

Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons

The Buddhist Case

Edited by

Orna Almogi



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES 13

Hamburg • 2022

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg

Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES

Edited by Harunaga Isaacson, Dorji Wangchuk, and Eva Wilden

Volume 13

Hamburg • 2022

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg

Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons

The Buddhist Case

Edited by

Orna Almogi



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES 13

Hamburg • 2022

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg

Published by the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Asien-
Afrika- Institut, Universität Hamburg, Alsterterrasse 1,
D-20354 Hamburg, Germany
Email: indologie@uni-hamburg.de

© Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg, 2022

ISBN: 978-3-945151-12-9

Almogi, Orna: Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons: The
Buddhist Case

First published 2022

All rights reserved.

*Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism
or review, no part of the book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by
print, photoprint, microform or any other means without written permission.*

Enquiry should be made to the publishers.

Printing and distribution:

Aditya Prakashan, 2/18 Ansari Road, New Delhi, 110 002, India.

Email: contact@bibliaimpex.com

Website: www.bibliaimpex.com

Printed and bound in India by Replika Press Pvt. Ltd.

This publication has been supported by the Khyentse Center for Tibetan
Buddhist Textual Scholarship (KC-TBTS), Universität Hamburg.

*In Memory of
Prof. Seishi Karashima & Prof. Stefano Zacchetti*

Table of Contents

Preface	3
<i>Evolution of Buddhist Scriptures</i>	
INGO STRAUCH	5
Lost in Translation? Canonical Languages and Linguistic Diversity of Early Versions of the <i>Prātimokṣasūtra</i>	
MARTIN DELHEY	43
On the Authoritativeness of the <i>Yogācārabhūmi</i> as an <i>Abhidharma</i> Work	
YOSHIMIZU CHIZUKO	63
Revisiting the Tenth Chapter of the <i>Samdhinirmocanasūtra</i> : A Scripture on Rational Reflection	
FRANCESCO SFERRA	95
Weaving Dharma into Words: Composition Strategies in Buddhist Tantras	
HARUNAGA ISAACSON	161
Studies in the Transmission of the <i>Hevajratantra</i> (I)	
PÉTER-DÁNIEL SZÁNTÓ	187
Minor Vajrayāna Texts VI: A Sanskrit Fragment of the <i>Anāvilatantra</i>	
DORJI WANGCHUK	217
A Typology of Criteria for Buddhist Scriptural Authenticity	
<i>Formation of Buddhist Canons</i>	
BABA NORIHISA	231
The Fifth Element of the <i>Sūtraṭīka</i> : Rethinking the Canons of Indian Buddhist Monastic Orders	

PETER SKILLING	273
Nine Recitations and the Inclusive <i>Tripitaka</i> : Canon Formation in Pre-modern Thailand	
ORNA ALMOGI	351
Editors as Canon-Makers: The Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the Light of Its Editors' Predilections and Agendas	

Preface

The evolution of scriptures and the formation of canons are complex processes that often stretch over a long period of time and call into play numerous aspects of the societies in which they unfold. Understanding these two related processes is not only crucial to our study of the history of Buddhism in general and of Buddhist ideas in particular, but is also instrumental in appreciating what impact such aspects of social and cultural life have on intellectual and religio-philosophical developments and vice versa. One of the main objectives of the Khyentse Center for Tibetan Buddhist Textual Scholarship, situated at the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg, has been to promote the study of the evolution of Buddhist scriptures, the formation of Buddhist canons, and the state of Buddhist intellectual networks. Over the past few years it has supported various initiatives in this regard, the culmination of which has been the online publication of BuddhaNexus. One of the Khyentse Center's activities in this regard was the conference "Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons," which was organized in collaboration with the International Education and Research Laboratory Program, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba, and took place at the Tokyo Campus of the University of Tsukuba at Myogadani on September 24–25, 2018. The conference particularly aimed at discussing various issues related to the two processes of evolution of Buddhist scriptures and formation of Buddhist canons, both on the macro-level and by way of specific examples, including various stages (or versions) in the evolution of a specific scripture; fluidity between treatises and scriptures (resulting in the transformation of the one category into the other or vice versa); the influence of śāstric literature on the evolution of scriptures; intertextuality between various scriptures; the issue of revelation versus authorship and its influence on the evolution of scriptures and the formation of canons and on processes leading to the formation of canons (of varying scope and content); and the

impact of various social and political aspects of society on these two processes.

The present volume contains papers by ten of the conference speakers, covering one or more of the above-mentioned topics in the context of different Buddhist canons. I would like to take this opportunity to thank both the Khyentse Center (Universität Hamburg) and the International Education and Research Laboratory Program (University of Tsukuba) for their support in organizing and financing the conference. Particular thanks are due to Prof. Chizuko Yoshimizu, Prof. Taisei Shida, and Prof. Dorji Wangchuk for their engagement in various ways, which greatly contributed to the success of the conference. Special thanks are also due to the conference speakers and the contributors to the present volume for their contributions and input.

Orna Almogi
Hamburg, June 2022

Lost in Translation? Canonical Languages and Linguistic Diversity of Early Versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*

Ingo Strauch (Université de Lausanne)

1. Introduction

Our notion of the formation and early development of Buddhist literary traditions has largely changed in the last decades. Ongoing discoveries of manuscripts and their detailed studies reveal patterns that sometimes seem to diverge from many settled views on how Buddhists transmitted their texts and in which way they defined their relation to what they call *buddhavacana* “Word of the Buddha.” It is well known that the early transmission of Buddhist texts was accompanied by various processes of linguistic adaptation and translations. These translational activities were mainly caused by the spread of Buddhism within the Indian subcontinent and beyond and the changing linguistic environments of the Buddhist communities in the course of their history. While the earliest Indic versions were transmitted in different varieties of Middle Indic, the Buddhist literature participated quite early and to a large extent in the movement that I once called “Sanskrit revolution.”¹ Many traditions, but not all, translated their texts into Sanskrit. The degree of “Sanskritization” is hereby quite diverse. It is almost impossible to say why certain traditions refused to participate in this process and why the Sanskritization reached such different levels in the participating traditions. But as a matter of fact, by the period of the first centuries of the Common Era we face a significant linguistic diversity within Buddhist literature.

Usually, the diversification of the Buddhist literary tradition, both with regard to the form and the language, is connected with the

¹ Strauch 2012.

division of the Buddhist community into different Buddhist schools or lineages (*nikāya*). The identity of these lineages is mainly determined by their adherence to a distinct Vinaya tradition.

Among the Vinaya texts, the *Prātimokṣasūtra* is generally regarded as one of the oldest.² Due to its importance for the identity and the organisation of the order, a great number of versions of this text were preserved in different Buddhist traditions. Even the notion of a “canonical language” is frequently associated with the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. Consequently, these versions are usually considered as characteristic and typical for a specific Buddhist *nikāya*. As the general agreement between the different versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* shows, its formation as a coherent text took place at a very early stage in the history of Buddhist literature, certainly within the first hundred years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Our manuscripts date from a much later period and can therefore only circumstantially refer to the complex processes that characterized the formation of this text and the emergence of school specific versions. But even the extant manuscript material shows that our notion of school specific “canonical” versions needs to be reconsidered. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that even within a school tradition different versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* were transmitted and acknowledged.³

Given this diversity, we are facing several problems: Is there an interrelation between the linguistic diversity and the multiplication of Vinaya lineages (*nikāya*)? In what terms can we define this interrelation, if it really exists? Or in other words: did the identity of a Buddhist community in terms of its affiliation to a specific lineage affect the way it translated its Vinaya texts into a specific language? What strategies of translation were chosen in order to preserve the specific character of the text on the one

² For the genesis of the Theravāda version of this text, see von Hinüber 1999.

³ For more information, see the conclusion below.

hand, and to make it usable and comprehensible in a new linguistic environment, on the other hand?

In this article, I present some new data from my research on an early manuscript of a *Prātimokṣasūtra* from Gandhāra that might contribute to this discussion. After a short introduction to the manuscript itself, I will concentrate on two aspects:

- The diversity of versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* and the notion of a canonical language
- Strategies of translation: between conservatism and innovation

2. The *Prātimokṣasūtra* Manuscript from the Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts

Until recently, we had no access to ancient manuscripts of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* that would predate the earliest Chinese translations of Vinaya texts of about the fourth century CE. Fortunately, with further studies and new discoveries of manuscripts from ancient Gandhāra this situation has changed. We have now at least two manuscripts that contain portions of Gāndhārī versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. One of them was only recently identified, it contains the first nine *saṃghādisesa/saṃghātīśeṣa* rules of a Gāndhārī *Prātimokṣasūtra*.⁴ The second of them is the birch-bark fragment BC 13 from the Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts.⁵

The manuscript BC 13 is a rather well preserved birch-bark scroll 16 cm wide and 23 cm high, inscribed on both sides with 23 (*recto*)

⁴ The manuscript is currently studied by Mark Allon (Sydney) who presented it at the Third Gāndhārī Workshop in Lausanne (August 2019). I am very grateful to Mark Allon for allowing me to share this information in the present article. Other manuscripts of the same collection were recently published by Harrison, Lenz & Salomon (2018) and Allon (2019).

⁵ For more information on this collection, see Strauch 2008a, 2008b, and Falk & Strauch 2014.

and 25 (*verso*) lines. Both sides are inscribed with two different versions of the beginning of the *Naiḥsargika pācittiya* (NP) rules.

The 30 NP rules form the fourth major part of all extant *Prātimokṣasūtras*. They cover offences related to the monks' property. Their first part, called in Pāli *cīvaravagga*, deals with matters concerning the monks' robes. The obverse contains the first nine rules, while the reverse remained incomplete. Due to the lack of space, the text stops in the middle of rule 8. It is possible that the scroll was intentionally planned as part of a larger composite scroll that would have contained the entire *Prātimokṣasūtra*. The empty space on the top of the obverse could indicate the space that was left blank for gluing the pieces together. Either this plan was never realized or the composite scroll was soon destroyed—in any case, the same scribe used the reverse of the scroll to inscribe a second version of the same text, this time beginning at the very top. Due to the bigger script that was necessary on the rough surface of the reverse he could not complete the entire set of rules.

Consequently, this manuscript offers us a view not only to one, but even to two *Prātimokṣasūtras* written in Gāndhārī. Since the texts on both sides are not identical, they clearly represent two different versions of this part of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. It can be shown that these two versions relate to other extant versions of the text. Although they are not identical with any of these preserved texts, the version on the obverse is closely related to the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Theravāda and Dharmaguptaka *nikāyas*, while the version on the reverse shares a number of features that are restricted to the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions.⁶ In an earlier publication, I was also able to show that this manuscript helps us to better understand how the oral and written ways of transmission possibly interacted:⁷

⁶ For further details on this relationship, see Strauch 2008b: 26–33 and Strauch 2014: 817–825.

⁷ Strauch 2014: 825.

The Bajaur Prātimokṣasūtra fragment obviously represents an intermediate state in the development of codified canonical texts – a state when a living oral tradition, which was rooted in a distinct local or probably regional context, was confronted with a growing production of written texts, which somehow petrified these local versions and distributed them into different contexts. The process of harmonisation had of course to take place between the oral versions and the written texts and between the different written texts themselves. Only such a process could eventually result in the emergence of generally accepted and supraregionally used canons with a codified and authoritative textual shape.

In that publication, I mainly dealt with structural aspects and the wording of some of the rules. At the same time, it was obvious that both versions displayed some orthographical and phonological variants that led to the assumption, “that both versions of the Bajaur manuscript represent distinct regional or local varieties of the Prātimokṣasūtra current in ‘Greater Gandhāra.’ They were copied by the scribe in exactly the same form as he listened or – more probably – read them, without showing any effort to harmonise them in the process of redaction.”⁸

In the present contribution, I want to further explore this aspect and add some observations on the linguistic shape of the Gāndhārī *Prātimokṣasūtras* in the context of the early transmission of this text.

⁸ Strauch 2014: 821.

3. The *Prātimokṣasūtra* and the Notion of a “Canonical Language”

Oskar von Hinüber described the role of the Vinaya language with the following words:⁹

The centre piece of a Buddhist *saṃgha* and of Buddhist literature is the Vinaya-Piṭaka, and within this text the *Prātimokṣasūtra* [...]

If the legal consequences that might arise from the choice of a certain linguistic form used in the legal proceedings is taken into account, the *Prātimokṣasūtra* may be considered as fundamental in determining the language of a Vinaya school. From these considerations it may be deduced at once that at a certain date and at a certain place the members of a *saṃgha* must have made up their minds, which language to adopt for their *Prātimokṣasūtra* and for their *karmavācānā*. This language became the standard for the Vinaya and for the canonical texts as a whole.

As von Hinüber showed, language choices were made at different places and in different periods. This was not always final, but followed by “updates,” “thus moving nearer to Sanskrit step by step.”¹⁰ It is not easy to determine, what exactly are these “certain date and [...] certain place,” when the members of a specific *saṃgha* made these decisions. For most of the *nikāya* traditions we lack any data in this regard. The only exception in the Indian subcontinent is the Pāli Canon as redacted by the Mahāvihāra branch of Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Here we clearly observe the conscious development of a canon and the emerging notion of Pāli as a canonical language that eventually led to a high degree of linguistic consistency in the literary traditions of Theravāda Buddhism. But such a development is unique and exceptional and as far as we know rather unlike other Buddhist

⁹ Von Hinüber 1989: 352.

¹⁰ Von Hinüber 1989: 353.

traditions.¹¹ Thus we might wonder whether many of our recent ideas about canonical languages are influenced by this rather singular development, given the predominant status the Pāli Canon occupied in the history of Buddhist Studies well into the 20th century.

Another source for our notion of “canonical languages” are ideas that were expressed much later by authors that associate the emergence and existence of *nikāyas* with canons composed in different languages. These later authors, such as Śākyaprabha, Bu ston or Tāranātha, are well aware of the linguistic differences between the canons of the various schools.¹² As subsumed by Skilling:¹³

In both textual transmission and ritual practice (performance of *karmavākya*), language mattered. The (probably) eight-century North-Indian scholar Śākyaprabha (representing a Sarvāstivāda tradition) and the later Tibetan polymaths Bu-ston (1290–1364) and Tāranātha (1575–1635) hold that the use of regional dialects affected the transmission of the *buddhavacana* from an early date, starting from the second century after the Parinirvāṇa, and that this led to the birth of the various schools [...]

The language used by an order or school was a key component of the package that constituted its identity. By the mediaeval period, North Indian tradition described what we now might call “monastic Buddhism” in terms of “the four *nikāyas*,” which subsumed the eighteen *bhedas*. These were:

Sarvāstivāda, who used Sanskrit;
Mahāsāṃghika, who used Prakrit;
Sāṃmitīya, who used Apabhraṃśa;

¹¹ See Skilling 2010: 10–15.

¹² For an extensive discussion on these passages, see Skilling 1997: 89–10 and Skilling 2010.

¹³ Skilling 2010: 7–8.

Sthavira, who used Paiśācī.

Based on the extant versions of Vinaya and other texts mainly from later East Indian and Chinese Central Asian manuscript discoveries, it seemed indeed possible to associate the specific linguistic shape of a text to a particular school tradition. Thus, texts of the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins were composed in Sanskrit, the Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottaravādins) used a characteristic type of Buddhist (Hybrid) Sanskrit, and the Theravādins considered Pāli as their canonical language.

Peter Skilling (1997) suggested a further convincing and broadly accepted school affiliation for the so-called *Patna Dharmapada*, written on a single manuscript, which was discovered by Rahul Sankrityayan in the 1930s in Tibet, but written in a script that can be attributed to 12th-century Eastern India. The text of this *Dharmapada* is written in a language that can most properly be described as a slightly sanskritized Middle Indic—distinctively different from the much more sanskritized Buddhist Sanskrit that was used by the Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottaravādins). According to Skilling, it has to be attributed to the Sammatīyas, a school that was extremely influential in Northern India up to the 12th century CE. According to the *Patna Dharmapada* evidence, this school fossilized another variety of Middle Indic as their canonical language, a variety that was obviously used throughout their history in India.

However, this rather schematic perspective suddenly collapses when we take into account the variety of linguistic forms as attested in the extant manuscript evidence when seen in a historical and geographical perspective.

It has to be noted that our growing data represents the “tip of the iceberg.” But what has been discovered already challenges our notion of a consistent transmission of canonical texts within the boundaries of a *nikāya*. In the case of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, we have now access to a variety of Indic versions, either in the form of separate *Prātimokṣasūtra* texts (for monks and nuns) or in the form of a *Prātimokṣasūtra* embedded in a *Vibhaṅga* (see table 1). As usual, their school affiliation is based on indirect evidence, the

Strauch: Lost in Translation?

majority of the manuscripts refrain from any reference to a *nikāya*, no matter in what language they are composed. As the table below shows, these manuscripts—often perceived as representatives of a “coherent Vinaya tradition”—have a rather diverse geographical and historical background.

School	1st–3rd cent. CE	4th–7th cent. CE	After 11th cent. CE
Mahā(-L)		<i>North-West India</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schøyen Collection manuscripts (Karashima 2000, 2002, 2006; Shōno 2016) • “Bamiyan” manuscript (Karashima 2008, 2013) 	<i>East India</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tibet manuscripts (Tatia 1975; Roth 1970; Nolot 1991)
Sarv		<i>Central Asia</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • von Simson 2000 • Rosen 1959 • Waldschmidt 1926 	
Mūl		<i>North-West India</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gilgit manuscripts (Banerjee 1977) 	<i>East India</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beijing manuscript (Hu–von Hinüber 2003)
Dharm		<i>Central Asia</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kucā fragments (SHT 656) 	

Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons

Unspecified school 1		Central Asia • Khādaliq/ Khotan manuscripts (Wille 2009)	
Unspecified school 2	North-West India • BC 13 • “New manuscript”		

As the table clearly shows, our picture is less than complete, both with regard to the geographical distribution of manuscripts and with regard to their chronological distribution. Thus, the majority of early manuscripts (i.e., up to the 7th cent. CE) hail from North-West India and Central Asia. Moreover, almost all of them date to a period when the process of Sanskritization had affected most of the *nikāya* traditions. The evidence confirms that the Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottaravādins) only partially sanskritized their texts and preserved a Buddhist Sanskrit that is still heavily influenced by Middle Indic morphology and phonology. Both the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins use an almost classical Sanskrit, as did the Dharmaguptakas in their only clearly attributable manuscript fragment. The table also shows that we know next to nothing about the period preceding this *status quo*, the period that was constitutive for the formation of Buddhist texts. Our only witness of this period is the evidence from Gandhāra, now attested in the Bajaur manuscript BC 13 and the hitherto unpublished “new manuscript” that contains a portion of the *saṃghādīśesa/saṃghātiśeṣa* rules.

Historical philology of course allows us to go beyond the physical appearance of a text in manuscript form and to reconstruct a text’s history on the basis of phonological or text historical considerations. In the case of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* and its linguistic form, Oskar von Hinüber drew our attention to the legal term *pācittiya* that can be used as a kind of “key term” in order to

reconstruct the translation history of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. Fortunately, the Bajaur manuscript contains a part of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* where this term repeatedly occurs in the variants *payati* and *payatie*.

Based on the idea of a “canonical language,” the variants of this term were also considered as indicator of an assumed *nikāya* affiliation of a text.¹⁴ The texts usually show a rather peculiar distribution of the different variants, which seems to indicate its distinctive use within a given Vinaya tradition. As Oskar von Hinüber showed, this picture is, however, largely due to the rather late date of the extant manuscripts and hardly reflects the state of affairs in the early time of the transmission of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* text.¹⁵ These later manuscript traditions usually contain the following forms:¹⁶

Theravāda:	<i>pācittiya</i>
Sarvāstivādin:	<i>pātayantika</i>
Mūlasarvāstivādin:	<i>pāyattika</i>
Dharmaguptaka:	<i>pācittika</i>
Mahāsaṃghika-Lokottaravādin:	<i>pācattika</i>

As shown by von Hinüber, the Pāli form *pācittiya* has to be derived from the Brahmanical Sanskrit term *prāyaścitta* “atonement.” While in Eastern Prakrits the word occurs as *pāyacchitta* or *pacchitiya*,¹⁷ the Pāli kept the long vowel and deaspirated the intervocalic *ch*, which cannot be found in this position according to Pāli phonology.¹⁸

¹⁴ The following discussion resumes and updates Strauch 2008b: 26–27.

¹⁵ See von Hinüber 1985: 63–66.

¹⁶ Further variants are attested in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (see BHSD, s.v. *pātayantika*), which can be reduced to the following variants: *pāyattikāḥ*, *pāyattikāḥ* (v.l. *pādayattikāḥ*), *śuddhaprāyaścittikāḥ*, *snānaprāyaścittikam*, *pāyattikā* (v.l. *pāṭayattikā*). See von Hinüber 1985: 64.

¹⁷ For these forms, see Pischel 1900: 206, §301 (*pāyacchittiya*, *pacchitta*).

¹⁸ Cf. von Hinüber 2001: 163, §192.

As the explanations of later commentators show, this origin was no longer understood. The translators thus had the choice between either preserving the shape of the term or by replacing it by an etymologically transparent substitute. As far as the Indic *Prātimokṣasūtra* texts show, only the Sarvāstivādins opted for the second way, by inventing a form that was based on Skt. *pātayati* “to cause to fall” — a meaning, that seems appropriate for a class of offences.¹⁹ The variant *pātayantika* was also used in a *Prātimokṣasūtra* fragment from Khotan/Khādaliq, whose *nikāya* affiliation could not be determined.²⁰

Other traditions transmitted the term into their own language by applying the respective phonological rules. Thus the Gāndhārī variant *payati(e)* is a more or less direct adaptation of an inherited Middle Indic *pācitti(ka)*. The form with *y < c* is only explicable on the basis of a Western form as preserved in Pāli with a deaspirated *c*.²¹

As von Hinüber rightly suggests, the Mūlasarvāstivāda form *pāyattika* is also based on this Gāndhārī form. Moreover, von Hinüber also points to the Chinese transcriptions of this term, which clearly transcribe a form like *pāyattika*.²²

Recent manuscript studies have shown that the Gāndhārī variant of this term was not confined to the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya and to Chinese translations. Thus von Hinüber pointed to the Turfan fragment SHT 39/40 of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* showing the forms *pāyitti* and *pātti*. Although this text can be attributed to the Sarvāstivāda school, it shows a series of linguistic peculiarities, which distinguish it considerably from the other recensions, and

¹⁹ See also Waldschmidt 1926: 116–117 (= 1979: 120–121).

²⁰ Wille 2009: 51–66.

²¹ This once more indicates that the Middle Indic underlying the source language of the Gandhāran manuscripts, is rather closely related to the Pāli language.

²² For different phonetic renderings in the Chinese Vinayas, cf. Heirman 2002: 141–142.

which prevented its incorporation into the critical edition of the Sarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣasūtra*.²³

But the occurrence of this North Western form in Sarvāstivāda Vinaya texts is not restricted to the peculiar manuscript SHT 39/40. It is also attested in some of the older *Prātimokṣasūtra* manuscripts where we find the variants *pāyitti*, *pātti*, *pāyattikā*, and *pāyittika*.²⁴ The popularity of these and related forms in Sarvāstivāda circles is also confirmed by the Kucheans rendering of the term as *pāyiti* attested in a *Prātimokṣasūtra* fragment from Kucā.²⁵

A recently published *Prātimokṣasūtra* fragment written in the script “Gilgit-Bamiyan type 1” and datable to the sixth or seventh century CE shows the same North-Western form as *pāyattikā*.²⁶ According to Seishi Karashima this fragment belongs to a Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottaravāda) tradition, although its text is not completely identical with either the known Sanskrit version or the Chinese translations of the Mahāsāṃghika *Prātimokṣasūtra*.²⁷ The same form (*pāyattikaṃ*) was also used in a much earlier Gupta period *Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga* manuscript from the Schøyen Collection, which was edited by Masonori Shōno.²⁸

The only clearly attributable Dharmaguptaka text of a *Prātimokṣasūtra* (SHT 656)²⁹ shows the form *pācittika* that is clearly related to the Western variant of the term. Von Hinüber explained this form as a secondary Sanskritization of an earlier North-

²³ For a complete transcription and description of this manuscript, see von Simson 1997.

²⁴ See Wille 2009: 50 n. 67.

²⁵ Lévi 1913: 110–111.

²⁶ Karashima 2008 and 2013; e.g., Karashima 2008: 72, fol. 7v, l. 2.

²⁷ Karashima 2008: 71–72. For the relation of both Sanskrit versions, see now Ñāṇatusita 2017.

²⁸ Shōno 2016: 323 n. 25.

²⁹ Cf. Waldschmidt 1980: 164–167.

Western form, such as *pāyattika*.³⁰ He based this explanation mainly on the Chinese translations, which presuppose a form with internal *-y-*. Since the Chinese translations almost always use this form when they transcribe this term, this evidence cannot really help us to reconstruct an underlying Indic version of a *Prātimokṣasūtra* text. Unless other evidence turns up, we have to accept that this Western form was also used by a Dharmaguptaka Vinaya tradition.

It is, however, impossible to say, if the occurrences of these forms are really proof of a pre-existing version of these texts in the respective languages, since a single term can be easily borrowed from one tradition to another without implying the translation of the entire text. But the cited evidence is sufficient to show that the above mentioned distinctive distribution among school versions does not correspond to the manuscript data.

The preserved versions rather attest traces of the translational processes this term underwent in the course of transmission. Instead of ascribing a particular form to a specific school, we should rather determine this form as representative of a certain linguistic shape of the text in its textual history *or* as a witness of a contact of various linguistic versions.

The above given list arranged according to aspects of school affiliation should therefore be further differentiated (“standard” forms indicated in bold print):

³⁰ See von Hinüber 1985: 66. Similar variants are also attested in other manuscripts whose school affiliation is unclear, such as the *Prātimokṣasūtra* fragments SHT I 44 m Vc (*pāca[tt]i*) and P(elliot) Skt. Bleu 46 and 47 (*pācattikā*). See Wille 1997: 311; Heirman 2002: 28–34. For further fragments of a Dharmaguptaka *Bhikṣuvinayavibhaṅga*, see Chung & Wille 1997. These fragments do not contain this term.

Version	Western Middle Indic	North-Western Middle Indic	Sanskritized
Ther	<i>pācittiya</i>		
Mah-(L)	<i>pācattika</i>	<i>pāyattikā</i>	
Dhar	<i>pācittika</i>		
Sarv		<i>pāyatti</i> <i>pāyitti</i> <i>pāytti</i>	<i>pātayantikā</i>
Mūl		<i>pāyattika</i>	
Undef.			<i>pātayantikā</i>
Gāndhārī		<i>payati/payatie</i>	

This observation already casts into doubt the assumption of a canonical language that would be valid for the entirety of texts of a single school, irrespective of the historical and linguistic environment in which the monastery that used these texts was located. This of course considerably enlarges our perspective on the linguistic plurality of Buddhist texts and the multiple processes of translation and mutual influences between different local and regional versions composed in different formats and languages. The following discussion will add some further evidence for this transitory phase of Buddhist canonical texts.

4. Strategies of Translation: Between Conservatism and Innovation

As stated above, the linguistic diversity of early Buddhist literature is the result of a highly complex process of translation and adaptation. Since very little material evidence survived, its traces have to be identified by means of philological investigation. There is nowadays a general agreement that the ancient core of Buddhist canonical texts was initially composed in a language of the Indian East, the region where the historical Buddha lived and

worked. In his monumental study *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, posthumously published in 1954, Heinrich Lüders provides comprehensive data that confirm this hypothesis. According to him, the language of this “Urkanon” was very close to the language of the Aśokan Pillar edicts, the so-called *Kanzleisprache* of the Mauryan Empire.³¹ Given the assumed very early date of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, it is surprising that Lüders’ monograph contains virtually no references to this text. As we saw in the case of the term *pācittiya*, all attested forms go clearly back to a Western prototype that is distinctively different from its Eastern parallel attested in Ārdhamāgadhī Jaina texts. Is it therefore possible that the text of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* was especially carefully edited when transferred to another linguistic environment and therefore lacks many of the Magadhisms met with in other textual genres? This would explain what Gustav Roth, an excellent specialist in the field of Vinaya literature, wrote many years ago: “the Prakrit of the Prātimokṣa, as we find it in the Pāli and the M[ah]ā[sāṃghika]-L[okottaravādin] documents, was based on a more supra-regional type of standard Prakrit [...] There are hardly any traces of M[ā]g[adhī] or A[r]dha[m]āg[adhī] to be noted.”³²

Nonetheless, we observe of course numerous traces of translational activities in the extant *Prātimokṣasūtra* texts. In the following paragraph, I want to present two examples—based on the preserved portions of the Gāndhārī *Prātimokṣasūtra* fragment—that illustrate the different strategies of translation.

4.1 The Pāli Phrase *abhihaṭṭhum pavāreyya*

The Naiḥsargika Pāyatti rule 7 of the two Gāndhārī *Prātimokṣasūtra* versions runs as follows:

³¹ Cf. the preface by Ernst Waldschmidt, who edited the work posthumously (Lüders 1954: 5–11).

³² Roth 1980: 92.

Gāndhārī version A (PMS-G^A) (BC 13r, lines 11–13)

*achiṇacivaro yaṇi bhikhu bhodi ṇaṭhacivara dadhacivare [v](u)[ḍhacivare
°] tacaṇa añadia grahavadi va gra[ha]vadiaṇi va **avihaṭha** bahua civara
pravarea satarutaraparamo tade civare sadidave tadutvari sadiea
ṇesagi °*

“When a monk’s robe has been stolen, has been destroyed, has been burned [or] washed away, if an unrelated householder or householder’s wife were to offer [him] many [pieces of] robe [material], he must accept thereof robe [material] for at most an under robe and an upper robe. If he should accept more than that, it is a Naiḥsargika pāyattika offence.”

Gāndhārī B (PMS-G^B) (BC 13v, lines 13–18)

*achiṇaci[var](eṇa) (bh)[i](khuṇa) [ṇa]ṭhacivare[ṇa] dadhacivareṇa
vudhacivareṇa agakṣamaṇa añadae grahava[di] gra[ha]vadaṇi [va]
[u]vaṣakrama[i]ta civare viṇavidave tamena <<se>> [ṣadha b]ra(*maṇa)
[g]ra[havadi va **avihaṭhu**] sabahala civara **pravarati**
agakṣamaṇabhikhuṇa satar[u]taratapa(*rama) [civara] [sa](dida)[ve]
tadutvara sadiea ṇesagi °*

“When a monk’s robe has been stolen, has been destroyed, has been burned [or] washed away, he may approach an unrelated householder, if he wishes, or householder’s wife and ask for a robe. [If] this faithful *brāhmaṇa* or householder were to offer him many [pieces of] robe [material], the monk—if he wishes—must accept robe material for at most an under robe and an upper robe. If he should accept more than that, it is a Naiḥsargika pāyattika offence.”

As the highlighted passages above show, both Gāndhārī versions contain the words *avihaṭha pravarea* (A) / *avihaṭhu pravarati* (B). This phrase is parallel to Pāli *abhihaṭṭhum pavāreyya*, which in Pāli literature is regularly used in the sense of “present, offer.” Usually the obscure term *abhihaṭṭhum* is taken as an absolutive form of *abhiharati* “offers, presents,” following T.W. Rhys Davids’ note in

her translation of the Pāli Vinaya.³³ This explanation became widely accepted³⁴ and was also repeated by the CPD, which furthermore points to its irregular spelling as influenced by *daṭṭhu(ṃ) < dṛś*.³⁵ This interpretation was not at least provoked by a number of later commentaries—among them the *Samantapāsādikā*—which explain *abhihaṭṭhum* as “*abhiharaṇaṃ kṛtvā*,” “*abhiharitvā*,” etc. (cf. CPD, s.v.).

Most scholars refer to these commentaries as authoritative source for the etymology of the term. Of special importance, however, is a first look at how the old Vibhaṅga commentary perceived this phrase. As already highlighted by Rhys Davids, all three occurrences in the *Prātimokṣasūtra*—that is, Nissaggiya Pācittiya rule 7 and Pācittiya rules 34 and 36—are explained by the phrase:

abhihaṭṭhum pavāreyyāti yāvatakaṃ icchasi tāvatakaṃ gaṇhāhīti

“‘*Abhihaṭṭhum pavāreyya*’ means [if one says]: Take as much as you want!”

Rhys Davids also noticed that the Vibhaṅga commentary on Pāc. 36 uses the word *abhiharati* in its explanation of the term *āsādanāpekkho*, which concludes this rule. It is therefore possible that already the Vibhaṅga somehow associated the phrase *abhihaṭṭhum pavāreyya* with this verb. Much more explicit, however, are the later commentaries. Both the *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī* (Kkh, ed. 65) and the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp, ed. 668) comment on the rules containing this expression in very similar words. They explain the word *abhihaṭṭhum* as infinitive of the compound verb *abhiharati* (*abhīti upasaggo, haritun ti*) and paraphrase the whole expression according to the Vibhaṅga commentary as “saying

³³ Rhys Davids 1882: 440. Rhys Davids’ interpretation was also accepted by I.B. Horner in her new translation of the Pāli *Vinayaṭīkā*, again with reference to the commentators’ paraphrases as *abhiharitvā*. See 1957: 51 n. 1.

³⁴ See, for example, PTSD, s.v. *abhihaṭṭhum*; von Hinüber 2001: 315, §498; and Oberlies 2001: 266; PD, s.v. *abhihaṭṭhum*.

³⁵ Cf. CPD with a reference to AMg. *abhihaṭṭu*; Pischel 1900: 391, §577.

‘take as much as you want’” (Kkh: *yāvattakaṃ icchasi, tāvattakaṃ gaṇhāhīti evaṃ nimanteyyāti attho*, Sp: *abhihaṭṭhuṃ pavārentena pana yathā vattabbaṃ taṃ ākāraṃ dassetuṃ yāvatakaṃ icchasi tāvatakaṃ gaṇhāhīti*). The relation to *abhiharati* is further strengthened by both commentaries when they distinguish between two types of offerings (*abhihāra*), a material and a verbal one (*kāyena, vācāya*).

As indicated some time ago by K.R. Norman in his “Survey on the Grammar of Early Middle Indo-Aryan,” this is not the only and perhaps not even the most plausible solution. Instead, Norman suggested to interpret *abhihaṭṭhuṃ* as an infinitive of *abhi-hṛṣ*. Consequently, the whole phrase *abhihaṭṭhuṃ pra-vr* should, according to Norman, be translated as “invite with [food, etc.] to enjoy oneself.”³⁶

Norman refers in this regard to the *Prātimokṣasūtra* text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins where the parallel to our rule NP 7 seems to contain the reading *abhihṛṣto samāno*, also indicated by von Hinüber as parallel to Pāli *abhihaṭṭhuṃ* and interpreted by him as absolute form of *abhiharati*.³⁷ Von Hinüber cautiously added an exclamation mark behind this quotation, perhaps in order to show that this form is not really parallel to what his explanation of the term *abhihaṭṭhuṃ* would suggest. On the other hand, this Mahāsāṃghika form would perfectly confirm Norman’s suggestion. Both scholars used the text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin *Prātimokṣasūtra* as edited by Tatia (1975: 14).³⁸ However, as the readings by Gustav Roth (1970: 166) and Edith Nolot (1991: 161) suggest, this form is probably not attested. According to them, the Patna manuscript seems to read instead *abhibhāṣto samāno*,³⁹ a phrase that should be translated as

³⁶ Norman 2002: 243 (=2007: 358f).

³⁷ Von Hinüber 2001: 315, §498.

³⁸ The rule NP 7 is not preserved in the “Bamiyan manuscript” edited by Seishi Karashima (2008 and 2013).

³⁹ A related reading was suggested by the edition princeps of this manuscript: *-abhibhāṣto (sic !) sammato* (Pachow & Mishra 1956).

“being addressed.” A new check of the manuscript showed that this reading is also not beyond doubt. As Vincent Tournier suggested to me, a reading *abhi[tu]ṣṭo samāno* seems to be more likely. Although such a reading cannot confirm the etymological derivation of *abhihatthum* from *abhiḥṣ*—as suggested by K.R. Norman—its semantic scope is quite close to what we expect.

It is therefore quite possible that the original term was no longer understood in the linguistic environment of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin *Prātimokṣasūtra* and was thus replaced by a comprehensible one.

The rule NP 7 is not the only occurrence of this phrase. Interestingly, in another instance, the Pāyattika rule 34 (35), the Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottaravādin) text replaced the phrase corresponding to Pāli *abhihatthum pavāreyya* by *upanimantreya* (Tatia 1975: 22, Pāy. 34) or *(u)panimantraye* “he should invite” (Karashima 2013: 57, Pāy. 35). The Sarvāstivādins Sanskritized this to *yāvadarthaṃ pravārayed* (von Simson 2000: 213, Pāt. 35⁴⁰), the Mūlasarvāstivādins to *atyartham pravārayed* (Hu–von Hinüber 2003: 42, Pāt. 35). Similarly, in rule Pāy 38 (39) the phrase was altered in the Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottaravādin) tradition either to *tathāpravāritena* (Tatia 1975: 22, Pāy. 38) or *tataḥ pravāritena* (Karashima 2013: 58, Pāy 39),⁴¹ whereas the Sarvāstivādins show again *(yāva)darthaṃ* (von Simson 2000: 212, Pāt. 33) and the Mūlasarvāstivādins *'tyartham* (Hu–von Hinüber 2003: 42, Pāy. 33).

A similar strategy of adaptation can be observed in the parallel versions of the NP rule 7:

⁴⁰ The manuscripts GV and probably HG (both part of the Pelliot Collection and probably from Duldur Aqur near Kucā) show the variant *(a)tyartham* that is otherwise typical for the text of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

⁴¹ This expression was probably borrowed from the rule NP 7 where it directly follows the words *abhi[tu]ṣṭo samāno* discussed above.

Sarvāstivādins (von Simson 2000: 186)

(*taṃ ced bhi*)kṣu(ṃ) śrā(d)dh(o) gṛhapatir gṛhapatipatnī vā sambahulaiś
cīvaraiḥ **pravārayed**

Mūlasarvāstivādins (Hu–von Hinüber 2003: 24)

tañ cec chrāddhā brāhmaṇagr̥hapatayo **'tyartham** sambahulaiś cīvaraiḥ
pravārayeyur

The following table resumes the different representations of the phrase *abhihaṭṭhum pavāreyya* in the Indic versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*:

Version	A	B	C
Pāli	NP 7 <i>abhihaṭṭhum pavāreyya</i>	Pāc. 36 <i>abhihaṭṭhum pavāreyya</i>	Pāc. 34 <i>abhihaṭṭhum pavāreyya</i>
Mah-Lok 1	NP 7 <i>abhi[tu]ṣṭo samāno</i>	Pāc. 34 <i>upanimantreya</i>	Pāc. 38 <i>tathāpravāritena</i>
Mah-Lok 2	--	Pāc. 35 <i>(u)panimantraye</i>	Pāc. 39 <i>tataḥ pravāritena</i>
Sarv	NP 7 <i>pravārayed</i>	Pāt. 35 <i>yāvadarthaṃ pravārayed</i>	Pāt. 33 <i>(yāva)darthaṃ pravārayeyuḥ</i>
Mūl	NP 7 <i>'tyartham [...] pravārayeyur</i>	Pāy. 35 <i>-ātyartham pravārayed</i>	Pāy. 33 <i>-tyartham pravārayeyur</i>
Gāndhārī 1	NP 7 <i>avihaṭṭha [...] pravareya</i>	--	--

Gāndhārī 2	NP 7 [avihaṭṭhu] [...] <i>pravāṛati</i>	--	--
------------	--	----	----

Contrary to what Norman suggested, an assumed “Sanskrit tradition” regarding a derivation from *abhi-hṛṣ* cannot be referred to. But still, Norman’s suggestion remains a serious alternative to the generally expected interpretation of *abhihaṭṭhum* as absolutive form of *abhiharati*.

It seems that already the editors of the PTSD had this derivation in mind when they added the form *abhihaṭṭhum* under the entry *abhihaṃsati* < *abhi-hṛṣ*. However, both passages from the *Suttapiṭaka* cited there (AN V 350 and SN IV190) contain the usual combination *abhihaṭṭhum* + *pavār-*. It is not clear to me on which basis this entry was made, since the commentaries on both passages give the same explanation referring to *abhiharitvā* that is found elsewhere.

In her discussion of the various versions of this phrase, Ann Heirman (2002: 493) has shown that some of the Chinese translations reveal a closely related understanding while rendering this phrase⁴² as 自恣請, where 自恣 “usually means ‘as one pleases’.” It seems to me that both the explanation of the old Vibhaṅga commentary and the Chinese translations point to a connection of *abhihaṭṭhum* with *abhi-hṛṣ* “to satisfy, to make happy.” Based on this explanation, the entire phrase could be literally translated as “to offer to satisfy / to satisfaction.”

Of course the term remains problematic.⁴³ It is therefore not excluded that the previous explanation based on *abhi-hṛ* is correct, but it seems to be not as certain as the CPD wants us to believe.

⁴² Heirman takes this Chinese expression as equivalent to *pravārayati*, but I extend her statement to *abhihaṭṭhum*, which is usually met with in this formula.

⁴³ The expected infinitive of this verb is of course *abhiharṣitum* / Middle Indic *abhihassitum*.

None of the Vinaya traditions was really able to identify this inherited form. Unfortunately, the Gāndhārī text seems to be no exception. It did not translate or alter the inherited form, but preserved it largely. Both Gāndhārī forms (*avīhaṭṭha/avīhaṭṭhu*) are based on a Middle Indic *abhihaṭṭhum*. The aspirated *ṭh* in both versions shows that this feature was obviously already present in the old text. It cannot be stated with certainty that this Middle Indic form goes back to an Eastern dialect. But it seems obvious that in all Western translations this form was probably no longer understood. Most redactors preferred to replace this term by an equivalent expression, since a mere phonetical transformation as done in the Gāndhārī and Pāli versions, did not result in a comprehensible word. If we were to describe the strategies applied in this case, we observe two different approaches: conservatism by mere phonetical transformation (Pāli, Gāndhārī) versus innovation by substitution (Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin, (Mūla)-Sarvāstivādin).

4.2. The Phrase *anyatra pallatṭakena* in the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins

In the last part of my discussion, I want to present a similar case that adds another aspect to the application of these strategies. In two rules of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* we find the expression “except by exchange.” While most of the versions translate this phrase into their respective dialect,⁴⁴ both rules of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the late Eastern “Patna manuscript” represent this expression by the phrase *anyatra*

⁴⁴ Gāndhārī A: *añatra parivaṭeṇa* (PMS-G^A, line 7); Gāndhārī B: *añatra [pa]rivaṭeṇa* (PMS-G^B, lines 8–9); Pāli: *aññatra pārivattakā* (NP 5, Vin III 209.34); Sarvāstivāda: *anyatra parivartakena* (von Simson 2000: 185); Mūlasarvāstivāda: *anyatra parivarttakān* (NP 5, Hu–von Hinüber 2003: 23), Unidentified text: */// p[ari][v]artake[n](a)* (Wille 2009: 56). The preserved parallel texts of the Pāyattika rule 25 (= Pāli version) are identical in all cases.

pallaṭṭakena.⁴⁵ This is clearly an Eastern form with *l* for *r* and can be compared with the numerous examples for the prefix *pali* = *pari* listed by Lüders.⁴⁶ A related form based on Skt. *pari-vṛt* (*pallaṭṭanto*) is attested in the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ*, another Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda Vinaya text that has been preserved in a manuscript from Eastern India.⁴⁷ Although this particular Eastern form of *pari-vṛt* seems to be restricted to texts of the Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottaravāda) tradition, it is not consistently used in its texts. Thus the “Bamiyan manuscript” of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, which most likely belongs to the same tradition, uses in rule Pāy. 28 the expected Western form *anyatra parivartake*.⁴⁸

Again the versions vary between innovation, this time by translating into their language, and conservatism by preserving the word in its inherited form. That this particular Eastern form is restricted to manuscripts from East India—even of a late date—may be no coincidence. It is possible that the language of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins from this region preserved more Eastern features than other regional branches.⁴⁹

5. Conclusion

The numerous manuscripts of Indic versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* clearly show that for a long time in the history of

⁴⁵ This is the correct reading of the manuscript according to Karashima 2012: 239, commentary ad 30.9. The edition reads in both instances *anyatra pallaṭṭhakena* (Tatia 1975: 13 and 21).

⁴⁶ Lüders 1956: 56–63, §§58–71.

⁴⁷ See the discussion of this term by Karashima 2012: 239, commentary ad 30.9. Beside this clearly Eastern form, the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* use also the regular Western equivalent *parivartanto*.

⁴⁸ Karashima 2013: 55, corrected to *parivartake«na»*.

⁴⁹ Cf., for example, Gustav Roth’s remarks on the Eastern features of the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* (1980: 92).

Indian Buddhism the transmission of this fundamental text was accompanied by a continuous process of translations and adaptations that did not stop at the boundaries of *nikāyas*. If there ever was the notion of a canonical language as such, it must have changed constantly, and these changes were certainly different from region to region. There is absolutely no need to assume that Sarvāstivādins in Gandhāra ever used a *Prātimokṣasūtra* that was identical with that of their co-brethren in Mathurā or in South-India. As far as we can see, the distinctiveness of the texts that finally resulted in specific *nikāya* versions is rather characterized by certain redactional changes that were made by a certain community and became later accepted by others. The linguistic form in which such redactional changes came across is of secondary importance. Thus the two Gāndhārī versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* use nearly the same Middle Indic language, but represent quite distinct versions of the text.

There is good reason to believe that our ideas about the existence of canonical languages and their status are heavily influenced by the Theravāda tradition. The Theravādins were and are very conservative in language issues. At an early period they preserved their canonical texts in an archaic linguistic form. Despite certain attempts to normalize this inherited Western Indian language, there can be no doubt that the Pāli Canon is the most authentic representation of the ancient linguistic form of the Buddhist canonical scriptures. This was clearly facilitated by the notion of Pāli as a canonical language, considered as identical with Māgadhī, the mother tongue of Lord Buddha. It seems that other Buddhist communities, in India and elsewhere, never had this kind of concerns, or at least not at this early period.

Accepting a canonical language presupposes the existence of a canon, properly defined by Richard Salomon as “a comprehensive, organized, and standardized body of authoritative scriptures defined by a religious or secular authority.”⁵⁰ As far as we can judge from the available evidence,

⁵⁰ Salomon 2006: 365.

the Theravādins in Sri Lanka were the first and the only Buddhist community in India that made this attempt.⁵¹ This explains the high degree of consistency of their language, but also of their textual transmission. No other Buddhist *nikāya* in India is reported to have ever compiled in a systematic way a collection of texts that would comprise the whole *Tripitaka*. The manuscript evidence rather points to a highly dynamic situation with a multitude of different versions in different languages and texts and textual corpora that influenced each other within and beyond *nikāya* boundaries. These dynamics did also affect the “core text” of each Buddhist community, the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. As the recent studies by von Simson (2000) and Emms (2012) show, there is also no single Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣasūtra*. As many other texts, the *Prātimokṣasūtra* existed in different recensions. Rather than speaking categorically about *the Prātimokṣasūtra* or *the Vinaya* of a certain lineage, we should therefore speak qualifiedly about *a Prātimokṣasūtra* or *a Vinaya* of this lineage. Strictly speaking, even such a statement is only possible if the text is explicitly marked as belonging to a specific

⁵¹ For the diverging views about the formation of early Buddhist canons, see now Allon 2018. Despite Allon’s criticism, I clearly subscribe to the ideas expressed earlier by Richard Salomon (2006, 2011) and Gérard Fussman (2012). As rightly remarked by Fussman (2012: 197), “[i]t is possible that there were efforts to achieve a closed collection with a final or fixed internal arrangement and immutable wording. The legend of the Council of the Kashmir Sarvāstivādins held under the patronage of Kaniṣka reflects both this desire and a tradition indicating that there was no common canon for all Sarvastivādins before Kaniṣka. We have nothing like it for other *nikāyas* [...]” According to him (id. 2012: 198), “every monastery must have had manuscript collections slightly different from those of neighbouring monasteries, whether belonging to the same *nikāya* or not. As it was always the Word of the Buddha (*buddha-vacana*), it hardly mattered, except for the Vinaya, which maintained the differentiation between schools.” In view of our present study on *Prātimokṣasūtra* versions, it seems possible to extend Fussman’s statement to the entirety of “canonical” texts.

lineage. If this is not the case, we should perhaps even avoid a reference to a clear school affiliation.

The more manuscript evidence we access, the more our idea of “canonical versions” and “canonical languages” collapses. The reality was probably a different one: There existed the text of a *Prātimokṣasūtra* that was recited during the regular *uposatha* ceremonies in a specific monastery, at a specific place and at a specific time. At the same time there existed countless “concurrent” versions, in oral form and later on also in the form of written manuscripts, in both the same and other places. Given the technical character of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, the differences of these versions were of course mainly marginal and concerned either the sequence of the rules, the exact wording or—as we saw—the language. But the idea that on this basis a clear *nikāya* affiliation can be assigned has probably to be given up. In his edition of The British Library Sanskrit fragments from the Hoernle Collection, published in 2009, Klaus Wille introduced two *Prātimokṣasūtra* manuscripts. They can be dated to the fifth century CE and hail from Khādalik/Khotan at the Southern branch of the Silk Road. Wille tried to establish their relationship to one of the known *Prātimokṣasūtra* texts, but evidently the text on these fragments did not match any of them. Wille was forced to conclude: “We probably have to question the validity of our criteria for sectarian affiliation and their general applicability to this text. We do not know yet, to what extent compilers of the monks’ rules felt free to redact the text at this comparatively late stage and in this region.”⁵²

An answer to this question is only possible on the basis of a large number of detailed studies of the available manuscript evidence that rather try to reconstruct the history of the texts in a specific geographical environment than to establish “critical editions” of texts that probably never existed in the form they are reconstructed.

⁵² Wille 2009: 51.

The question of the *nikāya* affiliation—even for Vinaya texts—becomes more and more obsolete against this background. As shown, even within a school tradition we have to consider a certain variety of textual and linguistic features that cannot in themselves serve as distinctive markers of a certain school affiliation, but instead reflect the fluidity and diversity of the inner-school textual transmission. There is of course no doubt that school specific differences existed and that the versions transmitted within one school are more closely related to each other than to versions of another school. But the boundaries are fluid and the texts open to redactional changes in a way that makes it sometimes difficult to determine where exactly the boundaries that distinguish the texts of one school from that of another are. When and even whether one of these versions became canonized for a certain school is hard to determine. Such a canonization can only be stated for traditions that compiled a canon, such as the Theravāda tradition and the Chinese and Tibetan traditions.⁵³

⁵³ Cf. also my earlier remarks on “canonical” Āgama *sūtras* that seem to a considerable degree to be extendable to the Vinaya literature: “it seems to me it is a more fruitful methodological approach to perceive these representations of a text rather as regional recensions or versions than as school specific variants of a given text. A specific version could of course have become the authoritative text of a certain school, when this school decided to fix a ‘canonical version’ in a written or oral Tradition [...] the strictly text critical approach can help to liberate our view on early Buddhist texts from the too narrow perspective of school affiliation and widen it to equally important factors in the genesis of texts, such as their geographical, linguistic and historical contexts. Processes that are related to the specific modes of text preservation, transmission and performance, be it in oral, written or in a mix of oral and written ways, must have played a decisive role in the genesis of texts. It can be assumed that the change from oral to written modes largely influenced the shape of texts and finally also contributed to the genesis of rather stable and homogeneous literary forms. At the same time, the new support material also allowed a much greater circulation of texts and could promote harmonizing processes between monastic communities in far-away locations all over the Buddhist cultural sphere. It is by then

that school affiliation might have become a more determining factor rather than geographical location, by enabling monks to compare their respective versions of *Āgama sūtras* and agree on a commonly accepted, 'canonical' shape." See Strauch 2017: 366–368.

References

1. Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Pāli texts refer to the list of abbreviations of the CPD. Citations of Pāli texts are from editions of the Pali Text Society, if not otherwise indicated.

BC	Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts, manuscript no.
PTSD	Rhys Davids, T. W. & William Stede (eds.). 1921–25. <i>The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i> . London.
CPD	<i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> . Online version: https://cpd.uni-koeln.de/intro/ .
NP	Naiḥsargika Pācittiya
Pāc.	Pācittiya
Pāy.	Pāyantikā, Pāyattika
PD	Cone, Margaret. 2001. <i>A Dictionary of Pāli</i> . Parts I. Oxford: The Pali Text Society.
SHT	Waldschmidt, Ernst et al. (eds.), <i>Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> . Wiesbaden/Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1965– (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Bd. 10), T. 1–.

2. Bibliography

- Allon, Mark. 2018. "The Formation of Canons in the Early Indian *Nikāyas* or Schools in the Light of the New Gāndhārī Manuscript Finds." *Buddhist Studies Review* 35: 225–244.
- . 2019. "A Unique Gāndhārī Monastic Ledger Recording Gifts by Vima Kadphises. (Studies in Gāndhārī Manuscripts 2)." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 42: 1–46.

- Banerjee, A. Ch. 1977. *Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit: Prātimokṣa Sūtra and Bhikṣukarmavākya*. Calcutta: The World Press Private Limited.
- Chung, Jin-il & Klaus Wille. 1997. "Einige Bhikṣuvīnaya-fragmente der Dharmaguptakas in der Sammlung Pelliot." In Heinz Bechert et al. (eds.), *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur II, Gustav Roth zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 8. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 47–94.
- Emms, Christopher. 2012. *Evidence for Two Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya Traditions in the Gilgit Prātimokṣa-sūtras*. M.A. thesis. McMaster University.
- Falk, Harry & Ingo Strauch. 2014. "The Bajaur and Split Collections of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts within the Context of Buddhist Gāndhārī Literature." In Paul Harrison & Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds.), *From Birch-Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research: Papers Presented at the Conference 'Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field,' Stanford, June 15–19 2009*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 460. Band / Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 80. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 51–78.
- Fussman, Gérard. 2012. "Review of Andrew Glass (2007). *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5*. (Gāndhāran Buddhist Texts 4). Seattle: University of Washington Press." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 55: 189–200.
- Harrison, Paul, Timothy Lenz & Richard Salomon. 2018. "Fragments of a Gāndhārī Manuscript of the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra* (Studies in Gāndhārī Manuscripts 1)." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 41: 117–143.

- Heirman, Ann. 2002. *“The Discipline in Four Parts” Rules for Nuns according to the Dharmaguptakavinaya*. Parts 1–3. Buddhist Tradition Series 47. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- von Hinüber, Oskar. 1985. “Die Bestimmung der Schulzugehörigkeit buddhistischer Texte nach sprachlichen Kriterien.” In Heinz Bechert (ed.), *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur. Erster Teil*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, dritte Folge 149 / Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung III, 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 57–75.
- . 1989. “Origin and Varieties of Buddhist Sanskrit.” In Colette Caillat (ed.), *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes*. Publications de l’Institut de civilisation indienne, série in-8^o, fascicule 55. Paris: Institut de civilisation indienne, 341–367.
- . 1999. *Das Pātimokkhasutta der Theravādin*. *Studien zur Literatur des Theravāda-Buddhismus II*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jahrgang 1999. Nr. 6. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur & Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- . 2001. *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 467. Band / Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens, Heft 20. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Horner, I.B. 1957. *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Pitaka). Volume II. (Suttavibhaṅga)*. Sacred Books of the Buddhists 20,2. London: Pali Text Society (reprint of Oxford 1940).
- Hu–von Hinüber, Haiyan. 2003. *Das Bhikṣu-Prātimokṣasūtra der Mūlasarvāstivādin anhand der Sanskrit-Handschriften aus Tibet und Gilgit sowie unter Berücksichtigung der tibetischen und chinesischen Übersetzungen kritisch herausgegeben*. Online publication of the Universität Freiburg from 2014 at

<https://freidok.uni-freiburg.de/fedora/objects/freidok:9535/datastreams/FILE1/content>.

- Karashima, Seishi. 2000. "A Fragment of the Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins." In Jens Braarvig et. al. (eds.), *Buddhist Manuscripts*, vol. 1. Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection 1. Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 233–241.
- . 2002. "Two More Folios of the Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins." In Jens Braarvig et. al. (eds.), *Buddhist Manuscripts*, vol. 2. Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection 3. Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 215–228.
- . 2006. "The Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins in Early Western Gupta Script." In Jens Braarvig et. al. (eds.), *Buddhist Manuscripts*, vol. 3. Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 261–276.
- . 2008. "Fragments of a Manuscript of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the *Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottara)vādins* (1)." *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 11: 71–90.
- . 2012. *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ. Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, herausgegeben, mit der chinesischen Parallelversion verglichen, übersetzt und kommentiert, unter Mitwirkung von Oskar von Hinüber*. Band 1–3. Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica 13. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University.
- . 2013. "Manuscript Fragments of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika(-Lokottaravādins) (2)." *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 16: 47–90.
- Lévi, Sylvain. 1913. "Tokharian Pratimokṣa Fragment." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: 109–120.
- Lüders, Heinrich†. 1954. *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von*

- Ernst Waldschmidt. *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst. Jahrgang 1952 Nr. 10.* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Ñāṇatusita, Bhikkhu. 2014. *Analysis of the Bhikkhu Pātimokkha.* Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- . 2017. "The Bāmiyān *Prātimokṣasūtra*: a 'Buddhist Hybrid Text'." *Journal of Buddhist Studies* 16: 183–226.
- Nolot, Édith. 1991. *Règles de discipline des nonnes bouddhistes: Le Bhikṣuṇīvinaya de l'école Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin. Traduction annotée, commentaire, collation du manuscrit.* Collège de France, Publications de l'Institut de civilisation indienne, fascicule 60. Paris: Edition-diffusion de Boccard.
- Norman, K.R. 2002. "A Survey of the Grammar of Early Middle Indo-Aryan." *Acta Orientalia* 63: 221–248 (= 2007. K.R. Norman's *Collected Papers*. Volume 8. Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 333–365).
- Oberlies, Thomas. 2001. *Pāli: A Grammar of the Language of the Theravāda Tipiṭaka: With a Concordance to Pischel's Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen.* Indian Philology and South Asian Studies 3. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Pachow, W. & R. Mishra. 1956. *The Prātimokṣa-Sūtra of the Mahāsāṃghikas: Critically Edited for the First Time from the Palm-Leaf Manuscripts Found in Tibet.* Allahabad: Ganganatha Jha Research Institute.
- Pischel, Richard. 1900. *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen.* Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde 1. Band, 8. Heft. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.
- Pruitt, William (ed.) & Kenneth Roy Norman (tr.). 2001: *The Patimokkha.* Sacred Books of the Buddhists 39. Oxford: The Pali Text Society.
- Rhys Davids, T.W. & Hermann Oldenberg. 1882. *Vinaya Texts. Part II. The Mahāvagga, V-X. The Kullavagga, I-III.* Sacred Books of the East 17. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

- Rosen, Valentina. 1959. *Der Vinayavibhaṅga zum Bhikṣuprātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins. Sanskritfragmente nebst einer Analyse der chinesischen Übersetzung. Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden 2.* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Roth, Gustav. 1970. *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya. Including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka and a Summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin. Edited and Annotated with Introduction, Two Indexes and Four Addenda.* Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 12. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
- . 1980. "Particular Features of the Language of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins and their Importance for Early Buddhist Tradition." In Heinz Bechert (ed.), *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung. The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung II).* Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Dritte Folge. Nr. 117. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 78–135.
- Salomon, Richard. 2006. "Recent Discoveries of Early Buddhist Manuscripts and Their Implications for the History of Buddhist Texts and Canons." In Patrick Olivelle (ed.), *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE.* New York: Oxford University Press, 349–382.
- . 2011. "An Unwieldy Canon: Observations on Some Distinctive Features of Canon Formation in Buddhism." In Max Deeg, Oliver Freiberger & Christoph Kleine (eds.), *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte.* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 161–207.
- Shōno, Masanori. 2016. "More folios of Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins in Early Western Gupta Script." In Jens Braarvig et al. (eds.), *Buddhist Manuscripts*, vol. 4. Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 321–327.

- von Simson, Georg. 1997. "Eine Prātimokṣasūtra-Handschrift in hybrider Sprache." In Petra Kieffer-Pülz & Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds.), *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ. Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert. On the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Indica et Tibetica 30. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 583–604.
- . 2000. *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins. Teil II: Kritische Textausgabe, Übersetzung, Wortindex sowie Nachträge zu Teil I*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Skilling, Peter. 1997. "On the School-Affiliation of the 'Patna Dhammapada'." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 23: 83–122.
- . 2010. "Scriptural Authority and the Śrāvaka Schools: An Essay towards an Indian Perspective." *The Eastern Buddhist* 41: 1–47.
- Strauch, Ingo. 2008a. "The Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts – A Preliminary Survey." *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 25: 103–136.
- . 2008b. *The Bajaur Collection: A New Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts. A preliminary Catalogue and Survey*. Online version 1.1. http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil_elib/Str007__Strauch_Bajaur_Collection-Preliminary_Catalogue_and_Survey_v_1-1_2008.pdf (last accessed 20.4.2020).
- . 2012. "The Character of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī Script and the 'Sanskrit Revolution': A Writing System between Identity and Assimilation." In Alex de Voogt & Joachim Friedrich Quack (eds.), *The Idea of Writing: Writing across Borders*. Leiden: Brill, 131–168.
- . 2014. "Looking into Water-Pots and over a Buddhist Scribe's Shoulder – On the Deposition and the Use of Manuscripts in Early Buddhism." *Asiatische Studien* 68: 797–830.
- . 2017. "The Indic Versions of the *Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra: Some Thoughts on the Early Transmission of Āgama Texts." In Dhammadinnā (ed.), *Research on the Madhyama-āgama*.

Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts Research Series 5.
Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 327–373.

Tatia, Nathmal. 1975. *Prātimokṣasūtram of the Lokottaravādimahāsāṅghika School*. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 16. Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.

Waldschmidt, Ernst. 1926. *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins. Mit einer Darstellung der Überlieferung des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa in den verschiedenen Schulen*. Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft 3. Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Kommission bei F.A. Brockhaus (= 1979. *Kleinere Sanskrittexte III und IV*. Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, Band 2. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1–191).

———. 1980. “Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and Their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas.” In Heinz Bechert (ed.), *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung. The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung II)*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Dritte Folge. Nr. 117. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 136–174 (= 1989. *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften*. Glasenapp-Stiftung Band 29. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 370–408).

Wille, Klaus. 1997. “Zwei kleine Fragmente aus dem Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra.” In Heinz Bechert et al. (eds.), *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur II, Gustav Roth zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 8. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 307–314.

———. 2009. “Buddhist Sanskrit Sources from Khotan.” In Seishi Karashima & Klaus Wille (eds.), *The British Library Sanskrit Fragments: Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia*. Volume 2.1: *Texts*. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism, Soka University, 25–72.

On the Authoritativeness of the *Yogācārabhūmi* as an *Abhidharma* Work

Martin Delhey (Shandong University, Jinan / Qingdao)*

Arguably, in the Buddhist context, a “scripture” roughly means a text that claims to be the Word of the historical, or any other, *buddha*, or the Word of a person who is authorized by a *buddha* to preach to sentient beings on his behalf, for instance, one of his disciples like Śāriputra or a high-ranking *bodhisattva* like Mañjuśrī.¹ The most typical scriptures are the “discourses” or “sermons” (*sūtra*). “Canon” is a more comprehensive term; it could also encompass the basket of *abhidharma* (*abhidharmapiṭaka*)—such as the two different sets of seven texts of the Theravādins and the Sarvāstivādins—or various treatises and commentaries regarded as authoritative, as it is the case in the Tibetan *bsTan 'gyur* and in various editions of the Chinese Buddhist Canon. However, as is well known, in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism we have, as a rule, neither a fixed set of recognized scriptures nor a well-defined canon. Moreover—and this is especially important—sometimes the distinctions between scriptures and other canonical works become vague, for instance, when the *abhidharmapiṭaka* is declared to have been proclaimed by the Buddha himself—the most extreme case is probably the *abhidhammapiṭaka* of the Theravādins²—or when it is said by schools like that of the Sautrāntikas that certain canonical

* The present paper was first given during the conference on which the present volume is based. Another—yet very similar—version of the paper was presented during the “Tsinghua Forum of History and Philology (I): Methodology and Practice of Buddhist Philology,” Feng Qiyong Academic Hall, Wuxi, December 20–23, 2019. I am indebted to the participants in both events for their questions and comments.

¹ See also Silk 2015: 7 for such exceptions.

² See Silk 2015: 10.

sermons constitute the *abhidharmapiṭaka*.³ In this paper, it will be argued that such blurring of distinctions can also be observed in early Yogācāra materials. Before this is done, it may be useful to recapitulate some aspects of the doctrinal and literary history of the early Yogācāra school.

In its systematized form, Yogācāra or Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda Buddhism represented one of the two great rival schools of Indian Mahāyāna philosophy; the other being the Madhyamaka school of thought. Both claimed to offer an authoritative interpretation of the Mahāyāna scriptures. Fully-developed Yogācāra Buddhism is marked by several very peculiar teachings. The examples most often mentioned are the complex psychology, with the newly established subliminal consciousness called *ālayavijñāna* at its centre, and a very peculiar Mahāyānist middle way between existence and non-existence, in which mind or consciousness has, to say the least, a higher ontological status than the external or material world. In my view, the theory according to which sentient beings are by nature divided into several groups according to their soteriological potential, that is, the pluralistic *gotra* theory, should also be mentioned here. It clearly sets the Yogācāras proper apart from the proponents of a Buddha Nature, which is present in all sentient beings, or from any theory that the Mahāyāna is the only true medium leading to salvation, that is, an *ekayāna* theory. Moreover, it fits very well to their obvious interest in both the Śrāvakayāna and the Mahāyāna way to salvation and their claim to teach *both* these different ways in accordance with the varying needs of sentient beings.

Compared with their classical counterparts, the early Yogācāra texts are much more heterogenous and unsystematic in character. Moreover, except for the pluralistic *gotra* theory, the above-mentioned characteristic features of the classical Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda philosophy are still in their incipient stages and even missing in the oldest strata of these texts.

³ Cf. Silk 2015: 10.

In this formative period, conservative and Mahāyāna Buddhist texts are found side by side, and we also recognize intensive preoccupation with both spiritual practice and dogmatic-exegetical concerns, with the latter being arguably predominant.

Regarding the literary history of early Yogācāra, the view of the majority of specialists will be summarized here. The bulky *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* contains the oldest textual materials of the Yogācāra school and it is rather an anonymous heterogenous compilation than the work of one or two authors in the strict sense of the word, although authorship is traditionally ascribed to either Asaṅga or the celestial *bodhisattva* and future *buddha* Maitreya, or understood as a kind of mutual cooperation between the two.

In the *Yogācārabhūmi*, several different textual strata can be distinguished, though certainly many details still have to be settled. The *Śrāvakahūmi* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* of the so-called Basic Section belong to the earliest textual layer. Both of them neither exhibit any traces of the complex psychology of later times nor do they contain doctrines that can already be labelled as “mind-only” viewpoints. By contrast, the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* contains both these features. Although it is cited almost completely in one part of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, namely in the *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*, and must therefore have been in existence before the last major redaction of the *Yogācārabhūmi* took place, most—or at any rate several—strata of the *Yogācārabhūmi* predate this scripture. The two verse treatises *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* and *Madhyāntavibhāga*, which are almost unanimously ascribed to the future *buddha* Maitreya by the earlier tradition, seem to be the next oldest Yogācāra texts.⁴

The fact that the most important—or, at any rate, most Yogācāra-like—*sūtra* of the Yogācāras, namely the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*, is seemingly younger than several, if not most, long texts belonging to the basic *śāstra* of this school is, of course, in itself already very important for the topic of this volume.

⁴ See Delhey 2013, 501–504 (with further references), and Delhey 2019 (with further references).

It is generally conspicuous that the early Yogācāras seem to have felt the need to legitimate themselves, and it is natural that the more their peculiar teachings took shape, the stronger this need became. According to my working hypothesis, one can single out three different strategies for self-legitimation of the early Yogācāras, all of them touching in one way or the other on the question of the authoritativeness of scriptures or other Buddhist works. Possibly, the order in which I list the strategies also reflects their chronology:

- (1) the characterization of the *Yogācārabhūmi* or of some of its parts as an *abhidharma* work and the high value attached to it;
- (2) the creation of new sermons, in particular, the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*; and
- (3) the role traditionally attached to the future *buddha* Maitreya in the production of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and other early Yogācāra texts.

Of these three strategies, the present paper will only deal with the first one, although at a couple of places the ascription of the *Yogācārabhūmi* to the celestial *buddha*-to-be Maitreya will also come into play.⁵ The examination would be best to start with the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, one of the oldest, most famous and most influential parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, which has also often circulated as an independent text.

Towards the end of the text, four alternative titles of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* are mentioned.⁶ Among these, the first, namely *Bodhisattvapīṭakamāṭṛkā*, is certainly the most important and interesting one. Actually, it is this title rather than *Bodhisattvabhūmi* that is used in various places of the work for a self-reference.⁷ Regarding the term *bodhisattvapīṭakamāṭṛkā*— which sometimes also

⁵ For the problem of the relation of scripture and treatise in the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*, readers may refer to Chizuko Yoshimizu's article in the present volume.

⁶ *BoBh* (Wogihara) 409.14–18 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 282.10–12.

⁷ Cf. Engle 2016: XXXII.

appears in a slightly different form⁸—it should be first noted that *bodhisattvapīṭaka* does not refer here to a certain text or collection of texts but generally to the Mahāyāna scriptures.⁹ Accordingly, the title can be understood as “a *māṭṛkā* of the Mahāyāna discourses.” What, then, is a *māṭṛkā*?

Seemingly, the most original meaning of *māṭṛkā* is “mother.” A figurative meaning that is obviously derived from the meaning “mother” is “source, origin.” Moreover, the term is sometimes used in the sense of “alphabet.” This meaning is also common in non-Buddhist texts. Another meaning, which is particularly well known from Buddhist sources, is “list of terms” (especially technical terms). Such lists form the backbone of many already canonical *abhidharma* works. Some researchers like Frauwallner assumed that these lists were indeed the starting point for the systematization of the Buddhist scriptures in the *abhidharma*. There is also at least one textual passage in the *Yogācārabhūmi* in which a long list of words is given that is said to summarize or comprise all meanings, and is likened to a *māṭṛkā* of sounds or letters (*akṣara*), that is, an alphabet

⁸ It may be convenient to give here a list of the occurrences of the term and its variations: *BoBh* (Wogihara) 156.8 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 107.14 (*bodhisattvasūtrapīṭakamāṭṛkānibandha*); *BoBh* (Wogihara) 157.3f. = *BoBh* (Dutt) 107.24 (*bodhisattvapīṭakamāṭṛkā*); *BoBh* (Wogihara) 157.15 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 108.6–7 (Dutt has *bodhisattvasūtrapīṭakamāṭṛkā*, Wogihara has *bodhisattvapīṭakamāṭṛkā*); *BoBh* (Wogihara) 160.16f. = *BoBh* (Dutt) 110.1 (*bodhisattvasūtrapīṭakamāṭṛkā*); *BoBh* (Wogihara) 180.16 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 124.7 (*bodhisattvapīṭakamāṭṛkā*); *BoBh* (Wogihara) 274.21f. = *BoBh* (Dutt) 186.19 (*pīṭakamāṭṛkā*); *BoBh* (Wogihara) 332.23 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 227.21 (*bodhisattvapīṭakamāṭṛkānirdeśa*; read against both editions *ta iha bodhisattvapīṭakamāṭṛkānirdeśe daśa bodhisattvavihārāḥ...*). For the appearance in the end of the text, see above, note 6.

⁹ Cf. Pagel 1995: 10f. The meaning of *bodhisattvapīṭaka* in the present context becomes clear by some explicit textual passages (see, e.g., the reference in note 13) and by the fact that the title *Bodhisattvapīṭakamāṭṛkā* alternates with the title *Bodhisattvasūtrapīṭakamāṭṛkā* (see above, note 8).

that summarizes or comprises all sounds or letters.¹⁰ However, the list of words itself is not—or at least not explicitly—called a *mātrkā*. Rather, it is introduced under the heading “numerous conventional expressions” (*saṃbahulāni vyavahārapadāni*), and the lengthy enumeration contains many more items than only Buddhist technical terms.

At any rate, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* usually follows a fixed format: it gives a list of terms, which are defined and then subdivided into many other terms, which in turn are also defined and so on. Therefore, the backbone of this text can really be said to be such a list. However, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* does not only add definitions but also often makes very lengthy explanations, preferably with very long sentences, which are rich of enumerations of more or less synonymous terms.

Although in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, and even more so in still older works, definitions tend to be hardly more than an enumeration of synonyms, in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as a whole one often feels reminded more of the style of the Mahāyāna scriptures than of the sober style of *abhidharma* works of conservative Buddhism. However, let us leave this last-mentioned formal feature aside for the moment and just keep in mind that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is much more than a mere list of terms.

The word *mātrkā* in the title *Bodhisattvapīṭakamātrkā* is often translated with words like “summary”¹¹ and recently also “manual.”¹² As a matter of fact, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* itself mentions in a few places that the *Bodhisattvapīṭakamātrkā* is a collection or

¹⁰ *YoBh* (Bhatt.) 50.18–20: ... *arthasaṃgrahapadāni*... | *mātrkevākṣarāṇām etāni sarvārthasaṃgrahāya veditavyāni* | *tāni punas tadyathā bhūmīndriyaviṣayadharmapudgala*°....

¹¹ See, for example, Edgerton 1953 s.v. *mātrkā*, where he mentions this alternative title of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in the context of the meaning “summary, condensed statement of contents.”

¹² Engle 2016: XXXIV. Tatz (1986: 27) translates the term as: “code to the bodhisattva collection [of scriptures, *bodhisattvapīṭaka-mātrkā*].”

summary of teachings scattered in many places of the much more extensive Mahāyāna discourses.¹³ And it is certainly also noteworthy that the second alternative title of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* given in the end is *Mahāyānasamgraha*, that is, “The Summary of the Great Vehicle.”¹⁴

However, it is questionable that the term *mātrkā* is used here just to refer to the fact that Mahāyāna scriptures are summarized. It has already been remarked above that *mātrkās* seem to stand at the beginning of the composition of the *abhidharmapiṭaka* of various schools of conservative Buddhism. What has not been mentioned up till now is the fact that certain Buddhist schools used the term *mātrkā* instead of *abhidharma* when they referred to the systematic-scholastic basket of the *Tripitaka*. It is obvious that the *Yogācārabhūmi* belongs to the texts that follow this tradition.¹⁵ Even in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* itself, there is a place where *sūtravinayamātrkā* rather than **sūtravinayābhidharma* is used as Dvandva compound denoting the three baskets.¹⁶ Moreover, in the *Śrutamayī Bhūmiḥ* of the Basic Section, the “Buddha Word” (*buddhavacana*) is said to consist of the three “topics” or “items” (*vastu*) of *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *mātrkā*.¹⁷ There are, however, places in the *Yogācārabhūmi* in which the term *abhidharma* is used as well.¹⁸ In

¹³ See, for example, *BoBh* (Wogihara) 180.13–18 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 124.5–8.

¹⁴ *BoBh* (Wogihara) 409.15f. = *BoBh* (Dutt) 282.11.

¹⁵ This observation is not new. It can be found already in Schmithausen 1970: 96 (cf. also Schmithausen 1986: 213–214). There the beginning of the *Vastusamgrahaṇī* is given as a reference. In the following lines, some more of such references are added.

¹⁶ *BoBh* (Wogihara) 341.20–21 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 233.16–17.

¹⁷ *Śrutamayī Bhūmiḥ* 83v6: *tatra vastuprajñaptivyavasthānaṃ katamat | tribhir vastubhir buddhavacanasamgraho bhavati | sūtravastunā vinayavastunā mātrkāvastunā | eṣāṃ punas trayāṇāṃ vastūnāṃ vistaravibhāgo vastusamgrahaṇyām |*.

¹⁸ In his contribution to the present volume, Norihisa Baba draws attention to the fact that even in the *Mūlasarvāstivādivinaya* not only the

the *Śrāvakahūmi*—which is, as mentioned above, regarded as belonging, together with the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, to the earliest layer of the *Yogācārabhūmi*—for instance, the terms *mātrkā* and *abhidharma* appear side by side in the definition of *upadeśāḥ*.¹⁹ Here the term *abhidharma* might still be regarded as a kind of gloss, but already in the next paragraph only the term *abhidharma* is used in the division of the Good Doctrine (*saddharma*) into three baskets (*piṭakatraya*^o).²⁰ Not long after the *Yogācārabhūmi*, there appear Yogācāra works that even bear the term *abhidharma* in their title. To sum up: although the Yogācāras have early—and later, as it seems, preferably—used the term *abhidharma* in addition to the term *mātrkā*, the special importance of the latter term is recognizable in the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

Among the twelve kinds of texts of which the “Good Doctrine” (*saddharma*) consists, it is the explanation of the category of “clarifying instructions” (*upadeśa*) found in several places of the *Yogācārabhūmi* where the term *mātrkā* appears,²¹ and this is no coincidence, because *upadeśa* is, for instance, in the *Śrāvakahūmi*, equated not only with *abhidharma*, but implicitly also with the *abhidharmapiṭaka*.²² What is especially noteworthy here is the explanation of **upadeśa* found in the **Vyākhyāsaṃgrahaṇī* or **Vivaraṇasaṃgrahaṇī* part of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, an early manual of

term *mātrkā* is used, but also the term *abhidharma*. This is not insignificant, because the *Yogācārabhūmi* probably has a preference for the use of the term *mātrkā* since its authors and compilers followed the so-called Mūlasarvāstivādin recension of the Canon (cf. the references in note 15).

¹⁹ *Śrāvakahūmi* (I) 116*.8–9: *upadeśāḥ katame | sarvamātrkābhidharmah sūtrāntaniṣkarṣaḥ sūtrāntavyākhyānam....* See also the definition of **upadeśāḥ* in the **Vyākhyāsaṃgrahaṇī* or **Vivaraṇasaṃgrahaṇī*, which is dealt with below.

²⁰ *Śrāvakahūmi* (I) 116*.10–17.

²¹ For example, in the *Śrāvakahūmi* (see note 19 above) or in the textual passage that will be dealt with next.

²² *Śrāvakahūmi* (I) 116*.10–17.

exegetics and hence a precursor of Vasubandhu's famous *Vyākhyāyukti*:²³

Among these [twelve kinds of canonical texts], clarifying instructions (**upadeśa*, plural) are the **mātrkā*s that are extracted²⁴ from the discourses (**sūtra*). Among these [discourses],²⁵ all discourses with definitive meaning (**nītārtha*)²⁶ are called *mātrkā*(s). [All textual passages] in which the Exalted One teaches the [true] characteristics of the entities (*dharma*), or those in which a disciple (**śrāvaka*) who has achieved realization because he has seen the [Four Noble] Truths (**dṛṣṭapada*)²⁷ unerringly (**aviparītam*) teaches the

²³ *YoBh* (Tib.) D, vol. 'I, 54b5–55a1; P, vol. Yi, 64b5–65a2 = T1579.753b9–21.

²⁴ In view of the Tibetan rendering *nges par drangs pa* and the term *sūtrāntaniṣkarṣa* in the *Śrāvakahūmi* definition of *upadeśa*, it is fairly certain that the lost Sanskrit original can be reconstructed to **niṣkrṣṭa*. However, the Chinese translation of the present sentence (T1579.753b9–10: 論議者。謂諸經典循環研覈摩咀理迦; it may be that the variant reading 覈 for 環 has to be adopted as primary) is different and unclear to me. Dhammajoti (2005: 120) renders the Chinese as follows: “*Upadeśa* is the *mātrkā* which is the systematic study in the *sūtra*-s.” Strikingly, the present definition of *upadeśa* is also quoted in the *Xianyang shengjiao lun* 顯揚聖教論, and there the rendering of the present sentence is much more straightforward: “Clarifying instructions are the *mātrkā*s, which are gathered in (or: from?) the *sūtras*” (論議者。謂諸經所攝摩咀履迦; T1602.538c19).

²⁵ The Tibetan has here *de la* (usually representing Skt. *tatra*). I am not sure about the exact force of *de la* here. It might also be understood as “in this context,” or it might be rather weak in meaning. Xuanzang's Chinese translation, however, opens the sentence with the characters *jie ru* 且如, which Dhammajoti (2005: 120) translates as “just as”; moreover, he construes this sentence together with the following one.

²⁶ That is, all discourses that do not require any further interpretation.

²⁷ For the reconstruction of the Sanskrit term, see, for example, *Śrāvakahūmi* (II) 132.22 and n. 8 on the same page; Schmithausen 1987: 447–448. For the meaning of this term, see Schmithausen 1987: 447–448; Ahn 2003: 365 n. 763; *Śrāvakahūmi* (II): 230.2–5 (*sa tasmīn samaye tatprathamato bodhyaṅgalābhāc chaikṣo bhavati dṛṣṭapadaḥ* |

characteristics of the entities, are also *mātrkā*s, and one also calls them *abhidharma* [texts]. [...] Because they do not explain the characteristics [of entities in a] mixed and confused [manner],²⁸ these *mātrkā*s are called *abhidharma*. An explanation of other discourses²⁹ based on these *mātrkā*s is also³⁰ called clarifying instruction.

In the text quoted above, we see again an equation of the term *mātrkā* with *abhidharma*. Moreover, it can be gathered that these terms are used to explain *upadeśa*, which, as mentioned above, itself is—at least in the *Śrāvaka* *bhūmi*—equated with *abhidharma* in the tripartite division of the Canon. However, we not only see that the term *mātrkā* is associated here with canonical texts, but also that the

darśanaprahātavyāś cāsyā kleśāḥ prahīṇā bhavanti, bhāvanāprahātavyāś cāvaśiṣṭāḥ |) and the Chinese rendering of the present text passage (T1579.753b12): 已見諦迹; cf. Dhammajoti 2005: 120 (“who have seen the Truth”). See also the rendering of the parallel passage in the *Xianyang shengjiao lun* (T1602.538c21): “who have seen the Noble Footprints (已見聖迹).” In Vasubandhu’s *Vyākhyāyukti*, the term **dr̥ṣṭapada* is adduced as a proof that *pada* can also have the meaning *bden pa rnam*s, that is, “truths” (*Vyākhyāyukti* 20.12 and 20.25; we should adopt the reading *pa da* rather than *pā da* in line 12 [cf. Ueno 2010: 77 and 84 n. 32] and probably emend *slob pa’i* to *slob pa* in line 25). This meaning is most probably mediated via textual passages in which the four noble truths are designated as *padas* in the sense of “words, phrases, sentences, sayings;” see, for example, *Dhammapada* verse 273ab (already referred to by Schmithausen 1987: 448) or *Saundarananda* 16.3cd (*tato hi duḥkhaprabhṛtīni samyak catvāri satyāni padāny anvaiti*). There are other interpretations of the term, but in my view, they do not apply in the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

²⁸ I follow the Chinese translation here (無雜亂). Tibetan *tha mi dad par* is more difficult to interpret (“consistently”? Or: “not differently [depending on the context in which they are spoken]?”).

²⁹ This is the natural interpretation of the Tibetan text. The Chinese translation, however, rather understands “other explanations of the meanings of discourses.”

³⁰ An equivalent for the English word “also” can only be found in the Chinese rendering.

distinction between *sūtras* as scriptures and *mātrkā* texts is blurred. This becomes especially obvious in the designation of *sūtras* with definitive sense and certain types of instructions uttered by the Exalted One, that is, the Buddha, as *mātrkā*.³¹

It is certainly not excluded that in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the term *mātrkā* can also refer to non-canonical production of *abhidharma* texts or non-canonical exegesis of scriptures. There are in fact indications of this inclusive view, even in the textual passages discussed above.³² Nevertheless, on the basis of textual passages from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which I will adduce next, I would like to venture the hypothesis that the authors of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* wanted to create not simply a Mahāyāna *abhidharma* text but rather a full-fledged *abhidharmapiṭaka* for the *bodhisattvas*. Moreover, a

³¹ In the course of preparing this paper for publication I recognized that such an equation is far more widespread than I originally thought. Dhammajoti (2005: 120), after an examination of the present passage and many more sources, comes to the conclusion that both Sarvāstivādins and Yogācāras equate *upadeśa* with *mātrkā*, *abhidharma*, and discourses with definitive meaning.

³² The *Śrāvakaḥ* (see the term *sūtrāntavyākhyāna* in the text cited in note 19) and the **Vyākhyāsaṃgrahaṇī* (see the last sentence of my translation above) passages dealt with here explicitly include the “exegesis of / commenting on discourses” in their explanation of the term *upadeśāḥ*. Cf. Dhammajoti (2005: 215, 219), who mentions that this exegetical activity can also refer to post-canonical *sūtra* commentaries as well as to post-canonical commentaries on the *abhidharmapiṭaka*, as long as they are a “truthful exposition.” In the context of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, however, at least the latter kind of commentaries are probably not meant to be included. The *Yogācārabhūmi* does not presuppose a pre-existing *abhidharmapiṭaka* in the sense of the well-defined text corpus of the Theravādins and the Sarvāstivādins, and it is probably no coincidence that it mentions (see the beginning of the note) only commentaries on discourses as additional item in the explanations of the term *upadeśāḥ*. Finally, it should also be noted that in the **Vyākhyāsaṃgrahaṇī* it is not the commentary itself that is designated as *mātrkā*. The latter rather forms the basis for the elucidation.

rather peculiar kind of blurring of the distinctions between *sūtras* as scriptures and *abhidharma* texts can, in my view, be observed in these textual passages.

In one place of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, it is said that one should not take the Bodhisattva precepts from a master who does not accept the *bodhisattvapiṭaka* or the *Bodhisattvapiṭakamāṭṛkā*, that is, both these authorities are simply put side by side here.³³ In another passage, the obligation to pay homage to various objects of religious veneration is stressed and both manuscripts of the *bodhisattvapiṭaka* and manuscripts of the *Bodhisattvapiṭakamāṭṛkā* (i.e., the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*) are treated as such objects, and again the authors seemingly did not feel the need to mention any difference of venerability between them.³⁴

Even more explicit is a textual passage in the end of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, where it is stressed that one may expect from hearing, learning by heart, copying, ritual veneration, etc. of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* exactly as much merit as the Buddha has declared to accrue to someone who performs these actions with regard to all the Mahāyāna discourses.³⁵

³³ *BoBh* (Wogihara) 157.1–4 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 107.23–24 = *BoBh* (*Śīlapaṭala*) § 140.

³⁴ *BoBh* (Wogihara) 160.13–24 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 109.24–110.6 = *BoBh* (*Śīlapaṭala*) § 157.

³⁵ *BoBh* (Wogihara) 409.18–27 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 282.12–19. Apart from some variants which do not alter the overall meaning, there is only one phrase in this sentence, which should be briefly discussed. The Mahāyāna discourses of the *bodhisattvapiṭaka* are mentioned here in the singular (*sarvabodhisattvapiṭakasamgrhītasya sūtrāntasya*), so that one might consider that the merit gained from the preoccupation with the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is only equal with the merit gained from dealing with one of the many Mahāyāna sermons. However, I understand the singular as a collective one. This is, at least, the interpretation of Xuanzang: “all the sublime scriptures that are contained in the *bodhisattvapiṭaka*” (菩薩藏所攝一切微妙經典; T1579.575b16), and in my view the whole textual passage under consideration suggests that this is what is meant here.

Finally, it may be mentioned that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* also shares the idea of other related texts that the *mātrkā* in the sense of *abhidharma* or *abhidharmapiṭaka* teaches the characteristics of *dharmas* as they are, that is, the definitive meaning of Buddha's Word can be learnt most easily and directly from this *mātrkā*.³⁶

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is, as it states itself, a secondary summarized collection or rearrangement of the doctrines and precepts of the Mahāyāna scriptures, and it acquires its enormous value as an object of study and veneration exactly from this fact.³⁷ Nonetheless, in my view, it is clear from what has been said above that the authors wanted to give the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* a quasi-scriptural—or at any rate, a high canonical—status rather than relegate it to a lower level than the scriptures themselves.

Both fifth-century Chinese translations of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, that is, the *Pusa di chi jing* 菩薩地持經³⁸ and the *Pusa shan jie jing* 菩薩善戒經,³⁹ are, according to their title, *jing* (經). In the Buddhist context, this should imply that it is a “discourse” (*sūtra*) and hence has to be considered as “Buddha Word” (*buddhavacana*). Admittedly, if I am not mistaken, the term *jing* can designate any authoritative text in the general Chinese context, especially a classic recognized as forming a part of the Canon. However, as is well known, the second of the above-mentioned two translations even bears formal characteristics of a *sūtra*.⁴⁰ In my view, it is still very likely that these

³⁶ *BoBh* (Wogihara) 303.19–26 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 209.6–11: *pañcemāni bodhisattvasya garbhārthasandhirnirmocanātāyā adhiṣṭhānāni | katamāni pañca | ... mātrkāyām punar aviparītaṃ dharmalakṣaṇavyavasthānam | idaṃ tṛtīyam adhiṣṭhānam | ...*

³⁷ *BoBh* (Wogihara) 409.27–410.1 = *BoBh* (Dutt) 282.19–20.

³⁸ T1581.

³⁹ T1582 and T1583. On the relation of these two texts and their nature of representing originally one and the same translation, see Delhey 2013: 524 n. 131.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Demiéville 1953: § 2144; Demiéville 1954: 380 n. 8. This is mainly achieved by adding an introduction, which represents a version

peculiarities of the early *Bodhisattvabhūmi* translations represent a secondary development.⁴¹ However, these changes are possibly inspired by the way in which the original Sanskrit *Bodhisattvabhūmi* presents itself, especially at the end of the text. Seemingly, Demiéville⁴² rather saw a connection to the ascription of the text to the *buddha-to-be* Maitreya. It is, of course, very well possible that this was an additional reason for styling the text as a scripture.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is not the only part of the *Yogācārabhūmi* that is closely associated with the designation as *mātrkā*. At the end of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, it is said that this text is functioning as a *mātrkā* (*mātrkāsthānīya*) of Buddha's words that are needed by someone striving to attain liberation in the "Disciple Vehicle" (*śrāvakayāna*). However, here the reference to merit-producing qualities acquired by copying the text, etc. is missing.⁴³

More striking is a textual passage in the *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.⁴⁴ The passage probably belongs to a relatively late layer of the whole work, because it already presupposes the present-day subdivision of the work into five major parts. Here, the Buddhist teaching is subdivided as either comprising the *piṭaka* or the *mātrkā*(s) or both. The first subdivision is explained as designating the **śrāvakapiṭaka* and the **mahāyānapīṭaka*. The second subdivision is specified as "the seventeen levels and the four collections." This is, of course, exactly the macro-structure of the *Yogācārabhūmi*—and only of the *Yogācārabhūmi*—and must

of the *Upālipariprcchāsūtra* (see Python 1973: 3–4; cf. Delhey 2013: 524–525 n. 133).

⁴¹ See Delhey 2013: 524–525 n. 133 for some further references regarding the question of authenticity of the *Pusa shan jie jing* 菩薩善戒經.

⁴² Demiéville 1954: 380 n. 8.

⁴³ *Śrāvakabhūmi* (Schmithausen), § 14.

⁴⁴ *YoBh* (Tib.) D, vol. Zhi, 188b2–6; P, vol. Zi, 195b6–196a2 = T1579.654b3–11.

therefore refer to this work as a whole.⁴⁵ Here, it is probably too bold to interpret this passage as meaning that the *Yogācārabhūmi* as a whole is the *abhidharmapiṭaka*. It may, for instance, be noted that here the term *mātrkā* is contrasted with the term *piṭaka*.⁴⁶ Still, the fact that it is the *Yogācārabhūmi*, which obviously is regarded here as the definitive *mātrkā* of the teachings, suggests that this textual passage wants to lift the *Yogācārabhūmi* to a high level of authoritativeness or even to a status comparable to that of the *abhidharmapiṭaka* of the other schools.⁴⁷

It is, at any rate, interesting to note that Daolun 道倫,⁴⁸ the Korean author of the *Yogācārabhūmi* commentary *Yuqielunji* 瑜伽論記, gave two alternative interpretations of the passage: Either, the *Yogācārabhūmi* is Maitreya's detailed explanation of the

⁴⁵ In the commentarial passage referred to below, the identification of the mentioned items with the five parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* is also made very explicit, in particular by identifying the seventeen levels with the Basic Section of the whole work (T1828.707b21–22).

⁴⁶ It is somewhat unclear what the subdivision of the latter term into a *śrāvakayānapīṭaka* and a *bodhisattvapīṭaka* means, but probably it is mainly referring to the two different collections of discourses. Perhaps it also includes the basket of the discipline of the Śrāvakayāna and sections of the Mahāyāna discourses that deal with comparable matters.

⁴⁷ Moreover, the mention of both vehicles to salvation in the subdivision of **piṭaka* clearly suggests that the *Yogācārabhūmi* is—unlike the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which is exclusively devoted to the teaching of the Mahāyāna—regarded here as an authoritative *abhidharma* text of both the Śrāvakayāna and the Mahāyāna—a view that fits very well to the contents of the work as a whole.

⁴⁸ The sources call this author by two different names, more precisely: there exists an alternative first Chinese character in his name. Moreover, one might, of course, argue that one should give the transcription of his name in Korean reading rather than in modern Chinese pronunciation. The reader may be referred to Deleanu (2006: 251–252 and 270 n. 40) for an exhaustive discussion of this author and the involved problems (accompanied by further references).

abhidharmapiṭaka taught by the Buddha, with the latter being already structured like the *Yogācārabhūmi*, or it is simply the *abhidharmapiṭaka* taught by Maitreya to Asaṅga. The latter alternative is justified by the statement that Maitreya is or equals a *buddha*.⁴⁹

The main points I want to make with my paper, however, are that already in very early times attempts were made to establish the *Yogācārabhūmi* as a whole as an *abhidharma* text of high authoritativeness and that, at least in the case of one of its parts, even quasi-scriptural value is attached to it.

⁴⁹ T1828.707b21–26.

Bibliography

1. Sources in Classical Languages

- BoBh* (Dutt) = Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.). *Bodhisattvabhūmiḥ: Being the XVth Section of Asaṅgapāda's Yogācārabhūmiḥ*. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 7. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1966, reprint 1978.
- BoBh* (*Śīlapāṭala*) = Hadano Hakuyū 羽田野伯猷 et al. (eds.) *Yuga shiji ron Bosatsu ji* (瑜伽師地論菩薩地) (*Bodhisattvabhūmi: Comparative Edition of Tibetan, Sanskrit and Chinese with the Tibetan Commentaries of Rgya-mtsho sprin and Yon-tan ḥod*). Publications of The Institute of Tibetan Buddhist Textual Studies II, 1. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1993.
- BoBh* (Wogihara) = Wogihara Unrai (ed.). *Bodhisattvabhūmi: A Statement of Whole Course of the Bodhisattva (Being Fifteenth Section of Yogācārabhūmi)*. Tokyo: The Sankibo Press, 1971 (reprint in one volume).
- Saundarananda* = E.H. Johnston (ed.). *The Saundarananda of Aṣṭvaghōṣa*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1928.
- Śrāvākabhūmi* (I) = Śrāvākabhūmi Study Group, the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism (ed.). *Yuga ron Shōmon ji • Daiichi yugasho – sansukuritto go tekisuto to wayaku –* (瑜伽論 声聞地・第一瑜伽処 – サンスクリット語テキストと和訳 –) (*Śrāvākabhūmi: Revised Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation, The First Chapter*). Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo kenkyū sōsho 4. Tokyo: The Sankibō Press, 1998.
- Śrāvākabhūmi* (II) = Śrāvākabhūmi Study Group, the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism (ed.). *Yuga ron Shōmon ji • Daini yugasho (Fu: Hisanmakita ji, Mon shōjo ji, Shi shōjō ji) – sansukuritto go tekisuto to wayaku –* (瑜伽論 声聞地・第二瑜伽処 [付非三摩呬多地・聞所成地・思所成地] – サンスクリット語テキストと和訳 –) (*Śrāvākabhūmi: The Second Chapter, With Asamāhitā bhūmiḥ, Śrutamayī bhūmiḥ, Cintāmayī bhūmiḥ, Revised Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation*). Taishō Daigaku

Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo kenkyū sōsho 18. Tokyo: The Sankibo Press, 2007.

Śrāvākabhūmi (Schmithausen) = Lambert Schmithausen (ed.). “Die letzten Seiten der Śrāvākabhūmi.” In L.A. Hercus et al. (eds.), *Indological and Buddhist Studies in Honour of Prof. J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*. Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies 1982, 457–489.

Śrutamayī Bhūmiḥ = MS no. 199 in Sāṅkrtyāyana 1937.

T = Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon (cited according to text numbers).

Vyākhyāyukti = Lee Jong Cheol (ed.). *The Tibetan Text of the Vyākhyāyukti of Vasubandhu*. Bibliotheca Indologica et Buddhologica 8. Tokyo: The Sankibo Press, 2001.

YoBh (Bhatt.) = Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya (ed.). *The Yogācārabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga: The Sanskrit Text Compared with the Tibetan Version*. Calcutta: The University of Calcutta, 1957.

YoBh (Tib.) = Tibetan version of the *Yogācārabhūmi*: P5536–5543, D4035–4042.

2. Modern Publications

Ahn Sungdoo. 2003. *Die Lehre von den kleśas in der Yogācārabhūmi*. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 55. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Deleanu, Florin. 2006. *The Chapter on the Mundane Path (Laukikamārga) in the Śrāvākabhūmi: A Trilingual Edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese), Annotated Translation, and Introductory Study*. 2 volumes. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series 20. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies.

Delhey, Martin. 2013. “The Yogācārabhūmi Corpus: Sources, Editions, Translations and Reference Works.” In Ulrich

- Timme Kragh (ed.), *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners: The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaptation in India, East Asia, and Tibet*. Harvard Oriental Series 75. Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: Harvard University Press, 498–561.
- . 2019. “Asaṅga / Maitreya(nātha).” In: Jonathan A. Silk et alii (eds.), *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. Vol. 2: *Lives*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 73–80.
- Demiéville, Paul. 1953. “Les sources chinoises.” In Louis Renou & Jean Filliozat (eds.), *L’Inde Classique: Manuel des Études Indiennes*. Vol. 2. Paris: Imprimerie nationale & Hanoi : École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 398–463.
- Demiéville, Paul. 1954. “La Yogācārabhūmi de Saṅgharakṣa.” *Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient* 44/2: 339–436.
- Dhammajoti, KL. 2005. “Abhidharma and Upadeśa.” *Journal of Buddhist Studies* 3: 112–125.
- Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Engle, Artemus B. 2016. *The Bodhisattva Path to Unsurpassed Enlightenment: A Complete Translation of the Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Boulder: Snow Lion.
- Pagel, Ulrich. 1995. *The Bodhisattvaṅgikā: Its Doctrines, Practices and their Position in Mahāyāna Literature*. Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies.
- Python, Pierre. *Vinaya-Viniścaya-Upāli-Paripṛcchā: Enquete d’Upāli pour une exégèse de la discipline*. Collection Jean Przyluski 5. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1973.
- Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Rāhula. 1937. “Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-Leaf Mss. in Tibet [with Plates].” *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 23/1: 1–57.
- Schmithausen, Lambert. 1970. “Zu den Rezensionen des Udānavargaḥ.” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 14: 47–124.

- . 1986. “Zur Liste der 57 „kleineren Fehler“ in der Ratnāvalī und zum Problem der Schulzugehörigkeit der Nāgārjunas.“ *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 11&12: 203–232.
- . 1987. *Ālayavijñāna: On the Origin and the Early Development of a Central Concept of Yogācāra Philosophy*. 2 vols. *Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series 4a & 4b*. Reprint (with some addenda): Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, 2007.
- Silk, Jonathan A. 2015. “Canonicity.” In Jonathan A. Silk et alii (eds.), *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. Vol. 1: *Literature and Languages*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 5–37.
- Tatz, Mark. 1986. *Asanga’s Chapter on Ethics with the Commentary of Tsong-Kha-Pa, The Basic Path to Awakening, The Complete Bodhisattva*. *Studies in Asian Thought and Religion* 4. Lewiston & Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Ueno Makio 上野 牧生. 2010. “Shakkiron ni okeru Agonkyōten no gogi kaishaku (1)” 『釈軌論』における阿含經典の語義解釈法(1). *Indo tetsugaku bukkyō gaku kenkyū* (印度哲学仏教学) = *Hokkaido Journal of Indological and Buddhist Studies* 25: 278–265 (= 71–84).

Revisiting the Tenth Chapter of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* A Scripture on Rational Reflection

YOSHIMIZU Chizuko (Tsukuba University)

1. The Tenth Chapter of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*

The *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* (hereafter SNSū) is well-known for its claim that it represents the real intention of the Buddha's Word (*buddhavacana*) as articulated in the "third turning of the Dharma-wheel" (*chos kyi 'khor lo, dharmacakra*), which is superior to the teachings articulated in the first and second Dharma-wheels for the sake of the Śrāvakayāna and Prajñāpāramitā followers, respectively.¹ Moreover, the *sūtra* evaluates itself highly as a scripture, for it teaches definitive meaning (*nītārtha*), not indirect meaning (*neyārtha*), which requires further interpretation.² Such hermeneutical evaluation is a characteristic of this *sūtra*. The advertising of Yogācāra tenets—including *ālayavijñāna*, threefold nature (*trisvabhāva*), threefold naturelessness (*triniḥsvabhāva*), and representation-only (*vijñāptimātratā*)—also distinguishes it from other scriptures.³

¹ This well-known idea of three Dharma-wheels is taught at the end of the seventh chapter (SNSū 85.8 *infra*).

² The seventh chapter is concluded with the following statement of the Buddha: "Paramārthasamudgata, this is the teaching of the ultimate [and] definitive meaning. This should be taken as the teaching of the ultimate [and] definitive meaning" (SNSū 87.16–18: *don dam yang dag 'phags 'di ni don dam pa'i nges pa'i don bstan pa yin te | 'di don dam pa nges pa'i don bstan pa zhes bya bar gzung zhig ||*).

³ The tenet of *ālayavijñāna* is taught in the fifth chapter, that of *trisvabhāva* and *triniḥsvabhāva* in the sixth and seventh chapters, respectively, and that of *vijñāptimātratā* in the eighth chapter.

The tenth chapter, which is the present paper's focus, does not speak of these characteristic Yogācāra theories and, probably for this reason, has drawn less attention from specialists in Yogācāra literature. It has instead attracted those who are interested in Buddhist logic and epistemology, for this chapter presents a logical method called *upapattisāadhanayukti* ("the reason of the establishment by argument [of three *pramāṇas* or means of valid cognition]"),⁴ which delineates the way of argumentation that the Buddhists developed before the time of the logicians Dignāga (5th–6th cent.) and Dharmakīrti (7th cent.).⁵ The *upapattisāadhanayukti* already encouraged Tibetan thinkers of the eighth and ninth centuries to compose commentaries with an emphasis on this

⁴ The logical method of *upapattisāadhanayukti* has been intensively discussed by Kajiyama (1984: 54–64), Steinkellner (1988: vol. 2, 15–19), and Yoshimizu (1996a: 114 n. 85; 1996b: 123–130, 160ff.; and 2010).

⁵ The SNSū is considered to have been formed in the first half of the fourth century (see, e.g., Schmithausen 1969: 822f. and Powers 1993: 4). Having closely examined previous studies, Deleanu 2006 (vol. 1, 195) supports this date and presents a hypothetical chronological chart of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and its related texts including the SNSū, which helps our understanding of the history of early Yogācāra literature. The ninth and tenth chapters were translated into Chinese by Guṇabhadra (求那跋陀羅 『相續解脫經』 T678, T679) in the middle of the fifth century, earlier than other chapters.

The latest discussion which arose as to the evolution of this *sūtra* focuses on the question of whether the SNSū comprises several independent texts that have different origins and dates (cf. Matsuda 2013: 943). With regard to Guṇabhadra's Chinese translation of the last two chapters, Takahashi 2014a concludes that Guṇabhadra highly probably translated the *sūtra* cited in the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Takahashi 2014b disproves the assumption based on the existence of an epilogue phrase in the last four chapters that the last three chapters were originally independent *sūtras* and later compiled into the SNSū. I am indebted to Takahashi for valuable information and discussion about the doctrinal consistency in all chapters of the SNSū. Cf. also Schmithausen's brief comment on this issue (2014: 354–355).

particular chapter,⁶ where the SNSū provides an extensive investigation of correct and incorrect reasonings similar to those that are found in the *Hetuvidyā* section of the *Śrutamayī bhūmiḥ* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (**Mauḷyo bhūmayah*).⁷

However, I should state here that our intensive discussions on this so-called “logic of the SNSū” have been conducted rather out of context. It is significant that a *sūtra* (or the Buddha) teaches a type of logic for the purpose of rational reflection on Buddhist (or the Buddha’s own) teachings, but this significance should be interpreted within the context of the chapter. In all actuality, the main subject of the tenth chapter has nothing to do with logic, and

⁶ The largest commentary on the SNSū, which is falsely ascribed to Asaṅga but highly likely by the hand of a Tibetan scholar (regarding the authorship, see section 4.2(b) in O. Almogi’s article in this volume), the **Āryasaṃdhinirmocanasūtravyākhyāna* (P5845, D4358), devotes one third of the entire text to the tenth chapter, extensively elucidating the logic taught there. The *bKa’ yang dag pa’i tshad ma las mdo btus pa* ascribed to Khri Srong lde btsan (D4352, P5839) also concentrates on the same topic. Steinkellner (1989: 236–243) dates these Tibetan commentaries to the late eighth or first half of the ninth century and discusses their authorship. Moreover, according to Wangchuk (2009: 218), the rNying ma scholar Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (11th cent.) provides detailed and systematic explanations and applications of the four *yuktis*.

⁷ The *hetuvidyā* is taught as one of the four worldly sciences, that is, medicine (*cikitsāvidyā*), logic (*hetuvidyā*), science of language (*śabdavidyā*), and practical science (*śilpakarmasthānavidyā*). Although the table of contents provided in Appendix II to ŚrBh II: 282f. includes them in “the abode of what is to be known in the Buddha’s Word” (*buddhavacanajñeyādhiṣṭhāna*), this abode is said to end before the explanation of medicine (ŚrBh II: 304.13: *samāptaṃ ca buddhavacanajñeyādhiṣṭhānam* || ||). Therefore, the *Śrutamayī bhūmi* is considered to teach the five sciences (*pañcavidyāsthāna*), that is, Buddhist studies (i.e., *ādhyātmikavidyā*) and the four worldly sciences, and to separate the former from the latter four. As for the text and its Japanese translation of the *Hetuvidyā*, see Yaita 2005. As I have closely discussed in a previous paper (Yoshimizu 2010: 151 *infra*), this text presents a similar framework of logical reasoning to that of the SNSū.

instead it addresses “the definitive meaning (*nges pa'i don*, **nītārtha*)” of the accomplishment of the Tathāgata’s deeds.⁸ It starts with an exposition on the feature of *dharm*-body (*chos kyi sku*, *dharmakāya*, 法身)⁹ and the skillfulness of manifested-body (*sprul pa'i sku*, *nirmāṇakāya*, 化身) in the manner of teaching (*ston pa'i thabs la mkhas pa*) with emphasis on the *dharm*-body as “a basis of transmutation” (*gnas gyur pa*, **āśrayaparivṛtti*) for Mahāyāna *bodhisattvas*, in contrast with the “body of liberation” (*rnam par grol ba'i lus*, **vimuktikāya*, 解脫身) for *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*.¹⁰ Whereas the *dharmakāya* does not appear in this world, the *nirmāṇakāya* is born into this world and preaches herein. His sermon consists of a threefold discourse, that is, *sūtra* (*mdo sde*, 契經), *vinaya* (*'dul ba*, 調伏), and *mātrkā* (*ma mo*, 本母).¹¹ The *upapattisādhanayukti*, the “logic of the SNSū,” is integrated into the list of characteristics of Buddhist teachings called *mātrkā*¹²

⁸ SNSū 165.27–29 (D55a4, P60b3f., Ms.T70a6f., Ms.U69b2–4): *'jam dpal 'di ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i bya ba sgrub pa* (Ms.TU *bsgrub pa*) *nges pa'i don bstan pa* (Ms.TU *don tu bstan pa yin te* | *'jam dpal*) *'di* (Ms.TU *'di ni*) *de bzhin gshegs pa'i bya ba sgrub pa nges pa'i don* (Ms.TU *don tu*) *bstan pa zhes bya bar zung zhig* | (Ms.T *zhes zung shig*, Ms.U *zhes ces bcom ldan 'das kyis de la bka' stsal to* |); T675: 688a20–22: 文殊師利。此法門名說諸佛如來住持力了義經。文殊師利。如來所說了義修多羅其義如是。汝當奉持。; T676: 711b17f.: 曰。善男子。此名如來成所作事了義之教。於此如來成所作事了義之教。汝當奉事。; T679: 720b14f.: 佛告文殊師利。此經名如來所作隨順處了義說。如是奉持。

The accomplishment of the Tathāgata’s deeds follows the teaching of the ninth chapter on the *bodhisattva*’s path that consists of the practices of ten stages (*daśabhūmi*) and six *pāramitās*.

⁹ The Chinese words are adopted from Xuanzang’s translation (T676).

¹⁰ SNSū 149.5–25 (D49a2–6, P53b3–54a1, Ms.T 62b1–6, Ms.U 61b5–62a3, IOL 194 (Hakamaya 1987: 586, 588): 18a1–b4, T675: 685a11–24, T676: 708b11–23, T679: 718a25–9b).

¹¹ SNSū 149.31–150.24 (D49a7–49b3, P54a2–7, Ms.T 62b8–63a5, Ms.U 62a3–b2, IOL 194: 19a2–b3 (Hakamaya 1987: 584, 586), T675: 685a28–b10, T676, 708c3–13, T679: 718b12–22).

¹² The term *mātrkā* is generally used as equivalent to *abhidharma*. Cf., for

together with the other three *yuktis*, which are *apekṣāyukti*, *kāryakaraṇayukti*, and *dharmatāyukti*.

The present paper will revisit the notion of this fourfold *yukti* that is presented in the tenth chapter of the SNSū and the *Śrāvakahūmi* (hereafter ŚrBh). It is highly conceivable that the SNSū adopted this set of ideas from the ŚrBh, which was supposedly composed earlier than the SNSū.¹³ This will provide us with a good example of the fluidity between a treatise and a scripture. However, the contexts of the two texts in which the fourfold *yukti* appears are different: whereas the ŚrBh applies the four *yuktis* to a practice of rational reflection (*vipaśyanā* 觀 / *cintanā* 思) as an assistant tool from the viewpoint of *śrāvakas* or those who listen to the Buddha's teaching, learn it, and practice it, the SNSū teaches the same concepts from the viewpoint of the Buddha who provides the idea and preaches about it. I think that this reflects an interesting change of perspective, which took place in the historical and theoretical intercourse between a treatise and a scripture. My primary aim is to reexamine and clarify the meaning of *yukti* and its significance in the scriptural context of the SNSū.¹⁴

example, Davidson 1990: 303 and M. Delhey's article in this volume.

¹³ The ŚrBh is considered to be the oldest textual layer of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Deleanu 2006: vol. 1, 156). Deleanu (2006: vol. 1, 195) proposes the date of ca. 200–270 CE for the compilation of the ŚrBh.

¹⁴ Needless to say, the present paper owes much to numerous previous studies on the SNSū and Yogācāra literature as well as valuable suggestions from my friends and colleagues including Koichi Takahashi and Martin Delhey, for I am not a specialist in this field. Since the Sanskrit original of the SNSū did not survive, the text of the SNSū cited here is its Tibetan version edited by E. Lamotte based on the sNar thang Kanjur (Bibliothèque Nationale no. 410). The following versions have also been consulted: the sDe dge and Peking editions, and Manuscript Kanjurs preserved in the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo (Ms.T) and the National Library of Mongolia, Ulan Bator (Ms.U), which belong to the Them spangs ma tradition (cf. Kato 2003 and 2006), as well as the incomplete Dunhuang manuscript preserved in The British Library (IDP La Vallée

2. Fourfold *yukti* in the SNSū and ŚrBh

2.1. Fourfold *yukti* in the SNSū

The SNSū provides a comprehensive discussion about the four kinds of *yukti* (*rigs pa*, 道理).¹⁵ I have tentatively adopted the English word “reason” for *yukti*.¹⁶ I construe the compounds *apekṣāyukti* and so on as *karmadhāraya* compounds, which I think accords with the explanation in the ŚrBh cited below. The SNSū describes the four *yuktis* as follows:

apekṣāyukti (*ltos pa'i rigs pa*, 觀待道理)¹⁷

Poussin IOL Tib J 194) and edited by N. Hakamaya under Stein no. 194. Regarding other Tibetan versions of the SNSū, see the online list provided under rKTs-K106. The Chinese translations by Bodhiruci (菩提流支 tr. 514, T675), Xuanzang (玄奘 tr. 647, T676), and Guṇabhadra (求那跋陀羅 tr. 443–454, T679) are referred to as well. For the ŚrBh, I used the Sanskrit text edited by the ŚrBh study group of Taishō university as the main text for citation, which includes the information about the readings of the manuscript, as well as A. Wayman’s and K. Shukla’s editions, and the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The Chinese translation was made by Xuanzang (T1579).

¹⁵ SNSū 155.17–158.31 (D51a3–52b4, P55b8–57b1f., Ms.T 65a2–67a1, Ms.U 64a8–66a5, IOL 194: 59a1–b5 (Hakamaya 1987: 578, 580), T675: 686a23–c21, T676: 709b11–710a18, T679: 719a6–b18). For more details, see Yoshimizu 1996b and 2010.

¹⁶ I have been struggling with the translation of this word since 1996. The English word “reason” well corresponds to Xuanzang’s Chinese translation *daoli* (道理) (T676: 709b11), which means an objective ground or principle for explaining the origination of phenomena, facts, and relations between phenomena. Bodhiruci rendered it as *xiangying* (相應) (T675: 686a23) and Guṇabhadra as *cheng* (成) (T679: 719a6). The present paper is a good opportunity to reconsider the meaning of *yukti*. Cf. Yoshimizu 1996b: 160f. and 2010: 140 n. 2.

¹⁷ SNSū 155.17–19, D51a4f., P55b8: *de la ltos pa'i rigs pa ni 'du byed rnams 'byung ba dang | rjes su tha snyad gdags pa'i rgyu gang dag yin pa dang | rkyen gang dag yin pa ste | de ni ltos pa'i rigs pa yin no ||*. Cf. Ms.T 65a3f., Ms.U 64a8f.: *de la ltos pa'i rigs pa ni | 'du byed rnams skye ba dang | rjes su tha snyad gdags pa'i phyir | gang dag rgyur gyur pa dang | gang dag*

Of these [four], the reason of dependence is [as follows]: Causes and conditions of the arising of conditioning factors and verbal designation [of them that] follows [their arising] are [called] the reason of dependence.

kāryakaraṇayukti (*bya ba byed pa'i rigs pa*, 作用道理)¹⁸

Causes and conditions of the action of things which are acquired, established, or originated are [called] the reason of efficacious action.

upapattisādhanayukti (*'thad pas sgrub pa'i rigs pa*, 証成道理)¹⁹

Causes and conditions of the establishment and correct understanding of the state of affairs that are known, explained, and stated, are [called] the reason of the establishment by argument. (*An extensive discussion follows this brief definition.)

dharmatāyukti (*chos nyid kyi rigs pa*, 法爾道理)²⁰

rkyen du gyur pa de dag ni | ltos pa'i rigs pa'o ||; T676, 709b13f.: 觀待道理者。謂若因若緣能生諸行及起隨說。如是名爲觀待道理。

¹⁸ SNSū 155.20–22, D51a5, P56a1f.: *chos rnams 'thob pa'am | 'grub pa'am* (D add. |) *skyes pa rnams las byed par 'gyur ba'i rgyu gang dag yin pa dang* (D add. |) *rkyen gang dag yin pa de ni bya ba byed pa'i rigs pa yin no ||*. Cf. Ms.T 65a4f., Ms.U 64b1–3: *chos rnams 'thob pa'i phyir ram | 'grub pa'i phyir ram | skyes nas kyang las su bya ba'i phyir | gang dag rgyur gyur pa dang | gang dag rkyen du gyur pa de dag ni | bya ba byed pa'i rigs pa'o ||*; T676, 709b14–16: 作用道理者。謂若因若緣能得諸法。或能成辦。或復生已作諸業用。如是名爲作用道理。

¹⁹ SNSū 155.23–158.28, D51a5–52b3, P56a2–57b1: *so so'i shes pa dang | bshad pa dang | smras pa'i don sgrub pa dang | legs par khong du chud par bya ba'i rgyu gang dag yin pa dang | rkyen gang dag yin pa de ni 'thad pas sgrub pa'i rigs pa yin no ||* [...]. Cf. Ms. K 65a5f., Ms. U 64b2f.: *dam bcas shing bstan te smras pa'i don bsgrub pa dang | yang dag par shes par bya ba'i phyir | gang dag rgyur gyur pa dang | gang dag rkyen du gyur pa* (U om. *dang | gang dag rkyen du gyur pa*) *de dag ni | gtan tshigs sgrub pa'i rigs pa'o ||*; T676, 709b16–710a17: 證成道理者。謂若因若緣能令所立所說所標義得成立正覺悟。如是名爲證成道理。

²⁰ SNSū 158.29–31, D52b3f., P57b1f.: *de la de bzhin gshegs pa rnams byung*

Of these [four, the reason of true nature is as follows]: Whether or not *tathāgatas* arise, this true nature (*dharmatā*) [i.e.,] the essence (**dhātu*), definitively stands firm in order for a thing to stand firm, that is the reason of true nature.

Here, *yukti* or “reason” refers to a factual or rational ground, which consists in reality, and is used to explain and verify Buddhist teachings and practices. The Chinese translation 道理 (*daoli*, *dōri* in Japanese) fits best in this sense. At first glance, it seems strange that the sentences have the plural form of **hetu* and

yang rung | ma byung yang rung ste | chos gnas par bya ba'i phyir chos nyid dbyings gnas pa nyid gang yin pa de ni chos nyid kyi rigs pa yin no ||. Cf. Ms.T 66b7, Ms.U 66a4f.: *de la de bzhin gshegs pa rnam byung yang rung | ma byung yang rung ste | chos nyid dang | chos gnas pa'i dbyings* (U add. su) *'dug pa de ni | chos nyid kyi rigs pa'o ||*; IOL 194: 48a5–48b1 (Hakamaya 1987: (29)): *de la gang yang dag par gshegs pa' rnam | skyes gyang rung | yang dag par gshegs pa rnam ma skyes gyang rung ste chos nyid dang | chos gyi gna's^[1] nyid dang | dbying ni | gna's^[1] pa nyid do ||*; T676, 710a17–18: 法爾道理者。謂如來出世若不出世。法性安住法住法界。是名法爾道理。 .^[1] Archaic གནའས་.

This definition of *dharmatā* is used in numerous Buddhist literature. This statement corresponds, for instance, to that in the *Samyuttanikāya*, Part II: 25 (XII. 20.3): *uppādā vā tathāgatānam anuppādā vā tathāgatānaṃ thitā va sā dhātu dhammatthitatā dhammaniyāmatā idappaccayatā*. Cf. also *Nidānasamyukta* 164–165 (sūtra 17.4–5): *api tūtpādād vā tathāgatānām anutpādād vā sthitaiveyaṃ dharmatā dharmasthitaye dhātuḥ, taṃ tathāgataḥ svayam abhijñāyābhisambuddhyākhyāti prajñāpayati prasthāpayati vibhajati vivaraty uttānikaroti deśayati saṃprakāsayati*; *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Teil II: 168 (9.18): *utpādād vā tathāgatānām anutpādād vā sthitaiveyaṃ dharmatā dharmasthitaye dhātūṃs tāṃs tathāgataḥ svayam abhijñāyābhisambuddhyākhyāti prajñāpayati pra(sth)āpay(ati vibha)jati vivaraty uttānika(roti de)śayati saṃ(prakāśayati ||*. Citing this, Skilling (2013: 6) gives the following comment, which, for our investigation of the context of the SNSū, seems suggestive: “Buddhas come and go, but Dharma remains; Buddhas realize Dharma and reveal Dharma. In this hierarchy, a Buddha is subordinate to the Dharma. And even in contexts where, by metaphysical sleight of hand, the Buddha rebounds and recovers ultimate authority, this is because he is the Dharmakāya.”

**pratyaya* (i.e., “causes and conditions”), but, if there are several kinds of physical causes and conditions, they are situated in reality and subsumed under the concept *yukti*, which refers to a principle of reality such as causality, efficacy, rationality, and inherency. They also account for an intrinsic and inevitable connection between things or occurrences. Moreover, because it confirms the connection between a practice and its effect, the fourfold *yukti* is used as a means for reflective practice, as will be seen below.

Yukti is a term already known to early Āyurvedic tradition, in which the *Carakasamhitā* counts it as the fourth means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*), in addition to perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), and scripture (*āgama*).²¹ In Yogācāra tradition alone, this term is used in various ways as has been widely discussed by L. Schmithausen, G. Oberhammer, E. Steinkellner, Y. Kajiyama, H. Sakuma, H. Yaita, myself, R. Nance, F. Deleanu, D. Wangchuk, and most recently, V. Eltschinger.²² Following the ŚrBh and the SNSū, such Buddhist treatises as the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (81.15–21), *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* (XIX 45),²³ and *Ratnagotravibhāga* (73.12–16)²⁴ have employed the idea of fourfold *yukti*.

Of the four *yuktis*, the explanation of *upapattisādhanayukti* provided in the SNSū is ten times longer than that provided for the other three *yuktis*, and this explanation comprises the “logic of the SNSū,” the details of which I have examined and analyzed in

²¹ See Filliozat 1990: 44f., Preisendanz 2009: 281. Cf. also Preisendanz 2010: 55.

²² See Kajiyama 1984: 55; Steinkellner 1988: vol. 2, 15–19; Yaita 1989a & 1989b; Sakuma 1990: vol. 2, 99–102 n. 596, including Schmithausen’s comment; Oberhammer 1991: 74–76; Yoshimizu 1996a: 114–119; 1996b: 124–127; Nance 2007: 153–156; Deleanu 2006: vol. 1, 255; Wangchuk 2009: 217f.; and Eltschinger 2013: 73–84.

²³ Cf. the citation and translation as well as references in Yoshimizu 1996b: 135, 139.

²⁴ Cf. the citation and references in Yoshimizu 2010: 140 n. 2.

my previous papers (1996a, 1996b, 2010). A similar inclination toward logic is also seen in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (37.22–38) and *Madhyantavibhāṅgabhāṣya* (42.3–11 *ad* III 13), where the authors introduce *upapattisādhanayukti* alone and regard it as a means of establishing the truth, referenced as the “truth acknowledged through reason/reasoning” (*yuktiprasiddhatattva*) in contrast with the “truth acknowledged in the world” (*lokaprasiddhatattva*).²⁵

2.2. Fourfold *yukti* in the ŚrBh

This kind of emphasis on *upapattisādhanayukti* is not seen in the ŚrBh, where the four *yuktis* are equally handled and applied to the reflection of true teaching (*saddharmacintanā*, 思正法) in the first chapter or *Yogasthāna* (第一瑜伽处) and to various practices of reflection (*vipaśyanā*, 觀) in the third chapter or *Yogasthāna* (第三瑜伽处). Nevertheless, it seems safe to say that the ŚrBh could offer a basic idea of the fourfold *yukti* to the SNSū if one reads the following explanation in the first chapter of the ŚrBh:

*apekṣāyukti*²⁶

What kind [of reason] is the reason of dependence? There are two kinds of dependence, viz., dependence of arising (*utpattyapekṣā*) and dependence of designation (*prajñaptiypekṣā*). Of these [two], dependence of arising [consists in the fact that] when aggregates come to manifest themselves by respective causes and conditions, these

²⁵ Cf. the citation and translation as well as references in Yoshimizu 1996a: 114–119, and 1996b: 141f.

²⁶ ŚrBh I: 236.15–238.4: *apekṣāyuktiḥ katamā | dviividhāpekṣā, utpattyapekṣā prajñaptiypekṣā ca | tatrotpattyapekṣā yair hetubhir yaiḥ pratyayaiḥ skandhānāṃ prādurbhāvo bhavati, tasyāṃ skandhotpattau te hetavas te pratyayā apekṣyante | yair nāmakāyapadakāyavyaṅjanakāyaiḥ skandhānāṃ prajñaptir bhavati, tasyāṃ skandhaprajñaptau te nāmakāyapadakāyavyaṅjanakāyā apekṣyante | iyam ucyate skandheṣūtpattyapekṣā prajñaptiypekṣā ca | yā cotpattyapekṣā yā ca prajñaptiypekṣā sā yuktir yoga upāyaḥ skandhotpattaye skandhaprajñaptaye | tasmād apekṣāyuktir ity ucyate | |.*

causes and conditions are required for the arising of aggregates. When the designation of aggregates occurs by the assemblage of name, sentence, and phoneme (*nāmakāyapadakāyavyaṅjanakāya*),²⁷ this assemblage of name, sentence, and phoneme is required for the designation of aggregates. With regard to aggregates, they are called the reason of dependence and the reason of designation. The dependence of arising is *yukti*, *yoga*, and *upāya* for the arising of aggregates; the dependence of designation is *yukti*, *yoga*, and *upāya* for the designation of aggregates. Therefore, it is called the reason of dependence.

kāryakaraṇayukti²⁸

What kind [of reason] is the reason of efficacious action? The aggregates which have arisen by their own cause and condition are destined for their own respective efficacious action. For instance, visible matters are to be seen by the visual faculty, sounds are to be heard by the auditory faculty, [and so on] up to conceptual elements that are to be cognized by the thinking faculty; visible matter is to abide in the range of the visual faculty, sound is to abide in the range of the auditory faculty, and likewise, up to conceptual elements are [to abide in the range of] the thinking faculty. Or, there is also another [case] of this kind, in each [of

²⁷ Cf., for example, AKBh 80.13–22 *ad* II 47ab (*nāmakāyādayaḥ saṃjñāvākyākṣarasamuktayaḥ* |), particularly, the explanation of three *kāyas* (80.21–23): *tatra nāmakāyas tad yathā rūpaśabdagandharasaspraṣṭavyānīty evamādi* | *padakāyaḥ tad yathā "sarvasaṃskārā anityāḥ sarvadharmā anātmānaḥ śāntaṃ nīvarṇam"* ity evamādi | *vyāṅjanakāyas tad yathā ka kha ga gha ity evamādi* |.

²⁸ ŚrBh I: 238.6–12: *kāryakaraṇayuktiḥ katamā* | *yad utpannānāṃ skandhānāṃ svena hetunā svena pratyayena tasmimś tasmīn svakāryakaraṇe vīniyogaḥ* | *tadyathā, cakṣuṣā rūpāṇi draṣṭavyāni, śrotreṇa śabdāḥ śrotavyāḥ, yāvan manasā dharmā vijñeyā iti* | *rūpeṇa cakṣuṣo gocare 'vasthātavyam, śabdena śrotrasya, evaṃ yāvad dharmair manas iti* | *yad vā punar anyad apy evaṃbhāgiyaṃ, tatra tatra dharmānāṃ anyonyaṃ kāryakaraṇe prati yuktir yoga upāyaḥ* | *iyam ucyate kāryakaraṇayuktiḥ* | |.

which] things mutually/respectively (*anyonyam*)²⁹ have *yukti*, *yoga*, and *upāya* for efficacious action. This is called the reason of efficacious action.

upapattisādhanayukti³⁰

What kind [of reason] is the reason of the establishment by argument? By the three means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*), one inquires [into the reality] that aggregates are impermanent, originated in dependence, unsatisfactory, empty, and selfless. That is, namely, [the inquiry] through the scripture of a trustworthy [person] (*āptāgama*), perception (*pratyakṣa*), and inference (*anumāna*). By these three means of valid cognition that correspond to argument and convince the hearts of wise [people] (*satām*), a probative determination is made with regard to the impermanence of aggregates, [their] dependent origination, [their nature of being] unsatisfactory, [their] emptiness, and [their] selflessness. This is called the reason of the establishment by argument.

dharmatāyukti³¹

²⁹ For the word *anyonyam*, the Tibetan translation has *gcig la gcig* (D57b7), and the Chinese translation 別別 (T1579: 419b21).

³⁰ ŚrBh I: 238.14–240.1: *upapattisādhanayuktiḥ katamā | anityāḥ skandhā iti, pratītyasamutpannā duḥkhāḥ śūnyā anātmāna iti tribhiḥ pramāṇair upaparīkṣate | yad utāptāgamena pratyakṣeṇānumānena ca | ebhis tribhiḥ pramāṇair upapattiyuktaiḥ satām hrdayagrāhakair vyavasthāpanā sādhanā kriyate | yad uta skandhānityatāyā vā pratītyasamutpannatāyā vā duḥkhatāyā vā śūnyatāyā vānātmatāyā vā | iyam ucyata upapattisādhanayuktiḥ ||*.

³¹ ŚrBh I: 240.2–13: *dharmatāyuktiḥ katamā | kena kāraṇena tathābhūtā ete skandhāḥ, tathābhūto lokasaṃniveśaḥ | kena kāraṇena kharalakṣaṇā pṛthivī dravalakṣaṇā āpa uṣṇalakṣaṇaṃ tejah samudīraṇalakṣaṇo vāyuh | kena kāraṇenānityāḥ skandhāḥ kena kāraṇena śāntaṃ nirvāṇam iti | tathā kena kāraṇena rūpaṇalakṣaṇaṃ rūpam, anubhavanalakṣaṇā vedanā, saṃjānanalakṣaṇā saṃjñā, abhisamskaraṇalakṣaṇāḥ saṃskārāḥ, vijānanalakṣaṇaṃ vijñānam iti | prakṛtir eṣāṃ dharmāṇāṃ iyam, svabhāva eṣa idṛśaḥ, dharmataiṣā | yaiva cāsau dharmatā saivātra yuktir yoga upāyah |*

What kind [of reason] is the reason of true nature? [One makes an inquiry as follows:] By what cause are these aggregates of such nature, [by what cause] is that which abides in the world of such nature? By what cause does earth have the characteristic of hardness, does water have the characteristic of being fluid, does fire have the characteristic of heat, and does wind have the characteristic of motion? By what cause are aggregates impermanent and *nirvāṇa* calm? Likewise, by what cause does visible matter have the characteristic of forming (*rūpaṇalakṣaṇa*),³² does sensation have the characteristic of apprehension, does ideation have the characteristic of ideating, do conditioning factors have the characteristic of conditioning, does consciousness have the characteristic of cognizing? This is the nature of things, the self-nature is like this, this is the true nature. And here, exactly this true nature is nothing but *yukti*, *yoga*, and *upāya*. In all cases of inquiry [whether] the [true nature] may be in this way, or in another way, or not, nothing but the true nature is resort, nothing but the true nature is reason. This is for the sake of mind's concentration [and] reflection. This is called the reason of true nature.

Here the meaning of each *yukti* is clearer than the explanation provided by the SNSū. A similar elucidation is also found in the third chapter, which will be quoted below. The three words, *yukti*, *yoga*, and *upāya*, seem to be treated as equivalent.³³ The words

evaṃ vaitat syāt, anyathā vā, naiva vā syāt, sarvatraiva ca dharmataiva pratisaraṇaṃ dharmataiva yuktiḥ | cittanidhyāpanāya cittasaṃjñāpanāya | iyaṃ ucyate dharmatāyuktiḥ |.

³² For the word *rūpaṇalakṣaṇa*, the Chinese version has 變壞相 (T1579: 419c04). Although the characteristic of “being destroyed” is attributed to visible matter in early Buddhist texts as pointed out by Sakurabe (1969: 93f.), I would tentatively prefer to interpret it in conformity with the other four aggregates. Cf. D58a5: *ci'i phyir gzugs kyis mtshan nyid gzugs su rung ba yin |.*

³³ For *yukti*, *yoga*, and *upāya*, the Tibetan version has *rigs pa*, *sbyor ba*, and *thabs*, respectively (D57b5, 58a1, 58a7), and the Chinese translation has

yukti and *yoga* are synonymous, meaning “coherence” or “connection.”³⁴ Each *yukti* implies coherence or connection that is situated in reality. Hence, it is also “reason” for the verification of the inevitable connection between two things such as cause and effect, action and effect, argument and consequence, and qualifier and qualified. It is also “a means” (*upāya*) in the sense that it is an auxiliary to reflective practice, as the third chapter of the ŚrBh presents quite nicely:³⁵

How does one pursue reason? There are four reasons: reason of dependence, reason of efficacious action, reason of the establishment by argument, and reason of true nature. Of these, through the reason of dependence, one pursues the conventional from [the viewpoint of] the conventional, the ultimate from [the viewpoint of] the ultimate, and cause from [the viewpoint of] the cause. Through the reason of efficacious action, one pursues the function of things: “this is a thing, this is a function, [and] this thing has this function.”

道理, 瑜伽, 方便, respectively (T1579: 419b15, 22, c6f.).

³⁴ The three words do not appear in the explanation of *upapattisādhanayukti* in the ŚrBh. In his TrBh (74.12–17), Sthiramati (6th cent.) identifies *yukti* as *yoga*, which solely refers to *upapattisādhanayukti* consisting of three kinds of *pramāṇa*, and relates it to insights born of listening, reflection, and mental cultivation (*yuktir yogaḥ | sa punar āptopadeśo 'numānaṃ pratyakṣaṇi ca | tena triprakāreṇa yogena yo janitāḥ sa yogavinitaḥ | sa punaḥ śrutamayaś cintāmayo bhāvanāmayas ca |*).

³⁵ ŚrBh III: 32.20–34.5: *kathaṃ yuktiṃ paryeṣate | catasro yuktayaḥ, apekṣāyuktiḥ kāryakaraṇayuktir upapattisādhanayuktir dharmatāyuktis ca | tatrāpekṣāyuktyā saṃvṛtiṃ ca saṃvṛtitaḥ, paramārthaṃ ca parmārthataḥ, nidānaṃ ca nidānataḥ paryeṣate | kāryakaraṇayuktyā kāritraṃ dharmāṇāṃ paryeṣate, “ayaṃ dharmāḥ, idaṃ kāritraṃ, ayam idaṃkāritra” iti | upapattisādhanayuktyā trīṇi pramāṇāni paryeṣate, āptāgamam anumānaṃ pratyakṣaṃ ca | “kim asty atrāptāgamo nāsti”ti | “kiṃ pratyakṣam upalabhyate, na ve”ti | “kim anumānena yujyate, na ve”ti | tatra dharmatāyuktyā tathābhūtataṃ dharmāṇāṃ prasiddhadharmatām acintyadharmatām avasthitadharmatām adhimucyate, na cintayati, na vikalpayati | evaṃ yuktiṃ paryeṣate |*

Through the reason of the establishment by argument, one pursues three means of valid cognition, that is, the scripture of a trustworthy [person], inference, and perception: “Is there any scripture of a trustworthy [person] for this, or not? Is any perception obtained, or not? Is it verified by inference, or not?” Of these [four reasons], through the reason of true nature, one is convinced of the suchness of things, the true nature that is acknowledged, the true nature that is beyond thought, the true nature that abides; one [should] neither contemplate it nor discern it. In this way, one pursues reason.

One should note that here the term *yukti* is used in both accusative and instrumental forms. Throughout the course of *vipaśyanā* practice, a practitioner is required to pursue reason (*yukti*, *rigs pa*, 道理) in addition to the other five categories³⁶ with regard to a particular object of practice. The fourfold *yukti* helps him, for instance, when the following reflections on impurity (*aśubhatā* / *aśubhā*, 不淨性) occur to him:

*apekṣāyukti*³⁷

How does one seek reason? The following [reflection] occurs to him: [Ultimately] nothing exists, be it a self, or a sentient being, be it something inside, or outside, that may be perceived as pure or impure. Rather, it is mere visible

³⁶ See, for example, ŚrBh III: 32.5–7, where six categories (*vastu*, *gzhi*, 事) to be pursued are enumerated: meaning (*artha*, *don*, 義), entity (*vastu*, *dnogs po*, 事), characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*, *mtshan nyid*, 相), position (*pakṣa*, *phyogs*, 品), time (*kāla*, *dus*, 時), and reason (*yukti*, *rigs pa*, 道理).

³⁷ ŚrBh III: 44.1–13: *kathaṃ yuktiṃ samanveṣate | tasyaivoṃ bhavati | nāsti sa kaścid ātmā vā sattvo vādhyātmaṃ vā bahirdhā vopalabhyo yaḥ śubho vā syād aśubho vā | api tu rūpamātram etat kaḍevaramātram etad yatreyam samjñā samajñā prajñaptir vyavahārah “śubham” iti vā “aśubham” iti vā | [...] | ayam api me kāyaḥ pūrvakarmakleśāviddho mātāpitrasucikalalasaṃbhūta odanakulmāṣopacitah, yena hetunā yena nidānena iyaṃ tāvatkālikī śubhā varṇanibhā | prajñāyate | antaḥkāyaḥ punar nityaṃ nityakālam adhyātmaṃ ca bahirdhā cāśubhaḥ | evaṃ saṃvṛtiparamārthanidānato ’pekṣāyuktiṃ paryeṣate |*

matter (*rūpamātra*), [or] it is a mere corpse (*kaḍevaramātra*), to which the name, appellation, designation, and verbal convention, “pure” or “impure” [are applied]. [...] Furthermore, this, my body, is affected by previous defilements and deeds, born from an embryo sullied by the mother and father, and has grown up by rice gruel and sour gruel. By respective reason and cause, this temporary pure outward appearance exists. It is [to be] known (*prajñāyate*) that the inner body is, however, always and permanently impure inside as well as outside.³⁸ In this manner, one pursues the reason of dependence from [the viewpoints of] the conventional, ultimate, and cause.

kāryakaraṇayukti³⁹

The following [reflection] occurs to him: This impure [appearance], when practiced, contemplated, and repeatedly [practiced], leads to the abandonment of sensual desire (*kāmarāga*), and [thus] sensual desire should [finally] be abandoned. In this manner, one seeks [the impure] through the reason of efficacious action.

upapattisādhanayukti⁴⁰

The following [reflection] occurs to him: It is said by

³⁸ Cf. ŚrBh D137b4: *nang dang phyi rol gyi lus kyi nang na yang rtag pa rtag pa'i dus su mi gtsang ba kho na yin no snyam du sems te*; T1579: 453a11: 可了知而内身中若内若外.

³⁹ ŚrBh III: 44.14–16: *tasyaivaṃ bhavati | iyaṃ aśubhā evaṃ āsevītā bhāvītā bahulikṛtā kāmarāgaprahāṇāya saṃvartate | kāmarāgaś ca prahātavyaḥ | evaṃ kāryakaraṇayuktyā samanveṣate |*.

⁴⁰ ŚrBh III: 44.17–46.3: *tasyaivaṃ bhavati | uktaṃ hi bhagavatā, “aśubhā āsevītā bhāvītā bahulikṛtā kāmarāgaprahāṇāya saṃvartata” ity ayaṃ tāvan me āptāgamaḥ | pratyātmam api me jñānadarśanaṃ pravartate | aham asmin yathā yathā aśubhāṃ bhāvayāmi, manasikaromi, tathā tathā kāmarāgaparyavasthānam anutpannaṃ ca notpadyate, utpannaṃ ca pratavigacchati | ānumāniko 'py eṣa vidhir asti | katham idānīṃ vipakṣaṃ dharmam manasikurvatas tadvipakṣālambanena kleśa utpadyate | evaṃ upapattisādhanayuktyā paryeṣate |*

Bhagavat, “The impure [appearance], when practiced, contemplated and repeatedly [practiced], leads to the abandonment of sensual desire (*kāmarāga*).” This is, at the outset, the scripture of a [person] trustworthy for me. [The following] individual insightful view (*jñānadarśana*)⁴¹ also occurs to me: As I practice and concentrate on the impure [appearance] with regard to the [object], the possession by sensual desire that has not arisen does not arise, and that which has [already] arisen vanishes. The following formula also emerges from the inference: How then can defilement arise for one who is concentrating on a counter-quality? [It cannot arise for him] because [he] is taking [that which has] this counter[-quality] as the object. In this manner, one pursues [the impurity] through the reason of the establishment by argument.

*dharmatāyukti*⁴²

The following [reflection] occurs to him: It is actually an acknowledged nature [as well as] inconceivable nature that the contemplation on the impure is the remedy by means of which sensual desire (*kāmarāga*) is abandoned. This [nature] is not to be conceived or be conceptualized, but to be zealously accepted. In this manner, one pursues the impurity

⁴¹ I tentatively render the word *jñānadarśana* by “insightful view.” For the sentence “*pratyātmam api me jñānadarśanam pravartate*,” cf. ŚrBh D137b7: *bdag la bdag nyid kyi ye shes dang | mthong ba dang 'jug pa yang yod do ||*; T1579: 453a18: 我亦於內自能現見. SNSū VIII (106.4–9) handles *jñāna* (*shes pa*) and *darśana* (*mthong ba*) separately as follows: *byams pa nga ni shes pa dang | mthong ba rnam grangs du mas ston par byed mod kyi | 'on kyang mdor sdus te bshad par bya'o | 'dres pa'i chos la dmigs pa'i zhi gnas dang | lhag mthong gi shes rab gang yin pa de ni shes pa yin no || ma 'dres pa'i chos la dmigs pa'i zhi gnas dang | lhag mthong gi shes rab gang yin pa de ni mthong ba yin no ||*.

⁴² ŚrBh III: 46.4–7: *tasyaivaṃ bhavati | prasiddhadharmatā khalv eṣā acintyadharmatā | yad “aśubhābhāvanā kāmarāgasya prahāṇapratipakṣa” iti | sā ca na cintayitavyā na vikalpayitavyā adhimoktavyā | evaṃ dharmatāyuktyā aśubhatāṃ paryeṣate |*.

through the reason of true nature.

Here the practitioner first reflects on the fact that his impure body is conditioned by various causes such as defilements (*kleśa*) in accordance with the reason of dependence (*apekṣāyukti*). Through the reason of efficacious action (*kāryakaraṇayukti*), he is convinced of the efficacy of the intensive practice on the part of the impure towards the abandonment of *kāmarāga*. Because the principle is situated in the context of reality, it does not deceive him. Then, he further confirms that the practice does not deceive him since it is proved by the three means of valid cognition. Finally, he convinces himself that efficacy is inherent in the practice; thus, it necessarily leads him to liberation. In this manner, the reflection which is based on the four *yuktis* helps a practitioner to create confidence in his practice. This means that the practice conforms to reality and, therefore, never betrays him.

In short, following the ŚrBh, I think it is proper to say that the fourfold *yukti* refers to “reason” or principle that is grounded in reality, as well as the “means” of helping a practitioner with his spiritual cultivation. Then, our next question is related to determining the context in which the SNSū transplants the idea of the fourfold *yukti*.

3. Fourfold *yukti* in *mātrkā* and Scriptural Authority

3.1. The *mātrkā* and *yukti* Preached by the Buddha

Unlike the ŚrBh, the tenth chapter of the SNSū does not speak of reflective practice, *vipaśyanā* or *cintanā*; *vipaśyanā* is taught in the eighth chapter, in which no mention of *yukti* occurs. As has already been seen, the fourfold *yukti* appears in the *mātrkā* that the manifested-body (*nirmāṇakāya*) preached. It is apparent that the *nirmāṇakāya* refers to Śākyamuni, because the *sūtra* ascribes the life of Śākyamuni to it.⁴³ Interestingly, on the one hand, the

⁴³ SNSū 150.10–16 (D49a7–b2, P54a2–5, Ms.T 62b8–63a3, Ms.U 62a5–8, IOL 194: 19a2–b1 (Hakamaya 1987: (21)), T675: 685a29–5, T676: 708c3–8, T679: 718b12–17. The manifested-body is also identified as the

preacher of the SNSū, who is called “Bhagavat” (*bcom ldan 'das*, 世尊) by the inquirer Mañjuśrī, talks about the *nirmāṇakāya*'s skillfulness in teaching, and on the other hand, he identifies the teacher as the Tathāgata (*de bzhin gshegs pa*, 如来) and also as himself.

Having stated that the Tathāgata provides a threefold discourse, that is, *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *mātrkā*,⁴⁴ the preacher says, “whatever is taught by me (*ngas*, **mayā*, 我) as [...] is [respectively] *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *mātrkā*.”⁴⁵ Regarding *mātrkā* (*ma mo*), he says, “Majñuśrī, whatever is explained, analyzed, and taught by me on an occasion [in accordance with] the eleven characteristics⁴⁶ is said to be *mātrkā*.”⁴⁷ The fourth characteristic is named “aspect”

blessed-body of the Tathāgata (SNSū 150.17: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i byin gyi rlab kyi sku*, **tathāgatādhiṣṭhānakāya*).

⁴⁴ SNSū 150.22–24, D49b3, P54a6f., T675: 685b9f., T676: 708c12f., T679: 718b2f.: ‘*jam dpal de bzhin gshegs pa'i gsung brjod pa ni gsum po 'di dag yin to | mdo sde brjod pa dang | 'dul ba brjod pa dang | ma mo brjod pa'o |*. Cf. Ms.T 63a5, U62b1f.: ‘*jam dpal de bzhin gshegs pa'i dbyangs su gsung ba 'di gsum ste | mdo gsung ba dang | 'dul ba gsung ba dang | ma mo gsung ba'o ||*; IOL 194: 19b2f. (Hakamaya 1987: 584, 586): ‘*jam dpal | yang dag par gshegs pa'i sgra 'byin pa rnam pa gsum mo || gsum gang zhe na | 'di lta ste mdo sde 'byin pa dang | 'dul ba (insert sde?) 'byin pa dang | ma mo 'byin pa'o ||*.

⁴⁵ SNSū 150.30–34, 153.3–5.19–21. Cf. n. 47 below.

⁴⁶ For the eleven characteristics, see SNSū 153.22–33, which includes the conventional (*kun rdzob*, **saṃvṛti*, 世俗相), the ultimate (*don dam pa*, **paramārtha*, 勝義相), the elements conducive to awakening (*byang chub kyi phyogs dang mthun pa'i chos rnam*, **bodhipakṣyadharmāḥ*, 菩提分法), and their related elements.

⁴⁷SNSū 153.19–21, D50b2f., P55a6f., T675: 685c13–15, T679: 718c19f.: ‘*jam dpal ngas gang du mtshan nyid rnam pa bcu gcig bshad pa dang | rnam par phye ba dang | bstan pa gang yin pa de ni ma mo zhes bya'o ||*; Ms.T 64a7f., U63b4f.: ‘*jam dpal ngas gang la mtshan nyid rnam pa bcu gcig tu nges par bshad de | rnam par phye zhing bstan pa 'di ni ma mo zhes bya'o ||*; IOL 194: 22b5 (Hakamaya 1987: (25)): ‘*jam dpal gang du mtshan nyid rnam pa bcu gcig du gdon myi za bar || phye ste | ngas bshad pa 'di ni ma mo'o ||*; T676: 709a17f.: 我以十一種相。決了分別顯示諸法。是名本母。 .

(*rnam pa*, **ākāra*, 行相), that is, the aspect of the elements conducive to awakening (*byang chub kyi phyogs dang mthun pa'i chos rnam*s, **bodhipakṣyadharmāḥ*, 菩提分法). This is further divided into eight points of examination (*brtag pa*, **parīkṣā*, 行觀), the seventh of which is *yukti*.⁴⁸ Thus, the fourfold *yukti* is subsumed under the *māṭṛkā* as the Buddha's Word.

Early Buddhist schools, such as the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda, that developed their own Abhidharma systems are said to have endowed the *māṭṛkā* with authority equal to that of the *sūtra* and *vinaya* by insisting that it came down from the Buddha himself.⁴⁹ In this respect, it is notable that the SNSū clearly declares that the Buddha himself taught the *māṭṛkā*, by saying, "it is taught by me." The first chapter of the ŚrBh expresses a different position: the *māṭṛkā* does not necessarily come down from the Buddha himself. Listening to and reflection of the true teaching (*saddharma-śravaṇacintanā*), which are present in the twelve members of preaching (*dvādaśāṅgavacogata*, 十二分教) including *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *abhidharma*,⁵⁰ should be done for the sake of collecting requisites (*saṃbhāra*, *tshogs*, 資糧) for spiritual cultivation.⁵¹ The

⁴⁸ The eight points of examination are (SNSū 154.18–22, T676: 709a28–b2): truth (*bden pa*, **satya*, 諦實), state (*gnas pa*, **sthāna* 安住), fault (*skyon*, **doṣa*, 過失), merit (*yon tan*, **guṇa*, 功德), method (*tshul*, **naya*, 理趣), rise (*'jug pa*, **pravṛtti*, 流轉), reason (*rigs pa*, *yukti*, 道理), and summary and expatiation (*bsdus pa dang rgyas pa*, **samāsavyāsata?*, 總別). Cf. MS. T64b5, U64a2f.: *brtag pa rnam pa brgyad gang zhe na | bden pa dang | gzhas pa dang | nyes pa dang | yon tan dang | tshul dang | 'jug pa dang | rigs pa dang | bsdus pa dang | rnam par spros pa'o ||*.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Davidson 1990: 303–305. See also section 4 of Norihisa Baba's article included in this volume.

⁵⁰ ŚrBh I: 232.11–15: *tac caitad dvādaśāṅgavacogatam, asti sūtram, asti vinayaḥ asty abhidharmaḥ | tatra yat tāvad āha, sūtram geyaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ gāthodānāvadānavṛttakajātakavaipulyādbhutadharmā iti, idaṃ tāvat sūtram | yat punar āha, nidānam iti, ayam ucyate vinayaḥ | yat punar āha, upadeśā iti, ayam ucyate 'bhidharmaḥ |*. Regarding the twelve members of preaching, cf. the eighth chapter of the SNSū (89.1–7).

⁵¹ Listening and reflection of the Buddha's true teaching

twelfth member is “instruction” (*upadeśa*, 論義) that is said to be “all *mātrkā* [and/or] *abhidharma*” (*sarvamātrkābhidharma*), the “main point of *sūtra*” (*sūtrāntaniṣkarṣa*), and an “explanation of *sūtra*” (*sūtrāntavyākhyāna*).⁵² The ŚrBh says that these twelve members of preaching, which are compiled into three baskets (*piṭakatraya*, 三藏), are true teachings taught by sages (*sat*) and those who have attained the correct [view] (*samyaggata*).⁵³ Here the preachers of true teachings include the disciples of the Buddha (*buddhaśrāvaka*), sages, and other spiritually superior persons. Thus, the author of the ŚrBh ascribes the *mātrkā*, which is the main point of *sūtra*, also to those who are specialized in the scholastic analysis of *sūtras*.

3.2. Fourfold *yukti* and Scriptural Authority

The SNSū explicitly states that the *mātrkā* is the Buddha’s Word and includes the fourfold *yukti* therein. Once it is preached by the Buddha in a scripture, any doctrine or practice is given the highest authority. Interestingly, the SNSū is the scripture that defines scripture or scriptural authority (*lung*, *āgama*, 聖教): In the tenth chapter—explaining the three means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*), that is, perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), and

(*saddharmaśravaṇacintanā*) constitute the tenth of thirteen *sambhāras* (ŚrBh I: 62), which is to be performed on the stage of renunciation (*naiṣkramyabhūmi*) that follows the first stage of yoga (*prathamayogasthāna*, 初瑜伽地) and the stage of entrance (*avatārabhūmi*). See Synopsis in ŚrBh I: xxi–xxxv.

⁵² ŚrBh I: 232.8f.: *upadeśāḥ katame | sarvamātrkābhidharmaḥ sūtrāntaniṣkarṣaḥ sūtrāntavyākhyānam upadeśa ity ucyate ||*. The sentence is cited by M. Delhey in his article included in this volume, where he closely discusses the meaning of *mātrkā* in Yogācāra literature.

⁵³ ŚrBh I: 226.4–8: *saddharmaśravaṇacintanā katamā | saddharma ucyate buddhaiś ca buddhaśrāvakaiś ca sadbhiḥ samyaggataiḥ satpuruṣair ākhyato deśita uttāno vivṛtaḥ saṃprakāśitaḥ | sa punaḥ katamaḥ | tadyathā sūtraṃ geyaṃ vyākaraṇam iti vistareṇa pūrvavad dvādaśāṅgavacogataṃ saddharma ity ucyate ||*; 232.16f.: *tac caitad dvādaśāṅgavacogataṃ piṭakatrayasaṃgrhītaṃ sadbhiḥ samyaggatair deśitaṃ saddharma ity ucyate ||*.

scriptural authority (*āgama*), which together serve as an argument (*upapatti*) in *upapattisādhanayukti*—the *sūtra* says that scripture is the word of “the omniscient” (*thams cad mkhyen pa*, **sarvajña*, 一切智者).⁵⁴ Here, “the omniscient” seems to be an epithet of the Buddha, for the *sūtra* describes it as a person who has “the thirty-two marks of a great man” (*skyes bu chen po’i mtshan sum cu rtsa gnyis*, **dvātriṃśanmahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*, 三十二種大丈夫相), “ten powers” (*stobs bcu*, **daśabalāni*, 十力), and “four types of fearlessness” (*mi ’jigs pa bzhi*, **catvāri vaiśāradīyāni*, 四無所畏), all of which are features embodied by the Buddha or Tathāgata.⁵⁵ The *sūtra* does not clarify what kind of knowledge the omniscience embodies.

In this manner, the SNSū assigns the teaching of the fourfold *yukti* to the Buddha and authorizes it as the Word of the omniscient

⁵⁴ SNSū 156.32–36, D51b7f., P56b4f., T675: 686b18f., T676: 709c14–16, T679: 719a24–26: *’jam dpal gtan la dbab par bstan pa thams cad mkhyen pas gsungs pa ’di lta ste | mya ngan las ’das pa ni zhi ba’o zhes bya ba dang de lta bu dang mthun pa (DP ’thun pa) gang yin pa de ni lung cin tu (D shin tu, P shin du) rnam par dag pa gtan la phab par bstan pa’i mtshan nyid yin par rig par bya’o ||*. Cf. Ms.T 65b8f., U65a5f.: *gang thams cad mkhyen pas bshad pa ’di lta ste | mya ngan las ’das pa ni zhi pa’o || zhes bya ba ’di dang | rnam pa ’di lta bu dag (Ms.T add. ||) ni ’jam dpal shin tu rnam par dag pa’i lung gtan la bab par bstan pa’i mtshan nyid du shes par bya’o ||*.

⁵⁵ See SNSū 157.14–29 (D52a1–4, P56b6–57a1, Ms.T66a2–5, Ms.U65a7–b3, T675: 686b22–c1, T676: 709c18–28, T679: 719a28–b5), where the five characteristics of the omniscient one are enumerated: (1) He is born and famed as omniscient in the world; (2) He is endowed with thirty-two marks of a great man; (3) He clears up all doubts of sentient beings by ten powers; (4) His words are free from objection and refutation of all opponents through four fearlessnesses; (5) In his disciplinary teachings, eight-membered path (*lam yan lag brgyad pa*, **aṣṭāṅgamārga*, 八支聖道) and [the results of] the four kinds of virtuous practitioner (*dge sbyong bzhi*, **catvāraḥ śramaṇāḥ*, 四沙門) appear to him. As for the historical development of the concept of *sarvajña* in Indian intellectual tradition, particularly in Buddhism, see Kawasaki 1992 and McClintock 2010: 23 *infra*.

Buddha. Supposing that the SNSū adopted the idea of the *yukti* from earlier texts such as the ŚrBh or from contemporary circles of scholars and practitioners, the *sūtra* transplanted it into its own scripture, setting the Buddha as its preacher. Near the beginning of this paper, I expressed my initial problem saying, “It is significant that a *sūtra* (or the Buddha) teaches a type of logic (i.e., *upapattisāadhanayukti*) for the purpose of rational reflection on Buddhist (or the Buddha’s own) teachings, but this significance should be interpreted within the context of the chapter.” Now I have worked out the problem and will offer an answer below.

4. Concluding Remarks

I conclude this paper by summarizing the main points of discussion:

- (1) The fourfold *yukti* is “reason” that exists in reality and is applied for the verification of Buddhist teachings and practices.
- (2) The fourfold *yukti* is “a means” (*upāya*) of helping one with rational reflection.
- (3) The fourfold *yukti* refers to principles of reality, such as causality, efficacy, rationality, and inherency. Here, logical rationality and connection also seem to be considered as belonging to reality.
- (4) It is significant that the tenth chapter of the SNSū integrates the fourfold *yukti* into its own teachings as the Buddha’s Word, because this brings the perspective resulting from rational reflection on the teaching of the scripture into its scriptural framework. This also matches the direction of the entire *sūtra*, which is characterized by various attempts towards hermeneutical evaluation. The tenth chapter’s emphasis on rational thinking undoubtedly played a significant role in stimulating the development of logic and epistemology in the Buddhist tradition, where *yukti*, or reasoning, became an increasingly reliable and substantial

tool for evaluation and was valued over scriptural authority (*āgama*).⁵⁶

- (5) It is, however, of minimal significance that the SNSū gives the teachings of the fourfold *yukti* scriptural authority by integrating it into the *sūtra*, because the *yukti* belongs to reality or nature. Even if the Buddha does not arise, or even if no scripture arises, reality remains as such, as was said about the *dharmatāyukti*. On the contrary, the scriptural authority is only guaranteed when the teachings conform to reality or true nature. This is a traditional view with origins in the early phase of Buddhism.⁵⁷

Determining the best means of evaluating and legitimating scriptures and their claims of truth has been an enormously grave issue throughout the history of Buddhism, be it in India, China, or anywhere else. The SNSū is said to be a śāstric *sūtra*, or a scripture similar to a treatise. It is actually a unique *sūtra* that bridged the gap between scripture and treatise, as well as between the Buddha's authority and rational thought.

⁵⁶ Eltschinger (2013) has extensively discussed this issue from a wide perspective, clarifying the change of Buddhist models of rationality in their relationship with scriptural authority as well as the Buddhist epistemologists' attempts to define the theoretical foundations and apologetic uses of practical rationality.

⁵⁷ Skilling (2013: 3–6) points out that in many early sources a Buddha's authority comes from truth and true nature (*dharmatā*).

References

1. Primary Literature and Abbreviations

Abhidharmasamuccaya = Pradhan, P. (ed.). 1950. *Abhidharma Samuccaya of Asaṅga*. Santiniketan: Visva-Bharati Santiniketan.

AKBh = Pradhan, P (ed.). 1975 (2nd edition). *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu*. Patna: Jayaswal Research Institute.

rKTs-K106 = Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies. Kanjur 106. 'Phags pa dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa. Universität Wien. <https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/verif/verif2.php?id=106>.

Madhyantavibhāgabhāṣya (Vasubandhu) = Nagao M. Gadjin (ed.). 1964. *Madhyantavibhāga-bhāṣya. A Buddhist Philosophical Treatise*. Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation.

Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra = Waldschmidt, Ernst (ed. & tr.). 1951. *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra. Text in Sanskrit und Tibetisch, verglichen mit dem Pāli nebst einer Übersetzung der chinesischen Entsprechung im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins. Teil II: Textbearbeitung: Vorgang 1–32*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag Berlin.

Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra = Lévi, Sylvain (ed.). 1907. *Asaṅga, Exposé de la doctrine du Grand Véhicule selon le système Yogācāra. Tome I: Texte*. Paris: Libraire Honoré Champion. Tibetan version: D4020, P5521. Chinese version: Taishō vol. 31, no. 1604.

Nidānasamṣyukta = Tripāṭhī, Candrabhāl (ed.). 1962. *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamṣyukta*. Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden VIII. Berlin: Akademie Verlag Berlin.

Ratnagotravibhāga = Johnston, E. H. (ed.). 1950. *The Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantra*. Patna: The Bihar Research Society.

Samyuttanikāya, Nidānavagga = Feer, M. Léon (ed.). 1989. *Samyuttanikāya, Part II*. Oxford: Pali Text Society.

SNSū = *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra*. (A) Tibetan version, the translator of which is unknown: (1) Lamotte, Étienne (ed. & tr.). 1935. *L'explication des mystères*. Louvain: Université Louvain. D106, P774. (2) Ms.T = Manuscript Kanjur preserved in the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, *mDo*, vol. Na. (3) Ms.U = Manuscript Kanjur preserved in the National Library of Mongolia, Ulan Bator, cf. Jampa Samten & Niisaku (2015), *mDo*, vol. Na. (4) IOL 194 = Manuscript preserved in the Indian Office Library, Tib J 194, and edited in Hakamaya 1987, the digital images of which are available on the website of the International Dunhuang Project at <http://idp.bl.uk/>. (B) Chinese version: Taishō vol. 16, nos. 675 (菩提流支訳『深密解脱經』), 676 (玄奘訳『解深密經』), and 679 (求那跋陀羅訳『相續解脱如來所作隨順處了義經』).

ŚrBh = *Śrāvakabhūmi*. (A) Shōmonji kenkyūkai, Taishō sōgō Bukkyō kenkyūsho 大正大学綜合仏教研究所声聞地研究会 (ed.). *Yugaron shōmonji 瑜伽論声聞地 (Śrāvakabhūmi. Revised Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation)*. I 第一瑜伽処 (First Chapter) 1998. II 第二瑜伽処 (Second Chapter) 2007. III 第三瑜伽処 (Third Chapter) 2018. (B) Manuscript in *Facsimile Edition of the Śrāvakabhūmi Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscript* (瑜伽師地論聲聞地梵文原文影印本). Beijing/Tokyo: National publishing house (民族出版社), 1994. (C) Tibetan version: D4036, P5537. (D) Chinese version: Taishō vol. 30, no. 1579.

TrBh = Buescher, Hartmut (ed.). 2007. *Sthiramati's Trīṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya. Critical Editions of the Sanskrit Text and Its Tibetan Translation*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

2. Secondary Literature

- Davidson, Ronald M. 1990. "An Introduction to the Standards of Scriptural Authenticity in Indian Buddhism." In Robert E. Buswell (ed.), *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 291–325.
- Deleanu, Florin. 2006. *The Chapter on the Mundane Path (Laukikamārga) in the Śrāvakabhūmi. A Trilingual Edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese), Annotated Translation, and Introductory Study*. 2 vols. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- Eltschinger, Vincent. 2013. "Turning Hermeneutics into Apologetics. Reasoning and Rationality under Changing Historical Circumstances." In Vincent Eltschinger, Helmut Krasser (eds.), *Scriptural Authority, Reason and Action*. Proceedings of a Panel at the 14th World Sanskrit Conference, Kyoto, Sept. 1–5, 2009. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 71–145.
- Filliozat, Pierre-Sylvain. 1990. "Yukti, le quatrieme pramāṇa des mediciens (Carakasamhitā, Sūtrasthāna XI, 25). *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 1: 33–46.
- Hakamaya, Noriaki. 1987. "A Comparative Edition of the Old and New Tibetan Translations of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* III." *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu ronshū* 駒澤大学仏教学部論集 (*Journal of Buddhist Studies, Department of Buddhist Studies, Komazawa University*) 18: 572–606.
- Jampa Samten, Hiroaki Niisaku (eds.). 2015. *Catalogue of the Ulan Bator rGyal rtse them spangs pa Manuscript Kangyur*. Tokyo: The Sankibo Press.
- Kajiyama Yūichi 梶山雄一. 1984. "Bukkyō chishikiron no keisei" 仏教知識論の形成 [The Formation of Buddhist Epistemology]. *Kōza daijō bukkyō 9, Ninshikiron to ronrigaku* 講座大乘仏教 9 認識論と論理学 [Lectures on Mahāyāna

- Buddhism 9, Epistemology and Logic*. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1–101.
- Kato Kojiro. 加藤弘二郎 2003. “Kawaguchibon ‘Gejinmitsukyō’ chibettogo yaku tekisuto ni tsuite” 河口本『解深密経』チベット語訳テキストについて (Remarks on the Text of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* found in the Tōkyō [Kawaguchi] Manuscript Kanjur). *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*) 51/2: (142)–(144).
- Kato, Kojiro. 2006. “On the Tibetan Text of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*: Towards a Comparative Study of Manuscripts and Editions Which Belong to the East and West Recensions.” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*) 54/3: 1205–1211.
- Kawasaki Shinjo 川崎信定. 1992. *Issaichi shisō no kenkyū*. 一切智思想の研究 (A Study of the Omniscient Being [*sarvajña*] in Buddhism). Tokyo: Shunjūsha.
- Matsuda, Kazunobu. 2013. “Sanskrit Fragments of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*.” In Ulrich Timme Kragh (ed.), *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners. The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and the Adaptation in India, East Asia, and Tibet*. Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: Harvard University Press, 938–945.
- McClintock, Sara L. 2010. *Omniscience and the Rhetoric of Reason. Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla on Rationality, Argumentation, and Religious Authority*. Boston: Wisdom Publication.
- Nance, Richard. 2007. “On What Do We Reply When We Rely on Reasoning?” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 35: 149–167.
- Oberhammer, Gerhard. 1991. *Terminologie der frühen philosophischen Scholastik in Indien, ein Begriffswörterbuch zur altindischen Dialektik, Erkenntnislehre und Methodologie*. Band

Yoshimizu: Revisiting the Tenth Chapter of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*

1: A–I. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Powers, John. 1993. *Hermeneutica and Tradition in the Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*. Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill.

Preisendanz, Karin. 2009. “Logic, Debate and Epistemology in Ancient Indian Medical Science—An Investigation into the History and Historiography of Indian Philosophy.” *Indian Journal of History of Science* 44/2: 261–312.

———. 2010. “Reasoning as a Science, Its Role in Early Dharma Literature, and the Emergence of the Term *nyāya*.” In Brendan S. Gillon (ed.), *Logic in Earliest Classical India. Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference*, vol. 12. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 27–66.

Sakuma, Hidenori. 1990. *Die Ārayaparivṛtti. Theorie in der Yogācārabhūmi*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart.

Sakuraba Ken 桜部建. 1969. *Kusharon no kenkyū. Kai, kon-bon. 俱舍論の研究. 界・根品* (Study of the *Abhidharmakośa. dhātu* and *indriya* chapters). Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Schmithausen, Lambert. 1969. “Zur Literaturgeschichte der älteren Yogācāra-Schule.” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Supplementa* 1, XVII. *Deutscher Orientalistentag*, Teil 3: 811–823.

———. 2014. *The Genesis of Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda. Responses and Reflections*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Skilling, Peter. 2013. “The *tathāgata* and the Long Tongue of Truth. The Authority of the Buddha in *sūtra* and Narrative Literature.” In Vincent Eltschinger, Helmut Krasser (eds.), *Scriptural Authority, Reason and Action*. Proceedings of a panel at the 14th World Sanskrit Conference, Kyoto, Sept. 1–5, 2009. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie

der Wissenschaften, 1–47.

Steinkellner, Ernst. 1988. *Nachweis der Wiedergeburt. Prajñāsenas 'Jig rten pha rol sgrub pa*. 2 vols. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 1989. “Who is Byañ chub rdzu 'phrul? Tibetan and non-Tibetan Commentaries on the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*: A Survey of Literature.” *Berliner Indologische Studien* 4/5: 229–251.

Takahashi Kōichi 高橋晃一. 2014a. “Guṇabhadra yaku ‘Sōzoku gedatsu kyō’ to ‘Daiichigi gosō ryaku’ —‘Gejin mikkyō’ no bubunyaku ni kansuru gimon—. 求那跋陀羅譯『相續解脱經』と『第一義五相略』—『解深密經』の部分譯に関する疑問— (Guṇabhadra’s Translation of the *Xianxu jietuo jing* and *Diyi wuxian lue*—Doubts about the Partial Translation of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*). *Tōhō gaku 東方学 (Eastern Studies)* 127: 1–17.

———. 2014b. “‘Gejin mikkyō’ no kechimon ni kansuru kōsatsu—Daijō kyōten hensan no konseki toiu kanten kara—『解深密經』の結文に関する考察—大乘經典編纂の痕跡という観点から— (Some Questions Concerning Epilogue Phrase of the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*: Is it a Vestige of the Compilation of this Sūtra?). *Indo tetsugaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū インド哲学仏教学研究 (Studies in Indian Philosophy and Buddhism)* 21: 65–80.

Wangchuk, Dorji. 2009. “A Relativity Theory of the Purity and Validity of Perception in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism.” In Eli Franco in collaboration with Dagmar Eigner (eds.), *Yogic Perception, Meditation and Altered States of Consciousness*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Yaita Hideomi 矢板秀臣. 1989a. “Shishu dōri ni tsuite no ichi siryō” 四種道理についての一資料 (A Material on the Four Kinds of *yukti*). In Shōmonji kenkyūkai (ed.), “Bonbun

- Shōmonji 8" (The *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Part 8, Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation). *Taishō daigaku sōgō bukkyō kenkyūsho kiyō* 大正大学総合仏教研究所紀要 (*Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taishō University*) 11, 1989: (1)–(85), Appendix.
- . 1989b. "Shōmonji' ni okeru sanryō setsu" 声聞地における三量説 (Three *pramāṇas* in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*). In Shōmonji kenkyūkai (ed.), "Bonbun Shōmonji 8" (The *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Part 8, Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation). *Taishō daigaku sōgō bukkyō kenkyūsho kiyō* 大正大学総合仏教研究所紀要 (*Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taishō University*) 11, 1989: (1)–(85), Appendix.
- . 2005. *Bukkyō chisikiron no genten kenkyū* 仏教知識論の原典研究 (*Three Sanskrit Texts from the Buddhist Pramāṇa-Tradition. The Hetuvidyā Section in the Yogācārabhūmi, the Dharmottaraṭippanaka, and the Tarkarahasya*). Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji 成田山新勝寺.
- Yoshimizu, Chizuko. 1996a. *Die Erkenntnislehre des Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka nach dem Tshig gsal ston thun gyi tshad ma'i rnam bśad des 'Jam dbyaṅs bśad pa'i rdo rje*. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien.
- . 1996b 吉水千鶴子. "Samdhinirmocanasūtra X ni okeru shishu no yukti ni tsuite" *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* における四種の yukti について (On the Four Kinds of *yukti* in the Tenth Chapter of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*). *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūsho kiyō* 成田山仏教研究所紀要 (*Journal of Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies*) 19: 123–168.
- . 2010. "The Logic of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*: Establishing Right Reasoning Based on Similarity (*sārūpya*) and Dissimilarity (*vairūpya*)." In Brendan S. Gillon (ed.), *Logic in Earliest Classical India. Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference*, vol. 12. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 139–166.

Weaving Dharma into Words: Composition Strategies in Buddhist Tantras¹

Francesco Sferra (University of Naples “L’Orientale”)

The authors of Buddhist Tantric scriptures adopted a variety of literary compositional techniques and strategies to ensure the success of their works—intellectual elaborations that are often sophisticated as well as tricky. This article intends to detect and examine some of these techniques, with no pretence of being exhaustive in dealing with such a vast, complex, and as yet largely unexplored topic.

1. General Structure and Main Stylistic Characteristics of Buddhist Tantras

Normally, in *tantras*, narrative elements are scarce and limited to the general structure of the text; there are no parables or stories, as sometimes appear in the *nikāyas* or Mahāyāna *sūtras*. The teaching usually conforms to a simple pattern based on alternating questions and answers that follow an opening sentence, which can be either in metrical form or prose.

Several *tantras* adopt the first-person narrator form² by starting with a reworking of the famous *nidāna* formula³—*evaṃ me sutaṃ*

¹ I wish to thank Nicola Bajetta and Harunaga Isaacson for their precious suggestions and comments, and Edward Feldman, who has kindly revised the English.

Sandhi and punctuation in the quotations from Sanskrit texts have been silently standardized.

² The first-person narrator form is explicit at the beginning of the text and is implicit every time the interlocutor changes and their words are introduced (supposedly by the first-person narrator) by means of short

*ekaṃ samayaṃ / evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*⁴ + *bhagavā / bhagavān* + toponym (locative) + *viharati / viharati sma*—which is often found in both Pāli and Sanskrit works. As has been noted, the function of this opening formula is to ‘seal the authenticity’ of the teaching being introduced:⁵ the *saṅgītikāra* is about to recite an authoritative teaching because he witnessed its preaching at a specific place and time, and is able to report it exactly.⁶ Although no precise chronological indications are normally given regarding time, which is presented as an unspecified moment in the past, the formula in any case refers to a time attributable to one of the moments in the life of the historical Buddha.

The same function is no doubt present in Tantric scriptures, but the strategy there seems to be rather different, if not the opposite:

phrases such as *bhagavān uvāca*, *sucandra āha*, *māmaky āha*, etc.

³ At times, in primary literature (e.g. *Kṛṣṇayamāripañjikā*, p. 1) and secondary literature (e.g. Bang 2019: 140), this formula is referred to with the more generic term *ādivākya*. It is normally labelled *nidāna* in Pāli commentaries, with the sections dedicated to its explanation being usually termed *nidānavañṇanā*. Sometimes the word *nidāna* is used to refer to this formula also in Sanskrit works (e.g. in *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana*, p. 71) and in Mahāyāna commentaries (e.g. in *Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā*, p. 6).

⁴ On the punctuation of the first words of this formula, see Brough 1950: 416–421, 423, 425.

⁵ See, for instance, Brough 1950: 424–425, and Tola & Dragonetti 1999: 53. On this formula, see also Silk 1989, Galloway 1991, and Tatz 1997. For further references, see also Anālayo 2014: 41 n. 1. On this formula as one of the signs of a work’s authenticity, see also Almogi 2020: 70–73.

⁶ See, e.g., the following passage of the commentary on the words *evaṃ mayā śrutam* by Haribhadra: *tatraivam iti niścayārthābhīdhāyinā svānurūpajñānāvadhāritanikhilasūtrārthasyopadarśanapareṇaivam etad ity aviparīta-toam āha | mayeti ātmavācakena bhagavataḥ sakāśāt sāksācchravaṇam | śrutam iti śrotravijñānānubhavaavacasā ca tathāgatād ṛte ’nyasyaivambhūtasamastadharmādhiḡamasāmarthyavaikalyād adhiḡamābhāvatoam* (*Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā*, p. 5).

the preaching is given *sub specie aeternitatis*, as a reflex of the absolute truth, even if it dwells on the very concrete aspects of the ritual, practice of visualizations, etc. Accordingly, the *saṅgītikāra* also exists in a condition devoid of precise geographical and temporal specifications—the *tantra* is not only de-localized but also de-historicized. And precisely this is the seal of its authenticity. In line with a trend already present in the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, through this formula (which in Tantric commentarial literature is sometimes labelled *nidānavākya*⁷ or *vijahārapada*⁸) the teaching is, so to speak, projected into a timeless dimension without geographical coordinates. The Bhagavān is no more, or at least not necessarily, the historical Buddha. According to Kumāracandra, for instance, he is the Dharmakāya.⁹ Commentators imbue this formula with various symbolic meanings and, in some cases, discuss it at length at the beginning of their works.¹⁰

⁷ That is, following Isaacson (2021: 486), “the statement of the circumstances/initial reason.” The compound *nidānavākya* occurs, for instance, in *Yogaratnamālā*, pp. 103, 105; *Gūḍhapadā*, fol. 3r; *Guṇavati*, p. 2; and *Muktāvalī*, introd. (Isaacson 2021: 469).

⁸ In most Tantric sources, the third-person perfect *vijahāra* in fact replaces the third-person present *viharati* (or *viharati sma*) at the end of the sentence. To the best of my knowledge, the earliest occurrence of the compound *vijahārapada* occurs in the second chapter of the *Guhyasiddhi* by Padmavajra (probably 8th cent.), entitled *vijahārapadanirvṛttinirdeśa* (see in particular stt. 2.6, 2.7, 2.35, 2.60). It is also found in Candrakīrti’s *Pradīpoddyotana* (10th cent. [?]); see ed. Chakravarti, pp. 10, 17, ed. *Dhīh* 48: 131, 139. See also Kamalanātha’s *Ratnāvalī nāma Hevajrapañjikā* (fol. 1v2). In early Kālacakra works, such as the *Vimalaprabhā* (vol. 1, pp. 31–32) and the *Hevajratantrapīṇḍārthaṭīkā* (colophon of section 2), this formula is also labelled as *vijahārasthāna*.

⁹ *bhagavān iti [...] nirābhāsaprakāśamahāsukhasvabhāvajñānaṃ bhagaḥ, tadvān dharmakāyaḥ* (*Kṛṣṇayamāripañjikā*, p. 2).

¹⁰ See, e.g., Śrībhānu’s *Amṛtadhārā* (Sferra 2020: 388–390), Vajragarbha’s *Hevajratantrapīṇḍārthaṭīkā* (2nd *pariccheda*, pp. 14–15), and Candrakīrti’s

From a formal point of view, the most important difference lies in the replacement of the toponym with a more elaborated and cryptic compound declined in the locative plural (or occasionally singular), usually beginning with the words *sarvatathāgatakāyavākcitta*^o and ending with a few other words, such as *°hṛdayavajrayoṣidbhageṣu* (which is found in the *Guhyasamājatantra* and the *Hevajatantra*),¹¹ and which, with slight variants, can be found in numerous other Tantric scriptures.¹² Some works (for instance the *Dākārṇavatāntra*,¹³ the *Mañjuśrīyamūlakalpa*,¹⁴ and the

Pradīpodyotana (ed. Chakravarti, pp. 10–17, ed. *Dhīh* 48: 131–139; see also Wayman 1977). Long commentaries on the *nidāna* are also present in Pāli commentarial literature (see, e.g., *Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā*, pp. 5–42) and in mainstream Mahāyāna commentaries (see, e.g., the **Vajracchedikāṭīkā* by Kamalaśīla, P fol. 211r1 ff.; cf. the retranslation by Tenzin, pp. 98–100). The *nidāna* formula is quoted and explained on also by Indrabhūti in the middle of chapter 15 of the *Jñānasiddhi* (prose after st. 27, ed. pp. 139–140).

¹¹ The word *hṛdaya* is omitted in some manuscripts of the *Hevajatantra* and is not explained by some commentators (for instance by Ratnākaraśānti; see Isaacson 2021: 470).

¹² With the sole intention of providing a few further examples, we limit ourselves to listing some of these scriptures (in Sanskrit alphabetical order), with the indication in brackets of the words that complete the compound ending in the locative case and that are specific to each text (a closer examination of the manuscript sources available for each work might lead to slightly different wordings): *Kalparājatantra* (*°vajrayoginībhageṣu*), *Kṛṣṇayamāritāntra* (*°sarvavajrayoṣidbhageṣu*), *Vajrāmṛtatantra* (*°hṛdayavajrāmṛtaguhyapadmeṣu*), *Samputodbhavatantra* (*°vajrayoṣidbhageṣu*). A simpler version of the *nidānavākya* can be found, for instance, in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (*evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvadevottamanandavane viharati sma*, p. 120).

¹³ *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān mahāvīreśvara<ḥ> sarvatathāgatavīrakāyavākcittavajrayoginībhageṣu krīḍitavān* (transliteration by Péter-Dániel Szántó).

¹⁴ *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān śuddhāvāsopari gagana-talapratiṣṭhite acintyāścaryādbhutaprabodhisattvasaṃnipātamaṇḍala-*

Sarvatathāgatataṭṭvasaṅgraha)¹⁵ show a different and at times more expanded version of the second part of this formula.

Although this opening is quite frequent in Tantric scriptures, it is not the only one. Some *tantras* completely omit the *nidānavākya* and start with some phrases which are delivered, again in the first person, by the *bhagavān* or one of his manifestations, directly beginning the exposition of the text. In such cases, there are two main patterns: (1) starting with the phrase *athātaḥ*, usually put at the beginning of an *anuṣṭubh* (by far the most common metre, though not the only one, used in Buddhist Tantric scriptures) and usually part of a sentence that contains a verb of saying in the first-person singular, such as *vakṣye* or *sampravakṣyāmi*; and (2) starting without utilizing any standardized opening.

Among the *tantras* that adopt an *athātaḥ*-sentence are, for instance, the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, the *Yoginīsañcāratāntra*, and subsequently the *Jñānodayatāntra*. The *Mahāmāyātāntra* represents a variant of this scheme: the exposition of the teaching in the first person begins with an *athātaḥ*-sentence that is, instead, in prose; and, even more notable, is that it is placed after two stanzas in praise of the deity. It is possible, however, that these initial stanzas, which are not commented on by Ratnākaraśānti in his *Guṇavati*, were added at a later time.

An opening utilizing an *athātaḥ*-sentence was evidently considered irregular or at least less traditional, and commentators

māle viharati sma (p. 1).

¹⁵ <evaṃ mayā śru>tam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvatathāgatavajrādhiṣṭhānasamayajñānavividhaviśeṣasamanvāgataḥ, sarvatathāgataratnamukutaṭṭraidhātukadharmarājyābhiṣekaprāptaḥ, sarvatathāgatasarvajñānamahāyogīśvaraḥ, sarvatathāgatasarvamudrāsamatādhigataviśvakāryakaraṇatāśeṣānavaśeṣasattvadhātusarvāśāparipūrakaḥ, mahākṛpo vairocanaḥ śāśvatas tryadhvasamayavyavasthitaḥ sarvakāyavākcittavajras tathāgataḥ, sarvatathāgatādhyuṣitaprasastastavite mahāmaṇiratnapratyupte vicitravarnaḥḥaṅṭāvasaktamārutoddhatapaṭṭasrakāmarahārārdhahārācandropaśobhite akaniṣṭhadevarājasya bhavane vijahāra (p. 3).

usually tried to justify it. For instance, while explaining the first stanza of the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (*athāto rahasyaṃ vakṣye samāsān na tu vistarāt | śrīherukasam̐yogaṃ [sic] sarvakāmārthasādhakam ||*), Jayabhadra, the author of the oldest available commentary in Sanskrit on this work, explains that the phrase *athātaḥ* indicates that the teaching which is about to be imparted is given immediately after the preaching of the *mūlatantra*. Therefore, it is understood that the *laghutantra* which we have access to should be seen as a direct continuation of the deeper and more extensive preaching of the *mūlatantra* (i.e. the *Khasamatantra*)¹⁶ and that the preacher remains the same.¹⁷ Accordingly, the stanza could be translated as follows:

¹⁶ *athetyādīnā nipātasamudāyenāsyottaratantratvoṃ niścīnoti | athety ānantarye | khasamatantrād anantaram^A vakṣyamāṇam idaṃ vakṣye kathayīṣyāmīti sambandhaḥ | ata iti krame hetvarthe ca | tadanantaram iti vispaṣṭam vaktavye,^B athaśabdopādānaṃ maṅgalārtham | maṅgalādīni śāstrasyādau vācyāni^C śrotṛṇāṃ nirvighnārtham | adhikārārtham^D vā | ata evoktam—*

*pūrvaprakṛtāpekṣam^E maṅgalam athavādhikārikaṃ prāhur |
athaśabdam athaśabdam kramahetvartham tu śāstrasya || iti |
(E pp. 105–106, K1 fol. 2r1–3, K2 fols. 2v5–3r4; cf. also Bang 2019:
140–141 n. 6).*

NOTES (only the most relevant readings are recorded here): ^A °tantrād *anantaram* K1 (wrongly recorded in E) K2 post correctionem (not recorded in E)] °tantrānantaram K2 ante correctionem E ^B *vaktavye* K2 E] *vaktavyeti* K1 ^C *vācyāni* em. Isaacson (Isaacson kindly pointed out to me that a parallel to the sentence beginning *maṅgalādīni*, which gives some support for the emendation *vācyāni*, can be read at the beginning of the *Pañṇavaṇā / Prajñāpanāsūtra* commentary of Haribhadrasūri, ed. p. 1: *prekṣāvātāṃ pravṛttyarthaṃ phalādītritayaṃ sphuṭam | maṅgalaṃ caiva śāstrādaḥ vācyam iṣṭārthasiddhaye ||*)] *vācyāni* K1 K2 (the *akṣaras āni* are partly damaged) E ^D °*artham* em. (Sugiki suggests the same em.)] °*artho* K1 K2 E ^E °*āpekṣam* K1 (not recorded in E) K2 (not recorded in E)] °*āpekṣyam* E

¹⁷ A similar, albeit shorter, explanation of the phrase *athātaḥ* is given by Tathāgatarakṣita in his commentary on the *Yoginīsañcāratāntra*: **athāta**

Immediately after [the teaching of the *mūlatantra*], I shall concisely, and not at length[as in the *Khasama*], teach the secret [Heruka], namely the union [with Vajravārāhī] of the glorious Heruka, [i.e. the Bhagavān] who realizes the aim, i.e. the desire of all [people].¹⁸

While commenting on the same text, Bhavabhaṭṭa more or less follows the interpretation of his predecessor; the main difference between the two being that, according to Bhavabhaṭṭa, the *Khasamatantra* is, in turn, derived from a larger scripture.¹⁹

One may note, incidentally, that this explanation of *athātaḥ* reflects the widely attested use of this phrase in non-Buddhist texts, where it sometimes appears at the start of a text (for instance in the case of the *Brahmasūtra* and of the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*), the start of a chapter, or in the middle in order to designate the beginning of a new topic.²⁰ Being aware of this usage and function

ityādi | **athāta** *ity asmin nīpātasamudāye athaśabda ānantarye, ataḥśabdaś ca krame* | *khasamatantrād anantaram anena vakṣyamāṇakrameṇety arthaḥ* | (p. 2).

¹⁸ This translation of the compound *sarvakāmārthasādhakam* is based on the first of the two interpretations provided by Jayabhadra: [...] *śrīherukam iti viśeṣyaṃ padam, rahasyam iti viśeṣaṇam* | *ata eva sarvakāmārthasādhakam iti bhagavato viśeṣaṇam yuktaṃ* | *sarveṣāṃ kāmō 'bhilāṣaḥ* | *sa evārthaḥ prayojanam* | *tasya sādhaḥ bhagavān* | *atas tam* | *athavā sarve ca te kāmāś ceti viśeṣaṇasamāsaḥ* || (ed. p. 106).

¹⁹ For further details, see Bang 2019, where the beginning of the *viṭṭi* by Bhavabhaṭṭa (introduction and commentary on stt. 1.1–2) is edited again and translated into English.

²⁰ See, just to quote a few examples, *Kubjikāmatatantra* 23.149, 23.154; *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* 1.29, 4.1, etc.; *Netratantra* 12.1, 17.1; *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* 4.40.1, 4.113.1, etc.; *Brahmayāmala* 3.1, etc.; *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* 4.1, 7.1, etc.; *Rudrayāmala* 2.1, 9.1, etc.; *Liṅgapurāṇa* 2.37.1; *Svacchandatantra* 13.8. The same phrase can be observed in medical texts (*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* 2.1, 25.1, etc.; *Carakaśaṃhitā* 5.1.1, 6.2.1, etc.; *Bhelaśaṃhitā* 1.12.1, 1.14.1, etc.; *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, beginning of each *adhyāya*) and in astronomical works (*Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, introduction to the *sāmvatsarasūtra*).

of the phrase *athātaḥ*, as well as the auspicious value traditionally attributed to the indeclinable *atha* at the beginning of a work,²¹ it is very probable that some compilers of Buddhist Tantric scriptures applied this phrase to the opening of their compositions, especially if they were meant to be a continuation or portion of previous teachings. Notwithstanding, such use of this phrase was unusual in Buddhist scriptures.

In his *Guṇavati*, Ratnākaraśānti (11th cent.) explains that the word *atha* highlights the connection of the *Mahāmāyātāntra* with other *tantras* where the *nidānavākya* is already present; that would explain why this formula is not repeated in this *tantra*. In this context, the word *ataḥ* would mean ‘therefore.’ Thus, in light of Ratnākaraśānti’s commentary, the text of the *nidānavākya* in the *Mahāmāyātāntra* could be translated as follows:

Now, [i.e. immediately following the preaching of other *tantras*, such as the *Vajrasāekhara*, and in connection with them,] I will therefore proclaim the *tantra* that is called *Supreme Secret of the Vajradākinīs, the Queens of the Secret*, since it is a quick means of obtaining awakening for those who prefer very brief expositions].²²

Raviśrījñāna’s (11th cent.) explanation in his *Amṛtakaṇikā* is somewhat more elaborate. He too must explain why the

²¹ See for instance *Amarakośa* 3.3.246ab: *maṅgalānantarārambhaprasāna-kārtsnyeṣv atho atha*. Regarding this, see also above, note 16.

²² Text: *athāto vajradākinīnāṃ guhyeśvarīṇāṃ paramaguhyaṃ* (em. Rinpoche and Dwivedi] *paramaguptaṃ* MSS) *nāma tantraṃ pravakṣye* || Commentary: **athetyādi** | *naitat tantraṃ muktakam, kiṃ tarhi tantrāntaraiḥ samprayuktam* | *tasmād ayam athasabdah pūrvatantrāpekṣayānantaryam asya tantrasya dyotayati* | *ata eva nāsyādaḥ nidānavākyaṃ evaṃ mayetyādikaṃ prayuktam, prāg eva prayuktatvāt, tadyathā śrīvajrasāekhara* | **ata** *iti yasmād atisaṃkṣeparucīnām idam eva bodher āśu sādhanam* | **ataḥ pravakṣye** *iti sambandhaḥ* | (cf. ed. p. 2). Regarding this passage, see also the remarks by Tāranātha reported in Almogi 2020: 85–86 (note that section 3.3 in Almogi 2020, Part One is all relevant for this topic).

(*Mañjuśrī*)*nāmasaṅgīti* begins with the word *atha*, which *metri causa* replaces the longer phrase *athātaḥ*.²³ The solution he proposes (probably facilitated by the fact that in the *Nāmasaṅgīti* the word *atha* is not part of a stanza containing a verb of saying)²⁴ is to interpret the initial *pāda* of the work as a reformulation, evidently more esoteric, of the first words of the *nidānavākya*. Therefore, *atha vajradharaḥ śrīmān* would correspond respectively to the words *evam mayā śrutam*.²⁵

²³ The use of this phrase in the *Nāmasaṅgīti* is consistent with the use described above, according to which *athātaḥ* would mark the beginning of a section or the continuation of a teaching. In fact, according to a tradition supported by verse 1.13 and by the final colophon of the *Nāmasaṅgīti* itself (see *Amṛtakanikā*, p. 109), this work would be part of the *Māyājālamahātantra*.

²⁴ The syntactic unit that opens with the indeclinable *atha* actually includes the first six stanzas of the text. The structure of these stanzas can be summarized as follows: “Now, the Glorious Vajradhara[, i.e. Vajrapāṇi], the supreme tamer of those hard to tame [...] (stt. 1–2), together with [his retinue, i.e.] the lords having ripples of furrowed brow [...] (stt. 3–5), after having paid homage to the Lord Bhagavān [...], said the following (st. 6).” See Wayman 1985: 57–58.

²⁵ *tatra tāvat “atha vajradharaḥ śrīmān” ityādiṣoḍaśaślokair adhyeṣaṇāvyañjana tad eva paramākṣaram āha—atheti | akāreṇātra nairātmyāpratipādakatvena^A sarvākāravaroḥpetā śūnyatoktā^B | thakāreṇāpy akṣobhyasvabhāvavratipādakatvena^C nirālambakarūṇā | etac ca suviśadasamputahevajraṭīkāyāṃ^D vyākhyātam | tayor advaidhān mañivarataḥkāntaḥsthitasahañānandaśukram **evam**śabdābhidheyam^E athety ucyate | [... (quotation of *Vimalaprabhā*, vol. 1, p. 35.11–14)] *ata eva śūnyatākaruṇābhinnam mahāsukhajñānavajram tādātmyena dharatīti vajradharaḥ | vajram abhedyajñānam asatsaṅkalpāsthitaskandhakeśamṛtyuvighnamārair^F abhedyatvāt | [... (quotation of *Paramārthasevā* 178)] *tatsūcakaṃ pañcasūcikaḥvajram bahis tadāyattasūcanārtham^G dharatīti vā vajradharaḥ | mayety arthaḥ^H | śrīr advaya-jñānam,^I tadanubhavarūpatvena tādātmyena nityayogāc chrīmān | śrutam ity arthaḥ^J | (C fols. 1v6–2r4, E p. 2, L fol. 1v5–10, Tib. D fols. 36v5–37r4, Tib. P fols. 45v2–46r3).***

NOTES (only the most relevant readings have been recorded here): ^A

Utilization of the first-person perspective, although limited to the initial sentence of the text, is not the only possible model. Some *tantras* that omit the *athātaḥ* phrase start without any preamble and without any clear definition of the narrator's identity. The *Siddhaikavīramahātantra*, for instance, directly begins, "Mañjuvajra, the *guru* of the world, for the benefit of human beings taught the *tantra* [called] *Siddhaikavīra*, the chief of heroes, the most excellent, the best among preachers," again with a verse in *anuṣṭubh* (*siddhaikavīraṃ vīreśaṃ pravaraṃ vadatāṃ varam | tantraṃ provāca lokārthaṃ mañjuvajro jagadguruḥ ||*).

In some cases, however, even the unspecified narrator is omitted. The teaching simply unwinds in an assertive and direct way as an inspired speech of the Bhagavān. This model is adopted, for instance, by the *Vajradākamahātantra* (at least at the beginning of the text) and by the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra*, which both start with the frequently quoted verse *rahasye parameramyē sarvātmani sadā sthitaḥ*,²⁶ as well as by the *Sarvarahasyatantra*.

There is also the possibility that different ways of starting a *tantra* are combined together. In the *Abhidhānottaratantra*, for instance, its

nairātmyā° C] *nairātmya*° L E (equally possible) ^B *sūnyatoktā* C] *sūnyatā proktā* L E (ep) ^C °*pratipādatvena* L] °*pratipādanena* C E (ep) ^D *suviśadasamputa*° C (see Tōh. 1184)] *suviśadaṃ samputaṃ* L E; *suviśadasphuṭaṃ* conj. Lal ^E *evaṃ*° L] *eva* C E ^F °*saṅkalpāsthita*° C E] °*saṅkalpodbhūta*° L (ep); °*saṅkalpāsthitaṃ* em. Lal ^G *tadāyatta*° L] *tadāyattatva*° C E; *tadantas tattva*° conj. Lal; **tadāyattatva*° Tib. D P (*de dbaṅ du gyur pa ṅid*) ^H *mayety arthaḥ* C L post correctionem] *maṃyety arthaḥ* L ante correctionem; *matv arthaḥ* E ^I *advayajñānaṃ* C (*advayajñānan*)] *advayaṃ jñānaṃ* L E ^J *chrīmān | śrutam ity arthaḥ* em. (see Tib. P: *dpal ldan te thos pa zes pa'i don no*)] *chrīmān | śrutam iti yorthaḥ* C; *iti yo 'rthas* L; *chrīmān | śrutam iti mayārthaḥ* E; cf. Tib. D: *dpal ldan de thos pa zes pa'i don to*

²⁶ The sentence continues in a different way in the two texts (which in any case show close parallels in the following stanzas): *sarvaḍākinīmayaḥ sattvo vajradākaḥ paraṃ sukham* (*Vajradāka*, p. 87; note that *pāda c* is here hypermetrical), *sarvabuddhamayaḥ sattvo vajrasattvaḥ paraṃ sukham* (*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra*, p. 143).

version of the *vijahārapada*²⁷ is preceded by three *maṅgalaśloka*s dedicated to Vajraḍāka and the Vajraḍākinīs; and is followed, a few sentences later, by the same stanza found at the beginning of the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*.²⁸

In all cases, geographical and historical context is usually lacking—with the significant exception of the *Laghukālacakratantra*, which fails to comply with this rule. In this case, we see the first promulgators of the Kālacakra rooting this nascent Tantric cycle geographically and historically as part of a precise founding strategy, although the geographical location and precise temporal indications of when the *tantra* itself was revealed by the Buddha are steeped in symbolic meaning and certainly do not reflect historical reality. The *tantra*, formally recited by Mañjuśrīyaśas, reports the teachings that, according to tradition, the Bhagavān imparted to Sucandra (an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi) and sets the stage for the debate between them. It should be noted, however, that geo-historical information is not given at the very outset of the text, but rather in stanzas 1.26–27; and that the *Laghukālacakratantra* refers to and partly explains the *nidānavākya* in chapter 5, stt. 92, 95. The text, in *sragdharā* metre, starts directly, namely without any introductory formula, with the words of the *saṅgītikāra*. King Sucandra is depicted as paying homage to the Bhagavān (referred to by means of pregnant epithets) and requesting instruction from him.²⁹

²⁷ *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvatathāgata-vajrakrodha<ḍāka>ḍākinīguhyaḥṛdayeṣu vijahāra* (fol. 1v3) (°*hṛdayeṣu* em.] °*hyadayaiṣu* MS).

²⁸ *a<thā>to rahasyaṃ vakṣye samāsān na tu vistarāt <|> śrīherukasya saṃyogaṃ sarvvakāmārthasādhakaṃ ||* (fol. 1v6).

²⁹ According to some stanzas quoted by Nāropā in his *Paramārthasaṅgraha* (p. 66) with attribution to the *mūlatantra* (= *Ādibuddhatantra*), the preaching of the Kālacakra is said to have been originally imparted by the Bhagavān himself in a large assembly of Bodhisattvas present at the great *stūpa* of Dhānyakaṭaka in Andhra. The *Vimalaprabhā*, which presents the oldest traditional account of the early history of the system,

The tendency to de-historicize the teaching and strip it of narrative frames implies that many of the devices used by the redactors of non-Tantric Buddhist scriptures were no longer (or not always) applicable. These strategies are variegated and complex, and have yet to be studied in detail, verified and subsequently evaluated in their full scope and implications.³⁰ As a first approximation, and trying to reduce a potentially complex theoretical reflection to the essentials, it is enough to note here that these strategies especially concern what is not immediately evident in the letter of the text and what we could define as 'additional' or 'implicit meaning.'³¹ These strategies can be divided into intertextual and intratextual.

Intertextual strategies aim to produce further meaning by placing a passage, *sutta/sūtra*, or chapter in a specific context. Accordingly, they relate particularly to the development and tuning of a narrative framework and horizon of meaning, namely the sequence of texts or narrative blocks, as they are arranged within a collection or book. Let us consider, for instance, the famous speech in which the Buddha recounts to the monks his own experience on the night of his awakening. In one version of the Pāli Canon, namely in *Majjhimanikāya* 19 (*Dvedhāvittakassutta*), this description follows some teachings on the correct way to practice awareness, on how to exercise and develop non-judgmental attention accompanied by concentration. Instead, in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins the episode is preceded by a

informs us that the teaching was subsequently transmitted for centuries in the majestic region of Sambhala/Śambhala, and eventually revealed in its shorter form (that is, in the *Laghukālacakrantra*) by Śrīyaśas, an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. Puṇḍarīka, the son of Śrīyaśas and the author of the *Vimalaprabhā*, was said to have been an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara (see *Vimalaprabhā*, vol. 1, p. 22 ff.). For further details, see Newman 1987: 70–113 and Newman 1991.

³⁰ For a recent study on this topic, see Allon 2021.

³¹ Note that the reasoning which is carried out here does not refer to the traditional categories of *nītārtha* and *neyārtha*, *naruta* and *yathāruta*, etc.

description of the acquisition of supernatural powers.³² This is not a meaningless difference and the implications are clear. The sequence of the *sutta*—and nothing overtly expressed in words—suggests that to achieve awakening, the Theravādin(s) who redacted *Majjhimanikāya* 19 deemed it necessary to cultivate mindfulness and insight, particularly towards the mind and mental states.³³ The redactors of the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, in turn, deemed it necessary to achieve *siddhis* (or ‘perfections’), attainable through *yoga* and representing (also in other Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions) the sign of approaching liberation. It is likely that this reflects the contrast between two different currents coexisting in many Buddhist traditions: one focusing more on the cultivation of mindfulness and discriminative analysis; the other on the cultivation of *yoga* techniques and sometimes even asceticism.

Intratextual strategies, instead, aim to bring out further meaning solely through elements internal to the text, and therefore relate to the form itself of the text, that is to say its inner structure, the typology and sequence of the formulas utilized, the use of key or evocative words and quotations (which can be unattributed or attributed) or paraphrases of passages from other works, etc. In fact, the internal structure of a text can echo similar structures in other works and thus, especially in the case of scriptures, can work as a way to make cross-references. The use of formulas in particular and sometimes also other devices (e.g. the repetition of similar sequences of formulas or similar sets of stanzas) reflects, at least in some cases, even a narrative strategy with precise semiotic intentions—its function cannot be reduced to merely being an aid

³² See *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 1, pp. 116–119.

³³ We may say, *en passant*, that the situation is, of course, more complex if we consider that the Pāli Canon is in fact the result, not perfectly homogenized, of the fusion of various traditions and trends that existed in early Buddhist circles. A different account of the Buddha’s experience on the night of his awakening can be read in *Majjhimanikāya* 4 (*Bhayabheravasutta*).

for the memorization and transmission of texts, it also plays a significant role in the construction of meaning.³⁴ The inclusion of keywords in a text can better illuminate the scope of its teaching and in some cases even its original context.³⁵

In Buddhist *tantras*, the intertextual strategies are applicable only rarely because they are by nature linked to the narrative framework of the works (which, in turn, are arranged within a canon), which in Tantric texts is less relevant or even completely absent. Instead, the intratextual strategies are applicable *mutatis mutandis* and can be observed more frequently. Particularly important strategies include: (1) the use and reuse of portions of text originally belonging to other works and, in some cases, to other traditions;³⁶ (2) the use of technical terminology and the application of traditional categories to topics that are purely Tantric; (3) the use of stock phrases, sometimes with different meanings; and (4) the expansion of passages originally belonging to other texts.

In this paper, which is intended to be just the beginning of an investigation, I shall provide only a few examples for the last three above-mentioned categories.

³⁴ One example is discussed in Sfera 2011.

³⁵ For a case study, see Sfera 2007.

³⁶ On the broad category of 'reuse' in the Indian context (also with occasional, interesting references to other cultural aspects), see Freschi 2012, 2015 (the entire volume to which this is the introduction is also relevant), and Freschi & Maas 2017. This can be seen as a widespread phenomenon when considering that the number of stanzas reused from other sources is, at times, quite large. This is the case, for example, in the *Sarvarahasya*, a short *tantra* of about 200 stanzas. Here, almost a quarter of them come from other texts, in particular from the *Guhyasamāja* (for more than twenty-seven and a half stanzas of the entire text!) and from the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* (about 10 stanzas). A synoptic table of the stanzas reused in the *Sarvarahasyatantra* can be seen in Isaacson & Sfera, forthcoming-b, Appendix.

As for the use and reuse of portions of text originally belonging to other works, I shall limit myself to a general remark, namely that from an emic point of view the composite character of the texts is not perceived of negatively; and in the context of Indian religious literature it is likely an oversimplification to label this phenomenon negatively as plagiarism, also from the etic point of view. Perhaps one of the most prominent examples of a 'composite text' in Indian Tantric Buddhism is the *Nāmasaṅgīti*. In his commentary on the text, among other things, Vilāsavajra (8th cent.) shows that the epithets listed in this eulogy are actually quoted from other works. It is worth noting that by pointing this out, Vilāsavajra is emphasizing the authoritativeness of the text rather than belittling its value (even if it is unclear whether it is the redactors of the *Nāmasaṅgīti* who drew from previous sources or if the opposite may be true, at least in some cases).

2. Strategies

2.1. Use of Technical Terminology and Traditional Categories

In Tantric texts, the application of traditional Buddhist categories extraneous to their specific context may, at first glance, seem to be dissonant and confusing; lacking any logical coherence and having no real use. However, the use of known sets of names, categories and concepts in connection with new arguments, rather than being a result of a merely ornate style, performs an important function. In particular, by resorting to specific traditional categories and taxonomic schemes, it is possible to: (1) give greater credibility to a text (and its content) and to cover it with an aura of orthodoxy; and, sometimes, (2) establish hierarchical relations between the new text (and the tradition it represents) and other works, as well as between different Buddhist (and in some cases even non-Buddhist) traditions.

Let us first consider aspect (1), mentioned above. Connecting a text with other works through known terminological and conceptual sets suggests that: the novel elements of practice and doctrine present in the 'new' text are, indeed, rooted in tradition;

they are in perfect continuity with what is already explicit in it; and, in the final analysis, one cannot even speak of absolute novelty since the 'new' elements were implicitly present even before.

For example, according to some Tantric texts, during the initiation ritual and *yoga* practice that involves sexual union, the practitioner is supposed to experience four 'blisses' (*ānanda*). Texts and authors differ about the sequence of the last two blisses, but this topic shall not be addressed.³⁷ What is relevant here is that both scriptures and commentators relate these blisses with other sets of four items. So, naturally enough, *ānanda*, *paramānanda*, *vīramānanda*, and *sahajānanda*³⁸ are respectively connected with: the four *mudrās* (*karmamudrā*, etc.); the four *kṣaṇas*, or 'moments' (*vicitra*, etc.); the four upper initiations (*kalaśābhiṣeka*, etc.); and the four kinds of 'fruit' (*phala*) that are related to the four stages of the practice. The terms used to refer to the four kinds of fruits (i.e. *niṣyanda*, *vipāka*, *puruṣakāra*, and *vaimalya*) are mostly drawn from Abhidharmic literature; only *vaimalya* is not present in Abhidharma classifications.

One might say there is nothing surprising in this since it is precisely in Buddhist scholasticism that (as far as Buddhism is concerned) a reflection on causality is developed for the first time, aimed at defining the various types of causes (*hetu*), conditions (*pratyaya*), effects (*kārya*), and their relationships. And it is on the basis of the Abhidharmic taxonomies that later Buddhist philosophers will deepen the topic of causality, also in comparison with other traditions. We must acknowledge, however, that the fruits described in Abhidharmic texts fit quite poorly (i.e. only to a limited extent) with those related to the

³⁷ For a detailed exposition and some discussion on this point, see Isaacson 2010; see also Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 96–101.

³⁸ This is the sequence of the blisses we read, for instance, in *Hevajratāntra* 1.1.29; the sequence *ānanda*, *paramānanda*, *sahajānanda*, and *vīramānanda* can be read, instead, in *Sekoddeśa* 80–81.

practice of *yoga*; the two contexts are very different. Joining the two categories (the fruits of action and the fruits of *yoga*) into a single whole must, therefore, have a specific function. The inclusion of *niṣyanda*, *vipāka* and *puruṣakāra*, with the addition of *vaimalya* as the fourth (or third, according to some interpreters), within the larger scheme of the four blisses, etc. is not simply a reference to a known set of terms, but also an introduction of an additional hermeneutic level.

Unlike other sets, that of fruits is not thoroughly explained by Tantric commentators.³⁹ *Hevajratantra* 2.4.56–58, which represents the *locus classicus* for the elucidation of the four fruits in Tantric scriptures, paraphrases the Abhidharmic definitions of the first three fruits.⁴⁰ The ‘fruit of equal emanation’ (*niṣyandaphala*) is called such because what is experienced corresponds to what was done and actions produce commensurate results. When a small action produces the ripening of a great result, there is the fruit of ‘maturation’ (*vipāka*). The fruit arising from ‘human effort’ (*puruṣakāra*) stems from the activity of the practitioner. ‘Purity’ (*vaimalya*), the last fruit, derives from the purification attained by means of *yoga*. In some early Kālacakra works, these terms designate the four parts of what is sometimes called *sūkṣmayoga*, that is to say, the phase of the *yoga* practice where the *bodhicitta* (physically speaking, the semen), after having been retained, is supposed to flow upward along the central channel. The four fruits (*niṣyanda*, *vipāka*, etc.) correspond to the four phases of this ascent.⁴¹

There is no intrinsic need for these correspondences, even more so because one does not find an exact parallel with the five kinds of

³⁹ See Isaacson & Sferra 2014: 106–107 n. 34.

⁴⁰ See, for instance, *Abhidharmakośa* 2.57–58 and *Abhidharmasamuccaya-kārikā* 1.16–17.

⁴¹ See, e.g., *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā ad* 1.5.8 (ed. and tr. in *First Śaḍaṅga-yoga*, pp. 33–34) and *Vimalaprabhā ad Laghukālacakratantra* 4.111.

fruit listed and described in Abhidharmic works⁴²—*ādhipatyaphala* (the Fruit of Sovereignty) and *visamyogaphala* (the Disjunction Fruit) are not mentioned at all; instead, there is *vaimalyaphala*. In theory, it would have been possible to invent four new terms. Most likely, the correspondences were established only to add an Abhidharmic flavour to the Tantric doctrines and practices; and, therefore, also Abhidharmic authority and legitimation.

Regarding the above-mentioned aspect (2), in some cases, by resorting to specific traditional categories and taxonomic schemes, it is also possible to establish hierarchical relations between different Buddhist traditions. For instance, let us consider the description of our world-system (*lokadhātu*). As is well known, this is an essential part of the Buddhist Weltanschauung. Such descriptions can be found in both Pāli and Sanskrit works, particularly in Abhidharmic texts, with some minor and major differences mostly concerning the colors, shapes, and measurement of and distances between the divisions of the terrestrial world. Similar descriptions can be found in Brāhmaṇical and Jaina works, as Willibald Kirfel pointed out already in 1920.⁴³ The description found in the *Abhidharmakośa* is certainly one of the most influential and important (see 3.53cd–55).⁴⁴ Its scheme recurs (with variations on secondary points) also in subsequent texts, including Tantric ones. Anupamavajra's *Ādikarmaṣāḍaṅga*⁴⁵ and Āryadeva's *Sūta*⁴⁶ are representative of

⁴² Apart from the *Abhidharmakośa* and the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* (see above note 40), see, for instance, *Abhidharmadīpavibhāṣaprabhāvṛtti*, pp. 206–213; *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkārahāṣya* ad 17.22–23; *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 71; *Madhyāntavibhāṣabhāṣya* 4.16.

⁴³ For a more recent contribution, see Huntington 2018.

⁴⁴ See below, Appendix 2. Unfortunately, the part related to this topic in the *Abhidharmadīpavibhāṣaprabhāvṛtti* is almost completely lost at this point (see ed. Introduction, p. 13).

⁴⁵ [...] *catūratnamayaṃ sumeruṃ dhyāyāt | tanmadhye nānāratnakhacita-siṃhāsanopari vikacāṣṭadalakamalam, kamalaḡarbhe śrīmadgurubhaṭṭāraḡam vicitrābharaṇabhūṣitaṃ vajrasattvalilayā sthitaṃ drṣṭvā | tataḡ sumeroḡ*

this, with the colors having been changed and the names of the deities added. But the most significant difference is found in the *Laghukālacakratāntra*. Here, cosmology plays a ‘political’ role⁴⁷—added to the above-mentioned description based on colors is a portrayal of the main deities of the traditional pantheon corresponding to a spatial relationship. The central position is represented by Kālacakra, which therefore becomes the essential reference point for the entire cosmic depiction.⁴⁸

A similar function is performed by the symbolic explanation of the parts of the *maṇḍala*, which in some descriptions (for instance in the *Sarvarahasyatantra*, st. 118 and ff.) are associated with the main categories of Buddhist practice and doctrine.⁴⁹ In both cases, not just a process of legitimation is at issue, but also an attempt at hierarchization and inclusivism.

However, we can imagine that these dynamics are largely unconscious and that the majority of Tantric practitioners have

*pūrvato 'rdhacandrākāraṃ śuklaṃ pūrvavideham | dakṣiṇe tryaśraṃ
suvarṇavarṇaṃ jambudvīpaṃ | paścime parimaṇḍalaṃ raktam aparagodā-
nīyam | uttare caturaśraṃ śyāmam uttarakuruṃ vibhāvya | sarvaṃ etat
pratyekaṃ padmarāgendranīlavaidūryamarakatavajramuktāpravālaparipūrṇaṃ
dhyāyāt | | (Ādikarmapradīpa by Anupamavajra, ed. p. 20).*

⁴⁶ *evaṃ punaḥ pṛthivīdhātur bāhye 'pi pañcākāreṇa bhidyate | caturdvīpāḥ
sumeruś ca | tatra sumerur mahāvairocanasyādhiṣṭhānam, pūrvavideho 'kṣo-
bhyasyādhiṣṭhānam, jambudvīpo ratnasambhavyādhiṣṭhānam, aparagodānīyo
'mitābhasyādhiṣṭhānam, uttarakurur amoghasiddher adhiṣṭhānam ity uktaḥ
pañcadhā pṛthivīdhātuḥ (Sūtaka by Āryadeva, ed. Wedemeyer, p. 355; cf.
ed. Pandey, p. 11).*

⁴⁷ See *Laghukālacakratāntra* 1.10–25 and its commentary (see Newman 1987: 471–531).

⁴⁸ See below, Appendix 2.

⁴⁹ Symbolic explanations can be observed also in non-Tantric sources, for instance in the *Stūpalakṣaṇakārikāvivecana* with regard to the parts of the *stūpa*: *catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni prathamā vedī yāvāt pañcendriyāni caturthī vedī |* (p. 216). See also Roth 2009: 63–64.

not perceived a real difference between the visualization of the *maṇḍala* and, for example, the cultivation of the *smṛtyupasthānas*. In fact, it is believed that what makes the practice of the *maṇḍala* effective is precisely the homology between the Buddhist doctrinal categories and the parts of the *maṇḍala* along with their identification. Subjectively, there is the perception of practicing equivalent methods, both valid, albeit for different types of practitioners. Everything that is in one method is in the other as well; the meaning and content of the Tantric *maṇḍala* is imbued with mainstream Buddhist doctrines and practices.

2.2. Use of Stock Phrases

The use of stock phrases is perhaps the feature that most immediately catches the eye of the reader. As is well known, it is not an exclusive practice of Tantric texts or even of Buddhist texts alone—it is a phenomenon that can be defined as pan-Indian. There is reason to believe that through the use of famous expressions and stock phrases redactors and authors of Tantric texts were not attempting to hide references to other works. On the contrary, these references serve to create a link with previous scriptures and works, and give authoritative support to these new compositions, even if the original source is not explicitly cited. Again, there are numerous examples, but we shall limit ourselves to looking at only a few representative ones.

Let us consider, for instance, *Samājottara* 38:

anādinidhanaṃ śāntaṃ bhāvābhāvākṣayaṃ⁵⁰ vibhum |

⁵⁰ *bhāvābhāvākṣayaṃ* is an emendation supported by the Tibetan translation (*dños dan dños med zad pa'i gtso*, P fol. 159v5) and by the quotations of this stanza in other sources (see, e.g., *Laghutantraṭīkā*, p. 48; *Hevajratantraṭīkā* 10.1 [Sferra 2009: 111]). The same reading occurs in the quotation of this verse in the *Jñānasiddhi*, chapter 15, where it is also followed by a commentary (ed. pp. 134–135). The reading of the printed editions of the *Guhyasamājatantra* by Bagchi (1965) and by Matsunaga (1978) is instead *bhāvābhāvākṣayaṃ*. Other sources have

śūnyatākaruṇābhinnam bodhicittam iti smṛtam ||

The initial compound *anādinidhana(m/h)* is strongly evocative, not only intrinsically (the words ‘without beginning and end,’ in fact, refer directly to the ultimate, unconditioned reality) but also because it echoes other stanzas that begin in the same way. This compound occurs often as the first word of an odd *pāda* (but sometimes also in other positions or as the first part of even *pādas*) of a number of *anuṣṭubhs* in Sanskrit literature. Among the works predating the composition of the *Guhyasamāja* that contain this compound, are both Buddhist works (such as the *Sarvatathāgata-tattovasaṅgraha*⁵¹ and the *Nāmasaṅgīti*)⁵² and non-Buddhist works (such as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Niśvāsamukhatattovasamhitā*).⁵³ Among the non-epic and non-scriptural Brāhmaṇic texts that had a strong cultural significance, one of the most remarkable examples is perhaps represented by the beginning of Bhartṛhari’s *Vākyapadīya*.⁵⁴ Among the many stanzas of the *Mahābhārata* where this compound appears, the following are noteworthy examples: *Āraṇyakaparvan* 186.15cd (*anādinidhanam bhūtam viśvam akṣayam avyayam*); and *Śāntiparvan* 271.19ab (*anādinidhanaḥ śrīmān harir nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ*). It is highly likely that the composer of the *Samājottara* had these stanzas (or similar stanzas) in mind and was intentionally trying to reference them. The words (*a*)*kṣayam* and *vibhum* that appear in the second *pāda* are parallel to the words *akṣayam* (‘undecaying’) and *prabhuḥ* (‘powerful’) in the two above-quoted verses from the *Mahābhārata*. The word *prabhu*, in fact, is essentially a synonym of *vibhu*. The stanza of the *Samājottara* provides the reader with a definition of the *bodhicitta*. So, the

bhāvābhāvātmakeṇ (e.g. *Kriyāsamuccaya*, fol. 180r3, p. 359).

⁵¹ See ed. pp. 5, 494, 533, 559, 561.

⁵² St. 100ab: *anādinidhano buddha ādibuddho niranvayaḥ* |.

⁵³ St. 1.42a: *anādinidhano devo hy ajam akṣaram avyayaḥ* | (p. 158).

⁵⁴ *anādinidhanam brahma śabdatattovam yad akṣaram | vivartate ’rthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ* || [...].

intent of the author seems to be to substitute, or at least identify, the absolute of the Brāhmaṇic tradition with the *bodhicitta*. It is no coincidence that this verse will, in turn, be completely (or in part) cited or reused in later texts.⁵⁵

A further step forward is taken by Puṇḍarīka (11th cent.) in two stanzas of the *Vimalaprabhā*. The first stanza makes up part of the Sanmārganiyamoddeśa, the opening section of the work, which represents a sort of manifesto of the new doctrines and practices of the nascent Kālacakra system. The second stanza is presented as a quotation from the *mūlatantra* (i.e. the *Ādibuddha*) and is used in the Deśakādisaṅgrahoddeśa in order to define *vajrayoga*, i.e., as John Newman describes, “[t]he perfect integration of the conventional truth of the mentally fabricated maṇḍala and the ultimate truth of the connate luminosity realizing emptiness [...], the inseparable fusion of wisdom realizing emptiness and compassion.”⁵⁶

uktaḥ samayasattvo yo bhāvābhāvakṣayo vibhuḥ |
anādinidhanaḥ śānto bodhicittaṃ praṇamya tam ||
(*Vimalaprabhā*, vol. 1, p. 2)

astināstiviyatīkrānto bhāvābhāvakṣayo 'dvayaḥ |
śūnyatākaruṇābhīno vajrayogo mahāsukhaḥ ||
(*Vimalaprabhā*, vol. 1, p. 44)

No doubt, in both cases Puṇḍarīka (who, I assume, himself composed the alleged quotation from the *Ādibuddha*) refers to the stanza of the *Samājottara*, which remains widely recognizable thanks to *pādas* b and c of both verses, but also includes a further reference and identification. The new reference is given in the second stanza by replacing the first *pāda*, and therefore also the famous compound *anādinidhanam*, with another strongly evocative compound: *astināstiviyatīkrāntaḥ*. This corresponds to the

⁵⁵ Cf., e.g., *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* 1; *Hevajratāntra* 1.10.42cd; *Guhyasiddhi* 9.10b; *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā*, Caturthābhiṣekavidhi st. 17.

⁵⁶ Newman 2000: 589.

opening *pāda* of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* by Nāgārjuna and is reused (in the instrumental plural) also in the *Sekoddeśa* (st. 25a). Yet the reference to a previous layer, perhaps even to the *Mahābhārata*, is not completely obscured (at least in the second stanza) if in *pāda* b it is admitted that °kṣayo 'dvayaḥ might be an intentional allusion to the words (a)kṣayam avyayam that appear in many previous works, both Buddhist, such as the *Sarvatathāgatattvaśaṅgraha* (ed. p. 152), and non-Buddhist, like the *Manusmṛti* (8.344a) and the *Mahābhārata* (2.11.28d, 3.160.23b, 3.186.15d, 12.206.2b, etc.). Although from the semantic point of view *advaya* and *avyaya* are different from each other, there remains a certain degree of similarity between them from the point of view of the structure of the word: a-X-aya.

To understand Puṇḍarīka's project, we must ask ourselves what he anticipated to be the thought process of the reader. Hence, it can be supposed that, according to him, his reader: (1) recognized the famous definition of *bodhicitta* of *Samājottara* 38, an already well-known work when he composed the *Vimalaprabhā*; and (2) understood that, in the second stanza, the word *vajrayoga*—a fundamental concept in the nascent Kālacakra school, which is thus introduced on the basis of a notable scriptural foundation (here also qualified with the pregnant epithet *mahā-sukha*)—represents the new, 'enriched' definition of the *bodhicitta*, even though the latter is not overtly mentioned. In the second stanza quoted above, there is therefore a deliberate overlap of meanings that educated people would immediately be able to perceive and appreciate in all its fullness. It is clear that for others the appreciation would perhaps come at a later time, possibly after encountering the same words and structure in other works or after some training.

Obviously, it cannot be ruled out that in some cases the use of the same phrases in different texts may simply be the result of coincidence, occasioned by the intent of different authors to express a similar concept while respecting metrical structures, the

linguistic repertoire of Sanskrit, etc. For instance, in the last four verses of the second chapter of the *Guhyasamājantra* (stt. 8-11),⁵⁷ as well as in five verses of the third chapter of the *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* by Anaṅgavajra (stt. 9–13),⁵⁸ we find the refrain *namo 'stu te*. Preceded by some vocatives, this refrain occurs hundreds of times in Sanskrit religious literature. We cannot be certain, nor exclude, that the redactors of these two texts had a specific work in mind. In particular, among Buddhist scriptures, the refrain *namo 'stu te* can be found in 16 stanzas of the *Sarvathāgatattvasaṅgraha*⁵⁹ and, preceded by the vocative *nirālamba*, in forty stanzas of the *Jñānālokālaṅkārasūtra* (in a section of this Mahāyāna scripture that was known among Tantric Buddhists). This familiarity is evidenced, for instance, by the fact that: (1) Advayavajra (a.k.a. Maitreyaṅgātha, Maitrīpā, etc.) quotes one of its verses⁶⁰ in two of his works (namely in the

⁵⁷ *aho buddha aho dharma aho dharmasya (saṅghasya Bagchi) deśanā | śuddhatattoārtha śuddhārtha bodhicitta namo 'stu te || dharmanairātmyasambhūta buddhabodhiprapūrika | nirvikalpa nirālamba bodhicitta namo 'stu te || samantabhadra sarvārtha (sattvārtha Bagchi) bodhicittapravarttaka | bodhicarya mahāvajra bodhicitta namo 'stu te || cittam tathāgataṃ śuddham kāyavākittavajradhṛk | buddhabodhipradātā ca bodhicitta namo 'stu te ||* (ed. Bagchi, pp. 9–10; ed. Matsunaga, p. 11).

⁵⁸ *namas te śūnyatāgarbha sarvasaṅkalpavarjita | sarvajña jñānasandoha jñānamūrte namo 'stu te || jagadajñānavicchediśuddhatattoārthadeśaka | dharmanairātmyasambhūta vajrasattva namo 'stu te || sambuddhā bodhisattvāś ca tvattaḥ pāramitāguṇāḥ | sambhavanti sadā nātha bodhicitta namo 'stu te || ratnatrayaṃ mahāyānaṃ tvattaḥ sthāvarajaṅgamam | traidhātukam idaṃ sarvaṃ jagadvīra namo 'stu te || cintāmaṇir ivādbhuta jagadiṣṭhārasiddhaye | sugatājñākara śrīmān buddhaputra namo 'stu te ||* (pp. 74–75). Stanzas 3.9–12 of the *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* are silently reused in *Samputatantra* 2.1.20–23 (cf. ed. Mical, pp. 260–261 [of the PDF] and ed. Skorupski, p. 230). On the relationship between the *Samputatantra* and the *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi*, see Szántó 2016: 405–411.

⁵⁹ See ed. pp. 60–62.

⁶⁰ I.e. *Jñānālokālaṅkāra* 4.12: *avikalpitasāṅkalpa apratiṣṭhitamānasa | asmṛty amanasikāra nirālamba namo 'stu te ||* (ed. p. 71 [526]).

*Amanasikārādhāra*⁶¹ and in the *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa*),⁶² probably since it provides a scriptural basis for the central doctrine of the *amanasikāra*; (2) this verse is also reused in the *Samvarodayatantra*;⁶³ and (3) we find, eventually, the Tantric Nāgārjuna embedding one stanza of this *sūtra* in the *Caturmudrānvaya*,⁶⁴ three stanzas in the *Svādhiṣṭhānakrama* and four stanzas in the *Abhisambodhikrama*.⁶⁵ It is therefore possible that the redactors of the *Guhyasamājatantra* and *Anaṅgavajra*, who were active sometime before *Advayavajra*, and (in the case of *Anaṅgavajra* probably) also before the Tantric Nāgārjuna,⁶⁶ actually had this portion of text from the *Jñānālokālaṅkārasūtra* in mind, but one cannot be sure. It is also possible that they were influenced by the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*, which was, in turn, probably influenced by the *Jñānālokālaṅkārasūtra*, or perhaps even by another Buddhist or non-Buddhist work. *Anaṅgavajra* might have had in mind the *Guhyasamājatantra* itself. Regardless of how they were formed, the fact remains that, once produced and put into circulation, the aforementioned passages from the *Guhyasamāja* and the *Prajñopāyavinīscayasiddhi*, not unlike passages from other texts, became part of a dynamic network of relationships, which had already been partly established and were

⁶¹ See ed. p. 65.

⁶² See ed. p. 25.

⁶³ *Samvarodayatantra* 8.36 (ed. p. 101) corresponds to *Jñānālokālaṅkāra* 4.12 (see above note 60).

⁶⁴ See ed. p. 35.

⁶⁵ *Svādhiṣṭhānakrama* 4–6 (= *Pañcakrama* 3.4–6) correspond to *Jñānālokālaṅkāra* 4.16, 5, 34, and *Abhisambodhikrama* 8–11 (= *Pañcakrama* 4.8–11) correspond to *Jñānālokālaṅkāra* 4.4, 17, 12–13.

Verses from the *Jñānālokālaṅkāra* can also be found in other Tantric works; for instance, in Vibhūticandra's *Amṛtakaṇikoddyota*, p. 190.

⁶⁶ Both *Anaṅgavajra* and the Tantric Nāgārjuna have probably flourished before the end of the 10th century. On the chronology of the early Ārya school, see Tomabechi 1994.

also continuing to evolve. For the user, that is to say the exponent of the tradition, the refrain *namo 'stu te* creates a formal and virtually significant link with previous and subsequent works, regardless of whether this link arose by chance, consciously or only somewhat consciously.

Similar reasoning can be used regarding the employment of keywords. Let us consider for example the use of the famous compound *prakṛtiprabhāsvara*, which is found in the third chapter of the *Sarvatathāgatattvaśaṅgraha*⁶⁷ and which appears again in the *Guhyasamājatantra*.⁶⁸ In these two texts (and also in the *Piṇḍīkramasādhana*, where the same compound occurs),⁶⁹ *prakṛtiprabhāsvara* is a qualification of the *dharmas*, in line with the theoretical framework typical of the later Mahāyāna mainstream. However, there is no doubt that in an earlier phase, this compound was primarily a qualifier of the mind or mental continua (*citta*); as we read, for example, in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*prakṛtiprabhāsvarāṇi subhūte tāni cittāni*)⁷⁰ and in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* 13.19ab (*matam ca cittam prakṛtiprabhāsvaram sadā tad āgantukadoṣadūṣitam*). Surely, the average educated user of the aforementioned Tantric texts was (and is still today) able to grasp the connection with these (or similar) passages; as well as the reference to an even more ancient scriptural passage which is found, in its Pāli version, in *Aṅguttaranikāya* 1.5 and 1.6, where the mind is said to be luminous and defiled by accidental blemishes.⁷¹

⁶⁷ *prakṛtiprabhāsvarāḥ sarve hy ādiśuddhā nabhaḥsamāḥ* | (ed. p. 124), *prakṛtiprabhāsvarā dharmā hy ādiśuddhāḥ svabhāvataḥ* | (ed. p. 138).

⁶⁸ *prakṛtiprabhāsvarā dharmāḥ suviśuddhā nabhaḥsamāḥ* | (2.7ab), *prakṛtiprabhāsvarāḥ sarve anutpannā nirāśravāḥ* | (7.34ab). St. 2.7 is quoted also in *Jñānasiddhi* 15, with the reading *bodhinā'bhisamayair* instead of *na bodhir nābhisamayam* in *pāda c* (see ed. p. 136).

⁶⁹ See also *Piṇḍīkramasādhana* 208cd: *prakṛtiprabhāsvarān dharmān deśa vajra namo 'stu te* | |.

⁷⁰ See ed. p. 127.

⁷¹ *pabhassaram idaṃ, bhikkhave, cittam | tañ ca kho āgantukehi upakkilesehi*

2.3. Expansions

The reuse of a passage belonging to a previous text can lead to a more complex scenario. Sometimes it does not involve a modification of the source text by substituting only a few words, but rather entails its extension. We shall limit ourselves to briefly discussing two examples taken from two prominent works.

The first concerns one of the most famous stanzas of the *Hevajratantra*:

caṇḍālī jvalitā nābhau dahati pañca tathāgatān |
dahati ca locanādīr dagdhe haṃ sravate śaśī || (1.1.32)

While at first glance the passage may seem relatively simple, it actually lends itself to various interpretations. In fact, in his *Yogaratnamālā*, Kṛṣṇa (a.k.a. Kāṇha) proposes five different explanations.⁷² A sixth interpretation is given by Ratnākaraśānti

upakkiliṭṭhan ti | (ed. vol. 1, p. 10).

⁷² The first interpretation is from the point of view of the 'generation process' (*utpattikrama*), the second from the point of view of the meaning of the syllables (*akṣarārtha*), and the last three according to tradition (*sampradāya*). In all these interpretations, the word Caṇḍālī is understood as being composed of two aspects: *caṇḍā* and *ālī*, which are, in turn, gradually identified with a series of more specific items. The former is identified with Wisdom (*prajñā*), the syllable *aṃ*, the Dharmodayā, and the left channel (*vāmanāḍī*); while the latter with Vajrasattva, the syllable *hūṃ*, the syllable *a* (*ādyakṣara*), the Means (*upāya*), the right channel (*dakṣiṇanāḍī*), and the mind filled with great compassion (*mahā-kāruṇāmāyacitta*). In the fourth interpretation, the navel, where these two aspects merge, is identified with the central channel (*avadhūtī*); and in the fifth interpretation, with the *mahāmudrā*. The five Tathāgatas are the five aggregates, whereas Locanā, etc., are identified with the elements starting with the earth (interpretations 1, 2, 4); alternatively, the Tathāgatas are the sense faculties, and Locanā, etc. are the elements (interpretation 3); or both are the deities present in the *maṇḍala*, starting with Akṣobhya (interpretation 5). The Moon is the *bodhicitta* or also Vajrasattva/Vajradhara. See ed. Snellgrove, part II, p. 110.

in the *Muktāvalī* (pp. 27–28); in light of the latter, the stanza can be translated as follows:

Caṇḍālī[, i.e. Nairātmyā,] blazes up in the navel. She burns the five Tathāgatas[, namely, Vairocana, etc.]. And she burns Locanā, etc. Once it is burnt, *haṃ*, i.e. the Moon, flows[, i.e. melts].

This stanza was certainly known to the author of the *Samvarodayatantra*, who implicitly refers to it in chapter 31,⁷³ and was also known to the early Kālacakra masters. The first among them who refers to this verse is Vajrapāṇi (fl. 10th–11th cent.) in his *Laghutantraṭīkā*. He does this implicitly while explaining the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. In approaching this topic, he takes the teaching of the *Samājottara* (stt. 141–154) as a starting point from which he diverges by adding numerous details and by introducing specific practices.⁷⁴ The result, let us say in passing, is the first and perhaps most influential description of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* practice among the early Kālacakra masters.⁷⁵ According to the classification of Vajrapāṇi, the *yoga* limbs are divided further into the four phases that are listed and described in the *Guhya-samāyatantra* (12.60–76) and in the *Samājottara* (135 ff.): *sevā*, *upasevā*, *sādhana*, and *mahāsādhana*. In Vajrapāṇi's work, *Hevajra-tantra* 1.1.32 is clearly rephrased into prose during the explanation of the last two phases, *sādhana* and *mahāsādhana*; and particularly in connection with the description of the last two limbs: *anusmṛti*,

⁷³ *caṇḍālī jvalitā prakāśavisaratsaṃvittir evāmalā | dagdhaskandhavikalpīte sravati cānāmbasaṃvedanam | vyomavyāpi samastavastusamatāsampādakaṃ cāmṛtam ||* (31.32). The *Samvarodayatantra* is probably a Nepalese composition produced after the *Laghukālacakratantra* (see Szántó 2019: 279 and also Isaacson & Sferra 2015: 315).

⁷⁴ See Sferra 2000: 22–37.

⁷⁵ Vajrapāṇi's interpretation is followed by Anupamarakṣita (11th cent.) and Nāropā (11th cent.), who both quote his words verbatim or with minor changes. See *First Ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, pp. 122–135, and *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, pp. 123–130.

with which the practice of the *caṇḍālī* (*caṇḍālīyoga*) is eventually identified; and *samādhi*, which corresponds here to the fusion into unity of the aggregates, the elements, etc., as well as to the melting of the *bodhicitta*.⁷⁶ It is worth noting that the four phases are also listed in some manuscripts of the *Hevajratāntra*, appearing between the list of the four *kṣaṇas* and the list of the four *āryasatyas* (see 1.1.24–26); however, it seems that they do not assume much importance, and it is not ruled out that they may have been added at a later time in the transmission of the text (concerning this, it is relevant that neither Kṛṣṇa nor Ratnākaraśānti comment on them). Instead, in Vajrapāṇi’s interpretation, these phases assume a prominent role insofar as they represent, for him, a general framework of *yoga* practice as a whole. He tries to show that the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Samājottara*, and the *Hevajratāntra* all converge on the transmission of essential elements of the *yoga* practice. From the discussion in the *Laghutantraṭīkā*, it emerges that the *Cakrasaṃvara* would present the most essential and cryptic formulation of the *yoga* (according to Vajrapāṇi, in stanzas 1.9cd–10ab of this *tantra*, the six limbs of *yoga* are mentioned in an extremely succinct way, with the puzzling indication of only three of them); the *Guhyasamāja* and the *Samājottara* would offer the most detailed and comprehensive presentation; while the *Hevajratāntra*, by describing the *caṇḍālīyoga*, the burning of the Tathāgatas, etc., would explain the final and most important part of the *yoga*

⁷⁶ *tataḥ “sādhane devatābimbam” [Samājottara 173a] iti | iha dhāraṇābalena nābhisthāṃ caṇḍālīm jvalitāṃ paśyati yogī sarvāvāraṇarahitāṃ pratisenopamāṃ mahāmudrām anantabuddharaśmimēghān sphārayantīm prabhāmaṇḍalavīrajitā<m | sā>nusmṛti<ḥ> sādhanam ucyate | dhāraṇānte caṇḍālīyogaṃ bhāvayed iti niyamaḥ | tatas tasyā jñānārciṣā skandhadhātvaīyatanādīni dagdhāny ekalolībhavanti | vāmadakṣiṇanāḍīgatāni vijñānādīpṛthivyādīni maṇḍalasvabhāvāni lalāṭe candramaṇḍale praviṣṭāni | tatas caṇḍālyā jñānārciṣā candre drute sati tad bodhicittaṃ bindurūpeṇādhogataṃ kaṇṭhe hṛdi nābhau guhyakamale ānandaparamavīramasvabhāvena | tato vajramaṇiṃ yāvāt sahañānandasvabhāveneti | athavā vicitravīpākavimardavīlakṣaṇasvabhāveneti | (cf. *Laghutantraṭīkā*, pp. 142–143).*

practice. The fact that there is no reference to the *caṇḍālīyoga* in the *Guhyasamāja* nor the *Samājottara*, and no (significant) reference to the limbs of *yoga* and their subdivisions in the *Hevajratantra*, implies that, according to Vajrapāṇi's interpretation, these scriptures are, so to say, complementary.

Direct partial or complete quotations of *Hevajratantra* 1.1.32 can be found in other early Kālacakra works.⁷⁷ However, the reuses of and implicit references to this verse are more germane to our topic. For example, stanzas 19–24 of the fifth section of the *Hevajratantrapaṇḍārthaṭīkā*, where Vajragarbha claims to be quoting from the *Pañcalakṣahevajra* (namely, the supposed *mūlatantra* of the *Hevajratantra*) and which he uses precisely to comment on *Hevajratantra* 1.1.32.⁷⁸ As for the reuses, it is particularly

⁷⁷ See, for instance, Vibhūticandra's *Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha*, pp. 138, 158.

⁷⁸ *kāmonmādo yadā puṃso lalanā rasanāpy atha | tayoh samputayogena caṇḍālī jvalati dhruvam || [19] jvalitā^A nābhicakre sā dombīmārgena niḥṣṛtā | rāhukaṃ^B śāsinam bhittvā haṃkāraṃ taṃ ca sā sprṣet || [20] tayā sprṣṭaḥ sa haṃkāro dravate cāmṛtaṃ tataḥ^C | skandhadhātṛvādike dagdhe pañcamaṇḍalavāhike || [21] viṣayendriyaruddhe ca ānandādye^D samutthite | sravati bindukān indor^E haṃkāro mūrdhni samsthitaḥ || [22] lalāṭacandrataḥ^F sūrye kaṅṭhād rāhau tato gataḥ | nābhau caṇḍālīkāviṣṭo^G guhyacakre tato gataḥ^H || [23] sampāte^I guhyacakre 'smin kathito 'yaṃ mahāpaśuḥ | trīsūlādhas trināḍīnām yatra randhraṃ pradarsitam || [24] (D fol. 17r7–17v3, E p. 29, K^K fols. 21r5–21v2, K^N fol. 20v2–7, Ñ fols. 13r6–13v1); stt. 21cd–35ab are also quoted in the *Amṛtakaṇikā* (ad st. 9.10, ed. pp. 82–83) and commented on in the *Amṛtakaṇikoddyota* (ed. p. 190); H. Isaacson pointed out to me that stt. 20–24 are also quoted by Kelikuliśa in his commentary on the *Hevajratantra* (*Trivajraratnāvalīpañjikā*, fol. 27v3–5) with the following variants: *nābhimadhye* (20a), *sā nirgatā* (20b), *rāhvakaṃ* (20c), *ca mayā sprṣet* (20d), *sitam* (21b), *pañcamaṇḍalavāhake* (21d), *viṣayendriye niruddhe* (22a), *bindukam ānando* (22c), *guhyacakre nipātitaḥ* (23d), *pāto 'sya* (24a), *kathitaṃ tasya* (24b).*

NOTES (only the most relevant readings are recorded here): ^A *jvalitā* Ñ E] *jvalati* K^N (contra metrum); K^K broken ^B *rāhukaṃ* Ñ E] *rāhvarkaṃ* K^K; *rāhukaṃ* K^N ^C *dravate cāmṛtaṃ tataḥ* K^K K^N post correctionem (the ante

significant that in the commentary on *Laghukālacakratantra* 4.110 (which we will look at below), Puṇḍarīka cites *Hevajratantra* 1.1.32 within a group of 14 verses that he attributes to the *mūlatantra* (*Vimalaprabhā*, vol. 2, pp. 204–205). In both cases, either because the original context of *Hevajratantra* 1.1.32 is provided (Puṇḍarīka) or because its ‘original formulation’ is provided (Vajragarbha), the author claims to draw on a layer of the transmission of the teachings that is conceptually more authoritative than the one to which both the *Hevajratantra* itself and the *Laghukālacakratantra* belong. The implications of this operation are very important on a hermeneutic level and deserve independent reflections on the self-promotion strategies of the first masters of the Kālacakra (which are not explored here).⁷⁹

The most significant reuse of *Hevajratantra* 1.1.32 is perhaps the one appearing in *Laghukālacakratantra* 4.110. Here *Hevajratantra* 1.1.32 is literally expanded and adapted to the context of the new scripture:

caṇḍālī nābhicakre navahatabhujage carcikādyādhideaive
hokārajñānagarbhe taḍidanalanibhā jñānatejaḥprabuddhā |
nābhau vairocanaḍīn dahati narapate locanācaksurādīn
sarvān dagdhvā sucandrāt sravati śirasi yo bindurūpaṃ sa
[vajrī | |

correctionem reading is unclear, perhaps *drāvate cāmṛtaṃ tataḥ*)] *dravate cāmṛtaṃ sitam* Ṇ (see D de nas bduḍ rtsi dkar por ‘ju) *Trivajraratnāvalīpañjikā* (ep); *dravate amṛtaṃ sitam* E ^D °ruddhe ca ānandādye K^K] °ruddhe cānandādye K^N (contra metrum); °niruddhe cānandādye Ṇ *Amṛtakaṇikā* (contra metrum); °niruddhe cānandādyai E (contra metrum) ^E *sravati bindukān indor* K^K (contra metrum)] *śravati bindukān ando* K^N (contra metrum); *śravanti bindunīndo* Ṇ; *sravanti bindunīndo* E; *srāvati (yati) bindukān indor Amṛtakaṇikā* (contra metrum) ^F *lalāṭa*° K^K Ṇ *Trivajraratnāvalīpañjikā*] *lalāṭe* K^N *Amṛtakaṇikā* E ^G °āviṣṭo *Trivajraratnāvalīpañjikā*] °āviṣṭaṃ K^N E *Amṛtakaṇikā*; K^K broken; °āviṣṭā Ṇ ^H *gataḥ* em.] *gatam* K^K K^N E *Amṛtakaṇikā*; *gatā* Ṇ ^I *sampāte* K^K (*sampāte*) post correctionem Ṇ E] *sampāto* K^K ante correctionem K^N *Amṛtakaṇikā*

⁷⁹ For some thoughts on this topic, see Sferra 2005.

Caṇḍālī, similar to a flash of lightning, is awakened by the fire of knowledge in the wheel of the navel, which has seventy-two [channels], the presiding deities of which are Carcikā, etc.; in the embryo of knowledge that is the syllable *ho*. O king, in the navel she burns [the five Tathāgatas, i.e.] Vairocana and so on, [as well as] Locanā[, etc.], who correspond to the eye and so forth. After she has burnt all of them, the one who flows from the beautiful moon towards the head is the Vajra-holder, namely [the semen] with the form of a *bindu*.⁸⁰

The *Laghukālacakrantra* does not present a teaching that is radically different from what appears in *Hevajatantra* 1.1.32. It is mainly the context in which the rephrasing of the stanza takes place that is indicative of a different way of understanding it. According to the Kālacakra doctrine, the passage describes the *binduyoga*, which will then be followed by the *sūkṣmayoga*, and therefore the subsequent acquisition of a 'pure body' or of a 'body of knowledge,' the source of the other bodies (*dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya*). The conceptual redefinition of the context in which the expansion of *Hevajatantra* 1.1.32 takes place is not without meaning. The 'new' scriptural context orients the reader in their interpretation of the same verse even in its 'original' context. From this point of view, the new reformulation acts in some way as a comment, which, in this case, claims to be the true and most authentic interpretation of the practices described in the *Hevajatantra* as well.

The second example is taken from the well-known verse 2.3 of the *Guhyasamāja*,⁸¹ a rather cryptic passage that was the subject of conflicting interpretations. Although this example concerns a text that predates the above-examined *Hevajatantra*, it is mentioned here secondly as it presents a further strategy. In its original context, the text of the verse that is the subject of the expansion

⁸⁰ Cf. also Wallace 2010: 137 ff.

⁸¹ The same stanza occurs in *Piṇḍikrama* 16.

presents, in fact, an apparent sudden change of topic and style which, in my opinion, is an attempt to surprise and therefore catch the attention of the reader—it forces them to focus and therefore fix the concepts in their own mind.⁸²

Verse 2.3 is the start of the Bhagavān's teaching, who was asked by all the Tathāgatas to explain the unsurpassed *bodhicitta*, namely the essence of the body, speech, and mind, i.e. the secret of all the Tathāgatas. The answer is intentionally enigmatic:

abhāve bhāvanābhāvo bhāvanā naiva bhāvanā |
iti bhāvo na bhāvaḥ syād bhāvanā nopalabhyate ||

As one might expect, the passage can be explained in various ways; and the Tantric Candrakīrti, the first interpreter of the work, offers four explanations. The text, translated according to the first of them, may be rendered in the following way:

Given the absence [of all things, both stationary and moving (which are the object of creative meditation)], there is the absence of creative meditation. Creative meditation [of something already existing] is indeed not a creative meditation[, since such a thing exists also without creative meditation]. In the same way, a thing [that is both existing and non-existing] is not a thing. [Therefore,] creative meditation is not perceived.

Without going into the details of the different possible interpretations of this verse (for these, refer to the recent studies by Yael Bentor [2010] and Alexander Yiannopoulos [2017]), we shall limit ourselves here to observing that the first three-quarters of this verse are reused and expanded on in another scriptural passage, namely *Sekoddeśa* 28–30ab:⁸³

⁸² A similar function is performed, for example, by stanza 97 of the *Dhammapada*. For some reflection on the subject, see Sferra 2011: 78–79.

⁸³ Stanzas 28ab, 29–30ab are a back translation from Tibetan and on the basis of the commentaries available in the original Sanskrit (*Paramārthasaṅgraha*, *Sekoddeśapañjikā*, and *Sekoddeśaṭippanī*); they are quoted in the

[**abhāve bhāvanā bimbe yogināṃ sā na bhāvanā** |]
bhāvo 'bhāvo na cittasya bimbe 'kalpitadarśanāt | |
[*pratisenāṃ yathādarśe kumārī paśyed avastujām* |
atītānāgataṃ dharmam tattvayogy ambare tathā | |
asyā bhāvo na bhāvaḥ syād vastuśūnyārthadarśanāt |]

Again, the expansion of the verse behaves as a short, but authoritative comment (the *Sekoddeśa* is itself *buddhavacana*). In fact, the ambiguity of its interpretation is eliminated and, in this case, a more straightforward and binding interpretation is offered. The initial *abhāve* is (as Nāropā explains) the 'cloudless sky.' The meditation of the *yogins* is not a conceptual meditation. The reality that they experience in the emptiness is neither being nor non-being and is likened to the image seen by a young virgin during the *pratisenā* rite,⁸⁴ namely a divination liturgy known both in Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources.⁸⁵

First *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* by Anupamarakṣita and also commented on in the *Guṇabharaṇī* (ed. pp. 117–118). St. 28cd is quoted in the *Sekoddeśaṭippanī*, p. 122.

⁸⁴ *tasmād abhāve nirabhre gagane svapnamāyādisadrśe bimbe pratyāhāreṇa drṣṭe yā bhāvanā dhyānāṅgena traikālikatraidhātukapratibhāsātmakasya pratyātmedyayogisvacetasah prabandhena pravartanaṃ sā yogināṃ bhāvanā kalpanā na bhavati, astināstibhāvābhāvādisakalavikalpajālaviṣayavijñānā-diprāṇāpānavāyūnām uparamād eva sphuṭataratryadhvatraidhātukapratibhāsa-syodayāt* | [...] *traikālikaviśvarūpasyāpi cetaso na bhāvo 'titādivasturūpa-tvaṃ teṣām abhāvāt paramāṇudharmatātītatoac ca | atītāder evābhāve 'pi naivābhāvaḥ sarvopākhyāviraḥalakṣaṇas cīttasya | kuta ity āha—bimbe 'kalpitadarśanād iti | yato bimbe viśvabimbākāre cetasy akalpitaṃ sakalikalpanāpagataṃ darśanaṃ pratyakṣasamvedanam asakyāpahnavaṃ anubhūyata eva* | (*Sekoddeśaṭikā ad st. 28, pp. 142–144*).

⁸⁵ On the *pratisenā* rite, see Orofino 1994 and Vasudeva 2014.

Appendix 1

Theoretical Framework

The present inquiry is based on three theoretical assumptions that represent the conceptual basis of my study. Aiming at focusing on the most essential aspects of an elusive and complex argument that is the subject of investigation of various disciplines, starting with hermeneutics, these assumptions are formulated here with concise propositions, followed by a brief explanation. A more extensive discussion of this topic is being prepared in collaboration with Federico Squarcini, with whom I have discussed these lines of inquiry, and who I sincerely thank.

1. Every written composition is the result of an intellectual project in which the purpose, that is to say the transmission of specific contents, is the result of a double-sided operation: the choice of the topics to be communicated and the choice of how to communicate them.

In this definition, ‘the contents’ and ‘the topics to be communicated’ are not the same thing. The latter (choice 1) become the content of communication when they assume a form (choice 2). The content of communication, that is to say what is transmitted by the author to an attentive and interested listener/reader, is the result of both choices, not only of the first, which concerns only abstract concepts. What we want to communicate and the formal and structural aspects of how we communicate it are never independent. This is why, in ordinary communication, we usually do not notice the difference between these two aspects and do not identify them with two independent choices.

2. The formal aspects are decisive in the semiotic enrichment of the topics being communicated.

The formal aspects do not fulfill a merely auxiliary function to the correct or effective transmission of what one wants to communicate—in all literary compositions the formal aspects contribute, in varying degrees, also to the formation of the content, corroborating and completing what one intends to communicate. The meaning of each statement, both in the

moment in which it is produced as well as the one in which it is received, cannot be determined in isolation, since it depends on the connections it has with the rest of the language. The formal aspects are the subject of special attention by the authors and editors because, through them, the 'specific horizon of meaning' is established. In fact, while, *lato sensu*, the significance of each word and sentence belongs to a language as a whole, the intended meaning becomes clear only in a specific horizon of meaning. In addition to the arrangement of the topics being communicated and the formulation of appropriate sentences, their semiotic enrichment takes place through the construction of a specific context, which is the selection of a particular horizon of meaning among the many possible ones permitted by language. This implies, among other things, the use of quotations and implicit references to previous works as well as ideas present in previous works. The 'semiotic enrichment' is nothing but the effect produced by the context on the letter of the text.

3. All representation, in literature as well as in art, is communication and is never devoid of intentionality.

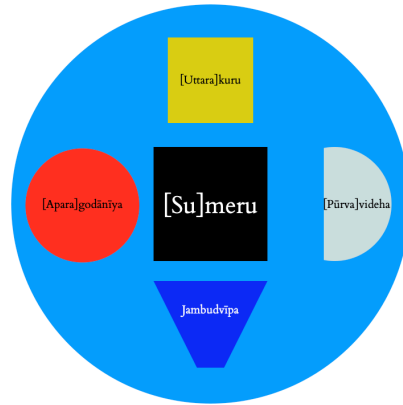
The interpreter's goal is to understand an author's intention as faithfully as possible. The sincere attempt to reach this goal is the most important thing, the basis of the whole process. In theory, it cannot be ruled out that a full understanding may also happen, but in practice there is no guarantee that this happens, and also no proof. The interpreter will never have certainty whether he or she has fully grasped the intentions of the communicator. In this regard, four main factors play a decisive role. The first two have to do with the unavoidable differences that exist between the author and the interpreter. (1) The 'contextual gap': namely that of the social, cultural, geographical, and historical context in which the author and interpreter have carried out their activity. (2) The 'individual gap': that is, that of the idiosyncratic differences between individuals (in this case, the author and interpreter) and the inevitable weight of their expectations; this is never entirely absent even in the mind of the most attentive interpreter. The other two factors have to do with the sources and

the very nature of knowledge. (3) The sources available to the interpreter are almost always limited; new evidence brings about change in previous evaluations; this is incredibly evident in philology, for instance, where editing a text can never produce more than the best hypothesis. (4) Regarding the interpreter's attempt to understand a text, this understanding has in itself an element of dynamism; it is an ongoing process. At the core of understanding is desire.

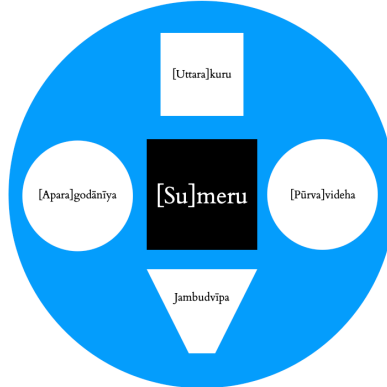
Appendix 2

Cosmological Schemes⁸⁶

1) *Abhidharmakośa* 3.53cd–55

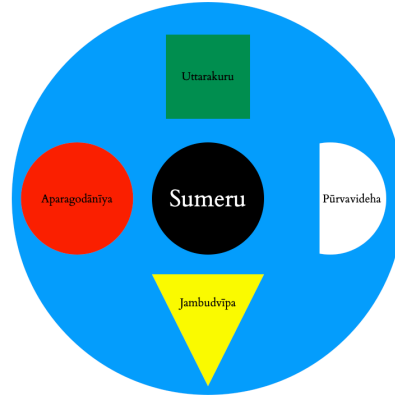


2) Saṃmitīya view according to the **Lokaprajñāptyabhidharmaśāstra*
(cit. in Okano 1998: 173, 175)

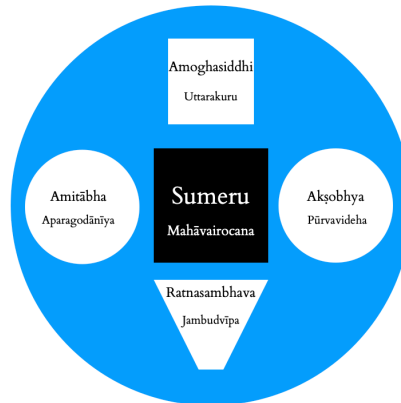


⁸⁶ The colors of the geometrical figures that are blank in schemes 2 and 4 are not indicated in the original texts.

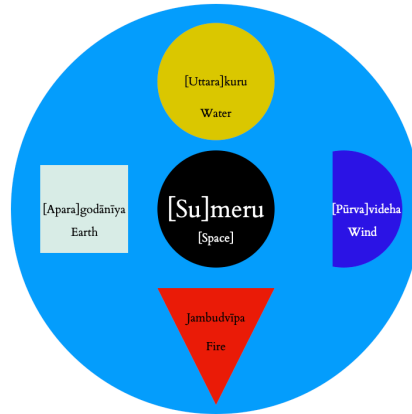
3) *Ādikarmapradīpa*, p. 20



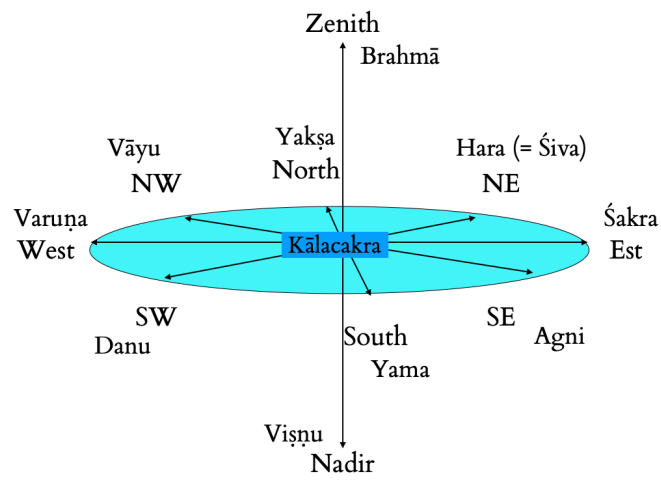
4) *Sūtaka*, p. 355



5) *Laghukālacakratāntra* 1.17



6) *Laghukālacakratāntra* 1.21



References

1. Primary Sources

Aṅguttaranikāya

The Aṅguttara-Nikāya. Vols. I–II ed. by Richard Morris, Vols. III–V ed. by E. Hardy. Pali Text Society, London 1885, 1888, 1896, 1899, 1900: Oxford University Press.

Abhidharmakośa and *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* by Vasubandhu

Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Ācārya Vasubandhu with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra. Critically ed. by Dwārikādās Śāstrī. Bauddha Bharati Series 5–7, 9. Varanasi 1987: Bauddha Bharati.

Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu. Deciphered & Edited by Prahlad Pradhan, Revised with Introduction & Indices by Aruna Haldar. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 8. Patna 1975 2nd ed. [1st ed. 1967]: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.

Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu. Chapter IX: Ātmavāda-pratiśedha, ed. by Jong Cheol LEE (李鐘徹) with critical notes by the late Prof. Yasunori EJIMA (江島恵教). Bibliotheca Indologica et Buddhologica 11. Tokyo 2005: The Sankibo Press.

Abhidharmadīpavibhāṣaprabhāvṛtti by Īśvara

Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣaprabhāṛitti [sic], ed. by Padmanabh S. Jaini. Patna 1959: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.

Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā by Saṅghatrāta (chapter 1)

F. Sferra, 'Pudgalo 'vācyah. Apropos of a Recently Rediscovered Sanskrit Manuscript of the Saṃmitīyas. Critical Edition of the First Chapter of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* by Saṅghatrāta.' In Vincent Tournier, Vincent Eltschinger, Marta Sernesi (eds.), *Archaeologies of the Written: Indian, Tibetan, and Buddhist Studies in Honour of*

Cristina Scherrer-Schaub. Series Minor 89. Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo, Napoli 2020, pp. 647–710: Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale.”

Abhidhānottaratantra

Abhidhānottara-tantra. A Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal. Śata-Piṭaka Series. Indo-Asian Literatures 263. New Delhi 1981.

Abhisamayālaṅkāra by Haribhadra

Abhisamayālaṅkāra’ālokā Prajñāpāramitāvyaḅhyā (Commentary on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā) by Haribhadra together with the text commented on, ed. by Wogihara Unrai (荻原雲来). Tōyō Bunko Publications Series D, vol. 2. Tokyo 1932–1935: The Tōyō Bunko.

Abhisambodhikrama (a.k.a. *Paramarahasyasukhābhisambodhikrama*) by Nāgārjuna

Ed. in *Pañcakrama*, ed. Mimaki and Tomabechi, pp. 41–48; ed. Tripathi, pp. 65–70.

Amanasikāradhāra by Advayavajra

Ed. in *Advayavajrasaṅgraha* by Haraprasad Shastri, Gaekwad’s Oriental Series 40. Baroda: Oriental Institute, pp. 65–67.

Ed. in Mathes 2015: 489–497.

Amarakośa by Amarasimha

Amarakośa, with the commentary of Maheśvara. Enlarged by Raghunath Shastri Talekar, Revised, Enlarged, and Improved from Chintamani Shastri Thatte’s Edition of 1882, by Vamanacharya Jhalakikar, Under the Superintendence of Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Government Central Book Depôt. Bombay 1896 [several reprints].

Amṛtakaṅikā by Ravisrijñāna

C Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 1108 (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01108/1>).

- E *Amṛtakaṇikā by Raviśrījñāna and Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha by Vibhūticandra: Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti with Amṛtakaṇikā-tippaṇī by Bhikṣu Raviśrījñāna and Amṛtakaṇikoddyota-nibandha of Vibhūticandra.* Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica 30. Sarnath-Varanasi 1994: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.
- L London, Royal Asiatic Society, Hodgson Collection MS No. 35 (<https://royalasiaticcollections.org/ras-hodgson-ms-35-namasamgititippani-amrtakanika/>).
- Tib. Tibetan tr. by Nor bu dpal ye śes, Ñi ma'i dbaṅ po'i 'od zer and Chos rje dpal, 'Phags pa mtshan yaṅ dag par brjod pa'i mdor bśad bdud rtsi'i thigs pa. Ōta. 2111, Peking edition, bsTan 'gyur, rGyud 'grel, vol. CA, fols. 44v8–115v6.

Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha by Vibhūticandra

See *Amṛtakaṇikā* by Raviśrījñāna E.

Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā

Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā with Haribhadra's Commentary Called Āloka, ed. by P.L. Vaidya. Darbhanga 1960: The Mithila Institute.

See also *Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā* by Haribhadra.

Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana by Vīryaśrīdatta

The Arthaviniścaya-sūtra & Its Commentary (Nibandhana) (Written by Bhikṣu Vīryaśrīdatta of Śrī-Nālandāvihāra), ed. by N.H. Samtani. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 13. Patna 1971: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha by Vāgbhaṭa

Śrīmad Vṛddhavāgbhaṭaviracitaḥ Aṣṭāṅgasamgrahaḥ: Induvyākhyāsaḥ, ed. by Ananta Dāmodara Āṭhavale. Pune 1980: Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam.

Ādikarmapradīpa by Anupamavajra

Hisao TAKAHASHI 高橋尚夫, 「Ādikarmapradīpa 梵語校訂—東京大学写本による—」 [Ādikarmapradīpa bonbun kōtei—

Tōkyō daigaku shahon ni yoru' = 'A Sanskrit edition of the *Ādikarmapradīpa* on the basis of the manuscript preserved in Tōkyō University']. In インド学密教学研究 : 宮坂宥勝博士古稀記念論文集 [*Indogaku Mikkyōgaku Kenkyū: Miyasaka Yūshō Hakase koki kinen ronbunshū = Indian and Esoteric Buddhist Studies: Essays in Honour of Dr. Y. Miyasaka on His Seventieth Birthday*]. Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1993, Vol. 2, pp. 129–156(L).

Itiuttaka Aṭṭhakathā by Dhammapāla

The Paramatthadīpanī Itiuttaka-Aṭṭhakathā, ed. by Mithileshwar Prasad. Nālandā (Bihar) 1975: Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

Kalparājamahātantra

Photographs of a manuscript kept in Rome, Tucci's Collection, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS 3.7.47 (FGT VI 263) (see Sferra 2008: 65).

Kubjikāmatatantra

The Kubjikāmatatantra. Kulālikāmnāya Version, ed. by T. Goudriaan and J. A. Schoterman. *Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina* 30. Leiden 1988: Brill.

Kṛṣṇayamāritantra

Kṛṣṇayamāritantram, with Ratnāvalīpañjikā of Kumāracandra, ed. by S. Rinpoche and V. Dvivedī. Rare Buddhist Text Series 9. Sarnath, Varanasi 1992: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Kṛṣṇayamāripañjikā by Kumāracandra

See *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*.

Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā by Kuladatta

Kuladatta's Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translations of Selected Sections by Ryugen Tanemura. Groningen Oriental Studies 19. Groningen 2004.

Kriyāsamuccaya (a.k.a. *Acaryakriyasamuccaya*) by Jagaddarpaṇa

Kriyā-Samuccaya. A Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal Containing a Collection of Tantric Ritual by Jagaddarpaṇa, Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra from the Collection of Prof. Raghuvira. Saṭa-Piṭaka Series 237. New Delhi 1977.

Guṇabharāṇī by Raviśrījñāna

See *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga (First)* by Anupamarakṣita.

Guṇavatī (Mahāmāyātantraṭikā) by Ratnākaraśānti

Mahāmāyātantra with Guṇavatī by Ratnākaraśānti, ed. by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabh Dwivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series 10. Sarnath, Varanasi 1992: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Guhyasamājatantra (a.k.a. *Sarvatathāgatakāyavākṣittarahasyaguhyasamāja nāma mahākālparāja*)

Guhyasamāja Tantra or Tathāgataguhyaka, ed. by S. Bagchi. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 9. Darbhanga 1965: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning.

The Guhyasamāja Tantra: A New Critical Edition, ed. Matsunaga Yūkei. Osaka 1978.

P Tib. trans. by *Śraddhākaravarman and Rin chen bzañ po, *De bzin gśeḡs pa thams cad kyi sku gsuñ thugs kyi gsañ chen gsañ ba 'dus pa zes bya ba brtag pa'i rgyal po chen po*. Ōta. 81, Peking edition, bKa' 'gyur, rGyud, vol. CA, fols. 95v5–167r4.

Guhyasiddhi by Padmavajra

Ed. in *Guhyādi-Aṣṭasiddhi-Saṅgraha*, by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabh Dwivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series 1. Sarnath, Varanasi 1987: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (Skt., pp. 1–62; Tib., pp. 1–107).

Gūḍhapadā by *Advayavajra (Advayavakra/Advayacakra)

London, Royal Asiatic Society, MS Hodgson 34.

Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā

The Gheranda Samhita: The Original Sanskrit and an English Translation, ed. by James Mallinson. Woodstock, NY, 2004: YogaVidya.com.

Cakrasaṃvaratantra (a.k.a. *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, *Laghvabhīdhāna*, etc.)

The Cakrasaṃvara Tantra (The Discourse of Śrī Heruka): Editions of the Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts, ed. by David B. Gray. Treasury of the Buddhist Sciences Tengyur Translation Initiative Associated Texts CK 393 (Toh. 368). The American Institute of Buddhist Studies, Columbia University Center for Buddhist Studies, Tibet House US, New York 2012.

Śrīherukābhīdhānam Cakrasaṃvaratantram with the Vivṛti Commentary of Bhavabhaṭṭa, 2 vols., ed. by Janardan Shastri Pandey. Rare Buddhist Text Series 26. Sarnath, Varanasi 2002: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā by Jayabhadra

- E SUGIKI Tsunehiko 2001 『チャクラサンヴァラタントラ』の成立段階について: および - Jayabhadra 作 *Śrīcakrasaṃvarapañjikā* 校訂梵本 [‘On the making of *Śrīcakrasaṃvaratantra*: with a critical Sanskrit text of Jayabhadra’s *Śrīcakrasaṃvarapañjikā*’]. *The Chisan Gakuho* 50: 91–141.
- K1 Kathmandu, National Archives MS 5–365 vi. Bauddhatantra 18ka = NGMPP B 30/41.
- K2 Kathmandu, National Archives MS 5–212 vi. Bauddhatantra 18kha = NGMPP B 30/43.

Caturmudrānvaya by Nāgārjuna

Ed. in *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* by Haraprasad Shastri, Gaekwad’s Oriental Series 40. Baroda: Oriental Institute, pp. 32–35.

Ed. in Mathes 2015: 389–402.

Carakasamhitā by Agniveśa

The Charakasamhitā of Agniveśa revised by Charaka and Dṛidhabala with the Āyurveda-Dīpikā Commentary of Chakrapāṇidatta, ed. by Jādavji Trikamji Āchcārya. Bombay 1941: Nirṇaya Sāgara Press [4th ed. New Delhi 1981: Munshiram Manoharlal].

Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa by Āryadeva

See Isaacson & Sferra, forthcoming-a.

Jñānasiddhi by Indrabhūti

Ed. in *Guhyādi-Aṣṭasiddhi-Saṃgraha* by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabh Dwivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series 1, Sarnath, Varanasi 1987 (Skt., pp. 89–157; Tib., pp. 147–244): Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Jñānālokālaṅkārasūtra (a.k.a. *Sarvabuddhaviśayāvātārājñānālokālaṅkāra*)

Takayasu Kimura (木村高尉), Nobuo Otsuka (大塚伸夫), Hideaki Kimura (木村秀明), Hisao Takahashi (高橋尚夫), 「梵語校訂 『智光明莊嚴經』」 [Bonbun kōtei 『Chikōmyōshōgongyō』] = *The Sanskrit Text of the Sarvabuddhaviśayāvātārājñānālokālaṅkāra nāma mahāyānasūtra*. In: 空海の思想と文化 [Kūkai no shisō to bunka] = *Kōbōdaishi Kūkai's Thought and Culture. In honour of Litt. D. Kichō ONOZUKA on his seventieth birthday*, edited by the publishing committee of the felicitation volume for Litt. D. Kichō ONOZUKA. Tōkyō 2004, pp. 89 [508]–1 [569].

See also *Jñānālokālaṅkāra. Transliterated Sanskrit Text Collated with Tibetan and Chinese Translations*, ed. by Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature. Taishō University, Tōkyō 2004: The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism.

Jñānodayatantra

Jñānodaya Tantram, ed. by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabh Dwivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series 2. Sarnath, Varanasi 1988: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Dākārṇavatāntra

Kathmandu, National Archives MS 3-447 = NGMPP B 113/3.

Trivajraratnāvalīmālikā nāma Hevajradākinījālasaṃvarapañjikā by Kelikuliśa

Photographs of a manuscript originally kept in Nor monastery (Tibet): (1) Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, No. Xc14_36 (Sāṅkrtyāyana's Collection); (2) Rome, Tucci's Collection, Biblioteca Nazionale, envelope 25/CC, MT 025.1, 026.2–6 (listed as MS 3.1.28 and 3.2.7 in Sferra 2008: 45, 50, 70).

Nāmasaṅgīti

See *Amṛtakanikā* and Wayman 1985.

Niśvāsamukhatattovasaṃhitā

Niśvāsamukhatattovasaṃhitā. A Preface to the Earliest Surviving Śaiva Tantra (on non-Tantric Śaivism at the Dawn of the Mantramārga). Critical Edition, with Introduction & Annotated Translation and an Appendix Containing Śivadharmasaṅgraha 5–9, ed. by Nirajan Kafle with a foreword by Dominic Goodall. Collection Indologie 145, Early Tantra Series 6. Pondichéry 2020: Institut Français de Pondichéry / École Française d'Extrême-Orient / Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg.

Netratāntra

The Netra Tantra with Commentary by Kṣemarāja, ed. by Madhusūdan Kaul Shāstrī, 2 vols. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 46, 61. Bombay 1926, 1939: Tatva Vivechaka Press.

Prajñāpanāsūtravivṛtti by Haribhadrasūri

Yākinīmahattarāsūnu-Ācāryavaryaśrīharibhadrasūrivivṛttaṃ Śrīśyāmācāryavareṇyaviracitam *Prajñāpanāsūtram (bhāgaḥ-1)*, Śrījinaśāsana Ārādhanā Ṭraṣṭa, Mumbai, 2537 (Vīrasaṃvat).

Pañcakrama by Nāgārjuna

Nāgārjuna. Pañcakrama. Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts Critically Edited with Verse Index and Facsimile Edition of the Sanskrit Manuscripts, by Mimaki Katsumi (御牧克己) and Tomabechi Toru (苦米地等流), *Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum* 8, Tokyo 1994: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for Unesco.

Piṇḍikrama and Pañcakrama of Ācārya Nāgārjuna, ed. by Ram Shankar Tripathi. *Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series* 25. Sarnath, Varanasi 2001: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa by Advayavajra

Ed. in *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* by Haraprasad Shastri. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 40. Baroda: Oriental Institute, pp. 23–27.

Ed. in 「アドヴァヤヴァジュラ著作集：梵文テキスト・和訳」 [‘Advayavajra chosakushū : bonbun tekisuto · wayaku’ = ‘*Advayavajrasaṃgraha* – New Critical Edition with Japanese translation’], ed. by 密教聖典研究会 [Mikkyō seiten kenkyūkai = Study Group on Sacred Tantric Texts]. 大正大学総合佛教研究所年報 [Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo Nenpō] / *Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taishō University* 10 (March 1988): 231 [1]–178 [57], pp. 189 [46]–178 [57].

Ed. in Mathes 2015: 371–384.

Paramārthasaṅgraha by Nāropā

See *Sekoddeśatikā*.

Paramārthasevā by Puṇḍarīka

The Paramārthasevā by Puṇḍarīka. Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text and of the Canonical Tibetan translation by Francesco Sferra, STTAR, Beijing: CTTC / Austrian Academy of Sciences, forthcoming.

Piṇḍīkramasādhana by Nāgārjuna

Piṇḍīkrama and Pañcakrama of Ācārya Nāgārjuna, ed. by Ram Shankar Tripathi. Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 25. Sarnath, Varanasi 2001: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Prajñopāyavinīscayasiddhi by Anaṅgavajra

Ed. in *Guhyādi-Aṣṭasiddhi-Saṅgraha*, by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabh Dwivedi, Rare Buddhist Text Series 1. Sarnath, Varanasi 1987: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, pp. 67–87.

Pradīpoddyotana (a.k.a. *Ṣaṭkoṭivyaḥkhyā*) by Candrakīrti

Guhyasamājapradīpodyotanaṭikā Ṣaṭkoṭivyaḥkhyā, ed. by Chintaharan Chakravarti. Tibetan Sanskrit Work Series 25. Patna 1984: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.

“*Guhyasamājapradīpodyotanaṭikā Ṣaṭkoṭivyaḥkhyā* of Ācārya Candrakīrti, Chapters I–II,” name of editor(s) not stated. *Dhīh* 48 (2009): 119–156.

“*Guhyasamājapradīpodyotanaṭikā Ṣaṭkoṭivyaḥkhyā* of Ācārya Candrakīrti, Chapters III–VI,” name of editor(s) not stated. *Dhīh* 49 (2010): 105–136.

Bṛhatsaṃhitā by Varāhamihira

Bṛhat Saṃhitā by Varāhamihirācārya with the Commentary of Bhattotpala, ed. by Avadha Vihārī Tripāthī. Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, 2 vols. Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthamālā 97. Varanasi 1968: Prayag.

Brahmayāmalatantra

The *Brahmayāmalatantra of Picumata*, vol. II: *The Religious Observances and Sexual Rituals of the Tantric Practitioner: Chapters 3, 21, and 45. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation* by Csaba Kiss. Collection Indologie 130 / Early Tantra Series 3. Pondicherry - Hamburg 2015: Institut Français d’Indologie / École française d’Extrême-Orient / Asien-Afrika-Institut / Universität Hamburg.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa

Bhaviṣya Mahāpurāṇa, saṭippanī mūlamātra, ed. by Khemarāja Śrīkrṣṇadāsa. Bombay 1959: Venkatesvara Press.

Bhelasaṃhitā

Bhelasaṃhitā, ed. by V.S. Venkatasubramania Sastri and C. Raja Rajeswara Sarma. New Delhi 1977: Central Council for Research in Indian Medicine & Homoeopathy.

Majjhimanikāya

The Majjhima Nikāya. Vol. I ed. by Vilhelm Trenckner, Vols. II–III ed. by Robert Chalmers. Pali Text Society, Text Series Nos. 60–62. London 1888, 1896, 1899: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Mañjuśrīyamūlakalpa

The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, 3 Vols. Trivandrum 1920, 1922, 1925: Superintendent Government Press.

Matsyendrasaṃhitā

Matsyendra's Compendium (Matsyendrasaṃhitā), volume I: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of Chapters 1–13 and 55 With Analysis, by Csaba Kiss, Collection Indologie 146 / Hatha Yoga Series 1, Pondicherry 2021: Institut Français d'Indologie / École française d'Extrême-Orient.

Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya by Vasubandhu

Nagao, Gadjin M. (長尾雅人) (ed.), *Madhyāntavibhāga-bhāṣya: A Buddhist Philosophical Treatise Edited for the First Time from a Sanskrit Manuscript*. Tokyo 1964: Suzuki Research Foundation.

Manusmṛti (a.k.a. *Mānavadharmasāstra*) by Manu

Manu's Code of Law. A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-Dharmasāstra, by Patrick Olivelle with the editorial assistance of Suman Olivelle. New York 2005: Oxford University Press.

Mahābhārata

The Mahābhārata. For the First Time Critically Edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar and Shripad Krishna Belvalkar with the Co-operation of Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi *et al.* 19 vols. in 22 books. Poona 1933–1966: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Mahāmāyātāntra

See *Guṇavatī*.

Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra by Maitreyaṅgā/Asaṅga

Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṅkāra. Exposé de la doctrine du Grand Véhicule selon le système Yogācāra. Édité et traduit d'après un manuscrit rapporté du Népal par Sylvain Lévi, 2 tomes. Paris 1907: Librairie Honoré Champion, Edition.

Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkārabhāṣya by Vasubandhu

See *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*.

Muktāvalī by Ratnākaraśānti

Hevajratāntram with Muktāvalī Pañjikā of Mahāpaṇḍitācārya Ratnākaraśānti, ed. by Ram Shankar Tripathi & Thakur Sain Negi. Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 48. Sarnath 2001: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Bodhisattvabhūmi by Asaṅga

Bodhisattvabhūmiḥ [Being the XVth Section of Asaṅgapāda's Yogācārabhūmiḥ], ed. by Nalinaksha Dutt. Patna 1978 [1st ed. 1966]: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.

Brahmasūtra

The Brahmasūtrabhāṣya, Text with Foot-Notes & Variants etc. Third edition, Re-edited with Notes, Various Readings etc. by Nārāyan Rām Āchārya. Bombay 1948: Satyabhāmābāi Pāṇḍuraṅg for the Nirṇaya Sagar Press.

Yuktiṣaṣṭikā by Nāgārjuna

Yuktiṣaṣṭikavṛtti: Commentaire á la soixantaine sur le resonnement ou Du vrai enseignement de la causalité par le Maître indien Candrakīrti, ed. par Cristina Anna Scherrer-Schaub. *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 25. Bruxelles, 1991: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises.

六十如理颂: 梵藏汉合校·导读·译注 / *Yuktiṣaṣṭikākārikā. Editions of the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese Versions, with Commentary and Modern Chinese Translation*, ed. by Li Xuezhū (李学竹) and Ye Shaoyong (叶少勇). Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature, Peking University, Shanghai 2014: ZhongXi Book Company.

Yogaratanmālā nāma Hevajratantrapāñjikā by Kṛṣṇācārya (alias Kāṇha)

See *Hevajratantra*, part II, pp. 103–159.

Yoginīsañcāratantra

Yoginīsañcāratantram with Nibandha of Tathāgatarakṣita and Upadeśānusāriṇīvyākhyā of Alakakalāśa, ed. by Janardan Shastri Pandey. Rare Buddhist Texts Series 21. Sarnath, Varanasi 1998: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Ratnāvalī nāma Hevajrapāñjikā by Kamalanātha

Kathmandu, Kaiser Library MS 231 = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project reel No. C 26/4.

Rudrayāmala Uttarantra

Rudrayāmalam. Uttara-Tantram, ed. by Jīvanandavidyāsāgara, revised by Āśubodhavidyābhūṣaṇa and Nityabodhavidyāratna, Kalikātā 1937.

Laghukālacakrantra

See *Vimalaprabhā*.

Laghutantraṭīkā by Vajrapāṇi

The Laghutantraṭīkā by Vajrapāṇi, ed. by Claudio Cicuzza. Serie Orientale Roma LXXXVI. Rome 2001: Istituto Italiano

per l’Africa e l’Oriente.

Liṅgapurāṇa

Śrī-Vyāsa-maharṣiproktaṃ Śrī-Liṅgamahāpurāṇa, with the Sanskrit Commentary Śivatoṣiṇī by Gaṇeśa Nātu, ed. by Gaṅgāviṣṇu (son of Kṛṣṇadāsa), Bombay V.S. 1981 [= AD 1924]: Venkatesvara Press [reprinted with a Ślokānukramaṇī by Nāgaśaraṇa Siṃha, Delhi 1989 (2nd ed. 1996): Nag Publishers].

**Vajracchedikāṭīkā* by Kamalaśīla

P Tib. trans. by Ye śes sde, *Mañjuśrī, and *Jinamitra, *Śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa’i rgya cher ’grel pa (*Prajñāpāramitāvajracchedikāṭīkā)*. Ōta. 5216, Peking edition, bsTan ’gyur, mDo ’grel, vol. MA, fols. 209^{v4}–285^{v5}.

See also *Prajñāpāramitāvajracchedikāsūtram with Prajñāpāramitāvajracchedikāṭīkā of Ācārya Kamalaśīla*. Critically edited the Tibetan version and Restored into Sanskrit with Introduction and Indexes by Pema Tenzin. Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 29. Sarnath, Varanasi 1994: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Vajradākamahātantra

Sugiki Tsunehiko, “A Critical Study of The *Vajradākamahātantrarāja* (I). Chapter. 1 and 42.” *The Chisan Gakuho. Journal of Chisan Studies* 65 (March 2002): 81–115.

Vajrāmṛtatāntra

Partial edition in Francesco Sferra, “A Fragment of the *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra*: A Critical Edition of the Leaves Contained in Cambridge UL Or.158.1.” In Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo and Camillo Alessio Formigatti (eds.), *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages. Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations*. Studies in Manuscript Cultures 13. Berlin 2017: Walter de Gruyter & Co., pp. 409-448.

Vākyapadīya by Bhartṛhari

Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari with the Commentaries Vṛtti and Paddhati of Vṛṣabhadeva, Kāṇḍa I, ed. by K.A. Subramania Iyer. Deccan College Monograph Series 32. Pune 1995.

Vimalaprabhā by Puṇḍarīka

Vimalaprabhāṭikā of Kalkin Śrīpuṇḍarīka on Śrīlaghukālacakratantrarāja by Śrīmañjuśrīyaśas, Vol. 1 [paṭalas 1-2], ed. by Jagannatha Upadhyaya. Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 11. Sarnath, Varanasi 1986: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Vimalaprabhāṭikā of Kalkin Śrīpuṇḍarīka on Śrīlaghukālacakratantrarāja by Śrīmañjuśrīyaśas, Vol. 2 [paṭalas 3-4]. Critically Edited & Annotated with Notes by Vrajavallabh Dwivedi and Shrikant S. Bahulkar. Rare Buddhist Text Series 12. Sarnath, Varanasi 1994: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Vimalaprabhāṭikā of Kalkin Śrīpuṇḍarīka on Śrīlaghukālacakratantrarāja by Śrīmañjuśrīyaśas, Vol. 3 [paṭala 5]. Critically Edited & Annotated with Notes by Vrajavallabh Dwivedi and Shrikant S. Bahulkar. Rare Buddhist Text Series 13, Sarnath, Varanasi 1994: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Vaiśeṣikasūtra by Kaṇāda

Vaiśeṣikasūtra of Kaṇāda with the Commentary of Candrānanda, critically ed. by Muni Jambuvijaya. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 136. Baroda 1982: Oriental Institute.

Ṣaḍaṅgayoga (First) by Anupamarakṣita

The Ṣaḍaṅgayoga by Anupamarakṣita with Raviśrījñāna's Guṇabharaṇī nāma Ṣaḍaṅgayogaṭippaṇī. Text and Annotated Translation, ed. by F. Sferra, Serie Orientale Roma LXXXV. Roma 2000: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.

Samvarodayatantra

Shinichi Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra: Selected Chapters*. Tokyo 1974: Hokuseido Press.

Saṅghabhedavastu

The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu. Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, Part I, ed. by Raniero Gnoli, Serie Orientale Roma XLIX, 1. Roma 1977: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Samājottara (= Guhyasamājantra 18)

See *Guhyasamājantra*.

Samputatantra

“The Samputa-tantra: Sanskrit and Tibetan Versions of Chapter Two.” Ed. by T. Skorupski in *The Buddhist Forum*, vol. VI, Tring UK, 2001, pp. 223–269.

Yang dag par sbyor ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud chen po. The Foundation of All Tantras, the Great Sovereign Compendium “Emergence from Samputa.” Samputodbhavasarovatantranidāna-mahākālparājāḥ. Translated by the Dharmachakra Translation Committee under the patronage and supervision of 84000: Translating the Words of the Buddha, ed. and trans. by Wiesiek Mical with the cooperation of James Gentry. First published 2020 (Current version v 1.11.15 (2022): <https://read.84000.-co/translation/toh381.html>).

Samputodbhavantra

See *Samputatantra*.

Sarvathāgatattvasaṅgraha

Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha nāma Mahāyāna-sūtra. A critical edition based on a Sanskrit manuscript and Chinese and Tibetan translations, ed. by Isshi Yamada, Śata-Piṭaka Series. Indo-Asian Literatures 262. New Delhi 1981.

Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra

The Sarvadurgatiparisodhana Tantra, Elimination of All Destinies, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with Introduction, English Translation and Notes, ed. by Tadeusz Skorupski. Delhi 1983.

Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasamvaratantra

Śrīsarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasamvaranāmatantram, name of editor(s) not stated, ed. in Dhīḥ 58 (2018): 141–201.

Sarvarahasyatantra

See Isaacson & Sferra, forthcoming-b.

Siddhaikavīramahātantra

Siddhaikavīramahātantram, ed. by Janardan Pandey, Rare Buddhist Texts Series 20. Sarnath, Varanasi 1998: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Suśrutasamhitā by Suśruta

Suśrutasamhitā of Suśruta with the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Śrī Dalhanāchārya and the Nyāyacandrikā Pañjikā of Śrī Gayadāsāchārya on Nidānasthāna, ed. from the beginning to the 9th Adhyāya of Cikitsāsthāna by Vaidya Jādavji Trikamji Āchārya and the rest by Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya ‘Kāvyaṭīrtha,’ reprint ed., Varanasi – Delhi 1992: Chaukhambha Orientalia.

Sūtaka (a.k.a. *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*) by Āryadeva

Āryadeva’s Lamp that Integrates the Practices (Caryāmelāpakapradīpa): The Gradual Path of Vajrayāna Buddhism, According to the Esoteric Community Noble Tradition. Edited and translated with an introduction by Christian Wedemeyer. New York 2007: The American Institute of Buddhist Studies / Columbia University’s Center for Buddhist Studies / Tibet House US.

Caryāmelāpakapradīpam of Ācārya Āryadeva, ed. by Janardan Shastri Pandey, Rare Buddhist Texts Series 22, Sarnath 2000: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Sekoddeśa

See *Sekoddeśapañjikā*.

Sekoddeśaṭippaṇī by Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda

Raniero Gnoli, “La *Sekoddeśaṭippaṇī* di Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda: Il Testo Sanscrito.” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 70/1–2 (1996): 115–146.

Sekoddeśaṭikā (a.k.a. *Paramārthasaṃgraha*) by Nāropā

The Paramārthasaṃgraha by Nāropā (Sekoddeśaṭikā). Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text by Francesco Sferra and Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation by Stefania Merzagora. Serie Orientale Roma XCIX. Roma 2006: Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.

Sekoddeśapañjikā (anonymous)

The Anonymous Sekoddeśapañjikā with Its Tibetan Translation by Bu ston. Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text by Francesco Sferra. Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation by Klu mo ’tsho. STTAR, Beijing: CTTC / Austrian Academy of Sciences, forthcoming.

Stūpalakṣaṇakārikāvivecana

Gustav Roth: “Edition of the *Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecanaṃ*, Including the *prakīrṇaka-caitya-lakṣaṇaṃ*.” In Bhikkhu T. Dhammaratana and Bhikkhu Pāsādika (eds.), *Dharmadūta. Mélanges offerts au Vénérable Thich Huyên-Vi à l’occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*. Paris 1997, pp. 205–231 [Reprint in *Stupa: Cult and Symbolism*. Contributions by †G. Roth, F.K. Ehrhard, K. Tanaka, Lokesh Chandra. Śata-piṭaka Series 624. New Delhi 2009, pp. 34–59].

Svacchandatantra

The Svacchanda Tantra. With Commentary by Kshemarāja, 6 vols., ed. by Madhusūdan Kaul Shāstrī. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies Nos. 31, 38, 44, 48, 51 (vol. 5 pt. A), 53 (vol. 5 pt. B), 56. The Research Department of Jammu and Kashmir State, Bombay 1921–1935: Nirnaya Sagar Press.

Svādhiṣṭhānakrama by Nāgārjuna

Ed. in *Pañcakrama*, ed. Mimaki and Tomabechi, pp. 31–39; ed. Tripathi, pp. 57–63.

Hevajratantra

The Hevajra Tantra. A Critical Study, Part I, Introduction and Translation; Part II, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts, ed. by David L. Snellgrove. London Oriental Series 6. London 1959.

Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā (ak.a. *Ṣaṭsāhasrikāhevajraṭīkā*) by Vajragarbha

- D Tib. trans. by *Dānaśīla, 'Bro Señ dkar Śākya 'od, *Kye'i rdo rje bsdus pa'i don gyi rgya cher 'grel pa*, Tōh. 1180, sDe dge, bsTan 'gyur, rGyud vol. KA, fols. 1v1–126r7.
- E *Ṣaṭ-Sāhasrikā-Hevajraṭīkā. A Critical Edition*, ed. by Malati J. Shendge, Delhi 2004: Pratibha Prakashan.
- K^K Kathmandu, Kaiser Library, MS 128 = NGMPP Mf C14/6.
- K^N Kathmandu, National Archives, MS 3–693, vi. 230, *Bauddhatantra* 93 = NGMPP A1267/6.
- Ñ Photographs of a manuscript originally kept in Nor monastery (Tibet): 1) Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, No. Xc14_37 (Sāṅkrṭyāyana's Collection); 2) Rome, Tucci's Collection, Biblioteca Nazionale, envelope 22/S, MT 049.1–2.

2. Secondary Sources

- Allon, Mark. 2021. *The Composition and Transmission of Early Buddhist Texts with Specific Reference to Sūtras*. Hamburg Buddhist Studies 17. Bochum-Freiburg: Numata Center for Buddhist Studies.
- Almogi, Orna. 2020. *Authenticity and Authentication. Glimpses behind the Scenes of the Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon*. Indian and Tibetan Studies 9. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.
- Anālayo, Bhikkhu. 2014. "The Brahmajāla and the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition." *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2013*, vol. xvii: 41–59.
- Bang Junglan. 2019. "The Opening Passages of Bhavabhaṭṭa's Commentary (*Vivṛti*) on the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*: Remarks on his elaboration of the preamble." 大正大学総合佛教研究所年報 [*Annual Report of the Institute of Comprehensive Buddhist Studies, Taishō University*] 41: 139–164.
- Bentor, Yael. 2010. "The Convergence of Theoretical and Practical Concerns in a Single Verse of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*." In José Cabezón (ed.), *Tibetan Ritual*, New York: Oxford University Press, 89–102.
- Brough, John. 1950. "Thus Have I Heard...." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 13.2: 416–426.
- Freschi, Elisa. 2012. "Proposals for the Study of Quotations in Indian Philosophical Texts." *Religions in South Asia* 6.2: 161–189.
- . 2015. "The Reuse of Texts in Indian Philosophy: Introduction." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 43: 85–108.
- Freschi, Elisa & Philipp A. Maas (eds.). 2017. *Adaptive Reuse. Aspects of Creativity in South Asian Cultural History*. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Abhandlungen für die

Kunde des Morgenlandes 101. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Galloway, Brian. 1991. "Thus Have I Heard: At One Time...." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 34.2: 87–104.

Isaacson, Harunaga. 2010. "Observations on the Development of the Ritual of Initiation (*abhiṣeka*) in the Higher Buddhist Tantric Systems." In Astrid Zotter and Christof Zotter (eds.), *Hindu and Buddhist Initiations in India and Nepal*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 261–279.

———. 2021. "A Critical Edition of Ratnākaraśānti's *Muktāvali Hevajrapañjikā*: Commentary on *Hevajratāntra* I.i.1–12." In Volker Caumanns, Jörg Heimbels, Kazuo Kano, Alexander Schiller (eds.), *Gateways to Tibetan Studies: A Collection of Essays in Honour of David P. Jackson on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*. *Indian and Tibetan Studies* 12.1. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg, vol. 1: 461–507.

Isaacson, Harunaga & Francesco Sferra. 2014. *The Sekanirdeśa of Maitreyaṇātha (Advayavajra) with the Sekanirdeśapañjikā of Rāmapāla. Critical Edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with English Translation and Reproductions of the MSS*. With Contributions by Klaus-Dieter Mathes and Marco Passavanti. Manuscripta Buddhica Series 2 / Serie Orientale Roma 107. Napoli: Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" / Universität Hamburg.

———. forthcoming-a. *The Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa by Āryadeva. Critical Edition and Translation*. STTAR, Beijing – Vienna: China Tibetology Research Center / Austrian Academy of Sciences.

———. forthcoming-b. *The Sarvarahasyanibandha by Ratnākaraśānti. Critical Edition and Translation*. Manuscripta Buddhica Series. Napoli: Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" / Universität Hamburg.

- Kirfel, Willibald. 1920. *Die Kosmographie der Inder: nach den Quellen dargestellt*. Bonn – Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder.
- Huntington, Eric. 2018. *Creating the Universe. Depictions of the Cosmos in Himalayan Buddhism*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Mathes, Klaus-Dieter. 2015. A Fine Blend of Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka. Maitrīpa’s Collection of Texts on Non-conceptual Realization (Amanasikāra). Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungberichte, 869. Band. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 90. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Newman, John R. 1987. *The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra*. PhD dissertation. The University of Wisconsin–Madison.
- . 1991. “A Brief History of the Kalachakra.” In B. Simon (ed.), *The Wheel of Time: The Kalachakra in Context*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 51–90 [1st ed. Madison, Wisconsin, 1985: Deer Park Books].
- . 2000. “Vajrayoga in the Kālacakra Tantra.” In David Gordon White (ed.), *Tantra in Practice*. Princeton Readings in Religions. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 587–594.
- Okano Kiyoshi. 1998. *Sarvarakṣitas Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā. Ein Sanskrit-Kāvya über die Kosmologie der Sāṃmitīya-Schule des Hīnayāna-Buddhismus*. Tohoku-Indo-Tibetto-Kenkyūsho-Kamkokai Monograph Series I. Sendai.
- Orofino, Giacomella. 1994. “Divination with Mirrors: Observations on a Simile Found in the Kālacakra Literature.” In Per Kværne (ed.), *Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies 1992*. Oslo: Institute for the Comparative Research in Human Culture, vol. 2: 612–627.
- Roth, Gustav. 2009. “Remarks on the *Stūpa-Lakṣaṇa-Kārikā-Vivecana*.” In *Stupa: Cult and Symbolism*. Contributions by

†G. Roth, F.K. Ehrhard, K. Tanaka, Lokesh Chandra. Śata-
piṭaka Series 624. New Delhi, 60–71.

- Sferra, Francesco. 2005. “Constructing the Wheel of Time. Strategies for Establishing a Tradition.” In Federico Squarcini (ed.), *Boundaries, Dynamics and Construction of Traditions in South Asia*. Firenze and New Delhi: Firenze University Press and Munshiram Manoharlal, 253–285.
- . 2007. “Atammayatā in the Pāli Nikāyas.” *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 67.1–4: 157–169.
- . 2008. “Sanskrit Manuscripts and Photos of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci’s Collection.” In F. Sferra (ed.), *Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci’s Collection. Part I. Serie Orientale Roma CIV, Manuscripta Buddhica Series 1*. Rome: IsIAO, 15–78.
- . 2009. “The Elucidation of True Reality. The Kālacakra Commentary by Vajragrabha on the *Tattoapaṭala* of the *Hevajratantra*.” In Edward A. Arnold (ed.), *As Long as Space Endures: Essays on the Kalachakra Tantra in Honor of H.H. the Dalai Lama*. With a foreword by Robert A.F. Thurman. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 93–126.
- . 2011. “Tecniche di composizione del canone pāli. Trasmissione e costruzione del sapere nel buddhismo Theravāda.” In Amneris Roselli & Roberto Velardi (eds.), *L’insegnamento delle technai nelle culture antiche. Atti del Convegno, Ercolano 23-24 marzo 2009*. Pisa-Roma 2010 (AION Filol, 2011, Quad. 15), 95–107.
- . 2020. “Excerpts from the *Amṛtadhārā* by Śrībhānu: An unpublished commentary on the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* kept in the TAR.” In Birgit Kellner, Xuezhong Li, Jowita Kramer (eds.), *Sanskrit manuscripts in China III. Proceedings of a panel at the 2016 Beijing International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, August 1 to 4*. China Tibetology Research Centre, Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 373–424.

- Silk, Jonathan. 1989. "A Note on the Opening Formula of Buddhist *Sūtras*." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 12.1: 158–163.
- Szántó, Péter-Dániel. 2016. "Before a Critical Edition of the *Samputa*." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 45: 397–422.
- . 2019. "Minor Vajrayāna Texts V: The *Gaṇacakra*vidhi Attributed to Ratnākaraśānti." In Nina Mirnig, Marion Rastelli, Vincent Eltschinger (eds.), *Tantric Communities in Context*. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 99. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 275–314.
- Tatz, Mark. 1997. "Thus I Have Heard: At One Time." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 40.2: 117–118.
- Timm, Jeffrey R. (ed.). 1992. *Texts in Context. Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Tola, Fernando & Carmen Dragonetti. 1999. "Ekaṃ Samayam." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 42.1: 53–55.
- Tomabechi Tōru. 1994. "La formation textuelle du *Pañcakrama*." *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 48.4: 1383–1387.
- Tribe, Anthony. 2016. *Tantric Buddhist Practice in India: Vilāsavajra's Commentary on the Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti. A critical edition and annotated translation of chapters 1–5 with introductions*. Routledge Studies in Tantric Traditions. London & New York: Routledge.
- Tsuda, Shinichi. 1982. "Vajrayoṣidbhageṣu Vījahāra: Historical Survey from the Beginnings to the Culmination of Tantric Buddhism." In L.A. Hercus *et al.* (eds.), *Indological and Buddhist Studies Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on His Sixtieth Birthday*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 595–616.
- Vasudeva, Somadeva. 2014. "Prasenā, Prasīnā & Prasannā: The Evidence of the *Niśvāsaguhya* and the *Tantrasadbhāva*." *Cracow Indological Studies* 16: 369–390.

- Wallace, Vesna A. 2010. *The Kālacakratāntra: The Chapter on Sādhana together with the Vimalaprabhā*. Tanjur Translation Initiative, Treasury of Buddhist Sciences Series. New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies at Columbia University, co-published with Columbia University's Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House.
- Wayman, Alex. 1977. *Yoga of the Guhyasamajatantra: The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses, A Buddhist Tantra Commentary*. Buddhist Tradition Series 17. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- . 1985. *Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī. The Mañjuśrī-Nāma-Saṃgīti. Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts. Translated, with Annotation & Introduction*. Boston & London: Shambhala.
- Yiannopoulos, Alexander. 2017. "Tantric Yogācāra: Reflexive Awareness and the Four Stages in Ratnākaraśānti's Epistemological Works." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 40: 239–267.

Studies in the Transmission of the *Hevajratantra* (I)*

Harunaga Isaacson (Universität Hamburg)

This publication expands, though only rather slightly, on one section of the presentation (i.e. “A Tantra’s Dependent Origination: The Sources and Transformations of the *Hevajratantra*”) I gave at the Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons conference convened by Orna Almogi and Chizuko Yoshimizu in Tokyo, September 2018. A more detailed discussion of the subjects treated in other sections of that presentation (including: the textual sources which have been drawn on in the composition of the *Hevajratantra*, the *mūlatantra* of the *Hevajratantra*, and the ways in which the scripture itself can be seen as an auto-commentary) will have to be postponed till (hopefully) another occasion. What is focused on here mainly concerns the transmission of the *Hevajratantra*. It is therefore more directly related to the evolution of the text than to its origin. But origin and evolution I see as being in any case intertwined, so that, in the case of scriptures as well as of anything else (textual, material, or other) a better understanding of origin requires a better understanding of evolution.

There are arguably no Indian Buddhist tantric scriptures which have been studied as extensively and intensively in modern scholarship as the *Hevajratantra*. In spite of this, even the best existing editions leave

* I remain indebted to the institutions and individuals who, decades ago already, made it possible for me to consult several of the most important Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Hevajratantra* and its commentaries: the National Archives of Nepal, the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Tokyo University Library, Prof. Dr. Albrecht Wezler, and Prof. Dr. Minoru Hara. I should also not neglect to state that my studies have been made easier by the fact that Cambridge University Library farsightedly has made high quality digital images of a large number of their Sanskrit manuscripts, including most of the oldest ones, freely available online. For images of the *Hevajratantra* manuscript Cambridge University Library Add. 1340, which have not (yet) been put online, I am indebted to Dr. Camillo Formigatti. I thank Ryan Conlon and Francesco Sferra for kindly reading a draft of this paper at very short notice, making several corrections and suggestions that have allowed me to improve it.

much to be desired, and the history (textual and non-textual) of this Yoginītantra remains to be investigated in greater depth. In this paper I offer some observations about the most important editions that have been published and about one of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the *tantra*, a manuscript in Cambridge University Library which should have been available to its first editor but unfortunately was not drawn on in his or any other published edition. Among its interesting features is the inclusion of three verses which have not been printed as part of the text of the *Hevajratantra* so far, but which can be shown to have been a part of the transmission of the *tantra* in multiple old witnesses.

An excellent brief survey of the state of research on the *Hevajratantra* has been given a few years ago by Péter-Dániel Szántó in an eponymous article in the first volume of *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (2015). This can safely be recommended as a first 'go-to' place for those looking for one. Szántó remarks that a critical edition of (the Sanskrit text of) the *Hevajratantra* "remains one of the great desiderata of esoteric Buddhist studies" (Szántó 2015: 334 col. 2), a point on which I believe that all serious students will agree. He refers to the edition (and translation) of 1959 by D.L. Snellgrove as "pioneering"; that of 1992 by G.W. Farrow and I. Menon as improving "slightly" on Snellgrove's work; and the two editions by R.S. Tripathi and T.S. Negi of respectively 2001 and 2006 (the former accompanied by the commentary *Muktāvalī* by Ratnākaraśānti and the latter by the commentary *Yogaratnamālā* by Kṛṣṇa or Kāṇha) as "awkwardly constituted but useful" and as achieving "some progress" towards that desideratum.¹ This brief and helpful characterization is as far as I

¹ To quote Szántó's remarks in more detail:

The *Hevajratantra* was the first *yoginītantra* to be fully edited and translated by modern scholars. D.L. Snellgrove's (1959) pioneering work was slightly improved upon by G.W. Farrow and I. Menon (1992), and some progress towards a comprehensive critical edition, which remains one of the great desiderata of esoteric Buddhist studies, has been achieved by the awkwardly constituted but useful editions of R.S. Tripathi and T.S. Negi (2001; 2006). [...] For the time being, it would seem that the text was transmitted in a fairly stable form, although signs of redaction and possibly slightly different recensions exist. (Szántó 2015: 334 col. 2.)

know the only general one that has been attempted of these four editions of the *Hevajratantra*. I shall add something to it.

The edition of the *Hevajratantra* by David Llewellyn Snellgrove, published in 1959, when the editor was, *nota bene*, not yet forty years of age,² has indeed played a most significant role in the academic study in modern times of Indian tantric Buddhism.³ Though it has been followed by other editions,⁴ it can hardly be said to have been supplanted. We may agree with Szántó that Farrow and Menon improved slightly on it; but the improvements are small in number, and they are combined with a number

The ellipsis comprises one sentence, about not an edition but a German translation. Modern translations are not a focus of consideration in this paper.

² In fact, according to the Note which follows the Preface of the first volume, and which Snellgrove records as having been written in Berkhamsted on the 28th of July, 1958, “[f]ive years have passed since I completed the editing and translating of these texts” (Snellgrove 1959: xi). If this is accurate, he had completed the work by the age of thirty-three (Snellgrove was born on June 29th, 1920). All the more reason, I should say, to be tolerant of the shortcomings that his work no doubt has (a fact of which Snellgrove shows himself sufficiently aware).

³ Snellgrove’s edition and/or translation, introduction and notes have been referred to, and often heavily relied on, in countless subsequent publications. I cannot survey here the reviews that have been published of it, but perhaps it is worth making the observation that the review which seems to make the most substantial contribution towards improving on Snellgrove’s edition is that (in Japanese) by Naoshiro Tsuji (1960). The widespread influence, both within and beyond academia, of Snellgrove’s work can also be illustrated by the numerous times that it has been reprinted (most recently, as far I know, by Orchid Press in 2010).

⁴ Apart from the editions mentioned in Szántó 2015 and commented on here, I am aware of several others published in India or Nepal. The most recent one which has come to my hand is that by the Nepali Sanskrit scholar Kashinath Nyaupane (2012). None of those I have seen appears to improve in any significant way on Snellgrove’s *editio princeps*. For all passages of which I discuss the text below, I have checked Nyaupane’s edition, confirming that it differs in none of them from Snellgrove’s.

(admittedly smaller yet) of deviations from Snellgrove which are not improvements. In one important respect their edition is less valuable to the scholar or serious student than Snellgrove's: it lacks anything like a critical apparatus.

The two most recent editions, both by the same tandem of editors, Ram Shankar Tripathi and Thakur Sain Negi, can be praised for presenting collations of many more manuscripts of the *tantra* (seven in total, all again relatively recent Nepalese paper ones) than had been consulted by earlier editors. And the manuscript readings are reported rather fully,⁵ although the negative apparatus may sometimes still leave the user somewhat uncertain exactly how the evidence is distributed. All of this is decidedly "some progress," as Szántó has called it. Nonetheless, and despite commendable industry, the improvement achieved in the constituted text is very limited.⁶

Why is this the case—why does the quality of the text as given by Tripathi and Negi improve so little on that of the text as given about half a century earlier by Snellgrove? It seems to me natural to speak of three reasons, though the second, and even the first, could also be subsumed under the third.

First, although Tripathi and Negi have, as just mentioned, newly collated several (paper) manuscripts, they appear to have consulted no old palm-leaf manuscript of the *tantra*.⁷ Secondly,

⁵ Substantive variants do seem sometimes to have gone unrecorded, however; see, e.g., footnote 38 below.

⁶ Some evidence for this claim will be discussed below; and much more can be found quite quickly and easily, it seems to me, by anyone with access to Snellgrove's edition and the editions of Tripathi and Negi.

⁷ They have used palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Hevajratāntra* commentaries they have edited. But it is worth noting in passing that I have seen no manuscripts of any commentary on the *Hevajratāntra* that gives also the text of the *tantra* itself. The same goes for the Sanskrit manuscripts that I have seen of commentaries on other Buddhist *tantras*. Francesco Sferra has informed me, however, that there is at least one partial exception: a manuscript of Yaśobhadra's (= Nāropā's?)

they have evidently not attempted to let the text of the *tantra* as they edit it agree with the commentaries edited together with it; in other words, in editing the *tantra* they have basically ignored the evidence for its wording that can be gleaned from attentive reading of those commentaries. Thirdly, and most importantly, though it is not expressly stated, the editors apparently consciously followed Snellgrove's editorial decisions in almost all places, diverging only when (presumably) they felt sure that what their predecessor had printed was an unintentional typo. And this they did even in places where their manuscripts or the commentaries that are included in the editions, or both, clearly pointed to another reading. Since, then, the best editions that we now have, the two of Tripathi and Negi, follow Snellgrove so closely, nigh slavishly, it can be said that even if Tripathi and Negi's editions were the only ones consulted by scholars of today (which is far from being the case), it would still be true that Snellgrove's editorial choices made some seventy years ago continue to have an extraordinary influence on the state of scholarship. It is therefore worth understanding those choices, and the policies which informed them, better.

Snellgrove's remarks on his policies are few but intriguing. I quote a couple of them:

A Tibetan translation of a text and a commentary, let alone five commentaries or more, is of far more value for

commentary on the *Hevajratantra*, of which a copy is kept in the library of the CTRC in Beijing. This seems to be a peculiarity perhaps more of the commentary than of this particular manuscript. The situation seems to be different, by the by, in the case of the transmission of commentaries on Śaiva *tantras*; the manuscripts of the *Netroddyota*, *Svacchandoddyota*, *Vijñānabhairavavivaraṇa*, and *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa* all give not only the texts of those commentaries but also the full text of the *tantras*. There may be some reasons to suspect, however, that in an earlier period of their transmission these Śaiva commentaries too may have usually been copied without the text of the works commented on. (I am indebted to Prof. Alexis Sanderson for information and for his comments on this point.)

understanding a work than a Sanskrit manuscript alone. It is on these translations that I have largely relied. (p. viii)

... it must be confessed that the general method has been to first ascertain the intended sense of the text and then edit the manuscripts accordingly. The one excuse for this method is that this is the most certain method of procedure, when one is dealing with manuscripts so manifestly rife with error as are the available manuscripts of the *Hevajratantra*. (p. viii)

... For ascertaining the intended sense of the text the most reliable version is the Tibetan translation. This reproduces the original text at a far earlier stage than the nineteenth-century Nepalese MSS. (p. ix)

The subjects of the strengths—and weaknesses—of the Tibetan translation, the use which Snellgrove made of it, and the use that could be made of it in a future edition of the *Hevajratantra* are certainly interesting and important ones. But my focus here is rather the Sanskrit manuscripts, about which Snellgrove sounds more than a little dismissive. The first remark just quoted might give the impression that he thought that no Sanskrit manuscript at all could ever be of nearly as much value for understanding a text (in particular a *tantra*) as a Tibetan translation of the same text and a commentary.⁸ But the other two remarks seem instead to suggest⁹ that—rather than it being an inescapable fact that no

⁸ The formulation seems to me to be not without ambiguity, but I suspect that Snellgrove meant that the combination of a Tibetan translation of a *tantra* and a Tibetan translation of a commentary on the same *tantra* is of “far more value” for understanding the *tantra* than a (any?) Sanskrit manuscript of the *tantra* alone. It might be understood to be implied, though at most only vaguely, that a Tibetan translation of a *tantra* (alone) is of as much value or more (for understanding the *tantra*) than any Sanskrit manuscript of the same *tantra* could be. All of this is, however, not exactly clear and precise.

⁹ And this may be more likely to be Snellgrove’s real opinion, though I find it hard to be certain about the matter. Again, Snellgrove’s wording leaves matters far from being precisely clear, at least to me.

Sanskrit manuscript could ever be of truly great value—it is just ‘accidentally,’¹⁰ contingently, the case that the only available manuscripts of the *Hevajratantra* are nineteenth-century Nepalese (paper) ones which are rife with error, with more than a hint of an implication that this being rife with error is causally connected with (a consequence of) their being nineteenth-century Nepalese. The further implication would then be that it is at least conceivable that if there were a considerably older manuscript available to us, it might not be rife with error, and that it then perhaps could even have as much value¹¹ (for the understanding of the text) as the Tibetan translation does, and surely much more value for the editing of the Sanskrit text than any of the manuscripts actually available, the nineteenth-century ones, have.

Now it can be granted that the text as found in the three recent Nepalese manuscripts which Snellgrove used¹² is not of good

¹⁰ The ‘accidents’ being presumably those of fate or history.

¹¹ Or might one dare to consider the possibility that it could have more value?

¹² The Note on the Texts at the beginning of Snellgrove’s Part 2, the volume with the editions, begins: “In the preparation of the texts” (by which Snellgrove must mean the edited Sanskrit text of the *Hevajratantra*) “I made primary use of three Sanskrit manuscripts, all Nepalese copies of the nineteenth century: one belonging to Professor Tucci (A), one to the Cambridge University Library (B), and one to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (C).” (p. vii). It is striking that the Preface of Part 1, on the other hand, begins with the sentence “The core of this work is an edition of the *Hevajratantra*, based upon a Nepalese manuscript, which was kindly lent me by Professor Giuseppe Tucci” (p. vii). We may probably conclude that it was indeed this manuscript (number 51 in the list compiled by Francesco Sferra of Sanskrit manuscripts and photographs of Sanskrit manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci’s collection; see Sferra 2008: 66), formerly in the IsIAO library, now in the National Library in Rome, that formed the original basis of the edition, the other two manuscripts being collated later. In the second volume Snellgrove continues after the sentence already quoted by stating: “I also noted the existence of the three other similar manuscripts obtained by Brian Hodgson, two of which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale and one in the Royal Asiatic Society, London”; of the last of these he states that he

quality. Indeed, I have yet to see any recent paper manuscript of the *Hevajratantra* which stands out as having good readings. But there are palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Hevajratantra*, though none is mentioned by Snellgrove. Two (at least) are in Nepal;¹³ but we must recall that when Snellgrove was preparing his edition, manuscripts preserved in Nepal were much harder to access or even be aware of than they became, gradually, from the 1970s or so onwards, thanks to the work of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project. However, there is one palm-leaf manuscript of the *Hevajratantra* that must (well-nigh certainly) have been available to Snellgrove, and careful use of it would have made an important difference to the quality of the published edition, and through that, quite probably, to the history of research on esoteric Buddhism.

Snellgrove has used a paper manuscript in Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 1340, for which the siglum in his edition is B. But in the same library, and described in the same catalogue in which Add. 1340 is described,¹⁴ is a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Hevajra-*

“made some use.” And at the end of this paragraph on the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *tantra* he adds that “I have since compared my text with an earlier Sanskrit manuscript (about fifteenth century) in the private library of Kaisher Shamsheer in Kathmandu.” We are not, however, informed about this last mentioned manuscript whether it was palm-leaf or paper. I know of no palm-leaf manuscript of the *Hevajratantra* in the Kaiser Library. The only manuscript of the text in that library that I am aware of at present is the paper manuscript with accession number 126, microfilmed by the NGMPP on reel C 14/4. That manuscript, however, is dated Nepāla Saṃvat 775, so although it is older than the three manuscripts collated by Snellgrove it is not very much so, and not “about fifteenth century.” In spite of this discrepancy in date, I suppose it is likely that this is the manuscript Snellgrove means. In any case, as far as I can see, Snellgrove does not explicitly refer to his “earlier Sanskrit manuscript” anywhere else apart from in this one passage in the Preface.

¹³ See footnote 33 below.

¹⁴ The justly famous *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* (Bendall 1883).

tantra, of far greater antiquity¹⁵ than any of the manuscripts used or mentioned by Snellgrove. It is Add. 1697.2, a manuscript which is notable for several reasons.

I must excuse myself at present from presenting a detailed codicological description of Cambridge University Library MS Add. 1697.2.¹⁶ I do have, however, some corrections and additions to the two descriptions which have been published so far.

Bendall's catalogue devotes only seven lines to our manuscript. The brief online description (for which, unlike for fuller descriptions of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Cambridge Digital Library, no author is listed) seems mainly to be based on that by Bendall, although as source a direct inspection of the manuscript is mentioned, next to the Bendall catalogue. On one point both descriptions should certainly be corrected; on another point they are almost certainly to be corrected; while a third point, mentioned only by Bendall and not in the online description, needs qualification.

Let me quote the entirety of Bendall's description. It runs thus:

Palm-leaf; originally 34 leaves, 7 lines, 11 x 2in.; xv–xvcent.

Hevajra-ḍākinījālasambara-tantra¹⁷

Bengāli hand, obscure and somewhat careless. Leaf 22 is missing. For the work see Add. 1340.

Ends:

hevajraḍākinījālasambare dvādaśamaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ |¹⁸

¹⁵ Its dating, on the basis of its palaeography, is discussed in brief below.

¹⁶ I hope to be able to give such a description in the future, after examining the manuscript directly *in situ*, which was not possible during the preparation of this paper. For the observations made here I have relied on the excellent color images which have been made available in the Cambridge Digital Library at cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01697-00002/1 (last accessed May 28th, 2022).

¹⁷ Printed in small capitals in the original.

The point on which correction of both descriptions is necessary concerns the extent of the manuscript. The online description describes that extent as “34 ff.,” without mention of a missing leaf, or any indication as to whether the manuscript is complete or not. Here, then, Bendall’s description is more precise, for it is correct that, as it states, the manuscript must have comprised 34 leaves originally, as well as that in its present state there are only 33 leaves. The missing leaf, however, is not f. 22, as per Bendall, but the very first one. What is placed at the beginning of the manuscript, and was apparently taken as f. 1 by Bendall, is f. 32; while what is between f. 31 and f. 33, and was apparently taken by Bendall as f. 32, is in fact numbered, correctly, 22.¹⁹

The point on which both descriptions are almost certainly to be corrected concerns the age (of the writing, and hence) of the manuscript.

Here one cannot be quite as categorical as with the identification of the leaves that survive; in the present state of our knowledge, there is probably no-one who could claim to be able to date the manuscript palaeographically with precision combined with certainty. One of the currently active scholars who has studied old Bengali script most thoroughly, Dragomir Dimitrov (Marburg), has however kindly looked at the online images, at my request; and having done so informed me that he does not believe that it

¹⁸ Bendall 1883: 184. The transliteration of the final colophon is given in Devanāgarī in the original. It seems superfluous to me to quote here the entirety of the online description, which can be read by anyone with internet access at the URL given in footnote 16 above. The only point of interest, as it seems to me, that it adds to the description in Bendall’s catalogue, is that the MS was bought by Dr. D. Wright in 1873–6.

¹⁹ Since the order of leaves, and of rectos and versos, is slightly disturbed in the online images—reflecting, no doubt, the physical arrangement of the leaves (which I assume to have not changed since Bendall examined the manuscript)—I present, in an appendix to this paper, for the convenience of others who may wish to read or consult the manuscript, a tabular concordance of the images with the manuscript leaves and with the text of the *Hevajratantra*.

could have been written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.²⁰ Instead he proposed a range of between the early thirteenth and late fourteenth century, with a preference towards the older end of this range. He also observed that the second of two hands in the manuscript (see below), responsible for the writing of ff. 11v and 12r, is quite similar to the hand of the Cambridge University Library manuscript of another Buddhist tantric work, the *Pañcākāra*; that manuscript, Add. 1699.1,²¹ is dated to the thirty-eighth regnal year of Govindapāla, which should probably correspond to 1199–1200 CE.²² My own impression agrees with Dimitrov's doubtless more expert opinion that our manuscript is not as late as the fifteenth century, and even could be as old as the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth. The final, very minor, point in Bendall's description which I would like to qualify concerns the number of lines of writing on each side. Bendall's figure of 7 is fair enough as an average rounded to the nearest integer; but the manuscript is anything but regular in this respect. The number varies between 5 (on both rectos and versos of ff. 20 and 22) and 8 (on f. 2v, and on both rectos and versos of ff. 16 and 18), with 7 the most common, but followed rather closely by 6.

From corrections and qualifications, I come to additions. There are at present two which I wish to make, both concerning the writing. Firstly, as already indicated briefly above, there is more than one scribal hand at work. The bulk of the manuscript has been written by a single scribe, with a rather idiosyncratic hand (see the second addition to the description presented below); but the hand on ff. 11v and 12r has a clearly different ductus (that which, as

²⁰ I would like to express many thanks to Dragomir Dimitrov for taking the trouble to examine the images and communicate his opinion to me in an exchange of e-mails on New Year's Day 2017.

²¹ Images of this manuscript have not yet been included in the online Cambridge Digital Library, but those interested in its palaeography can find a sample in Bendall 1883, Plate II. 4.

²² For a recent discussion of the dating of Govindapāla see Weissenborn 2012: 26–29 (§1.4).

mentioned above, Dragomir Dimitrov compares with the hand of the dated *Pañcākāra* manuscript, Cambridge University Library MS Add. 1699.1).

As for the other hand, responsible for all but the two sides just mentioned, it is no doubt this which was described by Bendall as “obscure and somewhat careless.” Such a characterization seems to me not unfair,²³ though my experience has been that with some concentrated immersion the writing proves not more “obscure”²⁴ than many other Bengali (both older and newer) hands. A paleographical study of it would, no doubt, be of value. What I wish to do here, as my second addition to the earlier descriptions of the manuscript, is merely to draw attention to a single, striking, feature. This is a—to the best of my knowledge rather rare—way of writing the vowel *ā*, both when initial and when following a consonant, and a related way of writing the vowel *o*, when following a consonant, as a combination of the same sign with a *pr̥ṣṭhamātra* vowel-stroke. The sign consists in a concave curve, open to the left, attached to the left (not right!) upper part of the sign for initial *a*, combining with it to form initial *ā*, or to the left upper part of a consonant sign (simple or conjunct) to form medial *ā* or, together with the *pr̥ṣṭhamātra* vowel-stroke, medial *o*.²⁵

²³ It is rather similar, I would say, to the reaction of Dragomir Dimitrov, who, in the e-mail exchange already referred to above, wrote, with reference to this hand, that “The script is apparently very cursive and sloppy.”

²⁴ I use the word in the sense in which I think that Bendall used it, namely, expressive of difficulty to read.

²⁵ Some notes, by no means comprehensive, on the use of this sign. It is used with some degree of regularity by the scribe, but not with all consonants or consonant clusters, nor with complete consistency. He employs it with the clusters *ty* (e.g., *tyā* at f. 5v2^[1]), *ny* (e.g., *nyā* at f. 5r3^[2]), and *bhy* (e.g., *bhyā* at f. 5v6^[3]), but not with simple *t*, *n* or *bh*; with *sm* but not with *s* alone; It is usually used in writing *yo*, but *yo* is written without it in *herukayogayuktasya* at f. 7v2 (just a line below *yo* written

I turn now from these matters, fundamentally codicological in nature, back to the textual, for it is its role as a transmitter of the Sanskrit text of the *Hevajratantra* which makes Add. 1697.2 relevant to our consideration of Snellgrove's edition of that work, and more generally makes it of interest not only to those who study paleography, codicology, or the burgeoning field of manuscript cultures.

It is difficult indeed to account for the fact that Snellgrove did not make use of Add. 1697.2, and that he does not even seem to have "noted the existence" of it (cf. his remarks quoted in footnote 12 above). I do not see how Snellgrove could have used a Sanskrit manuscript from Cambridge and not have been aware of Bendall's catalogue (although it should perhaps be mentioned that that catalogue is nowhere referred to in Snellgrove's two volumes on the *Hevajratantra*); indeed, it seems *prima facie* most probable that Snellgrove knew of the existence of Add. 1340 thanks to that catalogue. Yet the same catalogue describes also Add. 1697.2, and identifies it as containing the same text; and the description of Add. 1340 even refers (in a note on p. 58 of Bendall 1883) to Add. 1697.2.

The only more or less plausible explanation of why Snellgrove did not use the palm-leaf manuscript that has occurred to me is that it is because he found it difficult to read its idiosyncratic hand. One certainly can feel sympathy with someone finding it difficult to read Add. 1697.2; but one would have wished, and expected, to see at least a mention of its existence, if that was indeed known to the editor, with perhaps some justification or apology for not having been able to make use of it.

Be that as it may, when the text of Add. 1697.2 is collated, it is found, unsurprisingly, to have many readings which are (obviously, as it appears to me) superior to the text of the *Hevajratantra* as Snellgrove constituted it on the basis of his paper

with it in *hastayo*, f. 7v1).^[1]



^[2]



^[3]



manuscripts.²⁶

This is most easily shown by examples. I shall now discuss a couple of places where it can be shown convincingly that a reading adopted by Snellgrove, and taken over in the editions by Farrow and Menon and by Tripathi and Negi, is poor and where Add. 1697.2 provides a superior reading (in support of which further evidence too can be found). The generally rather good (certainly far superior to the paper manuscripts that have been collated by Snellgrove) quality of the text given by Add. 1697.2 can of course be easily enough assessed by anyone who wishes, thanks to the eminently readable online images.

I shall begin with an easy, clear-cut, case. *Hevajratantra* I.iii.3, a verse in Indravajrā metre, is printed thus by Snellgrove:

rephena sūryaṃ purato vibhāvya
tasmin nābhau hūṃbhavaviśvavajram |
tenaiva vajreṇa vibhāvayec ca
prākārakaṃ pañjarabandhanaṃ ca ||

Farrow and Menon corrected (silently) *rephena* to *rephēṇa*, as did Tripathi and Negi in both their editions. But Snellgrove's unmetrical reading *nābhau* went uncorrected. The correct reading, *ravau*, is already to be found in Snellgrove's apparatus, where he reports it as the reading of his MS C. Since nothing else is reported

²⁶ And of course, as he himself emphasizes, his understanding, for which, as we have seen, he claimed to rely much more on the Tibetan translation of the *tantra* and on commentaries. Of those commentaries only one, the *Yogaratnamālā*, he was able to read—and edit—in its Sanskrit original, the rest in Tibetan translations. As for Snellgrove's edition of the *Yogaratnamālā*, it is beyond the scope of my discussion in this article, though I may briefly remark that the re-edition of the commentary by Tripathi and Negi in 2006 follows Snellgrove's text much less closely than their re-editions of the *Hevajratantra* do. They have improved on it in many a place, and although no doubt further progress can be made, the contribution of Tripathi and Negi towards the editing of the *Yogaratnamālā* should be acknowledged as substantial and laudable indeed.

there, the reader will assume that the accepted *nābhau* is found in his MSS A and B. But B (I have not been able to check A, as of the present), i.e. Cambridge University Library Add. 1340, reads in fact *tasmim travau*, which is rather closer to *tasmin ravau* than to *tasmin nābhau*. The reading *ravau* is further supported (though further support may seem unnecessary) by the Tibetan translation, a text of which is given by Snellgrove himself on the facing page, correctly reading *ñi der*, which evidently renders *tasmin ravau*, by the Chinese translation (see Willemsen 1983, 47 and 197 [Taishō 892, 590a13]), by several other paper manuscripts of the *tantra* as reported by Tripathi and Negi, by our palm-leaf manuscript, Add. 1697.2 (f. 5r3), and, finally, by numerous citations of this verse in other works. Nonetheless both teams of editors, Farrow and Menon, and Tripathi and Negi, did not make this certain correction of Snellgrove's obviously wrong and extremely poorly supported reading.

Two more simple examples from the same chapter. In I.iii.7ef an option is given regarding the color of Hevajra as visualized. Snellgrove prints:

athavā nīlāruṇābhaṃ ca bhāvayec chandayā khalu |

with, in this case, no variant readings reported at all. But Add. 1697.2 (f. 5r6) gives us instead of *bhāvayec chandayā khalu*, with its apparent use of *chandā* as a feminine noun (not reliably attested elsewhere, to the best of my knowledge), *bhāvayet śraddhayā khalu*. This is in fact (with sandhi applied, i.e. *bhāvayec chraddhayā khalu*) what the other palm-leaf manuscripts currently accessible to me read too; and it is supported by other sources as well. Tripathi and Negi record the variant in both their editions, and in both also correctly record that it is what the *Yogaratnamālā* and the *Muktāvalī* have commented on. Yet they too, like Farrow and Menon, continue to print *chandayā* in their text.

And finally consider the line I.iii.9ab, which is printed by Snellgrove thus:

Caurī mṛgalāñchanadhartrī Gaurī mārtaṇḍabhājanaṃ ||

Farrow and Menon differ from this in printing the second word as

mṛgalāñchanadhātrī; Tripathi and Negi differ from it not at all.²⁷ The innovation of Farrow and Menon²⁸ is not exactly a step forward; the reading with the strongest support (taking into account manuscripts of the *tantra*, commentaries on the *tantra*, testimonia in other works, and parallels in other scriptures) is, on balance, *mṛgalāñchanam dharti*. As for our manuscript, Add. 1697.2 (f. 5r6–5v1), it reads *mṛgalāñchanam dhatte*, certainly not a very bad reading, but perhaps to be understood as a ‘secondary improvement,’ substituting a grammatically more normal form, which conveys a sense equivalent to the irregular *dharti*, which we may well judge to be more likely to be ‘primary.’²⁹ However, there is another problem with the text of our printed editions, and though the error is in one sense trivial, in another sense it is important. For some reason the two goddesses have been swapped. Add. 1697.2, all other palm-leaf manuscripts whose evidence I have access to, and dozens of other sources for this line in Sanskrit and in Tibetan, all here have, correctly, Gaurī first, bearing (a skull-bowl with) the ‘moon,’ white semen, and Caurī second, bearing (a skull-bowl with) the ‘sun,’ red blood.³⁰

²⁷ I do not consider here the exchange of final *anusvāra* and final *m* as a difference; it certainly is not a substantive one.

²⁸ It is likely not to be a typo but a deliberate change, especially since in the second half of the same verse, where Snellgrove has *bhaiṣajyam dharti*, Farrow and Menon have a similar “improvement,” printing *bhaiṣajyadhātrī*.

²⁹ If this assumption is correct, the phenomenon, a substitution in Add. 1697.2 of what could in this case be called a *lectio simplicior*, should be noted, as it may be indicative of a general tendency on the part of the scribe of this manuscript, or a scribe of a manuscript from which this one is “descended.”

³⁰ As, by the way, in this case also visual sources, such as paintings of the *maṇḍala*, can help in a way to confirm. Not that, usually, the substances in the skull-bowls held by the goddesses can easily be identified from such; but the sequence in which the goddesses are mentioned in the text is that of the directions in which they are located in the *maṇḍala*, beginning with Gaurī, not Caurī, in the East, and proceeding clockwise with Caurī, not Gaurī, in the South.

Examples of this kind could easily be multiplied, but time and space prohibit that here. Instead of more such, I turn now to a point regarding which it would not be quite right, I think, to regard Snellgrove and his successors as simply being mistaken, but where nonetheless Add. 1697.2 (and, yet again, other old sources as well) offer something of interest. This is the striking phenomenon of three concluding verses which have not been printed as belonging to the text of the *Hevajratantra*.

The text on the last folio of Add. 1697.2 ends thus:

mahātantrarājamāyākalpadvātrīśatkakalpoddhṛtakalpadva
yātmakamahātantrarājahevajraḥ samāptaḥ || ◦ ||

na jñātaṃ yena śrīhevajrākhyam sarvatantraniruttaram | (ye
na jānanti herukaṃ sarvatantraniruttaram) |³¹

te py asiddhikāṅkṣiṇo bhrāntiyā bhramanti bhavacakrake | |

yasya yasya kulodbhūtās tasya tasyānurūpakāḥ | yoginyaḥ
samvṛtācārāḥ pūjanīyā vicakṣaṇaiḥ | |

te ḍhaukayanti sarvasvam yoginīnām svaritsukham³²
svayam | svaparārthaikavṛttinām gambhīrodāracetasām | |

hevajre ḍākinījālasamvare dvādaśamaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ
|| ◦ || (f. 34v3–6)

This is curious indeed, in several respects. There are obviously a number of problems in the text of the verses; their placing is also somewhat extraordinary, coming between what looks like a text-colophon for the entire *tantra* and a chapter-colophon for the twelfth and final chapter (*paṭala*) of (though that is not specified) the second of the two *kalpas* of the *Hevajratantra* as it is usually

³¹ Curved signs, resembling a matching pair of parentheses, have been added, apparently by a later hand, to cancel this line.

³² It is possible that what was first written was *svaratsukham*, and that what looks perhaps like a medial *i* before *ra* was added secondarily, since the color of the ink is perhaps a little different; another and perhaps more plausible possibility is that that sign is actually a quickly executed cancellation stroke.

transmitted. But odd though all this may be, the most striking thing, to me, is that the same verses, though with variants of reading, were also at the end of two other palm-leaf manuscripts,³³ and that they are even attested by the canonical Chinese translation of the *Hevajratantra* (see Willemen 1983: 197 [Taishō 892, 601c2–7]). Willemen translates them thus: “1. If one does not know that (the ritual of) the One with Knowledge of the Void surpasses all rituals and if one longs for and desires (objects), one revolves from world to world. 2. Those people are born into families and appear in different forms. Therefore a yogin must offer worship and have complete understanding. 3. If he serves all, he will gain perfection in the Auspicious One. Developing the great profound thought (of enlightenment) both he and others are benefited” (Willemen 1993: 121). He remarks in a note: “The following 3 gāthās do not appear in either Skr. or Tibetan. They warn against a wrong, i.e. too literal understanding of some parts of the text” (Willemen 1983: 121 n. 18).³⁴

This characterization of the verses by Willemen seems to me not entirely right, but a detailed discussion of the verses, their variant readings, and their import, has to be postponed for the moment.³⁵

³³ A manuscript of which the larger portion is preserved as National Archives, Kathmandu, (NAK) MS 1–169711 (NGMPP A 933/7) but of which the final folio is included within the large bundle of leaves from various palm-leaf manuscripts that is preserved as NAK MS 1–1607/vi. *tāntrikapaddhati* 71 (NGMPP A 49/18), and a manuscript NAK 5–93 (NGMPP A 48/8). The leaves of the latter manuscript, a particularly beautifully written one, are damaged, but enough is preserved to see clearly that all three of our ‘extra’ verses were contained in it.

³⁴ Willemen has repeated this with slight variations elsewhere, for instance in this form: “The Chinese text has three additional final stanzas, not found in either Tibetan or Sanskrit, warning against the dangers of the ritual and praising the benefits when correctly understood” (Willemen 2009: 413).

³⁵ For those who may wish to consider the sense and wordings of these verses a little more deeply, let me in lieu of a fuller discussion quote here the form in which they are found at the beginning (ll. 1–2) of the verso

Be it added that all three verses are found also at the end of other, paper, *Hevajratantra* manuscripts, including the manuscript Tokyo University Library 510, one of three paper manuscripts of the *tantra* in Tokyo University Library which Willemen has made some use of.³⁶

Now I do not claim that these verses have to be regarded as a part of the *tantra*; but their presence, in one form or another, in three old palm-leaf manuscripts, and in the Chinese translation produced in 1054–1055 CE,³⁷ guarantees their antiquity, and that they were widely known can also be seen from their presence in a

side of the final, unnumbered, folio of the former of the two manuscripts in the National Archives, Kathmandu (see the preceding footnote). The first syllable of the first verse is lost due to damage to the margin of the leaf. Parentheses enclose syllables the reading of which is rather uncertain. The somewhat random looking usage of *danḍas* reproduces that of the MS.

... (taṃ ye)na śrīhevajrākhyam sarvatantraniruttaram
ye na jānanti hevajram sarvatantraniruttaram |
te siddhikāṃkṣiṇa bhrāntā bhramanti bhavacakrake |

yasya yasya kulodbhūtā tasya tasyānurūpakāḥ
yoginya samvṛtākārāḥ pūjanīyā vicakṣaṇaiḥ

te dhaukayamṃti sarvasvam yoginām satsukha svayam |
svaparārthaikavṛttinām gambhīrodāracetasām iti ||

This is preceded, incidentally, by a title-colophon of the *tantra* differing in its wording from the title-colophon which precedes the verses in Add. 1697.2, and it is followed, not by a chapter-colophon as in that manuscript but by the famous *ye dharmāḥ* verse.

³⁶ “Before going on to discuss the Chinese text, it must be pointed out that for this study it proved necessary occasionally to make use of Sanskrit manuscripts lodged in the Tōkyō University Library. The manuscripts in question are numbered 510, 511 and 512” (Willemen 1983: 22). Willemen does indeed cite readings from these manuscripts at a number of places in the annotation to his rendering of the Chinese translation of the *Hevajratantra*.

³⁷ See Willemen 1983: 23.

number of paper manuscripts.³⁸ It might be better to regard them as ‘satellite stanzas’³⁹ than as part of the *tantra* ‘proper,’ especially in view of the fact that they are not attested in the canonical Tibetan translation of the *tantra*, nor, as far as I have seen, in any Indian commentary on it. But in any case they too form a part of the transmission of the *Hevajratantra*, a transmission whose complexities are now, seventy years or so after Snellgrove’s work, becoming gradually clearer.

A few concluding remarks. I have shown here that Snellgrove’s edition, impressive though it indeed is as an *editio princeps*, by a quite young scholar, of a challenging text in an area of which modern scholarly study had barely begun, could have been significantly better if, for one thing, he had consulted a palm-leaf manuscript in Cambridge University Library which he should have been—I am inclined to say he must have been—aware of, and which certainly could have been available to him, but of which he makes no mention at all. Consulting this manuscript, and other palm-leaf manuscripts of the *tantra* which can now be accessed (all of which I judge to be much better in the text they transmit than any paper manuscript I have examined as yet), a careful editor should be able to produce an edition of the *Hevajratantra* which improves upon all previous editions in, I estimate (crudely, but in any case conservatively), far over a

³⁸ See also the critical apparatus of the editions by Tripathi and Negi, which gives the verses from one of the paper manuscripts they have collated (NAK 3/239 = NGMPP A 140/16); oddly they have failed to record that they are also at the end of Tokyo University Library MS 510, though that too is a manuscript of which they normally report the readings. I note also that there are paper manuscripts of the *tantra*—Tokyo University Library MS 509, for one, a manuscript which Willemen notes that he was “[f]or practical reasons” (Willemen 1983: 22 n. 62) unable to consult—which contain only the first of the three verses, often in a six-*pāda* form (recall the cancelled ‘extra’ two *pādas* in that verse as transmitted in Add. 1697.2, transcribed above).

³⁹ To use a term coined, I believe, by my colleague Eva Wilden; see, e.g., Wilden 2017.

hundred places, including many in which a substantial difference in sense is involved.

Fortunately, there is now very good reason to be optimistic about the possibility that such an edition of the *Hevajratantra*, a truly significant step forward, will soon be available. It is one which will form part of the doctoral thesis of Ryan Conlon, which I expect to be submitted at Hamburg University within the next two years. It will be accompanied by a critical edition of the *Hevajratantra* commentary *Ratnāvalī* by Kamalanātha; as such Conlon's edition should be expected to 'privilege' the readings which can be seen to have been known to that commentator, but it will record the readings of the available palm-leaf manuscripts, and discuss textual problems. Beyond this forthcoming edition, which will already allow us to see the transmission of the *Hevajratantra* with much more clarity than any work published so far, we may anticipate that in the somewhat more distant future further progress can be made, for instance through studying and editing other *Hevajratantra* commentaries and related literature (including the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra*, the text of which survives in Sanskrit, and the commentary thereon by Mahāmati, the text of which survives in part in Sanskrit). The study of so complex a matter is something which no scholar should expect ever to see 'completed'; but this is true of most really worthwhile things.

Appendix

In the hope of making it easier for others to study Cambridge University Library MS Add. 1697.2, I print here what I made some years ago to make it easier for myself to do the same: a tabular concordance of the online images, folios, and the text of the *Hevajratantra*. Note that the actual names of the JPG files online (for the URL see footnote 16 above) are always in the format MS-ADD-01697-00002-000-00001.jpg etc., up to MS-ADD-01697-00002-000-00066.jpg. In this table, however, the images are referred to only with the last two digits before the dot, i.e. 01 etc. up to 66.

Image nr.	Folio	<i>Hevajratantra</i>
01	32v	II.ix.23a–II.ix.32 l. 1
02	32r	II.ix.11c–22d
03	2r	I.i.7a–14d
04	2v	I.i.15a–30
05	3v	I.ii.20 l. 1–I.ii.22 l. 1
06	3r	I.i.30–I.ii.20 l. 1
07	4v	I.ii.26 l. 2–I.ii.33 ⁴⁰
08	4r	I.ii.22 l. 1–I.ii.26 l. 2
09	5v	I.iii.9a–I.iii.17 l. 3
10	5r	I.ii.32–I.iii.9a
11	6v	I.v.1c–I.v.13a
12	6r	I.iii.17 l. 3–I.v.1c
13	7v	I.vi.1–I.vi.10f
14	7r	I.v.13a–I.v. colophon
15	8v	I.vi.22b–I.vii.7b
16	8r	I.vi.10f–I.vi.22b

⁴⁰ Note that the manuscript contains I.ii.32 and I.ii.33 in the reverse order.

17	9v	I.vii.17c–I.viii.1 l. 1
18	9r	I.vii.7c–I.vii.17c
19	10r	I.viii.1a–I.viii.11c
20	10v	I.viii.11c–I.viii.21b
21	11r	I.viii.21b ⁴¹ –I.viii.32b
22	11v	I.viii.32b–I.viii.47a
23	12r	I.viii.47a–I.ix.2d
24	12v	I.ix.2d–I.ix.12c
25	13r	I.ix.12d–I.x.2d
26	13v	I.x.3a–I.x.16a
27	14r	I.x.16a–I.x.27d
28	14v	I.x.28a–I.x.41c
29	15r	I.x.41c–I.xi.10a
30	15v	I.xi.10a–II.i.6d
31	16r	II.1.7a–II.ii.6c
32	16v	II.ii.6c–II.ii.21b
33	17r	II.ii.21c–II.ii.34 l. 1
34	17v	II.ii.34a–II.ii.45b
35	18r	II.ii.45b–II.ii.59d
36	18v	II.ii.59d–II.iii.10b
37	19r	II.iii.10c–II.iii.24b
38	19v	II.iii.24b–II.iii.35d
39	20r	II.iii.35d–II.iii.42c
40	20v	II.iii.42c–II.iii.52a
41	21r	II.iii.52a–II.iii.64c
42	21v	II.iii.64d–II.iv.8b

⁴¹ The folio actually begins with a repetition of *°thā mānāḍiṣaṭdoṣān karttituṃ karttikāsthitā | bhāvābhāvavikalpasya śirasā padmabhājanam | raktaṃ caturmmārāṇām pīyate* (all of which is found also on the last line of 10v), all cancelled.

Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons

43	23r	II.iv.26 l. 1–II.iv.36a
44	23v	II.iv.36b–II.iv.48b
45	24r	II.iv.48b–II.iv.61b
46	24v	II.iv.61c–II.iv.71a
47	25r	II.iv.71a–II.iv.81c
48	25v	II.iv.81c–II.iv.91a
49	26r	II.iv.91a–II.iv.99b
50	26v	II.iv.99b–II.v.7b
51	27r	II.v.7c–II.v.17c
52	27v	II.v.17c–II.v.27d
53	28r	II.v.28 l. 1–II.v.39b
54	28v	II.v.39b–II.v.48d
55	29r	II.v.49a–II.v.62c
56	29v	II.v.62c–II.vi.3c
57	30r	II.vi.3c–II.vii.2a
58	30v	II.vii.2a–II.vii.12d
59	31r	II.vii.13a–II.viii.10b
60	31v	II.viii.10b–II.ix.11b
61	22r	II.iv.8b–II.iv.16d
62	22v	II.iv.17a–II.iv.25d
63	33r	II.ix.32 l. 2 – II.x.3d
64	33v	II.x.4a–II.xi.7d
65	34r	II.xi.8a – II.xii.4b
66	34v	II.xii.4b–colophon

As the above table shows, the manuscript is lacking only the first folio; to read the surviving leaves in the correct order it is necessary to rearrange the images in this sequence: 03, 04, 06, 05, 08, 07, 10, 09, 12, 11, 14, 13, 16, 15, 18, 17, 19–42, 61–62, 43–60, 02, 01, 63–66.

Bibliography

- Bendall, Cecil. 1883. *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, with Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palæography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1883.
- Farrow, George W. & Indira Menon. 1992. *The Concealed Essence of the Hevajra Tantra. With the Commentary Yogaratnamālā*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992.
- Hevajratantra*. See Snellgrove 1959, Farrow & Menon 1992, Tripathi & Negi 2001, Tripathi & Negi 2006, and Nyaupane 2012.
- Nyaupane, Kashinath. 2012. *Hevajratantram (Saṃskṛta mūla evaṃ hindī anuvāda)*. Varanasi: Indian Mind.
- Sferra, Francesco. 2008. "Sanskrit Manuscripts and Photos of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci's Collection." In Francesco Sferra (ed.), *Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection. Part I. Serie Orientale Roma 104, Manuscripta Buddhica 1*. Roma: IsIAO, 15–78.
- Snellgrove, David Llewellyn. 1959. *The Hevajra Tantra. A Critical Study. Part 1: Introduction and Translation. Part 2: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts*. London Oriental Series 6. London: Oxford University Press.
- Szántó, Péter-Dániel. 2015. "Hevajratantra." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume One: Literature and Languages*. Handbook of Oriental Studies/Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section Two: India, Volume 29/1. Leiden: Brill, 334–340.
- Tripathi, Ram Shankar & Thakur Sain Negi (eds.). 2001. *Hevajratantram with Muktāvalī Pañjikā of Mahāpaṇḍitācārya Ratnākaraśānti*. Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 48. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.
- . 2006. *Hevajratantram with Yogaratnamālāpañjikā of Mahāpaṇḍitācārya Kṛṣṇapāda*. Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 65. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

- Tsuji, Naoshiro 直四郎. 1960. "D. L. Sunerugurōvu shi hencho 'Hevajura tantora no hihan teki kenkyū' (Snellgrove, D. L.: The Hevajra Tantra, A Critical Study)." *Tōho Gakuhō* 42.4 (1960.09), 431(59)–449(77).
- Weissenborn, Karen. 2012. *Buchkunst aus Nālandā. Die Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-Handschrift in der Royal Asiatic Society/London (Ms. Hodgson 1) und ihre Stellung in der Pāla-Buchmalerei des 11./12. Jahrhunderts*. Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde Heft 77.
- Wilden, Eva. 2017. "Tamil Satellite Stanzas: Genres and Distribution." In Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo, & Camillo Alessio Formigatti (eds.), *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages. Studies in Manuscript Cultures* 14. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 163–192.
- Willemen, Charles. 1983. *The Chinese Hevajratāntra. The Scriptural Text of the Ritual of the Great King of the Teaching, the Adamantine One with Great Compassion and Knowledge of the Void*. *Orientalia Gandensia* VIII. Leuven: Peeters.
- . 2009. "Initiation and the Chinese Hevajra-tāntra." In *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series Number 11, 409–415.⁴²

⁴² I have not been able to consult a paper by Willemen with a very similar title and length: "Abhiṣeka and the Chinese Hevajra Tantra." In Andrea Loseries (ed.) *Tantrik Literature and Culture. Hermeneutics and Expositions*. Delhi: Buddhist World Press, 2013, 111–116. The bibliographical details are as given in this online list of publications of Willemen:

https://www.kaowarsom.be/en/system/files/documents/member_publications/writings_C-Willemen.pdf (last accessed May 30th, 2022).

Minor Vajrayāna Texts VI

A Sanskrit Fragment of the *Anāvilatantra*

Péter-Dániel Szántó (Universiteit Leiden)*

1 Introduction

Tokyo University Library Ms. 517 (old no. 557)¹ is a fragmentary but extremely valuable multiple-text manuscript consisting of 19 disordered palm-leaf folios. The catalogue of the collection describes only two works: the *Satsukhāvabodhana* and the *Dohākoṣa* of Saraha.² In fact, the bundle contains fragments from four more tantric works.

1. A three-folio fragment of Ratnākaraśānti's *Guṇavatī*, a commentary on the *Mahāmāyātāntra*. This fragment was not used in the *editio princeps* of the text, but it has been collated in an unpublished MA thesis (Damron 2014).
2. A six-folio fragment from *Śrībhūṣaṇa's **Pañjikā*, another commentary on the *Mahāmāyātāntra*. The text is almost complete and a critical edition of it is being published in installments (Ōmi 2009a and 2009b).
3. A significant portion of Āryadeva's *Svādhiṣṭhānakrama-prabheda* (vv. 15c–58 out of 60). This witness was not used in the *editio princeps*. This important fragment was first identified by Toru Tomabechi.³

* Acknowledgments: This work was (partially) supported by the European Research Council (ERC) under the Horizon 2020 program (Advanced Grant agreement No 741884), as well as by All Souls College, Oxford.

¹ The digitised collection became available online in b/w images a little after 2006 at <http://utlsktms.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp>.

² See Matsunami 1965: 182–183.

³ See Tomabechi 2006: 17.

4. A block of five untraced verses.⁴

The present study focuses on the so-called *Satsukhāvabodhana*.⁵ This title was read by Matsunami from the colophon, who did not seem to have realised that he had chanced upon a text also transmitted in the Tibetan Canon (D414/P58), albeit under a different title, the *Anāvilatantra* (*rNyog pa med pa'i rgyud*).

There is very little published literature on this short esoteric scripture. A brief assessment of the Tibetan translation is given by Ronald Davidson:⁶

[...] the *Anāvilatantrarāja* [...] is very much a *dohā*-like deconstruction of traditional Buddhist categories, with an

⁴ The text, given here in diplomatic transcript in the hope that the verses will be eventually identified, comes after the colophon of the *Dohākoṣa* on 21 verso:

indracāpaḍinmeghavātolkā cāsanidhvani |
niśrtā nabhasā sarvve | punas tatra layaṃ gatāḥ ||
tadvad vidyāgamā sarve devatānekakoṭayaḥ |
cittād eva samutpanā cetasī ca layaṃ gatāḥ ||
na hi cittena vinā kiñcita vyañjanānnalavādayaḥ
prabhavantīha dehasthāṃ trbhavodbhavadehināṃ ||
liṅgayonisamāpattimanthanaṃ surataḥ sukhaṃ
cittasyānubhavaṃ sarvvaṃ | sarvvam ātmani sammatam ||
cittena citta gaveśya tanniṣaṃ yadi cintatā |
anyathā viphalam sarvvaṃ bhrānticcittasya mānavaḥ ||

The metrical and grammatical irregularities suggest that the verses are from a scripture. The meaning of the first two verses is easy to guess: “Rainbows, lightning, clouds, wind, comets, and the sound of the thunderbolt—all these come forth from the sky, and into the sky they disappear. In the same way, all spells, scriptures, and the many crores of deities spring forth from nothing else but the mind, and into the mind they dissolve.” In other words, what we have here is something one may call a *cittamātra* reading of the tantric revelation.

⁵ I will edit Saraha’s *Dohās* in a separate publication, a forthcoming monograph co-authored with Klaus-Dieter Mathes.

⁶ Davidson 2005: 206.

emphasis on the fundamentals of meditation combined with caustic criticism of certain unspecified yogins' misuse of esoteric terminology.

I am quite puzzled by this statement. I do not find any 'deconstruction of traditional Buddhist categories' in the text; in fact, we have the very opposite. I also find very little similarity with the *dohās*. I do not read the text as having 'an emphasis on the fundamentals of meditation,' nor do I feel that the criticism is particularly 'caustic,' not to mention the fact that the target of criticism is not 'misuse of esoteric terminology.'

The only more in-depth study of the text I am aware of is that of Roger Jackson, whose description, in spite of some of its inaccuracies, is perhaps closer to the facts:⁷

The main text of the *tantra* [...] is a mixture of gnostic pronouncements about reality and quasi-systematic expositions of the symbolic and meditative significance of a variety of tantric themes, including the *maṇḍala*, joyful gnosis, fire-rituals, deity, consecration, vows, and the five nectars.

Jackson too worked only with the Tibetan translation, which, as he himself notes, is not of outstanding quality, therefore his synopsis of the text is in places very misleading. In his short historical discussion, he points out that the *Anāvilatantra* has been largely neglected in Tibet, in spite of the fact that it is one of only two scriptures—and the only *tantra*—included in the *Mahāmudrā* / Great Seal collections (e.g., the *Phyag chen khrid mdzod*). He conjectures that the text may have been important to the eleventh-century Indian master Vajrapāṇi and therefore for his master, Maitrīpāda/Advayavajra.

Jackson also notes the meagre popularity of the work in India, as there is only one short commentary of the text, the **ṭīkā* (or, given its style and the author's *pratijñā*, more likely: *pañjikā*) of a

⁷ Jackson 2009: 12.

Kumāracandra.⁸ This is available to us only in Tibetan (D1204/P2334) for the time being. A complete, twelve-folio Sanskrit manuscript of the commentary was found in China. I am aware that Dr. Luo Hong is preparing an edition of it, but unfortunately I could not consult either his draft or the manuscript.

I think Jackson is right when he says that the *Anāvilatantra* was not very popular on the Indian subcontinent. I could not find it quoted or referred to anywhere in Sanskrit Vajrayāna sources. In fact, its very survival in the original is something of a surprise.

In the Tibetan Canon, the *Anāvilatantra* is grouped with a cycle of thirty-four *tantras*,⁹ whose authenticity—that is, their having been transmitted from India—was doubtful.¹⁰ In his long overview of the tantric corpus, the great editor of the Canon, Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) analysed¹¹ and dismissed several of these, mostly very short, texts, but they remained canonical and were transmitted in all versions of the printed *bKa' 'gyur*. A few

⁸ On stylistic grounds, I think that we have at least two authors named Kumāracandra. 'Ours' is perhaps the same as the author of the *Katipayākṣarā* and perhaps the **Vajrabhairavatāntrapañjikā* (D1973/P2837), but not identical with the verbose author of the *Ratnāvalī*.

⁹ See Davidson 2005: 205–207.

¹⁰ See Sanderson 2009: 157 n. 360.

¹¹ His *rGyud sde nam bzhag rgyas pa* (429–439) discusses 34 texts as 'explanatory *tantras*' of the *Śamvara/Samvara* corpus under a separate heading called 'a cycle of *tantras* the authenticity or spuriousness of which is debated' (*rgyud yang dag yin min rtsod pa can gyi skor*). He groups the first thirty-two into eight '*tantras* of mind' (D383–D390/P28–P35), eight '*tantras* of speech' (D391–D398/P36–P43), eight '*tantras* of body' (D399–D406/P44–P51), and eight '*elaboration tantras*' (D407–D414/P52–P58, slightly differently ordered with one omission); the remaining two are simply labeled as 'doubtful' and 'fake' (D415, D416 / P59, P60).

examples should suffice. This is what Bu ston says of the *gSang ba gcod pa* (D384/P29):¹²

In this [*tantra*], too, there are explanations that do not tally with Sanskrit. For example: “The Secret Initiation is merit (*dge ba*), and he who adopts this way (*tshul*) is one who is on a way of merit (i.e., a novice monk, *dge tshul*). The Knowledge of Wisdom [Initiation] is merit (*dge ba*), and he who requests (*slong*) it is one who collects merit (i.e., an ordained monk, *dge slong*).”

The Sanskrit terms are obviously *śrāmaṇera* and *bhikṣu*, therefore the semantic analysis proposed by the *tantra* can work only with the Tibetan translation of the two words. In his analysis of the *sKu gsung thugs kyi rgyud* (D388/P33), he catches the Tibetan compiler red-handed on palaeographical grounds:¹³

Here [we have statements such as] “The ‘*a* is Amitābha,” explaining the ‘*a* [element] in [the Tibetan transliteration of the *mantra*] *hūṃ* [as a deity]. This is treachery.

What is called ‘*a chung* is not a Nāgarī glyph, but a Tibetan one, here used to lengthen the vowel *u* in *hūṃ*, since Tibetans did not adopt the sign of long *ū* when they created their script. Yet another spurious semantic analysis is pointed out in the case of the *rDo rje rgyal po* (D403/P48) and the *Dur khrod kyi rgyan rmad du byung ba* (D413/P57):¹⁴

[In this *tantra*,] ‘*das pa* in *bcom ldan ‘das* (*bhagavān*) is explained [in the passage] “The nature of transmigration is

¹² *rGyud sde rnam bzhag rgyas pa* (429): ‘*di la’ang* | *gsang ba’i dbang ni dge ba ste* | ‘*di yi tshul ldan dge tshul yin* | *dge ba shes rab ye shes yin* | *de nyid slong bas dge slong yin* | *zhes sogs rgya gar gyi skad dang mi ‘grig pa’i bshad pa byung ngo* ||.

¹³ *rGyud sde rnam bzhag rgyas pa* (430): ‘*di la* | ‘*a ni de bzhin ‘od dpag med* | *sogs hūṃ gi ‘a la bshad pa byas pas bla btsong ‘dug go* ||.

¹⁴ *rGyud sde rnam bzhag rgyas pa* (433 & 435–436): ‘*khord ba’i chos ni mya ngan te* | *de dang bral phyir ‘das pa ‘o* | *zhes bcom ldan ‘das kyi ‘das pa bshad byas pas bla btsong ‘dug go* ||.

suffering (*mya ngan*), and he is called ‘gone beyond’ (*‘das pa*) because he is free of that [suffering].” This is treachery.

Once again, the analysis can only work if one is looking at the standard Tibetan translation of the word, and not the Sanskrit original.

Testimony to his formidable critical acumen, the *Anāvilatantra* is the only one about which Bu ston says that it “looks authentic.”¹⁵ Somewhat surprisingly, he does not mention Kumāracandra’s commentary, the existence of which could have been a powerful argument for the *tantra*’s existence in India. It cannot be the case that he was not aware of Kumāracandra’s work, because he mentions it in the appendix to his *Chos ‘byung*.¹⁶

Had the *Anāvilatantra* been at the base of a popular body of practice, the discovery of its Sanskrit original would have created something of a sensation among learned Tibetans concerned with scriptural authenticity. However, the *Anāvila* cannot claim the fame and controversy of, for example, the *Vajrakīlamūlatantra*, the discovery and translation of which by Sa skya paṇḍita (1182–1251) silenced critics doubting its authenticity,¹⁷ or the *Guhyagarbha*, two manuscripts of which are reported by Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1552–1624) in reply to allegations from inter alia the Eighth Karma pa (1507–1554),¹⁸ or its *uttaratantra*, about which

¹⁵ *Rgyud sde rnam bzhag rgyas pa* (436): ‘*di rgyud yang dag cig ‘dra bar ‘dug go* ||.

¹⁶ See Nishioka 1983: 101, no. 2518. The translation of the commentary is not signed, which makes the dating very problematic. It is perhaps also worth mentioning that here Bu ston lists the commentary in a rather surprising context: the commentaries of the *Hevajra* ‘explanatory *tantras*.’ It cannot be the case that the text is corrupt, for this is indeed where the commentary is placed in the *bsTan ‘gyur*.

¹⁷ See Roerich 1949: 103; Rhoton 2002: 13.

¹⁸ See Roerich 1949: 103–104; Davidson 2005: 153. More recent studies have shown that the document containing the abovementioned allegation is a forgery itself; see Almogi 2020: 105–106 (I thank the author for pointing this out to me during the review process).

gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481) says that its manuscript was in his personal possession.¹⁹

The *tantra* can be seen to contain three units. The very beginning, by way of the statement of purpose (*pratijñā*), contains a short description of ultimate reality (verses 1–3). The text then criticises other approaches—both Buddhist and non-Buddhist—towards achieving the same, ending with the statement that ultimately these too are the work of *buddhas* (verses 4–9). It then launches into the major theme, which is essentially an esoteric interpretation of tantric ritual and its elements (verses 10–55), with special attention to the ‘symbolism’ of the *maṇḍala* (verses 10–27). This is what other texts refer to as *viśuddhi*.²⁰ In order to achieve this, it employs a variety of techniques from Sanskrit semantic analysis (*nirvacana* or *nirukti*), at times in a rather clever and imaginative way. I will refrain from giving a tentative translation until the Sanskrit text of the commentary becomes published.

While the textual and doctrinal influences of several important precursors are evident (*Māyājāla*, *Guhyasamāja*, *Sarvabuddha-samāyogaḍākinījālasamvara*, *Hevajra*, and perhaps the *Samantabhadrasādhana* of Jñānapāda), the *tantra* does not seem to propagate any particular cult, in spite of the fact that Akṣobhya is mentioned as a central deity in line 17d. The influence of the *Hevajra* shows an environment after 900 CE, whereas the floruit of the translators, *Gayādhara and 'Brog mi Shākya ye shes, fixed the terminus ante quem around the mid 11th century.

In spite of its brevity, the *Anāvīla* is available to us in two recensions: one witnessed by the present, almost complete fragment, and the one behind the Tibetan translation. In the critical edition of the Sanskrit text I have underlined the passages not mirrored in the Tibetan.

¹⁹ See Roerich 1949: 104.

²⁰ See Sferra 1999.

2 Text, Notes, Translation

2.1 Formatted Diplomatic Transcript

NB: A bullet denotes the string space; *m* renders the *virāma*-type *anusvāra*. The folio numeration is that of the manuscript; r means recto side, v means verso side.

[14r1]lekhanam | abhiṣekādikalpan tu bhūtabhautikavigrahaṃ ||
evamādyās tv anantāgrā buddhavajrādikalpanāḥ | susthitan tu
yadā cittan tathatākāragocaram | prakṛtiprabhāsva[14r2]rā
dharmmā ādisuddhā hy anāvilāḥ | maṇḍalan tu tathābhūtaṃ
jñātavyaṃ hitaiṣiṇā || skandhadhātvdibhir vṛndai rañjitaṃ yad
viśeṣataḥ | rajomaṇḍalam ity uktaṃ kāyavākcittarañjanā[14r3]t ||
tad vakta gaṇamaṇḍalam ity uktaṃ skandhādyānidarśanāt | tac
cittama•ṇḍalam śuddhaṃ bhāvayen niḥsvabhāvataḥ || ādarśam
naṃ hi bhaved evaṃ prathamāsrāvabodhakaṃ |
pra[14r4]tyavekṣaṇam ity uktaṃ pratīyaśravibhūṣaṇam ||
kṛtānuṣṭhānakaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ uttarāśravirājakaṃ | samateti
mahājñānam avācyaśānuśāsakaṃ || evam asracatuṣkaṃ tu
kalpitaṃ jñā[14r5]nagocaram | etattattvapraveśena asramadhyeṣu
sarvvataḥ || dvāracatuṣṭayaṃ coktaṃ catuḥsmṛtyodayaṃ sadā |
uktaṃ tathā catuṣkoṇam ca<tu>²¹rdvāraśuddhitaḥ | madhye
maṇḍala[14v1]rūpaṃ tu akṣobhyaākāramaṇḍitaṃ | maṇḍalam
sarvvadā siddhaṃ sāntadharmmātvamaṇḍanāt ||
hārārdhahāracandrādi yal likhitaṃ tu maṇḍale | toraṇādyāni
sarvvāṇi samādhyāṅgaṇi[14v2]bhāni hi || toraṇam
citta²² paryantam uktan tatvasvabhāvataḥ | cittasya yat tu
pravarttanam samādhyāṅge vyavasthitaṃ || hāreti tad evoktam²³
arddhahāras tadarddhataḥ || ghaṇṭikā hārasaṃla[14v3]gnā
bodhayanti svaghoṣataḥ | pratiśrutakopamāna sarvvāna
dharmmāṃś ca pratibudhyati | dhvajāvalī tad evoktā
dharmmānutpādadarśanāt || vitataṃ hi sadā cittaṃ

²¹ Added in the lower margin by a second hand.

²² Before correction by cancellation: *citte*.

²³ Before correction by cancellation: *oktam*.

bhāvā[14v4]dyādyavilepataḥ | cittaṃ vitānam ākhyātam²⁴ uktaṃ
hi paramārthataḥ || mālyāmbara hi tat sarvam
vicitrādyavabhāsataḥ | vajrākāraṇ tu yac cittaṃ catijñānena
cāṅkitaṃ || [14v5] tenārthenodita nityaṃ ḍākinīsaṃvarodayam
|| koṇasandhis ca <sa>²⁵ rvaḥ khacitaṃ vajraratnais tu
vajraratnāvabodhataḥ || yad uktañ candrasūryan tu
prajñopāyārthadarśanāt | [15r1] prajñopāyamayañ cittaṃ ebhir
jñānair vibhūṣitaṃ || maṇḍalaṃ hi tad evoktaṃ
kāyavākcittavajrajaṃ | kāyavākcittasānidhyād ekākāram
alakṣaṇaṃ | praveśaś ca sa evokto [15r2] viṣpaṣṭaṃ guruśiṣyayoḥ
|| homaṅ ca kathayiṣyāmi devatāpyāyanottamaṃ²⁶ || avikalpaṃ
tu yac cittaṃ kuṇḍaśabdena cihnitaṃ | vivekānalamadhye tu
rūpaskandhādipañcakaṃ [15r3] || juhuyāt tat samastaṃ hi
samidhañ cittaśaṃbhavaṃ | rūpādayaś ca ye • bhāvāḥ samidheti
prakīrtitaḥ || evaṃ homaḥ praśastan tu pratiṣṭhā tu nigadyate |
sthiriḥbhū[15r4]tan tu yac cittaṃ kāyavākcittataḥ sadā || pratiṣṭhā
tu tam evāhuḥ skandhānām ekabhāvataḥ | idānīm kathyate
spaṣṭaṃ mantrāṇaṃ yac ca lakṣaṇaṃ || rahasyaṃ yan mayā
pro[15r5]ktaṃ bhāṣayā manasāpi ca | anutpādaṃ nirābhāṣaṃ
lakṣyalakṣaṇavarjitaṃ || etan mantraṃ iti proktaṃ
rahasyārthāvabodhataḥ | mantraṃ ca kathitaṃ spaṣṭaṃ devatā tu
niga[15v1]dyate | skandhāyatanadhātuś ca svabhāvena yata
sthitaṃ | samyakabodhyadhimokṣeṇa yat tat sarvvaṃ
prakalpitaṃ || devateti samākhyātaṃ yac citaina lakṣitaṃ |
mudrāpi ca tad e[15v2]voktaṃ kāyavākcittamudraṇāt ||
devatācādhyanaṃ yogaṃ spaṣṭan tan nigadāmy ahaṃ || rahasye
parame ramye sarvvātmani sadā sthitaḥ || sarvvabuddhamayaḥ
satvo vajrasa[15v3]tvaḥ paraṃ sukhaṃ | paryaṅkan tu <ta>²⁷to
baddhvā²⁸ nāśāgrāgata²⁹ drṣṭitaḥ || • svasvabhāvakayogena

²⁴ Before correction by cancellation: *ākhyātaṃ*.

²⁵ Added in the lower margin, possibly by a second hand.

²⁶ Before correction by cancellation: *°omattamaṃ*.

²⁷ Added between the lines in the scribal hand.

²⁸ Before correction by cancellation: *badhvāddhvā*.

sthātavyaṃ tatvadarśibhiḥ | ṣaṭ cakre tu saṃyuktaṃ
saṃpuṭībhāvayaṃs tat || [15v4] hastadvayan tu hṛddeśe
saṃpuṭīkr̥tya yatnataḥ | nirvikalpasvabhāvan tu yadā cittaṃ
pravarttate | tadā sampadyate tasya sarvvabuddhāgramelakaḥ ||
svādhiṣṭhānaṃ bhaved[15v5]d āśu sarvvabuddhātmmamelakaḥ
sarvvabuddhātmmamelā tu sarvvabuddhātmasamvaram |
saṃbuddhas tu bhaved yogī cittavajravaco yathā | kathitaṃ tu
mayā spaṣṭaṃ kāyavākcitta[16r1]siddhidaṃ || sarvvat-
antrārthaguptārthaṃ prajñopāyārthagocaraṃ | satvārthe mayā
kr̥payā buddhabodhiprabodhakaḥ || nāsāgrādi paryāṅka yud
ukta h+ mayā ca yat | [16r2] sarva saṃsthānamātraṃ na kṛtaṃ
paramārthataḥ || samayārthaṃ tad eveti na bodhavyaṃ
kadācana | kalpanā hi iyanmātrā yad bhaved ca kadācana ||
saṃsārasya bhaved dhetur vva[16r3]gvajrasya vaco yathā |
avikalpāvimokṣeṇa sādhyed yat sādha•kottamaḥ || raktaṃ
śukran tathā mānsaṃ mūtram purīṣaṃ eva ca | uktañ ca yan
mayā bāhyaṃ sama[16r4]yeti prayatnataḥ || tathāgatā hi te
sarvve mlecchitā vyavahārataḥ | samaraktaṃ yadā cittaṃ
satvahitena pravarttate yadā satvo na vidyate etadarthā-
vabodhena raktaṃ [16r5] bhakṣitaṃ bhavet || <bha>³⁰kṣite tu
mahārakte amitābhaṃ ca gacchati | dharmmāṇāṃ yo 'nutpādaḥ
śukraśabdena śabditaṃ || tadanutpādāvabodhād bhakṣaṇaṃ
samudāhṛtaṃ | [16v1] samatā tu yad bhāvānāṃ mānsam iti
prakāṣitaṃ || anupalabdhiyogād bhakṣaṇaṃ ity abhidhīyate |
prasravitañ ca yac cittaṃ samayatvānuयोगataḥ || mūtraśabdena
tac co[16v2]ktaṃ pītan tu karmmayogataḥ | na kiñcid api yac
cittaṃ sthitañ cānavabhāsataḥ | purīṣaṃ ca tad uktaṃ hi bhakṣita
hi anavabodhataḥ || etad dhi kathitaṃ spaṣṭaṃ samayasya tu
lakṣaṇaṃ | [16v3] etadanvo(?)vabodhena buddhadharmmo
nugamyate || [bullet-like fleuron] || śrīmatsatsukhā•va-
bodhanaṃ nāma tantrarāja mahādhiṣṭhānaṃ samāptaṃ ||
[viśvavajra with spokes pointing outwards] || [viśvavajra with

²⁹ Before correction by rubbing out and adding a *dhvaja* respectively:
nāgrāragata°.

³⁰ Added in the lower margin in the scribal hand.

spokes pointing inwards] || [*viśvavajra* with the combination of the two features] ||

2.2 Critical Edition of the Sanskrit

NB: Customary standardisations (gemination of *t* in *ttv*, degemination after *repha*, obvious sibilants, homorganic nasals, *dh/ddh*, or addition of *avagrahas*) are not pointed out separately. The underlined passages are not mirrored in the Tibetan translation. The abbreviation *st.* means standardisation; *corr.* means correction; *em.* means emendation; *conj.* means conjecture. The numeration in square brackets is mine, added for convenience and not to denote syntactic units. In the apparatus, *pādas* (a, b, c, d) are marked in bold; prose (p) is likewise marked in bold. The condemned reading is given in a standardised form, followed by the sigla Ms for manuscript. I have not performed a personal autopsy of the manuscript, but read it from good colour photographs.

(...)lekhanam || [8]

abhiṣekādikalpaṃ tu bhūtabhautikavigrahaṃ |

evamādyās tv anantāgrā³¹ buddhavajryādikalpanāḥ³² || [9]

ḍ °vajryādi°] *em.*, °vajrādi° Ms

susthitaṃ tu yadā cittaṃ tathatākāragocaram |

praktiprabhāsvarā dharmā ādisuddhā hy anāvīlāḥ ||³³ [10]

³¹ This *pāda* is an echo of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśamvara* (or its precursor, the *Longer Paramādya* or **Paramādyamantrakalpakaḥḍa*, D488; it is also found in another related text, the *Vajramaḥḍālaṅkāra*, D490), where it is something of a stock phrase (Ms 2r, 1.16a and *passim*).

³² The emendation is inspired by Kumāracandra's commentary (D, 274v): *sangs rgyas ni de bzhin gshegs pa'o* || *rdo rje can ni rdo rje 'dzin pa'o* || *sogs pa'i sgras ni byang chub sems dpa' la sogs pas so* ||. The Tibetan is inadequate.

³³ This line is missing in the Tibetan, but it is witnessed in Kumāracandra's commentary (D, 274v). It is most likely an appropriation from the *Māyājālatantra* (D, 123r); the line and its pair are quoted with this attribution in the *Jñānasiddhi* (142). The first three

maṇḍalam tu tathābhūtaṃ jñātavyaṃ hitaiṣiṇā³⁴ |
skandhadhātṛvādibhir vṛndai rañjitaṃ yad viśeṣataḥ || [11]
rajomaṇḍalam ity uktaṃ kāyavākittarañjanāt |
gaṇamaṇḍalam ity uktaṃ³⁵ skandhādyādinidarśanāt³⁶ || [12]
 c gaṇa°] *em.*, tadvakta gaṇa° Ms
 d °ādyādi°] *em.*, °ādyā° Ms
tac cittamaṇḍalam śuddhaṃ bhāvayen niḥsvabhāvataḥ |
ādarśaṃ hi bhaved ekaṃ³⁷ prathamāśrāvabodhakam³⁸ || [13]
 c ādarśaṃ] *em.*, ādarśaṃ naṃ Ms; ekaṃ] *conj.*, evaṃ Ms
pratyavekṣaṇam ity uktaṃ pratīcyāśravibhūṣaṇam |
 b pratīcyāśra°] *em.*, pratītyāśra° Ms
kr̥tyānuṣṭhānakaṃ śreṣṭham uttarāśravirājakam || [14]
 c kr̥tyā°] *em.*, kr̥tā° Ms; śreṣṭham] *corr.*, śreṣṭhaṃ Ms
samateti mahājñānam arvācyāśrānuśāsakam |
 b arvācy°] *em.*, avācy° Ms; °āśrā°] *em.*, °aśā° Ms
evaṃ aśracatuṣkaṃ tu kalpitaṃ jñānagocaram || [15]
etattattvapraveśena aśramadhyeṣu sarvataḥ |
dvāracatuṣṭayaṃ coktaṃ catuṣsmṛtyodayaṃ sadā³⁹ || [16]

syllables must be scanned very quickly (*drutocāraṇena*), as if there were only two.

³⁴ Recite *hitaiṣiṇā* for the sake of the metre. The Tibetan renders **hitaiṣiṇām*.

³⁵ The contamination eliminated by my emendation is puzzling. It is as if the scribe intended to write *tad uktaṃ*, misspelt it slightly, and then forgot to delete it. There are no signs anywhere that such an element was ever part of the text.

³⁶ The emendation is once again inspired by Kumāracandra (D, 275r), who must have read two *ādis*: *sogs pa'i sgra ni gcig gis ni skye mched du gzung zhing gnyis pas ni khams te* |. The Tibetan suggests **skandhādyānyādidarśanāt*: *phung sogs gzhan sogs mthong ba'i phyir* |.

³⁷ The conjecture is inspired by the Tibetan.

³⁸ Kumāracandra (D, 275r) helpfully points out that *aśra* in this context must be understood as 'side,' rather than 'corner': *rtsibs kyi sgra 'dis phyogs brdar btags pa'o* || [...] *rtsibs te logs zhes bya ba'i don to* || (*phyogs* and *logs* were probably the same word in Sanskrit).

uktaṃ tathā catuṣkoṇaṃ caturdānaviśuddhitaḥ⁴⁰ |

b °dāna°] *em.*, °dvāra° Ms

madhye maṇḍalarūpaṃ tu akṣobhyākāramaṇḍitam || [17]

maṇḍalaṃ sarvadā siddhaṃ śāntadharmārthamaṇḍanāt⁴¹ |

b śānta°] *st.*, sānta° Ms; °dharmārtha°] *em.*, °dharmātva° Ms

hārārdhahāracandrādi yal likhitaṃ tu maṇḍale || [18]

torañādyāni sarvāṇi samādhyāṅganibhāni hi |

torāṇaṃ cittaparyantam uktaṃ tattvasvabhāvataḥ || [19]

cittasya yat tu pravartanaṃ⁴² samādhyāṅge vyavasthitam |

hāreti tad evoktam⁴³ ardhahāras tadardhataḥ || [20]

ghaṇṭikā hārasaṃlagnā bodhayanti svaghoṣataḥ |

pratiśrutkopamān sarvān dharmāmś ca pratibudhyati || [21]

c °śrutko°] *corr.*, °śrutako° Ms; °opamān] *corr.*, °opamāna Ms; sarvān] *corr.*, sarvāna Ms

dhvajāvalī tad evoktā⁴⁴ dharmānutpādadarśanāt |

vitataṃ hi sadā cittaṃ bhāvādyādyavilepataḥ || [22]

cittaṃ vitānam ākhyātam uktaṃ hi paramārthataḥ |

mālyāmbaram hi tat sarvaṃ vicitrādyavabhāsataḥ || [23]

³⁹ Understand °*udayaṃ*, but the reading is perhaps original, if we see *smṛti* with the *Aiśa/Ārṣa* extended stem *-yā*.

⁴⁰ The emendation is substantiated by the context and Kumāracandra's comment, in spite of its being muddled (D, 275v): *chos dang zang zing mi 'jigs byams pa dang | de dag bzhi sbyin pa ni gru bzhi ste |*. The corruption was most likely caused by 16c.

⁴¹ The emendation is again supported by both the Tibetan translation and Kumāracandra.

⁴² This is a slightly hypermetrical *pāda*. We could solve it by removing the *tu*.

⁴³ This time the *pāda* is hypometrical, which could be solved by a verse-filler particle, e.g., **hāreti hi*.

⁴⁴ The Tibetan supports *dhvajāvalī*, but Kumāracandra mirrors *vajrāvalī* (D, 276r): *lhag par mos pa'i chos thams cad skyed pa (!) ston pa nyid rdo rje'i phreng ba'o ||*. The exclamation mark means that a negative particle is missing from the translation.

c °āmbaram] *em.*, °āmbara Ms
vajrākāraṃ tu yac cittaṃ ratijñānena cāṅkitam |
b rati°] *em.*, cati° Ms
tenārthenoditaṃ nityaṃ dākinīsamvarodayam⁴⁵ || [24]
c °oditaṃ] *em.*, °odita Ms
koṇasandhiṣu sarvataḥ |⁴⁶
a' °sandhiṣu] *em.*, °sandhis ca Ms; sarvataḥ] *em.*, sarvaḥ Ms
khacitaṃ vajraratnais tu vajraratnāvabodhataḥ || [25]
yad uktaṃ candrasūryaṃ tu prajñopāyārthadarśanāt |
prajñopāyamayaṃ cittaṃ ebhir jñānair vibhūṣitam || [26]
maṅdalaṃ hi tad evoktaṃ kāyavākcittavajrajam |
kāyavākcittasāmnidhyād ekākāram alakṣaṇam || [27]
c °sāmnidhyād] *em.*, °sānidhyād Ms
praveśā ca sa evokto vispaṣṭaṃ guruśiṣyayoḥ |
homaṃ ca kathayiṣyāmi devatāpyāyanottamam || [28]
avikalpaṃ tu yac cittaṃ kuṇḍasābdena cihnitam |
vivekānalamadhye tu rūpaskandhādipañcakam || [29]
juhuyāt tat samastaṃ hi samidhaṃ cittaśambhavam |
rūpādayaś ca ye bhāvāḥ samidheti prakīrtitāḥ || [30]
evaṃ homaḥ praśastaṃ tu⁴⁷ pratiṣṭhā tu nigadyate⁴⁸ |

⁴⁵ This *pāda* is not mirrored by the Tibetan, but it is witnessed in Kumāracandra. The readings *śamvara/śamvara* and *samvara/samvara* constantly alternate, and in an East Indian environment it is ultimately immaterial which one we choose. Kumāracandra's commentary seems to interpret the word with both meanings (D, 276r): *bde mchog byung ba'o || bsgom pa las skyes pa'i bde mchog ces bya ba'i don to || [...] sdom pa ni bcom ldan 'das te rdo rje sems dpa' 'am gzhan dag kyang ngo ||*.

⁴⁶ There is no trace anywhere that there was an odd *pāda* before this, we must therefore accept it as a scriptural idiosyncrasy. Both emendations are inspired by the Tibetan.

⁴⁷ In this register of the language, the conflation of the masculine and the neuter is not surprising, therefore I do not think that we should emend to *praśastas tu*.

⁴⁸ Kumāracandra has a slightly puzzling comment here (D, 276v): *rab tu gnas pa zhes bya ba la sogs pa la | dang po'i don gyi rkyen can no ||*. The *pratyaya* (*rkyen can*) he has in mind is most probably a *tasil*, meaning that

sthīrībhūtaṃ tu yac cittaṃ kāyavākcittataḥ sadā || [31]
pratiṣṭhā tu tam evāhuḥ skandhānām ekabhāvataḥ |
idānīm kathyate spaṣṭaṃ mantrāṇām yac ca lakṣaṇam || [32]
rahasyaṃ yan mayā proktaṃ bhāṣayā manasāpi ca |
anutpādaṃ nirābhāsaṃ lakṣyalakṣaṇavarjitaṃ || [33]
etan mantraṃ iti proktaṃ rahasyārthābhāvabodhataḥ |
mantraṃ ca kathitaṃ spaṣṭaṃ devatā tu nigadyate || [34]
skandhāyatanadhātuś ca svasvabhāvena yat sthitaṃ⁴⁹ |
 b svasva°] *conj.*, sva° Ms; yat] *corr.*, yata Ms
samyagbodhyadhimokṣeṇa yat tat sarvaṃ prakalpitaṃ || [35]
 c samyag°] *corr.*, samyaka° Ms
devateti samākhyātaṃ yac cittaṃ ca lakṣitaṃ⁵⁰ |
 b cittaṃ ca] *conj.*, citaina Ms
mudrāpi ca tad evoktaṃ kāyavākcittamudraṇāt || [36]
devatārādhanam yogaṃ spaṣṭaṃ tan nigadāmy aham |
 a °ārādhanam] *em.*, °ācādhyanaṃ Ms
rahasye parame ramye sarvātmani sadā sthitaḥ || [37]
sarvabuddhamayah sattvo vajrasattvah param sukham |⁵¹
paryāṅkaṃ tu tato baddhvā nāsāgrāgatadrṣṭitaḥ || [38]
svasvabhāvakayogena sthātavyaṃ tattvadarśibhiḥ |
ṣac cakre tu samyuktaṃ samputībhāvayams tat ||⁵² [39]

he read *pratiṣṭhāto* and for reasons unclear decided not to understand it as *pratiṣṭhā+atas*, but *pratiṣṭhā+tas* taken as a nominative, silently evoking the principle *sārvavibhaktikas tasil*.

⁴⁹ The conjecture is inspired by the context. The Tibetan translation suggests **svabhāvena yat susthitaṃ*.

⁵⁰ The Tibetan translation mirrors **yac cittenopalakṣitaṃ*, but Kumāracandra's lemma is simply *mtshon pa*, hence the conjecture.

⁵¹ This verse, an appropriation of *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśamvara* Ms 1v, 1.1 = Ms 7v, 5.9 = Ms 25r, 9.1, is not mirrored in the Tibetan, but it is witnessed by Kumāracandra (D, 277r).

⁵² This line is not mirrored in the Tibetan, but it is commented upon by Kumāracandra. Both *pādas* are hypometrical; perhaps *pāda* d could end in **tu tat* (a meaningless insertion) or *tataḥ* (picking up *tato* in 38c or pointing forward to 40a). The third quarter is much more problematic. Kumāracandra (D, 277v) unambiguously suggests that here the six

hastadvayaṃ tu hr̥ddeśe saṃpuṭīkṛtya yatnataḥ |
nirvikalpasvabhāvaṃ tu yadā cittaṃ pravartate || [40]
tadā saṃpadyate tasya sarvabuddhāgramelakaḥ |
svādhiṣṭhānaṃ bhaved āśu sarvabuddhātmamelakaḥ || [41]
sarvabuddhātmamelā tu sarvabuddhātmasaṃvaram |
saṃbuddhas tu bhaved yogī cittavajravaco yathā⁵³ || [42]
kathitaṃ tu mayā spaṣṭaṃ kāyavākcittasiddhidam |
sarvatantrārthaguptārthaṃ prajñopāyārthagocaram || [43]
sattvārthe mayā kṛpayā buddhabodhiprabodhakam |
 b °prabodhakam] *em.*, °prabodhakaḥ Ms
nāsāgrādi saparyaṅkaṃ yad uktaṃ h(*i) mayā ca yat || [44]
 c saparyaṅkaṃ] *conj.*, paryaṅka Ms
 d yad] *em.*, yud Ms; uktaṃ] *em.*, ukta Ms
sarvaṃ saṃsthānamātraṃ tan na kṛtaṃ paramārthataḥ |
 a sarvaṃ] *em.*, sarva° Ms; tan] *conj.*, omitted Ms
samayārthaṃ tad eveti na boddhavyaṃ kadācana || [45]
kalpanā hi iyanmātrā yad bhavec ca kadācana |
saṃsārasya bhaved dhetur vāgvajrasya vaco yathā || [46]
 c saṃsārasya] *corr.*, saṃnsārasya Ms
avikalpādhimokṣeṇa sādhayed yat sādhakottamaḥ |
 a °ādhimokṣeṇa] *em.*, °āvimokṣeṇa Ms
raktaṃ śukraṃ tathā māṃsaṃ mūtraṃ purīṣam eva ca || [47]
uktaṃ ca yan mayā bāhyaṃ samayeti prayatnataḥ |
tathāgatā hi te sarve mlecchitā vyavahārataḥ || [48]
samaraktaṃ yadā cittaṃ sattvahite pravartate |

cakravartins are meant (but he does not say which set he has in mind), the singular locative is therefore deeply worrying. If we emend to a singular accusative *cakraṃ*, we still have the metrical lack, which could perhaps be fixed by emending *saṃyuktaṃ* to *samāyuktaṃ*. Alternatively, if the text did indeed mean without ambiguity the six *cakravartins*, then we might consider emending *cakre* to *cakreśaṃ*. I am inclined towards this solution. It is very unlikely that the text advocates a system of yogic *cakras*. In any case, the only tantric Buddhist school to teach six such discuses (*cakra*) is the *Kālacakra*, and we do not see any such influence on this text.

⁵³ This *pāda* is an echo of *Guhyasamājantra* 16.73d.

b °hite] *em.*, °hitena Ms

yadā sattvo na vidyate || [49]

etadarthāvabodhena raktaṃ tu bhakṣitaṃ bhavet |

b tu] *conj.*, omitted Ms

bhakṣite tu mahāraakte amitābhaṃ ca gacchati || [50]

dharmānāṃ yo 'nutpādaḥ śukraśabdena śabditam |

tadanutpādāvabodhād bhakṣaṇaṃ samudāhṛtam || [51]

samatā tu yad bhāvānāṃ māṃsam iti prakāśitam |

anupalabdhivyogād bhakṣaṇam ity abhidhīyate || [52]

prasravitaṃ ca yac cittaṃ samayatvānuyogataḥ |

mūtraśabdena tac coktaṃ pītaṃ tu karmayogataḥ || [53]

na kiṃcid api yac cittaṃ sthitaṃ cānavabhāsataḥ |

purīṣaṃ ca tad uktaṃ hi bhakṣitaṃ hi anavabodhataḥ || [54]

d bhakṣitaṃ] *em.*, bhakṣita Ms

etad dhi kathitaṃ spaṣṭaṃ samayasya tu lakṣaṇam |

etadarthāvabodhena buddhadharmo 'nugamyate || [55]

c °arthā°] *conj.*, °anvo° Ms

śrīmatsatsukhāvabodhanaṃ nāma tantrarājaṃ mahādhiṣṭhānaṃ
samāptam ||

p °rājaṃ] *em.*, °rāja Ms

2.3 Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation

The Tibetan translation is the work of *Gayādhara and [ʼBrog mi] Shākya ye shes, and it thus probably dates to the middle of the 11th century. While semantic analysis in particular does not lend itself to easy rendering into Tibetan, the duo is responsible for several blunders even where the meaning was evident. All in all, this is not the product of their finest hour as translators. I have used only a selection of *bKa' 'gyurs* available to me and I do not expect great surprises when eventually the other witnesses too are collated. I have also used an extra-canonical transmission of the text (M); this is a very special witness, because it contains a quarter verse (46d) omitted in the canonical transmission, perhaps because the compilers of the *Phyag chen khrid mdzod* collection had had access to a Sanskrit witness. This is not the only time M excels

in this way. However, the precise reason behind these better readings will need a separate study.

C = Co ne, rGyud, Nga, 83r7–85v6 (= no. 58, cf. Bethlenfalvy 1982: 70).

D = sDe dge, rGyud, Ga, 259v3–261v3 (= Tōhoku no. 414).

L = Shel dkar, rGyud, Ga, 54r4–57r1 (= Pagel & Gaffney 1996, no. 293).

M = *Phyag chen khrid mdzod*, vol. 1 (OM), 1–4v5.

N = sNar thang, rGyud, Da, 1–5v4 (= no. 388, cf. Bethlenfalvy 1982: 70).

P = Pe cing, rGyud, Nga, 77v6–80r3 (= Ōtani no. 58).

S = sTog, rGyud, Ga, 59r6–62r7 (= Skorupski 1985, no. 376).

V = Ulan Bator rGyal rtse them spangs ma, rGyud, Ga, 221r9–224r2 (Bethlenfalvy 1982, no. 445)

NB: The portions bracketed by obeli (†) are regarded as plainly corrupt and without any ideas how to remedy them.

rgya gar skad du | a nā bi la tantra rā dza nā ma |
 p a nā bi la] D N V, a nā bi laṃ C, shrī a nā bi la L M S, a na
 bi laṃ P; dza] C D L M S, dzā N P V
bod skad du | rgyud kyi rgyal po rnyog pa med pa zhes bya ba |
 p rnyog pa med pa] C D N P V, dpal rnyog pa med pa L M
 S
rdo rje mkha' 'gro la phyag 'tshal lo ||
 p rdo rje mkha' 'gro] C D L N P S V, dpal rdo rje
 mkha' 'gro M

sems can rnams la phan 'dod pas ||
 a pas] C D L M N S V, pa P
rnyog med rab tu bshad par bya ||
snang ba med cing dpe med pa ||

tshig gi yul las rnam par 'das || [1]
zhi zhing bdag med⁵⁴ dag pa nyid ||
mtshan med mtshan gzhi rnam par spangs ||
 b gzhi] C D L M N S V, bzhi P
†ngang gi sangs rgyas 'di nyid tshul ||†
 c ngang] C D L M N S V, dag P; gi] C D N P, gis L M S V
mtshan med mtshan gzhi rnam par spangs || [2]
 d omitted in L M S; med] D N V, nyid C P; gzhi] C D N V,
 bzhi P
khyad par du yang mdor bsdu pas ||
 a yang] C D L N P S V, ni M; pas] C D L N P S V, pa M
bdag gis gsal bar bshad pa yin ||
rmongs pa rnams la phan 'dod pas ||
snying rjes 'di ni bstan pa yin || [3]
kha cig stong par 'dod pa dang ||
kha cig thig le'i gzugs can dang ||
kha cig khyab 'jug tshul gyis ni ||
 c gyis] C D L M N S V, gyi P
blo dman dag ni 'jog par byed || [4]
†de nyid nges par yang dag par ||
rgyu yi gnas kyi spyod yul nyid ||†
rgyu dang 'bras bu ma grub na ||
sgom pa med cing byang chub med || [5]
 d sgom] M P, bsgom C D, bsgoms L N S V
rgyu yi yid ches spangs pa 'di ||
 a yid ches] C D M N P S V, ches L
thog ma tha ma med pa'i bdag ||
sgyu ma'i ye shes las byung ba ||
rnam pa sna tshogs ston par byed || [6]
kha cig drag po'i rang bzhin du ||
kha cig zhi ba chen po che ||
kha cig phyag rgya'i rang bzhin gzugs⁵⁵ ||

⁵⁴ The Tibetan translation reflects **nirātmakam*. Kumāracandra (272v) seems to have read **nirāmayam*, although the lemma in the translation is *bdag med pa*. For he understands this to refer to the absence of the obscuration of taints (*kleśāvaraṇa*).

kha cig 'dar zhing g.yo ba dang || [7]
glu gar de bzhin sil snyan dang ||
lha yi sngags ni brjod pa nyid ||
kha cig sngags ni yang dag dgod ||
 c ni] C D L M N S V, na P
kha cig dkyil 'khor bri ba dang || [8]
dbang la sogs pa brtag pa dang ||
'byung dang 'byung las gyur pa'i lus ||
 b lus] C D L N P S V, las M
de ltar la sogs mtha' yas mchog ||
sangs rgyas la sogs rdo rje brtags || [9]
gang tshe sems ni legs gnas pa ||
de bzhin nyid kyi spyod yul nyid || [10]
dkyil 'khor de bzhin 'gyur ba ni ||
 a bzhin] C D M N P V, nyid L S
phan 'dod rnams kyis shes par bya ||
 b kyis] L N S V, ni C D M P
phung po la sogs tshogs rnams kyis ||
 c la] C D L N P S V, khams M
gang zhig khyad par gyis bcos pa || [11]
 d pa] C D L N P S V, pas M
lus ngag yid gsum bcos pa'i phyir ||
rdul tshon dkyil 'khor zhes byar gsungs ||
phung sogs gzhan sogs mthong ba'i phyir ||
tshogs kyi dkyil 'khor zhes byar gsungs || [12]
sems kyi dkyil 'khor dag pa ste ||
rang bzhin med par bsgom par bya ||
 b bsgom] C D L M P S, bsgoms N V
me long lta bu gcig nyid de ||
 c bu] C D M P, bu'i L N S V
dang po grwar ni rtogs par bya || [13]
 d grwar] D M, grur C L N P S V
so sor rtog pa zhes gsungs pas ||
shar gyi grwar ni nam par brgyan ||

⁵⁵ I suspect that here we had **rūpāḥ* ('women') and not **rūpa* (*gzugs*).

b grwar] C D M, grur L N P S V; brgyan] C D L M N P S,
rgyan V
bya ba nan tan khyad 'phags pa ||
byang gi grwar ni nram par spros || [14]
d grwar] C D M P, grur L N S V; spros] C D L N P S V,
spras M
mnyam nyid ye shes chen po ni ||
bag chags med grwa rjes rtogs byed ||
b med] D M L N P S V, mang C; grwa] C D M P, gru L N S
V; byed] C D L M N S V, byang P
gzhan du'ang dkyil 'khor gru bzhi pa ||
grwa yi dbus ni thams cad du || [15]
de nyid 'di ni rab 'jug pas ||
ye shes spyod yul du ni brtag ||
sgo bzhir yang dag brjod pa ni ||
de bzhin dran pa bzhir byung ba || [16]
d byung] C D L M N S V, bya P
de bzhin grwa bzhir gsungs pa ni ||
a grwa] C D L M P S V, gra N
sbyin pa bzhi ni nram dag pa ||
b dag] C D L M P S V, deg N
dbus su dkyil 'khor gzugs su ni ||
mi bskyod pa yis nram par brgyan || [17]
d pa yis] D L M S, pa'i C, pa yi N P V; brgyan] C D L M P
S, rgyan N V
zhi dang chos don brgyan pa las ||
a brgyan] C D L M P S, rgyan N V
de dag thams cad dkyil 'khor 'grub ||
dra ba dra phyed zla ba sogs ||
b dra ba] C D L N P S V, drwa ba M; dra phyed] C D L N S
V, drwa phyed M, dra phye P
dkyil 'khor du ni bris pa dang || [18]
rta babs la sogs thams cad ni ||
ting 'dzin yan lag rta babs nyid ||
sems kyi mthar thug brjod pa ste ||
de nyid rang bzhin las ni gsungs || [19]
gang zhig sems kyi rab 'phel ba ||

a 'phel] C D L M N P S, phel V
ting 'dzin yan lag rnam par gnas ||
de nyid dra ba zhes su gsungs ||
c dra] C D L N P S V, drwa M
dra ba phyed pa phyed du ste || [20]
d dra] C D L N P S V, drwa M
dril bu do shal brtag pa ni ||
a brtag] D L M N S V, brtags C P
rang gi btsun mo rtogs par byed ||
sgra brnyan rnam pa lta bur ni ||
c ni] C D M N P V, na L S
chos rnams thams cad so sor rtogs || [21]
d rtogs] C D L N P S V, rtog M
chos rnams ma skyes mthong ba'i phyir ||
de nyid rgyal mtshan phreng bar gsungs ||
b phreng] C D M N P V, 'phreng L S
bla re la sogs gang bres pa ||
c re] C D L N P S V, bre M; la] C D L M N S V, las P
dngos po la sogs dang por nges || [22]
d la] C D L M N S V, las P; por] C D L M, po N P S V
sems ni bla re zhes byar bshad ||
a re] C D L N P S V, bre M
dam pa'i don las gsungs pa 'o ||
gos phreng de dag thams cad ni ||
b phreng] C D M N P S V, 'phreng L
rnam pa sna tshogs snang ba nyid || [23]
gang zhig rdo rje rnam pa'i sems ||
dga' ba'i ye shes kyis ni mtshan ||
b ba'i] C D L M N S V, ba' P
de yi 'og tu rtag tu gsungs || [24]
grwa yi mtshams ni thams cad du ||
rdo rje rin chen rtogs pa'i phyir ||
rdo rje rin po che yis spras || [25]
zla ba nyi ma gang gsungs pa ||
thabs dang shes rab don mthong phyir ||
thabs dang shes rab bdag nyid sems ||
ye shes 'dis ni rnam par brgyan || [26]

d ye] D L M N P S V, ya C; brgyan] C D L M P S, rgyan N
V

sku gsung thugs kyi rdo rje skyes ||
de nyid dkyil 'khor du ni gsungs ||
sku gsung thugs ni nye ba'i phyir ||
rnam pa gcig tu mtshan nyid med || [27]
bla ma slob ma rnam gsal bar ||

a mam] L S, rnam CD M N P V

rab tu 'jug pa de nyid gsungs ||
sbyin sreg yang ni bshad pa yang ||

c sreg] C D L M N S V, bsreg P; yang] C D N P V, kyang L
M S

lha rnam tshim pa nga yis brjod || [28]
rnam rtog med pa'i sems gang ni ||
thab khung sgra yis mtshan pa nyid ||

b pa] C D M P, ma L N S V

bye brag phyed pas me nang du ||
gzugs kyi phung sogs lnga po rnam || [29]
sams las byung ba'i yam shing nyid ||
thams cad kyi ni sreg lugs bya ||

b kyi] C D L N P S V, kyis M; sreg] C D L S, bsreg M N P
V; lugs] C D N P V, blugs L M S

gzugs la sogs pa gang byung ba ||
yam shing zhes ni rab tu grags || [30]
de ltar sbyin sreg bshad nas ni ||

a sreg] C D L M N S V, bsreg P

rab tu gnas pa brjod par bya ||
sku gsung thugs la rtag tu ni ||
gang zhig sems ni brtan gyur pa || [31]

d sems] D L M N P S V, sams C

de nyid rab tu gnas par brjod ||
phung po rnam kyi dngos po ci ||

b ci] C D M N P S V, cig L

gang zhig sngags kyi mtshan nyid ni ||
de ni gsal bar brjod par bya || [32]
yid rnam kyis ni skad du yang ||
gang zhig gsang ba bdag gis brjod ||

skye ba med cing snang med pa ||
c pa] C D L M N S V, par P
mtshan gzhi mtshan nyid rnam par spangs || [33]
d gzhi] C D L M N S V, bzhi P
gsang ba'i don ni rtogs pa'i phyir ||
a rtogs pa'i] C D M N P S V, rtogs L
'di ni nga yis sngags su gsungs ||
sngags ni gsal bar bshad nas ni ||
lha rnam yang ni brjod par bya || [34]
d yang] C D M N P V, kyang L S
phung po khams dang skye mched kyi ||
rang bzhin gyi ni legs gnas gang ||
b gyi] C D N P S V, gyis L M; gang] C D M N P S V, kyang
L
yang dag byang chub thar pa nyid ||
de kun yang dag rab brtags shing || [35]
gal te sems kyi nyer brtags gang ||
a kyi] C D N P S, kyis L M V
lha zhes bya bar yang dag bshad ||
sku gsung thugs kyi phyag rgya las ||
de nyid du ni yang dag gsungs || [36]
d de] C D L N P S V, 'di M
lha la gsol btab rnal 'byor ni ||
gsal bar nga yis brjod par bya || [37]
de nas skyil krung bcas nas ni ||
a skyil] C D L M N S V, dkyil P; krung] C D L M N P S,
krungs V
sna yi rtse mor bltas nas kyang || [38]
b mor] C L M N P S V, mar D
rang gi rang bzhin rnal 'byor gyis ||
de nyid mthong ba gzhag par bya || [39]
b ba] C D M P, bar L N S V; gzhag] C D L M S, bzhag N P
V
snying ga'i gnas su lag pa gnyis ||
a ga'i] C D M N, ka'i L S V, kha'i P
'bad pas mnyam par sbyar nas su ||
mi rtog pa yi rang bzhin du ||

gang tshe sems ni rab rgyu ba || [40]
sangs rgyas thams cad 'dus pa'i bdag ||
de tshe de la skye bar 'gyur ||
 b la] C D L N P S V, las M
sangs rgyas thams cad 'dus pa'i bdag ||
myur bar byin gyis rlob par 'gyur || [41]
 d rlob] C D N P S V, brlab M
sangs rgyas thams cad 'dus pa'i bdag ||
sangs rgyas kun gyi sdom pa'i bdag ||
 b sdom] C D M P, rtog L N S V
thugs kyi rdo rjes gsungs pa bzhin ||
 c rjes] C D M N P V, rje L S; gsungs] C D M N P V, gsum L
 S
rnal 'byor sangs rgyas thams cad 'gyur || [42]
 d rnal 'byor] C D L N P S V, yo ga'i M
nga yis gsal bar brjod pa ni ||
 a nga] D L M N P S V, de C; gsal] C D L M N S V, bsal P
sku gsung thugs kyi grub sbyin pa ||
sangs rgyas kun mchog gsang ba'i don ||
thabs dang shes rab spyod yul don || [43]
sems can don du snying rje che ||
 a che] C D L N P S V, ches M
sangs rgyas byang chub rab sgrub pa ||
 b sgrub] C D L M N S V, bsgrub P
sna rtse'i dkyil 'khor nga yis gsungs || [44]
 c rtse'i] C D M P, rtse L N S V
de dag thams cad dbyibs tsam du ||
mdor bsdus thams cad ma byas so ||
res 'ga' dam tshig 'khor lo yang ||
 c 'ga'] D L M N P S V, dga' C; lo] C D L N P S V, lor M
de nyid zhes bya ma gsungs so || [45]
 d zhes] C D L N P S V, ces M; bya] C D L N P S V, byar M;
 gsungs so] C D M N P S V, gsungs L
rtogs pa cung zad tsam gyis ni ||
gang 'grub de ni res 'ga' yang ||
 b res] C D L M P S, re N V; 'ga'] D M L N P S V, dga' C
gsung gi 'khor lor gsungs pa bzhin ||

c bzhin] L M S, yin C D N P V
'khor ba'i rgyu ru 'gyur ba yin || [46]
d omitted in C D L N P S V
rnam rtog med par lhag mos pas ||
sgrub po dam pas bsgrub par bya ||
khrag dang khu ba de bzhin sha ||
bshang ba dang ni gci ba nyid || [47]
dam tshig zhes bya rab 'bad par ||
a zhes] C D N P V, ces L M S; bya] C D L N P S V, byar M
gang zhig bdag gis tshig gsungs pa ||
de mams kun la de bzhin gshegs ||
de mams tha snyad tsam gyis gnas || [48]
gang tshe dam tshig 'dod chags sems ||
des ni de nyid rab tu spyod ||
gang tshe sems ni chags gyur pa ||
de ni sems can yod ma yin || [49]
d ni] C D L N P S V, tshe M
de la kun tu rtog pa yi ||
a kun] C D L N P S V, rtag M; tu] C D L M N S V, du P
khrag ni za bar 'gyur ba 'o ||
khrag ni chen po zos nas ni ||
'od dpag med pa'ang bza' bar bya || [50]
gang zhig chos mams las skyes pa ||
khu ba'i sgrar ni bsgrag par bya ||
b bsgrag] D M, bsgrags C L N P S V
de tshe ma skyes rtogs pa'i phyir ||
bza' bar yang dag gsungs pa nyid || [51]
dngos po kun gyi mnyam pa nyid ||
sha chen du ni rab tu dbye ||
b tu] D L M N P S V, du C
mi dmigs pa yi mal 'byor gyis ||
c pa yi] D L M N P S V, pa'i C
bza' ba zhes byar mngon par brjod || [52]
gang zhig rab tu 'dzag pa'i sems ||
nus pa'i rjes su sbyor ba las ||
phyag rgya las kyi sbyor ba yis ||
c kyij] C D L M P S V, ni N

de yang gci ba'i sgra yis brjod || [53]
chos dang chos min nges pa'i sems ||
 a nges] D L M N P S V, ngas C
sbas pa'i char ni gnas pa 'di ||
chos rnams thams cad rab rtogs pa'o ||
 c pa'o] C D M N P S V, pa'i L
bshang ba za bar yang dag brjod || [54]
dam tshig nyid kyi mtshan nyid ni ||
 a nyid ni] C D M N P S V, nyid L
'di rnams thams cad gsal bar bshad ||
'di rnams don ni rtogs pa yis ||
sangs rgyas kun gyi bdag nyid 'gyur || [55]
 d kun gyi] C D L M N P S, gyi V

dpal bde ba dam pa rtogs par byed pa dang ldan pa zhes bya ba'i
rgyud byin gyis brlab pa'i rim pa chen po mkha' 'gro ma dra ba
sdom pa'i brtag pa rnyog pa med pa zhes bya ba rdzogs so ||

p rgyud] C D L N P S V, rgyud kyi rgyal po M; dra] C D L
N P S V, drwa M; so] D L M N P S V, su'o C; C P add the
formula *ye dharmā* etc. here; at the bottom of the folio, V
has a pasted slip with *dbu med* writing: *'di nas phreng ba
gcig las ma tshang* (I cannot make out the next word). This
perhaps refers to the missing *pāda* 46d.

rgya gar gyi mkhan po paṇḍi ta ga ya dha ra dang | bod kyi lo
tstsha ba dge slong shā kya ye shes kyis bsgyur ba'o ||

p ga ya dha ra] D L M N S V, gā ya dhā ra C, gha ya dhā ra
P; tstsha] C D N P V, tsā M, tsa L S

Bibliography

1. Primary Sources (Indic)

Anāvīlatantra = Tibetan version: D414/P58.

**Anāvīlā Pañjikā* = Kumāracandra, **Anāvīlatantraṭīkā*. Tibetan version: D1204/P2334.

Guṇavatī = Ratnākaraśānti, *Guṇavatī nāma Mahāmāyāṭīkā*. In *Mahāmāyātantram with Guṇavatī by Ratnākaraśāntī(!)*. Ed. by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabh Dwivedi. Rare Buddhist Text 10. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1992.

Guhyasamājatantra = Yūkei Matsunaga (ed.), *The Guhyasamāja Tantra*. Osaka: Toho Shuppan, 1978.

Jñānasiddhi = Indrabhūti, *Jñānasiddhi*. Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabh Dwivedi (eds.), *Guhyādi-Aṣṭasiddhisāṅgraha*. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1987.

Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśamvara = Ms. Collège de France IÉI Lévi no. 48. [Verse numeration is from my draft edition.]

Svādhiṣṭhānakramaprabheda = Pandey, Janardan (ed.), "Durlabh granth paricay." *Dhīḥ* 10 (1990): 3–24.

2. Primary Sources (Tibetic)

Phyag chen khrid mdzod = *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i khrid mdzod*. 13 vols. New Delhi: rNam par rgyal ba dpal zhwa dmar ba'i chos sde, 1997. [scans: Buddhist Digital Resource Centre (BDRC): W23447].

rGyud sde rnam bzhag rgyas pa = Bu ston Rin chen grub, *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa rGyud sde rin po che'i mdzes rgyan*. In *The Collected Works of Bu-ston (zhol par ma)*. Edited by Lokesh Chandra from the collections of Raghu Vira. 28 vols. Śata-piṭaka Series Indo Asian Literatures 41–68. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1965–1971, vol. 15 (Ba), 307–917.

3. Secondary Sources

- Almogi, Orna. 2020. *Authenticity and Authentication: Glimpses behind the Scenes of the Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon*. Indian and Tibetan Studies 9. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.
- Bethlenfalvy, Géza. 1982. *A Hand-list of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-rtse them spañs-ma*. Debter. Deb-ther. Debtelin. Materials for Central Asian and Altaic Studies 1. Fontes Tibetani I. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Damron, Ryan C. 2014. *The Great Illusion: A Preliminary Study of the Mahāmāyā Tantra and Its Corpus*. MA thesis. University of California, Berkeley.
- Davidson, Ronald M. 2005. *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Jackson, Roger R. 2009. "Two *Bka' 'gyur* Works in Mahāmudrā Canons: The *Ārya-ātajñāna-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* and the *Anāvīla-tantra-rāja*." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 5: 1–24.
- Matsunami, Seiren. 1965. *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*. Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation.
- Nishioka, Soshū. 1983. "Index to the Catalogue Section of Buxton's History of Buddhism (III)." [In Japanese.] *Annual Report of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange* 6: 47–201.
- Ōmi, Jishō. 2009a. "Ratnākaraśānti and Alaṃkāraśrī's Interpretation on the Mahāmāyātantra, chapter 1, passage 3 to chapter 1, passage 5." [In Japanese.] *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture/Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho* 22: 179–208.
- . 2009b. "Ratnākaraśānti's and Alaṃkāraśrī's Interpretations of the Mahāmāyā-tantra, Chap. 1, v18, and Chap. 1, v23 to

- Chap. 2, v5: Focused on the Critical Edition of the Sanskrit-Tibetan Text of the Mahāmāyānāmapañjikā with Commentaries." [In Japanese.] *Journal of Esoteric Buddhism / Mikkyō Bunka* 222: 27–65.
- Pagel, Ulrich & Séan Gaffney. 1996. *Location List to the Texts in the Microfiche Edition of the Śel dkar (London) Manuscript bKa' 'gyur (Or. 6724)*. Catalogus Codicum Tibetanum 1. London: British Library Publications.
- Rhoton, Jared D. 2002. *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinctions among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Roerich, George N. 1949. *The Blue Annals: Parts I & II*. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Sanderson, Alexis G. J. S. "The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism in the Early Medieval Period." In Shingo Eino (ed.), *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, 41–349.
- Sferra, Francesco. 1999. "The Concept of Purification in Some Texts of Late Indian Buddhism." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 27: 83–103.
- Skorupski, Tadeusz. 1985. *A Catalogue of the sTog Palace Kanjur*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- Tomabechi, Toru. 2006. *Étude du Pañcakrama: Introduction et traduction annotée*. PhD thesis. University of Lausanne.

A Typology of Criteria for Buddhist Scriptural Authenticity

Dorji Wangchuk (Universität Hamburg)*

1. Prologue

On two earlier occasions, I proposed a typology of criteria for Buddhist scriptural authenticity.¹ In an attempt to deepen and widen the scope of the topic, I ended up investigating a multilayered apology of Buddhist scriptures by the eleventh-century Tibetan scholar Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po, but the study burst the bounds of its planned initial scope and size. The present paper is confined to the presentation of three previously proposed types of twofold criteria, which embody the idea that the “well-expounded” (*subhāṣita/sūkta/svākhyāta*: *legs par gsungs/bshad pa*) scriptures/ doctrines are “Buddha-expounded” (*buddhabhāṣita/buddhokta*: *sangs rgyas kyis gsungs pa*). This idea forms a part of my ongoing study of Rong zom pa’s apology of Buddhist scriptures, and hence will not be elaborated here. I shall also refrain from identifying and discussing here the wide spectrum of criteria for scriptural authenticity and authentication strategies that can be

* I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Philip H. Pierce for proofreading this paper and for making valuable suggestions also regarding its content and coherence, and also to Dr. Orna Almogi for her editorial care and attention. Needless to state that I alone am responsible for all the errors of commission and omission that may still remain.

¹ The first occasion was the 17th Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies (August 18–23, 2014) held at the University of Vienna, with the paper (presented on August 23) “The Authenticity Issue of the *Vidyādharaṭṭaka*,” and the second occasion was the international conference on “Evolution of Scriptures, Formations of Canons” held at the Tokyo Campus of the University of Tsukuba at Myogadani (September 24–25, 2018), with the paper (presented on September 24) “Three Two-Fold Criteria of Scriptural Authenticity in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism.”

gleaned from various Indian and Tibetan sources, and also from providing an overview of previous studies dealing with the issues of canonicity and scriptural authenticity in Tibetan Buddhism, let alone the studies of the topic in Buddhism in general.²

2. “Composed Scriptures” Are Fake Scriptures

For any given Buddhist tradition, it would be true to say that an “authentic scripture” is one that “is expounded by the Buddha” and hence inevitably constitutes the “Word of the Buddha” (*buddhavacana: sangs rgyas kyi gsung/bka'*). It would be also true to say that for a Buddhist tradition a scripture is, by definition, never a composition (*brtsams pa*), whereas a treatise (*śāstra: bstan bcos*) must be, as a rule, composed by individuals who are not yet *buddhas*, at least not formally. For the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, a “composed scripture” is a euphemism for a “fake/false scripture.” Thus, when Tibetan scholars state that “Indians compose (*rtsom*) treatises, Chinese compose Sūtric scriptures, and Tibetans Tantric scriptures,”³ it is obviously meant as a commendation of the Indian

² I may, however, mention a couple of studies that are directly relevant to my topic: (a) Orna Almogi’s recent study “Authenticity and Authentication,” which contains two parts: Part one, “On Strategies for Authenticating Scriptures and Treatises: The Tibetan Buddhist Case” (pp. 11–97); and Part two, “What’s in a Name? Once Again on the Authenticity of Tibetan Canonical Colophons” (pp. 101–221). (b) Nicola Bajetta’s study of the **Sarvadharmacaryopadeśābhisamayatantra*, a case of a Tantric scripture from the later period of dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet that is not transmitted in the *bKa' 'gyur*. See particularly Bajetta 2019: 13–23; cf. Wangchuk 2016. (c) mKhan po Padma chos phel’s forthcoming study of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* titled *gSang snying zhib 'jug*, especially his review and overview of the apologetic and polemical literature surrounding the authenticity of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* provided in its fourth chapter, *gSang snying dgag sgrub la dpyad pa*. To this one may add Wangchuk 2002. (d) Mengyan Li’s discussion of “The Controversy over the Authenticity of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Scriptures” found in Li 2018: 39–50.

³ Rig ral, *rGyan gyi nyi 'od* (Almogi 2020: 31; van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009: 261–262): ... *rgya gar ba bstan bcos rtsom* || *rgya nag pa mdo rtsom* ||

tradition and as a condemnation of the Chinese and Tibetan traditions. What they could not acknowledge was that Indians not only composed treatises but also produced—that is, compiled, or composed—a large number of Sūtric and Tantric scriptures as well!⁴ Rong zom pa, who was active in the second half of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth century, does not seem to have known the aperçu, and indeed bCom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri's (1227–1305) reference to it may be, at least for now, regarded as the earliest written attestation of it.⁵

3. Genetic-Diachronic and Generic-Synchronic Criteria of Scriptural Authenticity

Although one can trace various kinds of and nuances in criteria for scriptural and doctrinal authenticity stated by both the proponents and opponents of some particular scripture (whether explicitly or implicitly), we can speak of fundamentally two different types of

bod rgyud rtsom.... The *rGyan gyi nyi 'od* seems to be the earliest source that has been traced thus far. This aperçu, with slight variants in syntax, sequence, and orthography, has been used repeatedly by various Tibetan scholars. See, for example, rGyal dbang lnga pa, *rGyal dbang lnga pa'i gsan yig* (vol. 1, p. 171.13–14): *bya rgyud yin khul gyi lha bcu gsum ma 'dra 'ong 'dug pa ni rgya nag mdo rstom pa dang bod rgyud rtsom pa dang 'dra'o* ||; rGyal dbang lnga pa, *rNam rgyal gser mdog* (p. 30.10–11): *slar lung sde bzhi nas btsal kyang ma brnyed pas rgya nag mdo rstom pa'i phyag len de slebs pa 'dra'o* ||; rGyal dbang lnga pa, *rTsis las brtsams pa'i dri lan* (p. 468.12–13): *rgya nag pa mdo rstom | bod pa rgyud rtsom | rgya gar bstan bcos rtsom pa'i gtam*...; Sum pa mkhan po, *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (p. 753.18–19): *rgya gar bas bstan 'chos* (sic) *rtsom rgya nag gis mdo rstom bod pas rgyud rtsom* |; Tshe tan zhabs drung, *Thon mi'i zhal lung* (p. 133.21–22). There may be many more later Tibetan sources that allude to the aperçu.

⁴ Cf. Davidson 2005: 215 “We know almost nothing about the Tibetan circumstances of the early compositions, but the same is true for Indian scriptures: all the scriptural authors are anonymous.”

⁵ In addition to the reference to Rig ral's *rGyan gyi nyi 'od* given above, see also Almogi 2020: 38–39, with regard to Rig ral speaking of Old and New Tantric scriptures composed in Tibet.

criteria of authenticity, namely, (a) “genetic-diachronic” and (b) “generic-synchronic” ones.⁶ Those who follow the former would presuppose that only those Buddhist scriptures that (historically) stemmed from the Buddha can be considered authentic, whereas those who follow the latter would presuppose that the authenticity of a Buddhist scripture need not be measured solely by its “genetic” link with the Buddha but can also be established by its “generic” conformity with those scriptures that are accepted by both parties as being authentic according to the first criterion. The core idea underlying the generic-synchronic criterion of authenticity seems to be that any scripture that is “well-expounded/taught” is “Buddha-expounded/taught,” regardless of who taught it, and where and when it was taught. This idea, which I wish to discuss in detail in a forthcoming study, is well attested in a number of Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna sources.⁷ It is important for us, therefore, to recognize that the generic-synchronic criterion of authenticity is to be seen as not a substitution for the genetic-diachronic criterion but rather an augmentation of it. One often finds these two kinds of criteria conflated.

Each of the two criteria seems to have its own (if one may use these terms) advantages and disadvantages. The advantage of the genetic criterion is that its application is meant to sieve out, secure—conserve, let us say—the “original” (or “earliest”) elements of the teachings of the (historical) Buddha, which is of great interest not only to Buddhists but also to historians of

⁶ Peter Skilling, while discussing the difficulties judging scriptural authenticity poses, talks of “ancestry” and “genealogy” as opposed to “content.” This pair of criteria presupposed by him corresponds *ad sensum* to my “genetic-diachronic” and “generic-synchronic” criteria for scriptural authenticity. See Skilling 2010: 2. His allusion (*ibid.* 37) to the term *satyādhiṣṭhāna* (in the context of scriptural authenticity) also seems to be pointing in the same direction as my “generic” criterion.

⁷ The use of the *subhāṣita* argument for making a case for *buddhabhāṣita*, different interpretations thereof and the criterion of *subhāṣita* in turn will be discussed in greater detail, among other things, in my forthcoming study of Rong zom pa’s multilayered Buddhist apology.

Buddhist ideas. The disadvantage of applying it strictly or consistently is that in the end it might turn out to be that no known Buddhist doctrine or scripture can fulfill such a criterion. The advantage of the generic criterion is that it eschews any attempt to judge a scripture solely on the basis of its origin—perhaps comparable to judging a person solely on the basis of his or her family—but rather attempts to judge it primarily on the basis of, say, its quality and efficacy. The disadvantage of the generic criterion, as noble and appealing as it may be, is that there is a risk on the part of those who one-sidedly or otherwise improperly follow it to deny the history of Buddhism, which is bound to have other undesirable implications, such as denial of responsibility.

In Tibet, most critics who have questioned the authenticity of certain scriptures and doctrines, and likewise most apologists who have defended their authenticity, seem to have primarily presupposed a genetic-diachronic criterion of authenticity, inasmuch as the Indian provenance or the existence of Sanskrit texts/manuscripts (*rgya dpe*) was evidently considered the most decisive criterion for the authenticity of a scripture, and hence also of the doctrines that it teaches. My proposal of a pair of criteria for scriptural authenticity, “genetic-diachronic” and “generic-synchronic,” is inspired by ideas found in Rong zom pa’s writings, particularly his commentary on the **Guhyagarbhatantra*. The dominance of a genetic-diachronic criterion of scriptural authenticity seems to be based on the idea that an authentic scripture cannot be a compilation or composition, as expressed, for example, in Rong zom pa’s following statement:⁸

Moreover, some suspect that what are known as Tantric scriptures “are self-made/composed” (*rang gis sbyar ba*), [that is,] are compilations made on the basis of earlier *upādhyāyas*’

⁸ Rong zom pa, *dKon mchog 'grel* (p. 83.6–9): *yang kha cig sngon gyi mkhan po rnams kyis gzhung las bsdus pa la sogs pa rang gis sbyar ba yin par the tshom za ste | de bas na dad pa'i yul du mi 'gyur ba dang | las dang dngos grub kyi rgyur yang mi rung ngo snyam du the tshom za ba ste |*. See also Wangchuk 2002: 270–271, where the text and translation of a longer passage can be found.

treatises and the like, and thus [they] have doubts, thinking that [these Tantric scriptures] can be neither objects of devotion/faith nor an impetus for [Tantric] activities and attainments/successes.

In other words, an authentic scripture that has been transmitted in Tibet must genetically stem from the (historical) Buddha himself, which in turn implies that such a scripture must be translated from the/an Indian language (*rgya gar gyi skad*), and thus that there must exist (or have existed) an original Indian text/manuscript (*rgya dpe*). In my view, the “generic-synchronic” criterion of scriptural authenticity can be deduced from Rong zom pa’s (a) understanding of the “84,000 sets of doctrines” (*caturaśītisahasra-dharmaskandha: chos kyi phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong*) and “twelvefold scriptural corpus” (*dvādaśāṅgaṃ pravacanam: gsung rab yan lag bcu gnyis*) as teaching nothing but “beneficiality-felicity” (*pathya: phan pa*) and “benignity-veracity” (*satya: bden pa*), (b) his definition of *subhāṣita/sūkta* solely in terms of *pathya* and *satya*, and (c) his evaluation of *subhāṣita/sūkta* teachings found outside the Buddhist traditions. To be sure, his *pathya* seems to include both *abhyudaya* and *niḥśreya* benefits, and his *satya* both what is right/correct from a *prajñāic/jñānaic* perspective and what is right/correct from a *karuṇāic/krpāic* perspective—intentions/ motivations and actions that are correct/right in terms of, so to say, both science and conscience. I shall return to this criterion in a forthcoming study, and hence not elaborate here.

In Tibet, those scriptures that were “composed” (mostly in Sanskrit) by anonymous Indians and were later translated into Tibetan were admitted or included as authentic, and those that were suspected of having been “composed” by Tibetans were questioned or excluded as bogus. I consider this a moderate application of the genetic-diachronic criterion for authenticity, inasmuch as Tibetans did not attempt to trace the origin of those scripture beyond their Indic (or Sanskrit) origin. Such an application of the genetic-diachronic criterion, though not perfect, has enormous merit within the Tibetan Buddhist context, and it seems totally legitimate, practical, and more or less verifiable. The

existence or emergence of a Sanskrit manuscript/text of a certain Buddhist scripture was taken, as a matter of principle, as settling the issue once and for all. This moderate application of the genetic-diachronic criterion was meant to prevent scriptural fabrication or production on Tibetan soil. In a way, Tibetans managed to put an “embargo on scriptural production” on their own people (if not always successfully) while guaranteeing a market for “scriptures fabricated or produced in India.”⁹ The downside of the implementation of this genetic-diachronic criterion is the possibility that, at least in principle, a scripture of “superior” quality produced in Tibet—one that is far more in conformity with the Buddha’s teaching and hence “correct” (*yang dag pa*)—would be rejected as “false” (*log pa*) teaching, whereas a scripture of “inferior” quality produced in India or the Indic cultural sphere, and even one that hardly deals with the Buddha’s teaching, could end up revered and worshipped as the “correct” Word of the Buddha. But obviously Tibetan scholars at large were ready to live with this risk.¹⁰

4. Objective–Subjective Criteria for Scriptural Authenticity

We may consider other twofold criteria for authenticity, one identified by David Seyfort Ruegg, who discusses the difference between Bu ston Rin chen grub’s (1290–1364) “objective criterion of authenticity” and ‘Brug pa Padma dkar po’s (1527–1592) “subjective criterion based on mystical experience.”¹¹ The part most relevant to the present topic reads:¹²

⁹ In this regard, see also Almogi 2020: 14.

¹⁰ For a discussion of Tāranātha’s arguing against the general tendency to automatically give preference to religious works (and sacred objects) that have their origin in the Indic cultural sphere over those that have originated in the Tibetic one, see Almogi 2020: 62–64.

¹¹ Seyfort Ruegg 1966: 26–30.

¹² Seyfort Ruegg 1966: 27–28. The passage should be read together with the accompanying note (p. 28, n. 1).

It appears that the method followed by Bu ston in editing the canon differs at least in its approach from that indicated for example by Padma dkar po. While Bu ston excludes a text from the canon if its origin and tradition are uncertain without, however, expressing a binding opinion as to its value, Padma dkar po maintains that no difficulty arises as long as it is clear that the text in question is also of use in pointing the way to Buddhahood. Bu ston, in harmony with ancient principles (enunciated for example in the Mahāpadesa), follows an objective criterion of authenticity, which can be accepted by any editor, while Padma dkar po introduces a more subjective criterion based on mystical experience. The latter approach would appear to be proper for a *bla ma* [italics mine] upholding above all the traditions of esoteric Buddhism who is presumed to take into account the nature of the disciple to whom they are individually and directly transmitted; and the former method is required by the responsible editor of a canon of texts which will ever be regarded as authoritative.

Indeed, we are bound to find within Buddhist traditions those for whom the “scrutinization of phenomena” (*dharmapraṇicaya: chos rab tu rnam par 'byed pa*) is more important and those for whom “harmonization of intentions” (cf. *ekībhāva: dgongs pa gcig pa; ekāśayaprayogātā: dgongs pa gcig pa'i sbyor ba nyid*) is more important. We need only think of Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) and his *sDom gsum rab dbye* as juxtaposed to 'Bri gung 'Jig rten gsum mgon (1143–1217) and his teachings on the *dgongs gcig*. The difference between the two can be said to be one of accentuation of one or the other, namely, an analytic or synthetic approach. The former seeks to discriminate between, for examples, *dharma* and *adharma*, *subhāṣita* and *durbhāṣita*, and the latter to harmonize all elements within the framework of *dharma* and *subhāṣita*. Such a difference in general would naturally influence their attitudes and approaches to scriptures/doctrines. Perhaps Bu ston's and Padma dkar po's attitudes and approaches to scriptural authenticity should be seen in such a light.

One difficulty involves characterizing Bu ston's criterion, "objective criterion of authenticity," as purportedly being in harmony with the ancient principles of the four *mahāpadeśas* (*chen po bstan pa bzhi*) and the four *kālāpadeśas* (*nag po bstan pa bzhi*), since in principle such a criterion would, without question, be applicable also from Padma dkar po's perspective, whereas it can hardly be said to have been applied in practice by Bu ston, Seyfort Ruegg himself admitting that Bu ston's "chief criteria were the existence of the original Indian texts (*rgya dpe* [italics mine]) and of an authoritative tradition guaranteeing their validity."¹³ Similarly, Bu ston could have hardly rejected what I call here the "authenticity criterion of soteriological efficacy" that Seyfort Ruegg seems to attribute to Padma dkar po.¹⁴

One might attempt to connect Bu ston's "objective criterion of authenticity" with my genetic-diachronic criterion, and Padma dkar po's "subjective criterion based on mystical experience" with my generic-synchronic criterion, but that would be, in my view, a mismatch. This is because the argument underlying the generic-synchronic criterion that a scripture is *buddhabhāṣita/buddhokta* in virtue of being *subhāṣita/sūkta* is doubtless able to stand on its own, that is, without resorting to the argument of mystical experience. In fact, one might contend that the generic-synchronic criterion is the best kind of objective criterion of authenticity. In short, the twofold criteria of authenticity described by Seyfort Ruegg are in my opinion not identical or co-extensive with the twofold criteria that I proposed above.

¹³ Seyfort Ruegg 1966: 28–29, n. 1.

¹⁴ For a discussion relevant to the "authenticity criterion of soteriological efficacy," see Almogi 2020: 61–68, §3.2.1. "Authentication Based on Soteriological Benefit."

5. Scriptural-Textual and Doctrinal-Contentual Criteria for Scriptural Authenticity

Other twofold criteria for authenticity may be called for; for example, (a) “scriptural-textual” and (b) “doctrinal-contentual” (i.e., in the sense of “content-related/based”). It is apparent that for both proponents and opponents the authenticity issue confronting Buddhist scriptures and the validity issue of Buddhist theories and practices can hardly be separated. In other words, the approval or rejection of the authenticity of a scripture is tantamount to the approval or rejection of theories and practices taught in it, and vice versa. In the Tibetan tradition, however, we do come across interesting cases in which the authenticity of scriptures or treatises on which a doctrine is based is not questioned, but a doctrine espoused by them (or rather the interpretation of it) is completely rejected as false and non-Buddhist. For example, the scriptures and treatises of what is known in Tibet as the “Mega-Madhyamaka of Extrinsic Emptiness” (gZhan stong dbu ma chen po) is not rejected, inasmuch as they are authoritative scriptures and treatises that originated in India and thus fulfill the scriptural-textual criterion for authenticity, whereas the gZhan stong doctrine based on the interpretation of these authoritative sources is rejected by some Tibetan Buddhist schools and scholars on the grounds that it does not fulfill the doctrinal-contentual criterion for authenticity. Likewise, Tibetan critics of the *Kālacakrantra* did not doubt its Indic or Sanskrit provenance, and yet they did question its authenticity on the basis of the doctrinal-contentual criterion. Strictly speaking, therefore, it would not be correct to maintain that Tibetan scholars, including both critics and apologists of a certain scripture, were automatically ready to accept its authenticity merely on account of its proven Indic or Sanskrit origin. Against the backdrop of such a state of affairs in Tibetan Buddhism, a recognition of the scriptural-textual and doctrinal-contentual criteria for authenticity seems all the more desirable.

6. Epilogue

What I have attempted in this article is (a) to restate one general criterion of Buddhist scriptural authenticity, namely, that a scripture is, or should be, a kind of revelation or utterance of the Buddha, and never a compilation or composition, and (b) to introduce three types of binary criteria for scriptural authenticity. Of the three types, the second one (objective–subjective criteria) has been attributed to Bu ston and Padma dkar po by David Seyfort Rugg, whereas the genetic–generic and scriptural–doctrinal pairs are mine. Of these last two, I feel that the genetic–generic pair of criteria can be more useful when examining issues concerned with scriptural authenticity. The generic-synchronic criterion presupposed by most Indic Mahāyāna scriptures appears to be the more idealistic of the two, whereas Tibetan scholars, especially those involved in the compilation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, resorted to the more pragmatic genetic-diachronic criterion, though only to a certain degree, given that they had no realistic means of tracing the genealogy of Buddhist scriptures that originated in India to the Buddha himself.

Bibliography

1. Tibetan Sources

dKon mchog 'grel = Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po, *rGyud rgyal gsang ba snying po dkon cog 'grel*. In *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*. 2 vols. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999, vol. 1, 31–250.

rGyan gyi nyi 'od = bCom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri, *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*. See van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009: 101–277.

rGyal dbang lnga pa'i gsung 'bum = rGyal dbang lnga pa Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *rGyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*. 28 vols. Gangs can khyad nor. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008.

rGyal dbang lnga pa'i gsan yig = rGyal dbang lnga pa Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig ganggā'i chu rgyun*. 4 vols. In *rGyal dbang lnga pa'i gsung 'bum*, vols. 1–4.

Thon mi'i zhal lung = Tshe tan zhabs drung 'Jigs med rig pa'i blo gros, *Gangs can bod kyi brda sprod pa'i bstan bcos sum cu pa dang rtags 'jug gi rnam gzhag rgya cher bshad pa thon mi'i zhal lung*. In *Tshe tan zhabs drung gsung 'bum*. 13 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007, vol. 4, 89–344.

rNam rgyal gser mdog = rGyal dbang lnga pa Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *bsTan pa'i rtsa ba rab byung dang khyim pa la phan gdags pa'i cho ga mtha' dpyod dang bcas pa 'khrul spong rnam rgyal gser mdog*. In *rGyal dbang lnga pa'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 17, 1–392.

dPag bsam ljon bzang = Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor, *Chos 'byung dpag bsam ljon bzang*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992.

rTsis las brtsams pa'i dri lan = rGyal dbang lnga pa Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *rTsis dkar nag las brtsams pa'i dris lan nyin byed dbang po'i snang ba*. In *rGyal dbang lnga pa'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 23, 399–484.

2. Secondary Sources

- Almogi, Orna. 2020. *Authenticity and Authentication: Glimpses behind the Scenes of the Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon*. Indian and Tibetan Studies 9. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.
- Bajetta, Nicola. 2019. *The Clear Realisation of the Quintessential Instructions on All Dharma Practices: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the *Sarvadharmacaryopadesābhisamayatantra (Chos spyod thams cad kyi man ngag mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyud) Based on Two Unpublished Manuscripts from the 'Bras-spungs-gnas-bcu-lha-khang*. Indian and Tibetan Studies 6. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.
- Davidson, Ronald M. 2005. *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard W. & Kurtis R. Schaeffer. 2009. *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of bCom ldan ral gri*. Harvard Oriental Series 64. Cambridge, MA: The Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University, 101–277.
- Li, Mengyan. 2018. *Origination, Transmission, and Reception of the Phur-pa Cycle: A Study of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle of Tantric Teachings in Tibet with Special Reference to Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan's (1552–1624) Phur pa'i lo rgyus*. Doctoral dissertation. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg [<https://ediss.sub.uni-hamburg.de>].
- Seyfort Ruegg, David. 1966. *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che: With the Tibetan Text of the Bu ston rNam thar*. Serie Orientale (SOR) 34. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.
- Skilling, Peter. 2010. "Scriptural Authenticity and the Śrāvaka Schools: An Essay towards an Indian Perspective." *The Eastern Buddhist* 41/2, 1–48.

- Wangchuk, Dorji. 2002. "An Eleventh-Century Defence of the **Guhyagarbhatantra*." In Helmut Eimer & David Germano (eds.), *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism: Proceedings of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*. Leiden: Brill, 265–291.
- . 2016. "On the Identity and Authenticity of the **Sarvadharmacaryopadeśābhisamayatantra*: A Tantric Scripture Associated with the Vikramaśīla Tradition." In Norihisa Baba (ed.), *Relationship between Tantric and Non-Tantric Doctrines in Late Indian Buddhism*. *Oriental Culture* 96. Tokyo: Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, The University of Tokyo, 95–106.

The Fifth Element of the *Sūtrapiṭaka* Rethinking the Canons of Indian Buddhist Monastic Orders

In memory of Prof. Seishi Karashima and Prof. Stefano Zacchetti

BABA Norihisa (The University of Tokyo)*

1. Introduction

Gérard Fussman and Mark Allon had an inspiring discussion on canon formation based on the Gandhāran manuscripts, which date from approximately the first century BCE to the fourth century CE. They pondered whether or not these manuscripts witness the existence of a stable canon. Whereas Fussman states that there is no such evidence in Buddhist schools other than the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda, Allon proposes that “the Dharmaguptakas, or the communities that produced these manuscripts whoever they may have been [...] had stable, if not fixed *āgamas* (*sūtra* and verse collections), or at least attempted to transmit them as such.” As Allon himself admits, there currently exists no conclusive evidence that allows us to decide one way or the other.¹

For considering canon formation in Indian Buddhism, I believe that the works of monastic orders (*nikāyas*) are helpful, since they include many references to lists of their scriptures, which even in excellent studies on the Indian Buddhist canons have never been

*Sections 3 and 4 and sections 5 and 6 of the present article are based on my Japanese publications, Baba 2017 and Baba 2008: 155–253, respectively. I express my deepest thanks to Dr. Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Dr. Vincent Tournier for their insightful comments and suggestions, without which I would not have been able to complete this article. All errors and omissions remain my own.

¹ See Fussman 2012: 197–199 and Allon 2018: 232–233.

exhaustively taken into account.² In this article, I accordingly intend to consider the lists of Buddhist texts quoted in the works of the Mahāsāṅghika, Sarvāstivāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda,³ and Theravāda (Mahāvihāra) traditions, in terms of whether or not these schools had fixed canons.⁴ Through research on the lists of canonical texts, the article will discuss how these major monastic orders recognized as *buddhavacana* verse texts transmitted outside the *Tripitaka* and added the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* (or *Khuddakanikāya*), which (mainly) consists of these verse texts, to the *Sūtrapiṭaka* which had comprised only the Four *Āgamas* in the earlier lists of the *Tripitaka*.

2. The *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* of the Mahāsāṅghika

In his pathbreaking book on the *Mahāvastu*, Vincent Tournier has discussed the process of canon expansion of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda in detail. Here I would like to focus on the Chinese translation of the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* to point out its textual evidence that the Mahāsāṅghika added the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* to the *Sūtrapiṭaka* as its fifth collection.⁵ This would also accord with Vincent Tournier's hypothesis of canon

² On the formation of the Pāli Canon, see von Hinüber 1978; 1996: §§85, 119, 129, 151, 156; and Norman 2006: 171–194. On the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, see Lamotte 1956, 1957, 1958. On the authenticity of the Indian Buddhist canons, see Skilling 2010. On Sanskrit versions of *Āgamas*, see Hartmann 2020. For outlines of Gandhāran manuscripts of Buddhist canons, see Salomon 2011, 2017, 2018: 51–102.

³ In this article, the “Mūlasarvāstivāda” means nothing but the “Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* tradition.” While I admit the possibility that the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* tradition was a part of the Sarvāstivāda, as Fumio Enomoto (2000) insists, I also admit the possibility that it was independent of the Sarvāstivāda, as discussed by Petra Kieffer-Pülz.

⁴ On the concept of Buddhist canons, see Silk 2015.

⁵ On the Mahāsāṅghika Canon and Chinese Buddhist information on the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, see Tournier 2017: 43–46, 70–81.

formation of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda.⁶

In its chapter on the First Buddhist Council, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* describes the recitation of the **Sūtrapiṭaka* (or **Sūtrāntapiṭaka*) and **Vinayapiṭaka*.⁷ The former consists of the Four *Āgamas* (**Dīrghāgama*, **Madhyamāgama*, **Saṃyuktāgama*, and **Ekottarikāgama*) and the **Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, which is defined as the collection of “verse texts.”⁸ After its account of the First Buddhist Council, however, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* goes on to explain twenty-eight elders’ transmission of the scriptures recited at the Council, which are here given as “**Vinaya*, **Abhidharma*, **Saṃyuktāgama*, **Ekottarikāgama*, **Madhyamāgama*, and **Dīrghāgama*.”⁹ The meaning of this important list depends on the interpretation of *Abhidharma*: there are two possibilities.

First, *Abhidharma* may refer to the third *Piṭaka*, and in this case this list would mean the standard *Tripitaka*. Elsewhere the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* mentions “*Sūtra*, *Vinaya*, and *Abhidharma*,”¹⁰ and Xuánzàng 玄奘 also mentions the Mahāsāṅghika’s Three *Piṭakas*.¹¹ If the list refers to the *Tripitaka* (*Vinaya*, *Abhidharma*, and *Sūtra*), then the *Sūtrapiṭaka* here would consist of only the Four *Āgamas*.

⁶ See Tournier 2017: 37–47.

⁷ T1425, 22.491c. See also Lamotte 1956; Maeda 1964: 981–986.

⁸ T1425, 22.491c20–22: 雜藏者，所謂辟支佛阿羅漢自說本行因緣，如是等比諸偈頌。 For a French translation of this sentence, see Tournier 2017: 77.

⁹ T1425, 22.492c18–19: 比尼、阿毘曇、雜阿含、增一阿含、中阿含、長阿含。

¹⁰ T1425, 22.295a27–28: 契經、比尼、阿毘曇。

¹¹ T2053, 50.252c; T2087, 51.946c: 大衆部經律論。T2053, 50.241b28: 大衆部三藏。

Secondly, *Abhidharma* may refer to the nine categories of Buddhist scriptures, or **navāṅgas*. When listing the “*Abhidharma* and *Vinaya*,” the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* repeatedly defines the *Abhidharma* as “the nine categories of *sūtra*” and *Vinaya* as “the **Prātimokṣa* in extenso and in brief.”¹² In this case, the list would refer to “*Vinaya* and *Dharma*,” and the latter would consist of the Four *Āgamas*. This interpretation seems to fit better the context of the First Buddhist Council for the recitation of “*Dharma* and *Vinaya*.”¹³

Whatever *Abhidharma* means, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* describes the *Sūtrapiṭaka* transmitted by the twenty-eight elders after the First Buddhist Council as the collection that consists of only the Four *Āgamas*. In this list, the *Kṣudrapiṭaka* is absent. This leads us to the hypothesis that the earlier version of the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* would have listed only the Four *Āgamas* as the *Sūtrapiṭaka* recited at the First Buddhist Council. The odd structure, with one *Piṭaka* (*Kṣudrapiṭaka*) included within another *Piṭaka* (*Sūtrapiṭaka*), probably arose in the course of the later compilation process. The *terminus ante quem* for the incorporation of the *Kṣudrapiṭaka* into the *Sūtrapiṭaka* would be the early fifth century, when the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* was translated into Chinese.

The Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* mentions the **Pārāyana*, the **Arthavargīya*, the **Munigāthā*, and the **Dharmapada*, all of which are “verse texts” included in the *Kṣudrapiṭaka*, as the *sūtra* to be recited instead of the *Prātimokṣa* at the Poṣadha when bandits invade the place where the ritual is performed.¹⁴ This shows that

¹² T1425, 22.340c5–6: 阿毘曇者九部修多羅，是名阿毘曇。毘尼者廣略波羅提木叉，是名毘尼。T1425, 475c13–14: 阿毘曇者九部修多羅，毘尼者波羅提木叉廣略。T1425, 501c24–25: 阿毘曇者九部經，比尼者波羅提木叉略廣。T1425, 536b21–22: 阿毘曇者九部修多羅，毘尼者波羅提木叉廣略。

¹³ In this case, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*'s mention of *Abhidharma*, quoted in the first interpretation, would reflect a later development in canon formation.

¹⁴ T1425, 22.447c12–14: 賊入者，即應更誦餘經：若波羅延，若八跋耆經，

the Mahāsāṅghika regarded these verse texts as *buddhavacana*, like the *Prāṭimokṣa*. That is probably why the Mahāsāṅghika added the collection of verse texts to the *Sūtrapiṭaka*.

In the seventh century, Xuánzàng wrote in the *Dà Táng xīyù jì* 大唐西域記 that the Mahāsāṅghika school compiled five *Piṭakas*, which consist of “the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Abhidharmapiṭaka*, **Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, and **Vidyā(dhara)piṭaka*, and this is why it is called the Mahāsāṅghika.”¹⁵ In this well-known description, the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* of the Mahāsāṅghika is not included in the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, but stands as the fourth *Piṭaka*. Xuánzàng’s testimony suggests that this school first added to the *Tripitaka* the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* and then the *Vidyā(dhara)piṭaka*^{16,17} The concept of five *Piṭakas* was common to other schools. As I will mention in section 4, the **Satyasiddhi*—probably belonging to the Sautrāntika,¹⁸ an offshoot of the Sarvāstivāda school—mentions this idea. According to Paramārtha in the sixth century, moreover, the Dharmaguptaka school also compiled five *Piṭakas*, with a *Vidyā(dhara)piṭaka* as the fourth and the **Bodhisattvapīṭaka* as the

若牟尼偈，若法句。The sentence is absent in parallel parts of other schools’ *Vinayas*. Therefore, this part may have been added to the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*.

¹⁵ T2087, 51. 923a7–9, T2053, 50.238b7–9: 集素咀纜藏、毘奈耶藏、阿毘達磨藏、雜集藏、禁呪藏，別為五藏。而此結集，凡聖同會，因而謂之大眾部。

¹⁶ On the original word for *Jinzhòu zàng* 禁呪藏, see Tournier 2017: 46 n. 192.

¹⁷ Importantly, Vincent Tournier (2017: 45–46) discusses the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* and the *Vidyā(dhara)piṭaka* of the Mahāsāṅghika. On Candrakīrti’s reference to the sevenfold *Piṭakas* (*Bodhissattva-*, *Vidyādhara-*, *Sūtrānta-*, *Abhidharma-*, *Vinaya-*, *Vaipulya-*, and *Jātaka-piṭaka*) of the Pūrvaśāila and the Aparāśāila, subschools of the Mahāsāṅghika, see also Tournier 2017: 259 n. 15.

¹⁸ See Fukuda 2000; Funayama 2012: 28–30.

fifth being added to the *Tripitaka*.¹⁹

3. Lists of Canonical Texts in the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda

The supposed authorization process of the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* in the Mahāsāṅghika is quite similar to that of the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions. As will be discussed in this section, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* describes the *Sūtrapitaka* as the Four *Āgamas* following the Sarvāstivāda tradition, and at the same time it regards a series of verse texts lacking in the list of the *Tripitaka* as *buddhavacana*. It is also interesting that an increasing number of these verse texts in the lists are gradually mentioned in these Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions.²⁰

Among extant texts of these traditions, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (SV, *Shísòng lǜ* 十誦律),²¹ Sarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhāṣā* (SVV,

¹⁹ T1852, 45.9c23–24: 自撰為五藏，三藏如常，四呪藏，五菩薩藏。

This is probably a quotation in the *Sānlùn xuányì* 三論玄義 by Jízàng 吉藏 from the *Bùzhí shū* 部執疏, a lost text on Indian Buddhist schools written by Paramārtha 真諦. I would like to express here my deepest thanks to Prof. Tōru Funayama and Dr. Vincent Tournier, who informed me that the *Sanron gengi kenyūshū* 三論玄義檢幽集, which is a treatise on the *Sānlùn xuányì* by a Japanese monk, Chōzen 澄禪, quotes Paramārtha's words about the five *Pitakas* of the Dharmaguptaka from an eighth-century Chinese text on the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, the *Sifēn lǜ chāopī* 四分律鈔批, written by Dàjiào 大覺 (T2300, 70.465b). Surprisingly, Paul Demiéville (1931–32) has studied this lost text by Paramārtha and Chōzen's quotation. On the lost texts of Paramārtha, see Funayama 2012: 21–23.

²⁰ For the *Mahāsūtras*, an anthology of *sūtras* extracted from the *Āgamas*, in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, see Skilling 1994, 1997.

²¹ As Shayne Clarke (2015: 70) points out, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* is silent on the school affiliation in its text. But the Sarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhāṣā* states its affiliation to the Sarvāstivāda in its title.

Sàpóduō píní pípóshā 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙), and Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (MSV) describe their *Tripitaka*. In its account of the First Buddhist Council, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* quotes from the first *pārājika* at the start of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the first *sūtra* of the *Sūtrapiṭaka* (i.e., the *Dharmacakrapravartana* of the *Samyuktāgama*), and the opening section of the *Abhidharmapiṭaka* (first section of the *Dharmaskandha*), but it lacks detailed descriptions of each *Piṭaka*.²² The Sarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhāṣā*, a commentary on the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*,²³ refers to first the *Vinayapiṭaka*, followed by the *Abhidharmapiṭaka*, and then the *Sūtrapiṭaka*,²⁴ which comprises the *Ekottarikāgama*, *Madhyamāgama*, *Samyuktāgama*, and *Dīrghāgama*.²⁵

In its account of the First Buddhist Council, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, in both its Chinese²⁶ and Tibetan²⁷ translations, indicates that the *Tripitaka* comprises the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, *Vinayapiṭaka*, and *Abhidharmapiṭaka*. Here, the *Sūtrapiṭaka* consists of the *Samyuktāgama*, *Dīrghāgama*,²⁸ *Madhyamāgama*, and *Ekottarikāgama*, while the *Vinayapiṭaka* comprises the *Sūtravibhaṅga* (starting with the *pārājikas*), the *Vastus* (starting with the *Pravrajyāvastu*), and the **Nidāna*, **Muktaka*,²⁹ etc. It also mentions the recitation of the

²² T1435, 23.447a12–449b11.

²³ See Funayama 2006: 44–46.

²⁴ T1440, 23.503c24–504a1.

²⁵ T1440, 23.503c27–504a1. (1) **Ekottarikāgama* (增一), (2) **Madhyamāgama* (中阿含), (3) **Samyuktāgama* (雜阿含), (4) **Dīrghāgama* (長阿含).

²⁶ T1451, 24.406a29–408b15.

²⁷ *Kṣudrakavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (Tib. 'Dul ba phran tshegs kyi gzhi): P1035, vol. Ne, 293a6–299a1; D6, vol. Da, 310a4–316a5.

²⁸ On the contents and structure of the *Dīrghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, see Hartmann 2004.

²⁹ On the *Nidāna* and the *Muktaka*, see Clarke 2001, 2002; Kishino 2013, 2016.

**Mātrkā* (*ma mo lta bu*; *mózhilǐjiā* 摩窒里迦), which is also referred to as **Abhidharma* (*chos mgnon*; *āpítán* 阿毘曇), alongside the *Sūtra(pīṭaka)* and *Vinaya(pīṭaka)*.³⁰ While the above-mentioned three works give the Three *Pīṭakas* and Four *Āgamas* in different order, as Table 1 shows,³¹ both the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions define the *Sūtrapīṭaka* as the collection of the Four *Āgamas*.

Table 1: Structure of the *Tripīṭaka*

SV	SVV	MSV
<i>Vinayapīṭaka</i> <i>Sūtrapīṭaka</i> <i>Abhidharmapīṭaka</i>	<i>Vinayapīṭaka</i> <i>Abhidharmapīṭaka</i> <i>Sūtrapīṭaka</i> = EĀ, MĀ, SĀ, DĀ	<i>Sūtrapīṭaka</i> = SĀ, DĀ, MĀ, EĀ <i>Vinayapīṭaka</i> <i>Mātrkā</i> (<i>Abhidharma</i>)

Despite the *Sūtrapīṭaka* comprising the Four *Āgamas* only, the Sarvāstivāda's canonical texts quote or mention verse texts that are not included in the Four *Āgamas*. For instance, the

³⁰ The Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* mentions no specific texts of the *Abhidharmapīṭaka*, but the account of the First Buddhist Council quoted in the *Nyāyānusārinī* (T1562, 29.330b6–7) mentions the *Samgītiparyāya*, *Dharmaskandha*, and *Prajñapti* at the end of the recitation of the *Mātrkā*. If this reflects the original wording of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, the terms *fǎjí* 法集 and *fǎyùn* 法蘊 in its Chinese translation may also refer to the *Samgītiparyāya* and *Dharmaskandha*, respectively.

³¹ The *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, which has close connections with the Sarvāstivāda, mentions the Four *Āgamas* in the order *Ekottarikāgama*, *Madhyamāgama*, *Dīrghāgama*, and *Samyuktāgama* (T1509, 25.69c). This is close to their order in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhāṣā*, with just the last two *Āgamas* in reverse order. The *Yogācārabhūmi* lists the Four *Āgamas* in the order *Samyuktāgama*, *Madhyamāgama*, *Dīrghāgama*, and *Ekottarikāgama* (T1579, 30.772c), which is close to their order in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, with the order of the middle two *Āgamas* having been reversed.

*Samyuktāgama*³² and the *Samgītiparyāya*³³ quote the *Pārāyaṇa* and the *Arthavargīya* as teachings of the Buddha. More importantly, the *Samyuktāgama*, Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, and related texts give lists of verse texts such as the *Pārāyaṇa*. There are more than ten such examples,³⁴ which can be divided into the following three groups.

(A) Anuruddha's Recitation of Verse Texts

The Sarvāstivāda's *Samyuktāgama* (SĀ) states that the monk Anuruddha recited eight verse texts.³⁵ According to the shorter *Samyuktāgama* (SSĀ) probably belonging to the Mahīśāsaka,³⁶ however, he recited only four verse texts.³⁷ And the parallel text in the Pāli *Samyuttanikāya* (SN Sagāthavagga 10.6) states only that he "recited stanzas of the Dhamma,"³⁸ without giving the names

³² T99, 2.95b11–12: 爾時，世尊告尊者舍利弗：“如我所說，波羅延那阿逸多所問。” T99, 2.255c9–10: 舍利弗，我於此有餘說，答波羅延富隣尼迦所問。T99, 2.144b3: 世尊義品答摩捷提所問偈。

³³ T1536, 26.396a28–29: 如薄伽梵於波羅衍拏起問中說。

³⁴ These lists of verse texts were discussed by Étienne Lamotte (1956, 1957, 1958) and Egaku Maeda (1964), but not exhaustively.

³⁵ T99, 2.362c10–12 (SĀ 1321). (1) **Udāna* (憂陀那), (2) **Pārāyaṇa* (波羅延那), (3) **Satyadṛś* (見真諦), (4) **Sthaviragāthā* (諸上座所說偈), (5) **Sthavirīgāthā* (比丘尼所說偈), (6) **Śailagāthā* (尸路偈), (7) **Arthavargīya* (義品), (8) **Munigāthā* (牟尼偈).

³⁶ Although many scholars had attributed the Shorter *Samyuktāgama* to the Sarvāstivāda, Kōgen Mizuno (1996) and Seishi Karashima (2020) convincingly argue that it belonged to the Mahīśāsaka.

³⁷ T100, 2.480c22–23 (SSĀ320). (1) **Dharmapada* (法句偈), (2) **Pārāyaṇa* (波羅延), (3) **Sthaviragāthā* (大德之偈), (4) **Arthavargīyāni sūtrāni* (其義及修多羅等).

³⁸ SN I 209: *dharmapadāni bhāsati*.

of any specific verse texts.³⁹ Whereas the Pāli *Samyuttanikāya* in both the prose and verse sections states coincidentally that he “recited stanzas of the Dhamma,” the Sarvāstivāda’s *Samyuktāgama* says in the prose section that he recited a series of verse texts, and in the verse section that he recited “stanzas of the Dharma.” This means that, unlike the other schools, the Sarvāstivāda tradition formed a list of eight verse texts and placed it in the *Samyuktāgama* by the fifth century at the latest.

Table 2: Verse Texts Recited by Anuruddha

SN	SSĀ	SĀ
<i>dhammapadāni</i>	1. <i>Dharmapada</i> 2. <i>Pārāyaṇa</i> 3. <i>Sthaviragāthā</i> 4. <i>Arthavargīya</i>	1. <i>Udāna</i> 2. <i>Pārāyaṇa</i> 3. <i>Satyadrś</i> 4. <i>Sthaviragāthā</i> 5. <i>Sthavirīgāthā</i> 6. <i>Śailagāthā</i> 7. <i>Arthavargīya</i> 8. <i>Munigāthā</i>

(B) The Koṭīkarṇa Story

The Gilgit Sanskrit manuscript⁴⁰ and Tibetan translation⁴¹ of the

³⁹ The commentary on the *Samyuttanikāya* (Spk I 308–309) identifies *dhammapadāni* with the *Dhammapada*, but it is probably best to understand this term as “stanzas of the Dhamma” (or “Dhamma-stanzas”) as Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000: 309) translates it.

⁴⁰ VT 86vL: *udānān pārāyaṇān satyadrśaḥ śailagāthā munigāthā sthaviragāthā sthavirīgāthā arthavargīyāni ca sūtrāṇi....*

⁴¹ *Carmavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (Tib. ‘*Dul ba gzhi, Ko lpags kyi gzhi*): P1030, vol. Khe, 249a8–249b1; D1, vol. Ka, 265b2–3. (1) *Ched du brjod pa* (*Udāna*), (2) *Pha rol ‘gro byed* (*Pārāyaṇa*), (3) *bDen pa mthong ba* (*Satyadrś*), (4) *Ri gnas gyi tshigs su bcad pa* (*Śailagāthā*), (5) *Thub pa’i tshigs su bcad* (*Munigāthā*), (6) *gNas brtan ni gyi tsigs su bcad pa* (*Sthaviragāthā*), (7) *gNas brtan ma’i tshigs su bcad pa* (*Sthavirīgāthā*), (8) *Don gyi tshoms mdo*

Carmavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (MSV) include a story about a monk named Koṭīkarṇa who recited eight verse texts in the presence of the Buddha. In the *Divyāvadāna* (Divy), considered to belong to the Sarvāstivāda as well, however, he recites six texts.⁴² The Koṭīkarṇa story quoted in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* mentions only three texts in Buddhavarman's translation (MVbh B) and two texts in Xuánzàng's translation (MVbh X).⁴³ Like the latter, more importantly, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (SV), translated into Chinese at the beginning of the fifth century, refers to only two texts.⁴⁴ Further, the Chinese translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* only says that Koṭīkarṇa recited a *sūtra*.⁴⁵ It is also recorded in parallel passages in the *Vinayas* of other schools (VOS)—namely, the Pāli *Vinaya*,⁴⁶ the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*,⁴⁷ the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*,⁴⁸ and the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*⁴⁹—that he only recited the *Arthavargīya*. The facts that the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* only refers to a *sūtra*, and the *Vinayas* of the other four schools only mention the *Arthavargīya*, leads us to the supposition that the earlier version of this story lacked the list of verse texts,⁵⁰ which

sde dag (*Arthavargīyāṇi sūtrāṇi*).

⁴² Divy 20. As has been demonstrated by Édouard Huber (1906) and Sylvain Lévi (1907), the *Divyāvadāna* is a collection of stories extracted chiefly from the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

⁴³ T1546, 28.118a14–15 (Buddhavarman's translation): 以善能誦持優陀那、波羅延、眾義經等適可佛意故而稱讚之。 T1545, 27.153c24–25 (Xuánzàng's translation): 世尊讚彼能善誦持波羅衍拏、見諦經等故作是說。

⁴⁴ T1435, 23.181b24–25: 億耳發細聲，誦波羅延、薩遮陀舍修妬路竟。

⁴⁵ T1447, 23.1052c3: 億耳既誦經已。

⁴⁶ Vin I 196.36: *Aṭṭhakavaggikāni*....

⁴⁷ T1421, 22.144b16–17: 十六義品經。

⁴⁸ T1428, 22.845c24: 十六句義。

⁴⁹ T1425, 22.416a3: 八跋祇經。

was subsequently inserted into the story.

Table 3: Verse Texts in Koṭīkarna Story

VOS	SV MVbh X	MVbh B	Divy	Skt. / Tib. MSV
<i>Arthavargīya</i>	<i>Pārāyaṇa</i> <i>Satyadrś</i>	<i>Udāna</i> <i>Pārāyaṇa</i> <i>Arthavargīya</i>	<i>Udāna</i> <i>Pārāyaṇa</i> <i>Satyadrś</i> <i>Śailagāthā</i> <i>Munigāthā</i> <i>Arthavargīya</i>	<i>Udāna</i> <i>Pārāyaṇa</i> <i>Satyadrś</i> <i>Śailagāthā</i> <i>Munigāthā</i> <i>Sthaviragāthā</i> <i>Sthavirīgāthā</i> <i>Arthavargīya</i>

(C) Two Stories in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya

In the story of Pūrṇa in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, five hundred merchants chant a series of verse texts⁵¹ and

⁵⁰ Judging from the fact that the *Vinayas* of other schools mention only one text, that only the *Pārāyaṇa* is common to the verse texts mentioned in the Sarvāstivāda's lists, and that the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*—which is chronologically the earliest version among the texts discussed in (B)—lists the *Pārāyaṇa* and the *Satyadrś*, it is to be supposed that if the name of any independent verse text had been mentioned in the Sarvāstivāda's story of Koṭīkarna, it would have been the *Pārāyaṇa*.

⁵¹ *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (Tib. 'Dul ba gzhi, sMan gyi gzhi): P1030, vol. Khe, 283a3–4, D1, vol. Ka, 303a5–b1. (1) *Ched du brjod pa* (*Udāna*), (2) *Pha rol 'gro byed* (*Pārāyaṇa*), (3) *bDen pa mthong ba* (*Satyadrś*), (4) *gNas brtan pa'i tshigs su bcad pa* (*Sthaviragāthā*), (5) *gNas brtan ma'i tshigs su bcad pa* (*Sthavirīgāthā*), (6) *Ri gnas pa'i tshigs su bcad pa* (*Śailagāthā*), (7) *Thub pa'i tshigs su bcad pa* (*Munigāthā*), (8) *Don gyi tshogs gyi mdo dag* (*Arthavargīyāni sūtrāni*).

The Chinese translation gives the following six texts (T1448, 24.11b): (1) *Udāna* (唄陀南頌), (2) *Sthaviragāthā* (諸上座頌), (3) *Śailagāthā* (世羅[偈]), (4) *Sthavirīgāthā* (尼頌), (5) *Munigāthā* (牟尼之頌), (6) *Arthavargīya* (厭義經)

state that these verse texts are not songs (*gītā*) but “the word of the Buddha” (*buddhavacanam*).⁵² Likewise, in the story of Muktikā in the *Adhikaraṇavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, some merchants from Śrāvastī chant a series of verse texts⁵³ and say, “We have recited the word of the Buddha.”⁵⁴ Thus, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* makes use of two stories involving merchants to represent these verse texts to be the Word of the Buddha. These two stories do not appear in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (SV) or in the *Vinaya* texts of the other schools, namely, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* (MhāV), the Theravāda *Vinaya* (ThV), the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (MhīV), and the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* (DhV). This suggests that these two stories were absent in a sort of

等).

The story of Pūrṇa is also included in the *Divyāvadāna*, which lists the following seven texts: (1) *Udāna*, (2) *Pārāyaṇa*, (3) *Satyadrś*, (4) *Sthaviragāthā*, (5) *Śailagāthā*, (6) *Munigāthā*, (7) *Arthavargīyāṇi sūtrāṇi* (Divy 34–35).

⁵² Divy 35: *etad buddhavacanam*. The corresponding section of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* is missing in the Sanskrit manuscripts, but the Sanskrit text can be restored from the *Divyāvadāna* (Divy 34–35). Yijing’s seventh-century translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* also states that this is what the Buddha told (是佛所說), namely, *buddhavacana* ([T1448, 24.11b]).

⁵³ GMŚA 64: *udānān pārāyaṇān satyadrśaḥ sthaviragāthāḥ sthavirīgāthāḥ śailagāthā munigāthā arthavargīyāṇi....*

Adhikaraṇavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (Tib. ‘Dul ba gzhi, rTsod pa zhi bar byed pa’i gzhi): P1030, vol. Nge, 214b5–6; D1, vol. Ga, 225a7–b1. (1) *Ched du brjod pa* (*Udāna*), (2) *Pha rol ‘gro byed* (*Pārāyaṇa*), (3) *bDen pa mthong ba* (*Satyadrś*), (4) *gNas brtan gyi tshigs su bcad pa* (*Sthaviragāthā*), (5) *gNas brtan ma’i tshigs su bcad pa* (*Sthavirīgāthā*), (6) *Ri gnas pa’i tshigs su bcad pa* (*Śailagāthā*), (7) *Thub pa’i tshigs su bcad pa* (*Munigāthā*), (8) *Don gyi tshoms gyi mdo* (*Arthavargīyāṇi sūtrāṇi*). *Munigāthā* is missing in the Peking edition.

⁵⁴ GMŚA 64: *asmābhir[...]buddhavacanam paṭhitam*.

archetype of the *Vinaya*⁵⁵ but were incorporated into the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* at some point. This is probably because the late redactional closing of this *Vinaya* allowed their incorporation.

Table 4: Verse Texts in Two Stories

	MhāV	ThV	MhīV	DhV	SV	MSV
Story of Pūrṇa	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	<i>Bhaiṣajyavastu</i>
Story of Muktikā	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	<i>Adhikaraṇavastu</i>

The list of eight verse texts appeared in the Sarvāstivāda and/or Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions by the fifth century at the latest, since the list is mentioned in the *Samyuktāgama*, which was translated into Chinese at that time. This list came to be fixed in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* by the seventh century, when its Gilgit manuscripts were written.

The fact that the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* refers to a series of verse texts unlisted as a part of the *Tripitaka* in the account of the First Buddhist Council shows that, in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, the texts recognized as *buddhavacana* were not limited to the *Tripitaka*, or to texts endorsed at the First Buddhist Council.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ By “archetype of the *Vinaya*” I do not necessarily mean “Ur-*Vinaya*,” but rather the common elements of *Vinayas* shared by several monastic groups. On this point, see Lévi 1909: 83; Tournier 2017: x.

⁵⁶ According to both Chinese translation (T1451, 24.406a) and Tibetan translation (P1035, vol. Ne, 293ab; D6, vol. Da, 310a) of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, at the start of the First Buddhist Council Mahākāśyapa recited the “abridged *gāthā*” (攝略伽他; *mdo'i tshigs su bcad pa*) in the morning, and the recitation of the *Tripitaka* began in the afternoon. Both Chinese and Tibetan translations imply that in the future monks would be dull-witted and unable to preserve the *Tripitaka* without this **gāthā*, and therefore Yijing’s 義淨 Chinese translation would seem appropriate. Fumi Yao told me that there are several instances in the Tibetan translation of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* and

Étienne Lamotte (1957) argues that these verse texts were not included in the *Āgamas* because it had not been decided whether or not they really were the Word of the Buddha. But this was not the case in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, which clearly recognizes these verse texts as *buddhavacana*.

4. The Controversial Position of the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* in the Sarvāstivāda

Like the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, the Vaibhāṣika texts in the Sarvāstivāda school lack the concept of five *Āgamas* but at the same time recognize the verse texts as *buddhavacana*. Moreover, such a situation caused conflicting views on the canonical status of the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* among the Vaibhāṣikas and others in the Sarvāstivāda even as late as the fifth century.

The fourth-century Chinese translation,⁵⁷ fifth-century Chinese translation,⁵⁸ and seventh-century Chinese translation⁵⁹ of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* all mention “Four *Āgamas*” and make no mention of a fifth. On the other hand, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* quotes or mentions verse texts not included in the Four *Āgamas*: the **Pārāyaṇa*,⁶⁰ **Arthavargīya*,⁶¹ **Satyadṛś*,⁶² and **Uddāna*⁶³ (or **Uddānavargīya*⁶⁴).

Uttaragrantha of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* in which *uddāna* is translated as *mdo*. In short, the phrase in question corresponds to **uddānaḡāthā* and is unrelated to the lists of verse texts here under consideration.

⁵⁷ T1547, 28.418b10: 四阿鎔。

⁵⁸ T1546, 28.236c29: 四阿含。

⁵⁹ T1545, 27.58a16–17, 314a29, 904a5: 四阿笈摩。

⁶⁰ T1546, 28.11c2, 118a15. T1545, 27.17a9, 153c25, 660c4, 706a26.

⁶¹ T1546, 28.1c4, 11c5, 118a15, 133c6. T1545, 27.17a21, 706a26.

⁶² T1545, 27.153c25.

⁶³ T1546, 28.118a15.

⁶⁴ T1546, 28.1c21. T1545, 27.1b16. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* shows that

Since the *Mahāvibhāṣā*'s reference to the **Arthavargīya* supports the view that the *Abhidharma* represents the Word of the Buddha,⁶⁵ it is premised on the assumption that the **Arthavargīya* is the Word of the Buddha. This indicates that the *Mahāvibhāṣā* recognized these verse texts as *buddhavacana*.

The later Vaibhāṣikas followed the method of scriptural quotations in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*. The **Nyāyānusārīnī* (*Shùn zhènlǐ lùn* 順正理論) mentions both the Four *Āgamas*⁶⁶ and the **Pārāyaṇa*,⁶⁷ as does the **Samayapradīpikā* (*Xiǎnzōng lùn* 顯宗論).⁶⁸ The *Abhidharmadīpa* states on the one hand that “the *sūtra* spoken by the Bhagavat, by the Buddha” (*sūtram bhagavatā buddhena bhāṣitam*) was brought together “in the Four *Āgamas*” (*caturṣv āgameṣu*) by Buddhist Council members such as Mahākāśyapa,⁶⁹ but it also quotes a verse of the *Dharmapada*⁷⁰ as having been “uttered by the Bhagavat” (*uktam hi bhagavatā*).⁷¹ The *Abhidharma-*

this text is the *Udānavargīya*. See AKBh 3.3.

⁶⁵ T1546, 28.1c4. T1545, 27.1a7.

⁶⁶ T1562, 29.722c16–17: 四阿笈摩。

⁶⁷ T1562, 29.595a7: 波羅衍拏。

⁶⁸ T1563, 29.937c18: 四阿笈摩。891c15: 波羅衍拏。

⁶⁹ AD 197. 6–8.

⁷⁰ Nobuyuki Yoshimoto (1982: 57–66) has demonstrated that this verse has been quoted from the *Dharmapada*, not the *Udānavargīya*. This same verse is quoted in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T1545, 28.177a) as a **sūtra* (契經) and in the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (T1451, 24.332c–333a) and *Nyāyānusārīnī* (T1562, 29.29bc) as a **gāthā* (伽他). The same verse is quoted in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (AKBh 214) as having been “uttered by the Bhagavat.” The verse given in the *Abhidharmadīpa* was presumably taken from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* since the surrounding text in both coincides. Cf. Dhv vv. 188–192.

⁷¹ AD 127. 4–14.

kośabhāṣya refers to the *Kṣudrakāgama*,⁷² while its commentary, the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā*, refers to both the *Kṣudrakāgama* and the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*,⁷³ and quotes the *Arthavargīya* from the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*.⁷⁴ Therefore, it is highly likely that the Vaibhāṣikas of the Sarvāstivāda school considered the series of eight verse texts listed in the *Samyuktāgama* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* to belong to the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*.⁷⁵

Here I would like to focus on the “Word of the Buddha” (*buddhavacana*) theory in the *Nyāyānusārīnī*,⁷⁶ which Saṃghabhadra, a representative Vaibhāṣika, wrote in the fourth or fifth century.⁷⁷ In discussing why *Abhidharma* texts represent the Word of the Buddha, the *Nyāyānusārīnī* rejects the view that posits the **Kṣudrakapiṭaka* as a third *Piṭaka* separate from the *Sūtrapiṭaka*.⁷⁸ However, the **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, considered to have close connections with the Sarvāstivāda,⁷⁹ mentions three *Piṭakas*—*Sūtra*, *Vinaya*, and *Abhidharma*—but also refers to four, namely, “*Sūtrapiṭaka*, *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Abhidharmapiṭaka*, and **Kṣudrakapiṭaka*.”⁸⁰ It also lists the “*Āgama*, *Abhidharma*, *Vinaya*,

⁷² Yoshifumi Honjō (2014a: 42 n. 11) notes the phrase “*kṣudrake ‘pi cāgame*” in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (AKBh 466, 5).

⁷³ Honjō 2014a: 32–33.

⁷⁴ As is pointed out by Yoshifumi Honjō (2014b: 840–841), the *Arthavargīya* is quoted as a text belonging to the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā*. On *Avadāna*, which was probably included in the Sarvāstivāda *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, see Dhammadinnā 2018.

⁷⁵ Heinz Bechert (1961, 1974) considers manuscripts containing the *Udāna*, *Anavataptaḡāthā*, *Sthaviraḡāthā*, *Vimānāvadāna*, and *Pretāvadāna* to belong to the Sarvāstivāda *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*.

⁷⁶ Cf. Honjō 2010: 186.

⁷⁷ Cf. Katō 1989: 58–68.

⁷⁸ T1562, 29.330b8: 若謂此言依雜藏說，理必不然。

⁷⁹ See Lamotte 1970: XV–XXII.

⁸⁰ T1509, 25.143c24–25: 一修妬路藏，二毘尼藏，三阿毘曇藏，四雜藏。

Kṣudrakapiṭaka, and Mahāyāna *sūtras* such as the *Prajñāpāramitā*” as pertaining to the *Dharma*.⁸¹ The **Satyasiddhi*, which belongs to a subschool of the Sarvāstivāda (Sautrāntika), mentions five *Piṭakas*, consisting of the *Sūtra*, *Vinaya*, *Abhidharma*, *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, and *Bodhisattvapīṭaka*.⁸² As this evidence shows, some people in the Sarvāstivāda school held the view, by the fifth century at the latest, that the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* was an independent *Piṭaka* separate from the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, and that is why Saṃghabhadra opposed such a view in the *Nyāyānusārīnī*.

Next, the *Nyāyānusārīnī* also rejects the view identifying the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* with the *Māṭṛkā*.⁸³ This statement also seems to presuppose the existence of another view within Sarvāstivāda circles. The **Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā*—translated into Chinese in the fifth century by Kumārajīva, who was ordained in the Sarvāstivāda tradition⁸⁴ and was also the translator of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* and *Satyasiddhi*—encourages lay *bodhisattvas* to study under monks who have learned the *Abhidharma*, *Vinaya*, *Sūtra*, *Māṭṛkā*, and *Bodhisattvapīṭaka*. In this context, the *Māṭṛkā* points to **Arthavargīya*, **Udāna*, **Pārāyaṇa*, and **Dharmapada*.⁸⁵ This evidence suggests that, by the fifth century at the latest, some people possibly belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school held the view that these verse texts constituted the *Māṭṛkā*. It was against such a view that Saṃghabhadra reacted.

Correspondences between passages in the *Nyāyānusārīnī* and

⁸¹ T1509, 25.412a8–9: 阿含、阿毘曇、毘尼、雜藏、摩訶般若波羅蜜等諸摩訶衍經，皆名爲法。

⁸² T1646, 32.352c14–15: 修多羅、比尼、阿毘曇、雜藏、菩薩藏。

⁸³ T1562, 29.330b11–12: 不可說雜藏即是摩怛理迦。 On the meaning of *māṭṛkā*, see Gethin 1992.

⁸⁴ *Sāpóduō bù jì mùlù xù* 薩婆多部記目錄序 in the *Chū sānzàng jì jí* 出三藏記集 (T2145, 55.90a).

⁸⁵ T1521, 26.63a14–15: 摩多羅迦: 應利衆經、憂陀那、波羅延、法句。

Kumārajīva’s translations show us that, in the fifth century, diverse groups within the same large Sarvāstivāda family were still discussing the position of the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* as a Buddhist scripture—that is, where to place it within the *Tripitaka*. If the Sarvāstivāda school had fixed the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* as the fifth collection of the *Sūtrapiṭaka* before the fifth century, then such debates would not have emerged at that time among Vaibhāṣikas and others in the Sarvāstivāda. The Vaibhāṣikas, at the same time, considered verse texts in the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, which are very early texts as Gāndhāran manuscripts show,⁸⁶ to be *buddhavacana*. This means that the Sarvāstivāda tradition had not restricted the texts regarded as *buddhavacana* to the *Tripitaka* as late as the fifth century.

Table 5: Contrasts between Kumārajīva’s Translations and Saṃghabhadra’s Works

	Kumārajīva	Saṃghabhadra
<i>Kṣudrakapiṭaka</i>	Independent <i>Piṭaka</i>	Not the third <i>Piṭaka</i>
<i>Kṣudrakapiṭaka</i>	<i>Mātrkā</i>	Not <i>Mātrkā</i>

5. The *Khuddakanikāya* of the Theravāda (Mahāvihāra)

A sort of counterpart of the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* belonging to the Mahāsāṅghika and the Sarvāstivāda is included in the Pāli *Tiṭaka* transmitted by the Mahāvihāra order of the Theravāda (or Theriya) in Sri Lanka, namely, the *Khuddakanikāya*, the fifth collection of the *Suttantapiṭaka*. Previous research on the formation of the Pāli *Tiṭaka* has been divided regarding the question of which part of the *Tiṭaka* was the last to develop. While Egaku Maeda and K. R. Norman think that it was the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*,⁸⁷

⁸⁶ For Gandhāran evidence of such verse texts, see Baums 2009.

⁸⁷ K. R. Norman (1983: 96) says “[i]t is clear that the Abhidhamma is later than the rest of the canon.” See also Maeda 1964: 681–787.

Oskar von Hinüber supposes it to have been the *Khuddakanikāya*.⁸⁸ This and the next sections present the results of a systematic inquiry into references to the *Tipiṭaka* in the Pāli commentaries, which were compiled in fifth-century Sri Lanka and have been traditionally attributed to Buddhaghosa. They then argue that the *Khuddakanikāya* was the last portion to be added to the *Tipiṭaka*, in which the *Vinayaṭiṭaka* had included the *Parivāra*, the *Suttantapiṭaka* had consisted of the Four *Nikāyas*, and the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* had comprised seven treatises. Several Pāli commentaries provide outlines of the structure of the *Tipiṭaka*. These references can be classified into five categories, (A) to (E), as described below.

(A) The Disappearance of the *Tipiṭaka* I

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the commentary on the *Dīghanikāya*, explains how the teaching (*sāsana*) of the Buddha will be gradually lost in reverse order from the end to the beginning of the *Tipiṭaka*. On the basis of such accounts (presuming this order reflects some historical truth), we can reconstruct the structure of the Pāli *Tipiṭaka* at that time by simply reversing the order in which they are to be lost. In this case, the *Vinayaṭiṭaka* consists of the *Pātimokkha* (*Mātikā*),⁸⁹ *Vibhaṅga*, *Khandhaka*, and *Parivāra*, while the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* begins with the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (*Dhammasaṅgaha*) and ends with the *Paṭṭhāna*.⁹⁰ These

⁸⁸ Oskar von Hinüber (1996: §§85, 119, 129, 151, 156) concisely provides much information on this issue. See also von Hinüber 1978, Abeynayake 1984.

⁸⁹ According to the sub-commentary, *Mātikā* here is the *Sikkhāpadapāḷimātikā* (Sv-ṭ III 105.31–106.1). Therefore, it means *Pātimokkha*.

⁹⁰ Here there is no mention of the five texts between the first and seventh works of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, but since the first and final works coincide with the current *Abhidhammapiṭaka* and, as is clear from the following sections, the Pāli commentaries consistently recognize that the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* consists of seven works, it would seem safe to suppose

descriptions correspond to the present outline of the *Tipiṭaka*. However, the *Suttantapiṭaka* here only consists of the first four *Nikāyas*, whereas the *Khuddakanikāya* does not appear at all.⁹¹

(B) The Disappearance of the *Tipiṭaka* II

The *Manorathapūraṇī*, the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, also explains the process whereby the Pāli *Tipiṭaka* will be lost.⁹² In this case, the structures of the *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Abhidhammapiṭaka* are identical to their extant versions:⁹³ the *Vinayapiṭaka* consists of four parts—*Pātimokkha* (*Uposathakaṇḍa*⁹⁴), *Vibhaṅga*, *Khandhaka*,

that this section is premised on the assumption that the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* consists of seven works.

⁹¹ Sv III 898.35–899.18: *pariyattiyā t̥hitāya sāsanaṃ t̥hitam hoti. yadā pana sā antaradhāyati, tadā paṭhamaṃ Abhidhammapiṭakaṃ nassati. tattha Paṭṭhānaṃ sabbapaṭhamaṃ antaradhāyati. anukkamena pacchā Dhammasaṅgaho, tasmim̐ antarahite itaresu dv̥isu piṭakesu t̥hitesupi sāsanaṃ t̥hitameva hoti. tattha Suttantapiṭake antaradhāyamāne paṭhamaṃ Aṅguttaranikāyo Ekādasakato paṭṭhāya yāva Ekakā antaradhāyati, tadanantaram̐ Saṃyuttanikāyo Cakkapeyyālato paṭṭhāya yāva Oghataraṇā antaradhāyati. tadanantaram̐ Majjhimanikāyo Indriyabhāvanato paṭṭhāya yāva Mūlapariyāyā antaradhāyati. tadanantaram̐ Dīghanikāyo Dasuttarato paṭṭhāya yāva Brahmajālā antaradhāyati...dv̥isu pana piṭakesu antarahitesupi Vinayapiṭake t̥hite sāsanaṃ t̥t̥ṭhati. Parivāra-k-Khandhakesu antarahitesu ubhato Vibhaṅge t̥hite t̥hitameva hoti. Ubhato Vibhaṅge antarahite Mātikāyapi t̥hitāya t̥hitam̐ eva hoti.* (Emphasis added, here and below.) Virtually identical passages are found in Ps IV 116.1–19 and Vibh-a 432.12–30.

⁹² For the 5,000-year-timeline shown by the *Manorathapūraṇī*, see Nattier 1991: 56–58; Clark 2018.

⁹³ The commentary on the *Majjhimanikāya* (Ps II 184.29) refers to “the great treatise called *Paṭṭhāna*” (*mahāpakaraṇaṃ paṭṭhānaṃ nāma*), and therefore the *mahāpakaraṇa* referred to in (B) is presumably the *Paṭṭhāna*.

⁹⁴ According to the subcommentary, the *Uposathakaṇḍa* (or *Uposathakkhandhaka*) here is the *Vinayamātikā* (Mp-ṭ II 100.3–4). Therefore, it means *Pātimokkha* in this context.

and *Parivāra*—while the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* contains seven treatises. However, the *Suttantapiṭaka* is again just a collection of the first four *Nikāyas* without the *Khuddakanikāya*. Unlike in category (A), the *Jātaka* appears as a text that [people] transmit together with the *Vinayapiṭaka*. It is also mentioned as the only text which “[those who] desire gain” transmit.⁹⁵

(C) Descriptions of Each *Piṭaka*

The Pāli commentaries sometimes give outlines of each *Piṭaka*. In another account of the process whereby the *Tipiṭaka* will disappear, the *Sāratthappakāsinī*, the commentary on the

⁹⁵ Mp I 88.14–89.15: *paṭhamam Abhidhammapiṭakam parihāyati, parihāyamānam matthakato paṭṭhāya parihāyati. paṭhamam eva hi Mahāpakaraṇam parihāyati. tasmim parihīne Yamakam Kathāvattu Puggalapaññatti Dhātukathā Vibhaṅgo Dhammasaṅgaho ti. evam Abhidhammapiṭake parihīne matthakato paṭṭhāya Suttantapiṭakam parihāyati.*

paṭhamam hi Aṅguttaranikāyo parihāyati. tasmim pi paṭhamam Ekādasakanipāto... pe...tato Ekanipāto ti. evam Aṅguttare parihīne matthakato paṭṭhāya Saṃyuttanikāyo parihāyati. paṭhamam hi Mahāvaggo parihāyati, tato Saḷāyatanavaggo Khandhakavaggo Nidānavaggo Sagāthāvaggo ti. evam Saṃyuttanikāye parihīne matthakato paṭṭhāya Majjhimanikāyo parihāyati. paṭhamam hi Uparipaṇṇāsako parihāyati, tato Majjhimapaṇṇāsako, tato Mūlapaṇṇāsako ti. evam Majjhimanikāye parihīne matthakato paṭṭhāya Dīghanikāyo parihāyati. paṭhamam hi pāṭiyavaggo parihāyati, tato Mahāvaggo, tato Silakkhandhavaggo ti. Dīghanikāye parihīne Suttantapiṭakam parihīnam nāma hoti.

Vinayapiṭakena saddhim Jātakam eva dhārenti. Vinayapiṭakam lajjino va dhārenti. lābhakāmā pana suttante kathite pi sallakkhentā n’atthi ti Jātakam eva dhārenti. gacchante gacchante kāle Jātakam pi dhāretum na sakkonti. atha tesam paṭhamam Vessantarajātakam parihāyati. tato paṭilomakkamena Puṇṇakajātakam Mahānāradakassapajātakan ti. pariyosāne Apanṇakajātakam parihāyati. evam Jātake va parihīne Vinayapiṭakam eva dhārenti. gacchante gacchante kāle tam pi matthakato paṭṭhāya parihāyati. paṭhamam hi Parivāro parihāyati, tato Khandhako Bhikkhunīvibhaṅgo Mahāvibhaṅgo ti. anukkamena Uposathakaṇḍamattam eva dhārenti.

For this annotated translation, see Clark 2018: 108–110.

Samyuttanikāya, describes the structure of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, which is the same as the modern version (*Pātimokkha*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Khandhaka*, and *Parivāra*).⁹⁶ The *Papañcasūdanī*, the commentary on the *Majjhimanikāya*, mentions the seven treatises of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, which are also the same as the current version, in the context of the Buddha meditating on the *Abhidhamma* after having attained Buddhahood.⁹⁷ The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, on the other hand, quotes a list of “the Word of the Buddha that is not called *sutta*,” which comprises *twelve* texts that form part of the modern *Khuddakanikāya*.⁹⁸ Interestingly, Buddhaghosa, the compiler of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, also cites Sudinna Thera’s opinion in which the latter denies the existence of “the Word of the Buddha that is not called *sutta*.”⁹⁹ Therefore, this list was not created by Buddhaghosa but came from his source material.

(D) The Story of the First Buddhist Council

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* describes the *Tipiṭaka* recited in the story of

⁹⁶ Spk II 203.8–16: *Abhidhammapiṭake antarahite itaresu dvīsu tiṭṭhantesu pi antarahitan ti na vattabbam eva. dvīsu antarahitesu Vinayapiṭakamatte ṭhite pi. tatrāpi Khandhaka-Parivāresu antarahitesu ubhato Vibhaṅgamatte mahāvīnaye antarahite dvīsu Pātimokkhesu vattamānesu pi sāsanaṃ antarahitaṃ nāma na hoti. yadā pana dve Pātimokkhā antaradhāyissanti, atha pariyattisaddhammassa antaradhānaṃ bhavissati. Tasmim antarahite sāsanaṃ antarahitaṃ nāma hoti.*

⁹⁷ Ps II 184.24–29: *dhammaṃ vicinanto c’ettha evaṃ Abhidhamme nayamaggaṃ sammasi. Paṭhamaṃ Dhammasaṅgaṇippakaraṇaṃ nāma tato Vibhaṅgappakaraṇaṃ Dhātukathāpakaraṇaṃ Puggalapaññattippakaraṇaṃ Kathāvattthupakaraṇaṃ nāma Yamakaṃ nāma tato Mahāpakaraṇaṃ Paṭṭhānaṃ nāmā ti.*

⁹⁸ Sv II 566.2–6: *asuttanāmakam hi buddhavacanaṃ nāma atthi. seyyathīdaṃ Jātakam Paṭisambhidā Niddeso Suttanipāto Dhammapadam Udānaṃ Itivuttakam Vimānavatthu Petavatthu Theragāthā Therīgāthā Apadānan ti.* Virtually identical passages are found in Mp III 159.6–10.

⁹⁹ Sv II 566.7–9: *Sudinnatthero pana asuttanāmakam buddhavacanaṃ nāma n’atthi ti...āha.* Virtually identical passages are found in Mp III 159.11–13.

the First Buddhist Council. In this account, five hundred Arahats recite the *Vinayapīṭaka*, which comprises the *Pātimokkha* (*Sikkhāpada*), *Vibhaṅga*, *Khandhaka*, and *Parivāra*.¹⁰⁰ They then recite the *Suttantapīṭaka*, which comprises only the first four *Nikāyas*,¹⁰¹ and the *Abhidhammapīṭaka*, which consists of seven treatises.¹⁰² However, following this account, Buddhaghosa gives an additional explanation in which he cites opposing views as to where the *Khuddakagantha*, a collection of eleven texts, should belong in the *Tipitaka*. The reciters¹⁰³ of the *Dīghanikāya* insist that

¹⁰⁰ Sv I 13.4–5: *evaṃ sattavīsādhikāni dve Sikkhāpadasatāni Mahāvibhaṅgo ti kittetvā ṭhapesuṃ*. I have added *satta* (meaning “seven”) on the basis of the Burmese edition (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition, 1968, I 13.16). In the PTS edition, too, the total number of precepts immediately preceding this passage comes to 257, and it may therefore be assumed that *satta* was inadvertently omitted.

Sv I 13.14–17: *evaṃ tīni Sikkhāpadasatāni cattāri ca Sikkhāpadāni Bhikkhunūvibhaṅgo ti kittetvā, ayaṃ ubhato Vibhaṅgo nāma catusaṭṭhibhāṇavārā ti ṭhapesuṃ. ubhato Vibhaṅgāvasāne pi vuttanayen’eva mahāpathavikampo ahosi*.

Sv I 13.19–22: *eten’eva upāyena asītibhāṇavāraparimāṇaṃ Khandhakaṃ, pañcavīsātibhāṇavāraparimāṇaṃ Parivāraṇi ca saṅgahaṃ āropetvā ayaṃ Vinayapīṭakaṃ nāmā ti ṭhapesuṃ, Vinayapīṭakāvasāne pi vuttanayen’eva pathavikampo ahosi*.

¹⁰¹ Sv I 14.31–15.11: *ayaṃ Silakkhandhavaggo nāmā ti kittetvā ṭhapesuṃ. tad anantaraṃ Mahāvaggaṃ tad anantaraṃ Pāṭiyavaggaṃ ti, evaṃ tivaggasaṅgahaṃ catutiṅsasuttantapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ catusaṭṭhibhāṇa- vāraparimāṇaṃ tantim saṃgāyitvā, ayaṃ Dīghanikāyo nāmā ti vatvā...tato anantaraṃ asītibhāṇavāraparimāṇaṃ Majjhimanikāyaṃ saṃgāyitvā...tato anantaraṃ bhāṇavārasataparimāṇaṃ Saṃyuttanikāyaṃ saṃgāyitvā...tato anantaraṃ visātibhāṇavārasataparimāṇaṃ Aṅguttaranikāyaṃ saṃgāyitvā*.

¹⁰² Sv I 15.14–21: *tato anantaraṃ Dhammasaṅgani-Vibhaṅgaṇi ca Kathāvattuṇi ca Puggalaṃ Dhātu-Yamaka-Paṭṭhānaṃ Abhidhammo ti vuccatīti evaṃ saṃvaṇṇitaṃ sukhumañānagocaraṃ tantim saṃgāyitvā idaṃ Abhidhammapīṭakaṃ nāmā ti vatvā pañca arahantasatāni sajjhāyam akamuṃsu. vuttanayen’eva paṭhavikampo ahosi*.

¹⁰³ On the difference of views between the Dīghabhāṇakas and

it should be incorporated into the *Abhidhammapīṭaka*, while the reciters of the *Majjhimanikāya* maintain that the *Khuddakagantha* should be included in the *Suttantapīṭaka* together with three other texts, the *Cariyāpīṭaka*, *Apadāna*, and *Buddhavaṃsa*. These three verse texts with the eleven *Khuddakagantha* texts form part of the *Khuddakanikāya* in the modern *Tipitaka*.¹⁰⁴ It is noteworthy that the list of the *Khuddakagantha* is very similar to the list of “the word of Buddha that is not called *sutta*,” as is shown in Table 6.

(E) The Comprehensive Definition of the Buddhavacana

The *Samantapāsādikā* (the commentary on the *Vinayapīṭaka*), the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, and the *Atthasālinī* (the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*) explain at the outset the classification of “the whole of the Buddha’s Word” (*sabbam pi buddhavacanam*): (1) *Rasa*, (2) *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, (3) The first, middle, and last Word, (4) *Tipīṭaka*, (5) the Five *Nikāyas*, (6) *Navāṅgas*, and (7) Eighty-four thousand *Dhammakhandhas*.¹⁰⁵ Importantly, this definition of the *Tipīṭaka* is exactly the same as the structure of the current Pāli

Majjhimabhāṅakas, see Lamotte 1958: 174; von Hünber 1996: §84.

¹⁰⁴ Sv I 15.22–29: *tato param Jātakam Niddeso Paṭisambhidāmaggo Suttanipāto Dhammapadam Udānam Itivuttakam Vimāna-Petavatthu Thera-Therigāthā ti imam tantim saṃgāyito Khuddakagantho nāma ayan ti ca vatvā, Abhidhammapīṭakasmim yeva saṅgaham āropayimsū ti Dīghabhāṅakā vadanti. Majjhimabhāṅakā pana Cariyāpīṭaka-Apadāna-Buddhavaṃsesu saddhim sabbam pi tam Khuddakagantham Suttantapīṭake pariyāpannan ti vadanti.*

The PTS edition has *Mahāniddeso Cūlaniddeso*, but I have emended this to *Niddeso* on the basis of the Sri Lankan edition (Simon Hevitarne Bequest Series, 1918, I 11.29), Burmese edition (Chatṭhasaṅgāyana edition, 1968, I 15.27), and Thai edition (Thai Royal edition, 1919, I 19.11). On the similarity of the sequences of the *Khuddakanikāya* and the *Majjhimabhāṅaka*, see von Hinüber 1996: §80.

¹⁰⁵ Sp16.18–30.14. Sv 15.30–25.23. As 17.19–27.35. Among these three texts, only the *Atthasālinī* lacks the explanations of 1. *Rasa* and 2. *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*.

Tipiṭaka: the *Vinaya* consisting of the *Pātimokkha*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Khandhaka*, and *Parivāra*, the *Suttapiṭaka* consisting of the first four *Nikāyas*, the *Khuddakanikāya* with fifteen (or, probably, originally fourteen¹⁰⁶) texts, and the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* with seven texts.¹⁰⁷

A summary of these five categories for referencing the *Tipiṭaka* (A–E) is given in Table 6, where each text of the modern *Tipiṭaka* is represented by a row, and each column correspond to one of the five categories. The numbers indicate the order of the texts to be inferred from each of the above five categories. As is made clear in this table, the structures of the *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Abhidhammapiṭaka* correspond to their current versions, but the *Suttantapiṭaka* comprises only the first four *Nikāyas* with one exception. Only in (E) does the *Khuddakanikāya* appear.

¹⁰⁶ It is highly possible that “fifteen texts” was originally “fourteen texts” and the *Khuddakapāṭha* was added to the list of the *Khuddakanikāya* in the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Atthasālinī* at some point after the beginning of the sixth century. Étienne Lamotte (1956: 253; 1958: 174) has already pointed out this probability, taking as his basis the sixth-century Chinese translation of the *Samantapāsādikā* and a variant of the *Atthasālinī*. The former, the *Shànjiàn lǜ pípóshā* 善見律毘婆沙, mentions the *Khuddakanikāya* as the collection of “fourteen texts,” which lacks the *Khuddakapāṭha* (T1462, 24. 676a7–10). The PTS edition (As 26.3) and the Sri Lankan edition (Simon Hewavitarne Bequest series, 1940, 21.30) of the *Atthasālinī* mention “fourteen-divisions” (*cuddasappabhedā*) of the *Khuddakanikāya*.

¹⁰⁷ Sp I 18.4–19, Sv I 17.2–16, As 18.20–34: *ubhayāni Pātimokkhāni, dve Vibhaṅgāni, dvāvīsati Khandhakā, soḷasa Parivārā ti idaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ nāma. Brahmajālādicatuttiṃsasuttasamgaho Dīghanikāyo. Mūlapariyāya-suttādidiyāḍḍhasatadvesuttasamgaho Majjhimanikāyo, Oghatarāṇasuttādisattasuttasahassasattasatadvāsattāṭṭhisuttasamgaho Saṃyuttanikāyo. Cittapariyādānasuttādinavasuttasahassapañcasatasattapaññāsasuttasamgaho Aṅguttaranikāyo. Khuddakapāṭhadhammapada-udāna-itivuttakasuttanipātavi-mānavatthupetavatthutheratherigāthājātakaniddesapaṭisambhidāpadānabuddhavaṅsacariyāpiṭakavasena pannarasabhedo Khuddakanikāyo ti idaṃ Suttantapiṭakaṃ nāma. Dhammasamgaho Vibhaṅgo Dhātukathā Puggalapaññatti Kathāvatthu Yamakaṃ Paṭṭhānan ti idaṃ Abhidhammapiṭakaṃ nāma.*

The absence of the *Khuddakanikāya* in (A) to (D) means that the older form of the *Tipiṭaka* lacked this collection, since (A) to (D) come from source materials of the commentaries, and that is for three reasons. First, the main body of the First Buddhist Council story in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*,¹⁰⁸ which I categorized as (D), is commented on by reciters of the *Dīghanikāya* and the *Majjhimanikāya*, which predate or are contemporary with Buddhaghosa. Second, the *Dīpavaṃsa*, which predates the Pāli commentaries, also states that the five hundred elders made the *Āgamapiṭaka* consisting of the Four *Āgamas* in the First Buddhist Council story.¹⁰⁹ Third, the structure of the *Suttantapiṭaka* in (A), (B), and (D) corresponds to the *Sūtrapiṭaka* consisting of only Four *Āgamas* mentioned in Indian Buddhist texts such as the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* (§2), the Sarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhāṣā* (§3), and the third-century Chinese translation¹¹⁰ of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*,¹¹¹ all of which predate the compilation of these Pāli commentaries.

Based on this evidence, we can conclude that (A) to (D) come from source materials of the Pāli commentaries and therefore provide the older form of the *Tipiṭaka*. This conclusion testifies

¹⁰⁸ Sv I 11.14–15.21.

¹⁰⁹ Dīp chap. 4, v. 16: 31.24-26: *pavibhattā imaṃ therā saddhammaṃ avināsanam | vaggapaññāsakan nāma samyuttañ ca nipātakaṃ | āgamapiṭakaṃ nāma akaṃsu suttasammataṃ | |*

Here, *vagga* points to the *Dīghanikāya*, *paññāsaka* to the *Majjhimanikāya*, *samyutta* is needless to say the *Samyuttanikāya*, and *nipātaka* equates with the *Aṅguttaranikāya*. Therefore, this sentence states that four (not five) *Āgamas* were compiled at the First Buddhist Council.

¹¹⁰ Jan Nattier (2008: 126–128) proves that T6 is Zhī Qiān’s translation.

¹¹¹ Zhī Qiān’s translation of the (non-Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* includes the First Buddhist Council story in which forty (not five hundred!) Arhats received Four *Āgamas* from Ānanda. T6, 1.191c19–21: 大迦葉即選衆中四十應眞，從阿難受得四阿含：一中阿含，二長阿含，三增一阿含，四雜阿含。

that the compilation of the *Khuddakanikāya* was later than the other parts of the *Tipiṭaka*: It was even later than the compilation of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* and the *Parivāra* section of the *Vinayapiṭaka*.¹¹²

Table 6: Outlines of the *Tipiṭaka* in Pāli Commentaries

	A	B	C	D	E
<i>Vinayapiṭaka</i>					
<i>Pātimokkha</i>	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Suttavibhaṅga</i>	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Khandhaka</i>	3	3	3	3	3
<i>Parivāra</i>	4	4	4	4	4
<i>Suttantapiṭaka</i>					
<i>Dīghanikāya</i>	1	1	?	1	1
<i>Majjhimanikāya</i>	2	2	?	2	2
<i>Samyuttanikāya</i>	3	3	?	3	3
<i>Aṅguttaranikāya</i>	4	4	?	4	4
<i>Khuddakanikāya</i>	∅	∅	∅	∅	5
<i>Abhidhammapiṭaka</i>					
<i>Dhammasaṅgaṇi</i>	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Vibhaṅga</i>	(2)	2	2	2	2
<i>Dhātukathā</i>	(3)	3	3	3	3
<i>Puggalapaññatti</i>	(4)	4	4	4	4
<i>Kathāvatthu</i>	(5)	5	5	5	5
<i>Yamaka</i>	(6)	6	6	6	6
<i>Paṭṭhāna</i>	7	7	7	7	7

The compilation of the *Khuddakanikāya* must have happened before the fifth century, since the *Vinayapiṭaka* and the *Dīpavaṃsa* refer to the Five *Nikāyas* several times.¹¹³ This is probably why the compiler(s) of the above-mentioned Pāli commentaries quoted

¹¹² See also Baba 2005.

¹¹³ Vin II 287.27–28. Vin V 3.3–5. Mil 22.1–11. Dīp chap. 5, v. 33; chap. 5, v. 37; chap. 7, v. 43.

source materials describing the *Suttantapiṭaka* as merely consisting of the Four *Nikāyas* but at the same time placed the comprehensive definition of *buddhavacana*, which describes the *Khuddakanikāya* as the fifth *Nikāya*, at the beginning of the commentaries on the *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Suttantapiṭaka*, and *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. This definition, which I categorized as (E), represents the form of the Mahāvihāra's *Tipiṭaka* after the fifth century.¹¹⁴

6. The *Jātaka* as an Origin of the *Khuddakanikāya*

In the Pāli commentaries, the *Jātaka* figures far more prominently than the *Khuddakanikāya* in the following contexts: (1) passages that refer to the structure of the *Tipiṭaka*, (2) the names of source materials, and (3) transmitters of Buddhist scriptures. Through an investigation of these three contexts, the present section will point out that while the *Jātaka* had been transmitted outside the *Tipiṭaka* in the early stages,¹¹⁵ the Theravāda (Mahāvihāra) compiled it together with other texts to make the *Khuddakanikāya* by the beginning of the fifth century CE at the latest.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ As this section discusses, I posit the possible addition of the *Khuddakapāṭha* to the list of the *Khuddakanikāya* at some point after the beginning of the sixth century. As Rupert Gettin (2007) has demonstrated, moreover, the number of *suttas* in the *Samyuttanikāya* and *Aṅguttaranikāya* shown in the definition of *buddhavacana*, which I have categorized as (E), is greater than in the extant versions. With the exception of these points, we can concur with K. R. Norman (2006: 191) when he writes “the form of the Theravāda Canon, and the texts it comprises, are fixed by the information Buddhaghosa gives.”

¹¹⁵ According to Candrakīrti, the sevenfold *Piṭakas* of the Pūrvaśāila and the Aparāśāila list the *Jātakapiṭaka* but not the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*. See Tournier 2007: 259 n. 15.

¹¹⁶ There is a passage in the commentary on the *Vinaya* (Sp I 251.20-22) where the *Jātakanikāya* is mentioned alongside the Four *Nikāyas*, which would mean that the *Jātaka* represented an independent canonical collection on a par with the Four *Nikāyas*. The Burmese edition

Firstly, in categories (B) to (D) as defined in the previous section, the *Jātaka* plays a more important role than the *Khuddakanikāya*. In (B), not the *Khuddakanikāya* but only the *Jātaka* is mentioned. In (C) and (D), whenever there appear several names of collections other than the *Khuddakanikāya*, the *Jātaka* is mentioned first. According to (B), “[those who] desire gain” transmit only the *Jātaka*. This suggests that the *Jātaka* was popular among the laity and that monks were able to receive large quantities of alms if they preached the *Jātaka*.

Table 7: Lists of the Texts Included in the Current *Khuddakanikāya*

A	B [with <i>Vinaya- piṭaka</i>]	C [<i>asuttanāmaka- buddhavacana</i>]	D [<i>Khuddakagantha</i>]	E [<i>Khuddakanikāya</i>]
∅	<i>Jātaka</i>	<i>Jātaka</i> <i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i> <i>Niddesa</i> <i>Suttanipāta</i> <i>Dhammapada</i> <i>Udāna</i> <i>Itivuttaka</i> <i>Vimānavatthu</i> <i>Petavatthu</i> <i>Theragāthā</i> <i>Therīgāthā</i> <i>Apadāna</i>	<i>Jātaka</i> <i>Niddesa</i> <i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i> <i>Suttanipāta</i> <i>Dhammapada</i> <i>Udāna</i> <i>Itivuttaka</i> <i>Vimānavatthu</i> <i>Petavatthu</i> <i>Theragāthā</i> <i>Therīgāthā</i> * <i>Cariyāpiṭaka</i> * <i>Apadāna</i> * <i>Buddhavaṃsa</i>	<i>Khuddakapāṭha</i> <i>Dhammapada</i> <i>Udāna</i> <i>Itivuttaka</i> <i>Suttanipāta</i> <i>Vimānavatthu</i> <i>Petavatthu</i> <i>Theragāthā</i> <i>Therīgāthā</i> <i>Jātaka</i> <i>Niddesa</i> <i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i> <i>Apadāna</i> <i>Buddhavaṃsa</i> <i>Cariyāpiṭaka</i>

(Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition, 1968, I 216.20), however, has *Khuddakanikāyaṃ Jātakam*. The immediately preceding passage mentions the Four *Nikāyas* and the first *sutta* of each of the Four *Nikāyas*, in which case the *Jātaka* mentioned here would correspond to the first text of the *Khuddakanikāya*. In either reading, the *Khuddakanikāya* on which the commentary is premised differed in structure from the *Khuddakanikāya* in the current canon.

Secondly, the Pāli commentaries mention the *Jātakatṭhakathā*, but not the *Khuddakatṭhakathā*. That is to say, mention is made of the *Jātakatṭhakathā* together with the *Vinayatṭhakathā*, *Suttantatṭhakathā*, *Āgamaṭṭhakathā*, *Dīghatṭhakathā*, *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*, *Samyutta-ṭṭhakathā*, *Aṅguttaratṭhakathā*, and *Abhidhammatṭhakathā*.¹¹⁷

Thirdly, Pāli commentaries not only refer to reciters¹¹⁸ of the Four *Nikāyas* (Dīghabhāṇaka, Majjhimbhāṇaka, Samyuttabhāṇaka, and Aṅguttarabhāṇaka), but also mention Jātakabhāṇakas¹¹⁹ six times and Dhammapadabhāṇakas¹²⁰ twice. But there is no mention whatsoever of reciters of the *Khuddakanikāya*.¹²¹ Further, although Pāli commentaries mention transmitters of the Four *Nikāyas* (Catunikāyika),¹²² there is no mention of transmitters of the Five *Nikāyas*.¹²³

¹¹⁷ Pj II 2; Ja I 62; Ud-a 124; Cp-a 3, 16, 166, 203, 247, 266. See Adikaran 1946: 13; Mori 1984: 185–193.

¹¹⁸ On the guidelines about who has to learn which text, see Kieffer-Pülz 2013: II, Z 205.

¹¹⁹ Sp IV 789, Ps III 305, Mp II 249, Pj I 151, Pj II 186, Vibh-a 484. See Adikaran 1946: 30–31; Mori 1984: 275.

¹²⁰ Dhp-a IV 51, As 18. See Adikaran 1946: 31; Mori 1984: 275.

¹²¹ The term Khuddakabhāṇaka appears in the *Milindapañha* alongside reciters of the *Jātaka* (Jātakabhāṇaka) and the Four *Nikāyas* (Mil 342.1). Sodō Mori (1984: 279) surmises that there had been only reciters of the *Jātaka* and Four *Nikāyas*, and Khuddakabhāṇaka was added after the compilation of the *Khuddakanikāya*. This interpretation would seem reasonable.

¹²² Sp III 695.26, Mp II 173.6, Vibh-a 474.12. See Mori 1984: 278, 282 n. 13.

¹²³ Inscriptions at Bhārhut and *stūpa* sites at Sāncī and Pauni mention *pañcanekāyika*. It is uncertain what *pañcanekāyika* means here, but this evidence probably shows that the concept of five *Nikāyas* existed in mainland India by the second century BCE and was brought to Sri Lanka at some point between the first century BCE and the fourth century CE. For references to these famous inscriptions, see Silk 2015: 16.

7. Conclusion

As Steven Collins clearly confirmed at the beginning of his famous article on the Pāli Canon, while “the concept of ‘canon’ means (oral or written) scripture,” it also means “this closed list of texts, and no others, which are the ‘foundational documents’.”¹²⁴ If we adopt the second meaning and define “canon” here as a closed list of authoritative texts, ancient Indian Buddhist schools clearly lacked such a canon. In the Mahāsāṅghika, the Sarvāstivāda, the Mūlasarvāstivāda, and the pre-fifth-century Theravāda (Mahāvihāra), the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* or the *Khuddakanikāya* was the fifth collection added to the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, which had consisted of only Four *Āgamas*. Insofar as these monastic groups had recognized as *buddhavacana* verse texts transmitted outside of the *Tripitaka*, and had therefore expanded the *Tripitaka*, their canon was to a certain extent open, not closed.

While its earlier *Sūtrapiṭaka* merely comprised Four *Āgamas*, the Mahāsāṅghika added the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* as the fifth collection of the *Sūtrapiṭaka* by the beginning of the fifth century at the latest (§2). In the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions, verse texts that had been absent in the earlier *Tripitaka* came to be listed as *buddhavacana*, again by the beginning of the fifth century at the latest. In particular, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* counts only the Four *Āgamas* as the *Sūtrapiṭaka* recited at the First Buddhist Council, but at the same time it regards the verse texts that are absent in the *Sūtrapiṭaka* as *buddhavacana* (§3). While the Vaibhāṣikās quoted these verse texts as *buddhavacana* just like the Four *Āgamas*, the canonical location of the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* was still controversial in the Sarvāstivāda tradition in the fifth century (§4). The *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* had become the fourth *Piṭaka* of the Five *Piṭakas* in the Sautrāntika, a subschool of the Sarvāstivāda, by the fifth century and in the Mahāsāṅghika by the seventh century (§2, §4).

¹²⁴ Collins 1990: 90.

In the Theravāda (Mahāvihāra), too, the *Khuddakanikāya* was absent from the earlier lists of the *Tipīṭaka* in which the *Suttantapīṭaka* comprised only Four *Nikāyas* (§5), while the *Jātaka* and the following texts outside of the earlier *Tipīṭaka* were also regarded as *buddhavacana* (§6). Our investigation leads us to the conclusion that the Mahāsāṅghika, the Sarvāstivāda, the Mūlasarvāstivāda, and the pre-fifth-century Theravāda (Mahāvihāra) had open canons. From this point of view, it is not surprising that Mahāyāna scriptures coexisted with the canons of the monastic orders in India, since nothing could stop Indian Buddhist monks and nuns from regarding them as *buddhavacana*. The Mahāyāna did not appear after the canon was closed but when canons were open.

Our conclusion sheds new light on the historical role of the comprehensive definition of *buddhavacana* in the Pāli commentaries, which I categorized as (E). In the fifth century, the Pāli commentaries offered this definition, followed by the explanation that the five hundred Arahats “fixed” it at the First Buddhist Council.¹²⁵ On the authority of the First Buddhist Council, this definition of the *buddhavacana* served as the fixed list of the Pāli *Tipīṭaka* in the Mahāvihāra, which called its tradition by designations related to the Buddhist Councils: Theravāda, Theriya, and Vibhajjavāda.¹²⁶ This probably parallels the fact that this school rejected Mahāyāna scriptures by categorizing them as *abuddhavacana*.

¹²⁵ Sp I 29.20–29; Sv I 24.33–25.9; As 29.20–29.29: *rasavasena ekavidhaṃ bhedato dhammavinayādivasena duvidhādibhedam buddhavacanam saṅgāyantaena Mahākassapappamukhena vasīgaṇena ayaṃ dhammo, ayaṃ vinayo...idaṃ Vinayapīṭakam, idaṃ Suttantapīṭakam, idaṃ Abhidhammapīṭakam[...]ti, imaṃ pabhedam vavatthapetoṅva saṅgītam.*

¹²⁶ As Peter Skilling (2010: 23–24) explains, the Pāli commentaries and the following texts refer to a category of scriptures understood to not have been recited at the three councils, but not termed *abuddhavacana* either. Takatsugu Hayashi (2014) successfully found parallel stories of the *Nandopananda* listed in this category in Chinese and Tibetan translations of Indian Buddhist scriptures. See also Gamage 2019.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations of titles of Pāli texts in the article follow the standard system set out in V. Trenckner et al., *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1924–2011).

- AD Padmanabh S. Jaini (ed.). 1977. *Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti*, Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.
- AKBh P. Pradhan (ed.). 1967. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu*, Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
- D *Bka' 'gyur sde dge'i par ma* (CD-ROM). 102+1 vols. New York: Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, 2003–2004. Catalogue nos. according to Ui et al. 1934.
- DhV Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* (T1428)
- Divy E. B. Cowell & R. A. Neil (eds.). 1970. *Divyāvādāna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1886; reprint: Amsterdam: Oriental Press.
- GMŚA Raniero Gnoli (ed.). 1978. *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- MhāV Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* (T1425)
- MhīV Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (T1421)
- MSV Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. Tib. P1030/D1. 'Dul ba gzhi. Tr. dPal gyi lhun po, Sarvajñādeva, Vidyākaraprabha, Dharmakara Rev. dPal brtsegs, Vidyākaraprabha; and 'Dul ba phran tshogs kyi gzhi. P1035/D6. Tr. dBar 'byor, Dharmasrīprabha, Vidyākaraprabha.
- MVbh B *Mahāvibhāṣā* translated by Buddhavarman (T1546)
- MVbh X *Mahāvibhāṣā* translated by Xuánzàng (T1545)

- P *bKa' 'gyur* = 107+1 vols. Chibetto Daizōkyō Kenkyūkai
西藏大藏經研究会 (ed.), *Eiin Pekin ban Chibetto
Daizōkyō: Ōtani Daigaku Toshokan-zō* 影印北京版西藏大
藏經: 大谷大学図書館蔵, Tokyo: Chibetto Daizōkyō
Kenkyūkai 西藏大藏經研究会, 1955–1961. Catalogue
nos. according to Suzuki 1961.
- SĀ *Samyuktāgama* (T99)
- SSĀ Shorter *Samyuktāgama* (T100)
- SV Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (T1435)
- SVV Sarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhāṣā* (T1440)
- T Junjirō Takakusu & Kaigyoku Watanabe (eds.).
1924–1934. *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經.
Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan 大藏出版.
- ThV Theravāda *Vinaya* (Pali Text Society)
- VOS *Vinayas* of the other schools [than the Sarvāstivāda]
- VT Shayne Clarke (ed.). 2014. *Vinaya Texts (Gilgit
Manuscripts in the National Archives of India: Facsimile
Edition, vol. 1)*, New Delhi: National Archives of India,
Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced
Buddhology, Soka University.

References

- Abeynayake, Oliver. 1984. *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the
Khuddaka Nikāya*. Colombo: Tisara Press.
- Allon, Mark. 2018. “Formation of Canons in the Early Indian
Nikāyas.” *Buddhist Studies Review* 35/1–2: 256–289.
- Baba, Norihisa 馬場紀寿. 2005. “On the Order of the Compilation
of the Abhidhammapīṭaka and the Khuddakanikāya.”
Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū 印度学仏教学研究 53/2: 11–14
(L).

- . 2008. *Jōzabu Bukkyō no shisō keisei—Budda kara Buddagōsa e* 上座部仏教の思想形成——ブツダからブツダゴーサへ [The Development of Theravāda Buddhist Philosophy: From the Buddha to Buddhaghosa]. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社.
- . 2017. “Shōbu no seiritu wo saikō suru” 小部の成立を再考する [Rethinking the composition of the Khuddakanikāya: A Comparative Study with Sarvāstivāda Parallels]. *Toyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 171: 304–348.
- Bareau, André. 1955. *Les Sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*. Saigon: École française d’Extrême-Orient.
- Baums, Stefan. 2009. A Gāndhārī Commentary on Early Buddhist Verses: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 7, 9, 13 and 18.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.
- Bechert, Heinz. 1961. *Die Anavataptagāthā und die Sthaviragāthā*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- . 1974. “Notes on the Formation of Buddhist Sects and the Origins of Mahāyāna.” In *German Scholars on India*. Ed. by the Cultural Dept. of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi. 2 vols. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1: 6–18.
- Bodhi, Bhikkhu. 2000. *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Clark, Chris. 2018. “A Note on the Disappearance of the Dhamma according to the *Manorathapūraṇī*.” *Journal of Pali Text Society* 33: 101–114.
- Clarke, Shayne. 2001. “The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Mukṭaka 根本説一切有部目得迦.” *Bukkyō Kenkyū* 佛教研究 30: 81–107.
- . 2002. “The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya: A Brief Reconnaissance Report.” In *Sakurabe Hajime hakase kiju kinen ronshū: Syokibukkyō kara Abidaruma e* 櫻部建博士喜寿記念論集 初期

- 仏教からアビダルマへ [Early Buddhism and *Abhidharma* Thought: In Honor of Doctor Hajime Sakurabe on His Seventy-seventh Birthday]. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten 平楽寺書店, 45–63 (L).
- . 2015. “Vinayas.” In Jonathan Silk (general ed.), *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism I: Literature and Languages*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 60–87.
- Collins, Steven. 1990. “On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 15: 89–126.
- Demiéville, Paul 1931–32. “L’Origine des sectes bouddhiques d’après Paramartha.” *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 1: 16–64.
- Dhammadinnā 2018. “Karma Here and Now in a Mūlasarvāstivāda *avadāna*: How the Bodhisattva Changed Sex and Was Born as a Female 500 Times.” *Annual Report of International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 21: 63–94.
- Enomoto, Fumio. 2000. “‘Mūlasarvāstivādin’ and ‘Sarvāstivādin’.” In Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Volker M. Tschannerl (eds.), *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka: Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*. Indica et Tibetica 37. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 239–250.
- Fukuda, Takumi 福田琢. 2000. “Jōjitsuron no gakuha keitō” 『成實論』の学派系統 [The Lineage of the *Nyāyānusārīnī*]. In Aramaki Noritoshi 荒牧典俊 (ed.), *Hokuchō Zui Tō Chūgoku Bukkyō shisōshi* 北朝隋唐中国仏教思想史 [A History of Chinese Buddhist Thought in the Northern Dynasties, Sui, and Tang]. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 539–564.
- Funayama, Toru 船山徹. 2006. “Masquerading as Translation: Examples of Chinese Lectures by Indian Scholar-Monks in the Six Dynasties Period.” *Asia Major, Third Series* 19/1–2: 39–55.

- . 2012. “Shintai no katsudō to chosaku no kihonteki katsudō” 眞諦の活動と著作の基本的活動 [The Fundamental Characteristics of the Activity and Works of Paramārtha]. In Funayama Tōru (ed.), *Shintai sanzō kenkyū ronshū* 眞諦三蔵研究論集 [Studies of the Works and Influence of Paramārtha]. Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University.
- Fussman, Gérard. 2012. “Review” of Glass 2007. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 55: 189–200.
- Gamage, Aruna. 2019. “Kālundāyī-Theragāthā as Transmitted in the Pāli Commentaries.” *Bulletin of SOAS* 82/1: 55–83.
- Gethin, Rupert. 1992. “The *Mātikās*: Memorization, Mindfulness, and the List.” In Janet Gyatso (ed.), *In the Mirror of Memory: Reflections on Mindfulness and Remembrance in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 149–172.
- . 2007. “What’s in a Repetition? On Counting the Suttas of the Saṃyutta-nikāya.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 29: 365–387.
- . 2012. “Was Buddhaghosa a Theravādin? Buddhist Identity in the Pali Commentaries and Chronicles.” In Peter Skilling, Jason A. Carbine, Claudio Cicuzza, Santi Pakdeekham (eds.), *How Theravāda is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1–63.
- Glass, Andrew. 2007. *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharoshthi Fragment 5*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 4. Seattle/London: University of Washington Press.
- Hartmann, Jens-Uwe. 2004. “Contents and Structure of the *Dīrghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins.” *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 7: 119–137.
- . 2020. “Sanskrit Versions of Āgamas: School, Religions, and Editors.” In Dhammadinnā (ed.), *Research on the Saṃyukta-āgama*. Taipei: Dharma Drum Corporation.

- Hayashi, Takatsugu 林隆嗣. 2014. “Butten ketsujū de shūsai sarenakatta *Nandopananda*[-*nāgarājadamana*] to hokuden shiryō nitsuite” 仏典結集で収載されなかった *Nandopananda*[-*nāgarājadamana*] と北伝資料について [The *Nandopananda*[-*nāgarājadamana*] and Parallel Stories in Indian Buddhist Literature]. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 63/1: 343–350 (L).
- von Hinüber, Oskar. 1978. “On the Tradition of Pāli Texts in India, Ceylon and Burma.” In H. Bechert (ed.), *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 48–57.
- . 1996. *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*. Berlin/ New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Honjō, Yoshifumi 本庄良文. 2010. “Bibashashi no bussetsu kan” 毘婆沙師の仏説観 [The Vaibhāṣika Discussions about the Word of the Buddha]. *Indo Ronrigaku Kenkyū* インド論理学研究 1: 173–193.
- . 2014a. *Kusharonchū Upāikā no kenkyū: yakuchūhen* 俱舎論註ウパーイカーの研究 訳註篇 [A Study of the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā: Annotated Translation*], vol. 1. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan 大蔵出版.
- . 2014b. *Kusharonchū Upāikā no kenkyū: yakuchūhen* 俱舎論註ウパーイカーの研究 訳註篇 [A Study of the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā: Annotated Translation*], vol. 2. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan 大蔵出版.
- Huber, Édouard. 1906. “Les sources du Divyāvadāna (Études de littérature bouddhique).” *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 6: 1–37.
- Karashima, Seishi†. 2020. “The Underlying languages of the Three Chinese Translations of the *Samyukta-āgamas* (Taishō nos. 99, 100, and 101) and their School Affiliations.” In

- Dhammadinnā (ed.), *Research on the Saṃyukta-āgama*, Taipei: Dharma Drum Corporation.
- Katō, Junshō. 1989. *Kyōryōbu no kenkyū* 経量部の研究 [The Study of the Sautrāntika]. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社.
- Kieffer-Pülz, Petra. 2013. *Verlorene Gaṇṭhipadas zum buddhistischen Ordensrecht. Untersuchungen zu den in der Vajirabuddhiṭkā zitierten Kommentaren Dhammasiris und Vajirabuddhis*, 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Kishino, Ryōji. 2013. A Study of the Nidana: An Underrated Canonical Text of the Mulasarvastivada-vinaya. Ph.D. dissertation, Los Angeles: UCLA.
- . 2016. “A Further Study of the Mukṭaka of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya: A Table of Contents and Parallels.” *Bukkyō Daigaku Bukkyō Gakkai Kiyō* 佛教大学仏教学会紀要 21: 227–283.
- Lamotte, Étienne. 1956. “Problèmes concernant les textes canoniques ‘Mineurs’.” *Journal Asiatique* 244: 249–264.
- . 1957. “Khuddakanikāya and Kṣudrakapiṭaka.” *East and West* 4: 341–347.
- . 1958. *Histoire du bouddhisme indien: des origines à l’ère Śaka*. Louvain: Institut orientaliste.
- . 1970. *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)* III. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste.
- . 1988. *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era*. Translated from the French by Sara Webb-Boin under the supervision of Jean Dantinne. Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut orientaliste, Université catholique de Louvain.
- Lévi, Sylvain. 1907. “Les éléments du Divyāvadāna.” *T’oung Pao* 2/8: 105–122.
- . 1909. “Les saintes écritures du Bouddhisme: comment s’est constitué le Canon sacré.” *Annales du Musée Guimet* 31: 105–129.

- . 1915. “Sur la recitation primitive des textes bouddhiques.” *Journal Asiatique* 5/3: 401–405.
- Maeda, Egaku 前田恵学. 1964. *Genshi Bukkyō seiten no seiritsushi kenkyū* 原始仏教聖典の成立史研究 [A History of the Formation of the Original Buddhist Texts]. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin.
- Mizuno, Kōgen 水野弘元. 1996. “Betsuyaku zōagonkyō ni tsuite” 『別訳雑阿含経』について [On the Chinese Translation of the Shorter *Samyuktāgama*]. In Mizuno Kōgen, *Mizuno Kōgen chosaku senshū* 水野弘元著作選集 [Selected Writings of Mizuno Kōgen]. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社.
- Mori, Sodō 森祖道. 1984. *Pāri Bukkyō chūshaku bunken no kenkyū—Attakatā no Jōzabuteki yōsō* パーリ仏教註釈文献の研究—アッタカターの上座部的様相 [A Study of the Pāli Commentaries: Theravādic Aspects of the *Attakathās*]. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin.
- Nattier, Jan. 1991. *Once Upon a Future Time*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press.
- . 2008. *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations: Texts from the Eastern Han and Three Kingdoms Periods*. Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica 10. Tokyo: IRIAB.
- Norman, Kenneth Roy. 1983. *Pāli Literature*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz. Reprint: 2006.
- . 2006. *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- Salomon, Richard. 2011. “Unwieldy Canon: Observations on Some Distinctive Features of Canon Formation in Buddhism.” In Max Deeg, Oliver Freiburger, & Christoph Kleine (eds.), *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 161–207.

- . 2017. “On the Evolution of Written Āgama Collections in Northern Buddhist Traditions.” In Dhammadinnā (ed.), *Research on the Madhyama-āgama*. Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 209–268.
- . 2018. *The Buddhist Literature of Ancient Gandhāra: An Introduction with Selected Translations*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications.
- Silk, Jonathan. 2015. “Canonicity.” In Jonathan Silk (general ed.), *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism I: Literature and Languages*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 5–37.
- Skilling, Peter. 1994. *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha I*. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- . 1997. *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha II*. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- . 2010. “Scriptural Authenticity and the Śrāvaka School.” *Eastern Buddhist* 41/2: 1–47.
- Suzuki, Daisetz T. 1961. *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking Edition Kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto. Catalogue & Index*. Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute.
- Tournier, Vincent. 2017. *La formation du Mahāvastu et la mise en place des conceptions relatives à la carrière du bodhisattva*. Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient.
- Ui, Hakuju et al. 1934. *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*. Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University.
- Yao, Fumi 八尾史. 2013. *Konpon setsuissai’ubu ritsu yakuji 根本説一切有部律藥事* [The *Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*]. Tokyo: Rengō Shuppan 連合出版.
- Yoshimoto, Shingyō 吉元信行. 1982. *Abidaruma shisō アビダルマ思想* [Abhidharma Thought]. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Nine Recitations and the Inclusive *Tripitaka*: Canon Formation in Pre-modern Thailand

Peter Skilling (Bhadra Rujirathat; Chulalongkorn University,
Bangkok & Honorary Associate, Department of Indian
Subcontinental Studies, University of Sydney)*

1. Preamble

Ideas follow from premises and presuppositions. The premise of this essay is that many of the received narratives of modern Buddhist studies need reorientation and that one of these is that of the *saṃgīti* or *saṅgāyanā*.¹ The study of the *saṃgītis* has been locked in an ‘either/or’ historicism: either they are historical and ‘true’ or they are polemical fictions and ‘false.’ I am afraid that I do not know which opinion is fashionable at the moment, but I believe that *saṃgītis* did take place and that they represent integral moments in the rhetoric of Buddhism’s intellectual history. I agree with Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869–1938),

* *Acknowledgements*: It is a pleasure to offer my thanks to those who have helped me with this research: Surakarn Thoesomboon, Phongsathorn Buakhampan, Santi Pakdeekham, Somneuk Hongprayun, Trent Walker, Eng Jin Ooi, Rosemarie Oong, Saerji, Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, and Jens-Uwe Hartmann. Mistakes and omissions are my own. For remarks on sources, spelling, and toponymy, see the Technical Note below.

¹ Both terms are used. *Samgīti* is the older term, used already in the titles of the Pāli *Samgīti-sutta* (*Dīghanikāya* 33), of the Sanskrit *Samgīti-sūtra* and *Samgītiparyāya* of the Sarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama* and Abhidharma, respectively, in the *Vinayas*, and in other texts. *Saṅgāyanā* comes into usage later (the Thai form in older documents, for example the *Royal Chronicles*, is *สังคายนาย saṅgāyanāy*). I choose to translate *saṃgīti* as convocation, recitation, or, clumsily, recitation-convocation. It can also be translated ‘assembly,’ ‘assemblée ecclésiastique,’ ‘synod,’ or ‘council,’ the latter being the usual rendition. Curiously, the Burmese ‘Sixth Council edition’ bears the title *Chatṭhasaṅgītipiṭakam* on the covers and title pages, but in Western language writing is mostly referenced as ‘Chatṭhasaṅgāyanā edition.’ Another term used across traditions is *saṅgha/saṃgraha*, ‘collection’ (Tibetan *yang dag par bsdu pa*).

when he wrote, a short hundred and ten years ago, that “it is safe to believe with Kern, whose critical methods are by no means uncautious, that there have been ‘synods’” (“Qu’il y ait eu des synodes, personne ne le nie”).² He is referring to Dutch Indologist Hendrik Kern (1833–1917), who wrote as follows in his *Histoire du bouddhisme dans l’Inde*:

Qu’il y ait eu des synodes—qui sait combien de fois?—personne ne le nie. En théorie, il faut qu’il y ai eu au moins autant de conciles généraux qu’il y a des sectes car chaque secte, sauf la plus ancienne, doit, d’après la théorie, son origine à un schisme, et chaque schisme entraîne une révision du canon. La question n’est pas de savoir s’il y eu de temps en temps des assemblées ecclésiastiques, qui ont pu servir des modèles, lorsqu’on rédigea le récit des deux premiers Conciles, mais seulement, si ces deux assemblées, comme elles sont décrites dans les notices que nous possédons, sont historiques. Nous ne pouvons découvrir dans ces récits autre chose que des fictions dogmatiques, pour lesquelles des mythes didactiques plus anciens ont fourni des matériaux.

[*Literal translation*] That there were synods—who knows how many of them?—no one denies. In theory, there must have been at least as many general councils as there are sects because each sect, except the most ancient one, owes, after the theory, its origin to a schism, and each schism led to a revision of the canon. The question is not to know whether from time to time there were ecclesiastical councils, which could have served as models, when one redacted the account of the first councils, but only, if these two assemblies, as they are described in the notices that we possess, are historical. We are unable to find in these

² La Vallée Poussin 1911 (“Councils and Synods (Buddhist)”: 179, referring to Kern, *Geschiedenis* II, 265 = *Histoire* II: 290, from which the full quote is taken.

accounts anything other than dogmatic fictions, for which the most ancient didactic myths supplied the materials.

La Vallée Poussin 'ventures to add' five points, the fifth of which is,

that some monasteries (and in early times there were huge monasteries) were like permanent councils. Their 'living libraries' became Canons; for the canonic shape which the Word of Buddha (*buddhapravacana*) received at last, when Word became Scripture, had been for a very long time foreshadowed by the oral and mnemonic distribution of the Word into several Baskets (*piṭakas*) and Collections (*nikāya*).

The important point is that during the oral period big monasteries were 'like permanent councils,' that is, that recitation and redaction went on continually, making them, or the *saṅghas* who inhabited them, into 'living libraries,' and that the canonical memories eventually became the written scriptures that we know today.

The convocations were, or are, historical events ('are' because history is written in the present), but many of the details in the various accounts were elaborated retrospectively, reading back in order to explain the shape of the received scriptures. The accounts of the *saṃgītis* are not historical *fictions*, they are historical *recastings* and *edifications*, composed for similar reasons as was Lanka's *Great Chronicle* (*Mahāvamsa*), which states at the end of each chapter that its aim is 'to inspire faith in good people' (*sujanappasādasamvegatthāya*).³ These 'ancient didactic myths,' to use Kern's phrase, had great resonance, and to this day have dominated Theravādin historiography.

There is no single, Ur-, or universally authoritative *Tripitaka*. There are only *Tripitakas*, or better, perhaps, *Piṭakas*. We should not try to reduce all *Tripitakas* to 'the *Tripitaka*' as if they are the

³ Or, as rendered by Wilhelm Geiger in his translation published in 1912, 'for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.'

same or should be the same.⁴ When the eighteen schools, separately and individually, compiled, redacted, and transmitted their scriptural collections, they made different language choices and applied different editorial and organizational principles. They processed their collections according to cognate but distinctive editorial principles. In this essay, I use the traditional enumeration ‘eighteen schools’ to refer to the aggregate of Buddhist schools—the monastic ordination, training, and transmission lineages—over time in early South Asia. I do not mean that eighteen schools existed at the same time and place or that each school had its own distinctive and autonomous *Tripitaka*. These questions concern long centuries during which, as La Vallée Poussin remarks, the technology of transmission changed from orality to writing. There are enormous gaps in our historical records. It may sound too pessimistic to say that we know nothing, so I will say that we know next to nothing.

Only the first two convocations are shared by the various Buddhist traditions: there is no shared or common ‘third convocation.’ The accounts of the first two convocations are canonical insofar as they are related in the *Vinayas*. The accounts of five out of the eighteen Vinaya schools are preserved;⁵ this is

⁴ The term ‘*Tripitaka*,’ ‘three baskets’ or ‘sections,’ is a convention for a complete collection of Śākyamuni’s teachings whether or not it is divided into three sections. Historically, old Tibetan sources sometimes use the term ‘*Tripitaka*’ (*sDe snod gsum*) for the corpus of Tibetan collections, which, as far as we know, were never organized on the lines of a *Tripitaka*. The use of the term ‘*Tripitaka*’ for Chinese scriptural collections seems to have been similar.

⁵ A convenient source for translations of these accounts is Kākkāpalliye Anuruddha Thera et al. 2008 (*The First and Second Buddhist Councils*). The most thorough and balanced treatments of the convocations were not written yesterday: they are Lamotte 1958 (*Histoire*): 136–154, 297–319, and Bareau 1955 (*Les premiers conciles*). These were written more than sixty years ago, and in the interval much has changed. La Vallée Poussin’s contribution to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* was published a hundred and ten years ago but the brilliance of his insights continues to illuminate the dark thickets of the modern histories of

not such a bad record given that the various *Sūtrapitakas* and *Abhidharmapitakas* are much more sparsely preserved than this. Outside of the *Vinayas*, which stop at the second convocation, the only complete presentations of any of the schools' sequence of councils to survive are those of the Sthavira (that is, the Theravāda) and the Sāṃmitīya, two of the four mainstream schools of northern India in the mediaeval period. The Theravāda records are preserved in Pāli and in vernaculars like Sinhala, Thai, Burmese, and so on. Those of the Sāṃmitīyas are preserved in Sanskrit and in Tibetan translation in Sarvarakṣita's *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā* and Daśabalaśrīmitra's *Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya*, respectively. In Pāli we have both the primary account—that of the Vinaya, where it is related in the *Lesser Chapter* or *Cullavagga*,⁶ and secondary accounts like the Vinaya commentary and the chronicles (*Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvāṃsa*). For the Sāṃmitīyas, the primary account is not available since the school's Vinaya does not survive, but we have the two secondary accounts mentioned above. For the Sarvāstivāda we have the primary Vinaya account of the first two convocations; for the third or later convocations all we have are disjointed reports in Chinese and Tibetan sources.

As we know them today, the *Tripitakas*, the *Pitakas*, are cognate—they are intricately related—but they differ from school to school, and there is evidence that even within a single school regional and temporal redactions could differ. Each collection has its own history: there is no universal history of all the convocations. The role of redactions and redactors in the formation of scriptural collections—*saṃgīti* and *saṃgītikāras*—is recognized in traditional

Buddhist philosophy and dogmatics. I can only regard the pioneering studies of the nineteenth and early twentieth century savants with awe, from Kern and Burnouf onward.

⁶ Also *Cūlavagga* (Chaṭṭhasaṃgīti) etc. I follow the spelling of the Pali Text Society edition (Oldenberg [1880] 1997 (*Vinaya Pitakam*), vol. II, *The Cullavagga*). The Thai-script Syāmaratṭha edition is the same (vols. 6 and 7).

exegesis.⁷ These redactions took place in South and Southeast Asia. Councils (*chos 'khor*) were also held in Tibet; their nature is not clear to me, but I do not think they were redactional in the sense that the Indian *saṃgītis* were.⁸

It is unwise to take the relative uniformity of the Theravāda tradition to be the norm. Historically, we simply don't know what the norm was, since the early redactions were oral and because for the early written period we lack contemporaneous manuscripts or inscriptions. Thanks to the work of a dedicated group of scholars on Gāndhārī manuscripts, day by day we learn more and more about the northwestern Gāndhārī tradition. I once wrote that "New discoveries have completely transformed Buddhist studies. The field in which we have laboured and grazed for so long will never be the same again."⁹ I have called this a thorough *bouleversement* in which everything needs to be re-examined. This is still the case and the need for critical reassessments of Buddhist canons is even more pressing. Even to speak of 'the canon' or 'the *Tipiṭaka*' or 'the *Tripitaka*' is misleading.¹⁰ There are many canons and certainly not a single canon. There are many *Tripitakas*—I hope this is by now generally recognized—and, though some may find this surprising, there are many Pāli canons. Not all Pāli canons are the same: they vary across time and across space.

⁷ They are referred to in, for example, Kalyāṇamitra's *Vinayavastu-ṭīkā*, in Suzuki 1955–1961 (*The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*): bsTan-ḥgyur, mDo-ḥgrel, ḥDul-ba'i ḥgrel-pa III, vol. 122, 'Dul ba'i 'grel pa, Dza, 194a8, 197a8, Wu, 11a4, *yang dag pa sdud par byed pa*.

⁸ See, for example, Tucci [1932] 1988 (*Rin-chen-bzang-po*): 72–73; Roerich [1949] 1986 (*Blue Annals*): 70.

⁹ I have tirelessly, but I hope not too tiresomely, pointed this out in lectures over the past decade or more. Skilling et al. 2012 (*How Theravāda is Theravāda*) presents fresh approaches to the study of the complex of traditions called Theravāda.

¹⁰ The regime of European writing systems is also misleading. None of the primary languages used here uses capital letters or has any equivalent practice.

Permit me to fast forward to nineteenth-century world history. British colonial interests opened new social and commercial networks in the Indian Ocean and the Southern Seas. The age of steam brought shipping lines with regular routes that linked Calcutta with Rangoon, Penang, Singapore, Madras, and Colombo, and this smoothed the way for the development of Theravādin networks centred on local temples and communities. Regional Theravādin circles developed transregional and then international Theravāda Buddhist identities.

The sea route went on to China and linked the overseas Chinese of Southeast Asia with the mainland. The traffic was two-way or multi-directional: Chinese Buddhism and Chinese religion developed in the Straits Settlements, Burma, and Bengal, as also in Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines.¹¹ An iconic event in this exchange took place in Beijing in 1904 when the Qing Dynasty Guangxu Emperor (光緒皇帝 *guāng xù huáng dì* 1871–1908, r. 1875–1908) presented a Chinese *Tripitaka* to Beow Lean [妙蓮 *miào lián*], abbot of Kek Lok Si temple in Penang, Malaysia [极乐寺 *jí lè sì* / 鹤山极乐禅寺 *hè shān jí lè chán sì*, 檳城 *bīn chéng*] (Fig. 0).¹² This, a seven-thousand-volume imperial edition of the Buddhist *sūtras* [龍藏經 *lóng zàng jīng* / 大藏經 *dà zàng jīng*], must have been one of the last Qing dynasty gifts of a *Tripitaka*; it became one of the treasures of the Kek Lok Si Temple, a popular spot for worshippers and tourists nestled in the foothills outside of the colonial conurbation of Georgetown.¹³

¹¹ See Dy 2015 (*Chinese Buddhism in Catholic Philippines*), which in addition to the Philippines deals with the Southeast Asian Chinese communities as a whole.

¹² Poh 1978 (*Chinese Temples Penang*): 4–5. The set is kept in the ‘Tower of Sacred Books’ where the Imperial Sanction is also displayed: Poh 1978: 30–31; Kek Lok Si Temple 2003 (*Journey of Insightful Discovery*): 16–17 (English).

¹³ Also known as the Dragon *Tripitaka*, this is the 乾隆 (*qián lóng*) version of the *Tripitaka* compiled at the behest of the Qianlong Emperor 乾隆, fourth emperor of the Qing dynasty (r. 1735–1796). For the copy in the

The shipping networks continued on to Hong Kong and Shanghai, to Yokohama and Nagoya in Japan, and to Korea. The long-range circulation of knowledge is seen in the life of Shaku Sōen (1860–1919), who travelled to Sri Lanka in 1887 and became the first Japanese to study Pāli,¹⁴ and in the researches of Bun'yū Nanjō (1849–1927), Kasahara Kenju (1852–1883), and others who studied Sanskrit and Indology at Oxford under Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900). Müller was a pioneer of Indology and religious studies (Religionswissenschaft) and a world scholar who drew on emerging intellectual currents and forged new ones.

European methodologies spread ideas of the modern critical edition and the annotated translation along with the development of research tools like dictionaries, indexes, and concordances. This was an age of social and intellectual transformation and innovation, of new modalities of juxtaposition and exchange. Buddhism, defunct or nearly defunct in India for hundreds of years, returned as a living force in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1775, a Tibetan temple was established at Calcutta, the imperial capital, by Viceroy Warren Hastings (1732–1818) 'at the request of the Tashi Lama of Tibet,' that is, the Sixth Panchen Lama Lobsang Palden Yeshe (Paṅ chen Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, བཤམ་ཆེན་ལོ་བཟང་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་ཤེས་པ། 1738–1780).¹⁵ This was followed by the establishment of the Mahabodhi Society in 1891, the Bengal

Po Lin Monastery, Hong Kong, presented by the Buddhist Association of China in 1979, see plm.org.hk.

¹⁴ Baba 2020 ("The Birth of 'Mahāyāna Buddhism'"). See Jaffe 2019 (*Seeking Sakyamuni*), for a detailed study of early Japanese excursions towards broader Buddhist cultural horizons from the seventeenth century onwards.

¹⁵ Lothian 1955 (*Handbook for Travellers in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*, seventeenth edition): 103. For more on relations with Tibetan and other communities in Hastings' time, see Sen 2018, (*India, China, and the World: A Connected History*): 238–252, and, for this event, especially 249–250. Warren Hastings and the Sixth Panchen Lama were astute and visionary figures who influenced the course of relations between British India, Bhutan, Tibet, and the Qing government.

Buddhist Association in 1892, and a Burmese temple in 1928. The Chinese community established Buddhist and Daoist temples and shrines.¹⁶ Needless to say, the Buddhist temples were the minority in an urban landscape dominated by the steeples of Christian churches and the grandiose architectural pretensions of the Raj, all under the long shadow of a modernity intertwined with reform Hinduism, Islamic universalism, Christian missionism, and secular, anti-colonial, and nationalist ideals.¹⁷ Religious boundaries were not exclusive or sealed; societies are porous and the different forms of Theravāda interacted with each other and other types of Buddhism in a bustling market place where ideas of every stripe jostled for attention.

2. Prehistory: Before Bangkok

Where does the *Tripitaka* that we read in Thailand today come from? How was it transmitted? These are challenging questions: impossible, perhaps, to answer, but certainly worth discussing. Little material is available for the history of the *Tripitaka* before Bangkok. For the first millennium, the so-called Dvāravatī period, there are scanty references in Chinese sources, for example to Funan and Pan Pan, and there is a corpus of Pāli inscriptions—short citations that show at best that Pāli was used throughout mainland Southeast Asia, and that the texts cited agree with the received texts of the much later manuscripts.¹⁸

¹⁶ Zhang Zing 2014 (“Buddhist Practices and Institutions of the Chinese Community in Kolkata”); Sen 2018 (*India, China, and the World*): 271–274 et passim for a fascinating panorama of the multidirectional relations.

¹⁷ The transregional construction of Buddhist religious centres had begun much earlier, in the second half of the first millennium CE, on the evidence of the Leiden plates and the Devapāladeva inscription at Nālandā, but was disrupted by social and political changes, until the nineteenth century saw a revival under very different conditions.

¹⁸ See Skilling 2019 (“The Theravaṃsa Has Always Been Here”).

No early manuscripts survive from Thailand or the region. When were the first Buddhist texts transmitted in the region? What type of manuscripts were they? What script were they written in? No answers are forthcoming. Were there actual, complete *Tripitakas* before Sukhothai or Ayuthaya? The evidence of manuscript culture is indirect and late. Surviving stone inscriptions contain short texts from the Pāli *Tripitaka*. Icons show familiarity with palm-leaf manuscripts when certain deities carry palm-leaf manuscripts. The earliest epigraphic reference to the making of a *Tripitaka* might be in a tenth-century Pāli inscription engraved in the Mon script on a large standing stone slab from Wat Don Kaew, Hariphunchai (Lamphun, LP 1), which states that King Savvādhisiddhi I had many *Tipitakas* inscribed (... *katanbahuntepitakam*).¹⁹ Unfortunately the slab is damaged, and further details are not forthcoming. We cannot say what sort of *Tripitaka* it was, whether exclusive or inclusive.

The Mon used Pāli as their scriptural language. The royal seat, Haripunchai, was connected, to Arakan, Pegu, and Pagan (in today's Burma) and to north, northeast, central Thailand, and beyond to the Bay of Bengal and Sri Lanka. It was on trade routes and on a route of pilgrimage and practice that is reported in Tibetan historical sources such as those by Bu ston and Tāranātha. It was famed for its great golden *stūpa*, that is, Wat Phra That Hariphunchai, and was visited by Tantric practitioners.

A much-damaged stone inscription from Phitsanulok with Pāli written in Khom Sukhothai script and Thai written in Thai Sukhothai script opens in Pāli with an account of the first recitations. Then it changes to Thai and gives a long list of titles

¹⁹ จารึกพระเจ้าสุวาลีสีหิ ๑ (วัดดอนแก้ว) ด้านที่ ๑ (Lamphun, LP 1): from *The Inscriptions in Thailand Database*, Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, โครงการฐานข้อมูลจารึกในประเทศไทย, ศูนย์มานุษยวิทยาสิรินธร, at db.sac.or.th/inscriptions/.

and names of individuals. The inscription dates from the late fourteenth century.²⁰

These are just samples of the rich but fragmentary corpus of inscriptions that relate to Buddhism. The questions of the deep origins of the Siamese Pāli tradition and the transmission of the *Tripitaka* in Siam deserve a full study in their own right. In this contribution, I will focus on the Ratanakosin or Bangkok period.

3. The Formation of the *Tripitaka* in Pre-modern Siam²¹

In this essay, I present evidence from the capital city of Bangkok about the activities of the royal courts and high-ranking monastics of Siam, which became the leading Theravāda polity of the nineteenth century. If Bangkok was the ceremonial centre, at the other end of the spectrum was the village. City and village were co-dependent. Across Southeast Asia, towns, villages, and country monasteries were nodes in well-articulated networks of local knowledge. The production of manuscripts was never controlled by the centre, the court, or the royal monasteries. Local communities were responsible for the production and maintenance of manuscripts and the dissemination of the Dharma through sermons and practice. Local manuscript practice was autonomous but it was influenced by courtly canons, preferences, and practices, and local practices in turn influenced the metropole.

²⁰ Inscription no. 289, “Chareuk prawat kan tham sangkhayana lae rainam phra song.”

²¹ The historical and redactional questions are not simple, and here I can only present an abridged version (*sankhepa*) of my research. I do not present the *saṃgītis*, the recitation convocations, as solid and self-evident historical events. I consider them to be representative events that encode significant developments in the transmission of the Buddhavacana. These are summarized in Table 2. For a brief note in English on the Thai councils by the distinguished Siamese scholar H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat (1885–1974), see his *History of Buddhism in Siam* (published in 1965), pp. 21–23.

The formation of the *Tripitaka* in pre-modern Thailand had a distinctive trajectory that reached a high point during the reign of King Rāma I or Phra Phutthayotfa Chulalok, who ruled from 1782 to 1809.²² An invasion by neighbouring Burma had devastated the capital city of Ayuthaya in 1767 and it lay abandoned. King Taksin (r. 1767–1782) revived the Thai polity and established a new capital at Thonburi (Dhanapuri Śrī Mahāsamudra) on the right bank of the Chao Phraya River downstream from the old city. In 1782, Chaophraya Chakri came to power as King Rāma I;²³ he moved the capital across the river to Bangkok and undertook to restore the Thai economy, society and culture. One of his measures was a recitation-convocation (*saṅgāyanā*) to produce a *Tripitaka*. This does not mean the tidy printed forty-five volume collection that we know today but rather an extensive and inclusive *Tripitaka* that incorporated everything that was available in the Pāli language at the time: from the core Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma to the commentaries and sub-commentaries along with apocryphal *sūtras* and *jātakas*,²⁴ chronicles, poetry, linguistic treatises, and a range of ancillary works. Taken together, this was the inclusive *Tripitaka*, the canon of Pāli literature writ large.²⁵

The inclusive *Tripitaka* was nothing new: it had been the norm throughout the Ayuthaya period (1351–1767) and most probably before, not only in Thailand but in neighbouring lands as well. It

²² For a perspicacious overview of ‘Literature, Languages, and Conveying the Dhamma,’ see Crosby 2020 (*Theravada Buddhism*), Chapter 3.

²³ The ‘Rāma’ series of names was bestowed on the earlier Chakri kings at a later date.

²⁴ Thailand has a rich corpus of ‘non-classical’ or ‘apocryphal’ texts, including *sūtras* and *jātakas*, which are included, appropriately enough, in the inclusive *Tripitakas*. Not much scholarly attention has been paid, as far as I know, to the complex question of (non)canonicity, although the study of the contexts and ritual use of apocrypha is instructive.

²⁵ One might also call it ‘maximal’ or ‘maximalist’ in that it is a product of canonical maximalism.

was an extensive collection that included both the classical Pāli texts from Lanka and the ‘Pāli literature of Siam,’ a body of works composed or transmitted in Thailand.²⁶ The extensive *Tripitaka* was the measure of merit and, in the century that followed King Rāma I’s *saṅgāyanā*, numerous sets were lettered by hand on palm leaves and duly offered to temples. King Rāma V (Chulalongkorn: r. October 1868 to October 1910) had inclusive *Tripitakas* copied well into his reign, up until the last decade of the nineteenth century. In the early 1890s the king initiated the sweeping change of technology from the hand-written palm-leaf manuscript to the printed book, which also entailed a switch from the time-honoured Khom Pāli script to the Thai script.²⁷ The King’s vision was such that when he had the ‘first printed Pāli *Tripitaka*’ produced he arranged for its distribution to universities and centres of learning world-wide. Copies are still preserved locally in temples, libraries, and internationally in institutions and universities around the world.²⁸

The shift to print signalled the end of palm-leaf manuscript culture and the end of the inclusive *Tripitaka*. The *Tripitaka* was now interpreted in the more restricted sense of the fixed list of titles sanctioned by the commentaries of the celebrated fifth-century Theravādin exegete Buddhaghosa. A new canonicity and a new technology: these were the new message and the new

²⁶ Skilling & Pakdeekham 2002 (*Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam*); idem 2008 (*Pāli and Vernacular Literature Transmitted in Central and Northern Siam*).

²⁷ For King Rāma IV’s earlier efforts to establish and disseminate ‘Ariyaka,’ a special script for Pāli, see Sakya 2012 (“King Mongkut’s Invention of a Universal Pali Script”). The printing of sacred texts sometimes meets resistance for a variety of spiritual, ideological, and practical reasons. For resistance to the introduction of the print medium by Khmer monastic culture, see Crosby 2020 (*Esoteric Theravāda*): 86–92.

²⁸ See especially Maechai Wimuttiya 2014, *Phra Traipidok*, Part 3. To read Khom Bali, which was reserved for Pāli texts, one had to know Pāli and learn the script, while the Thai script was widely known to an increasingly literate society.

medium that impacted directly and irrevocably on the imperatives of textual preservation and production. The measure of merit was now to *purchase* rather than *produce* the *Tripitaka* in the shape of a standard forty-five volume set and to offer it to temples or educational institutions. The curriculum of the monastic colleges was revised to focus on the new canon. The effects of this momentous change in the very paradigm of the *Tripitaka* were both positive and negative. Positive results included a new standardization and what may be seen as a renewed focus on the 'authentic' early texts. The radical reduction of the canon's size might have seemed to augur well for the study of the Dhamma: the canon was now more manageable with fixed contents and arrangement. The negative result was what we might call the 'great decanonization'—the decommissioning of a rather large body of texts. The inclusive canon had been a tolerant home for Pāli literature, but now a great variety of genres and functions, not only didactic but narrative, liturgical, and meditational, were left aside in favour of a uniform and standardized set of texts from Lanka. An immediate result was that although these texts were treasures of Siam's Pāli and Buddhist heritage, they fell into oblivion and were ignored and forgotten. They ceased to be copied, let alone printed. We are, however, fortunate that the texts were preserved in the royal and temple libraries and later, after it was founded in 1905, the National Library. Their titles are listed in the old catalogues but the texts have not been edited or translated.

In the seventeenth century, Pāli manuscripts were taken to Europe by missionaries and reached Rome and Paris; by the relative standards of the dates of extant Pāli manuscripts, the manuscripts in the Vatican library or the Missions Étrangères and Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are ancient. Coedès remarks that "Pāli texts anterior to [1767, the sacking of Ayuthaya] are easier to find in Europe than in Siam; for instance, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris, whose manuscripts were mostly collected by French missionaries during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries."²⁹

²⁹ Coedès 1924 (*Vajirañāna National Library*): 21.

Other manuscripts were gathered by Danish linguist and philologist Rasmus Rask (1787–1832), who collected manuscripts in Pāli, Sinhalese, Tamil, and other languages during his journeys to India and Ceylon and deposited them in the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen where they are preserved to this day. In Ceylon, Hugh Nevill (1847–1897) procured a large collection which he donated to The British Library.³⁰ Some collections are preserved in Japan at Otani University Library in Kyoto and Kakuozan Nittaiji (覚王山日泰) in Nagoya (where, incidentally, a *stūpa* enshrines a portion of Śākyamuni's relics that were donated by King Chulalongkorn).

These collections were amassed for several reasons. This was an 'age of discovery' or 'age of curiosity' and Europeans were inspired to collect manuscripts and paraphernalia of non-European religions to satisfy their thirst for knowledge of the expanding world. Churches and religious figures wanted to understand other religions out of simple chauvinism with the pragmatic aim of converting their adherents. Imperial armies deposed dynasties and looted their treasuries; the spolia included manuscripts, as in the case of the Pāli manuscripts from the Mandalay Palace now kept in The British Library. Royal libraries collected for sake of 'science' writ broadly in the renaissance of classical ideals that went beyond narrow Christian dogma. The Wellcome Institute collection in London began from the desire to collect the medical information that they might contain. Some collected manuscripts to study language and linguistics. Some, like the British colonial officer T.W. Rhys Davids (1843–1922), were attracted to Buddhism, its history and culture; Rhys Davids' passion for Pāli was such that in 1881 he established the Pali Text Society in London and translated important canonical Buddhist texts like the *Milinda-pañhā* (*Questions of King Milinda*, 1890–1894) and the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1899–1921).

The collections were piecemeal and random; no attempts were made to systematically gather a complete *Tripitaka*: after all, at the

³⁰ Somadasa 1987–1995 (*Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection*).

outset the collectors didn't even know what '*Tripitaka*' meant.³¹ The structure, contents, and early history of the Pāli *Tripitaka* only become clear with the study and translation of Pāli commentaries and vernacular texts. Historically, the Pāli *Tripitaka* was not known outside of Theravaṃsa circles: it is not described or cited in other known Buddhist sources, and on all evidence it had only a limited circulation in India and South Asia. The first description in Tibetan literature is in Gedun Chopel's (1903–1951) account of his travels in Ceylon in the first half of the twentieth century.³²

International Theravāda studies have generally privileged the Pāli language over vernacular traditions and the broad spectrum of material culture. One might say that Pāli has been studied in a vacuum; that the specialists did not listen to the voices of Thai,

³¹ The circulation of Kanjurs from Tibet to Calcutta, Japan, and Europe and the migration of Chinese canons to the west are related fields of research that are beyond the scope of this essay. In the case of Tibet, the early period of migration of Kanjurs and other texts to Western libraries is not dissimilar to that of Siam, but the translocation of Kanjurs takes its own course by the 1950s with the abrupt movement of texts carried into exile by refugees fleeing the 'peaceful liberation' of their country to salvage their precious Buddhist heritage. This was a reverse transfer of knowledge—the texts were originally carried from India to Tibet where they were translated into Tibetan, and now they were going back to India. Since then, the development of Tibetan studies, including Kanjur-Tanjur studies, internationally and the ongoing digitization of Tibetan canons giving digital access is an epic of its own. This has been paralleled by the welcome revival of the printing of Tibetan texts in China. For the Chinese-language canons, the essays in Wu and Wilkinson 2017 (*Reinventing the Tripitaka*), certainly deserve mention.

³² Gendun Chopel 2014 (*Grains of Gold*): 320–321. For Gendun Chopel's life and writings, see Lopez 2018 (*Gendun Chopel*); note that the name is romanized in several ways, including, A mdo Dge 'dun chos 'phel, Gendün Chöphel, Gedun Choephel, Gedun Ch'omp'el, and so on. I do not know when the Pāli canon was 'discovered' by Chinese, Korean, or Japanese scholars, but suspect that for the latter it was not until the Meiji period (1868 to 1912). Palm-leaf manuscripts from Siam reached Japan from the Ayuthaya period on, brought as souvenirs by travellers.

Burmese, Khmer, Lao, or Sinhalese Buddhism, not to speak of other dialects of Southeast Asian Buddhism. Theravāda is framed by Pāli narratives written a thousand years ago, but in fact there is no single or unchanging narrative. Narrative is socially and historically entwined and embedded and tidy foundation myths are utilitarian constructs. Theravāda cultures developed their own accounts of how Buddhism developed in their lands; these narratives, as far as we can retrieve them, have changed over time. At present the Internet and social media are inexorably recasting the old certainties and narratives around the world. Grandees are being pulled down from their pedestals, subaltern players are receiving recognition, and the stories are being told anew in previously neglected voices. New notions of agency are abroad. This will inevitably transform traditional narratives.

The circulation of Buddhist texts and collections has a long history. By the later nineteenth century, the adoption of print technology, the activity of the Pali Text Society, and the dynamics of the new social mix of cultures spread Pāli texts in the roman script along with translations into European and other languages such as Japanese, Nepali, Newar, Hindi, Marathi, and so on. The colonial, modern, and post-modern periods have brought further and significant changes, leading most recently to the wide distribution of the *Chatṭhasaṅgīti Tipitaka* worldwide through the Internet. This has been accompanied by a now-dominant (and usually the sole) account of the formation of the Pāli canon in the shape of a Burmese enumeration of the recitations that in the late nineteenth century counted five convocations and then, in the twentieth century, six (see Appendix, Table 3).³³

This trajectory must be placed in the context of other enumerations of the convocations within the Theravaṃsa and within the broader spectrum of Buddhist schools. As a rule, it seems that the middle-period Thera tradition preferred to limit *saṃgīti/saṅgāyanā* status to the first three convocations. Later on,

³³ For Burmese councils, see Jinananda 1959 (“Four Buddhist Councils”), Appendix III, pp. 53–55.

the tradition described one further gathering as follows: ‘the convocation to transfer the Dhamma to books is like a fourth recitation convocation.’ The ambiguous phrasing suggests a reluctance to extend the notion of *saṅgīti* beyond the classical three, and at the same time a recognition of the significance of the writing down of the Pāli scriptures—the momentous shift from orality to writing. In some sources ‘council’ status seems to have been accorded to the earlier Anurādhapura convocation under Mahinda. Further research into the choices of terminology in the different sources is needed to entangle the weight of the term *saṅgīti* through the centuries.³⁴

The Burmese account that has been privileged in modern narratives ignores the elephant next door. It is remarkable that the Burmese tradition is widely, one might say almost totally, accepted around the world by Buddhists and by scholars of Buddhism, while the earlier Siamese tradition is scarcely known.³⁵ Why was the Siamese tradition sidelined? One reason is that Siam maintained its independence from the encroaching powers of Great Britain and France and as a result its history and culture did not become objects of study as a ‘natural’ part of colonial practice, as they did in Ceylon, India, and other colonies. Siam retained control of its identity and historiography. Other reasons may be the auspicious timing of Burma’s ‘Sixth Council’ to coincide with the Buddha Jayanti, the 2500th anniversary of Buddhism, and the

³⁴ For the writing down of the canon, see Sasaki 1992 (*Sārasaṅgaha*): 49.31: *potthakārūḷhasaṅgīti catutthadhammasaṅgīti-sadisā*.

³⁵ The Siamese tradition is not mentioned in La Vallée Poussin 1911 (“Councils and Synods (Buddhist)”: 179–185; or in the entries on “Councils: Buddhist Councils” in Jones 2005 (*Encyclopedia of Religion*): vol. 3, 2034–2039 or “Councils, Buddhist”; Witanachchi 2006 (“Saṅgīti”) refers to Siamese sources but remarks that “according to B. Jinananda, councils in Thailand were not councils in the true sense of the term.” The *Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (eds. Buswell and Lopez) has a short entry on “saṅgīti” (p. 753) and longer discussions under “Council,” numbered from 1st to 6th (pp. 198–200). Neither mentions the Thai tradition.

celebrations held throughout Asia and around the world; the fact that the convocation was international, at least within the Theravāda tradition; and that it was orchestrated by Prime Minister U Nu, a respected international figure who represented the modern face of Buddhism in post-colonial Asia.

In sum, by the later nineteenth century two different narratives regarding the convocations, each associated with a different 'national' Theravāda tradition, circulated in Southeast Asia. It is not that one of them is correct and the other wrong: they are alternate or parallel tellings that seek to explain the origins of the Pāli scriptures to their communities of users. They reveal that the development of *Tripitakas* in Southeast Asia was not uniform or monolithic. This is amply confirmed by the recensional differences among the various editions, something that we have scarcely begun to understand. To study the backstories and long-term narratives helps us understand the frames in which the scriptures were produced, preserved, and cherished.

4. The Nine Recitation-Convocations

In the following I give a brief sketch of the nine recitations according to Siamese sources like the Pāli *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* and *Samgītiya-vamsa* and Thai-language works like the *Royal Chronicles* compiled by Somdet Phra Phonnarat.

Three Recitation-Convocations in India

(1) The First Recitation-Convocation (Figs. 1.1–3)

1 PN. The story of the recitations begins with the rainy season retreat immediately after Gautama the Buddha's Nirvāṇa. It is known as the 'convocation of the five hundred' because five hundred *śrāvakas* convened to redact, organize, recite, and endorse his teachings, the Buddhavaṇa. They met at the Saptaparṇī cave at the city of Rājagṛha, capital of the kingdom of Magadha (Pāli: Sattapaṇṇa, Rājagaha).³⁶ The royal sponsor was

³⁶ For an exhaustive presentation of literary sources on Rājagṛha—Buddhist, Jain, and Brahmanical—see Law [1938] 1991 (*Rājagṛha in*

cave is not mentioned in the Pāli *Vinaya* account of the council (*Cullavagga*, Chapter 11). A cave of this name is, however, mentioned in Pāli sources independently of the *saṃgīti* as well as in non-Pāli and non-Buddhist sources. In the Pāli *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, the Buddha himself praises it as one of the beautiful spots of Rājagṛha,³⁹ and it seems safe to assume that the cave was a recognized site in the early landscape of Magadha.⁴⁰ As a rule, it is difficult to identify ancient Buddhist sites because in India there has been no continuous Buddhist tradition, and collective memories curated by Buddhist communities died out centuries ago. In the modern period, local inhabitants sometimes invented or revived memories for profit when pilgrim and tourist traffic returned after centuries of absence. This continues today across India, with increased pressure from burgeoning pilgrim-tourist industries to provide enticing packages for the faithful—at a price.

The first convocation follows upon the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*; after his death the *saṃgha* was concerned to preserve and codify his teachings. Depictions of the life of the Buddha in wall paintings and in illustrated books sometimes situate the first recitation just adjacent to the *nirvāṇa*, the cremation, and the distribution of relics—for example, in mural paintings of Kucha,⁴¹ in illustrated Chinese biographies of the Buddha,⁴² and occasionally in nineteenth-century Thai mural paintings. The first convocation effectively closes the story of Śākyamuni's life. This gathering was known as the root convocation, *mūlasaṃgīti* in Sanskrit sources

³⁹ *Dīghanikāya* II, pp. 116–117: *ramaṇīyā vebhārapasse sattapaṇṇiguhā*.

⁴⁰ See *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, *Dīghanikāya*, 166; *Vinaya* II 76, III 159. Tournier 2017 (*La formation du Mahāvastu*) discusses the complexities: 296, *dharmadharasaṅghanā*; 298, *saptaparṇī*, with reference to Kanaganahalli.

⁴¹ Zin 2020 (“The Monk Kāśyapa in Kucha, the First Council, and the Furtherance of Buddhist Teaching”).

⁴² Chandra 2010 (*Life of Lord Buddha from Chinese Sutras Illustrated in Ming Woodcuts*): 424 and pl. 192.

and *mūlasaṅgaha* in Pāli. It is foundational for all forms of Buddhism; all of the eighteen *nikāyas* trace their history to the first recitation.

The Pāli tradition states that the *mūlasaṅgaha* is the foundation or basis of the *pariyatti-tipiṭaka*, the study of the Dhamma as preserved in the scriptures. The fourth to fifth-century master Vasubandhu—following or developing earlier traditions that are perhaps reported in the *Vibhāṣā*—maintained that the *mūlasaṅgīti* was lost. On the contrary, the Mahāvihāra Theravāda tradition seems to believe that the Pāli canon is the untrammelled record of the *mūlasaṅgaha* and that other schools had altered and added to it. We get a glimpse of these ideas, for example, in the *Dīpavaṃsa*.

In Thailand, by at least the Ayuthaya period (ca. 1350–1767),⁴³ there developed a genre of sermon on the first five *saṅgāyanā* that was performed by several monks, each seated on his own raised ‘Dharma seat’ (*dharmāsana*). This ritual became associated with funeral chanting; the practice, also widespread in Cambodia, merits further research. The text for sermons or chanting was inscribed on individual manuscripts for each of the first five recitations (Figs. 10.1–3). These remain to be edited and properly studied.

One point that I will mention only in passing is the interpretation of the *me/mayā* in the opening phrase *evam me sutam / evaṃ mayā śrutam*, about which so much ink has been spilt. I doubt the traditional interpretation that the *mayā* is Ānanda at the first convocation, reciting the *sūtras* he had heard from the Buddha and his fellow disciples. I do not know how the *sūtras* were recited. I hypothesize that, when the system of memorization of the canons was developed, the *suttas* were prefaced by *evam me sutam*. The *me* is the *bhāṇaka*, the reciter, and the phrase means: “This has been heard by me [the reciter, from my master reciters, during my training].⁴⁴ On one occasion the Fortunate One ...”

⁴³ ‘At least’ because we simply have no earlier evidence.

⁴⁴ See Skilling 2021 (*Questioning the Buddha*): 133–137.

There is supporting evidence for this in the Vinaya reports of the *saṃgīti*. Ānanda does not use *evam me* in the Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, or Theravāda accounts, but it is used in the Mahāsāṃghika and Sarvāstivāda accounts.

(2) Second Recitation-Convocation (Figs. 2.1–2)

100 PN. The second recitation-convocation took place at Vaiśālī, an important city in the Vṛji republic north of the Ganga river along the northern route (Pāli: Vesālī, Vajji). Seven hundred monks participated, and it is known as ‘the convocation of seven hundred.’ In 1946, Marcel Hofinger (1913–1997) published a thorough study of the convocation at Vaiśālī, which remains a classic.⁴⁵

According to Somdet Phra Phonnarat’s *Royal Chronicle*:

When the dispensation of the Buddha had reached one hundred years [443 BCE], a group of shameless bhikkhus from Vajjīgāma indulged in ten infractions of the monastic rules, and so a group of eight arhats who had eradicated the pollutants,⁴⁶ starting with Phra Yaśa Thera and ending with Phra Revata Thera, having rid the Sangha of such violators and settled the legal case, selected seven hundred arhats, who [all] were endowed with analytical knowledge (*paṭisambhidāñāṇa*), with Phra Sabbakāmi Thera as their leader, to perform a recitation of the Traipitaka in the Vālukārāmahavihāra near the city of Vesālī, with King Kālāsoka as the sponsor. The second council was completed in eight months.

⁴⁵ Hofinger 1946 (*Étude sur le concile de Vaiśālī*).

⁴⁶ The text uses the Thai term **ขิณาสพ** *khinasop*, *khināśab*, Pali *khīṇāsava*, ‘one who has eradicated the pollutants (*āsava*)’, ‘one who is free of the *āsavas*,’ ‘canker-waned,’ ‘pollutant-free or pollutant-waned arhant.’ La Vallée Poussin (1911 (“Councils and Synods”): 179) refers to “solemn synods of Saints, where quasi-omniscient and sinless old men (*arhats*, *sthaviras*) gathered.”

(3) Third Recitation-Convocation (Figs. 3.1–3)

218 PN. The third recitation-convocation took place at Pāṭaliputra, capital of the Mauryan empire, during the reign of King Aśoka (Pāli: Pāṭalīputta, Asoka). It is known as the ‘convocation of the one thousand’ because one thousand monks participated.

According to Somdet Phra Phonnarat’s *Royal Chronicle*:

When the dispensation of the Buddha had reached 218 years [325 BCE], throngs of *tīrthīyas*⁴⁷ disguised themselves as ordained Buddhist monastics, and as a result Phra Mogalīputratiṣa Thera requested the glorious King Dharmāsoka to study the Buddhist tenets and thereafter to cleanse the Sangha by defrocking some sixty thousand *tīrthīyas*, so as to make the holy dispensation pure once more. Mogalīputratiṣa selected one thousand arhats endowed with analytical knowledge to perform a recitation of the Traipiṭaka in the Asokārāmavihāra, near the capital city of Pāṭalīputra-mahānagara, with the glorious King Dharmāsoka as sponsor. The third council was completed in nine months.

The convocation at Pāṭalīputra sponsored by King Aśoka is celebrated in the Theravāda tradition in which it constitutes a major step in the consolidation of the school’s identity. We see this in the ‘retroactive historiography’ of Pāli sources which claim that during his lifetime the Buddha himself laid down the framework and outline (*mātikā*) for the fifth book of the Theravādin Abhidhamma, the *Points of Controversy* (*Kathāvatthu*), and predicted that they would be discussed at the Pāṭalīputra convocation.

According to Pāli accounts, Moggallīputtatissa Thera, who presided over the convocation, was a key figure in the debates and the key decision maker at the council. Outside of the Pāli

⁴⁷ Here the text has **दैยรठी** *diarathi*, a hybrid Thai form of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *tīrthya* (cf. also *tīrthi*, *tīrthya*, *tīrthika*, Pāli *titthiya*). The corresponding term in the *Saṅgītiyavaṃsa* is *aññatitthiya*.

tradition, Moggallīputtātissa is almost unknown to the historiographies of other Buddhist schools, apart from the *Vijñānakāya* (識身論 *shí shēn lùn*, T1539) which vouchsafes that a figure named Maudgalyāyana (目犍連 *mù jiān lián*) played a role in intra-school philosophical debates—with no mention of when, where, or under what circumstances. Attributed to Devaśarman (提婆設摩 *tí pó shè mó*), the *Vijñānakāya* is a canonical work of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma that is preserved only in Chinese translation by the famed Xuanzang (玄奘; fl. 602–664).⁴⁸ The convocation is not prominent in the mainstream Indian traditions and whether, how, and to what degree King Aśoka was involved is not at all clear.⁴⁹ Some modern scholars consider it unlikely that Aśoka would have played an active role in such a council or that he would have favoured any single school. Some hold that Aśoka's 'schism edicts' set up at Sarnath, Sanchi, and (most probably) Kauśāmbī confirm that a council did take place.⁵⁰ Not only is the council at Pāṭaliputra scarcely mentioned in non-Pāli sources, but the Pāli account as given, for example, in the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, where it is set within a grandiose and miraculous frame, is stereotyped in the extreme, an unlikely digest of the *Brahmajālasutta*'s inventory of dogmatic views that belongs rather to dogmatic mythography (or if not to mythographic dogmatism) than to intra-school dogmatics. As Thapar points out, the Pāli account bears resemblance to a Jain

⁴⁸ David Kalupahana (1936–2014) was a great champion of Moggallīputtātissa: Kalupahana 2008 (*A Sourcebook on Later Buddhist Philosophy*): 37–47; idem 1986 (*Nāgārjuna*): 23–24. Kalupahana regards the *Kathāvatthu* as the work of a single author. The *Kathāvatthu* itself does not name the protagonists in terms of either individuals or schools.

⁴⁹ For a balanced discussion of the issues, see Thapar 1988 (*Aśoka*): 42–45.

⁵⁰ Thapar 1988 (*Aśoka*): 262; Bloch 1950 (*Les inscriptions d'Asoka*): 26–27, 152–153. It is conjectured that the column that now stands at Allahabad was brought from Kauśāmbī. I prefer to use the plural 'edicts' because, despite their damaged state, there is sufficient variation to see them as distinctive treatments of the same topic rather than as a single edict with a uniform message.

account of its own divisions.⁵¹ Despite all this, the Theravādin account has been so influential that Indologists continue to regard it as an historical event. For example, the ‘Timeline: Relevant Events and Historical Developments’ at the beginning of Wendy Doniger’s *Against Dharma*, published in 2018, lists:⁵²

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| c. 1500 BCE | The <i>Rig Veda</i> is composed |
| c. 600–400 BCE | The <i>Upanishads</i> are composed |
| c. 500 BCE | The <i>Shrauta-sutras</i> are composed |
| c. 486 BCE | Gautama Shakyamuni, the Buddha, dies |
| 327–325 BCE | Alexander the Great invades northwest South Asia |
| c. 324 BCE | Chandragupta founds the Mauryan dynasty |
| c. 300 BCE–300 CE | <i>Grihya-sutras</i> , some <i>dharma-shastras</i> , and the <i>Mahabharata</i> are composed |
| c. 265–232 BCE | Ashoka reigns |
| c. 259 BCE | The Third Buddhist Council takes place at Pataliputra |
| c. 200 BCE–200 CE | More <i>dharma-shastras</i> and the <i>Ramayana</i> are composed |
| c. 185 BCE | The Mauryan dynasty ends |
| c. 185–73 BCE | The Shunga dynasty is in power |

Timelines are subjective and selective, and many would agree that most of these are major events in Indian history. But does this include the ‘Third Buddhist Council’? Is it not somewhat excessive to put the ‘third council’ on the same footing as the

⁵¹ Thapar 1988 (*Aśoka*): 45, referring to Charpentier 1922 (“History of the Jains”): 164–165.

⁵² Doniger 2018 (*Against Dharma*): xv–xvi.

composition of Ṛg Veda and other major Indian texts like the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa? A convocation may have taken place at Pataliputra in or around 259 BCE, but the event was not preserved in the pan-Buddhist collective memory. If it did take place, it was representative of only one strand of Buddhist thought, that of one school, the Theravaṃsa, and it is known only from this school's records with scarcely any independent supporting evidence. The 'third council' can hardly be considered a major 'event or historical development' in the biography of the historical Aśoka, let alone in Indian and Buddhist intellectual history.⁵³

There is, however, no doubt that one important philosophical document came to be associated with the event: this is the Pāli *Kathāvatthu*, the fifth book of the Theravādin Abhidhamma. It might be possible to include the composition of the *Kathāvatthu* in a timeline, though I would hesitate to do so. It is not in the least the record of an actual encounter between flesh and blood metaphysical opponents: it is a series of bloodless, formulaic dialogues about the interpretation of new ideas, starting with debates about the existence of the 'person' (*puggala*) and the question of time. The *Kathāvatthu* records debates on a wide range of Buddhist theories that developed in the early centuries and is a landmark in Buddhist and Indian intellectual history—but the relation of the extant text to any historical convocation is, to say the least, problematic. It has been proposed that the *Kathāvatthu* could be a Vibhajyavādin work, adopted or appropriated by the later Theravādin historiographers of the *vamsas* and *aṭṭhakathās*. This may be so, but this is not the place to explore this issue.

Whatever the case, Aśoka's inscriptions are India's earliest consistent corpus of written records. The Lumbini pillar inscription gives the earliest known citation or paraphrase of a

⁵³ As far as I could tell, the author does not mention the council in the course of her narrative. She does mention the 'Fourth Buddhist Council' under Kaniṣka (p. 3). The sources on the Kaniṣka council are, however, confusing, but at any rate count it as the *third* council.

Buddhist *sūtra* and the Bairāṭ-Calcutta inscription gives the earliest list of titles, 'Aśoka's list of recommended readings.' That the Buddha and his teachings had impacted on Aśoka and Indian society is beyond doubt.

Archaeology does not help much here.⁵⁴ Early excavation at Patna was done by L.A. Waddell (1854–1938) who reported his findings in a short and well-illustrated volume.⁵⁵ During excavations conducted in 1912–1915, D.B. Spooner uncovered one pillar of polished stone and numerous fragments. The excavators were able to trace 72 'pits' of ash and rubble which marked the position in which other pillars must once have stood. During subsequent excavations by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute from 1951 to 1955, eight more such pits were found, giving the hall its present name—'assembly hall of 80 pillars.' The ruins at Kumrahar go back to the Mauryan period. Interpretations of the function of the 80-pillar hall vary and serious questions remain. Is this the hall in which the Pāṭalīputra convocation, the third convocation of the Theravāda sources, was held? Can the pillared hall be the Aśokārāma? Are there any structural or architectural relations between this hall and the Lohapāsāda in Ceylon? Or is this an imperial structure, a grand multipurpose ceremonial hall with no connection whatsoever to the third council? Patna has developed continually; the rivers and waterways on which it stands have shifted and settlements and communication routes have altered irredeemably. I see little hope that questions like these can be answered.

Four Recitation-Convocations in Sri Lanka

(4) Fourth Recitation-Convocation (Figs. 4.1–2)

238 PN. The fourth recitation-convocation was held at the Thūpārāma in Anurādhapura. It was supported by King

⁵⁴ For a summary of recent archaeological findings, see Mani and Gupta 2014 ("Pataliputra").

⁵⁵ Waddell 1903 (*Report on the Excavations at Pāṭalīputra*).

Devānampiyatissa and presided over by Mahinda Thera. It represents the establishment of Buddhism on the isle of Sri Lanka.

According to Somdet Phra Phonnarat's *Royal Chronicle*:

When the dispensation of the Buddha had reached two hundred thirty-eight years [305 BCE], Phra Mahinda Thera set off for the isle of Lanka, where he ordained sons of good families (*kulaputra*) to train them in scriptural studies (*phra pariyati-dharma*), thereby planting the roots of the Buddhist dispensation on the island. Then 38 arhats (*phra khinasop*), led by Mahinda Thera and Ariṭha Thera, along with one hundred monks skilled in the scriptures, performed a recitation of the Traipitaka in the pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) of the Thūpārāmahavihāra, near the city of Anurādhapūrī, with King Devānampiyatiṣa as sponsor. The fourth council was completed in ten months.

The ruins of the Thūpārāma in central Anurādhapura have been excavated and restored since the beginning of the twentieth century.⁵⁶

(5) Fifth Recitation-Convocation (Figs. 5.1–3)

433 PN. According to Somdet Phra Phonnarat's *Pāli Chronicle of the Convocations (Saṅgītiyavaṃsa)*, the fifth recitation-convocation as held at the Mahāvihāra near the city of Anurādhapūrī, sponsored by King Vaṭṭagāminī-abhaya. This differs from mainstream Lankan sources which place the convocation in the Āluvihāra (also known as Ālokavihāra), a rock-shelter in a deep mountain cleft near Kandy. A further anomaly is that the *Royal Chronicle* places the convocation in the Abhayagiri while the *Proclamation to the Deities* and *Saṅgītiyavaṃsa* agree on locating it in the Mahāvihāra.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ See Seneviratna 2008 (*Ancient Anurādhapura*): 93–98.

⁵⁷ For the Abhayagiri, see Seneviratna 2008 (*Ancient Anurādhapura*): 127–149. For the problems of identification, see Prince Damrong 2003 (*Ruang pradisathan phra song siamawong*): 87–88.

According to Somdet Phra Phonnarat's *Royal Chronicle*:

When the dispensation of the Buddha had reached four hundred thirty-three years [110 BCE], the arhats (พระอรหันต์ *phra arahant*) on the isle of Lanka realised that the holy dispensation would deteriorate, since the ranks of monks with a clear oral memory of the teachings had dwindled, and thus selected a group of arhats with analytical knowledge, along with over one thousand unrealised monks (*phra saṅgha puthujana*) with skills in the scriptural studies, to gather together in Abhaiyagirīvihāra, near the city of Anurādhapūrī, with King Vaṭagāmanī Abhaiya as the sponsor of a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) in which to hold a recitation of the Traipiṭaka and then inscribe the sacred scriptures (*phra pāḷī*) and the commentaries, [both] in Sinhala (*siṅhaḷabhāṣā*). It took one year to complete the fifth council.

(6) Sixth Recitation-Convocation (Figs. 6.1–3)

956 PN. The sixth recitation-convocation was supported by King Mahānāma and led by Buddhaghosa at the Lohapāsāda at Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka. Legend has it that the learned Indian monk Buddhaghosa travelled from his homeland to the isle of Lanka to study the Pāli *Tripitaka* and commentaries. There is no early biography of Buddhaghosa and he is unknown to Indian sources;⁵⁸ an account of his life and career is related in a Pāli work that circulated in Southeast Asia, the *Buddhaghosaniḍāna* or *Buddhaghosuppatti*.⁵⁹ As Donald Lopez has pointed out, in Tibetan sources the first mention of the Theravādin master is that by Gendun Chopel in the twentieth century.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ See the remarks at Hirakawa 1990 (*History of Indian Buddhism*): 125 (English translation).

⁵⁹ Balbir 2002 ("A propos d'une vie de Buddhaghosa"); idem 2007 ("Three Pali Works Revisited"): 331–336, 'The Buddhaghosuppatti or Buddhaghosaniḍāna.' For Buddhaghosa's role in Theravādin thought, see Heim 2018 (*Voice of the Buddha*).

⁶⁰ Gendun Chopel 2014 (*Grains of Gold*): 227, 337–338.

According to Somdet Phra Phonnarat's *Royal Chronicle*:

When the dispensation of the Buddha had reached 956 years [413 CE], Phra Buddhaghoṣa Thera set sail from Jambudvīpa to Lanka to translate the Traipitaka from Sinhala, inscribing it anew on palm leaves in the language of Magadha (*magadhabhāṣā*, what modern scholars prefer to call 'Pali') inside the Copper Mansion (*lohaprāsāda*) in the city of Anurādhapūrī, with King Mahānāma as sponsor. The work took one year to complete, and is counted as the sixth council.⁶¹

Literary sources describe the original Lohapāsāda as a nine-story ordination hall with bright copper-tiled roofs, and according to *Mahāvamsa* the name derives from these tiles (*tambalohiṭṭhika*). The hall has seen many vicissitudes in the two millennia that have passed, including renovations, destruction by fire and conflict, and rebuilding, but the several rebuildings have bestowed upon it an enduring status as an extraordinary monument of memory.⁶² The thick forest of pillars—1000 stone pillars in 40 rows—that the visitor sees today is an assemblage collected from various sites and recycled for the rebuilding at the behest of King Parākramabāhu I (r. 1153–1186).⁶³ The Lohapāsāda was a local monument and is not noted in the literature of other, non-Lankan Buddhist traditions—but it looms large in the internal historiography of the Theravāda. The description of the hall in the *Mahāvamsa*, Chapter 27, 'Consecration of the Lohapasada,' is one of the most detailed descriptions of an ancient building and its

⁶¹ Somdet Phra Phonnarat's *Saṅgītiyavamsa* (p. 65) devotes only a short passage on the Lohapāsāda. Thai documents frequently use the word แปล *plae*, which also means 'translate,' here in the sense of transcribe.

⁶² According to *Mahāvamsa*, the first Lohapāsāda was built by King Devānaṃpiyatissa: *Mahāvamsa* XV: 205–206, Malasekera 1937 (*Extended Mahāvamsa*), 15: 232.

⁶³ Arunasiri 2002 ("Lohapāsāda"): 339–340. For the many literary references in *Mahāvamsa*, see Malalasekera [1937] 1983 (*Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*): 795–796.

fittings in surviving Buddhist records of South Asia.⁶⁴ The effusive panegyrics of the Lohapāsāda caught the imagination of later Theravādins—enhanced, perhaps through claimed connections with the revered Buddhaghosa—and the reputation of the grand edifice travelled far and wide. In Siam, in the capital at Bangkok, King Rāma III had a large building called the Lohaprāsāda (โลหะปราสาท) erected at Wat Rājanattārāma (วัดราชนั้ดตารามวรวิหาร). It was restored by King Rāma V and again in the late twentieth century.⁶⁵ According to the *Chronicle of Yonaka*, after the convocation King Tiloka sent an official to make sketches and plans of the Lohapāsāda and the Ratanamālī cetiya in Laṅkādvīpa and then had a shrine for the Emerald Buddha (หอพระแก้ว *Ho phra kaew*) built in the style of the Lohapāsāda. This is not mentioned in other sources, which confirm, however, that an envoy went to Lanka but with no mention of Lohapāsāda. The *Chronicle of Yonaka* was composed in the late nineteenth century using a variety of sources.

The building's fame did not diminish even in the modern era. It was scrutinized by the colonial gaze even though it had long ceased to exist. In his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Fergusson (1808–1886) denies, for technical reasons, that the structure could have had nine stories with the same number of rooms, but otherwise joined the praise, writing that “gilt and ornamented as it no doubt was, it must have been one of the most splendid buildings of the East.”⁶⁶ Brown (1872–1955) writes that “When first built it rose up as a great pyramidal pile in nine stories crowned by a domical roof of bronze, evidently an

⁶⁴ For the Lohapāsāda, see Seneviratna [1994] 2008 (*Ancient Anurādhapura*): 82–84. The most detailed treatment, with ample textual citations, that I know is Arunasiri 2002 (“Lohapāsāda”). The Lohapāsāda built by King Duṭṭhagāmanī is mentioned in the *Jinakālamālīnī* (Buddhadatt, ed., 1962: 58; trs. Jayawickrama 1978: 78–79).

⁶⁵ See Krom Sinlapakon [Fine Arts Department], *Lohaprasat*.

⁶⁶ Fergusson [1876, rev. 1910] 1967 (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*): I, 238–239.

imposing conception, spacious in plan and striking in its appearance.”⁶⁷ Coomaraswamy states that it “must have been a magnificent building.”⁶⁸ Boisselier remarks that “The 1600 pillars, most of them only rough-hewn, of the Lohapāsāda (Brazen Palace) at Anurādhapura can convey no real impression of the splendid nine-story building erected in the 2nd century B.C., the last reconstruction of which was carried out by Parākramabāhu I.”⁶⁹

(7) Seventh Recitation-Convocation (Fig. 7.1)

1587 PN. The seventh recitation-convocation was convened by King Parākramabāhu at Pulatthimamahānagara (Polonnaruwa) in Sri Lanka.

According to Somdet Phra Phonnarat’s *Royal Chronicle*:

When the dispensation of the Buddha had reached one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven years [1044 CE], while King Parakamabāhu was reigning over the isle of Lanka, he moved the capital from Anurādhapūrī to Pulatthima-nagara [that is, Polonnaruwa]. Then Mahākaśśapa Thera, along with more than 1,000 unrealised monks, gathered together to cleanse the Traipitaka, which was partly in Siṅhaḷa-bhāṣā and partly in Magadha-bhāṣā; they translated it entirely into Magadha-bhāṣā and inscribed it anew on palm leaf. The work took one year to complete and is counted as the seventh council.

⁶⁷ Brown 1971 (*Indian Architecture*): 168–169, with a conjectural sketch in pl. CLI.

⁶⁸ Coomaraswamy [1927] 1965 (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*): 162.

⁶⁹ Boisselier 1979 (*Ceylon*): 63.

Two Recitation-Convocations in Syāmadeśa

(8) Eighth Recitation-Convocation (Figs. 8.1–2)

2020 PN. The eighth recitation-convocation was convened by King Tiloka at Wat Bodhārāma at Chiang Mai in the kingdom of Lanna.

According to Somdet Phra Phonnarat's *Royal Chronicle*:

When the dispensation of the Buddha had reached 2020 years [1477 CE], Dharmadina Thera, the leading monastic of Nabbisinagara, the city of Chiang Mai, realised that the Traipiṭaka had become corrupt, including the Pali scriptures, the commentaries, and the subcommentaries, and thus petitioned the glorious Universal Emperor, the Dharma King of Kings Tiloka (พระเจ้าศิริธรรมจักรหวัดดี-หลกกราชาราช), the reigning monarch of Chiang Mai, to cleanse the Buddhist texts of all corruption. The supreme king accordingly had a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) constructed in the monastery of Mahābodhārāmavihāra in the capital, and Dharmadina Thera selected over one hundred monks who were masters of the Traipiṭaka to gather together in the pavilion to edit the Traipiṭaka, inscribing it anew to be complete in every way. The work took one year to complete; the glorious Universal Emperor, the Dharma King Tilokarāja was the sponsor, and it is counted as the eighth council.⁷⁰

The Pāli *Jinakālamālinī*, a section of which deals with the history of the North, has only a brief reference to the convocation.⁷¹ It is, however, described in the Thai-language *Tamnan* of Wat Bodhārāma:⁷²

⁷⁰ For a similar account, see Flood & Flood 1978 (*Dynastic Chronicles*): I, 157–158.

⁷¹ Buddhadatta, *Jinakālamālinī*, p. 115.

⁷² Summary from Hutchinson 1951 (*Seven Spires*): 44–44; Thai text at pp. 55–60. The date of the *Tamnan* is not clear but this version seems to date from the nineteenth century.

King Tiloka invited the sangha to purify the Traipitaka, that is, to hold a *saṅgāyanā* of the Traipitaka, to scrutinize it and correct it in accordance with the Buddhavacana at Wat Bodhārāma in Chiang Mai in Lesser Saka Era 839. King Tiloka acted as patron (*śāsanūpathambaka*) and he built a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*), that is, a Traipitaka hall in which to conduct the *saṅgāyanā* in Wat Mahābodhārāma and supported the monks with the four requisites in order that they would not encounter any sort of difficulty. As for the sangha, there was a Mahāthera who was the chief of the monastic chapter, the preceptor and instructor (*upajjhāya-ācārya*) of all the monks: he, Phra Dhammadina Mahāthera, Abbot of Wat Pa-tan Noi (วัดป่าตาลน้อย or Wat Tālvānārāma), was the head;⁷³ he selected over one hundred monks skilled in Phra Traipitak to perform a recitation which lasted one year. When the recitation was complete, King Tiloka built a library (หอมนต์เกียรติธรรม *ho montian tham*) to store the Traipitaka. After this there was a grand inaugural festival for the library and the Traipitaka. This was the eighth *saṅgāyanā* of the Dharma. King Tilokarāja ruled in Muang Navapurī Chiang Mai to the age of seventy-one. Then old age came upon him and he passed away to be born in the heavens (*devaloka*).

Phraya Prachakitkorachak (1864–1907) refers to the convocation in his *Phongsawadan Yonok* (*Chronicle of Yonaka*, i.e., the North):⁷⁴

In Culaśakarāj 839, year of the monkey, year ending in nine, when the Buddha's dispensation had reached 2020 years, the ruler of Nagara Chiang Mai called a meeting of monks of senior and lesser standing with Dhammadina Mahāthera, abbot of Wat Pa-tan as president, to perform a recitation of

⁷³ The temple no longer exists, but its Buddha image was moved to Wat Si Köt: Penth 1994 (*Jinakālamālī Index*): 241–242, s.v. Wat Pā Tān.

⁷⁴ *Phongsawadan Yonok*, p. 341. For the story, see Buddhadatta, *Jinakālamālī*, pp. 98–99, *Saṅgītiyaṃsa*, p. 113, with no mention of Lohapāsāda.

the scriptures of the Phra Traipiṭaka, at Wat Bodhārāmvihāra. Completed in one year, it counted as the eighth convocation; in celebration [of this deed] the king received the supreme royal title Phra Chao Śrī Dharmacakrvarti[ti]lokarājāmahādharmikarāja, Lord of Nagara Phing Chiang Mai.

According to Somdet Phra Phonnarat's chronology and the sources cited here, this is the eighth convocation in Siam. At the time of King Tiloka, Lanna was an independent state; therefore, the convocation counts as a Siamese council but it is outside of the Central Thai, Bangkok series and is not mentioned in the *Proclamation to the Deities*. Lanna was independent until 1558 when it was taken over by Burma. In 1775 it freed itself from Burma and became a tributary of Bangkok. Under administrative reforms initiated by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, it became one of the regions (มณฑล *monthon, maṇḍala*) of the Kingdom of Siam, the Northwest (พายัพ *phayab, Sanskrit vāyava/bāyaba*).⁷⁵

Regrettably no volumes produced for or copied from King Tiloka's convocation are known to survive. Wat Bodhārāma or Wat Chet Yot (วัดโพธาราม, วัดเจ็ดยอด Temple of the Seven Spires), built as a replica of the Vajrāsana temple at Buddha Gaya, stands outside of the ancient walled city to the north.⁷⁶ Once quiet, overgrown, and out of the way, it is now on the 'Super Highway' not far from the Chiang Mai National Museum. It is famous for its stucco reliefs and is on the tourist circuit.

(9) Ninth Recitation-Convocation (Figs. 9.1–4)

2300 PN. The ninth recitation-convocation was convened in Bangkok by King Rama I at Wat Phra Sisanphet which was later

⁷⁵ For a concise history of Lanna, see Penth 2000 (*A Brief History of Lān Nā*). The name is variously romanized as Lan Na, Lān Nā, and Lanna.

⁷⁶ See Hutchinson 1991 ("The Seven Spires"); Griswold 1965 ("The Holy Land Transported"); Penth 1994 (*Jinakālamālī Index*): 215–224; Freeman 2001 (*Lanna*): 96–99. For Wat Chet Yot and other large-scale copies of the Mahābodhi, see Pichard 2005 ("Postcolonial Reconstructions").

renamed Wat Mahathat (วัดพระศรีสรรเพชญ์ Śrīsarrbejña / วัดมหาธาตุ Wat Mahādhātu).⁷⁷ Somdet Phra Phonnarat's *Royal Chronicle* describes the ninth convocation in considerable detail;⁷⁸ perhaps the most detailed account is that given in the *Dynastic Chronicles of the First Reign* compiled by Chao Phraya Thipakorawong (ขำ บุนนาค Kham Bunnak, 1813–1870).⁷⁹

After his accession to the throne, King Rāma I had a royal *Tripitaka* produced, but he was not satisfied with the result, finding it inaccurate and disordered.⁸⁰ He consulted the sangha and called a council which would use this, the *Palace Edition* (*Chabap ho-luang ฉบับหอหลวง*), as the basis for a new edition. Because it was used in the convocation as the working edition, it came to be called the *Convocation Edition* or the *Edition of the Old Masters* (*Chabap saṅgāyānā*, *Chabap khru doem ฉบับสังคายนา, ฉบับครุเดิม*). After the convocation the king had a fresh, corrected copy made; because it was entirely gilt, it came to be called the *Great Gilt Edition* (*Chabap thong yai*). Another edition made in the First Reign is called the *Chabap rong song* or *Chabap khian khang*; it was meant to be used in examinations of scriptural knowledge (*phra pariyati tham*). The *Great Gilt Edition* has 66 more texts than the *Edition of the Old Masters*; the *Chabap rong song* has 49 fewer texts than the *Great Gilt Edition*. These figures show that the exact contents were not fixed and the size of different editions varies (this in part may stem from different methods of counting).

⁷⁷ See Chakrabongse 2019 (*Exploring Old Bangkok*): 110–112.

⁷⁸ See Santi Pakdeekham 2020 (*History of the Pali Scriptures*): Introduction, pp. xxxi–xxxiv.

⁷⁹ See Flood & Flood 1978 (*The Dynastic Chronicles*): vol. I, 152–167 and notes in vol. II, 78–80.

⁸⁰ This section is based on Prince Damrong 1916, *Tamnan Ho Phrasamut*—a key document that gives information hard to find elsewhere—pp. 4–11. The well-illustrated Fine Arts Department publication *Khamphi bailan chabab luang*, in Thai, is largely based on Damrong's work. The most useful work in English, Coedès' *Vajirañña National Library* (1924), is a summary, almost a translation, of Damrong.

Inclusive *Traipitakas* have four divisions, since they include the body of linguistic texts (*saddāvisesa*) as a category in its own right. Table 4 (for which see the Appendix) shows the distribution of texts in the four divisions in five *Tripitakas*: three of the earliest royal editions of the Ratanakosin era, according to the old catalogues (information from Prince Damrong's *Tamnan*); the painted *Tripitaka* of Wat Thong Nopphakhun; and the Mon-script *Tripitaka* of Wat Paramayyikāvāsa.⁸¹

The master editions were installed in a pavilion in the Emerald Buddha Temple complex. Although the work of the *saṅgāyanā* was done, the *Tripitaka* continued to develop as texts that had previously been unavailable were discovered, and manuscripts continued to be exchanged with Lanka and other countries.⁸² Copies were made and distributed in succeeding reigns. The Chakri kings maintained a strong interest in the *Tripitaka* and were supportive and innovative. King Rāma III sponsored an edition written entirely by female scribes and also began a Mon-script edition (unfinished, it was completed by Rāma IV; Rāma V had a complete Pāli *Tripitaka* copied in the Mon script, on which see below). King and court had a strong sense of the aesthetics of the *Tripitaka*: each set was designed as a thing of beauty, worthy to be a royal gift of the Dhamma, the supreme offering. The *Tripitakas* showcase the artistry of the Bangkok court. Luxury woods were selected for the cover boards, the leaves were lacquered and gilt, cloth wrappers were carefully selected, often using imported material, and title markers were skillfully woven. Each set had a unified design and no set was the same. The text

⁸¹ Information for the Mon-script *Tripitaka* of Wat Paramayyikāvāsa is from a neatly hand-lettered 281-page compilation prepared by a member of the temple community. Compiler's names and date of compilation are not available. I thank the abbot for allowing Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation to photocopy it about thirty years ago (in the 1990s).

⁸² See Dhani Niwat 1965 ("Religious Intercourse"), for some examples. Reports of the exchanges are scattered in royal chronicles, and other court documents like the *Chotmai het*, and in royal orders (หมายรับสั่ง *mai rapsang*).

was incised and inked or written in ink, using several varieties of the Khom script. As yet no critical studies comparing the different editions have been conducted and the contours of the textual history of the royal editions remain to be mapped. This is not a simple matter, since the royal *Tripitakas* are kept in the Tripitaka Pavilion in the Grand Palace; they are not normally accessible, and no list of their contents has been published.⁸³

An exceptional relic of the age of palm-leaf manuscripts is a mural painting in the *uposatha* hall of Wat Thong Noppakhun in Thonburi. Depicted on the wall that faces the presiding Buddha image, a set of palm-leaf manuscripts was painted by Phra Khru Kasin-sangwon (Kasiṇasaṅvara), abbot, during the time of King Rāma IV (r. 1851–1868). The painting shows three stacks of manuscripts, wrapped in beautiful cloths on ceremonial tables. Inscriptions tell us that from left to right they are the *Vinayapitaka*, the *Suttantapitaka*, and, in a single pile, the *Abhidhammapitaka* and Linguistic texts, altogether 394 titles (Appendix, Table 4). But this is not only a unique portrait of a *Tripitaka*, it is a catalogue: each manuscript bears a label inscribed in Khom script that gives its Pāli title and the number of bundles that it contains. Finally, at the end of our quest we finally have a list of the titles of a representative inclusive *Tripitaka*, which none of the records discussed so far have given us.⁸⁴

But there is still more. This is a painted *Tripitaka*, a trompe l'oeil: wish as we might, we cannot reach up, take down a volume, unwrap it, and start reading. This was not, however, always the case. Certainly, this was never a real *Tripitaka*—but it *was* meant to be a real *Tripitaka* catalogue. At the end, the inscription announces that one can arrange to have any of the volumes copied. This means that the painting was the catalogue for a real *Tripitaka*, and

⁸³ For a rare local (non-royal) catalogue from Chaiya in South Thailand, see Santi Pakdeekham 2017 (*Tāṃrā Traipitaka*).

⁸⁴ An annotated edition of the painted catalogue by Santi Pakdeekham is forthcoming in the series Materials for the Study of the *Tripitaka*.

that its practical function was to enable the faithful to order copies:

The respected person who has faith and wants to have any manuscript copied, should look over this and have a text or texts made according to their taste.⁸⁵

5. Concluding Remarks

King Rāma I and succeeding monarchs valued the *Tripitaka* highly. Somdet Phra Phonnarat writes in his *Royal Chronicle*:⁸⁶

In the Year of the Monkey, year ending in zero, His Majesty the King [Rāma I] reflected on the *Traipitaka* Dharma, the root of the dispensation as study (*phra pariyati sāsānā*), and his royal faith inspired him to donate a large amount of royal funds to sponsor the writing of the *Traipitaka* on palm leaves.

In one of his royal orders, King Rāma III (r. 1824–1851) writes:⁸⁷

I see monasteries and I wonder. I reflect about those who preserve the Buddha's *Sāsānā*, and I feel uneasy: a monastery without monks and novices who know the Buddhist teachings is like a divine mansion (*dīvyā-bimāna* = *divya-vimāna*) without a resident deity (*devaputra*).

⁸⁵ ท่านผู้มีศรัทธาปรารถนาจะสร้างพระคัมภีร์ใดดูแล้วหาจะนับสร้างตามชอบใจเกิด (transcribed by Santi Pakdeekham).

⁸⁶ “...ในปีออก สำนุทิศศกนั้น พระบาทสมเด็จพระบรมชนกาธิเบศรพระพุทธเจ้าหลวง ทรงพระราชดำริถึงพระไตรปิฎกธรรม อันเป็นมูลรากแห่งพระปริยัติศาสนา ทรงพระราชศรัทธาพระราชทานพระราชทรัพย์เป็นอันมาก ให้เป็นค่าจ้างช่างฉานฉาฤกษ์พระไตรปิฎกลงลาน...”

ศานติ ภัคดีคำ, พระราชพงศาวดารฉบับสมเด็จพระพนรัตน์, น. 494.

⁸⁷ “...ทอดพระเนตรดูพระอาวาสแล้วก็ทรงพิศวง (ทรง) พระดำริไปถึงท่านผู้จะดำรงพระพุทธศาสนา แล้วก็ทรงสังเวชพระอาวาสเหตุปราศจากพระสงฆ์สามเณรที่รู้พระปริยัติธรรม เปรียบเหมือนทิพย์พินานอันปราศจากเทพบุตร...” หมายถึงสิ่งเรื่อง ทรงพระราชศรัทธาจะให้พระภิกษุสามเณรสอบไล่พระไตรปิฎก.

It is my opinion that if a monastery is bereft of monks and novices who know the *Tripitaka*, it is unappealing and unattractive—it is like a golden cave without a royal lion, like a lotus pond without lotuses or lily flowers.⁸⁸

King Rāma III also states:

The Buddha Śāsanā is a jewel that is rare in the world. In the same way, monks and novices who know the *Tripitaka* are rare jewels in this world.⁸⁹

King Rāma I's *saṅgāyanā* was the last grand *saṅgāyanā* of Siam. The count of recitation-convocations ends here at nine.

There are reports that a *saṅgāyanā suatmon*, a convocation to review the chants and liturgies, was held in the reign of King Rāma II (r. 1809–1824), but not many details are available.⁹⁰ This would involve the body of living, liturgical texts recited for protection (including state protection), healing, and exorcism—the lifestream of participatory Thai Buddhism. Throughout the nineteenth century, kings, nobles, and those who had the means continued to sponsor complete palm-leaf editions of the *Tripitaka*. Manuscript production was never centralized, and across the country, individuals or groups produced copies of favourite, favoured, and curricular texts. King Rāma V had any number of palm-leaf *Tripitakas* produced. One of the last is at Wat Niwet Dhammaprawat on an island adjacent to the royal retreat at Bang

⁸⁸ “...แต่ทรงพระราชดำริเห็นว่าพระอารามใดๆ ถ้าปราศจากพระสงฆ์สามเณรที่รู้พระไตรปิฎกแล้ว พระอารามนั้นๆก็ไม่งามเป็นสง่าเหมือนกาญจนคูหาอันปราศจากพระยาราชสีห์ เหมือนสระโบกขรณีปราศจากประทุมชาติ ...” หมายรับสั่งเรื่อง ทรงพระราชปรารภให้พระภิกษุสามเณรเรียนพระปริยัติธรรม.

⁸⁹ “...ด้วยพระพุทธศาสนาเป็นแก้วอันหาได้ด้วยยากในโลก พระสงฆ์สามเณรที่รู้พระไตรปิฎก ก็เป็นแก้วอันหาได้ด้วยยากในโลกเหมือนกัน...” หมายรับสั่ง เรื่อง ทรงพระราชปรารภให้ประชุมพระราชาคณะ 15 องค์ เพื่อจัดพระภิกษุสามเณรสอบไล่พระไตรปิฎก ใน ประชุมหมายรับสั่งภาค 4 ตอนที่ 1 สมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลพระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว จ.ศ. 1186–1203, น. 170.)

⁹⁰ For available sources, see International *Tripitaka* Hall, *Kansuat phraparitam kan sankhayana*.

Pa In (วัดนิเวศธรรมประวัติราชวรวิหาร, พระราชวังบางปะอิน).⁹¹ Another, inscribed entirely in the Mon script, was dedicated in 2427 (1884) to Wat Paramayyikāvāsa on Ko Kret island in the Chao Phraya River north of Bangkok (วัดปรมัยยิกาวาสวรวิหาร, เกาะเกร็ด).

Times were changing and the European book format had become the vogue. King Rāma V sponsored *Tripitakas* incised on palm leaf as in the past, but in a first step towards book format he had hardwood containers shaped like books with their titles engraved on the curved spines made for them, and they were arranged to stand in rows like giant books. Finally, after two thousand years of palm-leaf technology, the book format was adopted. In Ratanakosin Era 112 (1893), King Chulalongkorn had a *Tripitaka* printed in thirty-nine volumes to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign. Great care was lavished on the production, translating the aesthetics of palm-leaf manuscripts to the aesthetics of the page with the careful design and production of the Buddha's word in this new medium.⁹² Printing was finished in 2437 (1894). This was the first printed Pāli *Tripitaka* in Siam, and from then on there was no looking back. The second printed Pāli *Tripitaka* was produced in Siam as well. This is a Mon-script version of the Chulalongkorn edition, also in 39 volumes, printed at Pak Lat in Bangkok (Phra Pradaeng, Samut Prakan, ปากลัด, พระประแดง, สมุทรปราการ).⁹³ King Rāma VII (Phra Pokklao Chaoyuhua, r. 1925–1935) produced the Syāmaratṭha *Tripitaka* in forty-five volumes in 1925.⁹⁴ To this day this remains the standard for Thai *Tripitakas*. One massive project has been the

⁹¹ The donation is mentioned in Inscription 186, published in *Prachum silachareuk* 6.1, pp. 110–114, plate facing p. 110.

⁹² For an extraordinary documentation of this edition, see Maechi Wimuttiya's 744-page *Phra traipidok chabab Phrabat Somdet Phrachulachomklao Chaoyuhua* (published 2014).

⁹³ See Maechi Wimuttiya 2014, *Phra traipidok*, pp. 719–722.

⁹⁴ *Raingan kansang phra traipidok syamarath phutthasakarat 2473* is largely concerned with financial matters, listing the organizations involved and the names and donations of the donors.

translation of the entire set of canonical texts with their commentaries as a single set in several hundred volumes.⁹⁵

The epic tale of the nine convocations is presented by Somdet Phra Phonnarat in his *Sanḅītiyaḅaṃsa*. His grand vision connects the *Tripitaka* and the time of writing—the inauguration of a new dynasty, a new era—to the Buddha and the first convocation, and conjures up a continuity that empowers the Siamese Pāli heritage, that of the all-embracing and comprehensive inclusive *Tripitaka*. This vision inspired the preservation of a considerable body of texts, the ‘Pāli literature of Siam,’ which to this day has not been adequately studied, let alone edited or translated.

⁹⁵ Published by Mahamakūṭ Rajavidyalay, Bangkok.

Appendix

Table 1: Nine *Tripitaka* Convocations according to Siamese Accounts⁹⁶

1.	1 PN	First recitation-convocation	
		Location:	Sattapaṇṇī cave, Rājagaha
		Participants:	500 arhats
		Sponsor:	King Ajātasattu
		President:	Mahākassapa
		Duration:	Seven months
2.	100 PN	Second recitation-convocation	
		Location:	Vālukārāma near the city of Veśālī
		Participants:	700 arhats
		Sponsor:	King Kālāsoka
		President:	Sabbakāmi
		Duration:	Eight months
3.	218 PN	Third recitation-convocation	
		Location:	Aśokārāma, Pāṭaliputta
		Participants:	1000 arhats
		Sponsor:	King Dharmāsoka
		President:	Moggalīputtātissa
		Duration:	Nine months
4.	238 PN	Fourth recitation-convocation	
		Location:	Thūpārāma, Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka
		Sponsor:	King Devānampiyatissa
		President:	Mahinda Thera
		Duration:	Ten months
5.	433 PN	Fifth recitation-convocation	
		Location:	Mahāvihāra (<i>Royal Chronicle</i> : Abhayagirivihāra), Anurādhapura

⁹⁶ Convocations took from several months to a year and required the allocations of resources for large groups of participants. Only rulers had the necessary sums.

Skilling: Nine Recitations and the Inclusive *Tripitaka*

		Sponsor:	King Vaṭṭagāminī-abhaya
		Duration:	One year
6.	956 PN	Sixth recitation-convocation	
		Location:	Lohapāsāda, Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka
		Sponsor:	King Mahānāma
		President:	Buddhaghosa
		Duration:	One year
7.	1587 PN	Seventh recitation-convocation	
		Location:	Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka
		Sponsor:	King Parakkamabāhu
		President:	Mahākassapa
		Duration:	One year
8.	2020 PN	Eighth recitation-convocation	
		Location:	Wat Bodhārāma, Chiang Mai, Thailand
		Sponsor:	King Tilokarāja
		President:	Dharmadinna Thera
		Duration:	One year
9.	2300 PN	Ninth recitation-convocation	
		Location:	Wat Sisanpet (Wat Mahādhātu), Bangkok, Thailand
		Sponsor:	King Rama I
		President:	Supreme Patriarch
		Duration:	Five months

Table 2. Interpretation of the Nine Recitation-Convocations

Locations	Convocations		
<i>Three convocations in Jambudvīpa (India)</i>	First	The <i>mūlasaṅgaha</i> or <i>mūlasaṅgīti</i> : the root recital that is the basis of the Śāsanā.	Shared by all known Buddhist schools
	Second	Represents the geographical spread of the <i>saṃgha</i> from the Magadha heartland to the Punjab, the Vindhya and Avanti, and the ensuing	

Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons

		tensions as uniformity became increasingly difficult to maintain.
	Third	Is specific and foundational to the Theravaṃsa identity.
<i>Four convocations in Laṅkādvīpa</i>	Fourth	Represents the establishment of the Śāsanā in Sri Lanka.
	Fifth	Marks the beginning of written transmission.
	Sixth	Marks the codification of commentaries in Pāli, the elaboration of the Mahāvihāravāsin identity, and, at the same time, an outreach by the revitalized school towards India and perhaps Southeast Asia.
	Seventh	Marks further refinement of exegesis and the ideological consolidation of the Mahāvihāra.
<i>Two convocations in Suvarṇabhūmi</i>	Eighth	Marks the inheritance of the Mon Pāli tradition by the Thai at Chiang Mai and the flowering of Pāli studies—the high-water mark of an expanding Lanna culture.
	Ninth	Marks the rise of Siam, of Bangkok as the regional centre of the Śāsanā. The ‘inclusive <i>Tripitaka</i> ’ includes the Pāli literature of Siam, a forward movement in the history of Pāli.

Table 3. Modern Burmese Tradition of Six Convocations

No.	Countries	Cities
1.	Magadha	Rājagaha
2.	Magadha	Vesālī
3.	Magadha	Pāṭaliputta
4.	Lankadvīpa	Aluvihāre
5.	Burma	Mandalay 1871 under King Mindon (1809–1878)
6.	Burma	Rangoon 1954 under Prime Minister U Nu (1907–1995)

Table 4. Distribution of Texts in the Four Divisions of Three Royal Siamese Editions

No.	Editions			
1.	<i>Chabap khru doem</i>	Total number of <i>khamphi</i> : ⁹⁷		288
		Vinaya / Phra vinai	40	
		Sūtra / Phra sūtra	157	
		Abhidhamma / Phra paramattha	56	
		Language/Saddāvises	35	
		Total bundles		
2.	<i>Chabap thong yai</i>	Total number of <i>khamphi</i> :		354
		Vinaya / Phra vinai	80	
		Sūtra / Phra sūtra	160	
		Abhidhamma / Phra paramattha	61	
		Language/Saddāvises	53	
		Total bundles		
3.	<i>Chabap rong song</i>	Total number of <i>khamphi</i> :		305
		Vinaya / Phra vinai	42	
		Sūtra / Phra sūtra	158	
		Abhidhamma / Phra paramattha	65	
		Language/Saddāvises	40	
		Total bundles		
Painted <i>Tripitaka</i>	Wat Thong Noppa-khun	Total number of <i>khamphi</i> :		394
		Vinaya / Phra vinai	49	
		Sūtra / Phra sūtra	203	
		Abhidhamma / Phra paramattha	82	
		Language/Saddāvises	60	

⁹⁷ *Khamphi* คัมภีร์ means a religious text, in Pāli or Thai. The size of a *khamphi* is measured by the number of bundles (ผูก *phūk*), which usually consist of 24 leaves.

Tiphakorawong's Royal Chronicle of the First Reign, but this was written midway into the following century and is based largely on Somdet Phra Phonnarat's works.

On spelling

Thai-language accounts like Somdet Phra Phonnarat's *Royal Chronicle* and Somot Amonphan's *Proclamation to the Deities* use Sanskrit or hybrid Indic-Thai forms for many terms and proper names, rather than Pāli. In this essay, I follow the orthography of the text cited. Readers should expect to see Pāli here, Sanskrit there, and hybrid Indic-Thai in between, for example: 'Asokārāma' in *Saṅgītiyavaṃsa* and 'Aśokārāma' in the *Royal Chronicle*; 'Mahāmoggalliputtatissatthero' in *Saṅgītiyavaṃsa* and 'Mogalīputratiṣa-thera' in the *Royal Chronicle*; 'Tīpīṭaka' and 'Tepīṭaka' in *Saṅgītiyavaṃsa*, 'Traipīṭaka' in the *Royal Chronicle* (and Sanskrit 'Tīpīṭaka' in my essay).

On Toponymy

I use the names of countries to inject some variety in this turgid discourse, and generally try to use the names appropriate to the time of the sources. Toponyms are part of history and to standardize them flattens the historical landscape. I do not strive to be either politically correct or politically incorrect. Sri Lanka is Lanka, Laṅkādvīpa, and Ceylon. Thailand is Siam. Ayuthaya is also romanized as Ayutthaya, Ayudhyā, and Ayodhyā.

Literature

References to Pāli texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society, UK, unless otherwise noted. Translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

1. Thai Language Sources

“Chareuk prawat kan tham sangkhayana lae rainam phra song.”

In *Corpus of Thai Inscriptions, Installement VII, A Compilation of Inscriptions Found in Thailand and Neighbouring Countries*, edited by Winai Pongsripian. Bangkok: The Historical Commission of the Prime Minister’s Secretariat, 1991, pp. 27–28 / **จารึกประวัติการทำสังคายนาและรายนามพระสงฆ์ (พินธุโลก 3 / พล.3)** ในหนังสือ *ประชุมศิลาจารึก ภาคที่ 7* กำหนดเป็น ‘หลักที่ 289’.

Damrong, Prince Kromphraya Rajanuphab. *Tamnan Ho Phra Samut*. [Bangkok] 2459 [1916]. / *ตำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยา. ตำนานหอพระสมุดหอพระมณเฑียรธรรม หอวชิรญาณ หอพุทธศาสนสังคหะแลหอสมุดสำหรับพระนคร. พระนคร: โรงพิมพ์โสภณพิพรรฒธนากร, ๒๔๕๙.*

Damrong, Prince Kromphraya Rajanuphab. *Ruang pradisathan phra song siamarwong nai lankathawip*. [2459 (1916)]. Reprint: Bangkok: Matichon, 2546 [2003]. / *ตำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยา. เรื่องประดิษฐานพระสงฆ์สยามวงศ์ในลังกาทวีป. กรุงเทพฯ: มติชน, ๒๕๔๖ (๒๐๐๓).*

[Fine Arts Department. *The Lohaprasat at Wat Ratchanattharaworawihan*]. *Lohaprasat Wat Ratchanattharaworawihan*. Bangkok: Krom Sinlapakon 2538 [1995]. / *กรมศิลปากร. โลหะปราสาทวัดราชนันทาราม. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, ๒๕๓๘.*

[Fine Arts Department. Royal Editions of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in the Ratanakosin Period. Edited by Kongkaew Weeraprachak and Wirat Unnathonwarangkun.] *Khamphi bailan chabab luang nai samai ratanakosin*. Bangkok: Samnak

Ho Samut Haeng Chat / Kromsinlapakon. 2546 [2003. / กรมศิลปากร, คัมภีร์ใบลานฉบับหลวงในสมัยรัตนโกสินทร์. บรรณาธิการ ก่องแก้ว วีระประจักษ์ และวีรัตน์ อุณาทรรวรางกูร, กรุงเทพฯ: หอสมุดแห่งชาติ กรมศิลปากร, 2546.

[International *Tripitaka* Hall. Recitation of the Paritta According to the Convocation of Chanting in the Time of King Rāma II]. *Kansuat phraparit tam kan sankhayana suatmon nai samai phrabatsomdet phraphuttaloetlanaphalai*. Bangkok: Sathaban Thai Seuksa, Ho Phra Traipidok Nanachat Khana Aksorasat Chulalongkorn Mahavithayalai 2551 [2008] / คำสวดพระปริตรตามการสังคายนาสวดมนต์ในสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธเลิศหล้านภาลัย, กรุงเทพฯ: สถาบันไทยศึกษา, หอพระไตรปิฎกนานาชาติ, คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย.ม 2551.

[Prime Minister's Office. Corpus of Inscriptions 6.1] *Prachum silachareuk* 6.1, Bangkok: Prime Minister's Office, 2517 [1974]. / ประชุมศิลาจารึก ภาค 6 เล่ม1, กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักนายกรัฐมนตรี, 2517.

[Prime Minister's Office. "Royal Order concerning the Royal Religious Commitment to Have Monks and Novices Study the *Tripitaka*." In *Collections of Royal Orders*, Part 4, fascicle 1, Ratanakosin Period, Reign of Phrabat Somdet Phranangkalo Chaoyuhua, Lesser Śaka Era 1186–1203. Bangkok: Prime Minister's Office, 2536 [1993], 167]. / หมายรับสั่ง เรื่อง ทรงพระราชศรัทธาจะให้พระภิกษุสามเณรสอบไล่พระไตรปิฎก ในประชุมหมายรับสั่งภาค 4 ตอนที่ 1 สมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลพระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว จ.ศ. 1186–1203, กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักเลขาธิการนายกรัฐมนตรี, 2536, น. 167.

[Prime Minister's Office. "Royal Order concerning the Royal Undertaking to Have Monks and Novices Study the *Pariyatitham*." In *Collections of Royal Orders*, Part 4, fascicle 1, Ratanakosin Period, Reign of Phrabat Somdet Phranangkalo Chaoyuhua, Lesser Śaka Era 1186–1203. Bangkok: Prime Minister's Office, 2536 [1993], 169]. / หมายรับสั่ง เรื่อง ทรงพระราชปรารภให้พระภิกษุสามเณรเรียนพระปริยัติธรรม ในประชุมหมายรับสั่งภาค 4 ตอนที่ 1

*สมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลพระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว
จ.ศ. 1186–1203, น. 169.*

Prachakitkorachak, Phraya (Chaem Bunnak). *Phongsawadan Yonok Chabab Ho Samut Haengchat* [Chronicle of Yonok, National Library Edition]. Bangkok: Samnak Phim Khlang Withaya, seventh impression, 2516 [1973]. / ประชาภิจักรจักร, พระยา (แช่ม บุนนาค). พงศาวดารโยนก ฉบับหอสมุดแห่งชาติ. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์คลังวิทยา, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ ๗, ๒๕๑๖.

Raingan kansang phra traipidok syamarath phutthasakarat 2473. / รายงานการสร้างพระไตรปิฎกสยามรัฐ พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๓. [Further details not available.]

Santi Pakdeekham (ed.). *Phraratchaphongsawadan Somdet Phra Phonnarat Wat Phra Chetuphon* [Royal Chronicles, Version by Somdet Phra Phonnarat of Wat Phra Chetuphon]. Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publication Ltd., 2558 [2015]. / ศานติ ภัคดีคำ (ผู้ตรวจสอบชำระและบรรณาธิการ), พระราชพงศาวดารฉบับสมเด็จพระพนรัตน์ วัดพระเชตุพน ตรวจสอบชำระจากฉบับตัวเขียน, กรุงเทพฯ: อมรินทร์พริ้นติ้งแอนด์พับลิชชิ่งจำกัด, 2558.

Somdet Phra Phonnarat. *Saṅgītiyavaṅsa*. Bangkok [2466 (1923)]. Reprint: Bangkok 2521 [1978]. / สมเด็จพระวันรัตน์, สังคีตยวงศ์. [๒๓๖๖]. กรุงเทพฯ. ๒๕๒๑.

Somot Amonphan, Phra Chao Boromawong Thoe Krom Phra. [Proclamation to the Deities for the Recitation Held in the Year of the Rabbit, BE 2331, First Reign] “Kham prakat thewada khrang sangkhayana pi wok samritthisok pho. so. 2331 ratchakan thi 1.” In *Prakat kan phra ratchabithi lem 2 phra niphon Phra Chao Boromawong Thoe Krom Phra Somot Amonphan* [Proclamations of Royal Ceremonies to the Deities, vol. 2, composed by Phra Chao Boromawong Thoe Krom Phra Somot Amonphan]. Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, [2459 (CE 1916)] 2550 [2007], 10–19. / คำประกาศเทวดาครั้งสังคายนาปีวอกสัมฤทธิ์ศก พ.ศ. 2331 รัชกาลที่ 1, ประกาศการพระราชพิธีเล่ม 2 พระนิพนธ์พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระสมมตอมรินทร์, กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2550.

Wimuttiya, Maechi (Supaphan Na Bang Chang). *Phra traipidok chabab Phrabat Somdet Phrachulachomklao Chaoyuhua* [King Rāma Vs Edition of the *Tripitaka*]. Bangkok: Ho Phratraipidoknanachat, Khana aksorasat, Chulalongkorn Mahawithalai, 2557 [2014]. / วิมุตติยา, แม่ชี (สุภาพรรณ ณ บางช้าง). พระไตรปิฎกฉบับพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, กรุงเทพฯ : หอพระไตรปิฎกนานาชาติ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, ๒๕๕๗.

2. European Language Sources

Altekar, A.S. & Vijayakanta Mishra. 1959. *Report on Kumrahar Excavations 1951–1955*. Historical Research Series 3. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

Anālayo, Bhikkhu. 2015. “The First Saṅgīti and Theravāda Monasticism.” *Sri Lanka International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 4: 2–17.

Anuruddha, Kākkāpalliye (Thera), Mary M.Y. Fung, S.K. Siu (trs.). 2008. *The First and Second Buddhist Councils: Five Versions. English Translations from the Pāli and Chinese*. Hong Kong: Chi Lin Nunnery.

Arunasiri, K. 2002. “Lohapāsāda.” *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*. Editor-in-Chief W.G. Weeraratne, vol. 6, fasc. 3, Sri Lanka, 333–340.

Baba, Norihisa. “The Birth of ‘Mahāyāna Buddhism’: How Shaku Sōen Changed Modern Buddhist Studies.” In Orna Almogi (ed.), *Birds as Ornithologists: Scholarship between Faith and Reason*. Indian and Tibetan Studies 8. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Hamburg University, 2020, 325–348.

Balbir, Nalini. 2001. “A propos d’une Vie de Buddhaghosa.” *Bulletin d’Études Indiennes* 19: 342–352.

———. 2007. “Three Pali Works Revisited.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 39: 331–364.

- Bureau, André. 1955. *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*. Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études 60. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France.
- . 2013. *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit Véhicule*. Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 38. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient. English version: *The Buddhist Schools of the Small Vehicle*, translated by Sara Boin-Webb, edited by Andrew Skilton. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press / London: The Buddhist Society Trust.
- . 1971. *Recherches sur la Biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapīṭaka et les Vinayapīṭaka anciens*. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Bloch, Jules. 1950. *Les inscriptions d'Asoka, traduites et commentées*. Collection Émile Senart. Paris : Les Belles Lettres.
- Boisselier, Jean. 1979. *Ceylon Sri Lanka*. Archaeologia Mundi Series. Translated from the French by James Hogarth. Geneva/Paris/Munich: Nagel Publishers.
- Brown, Percy. 1971. *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*. Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd, Sixth Reprint.
- Buddhadatta, A.P. (ed.). 1962. *Jinakālamālī*. Transcribed from a Siamese text and edited. London: The Pali Text Society / Luzac & Company, Ltd.
- Buswell, Robert E., Jr. (Editor in Chief). 2004. *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA/Thomson Gale.
- Buswell, Robert E., Jr. & Donald S. Lopez Jr. (eds.). 2014. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Chakrabongse, Narisa with photography by Paisarn Piemmettawat. 2019. *Exploring Old Bangkok: Royal Palaces, Temples, Street Life*. Bangkok: River Books.

- Chandra, Lokesh. 2010. *Life of Lord Buddha from Chinese Sutras Illustrated in Ming Woodcuts*. New Delhi: International Academy Culture and Aditya Prakashan.
- Charpentier, Jarl. 1922. "The History of the Jains." In E.J. Rapson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1: *Ancient India*. Cambridge: University Press, 150–170.
- Coedès, G. 1924. *The Vajirañāṇa National Library*. Bangkok: Bangkok Times Press.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. 1927. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. Reprint: New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1965.
- Crosby, Kate. 2014. *Theravada Buddhism: Continuity, Diversity, and Identity*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell.
- . 2020. *Esoteric Theravāda: The Story of the Forgotten Meditation Tradition of Southeast Asia*. Boulder: Shambala.
- Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidyalabha, Prince. 1965. "Religious Intercourse between Ceylon and Siam in the Bangkok Period of Siamese History." In S. Paranavitana & J. Samarakkody (eds.), *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume on Art and Architecture and Oriental Studies Presented to Professor Senarat Paranavitana, Archaeologist, Epigraphist, Historian, as a Tribute of his Colleagues, Friends, and Well-wishers to a Lifetime Spent in Interpreting the Culture of a Corner of Asia*. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 135–141.
- . 1965. *A History of Buddhism in Siam*. Bangkok: The Siam Society.
- Doniger, Wendy. 2018. *Against Dharma: Dissent in the Ancient Indian Sciences of Sex and Politics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dy, Ari C, SJ. 2015. *Chinese Buddhism in Catholic Philippines: Syncretism as Identity*. Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- Falk, Harry. 2006. *Aśokan Sites and Artefacts: A Source-book with Bibliography*. Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie,

- Kunst und Philologie 18. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Fergusson, James. 1910. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. Vol. 1. Revised version of 1876. Reprint: Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967.
- Flood, Thadeus & Flood Chadin (trs.). 1978, 1990. *The Dynastic Chronicles, Bangkok Era, the First Reign: Chaophraya Thipakorawong Edition*. 2 vols. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies.
- Freeman, Michael. 2001. *Lanna: Thailand's Northern Kingdom*. Bangkok: River Books.
- Gendun Chopel. 2014. *Grains of Gold: Tales of a Cosmopolitan Traveler*. Translated by Thupten Jinpa and Donald S. Lopez Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Griswold, Alexander B. 1965. "The Holy Land Transported: Replicas of the Mahabodhi Shrine in Siam and Elsewhere." In S. Paranavitana & J. Samarakkody (eds.), *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume on Art and Architecture and Oriental Studies Presented to Professor Senarat Paranavitana, Archaeologist, Epigraphist, Historian, as a Tribute of his Colleagues, Friends, and Well-wishers to a Lifetime Spent in Interpreting the Culture of a Corner of Asia*. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 173–221 + 26 illustrations.
- Lothian, Sir A.C. (ed.). 1955. *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*. Seventeenth edition. London: John Murray.
- Heim, Maria. 2018. *Voice of the Buddha: Buddhaghosa on the Immeasurable Words*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hirakawa, Akira. 1990. *A History of Indian Buddhism from Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*. Asian Studies at Hawaii 36. Translated and edited by Paul Groner. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

- Hofinger, M. 1946. *Étude sur le concile de Vaiśālī*. Louvain : Bureaux du Muséon.
- Hutchinson, E.W. 1951. "The Seven Spires." *Journal of the Siam Society* 39/1: 1–68.
- Jaffe, Richard M. 2019. *Seeking Sakyamuni: South Asia in the Formation of Modern Japanese Buddhism*. Buddhism and Modernity. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jayawickrama, N.A. (tr.). 1978. *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror, Being a Translation of Jinakālamālīpakaraṇaṃ of Ratanapañña Thera of Thailand*. London: The Pali Text Society / Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Jha, Satyendra Kumār. 2011. *Rājagṛha: The City of Eminence*. Bihar Heritage Series 1. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
- Jinananda. 1959. "Four Buddhist Councils." In P.V. Bapat (General Editor), *2500 Years of Buddhism*. Delhi: The Publications Division, 35–56.
- Jones, Lindsay (Editor in Chief). 2005. *Encyclopedia of Religion, Second Edition*. Macmillan Reference USA/Tomson Gale.
- Kalupahana, David J. 2008. *A Sourcebook on Later Buddhist Philosophy*. Dehiwala: Buddhist Cultural Centre.
- . (ed. & tr.). 1986. *Nāgārjuna: The Philosophy of the Middle Way: Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Kek Lok Si Temple. 2003. *A Journey of Insightful Discovery at Kek Lok Si Temple*. Penang: Rhythm Distributor Sdn. Bhd.
- Kern, H. 1901–1903. *Histoire du bouddhisme dans l'Inde. Annales du Musée Guimet* 10, 11. 2 vols. Traduite du néerlandais par Gédéon Huet. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur.
- Kuraishi, Mohammad Hamid, revised by A. Ghosh. 1958. *Rajgir*. Revised version of 1939. Reprint: New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1975.

- La Vallée Poussin, Louis de. 1911. "Councils and Synods (Buddhist)." In James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, vol. 4: 179–185.
- . 1925. "La controverse du temps et du pudgala dans la Vijñānakāya." In *Études asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*. Tome premier. Paris: G. Van Oest, 343–376.
- Lamotte, Étienne. 1958. *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Śaka*. Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 14. Louvain-la-Neuve: Reprint: Institut Orientaliste, Université de Louvain, 1976.
- Law, Bimala Churn. 1938. *Rājagrha in Ancient Literature*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 58. [Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1938]. Reprint: Delhi: Swati Publications, 1991.
- Lopez, Donald S. 2018. *Gendun Chopel: Tibet's Modern Visionary*. Boulder: Shambala.
- Malalasekera, G.P. 1937. *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*. 2 vols. Reprint: New Delhi: Oriental Reprint / Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1983.
- . (ed.). 1937. *Extended Mahāvamsa*. Aluvihāra Series 3. Colombo: The Royal Asiatic Society / The Times of Ceylon.
- Mani, B.R. & Vinay Gupta. 2014. "Pataliputra." In Dilip K. Chakrabarti & Makkhan Lal (eds.), *History of Ancient India III. The Texts, Political History and Administration till c. 200 BC*. New Delhi: Vivekananda International Foundation / Aryan Books International, 593–598.
- . 2014. "Rajagriha." In Dilip K. Chakrabarti & Makkhan Lal (eds.), *History of Ancient India III. The Texts, Political History and Administration till c. 200 BC*. New Delhi: Vivekananda International Foundation / Aryan Books International, 599–608.
- Oldenberg, Hermann (ed.). 1880. *Vinaya Pitakam: One of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pāli Language*. Vol. II:

- The Cullavagga*. [Williams and Norgate, 1880]. Reprint: London: The Pali Text Society (distributed by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London/ Henley/Boston).
- Penth, Hans. 1994. *Jinakālamālī Index. An Annotated Index to the Thailand Part of Ratanapañña's Chronicle Jinakālamālī*. Oxford: The Pali Text Society / Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- . 2000. *A Brief History of Lān Nā: Civilizations of North Thailand*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Pichard, Pierre. 2005. "Postcolonial Reconstructions in Burma and Buddhist Replicas in Asia." In Wim Denslagen & Niels Gutschow (eds.), *Architectural Imitations: Reproductions and Pastiches in East and West*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 124–150.
- Poh, T. 1978. *Chinese Temples Penang*. [Penang: Forda].
- Potter, Karl H., Robert E. Buswell, Padmanabh S. Jaini, Noble Ross Reat (eds.). 1996. *Encyclopedia of Indian philosophies*. Vol. VII: *Abhidharma Buddhism to 150 A.D.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited.
- Roerich, George N. (tr.). 1949. *The Blue Annals*, [Calcutta, 1949]. Reprint: Delhi, 1986.
- Sakya, Anil (Ven. Phra). 2012. "King Mongkut's Invention of a Universal Pali Script." In Peter Skilling, Jason A. Carbine, Claudio Cicuzza, Santi Pakdeekham (eds.), *How Theravāda is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 401–413.
- Santi Pakdeekham. 2017. *Tāṃrā Traipitaka: A Handbook of the Tipitaka*. Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka 13. Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation & Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- . (tr. & ed.). 2020. *History of the Pali Scriptures: Saṅgītiyavaṅsa by Somdet Phra Phonnarat*. Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka 16. Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation & Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.

- Sasaki, Genjun H. (ed.). 1992. *Sārasaṅgaha*. Oxford: The Pali Text Society.
- Sen, Tansen. 2018. *India, China, and the World: A Connected History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Seneviratna, Anurādha. 1994. *Ancient Anurādhapura: The Monastic City*. Second edition. Nugegoda: Sarasavi Publishers, 2008.
- Silk, Jonathan. 2015. "Canonicity." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. vol. 1: *Literature and Languages*. Editor-in-Chief Jonathan A. Silk. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 5–38.
- Skilling, Peter. 1993. "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 19: 69–201.
- . 2010. "Problems with Milinda (I): The Opening Verses and Prose of the Printed Siamese *Milindapañhā*." *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka* 8: 1–24.
- . 2014. "Reflections on the Pali Literature of Siam." In Paul Harrison & Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds.), *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research*. Papers Presented at the Conference Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field, Stanford, June 15–19 2009. *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens* 80, *Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse* 460. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 347–366.
- . 2019. "The Theravaṃsa Has Always Been Here: K. 1355 from Angkor Borei." *Journal of the Siam Society* 107/2: 43–62.
- . 2021. *Questioning the Buddha: A Selection of Twenty-Five Sūtras*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Skilling, Peter & Santi Pakdeekham. 2002. *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam: A catalogue based on the Sap Songkhro*. Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka 1. Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation & Lunmini: Lumbini International Research Institute.

- . 2008. *Pāli and Vernacular Literature Transmitted in Central and Northern Siam*. Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka 2. Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation & Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- Skilling, Peter, Jason A. Carbine, Claudio Cicuzza, Santi Pakdeekham (eds.) *How Theravāda is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Somadasa, K.D. 1987–1995. *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection*. 7 vols. London: British Library Press & The Pali Text Society.
- Suzuki, Daisetz T. 1955–1961. *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, Kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto, Reprinted under the Supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto*. Tokyo–Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute.
- Thapar, Romila. 1998. *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas. With new afterword, bibliography and index*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. [First published 1961, second edition 1997, paperback 1998].
- Tournier, Vincent. 2017. *La formation du Mahāvastu et la mise en place des conceptions relatives à la carrière du bodhisattva*. Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 195. Paris : École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Tucci, Giuseppe. 1932. *Rin-chen-bzang-po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet around the First Millenium*. Reprint: New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1988.
- Waddell, L.A. 1903. *Report on the Excavations at Pātaliputra (Patna): The Palibothra of the Greeks*. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press.
- Witanachchi, C. 2006. "Saṅgīti." *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*. Editor-in-Chief W.G. Weeraratne, vol. 7, fasc. 4: 720–728.
- Wu Jian and Greg Wilkinson (eds.). 2017. *Reinventing the Tripitaka: Transformation of the Buddhist Canon in Modern East Asia*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

- Zhang Zing. 2014. "Buddhist Practices and Institutions of the Chinese Community in Kolkata, India." In Tansen Sen (ed.), *Buddhism Across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies & New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 429–457.
- Zin, Monika. 2020. "The Monk Kāśyapa in Kucha, the First Council, and the Furtherance of Buddhist Teaching with an Appendix of Primary Sources Concerning the First Council as Given by Przyluski, Compiled by Fang Wang." In Ines Konczak-Nagel & Monika Zin (eds.), *Essays and Studies in the Art of Kucha*. Leipzig Kucha Studies 1. New Delhi: Dev Publishers and Distributors.

|| MAṄGALAM BHAVATU ||

Figures

Acknowledgements

Photographs of the murals of Wat Mahaphruttaram are by Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 1 February, 2020, courtesy Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Henry Ginsburg Fund.

Photographs of recitation manuscripts from Wat Khao Yi San, Samut Songkhram province, Thailand are courtesy Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Henry Ginsburg Fund.



Map: The nine recitation-convocations. Map curated by Trent Walker, 2016. Used with permission.



Fig. 0: 11th Emperor of the Qing dynasty. Original Illustration from materials on Manchuria, Mongolia, China and Japan. Baranov, Alexey Mikhailovich. Harbin: Publishing house of the headquarters of the Zamu district of the border service, 1905–1910. From A Medium Corporation = <https://medium.com/@wudi878/guangxu-emperor-光绪皇帝-7defa6210b7f>

First Convocation



Fig. 1.1: First convocation at Rājagṛha: mural painting, late nineteenth century, Wat Mahaphruttaram, Bangkok

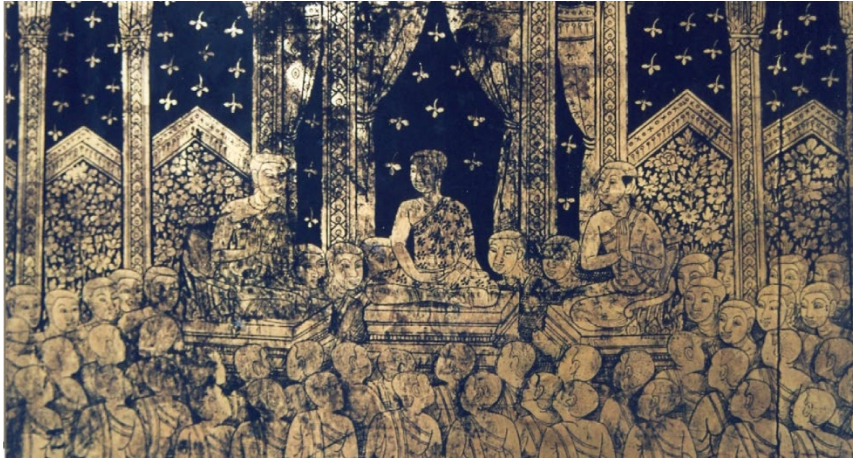


Fig. 1.2: First convocation. Mahākassapa, Upāli, Ānanda, and the 500 arhants assembled for the first recitation convocation. Gilt lacquer scripture cabinet, Bangkok National Museum. Photo by P. Skilling, Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation.



Fig. 1.3: First convocation after parinirvāṇa tableau. Mural painting, nineteenth century. Wat Sai Arirak, Ratchaburi province, Thailand.

Second Convocation



Fig. 2.1: Second convocation at Vesālī: mural painting, late nineteenth century, Wat Mahaphruttaram, Bangkok.



Fig. 2.2: Second convocation. Revata and Sabbakāmi and the 700 bhikkhus assembled for the second recitation convocation. Gilt lacquer scripture cabinet, Bangkok National Museum. Photo by P. Skilling, Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation.

Third Convocation



Fig. 3.1: Third convocation at Pāṭaliputra: mural painting, late nineteenth century, Wat Mahaphrutaram, Bangkok.



Fig. 3.2: Third recitation convocation at Pāṭaliputra. Gilt lacquer painting on manuscript chest dated 1814. Museum of Wat Pong Sanuk Nua, Lampang, Thailand. Photo by Phongsathorn Buakhampan, Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation.



Fig. 3.3: Mauryan pillar, Kumrahar, Patna, India. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kumhrar#/media/File:Mauryan_Hall_pillar.jpg

Fourth Convocation



Fig. 4.1: Fourth convocation at Thūpārāma: mural painting, late nineteenth century, Wat Mahaphruttaram, Bangkok.



Fig. 4.2: Thuparama, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka: colonial era photograph. Image after Ismeth Raheem, *Archaeology and Photography: The Early Years 1868–1880*, Colombo: The National Trust Sri Lanka, 2009.

Fifth Convocation



Fig. 5.1: Fifth recitation convocation at Alu Vihāra, Sri Lanka: mural painting, late nineteenth century, Wat Mahaphruttaram, Bangkok.



Fig. 5.2: Fifth recitation convocation at Alu Vihāra, Sri Lanka. Writing down the scriptures: King Vaṭṭagāminī offers palm leaves. Modern representation, Alu Vihara Rock Temple. Photo by P. Skilling, Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation.



Fig. 5.3: Fifth recitation convocation at Alu Vihāra, Sri Lanka. View : Alu Vihara Rock Temple, Matala Dist., Sri Lanka. Photo by P. Skilling, Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation.

Sixth Convocation



Fig. 6.1: Sixth recitation convocation: Lohapāsāda, Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka. According to legend, the learned Indian monk Ācāriya Buddhaghosa travelled from his homeland in India to the island of Lanka to study the Pali Tripitaka and commentaries. After Ayutthaya-period *Traibhūmi* cosmological manuscript, National Museum, Bangkok.



Fig. 6.2: Lohapāsāda, Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka: colonial-period view. The description of the Lohapāsāda in Chap. 27 of the *Mahāvamsa*, 'Consecration of the Lohapasada', is one of the most detailed descriptions of an ancient building in surviving records of South Asia. After James Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon: An Account of the Island*, London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1859.



Fig. 6.3: Sixth recitation convocation at Lohapāsāda, Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka: mural painting, late nineteenth century, Wat Mahaphruttaram, Bangkok.

Seventh Convocation



Fig. 7.1: Seventh convocation at Polonnaruwa: mural painting, late nineteenth century, Wat Mahaphruttaram, Bangkok.

Eighth Convocation



Fig. 8.1: Eighth convocation at Chiang Mai, Thailand: mural painting, late nineteenth century, Wat Mahaphruttaram, Bangkok.



Fig. 8.2: Wat Bodhārāma (Wat Chet Yot), Chiang Mai, Thailand. Photo Santi Pakdeekham, 2020. Used with permission.

Ninth Convocation



Fig. 9.1: Ninth convocation at Bangkok: mural painting, late nineteenth century, Wat Mahaphruttaram, Bangkok.



Fig. 9.2: Procession to carry the *Tripitaka* to the palace: mural painting, late nineteenth century, Wat Mahaphrutaram, Bangkok.



Fig. 9.3: Wat Mahāthāt, Bangkok. Photo Santi Pakdeekham, 2020. Used with permission.



Fig. 9.4: Painted *Tripitaka*: Wat Thong Nopphakhun, Bangkok.

Chanting Manuscripts



Fig. 10.1: Chanting manuscript on the first recitation convocation. Wat Khao Yi San, Samut Songkhram province, วัดเขายี่สาน จังหวัดสมุทรสงคราม, Thailand. Courtesy Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Henry Ginsburg Fund.



Fig. 10.2: Chanting manuscript on the second recitation convocation. Wat Khao Yi San, Samut Songkhram province. Courtesy Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Henry Ginsburg Fund.



Fig. 10.3: Chanting manuscript on the fifth recitation convocation. Wat Khao Yi San, Samut Songkhram province. Courtesy Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Henry Ginsburg Fund.

Editors as Canon-Makers

The Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the Light of Its Editors' Predilections and Agendas

Orna Almogi (Universität Hamburg)*

1. Introductory Remarks

In the past decade, I have developed a keen interest in the formation, production, and transmission of large Buddhist literary collections within the Tibetan cultural sphere, mainly canonical and paracanonical ones. It is generally accepted that what is referred to as the Tibetan Buddhist Canon was to a great extent shaped in the first half of the fourteenth century. The initial efforts towards such an undertaking were made in the *bKa' gdams pa* monastery of *sNar thang*, and the actual compilation presumably took place there in the 1310s, followed by similar activities in other religious centres.¹ The formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon inevitably also led to the formation of paracanonical collections, first and foremost the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, of which several editions were produced in the following centuries.

In my research, I have particularly focused on the *bsTan 'gyur*, the part of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon containing the "Treatises in

* The findings presented in the present paper were partly gained during the project "A Canon in the Making: The History of the Formation, Production, and Transmission of the *bsTan 'gyur*, the Corpus of Treatises in Tibetan Translation," generously funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), for which I am highly grateful. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Philip Pierce for proofreading my English and, as always, also for making various valuable comments. For a technical note, see below, p. 447.

¹ For a discussion of whether sets of the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* were produced prior to the compilation of the Old *sNar thang* canonical collections, see Almogi 2021.

[Tibetan] Translation,” and on the paracanonical collection known as the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (*Collection of Ancient Tantras*), which contains Tantric scriptures that were excluded from the *bKa' 'gyur*, the part of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon containing the “Word [of the Buddha] in [Tibetan] Translation,” due to doubts regarding their Indic origin. One of my interests in this regard has lain in compilatory and editorial policies and practices and their impact on the three levels of formation, production, and transmission of such literary collections, and the religio-philosophical and socio-political factors that may have influenced these three processes. Moreover, in the course of my investigations, it very soon became clear that an understanding of the processes of “scripturalization” and “canonization” is indispensable for an understanding of the formation, production, and transmission of canonical (or paracanonical) collections.

Despite the fact that virtually in all cases copies of previous (para)canonical editions were used as master or principal copies (*phyi mo*) for new sets, it is indisputable that any new edition received its final shape with regard to both content and organization very much thanks to the efforts of their respective editors, each of whom left in one way or another his personal mark on it. Moreover, occasions for producing even mere copies of such collections also gave editors the opportunity to exercise their influence to some extent. Indeed the difference between a new edition and a mere copy is not always clear-cut. This is true not only for what is referred to as “local editions” of the Canon but also for what could be regarded as its “mainstream editions” (which will be generally represented in the present paper by Peking and sDe dge). Editors of (para)canonical collections had, in one way or another and to varying degrees, various criteria to consider, and often applied one or more polemical or apologetic strategies. In addition, their choices and decisions were not seldom influenced by their personal predilections and agendas, which in turn were motivated by various factors, such as religio-philosophical background, school affiliation, own philosophical view, political ties, and what could be termed the “patron-client”

dependence relationship. One cannot of course entirely exclude economic and logistical factors.

The processes of canon formation in general, and of scripturalization and canonization in particular, are complex. In a recent publication I have discussed in detail various authentication and canonization criteria within the Tibetan cultural sphere, along with the polemical and apologetic strategies related to them, and I therefore need not dwell upon these issues here.² In the same publication I have also delved into the question of the authenticity of canonical colophons and demonstrated that the information contained in them, particularly ascriptions of translations and/or revisions, should be treated with caution. This latter issue is very much connected with editorial decisions as to, in the case of multiple versions, which version to include and/or which translation colophons to prefer. Both the process of authentication (along with the ensuing canonization) and the preference for or actual selection of a specific version and a specific colophon presuppose editorial intervention and decision making. Not surprisingly, of the two criteria termed by Dorji Wangchuk “genetic-diachronic” and “generic-synchronic,” editors of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon have generally stuck to the former, while those of paracanonical collections have embraced both criteria.³ Even so, it seems that the editors of the Canon by and large refrained from extreme polemical discussions and avoided using offensive argumentative devices (such as the *argumentum ad hominem* and ridicule, to name two) in matters directly concerning their role as the Canon’s editors. Rather, most of their decisions were made silently, and in cases where they did attempt to justify them they clearly opted for what could be considered historical-philological argumentation (whether convincingly or not), as demonstrated in their catalogues (*dkar chag*) to the editions produced under their supervision, though

² See Almogi 2020.

³ On these two criteria, see the contribution by Dorji Wangchuk in the present volume. See also Almogi 2020: 61–62.

various motives were constantly at play. Editors of paracanonical collections and the compilers of their respective catalogues, in contrast, naturally found themselves in a position of having to resort to apologetic devices as well. In the present paper, I shall attempt to explore the role of editors as “canon-makers” against the backdrop of religio-philosophical and possibly also socio-political factors, by discussing several selected issues with particular reference to the *bsTan ’gyur*. The discussion will focus on the following three topics: (a) inclusion/exclusion of duplicates (§2), (b) inclusion/exclusion of existing collections as building blocks (§3), and (c) authentication policies concerning pseudepigraphy (§4).

2. Policies concerning Duplicates

One of the central issues in which editors differ has to do with their policies regarding the admission (or exclusion) of duplicates. And indeed several canonical editions contain duplicates. This is particularly true in the case of what one calls “local” *bKa’ ’gyur* editions, but it also applies to the “mainstream” canonical editions, especially the three larger editions of the *bsTan ’gyur* (PNG). The inclusion of duplicates may have been due to several reasons. As pointed out by Helmut Tauscher, for example, duplicates found in the various *bKa’ ’gyur* editions are one of the main factors underlying the considerable discrepancy in the number of works contained in them. Such duplicates, he says, may have various explanations, including simply error, the classification of certain works under more than one section (e.g., under both the Sūtra (mDo) and Tantra (rGyud) sections), and, in the case of multiple versions of the same work, the editors’ inability to decide which of them is “more authentic.”⁴

We know that the first edition of the Canon compiled at sNar thang contained numerous duplicates. This has been known all along based on an explicit statement by Bu ston Rin chen grub

⁴ See Tauscher 2015: 104.

(1290–1364; BDRC: P155) in his catalogue to the Zhwa lu *bsTan 'gyur* edition—completed a couple of decades after the Old sNar thang edition, in 1335, under his supervision and editorship—that he excluded from his edition all duplicates found in the sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* edition, which, as is well known, served as his principal copy.⁵ This decision of Bu ston led *de facto* to the loss of numerous versions of various texts, which is, from a textual scholar's point of view, nothing if not lamentable, to say the least, for, among other things, we have no way to come to any learned conclusion as to what his criteria for the selection in this regard were. Generally speaking, it appears that the tendency was to include those versions claimed to have undergone a so-called “revision” or to be “retranslations.” The question as to how objective the selection procedure was must remain open, but we have by now sufficient reason to believe that it was not completely free from bias driven by sectarian motives. In any event, although it was Bu ston's policy of excluding duplicates that had the greatest influence on mainstream editions, it should be noted that he was not the first one to embrace such a policy. In fact, as will be demonstrated below, the editors of the Tshal pa edition of the *bsTan 'gyur*, produced more than a decade earlier, in the years 1317–1323, had already employed this same policy.

Regarding the duplicates in the Old sNar thang canonical collections, the catalogue to the sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* edition composed by dBus pa blo gsal fortunately surfaced some years ago.⁶ This catalogue not only confirms the existence of duplicates, but also allows us to identify them. The criteria followed by the editors of the Old sNar thang edition as to which duplicates could or should be admitted are nonetheless as yet not entirely clear, and the matter requires further research. We already know, however, that, in addition to duplicates representing different

⁵ *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (638.2): *phyi mo na bzhugs pa'i zlos pa kun dor nas* | ... (“Having excluded all duplicates found in the principal copy, ...”).

⁶ On dBus pa blo gsal's catalogue to the Old sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* edition, see Almogi 2021.

versions of the same work—actually, (alleged) revisions or retranslations of existing translations—many duplicates in the Old sNar thang edition resulted from the inclusion of a separate section containing an entire volume of works associated with *Adhīśa (/ *Atiśa) *Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982–1054) and other scholars of his circle. These works are not individually listed by dBus pa blo gsal but are simply referred to as “works, composed by Jo bo rje and others—[collectively] known as the *Chos chung brgya rtsa* (A Collection of Minor Doctrinal Works)—which were translated by Nag tsho and others.”⁷ As we shall see below, the term *brgya rtsa*, which literally means “a hundred and some,” is one of several Tibetan terms meaning “collection,” and in this particular case, one that contains slightly more than one hundred works (or, as it appears that in some cases such collections contain slightly less than one hundred works, perhaps the connotation is “approximately a hundred”). This record of the *Chos chung brgya rtsa* is the last entry of the catalogue’s chapter 15, titled *Byang chub sems dpa’i lam gyi skor* (*The Cycle of the Bodhisattva Path*), and this despite the fact that this cluster includes works that thematically belong to other sections (such as the rGyud section). Indeed the individual works contained in it (as known from later *bsTan ’gyur* editions, in some of which the set is also known as the *Jo bo chos chung* (*Minor Doctrinal Works of the Jo bo*)) are also individually listed by dBus pa blo gsal in the sections they thematically belong to. Thus this cluster alone, forming volume number Bu of the Sūtra section (mDo’i phyogs kyi bstan bcos), is responsible for approximately a hundred duplicates in the Old sNar thang *bsTan ’gyur* edition. Now, while including duplicates that are different versions of one and the same work—commonly what are (alleged to be) new or revised translations—undoubtedly has its merits, one rightly wonders the reason for including the duplicates that make up this particular cluster, for they do not seem to be different versions (slight and minor variants are occasionally

⁷ dBus pa blo gsal *bstan dkar* (A, 55a6–b1; B, 45a4–5): [I_s1213] *Jo bo rje la sogs pas mdzad pa’i gzhung Chos chung brgya rtsar grags pa Nag tsho la sogs pas bsgyur ba bzhugs so* | |.

observed, but these are certainly negligible and were undoubtedly not the reason for the duplication). It appears that there was in fact no other reason than school affiliation, and perhaps also personal sentiment, given the sNar thang tradition's close ties with *Adhīsa and his circle in general, and those of some of the figures directly or indirectly involved in the compilation of this cluster of works in particular.

This is clearly evident, for example, from the Fifth Dalai Lama's (1617–1682; BDRC: P37) *Records of Teachings Received*, which devotes a section to the transmission of this cluster of works, likewise referred there as *Chos chung brgya rtsa*. After listing the individual titles (103 in total), the Fifth Dalai Lama lists the lineage of its reading transmission, starting from *Adhīsa, going through several sNar thang abbots and other prominent bKa' gdams pa scholars, including the seventh abbot of sNar thang mChims (/Chims) Nam mkha' grags (1210–1285, term of office 1250–1285; BDRC: P1060) and rGyang ro Byang chub 'bum (b. 13th cent.; BDRC: P3644). The latter was directly involved in the compilation of the *bsTan 'gyur*.⁸ We do not know who compiled

⁸ See the *INga pa chen po'i thob yig* (vol. 1: 62–71) for the entire pertinent section, and *ibid.* (vol. 1: 70.6–16) for the lineage, which includes the following masters: *de ltar chos tshan brgya dang gsum gyi lung legs par nos pa'i brgyud pa ni*

1. gNas lugs rig pa'i paṇ chen Dī paṃ kā ra (*Adhīsa)
2. 'Brom ston Chos kyi rgyal po [rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas] (1004/5–1064; BDRC: P2557)
3. Po to ba Rin chen gsal (1027–1105; BDRC: P3442)
4. [Zhang] Sha ra ba Yon tan grags (1070–1141; BDRC: P1405)
5. Chu mig pa Shes rab grags (b. 11th cent.; BDRC: P5740)
6. Gro ston bDud rtsi grags (1153–1232; BDRC: P2271); 4th abbot of sNar thang, 1185–1232
7. Sangs rgyas sgom Seng ge skyabs (1179–1250; BDRC: P2640); 6th abbot of sNar thang, 1241–1248
8. 'Chims Nam mkha' grags (1210–1285; BDRC: P1060); 7th abbot of sNar thang, 1250–1285
9. **rGyang ro Byang chub 'bum** (b. 13th cent.; BDRC: P3644)

this set of works and when. It may have well happened in the first decades after *Adhīśa's time, especially if one takes the transmission lineage to mean that the actual collection coalesced during the lifetime of *Adhīśa's direct student 'Brom ston at the latest, but it could also just as well be that its actual compilation took place in sNar thang at a later point, even as late as the time of the preparatory work done there towards the compilation of the Canon. We do know, for example, that another set connected with *Adhīśa known as the *sNar thang brgya rtsa* (*The sNar thang [Manuals] Collection*)—a collection containing tutelary deity realization manuals, empowerment manuals, and instructions that were transmitted through *Adhīśa—was compiled there by none other than mChims Nam mkha' grags, despite, that is, the existence of a transmission lineage relating to the entire collection that goes back to *Adhīśa himself. Unlike the *Jo bo chos chung*, however, the *sNar thang brgya rtsa* was not admitted into the Canon but transmitted separately (several of the works were, to be sure, individually included in the *bsTan 'gyur*) and has, nonetheless, enjoyed great popularity and been widely transmitted also outside bKa' gdams (/dGe lugs) circles.⁹

10. 'Chims Blo bzang grags pa (1299–1375; BDRC: P1298); 12th abbot of sNar thang, 1337–1375

[...]

25. Za hor bande (Fifth Dalai Lama).

The lineage is also recorded in the BDRC under L8LS13664 at <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:L8LS13664>.

⁹ The *sNar thang brgya rtsa* has been transmitted, for example, in Tāranātha's *Collected Works*, within his *Yi dam rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs rin chen 'byung gnas* (BDRC: W12422, vol. 2: 320–455). It has also been transmitted in a manuscript (BDRC: W4CZ307403) that contains in addition the *Jātakamālā* of Āryasūra and sixty-seven other *jātakas* supplemented by the Third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339; BDRC: P66). There are several transmission lineages of reading transmissions and empowerments concerned with specific deities that are contained in the *sNar thang brgya rtsa*. The lineages commonly start from *Adhīśa and go down through mChims Nam mkha' grags and other sNar thang masters, including, for example, the aforementioned

rGyang ro Byang chub 'bum. The collection was also transmitted down to masters of other traditions, particularly of the Sa skya and bKa' brgyud schools. For example, the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Records of Teachings Received*, which devotes an entire section to the transmission lineages of works related in one way or another to this collection, referred to there as "the doctrinal cycle known as the *sNar thang brgya rtsa* on account of the fact that these miscellaneous [works]—tutelary deity realization [manuals], empowerment [manuals], and instructions transmitted through the glorious Lord *Adhīsa—were compiled by the sNar thang abbot mChims Nam mkha' grags." See the *INga pa chen po'i thob yig* (vol. 2: 46.14–17): ... *dpal Jo bo chen po A ti sha nas nye bar brgyud pa'i yid dam gyi lha'i mngon rtogs rjes gnang man ngag thor bu rnams dpal sNar thang gi mkhan po mChims Nam mkha' grags kyis phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs par brten sNar thang brgya rtsar grags pa'i chos skor....* The transmission lineages recorded by the Fifth Dalai Lama in the following testify to the widespread transmission of the various cycles contained in this collection. The first lineage recorded, which is, notably, of the entire set, starts with *Adhīsa and goes through several sNar thang abbots. See the *INga pa chen po'i thob yig* (50.4–16): *rjes gnang sgrub thabs man ngag rnams bsdoms pa'i brgya tham pa legs par nos pa'i brgyud pa ni*

[...]

8. Jo bo chen po dpal ldan Mar me mdzad (*Adhīsa)
9. 'Brom [ston] rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/5–1064; BDRC: P2557)
10. rNgog lo tsā ba Legs pa'i shes rab (b. 10th cent.; BDRC: P3389)
11. rNgog lo Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1192; BDRC: P2551)
12. Gro lung pa Blo gros 'byung gnas (b. 11th cent.; BDRC: P3465)
13. Cha pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169; BDRC: P1404)
14. gTsang nag Thugs rje seng ge (b. 12th cent.; BDRC: P2259?, there brTson 'grus seng ge)
15. Gro ston bDud rtsi grags (1153–1232; BDRC: P2271); 4th abbot of sNar thang, 1185–1232
16. 'Chims Nam mkha' grags (1210–1285; BDRC: P1060); 7th abbot of sNar thang, 1250–1285
17. sKyo ston sMon lam tshul khriims (1219–1299; BDRC: P1219); 8th sNar thang abbot, 1285–1299
18. **rGyang ro pañ chen [Byang chub 'bum]** (b. 13th cent.; BDRC: P3644)
19. 'Chims Blo bzang grags pa (1299–1375; BDRC: P1298); 12th sNar thang abbot, 1337–1375

To go back to the editorial policies regarding duplicates, Bu ston, despite claiming to have excluded all duplicates, made a clear exception in the case of the *Chos chung brgya rtsa* and included it in his *bsTan 'gyur* edition, where it stands as the last volume (numbered Gi) of the Madhyamaka (dBu ma) section (which in turn is the second subdivision of the mTshan nyid section). In his catalogue to the edition Bu ston states in this regard the following:¹⁰

Gi pa la| Jo bo'i chos chung brgya rtsar grags pa bzhugs| 'di gong 'og nas 'byung ba rnams zlos mod kyil| bshad bka' stabs su

[...]

32. Za hor bande (Fifth Dalai Lama)

This lineage is recorded in the BDRC under L8LS14653 at <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:L8LS14653>. A work of the genre “records of teachings received” devoted solely to the *sNar thang brgya rtsa* and based on such records containing supplements to the lineages recorded by the Fifth Dalai Lama written by sKyid shod Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin 'phrin las (1639–1682; BDRC: P939) sheds further light on this collection and its later transmission lineages. The introductory part of the work first counts initiations relating to altogether thirty-four tutelary deities and then continues with the records of the respective transmission lineages (1b1–3a4). See the *sNar thang brgya rtsa'i thob yig* (1b1–2): *mnyam med Jo bo chen po nas brgyud pa'i sNar thang brgya rtsar grags pa'i rjes gnang sKyid shod Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin 'phrin las kyis mdzad pa'i zur 'debs kyil steng nas legs par mnos pa'i brgyud pa dang rjes gnang gi rim pa ni| ...*; and *ibid.* (2a8–9): *de rnams so bzhi po'i rjes gnang legs par thob pa'i brgyud pa ni| ...*

¹⁰ See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (588.4–5). Virtually identical statements (apart from negligible variants concerning orthography or segmentation marks) are found in the *lNga pa chen po'i bstan dkar* (116b5–6), where the collection likewise forms volume Gi of the Madhyamaka section. In the following passage, Bu ston lists the individual works, 103 altogether. See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (588.5–596.5): *de'ang 'di nyid na bzhugs pa'i chos kyil rnam grangs ni| ... rnams la brgya dang gsum bzhugs so||*. Note that Bu ston's list completely correlates with the works found in the same cluster in the Peking, Golden, and sNar thang editions, while the sDe dge contains one additional work. See below, note 19.

*yod cing | dpe phyi la sogs la bsam nas sngar gyi bsTan 'gyur
rnams su po ti tha dad du bris pa bzhin du 'dir yang bris so | |.*

Volume Gi contains what is known as the *Jo bo'i chos chung brgya rtsa* (*A Collection of Minor Doctrinal Works of the Jo bo*). Although these [works] are duplicates (zlos) of ones [already] found above or below [in the corpus], still, considering, among other things, the principal copies and [also the fact that these works] are a coherent set [of] (*stabs su yod*, lit. “exist together [as]”) teachings, [they] were written down here, too, in a similar fashion to earlier *bsTan 'gyurs* in which [they] were also written down in a separate volume.

Bu ston practically gives two reasons for his including this cluster even though it goes against his general policy of avoiding duplicates, namely, (i) it is a coherent collection that deserves being included as a separate set, while the individual works are also included in the sections they thematically belong to, and (ii) he is following the tradition established in earlier *bsTan 'gyurs*. One of those “earlier *bsTan 'gyurs*” referred to by him is certainly the Old sNar thang edition, but it is unclear what other editions he could have possibly meant. Another early *bsTan 'gyur* is the edition prepared at Tshal pa monastery, which, as stated earlier, was completed in 1323, about a decade before the Zhwa lu edition. However, Bu ston could not have possibly been referring to this edition, since it is evident from its catalogue that the *Jo bo chos chung* set was not included therein. Rather, the individual works were included there only once in the sections they thematically belonged to (and occasionally in some smaller clusters).¹¹ As the inclusion of the set in the sNar thang edition was clearly due to sectarian affiliation, combined perhaps with personal sentiments, it is not at all surprising that the editor of the Tshal pa edition did not include it as a separate set, for it had no

¹¹ For one such small cluster, see, for example, the *Tshal pa bstan dkar*, nos. T2252–T2294, which consists of 44 works that are included in the *Jo bo chos chung* set as found in other *bsTan 'gyur* editions.

particular significance as a collection for the Tshal pa tradition that would have justified the duplication. This impression is strengthened in view of the fact that the Tshal pa edition does contain other clusters transmitted in the Old sNar thang edition (on which see below, §3). These other clusters, however, do not contain any duplications and are thematically coherent.

Bu ston referred to the problems posed by duplicates already in the title index appended to his history of religion, where he states:¹²

*de ltar sngags phyogs la stong bdun brgya bzhi bcu zhe bdun te |
sngar gyi mtshan nyid kyi skor gyi lnga brgya dgu bcu dang gril
bas nyis stong sum brgya sum cu bod du 'gyur | **bsTan 'gyur gyi
dkar chag chen mo** las | nyis stong sum brgya lnga bcur bshad
kyang **Jo bo'i chos chung brgya rtsa** logs su bgrangs pa dang |
snga phyi zlos pa mang po snang bas zlos pa kun dor zhing rang
gis mngon sum du mthong ba dang yid ches pa'i tshig las da lta
'gyur ba yod par nges pa rnams nyis brgya tsam dang bcas pa
sngar ma chud pa mchis so 'tshal bsnan nas grangs dang go rims
dang sde tshan dang gzhung tshad dang 'gyur byang gi bar sngar
gyi dkar chag chen mo bzhi la gzhi ma byas nas | ji ltar shes pa
ltar bris so | |*

In this way, in the Tantra (sNgags) section there are 1,747 [works], and adding the 590 of the previous mTshan nyid section [makes altogether] 2,330 (actually 2,337!) translations into Tibetan. Although the *bsTan 'gyur gyi dkar chag chen mo* states that [the total number of works recorded in it] is 2,350, the [works contained in] the *Jo bo'i chos chung brgya rtsa* were counted [there] separately (i.e., twice). Since many duplicates were found [there] throughout (*snga phyi*), [I] have, based on my own personal observations and on

¹² See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (308.20–309.2); cf. Nishioka 1983: 114.16–24, which reads *sogs su bgrangs pa* instead of *logs su bgrangs pa*. See, however, Nishioka's recorded variant (n. 13) *logs su bgrangs* for *zlos* (in the following phrase *snga phyi zlos pa*), which could possibly be a result of erroneous recording by him.

trustworthy reports, eliminated all duplicates and added all those translations determined as currently existing that initially were not included, which amounts to approximately 200 additional works. Having taken the four earlier great catalogues as the basis—the number [of works recorded by them], the sequence [in which the works were recorded], the sections [into which the works were classified], and the size of the works and the translation colophons [provided by them]—[I] wrote down [this title index] in accordance with my understanding.

Here Bu ston, after quoting the total number of translated works (i.e., both scriptures and non-scriptures, and excluding the autochthonous works) listed by him in his religious history as being 2,330(/2,337),¹³ he cites 2,350 as the number of works listed in the *bsTan 'gyur gyi dkar chag chen mo*—that is, the catalogue to the Old sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* edition compiled by dBus pa blo gsal—and explains that this relatively high number results from counting the duplicates as well.¹⁴ To be noted is that Bu ston refers here to the later and thus larger (and possibly final) version of dBus pa blo gsal's catalogue (the earlier and thus shorter

¹³ Note that Nishioka counts 2,898 works for the two sections, which differs greatly from the number 2,330(/2,337) given by Bu ston. This is despite Nishioka's counting a cluster of works as being one record (in contrast to Bu ston), so that a more thorough examination is needed in this regard.

¹⁴ That the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* includes the individual works contained in the *Chos chung brgya rtsa* in the total number is clear from the total number of works given at the end of chapter 15 of the catalogue (in both its versions), which is 230. See Almogi 2021: 199–200, Appendix B. The titles actually listed in this chapter (including the one entry of the *Chos chung brgya rtsa*) are 139 in the shorter version (I_{JS}1075–I_{JS}1213) or 140 in the longer one, which means that the cataloguer counted 92/91 individual works in the *Chos chung brgya rtsa*. Cf., however, Jampa Samten 2015: 91 nn. 3 & 4, where it is concluded that the *Chos chung brgya rtsa* consists of 100 works (in contradiction to the total number listed in the catalogue and by Jampa Samten's own reckoning).

version states that the total number of works is 2,015, while the very first draft contained even fewer works, that is, around a mere 1,815, including duplicates).¹⁵ The “four earlier great catalogues” referred to by Bu ston are clearly the three imperial catalogues—*lHan/lDan dkar ma*, *'Phang thang ma*, and *mChims phu ma*—and the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar*.¹⁶

Bu ston indirectly refers to the problem of duplicates once again in his religious history, this time in connection with what is referred to as the “Thirty-Two Ra li Works” (*Ra li sum cu rtsa gnyis*), stating the following:¹⁷

[Bc1491 ... – ... Bc1520] *rnam* **Shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur** | **Ra li sum cu rtsa gnyis** *su grags na yang 'di las gzhan ma zlos pa mi snang la 'di dag* **Ga ya dha ras 'Brog mi dang gNyos lo tsā**

¹⁵ On the two versions of the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar*, see Almogi 2021, particularly §4 (pp. 184–192) and appendix B (pp. 196–201), where an outline of the two versions is provided. A critical edition of the two versions is currently under preparation by the present author (see Almogi forthcoming).

¹⁶ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (314.8–12; Nishioka 1983: 119.15–19), where these four “great catalogues” are listed, alongside several minor ones, as the main sources used by Bu ston to compile his title index: *Pho brang stong thang ldan dkar gyi dkar chag dang* | *de'i rjes kyi bSam yas 'chims phu'i dkar chag dang* | *de'i rjes kyi 'Phang thang ka med kyi dkar chag dang* | *phyis sNar thang gi bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag dang* | *lo tsā ba chen pos bsgyur pa dang mdzad pa'i dkar chag dang* | **Klu mes la sogs pa'i mdo rgyud kyi rnam dbye dang khrigs kyi dkar chag la sogs pa gzahir byas nas** | ... Rig ral's *rGyan gyi nyi 'od*, referred to by *dBus pa blo gsal* as “the great catalogue of the Bla [ma],” appears, notably, not to have been one of Bu ston's main sources. See the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (A, 81a3; B, 58a6, Jampa Samten 2015: 118.5): *bla'i dkar chag chen mo* [A: *mo*, B: *po*] *nyid gzahir byas nas*.... Cf. van der Kuijp 2016: 269, where the pertinent passage is cited from the earlier version of the catalogue (MS B), which reads *chen po* instead of *chen mo*, leading to van der Kuijp's somewhat misleading translation “large catalog of the Lama.”

¹⁷ *Bu ston chos 'byung* (265.2–5; Nishioka 1983: 68.24–27).

gnyis ka la bshad pa'i rgya dpe can yin pas bod kyis byas zer ba mi bden no||

These [30 works] are translations by Shākya ye shes. Although [they] are known as the “Thirty-Two Ra li Works,” there are no works other than these that are not duplicates. Moreover, these [works] have Sanskrit originals with [the help of] which Gayādhara expounded [them] to both 'Brog mi and gNyos lo tsā [ba], and thus the claim that they are Tibetan compositions is not true.

In this passage Bu ston makes it clear that he has listed only 30 works (=D383–D411, D413; P28–P57), although the cluster is known as the “Thirty-Two Ra li Works,” implying that the excluded two works were duplicates. Interestingly, he also takes the occasion to address the controversy surrounding the authenticity of this set of works, obviously justifying their inclusion, authenticating them based on reports of the existence of Sanskrit originals.¹⁸

Now, to go back to the *Chos chung brgya rtsa*, there is no doubt that not only the editors of the Old sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* received the works contained in this cluster as a bundle, but also that the editors and their immediate circle (and most importantly their

¹⁸ Regarding this cycle, sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, in his inventory of the funerary rites of the Fifth Dalai Lama, cites these words of Bu ston and then adds a statement of his own concerning the cycle's authenticity. See the *mChod sdong dkar chag* (435.13–18): **bDe mchog Ra li'i skor Chos 'byung las** | 'di rnam **Ra li sum cu rtsa gnyis su grags na'ang** | 'di las gzhan ma zlos pa mi snang la | 'di dag **Ga ya dha ras 'Brog mi dang gNyos lo tsā gnyis ka la bshad pa'i rgya dpe can yin pas bod kyis byas zer ba mi bden no||** zhes gsungs shing | **dBus pa blo gsal | Tshal pa | rGyal rtse bcas dkar chag gsum ka'i bsgrig rtsom la 'dug pas Ra li so gnyis Bus rgyud du ma bcug tshul smra ba mu cor do mngon** |. “Regarding the Cakrasaṃvara-related *Ra li* cycle, since the [Bu ston] *chos 'byung* states that [...], and since [this cycle] is included in all three catalogues compiled for the (i) dBus pa blo gsal (i.e., Old sNar thang), (ii) Tshal pa, and (iii) rGyal rtse (i.e., *Them spangs ma*) [*bKa' 'gyur*] editions, it is obvious that the assertion that Bu [ston] did not include it in the Tantra [section] is nonsensical.”

own teachers) felt a strong doctrinal acceptance of them, and thus a wish to transmit them as a set. Moreover, being generally open to the inclusion of duplicates, they obviously did not see a problem in including the individual works once more in the sections they thematically belonged to, particularly as this would be in conformity with the organizational scheme newly introduced by dBus pa blo gsal. Bu ston's decision to include these duplicates, despite his general policy against this practice, had its effect on later *bsTan 'gyur* editions. Nonetheless, while the editors of the larger mainstream editions (PNG) followed Bu ston in this regard, Zhu chen Tshul khri rin chen (1697–1774; BDRC: P801), the editor of the sDe dge edition, took the liberty to make a rather major organizational change in this particular case and took the cluster out of the Madhayamaka section and in fact out of the *bsTan 'gyur* altogether. In the Tōhoku reprint edition it is found after the Miscellanea (sNa tshogs) section and prior to the two appended catalogues, and contains 103 works altogether (D4465–D4567; see, however, below, note 19). The volume, notably, bears there neither any of the collection's section labels (i.e., as a marginal caption) nor a volume number marking its placement within the edition. Instead it merely bears the distinctive collective marginal caption *Jo bo chos chung*. It thus appears that the *Jo bo chos chung* very probably was NOT an integral part of the sDe dge edition of the *bsTan 'gyur* but was rather appended to it. It is, however, uncertain when and by whom. It also remains unclear for now whether the reasons for Zhu chen's decision to go against this almost 500-year-old tradition were purely editorial, or whether they were motivated by religio-philosophical or religio-political considerations, such as his school affiliation and the geographical distance from the political centre of the dGe lugs hegemony, whose rulers saw themselves as the upholders of the Jo bo's doctrinal legacy. One can of course not entirely rule out economic and logistical factors either. Interestingly, the Peking and the Golden editions have the marginal caption of the entire volume as *Byang chub lam sgron*. This could be a hint that the same was the case in the Fifth Dalai Lama's edition, which served as the principal copy for both.

However, the sNar thang xylograph edition, which is likewise based on the Fifth Dalai Lama's edition, does have, noteworthily enough, the marginal caption mDo for this volume, like the rest of the section. The cluster in all three of these editions, as is the case with the Zhwa lu edition, consists of 103 works (P5378–P5480; G3377–G3479; N3369–N3471).¹⁹ The inclusion of the set in these three editions despite the fact that it contains works already present in the editions and is doxographically heterogeneous is not at all surprising, since they all, like their principal copy, were produced in dGe lugs circles (though admittedly under considerable rNying ma influence in the case of the principal copy and GN).

It was mentioned above that the Tshal pa *bsTan 'gyur* edition did not include the *Jo bo chos chung* as a separate cluster. This is not only an expression of the absence of any particular hold the set had on its editors and sponsors, but is also very much in line with their general policy of avoiding duplicates. It appears that the edition commissioned by the Third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339; BDR: P66), which was prepared by Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje (1309–1364; BDR: P4525), did not contain it either, to judge by its catalogue (i.e., *Rang rdor bstan dkar-1*). Interestingly, the second *bsTan 'gyur* catalogue found in the collected writings of the Third Karma pa (i.e., *Rang rdor bstan dkar-2*)—which likewise states that it is a catalogue to an edition prepared as a reverential object for this master, but nonetheless appears to have been compiled or rearranged and supplemented long after his death—makes it evident that the *bsTan 'gyur* edition in question did contain the *Jo bo chos chung* cluster, stating the following:²⁰

¹⁹ Note, however, that there is no complete correlation between the 103 works found in the sDe dge set and the 103 found in the Peking, Golden, and sNar thang sets: (a) D4567 (=D3916) has no equivalent in PNG, and (b) Tōkoku erroneously catalogues two works under D4531 (ones equivalent to P5444 and P5445).

²⁰ *Rang rdor bstan dkar-2* (707.3–4).

Khu pa'i nang du | **Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma la sogs Jo bo rje'i chos chung brgya rtsar grags pa bzhugs** | 'di'i nang gi gzhung 'ga' zhig gzhan du yang yod mod 'dir yang thams cad phyogs mthun gyi dbang gis bris pa'ol.

Volume Khu contains what is known as the *Jo bo rje'i chos chung brgya rtsa*, which [includes] the *Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*, etc. Although several works in this [set] are also found elsewhere [in the present collection], [they] were written here, too, because they all belong to the same category (i.e., all were composed by *Adhīśa or by scholars of his circle and the like).

I have pointed out elsewhere that this *bsTan 'gyur* edition included a revision made by Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419; BDRC: P64) of the Tibetan translation of the *Pradīpoddyotana*, Candrakīrti's commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*.²¹ The inclusion of this version and the *Jo bo chos chung* is clearly a hint that the editor of this second *bsTan 'gyur* edition must have had close ties with the dGe lugs tradition. His identity and his connection with the Third Karma pa or, perhaps more likely, the Karma bKa' brgyud tradition as a whole, is yet to be determined.

Another rather early *bsTan 'gyur* edition for which we have a catalogue (written in two parts, one part to the Sūtra section and one to the Tantra section) is the Mustang edition prepared by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456; BDRC: P1132) in 1447. According to the catalogue, this edition contained the set—likewise referred to there as the *Chos chung brgya rtsa* composed by the great Jo bo²²—but not the individual duplicates in the pertinent sections as in some of the other collections. It is notable that the set there contains fewer works than in other editions. The

²¹ See Almogi 2020: 116 n. 19, 201 n. 288.

²² See the *Glo bo bstan dkar* (A, 297a1–298a4; B, 290.16–293.2): **Zhi pa la** | **Jo** [B: jo, A: ngo] **bo chen po rjes mdzad pa'i Chos chung brgya rtsa grags pa la** [B: la, A: las] | [...] *rnam bzhugs so* | |. The set appears to make up there the entire volume Zhi.

two parts of the Mustang *bsTan 'gyur* catalogue are yet to be edited, but a brief examination has shown that Ngor chen lists there merely 82 works (or 83, if we assume a textual corruption in one instance), seven of which are not included in the set as we know it from other *bsTan 'gyurs*, one of them being wholly unidentifiable. The Mustang set occasionally also differs in terms of the organization/order of the works. This could suggest that the set attained the form we know it today (which by and large can be traced back to the Zhwa lu edition) at a rather later point in time, certainly not in the first decades after *Adhīśa's time.

Although Ngor chen does not discuss the issue of duplicates, it seems that, in general, his policy in this regard was not to include ones, which explains why he did not include the works of the *Jo bo chos chung* individually. Moreover, unlike the editor of the Tshal pa edition, he opted for presenting the works as a set rather than separately in the sections they thematically/doxographically belong to, perhaps an indication of the generally greater affinity the Sa skya school had with the bKa' gdams tradition, in comparison, that is, to the Tshal pa tradition. I have been able to locate merely two instances in which Ngor chen consciously includes duplicates, in both cases consisting of (allegedly) different translations of the same work. The first instance involves a *sādhana* by Ratnākaraśānti (early 11th cent.), concerning which Ngor chen states the following:²³

sGrub thabs 'khrul spong dang | [...] *rnam slob dpon Shānti pas mdzad pa* | [...] *Kye rdo rje'i sgrub thabs 'khrul 'joms 'di sngar gyi 'khrul spong dang 'gyur khyad du 'dug kyang* | *bsTan 'gyur snga ma na bris 'dug pa ltar bzhag go* |

²³ *Glo bo rdo rje theg pa'i bstan dkar* (A, 272a3–5; B, 244.6–12). Note, however, that the MS version (7a1–5) reads differently: *sGrub thabs 'khrul spong Shānti pas mdzad pa* | [...] *Kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs 'khrul 'joms Rin chen 'byung gnas zhi bas mdzad pa* | *De ba ka ra tsandra dang Shākya 'od kyi 'gyur* ||. It is notable that there is no comment here regarding the duplicate and also the ascription of the translation of the latter version to Shākya 'od in collaboration with Devākaracandra.

The *sGrub thabs 'khrul spong*, [...]; these were composed by *ācārya Śāntipa*. [...] The *Kye rdo rje'i sgrub thabs 'khrul 'joms*; although this is [merely] a different translation of the *'khrul spong* [mentioned] earlier, [I] kept it, just as it is found entered in previous *bsTan 'gyurs*.

There appears to be only one such work by Ratnākaraśānti in the *bsTan 'gyur* (D1245/P2374), and I have not been able to locate a second one in any of the available catalogues either, so that it is unclear which *bsTan 'gyur* editions Ngor chen is referring to here. One would assume that it is possibly editions prepared at Sa skya. It is not to be ruled out that the other translation has been transmitted without any authorship ascription (as in Ngor chen's catalogue), but this will require a more in-depth research.

The second instance concerns two versions of a ritual manual, also by Ratnākaraśānti, which likewise represent different translations:²⁴

Srung ba lnga'i cho ga Shānti pas mdzad pa bKra shis rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur | *Srung ba lnga'i cho ga Shānti pas mdzad pa Nam mkha' rdo rje'i 'gyur* | *'di dang gong ma gnyis 'gyur khyad tsam ma gtogs gcig par snang ngo* | |

The *Srung ba lnga'i cho ga* composed by Ratnākaraśānti [and] translated by bKra shis rgyal mtshan; the *Srung ba lnga'i cho ga* composed by Ratnākaraśānti [and] translated by Nam mkha' rdo rje. These two, this [latter] and the previous one, appear to be the same [text], except that they are different translations.

There are indeed two works in the *bsTan 'gyur* bearing this title, one (D3126/P3947) ascribed to Ratnākaraśānti, which was translated by bKra shis rgyal mtshan (b. 11th cent.; BDRC: P2168) in cooperation with Muditaśrījñāna and revised by Chag lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal (1197–1263/4; BDRC: P1025), and another (D3596/P4418) with no specification of the author. This latter, however, is a part of the collection known as *sGrub thabs rgya*

²⁴ *Glo bo rdo rje theg pa'i bstan dkar* (A, 284a5–6; B, p. 266.1–4).

mtsho, which was translated by Yar lung lo tsā ba Grag pa rgyal mtshan (on which see below, §3.3) and is indeed a different text. No such work with a translation ascription to Nam mkha' rdo rje could be located.²⁵

²⁵ To be noted is the corresponding record in the Tshal pa catalogue, where the translation of the work is ascribed to rNgog lo tsā ba. See the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (48b5; Jampa Samten 2016: 110): *bSrung pa lnga'i cho ga Shan ti bas mdzad pa Blo ldan shes rab kyi 'gyur*l. Jampa Samten supplements five individual titles, as follows: [T1235] [*sTong chen mo'i cho ga*], [T1236] [*rMa bya chen mo'i cho ga*], [T1237] [*gSang sngags rjes su 'brang ma'i cho ga*], [T1238] [*bSil ba'i tshal gyi cho ga*], [T1239] [*So so 'brang ma'i bsgrub cho ga*], and directs the reader to compare these titles with D3587/P4409, D3586/P4408, D3588/P4410, D3589/P4411, D3585/P4407, respectively. These latter, however, are a part of the aforementioned *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*, whose translation is ascribed to Yar lung lo tsā ba and whose authorship remains anonymous; they are indeed recorded in the Tshal pa catalogue within the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho* collection (T1577–T1581), whereas the equivalent to D3596/P4418 mentioned above is likewise recorded there within this same cluster (T1588). A close examination of the text in question found in the Tshal pa edition (section II (rGyud sde), vol. Tse(78), 158a1–162b2) shows that it is nothing but a different translation of the text contained in the above-mentioned D3126/P3947, that is, the one authored by Ratnākaraśānti and translated by bKra shis rgyal mtshan (Jampa Samten's assignment of five different catalogue numbers for this entry is thus unjustified). As the translation of the Tshal pa version is ascribed to rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, we are yet to locate the one by Nam mkha' rdo rje reported in the *Glo bo rdo rje theg pa'i bstan dkar*. Of some interest is perhaps the record immediately following the record under discussion in the Tshal pa catalogue and whose translation is ascribed to Nam mkha' rdo rje. See *ibid.* (48b5): [T1240] *So so 'brang ma'i 'khor lo'i sems byang Klu grub kyis mdzad pa Nam mkha' rdo rje'i 'gyur*l. Unlike the one recorded by Ngor chen, this latter work could be identified (D3117/P3938). At any rate, it seems that such small ritual manuals made the compilers' and editors' undertaking rather difficult, since they have often been confused with one another and/or ascribed to different authors, and their translations to different translators, and since they were often transmitted both separately and as parts of a collection.

Moreover, although the editors of the Tshal pa *bsTan 'gyur* edition do not explicitly express their policy regarding duplicates, there are several instances that testify, by way of interlineage glosses, to an overall policy to avoid them. As I remarked elsewhere, the glosses and annotations found in the manuscript containing the Tshal pa catalogue can be classified into two groups, one consisting of interlinear annotations, which appear to be written in the same hand as the main text (and thus perhaps should be considered integral part of the catalogue), and a second consisting of marginal annotations, which are written in a different hand and are thus clearly later additions.²⁶ The catalogue records with marginal annotations referring to duplicates cited below all belong to the first group. The following is one such instance, concerning the commentary on the *Guhyasamājantra* by Nāgārjuna (for a discussion of this authorship ascription, see below, §4.1, example (b)), the catalogue record and its pertinent gloss reading as follows:²⁷

Cha pa la [T97; = DØ/PØ] *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i 'grel pa rgyud kyi bshad pa zhes bya ba slob dpon 'phags pa Klu sgrub*²⁸ *kyis mdzad pa*^[a] *stong phrag dgu pa gZhon nu tshul khriims kyis bsgyur ba'i stod bzhugs pa* | **Ja pa** la [continuation of T97; = DØ/PØ] *de'i smad le'u bcwa brgyad pa yan chad dang* | [TØ²⁹; = D1798/P2663] *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga nyi shu pa slob dpon Klu sgrub*³⁰ *kyis mdzad pa* | **Rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur** | ^[a] {**sNar thang gi bsTan 'gyur la rTsa rgyud dang rGyud phyi ma'i 'grel pa so so phye ba slob**

²⁶ See Almogi 2021: 174–175 n. 30.

²⁷ *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (9a5–7; Jampa Samten 2016: 15).

²⁸ sgrub] *em.*, grub Ms

²⁹ Note that Jampa Samten erroneously understands the gloss to be referring to the immediately following title, for which he therefore does not assign a catalogue number.

³⁰ sgrub] *em.*, grub Ms

*dpon Klu sgrub*³¹ *kyis mdzad pa Thig le bum pa'i 'gyur 'dug na'ang 'di dang gcig*³² *du 'dug pas ma bris so || }*

The gloss states that the commentaries on the *Guhyasamājantra* and on its *uttaratantra* composed by Nāgārjuna, which were translated by Tilakakalaśa and [are included] in the (Old) sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* as [two] independent [works], are together identical with the one just recorded under one title with a translation ascription to gZhon nu tshul khirms, and therefore they were not entered in the Tshal pa *bsTan 'gyur*. The two entries in dBus pa blo gsal's catalogue—where, however, the translations are ascribed to Mantrakalaśa and Kumārakalaśa, respectively—read as follows:³³

[I_{1s}273 = D1784a/P2648] *slob dpon chen po 'Phags pa Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i 'grel pa Man tra ka la sha'i*³⁴ *rang 'gyur |* [I_{1s}274; D1798/P2663] *dKyil 'khor*³⁵ *cho ga nyi shu pa Rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur |* [I_{1s}275; = D1784b/P2649] *slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i gSang 'dus le'u bcwo*³⁶ *brgyad pa'i rgya cher 'grel gZhon nu bum pa'i rang 'gyur |*

The translation ascribed to gZhon nu tshul khirms was not included in the Old sNar thang edition and has not been transmitted in any of the mainstream editions either.

Another instance in the Tshal pa catalogue where it is reported that the inclusion of duplicates was avoided concerns the *Suviśadasamputahevajratikā*, a commentary on the *Hevajratantra* written by *Ṭaṅkādāsa/*Kāyastha (fl. 10th–11th cent.), the

³¹ sgrub] *em.*, grub Ms

³² gcig] *em.*, cig Ms

³³ dBus pa blo gsal *bstan dkar* (A, 17a1–2; B, 12b5–7).

³⁴ sha'i] *em.*, shu'i AB

³⁵ 'khor] B, chog A

³⁶ bcwo] B, bcwa A

catalogue entry for which is glossed in a similar fashion, as follows:³⁷

[T512; =D1184/P2314] *rGyud kyi rgyal po kye'i rdo rje'i 'grel pa kha sbyor shin tu dri ma med pa Dha ka dha shas mdzad pa Shong Blo brtan gyis bsgyur ba rnams bzhugs|| {'di dang Ka yastha bgres pos mdzad pa'i dGyes pa rdo rje'i 'grel pa [=D1190/P2321] gnyis gcig tu 'dug pas ma bris so|}*

The author of the gloss makes it clear that the commentary by *Ṭaṅkādāsa translated (in collaboration with Vimalaśrībhadra) by Shong Blo gros brtan pa (b. 13th cent.; BDRC: P1052) is the same as the one that goes under the authorship of *Vṛddhakāyastha (“Old/Aged Scribe”)—an epithet of *Ṭaṅkādāsa³⁸—and was translated (in collaboration with Sādhurakṣita) by Glan Dar ma blo gros (fl. 11th cent.; BDRC: P8203), and therefore it was not included in the Tshal pa edition. The Old sNar thang edition does include these duplicates (I_{js}114 & I_{js}183), possibly without recognizing that they are the same work. This was probably also the case with Bu ston’s religious history (Bc2255 & Bc2267). Bu ston, however, recognized that the two were the same work during the compilation of his Zhwa lu edition at the latest, for it includes only one version, namely, as in the Tshal pa edition, the translation by Shong Blo gros brtan pa, a translator affiliated with the Sa skya tradition.³⁹ This is very much in line with what appears to be his general tendency to give preference to later (alleged) retranslations/revisions, and those, too, ones done by translators closer to circles he was part of. Interestingly, the

³⁷ *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (25a2–3).

³⁸ For this identification, see Tāranātha’s *Seven Instruction Lineages* as translated in Templeman 1983: 63–64 (which reads, however, Kāyasthavṛddha). For a brief discussion of the Tibetan renderings of *Ṭaṅkādāsa (or its variants), the Sanskrit reconstructions of its(?) Tibetan renderings, and the Sanskrit reconstruction of Mi thub zla ba (usually Tib. for Durjayacandra) as *Ṭaṅkādāsa found in MSS A and B of the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar*, see Almqvist 2021: 191.

³⁹ See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (439.6–7).

duplicate omitted by Bu ston eventually found its way back to the *bsTan 'gyur*.⁴⁰ It should be noted here in passing that the translation by Shong Blo gros brtan pa is far from being an independent one, for it undoubtedly heavily relied on Glan Dar ma blo gros's translation (a brief comparison of the two translations shows that large portions of them are virtually identical), but this is not acknowledged in any way in the colophon, which otherwise is rather lengthy and even goes into details seldom found in canonical colophons, such as providing the scribe's name. The Sanskrit original—which would allow us to evaluate the two translations to see whether Shong Blo brtan's is an improvement on the earlier one—has unfortunately not survived.⁴¹

A third instance concerns two translations, one bearing the title *rGyu gdags pa* (**Kāraṇaprajñapti*) and the other *rGyu gdags pa don rig*, Ye shes sde being given as the translator in both cases. The Tshal pa catalogue includes an entry of the former and mentions the latter in a gloss to it as follows:⁴²

[T2444; =D4087/P5588] *rGyu gdags pa Ye shes sde'i 'gyur* |
 {'di la 'ga' zhig na *rGyu gdags pa don rig* [=DØ/PØ] zhes pa
 'dug na'ang *rGyu gdags pa dang gcig par 'dug pas ma bris so* | }

The gloss, referring to the *rGyu gdags pa don rig*, states that although it is found in some other collections, it was not included in the Tshal pa edition since it is identical with the *rGyu gdags pa*

⁴⁰ It is unclear when the duplicate was included again. The *sNe'u gdong* edition, compiled several decades after the Zhwa lu one, did not include it, to judge from its catalogue. See the *sNe'u gdong bstan dkar* (379.2), where one would expect the record of the equivalent of D1190 (the equivalent of D1184 is recorded in *ibid.* 378.7). Since both versions are found in the mainstream editions and since we know that the latter were based on copies descending from the Zhwa lu edition rather than on the Zhwa lu edition itself, the duplicate must have been added into one of these later copies.

⁴¹ See Isaacson & Sferra 2015: 476.

⁴² *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (85b5).

just recorded. One of the collections to include both versions of the work is clearly the Old sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur*, as testified to by dBus pa blo gsal's catalogue, where the two are recorded successively (I_{JS}1065 & I_{JS}1066). The two imperial catalogues, and Rig ral's catalogue as well, merely record the *rGyu gdags pa* (L276/K244/Rr7.8), as is the case with Bu ston's religious history (Bc484) and his catalogue to the Zhwa lu *bsTan 'gyur*.⁴³ The mainstream *bsTan 'gyur* editions followed suit. It is unclear which the other editions/collections indicated by the gloss as including both works are. Nonetheless, one edition to do so is the aforementioned fifteenth-century Mustang *bsTan 'gyur* compiled by Ngor chen, as recorded in its catalogue.⁴⁴

To sum up, it seems that the general tendency in various circles, including Tshal pa, Zhwa lu, and Sa skya, was to avoid duplicates. While there may well have been economic and logistical reasons for this, we have seen that the decision to admit duplicates or else to include one and exclude the other was not completely unaffected by personal agendas and predilections, influenced in turn by various factors, including mainly school affiliation and religio-philosophical motives.

3. Policies concerning Organization: Inclusion of Existing Clusters

We indirectly touched upon the issue of organization in the previous section while discussing the *Jo bo chos chung* in the context of policies concerning duplicates, namely, the adoption of already existing sets or units of works and their inclusion in the Canon as clusters, more or less as they previously existed. Apart from the *Jo bo chos chung*, the editors of the Canon adopted several

⁴³ See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (607.7–608.1) for the entry of the *rGyu gdags pa*.

⁴⁴ *Glo bo bstan dkar* (A, 298b3; B, 293.18–19): *rGyu gdags pa Ye shes sde'i 'gyur* | [...] *rGyu gdags pa'i don rig* [em.: rig, AB: rigs] *pa Ye shes sde'i 'gyur* |.

other existing clusters of works, which served as building blocks for the projected collections. While this phenomenon has been discussed in the past in the context of the *bKa' 'gyur* on several occasions, little has been said in this regard in the context of the *bsTan 'gyur*. In the following I shall therefore discuss several such clusters found in the *bsTan 'gyur* in the hope of narrowing this gap. Such clusters commonly consist of works that have some shared characteristics. That is, they either contain works associated with one particular person, be it their author or their translator (or both), such as in the case of the *Jo bo chos chung*, or are thematically related. In addition to the *Jo bo chos chung*, I have been able to identify five such clusters in the *bsTan 'gyur*. While all five consist of *sadhānas*, four of them consist of *sadhānas* translated by the same *lo tsā ba*, two of *sadhānas* that are thematically connected, and one of *sadhānas* by the same author. In the following I shall discuss each of these clusters, attempting, among other things, to trace their origin.

3.1. *Ba ri'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa*

One such set is what is known as the *Ba ri'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa* (or *Ba ri'i brgya rtsa* for short), which, as hinted at by its name, contain *sādhanas* (most of) which were translated by Ba ri lo tsā ba Rin chen grags (1040–1112; BDRC: P3731), the second Sa skya Khri chen (term of office 1103–1110), also known under the aliases Dharma grags, Chos kyi grags, Dharmakīrti,⁴⁵ or simply as Khams pa Ba ri lo tsā ba.⁴⁶ The earliest catalogue record of it seems to be the one found in Rig ral's *rGyan gyi nyi 'od*, under the section

⁴⁵ For the aliases Dharma grags / Chos kyi grags, see Schaeffer 2000: 370.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Almogi 2020: 15 n. 3. Note that the BDRC erroneously has a separate entry for Khams pa lo tsā ba Ba ri Dharmakīrti alias Ba ri Chos grags (b. 11th cent.; BDRC: P4CZ10547), which has been now withdrawn in the new website (BUDA).

containing works translated by Ba ri lo tsā ba.⁴⁷ Both dBus pa blo gsal, in his *bsTan 'gyur* catalogue, and Bu ston, in his religious history, list it as *A Collection of Sadhānas* (*sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*) translated by Rin chen bzang po and Ba ri.⁴⁸ Bu ston, in the third chapter of his religious history, also reports that Ba ri lo tsā ba invited Amoghavajra to Tibet and that he then translated various works with him, among them the collection under discussion.⁴⁹ The cluster was also included in the Tshal pa edition, as testified to by its catalogue, where the translations are ascribed to Ba ri lo tsā ba alone.⁵⁰ The Tshal pa catalogue, unlike the other three sources just mentioned (i.e., the *rGyan gyi nyi 'od*, *dBus pa blo gsal*

⁴⁷ See the *rGyan gyi nyi 'od* (Rr26.141): *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa* [R: *rtsa*; N: *rtsa brgyad*]. Version N, adding the syllable *brgyad*, quotes the total number as 108, but this is apparently a later, erroneous addition.

⁴⁸ See the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (A, 30a6; B, 24a3–4): [I]s629] *bla ma Ba ri lo tsha ba dang Rin chen bzang pos bsgyur ba'i sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*^[*] *dang* | ...^[*] Note that, as noted by Jampa Samten, MS B glosses *brgya rtsa* as *cung med* (“a few [texts] are missing”). I thank Nicola Bajetta for drawing my attention to the fact that a reversed *na* (*na*) could be an abbreviation for *med*. See also the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (301.10–11): [Bc2650]^[*] *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa Rin chen bzang po dang Ba ri'i 'gyur* | .^[*] Note that Nishioka fails to identify this cluster; cf., however, below note 51.

⁴⁹ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (204.4–6): **Ba ri Rin chen grags kyis paṇḍi ta Don yod rdo rje spyān drangs te Don zhags** (P4842/DØ) *dang Srung ba lnga dang* | **rNam rgyal rnam 'joms kyī skor dang bDe mchog gi skor dang** | *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa la sogs pa bsgyur rol* | .

⁵⁰ See the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (49a7–51a7; Jampa Samten 2016: §2.15.7.1 (pp. 111–117)): *Ba ri'i bsgrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa la* | [... T1255–T1342 ...] *lo tsha ba dge slong Ba ris bsgyur ba'o* | | {*rnam la chos grangs brgya bcu rtsa brgyad bzhugs*}. Also this annotation belongs to the first group of annotations written in the same hand as the main text and thus perhaps should be considered integral part of the catalogue (on this issue, see above, p. 372). To be noted, however, is that the entire cluster is missing from the volume in which it is expected to be found as reported in the catalogue (i.e., section II (*rGyud sde*), vol. Tse(78)), and it is yet to be seen whether it is found in another volume of the collection.

bstan dkar, and *Bu ston chos 'byung*), lists the individual titles. Moreover, the number of works contained in this cluster seems to vary from one edition to another. *Bu ston*, when providing the total number of works in the section “Various Sādhana-s” (*sGrub thabs sna tshogs kyi skor*) of his title index, states that the total number in the *Ba ri* set is 95.⁵¹ The *Tshal pa* catalogue lists altogether 88 works.⁵² With the help of the list provided by *Bu ston* in his catalogue to the *Zhwa lu bsTan 'gyur* edition, which names 94(93) works in total, the cluster contained in the *Zhwa lu* edition could be identified as consisting of the equivalents of

⁵¹ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (302.7–8): ... [~~Bc2677~~ (actually = Bc2650)][†] *Ba ri'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa la dgu bcu rtsa lnga ste...* Note that Nishioka failed to recognize that this phrase is not a separate bibliographical record but a part of *Bu ston's* concluding statement about the section “Various Sādhana-s” (§XXVIII *sGrub thabs sna tshogs kyi skor*), in which he provides the total number of works listed in it (464), while specifying the number of works included in the already listed *Ba ri'i brgya rtsa* as 95. In other words, the *Ba ri'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa* mentioned here is a reference to Bc2650, so that the catalogue number Bc2677 is superfluous here. Nishioka, however, recognized which set was meant in this case (in contrast to Bc2650), identifying it correctly as equivalent to P4127–P4220. Note that the catalogue number Bc2677 should have been assigned to the previous title recorded by *Bu ston*, for which Nishioka has not assigned a number at all. For more on this issue, see §3.5.

⁵² The annotation at the end of the list provided in the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* gives the total number as 88 (see above, note 50), which indeed matches the number of titles counted by *Jampa Samten* (T1255–T1342). As noted by *Jampa Samten*, his §2.15.7.1 (*Ba ri'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa*) includes altogether 138 works, with an additional 50 works (T1343–T1392). See *Jampa Samten* 2016: 119 n. 1. It would have been better, however, to assign a separate paragraph heading/number to the 50 works rather than list them under the heading *Ba ri'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa*. Also to be noted is that several of the listed 88 works have not been transmitted in either the *sDe dge* or *Peking* edition (to judge from their titles), and others only in the *Peking* edition.

D3306–D3399 / P4127–P4220.⁵³ Moreover, all of these works appear to have been translated by Ba ri, except for D3307/P4128 and D3311/P4132, which are translations by Rin chen bzang po. Most interestingly, despite the great similarity between the list found in the Tshal pa catalogue and the one in the Zhwa lu catalogue, there is no perfect overlap between the two. Not only, as shown by Jampa Samten, does the Tshal pa catalogue list fewer works for this cluster (88 vs. 94(/93)), but also several of the titles listed in the Tshal pa catalogue cannot be identified as any of the works contained in the available *bsTan 'gyur* editions (at least as far as one can judge from their titles). A final conclusion in this regard, however, can only be reached through a comparison of the actual texts once they surface. As expected, the first catalogue of the Third Karma pa edition provides a list that appears to be identical with the one in the Tshal pa edition.⁵⁴ The second catalogue associated with the Third Karma pa merely mentions the collection—along with the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho* collection (on which see below) and two additional *sādhanas*—without listing the individual works.⁵⁵ Ngor chen, in his catalogue to his Mustang *bsTan 'gyur* edition, unfortunately does not provide a list of the individual titles either, only giving the total number as 96.⁵⁶

⁵³ Note, however, that the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* gives the total number as 93, while actually listing 94 works. See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (A, 549.3; B, 773.7–A, 552.5–6; B, 777.3–4): **Ba ri ba'i** [B: ba'i, A: bale?] **sgrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa las** | [...] *de rnam paṅḍi ta* **Don yod rdo rje dang** | *lo tsā ba* **Ba ri** [B: ri, A: mi] **Chos kyī grags pa'i 'gyur** | *de rnam la chos kyī rnam grangs dgu bcu go gsum yod de* |.

⁵⁴ See the *Rang rdor bstan dkar-1* (505.1–509.1): **Ba ri'i bsgrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa la** | [...] *paṅ ḍi ta* **Don yod rdo rje dang** | *lo tsā ba dge slong* **Ba ris bsgyur ba'ol** |.

⁵⁵ See the *Rang rdor bstan dkar-2* (670.4–5): **Tu pa la** | **sGrub thabs rgya mtsho dang** | **sGrub thabs brgya rtsa dang** | [...] *rnam bzhugs so* |.

⁵⁶ See the *Glo bo rdo rje theg pa'i bstan dkar* (A, 282b3; B, 263.1–2): **bla ma Ba ri lo tstsha bas bsgyur ba'i sGrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa la sgrub thabs dgu bcu go drug bzhugs pa** |. Ngor chen did prepare, however, a separate list (*tho yig*) of the individual works contained in the *Ba ri'i brgya rtsa*,

From the information gathered thus far two things have become clear, namely, (i) that the expression *brgya rtsa* should not be taken literally to mean “hundred and some” but should be understood as denoting “collection,” in general—similar to the function the word *'bum* (100,000) has (the best-known example is the term *rgyud 'bum*, which denotes a “(large) collection of *tantras*,” whereas for denoting a “(large) collection of *sūtras*” the term *mdo mang* is used, with the word “many” instead of “100,000”)—and one that contains *around* 100 works (i.e., a relatively small one), in particular,⁵⁷ and (ii) that although the set as such was known to the tradition, its contents were not necessarily always exactly the same, in terms of either the number of works, the works themselves, or the order in which they were arranged.

which was reproduced by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his *Records of Teachings Received*, on which see below. In his own *Records of Teachings Received*, Ngor chen provides the transmission lineage of the authorization ritual (*rjes gnang*) without listing the individual works, but likewise states the total number to be 96. See *Ngor chen gyi thob yig* (213.15–214.1) *yang sGrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa sgrub thabs dgu bcu go drug gi lung dang bcas pa rjes gnang gi brgyud pa ni*.... He also records receiving from Chos rje Ye shes rgyal mtshan the reading transmission (*lung*) of the commentaries on the *Ba ri'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa* by rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216; BDRC: P1614). See *ibid.* (217.12): ... *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa'i t̄i kal*.... These commentaries are also recorded by Ngor chen in his catalogue to the writings of this master, where he specifies that they include small commentaries to each of the 96 *sādhanas*, one general introduction, and an outline of each, collectively known as *sGrub thabs bsdus pa'i yig sna*. See the *rJe btsun sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag* (312.6–8): *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa la gzhung dgu bcu go drug yod pa'i t̄ika chung re re spyi'i rnam gzhas gcig sa bcad re re dang bcas pa la sGrub thabs bsdus pa'i yig sna zhes grags pa rnam bzhugs so* | |.

⁵⁷ Another term for collection containing the element *'bum* is *be'u 'bum*. To be noted, however, is that the term is known in various spellings of both its components, including *bum* rather than *'bum*, and it appears that *'bum* is in fact a secondary reading. The first syllable is also found spelt *be*, *pe*, or *dpe*, but this specific term need not concern us here.

Finally, a few words should be said about the origin of this cluster. Ba ri lo tsā ba was a prominent Sa skya master and served as the second Sa skya khri chen. I would like to suggest that the collection of his *sādhana* translations was first compiled at Sa skya monastery (possibly by himself), and that the compilers-cum-editors at sNar thang probably received them (from Sa skya) as a ready-made set. I have not been able to find a source proving this assumption, but the reference by Rig ral to this collection is in itself strong evidence that these *sādhanas* were transmitted as a collection prior to the Canon's compilation. That this collection was also transmitted independently outside the Canon is corroborated by the old (and annotated) manuscript titled *bsGrub thabs brgya rtsa* (BDRC: W4CZ307390), which seems to be an early (though undated) extracanonical version of the *Ba ri brgya rtsa*. Further support for the existence of such a collection outside the Canon is the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Records of Teachings Received*, which traces the line of transmission of the entire collection through early prominent Sa skya masters. Interestingly, the Fifth Dalai Lama employs for his list of works contained in the collection a title list (*tho yig*) prepared by Ngor chen, who is himself recorded as one of the recipients of the transmission, and who, as is well known, was an editor and/or cataloguer of various canonical collections.⁵⁸ Here again, we witness the impact of the

⁵⁸ See the *INga pa chen po'i thob yig* (39.5–6): *sGrub thabs kun las btus pa'i Ba ri brgya rtsa'am sGrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa'i rjes gnang gi rim pa la* [... (list of the works according to a *tho yig* prepared by Ngor chen) ...] (45.10–17): *brgyud pa ni*!

[...]

5. Ba ri lo tsā ba Rin chen grags
6. rJes btsun sa skya chen po [Kun dga' snying po] (1092–1158; BDRC: P1516); 3rd Sa skya khri 'dzin, 1111–1158
7. Slob dpon rin po che [bSod nams rtse mo] (1142–1182; BDRC: P1618); 4th Sa skya khri 'dzin, 1159–1171
8. rJe btsun rin po che [Grag pa rgyal mtshan] (1147–1216; P1614); 5th Sa skya khri 'dzin, 1172–1215
9. Sa paṅ [Kun dga' rgyal mtshan] (1182–1251; BDRC: P1056); 6th Sa skya khri 'dzin, 1216–1243

relatively close ties among Sa skya, sNar thang, and Zhwa lu monasteries upon the formation of the Canon in terms of both content and organization, with their geographical proximity probably also playing a role, whereas the Tshal pa tradition shows greater independency and freedom in both matters.

An insight into the nature and origin of the collection is also offered by the Mongolian scholar U rga mkhan zur Ngag dbang blo bzang don grub (b. 19th cent.; BDRC: P4610) in his *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa gsal bar bkod pa*, a work which aims at elucidating and facilitating the practice of the *sādhanas* and empowerments contained in the *Ba ri'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa*. The introductory remark reads as follows:⁵⁹

de'ang rgyud sde rin po che rnams las lhag pa'i lha'i sgrub thabs du ma zhis gsungs pa las | 'phags yul gyi slob dpon so so thugs dam du bzhes shing sgrub pa'i thabs rgyas bsdus mang du mdzad pa rnams phyogs gcig tu bsdus pa'i gzhung rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum du yod pa las | 'dir bsdus pa sGrub thabs kun las btus pa zhes bya ba | bDag nyid chen po Bā ri lo tstsha ba Rin chen grags pas rGya gar nas gdan drangs te | bsgyur bas Bā ri brgya rtsa 'am sGrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa'i bstan bcos chen po nas bshad pa'i yi dam gyi lha mang po rnams kyi sgrub thabs rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa gsal zhing 'jug pa bde bar dgod par bya ba ste |

Of the three existing [types of] anthologies—large, middle-[sized], and small—of works (*gzhung*) composed in large numbers by Indian masters—[namely], extensive and brief

10. Tshogs sgom Kun dga' dpal (1210–1307; BDRC: P3412)

[...]

16. rDo rje 'chang Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456; BDRC: P1132);

1st Ngor chen, 1429–1456

[...]

25. Za hor bande (Fifth Dalai Lama)

This lineage is recorded by the BDRC under L8LS14648 at <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:L8LS14648>.

⁵⁹ *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa gsal bar bkod pa* (1b5–2a4).

explications and practice manuals (*bzhes shing sgrub pa'i thabs*) concerning the individual tutelary deities (*so so thugs dam*), [which may be found] among the numerous *sādhanas* concerning tutelary deities (*lhag pa'i lha*) taught in the precious Tantric scriptures—I shall here elucidate and facilitate access to the *sādhanas* and empowerments of the numerous tutelary deities (*yi dam gyi lha*) expounded in the great treatises of the *Anthology of Sādhanas* (*sGrub thabs kun las btus pa*), which is [of the] small [type], and which [contains *sādhanas*] brought from India by bDag nyid chen po Ba ri lo tsā ba Rin chen grags and then translated [by him] and are therefore [collectively] known as the *Ba ri'i brgya rtsa*, or *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*.

3.2. *rNam 'joms kyi sgrub thabs brgya rtsa*

There exists another group of *sādhanas* that were transmitted in the *bsTan 'gyur* as a set likewise called *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*. The various cataloguers state (with slight variation) that this collection contains *sādhanas* composed by Dīpaṃkara(bhadra), Jñānavajra, Padma(vajra)—one (D3049/P3873) is, however, by Padmākara (Padma 'byung gnas), which is clearly unlikely to be referring to Padmasambhava, but, rather, might well be an alias of Padmavajra—and others. Rig ral does not seem to list this cluster in his *rGyan gyi nyi 'od*, the catalogue to the Old sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* appearing, to the best of my knowledge, to be the earliest bibliographical record of it, where its title is specified as *rNam 'joms kyi sgrub thabs brgya rtsa* (*A Collection of [Vajra]vidāraṇā Sādhanas*). The scepticism regarding this set of *sādhanas*, however, expressed there with the help of the verb *zer ba*, is notable.⁶⁰ Bu ston, in his religious history, records the set using a formulation identical with that of dBus pa blo gsal, down to the employment

⁶⁰ See the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (A, 27b4–5; B, 22a2–3): [I]s556] yang slob dpon **Mar me mdzad bzang po dang** | **Pad ma dang** | **Ye shes rdo rje la sogs pas mdzad zer ba'i rNam 'joms kyi sgrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa rnam dang** |.

of the verb *zer ba*.⁶¹ As recorded in its catalogue, the Tshal pa edition also contains this collection. The catalogue record, however, slightly differs from the two just mentioned in that it omits *zer ba*. The collection there is simply called *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*, but it is listed there under the subsection *rNam 'joms kyi skor*,⁶² so that its connection with the deity Vajraavidāraṇā is evident. The Tshal pa catalogue also remarks that (some of) the *sādhanas* include the pertinent *maṇḍala* rituals.⁶³

None of these three catalogues lists the individual works, so that neither their identity nor their exact total number can be determined (though, to judge by the total number of works given in the catalogues for the entire pertinent section/chapter, the set contained around 100 *sādhanas*⁶⁴). Nonetheless, later *bsTan 'gyur*

⁶¹ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (271.12–13): [Bc1714] *slob dpon Mar me mdzad bzang po dang | Padma dang | Ye shes rdo rje la sogs pas mdzad zer ba'i rNam 'joms sgrub thabs brgya rtsa rnams dang |*.

⁶² See Jampa Samten 2015: 39, §8.5.

⁶³ See the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (42b4–5): [T1035] *slob dpon Ye shes rdo rje dang | slob dpon Pad ma | Mar me mdzad rnams kyi mdzad pa'i dkyil 'khor cho ga dang bcas pa'i bsGrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa rnams so | |*.

⁶⁴ Both versions of the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* give the total number of works in chapter 8 (*sPyod dang bya pa'i rgyud kyi skor*) as 270. See Almogi 2021: Appendix B, pp. 197–198, particularly nn. 108–110. Since the number of titles recorded amounts to 172 (in MS B; I_{1s}457–I_{1s}628) or 177 (in MS A), the set appears to have contained 99 or 94 works, respectively. Bu ston, in his religious history, counts within the Kriyātantra section (*Bya ba'i rgyud kyi dgongs 'grel*) altogether 349 works. See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (273.25; Nishioka 1983: 77.34–78.1): *sum brgya zhe dgu'o | |*). Since there are 245 individual entries (as counted by Nishioka) in this section (Bc1554–Bc1798), the set recorded there appears to have consisted of 105 works. An annotation found in the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* at the end of §2.15.2.6 (as edited in Jampa Samten 2016) counts 268 works in total for the sections concerning Vajrapāṇi (Phyag na rdo rje), including §2.15.2.1–§2.15.2.6 (T877–T1035). See the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (42b5; Jampa Samten 2016: 95): *de dag ni dPal phyag na rdo rje'i skor rnams rim par phyé ba'o | | {la nyis brgya drug bcu rtsa brgyad bzhugs}*. Also this annotation belongs to the first group and thus is probably an integral part of the

catalogues allow us to identify the set as consisting of D2942–D3049 / P3767–P3873, with a total of 108 *sādhana*s.⁶⁵ The earliest available list, also with altogether 108 titles,⁶⁶ seems to be that offered by Bu ston in his catalogue to the Zhwa lu *bsTan 'gyur* edition, where he retains a sceptical tone (by way of the verb *zer ba*).⁶⁷ In this case, too, the record in the catalogue to the Third

catalogue (on this issue, see above, p. 372). Since T877–T1034 contain altogether 158 titles (according to Jampa Samten's counting), the *sādhana* collection included in the Tshal pa edition must have contained 110 works (note that Jampa Samten erroneously concludes that it must have been 100 works). See Jampa Samten 2016: 95 n. 1.

⁶⁵ Note that due to transmissional error in the larger *bsTan 'gyur* editions (PNG) their respective modern catalogues count 107 instead of 108 works in total. The transmissional error lies in the fact that there is no correspondence between D, vol. Pu fol. 62ab and P, vol. Tu, fols. 68b1–69b3. This affects the presumed equivalents D3003/PØ, D3004/P3828, D3005/P3829, and D3006/P3830. The beginning of P3828 corresponds to that of D3003 but its end to that of D3004, as a result of which no equivalent to D3003 is recorded for the larger editions (PNG). The remaining portions of text differ from each other. Moreover, there is no textual correspondence between D3005 and P3829. The textual correspondence resumes in the middle of the second sentence of D3006/P3830. In short, while in P the transmissional error consists in missing text resulting in the conflation of two works into one (P3828), with the end of the first and the beginning of the second being missing, in D it appears to be the result of a misplacement of an entire folio (62ab), which affected D3003–D3006. Also note that there is no record for D3004 in Zhu chen's catalogue to the *sDe dge bsTan 'gyur* edition. See the *sDe dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 411b6–7), where the record for D3003 and the immediately following record for D3005 are found.

⁶⁶ Note that the 108 works listed by Bu ston as contained in the *rNam 'joms kyi sgrub thabs brgya rtsa* cluster include the previous catalogue entry in the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (i.e., *Is*555 = D2942/P3767).

⁶⁷ See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (533.3–538.3): *slob dpon Ye shes rdo rje dang | slob dpon Padma la sogs pas mdzad zer ba'i rNam 'joms kyi sgrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa la | [...] de rnams la chos kyi rnam grangs brgya dang brgyad do | |*. Later catalogues followed suit. See the *sDe dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 410b5–412b6), *INga pa chen po'i bstan dkar* (71a5–73b4).

Karma pa edition resembles the one found in that of the Tshal pa edition.⁶⁸ The second catalogue associated with the Third Karma pa omits the author's name Padma, and remarks that a small portion is missing at the end.⁶⁹ Ngor chen does not record this collection in his catalogue to the Mustang *bsTan 'gyur* edition. This might be, however, merely due to its being unavailable to him at the time, since he does mention it in his other writings, and that too, without any expression of doubt.⁷⁰ Shortly before the present paper went to the press, I was fortunate to briefly inspect the pertinent volume of the Tshal pa edition. The number of texts included in the collection could be determined to be 108 in total, consisting of the same works found in the sDe dge and Peking *bsTan 'gyur* edition, in exactly the same order. It remains, however, uncertain whether the cluster found in the Tshal pa edition is identical with the one contained in the Old sNar thang collection. But since Bu ston based his Zhwa lu *bsTan 'gyur* edition on the Old sNar thang set, and since he is not known to have relied on the Tshal pa one, this seems to have been the case.

⁶⁸ Rang rdor bstan dkar-1 (492.7–493.1): *slob dpon Ye shes rdo rje dang| slob dpon Pad ma dang| Mar me mdzad rnams kyis mdzad pa'i dkyil 'khor cho ga dang bcas pa'i bsgrub thabs| brGya rtsar grags pa....*

⁶⁹ Rang rdor bstan dkar-2 (670.3–4): *slob dpon Ye shes rdo rje| Mar me mdzad rnams kyis mdzad pa'i rNam 'joms brgya rtsar grags pa'i smad cung ma tshang ba....*

⁷⁰ See the *Bya rgyud spyi'i rnam bshad* (191.15–16): *yang slob dpon Mar me mdzad dang| Ye shes rdo rje'i [em.: rdo rje'i, Print: sde'i]^[*] rNam 'joms kyi sgrub thabs brgya rtsa brgyad du grags pa|* ^[*] The reading *sde'i* instead of *rdo rje* is likely a corruption due to erroneously expanding the common orthographic abbreviation for *rdo rje* (i.e., *rdoe*, probably originally in dBu med); and *ibid.* (337.1–6): *de la slob dpon Ye shes rdo rje dang| Mar me mdzad kyis mdzad par grags pa'i rNam 'joms kyi sgrub thabs brgya rtsa brgyad par| rNam 'joms Bya rgyud du bshad nas| de'i lam la bskyed rdzogs gnyis kyi bskyed rim la sgrub thabs brgya dang lnga| rdzogs rim la sgra gnas sogs kyi sgrub thabs gsum du byas shing| de'ang| zab mo sangs rgyas spyod yul ba|| zhes pa'i don du sbyar ro||.*

The origin of this collection is unclear. Since it was not recorded by Rig ral, it appears that it was brought to sNar thang from elsewhere during a later phase of the cataloguing-cum-compilatory work undertaken there. Moreover, none of the works has a translator colophon, which, as I have discussed elsewhere, was one of the prerequisites for the authentication and canonization of works claiming Indic origin. One exception is the last work of the cluster in the larger editions (PNG), which, while lacking a translation colophon, mentions one Dharmakīrtibhadra (who is probably a Tibetan, whose identity remains, however, uncertain) as having revised the text (or perhaps the entire cluster?).⁷¹ The source of this remark is unclear, but since the Tshal pa edition likewise does not contain this mention of Dharmakīrtibhadra as a reviser, it is certainly a later addition (possibly as late as the Fifth Dalai Lama edition?). Moreover, none of the catalogues provides names of translators either. This of course might explain the scepticism expressed by dBus pa blo gsal and Bu ston, followed by later cataloguers. Unfortunately, none of the cataloguers offers information as to the (doubtful) origin of the set.

3.3. The *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho* Translated by Yar lung lo tsā ba

Another collection of *sādhanas* found in the *bsTan 'gyur* is the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho* (lit. “Ocean of *sādhanas*,” where the word *rgya mtsho* denotes relatively “large collection”). This collection likewise consists of *sādhanas* all translated by the same person, namely, Yar lung (/lungs/klung) lo tsā ba Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1242–1346(?); BDRC: P2637). Rig ral mentions neither this collection nor any other translations by Yar lung lo tsā ba in his *rGyan gyi nyi 'od*,⁷² the first catalogue record of it certainly being

⁷¹ See, for example, the colophon of P3873, which states (108b7): **Dharma kīrti bha dras yang zhus byas so** | | .

⁷² The fact that Rig ral does not record Yar lung lo tsā ba’s translations in his *rGyan gyi nyi 'od*, and also not those by the brothers Shong ston lo tsā ba rDo rje rgyal mtshan (b. 13th cent.; BDRC: P1046) and Shong ston lo

the one found in *dBus pa blo gsal's* catalogue, immediately following the entry of the *Ba ri'i brgya rtsa*. *dBus pa blo gsal* does not list the individual titles but merely gives the total number of works contained in the collection as 242.⁷³ The *Tshal pa* catalogue does list the individual titles of the collection, whose alternative name, *bsGrub thabs kun las btus pa*, is also mentioned there. The collection there takes up the entire volume *Tshe* of the *Tantra* section and, it is stated, contains 244 works (this number is reconfirmed by an annotation⁷⁴). To be noted, however, is that the catalogue appears to actually list 245 works (as counted by Jampa Samten).

Bu ston, in his religious history, records the set without listing its individual titles, which he puts at 241 in total.⁷⁵ As expected, the

tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (b. 13th cent.; BDRC: P1052), who were active towards the end of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan's (1235–1280; BDRC: P1048) life, led van der Kuijp and Schaeffer to date the catalogue to the 1270s at the latest. See van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009: 5 n. 5, 59. For the date of *Yar lung pa's* translation of the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*, see below.

⁷³ See the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (A, 30a6–b1; B, 24a4–5 = Vjs630): *lo tsha ba Grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba'i sGrub thabs rgya mtsho zhes bya ba sgrub thabs nyis* [A: *nyis*; B: *nyi*] *brgya bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis pa dang* |.

⁷⁴ See the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (52a6–57a6; Jampa Samten 2016: 120–133): *Tshe pa la sGrub thabs kun las btus pa las* | [...T1393–T1637...] *te bsGrub thabs kun las btus pa | bsGrub thabs rgya mtshor grags pa nyis brgya bzhi bcu rtsa bzhi Yar lungs pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba bzhugs so* | | {*rnams la chos grangs nyis brgya dang bzhi bcu rtsa bzhi*}. Also this annotation appears to be an integral part of the catalogue (on this issue, see above, p. 372).

⁷⁵ *Bu ston chos 'byung* (301.10–11): [Bc2651] *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho zhes pa sgrub thabs nyis brgya bzhi*^[*] *bcu rtsa gcig pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur* |. [*] Note that Nishioka, following the Lhasa version, reads *lnga bcu* (which is also the reading found in the modern edition used in the present paper). The reading *bzhi bcu*, which is attested in all of his other three witnesses (DTS), is preferable, judging from the other sources presented here, including Bu ston's own *bsTan 'gyur* catalogue (for which see below, note 78). The reading 241 is also supported by the total

earlier Third Karma pa edition, as testified to by its catalogue, followed the Tshal pa edition.⁷⁶ The collection is likewise included in the other edition associated with the Third Karma pa, but its catalogue does not specify the total number of works contained therein.⁷⁷ Unlike in his religious history, in his catalogue to the Zhwa lu edition Bu ston does list the individual titles and gives the total number as 242.⁷⁸ Ngor chen's Mustang *bsTan 'gyur* edition also contained the collection, which in Ngor chen's catalogue is referred to both as *bsGrub thabs kun las btus* and *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*, and which, it states, contains 246 works.⁷⁹ Ngor chen provides a list of the entire collection in his *Records of Teachings Received*, followed by the lineage of the authorization ritual (*rjes gnang*) and the lineage of only the reading transmission

sum of works (464) stated to be recorded in the paragraph in question (for more on this, see §3.5). Bu ston mentions Yar lung lo tsā ba and his translating this collection of *sādhanas* also in the third chapter of his religious history. See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (206.3–5): **Yar lung pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan** *gyis kyang Mi g.yo ba'i rgyud* (= ? D434/P72^[81]) *dang* | *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho dang* | *Bya ba bsdus pa* (D2531/P3354) *la sogs bsgyur rol* | . [81] The canonical versions (all?) seem to lack a translation colophon, and a definite conclusion would require further research.

⁷⁶ See *Rang rdor bstan dkar-1* (510.5–520.2): *bsGrub thabs kun las btus pa las* | [...] *bsGrub thabs kun bsdus pa* | *sGrub thabs rgya mtshor grags pa gnyis* | *nyis brgya bzhi bcu rtsa bzhi Yar klungs pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba bzhugs* | .

⁷⁷ *Rang rdor bstan dkar-2* (670.4–5): *Tu pa la* | *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho dang* | *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa dang* | [...] *rnam bzhugs so* | .

⁷⁸ *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (552.6–560.2): *lo tsā ba Grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba'i sGrub thabs rgya mtsho'i rkang grangs la* | [...] *'di la chos kyi rnam grangs nyis brgya bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis bzhugs so* | | .

⁷⁹ See the *Glo bo rdo rje theg pa'i bstan dkar* (A, 282b2–3; B, 262.19–263.1): *sGrub thabs kun las btus sam sGrub thabs rgya mtsho zhes grags pa Yar lung pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba la* | *sgrub thabs nyis brgya dang bzhi bcu zhe drug yod pa* | .

(*lung rkyang*).⁸⁰ Interestingly, Rig ral is among those recorded as having received the reading transmission of the collection—which, as stated above, is not recorded in his catalogue, apparently because it was translated later (on the date of the translation, see below)—directly from Grags pa rgyal mtshan.⁸¹

The catalogues to the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* editions reproduce Bu ston's statement.⁸² The set can be thus identified as D3400–D3644 / P4221–P4466, with 245 and 246 works, respectively (with no equivalent for P4292 in D). Zhu chen, in his catalogue to the *sDe dge* edition, cites at the end of the list a somewhat shorter version of the collection's collective translation colophon, which is found after the last work in the *sGrub thabs brgya mtsho* (i.e., after D3644/P4466) and which sheds important light on the origin of the collection.⁸³ As the passage omitted by Zhu chen is important for the dating of the translation undertaking, I shall cite here the colophon in its entirety (except for the concluding dedication verse):⁸⁴

⁸⁰ See the *Ngor chen gyi thob yig* (206.4–213.8): *sGrub thabs kun las btus sam rGya mtshor* grags pa'i rjes gnang lung dang bcas pa rdzogs par thob pa'i sgrub thabs kyi rnam grangs la... for the complete list; *ibid.* (313.8–13), for the lineage of the authorization ritual; and *ibid.* (213.13–15), for the lineage of the reading transmission alone.

⁸¹ See the *Ngor chen gyi thob yig* (213.13): *de'i lung rkyang gi brgyud pa ni* | *lo tstsha ba Grags rgyal nas* | **bCom ral** |

⁸² See the *lNga pa chen po'i bstan dkar* (80b8–84b5).

⁸³ See the *sDe dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 421a3–425a1): *lo tsā ba Grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba'i sGrub thabs rgya mtsho'i rkang grangs la* | [...D3400–D3644...] *lha so so'i sgrub thabs rgya mtsho zhes bya ba 'di rnam ni dPal ldan Sa skya'i gtsug lag khang chen por paṇḍi ta chen po Gau ta ma shri las brgyud cing paṇḍi ta chen po Kirti tsandra'i zhal snga nas zhus tel de Shānta ri yo gi Grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis Bya lo zla ba bcu gnyis pa'i dkar po'i tshes gsum la dben gnas dam pa Chu mig rdzing khar yongs su rdzogs par bsgyur ba* | 'di la chos kyi rnam grangs nyis brgya bzhi bcu rtsa lnga bzhugs so | |.

⁸⁴ See D, *rGyud 'grel*, vol. Mu, 257b1–2; P, *rGyud 'grel*, vol. Du, 335a3–5.

lha so so'i sgrub pa'i thabs rgya mtsho zhes bya ba 'di rnam ni
dPal ldan Sa skya'i gtsug lag khang chen por paṇḍi ta chen
*po Gau tam*⁸⁵ **shrī las brgyud cing| paṇḍi ta chen po Kīrti**
tsandra'i⁸⁶ *zhal snga nas zhus nas| slob dpon chen po Dharma*⁸⁷
pā⁸⁸ **la rakṣi ta'i sku skyabs dang| dpon chen po Kun dga'**
gzhon nu dang| Ma gcig pas sbyin bdag mdzad pa la brten
nas| de Shānta ri yo gi Gags pa rgyal mtshan gyis| Bya lo
zla ba bcu gnyis pa'i dkar po'i tshes gsum la dben gnas dam pa
Chu mig khar⁸⁹ *yongs su rdzogs par bsgyur ro| |*

These [sādhanas] of the individual [tutelary] deities, [collectively] called *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*—which were transmitted by the great *paṇḍita* Gautamaśrī, [the transmission] having been requested [and received] from the great *paṇḍita* Kīrticandra in the Great Temple of Glorious Sa skya [monastery]—were translated to completion by the Yogi of Śānta[pu]ri(?)⁹⁰ Gags pa rgyal mtshan on the third of the bright fortnight of the twelfth

⁸⁵ tam] D, tam P

⁸⁶ kīrti tsandra'i] D, kirte tsan tra'i P

⁸⁷ dharmā] D, dharmā P

⁸⁸ pā] P, pa D

⁸⁹ khar] P, rdzing khar D. See above, note 83, for the respective passage in the sDe dge catalogue, which also reads *rdzing khar*.

⁹⁰ The phrase *shānta ri yo gi* is unclear. I tentatively suggest that *shānta ri* is a corruption of Śāntapuri, referring to a shrine located at Svayambhū called Śāntapuri (as in the Tibetan tradition, or Śāntipuri as in the Newar one), which is believed to have been erected by Ācārya Śāntaśrī (one possible variant of his name). On this shrine, see von Rospatt 2014: 53 n. 14. According to Dan Martin, Gags pa rgyal mtshan “certainly worked on many of his translations in Nepal.” See Martin’s TPNI, s.v. Yar lo tsā ba Gags pa rgyal mtshan. This could have led to the byname “Yogi of Śāntapuri.”

month of the Bird Year (1285)⁹¹ in an excellent secluded place [situated at] Chu mig, [during which] he enjoyed (lit. “relied on”) the protection of the great master Dharmapālarakṣita (1268–1287; BDRC: P1868)⁹² and the patronage of the governor Kun dga’ gzhon nu (r. 1280s⁹³) and Ma gcig pa (?).

Yar lung lo tsā ba was primarily active in Sa skya (including Ngor) circles, but was also involved with transmission lineages that went through masters of the bKa’ gdams tradition, and to a lesser extent also of the bKa’ brgyud tradition. This is evident in one transmission lineage of the deity Sitātapatrā (gDugs dkar) belonging to the *sNar thang brgya rtsa* cycle (BDRC: L8LS14665), which was transmitted down to Gro ston Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1338–1400/1401; BDRC: P1297), the thirteenth abbot of sNar thang (1375–?). From the two transmission lineages, including both the reading transmissions and the empowerments of the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho* found in the Fifth Dalai Lama’s *Records of Teachings Received* (as recorded in the BDRC under L8LS14642 & L8LS14645) no specific connection could be identified to either sNar thang masters of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century or to bKa’ brgyud masters. Nonetheless, Yar lung lo tsā ba is notably reported to have been a teacher of sNye mdo Kun dga’ don grub (b. 1268; BDRC: P1452),⁹⁴ who in turn was a teacher

⁹¹ Since the term of office of Dharmapālarakṣita as the ninth Sa skya khri ’dzin was 1281–1287 and that of Kun dga’ gzhon nu as governor also sometime in the 1280s (see below, note 93), this Bird Year must be 1285.

⁹² On this figure, see, for example, Khetsun Sangpo’s *rGya bod mkhas grub*, vol. 10: 249–251; see also *The Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Dharmapālarakṣita, for a short biography in English and further bibliographical references.

⁹³ Kun dga’ gzhon nu’s term of office as a governor must have started sometime after 1281 and ended sometime before 1287. This approximate term of office is based on the discussion in Petech 1983: 188–189.

⁹⁴ See Almogi 2020: 114.

of the Third Karma pa (and probably the one who oversaw the Tshal pa edition of the *bsTan 'gyur*).⁹⁵

In any case, the collection seems to have been very popular in the Sa skya tradition. Sa skya mkhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags (1572–1641; BDRC: P787), in his doctrinal history of Tibet (composed in 1629; Martin 1997, no. 207), states that the authorizing rituals (*rjes gnang: anujñā*) of the [*sGrub thabs*] *rgya mtsho*—alongside the aforementioned [*Ba ri'i*] *sgrub thabs brgya rtsa*, among others—which he classifies as authorizing rituals given separately from the empowerment (*dbang: abhiṣeka*) as opposed to those given at the conclusion of the empowerment—were “nowadays” (i.e., the early 17th century) being conferred upon numerous disciples in the form of mass rituals (as opposed to individual ones).⁹⁶ Moreover, 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–1892; BDRC: P258), in his abbatial history of monasteries of all Tibetan schools (Martin 1997, no. 403), classifies the authorization rituals of the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*—alongside those of the [*Ba ri'i*] *sgrub thabs brgya rtsa* and *sNar thang brgya rtsa*, among others—as “universal teachings” (*spyi bka'*) as opposed to “secondary teachings” (*zur bka'*), which, according to him, are the two components of what he calls “the cycle consisting of the four Tantric classes in general.”⁹⁷

⁹⁵ See TPNI, s.v. Yar lo tsā ba Grags pa rgyal mtshan.

⁹⁶ See the *Grub mtha'i shan 'byed* (601.1–7): *des na rjes gnang la* (1) *dbang gi mtha' rten du byed pa'i rjes gnang dang* | (2) *dbang las logs su sku gsung thugs kyi rjes gnang byed pa gnyis las* | [...] (2) *gnyis pa ni* | ***sGrub thabs brgya rtsa dang rGya mtsho*** *la sogs pa deng sang slob ma du ma tshogs pa'i khrom la'ang byed pa 'di yin la* | ...

⁹⁷ See the *gSang sngags gsar rnying gi gdan rabs mdor bsdus* (79.14–18): (2) *gnyis pa la* (2.1) *spyir rgyud sde bzhi'i skor dang* (2.2) *bye brag tu slob bshad gser chos kyi skor dang* | *rjes 'brel bla ma'i gsung 'bum rnams las* | (2.1) *dang po la'ang* (2.1.1) *spyi bka' dang* | (2.1.2) *zur bka' gnyis las* | (2.1.1) *dang po ni* | ***rDo rje phreng ba'i dbang*** | ***sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*** | ***rGya mtsho*** | ***sNar thang brgya rtsa*** *sogs kyi rjes gnang dang* |.

3.4. The *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa* Translated by Pa tshab Tshul khrim rgyal mtshan

The last cluster I wish to discuss here is another *sādhana* collection, likewise called *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*, which was translated by Pa tshab Tshul khrim rgyal mtshan (b. 11th cent.; BDRC: P6453),⁹⁸ mostly in collaboration with Abhayākaragupta, who was active in the late eleventh and early twelve centuries at Nālandā and Vikramaśīla. This cluster was not included in either the Old sNar thang or Tshal pa *bsTan 'gyur* editions, to judge from their catalogues, and it is likewise not recorded by Bu ston in his religious history. The first catalogue entry seems therefore to be that found in Bu ston's catalogue to his Zhwa lu *bsTan 'gyur* edition, which reads as follows:⁹⁹

Pa tshab Tshul khrim rgyal mtshan *gyis bsgyur ba'i sGrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa'i rnam grangs*¹⁰⁰ *la* | [...] *rnam A bhya la sogs pa las Pa tshab Tshul rgyal gyis bsgyur* | *de ltar na sgrub thabs brgya dang lnga bcu bzhugs shing* | *'di rnam sa skr ta mchog tu gyur cing* | *don bzang la gdams ngag che ba rnam* | *paṇḍi ta chen po A bhya ka ra'i phyag dpe las* | *paṇḍi ta chen po de dang de dag*¹⁰¹ *dang* | **Pa tshab** *kyi rigs su skyes pa'i*

⁹⁸ As pointed out by van der Kuijp, Pa tshab Tshul khrim rgyal mtshan must have lived up to at least 1130, since he is said to have taught the First Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–1193; BDRC: P1400) in sTod lung when the latter was about twenty years of age. See van der Kuijp 2009: 7.

⁹⁹ *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (543.4–549.3).

¹⁰⁰ The lower part of the syllables *rnam grangs* is only partly legible.

¹⁰¹ The phrase *paṇḍi ta chen po de dang de dag* is not very felicitous. I take it as corresponding to the phrase *a bhya la sogs pa* (Abhaya and others) found above. Cf. the parallel passage in the *sDe dge bstan dkar* cited below (note 106), which reads *paṇḍi ta chen po de dag dang*, which is likewise not entirely clear there. In any case, both seem to be a not wholly successful paraphrasing of the collection's translation colophon, for which see below.

dge slong Tshul khrim rgyal mtshan gyis legs par bsgyur ba'ol |.

The enumeration of [the collection] known as *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*, which was translated by Pa tshab Tshul khrim rgyal mtshan: [...] These were translated by Pa tshab Tshul rgyal in collaboration with Abhaya and others. As [listed above], there are one hundred fifty *sādhanas*. These [*sādhanas*]—[written in] outstanding Sanskrit and being excellent in the meaning and great instructions [imparted]—were finely translated by Tshul khrim rgyal mtshan, a fully ordained monk of the Pa tshab clan, on the basis of a personal manuscript of the great *paṇḍita* Abhayākara, in collaboration with this great *paṇḍita* and the [other]s.

Bu ston gives the total number as 150, but he may have listed slightly more works (the counting and identification process is a bit difficult due to the fact that several *sādhanas* in this cluster (as found in the *bsTan 'gyur*) have an identical title or very similar ones). However, the collection appears to have also been known under the alternative designation *Phyed dang nyis brgya pa* (“The Hundred-and-Fifty Collection”). This title is also used by Bu ston himself in his middle-length general introduction to the Tantric systems, where he states that the practices of visualizing oneself [as the deity], summoning the insight [deity], and the like are also explained in the *sādhanas* contained in the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*, *Phyed dang nyis brgya pa*, [*Ba ri'i*] *brgya rtsa*, and other [*sādhanas*] based on the Kriyātantra [system].¹⁰² This alternative title has been employed by other scholars, including, for example, Ngor chen¹⁰³

¹⁰² See the *rGyud sde spyi rnam* ('bring po) (789.19–21): *gzhan yang sGrub thabs rgya mtsho dang* | *Phyed dang nyis brgya pa dang* | *brGya rtsa la sogs pa rnam su* | **Bya rgyud** *la brten pa rnam la'ang bdag bskyed dang ye shes dgug pa la sogs pa bshad de* |.

¹⁰³ See the *Bya rgyud spyi'i rnam bshad* (260.15–18): *gzhan yang sGrub thabs rgya mtsho dang* | *Phyed dang nyis brgya pa dang* | *brGya rtsa la sogs pa rnam su* | **Bya rgyud** *la brten pa rnam la yang* | *bdag bskyed dang ye shes pa dgug pa la sogs pa bshad de* |; and *ibid.* (267.7–11): *de bzhin du sGrub thabs rgya mtsho dang* | *Phyed dang nyis brgya pa dang* | *brGya rtsa rnam su*

and Shākya mchog ldan¹⁰⁴ (in all three passages provided here, in the same context as Bu ston's).

The cluster can be identified in the *bsTan 'gyur* as D3143–D3304 / P3964–P4126, with a total of 162 and 163 works, respectively (with, however, no complete overlap¹⁰⁵). Zhu chen concludes the list of the individual titles with a passage similar to the one in Bu ston's list, giving, however, the total number as 164.¹⁰⁶ As noted above, the concluding statements in both Bu ston's and Zhu chen's catalogues are obviously based on the translation colophon to the entire collection, which is found after the translation colophon (followed by a dedication verse) of the last *sādhana*

bshad pa'i **Bya rgyud** *kyi lha'i sgrub thabs rnam* dang | *slob dpon* **Dze tā ri'i** *Grwa lnga'i sgrub thabs sogs gzhung chung phal che ba rnam* **rNal 'byor** *chen po'i lugs ltar bkral bar shes par bya'o* | |.

¹⁰⁴ See the *brTag gnyis kyi bsdu* don (515.1–3): 'o na **sGrub thabs rgya mtsho** dang | **brGya rtsa** dang | **Phyed dang nyis brgya pa** | **Bya rgyud** dang *methun par bkral ba* dang | **Bya rgyud** *kyi lha rnam* la | *bdag bskyed* dang | *ye shes pa spyang drang* ba dang | *dbang bskur* ba dang | *rigs bdag gis rgyas 'debs pa sogs bshad pa min nam zhe na* | *yin mod kyi spyi tsa* nas **Bya rgyud** *du bzhag pa'i sPyan ras gzigs kyi rgyud lta bu gcig la'ang* | **rDo rje 'chang** *la gnang ba thob pa'i slob dpon dgongs 'grel mkhan po rnam* *kyis* **Bya rgyud** *rang rkang du bkral ba* dang | **sPyod rgyud** dang *methun par bkral ba* dang | **rNal 'byor rgyud** dang *methun par bkral ba* dang | **rNal 'byor bla med** dang *methun par bkral ba ste* | *bzhi ka yod pa'i phyir mi 'gal lo* | |.

¹⁰⁵ The discrepancy seems to lie merely in the cataloguing manner, with D3245 = P4066+P4067+P4068, and D3295+D3296 = P4118, but this needs to be reconfirmed by closely examining the individual texts in question.

¹⁰⁶ See the *sDe dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 416a3–419a7): **Pa tshab Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan** *gyis bsgyur ba'i sGrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa'i rnam grang* la | [...] *de ltar na sgrub thabs brgya dang drug cu rtsa bzhi bzhugs shing* | 'di *rnam sam skr ta'i skad mchog tu gyur cing don bzang la gdams ngag che ba rnam paṇḍi ta chen po* **A bha ya** 'i *phyag dpe las paṇḍi ta chen po de dag* dang | **Pa tshab** *kyi rigs su skyes pa'i dge slong* **Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan** *gyis legs par bsgyur ba* |.

(D3304/P4126). The collection's translation colophon states the following:¹⁰⁷

mos pa'i khyad par gyis rgya gar na sgrub thabs bsdu pa 'ga' zhid srid na yang gzhung snyan dngags dang ldan pas sam skr ta mchog tu gyur cing don bzang la gdams ngag che ba rnams bsdebs pa | A bha yā¹⁰⁸ kā ra'i phyag dpe las paṇḍi ta chen po de dag dang | Pa tshab kyi rigs su skyes pa'i dge slong Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan gyis sngon gyi khriims las ma 'das par bsgyur ba'i tshad du bsgyur ba'o | |.

Although there are possibly [other] *sādhana*s collected/compiled in India [to cater to] the differences in [disciples'] devotion, [the one here is] a compilation of works of aesthetic merit that are [written in] superb Sanskrit and are excellent in the meaning and great instructions [imparted]. [The texts] were translated according to the standards—without deviating from the rules [set up] in the past—by Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan, a fully ordained monk of the Pa tshab clan, in collaboration with these great *paṇḍitas* (i.e., mostly Abhayākara Gupta but also a few others) on the basis of a personal manuscript of Abhayākara's.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that from the above it has become clear that this collection was initially not physically available in either sNar thang or Tshal pa, and apparently also not in Zhwa lu or Sa skya, which suggests that in the first century after its translation it was not widely circulated. Could it be that it was merely kept in dGa' sdong monastery (BDRC: G3157), with which Pa tshab Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan was affiliated? This question must remain unanswered for now, but one can say with high certainty that its exclusion from the first editions and catalogues was probably not due to any particular editorial bias or predilection, but only to its unavailability, for it was included by Bu ston in his Zhwa lu edition and editions that followed it, and

¹⁰⁷ See D, rGyud, vol. Bu, 48a1–2; P, rGyud, vol. Thu, 338a6.

¹⁰⁸ yā] D, ya P

indeed seems to have also enjoyed much popularity, to judge from the statements by Bu ston, Ngor chen, and Shākya mchog ldan cited above, where the collection is mentioned in the same breath with the other two undoubtedly very popular *sādhana* collections, the *sGrub sgrabs rgya mtsho* and the *Ba ri'i brgya rtsa*.

**3.5. The *Thugs rje chen po'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa brgyad pa*
Composed by Ajitamitragupta and Translated by gNubs
Byams pa'i dpal**

Another *sādhana* collection found in the *bsTan 'gyur* is the '*Phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi sgrub thabs brgya rtsa brgyad pa* (or *Thugs rje chen po'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa brgyad pa*), a collection of 108 *sādhanas* related to Avalokiteśvara aka Mahākāraṇika.¹⁰⁹ The earliest catalogue record of it seems to be the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (302.6–8). The reading of the pertinent passage and the identification of some of the titles recorded therein as edited by Nishioka (who follows the Lhasa version) needs, however, to be reedited. That passage, as edited by Nishioka (including his formatting conventions and catalogue numbers), reads as follows:

[Bc2676] *Ro ma ṭi'i sgrub thabs* Mi pham sbas pa'i bshes
gnyen gyis mdzad pa| *Thugs rje chen po'i sgrub thabs*
brgya rtsa bsgyur 'phro brgya dang lnga 'dir ma chud |
[Bc2677] *Ba ri'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa la dgu bcu rtsa lnga*
ste dril bas bzhi brgya drug cu rtsa bzhi'o | |

As noted above (note 51), the catalogue number Bc2677 should have been assigned to the previous title recorded by Bu ston, for which Nishioka has not assigned a number at all. Nishioka probably misunderstood Bu ston to be saying that the text(s) in question was/were not included (*ma chud*) in the *Bu ston chos 'byung's* Index (*'dir*). This is not the case, however. What Bu ston means is that the collection of *sādhanas* in question, whose translation is yet to be completed and thus currently comprises (only) 105 works (i.e., probably instead of 108 as indicated in later

¹⁰⁹ I thank Nicola Bajetta for drawing my attention to this collection.

catalogues), was not included in the *dBus pa blo gsal* catalogue to the Old *sNar thang bsTan 'gyur* edition.¹¹⁰ Moreover, the passage is corrupt in several ways. There has been an error in the text segmentation, that is, the *shad* separating entries Bc2676 and Bc2677 has been misplaced, and several of the variants recorded by Nishioka in the apparatus are preferable to the readings of the Lhasa version followed by him (here H, but note that Nishioka does not use a siglum for this version). The above cited passage from the *Bu ston chos 'byung* should be therefore reedited as follows (the variants referred to here are as recorded by Nishioka; insignificant variants are not reported/discussed):

[Bc2676] *Re ma ti'i sgrub thabs* | |^[a] [Bc2677] *Mi pham sbas pa'i bshes gnyen gyis mdzad pa'i*^[b] *Thugs rje chen po'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa*^[c] *bsgyur 'phro brgya dang lnga 'di*^[d] *ma chud | Ba ri'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa (=Bc2650) la dgu bcu rtsa lnga ste dril bas bzhi brgya drug cu rtsa bzhi'o | |*.

Several points should be made in regard to the suggested readings:

^[a] The HT versions place the *shad* after *mdzad pa* (as followed by Nishioka), giving the impression that *Mi pham sbas pa'i bshes gnyen* (Ajitamitr Gupta) is the author of Bc2676. Nonetheless, the fact that the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* explicitly names him as the author of the *Thugs rje chen po'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa* recorded in the following entry (i.e., Bc2677 as in the reedited passage) and the fact that the respective entry of the *Re ma ti'i sgrub thabs* in the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (which served as one of the main sources for *Bu ston's* Index) does not mention any author¹¹¹ support not only the suggested placement of the *shad* but also the other suggested readings.

¹¹⁰ For more on the expression *ma chud* (or the like) in the *Bu ston chos 'byung*, see Almogi 2021: 176–177 and 193–195 (Appendix A).

¹¹¹ See the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (A, 28b4; B, 22b6 = *I*_{Js}587): *Re ma ti'i* [B: *ti'i*; A: *ti'i*] ^[Nam gru] *sgrub thabs* |.

^[b] The HT versions have *pa*l (which is followed by Nishioka), but for the reasons pointed out above, the reading *pa'i* found in DS is clearly preferable.

^[c] The HT versions read *rtsa'i* (followed by Nishioka), but the variant *rtsa* found in DS is more natural.

^[d] Nishioka reads *'dir* (found in HT), but the reading *'di* found in versions DS is, for the reasons pointed out above, the correct one. That the statement regarding the exclusion of the collection refers to the *dBus pa blo bstan dkar* (reading *'di*) and not to the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (reading *'dir*) is further supported by the total sum (i.e., 464) given at the end of paragraph XVIII (though neither way yields the exact number 464). The paragraph contains 27 records (Bc2650–Bc2676). Three of the entries refer to collections that contain numerous works, as follows: Bc2650 95 works; Bc2651 241 works as in version DTS, or 251 as in version H, which is less likely (on this issue, see also above, note 75); and Bc2676 105 works. This makes a total of 465 works (i.e., 24+95+241+105). Whereas such a small discrepancy between the total number of works provided and the actual number of works listed (i.e., 464 vs. 465) is indeed not very unusual, reading *'dir ma chud* would result in a total number of the works actually listed that is much lower than 464 (i.e., 360), which is unlikely.

As noted by Bu ston, the collection was not included in the Old sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* edition, and it seems not to have been recorded by Rig ral in his *rGyan gyi nyi 'od* either. The collection likewise appears to have been included in neither the Tshal pa nor the Ngam ring *bsTan 'gyur* editions, and to also have been missing in the Glo bo edition. It appears therefore that it was Bu ston who admitted the collection into the *bsTan 'gyur*. This is not at all surprising, for Bu ston himself was a lineage holder of various of Mitrayogin's teachings.¹¹²

¹¹² See, for example, the Fifth Dalai Lama's record of the lineage of Mitrayogin's teachings related to Avalokiteśvara that were transmitted down to him (given in his Records of Teachings Received), as provided by the BDRC at <https://library.bdrclibrary.org/show/bdr:L8LS14136>.

Although according to the collection's title, *'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi sgrub thabs brgya rtsa brgyad pa* or *Thugs rje chen po'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa brgyad pa* (for which see below), the complete collection consists of 108 *sādhana*s, the collection found in the sDe dge and Peking *bsTan 'gyur* editions merely contains 107, namely, D2741–D2847 / P3562–P3668. The beginning of the collection is clearly marked with the collection's title and reads (i.e., prior to the beginning of the first *sādhana*, D2741/P3562):¹¹³

rgya gar skad du | [...] bod skad du | 'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi sgrub thabs brgya rtsa brgyad pa |

It is notable that both the Ōtani and Tōhoku catalogues erroneously considered the collection's title to be the title of the first *sādhana* in the collection (on which see below).¹¹⁴ The end of the collection (i.e., right after D2847/P3668) is marked with what should be considered a collective authorship colophon (even though it appears to be merely referring to the last *sādhana*) and a collective translation colophon, which read as follows:¹¹⁵

Rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga (= D2847/P3668) grub pa brnyes pa'i paṇḍi ta chen po A dzi ta mi tra guptas mdzad pa rdzogs so | | rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po shrī Dza gat [D: gat, P: ga ta] mi tra ā [P: tra ā, D: trā] nanta'i zhal snga nas [P: nas, D om.] dang | kha che'i paṇḍi ta chen po Buddha [D: Buddha, P: Budha] shrī [D: shrī, P: shri] dznyā nas gtan la phab nas | bod kyi lo tsā ba gNubs Byams pa'i dpal bzang po zhes bya bas bsgyur ba'o | |

¹¹³ See D, vol. Nu, 127b3; P, vol. Nyu, 144b4–5.

¹¹⁴ Also Cordier's catalogue (306–307 no. 48) takes it to be the title of the *sādhana*. Moreover, it appears that, as a result, the fact that the *sādhana*s in question form a collection was overlooked by the cataloguers. Nonetheless, Cordier (309 no. 154), followed by the Tōhoku catalogue, did recognize that the authorship and translation ascriptions given in the colophon of the last *sādhana* should apply to the entire group of texts listed (Cordier, however, merely includes nos. 49–154, omitting no. 48), which was not the case with the Ōtani catalogue.

¹¹⁵ See D, vol. Nu, 185b1–2; P, vol. Nyu, 216a1–3.

The *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* likewise considers the complete collection to consist of 108 *sādhanas*, but, as explicitly stated at the end of the list, it merely names 104:¹¹⁶

[=D2741] *Thugs rje chen po'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa brgyad pa zhes grags pa paṇḍi ta A dzi ta mi tra guptas mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta shrī Dza ga ta mi tra ā nanta dang | Buddha shrī dznyā na dang | lo tsā ba Byams pa'i dpal gyi 'gyur | 'di'i rnam grangs ni | [...]* (528.3–4): *rnam la brgya dang bzhi'o || 'di dag la rNal 'byor bla med dang | rNal 'byor gyi khongs su gtogs pa'ang snang mod kyi | Thugs rje chen po phyogs gcig tu bya ba'i phyir 'dir bris so ||*

Of some interest is also Bu ston's justification of the placement of the collection, saying "Although it appears that these [*sādhanas*] would fit into [both] the Yoganiruttara[tantra] and Yoga[tantra], I wrote [them] here (i.e., gSung gi rigs kyi bdag po thugs rje chen po'i skor (524.6ff.)) in order to keep them together with the [other] Mahākāraṇika [related works]." The three *sādhanas* missing from Bu ston's list (in comparison with the sDe dge and Peking editions) are the equivalents of D2791/P3612, D2798/P3619, and D2799/P3620. It is, however, notable that although the collection in the sDe dge edition contains 107 *sādhanas*, the *sDe sde bstan dkar*, omitting the record for D2774 (probably due to a skip of the eye),¹¹⁷ merely lists 106. As with the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar*, moreover, according to the collection's title found in the *sDe sde bstan dkar* prior to the list (407a1), the collection includes 108 *sādhanas*, and the number provided at the end of the list (408a2) is 104 (which might have been a mechanical copying from the former catalogue).

As we have seen, according to the colophons and the respective catalogue entries, the author of the collection is said to be Ajitamitrugupta, and the translators gNubs Byams pa'i dpal bzang po in collaboration with the great lord of *yogins*

¹¹⁶ See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (525.7–526.1).

¹¹⁷ See the *sDe dge bstan dkar* (407a7), where the record is expected.

Jaganmitrānanda and the great Kashmiri *paṇḍita* Buddhaśrījñāna, or, to take the colophon literally, the translation was done by gNubs Byams pa'i dpal bzang po after the great lord of *yogins* Jaganmitrānanda and the great Kashmiri *paṇḍita* Buddhaśrījñāna finalised/established [the collection]. To be noted in this regard is that several other translations are ascribed to Byams pa'i dpal without the collaboration with a *paṇḍita*. It has already been pointed out that some traditional sources equate Ajitamitra(gupta) with (Jagan)mitrānanda aka Mitrayogin.¹¹⁸ Will May, however, based on several colophons (including the one under discussion) in which it is stated that Byams pa'i dpal translated in collaboration with Jaganmitrānanda aka Mitrayogin a text authored by Ajitamitra(gupta), has argued that it is unlikely that the author Ajitamitra(gupta) and the *paṇḍita* Jaganmitrānanda collaborating on the translation are one and the same person.¹¹⁹ Nonetheless, while it is indeed unusual to refer to the same person by one name in the author colophon and by an entirely different name in the translation colophon (without giving any hint that these are one and the same person), it is not entirely impossible. It is beyond the scope of the present article to thoroughly investigate this matter, but I nonetheless wish to present some evidence that could support the notion that the two names refer to the same person. Most importantly, according to his biographical accounts,¹²⁰ Mitrayogin was initiated by Avalokiteśvara himself into 108 *sādhana*s and/or into 108 *maṇḍala*s. Whether the 108 *sādhana* collection transmitted in the *bsTan 'gyur*

¹¹⁸ See, for example, Tibskrit, s.v. Ajitamitra and Ajitamitragupta.

¹¹⁹ See May 2019. I thank Élie Roux for drawing my attention to May's discussion of this issue in one of the communications concerning our collaboration on the Authors and Translators Identification Initiative (ATII).

¹²⁰ A biographical account of Mitrayogin is found in the *Blue Annals*. For an English translation of it, see Roerich 1949: 1030–1043. An article on Mitrayogin's life was published by Lokesh Chandra in 1965, and a brief biography of him was published online by Will May in 2019 in *The Treasury of Lives*.

is identical with the 108 *maṇḍala* collection, widely known as the *Mi tra brgya rtsa*, are identical also needs closer investigation, which, again, is beyond the scope of the present paper. A brief comparison of the titles of the *sādhana* collection contained in the *bsTan 'gyur* with the list of the works contained in *Mi tra brgya rtsa*,¹²¹ in any event, reveals a considerable overlap. Nonetheless, a closer comparison of the texts themselves will be required in order to determine whether the two are identical, and if this is not the case, what the relationship between them is. Moreover, if Ajitamitra(gupta) and Mitrayogin are not the same person, it may well be that the confusion, if it occurred, was caused due to a confusion between these two collections. Will May might be correct in saying that since Ajitamitra(gupta) and Mitrayogin were erroneously considered to be one and the same person, some of the accounts of Ajitamitra(gupta) were attributed to Mitrayogin. If this is indeed the case, it would be difficult to bring forward evidence that unquestionably supports either of the options, but it could nonetheless be worthwhile looking at some of the evidence, for it could facilitate the identification of the author(s) in question (if not now hopefully in the future).

Interestingly, the first *sādhana* in the collection, the *Thugs rje chen po kha sar pa ṅa'i* (often erroneously *pā ṅi'i*) *sgrub thabs tshigs su bcad pa bzhi pa*, is included twice in the *bsTan 'gyur*. None of the versions (which are not marked as duplicates by Tibetan cataloguers) has either an authorship or a translation colophon. As a part of the collection (D2741/P3562), the authorship is obviously ascribed to Ajitamitragupta and the translation to gNubs Byams pa'i dpal bzang po in some sort of collaboration with Jaganmitrānanda (aka Mitrayogin) and Buddhaśrījñāna.¹²² In the record of the other version (D2854/P3675), in contrast, Bu

¹²¹ A list of the works contained in the *Mi tra brgya rtsa* is provided by the *Blue Annals*. See Roerich 1949: 1035–1039. For an outline of the collection, see Chandra 1965: 167–169.

¹²² The record of the first *sādhana* in the collection is found in the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (526.1) as follows: [=D2741] *Thugs rje chen po kha sar pā ṅi'i sgrub thabs tshigs su bcad pa bzhi pa* |.

ston, in his catalogue to the Zhwa lu *bsTan 'gyur* edition, names the author as Mitrayogin and the translator as Byams pa lo tsā ba, obviously a reference to gNubs Byams pa dpal, in collaboration with the author himself(!), that is, Mitrayogin.¹²³

[=D2854] *Thugs rje chen po kha sar pā ṅi'i sgrub thabs tshigs bcad bzhi pa dang* | [=D2855] *rNal 'byor snying po gnyis Mi tra dzo kis mdzad pa | de nyid dang | Byams pa lo tsā'i 'gyur* |

This catalogue record implies that Ajitamitrāgupta is identical with Mitrayogin, who is in turn identical with Jaganmitrānanda. Moreover, the title is also found in the list of *sādhana*s contained in the *Mi tra brgya rtsa*, where it is obviously associated with Mitrayogin.¹²⁴ While these conflicting reports could indeed be another error resulting from the confusion between the two persons, they cannot be ignored, particularly as the two canonical versions are virtually identical both in terms of the text and its Tibetan translation. The only difference between the two versions is that while the one outside the collection (D2854/P3675) consists of four verses, as indeed specified in the *sādhana*'s title, the one transmitted within the collection (D2741/P3562) consists of five verses. Nonetheless, since it is the first verse that has no equivalent in the other version, it might well be that this is the opening verse to the entire collection, as it is found right after the collection's title and the homage.¹²⁵ There is no evidence to support this hypothesis in the segmentation marks (e.g., two double *shads* that separate this first verse from the first *sādhana*), but, as we have already seen, there are no such segmentation

¹²³ *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (528.7–529.1).

¹²⁴ See Roerich 1949: 1035–1036; Chandra 1965: 168 n. 6.

¹²⁵ See D2741/P3562 (D, 127b4; P, 144b5–6): *rje btsun Thugs rje chen po sPyan ras gzigs* [D: *gzigs*, P: *om.*] *dbang phyug la phyag 'tshal lo* | | *gang gis tshogs* [P: *tshogs*, D: *chogs*] *gnyis rab bsags pas* | | *de nyid zab mo mngon gzigs te* | | *brtse bas 'gro la* [D: *la*, P: *ba*] *sna tshogs thabs* | | *ston mdzad 'jig rten gsum mgon 'dud* | |.

marks to separate either the collective title at the beginning or the collective colophons at the end from the first and last *sādhanas*, respectively. In fact, the phrase *sna tshogs thabs* found in line 3 of the verse in question, if it is understood as a reference to the 108 *sādhanas*, could be a support of this hypothesis.

Moreover, in his *chos 'byung*, Bu ston states that there are two Khasarpaṇa-related *sādhanas* by Ajitamitra that have not been included in the *bsTan 'gyur* (i.e., in the Old sNar thang edition).¹²⁶ These two *sādhanas* are probably the one discussed here (i.e., more likely the one transmitted outside the collection) and D2131/P2982, both of which are indeed not recorded in the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar*.¹²⁷ Interestingly, according to the colophons of D2131/P2982, the *dPal kha sar pa ṅa yab yum gyi sgrub thabs*, the *sādhana* was authored by the great lord of *yogins Śrīmitra* (*rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po Shri mi tra'i gdams pa*) and translated by gNubs, whereas in the pertinent record found in the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* the author is referred to as the *siddha* Mitrayogin and the translation is ascribed to Byams pa'i dpal in collaboration with the author himself.¹²⁸ Here, too, one could argue for a confusion between the two persons (i.e., Ajitamitra, as in the *Bu ston chos 'byung*, and Mitrayogin aka Śrīmitra, as in the colophons and later catalogue records), a scenario that is not entirely impossible. Nonetheless, as already pointed out, if this is indeed the case, hardly any of the information provided in the biographies or the colophons could serve as evidence for either option. The situation is even more complex since, as already pointed out by May, according to some sources Ajitamitra is identical with *Lalitavajra

¹²⁶ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (269.5–6): [Bc1634 & Bc1635] *Kharsa pā ṅi'i sgrub thabs mi 'dra ba gnyis Mi pham bshes gnyen gyis mdzad pa Byams pa'i dpal gyi 'gyur* | 'di gnyis *bsTan 'gyur du ma tshud* |.

¹²⁷ Note that Nishioka does not offer any identification for either of the two.

¹²⁸ See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (488.1): [=D2131] *Kha rsa pā ṅi yab yum gyi sgrub thabs grub thob Mi tra dzo kis mdzad pa de nyid dang* | lo tsā ba *Byams pa'i dpal gyi 'gyur* |.

(Rol pa'i rdo rje; or perhaps better *Lilāvajra?). Here, I would like to draw attention to one such passage in the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar*, which names Ajitamitrugupta (Mi pham sbas pa'i bshes gnyen) as the author of D2122, D2123, and D2124 and adds that his other name is *Lalitavajra/*Lilāvajra (Rol pa'i rdo rje).¹²⁹ Bu ston's equation is particularly notable since the authors are named in the respective colophons as the great accomplished *paṇḍita* (*grub pa brnyes pa'i paṇḍi ta chen po*) Ajitamitrugupta (D2122), *Ajitagupta (Mi pham sbas pa; D2123), and *Lalitavajra/Lilāvajra (Rol pa'i rdo rje; D2124). However, it is uncertain whether this is indeed a reference to the eleventh-century *Lalitavajra/*Lilāvajra, who, according to the *Blue Annals*, was a disciple of Tilopā and a teacher of Mitrayogin!¹³⁰ At any rate, it appears that there could be problems with these various conflicting identifications resulting from the dates of the persons so mentioned. On the one hand, if Ajitamitra and/aka *Lalitavajra/*Lilāvajra (regardless of whether they are the same person or two different ones) are/is identified as Tilopā's disciple(s), their/his floruit must be placed during the eleventh century. On the other hand, Mitrayogin's visit to Tibet

¹²⁹ See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (487.3–5): [=D2122] *Ral pa gcig pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi 'khor lo'i sgrub thabs zhes bya ba dang* | [=D2123] *Ral gcig lha bcu bdun kyī bdag nyid kyī sgrub thabs dang* | [=D2124] *Ral gcig yum gyi sgrub thabs rnams* | **Mi pham sbas pa'i bshes gnyen** | *mtshan gyi rnam grangs Rol pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa dang* | [...] *rnams* (D2122–D2126) | *shri Dza gat mitra ā nanta dang* | *lo tsā ba Byams pa'i dpal gyi 'gyur* |. The respective colophons identify the author as Ajitamitra (D2122), Ajitagupta (Mi pham sbas pa, D2123), and *Lalitavajra/*Lilāvajra (Rol pa'i rdo rje, D2124). The *sDe dge bstan dkar* (382b6–383a1), whose formulations are generally closer to the colophons, names the author for each record separately in accordance with the respective colophon, and gives the alternative name Rol pa'i rdo rje only in the case of D2124. Another case that is worth drawing attention to in this context is D1913/P2776, whose author is called rDo rje sgeg pa (? *Lalitavajra/*Lilāvajra/*Vilāsavajra) and whose translation is likewise ascribed to Byams pa'i dpal.

¹³⁰ See Roerich 1949: 1030. The same state of affairs is reflected in the Fifth Dalai Lama's lineage referred to above (see note 112).

upon the invitation of Byams pa'i dpal (1172/3–1225/1236?) is said to have occurred in the last decade of the twelfth century (estimated to have taken place sometime between 1197 and 1200).¹³¹ The gap between these dates makes it unlikely (if not impossible) for Mitrayogin (whose floruit is rather secured thanks to Byams pa'i dpal's known dates) to have been a disciple of the eleventh-century *Lalitavajra/*Lilāvajra. This issue cannot be resolved within the framework of the present paper. I would nonetheless like to point out that according to Tibetan sources (mainly his biographies) Mitrayogin went by several names, most (if not all) of which appear to have contained the element *mitra* (*bshes gnyen*). We have already mentioned (Śrī)jaganmitrānanda, which is also found in the short forms Mitrānanda and simply Ānanda. One also finds Śrīmitra, or simply Mitra. His ordination name is reported to have been Śrī Dharmamitra, and the name Nāgamitra is said to have been given to him because he taught the Dharma to *nāgas*.¹³² Moreover, it is also notable that the Ajitamitra

¹³¹ See May 2019; TPNI, s.v. Khro phu lo tsā ba Byams pa'i dpal. For the names Vilāsavajra, Lalitavajra, and Lilāvajra in Tibetan translation, and for the referents of these names and their identity and dates, see Tribe 2016: 21–22.

¹³² See, for examples, the *rGyal sras mi tra 'dzo gi'i rnam thar* (2.4): *rnal 'byor chen po | gu ru Mi tra a nan tra*; *ibid.* (14.1): *rgyal bus klu rnam la chos gsungs pas | mtshan la Klu'i bshes gnyen zhes bya'o ||*; *ibid.* (16.6): *mtshan yang bShes gnyen kun dga' zhes brag go || rgya gar gyi skad du Swamin (? expansion of smni) a nan ta ces bya'o ||* (note the back-translation into Sanskrit Svāminānanda instead of Mitrānanda); *ibid.* (30.4–5): *... rab tu byung ngo || mtshan yang dPal ldan Chos kyi bshes gnyen ces (sic) bya'o || rgya gar gyi skad du ni Shri [em.: shri; Ms: shrir] Dharma mi tra zhes bya'o ||*; *ibid.* (31.6): *mtshan yang sngon gi dge slong gi | de'i tshe 'dzo kir gyur nas | Mi tra 'dzo ki mtshan brag go ||*. See also Chandra 1965; May 2019. There are two more names worth drawing attention to in this context, although they cannot be further investigated within the framework of the present article: Ajitacandra (*slob dpon Mi pham zla ba*), which appears only once in the Canon, as the author of D2127/P2978, the translation of which was done by Byams pa'i dpal (in collaboration with *S/Śubha(śrī)śānti); and Candramitra (*slob dpon Zla ba'i bshes gnyen*), which also appears only once in the Canon, as the

whose works were translated by Byams pa'i dpal is often referred to in the colophons as either Ajitamitragupta (D2122/D2973, D2462¹³³/D3290, and the collective colophon of D2741–D2847 / P3562–P3668, in all three cases qualified as *grub pa bsnyes pa'i paṇḍi ta chen po*), or Ajitagupta (D2123/P2974), the only exception being Ajitamitra (D2132/P2974, qualified as *slob dpon*). Mitrayogin in turn is referred to in the colophons of the works translated by Byams pa'i dpal as the great lord of *yogins* (*rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po Mi tra dzo kyi*, D2130/P2981; *rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po Shri mi tra*, D2131/P2982). In all other instances (i.e., works translated by other translators), the author is named Ajitamitra (i.e., without the component *gupta*), either qualified as *slob dpon* (D2716 (=D2719/P3540), D3449/P4270, D4159/P5659) or as *slob dpon chen po* (D2715/P4837 (=D2714/P3538), D3311/P4132 (=D3449/P4270)), or with no qualification (D2714/P3538). Of particular significance are D3311/P4132 and D4159/P5659, since they were translated by dPal brtsegs (b. 8th cent.) in collaboration with Vidyākara-prabha, and by Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) in collaboration with Kamalagupta, respectively. Given the dates of the translators (certainly dPal brtsegs but very likely also Rin chen bzang po), the Ajitamitra who authored these two works cannot be a student of Tilopā, let alone a teacher of Mitrayogin. Whether all the Ajitamitra-s who are qualified as *slob dpon* (*chen po*) are one and the same person cannot be further investigated here, but, in general, it appears that we might be dealing here with at least two or even three Ajitamitra-s, possibly one to be dated to the eighth century or earlier, one—whether identical or not with *Lalitavajra/*Lilāvajra—who flourished sometime in the eleventh century (or even late tenth century), and one (Ajitamitragupta)—whether identical or not with Mitrayogin—to be dated to the twelfth century. If this is indeed the case, the

author of D1720/P2591, the translation of which was likewise done by Byams pa'i dpal (in collaboration with Sugataśrī).

¹³³ Note that D2462 has no translation colophon, but the translation ascription is confirmed by the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (505.6–7) and the *sDe dge bstan dkar* (393b5–7).

initial confusion might well have been between Ajitamitra and Ajitamitragupta rather than between Ajitamitra(gupta) and Mitrayogin. As already pointed out, if Ajitamitra(gupta) is identical with Mitrayogin, one wonders why the two names are used in the one and the same colophon without any indication that they are referring to the same person. I am not entirely sure whether this has any significance, but it is perhaps worth noting that gNubs Byams pa'i dpal himself went under several names—including simply gNubs lo tsā ba, Byams pa lo tsā ba, gNubs Tshul khirms shes rab, Khro phu Byams pa'i dpal, Khu phu Tshul khirms shes rab, and Khro lo chen po¹³⁴—which appears to have likewise caused confusion,¹³⁵ and it might be that Byams pa'i dpal was particularly fond of using aliases also for the authors whose texts he translated.

3.6. Some Final Remarks on the Inclusion of Existing Clusters

From the above presented evidence, it appears that many of the *sādhanas* transmitted in the *bsTan 'gyur* circulated as independent sets prior to the compilation of the Canon, and that these sets were taken over and integrated as such into it. All individual texts in three of the four *sādhana* collections discussed above were translated in each case by one and the same translator, and these latter in turn are reported to have studied the *sādhanas* contained therein under their respective Indian teachers, either as individual texts or as a set that already existed in the Indic tradition. Even after the compilation of the Canon, it appears that the sets continued to be transmitted as independent, extracanonical

¹³⁴ See, for examples, TPNI, s.v. Khro phu lo tsā ba Byams pa'i dpal; the pertinent canonical colophons; and the respective catalogue records.

¹³⁵ See, for example, the *Ngam ring bstan dkar* (77.2–4) where Byams pa'i dpal and gNubs Tshul khirms shes rab appear to be understood as two different persons: *'Ching ba rnām grol gyi bstan bcos rgyas pa gnyis dpal Niska lam kas mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta Shrī dza ga ta mi tra ā nanda dang | Bud dha shrī dznyā na dang | lo tsā ba Byams pa'i dpal gyi 'gyur | 'di la gNubs Tshul khirms shes rab kyi 'gyur du byas pa yod |*.

collections. As we have seen, three of them were often mentioned together by various masters of the tradition in their treatises, histories, and records of teachings received. It has, however, also become clear that the collections were not entirely fixed, the number (and identity) of the works contained therein often varying.

To conclude the present discussion, I would like to cite a passage from the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Records of Teachings Received*, where three of the four *sādhana* collections just discussed are mentioned, and some additional details are provided (the veracity of some of which needs further verification). This passage, which gives a good grasp of the role such sets played in the transmission of *sādhanas* in Tibet, lists them as follows:¹³⁶

rgyud sde rin po che rnam su lha dpa' bo gcig pa sogs sgrub thabs mang po gsungs pa rnam Sangs rgyas gnyis pa Klu sgrub zhabs kyis mtshon pa'i paṅ grub du mas sgrub thabs chung ngu mang du mdzad pa thor bu rnam paṅ grub tshad ldan gyis phyogs gcig tu bsdus pa'i sGrub thabs bsdus pa zhes pa rgyas bsdus kyis bsdus pa min yang bya ba mang po phyogs gcig tu bsdus pas de ltar grags shing |

(a) *bla ma Bai ro tsa na rakṣi ta dang Dha*¹³⁷ *Byang chub sems dpa' sogs la Ba ri lo tsā bas sgrub thabs mi 'dra ba stong rtsa gsan pa'i nang nas zab cing thugs gtsigs che ba dgu bcu go drug phyogs gcig tu bsdebs pa'i sGrub thabs kun las btus sam brGya rtsa zhes pa Bod 'dir 'gyur ba'i bsdus pa dang |*

(b) *Pa tshab Nyi ma grags(!) kyis bsgyur ba'i sGrub thabs phyed dang nyis brgya pa 'bring po |*

(c) *rDo rje gdan gyi Ma hā bo dhi las gnang ba thob cing rDo rje rnal 'byor mas lung bstan pa la brten nas paṅ chen 'Jigs med 'byung gnas kyis phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa gdan sa chen po dPal ldan Sa skyar 'gro ba'i mgon po*

¹³⁶ *INga pa chen po'i thob yig* (vol. 2: 24.9–21).

¹³⁷ *dha] em., bha Print.*

**Chos kyi rgyal po 'Phags pa rin po che'i bkas bskul nas
Yar klungs pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba'i
sgrub thabs nyis brgya dang bzhi bcu zhe gnyis bzhugs pa
rGyas pa'am rGya mtshor grags pa rnams las....**

Of the numerous *sādhanas* [concerning] Ekavīra and other deities taught in the precious Tantric corpus, [those] referred to as *sgrub thabs bsdus pa*—[that is], the miscellaneous numerous small *sādhanas* composed by many *paṇḍitas* and *siddhas*, exemplified by the Second Buddha Nāgārjuna-pāda, [and] compiled by competent *paṇḍitas* and *siddhas*, which are known thus not because [they] are concise (*bsdus pa*) [as meant in the phrase] “extensive [versus] concise” (*rgyas bsdus*), but because [they are] compilations (*phyogs gcig tu bsdus pa*) of many ritual acts—[namely],

- (a) the smaller [collection] known as *sGrub thabs kun las btus* or [*sGrub thabs*] *brgya rtsa*, which was translated [and] compiled here in Tibet by Ba ri lo tsā ba, being a collection of ninety-six profound and invaluable [*sādhanas*] from among the more than one thousand different *sādhanas* [he] received from Vairocanarakṣita, Dha Bodhisattva, and others,
- (b) the middle-[sized collection known as] *sGrub thabs phyed dang nyis brgya pa* (“The Hundred-and-Fifty Sādhana Collection”) translated by Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (erroneously for Pa tshab Tshul khirms rgyal mtshan), and
- (c) [the collection] known as [*sGrub thabs*] *rgyas pa* (“The Large [Sādhana Collection]”) or [*sGrub thabs*] *rgya mtsho* (“Ocean [of Sādhana-s]”), which was compiled by the great *paṇḍita* Abhayākara Gupta after [he] received [them] from the Mahābodhi [*stūpa*] of Buddhagayā following a prophecy by Vajrayoginī, and which contains 242 *sādhanas* translated by Yar klungs pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan at the great seat of

Glorious Sa skya at the behest of the protector of beings Chos kyi rgyal po 'Phags pa rin po che....

4. Authentication Policies concerning Pseudepigraphy

Lastly, I wish to speak about the policies employed by the Canon's editors in regard to suspected pseudepigraphs, that is, works with a (suspected) false ascription of authorship. This phenomenon—be it a result of a deliberate falsification, possibly but not necessarily on the part of the author himself, or of an unintentionally and thus “innocent” transmissional error—preoccupied the tradition in general and the editors of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in particular. Those works suspected of being pseudepigraphs found in the Canon can be divided into two groups: (i) pseudepigraphs of Indic origin, most commonly consisting in a misappropriation in India of the name of an earlier famous Indian Buddhist scholar by another Indic author, and (ii) pseudepigraphs of Tibetic origin, the act taking place within the Tibetan cultural sphere and consisting in a misappropriation of the name of an Indian scholar, if not necessarily the most well-known ones. The tradition, too, made this distinction, as testified in Rig ral's catalogue, where, in the chapter devoted to the issue of authenticity (chap. 29), he states the following:¹³⁸

*bstan bcos rnam kyang [phyag rgya]¹³⁹ bzhi la sogs pa rgya gar bas **Klu sgrub** la sogs pa la kha 'phangs pa'ang yod la | [...] bod kyis rgya gar ba la kha 'phangs pa'ang yod cing |*

As for the treatises, there are [some that], like [the treatise on] the four *mudrās*, have been falsely ascribed by Indians to [other Indian scholars] such as Nāgārjuna, but [...] there are also [some that] have been falsely ascribed by Tibetans to Indian [scholars].

¹³⁸ *rGyan gyi nyi 'od* (258.1–6).

¹³⁹ [*phyag rgya*] R (corrective supplement), *om*. N

Rig ral, however, while noting these two categories of pseudepigraphy, does not state anything regarding the difference, if there is any, in the authenticity of these two categories. Nonetheless, since he does include in his catalogue the works belonging to the first category, for example the treatise on the four *mudrās* mentioned by him as an example (on which see below, §4.1., example (a)), whereas he does not do so with those belonging to the second category, it is quite obvious that he considers the former authentic and the latter not. In the following I shall discuss these two categories by way of several examples, with a focus on the manner in which the works in question were recorded by various cataloguers of translated Buddhist literature and editors of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, but with no attempt to come to any conclusion regarding their provenance and/or authorship.

4.1. Suspected Pseudepigraphs of Indic Origin

As a rule, pseudepigraphs of Indic origin were considered authentic and were thus admitted into the Canon, with, at best, a remark noting the suspected pseudepigraphy. In the following I shall discuss three such cases, each shedding light on the issue from a slightly different angle.

(a) The *Caturmudrānvaya* (D2225/P3069)

One known case of suspected pseudepigraphy of Indic origin is the *Caturmudrānvaya* (*Phyag rgya bzhi gtan la dbab pa*),¹⁴⁰ whose authorship ascription to Nāgārjuna has been debated within the Tibetan tradition, a debate inherited from Indic sources. Needless to say, the traditional sources, both Indic and Tibetic, commonly

¹⁴⁰ The title *Phyag rgya bzhi gtan la dbab pa* is the Tibetan rendering found in the mainstream *bsTan 'gyur* editions, which was accordingly reconstructed as **Caturmudrāniścaya*. For other renderings, where the component *anvaya* found in the attested Sanskrit title has been translated literally, see the various sources cited below.

consider in their discussions this Nāgārjuna to be the same as the author of the *Mūlamadhyamakakarikā*. The first known catalogue record of the work is that found in Rig ral's catalogue, where it is listed under the section of translations by rMa ban Chos 'bar (1044–1089; BDRC: P4CZ10557) and where doubts are already expressed regarding its authorship, namely, that the work "was falsely ascribed (*kha 'phangs pa*) to Nāgārjuna."¹⁴¹ dBus pa blo gsal, too, may have expressed doubts in his *bsTan 'gyur* catalogue, though the situation there is somewhat complex due to some discrepancies in the readings of the two available manuscripts/versions, and not least because the pertinent catalogue entry involves a marginal annotation in MS B concerning the most relevant phrase, which in turn appears to be corrupt. To be noted is that although the annotation is written by the same hand (but in smaller and slightly running script), since it is missing in MS A altogether, it is less likely to have been a corrective supplement of a phrase that was erroneously omitted while writing/copying the text.¹⁴² The marginal annotation states: "Abhaya maintains that it

¹⁴¹ See the *rGyan gyi nyi 'od* (under the section listing translations by rMa Chos 'bar): [Rr25.66] *de dag gis* [N: *gis*, R: *gi*]^[*] **Klu sgrub la kha 'phangs pa'i Phyag rgya bzhi pa.**^[*] It is unclear who the referents of the phrase *de dag gis* (which I take to possibly be the subject of the verb *kha 'phangs pa*) are. See, however, the passage from Rig ral's catalogue cited above, in which he explicitly states that the false ascription of this work's authorship was the act of Indians (*rgya gar ba*) not Tibetans.

¹⁴² See the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (A, 33b6–34a1; B, 27a3): [IIs717] *slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i Phyag rgya bzhi bstan pa* {*min par A ba yas bzhed*} [*conj.:* *min par a ba yas bzhed*, B: *yin par a ba ya bzhed*, A: *om.*]^[*] **Chos 'bar gyi 'gyur**.^[*] The phrase *yin par a ba ya bzhed* is found in the upper margin of MS B, but is entirely missing in MS A (due either to relying on a manuscript lacking the annotation or to the scribe's overlooking it?). A few remarks regarding MS B should be made here from a codicological-cum-palaeographical point of view: Paratexts are found abundantly in MS B. Those consisting of corrective supplements are of two kinds: (i) erroneously omitted passages that are commonly found in the margin and are marked by a special sign (mostly the subscript *ya* with two dots on top, but occasionally an x) at both ends, and (ii) single letters/syllables that are interlinearies with or without any

is [so]" (*yin par A ba ya (=yas) bzhed*), namely, that it was "composed" (*mdzad pa*) by Nāgārjuna. As we shall see below, though, one would expect the annotation to read *min par* and not *yin par*, namely, "maintained by Abhaya that it is *not* [the case]." This presumably faulty reading could be easily explained as a confusion due to the similarity of the letters *ya* and *ma* in dBu med (provided the phrase was copied from another source). But it could of course also be the result of one unfocused moment on the part of the author of the annotation. I thus suggest conjecturing the text accordingly.

The Tshal pa catalogue, notably, expresses no doubts regarding the authorship.¹⁴³ In fact, it does not follow here the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* at all. Firstly, the Tibetan title in the Tshal pa catalogue has *rjes su bstan pa* instead of *bstan pa*, and secondly, it does not provide the name of the translator. A brief examination of the Tshal pa version of the *Caturmudrāṅvaya* reveals that it is

special sign (commonly an x). Glosses, which are found in MS B to a much lesser extent than in MS A and which elucidate certain words or, more frequently, personal names (i.e., provide a rendering of the authors' Sanskrit names into Tibetan or vice versa), are interlinearly written in a similar (though slightly more running) script and are often connected to the word they gloss by a dotted line. It is, however, yet to be determined how many of the marginalia are not corrective supplements but, as in our case, possibly an annotation. The scenario that MS B is an autograph (i.e., written by dBu pa blo gsal's hand) cannot be ruled out, in which case the marginalia could also be later corrections/additions/revisions to the text itself and not mere scribal corrective supplements. It should nonetheless be reiterated that neither the date-cum-provenance of either of the manuscripts, nor the relationship between them, nor the identity of the author(s) of either the corrective restorations and supplements, or the annotations and glosses found therein could be thus far determined, so that other scenarios are also possible. It is, in any event, quite certain that the later, and possibly final, version of the catalogue (transmitted in MS A) was written no later than 1317. See Almogi 2021: 188–189.

¹⁴³ See the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (59b2): [T1697] *Phyag rgya bzhi rjes su bstan pa Klu grub kyis mdzad pa* |.

indeed different from those found in the mainstream *bsTan 'gyur* editions (which are likely based on the one transmitted in the Old sNar thang edition).¹⁴⁴ Notable is also the difference in the colophons. While the colophons of the mainstream editions have the work title *Phyag rgya bzhi gtan la dbab pa*, the colophon of the Tshal pa version has *Rim pa bzhi'i no pi ka* (the title at the beginning of the work reads, however, *Phyag rgya bzhi rjes su bstan pa*, as in the corresponding catalogue entry). Moreover, while the mainstream canonical colophons name the author as one Klu sgrub snying po (*Nāgārjunagarbha), that of the Tshal pa edition merely has Klu sgrub (to which issue I shall return below). And lastly, while the former have translator/translation colophons ascribing the translation to rMa ban Chos 'bar in collaboration with *Dharāśrījñāna, the latter lacks a translation colophon altogether, and so accords with the corresponding catalogue entry, which does not name a translator.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the translation contained in the Tshal pa edition is different from that found in the mainstream editions. Nonetheless, the two versions bear sufficient similarity to conclude that they are related to one another. Since, however, the Tshal pa version lacks a translation colophon, it is impossible to determine their relative chronology, and thus also which relied on which. To be noted here in passing is that the Tshal pa version is very similar to the one contained in the dPal spungs xylograph edition of the *Phyag rgya chen po'i rgya*

¹⁴⁴ The *Caturmudrānvaya* is found in the Tshal pa edition in section II (rGyud sde), vol. Dze(80), 176b1–180a6.

¹⁴⁵ The colophons of the mainstream canonical versions read as follows (D, 79b1–2; P, 84b4–5): *Phyag rgya bzhi gtan la dbab pa slob dpon chen po Klu sgrub snying pos mdzad pa rdzogs so || || bla ma Dhi ri shrī dznyā na'i zhabs dang | bod kyi lo tsā [D: tsā, P: tsa] ba rMa ban Chos 'bar gyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o ||*. The one in the Tshal pa version reads (section II (rGyud sde), vol. Dze(80), 180a6): *slob dpon Klu bsgrub kyi zhal snga nas kyi mdzad pa || Rim pa bzhi'i no pi ka | rdzogs so ||*.

gzhung, which unfortunately also lacks a translator/translation colophon.¹⁴⁶

Bu ston, in his religious history, likewise names Nāgārjuna as the author (using the verb *mdzad pa*), but adds that according to Abhayākara-gupta's *Āmnāyamañjarī* the work is not by Nāgārjuna.¹⁴⁷ In his catalogue to the Zhwa lu edition, he paraphrases the pertinent passage from the *Āmnāyamañjarī* and explains the state of affairs in slightly more detail, stating the following:¹⁴⁸

slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i Phyang rgya bzhi gtan la dbab pa | paṇḍi ta Dhi ri shrī dznyā na dang | lo tsā ba rMa ban Chos 'bar gyi 'gyur | 'di Man ngag snye ma la sogs par slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis byas pa ma yin te | so so'i skye bo man ngag mi shes pa kha cig gis byas so || zhes bshad mod kyil 'on kyang rgya gar ma yin cing | bod la grags pa gtsor byas nas bris so || Klu sgrub kyis Ārya de ba la bshad cing | des Sems kyil sgrub sbyong mdzad de gong du bris so ||

The *Caturmudrānvaya* composed by the master Nāgārjuna and translated by Lo tsā ba rMa ban Chos 'bar in collaboration with Paṇḍita *Dharāsṛījñāna. In [Abhayākara-gupta's] *Āmnāyamañjarī* and elsewhere it is stated that this is not a composition by Nāgārjuna but rather a composition by

¹⁴⁶ The dPal spungs version was taken into consideration by Klaus-Dieter Mathes in his critical edition of the Tibetan text, for which he used three versions, including, in addition to the dPal spungs xylographic version (his siglum B; = BDRC: W3CN636), also the Peking version (P), and the version contained in the *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod* (his siglum T; = BDRC: W00JW501203). See Mathes 2008: 123–128.

¹⁴⁷ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (303.21–22): [Bc2721] *slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i Phyang rgya bzhi bstan pa Chos 'bar gyi 'gyur | 'di Klu sgrub kyis byas pa min par Man snyer bshad |*. Note that the modern print has the second sentence as an annotation.

¹⁴⁸ *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (493.4–6).

a worldling who does not know the instructions.¹⁴⁹ And yet, it is an Indic work, and I have recorded/written [it here as a composition of Nāgārjuna's], [thereby] adhering to (*gtsor byas nas*) [the tradition surrounding it] known in Tibet. Nāgārjuna expounded it to Āryadeva, and the latter [then] composed the *Cittāvaraṇaviśodhanaprakaraṇa* (D1804/P2669), which is recorded above.¹⁵⁰

The catalogues of the two *bsTan 'gyur* editions associated with the Third Karma pa follow, as expected, the Tshal pa catalogue, and thus likewise express no reservations regarding the authorship

¹⁴⁹ The pertinent passage in the Tibetan translation of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* reads as follows (D, 67a3–4; P, 75b7–8): *Phyag rgya bzhi pa'i rjes su 'gro ba'i gzhung ni so so skye bo gdams ngag mi shes pa kho nas byas pa stel phan tshun 'gal ba ni 'phags pa rnam kyis mi sbyor bas so* | |. The corresponding Sanskrit as found in the bilingual (Skt.-Tib.) manuscript published a couple of years ago reads as follows (196b1–3; all lines counted; Skt. is on odd-numbered lines, Tib. on even-numbered): *caturmudrānvayagranthas tu prthagjanenaivāmnāyānabhijñēna kṛtaḥ | na hi parasparaviruddham āryair nibadhyate* |. I thank Prof. Harunaga Isaacson for providing me this passage, as emended by him, along with several notes, which I summarize here as follows: (1) The syllable *ntha* looks more like *ccha*, but perhaps the scribe (a Tibetan not very used to copying Sanskrit manuscripts?) can be given the benefit of the doubt; (2) Between *jñe* and *na* the syllable *ya* was written but cancelled (probably by the original scribe); (3) Ms: *kṛto*, em.: *kṛtaḥ* |; (4) Ms: *viraddham*, em.: *viruddham*. Note that the Tibetan text in the manuscript (196b2–4) is virtually identical with the canonical version cited above. Bu ston clearly indicates that the *Āmnāyamañjarī* is not the only work to reject this authorship ascription. In this regard, see Mathes 2008: 91, where it is pointed out that another Indian scholar who rejected the authorship ascription to Nāgārjuna is Vibhūticandra (fl. 12th/13th cent.), as attested in his *Amṛta-kaṇikoddyotanibandha*.

¹⁵⁰ The catalogue record of the *Cittāvaraṇaviśodhanaprakaraṇa* is found in the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (464.7).

ascription.¹⁵¹ Ngor chen, in his catalogue to the Mustang edition, expresses no doubts either.¹⁵² The cataloguers of the mainstream editions follow, likewise as expected, Bu ston, and in fact reproduce his statement almost verbatim.¹⁵³ Zhu chen, however, introduces slight changes to the passage, most notably in referring to the author as Klu sgrub snying po (*Nāgārjunagarbha), which, as we have seen earlier, is the name found in the mainstream canonical colophons and, as already pointed out, is often the form used by the tradition in the Tantric context. It is unclear when the form Klu sgrub snying po was used in the colophons of the work in question for the first time, but as we have already seen, the colophon of the Tshal pa version has Klu sgrub, and this was very probably also the case in the Old sNar thang and the Zhwa lu editions, judging from their respective catalogues. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge the name Klu sgrub snying po is not found in any of the early catalogues, including Rig ral's *rGyan gyi nyi 'od*, the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar*, the *Bu ston chos 'byung*, and the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar*, the only exception being found in the Tshal pa catalogue in the record of the medical work *'Tsho ba'i mdo* (D4307/P5796). To be noted, however, is that the corresponding records in both the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar*, on which the Tshal pa catalogue relied, and the *Rang rdor bstan dkar-1*, which in turn relied on the Tshal pa catalogue, the author is simply called Klu sgrub, so that the component "snying po" could have well been a later addition to the Tshal pa catalogue (the available manuscript containing it is unfortunately undated).¹⁵⁴ It would be perhaps too

¹⁵¹ *Rang rdor bstan dkar-1* (526.4): **Phyag rgya bzhi rjes su bstan pa Klu grub** kyis mdzad pa |; *Rang rdor bstan dkar-2* (673.1–2): **Phyag rgya bzhi rjes su bstan pa Klu sgrub** mdzad pa |.

¹⁵² See the *Glo bo rdo rje theg pa'i bstan dkar* (A, 282a3; B, 262.2–3) **Phyag rgya bzhi rjes su bstan pa Klu sgrub** kyis mdzad pa |.

¹⁵³ See, for example, the *sNe'u gdong bstan dkar* (431.7–432.2); the *INga pa chen po bstan dkar* (51a4–6).

¹⁵⁴ See the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (92a2–3): [T2580] **'Tsho ba'i mdo'i tshigs su bcad pa Klu grub snying pos** mdzad pa |. Cf. the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (A, 58a1–2; B, 47b1): [I1s1264] **slob dpon Klu sgrub** kyis mdzad pa'i sMan

farfetched to interpret the employment of the form *Klu sgrub snying po* in later sources as suggesting the existence, from the viewpoint of the tradition, of two *Nāgārjuna*-s, but it is certainly evidence of attempts to address the discrepancies and resolve some of the ambiguity.¹⁵⁵ It should also be kept in mind that the identity of **Nāgārjunagarbha* (if he existed at all) remains unclear.¹⁵⁶ As for the preference on the part of the *Tshal pa* edition's editors to include a version of the *Caturmudrānvaya* different from that found in the Old *sNar thang* edition, it is impossible to offer any well-informed reason, since neither the identity of the translator of the *Tshal pa* version nor the circumstances of its production are known. One may, however, speculate that since the work in question is of higher significance and relevance for the *Tshal pa* tradition than it is for the *sNar thang* tradition, the former opted for the version most appreciated by their tradition, whereas the latter included simply the one available to them.

(b) *Guhyasamājatantraṭīkā* (D1784/P2649+P2649)

The second case I wish to discuss here is the *Guhyasamājatantraṭīkā* (*gSang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyud 'grel pa*), whose authorship

dpyad [em.: *dpyad*, AB: *spyad*] *'tsho ba'i mdo* |; and the *Rang rdor bstan dkar-1* (590.1): *'Tsho ba'i mdo tshigs su bcad pa slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa* |.

¹⁵⁵ See the *sDe dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 386b2–3): [D2225] *Phyag rgya bzhi gtan la dbab pa slob dpon Klu sgrub snying pos mdzad pa* | *bla ma Dhi ri shrī dznyā na dang* | *bod kyi lo tsā ba rMa ban Chos 'bar gyi 'gyur* | *'di Man ngag snye ma la sogs par slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis byas pa ma yin te* | *so so'i skye bo man ngag mi shes pa kha cig gis byas so zhes bshad mod kyi 'on kyang rgya gar ma yin cing Bod la grags pa gtsor byas nas bris so* | | *slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis Ārya de wa la bshad cing* | *des Sems kyi sgrib sbyong mdzad de bris so* | |.

¹⁵⁶ Dan Martin, for example, “believe[s] that **Nāgārjunagarbha* might be identical to *Nāgamati*, *Nāgabodhi*, etc.” See *Tibskrit*, s.v. *Nāgārjunagarbha*.

ascription to Nāgārjuna has been likewise doubted by the Tibetan tradition. (Note that the work has also been briefly discussed above in the context of editorial policies concerning duplicates and that the pertinent catalogue entries provided above are repeated here for the sake of completeness and the reader's convenience.) As in the previous case, the work was considered Indic in origin, and thus its authenticity as such was not debated. And yet here, too, one finds some discrepancies among the sources in regard to the authenticity of its authorship ascription. Rig ral does not seem to have recorded this commentary in his catalogue, the earliest attested catalogue record of it being the one found in dBus pa blo gsal's *bsTan 'gyur* catalogue, where it is recorded in two separate entries—one for the commentary on the *mūlatantra* (chapters 1–17) and the other for that on the *uttaratantra* (chapter 18)—which are interrupted by the record of the *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi* (D1798/P2663), likewise stated as being by Nāgārjuna. dBus pa blo gsal ascribes the authorship of both parts of the commentary to Nāgārjuna without expressing any doubt and names Mantrakalaśa as the translator of the former and Kumārakalaśa as that of the latter, neither of whom collaborated with a Tibetan translator (*rang 'gyur*).¹⁵⁷

As pointed out above, the Tshal pa catalogue likewise ascribes the commentary to Nāgārjuna, but records a different version, one translated by gZhon nu tshul khriṃs (b. 11th cent.; BDRC: P4418), and remarks in a marginal annotation that in the [Old] sNar thang edition of the *bsTan 'gyur*, where the commentaries on the *mūlatantra* and the *uttaratantra* are written separately, their authorship is ascribed to Nāgārjuna and their translation to Tilakakalaśa (which is actually inaccurate, as the translation of the *mūlatantra* is ascribed there to Mantrakalaśa and that of the

¹⁵⁷ dBus pa blo gsal *bstan dkar* (A, 17a1–2; B, 12b5–7): [I_{js}273 = D1784a/P2648] *slob dpon chen po 'phags pa Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po gsang ba 'dus pa'i 'grel pa Man tra ka la sha'i* [em.: *sha'i*, AB: *shu'i*] *rang 'gyur* | [...] [I_{js}275 = D1784b/P2649] *slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i gSang 'dus le'u bcwa* [A: *bcwa*, B: *bcwo*] *brgyad pa'i rgya cher 'grel gZhon nu bum pa'i rang 'gyur* |.

commentary on the *uttaratantra* to Kumārakalaśa), but that since these two are the same work as the one included in the Tshal pa edition, they were not written/copied in it.¹⁵⁸ The version found in the Tshal pa edition has accordingly only one author/authorship colophon and one translator/translation colophon at the end (i.e., following the commentary on chapter 18), which states that gZhon nu tshul khrims translated the work in collaboration with Karmavajra.¹⁵⁹ gZhon nu tshul khrims is known to have

¹⁵⁸ *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (9a5–6): *Cha pa la* [T97 = D1784/P2648+P2649] *dpal gSang ba 'dus pa'i 'grel pa rgyud kyi bshad pa zhes bya ba slob dpon 'phags pa Klu sgrub* [em.: *sgrub*, Ms: *grub*] *kyis mdzad pa stong phrag dgu pa gZhon nu tshul khrims kyis bsgyur ba'i stod bzhugs|| Ja pa la de'i smad le'u bcwa brgyad pa yan chad dang| sNar thang gi bsTan 'gyur la| rtsa rgyud dang rgyud phyi ma'i 'grel pa so so phye ba| slob dpon Klu sgrub* [em.: *sgrub*, Ms: *grub*] *kyis mdzad pa Thig le bum pa'i 'gyur 'dug na'ang| 'di dang gcig* [em.: *gcig*, Ms: *cig*] *du 'dug pas ma bris so||*. Like in the case of the records cited above, this annotation, too, belong to the group of annotations written in the same hand as the main text and thus perhaps should be considered integral part of the catalogue (on this issue, see above, p. 372). The work is found in the Tshal pa edition in the following location: section II (rGyud sde), vol. Cha(7) (chaps. 1–mid 15) and vol. Ja(8), 1–163b1 (chaps. mid 15–18).

¹⁵⁹ See the *Guhyasamājatantraṭikā*, colophons (T, section II (rGyud sde), vol. Ja(8), 163a4–b1): *dpal gSang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud kyi 'grel pa rgyud kyi bshad pa zhes bya ba'i rdo rje theg pa chen po pa slob dpon dpal ldan Klu sgrub kyis zhal nga nas mdzad pa rdzogs s.ho|| || rjes su bsngags pa'i bsdebs sbyar gi|| tshig bcad dag ni stong phrag dgu* [em.: *dgu*, Ms: *rgus*]|| *dpal ldan gSang ba 'dus pa'i|| rgyud kyi bshad pa rab tu 'dus|| rgya gar gyi mkhan po rdo rje slob dpon chen po Ka rma badzra'i zhal snga nas dang| bod kyi lo tsha ba dge slong gZhon nu tshul khrims kyis bsgyur cing zhus so|| || gtan la phabs|| dpal gSang ba 'dus pa dge'o|| ||*. Of some interest is the editorial note at the end of vol. Cha, according to which two manuscripts of the work (in Tibetan translation) were consulted and the text was proofread once, so that the latter is very accurate. See *ibid.* (T, section II (rGyud sde), vol. Cha(7), 310a6): *lan cig zhus dag|| yang dpe gnyis la btugs nas shin tu dag par bdog pa lags so|| ||*. The editorial remark found at the end of the entire commentary merely states that the text was proofread twice and that it is accurate. See *ibid.* (T, section II (rGyud sde), vol. Ja(8), 163b1): *lan gnyis zhus|| dag go||*.

collaborated with Karmavajra on several other translations, and in fact is said to have been the one who invited him to Tibet.¹⁶⁰ It may be stated here in passing that a brief examination has shown that this translation is different from the one found in the mainstream *bsTan 'gyur* editions ascribed to Mantrakalaśa (commentary on the *mūlatantra*) and Kumārakalaśa (commentary on the *uttaratantra*). A more in-depth investigation would be, however, needed in order to determine whether there is a connection between the two translations or whether they were made independently from one another. In any case, since both are ascribed to persons active in the eleventh century whose exact dates are unknown it is impossible to determine their relative chronology unless some more details come to light. As anticipated, the two editions associated with the Third Karma pa follow the Tshal pa edition.¹⁶¹

Bu ston, in his religious history, provides records similar to those found in dBus pa blo gsal's catalogue.¹⁶² It is in his catalogue to the Zhwa lu edition that he for the first time expresses doubts regarding the authorship ascription to Nāgārjuna, stating the following:¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ See Tibskrit, s.v. Karmavajra.

¹⁶¹ See the *Rang rdor bstan dkar-1* (426.6–427.1): [=D1784a/P2648] *gSang ba 'dus pa'i 'grel pa* | [=D1784b/P2649] *rGyud kyi bshad pa le'u bco brgyad pa* | *slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa* | *stong phrag dgu pa gZhon nu tshul khrim* | *kyis bsgyur ba dang* |; *Rang rdor bstan dkar-2* (638.2): [=D1784/P2648+P2649] *gSang ba 'dus pa'i rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel pa Klu sgrub kyi mdzad pa mkhan po Karma badzra dang* | *gZhon nu tshul khrim* | *kyi 'gyur bzhugs* [em.: bzhugs, Print: bzhug].

¹⁶² *Bu ston chos 'byung* (279.8–13): [Bc1980] *gSang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud kyi 'grel pa slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa Mantra ka la sha'i rang 'gyur* | [...] [Bc1984] *gSang 'dus le'u bco brgyad pa'i 'grel pa gZhon nu bum pa'i rang 'gyur* | [...] *brgyad po* (=Bc1980–Bc1987) *'phags pa Klu sgrub kyis mdzad do* | |.

¹⁶³ *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (462.4–5).

[=D1784] *gSang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud kyi 'grel pa slob dpon chen po Klu sgrub kyis mdzad zer ba'i le'u bcu bdun pa yan chod | Mantra ka la sha 'i*¹⁶⁴ *rang 'gyur | le'u bco brgyad pa gZhon nu bum pa'i rang 'gyur gnyis bzhugs so || 'grel pa 'di | slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad ma mdzad rtsod pa can du 'dug na'ang bod ma ma yin par 'dug cing | mtshan bzang po la g.yar 'dug pa'i don la dbu ru bzhugs su bcug pa yin no ||*.

A commentary on the *Guhyasamājantra* alleged (*zer ba*) to have been composed by the great master Nāgārjuna. [The translation] is twofold: Up to chapter 17 it is a solo translation by Mantrakalaśa. Chapter 18 is a solo translation by Kumārakalaśa. Although it is a matter of controversy whether this commentary was composed by Nāgārjuna, it is [certainly] not a Tibetan work. And because the author borrowed (*g.yar ba*) a good name (i.e., that of the great master Nāgārjuna), [I] have placed [the work] at the beginning (i.e., of the section of the “Ārya [tradition of the *Guhyasamājantra*], which follows Lord Nāgārjuna”¹⁶⁵).

Unlike in the previous case, Bu ston unfortunately does not provide any information about this disputed authorship ascription, including the source(s) he relied upon. Nonetheless, he clearly asserts that this is an Indian work and not a Tibetan one, which seems to be a statement of authentication and thus a full justification for its inclusion in the Canon. What is particularly curious, clearly, is Bu ston’s decision to place the work as the first in the section, obviously in order to honour the “real” Nāgārjuna, whose name in this case was, so he believed, misappropriated. The act of misappropriating Nāgārjuna’s name certainly paid off in this case, doubtless beyond the author’s expectations. The editors of the Fifth Dalai Lama *bsTan 'gyur* edition followed suit and reproduced Bu ston’s statement almost verbatim,¹⁶⁶ while

¹⁶⁴ sha'i] *em.*, shu Xy

¹⁶⁵ *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (462.3–4): *dang po mgon po Klu sgrub kyi rjes su 'brangs pa'i 'phags skor la.*

¹⁶⁶ See the *INga pa chen po'i bstan dkar* (36b7–37a1).

Zhu chen adds some information regarding the identity of the two Indian *paṇḍitas* named as the translators, identifying Mantrakalaśa as the nephew/grandson (*dbon po*) of Kumārakalaśa, who is in turn identified as the son of Tārakalaśa.¹⁶⁷ Ngor chen, in his catalogue to the Mustang edition, likewise expresses some doubts, though in a more subtle manner, using the phrase “reputed to have been composed” (*mdzad par grags pa*).¹⁶⁸

(c) *Avamānapradīpa (D3729/P4551)

The third and last example of pseudepigraphy of Indic origin I wish to present is the **Avamānapradīpa* (*Zhen log sgron ma*), which is again ascribed to Nāgārjuna. The work seems neither to have been included in the first canonical collections nor to have been recorded in any of the earlier catalogues, for no record of it is found in Rig ral’s and dBus pa blo gsal’s catalogues, in the catalogue to the Tshal pa edition, or in Bu ston’s religious history. Nor is it recorded in either of the two editions associated with the Third Karma pa. It seems to have been missing in early Sa skya collections as well, no record of it being found in Ngor chen’s catalogue to his Mustang edition. The work was first admitted into the Canon by Bu ston while producing his Zhwa lu edition,

¹⁶⁷ See the *sDe dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 369a2–4): [D1784] *dPal gsang ba ’dus pa’i rgyud kyi ’grel pa zhes bya ba rdo rje theg pa chen po pa slob dpon chen po dpal Klu sgrub kyis mdzad zer ba’i le’u bcu bdun pa yan chad rgya gar gyi mkhan po shrī Tā ra ka la sha’i sras paṇḍi ta Ku mā ra ka la sha’i dbon po Mantra ka la sha zhes bya ba nyid kyi rang ’gyur | le’u bco brgyad pa’i rGya cher ’grel pa rdo rje theg pa chen po pa dpal Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa | rgya gar gyi mkhan po chen po dpal gZhon nu bum pa’i [=Ku mā ra ka la sha’i] rang ’gyur bzhugs so | | ’grel pa ’di slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad ma mdzad rtsod pa can du ’dug na’ang | bod ma ma yin par ’dug cing mtshan bzang por g.yar ’dug pa’i don la dbu ru bzhugs su bcug pa yin zhes gsungs so | | | |. See also Tomabechi 2016: 86.*

¹⁶⁸ See the *Glo bo rdo rje theg pa’i bstan dkar* (A, 277a1–2; B, 253.1–3): *dpal gSang ba ’dus pa’i rgyud kyi ’grel pa le’u bcu bdun pa yan chad dang | Le’u bco brgyad pa’i ’grel pa ’phags pa Klu sgrub kyis mdzad par grags pa gZhon nu ’bum pa’i ’gyur....*

and this despite him having doubts regarding its authorship ascription, which are expressed by him in the pertinent record in his catalogue as follows:¹⁶⁹

[=D3729/P4551] *Zhen log sgron ma zhes bya ba slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad zer ba* | 'di the tshom gyi gzhi gcig snang bas mjug tu bkod pa yin |

The **Avamānapradīpa* allegedly composed by Nāgārjuna. This [work] is manifestly a source of [some] doubt. Therefore, I have placed it at the end (i.e., of the cycle of [works] establishing pledges, vows, and the like (*dam tshig dang sdom pa la sog pa'i rnam gzhag gi skor*)).

Here, Bu ston, in complete contrast to the previous case, placed the work at the end of the section despite it being ascribed to Nāgārjuna, probably because he himself doubted its Indic origin. Unfortunately, he does not share the reasons for his doubts, nor does he justify his decision to nonetheless admit it into the Canon. The editors of the mainstream editions followed suit and included the work in them, and also reproduced Bu ston's statement in their catalogues.¹⁷⁰

4.2. Suspected Pseudepigraphs of Tibetic Origin

In the following I shall present and discuss three works thought to be pseudepigraphs of Tibetic origin but which were nonetheless admitted into the Canon, with the hope that here, too, each of the cases will allow us to shed light on the matter from a somewhat different angle.

¹⁶⁹ *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (566.1–2).

¹⁷⁰ See the *sNe'u gdong bstan dkar* (500.7–501.1); *INga pa chen po'i bstan dkar* (87b5–6); *sDe dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 428a5–6).

(a) **Pradīpoddyotanaṭikā* (D1794/P2659)

The first case I wish to present is the *Guhyasamājantra* commentary **Pradīpoddyotanaṭikā* (*sGron ma gsal bar byed pa'i 'grel bshad*), ascribed to Āryadeva (not to be confused with the Tantric Candrakīrti's (10th cent.?) *Pradīpoddyotanaṭikā Ṣaṭkoṭivvyākhyā* or, in short, *Pradīpoddyotana* (D1785/P2650)!). From the catalogues examined, it appears that doubts regarding its authorship ascription were expressed for the first time by Bu ston in his religious history, where in the pertinent record he states the following:¹⁷¹

[Bc2022] *slob dpon Zla ba grags pas mdzad pa'i gSang ba 'dus pa'i mngon par rtogs pa rgyan gyi 'grel pa dang* | [Bc2023] *sGron gsal gyi 'grel bshad slob dpon 'Phags pa lhas mdzad pa 'di gnyis the tshom gyi gzhi'o* | |

The **Guhyasamājābhisamayālamkāravṛtti* composed (*mdzad pa*) by Candrakīrti and the **Pradīpoddyotanaṭikā* composed (*mdzad pa*) by Āryadeva are both sources of doubt.

In the historical part of the same work, while discussing Āryadeva's Tantric works, Bu ston concludes the list with the work in question as follows:¹⁷²

sngags phyogs la | sngags kyi lta spyod gtan la 'bebs pa la [...] la sogs pa mdzad cing sGron gsal gyi 'grel bshad mdzad zer te | dus mtshungs mi mtshungs brtag par bya'o | |.

On the Mantric side, in order to establish the Mantric view and conduct, [Āryadeva] composed such [works] as [...], and [he] allegedly [also] composed (*mdzad zer*) the **Pradīpoddyotanaṭikā*, but one should investigate whether [it / its author] is contemporaneous [with his other works / with Āryadeva] (i.e., whether it was composed by the same Āryadeva).

¹⁷¹ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (B, 280.20–22).

¹⁷² See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (150.7–12).

To be added is that the work lacks a translator/translation colophon, a fact that has commonly raised some suspicion among the Canon's editors-cum-cataloguers. In his catalogue to the Zhwa lu edition, Bu ston is more explicit in this regard, stating the following:¹⁷³

[=D1794/P2659] *sGron gsal le'u dang po'i 'grel bshad slob dpon 'Phags pa lhas mdzad zer ba | 'di bod ma 'dra bar 'dug na'ang sngar gyi rnam s kyis bris 'dug pas bzhugs*

The **Pradīpoddyotanāṭikā* on the first chapter [of the *Guhyasamājatantra*] alleged to have been composed by Āryadeva. This looks like a Tibetan work. However, since [master]s of the past recorded [it], [I have also] included [it].

While this statement by Bu ston has been reproduced almost verbatim by the editors-cum-cataloguers of the mainstream editions,¹⁷⁴ it appears that editors-cum-cataloguers of other editions that were not based on the Zhwa lu edition express no doubts whatsoever regarding either the authorship ascription to Āryadeva or its provenance. In the dBus pa blo gsal's catalogue it is listed as the first work in chapter 21, a chapter found only in the catalogue's later version (MS A). This chapter lists works found in rare manuscripts that were compiled and added to the collection at a later stage by rGyang ro Byang chub 'bum (b. 13th cent.; BDRC: P3644). From this we can conclude that the work did not enjoy wide circulation.¹⁷⁵ The Tshal pa catalogue,¹⁷⁶ followed by the catalogues to the two editions associated with the Third

¹⁷³ *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (463.5–6).

¹⁷⁴ For example, the *INga pa chen po'i bstan dkar* (37a8–b1); *sDe dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 369b5–6).

¹⁷⁵ See the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (A, 70a1–2; BØ): *dpal gSang ba 'dus pa'i 'grel pa sgron ma gsal ba'i 'grel bshad slob dpon 'Phags pa lhas mdzad pa |*.

¹⁷⁶ See the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (10b7): [T139] *sGron gsal le'u dang po'i 'grel bshad slob dpon A rya de bas mdzad pa |*.

Karma pa,¹⁷⁷ has similar records, mainly differing in its noting that the work merely comments on the first chapter. Ngor chen, in his catalogue to the Mustang edition, has a concise record of the work in question, and likewise expresses no doubts.¹⁷⁸

Finally, I would like to suggest that, while at first glance it appears that Rig ral did not record the work in his catalogue, it may well be that the work referred to by him as *sGron gsal gyi stod 'grel* (Rr29.101), which is recorded under his list of inauthentic Tantric works that are of Tibetic origin, is nothing other than the **Pradīpodyotanāṭikā* ascribed to Āryadeva, which, as we have seen, is a commentary on the first chapter alone. If this is indeed the case, it would appear that dBus pa blo gsal and rGyang ro pa failed to recognize that the work obtained by them with much effort was classified by Rig ral as spurious. At any rate, what is most relevant to our present discussion is that even those editors-cum-cataloguers who suspected that the work was Tibetan admitted it into the Canon, with the argument that they were thereby following masters of the past.

(b) **Samḍhinirmocanasūtravyākhyāna* (D4358/P5845)

Another case of a work ascribed to an Indian scholar but has been suspected by the tradition of being autochthonous is the **Samḍhinirmocanasūtravyākhyāna* (*mDo sde dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i 'grel chen*), which according to some sources was falsely ascribed to Asaṅga.¹⁷⁹ Since the identification of the work and its

¹⁷⁷ See the *Rang rdor bstan dkar-1* (430.3): *sGron gsal le'u dang po'i 'grel bshad* | *slob dpon Arya de bas mdzad pa* |; *Rang rdor bstan dkar-2* (639.5): *sGron gsal gyi 'grel bshad Arya de bas mdzad pa dang* |.

¹⁷⁸ Ngor chen (A, 277a5; B, 253.13): *gSang 'dus sgron gsal gyi 'grel bshad Ārya de was mdzad pa* |.

¹⁷⁹ The authorship of this work has been discussed by Steinkellner 1989: 236–241. Note, however, that according to him the work is ascribed in the sDe dge edition to Byang chub rdzu 'phrul, identified as King Khri Srong lde btsan. I have not been able to reconfirm this attribution, and it appears that he has merely relied on information provided in the

author also involves at least two other commentaries on the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* reported in Tibetan bibliographical sources, I shall in the following present the respective catalogue records whenever applicable. The first to have expressed some doubts, though in a subtle manner, seems to have been dBus pa blo gsal, who lists two such commentaries said to be by Asaṅga, one short and one long, employing for the former the verb “composed” (*mdzad pa*) and for the latter the phrase “reputed to have been composed” (*mdzad par grags pa*):¹⁸⁰

[I_{JS}890 = D3981/P5481] *slob dpon Thogs med kyis mdzad pa mDo sde dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i 'grel pa chung ba Ye shes sde'i 'gyur* | [I_{JS}891 = DØ/PØ] *des mdzad par grags pa'i 'grel pa che ba...*

In Rig ral's catalogue, which served as a basis for dBus pa blo gsal's, one finds three relevant entries: The first two, successively listed under the section of Early Propagation (*snga dar*), that is, as Ancient Translations, consist of one long commentary comprising 60 *bam pos*, whose author is not specified, and one short one containing 220 *ślokas*, which is ascribed to Asaṅga. Now, whereas it is certain that the short commentary recorded by Rig ral is the same as the one listed by dBus pa blo gsal, it remains unclear whether the long commentaries recorded by them—neither of which seems to be found in the mainstream *bsTan 'gyur* editions (i.e., as works matching these bibliographical details)—are one and the same. In addition, Rig ral lists another commentary that is, as we shall see below, also relevant to our discussion, this time

Tōhoku catalogue, which, as far as I can see, is erroneous. Several of the sources presented in the following have already been discussed by Steinkellner. Nonetheless, since his point of departure (i.e., primarily “who is Byang chub rdzu 'phrul?”) is completely different to that of the present paper (i.e., policies of the Canon's editors), here the materials, which include several additional sources that have come to light in the past decades, will be accordingly presented in a different manner and discussed from a different point of view.

¹⁸⁰ dBus pa blo gsal *bstan dkar* (A, 41b3–4; B, 33a2–3).

an autochthonous commentary comprising 40 *bam pos* by Klu'i rgyal mtshan, which is not recorded by dBus pa blo gsal. Moreover, a brief look at the *IDan dkar ma* and *'Phang thang ma* catalogues reveals that these discrepancies have their roots there, which perhaps led to the confusion. Whereas the *IDan dkar ma* lists all three commentaries, the *Phang thang ma* omits the one 60 *bam pos* long.¹⁸¹

The Tshal pa catalogue, like that of the Old sNar thang edition, merely lists two commentaries, one short and the other long, ascribed to Asaṅga, and follows dBus pa blo gsal in its subtle expression of doubt.¹⁸² Of the catalogues of the two editions associated with the Third Karma pa, the earlier one, as expected,

¹⁸¹ See the *rGyan gyi nyi 'od*: [Rr10.29 = L530/KØ = Bc659 = DØ/PØ] *dGongs 'grel gyi bshad pa chen po bam po drug bcu*|| [Rr10.30 = L534/K480 = Bc653 = D3981/P5481] *slob dpon Thogs med kyis mdzad pa shu log nyis brgya nyi shu*||; and *ibid.*: [Rr30.123 = L531/K522 = Bc2920 = D4358/P5845] **Cwok kru** [= Cog ro] **Klu rgyal** [N: *klu rgyal*, R: *klu'i rgyal mtshan*] *gyi* [N: *gyi*, R: *gyi byas pa*] *dGongs 'grel gyi rgya che 'grel* [N: *rgya che 'grel*, R: *brgya cher bshad pa*] *bam po bzhi bcu*|. See also the corresponding entries in the *IDan dkar ma*: [L530] *'Phags pa dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i t̃ikā chen po* | *shlo ka khri brgyad stong del bam po drug cu* |, not found in the *'Phang thang ma*; the *IDan dkar ma* [L534]: *dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i bshad pa* | *slob dpon Thogs med kyis mdzad pa* | *shlo ka nyis brgya nyi shu* |; and the *'Phang thang ma* [K480]: *dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i bshad pa* | *slob dpon Thogs med kyis mdzad pa* | 220 sl. |; the *IDan dkar ma*: [L531] *dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa* | *slob dpon Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa* | *shlo ka khri nyis stong ste* | *bam po bzhi bcu* |; and the *'Phang thang ma* (strangely under the section of works translated from the Chinese!): [K522] *dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i rgya cher bshad pa* | *slob dpon Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis bgyis pa* | 40 bp. |.

¹⁸² See the *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (82a4–6): [T2363 = D3981/P5481] *mDo sde dgongs pa nges par 'grel ba'i 'grel chung slob dpon Thogs med kyis mdzad pa Ye shes sde dang 'O ru lo tsha ba Dha rmā seng ge'i 'gyur* | [...] [T2365 = D4358/P5845] *dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i 'grel chen slob dpon Thogs med kyis mdzad par grags pa dang* |. The addition of 'O ru lo tsha ba Dha rma seng ge (whose identity is unclear) as a translator of the short commentary, alongside Ye shes sde, is notable.

virtually reproduces the records found in the Tshal pa catalogue. The later catalogue appears to contain only one such commentary by Asaṅga, without, however, specifying whether it is the short or the long one. One would expect it to be the short, uncontroversial one, but it appears to actually be the long one, for the work is spread over two volumes (the omission of the short commentary might have thus been the result of a mere scribal error?).¹⁸³ To be borne in mind is that the record in dBus pa blo gsal's catalogue is the first to ascribe the longer commentary (presumably the one that earlier catalogues state is 60 *bam pos* long) to Asaṅga.

Bu ston, who for the index found in his religious history based himself on all four aforementioned earlier catalogues, records there four commentaries that are relevant to our discussion. First he records what at first glance seem to be the two works recorded by dBus pa blo gsal, as follows:¹⁸⁴

[Bc653 = D3981/P5481] *slob dpon Thogs med kyis mdzad pa'i mDo sde dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i 'grel chung sho lo ka nyis brgya nyi shu Ye shes sde'i 'gyur* | [Bc654 = DØ/PØ; cf. below Bc2920 = D4358/P5845] *dGongs 'grel gyi 'grel pa chen po bam po bzhi bcu tsam yod pa' 'di Thogs med kyis mdzad zer te mi bden te' de'i 'thad pa sgrub pa'i rigs pa'i skabs nas* | “*de dag gi mtshan nyid rab tu dbye ba ni dbang phyug dam pa'i mnga' bdag dpal lha btsan po Byang chub rdzu 'phrul gyis mdzad pa'i bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma las byung ba bzhin du blta bar bya'o*” *zhes bod kyi bstan bcos la kha 'phangs byas shing* | *Kun las btus* (D4204/P5700) *dang* | *Tshad ma rnam nges* (D4211/P5710) *la sogs pa'i lung drangs pa'i phyir rol* | *des na*

¹⁸³ *Rang rdor bstan dkar-1* (572.3–4): [=D3981/P5481] *mDo sde dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i 'grel chung slob dpon Thogs med kyis mdzad pa' Ye shes sde dang* | *'O ru lo tsā Dar ma seng ge'i 'gyur* | [=D4358/P5845] *dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i 'grel chen* | *slob dpon Thogs med kyis mdzad par grags pa...*; and the *Rang rdor bstan dkar-2* (695.4): *La pa la* | *dGongs pa nges 'grel gyi rnam bshad Thog med kyi mdzad pa'i le'u dgu pa yan dang* | *Sha pa la* | *lhag ma yongs su rdzogs pa dang* |.

¹⁸⁴ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (236.16–24).

bod kyi mkhas pa chen po zhig gis byas pa shes par bya'o || **Klu'i rgyal mtshan** *gyis mdzad par yang sems so* ||

[Bc653] A short commentary of 220 *ślokas* on the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* composed by *ācārya* Asaṅga and translated by Ye she sde. [Bc654] A long commentary of about 40 *bam pos* on the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*. This is alleged (*zer ba*) to have been composed by Asaṅga, but this is not true, because in the context of discussing “reasoning that establishes the tenability [of the other three types of reasoning]” (*'thad pa sgrub pa'i rigs pa: upapattisādhanayukti*) it states: “As for differentiating their definitions/ characteristics, one should look at what is stated in the *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma* composed by the lord, the supreme ruler, the glorious king Byang chub rdzu 'phrul.”¹⁸⁵ [Therefore it] is a Tibetan treatise that is falsely ascribed [to Asaṅga] and that [merely] cites [Indic works] such as [Dignāga's] *Pramāṇasamuccayaṅvṛtti* (D4204/P5700) and [Dharmakīrti's] *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (D4211/P5710). Thus one should know that [it] was composed (*byas pa*) by a great Tibetan scholar. I furthermore think that it was composed (*mdzad pa*) by Klu'i rgyal mtshan.

Bu ston, however, states that the work is about 40 *bam pos* long, which seems to be more of a guess on his part, one that was possibly made in order to advance his hypothesis that the work composed by Klu'i rgyal mtshan and the one ascribed to Asaṅga is one and the same thing. Moreover, he additionally records the

¹⁸⁵ The passage is found in the **Samdhinirmocanasūtravyākhyāna* (D, vol. Jo, 136b1–2). It has already been noted in Seyfort Rugg 1981: 277 n. 57, and later in Steinkellner 1989: 240. Recently it has also been discussed by Khenpo Palzang Dargye Dolpo (from a similar point of departure to that of Steinkellner's). See his *Bod kyi tshad gzhung thog ma* (127–129). Moreover, as noted by both Steinkellner and Palzang Dargye Dolpo the passage in question is found there in the context of discussing “reasoning [based on the principle] of dependence” (*ltos pa'i rigs pa: apekṣāyukti*) and not *'thad pa sgrub pa'i rigs pa* as stated by Bu ston.

60-*bam-po* commentary in the following section listing works “to be searched for” (*btsal par bya*):¹⁸⁶

[Bc659 = DØ/PØ] *dGongs 'grel gyi tī ka chen po bam po drug cu pa* |

And lastly, he records the 40-*bam-po* commentary by Klu'i rgyal mtshan in the section listing Tibetan autochthonous works:¹⁸⁷

slob dpon Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa la | [Bc2920 = D4358/P5845] *dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i rgya cher 'grel bam po bzhi bcu* | ...

The records presented above may give one the impression that Bu ston saw all works but the 60-*bam-po* one, which makes one wonder why he recorded the 40-*bam-po* commentary twice. What seems, however, more plausible is that he did not see at least one of the 40-*bam-po* commentaries, which would have allowed him to compare them. Thus the four records appear to have been his attempt to reconcile all relevant records found in the earlier catalogues employed by him. One of the difficulties in this regard is certainly the fact that none of the available versions of the long commentary indicates the number of *bam pos* itself, so it appears to have been all along an estimate by cataloguers and editors, which, for such a lengthy work, could result in huge discrepancies. At any rate, the source for these two numbers of *bam pos* is clearly the *lDan dkar ma*, which gives the length of the two long commentaries in terms of both *ślokas* and *bam pos* as follows: L530: 18,000 *ślokas* / 60 *bam pos*, and L531: 12,000 *ślokas* / 40 *bam pos*, calculating exactly 300 *ślokas* for each *bam po*.¹⁸⁸ A comparison of the Tshal pa version of the long commentary ascribed to Asaṅga and the one said to have been composed by Klu'i rgyal mtshan contained in the mainstream canonical

¹⁸⁶ *Bu ston chos 'byung* (236.5).

¹⁸⁷ *Bu ston chos 'byung* (310.1–2).

¹⁸⁸ For the *lDan dkar ma* records, see above, note 181. For a brief discussion of the estimate of the number of *bam pos* in the work in question, see Steinkellner 1989: 240.

editions, which would be the only way to reach a decisive conclusion, is not possible, since the Tshal pa version is unfortunately not accessible.

In his catalogue to the Zhwa lu edition, Bu ston records only two of the above four, the short commentary ascribed to Asaṅga¹⁸⁹ and the 40-*bam-po* commentary ascribed to Klu'i rgyal mtshan, the latter under “works composed by great Tibetan scholars found in a number of rare manuscripts and anonymous works,”¹⁹⁰ where he repeats the passage containing his doubts found in his religious history almost verbatim.¹⁹¹ The editors-cum-cataloguers of the mainstream editions followed suit, placing the work in the Miscellanea/Curiosa (sNa tshogs / Ngo mtshar) section, and reproducing Bu ston's statement in their catalogues.¹⁹² Ngor chen, in his catalogue to the Mustang edition, only records the short commentary by Asaṅga.¹⁹³ To be noted here is that the

¹⁸⁹ See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (596.7–597.1): [=D3981/P5481] *mDo sde dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i 'grel pa slob dpon 'phags pa Thogs med kyis mdzad pa| paṅḍi ta Dzi na mi tra dang| Shī lendra bo dhi dang| bandhe Ye shes sde'i 'gyur|*.

¹⁹⁰ See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (633.1): *bod kyi mkhas pa chen po rnam gyis mdzad pa'i dpe dkon pa ci rigs pa dang| mdzad pa po'i mtshan ma smos pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs...*; and *ibid.* (635.1): *bod kyi mkhas pa rnam gyis mdzad pa'i bstan bcos las dpe dkon pa phyogs tsam bris pa'i skabs te| bzhi pa'o||*

¹⁹¹ See the *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* (633.6–634.1): [=D4358] *mDo sde dgongs pa nges par 'grel ba'i 'grel chen bzhugs| 'di 'phags pa Thogs med kyis mdzad zer ba mi bden te| 'di'i 'thad pa sgrub pa'i gtan tshigs kyi skabs nas| lha btsan po Byang chub rdzu 'phrul gyis mdzad pa'i bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma las blta bar bya'o|| zhes bod kyis byas pa'i bstan bcos la kha 'phangs yod pa'i phyir ro|| sngon gyi dkar chag las| lo tsā ba Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa'i mDo sde dgongs 'grel gyi 'grel pa bam po bzhi bcu zhes byung ba de yin par sems so||*

¹⁹² See the *INga pa chen po'i bstan dkar* (138a7–b1); and *sDe dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 464a1–3).

¹⁹³ See the *Glo bo bstan dkar* (A, 292b6; B, 283.3–4) *'phags pa dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i rnam bshad slob dpon Thogs med kyis mdzad pa Ye shes sde'i 'gyur|*.

mainstream canonical versions themselves contain no authorship statement whatsoever.

(c) **Paramālaṃkāraśvapaṭalavyūha* (D2661/P3485)

The third and last example of suspected pseudepigraphy of Tibetan origin I wish to present is the Tantric work **Paramālaṃkāraśvapaṭalavyūha* (*rGyan dam pa sna tshogs pa rim par phye ba bkod pa*) ascribed to Sthiramati. The first to have expressed doubts regarding its Indic origin appears to have been Bu ston in his Zhwa lu catalogue, where he states the following:¹⁹⁴

[=D2661/P3485] *rGyan dam pa sna tshogs pa rim par phye ba bkod pa* rgya gar gyi mkhan po **Sthi ra ma tis yo ga'i** gzhung rgyud phyi nang las nges don mdor bsdus te mdzad pa | bam po gcig pa | **Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan** gyis skad phyi mo dang gtugs pa'i 'gyur yin zer ba | 'di rnying ma'am bod ma cig yin pa 'dra ste | sngar gyi rnams kyis bris 'dug pas bzhugs su bcug pa

The **Paramālaṃkāraśvapaṭalavyūha* composed by the Indian preceptor Sthiramati by way of summarizing the definitive meaning [expounded in] the outer and inner Tantric scriptures/treatises of the Yoga[tantra system], and being one *bam po* long. It is allegedly (*zer ba*) a translation that underwent cross-checking of the [Tibetan] language (*skad*) with the [Sanskrit] original (*phyi mo*) (i.e., a revision) by Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan.¹⁹⁵ This looks like a [work particularly associated with the] rNying ma [tradition] (/an Ancient [Translation]?) or a Tibetan autochthonous work. Since [master]s of the past recorded [it], [I] have included [it].

¹⁹⁴ s*De dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 402b2–4).

¹⁹⁵ The above is a tentative translation of this rather unusual formulation. For more on this issue, see below.

The editors-cum-cataloguers of the mainstream editions reproduced Bu ston's statement almost verbatim.¹⁹⁶ Certainly interesting is the differentiation here between the two categories of works associated with the rNying ma tradition and autochthonous Tibetan works. Whereas the latter category denotes in this context works that are spurious and thus should be as a rule excluded from the Canon, it appears that the former category somewhat enjoyed the benefit of the doubt as to the works' authenticity in the sense of their Indic origin, though obviously not necessarily regarding their doctrinal content. Moreover, the word *rnying ma* here is slightly ambiguous, as it could describe both works specifically associated with the rNying ma school and works translated during the Early Period.¹⁹⁷ The distinction between rNying ma and autochthonous works was made by other scholars in similar contexts, and certainly deserves a closer examination.

None of the earlier catalogues recording the work, including notably Bu ston's religious history, express any doubt. The earliest record appears to be the one found in dBus pa blo gsal's catalogue, where it is found in chapter 19, containing rare works added at a later stage, an indication that the work did not enjoy wide circulation.¹⁹⁸ Virtually the same record is found in Bu ston's religious history and, with negligible variation, also in the Tshal pa catalogue.¹⁹⁹ The catalogues of the two editions associated with the Third Karma pa have different records, ones that are based on

¹⁹⁶ See the *INga pa chen po'i bstan dkar* (64a5–7); *sDe dge bstan dkar* (vol. 2: 402b2–4).

¹⁹⁷ See, for example, Almogi 2020: 217 n. 317.

¹⁹⁸ See the *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* (A, 67a5–6; B, 54a7): [V1s1449] *slob dpon Ti ra* [B: *ti ra*, A: *tiṣṭha*] **ma tis mdzad pa rGyan dam pa sna tshogs rim par phye ba'i bkod pa Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur**l.

¹⁹⁹ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (276.14–15; Bc1868); *Tshal pa bstan dkar* (69b3; T2045).

the colophon (though each reproduces it slightly differently).²⁰⁰ To be noted here is the different Tibetan title *Yo ga'i phyi nang gzhung rgyud las nges don mdor bsdus pa rgyan dam pa('i le'u)*, which is also reflected in Bu ston's record in his catalogue to the Zhwa lu edition cited above, and the statement regarding Klu'i rgyal mtshan's role, which is also found in the colophon and is rather unusual and indeed not entirely clear. Provided no textual corruption has crept into the colophon (the most likely one being the omission of the verb *sgyur/'gyur ba*, as supplemented by Bu ston in his catalogue, for example, though even there the situation is complex due to the autonomous verb *'gyur ba*, on the one hand, and the ergative particle, on the other),²⁰¹ it would suggest that Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan was merely responsible for the

²⁰⁰ See the *Rang rdor bstan dkar-1* (545.2–3): *Yo ga rgyud phyi nang* [em.: nang; Print: ma] *las nges don mdor bsdus te mdzad pa rgyan dam pa | Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyi | skad phyi mo* [em.: mo; Print: ma] *dang thug pa'o ||*; *Rang rdor bstan dkar-2* (656.6–657.1): *Yo ga'i phyi nang gzhung rgyud las nges don mdor bsdus pa rgyan dam pa'i le'u bam po gcig tu byas pa [...]* **Sthi ra ma tis mdzad | Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur ro ||**. Cf. the canonical colophons of D2661/P3485 (D, 339a6–7; P, 381a7–8): *rgya gar gyi mkhan po Sthi ra ma tis Yo ga'i gzhung rgyud phyi nang las nges don mdor bsdus te mdzad pa | rgyan dam pa'i le'u bam po gcig tu byas pa rdzogs so || || Cog ro* [D: ro, P: gru] **Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis skad phyi mo dang gtugs** [D: gtugs, P: thug] *pa'o ||*.

²⁰¹ If such a corruption indeed occurred, it must have been rather early, since the same reading is also found in the colophon of the Tshal pa version (section II (rGyud sde), vol. Se(89), 173a1–3): *rgya gar gyi mkhan po Sthi ra ma tis || Yo ga'i gzhung rgyud phyi nang las || || nges don mdo bsdus te mdzad pa || rgyan dam pa'i le'u || || || bam po gcig du byas pa || || rdzogs s.ho || || Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis || skad phyi mo dang thug pa'o ||*. Note that the purpose of the unusual employment of segmentation marks (double *shads* when these are not required, sometimes even multiple ones with big gaps between them, which is not reflected in the above transliteration) appears to have been to spread the colophon over the page. Originally the colophon was on folio 172b, but was deleted (clear traces of it can be observed in the manuscript) and rewritten on fol. 173a5–6, possibly in order to have the back side of the last folio empty as a means of protecting the text.

revision, while the identity of the actual translator(s) remains unknown. As we have seen, however, some cataloguers omitted the phrase *skad phyi mo dang thug/gtugs pa* altogether and replaced it with *'gyur/sgyur ba*, thus ascribing the translation to Cog ro, which is most probably an attempt to go around the unusual phrase *skad phyi mo dang thug/gtugs pa*. In my translation above I take *skad* as referring to Tibetan (the target language) and *phyi mo* to Sanskrit (the source language), thus understanding the phrase to mean “cross-checking the [Tibetan] language with the [Sanskrit] original.” The possibility of taking *skad phyi mo* as one word referring to either of these languages is, however, not to be entirely ruled out. In this case the phrase could be rendered as either “bringing [the Tibetan translation] in line with the original [Sanskrit] language” or (less likely?) “bringing [the Tibetan translation] in line with the official/standard(?) [Tibetan] language.” Moreover, the phrase *rgyan dam pa'i le'u* (also found in the canonical colophons) might give the impression that the work in question is merely a chapter of a bigger work. Ngor chen, notably, does not seem to have recorded the work in his catalogue to the Mustang edition.

Also to be noted is the fact that the work is found twice in the larger editions (P4754 and equivalents), and it appears that this second version is a copy of the Tshal pa version (or one related to it). Particularly striking is the resemblance of its colophon to that of the Tshal pa version (especially in the unusual employment of the segmentation marks),²⁰² but in order to come to a decisive conclusion in this regard a thorough comparison of the two versions would be needed. Unlike in the catalogue record of the first version, where the editors of the larger editions have reproduced Bu ston's remarks regarding the doubtful origin of

²⁰² See the colophon of P4754 (644a8): *rgya gar gyi mkhan po Sti ra ma tis | Yo ga'i gzhung rgyud phyi nang las | nges don mdo bsdus te mdzad pa | rgyan dam pa'i le'u || bam po gcig du byas pa rdzogs so || || Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis || skad phyi mo dang thug pa'o ||*.

the work, there is no such remark in the record of this second version.²⁰³

Of interest is certainly that a/the *rGyan dam pa* is listed in Zhi ba 'od's (1016–1111) “open letter” as a spurious work.²⁰⁴ The pertinent passage is somewhat obscure, but I nonetheless wish to offer the following rendering:²⁰⁵

(1) *sngar gyi dus* (1.1) **Phyi rgyud** *kyi Ngan song sbyong rgyud* *kyi 'grel ba che chung ngam* |^[a] **rGyan dam pa** *la sogs pa* |^[b] *cho ga che phran mang du yod pa rnams dang* | *kham nas byung ba rnams la ma nor ba cher med* | *de'ang 'di dang mthun par dpyad na* | **Kri ya** 'i *cho ga rnams dang* | *'grel ba ltar bcos pa* 'i *bsnyel* |^[c] *rnams dang* | ...²⁰⁶

²⁰³ See the *INga pa chen po'i bstan dkar* (94a7): [P4754] **rGyan dam pa rim par phye ba Ste ra ma tis mdzad pa Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan** *gyis* [*em.: gyis, Xy: gyi*] *skad phyi* [*em.: phyi, Xy: gyi*] *mo dang thug pa*....

²⁰⁴ For a brief discussion of the use of Zhi ba 'od's “open letter” as a “black list” for inauthentic texts, as well as for the source for Zhi ba 'od's dates provided here, see Almogi 2020: 38–39.

²⁰⁵ The Tibetan text is found in Karmay 2009: 38.9–13 (the numbers reflecting the outline/subdivision of the text and the emphasis are mine).

²⁰⁶ The text exhibits several problems or vagueness that could be only partly addressed in the above translation in a satisfactory manner: (a) The grammatical particle *ngam* has not been taken here as meaning “or” in the sense of an alternative, which would make no sense in the present context, but understood as rather denoting a contrast to the previous item in terms of the nature of the works referred to there; (b) The word *la sogs pa* has been, for contextual reasons, interpreted here as qualifying *rGyan dam pa* (i.e., as if reading *la sogs pa dang* |), which yields two separate items, rather than *cho ga* (in which case the entire phrase would be rendered “large and small ritual manuals such as the *rGyan dam pa*”); and (c) No adequate rendering/explanation for *bsnyel* could be offered. Cf. the English translation in Karmay 2009: 31, which also has a different subdivision of the text (which, considering its overall structure, cannot be endorsed): “(I) Outer tantras. 1. The two commentaries, short and long, of the ancient *Ngan song sbyong rgyud*; its rite the *rGyan dam pa*, etc. existing in several versions and those which originate in Khams are

(1) [The *tantras*] of the Early Period: (1.1) The Outer Tantras: Many [works, including] short and long commentaries on the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*; the *rGyan dam pa* and other [similar treatises]; and large and small ritual manuals; and [also other works that] originated in Khams. Among [the above] there are hardly any that are flawless. Moreover, if [one] examines them in a comparative manner, [one will realize that they] are forgeries [written] in keeping with the rites and commentaries of the Kriyā [system].

At first glance it appears that the work is not recorded in the imperial catalogues. However, I would like to draw attention to a work that is recorded in the *'Phang thang ma* (under the section of autochthonous works) as *Phyi nang gi 'jig rten mdor bstan pa bam po* (K852), as a possible candidate.

First, I would like to suggest that the above title originally read differently. If one considers the record of the work found in Rig ral's catalogue, then of the two versions of it employed by van der Kuijp and Schaeffer, one reads *lo ka* and the other *'jig rten*, and it would seem more natural to assume that *'jig rten* is the later reading.²⁰⁷ Now, is it possible that *lo ka* is a corruption of *yo ga*? This scenario is not entirely unlikely considering that texts have been mostly transmitted in dBu med script (where the speculated letters can easily be confused), and likewise keeping in mind that both the glosses of Sanskrit words with their Tibetan rendering and the transliteration of Sanskrit words in Tibetan script have

mostly misleading. If examined carefully they are forged in accordance with the rites of Kriyā tantras."

²⁰⁷ See the *rGyan gyi nyi 'od*: [Rr30.80] *Phyi nang gi lo ka* [N: *lo ka*; R: *'jig rten*] *mdor bstan pa* ||. Note, however, that Bu ston, in his religious history, also reads *'jig rten*. See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (312.8): [Bc3022] *Phyi nang gi 'jig rten mdor bstan pa bam po* |. Also note that the work is listed there under the section of anonymous (autochthonous) works (*mdzad pa po'i mtshan ma smos pa*), which Bu ston concludes with the remark "most of these are recorded in the *'Phang thang ma*" (*de dag phal cher dkar chag 'phang mar smos so* ||).

often been faulty as a result of authors' poor knowledge of Sanskrit, let alone the scribes'. Thus, provided the original record in the *'Phang thang ma* was *Phyi nang gi yo ga mdor bstan pa*, could this have been a reference to our *Yo ga'i gzhung rgyud phyi nang las| nges don mdor bsdus te mdzad pa* (both notably one *bam po* long!). While this question must remain open at this stage, I would like to add that the version of the work found in the *Kaḥ thog bka' ma* bears the title *Yo ga'i gzhung rgyud phyi nang las| nges don mdor bsdus pa* both on the title page and in the colophon, with no mention of the title *rGyan dam pa sna tshogs rim par phye ba'i bkod pa*. The chapter title *rGyan dam pa* is, however, likewise noted in its colophon, which in turn reads almost identically with the other versions, the most notable divergence being *dang mthun pa* instead of *dang thug/btugs/gtugs pa*.²⁰⁸ Of interest is perhaps also that the work is often referred to in rNying ma works as *Yo ga rgyan dam pa* (alongside *sNgags kyi mdo rgyan dam pa*).²⁰⁹

4.3. Some Final Remarks on Policies regarding Pseudepigraphy

As we have seen from the cases presented above, pseudepigraphs of Indic origin were considered by the Canon's editors as authentic and were placed in their pertinent sections, often with a remark regarding the false authorship ascription, while pseudepigraphs of Tibetic origin were admitted into a special section of the Canon reserved for them, namely, *Miscellanea/Curiosa* (*sNa tshogs / Ngo mtshar*). The latter,

²⁰⁸ See the colophon in the *Kaḥ thog bka' ma* version (vol. 81 (Zhu), 529.5–6): *rgya gar gyi mkhan po Sti ra ma tis|| Yo ga'i gzhung rgyud phyi nang las|| nges don mdor bsdus te mdzad pa|| rGyan dam pa'i le'u| bam po gcig tu byas pa rdzogs so|| || Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis| skad phyi mo dang mthun pa'o||*.

²⁰⁹ It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide all relevant bibliographical references for the title *Yo ga rgyan dam pa* (or *sNgags kyi mdo rgyan dam pa*), but a quick digital search in the *rNying ma bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa* (offered at the BDRC and BuddhaNexus) would yield numerous results for the interested reader.

however, appear to have been admitted only if they met two main conditions, although these have not really been spelt out. The two conditions are: (a) the work is ultimately identified as having been composed during the Early Period by a (respected) scholar, and (b) it is, from the point of view of the editors, in line with Buddhist doctrine and does not propagate extremely controversial content. We have, however, also seen that the Canon's editors occasionally did not place some works suspected by them of being autochthonous Tibetan in the *Miscellanea/ Curiosa* section but rather included them in thematically relevant sections of the Canon, with an additional remark to that effect in the corresponding record in the catalogue, this in cases where they were not completely certain or where they felt obliged to follow their predecessors against their own personal opinion. The policies applied to pseudepigraphs were similar to those applied to anonymous works, some of which were admitted into the relevant sections in the Canon (often with a remark in the catalogue), and others into the *Miscellanea/ Curiosa* section, again depending on the presumed provenance, degree of doubt, and decision made by masters of the past. In this case, too, many of them, however, were obviously left out if they seemed not to have met the two above-mentioned criteria.

5. Concluding Remarks

In the present paper I have discussed the role of editors as canon makers by looking into some of the policies employed by them, with a focus on three issues: (a) inclusion/exclusion of duplicates, (b) incorporation of existing collections in their entirety, and (c) inclusion/exclusion of pseudepigraphs. As I have already pointed out in a recent publication (Almogi 2020), all in all the editors of the Canon avoided a confrontational approach (i.e., in their role as editors), and in undecided borderline cases opted for inclusion rather than exclusion, though, as a rule, with an addition of some sort of expression of their doubts in the catalogue record. Discussions of a polemical nature and in harsh tones were reserved for other platforms, such as introductory or historical

works in general and polemical works in particular. I have also supplied ample evidence supporting the notion that the Canon as we know it through the mainstream editions is very much a product of its editors, who often were influenced by their personal and/or sectarian predilections and agendas, which in turn were also affected by other factors, including political, financial, and logistical ones. All these ultimately determined the content and shape of the editions produced under their supervision—that is, which works, versions of works, or previously existing smaller collections were included/excluded, how the individual works and sections were arranged, and whether a special editorial remark was needed. This can be learned, among other ways, through the study of some of what are known as “local editions” of the *bKa’ gyur*, and it is now strengthened through the publication of the catalogue to the Tshal pa *bsTan gyur* edition and through several volumes from the edition itself, which I have been fortunate to be able to examine. Moreover, it is well known that Bu ston was instrumental in shaping the mainstream editions of the *bsTan gyur* (and almost certainly one of the two important lines of the *bKa’ gyur*). Nonetheless, it has now increasingly become clear that the Tshal pa edition of the *bsTan gyur* greatly influenced the larger *bsTan gyur* editions (PNG), even though they too are primarily based on Bu ston’s edition. The Tshal pa edition’s editors certainly were more inclusive, and thus at least some of the works, or versions of works, excluded by Bu ston flowed back into the *bsTan gyur* via the larger editions (in the first place via the Fifth Dalai Lama edition, which served as their basis) through the Tshal pa collection. However, it has also been demonstrated that although Bu ston has generally been regarded as the one who was primarily responsible for excluding duplicates from the *bsTan gyur* (possibly also from the *bKa’ gyur*), we now know that the editors of the Tshal pa edition also removed duplicates (if perhaps to a lesser extent) and/or replaced some of the versions with ones preferred by them.

Technical Note

For the cited Tibetan texts, efforts have been made to cite at least two versions whenever possible. Note, however, that accidental/insignificant variants, such as those concerning segmentation marks, orthographic variants such as *pa/ba*, *lo tsā/tsha/tshstsha*, and the like have not been recorded unless they have some significance. Orthographic abbreviations (*skung yig*) have been silently expanded. Glosses and interlinear or marginal notes found in the cited manuscripts are only cited if they are of relevance, and are given within curly brackets {...}. Passages consisting in corrective restorations or supplements (i.e., passages restoring text that was erroneously omitted or supplementing text that was not part of the original work), reading variants, and catalogue numbers are given within square brackets [...].

Also note that nearly all cases presented and discussed in the present paper concern the *bsTan 'gyur*. An attempt has been made to take all relevant traditional catalogues (*dkar chag*) into consideration, whereas the two smaller “mainstream” *bsTan 'gyur* editions—sDe dge (D) and Co ne (C)—are represented by sDe dge in terms of both edition and catalogue, and the three larger ones—Peking (P), sNar thang (N), and Golden (G)—are represented by Peking in terms of the edition and by the catalogue to what I refer to as the Fifth Dalai Lama’s edition (i.e., the one prepared to make it seem that the Fifth Dalai Lama was still alive, the authorship of whose catalogue was likewise disingenuously ascribed to him), because it served (as did the edition itself) as the basis for all three. (I refrain from referring to this edition as the ‘Phyong rgyas or Phying bar stag rtse edition in order to differentiate it from another edition prepared there earlier.) An overview of the catalogues employed in the current study is found in Almogi 2020: 112ff.

Bibliography

1. Sigla: Tibetan Canonical Collections & Their Catalogues*

(a) *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* (including Catalogues)

D = sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur* Xylograph Edition 102+1 vols. [scans: BDRC: W22084]; sDe dge *bsTan 'gyur* Xylograph Edition. 212+1 vols. [scans: BDRC: W23703]. Catalogue nos. according to Ui et al. 1934.

G = Golden (dGa' ldan) *bsTan 'gyur* Manuscript Edition. 224+1 vols. [scans: BDRC: W23702].

N = sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* Xylograph Edition. 224+1 vols. [scans: BDRC: W22704].

P = Peking (Qianlong) *bKa' 'gyur* Xylograph Edition. 107+1 vols. [scans: BDRC: W1KG26108]; Peking *bsTan 'gyur* Xylograph Edition. 224+1 vols. [scans: BDRC: W1KG13126]. Catalogue nos. according to Suzuki 1961.

T = Tshal pa *bsTan 'gyur* Manuscript Edition. 240 vols. [scans: only partly available/accessible]. Catalogue nos. according to Jampa Samten 2016.

(b) *Other Catalogues*

Bc = See *Bu ston chos 'byung*; Nishioka 1980–1983. [Occasionally reported variants of versions D, T, & S are as recorded by Nishioka, who in the main text follows the Lhasa version]

K = See *'Phang thang ma*; Kawagoe 2005.

L = See *lDan/lHan dkar ma*; Lalou 1953.

*U*_{js} = See *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar*; Jampa Samten 2015.

Rr = See *rGyan gyi nyi 'od*; van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009. [Reported variants of versions N & R are as recorded by van der Kuijp & Schaeffer, who follow N.]

* For other sigla, see the bibliographical entries of the respective works.

2. Tibetic Sources

Bod kyi tshad gzhung thog ma = Khenpo Palzang Dargye Dolpo, *Bod kyi tshad gzhung thog ma | Chos rgyal khri song lde'u btsan gyi rnam thar dang | bka' yang dag pa'i tshad ma'i brjod bya rjod byed la zhib 'jug*. sNga 'gyur rnying ma'i zhib 'jug 2. Bylakuppe, Mysore: Ngagyur Nyingma Institute, Ngagyur Nyingma Research Centre, 2021.

brTag gnyis kyi bsdus don = Shākya mchog ldan, *brTag gnyis kyi bsdus don | bshad rgyud kyi rgyud pa'i rim pa*. In *Pañ chen shākya mchog ldan gyi gsung 'bum legs bshad gser gyi bdud rtsi*. 24 vols. Kathmandu: Sachen International, Guru Lama, 2006, vol. 13: 505–522. [scans: BDRC: W00EGS1016899].

Bu ston chos 'byung = Bu ston Rin chen grub, *bDe bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod* (on the cover: *Bu ston chos 'byung*). Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1991 (second edition); Index part as edited in Nishioka 1980–1983 (=Bc).

Bya rgyud spyi'i rnam bshad = Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po, *Bya rgyud spyi'i rnam par bshad pa legs par bshad pa'i rgya mtsho zhes bya ba*. In *E waṃ bka' 'bum*, vol. 6: 157–360. [scans: BDRC W1KG8320].

dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar = dBus pa blo gsal, *bsTan bcos kyi dkar chag*. A: MS, dBu med, 81 fols., s.l., s.n., n.d. [scans: BDRC: W2CZ7507]; B: MS, dBu med, 58 fols., in *dBus pa blo gsal gyi gsung phyogs bsdus*, 2 vols., s.l., s.n., n.d., vol. 2, separate foliation (PDF, 107–222). [scans: BDRC: W2PD17520] (=I₁s, see also Jampa Samten 2015: 1–118).

E waṃ bka' 'bum = various, *E waṃ bka' 'bum*. 20 vols. Mes po'i shul bzhag 132–151. Compiled by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Beijing: krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009–2010. [scans: BDRC: W1KG8320].

Glo bo bstan dkar = Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po, *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyi 'od*. A: In *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. The Complete Works of the Great Masters of*

the Sa skya Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism. Compiled by bSod nams rgya mtsho. Bibliotheca Tibetica 1.1–15. 15 vols. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968–1969, vol. 10: 286a3 (357-4-3)–304a4 (366-4-4); B: In *E waṃ bka' 'bum*, vol. 7: 270–304. [scans: BDRC: W1KG8320].

Glo bo rdo rje theg pa'i bstan dkar = Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po, *rDo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag*. A: In *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*. *The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa skya Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism*. Compiled by bSod nams rgya mtsho. Bibliotheca Tibetica 1.1–15. 15 vols. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968–1969, vol. 10: 270b1 (350-1-1)–286a3 (357-4-3); B: In *E waṃ bka' 'bum*, vol. 7: 241–269. [scans: BDRC: W1KG8320]; MS (only occasionally): dBu med, 32 fols. NGMPP Reel No. E2301/22.

Grub mtha'i shan 'byed = Sa skya mkhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags, *Bod kyi mkhas pa snga phyi dag gi grub mtha'i shan 'byed mtha' dpyod dang bcas pa'i 'bel ba'i gtam skyes ldan mkhas pa'i lus rgyan rin chen mdzes pa'i phra tshom bkod pa*. In *Sa skya'i chos 'byung gces bsdus*. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009, vol. 6: 450–614. [scans: BDRC: W1PD90704].

gSang sngags gsar rnying gi gdan rabs mdor bsdus = 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbyang po, *Gangs can bod yul du byon pa'i gsang sngags gsar rnying gi gdan rabs mdor bsdus ngo mtshar padmo'i dga' tshal*. In *Sa skya'i chos 'byung gces bsdus*. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009, vol. 6: 1–153. [scans: BDRC: W1PD90704].

Kaḥ thog bka' ma = sNga 'gyur bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa. 133 vols. Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2009. [scans: BDRC: W1PD100944].

lNga pa chen po'i bstan dkar = Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (disingenuously ascribed), *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag 'jig rten gsum gyi bde skyid pad tshal bzhad pa'i nyin byed*. In *The Tibetan Tripitaka*. Peking Edition. Ōtani

University, Tokyo–Kyoto, 1955–1961, vol. 151: 61-4–119-1 (fols. 1–144).

lNga pa chen po'i thob yig = Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gangga'i chu rgyun*. 4 vols. In *rGyal dbang lnga pa Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*. 28 vols. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009, vols. 1–4. [scans: BDRC: W1PD107937].

mChod sdong dkar chag = sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *mChod sdong 'dzam gling rgyan gcig rten gtsug lag khang dang bcas pa'i dkar chag thar gling rgya mtshor bgrod pa'i gru rdzongs byin rlabs kyi bang mdzod* (on the cover: *mChod sdong 'dzam gling rgyan gcig gi dkar chag*). Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1990. [scans: BDRC: W30092].

Ngor chen gyi thob yig = Kun dga' bzang po, *Thob yig rgya mtsho*. In *E wam bka' 'bum*, vol. 1: 165–387. [scans: BDRC: W1KG8320].

Rang rdor bstan dkar-1 = Unknown [=? Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje or dGe ba'i bshes gnyen dGe 'dun rin chen], *Thugs dam bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag*. In *Karma pa rang byung rdo rje's gsung 'bum*. 16 vols. [Xining (Zi ling): mTshur phu mkhan po Lo yag bKra shis, 2006], vol. 4: 415–594. [scans: BDRC: W30541].

Rang rdor bstan dkar-2 = Unknown, *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag*. In *Karma pa rang byung rdo rje's gsung 'bum*. 16 vols. [Xining (Zi ling): mTshur phu mkhan po Lo yag bKra shis, 2006], vol. 4: 595–717. [scans: BDRC: W30541].

rGya bod mkhas grub = Khetsun Sangpo (mKhas btsun bzang po), *rGya bod mkhas grub rim byon gyi rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*. *Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*. 12 vols. Dharmasala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1973–1990. [scans: BDRC: W1KG10294].

rGyal sras mi tra 'dzo gi'i rnam thar = Dri med kun dga' (revealed). In *Thugs rje chen po ye shes 'od mchog*. A rare cycle of Avalokiteśvara practice revealed from mChims-phu. With the biography of Mitrayogi known as *bsTan pa gsal ba'i sgron*

me. Reproduced from a rare manuscript collection preserved in the Library of Tibetan Archives in Dharamsala, H. P. 2 vols. Dalhousie: Damchoe Sangpo, 1978, vol. 1: 1–51. [BDRC: MW1KG10137].

rGyan gyi nyi 'od = *bCom ldan Rig(s) pa'i ral gri, bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*. See van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009 (=Rr).

rGyud sde spyi rnam ('bring po) = Bu ston Rin chen grub, *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa rgyud sde thams cad kyi gsang ba gsal bar byed pa ('bring po)*. In *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag*. Ed. by mKhan po Dam chos zla ba. Bod kyi bcu phrag rig mdzod chen mol bKa' brgyud pa'i gsung rab 17. Xining (Zi ling): mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004, 693–810. [scans: BDRC: W30017].

rJe btsun sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag = Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po, *rJe btsun sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag*. In *E wam bka' 'bum*, vol. 7: 303–314. [scans: BDRC: W1KG8320].

sDe dge bstan dkar = Zhu chen Tshul khri ms rin chen, *Thams cad mkhyen pa chen po nyi ma'i gnyen gyi bka' lung spyi dang bye brag gi dgongs don rnam par 'grel pa'i bstan bcos gangs can pa'i skad du 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi 'chad pa'i ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa'i bsod nams kyi sprin phung rgyas par dkrigs pa'i tshul las brtsams pa'i gtam ngo mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gsar ba*. 2 vols. D4569. [scans: BDRC: W1KG10093].

sGrub thabs brgya rtsa gsal bar bkod pa = U rga mkhan zur Ngag dbang blo bzang don grub, *sGrub thabs brgya rtsar grags pa'i bstan bcos chen po nas bshad pa'i yi dam lha mang po rnam kyi sgrub thabs dang slob ma rjes su 'dzin pa'i rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa gsal bar bkod pa dngos grub char 'bebs*. Xy. s.n., s.l., n.d. [scans: BDRC: W1NLM528].

sNar thang brgya rtsa'i thob yig = *sNar thang brgya rtsa'i rje gnang legs par thob pa'i brgyud pa*. In *sNar thang brgya rtsa'i rje gnang legs par thob pa'i brgyud pa sogs*. MS. s.n., s.l., n.d., [separate foliation, introductory part: 3 fols. [PDF, 1–5]]. [scans: BDRC: W1NLM375].

sNe'u gdong bstan dkar = bSod nams dpal bzang po, Shākya 'od pa, Byang chub rgyal mtshan (wrongly ascribed to sGra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal), *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che'i za ma tog*. In *The Collected Works of Bu-ston (zhol par ma)*. Edited by Lokesh Chandra from the collections of Raghu Vira. 28 vols. Śata-piṭaka Series Indo Asian Literatures 41–68. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1965–1971, vol. 28 (Sa), 343–573. [scans: BDRC: W22106].

Tshal pa bstan dkar = dGe ba'i bshes gnyen dGe 'dun rin chen, *bsTan 'gyur gyi dkar chag sna tshogs nor bu'i phung po*. MS, dBu med, 99 fols. [scans]. (=T, see Jampa Samten 2016).

Zhwa lu bstan dkar = Bu ston Rin chen grub, *bsTan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba*. A: In *The Collected Works of Bu-ston (zhol par ma)*. Edited by Lokesh Chandra from the collections of Raghu Vira. 28 vols. Śata-piṭaka Series Indo Asian Literatures 41–68. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1965–1971, vol. 26 (La): 401–643 (Xy). [scans: BDRC: W22106]; B: In *Bu ston Rin chen grub kyi gsung 'bum (bris ma)*. Brought to publication by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. 28 vols. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008, vol. 26 (La): 569–896 (MS, consulted occasionally). [scans: BDRC: W1PD45496].

3. Indic Sources

Āmnāyamañjarī = Abhayākaragupta, *Śrīsamputatantrarāja-ṭikāmnāyamañjarī*. Bilingual Skt.-Tib. MS: Institute of the Collection and Preservation of Ancient Tibetan Texts of Sichuan Province (comp.), Rare and Ancient Tibetan Texts Collected in Tibetan Regions Series 1. Chendu: Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House & Beijing: Guangming Daily Press, 2015; Tib. (canonical): *dPal yang dag par sbyor ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa man ngag gi snye ma*. D1198/P2328. Tr. [Tsa mi] Sangs rgyas grags pa,

Abhayākara Gupta; Rev.1 dPyal lo tsā ba Chos kyi bzang po, Śākyaśrī, Rev.2 dPang lo tā ba dPal ldan Blo gros brtan pa.

**Avamānapradīpa* = Nāgārjuna (ascribed), **Avamānapradīpa*. Tib.: *Zhen log sgron ma*. D3729/P4551. Tr. unknown.

Caturmudrānvaya = *Nāgārjuna(garbha) (ascribed), *Caturmudrānvaya*. Tib.1: *Phyag rgya bzhi gtan la dbab pa*. D2225/P3069. Tr. rMa ban Chos 'bar, *Dharāśrījñāna; Tib.2: *Phyag rgya bzhi rjes su bstan pa / Rim pa bzhi'i no pi ka*. T1697 (section II (rGyud sde), vol. Dze(80), 176b1–180a6). Tr. unknown.

Guhyasamājantraṭīkā = Nāgārjuna (ascribed), *Guhyasamājantraṭīkā*. Tib.1: *gSang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyud 'grel pa*. D1784/P2649+P2649. Tr. Mantrakalaśa (chaps. 1–17) and Kumārakalaśa (chaps. 18); Tib.2: T97 (section II (rGyud sde), vol. Cha(7) (chaps. 1–mid. 15) & vol. Ja(8), 1–163b1 (chaps. mid. 15–18)). Tr. gZhon nu tshul khirms, Karmavajra.

**Paramālamkāraśvapaṭalavyūha* = Sthiramati (ascribed), **Paramālamkāraśvapaṭalavyūha*. Tib.: *rGyan dam pa sna tshogs pa rim par phye ba bkod pa*; alternatively, *Yo ga'i phyi nang gzhung rgyud las nges don mdor bsdu pa rgyan dam pa('i le'u)*. D2661/P3485/T2045 (section II (rGyud sde), vol. Se(89), 138a1–173a3). Tr. Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan.

**Pradīpoddyotanaṭīkā* = Āryadeva (ascribed), **Pradīpoddyotanaṭīkā*. Tib.: *sGron ma gsal bar byed pa'i 'grel bshad*. D1794/P2659. Tr. unknown.

**Samdhinirmocanasūtravyākhyāna* = Uncertain, **Samdhinirmocanasūtravyākhyāna* Tib.: *mDo sde dgongs pa nges par 'grel ba'i 'grel chen*. (1) A: Asaṅga (ascribed), Tr.: Ye shes sde, 'O ru lo tsā ba Dharma seng ge. T2365; (2) A: Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan (ascribed). D4358/P5845. [Identity of the two versions is yet to be determined].

4. Sources in Modern Languages & Critical/Annotated Editions

- Almogi, Orna. 2020. *Authenticity and Authentication: Glimpses behind the Scenes of the Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon*. Indian and Tibetan Studies 9. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.
- . 2021. "The Old sNar thang Tibetan Buddhist Canon Revisited, with Special Reference to dBus pa blo gsal's *bsTan 'gyur* Catalogue." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 58: 165–207.
- . (forthcoming). *A Canon in the Making: dBus pa blo gsal's Catalogue of the Old sNar thang bsTan 'gyur, Introduced, Edited, and Annotated*.
- Chandra, Lokesh. 1965. "The Biography of Mitrayogin." In Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Indo-Asian Studies, Part 2. Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira Memorial Volume*. Śata-Piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures 37. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 161–170.
- Isaacson, Harunaga & Francesco Sferra. 2015. "Tantric Commentaries: South Asia." In Jonathan A. Silk (EIC), Oskar von Hinüber, Vincent Eltschinger (eds.), *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. Vol. 1: *Literature and Languages*. Brill: Leiden, 467–482.
- Jampa Samten (ed.). 2015. *Catalogue of the Narthang Manuscript Tangyur*. Compiled by dBus pa blo gsal rtsod pa'i seng ge. Lo rgyus deb phreng 19. Dharamshala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives.
- (ed.). 2016. *bsTan 'gyur gyi dkar chag sna tshogs nor bu'i phung po. Tshal pa drung chen smon lam rdo rjes bzhengs pa'i tshal pa bstan 'gyur dkar chag. Catalogue of the Tshalpa Manuscript Tanjur*. Compiled by dGe 'dun rin chen. Miscellaneous Series 32. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central University of Tibetan Studies.
- Karmay, Samten Gyaltzen. 2009. *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*. Revised edition. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point. [First published in 1997.]

- Kawagoe, Eishin. 2005. *dKar chag 'phang thang ma*. Monograph Series 3. Sendai: Tohoku Society for Indo-Tibetan Studies.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J. 2009. "On the Vicissitudes of Subhūticandra's Kāmadhenu Commentary on Amarakoṣa in Tibet." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 5: 105 pp. (separate pagination).
- . 2016. "The Lives of Bu ston Rin chen grub and the Date and Sources of His *Chos 'byung*: A Chronicle of Buddhism in India and Tibet." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 35: 203–308.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J. & Kurtis R. Schaeffer. 2009. *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of bCom ldan ral gri*. Harvard Oriental Series 64. Cambridge, MA: The Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University.
- Lalou, Marcelle. 1953. "Contribution à la bibliographie du Kanjur et du Tanjur: Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan." *Journal Asiatique* 241/3: 313–353.
- Martin, Dan, 1997. *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*. In collaboration with Yael Bentor. London: Serindia Publications.
- Mathes, Klaus-Dieter. 2008. "The "Succession of the Four Seals" (*Caturmudrānvaya*) together with Selected Passages from Karopa's Commentary." *Tantric Studies* 1 (appeared in 2009). Hamburg: Centre for Tantric Studies, University of Hamburg, 89–130.
- May, Will. 2019. "Mitrayogin." *Treasury of Lives*, accessed May 29, 2022, <http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/mi-tra-dzo-ki/10280>.
- Nishioka, Soshū. 1980–1983. "Putun bukkyōshi' Mokurokubusakuin" ["Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu ston's 'History of Buddhism'"] (I-III). [*Tōkyō Daigaku Bungaku-bu*] *Bunka Kōryū Kenkyū-shisetsu Kenkyū Kiyō* 4 (1980): 61–92, 5 (1981): 43–93, 6 (1983): 47–201.

- Petech, Luciano. 1983. "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols." In Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 173–203.
- von Rospatt, Alexander. 2014. "The Mural Paintings of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* at the Shrine of Śāntipur, and their Origins with Pratāpa Malla." In Benjamin Bogin & Andrew Quintman (eds.), *Himalayan Passages: Tibetan and Newar Studies in Honor of Hubert Decleer*. Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 45–68.
- Schaeffer, R. Kurtis. 2000. "The Religious Career of Vairocanavajra—A Twelfth-century Indian Buddhist Master from Dakṣiṇa Kośala." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 28: 361–384.
- Seyfort Ruegg, David. 1981. "Autour du *lTa ba'i khyad par* de Ye shes sde (Version de Touen-houang, Pelliot tibétain 814)." *Journal Asiatique* 269: 207–229.
- Steinkellner, Ernst. 1989. "Who is Byang chub rdzu 'phrul? Tibetan and non-Tibetan Commentaries on the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* – A Survey of the Literature." *Berliner Indologische Studien* 4/5: 229–251.
- Suzuki, Daisetz T. 1961. *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking Edition Kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto. Catalogue & Index*. Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute.
- Tauscher, Helmut. 2015. "Kanjur." Jonathan A. Silk (EIC), Oskar von Hinüber, Vincent Eltschinger (eds.), *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. Vol. 1: *Literature and Languages*. Brill: Leiden, 103–111.
- Templeman, David (tr. & ed.). 1983. *The Seven Instruction Lineages by Jo nang Tāranātha / Tāranātha's bKa' babs bdun ldan*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Tomabechi, Toru. 2016. "Bhavyakīrti's Sub-commentary on the *Pradīpoddyotana* as a Doxography: Some Preliminary Remarks and a Synopsis." *Oriental Culture* 96: 81–94.

- Tribe, Anthony (ed. & tr.). 2016. *Tantric Buddhist Practice in India: Vilāsavajra's Commentary on the Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of Chapters 1–5 with Introductions*. Routledge Studies in Tantric Traditions. London/New York: Routledge.
- Ui, Hakuju et al. (eds.). 1934. *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*. Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University.

5. Digital Resources

BDRC = Digital Buddhist Resource Center, at <http://www.tbrc.org>.

BUDA = The Buddhist Digital Archives by the BDRC, at <https://library.bdrc.io/>. [The research conducted within the framework of the present paper consulted the BDRC website. The references provided by way of RID are, however, also valid for BUDA, which has by now replaced the BDRC website.]

BuddhaNexus = BuddhaNexus at buddhanexus.net.

Tibskrit = Dan Martin, *Tibskrit Philology: A Bio-bibliographical Resource Work*. Ed. Alexander Cherniak. Version from 2020.

TPNI = Dan Martin, Tibetan Proper Name Index, at <https://sites.google.com/view/tibetosophy/>.

The Treasury of Lives = *The Treasury of Lives: A Biographical Encyclopedia of Tibet, Inner Asia, and the Himalaya*, at <https://treasuryoflives.org>.



Indian and Tibetan Studies Series

(Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität
Hamburg)

Orders can be made from Biblia Impex: contact@bibliaimpex.com.

1. Kengo Harimoto, *God, Reason, and Yoga: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Commentary Ascribed to Śaṅkara on Pātañjalayogaśāstra 1.23–28*. 2014. ISBN: 978-3-945151-00-6.
2. Alexander Schiller, *Die "Vier Yoga"-Stufen der Mahāmudrā-Meditationstradition: Eine Anthologie aus den Gesammelten Schriften des Mönchsgelehrten und Yogin Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (Kritischer Text und Übersetzung, eingeleitet und erläutert)*. 2014. ISBN: 978-3-945151-01-3.
3. Ayako Nakamura, *Das Wesen des Buddha-Erwachens in der frühen Yogācāra-Schule*. 2016. ISBN: 978-3-945151-02-0.
4. Orna Almogi (ed.), *Tibetan Manuscript and Xylograph Traditions: The Written Word and Its Media within the Tibetan Cultural Sphere*. 2016. ISBN: 978-3-945151-03-7.
5. Dorji Wangchuk (ed.), *Cross-Cultural Transmission of Buddhist Texts: Theories and Practices of Translation*. 2016. ISBN: 978-3-945151-04-4.
6. Nicola Bajetta, *The Clear Realisation of the Quintessential Instructions on All Dharma Practices: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the *Sarvadharmacaryopadeśābhisamayatantra (Chos spyod thams cad kyi man ngag mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyud) Based on Two Unpublished Manuscripts from*

the 'Bras-spungs-gnas-bcu-lha-khang. 2019. ISBN: 978-3-945151-05-1.

7. Torsten Gerloff, *Saroruhavajra's Hevajra-Lineage: A Close Study of the Surviving Sanskrit and Tibetan Works. Part I: Saroruhavajra's Works & Part II: Commentarial Works*. 2 vols. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-06-8 (set).
8. Orna Almogi (ed.), *Birds as Ornithologists: Scholarship between Faith and Reason. Intra- and Inter-disciplinary Perspectives*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-07-5.
9. Orna Almogi, *Authenticity and Authentication: Glimpses behind the Scenes of the Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-08-2.
10. Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin (eds.), *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-09-9.
11. Dagmar Schwerk, *A Timely Message from the Cave: The Mahāmudrā and Intellectual Agenda of dGe-bshes Brag-phug-pa dGe-'dun-rin-chen (1926–1997), the Sixty-Ninth rje-mkhan-po of Bhutan*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-10-5.
12. Volker Caumanns, Jörg Heimbels, Kazuo Kano, and Alexander Schiller (eds.), *Gateways to Tibetan Studies: A Collection of Essays in Honour of David P. Jackson on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*. 2 vols. 2021. ISBN: 978-3-945151-11-2 (set).
13. Orna Almogi (ed.), *Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons: The Buddhist Case*. 2022. ISBN: 978-3-945151-12-9.