ruegg 1989b.

the discursivity belonging to *abhilāpa* = *brjod pa* “(linguistic) expression” (1:5, with Dharmottara’s *Ṭikā* which glosses *abhilāpa* by *vācakah śabdaḥ* “denotative word”). In *pramāṇa*, the freshness of immediacy has little to do per se with novelty in cognition and its content; the description *ajñātārthaprakāśa* in *Pramāṇavārttika* 2:5c referring to *pramāṇa* concerns the unique singularity of a correct cognitive event. (Some aspects of these matters have been discussed in Seyfort Ruegg 1994: 305, 318, and Seyfort Ruegg 2007: 161–162.)

8. *The Historical and Comparative Value of Studying in Parallel an Indian and a Corresponding Tibetan Knowledge System or Way of Thought*

A purpose of the foregoing general remarks has been to draw attention again to the fact that what occurred historically and intellectually in Tibetan Buddhist civilization can provide scholars with pertinent and valuable material for comparison and contrast with later Indian religious and philosophical thought. Each department of knowledge—each *śāstra* or *vidyāsthāna*, be it religious or secular—and each text will, of course, need to be investigated and evaluated individually.

In papers from the Sanskrit Knowledge Systems Project published in the JIP and referred to above, mention has been made in passing of developments in China and Japan that are comparable with developments in India.³² No attention was directed to parallels or to contrasts to be observed in Tibetan intellectual history in so far as they pertain to developments in the the *śāstras* or *vidyāsthānas* of Indian origin found in the “Sanskritic” culture of Tibet. But some strands in Tibetan culture have been “Sanskritic” even if not written in Sanskrit, and they can provide the Indologist and Tibetologist, and of course the comparativist too, with significant points of both resemblance and contrast relatively to what took place in the Indian evolution of these sciences and knowledge systems. Because of the remarkable capacity of many Tibetan scholars to think creatively, and with some degree of freshness, in their highly traditional fields of study originating in India while at

³² See, e.g., Pollock 2008: 541 and Kaviraj 2005: 137.

the same time seeking to avoid personal novelty (*ran bzo*), sectors in their world of thought can often be described as “Sanskritic” or “Indic” (if not as Sanskrit or Indian in the strictest sense).³³ It will be of interest, therefore, to enquire if, in these two cultures, a similar or contrasting feature or intellectual movement is attested, and, if so, where these are to be found documented in the sources.

Regarding the description “pre-colonial” in the Knowledge Systems Project, in Tibet the relevant developments first appeared at a time when Indian influence was penetrating Tibet. At that time Chinese influence was not yet wide-spread there even though in the thirteenth century Tibet had been attached to the Mongol empire which included China, a situation that was to be greatly reinforced in the seventeenth century at the time of the sinicized Manchu (Qing) dynasty.

Parallel developments may even appear to have existed between the historical situations in Tibet under these two Central Asian dynasties and in mediaeval India under Turkic, Afghan and Mughal domination. But this situation may raise the issue of the description “(early) modern” in the Project. One important difference between the situation that prevailed in India and the one that prevailed in Tibet lies in the fact that Buddhism was shared in some form between Tibet and China under the two sinicized empires just mentioned, whilst the ruling stratum of Central Asian origin in mediaeval India (but of course not the whole of the Indian population) during the second millennium was on the contrary largely Muslim and, accordingly, of a religion different from their Hindu subjects. In India an even deeper break with earlier cultural and intellectual tradition was then to take place under British colonial rule beginning in the late eighteenth century, and reinforced starting in 1857, and this despite the founding there of government-recognized Sanskrit Colleges and the existence of some official and governmental recognition and patronage of Sanskrit studies. In Tibet, on the other hand, the incursion of the Younghusband expedition in the early twentieth century had only a local and relatively superficial impact on Tibetan society and cul-

³³ Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 2004a. The rejection of *ran bzo* is doubtless related to the *pratisaraṇa* (*rton pa*) according to which it must be *dharma*, and not an individual (*pudgala*), to which one takes recourse.

ture as a whole. As for Han Chinese colonization and large-scale settlement in Tibet, it began in earnest only beginning in the 1950s. A break with Tibetan traditions of earlier times then ensued, in particular at the time of the Cultural Revolution, although Tibetans have been successful in maintaining many of their traditional cultural values in their diaspora, and not entirely unsuccessful in doing so to some degree in Tibet itself despite the grave difficulties encountered by them in their homeland over the past half century.

In the circumstances outlined above, and with respect to historical and philological study, research ends such as those of the Sanskrit Knowledge Systems Project would seem to call urgently for embracing the widest possible identification of relevant Tibetan materials which will further these ends by making possible comparisons (and of course pointing up contrasts and differences) drawn from a broad sampling of similar (and/or contrasting) cultural developments in India and Tibet. Such a project might be expected to benefit immensely from being extended linguistically from documentation in the Sanskrit language, and geographically from South Asia, to embrace culturally relevant examples of the “Sanskritic” and the “Indic” from the widest possible field. Such examples are of course available in abundance in material drawn from north of the Himalaya and composed in the Tibetan language.

Of course, Indology and Tibetology are distinct disciplines. But for certain purposes they can benefit from being joined together in Indo-Tibetan studies, an overarching specialism that is already almost two centuries old but whose full potential has been only slowly and imperfectly recognized and drawn upon. For the historian, the Tibetans stand out as a people who adopted (and, no doubt, adapted) a religion and large sectors of a civilization from their neighbours to the south, but who were at the same time able to think creatively in terms of, and thus to participate in, a supra-regional and transnational religion and culture with which so many of them were to feel a sense of deep affinity and continuity. This is in fact why, in the case of Indo-Tibetan knowledge systems, relationships are to be found between cultural developments arising in lands that are otherwise as different as India and Tibet.

* * *

In relation to India and Indian Buddhism, the major source for both Tibetan secular sciences (*rig gnas* = *vidyāsthāna*) and religion (*chos* = *dharma*), Tibetans differ notably from early Christians with their new dispensation relatively to Judaism and Hellenism, from Byzantine Christian Greeks and Renaissance Christian Europeans in relation to classical, and so-called “pagan,” Greece and Rome, and from Islamic thinkers in relation to Aristotle and Greek thought. Unlike the last groups, Tibetans held their *chos/dharma* largely in common with their Indian Buddhist neighbours.

The links in Tibetan culture between Dharma and the “secular” or “mundane” (*laukika* = *’jig rten pa*) knowledge systems of India and Tibet can perhaps be illustrated against the conceptual background of the joining of the spiritual and temporal—the *chos srid zun brel* “dyarchic synergy”—widely recognized in Tibetan thought and polity (see Section 5 above).

9. Renewal and the New in Learned Tradition

Beginning in the middle of the twentieth century, very numerous manuals and books on “modern” subjects were being published in Tibetan, largely (but not solely) under Chinese influence or direction.³⁴ Already a little earlier a broader, “modern,” outlook was being introduced for example through the efforts of G. Tharchin, a Christian whose Tibet Mirror Press published the *gSar ’gyur me lon* periodical in Kalimpong (Darjeeling District of West Bengal) as well as books concerned with modernizing Tibet.

More than a century earlier, wider geographical and cultural horizons were appearing in the Tibetan-speaking world. This applies to a text like the *’Jam gliñ rgyas bšad* written in 1820 in Beijing by sMin groł no mun han (bTsan po no mon han), a work on geography that reflects its composition in the Manchu empire whose capital was a fairly cosmopolitan city with varied residents

³⁴ Listings of these can be conveniently found in the Catalogue of Chinese publications in Tibetan studies (Ma 1994, 1997, 2001). While over the centuries influences from China on Tibet and the Tibetans have been numerous and varied, the part played by Tibetans in China in the twentieth century has been investigated by G. Tuttle (2005).

including Europeans.³⁵ It applies even in a more limited way to the (often semi-mythical) geographical references in the *Šambha la'i lam yig* by the Paṅ chen rin po che Blo bzañ dPal ldan ye šes (1738–1780), also a resident of Beijing at the end of his life.³⁶ Of course, for much longer Tibetans had been fascinated by travel accounts and the like describing India, Inner Asia and foreign regions further afield.

Mention can be made also of Christian missionaries resident in Tibet in the eighteenth century, the best known of whom is perhaps the Jesuit missionary Ippollito Desideri (1684–1733). In his case the extent and depth of any “modernizing” influence is, however, difficult to estimate. Mention can also be made of modernizing, and “westernizing,” influences reaching Tibetans from Mongols, in particular Kalmyks and Buriats, who had become subjects of the Russian emperor. Buriats in particular have occupied prominent positions in Tibet monastic life.

Beyond matters relating to geography, several pronouncedly modernizing features are present in the writings of dGe 'dun chos 'phel (c. 1903–1951), who is often deemed a progressive when he is not seen rather either as an erudite controversialist or perhaps even as a contrarian.³⁷ His guide to the holy places of Buddhist India—the *rGya gar gyi gnas chen khag la bgrod pa'i lam yig*—has been described as the first example of modern Tibetan literature.³⁸ This author indeed lived on the eve of large-scale colonial development in Tibet, and at the close of the British period and the beginning of independence in India, a land where he spent many years.

³⁵ The question of an input from Catholic and Russian Orthodox missionaries in China arises.

³⁶ See Grünwedel 1915. See further Wylie 1965 and Newman 1996: 491–492, who notes the Paṅ chen's reliance on the “spiritual,” or mystical, geography of the *Kalāpāvatāra*, rather than on a more “realistic,” i.e., physical, geography. Concerning accretion and innovation in Tibetan geographical writings, see recently Mimaki 2015.

³⁷ dGe 'dun chos 'phel lived for several years in India and Sri Lanka, and his experience there had a formative influence on his life and writings. On him see recently Dreyfus 2003: 313ff. and Lopez 2006 (concerning dGe 'dun chos 'phel's *Klu sgrub dgoñs rgyan*, a work on Madhyamaka philosophy). Lopez has devoted the final chapter of his book to “The question of modernity.”

³⁸ See Huber 1997: 297–318. See also Barnett and Schwartz 2008.

Writings on geography—a subject not counted as a traditional *vidyāsthāna*—were, then, one route by which modernity entered Tibetan experience and writing. This new science of geography was, however, at variance with the classical Buddhist geography of the *Lokadhātunirdeśa* in the *Abhidharmakośa*, not to speak of the cosmography of a Vajrayāna text such as the *Lokadhātupaṭala* of the Kālacakra.³⁹ Interference, even competition, between heterogeneous systems of geography could accordingly give rise to challenging problems and difficulty, one system being the newly introduced geography of the physical world. The latter was at variance with traditional Buddhist systems in so far as the latter were also cosmologies linked with stages of meditation or with cosmophysiological correlations between microcosm and macrocosm, psychogenesis and cosmography.⁴⁰

In the Tibetan context, monolingual (i.e., Tibetan-Tibetan) lexicography also proved to be a vehicle of innovation and modernization. Lexicography was not included in the list of the five major Indo-Buddhist and Indo-Tibetan “sciences” (*vidyāsthāna: rig gnas che ba*), but it did find a significant place in the Tibetan bsTan ’gyur as *kośa* (*mdzod*, i.e., *abhidhāna = mñon brjod*) and was traditionally counted as a minor science (*rig gnas chuñ ba*) ancillary to the major science of grammar. From fairly early times, monolingual glossaries had been compiled of old, no longer current Tibetan vocables (the *brda rñin*) together with their equivalents in the

³⁹ *Abhidharmakośa* 3, published by La Vallée Poussin (1914/1918)—a publication that includes (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin materials from the *Lokaṣrajñāpti* (of which there exists a Tibetan translation)—and later translated by him in *L’Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, troisième chapitre* (1926). See also Dietz 1985: 169–171. Some of the relevant Kālacakra material has been studied by J. Newman (1987: 413ff.). The classical Buddhist systems of geography and cosmography are sketched by Koñ sprul Yon tan rgya mtsho, *Šes bya kun khyab* I 171–232. See also Sugiki 2009: 515ff.

⁴⁰ See for example Gethin 1997 and Gethin 2006. Such correlation would appear to be comparable with, but also distinct from, what has been called “correlative,” or “high-correlative,” thought, i.e., a kind of thinking characterized as pre-modern and traditional, on which see below, n. 50. (In this context, the description “correlational” would appear to be more meaningful than “correlative.”) To note correlations in Buddhism between, e.g., cosmology and meditation is not, however, to take up a position regarding sequence in the relationship. Cf. Franco 2009b: 126. On Buddhism and modern science, see Lopez 2008; and on incommensurability between the two, see Franco 2009a: 12–13.

“new” classical linguistic usage (*brda gсар*). But the first of the best-known modern dictionaries of Tibetan was the *brDa dag min tshig gsal ba* by the Mongol *dge bśes* Chos (kyi) grags (pa) published in 1949 under the patronage of a “modernizing” member of the aristocratic Hor khan family. Reprints of this work were to incorporate Chinese equivalents and explanations, thus making it bilingual. No Chinese or European language meanings or definitions were included in the monolingual *Bod brda’i tshig mdzod* of 1966/1989 by Brag g-yab Blo ldan šes rab. Another monolingual dictionary is the *Bod kyi brda sprod nag sgron gyi ’grel pa tshig gsal* of the Khu nu monk-scholar bsTan ’dzin rgyal mtshan (who also commented on dPal khan lotsā ba’s *Dag yig nag sgron* of 1538). The important *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* in three volumes (Beijing, 1985), the largest Tibetan lexicon currently available, is on the other hand a bilingual Tibetan-Chinese dictionary that represents the culmination so far of the modernization of Tibetan lexicography. As for bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionaries, the (*sGra*) *Bye brag tu rtogs (par) byed (pa) chen mo/po*—i.e., the well-known *Mahāvvyutpatti*—goes back to the ninth century.⁴¹

The Tibetan science of medicine—which unlike geography was recognized as a traditional *vidyāsthāna*—could raise problems and difficulties due to the gradual multiplication in Inner Asia of new medical systems of foreign origin. Beside the Indian Āyurveda, with which it was familiar as a *vidyāsthāna*, Tibet has known Hellenistic medicine and medical science in West Asia and Iran, as well as Chinese medicine.⁴² Here conflict between medical systems was not easy to resolve by means of the traditional hermeneutical instruments that have been in use in philosophy, and it had no doubt to be dealt with otherwise.⁴³

⁴¹ On this work and the *sGra sbyor bam po gnīs pa*, see Seyfort Ruegg 1998. On the place occupied by lexicography in Indo-Buddhist and Indo-Tibetan civilization, see Seyfort Ruegg 1995a: 128ff.

⁴² Concerning the person known in Tibetan as Ga le nos (i.e., the second century physician Galen, or perhaps rather a follower of his school in the seventh century, the time of Sroñ btsan sgam po), see dPa’ bo gTsub lag phreñ ba, *Chos ’byuñ mkhas pa’i dga’ ston*, Tsa 1518. Cf. Koñ sprul Yon tan rgya mtsho, *Šes bya kun khyab* I 588 (in the Beijing reprint of 1982); *Tshig mdzod chen mo* 473–474. See also Beckwith 1979, Martin 2007, and Cuevas 2011: 83ff.

⁴³ On a “Neo-Āyurveda” in India, see Meulenbeld 1999: 2. For medicine and Buddhism, reference can also be made to Gyatso 2004.

In certain cases, moreover, different versions of a *vidyāsthāna* were transmitted in juxtaposition without necessarily being either harmonized or brought up-to-date in the light of developing knowledge. In India, different astronomical Siddhāntas had been in circulation.⁴⁴ And in Tibet a system of *rtsis* traced to India and a system of *rtsis* traced to China have been handed down. The co-existence of various systems for reckoning time is reflected in the different ways of calculating the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* and the duration of his Teaching (*bstan rtsis*). To deal with divergences between co-existing systems, which for one purpose or another continued to be transmitted in juxtaposition, some authorities took recourse to the well-established hermeneutical division between what is explicit and what is intentional (*dgoṅs pa can = ābhīprāyika*), and between provisional sense (*draṅ ba'i don = neyārtha*) and definitive sense (*ñes pa'i don = nītārtha*, i.e., what is *don la gnas pa* or final). A further approach to the co-existence of parallel systems consisted in distinguishing between an ordinary one held in common (*thun moṅ ba*) and one accepted for a special purpose (*thun moṅ min pa*).⁴⁵

In principle, then, eventual divergence, inconsistency and incompatibility between knowledge systems and ways of thought were sometimes resolved through traditional Indo-Tibetan methods of exegesis and hermeneutics, taking into account both context and intention.⁴⁶ But in Tibet there existed a distinct tendency to allow different schools or traditions (*lugs = naya, nyāya, mata; tshul = naya*) of a knowledge system to stand side by side, possessing a kind of parallel validity (and perhaps complementary or equivalent authority) within distinct frames of reference, even when unresolved contradictions were discovered between them. In several fields, inconsistency and contradiction did not necessarily lead to synthesis. Yet this situation does not appear to have

⁴⁴ See, e.g., Pingree 1981: 9ff.

⁴⁵ See Seyfort Ruegg 1992: 283–284 and 287–290. Concerning allusiveness, intention (*abhīprāya*) and *neyārtha/nītārtha*, see Seyfort Ruegg 1985, 1988b and 1989a.

⁴⁶ For the application in Madhyamaka philosophy of the hermeneutical distinction between *neyārtha* and *nītārtha* see Section 9 of the *dKa' gnad/gnas brgyad kyī zin bris* together with Seyfort Ruegg 2002: 257–270. See also Part II/2 of the present paper.

made intellectual development entirely impossible, notably in philosophical thinking (see Part II of this paper).

For our present purposes modernity and innovation can be meaningfully distinguished from each other, the first being so often due to contact with alterity, “the other,” that is, usually, an external or foreign system having the same ostensible purpose, while the second will appear from within a given system and stem from internal growth and perhaps fresh insights. An example of the latter is the *vidyāsthāna* of logic and epistemology (see above, and Part II/3 below). Knowledge systems and ways of thought may thus be renewed in various ways: by creative evolution or incremental innovation proceeding endogenously from within, or by revolution or non-iterative and destructive innovation through the shock of modernity induced exogenously from without, as a sort of exotransplant, or a by more or less complex combinations of these two processes when an agent of change as it were precipitates a reaction that brings about a kind of synthesis between the endogenous and the exogenous or, where this was not feasible, some kind of complementarity between the two, as in the case of the co-existence of school-traditions, *lugs*, in parallel. Medicine was a case in point; for in Tibet, as already noted, there have existed more than one imported medical tradition—namely, beside the Indian, the Greek transmitted through the Arabs, the Chinese, and more recently the modern—so that Tibetan medical traditions have various origins. (For the earlier period in Tibet, see the sources on Galenos cited above in note 42.) But this kind of situation is found also, for instance, in the hermeneutics of the *sāstra* works ascribed to Nāgārjuna, which have frequently been subdivided into a Scholastic Corpus (the *rigs tshogs*), a Hymnic Corpus (the *bstod tshogs*), and a Paraenetic Corpus (the *gtam tshogs*), and where the established distinction between a provisional sense (*neyārtha*) and a definitive sense (*nītārtha*) as employed for *sāstra*-exegesis was not considered pertinent. Basic philosophical source-texts were, of course, also susceptible of being interpreted in more than one way. Thus, among Mādhyamikas, there exist the Svātantrika-, the “Prāsaṅgika-” and the Yogācāra-Mādhyamaka branches, not to speak of Vajrayānist Mādhyamikas.

* * *

Modernity (so-called) thus began to spread rapidly in Tibet about a century and a half after it had begun to take hold in India. The outcomes in both places have in part been comparable, one of them being a decrease in the number of scholars and thinkers fully at home in the classical sciences and philosophies and able to work creatively in terms of these systems of thinking. Both in Tibet and in India there have also appeared mixtures that might perhaps be described as “neo-ancient,” or as “neo-traditional” (which is not to say neoconservative!), that is, a mode of traditional thinking that still allowed for creativity and innovation (as opposed to out-and-out novelty). But radical literalism has not infrequently been an insuperable obstacle to renewal and to creativity within a tradition.

The processes in question here clearly go beyond the dichotomy pre-colonial/post-colonial as well as the processes of modernization and the “Buddhist modernism” largely connected with developments brought about through the interplay between European colonialism and native reaction against these developments.⁴⁷ On occasion, this modernism has either intersected or converged with so-called Protestant Buddhism, which since the nineteenth century tended to amalgamate in a curious fashion would-be renewal and modernization with a back-to-basics fundamentalism and with a radicalism that could sometimes be literalist.⁴⁸ Positivism and historicism have also played a significant part in so-called Buddhist modernism.

⁴⁷ This topic was investigated by Heinz Bechert (1966), in so far as it relates to Theravāda Buddhism. See also Bechert 1984 and Bechert 1994. For Tibet see Lopez 1998: 184ff., Esposito 2008, McMahan 2008, Terrone 2010: 399ff. In Japan, a very distinct course was taken by advocates of a so-called “critical Buddhism” (*hihan bukkyō*) with its critique of the “inherent enlightenment” of *tathāgatagarbha* thought in East Asia—neologically dubbed “*dhātu-vāda*”—and in the hope of returning to “true” Buddhism. On this “critical Buddhism,” which seeks to combine the authenticity of original Buddhist tradition with modern ideas and methods, see Hubbard and Swanson 1997, and Seyfort Ruegg 1995b: 169ff.

⁴⁸ On “Protestant Buddhism” see, e.g., Gombrich 1988, Chapter 7. Compare the observations in “Archaeology and Protestant Presuppositions in the Study of Indian Buddhism,” in Schopen 1997: 1–22 (evoking also, in n. 55, the idea of a “Victorian Buddhism” found in Almond 1988). On the other hand, the description “Buddhist modernism” has also been linked with meditation and the theme of experience; see Sharf 1995.

A deep engagement with modern trends, scientific or even political, have frequently been seen as a sure sign, or as a warranty, of modernity. On the one hand, for example, Buddhists have turned to Marxism (regarded as being “scientific”) and Communism, seeking for points of similarity and convergence and sometimes even perceiving Buddhism as a forerunner. (Among figures on the Tibetan Buddhist side, the names of dGe ’dun chos ’phel and rDo sbis dge bñes Šes rab rgya mtsho, 1884–1968, spring to mind.) On the other hand, sustained efforts have sometimes been made to investigate possible common ground between certain areas of Buddhist thought and natural science, medicine, psychology and cognitive science.⁴⁹ This is an area of exploration, and of possible dialogue, that has been promoted on the Tibetan side by Dalai Lama XIV.

10. Updating and Innovation vs. the Novel in Indian and Tibetan Thought

A problem with the concept of modernity, one that has perhaps been too little addressed, is that we may not be clear enough about just what it consists of. The same may apply also to what has been called Buddhist modernism. A fact to be reckoned with is that ideas of originality and of modernity may prove—like that of progress—to be slippery and to lead into ideological traps: instead of being descriptive, they have on occasion acquired a stipulative and indeed normative overtone that is not seldom subjective.

We are sometimes told that an old writing and author—or an old painting or sculpture and its creator—are truly “modern.” Does this simply mean that a work speaks to us over the centuries, in which case “modern” seems to mean not time-bound? Or does it mean that it is not culture-bound, in which case “modern” seems to mean universal?

A further problem is that modernity has often been understood as secularism or, again, as the reception of influences and values from the West, and even as a function of the level of westernization (and, nowadays, globalization) reached in a non-Western civilization. It is in addition often thought of as being

⁴⁹ For some useful but brief recent comments, see Garfield 2011; Nottale 2011: 31–38.

rational and scientific (with the suggestion, spoken or unspoken, that pre-modern thought has been neither), and as the antithesis of what has been called “correlative” (and “high-correlative”) thought, a form of thinking deemed to be pre-modern and traditional.⁵⁰ Indeed, modernity has often become connected with scientism, and with a degraded rationality in thrall to some current idol of the market place.⁵¹ The relation between modernity and modernism, as in the expression “Buddhist modernism,” remains, moreover, somewhat undetermined (unless it is intended purely as a chronological description). As for post-modernism,⁵² this is not the place to consider this kind of eclecticism.

Modernity might also be taken to refer to what is the reverse of a certain provincialism or parochialism. True modernity would perhaps be a global outlook that is forward-thinking, self-critical and open to a cosmopolitan universalism but, at the same time, so deeply rooted locally as to be grounded in authentic and traditional values. It is of course not only in Tibet or India that an outlook combining tradition and creativity, as well as universality and authentic localism, has had to make its way, finding literary, artistic and scientific expression in a modernity-cum-modernism that will be neither artificial nor parochial. This is not the place to go further into this matter.

Let us recall simply that the qualification “modern” or “contemporary” was once employed by Sa skya paṇḍi ta to describe a certain form of *mahāmudrā* teaching—a so to say newfangled Neo-Mahāmudrā—which he criticized under the designation of *da lta'i phyag rgya chen po* “present-day Mahāmudrā.”⁵³ In certain circum-

⁵⁰ For a recent critique of the notion of “correlative” (and “highly correlative”) thought considered as a traditional, and pre-modern, mode of thinking—one which in its Indian instantiation postulates so-called mythic, ritual or magical correlations/correspondences/homologies (*bandhu*, *upaniṣad*) between macrocosm, mesocosm and microcosm—see Bronkhorst 2008b: 9–22 (with a bibliography including Farmer, Henderson and Witzel 2000). See also n. 40 above.

⁵¹ According to Francis Bacon, such idols were those of the forum or market place, the cave, the theatre, and the tribe.

⁵² This is not to be taken as necessarily referring to ideas such as those expressed by P. Feyerabend in *Against method* (1975).

⁵³ See Seyfort Ruegg 1989b: 101f., and Seyfort Ruegg 1988a: 1263, 1273f.

stances, then, a decidedly negative connotation could thus be attached to the modern. At all events, in Buddhist thought, much is found that might be described as innovative as well as creative without being “newfangled,” novel and anti-traditional.⁵⁴

The category of the modern is of course pertinent also for purposes of chronology, and as a simple temporal description, when addressing philosophical and other developments and movements over historical time. But when employed derivatively—that is, in dependence on labels taken over from, and proper to, other places and/or times—and stipulatively or ideologically, the descriptions “modern” (i.e., “progressive”) may no longer be useful: the term runs the risk of proving to be not only subjective but even non-referring and empty, that is, devoid of real content in the contexts onto which it is being foisted.⁵⁵

Creativity and tradition may, then, find themselves in tension and be (at least in certain cases) antithetical; but in so far as they can complement and thus reinforce each other, it does not follow that the two must necessarily be incompatible and exclusive of each other. Creativity and innovation are not to be automatically equated with mere novelty—with what has been called *nūtanatā* in Sanskrit (see p. 560 above) or with what is called *ran bzo* in Tibetan (see pp. 561–562 above). If a tradition is to be able to renew itself, creativity is surely required. As for the idea of modernization, it is of somewhat doubtful usefulness in this context. And the concept of “Buddhist modernism” has only a very specific and hence limited scope.

Already Nāgārjuna in the second century of the Common Era might be described as “modern” given his critical stance—a self-critical one in regard to some received concepts shared by Buddhists—and his radical deconstructive analysis of mental constructs and linguistic expressions. Even the message of the Buddha as transmitted in early canonical sources might itself be character-

⁵⁴ For discussions of meanings of “modernity,” see, e.g., Taylor 1995: 24–33 and Eisenstadt 2000: 1–29.

⁵⁵ Another, and quite different, sort of qualification that has all too often been employed loosely is “feudal” (in particular when used pseudo-historically, and quasi-scientifically, to imply reprobation). Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1991: 441–442.

ized in several places as “modern,” without making of Siddhārtha the Śākyamuni just a social reformer.

Renewal may involve updating—an *aggiornamento*—but it often proves to be something more. The Mahāyāna might perhaps be regarded as an updating in relation to “original Buddhism.” By its Buddhist critics it has, however, been regarded as apocryphal and as not authentic Buddha-word (*buddhavacana*).⁵⁶ But, while implicitly acknowledging his acceptance of “new” *sūtras*—that is, those placed by Buddhist hermeneuts in a second or third Cycle of the Dharma, *chos kyi ’khor lo*—the follower of Mahāyāna could say that it realizes and actualizes potentialities present in *buddhavacana* by bringing to bear instruments of an exegetical, hermeneutical, philosophical and even visionary kind. But the Mahāyānist *tathāgata-garbha* teaching—assigned by Buddhist hermeneutical literature to the third and final Cycle of the Dharma—was regarded by some of its critics as an accommodation to ambient Indian ideas taught only intentionally (Tib. *dgoñs nas = samdhāya*) by the Buddha, for instance in order to attract (*ākaraṣaṇa*) Tīrthika auditors attached to the heterodox idea of a self (*ātman*, etc.),⁵⁷ and therefore as intentional (*ābhiprāyika*) and of provisional (*neyārtha*) rather than of definitive sense (*nītārtha*).⁵⁸ Many other Buddhist masters have, however, regarded this teaching as being of definitive sense, and hence as thoroughly Buddhist (see Part II/1 of this paper).

⁵⁶ This view of the Mahāyāna is discussed for example in Vasubandhu’s *Vyākhyāyukti* (D, f. 96bff.), and in Bhāviveka’s *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* (4:7ff.) with the *Tarkajvālā* commentary (Śrāvaka chapter, D, f. 156aff.). Concerning Vaipulya, see, e.g., Lamotte 1980: 2301ff. (with Lamotte 1970: xxviff.); and *Tarkajvālā*, D, f. 188a.

⁵⁷ See the passages from the Mahāyānist *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* quoted in Seyfort Ruegg 1989b: 21ff.; and Chapter 2 of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* referring to the attraction (*ākaraṣaṇa*) of Tīrthikas (p. 79) and the removal of fright concerning *nairātmya* (p. 78). On the motives (*prayojana*) behind the Buddha’s teaching of *tathāgata-garbha/dhātu*, see also *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1:157. Concerning the issue of innovation through the accommodation in Buddhism of ambient “Hindu” or other concepts and ideas, in particular in terms of the *laukika/lokottara* schema, see Seyfort Ruegg 2008.

⁵⁸ See Part II/1 of this article.

11. *Convergence and Divergence of Doctrines and the Question of Innovation and Creativity*

It is worth considering further some lines of thought within Buddhism that not only diverge but converge so to speak asymptotically, that is, which approach each other closely without totally merging.

Tension between continuity in tradition on the one side and rupture on the other side finds a kind of parallel in the opposition, well known in Buddhist thought, between Gradualism—i.e., progressive development in philosophical-meditative practice—and so-called “Simultaneism”—i.e., an unmediated instantaneous “flash of insight”—in the understanding of ultimate reality (see Seyfort-Ruegg 1989). Simultaneism has often gone hand in hand with movements grounded in *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine, whereas Gradualism is to be found in movements not linked with this doctrine. Following these two types of gnoseological theory and philosophical-meditative practice, two distinct types of exercitants can be discerned who have practised either the one or the other. Alternatively, one and the same exercitant might employ a Gradualist exercise at one stage of practice and the Simultaneist mode at another stage, in such a manner that these two approaches to the understanding of ultimate reality (*paramārtha*) complement each other rather than either standing in radical opposition or converging totally.

In a line of thought where tension existed in the tradition between change and continuity, historical processes and social factors may operate in such a way that thinkers might update their tradition, bringing about in it a rupture. The question then arises as to whether we have here an example of continuity where tradition was just being revitalized within the frame of its traditionally transmitted intellectual parameters and methods, or whether we in fact have a case of a deliberate rupture initiating an entirely rethought and new movement or (sub)school.

A case in point is to be found in the history of *tathāgatagarbha* thought. There we see that this teaching became closely linked with the Prajñāpāramitā and Madhyamaka theories of Emptiness (*śūnyatā*), even though Buddhist doxographers regularly assigned the doctrines of *tathāgatagarbha* and *svabhāvaśūnyatā* to two

distinct Cycles in the Buddha's teaching that have usually been regarded as two doctrines that are quite distinct if not entirely opposed and incompatible with each other. What then appears as a radical difference between the two, and therefore as a true break in the history of Mahāyānist thought, has been bridged by some thinkers by means of traditionally recognized exegetical and hermeneutical instruments. And the way in which this was done resulted in the appearance of two alternative ideas of *śūnyatā*: the Empty of self-existence (*svabhāvasūnya* = *ran ston*, of which there exist subvarieties) and the Empty of the heterogeneous (*gžan ston*, of which there also exist more than one expression). These two theories of Emptiness, the first of which is marked by a logically apagogical and propositionally apophatic procedure in exposition and argument while the second proceeds affirmatively and cataphatically, are most often thought of and described in the sources as opposed, and indeed mutually exclusive, alternatives. But some thinkers have advanced the view that, instead, they should be treated as complementary, and accordingly as supplementing each other in an exercitant's philosophical-meditative practice.

How this actually worked out in practice has varied in details between different masters. For example, Karma Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554) evidently began as a proponent of *gžan ston* but later advocated *ran ston*. And 'Ju Mi pham rnam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846–1912), although considered a *ran ston pa*, also advocated the *gžan ston*. For his part Guñ than dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me (1762–1823) maintained the (asymptotic) convergence, and indeed the co-reference, of the teachings of *śūnyatā* and the *tathāgatagarbha* (see Part II/1 below). In this case, revitalization and creative thinking within tradition brought in their wake a considerable degree of rethinking, even if this was achieved within the framework of established intellectual parameters and hermeneutical methods handed down in the philosophical tradition.

In sum, creativity and innovation may bring about not only total breaks (through “creative destruction” as it were) but also changes in focus and horizon and paradigm shifts within an overarching continuity.

Another important paradigm shift is to be found in the relationship between Vaibhāṣika scholasticism and Madhyamaka. Thus Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* are devoted to a

searching analysis and philosophical deconstruction of the idea of self-existence (*svabhāva*) and of the *dharma* theory of Abhidharma in so far as these *dharms* were regarded as self-existent essentialized entities; yet parts of this text (notably Chapter 24) attest to a certain continuity between Śrāvakayānist Abhidharma and Madhyamaka. Still another paradigm shift was between Madhyamaka and Vijñānavāda, where the *paratantra* Empty of the imaginary *parikalpita* is realized as ultimately real *pariniṣpanna*. And an important difference has also existed between Madhyamaka thinking founded on the Emptiness of self-existence (*svabhāva-sūnyatā* = *rañ stoñ*) and a variant, the so-called synthesizing “Vijñapti-Madhyamaka” based on the idea of the Emptiness of the heterogeneous (the *gžan stoñ*); in the latter, the ultimate *pariniṣpanna* is thought of as Empty (*sūnya*) of both *parikalpita* and *paratantra*.⁵⁹

Philosophical developments have led to significant accommodations and shifts in the structure and internal equilibrium of the philosophical systems concerned, so that the traditional components retained were rebalanced within the system. In this way, through revitalization and renewal and through innovation and creativity, the traditional is rethought and reformulated without ever being entirely superseded and abandoned. Whether the renewed component elements and the rebalanced system as a whole should be regarded as novel and newfangled—as an arbitrary novelty (*rañ bzo*)—is a matter that may be contentious; the *gžan stoñ* view was indeed so regarded by many thinkers. But this was not the case with the relationship between Vaibhāṣika Abhidharma, Nāgārjuna’s Madhyamaka or Asaṅga’s and Vasubandhu’s Vijñānavāda, all three of which have been recognized as valid traditions in the philosophical and doxographical literature of Tibetan Mahāyāna Buddhism. Traditions could, however, still be hierarchically graded relatively to each other by invoking the idea

⁵⁹ The *stoñ gži* is the “ground” or locus that is Empty, and *stoñ tshul* refers to what this “ground” is Empty of. In a standard Vijñānavāda doctrine, the *paratantra* Empty of the *parikalpita* is *pariniṣpanna*, this being what is meant by (*svabhāva*) *sūnyatā*; but in a variant of this system the *pariniṣpanna* is Empty of the *paratantra* as well as of the *parikalpita*, this being the meaning of *sūnyatā* in the variant system. For the terminology, see Seyfort Ruegg 1969, Index s.v. *stoñ gži*; Seyfort Ruegg 2002: 173, 228.

of Cycles in the Buddha's teaching (*chos kyi 'khor lo* = *dharmacakra*) and the hermeneutical categories of provisional sense (*neyārtha*) and definitive sense (*nītārtha*) in this teaching. But the use of the concept of three successive Cycles of the Dharma was itself to pose problems in so far as the Middle Cycle consisting of Prajñāpāramitāsūtras was regarded by some hermeneuts as of definitive sense, whilst it was the final Cycle that was so regarded by other hermeneuts.⁶⁰ No single and final resolution of this problem acceptable to all appears to have been found. Holding that the third and last Cycle of the Dharma is definitive in sense while the second is provisional in sense, one branch of hermeneutics postulated the doctrinal definitiveness of this third Cycle of the Dharma; and in its scriptural exegesis this branch adopted a view postulating a progressive chronological sequence in the teaching of the Dharma and consequently in the editorial ordering of the canon.⁶¹ Another group of hermeneuts held, however, that it was the second Cycle of the teaching of the Dharma that was definitive in sense, but that a part of the final Cycle—the *sūtras* teaching the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine—was also definitive in sense; this view did not postulate an ascending chronological sequence in the teaching and the ordering of doctrine (see Part II/1 below).

There was, then, no universal acceptance of the idea that development in a teaching or in philosophy is gradual and that it is brought to final completion in a sequential linear progression. The movements in philosophy and hermeneutics just surveyed might perhaps be compared (however imperfectly) with that of a spiral

⁶⁰ This triple division into sequential turnings of the wheel of the Dharma is attested in the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* 7:30. There the first turning comprising the teaching of the four *āryasatyas* is located in Rṣipatana/Mṛgadāva near Vārāṇasī; the second turning comprising the teaching in Prajñāpāramitāsūtras of non-substantiality and signlessness is located at the Gḍhrakūṭa; and the third turning comprising the teaching of the supreme absolute is associated with Vaiśālī. See, e.g., Bu ston's *Chos 'byuñ* and mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzañ po's *rGyud sde spyi nam*.

⁶¹ Ascending chronological sequence was famously evoked by the Jo nañ pa Dol bu pa Śes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361) in his writing on the *bka' bsdu bži pa* concerned with the periods of the Teaching. Cf. Stearns 1999. The hermeneutical concepts of the provisional and the definitive, and of the intentional, were extended to cover also *bstan rtsis*, i.e., reckonings of the chronology of the Buddhist teaching. Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1992: 284, 288f.

turning back on itself yet proceeding upwards. The process could perhaps be summed up by saying that it was much less one of revolution—of “creative destruction”—than of a continual returning to source, of a *ressourcement* that was accomplished, more or less perfectly and finally, according to the nature of each case.

12. Conclusion

The history of each knowledge system and way of thought needs of course to be studied individually with a view to determining how they renew themselves, evolving in changing historical and cultural circumstances, and how they might innovate.

Nāgārjuna’s Madhyamaka tradition, for instance, divided into Buddhapālita’s and Candrakīrti’s *Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka, Bhāviveka’s Svātantrika-Madhyamaka and Śāntarakṣita’s Yogācāra-Madhyamaka, all of which subschools have historical and doctrinal specificities. In Tibet the *Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka produced Tsoṅ kha pa’s school, which represented a partial converging with Dharmakīrti’s Pramāṇa School without a total merging taking place, a movement that was not without Indian antecedents. These subschools are all marked out by particular philosophical and spiritual horizons. As for *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine, it divided broadly into Rañ stoṅ pa and g’Zan stoṅ pa interpretations, each with Indian antecedents. It can be pertinent in this connexion to distinguish between a widening of horizon associated with a tradition’s expansion of philosophical view and spiritual vistas and a sharp paradigm shift where a tradition is systemically rebalanced and reconfigured; this distinction can, however, be a fine one that is hard to draw.

A matter requiring further clarification is whether parallels and similarities between philosophical innovations in systems common to India and Tibet are attributable to developments that arose independently on each side owing to the inner structure and logic of evolving and living knowledge systems and ways of thought, or whether parallels and similarities were due to exchanges that took place between individuals and schools in these two lands. Comparable or parallel developments in them could have resulted from historical contacts in view of the well-attested fact that Tibetans made pilgrimages to India and often studied

there with various masters and the fact that Indian *paṇḍitas* belonging to many traditions travelled to and had disciples in Tibet.

One general conclusion that can be drawn—a fairly obvious one in fact—is that, in a traditional civilization, branches of knowledge tend to be conservative. But this has not necessarily meant that they were reactionary and prevented from evolving and being updated and revitalized, and from undergoing creative renewal. Only in special circumstances where the reception of newly acquired knowledge clearly invalidated and replaced an old, “traditional” doctrine, and where a radical change of paradigm or a cognitive rupture necessitated the rejection of an old doctrine, would acceptance of the new result ineluctably in the abandonment of the traditional. Tradition *per se* does not necessarily preclude revitalization, renewal and creative thinking. But it clearly predisposes its followers to refuse novelty of a markedly individualistic sort (the kind known in Tibet as *ran bzo*). From a consideration of tradition and conservatism in relation to renewal and creativity one conclusion emerges: this duality need not necessarily translate into conflict and mutual exclusion; but it can be reflected in systemic tensions requiring resolution.⁶²

As for the concepts of the modern, modernity and modernization, in the present context they are probably somewhat too fluid and imprecise—and perhaps too culture-bound also—to be genuinely useful in advancing the understanding of the complex intellectual, cultural and historical issues at stake. At best, and without being essentialized, the description “modern” can pertinently describe the chronologically latest period in the historical development of a knowledge system or way of thought. The con-

⁶² Tradition has often been opposed to reason and rationality, and to ideals of the European Enlightenment. This usage is found for instance in J. Bronkhorst’s article “Indology, What is it good for?” (2011: 115ff.). To the present writer, this understanding seems approximative and insufficiently differentiated. As an example, Bronkhorst has cited a view of Dalai Lama XIV on the meaning of the Mahāyāna; but, it would seem, the latter’s view may have been misapprehended: what the Dalai Lama was objecting to in his criticism quoted by Bronkhorst was, surely, a view of Mahāyāna founded solely in socio-history, which may in effect bracket out and set aside the dimensions of philosophy and religion. As such, and quite apart from whether one totally agrees with them or not, the Dalai Lama’s remarks appear reasonable and justifiable: they hold in effect that Mahāyāna is not amenable to sociological reductionism of any kind.

cept may thus embrace the contemporary, and also the global. A case in point is modern Indian philosophy, which has contacts with, and is indeed part of “Western” or of “World” Philosophy. (The same holds, for example and *mutatis mutandis*, for some modern Indian plastic art.) If, in our sources, novelty or originality *per se* (as distinct from the freshly insightful and even the striking) is seldom claimed, updating—a sort of *aggiornamento*—and of course renewal and creativity in thinking can find a legitimate place provided that they are not understood as radically antithetical to tradition.

A knowledge system or tradition may be well aware that it evolves. And it may then acknowledge that it has been renewed and revitalized (sometimes, although far from always, even appending the word “new” to its traditional appellation). Yet it tends to do so within parameters where emphasis is simultaneously placed upon continuity. Originality and novelty are not prized in and for themselves and, to repeat, tradition and development are not regarded as radically conflicting and contradictory features. The opinion that tradition must exclude creativity in thinking and *vice versa* appears to derive in part from a quasi *stratigraphical* conception of historical development. When considering the history of Indian, Tibetan and Buddhist thought, however, it seems that what might be called a *tomographical* kind of analysis will very often be more applicable. Development is not just linear and substitutive (though it has of course sometimes been so) but also spiral-like and recursive. The fabric of tradition continually weaves in old strands that are not discarded. The student of Indian and Buddhist thought may ask himself whether (to employ a different metaphor) some of the processes involved are like pouring new wine into old bottles or more like drawing fine spirits off from old casks and newly bottling them. He may perhaps conclude that neither metaphor is wholly adequate for describing the frequently spiral-like or recursive processes at work in the history of these ways of thinking.

PART II. FOUR EXAMPLES OF PHILOSOPHICAL INNOVATION AND
HERMENEUTICAL CREATIVITY IN BUDDHIST TRADITION

The following pages address four examples of creative and innovative philosophical thinking in a Buddhist tradition.

The first case concerns *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine, which is assigned by Buddhist doxographers to the final period or Cycle in the Buddha's teaching of the Dharma (*chos kyi 'khor lo tha ma*). According to some interpreters this last period was definitive in sense, superseding in its finality the middle period of the teaching on *svabhāvasūnyatā* regarded as provisional in sense. But according to a philosophical and hermeneutical view to be considered here, rather than constituting a true break between two successive periods in Buddhist tradition, this case represents a widening of horizon whereby the middle and last periods of the Dharma stand hermeneutically in a relation of complementarity rather than of radical opposition. Attention is called to philosophical and hermeneutical treatments of the *prima facie* opposition between the concepts of buddha-nature (*tathāgatagarbha*) as an important soteriological principle and Emptiness of self-existence (*svabhāvasūnyatā*) as a fundamental ontic principle, both being regarded as definitive in sense. Each was assigned to a distinct period in the teaching of the Dharma, but interpretation brought the two together by means of what are traditional exegetical and hermeneutical instruments. Essentially, on the level of soteriology, the doctrine of the "buddhamorphic" *tathāgatagarbha* was understood as teaching that all sentient beings are capable of attaining buddhahood: *sarvasattvās tathāgatagarbhāḥ* (Tib. *sems can thams cad de bžin gšegs pa'i sñin po can*; see *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:133). In the source texts, the Sanskrit expression *tathāgata-garbha* is amphibolic in so far as it can be analysed as an adjectival possessive compound (*bahuvrīhi*: "containing [embryonically/in essence] a *tathāgata*," in which case the Tibetan equivalent may be marked by the particle *can* "having," as in *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* 1:27–28 and *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:133) or as a substantival determinative compound (*tatpuruṣa*: "Embryo of a *tathāgata*"), the grammatical analysis depending on the syntactical construction in which the word figures. Both usages have been understood as ultimately giving expression to the same doctrine of definitive sense. The

discussion will address ways in which this important Mahāyāna doctrine evolved, incorporating old and traditional building blocks.

The second case concerns the way in which *Prāsaṅgika, Svātantrika, and Yogācāra-Madhyamaka philosophical material, and also Vijñānavāda/Cittamātra and Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavidyā, were drawn upon in varying degrees and incorporated into their thinking by later Madhyamaka thinkers declaring allegiance to Nāgārjuna's scholastic treatises (the *rigs tshogs* of the Tibetan doxographical tradition) and to Candrakīrti's (*Prāsaṅgika-) Madhyamaka when explicating critical points in Madhyamaka thought.

The third case to be considered concerns the way in which a theory of definition operating with the classical dyadic distinction between definiendum (*lakṣya*) and definition (*lakṣaṇa*) expanded into a triadic structure where the *lakṣya* was subdivided into two, with each component being designated in the language of Tibetan scholasticism by a distinct technical term. The methods and terminology used for definition (*lakṣaṇa* = *mtshan ñid*) and developed in the Pramāṇa school of Indian Buddhism thus came to be elaborated in a Tibetan knowledge system without any destruction or rupture in the tradition being intended.

The fourth case concerns an innovating theory of inference known as *antarvyāpti* developed by a renowned later Buddhist scholar in India, Ratnākaraśānti, whose treatise on the subject was included in the bsTan 'gyur alongside the works of Dharmakīrti and their commentaries. In the Pramāṇa school in Tibet *antarvyāpti* was thus received as an addition rather than as a disruptive or destructive break in tradition.

Except for the last one, which was wholly Indian in its genesis, the cases to be considered are documented through important developments that occurred during the course of doctrinal development in India and the ensuing transmission and elaboration of Indian Buddhist thought in Tibet. Different though these four cases are from each other, each shows that the relationships between tradition and innovation were complex. Already in Indian thought, as seen in Part I of this paper, creativity and the "new" (as distinct from the novel) did not necessarily and automatically entail the rejection of the traditional and "old." Both can be found

side by side. If found to be in tension with each other, philosophers, hermeneuts and doxographers might classify them as superior and inferior, or as definitive and provisional, in a doctrinal hierarchy, but always within one many-layered tradition. Even when it is pertinent to speak of innovation and creativity, the processes and stages of development involved could probably be described as spiral-like, or sometimes even as recursive. And innovation can be incremental, and cumulative or accretive, rather than substitutive and destructive.

Various systems of Buddhist doxographical classifications and hermeneutical taxonomies of the Buddha's Dharma have existed. In China there was the *panjiao* (判教) system, which appears as linear and organized in an ascending progression within a school's tradition. In Tibet the postulation of a third and final Cycle of the Dharma is attested in two main versions: a so to say stratigraphically structured one in which the later period is held to be superior to the earlier one in an ascending progression, and a hermeneutical and doxographical classification in which it is the second period that was considered definitive in sense (*nītārtha* = *nes don*) whereas the third was regarded as being partly of provisional sense (*neyārtha* = *drañ don*) and partly of definitive sense. In this last form, development through time and the creativity and innovation characterizing it may be described as spiral-like, even as recursive. This second structure requires so to say tomographical rather than exclusively stratigraphical analysis. (For stratigraphical and tomographical analysis, cf. Seyfort Ruegg 2004b: 60–61.)

The first two cases to be considered are derived from *sūtra* sources, the first mainly from the so-called Tathāgatagarbhasūtras (*sñiñ po'i mdo*) and the second mainly from Prajñāpāramitāsūtras; they have therefore been counted as rooted in "Buddha-word" (*buddhavacana* = *sañs rgyas kyī bka'*). The basic Indian *śāstra* and commentary on the former topic, the *Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantra* (together with the *Vyākhyā*) is frequently as visionary and poetic in its use of figurative language as any *sūtra*. It plays on distinct semantic values of the word *gotra*, namely (biological) lineage (a "spiritual gene" so to speak, connecting with the concept and expression *tathāgataGARBHA*), or precious (mineral) substance held in an ore or matrix and precious relic-deposit placed in a *stūpa* (*dhātugarbha*, connecting with the concept and expres-

sion *tathāgataDHĀTU*), thus harnessing metaphor to express its doctrine of the spiritual “Embryo”/“Element” of buddhahood possessed by all sentient beings. In some passages this *śāstra* might even be described as proto-Vajrayānist or proto-Tantric. The relatively sparse commentarial literature of Indian origin on this subject has been followed by a rich and very important Tibetan literature concerning it.

The last two cases to be considered here relate, on the other hand, to logic and epistemology and, accordingly, to the *śāstra*ic and commentarial level of Buddhist tradition. The question whether a knowledge system such as *Pramāṇavidyā* is to be counted as an “exterior” (*bāhyaka*) *vidyāsthāna*, i.e., a knowledge system held in common with related non-Buddhist systems in India (at least partially, and notwithstanding differences between a Buddhist and a non-Buddhist version of the knowledge system), or as an essentially Buddhist “interior” science (*adhyātmavidyā*) has been the subject of interesting discussions in Buddhist tradition (see Seyfort Ruegg 1995a: 105–106 and 2008: 8).

In the following pages, the matter of the relation between tradition and innovation appears in various forms. In the case of *tathāgatagarbha*, since the time of the Mahāyānist *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* at least, the question has arisen as to whether it reflected the influence of the Brahmanical *ātmavāda*, and perhaps even an accommodation with the latter. Yet, at the same time, the permanence of buddhahood and a *tathāgata* subsequent to his Nirvāṇa or “extinction” (related in connexion with the Śākyamuni in the Śrāvakayānist *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* of the *Dirghāgama*) is in fact a genuine religio-philosophical issue for Buddhist thought per se, without any borrowing or accommodation needing to be supposed (for further details see Seyfort Ruegg 1989b, Section 1). The third case, that of innovation in the theory of definition (*lakṣaṇa*), constitutes in its origins a development that also concerned Indian Nyāya; but this topic, too, is an essential one within the internal philosophical development of Buddhist thought per se. The second and fourth cases are, each in its own way, examples of a creative development occurring within the very long history of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist philosophical thought (the second case) or within Indian Buddhist thought alone (the fourth case).

1. *Tathāgatagarbha and śūnyatā*

Reference has been made several times above to thinking in the hermeneutical mode within a traditional framework providing evidence of creativity and a degree of innovation, but without claiming novelty, and exhibiting an enduring concern for traditional themes and methods.

In the history of Buddhist thought, the issue of innovation and renewal already arose, potentially at least, with the idea of distinct “Vehicles” (*yāna* = *theg pa*), and in particular with the relation of Mahāyāna to Śrāvakayāna and of Mantranaya/Mantrayāna/Vajrayāna to both Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna. In the sources, this division may be conceived of hermeneutically less in terms of sequential chronological stages in the Buddha’s teaching—i.e., of progressive Cycles in his turning of the Dharma-wheel (as in the case to be considered below)—than in terms of alternative paths where the terminology employed does not imply temporal progression: although these *yānas* were indeed thought to have been preached in different periods of the Buddha’s life and may be regarded as being successive, one *yāna* was not necessarily regarded as cancelling and replacing the preceding one. This is not, however, the place to pursue the question as to what is distinctive, and indeed new, in Mahāyāna in relation to Śrāvakayāna.⁶³ (The three-fold division of the Dharma into the three *piṭakas* of Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma is not directly pertinent to the present topic.)

Here reference will be made in particular to the (*praktistha*-)*gotra* and *tathāgatagarbha/tathāgatadhātu* doctrines in *sūtra* hermeneutics as explicated by Guñ than dKon mchog bstan pa’i sgron me (1762–1823) of the Bla brañ bKra šis ’khyil monastic seminary in A mdo. This scholar is of interest in the present context because he stood at the end of about a millennium and a half of contin-

⁶³ But compare notes 15 and 57 above. For certain possible anticipations of the Mahāyānist *gotra* and comparable theories in Buddhist Śrāvakayāna sources, see Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 455ff. On Jñānaśrī’s **Vajrayānāntadvayanirākaraṇa* (*riDo rje theg pa’i mtha’ gnīs sel ba*), a work dealing with the specific features and superiority of Vajrayāna, see Kyuma 2009: 469ff. and Tanemura 2009: 487ff. Points on which Vajrayāna differs from, and is superior to, Mahāyāna have been listed following an explanation by Dalai Lama XIV in Hopkins 1977: 212–214.

uing reflection on this subject in India and then in Tibet and wrote at the dawn of the modern age in Inner Asian history.

By Tibetan exegetes the buddha-nature or *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine has been connected with what they have termed the third and final Cycle of the Buddhist Dharma (*chos kyi 'khor lo = dharmacakra*), a classification that raised the issue of a progression in time, as pointed out in the first part of this section (see n. 61 above). The nature of the *tathāgatagarbha* and *praktisthagotra* doctrines urgently called, moreover, for contextualization in relation to—and indeed for hermeneutical integration into—the theory of Emptiness of self-existence (*svabhāvasūnyatā*) propounded in the Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras* assigned to the second or middle Cycle of the Dharma, and then in Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka works, so long at least as these doctrines were both regarded as being of definitive sense (*nītārtha*). Any viable exegesis proposed therefore required philosophical effort and hermeneutical skill dedicated to determining, by means of both scripture (*āgama*) and reasoning (*yukti*), whether one doctrine is of definitive sense while the other is of only provisional sense (*neyārtha*), or whether both may properly be held to be of definitive sense. Guñ than in fact held that both the *sūnyatā* theory and the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine are not only *nītārtha* but in a special sense also convergent, each in its own distinctive context and register. Attached as they are to two different Cycles of the Dharma, it should be concluded according to him that the one neither contradicts nor duplicates the other. This is because, on one single level of philosophical-hermeneutical reference, both contradiction and redundancy have to be eschewed by the interpreter. The remarkable conclusion arrived at finally through a hermeneutical process of textual and doctrinal analysis was that *tathāgatagarbha* is *sūnyatā*.⁶⁴ The line of hermeneutics that adopted this interpretation does not, therefore, subscribe to the view that the teaching of the Dharma and the ordering of *sūtras* in the canon followed exclusively a doctrinally ascending chronological sequence (see pp. 592–593 above). It remains to understand what this may mean in terms of creativity and innovation.

⁶⁴ For the expression *tathāgatagarbhasūnyatārthanaya*, see the *avataraṇikā* to *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* on verse 1:154 (p. 75.13, 17), and below, pp. 604ff., with Seyfort Ruegg 2015: 325ff.

At just what point in the history of Buddhism this interpretation was first explicitly formulated is not entirely clear. The equivalence—the “co-reference” (*ekārtha* = *don gcig*)—of Emptiness and buddha-nature has been explicitly affirmed in the *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādasūtra* where it is stated: “Precisely, knowledge of *tathāgatagarbha* is the Tathāgatas’ Gnosis of Emptiness” (in Ye šes sde’s Tibetan translation, ed. Tsukinowa, p. 130: *de bžin gšegs pa’i sñin po[i] šes pa ñid ni de bžin gšegs pa mams kyi stoñ pa ñid kyi ye šes lags te*). The Sanskrit version of this statement is cited in the primary commentary on the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, the *Vyākhyā*, where we read (*Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:154–155, p. 76): *tathāgatagarbhajñānam eva tathāgatānāṃ sūnyatājñānam* “Precisely, knowledge of *tathāgatagarbha* is the Tathāgatas’ Gnosis of Emptiness.” In his Tibetan translation of the *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā*, rÑog Blo ldan šes rab rendered this by *de bžin gšegs pa’i sñin po’i ye šes ñid ni de bžin gšegs pa mams kyi stoñ pa ñid kyi ye šes yin la...* (where *ye šes* has been used instead of Ye šes sde’s *šes pa* to translate the first occurrence of *jñāna*).

A fundamental feature that *sūnyatā* and *tathāgatagarbha* share is that—by definition and by way of their posited equivalence with *tathatā*—they are both classifiable as unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), even when buddha-nature is still enveloped in the adventitious impurities (*āgantukakleśa*) attaching to the impure state (*aśuddhāvasthā*) of an ordinary being (*prthagjana*) and to the half-impure and half-pure state (*aśuddhaśuddhāvasthā*) of a *bodhisattva* abiding in the round of existences (*samsāra*).

The passage just cited from the *Śrīmālāsūtra* has furthermore defined *tathāgatagarbha* as empty (*sūnya*) of all coverings of impurity (*sarvakleśakośa*), described as separable (*vinirbhāga* = *tha dad du gnas pa*) and *muktajña* (*ma grol bas/bar šes pa*), but as *not* empty (*aśūnya*) of the buddha-properties (*dharma*), which are inseparable (*avinirbhāga* = *tha dad du mi gnas pa*) and *amuktajña* (*grol bas šes pa*). This principle of *aśūnya* is evoked also in *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:86.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ In the citations of the relevant *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādasūtra* passage in *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā* on verse 1:154–155, and of the parallel in *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā* on verse 1:152, the qualifiers *amuktajña/amuktajñāna* find their place in a set of qualifiers including *sambaddha* “connected,” *avinirbhāga* “insep-

When introducing its explanations, the *avataraṇikā* to *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:154–155 refers to a *tathāgatagarbha-sūnyatārthanaya*, a somewhat unobtrusive compound expression rendered by rNog as *ston pa ñid kyi tshul du brjod pa de bžin gšegs pa'i sñin po* “*tathāgatagarbha* expressed in the mode of Emptiness” (Skt. *artha* being left untranslated). In this place the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* speaks very significantly of *bodhisattvas* newly mounted on their Vehicle, whose minds are distracted by Emptiness so that they are confused/fail (in their understanding of) how *tathāgatagarbha* has the meaning of Emptiness (*śūnyatā-vikṣiptacittā ucyante navayānasamprasthitā bodhisattvās tathāgatagarbhasūnyatārthanayaviṣṇāṣṭāḥ* = *ston pa ñid las sems rnam par g-yeñs pa ni theg pa la gсар du žugs pa'i byañ chub sems dpa' ston pa ñid kyi tshul du de bžin gšegs pa'i sñin po las ñams pa dag la brjod do*).

Here the theory of the Empty is accordingly a quite special one. It was later to be developed into what is termed *gžan ston* in

arable,” and *asaṃskṛta* “unconditioned” which “qualify” the imponderable (*acintya*) *buddhadharmas*, of which *tathāgatagarbha* is said to be not empty (*asūnya* = *mi ston pa*); and the antonym *muktajñā/muktajñāna* enters into the opposed set including *vinirbhāga* “separable,” *asambaddha* “unconnected” and *saṃskṛta* “conditioned,” which qualify the *kleśakośas* of which *tathāgatagarbha* is Empty (*śūnya* = *ston pa*). Closely related is the expression *avinirmuktajñānaguṇa* (*ma grol ba'i ye šes kyi yon tan can*) qualifying *dharmakāya* in quotations from the *Anūnatvā-pūratvanirdeśa* cited in *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* on verses 1:1 and 1:44. In his Tibetan translation of the quotations from the *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādasūtra* in the *Ratnagotravibhāga(vyākhyā)*, rNog Blo ldan šes rab (1059–1109) has rendered the two antithetical expressions by *bral mi šes pa* and *bral šes pa* respectively. But in Ye šes sde's (c. 800) translation of the corresponding passages in the *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādasūtra* (pp. 130–132) are found the translation-equivalents *grol bas šes pa* in the set *tha dad du gnas pa [...]* *ston pa*, and *ma grol bar/bas šes pa* in the set *tha dad du mi gnas pa [...]* *mi ston pa*. In a parallel passage on p. 146 of the Tibetan version of the *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādasūtra* is found the translation-equivalent *šes pa grol ba ma lags pa* in the set *'brel ba ma mchis pa tha dad du gnas la*. In other words, compared with rNog's translation reflecting the Sanskrit attested in the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā*, the placing of the negative particle in Ye šes sde's translation of the *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādasūtra* is reversed in the case of the expressions at issue. For a discussion of this textual issue, see Seyfort Ruegg 2015: 320ff. The complex matter of a Mahāyānist “absolute” and the description of *tathāgatagarbha* as *sūnya(tā)* has been discussed in Seyfort Ruegg 1973a: 26ff. and, especially, 51ff. (on links between the concepts of *tathāgatagarbha* and *dharmatā*, *sūnyatā*, etc.), and 37–44 (on the definition of *tathāgatagarbha* in relation to *dharmakāya*); and in Seyfort Ruegg 1969, Part III, chap. 7 (on *sūnyatā*), chap. 8 (on absolute reality) and chap. 4 (on *dharmatā* and *tathatā*).

Tibetan philosophy and doxography, a theory connected with the final Cycle of the Dharma that existed beside the *rañ stoñ* or *svabhāvasūnyatā* of Prajñāpāramitāsūtras, which were assigned to the middle Cycle of the Dharma. The omission of the word *artha* in the Tibetan translation of this compound might possibly have reinforced the identification of *tathāgatagarbha* and *sūnyatā*. There are indeed indications that this matter gave rise to problems in the Tibetan hermeneutics and classification of these two doctrines.

In the *Vyākhyā* on the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, *tathāgatagarbha*—also referred to as (*tathāgata*)*dhātu*—has been brought within the ambit of concepts relating to ultimate reality, concepts that are consequently identifiable with *sūnyatā*. Thus, in *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:24, it is stated that impure Thusness is called *tathāgatagarbha*, described as not free from the coverings of the impurities (*samalā tathatā yo dhātur avinirmuktakleśakośas tathāgatagarbha ity ucyate*; see also the introductory comments on *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1:27–28 and 2:1). And in *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:25 it is specified that this *samalā tathatā* is, simultaneously and at the same time, both very pure and affected (*yugapad ekakālam viśuddhā ca samklišṭā ca*). Similarly, an identification is made of *tathāgatagarbha* with *dharmadhātu* (e.g., *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:6–8 [p. 10]; 1:154–155 [p. 76]) and with *dharmakāya* (e.g., *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:1 [p. 2] and 1:44 [p. 39]), following the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*.⁶⁶

It is not entirely clear to what degree this interpretation where *tathāgatagarbha* and *sūnyatā* are so closely linked—an interpretation which was surely philosophically and hermeneutically creative—was ever held to be “new”—i.e., novel—in so far as it regarded as convergent a doctrine from the third Cycle of the Dharma and another one characteristic of its second Cycle.⁶⁷ The word

⁶⁶ Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 2015: 317ff.

⁶⁷ Inasmuch as the *praktiṣṭhagotra*, and the *tathāgatagarbha/dhātu*, are understandable in terms of the idea of *praktiviśuddhi/pariśuddhi* (cf. the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* on verses 1:12, 131, 149–152, 154–155). And in so far as the latter can be thought of in terms of Emptiness (*Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* on verses 1:154–155), the idea that *tathāgatagarbha* is *sūnyatā* is not totally without precedent. Reference might be made also to the idea of *praktinirvṛta* and *praktinirvāṇa*. The link between this, *nirvṛta* and *niḥsvabhāva(tā) = sūnya(tā)* is attested, for example, in Prajñākaramati’s *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (in an expla-

uttara in the title of the fundamental treatise on this topic, the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*, is doubtless significant in this respect; but it lends itself to more than one interpretation. *Uttara* may have been intended to express superiority, as is suggested by the use of the equivalent *bla ma* in the Tibetan title of this work. Or it may have been employed to express the fact that the teaching contained in this *śāstra* relating to the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* and other doctrinally connected scriptural texts placed in the third and final Cycle of the Dharma was considered to be later. Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) has called attention to both possible meanings of the word; but he has taken *bla ma* = *uttara* to be equivalent to Tibetan *phyi ma* “subsequent;” and in accordance with this understanding, he has compared the *Uttaratantra* of Indian medical literature.⁶⁸

If (as observed above in note 67) the *tathāgatagarbha/tathāgatadhātu* and the *praktiśuddhi/pariśuddhi* in the *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā* (on 1:12, 149–152, 154–155), and in so far as this can be thought of as *sūnyatā* following the *Śrīmālāsūtra* cited above, the *śāstra*’s idea that *tathāgatagarbha* is *sūnyatā* will not be totally novel and without precedent.⁶⁹ Yet the question remains open as to just what “co-reference” (*ekārtha* = *don gcig*) of Emptiness and buddha-nature was intended by its proponents to signify.

nation of an objection in 9:13cd: *nirvyataḥ svabhāvasūnyatvād utpādanirodharahitah | paramārthena – paramārthasatyataḥ – prakṛtinirvāṇatayā ādisāntatvāt ||*); and in 9:151cd (*vastutah – paramārthataḥ – sarvadharmāṇām niḥsvabhāvatayā prakṛtinirvyatavāt | [...]*). The ideas of *prakṛtiśūnya*, *prakṛtipariśuddha* and *prakṛtiparinirvyata* are attested also in Prajñāpāramitā literature (see the references s.v. in Conze 1967).

⁶⁸ See Bu ston Rin chen grub, mDzes rgyan 1b–2b, with Seyfort Ruegg 1973a: 68–70. The interpretation of *uttaratantra* = *rgyud bla ma* as “subsequent” (*phyi ma*), referring to the final Cycle of the Dharma, is found also in rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen’s treatise on the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*; see *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma’i ṅikā* 169a6. Bu ston did not hold the *tathāgatagarbha* teaching to be definitive and *nītārtha*; he appears to have followed Sa skya paṇḍi ta Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) on this matter (see the latter’s *sDom gsum rab dbye* 9a). See Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 58, 394, and Seyfort Ruegg 1973a: 31–32, 110–111, n. 3.

⁶⁹ The connexion between *nirvyata*, *niḥsvabhāva* and *svabhāvasūnyatva* was made, e.g., by Prajñākaramati in his *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* on verses 9:13cd and 9:151 quoted above in n. 67. For rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen’s understanding of the *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:154–155, see *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma’i ṅikā* 164a4 ff.

In this matter, Guñ than (together with several of his predecessors) has taken a view that appears to differ from that of Candrakīrti, the source of this Tibetan master's own (*Prāsaṅgika)-Madhyamaka school. In his *Madhyamakāvātāra*(*bhāṣya*) this Indian authority had in fact discussed only the version of the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine that is set out in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which (following the *sūtra* itself) he regarded as a provisional (*neyārtha*) and intentional (*ābhīprāyika*) teaching. This view would appear to preclude any identification of *tathāgatagarbha* with *śūnyatā*, which in Candrakīrti's Madhyamaka school is the main purport of a non-intentional teaching of definitive sense (*nītārtha*).⁷⁰

On the other hand, the (asymptotic) convergence, or “co-reference,” of the *tathāgatagarbha* and *śūnyatā* doctrines at issue here made possible the conjoining of these two strands in Mahāyānist thinking and, finally, the syntheses of *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine with Madhyamaka thought that were to be elaborated in Tibet. As observed above, this movement appears to have been set in train by the authoritative Sanskrit commentary on *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* 1:154–155.

* * *

The observations made above prompt a number of queries and reflections, theoretical and historical. Several have a bearing on

⁷⁰ This idea goes back to the *Akṣayamatīrdeśasūtra* (vol. I, p. 167), cited by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* on verse 1:1 (p. 43). For Candrakīrti's view of *tathāgatagarbha* in this respect, see his *Madhyamakāvātāra*(*bhāṣya*) 6:94–95 (referring to the *neyārtha*), quoting *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, pp. 77–79 (which refers to the two motives of eliminating fear of *nairātmya* and of attracting Tirthikas). The treatment of the *tathāgatagarbha* teaching in the *Tarkajvālā* (D, f. 168b–169a) ascribed to Bhāviveka would appear to differ in so far as in it this teaching has not been explicitly described as intentional and of provisional meaning, while Candrakīrti (following the *Laṅkāvatāra*) has done so (p. 198). The *Tarkajvālā* and the *Laṅkāvatāra* (p. 78)—quoted by Candrakīrti and mentioned also by the author of the *Tarkajvālā*—both refer to the three *vimokṣasamukhas* (*śūnyatā*, *ānimitta* and *aprañihita*), which are declared to be present in the mental continuum (*rgyud* = *saṃtāna*) of all sentient beings. Some evidence for the interpretation of *tathāgatagarbha* in terms of *śūnyatā* is to be found in all three of the Indian sources just mentioned, as well as in a number of others.

the issue of the complex relationship between tradition, renewal and philosophically significant creativity and innovation.

As observed already, much exegetical and hermeneutical effort was devoted by Buddhist philosophers and doxographers to defining the relation between the three Cycles of the Dharma (*chos kyi 'khor lo = dharmacakra*) from the points of view of philosophical theory, meditative practice and spiritual discipline, and then to issues of synchronic organization, diachronic progression, and possible renewal and/or rupture in the course of the historical periods over which the Buddha's teaching was divided. One outcome of this effort was that a Buddhist tradition became divided into two broad exegetical and hermeneutical currents:

(i) one that understood the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine promulgated in the third Cycle of the Dharma in terms of the "Empty of self-existence" (*svabhāvasūnya = rañ stoñ*) assigned to the second Cycle, and (ii) one that understood this doctrine in terms of the "Empty of the other" (i.e., the heterogeneous, *gžan stoñ*), which was held to belong specifically to the third Cycle. In Tibet, the proponents of these two interpretations—the first apagogic, deconstructive and apophatic and the second affirmative, constructivist and cataphatic—finally came to constitute two schools of thought known respectively as those of the Rañ stoñ pas and the gžan stoñ pas (though neither of these two schools of thought was totally monolithic).

By each school *sūnyatā* was understood somewhat differently. For gžan stoñ pas, the theory of *sūnyatā* in terms of which *tathāgatagarbha* was interpreted was a special concept, namely "Emptiness of the heterogeneous," which was assigned to the final Cycle of the Buddha's teaching. They described their opponents' *rañ stoñ* doctrine as partial (*ñi tshe ba = prādesika*), as empty by negation (*dgag stoñ*), even as empty by destruction (*chad stoñ*). The gžan stoñ pa interpretation is related to what was termed *Vijñapti-Madhyamaka (*rnam rig gi dbu ma*), a synthesis of elements of Vijñānavāda/Cittamātra belonging to this third Cycle and of Madhyamaka belonging to the second Cycle. On the contrary, for Rañ stoñ pas, *sūnyatā* with which *tathāgatagarbha* is (asymptotically) co-referential (*don gcig = ekārtha*) is, in the last analysis, nothing but "Emptiness of self-existence" as set out in the second Cycle of the Dharma comprised of Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras*. This was the under-

standing advanced by Guñ than dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me at the end of a long line of hermeneuts.

Each of these two interpretations required from its proponents a considerable degree of creative philosophical and hermeneutical thinking. And according to the advocates of each the opposed view was to be regarded either as novel and unfounded, or as incomplete and relating to a still preliminary level of understanding.

Fundamental elements of Guñ than's hermeneutics of *tathāgatagarbha* were already present in the large commentarial treatise on the *Ratnagotravibhāga* by rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432), the *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i tīkā*, which constituted the standard for his dGa' ldan pa school since it cites Tsoñ kha pa's interpretation as its source (fol. 168b–169a). The idea of the “co-reference” of *viśuddhadhātu* = *tathāgatagarbha* and *sūnyatā*—which can be derived from the *Vyākhyā* on the *Śāstra* (*Ratnagotravibhāga* 1:154–155; see above)—is to be found in rGyal tshab rje's treatise (fol. 166b–167a); it is summed up on fol. 168a3 in the words 'khor lo tha mar bstan pa'i kham s rañ bžin rnam dag de ñid | 'khor lo bar par bšad pa'i ston pa dan don gcig par rtogs nas sna phyi mi 'gal bar khor du chud par 'gyur ro ||. Guñ than's fuller reasoning on the subject—a reasoning founded not just on the existence of specific motives (*dgos pa* = *prayojana*) for teaching *tathāgatagarbha* in the third Dharma-Cycle (namely the elimination of the five faults enumerated in *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1:157) and on the absence of contradiction (*'gal ba* = *virodha*) between the fundamental doctrines of the middle and last Dharma-Cycles (cf. *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1:156), but also, and very importantly, on the absence of redundant repetition (*bzlos pa* = *punarukta*, *punarvacana*) between these two Cycles—was not explicitly stated by rGyal tshab rje. That is, to rGyal tshab rje's rebuttal of the argument concerning absence of motivation (*dgos med*) and of the argument alleging contradiction (*'gal ba'i rtsod pa*), Guñ than has joined an explicit rebuttal of any suggestion of repetition between the two doctrines—*sūnyatā* and *tathāgatagarbha*—belonging respectively to the middle and the final Cycles of *buddhavacana*. The implications of this are several.

Guñ than's discussion is founded on a hermeneutics that rejected the assumption that a reference in a scriptural utterance to a motive (*dgos pa* = *prayojana*, see *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1:157) must of itself lead necessarily to the conclusion that the teaching in

which this reference is contained must be intentional (*dgoñs pa can* = *ābhiprāyika*) and of provisional sense (*drañ don* = *neyārtha*). The hermeneutical theory he adopted in fact specifies two further pre-conditions that are necessary for this conclusion to be valid: (i) the presence in the scriptural utterance in question of an unexpressed meaning or purport (*the dgoñs pa* = *abhiprāya*) and (ii) its incompatibility with the true sense of the scriptural corpus (*dños la gnod byed: mukhyārthabādha*). And it was argued by him that, because these two conditions are not met in the case of the interrelation of the second and third Dharma-Cycles expounding respectively *śūnyatā* and *tathāgatagarbha*, the two doctrines of *śūnyatā* and *praktisthago- tra/tathāgatagarbha* are in fact neither irreconcilably opposed nor redundant. According to Guñ than's exegesis, both teachings can and must be considered to be of definitive sense.

In summary, in his commentary on the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen operated with rebuttals of arguments concerning motivatedness and contradiction. For his part, when considering the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*—a *śāstra* connected with Tathāgatagarbhasūtras belonging to the third Dharma-Cycle—and the *praktisthago- tra* doctrine of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*—a *śāstra* connected with the second Dharma-Cycle since it is counted as a commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā—Guñ than joined the rebuttal of an argument concerning repetition and redundancy between these two doctrines.⁷¹

At this point in Guñ than's exegesis the question of novelty arises and was answered by him through his three interlocked arguments.

In Guñ than's and rGyal tshab rje's dGa' ldan pa school, moreover, a doxographical distinction was maintained between the *Ratnagotravibhāga* teaching the doctrines of *tathāgatagarbha* and *gotra* and the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, which in verses 37–39 of its Chapter 1 evokes the undifferentiated nature of the *praktisthago- tra* due to the non-differentiation of *dharmadhātu*—two *śāstras*

⁷¹ Guñ than's foregrounding of the refutation of the argument by redundancy (*bzlos pa*) might possibly be seen as a reaction to (and correction of) remarks of the kind made by rJe bKra šis 'od zer (16th–17th c.) in his *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi 'grel pa gsal ba ñi ma'i sñin po* 207–208. This work has been discussed by K.-D. Mathes (2012: 219).

nonetheless ascribed by tradition to Maitreya and included among the so-called five Maitreya-Dharmas (*byams chos sde lña*). This is because, from the standpoints of philosophical analysis and doxography, the *Abhisamayālamkāra* was systemically classified by scholars in his school as a Svātantrika-Madhyamaka text, and the *Ratnagotravibhāga* as a *Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka text.⁷²

* * *

The need arises to consider these issues as theoretical and as historical matters. Clearly, a doctrine can be soteriologically motivated but still be a repetition, and hence *prima facie* redundant from a strictly cognitive point of view. But having a specific motivation in a particular teaching context can be regarded as in fact implying that a doctrine does *not* truly constitute a mere *redundant repetition* in respect to its soteriological significance. A meaningful distinction can be drawn between what is a repetition and hence redundant cognitively, and a repetition that will *not* be redundant from the point of view of soteriology and spiritual practice even if it is cognitively a repetition. Practice and the soteriological are not automatically evacuated and rendered superfluous by what might be redundant cognitively and theoretically. In Buddhist thought, theory (i.e., *lta ba*, *darśana*) and practice (i.e., *spyod pa*, *caryā*) have been regarded as going hand in hand and complementarily reinforcing each other.

To say, then, that the doctrines of *śūnyatā* and *tathāgatagarbha* are one in sense (*don gcig [pa]*, *gnad gcig pa* “co-referential”) will *not* necessarily entail that one of them is totally redundant even from the points of view of soteriology and pedagogy: each has its specific motivation and function in its context. In this way, the three

⁷² The other “Maitreya Dharmas” are the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* and the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, both classified as belonging to Cīttamātra, and the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, also classified as belonging to Cīttamātra but in some respects close to the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. On the doxographical classification of the *byams chos sde lña* and the twenty “Maitreya Texts” in the dGa’ ldan pa school, see, e.g., mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzai po, *rGyud sde spyi rnam* 94ff. The texts of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* are traditionally said to have been retrieved by Maitrīpāda after a period of unavailability. See Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 37ff., 61ff.

arguments deployed by Guñ than concerning motivation, absence of irreconcilable opposition, and absence of redundant repetition may be regarded as distinct albeit interlinked and complementary arguments. Each finds its proper place when considering the relation between the second and third Dharma-Cycles of Mahāyāna teachings. The upshot of the argument will then be that the third and final Dharma-Cycle does not represent a total break with the middle Dharma-Cycle, and a radical novelty. (From this it could perhaps be concluded that it is Emptiness of self-existence [*rañ stoñ = svabhāvasūnyatā, niḥsvabhāvatā*] rather than a *gžan stoñ*-type theory of Emptiness that represents the definitive teaching of Mahāyāna; but this is another matter.)

Concerning the proposition “*tathāgatagarbha is sūnyatā*,” it has to be specified that it is not automatically equivalent to the equating of the two factors. To speak of co-reference does not imply synonymity, and the one term cannot simply be replaced by the other in any and every context. We cannot therefore simply write “**tathāgatagarbha = sūnyatā*” (using the sign =); nor, in terms of the philosophical hermeneutics under discussion, does the proposition “*tathāgatagarbha is sūnyatā*” permit deriving the proposition “**sūnyatā is tathāgatagarbha*.”

Here it is to be recalled that in the history of Mahāyāna Buddhist thought there are found two forms of the theory of *sūnyatā*: the Empty of self-existence (*svabhāvasūnyā*) as found for example in Nāgārjuna’s scholastic treatises on Madhyamaka, and connected with the second Cycle of the Dharma (the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras), and the Empty of the heterogeneous as found in the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and its *Vyākhyā* and assigned to the third Cycle of the Dharma (consisting of the *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādasūtra*, the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, etc.).⁷³

⁷³ Still another idea of the empty is so-called mutual, or relative, emptiness (*itaretarasūnyatā*) in terms of which a place is said to be empty of certain things but not of others. By the *Lañkāvatārasūtra* (p. 75) this form has been described as inferior (*jaḡhanyā = tha śal*); and it has been widely considered to be without true philosophical significance. This form of emptiness is exemplified by the formula *yad yatra nāsti tat tena sūnyam iti yathābhūtaṃ samanupaśyati (yat punar atrā-vaśiṣṭam bhavati tat sad ihāstīti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāty aviṣarītaṃ sūnyatālakṣaṇam udbhāvītam bhavati)*. Attested in its Pali form in the *Majjhimanikāya* (III.104–105), the formula has been employed in Vasubandhu’s *Madhyāntavibhāghabhāṣya* on 1:1

Let us now attempt to gather together the strands in the foregoing reflections on *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine in relation to the theory of *sūnyatā* and to the hermeneutical creativity and innovating ability of its interpreters. In terms of the doxography applied to earlier Mahāyāna, the second doctrine is of course characteristic of Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras* assigned to the second Cycle of the Buddha's teaching, and of writings by Nāgārjuna and his successors in the Madhyamaka school. And the first doctrine belongs to Tathāgatagarbha *sūtras* (known in Tibetan as the *sñin po'i mdo*) and to the *Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantrasāstra*, one of the so-called "five Dharmas" of Maitreya, on which there exists a commentary ascribed to Asaṅga.

This classification would appear to be applicable to a period in earlier Mahāyāna history when the so-called "Maitreya Texts" were not yet connected only with an already constituted Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda/Cittamātra school, that is, with a current of thought that had among its main *śāstras* the *Madhyāntavibhāga* and the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* (two other "Maitreya Texts") and, of course, a number of *sūtras* including the *Samdhinirmocana*. At this stage, works attributed to Maitreya and his disciple Asaṅga would appear not yet to have been systematically regarded as belonging to a doctrinal current opposed to that of Nāgārjuna and its canonical sources. (In Candrakīrti's *Ṭīkā* on it, Ārya-Deva's *Catuhśataka* has been linked through its title with a *bodhisattva-yogācāra*; and in Chinese translation there exist a commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakāśāstra* ascribed to Sthiramati as well as a commentary ascribed to Asaṅga on the beginning of this text.⁷⁴)

The two stanzas *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1:154–155 have, furthermore, addressed in their own way a matter once raised by Nāgārjuna in his *Madhyamakakārikās*. In verse 24:7 of this fundamental source for the Madhyamaka school of philosophy it is stated that a nihilistic understanding of *sūnyatā*, where its true purpose (*prayojana*) remains unapprehended or misunderstood, in fact violates Emptiness and its sense: *atra brūmaḥ sūnyatāyāṃ na tvaṃ vetsy pra-*

in the explanation of non-erroneous *sūnyatālakṣaṇa*. In *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:154–155 (p. 76) the formula is employed to explain the *Ratnagotravibhāga*'s idea of *sūnyatā*. For a discussion, see Seyfort Ruegg 1969, Part III, chap. 7 and 8.

⁷⁴ Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 49, 52.

yojanam | *śūnyatām śūnyatārthaṃ ca tata evaṃ vihanyase* ||. So, when wrongly apprehended, Emptiness will destroy the unintelligent, just like a snake when wrongly grasped (*Madhyamakakārikā* 24:11): *vināśayati durdṛṣṭā śūnyatā mandamedhasam* | *saṛpo yathā durgrhīto vidyā vā duṣprasādhitā* || (Cf. Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* 2:19–20 cited by Candrakīrti in his commentary on this verse.). Whilst the main line of Nāgārjunian thought argued—in a logically apagogical, propositionally apophatic, and methodologically deconstructive manner—that *śūnyatā* is no hypostasized entity, positive or negative, a strand in “Maitreyan” thought attested in the *Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantrasāstra* (1:154–155)—and also in *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 5:21—exhibits a mode of thinking that might be described as affirmative, constructivist and cataphatic (and perhaps even as “ontic” if not exactly ontological). The *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, a third text in the set of so-called “Maitreya Dharmas,” has also been connected with this line of thought, although it was in fact assigned by doxographers to the Cittamātra school. Each of these lines of thinking has accordingly approached the significance of *śūnyatā* in its own manner and terms, with Nāgārjuna insisting that it is not nihilistic and with the *Ratnagotravibhāga* bringing out its positive side.⁷⁵ In Buddhist tradition,

⁷⁵ The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* reads (5:21): *nāpaneyam ataḥ kiṃcid prakṣeptavyaṃ na kiṃcana* | *draṣṭavyaṃ bhūtato bhūtaṃ bhūtadarśi vimucyate* ||. One of the five so-called Maitreya Dharmas (the *Byams chos sde lña* of the Tibetan doxographers), this work, which is counted as a Prajñāpāramitā commentary and is therefore assignable to the second Cycle of the Buddha's teaching, is connected in its wording with verses 1:154–155 of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*: *nāpaneyam ataḥ kiṃcid upaneyam na kiṃcana* | *draṣṭavyam bhūtato bhūtam bhūtadarśi vimucyate* || *śūnya āgantukair dhātuḥ savinirbhāgalakṣaṇaiḥ* | *aśūnyo 'nuttarair dharmair avinirbhāgalakṣaṇaiḥ* ||. This is the pair of verses the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā*'s interpretation of which has been discussed above in connexion with the “co-reference” of (*tathāgata*) *dhātu* = *tathāgatagarbha* with *śūnyatā*. In them ultimate reality is characterized positively as inseparable from certain *dharmas*, as well as negatively as separable from other features. Traditionally held to be another of the five “Maitreya Dharmas,” as a text dealing with *tathāgatagarbha* the *Ratnagotravibhāga* has been assigned doxographically to the third Cycle of the Buddha's teaching. (Another text belonging to Prajñāpāramitā literature, and therefore assigned to the second Cycle of the Buddha's teaching, is the **Maitreyapariṣyccā* constituting chap. 83 of the Tibetan *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*; this work has been cited in support of an ontic understanding of *dharmatā* in Jo nañ pa tradition. For this text see Conze and Iida 1968: 229–242 and Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 147–148.) On the contrary, two other works traditionally included among the five “Maitreya

the line of thinking which understood Emptiness in more or less affirmative terms has often been linked with the figure of Maitreya and with the latter's disciple Asaṅga.

At a much later time, and without adopting the *gžan ston* view, Guñ thañ bsTan pa'i sgron me's interpretation aimed to show how the two lines of thinking represented on one side by *svabhāva-sūnyatā* and Madhyamaka and on the other side by the *tathāgata-garbha* doctrine of the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* can be viewed as standing in a relation of complementarity, converging (as it were asymptotically) with each other, and with the second line neither incompatible with nor redundantly duplicating the first.

In the history of Buddhist philosophical *śāstras*, the mainly deconstructive, apagogic and apophatic procedure appears as the older of these two lines of thinking. This line, expounded in early scholastic treatises of the Madhyamaka (i.e., in Nāgārjuna's *rigs tshogs* as they were termed by the Tibetan doxographers), represents one reference point against which creative innovation as well as novelty and rupture might be gauged in the history of Buddhist thought. The historically more recent "five Maitreya Dharmas" (*byams chos sde lña*) as we now have them might possibly be regarded as representing an innovation, even a rupture, relatively to the first line of thinking.

But things are probably not quite so simple. Nāgārjuna's "Hymnic Collection" (i.e., the *bstod tshogs* of the Tibetan doxographers) also exhibits a cataphatic stance. And the *Dharmadhātustava* traditionally attributed to him might perhaps even be compared doctrinally with works like the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* (and the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*) included among the "Dharmas of Maitreya." However creative and innovative the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* may be, however, it does not seem—notwithstanding its second title of *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*—to attempt to break totally and

Dharmas," the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* and the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, are counted as Cittamātra *śāstras*; they are accordingly regarded as expositions relating to the third Cycle of the teaching. But while *sūtras* to which these two works relate are regarded by many commentators as being *neyārtha*, the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, a work also assigned doxographically to the third Cycle of the teaching, has been attached to *sūtras* regarded as *nītārtha*. (The "five Dharmas of Maitreya" are consequently held to be differentiated in their doctrinal contents and not to set out a single teaching.)

disruptively with the tradition linked with the Prajñāpāramitā literature.⁷⁶ If creativity and even innovation are indeed present in the present context, it seems that novelty and rupture were not being aimed at. Once again, creativity is found alongside tradition and continuity.

When examining the sense of the compound *tathāgatagarbhaśūnyatārthanaya* employed in *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā* on 1:154–155 to express the relation of *tathāgatagarbha* to *śūnyatā* (see pp. 604ff. above), it was noted that this commentary and its *sūtra* source, the *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda*, have employed a terminology the exact meaning and implications of which are perhaps not perfectly plain at first sight. These terms are (*a*)*muktajñā* and (*a*)*muktajñāna*. Tibetan renderings of these important terms attested in these two fundamental texts indeed differ, a difference that is not easy to account for.⁷⁷ In later times the *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā*'s interpretation of the concept has, moreover, been understood in two distinct ways: that of *gžan stoñ* and *rañ stoñ* hermeneutics.⁷⁸

The doctrine of *tathāgatagarbha* and its relation to *śūnyatā* as well as the translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan of the relevant commentary, the *Ratnagoṭravibhāgavyākhyā*, could possibly be understood as suggesting that the ideas being set out and, in particular, the terminology employed to express these ideas were still somewhat fluid at the time of the Tibetan translations of these and related works (i.e., c. 900 for the *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādasūtra*, and the eleventh century for the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* and its commentary), perhaps indeed that these terms and concepts represented something of a doctrinal innovation in relation to better-known doctrine then regarded as standard. These two ways of understanding the relation between *tathāgatagarbha* and *śūnyatā* advocated respectively by Rañ stoñ pas and gžan stoñ pas ran parallel to the doxographical distinction between the middle and the final Dharma-Cycles (*chos kyi 'khor lo*) within the Buddha's teach-

⁷⁶ Nor, for that matter, do the classics of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda aim at a total rupture; they, too, seek a link with Prajñāpāramitā literature. One of the leading masters of this tradition, Sthiramati, is credited with a commentary (available in Chinese) on Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikās*, while there even exists in Chinese a commentary ascribed to Asaṅga on the first part of this text.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 603 with n. 65.

⁷⁸ See above, pp. 604–605.

ing—and thus between *sūtra* texts making up the bulk of Prajñāpāramitā literature and śāstraic Madhyamaka treatises and commentaries assigned to the second Cycle on the one side and on the other side the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, one of the *Byams chos sde lña* ascribed by tradition to Maitreya (nātha) and assigned to the third Cycle, together with its commentary traditionally ascribed to Asaṅga, the great authority of the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda school, which was itself assigned to this third Cycle.

With the *gžan ston* interpretation, then, we might perhaps be in the presence of truly disruptive innovation in the history of Mahāyāna. This interpretation's distribution of the Buddha's teaching over distinct Cycles appears as a chronologically sequential and linear one. However, as already observed above, this was not exactly the way the matter has been understood by at least an important part of Madhyamaka tradition in Tibet. And Guñ than bsTan pa'i sgron me sought to show, by means of traditional and widely accepted exegetical and hermeneutical instruments, that *tathāgatagarbha* is the (*svabhāva*)*sūnyatā* = *niḥsvabhāvatā* of Prajñāpāramitā texts and of Nāgārjuna, and that these two doctrines are convergent even though they were assigned to two different Cycles of the teaching. As seen above (pp. 609 ff.), in several respects Guñ than was preceded in this interpretation by another important authority belonging to his dGa' ldan pa school, rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen, Tsoñ kha pa's great disciple and successor as abbot of dGa' ldan monastery.

In summary, the linking of the first form of Emptiness—(*svabhāva*)*sūnyatā*—with the teaching of *tathāgatagarbha* and *praktisthagotra* was doubtless creative hermeneutically and philosophically. It represented more than just updating. But Guñ than continued to employ exegetical instruments belonging to the traditional repertoire of Indian and Tibetan thought, doxography and hermeneutical practice, so that it is hardly possible to speak here of a total break in tradition.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, it is also hardly

⁷⁹ The interpretations summarized above from Guñ than's works are taken from this scholar's explanation of Haribhadra's *Śāstravyūtti* (*Sphuṭārthā*) on Prajñāpāramitā thought based on the *Abhisamayālamkāra*—the 'Grel pa don gsal gyi steñ nas rgyas 'brin bsdus gsum mñon rtogs rgyan rtsa 'grel sogs mdo rgyan sbyar ba'i gžab bśad kyi zin bris sbas don gsal ba'i sgron me (Guñ than bKa' 'bum, vol. ka/4)—and from his (unfinished) commentary on Tsoñ kha pa's *Drañ nes legs bśad snññ po*—

possible to deny that, historically and typologically, the *tathāgata-garbha* doctrine with its specific theory of *sūnyatā* as Emptiness of

the *Drañ nes rnam 'byed kyi dka' 'grel rtsom 'phro legs bśad sñiñ po'i yañ sñiñ* (*Guñ than bKa' 'bum*, vol. kha/4). This topic has been discussed in Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 395ff. Guñ than dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me was a contemporary in eastern Tibet of the above-mentioned sMin sgrol no mun han. He was thus a scholar who lived at a time and place in which “modern” influences were reaching Tibetans; but it is anything but clear that Guñ than's philosophical thinking and interpretations were actually determined by this circumstance. Nor does Guñ than claim originality for his exegesis of *tathāgata-garbha* in relation to *sūnyatā*; on the contrary, he would have considered that it flows from rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen's commentary on the *Ratnagotravibhāga* with its commentary attributed to Asaṅga, rGyal tshab rje himself being understood to have followed explanations given him by his teacher Tsoñ kha pa. In Tibet, the matter of non-contradiction and non-redundancy between the *tathāgata-garbha* and *sūnyatā* doctrines can be traced back as far as rNog Blo ldan šes rab (1059–1109), usually classified doxographically as a Svātantrika-Mādhyamika, who translated the now current Tibetan version of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* (*vyākhyā*) found in the bsTan 'gyur; see his *rGyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa* 44b–45b on *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1:156–157. rNog studied for years in Kashmir with Sajjana and other masters, and his interpretation may very well go back to scholars in that country (and elsewhere). Another (now unavailable) translation of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* is reported to have been made by (s)Pa tshab Ni ma grags (1055–?), who is regarded as a main Tibetan source of the *Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamaka in Tibet. The view on the issue held by Phy(v)a pa Chos kyi señ ge has been referred to by K. Kano (2009: 273). Concerning the complex issue of the place of *tathāgata-garbha* in later Mādhyamaka thought, see Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 95, n. 308 (on Kamalaśīla), and Seyfort Ruegg 1977: 302 (on Abhayākaragupta). rNog Blo ldan šes rab discusses the *dhātu* as *prasajya-pratiśedha* in his comment on the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, fol. 4a. For rNog's interpretations, see Seyfort Ruegg 1969. See now Kano 2009: 267–270 (pointing out a possible source also in the *Tarkajvālā* attributed to Bhavya/Bhāviveka). For Guñ than's interpretation based on the understanding that there is neither contradiction nor redundancy between the doctrines of *praktisthagotra/tathāgata-garbha* and *sūnyatā*, see Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 393ff., 402ff., 445ff. And on the problem in general, see the Introduction to *Le traité du tathāgata-garbha de Bu ston Rin chen grub* (Seyfort Ruegg 1973a), and also Seyfort Ruegg 1989: 17–55. K.-D. Mathes (2008: x) has described the present writer's studies on the subject as “influenced by the prevailing Gelugs (dGe lugs) hermeneutics,” an opinion seemingly echoing L. Schmithausen's view expressed in a review (1973). This is to miss the point, however. The treatises consulted by the present writer in his publications of 1969 and 1973 on the *tathāgata-garbha* and *gotra* theories were chosen, not as dominant and binding interpretations of the subject which then “influenced” him, but rather as very noteworthy and important examples of Buddhist philosophical hermeneutics bearing on notoriously difficult and much-discussed topics in soteriology and gnoseology. Attention was drawn also to differences existing between interpreters. The sources used by the present writer in these publications were the main ones available to him at the time of writing in the 1960s. I nevertheless concede that I still know of no philo-

separable (*muktajñā*, *vinirbhāga*, etc.), and hence heterogeneous, factors represents a kind of innovation relatively to the *sūnyatā* doctrine of the Prajñāpāramitāsūtras and to Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka as set out in his *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* and related works. As for the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* and its Sanskrit commentary, they are doubtless compositions later than the earliest *sūtra* and *śāstra* works teaching *svabhāvasūnyatā*. And the same might well be true also of the bulk of the *sūtra* literature expounding the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine. Chronologically, therefore, it would have been possible for authors of the *tathāgatagarbha* texts to have known the other doctrine. Passages in its literature appear in fact to presuppose, or at least to suggest, some knowledge of the former texts—texts whose fundamental doctrine was (rightly or wrongly) suspected by some thinkers of being negativist or nihilistic, or at the very least as one-sided.⁸⁰ But the extent to which the proponents of the *tathāgatagarbha* theory were just reacting against a theory of (*svabhāva*)*sūnyatā* is not perfectly clear. In these circumstances, it may be preferable to speak not so much of disruptive innovation, and much less of novelty, achieved by breaking away from an established doctrine (correctly or even imperfectly understood), as of a difference in focus and religio-philosophical horizon. And even if the chronological posteriority of the *tathāgatagarbha* theory relative to the doctrine of (*svabhāva*)*sūnyatā* is accepted, the precise relation of the former to the latter can hardly be described simply in terms of disruptive innovation.

The theoretical and synchronic relation between the two concepts appears rather as one of a hermeneutically structured and contextualized complementarity, where one approach supplements (and perhaps balances) the other. When the two doctrines were linked respectively with a part of the third Cycle and the second Cycle of the “turning” of the Dharma-Wheel, and then

sophically more remarkable and interesting Tibetan treatises on the subject, even though there of course exist other very important ones. Whether all this constitutes “influence” is a question that may not be easy to decide and which in any case need not further detain us here.

⁸⁰ As suggested, for instance, by Nāgārjuna's statement cited above (pp. 613–614). Compare D. Seyfort Rugg 1989b: 24, for the reference to the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* in the Mahāyānist *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, a major source on buddha-nature and quoted in Bu ston Rin chen grub, *mDzes rgyan* 24a–b.

with the views of Rañ ston pas and gŽan ston pas, the latter categories came at least sometimes to exhibit a relationship of complementarity.

It is possible of course to consider that *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine represented a change of paradigm in soteriological and gnoseological theory between what came to be widely regarded in Buddhist tradition as two distinct, and sequential, Cycles of the Dharma. The change involved in this shift would not then allow these two doctrines to be seen as just complementary. And certain hermeneuts did in fact regard these two Cycles as representing distinct teachings, with the third prevailing over the second because it was chronologically final and doctrinally definitive. But other thinkers considered that it was the second Cycle that is truly definitive, with the third being partly intentional and provisional. And still others finished by regarding the *tathāgatagarbha* and *sūnyatā* doctrines as in the last analysis co-referential and definitive in sense (*nītārtha*), yet also as distinctive and therefore not redundant. This was the interpretation adopted by rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen and Guñ than dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me.⁸¹

Tathāgatagarbha doctrine might also be described as a threshold from which new vistas and horizons opened up. It led to new philosophical and spiritual perspectives and thus, almost naturally, to new questionings and problems.

But in India and Tibet *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine never resulted in the formation of a new and independent school of Buddhism. It was adopted and developed in some form by Mādhyamikas, Vijñānavādins, and Vajrayānists; and over the centuries it informed and inspired a wide area of Buddhist thought. To this

⁸¹ It might possibly have been because of this (unresolved) hermeneutical situation that Tsoñ kha pa did not fully incorporate the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine into his exposition of the Buddhist path in his *Lam rim* treatises. But from among the three recognized levels of *gži*, *lam* and *'bras bu*, *tathāgatagarbha* relates not to *lam* but to *gži* (and, indirectly, through the link with *dharmakāya* and buddhahood, to the level of *'bras bu*). In his *dGoñs pa rab gsal* on Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvātārabhāṣya* on 6:95, which refers to the version of the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine found in the *Lañkāvatārasūtra*, Tsoñ kha pa knew its interpretation as a teaching that is only provisional in meaning (*neyārtha*) (see p. 607 above). In his *Drañ ñes Legs bśad sn̄in po*, he dealt with Jo nañ pa doctrine; and he discussed there the hermeneutics of the third and final Dharma-Cycle to which *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine is doxographically attached (pp. 489ff., 360).

extent *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine appears as cumulative and complementary rather than as disruptive of tradition. The exegetical and hermeneutical material reviewed in the present paper exhibits philosophical (re)thinking in a highly scholastic phase of development, when Buddhist scholars were striving to deal with complex and difficult issues arising in the history of this doctrine while at the same time remaining true to its traditions. If the exegetical instruments and methods deployed were well-established, their application could still be innovative: tradition and innovation were considered to complement and thus to nourish and reinforce each other. However a modern philologist or historian might then wish to view the philosophical ideas developed and the sophisticated hermeneutical instruments deployed—ideas and instruments that contributed to shaping doctrines and schools of thought developed by Buddhists over a very long period of time—it appears that tradition and innovation in these areas of Buddhist thought were not generally deemed to be necessarily opposed.

In the matter of the relationship between *tathāgatagarbha* and *śūnyatā*, there seems to exist no unilateral and universally valid solution when expressed as a binary question having the form “Either (unchanging) tradition or (disruptive) innovation.” Any attempt to resolve the matter will have to be nuanced and contextually differentiated; it cannot be unilateralist or framed only positivistically. It will depend on the period, text and authority being considered (e.g., Candrakīrti, Sa skya paṅḍi ta and Bu ston, or rGyal tshab rje and Guñ than). In Tibet the relation of a thinker and practiser to the doctrine has been at least as much one of active, and indeed creative, reception as it was one of Indian influences passively undergone. At all events, a model that would radically oppose (creative) innovation to (static) tradition—or perhaps a so-called “*dhātvāda*” to “critical Buddhism” as in one modern Japanese discussion—is only of very restricted applicability. There has generally existed a complex interplay between tradition and innovation, with the one complementing and reinforcing the other.

2. *The “Crucial Points” (dka’ gnas / dka’ gnad) in Madhyamaka Philosophy*

Another example of innovative philosophical thinking in what basically remains a traditional mould can be found in the discus-

sion around the so-called “crucial points” (*dka’ gnas/dka’ gnad*) in Madhyamaka philosophy as set out in the Tibetan dGa’ ldan pa/dGe lugs pa school. Such exegesis called for the systematic study of Madhyamaka thought grounded in a close reading of Candrakīrti’s *Prāsaṅgika (Thal ’gyur ba) Madhyamaka as expounded in his *Madhyamakāvataṛa(bhāṣya)* and *Prasannapadā*. At the same time it made occasional use of the Svātantrika (Raṅ rgyud pa) Madhyamaka of Bhāviveka and Jñānagarbha and of the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla—two leading Indian scholars whose teachings were propagated in Tibet at the end of the eighth century—and even of material drawn from Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda (Cittamātra), the second major philosophical system in Mahāyāna beside Madhyamaka. Particularly remarkable was the (asymptotic) convergence in it of (*Prāsaṅgika-) Madhyamaka exegesis with the thinking of the Pramāṇa school of Dharmakīrti given the fact that in his *Prasannapadā* Candrakīrti had radically criticized the epistemology of Dignāga, Dharmakīrti’s predecessor in this school. Madhyamaka in Tibet thus drew in a creative manner on the philosophical method and the technical vocabulary of the Indo-Tibetan Pramāṇa tradition with a view to explicating Madhyamaka thought.⁸² The employment of Indo-Tibetan scholastic techniques for expounding Madhyamaka was in fact a feature of the *mtshan ñid* methodology of Tibetan scholastics (*mtshan ñid pas*), a technique they also used in expounding

⁸² As already mentioned, Bhāviveka had already made use of Pramāṇavidyā in his writings on Madhyamaka. The chronological and doctrinal relationship between him and Dharmakīrti has been discussed by Krasser (2012). There Krasser concluded that “Dharmakīrti must have been influenced by Bhāviveka” (p. 558) if their usually accepted dates are to be adopted; but, while adopting the usually accepted date for Bhāviveka (*c.* 500–570), Krasser puts the date of Dharmakīrti (and Kumābila) back to the middle of the sixth century (p. 587). In India, convergence between Madhyamaka and Pramāṇavidyā was characteristic of the so-called Svātantrika or “Autonomist” Mādhyamikas; it is found also with Yogācāra-Mādhyamikas such as Śāntarakṣita. Concerning Jitāri/Jetāri and other Indian masters, see Seyfort Ruegg 2000, Index s.v. Jetāri, especially p. 274. For its part, Candrakīrti’s branch of the Madhyamaka school, the so-called *Prāsaṅgika or “Apagogist,” employed a logic based on the *prasaṅga* mode of reasoning. These strands of Madhyamaka thought were later to be gathered together, often in innovative forms. Concerning the use of vocabulary and methods based on Dharmakīrtian thought in Tsoṅ kha pa’s Madhyamaka, see Section III in Seyfort Ruegg 2000; see also Seyfort Ruegg 2006.

other Indo-Tibetan knowledge systems. Such convergence of philosophical traditions might perhaps be suspected of having resulted in the injection into Madhyamaka thought of an element of foundationalism, if only one that is epistemic or cognitive rather than ontological; but this was not actually the case because the factors involved—*pramāṇa*, *prameya* and their interrelation—were not treated in Madhyamaka as reified entities having *svabhāva* “self-existence.”⁸³

The exegesis founded on the set of eight crucial points in Madhyamaka goes back to rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432), a leading disciple of Tsoñ kha pa (1357–1419), who is indeed regarded as its source.⁸⁴ To suppose that this reading of Madhyamaka thought was merely an example of (over)interpretation and harmonization would be to misunderstand a historically conditioned undertaking in philosophical thinking and hermeneutics that involved both updating and renewed reflection with a view to both doctrinal differentiation and hermeneutical synthesis. Drawing on various strands in the vast resources of Mahāyānist thought, this philosophical endeavour in the dGa’ ldan pa/dGe lugs pa school operated in a traditional mode. To be sure it was not accepted by many other Tibetan scholars, who regarded the dGa’ ldan pas’ Madhyamaka exegesis as novel and unfounded.⁸⁵

⁸³ This “technical,” and philosophical, use of the word *svabhāva*, which is closely linked with the principle of *pratītyasamutpāda* or origination in dependence and is found in the term *niḥsvabhāva* = *bdag med pa* “without self-existence,” should not be confused with a quotidian use of *svabhāva* in the meaning of intrinsic nature or property. Thus it is stated that the inherent nature of fire is heat (*auṣṇya*). With this relative (*sāmvṛta*), and “transactional,” *svabhāva*, in common use in worldly transaction (*lokavyavahāra*), Madhyamaka thought had no difficulty. This “ordinary” usage of the word *svabhāva* by people in the world (*loke*) has been noted and discussed by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* (e.g., on 4:6, 13:4, 15:2, 24:26; in 15:8 this use of the word is explained as meaning *prakṛtī*).

⁸⁴ On this matter see Seyfort Ruegg 2002, Part 2.

⁸⁵ Important early critics were Roñ ston Śākya rgyal mtshan (1367–1449) and his pupil Go rams pa bSod nams señ ge (1429–1489); see Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 199–205. Cf. Cabezón and Dargay 2007. A somewhat later critic was Karma Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554), whose approach was from the point of view of Mantranaya and Mahāmudrā. For ’Ju Mi pham’s (1846–1912) view, see Phuntsho 2005. Concerning dGe ’dun chos ’phel’s Klu sgrub dgoñs rgyan, see Lopez 2006. The texts of several (counter-)refutations from the dGa’ ldan pa school are collected in Rin chen tshē riñ (ed.), *dGag lan phyogs bsgribs*; this publication includes a refutation of wrong views by mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzai po (1385–1438),

The treatment of the eight crucial points in Madhyamaka thought in Tsoñ kha pa's school can thus be described as creative relatively to the basic Madhyamaka writings available to him that had originated in India. Yet the exegetical methods and hermeneutical instruments employed essentially remained ones that were traditional in the classical thought of Indian Mahāyāna. This can be measured by comparing a Tibetan treatise on the *dka' gnas brgyad* with Candrakīrti's comment on verse 1:1 of his *Prasannapadā*.⁸⁶ Whereas for the purposes of pragmatic usage in the world (*lokavyavahāra*) Candrakīrti was prepared to continue employing the old schema of four *pramāṇas* (*pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, *āgama* and *upamāna*, *Prasannapadā* 1:1 at the end [ed. MacDonald 2015, pp.274–275]; cf. Nāgārjuna's *Vigrahavyāvartanī* 30ff.) even while distancing himself critically from Dharmakīrti's predecessor Dignāga, Tsoñ kha pa and his school adopted Pramāṇa-school methods and terminology from Dharmakīrti's logic and epistemology, which became a standard amongst these Tibetan scholastics.

In philosophical thought, tradition on the one side and creativity and renewal (as distinct from mere novelty) on the other side are not necessarily, and in principle, fated to be radically opposed and mutually exclusive. In Tibetan Buddhist traditions, intellectual development regularly involved a repeated turning to original, classical, sources; and this in turn required the utilization of the resources of the Indian canonical (bKa' 'gyur) and śāstraic (bsTan 'gyur) sources, as well as the deployment of a full range of exegetical and hermeneutical methods derived from the scholastic treatises. Nor were new philosophical insights—sometimes even apparently visionary ones⁸⁷—entirely excluded. This was the way marked out by Tsoñ kha pa and his successors in their “reading” of Madhyamaka thought.

as well as Se ra rje btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan's (1469–1544) rebuttals of Roñ ston's and Go rams pa's arguments; this author replied also to Mi bskyod rdo rje in his Kar lan. (These are but a few examples of the very extensive Tibetan *dgag lan/ rtsod lan* literature.)

⁸⁶ This has been attempted in Seyfort Ruegg 2002, where Madhyamaka materials separated by almost a millennium have been presented together in the same volume.

⁸⁷ See Seyfort Ruegg 2004a: 342–343.

It is noteworthy that Tsoñ kha pa did not incorporate in his writings an extensive and full exegesis and hermeneutic of the *tathāgatagarbha sūtras* and *śāstras* discussed above,⁸⁸ this task being undertaken by his pupils and successors. Already his disciple rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen composed a large commentary on the *Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra* where the teachings of *tathāgatagarbha* and *śūnyatā* were brought together (see Part II/1 above).

In summary, the procedures adopted might be described as rethinking and reform (in the sense of a return to essentials) rather than as novelty, in other words as rethinking working within the framework of tradition. In the case of Madhyamaka, therefore, renewal, although no doubt creative and representing a significant expansion of horizons, could be described as conservative and incremental. It does not appear to have actually represented a total break in the history of *Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka thought, even if it might appear as such to a modern reader. Here philosophical and hermeneutical development has introduced new perspectives without seeking to supersede the traditional stance of Candrakīrti's *Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka.

* * *

Beside the highly visible impact of Pramāṇa-school thought on later Mādhyamikas, it is worth mentioning the noteworthy reformulation in Tsoñ kha pa's school of the meaning of the compound term *snañ stoñ*, the pair of factors in Buddhist thought translatable as "Appearance and the Empty." In the frame of the Madhyamaka philosophy of Emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and origination in dependence (*pratītyasamutpāda* and, also, *pratītyasamutpannata*), the idea of "Appearance" had tended to be understood as countering the nihilist extreme (*med mtha'*) and that of the "Empty" had been understood as countering the extreme that posits permanent and substantial existence (*yod mtha'*). This

⁸⁸ As observed in n. 70 above, according to Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvātārabhāṣya* on 6:94–95, one of Tsoñ kha pa's main sources for his presentation of Madhyamaka, this doctrine is of intentional and provisional meaning.

understanding no doubt came to be regarded as both the obvious and the traditional one. In Tsoñ kha pa's school, however, this concept was rethought in such a way that it is *snañ ba* that eliminates the extreme of positing reified entities and *ston pa* that eliminates the opposite extreme of nihilism. In other words, Appearance is what just "appears" without a substantial entity (*bhāva*) being postulated; and the Empty is what is devoid of "self-existence" (*niḥsvabhāva*) without denoting some sort of negative entity (*abhāva*). In Madhyamaka thought, *śūnya(tā)* functions in fact as an explanatory, and so to speak philosophically enabling, principle in terms of which the world and the things in it are possible.⁸⁹ (This understanding of the matter has nothing to do with the issue of inherent nature—another possible meaning of *svabhāva* in other contexts not pertinent here; an often cited example of this second usage of the word is to denote the inherent nature of fire, i.e., heat (*ausṇya*), a simple given in the *vyavahāra* with which Madhyamaka thought has no quarrel. This topic has been discussed at some length by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā*; see above, n. 83.)

In summary, in the long history of Indo-Tibetan Madhyamaka tradition we find creative philosophical and hermeneutical thinking building on traditional concepts and terminology and deploying traditional instruments and methods. Material from several currents of thought, Madhyamaka and non-Madhyamaka, has been drawn upon in later Indian and then in Tibetan works belonging to this school. Comparison of Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* and the works of Tsoñ kha pa and his followers on Madhyamaka—all being works attached by doxographers to the *Prāsaṅgika (Thal 'gyur ba) tradition of Madhyamaka—reveals in the latter set of works very substantial philosophical development which was not epigonal but creative, yet accompanied by a continuity marked by old and characteristic themes. Tsoñ kha pa's treatises on Madhyamaka represent a "reading" of the works of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti that reflect a distinctive understanding of this tradi-

⁸⁹ For details, see Seyfort Ruegg 2002, Index s.v. *snañ ston*. And for *śūnyatā* as an explanatory and a philosophically enabling principle, see, e.g., Nāgārjuna's *Vigrahavyāvartanī* 70 and *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24:14.

tion. Creative (re)thinking and tradition were indeed expected to complement and reinforce each other. In the case of Madhyamaka, too, the relation of Tibetan scholars to the Madhyamaka of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti was one of active, and hence often creative, reception, and not just one of Indian influences passively undergone.

N.B. If reference has been made above to convergence of Madhyamaka and Pramāṇavidyā, it should be emphasised once again that Tibetan Mādhyamikas who built on Candrakīrti's Madhyamaka tradition, which they called Thal 'gyur ba, posited no reified self-existence (*rañ bžin/ño bo ñid = svabhāva*) of *dharmas* or *bhāvas*; nor did they postulate a foundationalist self-characteristic (*rañ gi mtshan ñid = svalakṣaṇa*). The convergence of the two Indo-Tibetan traditions might be described as asymptotic since it involved elements of philosophical method and terminology without resulting in the total and undifferentiated merging of what continued to be regarded as two distinct traditions. As Mādhyamikas, these philosophers remained *niḥsvabhāvavādins* and *śūnyatāvādins* as defined in their school. From this fact it must be concluded that it was not exactly the Madhyamaka paradigm that completely changed but that the horizon of this school expanded very greatly.

3. The Definitional Triangle in Tibetan Scholasticism

In Phy(v)a pa Chos kyi señ ge's (1109–1169) theory of definition to which reference has been made above in Part I, a defining characteristic (*mtshan ñid = lakṣaṇa* “definiens,” i.e., a *mtshon byed [kyi chos]* “defining [property]”) relates not only to its characterized *designatum* (*mtshon bya = Skt. lakṣya₁*) but also to its characterized *denotatum* (*mtshan gži = lakṣya₂*). The difference between the last two factors is that a *mtshon bya* is the conceptual content—the semantic interpretant so to say—corresponding to the *mtshan ñid*, whilst a *mtshan gži* is an individual objective instantiation—i.e., an (extensional) referent—answering to the *mtshan ñid* “definition.” The first term can be rendered as “*definiendum*” and the second as “*definitional ground*.” Thus, for the linguistic expression (*vya-vahāra = tha sñad*) “*cow*,” which involves conceptualization and language, the *mtshan ñid* or definition classically employed in

Tibet (and adopted from Indian scholasticism) is: possessed of a hump, dewlap, etc.; the *mtshon bya* is the conceptual *designatum* cow, which is verbalizable in linguistic convention (*saṃketa* = *brda*) as “cow” (which is a *śabda* = *sgra*, and *abhidhāyaka* = *rjod byed* “signifier”); and the *mtshan gži* is the individual *denotatum* (or referent) cow having a particular colour, etc. (which is an *artha* = *don*). Linking as it does three terms rather than two, this theory of *lakṣaṇa* is triadic rather than dyadic like the semantic theory that linked *lakṣaṇa* and an undifferentiated *lakṣya*.⁹⁰ The theory of definitional characterization played a part also in the theory of inference (*anumāna* = *rjes dpag*).⁹¹

When we look for other instances of a triplet where to a signifier (*signifiant*) there correspond both a signified (*signifié*) and an objective referent, thus forming a triadic rather than a dyadic structure, a partial parallel would seem to be discernible (if the ontology is set aside) in Nyāya semantic theory where, as the meaning of a word (*śabdārtha*), consideration has been given both to the individual (*vyakti*) and to the universal (*jāti*), and even to the individual qualified by the universal (*jātivīśiṣṭavyakti*).

It is important to observe that neither the Buddhist semantic theory of differential exclusion (*vyāvṛtti*) of the other—i.e., the *anyāpoha* = *gžan sel* theory of meaning starting with Dignāga—nor the just mentioned theory of definition from Tibet postulates real universals (*jāti*). The precise ontological status of the objective referent may be set out differently according to system, text and author. As semantic process, *apoha* is said by Śāntarakṣita to have two forms: the cognitive (*buddhyātmaka*) and the objective

⁹⁰ A two-term conception of the *lakṣaṇa-lakṣya* relation is found, e.g., in Nāgārjuna’s *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 7:4, and in Candrakīrti’s *Prasannapadā*; there the Tibetan equivalent of *lakṣya* is usually *mtshan gži*, and only exceptionally *mtshon bya*. This is so as well in Abhidharma, where in the Tibetan translation of Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośa* the equivalent is *mtshan gži*, and in the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* and *Madhyāntavibhāga*. On the terms in the theory of definition adopted by Tibetan *mtshan nid pas*, see Seyfort Ruegg 2002: 103–104, 175, 178. Phy(v)a pa’s theory in particular has been studied by P. Hugon (2009) (who traces a prefiguration of the triadic model of definition in rNog’s work). This triplet was considered also by L. van der Kuijp (1983: 66–68; cf. the review by T. Tillemans 1984: 61).

⁹¹ Examples are cited in Hugon 2009.

(*arthātmake*).⁹² Modern semantic theory has operated with a semantic triangle, where account is taken of three terms—the signifier, the signified and the object or referent—the signifier and the signified together making up the binary Saussurean linguistic sign.⁹³

However new it may have been, for the purposes of definition or *lakṣaṇa* the *mtshan mtshon gži* triplet associated with Phy(v)a and his seminary of gSañ phu sNe'u thog is embedded in philosophical traditions of Indian and Tibetan thinking on logic, epistemology and semantics. Reworked and sometimes updated though it was owing to its having terminologically identified an additional dimension in Buddhist semantics, this development was not entirely discontinuous with what preceded it.

Just as techniques of *mtshan ñid* adopted by Phy(v)a pa were employed outside the strict confines of Tibetan Pramāṇavidyā (*tshad ma*), so, in India, the Navyanyāya model of *lakṣaṇa* came to be adopted for the purposes of definition in other Indian knowledge systems such as grammar.

Phy(v)a pa appears to have been a younger contemporary of Udayana (c. 11th century), the Naiyāyika author of a *Lakṣaṇāvalī*, who occupied a transitional position between “old” Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the New Nyāya of Gaṅgeśa and his successors.⁹⁴ Enhanced logical-epistemological models of definition were making their way in both India and Tibet almost contemporaneously; and extensions in their application to further knowledge systems marked developments in both lands in the following centuries. Further investigation is no doubt required in order to determine with precision whether a concern with matters of *lakṣaṇa* among Indian Naiyāyikas and Tibetan *mtshan ñid pa* semi-

⁹² See the *Tattvasaṃgraha* with Kamalaśīla's *Pañjikā*, verses 1002–1003, where the *buddhyātmake* form of *apoha* is glossed as *buddhipratibhāsa*, and the *arthātmake* form is explained as the *arthasvalakṣaṇa*, which is *vijātiyavyāvṛtta*. The theory of *apoha* has been discussed, e.g., by G. Dreyfus (1997: 233ff.); and for earlier stages of *apoha* theory, see Dunne 2004: 116ff. and 131ff.

⁹³ See, e.g., Lyons 1977: 96–99. A semantic and philosophical distinction is regularly made, on the level of content, between sense and reference, designatum and denotatum, intension and extension, Frege's *Sinn and Bedeutung* (and other writers' *Bedeutung* and *Bezeichnung*), etc. Cf. J. Lyons 1977: 177ff. and 197ff.

⁹⁴ Dineshchandra Bhattacharya (1958: 1) regarded Udayana (rather than Gaṅgeśa) as having “ushered in” the Navyanyāya. See above, n. 6 and Part I/6.

narists arose independently of each other because their respective knowledge systems had each reached a stage of internal development requiring enhanced conceptual instruments, or whether the Tibetan development might possibly have been directly influenced by the Indian one. Vehicles for such transmission could in any case have been Tibetan scholars studying at the time in India and Indian pandits then working in Tibet.

4. *Ratnākaraśānti's Theory of "Internal Pervasion" (antarvyāpti) in Inference (anumāna)*

In the Indian world, the period covering the end of the first millennium CE and the early second millennium was a time of intense intellectual activity and of some innovation in the areas of logic and epistemology and of semantics when debates between Brahmanical Naiyāyikas and Buddhist logician-epistemologists were not infrequent (even if these could sometimes be more fierce than illuminating, with the latter all being lumped together by their opponents without differentiation as "Bauddhas"). There then existed a symbiosis of socio-cultural groupings identifiable as "Hindus," "Buddhists," "Jains," etc. Such a complex social and cultural situation could on occasion give rise to a veritable *ḍambara* or hubub of clashing traditions such as that depicted and caricatured somewhat earlier by the Naiyāyika Jayantabhaṭṭa (ninth century) in his *Āgamaḍambara*.

This was the time when Ratnākaraśānti (c. 1000), a Vijnānavādin and a Vajrayānist, and one of the great "Gatekeepers" of the seminary of Vikramaśīla, set out his theory of *antarvyāpti*. In it *vyāpti* "pervasion" (i.e., the inferential nexus) requires only to be instantiated internally (*antar-*, i.e., conceptually) rather than externally (i.e., objectively, as was the case with traditional *bahivyāpti*, which required an external instance, *dyṣṭānta*, with the logical reason, *hetu*, being located exclusively in objective homologues, *sapakṣas*, and totally absent from all heterologues, *vīpakṣas*). In India, Ratnākaraśānti was regarded as a leading scholar; in Tibet, where he is widely known as Śāntipa, he has been honoured as a great master.

Ratnākaraśānti's treatise on internal pervasion, the *Antarvyāpti-samarthana*, was translated into Tibetan in the middle of the elev-

enth century; it was later included in the bsTan 'gyur collection of *sāstras* under the title of *Nañ gi khyab pa*. The Tibetan tradition of Pramāṇa studies nevertheless remained rooted in Dharmakīrti's works, and in particular in his *Pramāṇavārttika* (the *Tshad ma mam 'grel*) and its main Indian commentaries. Innovation did not remain unrecognized, and it was admitted into the Tibetan philosophical corpus. But the older, traditional, form of inference current in the Buddhist Pramāṇa school remained standing in Tibet. In that land, *pramāṇa* study has been based on the *Pramāṇavārttika*, which was to replace the same author's later (and somewhat shorter) *Pramāṇaviniścaya* co-translated by rÑog Blo ldan šes rab. In the particular case of *antarvyāpti*, the relationship in Tibet of innovation to tradition in the knowledge system of logic and epistemology was cumulative rather than substitutive or disruptive.⁹⁵

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*Pudgalo 'vācyah — Apropos of a Recently
Rediscovered Sanskrit Manuscript of the
Saṃmitīyas. Critical Edition of the First Chapter
of the Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā
by Saṅghatrāta**

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1. Introductory remarks

In July 2014, in San Polo dei Cavalieri, a small town not far from Rome, among the properties belonging to Francesca Bonardi—Giuseppe Tucci's (1894–1984) widow, who had passed away a few months earlier—Oscar Nalesini, an official of the former Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale "Giuseppe Tucci" in Rome (to which all properties were donated), found three Sanskrit manuscripts: a fragment of a paper manuscript of the *Sphuṭārthā* by Haribhadra, a modern copy of the *Catuṣpūṭhatantra* on Nepalese paper, and an undated palm-leaf codex of an unpublished text belonging to the

* This paper is the first result of a study on the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* of Saṅghatrāta that I have been carrying out since 2014. I wish to thank all the friends and colleagues who have invited me to introduce the text and its contents during lectures, conferences and workshops in the meantime: Nalini Balbir, Vincent Eltschinger, Harunaga Isaacson, Cristina Pecchia, Karin Preisendanz, Peter Skilling, Raffaele Torella, Vincenzo Vergiani and Stefano Zacchetti (a list of these events is given in Skilling 2016: 50, n. 71; more recently, for the same purpose, I was kindly welcomed by Lata and Mahesh Deokar at the Department of Pali and Buddhist Studies, Pune University, on 7 February 2019). In 2015, the first two chapters were perused during a workshop entitled "Buddhist Texts in

scholastic literature of the Saṃmitīya tradition,¹ the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* by Bhadanta Saṅghatrāta.²

The sensational discovery of the latter manuscript, along with a copy of the *Mañicūḍajātaka* by Sarvarakṣita (12th cent.) that Tucci made at the monastery of Gong dkar chos sde in Central Tibet in 1948, was described by Tucci himself in a moving passage from his travelogue *A Lhasa e oltre*.³ The publication of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* had been anticipated for some years—as one of the books “in preparation” for the Serie Orientale Roma ever since the first volume of the series had appeared in 1950—under the title *The Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā by Saṅghatrāta, text and commentary of an unknown work, the Sanskrit manuscript of which has*

Sanskrit: Intensive Readings at Mahidol University” (Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mahidol University, Salaya Campus, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand, 12–25 February). I wish to thank Mattia Salvini, who organized this workshop, as well as all of the attendees who provided me with useful insights, in particular (in alphabetical order): Giuliano Giustarini, Kengo Harimoto, Harunaga Isaacson, Kei Kataoka, Gregory Max Seton and Peter Skilling. Special thanks is owed to Oscar Nalesini and to the authorities of the Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale “Giuseppe Tucci,” in particular to Laura Giuliano and the Superintendent Francesco di Gennaro, for kindly having allowed me access to the manuscript of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* and for having entrusted me with its study with a view to its publication. I thank the three editors of this volume very much—Marta Sernesi, Vincent Eltschinger, and Vincent Tournier—for having provided me with a number of interesting and useful comments. Dragomir Dimitrov, Harunaga Isaacson, Giacomella Orofino and Mattia Salvini have also read the paper and kindly offered me some comments and suggestions. Kristen de Joseph has kindly revised the English.

¹ On the spelling Saṃmitīya (instead of Sāṃmitīya), see below, § 2.3, and notes 37–38.

² On monastic names ending with °trāta, see the paper by Tournier in this volume, p. 889 and n. 95.

³ See Tucci 1996: 169–170. For the official English translation, see Tucci 1956a: 151. Another English translation can be read in Sferra 2008: 21, n. 17. Note that the name of the Gong dkar monastery (aka Gong dkar rdo tje gdan and Gong dkar chos sde, see Fermer 2016) is misspelled in Tucci as Kong dkar.

As O. Nalesini (personal communication, e-mails of 5–6 February 2020) pointed out to me, the discovery of the manuscript that is described in his autobiography by Tenzing Norgay (bsTan ’dzin nor rgyas) (1914–1986), the Sherpa who assisted Tucci in 1948 and who later became famous for having been the first to reach the summit of Mount Everest with Edmund Hillary in 1953, could coincide with that of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* and/or of the *Mañicūḍajātaka* (see Norgay and Ullman 1955: 124–125). However, it should be noted that the account of Norgay does not perfectly coincide with the version we read in Tucci.

been found in Tibet. The editor would have been Antonio Gargano, one of his students, together with Tucci (e.g., vols. I, X, XVI, XVII), or Tucci on his own (e.g., vol. III). Later on, Tucci would speak briefly about the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* during a lecture he gave in Japan in October 1955.⁴ From 1966 on, references to the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* disappeared from the cover of the Serie Orientale Roma (SOR),⁵ but it is very likely that Tucci continued to work on this text in subsequent years, since he referred to it in two letters written in 1975 and addressed to his Indian friend and colleague Vasudeva Vishwanath Gokhale (1900–1991).⁶ However, the announced book was never completed, and the text was never published.

After Tucci's death, all efforts to gain access to the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* manuscript, on the part of both Italian and foreign scholars, failed. I have personally been trying to trace this precious object since the mid-'90s, when, in cooperation with Claudio Cicuzza, I was working at the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts kept at the ISIAO. But while it was possible to find a film roll containing negatives of the *Mañicūḍajātaka*, which was later published by Albrecht Hanisch,⁷ there was no trace of the Abhidharmic text. All attempts to make contact with Francesca Bonardi were unsuccessful.

As soon as Oscar Nalesini gained access to the manuscript, he contacted me and asked me to identify the work contained in it.

⁴ Okano 1998: 14–15. The text of this lecture was published in Japanese the following year. See Tucci 1956b.

⁵ The last reference to the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* as a book in preparation is on the inside back cover of vol. XXXIII.

⁶ Part of this correspondence, which Nalesini found in spring 2015, is now kept in the archives of the library of the former Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale "Giuseppe Tucci." "In October 2017, after the demise of the Museum and the moving of its belonging to the seat of the newly established Museo delle Civiltà, the library, as well as the photographic and documental archives, due to space shortage, have been stored in an underground storeroom. The manuscript of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* was, together with other manuscripts, documents and ancient books from the Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale, placed in a metallic armoire in the library of the Museo delle Civiltà, where it still was in early 2019" (Nalesini's personal communication, 21 February 2020).

Gokhale and Tucci had known each other since Tucci's stay in Śāntiniketan in the second half of the 1920s (see Shendge 1993: 350).

⁷ A complete edition of this text was published in Hanisch 2008, but some excerpts and reproductions had already appeared in Hanisch 2006: 136–155.

For this purpose, he kindly allowed me to take pictures of the manuscript, even if unofficially. In theory, at that time, the codex had not yet been formally acquired and inventoried by the museum. The manuscript was in fact simply wrapped inside some paper and two pieces of cardboard, and there were no clues or titles that permitted a clear and immediate identification of the work by a non-specialist. It was possible to work officially on this manuscript only several months later, after the completion of the bureaucratic process by which the manuscript was formally acquired as a museum property. At any rate, between July and August 2014, I transliterated the entire text and started to translate it. In February 2015, I had the opportunity to read and study the first two chapters of the work in Thailand with a small group of students and colleagues.⁸

Subsequently, in spring 2015, again at Tucci's home, Nalesini, who was still inventorying the properties that Mrs Bonardi had left to the museum, found some notebooks and a complete transliteration of the work. This transliteration, or more probably a preliminary draft of it, was mentioned in a short, undated letter, written on the old, prewar headed paper of the IsMEO, that Tucci had sent to Luciano Petech, and which is now preserved in the archives of Petech that the latter's heirs have donated to Elena De Rossi Filibeck.⁹

Caro Luciano,

Ho ricevuto con qualche ritardo, come sempre qui la posta, la tua lettera. [...] Qui ho lavorato molto intercalando il lavoro con le ascensioni: il mio diario è finito e così pure la trad. del Deb dmar: ho incominciato l'interpretazione dell'Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā trascritta da Gargano: è un'opera Sammitīya, [*sic*] molto difficile ma molto importante.¹⁰ [...]

⁸ See above, note *.

⁹ I thank Elena De Rossi Filibeck for having allowed me to transliterate this letter here. Together with Oscar Nalesini, she is planning to publish a volume containing the full correspondence between Tucci and Petech. Three letters have already been published in De Rossi Filibeck 2019.

¹⁰ "Dear Luciano, I received your letter with some delay, as always with the mail here. [...] I have worked a lot here, interspersing the work with climbs: my diary is finished, as is the trans. of the Deb dmar: I started to interpret the Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā, which has been transcribed by Gargano: it is a Sammitīya work, very difficult but very important. [...]"

It is not clear when Gargano made his transliteration, or when (or where) this short letter was written. In fact, the references to mountain climbs, the completion of a diary and the translation of the *Deb dmar* suggest a date corresponding to one of Tucci's final expeditions in Nepal (1952–53, 1954) or in the Swāt valley (1955), certainly a date prior to 1971, which is the year in which Tucci published the volume *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma. Tibetan Chronicles by bSod nams grags pa, Vol. I* (SOR xxiv)¹¹—even though, as Oscar Nalesini has pointed out to me, on those expeditions, he used to write letters on the new, postwar headed paper of the IsMEO.¹² Whatever the case may be, the above-mentioned correspondence with Gokhale demonstrates that the transliteration that has come down to us was completed only after 1975, since it is clear from a letter that in the mid-'70s, Tucci was still looking for someone able to decipher the manuscript. It suffices here to reproduce only a few sentences (see also below, figs. 1–4):

Rome,

11 GIU 1975

My dear Friend,

please excuse my very late reply to your kind and informative letter of February 25 last, [...] I shall also send you a page of a ms. written in the so-called arrow point script, which [*sic* for *which*] is as arre [*sic* for *rare*] as it is important. The text is a very difficult one, though there often occur verses entirely reproduced from the Abh. Dharma Kosa. If you can really find a team of your scholars, who can help us in the basic transcription of the texts, that would be an aid for us both, especially in saving our eyesight.

¹¹ As is clear from the correspondence with L. Petech, Tucci discovered a copy of the *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* in July 1948 (see De Rossi Filibeck 2019: 124–126). The discovery of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* was made some time later, during the final weeks of this expedition, which ended in October 1948. Gargano did not follow Tucci on this expedition, thus there is no doubt that he transliterated the manuscript after Tucci came back to Rome in January 1949 (after the expedition in Tibet, Tucci went directly to the USA; see Nalesini 2012: 135 and n. 24, 145–146). Therefore, it can be excluded that the diary mentioned in this letter refers to *A Lhasa e oltre*, and that this letter was written in 1948 while Tucci was still in Tibet. More likely, this letter was written in Nepal during the expedition carried out in 1952–53, the travelogue of which was published in 1953 (*Tra giungle e pagode*). The travelogues of the other expeditions in Nepal and Swāt were published in 1960 (1954 expedition: *Nepal: alla scoperta del regno dei Malla*) and in 1963 (1955 expedition: *La via dello Swat*).

¹² Private communication: e-mail of 12 July 2019.

Tucci annotated Gargano's transliteration and corrected it in a number of places (for a specimen, see fig. 5). In spring 2015, I was also able to compare my preliminary transliteration—a copy of which had in the meantime been deposited in the museum archives—with the one made by Gargano and revised by Tucci; the differences were minimal.

Besides Tucci and Antonio Gargano, it seems that after the discovery of the manuscript, the only scholar who had had the opportunity to check this Saṃmitīya work was Edward Conze (1904–1979), who refers to it in a note in his book *Buddhist Thought in India* (1962).¹³

In March 2015, I received the formal permission to work on this manuscript with a view to its critical edition and annotated English translation, which will be published in the Manuscripta Buddhica series. The completion of this volume might require another two or three years: the main difficulty is due to the absence of a commentary and to the conciseness and cryptic nature of the work. To the best of my knowledge, the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* by Saṅghatrāta has never been translated into Tibetan or Chinese: the author and work were totally unknown before Giuseppe Tucci found the manuscript in 1948. We do not even have quotes from this work in other texts, at least as far as we currently know. None of the 547 (*anuṣṭubh*) stanzas that make up the text occur, for instance, in the *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* by Daśabalaśrīmitra (c. 1100–1170),¹⁴ which contains several Saṃmitīya verses.¹⁵ Nor do we know the place or time of composition of this work. The only reliable data can be inferred from the manuscript itself, which probably dates back to the mid-13th century (see below). Luckily the manuscript is basically undamaged, but, as will be elaborated later, the copyist did not correct his own work: there is no shortage of errors, and the philological work also involves the study of parallels in the Abhidharma literature in Sanskrit and Pāli.

¹³ See below, note 27.

¹⁴ For the date of Daśabalaśrīmitra, see van der Kuijp n.d.

¹⁵ In particular, in chapters 16–21. See Skilling 1987: 4–5, 8; 2006: 100; 2016: 11–12. The Tibetan text of several stanzas quoted from a Saṃmitīya treatise in the *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* are edited in Namikawa 2011: 377–405. I thank Kazunobu Matsuda very much for having provided me with a copy of Namikawa's book.

As a token of respect for Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, a special person and a scholar whom I greatly admire, I am pleased to present here the first result of this study, which, in addition to the account of the recent history of the manuscript, also includes its description and the annotated edition and tentative translation of the first chapter, entitled *Āyatanasamuccaya*.

2. *The manuscript*

2.1 The manuscript is one of the few examples of a rather rare Indian script that has been called “arrow-headed script,” “point-headed script” or “Pfeilspitzenschrift” by the first scholars who studied it in the last two decades of the nineteenth century (i.e., C. Bendall, G. Bühler, B. Liebich),¹⁶ and which in more recent literature is better known as Bhaikṣukī,¹⁷ a name used by Al-Bīrūnī—in his famous account of Indian culture and civilization entitled *Kitāb ta'riḫ al-Hind* (1030)—to refer to the script used by the Buddhist *bhikṣus*. More recently, Dragomir Dimitrov has suggested that the original name of this script was Saindhavī,¹⁸ because it seems that this is the name by which it appears in several Tibetan works on calligraphy. Dimitrov further argues that the Saindhavī script was used predominantly by the Saṃmitīya Buddhists, who were also known as the Saindhavas, with a probable reference to the Sindhu region with which they are traditionally associated.

So far, besides a handful of epigraphs, only two Bhaikṣukī/Saindhavī manuscripts have been available to scholars: a copy of the *Candrālaṃkāra*, partly preserved in Cambridge (CUL MS Or. 1278) and partly in black and white photographs taken in Kathmandu in 1971, now kept at the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia;¹⁹ and the above-mentioned *codex unicus* (available only on microfilm) containing the *Mañicūḍajātaka* by Sarvarakṣita.

A few years ago, information about other manuscripts in Saindhavī script preserved in Tibet emerged. A fragment of a first

¹⁶ See Dimitrov 2010: 3–5.

¹⁷ See, e.g., Hanisch 2006; 2008; Dimitrov 2010; Skilling 2016.

¹⁸ See Dimitrov 2016 and 2020; see also Dimitrov 2010: 8.

¹⁹ Reproductions of both parts of the *Candrālaṃkāra* manuscript have been published in Dimitrov 2010: Appendix.

manuscript was reproduced in a report on the preservation of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Tibetan Autonomous Region that was published in October 2012. This fragment (catalogue number ZX0165-YB15), which has been studied by Dimitrov, contains two small portions from the *Acelakamahāsūtra*, a Middle Indo-Aryan version of the *Kassapasihanādasutta* (= *Dīgha Nikāya* no. 8), and from the very beginning of another *sūtra*, which immediately follows it and which corresponds to the Pāli *Tevijjasutta* (= *Dīgha Nikāya* no. 13).²⁰ Some leaves of a presumed second manuscript have been featured in a documentary (in two parts) on Xizang Television (XZTV) on 18 and 25 November 2012. Dimitrov was able to produce a still photograph from this documentary with an image of one of the leaves; he then identified the work it contained as a portion of the *Kevattasūtra*, one of the *sūtras* of the *Dirghāgama* (= *Kevaddhasutta*, *Dīgha Nikāya* no. 11).²¹ A picture of yet another manuscript was published on the back cover of the 2017 edition of the journal *Tibetan Palm Leaves Manuscripts Studies*. In September 2018, Peter Skilling kindly sent me a digital scan of this cover. I transliterated the Saindhavī leaf it reproduced and identified its contents as a fragment of a Middle Indo-Aryan version of the *Rājāsūtra* or **Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra*, again from the *Dirghāgama* (= *Sāmaññaphalasutta*, *Dīgha Nikāya* no. 2),²² despite the title given in the cover refers to the *Brahmajālasūtra* (《梵网经》).²³ Unfortunately, for the time being, no manuscript from which these pictures are taken is easily available to scholars (it is not even clear to me where they are currently kept), but it is probable that in the coming years they will become accessible and be studied.

The number of the known Sanskrit and Indic manuscripts written in Saindhavī script is in any case destined to increase in the near future. Just recently, during a workshop held in Beijing at the

²⁰ For bibliographical details, a transliteration and a thorough analysis of these snippets, see Dimitrov 2020: 185–199.

²¹ For further details and a diplomatic transliteration of this leaf, see Dimitrov 2020: 168–184. See also Skilling 2016: 15–16 (p. 16 also contains a black-and-white reproduction of this leaf; see also below, fig. 11).

²² See Hartmann 2004: 128.

²³ See below, fig. 12 (梵网经 is the simplified version of 梵網經). The Tibetan issue of the same number of the journal has *Brahmajālasūtra* in Tibetan translation (《ཚངས་པའི་རྩལ་ལཱ་ལྷན་པའི་མཛོད་》). An edition and study of this leaf will be published in Tournier and Sferra, in preparation.

China Tibetology Research Centre (*Workshop on Sanskrit Manuscripts Studies. A Pre-Panel Session of the 7th Beijing International Seminar on Tibetan Studies*, 8 January 2020), Phurtsham (大普仓), from the Institute of Sanskrit Studies of the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences in Lhasa, presented a paper entitled “An Introduction to the Bhaiṣṣukī Manuscripts Preserved in Tibet.” She has introduced and briefly described eight unpublished manuscripts preserved in Tibet. From her account it is now evident that the snippets recently studied by Dimitrov, and identified by him as parts of a Saṃmitīya Canon,²⁴ actually belong to the same codex,²⁵ i.e., a copy of the *Dirghāgama*—or at least of a part of it, or of a *mahāsūtra* anthology—again labelled *Brahmajālasūtra*, probably due to the title of the last *sūtra* of the collection.²⁶ This manuscript is catalogued with the number ZX0165-YB15 and counts 78 leaves. The same leaf of the *Kevaṭṭasūtra* reproduced by Dimitrov has been shown by Phurtsham in one of her slides as a specimen of this manuscript (see also below, fig. 11). The other seven manuscripts comprise a poetical work attributed to Buddhapālita (23 leaves), a copy of the *Haricandrajātaka* (8 leaves), a copy of the *Adhyarddhaśataka* attributed to Āsvaghōṣa (6 leaves), which is kept in the Tibet Museum in Lhasa, and four unidentified manuscripts (respectively of 30, 10, 10, and 2 leaves).

2.2 The manuscript of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* consists of 14 leaves, measuring approximately 50 × 6 cm.²⁷ Each leaf contains two string-holes and three writing areas on both the recto and the verso sides, with the exception of leaves 1r and 14v, which were originally blank.²⁸ There is no serious damage; a moisture stain is

²⁴ See Dimitrov 2020: chap. 2.6.

²⁵ Dimitrov was aware of this possibility; see Dimitrov 2020: 186, 188.

²⁶ The *Brahmajālasūtra* is in fact the last *sūtra* in the *Dirghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins (see Hartmann 2004: 128) and it is possible that it has the same position in the *Dirghāgama* of the Saṃmitīyas. For further considerations, see Tournier and Sferra, in preparation.

²⁷ E. Conze, who saw this manuscript at Tucci's place in the 1950s (see above § 1.1), provides a misleading statement on the number of leaves, likely confusing it with the number of written sides: “Sanghatrāta [*sic*], *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā*. 26–27 leaves. To be published in *SOR*” (Conze 1962: 281, n. 7; see also p. 124).

²⁸ A few words, some *akṣaras* in Rañjanā script (see fig. 21) and a drawing (probably made by other hands), for the most rubbed away, are visible on these sides. I will transliterate and interpret these words and *akṣaras* in the future, when needed also with the help of an infrared photograph.

visible on the first leaf (fig. 6), and the edges of two leaves are partly cut: i.e., the upper margin of fol. 8, resulting in four *akṣaras* on the upper-right portion of fol. 8*v* being unreadable or hardly decipherable; and the lower margin of fol. 12, resulting in three *akṣaras* on the right bottom of fol. 12*r* being unreadable or hardly decipherable (fig. 7).

The manuscript contains the whole text but was never completed. There are two clues for this: 1) there are no corrections in the margins and no signs of correction (including cancellations) within the body of the text, even in the case of evident mistakes—like the repetition of stanzas 3.29c–32b (fols. 3*v*₇–4*r*₂) and 10.6–8 (fol. 11*r*₈–*v*₁), which occurs because the same line in the exemplar was copied twice (fig. 8). 2) There are no coloured drawings in the spaces usually reserved for this purpose on the first and last leaves of the manuscript. These blank spaces, both on the left and right edges of the leaves, measure circa 6 cm each (figs. 9–10).²⁹

In relation to the other manuscripts in Saindhavī script that are currently available, we note that the support of the *Abhidharma-samuccayakārikā* matches almost perfectly with that of the *Mañicūḍajātaka* and the available portion of the *Dīrghāgama*, i.e., the *Kevaltasūtra* and the other snippets published by Dimitrov; the layout of these three manuscripts is also quite similar, if not identical (see fig. 11).³⁰ Each contains three identical writing areas divided by similar vertical lines; each of the three contains 8 lines on each side with approximately the same number of *akṣaras*, which ranges from 25 to 32 in the two lateral writing areas and 31 to 38 in the central writing area; in all three manuscripts, there are similar, smaller writing areas on the first and last leaves. All this suggests that these three manuscripts may have been copied in the same scriptorium. The manuscripts of the *Candrālamkāra* and of

²⁹ That these blank spaces were normally used for this purpose is confirmed by the above-mentioned Saindhavī manuscript that was shown in the XZTV broadcast and by several northern Indian palm-leaf manuscripts, especially those of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (see, e.g., Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 1464, <https://www.cam.ac.uk/news/worlds-oldest-illustrated-sanskrit-manuscript-launches-india-unboxed-film-series>; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.86.1.85a-d [relevant images visible in Kim 2009]).

³⁰ As Phurtham has pointed out during her presentation (see above), each leaf of the manuscript ZX0165-YB15 measures 54 × 5 cm and contains 8 lines per side (see also Dimitrov 2020: 186).

the *Rājāsūtra* instead feature a completely different support and layout (fig. 12). Moreover, the graphic signs for the numerals that are used in the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* and in the *Mañicūḍajā-taka* manuscripts are identical with those of the *Candrālaṃkāra* (fig. 13). These three manuscripts are foliated in the left margin of the versos; the same is probably also true of the *Kevaltasūtra* and the *Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra*, but we cannot be sure of this (the numerals are also not visible).

As regards the ductus, there are no significant differences among the Saindhavī manuscripts available so far. The script is very regular, and the tables provided by Hanisch and by Dimitrov also match quite well with the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* manuscript, and are already very comprehensive.³¹ On the basis of the latter, we can add a relatively large group of new clusters (see below, fig. 14.1–4); notable are the rendering of the subscript *cha* (with the value of *śa*) (e.g., fols. 10v₆, 11r₅) and the use of a specific sign to indicate the *upadhmānīya* (in fols. 5r₃, 6r₈, 7v₂, 10r₄, 11v₇), although it is not always used (e.g., on fol. 1v₆ and in a number of other places, we simply have the *visarga*) (fig. 15). Note that a similar sign to record the *upadhmānīya* occurs quite regularly in Śāradā and Proto-Śāradā,³² and sometimes also in manuscripts produced in Nepal.³³ The *upadhmānīya* does not occur in the manuscripts of the *Candrālaṃkāra* and the *Mañicūḍajātaka*, nor is visible in the images of the *Kevaltasūtra* and of the *Rājāsūtra* that are available so far.³⁴

An interesting feature of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* manuscript is the use of letter numerals to indicate the number of stanzas. It should be noted that the placement of these numbers is seemingly random: they are often at the end of a chapter, but sometimes also in the middle of it. The shapes of these letters are

³¹ See Hanisch 2006: 115–120; Hanisch 2008: 267–316; Dimitrov 2010: 73–119.

³² See Slaje 1993: 28 and Melzer 2010: 64.

³³ See, for instance, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 1694, where the *upadhmānīya* is regularly written in this manner. I owe this reference to Florinda De Simini. For an example, see fol. 71r₃ (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/71>).

³⁴ I thank Dragomir Dimitrov for having kindly provided me with a colour image of the *Kevaltasūtra* leaf that he was able to reproduce from the XZTV broadcast and with a preliminary draft of his book now just published.

slightly different from those that we usually find in northern manuscripts (fig. 16).³⁵

We further note the presence of a few words in Tibetan in some of the colophons, in *dbu med* script (fig. 17),³⁶ and the use of drawings with the shapes of wheels or flowers in order to mark the boundaries of chapters and colophons (fig. 18.1–2).

2.3 The final colophon can be divided into two parts. The first part consists in the last stanza of the work and its final rubric.

*ity āryyasammitīyānām abhidharmmanayoditāḥ |
samuccitā mayā dharmmah sūktam atra muner voacaḥ ||*

samāptā abhidharmmasamuccayakārikā kṛtir ā[13v₈]cāryyabhada-
ntasaṅghatrātasya mahākaveḥ || ||
ślokaśatāni pañca ślokāś ca pañcāśat || ||

Thus, the *dharmas* taught according to the Abhidharma method of the Venerable Saṃmitīyas have been collected by me. The well-spoken teaching of the Muni is [to be found] here [i.e., in this text].

The *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* is completed; [it is] a work of the master Bhadanta Saṅghatrāta, a great poet.
[Its extent is] 550 stanzas.

This part does not contain any particular problems. Suffice it here to note three things: 1) instead of the word *sāṃmitīya*, which is no doubt attested in primary sources (e.g., in the *Prasannapadā ad 7:4* [*avataraṇikā*], 9:1, 15:11) and is quite common in secondary literature, here we find the word *sammitīya*, which is likewise attested in some primary sources³⁷ and can be considered perfectly plausible

³⁵ See, for instance, the table “Letter-numerals” published in Bendall 1883, at the end of the book. See also Dimitrov 2010: 53–60 and Dimitrov 2020: 202, 204.

³⁶ Some of these words are simply transliterations of the Saindhavī script into *dbu med*. The fact that these transliterations occur in colophons might reveal the attempt to make immediately evident the content of the work to readers that were unfamiliar with the Saindhavī script. This is not an isolated case. The same practice is visible, for instance, at the end of the Saindhavī manuscript containing the poetical work attributed to Buddhapālita (see above, § 2.1) and that has been shown in one slide by Phurtsham (MS no. ZX0842-BG125, fol. 23v₂). See also Dimitrov 2020: 198–199.

³⁷ For some references, see the paper by Tournier in this volume, p. 862, n. 9.

(and that for this reason has been adopted here).³⁸ 2) The name of the author is followed by the epithet *mahākavi*, which is relatively frequent for poets.³⁹ The same epithet also occurs in the colophons of the *Mañicūdājātaka*⁴⁰ and of the *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*⁴¹ by Sarvarakṣita, two works that can justify the attribution of this epithet to their author. In fact, if the first is properly a poem, whereas the second is a technical text—a poetic *śāstra* that describes the universe from the Saṃmitīya point of view—in the latter, Sarvarakṣita also utilizes a large array of metres⁴² and *alamkāras*, especially *śabdālamkāras*.⁴³ In the case of Saṅghatrāta, we simply do not have any information about other possible works authored by him, and in no way can the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* be defined as a *kāvya*. Although we cannot exclude the possibility that he was a poet, it is also possible that the epithet is used here in a more generic way, perhaps just to stress his learning and/or intelligence. It may be relevant in this context to note that the epithet *mahākavi* also occurs in relation to historical kings⁴⁴ and that it can be read for instance in a laudatory formula, which von Hinüber has called the “Buddhaghosa colophon,”⁴⁵ that is

³⁸ The term *saṃmitīya* and its variants can be explained in several ways. Already in 1955, André Bareau had proposed various possible etymologies: “those who live in harmony” / “those who are worthy of respect” (*saṃmitīya*), “those who are gathered” / “those who are equal” (Pāli *samītiya*), “those who have a correct measure [that is, a correct understanding of Buddha’s teaching]” (*saṃmitīya*) and “those who follow the teaching of Saṃmata” (*sāṃmitīya*) (cf. Bareau 1955: 121; cf. also Eckel 2008: 114). According to Bu ston, “[they were called] “Worthy of Respect” (*Saṃmatīya) since they taught the doctrine of a master who was respected (*Saṃmata) by a great number of people.” (*Chos 'byung*, fol. 100v: *skye bo mang pas bkur ba'i slob dpon gyi lugs ston pas kun gyis bkur ba* |; cf. also Obermiller 1932: 100). It is difficult to say which one of these explanations is closest to the self-definition of the Saṃmitīyas themselves, because unfortunately we do not have original sources that provide us with an explanation or a para-etymology of the name.

³⁹ For instance, we find this epithet in the final rubric of some works of Aśva-ghoṣa (*Saundarananda*), Kālidāsa (*Vikramorvaśīya*), Kṣemendra (*Avadānakalpalatā*, *Kalāvīlāsa*), Bhavabhūti (*Uttararāmacarita*) and Somadeva (*Kathāsaritsāgara*).

⁴⁰ See Hanisch 2008: 250.

⁴¹ See Okano 1998: 382.

⁴² See Okano 1998: 90–96.

⁴³ See, e.g., Okano 1998: 111–112, 213–214, 216–225, 228–241.

⁴⁴ See Tournier 2018: 38, n. 40.

⁴⁵ See von Hinüber 1996: 131; 2015b: 424.

present with slight changes in all the conclusions (*nigamana*), sometimes only in the Burmese edition, of the commentaries authored by or attributed to Buddhaghosa, as well as at the end of his *Visuddhimagga*.⁴⁶ As far as I am aware, this famous exegete never defined himself as a “great poet,” nor is he known to have composed *kāvya*s. 3) The work contains 547 stanzas, notwithstanding that the declared size of the text should correspond to 550 stanzas. It is very likely that the latter number is purely approximate: it frequently happens that the number given in the final rubrics of the texts differs slightly with respect to the actual extent of the works. Of course, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that some verses of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* were lost, that is, not copied during the transmission of the work, and that the text originally contained some additional stanzas, but as far as we can see at present, there are no evident gaps in it.

The second part of the final colophon, which was authored entirely by the copyist, consists of two stanzas, followed by the so-called *deyadharmā* formula and by the indication of the place where the manuscript was copied. It is written in a Sanskritized Middle Indic and requires a few corrections and comments. Suffice it here to briefly discuss the main points, because a thorough study of the passage and its language has just been published by D. Dimitrov.⁴⁷

The first stanza, which is transliterated here verbatim, corresponds to the *pratītyasamutpādagāthā*, often referred to as the *ye dharmā* formula; it is extremely common and, as is well known, reproduced on many different objects, such as manuscripts (typically at the end of the text), epigraphs and seals:⁴⁸

ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā tesāṃ hetu tathāgato avaca |
tesāṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃvā[147₁] dī mahāśśamaṇo || ||

Of those *dharmas* that arise from a cause, the Tathāgata exposed the cause; and that which is their cessation, the great ascetic teaches in this way.

⁴⁶ See *Visuddhimagga* 614.1–11.

⁴⁷ See Dimitrov 2020, esp. pp. 45–46, 87–89.

⁴⁸ For a classification of objects inscribed with the *ye dharmā* formula, see Strauch 2009: 49–52. In the classification of different forms of this stanza pre-

A few things are worth noting: 1) the sequence *tesām hetu* for the more usual *hetuṃ teṣām*— even though the sing. acc. *-u* is attested in BHSG § 12.22, the word *hetu* should probably be corrected, *metri causa*, to *hetuṃ*; 2) the words *tathāgato avaca* for *tathāgato hy avadat*, which is the more frequent ending of this *pāda*—in this case, no correction is needed, since the third-person sing. aorist *avaca* is attested, for instance in the *Mahāvastu* (see BHSG § 32.113), and is also common in Pāli; 3) the reading *mahaśśamaṇo* for the expected *mahāśramaṇo/ mahāśramaṇah*; and 4) the retention of the nominative masculine endings in *-o*, which is clearly a Prakritism.

The second stanza is also quite common, and can be traced in various Buddhist sources either in this or in slightly different forms:⁴⁹

savvaṇṇapāpass<'> akaraṇaṃ kuśalass<'>^a upasaṃpadā^b |
sacittapayirodamaṇaṃ etaṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ || O || ||

^a *kuśalass<'>* em.] *kuśalassa* MS

^b *upasaṃpadā* em.] *upasaṃpadāṃ* MS

Abstaining from all sins, attaining what is wholesome, completely disciplining one's own mind: this is the teaching of the Buddhas.

It is striking that the language here is identical with that of the Saṃmitīya (aka Patna) *Dharmaṃpada*. This stanza may be compared to the parallel in the Pāli *Dhammapada*:

savvaṇṇapāpass<'>^a akaraṇaṃ kuśalass<'> upasaṃpadā^b |
sacittapayirodamaṇaṃ etaṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ ||
 (Saṃmitīya *Dharmaṃpada* 19:16)⁵⁰

^a *savva*° MS (see also Dimitrov 2020: 131)] *sabba*° all editions (Shukla, Roth, Mizuno, Cone) ✧ °*pāpass<'>* em.] °*pāpassa* all editions

^b *kuśalass<'> upasaṃpadā* em.] *kuśalassu aṇasaṃpadā* MS; *kuśalassa upasaṃpadā* Shukla, Mizuno; *kuśalassa aṇasaṃpadā* Cone; *kuśalassa aṇasaṃpadā(!)* Roth

sented recently by von Hinüber (2015a) it corresponds almost exactly to 2.2.1, the “*avaca* group” among the “Hybrid Pāli inscriptions.” On this stanza, see also Boucher 1991; Skilling 2003–2004; Dimitrov 2020: 11–12.

⁴⁹ On this stanza, see also Mizuno 1981: 160–161; 1984: 173–174.

⁵⁰ Cf. MS fol. 19r₁₋₂. This is st. 357 in Shukla's ed. (p. 38), st. 358 in Roth's ed. (1980: 129), st. 357 in Mizuno's ed. (1981: 161; 1984: 173), st. 357 in Cone's ed. (1989: 197–198).

*sabbapāṭṭassa akaraṇaṃ kusalassa upasampadā |
sacittapariyodapaṇaṃ etaṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ ||
(Dhammapada 183 [14:5])*⁵¹

In particular, we observe *savva* for P. *sabba* and Skt. *sarva*;⁵² the genitive singular in *-ssa*; *sa*° for *sva*°; the reading °*payirodamaṇaṃ* instead of P. °*pariyodapaṇaṃ*;⁵³ *etaṃ* for Skt. *etad*; and the genitive plural *-āna*. Furthermore, the reading *buddhāna sāsanaṃ* instead of the likewise attested readings *buddhānuśāsanam*⁵⁴ and *buddhasya sāsanaṃ*⁵⁵ suggests a proximity between the Saṃmitīya and Theravāda transmission of this stanza.⁵⁶

The text of the *deyadharmā* formula is no doubt corrupt. It is also transliterated here verbatim, although some corrections could easily be introduced in the text.

deyadharmmo yaṃ [14r₂] paramudānadānapatisya bhadantaprabhākirttikasya yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu mātāpitrisarvassatvadevamanuṣyapādāprapāta iti [14r₃] ||
śrīnāṅgīlindralikhitaṃ iti || ||

⁵¹ Reproduced from the edition by von Hinüber and Norman (p. 52), with only one minor change, i.e. *buddhāna* for *Buddhāna*.

⁵² See also Dimitrov 2020: 131–133, 184, 207.

⁵³ The evolution *ṛya* > *riya* > *yira* (by metathesis) is quite common in Middle Indo-Aryan, including Pāli (see, e.g., Oberlies 2019, § 23.3), and is evidently common also in Saṃmitīya texts. One instance occurs in the available folio of the *Rājāsūtra* (line 2), where we read *ayirassa{ṇ}* instead of *ariyassa* of the Pāli parallel (see Tournier and Sferra, in preparation). See also Dimitrov 2020: 88, 194.

⁵⁴ See, for instance, *Mahāvastu* III.543.7–8: *sarvāpāpasyākaraṇaṃ kuśalasyopasampadā | svacittapariyodamaṇaṃ etad buddhānuśāsanam ||*. The same reading also occurs in the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins 93 (st. 8), variant: *svacittaparidamaṇam* and in the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Lokottaravādins 36.22–23. V. Tournier has pointed out to me that the variant *svacittapariyodapaṇaṃ* in Tatia's edition should be deleted, since it is an erroneous correction by the editor, likely based on Senart's earlier emendation of the *Mahāvastu* verse: "I checked the Nor ms. of that portion, and the reading is confirmed by the Bāmiyān ms. of the same text (Karashima 2008: 82–83). The Bāmiyān manuscript (also representing a Lokottaravādin recension) incidentally reads *buddhāna sāsanaṃ*, so there isn't a clear divide between Mahāsāṅghika and Mūlasarvāstivādin recension of the *pāda* on the one hand, and Saṃmitīya and Theriya on the other" (Tournier's personal communication, 2 January 2020).

⁵⁵ See, for instance, *sarvāpāpasyākaraṇaṃ kuśalasyopasampadah | svacittaparyavadanaṃ etad buddhasya sāsanaṃ ||* (*Udānavarga* 28:1 and *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins 73 [st. 7]).

⁵⁶ For further linguistic comments on this stanza, see Dimitrov 2020: 87–89.

In particular, *paramudāna*° is likely a mistake for *paramadāna*°, and the word *dāna* in the same compound is probably repeated twice due to a dittography (the compound *paramadānapati* is attested, for instance, in the *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*).⁵⁷ The genitive °*patisya* is a Prakritism for °*pater* (see BHSG §§ 10.78–79) and has to be retained. The name of the donor, Prabhākirttika, is a bit suspicious and might be a mistake for Prabhākīrti or Prabhākīrtikara, even if to the best of my present knowledge the latter name is not usual. The last words are certainly corrupt and perhaps also incomplete. The compound °*sarvvassatva*° should be emended to °*sarvvasatva*°. Let us note en passant that the *akṣara de* of the word *deva* is not perfectly legible in the manuscript, but there is a good chance that this is the *akṣara* that should be read there (see fig. 19) and that “father” (*pitṛ*) is rendered with the spelling *pitri*, which is less regular, but nevertheless attested—for instance, in the Gilgit manuscript of the *Saṅghabhedavastu*⁵⁸—and should therefore be retained. In fact, the most problematic part of this formula is the last compound: the many parallels that are available both in inscriptions and manuscripts usually show a more elaborate clause, which involves the mention of both the beneficiaries of the merit produced as well as the goal, i.e., their acquisition of the supreme or unsurpassed knowledge (*anuttarajñāna*). Instead of the reading *mātāpitṛisarvvassatvadevamanuṣyapādāprapāta iti*, the more common pattern, which we read for instance in a paratext of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (261.16–17), is *ācāryopādhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvamgamam kṛtvā sakalasattvarāśer anuttarajñānāvāptaye iti* (*sic*). Let us note incidentally that instead of *anuttarajñānāvāptaye*, in some sources we find *anuttarajñānaphalāptaye* (e.g. in the Calcutta manuscript of the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*), *anuttarajñānaphalāvāptaye* (e.g. in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* [p. 511] and the *Yogāmbara-sādhyanopāyikā* of Amitavajra [fol. 12v]),⁵⁹ *anuttarajñānalābhāya* (*Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa*, fol. 14v) or even *anuttaraphalāvāptaye* (*Vajrapadasārasaṃgraha*, fol. 85v₆). In our case, it is not at all clear whether the mention of the *anuttarajñāna* is omitted due to a mis-

⁵⁷ See *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* 346.3.

⁵⁸ See Gnoli 1977: xv, whose policy, however, was to standardize *ri* with *r* when the latter was the expected vowel in classical Sanskrit.

⁵⁹ For two further examples, see Schopen 1979: 12.

take in transmission or it was never present in the sentence. We could also conjecture a reading such as *mātāpitri<pūrvamgamam kṛtvā> sarvasatva<rāśer> devamanuṣyapadāvāptaya iti*, with no reference to the typically Mahāyānist goal, but the last part of this formula in particular remains uncertain and is apparently not attested in clear parallels.⁶⁰ Notwithstanding this substantial difference and the doubts about its original reading, there is no question that the use and adaptation of this formula at the end of a Saṃmītiya work is a further piece of evidence that it need not be identified exclusively with the Mahāyāna, pace the conclusions of Gregory Schopen (1979: 12, “[...] we must conclude that the formula *yad atra puṇyam*, etc., is virtually the exclusive property of the Mahāyāna”).⁶¹

The toponym present in the compound *śrīnālandralikhitam* (“[The manuscript] has been written in Śrīnālandra”) has been identified differently by previous scholars. Tucci suggests that Nalendra (*sic* for Nālandra in Tucci 1956b) is nothing but Nālandā, the famous monastic educational (and ritual) centre in present-day Bihar, and that the spelling Nalendra reflects the Tibetan pronunciation of this word.⁶² However, Kiyoshi Okano, who did not have access to the manuscript of the *Abhidharma-samuccayakārikā* and could rely only on Tucci’s words, believes that this toponym, i.e., Nalendra, refers to a monastery in Tibet situated 30 kilometres northwest of Lhasa and 130 kilometres from Gong dkar chos grwa, a monastery also known as Nālandra, dPal

⁶⁰ V. Tournier has kindly pointed out to me that the wish to obtain good rebirths among god and human beings is attested (in that case en route to Buddhahood) in a 6th-century inscription from Jaggayyapeta in the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh ([...] *devamanu(s)[ya]vibhūtipūrvvakam buddhattvaṣṭāptinimittam* [...]); see Tournier 2020: 219–220. The entire inscription, no. 136 of the *Early Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa* (EIAD) corpus, is also published online at <http://epigraphia.efe.fr/andhra/> (last accessed 7 February 2020).

⁶¹ For a more recent and detailed discussion of this formula, see Tournier 2014: 36–42; 2018: 43–46; 2020: 181ff.

⁶² See Tucci 1956b: 2: “Therefore, it seems that this manuscript was written at Nalendra temple, in other words, Nālandā (那爛陀寺). It is worth noting that the name of this famous forest of learning (学林) is not written as Nālandā but as Nalendra, according to the way Tibetans always spell [this temple’s name].” (I thank Kenji Takahashi for having kindly translated for me this passage from the original Japanese.)

Nāleन्द्रa (= *Śrīnāleन्द्रa),⁶³ 'Phan yul Nāleन्द्रa and, again, Nālandā. Accordingly, he thinks that the manuscript could not have been produced before the foundation of the monastery by Rong ston smra ba'i seng ge (aka Rong ston Shes bya kun rig) (1367–1449) in 1435 CE⁶⁴ and that the dating Tucci proposes for this manuscript (as well as for the manuscript of the *Maṇicūḍajātaka*), i.e., the eighth or ninth century,⁶⁵ is wrong.⁶⁶ No date is indicated in the colophon, but it is likely that this manuscript was produced in the same period as the manuscripts of the *Maṇicūḍajātaka* and the *Candrālaṃkāra*, that is, the twelfth century⁶⁷ or perhaps a bit later. The identification of Śrīnāleन्द्रa/Nāleन्द्रa is in any case problematic. It could perhaps, and provisionally, be identified with a monastery called Nāleन्द्रa that is mentioned by Tāranātha in chapter 32 of his *rGya gar chos 'byung* as—apparently—a different monastery than Nālandā, established by the Pāla king Mahāpāla, son of Mahāpāla I (r. c. 980–1028).⁶⁸ However, one should keep in mind that Tāranātha, a relatively late author (1575–1634), is not always reliable in his accounts and some further research is no doubt required in this regard. The mention of two monasteries with very similar names is in fact a bit suspicious. Moreover, the actual existence of a king named Mahāpāla, not otherwise mentioned in any of the epigraphical records available thus far, is not at all certain. Alexis Sanderson has raised some skepticism in this regard in his essay “The Śaiva Age.”⁶⁹

⁶³ See, for instance, Ferrari 1958: 39.

⁶⁴ On the history of this monastery, see Jackson 2019, who posits its foundation in 1436. For its geographical location, see Ferrari 1958: 39. A description of the monastery (with a map and some pictures) may be found in Akester 2016: 46–47, 56–61.

⁶⁵ See Tucci 1996: 170.

⁶⁶ See Okano 1998: 16 and n. 28, which refers to secondary literature on this monastery.

⁶⁷ For the dating of the *Candrālaṃkāra* manuscript, see Dimitrov 2010: 47.

⁶⁸ *rGya gar chos 'byung* A: fol. 82r₂₋₃, p. 463; B: 175.5–7. B: [...] *mchod 'os kyi mthil du mdzad | dpal nā landār (A: leन्द्रār) yang chos gzhi 'ga' re btsugs | so (A: sau) ma pu ri dang | nā leन्द्रa dang | tsha ba gsum gyi gtsug lag khang la sogs par yang chos gzhi mang po btsugs*; “[Mahāpāla] [...] also established several religious foundations at Nālandā, and many others also in Somapura, Nāleन्द्रa, and the Trikaṭukavihāra” (transl. Sanderson 2009: 95–96, n. 179; see also Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970: 289). For the dates of Mahāpāla I, see Dimitrov 2016: Appendix I, in particular p. 756.

⁶⁹ See Sanderson 2009: 96.

3. About the text

3.1 The *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* deals with the same topics as the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu and the *Abhidharmadīpa* of (Ārya/Ācārya) Īśvara,⁷⁰ but the subdivision of its chapters is not perfectly parallel to that of the other two works (see below, Table). Even though the *Abhidharmakośa* is never quoted directly and explicitly, since paraphrases of stanzas from this text occur all throughout the work, it is very likely that it is precisely Vasubandhu who is alluded to in those parts of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* where Saṅghatrāta refers to doctrines supported by others by saying “*kecit* [...],” that is, “Some [say...]” or “*āpare* [...]” or even “*anye* [...],” i.e., “Others [say...]”. Two examples occur in the very first chapter:

1

*rūpaṃ viṃśatidhā śabdāś tridhā gandhaś ca ṣaḍ rasāḥ |
saptadhehāṣṭadhā sṛṣṣyaṃ kecid ekādaśātmakaṃ || (1:7)*

Colour/shape has twenty aspects; sound and smell are threefold; tastes are six; in our system (*iha*), tangible object is sevenfold [and/or] eightfold; some [say that it] consists of eleven [aspects].

*rūpaṃ dvidhā viṃśatidhā śabdāś tv aṣṭavidho rasāḥ |
ṣoḍhā caturvidho gandhaḥ sṛṣṣyaṃ ekādaśātmakaṃ ||
(*Abhidharmakośa* 1:10)*

Rūpa, which is twofold [= colour (*varṇa*) and shape (*saṃsthāna*)], has twenty aspects; sound is eightfold; taste is sixfold; smell is fourfold; tangible object consists of eleven [aspects].

In both texts, *rūpa* has twenty aspects, which, following the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, include four main colours (blue, red, yellow and white), eight secondary colours (grey, etc.), and eight shapes (long, short, square, round, tall, little, equal, unequal), whereas taste is sixfold (sweet, sour, salty, chilly, bitter, astringent). Differences concern sound, smell and tangible object. In the *Abhidharmakośa* and its *Bhāṣya*, sound is eightfold because each of its main four subdivisions—i.e., sound caused by the four great elements conjoined [with consciousness] (*upāttamahābhūtahetu-*

⁷⁰ On the name of the author of the *Abhidharmadīpa*, see Li 2012: 2–4.

ka), caused by the four great elements not conjoined [with consciousness] (*anupāttamahābhūtahetuka*), articulate (*sattvākhyā*) and inarticulate (*asattvākhyā*)⁷¹—can be pleasant and unpleasant. Smell is fourfold since it can be good, bad, mild (or neutral) and strong. Tangible object has eleven aspects, since it is connected with the four great elements and can be tender, rough, heavy and light, as well as cold, hunger and thirst.⁷² At present I am unable to say with certainty why, in the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā*, sound and smell are threefold, and tangible is sevenfold and/or eightfold. As regards smell, we can hypothesize that Saṅghatrāta conceives it to be threefold inasmuch as it can be pleasant, unpleasant and neutral. Such a definition of smell actually occurs in primary sources, for example in the *Pañcaskandhaka* of Vasubandhu,⁷³ in the *Prakaraṇapāda* of Vasumitra⁷⁴ and in the *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* by Vīryaśrīdatta;⁷⁵ it is also referred to in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.⁷⁶ We could also hypothesize that the same pattern can be applied to sound, but I was unable to find confirmation on this regard in other sources. We could very tentatively explain tangible object as being sevenfold in connection with the seven categories of tactile objects, starting with “tender” and so on, and eightfold in connection with the four great elements together with their respective peculiar qualities,⁷⁷ or only taking into

⁷¹ Lit. “called Being,” i.e., pertaining/belonging to living/sentient beings, and “called not-Being,” i.e., not pertaining/belonging to living/sentient beings.

⁷² See also *Pañcaskandhaka* § 1.2.10 (3.5–7): *spraśavyaikadeśaḥ katamaḥ | kāyasya viśayo mahābhūtāni sthāpayitvā ślakṣṇatvaṃ karkaśatvaṃ gurutvaṃ laghutvaṃ śītam jighatsā pipāsā ca* |, and *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* 96.4–5.

⁷³ *Pañcaskandhaka* § 1.2.8 (3.1–2): *gandhaḥ katamaḥ | ghrāṇaviśayaḥ — sugandho durgandhas tadanyaś ca* |.

⁷⁴ See La Vallée Poussin 1971, vol. I: 18.

⁷⁵ See *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* 96.2–3: *gandhas trividhaḥ — sugandho durgandhaḥ samagandhaś ceti* |.

⁷⁶ *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 7.6–7: *sugandhadurgandhayoh samaviśamagandhatvāt | trividhas tu śāstre — sugandho durgandhaḥ samagandha iti* |.

⁷⁷ See, for instance, *Pañcaskandhaka* § 1.1 (1.6–2.2): *catvāri mahābhūtāni katamāni | pṛthivīdhātur abdhātus tejodhātur vāyudhātus ca || tatra pṛthivīdhātuḥ katamaḥ | kakkhaṭatvaṃ | abdhātuḥ katamaḥ | snehaḥ | tejodhātuḥ katamaḥ | uṣṇā | vāyudhātuḥ katamaḥ | laghusamudīraṇatvaṃ* |; *Mahāvīryūtpatti* §§ 1843–1851: *catvāri mahābhūtāni | 1 pṛthivīdhātuḥ | 2 abdhātuḥ | 3 tejodhātuḥ | 4 vāyudhātuḥ | 5 khakkhaṭatvaṃ (sic for kakkhaṭatvaṃ) | 6 dravatvaṃ | 7 uṣṇatvaṃ | 8 laghusamudīraṇatvaṃ* |. See also Rahula 1971: 4.

consideration their peculiar qualities, which in some sources are held to be eight, i.e., two per element.⁷⁸ Alternatively, the tangible could be eightfold in connection with the four great elements that can be internal and external, i.e., belonging to oneself or to the external reality, as is taught, for instance, in *Majjhima Nikāya's sutta* no. 28.

2

*niṣyandaḥ sadṛśo hetoḥ vipākaḥ karmmaṇaḥ kila |
sattvākhyo 'vyākṛtaḥ kecit{o} balāj jātaṃ tu [2r.] pauruṣaṃ ||
aviḡhṇabhāvādhiḡatam ādhipatyaphalaṃ dvidhā ||
prahāṇaṃ yo viṣaṃyogo dhiyā prāptiḥ kvacit phalaṃ⁷⁹ || (1:16–17)*

[There are five kinds of fruit:] 1) *niṣyanda* (“[Fruit of] Equal Emanation”) is similar to the cause; 2) it is said that *vipāka* (“[Fruit of] Retribution”) comes from *karma*; some [others believe that *vipāka* is] called Being [i.e., it pertains to sentient beings, and] is non-defined (*avyākṛta*); 3) the *pauruṣa* (“[Fruit of] Human Strength”), in its turn (*tu*), arises from effort; 4) the *ādhipatyaphala* (“Fruit of Sovereignty”), [which exists] in two ways,⁸⁰ is obtained from the absence of obstacles;⁸¹ 5) *viṣaṃyoga* (“[Fruit of] Disconnection”) is the destruction [of the evil propensities (*anusāya*)] made by insight.⁸² In some [sources], it is [also] the attainment [of the unconditioned *nirvāṇa*].

*vipāko 'vyākṛto dharmāḥ sattvākhyo vyākṛtodbhavaḥ |
niḡsyando hetusadṛśo viṣaṃyogaḥ kṣayo dhiyā ||
yadbalāj jāyate yat tat phalaṃ puruṣakārajam |*

⁷⁸ See, for instance, *Arthaviniścayasūtra* 9.1–6: *rūpaṃ katamaḥ? yat kiṃcid rūpaṃ sarvaṃ tac catvāri mahābhūtāni | catvāri ca mahābhūtāny upādāya, katamāni catvāri? tadyathā — pṛthivīdhātur abdhātus tejodhātur vāyudhātus ca | pṛthivīdhātuh katamaḥ? yad gurutvaṃ ca kakkhaṭatvaṃ ca | abdhātuh katamaḥ? yad dravatvaṃ abhiṣyandana-tvaṃ ca | tejodhātuh katamaḥ? yad uṣṇatvaṃ pariṣācana-tvaṃ ca | vāyudhātuh kata-maḥ? yad ākuñcana-prasāraṇa<ṃ> laḡhusamuḡdraṇatvaṃ ca |*. See also *Caṇḍamahā-roṣaṇatantra* 468 (chap. 16); and *Sūta* 353–354 (chap. 2).

⁷⁹ I interpret the word *phalaṃ* as syntactically connected with the following stanza 18 (see below §§ 6, 8). Consequently, it is not translated here.

⁸⁰ This statement is not fully clear to me. It could be a reference to its being a fruit with respect to the “doer” and with respect to the “enjoyer” (see *Dhammajoti* 2007: 235).

⁸¹ See below, § 6, st. 1.10cd.

⁸² Following *Abhidharmakoṣabhāṣya ad 2:57: dhīḥ prajñā*], both here and below I interpret the word *dhī* as synonym of *prajñā*.

apūrvah saṃskṛtasyaiva saṃskṛto 'dhipateḥ phalam ||
(*Abhidharmakośa* 2:57–58)

The [Fruit of] Retribution is a non-defined *dharmā*, is called Being [i.e., it pertains to sentient beings and] arises from a defined [*dharmā*]. The [Fruit of] Equal Emanation is similar to the cause. The [Fruit of] Disconnection is the destruction [of evil propensities] due to insight. The Fruit arisen from Human effort is that which arises by force of that. A conditioned [*dharmā*] that follows a conditioned [*dharmā*] is the Fruit of Sovereignty.

Suffice it here to note that in this example, as well as in the previous one, it is not explicitly stated that the opinion of the others is wrong; it is simply registered as a (probably less attractive) alternative.

In many other passages, Saṅghatrāta simply reformulates the words of the *Abhidharmakośa*. Let us consider two examples:

1

caittā vedītacaitanyasaṃjñāsparsāmanaskri[3r₇]yāḥ |
cchando <'>dhimokṣo vyāyāmo smṛtibuddhisamādhayaḥ || (3:4 [72])

The thought concomitants (*caitta*) [that are known as the ten *mahābhūmikadharmas*] are: 1) feeling (*vedīta*); 2) volition (*caitanya*); 3) ideation (*saṃjñā*); 4) contact (*sparsā*); 5) attention (*manaskriyā*); 6) desire for action (*chanda*); 7) determination (*adhimokṣa*) [i.e.,] exertion (*vyāyāma*); 8) memory (*smṛti*); 9) discernment (*buddhī*); and 10) concentration (*samādhī*).

vedanā cetanā saṃjñā cchandaḥ sparśo matiḥ smṛtiḥ |
*manaskāro 'dhimokṣas ca*⁸³ *samādhīḥ sarvacetasi ||*
(*Abhidharmakośa* 2:24)

Feeling, volition, ideation, desire for action, contact, discernment, memory, attention, determination and concentration are in any thought.

2

śraddhānusārī mṛdvakṣo jñeyo darśanavartmani |
dharmmānusārī tikṣṇākṣas tasminn eva vyavasthītaḥ || (6:26 [233])

⁸³ Or 'dhimuktiś ca (see La Vallée Poussin 1971, vol. I: 153).

On the Path of Vision [of the truths], the “follower [of the path] in accordance with faith” has to be known as having weak faculties; established in this very [Path], the “follower [of the path] in accordance with the teachings” [instead] has sharp faculties.

mṛdutiḥṣṇendriyau teṣu śraddhādharmānusāriṇau |
(*Abhidharmakośa* 6:29ab)

At these [moments], the [practitioners] of weak and sharp faculties are [respectively] the “follower [of the path] in accordance with faith” and the “follower [of the path] in accordance with the teachings.”

3.2 In the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā*, there are only two sentences that contain a reference to the distinctive doctrine of the Saṃmitīyas, as well as of all the Vātsīputrīyas in general, i.e., to the *pudgala* (lit. “person”), which they hold to be a real and ultimate entity, even though indeterminate in its relation to both the aggregates and *nirvāṇa*, and which for this reason is most targeted in non-Personalists Buddhist works, where it is interpreted as contrary to the doctrine of *anātman*.

The first reference, which is quite explicit, occurs at the very beginning of the text. The passage is however somewhat problematic. The reading *evāvadanyatā* in *pāda* d is almost certainly corrupt. I have tentatively conjectured *evānyad anyathā*, which at present seems to me the closest possible correction.⁸⁴

arūpiṇo manovarjyā dharmmāyatanam anyathā |
vānye ca • pudga[1v₂] lo 'vācyah sarvvaṃ evānyad anyathā⁸⁵ || (1:8)

[All] the immaterial [*dharmas*] apart from the mind are the Basis of the Dharmas; alternatively (*anyathā vā*), even [all] the other [*dharmas* fall under *dharmāyatana*]. The *pudgala* is inexpressible. Any other thing [exists] in a different way [that is to say, is expressible].

The ineffability of the *pudgala* is a key Vātsīputrīya (and hence Saṃmitīya) standpoint. Comparison with the paradigmatic Vātsī-

⁸⁴ Other possible conjectures are more intrusive (e.g., *sarvvasyaiva tadanyatā*) or syntactically more problematic (e.g., *sarvvaṃ eva tadanyatā*).

⁸⁵ *evānyad anyathā conj.*] *evāvadanyatā* MS

putrīya thesis listed, expounded, and criticized for instance by Bhāviveka in the *Tarkajvālā*,⁸⁶ by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (18:92–103) and its *Vivṛti*,⁸⁷ and by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla in *Tattvasaṅgraha* 336–349 and its *Pañjikā*,⁸⁸ would invite to explain the word *avācya* (“inexpressible,” “ineffable”) by the impossibility to say whether the *pudgala* is the same or different from the *skandhas*; the discussion here pertains rather to the twelve *āyatanas*, but this is likely not a problem, given that the two sets represent parallel, alternative schemes of phenomenological classification, which in the Theravāda tradition, at least, are consciously correlated starting with the Abhidhammapiṭaka.⁸⁹ Thus, the *vijñānaskandha* is associated with the *manaāyatana*, the other mental aggregates (*vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāras*) are associated with the *dharmāyatana*, and the *rūpa-skandha* is associated with all the remaining internal and external *āyatanas* (eye, ear, etc.; colour/shape, sound, etc.).

The second reference is implicit and occurs in stanza 23 of the sixth chapter, entitled *Mārgasamuccaya*, at the end of a description of the stages/fruits that lead the *ārya* to *nirvāṇa*. Here we find the famous metaphor of fire and fuel, which is already attested in early Buddhist scriptures⁹⁰ and can be found also in other *pudgalavāda* texts. According to the latter, this would exemplify the relationship that exists between the *pudgala* and the aggregates on the one hand, and between *pudgala* and *nirvāṇa* on the other.⁹¹ To put it briefly: just as fire is identifiable and conceivable only in the presence of fuel, while it is not identical with it, so does the *pudgala* in relation to the aggregates; and like fire, once the fuel is extinguished, returns to its unmanifest and delocalized state, so the *pudgala* obtains *parinirvāṇa*, once defilements are extinguished. In

⁸⁶ See Iida 1968: 196–200, and Eckel 2008: 114–115, 118, 121 (trans.); 310, 313, 315 (text).

⁸⁷ See Eltschinger 2010.

⁸⁸ See Sferra, forthcoming.

⁸⁹ See Bodhi 2000: 1122–1123.

⁹⁰ See, e.g., *Majjhima Nikāya* 72 and *Saṃyutta Nikāya* II.84–87. On the fire metaphor in the early Buddhist teachings, see Gombrich 2009: chapter 8.

⁹¹ For an indepth analysis, with references to primary and secondary sources, see Priestley 1999: 165–186.

this state it is not annihilated, but its existence—baseless, boundless and unmanifested—is unfathomable.⁹²

The entire relevant passage is edited (without changes in orthography) and translated here below. Stanza 19 is not completely clear to me, and could be corrupt and in need of further emendation. At present, I limit myself to translating it literally.

tatas trayodaśe citte phalam āryyo <'>dhigacchati |
*jugupsamāno nirvveti*⁹³ *tataḥ kāmān dvidhāsucīn || (6:19 [226])*
dvītiyaṃ bahunirvviṇṇaḥ phalam āpnoty anāsravaṃ |
nirvviṇṇaḥ sarvaśaś tv āryyaḥ tṛtīyam adhigacchati || (6:20 [227])
*bahirmmukhaḥpravṛttānāṃ kleśānāṃ sarvaśaś*⁹⁴ *kṣayāt |*
etad vairāgyam ity uktaṃ vīta[6v₆] *rāgas*⁹⁵ *tv ataḥ*
[*paraṃ* || (6:21 [228])
antarmukhaḥpravṛttānāṃ baṃdhānānāṃ vimocanāt |
*sa vimuktīm avāpnoti caturthaṃ*⁹⁶ *cāmalaṃ phalaṃ || (6:22 [229])*
*pūrvvāparādhānirjjātabhavasāṃdhinīrodhataḥ*⁹⁷ *|*
parinirvātī niṣkleśo nirindhana ivānalaḥ || (6:23 [230])

19. Then, in the thirteenth mind,⁹⁸ the Noble One attains the [first] fruit [i.e., the Srotaāpatti]; then, being disgusted, he becomes unfeeling⁹⁹ towards the twofold desires, that are impure.

⁹² This interpretation of the metaphor of fire and fuel, which brings the Pudgalavāda very close to various non-Buddhist traditions, was obviously criticized by other Buddhists. See Duerlinger 1982 and Eltschinger 2010: 314–316.

⁹³ *nirvveti* em. (Salvini)] *nirvotte* MS

⁹⁴ *sarvaśaś* em.] *sarvaśāḥ* MS

⁹⁵ *vītarāgas* em.] *vītarāgas* MS

⁹⁶ *caturthaṃ* em.] *caturddhaṃ* MS

⁹⁷ ° *bhava*° em.] ° *bhavā*° MS

⁹⁸ It seems that according to Saṅghatrāta the *satyābhisamayas* are 12 (three for each of the *satyas*) and not 16, like in the *Abhidharmakośa* (st. 6:27ab): *tato duḥkhaṃ tribhīr jñānaiḥ* (em.; *jñānauḥ* MS) *śeṣāny evaṃ tribhis tribhiḥ | paśyati [...]* (*Abhidharmasamucayakārikā* 6:18abc.) “Therefore, [the practitioner] sees the [truth of] suffering by means of three kinds of knowledge; in the same way [he sees] the remaining [three truths] each one by means of three [kinds of knowledge].”

⁹⁹ This translation is based on the assumption that in Buddhist texts, and in particular in this context, the verbal root *nirvid* (as well as the connected noun *nirvidā*) expresses more a lack of interest towards the objects of desire than a kind of disgust or revulsion, even if this is its basic meaning in Classical Sanskrit, and notwithstanding the word *jugupsamānaḥ* suggests that, at least at the beginning, a sense of dislike or aversion is in some way present. The formula *nibbindati ukkaṇṭhati nābhīramati*, which occurs several times in Pāli sources (see, e.g.,

20. Disenchanted with many [objects of desire], he attains the second fruit [i.e., the state of Sakṛdāgāmin], which is free from impurities; but [when] the Noble One is completely disenchanted, he attains the third [fruit, i.e., the state of Anāgāmin].

21. Due to the complete destruction of the defilements that are directed towards [something] external, this [third fruit] is called Detachment; it is after this [destruction that the Noble One] is [called] “free from attachment.”

22. Due to liberation from the fetters that are directed towards [something] internal, he attains liberation, i.e., the fruit that is the fourth and pure [= the state of Arhant].

23. [When he has become] free from defilements, due to the cessation of the bondage with [the chain of] existence, which is produced by the previous faults, he enters Parinirvāṇa, like a fire without fuel.

4. Style and language

In accord with the typical Abhidharmic style, Saṅghatrāta privileges short and often also cryptic sentences. Although he is able to compose stylistically estimable verses, as evidenced by the opening of the text, sometimes, for the sake of conciseness, he opts for less regular syntactic constructions; quite striking, for instance, are the nine occurrences of the syllable *vā* at the beginning of a *pāda* (stt. 30, 66, 108, 150, 205, 224, 310, 317).

Apparently the particle *tu* is often used as a *pādapūraṇa* and sometimes to mark the change of the subject in the sentence. Consequently, in the translation, I have occasionally opted for a free rendering of this *nipāta* with expressions like “As for...” (in st. 10) or “in its turn...” (e.g., in st. 16) or even not translating it at all (e.g., in st. 25).

As regards the metre, we note that although the *pathyā* form remains prevalent, the author quite frequently resorts to *vipulās*. Just to offer an impression of the metrical style, the *vipulās* in the first chapter are as follows: *na-vipulā* (22c), *bha-vipulā* (4a, 17a), *ma-vipulā* (11c, 19a, 19c, 24c, 30a), *ra-vipulā* (3c, 12a, 12c, 20c).

Visuddhimagga 558.11–12), seems to imply also a positive aspect, that is, not only a disillusionment or disenchantment with the worldly objects of desire, but also a longing for or yearning for something better (see *Critical Pāli Dictionary* s.v. *ukkaṇṭhati*).

5. *About this edition*

Given the uniqueness and importance of this manuscript, its peculiarities have been retained: 1) The sandhi, both internal and external, has not been standardized. 2) The punctuation has been faithfully reproduced. Sometimes the copyist divides the words within the *pādas* using a dot (•); its function is not fully clear to me. 3) The orthography has not been standardized. In this regard, it is worth noting that in words that contain the cluster *gra*, the latter is always written as *ggra*;¹⁰⁰ in this case, the gemination of *g* is no doubt a purely orthographical device of disambiguation, since in Saindhavī/Bhaikṣukī script, the *akṣara gra* would be indistinguishable from *re*. The vowel *ṛ* is sometimes rendered with *ri*. One instance is at the beginning of the *Mārgasamuccaya*, where we find the word *śriṅvan* for *śṛṅvan* (st. 6:4 [211]) (see fig. 20).¹⁰¹

Among the most conspicuous editorial interventions is the arrangement of the text in metrical form, the insertion of the numbers of the stanzas and, in a few cases, the addition of a comma to help the reader.

For this edition, the following symbols and abbreviations have been used:

[...]	enclose the pagination of MS
]	separates the accepted reading, emendations or conjectures from other readings
(...)	enclose the numbers of the stanzas
<...>	enclose the <i>avagrahas</i> that are absent in the MS
{...}	enclose <i>akṣaras</i> or <i>daṇḍas</i> that should be cancelled
†...†	<i>cruces desperationis</i>
⊗	fleuron/wheel
∪	<i>siddham</i> sign
<i>r</i>	<i>recto</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>verso</i>

¹⁰⁰ See also Dimitrov 2010: 117, and 2020: 98–101.

¹⁰¹ See also Dimitrov 2010: 118.

6. Text

[1v₁] oḷ namo buddhāya ||

satvadharmmagaṇāggratvaṃ • buddhīśuddhīsamāptibhiḥ |
 prāptān saṃbuddhadharmmāryasamghān abhyarccya
 [sarvathā || (1)
 abhidharmme prasiddhānāṃ saddharmmāṇāṃ samuccayaḥ |
 kariṣyate ya[1v₂]to <'>nyeṣāṃ bhavaty, āyatanādayaḥ || (2)
 dvidhā cakṣuḥśrutighrāṇajihvākāyamanāṃsi ṣaṭ |
 ādhyātmikāny āśrayatvāc^α cetaso <'>nyatvam ātmanaḥ || (3)
 rūpadhvanighreyarasapṛśyadharmmās tu gocarāḥ |
 bāhyā[1v₃]ḥ sādharmaṇatvāc¹⁰² ca prādhānyād
 [rūpadharmmayoḥ^β || (4)
 rūpālocanam atrā'kṣi śrotrādīni yathākramaṃ |
 vijñānādhyuṣitāny ebhiḥ saha maṃṭṭṛ manas tridhā || (5)
 cakṣuṣo viṣayo rūpaṃ śabdādīni yathendriyaṃ |
 manasaḥ [1v₄] sarvvaṃ ekasya • svakalāpam apāsyā vā || (6)^γ
 rūpaṃ viṃśatīdhā śabdāś tridhā gandhaś ca ṣaḍ rasāḥ |
 saptadhehāṣṭadhā spṛśyaṃ kecid ekādaśātmakam || (7)^δ
 arūpiṇo manovarjyā dharmmāyatanam, anyathā |
 vānye ca • pudga[1v₅]lo 'vācyah sarvvaṃ evānyad anyathā¹⁰³ || (8)
 samutthānaṃ yad ākṣeptṛ • janako hetur eva ca |
 ānantaryyaṃ vinaśyad yad avibandhāya kalpate || (9)
 ālambanam abhipretam • yad ārabhya samudbhavaḥ |
 ādhipatyan tu janyasya sarvve <'>nye '[1v₆]vigṇatām
 [prati || (10)^ε
 utthānaṃ prāksahotpannaṃ • virūpe <'>pi pravarttakam¹⁰⁴ |
 sabhāgahetuḥ prāgjāto bhūnikāyasadṛk sa¹⁰⁵ vā || (11)^ζ
 sarvvatragāḥ saṃprayukto vipākas sahabhūś tathā |^η
 sarvvatragāḥ sānuvṛttadvidhānāṃ,¹⁰⁶ sa[1v₇]dhātukāḥ || (12)
 yatra ye saṃprayuktās te sarvve <'>nyonyaṃ,^θ vipacyate |
 yato <'>taḥ paktir ity anyas tatphalas sahabhūr iti || (13)^ι

¹⁰² sādharmaṇatvāc em.] sādharmaṇatvāc MS

¹⁰³ evānyad anyathā conj.] evāvadanyatā MS

¹⁰⁴ pravarttakam em.] pravarttakāt MS

¹⁰⁵ sa em.] saṃ MS (contra metrum)

¹⁰⁶ sānuvṛtta° em.] sānuvatta° MS

- jāyamānasya yo yasya sthānadātārthato bhavet |
 ānantaryyaṃ sa tasyānye cittacittikayo[1v₈]r¹⁰⁷ mmanah || (14)
 vijñaptisaṃprayuktānām ālambanam idam dvidhā |
 kevalaṃ saṃprayuktānām icchanti nikhilaṃ ca tat || (15)
 niṣyandaḥ sadṛśo hetoḥ^k vipākaḥ karmaṇaḥ kila |
 satvākhyo 'vyākṛtaḥ^λ kecit¹⁰⁸ balāj jātaṃ tu [2r₁]
 [pauruṣaṃ^μ || (16)
 avighnabhāvādhigatam ādhipatyaphalaṃ dvidhā ||
 prahāṇaṃ yo viśaṃyogo dhiyā^v prāptiḥ kvacit, phalaṃ || (17)
 dvayor nniṣyanda ekasya vipākaḥ pauruṣaṃ dvayoḥ ||^ξ
 ādhipatyam tu sarvveśaṃ prahāṇaṃ mokṣava[2r₂]rtmanaḥ || (18)
 adhvadvaye dvau triṣv anye hetavaḥ^o phaladās tv amī |
 dvau varttamānau bhaggnās ca śeṣā^π bhaggnā kriyāpare || (19)
 sarva eva tu gṛhṇanti varttamānāḥ phalaṃ kila |
 dvyekādhvakā jāyamānajātayoḥ karma
 [kurvate || dha [2r₃] || (20)^p
 anyeśāṃ api hetūnāṃ phalānāṃ cātra saṃggrahaḥ |
 etad evānuśaṃsaś ca guṇaś cādīnavo 'thavā || (21)
 bhūtabhauṭikavijñānadharmaṇāṃ hi parasparaṃ |
 catustridvyekekaraṇaṃ¹⁰⁹ svajāteś caikadheha¹¹⁰ saḥ || (22)^σ
 bhūtāni [2r₄] bhūtasādṛśyāt pṛthivyambvagnimārutāḥ¹¹¹ |
 dhṛtyādikaḥinatvādikṛtyāmkāni^τ sahaiva vā || (23)
 rūpaśabdamanodharmaḥ paṃcadhā'vyākṛtāny adaḥ |
 sarvāṇi kāme • rūpeṣu daśā'ntye dve arūpiṣu || (24)
 anāśra[2r₅]ve ca, caittās tu dharmmā anuśayādayaḥ |
 vidādyāḥ saṃprayuktāś ca tathānuparivarttinaḥ ||^υ (25)
 sahabhūni tu sarvāṇi vā • na dve manasī saha |
 daśa rūpiṇi vaikaṃ tu triṣu vijñaptisaṃbhavaḥ || (26)
 sālambanaṃ manaḥ [2r₆] kiṃcit trayāṇāṃ trīṇi karma vā |
 dve vipāko 'pare śabdavarjyāni sa tu yatnajaḥ || (27)
 nava bhāvayitavyāni vā guptiguṇasaṃbhavāt |
 abhijñeyāni sarvāṇi sāksātkāryāni ṣaṭ tu vā || (28)

¹⁰⁷ *cittacittikayor* em.] *cittā'cittikayor* MS

¹⁰⁸ *kecit* em.] *kecito* MS

¹⁰⁹ *°karaṇaṃ* em.] *°karaṇaṃ* MS

¹¹⁰ *caikadheha* em.] *caikatheha* MS

¹¹¹ *°mārutāḥ* em.] *°mābhātāḥ* MS (note that the *akṣaras ru* and *bha* can easily be confused in the Saindhavi/Bhaikṣukī script)

daśa dvayoḥ pra[2r₇]deśās ca prahātavyāni vartmanā |
 pariñeyāni sarvāṇi sāsraivatvāc ca duḥkhavat || (29)
 vā rūpaśabdau pañcāptau mano dharmmās ca ṣaḍvidhāḥ |
 nābhiprāyo yato <'>to <'>nyad bhāvanāheyam

[aṣṭakaṃ || 1a || (30)

vitarkka[2r₈]ś ca vicāraś ca kāme dhyāne vivekaje |
 dhyānāntare vicāras tu • parastād dvayam apy asat || (31)
 dvitīyād ā smṛtā pṛtīs tṛtīyād ā sukhodayaḥ |

†prāmodyaiñaniruddhatvād† antare dve kilāpare || (32)

aduḥ[2v₁]khāsukhaniṣpattir ā bhavāggrāt prayogataḥ |
 saññāsamlekhavaiśeṣyāc catasro 'rūpabhūmayāḥ || (33)

sambhavāt saṃprayogād vā savitarkkādiddeśanā |
 sambhavād bhūmiṣu jñeyā saṃprayukteṣv

[ato <'>nyathā || ❁ || (34)

abhidharmasamuccaye āyatanasamuccayaḥ prathamas samā-
 ptaḥ || ❁ || [2v₂]

7. Notes on the text

- α Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:9cd: *tadvijñānāśrayā rūpaprasādās cakṣurādayaḥ* ||. See also the corresponding *Bhāṣya* (p. 6): *rūpaśabdagandharasaspraṣṭavyavijñānānām āśrayabhūtā ye pañca rūpātmakāḥ prasādās te yathākramaṃ cakṣuḥśrotagrahṇāñajhvākāyā vedītavayāḥ | yathoktaṃ bhagavatā — cakṣur bhikṣo ādhyātmikam āyatanaṃ catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya rūpaprasāda iti vistaraḥ | yāny etāni cakṣurādīny uktāni tadvijñānāśrayā rūpaprasādās cakṣurādayaḥ | cakṣurvijñānādyaśrayā ity arthaḥ* |. See also *Abhidharmakośa* 1:45.
- β Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:24: *viśeṣañārthaṃ prādhānyād bahvagrādharmasaṅgrahāt | ekam āyatanaṃ rūpam ekaṃ dharmākhyam ucyate* ||.
- γ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 7:18cd: *sāṃvṛtaṃ* [scil. *jñānaṃ*] *svakalāpānyad ekaṃ vidyād anātmataḥ* ||.
- δ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:10: *rūpaṃ dvidhā viṃśatidhā śabdāḥ tu aṣṭavidho rasaḥ | ṣoḍhā caturvidho gandhaḥ spṛśyam ekādaśātmakam* ||.
- ε Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:62d: *kāraṇākhyo 'dhīpaḥ smṛtaḥ*.
- ζ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:52ab: *sabhāgahetuḥ sadṛśāḥ svanikāyabhuvo 'grajāḥ* |.
- η Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:49abc: *kāraṇaṃ sahabhūś caiva sabhāgaḥ saṃprayuktakaḥ | sarvatraga vipākākhyāḥ*.
- θ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:53cd: *saṃprayuktakahetus tu cittacaittāḥ samāśrayāḥ* |.
- ι Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:50b: *sahabhūr ye mīthaḥphalāḥ*.
- κ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:57c: *niḥśyando hetusadṛśāḥ*.

- λ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:57ab: *vipāko 'vyākṛto dharmāḥ sattvākhyo vyākṛtodbhavaḥ* |.
- μ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:58ab: *yadbalāḥ jāyate yat tat phalaṃ puruṣakārajam* |.
- ν Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:57d: *viśaṃyogaḥ kṣayo dhiyā*.
- ξ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:56: *vipākaphalam antyasya pūrvasyādhipatam phalam | sabhāgasarvatragayor niṣyandaḥ pauraṣaṃ dvayoḥ* ||.
- ο Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:55ab: *sarvatragaḥ sabhāgāś ca dvyaadvagau tryadvagās trayāḥ* |.
- π Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:63abc₁: *nirudhyamāne kāṛitraṃ dvau hetū kurutas trayāḥ | jāyamāne*.
- ρ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:59: *varttamānāḥ phalaṃ pañca grhṇanti dvau prayacchataḥ | varttamānābhyatītau dvau eko 'tataḥ prayacchati* ||. See also *Abhidharmakośa* 2:55ab.
- σ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:65: *dvidhā bhūtāni taddhetuḥ bhautikasya tu pañcadhā | tridhā bhautikam anyonyaṃ bhūtānām ekadhaiva tat* ||.
- τ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:12: *bhūtāni pṛthivīdhātur aptejovāyudhātavaḥ | dhṛtyādikarmasaṃsiddhāḥ kharasnehoṣṇateraṇāḥ* ||.
- υ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:51abc₁: *caittā dvau saṃvarau teṣāṃ cetaso lakṣaṇāni ca | cittānuvarttinaḥ*.

8. Summary and tentative translation

The following translation is to be considered provisional for several reasons. To the cryptic nature of the text, which is common to other Abhidharmic works, we must add the absence of a commentary or a translation into Tibetan and/or Chinese, and in the end also the fact that the *codex unicus* containing this work was never proofread or corrected after the copying (see above, § 2.2). In order to highlight the passages that, in my opinion, are more problematic, and the interpretation of which is most probably inadequate, some words and sentences have been underlined. It cannot be ruled out that, especially in those parts, the text may also be corrupted and that some corrections may contribute to improving its intelligibility.

Saṅghatrāta begins with the initial homage to the three jewels and the explanation of the title and content of the work: “After having worshipped in every way [namely, with body, speech and mind] the Perfect Awakened, the Dharma and the Community of the Noble Ones, which have become the foremost among beings, among teachings and among groups through attainment of wisdom, purity and pacification [of defilements, respectively], a collection of the true *dharmas* that are well known in the Abhidharma

will be made, by means of which [a summary] of the other [*dharmas*] is [also] made.¹¹² [The true *dharmas* are] the bases (*āyatana*) and so on (stt. 1–2).”

Then the text starts by listing the twelve bases or sense spheres and their main characteristics; these bases are stated to be of two kinds: “[The bases] exist in two ways. Six—eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind—are the internal [bases], since [they] are the substratum [of the respective kinds of primary awareness (*viññāna*), i.e.,] of the mind; the *ātman* [i.e., the mind,] is different [from them].¹¹³ Conversely, [their] fields—colour/shape, sound, odour, taste, tangible object and mental objects—are external [i.e., are the external bases], since they are common [to all]. And [among the bases, only one is called *rūpāyatana* and only one is called *dharmāyatana*,] since *rūpa* and *dharma* are the most important (stt. 3–4).”

Subsequently, a basic description of the twelve bases is given in stanzas 5 to 8: “In this regard, [the sense faculty of] the eye is the vision of colour/shape. [That of] the ears, etc. are [the hearing of sound, etc.], respectively. [All of these, i.e., the eye, etc.,] are inhabited by [their own] primary awareness (*viññāna*). Together with them there is the thinker, i.e., the mind (*manas*), which [exists] in three ways [i.e., as defiled (*kliṣṭa*), non-defiled (*akliṣṭa*) and non-defined (*avyākṛta*)].¹¹⁴ The field of the eye is colour/shape. Sound, etc. are [the fields of their] respective senses. Everything [i.e., the twelve *āyatanas*] is [the object] of the mind alone,¹¹⁵ or [everything] apart from its own totality.¹¹⁶ Colour/shape has twen-

¹¹² I.e., probably of the *dharmas* that are not well known and that can easily be inferred from this collection.

¹¹³ The mind is metaphorically called *ātman*; see *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya ad 1:39ab* (*aḥaṃkārasanniśrayatvāc cittaṃ ātmety upacaryate*) and *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana*, chapter 4, p. 95.

¹¹⁴ Or, perhaps, but less plausibly, “the mind [exists] in three ways,” because it can be referred to in three ways, i.e., as *citta*, *manaḥ* and *viññapti* (cf. *Abhidharmakośa 2:34ab*: *cittaṃ mano 'tha viññānam ekārtham*).

¹¹⁵ In other words, it is only the mind that has the capacity of making the other *āyatanas* its own object.

¹¹⁶ The words “apart from its own totality” are quite cryptic; they apparently refer to another viewpoint, according to which everything—that is to say, all the *āyatanas*—is the object of the mind apart from the mind itself and its concomitants (*citta* and *caittas*). These words could refer to the idea that some Saṃmitīyas did not accept the *svasaṃvedana*: the mind cannot have itself or its concomitants as its own object, since it is impossible that an agent acts on itself.

ty aspects; sound and smell are threefold; tastes are six; in our system, the tangible object is sevenfold [and/or] eightfold; some [say that it] consists of eleven [aspects].¹¹⁷ [All] the immaterial [*dharmas*] apart from the mind are the *dharmāyatana*; alternatively, even all the other [*dharmas* fall under *dharmāyatana*]. The *pudgala* is inexpressible (*avācya*). Any other entity exists in a different way [that is to say, is expressible].”¹¹⁸

Stanzas 9 to 10 list the four Conditions (*pratyaya*): “1) The Origin (*samutthāna*) is precisely the projector and the producing cause.¹¹⁹ 2) Immediateness (*ānantarya*) is that [Condition] which, while disappearing, effects the continuity (*avibandha*) [with the subsequent stage in the production of the effect]. 3) Object (*ālamhana*) is intended [as that] clinging to which there is the arising [of the cognition]. 4) As for Sovereignty (*ādhipatyā*), [it] is all other [*dharmas*] concerning the absence of obstacles to the thing that has to arise.”¹²⁰

Stanzas 11 to 13 describe the subsequent elaboration of the *hetupratyaya* into the five causes: “Origin (*utthāna* = *samutthāna* = *hetupratyaya*), which arises before or together with [the effect], is also productive of what is different (*virūpa*). [Among its subdivisions, the] 1) Homogeneous Cause (*sabhāgahetu*), which has arisen before, is similar to the stage (*bhū*) and the category (*nikāya*) [of the effect], or is the same (*sa vā*).¹²¹ [Then we have:] 2) Universal [Cause] (*sarvatraga*), 3) Conjoined [Cause] (*saṃprayukta*), 4) Maturation [Cause] (*vipāka*) and 5) Coexistent [Cause] (*sahabhū*). [As regards the Universal Cause,] the universal [defiled *dharmas*] (*sarvatraga*) are [the causes] of [other *dharmas*] that have conformity [with them—that is to say, are also defiled] and that are of two kinds [i.e., belonging to their own stage and belonging

¹¹⁷ On this stanza, see above, § 3.1.

¹¹⁸ On this stanza, see above, § 3.2.

¹¹⁹ This corresponds to the *hetupratyaya*, the Condition qua cause. Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 4:10, *samutthānaṃ dvidhā hetutatkṣaṇottthānasamjñitam | pravartakam tayor adyaṃ dvitīyam anuvartakam ||*, and La Vallée Poussin 1971, vol. III: 36–37.

¹²⁰ See Dhammajoti 2007: 226. See also La Vallée Poussin 1971, vol. I: 309.

¹²¹ In other words, the *sabhāgahetu* shares the category or stage of its effects, but it can even coincide (*sa vā = sa eva vā*, the particle *eva* being implicit) with its effect as regards category and stage. Origin, instead, is a wider category: its effect can also be different, that is to say, it can belong to different categories (*nikāya*) and stages (*bhū*) within a category.

to other categories as well].¹²² Those [*dharmas*] that, with respect to some other [*dharma*] (*yatra*), are endowed with their constituent element,¹²³ they are all mutually connected [causes]. [As regards the Maturation Cause,] since [the fruit] becomes mature (*vipac-*) [from it, this cause] is therefore called (*iti*) 'maturation' (*pakṭi*). [As regards the Coexistent Cause,] it is called Coexistent [when the *dharmas* are mutually] each the effect of the other."

Stanzas 14 to 15 again deal with the *samanantarapratyaya*, here called Immediateness (*ānantarya*): "That [*dharma*] that offers [its own] place to that which is being born [= the effect] is the [condition called] Immediateness for that [effect], in accordance with the meaning [of the word *ānantarya* itself]. Others [believe] that [only] *manas* is [the *ānantarya* condition] of thought and thought concomitants.¹²⁴ They contend that this [= *manas*] exists in two ways: merely as the support/object (*ālambana*) of [the factors] that are connected with mind (*vijñapti*) [= *cittaprayuktasamskāra*] and as the totality (*nikhila*) of the connected factors."

In stanzas 16 to 18, the five kinds of fruit or effect are described: "1) *Nisyanda* ('[Fruit of] Equal Emanation') is similar to the cause; 2) it is said that (*kila*) *vipāka* ('[Fruit of] Retribution') comes from *karman*; some [others believe that *vipāka* is] called Being [i.e., it pertains to sentient beings, and] is non-defined (*avyākṛta*); 3) the *pauruṣa* ('[Fruit of] Human Strength'), in its turn, arises from effort; 4) the *ādhipatyaphala* ('Fruit of Sovereignty'), [which exists] in two ways, is obtained from the absence of obstacles; 5) *viśamyoga* ('[Fruit of] Disconnection') is the destruction [of the evil propensities (*anuśayas*)] made by insight. In some [sources], it is [also] the attainment [of the unconditioned *nirvāṇa*].¹²⁵ The [Fruit of] Equal Emanation is the fruit of two [causes, that is to say, of the *sabhāgahetu* and of the *sarvatragahetu*]; the [Fruit of] Retribution is [the fruit] of one [cause, that is to say, of the *vipāka-*

¹²² See Dhammajoti 2007: 193.

¹²³ By saying that they are "endowed with their constituent element" (*sadhātuka*), it is probably meant that they have the same basis (*samāśraya*) (cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:53cd).

¹²⁴ See Dhammajoti 2007: 224.

¹²⁵ On stanzas 16–17, see above, § 3.1.

hetu]; the [Fruit of] Human Strength is [the fruit] of two [causes, that is to say, of the *sahabhūhetu* and of the *saṃprayuktakahetu*]. Sovereignty (*ādhipatyā*), which is the abandonment of all [the obstacles], is [the fruit] of the path that leads to liberation.”¹²⁶

Stanzas 19 to 20 analyse time in causality as well as the “giving” and “grasping” of a fruit:¹²⁷ “Two [causes] are in two times [i.e., both in the past and in the present], the other [causes] are in three [times]; these causes bear fruit. [With respect to the fruit,] two [causes] are present and the remaining [three] are past (*bhagna*).¹²⁸ Others [believe that only their] action (*kriyā*) is past. It is said that all [five causes] grasp the fruit while being present.¹²⁹ Belonging to two or one of the times, [the causes] accomplish the[ir] action with regard to [one effect] that is arising or that has arisen.”

A further description of the *sahabhūhetu* and of the *mahābhūtas* in particular is given in stanzas 21 to 23: “In this regard, there is also the agglomeration of other causes and of other fruits. And precisely this is [their] advantage, quality or fault. Of the Elements (*bhūta*), Material Products (*bhautika*), Mind (*viñāna*) and mental objects (*dharma*), there are reciprocally four, three, two and one action. And here this [i.e., the *sahabhūhetu*] is [active on its effect] according to one’s own birth (*jāti*) [= *lakṣaṇa*] and in one way.¹³⁰ The *bhūtas*—earth, water, fire and wind—are [called *bhūtas*] due to similarity with [what is] existent (*bhūta*).¹³¹ Their actions and their characteristics are supporting, etc. and hardness, etc.,¹³² [individually] or together.”

¹²⁶ See Dhammajoti 2007: 182.

¹²⁷ See Dhammajoti 2007: 237–238.

¹²⁸ The *sahabhūhetu* and the *saṃprayuktahetu* are active on a fruit that is present, whereas the *sabhāghetu*, the *sarvatragahetu* and the *vipākahetu* are active on a fruit that is about to arise (see above, n. π).

¹²⁹ This, for instance, is the viewpoint of the Vaibhāṣika Saṅghabhadra. See Dhammajoti 2007: 157–165.

¹³⁰ This probably means that, at first, no *bhūta*, etc. cooperates with the other *bhūtas*, etc. for the production of the effect: each *bhūta* is primarily the cause of its own effect. The possibility of their cooperation is mentioned below in st. 23d.

¹³¹ Cf. Sthiramati’s *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā* 5.3: [...] *bhavantīti bhūtāni*.

¹³² Each one of the four *bhūtas* performs a different action: the earth, supporting (*dhṛti*); water, cohesion (*saṃgraha*); fire, ripening (*pakti*); wind, expansion (*vyūhana*). See above, n. τ.

The next set of stanzas (stt. 24–30) is quite cryptic; its interpretation is particularly problematic and uncertain. These verses explain further characteristics of the *āyatanas*, starting with their location in their respective spheres of existence: “Thus, colour/shape, sound, mind and mental objects are the non-defined (*avyākṛta*) [*āyatanas* and exist] in five ways. All [twelve *āyatanas*] are in the Kāma[dhātu],¹³³ ten are in the Rūpa[dhātu] spheres,¹³⁴ and the last two [i.e., the *manaāyatana* and the *dharmāyatana*] are in the Arūpa[dhātu] spheres¹³⁵ and in the pure (*anāsrava*) [realm]. The thought concomitants (*caitta*), i.e., the *dharmas* beginning with the evil propensities (*anuśaya*)¹³⁶ and feeling (*vit* = *vedanā*) and so forth, are [called] [*citta*] *samprayukta* as well as [*cittā*] *nuparivartin*¹³⁷ (stt. 24–25). All [twelve *āyatanas*] are Coexistent [causes], or, [if] the two minds [i.e., mind and mental objects] are not together [with them, only] the ten material [*āyatanas*] (*rūpin*) [are Coexistent causes], or [only] one [i.e., the *rūpāyatana*]; but *vijñapti* arises when there are three (*trisu* [satsu]) [*āyatanas*] (st. 26). The mind is endowed with [its] object (*sālamhana*). Three [*āyatanas*] or some action is [the cause] of three. Two [*āyatanas*] are [the Fruit of] Maturation. Others believe that [all the other *āyatanas* are the Fruit of Maturation,] apart from sound, which (*sa tu*) arises from the effort [and is a Fruit of Human Strength] (st. 27). Or nine [*āyatanas*] should be cultivated due to the arising of the quality of protection; all [the *āyatanas*] should be recognized, or six should be directly realized (st. 28). Ten [i.e., the material *āyatanas*] and one part of two [= the immaterial *āyatanas*, i.e., *manas* and *dharmas*] have to be abandoned by means of the path. And all [*āyatanas*] have to be perfectly known to be like pain, since they are defiled (*sāsrava*)¹³⁸ (st. 29). Or

¹³³ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:30a₂b₁: *kāmadhātvaṅgāḥ sarve* [note that the *dhātus* and not the *āyatanas* are referred to here].

¹³⁴ That is, all the *āyatanas* with the exception of smell and taste. Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:30b₂cd: *rūpe caturdaśa | vinā gandharasaghrāṇajihvāvijñānadhātubhiḥ ||* [note that the *dhātus* and not the *āyatanas* are referred to here].

¹³⁵ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:31ab: *ārūpyāptā manodharmamanovijñānadhātavaḥ |* [note that the *dhātus* and not the *āyatanas* are referred to here].

¹³⁶ Here the word *anuśaya* is used as a synonym of *kleśa* (see also Dhammajoti 2007: 423).

¹³⁷ Cf. *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* ad 2:51abc.

¹³⁸ The five *kṛtyas*, *bhāvayitavya*, *abhijñeya*, etc., also occur in *Vibhaṅga* 426.

form/colour and sound, which are five; mind and mental objects are sixfold. Since there is no aim, the other set of eight has to be abandoned by means of meditation (bhāvanāheya) (st. 30)."

Stanzas 31 to 33ab deal with the four *dhyānas* and some of their *aṅgas*:¹³⁹ “*Vitarka* and *vicāra* are in the *Kāma*[*dhātu*] and in the [first] *dhyāna*, which arises from seclusion (*viveka*),¹⁴⁰ whereas in the intermediate *dhyāna* (*dhyānāntara*) there is *vicāra* [but not *vitarka*];¹⁴¹ afterwards, [in the following *dhyānas*,] both are absent.¹⁴² Joy (*prīti*) is traditionally held to be present up to the second [*dhyāna*]; the arising of pleasure (*sukha*) is up to the third [*dhyāna*]. Others say that two [that is, *prīti* and *cittaikāgratā* are in the intermediate [*dhyāna*] due to the ...] The manifestation of Neither-pain-nor-pleasure[, which occurs in the fourth *dhyāna*,] is up to the highest state of existence (*bhavāgra*) through practice (*prayogataḥ*).”

The last lines of the chapter (stt. 33cd–34) deal with the four *ārūpyasamāpattis*: “Because of the difference of the impressions of Ideation (*saṃjñā*) [i.e., due to the extent to which Ideation is present], there are the four formless stages (*arūpabhūmi*). The teaching [of the attainment] of *savitarka*, etc. is either by origination (*sambhava*) or by connection (*saṃprayoga*). [It] should be known by origination in the [formless] stages [i.e., by being born there], or in another way than that [i.e., by connection] in the [factors] connected [with the mind].”

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¹³⁹ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 8:7–8.

¹⁴⁰ This has many parallels. See, e.g., the *Arthavinīścayasūtra* 17: *iha bhikṣavo bhikṣuḥ [...] savitarkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekaṃ prītisukhaṃ prathamam dhyānam upa-saṃpadya viharati*.

¹⁴¹ See also *Abhidharmakośa* 2:31cd and 8:22d, and *Abhidharmadīpa* 125cd.

¹⁴² Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 8:23cd.

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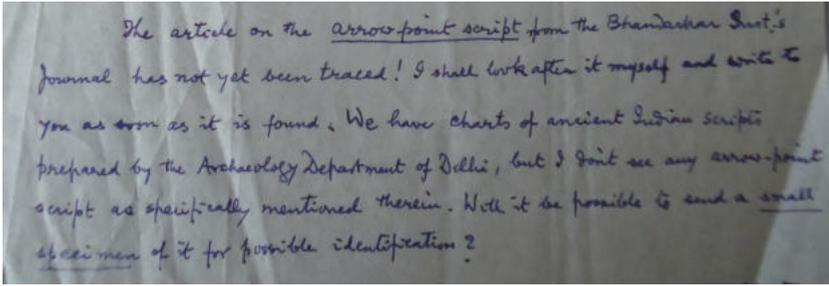
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Unpublished draft, uploaded on the author’s Academia page:
https://www.academia.edu/36055425/A_Brief_Note_on_the_Date_of_Daśabalaśrimitra_and_his_Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya.

Table

Synopsis between the *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Abhidharmadīpa*
and the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā*

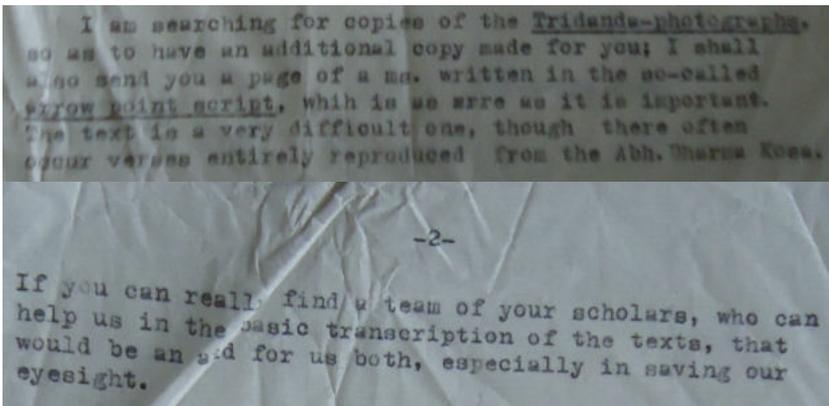
<i>Abhidharmakośa</i>	<i>stt.</i>	<i>Abhidharmadīpa</i>	<i>stt.</i>	<i>Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā</i>	<i>stt.</i>
1. Dhātunirdeśa	48	Skandhāyatanaadhātu	71	Āyatanasamuccaya	34
2. Indriyanirdeśa	73	Indriya	78	Dhātusamuccaya	35
3. Lokanirdeśa	102	Lokadhātu	(4)	Skandhasamuccaya	56
4. Karmanirdeśa	127	Karma	105	Karmasamuccaya	47
5. Anuśayanirdeśa	70	Anuśaya	125	Anuśayasamuccaya	35
6. Mārgapudgalanirdeśa	79	Mārga	92	Mārgasamuccaya	70
7. Jñānanirdeśa	56	Jñāna	58	Samadhisamuccaya	53
8. Samāpattinirdeśa	43	Samādhi	64	(spatial measures, cosmos)	64
9. Ātmavādapratīṣedha	(prose)			(temporal measures, astronomy)	38
10.				(worlds, their lords and characteristics)	23
11.				(lifespan in the destinies)	14
12.				(description of the infernal pains)	27
13.				(birth and death of beings)	43
14.				(again on elements and rain)	11



The article on the arrow-point script from the Bhandarkar Inst.'-s Journal has not yet been traced ! I shall look after it myself and write to you as soon as it is found. We have charts of ancient Indian scripts prepared by the Archeology Department of Delhi, but I don't see any arrow-point script as specifically mentioned therein. Will it be possible to send a small specimen of it for possible identification ?

Fig. 1

From a letter of V.V. Gokhale to G. Tucci, 25 February 1975



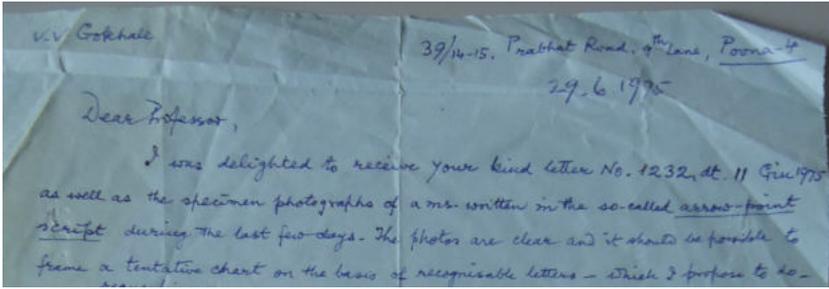
[...] I shall also send you a page of a ms. written in the so-called arrow point script, whih (*sic*) is as arre (*sic*) as it is important. The text is a very difficult one, though there often occur verses entirely reproduced from the Abh. Dharma Kosa.

-2-

If you can reall(y) find a team of your scholars, who can help us in the basic transcription of the texts, that would be an aid for us both, especially in saving our eyesight.

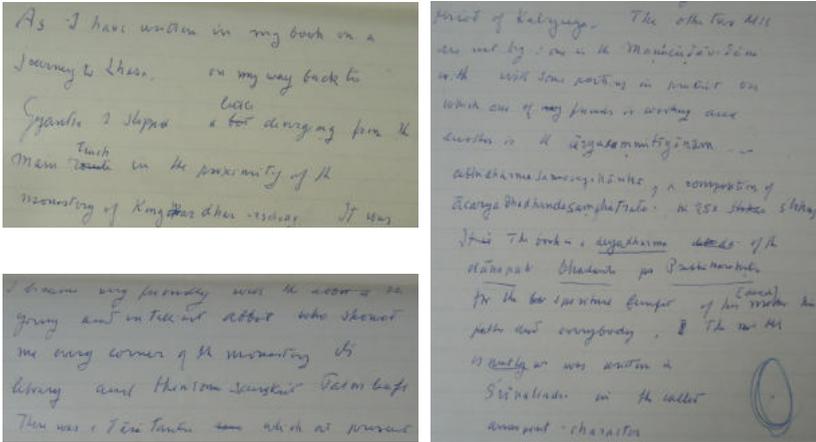
Fig. 2

From a letter of G. Tucci to V.V. Gokhale, 11 June 1975



Dear Professor,
 I was delighted to receive your kind letter No. 1232 at 11 Giu 1975 as well as the specimen photographs of a ms. written in the so-called arrow-point script during the last few days. The photos are clear and it should be possible to frame a tentative chart on the basis of recognisable letters – which I propose to do –

Fig. 3
 The answer of Gokhale, 29 June 1975



As I have written in my book on a journey to Lhasa, on my way back to Gyantse I stopped a little diverging from the main track in the proximity of the monastery of Kong dkar. [...] I became very friendly with the young and intelligent abbot who showed me every corner of the monastery, its library and the two Sanskrit palm-leaf libraries. There was a *Tārāntra* [...] The other two MSS are not big: one is the *Mañicūdāvadāna* with some portions in Prakrit on which one of my friends is working and another is the *āryasammitīyānām ... abhidharmasamuccaya-kārikā*, a composition of *ācāryabhadantasamghatrāta* in 250 (sic) *śloka*s. The book is a *deyadharmā* of the *dānapati bhadanta Prabhākarakṛta* (?) for the spiritual benefit of his [dead] mother, his father and everybody. The MS was written in *śrīnā-lindra* in the so-called arrowpoint-characters.

Fig. 4
 Notes on an undated notebook by G. Tucci
 (transliterated with silent corrections and adaptations)

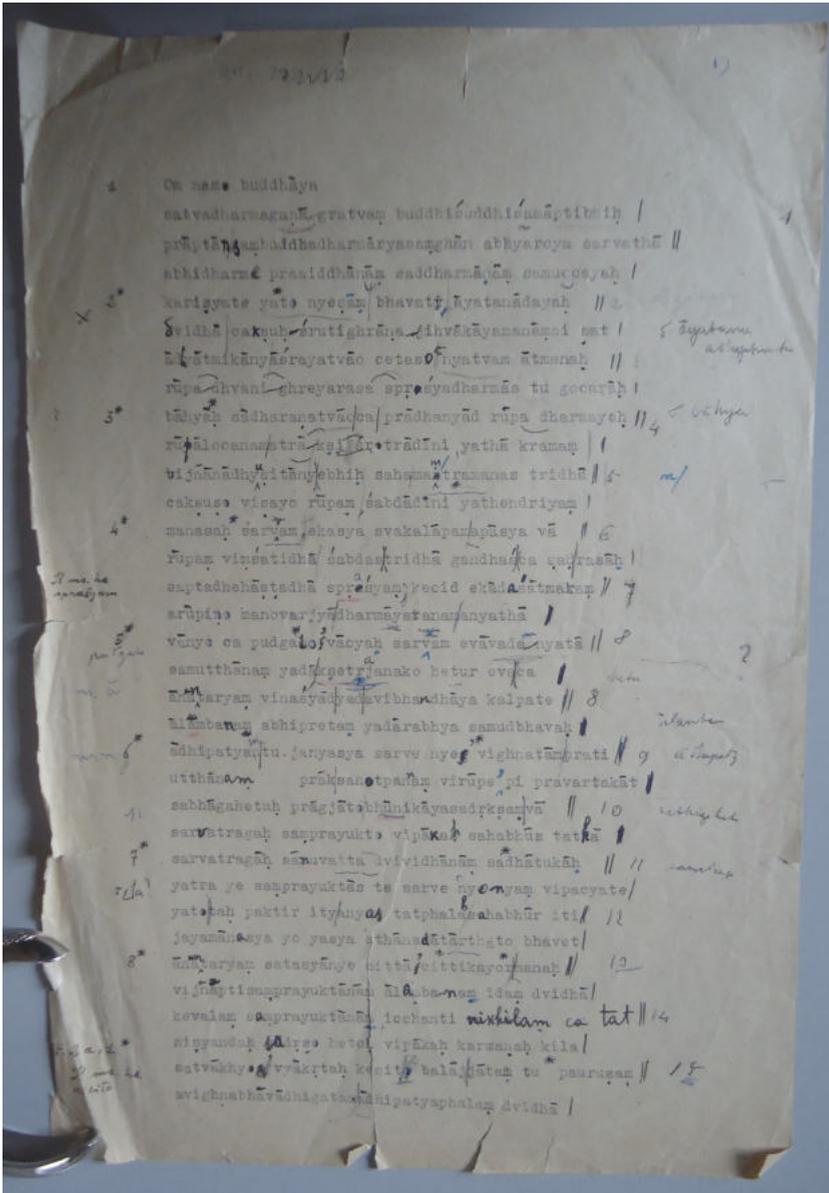


Fig. 5
 Specimen of A. Gargano's transliteration, with corrections by G. Tucci

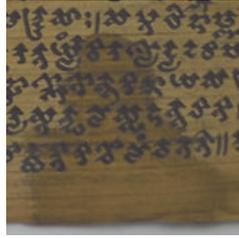
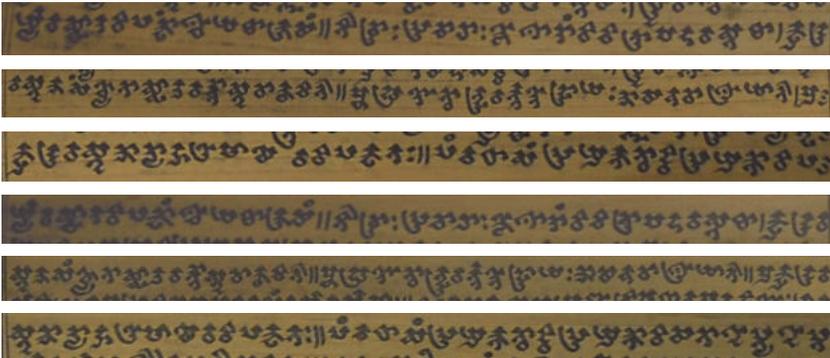


Fig. 6
Fol. 17₅₋₈, specimen of damage in the MS: humidity



Fig. 7
Fol. 127₈, specimen of damage in the MS: breaking of the edge



prādhānyāt pa[3_{v8}]ryavasthānavipakṣāṃś ca yathākramam || (3.29 [98])
tīvrāḥ pracārāḥ kleśānām vicitrā bahavas tathā |
kṣudravastukasamkhyātās sānuvarttās tu vā kvacit || (3.30 [99])
āghraṇatvāt pravarttante prāyaḥ kāmabhavāśrayāt |
akṣudravastukāny āhur eṣām eva vipakṣataḥ || (3.31 [100])
paṃcadhā samprayuktatvād viprayuktā vi
pa[4_{r1}]ryavasthānavipakṣāṃś ca yathākramam || (3.32 [101])
tīvrāḥ pracārāḥ kleśānām vicitrā bahavas tathā |
kṣudravastukasamkhyātās sānuvarttās tu vā kvacit || (3.33 [102])
āghraṇatvāt pravarttante prāyaḥ kāmabhavāśrayāt ||
akṣudravastukāny āhur eṣām eva vipakṣataḥ || (3.34 [103])
paṃcadhā samprayuktatvād viprayuktā vimatāguptyagupta[4_{r2}]yaḥ |

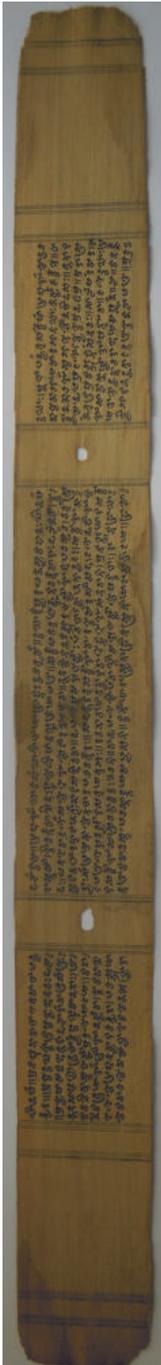
Fig. 8
Fols. 3_{v8}-4_{r1}; reduplication [stt. 98cd-101ab = 101cd-104ab]



Fig. 9
Fol. 1r: first leaf



Fig. 10
Fol. 14r: last leaf



Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā, fol. 2r



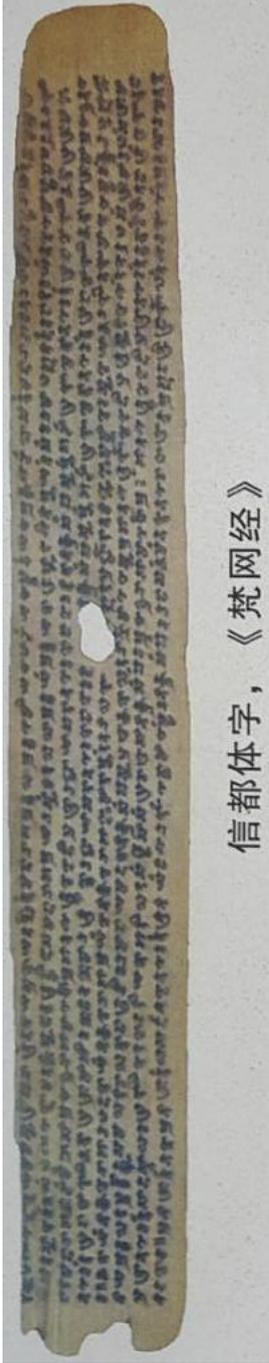
Manicūḍajātaka, fol. 3v



Kevaṭṭasūtra, fol. ?

(by courtesy of D. Dimitrov)

Fig. 11
Similarities between Saindhavi/Bhaikṣukī manuscripts



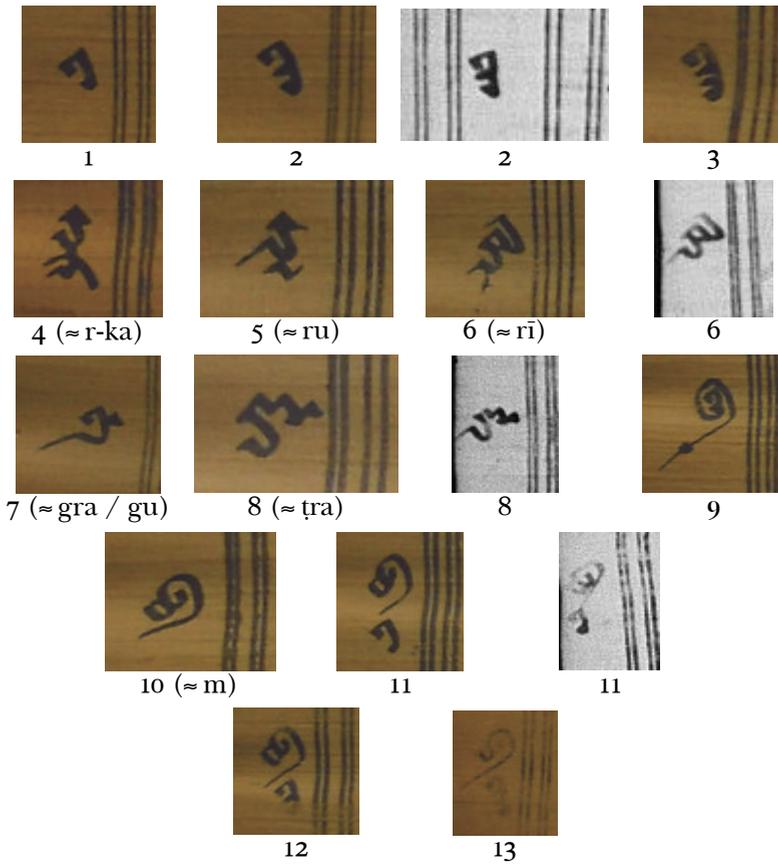
信都体字, 《梵网经》

Rājāsūtra or *Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra, fol. ? [the identification in simplified Chinese characters is wrong, see above p. 654]
(after *Tibetan Palm Leaves Manuscripts Studies* 2017)



Cambridge MS Or. 1278, *Candrālaṅkāra*, fol. 4^{lv}
(after Dimitrov 2010: 137)

Fig. 12
Other specimens of Saindhavi/Bhaikṣukī manuscripts



(reproduced from the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* and the *Mañicūḍajāṭaka* manuscripts; see also Dimitrov 2010: 53–60)



Additional numbering system used in the *Candrālamkāra* manuscript (Cambridge MS Or. 1278) to indicate a line number in the case of marginal notes (after Dimitrov 2010: 89; see also p. 116)

Fig. 13
Numerals

1. kcha (11r ₅ : tiryyak chata°)	20. gvā (14v ₇ : samyagvāg°) cf. Dimitrov 2010: 95
2. kte (11r ₆ : niruktena)	21. cchrā (6r ₈ : tacchrāvakaś)
3. kto (4v ₅ : °yukto)	22. jñe (8v ₄ : tajñeyam)
4. ktva (6v ₇ : samyaktva°)	23. jyā (1v ₄ : manovarjyā)
5. krū (12v ₈ : atikrūra°)	24. jva (10r ₇ : ujvalaiḥ)
6. kli (2v ₆ : kliṣṭāt)	25. jvā (12r ₈ : aggnijvālāgatā)
7. klo (5r ₂ : °śuklo°)	26. ñci (5r ₂ : kiñcid)
8. kve (12v ₃ : °pakve)	27. ṭcha (10v ₆ : ṣaṭchatāni)
9. kṣū (8r ₁ : °cakṣūṣi)	28. ṭtri (9r ₃ : ṣaṭtriṣat)
10. kṣṇā (6v ₇ : tīkṣṇākṣas)	29. ṭya (12r ₇ : kuṭyante)
11. kṣṇyā (13v ₅ : taikṣṇyādi)	30. dga (12v ₁ : vidgarttādiṣu)
12. kṣmī (10r ₆ : lakṣmī°)	31. dya (12r ₅ : tāḍya)
13. kṣmyā (10r ₄ : saukṣmyād)	32. ṇdā (10r ₆ : pariṣaṇḍā)
14. ksī (9v ₇ : °tiryyakṣītās)	33. nyā (11r ₆ : puṇyāt)
15. ggre (8v ₈ : bhavāggre)	34. nye (3r ₅ : puṇye)
16. ggnya (3r ₂ : °jalāggnyanila°)	35. ṇva (6r ₇ : śriṇvan)
17. gghe (3v ₂ : dṛggheyo)	36. tkā (2r ₆ : sāḥṣātkāryāni)
18. gdhā (12r ₆ : °dagdhārah)	37. ttī (8r ₇ : samāpattī)
19. gdhe (13r ₇ : °jagdhēś)	38. ttyu (8r ₃ : samāpattyupa°)

Fig. 14.1
Clusters

39. tprā (4r ₅ : tatprāptiḥ)	58. nne (12r ₅ : °saṃcchanne)
40. tmī (9v ₆ : ātmīyau)	59. nme (7r ₁ : trijanmeha)
41. tvo (8v ₄ : dhātvor)	60. nyū (5r ₇ : nyūnatarāṇi)
42. tsā (5v ₄ : vicikitsā)	61. nye (5r ₇ : caivānye)
43. tsī (10v ₆ : utsīdanti)	62. nva (5r ₄ : °bhogānvayam)
44. tsna (12r ₁ : kṛtsna°)	63. pte (4r ₅ : prāpter)
45. dga (12r ₃ : udgatā)	64. pto (7r ₅ : prāptāprāptopa°)
46. dggra (7v ₅ : °udggrahīta°)	65. pye (4v ₇ : nārūpye)
47. dggrī (11r ₄ : °ād ggrīṣmā°)	66. bdau (2r ₇ : rūpaśbdau)
48. dbhi (12r ₅ : jvaladbhiś)	67. bdhi (7v ₁ : kāyaprasrabdhir)
49. dyai (12v ₂ : sarppādyair)	68. bdhyu (7r ₈ : °srabdhyupe°)
50. dre (9r ₃ : udrekād)	69. bdhvā (10v ₁ : labdhvā)
51. dvyā (3v ₂ : dvy akhilā°)	70. bhye (10v ₅ : abhyeti)
52. dvyē (2r ₃ : catustridvyeka°)	71. bhri (12r ₆ : aurabhrikā°)
53. ntū (12r ₈ : jantūn)	72. bhvā (8r ₃ : abhibhvāyata°)
54. ntye (2r ₄ : daśā`ntyē)	73. mno (4r ₇ : nāmno)
55. ndī (10v ₁ : bandīnām)	74. myū (8v ₇ : °bhūmyūrdhvā°)
56. ndo (10v ₄ : cendos)	75. mye (11v ₇ : ūrdhvaḡāmyē eva)
57. ndyā (5v ₂ : bhindyamānā)	76. rkṣa (12r ₈ : śvarkṣasiṃpha°)

Fig. 14.2
Clusters

77. rgge (8v ₈ : āryyamārgeṣu)	96. rnnā (7r ₈ : °nirnnāsaṃ)
78. rggo (8v ₈ : bhāvanāmārgge)	97. rppā (12v ₂ : sarppādyair)
79. rghi (10r ₄ : dīrghike)	98. rbba (12v ₄ : āyurbbala°)
80. rghgha (10v ₈ : dīrghgha°)	99. rbbu (9r ₅ : arbbude)
81. rghyā (9v ₂ : dairghyāt)	100. rbhā (2v ₅ : garbhāvakra°)
82. rccya (1v ₁ : abhyarccya)	101. rbbhā (10r ₇ : caturbbhāge)
83. rjja (13r ₅ : parjjanyas)	102. rbbhi (12v ₅ : durbbhikṣa°)
84. rjji (13r ₇ : °varjjitāḥ)	103. rmmi (6r ₂ : °dhārmmikāḥ)
85. rjje (13r ₁ : °kāyikavarjjeṣu)	104. rmmu (4r ₄ : °nirmmuktaṃ)
86. rñṇe (13r ₆ : pūrñṇeṣu)	105. rmme (1v ₁ : °dharmme)
87. rtte (11v ₅ : suramartteṣu)	106. ryyu (3v ₄ : paryyutthāna°)
88. rtyā (11r ₈ : martyā)	107. rlla (10v ₄ : caturllayā<ḥ>)
89. rdda (2v ₂ : caturddaśa)	108. rśo (9v ₈ : °saṃsparśo)
90. rdvā (12r ₃ : caturdvārā)	109. rśva (10r ₃₋₄ : pārśvayoḥ)
91. rddhā (9r ₈ : arddhārdde°)	110. rśvā (12r ₃ : pārśvāṇy)
92. rddhi (7r ₈ : °dhānarddhi°)	111. rśve (9r ₆ : pārśve)
93. rddhe (11v ₈ : sārddhe)	112. rśvo (9v ₃ : °pārśvottare)
94. rddho (12r ₁ : adhyarddho)	113. rṣyo (3v ₃ : īrṣyo)
95. rddhva (12r ₃ : ūrddhvaṃ)	114. rṣva (4r ₂ : caturṣv api)

Fig. 14.3
Clusters

115. rṣve (2v ₂ : caturṣv eva)	131. styā (12r ₆ : hastyādi)
116. lyo (9v ₇ : tulyo)	132. strā (12v ₂ : śastrāṇi)
117. vyū (11v ₄ : gavyūtyabhya°)	133. stri (9r ₃ : catustriguṇa)
118. ści (13v ₃ : kaścīd)	134. strai (12v ₂ : śastrais)
119. śche (12r ₆ : śiraśchedādi)	135. stvā (13v ₆ : °bhūyastvād)
120. śyā (12r ₂ : sudṛśyānām)	136. stve (3r ₃ : strīpumstve)
121. śyo (4r ₆ : rāśyor)	137. stho (2v ₃ : daśāvastho)
122. śva (7r ₆ : śāśvatam)	138. sthau (6v ₈ : phalasthau)
123. śvā (12v ₂ : śvādibhir)	139. sne (13v ₄ : snehaḥ)
124. ṣke (11v ₃ : catuṣkeṇa)	140. sphī (10r ₈ : sphītādvayaṃ)
125. ṣṭhā (6r ₇ : adhiṣṭhāne)	141. srā (9v ₆ : sahasrāṇi)
126. ṣṭho (7r ₃ : saṣṭho)	142. sre (9v ₄ : sahasre)
127. ṣpā (13r ₇ : °niṣpādanam)	143. sro (10r ₆ : catasro)
128. ṣvi (12v ₆ : arāgeṣv ivo°)	144. hnā (10v ₆ : cāhnāhnā)
129. sto (9r ₃ : hasto)	145. hni (12r ₃ : vahninā)
130. stya (4r ₄ : nāsty anya°)	146. hyu (10r ₃ : hy upendrā°)
	147. hye (10v ₇ : bāhye)

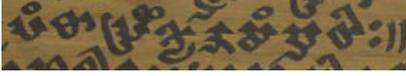
Fig. 14.4
Clusters



| kliṣṭākliṣṭāḥ pradhānās ca (5r₅)



prīteḥ prasarabdhiniṣpattiḥ (6r₈)



paṃthāḥ pratyekam aṃbudheḥ || (10r₄)

Fig. 15
(*upadhmanīya*)



1) 35 ≈ laru (3r₅)

2) 47 ≈ ptagu (5v₁)

3) 70 ≈ ṛbha (7v₆)

4) 53 ≈ dhā 3 (9r₂)



5) 64 ≈ ṛ-u r-ka (10v₁)

6) 38 ≈ laṭra (11r₆)

7) 20 ≈ dha (11v₅)

8) 41 ≈ pta-e (12v₄)

1 ≈ e	7 ≈ gra/gu	40 ≈ pta
4 ≈ r-ka	8 ≈ tra	50 ≈ dhā
5 ≈ ru	20 ≈ dha	60 ≈ ṛ-u
6 ≈ rī	30 ≈ la	70 ≈ ṛbha

Fig. 16
Letter/Figure numerals
(see also Dimitrov 2010: 53–60)



|| skandhasamuccayas tṛtīyaḥ samāptaḥ || (4v₂)

Fig. 17
Interlinear notes in *dbu med* script



Fol. 2v, end of chapter 1



Fol. 3r, end of chapter 2



Fol. 4v, end of chapter 3



Fol. 5v, end of chapter 4



Fol. 6r, end of chapter 5



Fol. 7v, end of chapter 6



Fol. 9r, end of chapter 7



Fol. 10v, end of chapter 8



Fol. 11v, end of chapter 9



Fol. 12r, end of chapter 10

Fig. 18.1
Wheels and flowers



Fol. 12*v*, end of chapter 11



Fol. 13*v*, end of chapter 12



Fol. 13*v*, end of chapter 13

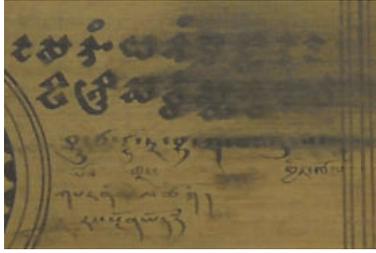


Fol. 13*v*, colophon



Fol. 14*r*, colophon

Fig. 18.2
Wheels and flowers



damaṇaṃ • etaṃ buddhāna (line-filler)
pitrisarvoassatvadeva

Fig. 19
Detail of the colophon, fol. 14r



Fig. 20
Detail of fol. 6r; *śriṇvan svā*



Fig. 21
Characters in Rañjanā script, fol. 14r

Conjured Buddhas from the Arthavargya to Nāgārjuna

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I. CONJURED BUDDHAS AND MAGICAL BEINGS: HABITUÉS OF THE BUDDHIST LITERARY WORLD

1. *Śamathadeva and the Upāyikā*

Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* is a rich sourcebook for Āgama materials.¹ The bulk of these are not available anywhere else in Tibetan translation; for the most part they are not preserved in Indic versions, and often enough they are not found even in the extensive corpus of Āgama literature preserved in Chinese translation. Even when they are, the Chinese versions may often belong to different textual traditions than that or those of the Mūlasarvāstivāda upon which Śamathadeva relied (the Mūlasarvāstivādins themselves having transmitted more than a single or unitary canon). In this paper, I translate and study Śamathadeva's short excerpts from the *Arthavargya-sūtras* and the *Dirghāgama* cited *ad Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* 7:51c, in comparison with

¹ In the Tanjur the title is given at the head of the text as *Abhidharmakośa-tīkōpāyikā-nāma*. In this article I use the more natural title *Upāyikā* for short.

available parallels in Pali, Sanskrit, and Chinese. Śamathadeva cites the *Arthavargīya* as from a *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*, but he does not give the title or any other details of the short *Dīrghāgama* excerpt which follows. This is most probably a counterpart of the Pali *Janavasabha-sutta* (*Dīghanikāya*, *sutta* No. 18), the Chinese *She ni sha jing* 闍尼沙經 (Chinese *Dīrghāgama*, *sūtra* No. 4) and the Sanskrit *Janarṣabha-* or *Jinayabha-sūtra* (in the Central Asian and Gilgit versions, respectively).

The *Upāyikā* is not a commentary in any of the usual forms.² Śamathadeva goes through the *Kośa*, both *kārikās* and *bhāṣya*, from start to finish; whenever Vasubandhu the Kośakāra refers to or quotes a canonical (and from time to time non-canonical) text or tenet, Śamathadeva cites the source in question in full or as an excerpt. His work is effectively an anthology of the Āgama literature cited by Vasubandhu following the sequence of the *Abhidharmakośa*. At times Śamathadeva mentions the title and the collection to which his source belongs, but for the majority of his citations he does not do so. In some instances he refers to or cites verse *uddānas* for reference. These references are precious for the attempt to retrieve or reconstruct the structure and contents of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Āgamas, and they offer a glimpse of how the *uddāna* keywords were used as a system of bibliographic or canonical reference. No complete Sarvāstivādin or Mūlasarvāstivādin

² P 5595, *mDo 'grel*, *Tu* 1a1–296a3; *Thu* 1a1–144a7; D 4095, *mNgon pa*, *Ju* 1b1–287a7; *Nyu* 1b1–95a7. For a brief introduction to Śamathadeva's work see Skilling and Harrison 2005: [131]–[133]. See also Mejer 1991. A series of annotated translations of parallels to discourses of the *Samyuktāgama* was published by Dhammadinnā between 2012 and 2018 in the *Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies* (Nos. 11–14, 18–19, and 22) and promises to continue. For a translation of Śamathadeva's parallel to the Pali *Uruvela-sutta* see Skilling et al. 2016. My early work on Śamathadeva was conducted in Bangkok in the 1970s using the “Peking Tibetan Tripiṭaka,” that is, the Otani reprint, the only Tibetan canon there available. I was fortunate to be able to use one of the (as far as I recall) five sets of the Otani reprint presented to Thailand by the Japanese government on the occasion of Buddha Jayanti. The one I used was kept at Wat Benchamabophit; others are at Wat Bovoranivet, Wat Mahāthāt, and the then Department of Religious Affairs. I regret that my ignorance prevents me from directly consulting Chinese translations of Indic sources, or from benefitting from Chinese- or Japanese-language scholarship (for the latter in particular, Y. Honjō's complete translation of Śamathadeva's source-book published in 2014).

canons survive, and it is unfortunate for present-day scholarship that Śamathadeva does not give any overview of his sources.

The Tibetan translation of Śamathadeva's *Upāyikā* is the only extant version of his work, and no other works by him are at present known. The Tibetan *Upāyikā* is the product of a cosmopolitan trans-Himalayan Buddhist culture. It was compiled by Śamathadeva, who was born in Nepal (Tib. *bal po'i yul*). In his colophon he states that he collected or gathered as many *sūtras* as he could remember (*ji ltar dran pa bzhin du ... yang dag bsdus*) and that he left out other *sūtras* that he could not recall fully (*mdo gzhan gang yang bdag gis yongs su ma dran 'di ni yang dag ma bsdus pa*). He expresses the wish that those who do remember them should add them (*de dag gang zhig dran pas yang dag bsdu bar mdzod*). The phrasing suggests, quite strongly, that Śamathadeva composed his commentary from memory, that he was a *Sūtradhara* or a *Tripitākadhara*. If so, he must have memorized vast portions of the *Āgamas*, the source texts of the *Abhidharmakośa*.

Translated in Kashmir by the Indian preceptor Jayaśrī in collaboration with Bhikṣu Shes rab 'od zer, a Tibetan from Khams in the far east of the Tibetan plateau, the *Upāyikā* spans a wide arc across three cultural zones where Buddhism once flourished or, in the case of Khams, flourishes.³ We do not know when or where Śamathadeva worked, we do not know anything about Jayaśrī, or about the Khams pa translator. We do not know the dates of any of the three figures, but it is likely that the translation was done in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, during which Kashmir was a centre for the study of *Pramāṇa* and *Tantra* and philosophy and aesthetics, and was an active centre of translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan. We know almost nothing about the *Upāyikā*'s reception and use.⁴ Fortunately the concluding colophons (Text 1)

³ Srinagar and Kathmandu are on the margins of the Tibetan cultural and linguistic areas: see Ryavec 2015, Maps 1–3, 7, 22. Both had intricate intellectual and cultural ties to Tibet. Kashmir merges into Ladakh and the northern mountains of Nepal are culturally Tibetan. Studies of Kashmiri culture focus largely on the rich artistic heritage, for which see Pal 1989, Pal 2007, Siudmak 2013, and Linrothe 2014.

⁴ The sites mentioned in the colophon have not been identified: see Naudou 1968: 169–171 and Skilling 1997a: 135–136. The versions consulted all read *dza ra me* (in genitive, *dza ra me'i*), with the exception of the Peking edition which seems

offer some insight into the intentions and aims of the Nepalese compiler and the Tibetan translator. Both of them were monks (*dge slong* = *bhikṣu*), as was the co-translator Jayaśrī, who held the rank of monastic preceptor (*mkhan po* = *upādhyāya*). First comes Śamathadeva's statement:

A commentary on the *Kośa* that is unadorned,
That lacks the Āgamas (that is, the *sūtras* and other texts),
Fails to captivate even if it is flawless.
It is like a moonless night.
Therefore I have ornamented it
With elucidations from the Āgamas. They are as precious as jewels.
Through whatever merit that may come from composing this
May the world be graced by unblemished minds.
I, the *bhikṣu* Śamathadeva, gained birth in the land of Nepal.
Aiming to complement the Treasury's usefulness,
I gathered as many *sūtras* as I could remember
And left out other ones that I could not fully recall.
My earnest wish is that those who do recall them will add them!

The Indispensable Commentary on the Treasury of Abhidharma compiled by the *bhikṣu* Śamathadeva is completed.

With this standard statement of completion the Indian colophon ends. The Tibetan co-translator then adds his own verse:

With devotion, the Khams pa teacher has translated
This Abhidharma treatise ornamented with citations
From a thousand *sūtras* extracted from the Buddha's teachings (*pravaṇana*)
[with the wish], "May all beings understand the Abhidharma!"

Translated by the Indian *upādhyāya* Jayaśrī and the Tibetan translator *bhikṣu* Shes rab 'od zer from Khams (Eastern Tibet), in the Cool Pavilion (*bsil khang*) of the Dza ra me monastery (*viḥāra*) in the centre of the matchless metropolis (*mahānagara*) of Kashmir.⁵

to read *jar me'i*. One hundred years ago, Cordier (1915: 396–397) suggested the Indic form Yamārivihāra, with a question mark. This is not impossible, with metathesis, considering the popularity of the Yamāri (a type of Yamāntaka) cycles of Tantra around the same time (the tenth–eleventh centuries) and their associations with Kashmir.

⁵ For a critical edition of the colophon see Skilling 1994: 116. The variant spelling Jāyaśrī seems to me unlikely and I have normalized the name as Jayaśrī. "Cool Pavilion" stands for *bsil khang* = *harmikā*, *harmya*. See BHSD, s.v. *harmika*.

2. Translations

2.1. From the Tenth Arthavargīya of the Kṣudraka-piṭaka (Text 2a)

At that time, the brahmins and householders of Śrāvastī wondered: “For what cause, for what reason, do renunciants (*pravrajita*) argue, quarrel, and squabble with other renunciants and end up being rebuked?⁶ But out of deference they were unable to ask the Fortunate One.”⁷

The Fortunate One read the minds of the brahmins and householders of Śrāvastī. He conjured up a magical being whose head was shaved (*muṇḍa*), who wore a monastic robe (*cīvara*), and who possessed the thirty-two features of a Great Man (*mahāpuruṣa*) and the eighty auspicious characteristics. The nature of things is like this: if *śrāvakas* conjure up magical beings, then when the *śrāvakas* speak, the conjured beings also speak [in chorus]; when the *śrāvakas* are silent, the conjured beings are silent as well. When one conjured being speaks, all of them speak in chorus; when one is silent, all of them are silent as well. But if the *buddhas*, the Fortunate Ones, conjure up magical beings, then the Buddha, the Fortunate One asks a question and the conjured being answers; when the conjured being poses questions, the Buddha, the Fortunate One, answers.

Then the Buddha’s conjured double got up from his seat and arranged his upper robe (*bla gos* = *uttarāsāṅga*) over his left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder bare. He raised his hands in homage toward the Fortunate One and at that time asked a question about the meaning of this topic:⁸

“Envy along with sorrow and lamentation
And disputation: by what are they caused?
Hurtfulness coupled with conceit and arrogance:
What gives rise to them? – This I ask.”⁹

[The Buddha Śākyamuni replied:]

“Envy along with sorrow and lamentation
And disputation: these are caused by fondness.

⁶ Cp. *Aṅguttara-nikāya* I.66.14–16: *ko pana bho kaccāna hetu ko paccayo yena samaṇā pi samaṇehi vivadanti ti. dīṭṭhirāga-vinivesa-vinibandha-paligedha-pariyuṭṭhāna-ajjhosāna-hetu kho brāhmaṇa samaṇā pi samaṇehi vivadanti ti*. In Śamathadeva’s extract, the question concerns renunciants (*rab tu byung ba* = *pravrajita*); in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* there are two questions: the first about *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa*, and *gahapati*, the second about *samaṇa*. The latter question fits with the Śrāvastī miracles, in which the six teachers challenge the Buddha. There is a close parallel to the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* passage in *Upāyikā*, P 5595, Tu 25b3. This warrants further study. *Dīgha-nikāya* II.276–277 bears some resemblance in terms of vocabulary and logic. A similar line is found in **Arthapada-sūtra* (see below).

⁷ *bcom ldan ’das la gus pas ’dri ba’i nus pa med do*: the precise meaning of the phrase is not clear to me.

⁸ For a translation of the Pali parallel, see Gómez 2015: 219.

⁹ Cp. *Sutta-nipāta* 862 (*Aṭṭhaka-vagga*, No. 11, v. 1):

Hurtfulness coupled with conceit and arrogance:
These too are caused by fondness.”¹⁰

2.2. From a sūtra of the *Dīrghāgama*¹¹ (Text 2b)

“When one of them speaks,” and so on; the stanza is an example from a sūtra of the *Dīrghāgama*, where it says “those magical beings created by Brahmā sat above and around the Lord of the Gods (*devendra*) and each of them spoke,” and so on.¹²

3. Parallels

This short excerpt from the *Arthavargīya* corresponds closely to the end of the prose narrative that introduces the tenth set of verses in the Chinese **Arthapada-sūtra* (Text 3a). The **Arthapada-sūtra* (*Yizu jing* 義足經, T 198) was translated into Chinese by the *upāsaka* Zhi Qian 支謙 during the Wu dynasty (223–252).¹³ Four consecutive texts, Nos. 10 to 13, relate how, upon reading the

kuto pahūtā kalahā vivādā
paridevasokā sahamaccharā ca
mānātimānā sahapesuṇā ca
kuto pahūtā te tad iṃṅha brūhi.

¹⁰ Cp. *Sutta-nīpāta* 863 (*Aṭṭhaka-vagga*, No. 11, v. 2):

piyā pahūtā kalahā vivādā
paridevasokā sahamaccharā ca
mānātimānā sahapesuṇā ca
macchariyayuttā kalahavivādā
vivādajātesu ca pesuṇāni.

¹¹ Śamathadeva cites or alludes to counterparts of at least the following thirteen suttas of the Pali *Dīghanikāya*: *Brahmajāla* (DN 1); *Kassapasihanāda* (DN 8); *Kevaddha* (DN 11); *Mahāpadāna* (DN 14); *Mahānidāna* (DN 15); *Mahāparimibbāna* (DN 16); *Janavasabha* (DN 18); *Sakkapañha* (DN 21); *Cakkavatti-sihanāda* (DN 26); *Aggañña* (DN 27); *Sampasādaniya* (DN 28); *Saṅgīti* (DN 33); *Dasottara* (DN 34). Śamathadeva gives complete citations of two of these, the *Brahmajāla* and the *Aggañña*. The others are (usually) short excerpts. Dhammadinnā (e-mail of 13 June 2017) lists eight references to the *Dīrghāgama* (*Lung ring po*) in Śamathadeva and six *Upāyikā* quotations with parallels in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (T 1, sūtras Nos. 1, 2, 9, 18, 21, and 24).

¹² The phrase *tshangs pa'i sprul pa de dag lha'i dbang po'i pang par 'dug ste* is not clear to me.

¹³ Dates from Lancaster 1979: 307 (K 800). Nattier lists this among the authentic translations of Zhi Qian (2008: 121, T 198, *Yizu jing* 義足經; see also p. 134). Zhi Qian was one of the important translators of the early period.

doubts in the minds of his audience, Śākyamuni conjures up magical doubles who initiate the dialogues by posing him questions. The resultant exchanges parallel those of the Pali *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* Nos. 11 to 14. No. 10 is an account of the “miracles of Śrāvastī.”¹⁴ After Śākyamuni has performed the miracles:

At that time, all the people had the same thought, wondering why it was that one could leave the home to pursue the Way [i.e., engage in the religious life] and yet still have quarrels and disputes. Understanding their puzzlement right away, the Buddha then conjured up a *buddha* in front of himself, who was very handsome, endowed with the thirty-two features, and wearing the robe of a religious.¹⁵ The disciples (*śrāvaka*) are also able to conjure up people. When the people that they conjure up speak, the disciples also speak. [However,] when the Buddha speaks, the people conjured up [by him] are silent, and when they speak, the Buddha is silent. Why? Because true awakening directly transmits true thoughts.¹⁶

Then the magically created *buddha* went down on his right knee, held his clasped hands out to the Buddha, and questioned him in verse...¹⁷

A similar parallel is in the Chinese **Arthapada*, counterpart of the *Tuvaṭaka-sutta* of the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*¹⁸ (Text 3b):

The Buddha then realized that Dou le (兜勒 ≈ P. *Tuvaṭaka*) had doubts in his mind. He then conjured up a *buddha*, handsome and good-looking beyond compare, a joy to behold for everyone, with a form surpassing that of the gods, having the thirty-two features of a great man, the colour of burnished purple gold (*jāmbūnadasuvarṇa*), and wearing the outer robe of a religious. The disciples (*śrāvaka*) also conjure up people. When the people that they conjure up speak, the disciples also speak. When the

¹⁴ In English this is most often given in the singular as “the Miracle of Śrāvastī,” but since Śākyamuni performed several miracles on the occasion, I prefer to use the plural.

¹⁵ “Robe” here in Chinese is 法衣, equivalent to Tibetan *chos gos* (= *cīvara*). The Tibetan translation of the *Kāraṇa-prajñāpti* does not mention the robe of the Buddha’s doubles but does so for the *śrāvaka*’s magical creations, where it has *gos ngur smrig* (= *kāśāya*). The *Prātihārya-sūtra* has *saṅghāṭi* for the illusory Buddha’s robe. Evidently the different narrative traditions made different choices.

¹⁶ The Chinese is quite obscure. Bapat has: “Because right understanding straightly leads on to right thoughts.” This is more or less a literal rendering of the Chinese word by word (正覺直度正所意故), but it makes little sense. A similar passage occurs in the subsequent *sūtra* (No. 13, *Yi qie zhi nian du gu* 一切制念度故), but is still incomprehensible. The *Kāraṇa-prajñāpti* explains why Buddha’s magical beings are different from those created by his disciples.

¹⁷ Here follow the verses of the *Kalahavivāda-sūtra* (*Sutta-nipāta* 862–877).

¹⁸ I owe this tentative translation to Saerji.

disciples speak, the people they conjure up also speak. [However,] as for the people conjured up by the Buddha, when the people conjured up [by him] speak, the Buddha is silent, and when the Buddha speaks, the people conjured up are silent. Why? Because all [his] thoughts cross over [to them?].

The creation of the double in these texts is not far from the version of the *Prātihārya-sūtra* (Text 4):¹⁹

The Fortunate One conjured up a magical double endowed with the thirty-two characteristics of the great man, shaven-headed and wearing an outer robe (*saṅghāṭī*). It is the nature of things that the *buddhas*, the Fortunate Ones engage in discussion with an illusory being (*nirmīta*).²⁰ As for the magical being who is created by a *śrāvaka*, if the *śrāvaka* speaks, the magical being also speaks; if the *śrāvaka* is silent, then the magical being is silent as well.

When the one [i.e., the *śrāvaka*] speaks, then all of the magical figures speak [in chorus];

When the one [i.e., the *śrāvaka*] is silent, then all of them fall silent as well.

The Fortunate One asks the magical double a question, [and the magical double answers. The double asks the Fortunate One a question,]²¹ and the Fortunate One answers. This is the rule for the Tathāgatas, the Arhants, the Samyaksambuddhas.

4. *Arthavargīya* and *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*

I conclude from Śamathadeva's citation that he used a source that was similar to, but not identical with, that translated by Zhi Qian some five or six centuries earlier and that in both sources the *sūtra* was number ten in the collection. The reference shows that Śamathadeva's *Arthavargīya* was included in a *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*.²² Śama-

¹⁹ For the earliest European translation, see Burnouf 1876: 167; for the most recent translation, see Rotman 2008: 285–286 with nn. 625–626.

²⁰ *dharmatā khalu buddhā bhagavanto nirmītena sārthaṃ niścayaṃ kurvanti*. Following a suggestion of Vincent Eltschinger, I suggest to emend *niścayaṃ* to *vinīścayaṃ*. For parallel construction, see BHSD, s.v. *vinīścaya*. The meaning of *niścayaṃ kurvanti* is not clear to me: perhaps the sense is “to settle the questions/doubts that a *buddha* has read in the minds of his audience by means of a dialogue with a magical double.”

²¹ These two phrases are demanded by the sense, but they appear to have been missing in the manuscript or to have been dropped in the printed edition.

²² For the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* see Lamotte 1958: 174–176.

thadeva draws upon a *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* in at least two other instances.²³

(1) Where Vasubandhu refers to the *Arthavargīya* (*tathā hy arthavargīyeṣūktam*), Śamathadeva supplements the information with “‘As [the Bhagavant has] stated in the *Arthavargīyas*:’ as taught immediately after the ‘Verses on the Comparison to the Horn of the Rhinoceros’ (**Khadḡgaviṣāṇakalpa-gāthā*).”²⁴ The verses to which Vasubandhu refers are from a counterpart of the *Kāma-sutta* of the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* (*Sutta-nipāta* 766–771). Does this mean that in the Mūlasarvāstivādin textual tradition available to Śamathadeva, the *Arthavargīya*, and the **Kāma-sūtra*, followed immediately upon the *Khadḡgaviṣāṇa-sūtra*? This is quite possible. In the Pali *Khuddaka-nikāya*, the only other “Miscellaneous Collection” extant, the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* is included in a collection entitled *Sutta-nipāta*, which has five major sections (*vagga*): *Uraga-*, *Cūla-*, *Mahā-*, *Aṭṭhaka-*, and *Pārāyaṇa-vagga*. The *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* follows upon the *Mahā-vagga*; the *Kāma-sutta*, as the first *sutta* in the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, comes directly after the *Mahā-vagga*. In the *Sutta-nipāta*, the *Khaggaviṣāṇa-sutta* is the third *sutta* of the first section, the *Uraga-vagga*; thus it has no sequential relation to the *Kāma-sutta* or the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*. So far there is no evidence that schools other than the Theravāda organized any of the miscellaneous texts in *vaggas* like those of the *Sutta-nipāta*, which is not known to have existed elsewhere (with, of course the exception of the ancient *Aṭṭhaka-* and *Pārāyaṇa-vaggas*). For textual collections to differ in arrangement and order in the various *nikāyas* is normal.

(2) In another reference, Śamathadeva gives the source of the *Pretāvadāna*, referred to by Vasubandhu, as “from the hundredth [text] of the ‘[Section] Explained by the Śrāvakas’ of the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*.”²⁵ In the absence of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* or *Pretāvadāna*, little can be said.

²³ *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* 9.13: *tathā hy arthavargīyeṣūktam*.

²⁴ *Upāyikā*, P 5595, Tu 19b2: ‘*di litar don gyi sde tshan las zhes bya ba la: phran tshogs kyi don gyi sde tshan gyi mdo las bse ru lta bu’i tshigs bcad kyi de ma thag tu bshad pa lta bu ste*. According to *Mahāvvyutpatti* § 1006, *bse ru lta bu = khadḡgaviṣāṇakalpa*. For the versions of the “Rhinoceros Sūtra,” see Salomon 2000, especially Chap. 1.

²⁵ *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* 165.9: *śeṣa yathā pretāvadāne; Upāyikā*, P 5595, *Thu* 200a8: *phran tshogs kyi sde snod las nyan thos kyi rnam par bshad pa brgya pa las*. For a definition of the Mahāsāṅghika *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* containing the explanations by the *śrāvakas* and the *pratyekabuddhas*, see Tournier 2017: 77.

In his commentary on the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*, Vasubandhu once more refers the *Kāma-sūtra* to the *Kṣudraka* without giving further details.²⁶ Prajñāvarman, in his *Udānavargavivaraṇa*, also refers to a *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* (Tib. *Phran tshogs kyi sde snod*).²⁷ These precisions by Vasubandhu, Śamathadeva, and Prajñāvarman are firm evidence that certain of the canonical traditions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, and certainly the one upon which our anthologist relied, transmitted a *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*. The references collected here suggest that this Mūlasarvāstivādin *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* used by Vasubandhu and Śamathadeva included at least the following texts: *Khadgaviṣāṇa-gāthā*, *Kāma-sūtra*, *Arthavargīya*, *Pretāvadāna*. Otherwise, the contents and arrangement remain unknown.

Śamathadeva uses the title *Arthavargīya*. The title of this section in Pali is *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* (“Section or Chapter on the Eights”).²⁸ The title in known Sanskrit sources is *Arthavargīya* or **Arthapada* (the multivalent *artha* referring perhaps to benefits or to the goal).²⁹ In addition to the Pali, there are Sanskrit and Gandhari Prakrit fragments of the verses.³⁰ There is a Chinese translation of verses with commentary, the **Arthapada-sūtra*,³¹ and Bhāviveka, in his *Tarkajvālā*, cites twelve lines of verse spoken by Venerable Subhūti from “the **Aṣṭavargīya* of the Ārya Mahīśāsakas” (*‘phags pa sa ston pa mams kyi* [Eckel: *kyis*] *tshoms brgyad pa*).³² The school affiliation

²⁶ *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅga-nirdeśa*, P 5496, Chi 28a2, from *phran tshogs*. This is a parallel to Pali *Kāma-sutta*, *Sutta-nipāta* 767 (*Aṭṭhaka-vagga*, *sutta* No. 1, v. 2).

²⁷ *Udānavargavivaraṇa* I.204.23, I.242.2.

²⁸ Probably referring to four of the verses which have eight lines, cf. Norman 2001: 323.

²⁹ With reference to Zhi Qian’s translation, Anesaki (1906–1907: 50) writes that “the title means certainly the ‘*artha-pada*,’ instead of the *aṭṭhaka* in Pali. I cannot say which of these two (*attha* and *aṭṭha*) is more original ...” For the **Arthapada* and *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* see Bapat 1966a and b.

³⁰ For the Gandhari fragments see Falk 2011: 14–16 and pl. 7, figs. 1–2 (fragments of a birch-bark scroll from the Pakistan–Afghanistan border area containing equivalents to stanzas 841–844 and 966–968 of the Pali) and Falk and Strauch 2014.

³¹ See Bapat 1945 and 1950. Not much attention has been paid to the Chinese **Arthapada* since Bapat’s pioneering work. This is a pity.

³² *Tarkajvālā* 353.31; D 3856, *dBu ma*, Dza 178b6; tr. Eckel 2009: 172. See also Skilling 1997b: 609. The verses—in praise of the Buddha—are not found in the extant *Arthavargīya* texts, in none of which does Subhūti play any role.

of the Chinese **Arthapada* is not known. Verses from the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*/*Arthavargīya* are cited by title in the Nikāyas and Āgamas; this has led to a widely accepted conclusion, supported by meter and contents, that the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*/*Arthavargīya* is one of the earliest surviving collections of Buddhist verses. The metaphysical tenor has been interpreted as “proto-Mādhyamika” (Gómez 2005) and related to Mahāyāna thought in general (Hin Hung 2009).

5. Commentarial Intertextuality

The *Sutta-nipāta* does not provide any settings or introductions (*nidāna*) for the sixteen texts of the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*—only the verses are given, without interlocutors.³³ For settings we must turn to the *Paramatthajotikā*, a commentary on the *Sutta-nipāta* the author and date of which are not known.³⁴ Here we must start with the commentary on the *Sammāparibbājanīya-sutta*—belonging to another section, the *Cūḷa-vagga* (*Sutta-nipāta* 359–375)—which states that this *sutta* is also called the *Mahāsamaya-sutta* “because it was spoken on the day of the *mahāsamaya*, the great assembly,” when a vast throng of deities gathered to see and venerate the Fortunate One and the *bhikṣu-saṅgha* and filled all space.³⁵ The *sutta* is delivered

³³ It appears that the commentarial tradition was uneasy about texts that had no setting, no *nidāna*, and adopted various methods to supply them. One of these was to associate a text with another *sūtra* or other *sūtras*, as in the present case: here the commentary situates the dialogues at the time of the great assembly, well known from the *Mahāsamaya-sutta*. In other cases, such as the verses of the *Udānavarga*/*Dharmapada* family, narrative settings were drawn from many sources or were composed anew. The lack of uniformity in the narrative settings of the various versions of the *Udānavarga*/*Dharmapada* family of texts is striking (see for example Skilling 1993: 143–154, with reference to the *Krodha-varga* of the *Udānavarga*). The lack of a canonical setting for the Pali Abhidhamma led to it being challenged; the response was to integrate the teaching of the seven books of the Abhidhamma into a new version of popular legends—the Master’s sojourn in Tāvatiṃsa Heaven to teach his mother and his visits to the mythical Himalayan lake, Anotatta. These enhanced the Abhidhamma’s authority.

³⁴ von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 255–259: “Neither Pj [= *Paramatthajotikā*] I nor Pj II can be dated, not even in relation to each other, except that both presuppose Buddhaghosa. In spite of the ‘Buddhaghosa colophon’ added to both commentaries, no immediate relation to Buddhaghosa can be recognized. Both refer to Sihaḷadīpa in a way that suggests that they were indeed composed in Ceylon.”

³⁵ For the *Mahāsamaya-sutta* and *Mahāsamāja-sūtra* and *-mahāsūtra*, see Skilling 1994: 384–458 (critical editions of Tibetan *Mahāsūtra* and Pali *sutta*); Skilling

in response to a question: “questioned by a magical double (*nimmitabuddha*), the Fortunate One spoke this *sutta*”³⁶ (Text 5).

Then [the Fortunate One] divided the assembly of deities into two, on account of their having or not the potential: so many have the potential, so many do not have the potential. As for the assembly without potential, even if one hundred *buddhas* teach them the Dhamma, they do not awaken, while the assembly with potential is capable of awakening. Realizing this, he then classified those with potential into six groups according to their dispositions (*cariyā*): some of them have a disposition towards attachment, some have a disposition towards aversion, ... towards pride, ... towards reasoning, ... towards faith, ... towards intellect. When he had evaluated the assembly in terms of disposition, he wondered: “What type of Dhamma discourse is appropriate for this particular audience?” Considering the discussion of Dhamma, he pondered further about the assembly: “Will they know through their own initiative, or through the initiative of another? By virtue of realizing the meaning themselves, or through the agency of inquiry? Then he knew that they would understand through inquiry, and he asked himself whether the members of the assembly were capable of posing the questions, or whether they were not capable of doing so. When he had surveyed the entire gathering and had realized that no one was capable, he reflected: “If I alone pose questions, and I alone answer them, this will not be appropriate for this assembly: I shall then create a magical *buddha* [to ask the questions].” He entered upon a foundational trance (*pādakajjhāna*), and when he emerged, having made the determination by drawing on the supernatural power that had arisen in his mind he created a double; together with the [following] mental determination: “Let it possess all limbs and all bodily parts, be endowed with the [thirty-two] characteristic marks, carry an alms-bowl and wear a monastic robe, be endowed with [abilities] such as looking far and near” [the double] appeared. From an eastern world system, he came and sat on the very same seat as the Fortunate One.³⁷ The six *suttas* that

1997a: 513–551. For an English translation from the Chinese *Dīrghāgama*, see Ichimura 2015–2016, vol. II, *sūtra* No. 19, where the title is translated as “A Great Assembly.” This translation does not supplant the earlier German translation by Waldschmidt (see references in Skilling 1997a).

³⁶ *Paramatthajotikā* [III] I.352.3–4: *kā uppatti: pucchāvasikā uppatti, nimmitabuddhena hi puṭṭho bhagavā idaṃ suttam abhāsi*. In the following I have benefited from the Thai translation, cf. *Mahamakūṭarājavidyālaya* 2525 [1982].

³⁷ *so pācīnalokadhātuto āgantvā bhagavato samam eva āsane nisinno*. One cannot but think of the *Stūpasamdarśana-parivarta*, chapter 11 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, in which the past Buddha Prabhūtaratna, whose land—called Ratnavisuddha—is, according to Kumārajīva’s Chinese translation, “immeasurable, incalculable, thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of worlds away in the east” from the Sāhā world. Cf. Kubo and Yuyama 2007: 168. Kumārajīva’s “east” is confirmed, pace Kern and Nanjio, by Sanskrit manuscripts from Gilgit and Khotan, as well as the two Chinese and Tibetan translations (e-mail, Seishi Karashima, 13 November 2016). See Karashima 1992: 146.

the Fortunate One delivered on that very gathering, taking into account [the audience's] dispositions are as follows: the *Sammāparibbājanīya-sutta* [of the *Cūla-vagga* and the] *Purābheda-sutta*, *Kalahavivāda-sutta*, *Cūlavīyūha-sutta*, *Mahāvīyūha-sutta*, and *Tuvaṭṭaka-sutta* [of the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*]...³⁸

In the *Sammāparibbājanīya-sutta*, the magical *buddha* opens the topic with a question, to which the Fortunate One answers with fifteen stanzas. In the final stanza, the illusory *buddha* then praises the Dhamma instruction.³⁹ At the end of the *sutta* a hundred thousand crores of deities attain the supreme fruit [that is, arahant-hood,] and the number of those who realize the fruits of stream enterer, once returner, and non-returner is incalculable. Similarly, at the end of the *Purābheda-sutta*, one hundred thousand crores of deities attain arahant-hood, while the stream enterers, etc. cannot be counted.⁴⁰ The realizations at the end of the preaching of the other *suttas* are comparable.⁴¹

The Chinese **Arthapada-sūtra* and the Pali *Paramatthajotikā* agree that the same five philosophical conversations of the **Arthapada/Aṭṭhaka-vagga* were inaugurated by magical doubles of the Buddha. This is confirmed by Śamathadeva's citation from *Arthavargīya* No. 10, a counterpart of the *Kalahavivāda-sutta* from the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*. It is likely that these texts drew on a prior tradition according to which in these verse exchanges the interlocutor was a conjured double of the Buddha.

³⁸ The soteriological implications of this passage are far from trivial and call for serious reflection. Here, in a canonical text of the Theras, some beings have no potential to achieve *nirvāṇa*, even if they are taught by one hundred *buddhas*. Does this bear any ideological relation to the concept of *icchantika*? Here, in a Theriya text, some beings need to be motivated by a ruse, a masquerade: a staged conversation between a *buddha* and a magical being. Is this a form of *upāya*? The teaching leads hosts of deities to realization. It is likely that these ideas developed under the impetus of similar intellectual currents as the early Vaitulya/Mahāyāna *dharmaparyāyas*.

³⁹ *Paramatthajotikā* [III] I.367.1–2: *tato so nimmito dhammadesanaṃ thomento addhā hi bhagavā* [*Sutta-nipāta* 375] *ti imaṃ gātham āha*.

⁴⁰ *Paramatthajotikā* [II] II.550.28–30: *desanāpariyosāne koṭisahasadevatānaṃ arahattapatti ahoṣi, sotāpannādīnaṃ ganaṇā n'atthi*. In the Bajaur Dharmaparyāya (BC 1), a fragmentary birch-bark scroll dated to the first or second century CE, for example, 84,000 *devaputras* realize *dharmakṣānti* and aspire for full awakening. Cf. Strauch 2010.

⁴¹ See for instance *Paramatthajotikā* [III] II.554.6–7: *desanāpariyosāne purābheda-sutte vuttasadiṣo yevābhisamayo ahoṣi*.

6. Gleanings from the Niddesas

In the Pali tradition, the antiquity of the idea that in the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* the Buddha's interlocutor was a magical being is confirmed by the *Niddesa*, the "canonical commentary" on the *Aṭṭhaka-* and *Pārāyana-vaggas*. The *Niddesa*'s commenting, in several instances, on the line *pucchāmi* lists thirteen sets of three types of questions (*pucchā*).⁴² The second set consists of questions put by humans (*manussa-pucchā*), questions put by non-humans (*amanussa-pucchā*), and questions put by magical beings (*nimmīta-pucchā*). These are defined as follows (Text 6):

What are questions put by humans? Human beings come into the presence of the Awakened One, the Fortunate One, and ask questions: monks ask questions, nuns ask questions, laymen ask questions, laywomen ask questions, kings ask questions, members of the warrior class ask questions, brahmins ask questions, members of the *vessa* class ask questions, members of the *sudda* class ask questions, householders ask questions, renunciants ask questions. These are [examples of] questions put by humans.

What are questions put by non-humans? Non-humans come into the presence of the Awakened One, the Fortunate One, and ask questions: *nāgas* ask questions, *supaṇṇas* (i.e., *garuḍas*) ask questions, *yakkhas* ask questions, *asuras* ask questions, *gandhabbas* ask questions, *mahārāja* [gods] ask questions, *indas* ask questions, *brahmās* ask questions, *devatās* ask questions. These are [examples of] questions put by non-humans.

What are questions put by magical beings? The Fortunate One conjures up a material form that is mind-made, possesses all limbs and all bodily parts, and is not deficient in its faculties. That magical being goes into the presence of the Awakened One, the Fortunate One, and asks a question, to which the Fortunate One responds: this is a question put by a magical being. These are three kinds of questions.

This classification sets the theoretical stage for questions put by magical beings. Question put by humans and non-humans are common throughout the *Sutta-piṭaka*, the latter especially in the *Sagāthā-vagga* of *Samyutta-nikāya*. But where are the questions put by magical beings, especially, by magical beings created by the Buddha himself? Are there any at all? I am unable to find any in the four main *Nikāyas*, but only in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, in the *Paṭi-*

⁴² Cf. *Mahā-niddesa* 339.5–341.4 (commenting on the *Tvataka-sutta*'s first verse, *Sutta-nipāta* 915). See also *Cūḷa-niddesa* 209.

sambhidāmagga and *Niddesa*. The closest “canonical” place seems to be in the companion to the *Cūḷa-niddesa* itself, the *Mahā-niddesa*. The *Mahā-niddesa* is an entirely exegetical text, and it does not supply the texts of the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* with any narratives. In five consecutive *suttas*, however, it consistently frames the questions put to the Buddha with “so said that magical being” (*tenāha so nimmito*). And what are these five *suttas*? Precisely the five under discussion here: the *Purābheda*, *Kalahavivāda*, *Cūḷaviyūha*, *Mahāvīyūha*, and *Tuvaṭaka*. There is no narrative and no explanation to explain this: the presence of the magical beings is taken for granted.

The *Niddesa* passages take the role of conjured figures back by centuries. But what is the date of the *Niddesa*? As so often, the date is not at all certain, and the experts disagree. Tradition ascribes it to Śākyamuni’s direct disciple Śāriputra. Sylvain Lévi proposed a rather late date, the second century CE, on the basis of the *Niddesa*’s geographical horizon, but this proposal is now outdated. K.R. Norman argued in favour of a much earlier date, the time of Aśoka. Oskar von Hinüber wrote that the *Niddesa* “cannot be later than the date of the fixing of the canon, that is, not later than the first century BCE.”⁴³ By “the fixing of the canon” he appears to mean the writing down of what is now called “the Pali canon.” This, according to the Pali tradition itself, took place in the first century BCE. There is, however, no evidence of exactly what texts were recorded, or whether they included the *Niddesa*. There is no reason to think they did not. Recently an exegetical work written in Gandhari Prakrit has become available in a birch-bark manuscript that dates to the first or second century CE.⁴⁴ This text uses similar principles and even vocabulary to those of the *Niddesa*. This suggests to me that exegetical practices shared by the two (and other) texts were in circulation at the latest by the first century BCE, before being redacted and written down in the first century BCE or CE. In the Gandhari text there is no mention of magical beings as such.⁴⁵

⁴³ von Hinüber 1996: 59.

⁴⁴ Baums 2009.

⁴⁵ Email from Stefan Baums, 8 November 2016.

7. The Great Assembly at Kapilavastu

The connection between magical beings and the *Arthavargīya* verses continued to be transmitted to the (uncertain) time of the Pali *Paramatthajotikā* [III], which situates the five *suttas* in the “great assembly” in the Great Forest (Mahāvana) at Kapilavastu, at the time that the *Mahāsamaya-sutta* was delivered. The **Arthapada* assigns different locations to the four *sūtras*: No. 10, at Śrāvastī, a telling of the Miracles of Śrāvastī; Nos. 11 and 12, a grove at Kapilavastu (here the **Arthapada* gives 迦維羅衛樹下, which means “under the trees of Kapilavastu,” a narrative counterpart to the *Mahāsamaya*); No. 13, at Vulture’s Peak, Rājagṛha. The key difference is in the location of the great assembly: the **Arthapada* agrees with the Gilgit version,⁴⁶ the Central Asian Sanskrit version, the Tibetan *Mahāsūtra*, and the *Samyuktāgama* versions in Chinese that the Great Assembly took place in the Kapilavastu forest, and does not refer to a Mahāvana, known as such only in the Pali.⁴⁷ The Chinese sources agree on what is equivalent to *vana* (the **Arthapada* gives 樹下 = *vrkṣamūla*; the *Samyuktāgama* gives 林) rather than *mahāvana*. The various versions of the *sūtra* agree that the number of monks who had gathered was five hundred.

8. The Speech Habits of Magical Beings

Śamathadeva does not quote the *Arthavargīya* verses in full. He ends his quotation with this, and then alludes to a verse on the speech habits of magical beings. The verse, which without any context is decidedly ambiguous, seems to have had an independent existence and to have been adopted into several narrative contexts. A Pali parallel to this verse is found in the *Janavasabha-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.⁴⁸ The same verse is also cited in the *Samantapāsādikā*, the commentary to the Pali Vinaya, as “the rule for con-

⁴⁶ For the “Gilgit *Dīrghāgama*” of the Private Collection, see Hartmann and Wille 2014. The *sūtra* opens (Fol. 354ra5): *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmiṃ samaye bhagavāṃ cchākyeṣu viharati vane kāpilavāstave sārđhaṃ pañcabhir bhikṣusataiḥ sarvair arhadbhiḥ ...* (I am grateful to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for sending his transcription of the *nidāna* of this unpublished manuscript).

⁴⁷ For this location see Skilling 1997a: 522–523 with n. 50. As usual, complex intertextualities entangle matters even further.

⁴⁸ *Dīgha-nikāya* II.212.20–21.

jured beings” (*nimmitānaṃ dhammatā*).⁴⁹ In Sanskrit the verse occurs in the narrative of the *Prātihārya-sūtra* and in citation in *Abhidharmakośa* literature.

The art of magical creation has its rules, a hierarchy of speech graded according to the agent, the creator of the magical beings. This is discussed briefly in Chapter Seven of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, “The Exposition of Knowledge” (*Jñāna-nirdeśa*) (Text 7).

With the exception of a *buddha*, a magical figure speaks simultaneously with its creator; when this involves many magical figures, then they all speak in chorus, as the stanza says:

If one [magical figure] speaks, then all of the magical figures speak
[in chorus];
If one [magical figure] is silent, then all of them fall silent as well.⁵⁰

The verse is also cited by Yaśomitra in his *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* (26.30–31), commenting on sound as a faculty, which is of eight types (*Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* 1:10b: *śabdāḥ tv aṣṭavidhaḥ*).⁵¹ Candrakīrti cites it as “from the Āgama” (*yathoktam āgame*) in his *Prasannapadā* (331.4–6). We see here verses current in several genres across different textual traditions: in Vinaya and Āgama, both *Dirghāgama* and *Kṣudrakāgama*, and that are cited in the *Abhidharma*. At present we have five Indic versions of the stanza:

Pali Janavasabha-sutta (Dīgha-nikāya)
ekasmim bhāsamānasmim sabbe bhāsanti nimmitā
ekasmim tuṅhīm āsine sabbe tuṅhī bhavanti te.

Sanskrit Prātihārya-sūtra (Divyāvadāna)
ekasya bhāsamāṇasya sarve bhāśante nirmitāḥ
ekasya tuṣṇībhūtasya sarve tuṣṇībhavanti te.

Sanskrit citation in Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya
*ekasya bhāsamāṇasya bhāśante saha*⁵² *nirmitāḥ*
ekasya tuṣṇībhūtasya sarve tuṣṇīm bhavanti te.

⁴⁹ *Samantapāsādikā* III.579.20.

⁵⁰ I will leave aside whether or not this might be called a kind of ventriloquism.

⁵¹ La Vallée Poussin (1923–1931, vol. I: 17) has no comments here.

⁵² I do not have access to any manuscripts from which to check the reading, and the Tibetan parallel clearly presupposes *sarva-/sarve* (*sprul pa thams cad smra bar byed*). See D 4090, *mNgon pa*, *Khu* 64a1. In light of all other parallels, it is thus highly probably that *saha* is a scribal error (or a misreading by Pradhan) and not a genuine variant.

Sanskrit citation in *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*
ekasya bhāṣamāṇasya bhāṣante sarvanirmitāḥ
ekasya tūṣṇībhūtasya sarve tūṣṇīḥ bhavanti te.

Sanskrit citation in *Prasamaṇadā*
ekasya bhāṣamāṇasya sarve bhāṣanti nirmitāḥ
ekasya tūṣṇībhūtasya sarve tūṣṇībhavanti hi.

9. *The Janavasabha-/Jinayabha-/*Janarṣabha-/She ni sha jing sūtra*
Family

Śamathadeva's brief citation and reference (Text 2b) suggest that the *ekasya bhāṣamāṇasya* verses were included in a *sūtra*—no longer extant in an Indic language or in translation—of the North Indian Mūlasarvāstivādin *Dīrghāgama* that he consulted. This *sūtra* was a counterpart of the *Janavasabha-sutta*. In the Pali version of this discourse, Brahmā conjures up thirty-three doubles of himself, each of which sits down before one of the Thirty-three gods and speaks as if to that god alone, even though it is really a chorus. Brahmā himself sits above the lord of the gods (*devendra*).⁵³ The only complete parallel to the *Janavasabha-sutta* that I know of is the *She ni sha jing* 闍尼沙經, preserved in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (*Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經).⁵⁴ The narrative is similar to that of the Pali version.⁵⁵ The section concerns the use of the four bases of supernormal power (*ṛddhipāda*). Brahmā Sanatkumāra goes to the Abode of the Thirty-three gods; there he creates doubles of himself, one each in front of each of the Thirty-three gods. The passage is prose, but the lines on magical beings were probably based on an Indic passage in verse:

(今梵童子獨於我坐而說是語，而彼梵童)一化身語，餘化亦語；一化身默，餘化亦默。

We may interpret this as:

一化身語 (*ekasya bhāṣamāṇasya*), 餘化亦語 (*sarve bhāṣante nirmitāḥ*);
一化身默 (*ekasya tūṣṇībhūtasya*), 餘化亦默 (*sarve tūṣṇībhavanti te*).

⁵³ See Hartmann 1991: 141–142 and nn., with reference to earlier identifications.

⁵⁴ T 1, *sūtra* No. 4; tr. Ichimura 2015–2016, vol. I: 197–209.

⁵⁵ T 1, I, 36a–b; tr. Ichimura 2015–2016, vol. I: 207.

Tentatively:

[When] one magical being speaks, the other magical [beings] also speak;
[When] one magical being keeps silent, the other magical [beings] also
keep silent.⁵⁶

In the Gilgit *Dīrghāgama*, the parallel to the *Janavasabha-sutta* is *Jinayabha*, No. 13 in the collection or No. 7 in the second division, the *Yuga-nipāta*.⁵⁷ Unfortunately the *sūtra* does not survive in any of the collections known at present. A counterpart of the *Janavasabha-sutta* was included in a *Dīrghāgama* that circulated in Central Asia, but only a few fragments survive.⁵⁸ These do not give much to go on:

SHT IV 32, Fgt. 58–60

SHT IV 165, Fgt. 17–18

SHT VIII 1872 and X 3301 (belonging to the same folio)

The title is not preserved, but it is assumed to have been **Janarṣabha-sūtra* on the basis of references in other sources: a fragment of the *sūtra* in the Turfan collection⁵⁹ and a narrative in the Gilgit *Saṅghabheda-vastu*,⁶⁰ both of which give Janarṣabha as the name of the Yakṣa protagonist.

No records of the contents of the Central Asian *Dīrghāgama* survive either in Sanskrit or in translation, but in the above-mentioned Turfan fragments the **Janarṣabha-sūtra* is followed by fragments of the **Mahāgovinda-sūtra*. In the Chinese *Dīrghāgama*, the parallel of the *Mahāgovinda* is No. 3, immediately preceding the *Janavasabha*. Altogether, the **Janarṣabha*- and *Mahāgovinda-sūtras* seem to have been associated in the same *varga* in several *Dīrghāgamas*.

⁵⁶ Note that in the lines on “one speaking,” Zhi Qian’s compound has the word “body” *shen* 身, which is not in any of the Indian or Tibetan versions. Zhi Qian does not include the character in the lines on “the other speaking.”

⁵⁷ Hartmann 1991: 140.

⁵⁸ Hartmann, 1991: 141–142.

⁵⁹ SHT IV 165, Fgt. 18 Vc.

⁶⁰ *Saṅghabheda-vastu* II.159.10; see also BHSD, s.v. Jinarṣabha (references to *Mahāmāyūrī*).

Pali *Dīgha-nikāya*

Sūtra No. 18 (*Mahā-vagga* No. 5): *Janavasabha-sutta*

Sūtra No. 19 (*Mahā-vagga* No. 6): *Mahāgovinda-sutta*

Chinese *Dīrghāgama*

Sūtra No. 3: *Dian zun jing* 典尊經 (counterpart of *Mahāgovinda-sutta*)⁶¹

Sūtra No. 4: *She ni sha jing* 闍尼沙經 (counterpart of *Janavasabha-sutta*)

Gilgit *Dīrghāgama* (Private Collection)

Sūtra No. 13 (*Yuganipāta* No. 7), *Jinayabha-sūtra*

Sūtra No. 14 (*Yuganipāta* No. 8), *Govinda-sūtra*

Central Asian *Dīrghāgama* (Turfan collection)

**Janarabha-sūtra*

**Mahāgovinda-sūtra*

10. *Magical Beings and Phantom buddhas*

A cluster of terms formed from *nir*√*mā* are used in the mainstream of Buddhist literature.⁶² These include the names of two species of divine beings, “those who rejoice in the art of magical creation” (*nirmāṇa-rati*) and “those who wield power over others’ magical creations” (*para-nirmīta-vaśavartin*), the two topmost levels of the sphere of sensuality.⁶³ The Buddha’s ability to conjure up magical doubles is shared by both Śrāvaka and Vaitulya/Mahāyāna literature, and the *nirmīta* plays a significant role in Buddhist narrative. In most cases, it is Śākyamuni who fabricates a magical double; in other cases, his *śrāvakas* do so. Deities like *brahmās* and supernatural beings like *nāgas* can also fabricate magical beings. A remarkable feature of these magical beings is that they have the ability to conjure up further beings; that is, to reproduce themselves.

What can we call these creatures? They might be called emanations, phantoms, simulacra, automata, dummies, illusory beings,

⁶¹ Translated in Ichimura 2015–2016, vol. I: 173–195 as “A Great Treasury Councilor.”

⁶² By “mainstream of Buddhist literature” I mean the vocabularies, tropes, formulae, and values shared by the various South Asian Buddhist schools and currents of thought. I do not mean the phantom “mainstream Buddhism” that has become the term of choice in recent, especially anglophone, writing, as a substitute for “Hīnayāna.” For a brief critique of “Mainstream Buddhism,” see Skilling 2013: 101–103.

⁶³ For these consult Buswell and Lopez 2013: 231–233.

fictional beings, fictive beings, fabrications. The latter pairs with the verb fabricate, and catches the favour of unreality—but English style discourages repetitions of the same word, and phrases like “fabricate a fabrication” are frowned upon. Other possibilities include to create/conjure up/fabricate/emanate⁶⁴ a magical or illusory being. The expression “to emanate” has a certain Theosophical ring to it that discourages me from using it—with due respect to the Secret Doctrine. In this essay I choose (and is not translation much more a matter of *choice* and *preference* than of finding inherent verbal matches?) to use “conjure up a magical being,” with a degree of variation to temper the monotony of a single translation. “Magical being” evokes the majesty of the wonderful and the supernatural, so prominent in Buddhist literature.

A whole section is devoted to questions about *nirmita* (Tib. *sprul pa*) in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Kāraṇa-prajñāpti*,⁶⁵ which explains inter alia why the Buddha’s doubles are different from those of his disciples (Text 8). *Nirmitas* are evoked as examples in Madhyamaka treatises (see below). In the Tibetan scholastic tradition, the celebrated thirteenth-century scholar mChims ’Jam pa’i dbyangs gathered the material from the *Kāraṇa-prajñāpti* and the *Abhidharmakośa* to make one of the longest commentaries on the topic of conjured beings known to me.⁶⁶ mChims ’Jam pa’i dbyangs gives the *Dirghāgama* as the source for the *ekasya bhāṣamāṇasya* verses.⁶⁷ As far as I know this information is found only in Śamathadeva; until all other Indian commentaries preserved in Tibetan translation can be carefully examined, it seems to me likely that mChims ’Jam pa’i dbyangs had studied Śamathadeva. When later Tibetan scholars who discuss conjured beings at some length—such as the Eighth Karmapa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554)⁶⁸ or the Ninth Karmapa dBang phyug rdo rje

⁶⁴ More generally, the choice of words plunges us into the risky business of “dictating the Buddha’s or Nāgārjuna’s English,” but this is, after all, the crux of the conundrum of translation. The gentle reader may see with profit MacDonald 2015b.

⁶⁵ La Vallée Poussin 1919: 340–342, § XI; D 4087, 151a2ff.

⁶⁶ *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi ’grel pa mngon pa’i rgyan* 636–639.

⁶⁷ *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi ’grel pa mngon pa’i rgyan* 638.5: *lung ring po las*.

⁶⁸ *Chos mngon pa’i mdzod kyi ’grel pa rgyas par spros pa* 1338.2. For the Karmapa Mi bskyod rdo rje see Karma Thinley 1980: 88–95.

(1555–1603)⁶⁹—refer the verse to the *Dīrghāgama*, they most probably rely on mChims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs.

The dramatis personae of the early Vaitulya *dharmaparyāyas* came from the lived world of early Buddhism: brahmins, ascetics, merchants, and kings who interacted with the members of Buddhist society—the four assemblies, with increasingly specialized roles—and various figures of greed or exemplars of virtue or power, along with a wide array of deities, including *māras*, and spirits. Compilers drew on this pool of characters for centuries. The narrative resonance of the choruses of *nirmitas* inspired those who composed the emerging Vaitulya/Mahāyāna texts to invite them into the dramatic and operatic productions of the *dharmaparyāyas* (to which they further introduced an expanding troupe of *bodhisattvas*).⁷⁰ At an uncertain but early point, *nirmitas* became familiar figures in the Buddhist literary mainstream. The *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 gives a long citation from a *sūtra*, which Lamotte could not identify, written in prose and verse, about how fictive *buddhas* arise from a miraculous lotus that sprouts from the Buddha's navel, and the miracles that they perform.⁷¹ In Chapter 10 of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, “The Buddha's Arrival in the City” (*Purapraveśa-parivarta*), the Conqueror conjures up ten *nayutas* of *buddhas* who are like gold, extremely beautiful and attractive (note the resemblance to the **Arthapada* passages cited above, especially the parallel to the *Tuvaṭaka-sutta*). Together with them Śākyamuni teaches about emptiness and the tranquil awakening of *buddhas*, which inspires 100,000 living beings to aspire to achieve awakening⁷² (Text 9). Conjured beings also figure in an important narrative of the *Kāśyapa-parivarta*.⁷³

⁶⁹ *Chos mngon pa mdzod kyi nam par bshad pa* 526.6; tr. Choephel 2012: 536. For Karmapa dBang phyug rdo rje see Karma Thinley 1980: 97–101.

⁷⁰ For the term Vaitulya (Vaidalya, Vaipulya) see Skilling 2013 and Karashima 2015. The earlier texts preferred to call themselves *dharmaparyāyas* rather than *sūtras*.

⁷¹ Lamotte 1944–1980, vol. I: 531–535. The *sūtra* was sufficiently favoured by Kumārajīva to cite it more than once, cf. Lamotte 1944–1980, vol. III: 1352–1353; vol. V: 2340–2341.

⁷² *Samādhirāja-sūtra* 10:39c–41b.

⁷³ Sanskrit in Pāsādika 2015, §§ 141–144 (Skt. pp. 84–86; English translation pp. 178–180); English translation from the Chinese in Chang 1983: 407–408), with a rhetorical mention that may reflect back on the preceding, § 148 (Skt.

In the *Saddharmaṣuṇḍarīka*, a deceased *buddha* from another universe named Prabhūtaratna sails through space to the Sahā world in a bejeweled *stūpa* to hear to the *Lotus Sūtra* from Śākyamuni. Śākyamuni’s assembly want to see Prabhūtaratna’s body (*tathāgata-vigraha*). Śākyamuni explains that Prabhūtaratna has made a strict vow that, “Whenever my jeweled stupa appears in the presence of a Buddha in order to hear the *Lotus Sūtra*, if that Buddha wants to show my form to the fourfold assembly he should gather into one place all his magically created forms that are teaching the Dharma in the worlds of the ten directions. After that my form will appear.”⁷⁴ Śākyamuni states that, “I shall now gather all my magically created forms who are teaching the Dharma in the worlds of the ten directions.”⁷⁵ Śākyamuni does this, and then, at Prabhūtaratna’s invitation, enters the *stūpa* to share his host’s seat. Śākyamuni creates inconceivable numbers of magical buddhas to teach the Dharma throughout the ten directions. In the Sanskrit these are variously described as *ātmabhāvanirmitās tathāgatavigrahā[h]*, “Tathāgata forms magically created from [Śākyamuni’s] own person,” or “Tathāgata forms magically created [by Śākyamuni in the shape] of his own person.”

11. Illusory buddhas and Nāgārjuna

Magical figures kept the best of metaphysical company. Enlisted as philosophical examples, possibly they are better known to modern readers from the writings of Nāgārjuna and his commentator Candrakīrti than from Vaitulya narratives. Chapter 17 of

p. 88, English translation p. 182; Chang 1983: 409). For other mentions of *tathāgatanirmitas* see *Prasannapadā* 45.9, 47.1, 50.4–5 and MacDonald 2015a: 180–189, § 78.

⁷⁴ Kubo and Yuyama 2007: 168–169. Cf. *Saddharmaṣuṇḍarīka* 242.7–11: *atha tais tathāgatair daśasu dikṣv anyonyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu ya ātmabhāvanirmitās tathāgatavigrahā anyānyānamadheyāḥ, teṣu teṣu buddhakṣetreṣu sattvānāṃ dharmam deśayanti, tān sarvān saṃnīpātya tair ātmabhāvanirmitais tathāgatavigrahaiḥ sārḍham paścād ayaṃ mamātmabhāvavigrahastūpaḥ samudghātyopadarśayitavyaś cata-sṛṇāṃ paśadām.*

⁷⁵ Kubo and Yuyama 2007: 169. Cf. *Saddharmaṣuṇḍarīka* 242.11–13: *tan mayāpi mahāpratibhānabāhavas tathāgatavigrahā nirmitāḥ, ye daśasu dikṣv anyonyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu lokadhātusahasreṣu sattvānāṃ dharmam deśayanti | te sarve khalv ihānāyitavyā bhaviṣyanti.*

Nāgārjuna's "Verses on the Middle Way" addresses the problem of the relationship between a deed or action (*karman*) and its fruit (*phala*).⁷⁶ As the analysis draws to a close, the Master questions the very validity of the categories employed by the Buddhist and Indian schools in such discussions. He then draws on the figure of the illusory being to compare the karmic process to the fabrication of a magical being by another magical being conjured up by the Tathāgata (Text 10):

If there is no action and no agent,
How could any fruit arise from action?
And if there is no fruit, how can there ever be
The one who experiences action's fruit?

Just as with his supernormal power, the Teacher,
Might conjure up a magical being
And that magical being might then
fabricate another magical being.

Just so the agent, his action, and what he has done,
Are like types of conjuration,
Comparable to a magical being
Who fabricates a second magical being.

Defilements, deeds, embodied beings,
Karmic agents and karmic fruits
Are species of *gandharva* cities
They are like mirages and dreams.

In his "Seventy Verses on Emptiness," Nāgārjuna alludes again to the fabrication of illusory beings:⁷⁷ (Text 11)

Just as the Fortunate One, the Tathāgata
Conjures up a magical being with his supernormal power
And that magical being once more
Fabricates another magical being:

Herein the Tathāgata's double is empty
Not to mention the one fabricated by the double.
The two of them are only names
They are nothing at all, just products of thought.

⁷⁶ *Prasannapadā* 330.1–334.2 (commentary *ad Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 17:31–32). For a summary of this chapter, called *Karmaphala-pariṅśā*, see Siderits and Katsura 2013: 171–172.

⁷⁷ *Śūnyatā-saptati*, vv. 40–42.

Candrakīrti cites the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* verses in his auto-commentary on “Introduction to [the Philosophy of] the Middle Way.”⁷⁸ He also comments on another time-honoured trope, that of the magical illusion (*māyā*), which is discussed by Nāgārjuna in his *Yuktiśaṣṭikā* (*kārikā* 15 ff.) in the context of origination, cessation, and own-nature (*svabhāva*). Here it is my pleasure to refer the reader to the magistral edition and translation of our honorand.⁷⁹ Taken together, these references show the weight of the idea of illusion and of narratives of magic in Buddhist philosophical discourse.

We have seen that magical beings created by the Tathāgata figure in Śrāvaka texts in Pali, Sanskrit, and in translation, and that they also take the stage in a number of important and early Vaitulya *sūtras*, such as the *Samādhirāja*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, and the *Kāśyapa-parivarta*.⁸⁰ Is it to the Vaitulya or Mahāyāna *dharmaparyāyas* that Nāgārjuna refers? I do not think this is a necessary conclusion. The creation of doubles or magical creatures is part of the mainstream of Buddhism, an art or a power recognized in principle by Buddhist metaphysicians—from an early date on the evidence of the *Niddesa*. In the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* and the works of Nāgārjuna judged “authentic” by modern scholarship, the Master does not draw noticeably on Vaitulya texts. For his arguments to have effect on the Buddhist communities that they addressed, they needed to adhere to a common ground of reference accepted by his audience.

There is much more to illusory beings than I have presented here. I started with a passage in Śamathadeva that attracted my attention because of my interest in the *Arthavargya* family of texts, but as my research went further I became bewitched by magical

⁷⁸ *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* 124.7 (*ad Madhyamakāvatāra-kārikā* 6:38cd); tr. La Vallée Poussin 1910: 317.

⁷⁹ Scherrer-Schaub 1991: 182f.

⁸⁰ The singling out of certain Mahāyāna *sūtras* as “early” is subjective. I beg the reader’s indulgence for following my conviction that the *dharmaparyāyas* mentioned are indeed early in the broad timescale of Buddhist literature, even as I hasten to note that I do not agree with the pious consensus that the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* is *exceptionally* early. All of them (and most others) are chronologically if not ideologically layered. For the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* in India, see most recently Lopez 2016, chap. 2.

beings, and more and more questions raised their heads—many that I still cannot address adequately—from vocabulary to syntax, from text to interpretation to translation.

II TEXTS

1. *Upāyikā* on *Abhidharmakośa*, Colophons (P 5595, Thu 144a2–7 / D 4094, *mNgon pa*, Nyu 95a4–7).

| mdo sogs lung dang bral zhing rgyan med gyur pa'i mdzod
kyi rnam par bshad pa ni |
| gang phyir dri med gyur kyang zla bas stong pa'i mtshan
bzhin yid 'phrog byed pa min |
| de phyir rin chen rang bzhin lung gis rnam par bshad pa
rab tu brgyan byas las |
| dge ba gang yod de yis 'jig rten dri med blo yis rab tu
brgyan gyur cig |

| bal po'i yul du skye ba rab tu thob par gyur pa'i dge slong
zhi gnas lha yis ni |
| ji ltar dran pa bzhin du mdzod la mkho ba yongs su rdzogs
par yang dag bsdu |
| mdo gzhan gang yang bdag gis yongs su ma dran 'di ni yang
dag ma bsdu pa |
| de dag gang zhig dran pas yang dag bsdu bar mdzod ces
gsol ba bdag 'debs so |

| chos mngon pa mdzod kyi tikā nye bar mkho ba zhes bya ba dge
slong zhi gnas lhas yang dag par sbyar ba rdzogs so ||

| gsung rab mdo sde stong gi mdo khungs kyis |
| chos mngon mdzod kyi bstan bcos brgyan pa 'di |
| khams pa ston pas dad pas rab bsgyur las |
| 'gro kun mngon pa'i chos kyi don rtogs shog |

| kha che'i grong khyer chen po dpe med kyi dbus dza ra me'i
gtsug lag khang gi byang phyogs kyi bsil khang du | rgya gar kyi
mkhan po dza ya śrī dang | bod kyi lo tsa ba khams pa dge slong
shes rab 'od zer gyis yang dag par bsgyur ba'o ||

2a. *Upāyikā* on *Abhidharmakośa*: from the tenth *Arthavargya* of the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* (P 5595, *Thu* 110a6–b7 / D 4094, *mNgon pa*, *Nyu* 66b1–67a1) (Śamathadeva’s brief introductory passage is given in boldface type).

ston min sprul pa po dang bcas [*Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* 7:51c, *nirmātraiva sahāśastuh*] | **zhes bya ba la** | **phran tshogs kyi sde snod las don gyi sde tshan bcu pa las mdo ’di ltar ’don te** |

de nas mnyan yod na gnas pa’i bram ze dang khyim bdag de dag ’di snyam du rgyu gang dang rkyen gang gis rab tu byung ba rnams dang rab tu byung ba rnams su rtsod cing ’thab pa dang mtshang ’bru ba⁸¹ dang chad pas gcod pa dag byung bar gyur | bcom ldan ’das la gus pas ’dri ba’i nus pa med do snyam mo |

| de nas bcom ldan ’das kyis mnyan yod kyi bram ze dang khyim bdag de dag gi sems thugs kyis mngon par mkhyen nas | mgo bregs shing chos gos bgos pa skyes bu chen po’i mtshan sum cu rtsa gnyis dang dbe byad bzang po brgyad cu dang yang dag par ldan pa’i sprul pa zhig sprul par mdzad do || chos nyid kyis nyan thos rnams kyis sprul pa sprul nas | nyan thos rnams smra na sprul pa yang smra bar byed la | nyan thos rnams mi smra na sprul pa yang mi smra bar ’gyur zhing | sprul pa gcig smra na | thams cad smra zhing | gcig mi smra na thams cad kyang mi smra bar ’gyur ro || sangs rgyas bcom ldan ’das rnams kyis sprul pa sprul par mdzad pa na | sangs rgyas bcom ldan ’das dri bar mdzad pa na sprul pa lung ston par byed la | sprul pa dri bar mdzad na bcom ldan ’das lung ston par mdzad do |

| de nas sprul pa de stan las langs te bla gos phrag pa gcig tu byas nas bcom ldan ’das gang na ba der thal mo sbyar zhing phyag byas nas | de’i tshes don gyi sde tshan ’di las brtsams te tshigs su bcad pa’i dbyangs kyis zhu ba zhus pa |

| phrag dog lhan cig mya ngan smre sngags ’don |
| ’thab rtsod ’di dag gang gis rab tu bskyed |

⁸¹ *mtshang ’bru ba* = *bhaṇḍayati*, cf. Negi 1993–2005, vol. XI: 4943.

| phra ma dang bcas nga rgyal lhag nga rgyal |
| 'di dag gang gis bskyed pa bdag 'dri'o |

| phrag dog lhan cig mya ngan smre sngags 'don |
| 'thab dang rtsod pa 'di dag dga' bas bskyed |
| phra ma dang bcas nga rgyal lhag nga rgyal |
| 'di dag dga' bas rab tu bskyed pa yin |

| zhes bya ba la sogs pa byung ngo |

2b. *Upāyikā* quotation from a *sūtra* of the *Dirghāgama* (P 5595, *Thu* 110b7–8 / D 4094, *mNgon pa*, *Nyu* 67a1–2).

gcig cig smra bar gyur ba na [= *ekasya bhāṣamāṇasya*] zhes bya ba la sogs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa'i dpe ni **lung ring po'i mdo** las tshangs pa'i sprul pa de dag lha'i dbang po'i pang par 'dug ste so so nas gtam smras so zhes bya ba la sogs pa 'byung ngo ||

3a. Chinese **Arthapada-sūtra* (*Yizu jing* 義足經, T 198, IV, 181b11–17).

是時，人民皆共生意：“疑何因緣棄家為道，復有鬪訟？”佛即知子曹疑，便化作一佛，著前端正，有三十二相，衣法衣，弟子亦能化作人。化人語，弟子亦語；佛語，化人默然；化人語，佛默然。何以故？正覺直度正所意故。化佛即右膝著地，向佛叉手，以偈難問言。

3b. Chinese **Arthapada-sūtra* (T 198, IV, 184b5–10).

佛即知兜勒意生所疑，便化作一佛，端正形好無比，見莫不喜者，形類過天，身有三十二大人相，紫磨金色，衣大法衣。弟子亦作化人，化人適言，弟子亦言；弟子適言，化人亦言。佛所作化人，化人言，佛默然；佛言，化人默然。何故？一切制念度故。

4. *Prātihārya-sūtra* (*Divyāvadāna* 166.3–8).

bhagavatā buddhanirmāṇo nirmito dvātriṃśatā mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇaiḥ samanvāgato muṇḍaḥ saṃghāṭiprāvṛtaḥ. dharmatā khalu buddhā bhagavanto nirmitena sārđhaṃ viniścayaṃ [em.; niścā-

yaṃ ed.] kurvanti. yaṃ khalu śrāvako nirmitam abhinirmimīte, ya-
di śrāvako bhāṣate, nirmito 'pi bhāṣate; śrāvake tūṣṇībhūte nirmi-
to 'pi tūṣṇībhavati.

ekasya bhāṣamāṇasya sarve bhāṣante nirmitāḥ
ekasya tūṣṇībhūtasya sarve tūṣṇībhavanti te.

bhagavān nirmitaṃ praśnaṃ pṛcchati, bhagavān vyākaroṭi. eṣā hi
dharmatā tathāgatānāṃ arhatāṃ samyaksambuddhānāṃ.

5. *Paramatthajotikā*, commentary on *Sutta-nipāta* (*Paramatthajotikā*
[II] I.361.6–362.1).

tato taṃ devapariṣaṃ bhabbābhabbavasena⁸² dvidhā vibhaji:
'ettakā bhabbā, ettakā abhabbā ti.'⁸³ tattha 'abhabbapariṣā bu-
ddhasate pi dhammaṃ desente na bujjhati, bhabbapariṣā sakkā
bodhetun' ti ñatvā puna bhabbapuggalaṃ cariyavasena chadhā
vibhaji: 'ettakā rāgacaritā, ettakā dosa-moha-vitakka-saddhā-bu-
ddhicaritā' ti. evaṃ cariyavasena pariggahetvā 'assā parisāya kīdisā
dhammadesanā sappāyā' ti dhammakathaṃ vicinitvā puna taṃ
parisaṃ manasākāsi: 'attajjhāsayena nu kho jāneyya parajjhāsaye-
na aṭṭhuppattivāsena pucchāvasenā' ti. tato 'pucchāvasena jāne-
yyā' ti ñatvā 'pañhaṃ pucchituṃ samattho atthi n'atthi' ti puna
sakalapariṣaṃ āvajjitvā 'n'atthi koci' ti ñatvā 'sace aham eva
pucchitvā aham eva vissajjeyyaṃ, etam assā parisāya sappāyaṃ na
hoti; yaṃnūnāhaṃ⁸⁴ nimmitabuddhaṃ māpeyyan' ti pādaka-
jjhānaṃ samāpajjitvā vuṭṭhāya manomayiddhiyā abhisamkharitvā
nimmitabuddhaṃ māpesi; 'sabbaṅgapaccaṅgī lakkhaṇasampan-
no pattacivaradharo ālokitavilokitādisampanno hotū' ti adhiṭṭhā-
nacittena saha pātur ahoṣi. so pācīnalokadhātuto bhagavato
samam eva āsane nisinnō eva āgantvā, yāni bhagavatā imamhi
samāgame cariyavasena cha suttāni kathitāni, seyyathidaṃ:
purābhedaṣuttāṃ kalahavivādasuttāṃ cūḷavyūhaṃ mahāvvyūhaṃ
tuvaṭakaṃ idam eva sammāparibbājanīyan ti, tesu rāgacaritade-
vatānaṃ sappāyavasena kathetabbassa imassa suttassa pavattana-

⁸² So B^c; *bhavyābhavyavasena* E^c.

⁸³ So B^c; *ettakk bhavyā, ettakā abhavyā* ti E^c.

⁸⁴ So B^c; *yaṃ nūnāhaṃ* E^c.

tthaṃ pañhaṃ pucchanto **pucchāmi munim pahūtapaññan** ti
imaṃ gātham āha.

6. *Mahā-niddesa, Tuvaṭakasutta-niddesa* (*Niddesa* I.339.22–340.18).

aparā pi tisso pucchā, manussapucchā amanussapucchā nimmita-
pucchā.

katamā manussapucchā? manussā buddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ upa-
saṅkamtivā pañhaṃ pucchanti, bhikkhū pucchanti, bhikkhuniyo
pucchanti, upāsakā pucchanti, upāsikāyo pucchanti, rājāno pu-
cchanti, khattiyā pucchanti, brāhmaṇā pucchanti, vessā puccha-
nti, suddā pucchanti, gahaṭṭhā pucchanti, pabbajitā pucchanti;
ayaṃ manussapucchā.

katamā amanussapucchā? amanussā buddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ
upasaṅkamtivā pañhaṃ pucchanti, nāgā pucchanti, supaṇṇā pu-
cchanti, yakkhā pucchanti, asurā pucchanti, gandhabbā puccha-
nti, mahārājāno pucchanti, indā pucchanti, brahmāno pucchanti,
devatāyo pucchanti; ayaṃ amanussapucchā.

katamā nimmitapucchā? yaṃ bhagavā rūpaṃ abhinimmināti
manomayaṃ sabbaṅgapaccaṅgaṃ ahīnindriyaṃ, so nimmito bu-
ddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ upasaṅkamtivā pañhaṃ pucchati, bhagavā
tassa visajjeti; ayaṃ nimmitapucchā.

imā tisso pucchā.

7. *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* 7:51c and *bhāṣya* (427.13–17; La Vallée
Poussin 1923–1931, vol. V: 118–119]).

nirmātraiva saḥśāstuḥ [51c]

buddhād anyasya nirmāṇaṃ nirmātrā saha bhāṣate. yadā ca baha-
vo nirmitā bhavanti tadā yugapad bhāṣante

ekasya bhāṣamāṇasya bhāṣante saha nirmitāḥ
ekasya tūṣṇīm̐bhūtasya sarve tūṣṇīm̐bhavanti ta iti gāthā.

8. *Kāraṇa-prajñāpti* (D 4087, 151a3–b1).

ci'i **phyir sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi sprul pa | gzugs bzang
zhing blta na sdug la mdzes pa | skyes bu chen po'i mtshan sum cu
rtsa gnyis sprul pa ni | gang gi tshe sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das**

gsung pa de'i tshe | sprul pa mi smra bar 'gyur zhing | gang dag
 [Derge and all Tanjurs consulted by the Dpe bsdur ma editors
 read here gang dag] gi tshe sprul pa smra ba de'i tshe | sangs rgyas
 bcom ldan 'das mi gsung bar 'gyur la | **nyan thos kyi sprul pa gzugs
 bzang zhing blta na sdug la | mdzes pa skra bregs pa gos ngur smrig
 bgos pa** sprul pa ni gang gi tshe nyan thos smra ba de'i tshe | sprul
 pa yang smra zhing | gang gi tshe nyan thos mi smra ba de'i tshe |
 sprul pa yang mi smra bar 'gyur zhe na |

smras pa | sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das ni sems dang ting nge
 'dzin la mnga' brnyes pa yin pas na | de ni myur bar snyoms par
 'jug cing bzhengs te | dmigs pa yang mi gtong la | nyan thos ni de
 lta ma yin pa'i phyir ro || gzhan yang sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das ni
 thams cad mkhyen pa yin te | ye shes dang | dbang gi pha rol tu
 phyin pa yin la | nyan thos ni de lta ma yin no || rgyu des na sangs
 rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi sprul pa | **gang gzugs bzang zhing blta na
 sdug la mdzes pa | skyes bu chen po'i mtshan sum cu rtsa gnyis
 dang ldan pa'i lus sprul pa** ni | gang gi tshe sangs rgyas bcom ldan
 'das gsung pa de'i tshe sprul pa mi smra zhing | gang gi tshe sprul
 pa smra ba de'i tshe sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das gsung par mi 'gyur
 la | nyan thos kyi sprul pa gang gzugs bzang zhing blta na sdug la
 mdzes pa | skra bregs shing gos ngur smrig bgos pa sprul pa ni
 gang gi tshe nyan thos smra ba de'i tshe | sprul pa yang smra zhing
 gang gi tshe nyan thos mi smra ba de'i tshe | sprul pa yang mi smra
 bar 'gyur ro |

9. *Samādhirāja-sūtra, Purapraveśaparivarta (10:39c-42b).*

nirmitu jinu tatra nirmitvā
 vitarati teṣu praṇīta buddhadharmān || 39
 daśaniyuta jināna nirmitāna
 kakanibhā abhirūpa darśanīyā |
 parivṛtu jinu buddhu nirmitehi
 vitarati śūnyata śānta buddhabodhim || 40
 praṇīśatasahasra taṃ śruṇitvā
 praṇidādhi cittu varāgrabuddhajñāne |
 kada vaya labhi jñānam eva rūpaṃ
 āśayu jñātva jino 'sya vyākaroti || 41
 keci spṛha janenti tatra kāle
 parama acintiya labdha tehi lābhāḥ |

10. *Mūlamadhayamaka-kārikā, Karmaṣhala-parīkṣā* (17:31–33; Tibetan after Padmakara Translation Group).⁸⁵

30. karma cen nāsti kartā ca kutaḥ syāt karmajaṃ phalam |
asaty atha phale bhoktā kuta eva bhaviṣyati ||

| gal te las dañ byed med na |
| las skyes 'bras bu ga las yod |
| ci ste 'bras bu yod min na |
| za ba po lta ga la yod |

31. yathā nirmītakam śāstā nirmimītarddhisampadā |
nirmīto nirmimītānyam sa ca nirmītakam punaḥ ||

| ci ltar ston pas sprul ba ni |
| rdzu 'phrul phun tshogs kyis sprul zhing |
| sprul pa de yang sprul pa na |
| slar yang gzhan ni sprul pa ltar |

32. tathā nirmītakākārah kartā yat karma tat kṛtam |
tadyathā nirmītenānyo nirmīto nirmītas tathā ||

| de bzhin byed po de las gang |
| byas pa'ang sprul pa'i rnam pa bzhin |
| dper na sprul pas sprul gzhan zhig |
| sprul pa mdzad pa de bzhin no |

33. kleśaḥ karmāṇi dehās ca kartāś ca phalāni ca |
gandharvanagarākārā marīcisvapnasamñibhāḥ ||

| nyon mongs las dang lus rnam dang |
| byed pa po dang 'bras bu dag |
| dri za'i grong khyer lta bu dang |
| smig rgyu rmi lam 'dra ba yin |

⁸⁵ These verses are also cited in Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* 124.6–17. See also *Thesaurus Literaturae Buddhicae / Bibliotheca Polyglotta*, www2.hf.uio.no.

11. *Śūnyatā-saptati* (vv. 40–42).

| ji ltar bcom ldan de bzhin gshegs |
| rdzu 'phrul gyis ni sprul pa sprul |
| sprul pa de yis slar yang ni |
| sprul pa gzhan yang sprul gyur pa |

| de la de bzhin gshegs sprul stong |
| sprul pas sprul pa smos ci dgos |
| gnyis po ming tsam yod pa yang |
| ci yang rung ste rtog pa tsam |

| de bzhin byed po sprul dang mtshungs |
| las ni sprul pas sprul dang mtshungs |
| rang bzhin gyis ni gang cung zad |
| yod pa de dag rtog pa tsam |

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Envoi

In an earlier age, at an IATS,
At Fagernes in the far Uttarapatha
Le chemin du Nord, bout de la Route de la Soie
In a distant age, when conferences could still be dynamic
And unpredictable exchanges could take place
—Before academia became processed,
Like American cheese, gone clockwork orange,

Computer-driven and career-oriented—
We shared a preference for privacy and calm.
Amidst the madding *kotuhala*
Of the academic whirl.
A wisp of a figure, aloofly engaged,
Ironically low-key,
Exerted a gentle, forceful presence.
This was our Gurumā, whom here we honour
Not with flowers or lamps or fragrant scents
But with florilegia of fine words
And the wish that she
May live long to inspire us forever
That she may be healthy and content
Free from the contentions and disturbances
That so derange this spinning world.

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*Dharmakīrti and Īśvarasena**

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During a major part of my scholarly life I was convinced that following the development of Dharmakīrti's thought would be a most exciting, rewarding, and valuable task. On the one hand, all of his works have come down to us in their original language, Sanskrit, and in Tibetan translations. On the other, a progressive movement in his thought is apparent through all of his works. However, before my retirement from university labours I did not find the time to venture on such a major study. And eventually it proved better that I had not. For it has only been in the last two decades that the original texts of three important works by Dharmakīrti have become accessible—the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*,¹ the

* I still remember the first time I met Cristina during the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium held at Mátrafüred in 1979. Ever since we have been cooperating and supporting each other in many ways. My little contribution is but a small token of gratitude for her own rich and decisive contributions to our fields of passion.

¹ See PVin 1–2 (for improvements on this edition, see Steinkellner 2013a and 2018) and PVin 3.

Hetubindu,² as well as his commentary on the *Sambandhaparīkṣā*.³ While now the best conditions for writing a comprehensive study of Dharmakīrti's development as a thinker would be at hand, it is too late for me. I no longer have the necessary time and energy.

Nevertheless, the few observations offered below may be useful at least for corroborating the sequence of Dharmakīrti's works that was proposed long ago by Erich Frauwallner.⁴ I say useful, because these observations intimate a veritable history of the relationship between Dharmakīrti and his teacher Īśvarasena,⁵ a history that would be impossible to imagine if Frauwallner's hypothesis for the sequence of Dharmakīrti's works were not acceptable.

That I now return to various traces of Īśvarasena's activity as observed on different previous occasions is motivated by the first results of the work by Eli Franco and his team in editing Yamāri's *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā Suparīśuddhā* (PVATŚ). Yamāri's work, dating to the first half of the 11th century CE, is being edited in Leipzig on the basis of photocopies of a *codex unicus* of 204 folios held in the library of the CTRC. This *codex* contains the commentary on the *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter of Prajñākaragupta's *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*.

I am truly grateful to Franco for having shared the as yet partly unpublished results achieved in the first working period with critically established Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the PVATŚ on vv. 1–7 together with rich introductory essays by Yamāri. Of these, the second are dealt with in Franco's recently published paper "Yamāri and the Order of Chapters in the *Pramāṇavārttika*" (2018). I am grateful to Franco for having provided me with a preprint copy in earlier 2018.

In this paper he explains how Yamāri deals with the different orders of the chapters as existed over the course of the four-cent-

² See HB; for improvements on this edition, see Steinkellner 2016 and forthcoming a.

³ This is included in a collective manuscript of works by Dharmakīrti in Drepung. This unique copy of the *Sambandhaparīkṣāvṛtti* is complete with nine folios. For an analysis of the entire Drepung manuscript, see Steinkellner forthcoming b.

⁴ Frauwallner 1954.

⁵ On Īśvarasena, see the extensive notes in van der Kuijp 2013: lvii–lxiv.

ury tradition of the epistemological school after Dharmakīrti, as well as which order was assumed to be the correct one, and how it was or may be adjusted to the assumption that this text was a commentary on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (PS; Ms. 5b3 – 7b4). The pivotal point around which these questions revolve is the surprising position of the *Svārthānumāna* chapter at the beginning of the PV before its *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter as accepted by the earliest commentators Devendrabuddhi, Śākyabuddhi, and Karṇakagomin. Further points are the fact that Dharmakīrti composed a “commentary” only on this first chapter, and that he did not bring the last chapter to an end.

Yamāri, in fact, holds that “the author of the *Vārttika*, whose capacity was impaired due to old age, altogether neglected to compose a commentary on the remaining chapters of the *Vārttika*. In particular he quite lost the energy even to take charge of handing down the tradition.”⁶ Franco summarizes his observations on what seems implied in Yamāri's assessment: “the PV, or at least the auto-commentary, according to Yamāri was composed by an old man. Quite probably he considered it to be his last work, incomplete because he was old, tired and lazy and not, as Frauwallner and his followers assume, his first work. Furthermore, even though it is not stated explicitly, Yamāri seems to imply that the PV and the PVSV were not composed at the same time; rather the PVSV was composed after the PV, that is, after the four chapters in verse were completed, and possibly also after other works of Dharmakīrti were composed in between.”⁷

Thus, before presenting the collection of traces in Dharmakīrti's works that, in my opinion, indicate an on-going, if sporadic, focus on Īśvarasena, a few general remarks seem expedient about the character of PV 1 with its *Vṛtti* (PVSV) and the reasons for its composition. In addition, I will consider a possible circularity in my argument that the references to Īśvarasena indeed support Frauwallner's sequence of Dharmakīrti's works because they can be convincingly and naturally linked to that sequence.

⁶ PVAṬS Ms. 7b3: *vārttikakāreṇa jarasopahataśaktinā śeṣabhāṣyakaraṇaṃ tāvad upekṣitam, viśeṣeṇa sampradāyagrahaṇe 'py ālasyam evācaritam*. See Franco 2018: 258.

⁷ Franco 2018: 259ff. I fail to see, however, how all this can be deduced from Yamāri's brief remarks.

Frauwallner clearly stated that PV 1 with the PVSV is not a commentary on Dignāga's PS.⁸ And while he is critical of the chapter's structure and ill disposition,⁹ this is quickly balanced by judgments, such as "[The presentation] offers a continuous association in which one idea follows from the other."¹⁰

Now, after having comprehensively analysed this chapter,¹¹ I dare to assert that the text's structure is, with all its justified digressions and polemical deviations, a wonder of coherence. The chapter is, moreover, not only *not* a commentary on Dignāga, the PVSV is also not a customary-style commentary on the stanzas of the PV's later first chapter. This *Vṛtti* does not explain the stanzas but elaborates on them in order to reveal all their implications and more.¹²

Why did Dharmakīrti compose this chapter? To support and substitute Dignāga's theorem of the triply characterized (*trirūpa*) logical reason through his new theorem of the threefold (*trividhā*) reason as based on inseparable relations (*avinābhāva*). Further to demonstrate the weaknesses of his teacher Īśvarasena's attempts to strengthen Dignāga's theorem. But, most importantly, he is addressing the ideology of the Brahmanical exegetes, the Mīmāṃsakas, in his time represented above all by the voice of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. For he begins his work by saying "The differentiating cognition between what is useful in life (*artha*) and what is harmful (*anartha*) is based on inference. Therefore..."¹³ meaning that it is not based on the injunctions of the eternal Veda.¹⁴ This opening, celebrating rationality as the decisive and only tool for orientation in life, is a philosophical spearhead directly confront-

⁸ Frauwallner 1954: 144–147 = 1982: 679–682.

⁹ "Im einzelnen wirkt der Aufbau dieser Darstellung ziemlich wirr." (Frauwallner 1954: 146 = 1982: 681) and "die mangelhafte Disposition des älteren Werkes und die zerrissene Darstellung" (Frauwallner 1954: 147 = 1982: 682).

¹⁰ "...und sie gibt einen fortlaufenden Zusammenhang, in dem sich ein Gedanke an den anderen reiht." (Frauwallner 1954: 146 = 1982: 681).

¹¹ Steinkellner 2013b, vol. II: 123–142.

¹² See Steinkellner 2013b, vol. II: 15ff., n. 5. Actually, I think it was originally composed as a unit of stanzas and prose, a *miśra* type of composition. However, so far, I have found no clear proof for this hypothesis.

¹³ PVSV 1.8: *arthānarthavivecanasyānumānāśrayatvāt*.

¹⁴ See Steinkellner 2013b, vol. II: 5–14 (n. 4).

ing the Brahmanical orthodoxy and caste society. It was conceived in the period just before the reign of Harṣavardhana (first half of the 7th century CE), a ruler who strongly supported Buddhism. But, seen in retrospect, it nevertheless marked the beginning of the final downfall of Buddhism in India, a downfall accompanied more by violence than by philosophical debate.¹⁵

Is my argument circular, when I try to draw a history of Dharmakīrti's relationship with Īśvarasena on the basis of the sequence of Dharmakīrti's works as proposed by Frauwallner? Certainly not. By now the relevant works that touch upon Īśvarasena's ideas have all been recovered in their original and so their sequence is well established independently of that relationship's history: PV 1–4 precede PVin 1–3, which incorporate numerous stanzas and prose passages from PV 1 and the PVSV as well as from PV 2–4, with and without changes.¹⁶ The *Nyāyabindu* (NB) consists mainly of extracts from the PVin, and the HB incorporates stanzas and prose from PV 1 and the PVSV, and even refers to PVin 2 by name (HB 30.17). The *Vādanyāya* is certainly Dharmakīrti's last major work.¹⁷ Still undecided is the historical position of his *Santānāntarasiddhi* and *Sambandhaparīkṣā* with its *Vṛtti*. However, I assume that the composition of the *Sambandhaparīkṣā* is owed to Dharmakīrti's new conception of the inseparable relation between the two reasons "nature" (*svabhāva*) and "effect" (*kārya*), as well as to his feeling the need to clarify that in their conceptuality the inseparable relations should not be understood ontologically.¹⁸ I also think, therefore, that the *Sambandhaparīkṣā* with its *Vṛtti* may have been composed quite early, namely after and in connection with PV 1 and the PVSV thereon, or—since Dharmakīrti

¹⁵ For this "context," see Eltschinger 2014 and Verardi 2018.

¹⁶ In case of PVin 1 from PV 3; in case of PVin 2 from PV 1 and the PVSV, once even by name (PVin 2.70.4), PV 3, and PV 4; in case of PVin 3 from PV 1 and the PVSV, PV 2, and PV 4. And that PV 1 and the PVSV precede PV 2–4 is ascertained by a number of forward references found in the PVSV. These references have been collected by Gnoli in the appendix (pp. 189–195) of his edition (see PVSV). They refer to PV 2, PV 3, and PV 4, and must have been added to the original text of the PVSV when Dharmakīrti combined PV 1 and the PVSV with chapters 2–4 in creating the present version of the PV in four chapters.

¹⁷ See Steinkellner 1967, vol. I: 24ff. and Much 1991, vol. II: xii.

¹⁸ See Steinkellner 2013b, vol. II: 158–172 (n. 331) and 207–210 (n. 359).

refers to the PV at the end of the *Vṛtti* on *Sambandhaparīkṣā* 22—after the creation of the PV in four chapters.

In the following note, instances are offered from Dharmakīrti's works, where he refutes or criticizes various aspects of Īśvarasena's interpretation of Dignāga's PS and its *Vṛtti* (PSV). In all these instances, Dharmakīrti can only be referring to what we might tentatively call Īśvarasena's *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā*.

1. *pakṣa*, the thesis or subject of inference:

Because of the term's ambiguity,¹⁹ Dignāga explains it in PS 3:10 and PSV as being metaphorically used (*upacāra*) or as being a synecdoche.²⁰ Īśvarasena holds this metaphorical usage of the term to be unfounded, preferring *dharmidharma* to define the reason instead of *pakṣadharmā*.²¹ Dharmakīrti defends Dignāga's choice of the term *pakṣa* in PVSV 1.13–2.7.²²

2. *dyṣṭāntāsiddhicodanā*, the objection that an example is not established:

Concluding the first presentation of the specific non-perception (*anupalabdhi*) as reason (PVSV 4.13–5.1), Dharmakīrti says that its result is the treatment of something as absent (*asadvyavahāra*), and states that the objection that an example is not established is thereby rejected (*prativyūḍha*) (PVSV 4.24–5.1).²³ Such an objection has not been mentioned before and might be taken as purely rhetorical. A hundred pages later, however, this objection is dealt with again in detail, namely, in the appendices on non-cognition in general and in particular (PVSV 104.19–26).²⁴ The opponent claims that cognition of absence through non-perception

¹⁹ See Katsura 2000 and 2003.

²⁰ For Dignāga's text and a translation, see Steinkellner 2013b, vol. II: 18ff. and Katsura 2009.

²¹ PVSVṬ 12.21–22: *īśvarasenaḥ prāha – dharmidharmo hetur ity etāvad vaktavyam, prayojanābhāvād anupacārah*. An earlier identification of this somewhat surprising move to correct Dignāga's term as Īśvarasena's is found in Vinītadeva's HBT_T 129a8 (dBang phyug sde); see van der Kuijp 2013: lxii–lxiii.

²² See Steinkellner 2013b, vol. II: 17–20 (nn. 10–12). This passage is taken up again, with minor changes, in HB 1.6–2.2 (see Steinkellner 1967, vol. II: 83–88).

²³ See Steinkellner 2013b, vol. II: 64ff. (nn. 74–75). See also PVin 2.58.11ff. (see Steinkellner 1979: 50, n. 129).

²⁴ See Steinkellner 2013b, vol. II: 276–278 (nn. 562–565).

cannot be inference because it does not depend on an example (*dyṣtāntānapekṣanāt*, PVSV 104.21). It should rather be taken, as indicated by Śākyabuddhi and Karṇakagomin, as a further valid cognition (*pramāṇāntara*). The objection of the lacking example has also been repeated in *Tattvasaṅgraha* (TS) 1693–1694 to support the idea that non-perception has to be a *pramāṇāntara*.²⁵ This proposal is clearly Īśvarasena's, the opponent in Dharmakīrti's refutation in PVSV 12.4–15.8.²⁶ The transition to the following clarification, considering that Dharmakīrti is referring to his teacher, is unusual, to say the least: "Even if he listens to it again, the beloved of the gods is evidently not clever enough to embrace it."²⁷ This is why I hypothesize that the discussion in PVSV 104.19–26 is a recollection of an actual dispute with Īśvarasena. Although he would never see this unflattering epithet, he did probably hear Dharmakīrti's first presentation of the threefold reason including non-perception as reason (PVSV 4.5–5.6), and on this occasion would have deposited his objection of the lacking example.²⁸

3. *adarśanamātra* as *pramāṇāntara*, mere non-perception as a further valid cognition for ascertaining the absence of the reason in dissimilar cases (*viṣakṣa*):

In PVSV 10.13 or 12.4–15.8,²⁹ Dharmakīrti refutes Īśvarasena's theorem that mere non-perception of the reason in the dissimilar is sufficient to ascertain the common absence of reason and consequent. The same concept is in the background of Dharmakīrti's rejection "...but is due neither to a non-perception [of the reason

²⁵ See Steinkellner 2018.

²⁶ See Steinkellner 1966.

²⁷ PVSV 104.26–27: *śṛṇvann api devānāmpriyo nāvadhāraṇapaṭuh*.

²⁸ See Steinkellner 2013b, vol. II: 277ff. (n. 565).

²⁹ This is taken over, with a few insignificant changes and stylistic adaptations, at the end of PVin 2 (PVin 2.91.13 or 94.3–101.11). The main points of Dharmakīrti's critique of Īśvarasena are already visible from the beginning of this extensive section (PVSV 10.13–20.13) and even earlier in PV 1:12a and PVSV 10.6. Their task is to demonstrate the inseparable relation (*avinābhāva*) between reason and consequent as the basis for a reason's non-deviation from it (*avyabhicāra*). See Steinkellner 1966, 1979: 118–122, and 2013b, vol. II: 106–129 (nn. 164–237).

in the dissimilar]...”³⁰ In this, Īśvarasena followed Dignāga, who taught *adarśanamātra* for ascertaining the *vyatireka* in the PSV on PS 5:34³¹ without, however, giving it the status of a distinct *pramāṇa*.

4. *pratyakṣabādhāsaṅkā*, the suspicion of invalidation through perception:

Within the refutation referred to above, Dharmakīrti cites Īśvarasena with the words “Deviation of the reason consists in the suspicion that invalidation through perception is possible.”³² This definition of deviation (*vyabhicāra*) of the reason from the consequent is connected to Īśvarasena’s theorem of the six characteristics of a reason, of which the fourth is that its object, the consequent, is not invalidated through perception (*abādhitaviṣayatva*).³³ Here Dharmakīrti uses the word “suspicion” (*saṅkā*); in the *Hetu-bindu* this is expressed more directly in the objection “Non-invalidation, however, is not the absence of invalidation, but the non-perception of invalidation. And this non-perception might be the case for a person somewhere, even if an invalidation would be possible. Therefore, this is the domain for employing a logical reason.”³⁴

5. *niyamakhyāpanārtho vyatirekapravogaḥ* (HB 8.13ff.), the formulation of common absence is for indicating the restriction:

In PSV ad PS 2:5d (*nāstitāsati*), Dignāga says that this formulation of the characteristic has the purpose of restricting the absence of the reason only to where the consequent is absent, not to where it

³⁰ PV 1:31d’ = PVin 2:62c’: *adarśanān na...* See Steinkellner 1997: 638 and 2013b, vol. II: 173 (n. 332).

³¹ See Katsura 1992.

³² PVSV 12.19 and PVin 2.95.5: *pratyakṣabādhāsaṅkā vyabhicāra ity eke*. See van der Kuijp 2013: lxi–lxii for Dharmottara’s note on this passage of the PVin.

³³ See Steinkellner 1966: 81ff.; 1979: 123–124, n. 475; 2013b, vol. II: 120 (nn. 200ff.), and HB § d.1. I still cannot connect this fourth characteristic of Īśvarasena’s with a statement of Dignāga’s which could have been the starting point of this conception. It is, however, quite possible that the suspicion (*saṅkā*) here introduced—because the force of non-perception in the dissimilar may, even for Īśvarasena, not have been all too strong to ascertain the total absence of the reason—has motivated him to conceive of this fourth characteristic (see Steinkellner 1966: 82).

³⁴ HB 35.7–8: *na ca bādhābhāvo ’bādhā, kiṃ tarhi bādhānupalabdhiḥ. sā puruṣasya kvacid bādhāsambhave ’pi syād iti. sa hetuprayogaviṣayaḥ.*

is another (*anya*) or a contradictory (*viruddha*).³⁵ Also in PS 3:19, Dignāga refuses to accept what is another than the similar and what contradicts it as what is the dissimilar (*asapakṣa*, *vipakṣa*).³⁶ Īśvarasena refers to this restriction of the meaning of *asapakṣa* to emphasize the need to demonstrate the common absence (*vyatireka*) of reason and consequent. This argument is refuted by Dharmakīrti in HB 8.13–15, and more broadly already in PViN 2.52.6–14.³⁷

While Dharmakīrti refers to the argument of Īśvarasena's only to prevent an attack on his idea that one form of concomitance, positive or negative, implies the other,³⁸ Īśvarasena's emphasis on the need for formulating the *vyatireka* is linked to his means of *adarśanamātra* for ascertaining the reason's absence therein, since if a formulation of the *vyatireka* were not necessary, this concept would have been proposed to no avail.

6. *ṣallakṣaṇo hetuḥ*, the logical reason with six characteristics: Before all chapters of Dignāga's PS and PSV, and Jinendrabbuddhi's *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* (PST) are edited, a definitive explanation of this theorem's genesis cannot be offered. It is nevertheless possible to offer some observations on the various causes for its proposal.³⁹ The following three characteristics of a reason are proposed in addition to Dignāga's three: 4. that the reason's object has not been invalidated (*abādhitaviṣayatva*), 5. that a singular of the reason is intended (*ekasaṅkhyāvivakṣā*), and 6. that the reason is known (*jñātatva*).⁴⁰

³⁵ *etat punar – asaty eva nāstitā, nānyatra, na viruddha iti niyamārtham.* (After a text-constitution by Horst Lasic in ca. 2012). See also TR 50*.21–23.

³⁶ Kajiyama 1966: 71, n. 181.

³⁷ See Steinkellner 1967, vol. II: 111–113 and 1979: n. 81 with later corroborations of Īśvarasena as the author of this opinion by Jñānaśrībhadra and Bu ston (see van der Kuijp 1983: n. 341 for the latter's complete statement), and further in TR 51*.20–26.

³⁸ PViN 2.52.12–14: *anvayavyatirekayor niścitavyāptikam ekam api rūpaṃ prayuktam arthāpattiyā dvitīyaṃ gamayatīti. ata ekasya prayogaḥ syād iti.*

³⁹ See Steinkellner 1967, vol. II: 192ff.

⁴⁰ Durvekamiśra mentions *pūrvayaugas* (DhPr 35.23ff.), and rGyal tshab attributes these six characteristics to Īśvarasena (rGyal 291b5ff.; see Steinkellner 1979: 123–124, n. 475).

These three additional characteristics are extensively refuted in an appendix to Dharmakīrti's HB.⁴¹ So far, I have not found a passage in Dignāga that might be seen as a point of departure for proposing the fourth characteristic *abādhitaviṣayatva*. It may, however, have developed as a consequence of the notion of suspicion (*śaṅkā*)⁴² in order to strengthen the *adarśanamātra* as the means for ascertaining the reason's absence in the dissimilar.

The fifth characteristic, that a singular of the reason is intended (*ekasaṅkhyāvivaḥṣā*), evidently has its roots in Dignāga's PS 3:23, where Dignāga says that in all definitions of the reason he used the singular in order to exclude the antinomic (*viruddhāvvyabhicārin*) and the uncommon (*asādhāraṇa*) pseudo-reasons.⁴³

The sixth characteristic, that the reason is known (*jñātatva*), can be linked to PS 2:6ab and the PSV: "In this (definition) also cognition is accepted, of course, since what causes cognition is referred to."⁴⁴ I have yet to find an explicit attribution to Īśvarasena regarding this characteristic and only assume that Īśvarasena used Dignāga's explanation to derive still another characteristic of the reason from the fact of its being implied. Dharmakīrti refutes this characteristic in HB 38.11–40.13 and uses this occasion to defend his own introduction of the attribute "ascertained" (*niścīta*) into Dignāga's definition of the reason (HB 38.18–39.15).⁴⁵ Since *niścīta* is, in fact, synonymous with *jñāta*, Dharmakīrti sees the term as challenging those who hold the logical nexus to be

⁴¹ HB § d. = 34.5–41.1; see Steinkellner 1967, vol. II: 192–213.

⁴² See n. 32 above. It is also quite possible that Īśvarasena was influenced by the Naiyāyika Uddyotakara for whom this characteristic of a reason was one of five (see NV 43.16 and NVTṬ 142.23–143.3).

⁴³ PS 3:23 (as constituted by Katsura and his team in Kyoto around 2013): *vivaḥṣitāikasaṅkhyātvaṃ viruddhābhyaṃ hi saṃśayaḥ | tathā saṃśayahetubhyaṃ dṛṣṭā ekatra niścayaḥ||*. This statement has a forerunner in the *Nyāyamukha* (NM_{UK} § 4.3 in Katsura 1979: 72; see Steinkellner 1967: 198). On this characteristic, see Steinkellner 1967, vol. II: 198–205 (nn. 25–52). Durvekamiśra mentions Īśvarasena, together with Jinendrabuddhi and others (HBTĀ 405.19), when referring to a citation by Arcaṭa (HBT 218.10–15) that I assume to be from a commentary on the PS(V) (see Steinkellner 1967, vol. II: 203ff.).

⁴⁴ *jñānam apy āttam evātra, jñāpako 'dhikyto yataḥ*. Cited in TR 50*:30. See Steinkellner 1967, vol. II: 205ff. (n. 53) and PST 2.38.14: *jñānam apy āttam ityadi-nā sāmāthyākṣiptatvāj jñānasya...*

⁴⁵ On this introduction, see Steinkellner 1967, vol. II: 207–211 (nn. 61–76), 1979: n. 57 on PVin 2:9a-c', and 1988.

established only through perception and non-perception.⁴⁶ Īśvarasena was certainly his main opponent on the matter.

Editorial, translational, and interpretational philology is the basis of attempts to grasp distant social and cultural worlds. Particularly rare are occasions that seem to allow a glimpse of life on a personal level in ancient India. The present case offers at least a chance for this, albeit only a vague one.

The traces of Īśvarasena's activity collected above cannot be considered a sufficient basis for more than an elementary hypothesis about the relationship between Dharmakīrti and his teacher. In addition to Dignāga, whose final epistemological *summa* has not yet been fully regained, also the fourth eminent actor in this period, the Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, has not yet received fully satisfying editions or translations of his main relevant works, the *Ślokavārttika* and the *Brhātṭikā*.⁴⁷ It is, therefore, still impossible to answer questions such as: Did Kumārila know not only Dignāga's work, but also Īśvarasena's commentary? Or: Did Īśvarasena know about Kumārila's attacks on Dignāga?

What has been established until now is that the first part of Dharmakīrti's presentation of the *apoha* theorem (PV 1:40–91) refutes in various ways some of Kumārila's main objections against Dignāga's concept of *apoha*, such as that all words would be synonymous if indicating *apohas*, and the circularity argument (PV 1:123cd–121).⁴⁸

With regard to their logic, what was common to the Buddhists Dignāga and Īśvarasena, the Naiyāyika Uddyotakara, and the Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila is that they accepted the logical nexus (*vyāpti*, *sambandha*, *avinābhāva*) only for a reason that satisfies cer-

⁴⁶ HB 39.12: *bhāvābhāvau kecid darśanādarśanamātreṇa vyavasthāpayanti*.

⁴⁷ Only the *Ślokavārttika* on the *Codanāsūtra* (see Kataoka 2011a and 2011b) has been critically edited; the *pratyaṅga* chapter is available in a richly annotated translation (see Taber 2005), and the *apohavāda* chapter translated by Kataoka and Taber is to appear soon. The other chapters of the *Ślokavārttika* relevant for Kumārila's logic are still urgently awaiting final critical treatment and a finely tuned contextual interpretation.

⁴⁸ All this will be dealt with in Taber's introductory essay to accompany the *apohavāda* translation by Kataoka and Taber. John Taber honoured me with a first presentation of his results at the celebration of my 80th birthday in 2017 (see Taber 2017).

tain formal conditions, be they three or more. It is on this point that Dharmakīrti differs. He understands a logical nexus to be given only as factual identity (*tādātmya*) or as causality (*tadutpatti*).⁴⁹ Īśvarasena seems to have discovered the problem with ascertaining the absence of the reason in dissimilar cases (*vīpakṣa*) and offered a solution by adding a fourth characteristic and a related theorem (*adarśanamātra*). When he was shown the beginning of Dharmakīrti's first presentation of his new concept of the logical nexus, perhaps only PV 1:1 and PVSV 2.14–5.1, he reacted by indicating the lack of an example in the case of the specific non-perception with the consequent of treating something as absent, and was, in general I presume, not at all impressed by Dharmakīrti's new conceptions.

It is because of Dharmakīrti's unfriendly remark in PVSV 104.26ff. (see n. 27 above) that I assume Īśvarasena was not shown more of Dharmakīrti's elaborations on his theorem. Īśvarasena's *śallakṣaṇo hetu* proposal is not mentioned as such before the HB, although his fourth characteristic may be linked to the notion of suspicion (*śaṅkā*) in the reference in PVSV 12.19. The remaining characteristics can be traced to Dignāga (PS 3:23 and PS 2:6ab and PSV thereon). As a whole these new characteristics may be considered a further attempt to strengthen Dignāga's formal aspects of the reason without acknowledging progress in overcoming a purely formal determination of a reason's correctness. They may also be seen as attacking Dharmakīrti's introduction of the attribute "ascertained" (*niścita*) into Dignāga's definition of the reason (see PVin 2:9a–c and NB 2:5; see Steinkellner 1967, vol. II: 207–209, n. 59; 1979: 31–32, n. 57, and 1988).⁵⁰ Since this hypothesis can be fleshed out only after all of Dignāga's PS(V) texts have been

⁴⁹ On various occasions in his digression on *apoha* and other contexts of PV 1 and the PVSV, and in his analysis of the relation between words and referents (PVSV 115.9–120.7; see Eltschinger 2007: 256–281), but above all in his *Sambandhaparīkṣā* and its *Vṛtti*, Dharmakīrti clarifies that also the latter of these bases, the relation between cause and effect, is not to be taken as ontologically real, but only as conceptually superimposed (see n. 18 above).

⁵⁰ The roots for this introduction are already seen in PVSV 2.13ff.: *etenā-nvayavyatirekau yathāsvaṃ pramāṇena niścītāv uktau pakṣadharmas ca*, and in PVSV 10.28ff.: *na hy asati pratibandhe 'nvayavyatirekaniścayo 'sti. tena tam eva darśayan niścayam āha*.

reconstituted, it remains to be seen whether Īśvarasena had possibly already developed the *ṣallakṣaṇo hetu* concept before Dharmakīrti presented his new ideas, or whether he developed it only after Dharmakīrti attacked him. In the latter case it would thus be natural that Dharmakīrti did not touch upon Īśvarasena's theorem earlier than in the HB.⁵¹

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- NB *Nyāyabindu*. See DhPr.
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⁵¹ In general, it is also questionable whether Īśvarasena's commentary extended beyond the first three or four chapters of the PSV which deal with the topics of valid cognition, perception, inference proper, proof, and exemplification.

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*Paris, vu du Toit du Monde : Adjroup Gumbo,
gter ston du « pays de France »**

SAMUEL THÉVOZ
(Vienna)

*Je lui dois de n'avoir pas craint les hommes, et aussi d'avoir
tremblé, la nuit, dans les temples. Je lui dois des émotions que
les gens de notre époque ne connaissent plus, ne comprendront
peut-être seulement pas. Avec lui, j'ai oublié la vie en grisail-
le, mesquine, inquiète, qu'on appelle intense, par dérision
sans doute, et où je vais retourner.*
Jacques Bacot, *Le Tibet révolté*

De l'Asie à Paris : modernités croisées

*Que de jolies maisons, que de beaux hôtels, se suivent et se lient
en longues chaînes.
Au coucher du soleil le bruit des voitures gronde encore.
Soudain, on est surpris de voir les étoiles tombées de l'espace.
Car des milliers de lumières brillantes viennent empêcher l'ef-
fet des ténèbres de la nuit.*
Nguyen Trong Hiep, *Paris capitale de la France*

* Ce travail a été rendu possible par l'octroi d'une bourse de recherche du Robert H.N. Ho Family Foundation Program in Buddhist Studies administrée par le Conseil américain des sociétés savantes (ACLS), à qui j'adresse ici ma reconnaissance.

*Fourmillante cité, cité pleine de rêves,
Où le spectre en plein jour raccroche le passant !
Les mystères partout coulent comme des sèves
Dans les canaux étroits du colosse puissant.*
Charles Baudelaire, « Les Sept Vieillards »

À l'instar de nombreux autres Tibétains au début du XX^e siècle, Adjroup Gumbo (A sgrubs mGon bo, † 14 février 1911¹) rêvait de voir Paris. La renommée et le rayonnement de cette métropole emblématique de l'Europe « moderne » sont soulignés par les périphrases qui la désignaient communément alors. C'est la « Ville Lumière », prodige de « progrès », de technologie et de salubrité, la « cité souveraine » célébrée dans *La Vie parisienne* d'Offenbach, haut lieu de la mode, des spectacles et des « nouveautés ». L'éclat de cet objet d'admiration se propage bien au-delà du monde occidental, comme en témoignent les quatrains, publiés dans une édition bilingue vietnamien (sinogrammes)-français, d'un poète « annamite » fasciné par l'« aspect féérique » de l'« illustre capitale » à l'occasion d'une mission diplomatique : « Toutes les nuits des milliers de lumières brillent entre les vingt-quatre ponts² » (Hiep 1897 : [5])³.

Symbole solaire, Paris est cependant aussi la capitale équivoque de la « vie moderne », le « Paris de fièvre et de plaisirs » (David-Neel 2018 : 227) d'un côté, le « gouffre du *struggle for life* » (Myrial 1904) et des luttes sociales de l'autre. Lieu aux facettes contradictoires, Paris et ses profondes transformations, entreprises par le baron Georges Eugène Haussmann (1809-1891) sous le Second Empire et continuées, après la Commune, sous la Troisième République, sont

¹ Concernant les noms tibétains, j'observerai ici la transcription de l'époque, sous laquelle lieux et personnes sont le plus facilement identifiables dans les archives, et, lorsque cela est possible, donnerai à la première occurrence la translittération Wylie.

² Voir à ce propos Claretie 1898 et 1899 qui souligne combien ces « vues » versifiées s'opposent au style « réaliste » des *Tableaux de Paris* de Sébastien Mercier par leur propension à l'idéalisation. Walter Benjamin placera par ailleurs le quatrain XXV, en traduction allemande, en exergue du chapitre « Fourier oder die Passagen » dans la première version de *Paris, Hauptstadt des XIX. Jahrhunderts* en 1935 (Benjamin 1982 : 45). L'exergue sera supprimé de la version française (autographe) de 1939 (Benjamin 1989).

³ Il s'agit en vérité de Nguyen Trong Hiep (Nguyễn Trọng Hợp), dit Kim Giang (1834-1902), membre du Conseil supérieur de l'Indo-Chine.

devenus un objet d'exploration privilégié des écrivains de la fin du XIX^e siècle. Afin de décrire l'ensemble de textes auquel Paris a donné naissance, l'on a même inventé l'étiquette de « littérature panoramique » (Benjamin 1982). Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) en particulier, surnommé le « *Lyriker im Zeitalter des Hochkapitalismus* » par Walter Benjamin (Benjamin 1974), a posé les bases d'une poétique et d'une pensée de la modernité fondées sur l'ambivalence matricielle d'un monde désormais toujours changeant, en prise avec le capitalisme marchand, l'urbanisation, l'industrialisation, la propagation de l'électricité, le développement des réseaux routiers et des chemins de fer, les révolutions sociales et politiques, sans oublier, enjeu de première importance ici, les formes nouvelles de la « mondialisation » induites par l'essor des empires coloniaux. Si le célèbre poème « Le Cygne » en articule les paradoxes, l'ensemble des effets de la « modernisation » se rencontrent, peu ou prou, en plusieurs endroits de l'œuvre de Baudelaire composée dans la dernière décennie de son existence, en particulier dans les *Tableaux parisiens des Fleurs du Mal*, dans les poèmes en prose du *Spleen de Paris* ou encore dans le *Poète de la vie moderne* (Baudelaire 1975-1976, vol. I : 82-104, 275-276 ; vol. II : 1413-1430). Ceux-ci accompagneront librement, au même titre que les quatrains de Hiep, le parcours d'Adjroup Gumbo retracé ici.

Si de nombreux « voyageurs », migrants, diplomates ou représentants religieux d'Asie y ont été conduits à cette même période (Laut 1910a et b, Thiunn 2006), notamment dans le cadre colonial des Expositions universelles, mais sous d'autres motifs également, à caractère « orientaliste » en particulier (Boussebart 2001, Nakanashi 2016 : 57-75), le premier dans le monde tibétain à connaître et à décrire Paris est le célèbre lama bouriate Agvan Dorjiev (1854-1928)⁴. Alors en mission diplomatique à la faveur de Thubten Gyatso (Thub bstan rGya mtsho, 1876-1933), treizième Dalai-lama, il y fait, après Saint-Petersbourg et avant Berlin, Rome, Vienne et Londres, des séjours répétés, d'abord en 1898, puis en 1900, en 1902 et, semble-t-il, en 1907 (Snelling 1993: 58, 66, 99, 153). Profondément impressionné lors de son premier séjour en

⁴ Mentionnons toutefois que la France faisait déjà l'objet d'une description dans la première « Géographie universelle » moderne tibétaine rédigée par Tendzin Triné, le bTsan po No mon han et publiée en 1830 (Yongdan 2011 : 118).

juin 1898, Dorjiev renchérit à son tour sur le « mythe de Paris », lorsque, dans ses mémoires, il résume sa perception de la ville en cette seule phrase : « *Da Fa gue*, plus connue sous le nom de Paris [tib. *Pha ri ji*], la grande ville de France [tib. *Pha ran tshé*], est une très belle ville à voir et est extrêmement peuplée » (Dorjiev 1991 : 21⁵). À lui seul, Agvan Dorjiev, figure religieuse et politique emblématique œuvrant à rapprocher le Dalai-lama du tzar Nicolas II (1868-1918), témoigne par les contacts qu'il a cherché à établir avec les orientalistes et, sans succès, avec les autorités politiques françaises, de l'effet qu'ont eu les belles paroles du prince Henri d'Orléans (1867-1901) sur les projections stratégiques du gouvernement de Lhassa. Le prince d'Orléans, parvenu dans les contrées septentrionales de Lhassa en février 1890, en compagnie de l'explorateur Gabriel Bonvalot (1853-1933), avait en effet garanti aux émissaires du gouvernement tibétain que la France était, en sa qualité d'alliée de la Russie, une nation fondamentalement bienveillante envers les Tibétains et pouvait leur éviter d'être « dévorés » par les Anglais (Snelling 1993 : 55-59). Simultanément, l'oracle de Nechung (*gNas Chung dgon*) annonçait qu'un « 'prince', émanation d'un bodhisattva, [se trouvait] au nord et à l'est » (Dorjiev 1991 : 17)⁶. Que la France, avant et après 1904, ait eu bonne presse au Tibet à une période où le Toit du Monde se trouvait au cœur des conflits géopolitiques qui opposaient les empires chinois, russes et britanniques, au gré des ententes et alliances changeantes, est attesté, du côté européen, par les explorateurs français du Tibet après d'Orléans et Bonvalot, qui, bon an, mal an, ont tiré bénéfice auprès des populations, sinon des autorités tibétaines, de n'être ni Russes ni Anglais (Grenard 1904 : 71-72, Bacot 1909 : 49). Ainsi, comme en témoigne leur correspondance (Tsyrempilov et Samten 2011 : 49, 79), peut-on entendre le désir du Dalai-lama de voir Agvan Dorjiev se rendre en Chine, en Russie et en France pour en découvrir les « modes de vie » et sonder si le Tibet était en droit d'en attendre un soutien politique (Andreyev 2003 : 26-27).

Bien qu'il n'ait conclu aucun accord diplomatique, le « *kambo-lama* » (*mkhan po bla ma*) a célébré le 27 juin 1898, dans la rotonde

⁵ Je rends librement en français la traduction anglaise.

⁶ Il n'est pas clair si la prophétie se rapporte à Henri d'Orléans ou à Nicolas II (Dorjiev 1991 : 98, n. 92).

du musée Guimet à Paris, une « cérémonie bouddhiste » « selon les rites de la secte Gélugpa » (Anon. « Une cérémonie bouddhiste » 1898 : 347), au musée Guimet, face à une assemblée cosmopolite où se mêlaient orientalistes, sympathisants du bouddhisme, politiques et intellectuels curieux, ainsi que journalistes avides de relayer l'événement, à l'image du futur romancier Gaston Leroux (1868-1927) qui publie un très théâtral « Chez Bouddha » dans l'édition du *Matin* du lendemain. Un pastel de Félix Regamey (1844-1907) préserve en outre la mémoire de la cérémonie, de ses officiants et de ses spectateurs, « savants et snobs, belles-madames en toilettes matutinales qui ne ratent pas un sermon de carême quand il est à la mode et qui ne sauraient manquer sans déshonneur une cérémonie aussi rare au musée Guimet » (Leroux 1898 : 3). Regamey a ainsi croqué Buddha Rabdanov (1853-1923), Joseph Deniker (1852-1918), le « Tigre » Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929) et Mary Plummer (1848-1922), Alexandra David (1868-1969), peut-être Jules Lemaître (1853-1914) et sans doute Innokenty Annensky (1856-1909), tous présents ce matin-là (Di Ruocco 2011 : 273-288). Quelles que pussent être les intentions de Dorjiev, le « tsanit » (*mtshan nyid mkhan po*), « prêtre des prêtres thibétains », emporte la « ferveur mystique » de l'assistance, comme le note ironiquement le correspondant du *Matin* : « Encore dix minutes, et elles vont 'lâcher' le catholicisme pour la secte lamaïque » (Leroux 1898: 3). Par réciproque, le point de vue de Dorjiev est instructif du point de vue de l'histoire des transferts et des mécompréhensions culturels, car le lama diplomate relève lui-même, dans ses *Mémoires*, la visible sympathie rencontrée en France envers le bouddhisme :

There was a group of about four hundred there who had great respect for Buddhist teachings. [...] It was meaningful to behold, hear and know how they made their respects to the sacred Three Precious, and what they called 'doing recitations.' I offered worship before the Buddha image and preached a little on the greatness of the Three Precious. While doing only this much, it might have brought into being for a few some aspirations which implanted good karmic seeds. (Dorjiev 1991 : 21-22)

À cette éminente exception près et en l'état de nos connaissances, Adjroup Gumbo est le premier parmi ses compatriotes à se lancer

« de l'autre côté de la mer » dans le long voyage vers l'Europe. À l'automne 1907, il quitte Patong (*sPa btang*)⁷, petit village de montagne surplombant le Mékong, situé dans l'actuel district de bDe chen (*Dêqên*) de la province du Yunnan, pour se rendre en France, où il séjourne de janvier 1908 jusqu'au printemps 1909. Bien que les circonstances du voyage, le statut, les motivations et, pour tout dire, le bagage culturel d'Adjroup Gumbo soient extrêmement éloignés des « missions » d'Agvan Dorjiev, son séjour a été fort remarqué, comme nous le verrons, par les milieux orientalistes et intellectuels parisiens, et a fait particulièrement sensation dans les colonnes de la presse française de la Belle-Époque.

Ce n'est qu'à l'autre extrémité du siècle que j'ai, pour ma part, fait la connaissance d'Adjroup Gumbo. Cependant que, il y a de cela presque deux décennies, j'étais à la recherche d'un sujet pour mon mémoire de fin d'études qui puisse embrasser les disciplines variées drainées par mon cursus d'étudiant — littératures française et anglaise, histoire des religions, études indiennes et tibétaines —, alors donc que j'errais dans les méandres de l'histoire de la rencontre de l'Europe et de l'Asie, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, au fil d'une conversation lancée lors d'un chaleureux « souper » de feu la Section des langues et civilisations orientales de l'université de Lausanne, me confia l'estime dans laquelle elle tenait les récits par lesquels Jacques Bacot (1877-1965) avait traduit, dans un style incomparable, sa rencontre avec le Tibet, ses paysages et ses hommes, « ces Tibétains méconnus » (Bacot 1909 : i). Or la rencontre la plus marquante que fit Jacques Bacot fut bien celle d'Adjroup Gumbo, qui guida le voyageur français dans ses aventures tibétaines et en devint l'interprète. Quand le voyageur français reprit la direction de la France, Adjroup Gumbo partit avec lui par-delà l'Océan. Alors, Jacques Bacot devint à son tour l'interprète et le traducteur du voyageur tibétain. Œuvre peut-être sans équivalent dans l'histoire littéraire tibétaine, le « Voyage du nommé Adjroup Gumbo », rédigé initialement sous forme d'une lettre à Tseon Senan (Tshe dbang gZil gnon, ou bSod nams ?), son frère cadet

⁷ C'est l'orthographe que donne Bacot, probablement sous le contrôle d'Adjroup Gumbo, tandis que Stéphane Gros, à qui je suis par ailleurs redevable pour l'identification et la transcription de nombre de toponymes des « Marches tibétaines », donne *sPag gtong* (Gros 1996 : 197).

(Bacot 1909 : 160), est accessible au public uniquement dans sa traduction française (Bacot 1912 : 343-364)⁸ : aussi Jacques Bacot prend-il soin d'avertir leur lecteur que « ce récit, malheureusement inachevé, fut rédigé en langue écrite ou savante. Adjroup me le lut en langue vulgaire ou parlée, et ce sont ses paroles, directement traduites, qu'on va lire » (Bacot 1912 : 343). Ce geste éditorial est loin d'être anodin, car il en résulte par contre-coup que le texte d'Adjroup Gumbo ponctue, prolonge, décentre les écrits de Jacques Bacot eux-mêmes.

Par cette suggestion inspirée et déterminante, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub m'ouvrait généreusement la double porte rêvée d'un terrain d'enquête original sur la découverte du monde tibétain par les voyageurs français, au confluent des études littéraires et de la tibétologie (Thévoz 2010), dans le même temps qu'elle livrait à mon attention un texte tibétain rapportant, en dehors de tout précédent ou presque, une expérience incommensurable du monde européen et dont les études tibétaines n'ont pas encore véritablement sondé la portée. En effectuant ici une manière de retour vers les voyages de Jacques Bacot, le « traducteur » d'Adjroup Gumbo, orienté vers l'écoute exclusive de son compagnon de voyage Adjroup Gumbo, je me propose d'approfondir, à titre parfois expérimental, la question de ce double rapport. En filigrane de cette rapide anamnèse de la naissance de mes recherches se font jour quelques affinités méthodologiques du présent texte de « reconnaissance » avec les travaux de Cristina Scherrer-Schaub. Au cœur de sa démarche épistémologique, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub a placé une pensée métaréflexive et historiographique sensible aux processus de connaissance sur le long terme et aux truchements historiques complexes mis en œuvre dans la fabrique des savoirs sur les mondes asiatiques depuis les origines des études orientales (Scherrer-Schaub 2012b). De surcroît, dans une approche archéologique attentive à la multiplicité et à la stratigraphie des phénomènes culturels en particulier liés à l'écrit mais ouverte aux autres manifestations culturelles, conjointe à une réflexion sur les supports et sur les modalités d'accès à la culture du Tibet ancien, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub a continûment

⁸ Les différentes publications et variantes de ce texte seront mentionnées au fil de l'analyse.

souligné l'exigence de « recomposer la 'fractalité' des savoirs » (Scherrer-Schaub 2015 : 532) sur l'ensemble des domaines de l'activité humaine.

Bien que relevant intrinsèquement de la culture tibétaine du livre et de l'écrit (Chayet et al. 2010, Schaeffer 2009), en l'absence d'un manuscrit autographe⁹, le « texte » fragmentaire qui fera l'objet de ma réflexion ici interdit toute approche de type codicologique et opacifie le « travail de traduction ». Qui plus est, mon approche éclaire moins le Tibet « ancien » qu'elle n'entend répondre aux recherches récentes sur le Tibet « moderne ». Pourtant, frayant entre les différents domaines qui ont marqué les étapes de mon parcours intellectuel dont Cristina Scherrer-Schaub a eu la constante bienveillance de stimuler et d'accompagner les évolutions, que ce soit sur les berges du Léman, de la Seine ou du Danube, ces quelques pages actualisent à leur manière l'enquête accomplie sur les « destins » (Scherrer-Schaub 1982) et les « voies croisées » (Scherrer-Schaub 2012a : 15) sur la carte du vaste « espace centrasiatique » (Scherrer-Schaub 2013 : 400). Alors même que, à l'aube du vingtième siècle, « époque d'effervescence dans les découvertes » (Scherrer-Schaub 2007 : 186) s'il en est, les destinées du Tibet et de l'Europe s'enchevêtrent, se répondent ici les voix et les visions d'un lettré tibétain et d'un savant français à l'horizon d'un monde changeant, incertain. Sans autre prétention que de récolter quelques interprétations données de ce récit de voyage et d'indiquer une piste de lecture supplémentaire, je chercherai à dialoguer avec un champ de recherche plus vaste :

⁹ Contre toute espérance, le riche fonds Bacot de la Société asiatique de Paris ne recèle pas de tel document. S'y trouve néanmoins un cahier comportant un état préparatoire de la traduction. Le manuscrit reproduit également une transcription partielle en écriture cursive *dbu med*, visiblement de la main de Bacot, du début du récit tibétain. L'écriture hâtive laisse penser qu'il s'agit d'une transcription prise sous dictée. C'est donc là, en l'absence d'un manuscrit autographe complet, un témoin précieux qui servira à éclairer certaines correspondances lexicales entre le tibétain et le français. Mes sincères remerciements vont à Jeanne-Marie Allier et à Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, mes deux guides dans les fonds et tréfonds des collections de la Société asiatique. Ma reconnaissance va également ici à Olivier de Bernon, ainsi qu'aux bibliothécaires de l'Institut de civilisation indienne du Collège de France et de la Société asiatique, Chantal Duhuy et Amina Abdurahman, pour m'avoir récemment facilité l'accès audit fonds.

les analyses de micro-histoire viennent pointer du doigt l'extrême variété des pratiques, la diversité des apports réciproques. Éviter l'opposition trop simple et le confinement des aires d'études pour chercher en revanche la complexité des époques de transition et des espaces de transmission, tel est le but de notre recherche. (Scherrer-Schaub 2010 : 317-318)

En se situant à la croisée de l'histoire littéraire française et de l'analyse de la culture tibétaine dans leurs rapports mutuels aux lieux et au paysage, la présente réflexion contribuera ainsi peut-être à composer une « histoire à plusieurs mains » rendant « visibles ces lieux (perpétuellement) à découvrir » (Scherrer-Schaub 2013 : 401).

« Connaissez-vous Adjroup Gumbo ? » *Les « impressions » d'un Tibétain sur la presse parisienne*

*Les peuples, en général, ne ressemblent pas à ce philosophe
Qui vivait sans souci du monde
Et riait du qu'en-dira-t-on.*

Ils aiment, au contraire, à savoir ce qu'on pense et ce qu'on dit d'eux. L'opinion du voyageur étranger a le don de susciter l'intérêt et elle le suscite d'autant plus que ce voyageur vient de plus loin et appartient à une civilisation plus différente. Ce sentiment qui se retrouve en tous pays, explique le bruit fait ces temps derniers autour de la publication, fort curieuse, d'ailleurs, faite dans le Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie française, des impressions d'un Tibétain sur notre pays.

Ernest Laut, « Ce que pensent de nous quelques Orientaux : les impressions d'Adjroup Gumbo »

*Bien qu'ayant yeux pour voir les autres,
Il faut un miroir pour se voir soi-même.*

Proverbe tibétain, dans Jacques Bacot, *Histoire du Tibet*

Aujourd'hui mal connu, Adjroup Gumbo appartient à ces « Tibétains passés entre les mailles du filet de l'historien » (Ramble, Schwieger et Travers 2013). Son récit de voyage n'est actuellement disponible que par le fait de quelques rééditions récentes (Bacot 1988 et 1997, Bacot 2009) et vient tout juste d'être traduit en anglais, sous forme de morceaux choisis (Schaeffer, Kapstein et Tuttle 2013 : 704-710). Toutefois, lors de son séjour à Paris, ce voyageur « excentrique » avait proprement défrayé la

chronique, à tel point que l'on peut estimer qu'il vola la « une » à l'explorateur à leur retour du Tibet¹⁰.

En effet, la presse enregistre la présence à Paris de ce Tibétain, notamment parce que, presque exactement dix ans après Agvan Dorjiev, Adjroup Gumbo a eu un rôle actif lors de l'inauguration, le 27 mai 1908, de la « salle thibétaine » du musée Guimet, formée sur la base des collections Bacot et Péralté. Le chroniqueur du *Petit Parisien* rapporte qu'à la demande de Charles Bayet (1849-1918), représentant de Gaston Doumergue (1863-1937), ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts, ce « Thibétain ramené par M. Bacot de Lhassa même [...] a joué quelques mélodies religieuses, sur plusieurs des instruments exposés, mélodies d'un caractère extrêmement original, mais assez peu variées dans leur expression » (Claude 1908 ; voir aussi Anon. « Nouvelles artistiques » 1908). Optant pour une veine ouvertement cabotine, le correspondant du *Matin* aiguillonne quant à lui la curiosité du lecteur en tirant les ficelles de l'exotisme :

Connaissez-vous Adjroup-Gumbo ? Sans savoir qui il était, il se peut que vous l'ayez croisé, dans la rue, drapé en sa robe blanche bordée de peau de léopard. Cependant, il n'est pas le premier venu, ce lettré thibétain, amené par M. J. Bacot des plateaux glacés de sa lointaine patrie. (Anon. « Le Thibet au musée Guimet » 1908)

Face à cette « bien curieuse collection » d'objets de « l'étrange religion thibétaine », à ses « Bouddhas aux inquiétantes apparences d'androgynisme » (selon une représentation alors répandue), à ses « accessoires de la danse des squelettes » à même de produire « un joli numéro pour un cabaret montmartrois » (lesquels affectionnaient les décors d'inspiration orientale), le journaliste donne libre cours à son imagination en évoquant pour conclure les « régions quasi-fabuleuses, si lointaines dans l'espace, si reculées dans le temps, qu'elles en semblent décidément irréelles ! » On perçoit dans ces lignes combien, dans les années 10 encore, le Tibet, indissociable de sa religion, le « lamaïsme », était un horizon incertain et mystérieux. Ainsi, ici comme dans l'extrait du *Petit*

¹⁰ Sur la glorification de la figure de l'explorateur, lire Driver 2001 et Venayre 2002.

Parisien, se font jour quelques-unes des approximations brumeuses de l'imaginaire géographique sur le Tibet que Jacques Bacot sera l'un des premiers à dissiper.

Tandis qu'Adjroup Gumbo est retourné dans son Tsarong (*Tshwa rong*) natal en compagnie de Jacques Bacot, le « Voyage du nommé Adjroup Gumbo, de Patong, avec le grand homme français Pa »¹¹ est publié, de manière autonome (hormis la mention du traducteur), dans *L'Asie française* en janvier 1910 (Gumbo 1910a)¹². Le bulletin du Comité de l'Asie française avait pour mission « d'éclairer l'opinion tant au sujet du travail qui s'accomplit en Chine que de l'organisation raisonnée de l'Indochine » et, sous l'impulsion du Parti colonial, participait ainsi à valoriser la présence française en Asie et plus largement en Orient dans le cadre de la rivalité avec l'Angleterre. Quoique, dès 1909, le Comité perde de vue l'Asie continentale pour se recentrer sur la « question d'Orient » au Levant (Andurain 2012 : 172), le texte d'Adjroup Gumbo se voit néanmoins emporté bien malgré lui par une « vague éloignée » du Grand Jeu (Scherrer-Schaub 2013 : 390).

Reproduit à peine deux mois plus tard dans les *Annales des Missions étrangères de Paris*, le récit est revêtu une nouvelle fois de significations qui lui sont extrinsèques. Les éditeurs ne manquent pas de souligner que ce Tibétain christianisé avait fréquenté la chapelle de la rue du Bac :

Il y a quelque temps, on voyait parfois au parloir ou à la chapelle du Séminaire des Missions Étrangères un jeune homme au teint bronzé, aux cheveux noirs, aux yeux taillés en amande que l'on reconnaissait facilement pour un oriental ; mais à quelle nationalité appartenait-il ? Sa physionomie pouvait le faire prendre pour un Chinois, un Mongol, ou un Coréen ; mais son vêtement le désignait de suite pour un Thibétain. C'était un Thibétain, en effet, et peut-être le premier qui soit venu en France. Il se nommait Adjroup Gumbo, était né à Patong, et pratiquait avec régularité ses devoirs de catholique. (Gumbo 1910b : 101)

¹¹ Tout en commentant les variations du titre, je me référerai par commodité au récit d'Adjroup Gumbo sous la forme abrégée de l'intitulé de la première publication française : le « Voyage ».

¹² C'est cette version du texte que reproduit, à quelques variantes près, Bacot 2009 : 151-171.

Par leur portée testimoniale, ces lignes d'introduction ancrent la figure d'Adjroup Gumbo dans l'environnement métropolitain des lecteurs et, par leur ambition évangélique, visent à l'extirper de l'imaginaire populaire sur le Tibet confinant avec le fantastique, tel qu'on l'a lu dans l'article du *Matin*. Tout en aplatissant considérablement la complexité de l'appartenance culturelle et religieuse d'Adjroup Gumbo, le procédé « réaliste » tel qu'il est mis en œuvre ici se borne à une circonscription identitaire grossière ; ce recensement rapide a pour effet d'assermenter le personnage à un contexte nouveau et d'instrumentaliser ses paroles, ses faits, ses gestes. Aussi le paratexte des *Annales* s'autorise-t-il à asservir littéralement le discours du Tibétain au projet missionnaire, voire colonial, en éliminant toute trace d'intentionnalité et en cadennassant la subjectivité de l'auteur : « Les missionnaires l'avaient donné comme domestique à un voyageur français, M. Jacques Bacot, qui l'avait amené avec lui et l'a remmené, en partant de nouveau, toujours vaillant, vers les lointaines régions du Thibet » (Gumbo 1910b : 101).

Pourtant, dans l'incipit de son récit, Adjroup Gumbo ne fait pas mystère de ses intentions propres et de la détermination avec laquelle il a entrepris le voyage :

D'abord, en ce temps-là le grand homme Français Pa [Yam rin sPag sta bzhin]¹³ étant venu au pays de Tsekou [rTse ku, chin. Cigu], l'année du mouton, pour visiter le Thibet, moi, Adjroup Gumbo, Thibétain de Patong, je lui dis sans hésiter : « Permetts que je te suive en Chine, au Thibet, et en quelque lieu que ce soit. » (Gumbo 1910b : 101)

Comme pour dissiper tout soupçon, Adjroup Gumbo renchérit immédiatement :

¹³ Les termes tibétains entre crochets renvoient aux expressions utilisées en transcription tibétaine dans le cahier de la traduction du récit d'Adjroup Gumbo. En dépit de l'explication donnée par Bacot (voir n. 21 infra), les surnoms « tajein » et « tarin » proviennent probablement de l'expression chinoise « *da ren* » (大人), « grand homme ». Je remercie Vincent Tournier pour cette précision. Comme d'autres citations du *Tibet révolté* le montreront infra, Adjroup Gumbo et le personnel de voyage tibétain dénomment Bacot diversement : « Patajein » [sPag sta bzhin], « Tajein » [sTa bzhin] ou « Tarin » [sTa rin]. Dans des lettres adressées à Bacot par différentes personnalités tibétaines conservées à la

Après avoir parcouru le Thibet, revenu à la frontière de Chine, à Tsekou, je dis encore : « Je veux aussi aller au pays de France [*Yams rin*]. »

J'ai emmené un compagnon, nommé Alla [*A la*]. Mais étant arrivé à Tengyueh [*Then yen*, Tengchong], Alla fut effrayé et retourna dans sa patrie. Alors je dis sans hésiter : « J'irai au pays de France. » (Gumbo 1910b : 101)

Avec lucidité, Jacques Bacot lui aussi avait pris soin, dans son premier récit de voyage, de préciser d'emblée que c'est Adjroup Gumbo « qui demande [...] à me suivre jusqu'en France » (Bacot 1909 : 36).

La stratégie éditoriale des *Annales* est donc flagrante¹⁴ : une fois canalisé, le récit de ce catholique tibétain, simple adjutant du grand récit missionnaire, remplit désormais la fonction d'un *exemplum* conformé à la tradition évidente des *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (Paschoud 2008), auprès de son nouveau lectorat :

Pendant son séjour en France, Adjroup Gumbo a écrit quelques-unes des impressions que lui faisaient ressentir nos usages si complètement différents des usages de son pays. M. J. Bacot a traduit ces pages et a bien voulu nous permettre de les publier. Nous sommes heureux de le faire, non seulement parce qu'elles sont rares et curieuses, mais aussi parce qu'on y trouve une note chrétienne spécialement intéressante pour nos lecteurs. (Gumbo 1910b : 101)

À ces deux apparitions auctoriales d'Adjroup Gumbo « normalisées » et instrumentalisées, s'ajoutent les commentaires nombreux qui sont faits de pareille « curiosité » littéraire dans la presse à grand tirage. Lu en regard des *Annales des Missions étrangères*, le commentaire d'Ernest Laut (1864-1951), dans sa série « Ce que pensent de nous les Orientaux » du supplément du dimanche du *Petit Journal*, offre un contrepoint savoureux, presque une pointe ironique :

Société asiatique, le nom de celui-ci est orthographié alternativement « Bhe koṭa », « Ba go » et « Ba kho ».

¹⁴ *La Revue du monde catholique* procédera de la même manière quand, au détour d'une analyse de la situation politique du Tibet, la figure de Jacques Bacot est évoquée : « Il décida, non sans peine, l'un de ses guides indigènes, Adjroup Gumbo de Patong, à le suivre jusqu'en France, et c'est avec lui qu'il put étudier à fond la langue » (Anon. « Au Thibet » 1912 : 585).

Voici notre homme à Marseille. Son maître le mène dans une grande église où des prêtres chantent la messe. Et Gumbo se prosterne et prie avec ce bel esprit de tolérance du bouddhiste qui respecte et honore les divinités de toutes les autres religions. [...] À Notre-Dame de la Garde, il entre dans la grande église et de nouveau il y prie Dieu — son Dieu qui est partout : « Dieu tout puissant qui es partout, s'écrie-t-il, devant toi qui fis ce monde et les créatures et qui leur commande, je me prosterne. Je te rends grâce de m'avoir protégé, car me voici devant toi, bien portant, n'ayant pas souffert de douleur. Jamais ma gratitude ne pourra égaler ta bonté, car tu es sans limites. Et cependant je te demande de me regarder encore afin de me protéger. » (Laut 1912a)

Sans relever le personnalisme de la religion d'Adjroup Gumbo, Laut donne une image de celle-ci conforme à la conception positive du bouddhisme qui prévaut depuis le Parlement mondial des religions de Chicago en 1893 : une religion panthéiste dont la tolérance et le caractère pacifique surpassent tous les autres cultes. Pierre Mille ajoute, dans « Paris, vu du Toit du Monde » de la rubrique « Esquisses d'après nature » du *Temps*, qu'« entre le catholicisme des Français et son bouddhisme monacal, il ne semble pas que son âme pieuse ait distingué de différence » ; aussi Adjroup Gumbo regarde-t-il le « corps de Mgr Richard (François-Marie-Benjamin Richard, archevêque de Paris, 1819-1908), qui venait de mourir », exposé à la vénération des fidèles dans une « chapelle ardente » de Notre-Dame-de-Paris, comme « semblable à un lama thibétain » (Mille 1910). C'est ainsi naturellement, dans la situation politique d'alors, qu'un quotidien rapporte la figure d'Adjroup Gumbo aux événements récents survenus au Tibet aux dépens du Dalaï-lama :

Le *Petit Journal* a relaté ces jours derniers le passage de la frontière sino-tibétaine par 25,000 réguliers chinois et la fuite du dalaï-lama, dieu vivant, incarnation de Bouddha, et vice-roi du Tibet. Notre attention a été ainsi ramenée vers ces lointaines régions. Il était curieux de connaître quelles impressions pouvait bien produire sur un de leurs habitants notre civilisation occidentale. Nous ne les ignorons plus. (E. U. 1910)

Ce tropisme religieux aime les différentes interprétations du texte d'Adjroup Gumbo, tout en l'assimilant à des traditions et à des figures littéraires françaises ou européennes. Convenant

d'identifier son récit au sous-genre des « impressions de voyage¹⁵ », les journalistes du *Figaro*, du *Petit Journal* et du *Temps* en dissèquent les règles d'écriture et les thèmes constitutifs tels qu'ils correspondent aux attentes d'un lectorat rompu aux récits du *Tour du Monde* par exemple. Ce faisant, ils détachent du récit de Gumbo des morceaux choisis, parfois reproduits presque intégralement. Augmentés de commentaires plus ou moins développés, les passages reproduits consistent en portraits à valeur d'éthopée (Jacques Bacot, ses parents, le gardien, la cuisinière), en tableaux de mœurs (la civilité, la bienséance, la bonté, la générosité, la probité, l'hygiène, la galanterie ; codes sociaux de la haute bourgeoisie contrastant avec les mœurs du peuple) ou en scènes à caractère ethnographique : la religiosité (la messe à Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde, les obsèques de Mgr Richard, le séminaire des Missions étrangères, par contraste la mécréance), le commerce (les Grands Magasins du Louvre et du Bon Marché), les divertissements modernes (le Nouveau-Cirque, le musée des Invalides, la foire des Invalides, la ménagerie du Jardin des Plantes), l'architecture monumentale et haussmannienne (l'Arc de Triomphe, les hôtels particuliers, les gares ferroviaires), les transports, les commodités modernes (eau courante, électricité, gaz) et même les hôpitaux où Adjroup Gumbo découvre une « machine permettant de voir à l'intérieur du corps » (Bacot 1912 : 363).

Retenus pour leur « naïveté » cocasse, ces épisodes révèlent aux yeux des auteurs un différentiel culturel qui donne sa substance morale et son potentiel critique au récit d'Adjroup Gumbo, « observateur attentif » (Laut 1910a) qui se prononce sur les institutions de la France républicaine, laquelle ne se résume ainsi pas à l'image d'un « pays de Cocagne » (Laut 1910a, E.U. 1910), d'un « Eldorado », d'une « Salente » ou des « magnificences des *Mille et une Nuits* » (Mille 1910), mais fait l'objet d'un jugement bien plus aigu sur une société en phase de profonde transition. Adjroup

¹⁵ Dominant le genre viatique au XIX^e siècle, les « impressions », dans le sillage des *Impressions de voyage en Suisse* d'Alexandre Dumas en 1835 et du « voyage romantique », s'opposent au récit de voyage scientifique en ce qu'elles proposent d'« aller retrouver dans les pays visités ce qui a déjà été décrit et voir l'inconnu à travers une grille de lecture déjà connue » (Weber 2006 : 64). La découverte du monde cède donc le pas à la manière dont on voit celui-ci.

Gumbo marque quelque étonnement sur le nouvel ordre social : le régime démocratique, la « question sociale » (E. U. 1910), l'égalité de la femme... Voilà littéralement du pain béni pour la presse à grand tirage : aucun commentateur ne manque de relever combien ce Tibétain rappelle des figures critiques du canon littéraire. Outre le mythe médiéval à l'origine du Pantagruel de Rabelais, le Télémaque de Fénelon, l'Usbek de Montesquieu, le Candide de Voltaire servent à rapporter le « Voyage du nommé Adjroup Gumbo » au genre littéraire de l'utopie. Ainsi l'écrivain Pierre Mille dresse-t-il un portrait du Tibétain digne d'un Huron « philosophe » (E. U. 1910) :

Ceux qui fréquentent les assemblées solennelles des sociétés géographiques avaient pu remarquer un personnage vêtu de peaux de bêtes harmonieusement associées. Sa physionomie, dirent ceux qui eurent le bonheur de l'apercevoir, était étrange, mais sympathique. Ils ne se doutaient guère qu'eux-mêmes étaient observés par une espèce de Marco Polo à rebours, un homme du treizième siècle, en vérité, aux yeux très ouverts et jeunes jusqu'à l'enfance, très bon, très doux, intelligent et naïf, sauvage et sensé. (Mille 1910)

Afin d'approfondir son analyse littéraire du récit et d'en définir les particularités, Mille décrit ensuite méticuleusement le style d'Adjroup Gumbo :

Et comme le style d'Adjroup Gumbo, bien que beaucoup plus sobre, est parent de celui des *Mille et une Nuits*, une brusque lumière se fait dans notre esprit sur les peintures de ce recueil oriental : le palais d'Aladin n'est pas imaginaire ; il est calqué sur ceux de l'Inde et de la Perse, et ce n'est qu'un artifice presque inconscient du style, chez le conteur, qui nous en rend les splendeurs incroyables. Avec des procédés analogues, un pareil mélange de vigueur et d'ingénuité, des mots forts et neufs pour montrer les petits détails, des simplifications instinctives pour faire apparaître les masses, Adjroup Gumbo suscite la vision admirable de ce que nous n'admirons plus. [...] Remarquez qu'il n'y a pas un de ces détails qui ne soit exact. C'est l'expression, par sa naïveté même et son énergie synthétique, qui les grandit. (Mille 1910)

L'« énergie synthétique » dont parle Mille évoque l'idéal classique d'un style conjoignant les modes rhétoriques classiques de l'*enargeia* (le pouvoir du discours à « mettre sous les yeux » par le biais

d'un point de vue, à « faire percevoir par les sens ce qui est dit » selon l'expression de Denys d'Halicarnasse) et de la *sunopsis* (le discours véhiculant une vision surplombante permettant une compréhension d'ensemble). Aussi la portée éthique des « impressions » d'Adjroup Gumbo est-elle d'envergure pour les lecteurs de 1910, car ces dernières opèrent à leurs yeux un réenchantement salutaire du monde moderne. Mille, défenseur des littératures « coloniales », conclut en effet :

De tels écrits sont bons à lire pour des Européens. Ils leur enseignent qu'il est des races qui les valent par le cœur, par l'intelligence, par des conceptions sur l'honneur, l'honnêteté, la fidélité, qui sont bien proches des nôtres. On s'aperçoit aussi de ce que ces peuples doivent là-dessus à la religion où ils sont nés. (Mille 1910)

Si elle quitte alors les domaines impérialistes et missiologiques, la figure du Tibétain est assimilée ici à des valeurs propres à la culture française et ressortit à des projections symboliques, tandis que ses « impressions » font écho à une histoire littéraire constituée et répondent à des positions idéologiques qui lui sont étrangères. En définitive, le rôle assigné à Adjroup Gumbo est celui d'un procès des « merveilles de notre civilisation » (Laut 1910a), civilisation travaillée par un changement profond de vision du monde. Raymond Recouly (1876-1950), connu aussi sous le pseudonyme significatif de Jean Léry, observateur politique du monde asiatique et ami de Jacques Bacot, souligne à son tour ce qui constitue la pierre angulaire du regard qu'Adjroup Gumbo pose sur le monde occidental :

Celui qui l'a rédigé n'est point un sauvage, uniquement occupé des choses matérielles et qui, en fait d'impressions, n'aurait que celle de l'estomac. Non, il s'agit d'un homme assez lettré, versé dans les livres bouddhiques, appartenant à une race éminemment religieuse, et tenant de là l'habitude de la réflexion. (Recouly 1910)

Ainsi les premiers commentateurs de ce petit texte en 1910, loin des philosophes des Lumières, prêtent à la religiosité du Tibétain, aux contours largement imaginaires et imprécis, la vertu de redonner sens au monde moderne. Nous verrons plus bas quels correctifs il est prudent d'apporter à cette représentation con-

struite par l'intelligentsia parisienne qui s'entend à valoriser positivement la figure de ce Tibétain jugée digne du plus haut intérêt. En apportant un éclairage inattendu sur la réception du récit de Gumbo auprès d'un large public, ce regard favorable est également remarquable en cela que les auteurs sont amenés à repenser leur héritage littéraire et idéologique. À vrai dire, le retentissement du « Voyage » d'A. Gumbo se fait encore sentir plus avant dans le début du siècle et appelle ici et là des appréciations plus réservées. En 1919, Louis Vignon (1852-1932), professeur à l'École coloniale, illustre son scepticisme sur l'éducation des sujets coloniaux et son opposition au « voyage en France des jeunes indigènes » en invoquant, curieusement, le récit d'Adjroup Gumbo. Pour Vignon, les « émotions ou impressions » de ce Tibétain attestent que « 'l'air du boulevard' ne vaut rien ni aux uns ni aux autres ! Tous, — certes avec des nuances, — seront en quelque sorte déséquilibrés, désorbités... » (Vignon 1919 : 495) à l'image de ces « Annamites » venus dans la métropole pour « parfaire leurs études » et repartis transformés en révolutionnaires : « Du fait de leur intellectualité autre [...], la France n'a pas été comprise, et ne pouvait l'être ». C'est au sein d'une problématique non plus coloniale mais cognitive qu'Adjroup Gumbo apparaît encore, de manière quelque peu impromptue, dans un article du psychologue Jean-Maurice Lahy (1872-1943). Ici, le récit de Gumbo sert d'illustration du phénomène des illusions sensorielles engendrées par les « ignorances individuelles » : « Transportez un homme d'une civilisation peu développée dans nos sociétés. Des milliers d'objets et de faits lui échappent, parce qu'il les ignore ; ceux qu'il remarque, il les interprète mal, car il cherche à les identifier avec ce qu'il connaît. Tel ce Thibétain qui vint en France et relata ensuite ses impressions » (Lahy 1912 : 152).

Si Adjroup Gumbo n'est pas, dans ces deux exemples, au centre du discours, son apparition ne nous renseigne que plus sur le vaste lectorat que son récit trouva en France dans les années 10. Il est instructif de remarquer que Lahy, pour étayer sa thèse sur l'assimilation, en termes non plus coloniaux mais cognitifs, emploie à rebours les épisodes remarquables donnés en exemple deux ans plus tôt par ses confrères de la presse : voisinant avec les erreurs de l'extase mystique, la démarche descriptive d'Adjroup Gumbo n'est plus « observation sagace » (Laut 1910a) et ne suscite plus

une « vision admirable » (Mille 1910) à la « simplicité clairvoyante » (Recouly 1910). Elle est au contraire l'emblème d'une pensée « sauvage », obscurcissant la réalité, « à l'inverse des procédés de la science » (Lahy 1912 : 152) :

En dépit de l'opinion courante, il n'est rien de moins élémentaire et sûr que l'acte d'observer. Saisir les formes et les modalités des objets implique des sens perfectionnés, c'est-à-dire pliés par l'éducation à l'examen attentif, et rectifiés par un jugement toujours en éveil. Mais ce jugement lui-même est en rapport avec le degré de culture de celui qui l'exerce et l'état de la civilisation où il vit. Des causes multiples : les croyances et les habitudes sociales, les ignorances individuelles, viennent troubler la marche de l'observation et fausser l'examen des sens. (Lahy 1912 : 150)

Le « scientisme » inhérent à l'appréciation de Lahy explique cette opposition de vue¹⁶ ; sur un plan plus général, Lahy rejoint pourtant les autres commentateurs dans l'idée que le Tibétain aborde le monde inconnu en projetant ses propres « croyances et habitudes sociales » sur la réalité découverte. De fait, c'est au prisme du religieux que l'ensemble des lecteurs contemporains de ce texte — croyants ou profanes, spiritualistes ou rationalistes — analysent le discours et les gestes de Gumbo, qu'ils tiennent ce dernier pour un « lettré » ou pour un « sauvage ». Les premiers se montrent favorables à un modèle anthropologique transculturel, parfois même adeptes d'une vision syncrétiste, tandis que les derniers proclament l'incommensurabilité des cultures, voire un clivage insurmontable entre « civilisés » et « sauvages ». Je reviendrai plus bas à cette position théorique, aux résonances culturalistes, qui me semble fausser la compréhension de la démarche d'Adjroup Gumbo. Il n'en demeure pas moins que s'ils présentent un univers culturel propre aux Tibétains, les auteurs, favorables ou hostiles au « Voyage » d'Adjroup Gumbo en France, demeurent au seuil de ce que Bacot appelle à plusieurs reprises un « monde nouveau et inconnu » (Bacot 1912 : 50, 67, 177). Leurs textes alimentent la construction d'une opposition entre « nous » et l'« autre »,

¹⁶ Plaçant le savant au-dessus de la culture, Lahy révèle un point aveugle de l'empirisme scientifique du tournant du siècle. Pour une application au bouddhisme tibétain de pareille vision de l'histoire des religions, voir Lombroso 1907.

entre l'Occident et l'Orient, entre le « moderne » et le « traditionnel », ensemble d'antinomies naissant au même moment en Europe et thématique étrangère à la sensibilité d'Adjroup Gumbo lui-même, qui, s'il ne méconnaît pas pareils dualismes, les approche, nous le verrons, sous un rapport différent.

Dans cette perspective, je citerai pour finir cet examen de la réception du récit de Gumbo et en guise de transition avec la deuxième étape de mon enquête, l'une des plus illustres reparutions d'Adjroup Gumbo, sous la plume d'Auguste Gilbert de Voisins (1877-1939), compagnon de voyage de Victor Segalen. L'auteur ouvre ses *Écrits en Chine* par une conversation avec son ami Jacques Bacot tenue en 1909 avant que ce dernier ne repartît pour le Tibet. Afin d'encourager Gilbert de Voisins à rejoindre Segalen en Chine pour une mission archéologique, Bacot évoque à son endroit la venue d'Adjroup Gumbo en France :

« Souvenez-vous de l'émotion qui vous surprit en voyant le Tibétain que j'amenai à Marseille, lors de mon second voyage. Vous vous rappelez bien Adjroup Gumbo, ce soir où vous le vîtes débarquer au pays de France, tenant en laisse son grand chien de montagne, l'âme émue dans sa poitrine, comme il disait, et remerciant le Ciel de l'avoir conduit sain et sauf de l'autre côté de la mer ! »

Certes, je me rappelais !

Jacques se tut quelques instants, le regard posé au loin. Il revoyait l'ancien compagnon de voyage qui mourut en rentrant dans sa ville de Patong, l'homme dévoué, l'homme vaillant avec lequel il aurait, plus tard, gagné ce pays inconnu, ce canton secret de l'Asie dont si souvent il m'avait parlé, cette Terre du Sud « où l'on ne peut aller », la Terre promise des légendes tibétaines. (Gilbert de Voisins 1913 : 6-7)

En regard : Le Tibet révolté, nam thar d'Adjroup Gumbo

Au fond de l'inconnu pour trouver du nouveau !
Charles Baudelaire, « L'Invitation au voyage »

Je voudrais que le monde inconnu fût sans limites et que chaque jour de nombreuses années, les dragons de ma tente pussent se cabrer dans l'air d'un pays nouveau. Voyager ainsi, c'est vivre doublement ; s'arrêter, demeurer, c'est mourir à demi.

Jacques Bacot, *Le Tibet révolté*

En évoquant la « Terre du Sud », Gilbert de Voisins, lui-même sur le point de s'aventurer vers les confins de la Chine occidentale, met immédiatement le doigt sur l'ensemble de connaissances qui manquait aux lecteurs d'Adjroup Gumbo de 1910. Cette « Terre du Sud », nommée à deux reprises dans le « Voyage », sans plus d'explication, est immédiatement perçue comme une variante tibétaine du paradis terrestre : « Notre pays lui apparaît comme la 'Terre du Sud', c'est-à-dire comme la terre qui dans les légendes du Tibet, tient la place de notre pays de Cocagne, la terre du bonheur, de la richesse où toutes les joies viennent sans effort » (Laut 1910a). Pour en savoir plus, il eût fallu lire, parallèlement aux textes de conférences et aux articles publiés par Jacques Bacot, le second récit de voyage de l'explorateur, *Le Tibet révolté : vers Népémakö, terre promise des Tibétains*, qui ne paraîtra qu'en 1912.

À titre d'introduction à un examen de son propre récit de voyage, prêtons ainsi attention à la place occupée par les mots et les écrits d'Adjroup Gumbo dans les publications de Jacques Bacot. Les premières lignes du récit d'Adjroup Gumbo relayaient la conclusion du premier récit de Bacot, *Dans les Marches tibétaines*, qui ouvrait un dialogue faisant lointainement écho aux *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* de Fontenelle :

Il me restait Adjroup, premier Tibétain sorti de l'Orient, avide de connaître ces peuples d'Occident, aussi prodigieux, aussi insoupçonnés que ceux des planètes dans le ciel.
C'est à lui maintenant de s'étonner sur l'autre face du monde, et mon récit s'arrête où commence le sien qu'il écrit à son frère :
« Le cinquième jour de la onzième lune, je me suis assis dans un grand navire sur les eaux de l'Irrawaddy, afin de gagner le pays de France... » (Bacot 1909 : 159-160)

Symétriquement, à la fin du *Tibet révolté*, Bacot fait figurer le « Voyage du nommé Adjroup Gumbo » publié dans l'*Asie française*, sous une forme légèrement abrégée et révisée, tout en reprenant le surtitre « Impressions d'Adjroup Gumbo en France ». Conduisant systématiquement au texte d'Adjroup Gumbo, les récits de Bacot peuvent ainsi être lus comme son ample paratexte ; ce faisant, ceux-ci pratiquent un accès alors sans équivalent dans le monde occidental à de multiples aspects de la culture tibétaine. De surcroît, en l'absence d'autres informateurs ou d'une enquête biographique de type ethnohistorique, les deux récits de Bacot

demeurent à ce jour la seule source directe de renseignement sur Adjroup Gumbo, en dehors du récit de ce dernier. Unique exception, les lettres inédites que Jacques Bacot fait parvenir à sa mère pour la prévenir de l'équipage insolite qui débarquera avec lui au port de Marseille en janvier 1908. Il est instructif, en préambule à l'analyse de la fonction « actancielle » d'Adjroup Gumbo dans les récits publiés de Jacques Bacot, et en écho aux coupures de presse citées ci-dessus, de lire le portrait que Bacot livre de son compagnon tibétain, lequel devait initialement faire le voyage avec Ala [*A la*] :

[...] Je pense que tu pourras me réserver un bout de remise quelconque pour déballer mes caisses et surtout parce que j'amène deux thibétains en chair et en os. Il ne faut pas vous effrayer de cette invasion au quai. Ce sont deux chrétiens, braves gens, et pas encombrants et faciles à nourrir. Ils couchent par terre et ne sont pas frileux. On pourrait, du reste, s'ils gênaient à Paris, les expédier au Puy. Un seul est appelé à me rendre des services mais je lui adjoins un compagnon pour être plus libre et pouvoir les laisser seuls.

Le premier s'appelle Adjroup. C'est un ancien bonze, lettré qui me sera très utile pour les traductions, explications relatives à tout l'attirail religieux que je rapporte. Ils feront le bonheur des anthropologistes, ethnographes, linguistes, orientalistes, etc. A-t-on seulement déjà vu des thibétains à Paris et même en Europe ? Le second s'appelle Ala, il était jadis esclave d'Adjroup et a été racheté par les missionnaires. On n'en trouverait pas un troisième, je crois, dans tout le Thibet, pour oser venir en Europe. De plus, en grand costume avec des reliquaires sur la poitrine, ils sont assez décoratifs et feraient pas mal au vestiaire dans tes réceptions. Adjroup me sert depuis cinq mois et serait promptement stylé. Voilà le personnel dévoué et silencieux que je t'offre. Le plus difficile sera de les forcer à être propres. Il y aura du reste à désinfecter leurs vêtements ainsi que mes bagages qui sentent le beurre rance et abritent pas mal de vermine. (Bacot, lettre de Tsekou, 9 octobre 1907¹⁷)

Parce que le discours tenu ici nous paraît aujourd'hui bafouer les règles du « politiquement correct », il convient de souligner d'em-

¹⁷ La lettre est conservée dans la collection personnelle d'Olivier de Bernon, qui m'en a aimablement communiqué le texte. Je l'en remercie ici chaleureusement.

blée l'écart qui sépare la présentation faite dans le cadre de l'écriture privée de l'image en tout point avantageuse qui ressort, nous le verrons, des écrits publics de Bacot. La publication du récit d'Adjroup Gumbo est le plus criant témoignage du fossé creusé entre l'expérience vécue du voyage et les attentes sociales, à ce moment charnière où Bacot rentre, à contrecœur, en France dans l'intention de retourner au plus vite, mieux préparé, au Tibet. Il faut ainsi prendre la mesure des stéréotypes sur lesquels Jacques Bacot devait tabler pour introduire un Tibétain dans la bonne société française et des précautions oratoires nécessaires à persuader sa mère des avantages privés et publics, de la légitimité — et de l'utilité — d'accéder à la demande initiale d'Adjroup Gumbo.

Dans ses récits publiés, en revanche, Bacot ne propose pas de véritable portrait, forcément figé, d'Adjroup Gumbo, à la différence d'autres membres tibétains de son personnel de voyage (Nondia, Tchanchié, Laolou, ou Chagdeur). Seul un bref commentaire, en guise de légende aux photographies qui accompagnent le texte, est donné des métamorphoses d'Adjroup Gumbo passant d'un monde à l'autre :

Après quatre mois et demi de séparation, je le revois le 5 juillet [1909] et le reconnais à peine. Il a repris son extérieur inculte d'autrefois. Un voyage dans la rude nature de son Tibet a remodelé et recuit sa physionomie ; de plus, en passant un pont de corde, il a fait une chute qui le laissa évanoui deux heures. Le coup a renforcé le front à la base du nez et rapetissé l'œil droit. Il souffrira dès lors de maladies subites et étranges, comme d'avoir en même temps mal à la tête et aux mains, avoir chaud à la poitrine ou tellement froid, qu'il se couchera sur place en grelottant comme une bête à l'agonie. Cela ne dure pas longtemps, et quand il est guéri, il montre une joie d'enfant. Aux hautes altitudes, il est aveuglé par la suppuration de ses yeux. (Bacot 1912 : 8)

Dans *Les Marches tibétaines*, Bacot raconte au contraire très laconiquement sa première rencontre avec Adjroup Gumbo, en l'une des régions où l'activité des missionnaires fut la plus intense et où Bouddhistes, Bön po et peuplades chamanistes côtoient les nouveaux convertis au christianisme (Gros 1996) :

Le P. Monbeig me procura trois muletiers de Tsekou. Ils ont des noms chrétiens. Johan est un homme rude, maigre et grimaçant. Il mène les deux autres tambour battant. Le second, Paulo, simple

et patient, rit toujours. Sur sept animaux, chacun d'eux en a amené trois. Enfin Ignacio, un tout jeune homme doux et candide. Il a un air biblique avec sa lourde robe de laine grise. C'est avec cet air innocent et penché qu'on représente Isaac prêt à être immolé, ou encore Joseph vendu par ses frères. Ignacio est venu modestement avec un âne. J'ai encore un muletier de Yetché avec ses animaux. Il y a en moins Soulipin, auquel je renonce, et en plus Adjroup Gumbo, Tibétain de Patong, un original qui demande à me servir et à me suivre jusqu'en France. (Bacot 1909 : 36)

Au sein de ce personnel biblique se distingue le personnage d'Adjroup Gumbo qui a conservé son nom tibétain, bien que chrétien lui aussi. De cette rencontre brève et anodine, Bacot ne laisse pas présager qu'elle sera aussi déterminante pour la suite de son voyage, mais cerne d'emblée ce qui distingue Adjroup Gumbo dans son rapport au voyageur français. Dans le même temps, Bacot donne aussi accès aux représentations que se fait l'entourage de Gumbo sur ce personnage atypique :

Adjroup est insouciant et brave au point de passer parmi les siens pour un peu déséquilibré. Son départ pour la France était considéré comme sa dernière folie. Personne ne comptait plus le revoir. « Tu mourras sur la route ou sur la mer, lui disait-on, et si tu arrives jamais en France, on te chargera de chaînes et l'on te jettera en prison. » Avec lui seul j'avais chance de réussir. (Bacot 1912 : 6)

De fait, le retour d'Adjroup Gumbo de France à Patong fait grande impression :

Au mois de mars dernier, quand Adjroup, revenant de France, rentra chez lui, [sa sœur] vaquait aux besognes domestiques sur le haut de sa maison. On le croyait mort ou bien chargé de chaînes dans nos prisons de France. Elle le vit tout à coup dressé devant elle, et s'abattit toute raide au milieu de sa terrasse. (Bacot 1912 : 275)

C'est donc un personnage entre deux mondes, une figure en mouvement, à l'aura de revenant (*'das log*) aux yeux des Tibétains, que mettent en scène les deux récits de Bacot. Au fur et à mesure qu'ils font route ensemble, le rôle actif d'Adjroup Gumbo se fait de plus en plus évident dans les récits de Bacot, car la présence du Tibétain rayonne sans cesse sur les décisions et les interactions,

articule les épisodes et assure l'évolution du voyage. Aussi Bacot ménage-t-il une place de premier rang à son compagnon tibétain dès la préface du *Tibet révolté* : « Avec Adjroup Gumbo, j'apprenais le tibétain afin de ne plus dépendre de ces interprètes qui, sans qu'on s'en doute, vous font croire et faire tout ce qu'ils veulent » (Bacot 1912 : 4). Il souligne ainsi sa participation étroite à l'organisation du voyage :

Comme il devait avoir fait le voyage, reconnu les ressources des pays traversés et les dispositions des habitants, je n'avais plus besoin d'autres guides, de ces guides de fortune qu'on ne connaît pas et dont il faut changer souvent. Je lui avais appris en outre à lever son itinéraire et à prendre des photographies. (Bacot 1912 : 6)¹⁸

Progressivement aussi, des bribes d'un récit de vie du Tibétain affleurent dans le récit. Ainsi, lors de son second séjour à Patong, Bacot précise-t-il les liens familiaux et la situation sociale d'Adjroup Gumbo, (Bacot 1912 : 271-303)¹⁹. C'est par ailleurs avec l'oncle d'Adjroup Gumbo, Senan Temba (gZil gnon ou bSod nams (?) bsTan pa), lama *mying ma pa*, qu'il approfondira ses connaissances de la langue écrite et des textes bouddhiques (Bacot

¹⁸ Anne-Marie Blondeau apporte une précision importante : « [Depuis son premier voyage,] J. Bacot a appris le tibétain avec son compagnon d'aventures Adjroup Gombo qui a voulu le suivre en France [...]. La raison avancée pour cet apprentissage de la langue est l'impatience à devoir passer par des interprètes multiples : du français au chinois, du chinois au tibétain. Mais la lecture du *Tibet révolté* laisse entrevoir une raison plus profonde : [...] un tibétologue est en train de découvrir sa vocation » (Blondeau 1988 : v).

¹⁹ Madeleine Bacot, la fille de Jacques Bacot, synthétise ainsi la question : « Sa situation sociale, sans équivalent chez nous, se rapprocherait de celle d'un bourgeois de l'ancien régime. Il n'est pas noble ou seigneur, mais propriétaire de terres et des serfs qui les cultivent. Ancien lama Bon-po et d'un esprit curieux, il est plus cultivé que la généralité de ses égaux » (Bacot 2009 : 151). Par son départ prolongé, Adjroup Gumbo a *de facto* laissé son frère cadet administrer sa « maison » et son « patrimoine », situation que son retour providentiel rend difficile à rétablir. Sa conversion au christianisme l'a en outre exclu des pratiques traditionnelles à caractère bouddhique du village, pour lesquelles son frère le remplace, et, étant resté célibataire, complique, incidemment, son rapport à la polyandrie. Aussi son autorité de chef de famille est-elle sévèrement sapée. Malgré « la mélancolie de sa position », « les deux frères, assure Bacot, s'entendent très bien » (Bacot 1912 : 288-289). Dans son propre récit, Adjroup Gumbo nous apprend qu'il possède encore un frère aîné « parti à Lha-sa » (Bacot 1912 : 348).

1912 : 269-279), en même temps qu'il amorce une enquête sur la culture moso (Mosuo/Naxi, Bacot 1912 : 305-330). Ces aperçus biographiques laissent percevoir sous quel rapport doit être envisagée l'atypicité d'Adjroup Gumbo :

Adjroup qui fut lama pön-bo [Bön po] s'était adonné jadis à la magie. Il était chrétien depuis peu quand une querelle meurtrière le força de fuir au Tsarong. Son village voulait le tuer et le poursuivait. Bien que mourant de faim il ne put se réfugier dans une famille, il fût devenu son esclave d'après les coutumes. Il alla chez les lamas, coupa ses cheveux et devint magicien. Pendant ce sacerdoce qui dura deux ans il garda sa foi chrétienne, et, pour réparer le mal qu'il faisait, il baptisait en secret des enfants en danger de mort. Depuis, il brûle ce qu'il a adoré, au point qu'en France, sur un champ de foire, il voulut faire un mauvais parti à un prestidigitateur qu'il soupçonnait de magie noire. (Bacot 1912 : 73-74)

Si ces lignes apportent un terme à la confusion des lecteurs de 1910²⁰, elles mettent en évidence combien Adjroup Gumbo se trouve au croisement de plusieurs univers culturels et symboliques. C'est à Adjroup Gumbo et à son expérience religieuse polymorphe que Jacques Bacot doit une sensibilité accrue au monde religieux tibétain et à son esthésiologie :

À Lakonra, je recouche dans le petit temple, non pas comme la première fois dans le vestibule, mais dans le sanctuaire : on a dressé mon lit au pied de l'autel. [...] Le soir, avant de refermer sur moi les doubles portes du temple, Adjroup me demande : « Le Tajen n'a pas peur de dormir ici ? »

²⁰ La confusion s'est prolongée jusque dernièrement dans la traduction anglaise du texte d'Adjroup Gumbo. Le traducteur note bien que ce dernier était « a former Bönpo monk » (Schaeffer, Kapstein et Tuttle 2013 : 704) mais, en traduisant la prière d'Adjroup Gumbo citée plus haut, il semble réticent à admettre que celui-ci ait été chrétien : « One wonders whether this was in fact Adrup's wording, as it is not at all clear that he was a Christian, or Bacot was at this point 'sanitizing' a Tibetan (Buddhist or Bön) formula of homage on behalf of his French readers, who in 1910 might have been shocked by the utterance of non-Christian prayers in a cathedral. Nevertheless, remarks later in the text indicate that Adrup was at least genuinely sympathetic to certain aspects of Christian spirituality to which he was exposed » (Schaeffer, Kapstein et Tuttle 2013 : 706). Laut 1910a atteste que la thèse de l'édulcoration n'a pas lieu d'être ici. Faut-il conclure que l'existence de communautés chrétiennes tibétaines représente un point aveugle de la tibétologie aujourd'hui ?

— Pourquoi aurais-je peur?

— Ces dieux-là sont de grands dieux. Aucun de nous n'oserait entrer ici, la nuit.

Pourquoi m'a-t-il dit cela ; je n'y aurais pas pensé. Voilà que maintenant je ne puis plus m'endormir. Adjroup, le chrétien, se méfie de ses anciens dieux ! des « grands dieux » : Chenresi [*sPyan ras gzigs*, skt. *Avalokiteśvara*], Tsepamed [*rTse dpag med*, skt. *Amitāyus*], Gyous Chamba [*rGyal ba Byams pa*, skt. *Maitreya*], avec qui je suis enrhumé ! Entre ces murs épais, l'air est étouffant, aucun bruit du dehors ne me parvient ; le silence est tel, que la seule peur d'entendre quelque chose me tient éveillé. Malgré les dieux qui me gardent, je préférerais être séparé des voleurs et des brigands par la toile de ma tente que par ces quatre murs. (Bacot 1912 : 245-246)

Ces transferts de regards permanents dans l'expérience du voyage se reportent sur l'ensemble des aspects du monde tibétain : géographiques, climatiques, sociaux, culturels (Thévoz 2010 : 211-245). Par l'intermédiaire d'Adjroup Gumbo, Jacques Bacot pose ainsi véritablement le pied dans la réalité qui l'entoure et qui échappe d'ordinaire à l'explorateur étranger :

Plus j'entre dans l'intimité des Tibétains, plus me paraît effrayant l'inconnu dans lequel l'explorateur évolue, un bandeau sur les yeux. Que de choses se sont passées près de moi à mon premier voyage, qu'Adjroup m'a dites plus tard, petit à petit, dont je ne me serais jamais douté alors, et qui, rétrospectivement, m'ont fait peur. (Bacot 1912 : 211-212)

Jacques Bacot effectue ainsi grâce à Adjroup Gumbo un changement radical de focale dont il prendra conscience au point le plus avancé de son itinéraire : « Sans m'en douter, j'étais au nœud orographique le plus important d'une Asie méridionale encore inconnue ; les Tibétains avaient capté toute mon attention » (Bacot 1912 : 235-6). S'il se fraie grâce à Adjroup Gumbo un accès vers l'intimité des Tibétains, à leurs modes d'interaction, aux subtilités de la langue (Bacot 1912 : 279), à leurs surnoms²¹, Jacques Bacot

²¹ « [Mes hommes] m'apprennent, ce soir, leurs surnoms : Adjroup s'appelle *Bil-go* 'tête de grenouille', Chagdeur, *Zig-go* 'tête de panthère', Ammah, *Ba-Khié*, 'vêtements en loques', Angu, *Tsi-koa* 'ventre ballonné', Alla, *Tu-tso* 'tonsure sur le front'. On ne dit pas les surnoms dans l'intimité ou par plaisanterie, mais quand

découvre également les représentations que ceux-ci se font, non seulement d'eux-mêmes ou d'un personnage comme Adjroup Gumbo, mais aussi de lui et du monde lointain, à tel point que, dit-il, « je me sens subitement gêné d'être si laid d'abord, et si seul de ma race, si différent de tous ces peuples qui m'entourent » (Bacot 1912 : 110). En éprouvant le malaise de sa différence, Bacot recompose l'image que les Tibétains se font de lui. De manière frappante, ils assimilent le profil du voyageur à la figure tibétaine du *sngags pa*, ou praticien tantrique laïque, ce « magicien » errant dont parlent les voyageurs et qu'a été Adjroup Gumbo lui-même : « Adjroup qui me connaît pourtant bien, n'est pas très sûr que je ne sois un peu sorcier. Il prévient toujours les guides qu'on ne peut me tromper, car je vois la route dans le ciel » (Bacot 1912 : 69).

Significativement, la curiosité des Tibétains sur un monde qui fait soudain irruption dans leur univers de connaissances attisée par la présence de Jacques Bacot trouve une source de renseignements en ce voyageur tibétain qu'est Adjroup Gumbo. Ce dernier raconte en effet son voyage à ses compatriotes, peut-être sous une forme très proche de la traduction française qui nous est parvenue : « Peuguin profite de l'absence d'Adjroup pour me questionner sur la France, la mer, les navires et vérifier les contes incroyables d'Adjroup. Il est convaincu que je sais toutes choses et me demande où est le Dragon, si je connais l'avenir, si on peut de France aller aux Enfers » (Bacot 1912 : 170).

Se dessinent par ces aperçus croisés sur le monde de l'autre les contours de la vision tibétaine de l'étendue terrestre. En ce sens, le rôle d'Adjroup Gumbo ne se limite ainsi pas à celui d'un interprète mais s'étend à celui d'un traducteur culturel au sens plein :

Le Tchraiker [*brag dkar*, pour *sPyan ras gzigs kyi rnams sprul brag dkar rdo rdje 'chang*] lama [de Tchangou, *Brag 'go (Luhuo)*] garde [Adjroup] toute la journée et l'interroge sur moi, sur la mer et ses rivages, sur la France. La mer qu'ils ne connaissent pas, confond l'imagination des Tibétains. Ils se représentent son rivage comme

on est en colère et dans les querelles. Les vrais noms, au contraire, sont pleins de noblesse et de gravité. Adjroup Gumbo veut dire 'Protecteur de la perfection'. Chagdeur signifie 'Qui tient le sceptre'. Moi, ils m'appellent quelquefois *Tarin*, un mot qu'ils ont, je crois, fabriqué : la première syllabe est chinoise et la seconde tibétaine ; le tout veut dire 'Grand et précieux' » (Bacot 1912 : 221).

la limite du monde, le bord d'un gouffre sans fond partagé entre l'eau et l'air, lesquels parfois se mêlent dans les tempêtes. Par delà l'Océan, il y a d'autres mondes qu'habitent des hommes blancs très audacieux et qui viennent sur des navires. Je suis un de ceux-là. Tous les Tibétains à qui j'ai appris que la France était reliée par terre au Tibet, ont été profondément étonnés. Ils demandaient alors pourquoi on venait par mer. (Bacot 1912 : 72)

Il manquait aux lecteurs français du texte d'Adjroup Gumbo en 1910 les clés de la cosmographie bouddhique tibétaine complexe, héritée de l'Abhidharma et du Kālacakra tantra (voir par exemple Schaeffer, Kapstein et Tuttle 2013 : 630-653). Telle que résumée dans *Le Tibet révolté*, pareille cosmographie permet de comprendre le rôle joué par la traversée de la mer aux yeux du Tibétain (et de ses compatriotes) lors de son voyage en France et explique l'indécision des Tibétains dans l'assignation d'un statut ontologique au voyageur français : « Je suis pour eux un être incertain, qui paraît, qui disparaît, qui habite quelque région indéfinie de l'espace. Songez que de tout l'univers civilisé, moi seul les connais et suis seul connu d'eux » (Bacot 1912 : 244). Pourtant, la France n'est pas tout à fait inconnue au Tibet (Schaeffer, Kapstein et Tuttle 2013 : 654-658 ; Yongdan 2011), car une liste de ses départements figure déjà en 1830 dans la « Description détaillée de Jambudvipa » (*Dzam gling rgyas bshad*) de Tendzin Trinlé (bsTan 'dzin 'Phrin las, 1789-1838). Bacot expose pour sa part les noms que, à sa connaissance, les Tibétains donnent aux pays étrangers qui leur sont le plus connus :

La langue tibétaine a des mots pour dire Inde, Chine, Angleterre et Russie, peuples limitrophes ; elle en a un aussi pour dire France, et c'est tout. Il y a même deux mots pour dire France, l'un respectueux, Pharansi [*Pha ran se*], et l'autre vulgaire, Yamrin [*Yam(s) rin*]. Quand on me parle, on se sert du premier et moi, par politesse je dis le second. (Bacot 1912 : 181)

Il faut donc observer que plusieurs visions du monde et plusieurs horizons de connaissances se superposent ici. À cet égard, Jacques Bacot rapporte la conception de ses compagnons en route vers des contrées voisines qui leur sont inconnues : « [Chez les Loutzes, *'Ja'* (*Nu/Nung*)], Nondia reste émerveillé de voir des sauvages et se croit au bout du monde. Pour lui, le monde, c'est l'empire chi-

nois, long d'une année de route ; après, il y a les sauvages, et après, la mer. Il sait moins où il va que ne le savaient les Argonautes » (Bacot 1912 : 257).

Tandis que les finistères européens, rejetés dans les marges du monde des hommes, confinant avec les terres des dieux et avec les enfers, représentent un horizon incertain aux yeux des Tibétains, le Tibet recèle en lui-même des mondes inconnus. À la géographie symbolique héritée du bouddhisme indien s'ajoute ainsi une géographie sacrée indigène : ce sont les « pays cachés » (*sbas yul*) dont Jacques Bacot découvre en chemin la tradition qu'il compare ici, un peu ironiquement, au célèbre mythe grec. C'est là une dernière clé importante que ne possédaient pas les lecteurs d'Adjroup Gumbo en 1910 pour décrypter la référence à la « Terre du Sud » des « légendes tibétaines ». Or le second voyage de Bacot est entièrement absorbé par cette destination dont les contours géographiques échappent aux codes de l'exploration. Bacot avertit le lecteur du *Tibet révolté* :

Plus tard, quand je serai sur la route de cet exode, mon voyage aura un nouveau but. Tout seul, depuis des mois, parmi ces nomades mystiques, je subirai l'enchantement de leurs fables et de leur âme naïve. La nostalgie de cette terre décevante et lointaine m'empoignera à mon tour. Désespérément, moi aussi, je voudrai voir la Terre promise, dussé-je n'en jamais revenir, dussions-nous tous périr, comme le craindront mes Tibétains effrayés, ces compagnons d'épopée qui en sont encore à l'époque fabuleuse de leur histoire et vivent leurs légendes. (Bacot 1912 : 12)

Si, pour donner une idée de ce « paradis terrestre », il évoque le mythe grec, l'Exode du peuple hébreu, quelques motifs de l'idylle développés par la tradition utopique, Bacot s'emploie avant tout à traduire la disposition d'esprit particulière des Tibétains partis vers Pémakö (*Padma bkod*), le *sbas yul* de la « Terre du Sud » dont le cœur le plus secret est Népémakö (*gNas Padma bkod*), le « lieu saint semblable à un lotus déployé » (Large-Blondeau 1960²²) :

²² « Ces pays cachés sont situés dans des régions difficiles d'accès, les régions himalayennes principalement. Mais on aurait tort de penser que ces croyances recouvrent seulement un schéma d'occupation de sites inhabités jusque-là, car

Maintenant, quand des saltimbanques chargés d'oripeaux et de clochettes viennent danser dans les villages, ils chantent sur leurs *péons* [*pi wang*, violon à trois cordes] des poèmes sur Népémakö. Voilà pourquoi tout un peuple malheureux a quitté ses vallées pour le pays des rêves, conduit par ses lamas et sans autres renseignements que des légendes, mais confiant dans le merveilleux, et avide de vivre des jours meilleurs. (Bacot 1912 : 12)

Bacot renseigne le lecteur sur la tradition littéraire associée à Pémakö et sur l'histoire de sa découverte :

Népémakö est dans le Tibet et les Tibétains viennent seulement de le découvrir. Avant, c'était la Terre du Sud, demeure fabuleuse du monstre Shengui [*gShin rje*, skt. *Yama*, « seigneur de la mort »], « où les hommes ne pouvaient aller ». On ne savait où elle était. Puis on apprit qu'il fallait d'ici aller vers le couchant, vers l'Inde brûlante, pendant une lune, ou une lune et demie, et traverser de nombreux fleuves. Des lamas très savants et très saints avaient reconnu la Terre promise d'où le travail et la mort seraient bannis, puisqu'il suffisait de cueillir les fruits de la terre et que, d'après les livres, on y jouirait de l'immortalité jusqu'au retour des temps meilleurs. (Bacot 1912 : 163)

Tout en esquissant les contours arcadiens et millénaristes du « mythe », Bacot insiste sur sa réalité géographique et historique. Il souligne plus particulièrement son actualité la plus récente, dans le contexte de la *Frontier Commission* de Francis Younghusband (1863-1942) marchant sur Lhassa en 1904, de la fuite du Dalai-lama et des exactions du seigneur de guerre Zhao Erfeng (1845-1911), événements concourant dans le titre, *Le Tibet révolté*, que Bacot donne à son livre :

[Népémakö] est un pays très chaud, « aussi chaud que les Indes », couvert de fleurs et si fertile, qu'il n'est pas besoin d'y travailler, mais de cueillir simplement les fruits de la terre. Avant de le découvrir, les lamas en savaient l'existence par les livres, car au VIII^e siècle, le missionnaire indou Padma Sambhava l'avait visité.

les pays cachés appartiennent à une autre réalité que la réalité ordinaire ; ils sont présents mais invisibles et, une fois « ouverts », ne deviennent accessibles qu'à ceux qui en sont dignes. Ainsi, Pémakö (*Padma-bkod*) est une région qui figure sur les cartes, dans la boucle du Brahmapoutre, mais Népémakö, le lieu saint (*gNas Padma-bkod*), est resté fermé pour beaucoup » (Blondeau 1988 : iv).

Dans ses écrits il en précise la position, en fait la description et annonce qu'après un cycle de milliers d'années, le bouddhisme touchant à sa fin, les lamas s'y enfermeront avec les livres sacrés, afin de perpétuer en secret la doctrine. Le Tibet sera envahi par les *Toro-napo*, les hommes porteront alors des vêtements courts devant et longs derrière, le fils n'écouterait plus son père, et les hommes seront à l'abri derrière un crottin de cheval. Certains lamas disent qu'il est « midi », c'est-à-dire que le bouddhisme est à la moitié de son histoire. Après un nouveau cycle de milliers d'années, la religion ennemie disparaissant à son tour, les lamas, miraculeusement préservés, tout ce temps, de la mort, sortiront de Népémakö pour prêcher et répandre à nouveau le bouddhisme. (Bacot 1912 : 10-11)²³

La force de cette tradition tibétaine réside, pour Bacot, dans le rôle fondamental qu'y joue l'idée de fiction littéraire, évoquant en cela la part « merveilleuse » des guides de pèlerinages, les *gnas yig* (« guides des lieux saints ») et les *lam yig* (littéralement « guides du chemin ») : « Voilà tout ce que savaient sur Népémakö les gens de ce village : des poèmes... et ils sont partis » (Bacot 1912 : 163). Aussi explique-t-il :

Les Tibétains, c'est pour cela que je les aime, ne s'alarment pas des réalités. Les fictions seules les émeuvent ; ils gardent pour elles seules leur sensibilité et des larmes. Ils sont à la fois stoïciens et poètes, hommes d'action et contemplateurs. Tout cela serait contradictoire chez un peuple civilisé et utilitaire. Mais de tout temps des âmes rêveuses ont habité le corps rugueux des nomades. (Bacot 1912 : 92)

Il n'est pas de doute que, pour Bacot, Adjroup Gumbo témoigne de ce trait de caractère commun à ses compatriotes. Il se rappelle notamment comme « il pleurait, non pas sur lui-même, mais à cause de choses belles et émouvantes » (Bacot 1912 : 325). La portée « thymique » (Baroni 2007 : 253-314) des récits de pèlerinage, associant affects et lieux, suscite l'adhésion et la participation du voyageur français :

Qu'importe si je vais à une déception, pourvu que l'illusion qui y mène soit belle. M'assurât-on que je verrai Népémakö et n'en

²³ Cf. Sardar-Afkhami 2001 : 32-38.

reviendrai pas, je partirais encore. Et puis, sans espérer y atteindre, rien que suivre la trace de ces hommes qui sont partis, sur la foi de poèmes, vers leur Terre promise, n'est-ce pas un pèlerinage ? (Bacot 1912 : 164)

Lui qui, lors de son premier voyage, avait suivi les pèlerins Bön po du Kha ba dkar po, reconnaît ici les dimensions culturelles de la notion de pèlerinage au Tibet, active les dimensions littéraires du « mythe » en adoptant à ses dépens le mode performatif de la lecture qu'en font les Tibétains qui l'entourent. Adjroup Gumbo prend dans ce tournant ultime du voyage un rôle sans égal. Par les rumeurs qu'il glâne et par les éléments de révélations prophétiques, issues notamment des récits biographiques de personnages saints (*rnam thar*) et des guides de pèlerinage (*lam yig*) relatifs à Népémakö qu'il rapporte, Adjroup Gumbo est sans nul doute à l'origine de la transformation du ton du *Tibet révolté*. Il contribue notamment à traduire la forte ambivalence relative à la recherche de ces pays secrets, conformément à la tradition tantrique des « tertön » (*gter ston*), les découvreurs des « pays cachés » (Gyatso 1996). Ainsi le chemin est-il parsemé d'obstacles et offre de nombreuses désillusions :

Maintenant me voici sur la route de l'exode. Ce village en est un jalon sinistre. Il faut que nous la suivions jusqu'au bout. Mais Adjroup me dit en branlant la tête : « Nous suivrons le Tajen partout où il ira. On rapporte qu'il faut passer par des pays dont les hommes sont méchants. Peuguin retournera à Yerkalo [Yar kha logs, Yanjing], mais les autres s'ennuient dans leur cœur et craignent de périr. Les habitants de Yaregong sont morts en grand nombre à Népémakö, désirant retourner dans leur patrie, à cause de la fièvre et des serpents. Des hommes seuls sont revenus sans femmes et sans enfants, et leurs biens, quand ils sont arrivés, étaient pris par les Chinois. » (Bacot 1912 : 163)

La parole est ici laissée à Adjroup Gumbo : le discours rapporté direct nous invite à attribuer au Tibétain un ensemble de renseignements sur les circonstances fâcheuses du voyage, lesquelles correspondent en outre aux descriptions des récits prophétiques sur Pemakö. En particulier, Adjroup Gumbo laisse apparaître la relation indéfectible qui s'établit, dans la conception tibétaine, entre les affects et les lieux, entre une dimension extérieure et

une dimension intérieure du paysage qui transparait continûment dans le *Tibet révolté* (lire en particulier Bacot 1912 : 200-202). Bacot avait pu observer des manifestations de cette relation au paysage :

En chemin [Laolou] chante à tue-tête des chansons tibétaines. Sa voie [sic] est agréable bien que gutturale ; mais elle est si gaie, si jeune, et ces chants sont si tristes ! Son répertoire, ou plutôt ses improvisations, s'harmonisent d'elles-mêmes avec l'humeur changeantes de la route. Sur les hauteurs glabres et désolées, sa mélodie languit et devient une plainte. Une nuit qu'il veillait près du feu, sa voix se répandait fluide dans l'air raréfié de ces hautes altitudes, accompagnée par le broutement des chevaux arrachant l'herbe courte. Rien d'autre que ces deux bruits tout nus dans un silence absolu. Les hauts plateaux sont vraiment un autre monde. Tout s'y transfigure, tout se silhouette sur le vide. Les hommes et les bêtes y paraissent nouveaux et inconnus. (Bacot 1912 : 66)

Une fois en route vers Népémakö, cette dimension s'accroît et suscite une explication remarquable de la part d'Adjroup Gumbo sur les états émotionnels des Tibétains en voyage :

Alors que tout le monde marche en silence, Laolou chante à pleine voix et sans repos. Je demande pourquoi. Adjroup répond : « C'est parce qu'il est triste. »

— Mais on chante quand on est joyeux !

— Les hommes d'ici chantent encore quand ils sont tristes. Quand les petits enfants pleurent, leurs mères les consolent en chantant et en les caressant. Ainsi les hommes se chantent à eux-mêmes, quand ils ont envie de pleurer.

— Et pourquoi Laolou est-il triste ?

— Il pense à sa patrie, et ne sait quand il la reverra.

— Ma patrie à moi est bien plus lointaine !

— Le Tarin n'est pas comme les autres hommes.

Et je me rappelle que lui aussi, Adjroup, s'étourdissait de chants, il y a trois ans, sur la route de Birmanie. (Bacot 1912 : 202)

Cet aperçu furtif sur le voyage d'Adjroup Gumbo offre en miroir une vision de Jacques Bacot rappelant les conceptions décrites plus haut. Il éclaire en outre le rôle d'Adjroup Gumbo dans la traduction des sentiments des uns et des autres au cours des différentes étapes du voyage. Le voyage vers Népémakö s'avère extrêmement périlleux et met à l'épreuve les enjeux de l'exploration : « L'avenir de notre troupe isolée en pays ennemi, en pleine guerre,

est tellement noir de menaces ! Où irions-nous et jusqu'où, quelle sera notre dernière aventure ? C'est deux fois l'inconnu » (Bacot 1912 : 193). On conçoit à quel point le voyage repose sur les épaules d'Adjroup Gumbo. Sa conduite dépend de ses qualités indispensables de guide de voyage informé et de tacticien familier avec le terrain géographique et le milieu humain :

 Tout le monde est anxieux. En somme, on ne sait pas ce qui se passe. L'absence immédiate des troupes tibétaines est favorable ; mais passer derrière elles est bien risqué. Si elles revenaient, victorieuses surtout, la retraite nous serait coupée ; il ne me resterait qu'à tenter de sortir par les Indes, ou alors, pour mes soldats, pour moi, pour nous tous, ce serait la fin ; nous serions engloutis dans quelque région inconnue. Quelle belle fin ce serait ! Adjroup et ses compagnons n'ignorent pas que, derrière nous, les cols vont bientôt être fermés par les neiges, sauf quelques passes libres tous les hivers, où infailliblement les Tibétains nous rencontreront. (Bacot 1912 : 196)

Plus loin, arrivée au point le plus avancé de leur route vers Népémakö (Bacot 1912 : 224-233), à proximité du temple de Songa Khioudzong (*gSang sngags chos rdzong*), la troupe est agitée d'une tension extrême, opposant la peur des accompagnants tibétains face à l'interdiction par les autorités locales de passer plus loin — engagés au service de Jacques Bacot par l'intermédiaire d'Adjroup Gumbo, ils ne sont pas partis dans l'esprit d'un « pèlerinage » — et la colère, la « révolte » du voyageur français contrarié dans sa volonté de poursuivre sa route. Il revient à Adjroup Gumbo de résoudre le conflit et de faire entendre raison à l'explorateur :

 Adjroup va et vient de ma cabane au rassemblement toujours grossissant des Tibétains. Il me dit d'abord qu'on ne peut pas continuer. Je me révolte, ne pouvant me figurer encore que ce soit vrai. Qu'il sonde les intentions des pasteurs, qu'il leur demande ce qu'ils feraient si je passais outre. [...]
 — Oh ! le Tajen ne connaît pas les Tibétains ! [...] Pendant trois ans j'ai suivi le Tarin. Avec lui j'ai traversé la mer et j'ai été à mon aise dans sa maison, car son père et sa mère m'ont accueilli comme le fils de leur fils. Depuis nous avons parcouru le Nyarong [*Nyag rong*], le Kiatchrin, le Khionsong et le Djrougon, sans souffrir de maux de la part des Tibétains, partout bien reçus selon les coutumes. Et voici que maintenant, en une heure, tout peut être

fini. Nous obéirons, mais que le Tarin pense bien dans son esprit. Je ne sais plus que faire. Au début d'un voyage, on n'hésiterait pas. Mais à la fin, risquer l'œuvre de tant de mois, se laisser piller peut-être quand vos caisses sont pleines de collections et de documents, il y a trop à perdre. [...]

Je cède : nous irons à Menkong [*sMan khang*]. Dès qu'Adjroup porte la bonne nouvelle, les visages se détendent et s'illuminent de bonheur. Pour moi seul est la tristesse du retour, du long retour par la Chine, un voyage que j'aurai fait quatre fois. (Bacot 1912 : 226-230)

Ces lignes donnent ainsi accès une fois de plus, dans une traduction dont certains idiomatismes suggèrent la littéralité, aux paroles d'Adjroup Gumbo et font valoir leur force de persuasion salvatrice, arguant de la longévité de leur compagnonnage viatique en Europe et en Asie et de la confiance réciproque qui en est née. La fonction pratique d'intercesseur se double encore une fois du rôle de traducteur culturel, où Adjroup Gumbo, étant allé en Europe, restitue au voyageur sa vision de l'Européen. De fait, la situation n'est pas nouvelle et rappelle un épisode précédent, à Conkaling (*Gangs dkar gling*) par le mandarin local :

Adjroup n'est pas content. Il me dit que je me conduis comme un enfant, un tout petit enfant. Dans tous leurs actes, les Européens semblent des enfants aux Chinois et aux Tibétains, encore plus que des êtres dangereux ou haïssables. Dire la vérité, ne pas se conformer aux usages de la Chine est d'un enfant. Une infraction aux rites est, en Asie, sur le même plan qu'une infraction à la morale et témoigne, par analogie, d'une innocence puérile. De même s'attacher imprudemment à la vie et la regretter niaisement au moment de mourir, est le fait de petits enfants qui pleurent pour n'avoir pas su calculer les conséquences de leurs actes. (Bacot 1912 : 124-125)

Cet épisode rejoint la liste des situations d'incompréhension engendrés par des pratiques culturelles différentes. En renvoyant à l'Européen une image de son propre héritage culturel, Adjroup Gumbo endosse, comme pour ses lecteurs de 1910, une fonction critique au large spectre :

La civilisation ne devrait pas se mesurer aux progrès de la répression, mais à son inutilité. Et dire qu'il se trouve des nations assez inconscientes pour être fières de leur police ! (Bacot 1912 : 76)

Les Tibétains n'ont pas notre sentiment féroce de la propriété. [...] Les maisons sont ouvertes au voyageur qui passe. Il prend dans les champs et aux arbres, sans penser à abuser de ce droit. Lors du séjour d'Adjroup en France, j'avais un peu honte, en sa présence, de nos portes barricadées, de nos grilles à ronces et des murs hérissés de verre. (Bacot 1912 : 199)

En définitive, la voix d'Adjroup Gumbo se fait entendre de plein droit dans *Le Tibet révolté* et répond, sonore et distincte, à celle du narrateur : leurs deux voix, leurs deux voies, pour paraphraser le lapsus significatif de Bacot (1912 : 66), se croisent sans s'annuler l'une l'autre. Au moment de clore son récit, Jacques Bacot reproduit la lettre du père Monbeig lui apprenant, peu après son départ, sa « fuite », « sur cette machine de fer et de feu qui n'a pas de nom en tibétain », les circonstances de la mort d'Adjroup Gumbo, « peut-être des suites de sa chute au pont de corde de Yerkalo » (Bacot 1912 : 324), et son ensevelissement :

« Il traînait sans force depuis six mois. Il a épuisé toutes les ressources de la science tibétaine, chinoise et lissou. Je ne parle pas de la mienne qui n'a pas valu plus que les autres. [...] Il pleurait chaque fois que je le voyais. Je crois qu'il aura fait une bonne mort, même édifiante. Que Dieu ait son âme. Les funérailles furent très solennelles. [...] Maintenant il repose au cimetière de Patong... » (Bacot 1912 : 324-325)

À la rhétorique apologétique de l'oraison funèbre du missionnaire, Jacques Bacot ajoute un commentaire qui nuance le portrait d'Adjroup Gumbo, souligne la complexité de son parcours de vie et, pour tout dire, réintègre le personnage dans sa culture propre :

Quel ascétisme ou quelle pudeur, quel héroïsme en tout cas, fait lever les agonisants, au Tibet, et quitter leur demeure, pour mourir dans la solitude, « dans un taudis de mendiant » ? Pourtant il était sensible, et parfois, alors que nous causions, il pleurait, non pas sur lui-même, mais à cause de choses belles et émouvantes. Des larmes silencieuses inondaient ses yeux et descendaient sans gêne au long de sa grande figure impassible. Je suis peut-être responsable de ses pleurs de mourant, car il m'a dit souvent ne pas craindre la mort. Seulement, il avait perdu la résignation de sa race au contact de notre révolte, de notre lutte contre tous les maux. Il croyait que notre science l'aurait guéri. Pleurait-il son impuissance, en vaincu ?

Jamais je ne comprendrai les Jaunes comme lui nous avait compris. (Bacot 1912 : 325-326)

Et de conclure qu'une fois finie la « chasse aux découvertes » de l'explorateur, « on n'espère rien que de garder longtemps le souvenir du rêve qui n'est plus et des compagnons perdus qu'on ne retrouvera jamais ». En ce sens, ces lignes forment l'épilogue du *Tibet révolté* et lui confère le statut de tombeau d'Adjroup Gumbo. Le narrateur rappelle la sensibilité extrême de ce dernier, simultanément et pleinement engagé dans deux univers culturels, à l'heure de leur irréfragable et difficile rencontre. Ainsi le récit peut-il être lu comme la biographie du Tibétain. Bacot ici s'initie à un genre littéraire dont il deviendra l'un des premiers « traducteurs » en Occident, celui du *mam thar* : il offre ici une variante sécularisée, « moderne », aux ramifications interculturelles des vies de Marpa le « traducteur » et de Milarepa qu'il rendra célèbre en Europe (Bacot 1925 et 1937).

Dans la foulée du récit tragique de son exploration déçue et de la mort d'Adjroup Gumbo, Jacques Bacot évoque des événements politiques exactement contemporains : « la prise de Lha-sa par les Chinois et la fuite du Talé-lama aux Indes » (Bacot 1912 : 327) qu'il apprend à Yunnan-Sen (Kunming), alors même qu'il s'apprête à monter dans le train de la « ligne du Tonkin », à peine achevée, afin de regagner la France. Le récit de Bacot se clôt ainsi sur une tonalité funeste :

L'histoire du vieux Tibet est peut-être finie, son treizième Talé lama est peut-être le dernier, selon les prophéties, et la conquête déçue de la Terre promise, le dernier épisode d'un passé légendaire.

Ou bien, ce que j'espère, il continuera à s'isoler dans sa contemplation, loin de la ronde affolée que le monde moderne mène autour de lui, et peuple qui a pour lui les siècles, quelques années de paix ne lui seront qu'une trêve [sic] dans une guerre de Cent Ans. (Bacot 1912 : 330)

Népémakö réapparaît ainsi sous la plume de Bacot une dernière fois comme « prisonnier », pour parodier le titre d'un livre célèbre (Lopez 1998), d'une antinomie que nous avons déjà vue à l'œuvre : comme un emblème anti-moderne d'un Tibet aux traits médiévaux, vision figée d'un fantasme en devenir dans l'imagolo-

gie occidentale. Cependant, le schéma narratif tragique du *Tibet révolté*, relevant en dernier lieu d'une pensée du déclin, est subverti par le contrechant d'Adjroup Gumbo, dont le récit du voyage en France vient renverser la logique dysphorique à laquelle aboutit — in fine, et in fine seulement — le texte de Jacques Bacot. Ainsi, créant une tension au sein même du livre, et non plus seulement au sein du récit, la voix d'Adjroup Gumbo, cette fois-ci non assujettie à celle du narrateur devenu traducteur, apportant son point de vue sur le « monde moderne », opère un cheminement en sens inverse et offre une facette ultime de Népémakö.

Népémakö ou la Capitale de la Modernité vue de la place de l'Étoile : le Ngarang gi skyid sdug gi mam thar d'Adjroup Gumbo

*Le cœur content, je suis monté sur la montagne
D'où l'on peut contempler la ville en son ampleur,
Hôpital, lupanar, purgatoire, enfer, baigne,
Où toute son énormité fleurit comme une fleur.
Charles Baudelaire, « Projet d'un épilogue aux Fleurs
du Mal »*

On a recueilli des pays lointains tout ce qui est de beau et de rare des règnes animal et végétal. [...] À partir de l'Inde, vers l'Europe, le climat est bien changé. On ne voit que des fleurs curieuses et des plantes neuves. On est surpris dans ce pays de vent glacial et de froids intenses, De rencontrer notre « sage » qui reste droit et vert. [...] Au milieu d'une capitale aussi mouvementée et prospère, où les yeux contemplent à satiété le spectacle des voitures poudreuses, On est surpris d'être soudain transporté, comme dans un songe très agréable, sur le mont de La-phu. Nguyen Trong Hiep, Paris capitale de la France²⁴

C'est ainsi que le cœur honnête et l'esprit vif et droit d'Adjroup Gumbo furent captivés par les enchantements de la ville. « C'est la Terre du Sud ! » s'écriait-il à tous moments, donnant de ce pays de France le nom que ses compatriotes prêtent à l'Eldorado et la Salente dont parlent leurs légendes, l'empire des riches et des sages. Pierre Mille, « Paris, vu du Toit du Monde »

²⁴ Le poète explique en note qu'il évoque ici tour à tour le Jardin d'Acclimatation et le bois de Vincennes, auquel il associe le La-phu [Luofushan 罗浮山], « ou olympe chinois, nom de la montagne enchanteresse, séjour des Bouddhas » (Hiep 1897 : 31).

Comme le récit d'Adjroup Gumbo, présenté, il est vrai, dans *Le Tibet révolté* comme les « Impressions d'un Tibétain en France », le récit de Jacques Bacot, resté longtemps quelque peu confidentiel, a été qualifié par les rares critiques de l'avant et de l'entre-deux-guerres, de « récit impressionniste » (Cordier 1913 ; Merki 1913 ; Berge 1925). Si l'étiquette paraît surimposée par les lecteurs de 1910 en ce qui concerne le texte d'Adjroup Gumbo, le terme apparaît bel et bien sous la plume de Bacot :

Ce qu'on appelle « impressions de voyage » est surtout fait de sensations physiques, de sons et d'odeurs. Leur souvenir évoque aussitôt des images et vous met à l'abri de l'ennui, car à tout moment, on peut le reprendre, le savourer dans la solitude. Avec le temps hélas, les images pâlisent et les sons s'éloignent ; mais ceux-là dureront bien toujours autant que la vie. (Bacot 1912 : 66-67)

À cette définition qui tire le sous-genre des « impressions de voyage » vers une référence qui est moins celle de Dumas²⁵ que des peintres d'avant-garde alors récemment baptisés d'« impressionnistes » et des courants littéraires post-symbolistes (à ce titre, Bacot est un contemporain de la « révolution proustienne »)²⁶, il convient d'associer la portée anthropologique que Bacot assigne à l'écriture du voyage vécu dans la seule compagnie des Tibétains :

Seul, au contraire, à vivre la vie et parler la langue d'un autre milieu, on finit par en subir l'influence et penser autrement. Votre vie d'Europe semble un rêve lointain, une vie antérieure dans un autre monde et dont on s'étonne d'avoir gardé le souvenir. Votre personnalité se dédouble. [...] On découvre ainsi qu'on n'a pas craint la mort, qu'on ne s'est pas indigné des supplices, qu'on a cru au fatum, qu'on a redouté les dieux. On ne s'arrête pas aux différences superficielles qui n'étonnent plus, on atteint le fond, le fond commun à tous les hommes. [...] Seulement si on décrit mieux ce qu'on a vu, la jouissance est plus intime de l'avoir vécu. (Bacot 1912 : 82-83)

La catégorie des « impressions de voyage » telles qu'on les concevait au XIX^e siècle est en définitive reversée au bénéfice d'une

²⁵ Cf. supra note 15.

²⁶ Pour la question des modes culturels de la saisie du monde tibétain par les voyageurs et la sensibilité « post-symboliste » de Bacot, voir Thévoz 2015.

expérience d'altération du moi. La perception sensorielle, la mémoire, le rapport à l'altérité culturelle prennent sens sur la base d'un socle philosophique inédit et sont reversés sur une vision du monde imprégnée du bouddhisme rencontré au Tibet. Cette poétique du voyage fait écho au parcours que nous avons effectué dans *Le Tibet révolté* et entre en résonance avec la trajectoire unique d'Adjroup Gumbo, « bourgeois » lettré né dans un milieu bouddhiste *mying ma pa*, converti au catholicisme par les prêtres des Missions étrangères et devenu temporairement praticien tantrique, ou « magicien » (*sngags pa*), au contact de lamas Bön po²⁷. On comprend ainsi que la vie de nomade entre les cultures avait commencé pour Adjroup Gumbo bien avant sa rencontre avec Jacques Bacot. Aussi ses « impressions » gagnent-elles à être lues, à titre heuristique du moins, à l'aune de la définition qu'en donne Bacot plutôt que de celle d'un genre alors en vogue en France. De manière complémentaire, il sera utile de garder en tête le double lectorat auquel le texte est destiné : un lecteur tibétain resté peut-être virtuel (la lettre a-t-elle été envoyée à et reçue par son frère ?)²⁸, un lecteur français, dont nous avons quelques

²⁷ Bacot indique qu'Adjroup Gumbo a passé deux ans dans la lamaserie de Dochi à Lhadjrong (Bacot 1912 : 199 et carte n° 4, hors texte). Dans une note de Bacot transcrivant et traduisant un fragment autobiographique conservé à la Société asiatique, Adjroup Gumbo apporte en outre une nouvelle précision : « Ma dixième année étant venue, mes cheveux furent coupés [et] j'entrais dans l'ordre religieux. Mon nom religieux se disait ainsi, « *bstan pa* » (Doctrine). Là pendant quelques années, je (restais) dans la communauté. » Cet épisode biographique de jeunesse renforce l'hypothèse de l'éducation d'Adjroup Gumbo dans le milieu religieux représenté par son oncle Senan Temba, d'obédience *myning ma pa*.

²⁸ À cet égard, notons, à défaut de pouvoir procéder à un examen stylistique du récit de Gumbo, ce que Bacot dit de la langue tibétaine dans *Le Tibet révolté* : « Pas plus que leur pays, les Tibétains ne sont barbares et incultes. Sous leur écorce grossière ils cachent des raffinements que nous n'avons pas, beaucoup de politesse et de philosophie, le besoin d'embellir les choses vulgaires, tout ce qui leur sert, que ce soit une tente, un couteau ou un étrier. Ils font usage de plusieurs langues (sacrée, écrite, parlée, noble ou vulgaire) dont les vocabulaires et les syntaxes changent suivant les interlocuteurs » (Bacot 1912 : 93-94). Plus loin, il ajoute : « La langue tibétaine vulgaire, celle dont les pandits indous firent une langue écrite pour traduire les livres sanscrits, bien que très différente encore de cette langue artificielle et savante, en a été influencée et lui doit sûrement beaucoup de sa subtilité. Sa syntaxe procède d'une tournure d'esprit autrement orientée, plus synthétique et plus simple que la nôtre. Parlée, cette langue joue avec les mots, en compose constamment de nouveaux avec la pre-

témoignages. Il n'est d'ailleurs pas impensable qu'Adjroup Gumbo lui-même, au moment où il accepte de lire son récit à Jacques Bacot et en autorise la traduction, ait envisagé ce double lectorat.

Le sous-titre du « Voyage » est à cet égard instructif. Dans la première édition reproduite dans *L'Asie française* et dans les *Annales des missions étrangères*, l'intitulé précise « L'histoire de mes aventures est écrite dans ce livre ». Dans la version revue pour l'édition du *Tibet révolté*, le sous-titre devient « Le récit de mes joies et peines est écrite dans ce livre » (Bacot 1912 : 345). En complément à l'analyse des différents titres prêtés au récit d'Adjroup Gumbo dans les versions françaises, il est temps d'examiner l'intitulé tibétain, afin de cerner les effets génériques de la traduction française et percevoir les horizons littéraires tibétains de ce texte. Dans sa version de travail, Bacot donne la transcription suivante de la dictée d'Adjroup Gumbo : « *nga rang gi skyid sdug gi rnam thar* ». À l'évidence, Adjroup Gumbo conçoit son récit sous la forme d'un *rnam thar*, terme que Bacot traduit spontanément par le terme « histoire ». Les deux termes qui complètent l'expression semblent, eux, faire difficulté au traducteur. En effet, Bacot traduit d'abord les deux termes « *skyid* » et « *sdug* » littéralement et indépendamment : « bonheur » et « douleur ». Il les considère ensuite comme un composé qu'il relie par un trait et qu'il traduit plus librement comme « aventures ». Si l'expression *skyid sdug* se trouve couramment en tibétain dans le sens de « joies et peines », « bonheurs et malheurs », mais aussi de « condition » ou même de « moyen d'existence », elle apparaît encore en histoire littéraire.

mière syllabe de l'un et la dernière de l'autre. Syllabes ou mots changent de son et de prononciation selon ce qui précède ou ce qui suit. Ils sont des valeurs comme les couleurs dans un tableau. Ils s'augmentent de particules euphoniques dans le petit morceau de musique qu'est une phrase, pour boucher les intervalles, harmoniser, appuyer et renforcer. Quand on a compris cette langue, on trouve un vrai plaisir à entendre un Tibétain s'exprimer bien. Un jour, au Tsarong, Adjroup écoutait avec ravissement un jeune homme aux manières distinguées qui était venu à notre camp : 'Il parle joli comme un homme savant', me dit-il. » (Bacot 1912 : 279) Un demi-siècle plus tard, Bacot caractérisera ainsi le style épistolaire tibétain : « La correspondance et le style épistolaire se sont développés particulièrement au Tibet en raison des distances et obstacles naturels qui séparent ses habitants. Il s'est ainsi créé un genre littéraire de pratique courante oscillant du langage parlé à la langue littéraire » (Bacot 1962 : 98).

Sans pour autant former un genre constitué, l'expression est apparue dans le titre d'un récit autobiographique récent²⁹. En revanche, on la retrouve de plus longue date associée à plusieurs ouvrages à caractère religieux intitulés *skyid sdug lam 'khyer* (« Instructions sur la voie du bonheur et du malheur », Robin 2010 : 239).

Ces connotations sont, nous le verrons, porteuses de sens pour la lecture du récit d'Adjroup Gumbo, tandis que la traduction de l'expression par le terme « aventures » proposée par Bacot offre un raccourci sémantique qui ne conserve que lointainement la signification tibétaine et opère un transfert culturel plus radical. L'indécision initiale de Bacot dans le travail de traduction donne ainsi lieu à deux états du texte traduit et engendrent en français deux modes de lecture différents. Pour mineures qu'elles soient, ces différences témoignent d'une évolution significative de l'état « éditorial » du texte et engendrent une modification du sens du texte dans son ensemble³⁰. En effet, la transformation du « récit d'aventures », propre au registre de la littérature de voyage et d'exploration, en récit autobiographique consignait « joies et peines » du narrateur implique un transfert de registre qui fait basculer le texte d'une catégorie bien établie à un type de texte plus indéfini, aux références culturelles flottantes et, pour tout dire, d'apparence insolite aux yeux d'un lecteur français³¹.

²⁹ Il s'agit du *Nags tshang zhi lu'i skyid sdug* de Nags tshang Nus blo (Nag tshang Nus blo 2007). Les traductions anglaises (*Nagtsang Boy's Joys and Sorrows*, Sulek 2014) et françaises (*Joies et Peines de l'enfant Naksang*, de Heering 2016) ont conservé le couple d'oppositions constitutif du titre de ce récit ayant migré du style oral (*kha skad*) au style littéraire (de Heering 2014 et 2016).

³⁰ Outre les autres variantes lexicales que je signalerai, la plus visible des différences entre les deux états du texte est, sans doute, le gommage sensible de la présence de Jacques Bacot lui-même dans le texte comme figure d'autorité et objet de respect.

³¹ En français, ce couple lexical est, bien entendu, tout à fait courant. Généralement formulé dans l'ordre inverse (« peines et joies »), il est associé à l'idée d'un *chemin de vie* et volontiers traduit par un récit édifiant aux résonances religieuses empruntant à l'oraison et à l'hagiographie. Toutefois, il n'apparaît guère, dans l'histoire littéraire française, comme genre littéraire déterminé. Un sondage dans le catalogue de la Bibliothèque nationale de France donne le titre d'un ouvrage de 1492 comme première occurrence chronologique : *Le Livre de bien vivre et de bien mourir. L'Eguillon de crainte divine pour bien mourir ou traité des peines d'Enfer et de Purgatoire. L'advenement de l'Ante-christ et des 15 signes qui précèdent le jugement général et des joies du Paradis*. Il faut attendre presque trois siècles, pour

En centrant le récit sur la subjectivité du narrateur (l'expérience vécue) plutôt que sur son itinéraire (les choses vues), cette reformulation calquée sur le tibétain donne d'emblée une indication de première importance sur la dynamique même du récit. Par sa structure, ce dernier obéit à une organisation spatio-temporelle. Ainsi les trois courts « chapitres » qui le constituent évoquent-ils d'abord le trajet jusqu'en Birmanie puis la traversée de l'Océan ; ensuite, l'arrivée en France (Marseille) ; enfin, Paris et la campagne. Néanmoins, dès les premières lignes, le récit subordonne le parcours des lieux aux états affectifs du narrateur, lesquels en deviennent le véritable principe d'organisation. Les « joies » d'Adjroup Gumbo découlent du désir d'« aller au pays de France » (Bacot 1912 : 345) et de « connaître » le monde qui s'étend au-delà des frontières du Tibet (Bacot 1912 : 346). Ces sentiments positifs se traduisent par le constat que son « corps se portait bien » et par la pensée qu'en « voyant ces choses, il ne voudrait pas retourner dans sa patrie » (Bacot 1912 : 347). En contrepartie, les « peines » surviennent suite aux hésitations face à des « hommes », un « langage », un « travail » « différents » (Bacot 1912 : 345), suite à la réticence à « oublier ses coutumes » en « faisant comme les Français et les Anglais » (Bacot 1912 : 327-348), suite aux « inquiétudes » éprouvées dans la solitude l'enjoignant à « penser dans son esprit » pendant plusieurs jours (Bacot 1912 : 346), suite aux « larmes » tombant de ses yeux à la pensée de ceux qu'il a laissés dans son village (Bacot 1912 : 349), suite, enfin, à la peur de mourir, lors de la longue traversée de l'Océan (Bacot 1912 : 349) en direction de l'« autre face du monde » (Bacot 1909 : 159). L'on a vu ce que pareille traversée signifie en regard de la cosmographie tibétaine et du point de vue des croyances sur la mort. Il faut ainsi rappeler avec Bacot que « Chengui »³² (*gShin rje Chos rgyal*), le dieu de la mort « à corps humain et à tête de taureau » habite également la « grande cascade du Bramapoutre » dissimulant l'accès de Népémakö, son royaume et « terre 'où l'on ne peut aller' » entourée par le grand fleuve (Bacot 1912 : 331-332).

qu'un nouvel ouvrage soit publié en français avec ces deux termes : il s'agit de la traduction, en 1775, des *Peines et joies de Werther devenu homme* de Goethe.

³² Bacot écrit alternativement « Shengui », comme plus haut, suivant en cela les sources de langue anglaise, et « Chengui », comme ici, selon une forme francisée du même mot. Sur l'identification du dieu à Yama, voir Stein 1988 : 44-45 et 95.

Ces sentiments ambivalents s'alternent au fur et à mesure que progresse le récit. Ils rythment en définitive le rapport du Tibétain à la découverte d'un monde inconnu et sont l'expression d'une palette variée de jugements subjectifs sur une réalité qu'Adjroup Gumbo assimile non seulement au cours du voyage mais également au moyen de l'écriture. Arrivant en France, Adjroup Gumbo conclut ainsi : « Les Français vont beaucoup en Chine, mais les Tibétains ne vont pas en France. [...] Je n'hésitai plus, plein de courage, et j'arrivai en France sans avoir été malade de l'épaisseur d'un cheveu » (Bacot 1912 : 350). On reconnaît ainsi cette étroite association déjà notée par Bacot entre états émotionnels et parcours de l'espace qui va jusqu'à l'idée d'une figuration d'une traversée de l'au-delà : « the feelings Tibetans have about death and the after-life find physical expression in the landscape », a souligné récemment Katia Buffetrille à propos du pèlerinage du Kha ba dkar po, proposant de lire « some features of the landscape as metaphors of the *bar do* » (Buffetrille 2014 : 197). La consignation des états émotionnels à fins de décrire le cours du voyage, les lieux et paysages traversés, apparaît donc comme une donnée culturelle spécifique soutenue par une vision bouddhisée du pèlerinage. Ainsi faut-il remarquer que, conformément à la dialectique suivie par les *gnas yig*, le chemin physique est simultanément un cheminement intime et spirituel, conduisant pèlerins et praticiens tantriques à surmonter les « états mentaux négatifs » et les « émotions afflictives » (*nyon mongs kyi sgrib pa*, skt. *kleśāvaraṇa*), à dissiper l'obscurcissement de l'esprit engendré par l'ignorance (*ma rig pa*, skt. *avidyā*) de la nature de l'esprit (*stong pa nyid*, skt. *śūnyatā*), par les passions (*kleśa*) et par l'attachement à l'illusion (*upādāna*) du monde phénoménal (*srid pa'i 'khor ba*, skt. *saṃsāra*), enfin à prendre conscience (*rig pa*, skt. *vidyā*) de la nature impermanente des apparences (*snang ba*) tenues pour des événements mentaux produisant une vision dualiste (*gnyis 'dzin*).

Dans la pratique de la méditation et du pèlerinage bouddhiques, le but poursuivi est précisément de connaître la « joie » dans son sens plein (*bde pa*, skt. *sukha*), associée à la « claire lumière » ou « clairvoyance » (*'od gsal*) et à la « cessation des activités mentales » (*mi rtog pa*), synonymes de la libération ultime (*mya ngan las 'das pa*, skt. *nirvāṇa*). La sotériologie bouddhique informe ainsi le rapport à l'espace et l'inscrit dans un *procès*. La réinscription géné-

rique du texte de Gumbo fait ainsi jaillir à la surface du texte des connotations bouddhiques implicites, activées par ailleurs dans la « poétique du voyage » du *Tibet révolté*. Il suffit ici de citer un extrait d'un récit de pèlerinage vers Pémakö pour prendre pleinement conscience de cette proximité : « Leaving our homes behind us we are self-abandoned yogis. [...] As meditative experiences spontaneously arise, we travel joyously. [...] We have no fear about dying on the way [...] nor will we have regrets when we have to return » (Shepe Dorje 2001, cité dans Baker 2004 : 161).

Les lecteurs de 1910 avaient été attentifs aux « tableaux », portraits et scènes du « Voyage » d'Adjroup Gumbo. Relevant la vivacité du regard posé sur l'autre et l'ailleurs, ils n'avaient en revanche pas souligné la dimension processuelle du texte, sa nature proprement narrative. En des termes d'époque, faisant preuve d'une sensibilité à la morphologie du texte, ceux-ci ont délaissé sa dimension physiologique. Comme on le voit pourtant, le récit se structure autour d'un sujet aux facettes multiples, d'une subjectivité en mouvement. Pour cerner l'*ethos* auctorial de ce récit à la première personne, il est particulièrement éclairant de le rapporter au genre tibétain de l'autobiographie (*rang mam*, sous-genre de la tradition des biographies, *mam thar*, « récits de pleine libération ») auquel l'auteur lui-même rattache son texte, comme le montre la transcription tibétaine du cahier préparatoire de la traduction. Parmi l'ensemble des traits littéraires et philosophiques constitutifs du genre en résonance avec le texte d'Adjroup Gumbo, pareil récit présente notamment la particularité de faire apparaître une « subjectivité sans essence », étrangère à une « métaphysique de l'individu » (Gyatso 1999 : 109-110). C'est sur le fond de cette scénographie particulière de la subjectivité que prend sens l'importance prêtée, dans la découverte du monde inconnu, moins aux lieux qu'aux chemins qui y mènent, aux voies qui y donnent accès, aux espaces de transition, au passage de seuils. Sur le plan structurel, ces moments où le narrateur passe d'un lieu à un autre sont des articulations frappantes du récit, car le Tibétain est confronté à la nécessité de combler les lacunes lexicales de la langue tibétaine par le biais de périphrases, en vue de décrire des réalités inconnues, se rapportant généralement aux avancées technologiques de la « modernité ». Par exemple, l'ascenseur de la maison de Jacques Bacot, comme celui de Notre-

Dame-de-la-Garde à Marseille (Bacot 1912 : 352), est « une petite chambre pour trois personnes, qui, le temps d'un cri, les porte au sommet de la maison » (356). Est-il légitime de parler ici d'invention linguistique, ainsi que le proposaient les lecteurs de 1910, qu'ils y voient des formes poétiques et en louent la force hypotypotique (elles « font voir » le monde familier sous un nouveau jour), ou qu'ils les réduisent à des circonlocutions et en condamnent la dispersion dénotative autant que la faiblesse référentielle ? Il est remarquable que, dans le « Voyage », la pratique du néologisme ou de l'emprunt de mots au français est pour ainsi dire inexistante, invitant par ailleurs le traducteur à identifier en note lieux et choses évoqués par l'auteur. Il est instructif de remarquer que les notes du traducteur varient sensiblement en fonction des différentes publications du texte. Ces aspects trouvent leur plus forte expression dans la description méthodique que propose Gumbo de la maison de Jacques Bacot, explorée sur un axe vertical, de fond en comble, puis jusque dans ses tréfonds souterrains :

Cette maison est de pierre. Les portes d'entrée sont en fer et les portes intérieures en verre. La porte pour les voitures est en bois. Il y a neuf étages depuis le fond jusqu'au sommet et plus de cent chambres. Dans les chambres, les murs sont revêtus de soie et de glaces bordées de cuivre. Partout il y a des fleurs faites de cuivre, d'argent et d'or. Les parquets sont en bois soigneusement poli, et des tapis y sont déroulés sur lesquels on marche. [...] Le seuil passé, il y a trois escaliers semblables aux escaliers tibétains. [...] À tous les étages, il y a des petites roues, et si on les tourne d'un quart de tour, elles donnent la lumière, l'eau, la chaleur, tout ce qu'on veut ; et il n'est pas besoin d'huile ni de feu. Je ne savais par quel moyen, mais, ayant regardé attentivement, je vis que sous la maison dans la terre, nuit et jour, il y a un grand feu et de l'eau abondamment. L'eau vient de la terre et il faut allumer le feu. (Bacot 1912 : 336)

Ici se font jour non seulement les procédés rhétoriques mis en œuvre, que je relèverai ci-après, mais aussi la culture matérielle et la sensibilité aux formes de l'habitat et du bâti propres aux Tibétains. L'on reconnaît dans cette description, par-delà l'*effet de différence* qu'elle suscite (Bonoli et Thévoz 2012) par l'effort langagier engagé dans l'évocation de technologies qui n'avaient alors pas encore cours au Tibet, une structuration véritablement architecturale portant la mémoire des maisons et des temples tibétains.

Le texte de Gumbo reflète en cela une *poétique du lieu*, d'essence phénoménologique, comparable à celle que Jacques Bacot s'était, de son côté, ingénieré à faire sentir dans ses descriptions des monastères et des villages du Tibet. Dans cette perspective, l'évocation du trajet en train de Marseille à Paris nous renseigne sur les modes descriptifs principaux employés par Adjroup Gumbo :

Au Tibet il faudrait un mois pour franchir cette distance. Mais par les moyens français il faut un jour. [...] La route perce les pierres, les falaises, les montagnes, les fleuves. La route est pavée de fer, et pour aller sur cette route, des petites maisons sont posées sur des roues de fer. Et il y a des milliers de ces voitures. Le feu fait mouvoir les roues. [...] Cette route était aussi longue que celle de Tsekou à Lhasa. (Bacot 1912 : 354)

Ici comme plus haut, s'il est difficile d'invoquer la « fidélité » du traducteur ou même de repérer à partir du français la terminologie tibétaine choisie par l'auteur, il n'en demeure pas moins que le texte laisse percevoir des tournures et un lexique propres à la langue tibétaine. Ainsi, l'énumération des éléments naturels du « paysage » traversé et des composants matériels du « chemin », le style de l'amplification sembleront proches de la rhétorique des récits de pèlerinage, par exemple, et familiers à un lecteur tibétain, tout en introduisant un mode de déplacement insolite. Symétriquement, tout en visant à remplir une fonction expressive, l'usage de la comparaison rend commensurables les « métriques » en usage en France et au Tibet. À ce titre, l'« émerveillement » que les lecteurs français de 1910 ont attribué au regard porté par Adjroup Gumbo sur la « modernité » est-il sans doute moins le fait d'une hébétude cognitive que d'une codification littéraire.

Condensant les modes dégagés jusqu'ici, la description de l'arrivée d'Adjroup Gumbo à Paris apporte un éclairage supplémentaire décisif : « On entre dans la ville par des caves longues de plusieurs *lis*, dont les murs sont revêtus de porcelaine » (Bacot 1912 : 354). Est exprimée dans cette évocation des voies d'accès découvertes en France la poétique de l'espace la plus caractéristique du « Voyage » d'Adjroup Gumbo. L'insistance sur les espaces de transition traduit une sensibilité « hodologique »³³ spécifique, conjoin-

³³ S'inspirant du géographe John Brinckerhoff Jackson et de son traducteur français Jean-Marc Besse, Aurélien Métroz donne du terme la définition sui-

gnant une phénoménologie de l'espace et une culture du paysage. Le récit de Gumbo suggérait d'emblée que « le paysage décrit est à la fois symbolique et réel : un paysage mental se superpose au paysage réel » (Buffettrille 2000 : 7). En ce sens, l'on perçoit ici plus exactement encore combien les composantes thématiques et stylistiques soulignées précédemment libèrent un imaginaire de l'espace rappelant la thématique du « passage » dans les récits de pèlerinage : « To reach this secret place, your meditation and insight should be confident ; free of any fear or doubt. [...] In order to pass through the tunnel of obstacles, one's behavior and actions must be impeccable. [...] Otherwise [Pemako's] hidden places will never be revealed » (Riwoche Jedrung Jhampa Yungney [Ri bo che rJe drung 'Byams pa'i 'Byung gnas], *Clear Light : A Guide to the Hidden Land of Pemako*, découvert par 'Byams pa'i 'Byung gnas, cité par Baker 2004 : 190).

Aussi les lecteurs de 1910 avaient-ils confusément perçu les particularités culturelles et littéraires de ce texte et ne se trompaient-ils pas tout à fait quand ils rapportaient à la religion et au bouddhisme la vision qu'Adjroup Gumbo se faisait des « miracles de la civilisation » (Mille 1910). De fait, la dimension du religieux accompagne résolument le « Voyage » :

À Mandalay, dans un grand monastère bouddhiste, se trouvaient les statues en or de tous les dieux. Des milliers d'hommes adoraient et faisaient des offrandes. Le temple était recouvert d'or et d'argent. Si un lama voyait ces choses, il ne voudrait plus retourner dans sa patrie. (Bacot 1912 : 347)

En France, nous l'avons vu, les épisodes de la cathédrale de Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde et des obsèques de l'Archevêque de Paris suscitent l'expression de la dévotion du narrateur. Le religieux semble

vante : « Étymologiquement, l'hodologie est l'étude ou la connaissance des chemins, des routes ou des tracés (du grec *hodos*, le chemin). [...] De façon générale, l'hodologie mène ainsi à une enquête sur le paysage en soulignant l'importance de ses voies d'accès, qui sont tout autant des traces matérielles (routes, chemins) que des motifs culturels traduisant une certaine façon d'envisager l'espace et se modifiant au cours des expériences singulières qui assurent leurs rencontres. Ce sont ces trois aspects que l'hodologie tente de penser ensemble, de façon à concevoir le paysage comme un 'espace pratiqué', un 'espace raconté' et un 'espace vécu' » (Métroz 2013 : 26).

donc bien un axe de lecture valide, si l'on prend garde à rappeler la dimension multiculturelle et le caractère séculier du « Voyage » d'Adjroup Gumbo. En ce sens, l'« hodologie » du Tibétain mise en lumière ici ne se confine pas dans une « projection » culturelle. Au contraire, celle-ci aménage et garantit des rapports d'homologie avec la culture matérielle et les innovations techniques de la France du tournant du siècle. Aussi les lecteurs français de 1910 ont-ils bien identifié dans le récit du « promeneur » tibétain (Laut 1910a) qui apparaît à leurs yeux comme une incarnation exotique du « flâneur » baudelairien, les traits du Paris de la Belle-Époque, symbole de la France moderne :

C'est la partie souterraine du chemin de fer d'Orléans et les galeries du Métropolitain qu'il décrit ainsi, et ce tableau est vrai, et nous ne le voyons pas, parce que nous sommes aveugles, et lui l'a vu ! Nous ne savons pas non plus ce que c'est qu'une maison moderne. (Mille 1910)

Le traducteur précise en note qu'Adjroup Gumbo évoque ici la Gare d'Orléans (quai d'Orsay), achevée en 1900, à l'instar de la première ligne du métropolitain. C'est ainsi que Pierre Mille associe la phrase d'Adjroup Gumbo à ces deux emblèmes éminemment « modernes » inaugurés pour l'Exposition universelle de 1900, à quoi il faudrait ajouter la mention de la tour Eiffel, construite pour l'Exposition de 1889, laquelle figure uniquement dans le manuscrit et que pour cette raison Mille n'avait évidemment pu intégrer dans son inventaire urbain. Or, dans les extraits cités ci-dessus, ce sont bien les lieux-clés du « nouveau Paris » qu'évoque le voyageur tibétain. De célèbre mémoire, Émile Zola avait déjà, avant la construction du réseau ferroviaire parisien, traduit les « grands chantiers » urbains modernes et établi une manière de première topographie littéraire dans *La Curée* en 1871 (Zola 1960 : 317-600). Inscrivant son roman dans la conjoncture industrielle et économique caractérisant la fin du Second Empire, Zola avait décrit, de manière quasi prémonitoire, les qualités matérielles de nouveau mobilier urbain avec une insistance rare et avait esquissé une critique morale de la société en devenir et envisagée sous les traits de Napoléon III. Avec en mémoire le *Passagen-Werk* de Walter Benjamin qui prenait largement appui sur la littérature romanesque et « physiologique » émergeant en France simultanément aux bouleversements urbains, l'on peut en outre

reconnaître dans les descriptions d'Adjroup Gumbo les éléments-clés qui, dans la culture même de la France de l'époque, traduisaient la transition vers un monde « moderne » : l'usage du fer et du verre, de la vapeur ; le percement des boulevards et des voies ferrées, l'invention des passages couverts et des panoramas, les gares ferroviaires et stations de métro, les places-carrefours, les monuments et musées, les grands magasins, les espaces verts. Ainsi le récit d'Adjroup Gumbo évoque-t-il au lecteur européen et au lecteur tibétain des univers référentiels bien différents, tout en aménageant des passerelles entre eux.

La thématique du « passage » m'amène, pour clore ma lecture du « Voyage » de Gumbo, à prêter attention à l'emploi explicite du toponyme « Népémakö » à deux reprises dans le texte. À vrai dire, le terme n'apparaît tel quel que dans la seconde version du texte. Dans la version de 1910, les lecteurs trouvaient uniquement une référence à la « Terre du Sud ». La première occurrence apparaît au terme du séjour à Marseille, à titre de vision synthétique :

Dans cette seule ville de Marseille, il y a autant d'hommes que dans les trois provinces tibétaines. Tous sont riches et il n'est pas de pauvres. Si on réunissait toutes les richesses du Tibet, on ne bâtirait pas un seul foyer dans cette ville. Les hommes ici ne se nuisent pas entre eux. Et je pensais que c'était la Terre du Sud, où on ne peut aller. Alors je résolu de ne plus retourner dans ma patrie. (Gumbo 1910a : 35)

D'emblée, une dimension « panoramique » se dégage de la mention de la « Terre du Sud », à laquelle était accrochée une note : « Sorte de paradis terrestre, de Cocagne ou de Salente des légendes tibétaines ». La « Terre du Sud » évoque un lieu sans inscription culturelle spécifique et entre ici en résonance avec l'imaginaire géographique de la littérature utopique sur la base d'une assimilation du paradis terrestre à une orientation symbolique. Dans la seconde version, seule la mention de « Népémakö » subsiste. La fonction paratextuelle du *Tibet révolté* trouve ici son application ultime. En possession des clés de lecture nécessaires, le lecteur est ainsi renvoyé non plus à un mythe prétendument transculturel mais au contraire à un référent très précis de la culture tibétaine.

Afin d'apercevoir plus précisément le mode sur lequel le toponyme renvoie à l'imaginaire paysager tibétain, il est nécessaire de lire la seconde occurrence du terme :

Au centre de la ville, au croisement de douze routes larges comme des fleuves, est une grande porte à neuf étages. Étant arrivé là, comme tous montaient dessus, moi, Adjroup Gumbo, je suis monté avec eux. Étant arrivé en haut, je regardai et vis toute la ville. Je croyais que c'était Népémakö et pensai que si je mourais, je n'aurais pas de crainte, mais de la joie. Tous les Tibétains ne pourraient peupler une si grande ville. (Bacot 1912 : 360)

Ici encore, l'ordonnement du lieu et sa physionomie l'emportent sur sa désignation et sur son identification. Ce n'est à vrai dire qu'en note que le traducteur précise qu'Adjroup Gumbo décrit ici l'Arc de Triomphe. Si le lecteur peut deviner à travers la description la topographie caractéristique de la Place de l'Étoile, il est évident que le texte occulte la signification géohistorique de ce projet napoléonien de commémoration de la bataille d'Austerlitz, réalisé sous la Monarchie de Juillet³⁴. Cependant, il n'est peut-être pas anodin, aux yeux d'Adjroup Gumbo, que l'Arc aux quatre ouvertures, symbole politique de l'architecture du Paris du XIX^e siècle domine l'avenue des Champs-Élysées, haut lieu, au nom mythologique évocateur, de la vie mondaine parisienne aménagée sous Napoléon III. On peut légitimement supposer que Jacques Bacot, devenu le médiateur culturel d'Adjroup Gumbo, ait renseigné ce dernier sur l'histoire du lieu. Cependant, aux yeux d'Adjroup Gumbo, c'est à une vision de Népémakö que donne accès cette « porte » relocalisée au « centre de la ville ». Une topographie symbolique est ainsi apposée à — et non contre — la cartographie urbaine. La schématisation à laquelle procède la description forme la figure d'un cercle partagé en douze rais concentriques et épouse littéralement le faisceau des avenues rayonnant depuis le cœur de la Place. En structurant ainsi le chaos urbain, à l'image de la jungle des gorges du Yarlung Tsangpo, Adjroup Gumbo lui donne avec une évidence frappante la forme d'un *maṅḍala* (*dkyil 'khor*, « cercle concentrique », littéralement « centre et périphérie »). En ce sens, la comparaison « comme des fleuves », loin de se limiter à une fonction ornementale ou didactique, reflète, une fois encore, un échange essentiel de propriétés entre le tissu urbain parisien et la topographie tibétaine, comme

³⁴ Lors du transfert des cendres de Napoléon I^{er} en décembre 1840, le cortège s'est arrêté sous l'arche pour y célébrer la cérémonie funéraire.

plus haut lorsqu'il se référait aux « caves » pour évoquer l'intérieur de la Gare d'Orléans (Orsay).

De manière similaire, l'ascension de la « grande porte à neuf étages », laquelle rappelle par cette périphrase les « portes » (*gnas sgo*) simultanément celant et ouvrant l'accès aux « pays cachés », assimile le sujet percevant au pèlerin *tāntrika* atteignant le « centre » et le « sommet » de ce *maṇḍala* dès lors visualisé dans ses dimensions tridimensionnelles (Macdonald 1997)³⁵. Ainsi la « porte » monumentale endosse-t-elle la fonction d'un seuil symbolique assurant la transition entre plusieurs modes de vision. Or, en suscitant une vision de sa mort, le franchissement de ce seuil conduit Adjroup Gumbo à une expérience intime de « joie » et de libération plutôt qu'à une expérience d'angoisse et de frayeur. Pour poursuivre le réseau de significations à l'œuvre ici, ce « seuil » donne ainsi accès aux aspects pluriels assignés au « lieu sacré » — extérieur (*phyi*), intérieur (*nang*), secret (*gsang*) et le plus secret (*yang gsang*) — et selon un processus proche de la pratique tantrique de la méditation, mène à une vision symbolique assimilable à la « pure vision » du paysage (*dag snang*), à son « cœur le plus secret ».

Toutefois, contre la thèse de la « projection » culturelle, il faut bien voir que ces connotations actives dans le texte se superposent, sans l'asservir, à une vision ordinaire du monde — du point de vue du lecteur français de 1910 — et opèrent concrètement comme un moyen de s'orienter dans l'espace : « Quand on s'est égaré, il est aisé de monter sur cette porte pour reconnaître les hautes églises et les maisons, et ensuite, étant descendu, se diriger sur la bonne route » (Bacot 1912 : 360-361). Sur ce plan « conven-

³⁵ On lira par exemple en parallèle ce passage d'un guide de pèlerinage de Dudjom Drakngak Lingpa (bDud 'joms Drag sngags gLing pa, c. 1871-1929) : « In the four subdirections are four mountains of Guru Padmasambhava, four holy rivers and four gardens, which together are like four magnificent gateways to the inner *maṇḍala* of Pema Shelri, the wish-fulfilling mountain that bestows inconceivable benefits. Simply gazing at this sacred mountain purifies one thousand aeons of mental defilements, and a single clockwise circumambulation is equal in merit to one hundred circumambulations of the entire earth. The power of this innermost secret and unsurpassable realm inspires those of virtuous karma to engage in ardent Dharma practice, and all impure karma, wrong views and doubts are effortlessly overcome. This is the infallible prophecy given by Guru Padmasambhava » (McDougal 2016 : 29).

tionnel », Adjroup Gumbo propose, à tout prendre, une vision similaire à celle des autres visiteurs qu'il a suivis et avec qui il est « monté » au sommet de l'Arc. Ainsi le « spectacle des toits de Paris » (Zola 1960 : 387) laisse-t-il deviner les aspects du « nouveau Paris » (les boulevards, une stratigraphie historique du paysage urbain). De surcroît, à la surface de l'« océan de maisons [...] remplissant l'immense horizon » (Zola 1960 : 387) émergent, isolés, les clochers des églises, comme les sommets de montagnes perçant une mer de nuages dans les représentations paysagères des *thang ka tibétains*³⁶. Donnant forme à la physionomie du spectacle et à la topographie urbaine, les clochers figurent comme les *pūtha* ou les *cakra* (*rtsa 'khor*, McDougal 2016 : 2) transculturels du paysage et charpentent ce dernier selon un axe vertical. Cette partie émergée de la stratigraphie paysagère dont la base plonge dans un imaginaire tibétain de l'espace, aux soubassements tectoniques bouddhiques, laisse transparaitre la trajectoire socio-religieuse d'Adjroup Gumbo. Il est remarquable de ce point de vue que le récit, pour proche qu'il soit des *lam yig*, exclut le personnel divin habituel des représentations tibétaines. Tout en renvoyant à l'idée d'un « étagement symbolique » (Meyer 1987), cette description de Paris propose une vision sécularisée du paysage urbain et manifeste les différents degrés de lecture mis en œuvre, sans solution de continuité, dans le récit d'Adjroup Gumbo.

Sur le plan textuel et conceptuel, la description se développe implicitement sur le mode du « panorama », en tant que dispositif offrant une vision complète au spectateur situé dans une position dominante au centre du spectacle. Dans l'histoire littéraire et artistique française, l'Arc de Triomphe est abondamment représenté au XIX^e siècle, mais, contrairement à la cathédrale Notre-Dame, au cimetière du Père-Lachaise ou à la butte Montmartre, il est plus rarement le lieu même d'où s'opère la perception. Exception majeure, au lecteur français lettré du début du XX^e siècle, outre le souvenir de l'épopée napoléonienne, la description de Gumbo ravive des vers célèbres de Victor Hugo, dont l'histoire de l'art a d'ailleurs gardé la mémoire des funérailles en ce même lieu. Dans la seconde version du poème *À l'Arc de Tri-*

³⁶ Sur le culte des montagnes au Tibet, voir Blondeau et Steinkellner 1996.

omphe, publiée dans *Les Voix intérieures* en 1837, le poète imagine, au futur antérieur (Junod 1983 : 38), un « Paris ruiné » (Hugo 1868 : 11) qu'il compare à Athènes, à Thèbes, à Rome, à Gur et à Palenque (Hugo 1868 : 10-11). L'ode déploie un panorama de Paris dont l'Arc de Triomphe est le centre :

Toi dont la courbe au loin, par le couchant dorée,
S'emplit d'azur céleste, arche démesurée ; [...]

O vaste entassement ciselé par l'histoire ! [...]
Quand des toits, des clochers, des ruches tortueuses,
Des porches, des frontons, des dômes pleins d'orgueil
Qui faisaient cette ville, aux voix tumultueuses,
Touffue, inextricable et fourmillante à l'œil,

Il ne restera plus dans l'immense campagne,
Pour toute pyramide et pour tout panthéon,
Que deux tours de granit faites par Charlemagne,
Et qu'un pilier d'airain fait par Napoléon ;

Toi, tu compléteras le triangle sublime !
L'airain sera la gloire et le granit la foi ;
Toi, tu seras la porte ouverte sur la cime
Qui dit : Il faut monter pour venir jusqu'à moi ! [...]

La particularité de cette vision panoramique est de conduire le regard et la pensée dans l'espace et dans le temps. Comme Adjroup Gumbo, Victor Hugo actualise les qualités phénoménologiques de l'arche, porte donnant accès à une vision simultanément horizontale et verticale. Par ce même geste, la topographie parisienne est réduite à une cartographie symbolique, tandis que s'élabore une stratigraphie historique signifiante. Ce long poème, conformément à une poétique consommée de la ruine, transcende le détail du réel pour gagner par l'imagination en puissance synthétique :

Arche ! Alors tu seras éternelle et complète, [...]
C'est alors que le roi, le sage, le poète,
Tous ceux dont le passé presse l'âme inquiète,
T'admireront vivante auprès de Paris mort.

Au-delà des évidents enjeux idéologiques et esthétiques propres à Hugo, que, pour les besoins de notre enquête, il faut placer ici au

second plan, pareille référence fait écho, à l'horizon du lecteur de 1910, à la description succincte d'Adjroup Gumbo, dans la mesure où la vision panoramique, ici prospective, là géosymbolique, déborde le champ visuel et engendre l'articulation du lieu urbain avec les éléments naturels, en renvoyant l'espace anthropique à un *érème* imaginaire, à un « grand désert » :

Oh ! dans ces jours lointains où l'on n'ose descendre,
Quand trois mille ans auront passé sur notre cendre, [...]
Si, vers le soir, un homme assis sur la colline
S'oublie à contempler cette Seine orpheline,
O Dieu ! de quel aspect triste et silencieux
Les lieux où fut Paris étonneront ses yeux ! [...]
De quel œil il verra, comme à travers un voile,
Comme un songe aux contours grandissants et noyés,
La plaine immense et brune apparaître à ses pieds,
S'élargir lentement dans le vague nocturne,
Et, comme une eau qui s'enfle et monte au bord de l'urne,
Absorbant par degrés forêt, coteau, gazon,
Quand la nuit sera noire, emplir tout l'horizon !

Mode de visualisation majeur du XIX^e siècle aux implications culturelles et idéologiques plurielles (Benjamin 1982), le panorama se distingue par sa visée panoptique. Ses applications varient selon qu'il est de type circulaire, comme dans le récit d'Adjroup Gumbo, ou de type frontal, comme dans un célèbre passage de *La Curée* de Zola, où, depuis le sommet de la butte de Montmartre, le personnage principal, Aristide Saccard, laisse libre cours à ses « rêves » de spéculateur sur le « nouveau Paris » :

C'était comme le coin enchanté d'une cité des *Mille et Une Nuits*, aux arbres d'émeraude, aux toits de saphir, aux girouettes de rubis. [...] Et de sa main étendue, ouverte et tranchante comme un coutelas, il fit signe de séparer la ville en quatre parts : [...] « Paris haché à coups de sabre, les veines ouvertes [...]. » La nuit venait. Sa main sèche et nerveuse coupait toujours dans le vide. (Zola 1960 : 388-389)

Ainsi le dispositif panoramique, commun au pèlerin tibétain et au spectateur français, se dote-t-il de connotations fort distinctes – on observera à ce propos combien la référence aux *Mille et Une Nuits* est commune au Aristide Saccard de Zola et au Adjroup Gumbo

de Pierre Mille. À bien y regarder, tout oppose pourtant la posture de domination territoriale de Saccard et la position d'inclusion paysagère, d'implication dans l'espace urbain, d'Adjroup Gumbo. En tirant parti d'une homologie patente entre les cultures tibétaine et française, le texte d'Adjroup Gumbo présente une image nouvelle de la ville. Or cette image se rapporte à une *pratique* de la ville — une *tactique* et non une *stratégie* (Certeau 1990) — qui ne peut en épuiser la complexité mais en produit par le parcours une appropriation subjective. Il est remarquable à ce propos que les commentateurs de 1910 se soient entendus à gloser unanimement ce « moyen imprévu » inventé par le Tibétain : « Dans le quartier des Champs-Élysées, il lui arrivait de s'égarer. Alors, il montait sur l'Arc de Triomphe, afin de mieux reconnaître sa route, de trouver sa maison » (Recouly 1910). « Quand Gumbo s'égarait dans la ville, il montait sur l'Arc de Triomphe, 'Une grande porte à douze étages' [sic] et il repérait son chemin » (E. U. 1910). « Cette porte, notre Tibétain ne manque jamais d'aller vers elle quand il s'est trompé de chemin ; et c'est ainsi qu'il se remet dans la bonne voie » (Laut 1910a). Enfin, dans une référence à peine voilée à Baudelaire, le plus littéraire de ces commentateurs souligne : « Parfois aussi, dans cette immense cité, il égarait ses pas. Mais il avait inventé, pour retrouver son chemin, un moyen imprévu, et qu'on ne peut que recommander » (Mille 1910). Gumbo, quant à lui, ajoute : « J'ai souvent fait ainsi pour retrouver ma maison, bâtie près du fleuve, non loin d'une grande place ornée de statues et de fontaines », évoquant ainsi la place de la Concorde dont le nom apparaît explicitement dans le cahier manuscrit. L'on reconnaît ici le Paris des « beaux quartiers » aménagés le long de la Seine où se trouvait la demeure parisienne de la famille de Jacques Bacot. Du point de vue cartographique, le recentrement effectué par Adjroup Gumbo, par-delà l'effet d'illusion de totalité panoramique, renvoie certainement à une topographie sociale limitée aux espaces urbains fréquentés par Jacques Bacot lui-même. En ce sens, la représentation topographique de Paris dans le texte d'Adjroup Gumbo est quelque peu tronquée : n'apparaissent guère les facettes plus difficilement visibles de la ville, comme les quartiers populaires et les zones péri-urbaines par exemple. Bien qu'Adjroup Gumbo témoigne par ailleurs d'une sensibilité sociologique remarquable et place sa compréhension du monde

urbain sous le signe de la pluralité, il relaie, lui qui répète combien les lois y sont excellentes et les habitants bienveillants, une représentation idéale d'une capitale apaisée, pacifiée, vouée à la circulation des savoirs, des biens culturels et des marchandises.

Ces parts d'ombre du panorama « cosmopolite » parisien composé par Adjroup Gumbo n'enlèvent rien à la qualité exploratoire de la démarche du voyageur tibétain. Il convient dès lors de revenir à la question de sa pratique de la ville. Il se trouve que la phrase citée ci-dessus a été retranchée de la version de 1912³⁷, peut-être pour son caractère redondant ou anecdotique, peut-être encore du fait de sa fonction référentielle trop précise. C'est pourtant cette fonction qui donne sa force à l'ensemble du passage, car tout en faisant apparaître quelques-uns des éléments matériels communs aux paysages urbains parisien et tibétain (la proximité du fleuve comme élément « naturel », un type spécifique de lieu public urbain et son mobilier à la résonance potentiellement sacrée), elle illustre l'efficacité pratique du réagencement symbolique de la ville à laquelle procède le voyageur tibétain. Lu dans sa totalité, cet extrait interdit donc de conclure à une pure projection imaginaire. Se donnent au contraire à lire ici les modalités hodologiques du rapport à l'espace d'Adjroup Gumbo et le lien intime que ce dernier a établi avec la « capitale de la modernité » pendant les deux mois qu'il y séjourna, avant de se rendre dans la maison de campagne de Bacot, épisode final à avoir été consigné dans le « Voyage » [voir ill.]. En cela enfin, Adjroup Gumbo rend son lecteur attentif aux modes culturels de la perception et de la représentation du paysage (Thévoz, *à paraître*).

Népémakö, au terme de notre enquête, apparaît comme un toponyme aux significations riches et labiles. Rappelons à cet égard que la « Géographie universelle » de Tendzin Trinlé plaçait en 1830 le royaume mythique de Śambhala en Europe, et plus précisément à l'endroit de l'Espagne (Yongdan 2011 : 118). La localisation de Népémakö, qui est parfois comparé à Śambhala et à de nombreux autres sites sacrés, semble également avoir toujours été flexible (McDougal 2016 : 10). Ainsi le « cœur le plus secret » de Pémakö a été localisé par le « découvreur » (*gter ston*) Drakngak

³⁷ Citée par les commentateurs de 1910, la phrase n'a en revanche pas non plus été reproduite dans Bacot 2009 : 161.

Lingpa (bDud 'joms Drag sngags gLing pa, c. 1871-1929), contemporain d'Adjroup Gumbo, au-delà des frontières du Tibet au début du XX^e siècle (McDougal 2016 : 2). Or c'est d'une géosensibilité analogue que fait preuve Adjroup Gumbo. À ce titre, Anne Chayet a décrit avec lucidité le rapport spécifique des Tibétains à la géographie :

Il faut bien constater que le mystère des noms demeure aussi bien défendu que celui des lieux, que, de ce point de vue, le Tibet est le premier et le principal de ses *sbas-yul* et que le cheminement quasi-initiatique qu'il faut poursuivre pour décrypter bon nombre de ses toponymes est aussi tortueux que le labyrinthe qui protège le nom de la Rose. [...] On se trouve ainsi confronté à la juxtaposition de multiples pays : physique, ethnique, historique, linguistique, et à la superposition de pays réels, aux paysages distinctifs, et de pays spirituels, parfois imbriqués, même jusque dans les noms qui y sont attachés. (Chayet 1997 : 35-36)

Dans la première décennie du XX^e siècle, Adjroup Gumbo, le premier peut-être parmi les Tibétains, adaptait ce modèle souple de compréhension de l'espace à l'expérience d'un environnement urbain moderne, à la manière d'un *gter ston* transculturel. Le voyageur activait en cela des significations nouvelles et inédites du pèlerinage vers Népémakö.

Patong-Paris (et retour) : le bar do d'Adjroup Gumbo dans les interstices de l'histoire

La modernité, c'est le transitoire, le fugitif, le contingent, la moitié de l'art, dont l'autre moitié est l'éternel et l'immuable.
Baudelaire, *Le Peintre de la vie moderne*

We have no fear about dying on the way [...] nor will we have regrets when we have to return.
Lelung Shepe Dorje, *The Delightful True Stories of the Supreme Land of Pemako*

Et, quelque jour, [...] il veillera paisiblement sur ces trésors, il pourra rédiger ses mémoires. Ils seront curieux, paraît-il.
Anon., « Le Thibet au musée Guimet »

Par l'exploration de cet épisode singulier de l'histoire croisée du Tibet et de la France et de ses traductions plurielles, l'enquête

nous a conduits, dans la distance qui sépare Paris de Patong, à porter au jour les rapports d'homologie parfois inattendus entre deux univers culturels en apparence éloignés l'un de l'autre. Concordantes ou discordantes, ces résonances ne supposent pas nécessairement des influences directes mais découlent d'affinités contextuelles :

The interpretation of a corpus of data and its critique by a person or a team from different perspectives and with different theoretical approaches activate, so to speak, the underlying structural affinities among data and, at the same time, the specific cultural and historical features from where new hypotheses, if not directions of research, may be initiated, and this is obviously nothing new. (Scherrer-Schaub 2015 : 529)

Tandis qu'un personnage comme Agvan Dorjiev observait un agenda d'ordre politique et poursuivait des ambitions prosélytes, Adjroup Gumbo offre l'exemple hors normes d'un récit en définitive « moderne », moins par la rupture qu'il chercherait à établir avec la culture tibétaine que par la polyphonie culturelle avec laquelle il orchestre sa rencontre avec la France du début du XX^e siècle et par l'ouverture d'esprit à proprement parler cosmopolite avec laquelle il fait sens de son expérience de la métropole parisienne, située *a priori* (un *a priori* qu'il bat en brèche) aux antipodes du « monde connu » de lui. Symétriquement, le « Voyage » d'Adjroup Gumbo se distingue des expériences plus tardives de Tibétains découvrant le monde au-delà des frontières tibétaines. Mené dans des conditions historiques qui lui sont propres, quelques années avant la Convention de Simla, le voyage d'Adjroup Gumbo cherche moins à consolider une « identité » tibétaine qu'à élaborer des passerelles interculturelles. En cela, il ne présente que peu de ressemblances avec les voyages du célèbre Gendün Chöphel (dGe 'dun Chos 'phel, 1903-1951), par exemple, et sa « réinvention de l'Inde bouddhique » (Huber 2008) sous la période britannique (Stoddard 1985, Lopez 2006). Bien que la trajectoire d'Adjroup Gumbo se prête à plusieurs rapprochements avec celle d'une figure importante du cosmopolitisme dans le monde tibétain comme le Révérend Gargin Dorje Tharchin (1890-1976), le statut confidentiel et ponctuel de son récit l'éloigne, pour des raisons en partie similaires, de l'entreprise éditoriale d'envergure,

plus tardive, de cet autre intellectuel chrétien tibétain (Robin 2013 et Willock 2016). Par ailleurs, malgré leurs parcours en quelques points comparables, il paraît hasardeux, pour les raisons biographiques discutées ici, de mettre Adjroup Gumbo en regard de figures comme Sidkeong Tulku Namgyal (1879-1914, McKay 2003), Kazi Dawa Samdup (1868-1922, Samdup 2008)³⁸, ou même Aphur Yongden (1899-1955), qui a accompagné Alexandra David-Neel en 1925 en France, où il est resté jusqu'à sa mort, mais n'a, semble-t-il, laissé aucunes « impressions de voyage ». À plus forte raison, les récits des exilés tibétains en Inde, en Europe et aux États-Unis, suite à la diaspora de la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle (McMillin 2001), doivent être lus selon d'autres repères historiques et idéologiques. Sur un plan global néanmoins, ces différents textes présentent autant d'exemples de « modernités hybrides » ou, selon l'expression d'Enrique Dussel, de « 'trans-modernités' créatives » (Gyatso 2011 : 18). Du point de vue d'une histoire littéraire tibétaine mondialisée, il est intéressant d'observer que le « Voyage » d'Adjroup Gumbo préfigure, sur le plan littéraire, la réinterprétation de la tradition des « trésors » (*gter ma*), à laquelle appartiennent les « pays cachés », opérée par la littérature anglo-tibétaine de l'après-1950 dans la perspective d'une accommodation avec le monde (post-)moderne (Galván-Álvarez 2014)³⁹.

Témoin d'une période troublée, ressortissant des « marches » sino-tibétaines, à l'écart de la zone d'influence du Ganden Podrang (*dGal 'dan pho drang*), le gouvernement central tibétain (Gros 2016), auteur à la fortune littéraire en demi-teinte et dont l'œuvre est restée quelque peu confidentielle, voyageur cosmopolite trop précoce peut-être, Adjroup Gumbo est resté un acteur « invisible » de l'histoire mondiale. Du fait de son « profil » atypique, il a échappé, comme on l'a vu, aux rets des historiens de la

³⁸ Les rencontres au tournant du siècle entre Européens, principalement britanniques, et Tibétains d'ordre diplomatique, missionnaire et colonial ont fait l'objet d'enquêtes qui croisent celle proposée ici (Aris 1997, Bray 2015, Shakya 1986). Il convient encore d'évoquer ici les récits plus tardifs de Paul Sherap (Sherap et Combe 1926), de Rinchen Lhamo (Lhamo 1926) ou de Chögyam Trungpa (Trungpa 1977).

³⁹ En analysant la renaissance du mouvement « *gter* » de Khenpo Jikphun dans le Tibet oriental, Germano 1998 offre un saisissant contrepoint à la question de l'accommodation culturelle.

culture tibétaine. À cet égard, il serait nécessaire de rapporter de plus près le texte d'Adjroup Gumbo aux pratiques littéraires tibétaines et de faire apparaître les liens de parenté multiples de ce récit unique avec les différents courants génériques de la littérature tibétaine. Sans chercher à dresser un bilan exhaustif des études qui ont mis en lumière la richesse de l'histoire littéraire du Tibet, il est utile de relever plus humblement que les études tibétaines ont, durant les dernières décennies, mené une réflexion générale sur l'histoire et la variété de cette littérature (Cabezón et Jackson 1997, Smith 2001, Schaeffer 2009), problématisé la question des déterminations génériques (Rheingans 2015) et proposé de reconstituer une histoire de l'écrit au Tibet faisant communiquer entre eux toutes sortes de types de textes et éclairant par ce voisinage les périodes de l'histoire culturelle tibétaine (Schaeffer, Kapstein et Tuttle 2013). De manière indirecte, mon enquête se situe ainsi dans le prolongement d'une réflexion littéraire sur les sources écrites tibétaines : « On a theoretical level, we need to find appropriate ways of looking at Tibetan works as literature, not just as sources that provide convenient information on other topics such as Tibetan history, politics, religions, customs, and so forth » (Roesler 2015 : 31). Simultanément, les études littéraires se sont intéressées aux genres spécifiques de ce vaste corpus, dont plusieurs sont connexes au récit d'Adjroup Gumbo : les cosmographies (Wylie 1962, Yongdan 2011, Tuttle 2011), les récits de pèlerinage (Blondeau 1960, Huber 1999, Buffettrille 2000) et l'émergence de récits de voyage « modernes » (Huber 2008, Kværne 1998), la pratique de l'écrit intime (Gyatso 1997), le style épistolaire (Bacot 1962 : 98-102, Kilby 2016) et la tradition aujourd'hui encore très vivace des « écritures du moi » que sont la biographie et l'autobiographie (Gyatso 1999, Henrion-Dourcy 2013, Karmay 2014, Gyatso 2016 pour une recension critique des travaux récents, McMillin 2001 : 113-232 pour la résurgence du genre dans la diaspora tibétaine).

À l'écart de la question épineuse des genres littéraires, des études récentes ont cherché à éclairer l'émergence au sein de la littérature tibétaine des questions relatives à la « modernité » (Huber 1997, Shakya 2004, Venturino 2007, Hartley et Schiaffini 2008, Robin 2011, Holmes-Tagchungdarpa 2014, Jabb 2015), à la « sécularité » et au « vernaculaire » (Gayley et Willock 2016), au « cosmo-

politisme » enfin (Pitkin 2004). Si la plupart, de manière pleinement légitime, étudient la période qui a suivi les événements des années 1950, la période du XX^e siècle qui précède, dite aussi « moderne »⁴⁰, durant laquelle le Tibet se voit mis aux prises des empires d'Asie et d'Occident de manière décisive, est relativement bien documentée du point de vue des historiens (Goldstein 1991, McKay 1997). Cette dernière l'est toutefois sensiblement moins, faute de textes disponibles peut-être, sous le rapport des études littéraires. Dans cette perspective, le récit d'Adjroup Gumbo est instructif non seulement du point de vue biographique (tout compte tenu de la rareté des informations sur l'auteur) ou générique (au vu de son évidente hétérogénéité discursive), mais surtout du point de vue des processus interculturels qui y sont à l'œuvre : en sont indicatifs en eux-mêmes le parcours biographique de l'auteur et l'état « linguistique » du texte, dans lequel les déterminations génériques françaises et tibétaines entrent en résonance. À cela s'ajoute, comme je l'ai montré, la thématization d'une trajectoire entre l'« ici » et le « là-bas », le narrateur faisant porter l'accent du texte sur les résonances intimes de son parcours entre les cultures dans une perspective hodologique et dialogique.

Comme l'on a vu, ce « découvreur » naviguant entre les cultures au début du XX^e siècle concevait sa traversée vers « l'autre face du monde », « de l'autre côté de la mer », selon des modalités comparables au *bar do*. Si le terme désigne un état intermédiaire entre une existence et une autre, il est aussi un état de conscience

⁴⁰ Dans le cadre des études tibétaines, Janet Gyatso a exemplairement problématisé les applications du terme : « For the proposition that the cataclysmic events of the mid-twentieth century, violent and unfortunate as they might have been, did not necessarily amount to a sudden immersion in modernity for Tibet is most apropos concerning questions about culture. There can be no doubt that in terms of modernization of the government, the military, industry, agriculture, economics, technology, transportation infrastructure, medicine, science, and many of the structures of civil society, the 1950s do indeed mark a deeply dramatic shift for Tibet. But for those domains exhibiting what we might distinguish as cultural modernity, involving personal and regional forms of self-conception, the writing of literature, the writing of history, ethics, and even religion, the transition was far more gradual than has usually been noted. The Tibetan case does present a remarkable set of instances where, fairly precisely, we can track actors drawing on antecedent forms and practices, and then relocating them as means to adapt to conditions of modernity » (Gyatso 2011 : 8).

et « toute phase de transition, comme la méditation, le rêve, la mort et même l'intervalle séparant deux pensées » (Baker 2004 : 443, je traduis). De même et à rebours de la pensée dichotomisante séparant l'Orient et l'Occident, le traditionnel et le moderne, le religieux et le séculier, le sauvage et le civilisé, ce Tibétain laïc aux identités religieuses multiples, au statut social hors normes, donne à lire combien les confins du Tibet oriental étaient « connectés » au reste du monde et « enchevêtrés » dans une histoire globale qu'il a contribué à écrire. Le « Népémakö » d'Adjroup Gumbo, appartient ainsi de droit aux « lieux et écrits (perpétuellement) à découvrir » (Scherrer-Schaub 2013) cachés dans les interstices et les sutures de l'histoire des littératures mondiales.

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Adjroup Gumbo photographié par Jacques Bacot,
Le Puy d'Artigny (Indre-et-Loire), 1908 (d'après tirage original 64 × 100)
Crédit photographique: © Olivier de Bernon, collection personnelle.

*Abhinavagupta as an Aristocrat**

RAFFAELE TORELLA
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*Mais le calme héros, courbé sur sa rapière,
Regardait le sillage et ne daignait rien voir.*

Charles Baudelaire, *Don Juan aux enfers*

While in the past I took almost for granted that the grounds of Abhinavagupta's aesthetic thought were to be found in his philosophical-religious speculation, in the course of time my "feeling" has been gradually changing and now I am more and more inclined to give prominence to a basic aesthetic flavour as the more or less hidden background of his activity as a whole. This aesthetic flavour goes hand in hand with an aristocratic attitude, the latter being allegedly the very source where the former stems from.

A major characteristic of the aristocratic attitude is the downgrading of all painful effort, seen as plebeian feature. The aristocrat intends to show that what inferior people can achieve only at the cost of long and painful exercises is accessible to him promptly and very easily. This can be detected in Abhinavagupta's attitude

* This article is a token of admiration and affection to my sweetly aristocratic friend Cristina Scherrer-Schaub.

to yoga, or, to be more precise, to Pātañjala yoga.¹ In the summary of the topics of the *Tantrāloka* (TĀ), at the end of Āhnika 1, he lists: *yogāṅgānupayogitva* (and *kalpitārcādyanādara*). The uselessness of the *aṅgas* of yoga, though being a leitmotiv of the entire work, receives a specific treatment in Āhnika 4, apparently following the authority of the *Vīrāvalītantra*. After liquidating with few disdainful words *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana* and *prāṇāyāma* (the “external” *aṅgas*), he sets out to an apparently more difficult task: showing the uselessness also of the “internal” *aṅgas*: *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi*.² Here, I will not delve into the very interesting criticism of the single *aṅgas*, a topic which I am treating in a separate paper, but limit myself to hinting at few major points, closely connected among themselves: withdrawing the senses from their objects results in reinforcing the bondage instead of loosening it, in that it suggests the idea that consciousness resides in some places and not in other;³ analogously, concentrating on a specific support ends up with erroneously “localising” the supreme consciousness;⁴ meditating on a single object (and only on the series of homogeneous cognitions related to it) would leave otherness outside;⁵ merging into the object of cognition deprives

¹ In his *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka* 1:6, Abhinavagupta quotes and comments on a *śloka* by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, already touching on the same subject: *vāgdhenur dugdham etaṃ hi rasaṃ yad bālatiṣṇayā | tena nāsya samaḥ sa syād duhyate yogibhir hi yaḥ | tadāveśena vināpy ākrāntya hi yo yogibhir duhyate |*. The *rasa* that flows spontaneously to the sons of Sarasvatī (the poets) cannot be compared to the *rasa* obtained thanks to the painful and violent procedure (*ākrāntya*) of the yogins. See Uttuṅodaya’s *Kaumudī* on the same passage (p. 169): *ākrāntya pratyāhārādi-prayatnaparamparātmakaparipīḍanopāyāśrayeṇety arthaḥ*.

² TĀV III.98: *nanu yamādi yadi bāhyavijrmbhitatvāt na saṃvittāv upayogī, tad astu, ko doṣaḥ, pratyāhārādi punar bāhyāt pratyāvṛttaṃ sat, antar eva labdhapraroham, iti tad api kathaṃ na tatropayuktam ?*

³ TĀ 4:92: *pratyāhāras ca nāmāyam arthebhyo kṣadhiyāṃ hi yaḥ | anibaddhasya bandhasya tad antaḥ kila kilanam ||*. Jayaratha (J): *sa eva cātra kutasācit pratyāhṛtānām indriyāṇāṃ kutracid avasthāpanād upodvalikṛtaḥ, iti kathaṃ nāma pratyāhārādeḥ saṃvitsāksātkārāyopayogaḥ — vyāpikāyā hi saṃvidāḥ kathaṃ nāma kutracid evopalambho bhavet iti bhāvāḥ*. Referring to what Abhinava says elsewhere, we may add that *pratyāhāra* has the negative effect of reducing the capacity of the sense faculties (*saṃvid-devīs*) to assimilate the external reality to consciousness.

⁴ TĀ 4:93ab: *cittasya viśaye kvāpi bandhanaṃ dhāraṇātmakam |*

⁵ TĀ 4:93cd: *tatsadygjñānasaṃtāno dhyānam astamitāparam* [KSTS ed.: *astamitā param*] ||. J: *dhyāne pi sajātyānām eva jñānānām pravahadrūpatvaṃ nāma rūpaṃ, na vijātyānām, ity atra niyatātkārāvachchinnatvam*.

consciousness of the dynamic tension between cogniser and cognised.⁶ But, even more subtly, two basic shortcomings are at work in the *aṅgas* of Pātañjala yoga, and are more or less explicitly deprecated. The very term *aṅga* is to be understood as something which has no value in itself but only as a means to reach the immediately higher *aṅga*: none of them is by itself a means to consciousness, only *tarika* being a real *upāya* to it. This evokes the image of a ladder going painfully higher and higher, and presupposes that consciousness can be realised bit by bit. To the earlier point a straightforward answer can be found in the *Parātrīṃśī-kāvīvaraṇa* (PTV): “Our view is so called in that there is no ascending (*an-uttara*) in it, i.e., liberation conceived as progressive elevation from the body to *prāṇa* and so on, as conceived by dualistic doctrines. [...] For ascending is useless.”⁷

And again:

[Objection:] But the one who wants to ascend and desires to know the sense of the Trika, how can he ascend? [Reply:] But whose is such desire? He should not ascend at all! If he has this intention, let him resort to the ritual procedure of the Siddhā[nta?]tantras, etc., and the contraction characterising the visualisation (*dhyāna*), etc., described there. This person is not qualified for the Anuttara state, where there is no contraction. The yoga we are referring to is an ever-present yoga (*sadodita*) [devoid of contraction].⁸

As to the second point, i.e., the gradual realisation of consciousness, Abhinavagupta is equally categorical. What is already rooted in consciousness can be gradually transmitted to the *prāṇa*, body, mind, by the repeated practice of these *yogāṅgas*, whereas this pro-

⁶ TĀ 4:94: *yadā tu jñeyatādātmyam eva saṃvidi jāyate | grāhyagrahaṇatā-dvaitasūnyateyam samāhitiḥ ||. J: samādhāv api jñānajñeyākhyarūpadvayatiraskāreṇa dhīyētmajñeyamātrapratibhāsa eva rūpam, ity atra nīyata evākāro vacchedakaḥ.*

⁷ Cf. PTV 193: *uttaraṇam uttaro bhedavādābhimato pavargah | sa hi vastuto niyatiprāṇatām nātikrāmati! tathā hi prathamam śarīrāt prāṇabhūmāv anupraviśya, tato 'pi buddhibhuvam adhiśayya, tato 'pi spandanākhyam jīvanarūpatām adhyāya, tato 'pi sarvavedyapraśayātmaśūnyapadam adhiśṭhāya, tato 'pi sakalamalatānavatāratamyātīśayadhārāprāptau śivatvavyaktyā aṅgur apavṛjyate āropavyarthatvat īti.*

⁸ PTV 278: *āruruḥsur etāvātrikārthābhilāśukas ca katham ārohatv itī cet kasyāyam arthibhāvah | mā tarhi āruḥṣat | siddhā[nta?]tantrādividhim eva tadāśayenaiva nirūpitatadhyānādīsaṃkocam ālambatām | asaṃkocitānuttarapade hy anadhikyā eva | eṣa eva sadodito yogah |.*

cedure is not applicable to consciousness.⁹ In other words, if *abhyāsa* may be applied to the domain of the *yogāṅgas*, for sure it is of no use at all for consciousness.¹⁰

No slow and painful ascent step by step, but only an elegant, powerful and effortless jump is effective. One of the recurring qualifications for Abhinavagupta's attitude to spiritual path is precisely absence of effort (*yatna*, *prayatna*), absence of exertion or fatigue (*āyāsa*, *prayāsa*), easiness (*sukha*, *sughāṭa*). This is especially connected by him with the Kula: "In the Kula view all these [ritual prescriptions] are abandoned, since the Kula teaches an easy means."¹¹ These qualifications can be found both in the definition of the special yoga taught by the Śaiva tradition (see, e.g., the oft-quoted definition of yoga given by the core text of the TĀ (the *Mālinīvijayottara* MVU),¹² and in the conclusion of the core text of the Pratyabhijñā, the *Īsvaraḥṣṭyaḥ* (ĪPK).¹³ Yet one of the early texts of non-dualistic Śaivism, the *Śivasūtra* (ŚS), apparently praises *prayatna*, considered as the only means for realising mantra (2:2 *prayatnaḥ sādhaḥ*). However, according to the oxymoron that Kṣemarāja uses in his *Vimarsinī*, this is a "non-constructed, spontaneous" (*akṛtaka*) effort, a kind of subtle inner tension in which *śakti* manifests

⁹ TĀ 4:97: *antaḥ saṃvidi rūdhaṃ hi taddvārā prāṇadehayoḥ | buddhau vārpyaṃ tadabhyāsān naiṣa nyāyas tu saṃvidi ||*

¹⁰ TĀ 4:104ab: *tad advayāyāṃ saṃvittāv abhyāso 'nupayogavān |* See also PTV 263 *sarvatrātra sakṛdvibhātaṃ prasamkhyānagamyāṃ rūpaṃ mukhyataḥ tatra yogyānāṃ tu paraśaktipātāpavitritānāṃ* [em. to *tatrāyogyānāṃ tu paraśaktipātāpavitritānāṃ* might be considered] *vṛthaindrajālikakalanālālasānāṃ vā yogābhyāsa iti mantavyam.*

¹¹ TĀ 4:258ab: [...] *kaule tyāgo 'sya sukhopāyopadeśataḥ |* In order to elucidate the sense of *sukha*] quotes an anonymous verse: *pūrvair nirodhaḥ kathito vairāgyābhyāsayogataḥ | asmābhis tu nirodho 'yam ayatnenopadiśyate ||* "The ancient [masters] have shown how to block it [the mind] through detachment and repeated practice. Instead, we will teach how to obtain its blocking with no effort." The *sloka* comes from Vāmanadatta's *Svabodhodayamañjarī* (cf. Torella 2000).

¹² Quoted, for example, in TĀV I.257: *anāyāsam anārambham anupāyāṃ* [quoted in ĪPVV III.401 as: *sphuṭopāyāṃ anāyāsam anārambham*] *mahāphalam | śrotum icchāmi yogeśa yogam yogavidāṃ vara || iti devyā pṛṣṭe — śṛṇu devī pravakṣyāmi yogāṃṛtam anuttamam | yat prāpya śivatāṃ martyā labhanti āyāsavajitāḥ ||* It is to be noted that this oft-quoted passage cannot be found in the edited text of the MVU.

¹³ ĪPK 4:16a: *iti prakṛtito mayā sughāṭa eṣa mārgo navah |*

itself.¹⁴ *Prayatna* understood in this way is assimilated to a constellation of terms with similar meaning, such as *udyoga*, *udyama*, *samrambha*. On the other hand, the idea of “easiness” as absence of *prayāsa-āyāsa* of yogic practice is indeed present in the ŚS (3:16 *āsanasthah sukham hrade nimajjati*).¹⁵

The possible ambiguity of *sukha* is aptly underlined by the conflicting interpretations of a verse of the *Mataṅgapārameśvara-āgama* (MPĀ) respectively given by Abhinavagupta and by the Saiddhāntic Rāmakaṅṭha.¹⁶ For Abhinavagupta, the verse says that ritual is an “easy” alternative for those who are unable to follow the path of knowledge owing to their spiritual impotence—an interpretation which cannot but sound unacceptable to Rāmakaṅṭha, staunch upholder of the primacy of ritual as a means for liberation. The same may be said about traditional yoga practices. As PTV says:

In this way the nature of Anuttara has been fully ascertained, in which there is no room for meditation/visualisation and so on, and which is accessible only through subtle spiritual contemplation (*prasamkhyāna*) up to the point it attains a firm grasp consisting of “penetrating the heart,” i.e., firm wondrous savouring (*dṛḍhacamatkāra*). But if one lays down the sword represented by the nobleness of means, then with regard to those who strive for the various powers yoga is to be taught.¹⁷

¹⁴ ŚSV 24: *anusamdhitsāprathamomesāvaṣṭhambhaprayatanātmā akṛtako yah prayatnah*. Cf. Torella 2013: 156–158. On other occasions, we find a distinction between external and internal effort.

¹⁵ ŚSV 46: *parihṛtaparāparadhyānadhāraṇādisarvakriyāprayāso nityam antarmukhatayā tad eva parāṃśatī yah sa sukham anāyāsatayā [...]*.

¹⁶ MPĀ15:8: *yeṣāṃ adhyavasāyo ’sti na vidyāṃ praty aśaktitah | sukhopāyam idaṃ teṣāṃ vidhānam uditam guroh ||* (cf. Sanderson 1985: 566). See J’s comments thereon: *iti śrīmanmataṅgākhye hy uktā mokṣābhyupāyatā | yeṣāṃ ajñatvena asāmarthyāt samyagjñānasavbhāvāṃ vidyāṃ prati mokṣopāyatāyām adhyavasāyo niścayo nāsti teṣāṃ idaṃ gurukartṛkaṃ kriyāpradhānaṃ vidhānaṃ sukhopāyam uditam, evam anāyāsam evaiṣāṃ mokṣah syād iti*. Rāmakaṅṭha’s strained interpretation is based on taking *sukhopāyam* as *ṣaṣṭhātātpuruṣa* “means of the (highest) bliss” (*Vṛtti* on MPĀ, *kriyāpāda*, 1:2, p. 2: *sukhasya parīpūrṇatālakṣaṇasya upāyo bandhanivṛttih*) instead of *karmadhāraya* “easy means.”

¹⁷ PTV 281: *evam anuttarasvarūpaṃ vistarato nirṇītam, yatra bhāvanādyanavakāśah | prasamkhyānamātram eva dṛḍhacamatkāralakṣaṇahṛdayaṅgamatāmakapratīpattidārdhyaparyantam | yatropāyadhaureyadhārādharāṃ [ed.: -dharan] nidhatte siddhiprepsuṣu tu yogo vaktavyah |*.

But even in the more widely accepted sense, is easiness really easy?¹⁸ We don't need to speculate about Abhinava's answer, since the latter is given in clear words at the end of Āhnikā 4. After dealing at length with uselessness of yoga and ritual as a direct means to consciousness, with the necessity of an effortless *upāya*, etc., he concludes:

But now enough with such too long digressions on matters already fully explained! Only some very special sage, Abhinavagupta, would be qualified for such sacrificial procedure...¹⁹

Of course, we can say that this is not to be taken literally, as here Abhinavagupta is just playing with his name as he will do elsewhere (TĀ 27:85); but sometimes play may be very serious... Two verses earlier he said:

By the smell of the *ketakī* flower only the tasteful bee is attracted, not the flies. Analogously, only some very special man, driven by the supreme Lord, feels attraction to the supremely non-dual worship of Bhairava.²⁰

Here, almost casually, one more element has been added to the portrait of the ideal recipient of these teachings: he must be “*rasika*,” that is, aesthetically sensitive, or to use a cognate term, which holds a central position in the philosophic and aesthetic thought of Abhinavagupta, *sahjādaya* (lit. “endowed with heart”).²¹ This “aesthetic susceptibility” (Rastogi 2016: 142) is the source of *ca-matkāra* “wondrous savouring,” another key term of Abhinavagupta's philosophy, and prior to him, of Utpaladeva's, being in its turn a major component of any *vimarśa* “reflective awareness” by

¹⁸ Pure transformative knowledge is an “easy” *upāya*, but only for those who are qualified for it. In this way, they can get rid of the heavy burden (*āyāsa*) of repeated practice, etc. Interestingly, for those who are not qualified for knowledge, it is the way of knowledge that is hard and painful (TĀV IX. 5: *kriyāpradhānam vidhānam sukhopāyam uditam, evam anāyāsam evaiśam mokṣaḥ syād iti*).

¹⁹ TĀ 4:278: *alaṃ vātiprasaṅgena bhūyasātīpapañcite | yogyo 'bhinavagupto 'smiṃ ko 'pi yāgavidhau budhaḥ ||*.

²⁰ TĀ 4:276: *ketakikusumasaurabhe bhṛṣaṃ bhṛṅga eva rasiko na makṣikā | bhairavīyāparamādvayārcane ko 'pi rajyati mahēśacodītaḥ ||*.

²¹ On *sahjādaya* and cognate terms see Gnoli 1968: XLIII–XLIV; Masson and Patwardhan 1985: 78; Smith 1985: 46; Cuneo 2013: 64–65; Rastogi 2016: 142, 160, etc. Cf. the beautiful definition given by Abhinavagupta in TĀ 3:209cd–210.

which the knowing subject appropriates the object.²² This aesthetic attitude is not limited to the sphere of art, but is expected to embrace life itself in its entirety.²³

The portrait of this very special religious man resembles more and more to that of the Indian ideal gentleman: in both we find an innate gracefulness, elegance, aesthetic resonance, disdain for plebeian efforts, easiness. What we know about the aristocrats in the Indian court, marked by the ideal of *dākṣiṇya* “courtly refinement” (Ali 2004: 135–137),²⁴ strongly reminds us of the typically aristocratic virtues depicted in one of the masterworks of Italian renaissance, *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (*The Book of the Courtier*) by the count Baldesar Castiglione. This work,²⁵ was published in Venice in 1528, and soon became the standard portrait of the ideal aristo-

²² Once again Utpaladeva proves to be the very centre of Pratyabhijñā philosophy. The centrality of *camatkāra*, usually associated to Abhinavagupta’s aesthetic and philosophic teaching, had already been established by Utpaladeva: *Vṛtti* on ĪPK 1.5:11: *taṃ vinā arthabheditākārasyāpy asya svacchatāmātram na tv ajādyam camatkyter abhāvāt*. “In the absence of this reflective awareness, light, though objects make it assume different forms, would merely be ‘limpid,’ but not sentient, since there is no ‘wondrous savouring’ (*camatkyter abhāvāt*);” cf. Torella 2002: 118.

²³ Ali 2004: 193: “[...] the assumption in courtly circles was that *rasa* was experienced by men and women of rank not merely in art but in their worldly dealings—that the capacity to experience *rasa* was a way of experiencing the affective world around them. [...] In short, the *rasika* was at once a moral and aesthetic category. [...] *Rasa* was a sort of ‘meta-disposition’ which aestheticised every aspect of an individual’s experience;” Cuneo 2013: 52: “On the other hand, Abhinavagupta uses the term *rasa* having especially in mind the idea of ‘extract’ or ‘essence,’ in the sense that the aesthetic experience is, in other words, the sublimated counterpart of ordinary experience.” A similar atmosphere is that of the roughly coeval Heian period in medieval Japan, aptly depicted by Ivan Morris (1964: 205): “The ‘rules of taste’ applied not only to the formal arts but to nearly every aspect of the lives of the upper classes in the capital. It was central to Heian Buddhism, making [...] religion into an art and art into a religion.”

²⁴ It is to be noted that his gracefulness has to be accompanied by resolve (*dhairya*), energy (*utsāha*), valour (*śaurya*) (Ali 2004: 96). Cf Ali 2004: 102: “Among the courtly elite, even as men were encouraged to cultivate gentility and compassion, they were expected to constantly display their skills in warfare, exhibit martial emotions like bravery, impetuosity and revenge on the battlefield, and to brutally chastise any exhibition of ‘pride’ on the part of equals or inferiors.” A very similar remark can be found at several places in the *Libro del Cortegiano* (see below).

²⁵ Castiglione is also mentioned in this context by Ivan Morris (1964: 189), Daud Ali (2004: 158, n. 43) and Daniele Cuneo (2013: 61).

crat, being quickly translated into all the major European languages. Such easiness, as Castiglione says, may be the result of dissimulated efforts:

[...] and, to use possibly a new word, to practice in everything a certain nonchalance that shall conceal design and show that what is done and said is done without effort and almost without thought. From this I believe grace is in large measure derived, because everyone knows the difficulty of those things that are rare and well done, and therefore facility in them excites the highest admiration; while on the other hand, to strive and as the saying is to drag by the hair, is extremely ungraceful, and makes us esteem everything slightly, however great it be. Accordingly we may affirm that to be true art which does not appear to be art; nor to anything must we give greater to conceal art, for if it is discovered, it quite destroys our credit and brings us into small esteem.²⁶

A very significant example of aristocratic nonchalance applied to the spiritual path can be found in Abhinavagupta's *Mālinī-vijayavārttika* (MVV). What Abhinavagupta thought about *abhyāsa* by now we already know. Now it is the turn of the other pillar of Pātāñjala yoga, *vairāgya*.²⁷ And also of another crucial theme in yoga: control.

In actual fact, no member of yoga can really serve as a means of achieving [the condition of *anuttara* "that which nothing transcends"]. For its [i.e., *anuttara*'s] own form is indeed formless as it is exempt of any delimitation. The means to it is, in fact, a non-means, since it comprises neither ritual practices nor the blocking of mental functions. It is a boat designed for a light breeze, without exhalation or inhalation, which thereby carries itself beyond the ocean of duality, albeit in the meantime the mind is immersed in the fluid of the objective world. Let us bear in mind that the gourd does not become soft inside unless it is pierced with holes. Likewise, consider what is involved when one decides to put the natural course of the mind under control, i.e., when one wishes to put a bit on a wild horse. Owing to

²⁶ *Libro del Cortegiano* 124: "[...] e, per dir forse una nova parola, usar in ogni cosa una certa sprezzatura, che nasconda l'arte e dimostri ciò che si fa e dice venir fatto senza fatica e quasi senza pensarvi. Da questo credo io che derivi assai la grazia; perché delle cose rare e ben fatte ognun sa la difficultà, onde in esse la facilità genera grandissima meraviglia; e per lo contrario il sforzare e, come si dice, tirar per i capegli dà somma disgrazia e fa estimar poco ogni cosa, per grande ch'ella si sia. Però si po dir quella esser vera arte che non pare esser arte; né piú in altro si ha da poner studio, che nel nasconderla: perché se è scoperta, leva in tutto il credito e fa l'omo poco estimato." Translation Eckstein Opdycke 1903: 35.

²⁷ *Yogasūtra* 1:2 *abhyāsavairāgyābhyāṃ tannirodhaḥ*.

the violence of the procedures, the mind—like the horse—will start running here and there, taking many wrong directions. Why does this occur? We all know that the mind can even delight in pain and, conversely, retreat disgusted from pleasure and knowledge. This is what the master demonstrates in various forms in his treatise: the impulses of the senses can be made to cease thanks to a highly special kind of detachment, a detachment practiced in elegant *souplesse*. If, on the contrary, one attempts to subjugate them, they end up becoming ungovernable.²⁸

This “detachment practiced in elegant *souplesse*,” as I rather freely translate *anādara-virakti*,²⁹ may be paired with the *anādara-nyāsa* of *Nāṭyaśāstra* 22:16,³⁰ where a beautiful and complex arrangement of different elements is achieved by the aesthetically sensitive person giving the impression of a semi-casualness. The ideal non-dualistic Tantric adept comes to be a delicate balance of alertness,³¹ determination, spontaneity and nonchalance. But where does this aristocratic attitude of Abhinavagupta come from? Simply from the fact that he “is” an aristocrat, as the title accompanying his name reveals. Rājānaka, more or less akin to the

²⁸ MVV 2:106–112: *vastuto 'sti na kasyāpi yogāṅgasyābhyupāyatā | svarūpaṃ hy asya nīrūpaṃ avacchedavivarjanāt || upāyo 'py anupāyo 'syāyāgarvṛttinirodhataḥ | recanāpūraṇair eṣā rahitā tanuvātanauḥ || tārayaty evam ātmānaṃ bhedasāgaragocarat | nīmajjāmānaṃ [em.; nīmañjāmānaṃ ed.] apy etan mano vaiśayike rase || nāntarārdratvam abhyeti niśchidraṃ tumbakam yathā | svam panthānaṃ hayasyeva manaso ye nīrudhate || teṣāṃ tatkaṇḍānāyogād dhāvaty unmārgakoṭibhiḥ | kiṃsvīd etad iti prāyo duḥkhe 'py utkañḥate manah || sukhād api virajyeta jñānād etad idaṃ (tv iti) | tathāhi gurur ādikṣad bahudhā svakaśāsane || anādaraviraktyaiva galantīndriyavṛttayah | yāvat tu vīniyamante tāvat tāvad vikurvate ||*

²⁹ Another, more literal, translation may be “detachment [from something] by simply ignoring it.” This is definitely its meaning in the context of the only other occurrence of this phrase I am aware of. In his *Vyākhyā* on *ĪPV* (*ad* 4.1:3) Bhāskaraṇḍha comments on an *ardhasloka* quoted by Abhinavagupta (*śaṅkāpi na viśaṅketa niḥśaṅkatvam idaṃ sphuṭam*) by saying: *na viśaṅkanīyā [...] kiṃ tu anādaraviśayatām eva neyeti bhāvah | tad uktam — anādaraviraktyaiva na paśyantīndriyasaṅvidah — iti*. The two translations are, to my mind, essentially equivalent (could we ever think of a more aristocratic attitude than that of one who frees himself of hindrances simply by stating that he does not see them? It is now clear why I put those verses by Baudelaire *in exergo*...).

³⁰ The verse depicts the (seemingly) slightly careless arrangement of garlands, clothes, ornaments and unguents in a woman, which results in making her even more attractive (*Abhinavabhārati* III.153 *svalpo 'pi param ity alpatayaiva param śobhāṃ janayati saubhāgyagarvamahimā hy asau*). The phrase is quoted in Ali 2004: 160, but taken in a slightly different sense.

³¹ See the concept of *satatodyoga* as outlined in Kṣemarāja’s *Spandanirṇaya* 39.

English “Sir,” is indeed attributed to persons who had in their family a royal minister.³² But Abhinavagupta is neither the only one nor the first in this extraordinary chain of non-dualistic Śaiva masters to have this title. The first was Utpaladeva, and we may even surmise that one of the reasons for the radical paradigm shift which took place between Utpaladeva and his master Somānanda is to be found in their coming from different social milieux: Bhaṭṭa Somānanda and Rājānaka Utpaladeva. This might help us explain the more relaxed and broader attitude towards opponents and allies of the latter and his tendency to create higher syntheses, vis-à-vis the philosophical and spiritual aggressiveness of Somānanda. However, Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta are not isolated cases: Rājānakas were also Utpala’s disciple Rāmakaṇṭha,³³ Abhinava’s disciple Kṣemarāja, Abhinava’s commentator Jayaratha, and so on (even the last great master of the Trika, Swami Lakshman Joo, was a Rājānaka). In sum, this revolutionary world view emerged from a small circle of aristocrats, and sometimes I wonder whether ordinary devotees have ever been aware of, or been able to understand, these highly refined doctrines, and what social impact they may have had. It is to be noted, for example, that no mention at all of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta can be found in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*.

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³² Of course, this does not mean that Abhinavagupta was ever himself a courtier, as we know from his hints to his personal life. We might speak of “court atmosphere” as the one within which aesthetic speculation was born in close relationship with *kāvya* and theatre.

³³ While his namesake, the famous Saiddhāntika philosopher, was “Bhaṭṭa” Rāmakaṇṭha...

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PTV *Parātrīṃśikāvivarāṇa*. See Masson and Patwardan 1985.

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*Buddhist Lineages along the Southern Routes:
On Two nikāyas Active at Kanaganahalli
under the Sātavāhanas**

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Introduction

Excavations of the Adhālaka Great Shrine (MIA *adhālaka-mahācetiya*) at Kanaganahalli, between 1993 and 1999, have uncovered a wealth of sculptural and epigraphic remains that undeniably

* Materials in this paper were presented on 4 August 2017, at the conference “From Vijayapurī to Śrīkṣetra? The beginnings of Buddhist exchange across the Bay of Bengal” held at the EFEO centre in Pondicherry, and on 3 November 2018, at the conference “Enacted Words of the Buddha: Buddhist manuscripts as mediums of transcultural interactions” held at the University of Heidelberg. My sincere thanks to the participants of both symposia for their comments, and especially to Oskar von Hinüber and to our dear honorand Cristina Scherrer-Schaub. I also wish to thank Arlo Griffiths for his input on some of the inscriptions of the EIAD corpus discussed below, and for his comments and corrections on an earlier draft of this paper. I am very grateful to Robert Arlt for generously sharing with me his insights on Kanaganahalli and some of its structural elements, and to Akira Shimada for answering my numerous questions on *stūpa*-sites in Āndhra. In February 2020, as this volume was about to go to press, I could visit the site, check readings on the stones, and document further inscribed pieces. This fieldwork was generously supported by the project DHARMA, “The Domestication of ‘Hindu’ Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia,” funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 809994).

make it one of the most significant discoveries for the history of Buddhism in India in the last decades.¹ Since the publication in 2013 of the excavation report in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, the bibliography focusing on the site has steadily kept growing. Particularly worthy of mention here is the corpus of 229 inscriptions edited by Oskar von Hinüber in a book co-authored with Maiko Nakanishi in 2014, under the title *Kanaganahalli Inscriptions* (hereafter KnI), for Kanaganahalli constitutes one of the largest troves of Sātavāhana-period inscriptions, along with the epigraphic corpus of the great shrine of Amaravati.

With the edition of the Kanaganahalli inscriptions whose documentation was available to him,² Oskar von Hinüber has laid the ground for a systematic study of their contents. In his introduction, he has highlighted important aspects of the inscriptions' contents, identifying a number of directions for future research, some of which he has explored himself in publications that have appeared since.³ The present remarks aim at addressing a point touched briefly upon by the editor, namely that of the “school affiliation,” that is the monastic order or orders (*nikāya*) to which the Buddhist monks and nuns active at the site belonged. This

¹ For concurring assessments, see for instance von Hinüber 2016a: 8; Quintanilla 2017: 111; Zin 2018a: 1.

² A preliminary transcript of 270 inscriptions was first provided in Poonacha 2011 [2013], but it is more often than not unreliable, as pointed out in Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 12. A complete inventory and a fuller publication of the site's corpus remain a desideratum. For the time being, see ARIE 2014–15: B.67–310; 2015–16: B.101–153. The transliteration system used throughout the present article is the one adopted for the Early Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa (EIAD) corpus, with the exception that the *anusvāra* sign is represented here as *m̐* and not as *m̄*, to comply with the system adopted throughout this volume. See the conventions page at <http://epigraphia.efeo.fr/andhra> and Tournier 2018: 22, n. 1. In addition, the sign ψ renders the *nandyāvarta* symbol sometimes engraved before epigraphic formula. In the apparatus, the symbol \diamond is merely used as a separator between lemmas. I have “translated” the conventions adopted in other epigraphic publications into those of the EIAD, for the sake of clarity and in order for the reader to understand significant differences of reading recorded in my critical apparatus. When referring to inscriptions of the EIAD corpus, I will either provide the corresponding reference in Tsukamoto's corpus of Indian Buddhist inscriptions (IBH) or, when it is missing from that corpus, that of the previous edition of reference. More complete bibliographic references are (or will be) provided in the digital publication of each inscription.

³ See von Hinüber 2016a, 2016b, and forthcoming.

issue is of crucial importance, not only as a means to reconstruct Kanaganahalli's place in the institutional landscape of early Buddhism, but also because this information may shed light on the scriptural traditions that were in circulation at the site. These may in turn have interacted with—and in subtle ways informed—the rich visual repertoire at the site. In that respect, von Hinüber writes:⁴

The inscriptions do not point to any specific **school affiliation**. Although the Buddhist missionaries Majjhima and Dundubhiss[a]ra (III.3.2) are known only from the Theravāda tradition today, this is only a possible, but by no means reliable identification of Theravāda presence or influence at Kanaganahalli. For, given the almost complete loss of the texts of numerous south Indian Buddhist schools known by name only, it is dangerous to apply the *argumentum e silentio*.

This cautious assessment summarises well the problem at hand: given the very fragmentary state of our knowledge about the textual traditions circulating in Deccan in the first centuries of the Common Era, connecting a given site to a specific school on the grounds of literary echoes only is tentative at best. Not heeding this call for caution, in a recent contribution to the understanding of the site's iconographic programme, Sonya Quintanilla (2017: 116) has taken the set of inscriptions mentioning five venerable monks including Majjhima and Dundubhissara⁵ as a clue for identifying the site with another *nikāya*, the Haimavata.⁶ The names of both these venerable monks occur in reliquaries from Sonari's *stūpa* 2 in Vidiśā, along with Kassapagotta who is called the “teacher of all the Haimavatas” (*savahemavatācariya*).⁷ However, at Kanaganahalli the label Hemavata does not qualify Kassapagotta or any of the other monks, but *yakhas* and *nāgas* of the Himalayas represented on a slab that stood on the left side of the set of slabs mentioning the “missionaries” (KnI II.8.4: *hemavatā yakhā nāgā pi*). The term *hemavata* therefore certainly does not constitute a *nikāya* label—whether or not it does so in Vidiśā. Since Kassapagotta, and others, were considered venerable ances-

⁴ Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 18 (emphasis in the original).

⁵ The sequence she has reconstructed is convincing and corresponds to that proposed in Zin 2018a: 84–91.

⁶ Quintanilla 2017: 116.

⁷ Willis 2000: 85–88; 2001.

tors of several Buddhist lineages, the epigraphical presence of any one of these venerable monks in itself does not provide a conclusive clue regarding the religious descent of the sponsors of this series of slabs.⁸

Seishi Karashima has attracted attention to another epigraphical record relevant to the issue of “school affiliation,” that is to say a 3rd-century donative inscription part of a set of eight inscribed *buddha* images sponsored by the same individual (KnI II.7,A.8). There, Maitreya is described as “Bhagavant Bodhisatta Ayita (Skt. Ajita), the future Buddha” (*bhagavā bodhisato ayito anāgato budho*). Surveying a large quantity of primary sources, he notices that among the preserved early scriptures and treatises associated with given *nikāyas*, only those of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins (i.e., the *Mahāvastu*) and of the Saṃmitīyas⁹ (*Sanmīdi bulun* 三彌底部論, T 1649; *Karmavibhaṅga*) identify the Bodhisattva Ajita with the future Buddha Maitreya.¹⁰ Karashima thus states:¹¹

This inscription, saying that Ajita will become the future *buddha*, indicates clearly that the *stūpa* at Kanaganahalli cannot have belonged to either the Theravādins or the Sarvāstivādins, while it might have belonged to the Mahāsāṅghikas, Saṃmitīyas or another school. I assume that this *stūpa*

⁸ This set of slabs is discussed further in Tournier in preparation b.

⁹ The current convention to spell the *nikāya*'s name Saṃmitīya (on which see Skilling 2016: 46, n. 1 and the references quoted therein) does not appear to me to be particularly well-grounded. I thus tentatively adopt here one of the two spellings best attested in the sources of that very milieu which are preserved in Indo-Aryan languages. There are only two epigraphic occurrences of the name known so far: while a 2nd-c. inscription from Mathurā reads ... *ācariyāna samitīyāna pariḡrahe ...*, a 4th-c. inscription from Sarnath reads ... *ā[cā]ryyaṇaṃ sa[mma]litiyānaṃ pariḡraha ...* See Lüders 1961: 115–116, § 80; Vogel 1905–1906: 172, with correction in Falk 2006: 214. Likewise, in (the colophons of) works by affiliates to the *nikāya* preserved in Sanskrit sources both spellings Saṃmatīya and Saṃmitīya are attested, respectively in Vimuktisena's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* commentary (to be discussed below) and in Saṅghatrāta's *Abhidharmasamuccaya-kārikā*, on which see Sferra in this volume (esp. p. 659, n. 38). To be sure, Saṃmitīya appears to be attested in Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*, but the Tibetan translation of that work reads Mang po bkur ba (= *Saṃmatīya/*Saṃmitīya). Cf. Pras 148.1 (with n. 1), 192.7, 276.2. Thus Sanskrit manuscripts of the work may need to be checked.

¹⁰ Karashima notes that the late (perhaps 13th-century) Theriya *Anāgatavaṃsa* also identifies both figures, in contrast with earlier Pāli works. He attributes this to an influence of the “Mahāsāṅghika notion of Ajita and Maitreya” (Karashima 2018: 188).

¹¹ Karashima 2018: 187.

might have belonged to the Mahāsāṃghikas or its sub-group. Apart from identifying Ajita and Maitreya, the fact that the scenes on the narrative reliefs in the *stūpa* agree very well with the *Lalitavistara*, which was composed probably in ca. 150 C.E. in Gandhāra by a monk of the Mahāsāṃghikas, as well as its two Chinese translations (T. 3, nos. 186 and 187), also indicates the Kanaganahalli *stūpa*'s affiliation with this school.

The presentation of the Bodhisattva Ajita as the future Buddha in inscription II.7,A.8 allows to narrow the spectrum of the scriptural traditions known by people active at Kanaganahalli towards the end of the embellishment of the Great Shrine, when the decorative programme was updated with anthropomorphic *buddha* images. This discovery is very important, and we will see below how Karashima's analysis is in part supported by other evidence. However, my impression is that the visual programme of Kanaganahalli does not straightforwardly align with any known biography of the Buddha,¹² while there is no clear evidence that the *Lalitavistara*—the earliest version of which is clearly a product of northwestern communities—circulated, in any form known to us, in Southern India as early as the 3rd century CE, when the set of *buddha* images was likely carved. To restate von Hinüber's point: our analysis of archaeological materials needs to account for the fact that most of the scriptural tradition of Buddhist communities likely present at sites such as Kanaganahalli is irremediably lost to us. We know precious little, for instance, of the biographical tradition of the Buddha known to Saṃmitīya¹³ or Śāila milieux, the last of which resist unsubstantiated identifications with the better-known "Northern" Mahāsāṃghikas.¹⁴ Finally, by its very nature KnI

¹² See the important contribution of Zin (2018a) on the iconographic programme of the dome slabs. I was unable to access the unpublished article by Mihoko Hiraoka (referred to in Karashima 2018: 187, n. 22) apparently establishing links between the biographical tradition represented by the *Lalitavistara* corpus and the *āyāka* reliefs from Kanaganahalli. See also Zin 2018b: 551–552.

¹³ See below, p. 884 and n. 78.

¹⁴ See also Zin 2018a: 30, whose argument according to which "the Art of Andhra illustrates scriptures of the Buddhist school of the Aparamahāvinaśailas, for which the textual tradition has been lost to us in the present day" deserves to be nuanced. Such a statement indeed overlooks much of the diversity of religious agents involved in commissioning "Art" in the Āndhra region. For the evidence at our disposal regarding the contents of the canons of the Pūrva- and Aparāśailas, admittedly at a later period than the heyday of Āndhra art, see

II.7,A.8 does not allow identifying anyone active at the Great Shrine as a Mahāsāṅghika—or, for that matter, as a member of any other order—and does not represent in itself a decisive marker of the ordination lineage(s) of the monks who controlled it, even assuming a single *nikāya* did control such a majestic *caitya* throughout its history.

What has been missed so far is that two inscribed objects in fact do contain explicit mentions of monastic orders: one of them is admittedly very fragmentary, which explains that it has been overlooked; the other, on the contrary, is the most extensive dated record at the Great Shrine and is thus particularly significant to understand the religious identity of those who played an active role in its construction and embellishment.

1. *An Inscribed Pillar from Kanaganahalli and the Seliya Network in the Sātavāhana Realm*

The excavation report published by Poonacha provides the reading of two inscriptions engraved on “dwarf-pillar shafts,”¹⁵ for which no documentation was published therein. Only one of these inscriptions was documented by Nakanishi and edited anew by von Hinüber as KnI II.5,9; the second will be called here KnI II.5,11, following the numeration system of the extant corpus. These inscriptions appear, at first sight, of little significance, but their study reveals an important clue connecting Kanaganahalli to a wider religious network along the Bhima/Krishna rivers. Before considering these epigraphs, the nature, location, and function of their support needs to be clarified. According to Poonacha, the inscribed pillar shafts—the plural implying they are two—were found near structure V (STR-V), vaguely described as a “pillared platform,”¹⁶ located just outside the *vedikā*’s boundary, to the northwest of the Great Shrine. Von Hinüber remarks that no small pillars are mentioned in the report’s description of STR-V, and he thus very tentatively suggests that, instead, they might have formed

Tournier 2017: 256–259, 270–272, 278–286. For the necessity to be wary of uncritical subsumption of the Śāila lineages under the larger group of the Mahāsāṅghikas, see pp. 21–22 of the same monograph.

¹⁵ Poonacha 2011: 479.

¹⁶ Poonacha 2011: 120 with fig. 41.

part of the so-called “promenade”—which was perhaps rather a *maṇḍapa*—located to the southwest of the *mahācaitya*.¹⁷ However, as may be seen in the photograph of the *maṇḍapa* pillar stumps found *in situ*, these had a square basis (Poonacha 2011: pl. X), which does not accord with the octagonal shape of the pillar photographed by Nakanishi.

A visit to the site and a more complete documentation allows to clarify several important points (figs. 1–4). First of all, we can ascertain that Poonacha’s use of the plural is misleading: we are not dealing with two but with one octagonal limestone pillar element, bearing two inscriptions, one of which had not been documented so far. This fragmentary pillar is currently located by the western wall of STR-V (fig. 1), in the immediate vicinity of STR-IV:¹⁸ while this does not prove the connection between the pillar and any of these two structures, it is at least consistent with the location provided by Poonacha. Moreover, one can determine that this fragment used to have four plain faces, two of which—out of three partly preserved—are inscribed, alternating with four faces bearing high-relief decor (fig. 2). Two of the decorated faces preserve the upper elements of what looks like canopies with small recesses, indicating that the preserved fragment was likely positioned on top of the pillar, presumably below a capital. The latter may have been fastened onto the octagonal pillar thanks to two small holes located above the first *akṣara* of each inscribed face, unless these holes were used to hang objects, such as garlands. The fragment under discussion is best compared to another pillar element recovered from the site (fig. 5),¹⁹ four faces of which preserve a standing *gaṇa*-like dwarf. Note also that deep round tenons are carved on both ends of this element. The two similar elements from Kanaganahalli may thus have been assembled to form free-standing pillars. Poonacha’s report describes STR-IV as a square platform at the centre of which laid a rectangular hole “probably

¹⁷ Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 72. This structure is sketched in Poonacha 2011: fig. 11.

¹⁸ The fragment measures 48 cm (h.) × 36 cm (w./d.).

¹⁹ This pillar element is preserved in a covered storage space located to the north of the site’s main entrance. It is of comparable dimensions, measuring c. 52 cm (h.) × 38 cm (w./d.). The exact findspot of this pillar element is not recorded in Poonacha’s publication.

for accommodating the uncarved portion of a heavy pillar.”²⁰ Similarly, by the southern wall of STR-V, the stump of a large pillar is still visible (fig. 1), and by that stump lays the fragment of the octagonal shaft, bearing KnI II.5,8.²¹ The free-standing pillars of STR-IV and V may, perhaps, have borne such objects as a *dharmacakra* or a *caitya*. The *dharmacakra*-pillar is an especially common motif in the decorative programme of the Great Shrine: at least five drum and dome slabs, one of which is inscribed, contain representations of the sacred wheel erected on a pillar, the shaft of which is either octagonal or combines an octagonal section with rings decorated in high relief (see fig. 6).²² No representation of *caitya*-bearing pillars is found at the site, but it may be significant that undocumented remains of so-called “votive *stūpas*” are said to have been found in both STR-IV and V.

Further evidence supporting the interpretation of the fragments under discussion as elements of free-standing pillar shafts is found in Phanigiri. Indeed, a massive and elaborate octagonal piece, in limestone, associated to a shallow circular band and to a large disk was uncovered at the site (fig. 7).²³ The three pieces are hollowed, to be set against a harder core. The octagonal element bears high-relief “enamoured couples” (*mithuna*) on four sides, and low-relief vegetal patterns entwined with *gaṇas* on the four others.²⁴ It is thus typologically similar to the Kanaganahalli frag-

²⁰ Poonacha 2011: 118. Some of the fragments recorded *in situ* are consistent with the building blocks of a free-standing pillar. See below, n. 29.

²¹ See also Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 71. This shaft is of larger dimensions than the one bearing KnI II.5,9, with a width of *c.* 41 cm. The two inscribed fragments moreover differ in the palaeography of their record and the text layout, thereby suggesting that they belonged to different pillars.

²² (1) Poonacha 2011: pls. XXXIII, XLIX.A, LI.A.1 = fig. 6; (2) Poonacha 2011: pl. LI.A.2 (3) Poonacha 2011: pls. LI.B, CXVII.A = Zin 2018a: pl. 25; (4) slab bearing KnI II.3,5 and II.5,2 (general view unpublished); (5) unpublished slab preserved in the site storage, in nine fragments, bearing acc. no. 21. This list does not take into account the representations of *dharmacakra*-pillars flanked by a throne. For other reliefs representing such pillars, see for instance Burgess 1887: pl. XXXVIII, 1; LX, 3, 4; Bénisti 1961: 264–265 and fig. 2; Stone 1994: fig. 25.

²³ See also Skilling 2008: fig. 25–27. These fragments, bearing the nos. 8, 9, and 10, are currently preserved in the site’s storage. The combined height of the three limestone pieces is 76.5 cm, while the diameter of the disk is 70 cm.

²⁴ A similarly decorated hollowed octagonal element, as far as I know unpublished, and allegedly coming from Tirumalagiri, 16 km north of Phanigiri, is preserved in the storage of the Vizakhapatnam Naval Museum (acc. no. 80-45/1).

ments represented in figs. 2 and 5. The circular disk of the Phanigiri piece is adorned with auspicious symbols in low relief, which interestingly include a miniature *dharmacakra*, set on an octagonal pillar. It is thus likely that the set of three elements formed the capital of a monumental pillar, perhaps supporting a *dharmacakra* or a *caitya*. While the latter is less common, two cuboid dice from the *toraṇa* architraves at Phanigiri bear representations of free-standing pillars bearing a small *caitya*, surrounded by monks holding lotuses and paying homage (fig. 8).²⁵ Interestingly, an octagonal pillar from the northern gate of the Amaravati *mahācaitya*, adorned with fine low-relief decor on every other face, bears an inscription (EIAD 269; IBH, Amar 17) recording the donation, by the perfumer Haṃgha (Skt. Saṅgha), of such a *caitya*-bearing pillar (MIA *cetiyaḥabha*).²⁶ The erection of free-standing *dharmacakra*-pillars is better attested epigraphically, most famously in the bilingual octagonal pillar inscription from

This piece measures 34 cm (h.) × 61 cm (w./d.). The diameter of the hole is 36 cm, which would fit the tenon of a large pillar. The lower tenon of the Phanigiri pillar bearing EIAD 104 (bearing the acc. no. 6) measures, for instance, 26 cm.

²⁵ See also Skilling 2008: figs. 20–21 (respectively fragments nos. 7 and 5). Yet another pillar, the finial of which is abraded, is represented honoured by monks, on the crossbar to the left of the dice of fragment 5. This scene is set between a *nāga* shrine and a *stūpa*, both of which are interestingly revered by laymen. These three representations, according to the recent reconstruction proposed by Dhar (2019) would have been located on the same side of the *toraṇa* facing the Phanigiri *stūpa*. The basis of these three pillars may be compared to one recovered in the immediate vicinity of the *toraṇa* crossbars, to the north of the *stūpa*. See Chenna Redy et al. 2008: 17 (first photo). For another representation of *caitya*-bearing pillars in relation with a *stūpa*, see for instance the drum slab of Nagarjunakonda site 3, Nagarjunakonda Archaeological Museum, acc. no. 34.

²⁶ This pillar is on display at the British Museum (acc. no. 1880,0709.109). See Knox 1992: 192–194; Shimada 2013: 207. Another pillar, smaller and rectangular, yet also richly adorned, was found on the left side of the *mahācaitya*'s Southern entrance, and bears an inscription recording the donation of a *caitya*-bearing pillar provided—interestingly—with relics (*cetiyaḥabho sadhādūko*), by the merchant Kuṭa. See EIAD 286 (IBH, Amar 34); Burgess 1882: 5–6. This pillar is preserved at the Chennai Government Museum (acc. no. unknown), where another inscribed pillar from Amaravati relevant to the present discussion is preserved (acc. no. 179). This consists in the lower fragment of a small (h. 83 cm; w./d. 23 cm) and unadorned octagonal pillar with a tenon. It bears an inscription recording the establishment of a free-standing pillar of another kind, namely a light-bearing pillar (MIA *divakhaṃbha*), by Khandā, wife of the *gahaṇṇī* Siddhattha. See EIAD 298; IBH, Amar 46. Yet another pillar, from the southern *āyāka* of the Amaravati shrine, is identified by its inscription as of a similar kind.

Phanigiri dedicated by the chief doctor of the Ikṣvāku king Rudrapuruṣadatta (r. c. 290/300–315/25), on the latter’s 18th regnal year (EIAD 104).²⁷ At present, I know of four more examples from Āndhra: (1) A pillar base or capital from Amaravati (EIAD 264; IBH, Amar 12), dedicated by the “notable” (*gahapati*)²⁸ Kahutara, during the reign of the Sātavāhana king Vāseṭṭhīputta Siri-Puḷumāvi (r. c. 85–125 CE);²⁹ (2) An octagonal pillar fragment from Dharanikota, near Amaravati (EIAD 407; IBH, Dhar 12), dated on palaeographical grounds to the 2nd century CE, and dedicated by the “high officer” or “minister” (*amaca*, Skt. *amātya*) Atabera; (3) An octagonal pillar from Alluru (EIAD 49; IBH, Allu 2), erected in the eighth regnal year of the Ikṣvāku king Siri-Ehavalacāntamūla (r. c. 265/75–290/300) by the village headman (*gāmika*) Veṅhusiri (Skt. Viṣṇuśrī);³⁰ (4) Last, a small fragment of a (possibly octagonal) pillar from Nagarjunakonda (EIAD 84), whose donor is not named.³¹ This record is in Sanskrit and can be

See EIAD 272 (IBH, Amar 46), l. 8. Unfortunately, the object is lost and its inscription is only available through an eye copy, see Prinsep 1837: pl. X.

²⁷ See Baums et al. 2016: 369–377.

²⁸ “Notable” constitutes my very tentative rendering of *gahapati* (Skt. *grhapati*), commonly but problematically translated as “householder,” which aligns better to its meaning in Vedic sources. In Buddhist literature and inscriptions alike, the epithet is most of the time used to qualify a man who, besides serving as the head of his “house” (i.e., of his extended family), possesses considerable economic means. See, for instance, May 1967; Chakravarti 1987: 65–93; Nattier 2003: 22–25; Bailey and Mabbett 2003: 46–51; Visvanathan 2011: 248–252. See also the contributions gathered in Olivelle 2019.

²⁹ Note that this structural element, broken in two pieces, located in the Chennai Government Museum (acc. no. 77), has the shape of an inverted and truncated pyramid with three steps, which is very similar to the two cornices represented, on both sides of the octagonal pillar, in fig. 6. Interestingly, a fragment of a typologically similar element, interpreted by Poonacha as a pillar base, was found in Kanaganahalli STR-IV. See Poonacha 2011: 188 with fig. 40, pl. XLV.C. See also, at Amaravati, Burgess 1887: pl. XLVIII.1 (EIAD 339; IBH, Amar 87); Shimada 2013: pl. 53 (EIAD 340; IBH, Amar 88).

³⁰ While a *dharmacakra* is not mentioned explicitly in this inscription, the fact that the erected object is said (l. 7) to be “a stone pillar made of the Dharma” (*dhammamayo selakhambho*) is likely an allusion to its bearing such a symbol. I return to this inscription in Tournier forthcoming.

³¹ See Ramachandran 1953: 28. The findspot of this pillar is unfortunately nowhere indicated in the archaeological reports. It might stem from site 32a, from which stems another Buddhist dedicatory inscription in Sanskrit (EIAD 77; IBH, Naga 56), engraved in comparable letters on a similar variety of blue limestone.

dated, on palaeographical grounds, to the 4th century or early 5th century CE. These five pillars, bearing elaborate and, in three instances (EIAD 49, 84, and 104), distinctly flourished texts in ornate script, clearly represented prestige donations by wealthy donors. Interestingly, three of these (EIAD 49, 264, and 407) also mention Buddhist *nikāyas* (Cetikiya in EIAD 49; Puvvaseliya in EIAD 264 and 407) to which the pillar was dedicated. The hypothesis that the inscribed fragment bearing KnI II.5,9 and II.5,11 was a free-standing pillar, possibly bearing a *dharmacakra* or a *caitya*, will need testing through a thorough study of the loose structural remains at Kanaganahalli. Still, what is left of the text on both sides of this inscribed pillar shares some similarities with the above-mentioned inscriptions. As we will see, its donor (or: one of its donors) may have been a rather prominent individual, and the record mentions a *nikāya*.

Both inscriptions borne by the stone fragment under discussion are engraved in ornate *brāhmī* script dating perhaps to the 2nd century CE.³² Only the very beginning of these inscriptions is preserved, but the case endings and parallel formulae considered below suggest that they were not epigraphic labels but were part of one or two donative records. The side of the pillar not documented so far (fig. 3; KnI II.5,11) was transliterated ° *āvesanisa bali*/// in the excavation report,³³ which I would read slightly differently as ° *āvesanisa* ◊ *bala* .[i]///. The preserved text points to an *āvesani* whose name might have started in Bala-. The term *āvesani*, which occurs once on a *torāṇa*-architrave at Sanchi *stūpa* 1, was rendered “foreman of the artisans” by Bühler.³⁴ In some literary contexts, the term can also mean simply “artisan,”³⁵ but epigraphic evidence

³² The palaeographic features of these inscriptions seem to indicate a date posterior to KnI I.8 (dated 120 CE), considered below, while they look strikingly similar to the ornate inscription of King Sivasiri-Puḷumāvi (r. c. 152–160) recovered from the Sannati fort. See Poonacha 2011: pl. II.A; Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 20. A systematic investigation of the palaeography remains to be undertaken. See Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 13.

³³ Poonacha 2011: 479.

³⁴ Bühler 1892: 88; IEG, s.v. *āvesanin*.

³⁵ In a passage from Kauṭilya’s *Arthaśāstra*, the word is used twice in the plural to refer to a goldsmith’s workmen. See AŚ 2.14.1, 7; NWS, s.v. *āvesanin*. For the meaning of P. *āvesana* (Skt. *āveśana*[*śālā*]) as workshop, applied to other trades than that of gold, see for instance CPD, s.v. *āvesana*.

suggests *āvesanis* could have considerable means, and thus could be the heads of workshops (Skt. *āveśana*). The term is not recorded elsewhere in Kanaganahalli, but it is attested in six inscriptions from Āndhra, three of which from Jagayyapeta.³⁶ There, the *āvesani* Siddhattha, son of the *āvesani* Nākacanda (Skt. Nāgacandra), donates as many as five *āyāka* pillars to the *stūpa*. Such pillars, much like *dharmacakra*-pillars, are prestigious and highly visible text-bearing objects, whose commission was certainly not accessible to the most humble of donors.³⁷ In the record found on the Sanchi *toraṇa*, the donor is defined as the personal *āvesani* of the Sātavāhana king Siri-Sātakaṇṇi, thereby suggesting a direct access to the ruler.³⁸ This may be compared to a set of past Buddha images from Kanaganahalli (KnI II.7.A.1–3), where the artist Bodhigutta—great grandson of a stone sculptor (*selavadhika*)—is presented as a “royal officer” (*rayāmaca*). Moreover, among the memorial stones found at Nagarjunakonda dedicated to royalty, officials, or high militaries, one is dedicated to an *āvesani*,³⁹ a fact that appears to confirm that some “master artisans” could indeed rise to distinguished status.

Inscription KnI II.5,9 found on the pillar’s opposite face is of less straightforward meaning, but it is arguably more important (fig. 4). Only six *akṣaras*, and what is left of a seventh are preserved. Those were first transliterated as *mahānivasa bali*/// in the excavation report,⁴⁰ and re-read *mahāvinase[pa].i.///* by von

³⁶ EIAD 31, l. 2; 32, l. 2; 33, l. 2 (respectively IBH, Jaga 2, 3, and 1). A fourth fragmentary inscribed pillar belonging to this set, preserved in the reserve collection of the Amaravati Archaeological Museum (acc. no. 506) was first published on the EIAD website as no. 90, but it does not preserve the mention of the *āvesani* Siddhattha or his father. For the two mentions of *āvesani* at Amaravati, see EIAD 342 (IBH, Amar 90), l. 1; 515 (Ghosh 1969: 103, no. 38).

³⁷ It will suffice to recall here that another set of large, Ikṣvāku-period, *āyāka* pillars bearing similar texts, was recovered from site 1 at Nagarjunakonda. There, two *talavara*-wives (including the lead donor Cāntisiri), one general’s wife, and as many as three queens commissioned the *āyāka* pillars. For this set of pillars, eighteen of which (out of twenty) were recovered from the site, see recently Baums et al. 2016: 379–389.

³⁸ IBH, Sanc 384, l. 2. For tentative identifications of this king, see for instance Bühler 1892: 88; Falk 2009: 200. For this record, see also Scherrer-Schaub 2016: 8.

³⁹ EIAD 75 (Sircar 1963–1964: 16), l. 2.

⁴⁰ Poonacha 2011: 479.

Hinüber. Translating “Of the great...,” he does not comment on the string *-vinase[pa].i-* but notes: “The sequence of *akṣaras* preserved does not yield any sense.” Upon closer examination, it appears that the vocalic marker *-i*, written in this variety of script as a flourished wavy curve, flows above the penultimate *akṣara* in a way suggesting that it was originally attached to it, and not to the one immediately following. Moreover, the *akṣara* read by the editor as *pa* is in fact a *la*.⁴¹ Indeed, the vertical stroke to the right of the *la* has a characteristic horizontal rightward bend in the instances where it is modified by the vocalic marker *-i*.⁴² Finally, given that the preserved descending stroke of the last fragmentary *akṣara* is consistent with the left element of a *ya*, the reading is very likely *mahāvīnaseli[y].///*.

This allows to connect the inscribed pillar to a known Buddhist *nikāya*, that of the Mahāvīnaseliyas. This religious order, not known from literary sources but obviously connected to the larger Śāila group, is otherwise mentioned in a single inscription from Amaravati (EIAD 287), which can be tentatively dated, on palaeographical grounds, to the 2nd century CE. This lengthy 11-line inscription is engraved on a *maṇḍapa* pillar whose current whereabouts are unknown.⁴³ Based on the published estampage and lacking any better documentation (fig. 9), the inscription may be tentatively read as follows:⁴⁴

⁴¹ Indeed, the left stroke of the *akṣara* is bent and has a curly top, as in *bala-* in KnI II.5,11. This contrasts with the shape of the *pa* in this script, which is straight or ends with a small serif. See, for instance, the shapes of the *akṣaras pu* in EIAD 561 cited below (fig. 11), written in a similarly ornate script.

⁴² See, for instance, EIAD 6 (IBH, Naga 6), l. 10. At Kanaganahalli see also, on an earlier-looking script, KnI IV.6.

⁴³ In principle, the pillar should be preserved in the Chennai Government Museum, where it was still kept in 1956. Between its discovery and that time, it had been broken and part of the inscribed surface had peeled off. See Sivaramamurti 1956: 270, no. IV G, 15; 303, no. 124. It is absent from the more recent catalogue edited by Kannan (2014) and the EIAD project team was unable to locate it during its two documentation campaigns at the museum, in 2017.

⁴⁴ I noted here systematically the variant reading of the edition by Hultzsch 1883: 550–551, no. 5 (H). In the two instances where the readings provided in Sivaramamurti 1956: 303 and IBH, Amar 35 improved upon Hultzsch’s edition, they have also been noted, respectively as S and Ts.

(1) sidham nam[o] (bha)gavato °aca[r]////(iyāna) (2) mahavinaseliy[ā]na sārīpu////(tasa) + (3) mala[sa] sisihasa sa ? [pu] + + (4) gaha gūjākaḍasa dhammilavāni(5)yaputasa gadhikasa vāniyasa [dha](ṃma)(6)rikh[i]tasa sapitukasa samatuka(sa sa)-(7)bhariyakasa sabhatukasa sa[bha](ginikasa) (8) saputakasa sadhutukasa sagharas(unhaka)(8')sa sanatuka(sa) (9) sanatikasa sanatimitabaṃdhava[sa] (10) saghadeyadhammaṃ padhānama[ḍa]vo (11) paṭiṭhav[i]to

1. °aca[r](iyāna) °aca(riyāna) H. ✧ 2. mahavinaseliy[ā]na mahavanasaliyāna H. The correct reading is already found in IBH, Amar 35. ✧ 2–3. sarīpu(tasa) + mala[sa] sārīpu(tāna °a)mal[ā]na H. The final *akṣara*, read *na* by Hultzsck, can also be read as a *sa*, so there is no particular reason to believe that Sāriputta was addressed here in the *pluralis majestatis*. Hultzsck's reconstruction of *amala*- as an epithet of Sāriputta is possible, but it cannot be excluded that the inscription originally read *vimalasa* instead. Both would likely point to Sāriputta being an *arhant*. ✧ 4. gaha gūjākaḍasa gahagūjākaḍasa H. Hultzsck takes this as a long toponym, but *gaha* might here stand—either as an abbreviation, or by the dropping of three syllables—for *gahapatino*. ✧ 5. gadhikasa Here and in *sapitukasa* l. 6 and *sanatuka(sa)* l. 8', the serif of the *ka* appears unusually broad, particularly on the right side, to the extent that it could be interpreted as the mark of a *-ā* in all instances. Similarly, the *ka* of *saputakase*, l. 7 could be read *ke*. ✧ 5–6. dha[m](ma)rikh[i]tasa (si)ri(da)tasa H; (dhama)rakhitasa S; dha[ma]rakhitasa Ts. Emend -rakhitasa. ✧ 6. samatuka(sa) samātuka(sa) H. ✧ 7. sa[bha](ginikasa) sa ... H. The reading *bha* and the ensuing reconstruction are tentative, but this fits the number of missing *akṣaras* and the structure of the family network being involved in the gift. The mention of the sister(s) follows immediately that of the brother(s) elsewhere in the Amaravati corpus. See EIAD 303 (IBH, Amar 51); 385 (IBH, Amar 133), l. 2. ✧ 8–8'. sagharas(unhaka)sa sa(vadhujana)sa H; sagharas(unhaka)sa S Ts. The spelling *-sunha-* seems more common than *-sunḥa-* in the Amaravati corpus, hence this slight divergence from Sivaramamurti's reconstruction. Compare also the closely related formula in EIAD 42 (von Hinüber 2017: 4).

Success! Homage to the Bhagavant! This hall for spiritual exertion has been established as the pious gift—directed to the Saṅgha—of Dhammarakhita, merchant perfumer, son of the merchant Dhammila, a notable (?) from Gūjākaḍa ... of the stainless, *sisiha*, Sāriputta of the Mahāvinaseliyas, together with his father, mother, wife, brother(s) and sister(s) (?), son(s), daughter(s), daughter(s)-in-law from a (respectable) house, grandsons, granddaughters; together with his kinsmen, friends, and relations.

The contents of this record are overall clear, but because of the lacuna found in l. 3, and of the uncertain interpretation of the term *sisiha*,⁴⁵ the junction between the introductory part (ll. 1–3), dealing with a member of a monastic lineage, and the rest on the record, focusing on the gift made by a lay donor and his extended family, remains somewhat obscure. In other words, the nature of the relation between the lay donor Dhammarakhita and the venerable Sāriputta is uncertain, although we may assume that the former was in one way or another devoted to the latter.

It is worth noticing, in the context of the present discussion, that the monk's *nikāya* affiliation appears, in the genitive plural, at the very beginning of the donation formula, immediately following *siddham* and the homage to the Buddha. In shorter donative records of the Sātavāhana period, which generally do not include liminal invocations, the indication of the donor belonging to a lineage—whether familial or religious—commonly features in first position, often in the genitive plural. The tendency is for a lay donor to focus on family descent, and not to connect himself with a religious lineage, by contrast with what is done in EIAD 287. For instance, EIAD 298 (IBH, Amar 46) characteristically opens (ll. 1–2) with *siddham* ◊ *jaḍikiyānaṃ sidhathagahapatisa bhariyaya khadaya*, “Success! Khandā, wife of the notable Siddhattha, of the Jaḍikiyas (i.e., the Jaḍikiya family)...”⁴⁶ Monastic donors, by contrast, use similar formulations to focus on their religious pedigrees: in several instances, the use of genitive plural points to their *nikāya* affiliations.⁴⁷ Two examples of inscriptions found on archi-

⁴⁵ The interpretation of this term is unsure. Hultzsch (1883: 551) commented: “Für *sisihasa* ist vielleicht *sisiyasa* zu lesen. Jedenfalls muss ein Wort für Schüler in der Lücke gestanden haben.” The hypothesis of *sisiha* standing for *śiśya* is accepted by Tsukamoto. However, the presumed phonological development *sya* > *siya* > *siha*, although theoretically possible, is not supported by coeval evidence from Āndhra, while the form *sisa* (cf. P. *sissa*) is attested in another inscription from Amaravati, EIAD 290 (IBH, Amar 38).

⁴⁶ This term was incorrectly understood as a school label in Lamotte 1958: 580, no. 47. See also Shimada 2013: 160. For a similar use of the genitive plural to indicate the family background of a lay donor in Kanaganahalli, see KnI II.1.1.

⁴⁷ In inscriptions connected with the *stūpas* of deceased monks, the genitive plural may also, for instance, be used to refer, in the *pluralis majestatis*, to a single defunct. In some cases, such uses have been mistakenly interpreted as pointing to members of a given school. Hence, in the case of EIAD 324 (IBH, Amar 72), Schopen (1991) was able to show convincingly that the sequence °*a*°*vānaṃ*

tectural elements from Amaravati and Gummadiidurru should suffice to illustrate this point, also considering that a third example from Kanaganahalli itself (KnI I.8) will be discussed below:⁴⁸

EIAD 537, *āyāka* panel, Amaravati (fig. 10)⁴⁹

ψ sidham theriyāna mahavinayadharasa therasa bhayatabudhisa °atevāsikasa daharabhikhuno haṃghasa haṃghāya ca culahaṃgh[ā]ya ca deyadhama paṭo sa ?///

mahavinayadharasa *mahāvinayadharasa* Sk. ✧ **daharabhikhuno** *jaharabhikhuno* Sk. ✧ **culahaṃgh[ā]ya** *culihaṃghāya* Sk. The head of the *la* has a tail, which Sarkar misinterpreted as a *-i*.

Success! A slab, together with ...: the pious gift of the young monk (*daharabhikkhu*)⁵⁰ Haṃgha—pupil of the venerable, reverend Buddhi, a great Vinaya expert, of the Theriyas—and of Haṃghā and Culla-Haṃghā.

EIAD 561, coping stone of the *vedikā*, perhaps from Gummadiidurru (fig. 11)⁵¹

purimamahāvinaseliyāna °atevāsiniya sidhathāya dāna vetikāya tini hathā

°utayipabhāhīnaṃ does not refer to an unknown *nikāya*, as hypothesized by several scholars before him (e.g., Lamotte 1958: 583–584) but instead to the deceased monk, who may have been referred to as the “Luminary of Utai.”

⁴⁸ The apparatus of the two editions marks the variant readings respectively of Sarkar 1970–1971: 9–10 (Sk) and Sarma 1980: 19 (Sm).

⁴⁹ Another *āyāka* panel from Amaravati, originally located on the northern *āyāka* and now kept in the Chennai Government Museum (acc. no. 279), is of similar measurements and style, and bears inscription EIAD 340 (IBH, Amar 88). See Shimada 2013: 104–105 and pl. 53. Although not by the same hand, this inscription is engraved in a script very similar to EIAD 537, and it is likewise preceded by a *śrīvatsa*. Both inscriptions also share a rare terminological marker (see next note), which may suggest that the two pieces belonged together.

⁵⁰ EIAD 537, misread in this important passage by Sarkar, shares with EIAD 340 its use of the title *daharabhi(k)khu* to qualify the donor. Interestingly, this title is also known in Pāli literature, occurring as a compound at the commentarial level. See, for instance, DP, s.v. *dahara*. While EIAD 340 does not mention the name of the donor’s lineage, it may be significant that Haṃgha belongs to the Theriya *nikāya*. For further terminological affinities between Āndhra inscriptions connected to the Theriya lineages and Pāli literature, see Tournier 2018.

⁵¹ This site is the find-spot indicated in IA-R 1977–1978: 60–61 and Krishnan 1986: 41, B. 27. However, the inscribed piece is ascribed to Amaravati in Sarma

purimamahāvinaseliyāna *purima mahāvinaseliyāna* Sm. ✧ °**atevāsiniya** °*antevāsiniya* Sm. ✧ **sidhathāya** *sidhathyāya* Sm. ✧ **tīni** *tīni* Sm. ✧ **hathā** *hathi* Sm.

Three *vedikā* copings: gift of Siddhatthā,⁵² pupil of the Purimamahāvinaseliyas.

In light of EIAD 287 and of these two further parallels, there is ground to suggest a reconstruction of KnI II.5,9 as *mahāvina-seli[y](āna)*. This fragmentary inscription thus constitutes clear evidence of the fact that this inscribed pillar was donated by someone wishing to stress his connection to the Mahāvinaseliya *nikāya*.

If this individual is himself a monastic of that particular religious order in part depends on whether one considers KnI II.5,9 and II.5,11, likely carved by the same engraver, to record two separate gifts or a single one. In the former case, inscription II.5,9 would (as in EIAD 537 and 561) record the gift by a Mahāvinaseliya monastic of a part of the pillar, and II.5,11 that of another element by the “master artisan.”⁵³ In the latter case, the fragmentary formula *mahāvinaseli[y]///(āna)* should mark the beginning of the record (as, again, in EIAD 537 and 561), and *āvesanisa* ✧ *bala.[i]//* a second part of the formula. Following this scenario, the donative record would thus have begun by stressing the donor’s connection or devotion to a monk of the Mahāvinaseliya lineage, before presenting the lay follower himself, thereby

1980 and Gupta 2008: 45, perhaps because it is kept in the Amaravati Archaeological Museum (acc. no. 542).

⁵² In short donative records like this one, the status of the donor is often not specified, so in principle we cannot be sure that Siddhatthā was a nun. The title *antevāsini/ antevāsini* does however seem to refer exclusively, in Buddhist contexts (whether literary or epigraphic), to monastic pupils. Out of the twenty-one occurrences of the epithet in the EIAD corpus, twelve make it clear that the person thus qualified is a monk or a nun, while nine remain more ambiguous, because the formula is either brief or fragmentary. But I know of no case—whether in the EIAD corpus or elsewhere—where the title is used to qualify a donor who is otherwise characterised in terms that indicate that (s)he is a lay person. See also Collett 2015: 35–38. For possible cases of the use of *antevāsini* in Jaina contexts where the donor might be a lay person, see Lüders 1961: 50–51.

⁵³ Two separate donative records occur once on a single dome slab in Kanaganahalli: one records the gift of the slab proper (Kn II.3,5), and one the gift of a *dharmacakra* (KnI II.5,2), which is, probably, the engraving of the wheel onto the slab. Cf. Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 58–59.

perhaps following a pattern similar to that observed in EIAD 287.⁵⁴ A last hypothesis would be for an expression such as *parigahe* (Skt. *parigrahe*, meaning “in the possession of”) to have followed *mahāvinaseli[y](āna)*. The term is, for instance, used in the above-mentioned *dharmacakra*-pillar inscription from Amaravati.⁵⁵ The formula of allocation of a gift to a particular *nikāya*, in the inscriptions of Āndhra usually include the mention of the “masters” in the genitive plural (MIA *ācariyānaṃ*) before the name of the *nikāya*, but it does not, for instance, in EIAD 264. Also, the *parigahe* phrase usually occurs towards the end of donative formulas, but there is at least one case in Āndhra where it is placed at the beginning.⁵⁶ Unless other fragments of the inscribed pillar are uncovered, it seems impossible to opt for any of the above hypotheses. Yet, despite the uncertainty, one should not lose sight of the important information preserved on the neglected pillar: indeed, the foregoing discussion allows to suggest that the Adhālaka-Mahācetiya was part of a network of sites in which early Śāila milieux were active.

Another roughly contemporary inscription from Amaravati (EIAD 321; IBH, Amar 69) sheds further light on the elusive Mahāvinaseliyas. It marks the gift of a dome slab to the *mahācaitya* by the monk Pasama (Skt. Praśama), who lives on alms and resides on the “Great Forest” (*mahāvina*) mountain.⁵⁷ Although EIAD 321

⁵⁴ This pattern can be represented schematically as follows: name of the *nikāya* (in gen. pl.) + name of a monk (gen. sg.) [missing juncture] title of the lay donor (gen. sg.) + name of the donor (gen. sg.) + *deyadhammaṃ* (nom. sg.) (+past participle of *prati\sthā* or the like).

⁵⁵ EIAD 264, l. 2: ... *ceṭikīyānaṃ nikā(ya)sa parigahe* ◊ *aparadāre* ◊ *dha[m]macakaṃ de(ya)dhamma[m]thāpita*.

⁵⁶ See EIAD 20 (IBH, Naga 41), l. 1 where, after a long homage to the Buddha and a dating formula, the donative record starts with (*°a*)[*caṃ*]tarājācarīyānaṃ ... *theriyānaṃ* ◊ *tambapa[m]ṇakānaṃ* ◊ *suparigahe*. For this important inscription, see Tournier 2018: 55–65.

⁵⁷ EIAD 321 (IBH, Amar 69), l. 2: ... *peṇḍapātikasa mahavinas[e]lavathavasa pasamasa* ... Hultzsch (1883: 557) reads the second word *-vanasala-*, while Sivaramamurti (1956: 279) instead reads *-vanasela-*. In the showroom of the Chennai Government Museum where the slab is preserved, the inscribed part is covered by a casing that effectively makes it impossible to check the reading on the stone or to redocument this inscription. Still, the reading proposed here on the basis of the published estampage is relatively secure. It is consistent with EIAD 287, KnI II.5,9, and the five other inscriptions of the EIAD corpus to

does not speak explicitly of an affiliation of the monk Pasama to a self-standing *nikāya*, but only of residence, comparison with EIAD 287, and now, with KnI II.5,9, suggests that the (permanent) residents on this mountain had developed a sense of belonging, which at some point had crystallized into a distinct *nikāya* identity. From this group, whose head monastery of Mahāvīna was likely located in the vicinity of Dhānyakaṭaka (MIA Dhañṅakaṭa, mod. Dharanikota near Amaravati), the Aparamahāvinaseliyas as well as the Purimamahāvinaseliyas/Puvvaseliyas would then have come forth.⁵⁸ The scenario of the spread of the Mahāvinaseliya lineage, or at least the travel of individual monks, from Dhānyakaṭaka to the Adhālaka-Mahācetiya, is further supported by other inscriptions from the latter site. Indeed, the toponym Dhañṅakaṭa is the most common in the corpus of Kanaganahalli inscriptions, with at least eleven occurrences, showing that an important contingent of donors—at least one of whom was a nun (KnI IV.8)—came from this city.⁵⁹ One should recall here that Dhānyakaṭaka along with the lower Krishna valley passed under the Sātavāhana rule during the reign of Vāsīṭṭhīputta Siri-Puḷumāvi (c. 85–125 CE).⁶⁰ It is thus imaginable that the new integration into the imperial domain stimulated members of a key religious lineage of that region to travel—and possibly settle—upstream as far as Kanaganahalli. Since KnI II.5,9 is, incidentally, the only early epigraphic evidence that the Śāila schools, so deeply rooted in Āndhra, branched out beyond its confines, it remains to be determined how important and lasting their spread really was.⁶¹

preserve the sequence *-vinaseliya-* as part of a *nikāya* name. See EIAD 5, 6, 21, 48, 561 (respectively: IBH, Naga 14, 6, 21, 58, and Sarma 1980: 19, no. 88). As a result, Hultzsch's interpretation that the name would correspond to Skt. Mahāvanaśālā should be dismissed. Cf. Hultzsch 1886: 344; Lüders 1912: 144 (no. 1230), 151 (no. 1272); Lamotte 1958: 580 (nos. 51–52). Still, the element *vina* must be related to Skt. *vipīna*, P. *vipīna*, alongside *vivīna*, and Sinhalese *vini*, which all mean forest. Cf. CDIAL, s.v. *vipīna*; AMÜ § 181. It probably derived from *vivīna*, with subsequent haplology of the medial *-vi-*.

⁵⁸ I return to this issue in Tournier forthcoming.

⁵⁹ Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 16, 144.

⁶⁰ Bhandare 2016.

⁶¹ For the mistaken association of Aparāśāilas with the sites of Ajanta and Kanheri in Maharashtra, see Tournier 2020: 185–188. For the presence of Śāila monks in Magadha during the Pāla period, see Tournier in preparation a.

Although this discovery makes it possible to begin to locate Kanaganahalli in an institutional landscape, the evidence naturally does not establish that the site was, as a whole, dominated by the Mahāvinaseliyas.⁶² Indeed, bearing in mind the likely belonging of the inscribed pillar to a structure located outside of the Adhālaka-Mahācetiya, it remains unclear whether Śaila groups were in any way involved in overseeing the building and successive embellishments of the monument. A second set of evidence rather suggests that a different milieu, originating from the other side of the Sātavāhana domain, actively contributed to the construction of the Great Shrine.

2. The Kaurukullas and the Adhālaka-Mahācetiya

KnI I.8, the longest inscription recovered from Kanaganahalli, is of critical importance for the history of the development of the Great Shrine. It is engraved in large, deeply carved letters on a limestone slab measuring 60 cm (h.) × 97 cm (w.) × 4 cm (d.), and is thus, like the inscribed free-standing pillars discussed above, a good example of “exposed writing.” Dated to the 35th regnal year of King Vāsīṭṭhīputta Siri-Puḷumāvi (c. 120 CE), it records the covering of the whole upper *pradakṣiṇāpatha* with slabs by a prominent donor, the nun Dhammasirī.⁶³ This enterprise might have been part of a larger renovation campaign of the *mahācetiya* under the rule of Siri-Puḷumāvi and his successor. In any case, as we shall see below, it can be connected to several other donative acts emanating from the same milieu. This inscription has already been served by two competent editions, so that only minor improvements on the reading may be suggested (fig. 12):⁶⁴

⁶² Compare Zin 2018b: 551–552.

⁶³ The name Dhammasirī is also mentioned in another inscription, on a piece of lower balustrade (*puṣpagrahaṇī*) encircling the upper *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. See KnI II.2.12. On *puṣpagrahaṇīs* in general, see von Hinüber 2016b.

⁶⁴ Apart from their systematic non-marking of punctuation spaces (noted with ◊), variant readings by Falk (2009: 202; F) and von Hinüber (vH) are noted in the apparatus. The edition in Poonacha 2011: 458, no. 75 is too faulty to be included in the apparatus. Note that the photograph taken by Luczanits in 2000, which he kindly allowed me to reproduce in this article, is the best available documentation for KnI I.8. Indeed, the slab, found broken in ten fragments, has since been restored with concrete, and it has deteriorated due to its exposure to the elements. It is an urgent desideratum that this important historical document be preserved properly.

(1) sidha || na[mo] bhagavato samasabudhasa ◊ °adhālaka-
mahā(2)ce[t]iyasa [ra]ño vāsethīputasiripulumāvisa (3) sava-
chare 30 5 gi[m]h(ā)na pakhe 2 10 ◊ korukulana (4) bhi-
khuniya ◊ dhamasiriyāya ◊ °agarik[o] paṭasa(5)tharo ca deya-
dhama ◊ saha °a[mā]p[itu]hi ◊ saha ca me (6) upajā°ehi bha-
yatava[ra]nabhutihi ◊ sahi ca bhayata(7)[s]ihehi ◊ savasatāna
ca hitasughatha

1. **sidha** vH; *siddha* F. ◊ 2. °**adhālakamahāce[t]iyasa** *śudhalakamahāce[t]iyasa* F; °*adh[ā]laka-mahāce(t)iyasa* vH. ◊ **vāsethī[p]utasiripulumāvisa** F; *vāsethī[p]uta siri pulumāvisa* vH. ◊ 3. **gi[m]h(ā)na** [*gimhana*] F; *gi(m)h(ā)na* vH. ◊ 4. **bhikhuniya** *bhikhuniye* F vH. ◊ 4–5. °**agarik[o] paṭasatharo** °*akhar[i]kapāṭa satharo* F; °*agarak[o] paṭasatharo* vH. The -i is marked by a vertical wave, instead of a semi-circular stroke. This unusual shape is explained by the limited space left by the long descender of the *akṣara ka* in the preceding line. Unusual -i and -ī markers, adapting to similar constraints, may be observed elsewhere, for instance in EIAD 40 (IBH, Naga 19), ll. 7 (in -nī-) and 8 (in -ni-). ◊ 5. °**a[mā]p[itu]hi** °*a[māpitu]hi* F; °*a[māpitū]hi* vH. ◊ **bhayatava[ra]nabhutihi** F; *bhayata va[ra]nabhutihi* vH. ◊ 6–7. **sahi ca bhayata[s]ihehi** *saha ca bhayata [s]ihehi* F vH. Emend *saha*. ◊ 7. **savasatāna** vH; *savasa[ta]na* F.

Success! Homage to the Bhagavant, the Perfectly and Completely Awakened One! In year 35 of King Vāsethīputta Siripulumāvi, in fortnight 2 of the summer, (on day) 10, an *agarika* and a covering of slabs are the pious gifts—for the Adhālaka Great Shrine⁶⁵—of (me,) *bhikkhunī* Dhammasirī, of the Korukullas, together with (my) mother and father, with my preceptor the reverend Varaṇabhūti, and with reverend Siha; for the well-being and happiness of all beings.

⁶⁵ Both Falk and von Hinüber take the genitive *adhālakamahācetiya* as part of the liminal homage to the Buddha. This interpretation might seem called for by the syntax, yet consideration of comparable formulae and of the text layout (Fr. *mise en pierre*) suggests it is problematic. Inscriptions of the Nagarjunakonda corpus, which often contain liminal homages to the Buddha, show a strong tendency—whatever the length of that homage—for (*sammāsam*)*buddhasa* to be placed in final position; only in some cases is it followed, in inscriptions of the Great Shrine, by *dhātvaraparigahitasa*. Moreover, I know of no instances in early *brāhmī* inscriptions where the invocation to the Buddha is in any way localised. When invocations are followed by a toponym or a reference to a *caitya* (commonly, in the locative) in the beginning of the following sentence, this toponym does not form part of the homage but opens the donative sequence. For further discussion of this pattern, see Baums et al. 2016: 384–386. The impression of a break in the flow of the text after *samasabudhasa* is further supported by the consistent use of punctuation spaces in this inscription. With

I am unable at the moment to propose a satisfactory interpretation for *agarika*, which likely pointed to a structural element of the great shrine⁶⁶ sponsored by Dhammasirī along with the covering of slabs. What I would like to propose is a new interpretation of *korukul(l)a*, occurring in the genitive plural at the beginning of the donative formula, and suggest it marks the monastic order of the donor.

This epithet has attracted the attention of former editors of the inscription, and their arguments deserve to be briefly reviewed here. Falk (2009: 202–203) interpreted it as a place name, which he connected to Κορούγκαλα in Ptolemy’s *Geography*,⁶⁷ and he identified it with modern Warangal in present-day Telangana. He believed that the name occurred another time in Kanaganahalli, “once referring in the gen.pl.m. to the male ‘teachers from Korugāla,’ *korugālakāna acariana*.” The inscription alluded to by Falk must be KnI II.1.4, engraved on an *āyāka* panel, and whose beginning is read by von Hinüber as *[s](i)dha || korugālakāna °ācari[ā]na...*⁶⁸ On the basis of this formula, the latter reconstructs the reading *korugālakāna* in another inscription (KnI II.1.3), engraved on a related *āyāka* panel. Interestingly, these two records are among the four inscriptions recovered from the site (along with KnI I.8 and the fragment VI.8) to name Kanaganahalli’s shrine. KnI II.1.3 may be quoted here, for its reading and interpretation can be improved:

(sidha | korugālakāna) /// [°ā]cari°āna bhayatasatikaṇa ◊ °atevāsiniya [pa]va°itāya [b]udharakhitāya ◊ °āyākapaṭā ◊ °adh[ā]-lakacetiyaḍhamara°ika◊deyadhama paṭiṭhāpit[ā] [t](i)

the exception of the spaces left on each side of the donor’s name—likely used there as a means to highlight this particular word—spaces unmistakably reveal an effort to divide the text into syntactic units. And so the clear break after *samasabudhasa* may be understood as marking the conclusion of the liminal invocation. I thus propose to understand *adhālakamahācetiya* as a genitive assuming the function of a dative, and I have translated it accordingly.

⁶⁶ One may think of the term *agārika*, derivative in *-ika* from *agāra*. However, as also prescribed by Pāṇini (AA 4.7.70) *agārika* only occurs at the end of compounds in the sense of a person appointed to a particular “chamber.” See NWS, s.v. *agārika*. Interestingly, one such officer is mentioned in KnI V.2.7: /// *sa bhaḍākārika mak[o]samasa dāna*, “Gift of the keeper of the storehouse (Skt. *bhaṇḍāgārika*) ... Makosama.” Compare Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 111.

⁶⁷ Renou 1925: 39 (VII.1.93).

⁶⁸ Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 43.

bhayatasatikāṇa *bhayata sat[ikana]* vH. Read *-kana*, as in KnI II.1.4. ✦ **[pa]va°it[ā]ya** *[pa]vajit[ā]ya* vH. The three wavy lines (as opposed to three or occasionally four dots in the inscriptions of earlier periods) marking the *akṣara* °*i* are clear enough from the published photograph. This shape of the °*i* is not uncommon in the inscriptions of the Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda corpus. See, for instance, the initial °*i* of *ikhāku-* in EIAD 20 (IBH, Naga 41), l. 1; 45 (IBH, Naga 43), l. 6. See also, °*isilasa* in EIAD 264 (IBH, Amar 12), l. 1. This shape is also recorded at <http://www.indoskript.org/>. The form *pava°itā* may be compared to *pava°itā* in an inscription of Kanheri cave 76. See Tournier in press: n. 31. ✦ **-dhamara°ika-** *-dhamarajaka* vH. The new reading is a much better match for Skt. *dharmarājika*, which is the title one would expect for the Great Shrine. Indeed, the intervocalic evolution *j > y > ø* precisely corresponds to that observed in *pava°itā* (Skt. *pravrajitā*) in the same inscription. Besides the common evolution *j > y*, the dropping of *-y-* is also found in *ācariāna*. See also Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 15. Von Hinüber’s reading, by contrast, would imply to assume a standardised MIA form **dhammarājaka*⁶⁹ or the mistaken omission of the vocalic marker *-i* by the engraver. But while the lack of vocalic lengthening is common in the corpus under discussion, the omission of other vocalic marks is rarer. Other MIA forms of the technical term *dharmarājika* occur in the epigraphic corpora of Mathurā and Gandhāra to stress the “imperial” legacy of *stūpas*. The concept is indeed closely associated in Buddhist literature—and, if it is genuine, in a *kharoṣṭhī* inscription (CKI 256)—with Aśoka’s legendary foundation of 84,000 such *stūpas*. In all its epigraphic instances, we see forms that correspond to Skt. *dharmarājika*: these parallels further support the present reading. See CKI 60 (Baums 2012: 237, no. 30), ll. 2–3; CKI 256 (Salomon 2007: 273), l. 1; Falk 2012: 13, 15–16. For a literary allusion to the foundation of a *dhammarājika cetiya* in Sindh in the epilogue of a late Saṃmitīya poem, see Hanisch 2008: 249, st. 371 (we shall see below how this literary tradition is relevant to Kanaganahalli). Despite the punctuation space, I suggest *-dhamara°ika-* should be taken as forming a compound with *deyadhama*, similarly to *saghadeyadhamma* in EIAD 287, l. 10, discussed above. Finally, note that II.1.4 probably had the same compound: instead of vH’s reading the last preserved *akṣaras* [°*ay*].—hence his reconstruction [°*ay*](*āgaṇā*)—one must read °*adh*. [l]. Comparison with II.1.3 allows to reconstruct °*adh*(*ā*)[l](*akacetiya*dhamara°*ika*)-. ✦ **paṭiṭhāpit[ā t](i)** *paṭiṭhāpit[ā t]* ? /// vH. Enough remains visible of the *t*. to make the reading secure. The restoration of a final quotative (*i*)*ti* is supported by several parallels in the EIAD corpus. Cf. EIAD 5 (IBH, Naga 14), l. 11 (*thāpitā ti*); EIAD 6 (IBH, Naga 6), ll. 9 (*paṭiṭhāpitā ti*), 13 (*thāpitā ti*); EIAD 31, l. 6; 32, l. 7; 33, l. 7 (*paṭiṭhāpitā ti* in all three cases, see IBH, Jaga 2, 3, and 1 respectively).

Success! *Āyāka* panels were established as the pious gift—pertaining to the *dharmarājika* Adhālaka Shrine—of the renun-

⁶⁹ He notes (Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 43): “In spite of the spelling (instead of *dhamarājaka*?), an interpretation as ‘King of the Dharma’ as a not uncommon designation of a Caitya seems preferable to an interpretation as *dhammarājaka* ‘(a donation) to please the Dharma.’”

ciant Buddharakkhitā, pupil of master reverend Sa(ṃ)tika (from Korugāla).

Von Hinüber's reconstruction's of *korugālakāna* in KnI II.1,3, on the basis of the similar formulation in II.1,4, is quite plausible. I would moreover agree with him that the first word of both inscriptions likely contains a toponym (*korugāla*) which, suffixed by *-ka*, is meant to mark the provenance of reverend Sa(ṃ)tika. Koru(ṃ)gāla is indeed a close match to Κορούγκαλα, but the link between this toponym and the contents of KnI I.8 is not as straightforward as Falk initially thought. Indeed, von Hinüber remarks that “[t]he connection of Korukula to a place name... does not seem to be possible. For place names referring to the origin of persons are given in the singular, while the plural is used for family names...”.⁷⁰

Accordingly, von Hinüber proposes to understand *korukulāna* as “from the Koru family.” There is however a serious problem with this interpretation. A genitive plural, to be sure, can be used to mark a donor's family background, but in such cases the term *kula* is entirely redundant. An occurrence of the term in the genitive plural in this context would in fact be distinctly odd: there is no reason for *kula* to be in the plural if it means family, and had Dhammasirī wished to stress her belonging to a putative Koru family, she—or whoever composed the inscription on her behalf—could less ambiguously have either used **korūna* or—using a derivative of *kula* attested, for instance, in EIAD 42 (von Hinüber 2017: 4), l. 1—**korukulikasa*. Moreover, we have seen earlier that, especially in instances where monks and nuns act as donors, the genitive plural tends to be used not so much to mark “family names,” but instead another kind of pedigree, directly connected to an ordination lineage.⁷¹ And indeed, the term *korukul(l)a* perfectly matches the name of a known (if rather unfamiliar) Buddhist *nikāya*.

⁷⁰ Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 43.

⁷¹ For epigraphic formulae expressing the family connections of monastic donors, see Clarke 2014: 39–45. While the inscriptions surveyed by Clarke do contain two instances of formulae marking matrilineal (IBH, Bhar, 33) or patrilineal filiation (EIAD 322; IBH, Amar 70), none refer to the broader family background of the monastic donor, using constructions such as the genitive plural.

In literature posterior by several centuries to KnI I.8, members of this lineage are known as the Kaurukullas. By then, they were closely related—if not identical—to the major school of the Saṃmitīyas. So far, the only instance in Middle Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit sources of the *nikāya* name Kaurukulla was found in the following final rubric of Vimuktisena’s *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* commentary, preserved in two distinct manuscripts:⁷²

kṛtiḥ sukṛtikarmaṇo mahāyānasamprasthitasya śākyabhikṣor
āryavimuktiṣeṇasya kaurukullāryasaṃmatīyasyānekodāravihā-
rasvāmyācāryabuddhadāsanaptuḥ ||

[This treatise is] the composition of the one of virtuous deeds, the *śākyabhikṣu* Ārya-Vimuktisena, who has set out on the Mahāyāna, a Kaurukulla, Ārya-Saṃmatīya, who is the grandson of Master Buddhadāsa—the patron (*svāmin*)⁷³ of many illustrious monasteries.

Considering that Vimuktisena lived in the 6th century⁷⁴ and assuming the *śāstra*’s final rubric was transmitted relatively faithfully in later manuscripts, there is a gap of nearly four centuries between the first mention of the Kaurukullas in Kanaganahalli and their emergence in the literary record.

⁷² Lee 2017: 20. The transliteration by Skilling (2016: 32) of the colophon from the early 12th-century Ms. A (NGMCP A 37/9) is faulty on several accounts, in particular his reading of the school name as *kaurakulla*. His translation appears to be based on the Tibetan translation, which takes *anekodāravihārasvāmin* as an epithet of Vimuktisena instead of his ancestor. See also Obermiller 1932: 155–156.

⁷³ On this title, commonly held by lay sponsors of monasteries, see the classical study by Schopen 1996. For the proposal to translate this office as “patron,” and the suggestion that it might not always point to ownership, see Scherrer-Schaub, Salomon, and Baums 2012: 146–147.

⁷⁴ According to Tāranātha, Vimuktisena was born in ’Bar ba’i phug, on the border between Madhyadeśa and Southern India. See Nakamura 2014: 20; Skilling 2016: 53, n. 124. ’Bar ba’i phug is also known, under the name of Dzwa li ni’i brag phug (i.e., *Jvālinī cave), in Daśabalaśrīmitra’s *Samskṛtāsamskṛtaviniścaya* as the cave where the Buddha spent his 18th and 19th summer retreats after his Awakening. See D 3897, *dBu ma, Ha*, 314a7–b4; see also Roerich 1976, vol. I: 23–24. Closely related lists of the retreats of the Buddha are preserved in the *Sengqieluocha suoji jing* 僧伽羅刹所集經 and the *Buddhavamsa-aṭṭhakathā*. In these works, the toponym corresponding to *Jvālinī are Zheli (EMC: teiaw-li) 柘梨(山) and Cāliya(pabbata) respectively. See T 194, IV, 144b1–22; Bv-a 3.18–34. See also DPPN, s.v. Cālikapabbata, Cālikā, Jālikā. These three passages deserve to be

This *nikāya* is also referred to in the writings of one of Vimuktisena's contemporaries, Bhāviveka (c. 500–570). One of the three accounts of the formation of the *nikāyas* transmitted in his **Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna* and incorporated into the *Tarkajvālā* refers twice to the Kaurukullas. There, they are presented, along with the Avantakas, as either another name or as a regional branch of the Saṃmitīyas.⁷⁵ Thus, the Kaurukullas do not appear to be defined as a “subschool” (*nikāyabheda*) of the Saṃmitīyas, as they are in later sources.⁷⁶ Later on in chapter 4 of the *Tarkajvālā*, the Mādhyamika master provides an unsourced citation from the scriptures of the “Ārya-Saṃmatīyas who reside on Kurukul(l)a” (Tib. *’phags pa mang pos bkur ba ku ru ku la’i gnas pa*). This is part of the citations drawn by him from the scriptures of the “eighteen *nikāyas*” to respond to the Śrāvakas’ critique of the Mahāyāna as a movement prescribing veneration of lay individuals.⁷⁷ There, three stanzas attributed to Ānanda praise as many events in the Bodhisattva’s last life before he renounced the world, thereby offering a glimpse of a Saṃmitīya tradition about Śākyamuni’s biography.⁷⁸ This quotation is also interesting because it is the only citation attributed to the Saṃmitīyas in that section, which would appear to confirm that, in the informed understanding of the “historian” Bhāviveka,⁷⁹ the Saṃmitīyas and Kaurukullas

systematically compared. While they do seem to support the location of the cave in Madhyadeśa, they naturally do not confirm the late Tibetan tradition connecting Vimuktisena to the **Jvālīnīguhā*. For further remarks on Vimuktisena’s life, see Seyfort Ruegg 1968: 305–306 and Nakamura 2014: 19–27. I thank the latter for kindly sharing with me his unpublished dissertation.

⁷⁵ Eckel 2008: 113, 114; 309.19–21, 310.14–17.

⁷⁶ The **Samayabhedoparacanacakraṅkāyabhedopadarśanasāṅgraha* by Vinīta-deva (c. 690–750) opens with stanzas undertaking to subsume the proverbial group of “eighteen *nikāyas*” under four larger units (*mahānikāya*). In this context, it presents the Kaurukullas (Tib. *sa sgrogs ris*), Avantakas, and Vātsīputrīyas as the three subdivisions of the Saṃmitīyas. See D 4140, *Dul ba, Su*, 154b3–5; Vogel 1985: 107. An identical list of eighteen subschools, listed under the headings of the four *mahānikāyas*, is preserved in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*. See *Mvy* (S) 9076–9098; (I&F) 9014–9035. For the framework of the four *mahānikāyas*, see Tournier 2017: 262–263, n. 29.

⁷⁷ For these citations, see Skilling 1997a: 609–610; Eckel 2008: 171, 353.23–30.

⁷⁸ A sketch of the Buddha biography is also provided in the frame-story of the *Mañicūḍajātaka*, a 12th-century poem by the erudite Saṃmitīya master Sarvarakṣita. See Hanisch 2006: 142–152; 2008: 213–216, st. 8–36.

⁷⁹ For the historical dimension of Bhāviveka’s analytical method, see Scherrer-Schaub 2013–2014; 2018: 118 and n. 6.

constituted one and the same *nikāya*. It is possible that this was already the case in the 2nd century, and this could explain why the latter title stood instead of what was to become a much more common designation of the transregional lineage.

The identification of the regional background of the Kaurukullas, to which we shall now turn, would appear to confirm that they were active at places where Saṃmitīya groups left a strong legacy. The rendering of the school label into Tibetan by the translators of the above-mentioned scriptural quotation provides a clue to the understanding of the name Kaurukulla. This is consistent with the explanation provided in the **Nikāya-bhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna*: in the same way that the Avantakas were named after their residence in Avanti, the Kaurukullas were thus called “because they live on Mount Kurukul(l)a” (*ku ru ku la'i ri la gnas pa'i phyir ku ru ku la pa'o*).⁸⁰ This plausible interpretation known to the Mādhyamika master would thus situate this *nikāya* among the groups deriving their name from a place like, for instance, the Mahāvinaseliyas discussed above, who were originally residents of the Mahāvina mountain.⁸¹ Similarly, the Kaukuṭikas, whose name is first attested in a c.-1st-century BCE inscription from Deorkothar (in the MIA form *kokūḍika*), plausibly derived their name from the Kukkuṭārāma in Kauśambī.⁸²

Mount Kurukulla does not have the early pedigree of the Kukkuṭārāma and, as far as I am aware, is little known, if it is known at all, in early Buddhist literature and Mahāyāna scriptures. It becomes more frequently referred to in esoteric Buddhist texts

⁸⁰ Eckel 2008: 114, 310.16–17.

⁸¹ Bareau (1955: 122) appears to have disregarded this evidence, when he interpreted the Kaurukulas (with one *-l*) as “ceux de la famille des Kurus,” later proposing to locate these in Kurukṣetra. This interpretation might perhaps have been influenced by the Tibetan rendering of their name in the *Mahāvvyūṭpatti* as *sar sgrog rigs kyi sdé*. Cf. *Mvy* (S) 9086; (I&F) 9023. But the reading Kaurukula is very likely a *lectio facilior*, and the final rubric of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* commentary must preserve the correct orthography of the name.

⁸² Salomon and Marino 2014: 33–35. Incidentally, the early occurrence of the term *korukula* uncovered at Kanaganahalli renders particularly unlikely the hypothesis that both the Kaurukullas and Kaukuṭikas might have derived their names from a single MIA form, or could even be identical. Compare Cousins 1991: 49, n. 100; Eckel 2008: 115, n. 50.

centred on another of its residents, the goddess Kurukullā.⁸³ As far as I know, these *sādhana*s themselves do not locate this mountain. However, a clue to its whereabouts comes from the paratextual information transmitted with a famous *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript copied in 1015 CE in Nepal, and preserved in the Cambridge University Library.⁸⁴ This manuscript comprises a lavish set of 85 illuminations, occurring at chapter ends and at the beginning of the entire book. With the exception of the last images, centred on the eight major episodes of the Buddha’s life, the cycle of illustrations is entirely accompanied by captions connecting deities, *stūpas* and *caityas* to given places. This has the effect of providing a remarkable map of the Buddhist world, the importance of which did not escape Alfred Foucher, whose seminal “Étude sur l’iconographie bouddhique de l’Inde d’après des documents nouveaux,” published in 1900, constitutes an extensive commentary of this and a related manuscript preserved at the Asiatic Society of Bengal.⁸⁵ The left-side miniature of folio 179b (fig. 13) contains a representation of the four-armed Kurukullā, clearly sitting in a mountainous landscape. The accompanying “legend” reads: *lāhtadeśe kurukulā śikhare kurukulā*, which should be understood as *lāradeśe*⁸⁶ *kurukullaśikhare kurukullā*, “In the country of Lāṭa, on Mount Kurukulla: Kurukullā.” Giuseppe Tucci, the first—and, as far as I know, the only—scholar to connect this legend with the colophon of Vimuktisena’s work, considered it likely that the Kaurukulla “*vihāra* took its name from

⁸³ The *Tārodbhavakurukullāsādhana*, for instance, defines her as *kurukullaparvatasthita*, and the *Kurukullāsādhana* as *kurukullaparvatodaraniṅāsini* (ed.: -kullā-). Cf. SM II.347.17, 392.5.

⁸⁴ This composite manuscript transmits the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, prefaced by the *Prajñāpāramitāstotra* and followed by the *Vajradhvajaparīṅāmanā*. See the detailed catalogue entry, authored by C. A. Formigatti:

<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01643/>.

⁸⁵ The iconographic programme of this manuscript was studied more recently by Kim 2013 (on which see von Hinüber 2016c) and 2014.

⁸⁶ As remarked by von Hinüber 2016c: 376–377, the conjunct *-hta-* is used here and in the three other allusions to Lāṭa in this manuscript (fol. 99b, 169a, and 188a) to mark the retroflex flap *-r-*, being the result of the development, also attested by Al-Bīrūnī’s transcriptions, of Lāṭadeśa to Lāradeśa. The same conjunct is also found in Kaṭāhadvīpa as equivalent to *Kaṭāhadvīpa, which corresponds to Kēdah in the Malay peninsula.

a mountain and that it was located in Gujarat.”⁸⁷ Given the time-span separating the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript and the Kanagana-halli inscription, it is necessary to support this hypothesis with further evidence.

It is significant that the location of Mount Kurukulla in Lāṭa (in present-day Southern Gujarat) is consistent with what is known of the spread of Saṃmitīya groups. In the 7th century, Yijing noted for instance that the Saṃmitīyas dominated in Lāṭa and Sindh, while they were also represented in Magadha and Eastern India and, in smaller numbers, in Southern India.⁸⁸ Xuanzang’s own census of monasteries, in the regions he visited, suggests that they were the largest group in his day in the subcontinent, and particularly dominated the Western part of India, Valabhī in Kathiawar (Surāṣṭra) being one of their major centres.⁸⁹ The trajectory of individual Buddhist luminaries confirms that characterisation of Valabhī: Paramārtha (499–569 CE), for instance, who was born in Ujjayinī, in Avanti, and studied in Valabhī, was likely ordained as a Saṃmitīya.⁹⁰ Although the Saṃmitīya (-Kaurukulla) *nikāya* is not explicitly mentioned in the epigraphic corpus of Valabhī, these inscriptions do contain evidence that seem consistent with the picture derived from Chinese sources. In particular, it may be worth noting here that one of the grants issued by Dhruvasena I in 536/37 CE records the royal endowment of a monastery, apparently located within the larger monastic complex (*vihāramaṇḍala*) commissioned by Queen Duḍḍā. The first aim of this endowment is to honour the Buddha(s) established “in the [perfumed] chamber in the monastery commissioned by the master, reverend Buddhādāsa” (*ācāryyabhadanta-buddhadāsakāritavihārakutyāṃ*).⁹¹ The founding of this particular

⁸⁷ Tucci 1963: 151.

⁸⁸ T 2125, LIV, 205b3–8; Takakusu 1896: xxiv, 8–9. See also Bareau 1955: 121; Lamotte 1958: 602. For the Saṃmitīyas’ presence in Sindh, and the likely characterisation of their communities as Saindhavas (Tib. Sendhapa) in the Pāla domain, see Skilling 1997b: 106–108; Hanisch 2008: 208; Dimitrov 2017: 59–60.

⁸⁹ Lamotte 1958: 599.

⁹⁰ See Okano 1998: 58–59; Funayama 2008: 145–146; Skilling 2016: 13–14.

⁹¹ Bloch 1895: 383, ll. 17–19. I thank Annette Schmiedchen for sharing with me her forthcoming edition of this grant. I tentatively follow here the interpretation of the compound suggested by Schopen (1990: 186–187), which implies emending the reading into *-kāritavihāre (gandha)kutyāṃ*. Lévi (1896: 231)

monastery would define Buddhadāsa as its *de facto vihārasvāmin*. It is thus tempting—if impossible to prove at the moment—to identify this wealthy monastic donor with Vimuktisena’s grandfather, all the more since later Tibetan historiography associates him with Western India.⁹²

The evidence considered above strengthens the possibility, raised by the legend of the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript illumination, that Mount Kurukulla and the lineage attached to it were situated in the south of present-day Gujarat. The establishment of the Kaurukullas and the Avantakas in two neighbouring regions would in fact provide a meaningful background to the explanation of the branches of the Saṃmitīyas found in Bhāviveka’s treatise. It would also have the advantage of tying the *nikāya* under discussion to a region likely subsumed under Aparānta which,

took *kuṭī* as pointing to “une construction supplémentaire” belonging to the Duḍḍāvihāra, while Njammasch (2001: 204) comments: “Vielleicht handelte es sich hier eher um ein selbständiges, möglicherweise kleineres Gebäude als ein *vihāra*, das Buddhadāsa bauen ließ.” Even if Schopen’s suggested emendation was not accepted, the fact that *buddhas* (or the Buddha Śākyamuni, addressed in the plural of majesty) are said to be established in that particular *kuṭī* supports understanding it as pointing to the *cella*, as also accepted by Schmiedchen. If the locative ending *vihāre* was not mistakenly omitted, then the full compound could alternatively be translated “in the monastery’s *sanctum* commissioned by the master, reverend Buddhadāsa.” This could imply that the monastery was not commissioned by the venerable monk. However, since the *gandhakuṭī* constitutes the choicest space in a *vihāra*, we have grounds to assume that it was generally dedicated by the owner/patron of the *vihāra*. This is the case, for instance, of cave IV at Ajanta, where the *vihārasvāmin* Māthura left a donative record on the pedestal of the main cult image in the *cella*. Similarly, the donor of the *vihāra* cave XVII makes clear that he was also responsible for the excavation of the *gandhakuṭī*, here identified as cave XIX. See Cohen 2006: 284, no. 17 (re-edited in Tournier in press); 320–322, no. 77, st. 27.

⁹² See Lévi 1896: 231–232, relying on Tāranātha, who defines Buddhadāsa as Asaṅga’s disciple, and says he lived in Western India. See Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya 1970: 177. Cf. Njammasch 2001: 204. Lévi moreover believed that the founder of another monastery, the *ācārya bhadanta* Sthiramati, “est certainement identique au fameux disciple de Vasubandhu.” See also Njammasch 2001: 210–211; Sanderson 2009: 72. This was, however, called into question by Silk (2009: 384–385), on the grounds that “there might have been more than one Sthiramati.” The same reasoning could, admittedly, be used against the identification of the two Buddhadāsas, also considering the commonness of that name. Still, if Vimuktisena’s grandfather was able to earn the title *anekodāra-vihārasvāmin*, he would probably have been in a particularly good position to leave a trail in the epigraphic record of the period.

under Gotamīputta Sātakaṇṇi (c. 60–84) and his successor Vāsītṭhīputta Siri-Puḷumāvi (c. 85–125), belonged to the Sātavāhana domain.⁹³ This territorial unification, during the heyday of the Sātavāhanas, would have facilitated the circulation of monks and nuns belonging to Dhammasirī's lineage along the *dakṣiṇāpatha*, and their involvement at the Adhālaka-Mahācetiya, in the same way that it would have contributed to the branching out of the Mahāvīnaseliyas from Āndhra.

Indeed, there is evidence that Dhammasirī was not acting alone, but very likely was part of a close-knit group involved in donations at the Great Shrine. In her record, the nun associates two monks to her gift, one of which, the reverend Sīha, is also named as an individual donor in four *buddhapāda* inscriptions (KnI II.6,1–4; see fig. 14).⁹⁴ These inscriptions all agree in mentioning the donor as the pupil (*antevāsin*) of reverend Buddhatrāta. It may be significant that two out of the few known Saṃmitīya figures bore, like this master, names in *-trāta*.⁹⁵ Another Buddhatrāta is indeed the author of the *Lü ershier mingliao lun* 律二十二明了論 (T 1461), translated by Paramārtha in 568 CE, while

⁹³ Sircar 1971: 225–229; Bhandare 1999: 275–285, 302–305.

⁹⁴ Note that, in von Hinüber's edition of KnI II.6,3 and KnI II.6,4, the donor's name is recorded in as Sīhakassapa (Skt. Sīṃhakāśyapa). This would be, however, a curious name and, upon inspection of the stones, my reading and interpretation of both inscriptions differ: instead of *[bhata] s[i]hakasapa + dāyakasa* and *bhata s(i)hakasapasa dāyakasa*, I read the phrase describing the donor as *bhatasihakasapaṇadāya[ka]sa* and *bhatas[i]hakasapanadeyakasa*, meaning “(gift) of the reverend Sīha, the giver of *kārsāpaṇas*.” We cannot be absolutely certain that this was the same individual, but the shared title in all three records supports this identification, while the palaeography of these inscriptions suggests they belong to the same phase of patronage at the site.

⁹⁵ Monastic names are not school-specific, but given the tendency, within ordination lineages, for a pupil to inherit an element of his name from his preceptor, endings appear to have been more common in some milieux than others. For the circulation of the element *-prabha* in Pūrvaśāila (MIA Puvva-/Pubbaseliya) milieux, see Tournier in preparation a. For similar remarks on the transmission of the elements *-śrībhadrā*, *-garbha*, and *-mītra* in the monastic names of distinct ordination lineages, see Jiang and Tomabechi 1996: XV, n. 18; Delhey 2015: 13, n. 62; Dimitrov 2016: 203. The late *Grub mtha' chen mo* by 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje Ngag dbang brtson 'grus (1648–1721/22) assigns a set of names to each of the four *mahānikāyas*, thereby reflecting a tendency also evinced by epigraphic sources. Cf. Vasilev 1860: 294–295. No mention is, however, made of the element *-trāta* for the Saṃmitīyas or, for that matter, of *-prabha* among the Mahāsāṅghikas.

the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* was written by Saṅghatrāta.⁹⁶ Whether or not onomastics provided a significant clue in this context, these prosopographic considerations make it possible to go beyond the single certain instance of a *nikāya*-label at the *mahācaitya*, and suggest that other monastic donors active in the 2nd century were related to the Kaurukullas. The nun Dhammasirī, who took an active role in the embellishment of the Great Shrine, was thus likely part of a community, which may have settled at Kanaganahalli.

Concluding remarks

Despite remaining uncertainties, the foregoing investigation establishes that monastic members of the Kaurukulla *nikāya*, as well as members of—or lay donors devoted to—the Mahāvīnaseliya *nikāya*, were both present at and around the Adhālaka Great Shrine. The likely encounter of members of two *nikāyas* from opposite parts of the Sātavāhana domain in the hub of Kanaganahalli raises several questions: in whose possession (Skt. *parigraha*) laid the *vihāra* located immediately to the north of the great shrine? At the moment, we may hypothesize they were Kaurukullas, but this remains to be proven. Additionally, were the members of the other monastic lineage residents of another *vihāra*, the remains of which have yet to be discovered, or temporary residents—perhaps coming from Dhānyakaṭaka—of the northern monastery?⁹⁷ Finally, was the Great Shrine controlled by members of a single *nikāya* throughout its history or could further scrutiny of the chronology of the site uncover discontinuities? In relation to the last question, one may further wonder whether the dedication of a free-standing pillar, located outside of the *mahācaitya*'s *vedikā* should be interpreted as a sign that donors associated with the Mahāvīnaseliyas were not welcome to share in the collective “patronage” of a monument where

⁹⁶ See Sferra in this volume.

⁹⁷ For the importance of accounting for the residence of monastics from different lineages in the monasteries placed in the hands of a given *nikāya*, see, for instance, with respect to Termez, Scherrer-Schaub, Salomon, and Baums 2012: 143.

Kaurukullas had been active. However, this would probably be to over-read the evidence: while inscriptions elsewhere suggest that the structural elements of a *stūpa* controlled by a given lineage should not be dismantled or transferred to another group,⁹⁸ there is, as far as I know, nothing in Buddhist prescriptive literature preventing monastics to make offerings to a shrine overseen by members of another *nikāya*. Moreover, there is epigraphic evidence suggesting that such a coexistence of monastic donors at given sites did happen. No one appears to have noticed that monastic donors belonging to two distinct *nikāyas* (the Mahāvīnaseliyas and the Theriyas) were active, at not so distant periods, at the Dhānyakaṭaka Great Shrine in Amaravati.⁹⁹ This evidence should encourage us to continue to scrutinize data relevant to religious agency at given sites, since the quest for a univocal “school affiliation” of monuments may conceal much of the complex religious, political, and economic dynamics at work in each individual context.

⁹⁸ See, for instance, the minatory formula occurring on three of the four *torāṇas* at Sanchi, equating the removal and transfer of *vedikā* or *torāṇa* elements to another lineage (MIA *ācariyakula*) to the five sins of immediate retribution (MIA *ānatariya*). See IBH, Sanc 375, 382, 390. See also Scherrer-Schaub 2016: 10–11. Compare Schopen 1994: 550–551.

⁹⁹ Indeed, the *āyāka*-panel bearing EIAD 537, dedicated by a young Theriya monk, coexisted on the *stūpa* with a dome-slab bearing EIAD 321 (Chennai Government Museum, acc. no. 269; see above, pp. 874 and 876). The first structural element belongs, according to Shimada, to the first type of drum-slab, which is given a chronological range between 50 BCE and 100 CE, a dating he recently revised to the mid-late 1st century CE. See Shimada 2013: 104–105; 2017: 185–186. The palaeography of EIAD 537 would support the revised dating. The second structural element is similar in style and iconography to a slab epigraphically dated to the reign of Yañña-Sātakaṇṇi (r. c. 170–200; EIAD 534 [Sarkar 1970–1971: 7–8, no. 60 and pl. V]). They both belong, according to the same author, to the second type of dome-slab, which is given a range between c. 170 CE and 200 CE; see Shimada 2013: 109–110. The few generations gap between the two donative acts could be interpreted as marking a shift in the religious presence at the site. Yet in view of the fact that at least five *nikāyas* are recorded in the early inscriptions of Amaravati (Cetikiya, Mahāvīnaseliya, Puvvaseliya, Aparamahāvīnaseliya, and Theriya), a more likely interpretation is that it was considered unproblematic for monastic donors to express diverging religious descent at a given *stūpa* or *caitya*, even if that building may have been controlled by a single monastic order. I return to the issue of religious pluralism at sites such as Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda in Tournier forthcoming.

The hypothesis I have proposed here of a strong Kaurukulla involvement in shaping the Adhālaka Great Shrine is consistent with the findings of S. Karashima about the 3rd-century Maitreya image inscription (KnI II.7,A.8), and could suggest that, out of the variety of options considered by him, one may prefer to understand the phraseology of that record as informed by Sāṃmitīya(-Kaurukulla) sources. This should serve as an invitation to explore further echoes between the extant sources associated with that particular *nikāya* and the artistic programme at the Great Shrine, while also keeping an open mind on the diversity of groups—and with them, of scriptural heritage—that likely coexisted there. The religious pluralism of Kanaganahalli is itself best understood as the product of historical circumstances facilitating trans-regional exchanges. Indeed, the political integration of much of the *dakṣiṇāpatha* under Gotamīputta Sātakaṇṇi and his successor likely contributed to the flourishing of the Great Shrine as a cosmopolitan and religiously diverse jewel of a site. Whether or not this is the context in which flourished yet another “jewel,” the author of the *Ratnāvalī* dear to our honorand is, as Cristina Scherrer-Schaub likes to say, “another story,” one of the many that I hope she will tell in the years to come.

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Fig. 1

General view of structure V (STR-V), to the northwest of the Kanaganahalli Great Shrine, with pillar fragment bearing KnI II.5.9 visible on the foreground (photo V. Tournier)



Fig. 2

Fragment of a limestone octagonal pillar (bearing KnI II.5,9 and II.5,11), west of structure V, Kanaganahalli (photo V. Tournier)



Fig. 3
Face of pillar bearing KnI II.5,11, Kanaganahalli (photo V. Tournier)



Fig. 4
Face of pillar bearing KnI II.5,9, Kanaganahalli (photo V. Tournier)



Fig. 5
Element of limestone octagonal pillar, Kanaganahalli storage
(photo V. Tournier)



Fig. 6
Limestone drum slab, Kanaganahalli storage
(photo V. Tournier)



Fig. 7
Elements of a pillar capital, fragments 8–10, Phanigiri
(photo A. Griffiths; courtesy of Dept. of Archaeology and Museums,
Govt. of Telangana)



Fig. 8
Cuboid dice from the *torana* architrave fragment 5, Phanigiri
(photo A. Griffiths; courtesy of Dept. of Archaeology and Museums,
Govt. of Telangana)



Fig. 9
Estampage of the Amaravati *mandapa*-pillar inscription EIAD 287,
after Burgess 1887: pl. LX, no. 49



Fig. 10
Āyāka-panel from Amaravati, bearing EIAD 537, Amaravati State Museum
(photo J. Miles, Archeovision)



Fig. 11
Vedika coping stone, perhaps from Gummadihurru, bearing EIAD 561, Amaravati State Museum
(photo J. Miles, Archeovision)



Fig. 12
Inscribed slab bearing Knl I.8, Kanaganahalli (photo C. Luczanits)



Fig. 13
Prajñāpāramitā manuscript, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1643, illustration on the left side of folio 179b
(© Cambridge University Library)



Fig. 14
Buddhapāda bearing KnI II.6,2, Kanaganahalli
(photo V. Tournier)

*The Historical Inscription in the 'Du khang of mTho lding Monastery**

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1. Introduction

In September and October 2010, I had the pleasure and privilege to conduct joint fieldwork with the distinguished and cherished scholar to whom this volume is dedicated.¹ While tracing and documenting epigraphic sources in various parts of mNga' ris, we spent several days in mTho lding, the religious and political cen-

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¹ The field trip was made possible by a cooperation between the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences (TASS) in Lhasa. Its planning and realization were greatly helped by various members of TASS, especially the late and deeply missed Tshe ring rgyal po, Pad ma rgya mtsho, mTsho mo and bsTan 'dzin, with the latter acting as co-researcher during the entire trip. My thanks are also due to Carmen Auer and Holger Neuwirth, who allowed me to reproduce their (slightly modified) ground plan of the 'Du khang and the adjacent gTsang khang (fig. 1). Grong shar Tshe ring and Mathias Fermer kindly discussed the inscription's first quatrain with me, and Christian Jahoda generously sent me the photos reproduced as figs. 2 and 3. Finally, I am very much obliged to Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek, who corrected my English, and to Marta Sernesi for her most helpful questions and comments.

tre of the ancient kingdom of Gu ge. The town not only served as a base for our explorations of the areas flanking the Glang chen kha 'bab (Sutlej), all the way down to the Indian border, but naturally it was also a major object of investigation in itself. The famous monastery of mTho lding was a particularly high-yielding place, and we were able to document a considerable number of inscriptions in its various temples. In fond remembrance of our joint journey, it thus gives me great pleasure to offer this article on a historical inscription in the monastery's 'Du khang to my esteemed *kalyāṇamitrā*.

The inscription is found on the northern west wall, near the stairs that lead to the adjacent gTsang khang (fig. 1). It measures *c.* 8 × 180 cm (height/width) and comprises seven lines. The text is written in golden *dbu can* letters on a black background (figs. 2 and 3). Except for the incipient *om sva sti* and the concluding *shu bham*, it is entirely of a metrical structure and contains 119 lines of verse. As the inscription is damaged in some places, the number of syllables per verse-line cannot always be established with certainty, but all the verse-lines that are sufficiently preserved are made up of nine syllables.² The text can be neatly subdivided into quatrains—save one section consisting of seven verse-lines (81–87), which is probably the result of a mistake by the scribe and/or author.

In the summer of 1997, Tshe rdor transcribed the inscriptional text *in situ* and published it (in Tibetan script) two years later (Tshe rdor 1999). His article also contains some explanatory notes and a short introduction, providing, among other things, information on the fate of the 'Du khang during the Cultural Revolution and brief references to various murals in both the 'Du khang and the gTsang khang. Tshe rdor's rendering of the epigraph is more or less reliable, but because my own reading differs in numerous places, I believe it is justified to present a new edition of the entire document.

Tshe rdor's transcription of verse-lines 31–119 was reproduced in Vitali 2012a: 131–137, with an added English translation and a discussion of their contents. Again, I feel that a new translation is

² In verse-line 111, *de'i* must be read as two syllables (i.e., as *de yi*).

warranted—not only because Vitali's translation of these verse-lines is exclusively based on Tshe rdor's text, but also because his understanding of several passages, passages for which Tshe rdor's and my own readings concur, seems questionable to me.

It will be a matter of further research, preferably by a trained art historian, to establish the inscription's relationship to the temple's artwork, especially the murals above and below it (figs. 2 and 3).

2. Summary of Contents and Questions of Dating

As the inscription is damaged in several places and sometimes refers to people by way of allusions rather than by giving their names, parts of the text remain unclear. In addition, there are the usual ambiguities that one faces in metrical compositions. The following is an attempt to provide a brief summary emphasizing those points that are unequivocally clear.

The opening quatrain is dedicated to Tsong kha pa (verse-lines 1–4) and is followed by references to the Buddha (Śākyamuni), Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga (5–20). Next, the inscription cursorily refers to the period of Tibetan history from Srong btsan sgam po to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon (21–32) and gives a somewhat more detailed description of the exploits of Ye shes 'od, Rin chen bzang po, rTse lde and Zhi ba 'od (33–56). After a brief allusion to the subsequent dark period in “this region,”³ when “the *saṅgha* was disrupted” and the temples were “handled like puffed rice in the fire” (57–60), Tsong kha pa's West Tibetan disciple Ngag dbang grags pa, the first dGe lugs pa abbot of mTho lding monastery, is introduced (61–68). The inscription's historical part proper ends with a reference to Ngag dbang grags pa's successor, who was “provided with the name of Nam mkha” (69–72), and the wish that Shākya 'od⁴ as well as his offspring Buddhapālita(?) and Blo bzang rab brtan⁵ may be “victorious in all directions” (73–76).

³ *ljongs 'di*—referring to Western Tibet in general and mTho lding in particular.

⁴ This is the religious name that King (Nam mkha'i dbang po) Phun tshogs lde received when he became a monk (see n. 102). He was instrumental in establishing Ngag dbang grags pa as abbot of mTho lding.

⁵ On Buddhapālita(?) (spelled *bud dha pa li ta* in the inscription) and Blo bzang rab brtan, see nn. 108 and 109.

The following section provides the names of the sponsors, artists and artisans who were involved in the furnishing and decorating of the temple according to the design that Shākya 'od considered appropriate (77–107). Finally, the inscription refers to various elements of the temple's artwork (108–119).

Regarding the date of the inscription, the year of Blo bzang rab brtan's birth (1458, according to Vitali 1996: 512f.) is an obvious *terminus post quem*. Moreover, the fact that neither his son 'Phags pa lha nor any of the latter's offspring is mentioned in the text suggests that it was composed some time before 1500 ('Phags pa lha's exact date of birth is unknown, but by 1499 he was already politically active⁶). It is difficult to say, however, if the inscription in its present form is original or a replication of an earlier (epigraphic) witness.⁷

3. General Notes on the Edition and the Translation

The edition is based on video-documentation I made in early October 2010 and presents the text as it appeared at that time.⁸ All conjectures⁹ and emendations¹⁰ have been relegated to the footnotes. There, the reading of the inscription is first repeated and then the respective conjecture or emendation is given after a colon;¹¹ slightly doubtful cases are followed by a question mark in brackets¹² and in more speculative instances the brackets are omitted. The divergent readings of Tshe rdor are only selectively quoted.

⁶ See Vitali 1996: 512f.

⁷ Cf. Tropper and Scherrer-Schaub 2015.

⁸ Several dozen exposures were extracted from the video-sequences. They can be viewed at www.univie.ac.at/Tibetan-inscriptions; links: Ngari → Tholing → Red Temple → Inscription 01.

⁹ I.e., proposed readings where text had become illegible by 2010.

¹⁰ I.e., proposed changes for text still legible in 2010; mainly corrections of obvious scribal mistakes and adjustments of “irregular” spellings to “classical norms” (here, for the sake of convenience, spellings that are not attested in Das 1985 [1902], Jäschke 1992 [1881], or Zhang et al. 1993 [1985] are considered “irregular”). No emendations are provided for “irregular” sandhi-forms like “*ba : pa,*” etc.

¹¹ E.g., “*g : phrag*” and “*sred : srid.*”

¹² E.g., “*nga=gis : ngang gis(?)*.”

In the translation, conjectures are given in square brackets within the running text. As in the edition, the text of slightly doubtful cases is followed by a question mark in (round) brackets.¹³ In more speculative cases (i.e., conjectures that are followed by a question mark without brackets in the edition) the translation of the suggested text is provided in a footnote (with question mark)¹⁴ and the running text contains an ellipsis (...).

In both the edition and the translation, the spelling of Tibetan toponyms and personal names has not been standardized, but where I considered it appropriate, I have provided the more common alternative(s) in the footnotes.

4. Editorial Signs

{1}, {2}, {3}, etc.	beginning of a line
*	<i>dbu</i>
	<i>shad</i>
<u>d</u>	uncertain reading (underlined) ¹⁵
=	illegible "letter" ¹⁶
-	illegible letter(s) that formed part of a partly legible "letter," with one hyphen representing up to three letters (e.g., -o, -rub, and -od; respectively for partly damaged <i>lo</i> , <i>sgrub</i> , and <i>spyod</i>)
<i>m̐</i>	<i>bindu</i>
xxx _{pa} xxx / xxx ^{pa} xxx	insertion below/above the line
÷	deletion in the inscription, with text no longer legible, each ÷ representing one deleted "letter"

¹³ E.g., "[gradually(?)]."

¹⁴ E.g., "Read: 'venerable?'"

¹⁵ Following Tauscher 1999: 50, a letter is marked in this way even in those cases where it is "partly damaged," but the reading is obvious and quite certain from the context."

¹⁶ Cf. Steinkellner and Luczanits 1999: 15 (n. 12), where "letter" is defined as "any combination of letters in the Tibetan alphabet that occupy in vertical arrangement of the letter sequence the space of a single grapheme," while *letter* "refers to the single signs for consonants or vowel modification only." Thus a "letter" can be composed of between one and four *letters*. E.g., *bsod na=s* (partly damaged *bsod nams*) or =r (partly damaged *spyir*).

<1> empty space, with the respective number denoting how many “letters” would fit into this space; the more or less regular instances found at the end of lines or before, between or after a (double) *shad* are not indicated.

In the annotations to the translation, the following signs are used for quotations from the inscription:

{ } emendations
< > conjectures

5. Edition

{1} ** || om sva sti ||

1 dpaldan¹⁷ blo yi me long dag pa la ||
 2 thub pa'i lugs bzang gzugs mdzes gsal bar 'char | =¹⁸
 3 =====phr-ng ba¹⁹ zla ba'i zer phr-b²⁰ ||
 4 rje btsun rtsong kha pa²¹ de rgyal gyur cig ↓ |
 5 rgya chen tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho'i dbus na mtho²² ||
 6 bsdu bzhi'i bang rim mdzes pas dam du mkhyud ||
 7 mkhyen brtse nyi zla'i 'od ris gsal ba can ||
 8 thub dbang lhun po'i dbang por phyag bgyid do ||

¹⁷ I.e., *bsdus yig* for *dpal ldan*.

¹⁸ | = : ||.

¹⁹ *phr-ng ba*: *phreng ba*. The remaining traces make it difficult to come up with a convincing conjecture for the beginning of the verse-line; *rin chen* (') *phreng ba*, for example, can hardly be justified by what is still extant.

²⁰ *phr-b*: *phro ba* (i.e., irregular for ' *phro ba*).

²¹ Irregular for *btsong kha pa* or *tsong kha pa*. For the spelling of the inscription, cf. *Zhang zhung mkhan rgyud* 1r2.

²² *mtho*: *mithong* Tshe rdor; this seems to be an emendation rather than a different reading, as the inscription clearly has *mtho*.

- 9 rt-n_=ung²³ zab mo'i rta ljang gis drangs====²⁴
 10 mtha' gnyis spangs pa sha_r ri'i rtse nas 'ong=²⁵ ||
 11 tog gengan pa'i mun pa las rgyal ba ||
 12 klu sgrub nyin mo'i mgon des bdag skyong shig || |
- 13 mi pham thugs chud ÷dbu ba'i_=====
 14 ==²⁶ rig grub mtha'i rlabs phreng rab tu g.yo || |
 15 rigs lam stong gi nor bu'i dpal mnga' ba || |
 16 thogs med chu gter che des gzigs gyur cig || |
- 17 rgyal dang shing rta che gnyis rjes 'breng {2} bcas || |
 18 dag pa'i zhing gzhan gshegs pas thub bstan 'di || |
 19 snun bral mar me'i gnas skabs bsten pa'i tshe || |
 20 skye bo 'di dag log pa'i lam ngan zhugs || |
- 21 dus der mtha' dag 'gro la spyang ras kyi====²⁷
 22 rtag tu gzigs pa phyag na chu skyes can || |
 23 mgon des gangs ri phrod²⁸ 'dir dkar po'i lam || |
 24 rgyas par bya phyir rgyal po'i rnam 'phrul gzung²⁹ || |
- 25 rje btsun ngag gi dbang phyug mthu stobs gter = |³⁰
 26 =g³¹ dog spang=ang³² 'jig rten dbang phyug g-s³³ | ↓
 27 thub bstan rgyas pa'i khur chen 'degs pa la || |
 28 'gran bzhin kha ba ri pa'i dpal du gyur || |

²³ rt-n_=ung: rten 'byung.

²⁴ drangs==== : drangs pa | |.

²⁵ 'ong=: 'ongs.

²⁶ == : kun?

²⁷ kyi==== : kyis | |.

²⁸ phrod: khrod (khrod Tshe rdor); phrod may simply be an irregular spelling of khrod, but since the syllable can also be read as phrong and since there are some indistinct marks in front of it, perhaps the scribe first wrote phreng (resulting in the common phrase gangs ri['i] phreng), and then, as a kind of half-hearted and makeshift correction, tried to change it to khrod.

²⁹ gzung: bzung.

³⁰ = | : | |.

³¹ =g: phrag.

³² spang=ang: spangs kyang.

³³ g-s: gis.

- 29 nag phyogs 'byung po'i gdon gyis thugs brlams pa ||
 30 dar mas bstan pa===== ↓↓
 31 skyid lde nyi ma mgon sras dang bcas pas ||
 32 gangs can stod 'dir sngon med skal bzang byas ||
- 33 dpal ldan bkra shis mgon sras mthu bo mchog ||
 34 'khor ba'i phun tshogs {3} rtsa³⁴ rtse'i zil pa ltar ||
 35 dgongs te sras dang btsun mor bcas pa yi³⁵ ||
 36 ngur smrig rgyal mtshan blangs te dul bar gnas ||
- 37 ye shes spyen ldan 'od kyi mtha' can deg = |³⁶
 38 'phags yul mkhas pa'i mdun sar mi 'jigs=i³⁷ ||
 39 mgrin pa mtho ldan rin chen bzang po swags³⁸ ||
 40 mkhas pa brgya phrag nga=gis³⁹ gang bar mdzad ||
- 41 de ltar yang dag lugs bzang sprol⁴⁰ gtod pas ||
 42 sbyor sgrol la sogs log pa'i lam ngan dag ||
 43 sa'og⁴¹ gting rum dag la skyabs⁴² byas pas ||
 44 rdzogs ldan bzhin du =⁴³ chen bskal bzang byas ||
- 45 brtse ldan yab mes gong ma'i rnam 'phrul la ||
 46 sred⁴⁴ pa'i mig yangs gyen du mngon phyogs pa =⁴⁵

³⁴ rtsa : rtswa.

³⁵ While *yi* can be justified from a grammatical point of view, emending it to *gis* would yield a much smoother text.

³⁶ = | : |.

³⁷ 'jigs=i : 'jigs pa'i ('jigs pa'i Tshe rdor).

³⁸ I.e., for *sogs* (*sogs* Tshe rdor). See Hahn 1996: 8, n. 1. The spelling *swags* for *sogs* is also found in one of the as yet unpublished inscriptional panels on the life of the Buddha in the gTsang khang of the Red Temple.

³⁹ nga=gis : ngang gis(?) (*ngang gis* Tshe rdor); the remaining traces also allow for the conjectures *dag gis* and *ngag gis*.

⁴⁰ sprol : srol (*srol* Tshe rdor).

⁴¹ Sic (i.e., without *tsheg* between *sa* and 'og).

⁴² Tshe rdor has *btab* (which certainly would make good sense), but the inscription clearly reads *skyabs*.

⁴³ = : ngo or pho (irregular for 'pho)? Tshe rdor has (*bzhin du*) *dus* (*chen*), which would make good sense. However, it can hardly be justified by the remaining traces.

⁴⁴ sred : srid (*srid* Tshe rdor).

⁴⁵ | = : |.

- 47 =====sras dang bcas ||
48 rgyal ba'i bstan la rgyal ba bzhin du gyur ||
- 49 lhag par mkhyen pa'i nyi_'od 'bar ba yis ||
50 ma lus shes bya'i pad mo kha phye bas ||
51 mdo sngags gzhung brgya'i {4} ze 'bru gsal ba can ||
52 lha rje bla ma zhi ba 'od de rgyal ||
- 53 gang de'i bka' lung spyi gtsug la 'god pa ||
54 sa bdag rtse ldes mthun rkyen yo byad dag ||
55 tshogs par byas pas dpal ldan 'dzam gling brgyan⁴⁶ ||
56 skal ldan mig gi=ga'⁴⁷ ston lta bur bsgrubs ||
- 57 ljongs 'di skye bo'i legs byas dman pa dang ||
58 nag po'i phyogs kyi stobs chen rgyas pa las ||
59 dge 'dun sde gshig gtsug lag khang chen dag ||
60 mtha' dag me la 'bras yos bzhin du byas ||
- 61 de nas ring zhig lon tshe btsong kha pa,ⁱ ||
62 sras kyi mchog <1>gyur ngag dbang grags pa'i dpal ||
63 zhang zhung skye bo'i bsod nams pho nya yis ||
64 legs par spyan drangs ===== ↓ ||
- 65 mgon des rin chen bzang po'i rgyal tshab mchog ||
66 legs par gzung⁴⁸ nas rgya mtsho'i gos can 'dis ||
67 li khri'i bla gos blangs pa ltar byas ste ||
68 dga' ldan gnas {5} kyi mi pham mdun sar gshegs ||
- 69 de yi rgyal tshab chos kyi spyan ldan pa ||
70 nam mkha'i mtshan ldan slob mar bcas pa yis ||
71 snying stobs mchog dang lhag b=m⁴⁹ mi dman pas ||
72 slar yang lha rje bla ma'i rnam 'phrul bstan ||

⁴⁶ brgyan : rgyan.

⁴⁷ gi=ga' : gi dga'.

⁴⁸ gzung : bzung.

⁴⁹ b=m : bsam.

- 73 dpal ldan shākya,⁵⁰ ri<1>gs⁵¹ kyi thig le mchog ||
 74 rje btsun shakyā⁵² 'od dang de yi sras ||
 75 mi yi dbang po bud dha pa⁵³ li ta ||
 76 blo bzang rab brtan phyog=las⁵⁴ rgyal gyur cig ||
- 77 rtse⁵⁵ ldan chos 'dzom pu ṅe nam mkha' sgron ||
 78 dpal ldan 'dren dang =or⁵⁶ bu rgyal mo sogs ||
 79 'di dag rnam kyis sgyu ma'i zas nor la ||
 80 snying po len phyir mthun rkyen dpag med mdzad ||
- 81 ⁵⁷'jig rten mṅs po'i y===== (==)
 82 (==)=⁵⁸ bar mi nus mig gi bdud rtsi 'di ||
 83 pir thogs dbang po sangs rgyas bzang po dang ||
 84 gzo⁵⁹ rig mthar son dkon mchog rdo rje sogs ||
 85 zhang zhung ljongs 'di'i mkhas {6} pa mtha' dag gis ||
 86 legs par bris pas 'phags-ul⁶⁰ nub phyogs kyi ||
 87 gzo⁶¹ rig kun la chags bral gyur te 'dug ↓ ||
- 88 'di yi shing gzo⁶² lhun grub mgon po dang ||
 89 dpal ldan chos bzang lha btsun grags rdor sogs ||
 90 mkhas pa du ma'i sor mo'i rtse mo las ||
 91 sngon med gsar pa'i rnam 'phrul 'di ltar ro ||

⁵⁰ Unlike in the following verse-line, here the ' below *kya* seems to have been added as the *rten* for the *i* inserted above the line.

⁵¹ Clearly, the space between *ri* and *gs* was left empty by the scribe deliberately, because the stacked letters of the syllable *bsgrubs* in line 4 extend all the way down to the upper parts of line 5 at this point.

⁵² *shakyā* : *shākya*.

⁵³ *pa* : *pā*(?).

⁵⁴ *phyog=las* : *phyogs las*.

⁵⁵ *rtse* : *brtse* or *tshe*(?).

⁵⁶ =*or* : *nor*.

⁵⁷ Note that the following passage consists of seven verse-lines, as pointed out in the introduction.

⁵⁸ (==)= : *zhi*(?) (*zhi* Tshe rdor).

⁵⁹ *gzo* : *bzo*.

⁶⁰ 'phags-*ul* : 'phags *yul*.

⁶¹ *gzo* : *bzo*.

⁶² *gzo* : *bzo*.

- 92 lha yi bkod pa sngon med=di⁶³ 'dra ba | |
 93 rje btsun shakya⁶⁴ 'od kyi rnam dpyod kyis | |
 94 legs par dpyad las 'byung gi gzhan dag la | |
 95 'di tshungs⁶⁵ mo sham bu yi 'gying phag⁶⁶ yin | |
- 96 lha yi sku mdog phyag mtshan bzhugs stabs sogs | |
 97 rang rang gzhung nas ji ltar bshad pa bzhin | |
 98 ma nor gsal bar 'khod pa'i zhal ta==⁶⁷
 99 =====nam b== yin | |
- 100 'di yi phyir du lus ngag yid gsum gyis | |
 101 legs par 'bad pa 'od zer rgyal mtshan dang | |
 102 smon lam grags sogs gnyer byed thams {7} cad la'ang | |
 103 '==pa'i⁶⁸ dbyangs kyi gzigs pa 'jug gyur-ig⁶⁹ ↓ |
- 104 'di dag kun =⁷⁰ kun nas 'bad pa kun | |
 105 kun mkhyen go 'phangs kun gyis thob gyur cig | |
 106 bstan dang bstan 'dzin yun ring gnas pa dang | |
 107 dge 'dun dge legs rgyas pa'i bkra shis shog |
- 108 gtsang khang dbus su ston pa sangs rgyas la | |
 109 sangs rgyas so lnga gnas bcus legs par bskor | |
 110 g.yas su rdor dbyings gtso bo rnam snang la | |
 111 de'i rtsa lha skal bzang rnam kyis bskor | |
- 112 == rig⁷¹ gtso la rigs lnga yum bzhj dang | |
 113 'og tu sbyong⁷² rgyud dkyil 'khor gtso bo lnga | |

⁶³ med=di : med 'di.

⁶⁴ shakya : shākya.

⁶⁵ tshungs : mtshungs.

⁶⁶ phag : bag.

⁶⁷ = | : | |.

⁶⁸ '==pa'i : 'jam pa'i.

⁶⁹ gyur-ig : gyur cig.

⁷⁰ = : tu(?)—Tshe rdor has 'di, but this can hardly be justified by the remaining traces and the available space.

⁷¹ == rig : kun rig(?)—Tshe rdor has rgyal rigs, but rgyal can hardly be justified by the remaining traces, and the second syllable definitely reads rig.

⁷² The visual appearance of the letters supports the reading sbyong rather than sbyod (sbyod Tshe rdor) (cf. n. 76).

- 114 phugs kyi g.yon phyogs dpal mchog rdor sems kyi ||
 115 gtso 'khor lha tshogs tshang ba legs_{par} gzhugs⁷³ ||
 116 =tsu=⁷⁴======r-d⁷⁵ dang bcas ||
 117 de'og sbyong⁷⁶ rgyud dkyil 'khor gtso_bo lnga ||
 118 'og gi 'khor yug ston pa,ⁱ mdzad pa dag ||
 119 ma lus rdzogs pa bcu gnyis dag gis bskor ||
 shu bham || ||

6. Translation

Oṃ svasti!

- 1 The good system and the beautiful body of the Muni arising lucidly in the clear mirror of the mind of the glorious one⁷⁷ ... [garland] ... [radiating] moon beam(s); that venerable master rTsong kha pa—may he (always) be victorious!
- 5 Exalted⁷⁸ in the midst of the vast ocean of the two accumulations (of merit and wisdom); tightly embraced by the beautiful layers of the four (means of) attraction(s);⁷⁹ the one provided with the lucid pattern of the light of the sun and moon of wisdom and love—homage is paid to the lord of the sages, the sublime lord.⁸⁰

⁷³ *gzhugs* : *bzhugs*.

⁷⁴ =tsu= : *btsun* (*btsun* Tshe rdor)?

⁷⁵ =r-d : *brgyad* (*brgyad* Tshe rdor)?

⁷⁶ Tshe rdor has *spyod*, but the inscription quite clearly reads *sbyong*. Emend to *spyod* (cf. n. 72)?

⁷⁷ Partly due to the damage at the beginning of the third verse-line, the meaning and syntactic correlation up to *phr<o>_b<a>* is not entirely clear. In the translation presented above, *dpal ldan blo* is taken in the sense of *dpal ldan gyi blo*, with *dpal ldan* relating to Tsong kha pa.

⁷⁸ Or (following Tshe rdor): “Seen”?

⁷⁹ Skt. *catuḥsamgraha* (*vastu*); i.e., (with variations,) giving (*dāna* / *sbyin pa*), speaking kindly (*priyavacana* / *snyan par smra ba*), being useful (to others) (*arthacaryā* / *don spyod pa*), and having the same aims (as others) (*samānārthatā* / *don mthun pa*).

⁸⁰ *thub dbang* is a stock epithet of the Buddha Śākyamuni, but since both Tsong kha pa and Nāgārjuna are often referred to as “second Buddha” this quatrain

- 9 Brought by the [yellowish-]green horse⁸¹ of the profound [dependent arising], the one who gave up the two extreme (view)s⁸² [came] from the peak of the eastern mountain;⁸³ victorious over the darkness of bad reasoning—may Nāgārjuna, that protector of the day (i.e., that sun), help!
- 13 Invincible, of deep understanding, ...⁸⁴ ...⁸⁵ (he) made the series of waves of the tenet system(s) utterly shake; (the one) possessing the precious glory of a thousand paths of reasoning—may Asaṅga, that great ocean, grant a (favourable) look!
- 17 The Jina and the two great charioteers (Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga), together with (their) disciples, moved on to another pure field, and therefore—at a time when this teach-

could perhaps also be read together with the previous or following one. Yet, for reasons of symmetry it seems more natural to understand the first four quatrains as referring respectively to Tsong kha pa (with the author of the inscription indicating his sectarian affiliation by putting the founder of the dGe lugs school first), Śākyamuni, Nāgārjuna, and Asaṅga. This is corroborated by the fifth and sixth quatrain, stating that Avalokiteśvara incarnated as a Tibetan king (i.e., Srong btsan sgam po), after the Jina (*rgyal [ba]*) and the two great charioteers (Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga) had “moved on to another pure field” (i.e., died). Because of the biographical data of Srong btsan sgam po (died 649 CE) and Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), here Jina obviously can only be referring to Śākyamuni.

⁸¹ This probably alludes to the horses that are thought to be pulling the chariot of the sun, thus likening Nāgārjuna to the latter (see n. 83).

⁸² Skt. *antadvaya/dvayānta*; i.e., the extreme (view) of eternalism (*śaśvatānta / rtag mtha'*) and the extreme (view) of nihilism (*ucchedānta / chad mtha'*).

⁸³ The eastern mountain is a common topos in Tibetan poetical literature (for examples, see Sørensen 1990: 44) and it is often used in a metaphorical sense. Here, too, it most likely must be taken in a figurative sense and does not relate to an actual mountain (e.g., Śrīparvata at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) connected to the life of Nāgārjuna. This is especially borne out by the allusion to the sun in verse-lines 9 and 12.

⁸⁴ Because of the damage to the next passage, the meaning of *dbu ba'i* remains unclear. Considering expressions like *dbu ba'i gong bu* or *dbu ba rdoṣ pa* (both rendering Skt. *phenapiṇḍa*, “heap of foam,” “nonsense”), the end of verse-line 13 may have portrayed Asaṅga (mentioned in verse-line 16) as a “no-nonsense” person. Alternatively, *dbu ba(i)* could be a (metrical) shortening of *dbu ma pa(i)/ba'i* and the damaged passage thus may have identified his relation to the Madhyamaka school. Finally, it may have contained a panegyric expression, with *dbu ba* meaning “top of the head” (see Rangjung Yeshe Dictionary 2003, s.v.).

⁸⁵ Read: “learned,?”

ing of the Muni, a butter lamp without oil, was kept (only) temporarily—these people entered a bad, wrong path.

- 21 At that time, continuously looking at all beings [with] (his) deep vision, the lotus holder (Avalokiteśvara), that protector, in order to develop the white path in the midst of these snowy mountains, incarnated as a king (Srong btsan sgam po).⁸⁶
- 25 The venerable master and lord of speech, a mine of power and strength,⁸⁷ [(and) (the one who) gave up envy/jealousy, too,] the powerful lord of the world,⁸⁸ in striving to shoulder the great responsibility of spreading the teaching of the Muni, became the glory of the Tibetans.
- 29 Possessed by an evil demon, Dar ma ... the teaching(s) ...⁸⁹ sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, together with his sons, created unprecedented good fortune here, in snowy sTod.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Cf. n. 80, above. For some early Tibetan sources portraying Srong btsan sgam po as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, see Tropper 2016: 53, n. 484.

⁸⁷ According to Tshe rdor 1999: 83, this verse-line refers to Srong btsan sgam po's minister Thon mi Sam bho ta, famous for his creation of the Tibetan script. While Tshe rdor does not provide any evidence for this identification, it fits the general context and is also supported by the inscription's expression *ngag gi dbang phyug*.

⁸⁸ According to Tshe rdor 1999: 83, this verse-line (which he reads, p. 81, as “□□□□jig rten dbang phyug gis ||”) refers to Srong btsan sgam po's minister mGar sTong btsan. Again, Tshe rdor does not provide any evidence for this identification, but the preceding <phra>g dog *shang*<s> would certainly be a suitable phrase for describing a loyal minister. In fact, in PT 1287 (Old Tibetan Chronicles) the ministers of Khri Srong lde btsan are praised with a similar phrase (‘*phrag myi dog*’ [they] were not envious’) (for the Tibetan text and an English translation of the entire passage, see Dotson 2006: 26f.). On the other hand, *jig rten dbang phyug* (Skt. *lokeśvara*) is a frequent epithet of Avalokiteśvara, and in light of the previous quatrain it thus could, perhaps, also relate to Srong btsan sgam po here. This interpretation would be corroborated by *dPal ’brug pa rin po che mthu chen ngag gi dbang po ’i bka’ khrims*, which has *jig rten dbang phyug srong btsan sgam po* (Aris 1986: 126). Hence the inscription's =g dog *shang*=ang *jig rten dbang phyug g-s* may either refer to mGar sTong btsan (/rtsan), to Srong btsan sgam po, or to both of them.

⁸⁹ The completely damaged end of the verse-line obviously must have portrayed Glang dar ma's persecution of the Buddhist teaching(s). For his being possessed by a demon, see, e.g., *sBa bzhed* 80, 1–2, *Deb ther dmar po gzar ma* 31v3, 32v6–33r1, and *Me tog phreng ba* 14v3–4.

⁹⁰ I.e., “Upper/Western Tibet.” For a brief summary of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's activities, see Petech 1997a: 231f.

- 33 The powerful and supreme son of the glorious bKra shis mgon considered the wonders of cyclic existence like dew on a grass tip;⁹¹ having taken the saffron coloured victory banner of one who has children and consort,⁹² he abided by the *vinaya*.⁹³
- 37 The one who was provided with the deep vision of pristine awareness (*ye shes*) and who(se name) ended in splendour ('*od*)⁹⁴ (*Ye shes 'od*) [gradually(?)] brought the (number of) scholars to the hundreds, (scholars) such as the one with the high neck,⁹⁵ (that is,) Rin chen bzang po, [who was] not afraid in the presence of scholars of the noble land (i.e., India).
- 41 In that way, the tradition of the authentic good system was introduced (in Tibet), and thus the bad perverted paths of

⁹¹ For this simile of ephemerality, cf. Tropper 2015: 154 and 164f., n. 231.

⁹² I.e., he became a monk, but (still) had children and consort. As mentioned in the corresponding footnote of the edition, the emendation *yi*s would yield a much smoother text: “after the one with children and consort had taken the saffron coloured victory banner,”

⁹³ As Petech (1997a: 233) points out, the tradition is uncertain about which of the two sons of bKra shis mgon (and grandsons of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon), i.e., 'Khor re or Srong nge, “became king of Purang, married and begot two sons, ... abdicated in favour of his brother and was ordained a monk.” The inscription's '*khor ba'i phun tshog*s may be an allusion, indicating that according to the author of the inscription it was 'Khor re. In any case, it is clear that after his ordination he was known by his religious name *Ye shes 'od* (cf. the following quatrain).

⁹⁴ The expression '*od kyi mtha' can*, as a thinly veiled allusion to *Ye shes 'od*, also occurs in *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi mams (sic) thar rgyas pa* by one Grags pa rgyal mtshan. The passage is quoted, translated and briefly discussed (including other attestations for the phrase) in van der Kuijp 2015: 368–371. For the similar '*od kyi mthas brgyan pa can* “who[se name] is adorned with the ending '*od*,” see van der Kuijp 2015: 367.

⁹⁵ While Rin chen bzang po is often reported to have had the face of a bird (see, e.g., *Rin chen bzang po'i nam thar snyan dngags punḍa ri ka'i phreng ba* 2r2: *bya yi gdong can*, and '*Jig rten mig gyur lo chen rin chen bzang po'i nam thar gsol 'debs* 6r3: *mkha' lding gdong can*), I am not aware of any sources describing his neck (or throat) as long. Thus I am rather inclined to understand the inscription's '*mgrin pa mtho ldan* in the sense of “outstanding.” Cf. the similar phrase (*tshogs kyi dbus su*) '*mgrin pa {m}thor steg* “[Phag mo gru pa] raised his neck (in the middle of the flock),” found in verse-line 75 of the dGung 'phur inscription (edition and translation in Tropper 2016: 28 and 59f.).

(sexual) union and liberation (by killing) were guarded in the depths below the ground.⁹⁶ As a result, a fortunate aeon of great ...⁹⁷ like the *kr̥tayuga* was created.

- 45 For/among the emanations of the loving ancestors and forefathers, the vast eye of the world,⁹⁸ moving upwards, ... together with (his) (spiritual?) son(s), became like (a) Jina(s) for the teachings of the Jina.
- 49 Having opened the lotus of everything there is to know with the blazing sunlight of supreme wisdom, the one endowed with the bright stamens of hundreds of *sūtra* and *tantra* texts, that divine master and *guru* Zhi ba 'od, was victorious.
- 53 The one who placed the precepts of that one (i.e., Zhi ba 'od) on the crown of (his own) head, (that is,) the world-ruler rTse lde, brought together the resources and implements, and thus the glorious 'Dzam gling rgyan (Ornament of Jambudvīpa)⁹⁹ was established as [a feast for] the eye of the fortunate ones, as it were.

⁹⁶ Cf. *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* 64 (referring to the activities of Atiśa, who had been invited to Western Tibet by Ye shes 'od's nephew Byang chub 'od): *lo chen rin chen bzang po dang mjal | ... phal cher dad de | chos mam dag la zhugs | ... sngags log pa dang | log chos spyod pa rnam sun phyung nas bkag te*; "(He, i.e., Atiśa) met the great translator Rin chen bzang po. ... Most people had faith and engaged in the completely pure *dharma*. ... The employment of perverted *mantras* and a perverted *dharma* was refuted and stopped." For a discussion of the general background and a short text from Tabo directed against the "bad perverted paths" mentioned in the inscription, see Scherrer-Schaub 2001.

⁹⁷ Read: "men" or "transformation"?

⁹⁸ As a variant of *'jig rten (gyi) mig, srid pa'i mig* is not only used as an epithet of the sun but also as a metaphorical expression for translators (see Kramer 2007: 51, where the common "Tibetan" term for translator, i.e., *lo tsā ba* [with many variant spellings] is identified as a derivation of Skt. *lokacakṣu* 'eye of the world'). Hence the entire quatrain could relate to Rin chen bzang po and his spiritual sons. However, since *'jig rten (gyi) mig* and *srid pa'i mig* are not exclusively used for translators, but also for other important figures, the quatrain could also refer to a number of historical characters, including Ye she 'od, Byang chub 'od or Atiśa. See, in particular, *Grub mtha'i rnam bshad kun bzang zhing gi nyi ma* 550, where Atiśa is called *'jig rten kyi mig gcig pu mnyam med* (rendered as "the unparalleled sole eye of the world" in Hopkins 2003: 459). The beginning of the third verse-line may have contained more clues, but regrettably the text is completely damaged here.

⁹⁹ Also known as gSer khang. On this temple in mTho lding, see Vitali 1996: 311ff. (and *passim*) and 1999: 29–33. Note that the present-day 'Du khang (or lHa

- 57 As for this region: after the virtuous actions of the people had weakened, the great power of the dark side spread, so that the *saṅgha* was disrupted and the great temples, all (of them), were handled like puffed rice in the fire.¹⁰⁰
- 61 Then, after some time had passed, the one who had turned into the supreme (spiritual) son of bTsong kha pa, (that is,) the grace of Ngag dbang grags pa¹⁰¹—the meritorious ambassador of the Zhang zhung people ... invited (...) in an excellent manner ...¹⁰²

khang dmar po) is also called 'Dzam gling (b)rgyan, but according to Vitali 1999: 38 this latter temple dates “to the time of Ngag.dbang grags.pa” (i.e., 15th century). See also Vitali 1999: 129.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the chapter “The period of obscurantism in Gu.ge and particularly at Tho.ling” in Vitali 1999: 32ff. As discussed there, with the death of rTse lde and his uncle Zhi ba 'od at the turn from the 11th to the 12th centuries, Gu ge and mTho lding fell into a state of oblivion for the next one and a half centuries. For a more detailed account, see also Vitali 1996: 335–355.

¹⁰¹ Here, *ngag dbang grags pa'i dpal* is taken as an explicative genitive (i.e., “the grace that is/was Ngag dbang grags pa,” or, more freely, “the gracious Ngag dbang grags pa”). Vitali 1996: 527, n. 899, quotes a passage from Thub bstan dpal ldan 1990: 289–290, which contains exactly the same phrase: “Gu.ge.ru 'jam.mgon bla.ma Tsong.kha.pa chen.po'i zhal slob.ma rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa'i dpal dang mjal”, “in Gu ge, [he, i.e., lHa dbang blo gros] met the grace of Lord Ngag dbang grags pa, (i.e.,) the direct disciple of the gentle protector and *guru*, the great Tsong kha pa” (my translation).

¹⁰² Due to the damage at the end of the last verse-line, the syntax of the quatrain is somewhat unclear: *zhang zhung skye bo'i bsod nams pho nya* could either be an apposition to *ngag dbang grags pa'i dpal*, or it could relate to another person. The latter alternative seems much more likely, however, considering the evidence, for example, of *Zhang zhung mkhan rgyud* 1r1–2 and *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog* 196f., which tell us about King (Nam mkha'i dbang po) Phun tshogs lde's invitation of Ngag dbang grags pa: *ngag dbang grad* [i.e., *grags*; K.T.] *pa ni ... chos rgyal phuod* [i.e., *phun tshogs*; K.T.] *ldes spyandrangs* [read *spyang drangs*; K.T.] *te*, and: *chos rgyal phun tshogs ldes ... ngag dbang grags pa spyang 'drongs te*. Thus in the inscription, *ngag dbang grags pa'i dpal* probably should be taken as the object of (*legs par*) *spyang drangs*, and *zhang zhung skye bo'i bsod nams pho nya* as an epithet of King (Nam mkha'i dbang po) Phun tshogs lde (1409–80, according to Vitali 1996: 133, 147, 508ff. and *passim*). According to Vitali 2012a: 146, “Phun tshogs lde's alleged responsibility of the invitation extended to Nag dbang grags pa goes against the evidence provided by mKhar nag lo tsa ba—accepted by sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho—that this king's father, rNam rgyal lde, was responsible for the presence of the Gu ge pa disciple of Tsong kha pa at the court.” Note, however, that according to both mKhar nag lo tsa ba (*dGa' ldan chos 'byung* 84v3–4) and Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (*Vaidūrya ser po* 272.16–17), Ngag dbang

- 65 That protector took hold of Rin chen bzang po’s supreme representation in an excellent manner,¹⁰³ and then he made it happen that this ocean-clothes wearer (i.e., the earth) donned the orange upper robe, as it were; (later) he went to the presence of the invincible one of the “Joyous (realm).”¹⁰⁴

grags pa was invited by bKra shis ’od lde, Khri rNam(s) rgyal ’od and a certain Shākya ’od, and that elsewhere Vitali considers it untenable “that it is rNam.rgyal.lde who is called rNam.rgyal.’od in this passage of *Bai.ser* [i.e., *Vaidūrya ser po* 272.16–17; K.T.]” (Vitali 1996: 506, n. 854). Finally, it should be pointed out that according to *mNga’ nis rgyal rabs* 84f., Shākya ’od is the religious name that (Nam mkha’i dbang po) Phun tshogs lde received when, at age forty-one, he became a monk in front of the three silver statues at Kha char (’Khor chags): *de nas zhe gcig pa la kha char du dngul sku mched gsum gyi drung du | thar pa’i rgyal mtshan bzhes | lha rje btsun shākya ’od du mtshan gsol*.

¹⁰³ In principle, this clause can be interpreted in two different ways: 1) “That protector ([Nam mkha’i dbang po] Phun tshogs lde[?]) took hold of Rin chen bzang po’s supreme representation (Ngag dbang grags pa) in an excellent manner” or 2) “That protector (Ngag dbang grags pa) took hold of Rin chen bzang po’s supreme representation in an excellent manner” (i.e., Ngag dbang grags pa was an excellent representative/successor of Rin chen bzang po). Again, the second alternative seems much more likely to me, especially in combination with verse-line 68 and the following quatrain. But in either case, the passage—in one way or another—clearly refers to Ngag dbang grags pa’s nomination as abbot of mTho lding and thus as the (remote) successor of Rin chen bzang po. On this nomination, see *Zhang zhung mkhan rgyud* 1r2–3 and *Chos ’byung mkhas pa’i yid ’phrog* 197: (*ngag dbang grags pa*) *mtho gling du skye mchog lotsta ba rien bzango’i* [i.e., *rin chen bzang po’i*; K.T.] *khri la bzhugsuol* [i.e., *bzhugs su gsol*; K.T.], and: *ngag dbang grags pa de nyid lhag par lo tsta ba’i khri la bzhugs su gsol*.

¹⁰⁴ I take this to be a euphemistic expression for Ngag dbang grags pa’s passing away, with an added play on words: *mi pham* (“the invincible one”) is a frequent epithet of both Maitreya and Tsong kha pa, while *dga’ ldan* (Skt. *tuṣita*) can refer to the future Buddha Maitreya’s realm as well as to the monastery that was founded by Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) in 1409. Vitali (2012a: 132) translates *rgya mtsho’i gos can ’dis | | li khri’i bla gos blangs pa ltar byas ste | | dga’ ldan gnas kyi mi pham mdun sar gshegs* as “those who used to wear brocade robes likewise opted for the saffron robe of the *bla* [*ma*-s], and entered into the presence of the *mi pham* (the ‘invincible [master]’, i.e. Tsong kha pa) of the holy dGa’ ldan (i.e. became dGe lugs pa).” While the first part of this translation can hardly be justified, Vitali’s interpretation of verse-line 68 constitutes a viable alternative to the one given above (in this case, however, the expression *blangs pa ltar byas* in verse-line 67 would have to be taken as a periphrastic rather than a causative formation; in other words, the verse-line would have to be understood in the sense of “and then this ocean-clothes wearer [i.e., the earth] donned the orange upper robe, as it were, and...”). In this connection it should be mentioned that according to Vitali, the following passage (verse-lines 69–70) “adds that Ngag dbang grags pa *abdica-*

- 69 His representative (i.e., successor), provided with religious insight, provided with the name of Nam mkha'¹⁰⁵ (and) accompanied by disciples, with great courage and good altruistic [intent] once again exemplified the miraculous manifestations of the divine master(s) and *guru(s)*.¹⁰⁶
- 73 The supreme essence of the glorious Shākya lineage, the venerable master Shākya 'od¹⁰⁷ and his offspring, (that is,) the lord of mankind, Buddhapālita(?),¹⁰⁸ (and) Blo bzang rab brtan¹⁰⁹—may they be victorious [in all directions]!

ted [my emphasis; K.T.] the throne of Tho ling in favour of a disciple of his, named Nam mkha'" (Vitali 2012a: 134). Vitali's interpretation of verse-lines 68–70 is doubtlessly based on his assumption that the Ngag dbang grags pa who was a disciple of Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) and already a senior scholar in 1424 is the same person who wrote *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* as late as 1497—an assumption that has already been contested by Petech (1997b: 107f.; 1999: 101) and recently again by van der Kuijp (2015: 342ff.).

¹⁰⁵ Vitali 2012a: 143 provides a comparative chart on the evidence found in various literary sources on the mTho lding abbots after Ngag dbang grags pa. According to *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog* 200 and *bKa' gdams gsar rnying gi chos 'byung yid kyi mdzes rgyan* 98v1, his direct successor was Nam mkha' dpal / (*dbon*) Nam mkha' ba. *Zhang zhung mkhan rgyud*, *dGa' ldan chos 'byung* and *Vaidūrya ser po* have additional names in between: Ngag dbang grags pa → Zhang zhung pa Chos dbang grags pa → Nam mkha' dpal ba (*Zhang zhung mkhan rgyud* 1v2–8); Ngag dbang grags pa → Tshul khriims bshes gnyen → (*kun spangs pa*) Nam mkha' (*dGa' ldan chos 'byung* 85r4–5); Ngag dbang gr[ags] pa → Tshul khriims bshes gnyen → Legs grub pa → (*kun spangs pa*) Nam mkha' (*Vaidūrya ser po* 273).

¹⁰⁶ Vitali 2012a: 132 takes *lha rje bla ma* as referring to Ye shes 'od and Byang chub 'od and translates the passage as "... manifested the miracles of the *lha rje bla ma*s (i.e. Ye shes 'od and Byang chub 'od)." See, however, also verse-line 52 above, where Zhi ba 'od (who followed Byang chub 'od on the religious throne) is called *lha rje bla ma*. Moreover, the phrase *lha rje bla ma'i rnam 'phrul bstan* could of course also be understood in the sense of "presented (himself as) an incarnation of the divine master(s) and *guru(s)*." In either case, the passage may be an indication that Nam mkha' was a member of the royal family.

¹⁰⁷ I.e., (Nam mkha'i dbang po) Phun tshogs lde. Cf. n. 102.

¹⁰⁸ In *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* 85, Shākya 'od's / (Nam mkha'i dbang po) Phun tshogs lde's son is referred to as *khri rnam ri sang* [read *sangs*] *rgyas lde dpal bzang po*. While the inscription's *pa/pā li ta* remains somewhat unclear, *bud dha* obviously corresponds to *sang{s} rgyas*.

¹⁰⁹ According to *Vaidūrya ser po* 273f., Blo bzang rab brtan (pa) was the son of "chos rgyal Buddha" but lived many generations (*rgyal rabs du ma*) after (Nam mkha'i dbang phyug/po) Phun tshogs lde/sde: *gu ge bdag po khri nam mkha'i dbang phyug phun tshogs sde'i dus su ... de nas rgyal rabs du ma zhig song rjes | chos rgyal buddha'i sras | blo bzang rab brtan pas rje ngag dbang grags pa'i zhabs pad spyi bos bsten*.

- 77 ¹¹⁰(b)rTse/Tshe(?) ldan chos 'dzom,¹¹¹ Pu ñe¹¹² nam mkha' sgron,¹¹³ dPal ldan 'dren¹¹⁴ and [Nor] bu rgyal mo,¹¹⁵ etc.—they provided immeasurable assistance by taking full advantage of the illusory food and wealth.
- 81 ... of the ancestor(s) of the world ... this nectar for the [restless(?)] eye—the leader in brandishing the brush, Sangs rgyas bzang po, and the expert in the arts and crafts, dKön mchog rdo rje, etc., all the masters of this Zhang zhung region painted (it) in an excellent way, and therefore the situation is/was such that one is/was not attached to all the arts and crafts of the western noble [land] any more.¹¹⁶

mNga'ris rgyal rabs 85, however, suggests that Blo bzang rab brtan was the grandson of (Nam mkha'i dbang phyug/po) Phun tshogs lde/sde (cf. n. 108). For a discussion of these conflicting views, see Vitali 2012a: 197. The inscription clearly supports the evidence of *mNga'ris rgyal rabs*.

¹¹⁰ Verse-lines 77–78 obviously contain the names of several donors, but due to the peculiarities of Tibetan names, it is not completely clear how many people the passage is referring to. In my translation I provide the reading that seems most natural to me, adding some comments and/or alternative interpretations in the footnotes. At any rate, it seems that most or even all of these donors were women.

¹¹¹ Or: “(b)rTse/Tshe ldan (and) Chos 'dzom”? Or: “the compassionate/venerable Chos 'dzom”?

¹¹² Vitali 2012a: 132, n. 48, relates this to the term *phu ne* found in *Kho char dkar chag* 50–51, which he takes as referring “to the son whom an unidentified king of Glo bo and his wife wished to have in order to perpetuate their line.” However, apart from the fact that in the respective passage, *phu ne* refers to the king himself rather than to the son he longed for, it seems doubtful that the inscription's *pu ñe* has anything to do with this episode related in *Kho char dkar chag*. In *Ti se lo rgyus* (ed. Don grub 1992: 66, ed. de Rossi Filibeck 1988: 41), *pu ñe rmal* is clearly a phonetic transcription of *punyamalla*, which, in turn, is the Sanskritized rendering of *bsod nams lde* (cf. Petech 2003: 37ff.). I am thus also inclined to take the inscription's *pu ñe* as a Sanskritization of *bsod nams*.

¹¹³ Or: “Pu ñe (and) Nam mkha' sgron”?

¹¹⁴ Cf. Everding's (2015: 82, 92) edition and translation of the printing colophon of a xylograph of *Theg pa'i mchog rin po che'i mdzod* (prepared in Mang yul Gung thang in 1533), which gives the name of the wife of a certain Nam mkha' mgon po as dPal ldan 'dren ne (cf. also the edition in Ehrhard 2000: 107). While she can hardly be the person mentioned in the inscription, the obvious similarity may be taken as an indication that the latter is also a woman.

¹¹⁵ Or: “Nor bu (and) rGyal mo”?

¹¹⁶ Referring to north-western India (situated more or less to the west of mTho lding), where many of the artisans that were active in western Tibet traditionally came from. See, e.g., Klimburg-Salter 1997: 202 and Luczanits 2004: 7.

- 88 The carpenters here (were) lHun grub mgon po, dPal ldan chos bzang and lHa btsun grags rdor, etc.; the unprecedented new magical manifestations (coming) from the fingertips of the many masters are like this.
- 92 [Such an] unprecedented arrangement of deities came into being after it had been thoroughly judged by the judgement of the venerable master Shākya 'od; but for others, suchlike (arrangement of deities) is (like) the dignified appearance of a son of a barren woman.¹¹⁷
- 96 The deities' body colour, hand emblems, postures, etc., are according to how they are explained in the respective texts. ... authentic and clearly written instructions ... is/are
- 100 Therefore, [may] the favour of [Mañju]ghoṣa be bestowed on the ones who exerted themselves with body, speech and mind, (that is,) (on) 'Od zer rgyal mtshan and sMon lam grags (pa), etc., all those who took care!
- 104 All these (people), who exerted themselves completely all [the time(?)]—may it come about that all attain the rank of an omniscient one! May the teachings and the adherents of the teachings stay for a long time, and may there be the auspiciousness of the increase of the *saṅgha's* prosperity!
- 108 In the centre of the gTsang khang, the enlightened teacher is surrounded in an excellent way by the thirty-five (Confession) Buddhas (and) the sixteen Sthaviras.¹¹⁸ On the right, the principal (deity) of the Vajradhātu, Vairocana, is surrounded by his worthy primary deities.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ The “son of a barren woman” is a stock example for something impossible. Thus, the meaning intended here is probably that no one else could create such a dignified arrangement of deities.

¹¹⁸ I take *gnas bcu* to be an abbreviation of *gnas brtan bcu drug* (as in *gnas bcu lha khang*; see, e.g., Vitali 1999: 88, 222 and *passim*). For examples of early Tibetan representations of the Buddha Śākyamuni together with the thirty-five Confession Buddhas and/or the sixteen Sthaviras, cf. Watt 2012a; see also Watt 2012b.

¹¹⁹ This probably refers to a Vajradhātu-*maṅḍala* with Vairocana in its centre. See n. 120.

- 112 As to the (*maṇḍala* with the) principal (deity) [Sarvavid(?)
(Vairocana)], (there are) the five (*tathāgata*) families (and)
the four consorts,¹²⁰ and, below, the five principal (deities of
the[?]) *maṇḍala*(s) of the *Śodhanatantra*(?).¹²¹ On the left
side of the innermost (part of the temple) properly reside
the principal (deity) and (his) entourage, the entire assem-
bly of deities of the glorious supreme Vajrasattva.
- 116¹²² ... together with ...¹²³ ...; below that, the five main
maṇḍalas of the *Śodhanatantra*(?).¹²⁴ All around, below,
revolve (the paintings [and inscriptions] conveying) the
entire and complete twelve deeds of the Buddha.¹²⁵

*śubham!*¹²⁶

¹²⁰ This seems to take up the concluding two verse-lines of the preceding quatrain, explicating the structure of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala*: Vairocana is surrounded by Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi (together constituting the five *tathāgata* families), and the four consorts. For examples of such representations, see, e.g., Luczanits 2004: 134 and 284–288; see also Wayman 1973: 186f. and Bentor 1996: 80ff.

¹²¹ If the inscription's *sbyong rgyud dkyil 'khor gtso bo lnga* is taken in the sense of "the five principal *maṇḍalas* of the *Śodhanatantra*," it remains somewhat unclear to which *maṇḍalas* it refers (for the various *maṇḍalas* described in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, see Skorupski 1983: 35–65, 74f., 180–216 and 230). The passage also remains ambiguous if *dkyil 'khor gtso bo* is taken in its usual meaning "the principal deity of a *maṇḍala*;" the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* does not explicitly refer to "five principal deities" in any of its *maṇḍala* descriptions. Similarly, I cannot come up with a satisfactory explanation for the alternative reading *sbyod rgyud dkyil 'khor gtso bo lnga* "the five principal (deities of the[?]) *maṇḍala*(s) of the *Caryātantra*." A comprehensive documentation of the gTsang khang's and 'Du khang's art work would be of help in this matter. Regrettably, the available publications contain only selected photos of the murals.

¹²² Read: "venerable" ?

¹²³ Read: "eight" ?

¹²⁴ Cf. n. 121.

¹²⁵ This cycle of combined paintings and inscriptions is presently being prepared for publication. Cf. n. 38.

¹²⁶ I.e., "Good fortune!"

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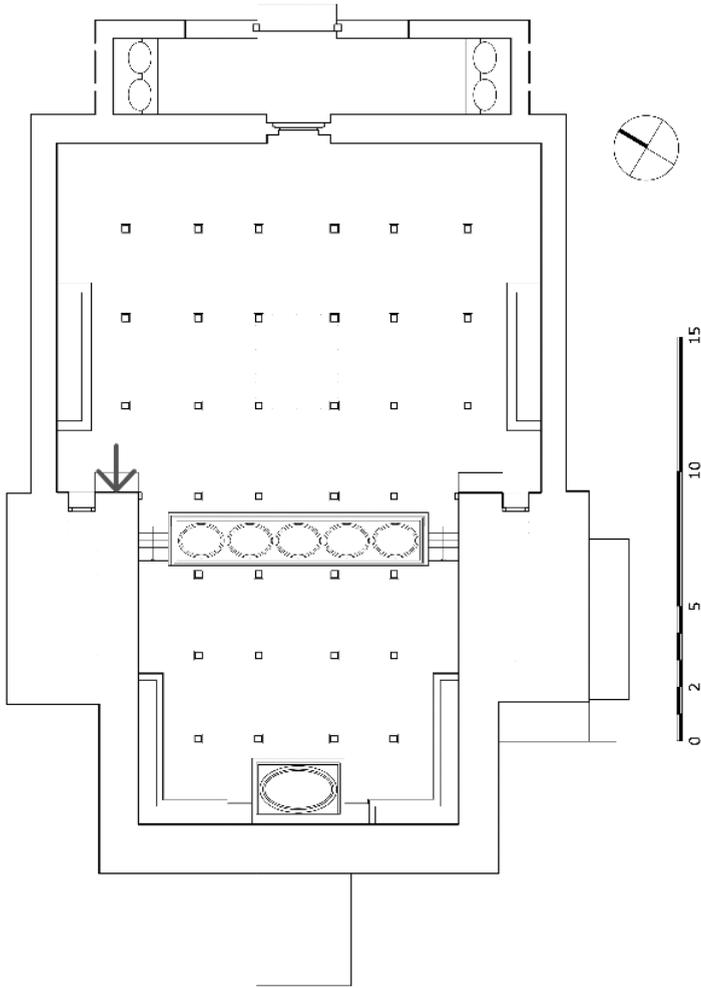


Fig. 1. Floor plan of the 'Du khang (right) and the adjacent gTsang khang (left) (© Carmen Auer and Holger Neuwirth, 2008); arrow showing the location of the inscription added by author.



Fig. 2. The inscription on the northern west wall of the 'Du khang (© Christiane Kalantari, 2007)



Fig. 3. Detail of the inscription (© Christiane Kalantari, 2007)

The Three Royal Decrees (bka' bcad gsum) in the History of Tibetan Buddhism

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1. Introduction

During a three-day international symposium on “Cross-Cultural Transmission of Buddhist Texts: Theories and Practices of Translation” (July 23–25, 2012, Hamburg) organized by the Khyentse Center for Tibetan Buddhist Textual Scholarship (KC-TBTS), Universität Hamburg,¹ I presented a paper with the title “Tibetans on the Phenomenon of Translation” (July 24). My initial attempt was to systematically gather Tibetan materials that provide information on Tibetan theories and practices of translation. My pursuits repeatedly and invariably led me to what is referred to as the “three royal decrees” (*bkas/bka' bcad/bcas gsum*, henceforth: *bka' bcad gsum*). But what are actually the three royal decrees and what is their customary content? It turns out, as is often the case, that the state of affairs is not at all clear-cut. My attempts to take a closer look at the matter led me away from the initial topic, and the outcome is the following modest contribution. What this arti-

¹ Most of the papers presented in the symposium have now been published, for which see Wangchuk 2016.

cle seeks to do is to focus on the three royal decrees, which seems to be a fitting tribute to Professor Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, who has contributed a great deal to shedding light on the Tibetan imperial decrees.²

2. Pertinent Terms and Expressions

A few words may be said regarding individual Tibetan terms that convey the sense of a decree or enactment of a law and collective expressions that refer to the three royal decrees in question. First, several variant orthographies can be found, namely, (a) *bkas bcad*, (b) *bka'bcad*,³ (c) *bkas bcas*, (d) *bka'bcas*,⁴ and (e) *bka'dpyad*. Given the homophony and semantic affinity of these words (i.e., *bka'bcad/bcas/dpyad* or *bkas bcad/bcas/dpyad*), uncertainty still seems to linger.⁵ Nonetheless, assuming that the transmitted orthographies are correct, I shall venture to discuss the etymologies of these terms. The orthography *bkas bcad* may be considered primary, inasmuch as it is well attested in some of the earliest Tibetan sources, such as the *Madhyavyutpatti* (*sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*).⁶ The etymologies of these terms, though possibly obvious to some, are not quite certain to the present author. In theory, *bka'* as the first member of a compound could, as already pointed out by Jäschke, simply be an honorific and hence would require no separate translation.⁷ A good example of this would be *bka'mchid*, an

² Scherrer-Schaub 2002.

³ The *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, where the expression *bkas bcad mam pa gsum* is explained, also uses the orthography *bka'bcad*.

⁴ In the context of giving an account of King Ral pa can, dNgos grub dpal 'bar (*mNgon mdzod rnam bshad* 481.6–482.1) states: *rgya gar gyi paṇḍita dzi na mi tra | shrī landre [= śilendra] bo dhi | dā na śī la la sogs pa spyān drangs | lo tsā ba ka ba dpal brtsegs dang | cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan la sogs pas chos bsgyur te | chos thams cad skad gsar bcad kyis gtan la phab | bka'bcas rnam pa gsum mdzad do || tha na bre srang zho la sogs thams cad kyang rgya gar dang bstun |*.

⁵ As Tibetan renderings of *pratikṣepaṇasāvadya*, both *bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba dang bcas pa* and *bcad pa'i kha na ma tho ba dang bcas pa* have been recorded (see, for example, Negi 1993–2005: s.vv.).

⁶ *Madhyavyutpatti* (Ishikawa 1990: 2.14, 4.17, 4.25, 127.19). See also the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *bkas dpyad pa*): (1) *bka'khrims kyis thag bcad pa* |.

⁷ Jäschke 1881: 12 (s.v. *bka'*) “*bka* [= *bka'*] as first part of a compound is frequently used to give the word adjoined the character of respectfulness, and is therefore not to be translated separately.”

honorific term for “letter.” But, obviously the word *bka'* is more than an honorific in our context, where it means “command, order, authoritative word,” just as in the cases of *bka' 'bab pa* (“the going forth of an order”) and *bka' 'gyur* (“word [of the Buddha] in [Tibetan] translation”). This meaning seems all the more clear if the word is construed in the instrumental case (i.e., *bkas*).⁸ This is precisely how one Tibetan scholar named Sangs rgyas in his reply to the question regarding “the royal decrees [issued] three times” (*bkas bcad theng gsum*) explains the word.⁹ With regard to the second member of the compound, if we choose to read *bcad*, it should be understood as a perfect form of *gcod pa* (as in *thag gcod pa* “to decide, settle”). This meaning becomes self-evident if we consider the expression *khriims thag bcad pa* (“decreed by law”).¹⁰ If, however, we choose to read *bcas*, it should certainly be understood as the perfect form of *'cha' ba* (as in *rgyal khriims 'cha' ba* “to draw up a law, to give laws”).¹¹ We may thus render *bcad* as “decreed” and *bcas* as “enacted” and *bkas/bka' bcad* as “that which is decreed by [royal] command” and *bkas/bka' bcas* as “that which is enacted by [royal] command.” That *bka' bcad/bcas* and *bkas bcad/bcas* evince no semantic difference becomes clear if we consider the Tibetan renderings of *devadatta*, namely, *lha sbyin/byin* (i.e., compound retained) and *lhas sbyin/byin* (i.e., compound resolved). We can thus see that *bcad* and *bcas* are not only homophonous but also semantically close to each other. The least probable orthography *bka' dpyad*, which appears to be rare, is attested, for example, in Zhwa sgab pa bDe ldan dbang phyug's (1907–1989) *Srid don rgyal rabs*.¹² Second, we also come across collective expressions that refer to the three royal decrees in question such as *bkas bcad rim pa gsum*,¹³ *bkas bcas rim gsum*, *bkas bcad thengs gsum*,¹⁴ *bkas bcas rnam pa*

⁸ Cf. *bkas rma ba* recorded and explained in bTsan lha, *brDa dkrol me long* 25 (s.v. *bkas rma ba*).

⁹ bsTan go (ed.), *Sher rgan 'bel gtam* 18.7: *bka' yis thag bcad*.

¹⁰ See the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *bka' khyab*), where the expression *khriims thag bcad pa* occurs.

¹¹ Jäschke 1881: 168 (s.v. *'cha' ba* I.2).

¹² Zhwa sgab pa, *Srid don rgyal rabs*, vol. 1, 204.7. The spelling *bka' dpyad* is, obviously, not a typographical error, for it is also recorded in the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *bka' dpyad*): *khriims kyis thag bcad pa'i dpyad mtshams* |.

¹³ *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* (s.v. *skad gsar bcad*).

¹⁴ dBang 'dus tshe ring and 'Phrin las rgya mtsho, *sGra sgyur lo rgyus* 87.20.

gsum, *bkas bcad lan gsum*,¹⁵ *skad gsar bcad mam pa gsum*,¹⁶ *skad gsar bcad thengs gsum*,¹⁷ *skad gsar bcad lan gsum*¹⁸ or simply *bkas bcad gsum*.

3. Four Referents of the Three Royal Decrees

It goes without saying that ever since the emergence of the Tibetan empire, many decrees were issued or laws proclaimed/enacted by the rulers or governments. Some of these decrees concerned rules and regulations formulated by the political administration (*rgyal khrims*), whereas others were the prerogative of the religious administration (*chos khrims*). Such royal decrees issued during the Tibetan imperial period have somehow survived in the form of edicts (*bka' gtsigs*)¹⁹ and “stone-pillar inscriptions” (*rdo ring/s yi ge*).²⁰ The successive hegemonies and governments also enacted sets of rules and regulations that functioned as constitutions.²¹ With regard to the decrees coming out of the religious administration, all religious institutions were concerned with the commission (*gnang ba*) and prohibition (*bkag pa*) of acts defined by the precepts of the Three Vehicles—namely, the *prātimokṣa* precepts of the Śrāvakayāna (i.e., the Vinaya rules and regulations [*dul khrims*]), the *bodhisattva* precepts of the Pāramitāyāna, and the mantra precepts of the Mantrayāna or Vajrayāna—while local and individual religious schools and institutions had their own

¹⁵ gSang bdag, *sKad gsar bcad mam gsum* 33.6.

¹⁶ gSang bdag, *sKad gsar bcad mam gsum* 33.6–7, 33.9.

¹⁷ gSang bdag, *sKad gsar bcad mam gsum* 33.7.

¹⁸ gSang bdag, *sKad gsar bcad mam gsum* 34.8, 40.10–14.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the orthography and meaning of *bka' gtsigs*, see Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 23, n. 1.

²⁰ For collections of edicts (*bka' g/btsigs*), stone-pillar inscriptions (*rdo ring/s yi ge*), and bell inscriptions (*dril bu'i kha byang*), see bSod nams skyid, *rDo ring yi ge dang dril byang*; Richardson 1985; and bKra shis tshe ring, *bKa' gtsig dang rdo ring yi ge*. Several articles by different authors on stone-pillar inscriptions and rock inscriptions (*rdo brkos yi ge*) have been included in the volume *Yig rnying zhib 'jug* edited by Kha sgang bKra shis tshe ring et al. See particularly *gNa' bo'i rdo ring dang brag brkos yi ge*, in *Yig rnying zhib 'jug* 1–148.

²¹ For a Tibetan-language study and a collection of constitutions enacted over the centuries in Tibet, see bSod nams tshe ring, *Bod kyi srid khrims*; Chab spel et al., *Khrims srol cig cha*.

“codes of rules and regulations” (*bca' yig*).²² Perhaps the royal laws (*bka' khrims*) dealing with the “ten wholesome deeds of divine religion” (*lha chos dge ba bcu*) and the “sixteen pure deeds of human religion” (*mi chos gtsang ma bcu drug*) said to be enacted by Srong btsan sgam po may be considered the earliest decrees.²³ Our focus here will not be any kind of decree that was reportedly issued but only those decrees that were counted under or connected with what was referred to as the three royal decrees (*bka' bcad gsum*). What are, then, the three royal decrees? There seem to be at least four sets of referents of the expression, and it is these we now take a somewhat closer look at.

4. The First Set of Referents

First, the collective expression refers to a set of decrees said to have been issued during the reign of Khri Ral pa can alias Khri gTsong lde btsan (r. 815–836 or 817–838?),²⁴ regarding (a) the preference for the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda Vinaya tradition in Tibet over other Vinaya traditions, (b) the prohibition to translate the Yoginī Tantric scriptures, and (c) laws governing standards for weights and measures.²⁵ The *Tshig mdzod chen mo* states:²⁶

[The Three Royal Decrees refer to] three decrees issued in the past by the Tibetan ruler King Khri Ral pa can regarding the Word [of the Buddha]

²² See Chab spel et al., *Khrims srol cig cha* 203–414, containing the text of six different *bca' yigs*. Among several works of the *bca' yig* genre, the *Rwa ba bgyad pa'i bca' yig* by the eleventh-century Tibetan scholar Rong zom chos kyi bzang po may be one of the earliest works of its kind. The work itself does not employ the term *bca' yig* but simply *bca' ba*.

²³ Cf. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 28–29.

²⁴ Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 281, 300.

²⁵ *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* (s.v. *bkas bcad chen po rnam pa gsum*); Bla ma dam pa, *rGyal rabs gsal me* (p. 227.9–11); Sørensen 1994: 412, especially n. 1431.

²⁶ *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *bkas bcad rnam pa gsum*): *sngar bod rje mnga' bdag khri ral pa can gyis bka' bstan bsgyur rgyu'i skor la mdzad pa'i bka' bcad gsum ste | dang po phyin chad bod 'dir gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba las gzhan pa'i sde pa mi 'dzugs pa dang | de dag gi sde snod mi bsgyur ba | gnyis pa sngags ma rgyud rnam mi bsgyur ba | gsum pa bre srang dang zho cha sogs 'jal chas rnam rgya gar ma ga dha'i yul gyi tshad dang mthun par 'chos dgos zhes pa bcas bka' gtsigs kyis bcad pa de'o ||*. Cf. *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* 215.4–7: *gzhan yang rgyal pos bkas bcad rnam pa gsum du mdzad de | gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba las gzhan pa'i sde pa mi gzug cing | de dag gi sde snod mi bsgyur | sngags ma rgyud rnam ma sgyur cig ces bka' btsal | bre srang dang zho cha tshun*

and the Treatises. The first [is the decree] that henceforth no other Nikāya [school] other than the Mūlasarvāstivāda [school] is to be introduced in Tibet, nor should their scriptural corpora (*sde snod: piṭaka*) be translated. The second [is the decree] that [Buddhist Tantric scriptures belonging to the group of] Yoginī Tantric scriptures are not to be translated. The third [is the decree] establishing measures [such as] the [small volumetric] *bre*²⁷ measure [and] the *srang* [standard of weight] and the *karṣa* (*zho cha*) unit [of gold or silver weight], according to the standards in the land of Magadha in India.

Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (1927–1997), too, records the Three Royal Decrees in the sense of the first set of referents, designating them, however, as “threefold great [royal] decrees” (*bkas bcad chen po rnam pa gsum*). He explains and provides reasons why these decrees were issued in the following manner:²⁸

rgya gar dbus 'gyur tshal dang mthun par bcos |; 'Jigs med dbang po, *Co ne bstan dkar* 219.8–11; Zhwa sgab pa, *Srid don rgyal rabs*, vol. 1, 204.7.

²⁷ Jäschke describes *bre* as “a measure for dry things as well fluids, about 4 pints.” He makes a distinction between *bre bo che* and *bre'u chung* (i.e., large and small *bre*), and according to Csoma de Kőrös, 1 *bre* = 1/20 *bre bo*. See Jäschke 1881: s.v. *bre* (1). Jäschke also provides the Sanskrit word for *bre* as *drona*, for which see Monier-Williams 1899 (s.v. *drona*): “a measure of capacity (= 4 *ādhakas* = 16 *puṣkalas* = 128 *kuñcis* = 1024 *muṣṭis*, or = 200 *palas* = 1/20 *kumbha*, or = 1/16 *khari* = 4 *ādhakas*, or = 2 *ādhakas* = 1/2 *sūrpa* = 64 *Seras*, or = 32 *Seras*.)” Note that the term *bre bo* (DN) or *bre'o* (PN) occurs in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (no. 6739); see Fukuda and Ishihama 1989.

²⁸ *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 184 (s.v. *bkas bcad chen po rnam pa gsum*): *rgyal po khri ral pa can gyis srid dbang bzung skabs bod kyi sa gnas kyi gnas tshul dngos dang bstun nas bkas bcad rnam pa gsum mdzad yod* | 1. *bod du gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba'i sde pa las gzhan pa'i sde pa gzhan 'dzugs mi chog pa de yin* | *de'i rgyu mtshan ni bod la rab byung gi sde thog mar 'dzugs skabs mkhan po ni bo dhi sa tua yin cing* | *khong nyid kyang thams cad yod par smra ba'i sde pa las rab tu byung ba yin pa dang* | *thams cad yod par smra ba'i sde pa las gzhan sde pa gsum bar 'dul ba'i bcas mtshams dang lag len gyi thog bzhed pa mi 'dra ba yod pas bod la 'dul ba'i phyag bzhes gcig gyur du gnas pa'i ched yin* | 2. *gsang sngags ma rgyud kyi skor rnam bod skad du bsgyur mi chog pa de yin* | *de'i dgos pa ni skabs der bod la rab byung gi sde btsugs nas yun ring ma song ba'i dbang gis rang nyid la chos kyi go rtogs gang yang med bzhin du gsang sngags sgra ji bzhin spyad nas 'dul khrims 'chal skyon yong ba sngon 'gog mdzad pa'i ched du yin* || 3. *bre srang sogs kyi 'jal tshad rgya gar ma gha [= ga] dha'i tshad gzhi dang mthun par gcig gyur byed dgos pa de yin* | *de'i dgos pa ni* | *skabs der bod sa gnas su phul drug la bre gang du rtsis pa'i drug phul ma dang phul bdun la bre gang du rtsis pa'i bdun phul ma zhes mi dra ba gnyis yod pa'i thog* | *bod bre gang la drug phul rtsis na ma ga dha'i bre phyed las med cing* | *bdun phul yin na ma gha [= ga] dha'i bre gang la bod bre do dang phyor ba gang yod pa bcas khyad par chen po yod pa dang* | *de bzhin ma gha [= ga] dha'i gser zho brgyad la gser srang gang* | *gser srang bcu drug la gser bre gang du rtsis kyi yod pas* | *ma gha dha'i gser srang gang bod kyi gser srang do yod pa bcas kyi he bag chen po des bod dang rgya gar bar tshong 'brel byed skabs stabs bde yong ched* | *'jal gshor 'degs gsum gyi tshad gcig gyur gyi gtan 'bebs*

During the reign of King Khri Ral pa can, threefold decrees were issued in the wake of adapting [certain norms in India] to the actual situation in the land of Tibet. The first was the decree according to which no other Nikāya [tradition] apart from [that of] Mūlasarvāstivādin was permitted to be established in Tibet. The reason for this was that Bodhisattva [Śāntarakṣita] was the preceptor (*mkhan po: upādhyāya*) during the period when an ordained community was established in Tibet for the first time. He was ordained within the [Vinaya tradition of] Sarvāstivāda. Since there existed different positions with regard to Vinaya “prohibitory boundaries” (*bcas mtshams*) and practices between [it] and the three Nikāya [schools] other than Sarvāstivāda, [there was the risk of dissension within the ordained community]. [The decree was issued] so that the Vinaya practice in Tibet would prevail [without conflict] as one [tradition]. Second was the decree according to which one was not permitted to translate into Tibetan cycles [of Indian Tantric texts belonging to] the Yoginī Tantric scriptures. The purpose of this was to prevent harm arising from the Vinaya discipline being corrupted by practicing—even though one did not [yet] have a [full] understanding of the Dharma—Mantric teachings according to [their] literal meaning, since during that period not much time had elapsed since the ordained community had been established in Tibet. Third was the decree according to which the standards of measurement [in Tibet], such as of volume (*bre*) and weight (*srang*), should be brought in line with the standards of measurement in Magadha in India. The purpose of this was [as follows]: At that time in the land of Tibet there were two different [systems of volumetric measurement], namely, the “[system of] six handfuls” (*drug phul ma*), according to which six handfuls were reckoned as one *bre*, and the “[system of] seven handfuls” (*bdun phul ma*), according to which seven handfuls were reckoned as one *bre*. In addition, if six handfuls were reckoned as one Tibetan *bre*, [this] was not more than (*las med*) half a Magadha *bre*. If seven handfuls [were reckoned as such], one Magadha *bre* would be [equal to] two Tibetan *bres* and one palmful. [Thus] there would have [otherwise] been a huge discrepancy [between Tibetan and Indian standards of volumetric measurement]. And similarly, [according to the Magadha standard of weight measurement], eight Magadha *karṣas* of gold were reckoned as one *srang* of gold, and sixteen *srangs* of gold as one *bre* of gold. Thus one Magadha *srang* of gold would have [otherwise] been two Tibetan *srangs* of gold. There would have been a huge discrepancy, so for convenience in trade relations between Tibet and India, single standards for weighing [grain], [determining] volume, and weighing [gold and silver] were established.

A few general points may be made with regard to this first set of referents. First, regardless of the degree of reliability, particularly with regard to the period during which the Three Royal Decrees are said to have been issued, Tibetan sources do explicitly speak of such a set of royal decrees. Second, unlike the second and third sets of referents to be discussed below, which primarily concern linguistic, terminological, and orthographic standardization and

reformation, the first set of referents principally concerns restrictions on or the regulation of translating and transmitting certain scriptures. *Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las* explains the third member of this first set of three decrees as being related to the standard of measurement of volume and weight, and the difficulties faced during commercial transactions between India and Tibet. These and other related decrees, however, seem more often meant to deal with the challenges faced by Tibetans when translating and transmitting scriptures and doctrines of the Śrāvakayāna, Pāramitāyāna, and Mantrayāna/Vajrayāna. The first decree, pertaining to the preference for the Mūlasarvāstivāda school over other Nikāya schools, may be said to be related to the Vinaya and to the Abhidharma doctrines of the Śrāvakayāna. The third royal decree, pertaining to establishing measure units may also be linked with the Vinaya. The second royal decree obviously addresses difficulties connected with the practice of Mantric forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially ones involving extraordinary and risky sexual yogic practices prescribed by some Yoginī Tantric systems.²⁹

5. The Second Set of Referents

The second set of referents of the term *bka'bcad gsum* is the trilogy of repertoires (*vyutpatti*), namely, the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (“Great

mdzad pa yin. See also Nor brang, *Chos nam kun btus*, vol. 1, 180–181 (s.v. *bkas bcas chen po gsum*), where the *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* is referred to.

²⁹ The prohibition of unrestrained Yoginī Tantric scriptures was mentioned already in the *Madhyavyutpatti* and repeated by several Tibetan sources in various contexts. The breakup of the Tibetan empire and the resulting absence of a central authority indeed seems to have caused problems relating to the Yoginī Tantric practices involving sexual union (*sbyor ba*). See, for examples, Seyfort Ruegg 1984, where problems relating to the Tantric practices involving sexual union are discussed; and Scherrer-Schaub 2001. See Pho brang zhi ba 'od, *bKa' shog* (Sog zlog pa, *Nges don 'brug sgra* 208.17–19; Karmay 1998: 40; 'Dar tsha, *Ti se'i mgul rgyan* 375.14–16): *shes rab kyi rgyud rams ni mchog tu gyur pa yin yang | dgongs pa can gyi tshig don ma shes pas | rab tu byung ba bslab pa dang phral ba mang bas ma byas kyang 'gal ba med pa tsam |*. Note that Yoginī Tantric scriptures, referred to here as *shes rab kyi rgyud rams*, were recognized as authentic but considered risky. The second royal decree, which prohibits or restricts the translation and transmission of certain Tantric scriptures, can be found in what has been described by Scherrer-Schaub as the “prohibitive clause related to *tantra* and *mantra* terminology” of the *Madhyavyutpatti*. See Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 287–288, 322–323.

Repertory”), *Madhyavyutpatti* (“Medium Repertory”), and *Svalpavyutpatti* (“Small Repertory”).³⁰ That the Tibetan tradition considered the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (*Bye brag tu rtogs byed chen po = Bye brag rtogs byed chen mo*), *Madhyavyutpatti* (*Bye brag tu rtogs byed 'bring po aka sGra sbyor bam gnyis*), and *Svalpavyutpatti* (*Bye brag tu rtogs byed chung ngu*) as “three royal decrees” (*bka' bcad gsum*) is clear, inasmuch as Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), for example, calls them expressis verbis the “large, medium, and small decrees” (*bka' bcad che 'bring chung gsum*).³¹ These bilingual titles have been recorded at the end of the *Madhyavyutpatti*.³² Cristina Scherrer-Schaub also recognizes that the later Tibetan historiographers speak of *skad gsar bcad* as *bkas bcad gsum*, which in time were “assimilated to the three *vyutpatti* treatises.”³³

Given the great deal of scholarly attention that the *Mahāvvyutpatti*³⁴ and *Madhyavyutpatti*³⁵ have already received from scho-

³⁰ I follow Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 307–309 in rendering the titles *Mahāvvyutpatti*, *Madhyavyutpatti*, and *Svalpavyutpatti*.

³¹ Bu ston, *bKa' bstan mnam grangs* 396.15: *lo paṅ mang pos mdzad pa'i bka' bcad che 'bring chung gsum dang* |. The line can be found verbatim in the *Bu ston chos 'byung* 310.20–21, except that *bka' bcad* there erroneously reads *bka' bka'*. That the collective expression refers to the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, *Madhyavyutpatti*, and *Svalpavyutpatti* becomes evident if we consider the parallel passages in his *bsTan dkar nor bu'i phreng ba* 224.6–7 and *bsTan dkar nor bu'i za ma tog* 458.6–7, where, however, the expression *bka' bcad che 'bring chung gsum* is not employed. See also an inter-linear note (*mchan bu*) to the term *bsam pa'i brnag pa* in *Zhwa lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po's Dag yig za ma tog* 11b3, where the *Mahāvvyutpatti* is referred to as the *bKas bcad chen mo*.

³² *Madhyavyutpatti* (Ishikawa 1990: 127.8–12).

³³ Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 281.

³⁴ Although a recapitulation of the study of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* would have been desirable, it is beyond the scope of this present article.

³⁵ The *Madhyavyutpatti* has been transmitted not only in all available versions of the *bsTan 'gyur* but also separately. An dBu med manuscript edition (M) of it has been preserved in the Tibet Museum, for a report of which see Ishikawa 2006–2007. The modern printed edition of the *Madhyavyutpatti* (T) is based on M. In addition, we have two Dunhuang fragments of the *Madhyavyutpatti* (Pelliot tibétain 843 and 845) and fragments from Tabo monastery in Spiti (studied in Panglung 1994). The *Madhyavyutpatti* in its entirety has been published by Dharma Publishing. See the *Bod kyi sgra rig* 1–159. There is also a critical edition of the *Madhyavyutpatti* (S) prepared by sPen pa rdo rje of the Central University of Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi. The first introductory part of the *Madhyavyutpatti*, containing the rules and regulations of translation, can be found in several other Tibetan works, such as *Pad dkar chos 'byung* 246.13–250.20; *bDud 'joms rgyal rabs* 211.12–215.3; *Chab spel* and *Nor brang*, *g.Yu yi phreng ba*, vol. 1, 366.8–370.11 (referring to the *Pad dkar chos 'byung*); *Phrin las chos grags*,

lars from both within and outside the Tibetan tradition, I shall not discuss them here. Instead, I shall focus on the issue of the identity or identification of the *Svalpavyutpatti*, which has remained unknown. Bu ston seems to have neither known the *Svalpavyutpatti* firsthand nor been aware of its whereabouts, for, in his catalogue to the *bsTan 'gyur*, he states that if the *Svalpavyutpatti* is obtained, it should be recorded (i.e., inserted) in the catalogue.³⁶

Importantly, however, we are now offered two different explanations of the identity of the *Svalpavyutpatti*. The first position, according to Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, is that of Hakuyū Hadano (1911–1985), who identified sKa ba dPal brtsegs's *Chos kyi mam grangs* with the *Svalpavyutpatti*.³⁷ Also, according to 'Phrin las chos grags, a contemporary Tibetan scholar, there was a learned oral tradition (*mkhas pa'i gsung sgras*) in Tibet that identified the *Svalpavyutpatti* with the *Chos kyi mam grangs kyi brjed byang* and its basic (*rtsa ba: mūla*) text by sKa ba dPal brtsegs.³⁸ Despite the question

Lo tsā'i rigs lam 213.2–218.10; dBang 'dus tshe ring and 'Phrin las rgya mtsho, *sGra gyur lo rgyus* 66.18–70.7. The *Madhyavyutpatti* has also received a great deal of modern scholarly attention. It is not possible to cover here all the secondary sources on the study of the *Madhyavyutpatti*. Nonetheless a few may be mentioned: Simonsson 1957 (a study of the Tibetan methods of translation found in the *Madhyavyutpatti*); Ishikawa 1990 (a critical edition based on the canonical versions and some fragments); Ishikawa 1993 (an annotated Japanese translation of the *Madhyavyutpatti*); Ishikawa 2006/2007 (a Japanese article reporting on the dBU med manuscript M); Panglung 1994 (a study of the Tabo fragments); Verhagen 1994; Scherrer-Schaub 2002.

³⁶ Bu ston, *bsTan dkar nor bu'i phreng ba* 224.7–8 and *bsTan dkar nor bu'i za ma tog* 458.7–8: *'dir bye brag tu rtogs byed chung ngu rnyed na bri'o ||*. Bu ston's remark in the *bsTan dkar nor bu'i za ma tog* has already been noted in Karmay 2007: 26, n. 31. The parallel passage in the *Bu ston chos 'byung* 310.20–21 and *bKa' bstan mam grangs* 396.15 makes no reference to the non-existence or inaccessibility of the *Svalpavyutpatti*.

³⁷ Hadano 1983: 283, 292, 298. Hakuyū Hadano's position seems to be based on the fact that the colophon of the *Chos mam rtsa ba* (P 352b4–5; D 294b6) mentions the epithet *chung ngu*. This position is reported in Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 308, which refers to the 1986 reprint of Hadano 1983. Scherrer-Schaub (2002: 334) gives the name of the author as "Hadano, S.," obviously a misprint. I am grateful to Dr. Ryūta Kikuya for his help in obtaining the article and locating the pertinent passage.

³⁸ 'Phrin las chos grags, *Lo tsā'i rigs lam* 203.22–204.4: «*sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa'i*» *mjug byang du bye brag rtogs byed che 'bring chung gsum yod tshul gsungs pa'i* «*bye brag rtogs byed chung ngu*» *zhes pa'i bstan bcos de lo tsā ba ska ba dPal brtsegs kyis mdzad pa'i* «*chos kyi mam grangs kyi rtsa ba dang 'grel pa*» *yin zhes mkhas pa'i gsung sgras kyi rjes su 'brangs te gzhung de nyid rtsad 'tshol bgyis pa las* «*sde dge bstan 'gyur*» *sna tshogs*

of its actual plausibility,³⁹ this position is certainly interesting. However, if these two works are indeed to be identified with the *Svalpavyutpatti*, which is also described as a “small decree” (*bka' bcad chung ngu*), several questions arise: Why have these two works been attributed only to sKa ba dPal brtsegs and not, like the *Mahāvvyutpatti* and *Madhyavyutpatti*, to a group of scholars? Why would the *Svalpavyutpatti* be monolingual, while the other two decrees are bilingual? And could either of these works be justifiably characterized as a “small decree”? Although colophons are not always trustworthy, the colophon of the *Chos kyi nam grangs kyi brjed byang* (here: *Chos nam brjed byang*) does actually attribute the work to “Lo tsā ba chen po dPal brtsegs rakṣi ta and others.”⁴⁰ The colophon of the basic text—the *Chos kyi nam grangs kyi brjed byang gi rtsa ba* (here: *Chos nam rtsa ba*)—attributes the work to Ācārya dPal brtsegs,⁴¹ but interestingly, its title in the Peking edition attributes the work to “Ācārya dPal brtsegs and others.”⁴² Even if we grant some degree of trust to this identification, it is worth noting that these works were considered “mnemonic texts” (*brjed byang*) of a major early translator. Indeed many

jo par «*chos kyi nam grangs kyi brjed byang gi rtsa ba*» *dang* «*chos kyi nam grangs kyi brjed byang*» *zhes pa'i bstan bcas gnyis bzhugs 'dug* |.

³⁹ Two small facts seem to enhance the plausibility of the position that dPal brtsegs's *Chos kyi nam grangs kyi brjed byang* and its basic text were indeed the “small decree,” the *Svalpavyutpatti*, or at least that the Tibetan tradition considered it to be so. First, as pointed out by Hakuyū Hadano, the colophon of the Peking and sNar thang editions of the *Chos kyi nam grangs* mentions the epithet *chung ngu*. Second, it could also be that earlier catalogues of the Tibetan canon regarded dPal brtsegs's *Chos kyi nam grangs kyi brjed byang* and its basic text as the “small decree” (i.e., *Svalpavyutpatti*) and indeed listed them immediately following the “large decree” (i.e., *Mahāvvyutpatti*) and the “medium royal decree” (i.e., *Madhyavyutpatti*), the same way we see them listed in Bu ston's *bsTan dkar nor bu'i phreng ba* and *bsTan dkar nor bu'i za ma tog*. Possibly it did not occur to Bu ston that the “small decree” (i.e., *Svalpavyutpatti*) was where it was supposed to be, and having failed to see it, stated that it should be inserted at that particular location if discovered.

⁴⁰ *Chos nam brjed byang* (P, fol. 345a8; D, fol. 289a4–5): *chos kyi nam grangs kyi brjed byang zhes bya ba lo tsā ba chen po dPal brtsegs rakṣi ta la sogs pa mams kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so* ||.

⁴¹ *Chos nam rtsa ba* (P, fol. 352b4–5; D, fol. 294b6): *chos kyi nam grangs chung ngu ā tsārya [= tsarya P] dPal brtsegs kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so* ||.

⁴² *Chos nam rtsa ba* (P, fol. 345b1): *chos kyi nam grangs kyi brjed byang gi rtsa ba ā tsārya dPal brtsegs [= brtsegs] la sogs pas mdzad pa* |.

Tibetan works stemming from the Imperial Period bear the expression *brjed byang* in their titles. Possibly the ones under discussion are the earliest Tibetan works of their kind, namely, the literary genre of “enumerative categories of Dharmic topics” (*chos kyi nmam grangs*), not to be equated with the term *dharmaparyāya* (*chos kyi nmam grangs*) as a characterization of some Mahāyānic scriptures, although the use of the term in the former sense may have been inspired by its use in the latter sense. In order to reflect upon the question as to whether these works can be justifiably called “decrees,” we shall have to remind ourselves the very purpose of these decrees in our given context. One of the major concerns of the decrees was the standardization of Dharmic terms, which would, as we all know, not have been possible unless the doctrinal or thematic context was clear. For Tibetan translators, therefore, the thematic or contextual setting of proper names, terms, and concepts was a crucial consideration when aiming at the regulation and standardization of Dharmic terms.

While the hierarchical order of perceived sanctity was also important, it was the thematic or contextual relevance not, for example, the alphabetical order, that played a more decisive role in the composition and organization of names, terms, and concepts that were supposed to function as standards for future translation and transmission. Thus Tibetan works, bilingual or monolingual, that belong to the genre of “enumerative categories of Dharmic topics” (*chos kyi nmam grangs*) are, as a rule, arranged according to thematic affiliation. Those topical items (e.g., *skandha*) would have a certain number and order. All three works (i.e., *Mahāvvyutpatti*, *Madhyavyutpatti*, and *Svalpavyutpatti*) can be de facto seen as belonging to the *chos kyi nmam grangs* genre, the difference among them being that the *Mahāvvyutpatti* contains an extensive number of bilingual names, words, terms, and phrases with no explanations; the first part of the *Madhyavyutpatti* contains the decreed rules and regulations of translation, the second part being again a medium-size and selected bilingual *chos kyi nmam grangs* proper with explanations of Sanskrit terms and justifications for their Tibetan rendering; the monolingual *Svalpavyutpatti*, said to be somehow based on and extracted from these two works, present key Buddhist terms and concepts derived from Abhidharma, Yogācāra, and other Mahāyāna sources. The prima-

ry concern of the *Svalpavyutpatti*, then, would not be bilinguality (i.e., bilingual terminology or phraseology), but rather to secure an understanding of Buddhist concepts and ideas—so to speak, a “conceptology”—explained within the framework of forty fundamental topics. To be sure, neither the *Chos kyi rnam grangs kyi brjed byang* nor its basic text (*rtsa ba*) sees itself as a “decree” (*bkas/bka' bcad*). Nor does either work characterize itself as the *Svalpavyutpatti*. 'Phrin las chos grags, however, offers his reasons why, unlike the *Mahāvvyutpatti* and *Madhyavyutpatti*, the *Svalpavyutpatti* is not bilingual. According to him,⁴³ it was no longer necessary for the *Chos kyi rnam grangs kyi brjed byang* and its basic text to be bilingual because bilingual decrees in the form of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* and *Madhyavyutpatti* had already been issued and established during the time of Khri srong lde btsan and Khri lde srong btsan. He also thinks that there is little fault in designating the *Chos kyi rnam grangs kyi brjed byang* and its basic text as the *Svalpavyutpatti*, inasmuch as these works are based on the *Mahāvvyutpatti* and *Madhyavyutpatti*, and as the *Svalpavyutpatti* is a work that enumerates and comments on some minor and easy terms that have been extracted from the ocean-like terminologies recorded in the *Madhyavyutpatti*.⁴⁴

The second position or explanation regarding the identity of the *Svalpavyutpatti* is the one offered by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub. According to her ground-breaking article,⁴⁵ the *Svalpavyutpatti*

⁴³ 'Phrin las chos grags, *Lo tsā'i rigs lam* 204.18–205.4: *gzhan yang «chos kyi rnam grangs kyi rtsa ba dang 'grel par» bye brag rtogs byed che ba dang 'bring ba ji bzhin legs sbyar yi ge'i shan sbyar mi snang ba la nges par rgyu mtshan yod pa ste | btsan po khri srong lde btsan dang khri lde srong btsan gnyis pos snga rjes su bye brag rtogs byed chen mo dang bye brag rtogs byed 'bring po gnyis su ming tshig rnam sam bod shan sbyar gyi thog nas bkas bcad gnang ste gtan la phab pas | bkas bcad kyi ming tshig de dag gtan 'jags nges srol can du gyur zin | der bsten slar yang sam bod shan sbyar la ngal ba mi byed par bsgyur ba'i tshig rnam la go ba yang dag cing mthil phyin pa zhig bskyed phyir ming gi rnam grangs 'dren pa dang de la go bde ba'i 'grel pa mdzad pa tsam du zad |.*

⁴⁴ 'Phrin las chos grags, *Lo tsā'i rigs lam* 205.5–11: *mdor na | lo tsā ba ska ba dpal brtsegs kyis mdzad pa'i «chos kyi rnam grangs kyi brjed byang gi rtsa ba» dang «chos kyi rnam grangs kyi brjed byang» zhes pa'i bstan bcos gnyis po'i gzhil'am khungs gtugs sa ni bye brag rtogs byed che 'bring gnyis po yin pa dang zhig bye brag rtogs byed chen po'i tha snyad rgya mtsho'i dbus nas tha snyad chung ngu ngam go sla ba'i cha shas zhig bye brag so sor rtogs par bya ba'i slad rnam grangs 'dren pa'i gzhung zhig lags pas | mig sngar «bye brag rtogs byed chung ngu'i» tshul du 'jog pa la skyon cher med par sems |.*

⁴⁵ Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 316.

was “composed in 763 on the basis of a previous prototype,” which subsequently was merged into the *Mahāvvyutpatti* and “disappeared into successive text-layers.”⁴⁶ The *Madhyavyutpatti* was composed in 783, and “was further enlarged upon and affixed to the document of the third *bkas bcad* of 814.” This explanation will perhaps later help us to reconcile the second and third sets of referents. That is, the first two decrees in the context of the third set of referents, both of which are placed by Tibetan tradition in the Imperial Period, can be seen as an indication of the various phases leading up to the formation of the *Madhyavyutpatti* as we know it now and the amalgamation of the *Svalpavyutpatti* with the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, with the ensuing disappearance of the former.

6. The Third Set of Referents

The third set of referents of the term *bka' bcad gsum* comprises the three phases of what is known as *skad gsar bcad/bcas*,⁴⁷ that is, decrees pertaining to the terminological-orthographical revision and standardization, namely, two phases during the earlier period of dissemination (*snga dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet and one phase during the later period of dissemination (*phyi dar*). This explana-

⁴⁶ The suggestion that an initially existent “short list” of words (i.e., *Svalpavyutpatti*) could have been merged into the *Mahāvvyutpatti* and that this could have been the reason why later Tibetan authors considered it lost had already been put forward by Zuihō Yamaguchi in 1979—an opinion that was shared by Nils Simonsson; see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 306.

⁴⁷ See Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 281, where the term *skad gsar bcad* has been literally rendered as “the new lexical entries/new language (*skad gsar*) [sanctioned by Imperial (*bkas*)] decision (*bcad*).” That the term *skad gsar bcad/bcas* refers to the terminological-orthographic reform has been made clear in some Tibetan sources. See, for example, the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *skad gsar bcad*), which states: “[The terminological-orthographic reform] is the establishment (i.e., reformation) of literary language (*yig skad*) for the convenience of reading (*klog 'don*) by doing away with “protruding edges” (*zur*) of certain archaic (or obsolete orthographies or) terminologies (*brda rnying*) that were inconvenient for writing and reading, for example, the elision of the secondary postscript *d* (*da drag*) and slackening (or reduction) of the protrusion (*zor yang du btang ba*) [of characters in a syllable] such as [by reducing] *mye* and *'gyo* to *me* and *'gro*” (*'bri klog mi bde ba'i brda rnying 'ga' zhig gi zur dor te klog 'don bde ba'i yig skad gtan la phab pa dper na da drag dor ba dang mye dang 'gyo zhes pa me dang 'gro zhes par zor yang du btang ba lta bu*). One of the meanings of *zor* given in the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v.) is “attribute of weight” (*lei yang gi khyad par*), but I feel it should rather mean “protrusion” and thus also “angularity,” “bulkiness,” and “unwieldiness.”

tion is found in the *sGra'i bstan bcos smra ba rgyan gyi me tog ngag gi dbang phyug grub pa* (henceforth: *sMra rgyan me tog*) by bCom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri (1227–1305), the famed bKa' gdams scholar from sNar thang monastery and in the *Dag yig li shi'i gur khang* (henceforth: *Li shi'i gur khang*)⁴⁸ by sKyogs ston Rin chen bkra shis (1441–1527).⁴⁹ The classification and periodization of the three royal decrees in the sense of the three terminological-orthographical reforms (*skad gsar bcad/bcas gsum*) have been discussed by a number of Tibetan scholars,⁵⁰ most of whom seem to have relied on sKyogs ston's *Li shi'i gur khang*. A number of Western scholars have also pointed out that although the period of the *skad gsar bcad/bcas* has been attributed by post-dynastic sources to the reign of Khri gTsong lde btsan (alias Ral pa can), it goes back to his predecessor Khri lDe srong btsan, and that the “whole process of

⁴⁸ A careful study of sKyogs ston's *Li shi'i gur khang* including a critical edition of the Tibetan text and all the related primary and secondary sources seems desirable, but is beyond the scope of this article. While I use only two versions for this article, namely, a scan of the Zhol xylographic edition (Z) and the scan of the sDe dge xylographic edition (D), I list here all additional editions currently accessible to me. Two modern printed editions have been published in the PRC, namely, in Beijing (B) and Xining (X); and three modern editions outside the PRC, namely, G (Gene Smith's so-called “Green Book” edition with no place and date of publication), which contains the Romanized Tibetan text based on the Zhol xylographic edition, and two editions published in Kathmandu (K) and Dehra Dun (S). There is also said to exist a Peking (probably xylographic) edition, for which see Laufer 1914: 65, n. 1, where the following is stated: “There is a good Peking edition (26 fols.) with interlinear Mongol version printed in 1741.” There may be other editions of the *Li shi'i gur khang*.

⁴⁹ sKyogs ston lo tsā is also said to be known under the names Chag lo Rin chen chos rgyal and sKyogs ston sMon grub lo tsā ba. See gSang bdag, *sKad gsar bcad nam gsum* (p. 34.6–7).

⁵⁰ See, for examples, the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *skad gsar bcad nam pa gsum*): 'bri klog mi bde ba'i brda rnying 'ga' zhig gi zur dor te klog bde ba'i skad yig gtan la phab pa gsum ste | btsan po khri srong lde'u btsan nas mnga' bdag khri ral pa can yan chad du ska cog zhang gsum la sogs pas bkas bcad lan gnyis byas shing bkas bcad gsum pa ni lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyi dus su byon pa'i lo tsā chen po rin chen bzang po nas dharma pā la bha dra'i bar du byon pa rnam kyis byas pa yin |. See also (a) *Dung dkar tshig mdzod*; (b) *Chos nam kun btus*; (c) gSang bdag's *sKad gsar bcad nam gsum*; (d) Sangs rgyas's reply in the *Sher rgan 'bel gtam*; (e) mKhar sgang bSod nams dbang ldan's *sKad gsar bcad la dpyad pa*; (f) Dar tsha, *Ti se'i mgul rgyan* 206.12–207.15; (g) gDugs dkar Tshe ring, *Yul shul brag yig* 147, n. 16 (cf. 135.1–15); (h) sKal bzang phun tshogs, *dBon zhang rdo ring* 35.18–31; (i) Dung dkar, *Bod kyi skad yig* A 308.18–311.2; B, 623.1–30, 624, n. 16; (j) dBang 'dus tshe ring and 'Phrin las rgya mtsho, *sGra sgyur lo rgyus* 87.20–93.5.

creating and applying standards to the translation activity was a longer understanding which probably started under Khri Srong lde btsan.”⁵¹

The question is whether sKyogs ston, too, based himself on an earlier source. Indeed, it turns out that sKyogs ston’s discussion of the three royal decrees draws on Rig ral’s *sMra rgyan me tog*. That sKyogs ston’s classification and periodization of these decrees are based on Rig ral’s becomes clear once one compares the pertinent passages in the *sMra rgyan me tog* and *Li shi’i gur khang*. This is, however, not to claim that the two works are similar in their content, use of concepts, or intent. One reason why later Tibetan scholars who discussed the three royal decrees relied on sKyogs ston’s *Li shi’i gur khang* and not on Rig ral’s *sMra rgyan me tog* may be that the former was more accessible than the latter. ’Dar tsha khyung bdag, a contemporary Tibetan scholar, seems to be one of the few scholars to note that one of the main sources of sKyogs ston’s *Li shi’i gur khang* is Rig ral’s *sMra rgyan me tog*.⁵² Whether Rig ral based himself in turn on a still earlier (written or oral) source or whether the identification and periodization of the three royal decrees were original to him cannot be known at this stage. At any rate, Rig ral’s *sMra rgyan me tog* is the earliest Tibetan source that we know that explicitly discusses the three royal decrees in the present sense.

In the following few paragraphs, I shall present what Rig ral’s *sMra rgyan me tog* says with regard to each of the three royal decrees, followed by what sKyogs ston states in his *Li shi’i gur khang*. To begin with, Rig ral, in the context of explaining “words” (*ming*) in the second chapter of his *sMra rgyan me tog*, speaks of three types or levels of Tibetan words (or perhaps terminology):⁵³

⁵¹ See Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 24, n. 6, which also refers to four other secondary sources, which I do not wish to list again here.

⁵² ’Dar tsha, *Ti se’i mgul rgyan* 207.5–6: *dag yig li shi’i gur khang gi lung khungs gtsa bcom ldan rig ral gyi gsung rtsom las kyang* |.

⁵³ Rig ral, *sMra rgyan me tog* 366.3–5: *deng sang bod las grags pa’i ming* || *bka’ bcas yul skad ’phral skad gsum* || *bkas bcad la’ang dang po dang* || *bar dang tha ma gsum mi mthun* || *chus [= chos] bgyur ba na rgyal blon dang* || [=] *lo paṅ dang brda’ la mkhas pa rnam s’ dus te yul tha dad na ming du ma yod kyang ’di’i ming ni ’dir ’thad do zhes bkas bcad cing bkas bcas te de yang gsum gsum mo* ||. The verse in this passage is cited by sPen pa rdo rje in his foreword to his edition of the *Madhyavyutpatti* (S), for which, see the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis* xiv.2–5.

The terms known nowadays in Tibet are of three [kinds], namely, [ones established by] the [three] royal decrees, dialectic words (or regionalisms) (*yul skad*), and colloquialisms (*'phral skad = phal skad*).⁵⁴ And with regard to [those established by] the royal decrees, [those established by] the first, middle, and last [royal decrees] are not similar. On the occasion of translating Dharmic scriptures/treatises, the king, [his] ministers, *lo tsā bas*, *paṇḍitas*, and those skilled in terms, having assembled, sanctioned (*bkas bcad*) and decreed (*bkas bcas*)⁵⁵ thus: “Although there are numerous [different] terms in different regions, the terms of this [region] are [the ones] valid here.” And in this [same regard] there are three [decrees issued in] three [different phases] (*gsum gsum*).⁵⁶

Two points seem worth mentioning here. First, the sphere of the Tibetan language that was established by the royal decree was very probably the “technical Dharmic terminology” (*chos skad*) used in translating.⁵⁷ Second, Rig ral, in pointing out that the technical Dharmic terminologies established by the three royal decrees are not the same, is thereby clearly recognizing the existence of the decrees. Rig ral states the following with regard to the first royal decree:⁵⁸

Of these [three royal decrees], those translations [of Dharmic scriptures/treatises] that were executed for the first time (*dang por byas pa'i 'gyur nams*) during the time of Thon mi Sambhoṭa⁵⁹ and Emperor Khri Srong lde btsan were translated according to the royal decree issued initially (*dang po byas pa'i bkas bcas kyi bsgyur*)—namely, [the translations of] the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, the Tetralogy of [Vinaya] scriptures (i.e., the *Vinayavastu*, *Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Vinayakṣudraka*, and *Uttaragrantha*), some Sūtric

⁵⁴ That *'phral skad*, *phal skad*, and *kha skad* are synonymous has been made clear in the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *'phral skad & kha skad*).

⁵⁵ If the transmitted orthography is correct, it is not really clear whether a nuance between *bkas bcad* and *bkas bcas* was intended, and if so what it might be.

⁵⁶ This interpretation presupposes that the reading *gsum gsum mo* is correct.

⁵⁷ *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *chos skad*): *phal skad ma yin pa'i chos pod nang gi tha snyad nams* |. The term *chos skad* is employed already in the *Madhyavyūtpatti* (Ishikawa 1990: 127; Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 324, 326). For the occurrence of the term *chos kyi skad*, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 282, 265, n. 11, 275, n. 44, 277, 306.

⁵⁸ Rig ral, *sMra rgyan me tog* 366.5–367.2: *de la 'gon mi saṃ ba ra* [= *thon ni saṃ bho ta*] *dang* | *btsan po khri srong lde btsan gyi dus kyi dang por byas pa'i 'gyur nams ni dang po byas pa'i bkas bcas kyi bsgyur ste sangs rgyas phal po che dang lung sde bzhi dang* | *mdo sde kha cig dang sher phyin gyi mdo sde kha ci* [= *cig*] *skad gсар bcad kyi* [= *khis*] *gtan la ma phab pa nams so* |].

⁵⁹ For practical reasons, I use the usual name Sambhoṭa, but the name occurs in various forms in Rig ral's *sMra rgyan me tog* and sKyogs ston's *Li shi'i gur khang* (as evidenced in the cited passages). See also Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 26, n. 19.

scriptures, and some Prajñāpāramitā scriptures, none of which was established according to the [later] terminological-orthographic reforms (*skad gsar bcad kyiis gtan la ma phab pa mams*).

To be noted here is that Rig ral presupposes an initial royal decree (*dang po'i bkas bcad = bkas bcad dang po*) which involved no terminological-orthographic reforms (*skad gsar bcad*). sKyogs ston reproduces this passage almost verbatim,⁶⁰ as do several later Tibetan scholars, such as Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las⁶¹ and Sangs rgyas, in response to a query about the three royal decrees.⁶² The acceptance of an initial royal decree (*dang po'i bkas bcad = bkas bcad dang po*) which involved no terminological-orthographic reforms (*skad gsar bcad*) may, be it noted, support Cristina Scherrer-Schaub's suggestion that there existed "a previous, less formal, authoritative decision, attested in the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* itself but passed over unnoticed so far."⁶³

Rig ral states the following with regard to the second royal decree:⁶⁴

[Those conventions fixed by] the second [royal decree] (*gnyis pa*), [pertaining to] the terminological-orthographical reforms (*skad gsar bcad*),

⁶⁰ sKyogs ston, *Li shi'i gur khang Z*, 1a1–3: *de yang 'dir brda gsar rnying gi tha snyad bshad pa la | thu mi sa 'bo ra [sa 'bor A] dang | btsad po khri srong lde btsan gyi dus dang pos byas pa'i gyur mams ni | dang po'i bkas bcad kyiis bsgyur ba ste | sangs rgyas phal po che dang | lung sde bzhi dang | mdo sde kha cig dang sher phyin gyi mdo kha gcig ste | skad gsar bcad kyiis gtan la ma phab pa mams so ||*.

⁶¹ Dung dkar tshig mdzod (s.v. *skad gsar bcad*): *de yang bod yig gi yig srol thog bkas bcad rim pa gsum byung tshul zhā [= zhwa] lu lo chen chos skyong bzang po'i dngos slob skyogs ston lo tsā ba rin chen bkra shis kyiis mdzad pa'i «dag yig li shi'i gur khang» las gsungs pa ltar na | thon mi sam bho ta nas btsan po khri srong lde btsan gyi bar thog mar bsgyur ba'i gsung rab mams kyi gyur ni bkas bcad dang po'i lugs su bsgyur ba | dper na «phal chen» dang | «'dul ba lung sde bzhi» «mdo sde» khag gcig «sher phyin gyi mdo» 'ga' zhiig bcas yin pa dang | de mams su gsal ba'i brda rnying pa dang brda gsar pa gnyis bsdur nas gsal bshad mdzad pa lta bu yin |*.

⁶² bsTan go (ed.), *Sher rgan 'bel gtam* 18.10–15: ... *yongs grags ltar na bkas bcad dang po ni slob dpon thon mi nas btsan po khri srong lde btsan (gtso cher khri srong lde btsan gyi dus yin pa 'dra) gyi bar du bkas bcad kyiis bsgyur pa'i sangs rgyas phal po che dang | lung sde bzhi dang | mdo sde kha cig dang | sher phyin gyi mdo kha cig gtan la phab pa de la zer |*.

⁶³ Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 283.

⁶⁴ Rig ral, *sMra rgyan me tog* 368.1–2: *gnyis pa skad gsar bcad la ni de dag gi zla bo ji skad bshad pa mams dang gzhan yang deng sang gsungs rabs [= rab] la grags pa'i ming phal che ba mams yin no || bkas bcad gnyis po [= pa?] de ni mnga' dag khri ral pa can yan chad du ka cog zhang gsum la sogs pas byas pa yin no ||*.

are all those pairs [of examples of revised and unrevised terms and orthographies] mentioned herein,⁶⁵ along with most of the terms that are known nowadays in the scriptures/treatises [in translation]. The second royal decree (*bkas bcad gnyis po [= pa]*)⁶⁶ was issued prior to [the reign of] King Khri ral pa can by [translators] such as the triad of Ka/sKa [ba dPal brtsegs], Cog [ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan], and Zhang [Ye shes sde].

This passage, too, has been reproduced almost verbatim by sKyogs ston.⁶⁷ sKyogs ston himself explicitly refers to its subject as the “middle royal decree” (*bkas bcad bar pa*). Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las takes some pains in sorting out problems regarding the date and also the content of the second decree (but for some reason fails to explain the third decree). Regarding the date, he states that the second decree was issued during the time of Khri lDe srong btsan and not, as commonly presented by Tibetan sources, during the reign of his son Khri Ral pa can. Dung dkar goes on to state:⁶⁸

⁶⁵ For examples of pairs of archaic and corresponding new (revised) words that sKyogs ston provides and which serve as examples of terms and orthographies according to both the first and second royal decrees, see the *Li shi'i gur khang Z*, 1a3–2b3.

⁶⁶ Accepting *bkas bcad gnyis po* as a correct reading, and thus understanding it to mean “the two royal decrees,” would pose problems. The temporal range of the first royal decree has already been mentioned in the preceding passage, so that it makes no sense to talk of the two royal decrees in the same breath. Hence I propose that we either emend the reading *bkas bcad gnyis po* to *bkas bcad gnyis pa* (“the second royal decree”) or that we assume here an atypical use of the particle *po* as a nominalizer and thus interpret *bkas bcad gnyis po* likewise as “the second royal decree.”

⁶⁷ sKyogs ston, *Li shi'i gur khang Z*, 2b3–4: *gnyis pa skad gsar bcad la ni de dag gi zlas drangs pa ji skad bshad pa rnam dang | gzhan yang gsungs rab la grags pa'i ming phal che ba rnam so || bkas bcad gnyis po [= pa?] de ni mnga' dag khri ral pa [ba A] can yan chad du skad cog zhang gsum la sogs pas mdzad pa yin no ||*.

⁶⁸ *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* (s.v. *skad gsar bcad*): *bkas bcad gnyis pa ni «sgra sbyor bam gnyis» su gsal ba'i brda gsar mying gi bkas bcad mdzad pa de yin cing | bod yig gi los rgyus phal che ba'i nang bkas bcad gnyis pa 'di btsan po khri ral pa can gyi dus su mdzad pa yin tshul geig gyur lta bu gsal ba 'di ni ma dag rgyun 'byams shig byung 'dug kyang | sa skya'i rje btsun grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa'i «bod kyi rgyal rabs» sde dge par ma'i shog grangs 199 par khri srong lde btsan gyi sku ring la dam pa'i chos dar shing rgyas par mdzad | khri lde srong btsan gyi ring la skad gsar bcad kyi gtan la phab ces gsal ba ma zad | «rgya bod yig tshang» lcags dpar ma'i shog grangs 199 nas 200 bar khri lde srong btsan gyi mdzad pa'i skabs su yang gong dang mtshungs par gsal ba de «sgra sbyor bam gnyis» kyi brjod don yongs su mthun zhing | khri lde srong btsan dang khri ral pa can gnyis yab sras kyi 'brel ba yin par «dbon zhang mthun 'brel rdo ring» gyi shar ngos bod yig star phreng sum cu so bzhi par | btsan po yab 'phrul khri srong lde btsan gyi zhal snga nas zhes*

The second royal decree is the decree regarding old and new terms [standardized for translation and transmission], as made clear in the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis*. That the second royal decree was issued during the time of bTsan po Khri Ral pa can—[a position] which appears almost unanimously in most Tibetan-language accounts—is an inaccuracy that has proliferated. It is evident not only [from what is written] on page 199 of the sDe dge [xylographic] edition of the *Bod kyi rgyal rabs*, composed by Sa skya'i rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan, that during the time of Khri Srong lde btsan Buddhist teachings flourished and spread, and during the time of Khri lDe srong btsan [translated teachings/scriptures] were established through new decrees regarding terminology/orthography; accounts similar to the above are also evident on pages 199–200 of the typeset edition of the *rGya bod yig tshang* [by sTag tshang po dPal 'byor bzang po], in a context [discussing] the activities of Khri lDe srong btsan. [All] this is in accord with the content of the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis*. And that Khri lDe srong btsan and Khri Ral pa can had a father–son relationship is evident in the 34th line of the Tibetan text on the eastern side of the *dBon zhang mthun 'brel rdo ring*, where it is clearly stated: “[as decreed by my] father Emanated Emperor Khri Srong lde btsan.” Thus a clarification that [the name] bTsan po Khri lde srong btsan occurring at the beginning of the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis* is [a reference to] the father of Khri Ral pa can, and that the second decree was issued during his time, [already] exists. Regarding the year and period of issuing the royal decree: If one accepts the claim that bTsan po Khri lDe srong btsan reigned from the Earth Tiger [year] (798) to the fire Bird [year] (817), then in the Wood Horse year (814), which is the second of the two Horse years that occur during this period, bTsan po Khri lDe srong btsan resided in the 'On cang rdo palace. During this time, the Emperor authorized five Indian scholars—the preceptor Jinamitra and others—and Tibetan [individuals]—Ratnarakṣita, Dharmatāṣila, Lo tsā ba Ye shes sde, Brang ti Jayarakṣita, dBas Mañjuśrīvarman, Ratnendrasīla and others—to congregate there.

gsal bar 'khod yod pas | «sgra sbyor bam gnyis» kyi 'gor gsal ba'i btsan po khri lde srong btsan ni khri ral pa can gyi yab yin pa dang | khong gi dus su bkas bcad gnyis pa mdzad pa yin par gsal bshad byung yod | bkas bcad 'di mdzad pa'i lo dus ni btsan po khri lde srong btsan gyis sa stag (798) lo nas me bya (817) lo'i bar du srid dbang bzung ba'i bzhed pa ltar byas na de'i ring la rta lo snga rjes gnyis byung ba'i rjes ma shing rta (814) lor btsan po khri lde srong btsan pho brang 'on cang rdo na bzhugs pa'i dus skabs der rgya gar gyi mkhan po dzi na mi tra sogs paṅ ḍi ta lnga dang bod kyi ratna rak kṣi ta dang | dharmatā shi [= shī] la | lo tsā ba zhang ye shes sde dang | brang ti dza ya ra kṣi ta | dbas many-dzu shri [= shrī] warma | ratanedre [= ratnendra] shī la la sogs pa gdan 'dzoms pa rnam la btsan pos bka' phab pa ltar yig bsgyur gyi rtsa don chen po gsum | yig sgyur gyi thabs gtso bo bzhi | yig sgyur skabs do snang bya dgos pa brgyad bcas kyi rtsa 'dzin 'don pa gnang thog | btsan po dang | blon chen bran ka dpal gyi yon tan | bande chen po nyang ting 'dzin bzang po sogs blon po gtso che ba thams cad 'tshogs pa'i sar snyan zhu phul ba ltar bkas bcad mdzad pa yin cing | 'di ni bod kyi lo rgyus thog yig sgyur gyi nyams myong phun sum tshogs pa rnam phyogs bsdoms byas te gtan la phab pa'i las don rlabs chen zhig yin cing | zhib par «sde dge bstan 'gyur» sna tshogs sde tshan gyi pod [co] par bzhugs pa'i «sgra sbyor bam gnyis» dang gsham gsal yig sgyur skor gyi ming dang tshig gi 'grel pa khang la gzigs |

Accordingly, [they] proposed a set of principal rules, namely, “main principles of translation” (*bsgyur gyi rtsa don chen po gsum*), “four major methods of translating texts” (*yig sgyur gyi thabs gtso bo bzhi*), and “eight points that one should pay attention to while translating texts” (*yig sgyur skabs do snang bya dgos pa brgyad*).⁶⁹ This was then submitted to a committee consisting of the Emperor, Prime Minister Bran ka dPal gyi yon tan, and such key ministers as Grand Monk Nyang Ting 'dzin bzang po. Accordingly, the decree was issued. This was a highly significant activity towards standardization in Tibetan history, which brought together all the best experience in translation [gathered up till then]. For details, see the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis* found in the volume “Co” of the “Miscellaneous Section” of the *sDe dge bstan 'gyur* and the commentaries on words and terms pertinent to translation found in the latter part [of it].

Other Tibetan sources provide similar accounts with varying details.⁷⁰ Rig ral states the following with regard to the third royal decree (*bkas bcad gsum pa*):⁷¹

The third royal decree (*bkas bcad gsum pa*) was implemented beginning from the translator Rin chen bzang po during the time of lHa ma Ye shes 'od until my own master, Chag lo tsā ba dGe slong Chos rje dpal.

In this particular case, sKyogs ston does not reproduce the passage verbatim but rather updates the information to conform to his person and age.⁷²

The third royal decree (*bkas bcad gsum pa*) came [about] beginning with the translator Lo tsā ba chen po Rin chen bzang po during the time of lHa

⁶⁹ This way of analyzing the principles and methods of translation, as found in the *Madhyavyutpatti*, seems to have become standard among Tibetan scholars of that era. See also dBang 'dus tshe ring and 'Phrin las rgya mtsho, *sGra sgyur lo rgyus* 71.12–74.10.

⁷⁰ bsTan go (ed.), *Sher rgan 'bel gtam* 18.16–19.3: *bkas bcad thengs gnyis pa ni btsan po khri ral ba can gyi dus su lo tsā pa [= ba] skad [= ska] cog zhang gsum sogs kyis sngar gyi 'gyur rnams la dag bcos dang | skad gsar bcad kyis gtan la phab ste bye brag rtogs byed che 'bring chung gsum mdzad par bshad |*.

⁷¹ Rig ral, *sMra rgyan me tog* 368.2–3: *bkas bcad gsum pa ni lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyi dus kyi sgra bsgyur rin chen bzang po nas bzung ste kho bo'i bla ma chag lo tsa [= tsā] ba dge slong chos rje dpal man chad kyis byas pa yin no ||*.

⁷² sKyogs ston, *Li shi'i gur khang Z*, 2b4–5): *bkas bcad gsum pa ni lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyi dus kyi sgra sgyur lo tsā ba chen po rin chen bzang po nas dpang lo tsā ba chen po dang snyigs dus kyi skad gnyis smra ba gcig pu pa lo chen dharma pā la bha dra'i bar du byon pa rnams yin la |*; cf. bsTan go (ed.), *Sher rgan 'bel gtam* 19.8–12: *bkas bcad gsum pa ni mnga' ris gu ge rgyal po lha bla ma byang chub 'od kyi ring la lo tsā pa [= ba] rin chen bzang pos gtso mdzad nas snga 'gyur nang gi brda rnying pa rnams skad gsar ba dang bstun nas dag bcos byas te gtan la phab pa de la zer ba yin no ||*.

bla ma Ye shes 'od and extending up to dPang lo tsā ba chen po [Blo gros brtan pa] and Lo chen Dharmabhadra [Chos skyong bzang po], the only bilingual [translator] in the Age of Degeneration (or Strife).

In the *Shes rab rgan po'i 'bel gtam*, a collection of one hundred questions and answers regarding all kinds of topics, one question (no. 8) concerns the three royal decrees under consideration.⁷³ The question posed is: During the reigns of which Tibetan kings were the three royal decrees issued? The answer given by the previously mentioned Tibetan scholar Sangs rgyas provides, like all the rest of the answers, no sources, but is nonetheless worth mentioning. That the three royal decrees in question concern terminological and orthographical revision, leading to the standardization or harmonization of translated literature, is made clear by Sangs rgyas.⁷⁴ These decrees were obviously felt necessary owing to the terminological-orthographical disparity caused by various regionalisms (i.e., synchronic variations) and archaisms (i.e., diachronic variations). Sangs rgyas is also aware of the various opinions on when these three royal decrees were issued.⁷⁵ By way of summary, it seems worthwhile to read Rig ral's account of the *bka' bcad gsum* together with Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho's (1523–1596). The latter seems to be based on the former.⁷⁶

7. The Fourth Set of Referents

The fourth set of referents of the term *bka' bcad gsum* is the one proposed by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, whose position certainly

⁷³ bsTan go (ed.), *Sher rgan 'bel gtam* 18.1–19.13.

⁷⁴ bsTan go (ed.), *Sher rgan 'bel gtam* 18.1–6: *bod kyi bkas bcad thengs gsum zhes pa ni bod kyi dus rabs so so'i lo tsā pa [= ba] rnams nas skad yig gcig mthun yong ched yul tha dad pa'i ming du ma'am brda rnying pa rnams skad gsar ba dang bstun nas bzo bcos byas rjes rgyal pos de ltar bka' yis thag bcad de khyab bsgrags thengs gsum byas pa de ba zer ba yin te |.*

⁷⁵ bsTan go (ed.), *Sher rgan 'bel gtam* 18.8–10: *de yang bkas bcad gang zhig rgyal po gang gi ring la byas tshul gyi thad du bzhed pa du ma yod kyang...|.*

⁷⁶ Mang thos, *bsTan rtsis nyin byed* 55.13–56.12: *chos bsgyur ba'i bod kyi skad la yang | deng sang bod du grags pa'i ming || bkas bcad yul skad 'phral skad gsum || skad bcad la yang dang po dang || bar dang tha ma gsum mi mthun || zhes pa ltar | chos bsgyur ba'i bod kad la | bkas bcad mam pa gsum byung ba'i | bkas bcad dang po rgyal po khri srong lde btsan yan chad nas | srong btsan sgam po man chad kyi bar la | lo tsā ba thon mi nas | bai ro tsa na'i bar gyi lo tsā bas chos bsgyur ba rnams te | de yang lung sde bzhi dang | phal po che dang | dkon rtsigs [= brtsegs] sogs dang | sher phyin mdo kha cig sogs |*

deserves separate treatment, not only because it is the outcome of a meticulous philological-historical study but also because of its very plausibility and its potential to resolve a number of unsettled issues regarding the chronology. To summarize her study, Scherrer-Schaub takes seriously the references in Tibetan sources to *bkas bcad gsum* in the sense of *skad gsar bcad*. She has not individually discussed the first and third sets of referents presented above, so that her position, though radically different from any known Tibetan position, is clearly connected with the second set of referents, namely, the *Vyutpatti* Trilogy, and particularly the *Madhyavyutpatti*. Most importantly, the three royal decrees are identified by her as follows: (a) the earliest and first *bkas bcad* of (approximately) 763, issued after the first arrival of Śāntarakṣita or thereafter,⁷⁷ (b) the second or middle *bkas bcad* of 783/795, issued during the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan (r. 755–794?), and (c) the third or last *bkas bcad* of 814, issued during the reign of Khri lDe srong btsan alias Sad na legs (r. 800–815).

The gist of the position here seems to be that there were translation activities targeting Buddhist scriptures such as the *Ratnameghasūtra* and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* prior to 763, that is, beginning from Srong btsan sgam po, 'Dus srong mang rje (r. 676–704), and Khri lDe gtsug brtan/btsan (712–755). In 763 or a little thereafter, a kind of “unspecified,” “less formal,” or “informal” royal decree was issued that “stipulated the normative principles fixed on the occasion of translating (retranslating and revising) the *Ratnamegha* and the *Laṅkāvatāra*, having led to lists

skad gsar bcad kyis gtan la phab pa mams so || rgyal po khri srong lde btsan gyi dus | blo rno ba'i mchog khams pa go chas sher phyin stong phrag brgya pa thugs la bzung nas bsgyur ba'i 'bum thugs 'gyur du grags pa dang | de rje nyang indra sū rtsi (?) sbas manydzu shri gnyis kyis rgya dpe spyen drangs nas bsgyur ba'i rtsa 'bum du grags pa sogs kyang bkas bcad dang po'o || bkas bcad gnyis pa ni | nga' bdag nyang ral gyi dus | log tsā ba ka cog zhang gsum sogs kyis skad gsar bcad kyis gtan pa phab te ste bsgyur ba ba 'phags pa brgya stong pa sogs mang dag yod de | khri srong lde btsan nas nyang ral gyi bar bshad sgrub kyī bstan pa'am | mdo sngags kyī bstan pa ches mchog tu dar bas | de dus kyī bstan pa 'dra ba 'phags yul du yang ma byung ba 'dra la zhes a ti sha gsungs zhes pa yang deb sngon na bris 'dug | bkas bcad gsum pa ni | lo chen rin bzang man chad | bstan pa phyi dar la byung ba yin te 'og nas 'chad do ||.

⁷⁷ See Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 315. Here the name of the Tibetan emperor during whose reign the first *bkas bcad* is said to have been issued is given as Khri lDe srong btsan. Unless I have overlooked or misunderstood something, this seems to be a mistake.

of words, that are possibly merged in the larger repertory (*Mahāvvyutpatti*) at hand today.”⁷⁸ This short list of words may have well been the *Svalpavyutpatti*, which came to be known as the “minor royal decree” (*bkas bcad chung ngu*) and eventually was merged into the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, leading to the loss of its separate identity and the belief that it had disappeared. The *Madhyavyutpatti* as we know it in the form transmitted in the *bsTan ’gyur* has been regarded by the Tibetan tradition as the “medium royal decree” (*bkas bcad ’bring ba*). According to Scherrer-Schaub, if I understand her correctly, the (prototypical) *Madhyavyutpatti* was composed in 783, and this can be identified with the “middle” or “second” royal decree. The *Madhyavyutpatti* that we know today, however, contains not only the middle or second royal decree but also a (judicial) document of the third (or last) royal decree, issued in 814.

8. Conclusion

A modest attempt has been made in this article to probe the identity of what are known in Tibetan sources as the three royal decrees (*bka’ bcad gsum*). I discussed four possible referents of the expression. While the four different sets of referents may somehow, and to some degree, overlap, the first set of referents concerns a set of laws which decreed that (a) only the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya tradition should be introduced in Tibet (which perhaps also implies that only Sarvāstivāda Vinaya texts should be translated into Tibetan); (b) the translation of the Yoginī Tantric scriptures should be prohibited (but also perhaps restricted and regulated), and (c) the Tibetan units of weights and measures should be brought in line with the Indian units (perhaps as found in Indian source texts, and perhaps for the sake of accurately rendering them into Tibetan). The second set of three referents comprises the Vyutpattic Trilogy, namely, the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, *Madhyavyutpatti*, and *Svalpavyutpatti*. We have seen two positions on the hitherto unknown identity of the *Svalpavyutpatti*, namely, one according to which it is presumably the *Chos kyi rnam grangs* and its basic text by sKa ba dPal brstegs, and another according to which it was a kind of a miniature version of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* compiled

⁷⁸ Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 315.

(presumably based on an earlier prototype) in 763 and eventually merged into the *Mahāvvyutpatti* that we know today. The third set of referents concerns the three phases of “terminological-orthographical reforms” (*skad gsar bcad*), which actually coincide with the three phases of the revision and standardization of Tibetan terminology and orthography, namely, two phases during the earlier period of dissemination (*snga dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet and one phase during the later period of dissemination (*phyi dar*). This classification or periodization of the *bka' bcad gsum* seems to have been proposed for the first time by Rig ral, which then became popular principally through sKyogs ston's *Li shi'i gur khang*. The fourth set of referents of the expression *bka' bcad gsum*, to follow the conclusions of Scherrer-Schaub's investigation, would comprise (a) the earliest or first *bka' bcad* of 763, (b) the middle or second *bka' bcad* of 783/795, and (c) the third or last *bka' bcad* of 814, which do not neatly coincide with the *Vyutpatti* Trilogy but are nonetheless contained therein. Accordingly, the *Svalpavyutpatti*, though no longer recognizable as such, is not lost, as hitherto assumed by the Tibetan tradition.

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