

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS

PART I & II

Published on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti

1978

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GIUSEPPE TUCCI

MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS

PART I & II.

Asaṅga's commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* edited and translated -
Analysis of the commentary on it by Vasubandhu - *Mahāyāna -*
viṃśikā of Nāgārjuna - *Navāśloki* of Kambalapāda - *Catuhṣta -*
vasamāsārtha of Amṛtākara - *Hetutattvopadeśa* of Jitāri -
Tarkasopāna of Vidyākaraśānti - With an Appendix containing
the Gilgit Text of the *Vajracchedikā*, edited by N. P. CHAKRAVARTI

FIRST BHĀVANĀKRAMA OF KAMALASILA
Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with Introduction
and English Summary

1978

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SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

IX

1435
AN ORIENTAL SOCIETY
ISCHE MORGENLÄNDISCHE
LSCHAFT, E.V., W. GERMANY)

*Originally publ. by Is. M. E. O.
Roma 1956 & 1958.*

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MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS

Part I and II

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (pt. 1)

- AA and AAA* = *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and *Ālokā*, ed. G. TUCCI, Gaekwad's Or. Series, n. 62, Baroda 1932.
- AK.* = *Abhidharmakośa* (*L'Abhidharmakośa*, traduit et annoté par L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, 6 voll., Paris 1923-1931).
- Blue Annals* = by G. ROERICH, Calcutta 1949-1953.
- Bagchi* = P. C. BAGCHI, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, 2 voll. (*Sino-Indica*, nn. I, IV), Paris 1927-1938.
- Bobhu.* = *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, ed. by U. WOGIHARA, Tokyo 1930.
- Buston* = *History of Buddhism by Būston*, transl. by O. OBERMILLER (*Materialen zur Kunde des Buddh.* N. 18, Heidelberg 1931).
- Cordier, Cat.* = P. CORDIER, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1915.
- D.* = *sDe dge* edition of the *bsTan agyur*.
- Dbh.* = *Daśabhūmika et Bodhisattvabhūmi* ed. J. RAHDER, Louvain 1926.
- IHQ* = *Indian Historical Quarterly*.
- Km.* = *Kamalaśīla*.
- JBORS* = *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.
- JRAS* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- Laṅk.* = *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, ed. B. NANJĪŌ, Kyōto 1923.
- LAMOTTE, La Somme* = *La somme du grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga*, par É. LAMOTTE, Bibliothèque du Muséon, VII, 2 voll., Louvain 1938-39.
- LAMOTTE, Grande Sagesse* = *Le traité de la grande Vertue de Sagesse, de Nāgārjuna*. par É. LAMOTTE, Bibliothèque du Muséon, Vol. XVIII, 2 voll., Louvain 1944-49.
- MCB* = *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*.
- Mdh.V.* = *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā*, ed. by S. YAMAGUCHI, Nagoya 1934, 2 voll.
- MS.* = *Mīmāṃsāsūtra, Mīmāṃsādarśana*, with the Com. of Śa b a r a S w a m i ed. by RATNA GOPAL BHATTA, Banaras 1910. Kashi Sanskrit Series, n. 42.
- MSA.* = *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, ed. S. LÉVI, BÉHÉ, n. 159, Paris 1907.
- MV.* = *Mahāvvyutpatti*, ed. SAKAKI RYŌZABURŌ, Kyōto 1916-25.
- N.* = *sNar t'añ* edition of *bKa' agyur* and *bsTan agyur*.
- NB.* = *Nyāyabindu* | ed. by TH. I. STCHERBATSKY, Leningrad,
- NBT.* = *Nvāyabinduṭīkā* | Bibl. Buddhica.
- Nj.* = *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* by BUNYU NANJĪŌ, Oxford 1883.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- NMu.** = *Nyāyamukha of Dinnāga*, by G. TUCCI (Materialen zur Kunde des Buddhismus, N. 15, Heidelberg 1930).
- NP.** = *Nyāyapraveśa*, Sansk. text with Com., ed. by A. B. DHRUVA, Gaekwad's Or. Series n. 37, Baroda 1930.
- NS.** = *Nyāyasūtras*.
- NV.** = *Nyāyavārttika* by UDYOTAKARA, ed. Vindhyeśvarīprasāda Dvivedin, Kāshi Sanskrit Series 1926.
- PP.** = *Prajñāpāramitā*.
- PPp.** = *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha* ed. G. TUCCI, *JRAS*, 1947, p. 534.
- PS.** = *Pramāṇasamuccaya* ed. and restored into Sanskrit by H. R. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR, Mysore Univ. Publ., Mysore, 1930.
- PV.** = Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* with a com. of Manorathanandin ed. by Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana. Appendix to *JBORS.*, vol. XXIV-XXVI, 1938-1940.
- RG.** = *Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottarāntarāśāstra*, ed. by E. H. JOHNSTON, *JBORS*, XXXVI, Part I, 1950.
- SN.** = *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra*, texte Tibétain ed. et tr. par É. LAMOTTE. Université de Louvain, Louvain 1935.
- ŚS.** = *Śikṣāsamuccaya* ed. by C. BENDALL, *Bibl. Buddhica*, n. I, St. Petersburg 1902.
- SV.** = *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila ed. by Rāmasāstri, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, n. 3, Banaras 1898.
- Siddhi** = *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, *La Siddhi de Hiuan tsang* tr. et ann. par L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, 2 voll. Paris, 1928.
- T.** = Tibetan.
- Ta.** = *Taishō Issaikyō* ed. J. TAKAKUSU, K. WATANABE.
- TB.** = *Tarkabhāṣā* ed. by E. KRISHNAMACHARYA, Gaekwad's Or. Series, n. 94, Baroda.
- TPS** = G. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Roma 1949.
- TS.** = *Tattvasamgraha* of Śāntirakṣita with the Com. of Kamalaśīla, ed. by E. KRISHNAMACHARYA. Gaekwad's Or. Series, nn. 30-31, 2 voll., Baroda 1926.
- Tōhoku Cat.** = *A complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. by H. UI, M. SUZUKI, Y. KANAKURA, T. TADA, Tōhoku Imperial University, Sendai 1934.
- V.** = *Vajracchedikā*, ed. M. MÜLLER (An. Ox. Aryan Series), vol. I, Part. I, Oxford 1881.
- ZII** = *Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik*.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (pt. II)

(In addition to those indicated in Part I)

- B** = Buston, C'os ṅbyuñ in gSuñ ṅbum, vol. ya.
BEFEO = *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.*
Bhk = Bhāvanākrama.
B. Ob. = BUSTON, transl. by E. OBERMILLER, *History of Buddhism by Buston*, Heidelberg, 1932.
BZ = sBa bžed, *Old Tibetan Chronicles*, Ms.
Concile = P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Le concile de Lhasa*. Bibl. Institut des Hautes Études chinoises. Vol. VII, Paris, 1952.
DM = Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma, Ms.
Ferrari = Arthaviniścaya. Roma, Reale Accademia d'Italia. Mem. cl. Scienze Morali e Storiche, 7 : 4. Roma, 1944, pp. 535-625.
GR = rGyal rabs gsal bai me loñ, sDe dge ed.
D = sDe dge edition of bKa' ṅgyur and bsTan ṅgyur.
GT = Grub mt'a' šel gyi me loñ, sDe dge ed.
JA = *Journal Asiatique.*
JASB = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
KT = bKa' t'añ sde lña, Potala edition.
LALOU, Inventaire = M. LALOU, *Inventaire des Ms. Tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, Paris, 1939.
LAUFER, Der Roman = B. LAUFER, *Der Roman einer Tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig, 1911.
N = Ñor chronicles.
NGB = rÑiñ ma rgyud ṅbum, sDe dge edition.
PK = Pad ma dkar po, C'os ṅbyuñ, Punaka ed.
Preliminary Report = G. TUCCI, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*. Roma, Serie Orientale Roma - n. X, 1.
PT = dPao gtsug p'reñ ba, C'os ṅbyuñ.
PTY = Pad ma t'añ yig.
SP = Sum pa mk'an po: dPag bsam ljoñ bzañ ed. by S. Ch. Das, Calcutta, 1908.
TH = J. BACOT, F. W. THOMAS, CH. TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris, 1940.
TLT = F. W. THOMAS, *Tibetan literary texts and documents*, Parts I-III, London, RAS, 1935-1955.
TOUSSAINT = G. CH. TOUSSAINT, *Le dict de Padma*, Paris, 1933.
TTK = G. TUCCI, *The tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Roma, 1950.
Validity = G. TUCCI, *Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition in India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, p. 359.
VDL = *Chronicles of the 5th Dalai Lama.*

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P R E F A C E (pt. I)

During my travels in Tibet and Nepal I came across many manuscripts of Sanskrit works which are, to my knowledge, so far unedited.

I could acquire the originals of some of them; of others I took photos, of some I had copies made.

The works which I so collected are chiefly Buddhist. It is my purpose to edit them in this series or to have them edited by my pupils. Though the works are not all of equal importance they will certainly contribute to a better knowledge of Buddhist thought.

To some colleagues who have assisted me with their suggestions I wish to acknowledge my gratitude: to Prof. Edward Conze the best authority on the intricacies of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, to Prof. P. Demiéville who has been so kind as to read the introduction to the *Saptasaptati*. Prof. V. V. Gokhale went through the proofs of the book and proposed some additions and corrections; Muni Jambuvijaya, a great authority on Nyāya, made me many suggestions concerning the two logical treatises here published. Both gave me the valuable assistance of their experience and learning. My thanks are also due to Dr. R. Gnoli whose familiarity with Indian palaeography greatly spared my eyes. For editorial reasons the book has been divided into two parts: the second part will be published very soon, being already in the press; it contains, besides other texts, the *Bhāvanākrama* (1st) of Kamalaśīla and the indexes.

G. TUCCI

P R E F A C E (pt. II)

The introduction to the second part of *Minor Buddhist Texts* went far beyond the limits which I had anticipated and I was therefore compelled to include in this part only the *Bhāvanākrama*. The *Ratnagotra-upadeśa* of *Sajjanapāda* I sent for publication to my friend V. V. Gokhale who has devoted a great part of his time to the study of the *Ratnagotra*.

Part III will contain the *Vyākhyā* of *Vimuktisena*, a famous commentary on the *Abhisamayālamkāra* superseded by that of *Haribhadra* but of great importance for the history of the exegesis of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Then the *Mahāyāna-samuccaya-kārikā* of *Samghatrāta* will follow. The indices will be published when the series is concluded. To their compilation Dr. P. Daffinà is attending.

I conclude these introductory remarks by thanking with deserved gratitude my *kalyāṇamitras*: Prof. V. V. Gokhale and Muni Jambuvijaya who went through the proofs of *Bhāvanākrama*, Prof. P. Demiéville and Mr. H. E. Richardson who were so kind as to read the introduction. To their *pāṇḍitya* I owe many valuable suggestions and corrections. Some doubts or objections they raised prompted me to write a few *addenda* meant to clarify my point of view. For which I am most grateful to them taking upon myself all the *doṣas* which might have remained.

G. TUCCI.

Saidu Sherif (Swat) 25-IX-57

SECTION I

THE
TRISATIKĀYĀḤ PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀYĀḤ
KĀRIKĀSAPTATIḤ

BY

ASAṄGA

INTRODUCTION

In the Ānor monastery (on which see *TPS.*, p. 205) I found a small palm-leaf manuscript of Nepalese origin and script of only three pages. The second and the third page, especially the second, seem to have been eaten up by worms on the right side, so that the contents of the book are fragmentary. The booklet ends with the following colophon: *Trisatikāyāḥ prajñāpāramitāyāḥ kārikāsaptatiḥ samāptā kṛtir iyam āryāsaṅgapādānām iti.*

So we are confronted with one of the minor commentaries upon the *Prajñāpāramitā* (Cf. *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha* by Diñnāga, ed. by me in *JRAS*, 1947, p. 53 ff. ¹⁾). The importance of the ms. consists in the fact that it preserves another work by one of the most active and rightly famous mahāyāna writers to whom not only Buddhist but generally Indian speculation is greatly indebted. But the contents of these metrical summaries of the *sūtra* are very difficult to understand without the help of some commentaries. Moreover, in this case, the fragmentary condition of the ms. required the comparison with a Tibetan or a Chinese version.

No title similar to that which appears in the colophon can be found in the indices either of the Ch. Canon or of the *bsTan aḡyur*. But in the Ch. Canon, under the title *Neng tuan chin kang pan jo po lo mi to*

¹⁾ In another ms. (the same which contains the *Mahāyānaviṃśikā*) the work is called *Pāramitārthasaṃkṣepa*; cf. p. 200.

ching lun sung, Nj. 1208, Taishō 1514, 能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經論頌, restored hypothetically as *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra-śāstra-kārikā* (or *gāthā* Nj.) a metrical work by Asaṅga is preserved which, as it appears from the very title, is a commentary upon the *Vajracchedikā*¹⁾. The

1) Fundamental Literature on the *Vajracchedikā*:

MAX MÜLLER's edition in *Anecdota Oxoniensia. The Aryan Series. Vol. I. Part I*, Oxford 1881.

A. F. R. HOERNLE, *JRAS*, 1910, p. 834 ff., 1283 ff. and ID., *Manuscript remains of Buddhist Literature*, Vol. I, 1916, p. 176 and 214. (Khotanese: see there references to earlier literature).

E. LEUMANN, *Zur nordarischen Sprache u. Literatur*, p. 58 ff., p. 84 ff.

H. REICHEL, *Die Sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums. II Teil (Nachtrag)*, 1931, p. 71 ff. *Stzb. Berl. Ak. Wiss.* 1934, pp. 644-647.

The *Vajracchedikā* has been translated many times into Chinese: by Kumārajīva, *Hôbôgirin*, n. 235; by Bodhiruci, *ibid.* n. 236; by Paramārtha, *ibid.* n. 237; by Dharmagupta, *ibid.* n. 238; by Hsüan-tsang, *ibid.* n. 220-9; by I Ching, *ibid.* n. 239.

The Tibetan translation is included in the *bKa'ag yur*. BECK, *Verzeichnis der Tibet. Handschriften*, p. 10, n. 5. (*šer p'yin*, vol. 21). ĀTANI, *Cat.*, p. 223, n. 739. TÔHOKU, *Cat. (D)*, p. 5, n. 16. CSOMA KÖRÖSI, *Analysis of Sher Chin*, in *Asiatic Researches*, 1836; p. 395. The translators into Tibetan were Śilendrabodhi and Ye šes sde.

The Manchu version was edited by C. DE HARLEZ, *WZKM*, 1897, pp. 209-290; 331-356.

I. J. SCHMIDT, *Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences*, St. Petersburg. VI^{me} Série, 1840.

The work has been translated into English by MAX MÜLLER, *SBE*, vol. XLIX, Part II, p. 109 ff, W. GEMMELL, *Diamond Sūtra*, Shanghai 1912, A. F. PRICE, *The Diamond Sūtra*, The Buddhist Society, London 1947; into French by C. DE HARLEZ, *JA*, 1891, s. 8., t. XVIII, 440 ff., into German by M. WALLESE, *Die Vollkommenheit der Erkenntnis*, Göttingen u. Leipzig 1914.

T. MATSUMOTO TOKUMYŌ, *Die Prajñāpāramitā Literatur*, Stuttgart 1932.

M. LALOU, *La version Tibétaine des Prajñāpāramitā. JA*, CCXXV, 1929, p. 67.

T. AMAN, *Bonbun Nôdan Kongô Hannyaharamittagyô to Chibettoyaku Kanyaku no Taishô*, comparison of the Sanskrit Text of V. with its Tib. and Ch. translations. *Daijô*, VIII, n. 12.

On the contents of the PP. in general see E. OBERMILLER, *Analysis of the*

translator was I Ching. A comparison between the Skr. text and the Ch. translation showed in fact that they are one and the same treatise. So our ms. contains the original of the *kārikā* in which Asaṅga summarized and condensed in a logical and consequent way the abstruse teaching of the *Vajracchedikā*.

On the other hand, in the *bsTan ṅgyur* the booklet appeared to be missing, because no treatise of such a name as that of our ms. can be found among the works attributed to Asaṅga in that collection. But in vol. *ño* (Cordier, *Cat.*, vol. III, p. 495, n. 1) a metrical *śāstra* is contained “*Šes rab kyi p’a rol tu p’yin pa rdo rje gcod pa bšad pai bšad sbyar gyi ts’ig leu, Vajracchedikāyāḥ prajñāpāramitāyāḥ vyākhyānôpanibandhana – kārikā*”, which corresponds exactly to our text. No name either of the author or of the translator is given. Since the work is not included in the catalogue of the *bsTan ṅgyur* compiled by Bu ston (complete works, vol. La) we may conclude that it it was added to the *bsTan ṅgyur* after the time of that great Tibetan writer. I looked for it in D, but with no success.

Asaṅga and Vasubandhu made a special study of the *Vajracchedikā* which had the great advantage over the other *sūtras* of the same class of summarizing in a brief resumé the main contents of the *prajñā* – literature. In the Chinese Canon the following works by these two masters are preserved: *Chin kang pan jo lun*

Abhisamayālaṅkāra, Calcutta Oriental Series, n. 27, London 1933-1943, E. CONZE, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* Introduction and translation, Serie Orientale Roma, Roma 1954.

金剛般若論 (Ta. 1510), *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-śāstra* by Asaṅga, translated by Dharmagupta, in prose: then the *kārikās* by Asaṅga were commented upon by Vasubandhu in a *śāstra* which was translated twice into Chinese, viz. *Chin kang pan jo po lo mi ching lun* 金剛般若波羅蜜經論 (Nj. 1167, Ta. 1511) translated by Bodhiruci and *Chin kang pan jo po lo mi ching lun shih* (... 釋) translated by I Ching (Nj. 1231, Ta. 1513).

In Tibet we find a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* which is attributed, in the colophon, to Vasubandhu, *Tōhoku Cat.*, n. 3816: *a P'ags pa bcom ldan a das ma šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa rdo rje gcod pai don bdun gyi rgya c'er agrel pa, Āryabhagavatī-prajñāpāramitāvajracchedikāyāḥ sapta[pa]dārthaṭīkā*, which, as far as I know, is missing in N.

Are all these attributions to be accepted? In favour of the attribution of our metrical treatise to Asaṅga speaks the colophon of the manuscript as well as the translation of the *kārikās* by I Ching and the translation by the same author of the commentary on it written by Vasubandhu (Ta. 1513)¹⁾. The title of this work is in fact followed by the statement that the *kārikās* were written by Asaṅga and the commentary by Vasubandhu. But the translation of the same *śāstra* by Bodhiruci (Ta. 1511) does not contain any mention of Asaṅga and the treatise is said to be the work of Vasubandhu, without

¹⁾ Cf. H. U₁, *ZII*, vol. VI, 1928, p. 216.

distinguishing between the *kārikās* and the prose commentary on it. As to the catalogues, in the *K'ai yüan shih chiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Ta. 2154), p. 567 *b, c*, cf. p. 607 *b*, p. 689 *c*, p. 713 *b*, the *kārikās* are attributed to Asaṅga, but the commentary to Vasubandhu. (No mention of the author of the *śāstra* in the *Siu ku chin yi ching t'u chi* 續古今譯經圖紀 Ta. 2152, p. 370 *c*). In the *Ta T'ang nei t'ien lu* 大唐內典錄 (Ta. 2149, p. 269 *a*) no mention of the author is found¹⁾. In the *Ku chin yi ching t'u chi* 古今譯經圖紀 (Ta. 2151, p. 363 *c*) also no mention of the author. In the *K'ai yüan shih chiao lu*, (Ta. 2154, p. 541 *a*) the work is said to be of Vasubandhu (not of Asaṅga as in Bagchi p. 258). In the *Tun huang mss.* - Ta. 2740, p. 138 *b* - Vasubandhu is mentioned as the only commentator of the *Vajracchedikā*. On the other hand, Chih En 知恩 (Ta. 2736, p. 110 *b*) enumerating the translations made into Chinese of the *Vajracchedikā* and of its commentaries refers to the *śāstra* both by Vasubandhu and by Asaṅga. Have we to surmise that this silence on the author of the *kārikās* and the only mention of Vasubandhu in Bodhiruci's translation mean that according to Bodhiruci or his sources Vasubandhu composed both *kārikās* and *ṭikā*? That this was his opinion as well as that of some writers is evidenced by what we read in the *Chin kang hsien lun* 金剛仙論 (Ta. 1512), translated by the

1) In the *衆經目錄*, Ta. 2148, p. 185 *c*, the *Chin kang pan jo lun* in two chapters is attributed to 僧佉菩薩 (communication of Prof. Demiéville).

same Bodhiruci. In fact the compiler of the *Chin kang hsien lun* states openly that Vasubandhu was the author of the *kārikās*, *ibid.* p. 799 a.

The same statement is found at the end of the book (p. 874 c) in a passage which was made known for the first time by N. Péri, (*BEFEO*, XI, 1911, p. 343, cf. Takakusu, *The date of Vasubandhu, the Great Buddhist philosopher in Indian studies in honour of Charles Rockwell Lanmann*; H. Ui, *Maitreya as an historical personage*, *ibid.*, p. 99. Frauwallner, *On the date of the buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu*, Serie Orientale Roma, III, p. 42, Roma 1951).

In this passage it is stated that the interpretation of the *sūtra* started from Maitreya who transmitted it to Asaṅga.

“Maitreya, the world-honoured, feeling pity for the men of Jambudvīpa made the explanation of the meaning of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, and of the *Tich'ih lun* (地持論 *Bodhisattvabhūmi*) and he handed them over to the bhikṣu Asaṅga enjoining upon him to spread them. But Maitreya, the world-honoured, only made (作 Péri “n'avait expliqué que le commentaire en prose”) the prose¹⁾ explanation: the author (論主) Vasubandhu having learned it from Asaṅga, sought farther the significance of the *sūtra* and of the *śāstra*; then he again made a *śāstra* in verses widely proposing doubts and questions in order to explain this *sūtra*; in all there are eighty stanzas. Moreover he made an explanation of the *śāstra* in prose. Again he transmit-

¹⁾ 長行.

ted and taught this śāstra to the Chin kang hsien (Vajrarṣi) śāstrācārya and others. This Chin kang hsien transmitted it to Akṣayamati (Péri: Acayamati 無盡意). Again Akṣayamati transmitted it to Shêng chi 聖濟, Shêng chi transmitted it to Bodhiruci”.

This means that according to the author of the Chin kang hsien lun there were a prose explanation attributed to Maitreya and handed over by this master to Asaṅga, a commentary on the sūtra by Vasubandhu in eighty stanzas and then another commentary in prose by the same master upon these stanzas. The same idea, according to I Ching, was current in some quarters in India. On the other hand, the same I Ching is definite in stating that the author of the eighty kārīkāś was not Vasubandhu but Maitreya who handed them over to Asaṅga (Ta. 1817, p. 783 a, 略明般若末後一頌贊述, Liao ming pan jo mo hou i sung tsan shu; cf. also 金剛般若經贊述, Chin kang pan jo ching tsan shu, Ta. 1700, p. 124 a work by K'uei chi 窺基) and 金剛般若論會釋 Chin kang pan jo lun hui shih (Ta. 1816, p. 719 a), by the same author: Maitreya expounds the text to Asaṅga: Asaṅga transmits it to Vasubandhu¹).

Therefore, leaving aside the tradition according to which the author of the stanzas was Maitreya, as happens with many other works of this school of Buddhist thought (e.g. the Abhisamayālaṅkāra), it appears that the attribution of the kārīkāś to Vasubandhu, though not unknown in India, rests chiefly in China on the statement of the Chin kang hsien lun.

1) This last reference has been indicated to me by Prof. Demiéville.

This can be called a commentary on Ta. 1511 by a so-called pupil of Vasubandhu, whose name is said to have been Chin kang hsien, Vajrarṣi. But the style of the work seems to suggest that we are here confronted with a compilation written in China.

The numerous passages in which the Sanskrit words are transcribed and then rendered into Chinese with a discussion on the older transcription or translation of the original terms Bhagavān, Śrāvastī, Pāramitā etc. also point to this conclusion. The work itself is nothing but a commentary on the śāstra of Vasubandhu; as a matter of fact, first the author comments rather diffusely on the sūtra itself, then he refers to the śāstra of Vasubandhu; the passages of this śāstra are generally quoted and then a comment follows: the kārikās are also mentioned but rather cursorily, without entering into many details. A careful perusal of the book confirms the reader in the opinion that the author undertook to comment on the Vajracchedikā supporting his views with the work of Vasubandhu which he strictly follows and glosses. These facts, along with the references to the transmission of the book and the discussion, already alluded to, on Sanskrit terms rendered into Chinese show that the treatise has been compiled in China perhaps by Bodhiruci himself as an explanation both of the sūtrā and the śāstra of Vasubandhu¹⁾. That explains why in some quarters the authoritativeness of this work was questioned. In fact K'uei chi (Ta. 1700, p. 125), after having stated that in China were circulating three diffe-

1) Cf. J. TAKAKUSU, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-4. Cf. Quarterly Bull. of Chinese Bibliography, New Series, II/4, Peking 1940. P. DEMIÉVILLE, *BEFEO*, XLIV, p. 387, n. 3.

rent commentaries of the *Vajracchedikā*, viz. that of Vasubandhu in two or three *pen*, that of Asaṅga in one or two *pen* and that of Chin kang hsien, adds regarding this last work: “but it is said that he was a man of Wu in the South and that (his teaching) is not the true holy teaching”.

But then we are confronted with another difficulty; how many were the verses of the *kārikās*? In the commentary of Vasubandhu we find eighty stanzas instead of the seventyseven of our ms. and of the translation of the same by I Ching. The author of the *Chin kang hsien lun*, in the opinion that *kārikās* and comment are an inseparable whole, states that Vasubandhu composed 80 stanzas, two being the introduction, one the conclusion and 77 the bulk of the work (Ta. 1512, p. 803 c).

The same statement is also found in the small treatise of I Ching already referred to (Ta. 1817, p. 11).

It is not easy to explain this last statement of I Ching since in his separate translation of the *kārikās* (Ta. 1514), these are exactly 77 as in our ms. And that it should be so is confirmed by the fact that in the commentary by Vasubandhu, as distinct from the 77 *kārikās* constituting the metrical text, the first two stanzas and the last one have no comment at all. This therefore proves that they are part of the comment, being respectively the *triśaraṇa* or *maṅgalācaraṇa* and the concluding stanza. The contradiction between the treatise of I Ching on the last *gāthā* of the *Vajracchedikā* (Ta. 1817) and the translation of the *kārikās* can only be explained as a *lapsus* to which the author was led by not separating the introductory and conclud-

ing stanzas of the commentary from the real metrical work.

Therefore in spite of the contrary statement of the *Chin kang hsien lun* and of the booklet of *I Ching* on the last stanza of the *Vajracchedikā* it seems that we must conclude:

1. that the *kārikās* on the *Vajracchedikā* are the work of *Asaṅga*¹⁾ and not of *Vasubandhu* just as it is confirmed by the colophon of our mss. and by the translations of *I Ching*, both of the *kārikās* and of the commentary on them;

2. that the *kārikās* of this small treatise are really seventyseven and not eighty.

Now what about the other two prose commentaries, the one attributed to *Asaṅga* by the Chinese sources and the other which the Tibetans *lotsāvas* want us to accept as a work of *Vasubandhu*? In other words is this commentary preserved in the *bsTan ṅgyur* the same as that attributed to him in the Chinese canon, viz. the commentary on the *kārikās* by *Asaṅga*, or is it an independent work? First of all we must remember that the statement of *Nanjiō* viz. that *Nj. 1168* (the translation by *Bodhiruci* of the commentary by *Vasubandhu* on the *kārikās* of *Asaṅga*) is a commentary on *Nj. 1167* (the prose work upon the *Vajracchedikā* attributed in the Chinese indices to *Asaṅga* and by the Tibetans to *Vasubandhu*) is wrong. *Nj. 1168* and *1167* are two different

¹⁾ The question of the attribution of the *kārikās* to *Maitreya* would lead to the discussion whether *Maitreyanātha* was a historical personage or not. But this is not the scope of the present study. Moreover, it has been, to my mind, definitely settled by *P. DEMIÉVILLE* in his recent study on the *Yogācārabhūmi de Saṅgharakṣa* in *BEFEO*, Vol. XLIV, fasc. 2, p. 381, n. 4.

works, the first being the translation of the commentary on the *kārikās* and the second that of the independent treatise in prose said to be of Asaṅga.

The authors of the Tōhoku Cat., on the other hand, state that n. 3816, viz. the Tibetan translation of Vasubandhu's commentary, corresponds with the text attributed in the Chinese canon to Asaṅga. In order to be definite on this point, I compared the Chinese text with the Tibetan and I could, in fact, establish that the prose commentary by Asaṅga Ta. 1510 (Nj. 1167) completely agrees with the Tibetan prose text attributed to Vasubandhu: Tōhoku Cat., n. 3816.

So there is a discrepancy as regards the authorship of this work between the Chinese and the Tibetan traditions. Which are the Chinese sources concerning this attribution?

The *K'ai yüan shih chiao lu* Ta. 2154, p. 551 *b* refers for this attribution to Asaṅga to the *Ta T'ang nei t'ien lu* (Ta. 2149), (so also does the *Cheng yüan hsin ting shih chiao mu lu*, 貞元新定釋教目錄, Ta. 2157, p. 850 *a*) but in this work, at p. 280 *a*. no mention of the author is found. No indication either in *Ku chin yi ching t'u chi* (Ta. 2151, p. 366 *b*). The conclusion therefore to be drawn from the catalogues is that the attribution of this commentary to Asaṅga rests upon the statement of the *K'ai yüan shih chiao lu*. But 窺基 *K'uei chi* (born 632) in his *Chin kang pan jo ching tsan shu*, 金剛般若經贊述 (Ta. 1700, p. 125 *c*), quotes among the *śāstras*, commentaries on *Vajracchedikā* preserved in Chinese, besides that of Vasubandhu (the commentary on the *kārikās*), another by Asaṅga circulating in one or two books, which presu-

mably can only be this work with which we are concerned (also in two *chüan Ta. 1510 a*).

Against this statement there is a passage contained in the small treatise attributed to I Ching on the last stanza of the *Vajracchedikā* (*Ta. 1817, p. 783 a*) here it is said that Vasubandhu after having explained the *kārikās* of Maitreya-Asaṅga again made another explanation of the *prajñā* in which its seven topics were expounded. There is no doubt that the work here alluded to is the treatise *Ta. 1510 (Nj. 1167)* attributed by the current tradition to Asaṅga and called in Tibetan *Don bdun gyi rgya c'er aḡrel pa, Sapta padā rtha ṭīkā*; this corresponds to what we read in the Chinese translation of the same work: 七種義句, *Sapta padā rtha*. In the colophon of the Tibetan translation the work is said to be by Vasubandhu, *slob dpon dByig gñen, mDo, Ma, 203 b*. Then the colophon continues: "There remaining a little portion unfinished of this new translation made by the all-knowing *gZon nu dpal*, the fourth hierarch (*cod pan aḡds'in pa*) of the *Žva dmar* sect, *dPal c'os kyi grags pa ye šes dpal bzañ po* in order to fulfil the wish of that excellent master (*rje*), ordered that (that portion) should be translated. Therefore the *lotsāva* of *Ža lu*, *C'os skyon* of *aGos*, in the palace of *sNeu gdon rtse*, - a great meeting place of the two Laws, the religious and the civil, - translated it properly with the support of the powerful king, master of the Law, (*C'os kyi rje*), a king ruling according to the Law, (*C'os kyi rgyal po*) *dPal nag gi dbañ p'yug grags pa*, the all - victorious one. The clear commentary, (explaining) the meaning of the Mother of the Buddhas of the three times which possesses the name

of the Diamond, was arranged by that car of famous glory that was a second all-knowing (Buddha), Vasubandhu. It was translated by a Tibetan, equally supreme in learning and mystic realizations (m k ' a s g r u b) who had the name of gŽon nu dpal; on account of the merit acquired by completing this translation, may the intentions of that supreme leader be fulfilled. Again C'os skyoñ bzañ having found an Indian manuscript of the work and comparing the book with the analogous expressions in the commentary of Kamalaśīla, endeavoured to correct the irregular forms (t' sig p' rad, nipāta) and the disputed sentences or those somehow not perfectly translated". So it appears that the translation of this work was undertaken by the lotsava of aGos, gŽon nu dpal and that it was continued by C'os skyoñ bzañ po of Ža lu. These personages are well known; the first is the famous author of the D e b t ' e r s n o n p o , (finished in the year 1478) ¹⁾; the second is a grammarian who lived between 1441 and 1528 (TPS., p. 123). Equally the fourth Žva dmar, ninth in the list of Kloñ rdol (TPS., p. 682 i) ²⁾ is well known. As regards the prince who patronized the translation, Ņag dbañ p'yug grags pa, chieftain of Nethang (sNeu gdoñ) in Lokha on the southern bank of the Tsangpo, we know that he was born in the year 1439, that he was installed on the throne in the year 1481 and that he died in the year 1495. We must conclude that this translation is one of the latest ever made in Tibet. A comparison with the Chinese shows that it is extremely defective; in many places the san-

1) See translation by G. ROERICH, *The blue Annals*, Calcutta.

2) Cf. J. F. ROCK, *The ancient Na-khi kingdom of South-West China*, Cambridge, Mss., 1947, p. 201.

skrit original has been completely misunderstood; we also note that some pages in the manuscript used by the translator were probably misplaced. This work represents one of the few instances when the Chinese text adheres to the original more strictly than the Tibetan ¹⁾.

Now are we to believe the Chinese or the Tibetan tradition? Shall we, in other words, attribute this prose commentary to Asaṅga or to Vasubandhu? We saw that only one Chinese source states that the treatise was composed by Asaṅga on the authority of a catalogue which in fact does not confirm such an attribution. On the other hand the small treatise of I Ching on the last *gāthā* of the *Vajracchedikā* attributes as we saw (Ta. 1817, p. 783 a) to Vasubandhu the commentary on the seven topics of the *Prajñā* 般若七門義釋 which cannot be but the text here concerned ²⁾.

So, to conclude, it seems to me that most probably the work was not composed by Asaṅga but rather by Vasubandhu.

Now before leaving this text, we must add that there are in Chinese two redactions of the translation of the

¹⁾ The book ends with the following stanzas transliterated into Tibetan:

etādṛṣim (a) arthagatim niśāmya
 yesāṃ mahāyānam abuddham eva (b) |
 tān aśmano vedmi na vāśmano 'pi (c)
 guṇair abhāvyān lasunān avaimi || 1
 hino hi gāmbhīryam udāratām vā
 bodhum na śaknoti na cādhimoktum |
 prāyeṇa caivamvidha eṣa lokāḥ
 tenātra dharme khilatāṃ prayātaḥ || 2

(a) *Xyl.* °d̄asiṃ. (b) *Xyl.* avaddhaum eva. (c) *Xyl.* aśmano.
 The Chinese does not follow closely the sanskrit original; meter *upajāti*.

²⁾ And Vasubandhu himself alluded to the seven topics in this commentary on the *kārikās*; see below p. 131 and 143 ff.

Saptapadārtha, both being alike attributed to Dharmagupta: they differ notably as regards the form, though there is a general but not complete agreement in the contents (cf. Onō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. III, p. 511 c). The first redaction is the Corean, in two *chüan*, while the second one (= Sung, Yüan, Ming) is in three *chüan*: the larger size in this case, being the result not of a text fundamentally different, but of the regular insertion before the passages of the *śāstra* of the complete sentence of the *sūtra* commented upon. In other words while the first redaction quotes only the first sentences of the *sūtra*-passages, the second reproduces the *sūtra* in its entirety: (in Bodhiruci's translation). Moreover, the second translation often introduces the topics, later separately discussed, with a general statement: being so enunciated, these can easily be distinguished. This facilitates the understanding of the text. Moreover, in the first translation no commentary on the last *gāthā* of the text is found; it simply states that its explanation is the same as that previously written. On the other hand, in the second one a full commentary of the *gāthā* is contained.

Other differences concern the sequence of the arguments in Section II which are as follows: A, a) six reasons of Subhūti's questions, b) 7 greatnesses, c) *anugraha*, d) *parīndanā*; B, a) seven greatnesses, b) *anugraha*, c) *parīndanā*, d) six reasons. So also T. The other main differences are summarized in the Appendix I.

What is the conclusion to be drawn? Can we surmise that there were two different translations based upon two different texts: or that a first translation was revised after a comparison with a new manuscript? The fact that there

is the above said agreement of B with T. as regards the place of one passage would support this hypothesis.

As regards the catalogues, they state that the book was in two *chüan* as A: (Nei t'ien, p. 280 *a*; K'ai yüan shih chiao, p. 551 *b*; Ku chin yi ching t'u chi p. 366 *b*) only the Cheng yüan hsing ting shih chiao, p. 850 *a*, speaks of three *chüan*: but in the Tempyō and Shōsoin ms. two chapters are mentioned.

Unfortunately I have no sufficient data to solve in a definite way the problem of the origin of the two redactions. But it is certain that except for the misplacement of the passage referred to above, generally, the agreement of A and T. is much closer than of B and T.

The fact that the ancient catalogues know only a text in two *chüan* makes it possible to guess that when the text of the *sūtra* was inserted into that of the *śāstra*, this caused a new arrangement into *chüan* and also some changes in the text itself such as the enunciation of the subject dealt with in each section and a rearrangement of some paragraphs with the purpose of making easier the understanding of the text.

Besides the above treatises, other commentaries upon the *Vajracchedikā* have come down to us either in a Chinese or in a Tibetan translation.

First comes the 金剛般若波羅蜜經破取著不壞假名論, Chin kang pan jo polo mi ching po ch'ü chu pu huai chia ming lun attributed to Kung te shih 功德施, (Nj. 1192; Ta. 1515).

This name has been restored by Nanjiō into Guṇada (?) and the same tentative restoration has been accepted by Hôbôgirin (*Table des auteurs et traducteurs*,

144, Kudokuse) and Bagchi (*Le Canon bouddhique en Chine*, p. 507). But in the rGya nag gi yul du dam pai c'os dar ts'ul gtso bor bšad pa blo gsal kun tu dga' bai rnam rgyan of aJam dbyaṅs mk'yen brtse, sDe dge ed., p. 99 b, l. 4 we find mention, among other commentaries on the Vajracchedikā, like those of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, of: rDo rje gcod pai aḡrel pa in two chapters, written by dPal sbyin and translated by Devākara. The name of the translator (Devākara for Divākara) makes it certain that the work here alluded to is the same as that with which we are now concerned. dPal sbyin corresponds exactly to Śrīdatta: and the Chinese rendering quite agrees with this original, because 功德 corresponds not only to guṇa, anuśaṃsā, but also to Śrī (cf. e.g. the chapter on Śrīdevī of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa where Śrī is translated into Chinese as: 功德). Nothing can be said as regards this Śrīdatta who does not seem to have anything in common with a later author of the same name, to whom a Pūjāvidhi of Mañjuvajra is ascribed in the bsTan aḡyur, rGyud, XL, 30, Cordier, *Cat.*, p. 156.

Then we should mention the 金剛仙論 Chin kang hsien lun, (Ta. 1512; not in Nj.) of which we have already spoken.

In bsTan aḡyur another commentary is included viz. aP'ags pa šes rab p'a rol tu p'yin pa rdo rje gcod pai rgya c'er aḡrel pa, Āryavajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāṭīkā. Cordier, *Cat.*, III, p. 288, n. 7, mDo, vol. XVI, Ma, (Tōhoku Cat., 3817) by the famous Kamalaśīla, the commentator of the Tattvasaṃgraha.

T A B L E

Sanskrit commentaries on the *Vajracchedikā* preserved in Chinese or Tibetan translations.

Author	Chinese		Translator	Tibetan	
	Nj.	Ta.		D. (Tōhoku)	P. (Cordier) = N.
Asaṅga	1208 (kārikā)	1514	I Ching	—	III. p. 495. n. 1 (mDo, ño.)
Asaṅga	1167 (prose comm.)	1510 <i>a, b</i> ¹⁾	Dharmagupta	3816 attributed to Vasubandhu	
Vasubandhu	1168	1511	Bodhiruci		
	1231	1513	I Ching		
功德施 Śrīdatta . .	1192	1515	Divākara		
金剛仙論 Chin kang hsien lun .	—	1512	Bodhiruci		
Kamalaśīla	—	—		3817	III. p. 288. n. 7 (mDo, ma)

1) Two translations of the same work. At p. 766 b l. 12, for 成立九種 read: ||七||

It is worthy of notice that neither in Būston nor in Tāra-nātha is there any mention of the works upon the Vajracchedikā which we mentioned in these pages. Evidently in Tibet the great importance enjoyed by the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (equally attributed to Maitreya-Asaṅga) which had the great advantage of being a detailed synopsis of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, superseded the commentaries on the minor sūtras such as the Vajracchedikā: this fact is rather surprising because the last work, on account of its conciseness, was revered as the most effective summary of the Prajñā, so that copying or reading or distributing it was considered as greatly meritorious. Considering the great importance that the Vajracchedikā enjoyed in China and then in Japan, chiefly among some schools like the T'ien t'ai (Tendai) and the Ch'an (Zen), it is not surprising that the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists studied with care the literature connected with it and that, in their turn, they commented upon the Sanskrit works which had been translated into their language. We have only to refer to the 佛書解說大辭典 *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 499, of G. Onō where we can find a comprehensive list of the most important commentaries, glosses and treatises written on this famous sūtra.

These commentaries on the Vajracchedikā attempt the difficult task of giving some logical order to the ideas expounded in or suggested by the text and of making explicit its implications, though the compilers of the text itself could have scarcely anticipated the coherent architecture of subtle notions, strictly connected with one another, which later dogmatics were going to discover in the sūtra.

The *kārikās* of Asaṅga explain the sequence of the ideas supposed to be underlying the revelation contained in the book and endeavour to show the inner meaning implicit in the apparent repetitions contained in the text.

Vasubandhu, on the other hand, divides the different topics dealt with by the *sūtra* into seven items. This is the reason why his work is also called *saptārtḥa-ṭīkā*, evidently in order to differentiate it from the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in which, as known, the topics of the *Pañcaviṃśati* have been arranged under eight items. These seven topics are:

1. continuity of the lineage of the Buddhas;
2. the practical methods leading to complete realization (*prayoga*);
3. the foundation of the practice (*pratipattya-dhāra*);
4. the counteragents of the states hostile to realization;
5. no loss;
6. the stages of the realization;
7. reasons why the book is so called.

It is evident that in fact the important topics are really six, the last one having but little relation with the mystic practices specified in the text.

Kamalaśīla follows Vasubandhu so closely that the Tibetan translator of Vasubandhu's commentary frankly admits the help he received by comparing his manuscript with the Tibetan text of Kamalaśīla's work. The scheme in fact is the same with only the difference that the seven topics have been reduced to five: viz.

- 1) the occasion (*gleṅ gži, nidāna* p. 19, l. 1, *II evaṃ mayā... nyāṣīdan*.)
- 2) the opportu-

nity, (g l e ñ b s l a ñ b a, explained as s k a b s d a ñ s b y o r b a) p. 19, l. 12-p. 20, l. 1 t e n a k h a l u . . . a v o c a t . 3) Non-interruption of the lineage of the Buddhas (s a ñ s r g y a s g d u ñ r g y u n m i a c ' a d p a r b y a b a), p. 20, l. 1-5 ā ś c a r y a m . . . p a r i n d a n a y ā . 4) Characteristics of the practice: s g r u b p a i m t s ' a n ñ i d , p. 20, l. 5-7 t a t k a t h a m . . . p r a g r a h i t a v y a m . 5) Its topics from p. 20, l. 16 i h a S u b h ū t e up to the end. But the difference is small, because we saw that the seventh item of Vasubandhu deals with the name of V a j r a c c h e d i k ā , therefore this section cannot be considered as essential to the description of the method of realization which represents the fundamental part of the work. Kamalaśīla discusses this point at the very beginning of this treatise. Then, Kamalaśīla's item four corresponds to number two of Vasubandhu. Numbers four and five and six of Vasubandhu are included within number five of Kamalaśīla, and contain 18 topics or supports divided into the following groups:

A = Supports 1 and 2.

B = Supports 3 and 4.

C = Supports 5 to 16 included, as counteragents (p r a t i p a k ṣ a) of the contraries (v i p a k ṣ a).

D = Support 17.

E = Support 18.

The eighteen items or supports are the following:

- A) 1. C i t t o t p ā d a . Resolve to attain illumination; as a consequence of 1:
 2. Application to the practice of the PP. (p ' a r o l t u p ' y i n p a l a s b y o r); as a consequence of 2: nn. 3 and 4.

B) 3. Desire to obtain a corporal form.

4. Desire to obtain the body of the absolute (D h a r -
m a k ā y a) .

C) Vipakṣa (K m. 228 b) (con-
traries). Supports:

1. Self conceit.
2. No self conceit, but scarce learning.
3. Much learning but attention concentrated upon futile objects.
4. Removal of that defect, but indifference towards beings.
5. Removal of that defect but inclination (c' a g s a j u g) towards heretical doctrines.
6. Removal of that defect but uncleverness in resisting the opinion that material things and beings have some real characters of their own.
7. Cleverness in that, but no accumulation of merit.

C) Pratipakṣa (K m. 228 b)
Counteragents to the vi-
p a k ṣ a s):

5. No self conceit in the opinion of having acquired peculiarity in meditation.
6. Attainment of a time when the Buddhas appear.
7. The vow (to be reborn) in the pure lands.
8. To lead all beings to spiritual maturity.
9. No attachment to the doctrines of the heretics.
10. To train oneself in the meditation that beings (s a t -
t v a l o k a) and space containing the beings (b h ā j a -
n a l o k a) have the character of destruction, viz. of impermanence.
11. Honour and worship of the Tathāgatas.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 8. Accumulation of merit, but indolence and relishing profit and honors. | 12. No indolence and no desire of profits and honors. |
| 9. No relishing those things but incapacity to bear pain. | 13. Ability to bear pain. |
| 10. Capacity to bear pain, but no accumulation of mystic knowledge (y e š e s); relishing s a m ā d h i . | 14. No relishing s a m ā d h i . |
| 11. Accumulation of mystic knowledge, but attachment to the notion of the existence of a self. | 15. When realizations are obtained, absence of the notion of a self as the experiencer. |
| 12. No attachment to the notion of the existence of a self as the experiencer, but non-possession of instructions. | 16. Seeking for instructions. |

D) 17. Realization.

E) 18. Search after the Buddha-stage.

These 18 places or topics (g n a s) are included within three groups:

I) (Km. 210 b) 1-16 are the m o s p a s s p y o d p a i s a , a d h i m u k t i - c a r y ā b h ū m i : the introductory or preparatory stage

II) the 17th. is the pure stage of a d h i c i t t a ;

III) the 18th. is the b u d d h a b h ū m i . (viz. synthesis of the three ś i k ṣ ā : a d h i ś ī l a , high morality 1-16th, a d h i c i t t a , high mind, 17th., a d h i p r a j ñ ā , high gnosis 18th. cf. M a h ā y ā n a - s a m g r a h a Chap. VI, VII, VIII, cf. below p. 140.

It also appears that Kamalaśīla fits his commentary within the framework of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, explaining the sequences of the *Vajracchedikā* according to the fivefold dialectical method which his predecessors discovered in the text: antithesis, characters of the objects discussed, exhortation of the listeners to desire and vow concerning that very object, real meaning of the same object from the absolute point of view, its final evidence as it is realized in the yogic attainment (*yogasa-māpatti*).

Moreover, in Kamalaśīla's commentary there are many digressions on the selflessness (*nairātmya*) of everything, on non-perception (*anupalambha*), on the logical contradiction implied in the notion of cause and effect, of a whole (*avaya vin*) or of a part (*avaya va*).

In other words, Kamalaśīla introduces in a treatise on the meditative process the basic doctrines of the *Mādhyamika*. His work is therefore a clear attempt at a conciliation between Asaṅga's exposition of the career of a Bodhisattva, as pointed out by the *Prajñā*-literature, and the *Mādhyamika* standpoint.

It is also clear that there is great difference between this classification and that of AA.¹⁾ which is as follows:

1. *sarvākārajñātā*, omniscience of the Buddha.
2. *mārgajñātā*, omniscience of the Bodhisattva concerning the path.
3. *sarvajñātā*, omniscience realized by the followers of the Lesser Vehicle and concerning things.

¹⁾ See the works of E. OBERMILLER and E. CONZE quoted at p. 6, n. 1.

pr a y o g a ,
method
leading
to the
omniscience
of the
Buddha.

4. s a r v ā k a r ā b h i s a ṃ b o d h a , viz.
full intuition of the various aspects of
omniscience.
5. m ū r d h ā b h i s a ṃ b o d h a , full
realization culminating the meditative
process.
6. a n u p ū r v ā b h i s a ṃ b o d h a , gra-
dual intuition of the same contents
of omniscience.
7. e k a k ṣ a ṇ ā b h i s a ṃ b o d h a , in-
stantaneous realization of the truths
meditated upon.
8. d h a r m a k ā y a , body of the absolute

Why is the same subject, the P r a j ñ ā , analyzed in a different way by the same author? In fact there is no doubt that the texts commenting upon the V a j r a c - c h e d i k ā and the P a ñ c a v i ṃ ś a t i both belong to the same group and are concerned with the same doctrine: the p r a j ñ ā , the wisdom which coincides with Buddhahood, the reality, and cancels whatever is mere illusion or mental representation with no real background. But the V a j r a c c h e d i k ā was a condensed exposition, I should say an introduction to the sublime science: it starts from the point of view of the man who formulated the vow of illumination. The AA. summarizing and giving a certain order to the sequence of the ideas contained in the P a ñ c a v i ṃ ś a t i , starts with a statement of the omniscience of the Tathāgata, as the condition *sine qua non* of truth and appearance as well. It starts therefore from above, from the aim which should be attained. But then the end is the same, the realization

of Dharmakāya. While in the AA., the bodies of Buddha are four, in Asaṅga's commentary on the Vajracchedikā only two are recorded, the Dharmakāya and the Nirmāṇakāya, the absolute and the apparitional body; this relates our text to the Pañcaviṃśati. Moreover, while the AA. considers the path of the Bodhisattva as well as that of the Pratyekabuddha and of the Śrāvaka, Asaṅga's commentary discusses only the path of the Bodhisattva. On the other hand, the path is equally divided into two parts: n. 1-16, the preparatory one, and n. 17-18 mystic knowledge and the realization of the identity with the absolute, the Dharmakāya.

Occasional analogies with Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, and Mahāyānasamgraha are also noticeable, but no allusion is made to ālayavijñāna and suchlike theories so peculiar to the Yogācāras (except in the Comm. on kārikā 76)¹. But of course no conclusion can be drawn from this fact because the booklet is only concerned with the path, not with speculation or dogmatics.

¹ According to I Ching (Ta. 1817) who reproduces an Indian tradition, Asaṅga had the revelation of the kārikās from Maitreya in the Tuṣita: the Prajñā was explained according to the tenets of the Yogācāra, and the Vijñaptimātratā. Then Vasubandhu the great scholar 大士 explained them. Again Vasubandhu bodhisattva wrote the explanation of the meaning of the seven "doors" of the Prajñā (viz. the Saptapadārtha). This text was transmitted in Nālandā and on account of its difficulty it was commented upon by 師子月, Siṃhacandra and the very learned (bahusruta) Candragomin 月官 from eastern India: there arose different schools of interpretation: some followed the three-svabhāva-doctrine and did not agree with the Mādhyamikas; others followed Nāgārjuna's doctrine and did not agree with the Yogācāras, the fundamental point of difference being that for the Yogācāras the real exists and the conventional does not exist, and for the Mādhyamikas, on the contrary, the conventional exist and a reality does not exist. The first ones state the theory of the three svabhāva: the second ones base themselves on the two-truths-principle. The great school of the Prajñā embodies both views.

In this way the text of the *Vajracchedikā* is interpreted as a guide which leads the bodhisattva through the intricacies of *Mahāyāna*; he is therefore placed in a condition where he gradually gets rid of the subtlest blemishes which even in the higher stages of the meditative process veil the real intuition; in the end he is bound to obtain the definite realization of truth, beyond all possible conceptual representations and notions. The *Tathatā*, *Dharmakāya*, the absolute, transcends in fact all determinations whether positive or negative; that absolute coincides with the monistic realization which flashes, but to last for ever, when mind and its operations of all sorts and of every intensity have completely vanished. It cannot therefore be dissociated from the revelation in which it is contained, viz. the revelation of the *Prajñā* as *Diñnāga* stated with his usual pregnant conciseness in the opening verse of *PPp.*:

“The gnosis is the monistic knowledge: it is the *Tathāgata*, to be realized by the identification with its sense: its verbal expression concerns the book (which expounds it) and the path (therein expounded)”.

While the commentaries of *Asaṅga* and *Vasubandhu* classify the various topics of the *Vajracchedikā* in different groups, adapt its contents to the scheme, which, with great acumen, they attempt to discover in the *sūtra* as its ideal background, such a scheme is missing in *Śrīdatta*'s work. His commentary follows strictly the text, as a series of questions or doubts proposed regarding the meaning of the book and of consequent replies meant to solve them. As a whole, his treatise is therefore far less interesting from the philosophical point of view than the other commentaries.

SYNOPSIS OF THE S A P T A S A P T A T I

chapter of the Vajracchedikā	kārikā of the Saptasaptati	contents:
2	1	paramānugraha and paramaparindanā.
3	2	intention of benefitting others
	3-5	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>six pāramitās included in dānapāramitā, as gift of</p> </div> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p> { vast supreme absolute not erroneous goods protection { moral rules patience energy meditation gnosis Law oneself expectation of a reward the results of the good action } } </p> </div> </div>
		but with no attachment to: therefore: control of mind, no assumption of the existence of characters peculiar to things, elimination of subsequent doubts.

chapter of the Vajracchedikā	kārikā of the Saptasaptati	contents:														
4-6	6-14	<p>Buddhahood is not produced. no marks of mahāpuruṣa can be superimposed on it; this deep teaching is understood by the bodhisattvas possessed of:</p> <p>a) moral conduct, b) good qualities.</p> <p>c) wisdom as regards</p> <table style="margin-left: 200px;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">ego</td> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;"> ā t m a n s a t t v a j ī v a p u d g a l a </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">dharma</td> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;"> no dharma no adharma no s a ṃ j ñ ā no a s a ṃ j ñ ā </td> </tr> </table> <p>four reasons of un- derstanding properly truth</p> <table style="margin-left: 200px;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">the bodhisattvas</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">have faith in the sūtras</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">" "</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">are pleased with them</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">" "</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">do not understand them literally</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">" "</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">grasp their real meaning</td> </tr> </table>	ego	}	ā t m a n s a t t v a j ī v a p u d g a l a	dharma	}	no dharma no adharma no s a ṃ j ñ ā no a s a ṃ j ñ ā	the bodhisattvas	have faith in the sūtras	" "	are pleased with them	" "	do not understand them literally	" "	grasp their real meaning
ego	}	ā t m a n s a t t v a j ī v a p u d g a l a														
dharma	}	no dharma no adharma no s a ṃ j ñ ā no a s a ṃ j ñ ā														
the bodhisattvas	have faith in the sūtras															
" "	are pleased with them															
" "	do not understand them literally															
" "	grasp their real meaning															

chapter of the Vajracchedikā	kārikā of the Saptasaptati	contents:
7	15	These qualities of the bodhisattva are intuitively known by the Buddha. the apparitional body is not the Buddha. Dharma is inexpressible.
8	16-17	the grasping of the Law and its teaching cause merit and support illumination.
9	18	no dharma can be grasped or taught.
10	19-21	Śākyamuni did not receive anything from Dipaṃkara. the buddha-worlds are pure denomination. the Buddha himself cannot grasp himself.
11	22	varieties of merit.
12-13	23-25	the gift of the Law superior to any other gift: 1) it makes worthy the place where it has been given and the giver 2) its fruits are great 3) it is cause of no defilements 4) it surpasses inferior merits 5) it makes one escape from infinite sorrow

chapter of the Vajracchedikā	kārikā of the Saptasaptati	contents:
14	26-38	<p>6) its ends are difficult to be obtained 7) no limits of its contents 8) peculiarity of its teaching 9) profundity and depth 10) superiority to the teaching of other schools 11) its connection with the Buddha's lineage</p> <p>capacity of endurance } propitious rich in merits it does not cause pain.</p> <p>kṣāntipāramitā. pratipatti but devoid of assumption of reality. beings are a mere denomination. the path is instrumental to Buddhahood but no notion in it of its being a cause.</p> <p>statement of truth of } vow the Buddha } teaching of Lower and Higher Vehicle prophecies</p> <p>therefore this teaching is neither true nor untrue.</p>

chapter of the Vajracchedikā	kārikā of the Saptasaptati	contents:
15-16	39-41	<p>no t a t h a t ā can be realized by those whose mind is p r a - t i ṣ ṭ h i t a somewhere.</p> <p>ignorance: darkness; knowledge: light</p> <p>right behaviour } one grasps the doctrine } one is learned in it } one explains it to others.</p> <p>it causes spiritual ripeness to others.</p> <p>the effects of the teaching: are not accessible to common people are unique are resorted to by great men are difficult to be heard they develop the pure elements they produce the capacity of grasping the Law they purify the place where the Law is preached they clear away all impurities they produce a quick realization of a b h i j ñ ā they produce great ripeness of perfections.</p>
17	42-48	there is in fact, no bodhisattva and no illumination to be realized.

chapter of the Vajracchedikā	kārikā of the Saptasaptati	contents:
		the dharmas have no attributes, nor existence. the body of the Buddha is a body of non existence. the incapacity to understand properly the <i>d h a r m a k ā y a</i> : the idea that one may lead beings to <i>nirvāṇa</i> , the purification in paradises etc. all these are wrong views. all dharmas are devoid of self.
18	49-50	vision of the Buddha, and Buddha's eyes. the mental statuses have no stand.
19	51	merit is the support of right understanding.
20	52-53	<i>d h a r m a k ā y a</i> does not consist in perfection of signs: but no signs are conceivable apart from <i>d h a r m a k ā y a</i>
21	54-55	the teaching as well as the Buddha cannot be said to exist: those who believe in them are neither <i>s a t t v a</i> nor <i>a s a t t v a</i> .
22-3	56-57	illumination is supreme.
24	58-59	teaching is <i>a v y ā k ṛ t a</i> , but still conducive to illumination its merit is incomparable.
25	60-61	beings = absolute; therefore no being is liberated.
26	62-64	The Tathāgata cannot be inferred by perfection of signs.

chapter of the Vajracchedikā	kārikā of the Saptasaptati	contents:
27	65	the <i>dharma kāya</i> is not a product and cannot be seen by the profane;
28	66	but this does not exclude merit;
29	67-68	but merit is not cause, because illumination is unconditioned.
30	69-71	the merit of the Buddha is accumulated automatically, <i>anābhogena</i> .
31	72-73	no diversity nor identity is possible; the Buddha is not identical with, nor different from <i>dharma kāya</i> .
32	74-77	illumination does not derive from a suppression of <i>ātman</i> and <i>dharma</i> , because these two do not exist.
		therefore both views, viz. of <i>ātman</i> and <i>dharma</i> , are a non-view, a cover, to be eliminated.
		The Tathāgata does not assert any self and <i>nirvāṇa</i> is not the product of <i>saṃskṛta</i> , nor different.
		what is the unconditioned.

APPENDIX I

**COMPARISON
OF TAISHŌ 1510, a AND TAISHŌ 1510, b.**

T a . 1510, *a* (Dharma-
gupta, Cor.)

金剛般若論

P. 757, *a* 10-14

於中善攝...顯示
種性不斷

p. 757, *a* 15-*b* 4

應住如是等...顯
示不失道

p. 757, *c* 24-26

於中妙身者...衆
生身攝身故

p. 757, *c* 25-p. 758, *a* 25

應知彼佛地...流
轉不染應知

p. 758, *a* 7-*b* 5

為無上見智淨具
足...世界如是等

p. 758, *b* 5-27

為流轉...顯示隨
順出離相

T a . 1510, *b* (Dharma-
gupta, Sung and Yüan)

金剛般若波羅蜜經論

See: p. 767, *c* 11-13; 26-28.

p. 768, *a* 5

See: p. 768, *a* 28-*b* 6

See: p. 776, *c* 14-16

See: p. 777, *a* 12-15-p. 778,
a 1-2; 21-24

Miss.

See: p. 780, *c* 20-p. 781,
a 14

ABBREVIATIONS: *a*, *b*, *c* refer to the partitions of the page in T a .
figures refer to lines.

miss. = missing (passage missing in the corresponding text).

reads = different reading in the corresponding text.

see = indicates a different collocation of the passage in the corresponding text.

金剛般若論

P. 760, c 4

顯示修行

p. 760, c 16

乃至言若法想轉
即為有我取者

p. 761, a 7

不應取法非法者
是顯了

p. 761, a 15

中正覺耶

p. 761, c 26-27

於然燈如來應供
正遍知所有法可
取耶

p. 762.

a 13, 經言以此因
緣得福多彼者

a 14, 經言為他若說
若授若解釋彼地
分即是支提相者

a 16, 此地分即為
教師住處及餘可
尊重者

金剛般若波羅蜜經論

See: p. 770, a 18 reads:

顯示五種 - 顯示
修行 ...

p. 770, b 2 reads:

乃至若是菩薩有
法想即著我相人
相衆生相壽者相

p. 770, b 24-25 reads:

不應取法非不取
法者是顯了

p. 770, c 13

Miss.

p. 772, a 7-8 reads:

如來昔在然燈佛
所得阿耨多羅三
藐三菩提法不等

p. 772, c 5-9 reads:

c 5 經言須菩提如恆
河中所有沙數等者

c 6 經言須菩提隨
所有處說是法門
等者

c 8-9 經言若是經典
所在之處等者

金剛般若論

P. 762, b 28

經言是諸菩薩無
復我等想轉者

p. 762, c 21

羸提波羅蜜

p. 763, a 13

所有想即為非想

p. 763, b 6

Miss.

p. 763, b 21

若於此法門受持
乃至如來悉知見
等者

p. 763, b 24-25

經言須菩提下信
解者不能聞此
法者

p. 763, b 26

Miss.

p. 763, b 28-29

隨所地分解說此
修多羅處常應供
養彼地分即為支
提等

金剛般若波羅蜜經論

P. 773, c 3-4 reads:

經言此人無我相人
相衆生相壽者相者

p. 774, a 18, reads:

忍辱波羅蜜

p. 774, b 18, reads:

一切衆生即非衆生

p. 775, a 24-25 reads:

受持讀誦修行

p. 775, b 11-12, reads:

若有人能受持讀
誦修行此經廣為
人說等者

p. 775, b 17-18, reads:

經言須菩提若樂
小法者則於此經
不能受持誦讀修
行為人解說者

p. 775, b 19-20 reads:

乃至受持無有是
處者

p. 775, b 21-22, reads:

在在處處若有此
經一切世間天人
阿修羅所應供養
等者

金剛般若論

P. 763, c 2-3

如經彼若為人輕
賤甚輕賤乃至當
得菩提等故

p. 764, a 11

Miss.

p. 764, b 26-27

譬喻所有若干種
心住我悉知等

p. 764, c 27-28

經言微塵許法不
可得不可有者

p. 765, a 13

如來則有我等
取者

p. 765, b 16-17

經言須菩提若善
男子善女人乃至
是故菩薩取福德
等

金剛般若波羅蜜經論

P. 775, b 25-26 reads:

若善男子善女人
受持讀誦此經為
人輕賤等故者

p. 776, b 13-14

如來得阿耨多羅
三藐三菩提者是
人不實語等故

p. 777, b 28

Miss.

p. 778, b 17-18 reads:

經言無有少法如
來得阿耨多羅者

p. 778, c 21, reads:

如來則有我人衆
生壽者相等者

p. 779, b 28-c 1 reads:

經言須菩提若善
男子善女人以滿
恆河沙等世界七
寶持用布施如是
等

金剛般若論

P. 765, b 24-25

經言須菩提言不
應受福聚耶者此
有何義

p. 765, b 26-27

經言世尊受福聚
不取福聚是名受
福而不取者

See: P. 758, a 27-29

p. 765, c 13-14

經言世尊若世界
是有者即為有搏
取者

p. 765, c 18

經言如來說搏取
即非搏取者

p. 766, a 8-9

經言如是知解已
而不住法想者

金剛般若波羅蜜經論

P. 779, c 8-9 reads:

經言白佛言世尊
菩提不取福德者
此有何義

p. 779, c 10-11 reads:

經言佛言須菩提
菩薩受福德不取
福德是故菩薩取
福德者

p. 779, c 13-14

受者說有故，取者
修彼道故如福聚
及果中皆不應著

p. 780, a 28-29 reads:

經言若世界實有
者則是一合相者

p. 780, b 4 reads:

經言如來說一合
相則非一合相

p. 780, b 25-26 reads:

經言如是不住法
相者

金剛般若論

P. 759, b 26

Miss.

p. 760, a 6

Miss.

p. 760, b 27

Miss.

p. 760, c 1

Miss.

p. 761, a 13

Miss.

p. 761, b 6

Miss.

金剛般若波羅蜜經論

P. 768, b 18-19

論曰自下第三行
所住處訖盡經末
有十八門具如前
說此中第一初明
發心經言

p. 769, a 14

論曰此下第二波
羅蜜相應行

p. 770, a 9-11

於中二種一言說
法身二證得法身
為欲得此言說法
身故

p. 770, a 14-15

於不顛倒義想是
謂實相應知如言
執義彼非實相

p. 770, c 10-11

論曰此下證得法身
復有二種一智相
法身二福相法身

p. 771, a 18-20

論曰此下福相法
身欲得福相至得

金剛般若論金剛般若波羅蜜經論

法身住處故經言
於意云何若人滿
三千大千世界七
寶以用布施等

P. 761, c 1

Miss.

P. 771, c 9-10

論曰。此下第五為
修道得勝中無慢
如前略為八種住
處已下十二總名

p. 761, c 20

Miss.

p. 772, a 6-7

論曰此下第六...
十二種中

p. 761, c 29

Miss.

p. 772, a 17-18

論曰。此下第七...
十二種中

p. 762, a 4

Miss.

p. 772, a 28-29

論曰。此下第八...
十二種中

p. 762, a 11

Miss.

p. 772, c 1-2

論曰。此下第九...
十二種中

p. 762, a 25

Miss.

p. 772, c 21-22

論曰。此下第十...
十二種中

金剛般若論

P. 762, b 7

Miss.

p. 762, b 11

Miss.

p. 762, c 16

Miss.

p. 762, a 17

Miss.

p. 762, c 18

Miss.

p. 762, c 21-22 reads.

羼提波羅蜜

p. 762, c 28 reads:

如經我昔為迦利
王割截身分及言
我憶

論金剛般若波羅蜜經

P. 773, a 11-12

論曰·此下第十
一...十二種中

p. 773, b 9-10

論曰·此下第十
二...十二種中

p. 773, c 18

非第一波羅蜜

p. 774, a 17-18

論曰·此下第十三
明忍苦...十二種中

p. 774, a 19-21

忍辱波羅蜜等於
中有二·一能忍;
二離不能忍·能
忍有三,一如所
能忍;二忍相;三
種類忍

p. 774, a 24

忍辱波羅蜜即非
忍辱波羅蜜故

p. 774, b 2-4

經言須菩提我於
往昔節節支解時
若有我相應生瞋

金剛般若論金剛般若波羅蜜經論

恨等云何相續苦
忍·又念...

P. 763, b 4

Miss.

P. 775, a 22-23

論曰·此下第十四
離寂靜味...十二
種中

p. 663, c 13

Miss.

p. 775, c 8-9

於後末世有受持
讀誦修行此經者

p. 764, b 7 miss.

(See: p. 757, c 28-29)

p. 777, a 12-15

應知彼地復有六
種具足一國土淨
具足二無上見智
淨具足三福自在
具足四身具足五
語具足六心具足

p. 764, b 17

Miss.

p. 777, b 18

於中二種:一為見
淨二為智淨

p. 764, c 10

Miss.

p. 778, a 1-2

於中復有二種·一
為好具足二為相
具足

金剛般若論

See: p. 758, a 1-4

p. 765, b 10

Miss.

p. 765, b 16

Miss.

See: p. 758, a 3-5

p. 766, a 14

Miss.

金剛般若波羅蜜經論

P. 778, a 21-24

於心具足中復有
六種一為...六為
行住淨應知。

p. 779, b 5-1

須菩提莫作是念
等者。此義明相
具足。體非菩提
亦不以相具足為
因也。以相是色自
性故

p. 779, b 27-28

顯示不著流轉

p. 779, c 18-20

論曰此下第六於
心具足中為行住
淨於中復有三種
一...二...三不
染行住

p. 780, c 11-13

論曰。此下第三為
不染行住。於中二
種。一為說法不
染；二為流轉不染。

CHAPTER 1.

***SANSKRIT TEXT, CHINESE, TIBETAN
AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS***

In this chapter the Sanskrit text is edited on the basis of the Ñor manuscript described above. This text is not absolutely correct, but eventual mistakes may be explained considering the difficulties of the treatise, which would, on account of its conciseness, often be unintelligible without the help of a commentary. It appears that in some cases the copyist wrote down his manuscript without fully understanding what he copied.

I did not restore the missing portions of the k ā r i k ā s because these restorations are always approximate. I supplemented however, within square brackets, those words about which no doubt seems legitimate. In footnotes I have marked passages in which the Tibetan or the Chinese translation seem to disagree from the Sanskrit text or from one another.

1. paramo 'nugraho jñeyah śārīrah sapaṅgrahaḥ |
prāptāprāptāvihānau ca paramā syāt parīdanā ||

能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經論頌

a)¹⁾ 巧護義應知 加彼身同行
不退得未得 是名善付囑

b) 勝利益應知 於身并屬者
得未得不退 謂最勝付囑

rgya gar skad du | ba dsra tsts'e di kā yā pra dsñā pā
ra mi tā yā byā k'yā no pa ni ban dha na kā ri kā | bod
skad du | šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa rdo rje gcod pa
bšad pa bšad sbyar gyi ts'ig leur byas pa | aṅ'ags pa
aṅjam dpal gžon nur gyur pa la p'yag aṅs'al lo ||

p'an gdags pa yi dam pa ni |
lus dañ aḅ'or bcas šes par bya ||
t'ob dañ ma t'ob mi ñams pa |
yoñs su gtad pai dam pa yin ||

2. vipulaḥ paramo 'tyanto 'viparyastaś [ca] cetasi |
upakārāśayaḥ sthānaṃ yāne 'smin guṇapūritaḥ ||

a) 廣大第一常 其心不顛倒
利益深心住 此乘功德滿

b) 於心廣最勝 至極無顛倒
利益意樂處 此乘功德滿

sems la p'an pai bsam pa ni |
rgya c'en mc'og dañ [2 a] gtan du dañ ||
p'yin ci ma log gnas pa ste |
t'eg pa aḅi la yon tan rdsogs ||

1) a: Translation of Bodhiruci. Ta. 1511. b: Translation of I Ching. Ta. 1514.

3. dānaṃ pāramitāṣatkaṃ āmiṣābhayadharmataḥ |
ekadvayatrayeṇeḥa pratipat sā 'pratiṣṭhitā ||

a) 檀義攝於六 資生無畏法
此中一二三 名為修行住

b) 六度皆名施 由財無畏法
此中一二三 名修行不住

zañ ziñ mi ajigs c'os kyi ni |
sbyin pa p'a rol p'yin drug ste ||
gcig dañ gñis dañ gsum gyis ni |
lam de aḍir ni mi gnas yin ||

4. ātmabhāve pratikṛtau vipāke cāpy asaktatā |
apavrṛttitadanyārthapavrṛttiparivarjane ||

a) 自身及報恩 果報斯不著
護存已不施 防求於異事

b) 為自身報恩 果報皆不著
為離於不起 及離為餘行

lus dañ lan du p'an aḍogs dañ |
rnam par smin la c'ags pa med ||
mi ajug pa dañ gžan dag tu |
ajug pa yoñs su spañ p'yir ro ||

5. pragraho maṇḍale tredhā nimittāc cittavāraṇam |
uttarottarasamdehajanmataś ca nivāraṇā ||

a) 調伏彼事中 遠離取相心
及斷種種疑 亦防生成心

b) 攝伏在三輪 於相心除遣
後後諸疑惑 隨生皆悉除

ḅk'or du rab tu ḅdsin pa des |
mts'an ma las ni sems bzlog dan ||
p'yir žiñ t'e ts'om skye ba las |
sems ni [2 b] bzlog par byed pa yin ||

6. saṃskṛtatvena saṃkalpya saṃpat prāptau nivāryate |
trailakṣaṇyānyathābhāvāt tadabhāvāt tathāgataḥ ||

a) 分別有爲體 防彼成就得
三相異體故 離彼是如來

b) 若將爲集造 妙相非勝相
三相遷異故 無此謂如來

ḅdus byas ñid du kun brtags pas |
ḅbyor pai ḅt'ob pa bzlog par mdsad ||
mts'an ñid gsum ni ḅgyur bai p'yir |
de med pa ni de bžin gšegs ||

7. sahetuphalagāmbhīryadeśanāsmin yugādrame |
na niṣphalā yataḥ santi bodhisattvās trayānvitāḥ ||

a) 說 因 果 深 義 於 彼 惡 世 時
不 空 以 有 實 菩 薩 三 德 備

b) 因 與 果 甚 深 於 彼 惡 時 說
此 非 無 利 益 由 三 菩 薩 殊

dus na ts'e na¹⁾ rgyu dan ḥbras |
bcas par zab par bstan pa ni ||
byañ c'ub sems dpa' gsum ldan pa |
yod pai p'yir na don med min ||

8. śikṣayopāsānāt pūrvam kuśalasyāvaropānāt |
śīlavanto 'nyabuddheṣu guṇavantaś ca kīrtitāḥ ||

a) 修 戒 於 過 去 及 種 諸 善 根
戒 具 於 諸 佛 亦 說 功 德 滿

b) 由 於 先 佛 所 奉 持 於 戒 學
并 植 善 根 故 名 具 戒 具 德

sñan c'ad sañs rgyas gžan dag la |
bslab pai sgo nas bsñen bkur byas ||
dge ba dag kyañ bskyed pai p'yir |
k'rims ldan yon tan ldan par bstan ||

1) Perhaps: dus ñan ḥdi na.

9. sapudgaleṣu dharmeṣu samjñāyā viprahāṇataḥ |
prajñāvantaś ca samjñāyā aṣṭadhāṣṭārthabhedataḥ ||

a) 彼 壽 者 及 法 遠 離 於 取 相
亦 說 知 彼 相 依 八 八 義 別

b) 能 斷 於 我 想 及 以 法 想 故
此 名 爲 具 慧 二 四 殊 成 八

gañ zag c'os dan bcas rnam kyī |
aḍu ṣes spañs p'yir ṣes rab ldan ||
don brgyad yod pai bye brag gis |
aḍu ṣes rnam la brgyad du aḡyur ||

10. pṛthagbhāvena samtatyā vṛtter ājīvitasthiteḥ |
punaś ca gatilīnatvād ātmasamjñā caturvidhā ||

a) 差 別 相 續 體 不 斷 至 命 住
復 趣 於 異 道 是 我 相 四 種

b) 別 體 相 續 起 至 壽 盡 而 住
更 求 於 餘 趣 我 想 有 四 種

dños po so so rgyun gyis aḡjug |
ji srid aṭs'o yi bar du gnas ||
p'yir yañ aḡro bar sbyor bas na |
bdag tu aḍu [3 a] ṣes rnam bžir aḡyur ||

11. sarvābhāvād abhāvasya sadbhāvān nābhilāpyataḥ |
 abhilāpaprayogāc ca dharmasamjñā caturvidhā ||

a) 一切空無物 實有不可說
 依言辭而說 是法相四種

b) 皆無故非有 有故不可說
 是言說因故 法想有四種

kun med p'yir dañ med pa ni |
 yod pai p'yir dañ brjod med p'yir ||
 brjod pai sbyor ba yod pas na |
 c'os kyi ḥdu šes rnam bžir ḥgyur ||

12. adhimuktivaśāt teṣāṃ bhūtasamjñā prasādataḥ |
 yathārutāgrahāt saṃyagdeśitatvasya codgrahāt ||

a) 彼人依信心 恭敬生實相
 聞聲不正取 正說如是取

b) 由彼信解力 信故生實想
 不如言取故 取爲正說故

de dag mos pai dbaṅ gis na |
 dad pas yañ dag ḥdu šes so ||
 sgra bžin ḥdsin pa ma yin dañ |
 yañ dag bstan pa ḥdsin p'yir ro ||

13. phalato na mitā buddhaiḥ praṇidhijñānalakṣitāḥ |
lābhasatkārakāmānām tadvādavinivṛttaye ||

a) 佛非見果知 願智力現見
求供養恭敬 彼人不能說

b) 佛了果非比 由願智故知
爲求利敬者 遮其自說故

saṅs rgyas ḅbras bus dpog med mdsad |
smon nas šes pas t'ugs su c'ud ||
rñed dan bkur sti ḅdod pa rnams |
de skad smra ba bzlog pai p'yir ||

14. asthānād ānukūlyāc ca dharmeṣv adhigamasya hi |
kolasyeva parityāgo dharme saṃdhis tato mataḥ ||

a) 彼不住隨順 於法中證智
如人捨船棧 法中義亦然

b) 證不住於法 爲是隨順故
猶如捨其筏 是密意應知

k'oñ du c'ud pa c'os rnams la |
mi gnas p'yir dan mt'un pai p'yir ||
gziñs dan ḅdra bar yoñs su blañ |
de p'yir c'os kyi dgoñs par bžed ||

15. nairmāṇikena no buddho dharmo nāpi ca deśitaḥ |
deśitas tu dvayāgrāhyo 'vācyo 'vākpathalakṣaṇāt ||

- a) 應化非真佛 亦非說法者
說法不二取 無說離言相
- b) 化體非真佛 亦非說法者
說法非二取 所說離言詮

sprul pa yin pas saṅs rgyas min |
c'os kyaṅ bśad pa med pa yin ||
bstan kyaṅ gñis su gzuṅ du med |
ts'ig lam mts'an ñid min brjod med ||

16. grahaṇadeśaṇā cāsyā nāpārthā pu[ṇya]samgrahāt |
puṇyaṃ bodhyānupastambhād [upas]¹⁾tambhād
[dvayasya ca ||

- a) 受持法及說 不空於福德
福不趣菩提 二能趣菩提
- b) 自受爲他說 非無益集福
福不持菩提 彼二能持故

de ṅdsin pa daṅ bstan pa ni |
bsod nams sdud p'yir don med min [3 b] ||
bsod nams byaṅ c'ub ston min daṅ |
gñis ni rtog pa yin p'yir ro ||

1) Ms. dvayastambhād.

17. svābhāvikāptihetutvāt tadanyasya ca janmanaḥ¹⁾ |
 kaivalyād buddhadharmāṇām agryatvaṃ puṇya-
 [sādhanam ||

a) 於實名了因 亦為餘生因
 唯獨諸佛法 福成第一體

b) 得自性因故 此餘者是生
 唯是佛法故 能成最勝福

ño bo ñid aṭ'ob rgyu yin pas |
 de las gžan pa skye ba yin ||
 sañs rgyas c'os rñams ma aḍres p'yir |
 mc'og yin pas na bsod nams bsgrubs ||

18. agrāhyānābhilāpyatvaṃ svaphalānām anudgrahāt |
 dvayāvaraṇanirmokṣāt subhūtāv araṇādvayam ||

a) 不可取及說 自果不取故
 依彼善吉者 說離二種障

b) 不取自果故 非可取可說
 解說二障故 說妙生無諍

rañ gi aḅras bu gzuñ med p'yir |
 gzuñ du med ciñ brjod du med ||
 sgrib pa gñis las ñes grol p'yir |
 rab aḅyor aḍi la sgrib gñis med ||

1) Ms. janminañ.

19. buddhadīpaṃkarāgrāhād vākyenādhighamasya hi |
tataś cādhighame siddhā agrāhyānābhiḥpyatā ||

a) 佛於然燈語 不取理實智
以是真實義 成彼無取說

b) 在然燈佛所 言不取證法
由斯證法成 非所取所說

mar me mdsad las sañs rgyas kyis |
rtogs pa ts'ig gis blañs pa med ||
de yi p'yir na rtogs pa la |
gzun du med dan brjod med grub ||

20. jñānaniṣyandavijñaptimātratvāt kṣetranodgrahaḥ |
avigrahatvād agratvād avyūha[m] vyūhatā matā¹⁾ ||

a) 智習唯識通 如是取淨土
非形第一體 非嚴莊嚴意

b) 智流唯識性 國土非所執
無形故勝故 非嚴許嚴性

ye šes rgyu mt'un rñam rig tsam |
yin pas žiñ du aḍsin pa med ||
lus med p'yir mc'og gi p'yir |
bkod pa med pa bkod par bžed ||

1) Ms. avyūhavyūhatātmatā.

21. *sumeror iva rājatve saṃbhoge* ¹⁾ *nāsti codgrahaḥ |*
sāsravatvena cābhāvāt saṃskṛtatvena cāsyā hi ||

a) 如山王無取 受報亦復然
 遠離於諸漏 及有爲法故

b) 譬如妙高山 於受用無取
 非有漏性故 亦非是因造

rdsogs par loṅs spyod ri rab ltar |
rgyal por ḍsin pa yoṅs mi mña' ||
zag bcas ṅid du de med daṅ |
ḍus byas ṅid du med p'yir ro ||

22. *bahutvabhedakhyātyarthaṃ viśeṣasya ca siddhaye |*
paurvāparyeṇa puṇyasya punar dṛṣṭāntadeśanā ||

a) 說多義差別 亦成勝较量
 後福過於前 故重說勝喻

b) 爲顯多差別 及以成殊勝
 前後福不同 更陳其喻說

maṅ bai bye brag bstan p'yir daṅ |
k'yad par dag kyaṅ bsgrub pai p'yir ||
sṅa ma daṅ ni p'yi ma yis |
bsod nams dpe ni yaṅ bstan to ||

1) Ms. *saṃbhogye*.

23. dvayasya pātrikaraṇān niṣyandatvamahatvataḥ |
asamkleśasya¹⁾ hetutvād dhinābhibhavanād api ||

a) 尊重於二處 因習證大體
 彼因習煩惱 此降伏染福

b) 兩成尊重故 由等流殊勝
 煩惱因性故 由劣亦勝故

rnam gñis snod du ḡgyur ba dañ |
rgyu mt'un yin pas c'e ba dañ ||
kun nas ñon moñs rgyur ḡgyur dañ |
dma' bas zil gyis gnon p'yir ro ||

24. tatphalaśreṣṭhaduḥkhatvād durlabhārthottamārthataḥ |
jñeyāpāramitatvāc ca parāsādhāraṇatvataḥ ||

a) 苦身勝於彼 希有及上義
 彼智岸難量 亦不同餘法

b) 彼果勝苦故 難逢勝事故
 境岸非知故 於餘不共故

de yi ḡbras mc'og sdug bsñal p'yir |
rñed dkai p'yir dañ mc'og p'yir dañ ||
šes byai p'a [4 a] rol p'yin med p'yir |
gžan dañ t'un moñ ma yin p'yir ||

1) Ms. asatkle°.

25. gāḍhagaṃbhirabhāvāc ca parasūtraviśiṣṭataḥ |
mahāsuddhānvayatvāc ca puṇyāt puṇyaṃ viśiṣyate ||

a) 堅實解深義 勝餘修多羅
大因及清淨 福中勝福德

b) 是甚深性故 勝餘略詮故
胄族高勝故 望福福殊勝

šin tu zab pai rañ bžin p'yir |
mdo sde gžan las k'yad žugs p'yir ||
rgyu¹⁾ ni dag ciñ p'al c'en p'yir |
bsod nams las ni bsod nams aḡ'ags ||

26. sahiṣṇutā ca caryāyāṃ duṣkarāyāṃ śubhā yataḥ |
tadguṇāparimāṇatvād agrārthena nirucyate ||

a) 能忍於苦行 以苦行有善
彼福不可量 如是最勝義

b) 彼行堪忍時 雖苦行善故事
彼德難量故 由斯名勝事

ādi ltar dka' ba spyod pa la |
ci mi sñam pa dge p'yir dañ ||
de yi yon tan ts'ad med pas |
mc'og gi don du brjod pa yin ||

1) For: anvaya.

27. ātmavyāpādasamjñāyā abhāvād duḥkhatā na ca |
sasukhā karuṇābhāvāc caryā'duḥkhalā tataḥ ||

a) 離我及恚相¹⁾ 實無於苦惱
共樂有慈悲 如是苦行果

b) 由無恚怒情 不名爲苦性
有安樂大悲 行時非苦果

bdag tu ḍsin dan gnod sems kyi |
ḍdu šes med p'yir sdug bsñal med ||
spyod pa sdug bsñal ḍbras bu can |
sñiñ rje yod p'yir bde dan ldan ||

28. cittā²⁾tyāgābhinirhāre yatna[h] kāryo dṛḍho yataḥ |
kṣāntipāramitāprāptau³⁾ tatprāyogika eva ca ||

a) 爲不捨心起 修行及堅固
爲忍波羅蜜 習彼能學心

b) 生心因不捨 是故應堅求
謂是得忍邊 及此心方便

de p'yir sems ni mi btañ bar |
sgrub la ḍbad ciñ brtan⁴⁾ par bya ||
bzod pai p'a rol p'yin t'ob dan |
de la sbyor las byuñ ba ñid ||

1) For. 想 as usual. 2) Ms. cittamtyā°. 3) Ms. prāpte. 4) Xyl. bstan.

29. pratipattiś ca sattvārthā vijñeyā hetubhāvataḥ |
sattvavastunimittāt tu vijñeyā parivarjitā ||

a) 修行利衆生 如是因當識
衆生及事相 遠離亦應知

b) 應知正行者 是利生因故
於有情事相 應知遍除遣

rgyu yi ts'ul gyis bsgrub pa ni |
sems can don du šes par bya ||
sems can dños po mts'an ma ni |
yoñs su spañ bar šes par bya ||

30. nāmaskandhās ca tadvastu tatsamjñāpagamāj jine |
tadabhāvo hi buddhānām tattvadarśanayogataḥ ||

a) 假名及陰事 如來離彼想¹⁾
諸佛無彼二 以見實法故

b) 彼事謂名聚 最勝除其想
諸世尊無比 由真見相應

de dños miñ dañ p'uñ po yin |
sañs rgyas yañ dag gzigs ldan pas ||
rgyal ba de yi aḍu šes dañ |
bral bai p'yir na de gñis med ||

1) In the Ch. text: 相.

31. phalāpratiṣṭhito mārgas tatphalasyāpi kāraṇam |
buddhānām bhūtavāditvāt tac ca jñeyam caturvidham ||

a) 果雖不住道 而道能爲因
以諸佛實語 彼智有四種

b) 果不住因位 是得彼果因
世尊實語故 應知有四種

ḥbras bu la ni mi gnas lam |
de yi ḥbras bu aṭ'ob rgyu yin ||
saṅs rgyas yaṅ dag gsuṅ bai p'yir |
de yaṅ rnam bžir šes par bya ||

32. pratijñā hīnayānasya mahāyānasya deśanā |
sarvavyākaraṇānām ca na viśamvādinī yataḥ ||

a) 實智及小乘 說摩訶衍法
及一切授記 以不虛說故

b) 立要說下乘 及說大乘義
由諸授記事 皆無有差別¹⁾

dam bcas t'eg pa dman [4 b] pa daṅ |
t'eg pa c'en po ston pa daṅ ||
luṅ bstan t'ams cad bstan pa rnams |
slu bar byed pa min p'yir ro ||

1) Instead of 別 Ta. 1513 reads: 舛.

33. aprāpter ānukūlyāc ca na satyā na mṛṣā matā |
yathārutaniveśasya pratipakṣeṇa deśanā ||

a) 隨 順 彼 實 智 說 不 實 不 虛
如 聞 聲 取 證 對 治 如 是 說

b) 不 得 彼 順 故 是 非 實 非 妄
如 言 而 執 者 對 彼 故 宣 說

ñes t'ob min žin mt'un pai p'yir |
bden pa med ciñ rdsun med bžed ||
sgra bžin du ni žen pa yi |
gñen po ñid du bstan pa yin ||

34. - - - - - . [a]lābhatā |
ajñānāt sapraṭiṣṭhena jñānād anyena lābhatā ||

a) 時 及 處 實 有 而 不 得 真 如
無 智 以 住 法 餘 者 有 智 得

b) 常 時 諸 處 有 於 真 性 不 獲
由 無 知 有 住 智 無 住 得 真

de bžin ñid ni rtag tu yañ |
kun la yod bžin mi at'ob pa ||
gnas dañ bcas pas ma šes p'yir |
gcig šes kyis ni šes p'yir at'ob ||

35. tamaḥprakāśam ajñānaṃ jñānam ālokavan mata[m]¹⁾ |
pratipakṣavipakṣasya lābhahānyāmukhatvataḥ ||

a) 闇明愚無智 明者如有智
對治及對法 得滅法如是

b) 無智猶²⁾如闇 當閑智若明
能對及所治 得失現前故

mi šes pa ni mun pa ḥdra |
šes pa snañ ba ḥdra bar bžed ||
gñen po dañ ni mi mt'un p'yogs |
t'ob dañ ñams par ḥgyur p'yir ro ||

36. yādrśyā pratipa[ttyā] - - - - - |
yat karmikā ca sā dharme³⁾ pratipattis tad ucyate ||

a) 於何法修行 得何等福德
復成就何業 如是說修行

b) 由如是正行 獲如是福量
於法正行者 業用今當說

c'os la sgrub pa ji lta bus |
bsod nams ci ḥdra ḥt'ob pa dañ ||
las ni gañ dañ ldan pa de |
sgrub pa yin te de brjod do ||

1) Ms. mataḥ.

2) Ta. 1513 由.

3) Ms. dharmye.

37. vyañjane trividhā dharmadharatve śrutavistare |
arthasya parato 'dhyātmam āptau śravaṇacintanāt ||

- a) 名字三種法 受持聞廣說
修從他及內 得聞是修智
- b) 於文¹⁾有三種 受持聞²⁾廣³⁾說
義得由從他 及己⁴⁾聞思故

yi ge la ni rnam gsum ste |
c'os ḁsin pa dañ rgyas t'os la ||
don ni gžan la bdag ñid kyis |
mñan dañ bsam las c'ub par ḁgyur ||

38. - - - - - [pari]pācane |
vastukālamahatvena puṇyāt puṇyaṃ viśiṣyate ||

- a) 此爲自淳熟 餘者化衆生
以事及時大 福中勝福德
- b) 此謂熟內己⁵⁾ 餘成他有情
由事時大性 望福福殊勝

ḁdi ni bdag smin byed gžan ni |
sems can yoñs su smin byed yin ||
dños dañ dus ni c'e bai p'yir |
bsod nams las ni bsod nams ḁp'ags ||

1) In Ta. 1514 wrongly 人. 2) Ta. 1513 讀. 3) Ta. 1513 演.

4) Ta. 1514 已. 5) Ta. 1514 已.

39. agocaratvaṃ kaivalyaṃ mahātmāśritatā tathā |
durlabhaśravatā caiva dhātupuṣṭir anu[ttarā] ||

a) 非除者境界 唯依大人說
及希聞信法 滿足無上界

b) 非境性獨性 能依是大人
及難可得聞 無上因增長

spyod yul min dañ ma ṅdres dañ |
de bžin c'e ba ñid la brten ||
t'os pa rñed par dka' ba dañ |
k'ams kyañ rgyas byed bla na med ||

40. - - - - - [pātra]tāśraye |
śodhanāvaraṇānām ca kṣiprābhijñātvam eva ca ||

a) 受持真妙法 尊重身得福
及遠離諸障 復能速證法

b) 若但持正法 所依處成器
蠲除諸業障 速獲智通性

dam pai c'os ni ṅdsin pa dañ |
gnas kyañ snod du bya ba dañ ||
sgrib pa rnam kyañ ṅdag pa dañ |
mñon par šes pa myur ba dañ ||

41. vicitrālokaśampattivipākaḥ sumahānna api |
karmāṇi etāni dharme pratipatter matā[ni.] || ¹⁾

a) 成種種勢力 得大妙果報
如是等勝業 於法修行知

b) 世妙事圓滿 異熟極尊貴
於此法修行 應知獲斯業

ajig rten ḅbyor pa sna ts'ogs kyi |
rnam smin śin tu c'e ba ste ||
ḅdi dag c'os la sgrub ba yi |
las rnams yin par rab tu bstan ||

42. — — — — — [bodhisat]tvakalpanā |
cittāvaraṇam ākhyātaṃ yac cittam apratiṣṭhitam ||

a) 於內心修行 存我為菩薩
此即障於心 違於不住道

b) 由自身行時 將已²⁾為菩薩
說名為心障 違於無住心

sgrub pa so so bdag rañ la |
byañ c'ub sems dpar rtog pa yin ||
mi gnas sems ni gañ yin pai |
sams kyi sgrub³⁾ pa yin par bstan ||

1) After: matāni, vai, ca or such like word should be supplemented.
In c read: karmāṇi etāni metri causa.

2) Ta. 1514 已. 3) Xyl. sgrub.

43. paścādvyākaraṇān no ca caryā dīpaṃkare parā |
bodhis tac caryayā tulyā na sa - - - - - ||

a) 以後時授記 然燈行非上
菩提彼行等 非實有爲相

b) 授後時記故 然燈行非勝
菩提¹⁾彼行同 非實由因造

p'yi nas kyañ ni luñ bstan p'yir |
mar me mdsad las spyod mc'og min ||
byañ c'ub de yi spyod dañ ḅdra |
byas pai mts'an ñid kyis mi [5 a] bden ||

44. - - - - - na mṛṣā paridīpitā |
dharmās tato buddhadharmāḥ sarve 'bhāvasvalakṣaṇāḥ ||

a) 彼卽非相相 以不虛妄說
是法諸佛法 一切自體相

b) 無彼相爲相 故顯非是妄
由法是佛法 皆非有爲相

dei mts'an med pai mts'an ñid kyis |
rdsun pa med ces yoñs su bstan ||
de p'yir c'os rñams sañs rgyas c'os |
t'ams cad dños med rañ mts'an ñid ||

1) Ta. 1514 wrongly 薩 for 提.

45. dharmakāyena buddhas tu mataḥ [saḥ] puruṣopamaḥ |
nirāvaraṇato - - - - - ||

a) 依 彼 法 身 佛 故 說 大 身 喻
身 離 一 切 障 及 遍 一 切 境

b) 謂 以 法 身 佛 應 知 喻 丈 夫
無 障 圓 具 身 是 遍 滿 性 故

saṅs rgyas c'os kyi skur bžed de |
mi de dañ ni ḅdra ¹⁾ ba yin ||
sku ni sgrib pa med dañ ldan |
t'ams cad du ni ḅgro ba dañ ||

46. [guṇamahā]tmyataś cāpi mahākāyaḥ sa eva hi |
abhāvakāyabhāvāc ca akāyo 'sau nirucyate ||

a) 功 德 及 大 體 故 卽 說 大 身
非 身 卽 是 身 是 故 說 非 身

b) 及 德 體 大 故 亦 名 爲 大 身
非 有 身 是 有 說 彼 作 非 身

yon tan c'e ba ñid kyi p'yir |
de ñid sku ni c'e ba yin ||
med pai lus ni yod pas na |
de ni med pai lus žes bya ||

1) Xyl. ḅdre.

47. dharmadhātāv akuśalaḥ sattvanirvāpaṇe matiḥ |
kṣetrāṇām śódhane caiva - - - - - ||

a) 不達真法界 起度衆生意
及清淨國土 生心卽是倒

b) 不了於法界 作度有情心
及清淨土田 此名爲誑妄

c'os kyi dbyiṅs la mi mk'as pa |
sems can mya ṅan ḍa' ba dañ ||
ñiñ rnam dag par bya bar sems |
des na p'yin ci log pa yin ||

48. [sattvānām bodhisattvā]nām dharmān yaś ca
[nairātmakān
buddhyā 'dhimucyate 'nārya āryo dhimān sa kathyate ||

a) 衆生及菩薩 知諸法無我
非聖自智信 及聖以有智

b) 於菩薩衆生 諸法無自性
若解雖非聖 名聖慧應知

sems can byañ c'ub sems dpa' yi |
c'os rnam su žig bdag med par ||
blos mos ḍp'ags min ḍp'ags pa'ñ ruñ |
de ni blo dañ ldan žes brjod ||

49. nopalambhe 'pi dharmāṇāṃ cakṣur na hi na vidyate |
buddhānāṃ pañcadhā t[ac ca vitathārthasya darśanāt] ||

a) 雖不見諸法 非無了境眼
諸佛五種實 以見彼顛倒

b) 雖不見諸法 此非無有眼
佛能具五種 由境虛妄故

c'os rnam la ni mi dmigs kyañ |
sañs rgyas rnam la spyān med min ||
de aṅ rnam pa lña yod do |
nor pai don tu gzigs pai p'yir ||

50. [nānāvithatavi]jñapteh smṛtyupasthānavarjanāt |
nirādhāraprabandho 'syā vitathā'to nirucyate ||

a) 種種顛倒識 以離於實念
不住彼實智 是故說顛倒

b) 種種心流轉 離於念處故
彼無持常轉 故說爲虛妄

nor pai rnam rig sna ts'ogs pa |
dran pa ñe bar bžag med p'yir ||
de yi rgyun ni gži med de |
de yi p'yir na nor žes bya ||

51. jñānasyādhārato jñeyā puṇye vitathatā na ca |
tataḥ puṇyanimittam hi puna[r dṛṣṭāntakīrtanam] ||

a) 佛智慧根本 非顛倒功德
以是福德相 故重說譬喻

b) 應知是智持 福乃非虛妄
顯此福因故 重陳其¹⁾喻說²⁾

bsod nams ye šes gži yin p'yir |
nor pa ma yin šes par bya ||
de lta bas na bsod nams p'yir |
dpe ni bzlas te bstan par mdsad ||

52. [na dharmakāyaṇiṣpattir anu]vyañjanam ucyate |
na ca lakṣaṇasampattis tad akāyatvato matā ||

a) 法身畢竟體 非彼相好身
以非相成就 非彼法身故

b) 謂於真法身 無隨好圓滿
亦非是具相 非身性應知

dpe byad bzañ po žes bya ba |
c'os kyi skur sgrub ma yin te ||
mts'an rnam s p'un ts'ogs pa aṅ min |
de p'yir sku dei sku min bžed ||

1) T. 1514 共.

2) T. 1514 言.

53. dharmakāyāvinirbhāgān na dvayaṃ na tathāgataḥ |
sampattir ucyate bhūyo dvayaṃ nāsty astitā tataḥ ||

a) 不離於法身 彼二非不佛
故重說成就 亦無二及有

b) 於法身無別 非如來無二
重言其具相 由二體皆無

c'os kyi sku las dbyed med p'yir |
gñis pa de bžin gšegs med min ||
p'un sum ts'ogs žes yañ brjod pas |
de p'yir gñis po med las yod ||

54. - - - - - [ka]lpitā |
dharmakāyāvinirbhāgād deśanāpy asvalakṣaṇā ||

a) 如佛法亦然 所說二差別
不離於法界 說法無自相

b) 如佛¹⁾說亦無 說二是所執
由不離法界 說亦無自性

saṅs rgyas bžin du bstan med p'yir |
bstan pa rnam pa gñis las brtags ||
c'os kyi dbyiṅs las dbyer med pas |
bstan pa'n rañ gi mts'an ñid [5 b] med ||

1) Ta. 1513 來.

55. deśyadaiśikagāmbhīryaśraddhā na ca na santi hi |
na sattvā nāpi cāsattvās te 'nāryārya - - - - ||

a) 所說說者深 非無能信者
非衆生衆生 非聖非不聖

b) 能說所說雖甚深 然亦非無敬信者
由非衆生非非生 非聖聖性相應故

ston dan bšad bya zab pa la |
dad med pa ni ma yin te ||
de dag aṇ'ags min aṇ'ags ldan p'yir |
sems can med min sems can min ||

56. - - - - - jñeyā bodhir¹⁾ anuttarā |
na vṛddhyā dharmadhātau hi śuddhisāmyāt sva-
la[kṣa]ṇāt ||

a) 彼處無少法 知菩提無上
法界不增減 淨平等自相

b) 少法無有故 無上覺應知
由法界不增 清淨平等性

c'os rnamś rdul tsam med p'yir dan |
c'os kyi dbyiṅś la skye med dan ||
dag pa mñan p'yir ran mts'an p'yir |
t'abs kyaṅ bla na med pai p'yir ||

1) Ms. bodher.

57. upāyānuttaratvāc ca sāsraivatvād adharmataḥ |
śubhā na dharmā - - - - - ||

- a) 有無上方便 及離於漏法
是故非淨法 卽是清淨法
- b) 及方便無上 由漏性非法
是故非善法 由此名爲善

byañ c'ub bla med šes par bya |
zag dañ bcas pa c'os min p'yir ||
dge bai c'os rnams ma yin no |
de p'yir de ñid dge bai c'os ||

58. [naiva?] cāvyaḥkṛtatve 'pi deśanā 'prāptaye¹⁾ matā |
dharmaratnaṃ tataś caikaṃ ratnād anyād viśiṣyate ||

- a) 雖言無記法 而說是彼因
是故一法寶 勝無量珍寶
- b) 說法雖無記 非不得應知
由斯一法寶 勝彼寶無量

bstan pa luñ du ma bstan kyañ |
t'os par mi aḡyur bšed ma yin ||
de p'yir rin c'en c'os gcig na |
rin c'en mt'a' yas las kyañ aḡ'ags ||

1) Ms. deśanāprā°.

59. saṃkhyāprabhavajātīnāṃ saṃbandhasya viśeṣaṇe |
 - - - - - [labh]yate ||

a) 數力無似勝 無似因亦然
 一切世間法 不可得爲喻

b) 於諸算勢類 因亦有差殊
 尋思於世間 喻所不能及

graṅs dañ mt'u dañ rigs rnam dañ |
 ḅrel ba dag gi k'yad par ni ||
 brtags kyañ ḅjig rten t'ams cad na |
 dpe byar ruñ ba mi rñed do ||

60. samatvād dharmadhātoś ca na sattvā mocitā jinaiḥ |
 sahanāmnā yataḥ skandhā dharmadhātvaḥirgatāḥ ||

a) 平等真法界 佛不度衆生
 以名共彼陰 不離於法界

b) 法界平等故 佛不度衆生
 於諸名共聚 不在法界外

c'os kyi dbyiñs ni mñam pa dañ |
 p'uñ po mi[ñ]¹⁾ bcas c'os dbyiñs las ||
 p'yi rol ma gyur de yi p'yir |
 rgyal bas sems can bkrol ba med ||

1) Xyl. mi bcas.

61. ātmagrāhasamo doṣas ta - - - - - |
 - - - - - grāhe hi ¹⁾ agrāhagrāhatā matā ||

a) 取我度爲過 以取彼法是
 取度衆生故 不取取應知

b) 若起於法執 與我執過同
 定執脫有情 是無執妄執

bkrol byai sems can ḥsin na ni |
 de la c'os su ḥsin ḥgyur te ||
 bdag tu ḥsin dañ ñes pa mts'uñs |
 gzun du med pas ḥsin par bśed ||

62. na caiva rūpakāyena so 'numeyas tathāgataḥ |
 dharmakāyo yataś cakravartī mābhūt tathāgataḥ ||

a) 非是色身相 可比知如來
 諸佛唯法身 轉輪王非佛

b) 不應以色體 准²⁾如來法身
 勿彼轉輪王 與如來齊等

gañ p'yir ḥk'or lo sgyur ba yañ |
 de bžin gšegs pas brgol ³⁾ ḥgyur p'yir ||
 de bžin gšegs pa c'os kyi sku |
 gzugs kyi sku las brtag pa min ||

1) So *metri causa*.

2) Ta. 1514 唯.

3) Reading doubtful.

63. na ca lakṣaṇavaipākyapu[ṇy]. - - - - - |
 [dharmakāya]sya lābho hi ¹⁾ upāyo yad vilakṣaṇaḥ ||

a) 非相好果報 依福德成就
 而得真法身 方便異相故

b) 卽具相果報 圓滿福不許
 能招於法身 由方便異性

mts'an ni rnam par smin pa yi |
 bsod nams p'un sum ts'ogs pa las ||
 c'os sku aṭ'ob par mi bžed do |
 t'abs dañ mts'an ñid mi aḍra' p'yir ||

64. rūpānuśravamātreṇa na buddhajñāḥ pṛthagjanaḥ |
 tathatādharmakāyo hi yato 'vijñānagocaraḥ ||

a) 唯見色聞聲 是人不知佛
 以真如法身 非是識境故

b) 唯見色聞聲 是人不知佛
 此真如法身 非是識境界

c'os sku de bžin ñid yin te |
 rnam šes spyod yul min ²⁾ pai p'yir ||
 gzugs dañ de ni sgra tsam las |
 skye bo sañs rgyas mi rtog so ||

1) As before *metri causa*.

2) Xyl. yin.

65. na ca puṇyas - - - - - |
kṣāntilābhe 'pi nocchedo nirmalasyāśya lābhataḥ ||

a) 不 失 功 德 因 及 彼 勝 果 報
得 勝 忍 不 失 以 得 無 垢 果

b) 其 福 不 失 亡 果 報 不 斷 絕
得 忍 亦 不 斷 以 獲 無 垢 故

bsod nams c'ud zar aḡyur ba med |
de yi aḡbras bu'n aḡad mi aḡyur ||
dge ni dri med t'ob pas na |
bzod pa t'ob kyañ c'ad mi aḡyur ||

66. punaḥ puṇyanimittam hi tasmād dṛṣṭāntadeśanā |
tat puṇyasyā'vipākatvān¹⁾ nodgrahaḥ saparigrahaḥ ||

a) 示 勝 福 德 相 是 故 說 譬 喻
是 福 德 無 報 如 是 受 不 取

b) 更 論 於 福 因 爲 此 陳 其 喻
彼 福 無 報 故 正 取 非 越 取

de lta bas na bsod nams p'yir |
[6 a] dpe bstan pa ni yañ brjod do ||
bsod nams des ni rnam smin med |
de p'yir aḡsin bcas²⁾ log aḡsin min ||

1) Ms. oṇyasya vi.

2) Xyl. bcos.

67. tan nirmāṇaphalaṃ teṣā[ṃ puṇya] - - - - - |
anābhogena yat karma buddhāḥ kurvanti dikṣu ca ||

a) 是 福 德 應 報 爲 化 諸 衆 生
 自 然 如 是 業 諸 佛 現 十 方

b) 彼 福 招 化 果 作 利 有 情 事
 彼 事 由 任 運 成 佛 現 諸 方

de dag gi ni bsod nams dei |
ābras bu sprul dañ sems can gdul ||
sañs rgyas rnam gyi aṅ'rin las aḍi |
lhun gyis grub pa p'yogs na mdsad ||

68. gatyādayas tu nirmāṇair buddhās tv avicalāḥ sadā |
dharmadhātau ca tatsthānaṃ naikatvānyatvato matam ||

a) 去 來 化 身 佛 如 來 常 不 動
 於 是 法 界 處 非 一 亦 不 異

b) 去 來 等 是 化 正 覺 常 不 動
 彼 於 法 界 處 非 一 異 應 知

sprul pa rnam kyis bžud la sogs ¹⁾ |
rtag tu mi ḡyo sañs rgyas rnam ||
de dag c'os kyi dbyiñs gnas pa |
gcig dañ t'a dad ma yin bžed ||

1) Xyl. lagso.

69. rajomaṣīkriyā dhātor dṛ[ṣṭāntas tasya dyota]kaḥ |
maṣīkara[ṇa]tā kleśakṣayasyeha nidarśanam ||

a) 世界作微塵 此喻示彼義
微塵碎爲末 示現煩惱盡

b) 微塵將作墨 喻顯於法界
此論造墨事 爲彰煩惱盡

k'ams rdul p'ye mar bya ba ni |
de na de yi dpe yin no ||
ḍdi la p'ye mar bya ba ni |
ñon moṅs zad pai dpe yin no ||

70. asaṃcayatvā¹⁾piṇḍatvam anekatvanidarśanam |
saṃhatasthānatā tasmin nānyatve²⁾ ca nidarśanam ||

a) 非聚集故集 非唯是一喻
聚集處非彼 非是差別喻

b) 非聚非集性 顯是非一性
於彼總集性 明其非異性

ts'ogs min ril po ma yin pas |
ḍdu ma ñid kyi dpe yin no ||
de la ḍdus par gnas pa ni |
t'a dad ma yin dpe yin no ||

1) Ms. °vāt pi°.

2) Ms. naryatve.

71. vyavahāramātratāyā [bālā]nām udgraho 'nyathā |
dvayābhāvān na bodhyāptiḥ prahāṇād ātmadhar-
mayoḥ ||

a) 但隨於音聲 凡夫取顛倒
非無二得道 遠離於我法

b) 不了但俗言 諸凡愚妄執
斷我法二種 非證覺無故

t'a sñad tsam du ma šes p'yir |
byis pa gžan du log par aḍsin ||
bdag dañ c'os gñis med pai p'yir |
de bas byañ c'ub t'ob mi aḡyur ||

72. tasmād dṛṣṭir adrṣṭiś ca nairarthyābhūtakaḷpataḥ |
sūksmam āvaraṇaṃ hy etat tathā jñānāt pra[hīyate] ||

a) 見我即不見 無實虛妄見
此是微細障 見真如遠離

b) 是故見無見 無境虛妄執
由此是細障 如是知故斷

de p'yir don med nor brtags pas |
lta ba med dañ lta bar aḡyur ||
de gñis sgrib pa p'ra ba ste |
de ltar šes pas spoñ bar aḡyur ||

73. jñānadvayasamādhānapraheyam tac ca deśitam |
nirmāṇaiḥ kaśaṇāt puṇyam tad buddhānām na
[nākṣayam ||

a) 二智及三昧 如是得遠離
化身不現福 非無無盡福

b) 由得二種智 及定彼方除
陳福明化身 非無無盡福

de yañ ye šes rnam gñis dañ |
tiñ ñe aḍsin gyi spañ par bstan ||
sañs rgyas rnam kyis sprul rnam kyis |
bšad pai bsod nams zad mi aḡyur ||

74. nirmīto 'smīti cātmānaṃ kāśayantas tathāgatāḥ |
prakāśayanti nā[tmānaṃ] tasmāt sā kāśanā satī ||

a) 諸佛說法時 不言是化身
以不如是說 是故彼說正

b) 諸佛說法時 不言身是化
由不自言故 是其真實說

de bžin gšegs rnam ston pa ni |
ña ni sprul pa yin no žes ||
bdag ñid ston par mi mdsad p'yir |
bstan pa de ni legs pa yin ||

75. saṃskāro na tathā nānyam nirvānam hi tathāgate |
navadhā sambhūtasyeha saṃyagjñānaparīkṣaṇāt ||

a) 非有爲非離 諸如來涅槃
九種有爲法 妙智正觀故

b) 如來涅槃證 非造亦不殊
此集造有九 以正智觀故

de bžin gšegs pai mya ñan aḍas |
aḍu byed ma yin gžan pa min ||
aḍir ni yañ dag šes pa yis |
aḍus byas rnam pa dgur brtag p'yir ||

76. drṣṭir ¹⁾ nimittam vijñānam pratiṣṭhādehabhogatā |
atītam vartamānam ca parīkṣyam cāpy anāgatam ||

a) 見相及於識 器身受用事
過去現在法 亦觀未來世

b) 見相及與識 居處身受用
過去并現存 未至詳觀察

lta dañ mts'an rnam šes dañ |
gnas dañ lus dañ loñs spyod dañ ||
aḍas pa dañ ni da ltar dañ |
ma 'oñs brtag par bya ba yin ||

1) Ms. drṣṭim.

77. lakṣaṇasyopabhogasya pravṛtteś ca parikṣaṇāt |
nirmalām [teṣu] vaśitām saṃskāreṣu samāpnute ||

a) 觀相及受用 觀於三世事
於有爲法中 得無垢自在

b) 由觀察相故 受用及遷流
於有爲事中 獲無垢自在

mts'an ñid dan ni log pa ¹⁾ dan |
ajug pa rnam [6 b] ni bṛtag pa las ||
adu byed rnam kyī gzi dag la |
dbañ byed dri ma med pa aṭ'ob ||

triśatikāyāḥ prajñāpāramitā[yāḥ] kārīkāsaptaṭiḥ
[samāptā || o ||
kṛtir iyam āryāsaṅgapādānām iti || o ||

šes rab kyī p'a rol tu p'yin pa rdo rje gcod
pa bšad pai bšad sbyar gyī ts'ig leur byas pa
rdsogs so ||

1) Sic = mithyā; perhaps a mistake for ñe bar spyod: upabhoga.

TRANSLATION.

1. As the supreme favour (p a r a m ā n u g r a h e ṇ a . p. 20¹⁾, l. 3) should be considered the body (bestowed upon the bodhisattva, since the Buddha-characteristics come therein to maturation) as well as the other things connected with it; supreme entrusting (p a r ī n d a n ā y ā , p. 20, l. 5) means that he does not loose either what he has obtained or what he has not yet obtained (because he does not forsake the mahāyāna nor his endeavour to be proficient in it).

[End of chapter 2]

2. the intention (ā ś a y a) of benefitting others, which appears in his mind (and which aims at illumination) is full of good qualities; it is fourfold: *a*) vast, because when the bodhisattva makes his vow, c i t t o t p ā d a , his purpose is to lead to salvation all the living beings, p. 21, l. 1 m a y ā s a r v e etc.; *b*) supreme, (because his aim is that all these beings should enter perfect nirvāṇa, p. 21, l. 1 p a r i ṇ i r v a p ā y i t a v y ā ḥ); *c*) absolute, (because no being at all does in reality exist, n a k a ś c i t s a t t v a ḥ p a r i n i r v ā p i t a ḥ); *d*) not erroneous (because in case he thinks of some being as existent he would no longer be a bodhisattva, p. 21, l. 4 n a s a b o d h i s a t t v a v a k t a v y o . . . p u d g a l a s a ṃ j ñ ā v ā p r a v a r t e t a); it represents the way of staying in this vehicle (of the gnosis).

[End of chapter 3]

¹⁾ Page references to M. Müller's edition.

Coming then to the explanation how the *p r a j ñ ā . p ā r a m i t ā* should be practised, the text states that the bodhisattva must practise the *p ā r a m i t ā* of liberality without therefore taking anything as real. But then, one may ask, why is here liberality alone mentioned when the *p ā r a m i t ā s* are six?

3. The six *p ā r a m i t ā s* are alluded to by the mere mention of liberality and this on account of the character common to all of giving something, whether it be *a*) goods (*ā m i ṣ a*); *b*) protection (*a b h a y a*); *c*) the Law itself (*d h a r m a*). The first contains only one element viz. the giving itself; the second two, viz. observance of the moral rules and patience; the third, three viz. energy, meditation and gnosis. Such a path is said to be a path which has no hold on anything (*a p r a t i ṣ ṭ h i t a*).

What is the meaning of: p. 21, l. 7 *n a . . . v a s t u . . . p r a t i ṣ ṭ h i t e n a d ā n a m d ā t a v y a m ?*

4. No attachment: *a*) to one's own self as something really existent (implicit in *v a s t u* l. 7); *b*) to the expectation of a reward for the good which has been done (implicit in *k v a c i t* l. 8, reward being *l ā b h a* and *s a t k ā r a*) and *c*) to the result of the good action which has been accomplished (implicit in *r ū p a* l. 8). (This suggests that) two things should be equally avoided: the non-practice of liberality (on account of love to one's own person), and the practice of it when it aims at something else than right meditation.

This explains how liberality should be practised. The s ū t r a then explains the control of mind:

5. *a*) the control of mind concerning the group of the things to be considered under three different points of view (viz. as regards liberality in itself, the person to whom liberality is shown and the donor, the three being equally non-existent); *b*) the keeping away of the mind from the assumption of the existence of characters peculiar (to the things, as if they were existent); *c*) the elimination of the subsequent doubts which may arise, one after the other, as regards the statement contained in the text (chiefly that, if there is no liberality, no merit derived from it would be possible).

[End of chapter 4]

Somebody may ask: if the liberality is practised without believing in the existence of the things, d h a r - m a s , how then can one practise it in the hope of obtaining Buddhahood? Therefore the s ū t r a says: t a t k i ṃ m a n y a s e l a k ṣ a ṇ a s a ṃ - p a d ā etc. "What do you think, Subhūti, is the Buddha to be seen on account of the perfection of his signs etc.?" p. 22, l. 1.

6. One may suppose that Buddhahood is something produced (on account of the merits of liberality etc.); therefore, (in order to refute that assumption, here) it is excluded that perfection consists in obtaining the signs (of the m a h ā p u r u ṣ a), which are peculiar to the apparitional body; in fact the d h a r -

m a k ā y a being non-produced, no signs of m a h ā - p u r u ṣ a can be superimposed on it. Therefore the s ū t r a says: y ā s ā l a k ṣ a ṇ a s a ṃ p a t . . . s a i v ā l a k ṣ a ṇ a s a ṃ p a t , p. 22, l. 3), viz. Buddhahood is something different from the three characters (which are peculiar to everything produced: origination, duration, destruction). In fact difference from (viz. absence of) that triple character is said to be the Tathāgata (viz. the condition of the Tathāgata is not produced) ¹⁾

[End of chapter 5]

These ideas (the practice of liberality etc. a p r a t i - ṣ ṭ h i t a and transcendence of the Buddha) are so difficult to be grasped that, in future, when Buddhism will begin to decline, there will hardly be people disposed to believe it (p. 22, 17).

7. This teaching of something very deep, along with the (peculiar notion) of cause and effect, which is implicit in it, even in this cosmic age (y u g a), the worst of all, is not fruitless, because there are (even now) bodhisattvas possessed of the three necessary qualities (good qualities, moral conduct and wisdom, g u ṇ a v a n t a ḥ ś ī l a v a n t a ḥ p r a j ñ ā v a n - t a ḥ, as it is said at p. 22, l. 17).

Asaṅga is now going to explain that sentence in the following k ā r i k ā .

1) In *b* Ch. *a* and T. suppose s a ṃ p a t - p r ā p t i r ; Ch. *b* read differently " the good signs are not the supreme signs " in *d* T. understands " since the l a k ṣ a ṇ a are changing... ".

8. Since, in their former existence, they have attended (the Buddhas) by means of the (triple) training and have planted roots of moral merits in front of the Buddhas, other (than the last one, these Bodhisattvas are said) to be possessed of moral conduct and of good qualities.

Having so explained why the *sūtra* calls these bodhisattvas *śīlavantaḥ* and *guṇavantaḥ*, the A. passes on to explaining the third epithet: *prajñāvantaḥ*, possessed of wisdom.

9. They are also possessed of wisdom, because they have cut off any assumption as regards the substantiality of dharmas as well as of any metaphysical entity in the beings. This assumption is eightfold because its objects are eightfold.

viz., as will be explained below, four assumptions concerning the metaphysical entity in beings: *ātman*, *sattva*, *jīva*, *pudgala*; and four assumptions concerning dharmas: *dharmā*, *adharma*, *saṃjñā*, *asaṃjñā* (p. 23, l. 7-8). Therefore he adds:

10. The assumption of a metaphysical entity in the beings is fourfold; in fact it can be considered *a*) as something existing apart from the five constituents of a person (*ātman*); *b*) as a continuity of existence (*sattva*); *c*) as a duration up to the end of life (*jīva*); *d*) as a clinging to a new form of existence (*pudgala*)¹.

1) Traditional etymology of *pudgala*, *AK*, IX, p. 245, n. 3.

As regards d h a r m a s :

11. The assumption of dharmas is also fourfold (though no assumption of dharmas, d h a r m a s a ṃ j ñ ā , is really possible), because *a*) all dharmas are not existent (the notion of perceiver and perceived being untenable); (on the other hand the assumption of no-dharma is impossible), *b*) because there exists this non-existence¹⁾ (as voidness, ś ū n y a ; nor assumption, s a ṃ j ñ ā , is possible), *c*) because there is nothing of which something can be postulated; (but non assumption is also impossible), *d*) because there is the conventional use of predicating something of something.

One may now ask why the bodhisattvas possessed of wisdom have been discussed apart from those possessed of moral conduct and good qualities? The reply is found in the fact that the b h ū t a – s a ṃ j ñ ā , viz. the assumption according to truth, is something distinct:

12. On account of four reasons, viz.: *a*) their faith in the s ū t r a s (when they listen to their contents); *b*) their being pleased with them; *c*) their understanding of the meaning of the s ū t r a s not according to their verbal expressions; *d*) on the contrary their grasping properly what has been there taught; (for these reasons) the right assumption of truth is peculiar to these (Bodhisattvas).

¹⁾ Cf. M d h . V . , I , 1 .

abhūtaparikalpo 'sti dvayaṃ tatra na vidyate |
śūnyatā vidyate tv atra tasyām api sa vidyate ||

But who are those creatures to whom the sūtra has already referred and are known and seen by the Tathāgata only? p. 23, l. 2. 4. The sūtra says that the results acquired by those bodhisattvas are known by the Tathāgata, they are not inferred, but intuitively perceived, not seen by the corporeal eye. In order to make this point clear the A. comments:

13. The qualities (referred to above) of these bodhisattvas are not inferred by the Buddhas on account of the results they bring about, but they are (directly) ascertained by them, on account of the knowledge (peculiar to the Buddhas) and descended from the vow originally made¹⁾. The Buddha has so said (in the passage here considered of the sūtra) in order to refute (the possibility) of such a statement on the part of those who desire to obtain profit and honours (and proclaim themselves to be holy men).
14. The grasping of the Law (as expounded in the sūtras etc.) is such that one should not repose on it (when one has possessed its meaning), but at the same time conform to it; it should then (be taken and) rejected as a raft (which is useful until one reaches the other shore, but is abandoned when one has reached it). This is said to be the hidden implication inherent in the Law²⁾ (which states that the dharma should be at the same time embraced and abandoned).

[End of chapter 6]

1) Cf. *AK*, VII, pp. 88, 89 and 89, n. 1.

2) This shows that Walleser's suggestion (*Prajñāpāramitā, Die Vollkommenheit der Erkenntnis*, p. 143, n. 2) that *samdhāya* should be changed into *samghāya* cannot be accepted.

But now another doubt is possible: if, as stated before, the Buddha should not be viewed from the perfection of his corporeal signs, because Buddhahood is not produced, how is it, then, that in the scriptures it is affirmed that the Buddha has realized the supreme illumination and that he then preached it? This traditional view would contradict what is here affirmed viz. that there is no illumination to be realized, nor any Law to be preached. Commenting upon p. 24, l. 1 ff. the A. goes on to say:

15. By the fact of being apparitional, the apparitional body is not really the Buddha, nor any Law has been taught by it; on the contrary it has been taught that no dharma can ever be grasped in either way, viz. either (as dharma or as non-dharma as stated before) and that it is therefore inexpressible because it transcends the path of words.

[End of chapter 7]

But though the Law cannot be grasped nor taught, still it is not unreal, it exists. (In fact the sūtra says: *tat kiṃ manyase, subhūte, yaḥ kaścit kulaputra* etc. 24, l. 10 ff.).

16. The grasping of that dharma (for oneself) and its teaching (to others) is not useless, because one accumulates by it a (great) quantity of merit; it is merit in so far as it is not (taken as) the support of illumination (because when the text speaks of *skandha* of merit, the word: *skandha*, has not here the sense of shoulder viz. of that which carries something,

but that of accumulation, heap); on the other hand both the grasping of the dharma and its teaching can support ¹⁾ the illumination.

Therefore the sūtra immediately adds that the supreme illumination is derived from this text p. 25, l. 4 a t o n i r j ā t ā .

17. The accomplishment of merits (which is derived from the grasping of the dharma and from its teaching to others, g ā t h ā m u d g ṛ h y a p a r e b h y o d e ś a y e t p. 25, l. 3) is the summit as the cause by which one obtains what is essential ²⁾ (b o d h i - v i z . d h a r m a k ā y a - here called essential because it is not produced, a s a m s k ṛ t a), then, in so far the other body than this (viz. n i r m ā ṇ a - k ā y a) is born out of it and, last, since it shows the uniqueness of the qualities of the Buddha (as is indicated in the sūtra when it states that these are the dharmas of the Buddha, p. 25, l. 8).

[End of chapter 8]

The sūtra states that all saintly persons are defined as being beyond the conditioned, a s a m s k ṛ t a - p r a b h ā v i t ā (p. 24, l. 9); but, on the other hand, the scriptures tell us that the ś r o t a - ā p a n n a etc. obtain the fruit of their conduct. Is not this a contradiction? No, for the reason explained in the same sūtra, p. 26, l. 8.

¹⁾ But T. r t o g p a y i n where this expression may have the meaning of a n u - g a m , v y a v a s ā y , to reach, to ascertain.

²⁾ Ch. 1511 a: "the cause of the understanding of the true name".

18. No dharma can be grasped nor can it be taught by words because no one (from śrōt a – ā p a n n a . . . up to a r h a t) can grasp a fruit as one's own (on account of the true nature of everything being a s a ṃ - s k ṛ t a , a s a ṃ s k ṛ t a – p r a b h ā v i t a , and of the erroneous implications of an eventual assumption that there is a partaker in that fruit like the ā t m a n etc.) Since he is free of both impediments (the moral defilements and the intellectual defilements), in Su- bhūti both kinds of defilement are absent (a r a ṇ ā , as is stated at p. 26, l. 12).

[End of chapter 9]

This statement seems to contradict the other contained in some scriptures that Śākyamuni received the Law from Dīpaṃkara. In fact such a contradiction does not exist, because, as the s ū t r a tells us, p. 26, l. 18, there is no doctrine which the Buddha received from Dīpaṃkara.

19. Śākyamuni did not receive by means of words any (instruction how to) realize the doctrine from the Buddha Dīpaṃkara. Therefore it is proved that in its realization there is nothing which was grasped or was expressed in words.

But if it is so, how is it possible to say that the bodhi- sattva can partake of the Buddha fields (b u d - d h a – k ṣ e t r a) or be considered king of the Law? A reply to this question is contained in p. 27, l. 1.

20. It is impossible to be a partaker of the Buddha fields, because they are a mere denomination which is the

mental outflow of the Buddha; on account of their not having any material consistency (from the point of view of the absolute truth) and of the eminency which they imply, the arrangement (v y ū h a) of these fields is said to be essentially a non-arrangement (a - v y ū h a).

C i t t a m should always be a p r a t i ṣ ṭ h i t a m, mind should repose nowhere (p. 27, l. 5). The Buddha, king of the Law, cannot speak of himself as a Buddha, king of the Law, as if he had grasped the Law, just as the Sumeru cannot speak of itself as being the Sumeru (p. 27, l. 9 ff.).

21. Just as the Sumeru cannot grasp itself as being the king of mountains, in the same way no Buddha (in spite of his greatness) can grasp himself as being in the condition of fruition, s a ṃ b h o g a (because no activity of imaginative thought is admissible in either case). In fact it is a state characterized by the absence of any impure influx (ā ś r a v a) as well as of karmic forces (s a ṃ s k ṛ t a, in so far as it does not depend on any external cause).

[End of chapter 10]

This explains the statement of the s ū t r a that the self (ā t m a b h ā v a) is no existent thing (b h ā - v a) and that this non existence (a - b h ā v a) is the real self (ā t m a b h ā v a), p. 27, l. 13-15.

Now one may ask: The s ū t r a has already spoken of merit; how is it that it now comes back again to the same subject? (p. 27, l. 15 ff.).

22. (The sūtra returns again to the subject of merit) in order to make manifest the varieties in its greatness and in order to prove its peculiarity. Therefore a second instruction (so that faith in it may increase) is here given by means of an example in order to show that the following exceeds the previous one. (With a different emphasis, in so far as in the previous case the Buddha has spoken of merits which are not a support of illumination and now of a merit which can support illumination).

Which is this gift that can be a support to illumination, that is which is the supreme merit? The reply is given in the following stanzas.

[End of chapter 11]

23-25. The gift of the Law is superior to any other gift, because *a*) it makes worthy the two (viz. the place where the doctrine has been given i. e. preached *pṛthivī-pradeśa*, p. 28, l. 10, and the giver of it, i.e. the preacher of the doctrine, p. 28, l. 14 *dhārayiṣyanti... samprakāśayiṣyanti*;

[End of chapter 12]

b) the fruits which are its outflow are very great, (because in fact no dharma has ever been preached, p. 29, l. 3 ff.);

c) it is the cause of no defilement¹⁾; (as the gift of other things, p. 29, l. 6 ff., rather it stops all sorts of defilements);

1) Ch. *a* and *b* and T. “for being a cause of *samkleśa*”; this refers to the gift of jewels; the Sanskrit text intends the gift of Law, which is *asamkleśa*.

Ch. *a* “It subdues merit in which there is passion” 染 *rāga*.

d) it surpasses the inferior merit (in so far as its aim is the realization of supreme illumination and not the obtainment of the signs of the *m a h ā p u r u ṣ a*. (This would be an erroneous assumption since the *d h a r m a k ā y a*, as has been said before, is devoid of any sign, p. 29, l. 13 ff.);

e) from the practice of those lower merits one gets as a fruit higher pains (in so far as the practice of liberality, as a result, causes enjoyment to be experienced by one's own body in a future life, and that body is essentially sorrow, while the merit derived from the gift of the Law makes us abandon numberless bodies) p. 29, l. 19 ff;

[End of chapter 13]

f) its ends are difficult to be obtained (referring to *n a m a y ā ś r u t a - p ū r v a ḥ* said by Subhūti p. 30, l. 8): and its meaning is the highest (referring to: *p r a j ñ ā p ā r a m i t ā s a i v ā p ā r a m i t ā* p. 31, l. 6 ff.);

g) the limits to its contents cannot be known;

h) its teachings are not common to those of the other sects (viz. the *b h ū t a s a ṃ j ñ ā* p. 30, l. 10, is peculiar only to this doctrine);

i) it is profound and deep; (in so far as no wrong opinion, *v i p a r y ā s a*, is found in this doctrine concerning the existence either of the percipient or of things to be perceived, *n ā t m a - s a ṃ j ñ ā . . . p r a v a r t i - ṣ y a t e . . .* p. 30, l. 19 ff.; but in spite of this realization of non-existence, the bodhisattva does not feel any mental fear, which is of three kinds: *n o t t r a - s i ṣ y a n t i*, *n o s a ṃ t r a s i ṣ y a n t i*, *n a s a ṃ - t r ā s a m ā p a t s y a n t e* p. 31, l. 5);

k) it is superior to the *sūtras* of the other schools (*pāramapāramiteyam* p. 31, l. 6);

l) it has a great and pure connection (with the lineage) of the Buddhas (*yāṃ ca... tathāgata bhāṣante* p. 31, l. 7-8).

Therefore the merit derived from the understanding and practice of the gnosis distinguishes itself from and it is far superior to that derived from the mere practice of good actions etc.

(But though the practice of the gnosis is painful, nevertheless it cannot be said to be a cause of pain; this point is made clear in the two following stanzas:)

26-27. The capacity¹⁾ to endure the difficult practice of the path leading to illumination is designated as being excellent (*pāramapāramitā* p. 31, l. 8) because;

a) it is propitious (consubstantiated with the perfections) *b*) it is impossible to enumerate the merits deriving from it; *c*) moreover, since in this doctrine there is no place either for the notion of a self (which can be offended) or for that of an offence, there is in it no possibility of admitting a condition of suffering (p. 31, l. 11 ff.); *d*) this practice of the path to illumination is (in fact) accompanied by satisfaction, because, being compassion, it does not cause sorrow as fruit ²⁾.

1) But T. has *ci mi sñam* which does not give any meaning here.

2) So according to Skr. and Ch. *b*: Ch. *a* and T. read *duḥkha phala dā*: but in the Comm. the reading is evidently *aduḥkha*, not only without pain, but possessed of pleasure; if the reading *duḥkha* is accepted the meaning could be that the practice, pleasant because accompanied by

It may be that somebody, on account of the sufferings implicit in the practice of the six perfections, gives up the vow of realizing the supreme illumination. In order to clear up this doubt the *sūtra* states that one should abandon all sorts of notions etc. (*sarvasaṃjñāṃ vivarjayitvā* etc. p. 31 last line p. 32 first line), because only a man who has not formulated that vow can be deterred by the sufferings of that practice, not he who has formulated the vow and, therefore, has implicitly abandoned all notions and is *apraṭiṣṭhitacitta*, viz. with mind resting nowhere. Such is the purpose of the following stanza.

28. In fact a strong effort is to be made in the effectuation of not renouncing the vow of reaching illumination; so also in the mastery of the perfection of patience (*kṣāntipāramitā*) and in the means instrumental to that (viz. realization of illumination, the perfection of liberality, etc. all depending on the mind not resting anywhere ¹⁾).

This statement of the mind reposing nowhere (*apraṭiṣṭhitacitta*) as a fundamental quality of the bodhisattva, seems to be contradicted by what the *sūtra* states, viz. that the vow of attaining illumination and the practice of the *pāramitās* should be followed in order to benefit beings. There-

compassion, in the end causes sorrow in so far as it supposes that the being to whom compassion is directed exists and therefore the false conception still persists; therefore the projection of illusory forms still continues.

1) In the *sūtra* p. 32 l. 6 there is mention of liberality only because, as was said before, liberality includes all sorts of perfections.

fore the mind should at least repose on the thought that beings exist.

The stanza 29 solves this doubt.

29. The practice of the proper behaviour (*p r a t i p a t t i*) is to be understood as being useful to the creatures in so far as it is the cause of (their benefit); but it should also be understood as being devoid of any assumption implying that those creatures have the character of real things, *s a r v a - s a t t v ā n ā m a r t h ā y a* 32, l. 9).

But what is then the real character of the beings?

30. That thing which we call a creature (in reality is nothing but) a denomination (applied to the synthesis of) some components (*s k a n d h a*); (therefore it is a non-notion, *a s a ṃ j ñ ā* p. 32, l. 10 and devoid of any essence). These two notions viz. *ā t m a n*, as well as *dharmā*, completely disappear in the Victorious One; therefore (creatures and dharmas as well), are not existent for the Buddhas in so far as these are possessed of the vision of reality ¹⁾.

But if that is really so and no practice really exists, then does this mean that there is no cause of the fruit to be realized, viz. the illumination or, in other words, that the path is no cause of the fruit?

Certainly not, because the *s ū t r a* says: *b h ū - t a v ā d ī* etc. p. 32, l. 11).

1) T. and Ch. *a* read "The Buddha has not the two".

31. The path does not repose on the notion of its being a cause of a fruit consisting in Buddhahood (which would then be produced: *s a m s k ṛ t a*), but it is nevertheless the instrumental cause of its fruit; because the Buddhas (who proclaimed this doctrine) tell always the truth. This statement of truth by them is fourfold:
32. Viz. *a*) the promise (to become a Buddha), *b*, *c*) the teaching contained in the Lesser and the teaching contained in the Greater Vehicle, *d*) that contained in prophecies delivered by the Buddha which never turn out to be false.

This explains the fourfold expression of the *s ū t r a* *b h ū t a v ā d ī*, *s a t y a v ā d ī*, *t a t h ā v ā d ī*, *a n a n y a t h ā v ā d ī*.

But how is it possible to say that the very teaching of the Tathāgata is such that it cannot be said to be either true (*s a t y a m*) or false (*m ṛ ṣ ā*)? (p. 32, l. 14).

33. Therefore since it does not reach anything (as a real existent thing, in so far as there is nothing which exists behind these words), this teaching is not true; it cannot either be said to be untrue, in so far as it is in agreement with (the fact that illumination is reached); it is taught so as to serve as a counteragent to the inclination of taking words according to their literal meaning (as if they corresponded to an entity). (Therefore there is no contradiction when the *s ū t r a*

says: *b h ū t a v ā d ī t a t h ā g a t a*, and afterwards adds: *n a s a t y a m , n a m ṛ ṣ ā*).

Now a doubt is possible; if the saints are, as has been told, *a s a m s k ṛ t a - p r a b h ā v i t ā* (where *a s a m s k ṛ t a = t a t h a t ā*), then, how is it that Buddhahood is realized by a mind reposing nowhere (*a p r a t i ṣ ṭ h i t a c i t t a*)? When illumination is realized a mind should repose somewhere (*p r a t i ṣ ṭ h i t a c i t t a*), Moreover, if this illumination is eternal and all pervading, then, how is it that sometimes it may be realized and sometimes not?

34. Though the absolute (*t a t h a t ā*) is always and everywhere, still it cannot be realized by those who, on account of ignorance, have their mind reposing somewhere (*p r a t i ṣ ṭ h i t a*) but, on the contrary, it is realized by the others whose mind, on account of right knowledge, reposes nowhere (*a p r a t i ṣ ṭ h i t a*).

(This is further explained by an example p. 32, l. 14 ff.).

35. Ignorance is like darkness, knowledge is said to be like light. The counteragent (of erroneous assumptions, here the example of the sun destroying darkness) and its opposite (here the example of darkness) are respectively conducive to realization of truth and to loss of it.
36. Now it is told what kind of merit is derived from such and such practice of a right behaviour and of what kind of (karmic) effects this practice of a right behaviour in the Law consists.

37. Concerning the right behaviour, as regards the doctrine consisting of sentences (expounded in the *sūtra*), it can be of three kinds: one may grasp the doctrine, one may be learned in it, one spreads it explaining it to others (*udgrahiṣyati, dhāraṣyati, vācaṣyati*) p. 32, l. 21. As regards the meaning, it can be obtained either from another or by oneself, viz. by listening to it or meditating on it.
38. This behaviour (viz. intended to grasp the Law) causes the spiritual ripeness of oneself; the other (viz. to explain it to others) causes the spiritual ripeness of the other creatures (cf. p. 33, l. 3). Therefore one kind of merit is superior to the other on account of its intrinsic greatness, as well as of the great time it requires to be accumulated.

[End of chapter 14]

(In stanza 36 mention was made of the effects connected with this practice of the right behaviour (*pratipatti*).

Now one may ask which are these effects connected with the Law? They are explained in the following three stanzas.

39. *a*) The character of not being accessible (to common people, *acintya* p. 33, l. 14), *b*) the uniqueness, (in so far as it is not common to *śrāvakas*, *atulyo*, *ibid.*), *c*) its being resorted to by great men, viz. those who have embraced the great vehicle, *agrayāna-samprasthitānām* p. 33, l. 15-16), *d*) difficulty to be heard, *na hi śakyam śro-*

t u m p. 34, l. 5, e) the capacity to develop to the utmost (pure) elements ¹⁾ (viz. the meritorious tendencies) up to the extreme, a c i n y e n a . . . p u ṇ y a s k a n d h e n a p. 34, l. 2 n ā b o d h i s a t t v a p r a t i j ñ a i ḥ . . . d h ā r a y i t u m , p. 34, l. 6-7.

40. f) the capacity of grasping (exactly) the supreme Law, g) the capacity of purifying the place where the Law was preached, a place worthy of worship, a p i t u k h a l u . . . b h a v i ṣ y a n t i p. 34, l. 9-12.

[End of chapter 15]

h) the capacity of clearing away all impurities, y ā n i c a t e ṣ ā m p. 34, l. 17-19; i) the quick realization of the mystic knowledge (a b h i j ñ ā), a b h i j ā n ā m y a h a m p. 34, l. 20 ff.

41. k) a great ripeness of the perfections to be experienced in the various worlds, s a c e t p u n a ḥ , S u b h ū t e , t e ṣ ā ṃ . . . p r a t i k ā ṃ k ṣ i t a v y a ḥ p. 35, l. 12-17; all these are said to be the effects of the behaviour in the Law.

[End of chapter 16]

How is it that on this very subject Subhūti puts in another question, though the Buddha has already stated that there are three kinds of right behaviour? P. 35.

42. If, when one practises the right behaviour, one assumes: “I am a bodhisattva” (or “I am practising the Law” or “I subdue my mind”), this is called obstruction

1) Ch. b h e t u 因 instead of d h ā t u . Ch. a reads: “non exclusion is (its) object”.

of mind (because in reality there is no bodhisattva): mind should repose nowhere (*apra ti ṣ ṭ hit a m*).

Now one may contend: in the *sū tra* it is written that there is no bodhisattva; but, then, if there is no bodhisattva, how could the Buddha Śākyamuni practise at the time of Dīpaṃkara ?

43. Since it was then prophesied by Dīpaṃkara that I should have become a Buddha in the future, I then did not practise, at the time of Dīpaṃkara, the supreme practice (because if I had then acquired the illumination, no prophecy could have been made concerning me. Moreover when a bodhisattva makes the vow to become a Buddha, then, if he thinks that there is no illumination, this implies that there are no Buddhas – and this is a wrong assumption of non-existence. In order to avoid this erroneous assumption the *sū tra* states that the Buddha is the real absolute, *b h ū t a t a t h a t ā*, p. 37, l. 3, where *b h ū t a* means “not false” and *t a t h a t ā* that “it cannot become another or change”. If, on the contrary, one thinks that illumination is realized, this is a false statement, *v i t a t h a* p. 37, l. 7); in fact illumination is equal to the practice (in the sense that there is nothing which can be practised, just as there is no such dharma as illumination which can be realized; if illumination could be obtained) in that case it would not be real, being something produced.

But is this not a complete negation of the possibilities of reaching perfect illumination ? The *sū tra* re-

plies: “ what is realized by the Buddha is neither true nor false ”, viz. *n a s a t y a ṃ n a m ṛ ṣ ā* p. 37, l. 13.

44. In so far (as all dharmas) are characterized as being devoid of any proper character, the dharmas are qualified as being not false. Therefore all dharmas are like the dharmas of the Buddhas (p. 77, l. 13, viz. *b h ū t a t a t h a t ā*) and so their character is that of being devoid of existence.

What is the meaning of the words *u p e t a k ā y o m a h ā k ā y o*? “ possessed of body, with a great body ” p. 37, l. 15.

45. On account of having a *d h a r m a*-body, the Buddha is said to be similar to a man; on account of the absence of the two impediments (viz. the intellectual and moral impediments), his (body) is all-pervading.
46. But this body is also said to be “ a great body ”, because it is possessed of a greatness of qualities. The Buddha is also spoken of as being without a body, *a k ā y a* at p. 37, l. 17, because his is a body of the non-existence (viz. *a s a ṃ s k ṛ t a - t a t h a t ā*).

Now the doubt may arise: if there are no bodhisattvas, then there is no perfect illumination realized by the Buddha, there are no creatures to lead to *nirvāṇa* and no paradises; what would, then, be the scope of the vow of the bodhisattva to help the beings to enter *nirvāṇa* or to make them think of paradise? The following stanzas answer this doubt.

47. a) The inability to understand properly the *dharma* *madhātū*, b) the idea that one may lead creatures to *nirvāṇa* (p. 37, l. 20) and c) the opinion of purification (as leading to) Buddha-fields (p. 38, l. 6) such (assumptions) as these are wrong views.
48. The man who concentrates his intelligence on all dharmas either of the (common) creatures or of the bodhisattvas (referring to *sūtra* p. 38, l. 9) and recognizes them as devoid of any self, this man, be he an unworthy man or be he a saint, is called an intelligent man, (a bodhisattva).

[End of chapter 17]

If one becomes enlightened only in so far as one does not see any dharma, then the Buddhas do not see any dharma. But this does not imply that the Buddha has no eyes (p. 38, l. 12 ff.):

49. Although there is no perception of a dharma, this does not mean that (the Buddha) has no eyes; because his eye is fivefold and it sees the different errors.
50. In so far as the various erroneous ideations are excluded from mindfulness, their series (or flux as hinted by the *sūtra*: *citta-dhārā... bhāṣitā* p. 39, l. 11) has no stand whatever, (because past, future and present, in which that continuity should develop, are not existent); therefore they are said to be false or wrong.

[End of chapter 18]

But why does the *sūtra* insert here, p. 39, l. 15, p. 40, l. 7, a new example concerning the accumulation of merits? One may in fact contend: if there is no such a thing as a flux of mental moments, the merit also which is accumulated would implicitly be impossible. If this merit is a false assumption, how then could virtue be realized? The reply is that there is no such thing as a flux of mental statuses; but this does not mean that accumulation of merit is to be avoided.

51. It should be known that there is no falsity in the accumulation of merit, in so far as this merit is a support of right understanding. Therefore, in order to explain the significance of this merit, there is another example concerning that very merit, (*bahū puṇyaskandha* p. 40, l. 1, where *skandha* is certainly not taken in the sense of constitutive element, *upādānaskandha*, because this would never be the support of right knowledge)

[End of chapter 19]

But now one may urge: if the Buddha is unconditioned, *asaṃskṛta*, how then is it stated that he is possessed of the lower and superior signs of the great man? In order to reply to this question the *sūtra* says that the Buddha is not seen as the completion of bodily forms, *rūpakāyapariniṣpattiyā* p. 40, l. 9 ff. nor as perfection of the signs of the great man (*lakṣaṇasaṃpadā* p. 40, l. 13). Here, as said in the commentary, *rūpa* should be understood as *anuvyañjana* viz. the 84 minor signs. The Buddha replies that *rūpakāyapariniṣpatti*

is in fact a p a r i n i ṣ p a t t i and that l a k ṣ a ṇ a - s a ṃ p a t is a l a k ṣ a ṇ a s a ṃ p a t . What does this mean ?

52-53. The completion of the d h a r m a k ā y a is not said to consist in the (appearance of the) secondary signs (= r ū p a k ā y a), nor is it the perfection of the signs of the great man, because that (perfection of d h a r m a k ā y a) is considered as the absence of any body ¹⁾ (p. 40, ll. 8-12); on the other hand since both these perfections (r ū p a k ā y a p a r i n i ṣ p a t t i and l a k ṣ a ṇ a s a ṃ p a t) are not distinct from the d h a r m a k ā y a itself, (one should not think) that those two perfections are not the Tathāgata; (the s ū t r a) says once more “perfection” because their (co)existence (is indicative of the fact that) the existence of those two (as two contraries) has been transcended ²⁾.

[End of chapter 20]

(But now one may ask: if in the Buddha those two perfections are absent, then how is the teaching of the Buddha possible? p. 40, l. 17 ff.).

54. Like the Buddha, the teaching of him (the Buddha) also cannot be said to exist: the teaching is imagined to be twofold (viz. words and meaning, which is hint-

1) T. “therefore his body is said to be a non-body”.

2) Ch. b “(the text) once more says that (he possesses) perfect signs and then these two, both, do not exist”.

Ch. a “therefore (the text) speaks once more of that perfection and (says) also that there are not the two and (still) they exist”.

ed at by the repetition of the expression *d h a r - m a d e ś a n ā d h a r m a d e ś a n ā* in the *s ū t r a*, p. 41, l. 2). (The *s ū t r a* adds that there is no such thing as the teaching of the doctrine, *d h a r - m a d e ś a n ā*) because the teaching, being not distinct from the *d h a r m a k ā y a*, has no character of its own.

But then, one may object, if there is no Buddha as the Teacher, then, even his teaching, being identified with the *d h a r m a k ā y a*, will not exist. Who is the man who believes in such a deep theory? The *s ū t r a* therefore states: *n a t e s a t t v ā n ā - s a t t v ā* etc., p. 41, l. 7.

55. It is not that there are not those who believe in the depth of the things to be taught or of their teacher. They are neither *s a t t v a*, beings, nor *a s a t t v a*, non beings: (as beings are here intended) those who are devoid of the characters of the saints (*ā r y a*), but possessed of those of the profane – *p ṛ t h a g j a n a* – and as non-beings those who possess sainthood. (This means that as regards profaneness (*p ṛ t h a g j a - n a t v a*) beings are *a s a t t v a*; but having regard to sainthood they are not *a s a t t v a*. Therefore when the Buddha speaks of *a s a t t v a* non-being, he does so referring to the profane, but when he speaks of a non-*a s a t t v a*, this he does referring to the saints).

[End of chapter 21]

If, then, there is no such thing as the supreme illumination why then does the *s ū t r a* continually

mention the supreme illumination? The sūtra replies: *nāsti sa* etc. p. 41, l. 12.

56-57. The illumination is to be known as supreme (p. 41, l. 14) because there is not the smallest dharma (*aṇurapaḍharmāḥ*, p. 41, l. 13) (which can transcend it); (this depends on the fact that) in the absolute (*dharma dhātu*) there is no possibility of further growth; on the contrary, there is complete equality of purity (p. 41, l. 16-18). It depends also on its proper character (*viz.* no ego, absolute stillness which does not imply any gradation), and on its being the supreme means (in so far as all good dharmas are there completely perfected and there is no perfection, *samṣattī*, of good dharmas except in illumination).

What is the meaning of the good dharmas referred to by the sūtra p. 41, l. 19? Is this not contradictory with the statement that there is no dharma? (57, vv. *b-d*).

In so far as there is no dharma by being possessed of defilement¹⁾ there cannot either be such a thing (as its opposite *viz.*) a good dharma. Therefore this dharma is called the good dharma (because its nature is absolutely, not relatively, good, *atyantakuśala*)

[End of chapters 22-23]

But if good dharmas are so understood, as conducive to illumination, then the dharma which is taught,

1) Ch. a "devoid of *āśrava-dharma*".

the teaching, being a v y ā k ṛ t a , cannot be conducive to illumination. The doubt is out of place, as shown in the following stanza:

58. Though the teaching is a v y ā k ṛ t a , it must not be considered as non-conducive to the illumination. Therefore only this jewel of the teaching is superior to any other jewel.

So the merit which is derived from this gnosis is incomparably superior to any other merit as stated in the s ū t r a p. 42, l. 4 ff.

59. As regards (the fourfold determination of difference in merit concerning) number, power, kind and connection, there is nothing in this world which, thoroughly examined, can be taken as an object of comparison with it. (refers to p. 42, l. 6 with full list at p. 35, l. 10).

[End of chapter 24]

One may urge: if the nature of d h a r m a is pure identity, according to p. 41, l. 16, then there would be nobody to lead to it, nor anybody who could be led; this would contradict the statement of the Buddha that his aim is the liberation of beings. In order to meet this objection the s ū t r a says: n ā s t i . . . p a r i m o c i t a ḥ p. 42, l. 10.

60. Because the creatures are identical with the absolute, no creature is liberated by the Victorious Ones, in as much as the elements composing the illusory per-

son (s k a n d h a) along with names, (viz. n ā m a - k ā y a) are not outside the absolute.

Suppose that it were affirmed that within the s k a n - d h a s there is a soul to be liberated; this would amount to saying that there is a being (s a t t v a), and therefore the s ū t r a adds: ā t m a g r ā h a - a g r ā h a p. 42, l. 13.

61. If one maintains the existence of a dharma whatsoever, one commits the same mistake as that of asserting the existence of a self (ā t m a n). If (the existence) of a creature (to be) liberated is admitted, this is considered to be the (erroneous) admission of something which is no object of admission.

[End of chapter 25]

It may now be urged: You said that the Tathāgata cannot be seen as a perfection of signs (l a k s a ṇ a - s a ṃ p a t) because he is d h a r m a k ā y a, the absolute; but nevertheless this d h a r m a k ā y a, which is essentially the Tathāgata, can be inferred from that perfection of signs which make us know his perfection of merits. Therefore the s ū t r a adds: t a t k i ṃ m a n y a s e . . . p. 42, l. 17.

62. Not indeed on account of the visible body can the Tathāgata be inferred, since He is only the absolute (d h a r m a k ā y a); the Universal Ruler (c a k - r a v a r t i n) (who is equally possessed of the characteristic signs of the great man) cannot be taken for the Tathāgata (as could happen if the mere

presence of the signs is taken as indicative of the Buddha).

That perfection of signs is certainly the maturation of the merits accumulated, but this is not the cause of supreme illumination: because, as concluded by the s ū t r a p. 43, l. 3 ff.:

63. The d h a r m a k ā y a is not said to be obtained by a perfect accumulation of merits, the maturation of which are the (thirtytwo) signs of the great man; in fact the means (in both cases) are different; (viz. gnosis being the very essence of d h a r m a k ā y a , that d h a r m a k ā y a cannot be identical with merits).

Two g ā t h ā s , giving a resumé of these statements, follow in the s ū t r a , p. 43, l. 6-9.

64. The profane cannot know the Buddha, because they only see his figure and hear his voice. In fact the absolute (d h a r m a k ā y a), which is the only reality, transcends the field of discursive intelligence.

[End of chapter 26]

Somebody may argue that in so far as merits are not conducive to illumination, the meritorious deeds of the bodhisattva would have no result. In order to eliminate this doubt the s ū t r a answers: t a t k i ṃ m a n y a s e etc. p. 43, l. 10.

65. Even so, that merit is in no way lost nor its fruit suppressed; even if one possesses the supreme patience

consisting in the realization that all dharmas are not born, no annihilation of merits (p. 43 last line p. 44 first line) follows from it, because one has obtained the realization of the spotless reality.

[End of chapter 27]

66. Therefore in order to explain again that merit (is not in vain), another example is taught: (p. 43, l. 18 ff.); but since this merit does not lead to a retribution (because illumination is *asamskṛta*, unconditioned), any acceptance of it does not bring with it a wrong grasping of it (*udgraha*) as something existent; (this in fact would be a wrong view, *sāśrava*).

[End of chapter 28]

But it may be argued that, if the Bodhisattvas do not take upon themselves the fruit of their merits, how can this fruit be known and how can the visible activity of the Buddhas be explained? p. 44, l. 7 ff. *api tu khalu... yaḥ kaścid evaṃ vadet...*

- 67-68. The miraculous fruit of that merit which they accumulate and their conversion of creatures is the work which the Buddhas accomplish in the (ten) quarters, viz. (everywhere and for ever) automatically (*anābhoga*).

Their (apparent) (actions such as) going, and coming are accomplished by miraculous emanations; but in reality the Buddhas are for ever motionless. Their abiding in the absolute (*dharma dhātu*) is stated to be neither identity with nor diversity from it.

[End of chapter 29]

What then is the meaning of the example of the atoms which follows in the *s ū t r a* p. 44, l. 12 ff. ?

69. When the *s ū t r a* refers as an example to the reducing of the universe into a dust of atoms ¹⁾, this example is meant to make clear the same idea. The expression “reducing into dust” is intended to show (how the) destruction of the defilement should be understood.
70. The fact that there is no condition either of mass (*s a m c a y a*) (p. 44, l. 17) of atoms nor of matter ²⁾, indicates that things are not unity. The fact that a condition of collection exists, indicates that there is no diversity. (Just as when the atoms are reduced into dust they are neither identical with the thing they formed nor different, because the parts and the whole cannot be conceived one without the other, though they represent two different conditions of being, so also the state of Buddhahood is neither identical with the *d h a r m a - d h ā t u* nor different).

But how is it that the profane thinks to grasp what in reality cannot be grasped? (*s a c a b ā l a - p ṛ t h a g j a n a i r u d g ṛ h ī t a ḥ* p. 45, l. 7).

1) Ch. 1514 *b*; in *a*, *b* “the atoms being reduced to dust, that example explains the *d h a r m a d h ā t u*”.

2) So according to Ch. *b* and T. but the ms. and Ch. 1511 read *s a m - c a y a t v ā t p i ṇ ḍ a t v a m*, which equally gives a good sense: (the reference to) matter as not being caused by accumulation shows non-identity.

T. for *a n e k a t v a* has: *ḡ d u s m a ñ i d* “non collection”.

71. Since the profane possesses only a wordly knowledge, he grasps all this, i.e. the notion of a mass or of matter referred to in the above example, in a different way (from what it really is); it is in fact impossible that the illumination be obtained by the suppression of both, the ego (*ā t m a n*) and the elements of existence (*d h a r m a*), because both ¹⁾ do not exist (and therefore cannot be suppressed).

[End of chapter 30]

So it is not the suppression of either the atom or of the elements of existence which leads to illumination, but the suppression of the wrong views concerning them. (p. 45, l. 11-12 *y ā s ā . . . ā t m a d ṛ ṣ ṭ i s . . .* etc.).

72. Therefore both the view (viz. the affirmative assumption of the existence of the ego or of the elements, *dharma*) as well as the non-view, (viz. the negation of something) derive from the assumption of something unreal or wrongly conceived. Both views (being originated from wrong imagination) are a subtle cover (*ā v a r a ṇ a*) which is eliminated by the knowledge of truth (as propounded in the *sūtra*).

But then the *sūtra* adds: *e v a m . . . j ñ ā t a - v y ā . . . a d h i m o k t a v y ā ḥ* p. 45, l. 14 ff. What is the meaning of these words ?

1) Ch. *b* in *b*, *c*. "to suppress *ā t m a n* and *d h a r m a*, these two kinds (of things) is not to realize illumination, because of (their) non existence".

Ch. *a*: "it is not that obtaining non duality (corresponds to, is) illumination (but) removing [the notions of] *ā t m a n* and *d h a r m a*".

73. (Those words) indicates that that cover should be eliminated by the twofold knowledge (viz. the ordinary and the transcendental) and by concentration upon it,

[End of chapter 31]

(Anyhow the merit derived from the gift of this gnosis leading to the realization of truth is immensely great. This is stated in the sūtra p. 45, l. 19 ff. with the purpose of making it sure that) such merit is not not indestructible, because it has been revealed by the emanations of the Buddha, (though the Tathāgata rests forever in his transcendent inactivity).

Why then the sūtra asks *katham samprakāśayet?* p. 46, l. 3-4¹⁾.

74. When the Tathāgatas preach (the Law) (for the benefit of the creatures), they do not preach the (existence) of a self saying “I am a miraculous emanation”; and therefore, because they do not preach the self, this preaching is excellent.

But is it not stated that the Buddhas preach without end the Law through infinite emanations (*nirmāṇa*)? How then can they abide in a nirvanic condition?

75. The *nirvāṇa* which is realized in the Tathāgata is not a product of karmic forces, *samskāra*, nor something different: (though they abide in the nir-

¹⁾ As at p. 46 note 1 of M. Müller's edition of the *Vajracchedikā*.

vanic condition, still they can make their emanations appear in order to benefit the creatures; but, in reality they do not abide either in nirvāṇa or in the samsaric world. All this can be clearly understood by an exhaustive enquiry into the correct knowledge concerning the nature (of what is produced by karmic agency, is conditioned, *s a ṃ s k ṛ t a*) and happens to be in nine ways (as enunciated in the concluding *g ā t h ā* of the *s ū t r a* p. 46, l. 5-6, and explained in the following stanzas).

76. As regards the characters of the elements of samsaric existence, they should be considered from nine points of view:
- a) as regards vision, (since all mental elements, *c a i t t a*, disappear when right knowledge is realized, just as stars (*t ā r a k ā*) disappear when the sun shines);
 - b) as regards characters (because the things are wrongly perceived, just as are the hairs in front of his eyes by a man who has a fault of vision (*t i m i r a m*);
 - c) as regards mental activity (which is like a lamp, *d ī p a*, because passions are born in so far as things are seen).
 - d) as regards the support ¹⁾, (elements composing this world are essentially unreal like things appearing in a mock show (*m ā y ā*).
 - e) as regards body, (it lasts for a short time like dew drops).
 - f) as regards fruition (which is like a bubble, because

¹⁾ For *p r a t i ṣ ṭ h ā d e h a b h o g a t ā d, e, f.* Cf. *Mdh.V.*, p. 53. MS. pp. 88, 98. *PPp.*, 10.

it results from three things: enjoyer, things to be enjoyed, enjoyment).

g) as regards past, (because like dreams they remain only as memory).

h) as regards present (because they disappear quickly like a flash of lightning because they are momentary, *kṣaṇika*).

i) as regards future (they are like clouds because the basic consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) contains all the seeds of the elements which are going to develop).

When one masters this right understanding of the elements, what advantage will one obtain ?

77. When one has thoroughly examined the play of the conditioned existence (*saṃskṛta*) under three points of view, a) its characters (viz. mental construction), b) its fruition (in which one experiences it, i.e. the world and by whom, viz. the body), c) its flux (viz. differentiated by time-succession), one obtains a completely pure mastery over the conditioning karmic processes, (*saṃskāra*) (in so far as one is undefiled by the impurity of *saṃskāra*); (that person will therefore be in a state of *nirvāṇa*).

[End of chapter 32]

Here end the seventy stanzas on the *Prajñāpāramitā* in three hundred stanzas ¹⁾. This is a work by *Āryāsaṅga*.

¹⁾ Viz. of sentences of 32 syllables each.

CHAPTER 2.

*ANALYSIS OF THE VAJRACCHEDIKĀ
ACCORDING TO VASUBANDHU (TAISHŌ 1510)
(COMPARED WITH KAMALAŚĪLA'S COMMENTARY)*

I.

THE TOPICS.

As regards the perfection of gnosis:

Seven topics, 義句, don gyi gnas, of the perfection of gnosis are implicit in the Vajracchedikā. They may be grouped in three groups, *A-B* comprehending the training or practice of the Bodhisattva (up to the niṣṭhāvasthā) and *C* explaining why the book is so called.

A) Topics concerning the preparatory practice of the Bodhisattva up to the attainment of realization.

I. No cutting off of the lineage (種性不斷, gduñ rgyun mi a c'ad pa, gotrānupaccheda) of the Buddhas.

II. Characters of the practice or training of the Bodhisattva (發起行相, rab tu sbyor ba mts'an ñid, prayogalakṣaṇa).

III. Supports of practice (行所住處, rten, āśraya, ādhāra¹⁾).

IV. Counteragents (對治, gñen po, pratipakṣa).

V. No loss (of mindfulness) (不失, mi ñams, asaṃmoṣa).

B) Stages after realization is obtained.

VI. The stage (地, sa, bhūmi, the Buddha-stage).

C)

VII. Why the book is so called (立名, mts'an gyi rgyu mts'an) and its scope.

The seven topics are examined in detail.

¹⁾ But Km.: gnas, sthāna. RG., p. 1, l. 6.

A) I. – *No cutting off of the lineage.*

The gnosis assures the continuity of the Buddha's lineage; *p a r a m a – a n u g r a h a* (p. 20, l. 1 ff.), means that as soon as the Buddha realized the illumination and preached the Law to the Bodhisattvas who were spiritually ripe, these were established in the five topics which constitute the essential requisites of a Bodhisattva. viz. nn. 1-5 of the previous list (viz. in the stage, Km. 208 b); *p a r i n d a n ā* (ibid.) refers to the Bodhisattvas not yet mature who ¹⁾, after the Buddha has entered nirvāṇa, will be established in these five topics (viz. the *ā d i k a r m i k a*).

In such a way the continuity of the Buddha's lineage is assured.

II. – *Characters of the practice or training of the Bodhisattva.* It is suggested by the words of the text of the *s ū t r a* :

a) *s t h ā t a v y a m* : “ how should he abide ”, p. 20, l. 6, refers to 1) desire, *c h a n d a*, *i c c h ā* ²⁾ and 2) vow, *p r a ṇ i d h i*;

b) *p r a t i p a t t a v y a m* : “ how should he progress ”, refers to yogic attainment, *y o g a s a m ā p a t t i*;

c) *c i t t a ṃ p r a g r a h i t a v y a m* : “ how should he control his mind ”, refers to complete suppression of distractions: 散亂, *r n a m p a r ḡ y e n*, *v i k ṣ e p a*.

Desire is an upright wish, 正求, *m ṇ o n p a r a d o d p a*, *a b h i l ā ṣ a*; vow is an accomplished

¹⁾ Definition of *a p a r i p a k a v a* and *p a r i p a k a v a* in Bobhū, p. 298, l. 24. The path when one has entered it is of five stages, *a v a s t h ā*, cf. LAMOTTE, *La Somme*, II, Chap. III.

²⁾ Cf. RG., p. 36, l. 5.

mode of mind, will, directed to and recollecting the object of that wish. [Ch. 737, b].

Y o g a s a m ā p a t t i , yogic attainment, is concentration (s a m ā d h i) in which no imaginative thought, v i k a l p a , is present.

Suppression of distractions means that when mind forsakes concentration, one should force it to enter concentration again.

Desire and vow refer to the first grasping of the path of illumination.

Yogic attainment refers to the fulfillment of that path of illumination.

Suppression of distractions refers to not abandoning that path.

III. – *Supports or points (g n a s , Km.) of the practice or training.*

They are of eighteen kinds:

1. the resolution to illumination (c i t t o t p ā d a), p. 20, l. 16.

2. application to the perfections (p ā r a m i t ā), gift etc. p. 21, l. 7.

3. desire to possess a corporeal form, viz. the r ū p a k ā y a ; l a k ṣ a ṇ a – s a ṃ p a d ā p. 22, l. 1.

4. desire to possess or realize the plan of the absolute (d h a r m a k ā y a), p. 22, l. 7 ff.

As regards this d h a r m a k ā y a it should be noted that it is twofold (RG., p. 18, d v i v i d h o d h a r m a ḥ , d e ś a n ā d h a r m o ' d h i g m a d h a r m a ś c a):

a) d h a r m a k ā y a expressed in words, revealed; the Doctrine, the Verb, d e ś a n ā d h a r m a .

b) *dharmakāya* as realization, (Cf. *PPp.*, v. 1). This can be considered as characterized by: α) gnosis and β) merit ¹⁾.

As regards *a*), p. 22, l. 7 ff. the words of the *sūtra* are true, unerroneous and should be taken according to their inner meaning, not according to the verbal expression.

As regards *b*): α) p. 24, l. 1 (Ch. 757 *c*) and β) p. 24 l. 10 (Ta. 180 *a*).

5. no self-conceit in the opinion that one has acquired a fruit from the meditation on the truths of Mahāyāna ²⁾, p. 25, l. 9. Ta. 180 *a*.

6. attainment of a time when the Buddhas appear (*buddhotpādāraṇatā*, *Bobhū*. p. 287, l. 14: *T. mñes par byed pa*; so also *Km.* ³⁾ But Ch.: not to miss the time when the Buddhas appear, p. 26, l. 17).

7. to make the vow of obtaining the pure fields of the Buddhas p. 27, l. 1, *buddhakṣetra*.

8. to lead all beings to spiritual maturity, *sattva-paripācana*, p. 27, l. 8.

9. avoidance of heretical theories, p. 27, l. 15.

10. to train oneself in the meditation that material things as well as beings, when taken as something material, have the character of destructibility viz. of impermanence p. 29, l. 6. Therefore avoidance of notion of matter or beings.

11. honour and worship of the Tathāgatas p. 29, l. 13.

1) Cf. Hōbōgin, s. v. *Busshin*, p. 183.

2) According K'uei chi *abhimāna*, self-conceit is twofold: *ātmābhīm.*: "I obtain a fruit"; wrong *abhīm.*: "I have obtained *something*".

3) *mñes par byed pa*, to give pleasure, to propitiate, double sense of *ārāgayati*: to attain and to propitiate.

12. no indolence and no desire for honours and profits which cause lack of energy or reversion p. 29, l. 19.

13. ability to bear pain p. 31, l. 9.

14. absence of relishing, *āsvāda*, (Ta. 180 b) quietude (T. *tiññe aḍsin*, 寂靜 p. 33, l. 5¹⁾).

15. when realization is experienced, no feeling of joy, T. no sense of appropriation: *bdag go sñam du aḍsin pa*, so also Km., p. 35, l. 18.

16. seeking for instructions, *avavāda*, p. 36, l. 8.

17. realization, attainment of illumination. (證道 *mñon par rtogs*, *abhisaṃyāna*) p. 37, l. 15.

18. the Buddhas' stage.

Six kinds of accomplishments (*sampatti*) should be considered as peculiar to the *Buddhabhūmi*.

α) accomplishment of purity of the Buddha fields (*ḥiñ*, 國土) 38, l. 6. (Ta. 180 b).

β) accomplishment of purity of supreme vision (p. 38, l. 12) and supreme gnosis p. 39, l. 3.

γ) accomplishment of mastery (*dbaṅ*, *vaśitā*) in the accumulation of merit p. 39, l. 15.

(This is missing in Ch. which gives only: accomplishment of *anuvyañjana* and *lakṣaṇa* as two separate items).

δ) accomplishment of body:

1. as manifested by secondary signs, *dpe byad kyisku*, *anuvyañjana* p. 40, l. 8.

2. as manifested by primary signs, *mts'anñid kyisku*, *lakṣaṇa* p. 40, l. 13.

ε) accomplishment of speech, p. 40, l. 17 ff.

ζ) accomplishment of spirit, sixfold:

¹⁾ Cf. *Bobhū*, p. 144, l. 8. *samāpatty-āsvādam*; p. 17 *dhyānam āsvādayati*.

1. stability of awareness, *s m ṛ t y u p a s t h ā n a* (Ch. 758 a, Ta. 181 a), p. 41, l. 7 ff.

2. right intuition, p. 41, l. 13, 正覺, *m ñ o n p a r d s o g s p a r b y a ñ c ' u b p a*.

3. a) declaration (*p r a j ñ a p t i*) of the teaching¹⁾ greatly benefitting (*m a h ā r t h a*) p. 42, l. 2 ff.

b) declaration of (*p r a j ñ a p t i*) the instructions greatly benefitting p. 42, l. 8 ff.

4. apprehension of the absolute, *d h a r m a k ā y a*, p. 42, l. 17.

5. non conformance to the idea that there is either *n i r v ā ṇ a*, p. 43, l. 14 or *s a ṃ s ā r a*, p. 44, l. 2, 3.

In the following sentence p. 44, l. 4:

p a r i g r a h ī t a v y a means assertion of existence (of merit).

g r a h ī t a v y a means appropriation of the path. Such a thing should be avoided as regards merit as well as its fruit. (Ta. 182 a).

6. purity in behaviour (lit. going and staying, 行住, *r g y u d a ñ g n a s*)²⁾ p. 44, l. 7 ff.

a) behaviour in majesty, 威儀, *p r a b h ā v a*³⁾ (this word not in T. but in Km.) p. 44, l. 7 (Ch. 758 b);

b) behaviour in mastery in the meditation on the non-existence of the mental and physical elements composing the individuals and the universe (*n ā m a - r ū p a*) p. 44, l. 12 ff. 為名色觀破自在行住, *g z u g s d a ñ m i ñ r n a m p a r b s g o m p a*;

1) *D h a r m a - p r a j ñ a p t i*, *B o b h ū*, p. 292.

2) *c a r e - v i h ā r e c a*.

3) Cf. *B o b h ū*, p. 58, ff., p. 75, l. 23 ff., p. 90, l. 1 ff. *p r a b h ā v a - p a r a m a t ā*.

c) behaviour with no taints, either as regards the Verb, the Law, *deśanādharmā* p. 45, l. 20 ff., or as regards *samsāra = samskṛta* p. 46, l. 5; *gāthā*:

“As stars, a fault of vision, as a lamp, a mock show, dew drops, or a bubble, a dream, a lightning flash or cloud. So we should view what is conditioned”¹⁾.

Four characters of caused existence (*samskṛta*). (Cf. *AK.*, vol. I, p. 222, *Siddhi*, p. 66; here T. is defective).

A) Essential character, 自惟相, *ñobōñidkyimts'anñid, svabhāvalakṣaṇa*: every mental activity (*vijñāna*) is a vision of something accompanied by the characters, marks, of something.

B) character of being object of relish (T. *c'agspai gnas mayin pai ro myaṅ*, relish for something to which one should not be attached; but *Km. 266, b: ro myaṅ bai yul gyimts'anñid*; so also Ch. 著所住味相, but it is explained as relishing the attachment to false objects, 味著顛倒境界, *p'yin cilog tugžag par bya bai yul myaṅ ba*).

C) Character of being necessarily connected with the defect (*ādīnavā*) of impermanence. 隨順過失相 *ñes dmigs kyirjes su ṅro bai mts'an*, viz. 無常等隨順, *mi rtag pai rjes su ṅro ba*.

D) Character of being connected with factors of release, 隨順出離相, *nes par abyuṅ bai rjes su ṅro mts'an, nairyāṇika*, on account of being

¹⁾ From the translation of E. CONZE, *Buddhist texts*, N^o. 150.

the support of the meditation that no dharma and no self exist.

Therefore the following is the sequence of the examples in the *g ā t h ā s* :

A. – 1. Caused existence is compared to stars because it shines in the darkness of ignorance and disappears when the light of gnosis arises.

2. the theories of the existence of an ego or of the *d h a r m a s* are like a fault of vision, because they make us assume as real things which do not exist.

3. mental activity (*v i j ñ ā n a*) is like a lamp because it shines on account of that oil which is the clinging (*u p ā d ā n a*) to existence.

B. – Caused existence, being a false appearance, (Ta. 182 *b*), is like a mock show (*m ā y ā*).

C. – 5-6. Being impermanent and painful it is compared to dew drops or a bubble. Pain in triple.

D. – 7-9. “Dream” refers to past karmic factors (*s a m s k ā r a*), impressions being an object of memory; “lightning flash” refers to the present because nothing lasts; “cloud” refers to future (as clouds cover the sky, so these karmic forces cover the mind with the seeds of bad situations, *d a u ṣ ṭ h u l y a*).

Therefore all caused existence is unsubstantial.

IV. – *Counteragents (pratipakṣa)*¹⁾

They are of two kinds for they may counteract
a) erroneous practices, or b) good practices accompanied

¹⁾ The counteragents oppose the obstructions, and constitute the *bhāvanāmārga: āvaraṇapratipakṣād anāvaranaṃ bhāvanāmārga*, *Mdh. V.*, p. 80, l. 20.

by wrong views, these wrong views being representations (vikalpas) which should be abandoned.

1st support:

a) p. 20, l. 16, iha, subhūte... evaṃ cittaṃ utpādayitavyaṃ yāvantaḥ, etc. If such a thought did not arise it would lead to a wrong practice, an error (vipratipatti). (Ch. 758 c, l. 17 negation is missing). This is a counteragent to a wrong practice (viz. of forsaking the beings).

b) p. 21, l. 3 ff., sacet... sattvasamjñā pravarteta, etc. This is a counteragent to the good practice, the progress in the path (pratipatti), but accompanied by a wrong view (sa-dṛṣṭi; Ch. 共見正行, T. wrongly yañ dag pai lta ba-sa-mya g-dṛṣṭi), "wrong view" here being the idea of being.

2nd support:

a) p. 21, l. 7 ff., dānaṃ... dātavyaṃ. Counteragent of wrong practice.

b) p. 21, l. 7 na vastupratīṣṭhitena, counteragent of good practice but accompanied by wrong view (viz. existence of something).

V. – No loss (of mindfulness).

Avoidance of the two extremes.

a) imputation of positive existence (samāropa) viz. attribution of some essence to things which are purely nominal (parikalpita) p. 24, l. 16, and 25, l. 7, buddhadharmā-abuddhadharmāḥ.

b) imputation of negation (apavāda) p. 25, l. 6 viz. the view that all dharmas, being unsubstantial, are absolutely non-existent p. 24, l. 17, (Ta. 184 a)

and p. 25, l. 7-8 *tenocyate buddhadharmā itī*¹⁾.

B) VI. – The stages (Ch. 759 a)

Three:

1. practice by faith, *adhimukti-caryā* 信行, *mos pas spyod pa*, 1-16 supports.

2. high, pure intention, *śuddhādhyaśaya-bhūmi*, 淨心, *lhag pai bsam pa dag pa* (viz. entrance in the Bhūmis: 1st Bhūmi: *pramuditavihāra* up to 7th bhūmi included), 17th support.

3. Final stage (*niṣṭhāvasthā*), the *Tathāgata-bhūmi*; 18th support viz. the stage of the Buddhas.

*C) VII. – Causes of this revelation being called *Vajracchedikā* and the implications of this name.*

¹⁾ In fact: *adhyāropāpavādād bhrāntiḥ*, *Mdh.V.*, p. 79, l. 22.

II.

SEQUENCE OF THE TOPICS IN THE TEXT.

[Km. 208 *b*.

1) Nidāna, p. 19, l. 1, p. 20, l. 1 bhagavan-
tam etad avocat.

2-3) and no cutting of the B. lineage, p. 20, l. 1,
āścaryam... p. 20, l. 5, parindanayā].

Seven greatnesses on account of which the Bodhisattvas
are called Mahāsattvas, viz. as regards dharma, mind, faith,
pure intention, 淨心, accomplishment of merits, time,
fruit ¹⁾.

TOPICS:

I) No cutting off of the lineage.

The favour bestowed on the Bodhisattva is supreme
(paramo 'nugraha) on account of six considera-
tions: (Ta. 184 *b*, l. 5, Km. p. 209 *a* only five).

1. time: the time when the Bodhisattvas rejoice in
the favours bestowed upon them refers to the present;
the time when they benefit by it refers to the future.

1) Ch.	法	大	T.	c'os
	心	"		sems (bskyed pa, Km. 206 <i>b</i>)
	信	解	"	mos pa
	淨	心	"	bsam pa
	資	糧	"	ts'ogs pa
	時	"		dus
	果	報	"	kun du ṅro ba, Km. yañ dag par ṅrub pa.

The seven greatnesses of the Bodhisattva are enumerated in Bobhū,
p. 297: dharmamahattvam, cittotpādam., adhimuktim.,
ādhyāśayam., sambhāram., kālam., samudāgamam.

2. peculiarity: viz. in comparison with the śrāvakas and the pratyekabuddhas.

3. excellence: since no favour is superior to it (Ta. 105 a).

4. firmness (牢固, b r t a n), because it is absolute 畢竟 ś i n t u p a .

5. all-pervasiveness, because that favour favours one's own individual series as well as that of others.

6. special marks, 異相 (T. only: r i g s), because it exceeds the favours bestowed upon the Bodhisattva not yet pure.

Why is this entrusting, p a r i n d a n ā , supreme? On account of six considerations (Km. only 1-3):

1. its pervasion; it entrusts (the Law) to all the spiritual friends (k a l y ā ṇ a m i t r a);

2. since the Bodhisattva has received this favour he favours others by the same;

3. it enjoins the Bodhisattva to confer on others the same favour;

4. no loss, no deflection from it;

5. compassion;

6. esteem.

[Km. characters, or marks p. 20, l. 5 t a t k a t h a m , l. 14 p r a t y a ś r a u ṣ ī t].

Subhūti proposes his questions for six reasons, each item being the cause of the following one, or rather the condition which allows the following one to arise (Ta. from 185 a-8, l. 5 to p. 185 b, l. 5 and Ch. b are inverted, see p. 19) for the purpose:

1. of eliminating doubts (viz. that the lineage of the Buddha may be interrupted);

2. of inducing the immature listeners to accept the faith, and to attain this faith in the gnosis by celebrating its merits;

3. of introducing those who are mature to the deep meaning of the Law;

4. that they be so changed that they may not revert;

5. that they may rejoice in this Law;

6. that the perfect Law may remain for a long time viz. even after the Buddha has entered nirvāṇa.

For these reasons the PP. serves the purpose that the lineage of the Buddhas be never interrupted. (Ch. 759 b).

II) Characters of the practice.

As before p. 132 *sthātavayam, pratipattavyam, cittam pragrahītavayam.*

III) *The 18 supports or points:*

1st support: the resolution to illumination (cf. above p. 133):

All sorts of beings, divided according to the place where they are born, (*skye gnas*, egg. etc.), locality (*rūpa* etc.), mark (*liṅga*), *saṃjñā* etc. are to be led to nirvāṇa by the Buddhas for three reasons (Ch. 759 c, Ta. 186 a, p. 21, l. 1):

1. because those who possess the eight conditions unfavourable to a good rebirth (*aṣṭa-akṣaṇa* MV. 2298) are made to encounter in future a favourable situation;

2. because the Buddhas render spiritually mature those who, though reborn in a favorable condition, are not yet mature;

3. because they lead to liberation those who are quite mature. How? p. 21, l. 1, *mayā sarve... parinirvāpayitavyāḥ*), p. 21, l. 2-6, *na ka-*

ścit sattvaḥ... (Ta. 186 b), pudgala samjñā pravarteta. (The idea of self should be removed).

a) desire and vow, 20, l. 15-16, evaṃ cittam utpādayitavyam, p. 21, l. 3;

b) the sentence “evaṃ... bhavati” refers to the application to or progress in the yogic attainment, yogasamāpatti, p. 21, l. 1-3;

c) the sentence “sacet... pudgala-samjñā pravarteta” etc. refers to the control of mind, (Ch. 760 a, Ta. 187 a) when distractions are stopped (see above p. 133) and non existence of being is realized; pending this realization it is impossible to speak of a bodhisattva. [Km. p. 212. criticism of anātmavāda by ātmavādīns and reply].

2nd support: application to or progress in the perfections (pāramitā). As regards the application to the various supports, except desire and vow which are all-pervasive, five modes must be considered:

A. The basic argument is an antithesis, the thing to be negated (依義, don ñams pa),¹⁾ p. 21, l. 7, navastuprathīṣṭhitena.

1) In the Tibetan translation don ñams corresponds to the Chinese 依義: “relied-upon meaning”; don ñams = arthahāni (ñams is for naś, pracyuti, bhraṃś, hā). The statements in the text start, as a rule, with a question: tat kiṃ manyase, in which a doubt is expressed or rather the argument aimed at is put in its negative form: fi. tat kiṃ manyase lakṣaṇa-sampadā tathāgato draṣṭavyaḥ? viz. a vipakṣa, the counter-aspect of the right idea which is to be formulated and supported. This fivefold process may be an adaptation to the meditative process of the fivefold logical argument as exemplified by the syllogism of the Nyāya school and of early Mahāyāna masters (syllogism of five terms in Asaṅga’s Mahāyānābhīdharmasamuccaya ed. Prahlād Pradhān, Visvabharati, p. 205.

B. The indication of the characters of that very support (說相, *mts'an ma tsam yoñs su grags*) (*dānaṃ dātavyaṃ* the six perfections are included in the perfection of liberality, the gift, which is triple see p. 94).

C. Apprehension, viz. desire and vow to apprehend that support as a counter-agent (Ch. 攝持, T. better: *gsal bar byed pa*, to make clear, *uddiyotana*, *prakāśa*, but at p. 188 a, l. 2 *mts'on par byed*, *abhilakṣ*, to set forth). P. 21, l. 8-9, *evaṃ dānaṃ dātavyaṃ*.

D. Establishment of the absolute view as regards the support, viz. how one should meditate on it. (安立, *rnam par ajog par byed pa*, *vyavasthāpanā*..., *na kvacit pratiṣṭhitena*: p. 21, l. 8.

E. Evidence (顯現, *yañ dag par ston par byed pa*) is suppression of distractions and *yoga-samāpatti*, p. 21, l. 10, *na nimittasaṃjñāyām... pratitiṣṭhet* because in those two moments there is no *cittasaṃjñā*¹⁾.

[Km. p. 216 a, reduces the arguments to three only *sthātavyaṃ: dānaṃ dātavyaṃ*, desire and vow; *pratipattavyaṃ: na vastupratiṣṭhitena... evaṃ dānaṃ dātavyaṃ*, *yoga-samāpatti*; *cittaṃ pragrahītavyaṃ: elimination of vikṣepas*. This indicates training in the gnosis, impossibility of knowledge of an object whether the knowledge has the form of it (*sākāra*), or not (*nirākāra*), or has another form (*anyākāra*).

1) Cf. here K'uei chi Ta. n. 1816, p. 732 b, c.

In other words, the five points are reduced by Km. to three only, which correspond to the three mental or mystic attitudes of the Bodhisattva referred to in the Sūtra: p. 20, l. 6, *sthātavayam, pratipattavyam, cittam pragrahītavayam* “how should he abide, how should he progress, how should he control his mind”, but, as soon as the series of the counter-agents begins, viz. from point 5 to point 16 included, the fivefold articulation is accepted.

Fruits of the six pāramitās

Perfection; its fruit:

	in a future life (pa-	in this very life:
	rokṣa);	
gift	great prosperity,	a) people will have
morality	perfection of body, viz. body of Indra, Brahmā etc.	faith in him and honor him. b) he enters nirvāṇa etc. in this very life
patience	friends and retinue	
energy	continuity of (good) results	
meditation	no physical injury	
gnosis	senses sharp, happiness of mind etc., mastery in great assemblies	

Some Bodhisattvas are generous in order to get, in the future, the fruit of what they now give. Therefore the text says: *na vastupraṭiṣṭhiteṇa...*

p. 21, l. 8 against gift given in order to obtain in this life honors, profit: *na rūpapratiṣṭhiteṇa...*

praṣṭavya... pratiṣṭhitena dānaṃ dātavyam, etc. na... dharmeṣu pratiṣṭhitena dānāṃ dātavyam, against the gift of the Law intended to obtain nirvāṇa in this very life.

[Km. 213 b, but no attachment either to non existence of things (gift, giver etc.), because those things are *per se* non existent].

Km. 220 a.

Then the implication would follow that there being no gift etc., no merit is possible, p. 21, l. 11 t a t k a s y a h e t o ḥ etc.; the merit derived from a gift given in the wrong view that the gift etc. is real, produces limited results, but great results are brought about by the gift given following the perfect view of the gnosis: the perception of a thing or a result can be had within the sphere of s a m v ṛ t i s a t y a , but it disappears in a state of s a m ā d h i].

Characters of this great merit (wide as space to which it is compared in order to show that it exceeds space on account of being:) 1. all pervading, 2. vast, 3. inexhaustible, p. 21, l. 13 ff.

This leads to:

3rd support - Desire to possess a corporeal form: (l a k ṣ a ṇ a s a m p a t)

A. Antithesis: t a t k i ṃ m a n y a s e , etc. p. 22, l. 1 (Ta. 188 b) viz. the conceit (a b h i m ā n a) that the Tathāgata is in the corporeal form.

B. Indication of the very character p. 22, l. 2, l a k ṣ a ṇ a s a m p a t .

C. Setting forth of desire and vow, p. 22, l. 3, y ā s ā l a k ṣ a ṇ a s a m p a t s a i v ā l a k ṣ a ṇ a s a m p a t .

D. Absolute sense: *y ā v a d . . . a l a k ṣ a ṇ a s a m . p a t* p. 22, l. 4, the signs of the Tathāgata are not absolutely real, just as the apparitional Buddha himself is not real.

E. Evidence in mystic trance or yogic attainment, *l a k s a ṇ ā l a k ṣ . . . d r a ṣ ṭ a v y a ḥ* p. 22, l. 5. Therefore the signs should be seen as no signs.

4th support. Desire to possess or realize the body or plan of the absolute (*d h a r m a k ā y a*):

I) *D h a r m a k ā y a* as revealed doctrine, Verb, *b ṣ ā d p a i c ' o s s k u , d e ś a n ā d h a r m a , (s ū - t r ā n t a p a d a* where *p a d a* is intended as = “seven topics”): *a s t i k e c i t s a t t v ā* etc. p. 22, l. 7-10. (T. interprets wrongly *b h ū t a* as *b y u ñ b a*, “become”, not as: “real”).

Even after the Buddha has entered *nirvāṇa* and the Law decays, still some Bodhisattvas can understand this Doctrine in its proper implication. Main reasons ¹⁾:

a) practice: these bodhisattvas are possessed of the three *ś i k ṣ ā*: *a d h i ś ī l a m , a d h i c i t t a m , a d h i - p r a j ñ a m* p. 22, l. 17. (Ch. 760 c, T. 189 a) viz. from the virtue of scarcity of desire, *a l p e c c h a*, etc. up to *s a m ā d h i*;

b) accumulation (attainment, *s a m u d ā g a m a*) of causes, p. 22, l. 18, *n a k h a l u e k a b u d d h a . . . a n e k a b u d d h a ś a t a s a h a s r ā v a r o p i t a - k u ś a - l a m ū l ā ḥ ; p r a s ā d a m a p i p r a t i l a p s y a n t e .*

¹⁾ Km. 221, b: which practice (*b s g r u b p a j i l t a b u*) they practice, by which cause they attain it, *r g y u j i l t a b u s y a ṅ d a g p a r b s g r u b , s a m u d ā g a t a*, Ch. 集因, of which assistance of *k a l y ā ṇ a m i t r a s* they are possessed, by which right notion or sign they are termed. Extensive explanation of the four points in K'uei chi, Ta. 1816, p. 736 b, l. 21, p. 737, l. 4.

c) assistance by the *kalyāṇamitras* (or Buddhas *K'uei chi*): *jñātās* (*nāmakāya*), *dr̥ṣṭās* (*rūpakāya*), *buddhās* p. 23, l. 3.

d) appropriation of merit p. 23, l. 5-6, *sarve te 'prameyam puṇyaskandham*.

From these causes:

e) notion of truth (*na dharmā, na-adharma*): p. 23, l. 6-8, *nahi...tesāṃ pravartate*. This notion of truth, *bhūtasamjñā*, is the counter-agent of 5 wrong opinions¹⁾, viz.:

1. opinions of the heretics that the self exists, (in the text *ātman, sattva, jīva, pudgala*);

2. within Buddhism the opinion of the profane and of the auditors; (*dharmasamjñā* refers to the assumption of the existence of the *dharmas*);

3. opinion of the Bodhisattva possessed of conceit, viz. assumption of the non existence of the *dharmas* as a thesis, viz. as something positive (i. e. against *ucchevāda*); *dharmas*, from the conventional point of view (*samvṛtyā*), are existent (therefore: *nādharmasamjñā*);

4. opinion that at least some ideal entities, such as nominal entities, exist, as happens in worldly trance, *laukika* or *sasamjñāsamāpatti*, 世間共想定, *ajig rten t'un moṇ pai ḍu šes su ltuṅ pa* (sic!), since motives present in yogic states are conventional, *samvṛtyā* (in the text *na samjñā*);

5. No ideation or sign whatsoever (Ta. 189 b): *nāsamjñās*; this also should not to be taken as absolute

1) For another fivefold classification of errors: *tīrthika, pudgalavādin, śūnyatā* as thesis, *śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha* see GR., p. 30 ff.

or connoting something existent; this is because it is the antithesis of the previous moment.

Therefore:

A. Antithesis of wrong views, p. 22, l. 8-10, *asti bhagavan ... bhūtasamjñā utpādayiṣyanti* (Ch. 761 a).

B. Indications of the characters themselves; p. 22, l. 14, *imeṣu evaṃrūpeṣu* etc.

C. Setting forth the vow and desire, p. 22, l. 18, *utpādayiṣyanti*.

D. Absolute sense, p. 22, l. 6-7, *na tesām ātmasamjñā* etc.

E. Evidence; p. 23, l. 9, *na teṣām dharmasamjñā nādharma-samjñā* (T. 190 a).

[Q. But how is it that the Buddha preached that the Dharma should be taken, accepted? R. p. 23, l. 14. *Taṭkasya hetoḥ* etc.: it should not be taken wrongly, viz. as positively existent].

II), l.¹⁾ Achievement of *dharmakāya* characterised by (but Km. 221 a.: *rgyu* can, having as cause) wisdom (*ye śeṣ*).

(This topic is introduced in order to prevent the objection that if dharma, from the absolute point of view, is unreal, then the statement of the *sūtras*, that the Buddha, after enlightenment, preached the dharma would also be untrue: therefore the Bodhisattva would have no desire to obtain the *dharmakāya* of realization having

¹⁾ Km. *rtogs pai c'os sku, adhigamadharmakāya* (it can be obtained not produced).

wisdom, gnosis, as its cause; Km. 224 b, de bñin gñegs pai ye šes rtogs pai sku.

A. Antithesis, p. 24, l. 1 ff., tat kiṃ manyase... abhisambuddhaḥ.

B. Indication of its characters, p. 24, l. 2, asti sa kaścid... vā dharmas... deśitaḥ.

C. Setting forth desire and vow of that body, but as a means, p. 24, l. 4-6, yathāham... deśitaḥ.

D. Absolute sense p. 24, l. 7-9, yo 'sau... agrāhyo (it refers to the time when it is rightly heard), anabhilāpya (the time when it is preached), na dharmā (dharma here = imaginative thought, vikalpa), nādharmā (because dharmas have no self and therefore negation of them is impossible) (T. 190 b).

E. Evidence: asaṃskṛtaprabhāvītā hy āryapudgalāḥ viz. bodhisattvas, p. 24, l. 8-9 (here asaṃskṛta = avikalpita) (Ch. 761 b); double sense of:

unconditioned (asaṃskṛta) as viewed in	}	a) yogic attainment, (yogasamāpatti), interruption of distractions = śaikṣa
		b) perfect realization = aśaikṣa, Buddha

II), 2. Achievement of dharmakāya characterised by merit: it results from teaching to others even a single sentence of the Law (T. 191 a).

(If the Buddha did not obtain the supreme enlightenment and there is no Law which he taught, how then could the bodhisattva, out of desire to get the body characterised by merit, start appropriating the Law? Km.).

A. Antithesis: merit immeasurable p. 24, l. 10-14, tat kiṃ manyase etc. (antithesis to non-production of merit).

B. Indication of the very character, *d h a r m a k ā y a* characterised by merit, p. 24, l. 15, *p u ṇ y a s k a n d h a*.

C. Setting forth desire and vow. p. 25, l. 3, *b a h u - t a r a m* etc.

D. Absolute sense, p. 24, l. 16, *y o ' s a u p u ṇ y a - s k a n d h a . . . a s k a n d h a ḥ*; therefore *b u d d h a r - m ā . . . a b u d d h a d h a r m ā* p. 25, l. 6-7 (stock of merits and qualities of Buddha included in the *d h a r - m a k ā y a*; hence, as before, repudiation of negation and affirmation).

E. Evidence as in *a s a m s k ṛ t a - p r a b h ā v i t a* (and therefore no mention of it). Therefore this *d h a r - m a k ā y a* which is realized (*r t o g s p a*) by the Tathāgata and which is caused by merit is brought about (*ñ e s p a r a b y u ṅ*) by the *d h a r m a k ā y a* as teaching; therefore the teaching of a portion of the Law can be said to lead to *d h a r m a k ā y a* as caused by merit, but of course *s a m v ṛ t y ā*, conventionally. So that the Bodhisattva may endeavour to get merit, though in reality there is no teaching and no enlightenment.

(Km. p. 227, *b* Q.: if, from the absolute point of view, all *d h a r m a s* have no origin, all *d h a r m a s* or qualities of the Buddha would also have no origin: how, then, could enlightenment be derived from this behaviour? R.: *b u d d h a d h a r m ā a b u d d h a d h a r m ā ḥ*, p. 25, l. 6-7. They are unspeakable and *p r a t y ā t - m a v e d a n ī y a*, to be directly realized).

[Chinese, Part II].

Supports consisting in the elimination of impediments. (Ch. 761 *c*). Since the following twelve supports are mere absence of twelve impediments, the counter-agents

of these impediments (corresponding to supports 5-16 included) should be explained, that is to say the supports are here the counter-agents of the opposites, contraries (*vipakṣa*, *mi mt' un pa*)¹⁾.

5th support (= 1st impediment): self-conceit (A. = p. 25, l. 9-10; B. C. l. 11, D. l. 12, E. p. 25, l. 9-10 etc. as before from *tat kiṃ manyase up to araṇā viharatīti* p. 26, l. 16. The same fivefold classification is applied in all the following items, as before.

Here Km. adds an explanation from the Mādhyamika point of view that a result is logically impossible either as *samskṛta* or as *asamskṛta* p. 229 b-230 a; then he goes on to show the logical impossibility of the thing to be obtained or of an obtainer whether they are conceived as contemporary or following one another; the same as regards the doer and the action.

(Q.: If, from the absolute point of view, there is no fruit to be obtained nor obtainer of it, how could the Buddha, when he was still a Bodhisattva (in the 8th *bhūmi*), obtain the Law from Dīpaṃkara? If he did not obtain it, how could we be desirous to attain a time when the Buddhas appear and obtain the Law from them? Km.). The reply is the following:

6th support (attainment of a time when the Buddha appears) (= 2nd impediment); no self conceit, but scarce learning (learning = preaching of the Buddha but, even so, no attachment as it were something to be taken),

1) Different lists of *vipakṣa-pratipakṣa*: *Bobhū*, p. 368, *Mdh.V.*, p. 168 each *pratipakṣa* corresponding to a *bhūmi*; cf. *Samdhinirmocana*, p. 229. *Siddhi*, p. 639 ff.

p. 26, l. 17 ff., *t a t k i ṃ m a n y a s e* is the *v i . p a k ṣ a*, the antithesis, the contrary; therefore: *n ā s t i k a ś c i d d h a r m a ḥ*

7th support (= 3rd impediment); much learning but attention concentrated on futile objects (小攀緣作念, *t ' o s p a m a ṅ y a ṅ d m i g s p a y i d l a b y e d p a c ' u ṅ d u b s g o m p a*); *k ṣ e t r a v y ū h a* p. 27, l. 8 produces attachment to matter etc, therefore; *y a ḥ k a ś c i t* etc. up to p. 27, l. 8, *c i t t a m u t - p ā d a y i t a v y a m*, against attachment to *r ū p a* etc. and to all other imaginations; *r ū p a*, material things, do not exist either as *a v a y a v i n*, a whole, or an aggregation (*s a m u d a y a*) of parts. (Ch. 762 a).

8th support (= 4th impediment). Though meditation is not concentrated on futile objects, there is indifference to beings (*s e m s c a n l a y a l b a r ṇ a d o r b a ṅ i d*, 捨象生); though beings do not exist, one should not desist from trying to mature them,¹⁾ *K m . p . 232*; p. 27, l. 9-14, *t a d y a t h ā p i n ā m a . . . ā t m a - b h ā v a (n a b h ā v o n ā b h ā v a ḥ*, against distractions); (T. 192 b) but any ego is logically impossible.

9th support (= 5th impediment). Though indifference towards beings is absent, there is inclination towards heretical doctrines, p. 27, l. 15, *t a t k i ṃ m a n y a s e . . . y ā v a n t y o g ā ṅ g ā y ā m* (heretical doctrines are the antithesis).

1) Cf. K'uei chi, Ta. n. 1816, p. 744 b: *u p ā y a k a u ś a l a t ā* is here meant. It refers to *p r a t y e k a b u d d h a s* whose wrong view is *s a t t v ā r - t h a v i m u k h a t ā*, *s a t t v ā r t h a n i r a p e k ṣ a t ā*: its opposite is *k a r u ṇ ā*.

Four peculiarities of the Buddhist doctrine:

1. it accumulates merit, p. 27, l. 19-p. 28, l. 2, *yā v a n t y ā s t ā s u s ā s t r i . . . p r a s u n u y ā t ;*

2. it is honoured by gods, p. 28, l. 10-14, *a p i t u . . . s a m p r a k ā ś a y i ṣ y a n t i ;*

3. it achieves difficult things, p. 28, l. 14-15, *p a r a - m e ṇ a . . . b h a v i ṣ y a n t i ;*

4. " It excites, produces the recollection, *a n u s m ṛ t i* of the Tathāgatas etc. " (So Ch.; Km. 233 a: " it makes one similar to the Tathāgata " ¹⁾), p. 28, l. 15-17, *t a s m i ṃ ś c a p ṛ t h i v i p r a d e ś e . . . v i j ñ a g u r u s t h ā n i y a*, but the Law, though a counter-agent of the doctrine of the heretics, should not be taken literally, as really existent while it is, in fact, only conventional, relative, p. 28, l. 21-p. 29, l. 2, *y a i v a p r a j ñ ā p ā r a m i t ā . . . t e - n o c y a t e p r a j ñ ā p ā r a m i t ā ;* it is realized directly, so also as regards the other *d h a r m a s*, p. 29, l. 3-5, *t a t k i ṃ m a n y a s e . . . b h ā ṣ i t a ḥ* (T. 193 a); the proper character (*s v a l a k ṣ a ṇ a*) of things cannot be connoted (*b r d a g d a g s m i n u s*), and the general character (*s ā m ā n y a l a k ṣ a ṇ a*) is a mere connotation (*p r a j ñ a p t i* Km. 234 b); therefore no *dharma*.

10th support (= 6th impediment). No inclination towards heretical doctrines, but inability to avoid inexperience in mastery of counterfeited characters, *g z u g s b r ñ a n*, 影像²⁾, p. 29, l. 6 ff., *t a t k i ṃ m a n y a s e o k a d h ā t u r*.

1) K'uei chi, Ta. 1816, p. 745 a: it brings about the realization of *d h a r - m a k ā y a*, the signs of the Buddha etc. but this is not the case of gift etc.

2) *Pratirūpaka viz.: n o b h ū t a*, Bobhū, p. 159, l. 8; *s k a n - d h a*, atoms, in a word all *d h a r m a s* because imagined by *v i j ñ ā n a*, K'uei chi, Ta. 1816, p. 745 c.

External:

1. against the apprehension of the counterfeited character of a material form (*rūpakāya*), viz. how the bodhisattva in his initial stage (*ādikarmika*) can overcome that inability;

a) reduction of matter to subtle atoms, p. 29, l. 7, *bahupṛthivī-bhavet* (the universe is not a unity; method for having it vanish into atoms which cannot be proved, (*arajas*), but only accepted conventionally;

b) inconceivability, “non recollection”, (不念 *snañ* *ba med par byed* “making not to appear”): *arajas tathāgatena bhāṣitam*, p. 29, l. 9-10 (Ch. 762 c), the world has not the nature of many (*duṃma*) - as an antithesis to the theory assuming the existence of space and beings (*sattva* and *bhājana-loka*).

Internal:

2. against the counterfeited doctrine of apprehending the mark of *nāmakāya* of beings as real¹⁾, p. 29, l. 10-12, *yo'sau... lokadhātu* (= *sattvadhātu*; world of beings) (T. 193 b) (*lokadhātu*, being neither one nor many, is *alokadhātu*).

11th support (= 7th impediment). One possesses that ability, but merits are not accumulated, p. 29, l. 13 ff., *tat kiṃ manyase... dvātriṃśat mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa... lakṣaṇāni*. In order to accumulate merits the Tathāgatas should be honored, but these should not be considered as perfection of signs (but as *dharma-kāya*, the absolute): the

1) So Ch.; but Km.: inability in overcoming (the apprehension) of marks of things.

antithesis here is *rūpakāya*, the corporeal form of the Buddha, taken as the Tathāgata).

12th support (= 8th impediment). Merits are accumulated, but one is indolent or relishes honours and profits. Therefore one is not energetic and may revert from the undertaken endeavour (indolence etc. are the antithesis, Km. 236 b), p. 29, l. 19-30, l. 3, *yaś ca khalu punaḥ... strīvā*.

Greater than the merit derived from the sacrifice of one's own body is the merit of listening to the Law, and teaching it to others, p. 30, l. 4 ff. (T. 194 a, Ch. 762 c).

Then, when one has realized the merit which is derived from the Law, the danger may be that one takes this Law not as conventionally existent, but literally as being the ultimate reality, not according to its true significance: therefore, p. 30, l. 9-12, is added *yā caiṣā... bhūtasamjñā saivābhūtasamjñā*, viz., provided that there is no representation of *vikalpa* as regards *bhūtasamjñā*, as if it were the notion of something really existent, great is the merit of the Bodhisattva who in the future, when the Law decays, will rightly understand this Law, p. 30, l. 13-19, *na mama... bhagavan... samavagatā bhaviṣyanti*; that is as regards double selflessness, *nairātmya: ātman, dharmā*, etc.). Reason for first sense of shame, *apatrāpya*: when the Law is preached you are unable to practise it. This the Bodhisattva should learn from the teaching of the Buddha, p. 30, l. 91-p. 31, l. 2, *apitukhalu... sarvasamjñāpagatā hi Buddhā bhagavantaḥ*. Since, from the absolute point of view, there is nothing which can be the object of ideation (*samjñā*)

not even *nairātmya*, there can be no ideation at all (Km. 238 a).

This is said having regard to:

a) those who desist from energy, p. 30, l. 13-15, *avakalpayāmi-adhimucye*;

b) those who do not undertake energy, p. 31, l. 5, *nottrāsiṣyanti* etc. (in the Lower Vehicle the Buddha said to the *śrāvakas* that there are the *dharmas* and the void; now on hearing that neither dharmas nor void exist, as something positive, you are alarmed (at the voidness of the *dharmas*), and frightened (at the voidness of void itself); then you are endowed with great fear, because these two voidnesses cannot logically be put together. Those Bodhisattvas on the contrary *nottrāsiṣyanti, na samtrāsiṣyanti na samtrāsam āpatsyante*. As a conclusion (reason of second *apatrāpya*) p. 31, l. 6-8: *pāramiteyam... tenocyate paramā pāramitā* (exceeding gift etc.).

13th support (= 9th impediment). One is free of the aforesaid defect, but is unable to bear pain and therefore energy is scarce. In order to abandon this incapacity, l. 9 ff., *apitukhalu* etc.

A) patience, ability to bear pain.

a) how patience is practised, p. 31, l. 9, *kṣānti-pāramitā saivāpāramitā* (by non perception of any entity in *dharmas*) [Km. 239 a]; since, from the absolute point of view, patience is non existent, nobody who practises patience, no place where it is practised, nor what one should be patient of, nor such a thing as patience itself can be admitted;

b) the character of patience (antithesis of *dharma* and self); since there is no notion of self, when some injures us, no thought of hatred is born; no notion of patience nor non-notion of patience, p. 31, l. 10-13, *yadā me... Kaliṅgarāja... vāsamañjñā vā babhūva;*

c) its varieties or aspects:

1. forbearance of extreme pain: torture by Kaliṅgarāja¹⁾ (*aṅgapratyaṅga*).

2. forbearance of a continuous pain, Kṣāntivādin (500 years).

B) inability to bear pain; the cause of this non-forbearance are the three kinds of *duḥkha*; pain being of three kinds, the counteragents also are of three kinds (Ch. 763 a, T. 195 a):

1. *samsāra*, p. 31, l. 19, p. 32, l. 5, *tasmāt tarhi... cittam utpādayitavyam... na... pratiṣṭhitena dānaṃ dātavyam*; counter-agent being the abandoning of all notions (*ātman*, *rūpa* etc.).

2. false assumption of a being, 衆生相違苦, *sems can log par sgrub pai* [Km. *log par ajug*] *sdug snal, vipratipatti*, counter-agent being the abandoning of the false notion of a *sattva*, p. 32, l. 8-10, *api tu khalu punaḥ bodhisattvenaivamrūpo... saivāsamañjñā* and p. 32, l. 9-12, *ya caiṣā... na vitathavādi Tathāgataḥ... na mṛṣā*, reason of faith in the Tathāgata.

¹⁾ Kumārajīva (Ta. n. 235, p. 750 b) Kāliṅgarāja; so also Bodhiruci (Ta. n. 236, p. 754 c): I Ching (Ta. n. 239, p. 773 b) Kaliṅgarāja; Dharmagupta (Ta. n. 238, 769 a 惡王 bad king). Good resumé and list of sources in LAMOTTE, *Grande Sagesse*, p. 264, n. 1.

3. scarce enjoyment, counter-agent being charity given not in the hope of a fruit to come, p. 32, l. 14, *t a d y a t h ā p i n ā m a* etc. All sorts of attachment to things (*v a s t u*) must be eliminated; their being considered as real is caused by ignorance (*a v i d y ā*) which disappears when the sun of knowledge (*y e ś e s*) rises, and illuminates all the knowable (*j ñ e y a*), p. 32, l. 14-19.

14th support (= 10th impediment). One can bear pain, but one does not accumulate gnosis, (Km. 243 a). Some people in this way undertake the practice of patience, but they still relish (味, *r o m y o ñ b y e d*) *s a m ā d h i*¹⁾, they long for inferior knowledge; they are therefore not energetic in Mahāyāna which alone brings about a complete accumulation of knowledge (*j ñ ā n a s a m b h ā r a*); in order to remove that, the 14th support is stated, p. 32-120-33, l. 4, *a p i t u k h a l u . . . y e k u l a p u t r ā . . . p r a t i g r a h i ś y a n t i* (T. 196 a); five privileges of the exercise of the Law (Km. fivefold merit of the virtue of being energetic in the supreme Law so as to of remov relish for *s a m ā d h i*):

1. The Buddhas take note of the bodhisattvas who achieve this (*d g o ñ s p a , s a m a n v ā h ṛ t a*), p. 33, l. 2, *j ñ ā t ā s , d ṛ ṣ ṭ ā s , b u d d h ā s*.

2. apprehension of peculiar merits, p. 33, l. 3-4, *s a r v e t e . . . p r a t i g r a h i ś y a n t i*.

3. praise of the Law and of the progress in it.

α) praise of the Law, p. 33, l. 14-16, *a p i t u k h a l u . . . a c i n t y o . . . b u d d h ā s t e T a t h ā g a*

1) Md h. V., p. 81, l. 5 and p. 215, l. 5.

tena, incomparable as it causes purification of moral and mental defilements,

β) praise of the progress in it, *bsgrub par byed pa, pratipatti*¹⁾, p. 33, l. 16-19, *yamam tathāgatenā...*

4. honor by the gods etc., p. 34, l. 9-12, *apitukhalu... bhaviṣyati*, (thus desire and vow are aroused). (Ch. 763 c).

5. suppression or purification of sins: p. 34, l. 13-19, *apitukhalu... cānuprāpsyanti*.

Why merit referred to above is immeasurable and innumerable? On account of: a) its majesty or potency, 威力, *rabtuzilgyis gnon*, Km. 245 b: *mt'u*, p. 34, l. 20-p. 35, l. 11 (T. 197 a) *abhijanāmy aham... na kṣamate*; b) its manifoldness, p. 35, l. 12-15: *sacet punaḥ... gaccheyuḥ*; c) this teaching and its fruit (*dharmaparyāya*) transcend mind p. 35, l. 15-17: *apitukhalu punaḥ... praktikāṅkṣitavyaḥ*.

15th support (=11th impediment). One accumulates gnosis but the idea of self still lingers (viz. "I realize enlightenment etc.")²⁾.

(Km. 247 a: though this has been stated already, it is now repeated, at the moment when realization approaches, in order to make this belief more steady; in fact the impediments may still be active in force of *sammoḥa*).

p. 35, l. 18-p. 36, l. 7, *katham bhagavan bodhisattvayānā... bodhisattvayānā-sampraṣṭhito nāma* (T. 197, b).

¹⁾ In fact one of the excellencies, *ānuttarya* of Mahāyāna consists just in the *pratipatti*, Mdh.V., p. 199. Cf. MSA., V, 1.

²⁾ Cf. Mdh.V, p. 215, l. 19 ff.

16th support (=12th impediment). Though the idea of a self no more lingers, one lacks instructions ¹⁾.

Km. 247 a: If there is no *dharma*, how could the future Buddha, having received the instructions, become an accomplished Buddha, since, there being no enlightenment, there is no need of instructions? To remove this doubt support 16th is introduced. Formerly, when there was desire of getting the Body of the Law (*c'o s k y i s k u*), the attachment (*g r a h a*) to the body of the Dharma as verb (*b š a d p a i c ' o s s k u*) was checked, now, at the time of realization, the attachment to the idea of Buddhahood as something *per se* is checked, p. 36, l. 8-16; p. 37, l. 2, *t a t k i m m a n y a s e . . . a b h i s a m b u d d h a ḥ*.

Objection: if there is no realization how could there have been prophecy? Therefore it is said: (Ch. 764 a): p. 36-116, p. 37, l. 2, *s a c e t . . . k a ś c i d d h a r m a . . . s a m y a k s a m b u d d h a ḥ*. If the *dharma* enlightenment could be spoken, when Dīpaṃkara spoke, the bodhisattva could have obtained enlightenment: therefore there would have been no need of the prophecy by Dīpaṃkara. Since that *dharma* cannot be spoken, the bodhisattva did not, then, obtain enlightenment and the prophecy of Dīpaṃkara took place.

Q.: If there is no such a thing as enlightenment, how could the Tathāgata be? p. 37, l. 3-6-14, *t a t k a s y a h e t o ḥ . . . T a t h ā g a t a i t i ; a t y a n t ā n u t p a n n a s y a i t a d a d h i v a c a n a m . T a t h a t ā = a b s o l u t e (d h a r m a t ā) = n o t b o r n = T a t h ā g a t a*. One may say that the Buddha did not obtain enlight-

¹⁾ Cf. *MS.A*, chapter XIV.

tenment from Dīpam., but attained it later by himself
p. 37, l. 7: *y a ḥ k a ś c i t* etc.

Therefore there is nothing to be taken and no taker
(*g r ā h y a - g r ā h ī t ṛ*); because *t a t h a t ā* is *a d -*
v a y a, non duality (Km.), everything is said convention-
ally; there is no affirmation nor negation (*m a d h y a m ā*
p r a t i p a t, Km.), p. 37, l. 12, *n a s a t y a m n a*
m ṛ ṣ ā, no truth, no untruth are possible.

17th support ¹⁾: Entrance into the path of realization
(*m ṇ o n p a r r t o g s p a*), p. 37, l. 15, *t a d y a -*
t h ā p i n ā m a . . . m a h ā k ā y a; it supposes:

a) acquirement of wisdom (*y e ṣ e s*). It is twofold
(Km. 249 a) (but keeping in mind that all this is said con-
ventionally, because from the absolute point of view, there
is no realization and nothing to be realized):

1. wisdom comprehending the lineage (*g o t r a*)
viz. a lineage which is certainly and definitely that of
the Buddha (*n i y a t a - g o t r a*) (therefore one gets a
body possessed of good signs, *u p e t a k ā y a*, and a great
body, *m a h ā k ā y a*, because it includes all beings).

2. wisdom of sameness ²⁾: five causes of sameness
(essentially all beings are equal because in them and in
the dharmas there is no self).

1) sameness in bad situation: *g n a s ṇ a n l e n*
p a , d a u ṣ ṭ h u l y a.

¹⁾ Up to here the cause - *h e t u* - of realization has been explained,
the path as cause, now the author discusses the result (*p h a l a*).

²⁾ Cf. *M d h . V .*, p. 167 f. *S i d d h i*, p. 639-657, *S a m d h i n i r m o -*
c a n a, pp. 161, 127-29 (trans. p. 240-241). *K'uei chi*, Ta. 1816, p. 766 b
refers here to the five *s a m a t ā* of *M S A*, XIV, 31 and explains how the
two lists agree though the names are different. There are also 10 kinds of
s a m a t ā j ṇ ā n a; references in *S i d d h i*, 689-90.

2) sameness in so far as all *dharma*s have no self.

3) sameness in the effort (Ch. 相應: T. *brtson, udyoga*) of arresting pain.

4) sameness in the effort of mind not aiming at worldly rewards (*nirāmiṣa, zañ ziñ med pai sems* (Ta. 198 *b*)).

5) sameness of the bodhisattvas in realization. When these five have been obtained, one assumes the body of all beings, *mahākāya*, (with no distinction between self and another).

b) absence of conceit (*abhimāna*: “I will lead beings to *nirvāṇa*, etc.).

p. 37, l. 19, p. 38, l. 5, *yobodhisattva... sarvadharma itī*.

18. The Buddha stage; six accomplishments of purity ¹⁾.

External fruit:

α. Accomplishment of purity of the Buddha fields. (Objection: if there are no attributes peculiar to a Bodhisattva, *bodhisattva-dharma*s, who could then strive for obtaining the Buddha-fields? Reply:) Two misconceptions are eliminated:

a) subjectively, p. 38, l. 6-7, *yaḥ... bodhisattva... kṣetravyūhā itī*, this would be a right practice accompanied by a wrong view (see p. 138, f.), viz. a wrong assumption of an ego (*abhimāna*), in so far as one has not realized that there is no self (*aḥam* p. 39, l. 6).

¹⁾ Or seven because *β* is divided into two groups.

b) objectively, p. 38, l. 7-8, kṣetravyūhā... tenocyanate kṣetravyūhā iti, viz. absolute truth, paramārtha, against the attachment to those lands, when one has not yet realized that dharmas also are unsubstantial, viz. against the imagination of the bodhisattva still in the adhimukticyābhūmi and striving after the Buddha Land. How can the bodhisattva realize this? p. 38, l. 11-12, yaḥ... bodhisattva... ityākhyātaḥ, where "dharma" is repeated twice because absence of self is of two kinds (ātman and dharma).

Internal fruit:

β. Anuttara-dṛṣṭi-jñāna-pariśuddhisampat:

a) Achievement of purity of supreme vision, viz. non-vision, p. 38, l. 12-p. 39, l. 2 tat kiṃ manyase... buddhacakṣuḥ (of the Tathāgata).

five eyes (the first being divided into two):

1. apprehension of material things (rūpa): 1) fruit of dharma: (māmsacakṣuḥ). 2) fruit of meditation (bhāvanā): divyacakṣuḥ.

2. apprehension of absolute truth (no self, ātman, and dharma) (prajñācakṣuḥ, it comes first because it purifies n. 3, Km.).

3. apprehension of conventional truth, laukika (no self, dharma only, dharmacakṣuḥ).

4. apprehension of all knowable but anābhogena (buddhacakṣuḥ).

b) Achievement of purity of supreme gnosis (Km. 251b), p. 39, l. 3-14, tat kiṃ manyase... yāvantyogāṅgāyāṇnānābhāvāṃcittadhārāṃprajānāmi... nopalabhyate

(Ch. 764 T. 199 b); here *cittadhārā*¹⁾ = *citta* and *caitāśika* of the three times, being of two kinds: pure and impure, viz. with desire and devoid of desire: but this continuity (*cittadhārā*) is assumed conventionally; in fact from the absolute point of view, there is no continuity of mental states (*a-cittadhārā*) in any of the three times, (being not born, *ajāta* Km.) p. 39, l. 11-13, *cittādhārā... adhāraiṣā*.

(Objection: if there is no continuity of mental states, no merit is possible; R.:)

γ. Accomplishment of mastery in the accumulation of merit, no merit from the absolute point of view, only conventionally, p. 39, l. 15-p. 40, l. 7, *tat kiṃ manyase... yah kaścit... tenocyate puṇyaskandha iti*.

Absolute sense: p. 40, l. 6-7 *sacet... puṇyaskandha iti*.

(Km. 252 b. Objection: if no merit exists, the twofold body of the Buddha would not exist, R.:)

δ. Achievement of body:

a) achievement of corporeal form, p. 40, l. 8-12, *rūpakāyapariṇiṣpattiyā... pariṇiṣpattir*, against the wish to get a corporeal form, a wish proper of the bodhisattva in *adhimukticyābhūmi* and against the previous worship tended to Buddhas etc.; absolute sense: *apariṇiṣpattir*;

b) achievement of signs, (*lakṣaṇasam-pat*), p. 40, l. 13-16, *tat kiṃ manyase... lakṣaṇasampaditi*, against attachment to the achievement of body which is proper of the Bodhisattva in

¹⁾ Viz. knowledge of others' mind, *paracittajñāna*, K'uei chi, Ta. n. 1816, p. 771 c. K'uei chi gives a list of 22 kinds of *citta*.

l h a g p a i b s a m p a d a g p a i s a , ś u d d h ā -
d h y ā ś a y a b h u m i (Ta. 200 a).

ε. Achievement of speech :

(Km. 253 a b. Objection: if the Buddha is not to be seen as perfection of body, then what has been taught by the Buddha does not exist, because all his words belong to his achievement of a corporeal form; who could believe it? R.: p. 40, l. 17-p. 41, l. 3 absolute point of view: t a t k i ṃ m a n y a s e . . . a p i n u . . . n ā m o p a l a b h y a t e ; no teacher, no teaching, nothing taught...¹⁾).

ζ. Achievement of spirit; sixfold:

1. S m ṛ t y u p a s t h ā n a , stability of awareness p. 41, l. 4-9, a s t i b h a g a v a n k e c i t . . . t e n o -
c y a n t e s a t t v ā i t i , against attachment to being or non being; so also against affirmation and negation:

n a s a t t v a = p a r a m ā r t h a

n ā s a t t v a = s a ṃ v ṛ t i

(Objection: if there is no Law there is no realization; hence no endeavour of the bodhisattva would be possible. R.:)

2. Right intuition, a b h i s a ṃ b o d h i , viz. n o
d h a r ṃ a whatsoever nor Buddha from the absolute point of view, p. 41, l. 10-15, t a t k i ṃ m a n y a s e . . . a p i
n v a s t i . . . n ā s t i k a ś c i d d h a r ṃ o , viz. the mis-
takes of false opinions, d ṛ ṣ ṭ i , have been eliminated, illumination (b o d h i) and path to illumination (b o d h i -
m ā r g a) are manifest: this illumination is envisaged under two points of view as a n u t t a r ā (viz. non perception, anupalambha, Km.), that is *per se* (s v a l a k ṣ a ṇ a), liberation, v i m o k ṣ a , (a ṇ u r a p i , p. 41, l. 3, nothing to be

¹⁾ K'uei chi. Ta. 1816, p. 772,6 refers here to k ā r i k ā 54.

obtained in it as well as nothing to be abandoned by it) and in its general character (*sā mā nya-lakṣaṇa*), common to all beings viz. *saṃyaksambodhi* (p. 41, l. 16 *sā mā*, because all Buddhas are Buddhas in so far as they are enlightened; *na viṣā mā*¹⁾ (Ch. 765 *a*), because there is no difference in age between the Buddhas (Lamotte, *La Somme*, p. 284); p. 41, l. 17-18, *nirātmatvena... sānuttara saṃyaksambodhi*; p. 41, l. 21-2, *sarvaiḥ... kuśalair dharmair abhisambudhyate* = path to illumination, p. 41, l. 19-21, *kuśalā... kuśalā dharmā iti*, establishment of supreme truth.

3. (Q.: how can realization be known? R.):

a) declaration of the teaching, greatly benefitting²⁾ (*c'os don c'en por gdags*), p. 42, l. 1-7, *yaś ca khalu punaḥ... na kṣāmate*;

b) declaration of instructions, greatly benefitting; so T. (but. Ch. 安立第一義教授 establishment of the grasping of the absolute teaching), p. 42, l. 8-16, *tat kiṃ manyase... pṛthagjānā iti*, there is no ideation of an ego, a being, or of a profane (as opposite to a saint).

4. Apprehension of the absolute, *dharmakāya* p. 42, l. 17, p. 43, l. 13, *tat kiṃ manyase... lakṣaṇasaṃpadā... abhisambuddhā syāt* (T. 201).

The achievement of signs (*lakṣaṇasaṃpāt*) cannot be seen as the Tathāgata; the Tathāgata is not the object of mundane knowledge (first *gāthā*). How should he be seen: as the absolute beyond verbal desig-

¹⁾ Km. 256 *a*; *sā mā*, because there is no self in ātman as well as in dharmas; *viṣā mā* = *aviparīta*, non erroneous.

²⁾ Bobhū, p. 292. Mdh.V., p. 209, l. 17; p. 252, l. 11.

nation, *pratyātma vedānīya*, self-experienced. (Ch. 765 *b*), not as *lakṣaṇasamṣat* (second *gāthā*). One may think that though one must not see the Tathāgata as perfection of signs, still this perfection is causally connected with *samyaksambodhi*; against this assumption: p. 43, l. 10, *tat kiṃ manyase* etc. (signs are *rūpa*).

5. Non-conformance to the idea that there is either *samsāra* or *nirvāṇa* (meant as a reply to the objection that if there is no Tathāgata there could be no *apraṭiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa*) (Km.); p. 43, l. 13-18, *na khalu punas... nocchedaḥ* (Ta. 201 *b*).

Viz. no stand either in *samsāra* or in *nirvāṇa* as two opposites; no self, no *samsāra*, no defilements. no merit and therefore neither eternity nor *uccheda*, (here Km. 256 *b*, inserts a criticism of origination and causality); p. 43, l. 19-44, l. 6, *yaś ca khalu... kulaputra... parigrahītavya iti*.

6. Purity in behaviour (Ch.: in going (= past) and staying = present). (Km. 262 *b*, *bhūgs pa yoṅs sudag*).

(Objection: if the Buddha should be seen as *dharma kāya*, not as corporeal form – *rūpākāya* – this contradicts what we read in the *āgama* as regards his birth, his *abhiniṣkramaṇa* etc. and if he is like other men, i.e. is born etc. how is it that he is not *kleśita*, Km. 262 *b* R.)

Three achievements in it:

a) pure behaviour in majesty¹⁾ 威儀 (T. as regards the path of practice, *spyod lam gyis*

¹⁾ Cf. *Bobhū*, p. 75.

b ž u g s p a), p. 44, l. 7-11, a p i t u k h a l u ...
s a m y a k s a m b u d d h a i t i; conventionally as usual;
from the absolute point of view nothing exists.

b) behaviour in mastery in annihilating n ā m a -
k ā y a and r ū p a k ā y a, viz. mastery in eliminating
both notions of unity and manifoldness of space and beings
(b h ā j a n a and s a t t v a l o k a), that is meditation
intended for the reduction to nihil both of n ā m a and
r ū p a - k ā y a, viz. of notions of ideal and material
existence. p. 44, l. 12-45, l. 7, y a ś c a k h a l u
p u n a ḥ ... p ṛ t h a g j a n a i r u d g ṛ h ī t a ḥ (viz.
double method as before p. 158).

T. 202 b. After having realized the inconceivability
of reality, one enters yogic attainment, y o g a s a m ā -
p a t t i, by elimination of creative thought or all sorts
of representations (v i k a l p a) concerning self and d h a r -
m a s .

Five cases:

b¹. how imagination or representation should
not be imagined:

p. 45, l. 8-18, y o h i k a ś c i t ... ā t m a d ṛ -
ṣ ṭ i r i t i.

b². who should not imagine it:

p. 45, l. 14, e v a m h i b o d h i s a t t v a y ā n a -
s a m p r a s t h i t e n a . (Ch. 766 a).

b³. in which dharma it should not be imagined:

p. 45, l. 14; s a r v a d h a r m ā . (Ta. 203 a).

b⁴. by what means it should not be imagined:

j ñ ā t a v y a = a d h i c i t t a, ś a m a t h a; d r a ṣ ṭ a v y a =
a d h i p r a j ñ a, v i p a ś y a n ā; a d h i m o k t a v y a,
n i r v i k a l p a j ñ ā n a s a m ā d h i, viz. liberation, v i -
m o k ṣ a .

*b*⁵. what is this non imagination or non representation:

p. 45, l. 16, *na dharmasamjñāyā m api pratyupatiṣṭhet nā dharmasamjñāyā m.*

c) Behaviour with no taints, defilements. 不染, *ñon monś med* (Objection: when the Buddha preaches the Law, notions arise in the minds of the listeners: how then can defilement be avoided? If on account of compassion for the beings, he remains in the *samsāra*, how could defilements not derive from this? R.):

1) no defilements as regards the Law as teaching (viz. taken as real, being *anirvacanīya*, Km.):

p. 45, l. 19, p. 46, l. 4, *yaś ca khalu etc. . . tenocyate . . . samprakāśayet*¹.

Were it not so, it would be infected by passion.

2) no defilements as regards *samsāra*, viz. when one considers it with no attachment; four characters of *samsāra* (= conditioned, *samskrta*):

2¹ its intrinsic character, (*svabhāvalakṣaṇa*): stars, fault of vision, lamp (*vijñāna*)

2² character of being object of relish, *romyañ baiyulgyi mts'an ñid*: mock show (*māyā*).

2³ character of being connected with defects, *ñes dmigs rjes su rtogs pai mts'an ñid*: dew drops (non-eternity), bubble (painfulness).

2⁴ character of being a factor of release, *ñes par abyuñ ba rjes su rtogs pai mts'an ñid*; dream = past, lightning flash = present, cloud = future.

¹) The reading of p. 46, n. 1, (M. Müller's edition) is to be followed.

APPENDIX II

THE GILGIT TEXT OF THE VAJRACCHEDIKĀ
BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI

INTRODUCTION

While examining the collection of manuscripts discovered in 1931 in a stupa mound in the mountainous region three miles to the north of Gilgit, which is now preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, as a temporary measure, I came across seven folios of a manuscript of *Vajracchedikā*. The manuscript is written on birch bark and bears the folio numbers 5 and 7 to 12 on the obverse. Pages 1 to 4 and 6 are now missing. Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt has noticed this manuscript as consisting of 12 leaves ¹⁾ but on inquiry he wrote to me saying that he did not remember if all the 12 leaves were actually there. I could not find the missing leaves even after a careful search; obviously they were missing all the time.

Folio 5 is 36.5 mm in length and 5.5 mm in width and bears 7 lines of writing; while folios 6-12 are of the same width, the length is 37 mm and they bear 6 lines of writing on each side with the exception of the reverse of leaf 12 where the manuscript ends, which has only three lines. Considering the portion which is missing, it would appear that the first five leaves had 7 lines of writing on each side and the rest 6 lines each. The writing on all the folios is in the same hand and the difference in the number of lines in the subsequent pages for which a fresh birch bark appears to have been used, seems to be due to the fact that a thicker pen was used.

¹⁾ Gilgit mss., Vol. I, p. 47.

The bundle of which 27 leaves are now preserved, originally contained texts of at least four manuscripts, *Vajracchedikā*, *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, an unidentified text and *Vasudhārā*. The folios 24-27 are missing but it is clear that *Bhaiṣajyaguru* which began on folio 13 must have ended on folio 24. The third text ended on folio 34 but there is no colophon indicating the name of the work. Folio 35 begins with the tale of *Sucīndra* in *Vasudhārā*¹⁾.

Max Mueller was the first to edit the text of *Vajracchedikā* from the manuscript received from Japan²⁾. F. E. Pargiter has edited a fragmentary text of the work discovered by the late Sir Aurel Stein during his first expedition to Chinese Turkestan during 1900-1901, from the ruins of a small dwelling place at Dandan Uliq³⁾. This manuscript is written on country paper and is badly decayed. Its language is indifferent sanscrit. Sten Konow has also edited an old Khotanese version of the same work brought back also by Stein⁴⁾.

Folio 5 of the present ms. begins with *taḥ bhagavān āha*, corresponding to p. 29, l. 5 and ends with *sarva saṃjñā varjayitvā*, corresponding to p. 32, l. 1 of Max Mueller's edition. Folio 7 begins with *(pa)rimāṇena* in p. 3, l. 2 of the same edition. Though incomplete, the text is edited here

1) C. BENDALL, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanscrit Manuscripts in Cambridge*, Cambridge 1883, Mss. Add. 1335 and Add. 1400.

2) *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, I, 1. Translated by the same scholar in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 49, Pt. II, pp. 109-144, in French by C. DE HARLEZ in *Journal Asiatique*, 1891, s. 8, T. XVIII, pp. 440 ff. and in German by MAX WALLESE, *Prajñāpāramitā*, Die Vollkommenheit der Erkenntnis, nach indischen, tibetischen und chinesischen Quellen usw., Goettingen 1914, pp. 140-158.

3) A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, Oxford 1916, pp. 176 ff.

4) HOERNLE, l. c., pp. 214 ff.

for several reasons. It is decidedly the earliest manuscript known so far of the work. Moreover, if compared to the mss. examined by Max Mueller, the present mss. is remarkably free from errors and is much shorter, avoiding unnecessary repetitions. The few mistakes which occur are mainly orthographical or are due to oversight, e. g. *dvātrṃśatā* for *dvātri* – (5 a, l. 2), *bhūta* for *bhūtaḥ* – (7 a, l. 3), *paṃcāśatyāṃ* for *paṃca* –, *duhitṛnāṃ* for *duhitrināṃ* – (7 b, l. 3), *asastād* for *asato* – (7 b, l. 4), *kuśali* for *kuśalair* – (10 a, l. 4), *cevaṃ* for *cai-vaṃ* – (10 b, l. 1). Anusvāra has been omitted in *samāṃllokān* – (11 a, l. 4) and *-kheyāṃllokān* – (12 a, l. 5). All such omissions and errors have been corrected in the foot notes in the text. As regards orthography consonants are not doubled following a repha, the rare exceptions being *rddīpaṃkarasya* – (7 a, l. 6) and *varttamānāyāṃ* – (7 b, l. 1). *Sattva* has been invariably spelt as *satva*. For indicating punctuation a common mark is a comma laid lengthwise like the figure of 1. Another is a dot followed by a comma to indicate a full stop (5 a, l. 5). In order to indicate the end, a circle with a dot in the middle flanked by two strokes on either side is used. The mss. ends with *Vajracchedikā samāptā* and there is no colophon at the end indicating the name of the copyist, the place where it was copied or the purpose for which it was prepared.

The writing is of the upright variety of the Gupta script as in the mss. of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, a page of which has been illustrated in Dutt's edition of the work ¹⁾.

The date of these manuscripts has been placed by earlier scholars in the 5th, 6th or, even in the 7th century. But

¹⁾ Gilgit mss. Vol. I.

as Paṭoladeva Śāhi Vajrāditya Nandin. No further information of the ruler is given in the ms. and it can not be ascertained whether he was a predecessor or successor of Surendra Vikramāditya. The name of another Paṭoladeva is, however, known from an unpublished inscription from Gilgit, an impression of which was sent to me in 1942 by the British Political Agent in Gilgit. The inscription is incised on a rock near Hunza and records the foundation of a city called Makarapura by one Makarasiṅha, a chief in the district of Haṇesarā (Hunza) and the great Lord of the elephants (mahāgajapati) of the P. M. P. Paṭoladeva Śāhi Śrideva Surendrātityanandideva. The inscription describes him as being born in the lineage of Bhagadatta, obviously the same as the son of Naraka mentioned in the Mahābhārata. It is interesting to note that the same lineage is claimed by Bhāskaravarman, the ruler of Prāgiyotiṣa (Assam) and the contemporary of King Harṣa of Kanauj in the 7th century A. D. There is nothing to show any connection between these two ruling families, one of which ruled in the extreme north and the other in the eastern part of India. It seems that both the dynasties, the Ādityas of Gilgit and the Varmans of Assam, traced their descent from the same source with the same object in view viz. to establish a claim for their Kṣatriya origin.

This inscription is dated in the 13th day of the bright half of the month Pauṣa of the year 47. Unfortunately there is no indication to show whether this year has to be referred to any particular era, or denotes only the regnal year. We know that the Laukika era was in use also in the northern parts of Kashmir and if the year has to be referred to that era, in which the century was omitted, the exact date can not be verified from the details given in the epi-

graph. If it is a regnal year, which seems unlikely, Paṭoladeva must have been quite advanced in age when this record was engraved. But here the palaeographical evidence is of some use to us. The script used in the record may be called proto çāradā as it shows many earlier forms. According to Buehler, epigraphic çāradā dates from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 9th century though as a literary script it may have been much older. The script is earlier than that used in the image inscriptions of Brahmor and Chatrahi ¹⁾ and may therefore have to be placed at a period not later than the 7th century, perhaps even earlier. This Paṭoladeva seems to be identical with Śāhi Śāhānuśāhi Paṭoladeva mentioned in a fragmentary manuscript of Mahāmāyūrī recovered by M. S. Kaul in 1938 from stūpa B. which gives further information about his family ²⁾. The script of this manuscript is decidedly much later than that of the Vajracchedikā and the Vinaya texts of the Gilgit collection.

Now who were these Śāhi rulers? Dutt seems to take it for granted that they belonged to the family of the Hindu Śāhiya dynasty of Udabhāṇḍapura (Ohind). But this is not definitely so. Lalliya Śāhi, the founder of this dynasty, was a contemporary of Śaṅkaradeva of Kashmir (883-902 A. D.) and would therefore be too late in date. Moreover, the region where this inscription and the manuscripts have been found is in Darada territory and would be outside the kingdom of the Śāhis of Ohind. Kalhaṇa mentions the names of several Darada Śāhis who seem to have taken prominent parts in Kashmir politics in the 11th

¹⁾ VOGEL, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I (Arch. Surv. Ind., New Imperial Series, Vol. XXXVI), Pl. X.

²⁾ M. S. KAREL, *Report on the Gilgit Excavation in 1938*, p. 11.

on examining the script carefully we find that it is analogous to that used in the Bower mss. II and III and Weber mss. I and III. Initial *ā* follows the Weber ms. III, the initial *i* is represented by three dots and the initial *e* is written in the same way as in the Weber mss. I. In *ka* the vertical bar is straight but the horizontal bar is bent. *Ja* is cursive as in Weber mss. III and *ma* and *ya* follow closely the Bower ms. III, the latter with a loop in the left. *Ra* is of the same variety as in Bower mss. II and the marks used for punctuation are also similar. Dr. Hoernle in his intensive study of the Bower manuscript has shown that its parts I-III, IV, V-VII and VI were written by four different scribes, three of whom were contemporaries, the writer of part VI being a little later. According to him the date of the Bower mss. has to be placed, on palaeographic grounds, in the second half of the 4th century – rather nearer the beginning than the end of the period, i. e. approximately in the third quarter of the 4th century A. D. ¹⁾

From the similarity of the script of the Gilgit mss. of *Vajracchedikā* with that of Bower mss. on the whole and the resemblance of a few letters with the Weber mss. I and II, the Gilgit mss. may have to be placed early in the 5th century A. D., rather than in the 6th century as has been held hitherto. On comparison with the script of the Kasia Plate, Pargiter placed the *Vajracchedikā* manuscript edited by him at the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century A. D. But the script of that manuscript is more developed than that of the Gilgit manuscript which has therefore to be placed at an earlier date.

¹⁾ *Indian Antiquary*, Vols. XLII, XLIII, 1913-14, *Supplement*.

Hoernle also holds that the Bower ms. was written by Indians settled in Kuchar. But so far as the Gilgit mss. are concerned there is no doubt that they were written by the scribes settled in the Gilgit region, perhaps Buddhist monks from Kashmir.

But this does not mean that all the mss. in the Gilgit collection were written in the same period. The script used in some is early and in others it is definitely of a much later date, spread over a century if not longer.

Apart from the palaeographical evidence there is also some internal evidence to show that the manuscripts recovered from Gilgit were not written at the same time. Names of at least three rulers appear in the colophons of the various mss. Dutt notices the name of only one Śāhi ruler mentioned in a colophon of one of the manuscripts. His full name with titles was Śrīdeva Śāhi Surendra Vikramāditya Nanda¹). He along with Śamidevi-Trailokyadevi bhaṭṭārikā, probably his wife, and one Vihali were the chief donors of the manuscripts. Dutt connects his colophon with the mss. B of Bhaiṣajyaguru edited by him. I examined the mss. carefully and found that it was the gift of the devout lay worshipper Vasamta and his associates while the page where the name of the ruler appears, forms the obverse of an unnumbered leaf and may have belonged to a different manuscript. The scribe of the king's manuscript was Ārya Sthirabuddhi and the collaborator Narendradatta who may be identical with the Mahabhāṣaka Narendradatta, the scribe of the Ajitasenavyākaraṇa edited by Dutt. I came across the name of a second ruler of the same dynasty in the colophon of another unnumbered page. He is styled

1) DUTT, l. c., p. 32 of the text.

as Paṭoladeva Śāhi Vajrāditya Nandin. No further information of the ruler is given in the ms. and it can not be ascertained whether he was a predecessor or successor of Surendra Vikramāditya. The name of another Paṭoladeva is, however, known from an unpublished inscription from Gilgit, an impression of which was sent to me in 1942 by the British Political Agent in Gilgit. The inscription is incised on a rock near Hunza and records the foundation of a city called Makarapura by one Makarasiṅgha, a chief in the district of Haṇesarā (Hunza) and the great Lord of the elephants (mahāgajapati) of the P. M. P. Paṭoladeva Śāhi Śrideva Surendrātityanandideva. The inscription describes him as being born in the lineage of Bhagadatta, obviously the same as the son of Naraka mentioned in the Mahābhārata. It is interesting to note that the same lineage is claimed by Bhāskaravarman, the ruler of Prāgiyotiṣa (Assam) and the contemporary of King Harṣa of Kanauj in the 7th century A. D. There is nothing to show any connection between these two ruling families, one of which ruled in the extreme north and the other in the eastern part of India. It seems that both the dynasties, the Ādityas of Gilgit and the Varmans of Assam, traced their descent from the same source with the same object in view viz. to establish a claim for their Kṣatriya origin.

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1) VOGEL, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I (Arch. Surv. Ind., New Imperial Series, Vol. XXXVI), Pl. X.

2) M. S. KAREL, *Report on the Gilgit Excavation in 1938*, p. 11.

and 12th centuries but he does not mention any earlier rulers of Darada by name. According to Tibetan sources the Gilgit region was known as Bruśa whose rulers seem to have some connection with the kings of Udyāna (Swat). According to the same source the kings of Bruśa had the title *devaputra* (gnam sras) and the manuscripts of Bstan 'byuñ actually give the name of one of the kings of Bruśa as Sad-Žver. This title, however, is not found either in the inscription or in the manuscripts from Gilgit nor can the ruler mentioned in the Tibetan manuscript be identified yet. Probably he was a later king when Gilgit had formed a closer political relation with Tibet, through matrimonial and other alliances.

- *1 (Folio 5 a) taḥ bhagavān āha | yāvāt subhūte trisāhasra-
mahāsāhasre lokadhātau pṛthivīrajaḥ kaścit tad bahu |
āha | bahu bhagavan tat pṛthivīrajaḥ arajas tathāga-
*2 tena bhāṣitas ¹⁾ tenocyate pṛthivī * ²⁾ raja iti | yo py
asau lokadhātur adhātum sa tathāgatena bhāṣitas
tenocyate lokadhātur iti | bhagavān āha | tat kiṃ
*3 manyase subhūte dvātriṃśatā ³⁾ mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇais
tathāgato draṣṭavyaḥ * āha | no bhagavaṃs tat kasya
hetor yāni tāni dvātriṃśan mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇāni ta-
thāgatena bhāṣitāny alakṣaṇāni tenocyate dvātriṃśan
mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇānīti | bhagavān āha | yaś ca kha
*4 * lu punaḥ subhūte strī vā puruṣo va gaṅgāna-
dīvālukopamān ātmabhāvān parityajyed yaś ceto
dharmaparyāyād antaśaś catuspādikām api gāthām
*5 udgrhya parebhyo deśayed ayam e*va tato nidā-

1) Rd. bhāṣitaṃ.

2) The sign * indicates the beginning of a line in the manuscript.

3) Rd. dvātriṃ.

nam bahupuṇyaṃ prasavetāprameyam asaṃkhye-
yam | atha khalvāyusmāṃ subhūtir dharmaprave-
genāśruṇi prāmuṃcat so 'śruṇi prāmrjya bhaga-
vantam etad avocat ā*ścaryam bhagavan paramā- *6
ścaryam sugata | yāvad ayam dharmaparyāyas ta-
thāgatena bhāṣito yato me bhagavaṃ jñānam utpan-
naṃ na me jātvaṃ dharmaparyāyaḥ śrutapūrvāḥ
parameṇa*te bhagavann āścaryeṇa samanvāgatā *7
bhaviṣyanti ya iha sūtre bhāṣyamāne bhūtasamjñām
utpādayiṣyanti | yā caiṣā bhagavan bhūtasamjñā sai-
vābhūtasamjñā tasmāt tathāgato bhāṣate

(Folio 5 b) bhūtasamjñābhūtasamjñeti | na me bhagavann- *1
āścaryam yad aham imaṃ dharmaparyāyam bhaṣya-
māṇam avakalpayāmy adhimucya | ye te bhagavan
satvā imaṃ dharmaparyāyam udgrahīṣyanti | yāvat
paryavāpsyā*nti te paramāścaryasamanvāgatā bha- *2
viṣyanti | api khalu bhagavan na teṣāṃ ātmasamjñā
pravartsyate na satvasamjñā na jīvasamjñā na pud-
galasamjñā | tatkasya hetoḥ sarvasamjñā pagatā hi
* buddhā bhagavantaḥ bhagavān āha | evam etat *3
subhūte paramāścaryasamanvāgatās te bhaviṣyanti
ya imaṃ dharmaparyāyam śrutvā nottrasiṣyanti na
samtrāsiṣyanti | na samtrasamāpatsya*nte | tat- *4
kasya hetoḥ paramapāramiteyaṃ subhūte tathā-
gatena bhāṣitā | yāṃ ca tathāgataḥ paramapāra-
mitāṃ bhāṣate | tām aparimāṇā buddha bhaga-
vanto bhāṣante | tenocyate pa*ramapāramiteti | api *5
tu khalu punaḥ subhūte yā tathāgatasya kṣāntipā-
ramitā saivāpāramitā | tatkasya hetoḥ yadā subhūte
kalirājāṅga ¹⁾ pratyāṅgamāṃsānyacchaitṣīt nāsi*n me *6

1) MAX MUELLER'S edition reads *Kalimgarājāṅga*. He quotes Eitel (Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, pp. 49 and 55) as giving the alternative read-

- ta-asmin samaye ātmasamjñā vā satvasamjñā vā
 jīvasamjñā vā pudgalasamjñā vā | vyāpādasamjñā
 vāpi me tasmin samaye bhaviṣyad abhijānāmy
 *7 ahaṃ subhūte atītedhvani pañca jātiṣa*tāni yo
 'haṃ kṣāntivādi ṛṣir abhūvaṃs tatrāpi me nātma-
 samjñābhūn na satvasamjñā na jīvasamjñā na pud-
 galasamjñā | tasmāt tarhi subhūte bodhisattvena
 mahāsattvena sarvasamjñā varjayitvā¹⁾
- *1 (Folio 6 missing; 7a) [pa]rimāṇena | sarve te satvā sam-
 āmśena bodhiṃ dhārayiṣyanti | tatkasya hetoḥ na
 hi śakyam subhūte ayam dharmaparyāyo hinā-
 dhimuktikaiḥ satvaiḥ śrotuṃ | nātmadrṣṭikairna
 *2 satvajīvapu*dgaladrṣṭikaiḥ śakyam śrotuṃ udgra-
 hituṃ vā | yāvat paryavāptuṃ vā nedam sthānāni
 vidyate | api tu khalu punaḥ subhūte yatra pṛthi-
 vīpradeśe idaṃ sūtraṃ prakāśayiṣyate | pūjanīyaḥ
 *3 sa * pṛthivīpradeṣo bhaviṣyati | sa devamānuṣāsu-
 rasya lokasya vandaniyaḥ pradakṣiṇīkaraṇīyaś cai-
 tyabhūta²⁾ sa pṛthivīpradeśo bhaviṣyati | ye te su-
 *4 bhūte kulaputrā * vā kuladuhitaro vā | imān evaṃ-
 rūpān sūtrāntān udgrahiṣyanti yāvat paryavāpsyanti
 te paribhūtā bhaviṣyanti suparibhūtāḥ yāni ca te-
 *5 śāṃ pūrvajanmikāny aśubhāni ka*rmāny apāya sam-
 vartanīyāni drṣṭa eva dharme paribhūtatayā kṣapa-
 yiṣyanti buddhabodhiṃ cānuprāpsyanti | abhijānāmy
 ahaṃ subhūte atīte' dhvany asaṃkhyeyaiḥ kalpair
 *6 asaṃkhyeya * tarair ddipaṃkarasya tathāgatasyā-

ing of Kāliṛāja but the correct reading seems to be Kalirāja as found in the Gilgit ms. See Max Mueller's ed., p. 31, n. 2.

1) MAX MUELLER, vivarjayitvā which is grammatically wrong.

2) Rd. bhūtaḥ.

rhataḥ samyaksambuddhasya pareṇa caturaśitibud-
dhakoṭinīyutaśatasahasrāṇy abhūvan yāni mayā ārā-
gitāni ārāgyā ca na virāgitāni

(Folio 7b) yacca mayā subhūte te buddhā bhagavanta *1
ārāgya na virāgitā yacca varime kāle paścimāyāṃ
pañcāśatyāṃ¹⁾ varttamānāyam imāṃ sūtrāntān ud-
grahīṣyanti | yāvat paryavāpsyanti | asya subbhū*te *2
puṇyaskandhasyāsau pūrvakaḥ puṇyaskandhaḥ śata-
mīm api kalān²⁾ nopaiti sahasratamīm api | śatasa-
hasratamīm api saṃkhyāṃ api kalām api gaṇanām
apy upamām apy upa * niśām api na kṣamate | *3
sacet subhūte teṣāṃ kulaputrānām kuladuhitrīnām³⁾
puṇyaskandham bhāṣeyaṃ yāvantaḥ te satvā ku-
laputrāḥ kuladuhitaraś ca tasmin samaye puṇya
* skandham pratigrahīṣyanti | unmādaṃ satvā anu- *4
prāpnuyuś cittavikṣepaṃ vā gaccheyuḥ api tu kha-
lu punaḥ subhūte acintyo yaṃ dharmaparyāyaḥ
asyācintya eva vipākaḥ * āha | katham bhagavan *5
bodhisattvayānasamprasthitena sthātavyaṃ katham
pratipattavyaṃ katham cittam pragrahītavyaṃ |
bhagavān āha | iha subhūte bodhisattvayāna-
samprasthitenaivam cittam utpā * dayita vyam sar- *6
vasattvā mayā anupadhiśeṣe nirvāṇadhātau pari-
nirvāpayitavyāḥ evaṃ ca satvān parinirvāpya na
kaścit satvaḥ parinirvāpito bhavati | tatkasya hetoḥ
sace-

(Folio 8a) t subhūte bodhisattvasya sattvasaṃjñā pra- *1
varteta | jīvasaṃjñā pudgalasaṃjñā vā na sa bo-

1) Rd. pañca.

2) Rd. kalām.

3) Rd. duhitrīnām.

- dhisatva iti vaktavyaḥ tatkasya hetoḥ nāsti subhūte
 sa dharmo yo bodhisatvayānasamprasthito nāma |
 *2 tat kiṃ manya*se subhūte asti sa kaścīd dharmo
 yas tathāgatena dīpaṃkarasya tathāgatasya antikād
 anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhaḥ āha
 | nāsti sa bhagavan kaścīd dharmo yas tathāgatena
 *3 dīpaṃkara*sya tathāgatasyāntikād anuttarāṃ sam-
 yaksambodhim abhisambuddhaḥ āha | tasmād ahaṃ
 dīpaṃkareṇa tathāgatena vyākṛto bhaviṣyasi tvaṃ
 *4 mānavānāgate'dhvani śākyamunir nāma tathā*gato
 'rhan samyaksambuddhas tatkasya hetos tathā gata
 iti subhūte tathatāyā etad adhivacanam yaḥ kaścīd
 subhūte evaṃ vadet tathāgatenānuttarā samyak-
 *5 sambodhir abhisambuddheti*nāsti subhūte sa kaścīd
 dharmo yas tathāgatenānuttarā samyaksambodhir
 abhisambuddhaḥ yaḥ subhūte tathāgatena dharmo
 'bhisambuddhas tatra na satyaṃ na mṛṣaḥ¹⁾ tasmāt
 *6 tathāgato bhāṣate | sarva*dharmā buddhadharmā iti
 subhūte sarve te adharmās tenocyate sarvadharmā
 iti | tadyathāpi nāma subhūte puruṣo bhaved upe-
 takāyo mahākāyaḥ subhūtir āha | yo
 *1 (Folio 8 b) 'sau tathāgatena puruṣo bhāṣita upetakāyo
 mahākāyaḥ akāyaḥ sa bhagavaṃs tathāgatena bhā-
 ṣitas tenocyate upetakāyo mahākāyaḥ bhagavān
 *2 āha | evam etad subhūte * yo bodhisatva evaṃ
 vadet ahaṃ satvān parinirvāpayiṣyāmīti | na sa bo-
 dhisatva iti vaktavyaḥ tatkasya hetoḥ asti subhūte
 sa kaścīd dharmo yo bodhisatvo nāma | āha | no hi-
 *3 daṃ bha*gavan bhagavān āhā | tasmāt tathāgato
 bhāṣate niḥsattvāḥ sarvadharmāḥ nirjīvā niṣpud-

1) Rd. mṛṣā°.

galāḥ yaḥ subhūte bodhisatva evaṃ vaded ahaṃ
 kṣetravyūhān niṣpadayiṣyamīti | so 'pi tathaiva * *1
 vaktavyaḥ tat kasya hetoḥ kṣetravyūhā iti su-
 bhūte avyūhās te tathāgatena bhāṣitas tenocyate kṣe-
 travyūha iti | yaḥ subhūte boodhisatvo nirātmano
 dharmā nirā*tmano dharmā ity adhimucyate sa *5
 tathāgatenārhatā samyaksambuddhena bodhisatvo bo-
 dhisatva¹⁾ ity ākhyātas tat kiṃ manyase subhūte
 saṃvidyate tathāgatasya māṃsacakṣuḥ āha | evam
 etad bha*gavan saṃvidyate tathāgatasya māṃsa- *6
 cakṣuḥ bhagavān āha | tat kiṃ manyase subhūte
 saṃvidyate tathāgatasya divyaṃ cakṣuḥ prajñācak-
 ṣur dharmacakṣur buddhacakṣuḥ āhaivam etad bha-
 gavan saṃvidyate ta-

(Folio 9 a) thāgatasya divyaṃ cakṣuḥ prajñācakṣur dhar- *1
 macakṣur buddhacakṣuḥ | bhagavān āha tat kiṃ
 manyase subhūte yavantyo gaṃgānadyāṃ vālukās
 tāvantya gaṃgānādyo bhaveyus tāsū yā vālukās
 tāvanta eva lo*kadhātavo bhaveyūḥ kaścīd bahavas *2
 te lokadhātavo bhaveyūḥ bhagavān āha | yāvantaḥ
 subhūte teṣu lokadhātuṣu satvās teṣāṃ ahaṃ nā-
 nābhāvāṃ cittadhārāṃ jā nīyās tat kasya heto*ś *3
 cittadhārā cittadhārā iti subhūte adhārās tās tathā-
 gatena bhāṣitās tenocyate cittadhārā iti | tat kasya
 hetoḥ atītaṃ subhūte * cittam nopalabyate | anāga- *4
 taṃ cittam nopalabhyate | pratyuypannaṃ nopala-
 bhyate | tat kiṃ manyase subhūte ya imaṃ trisā-
 hasramahāsāhasraṃ lokadhātum saptaratnaparipūr-
 ṇaṃ kṛtvā dānan dadyād api nu sa kulaputro vā
 kuladu hitā vā tato nidānam bahu puṇyam prasa-

1) Rd. mahāsatva as in M. M.

- *5 veta | aha bahu bhagavan bahu sugata | bhagavān
 āha | evam etat subhūte evam etad bahu sa kulapu-
 *6 tro vā kuladuhitā vā tato nidānaṃ * bahu puṇyam
 prasaveta | sacet subhūte puṇyaskandho 'bhaviṣyan
 na tathāgato 'bhāṣiṣyat puṇyaskandhaḥ puṇyaskandha
 iti tat kiṃ manyase subhūte rūpakāyapariniṣpattyā
 tathāgato dra-
- *1 (Folio 9 b) ṣṭavyaḥ āha | no bhagavan na rūpakāyapari-
 niṣpattyā tathāgato draṣṭavyaḥ tat kasya hetoḥ rū-
 pakāyapariniṣpattī rūpakāyapariniṣpattir ity aparini-
 *2 ṣpattir eṣā tathā*gatena bhāṣitā tenocyate rūpakā-
 yapariniṣpattir iti | bhagavān āha tat kiṃ manyase
 subhūte lakṣaṇasampadā tathāgato draṣṭavyaḥ āha |
 *3 no bhavan na lakṣaṇasampadā tathāgato * draṣṭa-
 vyaḥ tat kasya hetoḥ yaīṣā lakṣaṇasampad tathāga-
 tena bhāṣitā alakṣaṇasampad eṣā tathāgatena bhā-
 ṣitā tenocyate lakṣaṇasampad iti | bhagavān āha |
 *4 tat kiṃ ma*nyase subhūte api nu tathāgatasyai-
 vam bhavati na mayā dharmo deśita iti | yaḥ su-
 bhūte evaṃ vadet tathāgatena dharmo deśita iti |
 *5 abhyācakṣita mām sa subhūte asatā¹⁾ d u*dgrhitena |
 tat kasya hetor dharmadeśanā dharmadeśaneti su-
 bhūte nāsti sa kaścīd dharmo yo dharmadeśanā nā-
 mopalabhyate | āhāsti bhagavan kecit satvā bhavi-
 *6 ṣyanty anāgatedhvani ya imā*n evaṃrūpān dhar-
 mān bhāṣamānāṃ cchrutvābhiśraddadhāsyanti | bha-
 gavān āha | na te subhūte satvā nāsatvā tat kasya
 hetoḥ sarvasatvā iti subhūte asatvās te tathāga-
 tena bhāṣitās teno-
- *1 (Folio 10 a) cyate sarvasatvā iti | tat kiṃ manyase su-

1) Rd. asatod.

bhūte api nv asti sa kaścīd dharmo yas tathāgatenā-
 nuttara samyaksambodhir abhisambuddhaḥ āha | nāsti
 sa bhagavan kaścīd dharmo yas tathāgate*nānut- *2
 tarāsamyaksambodhir abhisambuddhaḥ bhagavān āha
 | evam etat subhūte evam etat aṅur api tatra dhar-
 mo na saṃvidyate nopalabhyate tenocyate 'nuttarā
 samyaksambodhir ity a*pi tu khalu punaḥ subhūte *3
 samaḥ sa dharmo na tatra kiṃcid viṣamas tenocyate
 'nuttarā samyaksambodhir iti | nirjīvatvena niḥsatvat-
 vena niṣpudgalatvena samā sānuttara samyaksambo-
 *dhiḥ sarvaiḥ kuṣalaiḥ dharmair abhisambudhyate *4
 | kuśalā dharmāḥ kuśalā dharmā iti subhūte adhar-
 mās caiva te tathāgatena bhāṣitās tenocyate kuśalā
 dharmā iti | yaś ca kha*lu punaḥ subhūte yāvan- *5
 tas trisāhasramahāsahasre lokadhātau sumeravaḥ par-
 vatarājās tāvato rāśīn saptānām ratnānām abhisam-
 harṭya dānaṃ dadyād yaś caiva prajñāpāramitā*yā *6
 antaśaś catuspādikām api gāthām udgr̥hya parebhyo
 deśayed asya subhūte puṇyaskandhasyāsau pūrvakaḥ
 puṇyaskandhaḥ śatatamīm api kalānnopaiti | yavad
 upani-

(Folio 10 b) śām api na kṣamate | tat kiṃ manyase subhūte *1
 api nu tathāgatasyaivam bhavati | mayā satvā mo-
 citā iti | na khalu punaḥ subhūte cevaṃ¹⁾ draṣṭa-
 vyam tat kasya hetoḥ na sa kaścīd sa*tvo yas tathā- *2
 gatena mocitaḥ yadi punaḥ subhūte kaścīd satvo 'bha-
 viṣyad yas tathāgatena mocitaḥ sa eva tasyātmagrā-
 * ho bhaviṣyat satvagrāho jīvagrāhaḥ pudgalagrāhaḥ *3
 ātamgrāha iti subhūte agrāha eṣa tathāgatena bhā-
 ṣitaḥ sa ca bālapṛthagjanair udgr̥hītaḥ bālapṛthag-

1) Rd. caivam.

- *4 janā iti subhūte ajanā eva te tathāgatena * bhāṣitās
tenocyante bālaprthagjanā iti | tat kiṃ manyase su-
bhūte lakṣaṇasampadā tathāgato draṣṭavyaḥ āhai vaṃ
*5 bhagavallakṣaṇasampadā¹⁾ tathāgato draṣṭavyaḥ bha-
gavān āha sacet subhūte lakṣaṇasampadā tathāgato
draṣṭavyo bhaviṣyad rājāpi cakravartī tathāgato bha-
viṣyad āha | yathāham bhagavato bhāṣitasyārtham
*6 ājā*nāmi na lakṣaṇasampadā tathāgato draṣṭavyaḥ
atha khalu bhagavaṃstasyāṃ velāyāṃ imā gāthā
abhāṣata | ye mām rūpeṇa adrākṣur ye mām ghoṣeṇa
anvayuh | mithyā-
- *1 (Folio 11a) prahāṇaprasṛtā na mām drakṣyanti te janāḥ | dra-
ṣṭavyo dharmato buddho dharmakāyas tathāgataḥ | dhar-
mato cāsyā vijñeyā na sa śakyam vijānitum || tat kiṃ
*2 manyase subhūte lakṣaṇasampadā tathā*gatenānut-
tarā samyaksambodhir abhisambuddhaḥ na khalu
punaḥ subhūte evaṃ draṣṭavyam na subhūte lakṣaṇa-
sampadā tathāgatenānuttarā samyaksambodhir abhi-
*3 sambuddhaḥ | yat khalu pu*naḥ subhūte syad evam
bodhisatvayānasamprasthitaiḥ kasyacid dharmasya vi-
nāśaḥ prajñapta ucchedo vā na khalu punaḥ subhūte
evaṃ draṣṭavyam | na bodhisatvayānasamprasthitaiḥ
*4 ka * syacid dharmasya vināśaḥ prajñapto nocche-
daḥ yaś ca khalu punaḥ subhūte kulaputro vā
kuladuhitā vā gaṃgānadivālukosamāh²⁾ lokadhātūn
*5 saptaratnapratipūrṇān kṛtvā tathā*gatebhyo 'rhad-
bhyaḥ samyaksambuddhebyo dānaṃ dadyād yaś ca
bodhisattvo nirātmakeṣu dharmeṣu kṣāntiṃ pratila-
bheta | ayam eva tato bahutaram puṇyam prasaveta

1) Rd. bhagavannala- |

2) Rd. Kā - samāmlloka.

| na khalu punaḥ subhūte bodhi*satvena puṇyaskan- *6
dhaḥ parigrahītavyaḥ āha | puṇyaskandho bhagavan
parigrahītavyaḥ bhagavān āha | parigrahītavyaḥ su-
bhūte nodgrahītavyaḥ tenocyate parigrahī[tavyaḥ]

(Folio 11 b) api tu khalu punaḥ subhūte yaḥ kaścīd evaṃ *1
vadet tathāgato gacchati vāgacchati vā | tiṣṭhati vā
niṣīdati vā śayyāṃ vā kalpayati | na me sa bhāṣita-
syārtham ājānāti | tat kasya [hetoḥ] tathāgata iti
subhūte na kutaścīd āgato na kvacid gataḥ teno- *2
cyate tathāgato 'rhan samyaksambuddhaḥ iti | yaś ca
khalu punaḥ subhū te kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā
yāvantas trisāhasrama [hā]*sāhasre lokadhātu prthi- *3
vīrajāṃsi tavato lokadhātum maṣiṃ kuryāt tad ya-
thāpi nāma paramānusamcayaḥ tat kiṃ manyase
subhūte bahu sa paramānusamśayo bhavet āhai*vam *4
etad bhagavān bahu sa paramānusamcayo bhavet
tat kasya hetoḥ saced bhagavān samcayo 'bhavi-
ṣyan na bhagavān avakṣyat paramānusamcaya iti |
tat kasya hetoḥ yo 'sauparamā*nusamcayo bhāṣi- *5
taḥ asamcaya sa bhagavatā bhāṣitas tenocyate para-
mānusamcaya iti | yaś ca tathāgato bhāṣati trisāha-
sramahāsāhasro lokadhātur iti | adhātuḥ sa tathā-
*gatena bhāṣitas tenocyate trisāhasramahāsāhasro lo- *6
kadhātur iti | tat kasya hetoḥ saced bhagavān dhātur
abhaviṣyat sa eva bhagavan piṇḍagrāho 'bhaviṣyad
yaś caiva tathāgatena pi-

(Folio 12 a) ṇḍagraho bhāṣitaḥ agrāhaḥ sa tathāgatena *1
bhāṣitas tenocyate piṇḍagrāha iti | bhagavān āha |
piṇḍagrāhaś caivāvyavahāro 'nabhilāpyaḥ subhūte
sa dharmāḥ sa bāla prthagjanair udgrhītaḥ tat ka- *2
sya hetoḥ yaḥ kaścīd subhūte evaṃ vaded ātma-
drṣtis tathāgatena bhāṣitā satvadrṣtir jīvadrṣtiḥ pud-

- galadr̥ṣṭiḥ api nu subhūte sa samyag vadan vadet
 *3 * āha | no bhagavaṃs tat kasya hetoḥ yā sā bhagavann ātmadr̥ṣṭis tathāgatena bhāṣitā adr̥ṣṭiḥ sā tathāgatena bhāṣitā tenocyate ātmadr̥ṣṭir iti | bhagavān āha * evaṃ subhūte bodhisatvayānasamprasthitena sarvadharmā jñātavyā adhimoktavyās tathā cādhimoktavyā yathā na dharmasaṃjñāpi pratyupatiṣṭhet tat kasya hetoḥ dharmasaṃjñā * dharmasaṃjñeti subhūte asaṃjñaiṣā tathāgatena bhāṣitā tenocyate dharmasaṃjñeti | yaś ca khalu punaḥ subhūte bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ aprameyāsaṃkhyeyā¹⁾ lokadhatūn saptaratnapa*ripūrṇān kṛtvā dānan dadyād yaś ca kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā itaḥ prajñapāramitāyā antaśaś catuspādikām api gāthām udgr̥hya vācayed deśayed paryavāpnuyād a
- *1 (Folio 12 b) yam eva tato bahutaraṃ puṇyaṃ prasavetāprameyam asaṃkhyeyaṃ | kathaṃ ca samprakāśayet yathā na prakāśayet tenocyate samprakāśaye²⁾ iti | tārakā timiraṃ dīpo mā*yā vaśyāya budbudaḥ supinaṃ vidyud abhraṃ ca evaṃ draṣṭavya³⁾ saṃskṛtam || idam avocad bhagavān āttamanā sthavirusubhūtis te ca bhikṣubhikṣuṇyupāsakopāsikāḥ sadevamānuṣāsu*ragandharvaś ca loko bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandan || O || vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā samāptā || O ||

1) Rd. kyeyāṃlloka.

2) Rd. - śayed.

3) Rd. draṣṭavyaṃ.

SECTION II

MAHĀYĀNA VIMŚIKĀ OF NĀGĀRJUNA

The Tibetan and Chinese translations of the *M a h ā - y ā n a - v i ṃ ś i k ā* attributed to Nāgārjuna along with an English version were first edited by S. Yamaguchi in the *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. IV ¹⁾ and then some years later reedited by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya (*M a h ā y ā n a - v i ṃ ś i k ā o f N ā g ā r j u n a*, Visvabharati Studies No. 1, Calcutta 1931), who attempted a restoration into Sanskrit from the Tibetan and the Chinese versions.

We know, indeed, one Chinese version made by Shi hu (Dānapāla, Bagchi, *Canon*, p. 604, Nanjiō n. 1308, Taishō 1576, vol. XXIX) and two Tibetan translations (Tōhoku Cat., nn. 3833, 4551); the first translation was made by the Indian Paṇḍita Candrakumāra and the Tibetan lotsāva Śā kya 'od and the second by the Kashmirian Paṇḍita Ānanda, and the Tibetan lotsāva Grags ṭbyor šes rab ²⁾.

We cannot say that there is a close agreement between the two Tibetan translations and the Chinese version. The number of verses also does not correspond, as Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya has shown in his edition. The Sanskrit text which is here published is found in a manuscript in ś a r a d ā characters probably of the VIII-IX century (very similar to those of the Gilgit ms. of the

¹⁾ See LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *MCB.* 1932, p. 392.

²⁾ Śā kya 'od collaborated with Śāntibhadra who was given the charge by Lha btsun Byañ c'ub 'od of translating some books from Sanskrit into Tibetan.

Byañ c'ub 'od is the younger brother of 'Od lde (according to BUSTON, Deb t'er and PADMA DKAR PO) who ruled in Guge in 1042 when Atīśa came to Tibet. (TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, II, Rin c'en bzañ po, p. 50). On Ānanda, Jayānanda see *The Blue annals*, I, p. 272 and p. 343.

Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhāsaśūtra) preserved in the Nor monastery which contains also the Pāramitārthasaṃkṣepa (called in another mss. Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha¹⁾ of Dīnnāga and a fragment of the Catuḥstavasamāsa of Amṛtākara.

The fact is that the Sanskrit text does not correspond closely either to the Chinese or to the Tibetan versions: not only the arrangement of the stanzas is different, but some of them are not found in the original used by the Chinese or the Tibetan translators. It is fundamentally a different version.

A close inspection of our treatise shows that it is a compilation; as a matter of fact the invocation which opens the Tibetan version, namo 'cintya-prabhavāya comes quite unexpectedly as the eighth kārikā: on the other hand padas 3 and 4 of the first kārikā: viviktāvyatirekitvaṃ vivekasya yato matam are known from other sources, f. i. Haribhadra's Ālokā, (Tucci's Edition, p. 25 and 52).

The addition of the introductory verses before the invocation (stanza 8) with which the Viṃśikā begins is so clumsy that we may suppose it was due to a mistake of the copyist. Writing down his manuscript which is nothing else but an anthology of small treatises, he may have dropped in a few kārikās belonging to some other compilation.

The verses 4-7 have indeed very little to do with the main subject of the kārikās, viz. śūnya; they are chiefly concerned with the bhūmis, the stages of the bodhisattva, and appear as taken from another work,

¹⁾ See *JRAS*, 1947, p. 53.

possibly from a sūtra since in one of them the Buddha refers to himself (mātmikā).

This is not a mere hypothesis: in fact verses 4 and 5 are copied from *Lāṅkāvatāra*, p. 215, gāthā 1 and 2 (cf. p. 278, gāthā 104, 105).

The sixth and the seventh are not found in the gāthās concluding the *abhisaṃyā* chapter of the Sanskrit *Lāṅkāvatāra*: nor in the three Chinese versions. But they correspond to *Lāṅk.*, p. 318 v. 423 *c, d*, and v. 424.

The result was that in this way the verses of the compilation greatly outnumbered the twenty *kārikās* of the *Vimśikā*.

As to the relation of our text to the two Tibetan and Chinese translations the correspondence of the *kārikās* with them is shown in the following Table which is taken from the preface of Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, but is here referred to the Sanskrit original and has been in some places revised.

As to the author of the *Vimśikā*, nothing precise can be said: as stated by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya only one verse of the *Vimśikā* is known, so far, to have been quoted by other writers; viz. the verse: *yathā citrakaro rūpam* etc. It is quoted in the Sanskrit commentary on the *Āścaryācaryācāya* as an *āgama* (p. 6); this does not necessarily mean that it is taken from a sūtra because *āgama* is used also in the sense of *āptavācāna* (*Candrakīrti*, *Mādhyaṃikavṛtti*, p. 75). But in this case we are certainly confronted with a quotation from a sūtra, viz. *Kāśyapaparivarta*, p. 100, § 67. Another verse, the last one, is found in the *Jñānasiddhi*:

S	T ²	T ⁱ	C
1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5
6	6	6	7
0	7	7	6
7	8	0	8
8	9	0	9
9	10	8	10
10	11	9	11
11	12	10	12
12	13	11	13
13	14	12	14
14	15	13	15
15	16	14	16
16	17	15	17
0	0	0	18 <i>a. b.</i> = S. 20 <i>c. d.</i> <i>c. d.</i> = S. 19 <i>a. b.</i>
0	0	0	19 <i>d.</i> = S. 20 <i>b.</i>
17	18	0	23
18	19	18	20
0	20	19	21
19	0	17	0
20	21	16	0
0	0	0	23
21	22	20	24
0	23	0	22

Chapter XI, verse 8, p. 68. In this context Mahāyāna is opposed to *mīthyājñānāni*, false or erroneous views, of which mention is made in the following verse; on the other hand in the *Vimśikā* it looks like a conclusion extolling the Mahāyāna and it does not agree with the dogmatical trends of thought which preceded. So I am inclined to think that this verse was not inserted in the *Jñānasiddhi* from the *Vimśikā*, but rather added to the text of the *Vimśikā* at a later time, as a glorification of Mahāyāna, fundamentally understood as Nāgārjuna's doctrine. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that if we eliminate this *kārikā* the *Vimśikā* consists exactly of twenty stanzas. There is nothing in the 20 verses which might be looked upon as influenced by later thoughts, when Mahāyāna blended with Vajrayāna; their contents are purely theoretical. No conclusion can be drawn from the style or the comparison with the *kārikās* of the founder of the Mādhyamika system. The stanzas of the famous thinker greatly influenced the following masters and a kind of technical language or a series of expressions originated which are generally met in all the works of the school. The fact that the *Vimśikā* was translated into Chinese by Shih hu in the Xth century does not prove by itself that it is a late compilation: on the other hand the second Nāgārjuna to whom it might be attributed (as Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya seems inclined to do) is specially a Tantric author. (As I have shown some years ago it is even possible that a third Nāgārjuna existed, most probably an alchemist, *Animadversiones Indicae*, *JRAS*, B. XXVI, 1930, n. 1). But it cannot be excluded that later authors, supposed to be incarnations of the previous ma-

ster or who, in the mystic *abhīṣeka*, were given the name of the famous *siddha*, did compose dogmatical texts: we even know that in its later days Buddhism inspired a great many short summaries of the doctrine, meant for the pupils of the declining universities, and which were circulated under the names of the ancient masters.

But objectively even this fact does not prove that the *Vimśikā* was issued by those circles. Nor can any conclusion be drawn from the Tibetan tradition which does not distinguish between the two or three *Nāgārjuna*s and attributes without further discrimination all the works said to be written by a *Nāgārjuna* to the same person. We may add that there are certain similarities in style with the *Lañkāvatāra* which is not strange considering the great popularity which that work enjoyed.

The conclusion, therefore, seems to be that while there is no solid argument for denying that the *Vimśikā* was written by the *Mādhyamika* teacher and no stylistic reasons prevent us from such an attribution, no proofs either can be invoked for supporting definitely his authorship of this treatise.

Since the text of the Chinese and Tibetan translations has already been published it is useless to reedit them here again.

M a h ā y ā n a v i ṃ ś i k ā

na jñānāc chūnyatā nāma kācid anyā hi vidyate |
viviktāvyatirekitvaṃ vivekasya yato matam || 1

dvayaśūnyaṃ hi vijñānam anyathā na prasajyate |
dvayāsattvān nivṛttasya dvayātmatvaprasaṅgataḥ || 2

tacchrutatathatārūpo bhagavān eva bhāṇyate |
vedyavedakasadbhāvavikalpādyasamāśrayaḥ || 3

cittamātram nirābhāsam ¹⁾ vihāro buddhabhūs tathā ²⁾ |
etad dhi bhāṣitaṃ buddhair bhāṣante bhāṣayanti ca || 4

cittaṃ hi bhūmayāḥ sapta nirābhāsā tv ihāṣṭamī |
dve bhūmayo ³⁾ vihāro 'tra śeṣā bhūmir mamātmikā || 5

deśyante bhūmayāḥ sapta buddhaiś cittavaśam gatāḥ |
kāyavākcittadauṣṭhulyaṃ saptamyām na pravartate || 6

aṣṭamyām āśrayas tasya svapno 'py asukhasaṃbhavaḥ ⁴⁾ |
- - - - - || 7

1. avācyo vācakair dharmāḥ kṛpayā yena deśitaḥ |
namo 'cintyaprabhavāya buddhāyāsaṅgabuddhaye || 8

2. svabhāvena na cotpannā nirvṛtās ca na tattvataḥ |
yathākāśam tathā buddhāḥ sattvās caivaikalakṣa-
nāḥ || 9

¹⁾ Lañk., p. 215, v. 1: mātṛe, nirābhāse.

²⁾ Lañk., p. 215, v. 2: vihārā buddhabhūmi ca.

³⁾ Lañk., p. 215: dve hi bhūmi.

⁴⁾ Lañk., p. 318, vv. 423 c, d, and 424: svapnaughasama-
sādrśaḥ. Bodhiruci's transl. (Ta. 671, p. 575, b, l. 14: "in the 8th
bhūmi the wonderful body (is) like a current of dreams". Śikṣānanda, Ta. 672,
p. 632, a, l. 19: "the āśraya of the 8th stage is like a current of dreams etc.".

3. pārāvāraṃ na cotpannāḥ svabhāvena pratītyajāḥ |
te 'pi śūnyā hi saṃskārāḥ sarvajñajñānagocarāḥ || 10
4. sarvabhāvāḥ svabhāvena pratibimbamā matāḥ |
śuddhāḥ śivasvabhāvāś ca advayās tathatāsamāḥ || 11
5. asaty ātmani cātmatvaṃ kalpayitvā pṛthagjanāḥ |
sukhaduḥkham abhijñās ca sarvam eṣāṃ ca tat-
tvataḥ || 12
6. ṣaḍgatir yaś ca saṃsāraḥ svargaś ca paramaṃ
sukham |
narake ca mahad duḥkham jarāvyādhir apī. ya-
tām ¹⁾ || 13
7. abhūtāṃ kalpanāṃ kṛtvā pacyante narakādiṣu |
svadoṣeṇaiva dahyante veṇavo vahninā yathā || 14
8. yathā māyā tathā sattvā viṣayān paribhuñjate ||
māyāmayiṃ gatiṃ yānti pratīyotpādarūpiṇim || 15
9. yathā citrakaro rūpaṃ yakṣasyātibhayaṅkaram ²⁾ |
bibheti svayam ālikhya saṃsāre 'py abudhas ta-
thā || 16
10. yathā paṅkaṃ svayaṃ kṛtvā kaścit patati bālīśaḥ |
tathāsatkalpanāpaṅke magnāḥ sattvā duruttare | 17
11. abhāvaṃ bhavato dr̥ṣṭvā duḥkhāṃ vindati vedanām |
śaṅkāviṣeṇa bādhante viṣayā vitathās tathā || 18
12. tāṃs caivāśaraṇān dr̥ṣṭvā karuṇādhīramānasāḥ |
niyojayanti saṃbodhau sattvān buddhā hitaṃka-
rāḥ || 19

1) Ms. °rāpībhyaatām, or rapītyatām.

2) Ms. "karaḥ".

13. te 'pi saṃbhṛtasambhārāḥ prāpya jñānam anutta-
ram |
kalpanājālanirmuktā buddhā syur lokabandhavaḥ || 20
14. yato 'jātam anutpannam saṃyak sattvārthadarśi-
naḥ |
tataḥ śūnyam ¹⁾ jagad dṛṣṭvā ādimadhyāntavarji-
tam || 21
15. tena paśyanti saṃsāram nirvāṇam ca na cātma-
naḥ |
nirlepam nirvikāram ca ādimadhyāntabhāsivaram || 22
16. svapnānubhūtavaiṣayam pratibuddho na paśyati |
mohanidrāvibuddhas ca saṃsāram naiva paśyati || 23
17. māyām vidhāya māyavī upasaṃharate yadā |
tadā na vidyate kiṃcid dharmāṇām sā hi dhar-
matā || 24
18. cittamātram idaṃ sarvaṃ māyākāravād utthitam |
tataḥ śubhāśubham karma tato janma śubhāśu-
bham || 25
19. kalpayanti yathā lokaṃ notpannās ca svayaṃ janāḥ |
utpādo hi vikalpo 'yam artho bāhyo na vidyate || 26
20. asvabhāveṣu bhāveṣu nityātmasukhasamjñinaḥ |
bhavārṇave bhramanty asmin bālā mohatamovṛtāḥ ||
kalpanājalapūrṇasya saṃsārasumahodadheḥ |
anākramya mahāyānam ko vā pāram tariṣyati || 28
mahāyānaviṃśikā kṛtir āryanāgārjunapādānām.

¹⁾ Ms. su.

1. There is no void as something different from knowledge, in so far as it is known that a discriminating judgement implies non-exclusion of the notion discriminated ¹⁾.
2. Otherwise the knowledge could not be conceived as void of duality: in fact he incurs duality who departs from the non-existence of duality (because he conceives the non-existence of duality as something negative, viz. u c c h e d a).
3. The Tathāgata is therefore said to be the absolute and to coincide with the words expressing it ²⁾. He transcends all sorts of representations etc. which (wrongly) assume that the things to be experienced and the experiencer have an essence.
4. Mind, the imageless (8th stage), the dwellings (9th-10th stage) and the Buddha stage (= the 11th stage): this has been said by the Buddhas; this they are saying at present, this they will say.
5. Seven stages are mere mind: the eighth stage is the imageless. The following two are the dwellings there, the remaining one (the eleventh) is made of myself (viz. b u d d h a b h ū m i , buddha-stage).
6. Seven stages have been preached by the Buddhas as being subject to mind; in the seventh no depravity of mind, word and body evolves ³⁾.

1) In other words as, Haribhadra says, t a d a v y a t i r e k e ' p i p r t h a g v y a v a s t h ā p y a t e .

2) The same idea is here expressed as in the first stanza of Diñnāga's, P r a j ñ ā p ā r a m i t ā p i ṇ ḍ ā r t h a

prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayaṃ sā tathāgataḥ |
sādhyā tādarthyayogena tācchabdyam granthamārgayoḥ ||

3) Because all sorts of notions regarding the character of things are removed. s a r v a b h ā v a s v a b h ā v a l a k ṣ a ṇ a v y u d ā s ā t . L a ṅ k . , p. 211, l. 13.

7. In the eighth stage, even dream, its (i.e. depravity) support, is not the cause of pleasant feelings.
8. Hommage to the Buddha whose majesty surpasses the reach of our thoughts: his mind is devoid of any attachment: out of compassion he preached the Law which cannot be expressed by words. [1]
9. The Buddhas and the beings as well have the same character: they are like space; they are not born as being possessed of an essence of their own nor are they in reality extinguished. [2]
10. The karmic forces (s a ṃ s k ā r a) here and in the other world are not born out of an essence of their own: they originate as dependent on conditions ¹⁾, therefore they also are void and accessible (only) to the knowledge of the Omniscient. [3]
11. All things by their own nature are a mere reflection. They are pure, by their own nature quiescent, beyond duality, identical with the absolute. [4]
12. The profane imagines that there is a self where there is no self: pleasure and pain and the mystic intuitions, everything then is for them real, [5]
13. the six kinds of existence, transmigration, paradises. the supreme happiness and the great pain experienced in hell and old age and disease... [6]
14. (Beings) having produced a false imagination are burnt in the hells and similar forms of existence: they are burnt by their own sins just as the reeds are burnt by fire. [7]

¹⁾ Cf. Lañk., p. 153, v. 23 a, b: anutpannāḥ sarvabhāvā yasmāt pratyayasambhavāḥ (cf. p. 325, v. 477 a, b).

15. Just as happens in a magic show, so also beings enjoy the objects: they meet a form of existence which is illusory and which is nothing else but conditioned existence. [8]
16. Just as a painter is frightened by the terrific image of a demon which he himself has painted, so the fool is afraid in this *samsāra* (which is created by his ignorance) ¹⁾ [9]
17. Just as a fool falls in a mud which he himself prepared, in the same way beings are drowned in the mud of false representation difficult to cross over. [10]
18. Looking at what is non-existent as if it were existent, they experience a painful sensation; equally all objects of experience which are false harrass (them) with the poison of doubt. [11]
19. Seeing beings (so) helpless the Buddhas whose mind is steady in compassion and intent on the benefit (of others) enjoin them to the pursuit of Illumination, [12]
20. (because they desire that) the beings also, having accumulated the necessary accumulations and having obtained the supreme knowledge, freed from the net of imagination, may become one day Buddhas, the friends of the world. [13]
21. Those who properly see the meaning ²⁾ of beings and have perceived that the world is not born ³⁾, not

1) This example, as we saw, is taken from *Kāśyapaparivarta* quoted also in *Mdh. V*, p. 246, l. 11.

2) Or should we correct *yathārthadarśinaḥ* or *tattvārtha*°? The Tibetan versions disagree: the Ch. confirms my correction.

3) The ms. has *yatojātamanu*°. The two Tibetan translations differ, but T. 2 seems to read *pratītyasamutpannam* which would be of course much better; cf. *Lañk*, p. 365, v. 477 *a, b*; p. 337, v. 582 *c, d*.

- produced and therefore void, with no beginning middle or end, [14]
22. therefore, they see that for them there is neither a *s a m s ā r a* nor a *nirvāṇa*; a stainless, changeless (quid), translucent in the beginning, middle and end. [15]
23. When one awakens one does not see the object which appeared in the dream: (in the same way) those who awake from the sleep of bewilderment do not see any longer *s a m s ā r a* . [16]
24. When the magician, after performing a magic show, dissolves it, then, nothing remains; such is the thinness of things. [17]
25. All this is only mind sprung as a magic appearance; hence good and bad actions derive; and from them a good and bad birth. [18]
26. Just as they imagine the world, (though this is not born, so) beings are themselves not born: in fact this notion of birth or origin is a mental representation; but no external things (really) exist ¹⁾. [19]
27. Fools, envelopped by the darkness of bewilderment imagine that there is something eternal, a self, a pleasure in things which are in fact unsubstantial, and therefore they go astray in this ocean of existence. [20]
28. Without embarking himself on this Great Vehicle who could cross up to the shore beyond the immense ocean of *s a m s ā r a* full of the waters of mental representations? [21]

1) Ch.: "they imagine that what is not born is born" cf. *Lañk.*, p. 285, v. 154. *b ā h y o n a v i d y a t e h y a r t h a ḥ* (quoted as word of *Bhagavān* in *TS* 14, l. 13) and p. 321, śl. 442, p. 327, śl. 497.

SECTION III

NAVAŚLOKĪ OF KAMBALAPĀDA

In two manuscripts (A and B) of the Durbar Library in Kathmandu I found a small metrical treatise on the *Prajñāpāramitā*¹⁾ which is attributed by the colophon to Kamalāmbharapāda.

In the manuscript the title of the work is the following: *āryāṣṭasāhasrīkāyāḥ prajñāpāramitāyāḥ piṇḍārthāḥ*. In the *bsTan agyur*, Śer p'yin section, vol. MA, a translation of the same booklet is preserved, its title being there in Sanskrit: *bhagavatī-prajñāpāramitā-navaślokapinḍārtha*: and in Tibetan: *bcom ldan ḥdas ma šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa don bsdus pai ts'igs su bcad pa dgu pa*. (= Cordier, *Cat.*, III^e Partie, p. 286, n. 3, mDo. vol. XVI. Tōhoku Cat., 3812). The translators were Śraddhākara-varman and Rin c'en bzañ po.

The small treatise is accompanied by a running commentary very concise and rather elementary in which nothing of any importance from the philosophical point of view can be gathered.

This commentary is included in the *bsTan agyur* as a separate work attributed to the same author, its title being: *bhagavatī-prajñāpāramitā-navaśloka-paṇḍī (sic! for piṇḍā) artha-ṭīkā* which is rendered into Tibetan as: *bcom ldan ḥdas ma šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pai don pa bsdus pai ts'igs su bcad dgu pai*

¹⁾ Another copy was in the monastery of *Saskya*, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XXIII, 1937, Part. I, p. 22 (missing when I visited this monastery): *kṛtir iyaṃ śrīkambalācāryapādānām*.

r g y a c ' e r b š a d p a (Tōhoku Cat., 3813, Cordier, *Cat.*, *ibid.*, p. 287, n. 4). The translators were Kama-lagupta (not mentioned in Tōhoku Cat.) and Rin c'en bzañ po. But in N. there are two other translations of the same work: ts'igs su bcad dgu pa, (Cordier, *Cat.*, *ibid.*, p. 286, vol. XVI, n. 1 and 2, missing in D.) translated by Sumanisri¹⁾ (Sumanahśrī) and Rin c'en grub. We, then, have a Chinese translation (Ta. 1516) of the same work attributed to the bodhisattva Shêng tê ch'ih i 勝德赤衣; it was translated by Fa hu (963-1058).

We may ask what is the relation between these Tibetan and Chinese translations of the *Navaślokī*²⁾ and our booklet? Is it another work or a different translation of the same treatise? The comparison of Cordier, *Cat.*, *ibid.*, p. 286, vol. XVI, nn. 1-3 (= Tōhoku Cat., 3812) and Ta. 1516 shows that they are translations of one and the same work. It is also evident that in some cases the text used by Sumanahśrī and Rin c'en grub differed from that followed by Śraddhākaravarman and Rin c'en bzañ po which, moreover, is composed of 15 not of 14 śloka s.

Who was the author of the work? In Chinese the author is called, as we saw, 勝德赤衣.

This name is restored by Nanjiō in Śrīguṇaraktāmbara. Tōhoku Cat. considers the Chinese characters a translation of Kambala: so also Hôbôgirin, Table, p. 149

¹⁾ Sumanisri, as already suggested by CORDIER (rGyud, XXVI, 70), is a mistake for Sumanahśrī. This was an Indian Pandit who collaborated in translating Sanskrit books into Tibetan with Rin c'en grub. viz. Buston (born 1290). But in the catalogue of the bsTan agyur written by Buston (p. 107 b, 1.4) there is no mention of Sumanahśrī, the only translator there mentioned being Buston himself. (Cf. *Blue Annals*, p. 1007).

²⁾ So, I think, the Tib. title *Navaśloka* should be corrected.

(but with a query); Bagchi does not mention the author of this work.

The Saska mss., according to the colophon copied by Rāhula Sāṃkr̥tyāyana, contains the name Kambala; our Nepalese manuscripts attribute the work to Kamalāmbara.

The Chinese words rendering the name of the author can be translated “Victorious (excellent) (j i , a d h i , v i) - virtue - red - garment”. The original at the basis of the two first Chinese characters may be ś r ī . As regards the last two characters they must be translated: r a k t ā m b a r a .

According to the Tibetan tradition and the Tibetan colophon the author of the N a v a ś l o k ī and its commentary was Kampala (D. Ma. p. 2, b, l. 2), d P a l L v a v a i n a b z a ’; “the man clad in a woollen garment” (N. Ma. p. 3, l. 1), viz. Kambalāmbara.

This Tibetan translation of the name of the Siddha, to my knowledge, does not suffer exceptions. On the other hand, Kambala is not unknown in the Sanskrit sources: his name is found not only in the commentary on the D o h ā k o ṣ a edited by Haraprasāda Shāstri, (Kambalāmbarapādānām), but a rather long quotation from one of his works is inserted in the commentary written by Advayavajra on the D o h ā k o ṣ a of Sarahapāda (Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, D o h ā k o ṣ a , Part I. Calcutta Sanskrit Series, Calcutta 1938, p. 126). Here his name is Kambalācārya: but in the S e k o d d e ś a ṭ i k ā (by Naḍapāda, Gaekwad Oriental Series n. XC), p. 48, Kambalāmbarapāda.

Therefore I do not think that there is any reason to modify the current form of the name of the Siddha and to substitute for it the reading of our manuscript which, moreover, is far from correct.

The fact that the *k a m b a l a* is usually red and the frequent alternance of *r a k t a - k a m b a l a* and *r a k t a - a m b a r a* justify the Chinese translation. To conclude, the author is certainly the Siddha Kambalācārya (in the *D o h ā k o ṣ a : K ā m a l i*, cf. *B a u d d h a g ā n o d o h ā*, p. 16 and P. Ch. Bagchi. *Materials for a critical edition of the old Bengali-Caryāpadas*, Part I, p. 16. Calcutta University Press, 1938).

Now, one may ask how is it that the work is called “*N a v a ś l o k ī*” “the nine stanzas” while, in the first Tibetan translation, the verses are fifteen, but in the Sanskrit text and in the second translation fourteen? The fact is that the first four stanzas and the last one of our text should be considered as the introduction and the conclusion respectively of the commentary; the *N a v a ś l o k ī* consists therefore only of stanzas 5-13. This is fully confirmed by the Chinese translation which includes both the text and the commentary and which separates the four introductory verses and the concluding one from the nine *g ā t h ā s* representing the text proper.

In Cordier, *Cat.*, XVI, n. 1 the concluding stanzas are two instead of one.

As regards the commentary, we know two versions of the same which differ considerably, so that we must suppose that they were based on different originals: the Chinese transl. agrees more closely with the Sanskrit text; like this, explaining stanza 8, it contains a brief excursus on the evocation of the mystic syllables: *h r ī ḥ*, *a*, *k a h ū ṃ* and on the *m a ṇ ḍ a l a* originating from them; the *sādhaka* should meditate on that and imagine himself as *Vajrasattva* embracing *Māmakī*. Since this *Sādhana* is not contained in the *S ā d h a m ā l ā* I have reproduced

it in the notes. On the other hand, instead of this passage, T. contains a philosophical section which explains the meaning of the stanza, according to Mahāyāna dogmatics. But the commentary is generally very elementary: the few passages which may be of some interest have been reproduced and, when necessary, corrected with the help of the Tibetan, when the two redactions agree; in fact Sanskrit A is rather faulty and defective.

The *N a v a ś l o k ī* is well known in Tibet, where it is attributed, as we saw, to Kambala; it is quoted by Tāranātha (text p. 152 transl. p. 198) who makes the author a contemporary of king Gopicandra, of Ācārya Vinītadeva and others. In the *b K a ' b a b s b d u n l d a n* (transl. by A. Grünwedel, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 55 ff.) he is said to have been the teacher of Indrabhūti (cf. on his legend A. Grünwedel, *Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer*, p. 176; G. Tucci, *Travels of Tibetan pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, p. 52. Cf. also: *G r u b t ' o b b r g y a d c u i r t o g s b r j o d p a b s d u s d o n d ñ o s g r u b g t e r m d s o d*, vol. c'a of the complete works of C ' o s a p ' e l d p a l b z a ñ p o of L h a r t s e).

Ā r y ā ṣ ṭ a s ā h a ś r i k ā y ā ḥ
p r a j ñ ā p ā r a m i t ā y ā ḥ p i ṇ ḍ ā r t h a ḥ

SANSKRIT TEXT.

Prajñāpāramitāmbodhau śubharatnākare svayam |
sarvā pāramitās tatra tādātmyena vyavasthitāḥ || 1

niṣprapañcā nirābhāsā nirvikalpā nirālayā ¹⁾ |
niḥsvabhāvā parā sūkṣmā bindunādavivarjitā || 2

prajñāpāramitā mātā sarvabuddhodayā parā |
trayānupalabdhirūpā sarvajñajñānagocarā ²⁾ || 3

prajñāpāramitāṃ saṃyag yo bhāvayitum icchati |
tenārthato navaślokāś cintanīyāḥ samāsataḥ ³⁾ || 4

karmaprabhāvasambhūtaṃ ṣaḍāyatānalakṣaṇam |
punarbhavam iti khyātaṃ pratibhāsopamaṃ hi tat || [1] 5

nirmitaṃ nagaraṃ yadvad vilokayati nirmitaḥ |
tadvat paśyati rūpāṇi karmabhir ni[rmi]taṃ ⁴⁾ jagat || [2] 6

dharmaṃ deśayataḥ śabdā ye kecit śrutigocarāḥ |
pratiśrutkopamāḥ sarve prodbhūtaśrutinaḥ śrutāḥ || [3] 7

āghrataṃ svāditam tathā spraṣṭam ⁵⁾ viṣayalālāsaiḥ |
svapnatulyam idaṃ sarvam upalabdham na vidyate || [4] 8

1) T. A: nirāmayā. Cf. P a r a m ā r t h a s t a v a , p. 245

2) Sk. A, sic.; Sk. B: ca sarvajñajñānagocarā

3) Sk. A: samāḥ sataḥ

4) Sk. A: nitam

5) Sk. A: sarvaspaṣṭha; Sk. B: sprṣṭam

māyāyantro¹⁾naro yadvad bhinnāṃ ceṣṭāṃ karoti vai |
tadvad ceṣṭāṃ karoty eva²⁾ dehayantro nirātmakaḥ || [5] 9

nānopalabdhayo yās ca pratikṣaṇasam³⁾udbhavāḥ |
marīcisadrśās caite⁴⁾ drṣṭanaṣṭāḥ vilakṣaṇāḥ⁵⁾ || [6] 10

pratibimbanibhaṃ grāhyam anādicitta⁶⁾sambhavam |
tadākāraṃ ca vijñānam anyonyapratibimbavat || [7] 11

dhyāyinā[m]⁷⁾ svacchasaṃtāne⁸⁾ [yaj]⁹⁾ jñānendu¹⁰⁾sa-
mudbhavam |
udakacandropamaṃ tad dhi pratyakṣaṃ na vidy¹¹⁾ate || [8] 12

yoginām api yaj jñānaṃ tad apy ākāśalakṣaṇam |
tasmāj jñānaṃ ca jñeyaṃ ca sarvam ākāśalakṣaṇam || [9] 13

iti cintayataḥ tattvaṃ sarvabhāveṣv anāśritam |
bodhipraṇidhicittena¹²⁾ jñānaṃ agraṃ bhaviṣyati || 14

āryāṣṭasāhasrikāyāḥ prajñāpāramitāyāḥ piṇḍārthaḥ sa-
māptaḥ

kṛtir iyam śrīkam[b]alāmbara-pādanām

1) Sk. A: yantranaro

2) Sk. A: evam

3) Sk. A: pratikṣaṇam udbhavāḥ

4) Sk. B: °śā hy ete

5) Sk. A: drṣṭanaṣṭavinaṣṭāḥ

6) Sk. B: anādaucitta°

7) Sk. A, B: dhyāyinā; see comm.

8) Ms.: s v e c c h a

9) Sk. A: yaj deest

10) T. B: jñānendra

11) Sk. B: ca na vidyate

12) Sk. B: cittaṃ

First Tibetan translation
by Śraddhākaravarman and Rin c'en bzañ po

A

šes rab p'a rol tu p'yin pa rgya mts'o ste |
dge ba rin c'en a byuñ gnas rañ ñid yin ||
p'a rol p'yin pa dag ni t'ams cad kyañ |
de ru de yi bdag ñid dag gis gnas || 1

spros pa med ciñ snañ ba med |
rnam rtog med ciñ skyoñ dañ bral ||
rañ bžin med ¹⁾ mc'og šin tu p'ra |
t'ig le sgra ni rnam par spañs || 2

šes rab p'a rol p'yin yum ni |
sañs rgyas t'ams cad bskyed pai mc'og ||
rjes su mi dmigs gsum gyi ts'ul |
t'ams cad mk'yen pai spyod yul gyi || 3

šes rab p'a rol tu p'yin pa ni |
gañ žig yañ dag sgom ²⁾ adod pas ||
deñ ni ts'igs bcad dgu pai don |
mdor bsdus pa ni bsam par bya || 4

las kyi mt'u las byuñ ba yi |
skye mc'ed drug gi mts'an ñid can ||
yañ srid žes byar grags pa yin |
de ni mig yor dag dañ mts'uñs || [1] 5

1) Missing in N.

2) D. bsgom.

ji ltar sprul pai groñ k'yer la |
 sprul pa rnam par lta ba bžin ||
 las rnam kyis sprul ađro ba yis |
 gzugs rnam de bžin mt'oñ bar ađyur || [2] 6

c'os rnam ston pai sgra dañ ni |
 t'os pai spyod pa gañ ci'n ruñ ||
 mñan ¹⁾ bya t'os pa byuñ gyur pa |
 t'ams cad brag ca lta bu yin || [3] 7

yul la c'ags pas snom pa dañ |
 myañ dañ de bžin reg pa rnam ||
 dmigs su yod pa ma yin te |
 ađi dag t'ams cad rmi lam ađra || [4] 8

ji ltar sgyu mai ađ'kul ađ'or mi |
 bya ba t'a dad byed pa ltar ||
 lus kyi ađ'kul ađ'or bđag med ađi |
 de bžin bya ba byed par ađyur || [5] 9

dmigs pa sna ts'ogs gañ dañ gañ |
 skad cig re re ađyüñ ađyur ba ||
 mt'oñ na ađig ciñ mts'an ñid bral |
 ađi ni smig rgyu dag dañ mts'uñs || [6] 10

gzuñ bya gzugs brñan lta bu ste |
 t'og ma med pai sems las ađyüñ ||
 rnam par šes pa'n de ađra ste |
 p'an ts'un gzugs brñan dag dañ mts'uñs || [7] 11

1) N. gñam

sgom ¹⁾ pa dañ bai rgyud la na |
 ye šes zla ba gañ byuñ ba ||
 mñon sum yod pa ma yin te |
 de ni c'u zla dag dañ mts'uñs || [8] 12

rnal aḅyor pa yi ye šes yañ |
 de yañ nam mk'ai mts'an ñid de ||
 de bas šes dañ šes bya dag |
 t'ams cad nam mk'ai mts'an ñid do || [9] 13

de ltar de bžin ñid sems pa |
 dños po kun la mi gnas te ||
 byañ c'ub smon pai sems kyis ni |
 ye šes de ltar aḅyuñ bar aḅgyur || 14

Second Tibetan translation
 by Sumanahśrī and Rin c'en grub

B

dge bai rin c'en aḅyuñ gnas gañ |
 šes rab p'a rol p'yin byañ c'ub ||
 t'ams cad p'a rol p'yin ma der |
 der rañ ñid kyī rnam par gnas || 1

spros pa med ciñ snañ ba med |
 kun gži med ciñ rnam rtog med ||
 rañ bžin med ciñ rab tu p'ra |
 sgra dañ t'ig le rnam par spañs || 2

¹⁾ D. bsgom.

sañs rgyas t'ams cad abyuñ bai mc'og |
 šes rab p'a rol tu p'yin ma yum ||
 rañ bžin de yis ma dmigs ni |
 kun mk'yen ye šes spyod yul lo ||

3

yañ dag šes rab p'a rol p'yin |
 gañ žig sgom par byed adod pa ||
 ts'igs bcad dgu yis don la nes |
 bsam par bya bar bsdus pa'o ||

4

las kyi mt'u las yañ dag byuñ |
 skye mc'ed drug gi mts'an ñid med ||
 slar yañ abyuñ ba žes brjod pa |
 mig yor lta bur brjod pa yin ||

[1] 5

sprul pai groñ k'yer gañ de bžin |
 sprul par rnam par lta bar bya ||
 las kyi sprul pai agro ba yis |
 ño bo gañ yin de bžin no ||

[2] 6

gañ las c'os bstan pa yi sgra |
 aga' žig t'os pai spyod yul lo ||
 brag c'a lta bur t'ams cad du |
 rab tu rmad byuñ t'os ma t'os ||

[3] 7

bsnams dañ myañ dañ gañ yañ ni |
 reg pai lus la rol pa yis ||
 ađi dag rmi lam lta bu ste |
 t'ams cad dmigs pa yod ma yin ||

[4] 8

mi gañ sgyu mai ak'rul ak'or bžin |
 t'a dad bsam pas byed pa yis ||

dpag med lus kyi k'rul ək'or gañ |
 bsam pas byed pa de bžin no || [5]9

sna ts'ogs ñe bar dmigs gañ yañ |
 skad cig so sor yañ dag ąbyuñ ||
 ądi dag smig rgyu lta bu gañ ¹⁾ |
 mt'oñ ba ñams pas mts'an ñid bral || [6]10

gzugs brñan lta bur gzuñ bar bya |
 t'og med sems las kun tu ąbyuñ ||
 de rnam pa dañ rnam par šes |
 p'an ts'un du ni gzugs brñan bžin || [7]11

bsams pas dañ bai rgyud la gañ |
 ye šes dbaň po yañ dag ąbyuñ ||
 lten kai zla ba lta bur gañ |
 de bžin mñon sum yod ma yiñ || [8]12

rnal ąbyor pas kyañ ye šes gañ |
 de yañ nam mk'ai mts'an ñid do ||
 de p'yir šes dañ šes bya gañ |
 t'ams cad nam mk'ai mts'an ñid do || [9]13

rañ bžin rnams la gnas med pa |
 de ñid de ltar bsam par bya ||
 byaň c'ub smon pai sems las ni |
 ye šes mc'og ni ąbyuñ bar ągyur || 14

kun tu rtog pa t'ams cad spañs |
 ądi de mc'og tu šes par bya ||
 gañ du rnal ąbyor pa gnas pa |
 mñon sum kun mk'yen bcom ldan ąbyuñ || 15

¹⁾ here verse 4, c is inserted:

ts'igs bcad dgu yis don la ñes

CHINESE TRANSLATION.

般	若	波	羅	蜜	多	智	體	積	善	寶	功	德	聚	
所	有	一	切	波	羅	蜜	而	彼	本	來	性	常	住	1
離	諸	戲	論	無	對	礙	離	諸	分	別	得	安	隱	2
最	上	微	妙	無	自	性	離	諸	所	有	名	相	等	
方	便	宣	說	三	乘	法	而	彼	三	乘	所	得	相	3
皆	是	一	切	智	智	因	稽	首	般	若	波	羅	蜜	
所	有	勝	慧	到	彼	岸	若	人	樂	欲	正	觀	者	4
應	當	於	彼	九	頌	義	總	略	如	理	而	思	擇	
1	從	業	增	上	生	生	所	謂	六	處	相			5
	卽	此	說	復	生	生	所	因	如	影	現			
2	如	幻	所	化	城	色	能	觀	者	亦	化			6
	如	彼	所	見	色		業	化	世	亦	然			
3	諸	有	說	法	聲		卽	是	聞	境	界			7
	一	切	如	對	響		緣	成	能	所	聞			
4	嗅	香	及	了	味		觸	等	境	愛	著			8
	此	一	切	如	夢		雖	得	無	所	有			
5	如	幻	輪	成	人		諸	行	作	無	實			9
	此	如	彼	行	作		身	輪	亦	無	我			
6	若	種	種	所	得		彼	極	剎	那	生			10
	此	與	陽	焰	等		見	卽	壞	無	相			

- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| 7 | 所 | 取 | 如 | 影 | 像 | 無 | 始 | 從 | 心 | 生 | |
| | 而 | 彼 | 相 | 及 | 識 | 互 | 相 | 如 | 影 | 像 | 11 |
| 8 | 觀 | 自 | 淨 | 種 | 中 | 若 | 智 | 月 | 出 | 現 | |
| | 彼 | 如 | 水 | 中 | 月 | 現 | 前 | 無 | 所 | 有 | 12 |
| 9 | 若 | 相 | 應 | 者 | 智 | 彼 | 即 | 虛 | 空 | 相 | |
| | 是 | 故 | 智 | 所 | 知 | 皆 | 如 | 虛 | 空 | 相 | 13 |

如 理 思 惟 此 實 性 彼 一 切 性 無 所 依
 所 有 菩 提 勝 願 心 大 智 莊 嚴 當 獲 得

TRANSLATION.

1. All perfections abide in that ocean which is the perfection of gnosis, a mine of all sorts of virtues, and are consubstantiated with it ¹⁾.
2. She (the perfection of gnosis) is beyond evolution, reflection, mental representations; she is beyond attachment ²⁾, unsubstantial, the supreme one, the subtle one, devoid of (viz. transcending) *binḍu* and *nāda* (viz. the sound in its most subtle aspect or moment) ³⁾.
3. She, the Perfection of gnosis, is said to be mother (of the Buddhas ⁴⁾), the origin of all the Buddhas; she consists in the threefold non-perception and she is the object of the knowledge of the omniscient ⁵⁾.
4. He, who wants to meditate in a proper way upon this perfection of gnosis, should reflect, according to their meaning, upon the nine verses, (expressed) in a concise way (as follows).

1) Ch.: "abiding (there) for ever".

2) T.A. supposes: faultless, *niramayā*: Ch. "obtaining a peaceful hiding".

3) But Ch: "transcending the character etc. of what has a name, a character" etc.

4) Cf. the verse, already quoted, of *Diñnāga*.

5) This *pāda* is different in T.B.: "no essence is perceived by it". Ch.; all the *gāthā* is different: "as a means (*upāyena*) the law of the three vehicles is proclaimed: but the marks perceived in these three vehicles are the cause of the knowledge of the All-knowing Ones: I (therefore) bow to the perfection of gnosis". The threefold non-perception refers to the *trimaṇḍalaparīśuddhi* (*dēya-dāyaka-pratigrahakāditritayānupalambha*). *Śatasāhasrikā*, p. 93. SA., p. 108, 112, *Mdh.V*, p. 210, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, IX, 4, etc.

(Six internal ā y a t a n a s):

I (5). Rebirth is said to be produced by the power of action (good as well as bad) and it is characterized by the six (internal) ā y a t a n a s¹⁾ (the seat of the five senses and m a n a s); it is similar to a reflected image²⁾ (or void, in so far as actor, action, instrument, from the absolute point of view, are absent in it).

(Now, as regards external things):

II (6). a) r ū p a³⁾

Just as a man created by force of magic looks at a town created by force of magic (the thing which is looked upon and the person who looks upon it being equally unreal)⁴⁾, so also the world itself created by the force of actions (should) look upon (the so called) forms (r ū p a)⁵⁾:

1) Cm. āyam, vijñānaṃ, tanvantīty āyatanāni. (Cf. AK., I, p. 37) ādhyātmikāni ṣaṭ; cakṣuḥ-śrotra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-manāṃsīti.

2) From the absolute point of view: p r a t i b h ā s o p a m a m : p r a t i b h ā s a s y e v a s ā d ṛ ś y a ṃ s ā r ū p y a ṃ y a s y a t a t p r a t i b h ā s o p a m a m ; k a r t ṛ k a r m a k a r a ṇ a v y ā p ā r a r a h i t a t v ā t ś ū n y a m i t i y ā v a t .

3) The reason for this g ā t h ā is so given: bāhyāny api rūpādīny āyatanāni yatsvabhāvāni tāni krameṇa darśayann āha.

4) Because: tad ubhayam (the nirmaṭaḥ and the nirmaṭaṃ nagaram) nāsti abhūtasadbhūtatvāt. Ch.: “the seer also is created by magic”.

5) As regards p ā d a s 3 and 4, the various translations seem to indicate that they were differently written or understood. T.A. and T.B. “the world which is created by the force of actions, in the same way (looks upon) all sorts of things”. Ch.: “Like the material appearances which can be seen, so also the world created (by the magic of actions)”.

Cm. draṣṭṛdraṣṭavyayos tadvad rūpāṇi bahir bhāsamānāni karmabhir nirmaṭaṃ jagat, trailokyam, paśyatīti śeṣam – the reason is that the object is not different from the subject since both are nirmaṭa: nirmaṭat-vena tadaviśeṣāt.

b) ś a b d a

III (7). All words [ś a b d a, sound]¹⁾ which are uttered by (a teacher) teaching the Law and which are the object of hearing-perception are similar to an echo; those words are heard when there are those in whom the capacity of perceiving by hearing is manifested²⁾.

c, d, e) the other three objects of sense:

IV (8). Whatever is (experienced) by those who crave after the objects of sense, be it the object of smell perception or of taste perception or of touch perception, all this is similar to a dream: whatever is perceived is (in fact) non-existent.

V (9). Just³⁾ as a man moved by a magic contrivance accomplishes different actions⁴⁾, in this same way the corporal contrivance devoid of self (viz. the internal ā y a t a n a s corresponding to the external ones) accomplishes different actions.

1) Cm. pratiśrutkopamatvaṃ śabdānāṃ pratipādayann āha.

2) T.A. "the audible becomes heard".

T.B. "the marvellous hearing (pra-adbhutam for pra-udbhūtam) is not heard".

Ch. "phenomenal is who hears and what is heard".

Cm. prodbhūtaṃ ca tat śrutaṃ ceti prodbhūtaśrutam | tad eva teśāṃ astīti kṛtvā prodbhūtaśrutiṇaḥ; śrutā, upalabdā ye keci chabdāḥ sarve pratiśrutkopamāḥ saṃvṛtyeti yāvāt.

3) Cm. "Now a question is possible: if the internal ā y a t a n a s like the eye etc. and the external ā y a t a n a s just as forms etc. do not exist, how, then, is it possible to say that he who possesses a function is in motion?". (kathaṃ tarhi tad uktam kriyāvān ceṣṭata iti). In order to expel this doubt the next stanza is introduced.

4) Viz. na tatra kriyā kārakam vāsti; tathaiva ceṣṭāṃ, kāryavyāpāraṃ gamanādilakṣaṇaṃ, bhinnāṃ nānāprakārāṃ karoti. But T. b, b s a m p a s for c e ṣ ṭ ā m!

(Another example: things can be looked upon not only as a dream, but also as a mirage):

VI (10). The various perceptions which arise every instant (being devoid of any essence)¹⁾ are similar to a mirage; they disappear as soon as they are seen and then have a different character (at a different moment).

VII (11). All²⁾ objects of mental perception arise in mind³⁾ which exists *ab aeterno* and are similar to reflected images; so also consciousness which takes their form, as a series of reflected images connected with one another (as perceiver and perceived).

VIII (12). That⁴⁾ vision which arises from the moon of gnosis in the pure continuum⁵⁾ (*s a m t ā n a*,

1) Kṣaṇikā iti yāvat | tāḥ punaḥ paramārthataḥ kiṃ svabhāvāḥ? marīcibhiḥ sadṛśā. . yathā marīcinicayā ādau dṛṣṭāḥ paścān naṣṭās tathā caitā upalabdhayo viṣayavijñaptayo niḥsvabhāvāḥ visadṛśāḥ (in T. and Ch.: vilakṣaṇāḥ) pūrvāparāsaṃghaṭitasvabhāvāt, visadṛśāsvabhāvāḥ. bālās tv ekatvenādhyāvasīya pravartanta iti. saṃvṛtisatyagatigrāhyagrāhakadvayābhāsaśūnyatayā prakṛtiprabhāsvaram ādyanutpannam cittadharmatvam darśayitum pratibimbopamatvam khyāpayitum āha.

2) This is introduced in order to show that things are similar to a reflected image.

3) Viz. (explaining pratibimbanibham etc.): ādarśādimaṇḍalāntargatamu-khādisamānakam kiṃ tac cittāt sambhavatīti cittasambhavam bāhyavastunirapekṣam iti yāvat grāhyam bahirmukhāśvāsavāsanāvidheyīkṛtagrāhyatvenādhyāvasitam advayam api dvayarūpatayā pratibhāsamānam anādau anādikālīnacittaviṭhapitam. tat pratibimbasamam samānetarakālatvena vicāryamānasyāsattvāt. na kevalam tad eva. tadākāram ca vijñānam. tasyaivākārah sārūpyam yasya tad tadākāram. caśabdaḥ samuccaye. na kevalam tad eva tadākāram api tu grāhakam apīti. grāhyavaidhuryād grāhakam apy asad ity abhiprāyaḥ. sambandhaśabdatvena parasparam anyonyam pratibimbavat. pratibimbasadṛśam grāhyagrāhakam ity anyonyam ity apekṣaṇīyam. tac ca dvayānupalambhasyānyonyānupalambharūpasya prabhāsvarasya cittadharmatvād ity abhiprāyaḥ. tasyāpi cittasya prakṛtiprabhāsvarasya vyapagatagrāhyagrāhakākārasya rāgādyavidyāmalavyapagamād viśuddhasya.

4) Even a person who has so purified himself may have attachment to the idea that something is existing. Therefore the following stanza is introduced.

5) Ch. "in one's own pure".

rgyud: k ā y a , v ā k , c i t t a) of those who have acquired the habit of concentration (cittai-k ā g r a t ā)¹⁾ (which expels the darkness of igno-

1) Dhyānaṃ cittaikāgratālakṣaṇaṃ; tad vidyate yeśāṃ te dhyāyinaḥ | cittavaśīnaḥ | The svacchasaṃtāna, the pure continuum, is that which is excluded from the pratītyasamutpanna and is consubstantiated with pure gnosis. Yaj jñāñendusaṃudbhavam; “here the perfect gnosis is the elimination of ignorance and the extinction of the burning fire of passions; there is no longer the maculation from the vāsānās and so moon and dharma are the same. “The arising of moon of gnosis means that from whatever continuum it arises and shines forth, it cannot be grasped as real and therefore it does not exist as something directly experienced. So though it has appeared (snañduzin kyāñ) how is it that it is not perceived or grasped directly? Because all dharmas which are void derive from dharmas which are void”.

(Śūnyebhya eva dharmebhyaḥ śūnyā dharmāḥ prabhāvanti dharmānām ādyanutpannatvāt). All this passage, except the last sentence, is missing in the mss. (which inserts here a discussion on the mantra: hriḥ a - ka - hūṃ, and the maṇḍala herefrom derived: so also in Chinese).

Kāyavākcittātmasaṃtānaś ceti | anuttaraprītisaṃutpādātmaḥ hriḥkā-rākṣarasamprajvalitacittasaṃtānaḥ | śaradamṛtaraśmirephapariṇatāgnimaṇḍalārūḍho a iti nādopabṛmhitāṣṭadalakamalamadhyagataṣoḍaśakalātmakaḥ kakārākṣaratārāgaṇapariyutanābhidesāvasthitabuddhapadma ity ucyate. tatkalāpariṇatacandramaṇḍalam dṛṣṭvā tasyopari svacchasaṃtāne hūṃkāraṃ jvaladbhāsuram tadvinirgatāgnijvālajvalitam ātmānam anupaśyatām: yaj jñānendusaṃudbhavam bodhicittavajram jñānenduḥ sakalajagadābhāsamānasvarūpatvāt, tasmād ubdhavatīti jñānendusaṃudbhavaḥ. tam vajrapariṇatam prajñopāyātmakatvān nirupamanirvāṇalakṣaṇam prajñādevyāliṅgitātmabhāvam sarabhasasamāpattiyutam prāvṛṇmeghasamanidarśitanīlabhāvam aṣṭabhirbhūjair bhūṣitam vajrakhaḍgabāñāñkuśavyagradakṣiṇakaram cakracāpagaṇṭāpāśavyagravāmakaram trimukham śarīrasamānavarṇaprathamamukhayutam dakṣiṇetarapītaśuklam ghaṇṭāsaktamāmakīdevīsaktabahuyugam sarvālamkārabhūṣitam akṣobhyanāthamukuṭinam anyonyānugatamukhacumbanam iṣadvikāsitanayanayugalam sattvaparyaṅkāsīnam atasīkusumasamkāśam māmakīdevīstanayugalanipīḍitasarabhasorukam sūryamaṇḍalaprabhāsavaravajrasatvarūpam mahāsukhasvabhāvam kṣaradamṛtadhārābhīṣicyamānaśarīram prajñopāyādvyayibhūtam ceti tathāgatātmakam udakacandropamam |

“Therefore it said to be (like the) image of the moon on the surface of the water, since it is absolutely not born, anutpanna”. Ata eva dharmadhātusvabhāvatvena bhavābhavā-(abhāva not in T.) bhiniveśābhavāt pratyakṣam ca na vidyate tad idṛśam tattvam sarvadharmānupalambham antareṇa sākṣāt kartum aśakyam iti.

rance and appeases all sorts of painful feelings, physical as well mental, and it is not soiled by *vāsanās*) does not exist as something directly experienced; in fact that experience is like the reflection of the moon on the surface of the water (of a pond).

IX. (13). The ¹⁾ knowledge also of the yogins has the same character as space ²⁾: therefore all knowledge and all things to be known have equally the character of space.

(14) (In order to remove the doubt that there is no fruit to be obtained by the bodhisattva and nothing exists – the conclusion follows): when one

1) Viz. *sākṣātkāraṇopāyaṃ sarvadharmāṇām ākāśasamatvaṃ pratipādayitum āha*; that is: *jñānamātrasamāpattiyoga* – yoga is here said to have the meaning of: *vajra*.

2) (*Yoginām*) *tesām yaj jñānaṃ sarvadharmākāśalakṣaṇam* (T.: *odharmābhīniveśalakṣaṇatvāt* and adds: identical with no stay – *mi gnaś* – in *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*) *prajñopāyādvayībhūtaṃ tattvam* (T. de *bžin ñid kyi ye šes de ni*) *tathāgatātmaṃ. tad api na kevalaṃ pūrva* – [T. deest] *skandhadhātuvāyatanādiprapaṅcasvabhāvaṃ, kiṃ tv etad apīti yāvāt tathāgatātmaṃ* (mss. and Ch.; T. de *bžin ñid kyi bdag ñid can*) *acalitadharmadhātusvabhāvaṃ ekatvena tathāgatādisvabhāvāvirahād* [Tib. deest] *ādyanutpannatvād abhāva ity api na śakyaṃ vaktuṃ vipratīṣedhyābhavād ādyanutpannatvāt na bhāva iti. tad āha ākāśasamaṃ sarvaprapaṅcarahitavāt...*, *jñānaṃ traidhātukacittacaitasikasvarūpam ākāśalakṣaṇam. jñeyaṃ yad upadarśitam avidyānugamāt sattvabhājanalokalakṣaṇaṃ skandhadhātuvāyatanāni prapaṅcasvabhāvaṃ. jñeyam jñānaviṣayīkṛtatvena jñeyatvamātrānubandhi. tadbodhatve jñeyasya tadviśayaparikalpanā jñeyatvam ucyate; sarvajñājñānasya [tad]dvayam* (T. de *gñi ga*) *ākāśasamatayā. evam āha sarvam iti niravaśeṣam, naikadeśamātraṃ. yad āhus śrāvakā pudgalamātranairātmyaṃ skandhās tu vidyante iti. te hi sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇam icchanti anye tu nirupadhiśeṣamuktilakṣaṇam | yad āha samādhirāje: sarveṇa sarvaṃ bhava sarvaśūnyaṃ | pradeśīkī śūnyatā tīrthikānām* (SR, vol. I, p. 108, v. 47, b). *yad ayam atrārthaḥ, na taj jagati kiṃcid asti yan nākāśalakṣaṇam, api tu sarvam ākāśalakṣaṇam, bodhicittasvarūpam.*

has so meditated upon the truth (and reality as well) as not abiding (as something substantial) in whatsoever thing, the supreme knowledge will arise by virtue of the resolution of the mind to obtain illumination and to (persist in the) vow undertaken.

SECTION IV

CATUᅒSTAVASAMĀSĀRTHA OF AMᅒTĀKARA

In the *JRAS*, 1932, p. 309 I published two hymns of the *Catuhstava* attributed to Nāgārjuna: the *Niraupamyastava* and the *Paramārthastava*¹⁾. In the monastery of Nor I found in the same fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript containing the *Mahāyānaviṃśikā* a work which in the colophon is said to be the *Catuhstavasamāsārtha*. I had only to go through the first lines of the manuscript to realize easily that the small treatise represents a commentary on the *Catuhstava* attributed to the great *ācārya*.

The manuscript is incomplete and only the last three chapters are preserved; of the first probably only a few introductory lines are missing.

In other words we have here three complete *samāsārtha* on three of the four hymns.

As already known, different theories have been held as regards this *Catuhstava*: as a matter of fact in the *bsTan ṅgyur*, vol. I (Cordier, *Cat.*, II, p. 5, *Tōhoku Cat.*, n. 1120 ff., n. 10-15) there are many *Stavas* attributed to Nāgārjuna: the *Dharmadhātustava*, the *Nirupamastava*, the *Lokātīstava*, the *Cittavajrastava*, the *Paramārthastava*, the *Kāyatrayastava*²⁾. No *Catuhstava* is found there.

¹⁾ See also *Muséon*, 1913, p. 1-18; *I.H.Q.*, VIII, p. 316, and 689; X, 1934, 82; *M.C.B.*, I, 1932, p. 395, III, 374.

²⁾ Restored from Tib. into Sanskrit by S. LÉVI in *Revue de l'Histoire des religions*, Paris 1896, vol. XXXIV, p. 17, 621: the Sanskrit text after the Amdo Edition of the *Deb t'er sñon po* ed. by A. VON STAEL HOLSTEIN.

Quotations from these *stava*s have been traced in many works, the *Pañcakrama*, the commentary by Candrakīrti on the *Mādhyaṃikākārikā* of Nāgārjuna, in the commentary by Prajñākaramati on the *Bodhicāryāvātāra*, in some treatises of Advaya-vajra: some of them have been attributed in these works to *ācāryapāda*. Only in Prajñākaramati's commentary is there mention of the *Catuḥstava*, p. 420, 488, 533, 573. So it seems that though in India, at the time of Prajñākaramati, four hymns attributed to Nāgārjuna were considered as a unit, with a title of its own, the Tibetan *lotsāva* (*Ts'ul k'rim s rgyal ba*¹⁾) and his Indian collaborator Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita took the various hymns separately. That they circulated separately is proved also by the Nepalese manuscript in which I found the two hymns published by me and where no mention is found of the two *stava*s, being chapters of the same work.

But the authority of Prajñākaramati, to which now this of *Amṛtākara* can be added, shows beyond any doubt that the four hymns were combined into a whole, so as to form a treatise by itself, the *Catuḥstava*. Thus the question arises: which are the four *stava* included in the *Catuḥstava* and which was their sequence? The problem was solved in different ways by L. de la Vallée Poussin²⁾ and by Patel.

Bulletin de l'Académie Imperial des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, p. 11, 1911, p. 837, 45. It is inserted in the *Sekoddeśatikā* of Nāḍapāda ed. by M. Carelli, Gaekwad Or. Series, 1941, p. 57. *Blue Annals*, Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society, Monograph Series, vol. XII, p. 1.

¹⁾ *Blue Annals*, I, p. 86. TUCCI, *Rin c'en bzan po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al Mille* (*Indo-Tibetica*, vol. II), p. 50.

²⁾ *Muséon*, 1913, 1-18.

The former proposed *Nirupama*, *Lokātīta*, *Cittavajra*, *Paramārtha*, which is the order followed in the *bsTan agyur*— (I accepted this order in *JRAS*, 1932, p. 309). Patel suggested *Nirupama*, *Lokātīta*, *Acintyastava*, *Stutyatīstava*. Our manuscript allows us to solve the problem. There is no doubt that the first *samāsārtha* now missing was concerned with the *Lokātīstava*, which was certainly included in the *Catuḥstava*; the second, as can be seen by comparing it with the text published by myself, is a commentary on the *Nirupamya-stava*, which was then second in the succession; the comparison with the Tibetan translation indicates that the *Acintyastava* (a verse from it is quoted as from *Catuḥstava* in *Prajñākaramati*, p. 573) had the third place; the *Paramārtha*, extant in its original, concluded the work.

The author of the *Samāsārtha* is unknown to me.

Perhaps he was one of the many pandits who took shelter in Tibet when the time of persecution or decadence came in India. His treatise endeavours to fit the *Catuḥstava* within the framework of the *bhūmis* or stages passing through which the Bodhisattva reaches Buddhahood. Of course the first seven *bhūmis* are not taken into consideration: the Bodhisattva approaches the attainment of his aim only in the 8th *bhūmi*, the *acalā* “the unshakable one”, which being an *ābhogavihāra* “a dwelling in effortlessness or spontaneity”, makes the Bodhisattva not very distant from the Buddha.

In the ninth stage, the *Sādhumatī* “the good one”, the *pratisamvit* or consciousness of the Bud-

dha is attained and so he is ripe for the attainment of the everlasting fruit, the condition of Saṃbuddha.

The main source of our author is the *D a s a b h ũ . m i k a s ũ t r a* which is frequently quoted.

The booklet is therefore for its contents related both to the Comm. on the *V a j r a c c h e d i k ā* and the *B h ā . v a n ā k r a m a*.

N i r a u p a m y a s t a v a

...kaṃ bhūtabhautikasadrśaṃ sarvarūpacitrāṅgaṃ samuditaṃ kāyaṃ pratilabhate || sa sarvabuddhakṣetra-parśanmaṇḍalānugataḥ kāyo dharmasvabhāvagatiṃgatatvān manomaya ity ucyate |

“ yadā cittaṃ manaś cāpi vijñānaṃ na pravartate | tadā manomayaṃ kāyaṃ labhate buddhabhūmiṃ ca ¹⁾ ” ||

iti vacanāt | niraupamyo ^(śl. 1) bhagavāṃs | tathā “ sa sarvaśaś cittamanovijñānavikalpasamjñāpagato’navagr̥hīta ākāśasamo ’bhyavakāśaprakṛtito’vatīrṇaś cānutpattikadharmakṣāntiprāpta ity ucyate | tatra, bhavanto jina-putrāḥ, evaṃ kṣāntisamanvāgato bodhisattvaḥ saha-
1 a, 2 pratilam*bhād acalāyā bodhisattvabhūmer gabhīraṃ bodhisattvavihāram anuprāpto bhavati durājñānam asam-
bhinnaṃ sarvanimittāpagatam ” ²⁾ ityādivacanān niḥsva-
bhavārthavedī ^(śl. 2) | sa evaṃ kṣāntipratilabdho bodhi-
sattvo yatra yatropasaṃkrāmati kṣatriyabrāhmaṇavai-
śyaśūdradevabrahmapariṣadam bhikṣubhikṣuṇīrthikamā-

1) *L a ṅ k .*, p. 294-5, v. 226.

2) *D b h .*, p. 64, l. 4, ff.

raparṣadam sarvatrātīto niḥśā¹⁾ṅkam upasaṃkrāmati
viśārada eva pravyāharati | tat kasmād dhetoḥ | sa hy
anutpattikadharmakṣāntilābhāt sarvadharmānutpādākā-
reṇa sarvathā sarvaṃ pratividdhavāst...mād asya²⁾ aparā-
jñānakṛtaṃ kleśakṛtaṃ ca parṣacchāradyaṃ nāstī³⁾ti vai-
śā^{*}radyaprāptaḥ “anabhilāpyānabhilāpyakalpāyuhpramā-
nādhiṣṭhānatayā sa āyurvaśītāṃ labhate | cetovaśītāṃ
aprameyāsaṃkhyasamādhinidhyaptijñānapraveśanatayā |
pariṣkāravaśītāṃ sarvalokadhātvanekavyūhālaṃkārapra-
timaṇḍitādhiṣṭhānasamdarśanatayā | karmavaśītāṃ yathā-
kālaṃ karmavipākādhiṣṭhānasamdarśanatayā | upapatti-
vaśītāṃ sarvalokadhātūpapattisamdarśanatayā | adhimuk-
tivaśītāṃ ca pratilabhate sarvalokadhātubuddhapratipūr-
ṇasamdarśanatayā | praṇidhānavaśītāṃ ca pratilabhate ya-
theṣṭabuddhakṣe^{*}tralokābhisambodhisamdarśanatayā | ṛd-
dhivaśītāṃ sarvabuddhakṣetra⁴⁾vikurvaṇasamdarśanatayā |
dharmavaśītāṃ anantamadyadharmamukhālokasamdar-
śanatayā | jñānavaśītāṃ ca pratilabhate tathāगतabalavai-
śāradyāveṇikabuddhadharmalakṣaṇānuvyañjanā⁵⁾bhisambo-
dhisamdarśanatayā⁶⁾” | ity evaṃ daśavaśītāprāpto “ya
svam dṛṣṭivipannasya lokasyāsyā hitodyata^(6.1)” ity anena
ca praśastapratipattir ameyatvam acittatā coktā | vak-
ṣyamāneṣv api sarveṣu pratyekam arthatrayaṃ yojyam |
ata evoktaṃ bhagavatā | “gambhīradharmakṣāntipāraṃga-
tair vaiśāradyaprāptair⁷⁾ | [A, a, b] dhar^{*}mapravicaya[B]vi-
^{a, 3}
^{a, 4}
^{a, 5}

1) Ms. nissam°.

2) ? reading doubtful: °viddhavāstummādasyā apa°; pratividdhavastummā-
tratvāt?

3) Cf. RG., p. 92,10; *The Sublime Science*, transl. by Obermiller, p. 260.

4) Ms. sarvakṣetrabuddhakṣetra; Dbh., kṣetrakālābhi.

5) Ms. anupvyaja.

6) Dbh., p. 70, l. 8 ff.

7) Ex cj.; ms. prāpter iti; source not identified.

bhaktinirdeśa[C]kuśalair ” ity uktam | tatra [A] dharmās caturvidhā: a) vipaśyanādharmaḥ skandhadhātvāyatanādayaḥ b) bodhipakṣyā dharmāḥ smṛtyupasthānādayaḥ c) buddhadharmā daśabalavaiśāradyādayaḥ d) adhigama-dharmāḥ śrotaāpattimārgaphalādayo yathākramam | etadbhedena catvāraḥ ślokā uktāḥ ¹⁾ | tatra bauddham cakṣur ^(sl. 2) dhyānābhisamskāranirvṛttam abhijñāsamgrhītam aṣṭāvidhaparikarmalabhyatvāt ²⁾ kumārabhuvāḥ |

“ jñeyam ca parikarmaiṣām svabhāvānupalambhata ” ³⁾

iti | tenāpi cakṣuṣā tvayā na kiṃcid dṛṣṭam ^(sl. 2) saṃbhāvyate
 *a, 6 prāg evetaraiḥ | pañcān*ām api cakṣuṣām anavabhāsagama-
 natvāt tattvārthasya dṛṣṭijñānam | adarśanam eva sarva-
 dharmāṇām tattvārthadarśanam | nanu pratilabdhaprathamādibhuvo ’pi āryā na kaṃcid dharmam upalabhante tat ko
 ’syātīśaya ity āha | anuttarā ^(sl. 2) ceti | yasmān nātra tatt-
 vārthadarśanād vyutthito bhavati | pūrvakās tu sapta vi-
 hārā vyāmiśrā; ayam ekāntaśuddhaḥ | yathoktam | “yadā
 punaḥ sarvaprāyogikacaryām vihāya saptamyā bhūmer
 aṣṭamim bhūmim avakrānto bhavati tadā pariśuddham bo-
 dhisattvayānam abhirūhya ” ityādi ⁴⁾ | tasmād eva gambhī-
 a, 7 rāṇām bodhisattvavihārāṇām nānyo ’smād adhiko gam-
 bhīro ity atrānuttarety ^(sl. 2) ucyate || [A, b] pravicyo lakṣa-
 nataḥ kṛtyato hetutaḥ phalataḥ saṃkhyāta āsvādata ādi-
 navato niḥsaraṇataś ca kleśato vyavadānataḥ pariñātaḥ
 prahāṇataḥ sāksātkaṇaṇato bhāvanātaś ca | tatra yathākra-

1) Viz. ślokaś 2, 3, 4, 5.

2) Cf. Samādhirājasūtra ed. N. DUTT (Gilgit Manuscripts, Ch. XXXII, 404).

3) AA., I, 50.

4) D b h., p. 58, l. 31 ff.

mam ṣaḍ^(śl. 6-11) | arthaviśeṣeṇa^(śl. 12-16) | artha¹⁾dvayasamgrahenaikaha^(śl. 12) tathaiṅyāha^(śl. 13) ekenaiko^(śl. 14) dvābhyām aparaha^(śl. 15)

“ vikurvasi mahārddhyā māyopamasamādhinā ”²⁾

ityādivacanāt | bhāvanārthena punar ekaḥ^(śl. 16) | tatrārūpavad ity ākāśavat | tathā coktaṃ “ yāvat tathāgatavaineyikānām sattvānām tathāga*takāyavarṇarūpam ādarśayati | *a, 8
iti hi, bho jinaputra, yāvanto ’nabhilāpyeṣu buddhakṣetraprasareṣu sattvānām upapattyāyatanādhimukti³⁾prasarās⁴⁾ teṣu teṣu tathāgataḥ svakāyavibhaktim ādarśayati | sa sarvakāyavikalpasamjñāpagata ākāśamatāprāptaḥ | tac⁵⁾ cāsyā kāyasamdarśanam akṣūṇam avandhyaṃ ca sarvasattvapariṣāyāyetyādi ”⁶⁾ [B] | vibhaktiś catvāraḥ kāyatrayavibhāge ślokatrayam^(śl. 17, 18, 19) | tathā hi saptamyām bhūmau buddhakāyavyūhaṃ jānāti na tu tadā niṣpādayitum śaknoti⁷⁾ | buddhakāyavyūhajñānāt tu tasyām bhūmau niṣpādanecchām * jānāti | asyāḥ pra- *a, 9
bhṛti niṣpādayatīty ārya⁸⁾daśabhūmakādāv a⁹⁾vagantavyam | karmāvaraṇapratipraśrabdhir ity uktam | etasyā eva kṣānteḥ sahapratilambhād yāny asya sugatidurgativipākyāni karmāvaraṇāni tāny asya samucchinnāni bhavanti | anya-

1) Here the Mss. inserts ṣaḍ which is out of place; in fact there are five ślokas referring to the six topics: two topics = two śl., one top. = one śl., two top. = one śl., one top. = one śl.

2) Pañcakraṃ ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, p. 36.

3) Ms. °kṭiyapra but ya has on top a stroke which usually means that the letter should be cancelled.

4) Ms. inserts te.

5) Ms. taśca.

6) Dbh., p. 69, l. 6 ff.

7) Cf. Dbh., p. 68.

8) Ms. āryamda.

9) Ms. °kāva.

tra tathāgatānām anāgatajanatānukampadarśanād ata eta-
 dvibhāge ślokaḥ | karmaplutiḥ ^(śl. 20) karmaṇo niṣyandapha-
 lam || dharmadhātor acalitamānasattvād | [C] vākkāyanirdeśa-
 tas trayah || tatrotpādavigamān nityo ^(śl. 22) nirodhavigamād
 dhruvaḥ ^(śl. 22) śivo ^(śl. 22) dvayābhāvāt | śivatvaṃ ca dvayākal-
 *a, 10 pād iti vacanāt | kauśala ekaḥ | tatra manya*nābhāvaḥ ^(śl. 24)
 kliṣṭamanaḥparāvṛtṭyā | vikalpābhāvaḥ pravṛttivijñānapa-
 rāvṛtṭyā | iñjanābhāva ^(śl. 24) ālayaparāvṛtṭyā | sarveṣv apy
 avasthitārthatrayopasamhāradvāreṇa bhagavato guṇānām
 kīrtanena prasūtapuṇyasyāsyām bhuvi sattvānām prati-
 ṣṭhāpanāya pariṇāmanārthenaika uktaḥ | tatra praśasta-
 gamanād punarāvṛtṭyā ca sugataḥ ^(śl. 25) atarkyatvād alā-
 pyatvād āryajñānād acintyatety acintyaḥ [aprameyam]
 aprameyāśrayaparāvṛtṭyā vibhutvalābhāt | tathā hy asyām
 bhūmau nirantamahābodhisamudāgamaprayogasamādhiṣu
 vyavasthito bodhisattvo

*2, b, 1 nityojjvalitabuddhiś *ca kṛtyasampādane 'gnivat |
 śānta¹⁾ dhyānasamāpattisamāpannāś ca sarvadā |
 ity uktam²⁾ || iti dvitīyasya samāsārthaḥ ||

A c i n t y a s t a v a

idānīm tṛtīyām vihārāvasthām adhikṛtyāha | svābhā-
 viki syād yadi vastusiddhir udīrṇadīpetaraśāntisiddhivat
 tadā sarvakleśamaheśvarasya carato mohasya śāntiḥ³⁾ ka-
 tham | ataḥ sarvathā sarvadrṣṭiṇām prahāṇāya
pratītyajānām bhāvānām naiḥsvābhāvyaṃ jagāda ^(śl. 1) ya
 ityādy āha | tatra navamyām bodhisattva[bhūmau] prati-

1) Ms. ganta.

2) RG., Ch. I, v. 73.

3) On top.: hāni.

saṃvidvihāraḥ | iha bodhisattvas tenāpi vihāreṇa gabhī-
 reṇāsamtuṣṭa uttarijñānaviseṣatām anugacchan yaiś ¹⁾ ca
 dharmajñānābhisamskāraiḥ pareṣāṃ dharmāḥ sarvā *kāro *b, 2
 bodhisattvena deśayitavyo yac ca dharmākhyānakṛtyaṃ
 tat sarvaṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | tatredaṃ dharmasa-
 mākhyanakṛtyaṃ | gahanopavicāreṣu ye ca saṃkliśyante
 viśuddhyante yena ca saṃkliśyante viśuddhyante yac ca
 saṃkleṣavyavadānaṃ yā ca tasyānaikāntikatā yā ca tasyai-
 kāntikānaikāntikatā tasya yathābhūtajñānaṃ | evaṃ ca
 deśanākuśalasya deśanākṛtyakuśalasya ca yat sarvākāra-
 mahādharmabhāṇakatvam ityādi ²⁾ yathāsūtram eva vista-
 rato veditavyaṃ | asamajñānaṃ iti daśamyāṃ tathāgata-
 kṛtyenāvasthitatvād yathoktaṃ āryadaśabhūmake | *yāvad *b, 3
 daśānāṃ samādhyā ³⁾ saṃkhyeyaśatasahasraṇāṃ paryante
 “sarvajñajñānaviseṣābhiṣekavān nāma bodhisattvasamā-
 dhir āmukhībhavatītyādi ” ⁴⁾ | yad adhikṛtyoktaṃ |

“pūrvāvedhavaśāt sarvavikalpāpagamāc ca saḥ |
 na punaḥ kurute yatnaṃ paripākāya dehināṃ || 1
 yo yathā yena vaineyo manyate 'sau tathaiva ca |
 deśanārūpakāyābhyāṃ caryayeryāpathena vā || 2
 anābhogena tasyaivam avyāhatadhiyaḥ sadā |
 jagaty ākāśaparyante sattvārthaḥ sampravartate || 3
 etāṃ gatim anuprāpto bodhisattvas tathāgataiḥ |
 samatām eti lo *keṣu sattvasamptāraṇam prati || 4 *b, 4
 athā cāṇoḥ pṛthivyāś ca goṣpadasyodādheś ca yat |
 antaraṃ bodhisattvānāṃ buddhasya ca tad antaraṃ ⁵⁾ ” || 5
 iti

1) Ms. chanayais.

2) Cf. D b h . , p. 76-77, l. 1 ff.

3) Ms. samādhisam°.

4) D b h . , p. 82, l. 19 ff.

5) RG., Ch. 1, vv. 74-78.

acintyaṃ ^(sl. 1) iti yathoktaṃ “ sa khalu, bho jinaputra,
 bodhisattva evaṃ imāṃ bhūmim anugato 'cintyaṃ ca
 nāma bodhisattvavimokṣaṃ pratilabhate 'nāvaraṇaṃ
 cetyādi ” ¹⁾ | vāggocarātītatareṣu vācāṃ agocarair eva
 ca | piṇḍiteṣu rajāṃsi yāvanti guṇā daśamyāṃ bhavanti
 tāvanta ihāsyā tāvad ity anidarśanam uktaṃ bhagava-
 tyāṃ niṣṭhāgamanabhūmivyavasthitabodhisattvagūṇanir-
 *b, 5 deśe | māyā*maricigandharvadaka²⁾candrasvapnapratibhā-
 sapratiśrutkāpratibimbanirmāṇopamadharmādhimukter iti
 drṣṭāntāṣṭakenāṣṭāni lakṣaṇāni sūcitāni ³⁾ | tad yathā sū-
 nyatālakṣaṇam animittalakṣaṇam apraṇihitalakṣaṇam niḥ-
 svabhāvalakṣaṇam pratītyasamutpādalakṣaṇam parikalpi-
 talakṣaṇam paratantralakṣaṇam ⁴⁾ ca | tatra ṣaḍbhiḥ ṣaḍ-
 bhis tribhir deśanākṛtyārthabhedena yathākramaṃ trīṇi
 lakṣaṇāny uktāni | ekenaiṣāṃ eva trayāṇāṃ upasaṃhāraḥ
 ṣaḍbhiḥ saptabhiḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ saptabhiḥ ca śeṣāni boddhavyāni |
 *b, 6 iti māyā*didrṣṭāntair ityādi saptabhiḥ ślokaḥ yathākramaṃ
 guṇakathanamukhena sarveṣāṃ upasaṃhāraḥ | kām apy
 acintyāṃ paramagambhirāvasthāṃ prāptatvād asya viḥa-
 rasyeti bhavaddrṣā eva bhavantaṃ janayantīti pratipāda-
 nāyaikaḥ || asyāṃ eva bhuvī sattvānāṃ pratiṣṭhāpanāya
 puṇyapariṇāmanam ity anyah || || ⁵⁾

trītyasya samāsārthah || ||

1) Dbh., p. 88, l. 1 ff.

2) Ms. vadagacandra.

3) Śatasāhasrikā, p. 1209.

4) Viz. the eighth lakṣaṇa is missing.

5) But the number of ślokaḥ so commented upon would then be: 1, 6, 6, 3, 1, 6, 7, 6, 7, 7, 1, 1, viz. 52 not 57 as in the Tib. translation.

P a r a m ā r t h a s t a v a

phalāvasthām ārabhya sarva evānāśravā dharmāḥ sar-
 vaprakārām anuttarām viśuddhim upagatavantah saṃbud-
 dhākhyām pratilabhante | teṣām hetvavasthāyām eva tā-
 vad aśūnya*tā prāg eva phalāvasthāyām ity āha || ka- *b, 7
 tham stoṣyāmi te nāthetyādi ^(śl. 1) | anutpannam anāla-
yam ^(śl. 1) iti anutpannasvabhāvene ^(śl. 3) tyāder yāvad
gambhīrāya namo 'stu ta ^(śl. 8) ity etadantasya sūcanam ||
 vāk ¹⁾ vācām panthās ca saṃkalpaḥ | tayor atīto gocaro
 yena | tathā coktam acintyam anidarśanam iti | tathā-
 pītyādinā ^(śl. 2, 3) saṃvṛtyā parihāraḥ | abhimukhyāḥ pra-
 bhṛti viśeṣataḥ pratilabdhānām anutpādādinām niratiśayā-
 rthena pañca ^(śl. 4-8) | tasyāḥ ²⁾ prabhṛti nirodhalābhād āvara-
 nadvayavāsanāśeṣasyāpy abhāvāt paramagāmbhīryārthe-
 naikah | evam stute stuto bhūyās ³⁾ ^(śl. 9) sa*mvṛtyeti śeṣah *b, 8
athavā kiṃ bata stutaḥ ^(śl. 9) paramārthena | kiṃśabda ākṣepe
 bataśabdo 'vadhāraṇeneva cety arthaḥ | tam eva pratipā-
 dayati stutyetyādi | idānīm saṃvṛtyāpi stuter asam-
 bhavam pratipādayann āha | kas tvām śaknoti saṃsto-
tum ityādi ^(śl. 10) | utpādavyayavarjito bhagavān | stotā
cotpādavyayayuktaḥ | anādyantamadhyo bhagavān | sa ca
trikāṇḍapratītyasamutpādasamgr̥hītaḥ | grāhakagrāhyanir-
mukto bhagavān sa ca grāhake grāhye ca caratīti | saṃvṛ-
tyāpi bhūtaguṇākhyānarūpāyāḥ stuter asaṃbhavaḥ | acin-
tyapratītyasamutpādadharmatayā saty advaye 'pi prakṛter
abhāvād iti || svabhāvapariśuddhyadhimuktyāpi *vastuno *b, 9

1) Doubtful.

2) Read: -aṣṭamyāḥ.

3) In my edition wrongly: bhūyād.

'nupalambhena pravṛttas tu mahāphala iti | mahān asaṃ-
bhavo bhavatīti pratyetyam || sugatapadaprāpaṇāya
puṇyapariṇāmanārthenaikāḥ ^(śl. 11) || etāvantam evārtham
adhikṛtyābhisamayakramāḥ prajñāpāramitādiṣu vistare-
ṇokto boddhavyaḥ || || iti caturthasya samāsārthaḥ || ||
catuḥstavasamāsārthaḥ paṇḍitāmṛtākarasyeti || ||

SECTION V

**HETUTATTVOPADEŚA OF JITĀRI
AND TARKASOPĀNA OF VIDYĀKARANŚĀNTI**

The first of the following logical texts is an edition of the *H e t u t a t t v o p a d e ś a* by Jitāri; it is based upon a palm-leaf manuscript with which I was presented along with other manuscripts by the abbot of Kongdkardzong (dGoñ dkar rdsoñ) on the southern bank of the Tsangpo (gTsañ po) on the occasion of a visit to that monastery ¹⁾.

The *H e t u t a t t v o p a d e ś a* is preserved also in the *bsTan agyur*, mDo, CXII, 24 (Cordier, *Cat.*, III, mDo ḥgrel, p. 454, CXII, n. 24, Tōhoku *Cat.*, n. 4261). The Tibetan text was edited with a restoration into Sanskrit by Durgacharan Chattopadhyaya (*H e t u t a t t v o p a d e ś a* of Jitāri, reconstructed Sanskrit text with the Tibetan version, University of Calcutta, 1939). I must say that the reconstruction does not compare too badly with the Sanskrit original. Jitāri is a well known author. His activity was manysided; he commented upon *T a n t r a s*, wrote *S ā d h a n a s* and treatises on logic like the one here published and the *J ā t i n i r ā k ṛ t i* which I discovered some years ago in Nepal and edited in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XI, pp. 54-58. Other works by him on logical topics are the *D h a r m a d h a r m i v i n i ś c a y a*, mDo, Že, Tōhoku *Cat.*, 4262, Cordier, *Cat.*, mDo ḥgrel, CXII, n. 25 and *B ā l ā v a t ā r a t a r k a*, (Tōhoku *Cat.*, 4263, Cordier, *Cat.*, *ibid.*, CXII, n. 26, p. 455).

1) G. TUCCI, *A Lhasa e oltre*, Roma 1949, p. 120.

The spelling of the name of our author in modern works is usually Jetāri: so in S. Ch. Vidyabhusana's, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 337, *The History of Bengal*, ed. by R. C. Majumdar, p. 334; Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana in *Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet*, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XXI, 1935, part I, p. 41 (but *ibid.*, vol. XXXIII, part I, p. 55 and 56, Jitāri and in V ā d a n y ā y a , Sarnath, 1936, Appendix, p. XII). But it appears that this spelling is based upon the Tibetan texts which contain some information about the writer and on the colophons of the bsTan aḡyur as well.

On the other hand, it is an established fact that in the colophons of the two extant Sanskrit originals of his works, the name is spelt Jitāri: (in Tib. d g r a l a s r n a m r g y a l) which is certainly the right form. In fact Jitāri (cf. Jitāmitra epithet of Viṣṇu) is a title of the Buddha himself (T r i k ā ṇ ḍ a ś e ṣ a , I, 8) and therefore a name quite appropriate for a Buddhist ¹⁾.

Our sources of information regarding Jitāri are chiefly T ā r a n ā t h a and S u m p a m k ' a n p o . In S u m p a m k ' a n p o there are two references to Jitāri, one at p. 112 and another at p. 116. In the first quotation he is said to have been a disciple of dPaḡsde (Śrīseṇa) and the master of Byaṅ c'ub skal ldan who after having received from Jitāri the initiation in the mysteries of aJam dpal ži k'ro was rebaptised as sGeg pai rdo rje (Lilāvajra not Lavaṅyavajra as in the *History of Bengal*, edited by R. C. Majumdar, vol. I, p. 334). This is said to have been a contemporary of Rāmapāla (? in the edition of the text Rā sa pa la; or Rājyapāla?). At

¹⁾ DURGACHARAN, *Chattopadhyāya*, op. cit. also prefers this form on the basis of the colophon of J ā t i n i r ā k ṛ t i .

p. 116 the story of Jitāri is told (the same as that which is narrated by Tāranātha, Schiefner's transl., p. 230 ff.). He was the son of a Brahmin called Sñiñ poi žabs, (Garbhapāda) and was born at the time of King Sanātana of Varendra: he obtained many realizations and then, (p ' y i s s u) at the time of Mahāpāla he was given the diploma (p a t r a , text: s a t r a) conferring upon him power over Virkṣapuri (Vṛkṣapuri ?) and Vikramaśīlā.

He was called Jitāri c'en po, Mahājītāri. During his lifetime Atīśa was born. Jitāri is said to have been (*ibid.*, p. 117) the custodian of the Northern door (b y a ṅ s g o s r u ṅ) of Nālandā, and the master of Atīśa when the latter was still a boy. (S. Ch. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 50).

For these reasons some writers (R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 334 and implicitly S. Ch. Das in his edition of Sum pa mk'an po's history, p. CXVII, and CXVIII) surmise that there are two Jitāri: a Jitāri and a Mahājītāri, the younger being chiefly a tantric author.

Therefore from this tradition handed down by Sum pa mk'an po, but certainly based upon Indian sources (whether oral or written it is difficult to say) the following data can be gathered:

- A. Jitāri disciple of dPal sde, master of Līlāvajra who was a contemporary of Rā sa pāla (Rājyapāla?, Rāmapāla?)
- B. Jitāri was honoured by Mahāpāla and was master of Atīśa when he was a boy.

The first is only an indirect reference to Jitāri since mention of him is made when the story of Līlāvajra is narrated.

We know from *bK a' babs bdun ldan* of Tāra-nātha (Grünwedel, *Edelsteinmine*, pp. 88) and the *Blue Annals* (Roerich I, p. 367) that sGeg pa rdo rje said to be a master of Jitāri, was also the master of Buddhaśrījnāna, a pupil of Haribhadra; Haribhadra at the time of Dharmapāla wrote his famous comm. on AA. The fact that Jitāri was one of the first teachers of Atīśa is told by the same source referred to above (and *Blue Annals*, Roerich, p. 243). So it appears that between Jitāri, pupil of sGeg pa rdo rje, who was the master of Buddhaśrījnāna and a contemporary of Haribhadra (IX century) and Jitāri, the master of Atīśa (who arrived in Tibet in 1042) wide an interval occurs; it is therefore impossible to admit that one and the same person was the pupil of Līlāvajra and the master of Atīśa: this incongruity led the Tibetan authors to distinguish between an elder and a younger Jitāri: the thing is not impossible, but it is also probable that either Jitāri's being the pupil of Līlāvajra or his being a master of Atīśa is a blunder of the source upon which later tradition was founded. It may also be that Rāsapāla of Sum pa mk'an po is a mistake for Rājyapāla (about 908) in which case sGeg pai rdorje may not be Līlāvajra.

The *H e t u t t a t v o p a d e ś a* starts with the introductory verse of the *N y ā y a p r a v e ś a* and follows the scheme of that famous work to such an extent that some sentences of *NP.* have been quoted verbatim (in the following edition they are underlined).

As to the second treatise, the *T a r k a s o p ā n a*, it is attributed, in the colophon, to Vidyākaraśānti. In the *bsTan aḡyur*, to my knowledge, there is no trace of this book and no mention of its author, provided he is not the same as Vidyākaraśimha, Vidyākaraśiddha, an Indian

translator, who worked in Tibet. We know of Vidyākara, as the author of the anthology *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* a part of which was published by F. W. Thomas under the name of *Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya*. (Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1912); of this work a manuscript is preserved in the Nōr monastery and it was there photographed by Rāhula Sāṃkrtyāyana and myself¹). But there is no reason for considering the two to be identical. The *Tarkasopāna* is divided into three chapters, the first dealing with direct perception, *pratyakṣa*, the second with *svārthānumāna*, inference for one's own sake, and the third with *parārthānumāna*, inference for another's sake. Our text follows closely the *NB.* and *NBT.* of which it reproduces literally a very large part. The author briefly comments upon the famous treatise of Dharmakīrti, of which it can be said to be a partial re-edition, and also very often copies verbatim from Dharmottara. The dependence of *Vidyākaraśānti* on *Dharmakīrti* and *Dhamottara* is far greater in the last chapter dealing with *parārthānumāna* than in the first two. Very often the original contribution of our author is limited to a few lines. I have shown this dependence underlining with a double line the portions copied from *NB.* and with a single line those of *NBT.*

But this does not exclude, as I said, that *Vidyākaraśānti* had also a knowledge of *TB.* as can be seen from some occasional similarities with that text.

¹ My copy has been lent to Prof. Kosambi who together with Dr. V. V. Gokhale is preparing an edition of the anthology. Cf. DANIEL H. H. INGALLS, *A Sanskrit Poetry of village and field; Yogeśvara and his fellow poets.* *JAOS.*, vol. 74, 1954, p. 119.

In the first chapter quotations from other works are found and are meant specially to explain the view of the *pūrvapakṣa*, viz. of different schools of thought.

The dependence of our booklets on the previous masters of Logic is therefore clear: with this difference between the two, that Jitāri follows closely *NP.* while Vidyākaraśānti's models are Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara. But even Jitāri in some cases does not ignore the development which took place in logical researches after Dinnāga and his followers, as can be seen by comparing his list of logical errors with that of *NP.*

The importance of these two booklets is therefore rather scanty, the things with which they concisely deal being known from larger works of more famous authors. Still, they are interesting in so far as they gave inspiration, along with *NP.*, *NB.*, *Hetubindu* and similar treatises to the Tibetan logicians and became the model upon which the monks of the Land of Snows based their manuals of *mts'anñid*. The purpose of these manuals was not epistemological: they were meant to be text-books for students and handy vademecums of eristic, easy to be memorised, for the benefit of the pupils eager to be acquainted with the essentials of dialectics required in debates.

Both manuscripts are in Vartulā script.

P A K Ṣ Ā B H Ā S A

NP.	NB.; NBT.	NMu. (P V.)	HTU.	TS.
1. pratyakṣaviruddha.	1. id.	id.	1. id.	
2. anumānav.	2. id.	id.	2. id.	
3. āgamav.		id.	deest [pratīviruddha]	
4. lokav.	3. (pratīviruddha).	prasiddhiv.	3 / lokav.; pratīvir. 4)	
5. svacanav.	4. id.	id.	5. id.	
6. aprasiddhaviśeṣaṇa			6. id.	
7. aprasiddhaviśeṣya			7. id.	
8. aprasiddhobhaya			8. id.	
9. prasiddhasambandha			deest.	

H E T V - Ā B H Ā S A

N P.	N B.	N M u. (P V.)	H T U.	T S.
A) ASIDDHA			Id.	
1. ubhayāsiddha	id.	id. (as NP.)	1. id.	
2. anyatarāsiddha	{ id. prativādy-as. id. vādy-as.	id.	2. prativādyasiddha 3-4. vādyasiddha	
3. saṃdigdhāsiddha	id. svayaṃ tadāśra- yaṇasya saṃdehe 'siddha	id.	5. prativādyasiddha	
4. āśrayāsiddha	dharmyasiddhāu as.	id.	6. - 7. pakṣaikadeśā- siddha } prativā- dinaḥ, vādinaḥ } 8. saṃdigdhāsiddha 9. dharmi-saṃdehe 'siddha 10. dharmyasiddhāv ¹⁾ asiddha	as NB.

¹⁾ In reality they can be reduced to 5 only; *asiddha*, two cases: *vādin* and *prativādin*; *pakṣaikadeśāsiddha*, two cases *vādin*, *prativādin*; *saṃdigdha*, *dharmisaṃdehe 'siddha*, *dharmyasiddhāv asiddha*.

N P.	N B.	N Mu. (P V.)	H T U.	T S.
B) ANAIKĀNTIKA			I D	
1. sādharma	id.	id. (as NP.)	1. id. as NP.	
2. asādharma	sapakṣavipakṣayoḥ	id.	2. id. as NP.	
3. sapakṣaikadeśavṛttir vipakṣavyāpin	id. (sarvatraikadeśe vā vartamāṇa tathā saṃdehe 'pi)	id.	3. id. as NP.	
4. vipakṣaikadeśavṛtṭiḥ sapakṣavyāpin		id.	4. id. as NP.	as NB.
5. ubhayapakṣaikade- śavṛtṭiḥ		id.	5. id. as NP.	
6. viruddhāvyabhicārin	refuted by NB.	id.	refuted by Jitāri, p. 11	
			6. saṃdigdhavipakṣavyāvṛtti- kaḥ sapakṣavyāpin	

N P.	N B.	N M u. (P V.)	H T U.	T S.
<p>C) VIRUDDHA</p> <p>1. dharmasvarūpavi- parītasādhana.</p> <p>2. dharmaviśeṣavipari- tasā.</p> <p>3. dharmisvarūpavip. sā.</p> <p>4. dharmiviśeṣavip. sā.</p>			<p>7. saṃdigdhasapakṣavṛtti, vi- pakṣavyāpin</p> <p>8-9. saṃdigdhānvayavyatireka:</p> <p>a) kevalānvayin</p> <p>b) kevalavyatirekin</p> <p>Id.</p> <p>1-2. id. $\left. \begin{matrix} a) \\ as \\ NP. \end{matrix} \right\} b)$</p> <p>3. id.</p> <p>4. id.</p> <p>5. id.</p>	
	<p>1. sapakṣe 'sattva</p> <p>2. vipakṣe sattva</p>	<p>id.</p> <p>id.</p> <p>id. (present in all or in some ne- gative in- stance)</p>		

DRṢṬĀNTĀBHĀSA

N P.	N B.	N Mu. (P V.)	H T U.	T S.
A) SĀDHĀRMYEṆA			I	
1. sādhanadharmā-siddha	id. (vikala for asid-dha)		1. id. (sādhanavikala)	id.
2. sādhya°	id.		2. id. (sādhyavikala)	id.
3. ubhaya°	id.		3. id. (sādhyasādhanobhayavikala)	id.
			II	
4. ananvaya	saṃdigdhasādhyadharma		4. saṃdigdhasādhyadharma	id.
	saṃdigdhasādhanadharma		5. saṃdigdhasādhanadharma	id.
	saṃdigdhobhayadharma		6. saṃdigdhobhayadharma	id.
			III	
5. viparītānvaya	ananvaya		7. ananvaya	id.

N P.	N B.	N Mu. (P V.)	H T U.	T S.
<p>B) VAIDHĀRMYEṆA</p> <p>1. sādhyāvyāvṛtta</p> <p>2. sadhanāo</p> <p>3. ubhayāo</p> <p>4. avyatiṛeka</p> <p>5. viparītavyatireka</p>	<p>apradarśitānvaya</p>		<p>8. apradarśitānvaya</p> <p>9. viparītānvaya</p> <p>I</p> <p>1. (sādhyāvyatirekin)</p> <p>2. (sādhanaṅvayao)</p> <p>3. ubhayāvyāvṛtta</p> <p>II</p> <p>4. saṁdigdhasādhyavyatirekin</p> <p>5. saṁdigdhasādhana vyatirekin</p> <p>6. saṁdigdhobhaya vyatirekin</p> <p>III</p> <p>7. avyatireka</p> <p>8. apradarśitavyatireka</p> <p>9. viparītavyatireka.</p>	<p>id.</p>

1.

HETUTATTVOPADEŚA OF JITĀRI

1. sādhanaṃ dūṣaṇaṃ caiva sābhāsaṃ parasamvide |
pratyakṣam anumānaṃ ca sābhāsaṃ tv ātmasamvide¹⁾ ||
iti śāstrārthasaṃgrahaḥ ||
2. vādinā svayaṃ sādhayitum iṣṭo 'rthaḥ sādhyah | sā-
dhyate yena tat sādhanam |
3. hetos trirūpavacanam | kāni punas tāni trīṇi rūpāṇi |
pakṣe sattvam evety ekaṃ rūpam | sapakṣa eva sat-
tvam iti dvitīyaṃ rūpam | vipakṣe cāsattvam eva niś-
citam iti tṛtīyam ||
4. tatra pakṣaḥ prasiddho dharmī *prasiddheṇa viśeṣeṇa^{*1, 2}
viśiṣṭaḥ svayaṃ sādhayitum iṣṭaḥ pratyakṣādyavirud-
dhaḥ | yathā śabdo dharmī anityatvena viśeṣeṇa vi-
śiṣṭaḥ sādhyate kṛtakatvād iti hetuḥ ||
5. kaḥ sapakṣaḥ | sādhyadharmeṇa sāmānyena samānaḥ
sapakṣo yathā ghaṭādir iti ||
6. ko vā hetor vipakṣaḥ | yatra sādhyābhāvena hetor
abhāvo niyamena kathyate | yathākāśādir iti ||
7. etad eva ca hetos trirūpavacanam para*pratyāyanāya^{*3}
prayujyamānaṃ parārtham anumānam ucyate | yathā
anityaḥ śabda iti pakṣavacanam kṛtakatvād iti hetu-
vacanam | ghaṭādivad iti sapakṣavacanam | akāśavad
iti vipakṣavacanam ||
8. tat punar dvividhaṃ dṛṣṭam | sādharmaṇa vaidhar-
myeṇa ca |

¹⁾ Introductory stanza of *NP.*; all underlined passages correspond literally or with small variations to the text of *NP.*

9. tatra sādharṃyeṇa tāvat | yat kṛtakam tat sarvam
anityam dr̥ṣṭam | yathā ghaṭādiḥ | kṛtakaś ca śabda
iti ||
10. vaidharṃyeṇa punaḥ | asaty anityatve na bhavaty
*4 eva kṛtaka*tvam yathākāśāda¹⁾ | śabdā tu kṛtaka iti ||
11. kaḥ punaḥ pakṣābhāsaḥ | yaḥ pakṣa ivābhāsate | na
tu sākṣāt pakṣo bhavati | pratyakṣādibhir bādhitatvāt ||
12. sa tu pakṣābhāsaḥ | yathā dhūmādir dharmi²⁾ buddhi-
matā hetunā janyata iti sādhye | pratyakṣaviruddhaḥ
pakṣābhāsaḥ | pratyakṣeṇa vahnijanyasya dhūmasya
darśanāt ||
13. anumānaviruddho yathā | vedavākyaṃ dharmy apau-
*5 ruṣeyam iti sādhye | prayatnā*nantariyakatve śabdasya
pauruṣeyatvasya prasādhanāt ||
14. svavacanaviruddho yathā | nānumānaṃ pramāṇam iti
parapratipādanāya vacanam uccārya³⁾mānaṃ parār-
tham anumānam ity uktatvāt ||
15. lokaviruddho yathā | śuci naraśiraḥkapālaṃ prāṇyañ-
gatvāc chaṅkhaśuktivat ||
16. pratīviruddho yathā | kiyatkālasthāyī kṛtako 'nitya
6 iti | kiyatkālasthāyino 'pi kṛtakāḥ sarve ni*tyā iti lo-
kapratīteḥ ||
17. aprasiddhaviśeṣaṇo yathā | vaiśeṣikasya⁴⁾ sāṃkhyam
prati vināśi śabda iti sādhye ||
18. aprasiddhaviśeṣyo yathā | sāṃkhyasya bauddham prati
ātmā cetana iti sādhyataḥ ||
19. ubhayāprasiddho yathā | vaiśeṣikasya bauddham prati
[sukhādi]samavāyikāraṇam ātmeti.

1) Ms. yathāka°.

2) Ms. dharmyo.

3) Ms. °yām°.

4) NP.: bauddhasya sāṃkhyam.

|| [prasiddhasambandho] yathā vāyur asthirasva-
bhāva iti ||

20. uktāḥ pakṣābhāsaḥ || o ||

21. hetvābhāsaḥ kiḍṛśaḥ* | yo hetur ivābhāsaḥ | na punaḥ *2, a, 1
siddho hetur iti ||

22. hetvābhāso 'siddho viruddho 'naikāntikaś ceti tripra-
kāraḥ ||

23. tatra pakṣe 'siddhatvād asiddhasamjñako hetvābhāsaḥ |

24. pakṣasapakṣayor nāsti | vipakṣa evāsti sa viruddha-
samjñako hetvābhāsaḥ | sādhyaviparyayasādhanāt ||

25. tatra yo hetuḥ sapakṣavipakṣayor ubhayatrāsti nāsti
vā samdihyate | aprasiddhasambandho vā so 'naikān-
ti*kasamjñako hetvābhāsaḥ | vādināḥ prativādinō vā *2
sādhayitum iṣṭasyaikāntasyāsādhanāt ||

26. ubhayāsiddhaḥ¹⁾, tadyathā śabda²⁾syānityatve sādhye
cākṣuṣatvaṃ hetuḥ vādiprativādinor asiddhaḥ ||

27. cetanās tarava iti sādhye sarvatvagapaharaṇe mara-
ṇād iti hetuḥ prativādinō bauddhasyāsiddha iti pra-
tivādyasiddhaḥ | caitanyādinirodhasya bauddhenopa-
gamāt ||

28. aceta*nāḥ sukhādaya iti sādhye | utpattimattvād iti *3
hetuḥ svayaṃ vādināḥ sāmkyasyāsiddhaḥ | iti vā-
dyasiddha iti ||

29. vaiśeṣikasya bauddhaṃ prati kṣam³⁾ādikaṃ dharmī
kāryam iti sādhyataḥ pratikṣaṇaṃ sadṛśāparāparot-
patter iti⁴⁾ svayaṃ vādinō 'siddhaḥ | utpattau siddhā-
yām api pratikṣaṇasadrśāparāparotpattir ity asiddhaḥ⁵⁾ ||

1) Ms. tadyathā/ubhayāsiddhaḥ.

2) Ms. sabda.

3) Ms. kṣamikādikam.

4) Ms. utpattir.

5) Ms. iti siddhaḥ.

- *4 30. pakṣaikadeśāsiddho yathā | cetanās taravaḥ *svāpād iti hetuḥ | digambarasya svayaṃ vādināḥ pakṣaikadeśāsiddhaḥ | na hi sarve vṛkṣā rātrau patrasaṃkocabhājaḥ ||
31. tathā pṛthivyādikam dharmī buddhimaddhetujanyam iti sādhye kāryatvād iti hetur bauddham pratyasiddhaḥ | pratyakṣānupalambhanibandhano hi kāryakāraṇabhāvo bauddhasya pṛthivyādau na siddhaḥ || vihārāhārādiṣu siddham cet tadā pakṣaikadeśāsiddhaḥ ||
- *5 32. saṃdigdhāsi*ddho yathā | yady ayam dhūmo 'gnir atreti sādhye hetor evānīścayāt ||
33. dharmisaṃdehe 'py asiddho yathā | iha bahuṣu nikuñjeṣu kvacid ekasmin nikuñje mayūra iti sādhye kekāyikād iti hetuḥ ||
34. dharmyasiddhāv apy asiddho yathā | ātmā dharmī sarvagata iti sādhye sarvatropalabhyamānagunaṭvād iti hetuḥ ||
35. daśaite 'siddhasaṃjñakā hetvābhāsāḥ ||
- *6 36. || anaikā*ntiko hetvābhāsāḥ kīdrśa ucyate ||
37. yathā śabdasya nityatvādike dharme ¹⁾ sādhye prameyatvaṃ hetuḥ sapakṣvipakṣayoḥ ²⁾ sarvatra vartamānaḥ sādharmaṇānaikāntikaḥ ||
38. tathā śabdasya nityatve śrāvaṇatvaṃ hetuḥ sapakṣvipakṣayor apravartamānāt | asādharmaṇānaikāntikaḥ ||
39. tathā śabdasyāprayatnānantariyakatve sādhye 'nityatvād iti hetuḥ | sapakṣai*kadeśavṛttir vipakṣavyāpy aṇaikāntikaḥ || aprayatnānantariya[ka]ḥ śabdasya vidyudākāśādiḥ sapakṣaḥ tatraikadeśe vidyudādau vartate 'nityatvaṃ nākāśādau | prayatnāntariyakaḥ punaḥ sarvo ghaṭādir vipakṣaḥ | tatra sarvatra vartate ||

*b, 1

1) Ms. dharmye.

2) Ms. "vi" written below.

40. tathā prayatnānantariyakatve śabdasya sādhye 'nityatvaṃ hetuḥ ghaṭādaṃ sarvatra vidyate | aprayatnānantariyakaḥ punar vidyudakāśādir vipakṣaḥ | tatraika*deśe vidyudādaṃ vartate nakāśādaṃ | tasmād ayaṃ vipakṣaikadeśavṛttiḥ sapakṣavyāpī hetur anaikāntikaḥ || *2
41. ubhayapakṣaikadeśavṛttir anaikāntiko yathā | śabde¹⁾ dharmiṇi nityatve sādhye 'mūrtatvād iti hetuḥ | paramāṇvākāśādiḥ sapakṣo'sya | tatraikadeśe 'mūrtatvam ākāśe pravartate na paramāṇau mūrtatvāt paramāṇūnam | ghaṭasukhādir anityo vipakṣaḥ | tatraikadeśe sukhādaṃ vi*dyate na ghaṭādaṃ || *3
42. tathā saṃdigdhavipakṣavyāvṛttikaḥ²⁾ sapakṣavyāpī hetur anaikāntiko yathā | kapilādiddharmy asarvajña iti sādhye vakṛtvād iti hetuḥ | rathyāpuruṣādaṃ sapakṣe 'sti | vipakṣe sarvajñe³⁾ saṃdigdhaḥ | sarvajñasyātindriyatvād vacanam asti na veti saṃdigdham ||
43. tathā saṃdigdhasapakṣavṛttir vipakṣavyāpī hetur anaikāntiko yathā | ṛṣabhavardhāmānādidharmī sarvajña iti *sādhye kevaliśāstrakaraṇād iti hetuḥ sapakṣe sarvajñe saṃdigdhaḥ | sarvajñasyātindriyatvāt kevaliśāstrakaraṇaṃ saṃdigdham | vipakṣe varāhamihirādāv⁴⁾ asarvajñe vidyate || *4
44. saṃdigdhānvayavyatirekahetur anaikāntiko yathā sātmake jīvaccharīraṃ prāṇādimmattvād iti hetuḥ | jīvaccharīrasaṃbandhī prāṇādir na sātmake [anātmake]⁵⁾ vā pravṛtto nivṛtto veti niścīyate ||

1) Ms. sabdo.

2) Ms. °kṣavṛttikasapa.

3) Ms. sarvajña.

4) Ms. °mahīṣā° Tib: pa ra ha daṃ ma ha re which shows that the Tib. translator did not understand the original.

5) Ms. nasātmake only.

- 5* 45. tataḥ kevalānvayī hetur dṛṣṭāntābhā*vat ||
46. tathā dvitīyo 'pi kevalavyatirekī nedam nirātmakam
jīvaccharīra[m] aprāṇādimattvaprasaṅgād iti | dṛṣṭān-
tābhāvād eva nānvayaniścayo nāpi vyatirekaniścaya
iti saṃśayahetuḥ ||
47. uktā nava¹⁾ete 'naikāntikasamjñakā hetvābhāsāḥ ||
48. viruddhasamjñako hetvābhāsāḥ kīdrśāḥ ||
49. yathā śabdo dharmī nitya iti sādhyo dharmāḥ kṛta-
katvād ākāśādivat | ayam hetur ghaṭādu²⁾ vipakṣa
*6 evā*sti na sapakṣe ||
50. tathā śabdo dharmī nitya iti sādhye prayatnānta-
riyakatvād iti hetur ākāśādu sapakṣe nāsty eva | vi-
pakṣaikadeśe ghaṭādu vidyate na vidyudādu || etau
dvau hetū dharmasvarūpaviparītasādhanau ||
51. dharmā[viśeśa]³⁾viparītasādhano yathā | cakṣurādaya iti
dharmī parārthā iti sādhyo dharmāḥ saṃghatavād iti
hetuḥ | mañcapīṭhādivad iti sapakṣavacanam | ayam tu
*7 hetur yathā *cakṣurādīnām pārārthyam sādhayati | tathā
saṃghātavam parasya sādhayati | mañcapīṭhādīnām
saṃghātasya devadattādeḥ parasyopakāradarśanāt ||
- b,1 52. dharmisvarūpaviparītasādhano yathā | pṛthivyā*dir
dharmī buddhimaddhetujanya iti sādhye sāśrayatvād
iti hetuḥ | ghaṭādivad iti sapakṣavacanam | ayam he-
tur yathā buddhimaddhetujanyatvam sādhayati tathā
buddhimataḥ kartuḥ sāśrayatvam api sādhayati ||
53. dharmi⁴⁾viśeśaviparītasādhano yathā | vaiśeṣikasya mī-
*2 māmśa[ka]ṃ praty *ātmā dharmī cetayata iti sādhye

1) Ms. nava Tib. bcu po = daśa. The difference between T. and Ms. con-
sists in the fact that kevalānvayin and kevalavyatirekin
are considered two cases of saṃdigdhānvayavyatirekin.

2) Ms. hetughaṭā°.

3) Ms. rmavisatha?

4) Ms. dharmī.

cetanādhiṣṭhānatvād iti hetur ātmano 'cetanasya yathā
caitanyam sādhayati | tathā hetur ayam anityatvam
api sādhayati | anityatvād vijñānasya ||

54. uktāḥ pañcaite viruddhasaṃjñakā hetvābhāsāḥ ||

55. viruddhāvyabhicārī nāma na kaścīd dhetudoṣo 'stīti na
tasyodāharaṇam yuktam | tatrodāharaṇam | yat sar-
vadeśāvasthitaiḥ svayaṃ ca svasaṃ*bandhibhir yuga- *3
pad abhisambadhyate tat sarvagatam | yathākāśam
iti | abhisambadhyate ca sarvadeśāvasthitaiḥ svasaṃ-
bandhibhir¹⁾ yugapat sāmānyam iti pailukasya sva-
bhāvahetuprayogaḥ || dviṭiyo 'pi prayogaḥ paṭhara-
sya | yad upalabdhilakṣaṇaprāptam yatra nopalabhyate
na tatrāsti | tad yathā kvacid avidyamāno ghaṭaḥ | no-
pal²⁾abhyate copalabdhilakṣaṇaprāptam sāmānyam
vyaktyanta*rāleṣv iti || anupalambho hetuḥ pūrvoktaś ca *4
svabhāvaḥ parasparaṃ bādhyataḥ | saṃśayajananāt |
56. na sapakṣād anyo dr̥ṣṭānto nāma kaścīd iti sapakṣa
eva sādharṃyadr̥ṣṭāntaḥ || tatra dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsāḥ kī-
dr̥śāḥ |

57. sādharṃyeṇa tāvat |

58. nityaḥ śabdo 'mūrtatvāt karmavat | sādhyavikalāḥ
karmaṇo 'nityatvāt ||

59. nityaḥ śabdo 'mūrtatvāt paramāṇuvat³⁾ | sādhanavi-
kalāḥ *paramāṇūnām mūrtatvāt || *5

60. nityaḥ śabdo 'mūrtatvād ghaṭavad | sādhyasādhanob-
bhayavikalāḥ ||

61. tathā saṃdigdhasādhyadharmā⁴⁾ dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsāḥ | ka-
ścit puruṣo dharmī rāgādīmān vacanāt | rathyāpuru-

1) Ms. dhibi yuga.

2) Ms. ghaṭenopa°.

3) Ms. pāramārthavat.

4) Ms. dharme.

ṣavat | tatra dr̥ṣṭānte rathyāpuruṣe rāgādimattvaṃ
saṃdigdhaḥ paracetovṛttināṃ duranvayatvāt ||

- *6 62. saṃdigdhasādhanadharmā yathā | kaścit puruṣo mara-
ṇadharmā iti sādhye rāgādimattvād it*ⁱ hetuḥ | rathyā-
puruṣe dr̥ṣṭānte saṃdigdhaḥ | vītarāgo 'pi rāgīva ce-
ṣṭate yataḥ ||
63. saṃdigdhobhayadharmā dr̥ṣṭāntābhāso yathā kaścit
puruṣo dharmī asarvajña iti sādhye rāgādimattvād
iti hetuḥ | rathyāpuruṣe dr̥ṣṭānte sādhyam sādhanam
saṃdigdham ||
64. ananvayo 'pradarśitānvayo viparītānvayaś¹⁾ ca dr̥ṣṭān-
tābhāsāḥ ||
- *7 65. tatrānanvayo yathā | yo vaktā sa rāgādimān rathyā-
puruṣavat* | vakṛtvarāgādimattvayoḥ kāryakāraṇa-
bhāvapratiṣedhāt ||
66. apradarśitānvayo yathā | anityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakatvād
iti | atra vidyamāno 'py anvayo vyāptyā na darśita²⁾
iti | vakṛdoṣād ayam dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsāḥ ||
- *3, b, 1 67. viparītānvayo yathā | yad anityam tat kṛtakam gha-
tādivad ity atrānityatvam sādhyam | sādhyenaiva sā-
dhanam vyāptam kathanīyam | na tu³⁾ sādhanena
vyāptam sādhyam kathyate | a*⁴⁾tha⁴⁾ viparītānvayo
dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsāḥ ||
68. uktā navaite sādharmyeṇa dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsāḥ ||
69. vaidharmyeṇa dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsā ucyante |
70. sādhyāvyatirekī dr̥ṣṭāntābhāso yathā | nityaḥ śabdo
'mūrtatvāt paramāṇuvat | atra paramāṇor vaidhar-
mya-dr̥ṣṭāntatvād amūrtatvam sādhanadharmo vyā-

1) Ms. viparītānvaś°.

2) Ms. °vyātyanad°.

3) In T. no negation.

4) Muni Jambuvijaya suggests: a t a ḥ .

vṛtto mūrtatvāt paramāṇūnām | nityatvaṃ sādhyadharmo na vyāvṛttaḥ | paramāṇor nityatvāt ||

71. sādhanāvyatirekī yathā | nityaḥ śabdo *'mūrtatvāt *2
karmavat | atra nityatvaṃ sādhyadharmo vyāvṛttaḥ
karmaṇo 'nityatvāt | sādhanadharmo na vyāvṛttaḥ
karmaṇo 'mūrtatvāt ||
72. ubhayāvyāvṛtto yathā | nityaḥ śabdo 'mūrtatvād
ākāśādivat | atrākāśādau vaidharmyadr̥ṣṭāntāt sādhyam sādhanam ca na vyāvṛttam ||
73. tathā saṃdigdhasādhyavyatirekī saṃdigdhasādhanavyatirekī | saṃdigdhobhayavyatirekī ceti |
74. saṃdigdhasādhyavyatireko dr̥ṣṭāntābhā*so yathā | asarvājñāḥ ¹⁾ kapilādayaḥ | sarvajñatālingabhūtakevaliśāstrākaraṇād ²⁾ iti | atra vaidharmyodāharaṇam | yaḥ sarvajñāḥ sa jyotirjñānādikam upadiṣṭavān | yathā ṛṣabhavardhamānādir iti | atra vaidharmyodāharaṇād ṛṣabhavardhamānāder asarvajñatā nivṛttā na veti ³⁾ saṃdehaḥ ||
75. saṃdigdhasādhanavyatireko yathā | nātra trayīvidā brāhmaṇena grāhyavacanaḥ kapilakaṇādādiḥ ⁴⁾ *puruṣo *4
rāgādimmattvād iti | atra vaidharmyodāharaṇam ye grāhyavacanā na te rāgādimanto yathā gautamādayo dharmasāstrānām praṇetāra iti | gautamādibhyo rāgādimmattvasya dharmasya vyāvṛtṭiḥ saṃdigdhā ||
76. saṃdigdhobhayavyatirekī yathā | avitarāgāḥ kapilādayaḥ parigrahāgrahayogād iti | atra vaidharmyodāharaṇam yo vitarāgo na tasya *parigrahāgrahau saṃ- *5

1) Ms. asarvajñāḥ.

2) Ms. śastrākaraṇād.

3) Ms. °vṛttāneti.

4) Ms. °kaṇācarāder or may we correct: °kaṇācarādiḥ (suggestion of Muni Jambuvijaya).

bhavataḥ yathā ṛṣabhavardhamānāder iti | ṛṣabhāder
vaidharmyadr̥ṣṭāntāt, avitarāgatvaṃ sādhyadharmāḥ
parigrahāgrahayo[ga]ḥ sādhanadharmo vyāvṛtto ¹⁾ na
veti samdehaḥ | apūrvārthalābhaḥ parigrahaḥ | labdha-
syāparityāga āgrahaḥ | tau ca dvāv api ṛṣabhādu
saṃbhavyete | chatracāmaradundubhinām parigrahā-
grahaśravaṇāt ||

*6 77. avyatireko vaidharmyadr̥ṣṭāntābhāso *'pradarśitavya-
tireko viparītavyatirekaś ceti |

78. avyatireko yathā | kapilādir avitarāgo vaktṛtvāt | ya-
trāvitarāgatvaṃ nāsti na sa vaktā yathopalakhaṇḍa
iti | yady upalakhaṇḍād ayaṃ vyāvṛttas tathāpi sarvo
vitarāgo vakteti ²⁾ samdehaḥ ||

79. apradarśitavyatireko yathā | anityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakat-
vād ākāśādivad iti | paramārthataḥ saṃyag dr̥ṣṭānto
*7 *'py ayaṃ vaktṛdoṣād dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsaḥ | parārthānu-
māne vaktur guṇadoṣayor vicāryamāṇatvāt | tathā hi
yan nityaṃ tat sarvaṃ niyamenākṛtakaṃ dr̥ṣṭaṃ ya-
thākāśādir iti vacanena vibhajya vaktrā vyāptipūr-
vako vyātireko na pradarśita ity apradarśitavyatire-
kaḥ ||

4, a, 1 80. viparītavyatireko yathā | yad akṛtakaṃ tan ³⁾ nityaṃ
dr̥ṣṭam iti | atra sādhananivṛtṭyā sādhyanivṛtṭir vyāptā
darśayitavyā tena yatra yatra sādhyanivṛtṭis tatra
tatra niyamena sādhananivṛtṭiḥ sidhyatīti ||

81. uktā dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsā aṣṭādaśa ||

82. eta eva sarve pakṣahetudr̥ṣṭāntābhāsāḥ | vādinā ⁴⁾ sā-
dhayitum iṣṭam arthaṃ na sādhayantīti sādhanābhāsā

1) Ms. vṛtte °āneti.

2) T.: sarvasmād vitarāgād vaktā na vyāvṛttaḥ.

3) Ms. akṛtam tatra.

4) Ms. vadhinā.

- vādino bhava*nti | evaṃ ca prativādinā dūṣaṇatve- *2
 nopanyastā ¹⁾ dūṣaṇāni bhavanti | pūrvapakṣavādino
 'bhipretārthasiddhipratibandhāt | sādhanasya nyūna-
 todbhāvanam eva dūṣaṇasya lakṣaṇaṃ vibhajya
 pṛthag ucyate |
83. dūṣaṇābhāsaḥ | etāny eva dūṣaṇāni prativādinoktāni |
 yadā pūrvapakṣavādī mi*thyādūṣaṇatvena pratipāda- *3
 yatīti tadā dūṣaṇābhāsā jātaya iti paṭhyante | abhū-
 tadoṣodbhāvanāni mithyottarāṇi jātyuttaraṇīti va-
 canāt | yathāduṣṭapakṣe pakṣadoṣodbhāvanam nirdoṣe
 hetau hetudoṣakhyāpanam | aduṣṭadrṣṭānte drṣṭānta-
 doṣopādānam dūṣaṇābhāsa iti nyāyāt ||
84. tatra pratijñāhetūdāharaṇopana*yanigamanāni pañ- *4
 cāvayavaṃ paraiḥ sādhanam ucyate | yathānityaḥ śab-
 da iti pratijñā kṛtakatvād iti hetuḥ | yat kṛtakaṃ
 tat sarvam anityaṃ drṣṭaṃ yathā ghaṭādīty udāha-
 raṇam | tathā kṛtakaḥ śabda ity upanayaḥ | tasmād
 anitya iti nigamanam | drṣṭānte pratitisamartho he-
 tur dharmiṇy upanīyata ity upanayaḥ | pratijñāyāḥ
 puna*rvacanaṃ nigamanam iti vacanāt | naitad asti | *5
 tribhir evāvayavair anvayavyatirekapakṣadharmasa-
 mājñakaiḥ sādhyārthasiddheḥ ||
85. tathā hi | vādakāle vyāptipūrvaka eva ²⁾ prayogaḥ kar-
 tavyaḥ | yat kṛtakaṃ tat sarvam anityaṃ drṣṭaṃ
 yathā ghaṭādir iti | sādhyena sādhanasya drṣṭānte
 vyāptikathanam anvaya ucyate ||
86. vipakṣe ca sādhyanivṛtṭyā sādhananivṛtṭir vyatireka* *6
 ucyate | yathāsaty anityatve na bhavaty eva kṛta-
 katvaṃ yathākāśādau |

1) Ms. stammasta.

2) Ms. pūrvapadaprayogaḥ.

87. kṛtakaś ca śabda iti pakṣadharmavacanam | pratijñā-
nigamane punaḥ sarvathā na vaktavye ¹⁾ ||
88. tathā sādharmyavati prayoge 'nvayābhidhānasāmar-
thyād eva vyatireko 'vaga²⁾ntavya iti na pṛthag ucyate |
*7 yathā yat kṛtakam tat sarvam anityam draṣṭavyam |
yathā ghaṭādiḥ | kṛtakaś ca śabda iti | *sādharmyavān
prayogaḥ | tathā vaidharmyavati prayoge vyatirekok-
tisāmarthyād evānvayaḥ pratipanna iti nānvayaḥ pu-
nar ucyate | yan nityam tad akṛtakam drṣṭam yathā-
*b, 1 kāsādiḥ ³⁾ *kṛtakaś ca śabda iti | vaidharmyavān pra-
yogaḥ ||
89. uktāḥ sādhanābhāsā dūṣanābhasāḥ ||
90. pratyakṣam kīdrśam | pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham
abhrāntam | pratigatam āśritam akṣam yad vijñā-
nam tat pratyakṣam | pañcendriyāśrayāṇi jñānānti
yāvat | atyādayaḥ krāntādyarthe dvitīyayeti ⁴⁾ samāsenā
*2 pratyakṣaśabdo vācyalingaḥ *siddhaḥ | pratyakṣo bo-
dhaḥ pratyakṣā buddhiḥ | pratyakṣam jñānam ity
upapannaḥ bhavati ||
91. cakṣuḥśrotraghrāṇajihvākāyākhyāni pañcendriyāṇi ta-
dāśritāni pañca jñānāni pramāṇāni | tadgrāhyā viśayā
rūpaśabdagandharasasparśākhyāḥ prameyāṇi pañcaiva ||
92. tac ca pratyakṣam nāmajātyādikalpanārahitaḥ nirvi-
*3 kalpakam abhrāntam ca yadi *bhavati | tadā pramā-
ṇam ucyate | darśitasyārthasyāvisamvādanāt ||
93. tatra nāmaḥkalpanā | devadatto 'yam iti yad jñānam |
jātikalpanā gaur ⁵⁾ iyam iti jñānam | viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyam

1) Ms. vya.

2) Ms. rekavaga.

3) Ms. yākāsādiḥ.

4) Vārt. ad Pāṇini, II, 4, 26.

5) Ms. twice.

iti kalpanā nilotpalam iti jñānam | anyad api savi-
kalpakam jñānam pratyakṣābhāsaḥ | bhrāntam cārthe
'pi taimirikasya dvicandrajñānam | śukti*kāyāṃ raja- *4
tajñānam sthāṇur ayam puruṣo veti jñānam | anyad
api jñānam pratyakṣābhāsaḥ pradarśitārthāprāpakat-
vāt ||

94. tatra trividham pratyakṣam | vyavahāram apekṣya in-
driyajñānam | sarvacittacaittānām svarūpasamveda-
nam svasamvedanam | bhūtārthabhāvanāprakarṣapa-
ryantajam yogijñānam ceti ||
95. tasya viśayaḥ svalakṣaṇam | arthakriyāsama*rtham tu *5
svalakṣaṇam ucyate | sāmānyam tu nārthakriyāsa-
martham |
96. tad eva ca pratyakṣam pramāṇam | pramāṇam artha-
pratītirūpam phalam ca tādrśam eva | na pramāṇa-
phalayoḃ bhedaḥ kascid asti ||
97. anumānam dvidhā svārtham parārtham ca |
98. tatra svārtham tāvat | gr̥hīte ca pakṣadharme smṛte
ca sādhyasādhanabhāve paścāt pratipattā yathārtham
pratipadyate yena *tat svārtham anumānam | *6
99. pakṣadharmāś ca trividha eva bhavati | kāryam sva-
bhāvo 'nupalambhaś ceti |
100. siddhe hi kāryakāraṇabhāve kāryam hetur draṣṭa-
vyaḥ | yathā yatra dhūmas tatrāgniḥ | yathā mahā-
nasādau | asti ceha dhūma iti | asaty agnau na bha-
vaty eva dhūmo yathā sajalapradeśe | asti ceha
dhūma iti |
101. svabhāvahetuḥ | vṛkṣo 'yam śiṃśapātvād iti | pūr-
vapravartitaśiṃśa*pāvyavahāravat | asati vṛkṣatve na *7
bhavaty eva śiṃśapātvam | yathā sthaṇḍilapradeśe |
atrāpi vyāpyavyāpakabhāve niścite sati vyāpyo he-
tur draṣṭavyaḥ ||

102. anupalambhahetur yathā | nātra ghaṭa upalabdhi-
lakṣaṇaprāptasyānupalabdheḥ śaśaviṣāṇādivat | atrā-
*5, 1 pi dr̥ṣyānupalambho *dr̥ṣyābhavena vyāpto yadā niś-
citas tadāyaṃ hetur gamakaḥ ||
103. anumānābhāsaḥ kīdr̥ṣaḥ | pūrvavat | śeṣavat | sāmā-
nyatodr̥ṣṭaṃ ceti paraiḥ kalpitam anumānaṃ sarvam
anumānā¹⁾bhāsaḥ || teṣu tādātmyatadutpattilakṣa-
ṇasya pratibandhābhāvāt | siddhe saty eva hi kārya-
kāraṇabhāve vyāpyavyāpakabhāve ca sādhyasādha-
nabhāvo nānyathā vyabhicārasaṃbhavāt ||
- *2 104. yathā vṛṣṭimā*n ayam megho gambhīradhvanatvād
iti | gambhīradhvanavato 'pi meghasya vṛṣṭivighāta-
saṃbhavāt ||
105. yathopari vṛṣṭo devo nadīpūradarśanāt | bandha-
bhaṅgādināpi nadīpūra²⁾sya darśanāt ||
106. yathā pakvā ete taṇḍulā ekasthālyantargatatvād
dr̥ṣṭataṇḍulavat ||
107. pakvāny etāny phalāni ekaśākhaprabandhāt | upa-
yuktaphalavat | atra bhūyo darśane 'pi sādhyasā-
*3 dhanayor vyabhi*cārasaṃbhava eva ||
108. yathā yat pārthivaṃ tat sarvaṃ lohalekhyam
dr̥ṣṭam | yathā kāṣṭhādi³⁾ | vajram api pārthivaṃ ||
109. yaḥ prāṇī sa sarvaḥ sagrīvaḥ | yathā karabhādiḥ,
kulīro 'pi prāṇī ||
110. yathā yad dravad dravyam ādrakṛt tad dr̥ṣṭam⁴⁾ ya-
thodakam | pāradam api dravad dravyam iti | evam
anye 'py anumānābhāsā draṣṭavyā iti ||
- *4 hetutattvopadeśaḥ samāptaḥ || kṛtir iyaṃ *paṇḍita-
rājajitāripādānām ||

1) Ms. anumābhāsaḥ.

2) M̃. dadīpū.

3) Ms. kaṣṭadi.

4) Ms. ādrakṛtadr̥ṣṭam.

2.

TARKASOPĀNA OF VIDYĀKARASĀNTI

namo mañjuśriye ||
 saṃsārasarasi kolatulyam ajñānabhediṇaḥ |
 smaraṇaṃ me hevajrasya vartatāṃ hṛdi vaś ciraṃ ||

1. hitāhitaprāptiparihārahetur niyamena pramāṇam iti
 saṃkṣepatas tad vyutpādyate || pramāṇam avisamvādi
 jñānam | visamvadanam visamvādaḥ | na visamvādo
 'visamvādaḥ | sa yasyāsti tad avisamvādi | samvādy
 evetyarthaḥ || avisamvādaḥ pu*^{a, 2}nar upadarśitā[rtha]-
 pratibaddhārthakriyāprāpaṇam | prāpaṇam api prāpa-
 katvam tadyogyatā ca | avyavahitāyām arthakriyā-
 yām pramāṇasya prāpakatvam eva | vyavahitāyām
 pravartakatvam api | prāpakatvam copadarśakatvam
 eva | karaṇadharmasyopadarśakatvasya grahaṇād
 gṛhītagrahiṇām akaraṇatvena vyudāsān nāti vyāpitā |
 ata evācāryo Dharmottaro 'py āha || "ye*³naiva pratha-
 mam upadarśitārthas tenaiva pravartitaḥ puruṣaḥ
 prāpitaś cārthaḥ kim anyenādhikam kāryam | marīci-
 kājalajñānādīny upadarśitārthapratibaddhārthakriyā-
 prāpaṇāsambhavād eva nirastānīti"¹⁾ | jñānagraha-
 ñena cājñānasya indriyāder nirāsaḥ | karaṇavihitapra-
 tyayena ca gṛhītagrāhiṇaḥ | tena yad abhimatārtha-
 kriyāsamarthārthapraṇayogyam apū*⁴rvaviṣayam
 jñānam tat pramāṇam ||

1) For the meaning cf. *NBT.*, p. 3, l. 11: but the quotation seems to be taken from another work.

2. tad dvividham | pratyakṣam anumānam ca | ¹⁾

3. pratigatam āśritam akṣam pratyakṣam | atyādayaḥ
krāntādyarthe dvitīyayeti samāsaḥ || prāptāpannalaṅ-
gatiśamāseṣu paraval līngapratīśedhaḥ ²⁾ | tena pra-
 tyakṣaḥ pratyayaḥ pratyakṣā buddhiḥ | pratyakṣam
 jñānam iti siddham bhavati | akṣāśritatvaṃ ca pra-
 *5 tyakṣasya vyutpattimātranimittam | *pravṛttinimittam
 tu sākṣātkaraṇam eva | tena yat kiṃcid viśayasya
 sākṣātkāri jñānam tat sarvaṃ pratyakṣaśabdavācyam
 sidhyati | mīyate 'neneti mānam | līngagrahṇasam-
bandhasmaraṇayoḥ paścānmānam anumānam | etac
 ca rūḍhivaśāl labhyate ³⁾ | tena dharmiviśeṣavarti
 līngam dr̥ṣṭavato [līnga]līnginoś ca saṃbandham smṛta-
 vato yataḥ parokṣavastvālambanam jñānam utpa-
 *6 dyate, tad a*numānaśabdenābhidhīyate ||

4. cakāraḥ pratyakṣānumānayoḥ tulyabalatvaṃ samucci-
noti | yathārthāvinābhāvitvāt pratyakṣam pramāṇam
tathānumānam apy arthāvinābhāvi pramāṇam iti
 tad uktam ||

“arthasyāsaṃbhave 'bhāvāt pratyakṣe 'pi pramāṇatā |
 pratibaddhasvabhāvasya taddhetutve samaṃ dva-
 yam ” iti ⁴⁾ ||

anenaiva tulyabalatvakhyāpanena yad api Mīmāṃ-
 *7 sa*kair uktam “sarvapramāṇānām pratyakṣam eva
 jyeṣṭham | tatpūrvakatvād anumānāder iti ” ⁵⁾ tad
 api nirastam || ātmasattālābhe sarvapramāṇānām sva-

1) In NB.: saṃyagjñāmadvividham...

2) Vārt. ad Pāṇini, II, 4, 26.

3) Cf. TB., p. 3, l. 27; p. 4, l. 5.

4) Muni Jambuvijaya has found this verse in Pramāṇaviniścaya.
 N. ed. fol. 261 a: mūṇ sum yañ ni don med na | mi ṅbyuñ ba las ts'ad ma
 ñid || ṅbrel pa yi ni rañ bñin dei | rgyu yin pas na gñis ka mts'uñs ||

5) Cf. Śābara ad MS., 4 and TSP., p. 161, l. 22.

kāraṇāpekṣatvān na jyeṣṭhetarabhāvakalpanā sād-
vīti | evaṃ pratyakṣānumānabhedena dviprakāram
eva pramāṇam ||

5. dvividhavacanenaikam pramāṇam triṇi catvāri pañca
ṣaḍ iti vipratipattayo nirasyante | tathā hi *pratyakṣam *8
eva pramāṇam Bārhaspatyānām | pratyakṣānumānā-
gamāḥ pramāṇāni Sāmkyānām | upamānam api
Naiyāyikānām | arthāpattir api Prābhākarāṇām |
abhāvo hi pratyakṣam śabdaś ca pramāṇam iti
Vaiyākaraṇaḥ ¹⁾ ||
6. tatra pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham abhrāntam | yaj
*jñā[naṃ] kalpanayā kalpanātvena rahitam abhrāntam *2, a, 1
ca tad eva pratyakṣam | etena yad uktam Udyota-
kareṇa | “yadi pratyakṣaśabdena pratyakṣam abhi-
dhīyate | katham tat kalpanāpoḍham | atha kalpa-
nāpoḍham katham pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham ity
anena śabdenocyata” iti ²⁾ | yad api Bhartṛhariṇoktam |
“kalpanā hi jñānam pratyakṣam api jñānam | pratyak-
ṣajñāne kalpanājñānam pratiṣedhatānyasmin *jnāne *2
jñānāntaram astīti pratipāditam | prāptipūrvakā hi
pratiṣedhā bhavanti nyāyād iti” ³⁾ | tat sarvam
apāstam | tādātmyapratīṣedhasyātrābhimatatvāt | ata
eva vivṛtam kalpanayā kalpanātvena rahitam iti |
7. kutaḥ punaḥ kalpanābhramayor abhāvaḥ pratyakṣa
iti cet | yasmāt kalpanāvibhramayor artharūpasāk-
ṣātkaraṇam nāsti | tathā hi | abhilāpasamsargayo-
gyapratibhāsa*pratītiḥ kalpanā | abhilāpo vācakaḥ *3
śabdaḥ | sa ca sāmānyākāraḥ | tena saṃsargyas ⁴⁾ ta-

1) Cf. TB., p. 3, l. 27; p. 4, l. 5.

2) Summarized from NV., p. 42, l. 3 ff.

3) I could not find this sentence in Vākya-padīya.

4) Ms. °rggyas.

dyogyah pratibhāso yasyāṃ pratītau sā abhilāpasam-
 sargayogyapratibhāsā | yogyagrahaṇenāvyutpanna¹⁾.
 samketasya bālakasya kalpanā samgr̥hyate | yady api
 tasyāṃ abhilāpasamsargo nāsti tadyogyā tu bhavaty
 eva | tatpratibhāsino 'rthākārasyecchādhiṇasamketā-
 *4 nuvidhāyinā *śabdenābhidhātum śakyatvāt | kutaḥ
 punar bālakasya kalpanā siddheti cet | tatkāryasya
 pravṛttyādilakṣaṇasya pradarśanāt || tathā hi bālako
 'nguryādiparihāre stanādau pravartate | tad uktam |
 “ itikartavyatā loke sarvā śabdavyapāśrayā |
 tāṃ pūrvāhitasamskāro bālo 'pi pratipadyata ” || iti ²⁾
 bālake punaḥ sammūrçhitākṣarākāradhvaniviśiṣṭā
 *5 buddhiviparivartinī kalpanā *ūhyā yayā paścāt sam-
 ketagrahaṇakuśalo bhavati | na cedṛṣīyam artharūpaṃ
 sākṣātkaroti | avyāpṛtendriyasya darśanaavad buddhau
 śabdenāpratibhāsanād artha[rūpa]sya ³⁾ | sa hi śabda-
 syārtho yaḥ śābde pratyaye pratibhāsate | upāyabhedāt
 prati[patti]bhedo nārthabhedāt | yathaika eva devadatto
 *6 dvārād dṛśyate jālena ceti cet | ayuktam etat | upāya-
 bhede 'pi tadrūpasyaiva gra*haṇāt katham pratipatti-
 bhedaḥ | na ca vastūnāṃ dve rūpe spaṣṭāspaṣṭalak-
 ṣaṇe virodhād etannibandhanatvāc ca bhedasya | ata
 eva dṛṣṭānto 'py asiddhaḥ | tad uktam |
 “ jāto nāmāśrayo nānyaś cetasāṃ tasya vastunaḥ |
 ekasyaiva kuto rūpaṃ bhinnākārāvabhāsi tad ” ||
 iti ⁴⁾ | tad evam abhilapitum śakyam evārtham kalpanā

1) Ms. pannam.

2) V ā k y a p a d ī y a , Chowkh. ed. p. 46.

3) Mss. adds yasya which seems here out of place; the correction is sug-
 gested by Prof. V. V. Gokhale.

4) PV., II, 235.

śabdena saṃyojya gr̥hṇīyāt | abhilāpyaṃ ca vastu sāk-
 śātkriyamāṇaṃ śa*bdenāyojitam eva sākṣātkartavyam *7
 iti | siddham etat kalpanāyā nāsti vastusākṣātkar-
 aṇam iti |

8. bhrāntam api jñānaṃ timirāsubhramaṇanauyānasam-
kṣobhādyā¹⁾ hitavibhramam artharūpaviśamvādakam
 tat katham anyathā sthitam arthaṃ sākṣātkuryāt |
 svarūpapratibhāsasya sākṣātkaraṇaśabdavācyatvāt |
 tasmān nāsti vastusākṣātkaraṇaṃ vibhramasyāpīti sid-
 dham | ataś ca *vijñānaṃ viśayasākṣātkāri niyamena *8
 kalpanāvibhramābhyāṃ viparītaṃ bhavat kalpanā-
 poḍham abhrāntaṃ cāvatiṣṭhate | tatra kalpanā-
 poḍhapadenānumānasya nirodhaḥ | abhrāntapadena
 dvicandrajñānādeḥ | anyārthaṃ kṛtam anyārthaṃ
 bhavatīti ²⁾ nyāyāt paravipratipattir api nirākṛtā dra-
 ṣṭavyā | tathā hi Vaiyākaraṇair uktam | *b, 1

“ na so'sti pratyayo loke yaḥ śabdānugamād ṛte |
 anuviddham iva jñānaṃ sarvaṃ śabdena jāyata ” ||

iti ³⁾ | sarvapratyayānāṃ śabdānugatarūpatve sati
 kasyacid api jñānasyārthasākṣātkaraṇayogāt | anu-
 bhavasiddham ca kalpanāpoḍham pratyakṣaṃ katham
 aṅkayate ⁴⁾ | aśvavikalpanakāle gor anubhavāt | tad
 evāvikalpakam pratyakṣam | na cāśvavikalpa eva gāṃ
 pratipadyate | svanāmopasaṃhitasya tasya tena*gra- *2
 haṇāt | na ca vikalpāntaraṃ dr̥ṣyaṃ saṃvedyate |
 etenāśvādivikalpakāle gavādivikalpo 'pi vyākhyātaḥ |
 tathā Mīmāṃsakair api |

1) Ms. kṣobhādyana°.

2) Source not identified.

3) Vākya-padīya, p. 46 (bhāsata for jāyate).

4) The reading is certain: aṅk = to enumerate, to reckon; or: ka-
 thyate?

“ asti hy ālocanājñanam prathamam nirvikalpakam |
bālamūkādivijñānasadrśam śuddhavastujam ||
tataḥ param punar vastudharmair jātyādibhir yayā |
buddhyāvasīyate sāpi pratyakṣatvena sammatā ” || ity¹⁾

*3 anena vikalpasyāpi pratyakṣatvam iṣṭam | *Naiyāyikādibhir api vyavasāyātmakam²⁾ ity ādinā niścaya-
syaiva pratyakṣatvam uktam | etad api kalpanāpoḍham
ity anenaiva nirastam | yadi kalpanātmakam pra-
tyakṣam syād arthasākṣātkaritaiva hīyeta iti³⁾ ||

9. abhrāntagrahaṇenāpi śuklaśaṅkhādau pītaśaṅkhādivi-
jñānam nirasyate | saty api bhrame 'rthakriyāviṣam-
vādābhāvāt | nāpi tad anumānam yujyate 'lingajatvāt* |
*4 ataḥ pratyakṣam iti | katham punar etad abhrānta-
grahaṇenāviṣamvādārthena nirasyate | ucyate | adhya-
vasitārthākārapratirūpārthakriyāprāpter asaṁbhavāt |
yadi hy aṣamvāditāmātreṇa pramānam syāt, keṣo-
ḍukādijñāne 'pi ālokādeḥ saṁvādasamḥbhavāt tad api
pramānam syāt ||

10. tat pratyakṣam caturvidham | indriyajñānam mānasam
*5 svasamvedanam yogijñānam *ceti ||

11. indriyāṇām cakṣuḥśrotagrāṇajihvākāyānām āśritaṁ
jñānam indriyajñānam | svaviṣayakṣaṇopādeyasajā-
tīyakṣa⁴⁾ṇasahitenendriyajñānena samanantarapratya-
yena janitam manomātrāśrayatvān mānasam | sarva-
cittacaittānām ātmā saṁvedyate yena rūpeṇa tat
svasamvedanam | yogaḥ śamathaḥ prajñā yeṣāṁ asti
*6 te yoginaḥ | teṣāṁ yaj jñā*nam pramāṇopapannār-
tha[bhāvanā]⁵⁾prakarṣaparyantajam tad yogijñānam |

1) SV., Pratyakṣasūtra, 112. and 120.

2) NS., I, 1, 4.

3) Ms. hīyateti.

4) Ms. jātyākṣaṇa.

5) Correction suggested by Prof. V. V. Gokhale.

prakāracatuṣṭayākhyānena yair indriyam eva draṣṭṛ
kalpitaṃ mānase ca pratyakṣe doṣa udbhāvitaḥ,
svasaṃvedanaṃ nābhyupagataṃ yogijñānaṃ ca yo-
gina eva na santi kutas teṣāṃ jñānaṃ iti te sarve
nirastā bhavanti ||

12. tathā hi Vaibhāṣikais tāvaj jñānasyāpratighatvātd
yadi tad draṣṭṛ syād tadā vyavahitaṃ api gr*hṇīyād *7
itīndriyaṃ draṣṭṛ kalpitaṃ | na ca itad yuktaṃ |
yadi hi jñānaṃ gatvā¹⁾rtham grhṇāti tadā gama-
na²⁾vibandhakābhāvād vyavahitaṃ api grhṇīyād iti
yujyate vaktum | kiṃ tu | yadākāraṃ taj jñānaṃ
utpadyate tat tena grhītaṃ ity ucyate | na cāyogya-
deśastho 'rthas tatsarūpakaḥ³⁾ | tat kathaṃ tasya
tena grahaṇaṃ syāt | kiṃ ca | yadīndriyaṃ draṣṭṛ
syāt tadā kācādivyavahitasyārtha*sya grahaṇaṃ na *8
syāt | sapratighā daśa rūpiṇa⁴⁾ iti siddhāntāt | ka-
tham āgame uktam | cakṣuṣā grhyate rūpaṃ⁵⁾ iti |
aupacāriko'sau nirdeśaḥ ||
13. yad api Kumārilādibhir uktam | yadīndriyajñāna-
grhītaṃ arthaṃ grhṇāti mānasam | tadā grhītagrā-
hitvād asyāprāmāṇyam | athendriyajñānāgrhītaṃ
*arthaṃ grhṇāti | tadā cāndhabadhirādyabhāvadoṣapra- *3, a, 1
saṅga iti⁶⁾ | tad api svaviṣayakṣaṇopādeyasajātīyak-
ṣaṇasahitenendriyajñānena yaj janitaṃ ity anenaiva
nirastam | tathā hīndriyajñānaviṣayopādeyabhūtakṣa-
ṇagrāhi mānasam | na ca indriyajñānaṃ andhādīnām
asti | tat kuto 'ndhabadhirādyabhāvadoṣaḥ | nāpi

1) Ms. twice gatvā.

2) c. gamanaṃvi°.

3) Ms. tatsva°.

4) AK., I. 29.

5) Cf. Madhyamakavṛtti p. 137 cakṣuṣā rūpāṇi drstvā.

6) Source unknown.

- *2 grhītagrāhitā | indriyajñānavi*ṣayopādeyabhūtakṣaṇa-
 syānena grahaṇāt | etac ca mānasam pratyakṣam
 uparatavyāpāre cakṣurādau pratyakṣam iṣyate | vyā-
 priyamāṇe punar etasmin yat pratyakṣam tac ced
 anindriyajam kim anyad indriyajam bhaviṣyati | na
 ca nimīlitākṣasya rūpadarśanābhāvād anubhavavirud-
 dhatvam āsaṅkanīyam | kṣaṇamātrabhāvitvena dura-
 vadhāratvāt ||
- *3 14. kim artham *tarhy etad upanyastam iti cet | ucyate |
 yat tat siddhānte mānasam uktam tad yady evaṃ-
 lakṣaṇam syād tadā na kaścit parokto doṣa ity
 ādarśayitum | yad api svasamvedanam nābhyupa-
 ga[mya]te paraiś cittacaittānām tad api ayuktam | na
 tāvac cittacaittānām prakāśo nāsty eva | prakāśasya
 sarvaprāṇinām anubhavasiddhatvāt | na caiṣām pareṇa
 prakāśo yuktaḥ* | tad dhi param samānakālabhāvi
 tāvat prakāśakam anupapannam upakārābhāvāt |
 bhinnakālabhāvya api na prakāśakam prakāśyābhāvāt |
 tasmād yathā pradīpaḥ prakāśakasvabhāvatvād ātmā-
 nam prakāśayati tathā jñānam apīti | nanu pradīpo
 'pi cakṣuṣā prakāśyata iti cet | na sajātiyaprakāśa-
 nirapekṣatvena drṣṭāntikṛtatvāt ||
- *5 15. kiṃ ca* | yadi jñānam ātmānam na samvedayate | tadā
 svato 'pratyakṣatve 'rthānūdbhavo 'py apratyakṣatayā
 na syāt | atra prayogaḥ | yad avyaktavyaktikam na
 tad vyaktam | yathā kiṃcit kadācit kathameid avyak-
 tavyaktikam | avyaktavyaktikaś ca jñānaparokṣatve
 ghaṭādir artha iti vyāpakānupalabdhiprasaṅgaḥ | iha
 vyaktatvam niṣedhyam | tasya vyāpakam vyaktavyak-
 ti[ka]tvam* | tasya cehānupalabdhir iti | jñānasya
 jñānāntareṇa vyakter¹⁾ hetur ayam asiddha iti cet |

1) Ms.: °ktam.

na | ghaṭādi jñānodayakāle siddhatvāt | na ca bhavātām api sarvaṃ vijñānam ekārthasamavāyinā jñānena jñāyate | bubhutsābhāve tadabhāvāt | yathopekṣaṇīyaviṣayā samvit | tata upekṣaṇīyam eva tāvad avyaktavyaktikatvād avyaktam prasajyate |

16. kiṃ ca | jñā*naṃ jñānasyāpi¹⁾ katham vyaktir iti *7
vaktavyam | anya²⁾jñānena tasya siddhatvād ucyamānāyāṃ tatrāpy evam ity anavasthā syāt | na ceyam samdigdhavipakṣavyāvṛtṭyā 'naikāntikī | tathā hi yady avyaktavyaktikam api vyaktavyavahāraṇi syāt tadā puruṣāntaravartijñāna[m a]vyaktam api svajñān[odayakālavat]³⁾ tathaiva vyaktam vyavahriyeteti *8
tad ayaṃ vyaktavyavahāro vyaktavyaktikatvena vyāpī | siddhe ca vyāpyavyāpakabhāve vyāpakānupalabdhir aikāntikīti | nāpi svātmani kriyāvirodhaḥ | yadā jaḍapadārthavailakṣaṇyenotpattir eva svasamvittih | tad uktam Ācāryaśāntirakṣitapādaiḥ ||

“ vijñānam jaḍarūpebhyo vyāvṛttam upajāyate |
iyam evātmasamvittir asya yā 'jaḍarūpatā ” ||

sva*samvicchabdārtho 'pi tair eva darśitaḥ | *b, 1

“ svarūpavedanāyānyad vedakam na vyapekṣate |
na cāviditam astīti so 'rtho 'yam svasamvida ” ||⁴⁾ iti

17. yad apy uktam yogina eva na santi kutas teṣāṃ jñānam iti | tad asāram | bhāvanā hi bhūtārthaviṣayā taditarā vā prakarṣaparyantavartinī sphuṭataragrāhyākāram vijñānam janayati | tathā hi śokādyupaplutacittavṛttayaḥ putrādibhāvanāsamā*ptau parisphuṭa-samāvartitatpratibhāsavanto bhavanti⁵⁾ | tatra yat *2

1) Or jñānajñānasya ?

2) Ms. t-j.

3) Ex cj. ms. odayayakāvat; kāla is proposed by Muni Jambuvijaya.

4) *TS.*, v. 2000 and 2012 quoted also: *TB.*, p. 10, l. 27.

5) Cf. *PV.*, II, 282 ff.

pramāṇopapannārthabhāvanāprakarṣaparyantāḥ jātam
karatalāmalakavad bhāvyaṁnārthaspaṣṭatarākāra-
grāhi tad yogipratyakṣam iti | yad āha |

“ bhāvanābalataḥ spaṣṭam bhayādāv iva śaṁsate |
yaj jñānam avisaṁvādi tat pratyakṣam akalpakam ”
iti ¹⁾ ||

- *3 18. tasya viṣayaḥ svalakṣaṇam | tasya caturvidhasyā-
nanyasā*dhāraṇena rūpeṇa yal lakṣyate tad viṣayaḥ |
anena sāmānyaviṣayatvāropaḥ pratyakṣe pratyuktaḥ |
yasyārthasya samnidhānā[samnidhānā]bhyām jñāna-
pratibhāsabhedas tat svalakṣaṇam | yasya jñānavi-
ṣayasya samnidhānam yogyadeśāvasthānam | asaṁni-
dhānam yogyadeśe 'bhāvaḥ sarvathā | tābhyām yo
jñānapratibhāsam grāhyākāram bhinatty utpādānut-
*4 pādāt tat svalakṣaṇam || anyat sāmānya²⁾*lakṣaṇam
so 'numānasya viṣayaḥ | etasmāt svalakṣaṇād yad
anyat sādharmaṇam lakṣaṇam so 'numānasya viṣayaḥ ||
19. tad eva pratyakṣam jñānam pramāṇaphalam | artha-
pratitirūpatvāt yad evānantaram uktaṁ pratyakṣam
jñānam tad eva pramāṇasya phalam | arthasya pra-
tītir avagamaḥ | tadrūpatvāt | yadi tad eva jñānam
pramāṇaphalam neṣyate tadā bhinnaviṣayatvam syāt
5 pramāṇaphalayoh | na caitad yuktam | na hi para-
śvādike khadiraprāpte palāśe cchidā bhavati ||
20. arthasārūpyam³⁾ asya pramāṇam | tadvaśād artha-
pratītisiddheḥ | iha yasmād viṣayād vijñānam udeti
tatsarūpaṁ tad bhavati | atatsarūpeṇa jñānenārthave-
danāyogāt | tathā hi vijñānam bodhamātrasvabhāvam

1) Not traced.

2) Mss. twice sāmānya.

3) Mss. arthasārūpyam.

utpadyate | tadā nīlasyedaṃ vedanaṃ pītasyeti pra-
 tikarmavyavasthā na syāt | yādṛśaṃ *hi tan nīle pīte 'pi *6
 tādṛśaṃ ceti | arthasārūpye ¹⁾ tu sati yasyaivākāram
 anukaroti jñānaṃ tatsaṃvedanaṃ bhavati nānyasya |
 tac cāsyā sārūpyaṃ niyatārthapratitivyavasthāyāṃ
 sādhakatamatvāt pramāṇam | na caitat mantavyam |
 kathaṃ sādhyasādhanayor abheda iti | janyajanaka-
 bhāvenātra sādhyasādhanabhāvābhāvāt | vyavasthā-
 pyavyavasthāpakabhāvena caikasyāpi gha*ṭate | nāpi *7
 lokabādhā | loko 'pi kadācid ekadhanurādikaṃ kar-
 trṭvādinā vadaty eva | tathā hi vaktāro bhavanti |
 dhanur vidhyati | dhanuṣā vidhyati | dhanuṣo nisṛtya
 saro vidhyatīti | etena pūrvam pūrvam jñānaṃ pramā-
 ṇam uttaram uttaram phalam iti pramāṇaphalabhrān-
 tir apāstā || o ||

tarkasopāne pratyakṣaparicchedaḥ prathamah || o ||

1. anumānaṃ dvidhā svārtham p*arārtham ca | sva- *8
smāyidaṃ svārtham | yena svayaṃ pratipadyate | para-
smāyidaṃ parārtham | yena paraṃ pratipādayati |
2. tatra trirūpalingād yad anumeye ²⁾ jñānaṃ rūpa-
trayayuktāl lingād yad anumeyāmbanaṃ jñānaṃ
 utpadyate tat svārtham anumānam | trirūpagra-
 haṇam ekaikadvidvirūpavyavacchedārtham | tatrai-
 kaikarūpo hetur na bhavati | yathā nityaḥ śabdaḥ
 kṛtakatvāt ³⁾ | *mūrtatvāt | aprameyatvād iti | yathākra- *4, a, 1
 mam anumeye sattvasapakṣasattvavipakṣa[vyā]vṛtti⁴⁾.

1) Ms. °sārūpa.

2) Ms. adds: jñāne.

3) Ms. yathā paramāṇuvāt added by another hand.

4) Cf. TS, p. 404.

mātram asti | tathā hi dvidvirūpo yathā 'nityo
dhvaniḥ | amūrtatvāt | śrāvaṇatvāt | cākṣuṣatvād iti |
yathākramam anumeye sattvasapakṣasattvāsapakṣā-
sattvamātrasyābhāvāt | tad uktam ācāryapādaiḥ |

*2 “ ekaikadvidvirūpād vā liṅgān nārthaḥ kṛto 'rthataḥ ||
kṛtakatvād¹⁾ dhvanir *nityo mūrtatvād aprameyataḥ |
amūrtaśrāvaṇatvābhyām anityaś cākṣuṣatvata²⁾ ” | iti |

3. anumeyagrahaṇenāparokṣaviṣayasya nirāsaḥ | pramā-
ṇaphala³⁾vyavasthā'trāpi pratyakṣavat | yathā praty-
akṣe tasyaiva nilādisārūpyaṃ pramāṇam uktam
nilādipratītiś ca phalaṃ tathātrāpi vahnyādyākāraḥ
pramāṇaṃ vahnyādivikalpanarūpatā ca phalaṃ iti |

3 4. liṅgasya trīṇi rūpāṇi | anumeye sattvam eva niścitam |
anumeye vakṣyamāṇalakṣaṇe liṅgasya sattvam eva
niścitam ekarūpam | tatra sattvavacanenāsiddho ni-
rastaḥ | yathā nityaḥ śabdaḥ | cākṣuṣatvād iti |
evakāreṇa pakṣaikadeśāsiddhaḥ (nirasto hetuḥ) | yathā
cetanās taravaḥ svāpād iti | pakṣīkṛteṣu [taruṣu patra]-
samkocalakṣaṇaḥ svāpā ekadeśe na siddhaḥ | na hi

*4 sarve *vrkṣā rātrau patrasamkocabhājaḥ | kiṃ tu kecid
eva | sattvavacanasya paścātkṛtenaivakāreṇāsādhāraṇo
dharmo nirastaḥ | anyathā hy anityaḥ srāvaṇatvād ity
asyaiva hetutvaṃ syāt | niścitagrahaṇena samdigdhā-
siddhāder vyavacchedaḥ | yathā bāṣpādibhāvena sam-
dihyamāno bhūtasamghāto 'gnisiddhāv upādiyamā-

*5 naḥ | sapakṣa eva sattvam | sapakṣo vakṣyamā*ṇala-
kṣaṇas tasmin eva sattvaṃ niścitam dvitīyaṃ rūpam |

1) Ms. kṛtakalpatād.

2) Ms. liṅgam nātaḥ kṛto 'rthataḥ, Pramāṇasamuccaya, bsTan
āgyur, D. vol. ce, p. 4, a, l. 4: ts'ul re re dan gñis gñis pa|rtags don min
par don gyis byas ||. The second verse is quoted by K a m a l a ś i l a in his
comm. on TS, śl. 1363 p. 404.

3) Ms. phalaṃ vyavasthā.

ihāpi sattvagrahaṇena viruddho nirastaḥ | yathā ni-
nityaḥ kṛtatvād iti | yasmād asyaiva sapakṣe nāsti |
evakāreṇa sādharmaṇānaikāntikaḥ | yathā nityaḥ pra-
meyatvād iti | sa hi na sapakṣa eva vartate kimtu-
bhayatrāpi | sattvavacanāt¹⁾ pūrvāvdhāraṇavacanena
sapakṣavyāpisattākasyāpi²⁾ kathitaṃ hetutvam* | yathā *6
nityaḥ prayatnānantariyakatvāt³⁾ | niścitavacanena
cānuvṛttena saṃdigdhānvayo 'naikāntiko nirastaḥ |
yathā sarvajñaḥ kaścīd vakṛtvāt | vakṛtvam hi sa-
pakṣe sarvajñe saṃdigdham | asapakṣe cāsattvam eva
niścitam ity atrāpi vartate | asapakṣo vakṣyamāṇa-
lakṣaṇaḥ | tasminn asattvam eva niścitaṃ tṛtīyaṃ
rūpam | tatrā⁴⁾ sattvagrahaṇena viruddhasya nirā'saḥ *7
viruddho⁵⁾ hi vipakṣe 'sti | evakāreṇa sādharmaṇasya
vipakṣaikadeśavṛtter nirāsaḥ | yathā prayatnānant[ar]i-
yakaḥ śabdo 'nityatvād iti | prayatnānantariyakatve
hi sādhye 'nityatvam vipakṣaikadeśe vidyudādāv
asti | ākāśādau nāsti | tato 'vadhāraṇenāsyā⁶⁾ nirāsaḥ |
asattvaśabdāt⁷⁾ purvasminn avadhāraṇe 'yam arthaḥ
syād | vipakṣa eva *yo nāsti sa hetuḥ | tathā ca pra- *8
yatnānantariyakatvam sapakṣe 'pi nāsti | tato na
hetuḥ syāt | tataḥ pūrvam na kṛtam | niścitagraha-
ṇena saṃdigdhavipakṣavyāvṛttiko⁸⁾ nirastaḥ | yathā
devadattaputraḥ śyāmas tatputratvāt paridṛśyamāna-
putravād iti |

1) *NBT*, grahaṇāt.

2) *NBT*, reads here: prayatnānantariyakasya.

3) *Ms.* pramāpānant^o.

4) *Ms.* tatra sattva^o.

5) *Ms.* viruddhe.

6) *NBT*, niyamenāsyā.

7) *NBT*, vacanāt.

8) *NBT*, 'naikāntiko.

- *b, 1 nanu sapakṣe sattvam ity ukte sapakṣe sattvam
 eveti gamyate tat kim artham ubhayor¹⁾ upā*dānam |
 satyam | kimtv anvayo vyatireko vā niyamavān eva
prayuktavyo yenānvayaprayoge cānvayagatir²⁾ iti | tena
 na dvayor upādānam ekatra prayoge kartavyam iti
 śikṣaṇārtham atrobhayor upādānam kṛtam |
5. anumeyo 'tra jijñāsitaviśeṣo dharmī | atreti hetu-
lakṣaṇe niścetavye | jijñāsitaviśeṣagrahaṇena cājñāta-
 *2 viśeṣatāmātram upa*lakṣyate | anyathā hi vyāpti-
 smaraṇayuktasyāgnyādikaṃ³⁾ paryeṣamāṇasya dhū-
 mādidasanamātrād eva naganitam[bā]dau⁴⁾ vah-
 nyādipratitir yā sā na saṃgrhitā syāt | sādhya-
dharmasāmānyena samāno 'rthaḥ sapakṣaḥ samānaḥ
sadrśo [yo] 'rthaḥ (pakṣeṇa) sa sapakṣa uktaḥ | upacārāt
 *3 ⁵⁾samānaśabdena viśiṣyate | samānaḥ pakṣaḥ sapakṣaḥ |
samānasya ca sa śa*bdādeśo yogavibhāgāt | samānaḥ
 pakṣo 'syeti tu na kartavyam | evaṃ hi pakṣeṇa sā-
 drśyaṃ [sa]⁶⁾pakṣasya na pratipāditam syāt | pakṣa-
 syaiva ca sapakṣasadrśyaṃ pratipāditam syāt | na
 caitat | sapakṣasyāprasiddhatvāt | idānim eva hi tallak-
 ṣaṇam kriyate | samānatā ca sādhyadharmasāmānyena |
7. na sapakṣo 'sapakṣaḥ | tato 'nyas tadviruddhas tada-
 *4 bhāvaś ca | trirūpāṇi *ca trīṇy eva liṅgāṇi | anupalabdhiḥ
svabhāvaḥ kāryaṃ ceti | tatra pratiśedhyasyopala-
bdhilakṣaṇaprāptasyānupalabdhir abhāvavyavahārasā-
dhanī | upalabdhilakṣaṇaprāptir upalambhapratyayān-

1) Ms. twice.

2) Jambuvijaya suggests the correction: °prayoge [vyatireka gatir vyati-
 rekaprayoge] cānv.

3) Ex cj. ms. kvāgniḥ kva agnyā°.

4) Ms. naganitamādau.

5) Ms. inserts paścāt.

6) Correction proposed by Jambuvijaya.

tarasākalyam | svabhāvaviśeṣaś ca | yaḥ svabhāvaḥ
satsv anyeṣūpalambhapratyayeṣu san pratyakṣa eva
bhavati | upalabdhilakṣaṇaprāpto 'rthaḥ | drśya ity
arthah* | avidyamāno 'py asāv atra yadi bhaved drśya *5
eva bhaved iti sambhavanaviṣaya upalabdhilakṣa-
ṇaprāpta ity ucyate | tasyānupalabdhir abhāvavya-
vahāram sādhayati | deśakālasvabhāvaviprakṛṣṭapra-
tyayāntaravikalavyavacchedārtham viśeṣaṇopādānam |
na cātra pratiṣedhamātram anupalabdhīḥ | tasya
svayam asiddheḥ siddheś cānaṅgatvāt | kiṃ tu vast-
vantarasyopala*bdhir eva | vastuno 'pi na yasya *6
kasyacit | api tū pratiṣedhyābhāvākṣepakasyaiva | na
tv ekajñānasamsargina eva ¹⁾ | yadi hy ekajñānasam-
sargivastvantaropalambho 'nupalabdher lakṣaṇam
syāt ²⁾ tadā iha devadattopalambhād bahirabhāvas
tasyaiva katham sidhyati | na hi tatraikajñānasam-
sargivastvantaropalambho 'sti ||

8. iyam cānupalabdhīḥ [karma]kartṛ*dharmatayā ³⁾ dvi- *7
prakārā | tatra yadā karmadharmo 'nupalabdhis tadā
ghaṭaviviktabhūtaḥ | yadā tu kartṛdharmaś tadā
tadāśritam jñānam | tatra yat tad ghaṭavaikalyam
tad bhūtaḥ svarūpam eveti tadgrāhinā jñānena
grhītam eveti | tasmād iyam anupalabdhir mūḍham
praty abhāvavyavahāram eva sādhayati | amūḍhasya
pratyakṣa eva siddhatvāt | kāraṇānupalabdhyādayas
tu paro*kṣe viṣaye pravartamānā abhāvaṃ sādhayanty *8
eva | vartamānakālā ceyam gamikā atitakālā cāsati
smṛtīmanāṣkārabhramṣe | tato nāstiha ghaṭo 'nupa-
labhyamānatvāt | nāsīd iha ghaṭo 'nupalabdhdād iti

1) Before this ms. has: na tv ekajñānasamsargikasyaiva which is redundant.

2) Ms. here adds *tat* which seems to be out of place.

3) Ms. kartṛsadha°.

śakyaṃ avasātum | na tu [na] bhaviṣyaty atra ghaṭo,
'nupalapsyamānatvād iti | anāgatāyāḥ saṃdigdharu-
patvāt ||

- *5, a, 1 9. iyam ca prayogabhedād aneka*prakārā | tatra
1) svabhāvānupalabdhiḥ | yathā nāstiha dhūma upa-
labdhilakṣaṇaprāptasyānupalabdheḥ | pratiśedhyo hi
dhūmas [tasya] yaḥ¹⁾ svabhāvas tasyānupalabdhiḥ |
2) kāraṇānupalabdhiḥ | yathā nātra dhūmo vahn्या-
bhāvāt | pratiśedhyasya hi dhūmasya kāraṇam vahnis
tasyehānupalabdhiḥ |
3) vyāpakānupalabdhir yathā nātra śiṃśapā vṛkṣā-
bhāvāt | pratiśedhyā hi śiṃśapā tasyāś ca vyāpako*
vṛkṣas tasyānupalabdhiḥ |
*2 4) kāryānupalabdhir yathā nehāpratibaddhasāmar-
thyāni dhūmakāraṇāni santi dhūmābhavad iti | pra-
tiśedhyānām dhūmakāraṇānām kāryam dhūmas tasya
cehānupalabdhiḥ |
5) svabhāvaviruddhopalabdhiḥ | yathā nātra śīta-
sparśo vahner iti | pratiśedhyasya śītasparśasya yaḥ
svabhāvas tasya viruddho vahnis tasya cehopalabdhiḥ |
*3 6) kāraṇaviruddhopalabdhir yathā nā*sya romaharṣā-
diviśeṣāḥ santi saṃnihitadahanaviśeṣatvād iti | pra-
tiśedhyānām romaharṣādiviśeṣānām kāraṇam śītam
tasya viruddho dahanaviśeṣas tasya cehopalabdhiḥ |
7) vyāpakaviruddhopalabdhir yathā nātra tuṣāra²⁾-
sparśo dahanād iti | niśedhyasya tuṣārasparśasya vyā-
pakam śītam tasya viruddho dahanas tasya cehopa-
labdhiḥ |
*4 8) kāryaviruddhopalabdhir yathā *nehāpratibaddha-
sāmarthyāni śītakāraṇāni santi vahner iti | pratiśe-

1) Ms. dhūmastasāyaḥ.

2) Ms. °spaspa°.

dhyānaṃ śītakāraṇānāṃ kāryaṃ śītaṃ tasya viruddho
vahnis tasya cehopalabdhiḥ |

9) svabhāvaviruddhavyāptopalabdhir yathā nātra
vahnis tuṣārasparśād iti | pratiṣedhyasya vahner yaḥ
svabhāvas tasya viruddhaṃ śītaṃ tena vyāptas tuṣā-
rasparśas ¹⁾ tasya cehopalabdhiḥ |

10) kāraṇaviruddhavyāptopalabdhir yathā nātra dhū-
mas tuṣā*rasparśād iti | pratiṣedhyasya hi dhūmasya *5
yat kāraṇam agnis tasya viruddhaṃ śītaṃ tena
vyāptas tuṣārasparśas tasya cehopalabdhiḥ |

11) vyāpakaviruddh[avyāpt]opalabdhir yathā nāyaṃ
nityaḥ kadācitrākāryakāritvād iti | pratiṣedhyasya nity-
atvasya niratīśayatvaṃ vyāpakam tasya viruddhaṃ
sātīśayatvaṃ tena vyāptaṃ kadācitrākāryakāritvaṃ
tasya cehopalabdhiḥ |

12) kāryaviruddhavyāptopalabdhir *yathā nehāprati- *6
baddhasāmarthyāni vahnikāraṇāni santi tuṣārasparśād
iti | pratiṣedhyānāṃ hi vahnikāraṇānāṃ kāryaṃ vahnis
tasya viruddhaṃ śītaṃ tena vyāptas tuṣārasparśas
tasya cehopalabdhiḥ |

13) svabhāvaviruddhakāryopalabdhir yathā | nātra
śītasparśo dhūmād iti | pratiṣedhyasya hi śītaspar-
śasya viruddho 'gnis tasya kāryaṃ dhūmas tasya
cehopalabdhiḥ |

14) kāraṇa*vi²⁾ruddhakāryopalabdhir yathā na roma- *7
harṣādiviśeṣayuktapurusaṅgān ayaṃ pradeśo dhūmād
iti | pratiṣedhyānāṃ romaharṣādiviśeṣānāṃ kāraṇam
śītaṃ tasya viruddho 'gnis tasya kāryaṃ dhūmas
tasya cehopalabdhiḥ |

1) Ms. sparśās.

2) Ms. °vi twice.

- 15) vyāpakaviruddhakāryopalabdhir yathā | nātra tuṣārasparśo dhumād iti | pratiṣedhyasya tuṣārasparśasya vyāpakam śitam tasya viruddho 'gnis tasya kāryam* dhūmas tasya cehopalabdhīḥ |
- *8 16) kāryaviruddhakāryopalabdhir yathā nehāprati-baddhasāmarthyāni śitakāraṇāni santi dhūmād iti | pratiṣedhyānām śitakāraṇānām kāryam śitam tasya viruddho 'gnis tasya kāryam dhūmas tasya cehopalabdhīḥ ||
10. ime sarve kāraṇānupalabdhyādayaḥ ¹⁾ pañcadaśānu²⁾palabdhiprayogaḥ svabhāvānupalabdhou samgraham upayānti *pāraṃparyeṇārthāntaravidhipratiṣedhābhyām prayogabhede 'pi svabhāvānupalabdhou samgraham tādātmyena gacchanti | ³⁾etad uktam bhavati | anupalabdhirūpatā tāvat sarvāsām aviśiṣṭā | tathā svabhāvaviruddhopalabdhyādāv apy anupalabdhirūpatā vidyata eva | sahābhā*vākṣepikā ⁴⁾ yasyopalabdhīḥ sā tasyānupalabdhir ity anupalabdhilakṣaṇayogāt | tathā hi yeyaṃ vahnir upalabdhīḥ sā śitābhāvam ākṣipati ⁵⁾ |
- *2 11. bhavatv anupalabdhīḥ sā dr̥śyatā ⁶⁾ tu katham | ucyate | dr̥śyatve 'py anupalabdhir iti kṛtvā | tathā hi yadi śitasparśo dr̥śyo bhavet tadā ⁷⁾ tasyopalabdhim niṣedhyābhāvavyāpto vahnir viruṇaddhy eva | evam
- *3 abhāvasādhanī sarvaivānupa*labdhir vyāptisāmar-

1) NB. kāryānup^o.

2) NB. ekā daśānup. In fact there is a difference between Dharmakīrti and Vidyākaraśānti on this point. The latter's anupalabdhis are 16, or better 15, these 15 being aspects of svabhāvānupalabdhi cf. TS., p. 16 f.

3) Ms. repeats: svabhāvānupalabdhou... prayogabhede.

4) Ms. sadabhā^o.

5) Ms. 'bhavanokṣi^o.

6) Ms. sadṛṣatā.

7) Ms. tathāhi.

thyād dr̥śyasyopalabdhim viruṇaddhiti sāmāthyāt
svabhāvānupalabdhir bhavati | na sākṣāt | yasyām
tv anupalabdhou tadaiva tam eva pratipattāraṃ prati
dr̥śyatvam¹⁾ pratiṣedhyasya siddham dr̥śyānupalabdhir
eva tasyāḥ svalakṣaṇam iti sākṣāt svabhāvānupala-
bdhiḥ | yat punar anyair ucyate | yady api saṃ-
pratitanī dr̥śyānupalabdhir nāsti virodhādikāle* tv *4
āsīd sai²⁾va bhāvapratipattinibandhanam iti | tena
dr̥śyānupalabdhipūrvatvāt svabhāvaviruddhopalab-
dhyādīnām dr̥śyānupalabdhyā antarbhāvaḥ | saṃ-
pratitanyāś ca dr̥śyānupalabdher abhāvāt tatsvabhā-
vānupalabdher anyāsām anupalabdhinām bheda iti³⁾ ||

12. yad api kaiścit svabhāvaviruddhopalabdhyādīnām
anumitānumānatayā dr̥śyānupalabdhirūpatocyate* | *5
dūrād vāne rūpaviśeṣaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā uṣṇasparśaviśeṣas
taddeśavyāpako⁴⁾ 'numīyate tasmāc ca śītasparśā-
bhāvapratītiḥ | āhatya tu dr̥śyānupalabdher anudayād
dr̥śyānupalabdher bhedena nirdeśaḥ | ata eva cānu-
mitānumānam etat kevalam atyantābhyāsāj jhaṭiti
tathābhūtapratītyudaye saty ekam anumānam ucyate |
vastutas tv anekam anumānam etat evam* anyatrā- *6
pi vyāpakaviruddhopalambhādāv ūhyam iti dvayam
apy etan na manasi toṣam ādadhāti ||

13. svabhāvaḥ svasattāmātrabhāvini sādhyadharme hetuḥ |
yo hetor ātmanaḥ sattām apekṣya vidyamāno na
hetusattāvvyatiriktaṃ kiṃcid dhetum apekṣate | tasmin
sādhye yo hetuḥ sa svabhāvaḥ | anena ca viśeṣaṇe
nāntyāt⁵⁾ kāraṇāt kāryaṃ yad utpadyate tasya saṃ*- *7

1) Ms. paśyatvam.

2) Ms. āsīdyām.

3) Cf. *NBT.* end of 2nd chapter.

4) Ms. tādveśa.

5) Ms. nāntyāk°.

gṛahaḥ kṛtaḥ | tad api hi tasya svabhāva eva | tat-
sattāmātrabhāvitvāt | anyārtham api kṛtam anyārtham
bhavatīti nyāyāt ¹⁾ paravipratipattir api [nirā]kṛtā
pare hi paścātkālabhāvinam api kṛtakatvādidharmam
svabhāvam icchantīti | yathā vṛkṣo 'yaṃ śiṃśapāt-
vād iti | kāryam yāvadbhiḥ svabhāvair avinābhāvi kā-
raṇe hetur iti prakṛtam ²⁾ | kāraṇe sādhye yāvadbhiḥ*
svabhāvair avinābhāvi tair eva hetuḥ | yathā 'gnir
atra dhūmāt ||

14. etāni ca trīṇi līṅgāni sādhyabhedāt | sādhyāpekṣayā
hi līṅgavyavasthā | sādhyas ca vidhiḥ pratiṣedho
vā anyonyalakṣaṇavyavacchedalakṣaṇatvād anayoḥ
vidhir apy anarthāntarārthāntarabhedād dvividhaḥ
tatrānarthāntare gamye svabhāvahetuḥ | arthāntare
tu gamye kāryam iti dvāv etau vi*dhisādhanau |
svabhāvapratibandhe hi saty artho 'rtham gamayet
svabhāvena pratibandhaḥ pratibaddhasvabhāvatvam
yasmāt svabhāvapratibandhe sati sādhanārthaḥ ³⁾
sādhyārtham gamayet | tasmād anayor eva vidhisā-
dhanatā | nanu svabhāvapratibandham antareṇāpi
candrodayāt kumudavikāsapratipattiḥ samudravṛddhiś
ca | ātapasadbhāvāt parabhāge chāyāpratipattiḥ ⁴⁾ |
kṛttikādyudayānantaras ca rohiṇyādī*nām udayaḥ
pratiyate | tat katham ucyate svabhāvapratibandhe
saty ⁵⁾ artho 'rtham gamayed iti | tadapratiba-
ddhasya tadavyabhicāranīyamābhāvāt | tad iti

1) See above p. 279.

2) Cf.: kāryam svabhāvair yāvadbhir avinābhāvi kāraṇe | hetuḥ sva-
bhava. *PV.*, *Svarthānumānapariccheda*, ed. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana,
Allahabad, p. 27, cf. *PV.*, I, 4.

3) Ms. °dhāranārthaḥ.

4) Ms. kāyā°.

5) Ms. pratibandhasyuty.

svabhāva uktaḥ | tenāpratibaddhas tadapratibaddhaḥ |
 yo yatra svabhāvena na pratibaddhaḥ sa tam apratiba-
 ddhaviṣayam avaśyam eva na [na] vyabhicaratīti nāsti
 taylor avyabhicāranīyamaḥ | yā tu candrodayādeḥ* *3
 samudravṛddhyādipratītiḥ sānumānād eva | tathā hi
 hetudharmasyaiva tādr̥śo 'trānumitir¹⁾ yatrāmbh[ojā-
 bodhā]²⁾daya ekakālā jātāḥ | evaṃ sati³⁾ kāryād iyaṃ
 kāraṇasiddhiḥ | vāyuviśeṣa eva ca yaḥ kṛttikādyu-
 dayakāraṇaṃ sa eva hi saṃtatyā rohiṇyādyudaya-
 akāraṇaṃ | hetudharmapratītes tatpratītir iti | evaṃ
 atrāpi | yatrāvyabhicāra*s tatra pratibandho⁴⁾ 'bhy- *4
 ūhyaḥ | sa ca pratibandhaḥ sādhye 'rthe līngasya |
 vastutas tadātmyāt tadutpattēś ca | atatsvabhāva-
 syātadutpattēś ca | tatrāpratibaddhasvabhāvatvāt | te
 ca tadātmyatadutpattī svabhāvakāryayor eveti | tā-
 bhyām eva vastusiddhiḥ | pratiśedhasiddhis tu yatho-
 ktāyā evānupalabdheḥ | nanv anupalabdhou kaḥ pra-
 tibandhaḥ | pratibaddhas⁵⁾ ca hetur gamakaḥ | *idā- *5
 nīm eva hi kathita[m |] svabhāvapratibandhe hi saty
 artho 'rthaṃ gamayed iti | tatra svabhāvānupalabdhou
 tadātmyaṃ pratibandhaḥ | tathā hi tatrābhāvavyava-
 hārayogyatā sādhyate | yogyatā ca yogyasvabhāva-
 bhūtaiveti | kāraṇānupalabdhyādau maulapratiban-
 dhanibandhano gamyagamakabhāvaḥ | viruddhopa-
 labdhyādau tu tattadviviktapradeśādikāryatvāt tād-

1) Ms. °metir.

2) Ms. yatrāmbhodhedhādaya. I accept the suggestion of Muni Jambu-
 vijaya. Cf. TS. 1422:

tad atra hetudharmasya tādr̥śo 'numitair matāḥ |
 jātās tadekakālās te sarve bodhādayo 'pare ||

3) Mss. sadi.

4) Ms. tatrāpa°.

5) Ms. dhas.

*6 ṛsasya *dahanādes tadutpattinibandhana eva iti || ||
 || tarkasopāne svārthānumānaparicchedo dvitīyaḥ || o ||

1. trirūpalingākhyānam parārtham anumānam | pūrvam
uktam yat trirūpaṃ liṅgaṃ tasya yat prakāśakam
vacanam tat parārtham anumānam kāraṇe kāryo-
pacārāt | anumānakāraṇe trirūpalinge kāryasyānumā-
 *7 nasyopacārāt samāro*pāt | yathā naḍvalodakam¹⁾ pā-
daroga iti | tad dvididham prayogabhedāt | sādharmy-
myavat | vaidharmyavac ca ||
2. samāno dharmo yasya sa sadharmā | tasya bhāvaḥ
sādharmyam | dr̥ṣṭāntadharminā saha sādhyadhar-
miṇo hetukṛtam sādṛśyam | visadr̥śo dharmo yasya
sa vidharmā tasya bhāvo vaidharmyam | dr̥ṣṭānta-
 *8 dharminā saha sādhyadharmiṇo hetukṛtam vaisā*dr̥-
śyam | yasya sādhanavākyaṣya sādharmaṃ abhidhe-
yaṃ tatsādharmaṃ | yasya ca vaidharmaṃ
abhidheyam tad vaidharmaṃ | nanu ca sādharma-
vati sādhanavākye vyatireko nāsti²⁾ | vaidharmaṃ
cānvayas tat katham trirūpalingākhyānam parārtham
anumānam syāt | naiṣa doṣaḥ | sādharmyeṇāpi hi
prayoge 'rthād vaidharmaṃ | asati tasmin sādhy-
 *6, b, 1 e*na hetor anvayāyogāt | sādharmyābhidheyena³⁾ yukte
prayoge sāmartyād vyatirekasya pratītis tasmāt
trirūpalingākhyānam | tasmin vyatireke buddhyāva-
sīyamāne⁴⁾ 'sati sādhyena hetor anvayasya buddhyā-
vasitasyābhāvāt ||

1) Ms. yathānadvalo°. Muni Jambuvijaya quotes for the same expres-
 sion: Prameyakamalamārtanḍa by Prabhācandra, Nirṇaya-S. ed.
 p. 6, l. 16.

2) NBT, noktaḥ.

3) Or: sādharmaṃvyabhi° Ms. dhārmyenāvyabhidhe°.

4) Ms. taddhyāva°.

3. tathā vaidharmyeṇāpy anvayagatiḥ | asati tasmin sādhyābhāve hetvabhāvasyāsiddheḥ | tatheti yathānvayavākye *tathārthād eva vaidharmyeṇa prayoge 'nvaya- *2
syānabhidhīyamānasyāpi gatiḥ | asati tasminn anvaye buddhigṛhīte sādhyābhāve hetvabhāvasyāsiddher anavasāyāt | tasmād ekenāpi vākyenānvayamukhena vyatirekamukhena vā prayuktena sapakṣāsapakṣayor liṅgasya sadasattvakhyāpanam kṛtam bhavatīti nāvāśyam vākyadvayaprayogaḥ ||
4. tatrānupalabdheḥ *sādharmyavān prayogaḥ | yad *3
yatropalabdhilakṣaṇaprāptam san nopalabhyate sa tatrāsadvyavahāraṇaviśayaḥ | yathā śaśāsīrasi śṛṅgam | nopalabhyate ca kvacitpradeśaviśeṣa upalabdhilakṣaṇaprāpto ghaṭa iti | atra dṛṣṭāntadharmināḥ śaśāsīrasaḥ sādhyadharmināś ca pradeśaviśeṣasyopalabdhilakṣaṇaprāptapratīṣedhyānupalambhahetukṛtam sādrśya* *4
m abhidheyam ||
5. tathā svabhāvahetoḥ prayogaḥ | yat sat tat sarvamanityam yathā ghaṭaḥ samś ca śabdaḥ | śuddhasya ¹⁾
svabhāvasya prayogaḥ | sattvamātrasyopadhyanapekṣatvāt | yad utpattimat tad anityam | yathā ghaṭaḥ utpattimac ca sukham ity avyatiriktaviśeṣaṇasya | utpattir hi svarūpalābhaḥ | sā ca bhāvasyātmabhūtaiva kevalam kalpanayā vyatirekiṇīva pra* *5
darśyate | yat kṛtakam tad anityam yathā ghaṭaḥ kṛtakaś ca śabda iti vyatiriktaviśeṣaṇasya | apekṣitaparavyāpāro hi svabhāvaṇiṣpattau bhāvaḥ kṛtaka iti | evam pratyayabhedabhedivādayo draṣṭavyāḥ | atra hi dṛṣṭāntadharminibhiḥ sādhyadharminām hetukṛtam sādrśyam abhidheyam | sarva ete sādhanadharmā yathāsvam

1) Ms. śraddhasya.

- *6 pramāṇaiḥ siddhasādhanadharmamātrānubandha ev*^a
sādhyadharme 'vagantavyāḥ | vastutas tasyaiva tat-
svabhāvatvāt | tanniṣpattāv anīṣpannasya tatsva-
bhāvatvāyogāt | viruddhadharmādhyāsasya bheda-
lakṣaṇatvāt ¹⁾ ||
6. kāryahetoḥ sādharṃyavān prayogaḥ | yatra yatra
dhūmas tatra tatra vahnir yathā mahānase | dhūmas
cātra | atra dr̥ṣṭāntadharṃiṇo mahānasasya sādhy-
dharṃiṇas ca pradeśaviśeṣasya dhūmahetukṛtam
7 sādṛsya^m abhidheyam | ihāpi tribhir anupalambhair
dvābhyāṃ pratyakṣābhyāṃ siddhe kāryakāraṇabhve
kāraṇe sādhye kāryahetur ²⁾ vaktavyaḥ | anupalabdher
vaidharṃyavān prayogaḥ | yat sad upalabdhilakṣaṇa-
prāptam tad upalabhyata eva | yathā nīlaviśeṣaḥ ³⁾
na caivam ihopalabdhilakṣaṇaprāptasya ghaṭasyopa-
labdhir iti | atra hi dr̥ṣṭāntadharṃiṇo nīlaviśeṣasya
8 sādhy^a dharṃiṇas ca pradeśasyopalabdhilakṣaṇaprāp-
ta ⁴⁾ niśedhyānupalambhākhyahetukṛtam vaisādṛśyam
abhidheyam |
7. svabhāvahetor vaidharṃyavantaḥ prayogaḥ | asaty
anityatve nāsti kvacit sattvaṃ yathā gaganamaline
saṃś ca śabdaḥ | asaty anityatve na kvacid utpatti-
mattvaṃ yathākāśe | utpattimac ca sukham ⁵⁾ | asaty
7, a, 1 anityatve na kvacit kṛtakatvaṃ yathā kurma^{romni}
kṛtakaś ca śabda iti | atra dr̥ṣṭāntadharṃiṇā sādhy-
adharṃiṇo hetukṛtam vaisādṛśyam abhidheyam ||
8. kāryahetor vaidharṃyavān prayogaḥ | asaty agnau na
bhavaty eva dhūmo yathā mahāhrade | dhūmas cā-

1) Cf. Hetubinduṭikā, p. 47, ll. 6-7.

2) Ms. °yam hetur.

3) Ms. viśeṣanena.

4) Ms. prāpte.

5) Ms. makham.

treṭi | atra dr̥ṣṭāntadharminā sādhyadharmino hetu-
kṛtaṃ vaisadr̥śyam abhidheyam ||

9. trirūpalingākhyānam parārtham anumānam ity arthān
na pakṣādivacanam anumāna*^m uktam bhavati | tatra *²
pratijñā tāvan na sākṣāt ¹⁾ sādhanam | arthād evār-
thagateḥ | artha eva hy arthaṃ gamayati pratibandhān |
nābhidhānaṃ viparyayāt | pāraṃparyeṇāpi na bhavati |
sādhyasyaivābhidhānāt | sādhyasādhanadharmaviśeṣo-
padarśanārtham anavayavabhūtāpi pratijñā dr̥ṣṭān-
tavat prayujyata iti cet | na | evaṃ hy anujñādivā-
kyam api prayoktavyaṃ syāt | na hi tair vinā *^{eva} *³
sādhanasya pravṛttir²⁾sambhavati | viṣayopadarśanam
api niṣpha³⁾lam | tenāpi vinā sādhyapratīteḥ | tathā hi
yat kṛtakam tat sarvam anityaṃ kṛtakaś ca śabda
ity etāvanmātre prayukte 'nityaḥ śabda iti pratītir
bhavaty evāntareṇa pratijñāvacanam | nanv asati
pratijñāvacane sapakṣādivyavasthā katham | tathā hi
sādhyadharmaśamānyena samāno 'rthaḥ sapakṣaḥ |
tadabhā*^vaprabhāvitaś cāsapakṣa iti | asati hi pratijñā- *⁴
nirdeśe pakṣāpekṣānibandhanam trairūpyam nāstīti |
asad etat | tathā hi pratijñāvacanam antareṇāpi
sarvaṃ saṃpadyata eva | upanaya[na]sya punar arthaḥ
pakṣadharmavacanenaiva nirdiṣṭa iti na tatpūrvake
tasya kaścid upayogaḥ | vyāptipūrvake vacane pakṣa-
dharmavacanād eva tadarthasiddheḥ kim anenopa-
nay*^{ena} | nigamanam apy aniṣṭam sādhanavākyañ- *⁵
gam iti ⁴⁾ ||

1) Ms. inserts *na*.

2) Ms. *ttim*.

3) Ms. ^ospa^o.

4) Ex. conj.: ms. niścitaṃ tac ca no niṣvaṅgam iti.

10. trirūpaliṅgākhyānaṃ parārtham anumānam ity uktam |
trayāṇāṃ rūpāṇāṃ ekasyāpi rūpasyānuktau sādhanā-
bhāsaḥ | uktasyāpy asiddhau saṃdehe ca pratipā[dya-
pratipā]dakayoḥ | trayāṇāṃ rūpāṇāṃ madhya eka-
syānuktau | api-śabdād dvayor api | sādhanasyābhāsaḥ
sādhanasya saḍṣam ity arthaḥ | uktasyāpi-śabdād
*6 anuktāv api | *asiddhau saṃdehe vā pra¹⁾tipādyasya
pratipādakasya hetvābhāsaḥ |
11. tatraikasya rūpasya dharmisaṃbandhasyāsiddhau saṃ-
dehe cāsiddho hetvābhāsaḥ | yathā śabdasyānityatve
sādhye cākṣuṣatvam ubhayāsiddham | cetanās tarava
iti sādhye sarvatvagapaharaṇe maraṇaṃ prativādy-
asiddham | vijñānendriyāyurnirodhalakṣaṇasya mara-
*7 ṇasyānenābhyupa*gamāt | acetanāḥ sukhādaya iti
sādhyā utpattimattvam anityatvaṃ vā sāmkyasya
svayaṃvādino 'siddham | atra cotpattimattvam anitya-
tvam vā paryāyeṇa hetur na yugapat | tathā hi
parārtho hetūpanyāsaḥ | parasya cāsata utpāda utpatti-
mattvam sataś ca niranvayo vināśo 'nityatvam siddham
*8 i*ti | tathā svayaṃ tadāśrayaṇasya vā saṃdehe 'siddhaḥ |
yathā bāspādibhāvena saṃdigdho bhūtasamghāto
'gnisiddhau | bhūtānāṃ pṛthivyādīnāṃ saṃghātaḥ
samūho'gnisiddhyartham upādīyamāno 'siddhaḥ ²⁾ |
yathā ceha nikuñje³⁾ mayūraḥ kekāyitād iti tadāpāta-
deśavibhrame | āpātanam āpātas tasya kekāyita-
*7, b, 1 syāpāta utpādas *tasya deśas tasya vibhramo bhrān-
tiḥ | atha vā āpataty āgacchaty asmād ity āpātaḥ |
sa eva deśas tadāpātadeśaḥ | tasya vibhrame | yat pu-
nar ucyate 'nyair āpāta āgamanam iti tad ayuktam |

1) Mss. nāpra°.

2) Viz. saṃdigdhāsiddha.

3) Ms. nikuñjama°.

na hi śrotrendriyasya prāpyakāritā ghaṭate | nāpidaṃ
bauddhadarśanam | tathā hy uktam Abhidharmakośe¹⁾ |

“cakṣuḥśrotramano ’prāptaviṣayam trayam anyatheti” |

āśrayāsiddhyāpy asiddhaḥ | yathā sa*rvagata ātmā sar- *2
vatropalabhyamānaguṇatvād ākāśavat | sarvatropa-
labhyamānaguṇāḥ sukhādayo yasya tadbhāvas tat-
tvam | tasmād yady ayam²⁾ ātmā sarvagato na
bhavet | katham dakṣiṇāpatha upalabdḥāḥ sukhādayo
madhyadeśa upalabhyante | ākāśavad iti drṣṭānte
ākāśasya guṇāḥ śabdaḥ | sa ca yathā vikāriṇi pu-
ruṣa upalabhyate tathānyatrāpiti | syād eṣa he*tur *3
yadi bauddhasya sarvatropalabhyamānaguṇatvam
ātmanāḥ siddham syāt | yāvad³⁾ ātmaiva na siddhaḥ ||
tad evam asiddhaḥ ṣaṭprakārah || || o ||

12. tathaikasya rūpasyāsapakṣe ’sattvasyāsiddhāv anaikān-
tiko hetvābhāsaḥ | yathā śabdasya nityatvādike
dharme sādhye prameya[tvā]diko dharmāḥ sapakṣavipa-
kṣayoḥ sarvatraikadeśe ca vartamānaḥ | nityatvādika
ity atrādiśabdena pra*yatnānantariyakatvāprayatnā- *4
nantariyakatvayor grahaṇam | prameyatvādika ity atrā-
diśabdenānityatvāsparśatvayor grahaṇam | kiṃbhūtaḥ
prameyatvādiko dharmo ’naikāntikaḥ⁴⁾ | sapakṣavipa-
kṣayoḥ sarvatraikadeśe ca vartamānaḥ | nityaḥ śabdaḥ
prameyatvād ity atra nityatve sādhye prameyatvam
sapakṣavipakṣayor vartate | ekadeśe ca vartamāna
ity atrāpi sa*pakṣavipakṣayor iti saṃbandhanīyam | *5
caśabdenaitat kathayati | na kevalam sapakṣavipak-

1) AK., I, 43, c, d.

2) Ms. yadyam.

3) Corr. yāvatā ?

4) Ms. °ne°.

- *6 savyāpi prameyatvam anaikāntiko hetvābhāsaḥ | yo 'pi sapakṣavyāpi vipakṣaikadeśavṛttiḥ | tathā vipakṣavyāpi sapakṣaikadeśavṛttiḥ | yo vā sapakṣavipakṣayor ekadeśavṛttiḥ sarvo 'sāv anaikāntiko hetvābhāsa iti | tatra prayatnānantariyakaḥ śabdo 'nityatvā*d ghaṭavad ity ayam vipakṣaikadeśavṛttiḥ | vidyuti vartamān[atv]ād ākāsādāv ¹⁾ avartamān[atv]āt sapakṣavyāpi tu bhavaty eva | sarvasya prayatnānantariyakasyānityatvāt | aprayatnānantariyakaḥ śabdo 'nityatvād vidyud iva | ayam sapakṣaikadeśavṛttiḥ | aprayatnānantariyako 'sya sapakṣo 'vidyudākāsādiḥ | tatrānityatvam
- *7 vidyuti vartate nākāsādau | *vipakṣavyāpi tu bhavaty eva | sarvaprayatnānantariyake 'nityatvasya gatavāt | nityaḥ śabdo 'sparśatvāt paraśuvat ²⁾ | asparśatvam hi vipakṣaikadeśe buddhyādau sapakṣaikadeśe cākāsādau vartata ity ubhayapakṣaikadeśavṛttiḥ | evaṃ caturvidhaḥ sādharmaṇānaikāntiko nirदिष्टाḥ ||
- *8 13. tathā'syaiva rūpasya saṃdehe 'py anaikāntika eva | yathā sarvajñaḥ kaścid vivakṣitaḥ pu*ruṣo rāgādīmān veti sādhye vakṛtvādiko dharmāḥ saṃdigdhavipakṣavyāvṛttikaḥ | sarvatraikadeśe vā sarvajño vaktā nopalabhyata iti | evaṃ prakārasyanupalambhasyādṛṣyāt-maviṣayatvena saṃdehahetutvāt | asarvajñaviparyayād vakṛtvāder vyāvṛttiḥ saṃdigdhā ||
- *8, a, 1 14. dvayo rūpayor viparyayasiddhau viruddhaḥ | kayor dvayoḥ | sapakṣe sattvasyāsapakṣe cāsattvasya yathā kṛtakatvam *prayatnānantariyakatvam ca nityatve sādhye viruddhahetvābhāsaḥ || dvayor upādānam asapakṣavyāpyasapakṣaikadeśavṛttitvena bhedaḥ | anayoḥ

1) Ms. °sādāvart°.

2) The reading of the ms. is sure: but one would expect another example.

sapakṣe 'sattvam asapakṣe ca sattvam iti viparyaya-
 siddhiḥ | etau sādhyaviparyayasādhanād viruddhau ||
 dvayo rūpayor ekasyāsiddhāv aparasya ca samdehe
 'naikāntikaḥ | dvayor ity anvayavyatirekayoḥ | eka*²
 syāsiddhāv iti | asapakṣe 'sattvasya | aparasya samdeha
 iti sapakṣe sattvasya | yathā vītarāgaḥ sarvajño vā
 vakṛtvād iti | vyatireko 'trāsiddhaḥ samdigdho 'nvayaḥ |
 sarvajñavītarāgayor viprakarṣād vacanādes tatra
 sattvam asattvaṃ vā samdigdham | anayor¹⁾ eva
 dvayo rūpayoḥ samdehe 'naikāntikaḥ | yathā sātma-
 kaṃ jīvaccharīraṃ prāṇādimattvād iti* | na hi sātma-³
 kānātmakābhyām anyo rāsir asti yatra praṇādir²⁾
 va[r]tate | nāpy anayor ekatra vṛtiniścayaḥ | ata
 evānvayavyatirekayoḥ samdehād anaikāntikaḥ | sā-
 dhyetarayor ato niścayābhavāt³⁾ |

15. evam eteṣāṃ trayāṇāṃ rūpāṇāṃ ekaikasya⁴⁾ dvayor
 dvayor vā rūpayor⁵⁾ asiddhau samdehe ca yathāyogam
 asiddhaviruddhānaikāntikāś *trayo hetvābhāsāḥ | evam⁴
 anantaroktena krameṇa trayo hetvābhasaḥ | asiddha-
 viruddhānaikāntikāḥ | trayāṇāṃ rūpāṇāṃ pakṣadhar-
 mānvayavyatirekākhyānāṃ madhye | ekaikasya rūpa-
 syāsiddhau samdehe ca | tathā dvayor dvayor vā
 rūpayor asiddhau⁶⁾ samdehe ca yathāyogam iti yathā-
 sambhavam | tatra dharmisambandhasyaikasya rūpa-
 syāsiddhāv asiddhaḥ | tathā sapa*kṣe sattvasyāsiddhau⁵
 samdehe cānaikāntika uktaḥ | evam ekaikasya rūpa-
 syāsiddhau samdehe cāsiddho 'naikāntikaś ca hetvā-

1) Ms. jñānayor.

2) Ms. pramāṇādir

3) Ex cj; ms. anvayaniścayāt.

4) Ms. ekasya.

5) Ms. twice: rūpayor.

6) Ms. rūpayāsiddhau.

bhāsa uktaḥ | tathā dvayor dvayo rūpayor viparyaya-
 yasiddhau viruddho hetvābhāsa uktaḥ | asapakṣe
 sattvasya ca saṃdehe vā 'naikāntika uktaḥ | tathā
 sapakṣāsapakṣayor api hetoḥ sadasattvasaṃdehe 'nai-
 *6 kāntika eva | *evam dvayor dvayor asiddhau saṃdehe
 ca viruddho 'naikāntikaś ca hetvābhāsa iti |

16. nanu katham uktaṃ trayo hetvābhāsā iti | yāvatā vai-
 phalyam ¹⁾ api hetoḥ pṛthagdūṣaṇam asti | tad uktam |
 “sādhanam yad vivādena nyastam tac cen na sādhyate |
 kiṃ sādhyam anyathāniṣtam bhaved vaiphalyam eva
 vā ” || iti ²⁾

atra kecid āhuḥ | satyam asty eva vaiphalyam
 *7 hetoḥ pṛthagdūṣaṇam | yat punar asiddhavi*ruddhā-
 naikāntikakathanam Viniścayādau tad asāmarthyapra-
 bhedena | dvividham hi sādhanasya dūṣaṇam bhavati |
 asāmarthyam vaiyarthyaṃ ca | asāmarthyam tv asid-
 dhaviruddhānaikantikabhedāt trividham | vaiyarthyaṃ
 tv ekam eveti | syād etad yadi vaiyarthyaṃ nāma
 *8 Udyotakareṇāpi | “adhigatam api gamayatā pramā-
 ṇena piṣtam piṣtam syād ” iti ³⁾ | nyāyaparamēśvarair
 api Kīrttipādair uktam |

“niṣpāditakriye kaścid viśeṣam asamādadhāt |
 karmaṇy aindriyam anyad vā sādhanam kim itīṣyata ”
 iti ⁴⁾

tataś ca katham idaṃ vaiyarthyaṃ hetor dūṣaṇam |

1) Ms. vaimalyam.

2) PV., IV, 33.

3) NV., p. 5, I, 9

4) PV., III, 241.

athaivam ucyate pramāṇājanakatvād¹⁾ dhetur api
vyartha ucyata iti | evaṃ hi vāstavam idaṃ hetor
na dūṣaṇaṃ syāt | vāstavam dūṣaṇaṃ vaktavyam | *8, b, 1
kiṃ ca | yadi vaiyarthyaṃ hetor dūṣaṇaṃ bhinnam
syāt | yathāsiddhatāpratipakṣeṇa heto rūpaṃ pakṣa-
dharmatā | viruddhatāpratipakṣeṇānvayaḥ | anaikānti-
katāpratipakṣeṇa ca vyatirekaś²⁾ coktaḥ | tathā vaiyar-
thyapratipakṣeṇāpy anyad rūpaṃ uktaṃ syāt | na
cānyad rūpaṃ hetor ghaṭate | yadi tarhīdaṃ vaiyar-
thyam na pṛthagdūṣaṇaṃ kathaṃ tarhy anena vādi
nigr̥hyate ||

17. atra kecid āhuḥ | asiddha eva *vaiyarthyaṃ [antar]-³⁾ *2
bhavatīti | tathā hi jijñāsitaviśeṣo dharmī pakṣaḥ | tad-
dharmaś ca hetuḥ | tato 'pakṣadharmatvād vaiyarthyaṃ
asiddha evāntaryāti | anye tu sudhiya evaṃ āhuḥ |
nedaṃ hetor dūṣaṇaṃ kiṃ tu parārthānumāne vaktur
api guṇadoṣā — — —⁴⁾ iti viphalābhidhāyī apratibha-
yaiva nigr̥hyata iti⁵⁾ | tathā hi prakṛtam eva sādhyam
nāprakṛtam iti sādhyatāyāḥ prakṛter ni*yāmaka eṣa *3
panthā | evaṃ kṛtvā parisamkhyānaṃ na virudhyate |
doṣaḥ punar nyūnatvam asiddhir vādinā sādhayitum
iṣṭasyārthasya viparyayasādhanam aṣṭā⁶⁾ daśa dr̥ṣṭānta-
doṣāś ceti | atra ca yac codyam parihāraś ca tad
granthavistarabhayān na likhitam iti | sthitam etad

1) Ms. pramāṇajanak.

2) Ms. °katāvīpakṣeṇa ca.

3) Ms. °thaṃ na bha°. The vyartha-hetvābhāsa is in fact included in the asiddha as one of its varieties by Bhāsarvajña, Nyāyasāra, p. 11-117. For the discussion cf. *TB.*, p. 28, l. 8 ff.

4) Text corrupt °doṣāścityataḥ. Cf. above p. 270, § 79 a similar sentence vaktur guṇadoṣayor vicāryamāṇatvāt perhaps: cintyante.

5) Source?

6) Ms. iṣṭā aṣṭā.

yadi vaiyarthyam hetor dūṣaṇam tadāsiddha evān-
tarbhavati | no ced apratibhayaiveti ||

- *4 18. trilakṣaṇo hetur uk*taś tāvātārthapratītir iti na pṛthag
dr̥ṣṭānto nāma sādhanāvayavaḥ kaścit | tena nāsya
lakṣaṇam pṛthag ucyate gatārthatvāt | hetoḥ sapakṣa
eva sattvam asapakṣāc ca sarvato vyāvṛtti rūpam
uktam abhedena | punar aviśeṣeṇa¹⁾ kāryasvabhāvayor
janmatanmātrānubandhau darśanīyāv uktau | rūpaśa-
*5 bdaḥ pratyekam abhisambadhyate²⁾ | hetoḥ *sapakṣa
eva sattvam iti sādhyenānugatam idam ekaṁ rūpam
asapakṣāc ca sarvato vyāvṛttir iti sādhyanivṛtṭyā
nivṛttir asya dvitīyam rūpam uktam | abhedeneti
svabhāvādihetum akṛtvā | janmatanmātre saty anu-
baddhau | sādhanam kṛteti³⁾ samāsaḥ | tac ca darśa-
yatā dhūmas tatrāgnir iti asaty agnau na kvacid
*6 dhūmo yathā ma*hānasetarayoḥ | yatra kṛtakatvam
tatrānityatvam anityatvābhāve kṛtakatvāsambhavo
yathā ghaṭākāśayor iti darśanīyam | na hy anyathā
sapakṣavipakṣayoḥ sadasattve yathoktaprakāre śakye
darśayitum | tatkāryatānīyamaḥ kāryaliṅgasya ca sva-
bhāvavyāptiḥ⁴⁾ | tasyāgnyādeḥ kāryam tatkāryam tasya
bhāvas tatkāryatā | na hy anyathā śakyo darśayitum⁵⁾
iti liṅgavacanavipariṇāmena sambandhanīyam ||
- *7 19. asmimś cārthe darśite darśita eva dr̥ṣṭānto bhav*ati |
etāvanmātratvāt tasyeti | etenaiva dr̥ṣṭāntadoṣā api
nirastā bhavanti | etenaiveti hetulakṣaṇābhidhānenaiva
dr̥ṣṭāntasyāpi sāmartyād gatārthatvena dr̥ṣṭāntadoṣā

1) Ms. punarviśeśakāry.

2) Ms. °samvardhyate.

3) P ā ṇ . , II, 1, 32.

4) Ms. cāsva°.

5) Ms. darśaniyo.

api sādhanatvena pratyākhyātā bhavanti | yena hetoḥ
 sāmānyaviśeṣalakṣaṇaṃ yathoktaṃ pradarśyate [sa] sa-
 myagdr̥ṣṭāntaḥ | yena punas tasya lakṣaṇadvayaṃ na
 pradarśyate so dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsa ¹⁾ ity u*ktam bhavati | *8
 yathā nityaḥ śabdaḥ | amūrtatvāt | karmavad iti
 sādhyadharmavikalo ²⁾ dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsaḥ | atra hi kar-
 maṇi nityatvaṃ sādhyadharmo nāsti | anityatvāt
 karmaṇaḥ | amūrtatvaṃ hi sādhanadharmo 'sti | amū-
 rtatvād asya | nityaḥ sabdaḥ | amūrtatvāt paramāṇu-
 vad iti | sādhanadharmavikalaḥ | sādhyadharmo 'tra
 nityatvam asti nityatvāt paramāṇoḥ | nityaḥ *śabdo *9, a, 1
 'mūrtatvād ghaṭavad iti | ubhayadharmavikalo 'nity-
 atvān mūrtatvād ghaṭasya | rāgādīmān ayaṃ ³⁾ puruṣo
 vacanāt | rathyāpuruṣavat | saṃdigdhasādhyadharmo
 'yaṃ dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsaḥ | rathyāpuruṣe vacanaṃ praty-
 akṣeṇaiva niścitam iti sādhanadharmaḥ tatra siddhaḥ |
 sādhyadharmas tu rāgādīmatvaṃ saṃdigdham | mara-
 ṇadharmā'yaṃ puruṣaḥ | rāgādīmatvād rathyāpuru-
 ṣavat | rathyā*⁴⁾ puruṣe maraṇadharmatvaṃ sādhyadha- *2
 rma utpattimattvādinā liṅgena niścitam | rāgādi-
 mattvaṃ tv aniścitam iti saṃdigdha[sādhana]dharmā |
 asarvajño'yaṃ puruṣo rāgādīmatvād rathyāpuruṣa-
 vat | saṃdigdhobhayadharmā | sādhyadharmasādhanā-
 dharmavyāvṛtter, rathyāpuruṣe niścetum aśakyatvād
 anvayo | yatra sādhyena hetor vyāptir nāsti so 'nan-
 vayah | yo vaktā sa rāgādīmān iṣṭapuruṣavat | atrā*- *3
 nvayo nāsti | na hi rāgādīnāṃ vacanasya tādātmya-
 lakṣaṇas tadutpattilakṣaṇo vā ⁴⁾ pratibandho 'sti yenā-

1) Ms. sadadr̥ṣṭo.

2) Ms. dhye dharmivi.

3) Ms. mānayoḥ.

4) Ms. ca.

- trānvayaḥ syāt | apratidarśitānvayaḥ | yathānityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakatvād ghaṭavad | atra yady api kṛtakatvasyānityatvenānvayo 'sti | na tu vacanenākhyāta ity avidyamāna ivāsau | vyāpyavyāpakabhāvasya vacanenāpradarśitatvād iti | viparītānvayaḥ | yathā *yad anityaṃ tat kṛtakam | atra hi yat kṛtakam tad anityam ity anvaye vaktavye yad anityaṃ tat kṛtakam iti viparītam anvayaṃ karoti sarva ete dṛṣṭāntadoṣāḥ sādharmaṇa ||
- *4 20. tathā vaidharmyenaṇāpi | yathā nityaḥ śabdaḥ | amūrtatvāt | paramāṇuvad iti sādhyāvyatirekī | nityatvāt ¹⁾ paramāṇoḥ sādhyam na vyāvṛttam | atraiva karmavad iti dṛṣṭānte sādhanāvyatirekī | amūr*tatvāt karmaṇaḥ | sādhanam atrāvyāvṛttam | ākāśavad iti kṛta ubhayāvyatirekī | ato hy ubhayaṃ na vyāvṛttam | nityatvād amūrtatvād ākāśasya | tathā saṃdigdhasādhyavyatirekaḥ | yathā 'sarvajñāḥ kapilādayaḥ | avidyamānasarvajñatālingabhūtapramāṇātīśayaśāsanatvāt | atra vaidharmyodāharaṇam | yaḥ sarvajñāḥ sa jyotirjñānadikam upadi*ṣṭavān | yathā varddhamānādiḥ | varddhamānāder asarvajñatāyāḥ sādhyadharmasya saṃdigdho ubhayavyatirekaḥ | saṃdigdha vyatirekaḥ | [saṃdigdhasādhanavyatirekaḥ] yathā na trayīvidā brāhmaṇena grāhyavacanaḥ kaścīd vivakṣitaḥ puruṣo rāgādimmattvāt | atra vaidharmyodāharaṇam | ye grāhyavacanā na te rāgādimantas tad yathā gautamādayo dharmasāstrāṇāṃ *praṇetāraḥ | gautamādibhyo rāgādimattvasya sādhanadharmasya vyāvṛttiḥ saṃdigdhā | saṃdigdhobhayavyatirekaḥ | yathāvītarāgāḥ kapilādayaḥ | parigrahāgrahayogāt | parigraho jīvitapariṣkāraṇam svīkāraḥ | āgrahas teṣv
- *5
- *6
- *7

1) Mss. anityatvāt.

evābhiṣvaṅgaḥ | atra vaidharmyād udāharaṇam | yo
vītarāgo na tasya parigrahāgrahau | yathā ṛṣabhā-
deḥ | ṛṣa*⁸bhāder avītarāgatvaparigrahāgrahayoḥ sā-
dhyasādhanadharmayor vyatirekaḥ saṃdigdhaḥ | avya-
tireko yathāvītarāgo vaktṛtvāt | yatra vītarāgatvam
nāsti na sa vaktā yathopalakhaṇḍa iti | yady api upa-
lakhaṇḍād ubhayaṃ vyāvṛttam | tathāpi sarvo vītarāgo
na vakteti vyāptyā vyatirekāsidher avyatirekaḥ |
apradarśitavyatirekaḥ | yathā 'nityaḥ *śabdaḥ kṛtaka-
tvād ākāśavad iti vaidharmyeṇa | yo hy anityaḥ śab-
daḥ kṛtakatvād iti prayoge vaidharmyeṇākāśavad iti
brūyāt tena vidyamāno 'pi vyatireko na pradarśitaḥ
tathā | yadāśeṣapadārthopas¹⁾amhāreṇānityatvābhāve
kṛtakatvābhāvo yathākāśavad iti karoti tadā vyati-
reko darśito bhavati | na punar upamānamātreṇa
viparītavyati*rekaḥ | yathā yad akṛtakam tan nityam
atra hi yan nityam tad akṛtakam iti vaktavye | yad
akṛtakam tan nityam iti vadati ||

21. na hy ebhir dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsair hetoḥ sāmānyalakṣaṇam
sapakṣa eva sattvam asapakṣe cāsattvam eva niśca-
yena śakyam darśayitum viśeṣalakṣaṇam vā | ebhiḥ
sādhyavikalair dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsair hetoḥ sāmānyalakṣaṇam
niścayena [na] śakyam²⁾ darśayitum viśeṣalakṣaṇam
veti sambandhanīyam | tadarthāpattyaishā[m] nirāso
veditavyaḥ | yasmād ebhir dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsair dvididham
api lakṣaṇam na śakyam darśayitum | tasmād arthā-
pattyaishām nirāso draṣṭavyaḥ ||
22. dūṣaṇā nyūnatādyuktiḥ | dūṣyate 'nayeti dūṣaṇā |

1) Ms. °to 'yam saṃha°.

2) Ms. viśeṣalakṣaṇam vā janmatanmātrādāvaddhauśakyadarśayitum
sambandhanīyam |

*4 ṇyāsaśrantho yuc ¹⁾ | ādiśabdenāsiddhviruddhānai-
kāntikāḥ | dr̥ṣṭāntadoṣās ca gr̥*hyante ye pūrvaṃ nyū-
natādayaḥ sādhanadoṣā uktās teṣāṃ udbhāvanam
tena pareṣṭārthasiddhipratibandhāt | anena ca yad
ahri²⁾keṇoktaṃ viparyayasādhanam eva dūṣaṇam
nānyad iti tad api parāstaṃ draṣṭavyam | na hi
viparyayasādhanād eva dūṣaṇam | viruddhavat | api
tu parasyābhipretaniścayapratibandhāt | niścayābhāvo
*5 vā bhavati niścaya*viparyaya ity asty eva viparya-
yasiddhiḥ | dūṣaṇābhāsās tu jātayaḥ | abhūtadoṣo-
dbhāvanāni jātyuttarāṇi | jātyā sadṛśyenottarāṇi |
uttarasthānaprayuktatvād ||

iti tarkasopāne parārthānumānaparicchedas tṛtīyaḥ ||
yat³⁾ tarkasopānam idaṃ vidhāya puṇyaṃ mayāptam
śaradinduśubhram |
tenottamāṃ bodhim ahaṃ labheya lokaś ca niryaṭu
bhavād aśeṣaḥ ||

ḥṛtir iyaṃ paṇḍitavidyākaraśāntipādānām || o ||

1) P ā ṇ . . , III, 3, 107.

2) Viz. the Jainas.

3) Meter: indravajrā.

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1.

***THE DEBATE OF BSAM YAS ACCORDING
TO TIBETAN SOURCES***

Kamalaśīla is a well-known personality. The Commentary written by him on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita¹⁾ shows that he was a very acute thinker and an extremely subtle logician. He also played a prominent part in the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet. Under the rule of K'ri sroñ lde btsan²⁾, he was invited to Tibet and properly to bSam yas³⁾ and there found himself engaged in a famous controversy with the Chinese Mahāyāna Hva šaṅ (Ho shang), a follower of the Ch'an school. It was the stern opposition of Kamalaśīla and of his companions that put an end, at least officially, to the Ch'an doctrines in Tibet where they had met with wide favour.

The events of this famous debate which is recorded in all the official Tibetan Chronicles, have been recently examined by Prof. Demiéville⁴⁾ in a book which is one of the most learned contributions to the history of cultural relations between China and Tibet as yet undertaken.

All the available material has been collected, compared and studied in this work with such insight and depth

1) I adopt the form which appears in the Sk. colophon of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.

2) For his dates see TTK, 742-797 (or 804? H. E. RICHARDSON in *JRAS*, 1952, p. 134 ff.).

3) See below p. 27.

4) *Le Concile de Lhasa, Une controverse sur le quiétisme entre Bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine du VIII^e siècle de l'Ère Chrétienne*. Bibl. Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. VII, Paris 1952.

of research that very little, for many years to come, can be added to it.

The debate gave Kamalaśīla the opportunity to write three booklets called *Bhāvanākrama* in which the main points of view of his school concerning meditation on the Buddhist truth are expounded. The third of these *Bhāvanākrama*, the so called *Uttarabhāvanākrama*, is known to exist in its Sanskrit text in Russia; the late Prof. Obermiller gave notice of it¹⁾. Prof. Lamotte published in the book of Prof. Demiéville the translation of the Tibetan version (pp. 336-353). Of the first *Bhāvanākrama* Prof. Demiéville gave a short résumé from the rather imperfect Chinese translation (pp. 333-335). Examining the photos of some Sanskrit manuscripts which I took in Tibet on my journey of 1939 I discovered that one of them, of which the first page is missing, had on top of recto of the second page a small note written in *dbu med* characters. It can be so read: *dBu ma sgom rim*.

That this book contains one of the three *Bhāvanākrama* was then made certain by the colophon in which the title of the book as well as the name of the author are given. The comparison with T. proved that the text is that of the first *Bhāvanākrama*. The manuscript is preserved in the monastery of *sPos k'an*²⁾ on a side valley to the right of the *Myan c'u*, between Gyantse and

1) *A Sanskrit Ms. from Tibet. Kamalaśīla's Bhāvanākrama*, in *Journal of the Greater India Society*, II, 1935, pp. 1-11. Tib. text ed. by SHYUKI YOSHIMURA in *Ryūkokudaigaku Ronshū*, *Journal of the Ryūkohu University*, n. 346, Sept. 1953 p. 24 and Id. *Tibetan Buddhistology*, Research Soc. for the Eastern Sacred Books, Ryūkoku University, Kyōto 1953, p. 4.

2) TPS, p. 201.

Shigatse. The fact that some Tibetan monk or *lotsāva* wrote at the beginning of the second page the title of the work in Tibetan seems to show that when the palm-leaf manuscript fell into his hands ¹⁾, the first page was already missing. I must add that the photos were taken in very unfavourable conditions of light, so that sometimes the reading is difficult. But in spite of that, in collaboration with my pupil, Doctor R. Gnoli, we were able to transcribe the complete text. Then I revised it, having recourse to constant comparison with the Tibetan translation. This Tibetan translation has been added to the Sanskrit original; it is based on the *s D e d g e* edition; but the *s N a r t ' a n i* edition has also been collated. The comparison shows that generally *D* is more correct than *N*.

I must add that the Sanskrit text is in many cases faulty and in a few points differs slightly from the Tibetan translation ²⁾.

So a new document concerning a famous discussion held at the court of the Tibetan kings and which was to be of great importance for the history and fortune of Tibetan Buddhism has come to light and I am glad to submit it to the attention of scholars.

There is no need of publishing the Chinese translation because, as has been pointed out by Prof. Demiéville, it is rather poor. In the book there seems to be a hint to the Tibetan king and an admonition not to think too highly of his present elevated position; even kings do not escape death, sorrow, and misery which inevitably follow exi-

1) The ms. itself is derived from an original discovered and copied as it was found: *y a t h ā l a b d h a*.

2) *S a m d h i* and punctuation, very irregular, have been revised and corrected.

stence of all kinds. Kings also should therefore carefully meditate on their own destiny and avoid patronizing wrong doctrines which result in sin and are certainly the cause of unlucky rebirth (p. 175).

According to the Tibetan sources, Śāntarakṣita, usually known by the Tibetans as the Bodhisattva and the m k ' a n p o , the (first) abbot of bSam yas, had anticipated that the heresy—such was to him the D h y ā n a school—would have spread so widely in Tibet as to endanger the right understanding of the doctrine; therefore on the point of death¹⁾ he had recommended in his will that, should the situation grow worse, his pupil K a m a l a - śīla was to be invited. When new troubles arose, Y e š e s d b a ṅ p o , (J ñ ā n e n d r a), viz. one of the seven Tibetans who, as tradition would have us believe, were then properly ordained (s a d m i m i b d u n) and of whom we shall speak again, was insistently asked by the king to start the controversy with the M a - h ā y ā n a H v a š a ṅ . J ñ ā n e n d r a refused to appear²⁾ before the king and only when he was threatened with death if he insisted on his refusal, he came to the court to remind the king of the promise he had made to Śāntarakṣita. This account may be perhaps true and it only means that the followers of Śāntarakṣita, the Indian party, the r T s e n m i n p a, were unable to oppose the arguments of the Chinese master. From other accounts also it appears that the disciples of the H v a š a ṅ were determined to maintain their position

1) When Śāntarakṣita died his remains, according to PT, ja, p. 114 a, were placed behind the Has po ri (G. TUCCI, *To Lhasa and beyond*, p. 122) and there a m c ' o d r t e n was built over them.

2) As we shall see he had left b S a m y a s .

of privilege and did not hesitate to impose their supremacy on others. The chronicle of PT is in this respect very interesting, because, as usual, it contains some details which he drew from earlier documents and sources. As I have shown elsewhere, there are good proofs that he had access to the archives of the temples and that he reproduced some of the old documents in his book; the comparison of his text with some originals recently discovered, testifies to his accuracy¹⁾. It is clear that the preaching of the H v a š a ñ excited the minds of the Buddhists to such an extent that the king was compelled to intervene. Not only did the royal temple of bSam yas see its regular cults greatly impaired, but the followers of the two parties, the Indian and the Chinese, the rTsen min pa (漸門派 tsien men p'ai), rim pa, krama (the gradual path) and the sTon min pa²⁾ (頓門派 Tun men p'ai), gcig c'ar, also cig car, yaugapadya, (the sudden path) lost control of their nerves. We do not know if the Indian party really lost a great number of its adherents; the sources agree in telling us that they were the minority and that only some of the leading monks remained faithful to the teaching of the Bodhisattva; among others were sBa Ratna, and Vairocana. The quarrel turned into tragedy. Some of the members of the two opposite parties had recourse to violence, to suicide and to murder (PT ja, 115), Nāñ ša mi (sBa b ž e d : M y a ñ) cut his own flesh to pieces,

1) See TTK *passim*.

2) This is the transcription adopted by PT ja, p. 115, b, l. 7 but, as a rule, Ch. *men* is transcribed in other texts *min* in the case of the followers of Kamalaśīla and *mun* in the case of the Ch'an adepts. VDL, p. 39, b transcribes: *t von mun* and *brtse min*.

sÑ a g s b y e m a l a (evidently Vimala; s B a b z e d : m Ñ a ' b i m a) and rÑ e g s R i n p o c ' e crushed their genitals; the Chinese H v a š a ñ M e m g o (s B a b ž e d : the Chinese teacher, s t o n p a) put fire on his own head and died¹⁾. For this reason all the followers of the H v a š a ñ decided to kill the members of the Indian party.

Some of these personages are mentioned elsewhere. s Ñ a g s b y e m a l a is perhaps the same as the Tibetan monk P ' i m o l o referred to by Chinese sources (Demiéville, p. 41). As regards Ñ a ñ š a m i, Š a m i of Ñ a ñ, a part at least of his name seems to correspond to (C h ' i) s h ê m i (shih) 乞奢彌尸²⁾ of the same documents. As to M e m g o this is not a name, but a nickname by which the monk was known after he had committed suicide by putting fire on his head³⁾; the only difference between the Chinese and the Tibetan tradition is that according to the latter he was a Chinese H v a š a ñ. It is clear that there is complete agreement as regards the details also between PT and B u s t o n (p. 195) and other Tibetan writers on one hand and the Chinese works on the other.

The pages of B u s t o n on the events which prepared the advent of Ś ā n t a r a k ṣ i t a and P a d m a s a m b h a v a are more or less condensed from the s B a b ž e d and suggest only a few remarks. S a ñ š i did not take up "his

1) The Ch'an followers were accustomed to bloody mutilations of their body. The story of Shên kuang who cut off his left arm with a sword is well-known; but see D. T. SUZUKI, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, I, p. 177.

For other references see WITTFOGEL-FÊNG, *History of Chinese Society*, Liao, p. 303 and n. 24, *Concile*, p. 38, n. 2.

2) *Concile*, p. 41, n. 3: but Prof. Demiéville notes: "coupure incertaine".

3) See *Addenda*.

abode in Cho tag", (Obermiller, p. 187), but he "hid the book (c'os) which he had brought from China in a rock¹⁾", cf. a few lines below: "the (king) got the sacred texts that were concealed". "The Chinese Me and Go and the Paṇḍita Ananta these three", is a mistake of the text itself: rGya me mgo dañ paṇ ḍi ta Ananta dañ gsum, but it is evident that rGya me mgo is the same Me mgo about whom see above (Buston, gSun ḅabum, vol. ya, p. 125, b), viz. rGya bzañ me mgo of PT, ja, p. 78, a. We find his name very often in PT, 78, a, 78, b as the adviser of the young king and along with Sañ ši and gSal snañ as one of those who insisted on the king choosing the Buddhist religion. The translations were made by him from the Chinese, by Ānanda from Sanskrit and by another from other languages (PT, ja, 78, b). The place where the translators met was Bya k'añ in Has po ri. The books translated were those brought from China by Sañ ši and those brought from Mañ yul, viz. from the roads leading to Nepal.

The books taken from China to Tibet and then buried in mC'ims p'u (PT ja, 77, b, and VDL, p. 31, a) were according to PT only three i.e. rDo rje gcod pa (Vajracchedikā), Sā lu ljañ pa (Śālistambha), and first of all, dGe ba bcui mdo, a list of the ten moral actions which plays an important part in the preaching of the Buddhist Law at the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan.

As regards Sañ ši, the question is more complicated. Who is this Sañ ši? Is he a Chinese or a Tibetan? The

¹⁾ The place where the books were buried was mC'ims p'u according to PT ja, p. 77, b and the 5th Dalai Lama (p. 31, a). On mC'ims p'u cf. G. TUCCI, *To Lhasa and beyond*, pp. 171, 123; TTK, p. 83, n. 124.

common tradition is that he was sent to China and to India, and that he took along with him from China some books and, according to some, also a *Hva šaṅ*. Some, as we shall see, say that he was a Tibetan, others (PT) a Chinese: moreover *Saṅ ši* is a title variously spelt in the historical works in which we find:

Saṅ ši (VDL, p. 32, *b f.*)

id. Buston (*ya*, p. 125, *a*)

id. PT (*ja*, p. 74 *ff.*)

id. GR (p. 85, *b*) in Laufers' copy *Saṅ ši*. *Die Bru-ža Sprache*, reprint, p. 9, n. 2¹⁾).

KT *na*, p. 67, *a*, and *ca*, p. 16, *a* *Saṅ ši ratna* who is the same as Ratna, the son of *sBa Saṅ ši* of GR, p. 85, *b*, viz. Ratna-(rakṣita) of Buston p. 190. But in BZ we find *Saṅ ši ta*; this form occurs also in PT, p. 116 and is perhaps a corruption of *Saṅ ši Ratna* (also written in T. Ratana).

There is a difference between KT *ca.*, p. 16, *a* and KT *na*, p. 67, *a*; in the first we find *K'ri bžer* of *sBa* and in the second *sBa K'ri bžer Saṅ ši ratna*, as if they were one and the same person; in that case the *sad mi* would be six not seven; I therefore considered (TPS, p. 690) *sBa K'ri bžer* and *Saṅ ši ratna* to be two different persons. But BZ also takes *ḅBa K'ri žer Saṅ ši ta* as the name of a single person. This leads us again to consider the various lists of the seven *sad mi* i.e. the first Tibetans to be properly ordained as monks. Let us compare KT, PT, Buston, Ņor, GR, PK.

1) What LAUFER says, *ibid.* on this name *sBa saṅ ši* is wrong.

KT A (ña p. 67, a)	KT B (ca p. 16, a)	BZ	Buston A p. 127, a (Ob. II, p. 190)
1 Vairocana of Pa gor	1 Vairocana	Vairocana	Vairocana
2 Nam mk'a' sñiñ po	2 Lha luñ dpal gyi rdo rje	dPal dbyaṅs	dBa' Mañjuśrī (Ye šes dbaṅ po)
3 Rab rgyal ba dbyaṅs	3 sBa dPal dbyaṅs	Ñan lam rGyal ba mc'og dbyaṅs	dBa' Ratnarakṣita ¹⁾
4 sBa Ye šes dbaṅ po	4 La gsum rgyal ba mc'og	La gsum rgyal bai byaṅ c'ub (Ye šes dbaṅ po)	Bran ka Mu ti ka
5-6 sBa K'ri bžer sañ ši ra tna	5 sBa K'ri bžer	aBa' K'ri [b]žer Sañ ši ta	aK'on Nāgendra
7 rGyal ba byaṅ c'ub	6 rMa rin c'en mc'og	sMañ (sic) Rin c'en mc'og	rTsaṅs Devendra (Ob. rMa rin c'en mc'og)
	7 sBa gSal snañ	sBa gSal snañ	Glañ Ka ta na
			The division is: 3 rgan: dBa' Mañjuśrī, Bran ka Mu ti ka, dBa' Ratnarakṣita
			3 gžoñ nu: aK'on Nāgen- dra, Pa gor Vairocana, rTsaṅs Devendra
			B a r p a: Glañ Ka ta na (= Ye šes dbaṅ po)

1) When those people were initiated they all took a religious name to which, as it is the custom, the name of the mk'a n po who presided over the ordination was added (which is technically called: zur). Therefore we have Jñānendrarakṣita, Ratnarakṣita etc.

Buston B	PT p. 103, b	Nor p. 121, b
<p>Bya (<i>ibid</i>) K'ri gzigs Vairocanarakṣita</p> <p>Ñan lam rGyal ba mc'og dbyaṅs</p> <p>sBa gsal snañ (= Ye šes dbaṅ po)</p> <p>sBa K'ri bžer sañ ši ta (= dpal dbyaṅs)</p> <p>rMa Rin c'en mc'og</p> <p>ḅK'on Klui dbaṅ po bsruiṅ ba</p> <p>gTsañ Legs grub</p>	<p>He refers to different lists</p>	<p>Ye šes dbaṅ po sruñ</p> <p>dBa' rin c'en bsruiṅ } three r gan</p> <p>Rin c'en dbaṅ po</p> <p>bDe bar gšeg pa</p> <p>Bar pa, go c'a</p> <p>Vairocana } three gžon nu</p> <p>Klui dbaṅ po }</p> <p>gTsañ Lhai dbaṅ po</p>

GR p. 85, <i>b</i>	PK p. 100, <i>a</i>	SP p. 171
Pa gor Rat nai bu Vairocana	Three r gan : sBas Ratnarakṣita	sBa K'ri gzigs (= sBa dpal dbyaṅs)
Ñan lam rGyal ba mc'og dbyaṅs	sBas Jñānendrarakṣita	sBa gsal snaṅ (= Ye šes dbaṅ po)
sBa saṅ šii bu Rat na	Ratnendrarakṣita	sBa K'ri gžir (corr.: gžer) bu maṅ (corr.: saṅ) ši ta
rMa Rin c'en mc'og	Bar pa : Glaṅ Sugatavarmarakṣita	Spa gor he[n] ḍdod bu Vairocana
ḍK'on Klui dbaṅ po bsruṅ (gloss: in some lists missing)	Gžon nu : Vairocana	Ñan lam rgyal ba mc'og dbyaṅs
mC'im A nui bu Ša kya pra ba	ḍK'on Nāgendrarakṣita	rMa Rin c'en mc'og
gTsaṅ Legs grub	rTsaṅs Devendrarakṣita	La[s] gsum rGyal bai byaṅ c'ub

As I have already shown in TPS, p. 690, the list of the seven *s a d m i* is far from being reliable; a few names only occur regularly in the various catalogues: *Vairocana*, *sBa K'ri bžer Sañ ši ta*, or *Sañ ši ratna son of K'ri bžer*, *rMa Rin c'en mc'og*, *Ñan lam rgyal ba mc'og*; *sBa gsal snañ* disappears in *Ñor*, *GR*, *PK*, because he is assimilated to *Ye šes dbañ po*, *Jñānendra*. The same identification is found in *SP*, p. 171, *Jñānendra* being considered the religious name of *gSal snañ*, after his initiation. *gSal snañ*, according to the very confused story of *B*, was the incarnation of *Ba Lan glag gi*¹⁾ *sBas gSal snañ* born by the magic agency of a *Hva šañ*; when of age he was sent as a governor in *Mañ yul*. Evidently,—we shall come back again to this point (see below, p. 19),—there has been here a confusion with the *Sañ ši* often referred to before. He was sent to China to collect books and to Nepal and India to fetch *Śāntarakṣita*. He is said to belong to the *sBa* tribe; in the first list of the *s a d m i* given by *B* he became *dBa' Mañjušrī*; but such a name does not appear in the second list.

With *Buston*, who was on good terms with the two contending powers of his day, viz. the *Sa skya pa* and the *P'ag mo gru pa*, two new names appear, *ṅK'on Klu'i dbañ po bsruiñ*, *Nāgendrarakṣita* and *Glañ (Buston A) Ka ta na* the same as *Sugatavarman* of *Ñor* and *PK*²⁾; with *PK*, *B* and *GR* for the first time a man of *gTsañ (gTsañs, rTsañs)* also appears, called now *Devendra*, now *Legs grub*³⁾. The reason is clear; the *Sa skya pa* belonged to the *ṅK'on* family and the *P'ag mo gru pa* to the *rLanñ* family; as overlords

1) Which may be a mistake of the copyists uncertain between a *sBa* and a *Glañ* clan.

2) But *PT ja*, 104, *K'ams pa go c'a*. So also *Po ti bse ru*. *Sugatavarman* looks like a learned sanskritization.

3) Missing in *KT* and *BZ*.

of Tibet or striving for such supremacy, they boasted that some of their ancestors were among the famous seven *sad mi*, the first men to be ordained in Tibet by the Indian *mk'an po* of *bSam yas*, viz. Śāntarakṣita. The lists were therefore altered in order to support these claims. A man of *gTsañ* was also introduced as a result of the importance which this country had attained during the times of the *Sa skya pa* and which was to lead to a fight between *dBus* and *gTsañ*, viz. the *P'ag mo gru pa* on the *dBus* side and the *Sa skya pa* and the rulers of *bSam grub rtse* (*Shigatze*) on the other. But as to the identity of this man, there is no agreement: he is called either *Devendra* or *Legs grub*.

Buston, who witnessed the political ascent of the *P'ag mo gru pa*, or perhaps more likely the editors of his book, went so far as to identify *Katana* of the *Glañs* alias *K'ams pa go c'a* (*P'ag mo gru pa*) with *Ye šes dbañ po*, one of the most important figures in the period with which we are dealing. This shows that there was a tendency to attribute the most distinguished personalities of the first introduction of Buddhism and those who started the monkish tradition to the families which became, in the course of time, the most powerful.

On the other hand *Ratnarakṣita* (B.A, Nor, PK), *Mañjuśrī* (in B.A, identical with *Ye šes dbañ po*) included among the elders of the *Sad mi* are listed by the *sGra sbyor bam gñis pa* among the translators and the compilers of the MV.

We can also add that the larger redaction of the *rBa* (*sBa*) *bžed*¹⁾, according to a quotation found in

¹⁾ This text is said to have circulated in three different redactions, a larger, a smaller, a middling.

PT, ja, 103, *b*, tells us that the *s a d m i* were not seven but only six (and so implicitly KT, A if, following GR, we have to read K'ri bžer [bu] sañ ši Ratna as the son of sBa K'ri bžer), these being:

- 1) rBa K'ri gzigs who was then called dPal dbyaṅs,
- 2) rBa gSal snañ then called Ye šes dbaṅ po,
- 3) Pa gor Vairocana,
- 4) Nan lam rGyal mc'og dbyaṅs
- 5) rMa Rin c'en mc'og
- 6) Las (in other places written Legs) gsum rgyal ba byaṅ c'ub.

A new list with seven *s a d m i* was obtained, according to PT by substituting gTsañ legs grub for Las (in the text of PT here: legs) gsum and adding, after Nan lam, aK'on klui dbaṅ po. These last two names point, as I said before, to a new political situation.

Buston lists nine *s a d m i d*, but the printers or those who revised his manuscript and prepared it for the print, as already suggested by TP, may be responsible for this; Bya K'ri gzigs is not to be considered here as one of the *s a d m i* because after being ordained he obtained the realization of the five *a b h i j ñ ā* and the interpunction between rBa K'ri bžer and sañ ši ta must be cancelled. Moreover it is clear that at the time of Buston, another list was circulated (BA.) which is also mentioned by PT though with a different spelling of some names. Instead of Bran ka Mu ti ka, PT has Mukhendrarakṣita and instead of Glañ Ka ta na, Glañ K'ams pa go c'a¹⁾ But this is not the end: other lists are also known (PT, 104, *a*), f.i.:

1) Which is the reading of Glaṅs po ti bse ru.

1) rBa Ratna, 2) mC'ims Śākyaprabha, 3) gTsañ Legs grub, 4) Vairocana, 5) Žaṅ lha bu (the same as the Žaṅ Ņa bzaṅ gi bu Lha bu Lha btsan of p. 103, *a* see below p. 43); 6) Šud pu ¹⁾ K'oṅ legs (or leb: PT p. 104, *a*); 7) Ye šes dbaṅ po.

This variety of lists and also the fact that instead of seven sad mi the older books (BZ in its larger redaction and KT. A) speak of six sad mi while more recent catalogues bring the number to nine, confirm what I said above that the tradition concerning the first people to be initiated is far from being reliable.

A list which is given by PT, 104, *a*, as taken from the Lo rgyus c'en po ²⁾, most probably derives from the same source as that of KT *ca*, p. 16, *a*, as we can see by comparing the two texts:

Lo rgyus c'en po	KT. (<i>ca</i> , 16, <i>a</i>)
1-2 dGe sloṅ sdom pa sṅa ba rBa yi bandhe gñis	1 sBa gSal snaṅ 2 sBa dPal dbyaṅs
3-4 bTsun pai rab mi Ņan lam Lha luṅ gñis	3 Las gsum rgyal mc'og 4 Lha luṅ dPal gyi rdo rje
5 Blo rno rab mc'og rMa ban Rin c'en mc'og	5 rMa Rin c'en mc'og
6 T'os pa c'e rab Las gsum Byaṅ c'ub rgyal;	6 sBa K'ri bžer
7 mK'as pai yaṅ rab Vairo- cana	7 Vairocana

The corruption of the text of KT is evident: the members of the sBa are here three and not two as in all lists;

¹⁾ Viz. Šud p'u, name of a clan, on which see TTK, p. 66. A Šud p'u blon K'oṅ K'ri signs with other « officials of the exterior » the copy of the edict of Karchung, *Ibid*, p. 55.

²⁾ This is a work of K'u ston brtson ṅgrus (1011-1075). Cf. *Blue annals*, p. 94.

an anachronism is found in substituting Lha luñ dPal kyi rdo rje, the man who killed gLañ dar ma and who was born according to the tradition just about the times of which we are speaking, for a Lha luñ Rab ḅbyor dbyaṅs.

But to these names others are added, that is those of Nam mk'a' sñiñ po and the king himself. The king is here obviously introduced on account of the support given by him to religion, while Nam mk'a' sñiñ po is called in the *Lo rgyus c'en po: mt'u c'e ba* the man possessed of great magic power just as in *KT, na*, p. 67.

It is worth while to add that the identity of dPal dbyaṅs is not clear: in fact while, according to *BZ* (and *KT, B*) he is different from ḅBa' K'ri [b]žer Sañ ši ta, *Buston*, list b, considers the latter to be the same as dPal dbyaṅs. *SP* identifies with him sBa K'ri gzigs still retaining in his list sBa K'ri bžer bu sañ ši ta. *PK.* evidently duplicates the same personage into sBa Ratnarakṣita and Ratnendrarakṣita. *GR* ignoring dPal dbyaṅs but mentioning sBa sañ ši bu Ratna seems to identify the two¹⁾. But, as we shall see later on (p. 140) this identification is very doubtful be-

1) *PT*, 104, *b*; and *GR*—though a corruption of the text: sBa K'ri bžer kyi bu Sañ ši rat na into K'ri bžer Sañ ši ta has given origin to a reduplication: K'ri bžer and Sañ ši ta, but from *PT*, 103 *a*, (*rBa K'ri bžer gyi bu K'ri gzigs sam sañ ši ta*) his name before initiation seems to have been K'ri gzigs provided this identification has not been proposed in order to eliminate K'ri gzigs from some lists.

However this passage as well as the others already quoted of *GR* and *Sum pa mk'an po* distinguish a Sañ ši ta (= Ratna = sBa ratna) from K'ri bžer and make of him the son of the latter (but this is contradicted by *sGr a s by o r* in which we read: Blon K'ri bžer sañ ši v. *CORDIER, Cat.*, III, p. 487, *A. FERRARI, Arthaviniścaya*, p. 540. *NILS SIMONSSON, Indo-tibetische Studien*, I, p. 241). It therefore seems to me that the reading of *GR* is right: it preserves the tradition of a Sañ ši who was the son of a Blon, Žaṅ blon K'ri bžer. The religious name of this son was Ratna. As to the Žaṅ blon K'ri

cause there is reason to believe that there was a dPal dbyañs who was not of the sBa clan.

Nam mk'a' sñiñ po, Ākāśagarbha of gNubs, was a well-known master of Ch'an, about whom some information has been collected by M.lle Lalou, *JA*, 1939, p. 505 ff. and myself in *TPS*, p. 615, n. 252. That he was a Ch'an master is evident from the texts published by M.lle Lalou and by his connection with Ch'an teachers who considered themselves as the spiritual descendants of Bodhidharma. Nam mk'a' sñiñ po is recorded in the rÑiñ ma pa literature, but very little can be found concerning him in the books of the other sects, certainly on account of his peculiar doctrines. But many translations by him are preserved in the huge collection called rÑiñ ma rgyud ḅbum. This contains the most authoritative Tantras of the rDsogs c'en sect, whose dogmatics as we shall see, continue, at least partially, some Ch'an doctrines. Many of these Tantras are certainly apocryphal but some are no doubt genuine, and may contain fragments of the old texts upon which the Ch'an masters of Tibet based their doctrines. It may therefore be surmised that these catalogues of the sad mi have been altered in the course of time not only with the fortunes of the lead-

bzer he may be the same as Žañ blon K'ri bzer of *TLT*, II, 223. Cf. *Concile*, p. 280 n. 5 and p. 368.

In the Karchung inscription of K'ri lde sroñ btsan we find K'ri bzer gsum mdo btsan *TTK*, p. 54 who was dBas blon. Moreover the personality of K'ri bzer is attested by *PTY* (*TOUSSAINT*, p. 240 and 317) where the text seems corrupt, K'zi gžir san ši being here given as a Chinese: perhaps a verse is missing in which it was said that Bha sañ: (= sBa sañ [ši]?) was sent to China to bring back the Hva šañ. But in a manuscript of the same book the reading is the same: the error must go back to the archetype. In the same *PTY* (*TOUSSAINT*, p. 280) Sañ ši ta is different from K'ri bzer, (cf. *ibid*, p. 280).

ing families of Tibet but also with the doctrinal developments of the sects. The triumph of the other schools left in the background such persons as Ākāśagarbha, because they belonged to a trend of thought which was then considered heretical, and the record of his name was only preserved in that peculiar sect which somehow maintained certain doctrinal connections with Ch'an.

Comparing the different lists we can divide them into three groups: a) KT and BZ; b) Buston, GR; c) Ńor, PK; SP is eclectic. KT and BZ are certainly the oldest but the text of KT has been subject to alterations as we can see by comparing KT, A and KT, B with BZ and the *Lo rgyus c'en po*.

The only names which seem to be generally recurrent are Vairocana, sBa gSal snañ, sBa dPal dbyaṅs, rMa Rin c'en mc'og: dPal dbyaṅs is said to be, but probably wrongly, the same as Ratna, the son of K'ri bžer. From PT we know of a Chinese Sañ ši who was the son of aBa' a de u¹⁾, an ambassador sent by the Chinese emperor to the father of K'ri sroñ lde btsan. This boy was a dancer (gar mk'a n) and had been ordered to remain in Tibet to be a playmate of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, whom the Tibetan tradition calls the son of a Chinese princess (PT, 73)²⁾. He was sent back to China by K'ri lde gtsug

1) Has this person anything in common with De'u lim, a Ch'an master of LALOU, *Inventaire*, p. 40?

2) But, as suggested by Prof. Demiéville (*Concile*, p. 9 note) this is highly improbable. We read in TH (p. 26, cf. p. 54) under the year 742: btsan po sroñ lde brtsan brag mar du bltam/yum mañ mon rje noñs - i.e.: "the btsan po Sroñ lde brtsan was born in Brag mar; [his] extolled mother died". Though in the text there is no relative pronoun, from the context it is evident that this event refers to his mother and the fact that the two events are recorded in immediate succession induces us to surmise that she died after the delivery. On the other hand we know that the princess

btsan along with some ambassadors who were to bring back to Tibet some Buddhist texts in Chinese: PT, p. 74 a, (cf. VDL, p. 32, b, *Blue Annals*, p. 41) ¹⁾. He was asked by the Chinese Emperor to stay in China but he refused; when he went back to Tibet, perceiving that the times were not yet ripe for preaching Buddhism, since K'ri sroñ lde btsan was still a boy and the ministers in charge hated Buddhism, he concealed the books in a cave at mC'ims p'u *ibid.*, p. 77 b.

He was later on sent by K'ri sroñ lde btsan to Guge to find out where the treasure of that kingdom had been concealed; he was successful because he was aided by the deity of Žaň žuň Lha Mu tsa men. Such is the story told of him by PT. That Saň ši and the Chinese boy were for PT one and the same person is beyond doubt; when his achievements in Žaň žuň are related he is, in fact, called as be-

Kim šeň (Kin ch'eng) had already died in the year 739 (TH, p. 25 and 51). Moreover some other TH documents clearly state that the mother of K'ri sroñ lde btsan was Maň mo rje bži steň of sNa nam. The orthodox Tibetan tradition without exception, on the other hand, considers the emperor to be the son of the Chinese princess. The reason is to be found in the desire to magnify the dignity of the Tibetan dynasty and to insist on the blood relation of its members with the imperial family of China: this was giving a basis to a pretence which was codified in the expression d b o n ž a ň so common in the Tibetan documents. But does this mean that no trace remains of the sNa nam princess being the mother of the king? Not at all: more than that, a careful investigation of the story of the birth of K'ri sroñ lde btsan might equally well lead us to be very sceptical about the orthodox narration. The story relates that as soon as the boy was born from Kim šeň, the other wife sNa nam bza' said that the boy was her own: and she stole him and ran away with him. The ministers were in great doubt how to settle the question, but then the king invited from their respective countries the paternal relations of his two wives and let the boy recognize straight away his own mother; the child ran into the arms of the Chinese maternal uncle saying: "I am the grandchild of Chinese extraction". The legendary character of the story is evident and if properly read and interpreted fully confirms the TH annals.

¹⁾ See above p. 7.

fore: *rgya p'rug*, the Chinese boy (cf. PT, ja, p. 103, b)¹⁾. So, according to the Tibetan tradition as recorded by PT, we must distinguish the *Saṅ ši*, a Chinese who introduced some Buddhist books from China and was intimate of *K'ri sroṅ lde btsan*, from a *sBa Saṅ ši*, who was a Tibetan.

In either case, *Saṅ ši* is the common spelling in the historical texts. But we cannot rely much on the accuracy of the transcriptions handed down through many manuscripts; nor must we forget that similar titles, more or less corrupt, are to be found at the end of the names of the *bsam gtan mk'an po*, masters of Dhyāna, mentioned by KT (*Blon po bkai t'an yig*, 15 b, Potala edition) as pointed out by R. Stein in his review of Prof. Demiéville's book (*JA*, 1953, p. 278): *šan ti*, *šin ša*, *šan šin*, *šen ši*, etc.²⁾. (Cf. Ch'an texts of TH, Lalou, *Inventaire*, p. 40). Thus the conclusion appears legitimate that *Šan ši* is here the correct spelling and that this word corresponds to Ch. 禪師 'master of Dhyāna'. But the fact is undeniable that our personages are called always *Saṅ ši* with the dental sibilant and the velar *n*, while in the case of the masters of dhyāna we find regularly the initial *š* and the dental *n*: it therefore seems reasonable to suppose that occasionally a confusion was made by the Tibetans between *šan ši*—*ch'an shih* and *sheng*.

To conclude, in spite of the uncertainty of our sources as regards the names of the six (or seven) *sad mi* we cannot consider that story as a mere legend: it seems natural that some people were ordained, after the foun-

1) *Gya p'rug saṅ ši ni rgya nag gi p'o ṅai bu yin*.

2) See below p. 82 ff.

dition of bSam yas and the official recognition of Buddhism.

The tradition is general and precise as regards this point. We know also (PT, 103, *a*) that for the occasion some people and precisely Lañ gro sNañ bžer, gÑer sTag btsan gdoñ gzigs, and Señ mgo Lha luñ gzigs were sent to Vikramaśīla, that they brought back with them to Tibet 12 monks of the Sarvāstivāda school and that the ordination took place in the first fortnight of the first month of spring of the sheep year under the supervision of Śāntarakṣita (PT, 103, *a*, B. Ob., p. 190, VDL, 38, *a*; Ñor, p. 121, *a*. SP, p. 171). In record of that fact, the spiritual lineage of Śāntarakṣita, the first abbot of bSam yas, was reproduced in the wall paintings of the temple; Śāriputra, Rāhula, Nāgārjuna, Legs ldan 'byed (Bhāvaviveka), Śrīgupta, Jñānagarbha, Śāntarakṣita (*ibid.*). The last fact is not of paramount importance because we do not know when these paintings were made and what happened to bSam yas between the reign of gLañ dar ma and the revival of Buddhism. But the chronological references are so precise with their indication of the animal of the cycle and of the month that they seem to go back to some old documents accessible to our historians.

Moreover, in the edict published at p. 50 reference to monks and abbots is made; we also know that in the second month (PT, 104, *b*) of winter of the same year an ācārya was appointed for the c'os gr va of the ordained monks (r a b t u b y u ñ b a i c'os gr va s l o b d p o n b s k o s) as well as an ācārya of the ñ a m a, the lay disciples.

So, to conclude, if great uncertainty remains as regards the first Tibetans who were ordained, with the

exception of a few of them, it appears highly probable that after the foundation of bSam yas and the official recognition of Buddhism as state religion and the consequent spread of Buddhism, some people really entered religion and were properly ordained. As to the year when that happened, that is said to be by PT and B a sheep year: this indication is supplemented by others (f.i. VDL, 38, a) as *me lug*; but we know how cautious we should be in accepting these additions of the second element specifying the cyclic year made in later times.

The sheep year can be either 767, or 779, or 791. If we accept that the debate took place in the year 792, we must dismiss the year 791 because in the space of one year it is impossible that so many things happened, such as the organization of the new church, the death of Śāntarakṣita, the growing antagonism between the Indian and the Chinese, the invitation of Kamalaśīla. Therefore, the year 767 being too early we must accept as most probable the year 779, which agrees with the probable date of the foundation of bSam yas (775)¹.

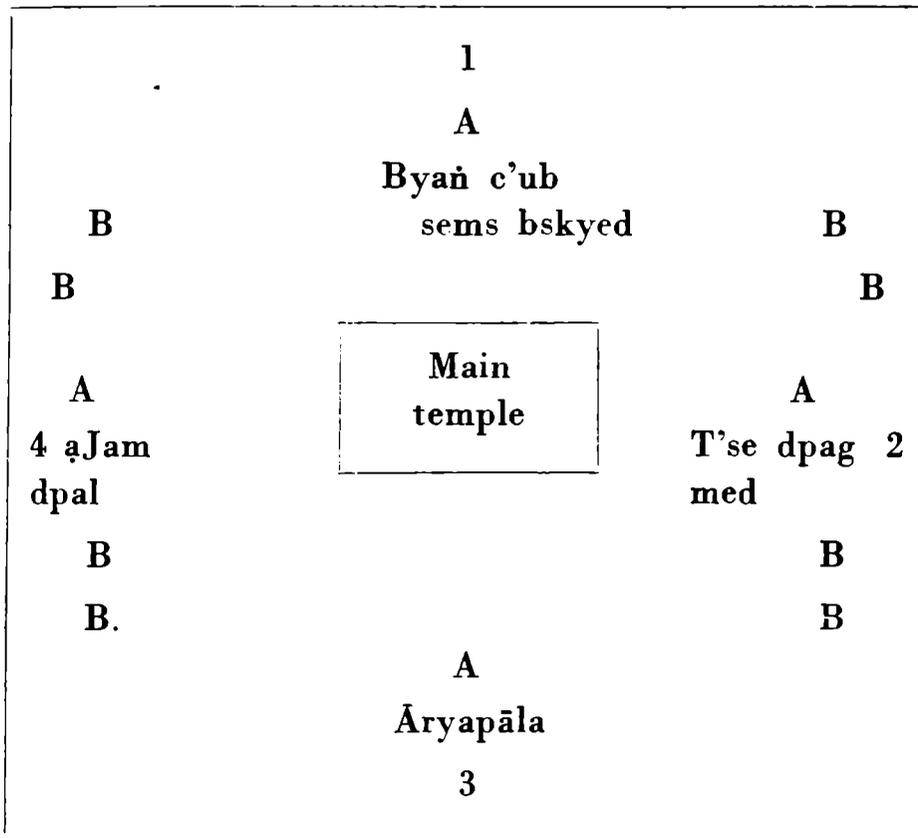
Let us go back to the arrival of Kamalaśīla.

As soon as Kamalaśīla arrived the meeting took place in the Byan c'ub gliñ. This temple is known as *S e m s b s k y e d b y a ñ s e m s* (PT ja, p. 96 a; cf. Laufer, *Die Bruža Sprache*, p. 29), and is one of the most important in bSam yas.

It is to the north of the main chapel in the center. In fact, the plan of bSam yas is naturally the same as that of a maṇḍala. In the middle is the five-storied temple: in the first floor, the *gtso* or fundamental deity is Jo bo:

¹) That the ordination took place after the foundation of bSam yas is well known PT ja, 102, b. B. OB., p. 189 ff., etc.

his retinue is represented by 10 bodhisattvas standing and two c'os skyon. The bodhisattvas are in Chinese style. On the second floor the main deity is again Jo bo, surrounded by 10 bodhisattvas and two c'os skyon, but in Tibetan style. On the third floor there is rNam par rnañ mdsad, with four statues facing the four corners. The retinue is represented by eight seated Bodhisattvas. On the fourth floor there is bDe mc'og surrounded by the rigs lña. As I said elsewhere, the general plan of bSam yas is as follows ¹⁾:



- A) four gliñ
- B) eight minor gliñ
- 1-4) four mc'od rten blue, green, red, white.

¹⁾ Cf. G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and beyond*, p. 119 and *Symbolism of the Temples of bSam yas: East and West*, vol. VI, n. 4, 1956, p. 279.

It would be interesting to ascertain exactly the date of the foundation of bSam yas as in that case we could also establish a *terminus ad quem* for the death of Śāntarakṣita. But the problem is very complicated.

In note 85 of TTK I proposed for the date of foundation of bSam yas the year 791. This hypothesis is untenable: according to the Tib. sources we must distinguish between the year of the planning (b k o d p a) of the temple and the year in which it was actually completed. The years are designated according to the duodenary cycle, but in most cases only one of the elements of the cyclic designation is recorded.

B. Ob., p. 189: fire-hare

PK, p. 100, *a*: started in fire-hare; finished after twelve years

VDL, p. 36, *a*, 37, *a*: begun in water-tiger, finished in fire-horse

PTY (Toussaint, p. 258, 261): begun in earth-tiger, finished after five years in the horse-year

PT Ja 108 foll.

DT (*Blue Annals*, p. 44): begun in a hare-year, finished in a sheep-year

GR, p. 90, *b* and PT, p. 89, *a*: begun in the hare-year, finished in one cycle

DM, p. 26, *a*: founded in the year earth-hare

Vaiḍūrya dkar po 751¹⁾; BZ: hare-year when the king was 13.

Guide of bSam yas p. 16, *b* in year fire-horse.

¹⁾ FROM A. CSOMA DE KÖRÖ, *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, p. 183 (date revised with the addition of two years).

Both DM and the guide of bSam yas add that the temple was erected when K'ri sron lde btsan was only 22 years old. We know that K'ri sron lde btsan was born in 742 (TH, p. 51).

Thus, starting from the date of the birth of K'ri sron lde btsan, which is certain, we may assume that the foundation of bSam yas took place in one of these following years:

fire-hare 787

earth-tiger 798

earth-hare 799

fire-horse 766

hare-years are 751, 763, 775, 787

sheep-year = the fifth year after the hare-years

horse years are 754, 766, 778.

It appears from these data that it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion. The tradition preserved by DM states that when the king undertook the building of bSam yas he was 22 years old. In this case the planning (bk o d pa) should have taken place in $742 + 22$, 763¹⁾ and the completion one cycle later: viz. 774. But then the indication earth-hare is wrong, once more confirming that the only workable element of the cyclic determination is the second term viz. hare = 763. The statement of the guide of bSam yas fire-horse 766 comes near to that; the date of Vaiḍūrya 751, provided a complete duodenary cycle is not added to it, must be excluded because the king was not yet enthroned. The BZ states that in this year of the hare the king was 13, but this is impossible, since this date coincides with the date of his being enthroned; no time

1) According to the Tibetan way of reckoning.

is therefore left for the revolt of the Bon, the arrival of Śāntarakṣita, the invitation of Padmasaṃbhava, etc. All these events and developments are likely to have taken many years.

Theoretically there is an almost general agreement that the temple was undertaken in a hare-year which, excluding for the reason before said the year 751, can only be 763, 775, 787. On the other hand it cannot be forgotten that the hare-year has a suspicious preminence in the story of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan: in a hare year his son was born, in a hare year he married, in a hare year he built bSam yas. A *terminus ante quem* is established by the date in which the debate between the Hva šaṅ and Kamalaśīla took place, which is certainly posterior to the foundation of bSam yas; in fact, the most probable date for this debate has been fixed by Demiéville between 792 and 794 (*Concile*, p. 177).

On the other, hand, the fact that Mya ṅ¹⁾ Tiṅ ṅe ṅ dsin, the tutor of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, is recorded by some sources in connection with the troubles which arose in Tibet within the Buddhist community itself and which led to the invitation of Kamalaśīla and the ensuing debate, seems to support the view that the building of bSam yas cannot be pushed back to the very beginning of the reign of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan. As a colleague of Bran ka Yon tan dpal, Tiṅ ṅe ṅ dsin signs with the qualification of Bande the edict of Karchung²⁾. On the other hand, as we shall see, either he died at the

1) Or ṅaṅ, the two forms alternate.

2) Edited by H. E. RICHARDSON in *JASB*, vol. XV, 1949, p. 45 ff. and by myself, *TTK*, p. 104 and p. 51. The rdo riṅ of Karchung was erected by K'ri lde sroṅ btsan (the son of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan), who died AD 815. (Cf. recently H. E. RICHARDSON, *JRAS*, 1957, p. 69).

age of 55 before his colleague Bran ka Yon tan dpal killed by g L a ñ d a r m a , or he met the same fate of the latter in 841 AD.: in any case, if he enjoyed such authority as to be able to oppose Y e š e s d b a ñ p o (see pp. 36, 47) he could not have been a boy. On the contrary he must have been of a fairly advanced age when Śāntarakṣita died if he could then play an important part in the events. For this reason I think that the date proposed by DT earth-hare 763 (in TTK, p. 81, n. 85 by a regrettable mistake 799) cannot be accepted. At most the year of the foundation can be either wood-hare 787 or much more probably fire-hare 775.

This last year is highly possible when we remember what we have said concerning the seven s a d m i : their ordination has been fixed in a sheep year, and we saw that there is much likelihood that this date, enunciated by the name of the animal only, as is the rule in TH and the old documents, is 779. Few years elapsed between the foundation of the temple and the initiation of the s a d m i , but some more years are necessary for explaining that state of tension which broke between the two schools, the Chinese and the Indian, as well as the work of translation which is said to have taken place at that time. Moreover there is an indication contained e.g. in B.Ob., p. 190 according to which the feast for the consecration of bSam yas lasted 13 years; a number which, in spite of the Tibetan court turning towards Buddhism, is easily explained in Tibet where the aboriginal superstitions were not likely to be cancelled in so short a time and the number 13 enjoyed a special prestige.

I am thus inclined to think that the year 775 as that of the foundation of bSam yas is highly probable: that the

s a d m i were ordained four years later in 779¹⁾; the debate took place between 792 and 794 as indicated by Prof. Demiéville.

Anyhow the fact is well ascertained that the Council took place in bSam yas and not in Lhasa²⁾; we must therefore call this Council "the Council of bSam yas", not of Lhasa. During the period with which we are concerned the centre of Tibet was Yar klun, where the old palaces and the tombs of the kings were located or in Brag mar (dmar) a little to the north of bSam yas (cf. G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond*, p. 123, f).

Kri sroñ lde btsan, Mu ne btsan po and K'ri lde sroñ btsan were born, according to Grags pa rgyal mts'an, in Brag mar (and TH, p. 51, *Validity*, p. 314).

Man sroñ was born in sGrags (TH sGregs) to the west of bSam yas. Brag mar is usually referred to in TH as the winter residence of the kings (E. g. years 708, 709, 711, 718, 719, 723, 728, 732, 735, etc.).

Much that is told in classical literature of Lhasa during the first period of Tibetan history is the result of a purposeful glorification of the town which was to become the capital of Tibet. If we read the TH chronicle, we see that the Tibetan kings used to shift from one place to another according to seasons, and that the centre of their activities was, besides Yar klun, the territory round bSam yas. The castle of Zuñ mk'ar where K'ri sroñ lde btsan died, was also a few miles from bSam yas TTK, p. 79, n. 49. The fact itself, that the temple consecrated to the new religion was built there, proves beyond doubt that the place was evidently the core, as it were, of Tibet.

1) But see also *Addenda*.

2) See *Addenda*.

It is true that in the Chinese documents translated by Prof. Demiéville we find the name of Lhasa but this place is never given as the one where the debate was held: Mahāyāna only says that when he came to Tibet he arrived in Lhasa (*Concile*, p. 154), where he was questioned by the people on D h y ā n a ; in this occasion there is no mention of any meeting with the king: the meeting, on the other hand, took place in Ko 𑖀𑖳 where Mahāyāna says “ I had the honour of being questioned by Your Holy Majesty ”. Then he went to other places in order to preach and another interview with the King took place in Po man 勃漫. So Mahāyāna did not meet the king in Lhasa but in other places. The identity of these two places is doubtful also because the reading of one character in the second case is not certain. As to Ko, ancient pronunciation *Kāt*, Tibetan names rendered by only one Chinese character are rare; I suppose that some word is missing or that the text is corrupt. In that case one would think of Grags i.e. the country from bSam yas and Brag dmar to Srin po ri; the other name is perhaps a transcription of Brag dmar, the usual residence of the king.

Lhasa was one of the summer residences; (cf. TH, year 710, p. 42 and probably 743 p. 51) its real name was not Lhasa which was given to it later, but Ra sa, Ra bai sa (as suggested by G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, I, n. 5; cf. TH, p. 42 year 710)¹: ‘the walled ground’ that is one of those camps walled and protected also by ditches which we find among the peoples of the steppes with which the Tibetans had so many points in common.

¹) Cf. also bSam yas and Karchung inscriptions. TTK, p. 94 and 104.

The valley of Lhasa with wide and fertile pastures appears therefore to have been one of the places where the kings used to go in summer for hunting. The country of Grags and Brag dmar was warmer: it was the winter residence. Tibetans even then changed their abodes according to seasons, and tried to avoid the heat and the rains. This is the reason why I cannot accept the translation of Nepal proposed for Bal yul in many passages of TH. Reference to Bal po is made in several passages of TH and always explicitly or implicitly (subsequent mention of winter) in connection with summer-months, p. 34 year 675, p. 37 year 690, p. 38 years 695 and 697, p. 39 year 699, p. 41 year 707, p. 42 years 709, 710, 711, p. 44 year 718, p. 45 year 719, p. 46, year 722. In other cases we are told that in summer the king went to the North for hunting e.g. p. 39, year 698, and in the year 699 it is recorded that a Chinese envoy came to meet him. On the other hand we find in TH (see above p. 27) that the winter residence was specially in Brag dmar or in the valley of 'On which is not very far from that. The descent of the king into Nepal during the hot season would represent a strange inversion of the usual habit of the Tibetans who cannot stand the damp heat and according to their old nomadic tradition today also spend the summer time on the high plateaux.

Moreover the interest of the Tibetan Empire during that time converged towards Central Asia and China and it would be very strange that the court went so far south, where no political or military reasons necessitated its presence, the climate was particularly bad, the roads almost impracticable and from where the king would have been out of touch with the assembly of the nobles and his

generals. Nor can we think that Bal po here refers to the Tibetan side of Nepal because we would then expect Mañ yul or Glo bo (already found in PTY and KT) while Bal po indicated the valley of Nepal where the Nepalese civilization developed and flourished. It is true that *ru lag* is said to border on Bal po in the geographical catalogue preserved by PT (*Preliminary Report*, p. 78, Bal po glañ sna); but for the reason said above, I think that this Bal po has nothing to do with Nepal (accordingly, the note of *Preliminary Report* should be cancelled). We know that Bri 'u t'añ was in Bal po TH, p. 39 year 699 and p. 47 year 725, that in the proximity of the same country was Gro pu of Dra (p. 38 year 695). As regards Bri 'u t'añ the spelling (Bri = yak ?) excludes that it should be connected with Bri c'u. Bri'u t'añ may be connected with Bri mts'ams, aBrin mts'am which was between gTsañ and dBus, a country therefore not far from another summer residence of the Tibetan kings i.e. Ñen kar, Ñen gar, *Preliminary Report*, p. 81 and 82, often recorded in TH; Gro pu of Dra (year 693) suggests Dra of the Sum pai ru (*Preliminary Report*, p. 84).

Nor can it be objected that the kings had only theoretically the leadership of the state and that politics and military enterprises were in the hands of the ministers and generals, because the sacred character of the king requested his presence in the territory and the court was to live with him¹). For all these reasons I believe that Bal yul, where the king used to move in summer has nothing to do with Nepal and that on the contrary it refers to some

¹) See my article: *The Sacred character of the Tibetan kings*. East & West, Year VI, no. 3, p. 197.

ą b r o g , pasture ground, between gTsañ and dBus and not far from the routes leading to the vital points of Central Asia, of paramount importance to the Tibetan kingdom. Nor have we to forget that we meet in Tibet during the time with which we are dealing curious duplications of place names of which I gave some examples in TTK. But let us go back to our story.

When the council was opened the king took his place in front, the H v a š a ñ sat to his right ¹⁾ and his followers were placed behind him along with J o m o B y a ñ c ' u b ²⁾ and his aunt (s r u) Y a ñ

1) According to the Bon po rituals the right was the place of honour: the chief shaman, g š e n r a b , used therefore to sit to the right of the king (B o n p o r g y a l r a b s , p. 27, b).

2) Jo mo B ya ñ c ' u b r j e is the name taken by one of the five wives of K ' r i s r o ñ l d e b t s a n (PT, ja, p. 98, b): she was ą Bro b z a ' K ' r i r g y a l m o b t s a n and belonged therefore to the ą Bro clan. The text speaking of her participation in the Council of bSam yas says incidentally of her: s r a s m i m ñ a ' 'she had no son', which seems to be contradicted by the inscription on the bell of bSam yas. "The mother noble queen rGyal mo btsan (in TTK, p. 69 by mistake: The mother noble queen [and the king]) and the son in order that adoration be made to the three jewels of the ten directions, had this bell made. By the power of this merit the divine king K ' r i s r o ñ l d e b t s a n , the father and the son, may realize the supreme illumination, being endowed with the exalted voice of the 60 attributes (of the teaching of Buddha); this is the vow".

This inscription shows that the bell was made for a temple, presumably for bSam yas; according to PT ja, p. 76, a (source s B a b ž e d) this bell was formerly in m G r i n b z a ñ l h a k ' a ñ of Brag dmar; when this temple was destroyed by order of the Ministers hostile to Buddhism, it was taken over to mC'ims p'u and then it was brought to bSam yas. Its name was d g e r g y a s , merit-spreading. But this story cannot be accepted because we know for certain that rGyal mo btsan was one of the wives of K ' r i s r o ñ l d e b t s a n and the destruction of mGrin bzañ (supposing that this temple really existed) took place when the king was still a boy. Anyhow the inscription seems to imply that the queen had not taken the vows and that she had a son. Therefore in this case the statements of PT and BZ cannot be accepted; but the sentence s r a s m i m ñ a ' may also mean that *when* the queen contributed to bSam yas she had not a son, because he was dead. (On her son born

dag¹), the Bande Lan ka²), etc. (PT, ja, p. 116, a). To the left of the king a seat was reser-

in 760 see H. E. RICHARDSON, *JRAS*, 1954, pp. 168-9). This fact might have induced her to take the vows. It is also possible that the son here mentioned is not her son but the son of another of the five wives of K'ri sron lde btsan, that is generally the son of the Emperor.

Anyhow she is recorded in the report of the debate written by Wang Si and translated by Demiéville (*Concile*, p. 25 ff.). She is there called "l'im-pératrice de la famille Mou-lou, aBro" which may be not quite exact, because, according to the T. sources, the chief wife of the king belonged to the Ts'e spon clan.

Jo mo byan c'ub is evidently the name given her after the vows.

It is also clear that she, as related by Wang Si, was a follower of Ch'an. We know from PT, 104, b (who calls her Jo mo gcen K'ri rgyal mo btsan) that she took the vows along with the aunt bTsan mo rgyal (see following note) in the same year in which the sad mi were ordained, that is 779 (see above p. 21). This happened in the first fortnight of the second month of winter of the same year (lug gi loi dgun zla briñ poi ño la) and the chronological reference tallying with that given in the ancient documents is a proof that PT draws his information from old sources. We know from the same source that on that occasion sBa Ratna (dPal dbyaṅs) acted as mk'a n p o. dPal dbyaṅs (Śrīghoṣa) was the successor of Śāntarakṣita in the abbotship of bSam yas. Anyhow I am afraid we cannot accept the dates of birth and death of Śāntarakṣita proposed by prof. Hajime Nakamura (in his great work *Indo Tetsugaku Shisō*, Tōkyō 1950, vol. I *Shoki-Vedanta Tetsugaku*, Tōkyō p. 113) i.e. 680-740, because they do not fit in the series of well ascertained events; for the same reason we cannot accept the date, proposed by him for Kamalaśīla 700-750 (see below p. 39).

1) So the text here; but before, when PT, speaks of her ordination, the name is spelt in a different way which seems more likely: bTsan mo rgyal. Perhaps Yañ dag is here an honorific title.

She is also mentioned as the maternal aunt by Wang Si, *Concile*, p. 33 where she is said to be of the Si-nang-nan family (which Demiéville thinks, and in my opinion rightly, a transcription of sNa nam: *ibid.*, p. 4 but sNa nam has nothing to do with Samarkand as proposed by Jäschke and S. Ch. Das. As to its location in Tibet see TLT and *Preliminary Report*, p. 80).

2) I do not think that he is the same as Mūlakośa of bLan ka of Buston-Obermiller, p. 186 the translator of *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and *Karmaśataka* with Jñānakumāra (cf. also Pad ma dkar po p. 95, b; but his name is corrupt see, J. NOBEL, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, I, Tib. Uebers, p. XIII, n. 1) Wang Si along with the queen and the aunt mentions also Pao ch'en, the administrator of the church of the Yi family (old pronunciation Ngiek or Ngak. (*Concile*,

ved for K a m a l a ś ī l a , behind him sat the few r T s e n m i n p a , viz. d P a l d b y a ṅ s , V a i r o . c a n a , Y e š e s d b a ṅ p o . Both parties seem to accentuate their own inferiority; the preface of Wang Si translated by Prof. Demiéville says that the Chinese were only three while the opponents were thirty. But PT ja, p. 116, a states that behind Kamalaśīla there were rBa dPal dbyaṅs, Vairocana (but on this see below p. 143), Ye šes dbaṅ po etc., dge sloṅ mi maṅ ba žig ste ṅuṅ žas cig las ma byuṅ “not many dge loṅ, no more than a few only.” So each party, in the report of the debate, aimed at insisting on its weakness, on its position of numerical inferiority as compared with the rival. The pact was that, at the end of the debate, in all sincerity and without hatred, the master who acknowledged that his views were wrong should offer a garland of flowers to the winner. The H v a š a ṅ spoke first, then K a m a l a ś ī l a replied followed by Y e š e s d b a ṅ p o (Jñānendra), and d P a l d b y a ṅ s . In the end, the H v a š a ṅ was unable to give a reply and therefore he offered the garland to K a m a l a ś ī l a . Co rM a r m a , the g z i m s m a l p a ¹⁾ (PT ja, p. 118, b, 120, b) committed suicide by crushing his genitals. Then the king decided that the views of the H v a š a ṅ should not be followed and gave a summary of the doctrine as established by K a m a l a ś ī l a viz. that p r a j ṅ ā and u p ā y a are both to be realized. Doctrinally the point of view of

p. 33, n. 6); I am inclined to see in this personage the same rÑegs Rin po c'e (Pao c'en) quoted above; in this case his suicide, of which mention is made in our sources, must have taken place after the council and not before. Wang Si also most probably refers to his suicide.

1) On this title see G. TUCCI, *Preliminary Report*, p. 89: “officer of the bed-chamber”.

Nāgārjuna was to be followed. “The doctrine of the Hva śaṅ, viz. that of the sTon min pa, the method of immediateness, is harmful to the tenfold practice¹⁾ of the Doctrine and should not be followed. The spirit grows faint; when, the door of the purification of our mind (b l o s b y o ñ)²⁾ or of that of others, being obstructed and the entry being interrupted, the spirit grows faint and the doctrine sinks down, progress is cut off.: so you should reflect. Moreover your retinue and all Tibetans from now on should accept the point of view of Nāgārjuna”.

“As to practice, follow the six perfections, apply yourselves to the tenfold practice of the doctrine. As to meditation, purify your mind in the threefold gnosis³⁾ and entering both into means and gnosis, meditate jointly on ś a m a t h a and v i p a ś y a n ā⁴⁾. From now on we prince, ministers and subjects of Tibet, shall follow the religious duties: so shall we do. Generally Tibet is a barbarous border country and her mind is dull and greatly relying on herself (r a ṅ g a b a m a ṅ), but the doctrine is difficult to be understood and deep. Therefore the king invited from India a learned man, famous as a monk⁵⁾ (r a b a b y u ṅ b a, p r a v r a j i t a) and became his patron; you should accept this doctrine which has been verified (g t a n l a p ' a b p a) by a learned lotsāva⁵⁾. You should never accept a doctrine which is not patronized by the king or has not been verified by a learned lotsāva”.

1) The d a ś a k u ś a l a p a t h a .

2) But s e m s s b y o ṅ b a means also *cittottāpana*, cf. MV 1816. LAMOTTE, *Somme*, p. 156, n. 4.

3) Viz. ś r u t a - m a y ī, c i n t ā - m a y ī and b h ā v a n ā m a y ī. See below p. 183 (Bhk., § 9).

4) See below p. 189.

5) No trace of plural.

“ Thus he severely ordered and the (order) was written in three accurate letters (containing) the edict, and they were placed in a leather box, a lock was applied to its opening and it was placed in the royal archives (p'ya g dbal v. TTK, n. 94), committed to the gnod sbyin Dam rgya nag po; a copy (c'e loñ) was circulated among the ža ñ blon''¹⁾. In this way according to PT, the Lha sras K'ri sroñ lde btsan, the Bodhisattva, son of the King of Zahor, viz. Śāntarakṣita, Ye šes dba ñ po of sBa and Sa ñ ši ta of sBa (viz. sBa Ratna) established the foundation for the worship, that is, are to be considered as the real authors of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet.

PT contains no trace of the dramatic story subsequently built on this event, of the vengeance taken by the Hva ša ñ on his rival; he adds the more convincing statement that the Hva ša ñ built a chapel, gtsug lag k'a ñ, and then went to China. Then the king ordered that the sons

1) de nas btsan (PT, 119 a) poi žal nas | hva ša ñ gi c'os ston min pa cig c'ar du ajug zer pa de ni c'os spyod rnam pa bcu la skyon bkal ste mi dgyid | sems pa ni byiñ | bdag da ñ gžan gyi blo sbyoñ gi sgo bkag ste agra bcañ na sems byiñ žiñ c'os nub par agyur bas a'ro c'od la de lta bu ni k'yed rañ sgoms cig | gžan k'yed kyi a'or rnams da ñ bod rnams da slan c'ad lta ba nā gar dsu nai lugs zuñ | spyod pa p'a rol du p'yin pa drug la gyis la c'os spyod rnam pa bcu ñams su loñ | sgom pa šes rab rnam pa gsum la blo sbyoñs la t'abs da ñ šes rab zuñ du c'ud ciñ a'bril ba ži gnas da ñ lhag mt'oñ la sgoms cig | da slan c'ad 'o skol bod rje blon a'bars bcas kyis kyañ c'os bya ba rnams kyis a'idi lta bya ste | spyir bod t'a k'ob du gyur pa da ñ rig pa blun žiñ rañ ga ba mañ la c'os a'idi rtogs par dka' žiñ zab pas | rgya gar gyi mk'as pa rab tu gyur par grags pa rgyal pos spyan drañs te yon bdag byas | lo tsā ba mk'as pas gtan la p'ab pai c'os de la ajug par bya'o | rgyal pos yon bdag ma byas lo tsā ba mk'as pas gtan la ma p'ab pai c'os la ajug par mi bya'o | žes bka' nan drag du btsal nas bka' gtsigs kyi yi ge žib mo gsum du mc'is te gsei sgrom bur bcug k'a la sgo lcags btsal ste rjei p'ya g dbal na mc'is te gnod sbyin dam rgya nag po la btañ | c'e loñ žig ni ža ñ blon rnams la dar bar byas |

and wives of the *ž a ñ b l o n* should learn the Law and he requested *K a m a l a ś ī l a* to write down the essentials of the doctrine which by the triple method of learning, reflection and meditation (*t ' o s , b s a m , s g o m , ś r u t a m a y ī , c i n t ā m a y ī , b h ā v a n ā m a y ī p r a j ñ ā*) explains the unsubstantiality of all notions. So the first *B h ā v a n ā k r a m a* was written. He then wanted to know how, having realized that there is only one Vehicle, this doctrine can be meditated upon; and so the second *B h ā v a n ā k r a m a* was composed; finally in order to explain the result of this meditation the third *B h ā v a n ā k r a m a* was compiled. The excitement of the community seemed to have come to an end, but the situation was far from being easy; evidently different currents were in conflict and it is quite natural that the religious sects or their chiefs had their patrons and supporters in various circles of the restless aristocracy.

The Buddhist community was not at this stage very peaceful; its prominent personalities were far from being on friendly terms; even before the debate took place we are told that *J ñ ā n e n d r a* had gone away to *mK'ar c'u* in *Lho brag*; when he had been appointed in the place of *Śāntarakṣita*, *M y a ñ T i ñ ñ e a d s i n* and *Ñ a ñ Š a m i*, who later committed suicide and was pro-chinese, (see *Concile*, p. 41) ¹⁾ slandered him (PT ja, p. 114, *b* *Ñor* chronicles, part I, p. 122, *b*. Cf. B. Ob, p. 191). His place as abbot of *bSam yas* was then taken by *dPal dbyaṅs*, *Śrīghoṣa*; B. Ob p. 291, PT ja, 114, *b*).

The cause of this disagreement and open fight between *Jñānendra* and *Myañ Tiñ ñe aḍsin* seems to be found

1) PT ja, 115, *a* *Ñañ śa mi* is said to be a pupil of *Mahāyāna*.

in the fact that Jñānendra, being appointed as chief of the religion after the death of Śāntarakṣita, advanced some claim to his new status: he wanted to be granted some privileges and an authority superior to that of the Blon c'en, golden letters of first class, gser yig c'en¹⁾, etc. (PT ja, 114, a). To this the Bande Myañ Tiñ ñe ḍsin was strongly opposed. He is presented by PT as the chief antagonist of Jñānendra; and he appears as a high official in the documents which I published in TTK, p. 54 where along with Bran ka Yon tan dpal he ranks above all other dignitaries, even the Žañ blon and the blon c'en.

Though Vairocana, sBa Ratna and Tsāñs btsun legs grub (quoted in PT ja, p. 122, b) had opposed the Chinese party, according to a tradition which, as we shall see, is, for some of them, at least uncertain, they were not pleased with the development of events and therefore they also went away. Though later tradition is inclined to establish a unity of action between Padmasambhava, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, it seems more probable that the followers of Padmasambhava suffered a setback when the new pandits came into Tibet. In PT, though himself a bKa' rgyud pa, Padmasambhava is praised, no doubt, when mention is made of him and of his miracles on the occasion of his coming to Tibet, but, in general, his figure is reduced to his true proportions of a powerful exorcist whose work was necessary for the

1) The officials had different patents or diplomas according to their rank, the highest being the gold diploma. PT has given a full list and description of them, which I resumed in *Preliminary Report*, p. 88. As other references should there be added R. STEIN, *BEFEO*, 1941, p. 463, P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 285, n. 1.

consacration of bSam yas. This shows that our author drew from sources centered on other documents, chiefly documents of the sBa family and of bSam yas in which the Thaumaturge had not yet assumed the proportion that was to change him into a second Buddha. Śāntarakṣita and chiefly Kamalaśīla represented a dialectical and logical trend, while Padmasambhava was fundamentally an exponent of the Tantric liturgy and rituals. The fact is that Vairocana was perhaps away when the debate was held between Kamalaśīla and the Hvaṣaṅ¹⁾. When the debate was over the king sent for Vairocana and his colleague Tsaṅs btsun legs grub²⁾: but when they returned the Paṇḍit³⁾ did not appear. There were therefore some misunderstandings and because of some slanders of the Indians, Vairocana was exiled to Ts'a ba roṅ. One of the leading personalities who played a great role in this unsettled period, Jñānendra, was also dissatisfied with the turn of events and, as incidentally related by some sources, (*Nor chronicles*, first part, 123, b) he abstained from food and died (k'ams kyi zas spaṅs te gšegs). But things did not end here; Kamalaśīla himself was killed by some butchers who squeezed his kidneys while he was lying on his bed in the house of the Translators (sgra ḡgyur gyi k'aṅ par gzims mal du⁴⁾).

1) Buston p. 192 does not mention him among the followers of the Indian party.

2) Ja, p. 122: slad kyis btsan poslob dpon Padmasambhavaic'os kyaṅ ḡpro lalus pas t'uḡs mats'im nas Vairotsana daṅ Tsaṅs bTsun legs grub gñis ts'ol du btaṅ.

3) i.e. Kamalaśīla.

4) On this house see TOUSSAINT, p. 260 and above p. 7.

According to some historians, for instance Buston, it was a vengeance of the H v a š a ñ ; but earlier accounts, not yet influenced by later legends, which soon crept into the story of the debate and made the Hva šañ the portrait of a devilish opponent, the course of events was different; in fact PT ja, p. 122 simply relates that the murder was prompted by an heretic (m u s t e h).

Another author, who certainly had access to earlier sources, viz. bSod nams rgyal mts'an, who wrote the GR, agrees with PT and does not say anything about the murder of Kamalaśīla committed by the emissaries of Hva šañ; he agrees with PT and simply relates that after the victory of K a m a l a ś ī l a the Hva šañ went to China, and then he adds: "he left one of his boots and said 'now in Tibet there are some followers of my doctrine ¹⁾' (GR 92, b), which is evidently written having in mind the well-known story told about B o d h i d h a r m a . In fact, that the school of the H v a š a ñ did not completely disappear is confirmed by the discoveries of a Dhyāna text in Central Asia (M. Lalou, *Inventaire*, n. 116, p. 39: M. Lalou, *Document Tibétain sur l'expansion du dhyāna Chinois*, JA, 1939, p. 505 ff.; TPS, p. 615, n. 252), by some traditions, preserved in later authors such as Pad ma dkar po (p. 101, b),

1) But according to other sources this story of the boots left in Tibet is attributed to a previous H v a š a ñ , rGyai H v a š a ñ r g a n p o who was a d k o n g ñ e r , custodian, of Ra mo c'e (PT ja, p. 75, b). He went to China when the Bon started persecuting Buddhism soon after K'ri sroñ lde btsan was enthroned. Evidently the story was anticipated as a prophecy; it had the advantage of being confirmed by facts, but attributed to Mahāyāna Hva šañ, it had, from the point of view of orthodox Buddhism, no meaning, because the doctrine of the Hva šañ had been for ever suppressed. This story of the boots left in Tibet is derived from Ch'an centers and it is a duplicate of that told of Bodhidharma when he was compelled to leave China TPS, p. 615, n. 252 and below p. 74.

that some books of his school were buried by the Hva šaṅ as g t e r m a , just as were the books of the r Ń i ṅ m a p a , and, as we shall see, by the survival of some of their views in the r D s o g s c ' e n branch of the r Ń i ṅ m a p a sect.

The story of the murder of Kamalaśīla, as a vengeance of the Chinese master, was perhaps concocted later on, the result of a belated *odium theologicum* against the expounder of a view considered to be heretical.

The killers of the Indian paṇḍits were according to BZ, PT and GR the Mu stegs pa; these, as is well-known, are not buddhists, but tīrthika, heretics. As a matter of fact GR p. 92, *b* as well as Buston, p. 191 refers to the will of Śāntarakṣita in which he prophesied that after him there would be no more heretics in Tibet, but there would be a split in the Church.

Probably later writers did not want the prophecy of Śāntarakṣita to prove false and therefore accused the Hva šaṅ and his followers of the murder of K a m a l a śī l a .

The conclusion, then, seems to be that the debate did not turn into an internecine tragedy, but that K a m a l a śī l a was killed by the Bonpo or their party, still doing their very best to regain what they had lost. Anyhow the fact remains that K a m a l a śī l a was probably killed and that this event should be placed immediately after the year 792-794.

We must add that there is no complete agreement between the Chinese records and the Tibetan tradition. According to the Chinese document translated by Demiéville, the Tibetan king decided in favour of the Hva šaṅ (*Concile*, p. 442) but the Tibetan sources, without exception, tell of

the firm support given by K'ri sroñ lde btsan to K a m a - l a ś ī l a and his point of view. We cannot say whether the edict preserved by PT, enforcing Kamalaśīla's views and proclaiming the doctrine of the Hva šaṅ to be harmful, is genuine or not.

The language in which it is written is certainly old, so also the conclusion in which its sealing and preservation are mentioned, though it is quite evident that that concluding passage, being a formula which occurs in very many official documents of that time, might have been easily copied from them.

I find it strange that in an edict to laymen mention is made of Nāgārjuna, a name which then meant very little to the Tibetan people at large. I suspect that the document has been if not concocted *ex novo* at least modified to serve the purpose of the Indian party. Even supposing that Kamalaśīla was proclaimed the winner, this does not imply that there was a real persecution of the followers of the Ch'an. The court and the ministers might have advised that Kamalaśīla's doctrine should be followed, but we have no reason to state that severe steps were taken to impose by force the Indian theory on the people. Still there is no doubt that there was a time when the Ch'an theory fell into disgrace; this is indirectly proved by the catalogue of the lD a n d k a r library, which is said to contain the list of the books available in translation at the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan¹⁾. In the bSam gtan, dhyāna-

1) This catalogue lD a n k a r m a , (or: Lhan kar ma, as in some Central Asian documents) exists, as known, in bsTan agyur, mDo agrel, vol. CXXVII and has been edited by Prof. SHYUKI YOSHIMURA, *The Denkar-ma an oldest catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon with Introductory notes* (title in English, Text in Japanese), Ryukoku University, Kyoto 1950 and

section, only one Ch'an book of Dharmottara is found. In this case also, nothing prevents us from believing that

by MARCELLE LALOU, *Les textes bouddhiques au temps du Roi Khri-sron-lde-bcan*. JA, Tome CCXLI, 1953, p. 313 ff.

The compilation of this catalogue by dPal brtseges and Nam mk'a' sñiñ po took place, as it is written in the text, in a dragon year. The tradition accepted by later historians PT, ja, p. 106, B. Ober., p. 101, places the redaction of this catalogue before the death of Śāntarakṣita and therefore before the debate of bSam yas.

This would place the compilation of the index in the year 788 if our date proposed for bSam yas is exact. But is evident that the tradition as preserved by the historians depends on no other documents except the catalogue itself. That their attribution of this book to the period intervening between the erection of bSam yas and the Council is wrong can be deduced from the inclusion among the books listed of the *Bhāvanākramas* of Kamalaśīla (LALOU, *id.*, n. 606). The fact that we find in the catalogue the *Yoñs su bskor bai ṅak'or ba*, *Pariṇāmanacakra* transl. by Śīladharma and rNam par mi rtog which Yōshimura considers of great importance for fixing the date of the lDan dkar (824 according to him) is not cogent. We know that rNam par mi rtog pa was in China in the year 804 (*Concile*, p. 228 and n. 1), but nothing prevents us from believing that the translation might be made by him earlier, after meeting Śīladharma in Beš baliq where the manuscript of that book and other texts had been brought in 789 by Wu k'ung and there translated in that year; see P. PELLIOU, *Notes à propos d'un catalogue du Kanjur*, JA, 1914, p. 27 (reprint). We may recall that of the *Tiñ ñe ṅdsin gyi mi mt'un pai p'yogs rnam par bžag pa* translated by him and Hva šaṅ Zab mo there are two redactions in the mDo section of the bsTan ṅgyur (Tōhoku Cat. 3932, 4534). He is quoted by PT ja, 105, b among the first translators along with the seven Sad mi, Nam mk'a' (sñiñ po), C'os kyi snañ ba, Šā kya 'od, etc.

There are good reasons for stating that the catalogue does not go back to the times to which the orthodox tradition attributes it; it is hardly believable that in a few years, just after overcoming with great difficulty the opposition of a powerful part of the aristocracy, so many books were translated. This work of translation presupposes a large staff and many years of activity. The traditional account is contradicted by what we read in some of our historians, and probably based on other sources, that in the beginning more works were translated from the Chinese than from Sanskrit. In fact, in PT ja (p. 105, b, 106, a), who goes certainly back to older documents, we read that while the translations from Sanskrit were entrusted only to the great translator, i.e. Vairocana, the translators from Chinese were many: Brañ ka Legs k'oñ, Lha luñ Kloñ goñ, 'Og gom dbus goñ, K'yuñ po rtse and that, to help them, a Hva šaṅ called Ma ho le was invited from China. Then PT (105, a) adds a very impor-

the book was accepted in the library for dialectical reasons, that is, in order to know the opinion of the *pūrvapakṣa*, the

tant quotation from the larger redaction of the BZ according to which when the translation was going to start it was insisted in some quarters that precedence should be given to the Chinese books, that the *Nañ rgyud* speaking in their liturgies of flesh and wine were unfit for the Tibetans, that it was necessary to insist on the books of the *Sarvāstivādins* and *Vibhājyavādins*, and that commission was given to *Ye šes dbañ po* to translate the *Dīrghāgama* and the *Gañ poi rtogs* in its shorter redaction (in the catalogue n. 273 *Gañ po la sogs pair ten pa brjod pa*)

The impression we gather from all these details is that the *lD an dkar* catalogue is later than the tradition would have us believe and that it was subject to revisions, additions and changes: or perhaps an older list was enlarged and revised when the number of the works translated had increased and a great change had taken place among the Buddhists of Tibet.

In the introductory part of the Catalogue its authors are said to be *dPal brtsegs* and *Nam mk'a' sñiñ po*, a Tibetan whose connection with *Ch'an* is certain (see p. 16), but a few lines after the name of *Nam mk'a' sñiñ po* disappears in the vague *la sogs* (etc.) and the authorship of the book is attributed to *dPal brtsegs* and *Klu dbañ po*, chief collaborators of the *MV*. All this gives the impression that we should be rather sceptical concerning the contents of the *lD an dkar* catalogue as if it really represented the census of the Tibetan literature before the Council.

Everything on the contrary leads us to believe that the catalogue is posterior to that event, as can be seen comparing what later historians, f.i. *Buston*, say regarding the *lD an dkar* and then the events concerning the redaction of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (*B. Ober.*, p. 191 and *Ibid.*, p. 197), a work which, as I have shown elsewhere *TTK* p. 14 ff., has wrongly been attributed to the times of *Ral pa can*, *K'ri gtsug lde*, while, as we gather from the *sGra sbyor*, it was compiled during the times of *K'ri lde sroñ btsan*. In that case two Dragon years are possible either 800 or 812 during the reign of *K'ri lde sroñ btsan*, the son and successor of *K'ri sroñ lde btsan*: the horse year, date of the redaction of *MV* should then be either 802 or 811: but considering that the date of accession of *K'ri lde sroñ btsan* is still under discussion 812 (for the *Catal.*) and 814 (for *MV*) are the most probable.

The two works to my mind, are connected: first of all it was necessary to draw up a list of the books translated and preserved in the royal library selecting only the authoritative texts, those which were thought to represent the orthodox point of view. Then on those well-established and revised texts the indexing of the words was made, so that the *lotsāvas* should have a norm to follow (*nam du yañ gžuñ lugs de las mi bsgyur žiñ kun gyis bslab du ruñ bar gyis*: order of the king in *sGra sbyor*. *FERRARI* p. 540).

opponent's view, as was the rule with the Indian pandits.

The picture of the Buddhist literature which we gather from the *lD an dkar* catalogue and the *sG ra s by or bam po gñ is pa* is that the indexing of MV was made on a certain number of texts translated from Sanskrit: on the other hand we know that during the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan many books were introduced from China and Li and then translated. But in the *lD an dkar* list only a few books appear as translated from Chinese (n. 565-572) of which three commentaries on the *L a ñ k ā v a t ā r a* and one on the *V a j r a c c h e d i k ā*, books often referred to also by the Dhyāna followers: to these the treatise of Dharmottaratāla should be added, equally translated from Chinese; all together only eight works out of 736. In the *sG ra s by or bam po gñ is pa* we find mention of the translators working at the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, *l h a s r a s y a b k y i r i ñ l a*, which, since we know that the MV was compiled by order of K'ri lde sroñ btsan can only be translated as "during the time of my father the Devaputra". (Ferrari, p. 540, Simonsson, p. 243): they are Śāntarakṣita, Jñānendra, *Ž a ñ blon Ñ e n ñ a b z a ñ*, *Blon K'ri bžer sañ ši* (see p. 14), Jñānendrakośa, *lCe k'yi abrug*¹⁾, Ānanda the Brahmin; strangely enough there is no mention of Kama-laśīla; the above mentioned translators are referred to as belonging to the time of the father of K'ri lde sroñ btsan, so as to emphasize the distinction between the two periods, in the former the translation of the technical terms being inadequate and therefore in need of revision.

1) The translator of the *A ṣ ṭ a m a h ā p a d a m ū l a*, Tōhoku Cat., 4350.

The impression which one gathers is that after the death of K'ri sroñ lde btsan there was a strong revival of Indian Buddhism, caused not only by the direct instigation of the court, anxious to prevent any further Chinese influence, but also by the growing prestige of the Indians and the coming of Indian ācāryas in greater number than before. Then Jñānamitra, Jñānendrabodhi, Śilendra, Dānaśīla, Bodhimitra, Ratnarakṣita, Dharmatāśīla Jñānasena, Jayarakṣita, Mañjuśrīvarman, Ratnendrarakṣita etc. representing the new trend of Buddhism based on a careful study not only of the Law but also of Vyākaraṇa and eager to find a strict correspondence between Sanskrit and Tibetan, undertook a great work of translation and revision. In this period, which, if we accept the data contained in the sGra sbyor, covers the reign of K'ri lde sroñ btsan, the real consolidation of Indian Buddhism took place. The data of the IDan dk ar thus reflect a situation later than that mentioned in the tradition referred to by PT or B.; in other words, I repeat, they reflect a situation of Buddhism and Buddhist translations which is certainly later than the orthodox tradition would us have believe, that codifies a state of things which is to be attributed to the time of K'ri lde sroñ btsan; moreover it is not to be excluded that it has been greatly interpolated and mishandled. Let us take among others a very precise reference: under the last section XXX, bsTan bcos sgyur a p'ro la, works under translation there is: rNam a grel gyi a grel pa, viz. Pramāṇavarttikavṛtti, i.e. a commentary on the Pramāṇavarttika of Dharmakīrti. The fact that it consists of 18 Bam po excludes that it is the Svavṛtti written by Dharmakīrti himself on the a n u m ā n a sec-

tion of the *Pramāṇavārttika*; it must then be the same as the *vṛtti* contained in mDo, Tōhoku Cat. 4216, 4217. Cordier, *Cat.*, XCV-18-XCVI (of Devendrabuddhi not Devendramati as in Tōhoku) a younger contemporary of Dharmakīrti. Two difficulties arise: first, that this highly technical work would have been of difficult access for the Tibetans not yet trained to its logical subtleties, second, that we know that the translation was made by order of Byañ c'ub 'od of Western Tibet at the time of the revival of Buddhism.

Let us then consider another case, the *ṅJig rten p'a rol grub pa*, Tōhoku Cat. 4251, Cordier, *Cat.*, CXII by Dharmottara; the translation was made by Ñi ma grags, during the time of Śrīharṣa of Kashmir viz. in the 11th century.

In order to solve this problem it would be necessary to discover and to compare other catalogues of ancient libraries and their colophons. That these catalogues existed we gather from the catalogue of the *bsTan ṅgyur* written by Buston, vol. ya p. 209, b. This author says that the works made or translated by learned people of India, Kashmir, Suvarṇadvīpa (gSer gliñ), Ceylon (Siñ ga gliñ), Swat (Urgyan), Za hor¹⁾, Nepal (Bal po), Khotan (Li), China and Tibet were listed in various catalogues, such as the *P'o brañ stod t'añ lDan dkar dkar c'ag*, then *bSam yas mC'ims p'ui dkar c'ag*, then *ṅP'añ t'añ ka med dkar c'ag*, later the index of *sNar t'añ*²⁾.

In conclusion, the pretended triumph of Kamalaśīla extolled by the orthodox tradition as the most important

1) On Zahor see TPS, p. 736.

2) Which is evidently an addition by the editors of Buston.

event in the history of Buddhism appears to have been magnified when Indian Buddhism was on a solid basis; the story reflects on the times of the king rightly recognized, for his edicts and the famous foundation of bSam yas, as the most efficient supporter of Buddhism in Tibet, a situation which materialized under his son and his nephew, but could not completely cancel even in Tibet (KT, see p. 93) the record that events were not really so definite and decisive as the winning orthodoxy would have us believe. It is thus most probable that the king did not at all intervene in an energetic way in the debate: he attended it, followed the course of the discussion but he did not evidently have the doctrinal preparation to be a judge ¹⁾: most probably he established at the conclusion of the debate that the doctrine to be followed was the Mādhyamika, a statement which appears both in KT and in the orthodox tradition. And this did not say very much, because neither school could deny resting on that system for a starting-point.

Are there other persons, monks or converts, considered by later sources as outstanding figures in the events which brought about the establishment of Buddhism, besides those already mentioned?

In the documents copied by PT and inserted in his history, a person is mentioned, well-known from other sources, viz. *My a ñ T i ñ ñ e a d s i n b z a ñ p o*, whose name appears with that of *B r a n k a Y o n t a n* in the edict of Karchung as state minister (TTK, pp. 54, 65) ²⁾. He is connected with some of the most important figures who

1) This seems also to be the opinion of Prof. DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 183.

2) See above p. 26.

took part in the debate. We saw that he was not on good terms with Ye šes dbaṅ po; he is also known from other inscriptions and literary documents as well. He was a pupil of Vimāla (the first Vimāla-mitra who according to the Tib. tradition lived at the time of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan) and was chosen by K'ri sroṅ lde btsan as the tutor of his son K'ri lde sroṅ btsan. This fact is recorded in the *Blue Annals*, p. 192 and in the inscription of Žvai lha k'aṅ (Richardson, *JRAS*, 1952, p. 133 ff.). The latter document confirms the high esteem in which he was held by K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, and also supports the statement of the *Blue Annals* that he received an endowment or landed property from the same king.

He is recorded as having received the instructions in the mantra from Vimālamitra and as such he is considered one of the masters of rDsoḡs c'en, a sect centering upon the sÑiṅ t'ig (*Blue Annals*, p. 107 and p. 167 and PT, ja, p. 108, a). K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, whose tutor Tiṅ ñe ḡdsin had been appointed, was born in the year 774¹⁾ or 776; Tiṅ ñe ḡdsin was therefore certainly older than K'ri lde sroṅ btsan.

Both PT and Padma dkar po add that he was killed by gLaṅ dar ma, who was enthroned in the year 841: on the other hand, the *Blue Annals*, p. 192 say that at 55 he disappeared and that no trace was found of his body.

We are not in a position to decide in favour of either source: but if we recall that Myaṅ Tiṅ ñe ḡdsin was considered as one of the greatest authorities of the rÑiṅ ma pa

1) G. TUCCI, *Validity*, Chronological table. RICHARDSON, *JRAS*, 1952, p. 150.

sect¹⁾, that the author of the *Blue Annals* knew very well the place where his estate was, and that the people there had all reason to magnify their ancient master and to glorify him, it is quite reasonable to think that a miraculous disappearance looked more fitting for such a holy person and that therefore the story of the killing by gLañ dar ma was eliminated on purpose. Anyhow, as we said before, there is little probability that he could live up to the reign of gLañ dar ma if at the time of the death of Śāntarakṣita he already enjoyed such authority as to oppose Jñānendra.

Richardson (*JRAS*, 1952, p. 137) advances the hypothesis that he was the leader of a Tibetan embassy to the Chinese Court, known in the Chinese sources as Nan po t'e ki po, and he surmises that Ch. Nan may stand for T. Myañ, which seems phonetically difficult. I rather agree with Prof. Demiéville, p. 228, n. 1 who supposes for Nan po t'e chi po 南撥特計波 an original rNam par [mi] rtog pa.

Myañ Tiñ ñe ḅdsin was a colleague of Bande Bran ka Yon tan (TTK, p. 54); the latter was the Chief minister of Ral pa can, and as such he appears in the inscription of the gTsuḡ lag k'añ rdo riñ in Lhasa as the principal Tibetan signatory of the treaty with China of 821-822. In this document his name is given as Bande c'en po dPal c'en po Yon tan²⁾. He is well-known to Chinese sour-

1) In a collection of gTer ma of the rDsogs c'en called bKa' rdsogs c'en po yañ zab dkon mc'og spyi ḅdus there is a booklet containing a series of questions concerning the rDsogs c'en attributed to him: Myañ ban Tiñ ḅdsin bzañ poi žus len.

2) H. E. RICHARDSON, *Ancient historical edicts at Lhasa* (Prize Publication Fund, RAS London 1952, pp. 40, 42, 50, 51, 52, 74, 76 and ID., *JRAS*, October 1952, p. 136 TTK, pp. 54, 65. The reading has been kindly confirmed by H. E. Richardson in a recent letter.

ces¹⁾. See Demiéville, *Concile*, pp. 21, n. 224, 228 n. etc.

Before concluding this discussion I should like to refer to some Ch'an hints or symbolical allusions, of which the Ch'an adepts frequently make use and which are recorded in the GR; these references show a certain acquaintance of the Tibetans with Ch'an methods. When K a m a l a ś i l a arrived, the H v a ś a ñ went to meet him on the shore of the river. Each of the two masters tried to investigate the intelligence of the other, having recourse to mere hints or suggestions. K a m a l a ś i l a bent down and went round the H v a ś a ñ three times; this he did because he wanted to ask him what are the causes by which the t r i d h ā t u transmigrates. The H v a ś a ñ, in order to show that he had understood and that those causes are found in the false imaginations of object (g r ā h y a) and subject, (g r ā h a k a), took off his own cloak and threw it twice on the ground. Each one measured in this way the wisdom of the other and understood that they were a worthy match for each other.

Considering the scarcity of the sources at our disposal I would abstain from advancing theories or hypotheses. But it appears to me that bSam yas and the people who centered on the new institution may have played a noticeable part in these events. bSam yas was the royal temple, the place where the edict proclaiming Buddhism to be the accepted religion was promulgated; it was the centre of the apostolic activity of the Indian missionaries supported by the court. As such it could not help being involved in the play of the opposite political currents; the court

1) See Li Fang-kuei 李方桂 Po ch'e-t'ung-kaō 鉢掣通考. *Kuo-li Chung-yung yen-chin yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so chi-kan* february 1951, p. 443 ff. H. HOFFMANN *Quellen zur Geschichte der tib. Bon-Religion*, p. 225 ff.

patronizing Buddhism, a large part of the aristocracy still siding with the Bon, the intrigues of the Chinese at work underground. The allusion of PT (generally so well informed and particularly so about the archives of bSam yas) to the impoverishment of bSam yas as a result of the Hva šaṅ's preaching, seems to confirm this hypothesis; this does not mean that at that time the temple had already acquired such an importance as to influence the development of politics, but at least it was presumably in a condition to add fuel to the fire.

Another statement contained in the BZ and PT ja, p. 122, *b* confirms these ideas: I refer to a passage of these works in which it is related that after the victory of K a m a l a śī l a , great endowments of a permanent character were made to bSam yas.

“Then the king¹⁾ (b l a n a s) assigned an estate with one hundred and fifty peasants for its maintenance (r k y e ṅ r i s) (BZ: r k y e n r i s b r g y a l ṅ a b c u b l a n a s g n a ṅ t e; PT r k y e n ṅ i s b r g y a l ṅ a b c u); each year (PT adds: every month) 75 measures of barley to the abbot, the transmitter of the doctrine of the Blessed one²⁾, nine cloths (BZ n a

1) This meaning of b l a n a s is clear also from the following passages l. 5: a b a ṅ s l h a r i s l a b l a n a s d b a ṅ m i b y a b a r c ' a d n a s d b a ṅ d g e a d u n l a b s k u r n a s.

2) For this translation of r i ṅ l u g s in the sentence: b c o m l d a n a d a s k y i r i ṅ l u g s l a, we must quote here other passages in which the same expression occurs.

PT ja, p. 114, *a*. 1,3 says of Jñānendra that he was “c ' o s k y i r i ṅ l u g s s u b s k o s”.

Ibid. p. 114, *b*; when Jñānendra goes away and dPal dbyaṅs is appointed in his place it is written: r B a d P a l d b y a ṅ s r i ṅ l u g s s u b s k o s”.

On the other hand, as regards the struggle for authority between Jñānendra and the Žaṅ blon we read that the king ordered that the assembly of the monks should be more important than that of the Ž a ṅ b l o n c ' e n p o :

za dgu p'rug¹⁾ re re; PT na za ni mañ
ste ap'an gyi bruñs la sbyor²⁾ na za
p'rug re re), eleven hundred ounces (srañ) of
seasoned butter (BZ spos mar PT spod mar)³⁾,
a horse with mane (BZ: PT c'ibs dñog⁴⁾ t'eg
pa re re), four bundles (PT deb BZ sdeb) of
paper, three pieces (yug) of ink; (he was allowed) to
take salt at will.

“To the twenty five ascetics (gom c'en) of mC'ims
p'u (BZ p'yin p'u) fifty five k'al of barley, 800
srañ of seasoned butter each, one riding horse each, six
cloths each (BZ na bza' p'rug re re; PT na
za drug p'rugs re); to the 13 ācāryas ap-
pointed as teachers of the seminary, c'os grva, 55
k'al of rice, one hundred k'al of seasoned butter (BZ
spos mar, PT c'ab mar); to the bandya of the

ibid., 114, a. Lha c'os kyi adun sa gañ adun sa c'uñ ñui
goñ du p'ul la bcom ldan adas kyi riñ lugs kyis žañ
blon c'en poi adun sa c'uñ ñu ba gyis cig. “The repre-
sentative of bCom ldan adas should consider the assembly of the Žañ blon c'en
po inferior to himself”.

GR, p. 92, a de nas rgyal pos c'os kyi riñ lugs ye šes
dbañ po bskos. It is clear from these passages that bCom ldan
adas c'os riñ lugs su bskos means: to appoint as the repre-
sentative of the (doctrine of the) Blessed One, the trasmitter of the Law,
the man who continues the tradition of the Law (cf. PT, 104, b, l. 4: ye šes
dbañ po... ñed rje abañs kyi dge bai bšes gñen lags pas
sañs rgyas kyi žal dañ adra bas) viz. the abbot: in fact Jñā-
nendra, Śrighośa etc. were the successors of Śāntarakṣita, the first mk'an po
of bSam yas.

1) “piece” corresponds to *yug* used for “cloth”: it is a numerative
(as in Chinese): “a piece of cloth”.

2) BZ is simplified; PT contains a passage the sense of which is not very
clear: perhaps “many clothes to be used as hanging curtains”.

3) Preserved in bundles and covered with some leaves as is still practiced
in Tibet.

4) dñog - rñog.

border (m t s ' a m s), relying on themselves ¹⁾ (r a ñ g a m a), eight hundred k ' a l of barley for each person, two bundles of paper, one piece of ink each; to the 25 disciples ²⁾ 25 k ' a l of barley each, three cloths (g o s) each. This was to be a permanent donation " ³⁾.

“ In order that the receptacle ⁴⁾ of the three jewels may stay for a long time, one hundred householders ⁵⁾ to the receptacle of the three jewels and three householders to each B a n d h y a for their maintenance were assigned”.

It can be easily seen that, as in many other cases, there is entire agreement between BZ and PT, the only difference between the two being that the language of BZ is rather modernized. This fact is worthy of notice because it proves either that PT had access to an earlier edition of the same book or that he copied direct from the act of donation. In any case, we are confronted with an old document. From this document we can infer that

1) See above p. 34.

2) See above p. 21.

3) de nas c'os ak'or gyi rkyen ris (PT rkyen ñis) brgya lña bcu bla nas gnañ te bcom ldan aḍas kyī riñ lugs la lo rei zla ba gcig la nas k'al bdun bcu rtsa lña | na za dgu p'rugs re re | spod mar srañ stoñ dañ brgya | c'ibs dñog t'eg pa re re | šog bu sdeb bži | gnag (for snag) ts'a yug gsum | lan ts'va zañ len | mc'ims p'ui sgom c'en ñi šu rtsa lña la nas k'al lña bcu rtsa lña lña | spod mar srañ brgyad brgya re | c'ibs pa re | na za drug p'rugs re | c'os grvai slob dpon du bsko ba bcu gsum la nas k'al lña bcu rtsa lña lña | na za p'rugs re | c'ab mar srañ brgyad brgya re | mts'ams kyī bandhya rañ ga ma rñams la gañ zag re re la nas k'al brgyad re | šog bu rdeb gñis re snag ts'a yug re | slob gñer ba ñi šu rtsa lña la re re la nas k'al ñi šu rtsa lña re gos sum p'rugs re sgyun du gnañ nas | dkon mc'og gsum gyī rten yun riñ du gnas pai c'ed du dkon mc'og gyī rten la aḅaṅs mi k'yim brgya bandhya re re la aḅaṅs mi k'yim gsum gsum du bcaḍ |

4) rTen is any religious object: it may be of three kinds: s k u , body, g s u ñ , words, books, t ' u g s , spirit, viz. m c ' o d r t e n : here the word is clearly used in the sense of temple, place of worship.

5) That is one hundred householders less than originally (PT ja, 114, b) established, for the maintenance of the temple.

mC'ims p'u was at that time already functioning as the mts'ams k'añ, rik'rod, hermitage, of bSam yas, that a c'os grva was opened with 13 ācāryas, and 25 students, (see before p. 21) few in comparison with the teachers. We do not know how many were the b and ya.

Though the monks to be fed and attended to are not yet many, it is clear that with the foundation of bSam yas and its endowment a start was given to a new economic situation. A part of the land was assigned to the monks, the agrahāra system of India had evidently been introduced. The monastery was assigned a property of its own which was exempted from taxation and the tenants became in this way the Lha dbañs, subjects of the gods, viz. of the monastery itself: this property was called rkyen ris (also written rkyen rigs) or Lha ris. This property was no longer under control of the state but represented a permanent property of the monastery.

As regards the monks, who had already been exempted from taxation and military service (PT, p. 104, b), three k'yim pa, householders, were assigned for their sustenance. It is quite clear that the Indian party and chiefly Jñānendra had insisted on getting these privileges and that this was the cause of his being compelled to take shelter in Lho brag. If we have to judge from the fragmentary information about him which survives, he tried to establish for the buddhist community a position of supremacy. No wonder therefore that his requests caused a great opposition and he was obliged to leave his abbotship to sBa dPal dbyañs who certainly had some links with the Ch'an sect and under whose leadership the Ch'an followers greatly increased in number and power.

I said before that, in my opinion, Ch'an did not completely disappear from Tibet and that traces of it can be found in the rDzogs c'en, a branch, as is known, of the rÑin ma pas.

The rDzogs c'en laid great stress on the Haṭhayoga and on the mantras, but their doctrine emphasizes the existence of a pure mind, luminous, and unshakable; except it, nothing exists, since it is the only reality; its recognition leads to release; no effort or practice is needed. The means proposed by the school for arousing this releasing consciousness of our inner reality are not those proposed by the other schools of Mahāyāna or even of Vajrayāna. The progressive method of the Bodhisattva, which Kamalaśīla supports and explains, is considered by them as one of the inferior vehicles; their classification of the Tantras is quite different from that postulated by the Vajrayāna (Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, Anuttara) and they proclaim the Atiyoga as superior to all revelations; they praise its methods as surpassing all other means of salvation. That explains why the rDzogs c'en were considered as in some way heretical, the school more distant than any other from the teaching of Śākyamuni, and why the exponents of Tibetan thought, following the example of their Indian models, start by expounding Tibetan philosophical systems with that of the rDzogs c'en as the remotest from the true image of the Buddhist tradition. That is also why they base their own doctrine on some books which were excluded from the orthodox canon, as being or supposed to be heretical. Their Tantras are not those included in the bsTan agyur but they are edited separately, in a collection peculiarly rDzogs c'en, the NGB already referred to. rDzogs c'en is called—says the GT, 30, b, l. 1—an extratemporal (d a l t a), immaculate intelligence, rig pa, luminous, void, naked

(rjen pa); every dharma, samsaric or transcendental, has in it its pleroma (rdsogs); rDsogs c'en is also called c'en po, "great", because there is no other way to salvation except it. Reality or absolute, c'os ñid, is nothing else but the very undulation (kloñ, ūrmi) of Kun tu bzañ po; it is unchangeable.

By a synthetical (zuñ ajug) intelligence of non-duality which transcends any idea concerning something either to be taken or to be abandoned, one masters all dharmas, whether samsaric or transcendental, in voidness, ston ñid, but devoid of any notion (grāha) of voidness itself; thus and so the direct experience (mñon sum) of the absolute, c'os ñid, as knowledge (rig pa) transcending saṃsāra or nirvāṇa, is realized ¹⁾.

1) The three subjects contemplated by the different sections of the rDsogs c'en itself are: a) unborn intelligence = sems, mind section. b) absolute = kloñ, undulation. c) synthetical intelligence of non-duality, mañ ñag mantra. As to the teachers they are (*ibid.*, p. 30 b. Cf. *Blue Annals*, p. 107).

kloñ	first master: Vimala
mañ ñag (sñiñ tig)	Vairocana
sems	Vairocana and gYu sgra sñiñ who transmitted it to gÑags Jñānakumāra.

From the Grub t'ab gsal bai me loñ, p. 26, b we know that the rDsogs c'en sect of the rÑiñ ma pa states that in Buddhism there are nine vehicles (cf. S. CH. DAS, *Contributions on Tibet*, JRASB, 1882, p. 10 and p. 121) divided into three groups:

A) revealed by Śākyamuni

- 1) Śrāvaka
- 2) Pratyekabuddha
- 3) Bodhisattva

B) revealed by rDo rje sems dpa'

- 1) Kriyā
- 2) Upa (yoga)
- 3) Yoga

Whatever is manifest (s n a ñ) is pure mind, and it appears in the self-existent intelligence (r a ñ a b y u ñ g i y e š e s), which is mind itself; therefore it cannot become anything else except this self-existent intelligence.

NGB, A, p. 63, b, l. 7.

rDsogs c'en is the unchanging knowledge, y e š e s, self-existent, abiding *ab aeterno* in its abode, its essential uncreated (l h u n g r u b) nature, light; mind is essentially pure.

NGB, ka, p. 106, b.

G a g a n a g a r d s d s i t a r a v a ñ a m a i g h a d s y o t ā (sic)-
b e s o r m i s a m ā j a s a m ā n y a d s a y a m u d r ā g r a n -
t h a t a n t r a

N a m m k ' a ' a b r u g s g r o g s t ' o g b a b s k l o ñ a d u s
s p y i r g y a l r g y a m d u d g y i r g y u d : translated
by U r g y a n g y i s l o b d p o n p a d m a a b y u ñ
and L o t s ā v a s K a b a d p a l b r t s e g s , and said to
have been explained to L h a s r a s K ' r i s r o ñ l d e b t s a n , in 10
l e ' u , the interlocutor being D a ñ d a ñ s k ' y e u c ' u ñ ¹⁾ and the
revealer s K y e m e d k a d a g c ' o s s k u . We read in it that no
Buddha has any name of the Buddha, no creature exists;

C) revealed by Kun tu bzañ po

1) Mahāyoga

2) Anuyoga

3) Atiyoga: rDsogs c'en.

1) The question of K'yeu c'uñ is very complex: there is mention in Tibet at least of two K'yeu c'uñ and therefore of two different cycles. One is of Chinese origin, and it has been recently studied by M. SOYMIÉ, *L'entrevue de Confucius et de Hiang T'o*, *JA*, 1954, p. 311. The other one points to Orgyan, Uḍḍiyāna: he is the 'Od K'yeu c'uñ or Šel K'yeu c'uñ who reveals some Tantras to Vairocana. See PT, p. 30, b and below p. 119.

nirvāṇa and saṃsāra are identical. Not even the name of dharmas exists; they are an illusion (aḥ k'ruḥ) of the mind, there are no transcendental dharmas; no mind (sems), no intelligence (rig pa), no world. From the very beginning there is no body; gnosis is *ab aeterno* pure, there are neither the five poisons nor the five bodies: the five poisons¹⁾ and the five bodies are therefore identical. *Ab aeterno* there is pure luminosity; no maturation of karma, no contamination exists.

From the beginning there is no contamination, there are neither the five poisons, nor the five bodies: the five poisons are from the beginning pure; the five bodies are not different from the three bodies; *ab aeterno* no creatures and no Buddha; no virtue, no sin, no paradise, no hell, no contamination, no vāsanā, no karma, no ripening of karma.

NGB, ga, p. 152.

Rig pa rañ śar c'en poi rgyud²⁾; it was translated by Vimalamitra, sKa (dPal brtsegs), Cog (Kluyal mts'an) these three (in the colophon sGra mi mt'un gsuṃ), in bSam yas: then it was given to the prince and his ministers (rje blon gñis)³⁾. The prince then gave it to Ñaṅ ban (= Myaṅ Tiñ ne ṅadsin, see above) and he concealed it in Žvai lha k'añ (see above p. 47) under the protection of the mgon po Dres t'ag can (p. 283, a). This tantra preaches the doctrine of the

¹⁾ See below p. 126 and *Addenda*.

²⁾ This is the title of the book in the colophon but in the title: ye šes ṅadus pai mdo.

³⁾ It is here clear that rje blon cannot be translated: noble ministers (SIMONSSON, p. 247) but as ruler and ministers.

non-existence of a path and the non-existence of cause and effect.

That the rDsogs c'en school has to a certain extent accepted and preserved some ideas of the Ch'an school which had penetrated into Tibet, during the time of the kings, from China and from Central Asia, is proved not only by the few quotations from some most authoritative books of the rDsogs c'en, but also by the reference to Bodhidharma and to other masters of Ch'an contained in one of the fundamental books of the rÑiñ ma pa which, though subject at various times to a process of re-elaboration, still preserves many old fragments pieced together. I allude to the b K a ' t ' a ñ s d e l ñ a, referred to above, and to a chapter of the same in which Ch'an doctrines and its teachers are recorded in a quite different way than orthodoxy would have us believe.

The method of instantaneous entrance is here preferred to that propounded by Kamalaśīla. The views of the Hva šañ are expounded in detail and many quotations meant to explain the ideas of the school are attributed to different d h y ā n a masters. The Mahāyāna Hva šañ is said to be the seventh in the sevenfold lineage of masters of d h y ā n a beginning with Bodhidharmatāla (see below p. 73), quite in accordance with the Ch'an fragments discovered in Central Asia (See M. Lalou, *Inventaire*, p. 44 b d u n r g y u d d a ñ p o, where r g y u d corresponds to the Chinese 傳 *chuan*). This also implies that after the split, which occurred at the death of Hui nêng in 713 a. D. the Hva šañ Mahāyāna considered himself and was considered by his followers as the authentic perpetuator of the teaching of Bodhidharma.

Then, as the conclusion of the debate, the king orders quite in accordance with the orthodox tradition that the Mādhyamika system should be accepted, but, differing from the tradition, it is added that the method of the instantaneous entrance is the Mādhyamika; moreover the doctrines of the rDsogs c'en as expounded in the various groups or classes of Tantras are made to fit into the eleven stages, bhūmis, of the Bodhisattva. Thus implicitly the text agrees with the Chinese sources published by Prof. Demiéville according to which the winner was the Hva šaṅ and not Kamalaśīla. As to the short biography contained in KT it is clear that the KT summarizes from a life of Bodhidharma written originally in Chinese, though it narrates only a few of the most important events usually told by the legendary accounts of the Ch'an Patriarch. To give an example there is no mention in KT of the famous dialogue between Bodhidharma and Liang Wu ti. It is difficult to say which were the sources used by the compilers of KT, not only because their story is limited to the essential facts, but also because these facts are found with slight, if any, differences in the various biographies of Bodhidharma: f.i. Pao lin chuan 寶林傳 by 智炬 Chih-chü (801 A. D.) (see Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 in Hô-rinden no Kenkyû 寶林傳の研究, Tôhō-bungaku'in, 1935), H. Dumoulin, *Bodhidharma und die Anfänge des Ch'an Buddhismus*, "Monumenta Nipponica", 1951, p. 67 ff.); Li tai fa pao chi, 歷代法寶記, Ta. n. 2075 p. 180; Ching tê ch'uan têng lu, 景德傳燈錄 of 道原 Tao-yüan (about 1004). Ta. n. 2076, p. 217-220; Ch'uan fa chêng tsung chi (1061), 傳法正宗記 Ta. n. 2078, p. 743.

Among these sources the one which shows the greatest

similarity to our text is certainly the account contained in the *Li tai fa pao chi* (8th century). In fact just as narrated in that book, the KT tells us that (Bodhi)ruci and Kuang T'un attempted to poison the Patriarch six times (Ta. n. 2075, p. 180, c); so also the *Pei shan lu* 北山錄 (Ta. 2113, p. 612, a), while the *Ching tê ch'uan têng lu* knows only of five attempts (Ta. n. 2076, p. 219, c). Moreover the *Li tai fa pao chi* equally calls the Patriarch Bodhidharmottara.

The names which occur in the KT can easily be identified with those contained in the Chinese texts with the exception of Li Kun, which is perhaps a mistake of the copyists from an original transcription of Liang Kuo; the castle (m k'ar lag) C'u is probably Kuang chou; as to Sa'u yan it is Hsiao yen 蕭衍, the name of Liang Wu ti: Kan rdor is, Kuang t'ung, 光統 and Leu ci is Liu-chih 流支 that is P'u ti liu chih 菩提流支 of the *Li ta fa pao chi*, p. 180, c.

The Bun (a mistake of the copyists for Sun?) is Sung-yün 宋雲 the Wei envoy¹⁾ to the Western countries. The only difference is found in the name of the place where Sung-yün met Bodhidharma on his return to China: according to all the Chinese sources this place was in the Ts'ung-ling mountains 葱嶺. But in KT we find Ka ra ma tin which has no relation with the Chinese. The first part of the word is undoubtedly Turkish: qara-black. As to the second part, I have nothing to suggest.

There is nothing in principle against the existence of some Uigur translation of a biography of Bodhidharma

1) See E. CHAVANNES, in *BEFEO*, 1903, p. 382-383.

just as there was one of Hsüan tsang, nor is there anything to prevent us from believing that that translation was used by the Tibetans. But the other solution is also possible that Ts'ung-ling was identified by the compilers of KT with a mountain pass well-known to them.

The names of these masters are always preceded by their title *bSam gtan mk'an po* "master of dhyāna", just as in the Tun huang manuscripts: it translates *Ch'an shih* which is transcribed in Tibetan as *Šan ši* (see p. 19).

The spelling of these names mishandled by so many copyists is hopelessly corrupt as one can gather from the different ways in which *Šan ši* is given in this text. In spite of that we can recognize here some of the names which appear in the Tun huang manuscripts; *Lalou, Inventaire*, n. 116 and 813. *A dhan her* is *A rtan hyver*, *A rdan hver* known also from other Tun huang mss. (M. Lalou, *Document tibétain sur l'expansion du dhyāna chinois. JA*, 1939, p. 505). *bDud ʾdul sñiñ po* is *Nam mk'a' sñiñ po*, who was called *bDud ʾdul* on account of his magic ability to subdue demons (cf. on him Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 360 *KT na* 68, *b dul ʾdul sñiñ po*). *Bu c'u* is the same as *Bu c'u* of those documents; *Dsañ* is most probably *Jañ šen ši* and *Ši* is possibly for *Švei* of n. 813: in *La* we should perhaps find the *Lu* of the same n. 813 and in *Ma: Man hva šan* of the mss. studied by M. Lalou, l. c. p. 506. As regards *sBab* this is certainly our *sBa sañ ši* of whom we spoke before.

The KT places at the beginning of the Ch'an school Śākyamuni who when entering nirvāṇa transmits the teaching to 'Od sruñ, Kāśyapa: this last named is acknowledged

by the Chinese tradition as the first patriarch of the Ch'an school see Ta. n. 2076, p. 205; n. 2078, p. 719¹⁾.

Tibetan Text.

[19 a]²⁾ dpe don mañ po 'od sruñs ñid la gsuñs | de nas
 dha rmo ttā ra la sogs nas | rgya nag sprul bdun brgyud
 pa brgyud pai t'a | hva šañ ma hā yā na ñid la t'ug | 'od
 sruñs cig car ajug pa p'al c'en sde | mk'an po dha rmo ttā
 ra lai brgyud ni | šar gyi p'yogs su rgya mt'so brgal nas
 p'yin | rgya yul li kun žes byai yul du slebs | rgya rje sa 'u yan
 dañ mk'an po mjal | don dam go ba ma yin pa ru šes | mk'ar
 lag c'u žes bya bar byon pa dañ | dge sloñ k'a ši dañ ni
 le'u tsi | kan rdor la sogs pa yis p'rag dog byas | le'u tsi
 mk'an po dhar mo ttā ra la | dug ni lan drug blud pas ma
 ts'ugs so | mjug tu c'os ni gtad sa ma rñed nas | rgya nag
 yul du sku ni aḍa' ts'ul bstan | rjes kyi bya ba dge [19 b]
 lñur zin nas su | rgya nag yul nas stod kyī p'yogs su yoñs |
 ts'oñ pa bun žes bya bas p'yin pa dañ | ka ra ma tiñ žes
 byai la ga ru | mk'an po bo dhi dhar mo ttā ra mjal |
 p'yag na lham ni ya gcig t'ogs nas aḍug | de ru bka'
 mc'id žib tu lhon pa dañ | ts'oñ pa bun gyis slar log
 rgya yul du | gtam rnams žib tu bsñad pas dur k'a
 p'ye | bltas pas lham ni ya gcig mi aḍug nas | rgya nag

1) The Chinese list of the Ch'an patriarchs contains Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Śāṇavāsa, (Śaṇika), Upagupta etc. (See Ta. n. 2076, p. 205 ff.). The Tibetan list of KT inserts, just as the Kṣudrakavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin and A-yu wang chuan (A yu wang ching; J. PRZYLUŚKI, *Aḥoka*, p. 372-342), Madhyandina (Madhyāntika). On the interpolation of this patriarch in the list cfr., E. FRAUWALLNER, *The earliest Vinaya and the beginnings of Buddhist Literature* (Serie Orientale Roma, VIII, p. 29 ff.).

2) The text is metrical, but in order to save space it is here printed consecutively as in the Tib. xylograph. The T. text is based on two editions; one of sDe dge, photos of which were kindly sent me by Prof. R. Stein (here D), and the other of Potala (here P.).

mi kun aṅ'ags pa yin no glen | bo dhi dha rmo tta
 rai brgyud aḍsin ni | t'a ma hva šaṅ ma hā yā nai gžuṅ |
 cig car aḷjug pa yoṅs su rdsogs pa yis | dpe don maṅ po
 mdo sde gžuṅ la t'uḡ | de dag aḍod gžuṅ yi ge yod pa
 daṅ | dhar mo ttā rai rgya luṅ c'en mo rnams | ci yaṅ
 byar med man ṅag sṅan k'uṅ brgyud | rgya gar slob
 dpon kā ma šī la yis | draṅ po don gyi mdo sde yoṅs ma
 rdsogs | rim pa slob la sogs pa t'e ts'om gcod | sā tst'sa
 gdab daṅ ṅe aḍon bya ba daṅ | stoṅ zam aḍsugs daṅ lam
 aṅ'reṅ sel ba daṅ | mc'od rten rtsig daṅ gtsug lag k'aṅ
 maṅ bžeṅs | rab tu byuṅ bai sde pa c'en po bca' | mdo sde
 rgya c'en klog aḍon bya ba daṅ | c'os aḷ'or c'en po bšad ṅan
 bya ba daṅ | [20 b] dug bsṅal can gyi grogs rnams bya ba
 daṅ | ṅe riṅ med pas nad pa gso ba daṅ | sbyin rgya c'en
 po rlabs c'en ci c'er aḷbad | hva šaṅ ma hā spyod t'abs bcu
 gṅis spyod | t'eg pa c'en po gsaṅ sṅags pa la ni | dbaṅ
 gi rim pa maṅ po nod pa daṅ | sgrub pai dkyil aḷ'or maṅ
 po žal dbye daṅ | sman rag gtor ts'ogs sreg mnan bya ba
 daṅ | sgom grva aḍsugs pa sogs la aḷbad pa'o | rab byuṅ
 sde pa mc'od gnas mi bkur ro | ts'ul aḷ'os c'os lugs rdsoṅ
 ṅam k'ud ciṅ blta | gsaṅ sṅags pa yi ³⁾ spyod t'abs bcu gṅis
 so | mt'un pai mc'od rten t'os bsam sgom gsum bsgom |
 kā ma šī la rim gyis pa yaṅ bsten ²⁾ | hva šaṅ ma hā yā nai
 bsam gtan daṅ | yo ga naṅ pai zab moi c'os rnams daṅ |
 lhag pai rnal aḷbyor rluṅ ¹⁾ rug bži sbugs ⁴⁾ daṅ | k'o na
 ṅid kyi zab moi rgyud drug daṅ | sems aṅ'reṅ ṅi šu sems
 med bco brgyad bsten | aḷag med snaṅ bai t'og nas bsam
 gtan bsgom | mdo sde aḷbyuṅ ba bšad pa ṅid las kyaṅ | snaṅ

1) D. 237, b.

2) D. bstan.

3) D. khoṅ.

4) sbugs for dbugs.

srid t'ams cad sems las byuñ ba ste | sems ñid de ñid rtag tu
 bstan ¹⁾ tu med | sems kyi rañ bžin byañ c'ub ñid du gsuñs
 byañ c'ub rañ bžin sems can t'ams cad de | sems can rnam
 dañ byañ c'ub gñis su med | de ltar rtogs na skyes bu mc'og
 tu aḡyur | žes gsuñs pas | aḡ'rul snañ las snañ ñams snañ
 gzigis snañ bži | [21 a] rgyu gñis rkyen gsum aḡbyuñ ba bži
 las grub | de ltar snañ ba sems can mts'an ñid yin | snañ ba
 skye ba rnam pa bži las skyes | snañ ba skye rga na aḡ'i aḡ'i
 med rigs | aḡ'or aḡas gñis kai ²⁾ don byed nus pa ste | de ltar
 snañ ba sems can mts'an ñid yin | snañ ba spañs pai sems can
 gcig bsgrub mdsod | ro la snañ ba med pas sems can min |
 sems yin can min yul drug med k'as blañs | aḡro ba rigs drug
 sems can min k'as blañs | drañ don gyis ni snañ ba ño mi
 šes | gsañ sñags nañ pa rnal aḡbyor c'en po dañ | šin tu rnal
 aḡbyor la ni aḡjug pai dus | man ñag t'ob pa rigs šig p'ye
 nas gsol | rtse men t'abs ni ži gnas rgyud rtog pa | goms par
 sla bai ži gnas dag t'ob byed | ston ³⁾ mun t'og ma ñid nas
 don dam pa | ma skyes bya ba med pa goms pai t'abs | t'ob
 par byed kyañ t'abs ni yañ dag min | de la t'abs ni c'en po
 mi bya'o | rtse men rim aḡjug mi rtog pa la aḡjug | rnam par
 mi rtog yid la mi byed bsgoms | rnam par t'ar pai sgo
 gsum rim par bsgom ⁴⁾ | ston pa ñid dañ mts'an ma med pa
 dañ | smon pa med pa rnam t'ar sgo gsum mo | ston mun
 cig car aḡjug pa re mos med | don dam ma skyes pa la
 cig car bslab | dañ po skye aḡag med pai sems bskyed
 nas | tha ma skye aḡag med [21 b] pai aḡbras bu t'ob |
 mk'an c'en bo dhi dha rmo ttā ras gsuñs | yañ dag yañs
 p'yogs mi ltos yañs | hlam mer gnas na bdag gžan gañ yañ

1) D. brtan.

2) D gai.

3) D 238 a.

4) D sgom.

med | ma rabs dañ ni aṇ'ags pa mñam žiñ gcig | mi aḡyur
 ñams kyi gtan gnas p'an c'ad du | yi ge bstan pai rjes su
 mi aḡbrañ ño | aḡdi ni yañ dag don gžii gnas su p'ab ¹⁾ | rnam
 par rtog med ži žiñ bya ba med | de ni don la aḡjug pa cig
 car ro | bsam gtan mk'an po aḡjug dus bšad pa ni | mi sems
 ts'ul k'rims mi dran tiñ ñe aḡdsin | sgyu sems mi aḡbyuñ ba
 ni šes rab bo | bsam gtan mk'an po bdud aḡdul sñiñ pos
 bšad | ci yañ mi dran pa ni sañs rgyas dran | aḡdi ñid la
 bltas ma yeñs sems sñoms na | de bžin gšegs pa yañ dag
 c'os sku yin | bsam gtan mk'an po a dhan her gyis bšad |
 sems ñid mi aḡyo ji bžin mñam pa ni | rnal aḡbyor ñes pai
 sa t'ob lam yin no | bsam gtan mk'an po ma hā yān gyis
 bšad | c'os ñid bsam med mi rtog pa ru bžag ²⁾ | sñar ma
 sbyañs kyañ aḡdi la aḡjug tu btub | rtse men rim gyis aḡjug
 pa sñar bšad ltar | dmigs pa ša t'añ aḡbad nas mi dmigs
 skye | dños po gtan ts'igs kyis ni gžal nas su | dbu mai don
 ni dañ du len pa'o | ston mun bžed pa bdag gžan c'os so
 c'og | ye nas ma skyes don du gñer pas bslad | des ni
 nam yañ don byed mi mt'oñ ste | 'on kyañ ci bsam [22 a]
 sñoms par gžug aḡdod na | rgyu rkyen rim par aḡjug ces
 bstan pa yañ | rmoñs pa rñams ni t'abs kyis aḡjug par
 gsuñs | dbañ po t'a mai don du rim aḡjug bstan | sbur pai
 aḡgros kyis ri rab k'ar mi rtol | dmigs pa can gyis mi rtog
 par bšad do | de ltai ston mun bya ba bral gsol kyañ |
 skye aḡgag gñis su med par ma šes so | gñis med smra yañ
 ma skyes re žig aḡdod | stoñ pa cir yañ snañ du mi nus pa |
 rañ gi lta bas bsgribs pai stoñ žen no | sañs rgyas mdo sde
 stoñ par bsgom pa la | ci p'yir rim gyis aḡjug ces bya
 ba ste | aḡdir ni ri bo c'en por aḡdseg pa la | gom gcig
 gom gñis p'yin pas brtol aḡdra žiñ | bden gñis ži lhag ris

1) D bab.

2) D 238 b.

bcad sa non aḡyur | spyod lam dge ba lña dños brtson par
 bya | de ltai ts'ogs gñis aḡad pas kun 'od aḡro | skad
 cig sna p'yii p'yi' mar c'os sku t'ob | smon lam t'ugs rjei
 dbaṅ gis aḡro don mdsad | aḡog pai tiñ ñe aḡsin ni gñid
 sad dpe | gzugs skur laṅs te don mdsad pa ru bšed |

rtse men rim gyis pai skabs te bcu gñis pao

[22 a, 5] ston mun cig car aḡjug pai dpe bstan pa | ri
 rgyal rtse mor p'yin na kun mt'oñ ts'ul | ri bran rtse
 nas lhun po mi mt'oñ bžin | rim gyis pa ni ko¹⁾ moi
 ña c'uñ aḡdra | cig car pa ni gtsaṅ c'ui ña dañ aḡdra |
 gžal bya gžal byed ye nas ma skyes pa | [22 b] ci yañ
 ma btsal ñid kyis go bar aḡdod | bla ma ñes pai mdo
 sde mi bsten²⁾ yin | yul la ma bsten²⁾ par ni sems mi
 skye | sems la ma bsten²⁾ par ni yul mi snañ | šes bya
 šes byed gñis po p'an ts'un ltos | grub pai snañ ba mi
 aḡog pa ni t'abs | snañ ba rañ bžin med pa šes rab bo |
 gñis med don dam gcig par t'ag bcad de | cig car pa
 ni señ ge lam žugs aḡdra | gad med ḡyañ med kun la
 t'ogs med do | rim gyis pa ni va mo lam žugs aḡdra | gad
 ḡyañ mi t'ar ba la log skor byed | ñes skyon le los dmigs pa
 brjed³⁾ pa dañ | byiñs⁴⁾ dañ rgod dañ mi rtsol rtsol ba'o | de
 ñid spoñ bai gñen po aḡdu byed⁵⁾ brgyad | dad pa⁶⁾ aḡdun pa
 stsol ba šin tu sbyaṅs | dran pa šes bžin sems pa btañ
 sñoms so | aḡdod sred dañ bral dga' bde lam gyur tsam |
 sdug bsñal ma yin bde ba ma yin pai | btañ sñoms dran

1) D 239 a.

2) Lhasa ed. brten.

3) Both editions: brjod.

4) D byiñ.

5) Both xyl. dun byed; the correction is necessary; cfr. Bh.k § 14. from which this passage derives.

6) Both xyl.; dad pas.

ʒadun bsaṃ gtaṃ bḥi paṃ | rṭse men las ʒdir k'yad par bcus
 ʒp'ags te | t'abs kyi k'yad par ston mun ʒp'ags pa daṃ |
 ʒjug lugs k'yad par ston mun ʒp'ags pa daṃ | spyod pai
 k'yad par ston mun ʒp'ags pa daṃ | tiṃ ʒdsin k'yad par ston
 mun ʒp'ags pa daṃ | rnam rṭog bcos lugs ston mun ʒp'ags
 pa daṃ | sgrib pa sbyoṃ t'abs k'yad par ʒp'ags pa daṃ |
 sgrub pai k'yad par ston mun ʒp'ags pa daṃ | ts'ogs kyi
 k'yad par ston mun ʒp'ags pa daṃ | ¹⁾ [23 a] rṭogs ²⁾ pai
 k'yad par ston mun ʒp'ags pa daṃ | ʒgro don k'yad par
 daṃ ni bcus ʒp'ags so | bsaṃ gtaṃ mk'an po ke hun šan
 tis bšad | seṃs mṃam pa na c'os rṃams mṃam pa'o | saṃs
 rgyas c'os ma yin pa gaṃ yaṃ med | sred ciṃ c'ags pa t'ams
 cad skye bo yin | bsaṃ gtaṃ mk'an po dsiṃ šin šas bšad pa |
 dran pai rṭog pa mi ʒbyuṃ tiṃ ṃe ʒdsin | yoṃs su rdsogs pas
 rṭog med šes rab skye | de ni k'ams gsum pa las ʒdas par
 gyur | bsaṃ gtaṃ mk'an po sbab šan šin bšad pa | rnam
 par mi rṭog cig car rig pa ni | gcaṃ gzaṃ rgyal po seṃ ge
 ʒgyiṃ pa ʒdra | sgra drag ³⁾ spyod pa rnam bḥi bag mi
 ts'a | bsaṃ gtaṃ mk'an po de'u šan šin bšad | seṃs ṃid
 ʒk'rud la c'u mi dgos pa yin | sbyin pa gtoṃ la nor mi dgos
 pa yin | yaṃ dag seṃs kyis dam pai don bsgrubs na | draṃ
 por ʒdug pas de bḥin gšegs pa ʒt'ob | bsaṃ gtaṃ mk'an po
 t'aṃ bzaṃ šin šis bšad | c'os gcig šes na c'os kun ma bslabs
 lobs | des ni ṃon moṃs bag c'ags mi skye'o | bsaṃ gtaṃ
 mk'an po han ze šin šis bšad | lam de bsgom žiṃ saṃs rgyas
 ṃid· bṭas na | saṃs rgyas mi mt'oṃ gol ba saṃs rgyas ṃe |
 bsaṃ gtaṃ mk'an po ā rya rag šis bšad | t'eg pa c'en poi
 lta ba c'un pa ni | ʒjig rten ʒdus byas t'ams cad ʒdus
 [23 b] ma byas | t'og ma rnam par dag ciṃ mṃam pai

1) D 239 b.

2) D rṭog.

3) A grags.

p'yir | mk'an poi bka' la yan par ma bšad pa | 'od sruis
 cig car ajug pa t'abs med do | c'os sems la sems kun la
 ma skyes so | bsam gtan mk'an po bu cuñ bšad pa ni |
 mts' an ma c'os rnams t'ams cad mts'am ma la | sems
 kyis ¹⁾ sems ašs'ol sems kyis sems mi rñed | ci yañ mi rñed
 ci yañ bstan rgyu med | bsam gtan mkan po ma hā yā
 nas bšad | yoñs blta bas ni p'yi nañ c'os bdag gis | lus
 sems spyi mts'an ñid c'os bdag c'a ²⁾ | rañ gi mts'an ñid
 mi rtag sdug bsñal ba | spyi yi mts'an ñid stoñ pa bdag
 med mjal | bsam gtan mk'an po k'a šen ši yis bšad | c'os
 so cog kun stoñ par šes pa ni | stoñ par šes pas nus pai ye
 šes stoñs | de bas c'os rnams stoñ pa ñid kyañ stoñs | bsam
 gtan mk'an po dsañ šan ši yis bšad | c'os so cog la ts'ogs
 pa med pa ni | c'os lam spyod pa yin no ts'ogs drug ač'ar ³⁾
 | mdo sde tob pa sañs rgyas luñ ston no | bsam gtan
 mk'an po yen šan šis bšad pa | mig mt'oñ gnas ñid bden
 pai c'os mt'oñ mt'a' | c'os so cog kyañ bden pai mt'a'
 yin no | de las gžan du btsal du ci žig yod | bsam gtan
 mk'an po a šan šis bšad pa | sems drañ ba ni c'os lam spyod
 pa yin | stoñ pa mi spyod t'abs mi ašs'ol bai py'ir | drañ
 por spyad de p'an [24 a] c'ad lam med do | bsam gtan
 mk'an po len šan šis bšad pa | c'os kyi ño bo ñid la t'e
 ts'om med | drañ por bsgom la t'e ts'om ma za žig | bsam
 gtan mk'an po hañ šan šis bšad pa | γyo žiñ byed do cog
 kyañ de bžin ñid | yul drug gañ byuñ ba yañ de bžin ñid |
 ašgyur ⁴⁾ ba med ciñ t'a dad med pa'o | bsam gtan mk'an po
 kan šan ⁵⁾ šis bšad pa | sems ni ci la mi rtog par go na | de

1) D 240 a.

2) D c'e.

3) D ač'añ.

4) D ašgyur!

5) D 240 b.

ñid mdo sde c'os kyi lam srol yin | c'os kyis bcins pas grol
 bar mi mt'on no | bsam gtañ mk'an po dsi šan šis bšad
 pa | c'os ¹⁾ so cog la yin min nes pa med | mig gis gzugs
 mt'on ts'e na mi mt'on med | de bžin rna ba sna lce lus dañ
 yid | gzugs kyi rgyu la rnam šes mi skye na | ađu šes mi
 šes gzugs mi mt'on ba yin | bsam gtañ mk'an po kam
 šan šis bšad pa | rnam par šes drug mi dgei ađu šes yin ²⁾ |
 dei miñ bdud kyi las su šes bya'o | mk'an c'en bo dhi
 dharmo ttā ras bšad pa | ađu šes γyos ts'e γyo ba med pa
 de | sañs rgyas c'os yin mi rnams šes drug aḱ'rul | mk'an
 po hyau agyeu šan šis bšad | sems dañ rnam par šes pai
 rañ bžin no | gnas so cog rnams sañs rgyas mya ñan ađas |
 sems kyi yul log sañs rgyas c'os min med | bsam gtañ
 mk'an po gyi šan šis bšad pa | ma rabs aḱ'ags ³⁾ pa sgo [24 b]
 gñis gnas lugs gcig | rgyu dañ abraś bu gcig la mi bltos
 pas | dge mi dgei las mi stor abraś ba med | k'rims lña
 bsruñs na nes par mi lus aḱ'ob | stoñ ñid c'os lam spyad
 na dgra bcom aḱ'ob | bsam gtañ mk'an po ci šan šis bšad
 pa | c'os so cog kun sañ srgyas c'os la γyos | γyos su cog
 kun byañ c'ub yin pas su | mi dñañs mi skrag gnas so cog
 kun grags | bsam gtañ mk'an po p'og ⁴⁾ rtog šan šis bšad
 | kun rdsob bden pa yod pas stoñ pa yin | dgra bcom
 bden pa med pas yod ma yin | aḱ'ags pas gzigs na stoñ
 pa nas gñis med | bsam gtañ mk'an po jo šan šis bšad pa |
 bslab pai mis ni sdig med sdig tu mt'on | šes pai mis ni
 sdig nas sdig med mt'on | bsam gtañ mk'an po yan šan
 šis bšad pa | kun kyañ sems ni γyo bai c'os ⁵⁾ yin no |

1) Both xyl. šas!

2) D nu'n.

3) Both xyl. p'ag pa.

4) D brog.

5) D 241 a.

sems mi γyo ba bsam gtan sgom ci dgos | šes rab šes pai
 mis aṭs'ol don dam zad | bsam gtan mk'an po han šan
 šis bšad pa | sems c'os lam gyi ño bo ñid yin te | lus ni
 c'os lam gyi ni snod yin no | rgyu de dge bai bšes gñen
 rkyen gyis aḅyui | bsam gtan mk'an po ši šan šis bšad pa |
 bdag gi yid kyis yañ dag sems šes na | de don zab dañ mi
 zab dbye ba med | lam mi aḡal t'ob stor bai gnas mi
 mt'on | bsam gtan mk'an [25 a] po he k'añ šis bšad pa |
 lña p'un yoñs rdsogs mya ñan aḡas šes na | lus sems aḡir
 spyod gcig ldan gžuñ c'en yin | sems can t'ams cad mun
 pa bsal¹⁾ bar byed | bsam gtan mk'an po la šan²⁾ šis
 bšad pa | c'os don rig na bden par mt'un pa dañ | t'a
 dad yin min t'ams cad med pa'o | mñon dañ mi mñon
 brtson aḡrus c'e rnam so | bsam gtan mk'an po ma šan
 šis bšad pa | šes pai ts'e na aḡig rten aḡas pa yañ | mi
 rnam stoñ pa aḡa' žig yoñs su zad | yi ge bstan pai rjes
 su mi aḡrañ ño | bsam gtan mk'an po a mo gzoñ c'us
 bšad | c'os so cog rnam yod pa ma yin no | bšad pa
 k'yod kyis med par ma mt'on ñam | skyes las ma skyes
 ma skyes skyes par aḡyur | mk'an po c'en po dha rmo ttā
 ras bšad | mi šes na ni mi c'os la aḡrañ žes | šes na lha c'os
 la ni mi aḡrañ ño | šes na rnam par šes pa gzugs su aḡu | slañ
 na rnam par šes pa gzugs la aḡu | gzugs kyi rgyu la rnam šes
 skyes ma lags | de ni gzugs su mi mt'on žes bya'o | aḡ'ags
 pai mi³⁾ sems nam mk'a' stoñ pa aḡra | skye aḡag med
 mt'on byañ c'ub ces bya'o | lo tsts'a ska ba dpal brtsegs
 kyis bšad pa | aḡig rten t'ams cad yoñs btañ ste | rdul tsam
 aḡsin pai sems med pa | sbyin pai p'a rol p'yin pa
 rdsogs | ñes pa rdul tsam mi aḅyui bas | ts'ul [25 b] k'rims

1) P gsal.

2) Xyl. šin.

3) D 241 b.

p'a rol p'yin pa rdsogs | c'os dbyiñs ñañ las bzod pa
 brtan | bzod pai p'a rol p'yin pa rdsogs | de ñid don la
 mi γyo bas | brtson aḡrus p'a rol p'yin pa rdsogs | mñam
 ñid mi γyo bdag med pas | bsam gtan p'a rol p'yin pa
 rdsogs | dmig med don lta rañ rig pas | šes rab p'a rol
 p'yin pa rdsogs | c'os rnamš aḡbyuñ ba med pai mdo las
 gsuñs | sdig sems mu stegs can gyis ñag brjod dam | sañs
 rgyas rnamš kyis gsuñ gañ bka' stsal pa | de dag t'a dad
 ts'ul gyur med pa ste | de ltar šes na de ni mgon por
 aḡgyur | hva šañ ma hā yā nas bšad pa ni | lus kyis aḡdug t'abs
 sems kyis gžag t'abs gñis | de la lus kyis aḡdug t'abs bstan
 pa ni | stan bde bar aḡdug lus ni drañ por bsrañs | mig gñis
 sna la bltas nas lce rkañ sbyar | skyil kruñ dam po beas
 te aḡdug par bya | sgo gsum yañ por mi gtañ srol du bžugs |
 lus brel ñag lab sems yeñs ga nas k'om | gegs ni mañ yañ byiñ
 rgod gñis su aḡdus | byiñ bai rgyu ni sa dañ me c'u rmugs |
 bcud can zas skom ñal dub rkyen gñid aḡ'ibs | rgod pai
 rgyu rkyen me rluñ šas c'e yul p'yir aḡbrañs | ñams myoñ
 nañ nas šar na gegs p'yir sol | dge sloñ ye šes dpal gyis bšad
 pa ni | mi γyo ži ba c'en poi tiñ ñe aḡdsin | rnam par mi rtog
 pa¹⁾ la ñin mts'an aḡ'ul | don de lta bu yin par rig pai mis
 | aḡdu aḡdsi γyeñ bai gnas su mi aḡdug bsgom | srod dañ t'o
 reñs [26 a] mi ñal bsam gtan aḡdug | p'yi nañ drod rtags
 dbugs kyis aḡgyu ba c'ad | rtse gcig lus dgon sems k'o mts'ams
 la aḡdug | la gsum rgyal ba byañ c'ub kyis bšad pa | mi
 bden rdsun pai aḡdu šes rab γyos aḡts'al | mi spoñ mi len
 t'abs la mk'as lags so | slob dpon ži ba mc'og rgyan
 gyis bšad pa | mñam par gžag pa k'o nai skabs ñid na | yul
 dañ rnam par rtog pa mi snañ ba | mi aḡog pa ni t'abs
 la mk'as pai mc'og | myañ bran dpal gyi ye šes rgyal

1) D 242.

mt'san bšad | ək'or ądas c'os la re ba spu tsam med
 dbań poi sgo gsum ńes don mńam par bžag | rgyal po k'ri
 sroń ldeu btsan bka' stsal pa | p'yi nań c'os kun dkar
 dmar snań yań snań | mt'oń yań mt'oń ste šes kyań šes |
 de ltar rnam par rtog pa med dań gcig | ri boń rva dań mo
 gšam bu lta bu | c'os med de ltar mi rtog pa dań gńis
 mi rtog pa ądra dran pa med min gsum | k'oń bcud don
 gžan rtsol ba med de bži | ądi bži dus gcig skad cig ma
 la bsgom | mk'an po ar na mt'ar p'yin gyis bšad pa
 sems ńid ji bžin ńid du mńam pa de | rnal ąbyor ńes don
 lam la žugs pa'o | bsam gtan mk'an po ądse mgo rgyan
 gyis bšad | c'os rnams ji bžin ji ltar ma bcos na | bsam
 gtan cig car ąjug pai sgo žes bya | mk'an po li žu sńiń po
 [26 b] yis bšad pa | don la c'os ńid gań yań ma yin pas
 yin pai blo ni cir yań ma bžag na | rnam par mi rtog don
 sgom žes su gdags | gsum pa¹⁾ ye šes rgyal po yis bšad pa |
 lta bas ąjal bai dus na yin pa med | rań rig ma skyes ts'e na
 brjod du med | sgom dus blo med mńam gžag cig car ąjug
 lań ągro dkon cog ąbyuń gnas kyis bšad pa | bsam gyis mi
 k'yab ma ńams mńam par gžag | skye ba med par ma grub
 ągag pa med | ądi la sgo p'ugs dbus mt'a' gań yań med | li
 tsa dri med grags pai mdo las ni | gań yań ma skyes ma
 byuń ąjig pa med | mi skyei c'os la bzod pa t'ob pa yin |
 de ni gńis su med par ąjug pa'o | byań c'ub sems dpa' dpal
 sbas yis smras pa | ńa dań ńa yir žes pa gńis snań yań | sgro
 btags med na ńa yi bar mi ągyur²⁾ | gńis su med pa de la
 ąjug pa'o | byań c'ub sems dpa' ńes ądsum gyis smras pa |
 mi dmigs pa de rtog pas gsal mi byed | mi spyod pa de gńis
 su med par ąjug | byań chub sems dpa' skar rgyal gyis smras
 pa | dge dań mi dge žes bya de gńis ni | mts'an bcas dań

1) D 242 b.

2) D ąbyuń.

ni mts'an med gñis su ajug | byañ sems señ ge blo gros
 kyis smras pa | gañ gi mñam pa ñid kyī c'os t'os nas | aḍi
 ni zag bcas aḍi ni zag pa med | gañ ajug med pa de ni gñis
 med ajug | byañ c'ub sems dpa bde mos [27 a] kyis
 smras pa | aḍi ni bde la aḍi ni mi bde ba gñis ka ye šes
 rnam par bya bai p'yir | mi c'ags de ni gñis su med
 par ajug | bsam gtan mk'an po dpal dbyañs kyis bšad
 pa | luñ dañ rig pas t'ag bcaḍ de | sems kyī rañ bžin yañ
 dag yid c'es bya | hva šañ ma hā yā na yis bšad pa | sdom
 pa kun brtags yin pas bsrui mi dgos | bslab pa ¹⁾ sems
 bskyed yin pas ñams mi dgos | dam ts'ig gtsañ ma
 yin pas ñams mi dgos | spyod pa la ajug spyod pa rnam
 bži bsten ²⁾ | gcig ni aḱ'on la ldon pai spyod pa yin | gñis
 pa rkyen gyī rjes su spyod pa'o | gsum pa ci yañ aṭs'ol rjes
 spyod pa'o | bži pa c'os dañ mt'un pai spyod pa'o | dañ
 po aḱ'on lan ldon pai spyod ³⁾ pa'o | bdag las sgom pas
 sdug bsñal žig byuñ ts'e | bdag gi yid la dran ciñ aḍi sñam
 sems | bdag sñon t'og ma med pai bskal pa nas | yañ
 dag pa yi ño bo ñid spañs te | p'yi yul abrañs nas srid
 pa sna ts'ogs aḱ'yams | aḱ'on žiñ sdañ pa mañ du byuñ
 bas na | že aḡras brduñ aṭs'ogs gnod pa grañs med pas
 ts'e aḍir gnod pa ñes pa ma byas kyañ | sña mai las ñan
 sdug bsñal ts'e aḍir smin | lhas ma byas šiñ mis ma byas
 pa yin | rañ gi las aḡyur pas aḱ'añ du med | bzod ciñ
 ma aḱ'añ du °k'a dañ du blañ | brdeg pa la ni brdeg ciñ
 mi k'ro'o | sdug bsñal dañ p'rad mya ñan mi byed [27 b] pa |
 rañ sems aḍi ltar byuñ bai don mi aḡal | gñis pa rgyen
 gyī rjes su spyod pa ni | sems can bdag med kun kyañ

1) D 243 a.

2) D bstan.

3) Here aḱ'on lan ldon instead of: aḱ'on la ldon as before;
 but lan and ldon are synonyms.

las rkyen aḡyur | sdug bsñal bde ba blañs kun rkyen las
 skyes | mñon mt'o aḡbras bu loñs spyod la sogs kun | t'ob
 dañ stor ba dga' mi dga' ni med | c'os don mt'un te
 rkyen gyi rjes su spyod | gsum pa ci yañ aṡs'ol rjes spyod
 pa ni | aḡjig rten mi rnam rgyun par bde ba bsgrub | sdug
 bsñal bsgrub pa ci yañ med lags mod | bde ba bsgrubs pas
 sdug bsñal soñ ba yin | lus šig yod na kun la'n sdug bsñal
 yod | su yañ bde ba t'ob pa ci yañ med | sems can bde bar¹⁾
 gnas na byar med bde | yod do cog gi aḡdu šes ži ba yin |
 bži pa c'os dañ mt'un pai spyod pa ni | c'os la sems can
 dri ma dañ bral ba | ye šes spyan gyis don rtogs yid c'es
 na | k'añ bzañ nañ du loñs spyod gnas mi bya | gos bzañ
 zas žim nor c'es ñon moñs so | dper na sñags sman yoñs su
 zin pai dug | k'oñ du aṡ'uñs kyañ aṡ'i bar mi nus so |
 de bžin t'abs šes mk'as pas yoñs su žin | ñon moñs pa la
 spyad kyañ skyon med do | lcags kyi ga ru c'uñ yañ c'u
 nañ aḡbyiñ | snod du byas na c'en po'n k'a ru aḡ'yo |
 sñiñ rje ldan žiñ byams sems brtan pai p'yir | sems dge
 ba la ñes pa med par bšad |

ston mun cig car ba aḡjug pai skabs te bcu gsum pa'o

[28 a] de nas bod kyi btsad poi bka' luñ la | ña yi
 ban de t'ams cad sems blta t'abs | rnal aḡbyor dbu mai
 gžuiñ du blta bar bya | lus ñag sdom pa so so t'ar pa
 ste | rigs ni rnam pa bdun nam brgyad brten nas |
 t'ams cad yod par smra bai sde gžuiñ spyod | ston mun
 cig car aḡjug pa dbu ma yin | sa ni dañ po dañ ni gñis
 pa aṡ'ob | sa ni gsum pa bži pai spyod yul du | gsañ sñags
 kri ya dañ ni u pa bstan | sa ni lña pai spyod yul yo ga
 bstan | sa drug spyod yul ma hā yo ga'o | sa bdun spyod

1) D 242 b.

yul a nu yo ga bstan | sa brgyad pa la a ti yo ga bstan |
 sa dgu pa la spyi ti yo ga bstan | sa bcu pa la yañ ti yo
 ga bstan | bcu gcig kun tu 'od la mt'a' c'en bstan.

English Translation (KT, ca, p. 19, a, l. 4).

Then (the teaching) reached Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna, the last | of the lineage, the lineage of the sevenfold Chinese emanations (descended) from Dharmottāra, etc. | As regards the lineage of the mk'an po Dharmottāra, | generally the school of the immediate entrance (cig car ajug) of 'Od sruṅ, having crossed the eastern ocean | (Dharmottāra) reached a country called Li kun which is in China. | Then, when the Chinese emperor Sa'u yan and the mk'a n po met, | the latter knew that the true meaning was not understood (by the Emperor). | He went to a castle called C'u¹⁾; some²⁾ monks (dge sloṅ) and Le'u tsi, Kan rdor, etc. were jealous of him. | Le'u tsi to Dharmattāra³⁾, the mk'a n po | six times gave him poison to drink, without harming him; | at last, since he could find no place where the teaching could be delivered | in the country of China, he showed the way of bodily trespass. | As (his) following⁴⁾ deeds, having taken ... [19 b], he went from China to the upper country. | A merchant called Bun⁵⁾ came | and met the mk'an po Bodhidharmattāra on the top of the pass Ka ra ma tiṅ; |

1) See above p. 60.

2) K'a ši most probably for k'a šas.

3) In the text the two spellings Dharmattāra and Dharmottāra alternate.

4) rjes kyi bya ba dge lñur zin nas su: dge lñur is not clear to me: "having taken the appearance of a monk"?

5) The text has ts'oṅ pa which means: a merchant; but it is clear that here it is for rds'oṅ pa from rds'oṅ: to send an envoy.

he was holding one boot in his hand; | there he accurately gave him back his teachings. | The merchant Bun again returned to China; | having related accurately the story, (the emperor) opened the tomb; | looking (inside) they saw that one boot was missing. | All people in China said that he was a saint (ṅ p ' a g s p a) (The story of 'Od srūn waiting for the coming of Maitreya follows). The last successor¹⁾ of Bodhidharmottara was Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna; | the main substance of his teaching (g ž u ṅ) (is that), having perfected the (method) of instantaneous entrance (c i g c a r ṅ j u g), | one comes in contact with the many exemplary meanings, the kernel of the sūtras; | that kernel aiming at those (meanings) extant in writings and the extensive Chinese instructions of Dharmottāra, | represent the authoritative tradition (s ṅ a ṅ k ' u ṅ) of the secret instructions, u p a d e ś a s (m a ṅ ṅ a g) with no recourse to any activity whatsoever. | The Indian ācārya K a m a [l a] ś ī l a did not fully realize (the meaning) of the sūtras the sense of which is to be determined (i. e. relative) (d r a ṅ d o n, n e y a); he solved the doubts (concerning) the learning of (gradual) method etc.; he made ts' a ts' t s' a²⁾ and established the practice of the muttering of formulae (ṅ e ṅ d o n³⁾); | he laid out bridges to the void and eliminated the narrow⁴⁾ paths, | erected many m c ' o d r t e n and dedicated many chapels | and established (b c a ') a great community of ordained monks; | (he determined) the rituals for reading and reciting the great s ū t r a s ; (he settled)

1) A b r g y u d ṅ d s i n is more than a successor: he is a master who belongs to a same *saṃpradāya*.

2) On the ts' a ts' a see G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. I, p. 53, Roma, 1932.

3) Upajāpa.

4) ṅ P ' r e ṅ for ṅ p ' r a ṅ. The meaning is that he taught the rituals and the prayers for eliminating the dangers of the *bar do*, *antarābhava*.

the rituals concerning the explanation and the hearing (of the texts) during the religious assemblies (c'o s a k o r) | [20 b] and the method (intended to) help those who are in grief, | the treatment of the diseased whether near or remote¹⁾; | for great liberality and great blessings, for whatever great he strove. | Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna practiced the twelve methods of the practice: | in the secret mantras of the great vehicle | many methods of initiation he received, | he opened many maṇḍalas of the mystic realization; | the method of tasting medicines, of accumulating offerings, of submitting fire²⁾, | building of colleges of meditation, etc. for all this he greatly strove. | To pay no homage to the ordained monks, to communities and places of worship (mC'o d g n a s)³⁾, to view (things) rejecting any traditional rule (ts'u l a c'o s) or tenet, such are the 12 methods of the practice of the secret mantras⁴⁾. | K a m a l a śī l a, the propounder of the progressive method, addicted himself to meditation on the common supports of worship, on these three: learning, reflection, concentration. | Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna addicted himself to dhyāna (b s a m g t a n), the deep dharmas of inner yoga, | the superior yoga, the breathing up of the four winds (prāṇ a⁵⁾), | the six deep tantras concerned with the reality, | the 20 difficulties of mind, the 18 states of no-mind⁶⁾.

1) That is, related or not.

2) Viz. elimination of the five or eight dangers.

3) mC'o d g n a s may also mean chaplain but I take it here in its literal sense because it comes after s d e p a .

4) The enumeration starts from: in the secret mantras etc.

5) The four winds samāna, udāna, apāna, vyāna: r l u ṅ r u g = gathered wind = prāṇ a

6) In this case also Tantric doctrines of the rDsogs c'en are evidently attributed to Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna; I do not know which are the six tantras here referred to: as to the 20 difficulties of mind, I think that here also

| He meditated on dhyāna unobstructed from the very beginning of the appearance (of the existence) | and also, according to the explanations derived from the sūtras, | he said that all appearing existence is originated from mind | and this mind is eternally unspeakable (a vyapaśya, b s t a n t u m e d) | and that Enlightenment itself is the essence of mind. | All beings have the very essence of Enlightenment; | beings and Enlightenment are not a duality. | So realizing one becomes a supreme person. | So he said. | The four appearances are: the illusory, the karmic, the mental, and the visive ¹⁾. | [21, a] they are produced by the two causes, the three conditions and the four elements (a b y u ñ) ²⁾; | so appearances are (the manifestation of) the characters of a being. | The appearances derive from four forms of births ³⁾; | whatever appears has a birth, a growing old, disease, death or immortality (these five) kinds; | it is (then) possible to distinguish ⁴⁾ the meaning of s a ṃ - s ā r a and transcendental existence, these two. | [Thus appearances are the character of the beings] ⁵⁾. | You should realize

ap'reñ = ap'rañ, saṃkaṭa, though I do not remember having found this classification anywhere: are the 18 states of a c i t t a, no-mind related to the 18 ś u n y a t ā ?

The a c i t t a - no-mind - represents the main subject of a small treatise found in Tun huang and attributed to Bodhidharma, though being a dialogue between a disciple and a Ho shang. 無心論 Wu hsin lun, Ta. n. 2831; in it many ideas are expounded which we meet also in KT and in rDsogs c'en literature: no-mind - on account of illusion, b h r ā n t i, we have the representation of a being: but in fact there are no sins and no nirvāṇa etc.

1) This shows that the sense of s n a ñ is twofold: appearance objective and subjective, just like Sanskrit ābhāsa.

2) I cannot say from where this classification is taken: as known the Abhidharma lists six h e t u and four p r a t y a y a .

3) The four births: a ṇ ḍ a j a etc. from egg, placenta, exudation, miraculous apparition. AK. III, 8. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, L'Abhidharmakośa, III, p. 27 ff.

4) B y e d for a b y e d .

5) This is a repetition of the previous sentence.

a being which abandons those appearances; since in a corpse there do not arise any appearances there is no being (in it) ¹⁾. | If there is not a being, the implication is that there are not the six objects of perception | and the implication is (also) that there are not the beings belonging to the six kinds of existence ²⁾. | By the relative meaning (of the scriptures) one cannot understand (the real nature) of the appearances; | when one enters the Mahāyoga, the esoteric secret mantras (g s a ñ s ñ a g s n a ñ p a) and the Atiyoga, it is right to obtain the instructions and having chosen (the fit disciple, the master) administers them ³⁾. | The means (proposed by) rTse men consist in considering (r t o g p a) the process of ś a m a t h a (ž i g n a s); it makes one attain the ś a m a t h a which is easy to meditate. | The sTon mun is a means of meditating on the supreme reality existing ab *aeterno*, | unborn, inactive; | though it makes one attain (truth), the means in reality does not exist. | There this means is not taken as great. | The entrance into the gradual method, the rTse men, is the entrance into a state of non-subjective representation (m i r t o g); | it is a meditation in which there is no mental work (m a n a s k ā r a), no subjective representation, | a progressive meditation of the three gates of release; | these three gates of release are voidness, absence of

1) But literally here: sems can: one having mind: mind being the cause and the center of the illusory individuality and its perceptions.

2) On the six forms of existence see KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, III, p. 11 (n. 1) ff. P. MUS, *La lumière sur les Six Voies*, Paris 1939.

3) P'ye nas may als mean: d k y i l a k ' o r ž a l p ' y e n a s, "having uncovered the maṇḍala", an operation which is essential before administering the initiation; but the meaning is also the same because the initiation to a particular maṇḍala supposes that the master has already discovered that the disciple is fit for it.

any character, absence of purpose ¹⁾. | The immediate entrance of the sTon mun, is not in a succession, | the immediate learning of the supreme thing, the unborn; | having at first produced a thought of no birth and no obstruction, | [21 b] at the end one obtains a fruit of which there is no birth, no obstruction. |

(Thus) the great master (m k' a n p o) Dharmottāra said: | “really wide, unrelated to space, wide | when one stays in clarity, there is neither a self nor another; | consider the lowest ones and the noble ones as being equal; | beyond the state of an unchangeable concentration, | do not tread on the steps of the written teaching. | This (we call) abiding in a place which is the foundation, the perfect meaning; | no subjective representation, quietude, inactivity, | this is the immediate entrance into the meaning (d o n)”. | The m k' a n p o of d h y ā n a aJug du (said): | “moral conduct (t s' u l k' r i m s) is no mind, concentration (t i ñ ñ e a d s i n) is no recollection, | non origination of an illusory mind, this is gnosis (š e s r a b)”. | The master of d h y ā n a bDud a d u l s ñ i ñ p o said | “no recollection of anything is the recollection of the Buddha; | looking at this, and mind unshaken being in a state of evenness (s e m s b s ñ o m s) | (this) is the real absolute body, the Tathāgata” | The master of d h y ā n a A d h a n h e r said | “while mind is unshaken, so to say, even | this is the way of obtaining the stage of a real yoga” | The master of d h y ā n a M a h ā y ā n a said: “the absolute (c' o s ñ i d) is (the state of) no-mind, to abide in (a condition) of non-subjective representation; | even one who has not been formerly purified can enter this (method)”. |

1) Viz. the three v i m o k ṣ a m u k h a : ś ū n y a t ā , a n i m i t t a m , a p r a p i h i t a m MV. 1541-4.

(Summary of the rTse men pa views follows:) The entrance by the gradual method of the rTse men is as explained before. | Having applied oneself to the utmost to the apprehension (in its process), non-apprehension is born; | the essence (of things) by logical reason having measured, | the meaning of Mādhyamika is complied with. | (Reference is now made to the opposite view:) According to the explanation of the sTon mun, | the notion of the ego or of another, (that is) all dharmas are non-born *ab aeterno*; they are adulterated by him who exerts himself; | therefore their practical efficiency is never seen; | [22 a] yet if one desires to enter a state of evenness of mind (b s a m s ñ o m s), there is a gradual entrance (by a series of) causes and conditions: this is also thought. | The ignorant ones are said to enter (the path) mediately; | the gradual entrance is taught for those of lower perception (d b a ñ p o t ' a m a)¹⁾. | Walking like an ant (s b u r p a i g r o s) one cannot arrive at the top of Meru. | He who has apprehension preaches non-subjective representation²⁾. (Up to the end, conclusion of the rTse men pa:) Accepting such sTon mun pa's theory of inactivity, | one does not know that birth and obstruction (a g a g) are not a duality. | Though one speaks of non-duality, the non-origination (of things) is nevertheless (in fact) asserted³⁾. | Whatever is void cannot appear, | (still) a void is adhered to (ž e n), being defiled by one's own views. | Why do the sūtras

1) Beings are divided according to their capacity of receptiveness of the doctrine into three different classes: lower, middling and superior.

2) Non-subjective representation (nirvikalpa) cannot be taught and only those who think that mental states can be apprehended can speak of it as if it were something which can be described.

3) Which is a theory, a grāha.

of the Buddha say that one may gradually enter the meditation of the void? | Here ¹⁾ it is like ascending a big mountain and | going by successive steps (lit: one step, two steps) to arrive at the top, | pressing that soil which is marked (ris bca d) by two truths ²⁾, and śamatha (ži) and vipaśyanā (lhag = lhag mt'oñ). One should really exert oneself in the practice of the path and the five virtues (dge). | In such a way striving after two such accumulations ³⁾, (in) the all (pervading) light (one) goes. | One moment after the other at last one obtains the body of the absolute. | By the force of the vow and of the compassion one accomplishes the benefit of the living beings. | The concentration of the arrest (of mental activity) (agoga paitiñ ñe adsin) is like waking from sleep; | rising in a material body is said to be accomplishment of benefit ⁴⁾. |

End of Chapter 12 on the gradual method of the rTse men.

[Now] as regards the essential teaching of the sTon mun, the teaching of the immediate entrance (of the sTon mun pa) is just like one who sees everything when one has reached the top of a big mountain ⁵⁾. | (The other) method is like one who does not see Meru (lhun po) from the top of a small hill. | The (practice) of the gradual method is

1) That is, in the school of the gradual method.

2) Viz. conventional and absolute truth.

3) Of merit and knowledge.

4) That is the rūpakāya or nirmāṇa-kāya, the corporal body by which the Buddha accomplishes the benefit of the beings.

5) This sentence is taken from the treatise of Vimalamitra quoted below p. 106 ff.: dper na ri mt'on poi k'ar p'yin te bltas na t'ams cad gsal bar mt'oñ ba bžin.

just like a small fish in a raft (k o m o); | the practice of the immediate method is like a fish in pure water. | What is to be measured, what measures is not born, *ab aeterno*; | [22 b] it should be understood without seeking for anything. | A Master does not depend on a fixed sūtra; | if one does not depend on the objects, mind does not arise; | [but] without depending on mind, objects do not appear. | The knowable and the knower both are interrelated; | means is (called) not to obstruct the appearances (when) they are actuated; | gnosis (is to know) that the appearance has no essence. | Non-duality should be taken for certain as identical with the supreme truth. | The follower of the immediate method is similar to a lion on the way: | there is no bluff, no abyss, no hindrance anywhere. | The follower of the gradual method is like a fox on the way; | he cannot cross the bluff nor the abyss and comes back. | Six defects: sloth, confusion as regards the object of meditation, idleness, frivolity, lack of effort, striving ¹⁾. As counteragents (apt) to avoid them, | these are the eight conditionings: faith, zeal, exertion, purity | mindfulness, awareness, investigation, indifference of mind (u p e k ṣ ā). | A path of pleasure and bliss devoid of desire and thirst (s r e d), | indifference (of mind) devoid of pain and pleasure, | recollection and zeal these are the four contemplations. As regards the ten points in which the rTse men pa excel, they are ²⁾:

1) Cf. for all this passage Bhk. § 14.

2) This passage appears to me to have been rather clumsily inserted: the rTsen men pa doctrine was expounded in the previous chapter and it should be placed there. Grammatically the person or thing which excels is governed by las Cf. f.i. Bodhicaryāvatāra, I, 27, b saṅs rgyas mc'od las k'yad par ap'ags, buddhapūjā viśisyate. The fact is that these two chapters of KT have been composed from various frag-

- 1) the excellence of means |
- 2) the excellence of the manner of entrance |
- 3) the excellence of practice |
- 4) the excellence of concentration, s a m ā d h i |
- 5) the excellence of the manner of counteracting
(b c o s, p r a t i k ā r a) subjective representations |
- 6) the excellence of how to cleanse defilements |
- 7) the excellence of attainment (s g r u b) |
- 8) the excellence of accumulations | [23 a]
- 9) the excellence of realization (r t o g s) |
- 10) the excellence of the benefit of beings |

The master of d h y ā n a Ke hun šan ti¹⁾ said:

“ when mind is even (m ñ a m) all dharmas are even. There is no (dharma) which is not a dharma of the Buddha; thirst and all desires, this is man (s k y e b o) | ”.

The master of d h y ā n a Dsiñ šin ša said: | “ when imagination of a recollection does not arise, there is s a - m ā d h i; (when this) is complete, gnosis devoid of subjective representation arises; | it transcends the triple existence²⁾ ”. | The master of d h y ā n a sBab³⁾ šan šin says: | instantaneous knowledge (r i g p a), with no subjective representation, | is like a lion, the king of wild animals who looks down upon (all other animals): he

ments: Ch. 12 is dedicated first of all to a brief history of Ch'an up to Mahāyāna. Then the tenets of the two schools are briefly expounded and opposed so that their differences may appear evident. At this point the exposition of the rTe men pa's theory starts (p. 80, l. 1C ff.). The passages taken from Bhāvanākrama and that explaining the 10 excellences of the rTe men pa should go in my opinion at the end of Ch. 12 and conclude it. On the other hand the quotation from Ch'an masters Dharmottāra, aJug du, A dhan her, Mahāyāna p. 78-79, should be added to the long list of quotations of Ch. 13.

1) Here and in the following cases one must always read: šan ši.

2) Viz. the three spheres: k ā m a, r ū p a, a r ū p a.

3) Viz. sBa šan ši referred to above.

roars vehemently, (in his) four behaviours (i.e. as he sits, lies, stands, walks), unafraid". | The master of dhyāna Deu šan šin said: | "for washing the mind itself there is no need of water, | for giving gifts, wealth is not necessary; | when with proper mind one has realized the supreme meaning, | by being upright one obtains the condition of Tathāgata". | The master of d h y ā n a T'añ bzañ šin ši says: | "having known one single dharma, one learns all dharmas without learning (them); | therefore no defilements and no wrong propensities (b a g c' a g s) are born". | The master of d h y ā n a Han ze šin ši says: "meditating on this path and looking at the Buddha himself | one does not see the Buddha: turn away and the Buddha is near". | The master of dhyāna Ā rya rag ši says: | "all the ways of viewing (l t a b a) Mahāyāna (consist in realizing that) | the conditioned elements [23 b] of the world are not conditioned elements, | because they are *ab aeterno* pure and equal". | The printed section of the teachings of the Master says; | "the instantaneous method of 'Od sruiis is not a means; | dharmas are mind; mind is nowhere born". | The master of d h y ā n a Bu c'uñ says; | "imputed marks are all dharmas: everything is an imputed mark; by mind seek mind; by mind mind is not attained; there is nothing to obtain, there is nothing to be taught". | The master of d h y ā n a Mahāyāna says: | "by a perfect view, internal and external (elements) viz. d h a r m a s and ā t m a n (you should distinguish); the common character of body and mind are these (two) parts i.e. dharmas and self; | the proper character (s v a l a k ṣ a ṇ a) is non-eternity and pain; | the common character should be understood as void and no-self". | The master of dhyāna K'a šen ši said: | "As regards the know-

ledge that all dharmas are void, | it is that by the knowledge of the void, potential knowledge is voided. | Therefore the voidness of all dharmas is also void". | The master of d h y ā n a Dsañ šan ši says: | "As regards non-association with dharmas, | this is the practice of the path of Dharma; the six accumulations ¹⁾ (then) appear; (this is) to get the sūtras, (this is) the teaching of the words of the Buddha". | The master of d h y ā n a Yen šan ši says: | "the place that the eyes can see is the limit of the visible true dharmas: | all dharmas also are the limit of truth; | what is there to search for anywhere else"? | The master of d h y ā n a A šan ši says: | "a straight mind is the practice of the path of the dharma, | because the void is not practised and a means is not sought for; | beyond this straight practice [24 a] there is nothing else". | The master of dhyāna Ļen šan ši says: | "as regards the essence of the dharmas there is no doubt: | no doubt is possible as regards a straight meditation". | The master of d h y ā n a Hañ šan ši says: | "agitation (γ y o), action are the reality; | whichever of the six objects (of sense) arises that also is reality; | there is no change, no difference". |

The master of dhyāna Kan šan ši says: | "understanding mind as no-subjective representation of anything, | this is the way in which D h a r m a (is explained) in the sūtras. | By the dharma ²⁾ one is bound, no liberation is seen". | The master of dhyāna Dsi šan ši says: | "there is no certainty that the dharmas are or are not; | when one sees the visible objects with the eye, there is not non-vision; | it happens in the same way as (regards the other senses) ears, nose, tongue, body and mind (y i d); if concerning the cause

1) The six *niyatipāta* of *MSA*, XIX, 38?

2) As generally understood.

of perception of the visible objects, no consciousness (vijñāna) is born, | notions (aḍuṣes) do not know and the object is not seen". |

The master of dhyāna Kam¹⁾ šan ši says: | "the six forms of consciousness²⁾ are non-virtuous (mi dge) ideation; | (as to) their name, they should be known as the work of Māra (b D u d)". |

The master of dhyāna Bodhidharmottāra said: | "that stillness, when the notions (start) moving, is the dharma of the Buddha: | the six forms of notions³⁾ of men are illusion". |

The master Hyau aḡyeu šan ši says: | (everything) has the nature of mind and consciousness; | it is not that all situations, the Buddha, the nirvāṇa, the erroneous objects of mind, the dharmas of the Buddha are not". | The master of d h y ā n a Gyi šan ši says: | "the lowest men and the noblest are two [24 b] gates, but there is only one mood of being; | if one does not look at cause and effect as being one, | karma either good or bad is not lost, does not go away; | (if one) observes the five moral precepts⁴⁾ one certainly obtains a human body. | If one practices the path of the Law (viz.) voidness, one gets the state of arhat." | The master of dhyāna Ci šan ši says; | "all dharmas move in the Buddha-dharma; | whatever moves is Enlightenment; | all (dharmas) are called places of no alarm, of no terror". | The master of dhyāna: P'og rtog šan ši says: | "the conventional truth on account of being is void; | the

1) Perhaps the same as Kan of the previous passage.

2) The six v i j ñ ā n a k ā y a from visual sensation to consciousness of non-sensorial objects, m a n o - v i j ñ ā n a .

3) The same as the 6 v i j ñ ā n a k ā y a s .

4) That is, the first five precepts of the *daśaśīla*, H. KERN, *Manual*, p. 70.

truth of the arhat on account of not being does not exist. | When they are looked at by the saints, being void, those two do not exist.” | The master of d h y ā n a Jo šan ši says: | “ the man who has still to learn ¹⁾ sees as sin what is not sin, | the man who knows, having sinned, sees no sin ”. |

The master of d h y ā n a Yan šan ši says; | “ every-thing is a dharma of mind in motion; | a mind which does not move what need has it to meditate on dhyāna? | what the man who knows (according to) gnosis seeks for is the supreme thing only ”. |

The master of dhyāna Han šan ši says: | “ mind is the essence of the path of Dharma; | body is the vessel of the path of Dharma; | that cause is born out of the agency (r k y e n) of a good helper ”. |

The master of d h y ā n a Ši šan ši says: | “ having exactly known mind with our intellect (y i d), there is no distinction between a deep meaning and a non-deep meaning, | path is non transgressed, no place to attain or to abandon is seen ”. | The master of d h y ā n a [25 a] He k'añ ši ²⁾ says | :“ when the heap of the five is recognized as the perfect nirvāṇa ³⁾ | body and mind have here an unique practice; this is the great teaching, | it expels the darkness of all beings ”. | The master of dhyāna La šan ši says: “ when one has known (r i g) the meaning of dharma, (no notion) such as existence or non-existence, similarity or | dissimilarity with truth, nothing any longer exists;

1) Viz. the ś a i k ṣ a .

2) Mistake for šan ši.

3) That is the five s k a n d h a s which compose the psycho-physical complex of the individuals. In the same way in the Tantric literature the five s k a n d h a s are assimilated to the five Buddhas, e.g. G u h y a s a m ā - j a t a n t r a .

evident and non-evident, all that is an act of great zeal". | The master of d h y ā n a Ma śan ši says: | "at the moment of knowledge, things of this world and trascendental | and all men are only void; that is all; | do not follow on the path of the written teaching". |

The master of dhyāna A mo gzon c'u says: | "dharma do not exist. | Do you not see that what is said does not exist? | From what is born no (thing) is born; what is not born is born". | The great master Dharmottāra says: | "if one does not know, one follows the dharma of men; | if one knows, one does not follow the dharma of the gods; | if one knows, consciousness shrinks into matter, | if one is excited consciousness shrinks into matter; in that cause (of the perception of the) visible objects consciousness does not arise¹⁾. | This is what we say viz. that it (consciousness) does not see matter; | the mind of the saint is like the void of the sky. | Enlightenment is called (that condition when) neither birth nor obstruction are seen". The lotsāva sKa ba dpal brtsegs says: | "All worlds you give in charity, | but there is no being, even so small as an atom, to accept (the gift). | This is the perfection of liberality. | (When you know) that there is no sin, even so small as an atom, | this is perfection of virtue. | When receptivity of the absolute is steady, this is perfection of pātience; | not to stir from the sense of reality, this is the perfection of energy. | Unshakable equanimity and selflessness of things (nairātmya), this is perfection of d h y ā n a. | Vision of things by self-knowledge without taking hold of them, this is perfection of gnosis. | This is what is explained by the

¹⁾ That is, matter is not the cause of perception as usually believed: its idea is the result of mental states.

C'os r nam s a byuñ ba med m do (the sūtra of non-origination of dharmas) ¹⁾. | Be they the words said by the heretics of sinful mind | or the teachings of the Buddha, | there is no reason for their difference. | When one knows this, one becomes a Lord (n ā t h a , m g o n p o)".

The Hva šaṅ Ma hā yā explains the well-known yoga practices, fixing the eyes on the nose etc. There follow other rules of dGe loṅ Ye šes dpaḥ, La gsum rgyal ba byaṅ c'ub (neither take nor abandon), [26 a] sLob dpon Ži ba mc'og rgyan (in samāpatti no object, no subjective representation), Myaṅ Bran dPal gyi ye šes rgyal mts'an ²⁾.

K'ri sroṅ ldeu btsan said: | "external and internal dharmas white or red, appear and again appear; | are seen and again are seen, are known and again are known. So absence of subjective representation: it is one; | they are like the horn of a hare, the son of a barren woman. | Absence of dharma is thus beyond subjective representation: it is two; | like non-subjective representation there is no-recollection: it is three; this is the meaning to be impressed on the mind; | nothing else one should strive for; it is four. | These four things should be meditated in a single instant". |

The mk'an po Ar na mt'ar p'yin says: "this state of mind which is identical to everything whatsoever | is the entrance to the path of the explicit meaning of yoga".

1) Not identified.

2) Of these masters I know only La gsum rgyal ba byaṅ c'ub: on him see above p. 9 ff.

The master of *d h y ā n a ṛDse mgo rgyan* says: “ not to fancy (*m a b c o s*¹⁾) what or how dharmas are | this is the door of instantanous entrance ”. |

The master *Li žu sñiñ po*²⁾ [26*b*] says: “ in the thing there is no absolute, *d h a r m a t ā*; | therefore place nowhere the idea of its existence. | Then you will be addicted to the meditation of that thing which is non-subjective representation ”. The *gSum pa Ye šes rgyal po*³⁾ says: | “ when you ponder by seeing, there is no being; | when self-knowledge does not arise, there is nothing to say; | during the time of meditation, there is the instantaneous entrance in attainment (*m ñ a m g ž a g , s a m ā p a t t i*) of no-mind ”.

*Lañ ṛgro dKon cog ṛbyuñ gnas*⁴⁾ says: | “ an attainment (*m ñ a m g ž a g , s a m ā p a t t i*) indestructible, inconceivable; | being not born, it can be neither achieved nor stopped; | here there is no doorway or termination, (*s g o p ’ u g s*), middle or end ”. |

The *Li tsa dri med grags pai mdo* says¹⁾: | “ nothing is born, nothing is originated, nothing is destroyed; | (when) you attain (such a mental state that) you can stand this (truth) of non-birth, | this is the entrance to non-duality ”.

1) *bCos* artificial. *b c o s m i n = d o n d a m*.

2) Or *Li is* = from *Li yul*, Khotan.

3) *gSum pa* “ the third one ” does it refer to the *s a m p r a d ā y a* of the seven masters referred to above, p. 58, this master being the third? Or is it a mistake for *Sum pa*, the *Sum pa man*?

4) We cannot say whether he is the same as the *dKon mc’og ṛbyuñ gnas* author of *N a i r ā t m y a s ā d h a n a p a u ṣ ṭ i k a n i r d e ś a* of *bsTan ṛgyur*, *CORDIER*, Cat. XXII 21, *Tōhoku Cat.* 1309 *Lañ ṛgro* is a place-name in Tibet; and we know from *PTY (TOUSSAINT, p. 280)* that *Ratnākara* was a Tibetan.

1) Quotation from *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* up to 28, *a*. *Ta. n.* 474, p. 530, *c*; *n.* 475, p. 550, *c*; *n.* 476, p. 577, *a*; *T. mDo*, p’a, p. 339, *b*. The text of *KT*

Byañ c'ub sems dpa' dPal sbas says | “ though the (notion) of “ I ” and “ mine ” appear as dual, | if there is no positive assumption (s g r o b t s a g s , s a m ā r o p a), talk (b a r for a b a r) of the ego does not arise; | (this is) the entrance into non-duality ”. |

is abridged and metrical, while the corresponding part of the Chinese and Tib. full text is in prose: many bodhisattvas and their statements are missing in KT. as can be seen from the following table:

KT	Ta. n. 474	n. 475	n. 476	T.
—	1 法作 FA CHA	1 法自住 FA TZU CHU	1 as n. 475	1 C'os rnam ap'rul
1 dPal sbas —	首閉 SHOU PI	2 德守 TE SHOU	2 勝密 SHENG MI	as KT
2 [Mig] mi aḍsum (in the text: Ñes aḍsum)	不眴 PU SHUN	as. n. 474	無眴 WU SHUN	Mig mi aḍsum
3 sKar rgyal	奉養 FENG YANG	弗沙 FU SHA	育養 YÜ YANG	as KT
4 Señ ge blo gros	9 勇意 YUNG I	10 師子意 SHIH TZU I	10 師子慧 SHIH TZU HUI	10 Señ ge blo gros
5 bDe mos	淨解 CHING CHIEH	as n. 474	淨勝解 CHING SHENG CHIEH	bDe mos

We cannot say whether KT summarizes and puts into verses the text of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, or if its compilers used a different redaction. A *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is included in the catalogue of IDañ Kar, LALOU, n. 103 (but in the Sanskrit Index only Vimala); but we do not know if it refers to the extant translation made by Dharmatāśīla, a contemporary of Ye šes sde, as we know from the colophon of the treatise on *dhyāna* by Vimala referred to below.

That *Byañ c'ub sems dpa' Nes aḍṣum* (but corr. *Mig aḍsum?*) says: | “ in that non-perception (*dmigs*)¹⁾ (there) is no discrimination nor indication; | non-practice is the entrance into nonduality ”. |

Byañ c'ub sems dpa' sKar rgyal says: | “ good (*dge*) and not good, these two | what possesses a mark and what is devoid of marks fall into the duality | ”.

Byañ sems Señ ge blo gros says: | “ when one has listened to the dharma of identity | and one does not fall into an alternative such as: | ‘ this possesses misery, this does not possess misery ’, | that is entrance into nonduality.

Byañ c'ub sems dpa' bDe mos says: | “ — ‘ This is good, this is not good ’ — | because these two (statements) are modifications of knowledge, not attachment (to them is needed); | this is called entrance into non-duality ”. |

[28 a] The master of *dhyaṇa dPal dbyañs* says: settling (it) by authority (*āgama*) and logic (*rig pa*), | the reality of mind is to be believed ”. |

The *Hva śaṅ Mahāyāna* says: | “ discipline (*sdom pa*), being something imagined, there is no need to observe it; | learning, being born from mind, there is no need to observe²⁾ it; | the vow being not pure, there is no need to observe it; | the entrance into practice leans on the fourfold practice; | one is the practice to pay back ill will. | The second is the practice of following the concomitant causes (*rk yen*), | the third is the practice of striving³⁾ for something, | the fourth is the practice in accordance with the Law | First: the practice to pay back ill will: | meditating on one's

1) We should correct the text according to the reading of the T. transl. of *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* mDo, p'a, p. 340 a l. 4, *mi dmigs pa de la rtog daṅ gsal bar mi byed* into: *rtog daṅ gsal mi byed*.

2) *ñams* for *ñams su len*.

3) Viz. *ābhoga*.

own actions, when a pain arises, | in one's mind, one should remember and think: | I, formerly, from aeons without beginning, | have abandoned the perfect reality; | pursuing external objects, I wandered in various forms of existence; | much ill will and hatred have come into being; | therefore there were innumerable enmities, beating, chopping, offences; | in this time, though I did not offend or wrong anybody, | now the pain derived from previous sinful actions ripens—(this pain) is not caused by gods, nor by men; | it derives from myself, I should not be worried. | I should be patient, not wrong (anybody) and accept that pain; | one who beats (you) beat him with no anger; | when incurring a pain do not be sorry. | [27 b] Do not oppose the thing that is so originated from your own mind. | As to the second, the practice of following the concomitant cause: | all beings, though unsubstantial, are derived from concomitant causes; | all experiences of pain or of happiness are derived from concomitant causes; | that fruit which consists in fortune (a b h y u d a y a), wealth, | to get or to lose, happiness or unhappiness (all this) does not exist. | (This) is the practice of following the concomitant causes, and it is in accordance with the meaning of the Law. The third is the practice of striving for something. Men in this world continually (try) to achieve happiness; | there is nobody who (wants) to achieve pain; | when happiness is achieved, pain goes; | when there is destruction of body this is for all a pain. | There is nobody who gets happiness. | When beings are in a state of happiness they are inactive and happy; | the idea of whatever exists (then) ceases. | The fourth is the practice in accordance with the Law. | In Dharma all beings are devoid of defilement. | When by the eye of knowledge one investigates the

things (d o n) and believes, | one does not place wealth in a palace; | good dress, sweet food, precious things are only (cause of) defilements. | Just as when poison is exorcized by a medical herb and (a proper) m a n t r a , | even if one drinks it, one does not die, | so also when a thing is taken hold of by a man clever in means and knowledge, | even if he practices defilements, he remains faultless; | a solid piece of iron, though small, sinks in the water; | when made into a vessel, even if big, it floats on top. | Because of steady compassion and because it possesses love, | in a virtuous mind there is no fault. | So it is said. |

End of the thirteenth chapter, the sTon mun pa, the (method) of instantaneous entrance.

Then the bTsad po of Tibet proclaimed: | “ all my Bande, (as to) to the means for viewing mind, | they should (fix their) view on the tenets of the Mādhyamika-yoga. | Leaning on the seven or eight kinds (of disciplinary rules), | such as the rules concerning the discipline of body and speech (and) the p r ā t i m o k ṣ a | they should practise the tenets of the Sarvāstivāda school. | The sTon mun pa, the instantaneous entrance, is the Mādhyamika. | They obtain the first and the second stage (among the eleven stages, see Bhk., § 23) | In the domain of the third and fourth stage, | K r i y ā (yoga) and U p a (y o g a) will be shown¹. | In the domain of the fifth stage Y o g a will be shown. | In the domain of the sixth stage there is M a h ā - y o g a , | In the domain of the seventh stage A n u y o g a will be shown. | In the eighth stage the A t i y o g a . |

¹ But b s t a n may be a misprint for b r t e n to lean on, to adhere, as usually in this text.

In the ninth stage the *Spyi ti yoga* will be shown; in the tenth stage the *Yañ ti yoga* will be shown. In the eleventh stage the all-light, the great limit will be shown.”.

There were doctrinal reasons for these contacts between the Ch’an and the *rDsogs c’en*. Neither the *rDsogs c’en* nor the Ch’an accepted the progressive method. The *Abhisamayālakāra*, the text book of the Yellow sect, passed almost unnoticed among the *rÑiṅma pas* and the *bKa’rgyud pas*; *sGam po pa*, the disciple of Milaraspa, writes a *Lam rim* which unlike that of *Tson k’a pa*, ignores the book.

Both *rDsogs c’en* and Ch’an state that there is only one reality i.e. mind pure by itself, and nothing else except it. Whatever else appears is non-existent, less than a dream. This non-duality was also the point of view accepted by other schools of Mahāyāna: but they insisted on the necessity of eliminating the wrong view by a training calling for the joint cooperation of *karuṇā* and gnosis. For the followers of the Ch’an and the *rDsogs c’en*, the mere realization of the essential purity of our mind is able to bring about reality. As a consequence both opposed learning: the elimination which is the cause of release is not caused by much study: it flashes out suddenly.

Both of these schools seem to go back to that current of mystic experiences out of which developed in India the school of the Mahāsiddhas. Whatever might have been the purely Chinese contribution made by Taoist China to Ch’an, I think that the source of this stream of thought both in the Chinese Ch’an as well as in the Tibetan *rDsogs c’en* is to be found in those ideas out of which the Siddhas arose.

In India the alliance with the yoga and tantric praxis was easy: it was the line which the Tibetans followed. In China, in a quite different spiritual and ethical environment, it kept itself aloof from the intricacies and sometimes aberrations of Haṭhayoga and Tantra, and was strongly influenced by Taoism; but the remote, theoretical background which was introduced in China by Bodhidharma is the same.

One of the two coefficients of Enlightenment that is to say compassion, *karuṇā*, i.e. the means, *upāya* was given up both by Ch'an and the *Siddhasampradāya*. Gnosis only can lead to realization and this gnosis is not to be acquired by the long practice of very complicated meditation, for the very reason that being ourselves coessential with the Buddha, and all representations which constitute the world in its twofold aspect i.e. container (physical cosmos) and contents (creatures) being illusory or a magic play of the Absolute, pure shining consciousness, what we need is only to jump, as it were, from the plane of the representations into that of Buddhahood, our true nature, by a sudden elimination of those mental representations. We must arrest the play of their emanation, stop our mind, and see into our own nature; Ch'an will help us to attain that end through the intuition of one's own essence *chien-hsing* 見性 and such other means, the *Siddha-sampradāya* through yoga practices; but both schools start from the same background and intend to produce an immediate revulsion or reintegration with reality, *Dharmakāya*. The path is beyond any notion of grasping an idea and rejecting another, (*blañ rdor med pa*, PT, t'a, p. 3, b), it transcends any notion of karma and fruit which is fundamental for the

other schools, even if theoretically everything is a mere mental representation; in a moment one becomes a Buddha, in a moment the unreal distinctions of the illusory world are dissolved: *skad cig gcig gis rdsogs saṅs rgyas; skad cig gcig gis bye brag p'yed* (PT, t'a, 5, b); in fact we are nothing but pure brilliant mind. The complex and gradual purification proposed by the other schools is a hindrance, it leads one astray: *upāya* is eliminated, or, in the *Siddhasampradāya*, and in many tantric sects, is symbolised by the *mudrā*, the woman taken to signify compassion, in order to restore that inborn essence, *śahaja*, which is not only the truth, the Absolute, the Bodhicitta, but it is also Mahā-sukha: the supreme bliss. Mahāyāna, which was originated as an impulse of love for the suffering beings and had perfected the ideal of the Bodhisattva, a man ready to stand all sorts of sacrifices for the benefit of living beings, turns into the path of the solitary man, only intent on the realization of his own release; though theoretically the actuation of the supreme truth, was the potentiality of all soterical means.

But in a certain sense both views are the extremist conclusion of the implications of Mahāyāna: if the *śūnyatā* is in the very *abhūtaparikalpita*, if the indefinable absolute is concealed in the play of the relative, if the *mārga*, the path, to Enlightenment and to realization is efficient only in so far as the sense of that *śūnyatā* is never misunderstood or missed, if that absolute is the ineffable identity of the Buddha and of living creatures, the assumption was natural that realization can be actuated by a sudden *excessus mentis*: “If the absolute exists in the play of the relative, all beings can achieve release without effort”,

that is the objection anticipated in Mdh. V. p. 12, l. 21-22. It is true that infections moral and intellectual must be totally cancelled if one wants release; but it is also true that all these infections are like a dream, unreal *in se*, that in the realm of relativity there is nothing to accept and nothing to abandon (b l a ñ r d o r m e d), no s a m - s ā r a and no n i r v ā ñ a , no creatures and no Buddha: the path itself is therefore the work of the same representative power which individualizes through a process of dichotomy; but how can representative imagination purify representative imagination? We must transcend dichotomy and this can only be achieved by looking into one's own nature, that is into the Absolute.

The only teaching is silence, a point of view accepted both by the Ch'an and the Siddhas. (Cf. Kāṇha n. 40; M. Shahidullah, *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha* p. 121, *Concile*, p. 113, n. 1, 114, n. 1, p. 156).

When that absolute flashes out (one is reminded of the dṛṣṭipāta, the sudden illumination of the Śaiva-Siddhānta) release can be achieved; the gem which is concealed within ourselves shines forth in its essential brilliancy: if we admit that the abhūtaparikalpita the power of subjective representation exists ontologically, the monism of Mahāyāna is broken and we are confronted with two realities abhūtaparikalpita and śūnyatā, and no dialectics, however acute, can solve the difficulty. Pratipatti, the practice, recedes into the background along with compassion, karuṇā. This was, it seems to me, the theoretical background which led to the view of the immediate realization, which took two different ways: one in China with Ch'an, not disdaining to accept Taoist views and methods: the other, the Sa-

haja, which flourished in India ¹⁾. But the background, the starting point being the same it is no wonder that in Tibet there was in the beginning a symbiosis, of the two trends and that Vairocana, a pupil of Padmasambhava and Vimāla, was also instructed by Chinese masters and according to PT, t'a p. 33,6 also by Khotanese ones (Li) (so also *Biography*, p. 73, a).

It will therefore not appear strange at all if the KT, when speaking of the sTon mun pa, the school of the immediate entrance introduced and preached by the Hvasāñ quotes a sentence of a dhyanā master stating that that is the proper way to become a nāthā. Nāthā, as known, is the name given to the Siddhas, a mystic and yoga sect which represents the blending of Vajrayāna and Śaivism ²⁾.

1) But as regards the rDsogs c'en the problem is more complicated because it seems to me that also theoretically it has preserved something new: its texts are not based, at least generally, upon a Sanskrit original, as can be seen from the Sanskrit rendering of their titles which are evidently added later on; doctrinally they contain elements which point to ideas which cannot be considered as essential in Buddhism: e.g. the evolution of reality = ṅ o b o = ' o d g s a l, light into the five luminous elements or colours and then progressively into the five poisons which substitute the three doṣa of traditional Buddhism. Everything points to a centre which was influenced by Manichean or such-like theories which either directly or through the rDsogs c'en penetrated also into Bon; though it is not excluded that the contrary is also possible, that is, that some Bon po doctrines, which probably during the same time were given a systematic aspect, drawing largely from the cultural world surrounding Tibet (see H. HOFFMANN, *Die Religionen Tibets*, p. 76), were accepted by the rDsogs c'en. But this is a problem which needs investigation and first of all a full analysis of the rÑiñ m a r g y u d ḅ u m and the texts derived from it.

In the PTY, there is the record of a concomitant work of translation by the Buddhists and the Bon pos at the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, cf. H. HOFFMANN, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Tibetischen Bon Religion*, p. 260 (TOUSSAINT, p. 311) and p. 264, (TOUSSAINT p. 330): among the translators of Bon po works Vairocana is also included.

2) On the Nāthā-school see Srikalyānī Mallik, *Nāthsampradāyer itihās, darśan o Sādhanapraṇālī*, Calcutta 1940. Shashibhusan Das-

The similarity between the two trends of thought becomes more evident when we draw our attention on the songs of the Siddhas and compare them¹⁾, with those of the Ch'an masters quoted in KT or referred to in the many Chinese biographies of the Ch'an masters.

13. Whoever deprived of the Innate, seeks nirvāṇa,
Can in no wise acquire the absolute truth.

14. Whoever is intent on anything else, how may he gain
release?

Will one gain release, abiding in meditation?

What's the use of lamps? What's the use of offerings?

What's to be done by reliance on mantras?

15. What is the use of austerities?

What is the use of going on pilgrimage?

Is release achieved by bathing in water?

16. Abandon such false attachments and renounce such
illusions!

Than knowledge of This there is nothing else.

Other than This no one can know.

17. It is This that's read and This that's meditated,

It's This that's discussed in treatises and old legends.

There is no school of thought that does not have This
as its aim,

But one sees it only at the feet of one's master.

gupta, *Obscure religious cults as background of Bengali Literature*, Calcutta 1946, p. 242 ff.

¹⁾ I take these passages from *Buddhist Texts through the Ages*. Ed. by E. CONZE. Oxford. Page 224 ff.

19. Without meditating, without renouncing the world,
 One may stay at home in the company of one's wife.
 Can that be called perfect knowledge, Saraha says,
 If one is not released while enjoying the pleasures
 of sense?
20. If it's already manifest, what's the use of meditation?
 And if it is hidden, one is just measuring darkness.
 Saraha cries: The nature of the Innate is neither existent
 nor non-existent.
21. By means of that same essence by which one is born
 and lives and dies,
 By means of that, one gains the highest bliss.
 But although Saraha speaks these profound and mi-
 sterious words,
 This stupid world seems not to understand.
22. If it exists apart from meditation, how may one medi-
 tate upon it?
 If it is ineffable, how may it be discussed?
 The whole world is enslaved by the appearance of
 things,
 And no one apprehends his true nature.
34. The nature of the sky is originally clear,
 But by gazing and gazing the sight becomes obscured.
 Then when the sky appears deformed in this way,
 The fool does not know that the fault's in his own mind.
36. They do not perceive the true basis of mind,
 For upon the Innate they impose a threefold falsifi-
 cation.

Where thought arises and where it dissolves,
There you should abide, O my son.

38. One's own true nature cannot be explained by another,
But it is revealed by one's master's instruction.
There exists in it not an atom of evil,
Both dharma and non-dharma are cleansed and consumed.
42. Thought bound brings bondage, and released brings release,
Of that there is no doubt.
By that with which fools are bound, the wise are quickly released.
43. When so bound it dashes in all directions,
But released, it stays still.
Just consider the camel, my friend.
I see there a similar paradox.
64. Enjoying the world of sense, one is undefiled by the world of sense.
One plucks the lotus without touching the water.
So the yogin who has gone to the root of things,
Is not enslaved by the senses although he enjoys them.
77. In it all forms are endowed with the sameness of space,
And the mind is held steady with the nature of this same sameness.
When the mind ceases thus to be mind,
The true nature of the Innate shines forth.
88. The whole world is tormented by words

And there is no one who does without words.
 But in so far as one is free from words
 Does one really understand words.

107. The fair tree of thought that knows no duality,
 Spreads through the triple world.
 It bears the flower and fruit of compassion,
 And its name is service of others.

No doubt, in course of time, many things were forgotten, many works lost or hidden; there was a continuous tendency, even among the rDsogs c'en themselves, to conceal as far as possible their connection with a teaching which was said to have been condemned by a king considered to be the founder of Tibetan Buddhism and the patron of their chief master Padmasaṃbhava. It so happened that many of the first masters of Ch'an, like Ākāśagarbha, were more or less forgotten, probably because their record remained more as that of magicians than of mystics. But are we sure that Vairocana was not influenced by the Ch'an doctrine? Not all sources quote him as a follower of the Indian point of view; the rDsogs c'en, chiefly the followers of the man ñag and kloñ section, consider him as one of their greatest masters. Vairocana was especially known as a translator, but I must refer to what we said before i. e. that PT (p. 116, a) though stating that he sided with Kamalaśīla, later adds that after the Council, Vairocana was sent in exile. He also relates, as we saw, that there was a misunderstanding between him and the Indians. Vairocana is supposed to be a pupil of Padmasaṃbhava; he is considered a great lotsāva (according to KT he knew 300 languages: B. Laufer, *Der Roman*, p. 3, n. 7). We also read in the

same book (Laufer, *Der Roman*, p. 138 f.) that he was invited to China, but on account of some false charges brought against him by the queen, Ts'e spoñ ma, who had fallen in love with him and was infuriated by the refusal of the ascetic to comply with her amorous advances, he was exiled. The same story is contained in PTY which, confirming PT, insists on the fact that on his return to Tibet, after his journey to India, he was slandered by Indian Pandits (Transl. Toussaint, p. 293) who spread the rumour that the doctrine preached by him was wrong and sinful, so that the king, much against his will, was compelled to exile him. His exile is therefore confirmed from various sources. What is more, the story of his disagreement with the Indian pandits, most probably with Kamalaśīla, also has a good foundation. All this shows how the tradition of his being a partisan of the Indian point of view and a supporter of Kamalaśīla is suspect. Moreover, was Myañ tiñ ñe ḅsin, (revered at the same time as one of the greatest authorities by the rDsogs c'en), the opponent of Jñānendra for political reasons only, or have we to suppose that between the two there was also doctrinal disagreement? The fact is that he is considered as one of the chief masters of the rDsogs c'en and that he is said to have concealed, as we saw, some books when the Ch'an theories were condemned.

All these facts show that there has been a process of reabsorbing many of these personages within the frame of orthodoxy and that during this process much information has been lost concerning the situation of Buddhism at its dawn in Tibet.

Now we can therefore only have a faint idea of the various currents and influences which were then at play.

Later tradition contributed to concealing and to altering the facts. But from the few scattered data to be gleaned in later literature, it appears, as was to be expected, that in the beginning the influence of Chinese Buddhism and specially of Ch'an was stronger than the Indian. Wang Si also states that when Mahāyāna was invited to Tibet there were no Buddhists; even if he exaggerates, there is no doubt that his preaching aroused great success and that the Chinese very aptly used their religious propaganda also for political purposes, as shown by Prof. Demiéville. This was perhaps the cause which instigated one part of the aristocracy to oppose Buddhism, as a whole, in order to counteract the influence of the Chinese, and another part, sustaining the court in its struggle against the supporters of the old tradition and customs, to find in Indian Buddhism an antagonist to the Chinese trends and to develop the cultural link with India. Tibetan tradition preserves the record of other Chinese Hva šaṅ at that time: one was in charge of the Ra mo c'e and was often asked for his advice by the king: rgya Hva šaṅ mñon šes can, PT, ja, p. 72, a; another was the translator rGya bzaṅ Me mgo, rGya Me mgo¹⁾. The first was responsible through his magic intervention for the birth of gSal snaṅ (cf. Buston, Obermiller, p. 186 and PT ja, p. 76, b; cf. *Blue Annals*, p. 41, Nor, p. 120 Ch.). The central figures in the activities which led to the acceptance of Buddhism against the Bon po masters seem to have been Saṅ ši the son of a Chinese Ambassador, Saṅ ši [Ra]-ta[na] of sBas and gSal snaṅ of sBas: he also was not

1) Not to speak of the later tradition concerning the coming to Tibet of Hva šaṅ Mahāyānadeva under Sroṅ btsan sgam po and who most probably was identified with Hsüan tsang. See *Concile*, p. 11, n. 4.

only considered to have been born through the agency of a Hva šaṅ but is said to have received from the same Hva šaṅ the teachings concerning meditation (PT, ja, p. 76, b). He brought back to Tibet with him a Hva šaṅ from China. (VDL, p. 32, b). Moreover we know that there was in bSam yas a special temple or house where the followers of Ch'an could meditate; it was called Mi γ y o b s a m g t a n g l i ṅ (B. Ob., p. 191, PT); Nāṅ Śa mi is a pupil of Mahāyāna Hva šaṅ (PT, 115, a).

The existence of Ch'an in Tibet is confirmed by the fragments discovered in Central Asia; moreover, as I have shown elsewhere (TPS, II, p. 556 ff.) the iconography of Dharmatāla, Dhamottaratāla, Bodhidharma as found in some Central Asian paintings entered into the scheme of the eighteen arhats so common in Tibet along with the Hva šaṅ who appears in Central Asian lists of the Ch'an masters as the seventh from Bodhidharmatāla = Bodhidharma (Dharmatāla), *Ibid.*, n. 252. This iconographic scheme was based on such a tradition that it was impossible to depart from it, but since the names of both Dharmatāla and the Hva šaṅ were linked up with the old heresy which had been condemned by the winning orthodoxy, the story was concocted of a much later introduction of those two personages into the pictorial representation as supplementary members of the 16 arhats. Dharmatāla then became a dGe bsṅen, a lay devotee, and he was said to have lived during the Ming. Evidently the very mention of this dynasty proves that we are confronted with a rather unclever device of the dGe lugs pa meant to cut off any connection of the two supernumerary arhats with the representatives of the old Ch'an trend of thought by then definitely condemned. But it is clear

that if Dharmatala and the Hva šaṅ were added to the list of the 16 arhats, this could have only happened when Ch'an was held in great consideration, and, appropriately or not, boasted of having been of paramount importance in the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. The series of the eighteen arhats therefore proves itself to be very ancient, to be derived probably from Central Asian sources, and to have taken such a hold on Tibet that even orthodoxy could not cancel it, but was compelled to interpret Dharmatala and the Hva šaṅ in a different way and to place them in quite different surroundings.

Nor can the fact be forgotten that dPal brtsegs for instance appears in the ID an dkar catalogue as a translator along with Nam mk'a' sñiṅ po, who is undoubtedly a follower of Ch'an. The same sKa ba dPal brtsegs is spoken of as an expert in the Chinese language (Laufer, *Der Roman*, p. 3, n. 7).

A biography (r nam t'ar)¹⁾ of Vairocana exists; it gives the impression of having undergone a great revision, and, as usual, the legendary elements represent in it the

1) rJe btsun t'ams cad mk'yen pa Bai ro ca nai rnam t'ar ḡdra ḡbag c'en mo. It was written by Dharma seṅ ge who collected various sources, chiefly a gter ma containing a biography and other old works. The book is therefore a compilation in which most probably the old and original elements have been altered to suit the purpose of the writer and the demands of the new situation. That orthodoxy tried to get hold of the genuine rDsogs c'en tradition is proved e.g. by the fact that also a dkar c'ag of the NGB which contains a long summary of the doctrine has been edited under the auspices of the ruling sect. The title is De bžin gšegs pas legs par gsuṅs pai gsuṅ rab rgya mts'oi sñiṅ po ḡgyur pa rig ḡdsin pai sde snod dam sña ḡgyur rgyud ḡbum rin po c'ei rtogs brjod ḡdsam gliṅ kun (?) k'yab pai rgyan; but if we compare the contents we will easily realize that between the rñiṅ ma pa book and this catalogue there is very little in common. We know also that the Pad ma t'aṅ yig too has been re-edited by the Yellow sect and subject to a long process of revision.

bulk of the narration. The story contains *mgur*, songs, attributed to Vairocana himself in which he expresses his various feelings, now exaltation for the discovery of truth, now dejection for the unfortunate events which he had to suffer. But the central point of the tale consists in the story of the persecution of Vairocana by the Indian pandits. When the book was revised it would have been unwise to identify them with Kamalaśīla, but the fact is undeniable that the hostility of the Indians against Vairocana, and chiefly their bitterness because in spite of his travels in India he had spread in Tibet heretical and false opinions, represent a leitmotif in the literature dealing with him. All this shows therefore that Vairocana did not follow the orthodox views and that the tradition was on this point so authoritative and general that later *diaskeuastes* could not cancel the record of his inclinations.

Moreover we know that he was connected, just as was Myaṅ Tiñ ñe ṅsin, with Vimalamitra who had a greater influence on Tibet than is generally believed; he and Myaṅ Tiñ ñe ṅsin belonged to the same trend of thought as Vimala whose name, as a translator, occurs so frequently in the *rÑiñ ma rgyud ṅbum*; a small treatise written by him is preserved in the *bsTan ṅgyur* (*dbu ma*, Ki, p. 6, b, 1). It is introduced as *Mi rtog pai sgom don* (*avikalpa-bhāvanā-ārtha* but the title, as we deduce from the first verse, was: *Cig car ṅjug pa mi rtog pai bsgom don* that is: *Yugapat* (or *sakṛt*) - *praveśa-avikalpa-bhāvanā-ārtha*; the book therefore explains views similar to those of Ch'an, the *cig car ṅjug pa* as opposed to the *rim kyis ṅjug pa*.

Its main purpose is to teach how those who want to obtain quickly the omniscience should meditate on the

meditation of non-subjective representation (*nirvikalpa samādhi*).

It centres, in its very beginning, on *žignas, śamatha* and *lhag mt'oñ, vipaśyanā* which are taken the one positively and the other negatively. In fact in *śamatha* mind does not take hold on the characters of things as if they were real (*mts'an mala mi gnas*); in *vipaśyanā* these characters do not come to existence (*mts'an ma mi s k y e b a*).

In *vipaśyanā* there is no character from which mind should be separated (*mts'an ma dañ yañ ma bra l*) and no character of things to be suppressed (*mts'an ma mi a g a g p a*). Therefore, the first is *dños poi mt'a'*, *bhāvānta*, the end of existence: the second does not admit even of the *bhāvānta* (*dños poi mt'a' ma l hu ñ p a*).

In them all forms of *samādhi* are included; the person abiding in them can be compared with a man inside a glass pavilion who can see clearly whatever is inside and outside. Both of them presuppose an accumulation (*ts'ogs, saṃbhāra*) of preparatory and concomitant exercises or requisites such as yogic practices, *āśana*, *prāṇāyāma*, avoidance of forbidden food, familiarity with holy persons, learning (knowledge of the scriptures), succinct non-erroneous meditation on reality, evocation of the Tathāgata, etc., elimination of depression and frivolity etc. Then, subjecting to investigation the various notions concerning the different components of the human personality, one should realize that everything is devoid of any essence, *ab aeterno*. Here, after this introduction which has little if any relation to that which is going to follow, the essential discussion starts.

It is mainly based upon the *Mādhyamika* in so far as there is neither *samsāra* to be abandoned nor *nirvāṇa* to be realized, the acme of the process transcending all sorts of subjective representation; by non-accumulation one meditates on and abides in reality; thus the various mental streams are no longer in agitation. Then one enters the state of non-representation, *nirvikalpa*, which is beyond the ripple of imagination (*prapañca*). This stage transcends the material sphere (*zugs, rūpa*) and is the *dhyāna* of supreme gnosis, because, discriminating by means of gnosis (*śesrab*), one does not perceive any essence of things. But then, quite abruptly, a passage begins which looks like a short summary of *Bhāvānākrama* § 13 (when there is no joy in that *samādhi*, meditation on the advantages of that is recommended; when depression begins, meditation on the qualities of the Buddha, etc., against frivolity, non-eternity up to *anābhoga*; then conjunction of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*; the yogin should go on meditating in this way until he can, and, if mind and body are tired, he should reflect that all wordly things are like a mock-show, a mirage, etc. Then meditation on *nirvikalpajñāna* starts again. Thus one realizes that in reality nothing exists and then one transcends affirmation and negation, *apavāda* and *samāropa*; in this *nirvikalpa bhāvānā* conditioned and unconditioned elements (*samskṛta* and *asamskṛta*), the *Bodhicittotpāda*, the meditation of path, etc. are included because, as the *Prajñāpāramitā* says, “non-perception (*anupalambha*) is the path”, (*Mādhyamika*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, identity and immobility (*miḡyoba*) of mind, supreme morality, forsaking of signs, vision of

absolute, Dharmatā, self-intelligence or consciousness *rañ rig*). This immediate entrance is not in contradiction with the *sūtras*. In fact they teach that no sign exists, every sign being a wrong imposition of error; when one does not abide in the two extremes (being and non-being) or in the existence of signs of things, that is cause of *nirvāṇa*; on the contrary perception of signs is *saṃsāra*; all those texts say that the immediate entrance into the *nirvikalpa* is the supreme path to *nirvāṇa*. So we can attain a pure identity (*samatā*), because whatever we think to be a *dharma* is devoid of any character and cannot be perceived; it is a state unshakable (*gyo med pa*), unborn (*skyes med pa*), on which mind cannot take hold (*sems mi gnas*). His authorities are *Nāgārjuna*, *Āryadeva*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Vajracchedikā*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Vajrasamādhi* and also *Haribhadra*. The passage attributed to *Haribhadra* says that he who realizes a single *dharma* as the absolute, realizes all *dharma*s as being the absolute, which by implication means that the *dharma*s exist, while, on the other hand, the author argues that *dharma*s do not exist; yet he adds, in order to adapt the passage quoted to his argument, that this is said conventionally (*kun rdso b tu*); but, from the real point of view nothing can be said to exist, though conventionally we may say that it exists.

Vimalamitra, quoting from the *Yeśesnañ ba irgyan gyi md o*, urges that the progressive method [11, a] is only valid for those who are mentally obscured (*rm oñs pa*); real worship is there when no ideation appears concerning the true jewels [11, b-12, a].

There is no need of any worship because true worship is there when no notion of Buddha, Law and Community does any longer arise; learning and explanation of texts is useless just as a spark cannot dry up the ocean; all explanations are mere error and truth transcends words; when the absolute (dharma dhātu) is known, all dharmas are known. Somebody objects, it is true, that one should practice the six perfections, but the reply is found in the statement of the Vajrasamādhi¹⁾ that, when mind rests unshakable on the void, this very state is the essence

1) The quotation of the Vajrasamādhisūtra, some expressions of which have sometimes great resemblance to those of the taoists, is important because, as pointed out by prof. Demiéville, the authenticity of this book has been questioned also in China. The quotations from this text by Vimala are two: bsTan agyur, vol. Ki p. 9, bsam zhiñ mod pa med na, ldañ du mi skye ste | yañ dag pa ji lta ba bzin du mi γyo ba'o | de ni t'eg pa c'en po'o zes so. "If there is no thinking, no breaking out is originated (there being nothing which can flash after a long practice), reality does not move in its very essence; this is called Mahāyāna". This corresponds, though the correspondence is not literal, to Ch. Ta. n. 273, p. 366, c. l. 22. "If there is no thinking, then there is no birth nor destruction: reality does not break out. This is called Mahāyāna" 若無思慮則無生滅如實不起... 是謂大乘.

In the second passage p. 9 it is said: sems stoñ pa ñid du mi γyo na, p'arol tu p'yin pa drug adus so". "When mind in voidness does not shake, the six perfections are collected" which corresponds literally to Ch. p. 367 a, l. 14 "mind void not moving collects the six pāramitā" 空心不動具六波羅蜜. Vimalamitra was an Indian, but he spent many years in Tibet; he may have taken the Vajrasamādhisūtra with him from India or he may also have had access to the Tibetan translation from the Chinese which is listed in the IDan kar catalogue among the books translated from Chinese. LALOU, n. 254. The fact that one passage does not correspond exactly with the Chinese text, that in that very sentence some words of the Chinese are missing and specially that the small treatise of Vimala is said in the colophon to have been translated from a sanskrit original would suggest that a sanskrit text of the Vajrasamādhisūtra existed: otherwise, we should think that Vimala came in Tibet across the Tibetan version of the same book, or in

of all p ā r a m i t ā s; liberality etc. is practiced also by the heretics, and, being based on the assumption that there are things endowed of certain characters, it cannot lead to liberation from s a ṃ s ā r a [13, a]. Recitation of texts is also of small utility. Nor can it be argued that if we practice the n i r v i k a l p a method, the ecstasy devoid of any mental participation, there is no way (u p ā y a) to benefit living creatures, which, as the scriptures say, is the aim of the Buddha, to lead them to n i r v ā ṇ a. In fact also in this case the reply is found in the P r a j ñ ā p ā r a m i t ā that when a Bodhisattva practices gnosis he is in a condition to lead people to spiritual ripeness.

Nor can it be said that in this n i r v i k a l p a there is no possibility of confession of one's own sins, because the very intuition of reality of mind, of which so often we spoke, is the best confession. This method is the only one which can lead men to salvation through a short cut as it were.

The impression which we have on reading the book of Vimalamitra is that it consists of two portions which do not cohere. The book is stated to explain the immediate path, so that one may quickly reach truth, but it is introduced by a part which has little to do with the very bulk of the book and in some sentences as we saw, is nothing

China across the Chinese, retranslated some passages into Sanskrit and inserted them into his booklet.

Among the authorities quoted there is a book, a s ū t r a, called: ś i ṅ t ' a n v a g a i m d o. This title is to my mind a transcription from the Chinese though I am unable to find its original.

If it is so, it shows that Vimalamitra came across this book in Tibet or in China and could not refer to any Sanskrit original. That Vimala after Tibet visited China is confirmed by *Blue Annals*, I, p. 192.

but a summary of the *Bhāvanākrama* itself. I am inclined to think that the treatise has been interpolated in later times and rather clumsily in order to agree with orthodoxy. But its aim, opposing as it does the two methods, and insisting on *nirvikalpasamādhi*, is to establish the superiority of the immediate entrance *sakṛtkrama*; only this part, and the criticism there contained of the progressive path is to my mind the original one. In it we find the same doctrinal atmosphere in which breathes the *Vairocana* of our *rNam t'ar*. But this biography gives also further details and places *Vairocana* in the school of the Chinese; in fact after having spent some time in *Ts'aba roñ* where he became the master of a famous *rDsogs c'en* teacher, *γYusgra*, and after coming to know that *Vimalamitra* had arrived in Tibet, he went to China; there he went from master to master to ask for instructions. The names of these masters are fictitious, they have nothing Chinese in them, and are incorrect transcriptions of Sanskrit names; but some of them are a reminiscence of *Bodhidharma*. Other masters are called *Hva šaṅ*, but what is of real interest to us is this connection of *Vairocana* with Chinese Buddhism and with *Vimalamitra* on which the biography insists so diffusely.

This fact and his being recognized as a great master of the *rDsogs c'en* sect, excludes him, as his legend certainly proves, from any connection with *Kamalaśīla*.

Now we may ask: is there in the Tibetan tradition some trace of the literary activities, if any, of those persons who, we are told, participated in the debate? In the section *sNa ts'ogs* of the *bsTan ḡyur*, containing the works of the Tibetan authors mentioned in some old catalogues or some anonymous but reliable (*bzañ*

p o) books (see Cordier, *Cat.*, p. 491 and p. 495), we find a few treatises of various length which are attributed to some of the personages we met in the course of our study, K'ri sroñ lde btsan, dPal dbyaṅs, Vairocana, dPal brtsegs.

I will come back to these texts in a study I am preparing on the rDsogs c'en, but I think it is useful to resume here briefly their main contents.

K ' r i s r o ñ l d e b t s a n .

(b K a ' y a ñ d a g p a i t s ' a d m a l a s m d o b t u s p a¹⁾ bsTan ṅgyur, Tōhoku *Cat.* n. 4352, Co, p. 173)

Invocation to various gods, praise of Dharmasāntighoṣa born in K'a ga sa ra na²⁾, the Bhikṣu Mahāyāna (t' e g p a c ' e n p o) of Zahor.

Without praising the doctrine (g t s u g l a g) of the gods of the people (ṅ j i g r t e n k y i l h a) and in spite of the harm which they did, he does not feel hatred for them, but he extols Buddhism, the doctrine which avoids sacrifices. Then, the four n y ā y a of the Saṃdhi-nir m o c a n a (Lamotte, p. 262) are explained at length so as to represent the real contents of the book.

I. I t o s p a i r i g s p a , a p e k ṣ ā - n y ā y a (p. 175, a-178, a) concerning ṅ d u b y e d (s a ṃ s k ā r a) external and internal and v y a v a h ā r a ; discussion on the

1) It is quoted also in the *IDan kar* catalogue, LALOU, n. 723.

2) This peculiar form of the name of Śāntarakṣita is quoted also by Tāranātha (SCHIEFNER'S transl. p. 213) who explains it as one of the many names of the writer, assumed after the initiations.

According to the tradition Śāntarakṣita was born in Zahor in Bengal. TPS, p. 736. K'agasarana (= Khagaśaraṇa: 'the refuge of birds') cannot be traced to any name of known locality.

various aspects of causality, intermingling of causation, causes, *hetu* (six), conditions, *pratyaya* (five), result *phala*, quotations of *Karmavibhanga*, *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetravyūhālaṃkāra* (Tōhoku Cat., n. 59).

II. *bya ba byed pa rigs . kriyā - kāraṇa - nyāya* (Lamotte proposes: *kṛtakāraṇa*), p. 178, *a*-178, *b*.

Causes and conditions which assure the attainment of the *dharma*s their arrangement, and their activity after birth.

III. *gtan ts'igs sgrub pa rigs* (in the text of *Samdhinirmocana*, p. 155, *7a at'ad pas sgrub*, *upapatti-nyāya*, (p. 178, *b*); causes and conditions by which the sense of the things held, preached, and said is proved and made properly known (*gtan ts'igs sgrub pa rigs pa imts'an ñid la dam bcas šin bstan te smra bai don sgrub pa dañ yañ dag par šes par bya bai p'yir rgyur gyur pa dañ rkyen du ḡgyur pa ḡdi dag*; this is explained from p. 178, *b*, l. 4 up to p. 182, *a*, l. 1); affirmative and negative assumption, *samāropa* and *apavāda*, four kinds of each, 179, *b*-180, various questions on eternity, non-eternity, being, non-being etc. the five *vādālaṃkāra* expounded by *Ācārya Asaṅga*, 181, *b*. (*Abhidharma samuccaya* ed. Pralhad Pradhan, p. 105 knows of six *vādālaṃkāra*).

Division (as in SN, p. 263 ff.) in A) pure (five) and B) impure (seven) characteristics or signs (MV. CC. 1-12);

A.

1) *pratyakṣa-pariśuddha-lakṣaṇa*, p. 182, a-186, a¹⁾.

2) *anumāna-pariśuddha-lakṣaṇa*, p. 182-187 b.

3) *svajātiya-dṛṣṭāntopasaṃhāra-lakṣaṇa*, 187, b-188, b.

4) *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa* (yoñ su gregs pa)²⁾, 188, b-189, a.

5) *suviśuddhāgamopadeśa-lakṣaṇa*, 189, a-192, b.

Means of knowledge, *ts'ad ma*, *pramāṇa*: perception, *pratyakṣa*; inference, *anumāna*; authority, *āgama* - 192, b: but they also should be verified by the aforesaid five *lakṣaṇa*, detailed discussion and application of *pratyakṣa*, 193, a-195, a, *anumāna* 195, a-197, a, *āgama* 197, a-197, b.

B.

apariśuddha-nyāya (here *gtan ts'igs* for *rigs*).

1) *tadanya-sārūpyopalabdhi-lakṣaṇa*.....

2) *vairūpya*.....

3) *sarvasārūpya*.....

4) *sarvavairūpya*.....

5) *anyajātiya-dṛṣṭāntopasaṃhāra-lakṣaṇa* (but text *rañ bžin gyi rigs dañ mt'un* for: *gžan rigs*).

1) For the meanings here implied see the transl. of Prof. Lamotte.

2) In the sense of *yoñs su grub pa* of SN.

6) *apariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa* (but text wrongly *yoṅs su gregs / for: yoṅs su ma gregs*)

7) *aviśuddhāgamopadeśa-lakṣaṇa* (*lusrnam par ma dag pa bstan: lus* evidently a mistake for *luñ*).

Detailed discussion 197, *b*-202.

IV. *dharmatā-nyāya* concerning the absolute.

P. 202, *b*-204, *b* whether the Tathāgatas are born or not there is a *dharmatā* and a sphere of the Absolute where all things abide.

10 kinds of *satya*, truth:

<i>kun rdsob</i>	<i>saṃvṛtti</i>	conventional
<i>don dam</i>	<i>paramārtha</i>	true, absolute
<i>mts'anñid</i>	<i>lakṣaṇa</i>	characteristic, sign
<i>rnam par</i>	<i>vibhakti</i>	distinction
<i>dbye ba</i>		
<i>ñes par rtog</i>	<i>nirūpaṇa</i>	definition
<i>dños po</i>	<i>vastu</i>	thing
<i>nus pa</i>	<i>sāmarthya</i>	capacity
<i>zad pa dañ</i>	<i>kṣayānutpatti-jñāna</i>	knowledge of destruction and non-origination of things
<i>mi skyes</i>		
<i>pai šes</i>		
<i>lam la ajug</i>	<i>mārgāvātāra-jñāna</i>	knowledge by which one enters the path
<i>pai šes</i>		
<i>de bžin gšegs</i>	<i>tathāgata-jñāna</i>	origination of the knowledge of the Tathāgata
<i>pa ye šes</i>	<i>nodaya</i>	
<i>kun a byuñ</i>		

Qualities or advantages of knowing all these things as they have been explained (204 *b*).

- 1) fulfillment of pure qualities
- 2) no defilement by the impurities
- 3) possession of benefits.

V a i r o c a n a

(Tōhoku Cat. n. 4353. Co, p. 203, b-209, b.)

Šer sñiñ ṅrel pa sñags su ṅrel pa -
but in the colophon: a) Śrīsimhas mdsad pai
ṅrel pa mdo las sñags su bai ro ca nai
don du bgol (sic) bai ts'ig ñuñ la don c'e
ba gsal bai sgron ma.

b) slob dpon bai ro ca nas rgyal po
k'ri sroñ lde btsan la mts'an mai c'os
spyod la dregs pa skyes pai dus su bu
dañ bcas la ṅrel pa ṅdi gnañ no.

This commentary “ which is a lamp illuminating the great sense contained in a few words ” was therefore made by Śrīsimha¹⁾ and was explained in the shape of *formulae* taken from the sūtra for the sake of Vairocana, and Vairocana presented it to the king and his son when an intense desire for the practice of the supreme Law was born in K'ri sroñ lde btsan.

So we read in the colophon of D which is a little different from that of Peking and sNar t'añ (Cordier, *Cat.*, III, p. 489, n. 9); Śarisimha, Peking and sNar t'añ editions, is evidently a mistake for Śrīsimha. This was then the author of the commentary and Vairocana was not the author but gave it (gnañ in D; in N snañ which does not make sense here) to the king.

In the catalogue of Buston we find only (vol. ya. p. 207a):
slob dpon bai ro tsa na ra kši tas rgyal

1) He appears as a translator in some of the colophons of the Tantras included in the NG. Cf. PT, t'a, p. 15, and specially PTY passim, and the Biography of Vairocana.

po la gnañ ba don gsal bai sgron ma, “the lamp illuminating the sense, given by Vairocanarakṣita the Ācārya to the king”.

This explanation in *formulae* taken from the sūtra (m do las sñ ags su bkrol ba a di) should be taught to outstanding people not to the logicians (rt o g ge = t ā r k i k a) ¹⁾. The various sentences (e v a m ma y ā s r u t a m) “so I have heard” are explained according to their exoteric, esoteric and secret meanings (p ’ y i n a ñ g s a ñ b a successively); e.g. the Peak of the Vulture exoterically is a hillock near Rājagṛha, esoterically is the Akañiṣṭha, in the secret sense is intelligence, (rig pa), bodhicitta. So also the assembly of the listeners exoterically is that of the ādikarmakikas, the beginners, esoterically it refers to the saṃbhogakāya of the pañcakula, the holy pentad; in the secret sense to the essence of the gnosis of the self-knowledge. The dharmas exoterically are the ten kuśalapaṭha etc. the ten moral rules, the ten virtues to be followed, esoterically the dharmas of Mahāyāna, in the secret sense intellection of intelligence, rig pa ye šes; basic teaching is anupalambha i.e. that there is no object for mind, voidness, śūnyatā, of the five skandhas, constituents of the phenomenal personality; example: rūpa = śūnya, śūnya = rūpa: the nirvanic dharmas also are śūnya; no birth, no old age, no death, therefore no pain, no defilement (208, a), no experience of things in saṃsāra, no reason to take hold of the path to nirvāṇa, no need to exert oneself for the path and the stages of

1) Here a reference may be found to Kamalaśīla and his supporters with whom, as we saw, Vairocana was not on good terms.

the Bodhisattva. The only help is *prajñāpāramitā*: in intelligence there are no blemishes; it transcends all erroneous ideations: *nirvāṇa* is the non-existence of a knowledge having as support the world; all that is condensed in the *māntṛa* of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*.

Rin po c'ertsod pai ṅak'or lo
(Tōhoku Cat. 4354. Co, p. 209, b)

It is a treatise written on the lines of a *sūtra*: the king K'ri sroṅ lde btsan asks some questions and Vairocana replies to them. The king rendered homage to Vairocana for seven days. The *rtsod pai ṅak'or lo* originated in Urgyan, Uḍḍiyāna, Swat, where it was revealed by the *Šel gyi k'yeu c'uñ*¹⁾; prophecy of times when much debating (*rtsod*) will take place; then this *rTsoḍ pai ṅak'or lo* will be needed. It is articulated on the following members:

thesis	<i>dam bca'</i>	<i>pratiñā</i>
reason	<i>gtan ts'igs</i>	<i>hetu</i>
example	<i>dpe</i>	<i>dṛṣṭānta</i>
probandum	<i>bsgrub bya</i>	<i>sādhya</i>

Both the dharmas of the Vehicle of ninefold progression (from *Anu-tō Ati yoga*) and the subject, *c'os can*, *dharmin* are devoid of any essence (*dam bca'*, thesis)²⁾ because they are knowable (*gtan*

1) See above p. 56.

2) Because the notion of duality is only denomination.

ts'igs, reason) ¹⁾ like the moon reflected on the water (dpe, example) ²⁾.

The probandum, grub par bya, sādhyā, is: dharmatā i.e. dharmas, things that appear as form, matter and tā, i.e. immaterial, that is dharmakāya (=c'os) and jñānakāya intellection-body (=tā). As to vyāpti, absolute concomitance, just as the sesamum seed is pervaded by oil, so also body and intellection are not distinct; dharmas and dharmatā, the relative and the absolute are not distinguishable just as water and the image of the moon reflected on it cannot be distinguished.

In a debate three things should be distinguished: a basis; a path, a result (gži, lam, ābras bu) to which correspond an external debate, an internal debate, a secret debate always being referred (these three) to ak'rul, bhrānti, error, which is actuated by nescience. Further division: there is a basis (gži) which appears as a fourfold error,

according as it	}	body
refers to		word
		spirit
		objects (yul)

Error is caused by nescience which prevents us from understanding the self-shining nature of body, the purity of word, the self-shining nature of spirit, infinite as space, the unobstructed luminous essence of objects; it causes the

¹⁾ Object of mind, blo, while the Dharmakāya cannot be so; everything (dharmas of the nine Vehicles) is mind and mind is everything, because everything is namable.

²⁾ The non-existent appears as existent: here the analogous example being dharmakāya.

real to appear as unreal just as a rope falsely perceived as a snake; if that reality were not *ab aeterno* pure, but erroneous, the notion of error being so unrelated would then be impossible; but in fact error and non-error cannot be postulated and error is falsely assumed by mind.

Then it is explained how this error arises concerning the four things above said. The same as regards the fruits of the error divided into the four groups above mentioned and their varieties; f. i. different kinds of bodies, disease, pleasure and pain, mountains, trees etc. Necessity of uprooting these errors according to the *rD s o g s c ' e n*; if they are not eliminated no realization is possible. Difference between the cosmos, the *b h ā j a n a l o k a*, the receptacle etc. (non-intelligent), and the *s a t t v a*-(intelligent)-*l o k a*. *Ab aeterno* there exists a great light, unimpeded appearance of the five luminous colours; in spite of their luminosity these are not intelligent, and constitute the (five) qualities of the body. Since they were non-intelligent in the beginning, now also they are non-intelligent; (on the contrary) the internal world, the world of beings, the *s a t t v a l o k a* is intelligence, luminous, unshakable, unchangeable, the five qualities of the great purifications (*s a ṅ s r g y a s c ' e b a i y o n t a n*). But the essence of body and intelligence is identical though their characters appear as different. Different vehicles have been preached according to the different minds of the listeners; but we can state briefly that there are only three Vehicles; a) that which determines the characters of the conditioned existence, *s a ṁ s k ṛ t a*, b) that of the *r D s o g s c ' e n* and c) that of the secret mantras, *g S a ṅ s ṅ a g s*, of the unchangeable diamond-fruit; as regards the last (p. 216 a) one, in the Universal basis (*k u n g ž i = ā l a y a*),

which can be compared with the great space, there is identity of the Buddha and of the creatures, realization and non-realization, happiness and grief, *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*; it is beyond any verbal expression.

As regards the nature of the self-created essence (*rañ bžin lhun grub ño bo*), the distinction between realization (*rtogs*) and non-realization arises; when there is realization, there is Buddhahood. When there is no realization, there is the condition of a being, distinction between happiness and sorrow, *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* arise; Buddhahood and the condition of defilements of body word, spirit, objects are examined; the elimination of the defilements leads to Buddhahood (= purification, fourfold, of body, word, spirit, object and, besides that, the nature of Buddha, *sañs rgyas ño bo* (p. 215, *b*): but here *sañs rgyas* should be taken in its etymological sense: purification *sku yi ñon mon sañs na yid bžin skur rgyas* (p. 216, *a*); when the infections have been purified, (there is) amplification in a body (having) the essence of mind; the body is then purified as essential body, word as an echo, spirit as the great intellectual gnosis, object as the great *maṇḍala*; the plerosis, without rest of body, word, spirit, object is the *rDsogs c'en*.

Effortlessness, spontaneity (*lhun gyis grub, anābhoga*), p. 217, *a*; definition: *c'os ñid rtsol ba kun dan bral bas na - ma bcos lhun gyi mts'an dan ldan*), as regards:

a) basis (*gži*) this basis being twofold: 1) of all viz. Absolute, *dharmatā*, 2) of one's own essence;

b) path viz. 1) downwards ¹⁾ = error (*ak'ru l*) =

¹⁾ I think that here in these sentences *yas* and *mas* should be inverted.

union with coarse and subtle things, materiality; 2) upwards = reversion (l d o g), union with the unique essence of the three bodies.

c) fruit = 1) s a ṃ b h o g a k ā y a 2) n i r v ā ṇ a .

Again:

effortlessness as regards origination:

a) basis (g ž i)

b) essence (r a ṅ b ž i n)

c) ability (r t s a l, b r t s a l)

d) name (m i ṅ).

Or, in more detail:

a) as regards activity in basis; five points:

1) basis of basis

2) essence

3) spirit

4) word

5) object.

g ž i = d h a r m a t ā , space, immutability

b) As regards essence:

1) essence of body

2) " of intellection

3) " of non-duality of body and intellection

4) " of word

5) " of objects

Explanation of r a ṅ b ž i n l h u n g r u b , effortlessness of essence; r a ṅ = essence of dharma-body, nature of intellection, nature of non-duality of body and intellection; b ž i n = essence of dharma-body and ma ṇ ḍ a l a ; l h u n , d h a r m a t ā , transcending all striving, pure spontaneity, privation of all characteristics; g r u b = spontaneous, causeless flashing of the Dharma-body in one's own intelligence, r a ṅ r i g . If this effortlessness is not known

there is no possibility of realizing the C'o s s k u, dharma-body.

c) As regards effortlessness of ability, r t s a l, three topics: 1) ability of body, 2) ability of intellection, 3) ability concerning non-duality of the two.

1) ability of body: various ornaments such as rings etc. or m a ṇ ḍ a l a of five colours or celestial palaces, v i m ā n a of five jewels

2) ability of intellection, y e š e s, which investigates, or determines, or settles

3) ability concerning non-duality of body and intellection; the three above mentioned operations of mind concerning the appearance of the five colours, subject, object, non-duality of body and intellection; realization is the only cause of the condition of Buddha (s a ṅ s r g y a s, as before), the great fruit; non-realization is the only cause of s a ṃ s ā r a; subject is error concerning the path, then pain arises and no Buddhahood is possible; if there is no subject the five poisons are eliminated.

In the great yoga, there is no distinction between the five intellections and the five poisons; being beyond elimination of the five poisons it does not know of any means intended to strive for (r t s a l) the five intellections (y e š e s)¹⁾. Being beyond the maṇḍala of the five elements (i.e. actuated existence) there is no need to strive for the maṇḍala of the mother and son (realization of primeval synthesis, see below p. 127-8).

d) As regards name:

1) external name: essentially the five colours are devoid of name; concerning that which has no name, names are assumed as regards space, elements, etc.

¹⁾ Because it is the full realization of transcendental reality.

2) internal name: the great brilliancy of the depth is in its nature devoid of names, but in the triple wheel of existence (aḥk'or lo), mind is agitated and names are imposed on what has no name and the error of name arises, such as five limbs, five senses, five ambrosias, five diseases etc.

3) secret name: dark is the gnosis which by some means wants to determine one's own secret, or to split asunder one's own head, or to take hold of one's own prison¹⁾; if one does not find a guru one will always remain in darkness.

From beginningless time (p. 219, a) there is a triple mirror: a) the absolute, dharmatā, mirror of meaning: b) dharmakāya, body of the dharmas, mirror of self-light: c) kuṅgṣi, ālaya, all-foundation or mirror of mind; in these mirrors the light of phenomenal appearance arises. That is:

a) there is no character of things and the coloured sphere (dbyiṅs) does not exist; it is beyond words and mind— but this does not mean that it does not exist²⁾, the basis (gṣi) of nirvāṇa is there, the basis of the Buddha-saṃbhogakāya is there; so also the physical and intelligent cosmos (bhājana and sattvaloka); it is the pleroma of everything: splendid but with no essence and no designation.

b) from beginningless time there is not even the name of Buddha or beings, saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, birth, old age, disease, death, sunrise and sunset, white and red colour. In the triple mirror there appears the triple cha-

1) That is with pure rational and dialectical methods to attain reality.

2) On the contrary sarva – i.e. everything from it is derived.

racter of (add: body); the triple character of word; the triple character of spirit; the triple character of object.

α) In the light of the mirror of the absolute, *Dharmatā*, the body is not perceived, but it rests (*b ž u g s*) as body of the Dharma; word unshakable rests unshakable word; spirit self-brilliant rests in non-representation: object rests as object of the space of Absolute, *Dharmatā*; so the *Dharmakāya* shines in the mirror of self-brilliance.

β) In the mirror of self-light, body of the dharmas, the body rests as *s a m b h o g a k ā y a*, the word rests as a state of echo-like word, spirit rests in wind-like (? *s k y i b s e r*) spirit, object rests in the form of a bodily effort; if in the spirit infatuation and drowsiness arise, on account of former errors, one is not conscious of it, and therefore not recognizing the dharma-body, the qualities of this one turn into defects, and the error increases, duality, passions, diseases; all that happens because one does not know that it is an infatuation or a drowsiness of one's own intelligence.

γ) In the mirror of mind, the *ā l a y a* :

1) thought (*s e m s*) shines forth as mind, *y i d*

2) thought shines forth as realization, *r t o g s*

3) thought shines forth as great intellection, *y e š e s*.

As regards thought (*s e m s*) (221, a) many distinctions f.i.

a) *m a r l d a n* – downwards: bad form of existence

b) *y a r l d a n* upwards: three heavens.

c) possessed of doubt, unable of efficiency – in this world grief; no fruit in the other.

As regards intellection four distinctions viz. according as it is related to body, word, spirit, object.

Habit-energies of previous existences, *v ā s a n ā* and five poisons; their mechanism. When by the great bril-

liancy blemishes are eliminated the five poisons are purified and intellection develops.

But the essence of the great brilliancy of the depth (g t i ñ g s a l) is reached without meditation, without effort: it is complete negation.

D h a r m a k ā y a , though being inexpressible, is symbolized by words: that is K u n t u b z a ñ p o , who may be considered under three different aspects of different materialization (p ' r a r a g s):

1) d B y i ñ s k u n t u b z a ñ p o , 'unchanging, real d h a r m a k ā y a , self-luminous, not illuminating others, in the sphere (d b y i ñ s) which has no limits and no centre.

2) Z e r k y i k u n t u b z a ñ p o ; in the very D h a r m a k ā y a , self-shining, unmoved, a ray of light (z e r) flickers, a subtle part of the intellection (y e š e s) flickers which becomes coarser and coarser – and it exteriorizes itself and assumes a name; it shines forth as something external and internal (b h ā j a n a and s a t t v a l o k a) which appears when the self-created essence is not known; but external and internal are only the great brilliancy of the depth self-Illuminating ¹⁾ (222, b) and that ray of light being only a drop ²⁾ of d h a r m a k ā y a it has no spatial relation.

3) s P r u l p a i k u n t u b z a ñ p o –; when in the unshaken essence of the d h a r m a k ā y a the ray of light (z e r) is perceived, the magic epiphany arises: the five colours get a name and the error consisting in the assumption of an external world arises, the five brilliancies get a name and the error consisting in the assump-

1) That is, it appears but just as a mere potentiality.

2) Which is going to play a great role in the dogmatics of the rDsogs c'en.

tion of a world of living beings arises and on account of the fact that by nescience one ignores that body and intellection (y e š e s) are not a duality, there arises the other error which consists in taking as a duality what is a mere identity: and so the various forms of existence, the six forms of destiny (ṣ a ḍ g a t i) arise.

The way of origination of the origin (b y u ṅ b a i - b y u ṅ l u g s):

a) how the attribute (y o n t a n) of mother as regards the d h a r m a t ā arises.

b) how the attribute of son as regards the d h a r - m a t ā arises

c) how the attribute of non-duality of mother and son arises (as moon in the water):

Again, how the denominations of intellection (y e š e s), thought (s e m s) and thing (d ṅ o s p o , v a s t u) arise (224 a)

Three abodes:

a) D h a r m a k ā y a , sky unobstructed, infinite, unchangeable, unmovable.

b) S a ṃ b h o g a k ā y a , non-designed maṇḍala, of brilliant colour, like a rainbow, unchangeable, palace of the Dharma, the absolute, unlimited

c) N i r m ā ṇ a k ā y a , maṇḍala of the five elements.

d P a l b r t s e g s

(l T a b a i r i m p a , Tōhoku Cat. n. 4356, Co, p. 236, b)

Everything is a vibration or undulation (k l o ṅ , ū r m i) of that matrix which is the b o d h i; in the coiled lotus the self-representation (r a ṅ g i r t o g), viz. the essential purity, is overcome by a mountain of dirt; by different condi-

tions depending on each individual series, there appear wrong appearances: there are appearances of a person, of a heretic, the six kinds of existence, the opposite views of eternity and annihilation (r t a g , c ' a d)

Whatever appearance is seen (as being) outside mind (as it were really existent) is not real. To a person hit by representation, a mock show as it were, in the form of (something) inside or outside, appears and the *empires* of imagination (b r t a g s) and denominations (b r d a) arise; (different kinds of heretics according as they conceive the notion of cause: no cause, God, s v a b h ā v a , everything is created by the force of its nature, atoms, ā r a m - b h a v ā d a i. e. the effect is a new thing as compared with the cause, etc.).

In Buddhism various trends:

Śrāvaka	}	Sūtra
		Vaibhāṣā - (b y e b r a g)

Pratyekabuddhas	
mTs'an nīd	Logic
dBu ma	Mādhyamika

Tantra and Mantra	}	Kriyā
		Upayoga
		Yoga
		Mahāyoga
		Anuyoga
		Atiyoga

Each trend is higher than the preceding one, the acme being the Atiyoga which transcends being or non-being (b d e n g ñ i s); it is gnosis devoid of any spacial limitation; it is self-appearance and self-origination of everything, *ab aeterno* privation of the two representations (of

subject and object), neither identity nor diversity, beyond words and definition, not an object of perception (*d m i ġ s*), or of meditation. It is the object of knowledge of the person who is himself a mock show, but not of the Buddha; it is beyond good and evil; no action, no gift, no ritual are therefore needed. "Since good actions are a distraction (*g y e ñ = v i k ṣ e p a*) what is the use to say that one should not commit sin?" (p. 238, *a*). When the eight dharmas are neither abandoned nor accepted and nowhere defilements arise, this is a sign that one is marching towards the stage (of the Buddha).

d P a l b r t s e g s

(*g S u ñ r a b r i n p o c ' e g t a m r g y u d d a ñ ś a k y a i r a h s r g y u d*; Tōhoku n. 4357, Co, p. 239 *a-377*)

This is an anthology from many Mahāyāna-sūtras intended to explain the *p ā r a m i t ā s*, the various forms of existence, passage from death to rebirth (*s a ṃ k r ā n t i*), the qualities and attributes of the Bodhisattva and the Buddha, the vow to attain Enlightenment, the practice to be followed by the Bodhisattva on his way to Enlightenment, the body of the Buddha (= a non-body). Doctrinally the treatise follows the point of view expounded in the various texts; *L a ñ k ā v a t ā r a*, *P r a j ñ ā p ā r a m i t ā*, *R a t n a m e g h a*, *G a ṇ ḍ a v y ū h a*, *K ā r a ṇ ḍ a v y ū h a*, *M a h ā m e g h a*, *S ā g a r a n ā g a r ā j a p a r i p ṛ c c h ā*, *V i n a y a* (from which the genealogy of the Śākyas is taken, p. 365 ff.), *P r a t i b h ā n a m a t i p a r i p ṛ c c h ā*, *U d a a n a v a t s a r ā j a p a r i p ṛ c c h ā*, *T r a y a s t r i ṃ ś a p a r i v a r*

ta, Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka, Anakṣarakaraṇ-
ḍaka, Dharmaskandha, Bhaiṣajyaguru,
Dharmārthavibhaṅga, Bhavasamkrānti,
Jayamati, Vajramaṇḍanāmadhāraṇī, Ye-
śes śnañ bai rgyan, Sarvadharmaguṇa-
vyūharāja, De bžiñ gšegs pa skye ba
ḅbyuñ ba, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Nam-
mk'ai spyan, Sañs rgyas bdun gyi smon
lam, Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetravyūhālam-
kāra, Maitreyamahāsiṃhanāda, Su-
bāhupariprechā, Karmavibhaṅga, Ta-
thāgataguṇajñānācintyaviṣayāvātāranir-
deśa, Śrīmālādevī, Vinayaviniścayopā-
lipariprechā, Śrīgupta.

The author puts very little of his own in this treatise, except the connecting links between the various quotations. The book is therefore a useful synopsis of Mahāyāna Buddhism, quite in agreement with the point of view of Kamalaśīla; reference is made to a passage of the Vi-
malakīrtinirdeśa according to (p. 260, b) which, means, upāya, without gnosis, prajñā, gnosis without means are mere bondage (p. or 261, b) and to another of the Lañkāvatāra (text, p. 55) not quoted by Kamalaśīla in his Bhāvanākrama in which the statement is contained that the purification of the mental continuum and its representations which constitute what we call an individual cannot be realized suddenly yugapat, cig car, but progressively kramavṛttyā; kramavṛttyā, mahāmate, svacittadṛṣyadhārā viśudhyati na yugapat tadyathā āmraphalānikramaśaḥ pacyante na yugapat.

The other works which are attributed to dPal brtsegs, i.e. Tōhoku n. 4362 and 4363 C'os kyi rnam grañs kyi brjed byañ and C'os kyi rnam grañs, Jo, 231 b-289 a, and 289 a-294 b, are mere catalogues of the fundamental terms and notions of Buddhism with a brief explanation. They agree with the usual treatment of the subject in any Abhidharma treatise.

dPal dbyañs (Śrīghoṣa)

Some small treatises under his name are included in 'the bsTan ḡgyur, vol. no, Tōhoku Cat. n. 4446-51: T'ugs kyi sgron ma, lTa ba yañ dag sgron ma, mT'ai mun sel sgron ma, T'abs šes sgron ma, rNal ḡbyor spyod pai lugs ñes pai don la ji bžin sgom t'abs kyi sgron ma, lTa ba rin c'en sgron ma, and in vol. co, n. 4355, a letter to the Tibetan king and subjects gCes pa bsdus pai ḡp'rin yig bod rje ḡbañs la brdsañs pa. The letter is written on the example of the two famous letters attributed to Nāgārjuna and directed to Kaniska p. 228 a (K a n i s a k a l a g s o l b a i ḡp'rin yig) and bDe spyod bzañ po (p. 228, b), the Bodhisattvacaryā, made by the Buddha for compassion towards his mother, bŠes šin mds a'bai ḡp'rin yig (Tōhoku n. 4182, S u h r l l e k h a); Rin c'en ḡp'reñ ba, R a t n ā v a l i of Nāgārjuna ¹⁾, dPal ḡp'reñ mdo sde, that is, elementary books which contain a summary of the doctrine for practical purposes,

1) Partly edited by myself from a Nepalese ms. in *JRAS.* 1934, p. 307.

in order to show the buddhist way of living without entering into complicated dogmatical details.

The letter begins with an enumeration of the ten moral actions, *dge bcu*, reference to which so often appears in the first edicts of the kings concerning the Buddhist Law and its propagation, the 16 *mi c'os*, precepts to be followed by men (honour to monks and Brahmins, uprightness, respect to parents, elders etc. elimination of infections (*kleśa*) by means of gnosis, victory over the four *Māras* etc.), the 10 practices according to the Law (*c'os spyod bžin*) – quotation from *mGon po byams pas dbus mt'a'*, *Madhyāntavibhaṅga* of *Maitreya nātha* – the ten *pāramitās*. Then advice is given to the king to be generous, to rely on *kalyāṇamitras*, good friends, to protect the Law, not to introduce the *svastika* doctrine, (i.e. *Bon*, *γyüñ druñ btsugs par ma dgoṅs šig* (228, *a*); he should not misbehave towards *dGe sloṅ*, brahmins, parents, wives, sons etc. (229 *a*), but he should behave as a *C'os kyi sbyin bdag* a patron acting as prescribed by the Law; even if he is angry he should master himself and smile, he should rule over his enemies and even if they offend him he should not give bad replies, nobles (*mdsaṅs*, see PR, p. 89) should be employed at the job for which they are fit, soldiers *dpa' ba* (*Ibid.*, p. 89) will lead the fight, honest and elderly men will be given a place in the assembly (*mdun sa*, mistake for *ādun sa*, see above p. 50, n. 2); honest people should be judges, *žal lce gcad*, servants should be appointed as watchmen (*mel tse*). Then the behaviour and the practices and studies of the priests, *dGe sloṅ*, novices, *dGe ts'ul*, nuns, *dGe sloṅ ma*, are described (232, *a*). Medi-

tation on the impurity and unreality of wordly things follows; the idea of 'I' and 'my' should disappear (233, a). To obtain a human body is difficult; one should therefore avoid sins and since these derive from mind one should observe the instructions *śikṣā*; necessity to subdue mind.

Patience should be specially observed; the *triśaraṇa*, the triple refuge in the Buddha, the Law, the community and the vow for the benefit of other creatures and oneself should be repeated three times, day and night, in front of a temple, or a *mc'od rten* or an image (235, b). In Tibet formerly they did not even know what a monk is but His Majesty, the Bodhisattva (which seems to mean that the king was already dead), *K'ri sron lde btsan* obtained the holy Law and then the noble *Lha btsan po* developed faith. An ordained monk who assumed the name *dPal dbyaṅs*, the accomplished reverend one, the tranquillity of whose nobility was extreme and who had no rival in the assembly of Tibet (*bod kyi mdun sar*, as before for *ādun sar*) composed this treatise.

| T a b a y a ṅ d a g s g r o n m a ,
(Tōhoku, Cat., n. 4447, No, p. 383-384, a)

Reality is like space which can only be indicated by words, but has no characteristics and is beyond emanation (*spros, prapañca*); it transcends mind; things are like a mirage, a mere appearance in which there is nothing but void space. Things also appear, but when we want to characterize them, we must resort to the symbol of space because they are, like the latter, unsubstantial. The supreme Vehicle is non-perception, transcendence

of all emanations. By an instantaneous (c i g c a r) understanding of the supreme truth, one transcends all relative notions inherent in mind such as being and non-being; one should exert oneself in the passive reception, effortlessness (a n ā b h o g a); neither meditation nor thing to be meditated upon can be an object of perception (d m i g s); if one realizes that mind itself is nothing but the Absolute, D h a r m a t ā, then the Absolute should not be meditated upon somewhere else; thus also because reality is beyond time, it is unborn, there are no contraries to meditation (v i p a k ṣ a) and no counteragents: one should avoid all efforts, remain in perfect indifference (b t a n s ñ o m s); this in this world is called conventionally meditation; then whatever mental representations arise, they will spontaneously cease to proceed, and spontaneously be appeased; without any activity whatever they will be expelled ¹⁾.

m T ' a i m u n s e l s g r o n m a
(Tōhoku Cat. n. 4448, No, p. 384, a-384, b)

No dharma exists besides mind; the appearance of dharmas is caused by error; everything is like a mocks how, it cannot be the object of mental representation or of verbal expression. There are no dharmas to be meditated upon; mind itself is unborn; when reality is understood there is no play of fictitious images (b c o s). But one should not abide in the non-existence of the characters of things, or in the non-mental representation of them (this would be upholding negation): saṃskāras (a ḍ u b y e d) are like space: a meditation, d h y ā n a, born from them is faulty.

¹⁾ Read b s a l for g s a l.

T ' a b s š e s s g r o n m a
(Tōhoku Cat. n. 4449, No, p. 384, a-385, a)

Just as in the sky there appears the rainbow, but the sky is pure identity (r o g c i g), devoid of any distinction, thus, though the bodies of the Buddhas are many, in the sphere of the intellection (y e š e s) there is pure identity and no distinction; the essence of Buddha, and the nature of the creatures is the same. Buddhas are a mayic appearance of the intellection and the creatures are a mayic appearance of false mental representations; though there is a great difference between the two, in so far as both are mayic appearances they are similar; when one has recognized this similarity there is no need of some external help to realize it. Thus compassion arises towards those who are unaware of that and a method is taught which may be useful to them through a mayic s a m ā d h i (r g y u m a i t i ñ ñ e ą d s i n); meditating on the nature of the creature as standing nowhere and practicing sympathy, one meditates by the mediating (t ' a b s) s a m ā d h i of the yogin: but in that mediating practice non-origination, non-existence and mayic appearance of all dharmas should always be present.

r N a l ą b y o r s p y o d p a i l u g s ñ e s p a i d o n
l a j i b ž i n s g o m t ' a b s k y i s g r o n m a,
(Tōhoku 4450, Cat. No, p. 385 a-385 b)

What is the use of the yogic positions? All bodily actions derive from the false representation of a body; but the body in fact does not exist; body and mind are unborn,

they have no foundation, like space: there is no reason to speak either of the necessity of the existence of an object of meditation or of its non-existence.

| T a r i n c ' e n s g r o n m a
(Tōhoku 4451 Cat. No, p. 385, *b*-386, *a*).

All the various mental representations like existence, release, cause and fruit arise from various mayic agencies: but they do not exist and therefore their mental representation also does not exist; since there is no subject (*c'os can, dharmin*) there are no dharmas. Dharmas are unspeakable; but the notion also of non-existence should be avoided by those who know.

Everything is like the visions seen in a dream which disappear when one awakens: this refers to the defilements as well as to the practice of the path. When one has purified by means of the supreme gnosis the erroneous mental representations (which are the reason for the appearance of the creatures), then one realizes the Absolute, Dharmakāya, great accumulation of intellection (*ye šes*). By the meditation on the characters primary and secondary of the Buddha, one realizes the corporeal body which is an accumulation of merit. Conjunction with one's own mind is the *samādhi* of gnosis; creatures thus are placed in the Buddha; what is the use of the vow to be reborn in the pure realms of the Buddha? Compassion is not grief for the creatures: the characters of *māyā* become self-manifest, coessential with non-character and the sphere of reality.

The same ideas are more widely explained in the *T'ugskyi sgron ma*, Tōhoku Cat. n. 4446, p. 373, *a*-383. *b*.

The self-originated intellection (p. 373, *b*) is without external limit or centre, is unshakable, brilliant, devoid of perception (ṅ d s i n) and in it the various mental representations arise, the intelligence is self-brilliant, non-dual; it contains no form of external object, it is shining like a crystal. The yoga transcends all ideas of cause and fruit.

When in intellection (y e š e s), beyond origination and arrest, nothing is perceived, this the extreme arrest; the mayic play of the intellections of the self-intelligence (r a ñ r i g y e š e s) are like the waves of the ocean.

The first thing which we would like to know is if the attribution of these works is certain. The answer is difficult. There is no doubt that the language of these books looks old, though it has certainly been revised when the texts of the bsTan ṅgyur have been collected; words or expressions no longer used are sometimes met with.

Then we know at least a *terminus ad quem*: these works existed at the times of Buston and enjoyed such an authority that he could not help introducing them in the collection. Their antiquity and their authenticity were not questioned by him on account of a tradition which he dared not oppose and chiefly because these texts were listed in the previous catalogues to which I referred above.

According to those catalogues and to Buston, (ya, p. 206, *b*) who sometimes echoes them, other works were also attributed to the above mentioned authors: e. g. in the catalogue of ṅ P ' a ñ t ' a ñ (Cordier, III, p. 284) a huge commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā (*Ibid.*, p. 283-4, mDo XII-XIII) was said to be the work of K ' ri s ro ñ l de btsan, which evidently cannot be accepted. Buston adds, as com-

posed by the same king, a *Grub pai mt'a' gro ba* in forty verses (*žu log = śloka*)¹⁾, a *dBu mai gzer bu* in 30 verses, a *De bžin gšegs skad hrda* (Catalogue of *lDan kar*, *Lalou n. 724. skad dha*) in five *ham po*, and *stotras* in honour of *rNam par snañ mdsad*, *Śa kya t'ub pa* and the eight *Bodhisattvas*, in verses. Another *stotra* to *ṅJam dpal* in verses, a big *Stotra* to *Byams pa* in one *ham po* in 100 verses, a small *Stotra* to the same in 50 verses²⁾, another to *Mi ḡyo mgon po* in verses, a *bSam gtan gyi dogs brgyad bsal ba lha btsan pos bkas bcad pa* in verses³⁾. Of the *bKa' yan dag pai ts'ad ma* *Buston* knows two redactions, one in 7 *ham po* and a summary of the same in one *ham po*.

To *dPal brtsegs* besides the works above quoted the following one ones are also attributed:

P'yii yul dran rgyud du yod pa ṅadod pa sel ba in two *ham po*, and a *mTs'anñid gsum mdor bstan pa* in verses.

Vairocana is also said to be the author of:

*Rigs drug c'u pa las btus te mdor bšad*⁴⁾, but no mention is made of the *Rin po c'ei rtsod pai ṅk'or lo*.

Then mention is made of *bSam gtan gyi lha btsan pos mdsad* which may be the same as the

1) In the list of *Mlle LALOU*, n. 727.

2) *LALOU* n. 725 and 7

3) *LALOU* n. 729 where the king is regularly called *bTsan po* and not *Lha btsan po*.

4) But the contents of the treatises summarized above are concluded in sixteen topics: both titles may therefore refer to the same work.

work quoted above: a s M o n l a m is attributed to the Queen J o m o b y a ñ c ' u b ¹⁾.

Let us now consider the contents of the treatises briefly summarized above: concerning the works attributed to d P a l d b y a ñ s we must distinguish the letter to the king and his subjects from the series of his more doctrinal booklets.

I do not think that the authorship of the letter can be doubted, and if this is the case, it gives an idea of the literary accomplishments of its writer. It shows that its author felt it as an urgent task to divulge among the Tibetans the essentials of Buddhism and that, as was to be expected, he insisted only on those fundamental moral tenets which Buddhism enjoins; but occasionally we see that the dogmatical background comes to the surface; d P a l d b y a ñ s emphasizes that everything is a dream, and that everything is but a creation of our mind. The reference to officials, to nobles, m d s a ñ s, military men, d p a ' b a, to the assembly, a d u n s a is quite in agreement with what we know from other sources; see, for instance PR.

The other treatises breathe the air of the L a ñ k ā v a t ā r a, but r a ñ r i g, as the Absolute, predominates: the origin of the various appearances is there, whether as Buddhas or as creatures and though u p ā y a, means, compassion; is referred to, gnosis, p r a j ñ ā, is greatly emphasized to its detriment, there being only that self-intelligence, r a ñ r i g; we need only transcend duality.

The doctrine is brought to its extremes and mention is clearly made of the sudden or instantaneous *excessus mentis*, the immediate reintegration in the Intellect, bril-

1) See above, p. 31, n. 2

liant and transcending the illusions of appearance. We are not yet definitely in the *rD sogs c'en* atmosphere, but there is a great theoretical distance between Kamalaśīla and the author of these treatises, nearer certainly to the *rD ogs c'en* than to the point of view of the Indian dialectician. But now the question arises: are we sure that the author of these treatises is the same *dPal dbyaṅs*, the successor of Śāntarakṣita? There is one difficulty in the way and this is that *dPal dbyaṅs* seems to have been more in the line of orthodoxy than Jñānendra: while the letter to the king does not contain anything objectionable, the doctrinal contents of the small treatises appear, as we saw, to diverge from the theories expounded in the *Bhāvanākrama* as being uncompromisingly more adherent to the quick way. Moreover in two colophons the name of *dPal dbyaṅs* is preceded by that of his clan: *gÑan*.

This is confirmed by PT, t'a, 25, a (and *Blue Annals*, p. 104) who calls him *gÑan dPal dbyaṅs* and makes him a pupil of *gÑags Jñānakumāra* whose teacher was *Vimalamitra*. This means that PT considers *dPal dbyaṅs* of *gÑan* as belonging to the *rDsogs c'en*. We know that the abbot of *bSam yas* was on the contrary of the *sBas* clan. On that all our sources agree. On the other hand PT is supported by the colophons of the *bsTan agyur*. How to solve this difficulty? Either the attribution of *dPal dbyaṅs* to the *sBas* clan is to be credited to the authors of the *sBas bžed* intent to glorify the *sBas* family, and then the contrast between the contents of the letter and those of the treatises remains; or we have to consider the possibility that there existed two *dPal dbyaṅs*. This suggestion could be supported by the fact that the king to

whom the letter of dPal dbyaṅs is directed is called Lha btsan po apparently the title of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan TTK, p. 14 and p. 70, were not this title given also implicitly to K'ri sroṅ lde btsan by the T colophon of our Bhāvanākrama (p. 263). Anyhow our author can hardly be the same person who was one of the 7 Sad mi and encouraged the young K'ri sroṅ lde btsan to accept and propagate Buddhism.

The treatise attributed to K'ri sroṅ lde btsan is most probably spurious, its contents are merely logical and, as we saw, refer to a particular doctrine and to classifications which were discussed in SN and in its commentaries, particularly in the huge commentary by an unknown author, contained in bsTan ḡgyur (specially vol. Jo, pp. 136 ff.) very important from the philosophical point of view. It is too technical and certainly far beyond the knowledge of the Buddhist dogmatics which the king might have possessed. The name also given to Śāntarakṣita i. e. Dharmaśāntighosa for Śāntarakṣita, quite unusual, and the attribution to him of the title of Mahāyāna, and the name of the place where he was born, though this may go back to a tradition which has not come down to us from other sources, are subject to doubt. On the whole, this work cannot be ascribed to the king.

Of Vairocana we have a manual on debate ¹⁾ which is said, as we saw, to have come from Uḍḍiyāna, Swat. This confirms the connection of Vairocana with Padmasambhava, quite in accordance with the rÑiṅ ma pa tradition. The doctrine here contained is purely rDsogs c'en: we find in it mention of the rDsogs c'en division of Tan-

1) The other booklet was not written by him but given to the king.

tras, the equation Dharmatā Samantabhadra, of reality and light, 'od gsal: the world is an illusory emanation of the five coloured lights, which are objectivated intellection; realization is conceived as a sudden actuation of reality to which the elimination of the cosmic illusion corresponds.

The logical section ignores the logical literature which, if we have to believe the tradition, by that time had already been translated, and of which the commentary on Saṃdhinirmocana, referred to above, contains an interesting exposition; but the logical scheme of the author is related to that expounded in the Abhidharmasamuccaya of Asaṅga (Pralhad Pradhan ed. p. 105 – pratijñā, hetu, dṛṣṭānta, upanaya, nigamana, viz. the same as NS, sadhyasya svabhāva ātmasvabhāvodharmasvabhāvāśca).

Further researches will clarify the position of Vimalamitra, his pupils and his school: but the fact is certain that Padmasambhava is not isolated. The rGyud rñin pa, the old Tantric school dogmatically sometimes supporting, just as the followers of Ch'an, the gcig car method, the way of the instantaneous entrance, most probably had, in the very beginning of Tibetan Buddhism, a larger influence than later orthodoxy wants us to believe. Vairocana who has been connected by tradition with Kamalaśīla must be assigned, on the contrary, to the other school of Vimalamitra along with rMa rin c'en (PT, 39, b, *Blue Annals*, 191), gÑags Jñānakumāra (*Blue Annals*, 192), Myañ Tiñ ñe ḍsin, rDo rje me loñ and rDo rje rgya mts'o followers of the gcig c'ar method (referred to by PT, 39, b), gÑan dPal dbyañs, etc. and many other masters whom the rÑin ma

pas still consider as the chief authors of their school. It seems at all events certain that they strongly counteracted the missionary work of Kamalaśīla and, generally, of the advocates of the progressive method, sided with the Chinese and probably met therefore with some difficulties ¹⁾.

The personality of the first masters whom the rDsogs c'en connect with the origin of their school must therefore be carefully investigated, their place of origin also, as far as possible, established. How many of them did then come e.g. from Uḍḍiyāna, Swat, which had become a great centre of Tantrism or from the bordering country of Bruža at that time in the hands of the Tibetans and where many trends of thought met and reacted on one another? Moreover we must try to determine exactly what happened during the times of K'ri lde sroñ btsan and Ral pa c'en and to distinguish it from the events of K'ri sroñ lde btsan who was perhaps credited with more than he actually did. Buddhism was still in its infancy in Tibet and between the two rival schools, the Ch'an and the Indian, the Tibetans wavered and it took some time before they could decide with full knowledge which way to follow. Briefly I suppose that traditional accounts of the debate of bSam yas should be accepted with some caution, being a reflection back to former periods of a later spiritual and religious situation and properly of that which developed especially under K'ri lde

1) The *Blue Annals*, I, 192 relate the story that Vimalamitra's behaviour aroused the suspicion of the king and that therefore in order to explain himself he wrote the *Ṣadaṅgaśaraṇa*. But the verse: rgyal blon yid c'es ma gyur pas | skyabs agroi c'o ga bdag gis bšad only means: 'since the king and the ministers did (not yet) have faith (in Buddhism), I explained the ceremony concerning the triple refuge'. This can only prove that when Vimalamitra came to Tibet the king and the court were not yet definitely inclined towards Buddhism.

sroñ btsan. It is therefore wise to follow those historians who usually describe this period as that of the old tradition, and still the undetermined source of later developments.

Anyhow the debate between the Hva šaṅ and Kama-laśīla was never forgotten and the two points of view, that of the immediate release and that of gradual path, continue to be opposed also in later theoretical treatises of the Tibetan masters, starting from the *Lam rim c'en mo* which often quotes, to refute it, the opinion of the Hva šaṅ and accepts the authority of the *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla (who is quoted in the *Lam rim c'en mo* 56 times; see Gadjin Masato Nagao, *A study of Tibetan Buddhism, being a translation into Japanese of the Exposition of Vipāśyanā in Tson-kha-pa's Lam-rim c'en-mo with annotation and prefatory remarks*, Iwanami Shoten, Tōkyō, 1954 in Japanese, short introduction in English, p. XII; the Hva šaṅ is quoted p. 103, 193, 271, 362, 37, 378, of the *Lam rim* (Peking edition).

As late as the 18th century there are books which take the start from that controversy, such is for instance the *Lhag mt'oñ c'en moi dka' bai gnad sal bar byed pai legs bšad pa* of the *Žva dmar dge ądun bstan ądsin rgya mts'o* (who must be posterior to Kloñ rdol bla ma, born 1729, because not contained in his list of the *Žva dmar* hierarchs) commented upon by P'a boñ k'a pa Byams pa bstan ądsin p'rin las rgya mts'o in his *Lhag mt'oñ c'en moi bka' gnas rnam s brjed byañ du bkod pa dgoñs zab snañ bai sgron me* (p. 3 edition of *sMan rtsis k'añ*).

CHAPTER 2.

***THE CONTENTS
OF THE FIRST BHĀVANĀKRAMA***

§ 1. The treatise starts with a statement that Mahāyāna is contained within three things: compassion, *bodhicitta*, realization. Compassion is the basis of all; the path to Buddhahood starts from compassion. One should meditate on it, considering the universality of sorrow to which all beings are fatally subject, in whatever destiny they are born; neither kings nor gods can escape it.

§ 2. This perception that sorrow is implicit in whatever exists produces in ourselves a feeling of compassion for our fellow-beings, friends and enemies, as well as the desire to free them from it; by this feeling of compassion towards all sorts of beings and by the determination to be of help to them the bodhisattva considers all beings as equal to himself (*sattvasamātā*).

§ 3. When compassion is so realized, it is known as great compassion; as such it is the cause of the first blossoming of the *bodhicitta*, the will to reach perfect Enlightenment for the benefit of all suffering beings. This is a means which brings about great results; even if it is not accompanied by practice (*pratipatti*), it abolishes the miseries of *samsāra*.

§ 4. If the *bodhicitta* is accompanied by practice, even greater are its benefits; it is in fact a seed of all the properties of the Buddha, *buddhadharma*. It is twofold, in so far as it consists of two moments i. e. the determination itself (*prañidhi*: “may I become a Buddha for the benefit of all beings”) and the setting in mo-

tion of that thought of Enlightenment (*prasthāna*) after having either taken the vows (*saṃvara*) from a saintly friend (*kalyāṇamitra*) or invoked the presence of the Buddha, the Bodhisattvas, etc.

§ 5. Enlightenment cannot be realized without practice (*pratipatti*); this practice consists, to state it briefly, in following both the path of gnosis (*prajñā*) and the appropriate means (*upāya*) i. e. compassion; these two should be practiced and realized jointly; no progress is possible if only one is insisted upon.

§ 6. We recognize as means all sorts of merits consisting of the various perfections, such as liberality, etc. excluding gnosis, but including all the attractions (*saṃgrahaṅga*), able to produce elevation (*abhyudaya*), purification of the Buddha fields, supernatural creations (*nirmāṇa*) and to make living beings spiritually ripe; the gnosis, *prajñā*, on the other hand, makes one rightly understand the real nature of that very means so that one may accomplish one's own benefit and that of others without danger of being contaminated by wrong assumptions. They should be practiced jointly in all the ten stages, *bhūmis*.

§ 7. To accept *prajñā* alone would contradict the teaching of the Buddha; in fact such a theory as that gnosis alone leads to Enlightenment disagrees with what we read in the Holy texts ¹⁾.

§ 8. Only in this way the *apraṭiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*, viz. the permanence of the Buddhas in the *saṃsāra* can have a meaning. The merit deriving from *upāya* results in a corporeal body in the Buddha-fields, etc. brought

¹⁾ Which is a reply to the point of view of Mahāyāna.

about by means such as liberality, etc.; the Buddhas are then not in *nirvāṇa*. On the other hand, by gnosis they suppress all sorts of wrong ideations, and do not therefore stay in *samsāra*, since *samsāra* is the source of all sorts of wrong ideations ¹⁾.

Both means and gnosis are necessary because gnosis helps us to avoid the extreme of affirmation (*samāropa*) and *upāya* the extreme of negation (*apavāda*); so the middle path is fully realized. It is true that the *Vajracchedikā* says:

“Those who know the discourse on dharma as a raft, should forsake dharmas, and how much more so non-dharmas” ²⁾. But the meaning of this is that a wrong interpretation of the dharmas should be forsaken. This does not imply that they should not be resorted to as instruments of practice.

If it is sometimes said that liberality, etc. brings about results to be assumed in *samsāra*, this refers only to liberality and such other virtues practised without the light of gnosis, and in regard to those who are only intent to get the merit which derives from them; in that way they may be stimulated to accumulate higher merits such as those which gnosis begets. Liberality, etc. obtain the name of

¹⁾ The *apraṭiṣṭhitānirvāṇa* ‘the *nirvāṇa* not definitely fixed’, plays a great role in Mahāyāna: the path to Buddhahood is not absolute abstraction from *samsāra*: were it so, no *buddhakṛtya* would be possible, the Buddha would give up his soteric power; the coexistence of gnosis and means saves with its dialectics that position: by gnosis he transcends *samsāra* and abides in *nirvāṇa*, by means, with the infinite manifestations or emanations, he helps the creatures to realize the soteric intuition of truth.

On *apraṭiṣṭhitānirvāṇa* see S. LÉVI and *MSA*, III, 3, n. 4. *Siddhi*, p. 672, n. etc. RG. (Ob.), p. 162, 163. MS, p. 255.

²⁾ Transl. of E. CONZE, *Selected Sayings from the Perfection of Wisdom*, p. 81.

perfection (p ā r a m i t ā) only when they are accompanied by gnosis. In order to purify them one should therefore exert oneself in gnosis.

§ 9. This gnosis is triple, that is to say it is based on study, on investigation, on contemplation: ś r u t a m a y ī, c i n t ā m a y ī, b h ā v a n ā m a y ī. The ś r u t a m a y ī-gnosis consists in study and learning; its purpose is to ascertain the meaning of the truths revealed by the Buddha and expounded in the holy texts; as c i n t ā m a y ī, i.e. as investigation, it penetrates (n i r v e d h a y a t i) by means of logic (y u k t i) and reference to authority (ā g a m a) the true meaning of truth, either implicit (n e y a) or explicit (n ī t a). Then follows the b h ā v a n ā m a y ī. contemplation; it is the contemplation of the truth as it has been previously ascertained by logic and authority viz. as the real meaning of things (b h ū t a m a r t h a m b h ā v a y e t), i.e. their real nature, v a s t u s v a r ū p a, that is that they are not produced (a n u t p ā d a). In fact one ascertains that things are not produced as objective, self-existing realities by means of a) authority and b) logic. (8, b-9, a).

§ 10.

a) authority – i.e. the s ū t r a s of the great Vehicle – teaches us that the only reality is the non-production of things; all the rest is unreal; from the absolute point of view we cannot speak either of origination or non-origination, because both notions imply a duality, and reality is beyond all sorts of relative notions; whatever we say or predicate is a non-entity.

b) When we have learnt from the holy texts this truth we must confirm our conviction by logic, arguing in the following way:

The origin of things could be either ¹⁾ causeless or caused.

b, 1) Origination cannot be causeless because we see that it is incidental; in fact if things were unrelated to a cause, there would be no diversity among them and they would always and everywhere be the same, as they were at the time of their production; or there being no diversity (represented by intervention of a cause) between their being in existence and their not yet being in existence (before origination), at the time of their production they should be non-existent.

b, 2) Neither can origination be caused. What is this cause?

b, 2, a) Is it an eternal cause like God? ²⁾ Now we see that things are born in succession, not simultaneously; but this origination in succession cannot be explained if there is only a universal cause independent of anything which might prompt its activity. God being autonomous he cannot depend on anything else, and in so far as he is eternal he cannot be assisted by others (in his activity); anything which does not need the assistance of others is not related to, does not depend on others. Therefore God and suchlike causes are unsubstantial like the son of a barren woman, because they are devoid of any efficiency. Now what we call a thing is something efficient.

Nor can God produce all things simultaneously; in fact, supposing that all effects come into existence together, if God is also able to create a second time, then two alternatives are possible: either he is consistent with his previous creative efficiency, and then he will create the same creation

¹⁾ The criticism of the notion of cause is essential in Mahāyāna: from MK chapter III to TS, I-IV.

²⁾ For the Buddhist criticism of the notion of God see TS, chap. II, which our author follows closely.

as before; or he is not consistent with his previous creative efficiency, and thus he would forsake his previous nature and he could not therefore be eternal.

No eternal cause can thus be logically accepted.

b, 2, b) Neither can origination be caused by a non-eternal cause, because in temporal succession there is a past and a future (cause and effect), but past and future are unreal; things would therefore have no cause. Nor can it be produced from the present, because origination is either simultaneous or nonsimultaneous with it; if it is simultaneous, the effect would be produced at the same time as the cause and therefore there would be no relation of cause and effect; if there is difference of time in production, two alternatives are possible: if the origination occurs after an interval of time it could also happen after the past, etc. (there being no connection between the two moments); if there be no interval of time, the two times, that of the cause and that of the effect, would coincide and in each instant all instants would be originated. The same criticism should, in other words, be here made as that advanced against the existence of atoms. If the two instants coincide only partially, then the instant would have parts and would thus no longer be instant. Nor can you argue that origination is self-originated, because it would be the same as saying that it is not caused; moreover it would contradict the principle that no thing can be active on itself. Nor can origination be caused by the two together i.e. self and another's agency because both theories have already been refuted. The consequence is that from the absolute point of view things are non-originated. We may speak of the origination of things only from the conventional point of view.

§ 11. We can also argue in the following way: things are either material or immaterial. Things material, such as a pot, etc., are made of atoms, therefore they are not a unity; nor is a thing a multiplicity because it is an agglomeration, a whole composed of atoms; these, on the other hand, being placed in front or behind, being therefore divisible into a front-part or a hind-part, lose the property of atoms, i.e. indivisibility. Since no theory other than unity or multiplicity is possible, material things are therefore unreal as things seen in a dream.

In the same way immaterial things such as mind do not exist; first of all, since external things e. g. "a blue thing", as we saw, does not exist, when we have a perception of blue, we must assume that immaterial things such as mind take the form of a perception of something blue, etc.

These things cannot therefore be assumed to be one, because they are reflected in different forms such as blue colour, etc., i.e. in a subjective and an objective form; but what is one cannot assume different forms, because unity and multiplicity are two contradictory notions.

When unity is proved not to exist, multiplicity is equally illogical, because many is an agglomeration of units. If it is argued that these forms which are reflected in our perception as material things etc. are false, then the result would be that consciousness also must be false, because consciousness coincides with the being of these things; in fact no other form of mind-consciousness exists except this perceptive aspect. Nor are material things, etc. reflected in it by their own power.

When these things, which are nothing but consciousness itself, are false, we must agree that consciousness also is false. That is why Buddha said that consciousness is

like a mock show; therefore everything is false because no notion of unity or multiplicity can logically be superimposed on it.

§ 12. Having thus ascertained reality by means of gnosis consisting in investigation, in order to make this evident one should have recourse to the gnosis consisting in contemplation. By mere study or investigation no object can become evident.

Those who have entered the path of progress must strive for direct experience; if the light of knowledge does not clearly arise, it is impossible that the darkness of the impediments be properly expelled. But by the frequency of contemplation a sufficiently clear knowledge arises, even as regards things which, in fact, are not real such as a ś u b h a b h ā v a n ā , etc. all the more so as regards things real.

§ 13. For this purpose, first of all ś a m a t h a is necessary. It is the only means which makes mind (c i t t a) steady; if c i t t a, which by nature is instable like water, is not concentrated (s a m ā h i t a) truth cannot be known.

This ś a m a t h a is quickly attained by one who is indifferent to profit etc., who observes proper behavior, who can endure suffering, who has developed energy. It is conditioned by the accumulation of liberality, moral rules, etc. and brought about, as concomitants, by the yogic rules (clean place, worship of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, confession of one's own sins, rejoicing at the good deeds of others, concentration on the great compassion in order to help other beings to salvation, yogic postures, etc.) and s a m ā d h i .

First of all, whatever the object to be investigated, in whatever way, it must be taken as a synthesis of all

objects on which one should fix one's mind. This object again is twofold, material and immaterial. This abridged object should be taken as the basis of meditation in order to avoid distractions which may obstruct the meditation of the beginner (*ādikarmika*). When one has mastered one's power of attention (*jitamaṇaskāra*), one purifies this process by differentiating the component parts of human personality, *skandha-dhātu*, etc.; so one can also take as a basis of meditation wider objects. For details see *Abhidharmakośa*, VI (the object of meditation, either material or immaterial, can be taken in a summarized, synthetical, or average, or extensive, wider form).

In order to avoid any positive or negative assumption, examination of the object under a different point of view, as a synthesis of *skandha*, *dhātu*, etc. is required.

If, in this process, the attention by chance is diverted by passion, etc. then, perceiving this, one should suppress distraction by contemplation of the impurities (*asubha*) so that the mind be then redirected to the object of contemplation again and again. If one perceives that mind does not take pleasure in it, then one should consider the advantages of *samādhi* and contemplate the pleasure of *samādhi* and therefore suppress that lack of pleasure in contemplation. If torpor and drowsiness prevail and the object of contemplation cannot be grasped clearly, and the mind is depressed, then by means of contemplation congenial to common ideas (*lokaśamjñā*) one should concentrate on such pleasing objects (*pramodyavastu*) as the attributes of the Buddha etc.; in this way idleness is suppressed and the object of meditation can again be grasped. If, by remembering previous happiness, the mind

becomes frivolous one should suppress that frivolity by concentrating on such objects as impermanence, etc. which perturb the mind; again as regards that object of meditation one should exert oneself in the mood (v a h i t ā) of non-mental accumulation (c i t t ā n a b h i s a ṃ s k ā r a). When, by forsaking depression and frivolity, one perceives that the mind is in a state of perfect equilibrium (s a m a - p r a v ṛ t t a) and in its essential mood (s v a r a s a v ā - h i n), then one is in a state of indifference, because all effort is relaxed: all effort causes in fact distraction. When, by one's own will, the mind is directed toward the object of contemplation in a mood of non-accumulation, ś a - m a t h a is perfect. This is the general character of all kinds of ś a m a t h a, because ś a m a t h a consists only in concentration of mind (c i t t a i k ā g r a t ā). Its object is undetermined.

§ 14. In brief there are six possible defects in the practice of this ś a m a t h a, viz. sloth, confusion of the object of contemplation, idleness and frivolity, lack of effort (a n ā b h o g a), striving (b h o g a t ā); as their correctives the eight conditionings (s a ṃ s k ā r a) for their suppression must be resorted to. These are: faith, zeal, exertion, serenity, mindfulness, awareness, investigation, indifference. The first four are the correctives of sloth. In fact, faith is characterized by complete confidence in the virtues of s a m ā d h i and therefore the yogin feels a desire for it.

On account of this desire he starts with energy, and by the force of this energy he obtains dexterity (k a r m a - ṇ y a t ā) of body and mind. When his mind is in a state of serenity, sloth departs. Therefore faith, etc. should be meditated on to suppress sloth. Mindfulness is the correc-

tive of loss of the object of contemplation; awareness is the corrective of depression and frivolity, because it ascertains carefully what idleness and frivolity are. When depression and frivolity have been suppressed, there is the danger that effortlessness may arise. To correct that, one should concentrate on investigation; when the mind is tranquil then effort may arise; its corrective is indifference. In this way *samādhi* is extremely effective and one acquires various miraculous capacities.

§§ 15-16. Then the four *dhyānas* (usual description) are reached and successively realized.

The same should be attempted as regards other objects of contemplation: *ārūpyasamāpatti*, *vimokṣāmukha*, *abhibhvāyatana*, AK, VIII, p. 203 ff., etc. When mind is properly fixed upon the object of contemplation, then one should abandon it by means of gnosis (*prajñā*) so that all the seeds of bewilderment may be annulled. The process is that described by the *Laṅkāvatāra* p. 298, see 256-258,

First of all the yogin should thus investigate the material things which are by others conceived of as real external objects existing independently of our experience: are these things different from consciousness or are they consciousness itself and do they appear (*pratibhāsate*) just as visions in the state of dream? He should investigate the things which appear as external to consciousness and imagine them to be divisible into atoms. When the yogin has reflected on the atoms as being composed of parts (front, behind, etc.) he no longer sees any object and so he thinks: all this (which appears) is only mind, no external object exists. He should therefore forsake all imaginations concerning the (so called) external material

objects. In spite of the condition of their perceptibility being present, they are not perceived.

Having in this way reached the conclusion that all material things do not exist he should do the same regarding immaterial things. As regards the assumption of mere mind (*c i t t a m ā t r a*) he should so think: when there is no object, it is illogical to assume that there is a subject, because the subject is only such in regard to the object; therefore mind transcends both subject and object.

Having thus investigated that mind is not dual, he should abide in the absolute, (*t a t h a t ā*), as being the support of contemplation and non-dual. Then he should transcend this postulation of mere mind and the idea that what is perceived has its forms in the perceiving mind: that is, he should abide in the experience of non-dual knowledge beyond any appearance of duality.

Having thus transcended the postulation of mere mind, he should transcend also that postulation of knowledge beyond the appearance of duality, because (the supposed) things cannot be self-created, either by their own agency or by the agency of other factors. He then should so investigate: when subject and object are false notions, the non-dual knowledge, being inconceivable without those two, cannot be logically considered as real. He should therefore abandon any attachment to that non-dual knowledge as if it were something real.

Thus investigation leads him to conclude that all *d h a r m a s* are devoid of essence; abiding there he enters the experience of supreme truth and he therefore enters the *s a m ā d h i* devoid of any representation ¹⁾.

1) I.e. the full realization of *a d h i p r a j ñ ā* or *p r a j ñ ā p ā r a m i t ā*. Cf. on this MS, chap. VIII.

§ 17. Then the yogin can be said to see Mahāyāna, because Mahāyāna is nothing else but the vision of the supreme truth. In fact this vision of the supreme truth is a non-vision, which dawns on the yogin who looks upon all *d h a r m a s* with the eye of gnosis. Therefore his is the sort of non-vision that is alluded to in the texts, not the non-vision of those who shut their eyes or which is caused by distraction or defect of concomitant circumstances. Were there a non-vision of that description, the yogin would not be liberated, just as happens to the man who awakens from the state of unconscious concentration (*a s a m j - ñ i s a m ā p a t t i*), for in such case the swarm of impurities (*k l e ś a*) such as passions, etc., having their roots in the attachment to the existence of things, will start again ¹⁾.

As regards the sentence of the *A v i k a l p a p r a - v e ś a d h ā r a ṇ ī*: “he eliminates the marks of material things, etc. by non-accumulation of thought (*a m a n a - s i k ā r a*)”, here also non-accumulation of thought is understood as the non-perception (*a n u p a l a m b h a*) proper to the person investigating according to gnosis, but not as the mere absence of thought (*a m a n a s i k ā r a*), like that of the man who is in a state of unconscious concentration (*a s a m j ñ i s a m ā p a t t i*). The attachment to material things etc. which exists *ab aeterno* cannot be removed by merely eliminating thought; if doubts have not been removed it is not possible to remove the conscious attachment to material things etc. previously perceived, just as it is impossible to remove a burning sensation when

¹⁾ This was one of the central points of the debate which has been discussed in detail by Prof. DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 131-132.

fire has not been extinguished; these false imaginations concerning material things, etc. cannot be removed from the mind, as thorns are removed by the hand, but only by elimination of the very roots of doubt. These roots of doubt disappear, just as the false notion of a snake in what is really a rope disappears when the yogin, having reached the light of *s a m ā d h i*, looks upon things with the eye of gnosis; in fact he does not then perceive those material things which he had previously perceived, though now the conditions for their perception still exist. To conclude, it is only when the roots of doubt have been removed, and in no other way, that thought concerning material things, etc. can be eliminated; otherwise the attachment to the representation of false objects will continue.

Therefore, when his mind has been taken hold of by the hand, as it were, of *s a m ā d h i*, the yogin by using the sharper weapon of gnosis should root out the seeds of false imagination such as those material things, etc. which are still in his mind.

Then those seeds will not again grow in his mind; it is with the purpose that the obstructions may be removed that the Blessed One has revealed the path of the convergence of *ś a m a t h a* and *v i p a ś y a n ā*, because they are the cause of right knowledge free from imagination.

In fact when, by means of *ś a m a t h a*, the mind has been steadied in the support of its contemplation, then, in the yogin, investigating with the help of gnosis, the light (*ā l o k a*) of pure knowledge arises and the obstructions are eliminated. Therefore these two, *s a m ā d h i* and gnosis, are subsidiary one to the other for the production of right knowledge, just as eye and light (as regards vision); there

is no reciprocal contradiction between the two¹⁾, as there is in the case of light and darkness; *s a m ā d h i* indeed is not of the nature of darkness, but it is characterized by concentration of mind. When a man in a state of *s a m ā d h i* investigates by means of gnosis, he acquires experience of truth i.e. non-perception of all *dhar-mas*.

This is the supreme non-perception. Such a condition of the yogin is the condition of spontaneity (*a n ā b h o g a*), spoken of in the text of the *Laṅkāv.*, for above it there is nothing else to be seen: it is also called (in the same text) "quiescence" (*ś ā n t ā*), because the illusion of false imagination, such as that of existence or non-existence, is there extinct.

In fact, when the yogin, investigating by means of gnosis, no longer perceives any essence of things, no representation of a thing arises in him; and so not even the representation of a no-thing arises in him. Suppose that a thing is seen, then as a result of its negation, the representation of its non-existence arises. But when the yogin, investigating by the help of gnosis, no longer perceives anything as existent, either in the past or in the present or in the future, how could he have the representation of a no-thing as a consequence of its negation? This means that no representation of any kind can arise in him, because all sorts of representations are pervaded by these two moods: existence and non-existence (and we know) that when there is no pervader the pervaded also does not exist.

1) As the followers of Ch'an would implicitly admit, arguing that all *s a m ā d h i* and all *p r a t i p a t t i* are fundamentally wrong, the only truth being in the sudden, intuitive flash of Enlightenment.

§ 18. This yoga is called supreme non-representation because, when the yogin has reached this stage, all forms of representation disappear. Moreover in this state, all moral as well as mental obstructions are properly eliminated. In fact the chief cause of the moral obstructions is a false conception, such as existence, as regards things which are really neither born nor destroyed, because, as we have seen before, all sorts of false assumptions arise from the false assumption of existence. When that assumption has been removed, mental obstructions are also duly removed, for they consist only in a wrong assumption i.e. in nescience by which we take to be existent what is not. As soon as mental obstructions have been removed, all obstacles having also been eliminated, the light of knowledge self-evident to the yogin penetrates everywhere, unimpeded, just as the rays of the sun find no impediment in the sky when the impediment of clouds is gone. In fact, the nature of consciousness consists in illuminating the real nature of things; but when there is an impediment of any sort consciousness cannot do so, even if the thing is near; it can do so only when there is no such impediment, because only then can it assume the peculiar quality of its unfathomable power; how could it then fail to illuminate all possible things? Then by the complete knowledge of all things, both in their conventional and absolute aspect, the yogin obtains omniscience. This is the supreme path both as regards the elimination of obstructions as well as the realization of omniscience. On the contrary, the path of *ś r ā v a k a s*, etc. cannot lead to the proper elimination of the twofold obstructions because it does not suppress false assumptions. (Laṅkāv, p. 63, 1, 16 ff.). There is in short no liberation

except by this path. Therefore the Blessed One has stated that there is only one Vehicle; he preached the path of the ś r ā v a k a , etc. only aiming to give listeners an opportunity to start to understand the true path. In fact, meditating on his own person as being a mere agglomeration of components (s k a n d h a) and so realizing that no self exists, the ś r ā v a k a realises that the ego is not a self. Then, meditating on the universe as being a mere ideation, he realizes that external objects have no self, as stated by the V i j ñ ā n a v ā d i n . By the above said process, realizing that this non-dual knowledge also is nothing *per se*, one enters the supreme truth, because as already stated, the view that ideation only exists does not coincide with truth.

By what is this condition of the yogin then purified? By the vow which the Bodhisattva, stimulated by his great compassion, made for the sake of all beings and by the practice of the various virtues such as liberality, etc.; though he has acquired the knowledge that all dharmas are devoid of essence, still consideration i.e. compassion, for all living beings does not cease. But how is his condition spontaneous and in a state of quiescence? The non-dual knowledge which the monists take as supreme knowledge, the yogin, by his knowledge transcending duality, perceives to be non-existent *per se*, devoid of any essence; that condition is therefore called “spontaneous” because there is nothing to be seen beyond it; “quiescent” because there is in it absence of all forms of representations.

§ 19. You may now ask who is the yogin of whom you speak? Who is he who sees? Does he exist? From the absolute point of view there is no yogin who sees, but, from the conventional point of view, consciousness, by the

mere acquisition of a particular form of knowledge, such as that of material objects etc., is variously called empirically; e.g.: “Devadatta sees with his knowledge Yajñadatta”, though in fact there is no self; in the same way, here also knowledge, when it arises as non-dual knowledge, in which nothing appears is so designated: “he sees with the non-dual knowledge in which there is no representation (n i r a b h ā s e n a)”. In fact, from the absolute point of view, all dharmas have no essence, but still from the conventional point of view, we speak of the knowledge of the yogin and of that of the profane as being different; otherwise there would be no difference between the Buddha and the profane. On the other hand, whatever, even from the conventional point of view, is not caused, from that same point of view does not originate, like the horns of a hare; but whatever has a cause, though from the absolute point of view it is but a false assumption, originates like a magic vision. But this mock show, though it happens to be produced by some causes and conditions and conventionally exists, cannot be taken as being something real, because it does not stand investigation. Therefore, everything is like a mock show, m ā y ā . Just as the illusion of birth is the consequence of that other illusion which consists in the impurities and the karma of the beings, so also in consequence of that illusion which consists in the accumulation of virtue and knowledge, the illusion of the yogic knowledge arises in the yogin. Still there is a difference; the yogin like the magician recognizes the illusion for what it is and therefore he has no attachment to it, because he knows that it is not real: the profane on the contrary takes it to be real and feels attachment to it.

§§ 20-21. Progress in contemplation of reality: suppression of depression and frivolity as before; when knowledge, devoid of depression and frivolity, has as its object of contemplation the non-essence of everything, but with no accumulation (*anabhisamskāreṇa*), then the path of the concomitance (*yuganaddha*) of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* is completed. Then, as far as he can, the yogin should remain in the stage of adhesion (*adhimukticyābhūmi*); he should, then, consider that though the dharmas which compose his personality, from the absolute point of view, have no essence, still they are here from the conventional point of view and the common people wrongly assume them to exist in reality and therefore they transmigrate in *samsāra* and suffer. For this reason he should resort to the great compassion and make the vow to obtain Buddhahood so that he may teach the truth. Then worship, etc. of the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas, etc. are needed; after that he should accumulate merits by practice of liberality, etc. intrinsically based on and accompanied by the realization of voidness and compassion. This is the path of the *bodhisattva*, a concomitance of gnosis and means; though he has obtained the view of supreme truth, the *bodhisattva* does not deny conventional truth and therefore, without being led astray by wrong opinions, prompted by his great compassion he can strive for the benefit of others.

It is thus ascertained that when the *bodhisattva* has reached transcendental knowledge, the practice of means is no longer called for, but in the practice of means the concomitance of gnosis is needed which discovers what is the reality of things. This path is therefore a concomitance of gnosis and means. In his intent (*āśaya*) to benefit others

- 3) light of knowledge brighter and no appearance of external objects: realization that everything is but consciousness only: (vijñaptimātra) kṣānti n. bh.: receptivity of the truth that there is no origination
 samādhi: = ekadeśapraviṣṭa (non-perception of objects)
- 4) non-dual knowledge devoid of object and subject
 samādhi: = ānantarya¹⁾.

After that, reality is entered.

§ 23. Stage 1^o to 11 - established according to the accomplishment of 11 requisites.

A) Darśanamārga, path of vision.

1st Stage.

There the truth of the unreality of the ego and of the dharmas is realized; after obtaining the fourth degree of insight of the career of the beginner, a very bright supra-mundane knowledge devoid of all forms of illusory ideations enables him to realize the non-essence of all dharmas; the bodhisattva then enters a state of perfection (samyaktvanyāmāvākṛānti); the path of vision then arises: he rejoices at having obtained a truth formerly unobtainable and this stage is therefore called the Pramuditā "the stage of Joy". He then forsakes the 112 impurities (kleśa) to be forsaken by vision (dar-

¹⁾ AK, VI, pp. 166-167. MS, III, p. 169 ff. and p. 28*, Mdh., pp. 188-192. Siddhi, pp. 575-584.

ś a n a); the remaining 16 impurities belonging to the three d h ā t u s are to be cast off in the following stages (= path of contemplation)¹⁾.

Having been awakend by the approach of the absolute, the b o d h i s a t t v a works for the benefit of others as if it were his own; therefore the perfection of liberality is here more intense. Though the b o d h i s a t t v a has realized the truth, he is not fully conscious of his fall into the minor sins²⁾.

B) B h ā v a n ā m ā r g a , path of contemplation.

2nd Stage.

It is reached when he becomes fully conscious of that fall, and that requisite is accomplished; here ethical perfection is more intense. This stage is called V i m a l ā “the stainless” because³⁾ the stains of impure moral conduct have been eliminated, and the b o d h i s a t t v a has become conscious of his fall into the minor sins. He remains in the second stage till he is unable to maintain hold of all the worldly s a m ā d h i and of the objects as he has studied them. When this requisite is fulfilled he enters the:

3rd Stage.

The bodhisattva bears all sorts of pains in order to maintain his hold on what he has learned and on the accomplishment of all worldly s a m ā d h i s; here the perfection of patience is therefore more intense. With the

1) On the impurities to be abandoned by d a r ś a n a m ā r g a and b h ā v a n ā m ā r g a see AK, V, p. 10, n. p. 100 ff. *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, p. 26, *Siddhi*, p. 357 ff., 382.

2) For this section cf. *Mdh.*, p. 97 ff.

3) For such etymologies see *MSA*, XX-XXI, 32 ff.

obtainment of those *s a m ā d h i s*, this stage produces a transcendental, incommensurable brightness of knowledge and it is therefore called *P r a b h ā k a r ī*, “the Luminous stage”. He remains in this stage until he is unable to abide repeatedly in the conditions favorable to Enlightenment when obtained and to let his mind be indifferent to the longing (*u p e k ṣ i t u m*) of *s a m ā p a t t i*.

When he succeeds in so doing and that requisite is accomplished he enters the:

4th Stage.

Then he constantly abides in the conditions favorable to Enlightenment (*b o d h i p a k ṣ a d h a r m a*) in order to pass beyond all desires of body, speech, and mind (*k ā y a v a ñ m a n o j a l p a*); here the perfection of energy is more intense. Since the fire of the conditions favorable to Enlightenment can consume the fuel of all impurities, this stage is called, *A r c i ṣ m a t ī* “the Flaming one”. He remains there, contemplating the four truths, until he is unable to reverse the mind so that it becomes disinclined to *saṃsāra* and inclined to *nirvāṇa*, and to contemplate the conditions favorable to Enlightenment.

When he is able to do that then he enters the:

5th Stage.

Here the contemplation of the conditions favorable to Enlightenment and assisted by the means is difficult to practice; it is therefore called *S u d u r j a y ā*, «Difficult to gain»; in it, on account of the repeated contemplation of the aspects of the four noble truths, the perfection of meditation, *d h y ā n a*, is more intense and the b o -

dhisattva abides repeatedly in the conditions favorable to Enlightenment.

So long as he is unable to attain a state where no sign of things is ever perceived (**animitta vihāra**), his mind being occupied by the depression which arises from the consideration of the process of **samsāra**, he remains in the fifth stage. When he is able to do so, he enters the: **6th Stage.**

In this one the bodhisattva abides in the contemplation of the law of causal origination (**pratītyasamutpāda**) and consequently here the perfection of gnosis is more intense. He is therefore intent on (**abhimukha**) all the buddhadharmas; hence this stage is called **Abhimukhī** "The facing". The bodhisattva dwells in that state where no sign of things is perceived (**animitta**). He remains there so long as he is unable to attain without interruption that concentration on the realization that no sign of things is perceived; when he is able to do so he enters the:

7th Stage.

In it the **bodhisattva** acquires the realization that no sign of things exists; but he has not yet overcome the empirical stage in which attention is fixed on the signs of things. In this stage the perfection of means is more intense and since it is difficult to pass beyond it, being connected with a path of effortlessness, it is called **Duraṅgamā** "The far-going". So long as the **bodhisattva** is unable to attain concentration on the realization that no sign of things is perceived (**animitta**), which is a mode of effortlessness (**anābhogavāhi**), he remains here. When he is able to do so, he enters the:

8th Stage.

Here he acquires, with no effort, the conditions favorable to virtue (*kuśālapakṣa*), and the perfection of his vow (*praṇidhāna*) is here more intense. Since here he does not depart from that state of effortlessness and of non-perception of all signs, this stage is called *Acalā* "Unshakable". He abides there in that effortlessness and non-perceiving state, so long as he is unable to acquire mastery of the teaching of the Law in its various aspects of arrangement, explanation (*nirukti*), etc. When he acquires that mastery he enters the:

9th Stage.

Here the *bodhisattva* obtains a particular form of a fourfold¹⁾ knowledge (*pratisamvit*) and is possessed of a special power of gnosis; therefore here the perfection of power predominates. This stage is called *Sādhumatī*, "The good one", because the *bodhisattva* here acquires spiritual irreprehensibility (*anavadya*) due to his ability to teach the Law in all its aspects.

So long as he is unable to show magical creations (*nirmāṇa*), such as the Buddha-fields and the assemblies, to complete the spiritual maturity of beings and to enter into full enjoyment of the Law, he remains there; when he is able to do so, he enters the:

10th Stage.

Here he possesses a peculiar knowledge which leads to the maturity of beings through magical creations and therefore the perfection of knowledge here predominates. Since

¹⁾ *Dharma, artha, nirukti, pratibhāna.*

the teaching of the Law is like a rain cloud which showers truth over all the worlds, this stage is called *Dharma-meghā*. “The Cloud of the Law”.

(Other classifications of *Bhūmis* are also possible).

He has then acquired mastery over *nirmāṇa*, etc.; so long as he is unable to produce (*utpādayitum*) omniscience as regards all knowable things (*sarvākāra*), with no attachment, and no obstruction, he remains there. When he is able to do so, then the Buddha-stage is realized than which nothing higher exists, because all forms of perfection have been attained in their climax; not even the Buddha can express its perfection.

SECTION II

TEXTS

*THE SANSKRIT AND TIBETAN TEXTS OF THE
FIRST BHĀVANĀKRAMA*

A. – SANSKRIT TEXT

§ 1. *Great compassion is of primary importance to the Bodhisattva; universality of pain; necessity of compassion.*

... dharmāṇām pravṛttir bhavati | āryākṣayamatirdeśe 2 a, 1
 coktam | “ punar aparam, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, bodhi-
 sattvānām mahākaruṇāpy akṣayā | tat kasya hetoḥ | pūr-
 vaṅgamatvāt | tad yathāpi nāma, bha*danta śāradvatīputra, 2
 āśvāsāḥ puruṣasya jīvitendriyasya [Tib. 22b] pūrvaṅgamāḥ |
 evam eva mahāyānasambhāra[samud]āgamāya bodhisat-
 tvasya mahākaruṇā pūrvaṅgamā ” iti ^(a) vistarāḥ | āryagayā-
śīr*ṣe coktam | “ kimārambhā, mañjuśrīḥ, bodhisattvānām 3
 caryā kimadhiṣṭhānā | mañjuśrīr āha | mahākaruṇārambhā,
 devaputra, bodhisattvānām caryā sattvādhiṣṭhānā ” iti ^(b)
 vistarāḥ | tathā hi tayā * preryamāṇā bodhisattvāḥ svāt- 4
 manirapekṣā ekāntena paropakārārthatayā, atiduṣkaradīr-
 ghakālike ’pi sambhāropārjanapariśrame pravartante | 5
 tathā coktam āryaśraddhābalādhāne | “ tatra karuṇayāpi
 sarvasattvapariṣānanārtham na tat kiṃcit sukhopādhā-
 nam ¹⁾ yan na parityajati ” iti ²⁾ ^(c) | ato ’tiduṣkare pravara*ta- 6
 māno na cireṇaiva sambhārān paripūryāvaśyam eva sar-

(a) Śs., p. 287, l. 6. When quotations are found in Śs. no reference is given to corresponding passages in Ta. and T.

(b) DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 103, n, Ta. n. 464 (465–67), p. 482, a; T., mDo, ca, p. 464, b, ll. 2–3.

(c) Ta. n. 305, p. 934, c; T. mDo, ma, p. 23, b, ll. 3–4.

1) Ms. °padhānam.

2) T adds: there is no pain which they do not accept.

- vajñapadam ¹⁾ adhigacchati | tato buddhadharmāṇām ka-
 ruṇaiva mūlam | mahākaruṇāparigrahād eva buddhā
 2 b, 1 bhagavanto 'dhigamya sar*va[jñā]²⁾padam aśeṣasya jagato
 'rtham vikurvāṇās tiṣṭhanta iti nirvāṇāpratiṣṭhāne saiva
 bhagavatām ṇamahākaruhetuḥ | sā ca duḥkhitasattvā-
 2 lambanamanaskārabahulīkārato vṛddhim upetya * (?) sarve
 ca te sattvās tridhātukāvacarās trividhaduḥkhatayā yathā-
 yogam atyantaduḥkhitā eveti sarveṣv eva sattveṣu bhā-
 3 vanīyā | tathā ca ye tāvan nārakās te vividhacira*ntanadīr-
 ghakālikadāhādiduḥkheṣu nimagnā eva bhagavatā varṇi-
 tāḥ | tathā pretā api duḥsahatīvrakṣuttrṣādiduḥkhapīḍābhi-
 4 saṃśoṣitamūrtayas tīvraduḥkha*m anubhavanti [Tib. 23 a]
 | yena varṣāśatenāpy aśuciṃ khetapiṇḍanam ca bhok-
 tum na labhanta ityādi varṇitam bhagavatā | tiryāṅco 'pi
 5 parasparakrodhavadhāhimsādibhir anekavidham duḥkham*
 anubhavanto dṛśyanta eva | tathā hi kecin nāsikābheda-
 natāḍanabandhanādibhir atantrīkṛtaśarīrāḥ paritaḥ paripi-
 6 ḍyamānāḥ katham apy anicchanto 'pi atidurvahaguru*
 bhārodvahanaparikhinnavapuṣaḥ pariklāmyanti | tathāra-
 ṇye 'pi nivasanto 'naparādhāḥ kecit kvacit... to 'nviṣya
 hanyante | nityam ca bhayavihvalamanasas tatas tataḥ
 3 a, 1 palā*yamānās tiṣṭhantīty aparimitam eṣāṃ duḥkham
 dṛśyata eva | tathā mānuṣye 'pi nārakam duḥkham dṛśya-
 ta eva | atra ye caurādayo 'ngacchedaśūlārpaṇodbandha-
 2 nādibhiḥ kāryanta eva teṣāṃ nāra*kam eva duḥkham
 | ye ca dāridryādyupahatās teṣāṃ pretānām iva tat
 kṣuttarśādibhi[r] duḥkham | ye ca bhṛtyādayaḥ parāy-
 attīkṛtātmabhāvāḥ | ye ca balibhir ākrāmya pīḍyante
 3 teṣāṃ ³⁾ * tiraścām iva tāḍanāvarodhanādiduḥkham | ta-

1) Ms. jñampa.

2) Ms. jñam pa°.

3) Ms. tāsām.

thā paryeṣṭikṛtam anyonyadrohopaghātādikṛtam priya-
 viprayogāpriyasamyogakṛtam cāprameyam eṣāṃ duḥ-
 kḥa[m] | ye kvacid īś*varāḥ sukhitā iva lapyante ¹⁾ te 'pi 3 a, 4
 viparyavasānaṣampado vividhakudṛṣṭigahananimagnā nā-
 rakādiduḥkhānubhavahetuvividhakleśakarmāny upacin-
 vantāḥ prapātasthā * iva taravo ²⁾ duḥkhahetau vartamā- 5
 nāḥ paramārthato duḥkhitā eva [Tib. 23 b] | devā api ye
 tāvat kāmāvacarās te 'pi tivrakāmāgnisamdiptamānasā
 ākṣiptacittā ivāsvacchacetasaḥ * kṣaṇam api samādhā- 6
 nam ³⁾ cetasāṃ na labhante | teṣāṃ praśamasukhadhana-
 daridrāṇāṃ kīdrśaṃ nāma tat sukham | nityacyavanapa-
 tanā⁴⁾dibhayaśokopahatāḥ katham sukhitā nāma | ye ca
 rū*pārūpāvacarās te 'pi yadi nāma kiyatkālam duḥkhaduḥ- 3 b, 1
 khatam vyatītās tathāpy atyantam kāmāvacarāṇāṃ anu-
 śayānām aprahāṇāt [teṣāṃ] punar api narakādivinipāta-
 sambhavād vipariṇāma*duḥkham [asty eva] | sarve nāma 2
 devamanuṣyāḥ kleśakarmādipāratantryāt te saṃskāra-
 duḥkhatayā duḥkhitā eva |

§ 2. *How compassion should be meditated upon.*

tad evaṃ sakalam eva jagad duḥkhāgnijvālāvaliḍham ⁵⁾
 ity avetya yathā * mama duḥkham apriyam tathānyeṣāṃ 3
 apriyam iti cintayatā sarveṣv eva sattveṣu kṛpā bhāva-
 nīyā | prathamam tāvat mitrapakṣe[ṣu] pūrvoktavividha-
 duḥkhānubhaveṣv anupaśyatā bhāvanīyā | tataḥ sa*ttva- 4
 samatayā viśeṣam apaśyatā 'nādimati ca saṃsāre na ka-

1) T. snaṅ ba. Cfr. pāli: lapeti.

2) T. deest.

3) Ms. samantāto T. sems mñam par aḥog par mi aḥyur te.

4) Ms. adds: tādana not in T.; it seems to be here out of place.

5) T. me lcei p'reñ bai sa yin par bltas la.

3 b, 5 ścit sattvo yo na me śataśo bandhur abhūd iti paricinta-
 yatā¹⁾ vyasteṣu bhāvanīyā | yadā mitrapakṣeṣv * iva [vya-
 steṣu] tulyā karuṇā pravṛttā bhavati | tadā śatrupakṣe 'pi
 tathāiva sattvasamatādīmanasikāreṇa bhāvanīyā | yadā
 ca [śatrupakṣe²⁾] 'pi mitrapakṣavat samapravṛttā bhavati |
 6 tadā * kramaśo daśasu dikṣu sarvasattveṣu bhāvayet |
 yadā ca duḥkhitabālapriyeṣv iva³⁾ [Tib. 24 a] duḥkhod-
 dharaṇecchākārā svarasavānīnī⁴⁾ sarvasattveṣu samapra-
 4 a, 1 vṛttā kṛpā bhavati | tadā sā ni*ṣpannā bhavati | mahāka-
 ruṇāvyapadeśa[m] ca labhate | yathā akṣayamatisūtre ca
 varṇitam | ayam ca kṛpābhāvanākramo bhagavatā 'bhi-
 dharmasūtrādaḥ varṇitaḥ |

§ 3. *It helps the thought of illumination.*

2 tasyaivam⁵⁾ kṛpābhyāsabalāt sakal*asattvābhyuddharaṇa-
 pratijñāyānuttarasamyaksambodhiprārthanākāram ayat-
 nata eva bodhicittam utpadyate | yathoktam daśadhar-
masūtre: “sattvān atrāṇān aśaraṇān advīpān dṛṣṭvā karu-
 3 ṇāyai * cittam upasthāpya yāvad anuttarāyām samyaksam-
 bodhau cittam utpādayati” | iti^(a) | yadi nāma parasamādā-
 panādināpi bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya bodhicittam ut-
 4 padyate | tathāpi kṛpāvegato⁶⁾ yat svaya*m eva bodhisat-
 tvasya bodhicittam utpadyate tad bhagavatāryatathāga-
 tajñānamudrāsamādhau viśiṣṭataratvena varṇitam | tad etad

(a) Śs., p. 8, l. 12.

1) Ms. navyastebhā°.

2) T. dgra la yañ.

3) Ms. almost illegible.

4) T. rañ gi ñañ gis ajug pa.

5) T. de ltar only.

6) T. sñiñ rje c'en pos non te.

bodhicittam pratipattivikalām api saṃsāre mahā*phalam 4 a, 5
 bhagavatā varṇitam | tathā coktam maitreyavimokṣe | “ tad
 yathāpi nāma, kulaputra, bhinnam api vajjaratnam sar-
 vam ativiśiṣṭam suvarṇālamkāram abhibhavati | vajjara-
 tnanāma ca na vija*hāti sarvadāridryam ca vinivartayati | 6
 evam eva, kulaputra, pratipattibhinnam api sarvajñatā-
 cittotpādavajjaratnam sarvaśrāvaka-pratyekabuddhagu-
 ṇa¹⁾suvarṇālamkāram abhibhavati bodhici*ttanāma na vi- 4 b, 1
 jahāti | saṃsāradāridryam ca vinivartayati” iti^(a) | yo ’pi pā-
 ramitāsu sarveṇa sarvam sarvathā śikṣitum asamarthaḥ,
 tenāpi bodhicittam utpādaniyam eva | upāyaparigrahe*ṇa 2
 mahāphalatvāt | [Tib. 24 b] yathā coktam āryarājāvavā-
dakasūtre | “ yasmāt tvam, mahārāja, bahukṛtyo bahuka-
 raṇīyo ’sahaḥ sarveṇa sarvam sarvathā dānapāramitāyām
 śikṣitum yāvat prajñāpāra*mitāyām śikṣitum | tasmāt 3
 tarhi tvam, mahārāja, evam eva saṃbodhau chandam
 śraddhām prārthanām praṇidhiṃ gacchann api tiṣṭhann
 api niṣanno ’pi śayāno ’pi jāgrad api bhuñjāno ’pi pibann
 api * satatasamitam anusmara manasikuru bhāvaya sarva- 4
 buddhabodhisattvārya²⁾śrāvaka-pratyekabuddhapṛthagjanā-
 nām ātmanaś cātītānāgatapratyutpannāni kuśalamūlāni
 piṇḍa*yitvā, anumodasva | agrayā’numodanayā ’numodya 5
 ca sarvabuddhabodhisattvapratyekabuddhāryaśrāvakāṇām
 pūjākarmāṇi niryātaya | niryātaya ca sarvasattvasādhā-
 raṇāni ku*ru tataḥ sarvasattvānām yāvat sarvajñatāprati- 6
 lambhāya sarvabuddhadharmaparipūraṇāya dine traikā-
 lyam anuttarāyām samyaksambodhau pariṇāma[ya] eva[m]
 khalu tvam, mahārāja, pratipannaḥ svarājy*aṃ kariṣyasi | 5 a, 1

(a) Śs., p. 9, l. 8.

1) T. *deest.*

2) T. *deest.*

rājakṛtyāni ca na hāpayiṣyasi | ityādikam uktvā | atha khalu punas tvam, mahārāja, samyaksambodhicittakuśalamū-
 5 a, 2 lavipāke*nānekakṛtyo deveṣūpapanno 'bhūḥ | anekakṛtyo
 manuṣyeṣūpapanno 'bhūḥ | sarvāsu ca devamanuṣyopapat-
 tiṣv ādhipatyam kārayiṣyasi ” | iti ^(a) vistaraḥ |

§ 4. *Bodhicitta: thought of Enlightenment.*

3 yat punaḥ pratipa*ttisāraṃ bodhicittam tad atitarāṃ vi-
 pulam [phalam] iti ¹⁾ siddham | ata evāryavīradattaparipre-
 chāyām uktam | [Tib. 25 a]

“ bodhicittād vai yat puṇyam tac ca rūpi ²⁾ bhaved yadi |
 4 ākāśadhātum saṃpūrya bhūy*as cottaritam bhavet ||
 5 gaṅgāvālu ³⁾ kāsaṃkhyāni buddhakṣetrāni yo naraḥ | *
 dadyād ratnaprapūrṇāni lokanāthebhya eva hi ||
 yaś caikaḥ prāñjalībhūtvā cittam bodhāya nāmati |
 iyam viśiṣyate pūjā yasyā anto na vidyate ^(b) | ” iti |

yathāryagaṇḍavyūhe varṇitam | “ bodhicittam, kulaputra,
 bījabhūtam sarvabuddhadharmāṇām ^(c) ” iti vistaraḥ | tac
 6 ca bodhicittam dvivi*dham praṇidhicittam prasthānacittam
 ca | āryagaṇḍavyūhe varṇitam | tathā | “ durlabhās te, ku-
 laputra, sattvāḥ sattvaloke ye 'nuttarāyām samyaksambo-
 5 b, 1 dhau praṇidadhati ” iti | “ tato 'pi durlabhatamās* ⁴⁾ te sattvā

(a) Śs., p. 9, l. 12.

(b) Ta. n. 331, p. 70, a; T. dKon brtsegs, ca, p. 352, b, ll. 3-4.

(c) Gaṇḍavyūha, p. 494, l. 1.

1) Reading doubtful; T., sgrub par sñiñ poi byed pai byañ c'ub kyi sems
 kyi ābras bu gañ yin pa de śin tu c'e bar grub ste.

2) Ms. rupī.

3) Ms: vālika; from here up to... na vidyate T. deest.

4) Ms. durlabhastamas.

ye 'nuttarāṃ¹⁾ samyaksambodhim abhisamprasthitāḥ" iti^(a) |
sakalajagato hitāya buddho bhaveyam iti prathamata-
raṃ prārthanākārā cetanā tat praṇidhicittam | yataḥ pra- 5 b, 2
bhṛti saṃ*varagrahaṇe . . . vartamānāḥ saṃbhāreṣu dṛ-
śyante tat²⁾ prasthānacittam | saṃvaraś ca vijñātaprati-
balasaṃvarasthitā[t] kalyāṇamitrāt purato³⁾ grāhyaḥ |
asati pratirūpe grā*hake⁴⁾ buddhabodhisattvān āmukhī- 3
kṛtya yathā mañjuśrīyā 'mbararājabhūtena bodhicittam
utpāditam⁵⁾ tathotpādaniyaḥ | evam utpāditabodhicitto
bodhisattvaḥ sva*yam eva dānādi dadāti⁶⁾ pratipattau 4
prayokṣyate | na hi svayam adāntaḥ parān damayatīti
matvā |

§ 5. *Gnosis and means, prajñā and upāya, must be realized jointly.*

| na cāpi vinā pratipattiyā⁷⁾ bodhir avāpyate | yathoktam
āryagayā*sīrṣe " pratipattisārāṇām bodhisattvānām bo- 5
dhir nāpratipattisārāṇām^(b)" iti | āryasamādhirāje cōktam: |
"tasmāt 'pratipattisāro bhaviṣyāmi' ity evaṃ tvayā kumāra
śikṣi*tavyam | tat kasya hetoḥ | pratipattisārasya hi, ku- 6
māra, na durlabhā bhavaty anuttarā samyaksambodhir "

(a) Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 492, (l. 24. Śs. p. 8, l. 16).

(b) Ta. n. 465, p. 465, b, ll. 25 ff.; T. mDo, ca, p. 472, a, ll. 1-2.

1) Ms. āyām.

2) T. gañ p'an c'ad sdom pa bzuñ ste ts'ogs rnam s la žugs pa de ni žugs
pai sems so.

3) But T. p'a rol po mk 'as pa mt'u dañ ldan pa sdom pa la gnas pa
las. Ms. °balāsaṃvara °; kalyāṇamitrāt not in T.

4) T. *deest.*

5) Ms. utpādayatā.

6) T. *deest.*

7) Ms. pallyan.

[Tib. 25 b] iti ^(a) | sã ca pratipattir bodhisattvasya pãramitã-
 6 a, 1 'pramãṇasamgrahavastvãdibhede*na akṣayamati¹⁾ratname-
 ghãdisũtreṣu vistareṇa varṇitã | tathã laukikaśilpãdisthã-
 neṣv ^(b) api yãvad bodhi²⁾sattvena śikṣitavyam | kiṃ pu-
 2 nar lokottareṣu dhyãnãdiṣu | anyathã katham sar*vãkã-
 ram sattvãrtham ³⁾ kuryuḥ ^(c) | sã ceyam samkṣepeṇa
 bodhisattvasya prajñopãyarũpã pratipattir na prajñãmã-
 3 rahita [upãya] * upãyarahitã ca prajñã bodhisattvãnãm ban-
 dhanam^(d) ity uktam | upãyasahitã prajñã prajñãсахita upã-
 yo mokṣatvena varṇitaḥ | ãryagayãśirṣe cuktam | “ dvãv
 4 imau bodhisattvãnãm samkṣip*tau mãrgau | dvãbhyãm mãr-
 gãbhyãm samanvãgatã bodhisattvã mahãsattvãḥ kṣipram
 anuttarãm samyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyante | kata-
 mau dvau | upãyaś ca prajñã ca ” | ^(e) iti |

§ 6. *Gnosis and means.*

5 | tatra pra*jñãpãramitãm tyaktvã dãnãdipãramitãsamgra-
 havastvãdikam sarvam eva kṣetrapariśuddhimahãbhogapa-
 6 rivãrasampatsattvapãripãkanirmãṇãdikasakalãbhyu*daya-
 dharmasamgrãhakam kuśalam upãya ucyate | prajñã tu
 tasyaiva copãyasyã'viparitasvabhãvapãricchedaheṭuḥ | tayã
 6 b, 1 hi samyagupãyam vivicyã'viparyasto yathãvat svaparãr*-

(a) SR., p. 113, l. 2.

(b) Cf. Bobhu., p. 212, l. 20.

(c) Bobhu., p. 222, l. 6.

(d) Ta. n. 474, p. 526, c; T. mDo, p'a, p. 313, a, ll. 3-4.

(e) Ta. n. 464, p. 482, c; T. mDo, ca, p. 468, a, ll. 1-3.

1) T. adds: nirdeśa.

2) Ms. bobodhi°

3) Ms. sarvãrtham, T. sems can kyi don.

thānuṣṭhānād viṣam iva mantrapariḡhītaṃ¹⁾ bhuñjāno²⁾
na samkliśyate [Tib. 26 a] | tathā cōktaṃ atraiva sūtre |
“upāyaḥ saṃgrahaññānaṃ | prajñā paricchedajñānaṃ” iti^(a)
| āryaśraddhābalādhāne cōktaṃ | “ upāyakau*śalam kata- 6 b, 2
mam | yat saṃgrahaḥ sarvadharmāṇām | prajñā katamā |
yat sarvadharmāṇām asaṃbhedanakauśalam ”^(b) iti | etau
prajñopāyau dvāv api sarvakālam eva sevāniyau bhūmi-
praviṣṭair api na * tu prajñāmātraṃ nopāyamātraṃ³⁾ yataḥ 3
sarvāsv eva daśasu bhūmiṣu bodhisattvasya pāramitāsa-
mudācāraḥ paṭhito daśabhūmikādaḥ | “ na ca pariśeṣāsu
na samudācarati ” iti^(c) vaca*nāt | aṣṭamyām ca bhūmau 4
bodhisattvasya śāntavihāriṇo buddhair vyutthānaṃ tad
virudhyeta⁴⁾ | tac ca tatas tatra pāṭhād avagantavyam |
[Tib. 27 a]

§ 7. *No contradiction can be discovered in the scriptures.*

yac cāryavimalakīrtinirdeśe gayāśīrṣe cōktaṃ * tad api 5
pūrvoktaṃ⁵⁾ virudhyeta eva sāmānyenaiva tatrābhidhā-
nāt | yat sarvadharmasaṃgrahavaipulye cōktaṃ tad api
virudhyeta eva | tatroktaṃ | “ sūkṣmaṃ hi, mañjuśīḥ,
saddharmapra^ti*kṣepakarmāvaraṇam | yo hi kaścin, mañ- 6

(a) Ta. *Ibid.* T. *Ibid.*, p. 468, a, ll. 3–4.

(b) Ta. n. 305, p. 944, a, (ll. 2–3) and (second sentence) 943, c, last line; T. mDo, ma, p. 50, b, l. 7, and (the second sentence) 50, b, l. 4.

(c) Dbhū, p. 20, l. 9 samudāgacchati instead of samudācarati.

1) T. sñags kyis btab pai dug za ba dañ ḡdra ste.

2) Reading doubtful.

3) *Deest* in T.

4) Here in T. a long quotation from Dbh. p. 65 l. 5–66, l. 20 follows T. p. 26, a, l. 4, p. 27, a, l. 1.

5) Ms. pūrvakoktaṃ.

juśrīs, tathāgatabhāṣite dharma ekasmin śobhana¹⁾ sam-
 jñām utpādayati | ekasminn aśobhanasamjñām utpādayati
 7 a, 1 | sa saddharmaṃ pratikṣipati | tena * saddharmaṃ pratikṣi-
 patā tathāgato 'bhyākhyāto bhavati''^(a) iti vistaram uktvā
 āha | "yo 'yaṃ, maitreya, ṣaṭpāramitāsamudāgamo bo-
 2 dhisattvānām bodhāya taṃ te mohapuruṣā evaṃ vakṣya*n-
 ti | 'prajñāpāramitāyām eva bodhisattvena śikṣitavyaṃ
 kiṃ śeśābhiḥ²⁾ pāramitābhir' iti | te 'nyām upāyapārami-
 3 tām³⁾ dūṣayitavyāṃ manyante | tat kiṃ manyase, 'jita,*
 duṣprajñāḥ sa kāśirājo 'bhūt yena kapotārthaṃ śyenāya
 svamāmsāni dattāni | maitreya āha | no hidaṃ, bha-
 gavan | bhagavān āha | yāni mayā, maitreya, bodhisattva-
 4 caryā*m caratā ṣaṭpāramitāsamuyuktāni kuśalamūlāny upa-
 citāni | apakṛtaṃ nu tair kuśalamūlair | maitreya āha |
 no hidaṃ, bhagavan | bhagavān āha | tvam, tāvad, ajita,
 5 dāna*pāramitāyām ṣaṣṭiṃ kalpān samudāgataḥ⁴⁾ | yāvat
 prajñāpāramitāyām ṣaṣṭiṃ kalpān samudāgataḥ | tat te
 mohapuruṣā evaṃ vakṣyanti | ekanayenaiva bodhir ya-
 7 b, 1 duta śūnyatāna*yena''^(b) iti^(b) vistarāḥ | vairocanābhisambo-
dhau coktam | tad etat sarvajñajñānaṃ karuṇāmūlaṃ bo-
dhicittahetukam upāyaparyavasānam''^(c) | [Tib. 27 b]
 2 tasmād ubhayaṃ sarvakālam eva bodhisattvena * sevānī-
 yam |

(a) Śs. p. 95, l. 10.

(b) Śs. p. 97, l. 6. This passage in Ta. 1664 p. 565, a is attributed wrongly to the Ga y ā ś ī r ṣ a V. DEVIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 335, n. 3.

(c) Ta. n. 888, p. 1, b, c. Cf. TAJIMA, *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-Sūtra*, Paris 1936, pp. 96-99.

1) Ms. śobham asan°

2) Ms. makaiviśeśābhiḥ.

3) Tib. omits: upāya.

4) Ms. samudāgamaḥ.

5) T. *deest.* here, but see n. 4.

§ 8. *Apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*; it can be explained only if there is cooperation of gnosis and means.

evaṃ hi bhagavatām apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇaṃ sidhyati | tathā
 hi dānāder upāyasya rūpakāyakṣetraparivārādimaḥbhō- 7 b, 3
 gatāphalasam̐patparigrahād bhagavatām * na¹⁾ nirvāṇe 'va-
 sthānam | prajñayā ca sakalaviparyāsaprahāṇān na saṃ-
 sāre 'vasthānaṃ viparyāsamūlatvāt saṃsārasya | anayā
 ca prajñopāyasvarūpayā pratipadā samāro* pāpavādāntavi- 4
 varjanena madhyamā pratipad udbhāvitā | prajñayā samā-
 ropāntasya varjanād upāyenāpavādāntasya varjanāt | ata
 evāryadharmasam̐gītāv uktam | “la* kṣaṇānuvyañjanarūpa- 5
 kāyaparinispādanābhirataś ca bhavati na dharmakāyābhisa-
 mayamātrābhirataḥ”^(a) iti | punar uktam | “prajñopāyajanitas
 tathāgatānām parapratyayataḥ sa[m]bhav* o 'nugantavyaḥ” 8 a, 1
 iti²⁾(b) | yat³⁾ punar uktam | “kolopamaṃ dharmaparyāyam
 ājānadbhir dharmā⁴⁾ eva prahātavyāḥ | prāg evādharmāḥ”
 iti^(c) | tad viparītābhiniveśaprahāṇataḥ prahātavyā ity
 abhiprāyād uktam | na * tu prayojanasam̐pādanārtham api 2
 nāśrayaṇīyam | tathā cuktam | “dharmāḥ pragrahītavyo
 nodgrahītavya” iti^(d) | nonmārgena pragrahītavya ity arthaḥ |
 yac cāpi kvacid dānādi sām̐sāri* kaphalatvena varṇitaṃ 3
 tat prajñārahitānām dānādīnām pūrvam uktam tāvanmā-

(a) Ta. n. 761, p. 616, c, ll. 3-4; T. mDo, dsa, p. 28, b, ll. 4-5.

(b) Passage not located.

(c) Vajracch., p. 23, l. p. 14-15.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 23, cfr. p. 44, § 28.

1) T. *deest.*

2) T. de bžin gšegs pa ni šes rab dañ t'abs kyis bskyed pa ste gžan gyi
 drin la aḥjog pa yañ srid par šes bya že'o.

3) Here T. inserts passage of *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*.

4) Ms. ajānādhirmma.

8 a, 4 trakuśalamūlasamtuṣṭānś¹⁾ cādhiḥkṛtyottarakuśalamūle pro-
 tsāhanārtham | anyathā vimalakīrtiyādinirde*śaḥ sarva eva
 virudhyeta | tasmāt tu dvāv api prajñopāyau sevaniyāv
 iti sthitam | tatra prajñāparigrhitā dānādayaḥ pārami-
 5 tāvyapadeśam labhante nānyatheti | ato dānā*dipariśud-
 dhaye samādhānam āsthāya prajñopādānārtham yatnaṃ
 kurvīta |

§ 9. *Prajñā: śrutamayī, cintāmayī, bhā-
 vanāmayī.*

tatra prathamam tāvat śrutamayī prajñotpādaniyā | tayā
 hi tāvad āgamārtham avadhārayati | tataś cintāmayyā
 8 b, 1 prajña*yā nītaneyārtham²⁾ nirvedhayati | tatas tayā ni-
 ścitya bhūtam artham bhāvayen nābhūtam | anyathā hi
 viparīstasyāpi bhāvanād vicikitsāyāś cāvyapagamāt sam-
 2 yagjñānodayo na syāt | tataś ca vyarthaiva³⁾ bhāvanā syāt |
 yathā tīrthikānām | uktaṃ ca bhagavatā samādhirāje |

“nairātmyadharmān yadi pratyavekṣate
 tān pratyavek⁴⁾ṣya yadi bhāvayeta |
 3 sa hetur nirvāṇaphalasya prāp*taye
 yo anyahetu na sa⁵⁾ bhoti śāntaye^(a)” iti |

tasmāc cintāmayyā prajñayā yuktyāgamābhyām pratyavekṣya bhūtam⁶⁾ eva vastusvarūpaṃ bhāvaniyam | va-

(a) SR. I. p. 105, v. 37.

1) Ms. °tustas.

2) Ms. adds: stayā; T. nes pa dañ drañ bai don rnam par aḥbyed par byed do.

3) Ms. °vyam eva.

4) Ms. tānaprā°.

5) Ms. tad.

6) Corrected according to T.

stūnām svarūpaṃ ca para*mārthato 'nutpāda evā- 8 b, 4
gamato ¹⁾ yuktitaś ca niścitam |

§ 10. *The non-origination of all things is ascertained by a) ā g a m a and b) y u k t i .*

a) ā g a m a , *authority*: tatrāgamato | yathoktam ārya-
dharmasamgītau | “ anutpādaḥ satyam asatyam anye
dharmāḥ ” iti ²⁾ (a) | etac ca pa*ramārthānukūlatvād anutpā- 9 a, 1
daḥ satyam ity uktam | paramārthatas tu notpādo nāpy
anutpādaḥ | tasya sarvavyavahārātītatvāt [Tib. 28 b]
punaś cātraiva coktam | “ utpādanirodhābhini*ṣṭaḥ, kula- 2
putra, lokasamniveśaḥ | tasmāt tathāgato mahākāruṇiko
lokasyottrāsapadaparihārārthaṃ vyavahāraśād uktavān
utpadyate nirudhyate ceti na cātra kasyacid dharmasya-
o*tpādaḥ (b) ” iti | āryabuddhasamgītau coktam | “ katamā 3
yoniśaḥ pṛcchā | katamā yoniḥ | āha | anutpādo yoniḥ |
tasya pṛcchā yoniśaḥ pṛcchā ” (c) | punar atraivoktam | “ akā-
ramukhāḥ ³⁾ sa*rvadharmāś cyutyutpattivigatāḥ | abhāvamu- 4
khāḥ sarvadharmāḥ | svabhāvaśūnyatām upādāya ” (d) iti |
āryasatyadvayavibhāge cānutpādasamatayā sarvadharmā-

(a) Summarized from Ta. n. 761, p. 716, a; T. mDo, dsa, p. 48, b, 49, a, but not identical.

(b) Śs. p. 263, l. 5.

(c) Ta. n. 810, p. 761, a (correspondence not literal); T. mDo, tsa, p. 358, b, ll. 6-7, ts'ul de ni gañ | smra pa | mi skye ba ni | ts'ul te | de ḥdra bar ḥdi ḥdra ba ni | ts'ul bzin du ḥdri ba'o.

(d) Ta. n. 810, p. 768, c, l. 6. *Ibid.*, p. 326, a, l. 7 (commenting on: tsa of the formula a r a p a t s a n a etc.).

1) Ms. ammodamevāgamṣu.

2) T. skye ba la sogs pai c'os gzan mi bden no: ms. anutpādasatyam.

3) T. tsai sgo.

9 a, 5 ṇām samatā bha*vati ^(a) | prajñāpāramitāyāṃ cōktaṃ | “rū-
paṃ, subhūte, rūpasvabhāvena śūnyam yāvad vijñānam vij-
ñānasvabhāvena śūnyam iti svalakṣaṇaśūnyatām upādāya”
6 iti” ^(b) | hastikakṣye co*ktam |

“na kaścil labhyate bhāvo yasyotpādasya saṃbhavaḥ |
asaṃbhaveṣu [dharmeṣu] bālaḥ saṃbhavam icchati” | iti ^(c)

pitāputrasamāgame cōktaṃ | “sarva ete dharmāḥ sarve sa-
9 b, 1 mās traikālyasamatayā | atīte ’dhvani * sarvadharmāḥ sva-
bhāvarahitā yāvat pratyutpanne ’dhvani |” iti ^(d) evaṃ tāvad
āgamataḥ pratyavekṣaṇīyam | yuktyā hi sthīrikṛtasyāga-
mārthasyānyair apohitum aśakyatvāt. |

b) y u k t i , *arguing: b, 1 origination is not uncaused:*
2 ato yuktyāpi * pratyavekṣaṇīyam | tatra saṃkṣepato yuktir
ucyate | utpādo bhāvānām ahetuko vā syāt sahetuko vā |
na tāvad ahetukaḥ kā- [Tib. 29 a] dācitkatvadarśanāt |
3 kāraṇānape*kṣā hi viśeṣābhāvād utpādakālavat sadā sar-
vatraiva ca bhāvāḥ kiṃ na bhaveyuḥ | abhāvakālād avi-
śeṣād vā utpādakāle ’pi naiva bhaveyuḥ | evaṃ tāvan na
4 nir*hetuko yuktaḥ |

b, 2 origination is not caused; criticism of God as creator:
nāpi sahetukaḥ | tathā hi yas tāvad īśvarādis tīrthikair nityo
hetuḥ kalpitas tato bhāvā na jāyante krameṇotpādadarśa-
5 nāt | na tv avikalakāra*ṇasya krameṇotpādo yukto nirapek-
ṣatvāt | nāpīśvarādeḥ svayaṃ samarthasya parāpekṣā |
nityatvena parair anupakāryatvāt | anupakāriṇi cāpekṣā-

(a) In the short treatise by Jñānagarbha dedicated to the discussion of the two truths this point is only occasional. bsTan ḡgyur, mDo, sa, Tōhoku Cat., 3881.

(b) I cannot locate this passage.

(c) Ta. n. 813, p. 779, b, n. 814, p. 785, b; T. mDo, ma, p. 163 a l. 5 (translation different).

(d) Ta. n. 320, p. 975, b. T. dKon brtsegs, ṅa, p. 348, b, l. 1.

'yogāt | ata * eveśvarādīnām sarvasāmarthyasūnyatvād 10 a, 1
 vandhyāputrādivan niḥsvabhāvatvam eva | arthakriyāsa-
 marthatvād vastunaḥ | teṣāṃ kvacid api kārye na krameṇa
 sāmartyaṃ yathā vicāritam | * nāpi yaugapadyena | tathā 2
 hi sarvakāryaṃ sakṛd utpādyottarakāle 'pi yady [utpatti]-
 samartha evāsau tadā punar api samarthasvabhāvānu-
 vr̥ttau pūrvavat kāryotpattiprasaṅgaḥ | * ananuvr̥ttau vā 3
 pūrvasvabhāvaparityāgād anityatvaprasaṅgaḥ | tasmān na
 nityaṃ nāma kiṃcid vastu vidyate | ata evoktaṃ bhaga-
 vatā | “ asatsamāropaḥ punar, mahā*mate, ākāśanirodhanir- 4
 vāṇākṛtakabhāvābhiniveśasamāropaḥ ” | iti ^(a) | tasmān na
 nityād eṣāṃ utpādo yuktaḥ |

b, 3 a noneternal cause is also illogical: nāpy anityāt
 tatrātītānāgatayor avastut*vān na tāvat tato janma 5
 yuktam | ahetukatvaprasaṅgāt | nāpi vartamānāt | samā-
 nāsamānakālayos ta¹⁾ta [Tib. 29 b] utpādāyogāt | tathā
 hi na tāvat samānakālaṃ, kāraṇa*svabhāva[va]t kārya- 10 b, 1
 syāpi tatsamānakālabhāvitayā²⁾ niṣpannatvāt | nāpi bhin-
 nakālam | kālāntaravyavadhānenotpāde 'tītāder³⁾ evot-
 pattiprasaṅgāt | avyavavadhānenāpy ut*pāde sarvātmanā 2
 yady avyavadhānaṃ tadaikasminn eva kṣaṇe sarva-
 kṣaṇānām anupraveśāt kalpasya kṣaṇamātratāprasaṅgaḥ
 | yathā paramāṇoḥ sarvātmanā saṃyoge piṇḍasyāṇu*- 3
 mātratāprasaṅgaḥ | athaikadeśena | tadā kṣaṇasya sāvaya-
 vatvaprasaṅgaḥ | svato 'pi notpadyante | nirhetukapakṣe-
 ṇaivāsya pakṣasya saṃgr̥hītatvāt | svātmani ca kāritra-

(a) L a ṅ k, p. 72, l. 3.

1) Ms. vartamānāsamānatasta ut° T. dus mñan pa dañ mi mñam pa
 de las mi skye bai p'yir da ltar gyi las yañ mi skyed.

2) Ms. tasya.

3) Ms. anyatītād. T. ḍas pa la sogs pa las.

10 b, 4 viro*dhāt | nāpy ubhayataḥ | ubhayapakṣa¹⁾ bhāvidoṣadva-
ya²⁾ prasaṅgāt | tasmāt paramārthato 'nutpannā³⁾ evāmi
bhāvāḥ | saṃvṛtyā tūtpādasya⁴⁾ vidyamānatvān, nāga-
5 mādivirodhaḥ | tathā coktaṃ bhagavatā |

“ bhāvā jāyante saṃvṛtyā paramārthe 'svabhāvakāḥ |
niḥsvabhāveṣu bhāveṣu bhrāntiḥ sā saṃvṛtir matā ”⁵⁾ || iti^(a)

iyam ca yuktir bhagavato 'bhipretā⁶⁾ śālistambādau |
11 a, 1 svataḥ para*ta ubhābhyām⁷⁾ ahetoś ca janmaṇiṣedhāt |

§ 11. *Other reasons. Criticism of the notion of matter (and atoms), of immateriality (vijñāna), of external objects as being distinct from mind:*

athavā evaṃ yuktyā vicārayet⁸⁾ | dvividhā bhāvā rūpiṇo
'rūpiṇas ca | tatrāpi tāvad rūpiṇo ghaṭādayas te 'nuśo
2 vibhinnarūpatvān * naikasvabhāvāḥ | aṇūnāṃ pūrvāpa-
rāvasthitānāṃ pūrvādidigbhāgatvena⁹⁾ vibhidyamānānāṃ
asiddhāv apy¹⁰⁾ aṇusaṃcayātmakatve nānekasvabhāvo yu-
3 ktaḥ | [Tib. 30, a] na caikānekasva*bhāvavyatirekeṇāparaḥ

(a) Lañk, p. 319, 429 but vidyanti for jāyante in a, na bhā-
vakā in b; c, d yā bhrāntiḥ tat satyaṃ saṃvṛtir bhavet.

1) Ms. pakṣi.

2) T. dvaya deest.

3) Ms. °nna.

4) Ms. saṃvṛtṭyantu ut°.

5) Ms. mārga. T. ādod pa.

6) Ms. doubtful.

7) Ms.: °partabhyāma

8) Ms. athavā evāyu° but T. rnam pa geig tu ādi ltar rigs pas rnam par
dpyad par bya ste.

9) Ms. °disvabhāgatvena T. p'yogs dañ ldan pa ñid kyis.

10) T. t'a dad pa rnam kyañ rnam par p'ye na mi aṅrub pai p'yir.

kaścīd bhāvasvabhāvo 'stīti niḥsvabhāvā evāmī paramā-
 rthataḥ svapnādyupalabdharūpādivad rūpiṇo bhāvāḥ |
 etac ca bhagavataiva cōktaṃ āṛ*yalāṅkāvatāre | “[go]- 11 a, 4
 viṣāṇaṃ punar, mahāmate, aṇuśo¹⁾”pi vibhidyamānaṃ
 nāvatiṣṭhate | punar apy aṇavo 'pi vibhidyamānā aṇu-
 valakṣaṇena nāvatiṣṭhanta^(a)” iti | ye cārūpi*²⁾ṇas te 'pi 5
 tathaiva vicāryamāṇā niḥsvabhāvā eva | tathā hi bāhyasya
 nīlāder³⁾ artha⁴⁾syābhāvāt sāmartyata⁵⁾ eva vijñānādayo
 'rupiṇaḥ skandhā nīlādirūpeṇa * pratibhāsanta ity abhyu- 11 b, 1
 peyam | uktaṃ ca bhagavatā |

“bahirdhā nāsti vai rūpaṃ svacittaṃ dṛśyate bahiḥ”^(b) | iti |
 tataś ca nīlādicitrākāranirbhāsatayā * grāhyagrāhakākāra- 2
 nirbhāsatayā naikasvabhāvā amī yuktāḥ | na caikasyā-
 nekarūpatā yuktimatī, ekānekavirodhāt | ekasya kasyacit
 svabhāvasyāsiddhāv anekarūpatāpy ayuktimatī, * ekasa- 3
 mūharūpatvād anekasya | athavā tatrālikā evāmī rūpā-
 daya ākārāḥ pratibhāsanta ity abhyupagamyate | tadā
 vijñānam apy alīkaṃ prāpnoti | vijñānasya ta*tsvarūpā- 4
 vyatirekāt | na hi svayaṃ⁶⁾ prakāśamānarūpatāvyatireke-
 ṇānyad vijñānasya rūpaṃ asti | svayaṃ ca na nirbhā-
 sante rūpādayaḥ | teṣāṃ ca vijñānasvarūpāpannānām
 alī*katve sarvam eva vijñānam alīkaṃ abhyupetaṃ syāt | 5
 tasmān “māyopamaṃ ca vijñānam” ity uktaṃ bhagavatā

(a) L a ṅ k , p. 53, l. 16.

(b) L a ṅ k , p. 326, v. 489

1) Ms. anuṇā.

2) Ms. °rūrū°.

3) Ms. nīlarede.

4) Ms. doubtful.

5) Ms. samartyatu.

6) Ms. nahisampra°.

12 a, 1 tasmād ekānekasvabhāvaśūnyatvena paramārthato 'likā
evā*mī sarvabhāvā iti niścitam etat | ayam cārtha ukto
bhagavatā lañkāvatāre | [Tib. 30 b]

“ yathaiva darpaṇe rūpam ekatvānyatvavarjitam
2 drśyate na ca tatrāsti tathā bhāveṣu bhāvatā ” || iti ^(a) *
ekatvānyatvavarjitam iti | ekatvānyatvarahitam ity ar-
thaḥ | punaś coktam |

3 “ buddhyā vivicyamānānaṃ svabhāvo nāvadhāryate |
ato nirabhilāpyās te niḥsvabhāv*ās ca darśitāḥ ” | ^(b) ||

§ 12. *Bhāvanāmayī prajñā.*

tad evaṃ cintāmayyā prajñayā niścitya bhūtam arthaṃ
tasya pratyakṣīkaraṇāya bhāvanāmayiṃ prajñāṃ utpāda-
4 yet | bahuś²⁾rutādīmātrakeṇa nārthaḥ * pratyakṣo bhava-
tīti^(c) niveditam āryaratnameghādiṣu | anubhavaś ca prati-
pattṛṇām | na cāpi sphuṭatarajñānālokodayam antareṇa
5 samyag āvaraṇatamo 'pahīya*te | bhāvanābahulīkāra[ta]ś
cābhūte 'py arthe sphuṭatarajñānam utpadyate | yathā
'subhā³⁾dipṛthvīkr̥tsnādisamāpannānām⁴⁾ | kiṃ punar bhū-
12 b, 1 te | tathā ca bhāvanāyāḥ parisphuṭajñānaphala*tvena sā-
phalyam uktam āryasamādhirāje |

“ ārocayāmi pratedayāmi vo
yathā bahulam vitarkayen naraḥ |

(a) Cf. *Lañk*, p. 55, l. 17, and p. 327, v. 49 b.

(b) *Lañk*, p. 116, l. 9. Cf. 1 a, 650 p. 225 c.

(c) *Ta. n.* 658, p. 225, c; *Ta. n.* 659, p. 29, a; *T. mDo*, ts'a, 108, b.

2) Ms. bahisru°.

3) T. ādi deest.

4) T. adds: śes pa byuñ ba lta bu yin na.

tathā tathā bhavati hi nimnacittas
tehi vitarkehi tanniśritehi* ” || (a) 1)

12 b. 2

iti vistarahaḥ | tasmāt tattvaṃ sākṣātkartukāmo bhāvanāyāṃ
pravartate |

§ 13. *Samatha*:

tatra prathamataraṃ tāvad yoginā śamatho niṣpādaniyaś
cittasthirīkaraṇāya | salilava*c cañcalatvāc cittasya, na śa- 3
matham ādhāram antareṇa sthitir²⁾ asti | na cāsamāhitena
cetasā yathābhūtaṃ śakyate jñātum | uktaṃ hi bhagavatā
“samāhitacitto yathā*bhūtaṃ prajānāti” | iti [Tib. 31 a] 4
śamatho lābhādikāmatānirapekṣasya samyakpravṛttau
sthitasya duḥkhādyadhivāsanaśi³⁾lasyārabdhavīryasya śi-
ghrataraṃ saṃpadyate | ata evā*ryasamdhinirmocanādu 5
dānādaya uttarottaratvena varṇitāḥ | tad evam śīlādi-
śamathasambhāreṣu sthito mano'nukūlade[śe]⁴⁾sarvabud-
dhabodhisattveṣu praṇāmādi⁵⁾k*am kṛtvā pāpadeśanāṃ 13 a. 1
puṇyānumodanāṃ vidhāya sakalajagadabhyuddharaṇā-
śayo mahākaruṇāṃ evābhimukhikṛtya kāyam ṛjuṃ pra-
ṇidhāya sukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ paryāṅkam ābhujya sa*mā- 2
dhim abhiniṣpādayet | tatra prathamam tāvad yad⁶⁾ va-
stu vicārayitavyam yāvatā prakāreṇa saṃkṣepataḥ saka-
lavastusaṃgraho bhavati tatra cittaṃ badhniyāt | saṃ-

(a) SR. I, p. 50, v. 16.

1) Ms. doubtful: T. de la gnas pai rnam par rtogs des.

2) Ms. inserts here asthītir.

3) Ex cj.; ms. ādyavikāśanīlasya. T. la sogs pa dan du len pai nan ts'ul
can du gyur la.

4) T. sa p'yogs su.

5) Ms. pramāṇādikam.

6) Ms. yatatava°.

- 13 a, 3 kṣi*ptaṃ punar vastu rūpyarūpibhedena dvidhā bhavati |
 etac cādikarmikasya vikṣepa¹⁾doṣaparihārārthaṃ saṃkṣi-
 ptaṃ tāvad yuktam ālambayitum | yadā tu jitamana-
 4 skāro bhavati * tadā skandhadhātvādibhedena viśodhya
 vistāraśo 'py²⁾ ālambata eva | tathā saṃdhninirmocanādu
 yogināṃ aṣṭādaśaprakāraśūnyatālambanādibhedena [nānā]-
 5 pra*kāram ālambanam uktam | atraiva bhagavatā sattvā-
 nugrahād rūpyārūpyādibhedena saṃkṣepamadhyavistāir
 vastubhedo 'bhidharmādu nirdiṣṭaḥ | tac ca³⁾vastv adhyā-
 13 b, 1 ropāpavāda*parihārāya skandhadhātvādisaṃgrahato gaṇa-
 yet | tato niścitya sarvavastusaṃgrahaṃ tatraiva punaś
 cittaṃ [Tib. 31 b] prabandhena prerayet | yadā tv antarā
 2 rāgādinā cittaṃ bahir vikṣipet | tadāva*gamyā vikṣepatām
 aśubhādibhāvanayā vikṣepam upaśāmyā punas tatrai-
 vopary upari cittaṃ prerayet | aśubhādibhāvanākramas
 3 tu granthavīstarabhayān na likhitaḥ | ya*dā tu cittaṃ⁴⁾
 tatrānabhirataṃ paśyēt | tadā⁵⁾ samādher guṇadarśanato
 'bhiratiṃ tatra bhāvayēt | vikṣepadoṣadarśanād aratiṃ
 4 praśamayēt | atha yadā styānamiddhābhi*bhavād⁶⁾ ālam-
 banagrahaṇāprakaṣayā līnaṃ cittaṃ bhavati | tadā lokasa-
 mjñābhāvanayā prāmodyavastubuddhādiguṇamanasikārāl
 5 layam upaśāmyā⁷⁾ punas tad evālamba*naṃ dṛḍhataraṃ
 grhṇīyāt | atha yadā pūrvahasitaramitādyanusmarato
 'ntarā cittaṃ uddhataṃ paśyēt | tadā 'nityatādisaṃve-
 14 a, 1 gamanasikārād auddhatyaṃ praśamayēt | tataḥ* punas ta-

1) Ms., vyāksepa°.

2) Ms. vistarasopy. T. rgyas par yañ dmigs par byed k'o na ste: AK. Chap. VI, p. 151.

3) Ms. tavaccastu.

4) T. deest.

5) Ms. yadā. T. dei ts'e.

6) Ms. °vad.

7) Ms. kārādvalayasupa°.

traivālabane cittasyānabhisamṣkāravāhitāyāṃ yatnaṃ
 kurvīta | atha yadā layauddhatyābhyāṃ viviktatayā sa-
 mapravṛttaṃ svarasavāhi cittaṃ paśyetaḥ | tadābhogaśīthi- 14 a, 2
 likaraṇād up*ekṣate | yadā ¹⁾ tu samapravṛtte saty ābhogaḥ
 kriyate tadā cittaṃ vikṣipet | yadā tu tatrālabane 'na-
 bhisamṣkāravāhi yāvadicchaṃ cittaṃ pravṛttaṃ bhavati
 ta*dā śamatho niṣpanno veditavyaḥ | etac ca sarvaśamathā- 3
 nāṃ sāmānyalakṣaṇam | cittai²⁾kāgratāmātrasvabhāvatvāt
 śamathasya | ālabanaṃ tu tasyāniyatam* eva | ayaṃ ca 4
 śamathamārgo bhagavatā āryaprajñāpāramitādau ³⁾ nir-
 diṣṭaḥ |

§ 14. Six defects and eight counteragents

yad āha | “ tatra cittaṃ sthāpayati | samsthāpayati | ava-
 sthāpayati | upasthāpay*ati || damayati | śamayati | vyupa- 5
 śamayati | ekotīkaroti | samādadhāti ” i[ti nava]-^(a)[Tib. 32 a]
 padaiḥ | tatra sthāpayati, ālabanena badhnāti | samsthāpa-
 *yati, tatraivālabane prabandhena pravartayati | avasthā- 6
 payati, vikṣepam avagamyā tat pariharati ⁴⁾ upasthāpayati,
 vikṣepam parihr̥tya upary upari punas ⁵⁾ tatraivālabane
 sthāpa*yati | damayati, ratim utpādayati | śamayati ara- 14 b, 1
 tiṃ vyupaśamayati vikṣepadoṣadarśanā[t] | vyupaśama-
 yati, styānamiddhādīn vya⁶⁾tthitān vyupaśamayati | eko-
 tīkaro*ti, ālabane 'nabhisamṣkāravāhitāyāṃ yatnaṃ 2

(a) Bobhū, p. 109, l. 17. Cf. MS.A, XIV, śl. 14.

1) T. gal te, yadi.

2) Ms. citte.

3) Ms. tāyāyādau.

4) Ms. pari . . . punas praharati.

5) Ms. doubtful.

6) Ms. °dīnavyut°.

karoti | samādadhāti, samaprāptam cittam upekṣate saman-
vāharatīty arthaḥ | eṣa caiṣām padānām arthaḥ pūrvācār-
14 b, 3 y[air] * maitreya^{1) (a)} ca vyākhyātaḥ | samkṣepena sarva-
syaiva samādheḥ²⁾ ṣaḍ doṣā bhavanti | kausīdyam ālamba-
4 nasampramoṣo layauddhatyam anābhoga³⁾ābhoga*teti^{4) (b)}
tesām pratipakṣeṇāṣṭau prahāṇasamskārā bhāvanīyāḥ | tad
yathā śraddhā chando vyāyāmaḥ praśrabdhiḥ smṛtiḥ sam-
5 prajanyam cetanā upekṣā⁵⁾ ceti | tatrādyās * catvāraḥ kau-
sīdyasya pratipakṣāḥ | tathā hi samādher guṇeṣv abhisam-
pratyayalakṣaṇayā śraddhayā⁶⁾ tatra yogino 'bhilāṣa utpa-
6 dyate | tato 'bhilā*ṣād vīryam ārabhet tadvīryabalena
kāyacittakarmanyatām āsādayati | tataḥ praśrabdhakāya-
15 a, 1 cetasaḥ kausīdyam āvartate | ataḥ śraddhādayaḥ kausī*-
dyaprahāṇāya bhāvanīyāḥ | smṛtir ālambanasampramo-
ṣasya pratipakṣaḥ | samprajanyam layauddhatyayoḥ pra-
tipakṣaḥ | tena layauddhatyayoḥ samyagupalakṣaṇāt | la-
2 yauddhatyapra*śamanakāle tv anābhogadoṣaḥ | tat prati-
pakṣeṇa ca cetanā bhāvanīyā | layauddhatyaprasāme sati
yadā cittam praśa[ma]vāhi tadābhogadoṣaḥ [Tib. 32 b] | tat
3 pra*tipakṣas tadānīm upekṣā bhāvanīyā | ebhir aṣṭabhiḥ
prahāṇasamskāraiḥ samanvāgataḥ samādhiḥ paramakarma-
4 ṇyo bhavati | ṛddhyādīn guṇān niṣpāda*yati | ata evoktam
sūtre | “ prahāṇasamanvāgataḥ ṛddhipādam⁷⁾ bhāvayati ”
iti |

(a) MSA, XIV, śl. 14.

(b) Cf. Dharmas. 118.

1) T. ṣp'ags pa ajams pa dañ sñon gyi mk'an po rnam kyis bñad do.

2) Ms. °dhih.

3) Ms. °gāt.

4) Reading doubtful; Tib. rtsol ba.

5) Ms. upekṣā-cetanā.

6) Ms. °kṣaṇāya śaddhāyā tatra.

7) Ms. ṛddhyāpadam.

§ 15. *Dhyāna etc.*

eṣā ca cittaikāgratā uttarottarakarmaṇyatāsaṃprayogād
 āla*mbanādiguṇaviśeṣayogāc ca dhyānārūpya[samāpatti] ¹⁾ 15 a, 5
 vimokṣādivyapadeśaṃ labhate | tathā hi yadopekṣāveda-
 nāsaṃprayuktā savitarkasavicārā sā bhavati | tadā*nāgam- 15 b, 1
 yam ucyate | yadā ca kāmātṛṣṇayā ²⁾ viviktā bhavati ³⁾
 prītisukhādhyātmasaṃprasādaiḥ ⁴⁾ saṃprayuktā bhavati |
 tadā prathamam dhyānam ucyate | ata eva prathamam
 dhyānam vitarkamātrara*hitam dhyānāntaram ucyate | 2
 yadā vitarkavicārarahitā prathamadhyānabhūmitṛṣṇayā
 viviktā ca bhavati | prītisukhādhyātmasaṃprasādaiḥ saṃ-
 prayuktā bhavati | tadā dvitīyam dhyān*am ucyate | 3
 yadā tu dvitīyadhyānabhūmitṛṣṇayā viviktā bhavati |
 sukhopekṣāsmṛtisaṃprajanyasaṃprayuktā bhavati | tadā
 tṛtīyam dhyānam ucyate | yadā tṛtīyadhyānabhūmitṛṣ-
 ṇayā ⁵⁾ viviktā bhavati, aduḥkhāsukhā * upekṣāsmṛtyabhi- 4
 saṃprayuktā bhavati, tadā caturtham dhyānam ucyate |
 evam arūpyasaṃpatti⁶⁾vimokṣābhibhvā⁷⁾yatanādiṣv ālam-
 banākārādibhedena yojyam | * tad evam ālambane [Tib. 5
 33 a] cittam sthirīkṛtya prajñayā vivecayet | yato jñānālo-
 kotpādāt saṃmohabījasyātyantaprahāṇam bhavati | anya-
 thā hi tīrthikānām iva samādhi⁸⁾mā*treṇa kleśaprahāṇam 16 a, 1
 na syāt | yathoktam sūtre,

1) Ms. *deest*; T.: sñoms par ajug pa.

2) T. adds sdiḡ pa c'os rnam = pāpadharmaḥ.

3) T. adds: rtog pa dañ dpyod pa.

4) T. adhyātmasaṃprasādaiḥ *deest*.

5) Ms. tṛtīyā.

6) From T.

7) Ms. °bhiḥ svā°.

8) Ms. °māmatrena.

“ kim cāpi bhāv[ay]et samādhim etam |
 na vāpi bhāvayet sā ātmasaṃjñā ||
 punaḥ prakupyati ¹⁾ kilesu tasyā |
 16 a, 2 yathodrakasyeha ²⁾ samā*dhibhāvanā ” | iti |

§ 16. *Method of meditation according to Laṅkāvatāra; vicāra on the dharmas (no object, no subject) etc.:*

tatrāyam āryalaṅkāvatāre saṃkṣepāt prajñābhāvanā-
 kramo nirdiṣṭaḥ |

“ cittamātram samāruhya bāhyam arthaṃ na kalpayet |
 3 tathatālambane * ³⁾ sthitvā cittamātram atikramet ||
 citta[mātram] atikramya nirābhāsam atikramet |
 nirābhāse sthīto yogī mahāyānaṃ sa paśyati ||
 4 anābhogagatiḥ śāntā praṇi*dhānair viśodhitā |
 jñānaṃ nirātmakaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ nirābhāsenā paśyati ” | iti ^(a) |
 tatrāyam arthaḥ ⁴⁾ |
 prathamam ⁵⁾ yogī ye rūpiṇo dharmā bāhyārthatayā pa-
 5 raiḥ parikalpi*tās teṣu tāvad vicārayet | kim ete vijñānād
 anye āhosvid vijñānaṃ evaitat tathā pratibhāsate
 yathā svapnāvasthāyām iti | tatra vijñānād bahiḥ para-
 16 b, 1 māṇuśo * vicārayet | paramāṇuṃś ca bhāgaśaḥ pratyavek-
 śamaṇo yogī tān arthān na samanupaśyati | tasyāsamanu-
 paśyata evaṃ bhavati | cittamātram evaitat sarvaṃ na
 2 punar bāhyo ’rtho vi*dyate | tad evam |

(a) L a ṅ k , p. 298, vv. 256-258.

1) Doubtful.

2) Cf. Lhag spyod Mv. 3516, Udrako Rāmaputraḥ.

3) Ms. tarakṣaṇe.

4) Ms. °avāyaḥ.

5) Ms. praśambhāva.

“cittamātram samāruhya bāhyam artham na kalpayet”
 rūpidharmavikalpān tyajed ity arthaḥ | teṣām upa[labdhi]-
 lakṣaṇaprāptānāṃ vicāra*yed anupalabdheḥ | [Tib. 33 b] 16 b, 3
 evaṃ rūpiṇo*dharmān vibhāvvyārūpiṇo vibhāvayet | tatra
 yac cittamātram tad apy asati grāhye grāhako na yukto
 grāhakasya grāhyāpekṣatvāt ¹⁾ | tato cittam grāhyagrāha-
 kaviviktaṃ advayam eva cittam iti vicārayet, advaya-
 lakṣaṇe tathatāla*mbane sthitvā tad api cittamātram 4
 atikramet | grāhakam ākāram atikramet | dvayanirā-
 bhāsa evā²⁾dvayajñāne tiṣṭhed ity arthaḥ | evaṃ cit-
 tamātram atikramya tad api dvay*anirābhāsaṃ yaj ³⁾ 5
 jñānaṃ tad atikramet | svataḥ parato bhāvānāṃ jan-
 mānupapatteḥ | grāhyagrāhakayoś cālikatve tadavyatire-
 kāt tasyāpi satyatvam ayuktam iti vicārayet * | tatrāpy ad- 17 a, 1
 vayajñāne vastutvābhiniveśaṃ tyajet, advayajñānanirā-
 bhāsa eva jñāne tiṣṭhed ity arthaḥ | evaṃ sati sarvadharmā-
 ni⁴⁾ḥsvabhāvatāpratipattau sthito ⁵⁾ bhavati | tatra
 sthitasya para*matattvapraveśāt, nirvikalpasamādhiprave- 2
 śaḥ | tathā cādvayajñānanirābhāse jñāne yadā sthito yogī
 tadā paramatattve sthitatvāt ⁶⁾, mahāyānaṃ sa paśyati |

§ 17. *Meditation on the absolute:*

etad eva tan * mahāyānaṃ ucyate yat paramatattvadarśa- 3
 nam | etad eva tat paramatattvadarśanaṃ yat sarvadharmā-

1) So from T.; ms. tatra yadi cittamātram tad asati grāhyagrāhakavivik-
 tam: de la sems tsam gañ yin pa de yañ gzuñ pa med na ḁsin par mi ruñ
 ste ḁsin pa ni gzuñ pa la ltos pai p'yir ro | de lta bas sems ni gzuñ pa dañ
 ḁsin pa las dben žiñ gñis sū med pa k'o na yin par ro rnam par dpyad nas.

2) T. *deest.*

3) Ms. *yata.*

4) Ms. *dharmāniḥsva°.*

5) Ms. *prativiviṣṭhito.*

6) T. reads: *darśanamārga sthitatvāt.*

17 a, 4 mān prajñācakṣuṣā nirūpayataḥ samyagjñānāvaloke saty
 adarśanam tathā cōkt*am sūtre | “katamaḥ paramārtha-
 darśanam | sarvadharmāṇām adarśanam ” iti | atredrśam
 evādarśanam abhipretam | na tu nimilitākṣajātyandhānām¹⁾
 5 iva pratyayavaika*lyād amanasikārato vā yad adarśanam |
 tato²⁾ [Tib. 34, a] bhāvābhiniveśā³⁾ diviparyāsavāsanāyā
 aprahīnatvāt⁴⁾ | asaṃjñīsamāpattyādivyutthitasyeva pu-
 nar api bhāvābhiniveśamūlasya⁵⁾ rāgādikleśagaṇasyotpat-
 17 b, 1 ter amukta eva yogī bhavet | bhāvābhiniveśamūlo rā*-
 gādir āryasatyadvaya⁶⁾ nirdeśādau varṇitaḥ | yat punar
 2 uktam avikalpaprav*ēśadhāraṇyām “amanasikārato⁷⁾ rū-
 pādīnimittaḥ varjayati” iti^(a) | tatrāpi prajñayā nirūpayato
 yo ’nu[p]alambhaḥ sa tatrāmanasikāro ’bhipreto na ma-
 3 nasikār*ābhāvamātram | na hy asaṃjñīsamāpattyādir iva
 anādīkāliko rūpādyābhiniveśo manasikārāparivarjanamā-
 4 trāt prahīyate | saṃśayāprahāṇe tu na⁸⁾ pūrvopalabdheṣu
 ca rūpādiṣv abhiniveśāmanasikārāparivarjanam śakyam
 kartum agnyāparivarjane dāhāparivarjanavat | tathāmi
 5 rūpādīmithyā⁹⁾ *vikalpāḥ kaṅṭakādivad utkīlya na hastena
 cetaso ’panetavyāḥ | kiṃ tarhi, saṃśayabījāpagamāt | tac
 ca saṃśayabījam yoginaḥ samādhyāloke sati prajñācak-
 18 a, 1 ṣu*ṣā nirūpayatas teṣāṃ rūpādīnām pūrvopalabdhānām

(a) Ta. n. 654, p. 805, c. T. mDo, da, p. 5, b, l. 2 (rnam par rtog pai mts’an mai rnam pa t’ams cad yid la mi byed pas yoṅs su spoṅ ba na).

1) Ms. °dhānomiva.

2) Ms. teto. T. de lta bas.

3) Ms. deest. T. dños por mñon par žen pa la sogs pa.

4) Ms. °sanāya | aprahī.

5) Ms. lasya twice.

6) Ms. dvāyacarātānir°.

7) T. yid la mi byed pas but mss. avikalpato.

8) Ms. na cāpi prajñānivāsasāyabījaprahāṇam syāt pūrva etc.

9) Ms. deest.

upalabdhilakṣaṇaprāptānām anupalambhād, rajjau sarpa-
 jñānavad apagacchati nānyathā | tathā ¹⁾ samśaya[bijā]-
 pagamād rūpādinimi*ttamanasikāraḥ śakyate varjayituṃ 18 a, 2
 nānyathā | anyathā hy asati samādhyāloke prajñācakṣu-
 śāpy anavaloke yathā andhakū²⁾pāvasthitapurusaśyāva-
 carakaga*taghaṭādiṣv iva yogino rūpādiṣv astitvasa³⁾m- 3
 śayo naiva nivarteta | tadanivṛtṭyā [Tib. 34, b] cāprahīṇa-
 timiradoṣasyeva yo 'yukto 'likarūpādyabhiniveśaḥ pravart- 4
 eta * na kenāpi nivartyeta ⁴⁾ | tasmāt samādhibastena ma-
 naḥ samdhāya sūkṣmataraprajñāśastreṇa tatra cetasi rūpā-
 dimithyāvikalpabijam⁵⁾ uddharet | evaṃ saty utkhātāmūlā* 5
 iva taravo bhūmer nirmūlatayā mithyā⁶⁾vikalpāḥ punaś
 cetasi na virohanti | ata evāvaraṇaprahāṇāya śamathavipaś-
 yanāyuganaddhavāhī mārgo bhagavatā nirdiṣṭaḥ* | tayor 18 b, 1
 avikalpasamyagjñāne hetutvāt | tathā cōktam |

“ śīlaṃ pratiṣṭhāya samādhilābhāḥ |
 samādhilābhāc ca hi prajñābhāvanā |
 prajñayā jñānaṃ bhavati ⁷⁾ viśuddham |
 viśuddhajñānasya hi śī*lasaṃpat ” | iti | 2

tathā hi yadā śamathenālambane cittam sthirikṛtam ⁸⁾
 bhavati | tadā prajñayā vicārayataḥ ⁹⁾ samyagjñānāloka
 utpadya | tetathān¹⁰⁾dhakāram ivālo*ke prakāśayati ¹¹⁾ āva- 3

1) T. dei ts'e, tadā.

2) Ms. yato andhayakārāvasthita.

3) Ms. °tvam samśayo.

4) Ms. nirvayeta.

5) T. adds zug rñu: śalyam

6) Ms. dravika° T. log par rnam rtog; or: durvikatpa.

7) Ms. bhavati.

8) Ms. kṛtamkṛ.

9) Ms. °rayētaḥ.

10) T. dei ts'e = tadā.

11) Ms. padāṣaseti.

raṇam apahīyate | ata evānayoś cakṣurālokayor iva sa-
 myagjñānotpādam praty anyonyānugūṇyenāvasthitatvān
 18 b, 4 nālokāndhakāravat par*asparavirodhaḥ | na hi samādhir
 andhakārasvabhāvaḥ | kiṃ tarhi cittaikāgratālakṣaṇaḥ |
 sa ca samāhito yathābhūtaṃ prajānātīti vacanād ekān-
 5 tena prajñānu*kula eva bhavati na tu viruddhaḥ | ta-
 smāt syāt ¹⁾ samāhitasya prajñayā nirūpayataḥ sarva-
 dharmāṇām anupalambhaḥ | sa eva paramo 'nupalam-
 19 a, 1 bhaḥ | sā ca tādrśī yoginām avasthānala*kṣaṇā gatir
 anābhogā | tataḥ paraṃ draṣṭavyasyābhāvāt | śānteti bhā-
 vābhāvādi²⁾ vikalpalakṣaṇasya prapañcasyopaśamāt [Tib.
 35, a] | tathā hi [yadā] ³⁾ prajñayā nirūpayan na kiṃcid
 2 bhāvasvabhāvam upalabha*te yogī, tadāsyā naiva bhā-
 vavikalpo bhavati | abhāvavikalpo 'pi tasya nāsty eva |
 yadi bhāvaḥ kadācid drṣṭo bhavati, evam sati tanni-
 3 ṣedhenābhāvavikalpaḥ pravartate * | yadā tu kālātraye
 'pi bhāvo yoginā prajñācakṣuṣā nirūpayatā nopalabdhaḥ |
 tadā katham tasya pratiṣedhenābhāvavikalpaṃ kurvīta |
 4 evam anye 'pi vikalpās tadā tasya* na samutpadyanta
 eva bhāvābhāvavikalpābhyām sarvavikalpasya vyāptat-
 vāt | vyāpakābhāve ca vyāpyasyāsaṃbhavāt | ayam asau
 paramanirvikalpo yogaḥ |

§ 18. *Definite elimination of kleśa – and jñeya-
 āvaraṇa :*

5 atra ⁴⁾ sthitasya * yoginaḥ sarvavikalpānām astaṅgamāt
 samyak kleśāvaraṇam jñeyāvaraṇam ca prahīyate | tathā

1) Ms. viruddhas tu syāt.

2) Ms. °bhāvāvika°.

3) T. ṛdi ltaḥ gaṇ gi ts'e.

4) Ms. anusthitasya T. de la gnas pai.

hi kleśāvaraṇasyānutpannāniruddhabhā¹⁾veṣu bhāvādivi-
 paryāso mūlaṃ kāraṇam * āryasatyadvayanirdeśādu var- 19 b, 1
 ṇitaṃ bhagavatā | anena ca yogābhyāsenā sarvabhāvā-
 divikalpānāṃ prahāṇāt sakalabhāvādiviparyāsasyāvidy-
 āsvabhāvasya kleśāvaraṇa*mūlasya prahāṇam | tato mū- 2
 locchedāt kleśāvaraṇam samyak prahīyate | tathā coktaṃ
 satyadvayanirdeśe | “kathaṃ, mañjuśrīḥ, kleśā vinayaṃ
 gacchanti | kathaṃ kleśāḥ * pariññātā bhavanti | mañjuśrīr 3
 āha | paramārthato ’tyantājātānutpannābhāve²⁾ṣu sarva-
 dharmeṣu saṃvṛtyāsadviparyāsaḥ | tasmād asad³⁾vipar-
 yāsāt saṃkalpavikalpaḥ* | tasmāt saṃkalpavikalpād [Tib. 4
 35 b] ayoniśomanasikāraḥ | tasmād ayoniśomanasikārād
 ātmasamāropaḥ | tasmād ātmasamāropād drṣṭiparyutthā-
 nam * | tasmād drṣṭiparyutthā[nāt] kleśāḥ pravartante 5
 yaḥ punar, devaputra, paramārthato ’tyantājātānutpan-
 nābhāvān⁴⁾ sarvadharmān prajānāti, sa paramārthato
 ’viparyastaḥ | yaś ca * paramārthato ’viparyastaḥ so ’vi- 20 a, 1
 kalpaḥ | yaś cāvikalpaḥ sa yoniśaḥ prayuktaḥ | ⁵⁾ yaś ca
 yoniśaḥ prayuktas tasyātmasamāropo na bhavati | ya-
 syātmasamāropo na bhavati * tasya drṣṭiparyutthānam [na] 2
 bhavati | yāvat paramārthato nirvāṇadrṣṭisarvadrṣṭiparyut-
 thānam api na bhavati | tasyaivam anutpādavihāriṇaḥ
 kleśā atyantam vinitā draṣṭavyāḥ | ayam ucya*te kleśavi- 3
 nayāḥ | yadā, devaputra, kleśān nirābhāsenā jñānena pa-
 ramārthato ’tyantaśūnyān atyantābhāvān atyantānit-
 yān⁶⁾ prajānāti tadā, devaputra, kleśā*ḥ pariññātā bha- 4
 vanti | tatra yathāpi nāma, devaputra, ya āśīviṣasya go-

1) Ms. °ddhābhā.

2) Ms. °nabhā°; T. dños po med.

3) From T.

4) Ms. °vāt.

5) T adds: mi rtog which seems useless.

6) Ms. °tyāni: T. better; śin tu mts’an ma med pa, atyantānimittān.

20 a, 5 traṃ prajānāti ¹⁾ | sa tasyāśīviṣasya viṣaṃ śamayati |
 evam eva, devaputra, yaḥ kleśānāṃ gotra*ṃ prajānāti
 tasya klesāḥ praśāmyanti | devaputra āha | kataman, ma-
 n̄juśriḥ, kleśānāṃ gotram | āha | yāvad eṣā ²⁾ paramār-
 thato 'tyantā[jātā]³⁾nutpannābhāveṣu sarvadharmeṣu kal-
 6 panā * idaṃ kleśānāṃ gotram ” iti vistaraḥ | bhāvādivipa-
 ryāsenā ca sakalaviparyāsasya vyāptatvāt | tatprahāṇe sa-
 20 b, 1 kalaviparyāsaprahāṇāt | jñeyāvaraṇam apy anena samyak*
 prahīyate, viparyāsalakṣaṇatvād āvaraṇasya [Tib. 36 a] |
 jñeyāvāraṇe ca prahīṇe ⁴⁾ pratibandhābhāvād ravikiraṇavad
 2 apagatameghādyāvaraṇe nabhasi sarvatrāv*yāhato yogi-
 pratyakṣo jñānālokaḥ pravartate | tathā hi vastusvabhāva-
 prakāśarūpaṃ vijñānam | tac ca samnihitam api vastu prati-
 3 bandhasadbhāvān * na prakāśayati | pratibandhābhāve tu
 saty, acintyaśaktiviśeṣalābhāt kimiti sakalam eva vastu
 yathāvan na prakāśayet | ataḥ samvṛtiparamārtharūpeṇa
 4 sakalasya vastuno ya*thāvat pariññānāt sarvajñatvam avā-
 pyate | ato'yam evāvaraṇaprahāṇe sarvajñatvādhighame
 ca paramo mārگاḥ ⁵⁾ | yas tu śrāvakādīnāṃ mārگاs tena
 5 viparyāsāprahāṇān na samyag * āvaraṇadvayaṃ prahīyate ||
 || tathā cuktam āryalaṅkāvatāre | “ anye tu kāraṇādhinān
 6 sarvadharmān dr̥ṣṭvā nirvāṇe'pi nirvāṇam itibuddha*yo
 bhavanti | * dharmanairātmyādarśanāt nāsti, mahāmate,
 mokṣa eṣāṃ | mahāmate, śrāvakayānikābhisamayagotrasyā-
 21 a, 1 niryāṇe niryāṇabuddhiḥ | atra, * mahā⁶⁾mate, kudr̥ṣṭiviyāvar-
 tanārthaṃ yogaḥ karaṇīyaḥ ” iti^(a) | ata eva cānyena [mārge-

(a) L a ṅ k , p. 63, l. 16.

1) Ms. pathanti T. rab tu šes pa.

2) Ms. eva T. gaṇ yin pa de.

3) From T.: ma skyes pa.

4) Ms. °hīṇa.

5) Ms. paramaḥ pakṣaḥ.

6) Ms. twice.

na] ¹⁾ mokṣābhāvād, ekam eva yānam ²⁾ uktaṃ bhagavatā |
 kevalam avatāraṇābhisam̐dhinā śrāvakādīmā*rgo deśitaḥ | ³⁾ 21 a, 2
 tathā hi skandhamātram evaitat ⁴⁾ | na tv ātmāstīti bhāva-
 yan śrāvakaḥ pudgalanairātmyam ⁵⁾ avatarati | vijñaptimā- 3
 traṃ traidhātukam iti bhāvayan vijñānavādibā*hyārtha-
 nairātmyam avatarati | anena tv asyādvayajñānasya nai-
 rāt ⁶⁾myapraveśāt paramata ⁷⁾ttvapraviṣṭo [Tib. 36 b] bha-
 vati | na tu vijñaptimātratāpraveśa eva tattvapraveśaḥ | * 4
 yathoktaṃ prāk | uktaṃ cāryalokottaraparivarte ⁸⁾ “ punar
 aparam, bho jinaputra, cittamātraṃ traidhātukam avata-
 rati tac ca cittam anantamadyatayāvatarati ” ^(a) iti | anta*- 5
 yor utpādabhaṅgalakṣaṇayoḥ sthītilakṣaṇasya ca madhya-
 syābhāvād anantamadyaṃ cittam | tasmān advayajñāna-
 praveśa eva tattvapraveśaḥ | sā ceyam yoginām avasthā
 kuto * viśodhiteti | āha | “ praṇidhānair viśodhitā ” iti | ma- 6
 hākaruṇayā yat sarvasattvārthakaraṇāya bodhisattvena
 praṇihitaṃ tataḥ praṇidhānabalād uttarottaradānādiku-
 śalā*bhyāsāt sā tathā viśuddhā jātā yena sarvadharmā- 21 b, 1
 niḥsvabhāvatājñāne 'pi sakalasattvāpekṣā na vyāvartate
 yāvat “ saṃsāra [evā]nanuliptāḥ saṃsāradoṣair avatiṣṭhan-
 ta ” iti | * kathaṃ punar anābhogā śāntety atra kāraṇam 2
 āha |

(a) Not identified.

1) Ms. cānena T. lam gžan gyis.

2) Ms. yānem.

3) T. adds: k'yeus k'yeu dbyuñ ba bžin du.

4) T. ādi dag ni p'uñ po la sogs pai c'os tsam du zad de | skandhā-
 didharmamātram evaitat.

5) Mss. °mam.

6) Ms. nirāt°.

7) T. bdag med pa ñid mc'og la žugs pa yin no | paramanairātmyapra-
 viṣṭo bhavati.

8) Ms. °to.

“ jñānaṃ nirātmakam sreṣṭham nirābhāsenā paśyati ” iti |
 yasmād yad advayalakṣaṇam [jñānam] advayavādinām ¹⁾
 21 b, 3 śreṣṭham paramārthenābhimatam tad api nirātmakam *
 niḥsvabhāvam advayanirābhāsenā jñānena paśyati yogi |
 ato 'parasya draṣṭavyasyābhāvād anābhogā | sarvavi-
 kalpābhāvāt śānteti |

§ 19. *Absolute and conventional; paramārtha and samvṛti:*

4 * atredāniṃ ko 'sau yogi vidyate yaḥ paśyatīti cet | ²⁾ na
 paramārthataḥ kaścid ātmādiḥ svatanthro 'sti yogi nāpi ka-
 ścit paśyati | kiṃtu samvṛtyā yathā rūpādiviṣayākārajñā-
 5 notpā*damātreṇa vijñānam [Tib. 37 a] eva loke tathā
 tathā vyavahriyate devadatto yajñadattam jñānena pa-
 śyatīti ³⁾ na tu kaścid ātmādir asti | tathā'trāpi jñānam
 6 evādvayajñānanirābhāsam utpadyamānam tathā vyapa*-
 diśyate nirābhāsenā jñānena paśyatīti | na hi sarvadar-
 māṇam paramārthato niḥsvabhāvatve 'pi samvṛtyā yogi-
 jñānam anyad vā pṛthagjñānam neṣṭam | tathā coktam
 22 a, 1 āryasatya*dvayanirdeśe | “ paramārthato 'tyantābhāvaś ca
 samvṛtyā ca mārgam bhāvayati ” iti | anyathā śrāvaka-
 pratyekabuddhabodhisattvādi⁴⁾ pṛthagjanavyavasthā katham
 2 bhavet | kiṃtu yasya samvṛtyāpi kāraṇam * nāsti sa sam-
 vṛtyāpi notpadyate | yathā śaśaviṣāṇādi | yasya tu ⁵⁾ vi-
 dyate sa paramārthato 'liko 'pi samutpadyata eva | ya-
 thā māyāpratibimbādi ⁶⁾ | na ca māyādeḥ samvṛtyā pra-

1) T. nañ gi šes bya smra ba rnam kyī, antarjñeyavādinām.

2) T. inserts bden te = satyam.

3) But T. lha sbyin nam mc'od sbyin gyi šes pa mt'on'no.

4) T. adds: sañs rgyas.

5) T. adds: rgyu = kāraṇam.

6) T. adds: brag ca, pratiśrut.

tī*tyasamutpāde paramārthato vastutvaprasaṅgaḥ | tasya 22 a. 3
 vicārākṣamatvāt | ataḥ sarvam eva māyopamam jagat |
 tatra yathā kleśakarmamāyāvaśāt sattvānām janmamāyā * 4
 pravartate, tathā yoginām api puṇyajñānasambhāramāyā-
 vaśāt yogijñānamāyā pravartatā eva || tathā cōktam
 āryaprajñāpāramitāyām | “kaścit śrāva*kanirmitaḥ | kaścit 5
 pratyekabuddhanirmitaḥ | kaścit bodhisattvanirmitaḥ |
 kaścit tathāgatanirmitaḥ | kaścit kleśanirmitaḥ | kaścit
 karmanirmitaḥ | anena, subhūte, * paryāyeṇa sarvadhārmā 6
 nirmitotpannaḥ ”^(a) | iti | ayam [Tib. 37 b] tu viśeṣo yoginām
 pṛthagjanebhyaḥ | te hi māyākāravat tām māyām yathā-
 vat pariññānāt satyato nābhinivi*śante | tena te yogina 22 b. 1
 ucyante | ye tām ¹⁾ bālapṛthagjanavat kautūhalaṃ satyat-
 venābhiniviṣṭās te viparītābhiniveśād bālā ucyanta iti sar-
 vam aviruddham | tathā cōktam āryadharmasamgītau ²⁾ * | 2
 “ māyākāro yathā kaścīn nirmitaṃ mokṣaṃ udyataḥ |
 na cāsya nirmite saṅgo jñātapūrvō yato 'sya saḥ ||
 tribhavaṃ nirmitapṛakhyam jñātvā sambodhipāragaḥ ³⁾ |
 saṃnahyate ⁴⁾ jagad*dhetor jñātapūrvam ⁵⁾ jagat tathā ” || 3
 iti ^(b) |

§ 20. *Progress in meditation, yuganaddhamārga :*

evam anena krameṇa tattvaṃ bhāvayet | tatra ca layau-
 ddhatyādīn vyutthitān pūrvavat praśamayet | yadā tu

(a) Nor identified.

(b) Ta. n. 761, p. 627, c. Tib., mDo, dsa, p. 67, b, ll. 3-5.

1) Ms. ye tu tā bālapṛthagjanavat.

2) Ms. twice.

3) Ms. pārayaḥ T. rdsogs pai byañ c'ub mk'as pas šes.

4) Ms. sannaddhanti.

5) Ms. °pūrve T. śna nas šes.

22 b, 4 sarvadharmāṇi*ḥsvabhāvatāmbane ca layauddhatyādi-
 rahitam anabhisamskāreṇa pravṛttam jñānam bhavati, tadā
 śamathavipaśyanāyuganaddhavāhi mārgo niṣpanno bha-
 5 vati | tadā ¹⁾ yā*vat śaknoti tāvad adhimukti²⁾balenādhi-
 mukticyābhūmau sthito bhāvayet | tato yatheccham
 paryāṅkam ābhujya ³⁾ vyutthāya punar evam cintayet |
 6 yadi nāmāmi dharmāḥ paramārthata eva niḥsvabhāvā *
 apy ete samvṛtyā sthitā eva | tathā cōktām āryaratname-
 ghe | “katham bodhisattvo nairātmyakuśalo ⁴⁾ bhavati |
 iha, kulaputra, bodhisattvaḥ samyakprajñayā rūpam pra-
 23 a, 1 tyavekṣate vedanām * samjñām samskārān vijñānam pra-
 tyavekṣate | sa rūpam pratyavekṣamāṇo rūpasyotpādam
 nopalabhate | nirodham nopalabhate | samudayaṃ nopa⁵⁾-
 2 labhate | evam vedanāyāḥ, samjñāyāḥ ⁶⁾ *, samskārāṇām, vi-
 jñānasyotpādam [Tib. 38 a] nopalabhate | nirodham nopala-
 bhate ⁷⁾ | samudayaṃ nopalabhate | ayam ca⁸⁾ paramārthato
 3 'nutpādavihāriṇyā⁹⁾ prajñayā na punar vyāvahāri*keṇa sva-
 bhāvena ^(a) ” iti vistaraḥ | ete ca bālabuddhaya evam niḥ-
 svabhāveṣu bhāveṣu viparītābhiniveśāt samṣāre paribhra-
 4 manto vividhāni duḥkhāni pratyanubhavanti * | mahākaru-
 ṇām evāmukhikṛtya evam anuvicintayet | tathāham kari-
 syāmi yathā sarvajñatvam prāpya eteṣām ¹⁰⁾ dharmatām

(a) Ta. n. 658, p. 216, b, Ta. 659, p. 249, b.; T. mDo, ts'a, p. 40, a, l. 2.

1) Ms. yadā T. dei ts'e.

2) Ms. adhibhaktaba°.

3) Ms. tata icchāsthāyavyutthāya.

4) Ms. mairātma°.

5) T. better inverts samudaya° nirodh.

6) Ms. twice.

7) T. *deest*.

8) So according to T.; Ms. yaś ca.

9) Ms. vicāriṇyā.

10) Ms. eṣātmanām.

avabodhayeyam iti | tataḥ sarvabuddhabo*dhisattvebhyaḥ 23 a. 5
 pūjāstotropahāraṃ kṛtvā, āryabhadracaryāpraṇidhānam
 abhinirharet | tataḥ śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha eva sakaladānādi-
 puṇya [jñāna] saṃbhāropārjane pravartate | tathā co*ktam 6
 āryadharmasamgītau | “ yathābhūtarśino ¹⁾ bodhisattva-
 sya sattveṣu mahākaruṇā pravartate [evaṃ cāsya bhavati] ²⁾
 idaṃ mayā samādhimukhaṃ sarvadharmayathābhūtar-
 śanaṃ ca sarvasattvānāṃ niṣpādayi*tavyam | sa tayā ma- 23 b. 1
 hākaruṇayā saṃcodyamāno 'dhiśīlam adhicitam adhipra-
 jñam ca śikṣātrayaṃ ³⁾ paripūryānuttarāṃ samyaksam-
 bodhim abhisambudhyata' iti ^(a) | ayam eva prajñopāyayu*- 2
 ganaddhavāhī bodhisattvānāṃ mārgo yat paramārthadar-
 śaṇe 'pi saṃvṛtiṃ nocchedayanti | saṃvṛtiṃ cānuccheda-
 yanto mahākaruṇāpūrvāṅgamā aviparyastā eva sattvārtha-
 kriyāsu pravartante ⁴⁾ | tatra * yadi nāma lokottaraprajñā- 3
 vasthāyām upāyasevanā na saṃbhavati | upāyasevanākāle
 tu bodhisattvasya māyākāravat aviparyastatvāl lokot-
 tarajñānāt pra⁵⁾*yogapṛṣṭhabhāvanī yathāvad vastupa- 4
 ramārthatattvābhiniveśanī prajñā saṃbhavaty eveti
 bhavaty eva prajñopāyayuganaddhavāhī mārgaḥ |
 āryākṣayamatirdeśe ca dhyānākṣayatayā ⁶⁾ * prajño- 5
 pāyayuganaddhavāhī mārgo 'nugantavyaḥ ⁴⁾ | uktam
 āryaratnameghe “ kathaṃ bodhisattvo mahāyānakuśalo
 bhavati | iha bodhisattvaḥ sarvāsu śikṣāsu śikṣate śikṣā*- 6
 mārgaṃ ⁷⁾ ca nopalabhate | yac ca śikṣate tad api nopa-

(a) Śs. p. 119, l. ss.

1) Ms. darśano.

2) From T. and Śs.

3) T. *deest*.

4) In T. this passage is placed at the end of § 21 after: *anugantavyā*.

5) Tib. slightly different.

6) Ms. *kṣayatāyā*. T. *bsam gtan mi zad pai skabs nas*.

7) T. adds *tāṃ śikṣāṃ nopalabhate*.

labhate | yaś ca śikṣyate tam api [Tib. 38 b] nopalabh-
ate¹⁾ | na ca taddhetukaṃ tannidānaṃ tatpratya-
yayaṃ uchadadrṣṭau patati ” iti ^(a) |

§ 21. *Pratipatti*:

- 24 a. 1 āryadharmasam*gītau coktam | “ katamā bodhisattvānām
pratipattiḥ | yat kiṃcit²⁾ bodhisattvānām kāyakarma, yat
kiṃcid vākkarma, yat kiṃcin manaḥkarma [tat] sarva-
2 sattvāpekṣakaṃ pravartate mahākaruṇāpūrvān*gamatvāt,
mahākaruṇādhipatyam sarvasattvahitasukhādhyāśaya³⁾sa-
mutthitam ” ^(b) iti | ayam evaṃ ⁴⁾ hitāśayaḥ saṃjñibhava-
ti | sā mayā pratipattiḥ pratipattavyā sarvasattvānām
3 hitā*vahā sukhāvahā | tasya skandheṣu māyāvat praty-
avekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca skandhaparityāgaṃ spr̥hatīti
| dhātuṣv ⁵⁾ āśīviṣavat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca
4 dhātupari*tyāgaṃ spr̥hatīti | āyataneṣu śūnyagrāmavat
pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na cāyatanaparityāgaṃ spr̥ha-
tīti | rūpasya phenapiṇḍavat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir
5 na ca * tathāgatarūpakāyaviṭhapanā[m] jahāti | vedanāyā
budbudavat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca tathāgata-
dhyānasamādhisamāpattisukhaniṣpādanaprayogaṃ nāra-
6 bhate | sa*ṃjñāyām marīcivat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir
na ca tathāgatajñānaniṣpādanasamjñāyām apratipattiḥ |
saṃskārāṇām kadālivat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca

(a) Ta. n. 658, p. 216, c; 659, p. 250, a; T. mDo, ts'a. p. 42, a, l. 6.

(b) Ta. n. 761, p. 639, c; Tib. mDo dsa, p. 114, b, l. 6-115, a, l. 2.

1) T. *deest*.

2) Ms. *yo kacit*.

3) Ms. *ādhyāyamsam*^o.

4) Ms. *aya evam*.

5) Ms. *dhatusthā*; T. *k'uñs rnam* la.

buddhadharmasaṃs*kārā¹⁾ṇām apratipattiḥ | vijñānasya 24 b, 1
 māyāvat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca jñānapūrvamaṅga-
 makāyavānmanaska[rma]niṣpādanā 'pratipattir'' iti vista-
 raḥ | evam [Tib. 39 a] aparyanteṣ*u sūtrānteṣu prajño- 2
 pāyarūpā pratipattir anugantavyā²⁾ |

§ 22. *The stages: (a) adhimukticaryā :*

evam anena krameṇa bodhisattvasya prajñām upāyaṃ ca
 satataṃ satkṛtya dīrghakālābhyāsena bhāvayato dvāda-
 śāva*sthāviśeṣā bhavanti | tā evāvasthā uttarottaraḅuṇa- 3
 pratiṣṭhārthena bhūmayo³⁾ vyavasthāpyante | adhimuk-
 ticaryābhūmer yāvad buddhabhūmir⁴⁾ iti | tatra yāvat pud-
 galadhar*manairātmyatattvaṃ na sākṣātkaroti | kevalaṃ 4
 dṛḍhatarādhimuktir mārādibhir apy abhedyo yadādhi-
 muktibalena tattvaṃ bhāvayati | tadā dṛḍhādhimuk-
 tito 'dhimu*kti⁵⁾caryābhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyām api 5
 bhūmau vartamāno bodhisattvaḥ pṛthagjano 'pi sarvabāla-
 vipattiḥ samatikrānto 'saṃkhyeyasamādhidhāraṇīvimokṣā-
 bhijñādiguṇānvita ārya*ratnameghe paṭhyate | asyā eva ca 6
 mṛdumadhyādhimātrādhimātratarāvasthācatuṣṭayena cat-
 vāri⁶⁾ nirvedhabhāgiyāni vyavasthāpyante | tathā hi yadā
 sarvadarmanairā⁷⁾tmyaṃ bhāva*yata iyatspaṣṭo jñānā- 25 a, 1
 loko [bhavati tadā uṣmagatanāmakaṃ nirvedhabhāgiyaṃ
 bhavati | sa cātra mahāyāna ālokalabdhasamādhir ucyate

1) T. c'os mñon par ḅdu bgyi ba, abhisamskr.

2) Ms. vyāḥ; here in T. are inserted ll. 3-4-5 of fol. 23 b.

3) Ms. twice.

4) Ms. buddhariti.

5) Ms. tito 'dhicāryā.

6) Ms. °sthāsvaśraca°.

7) But T. p'yi rol gyi don rnam par ḅjig pa na, bāhyārthavidhvamsana.

[Tib. 39 b] yadā tu sa eva jñānāloko¹⁾ madhyamaspaṣṭo bhavati, tadā mūrddhanāmakanirvedhabhāgīyaṃ bhavati vṛddhālokaś ca samādhir ucyate | yadā tu spaṣṭataro bā-
 25 a, 2 hyārthānābhāsajñānālo*ko jāyate, tadā vijñaptimātrāvasthānāt kṣāntināmakaṃ nirvedhabhāgīyaṃ bhavati | eka-
 3 deśapraviṣṭaś ca samādhir ucyate grāhyākārānupalambha-
 3 praveśāt | yadā tu grāh*yagrāhakākārarahitam advayaṃ jñānaṃ vibhāvayet, tadāgradharmākhyāṃ nirvedhabhā-
 4 gīyaṃ bhavati ānantaryaś ca sa samādhir ucyate | tadanantaram e[va] tattvapraveśāt | atra * tāvad²⁾ adhimukticyābhūmiḥ |

§ 23. *The ten bhūmis and the Buddhabhūmi:*

itarās tu bhūmayāḥ saṃkṣepata ekādaśāṅga³⁾paripūrito vyavasthāpyante | tatra prathamā bhūmiḥ prathamam pud-
 5 galadharmanairātmya⁴⁾tattvādhiga*māṅgaparipūrito vyavasthāpyate | tathā hi yadāgradharmānantaram prathamataram lokottaram sarvaprapañcarahitam sarvadharmāniḥsvabhāvatāsākṣā⁵⁾tkāri sphuṭataram jñānam utpa-
 6 dyate, tadā⁶⁾ bo*dhisattvaḥ samyaktvanyā⁷⁾māvakrāntito, darśanamārgotpādāt, prathamāṃ bhūmiṃ praviṣṭo bhavati | ata evāsyāṃ bhūmau prathamato 'nadhigatatat-
 25 b, 1 tvādhigamād bodhisattvaḥ * pramudito bhavati | tata eṣā bhūmiḥ pramuditety ucyate | atra ca dvādaśottaram darśanaheyaṃ kleśāśataṃ prahīyate | śeṣās tu bhūmayo bhā-

1) Ms. *deest*; restored from T.

2) T. de bar du.

3) Ms. *ekadeśa*.

4) Ms. *myam*.

5) Ms. *bhāvatākāri*; T. mñon sum du byed pai ye šes.

6) Ms. *yaśca* T. dei ts'e.

7) Ms. *niyāma*.

vanāmārgasvabhāvāḥ | tāsu bhāva*nāheyās traidhātukāḥ 25 b, 2
 ṣoḍaśa kleśāḥ prahīyante | asyāṃ ca bhūmau bodhisattva-
 [sya] [dharmadhātusamudāgamatā]¹⁾prabodhāt svārtha iva
 [Tib. 40 a] parārthe pravartanāt, dānapāramitā 'tiriktatarā²⁾
 bha*vati | sa ca bodhisattvaḥ samadhigatatattvo 'pi vā 3
 yāvan na śaknoti sūkṣmāpattiskhaliteṣu samprajanya-
 vihārī bhavitum³⁾, tāvat prathamā bhūmiḥ | yadā tu
 śaknoti ta*dāsyāṅgasya paripūrīto dvitīyā bhūmir vyava- 4
 sthāpyate | ata evāsyāṃ bhūmau sūkṣmāpattiskhalita-asa-
 mudācārāt, śīlapāramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati * sarvadauḥ- 5
 śīlyamalāpagamād iyaṃ bhūmir vimalety ucyate | sa
 sūkṣmāpattiskhaliteṣu samprajanyavīhārī bhavati | yāvan na
 śaknoti sakalalau⁴⁾kikaṃ samādhiṃ samāp*attum yathāś- 6
 rutam cārtham ādhartum⁵⁾ tāvad dvitīyaiva bhūmiḥ |
 yadā śaknoti, tadā tasyāṅgasya paripūrītas tṛtīyā⁶⁾ bhū-
 mir vyavasthāpyate | asyāṃ ca bhūmau bodhisattvasya
 śrutadhār*anyā⁷⁾ sarvalauki⁸⁾kasamādhyabhinirhārārtham 26 a, 1
 sarvaduḥkhasahanāt, kṣāntipāramitā 'tiriktatarā bha-
 vati | teṣāṃ samādhinām lābhād iyaṃ bhūmir apramāṇam
 lokottaram jñānā*vabhāsam karotīti prabhākarīty ucyate | 2
 sa pratilabdhalaukikasakalāsamādhir api yāvan na śak-
 noti yathāpratilabdhair bodhipakṣair dharmair bahulam
 vihartum sarvasamāpa*ttinām ca cittam⁹⁾ upekṣitum tāvat 3

1) Ms. °ttvaḥ metāprabodhāt. T. c'os kyī dbyiñs su kun tu aḡro ba ūid
 rtogs pas.

2) Ms. atirakta°.

3) Ms. prajanyavīharītacittam.

4) Ms. sampulla.

5) Ms. ādhastum T.

6) Ms. °tīya.

7) Ms. dhāralyā.

8) Ms. lokaika.

9) Ms. °ttitṛṣṭāyāśca T.: c'os dañ sñoms par aḡjug pai sems btañ sñoms su
 byed mi nus.

27 a, 4 tr̥ṭiyā bhūmiḥ || yadā tu śaknoti tadā tasyāṅgasya pari-
 pūritaś caturthī bhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyāṃ bhūmau
 bodhisat*tvasyābhīkṣṇaṃ kāyavānmanojalpasamatikrama-
 nāya bodhipakṣair dharmair viharanāt, vīryapāramitā 'ti-
 riktatarā bhavati | iyāṃ ca sakalakleśendhana[dāha]sa-
 5 mar*thasya bodhipakṣadharmārciṣa udgatatvād arcīmatīty
 ucyate | so 'bhīkṣṇaṃ bodhipakṣadharmavihārī [Tib. 40 b]
 bhavati | yāvan na śaknoti satyāni bhāvayan saṃsārā-
 6 [na]bhimukhaṃ nirvāṇābhi*mukhaṃ ca ceto vyāvar-
 tayitum upāyasamgr̥hītān bodhipakṣān dharmān bhāva-
 yitum tāvat caturthī bhūmiḥ | yadā tu śaknoti tadāsyān-
 26 b, 1 gasya paripūritaḥ pañcamī bhūmir vyavasthā*pyate | ata
 evāsyām¹⁾ iyam upāyasamgr̥hītābodhipakṣabhāvanā suṣṭhu
 duḥkhena jīyate abhyasyatā iti sudurjayety ucyate | asyāṃ
 2 cāryasatyākārabhāvanābahulikārāt*, dhyānapāramitā 'ti-
 riktatarā bhavati | upāyasamgr̥hītābodhipakṣabahulavi-
 hārī ca bhavati | yāvan na śaknoti saṃsāra²⁾pravṛttipra-
 3 tyavekṣaṇān³⁾ nirvitsahayā ci*ttasantatyā⁴⁾ 'nimittavihā-
 raṃ samāpattum⁵⁾ tāvat pañcamī bhūmiḥ | yadā śaknoti
 tadāsyāṅgasya paripūritaḥ ṣaṣṭhī bhūmir vyavasthāpyate |
 4 asyāṃ ca bodhisattvasya * pratīyasamutpādabhāvanāvihā-
 rāt prajñāpāramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati | ata eva prajñā-
 pāramitāyā atiriktataratvāt, sarvabuddhadharmeṣv abhi-
 5 mukho 'syāṃ * bhūmau⁶⁾ vartata iti kṛtvā, abhimukhīty
 ucyate | so 'nimittavihāralābhī bhavati | yāvan na śaknoti
 niśchidram animittavihāraṃ samāpattum⁷⁾ tāvat ṣaṣṭhī

1) T. adds: yoṅs su rdsogs par byed pa.

2) Ms. saṃskāra T. aḥ'or lo.

3) Ms. satyavekṣaṇāt T. so sor rtog pas.

4) T. skyo ba dañ ldan pas sems kyi rgyud kyis; ms. nirvitsahamaha-
 yāsantatyā.

5) Ms. °vihāram samapattam.

6) Ms. °ṣv ābhimukho niṣā bhūmir.

7) Ms. °āpattam.

bhūmiḥ | yadā śa*knoti tadāsyāṅgasya paripūritaḥ saptamī
 bhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyām api¹⁾ bhūmau bodhi- 26 b, 6
 sattvaḥ sarvanimittam nirnimittena pratividhyati²⁾ nimit-
 takṛtavavyavahāraṃ ca na viro*dhayati | ato 'syām upāyapā- 27 a, 1
 ramitā 'ti³⁾riktatarā bhavati | iyaṃ ca bhūmir⁴⁾ anābho-
 gamārgopaśleṣāt suṣṭhu dūraṃgamāt, dūraṃgamā | [sa] ni-
 śchidrānimittavi*hārī bhavati | yāvan na śaknoty anābho- 2
 gavāhinam animittavihāraṃ [Tib. 41 a] samāpattum⁵⁾ tāvat
 saptamī bhūmiḥ | yadā śaknoti tadāsyāṅgasya paripūrito
 'ṣṭamī bhūmir vyava*sthāpyate | asyām ca [bhūmau] anā- 3
 bhogena⁶⁾ kuśalapakṣayogāt praṇidhānapāramitā 'tirikta-
 tarā bhavati | animittābhogāprakampyatvād iyaṃ acalety
 ucya*te | so 'nābhogānimittavihārī ca bhavati | yāvan na 4
 śaknoti paryāyaniruktyādiprabhedaiḥ sarvākārasarvadhar-
 madeśanāyām⁷⁾ vaśībhavitum tāvad aṣṭamī bhūmiḥ | * yadā 5
 śaknoti tadāsyāṅgasya paripūrito navamī bhūmir vyava-
 sthāpyate | asyām ca [bhūmau] bodhisattvasya pra-
 tisamvidviśeṣalābhāt⁸⁾ prajñābala⁹⁾viśeṣayogād balapā*- 6
 ramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati | sarvākāradharmadeśanākauśā-
 lato 'navadyamativiśeṣalābhāt sādhumatī bhūmir ucyate |
 asyām ca pratisamviccatuṣṭa¹⁰⁾*yalābhī bhavati | yāvan na 27 b, 1
 śaknoti buddhakṣetra¹¹⁾parṣannirmāṇādi darśayitum pari-
 pūrṇadharmasambhogaṃ sattvapariṣkāṃ ca kartum tāvan

1) Ms. asyāpi bhūmau.

2) Ms. prativindhati.

3) Ms. pratiriktātāra.

4) Ms. bhūminābhogopāyasmārga⁰; T. lhun gyis grub pai lam.

5) Ms. °āpattim.

6) Ms. cānābhogena.

7) Ms. sarvākārasarvadharmādarśanāyam.

8) Ms. pratisamvit vi⁰.

9) Ms. °balāvi⁰.

10) Ms. asyām casampratisampratisanviccaya.

11) Ms. kṣetre.

27 b, 2 navamī bhūmiḥ | yadā tu śaknoti tadāsyāṅgasya pari*
 pūrito daśamī bhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyāṃ ca nirmā-
 nādinā ¹⁾ sattvaparipācanāya jñānaviśeṣayogād bodhisat-
 3 tvasya jñānapāramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati | * iyaṃ ca dhar-
 madeśānāmeghair ananteṣu lokadhātuṣu dharmā²⁾pravara-
 ṣaṇād dharmameghety ucyate | aparair api ³⁾ skandhapari⁴⁾.
 4 śuddhyādivyavasthāpanair bhūmināṃ vyavasthā*panam
 asti granthavistarabhayān na likhitam | sa⁵⁾ pratilabdha-
 nir⁶⁾māṇādivaśito 'pi yāvan na śaknoti sarvasmin jñeye⁷⁾
 5 sarvākāram asaktam apratihataṃ⁸⁾ jñānam utpā*dayi-
 tuṃ tāvad daśamī bhūmiḥ | yadā śaknoti tadāsyāṅga-
 sya pari[Tib. 41b]pūrito buddhabhūmir vyavasthāpyate |
 etac ca bhūmivyasthāpanam āryasaṃdhinirmocane nir-
 6 diṣṭam | “ asyāś ca * buddhabhūmeḥ ⁹⁾ sarvākārasakalasaṃ-
 patprakarṣaparyantagamanān nāparam utkrṣṭam sthānān-
 28 a, 1 taram asti ” iti^(a) | asyāś ca buddhabhūmer guṇapakṣa*pra-
 bhedo buddhair api na śakyate sarvākāram vaktum | tasyā
 aprameyatvāt || kathaṃ punar asmatsadrṣaiḥ | yathoktam
āryagaṇḍavyūhe

[guṇaikadeśaparyantaṃ nādhigacchet svayambhavaḥ |

2 ni]rikṣ*yamāno 'pi buddhadharmā hy acintiyāḥ ^(b) ||

(a) SN. Chap. IX, p. 236.

(b) GV. p. 29, v. 7.

1) Ms. nirmāṇakarmasattva.

2) Ms. dharmavapra°.

3) Ms. apacairapi.

4) Ms. paraśu°.

5) Ms. samprati.

6) Ms. °labdham.

7) Ms. °smin ajñeye.

8) Ms. apratihatum.

9) Ms. bhūmih.

iti | etāvat tu saṃkṣepeṇa vaktuṃ śakyate [yath]ālabdho
 bhadantakamalaśīlaviśruto bodhisattva* bhāvanākramaḥ 28 a, 3
 samāptaḥ |

ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy
 avadat |
 teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādi mahāśramaṇaḥ ||

B. – TIBETAN TEXT.

§ 1 [22 a] | rgya gar skad du | bhā va na kra ma |
 bod skad du | bsgom pai rim pa | aḡam dpal gḡon nur
 gyur pa la p'yag aḡs'al lo |

t'eg pa c'en poi mdo sde yi |
 ts'ul spyod las ni daṅ po pa ||
 de las brtsams te bsgom pa yi |
 rim pa mdo tsam brjod par bya ||

t'ams cad mk'yen pa ṅid myur du t'ob par aḡdod pas mdor
 na sṅiṅ rje daṅ | byaṅ c'ub kyi sems daṅ | sgrub pa daṅ
 gnas aḡdi gsum la aḡbad par bya'o | | de la saṅs rgyas
 kyi c'os ma lus pai rgyui rtsa ba ni ¹⁾ sṅiṅ rje k'o na
 yin par ṡes par byas la de ṅid la t'og ma k'o nar bsgom
 mo ²⁾ | de skad du aḡp'ags pa c'os yaṅ dag par sdud pa
 las gsuṅs te | de nas bcom ldan aḡdas la aḡp'ags pa spyan
 ras gzigs dbaṅ p'yug gis aḡdi skad ces gsol to | | bcom
 ldan aḡdas byaṅ c'ub sems dpas c'os rab tu maṅ po la bslab
 par mi bgyi'o | | bcom ldan aḡdas byaṅ c'ub sems dpas
 c'os gcig rab tu gzuṅ žiṅ rab tu rtogs par bgyis na saṅs

1) D. *deest.*

2) D. *deest.*

rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad dei lag mt'il du mc'is pa lags
 so | | c'os gcig po gañ že na | ađi lta ste | sñiñ rje
 c'en po'o | | bcom ldan ađas sñiñ rje c'en pos ni sañs
 rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad byañ c'ub sems dpa' rnam s kyi
 lag mt'il du mc'is pa lags so | | bcom ldan ađas dper
 bgyis na ađ'or los sgyur bai rgyal poi ađ'or lo rin po c'e
 gañ du mc'is pa der dpuñ gi ts'ogs t'ams cad mc'i'o | |
 bcom ldan ađas de bžin du byañ c'ub sems dpai sñiñ rje
 c'en po gañ du mc'is pa der sañs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad
 mc'i'o | | bcom ldan ađas dper bgyis na srog gi dbañ
 po mc'is na dbañ po gžan rnam s ađbyuñ bar ađyur ro | |
 bcom ldan ađas de bžin du sñiñ rje c'en po mc'is na byañ
 c'ub sems dpai c'os gžan rnam s kyañ ađbyuñ bar ađyur
 ro že s ađbyuñ ño | | ađ'ags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan
 pa las kyañ gsuñs te | | btsun pa ąa ra dva tii bu gžan
 yañ byañ c'ub sems dpa' rnam s kyi sñiñ rje c'en po ni
 mi ¹⁾ zad do | | de cii p'yir že na | sñon du ađro
 bai p'yir ro | | btsun pa ąa ra dva tii bu ađi lta ste
 dper na dbugs p'yi nañ du rgyu ba ni mii srog gi dbañ
 [22 b] po sñon du ađro ba yin no | | de bžin du byañ
 c'ub sems dpai sñiñ rje c'en po t'eg pa c'en po yañ dag
 par ađrub par bya bai p'yir sñon du ađro ba yin no že s
 bya ba la sogs pa rgyas par bšad do | | ađ'ags pa ga
 ya goi rii mdo las kyañ gsuñs te | | ađam dpal byañ c'ub
 sems dpa' rnam s kyi spyod pai rtsom pa ni ci | gnas
 ni gañ | ađam dpal gyis smras pa | | lhai bu byañ
 c'ub sems dpa' rnam s kyi spyod pai rtsom pa ni sñiñ rje
 c'en po'o | | gnas ni sems can no že s de la sogs pa rgya
 c'er ađbyuñ ño | | de lta r sñiñ rje c'en pos bskyod pas
 byañ c'ub sems dpa' rnam s ²⁾ bdag ñid la mi lta bar gžan

1) D. *deest.*

2) N. *deest.*

la šin tu p'an pa don du gñer bai p'yir ts'ogs bsags pa
 šin tu bya dka' ¹⁾ žiñ yun riñ la dub par aḡyur ba la aḡjug
 go | | aḡ'ags pa dad pai stobs bskyed pa las gsuñs pa
 lta bu ste | | de la sñiñ rje c'en po ni gañ sems can t'ams
 cad yoñs su smin par bya bai p'yir sdug bsñal bskyed
 pa ²⁾ mi len pa ci yañ med do | | des bde ba sḡye ba mi
 aḡor ba ci yañ med do že'o | | de ltar šin tu bya ³⁾ dka'
 ba la žugs nas riñ por ⁴⁾ mi t'ogs par ts'ogs yoñs su rdsogs
 te gdon mi za bar t'ams cad mk'yen pai go aḡ'añ t'ob
 par aḡyur ro | | de bas na sañs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad
 kyi ⁵⁾ rtsa ba ni sñiñ rje c'en po k'o na'o | | sñiñ rje
 c'en pos yoñs su zin pas na sañs rgyas bcom ldan aḡas
 kyis t'ams cad mk'yen poi ye šes go aḡ'añ brñes nas aḡro
 ba ma lus pai don mdsad ciñ bžugs so | | mi gnas
 pai mya ñan las aḡas pa lta bu ⁶⁾ yañ bcom ldan aḡas
 kyi t'ugs rje c'en poi rgyus mya ñan las aḡa' ba la mi
 gnas so | | de yañ sdug bsñal bai sems can la dmigs
 šin yid la bya ba mañ du ⁷⁾ byas pas sḡye bar aḡyur te |
 sems can aḡig rten gsum na spyod pa t'ams cad sdug bsñal
 rnam pa gsum gyis ji ltar mt'un pa bžin du sdug bsñal
 lo žes de ltar sems can t'ams cad la bsgom mo | | de
 la sems can dmyal ba pa de dag ni rgyun mi aḡ'ad ciñ yun
 riñ la ts'a ba la sogs pai sdug bsñal sna ts'ogs kyi c'u bor
 byiñ ño žes bcom ldan aḡas kyis bka' stsal to | | de
 bžin du yi dags rnam kyañ p'al c'er šin tu [23 a] mi bzaḡ
 pai bkres pa dañ skom pai sdug bsñal gyi mes skams pai

1) N. šin tu dka'.

2) D. sḡye ba.

3) N. *deest*.

4) N. riñ po.

5) D. inserts c'os kyi.

6) N. de lta bu. From: mi gnas up to: lta bu yañ not in Sk.

7) N. bya ba mañ du *deest*.

lus šin tu sdug bsñal mañ po myoñ ste | lo brgyar yañ
 la las mc'il mai t'al ba dañ | mi gtsañ ba tsam yañ
 bzar mi rñed do žes bcom ldan ađas kyis bka' stsal to | |
 dud ađro rñams kyañ gcig la gcig za ba dañ ¹⁾ | k'ro
 ba dañ | rnam par aťs'e ba dañ | gsod pa la sogs pas
 sdug bsñal mañ po myoñ ba k'o nar snañ ste | ađi ltar
 k'a cig sna abugs pa dañ | brdeg pa dañ | bciñ ba
 dañ | gdags pa la sogs pa bdag la dbañ med par ²⁾ kun
 gyis bda' ba yin te | mi ađod bžin du k'al c'en polci
 ba bskur bas skyo žiñ ñal lo | | de bžin du dgon pa
 na ať'od pa yañ ñes pa med par k'a cig byed du ts'ol
 žiñ gsod de | rtag tu ađjigs pas yid ať'rugs te p'an ts'un
 ať'or ³⁾ ciñ aťros pa yañ grañs med pai ⁴⁾ sdug bsñal dpag
 tu med pa myoñ ba ⁵⁾ k'o nar snañ ño | | de bžin du
 mi la yañ sems can dmyal bai sdug bsñal la sogs pa yod
 pa k'o na ste | ađi na rkun po la sogs pa gañ dag yan
 lag gtub pa dañ | gsal šin la bskyon pa dañ | dpyañs ⁶⁾
 te btags pa la sogs pas ñon moñs pa de dag ni sems can
 dmyal bai sdug bsñal k'o na yin no | | gañ dag dbul
 žiñ p'oñs pa de dag ni yi dags dañ ađra bar bkres šin
 skom pa la sogs pas sdug bsñal lo | | bran la sogs pa
 gañ dag gžan gyis lus la dbañ byas pa dañ | gañ dag
 mt'us mnan te gnod par byed pa de dag ni dud ađro dañ
 ađra bar brdeg pa dañ | gdags pa la sogs pas sdug bsñal
 lo | | de bžin du btsal bar bya ba dañ | gcig la gcig
 gnod pa byed pa la sogs pa dañ | sdug pa dañ bral ba
 dañ | mi sdug pa dañ p'rad pa la sogs pa de dag la

1) N. za ba | | k'ro.

2) N. med pa.

3) D. ať'od.

4) Grañs med pai *deest* in Sk.

5) N. myoñ ba *deest*.

6) N. spyañs.

sdug bsñal dpag tu med do | | gañ dag k'a cig p'yug
 ciñ skyid pa dañ ądra bar snañ ba de dag kyañ ąbyor pai
 mt'a' ni rgud pa ste | lta ba ñan pa sna ts'ogs gziñ
 bar nub ciñ sems can dmyal ba la sogs pai sdug bsñal
 myoñ bar ągyur bai rgyu las dañ ñon moñs pa bsags pas
 gad ka na ądug pa dañ ądra bar sdug bsñal gyi rgyur
 gyur pa yañ yañ dag par [23 b] sdug bsñal ba k'o na yin
 no | | lha la yañ gañ dag ądod pai k'ams na spyod pa
 de dag ni ądod pai mes yid rab tu ąbar žiñ sems ąk'rugs
 pa dañ ądra bar gša' mar mi ądug la | skad cig kyañ
 sems mñam par ąjog par mi ągyur te | rab tu ži ba¹⁾ bde
 bai nor gyis dbul ba de dag la bde ba ci žig²⁾ yod | rtag
 tu ąc'i ąp'o ba dañ ltuñ ba la sogs pai ąjigs pai mya
 ñan gyis non pa dag ste de dag ji ltar bde | gañ dag
 gzugs dañ gzugs med pa na³⁾ spyod pa de dag kyañ
 skad cig sdug bsñal gyi⁴⁾ sdug bsñal ba las ądas mod kyī |
 'on kyañ de dag ądod pa na spyod pai bag la ñal rnams
 šin tu ma spañs pas yañ sems can dmyal ba la sogs par
 ltuñ bar yod pas⁵⁾ ągyur bai sdug bsñal yod pa ñid
 do | | lha dañ mi ądi dag t'ams cad ni las dañ ñon
 moñs pa la sogs pai rgyus⁶⁾ gžan gyi dbañ du gyur pas
 na ądu byed kyī sdug bsñal gyis sdug bsñal ba ñid do |

§ 2 | de ltar ągro ba t'ams cad sdug bsñal gyi me lcei
 p'reñ bai sa yin par bltas la | ji ltar bdag ñid kyī sdug
 bsñal mi sdug pa ltar gžan dag gi yañ de dañ ądra
 ba sems šin sems can t'ams cad la sñiñ brtse ba k'o na
 bsgom par bya ste | t'og ma k'o nar mdsa' bšes kyī

1) N. rab ži ba.

2) D. cig žig.

3) N. gañ dag gzugs med.

4) N. skad cig sdug bsñal gyi *deest*.

5) D. yod par.

6) N. rgyui.

p'yogs la goñ du smos pai sdug bsñal sna ts'ogs myoñ
 bar lta žiñ bsgom par bya'o | | de nas sems mñam
 pas bye brag med par lta ste | t'og ma med pa¹⁾ can
 gyi aḳ'or ba lan brgyar yañ bdag gi gñen du ma gyur pai
 sems can gañ yañ med do sñam du sems pas p'al pa la
 bsgom par bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e mdsa' bšes kyi p'yogs
 dañ aḳra bar p'al pa²⁾ rnam la yañ sñiñ rje mts'uñs par
 ajug pa dei ts'e dgrai p'yogs la yañ de bžin du sems
 [can] mñam pa ñid la sogs pa yid la byed pas bsgom
 par bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e mdsa' bšes kyi p'yogs dañ
 aḳra bar dgra la yañ mñam par ajug pa dei ts'e³⁾ rim
 gyis p'yogs bcui sems can t'ams cad la yañ bsgom par
 bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e yid du 'oñ bai bu mi bde ba
 bžin du sems can t'ams cad la yañ sdug bsñal gtan nas
 dbyuñ bar aḳod pai [24 a] rnam pai⁴⁾ sñiñ rje rañ gi
 ñañ gis ajug pa bdag ñid kyis mts'uñs par gyur ba⁵⁾ dei
 ts'e de rdsogs pa yin pas sñiñ rje c'en poi miñ t'ob ste |
aḳ'ags pa blo gros mi zad⁶⁾ pas bstan pai mdo las bsñags
pa bžin no | | aḳdi ltar sñiñ rje bsgom pai go rim⁷⁾ aḳdi
ni bcom ldan aḳdas kyis c'os mñon pai mdo la sogs pa
 las bka' stsal to |

§ 3. | de ltar sñiñ rje goms pai stobs kyis sems
 can ma lus pa drañ bar dam bcas na bla na med pa
 yañ dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub tu smon pai rañ
 bžin gyis byañ c'ub kyi sems sgrim mi dgos pa k'o nar
 skye ste | aḳ'ags pa c'os bcu pai mdo las | sems can

1) N. om. pa.

2) N. aḳ'el.

3) N. om. ts'e.

4) N. om. rnam pai.

5) N. mts'uñs par ajug par gyur ba.

6) N. bzad.

7) D. rims.

mgon med pa skyabs med pa | gliñ med pa dag mt'on
 nas bla na med pa yañ dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub tu
 sems bskyed do žes gsuñs pa bžin no | | gžan gyis yañ
 dag par ađsin du bcug pa las kyañ byañ c'ub sems dpa'
 la byañ c'ub kyī sems bskyed mod kyī | 'on kyañ sñiñ
 rje c'en pos non te | byañ c'ub sems dpa' bdag ñid
 kyis byañ c'ub tu sems bskyed pa k'yad c'e bar bcom ldan
 ađas kyis aṇ'ags pa de bžin gšegs pai ye šes kyī p'yag
rgyai tiñ ñe ađsin las bka' stsal to | | byañ c'ub kyī¹⁾
 sems de²⁾ sgrub pa dañ mi ldan yañ aḥ'or bai nañ na
 aḥras bu c'e bar bcom ldan ađas kyis de skad byams pai
rnam par t'ar pa las bka' stsal te | rigs kyī bu ađi lta
 ste dper na rdo rje rin po c'e ni³⁾ c'ag kyañ gser gyi rgyan
 k'yad par du aṇ'ags pa t'ams cad zil gyis gnon to— |
 rdo rje rin po c'ei miñ yañ mi ađor žiñ dbul ba t'ams cad
 kyañ bzlog go | | rigs kyī bu de bžin du t'ams cad
 mk'yen pa ñid du sems bskyed pai rdo rje rin po c'e
 sgrub pa dañ mi ldan pa yañ ñan t'os dañ rañ sañs rgyas
 kyī gser gyi rgyan t'ams cad zil gyis gnon to | | byañ
 c'ub sems dpai miñ yañ mi ađor žiñ aḥ'or bai dbul ba
 yañ zlog par byed do žes abyuñ ño | | gañ⁴⁾ p'a rol
 tu p'yin pa rnam la rnam pa t'ams cad kyī t'ams cad
 du slob mi nus pa des kyañ aḥras bu c'e bai p'yir t'abs
 kyis yoñs su zin par byañ c'ub tu sems bskyed par bya
 [24 b] ste | aṇ'ags pa rgyal po la gdams pai mdo las⁵⁾ |
 ađi ltar rgyal po c'en po k'yod ni bya ba mañ byed pa mañ
 ste | t'ams cad kyī t'ams cad rnam pa⁶⁾ t'ams cad

1) N. kyī *deest.*

2) N. om. de.

3) D. om. ni.

4) N. gañ la.

5) N. aṇ'ags pa rgyal po la gdams pai mdo las *deest.*

6) N. t'ams cad rnam pa *deest.* D. oṛnam pa t'ams cad kyī t'ams cad.

du sbyin pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa la bslab pa nas |
 šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pai bar la slob mi bzod na
 ađi ltar rgyal po c'en po rdsogs pai byañ c'ub la ađun
 pa dañ | dad pa dañ | don du gñer ba dañ | smon
 pa ađi ađro yañ ruñ | ađreñ yañ ruñ | ađug kyañ
 ruñ | ñal yañ ruñ | sad kyañ ruñ | za yañ ruñ |
 ať'un yañ ruñ | rtag tu rgyun mi ađad par dran par
 gyis šig | yid la gyis šig | sgoms šig¹⁾ | sañs rgyas
 dañ byañ c'ub sems dpa' dañ | ñan t'os dañ rañ sañs
 rgyas dañ | so so²⁾ skye bo t'ams cad dañ | bdag gi
 ađas pa dañ | ma 'oñs pa dañ | da ltar byuñ bai dge
 bai rtsa ba t'ams cad bsduś te | rjes su yi rañ bai mc'og
 gis rjes su yi rañ bar gyis šig | rjes su yi rañ nas kyañ
 sañs rgyas dañ | byañ c'ub sems dpa' dañ | rañ sañs
 rgyas dañ | ñan t'os rñams la³⁾ mc'od par bya bai p'yir
 dbul lo | | p'ul nas kyañ sems can t'ams cad dañ t'un
 moñ du gyis šig | de nas sems can t'ams cad t'ams cad
 mk'yen pa ñid kyi bar du t'ob par bya bai p'yir dañ |
 sañs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad yoñs su rdsogs par bya bai
 p'yir ñin gcig bžin du dus gsum du bla na med pa yañ
 dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub tu yoñs su sños⁴⁾ šig |
 rgyal po c'en po k'yod de ltar žugs la rgyal po gyis šig |
 rgyal poi srid kyañ mi ñams so | | byañ c'ub kyi ts'ogs
 kyañ yoñs su rdsogs par ađyur ro⁵⁾ žes de la sogs pa rgyas
 par bšad nas | yañ bka' stsal pa | rgyal po c'en po k'yod
 yañ dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub kyi sems kyi dge bai
 rtsa ba dei rñam par smin pas lan du mar lha dañ mir

1) N. bsgoms.

2) D. so soi.

3) N. la *deest*.

4) D. bsños.

5) From: byañ c'ub up to: ađyur ro not in Sk.

skyes par ¹⁾ gyur to | | lha dañ mir skyes pa t'ams cad
na yañ dbañ por gyur to žes rgyas par bka' stsal pa bžin
no |

§ 4. | sgrub pa sñiñ por byed pai byañ c'ub kyi ²⁾ sems
kyi abras bu gañ yin pa de šin tu rgya c'e bar grub ste
ap'ags pa dpas sbyin gyis žus pa las |

byañ c'ub sems kyi bsod [25 a] nams gañ |
de la gal te gzugs mc'is na ||
nam mk'ai k'ams ni kun gañ ste |
de ni de bas lhag par agyur ||

| žes gsuñs pa lta bu'o | | sdoñ po bkod pa las kyañ
bsnags te | rigs kyi bu byañ c'ub kyi sems ni sañs
rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad kyi sa bon lta bu'o žes rgyas
par bšad de ³⁾ | | byañ c'ub kyi sems de yañ rnam
pa gñis te | smon pai sems dañ | žugs pai sems
te | ap'ags pa sdoñ po bkod pai mdo las gsuñs
pa | rigs kyi bu sems can gyi ajig rten na gañ dag
bla na med pa yañ dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub tu
sems kyis smon pai sems can de dag ni rñed par dka'o |
| sems can gañ dag bla na med pa yañ dag par rdsogs
pai byañ c'ub tu yañ dag par žugs pa de dag ni de bas
kyañ šin tu rñed par dka'o žes abyuñ ño | | de la agra
ba mt'a' dag la p'an pai p'yir sañs rgyas su gyur cig
ces gañ t'og mar don du gñer ba de ni smon pai sems
so | | gañ p'an c'ad sdom pa bzuñ ste ts'ogs rnams
la žugs pa de ni žugs pai sems so | | sdom pa ni p'a
rol po mk'as pa mt'u dañ ldan pa sdom pa la gnas pa las
mnod do | | mt'un pa med na sañs rgyas dañ byañ

1) N. skye par.

2) N. om. kyi.

3) N. bšad pa do.

c'ub sems dpa' rnam s mñon du byas la | aṅ'ags pa aṅam
 dpal rgyal po nam mk'a' žes bya bar gyur pa na byañ
 c'ub tu sems bskyed pa de bžin du bskyed par bya'o |
 | de ltar sems bskyed pai byañ c'ub sems dpa' bdag ma
 dul na gžan mi dul bar šes nas bdag ñid sbyin pa la sogs
 pa sgrub pa la rab tu sbyor ro |

§ 5. | sgrub pa med par byañ c'ub mi t'ob bo |
 | aḍi lta ste aṅ'ags pa ga ya goi ri las gsuñs pa | byañ
 c'ub ni sgrub pa sñiñ por byed pai byañ c'ub sems
 dpa' sems dpa' c'en po rnam s kyi yin te | log par
 sgrub pa sñiñ por byed pa rnam s kyi ni ma yin no
 že'o | | aṅ'ags pa tiñ ñe aḍsin rgyal po las kyañ
 gsuñs te | de lta bas na sgrub pa sñiñ por bya'o žes
 gžon nu k'yod kyi s bslab par bya'o | | de cii
 p'yir že na | gžon nu sgrub pa sñiñ por byed pa la bla
 na med pa yañ dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub rñed dka'
 ba ma yin [25 b] pai p'yir ro že'o | | byañ c'ub sems
 dpai sgrub pa de yañ p'a rol tu p'yin pa dañ | ts'ad
 med pa dañ | bsdu bai dños po la sogs pai bye brag
 yin par aṅ'ags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa dañ | dkon
 mc'og sprin la sogs pai mdo las rgyas par bšad pa yin
 no | | aḍi ltar aṅig rten gyi bzo la sogs pai gnas kyi
 bar dag la yañ byañ c'ub sems dpas ¹⁾ bslab par bya ba
 yin na aṅig rten las aḍas pai bsam gtan la sogs pa lta ci
 smos te | de lta ma yin na sems can gyi don gyi rnam
 pa t'ams cad ji ltar bya | byañ c'ub sems dpai sgrub
 pa de yañ mdor na t'abs dañ šes rab kyi ño bo yin te |
 šes rab aḅa' žig kyañ ma yin te | t'abs aḅa' žig kyañ
 ma yin no | | de yañ aṅ'ags pa dri ma med par grags
 pas bstan pa las kyañ šes rab dañ bral bai t'abs dañ |

1) N. sems dpa'.

t'abs dañ bral bai šes rab ni byañ c'ub sems dpai ač'in
 ba'o žes gsuñs so | | t'abs dañ bcas pai šes rab dañ |
 šes rab dañ bcas pai t'abs ni t'ar pa'o žes bsñags so |
 | aṇ'ags pa ga ya goi ri las kyañ gsuñs te | byañ c'ub sems
 dpa' rñams kyi lam ni mdor bsdu na aḍi gñis te | byañ
 c'ub sems dpa' dag la lam aḍi gñis dañ ldan na myur du
 bla na med pa yañ dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub mñon
 par rdsogs par aṭs'añ rgya'o | | gñis gañ že na | aḍi
 lta ste | t'abs dañ šes rab bo že'o |

§ 6. | de la ¹⁾ šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa ma
 gtogs par sbyin pa la sogs pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa
 dañ | bsdu bai dños po la sogs pa dañ ²⁾ žiñ yoñs
 su dag pa dañ | loñs spyod c'en po dañ | γyog
 aḱ'or mañ po p'un sum ts'ogs pa la sogs pa dañ ³⁾
 sems can yoñs su smin par byed pa dañ | sprul pa la
 sogs pa mñon par mt'o bai c'os sdud par byed pai
 dge ba t'ams cad ni t'abs žes bya'o | | šes rab ni
 t'abs dei ño bo ñid p'yin ci ma log par rtogs pai
 rgyu yin te | des yañ dag par t'abs kyi bye brag p'yed
 nas p'yin ci log med pas bdag dañ gžan gyi ⁴⁾ don ji lta
 ba bžin du bsgrubs pas sñags kyis btab pai dug za ba dañ
 aḍra ste | kun nas ñon moñs [26 a] par mi aḡyur ro |
 | de skad du mdo sde de ñid las bka' stsal te | t'abs
 ni bsdu ba šes pa'o | | šes rab ni yoñs su sbyoñ ba
 šes pa'o že'o | | aṇ'ags pa dad pai stobs bskyed pa las
 kyañ gsuñs te | t'abs la mk'as pa ni c'os t'ams cad yañ
 dag par sdud pa gañ yin pa'o | | šes rab gañ že na |
 gañ c'os t'ams cad ma aḍres pa la mk'as pa'o | | t'abs

1) N. de las.

2) N. dañ *deest.*

3) D. dag.

4) N. γyo.

dañ šes rab ađi gñis ni sar c'ud pa rnams kyis kyañ dus
 t'ams cad du bsten par bya ste | šes rab ađa' žig ni
 ma yin no | | ađi ltar byañ c'ub sems dpai sa bcu po
 t'ams cad la yañ p'a rol tu p'yin pa t'ams cad kun tu
 spyod de | sa bcu pai mdo la sogs pa las ¹⁾ kyañ lhag
 ma rnams kyañ kun tu mi spyod pa ma yin no žes abyun
 no | | sa brgyad pa la byañ c'ub sems dpa' ži bar gnas
 pa la | sañs rgyas bcom ldan ađas rnams kyis bsłañ pa
 dañ yañ ađal te | ađi ltar de las gsuñs pa ni | kye
 rgyal bai sras de ltar ²⁾ byañ c'ub sems dpai sa mi γyo
 ba ađi la gnas pai byañ c'ub sems dpa' sñon gyi smon
 lam gyi stobs bskyed pa dañ | c'os kyis goi rgyun de
 la gnas pa de la sañs rgyas bcom ldan ađas rnams de bžin
 gšegs pai ye šes ñe bar sgrub par mdsad do | | de
 la ađi skad ces kyañ bka' stsal to | | rigs kyis bu legs
 so legs so | | sañs rgyas kyis c'os t'ams cad rjes su rtogs
 par bya ba la ađi ni don dam pai bzod pa yañ yin na |
 'on kyañ gañ ned kyis stobs bcudañ mi ađigs pa la sogs
 pa sañs rgyas kyis c'os p'un sum ts'ogs pa de k'yed la
 med kyis | sañs rgyas kyis c'os p'un sum ts'ogs pa de
 yoñs su btsal bai p'yir brtson ađrus rtsoms šig | bzod
 pai sgo ađi ñid kyañ ma dor šig | rigs kyis bu k'yod
 kyis de ltar ži ba rnam par t'ar pa t'ob kyañ byis pa so
 soi skye bo ma ži ba | rab tu ma ži ba | ñon moñs
 pa sna ts'ogs kun tu ³⁾ abyun bar ađyur ba | rnam par
 rtog pa rnam pa sna ts'ogs kyis γyan spyo ba ađi dag la
 soms šig | yañ rigs kyis bu sñon gyi smon lam dañ |
 sems can gyi don t'ob par bya ba dañ | ye šes kyis
 sgo bsam gyis [26 b] mi k'yab pa dran par gyis šig |

1) N. la sogs las.

2) N. de ltar *deest.*

3) N. tu *deest.*

yañ rigs kyi bu aḍi ni c'os rnam s kyi c'os ñid de | de
 bžin gšegs pa rnam s byuñ yañ ruñ | ma byuñ yañ ruñ |
 c'os kyi dbyiñs aḍi ni gnas pa ñid de | aḍi ltar c'os
 t'ams cad stoñ pa ñid dañ | c'os t'ams cad dmigs su
 med pa'o | | aḍis ni de bžin gšegs pa rnam s ñi ts'e
 rab tu dbye bar bya ba ma yin gyi | ñan t'os dañ
 rañ sañs rgyas t'ams cad kyañ rnam par mi rtog pai c'os
 ñid aḍi t'ob bo | | yañ rigs kyi bu ñed kyi lus ts'ad
 med pa dañ | ye šes ts'ad med pa dañ | sañs rgyas
 kyi žiñ ts'ad med pa dañ | ye šes mñon par sgrub pa
 ts'ad med pa dañ | 'od kyi dkyil aḁ'or ts'ad med pa
 dañ | dbyañs kyi yan lag rnam par dag pa ts'ad med
 pa la ltos te | k'yod kyis kyañ de bžin du mñon par
 sgrub pa skyed cig | rigs kyi bu gañ k'yod kyi c'os
 t'ams cad la rnam par mi rtog pai snañ ba aḍi ni snañ
 ba gcig pur zad do | | rigs kyi bu de bžin gšegs pa
 rnam s la ni c'os snañ ba aḍi aḁra ba mt'a' yas par aḁyur
 te | mdsad pa mt'a' yas šiñ aḁrel ba mt'a' yas par aḁyur
 te | gañ dag grañs dañ | bgrañ ba dañ | ts'ad dañ |
 dpe dañ | zla yañ med pa de dag t'ob par bya bai
 p'yir mñon par sgrub pa skyed cig | rigs kyi bu re žig
 p'yogs bcui žiñ ts'ad med pa dañ | sems can ts'ad med
 pa dañ | c'os rnam par p'ye ba ts'ad med pa la ltos
 te | ji lta ba bžin bgrañ bar gyis šiḁ ces de skad bka'
 stsal to | | kye rgyal bai sras dag de ltar byañ c'ub
 sems dpa' de lta bu la sañs rgyas bcom ldan aḁas de dag
 ye šes mñon par sgrub pai ts'ad med pa de dag la sogs
 pa gañ dag gis byañ c'ub sems dpa' ye šes rnam par
 p'ye ba ts'ad med pa mñon par sgrub pai lam mñon par
 sgrub pa dag ñe bar sgrub par mdsad do | | kye rgyal
 bai sras k'yod mos par bya'o | | k'yod kyis k'on du
 c'ud par bya'o | | gal te sañs rgyas bcom ldan aḁas

de dag gis byañ c'ub sems dpa' de de ltar t'ams cad mk'yen
 pai ye šes mñon par sgrub pai sgo dag la žugs par ma
 mdsad du zin na de ni de ñid du yoñs su mya ñan las
 ađa' bar ađyur te | sems [27 a] can t'ams cad kyi don
 bya ba yañ rgyun c'ad par ađyur ro žes rgya c'er ađyuiñ
 ño |

§ 7. | ađ'ags pa dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa
dañ | ga ya goi ri las gsuñs pa goñ du smos pa yañ
 spyir bšad pa yin pas de dañ yañ ađal lo | | ađ'ags
pa c'os t'ams cad šin tu rgyas par bsdus pa las bka'
 stsal pa de dañ yañ ađal lo | | de ni ađi skad bka' stsal
 te | ađam dpal dam pai c'os spañ bai las kyi sgrub pa
 ni p'ra'o | | ađam dpal gañ la la¹⁾ de bžin gšegs pas gsuñs
 pai bka' la la ni bzañ bar ađu šes | la la ni ñan par
 ađu šes pa de ni dam pai c'os spañ ba'o | | gañ c'os
 spañ ba des c'os spañs pas de bžin gšegs pa la skur ba
 yin no žes rgyas par bka' stsal to | | de las yañ bka'
 stsal pa | ma p'am pa byañ c'ub sems dpa' rñams kyi
 p'a rol tu p'yin pa drug yañ dag par sgrub pa ađi ni
 byañ c'ub kyi p'yir yin na | de la yañ mi blun po de
 dag ađi skad du byañ c'ub sems dpa' šes rab kyi p'a rol
 tu p'yin pa k'o na la bslab par bya'o žes zer žiñ | p'a
 rol tu p'yin pa lhag ma rñams la sun ađyin to | | ma
 p'am pa ađi ji ltar sems | ña ka ši kai rgyal por gyur
 pa gañ yin pa des²⁾ ađi ltar p'ug ron gyi p'yir bdag gi
 ša k'ra la byin pa de šes rab ač'al pa yin nam | byams
 pas gsol pa | bcom ldan ađas de ni ma lags so | | bcom
 ldan ađas kyis bka' stsal pa | byams pa ña byañ c'ub
 sems dpai spyad pa spyod pa na p'a rol tu p'yin pa drug
 dañ ldan pai dge bai rtsa ba dag bsags na dge bai rtsa

1) N. gañ la.

2) N. pa des *deest*.

ba de dag gis gnod par gyur tam | byams pas gsol
 pa | de ni ma lags so | | bcom ldan ađas kyis bka'
 stsal pa | ma p'am pa k'yod kyis bskal pa drug cur
 sbyin pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa yañ dag par bsgrubs |
 bskal pa drug cur ts'ul k'rims kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa
 dañ | bskal pa drug cur šes rab ky¹⁾ p'a rol tu p'yin
 pai bar du yañ dag par bsgrubs na | de la mi blun po
 de dag ađi skad du ts'ul gcig k'o nas byañ c'ub ste | ađi
 lta ste stoñ pa ñid kyi ts'ul gyis so žes zer ro žes rgyas
 par ađyuiñ ño | | de lta bas na gñi ga²⁾ dus t'ams [27 b]
 cad du yañ byañ c'ub sems dpas³⁾ bsten par bya ba
 k'o na yin no |

§ 8. | de ltar na de bžin gšegs pai mi gnas pai
 mya ñan las ađas pa yañ ađrub pa'o | | ađi ltar sbyin
 pa la sogs pai t'abs kyis gzugs kyi sku dañ | žiñ
 dañ | γyog ađ'or la sogs pa loñs spyod c'en poi ađras
 bu p'un sum ts'ogs pa yoñs su ađsin pas bcom ldan ađas
 yoñs su⁴⁾ mya ñan las ađas pa la yañ mi gnas | šes
 rab kyis p'yin ci log yañ dag par spañs pas ađ'or ba la
 yañ mi gnas te | ađ'or bai rtsa ba ni p'yin ci log yin
 pai p'yir ro | | šes rab dañ t'abs kyi rañ bžin gyi
 lam ađis sgro ađogs pa dañ | skur pai mt'a' rnam par
 spañs nas dbu mai lam bstan te | šes rab kyis ni sgro
 ađogs pai mt'a' spon la | t'abs kyis ni skur pai mt'a'
 spon bai p'yir ro | | de bas na ađ'ags pa c'os yañ dag
 par sdud pa las kyañ bka' stsal te | mts'an dañ dpe
 byad pa bzañ⁵⁾ poi gzugs kyi sku yoñs su grub pa la mñon

1) N. šes kyi.

2) N. gñis ka.

3) N. sems dpa'.

4) N. yoñs su *deest.*

5) N. bzañs.

par dga' ba yin gyi | c'os kyi sku mñon par rtogs pa
 tsam la mñon par dga' ba ni ma yin no | | žes so |
 yañ bka' stsal pa | de bžin gšegs pa ni šes rab
 dañ t'abs kyis bskyed pa ste gžan gyi driñ la ajog pa yañ
 srid par šes par bya'o že'o | | rnam par snañ mdsad
mñon par rdsogs par byañ c'ub pa las kyañ | t'ams
cad mk'yen pai ye šes de ni sñiñ rjei rtsa ba las byuñ
 ba yin | byañ c'ub kyi sems kyi rgyu las byuñ ba
 yin | t'abs kyi mt'ar p'yin pa yin no žes gsuñs so |
 gañ c'os gziñs dañ ađra bar šes pa rnam kyis c'os ñid
 kyañ spañ bar bya na | c'os ma yin pa lta ci smos
 žes gsuñs pa de yañ p'yin ci log tu mñon par žen pa spañ
 bai p'yir de la dgoñs te spañ ño žes bka' stsal gyi | dgos
 pa sgrub pai p'yir mi brtan pa yañ ma yin no | | yañ
 ađi skad du gsuñs te | c'os yoñs su gzuñ mod kyi log par
 mi ¹⁾ gzuñ ño žes bya ba ni lam log par gzuñ bar mi
 bya bai don to | | k'a cig las sbyin pa la sogs pa ađ'or
 bai ađras bu brjod pa gañ yin pa de ni šes rab dañ bral
 bai sbyin pa la sogs pa sñar brjod pa ²⁾ dañ | de tsam
 gyi dge [28 a] bai rtsa bas c'og par ađsin pa rnam kyi
 dbañ du mdsad nas | goñ nas goñ du dge bai rtsa ba
 la spro bar bya bai p'yir ro | | de lta ma yin du zin
 na ađ'ags pa dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa la sogs
 pa sñar smos pa t'ams cad dañ yañ ađal ba k'o nar ađyur
 ro | | de lta bas na šes rab dañ t'abs gñis ka bsten
 dgos pa k'o nar gnas so | | de la šes rab kyis yoñs su
 zin pai sbyin pa la sogs pa p'a rol tu p'yin pai miñ t'ob
 ste | gžan du ma yin no | | de bas na sbyin pa la
 sogs pa yoñs su dag par bya bai p'yir mñam par gžag

1) N. adds: gzuñ žes ađyuiñ bai log par mi.

2) D. brjod.

pa la gnas par byas la | šes rab bskyed pa la je aḅad
par bya'o |

§ 9. | de la t'og mar re žig t'os pa las byuñ bai
šes rab bskyed par bya ste | des re žig luñ gi don
kun tu aḅsin par byed do | | de nas bsams pa las byuñ
bai šes rab kyis ñes pa dañ drañ bai don rnam par
aḅyed par byed do | | de nas des bye brag p'yed pai
don la brten nas yañ dag pa k'o nai don bsgom par byai
yañ dag pa ma yin pa de ni ma yin no | | de lta ma yin
du zin na p'yin ci log tu bsgoms šiñ t'e ts'om yañ ma
bsal¹⁾ bas yañ dag pai šes pa yañ aḅyuñ bar mi aḅgyur
te | dei p'yir bsgom pa don med par aḅgyur bas mu
stegs can rnam kyis bsgom pa dañ aḅdra'o | | bcom ldan
aḅas kyis tiñ ñe aḅsin gyi rgyal po las kyañ bka' stsal te |

gal te c'os la bdag med so sor rtog |
so sor de brtags gal te bsgom pa ni ||
de ñid mya ñan aḅas t'ob aḅbras bui rgyu |
rgyu gžan gañ yin de ni ži mi aḅgyur ||

že'o | | de lta bas na bsams pai šes rab kyis rigs pa
dañ luñ gis brtags la yañ dag pa k'o nai dños poi rañ gi
ño bo bsgom par bya'o | | yañ dag pai dños poi rañ
gi ño bo ni don dam par²⁾ skye ba med pa k'o na ste
rigs pa dañ luñ gis gtan la dbab bo |

§ 10. | de la luñ ni aḅ'ags pa c'os yañ dag par sdud pa
las skye ba med pa ni bden no | | skye ba la sogs pai
c'os gžan ni mi bden no žes ji skad du gsuñs pa lta
bu'o | de yañ don dam pa dañ mt'un pai p'yir skye ba
med pa bden no žes gsuñs kyi | don dam par ni skye ba

1) D. btsal.

2) D. par na.

yañ ma yin | mi skye ba yañ ma yin te | de t'a sñad
 t'ams cad [28 b] las ađas pai p'yir ro | | yañ de ñid
 las bka' stsal pa | rigs kyi bu ađig rten la ¹⁾ gnas pa ni
 ađig pa dañ ađyuiñ ba la mñon par žen te | dei p'yir
 de bžin gšegs pa t'ugs rje c'en po dañ ldan pas ađig rten
 gyi skrag pai ²⁾ gnas bsal bai p'yir t'a sñad kyi dbaň gis
 skye'o | ađag go žes gsuňs kyi | ađi la ni c'os gaň
 yañ skye ba med do že'o | ađ'ags pa saňs rgyas kyi
 c'os yañ dag par sdud pa las kyaň bka' stsal te ³⁾ ts'ul
 bžin ⁴⁾ ađri ba ni gaň lags | ts'ul bžin ni gaň lags | bka'
 stsal pa | skye ba med pa ni ts'ul bžin no | | de ađri
 ba ni ts'ul bžin ađri ba'o že'o | | yañ de ñid las bka'
 stsal pa | c'os t'ams cad ni tsai sgo ste | ađ'i ađ'o
 daň skye ba ⁵⁾ daň ađral ba dag go | | c'os t'ams cad
 ni no bo med ⁶⁾ kyi sgo ste | no bo ñid kyis stoň pa ñid
 kyi p'yir ro žes ađyuiñ no | ađ'ags pa bden pa gñis rnam
 par ađyed ⁷⁾ pa las kyaň | skye ba med par mñam pa
 ñid kyis c'os t'ams cad mñam pa ñid do žes brjod do |
 | šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa las kyaň | rab ađyor
 gzugs ni gzugs kyi no bo ñid kyis stoň no | | rnam par
 šes pai bar du rnam par šes pai no bo ñid kyis stoň
 ste | raň gi mts'an ñid kyis stoň pa ñid kyi p'yir ro žes
 bka' stsal to | | glaň poi rtsal las kyaň |

gaň la skye ba srid pa yi |
 dnos po gaň yaň mi dmigs te |

1) N. la *deest*.

2) N. skrag pa.

3) N. ađ'ags pa saňs rgyas ađro ba las kyaň bka' stsal te.

4) N. bžin du.

5) N. daň skye ba *deest*.

6) D. ñid.

7) D. ađyed.

ṅbyuñ ba med pai dños rñams la |
byis pa dag ni ṅbyuñ bar ṅdod ||

ces gsuñs so | | yab dañ sras mjal ba las kyañ | c'os
ṅdi dag t'ams cad ni dus gsum du mñam pa ñid kyis
mñam pa dag ste | ṅdas pai dus na yañ c'os t'ams
cad ño bo ñid med pa na ¹⁾ da ltar byuñ bai dus kyi
bar du ño bo ñid dañ bral ba'o žes bka' stsal te | de
ltar re žig ²⁾ luñ gis brtag par bya'o | | rigs pas brtag
par byas na luñ gi don gud du bkri mi nus te | de bas
na rigs pas so sor brtag par bya'o | | de la rigs pa mdor
brjod par bya ste | dños po rñams kyi skye ba rgyu
med pa las ṅbyuñ ba žig gam | rgyu yod pa las ṅbyuñ
ba žig tu ṅgyur grañ na | res ṅga' ba yin par snañ bai
p'yir rgyu med [29 a] pa las ṅbyuñ ba ma yin te | rgyu
la mi ltos par bye brag med pai p'yir skye bai dus bžin
du rtag tu t'ams cad du ³⁾ dños po rñams cii p'yir mi
ṅbyuñ | dños po med pai dus dañ yañ bye brag med
pas skye bai dus na yañ ṅbyuñ bar ⁴⁾ mi rigs so | | de
ltar re žig rgyu med pa las ṅbyuñ du mi ruñ ño | | rgyu
yod pa las ṅbyuñ ba'n ⁵⁾ ma yin te | | ṅdi ltar mu
stegs can rñams kyis dbañ p'yug la sogs pa rtag pa rgyur
btags pa de las kyañ dños po rñams mi skye ste | rim
gyis ṅbyuñ bar snañ bai p'yir ro | | rgyu ma ts'añ ba
med pai ṅbras bu ni rim gyis ṅbyuñ ba mi rigs te |
ltos ⁶⁾ pa med pai p'yir ro | | dbañ p'yug la sogs pa bdag
ñid la mt'u yod pa ni gžan la ltos ⁶⁾ pa med de | rtag

1) N. med pa nas.

2) N. re žig.

3) D. t'ams cad.

4) N. ṅbyuñ bai.

5) N. 'ñ *deest.*

6) N. bltos.

pa yin pas de la gžan dag gis p'an gdags mi dgos pai
 p'yir ro | | p'an mi adogs pa la ltos par yañ mi ruñ
 ño | | de bas na dbań p'yug la sogs pa nus pa t'ams
 cad kyis stoń pai p'yir mo gšam ¹⁾ gyi bu la sogs pa
 bžin du ño bo ñid med pa k'o na yin no | | dños po
 ni don byed nus pai mts'an ñid yin na de dag ni gań du
 yañ abras bu rim gyis skyed ²⁾ kyań mi nus te | goń du
 brtags pa yin no | | cig car yań mi skye ste | adi
 ltar abras bu t'ams cad cig car ³⁾ bskyed nas | p'yin c'ad
 kyań gal te de k'o na bžin du de ñid bskyed nus na ni
 dei ts'e nus pai rań bžin rjes su ajug pas sña ma bžin
 du abras bu skye bar agyur ro | | rjes su mi ajug na
 ni sña mai ño bo ñid bor bas mi rtag par agyur ro | | de
 bas na rtag pa žes bya bai dños po gań yań med do | | de
 ñid kyi p'yir bcom ldan adas kyis bka' stsal pa | blo
 gros c'en po adi lta ste | nam mk'a' dań | agog pa
 dań | mya ñan las adas pa la sogs pa ma byas pai dños
 por mñon par žen ciń sgro adogs pa ni med pa las sgro
 adogs pa yin no žes so ⁴⁾ | | de ltar re žig de dag ni
 rtag pa las skyer mi ruñ ño | | mi rtag pa las kyań ma
 yin te | de las adas pa dań ma 'ońs pa ni dños po med
 pas de las skyes žes byar mi ruñ ste | rgyu med pa las
 skye bar agyur bai p'yir ro | | dus mñam pa dań mi
 mñam pa de las mi skye [29 b] bai p'yir da ltar gyi [de]
 las kyań mi skye'o | | adi ltar re žig dus mñam pa las
 ma yin pa ni rgyui ño bo ñid dań adra bar abras bu yań
 de dań dus gcig tu abyuń ste | grub pai p'yir ro | | dus
 t'a dad pa las kyań mi skye ste | dus gžan gyis ma c'od

1) N. mi gšam.

2) N. bskyed.

3) N. cig car *deest*.

4) N. ze'o.

de skye na ni ʔadas pa la sogs pa las skye bar ʔgyur bai
 p'yir ro | | bar du ma c'od par skye na gal te bdag
 ñid t'ams cad kyis bar du ma c'od na ni skad cig gcig
 tu skad cig t'ams cad c'ud pas bskal pa yañ skad cig
 tsam du ʔgyur te | dper na rdul p'ra rab rnam bdag
 ñid t'ams cad kyis ʔdres nas goñ bu rdul p'ra mo tsam
 ñid du ʔgyur ba bžin no | | ji ste p'yogs gcig gis p'rad
 na ni dei ts'e skad cig la c'a šas yod par ʔgyur ro
 | bdag ñid kyañ mi skye ste rgyu med pa las byuñ ba
 k'o na'o | | p'yogs kyis nañ du p'yogs ʔdi ʔdus pai
 p'yir te | bdag ñid la byed pa ʔgal bai p'yir ro | |
 gñis ka las kyañ ma yin te | p'yogs gñis kai skyon
 ʔdu bar ʔgyur bai p'yir ro | | de lta bas na don dam
 par dños po ʔdi dag t'ams cad ni ¹⁾ ma skyes pa k'o na
 yin la | kun rdsob tu ni skye ba yod pas luñ la sogs
 pa dañ yañ mi ʔgal lo | | de skad bcom ldan ʔdas kyis
 kyañ bka' stsal te |

dños po skye ba kun rdsob tu |
 dam pai don du rañ bžin med ||
 rañ bžin med la ʔk'rul pa gañ |
 de ni yañ dag kun rdsob ʔdod ||

| ce'o | | rigs pa ʔdi bcom ldan ʔdas kyis kyañ dgoñs
 te | | sā lu ljañ pa la sogs pa las | | bdag dañ gžan
 dañ gñis ka dañ rgyu med pa las skye ba bkag pai p'yir
 ro |

§ 11. | rnam pa gcig tu na ʔdi ltar rigs pas rnam
 par dpyad par bya ste | dños po rnam ni rnam pa gñis
 te | gzugs can dañ | gzugs can ma yin pa'o | | de
 la re žig gzugs can bum pa la sogs pa de dag ni rdul

1) N. ni *deest.*

p'ra mo t'a dad pai no bo ñid¹⁾ yin pas na rañ bžin gcig
 pa ma yin no | | rdul p'ra mo šar nub na gnas pa
 rnams kyañ šar la sogs pai p'yogs dañ ldan pa ñid kyis
 t'a dad pa rnams kyañ rnam par p'ye na²⁾ mi a grub pai
 p'yir rdul p'ra mo³⁾ bsags pai bdag ñid yin pas na⁴⁾ |
 du mai rañ bžin [30 a] yañ ma yin no | | gcig dañ
 du mai no bo ñid las ma gtogs pa dños poi no bo ñid
 gžan med pas dños po gzugs can a di dag ni rmi lam
 la sogs par dmigs pai gzugs la sogs pa bžin du don
 dam par no bo ñid med pa k'o na'o | | de yañ ap'ags
 pa lañ kar gšegs pa las bcom ldan a das kyis bka' stsal
 pa | blo gros c'en po glañ gi rva yañ rdul p'ra mor bšig
 na mi a dug go | | rdul p'ra mo rnams kyañ so sor
 bšig na rdul p'ra moi mts'an ñid las mi gnas so žes so⁵⁾ |
 | gañ dag gzugs med pa de dag kyañ de bžin du brtags
 na no bo ñid med pa k'o na ste | a di ltar p'yi rol gyi
 sñon po la sogs pai don med pai stobs kyis rnam par
 šes pa la sogs p'un po gzugs can ma yin pa de dag ñid
 sñon po la sogs pai no bor k'as blañ dgos so | | bcom
 ldan a das kyis kyañ |

p'yi rol gzugs ni yod min te |
 rañ gi sems ni p'yi rol snañ ||

žes bka' stsal to | | de bas na sñon po la sogs pa sna
 ts'ogs kyis rnam par snañ bai p'yir dañ | gzuñ ba dañ
 a dsin pai rnam par snañ bai p'yir no bo ñid gcig tu mi
 ruñ ste | gcig dañ du ma mi mt'un pai p'yir gcig ni du

1) N. ñid *deest.*

2) N. rnam par p'ye na *deest.*

3) D. inserts rnams ni which is not necessary.

4) N. yin pas na *deest.*

5) N. že'o.

mai ño bo ñid k'o nar mi ruñ ño ¹⁾ | gañ gi ño bo ñid
gcig tu ma grub pai p'yir du mai ño bor yañ mi ruñ ste
du ma ñid ni gcig ađus pai ño bo ñid ²⁾ yin pai p'yir ro
| ji ste gzugs la sogs pai rnam pa ađi dag brdsun pa ñid
du snañ bar k'as len na rnam par šes pa'n mi bden par
ađyur te | rnam par šes pa dei ño bo ñid dañ t'a ³⁾
dad pa ma yin pai p'yir ro | | bdag ñid rtogs pai ño
bo las gud na rnam par šes pai ño bo med la | gzugs
la sogs pa'n bdag ñid kyis snañ bar byed na rnam par
šes pai rañ gi ño bor gyur pa rnam brdsun pa ñid yin
pas rnam par šes pa t'ams cad kyañ brdsun pa yin par
k'as blañs par gyur to | | rnam par šes pa ni sgyu
ma dañ ađra'o žes bcom ldan ađas kyis kyañ bka' stsal
to | | de lta bas na gcig dañ du mai ño bo ñid kyis
stoñ pai p'yir dños po ađi dag t'ams cad don dam par
bden pa ma yin no žes bya ba de nes so | | dei don
bcom ldan ađas kis kyañ ađ'ags pa [30, b] lañ kar gšegs
pa las |

ji ltar gzugs rnam me loñ la |
gcig dañ gžan rnam rnam spañs par ||
snañ yañ de ni yod ma yin |
de bžin dños rnam ño bo ñid ||

| ces bka' stsal to | | gcig pa ñid dañ du ma ñid bral
žes bya bai t'a ts'ig go | | yañ bka' stsal pa |

blo yis rnam par gžigs na go |
ño bo ñid ni gzuñ du med ||

1) N. ño bor mi ruñ ño.

2) N. ñid *deest*.

3) N. t'e.

de p'yir de dag brjod med ciñ |
 ño bo ñid kyañ med par bšad ||

| ce'o |

§ 12. | de ltar bsams pai šes rab kyis yañ dag
 pai don bye brag p'yed par¹⁾ byas la de mñon sum
 du bya²⁾ bai p'yir bsgoms pai šes rab bskyed do | t'os
 pa la sogs pa tsam gyis don mñon sum du mi agyur ro
 žes ap'ags pa dkon mc'og sprin la sogs pa las bstan
 pa yin no | | sgrub pa po rnam la yañ ñams yod de |
 šes pai snañ ba rnam šin tu gsal ba abyuñ ba med pa
 yañ dag par sgrub pai mun pa mi spoñs so | | bsgom
 pa lan mañ du byas na yañ dag pa ma yin pai don la
 yañ³⁾ šes pa šin tu gsal ba abyuñ ste | dper na mi sdug
 pa dañ zad par sa la sogs pa la sñoms par žugs pa rnam
 kyi šes pa abyuñ ba lta bu yin na yañ dag pai don la lta⁴⁾
 ci smos | de ltar bsgoms⁵⁾ pai abras bu ni yoñs su gsal
 pai šes pa yin pas abras bu dañ bcas pai don yin par
 becom ldan ađas kyis tiñ ñe ađsin gyi rgyal po las bka'
 stsal te |

k'yod kyis k'oñ du c'ud par bya mos par bya |
 ji lta ji ltar mañ du mis brtags na |
 de la gnas pai rnam par rtog pa des |
 de⁶⁾ lta de ltar de la sems⁷⁾ gžol bar agyur |

žes de la sogs pa rgya c'er abyuñ ño | | de lta bas na

1) N. p'yed pa.

2) D. mñon sum.

3) N. yañ *deest*.

4) D. don lta.

5) N. bsgom.

6) D. da lta.

7) N. de la sogs.

de k'o na mñon sum du bya bai p'yir bsgom pa la rab tu ajug go |

§ 13. | de la rnal abyor pas sems gnas par bya bai p'yir t'og ma k'o nar re žig ži gnas bsgrub par bya'o | | sems ni c'u bžin du γyo bai p'yir ži gnas kyi gži med par gnas pa med do | | mñam par ma bžag¹⁾ pai sems kyis ni yañ dag pa ji lta ba²⁾ bžin du šes par mi nus te | bcom ldan ađas kyis kyañ mñam par bžag pas yañ dag pa ji lta ba bžin du šes so žes bka' stsal to | | ži gnas de ni rñed pa la sogs pa la³⁾ [31 a] ađod pa la mi lta žiñ ts'ul k'rims la legs par gnas la sdug bsñal la sogs pa dañ du len pai ñañ ts'ul can du gyur la brtson ađrus brtsams na šin tu myur du ađrub bo | | de bas na ađ'ags pa dgoñs pa ñes par ađrel pa la sogs pa las kyañ sbyin pa la sogs pa goñ mai yañ goñ mai rgyu ñid yin par bstan to | | 'de ltar ts'ul k'rims la sogs pa ži gnas kyi ts'ogs rnam la gnas te | yid du 'oñ bai sa⁴⁾ p'yogs su sañs rgyas dañ byañ c'ub sems dpa' t'ams cad la p'yag [aťs'al] la sogs pa bya žiñ | sdig pa bšags pa dañ bsod nams kyi rjes su yi rañ ba yañ byas nas | sñiñ rje c'en po k'o na mñon sum du byas pas ađro ba mt'a' dag gdon pai bsam pa can du gyur nas lus drañ por bsrañs⁵⁾ la stan bde pai steñ du ađug ste skyil mo⁶⁾ kruñ beas la tiñ ñe ađsin mñon par sgrub bo | | de la t'og mar re žig mdor bsdu na rnam pa ji sñed kyis rnam par dpyad par bya ba dños po mt'a' dag ađu par ađyur bai dños po gañ yin pa de la sems gžag par

1) N. gžag.

2) N. bar.

3) N. la sogs pa.

4) N. sa *deest*.

5) N. drañ po srañ.

6) N. dkyil mor.

bya'o | dños po ʔdus pa ni gzugs can dañ | gzugs
 can ma yin pai bye brag gis rnam pa gñis te | las dañ
 po pai rnam par ʔyeñ bai ñes pa bsal bai p'yir re žig
 ʔdus pa de la ni dmigs pai rigs so | | gañ gi ts'e yid
 la byed pa k'ugs par gyur pa dei ts'e¹⁾ p'uñ po dañ k'ams
 la sogs pai bye brag gis²⁾ rgyas par yañ dmigs par byed
 pa k'o na ste | ʔdi skad dgoñs pa ñes par ʔgrel pa la
 sogs pa las kyañ rnal ʔbyor pa rnams kyi stoñ pa ñid
 rnam pa³⁾ bco brgyad la dmigs pa la sogs pai bye brag
 gis dmigs pai rnam pa kun tu bka' stsal to | | de
 bas na bcom ldan ʔdas kyis sems can⁴⁾ t'ams cad la p'an
 gdags pai p'yir gzugs can dañ gzugs can ma yin pa la
 sogs pai bye brag gis mdor bsdus pa dañ | bar ma dañ |
 rgyas pa dag gis dños por rab tu dbye ba c'os mñon pa
 la sogs pa las bstan to | | de yañ dños po la sgro ʔdogs
 pa dañ skur pa spañ bai p'yir p'uñ po dañ k'ams la sogs
 par bsdus pai sgo nas bgrañ ño⁵⁾ | | de nas dños po
 t'ams cad bsdus pai bye brag p'yed nas de ñid [31 b] la
 sems yañ dañ yañ rgyun du ʔjug par bya'o | | gañ gi
 ts'e bar skabs su ʔdod c'ags la sogs pas sems p'yi rol du
 rnam par ʔyeñ bar byed pa dei ts'e rnam par ʔyeñ bar
 šes par byas la mi sdug pa la sogs pa bsgoms pas rnam
 par ʔyeñ ba ži bar byas šin myur du de ñid la sems p'yi
 p'yir gžug par bya'o | | mi sdug pa la sogs pa bsgom
 pai go rim ʔdir yi ge mañs kyis⁶⁾ dogs te ma bris so |
 | gañ gi ts'e⁷⁾ la mi dga' bar mt'oñ ba dei ts'e tiñ ñe

1) N. ts'e *deest.*

2) N. brag gyi.

3) N. rnam pa *deest.*4) N. sems can *deest.*

5) N. ʔgrañ ño.

6) N. kyi.

7) N. gañ gyi ts'e de la.

ądsin gyi yon tan la lta bas de la dga' ba bsgom žiñ
 rnam par ęyeñ ba la ñes par lta bas mi dga' ba rab tu
 ži bar bya'o | | ji ste gañ gi ts'e rmugs pa dañ gñid
 kyis non te | dmigs pa ądsin pa la mi gsal žiñ sems
 byiñ bar gyur pa dei ts'e snañ bai ądu šes bsgoms¹⁾ pa'm
 | mc'og tu dga' bai dnos po sañs rgyas la sogs pai
 yon tan yid la byed pas byiñ ba bsal la dmigs pa de ñid
 dam du bzuñ ño | | ji ste gañ gi ts'e de sñon rgod²⁾
 pa dañ rtse ba la sogs pa dran žiñ bar bar du sems rgod
 par mt'oñ ba dei ts'e mi rtag pa la sogs pa yid ąbyuñ
 bar ągyur bai dnos po yid la byed pas rgod pa ži bar
 bya'o | | de nas yañ dmigs pa de ñid la sems mñon
 par ądu byed pa med par ąjug pa la ąbad par bya'o |
 | gañ gi ts'e byiñ ba dañ rgod pa gñis ka³⁾ dañ bral te
 mñam par ąjug ciñ sems rañ gi ñañ gis ąbyuñ bar mt'oñ
 ba dei ts'e rtsol ba klod de btañ sñoms su bya'o | | gal
 te mñam par ąjug pa la rtsol ba byas na sems rnam par
 ęyeñ bar ągyur ro | | gañ gi ts'e dmigs pa de ñid la
 mñon par ądu byed pa med par ji srid ądod pai bar du
 sems ąjug par ągyur ba dei ts'e ži gnas rdsogs pa yin par
 rig par bya ste | ži gnas kyi ño bo ñid ni sems rtse gcig
 pa tsam du zad pai p'yir ądi ni ži gnas t'ams cad kyi
 spyii mts'an ñid yin no | | dei dmigs pa la ni ñes pa
 med do | | ži gnas kyi lam ądi ni šes rab kyi p'a rol
 tu p'yin pa la sogs pa las kyañ bšad de |

§ 14 bka' stsal pa | de dañ de la sems ąjog go |
 | rgyun du ąjog go | | blan te ąjog go⁴⁾ | ñe bar ąjog
 go | | ądul bar byed do | | ži bar byed do | | rnam par

1) N. bsgom.

2) D. dgod.

3) N. gñi ka.

4) N. ąjog rgyun du ąjog blan te ąjog go.

ži bar byed do | | rtse gcig tu byed do | | mñam [32 a]
 par ajog go žes ts'ig dgu smos so | | de la ajog ces
 bya ba ni dmigs pa la sems ađogs pa'o | | rgyun du
 ajog ces bya ba ni dmigs pa de ñid la rgyun du ajog
 pa'o | | blan te ajog ces bya ba ni rnam par γyeñ ba
 šes nas de spon ba'o | | ñe bar ajog ces bya ba ni rnam
 par γyeñ ba spañs nas p'yi p'yir brtun te dmigs pa de
 ñid la ajog pa'o | | ađul bar byed do žes bya ba ni
 dga' ba bskyed¹⁾ pa'o | | ži bar byed do žes bya ba ni
 rnam par γyeñ bai ñes pa mt'on nas mi dga' bar rab tu
 ži bar byed do | | rnam par ži bar byed pa ni rmugs
 pa dañ gñid la sogs pa lañs pa rnams sel ba'o | | rtse
 gcig tu byed pa ni mñon par ađu byed pa med pas ajug
 par ađad par byed pa'o | | mñam par ajog šes bya ba
 ni sems mñam par gyur pa na btañ sñoms su byed pa
 ste | mñam par ađsin žes²⁾ bya bai t'a ts'ig go | | ts'ig
 ađi rnams kyi don ađi ni ađ'ags pa byams pa dañ | sñon
gyi mk'an po rnams kyis bšad do | | mdor na tiñ ñe
 ađsin t'ams cad kyi ñes pa drug yod de | le lo dañ |
 dmigs pa brjed pa dañ | byiñ ba dañ | rgod pa dañ |
 mi rtsol ba dañ | rtsol ba'o | | de rnams kyi gñen
 por³⁾ spon bai ađu byed brgyad bsgom mo | ađi lta
 ste | dad pa dañ | ađun pa dañ | rtsol ba dañ |
 šin tu sbyañs pa dañ | dran pa dañ | šes bžin dañ
 sems pa dañ | btañ sñoms so | | de la goñ ma bži ni
 le loi gñen po ste | ađi ltar tiñ ñe ađsin gyi yon tan dag
 la mñon par yid c'es pai mts'an ñid dañ ldan pai dad
 pa rnal ađyor pa rnams de la ađod pa skye'o | | de
 nas ađod pas brtson ađrus rtsom mo | de brtson ađrus

1) N. skyed.

2) D. ces.

3) N. gñan po.

kyi stobs kyis lus dan sems las su ruñ ba ñid byed do |
 | de nas lus dan sems šin tu sbyaṅs par gyur pas le lo
 ldog ste | de bas na dad pa la sogs pa ni le lo spoñ¹⁾
 bai p'yir bsgom mo | | dran pa ni dmigs pa brjed pai
 gñen po'o | | šes bžin ni byiñ ba dan rgod pai gñen
 po ste | des byiñ ba dan rgod pa yañ dag par rtogs pai
 p'yir ro | | byiñ ba dan rgod pa rab tu ži bai²⁾ dus
 na mi rtsol ba ñes pa ste | dei gñen [32 b] por sems
 pa bsgom mo | byiñ ba dan rgod pa rab tu ži ste |
 gañ gi ts'e sems rnal du ajug pa dei ts'e rtsol ba ñes
 pa yin te | dei gñen por dei ts'e btañ sñoms bsgom
 mo | | spoñ bai ađu byed brgyad po de dag dan ldan
 na tiñ ñe ađsin šin tu k'ugs pa yin te | des rdsu aṅ'rul
 la sogs pa yon tan rnam sgrub par byed do | | de lta
 bas na mdo sde las spoñ bai ađu byed brgyad dan ldan
 pai rdsu aṅ'rul gyi rkañ pa bsgom mo žes bka' stsal to |
 § 15. | sems rtse gcig pa de p'yi p'yir las su ruñ ba
 ñid dan ldan žiñ dmigs pa la sogs pai yon tan gyi k'yad
 par t'ob pas bsam gtan dan | gzugs med pai sñoms par
 ajug pa dan | rnam par t'ar pa la sogs pai³⁾ miñ t'ob po |
 | ađi ltar gañ gi ts'e btañ sñoms kyi ts'or ba dan ldan
 žiñ rtog pa dan bcas pa dan | dpyod pa dan bcas par
 gyur pa dei ts'e mi lcogs pa med pa žes bya ste | ⁴⁾bsam
 gtan dan poi sbyor bai sems so⁴⁾ | | gañ gi ts'e ađod
 pai sred pa dan | sdig pai c'os rnam dan bral žin rtog
 pa dan | dpyod pa⁵⁾ dan | dga' ba dan | bde ba
 dan ldan par gyur pa dei ts'e bsam gtan dan po žes bya'o |

1) D. spañ.

2) D. ma ži bai.

3) N. dan sogs pai.

4) Not in Sk.

5) N. spyod.

| bsam gtan dañ po de ñid las rtog pa tsam med pa
 de ni bsam gtan k'yad par can žes bya'o | | gañ gi
 ts'e rtog pa dañ dpyod pa dañ bral te bsam gtan dañ poi
 sai sred pa dañ bral bar gyur nas dga' ba dañ bde ba dañ |
 nañ yoñs su dañ ba dag dañ ldan par gyur pa dei ts'e¹⁾
 bsam gtan gñis pa žes bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e bsam gtan
 gñis pai sai sred pa dañ bral bar gyur te bde ba dañ |
 btañ sñoms dañ | dran pa dañ | šes bžin dag²⁾ dañ
 ldan par gyur pa dei ts'e³⁾ bsam gtan gsum pa žes bya'o |
 | gañ gi ts'e bsam gtan gsum pai sai sred pa dañ bral
 te sdug bsñal yañ ma yin bde ba yañ ma yin žiñ | btañ
 sñoms dañ | dran pa dag dañ ldan par gyur pa dei
 ts'e bsam gtan bži pa žes bya'o | | de bžin du gzugs
 med pai sñoms par ajug pa dañ | rnam par t'ar pa
 dañ | zil gyis gnon pai skye mc'ed la sogs pa yañ dmigs
 pa dañ rnam pa la sogs pai bye brag gi⁴⁾ sbyar bar
 bya'o | | de ltar dmigs [33 a] pa de la sems brtan
 par byas nas šes rab kyis rnam par dpyad par bya ste |
 ađi ltar šes pai snañ ba byuñ bas kun tu rmoñs pai sa
 bon šin tu spoñ bar agyur ro | | de lta ma yin na mu
 stegs can rnam kyis bžin du tiñ ñe ađsin tsam gyis ñon
 moñs pa spoñ bar mi agyur ro | | mdo sde las ji skad
 du |

tiñ ñe ađsin de sgom par byed mod kyis |
 de ni bdag tu ađu šes ađig mi byed |
 de yi ñon moñs p'yir žiñ rab a'rug ste |
 lhag spyod ađi ni tiñ ađsin bsgom pa bžin |
 | žes gsuñs pa lta bu'o |

1) N. ts'e *deest.*

2) N. *deest.*

3) N. ts'e *deest.*

4) N. brag gi.

§ 16. | de la aṅ'ags pa lañ kar gšegs pa las | šes rab
bsgom pai rim pa mdor bka' stsal te |

sems tsam la ni rab brten nas |
p'yi rol don la mi brtag go ||
de bžin ñid kyi dmigs gnas nas |
sems tsam las kyañ bzla bar bya ||
sems tsam las ni bzla nas su |
snañ ba med las bzla bar bya ||
snañ med gnas pai rnal aḅyor pa |
de yis t'eg pa c'en po mt'oñ ||
ži ba lhun gyis grub pai gnas |
smon lam dag gis rnam par sbyaṅs ||
ye šes dam pa bdag med pa |
snañ ba med pas mt'oñ bar aḅyur ||

de la don ni aḅi yin te | | t'og mar rnal aḅyor pas
c'os gzugs can gañ dag gzugs la sogs pa p'yi rol gyi
don du gžan dag gis brtags pa de dag la ci aḅi dag
rnam par šes pa las gžan žig yin nam | 'on te rnam
par šes pa de ñid de ltar snañ ste | rmi lam gyi gnas
skabs ji lta ba bžin nam žes dpyad par bya'o | | de la
rnam par šes pa las p'yi rol pa rdul p'ra rab tu bšig ste |
rdul p'ra rab rnam kyañ c'a šas kyis so sor brtags na
rnal aḅyor pas don de dag mi mt'oñ ño | | des de dag
ma mt'oñ bas aḅi sñam du aḅi dag t'ams cad ni sems tsam
ste p'yi rol gyi don med do sñam du sems so | | aḅi
ltar |

sems tsam la ni rab brten nas |
p'yi rol don la mi brtag go |
| žes de skad aḅyuiñ ba ni c'os gzugs can la rnam par
rtog pa spoñ ba'o žes bya bai t'a ts'ig go | | dmigs

su ruñ bai mts'an ñid du gyur pa de dag la¹⁾ rnam
 par dpyad²⁾ na mi dmigs pai p'yir ro [33 b] | de ltar
 c'os gzugs can rnam³⁾ rnam par bšig nas gzugs can ma
 yin pa rnam par bšig par bya ste | de la sems tsam
 gañ yin pa de yañ gzuñ⁴⁾ med na ądsin par mi ruñ
 ste | ądsin pa ni gzuñ ba la ltos pai p'yir ro | | de
 lta bas na sems ni gzuñ ba dañ ądsin pa las dben žiñgñis
 su med pa k'o na yin par rnam par dpyad nas gñis su
 med pai mts'an ñid | de bžin ñid kyi dmigs gnas⁵⁾
 nas | sems tsam las kyañ bzla bar bya | | ądsin pai
 rnam pa las šin tu bzla bar bya ste | gñis su snañ ba
 med pa gñis med pai šes pa la gnas par bya žes bya
 bai t'a ts'ig go | | de ltar sems tsam las⁶⁾ bzlas nas
 gñis snañ ba med pai šes pa las kyañ bzla bar bya ste |
 bdag dañ gžan las dnos po rnam sbye ba mi at'ad pai
 p'yir gzuñ ba dañ ądsin pa brdsun pa k'o na yin la | de
 dag las de yañ gud na med pai p'yir de yañ bden pa ñid
 ma yin par brtags la gñis med pai šes pa de la yañ dnos
 por mñon par⁷⁾ žen pa dor bar bya ste | gñis med pai
 šes pa snañ ba med pai šes pa k'o na la gnas par bya
 žes bya bai t'a ts'ig go | | de ltar na c'os t'ams
 cad la no bo ñid med par rtogs pa la gnas pa yin no |
 de la gnas pas yañ dag pa ñid kyi c'os⁸⁾ la žugs pas
 rnam par mi rtog pai tiñ ne ądsin la žugs pa yin no |
 | de ltar rnal ąbyor pa gañ gi ts'e gñis med pai šes pa

1) D. de dag.

2) N. spyad.

3) N. rnam *deest.*

4) N. gzuñs.

5) N. gnas *deest.* Cf. above, quotation of L a ñ k.

6) D. tsam la.

7) N. mñon par *deest.*

8) D. mc'og.

snañ ba med pai šes pa la gnas par gyur pa dei ts'e
mt'oñ bai lam la gnas¹⁾ pas t'eg pa c'en po mt'oñ ño |

§ 17. | de k'o na dam pa mt'oñ ba gañ yin pa de ñid
t'eg pa c'en po žes bya'o | | de k'o na dam pa mt'oñ
ba de ni c'os t'ams cad šes rab kyis mig gis brtags te yañ
dag pai ye šes kyis snañ ba šar na ci yañ mt'oñ ba med
pa gañ yin pa'o | | de skad mdo las kyañ gsuñs te |
don dam pa mt'oñ ba gañ že na | c'os t'ams cad mt'oñ
ba med pa gañ yin pa'o žes abyuñ ño | | ađir de lta
bui mt'oñ ba med pa la dgoñs te | mi mt'oñ ba žes
bka' stsal gyis mig btsums pa dañ | dmus loñ la sogs
pa lta bu rkyen ma ts'añ ba dañ²⁾ yid la mi byed pas
mi mt'oñ ba ni ma yin no | | de bas na dños por mñon
par [34 a] žen pa la sogs pa³⁾ p'yin ci log gi bag c'ags ma
spañs pas ađu šes med pai sñoms par ajug pa la sogs pa
las lañs pa bžin du dños po la sogs pa mñon par žen pai
rtsa ba can ađod c'ags la sogs pa ñon moñs pai ts'ogs
yañ abyuñ bai p'yir rnal abyor pa ma grol ba ñid du
ađyur ro | | ađod c'ags la sogs pai rtsa ba ni dños po
la⁴⁾ mñon par žen pa yin no žes ađ'ags pa bden pa gñis
bstan pa las kyañ bka' stsal to | | rnam par mi rtog
pa la ajug pai gzuñs las yid la mi byed pas gzugs la sogs
pai mts'an ma spoñ ño žes gsuñs pa gañ yin pa de yañ
šes rab kyis brtags na mi dmigs pa gañ yin pa de⁵⁾ |
der yid la mi byed par dgoñs kyis | yid la byed pa med
pa tsam ni ma yin te | ađu šes med pai sñoms par
ajug pa la sogs pa ltar | t'og ma med pai dus nas gzugs la

1) N. mt'oñ bai dam pa la gnas.

2) N. dmus loñ ... ts'añ ba dañ *deest.*

3) N. pa *deest.*

4) N. dños po la *deest.*

5) N. de *deest.*

sogs pa la mñon par žen pai yid la byed pa spañs pa tsam
gyis spoñ ba ni ma yin no | | t'e ts'om ma spañs par
ni sñon dmigs pai gzugs pa sogs pa la mñon par žen pai
yid la byed pa yoñs su spañ bar mi nus te | me ma
spañs par ts'a ba spañ du mi ruñ ba bžin no | | ađi
ltar gzugs la sogs pa rnam par rtog pa log pa¹⁾ ađi dag
ts'er ma la sogs pa bžin du sems las lag pas dbyuñ žin
bsal du mi ruñ ste | t'e ts'om gyi sa bon spañ dgos pai
p'yir ro | | t'e ts'om gyi sa bon de yañ rnal ađyor pai
tiñ ne ađsin gyi snañ ba byuñ ste | šes rab kyi mig gis
brtags na gzugs la sogs pa sñar dmigs pa dmigs su ruñ
bai mts'an ñid du gyur pa de dag mi dmigs pai p'yir
t'ag pa la²⁾ sbrul du šes pa bžin du spañ gi | gžan du
ma yin no | | dei ts'e t'e ts'om gyi sa bon dañ bral
bas gzugs la sogs pai mts'an ma yid la byed pa spoñ nus
par ađyur te | gžan du ma yin no | | de lta ma yin
te | tiñ ne ađsin gyi snañ ba ma byuñ | šes rab kyi
mig gis ma bltas na mun k'uñ na ađug pai mi ltar k'yim
gyi nañ na yod pai bum pa la sogs pa som ñi za bar
gyur pa bžin du rnal ađyor pa yañ gzugs la sogs pa yod
par som ñi za ba ldog par mi ađyur [34 b] ro | | de ma
log na mig rab rib kyi skyon ma bsal ba bžin du gzugs
la sogs pa mi bden la mñon par žen pa ađbyuñ ste cis
kyañ mi zlogs so | | de lta bas na tiñ ne ađsin gyi lag
gis sems gzuñ ste šin tu c'a p'ra bai šes rab kyi mts'on
gyis gzugs la sogs pa log par rnam par³⁾ rtog pai sa
bon gyi⁴⁾ zug rñu sems de la yod pa bsal bar bya'o | | de
ltar byas na rtsa ba nas p'yuñ bai šin dag sa las mi skye

1) D. log pa *deest*; N. rnam par rtogs pa logs pa.

2) N. t'ag pa las.

3) N. rnam par *deest*.

4) N. sa bon gyis.

ba bžin du ¹⁾ rtsa ba med pas na log par rnam par rtog
 pai sems kyañ skye bar mi agyur ro | | de bas na sgrib
 pa spon bai p'yir ži gnas dañ lhag mt'on zun du abrel
 par ajug pai lam bcom ldan ađas kyis bka' stsal te | de
 gñis ni yañ dag pai ye šes rnam par mi rtog pai rgyu
 yin pai p'yir ro | | de skad du |

ts'ul k'rims la ni gnas nas tiñ ñe ađsin aťob ste |
 tiñ ñe ađsin t'ob nas kyañ šes rab sgom ²⁾ par byed |
 šes rab kyis ³⁾ ni ye šes rnam par dag pa aťob |
 ye šes rnam par dag pas ts'ul k'rims p'un sum ts'ogs |

| šes bka' stsal to | | ađi ltar gañ gi ts'e ži gnas
 kyis dmigs pa la sems brtan par byas pa dei ts'e šes
 rab kyis rab tu brtags na yañ dag pai ye šes kyi snañ
 ba abyuñ ste | dei ts'e snañ ba byuñ bas mun pa
 bsal ba bžin du sgrib pa abyuñ ⁴⁾ ño | | de gñis ka
 yañ mig dañ snañ ba bžin du yañ dag pai ye šes abyuñ
 ba la p'an ts'un mt'un par gnas pa yin gyi | snañ
 ba dañ mun pa bžin du mi mt'un pa ma yin no |
 | tiñ ñe ađsin ni mun pai ño bo ñid ma yin te | ci
 že na sems rtse gcig pai mts'an ñid do | | de ni
 mñam par bžag na yañ dag pa ji lta ba bžin du rab tu ⁵⁾
 šes so žes bka' stsal pai p'yir de šes rab dañ šin tu mt'un
 pa yin gyi | mi mt'un pa ma yin no | | de lta bas na
 mñam par gžag pai šes rab kyis brtags na c'os t'ams cad
 mi dmigs pa gañ yin pa de ñid mi dmigs pai dam pa'o |
 | rnal abyor pa rnam kyis gnas skabs ⁶⁾ kyis mts'an ñid

1) N. bžin.

2) N. bsgom.

3) N. šes rab kyis.

4) Evidently abyuñ from abyuñ.

5) N. rab tu *deest.*

6) D. ži gnas skabs.

de ḍdra ba de ni lhun gyis grub pa yin te | | dei p'a
 rol tu blta bar bya ba gžan med pai p'yir ro | | ži ba
 ni yod pa dañ med pa la sogs pa rnam par rtog pai
 mts'an ñid kyis spros pa t'ams cad ñe bar [35, a] ži bai
 p'yir ro | | ḍdi ltar gañ gi ts'e rnal ḍbyor pas šes rab
 kyis brtags na dños poi no bo ñid gañ yañ mi dmigs pa
 dei ts'e de la dños por ¹⁾ rnam par rtog pa mi ḍbyuñ ba
 ñid do | | dños po med pa rnam par rtog pa yañ de la
 med pa ñid do | | gal te brgya la dños po ḍga' žig mt'oñ
 bar gyur na ni de lta na ni bkag pas dños po med par ²⁾
 rnam par rtog pa ḍbyuñ no | | gañ gi ts'e rnal ḍbyor pas
 šes rab kyis mig gis brtags na dus gsum du yañ dños po
 mi dmigs pa dei ts'e ci žig bkag pas dños po med par
 rnam par rtog par byed | | de bžin du rnam par rtog
 pa gžan dag kyañ dei ts'e de la mi ḍbyuñ ba ñid de |
 yod pa dañ med pa rnam par rtog pa gñis kyis rnam par
 rtog pa t'ams cad la k'yab pai p'yir te | | k'yab par
 byed pa med pas k'yab par bya ba yañ med pai p'yir
 ro | | de ni rnam par mi rtog pai rnal ḍbyor dam pa
 yin te |

§ 18. de la gnas pai rnal ḍbyor pa ni rnam par
 rtog pa t'ams cad nub pas | | ñon moñs pai sgrib pa dañ
 šes byai sgrib pa ³⁾ yañ dag par spoñ no | | ḍdi ltar
 ñon moñs pai sgrib pa ni ma skyes pa dañ ma ḍgags pai
 dños po rnam la dños po la sogs par p'yin ci log pai
 rtsa ba ste rgyu yin no žes ḍp'ags pa bden pa gñis pa bstan
 pa la sogs pa las bcom ldan ḍdas kyis bka' stsal to |
 | rnal ḍbyor goms pa ḍdis dños po la sogs pa rnam par
 rtog pa t'ams cad spañs pai p'yir dños po la sogs par

1) N.. dños po.

2) D. med pa.

3) N. dañ šes byai sgrib pa *deest*.

p'yin ci log pa ma rig pai ño bo ñid ñon moñs pai sgrib
 pai rtsa ba spon ste | dei p'yir rtsa ba bcad pas
 ñon moñs pai sgrib pai rtsa ba yañ dag par spon ño |
 | ji skad du yañ a'p'ags pa bden pa gñis bstan pa las
 gsuñs te | a'jam dpal ji ltar ñon moñs pa rnam s'adul
 bar a'gyur | ji ltar ñon moñs pa rnam yoñs su šes pa
 yin | a'jam dpal gyis smras pa | don dam par šin tu
 ma skyes pa dañ | ma byuñ ba dañ | dños po med
 pai c'os t'ams cad la kun rdsob tu yañ dag pa ma yin
 pai p'yin ci log go | | yañ dag pa ma yin pai p'yin
 ci log de las kun tu rtog pa dañ | rnam par rtog pa'o |
 | kun tu rtog pa dañ | rnam [35 b] par rtog pa de las
 ts'ul bžin ma yin pa yid ¹⁾ la byed pa'o | | ts'ul bžin
 ma yin pa yid la byed pa de las bdag tu sgro a'dogs
 pa'o | | bdag tu sgro a'dogs pa de las lta ba kun nas
 ldañ ño | | lta ba kun nas ldañ ba de las ñon moñs
 pa rnam s'abyuñ ño | | lhai bu don dam par c'os t'ams
 cad šin tu ma skyes pa dañ | ma byuñ ba dañ | dños
 po med par rab tu šes pa gañ yin pa de ²⁾ don dam par
 p'yin ci ma log pa'o | | gañ don dam par p'yin ci ma
 log pa de mi rtog | rnam par mi rtog go | | gañ mi
 rtog rnam par mi rtog pa de ts'ul bžin la žugs pa'o |
 | gañ ts'ul bžin la žugs pa de bdag tu sgro a'dogs par mi
 a'gyur ro | | gañ bdag tu sgro a'dogs par mi a'gyur ba
 de lta ba kun nas ldañ bar mi a'gyur te | don dam
 par mya ñan las a'das par lta bai bar gyi lta ba kun nas ³⁾
 ldañ ba yañ s'abyuñ bar mi a'gyur ro | | de ltar skye ba
 med par gnas pa dei ñon moñs pa rnam s'šin tu t'ul bar blta ⁴⁾

1) D. yin pa ñid.

2) D. om. de.

3) N. adds: ldañ bai bar gyi lta ba kun nas.

4) N. lta.

bar bya ste | de ni ñon moñs pa ʒdul ba ʒes bya'o |
 | lhai bu gañ gi ts'e ñon moñs pa rnams snañ ba med
 pai ye šes¹⁾ kyis don dam par šin tu stoñ pa dañ |
 šin tu mts'an ma med pa dañ | šin tu dños po med pa
 rab tu šes pa dei ts'e lhai bu ñon moñs pa rnams yoñs
 su šes pa yin no | | lhai bu ʒdi lta ste dper na gañ
 sbrul gdug pai rigs rab tu šes pa des sbrul gdug pa dei
 gdug ʒi bar byed do | | lhai bu de bžin du ñon moñs
 pa rnams kyis rigs rab tu šes pa dei ñon moñs pa rnams
 rab tu ʒi bar ʒgyur ro | | lhai bus smras pa | ʒjam
 dpal ñon moñs par²⁾ gyur pa rnams kyis rigs gañ³⁾ |
 ʒjam dpal gyis smras pa | | lhai bu don dam par šin
 tu ma skyes pa dañ | ma byuñ ba dañ | dños po med
 pai c'os t'ams cad la kun tu rtog pa gañ yin pa de ni
 ñon moñs pa rnams kyis rigs yin no ʒes rgya c'er ʒbyuñ
 ño | | dños po la sogs par p'yin ci log pas p'yin ci log
 pa mt'a' dag la k'yab pai p'yir | de spañs na p'yin ci
 log t'ams cad spoñ bar ʒgyur bai p'yir | šes byai sgrib
 pa yañ ʒdis yañ dag par spoñ bar ʒgyur te | sgrib pa
 ni p'yin ci log gi mts'an ñid yin pai [36 a] p'yir ro |
 | šes byai sgrib pa spañs na gags med pai p'yir ñi mai
 'od sprin dañ ʒbral bai nam mk'a' la t'ams cad du t'ogs
 pa⁴⁾ med par snañ ba bžin du ye šes kyis snañ ba ʒbyuñ
 ño | | ʒdi ltar rnam par šes pa ni dños poi ño bo
 ñid rtogs pa yin na | de yañ dños po ñe bar gnas su
 zin kyañ gags yod pas gsal bar mi ʒgyur ro | gags med
 par gyur na ni mt'ui k'yad par bsam gyis mi k'yab pa
 t'ob pas cii p'yir dños po mt'a' dag ji lta ba bžin du

1) N. adds: rab.

2) N. moñs pa.

3) N. om. gañ.

4) N. om. pa.

gsal bar mi aḡyur | de bas na kun rdsob¹⁾ dañ don
dam pai ts'ul gyis dños po mt'a' dag ji lta ba bžin du
šes pas t'ams cad mk'yen pa ñid t'ob bo | | dei p'yir
ađi ñid sgrib pa spon̄ ba dañ | t'ams cad mk'yen pa
ñid t'ob par aḡyur bai lam²⁾ mc'og yin no | ñan t'os la
sogs pai lam gañ yin pa des ni p'yin ci log t'ams cad
spon̄ bar mi aḡyur bai p'yir sgrib pa gñis legs par mi³⁾
spon̄s so | | de skad aḡ'ags pa lañ kar gšegs pa las
kyañ bka' stsal te⁴⁾ | gžan dag ni c'os t'ams cad rkyen
la rag las par mt'oñ nas mya ñan las ađas pai blor gyur
te | c'os la bdag med par mt'oñ ba med pai p'yir blo
gros c'en po de dag la t'ar pa med do | | blo gros c'en
po ñan t'os kyi t'eg pa mñon par rtogs pai rigs can ni ñes
par aḡbyuñ ba ma yin pa la ñes par aḡbyuñ bai blor aḡyur
te | blo gros c'en po ađi la lta ba ñan pa las bzlog pai
p'yir brtson par bya'o žes aḡbyuñ no | | de ñid kyi
p'yir lam gžan gyis t'ar bar aḡyur ba med pas t'eg pa gcig
k'o na'o žes bcom ldan ađas kyis bka' stsal to | | ñan
t'os la sogs pai lam bstan pa las ni gžug pa la ldem por
dgoñs nas k'yeus k'yeu dbyuñ ba bžin du bstan par zad
do | | ađi ltar ađi dag ni p'uñ po la sogs pai c'os tsam
du zad de | bdag med par bsgoms nas ñan t'os gañ
zag bdag med pa la aḡjug go | | k'ams gsum rnam par
šes pa tsam du bsgoms pas rnam par šes par smra bai
p'yi rol gyi don bdag med pa la aḡjug go | | ts'ul ađis
ni gñis su med pai šes pa de yañ bdag med pa ñid du
aḡjug pas bdag med [36 b] pa ñid mc'og la žugs pa yin
no | | rnam par rig pa tsam la aḡjug pa ni de k'o na

1) N. adds: pa.

2) D. lam gyi.

3) D. ma.

4) N. stsal pa.

la ajug pa ma yin te | snar bšad pa bžin no | | ap'ags
 pa ajig rten las ađas pai leu las kyañ gsuñs te | kye
 rgyal bai sras gžan yañ k'ams gsum ni sems tsam du
 rtogs te | sems de yañ mt'a' dañ dbus med par rtogs
 so žes abyuñ ste | skye ba dañ ajig pai mts'an ñid mt'a'
 gñis dañ | gnas pai mts'an ñid dbus med pai p'yir
 sems mt'a' dañ dbus med do | | de lta bas na gñis
 med pai šes pa la žugs pa ni de k'o na la žugs pa ñid
 yin no | | rnal abyor pa rnam kyis gnas skabs de cis
 rnam par dag ce na | smon lam dag gis rnam par
 sbyañs | žes gsuñs te | sñiñ rje c'en pos sems can
 mt'a' dag gi don la lta bar byañ c'ub sems dpa' smon lam
 btab¹⁾ pa gañ yin pai smon lam dei stobs kyis p'yi p'yir
 žiñ sbyin pa la sogs pa dge ba la goms par byas pas gnas
 skabs de de ltar yoñs su dag par ađyur te | des c'os
 t'ams cad ño bo ñid med pa ñid du šes kyañ sems can
 mt'a' dag la lta bar go [mi] bzlog ciñ ađ'or bai ñes pa rnam
 kyis mi gos par ađ'or ba ji srid par gnas pa yin no | de
 ltar lhun gyis grub ciñ ži ba yin že na |

ye šes dam pa bdag med par |
 snañ ba med pas mt'on bar ađyur ||

| žes ađir rgyu²⁾ bka' stsal to | | ađi ltar nañ gi šes
 bya smra ba rnam kyis³⁾ gñis med pai mts'an ñid kyis
 šes pa dam pa mc'og yin par ađod pa gañ yin pa de yañ
 bdag med do | | ño bo ñid med par rnal abyor pas
 gñis med par snañ ba med pai ye šes kyis mt'on ño |
 | de p'an c'ad blta⁴⁾ bar bya ba med pas na lhun gyis

1) N. btab.

2) N. rgyu *deest.*

3) N. kyis.

4) N. lta bar.

grub pa'o | | rnam par rtog pa sna ts'ogs t'ams cad
dañ bral bas ži ba'o |

§ 19. | gal te ji sñed ¹⁾ dei ts'e gañ de ltar mt'on
bai rnal abyor pa de su yod ce na | bden te | don dam
par na bdag la sogs pa rañ dbañ yod pai rnal abyor
pa gañ yañ med do | | mt'on ba ci yañ med do | | de
lta mod kyi kun rdsob tu ji ltar gzugs la sogs pa yul
gyi rnam par šes pa abyun ba tsam gyis rnam par
[37 a] šes pa ñid la de lta de ltar ajig rten na lha sbyin
nam mc'od sbyin gyi šes pas mt'on no žes t'a sñad adogs
te | bdag la sogs pa ni gañ yañ med do | | de bžin
du adir yañ gñis med pai ye šes snañ ba med pai šes
pa k'o na abyun ba nas ²⁾ snañ ba med pai ye šes kyis
mt'on no žes de ltar miñ adogs so | | c'os t'ams cad don
dam par no bo ñid med mod kyi | kun rdsob tu rnal
abyor pai šes pa'm | so soi skye boi šes pa gžan
yañ ruñ ste | mi adod pa ma yin no | | de skad
ap'ags pa bden pa gñis bstan pa las bka' stsal te | de
don dam par šin tu dños po med kyañ kun rdsob tu yañ ³⁾
lam sgom par byed do žes bya ba la sogs pa abyun no |
| de lta ma yin na ñan t'os dañ | rañ sañs rgyas dañ |
byañ c'ub sems dpa' dañ | sañs rgyas dañ | so soi
skye bo la sogs pai bye brag kyañ cis dbye | adi ltar
gañ la kun rdsob tu yañ rgyu med pa de ni kun rdsob
tu yañ mi skye ste | ri boñ gi rva la sogs pa bžin no |
| gañ la rgyu yod pa de don dam par brdsun pa yin kyañ
skye ba k'o na ste | sgyu ma dañ | gzugs brñan dañ |
brag ca la sogs pa bžin no | | sgyu ma la sogs pa kun
rdsob tu rten ciñ abrel par abyun ba yin yañ de dag brtag

1) D. ji ste.

2) N. abyun ba na.

3) N. om. yañ.

mi bzod pas don dam par dños po yod pa ñid du mi
 aḡyur ro | | de bas na aḡro ba t'ams cad sgyu ma lta
 bu k'o na'o žes gsuñs so | | de la aḡi ltar ñon moñs
 pa dañ las sgyu mai dbañ gis sems can gyi skye ba sgyu
 ma aḡyuiñ ño | | de bžin du rnal aḡyur pa rnams kyī¹⁾
 bsod nams dañ ye šes kyī ts'ogs sgyu mai dbañ gis rnal
 aḡyur pai ye šes sgyu ma aḡyuiñ ba ñid do | | de
 skad du | aḡ'ags pa šes rab kyī p'a rol tu p'yin pa
las kyañ bka' stsal te | rab aḡyur aḡi ltar c'os t'ams cad
 ni sprul pa yin te²⁾ | la la ni ñan t'os kyī sprul pa'o |
 | la la ni rañ sañs rgyas kyī sprul pa'o | | la la ni
 byañ c'ub sems dpai sprul pa'o | | la la ni de bžin gšegs
 pai sprul pa'o | | la la ni ñon moñs pai sprul pa'o |
 | la la ni las kyī sprul pa'o | | rab aḡyur rnam grañs
 aḡis c'os t'ams cad sprul pa lta bu'o [37, b] žes aḡyuiñ
 ño | | rnal aḡyur pa rnams dañ so soi skye bo rnams
 kyī bye brag ni aḡi yin te | de dag ni sgyu ma mk'an
 bžin du sgyu ma de ji lta ba bžin du yoñs su šes pas bden
 pa ñid mñon par žen pa med do | | de bas na de dag
 rnal aḡyur pa žes bya'o | | gañ dag byis pa ltad mo pa
 bžin du de la bden pa ñid du mñon par žen pa de dag ni
 p'yin ci log tu mñon par žen pai p'yir byis pa žes bya
 ste | de dag t'ams cad aḡal ba med do | | de skad
aḡ'ags pa c'os yañ dag par sdud pa las kyañ bka' stsal
 te |

dper na sgyu mai mk'an po žig |
 sprul pa t'ar par bya³⁾ p'yir brtson |
 des ni sña nas de šes pas |

1) N. kyis.

2) From: rab aḡyur up to: yin te not in Sk.

3) D. om. bya.

sprul pa de la c'ags pa med |
 srid gsum sprul pa aḍra bar ni |
 rdsogs pai byañ c'ub mk'as pas šes |
 aḡro bai c'ed du go bgos te |
 aḡro ba de ltar sña nas šes |
 | žes gsuñs so |

§ 20. | de ltar bsgom pai rim pa aḍis de k'o na
 bsgom par bya'o | | de la byiñ ba dañ rgod pa la
 sogs pa byuñ na sñar bstan pa bžin du ži bar bya'o |
 | gañ gi ts'e c'os t'ams cad ño bo ñid med par dmigs
 pa la byiñ ba dañ rgod pa la sogs pa dañ bral žiñ
 mñon par aḍu byed pa med par šes pa aḡjug par gyur
 pa dei ts'e ži gnas dañ lhag mt'oñ zuñ du aḡrel par aḡjug
 pai lam rdsogs pa yin no | dei ts'e ji srid du nus pa
 de srid du mos pai stobs kyis mos pas spyod pai sa la
 gnas pas bsgom par bya'o | | de nas ji ltar aḍod pa
 bžin du skyil mo kruñ ma bšig par lañs la aḍi sñam du
 bsam par bya ste | yañ ni c'os aḍi dag t'ams cad don
 dam par ño bo ñid med mod ¹⁾ kyi | kun rdsob tu yod
 par bsam mo | | de skad dkon mc'og sprin las kyañ
 bka' stsal te | ji ltar byañ c'ub sems dpa' bdag med
 pa la mk'as pa yin že na | | rigs kyi bu aḍi la byañ
 c'ub sems dpa' yañ dag pai šes rab kyis gzugs la so sor
 rtog | ts'or ba dañ | aḍu šes dañ | aḍu byed rnam
 dañ | rnam par šes pa la so sor rtog ste | de gzugs
 la so sor rtog pa na gzugs kyi skye ba mi dmigs | kun
 aḡbyuñ ba mi dmigs | aḡog pa mi dmigs so | | de
 bžin du ts'or ba dañ | aḍu šes dañ | aḍu byed rnam
 dañ | rnam par šes pai skye ba mi dmigs so | [38 a] |
 de yañ don dam par skye ba med par gnas pai šes rab

1) N. med pa yin mod.

kyis yin gyi | t'a dad pai ño bo ñid kyis ni ma yin no
 žes rgya c'er abyun ño | | byis pai blo can ađi dag ño
 bo ñid med pai dnos po rnamś la mñon par žen pai
 dbaň gis ađ'or ba na kun tu ađ'yam žiň sdug bsñal sna
 ts'ogs dag ñams su myoň ño sñam du sñiň rje c'en po
 mñon du byas la ađi sñam du bsam par bya ste | ci
 nas dbag gis t'ams cad mk'yen pa ñid t'ob nas ađi dag ¹⁾
 c'os ñid k'oň du c'ud par byed par ađyur ba de ltar bya'o
 sñam du bsam mo | | de nas saňś rgyas daň byaň c'ub
 semś dpa' t'ams cad la mc'od pa daň bstod pa gsol te |
 ađ'ags pa bzaň po spyod pa la sogs pai smon lam c'en po
 gdab po | | de nas stoň pa ñid daň sñiň rjei sñiň po
 can gyi sbyin pa la sogs pa bsod namś daň ye šes kyi ts'ogs
 mt'a' dag sgrub pa la ađug par bya'o | | de skad ađ'ags
 pa c'os yaň dag par sdud pa las kyaň bka' stsał te |
 yaň dag pa ji lta ba bžin du mt'oň bai byaň c'ub semś
 dpa' semś can rnamś la sñiň rje c'en po ađug go | | de
 yaň ađi sñam du bdag gis c'os t'ams cad yaň dag pa ji
 lta ba bžin du mt'oň bai tiň ađsin gyi ñe sgo ađi semś can
 t'ams cad la bsgrub par bya'o sñam du semś te | dei
 sñiň rje c'en po des bskul bas lhag pai ts'ul k'rims daň
 lhag pai semś daň | lhag pai šes rab kyi bsam pa yoňś
 su rdsogs par byas nas bla na med pa yaň dag par rdsogs
 pai byaň c'ub mñon par rdsogs par aťs'aň rgya'o žes
 abyun ño | | t'abs daň šes rab zuň du ađrel par ađug
 pa ađi ni byaň c'ub semś dpa' rnamś kyi lam yin te |
 ađi ltar don dam pa mt'oň yaň kun rdsob mi gcod la |
 kun rdsob ma bcađ pas sñiň rje c'en po sñon du ađro žiň
 p'yin ci log med pa semś can gyi don byed pa la sogs pa
 la ađug go | | de skad ađ'ags pa dkon mc'og sprin las

1) N. om. dag.

kyañ bka' stsal te | ji ltar na byañ c'ub sems dpa' t'eg
 pa c'en po la mk'as pa yin že na | ađi la byañ c'ub sems
 dpa' bslab pa t'ams cad la slob kyañ ¹⁾ bslab pa de yañ
 mi dmigs | bslab pai [38 b] lam la ²⁾ yañ mi dmigs |
 gañ slob pa de yañ mi dmigs te | rgyu de dañ rkyen
 de dañ ³⁾ gži des c'ad par lta bar mi ltun' no žes abyun
 no |

§ 21. | a'p'ags pa c'os yañ dag par sdud pa las kyañ
 bka' stsal te | byañ c'ub sems dpa' rnams kyi sgrub pa
 gañ že na | bcom ldan ađas ⁴⁾ byañ c'ub sems dpa'
 rnams kyi lus kyi las gañ ci lags pa dañ | nağ gi las
 gañ ci lags pa dañ | yid kyi las gañ ci lags pa de dag
 t'ams cad ni sems can t'ams cad la lta bas ajug pa lags
 so | | sñiñ rje c'en po sñon du ađro ba lags so | | sñiñ
 rje c'en poi dbañ du gyur pa lags so | | sems can t'ams
 cad la p'an pa dañ bde bar bgyi bai lhag pai bsam pa
 las byun ba lags so | | de ltar p'an par bgyi bai
 [lhag pai] bsam pa dañ ldan pa de ađi sñam du ađu šes
 bgyid de | | sems can t'ams cad la p'an pa sgrub pa dañ
 bde ba ⁵⁾ sgrub pai sgrub pa gañ yin pa de bdag gis bsgrub
 par bya'o sñam pa ⁶⁾ lags so | | de p'un po rnams la
 sgyu ma lta bur so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub ⁷⁾ la p'un po yoñs
 su ađor ba yañ mi aťs'al | k'ams rnams la sbrul gdug pa
 lta bur so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub ⁷⁾ la k'ams yoñs su ađor
 ba yañ mi aťs'al | skye mc'ed rnams la groñ stoñ pa
 ltar so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub la skye mc'ed yoñs su spoñ

1) N. *om.* slob kyañ.

2) N. la *deest.*

3) N. *om.* rkyen de dañ.

4) N. adds: kyis.

5) N. *om.* sgrub pa dañ bde ba.

6) N. *om.* pa.

7) N. bsgrub.

ba yañ mi ąts'al | | gzugs la dbu ba rnos pa ltar so sor
rtog pa yañ sgrub la de bžin gšegs pai gzugs kyi sku rnam
par sgrub pa yañ mi ądor | ts'or ba la c'ui c'u bur
ltar so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub la de bžin gšegs pai bsam
gtan dañ tiñ ñe ądsin la sñoms par ąjug pai bde ba bsgrub
pai sbyor ba mi rtsom pa yañ ma lags | ądu šes la smig
rgyu lta bur so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub la ¹⁾ de bžin gšegs
pai ye šes sgrub pa mi sgrub pa yañ ma lags | ądu byed
rnams la c'u šin ltar so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub²⁾ la sañs rgyas
kyi c'os mñon par ądu bgyi ba mi sgrub²⁾ pa yañ ma lags |
rnam par šes pa la sgyu ma lta bur so sor rtog pa yañ
sgrub la | ye šes t'og mar ągro bai lus dañ ñag dañ
yid kyi³⁾ las sgrub pa mi sgrub pa yañ⁴⁾ ma lags so
žes bya [39 a] ba la sogs pa rgyas par ąbyuñ ño | | de
ltar mdo sde de dañ de dag las⁵⁾ t'abs dañ šes rab kyi ts'ul
sgrub pa mt'a' yas pa ąbyuñ ba k'oñ du c'ud par bya'o |
⁶⁾ | ąjig rten las ądas pai šes rab kyi gnas skabs na t'abs
la brten pa mi ąbyuñ mod kyi | t'abs brten pai dus
na byañ c'ub sems dpa' sgyu ma mk'an ltar p'yin ci ma
log pai p'yir ąjig rten las ądas pai ye šes la sbyor ba
dañ⁷⁾ ye šes la sbyor bai rjes las byuñ ba dnos poi don
gyi de k'o na ji lta ba bžin du rtogs pai šes rab yod pa⁸⁾
ñid de | t'abs dañ šes rab zuñ du ąbrel bar ąjug pai lam de
k'o na yin no | | ąp'ags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan

1) D. sgrub pa.

2) N. bsgrub.

3) D. kyis.

4) N. yid kyi las ma bsgrub pa yañ.

5) N. de dag la.

6) From here up to end of paragraph see note 1 at p. 205 of Sk. text
§ 20.

7) N. ye šes la sbyor ba dañ *deest*.

8) N. *om.* yod pa.

pa las kyañ bsam gtan mi zad pai skabs nas t'abs dañ
 šes rab zuñ du ąbrel bar ąjug pai lam ąbyuñ ba k'oñ
 du c'ud par bya'o |

§ 22. | rim pa ądi lta bu ądis byañ c'ub sems
 dpa' t'abs dañ šes rab rtag tu gus par yun riñ du
 goms par bsgoms na gnas skabs kyi bye brag bcu gñis
 su ągyur ro | | gnas skabs de dag ni goñ ma goñ
 mai yon tan gnas pai p'yir sar rnam par gżag ste | mos
 pas spyod pai sa nas sañs rgyas kyi sai bar du'o | | de
 la ji srid du gañ zag dañ c'os la bdag med pai de k'o na
 mñon sum du mi byed mod kyi | mos pa šin tu brtan
 pa tsam du zad de | bdud la sogs pas mi p'yed la gañ
 gi ts'e mos pai stobs k'o na sgom par byed pa dei ts'e
 mos pa brtan pai sgo nas mos pas spyod pai sar rnam
 par gżag go | | sa ądi la gnas pai byañ c'ub sems dpa'
 ni so soi skye bo yin mod kyi | byis pai p'oñs pa t'ams
 cad las yañ dag par ądas te tiñ ñe ądsin dañ | gzuñs
 dañ | rnam par t'ar pa dañ | mñon par ses pa la sogs
 pai yon tan grañs med pa dag dañ ldan pa ąp'ags pa
dkon mc'og sprin las ąbyuñ ba yin no | | ądi ñid t'a
 ma dañ | ąbriñ dañ | rab dañ | rab kyi mc'og gi gnas
 skabs bżis ñes par ąbyed pai c'a dañ mt'un pa bżir rnam
 par gżag ste | ądi ltar gañ gi ts'e p'yi rol gyi don rnam
 par ąjig pa na šes pai snañ ba cuñ zad gsal ba byuñ ba
 dei ts'e ñes par ąbyed pai [39, b] c'a dañ mt'un pa dro
 bar gyur pa yin no | | de ni t'eg pa c'en po ądir snañ
 ba t'ob pai tiñ ñe ądsin žes bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e šes
 pai snañ ba de ñid ąbriñ tsam du gsal bar gyur pa dei
 ts'e ñes par ąbyed pai c'a dañ mt'un pa rtse mo žes
 bya ba yin no | | snañ ba mc'od pai tiñ ñe ądsin žes
 kyañ bya'o | gañ gi ts'e de ñid c'es gsal bar gyur te
 p'yi rol gyi don mi snañ bai šes pai snañ ba byuñ ba dei

ts'e rnam par šes pa tsam la gnas pai p'yir ¹⁾ nes par
 abyed pai c'a dan mt'un pa bzod pa žes bya ba yin no |
 | p'yogs gcig la žugs pai tiñ ne ađsin žes kyañ bya ste |
 | gzuñ bai rnam pa mi dmigs par žugs pai p'yir ro |
 | gañ gi ts'e [gzuñ dan] ađsin pai rnam pa dan gñis su med
 pai šes pa yañ rnam par ajig pa dei ts'e nes par abyed pai
 c'a dan mt'un pa c'os kyi mc'og ces bya ba yin no | | de
 ma t'ag pai tiñ ne ađsin žes kyañ bya ste | de ma t'ag
 k'o nar de k'o na la ajug pai p'yir ro | | dei bar du
 ni mos pas spyod pai sa yin no |

§ 23. | sa ²⁾ gžan dag ni mdor na yan lag bcu
 gcig yoñs su rdsogs pai sgo nas rnam par gžag
 go | | de las dan por ³⁾ ni t'og mar gañ zag dan
 c'os la bdag med pai de k'o na rtogs pai yan lag
 yoñs su rdsogs pa las rnam par gžag ste | ađi ltar
 gañ gi ts'e c'os kyi mc'og gi mjug ⁴⁾ t'ogs k'o nar c'os
 t'ams cad ño bo ñid med par mñon sum du byed pai ye
 šes šin tu gsal ba ajig rten las ađas pa spros pa t'ams cad
 dan bral ba t'og ma byuñ ba dei ts'e byañ c'ub sems
 dpa' yañ dag pa ñid skyon med pa la žugs pas mt'oñ
 bai lam skyes pai p'yir sa dan por c'ud pa yin no |
 | de bas na de k'o na ⁵⁾ k'oñ du ma ⁶⁾ c'ud pas ađi la
 t'og mar k'oñ du c'ud pai p'yir byañ c'ub sems dpa'
 rab tu dga' ba yin te | | des na sa de rab tu dga'
 ba žes bya'o | | sa der mt'oñ bas spañ bar bya bai
 ñom moñs pa brgya rtsa bcu gñis spoñ ño | | sa lhag
 pai tiñ ne ađsin t'ams cad mñon par sgrub pai p'yir sdug

1) N. *om.* p'yir.

2) N. *om.* sa.

3) N. dan po.

4) N. ajug.

5) N. *om.* k'o na.

6) N. *om.* ma.

ma rnams ni bsgom pai lam gyi ño bo ñid de | de dag
 tu bsgoms¹⁾ pas spañ bar bya ba k'ams gsum pai ñon moñs
 pa²⁾ bcu drug spon ño | | sa der byañ c'ub sems dpa'
 c'os kyi dbyiñs kun tu agra ba ñid rtogs pas bdag gi don
 dañ agra bar gžan gyi [40 a] don la ajug pai p'yir sbyin
 pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e ba yin no | | byañ
 c'ub sems dpa' des de k'o na k'oñ du c'ud kyañ ji srid
 du ltuñ bai aḱ'rul pa c'a p'ra ba rnams la šes bžin du
 gnas par byed mi nus pa de srid du sa dañ po'o³⁾ | | gañ
 gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e⁴⁾ yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa
 gñis par rnam par gžag go | de bas na sa de la
 ltuñ bai aḱ'rul pa c'a p'ra ba kun tu mi spyod pas ts'ul
 k'rims kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e ba yin no |
 | aḱ'al bai ts'ul k'rims kyi dri ma t'ams cad dañ bral
 bai p'yir sa de dri ma med pa žes bya'o | | ltuñ bai
 aḱ'rul pa c'a p'ra ba rnams la šes bžin du gnas pa yañ
 yin no | | ji srid du ajug rten pai tiñ ñe aḱsin mt'a'
 dag la sñoms par ajug pa dañ | | ji skad t'os pai don
 kun tu aḱsin mi nus pa de srid du sa gñis pa k'o na'o |
 | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs
 pas sa gsum par rnam par gžag go | | sa de la byañ
 c'ub sems dpa' t'os pa gzuñ bai p'yir dañ | | ajug rten
 bsñal t'ams cad bzod pas na bzod pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa
 šin tu šas c'e ba yin no | | tiñ ñe aḱsin de dag t'ob
 pas sa de ni ajug rten las aḱas pai ye šes kyi snañ ba
 ts'ad⁵⁾ med pa byed pas 'od byed pa žes bya'o | | de
 ajug rten pai tiñ ñe aḱsin mt'a' dag t'ob kyañ ji srid du

1) N. bsgom.

2) N. ñon moñs pai ñon moñs pa.

3) N. de srid sa dañ po'o.

4) N. ts'e *deest*.

5) N. *om.* ts'ad.

ji ltar t'ob pai byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi¹⁾ c'os rnam
 kyis lan mañ du gnas par byed pa dañ | | c'os dañ
 sñoms par ajug pai sems btañ sñoms su byed mi nus pa
 de srid du sa gsum pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e
 yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa bži bar rnam par gžag²⁾
 go | | sa de la byañ c'ub sems dpa'³⁾ rgyun mi aç'ad par
 [lus dañ] ñag dañ yid kyi brjod pa las yañ dag par bzla
 bai p'yir byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi c'os rnam kyis gnas
 pas na brtson aḡrus kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e
 ba yin no | | sa de ni ñon moñs pai šin mt'a' dag bsreg⁴⁾
 par nus pai byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi c'os kyi 'od aḡro
 ba šin tu byuñ bas 'od aḡro ba can žes bya'o | | de
 byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi c'os [40 b] kyis rgyun mi aç'ad
 par gnas pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du bden pa rnam
 bsgom pa na⁵⁾ aḡ'or ba la [mñon du] mi p'yogs pa dañ | |
 mya ñan las aḡas pa la mñon du p'yogs pa las sems bzlog
 ste | t'abs kyis zin pai byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs bsgom mi nus
 pa de srid du sa bži pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e
 yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa lña par rnam par gžag
 go | | de bas na sa de la t'abs kyis zin pai byañ c'ub
 kyi p'yogs bsgom pa de yoñs su rdsogs par byed pa ni
 šin tu sbyañ bar dka' bas na šin tu sbyañ dka' ba⁶⁾ žes
 bya'o | | sa de la bden pai rnam pa sgom pa lan mañ
 du byed pas bsam gtan gyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas
 c'e ba yin te | | de t'abs kyis zin pai byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs
 kyis lan⁷⁾ mañ du gnas pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du aḡ'or

1) N. *om.* p'yogs kyi.

2) N. bžag.

3) N. byañ c'ub dpa'.

4) D. sreg.

5) D. bsgom pa.

6) N. dka' žes.

7) N. lan *deest.*

bar ajug pa la so sor rtog pas skyo ba dañ ldan pas sems
kyi rgyud kyis mts'an ma med par gnas pa la mñam
par ajug mi nus pa de srid du sa lña pa'o | | gañ gi
ts'e nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa drug
pa rnam par gžag go | | sa de la byañ c'ub sems dpa'
rten ciñ abrel par abyuñ ba bsgom¹⁾ pas gnas pas na šes
rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e ba yin no |
| de bas na šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas
c'é bai p'yir sa de la sañs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad mñon
du gyur pa žes bya'o | | de mts'an ma med par gnas
pa t'ob pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du skabs med par
mts'an ma med par gnas pa la mñam par ajug mi nus
pa de srid du sa drug pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei
ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa bdun par rnam par
gžag go | | sa de la byañ c'ub sems dpa' mts'an ma
t'ams cad mts'an ma med par k'oñ du c'ud la mts'an
mar byas pai t'a sñad kyañ aogog par mi byed do | | de
bas na sa de la t'abs kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas
c'e ba yin no | | sa ađi lhun gyis grub pai lam dañ
abrel pai p'yir šin tu riñ du soñ bas²⁾ riñ du soñ ba žes
bya'o | | de skabs med pa mts'an ma med pa la gnas
pa yañ yin no | | ji³⁾ srid du lhun gyis grub pas
ajug pai mts'an ma med par [41 a] gnas pa la mñam
par ajug mi nus pa de srid du sa bdun pa'o | gañ gi
ts'e nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa bryad
par rnam par gžag go | | sa de la lhun gyis grub par
dge bai p'yogs la sbyor bas na smon lam gyi p'a rol tu
p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e ba yin no | | mts'an ma med
pa la rtsol bas mi bskyod pai p'yir de mi γyo ba žes

1) D. sgom.

2) N. soñ bas na.

3) D. adds de.

bya'o | | de lhun gyis grub par mts'an ma med pa la
 gnas pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du rnam grañs dañ |
 nes pai ts'ig la sogs pai rab tu dbye bas rnam pa t'ams
 cad du c'os ston pa la dbaṅ bsgyur bar mi nus pa de
 srid du sa brgyad pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e
 yan lag ¹⁾ de yoṅs su rdsogs pas sa dgu par rnam par gžag
 go | | sa de la byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' so so yañ dag par
 rig pai k'yad par t'ob pas šes rab kyī stobs kyī k'yad
 par dañ ldan pas na stobs kyī p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin
 tu ²⁾ šas c'e ba yin no | | rnam pa t'ams cad du c'os
 ston pa la mk'as pai p'yir k'a na ma t'o ba med pai
 blo gros kyī k'yad par t'ob pai p'yir ³⁾ legs pai blo gros
 žes bya'o | | de so sor ⁴⁾ yañ dag par rig pa bži t'ob
 pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du saṅs rgyas kyī žiñ dañ |
 aḱ'or dañ | sprul pa la sogs pa bstan pa dañ | c'os
 yoṅs su rdsogs par loṅs spyod pa dañ | sems can yoṅs
 su smin par byed mi nus pa de srid du sa dgu pa'o |
 | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de ⁵⁾ yoṅs su rdsogs
 pas sa bcu par ⁶⁾ rnam par gžag go | | de la sprul pa
 la sogs pas sems can yoṅs su smin par bya ba la mk'as
 pai k'yad par dañ ldan pas byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' ye šes
 kyī p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e ba yin no | | de
 ni c'os ston pai sprin rnam kyis aḱig rten gyi k'ams
 mt'a' yas pa rnam su c'os kyī c'ar aḱebs pas na c'os kyī
 sprin žes bya'o | | gžan yañ p'uñ po yoṅs su dag pa
 la sogs pai rnam par gžag ⁷⁾ pa rnam kyis sa rnam ⁸⁾

1) N. yan lag lañ.

2) N. om. šin tu.

3) N. t'ob pa.

4) D. de so so.

5) N. om. de.

6) N. om. par.

7) N. bžag here and in following sentences.

8) D. sa only.

rnam par gžag pa yod de | yi ge mañs kyis dogs nas
 ma bris so | | des sprul pa la sogs pai dbañ t'ob k'yañ
 ji srid du šes bya t'ams cad la rnam pa t'ams cad du c'ags
 pa med pa dañ | t'ogs pa med pai ye šes bskyed [41 b]
 par mi nus pa de srid du sa bcu pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e
 nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de yon's su rdsogs pas sañs rgyas
 kyi sar rnam par gžag go | | sa rnam par gžag pa ađi
 ni ap'ags pa dgoñs pa ñes par ađrel pa las bstan to |
 | sañs rgyas kyi sa ađi ni p'un sum ts'ogs pa rnam pa t'ams
 cad mt'a' dag rab kyi mt'ar p'yin pai p'yir ađi las goñ
 na rnam pa gžan med pas de p'an c'ad sa rnam par gžag
 pa med do | | sañs rgyas kyi sa dei yon tan gyi p'yogs
 rab tu dbye ba dpag tu med pas rnam pa t'ams cad brjod
 pa ni sañs rgyas rnams kyis kyañ mi spyod na bdag ađra
 bas lta smos kyañ ci dgos | | ji skad du | ap'ags pa
sdoñ po bkod pa las kyañ |

šin tu brtags kyañ rañ byuñ gi |
 yon tan rnams kyi p'yogs gcig mt'a' |
 mi rtog sañs rgyas rnams dañ ni ¹⁾ |
 c'os rnams bsam gyis mi k'yab bo |

| žes bka' stsal pa lta bu'o | | mdor ađi tsam žig
 brjod par nus te | | bdag dañ gžan gyi don p'un
 sum ts'ogs pa rab kyi mt'ar p'yin pa ñes pa ma
 lus pa bsal bai mt'ar t'ug pa brñes nas sañs rgyas bcom
 ldan ađas rnams c'os kyi sku la bžugs te | | loñs spyod
 rdsogs pa dañ sprul pai skus ađro ba ma lus pai don
 lhun gyis grub pai ts'ul gyis mdsad ciñ ađ'or ba ji
 srid par bžugs so | | de lta bas na rtog pa dañ ldan
 pa rnams kyis yon tan t'ams cad kyi ađbyuñ gnas bcom

1) N. mi rtogs sañs rgyas rnam pa dañ ni.

ldan ʔadas rnam la dad pa bskyed la de dag gi yon tan
 yoṅs su bsgrub pai p'yir rnam pa t'ams cad kyis rab tu
 ʔabad par bya'o | | sku gsum la sogs pai rnam par
 dbye ba ni yi ge maṅs kyis dogs te ma bris so |

mdo sde dag gi ts'ul gyi ¹⁾ lugs mt'un pa |
 rgyal bai sras kyi lam ʔadi legs bšad pas ||
 bdag gis bsod nams mi c'un gaṅ t'ob des |
 ʔagro ba šes žan ²⁾ blo mc'og myur t'ob šog ||

sai mña' bdag dpal lha btsan pos bka' stsal nas ³⁾ ka
 ma la šī las ⁴⁾ bsgom pai rim pa mdor bsodus pa ʔadi bgyis
 so | | bsgom rim daṅ po rdsogs so || || rgya gar gyi
 mk'an po pra jñā va rma daṅ | žu c'en gyi lo tsā ba
 bande ye šes sde la sogs pas bsgyur ciṅ žus te gtan la
 p'ab pa ||

1) D. gyis.

2) N. gžon.

3) From bdag daṅ gžan (third line from the bottom of preceding page) up
 to bka' stsal not in Sk.

4) N. ši.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

To Part I¹⁾

- P. 5, n. 1 read: p. 196
- P. 19, l. 24 ff. and p. 142, l. 15 ff.: logically, the sequence of the arguments in section II according to A is to be preferred to that of B because it is a kind of general introduction and it corresponds to the discussion on *prayojana* of later dogmatical books.
- P. 20, l. 3: Prof. Demiéville informs me that the expression *sheng shih* never occurs in Chinese.
- P. 21, l. 5 read: of mGon po skyabs, reedition of aJam^o
- P. 24, l. 9: omit 'is'
- P. 55, l. 1 read: *ṣaṭkam*
- P. 57, l. 11 read: *°pāsanāt*
- P. 59 *kārikā* l. 12 read: *samyag*
- P. 61, l. 12: *°stambhād*
- P. 63, l. 3 from below read: *med ni*
- P. 65, l. 1 read: *mahāttvataḥ*
- P. 84, l. 12 read: *mā bhūt*
- P. 91, l. 1 read: *nirvāṇam*
- P. 99, stanza 13: the Buddhas do not deduce the present and future achievements of the Bodhisattvas, on account of the fruit which these bodhisattvas may realize, that is by a logical arguing, but by the unimpeded, extratemporal intuition called *praṇidhijñāna*: this is, according to *La Somme*, p. 285, the sixth *gūṇa* of the Dharmakāya, which AA. VIII, 8 so defines:
- anābhogam anāsaṅgam avyāghātaṃ sadā sthitam |*
sarvaprāśnāpanud bauddhaṃ praṇidhijñānam iṣyate ||
- See *ibid.* commentary of Haribhadra, AAA, p. 524 ff.
- P. 101, n. 1 substitute: T: *rtog pa yin p'yir ro* "because the two are imagined".
- P. 132, n. 1 read: *aparipakva*
- P. 133, l. 4 from below, read: *'dhigama*
- P. 137, l. 11 read: 自性
- P. 141, n. 1 For another definition of Mahāsattva see: *Suvikrāntavikrāmi-prajñāpāramitā*, ed. by Tokumyō Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur*, Stuttgart 1932, p. 27
- P. 147, l. 3 read: *dānām*
- P. 149, l. 18 read: *uccheda^o*

¹⁾ These *addenda* and *corrigenda* annul the provisory ones published at the end of Part I while I was away in Swat.

- P. 153, last line read: as if it
P. 158, ll. 6, 14 read: uttrasi°
P. 165, l. last but one: gāṅgāyāṃ
P. 168, l. 8 °nuttarā and samyak°
P. 195: The English translation of the *Vimśikā* by Yamaguchi is reedited in *A book of Indian Philosophy* ed. by Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore, Princeton, 1957, p. 228
P. 199: Mention of an ācārya Nāgārjuna is found in a dedicatory inscription discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa; it records the erection of an image of Buddha ordered to be made by Candraprabha a pupil of Jayaprabhācārya in his turn a pupil of ācārya Nāgārjuna. The Brahmī characters in which this inscription is written seem to go back to 450-500 A. D. (see T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* (Mem. Arch. Survey of India n. 71, p. 29). This inscription deserves a better attention than it has attracted so far.
P. 263 note to ll. 1-2. So ms.: but T. supposes: vāpur sthīrasvabhāvam (in this case there is no necessity of adding: prasiddhasaṃbandha)
P. 276 n. 1 read: samyag
P. 277 n. 3 On the missing stanzas of *Vākya-pādīya*, not found in the preserved text see: ŚADHU RAM, *Authorship of some kārikās and fragments ascribed to Bhartṛhari*. *J. of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, vol. XIII, 1956, p. 51 ff.
P. 283, l. 12: verse defective! corr.: astīdam ity artho'yaṃ svasaṃvidāḥ
P. 284, l. 34, p. 4 This stanza is quoted by Jayaratha in *Tantrāloka*, vol. VII, p. 170, but; bhāsate for śaṃsate
P. 291, last line read: cehopalabdhiḥ
P. 294, n. 2 dele: svabhāva after hetu
P. 296, l. 16 read: tat sādhar°
P. 297, l. 20 read: °opādhyana°
P. 303, l. 14 the correction paramāṇuvat seems evident. Note 2 should therefore be suppressed.
P. 304: For: kaścit read: kaṃcit.

To Part II

ADD. p. 10, n. 3: The nickname *Me mgo*, 'fire-head' may also have been given to this priest because during the ordination he had undergone the fire ordeal which consisted in the branding of some marks on the shaven heads of the monks, these brandings being three or multiple. The practice is already recommended in the *Brahmajālasūtra*, Ta. n. 1484, p. 1006 a: burning of the body, of an arm, of finger, as an offering to the Buddha, without which one cannot be called a Bodhisattva who has given up family life. Cf. J. J. M. DE GROOT, *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*. *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 47 and 210. REICHEL, *Truth and tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, Shanghai 1934, p. 238.

ADD. p. 22, l. 9: The number itself of the seven *sad mi* looks rather suspicious: the "seven tests" remind us of the seven monks who in China were used to assist as representatives of the community every ordination ceremony and to be present there along with the *karmācārya* and the instructor (see J. J. M. DE GROOT, *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, p. 208, I. P. MINAYEFF, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*. Paris 1894, p. 309 "sept témoins vénérables").

An ideal assembly was thus imagined as the transmitter of a tradition handed over to it by the Sarvāstivādin monks invited from India; it assured the foundation and guaranteed the ordinations to come. This ideal assembly strengthened the claim of orthodoxy of the Tibetan clergy, it linked it with the Indian tradition and conferred upon it a sanctity which could justify the developments and continuity of the Tibetan Church.

This being the case it is likely that the story was imagined under the influence of Chinese customs.

ADD. p. 32, l. 1: After a new consideration,—and I must thank my friend H.E. Richardson for having given me the hint—I think that further precision is possible in the sense that the date of the ordination of the seven *Sad mi* and that of the foundation of the temple are the same, i.e. 779 that is a sheep year. The argument for that is the edict of *K'ri sroñ lde btsan* which I published in TTK. The text of this edict has been preserved by PT and about its authenticity, I think, no doubts are possible. In it, TTK P. 44, it is said that the *Lhun gyi grub pa* "as receptacle of the Law" was established in the sheep year. Here 757 is excluded because the king was then too young and we know from another edict that when he was 20 years old the troubles caused by the Bonpo started ($742 + 20 = 761$); only two years seem thus possible i.e. 767 and 779.

Considering that the tradition has preserved the unanimous record of a long interval between the foundation and the completion we have to conclude that the year of the completion cannot but be 779.

ADD. p. 32, l. 3: One may object that my account gives too much weight to PT and that I insist too much on the validity and the authority of this source. But the fact is certain that the documents which he quotes have so far proved to be authentic by the discovery of the original edicts. There is no doubt that there existed in *bSam yas* and elsewhere some archives still preserved at the times of PT. On the other side the importance of *bSam yas* is also testified by the literature connected with *Padmasambhava*, KT and KTY which though much re-elaborated, contain few old and genuine materials. A great religious and cultural life for a certain period was centred in the monastery. It was there that the edict in which the king proclaimed Buddhism to be the religion of the State was issued. The tradition concerning the importance of this monastery is so general that I found it difficult not to accept it. Moreover, it should be mentioned that the investigation of Tibetan history shows a gradual shifting of its centre from the South to the North. In the beginning we find *Yar lung* as the place of paramount importance. There

was the palace, P'o brañ, of Lha t'o t'o ri, then we find there the castle of P'yoñ rgyas and the tombs of the Tibetan Rulers scattered in the plains nearby. Later this centre shifted to the North of the river bTsan po in Brag dmar, Zuñ mk'ar, the plain of bSam yas, Haspori etc., then to Lhasa which had so far been the summer residence. The country near bSam yas and Brag dmar was much more easily defensible than Lhasa. It was protected on the East by high mountains and was also surrounded to the North and South by two big rivers in spring not easily fordable. Lhasa, as the summer residence, was the centre from which the king during the warm season started for his yearly hunting (*Concile*, p. 202) and the armies departed for their military expeditions. Any movement of troops would have been very difficult from bSam yas, while near Lhasa they could be easily accommodated and the roads were opened to China and Central Asia. But under king K'ri lde sroñ btsan and chiefly Ral pa can we assist to a definite transfer of the centre of the state to Lhasa. Then the Karchung and 'On can rdo temples are erected on the southern shore of the Kyichu and the treaties between Tibet and China are engraved in Lhasa. Thus Lhasa was a summer residence, the starting point of warlike expeditions, the centre of the territory in full array of war (*Ru*). It was walled as all other important settlements must have been walled, including most probably bSam yas. There is no reason to believe that the actual wall, lcags ri, is the original one and that in those times it was not bigger including also the habitation of the king. Those who have been in bSam yas certainly know how large is the valley and how easy it could be to have there a big encampment. We know that Ch. ch'e ng is not necessarily a town. It means also a walled camp (*Concile*, p. 201), and we gather from the Ch. sources (*Concile*, p. 202) that the kings used to take shelter during the cold seasons in the walled town or camp, which corresponds to what TH. often says (see above) that the king in winter resided in Brag dmar and nearby places. Therefore I think that the "pure walled town" cannot but be bSam yas: 'pure' can only be applied to a sacred place. There is nothing in the Ch. documents so far known that points to Lhasa as the place where the debate took place; the two places where the Hya šañ meets the king were apparently K o and P o · m a n which latter seems to me to correspond to Brag dmar. The king was nomadizing and hunting in the hot season; the only time when he settled was in winter and we saw that generally the winter was spent in the country near the bTsañ po and Brag dmar. But this I repeat does not exclude that Lhasa was for its situation more important than Brag dmar and that it may have therefore appeared to foreigners as the capital and that the Chinese princesses were received there. The only point on which we must rather be careful before accepting the statement of the Tibetan tradition is that concerning the duration of the debate. From the Tibetan sources we are under the impression that it lasted a short time; against it there are the records of a witness, Wang Si, from whom we know

that the debate went on for about one year and a half. Did all the meetings take place in bSam yas? Probably not, but I do not see any cogent reason to reject the statement of the Tibetan sources that the first meeting was held in bSam yas. We can hardly imagine that the king himself was present in all the debates in which things were discussed beyond his comprehension. Probably he assisted at the opening of the debate and then at the concluding sessions before promulgating his edicts, therefore in both cases during the cold season when he settled on the northern shore of the bTsan po near Brag dmar.

ADD. p. 33, l. 22: I do not say of course that K a t corresponds to G r a g s which is phonetically impossible. Mine is a mere surmise in case some character is missing or a mistake dropped in the text. I therefore do not insist too much on this supposition.

ADD. p. 35, l. 21: Mr. H. E. Richardson kindly reminds me that when Nepal is clearly referred to as e. g. in the treaty inscription of 821 A.D., it is prefixed by the word: l h o, South. He also suggests that in TH. under the year 705 g c e n l h o B a l p h o might be read g c e n L h o B a l p h o. Anyhow, as I stated, duplication of names is not rare in ancient Tibetan records. Prof. Demiéville in a letter to me refers to the Ch. XL of the T ' a n g s h u where the itinerary is preserved of the Ch. envoys to the Tibetan king nomadising for his summer sports in Pa-pu, B'uat puo, Bal po. This would correspond according to distance and direction to the Yar ṅ brog mts'o, the lake of the upper pasture grounds near Nankartse. But in the Tibetan books Paltits'o is unknown: Palti corresponds to Pedi, dPal sde (spelling uncertain), a rdsoñ on the lake. S. CH. DAS., *Journey to Lhasa* (ed. Rockhill), p. 141. Cf. G. TUCCI, *To Lhasa and beyond*, p. 66.

P. 44, l. 7, read: mu steg.

ADD. p. 51, l. 5: So the actual colophon; but of course we may also consider the cause of a later revision.

ADD. p. 59, l. 11: But of course in China we find at the same period analogous donations.

ADD. p. 83, n. 6: The collusion between the Bon pos and the rÑiñ ma pas is well known: it is therefore interesting to recollect that a classification of the Tantras into six groups is accepted by the Bon pos. According to Bon po sources, f. i. ṅ D u s p a r i n p o c ' e i r g y u d t r i m a m e d p a, p. 1, Tantras are so classified

B o n ñ i d l t a b a i r g y u d	
t i ñ ñ e ṅ a d s i n s g o m p a i r g y u d	
s p y o d p a i	"
d a m t s ' i g s d o m	"
y i d b ṅ i n ṅ a b r a s b u i	"
ṅ p ' r i n l a s	"

P. 125, l. 12, read: samvṛti.

P. 127, l. 8, read: śrutam.

ADD. p. 133, l. 21: The five poisons correspond to the five coloured lights which are the source of the psycho-physic universe. This theory of cosmic evolution from uncoloured primeval light = Kun tu bzañ po down to the material world and the creatures living in it is common both to Bon po and to rDsogs c'en dogmatics and has been most probably influenced by Manichæan doctrines. I quote the scheme of this evolution from the 'O d g s a l s e m s k y i m e l o ñ , The mirror of mind-light, revealed by Kun tu bzañ po to sNañ zer lod po, which I will send to the press very shortly.

Void = rig-pa, self-born, primeval intelligence = 'od gsal - light, uncoloured.

From it a ray emanates of the same uncoloured light. If one recognizes that ray as one's own essence, release is immediately realized.

In case one does not recognize it as such, one feels anger and saṃsāra begins:

five lights	five passions:	
white	anger	} five poisons
red	attachment	
blue	ignorance	
green	pride	
yellow	jealousy	

From them the various psychic and physic constituents of the individual, organs, parts of the body etc. arise. Then the external world starting from the material elements is originated:

lights:	yellow	earth
	red	fire
	blue	water
	green	wind
	white	ether.

P. 145, l. 25, read: Tōhoku Cat. n. 4450.

P. 146, l. 5, read: Tōhoku Cat. n. 4451.

ADD. p. 229-30: The Tibetan passage which has no counterpart in Sanskrit is here translated: Having attained the supreme limit of the accumulation of merits for their own benefit and of the others and having obtained the extreme elimination of all defects the Buddhas, the Blessed ones, abide in the dharmakāya. With the Sambhogakāya and the Nirmāṇakāya actuating the benefit of all beings in a spontaneous way they abide in saṃsāra as long as it exists. Therefore those who possess reason should have faith in the Blessed ones who are a source of all sorts of virtues and should by all means exert themselves in order to realize those virtues proper to them. The particularities concerning the three bodies are not written here because we are afraid of writing too much. By whatever small merit I may have gathered well explaining this path of the sons of the Victorious ones according to the method of different sūtras, may beings of weak intelligence acquire the supreme mind (Enlightenment).

NOTICE

This volume has been printed during the Author's absence: he has therefore been unable to check cross references in the last proofs. A list is here given of the corrections that should be taken into account:

p. 5 n. 3	read	p. 26	instead of	p. 27
p. 16 l. 14	»	p. 24	» »	p. 19
p. 20 l. 21	»	p. 150 f.	» »	p. 140
p. 23 n. 1	»	p. 11	» »	p. 7
p. 25 l. 24	»	p. 56	» »	p. 50
p. 31 l. 4	»	pp. 42, 54	» »	pp. 36, 47
p. 34 l. 18	»	p. 3	» »	p. 27
p. 37 l. 17	»	p. 26	» »	p. 21
p. 37 l. 28	»	p. 45	» »	p. 39
p. 38 l. 8	»	p. 152	» »	p. 143
p. 39 l. 31	»	p. 198	» »	p. 183
p. 39 l. 32	»	p. 205	» »	p. 189
p. 44 n. 1	»	p. 82	» »	p. 74
p. 48 l. 18	»	p. 21	» »	p. 16
p. 49 l. 24	»	p. 18	» »	p. 14
p. 52 l. 8	»	p. 101	» »	p. 93
p. 52 l. 31	»	p. 30	» »	p. 26
p. 58 n. 1	»	p. 39	» »	p. 34
p. 58 n. 2	»	p. 25	» »	p. 21
p. 63 l. 27	»	p. 133	» »	p. 126
p. 81 n. 1	»	p. 66	» »	p. 60
p. 96 n. 2	»	p. 13	» »	p. 9
p. 97 n. 3	»	p. 64	» »	p. 58
p. 133 l. 27	»	p. 137	» »	pp. 127-28
p. 151 l. 5	»	p. 282	» »	p. 263

G. トウッチ 『仏教小論集』

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印刷 明文堂印刷所
製本 新生製本株式会社

発行所 株式会社 臨川書店

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