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S E R I E O R I E N T A L E R O M A

IX, 2

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS

PART II



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ROMA

ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE
1958

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ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO
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DI

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

VOLUME IX

ROMA

Is. M. E. O.

1958

S E R I E O R I E N T A L E R O M A

I X, 2

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS

P A R T I I

FIRST BHĀVANĀKRAMA OF KAMALAŚILA

Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with Introduction
and English Summary



R O M A

I s. M. E. O.

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Printed in Italy - Stampato in Italia

MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS

Part II

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(In addition to those indicated in Part I)

B	= Buston, C'os ṁbyuṁ in gSuṁ ṁbum, vol. ya.
BEFEO	= <i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.</i>
Bhk	= Bhāvanākrama.
B. Ob.	= BUSTON, transl. by E. OBERMILLER, <i>History of Buddhism by Buston</i> , Heidelberg, 1932.
BZ	= sBa bžed, <i>Old Tibetan Chronicles</i> , Ms.
Concile	= P. DEMIÉVILLE, <i>Le concile de Lhasa</i> . Bibl. Institut des Hautes Études chinoises. Vol. VII, Paris, 1952.
DM	= Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma, Ms.
Ferrari	= Arthaviniścaya. Roma, Reale Accademia d'Italia. Mem. cl. Scienze Morali e Storiche, 7: 4. Roma, 1944, pp. 535-625.
GR	= rGyal rabs gsäl bai me loṅ, sDe dge ed.
D	= sDe dge edition of bKa' ṁgyur and bsTan ṁgyur.
GT	= Grub mt'a' šel gyi me loṅ, sDe dge ed.
JA	= <i>Journal Asiatique</i> .
JASB	= <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JRAS	= <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> .
KT	= bKa' t'aṅ sde lṅa, Potala edition.
LALOU, Inventaire	= M. LALOU, <i>Inventaire des Ms. Tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> , I, Paris, 1939.
LAUFER, Der Roman	= B. LAUFER, <i>Der Roman einer Tibetischen Königin</i> , Leipzig, 1911.
N	= Nor chronicles.
NGB	= rÑiṅ ma rgyud ṁbum, sDe dge edition.
PK	= Pad ma dkar po, C'os ṁbyuṁ, Punaka ed.
Preliminary Report	= G. TUCCI, <i>Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal</i> . Roma, Serie Orientale Roma - n. X, 1.
PT	= dPao gtsug p'reṅ ba, C'os ṁbyuṁ.
PTY	= Pad ma t'aṅ yig.
SP	= Sum pa mk'an po: dPag bsam ljoṅ bzaṅ ed. by S. Ch. Das, Calcutta, 1908.
TH	= J. BACOT, F. W. THOMAS, CH. TOUSSAINT, <i>Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet</i> , Paris, 1940.
TLT	= F. W. THOMAS, <i>Tibetan literary texts and documents</i> , Parts I-III, London, RAS, 1935-1955.
TOUSSAINT	= G. CH. TOUSSAINT, <i>Le dict de Padma</i> , Paris. 1933.
TTK	= G. TUCCI, <i>The tombs of the Tibetan Kings</i> , Roma, 1950.
Validity	= G. TUCCI, <i>Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition in India Antiqua</i> , Leyden, 1947, p. 359.
VDL	= Chronicles of the 5th Dalai Lama.

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P R E F A C E

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

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

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

G. TUCCI.

Saidu Sherif (Swat) 25-IX-57

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

1. – G. TUCCI, *Minor Buddhist Texts*.

CHAPTER 1.

*THE DEBATE OF BSAM YAS ACCORDING
TO TIBETAN SOURCES*

Kamalaśīla is a well-known personality. The Commentary written by him on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita¹⁾ shows that he was a very acute thinker and an extremely subtle logician. He also played a prominent part in the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet. Under the rule of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan²⁾, he was invited to Tibet and properly to bSam yas³⁾ and there found himself engaged in a famous controversy with the Chinese Mahāyāna Hva šaṅ (Ho shang), a follower of the Ch'an school. It was the stern opposition of Kamalaśīla and of his companions that put an end, at least officially, to the Ch'an doctrines in Tibet where they had met with wide favour.

The events of this famous debate which is recorded in all the official Tibetan Chronicles, have been recently examined by Prof. Demiéville⁴⁾ in a book which is one of the most learned contributions to the history of cultural relations between China and Tibet as yet undertaken.

All the available material has been collected, compared and studied in this work with such insight and depth

¹⁾ I adopt the form which appears in the Sk. colophon of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.

²⁾ For his dates see TTK, 742-797 (or 804? H. E. RICHARDSON in *JRAS*, 1952, p. 134 ff.).

³⁾ See below p. 27.

⁴⁾ *Le Concile de Lhasa, Une controverse sur le quétisme entre Bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine du VIII^e siècle de l'Ère Chrétienne.* Bibl. Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. VII, Paris 1952.

of research that very little, for many years to come, can be added to it.

The debate gave Kamalaśīla the opportunity to write three booklets called *Bhāvanākrama* in which the main points of view of his school concerning meditation on the Buddhist truth are expounded. The third of these *Bhāvanākrama*, the so called *Uttarabhāvanākrama*, is known to exist in its Sanskrit text in Russia; the late Prof. Obermiller gave notice of it¹⁾. Prof. Lamotte published in the book of Prof. Demiéville the translation of the Tibetan version (pp. 336-353). Of the first *Bhāvanākrama* Prof. Demiéville gave a short résumé from the rather imperfect Chinese translation (pp. 333-335). Examining the photos of some Sanskrit manuscripts which I took in Tibet on my journey of 1939 I discovered that one of them, of which the first page is missing, had on top of recto of the second page a small note written in *dbu med* characters. It can be so read: *dBu ma sgom rim*.

That this book contains one of the three *Bhāvanākrama* was then made certain by the colophon in which the title of the book as well as the name of the author are given. The comparison with T. proved that the text is that of the first *Bhāvanākrama*. The manuscript is preserved in the monastery of *sPos k'añ*²⁾ on a side valley to the right of the *Myaṅ c'u*, between Gyantse and

1) *A Sanskrit Ms. from Tibet. Kamalaśīla's Bhāvanākrama*, in *Journal of the Greater India Society*, II, 1935, pp. 1-11. Tib. text ed. by SHYUKI YOSHIMURA in *Ryūkokudaigaku Ronshū*, Journal of the Ryūkohu University. n. 346, Sept. 1953 p. 24 and Id. *Tibetan Buddhistology*, Research Soc. for the Eastern Sacred Books, Ryūkoku University, Kyōto 1953, p. 4.

2) TPS, p. 201.

Shigatse. The fact that some Tibetan monk or *lotsāva* wrote at the beginning of the second page the title of the work in Tibetan seems to show that when the palm-leaf manuscript fell into his hands ¹⁾, the first page was already missing. I must add that the photos were taken in very unfavourable conditions of light, so that sometimes the reading is difficult. But in spite of that, in collaboration with my pupil, Doctor R. Gnoli, we were able to transcribe the complete text. Then I revised it, having recourse to constant comparison with the Tibetan translation. This Tibetan translation has been added to the Sanskrit original; it is based on the *sDe dge* edition; but the *sNar t'añ* edition has also been collated. The comparison shows that generally D is more correct than N.

I must add that the Sanskrit text is in many cases faulty and in a few points differs slightly from the Tibetan translation ²⁾.

So a new document concerning a famous discussion held at the court of the Tibetan kings and which was to be of great importance for the history and fortune of Tibetan Buddhism has come to light and I am glad to submit it to the attention of scholars.

There is no need of publishing the Chinese translation because, as has been pointed out by Prof. Demiéville, it is rather poor. In the book there seems to be a hint to the Tibetan king and an admonition not to think too highly of his present elevated position; even kings do not escape death, sorrow, and misery which inevitably follow exi-

¹⁾ The ms. itself is derived from an original discovered and copied as it was found: *yathālabdha*.

²⁾ *Samdhi* and punctuation, very irregular, have been revised and corrected.

stence of all kinds. Kings also should therefore carefully meditate on their own destiny and avoid patronizing wrong doctrines which result in sin and are certainly the cause of unlucky rebirth (p. 175).

According to the Tibetan sources, Śāntarakṣita, usually known by the Tibetans as the Bodhisattva and the mk'a n p o, the (first) abbot of bSam yas, had anticipated that the heresy—such was to him the D h y ā n a school—would have spread so widely in Tibet as to endanger the right understanding of the doctrine; therefore on the point of death¹⁾ he had recommended in his will that, should the situation grow worse, his pupil K a m a l a - śīla was to be invited. When new troubles arose, Y e š e s d b a ṅ p o, (J ñ ā n e n d r a), viz. one of the seven Tibetans who, as tradition would have us believe, were then properly ordained (s a d m i m i b d u n) and of whom we shall speak again, was insistently asked by the king to start the controversy with the M a - h ā y ā n a H v a š a ṅ. J ñ ā n e n d r a refused to appear²⁾ before the king and only when he was threatened with death if he insisted on his refusal, he came to the court to remind the king of the promise he had made to Śāntarakṣita. This account may be perhaps true and it only means that the followers of Śāntarakṣita, the Indian party, the rTsen min pa, were unable to oppose the arguments of the Chinese master. From other accounts also it appears that the disciples of the H v a š a ṅ were determined to maintain their position

¹⁾ When Śāntarakṣita died his remains, according to PT, ja, p. 114 a, were placed behind the Has po ri (G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and beyond*, p. 122) and there a m c' o d r t e n was built over them.

²⁾ As we shall see he had left b S a m y a s.

of privilege and did not hesitate to impose their supremacy on others. The chronicle of PT is in this respect very interesting, because, as usual, it contains some details which he drew from earlier documents and sources. As I have shown elsewhere, there are good proofs that he had access to the archives of the temples and that he reproduced some of the old documents in his book; the comparison of his text with some originals recently discovered, testifies to his accuracy¹⁾. It is clear that the preaching of the H v a ś a ñ excited the minds of the Buddhists to such an extent that the king was compelled to intervene. Not only did the royal temple of bSam yas see its regular cults greatly impaired, but the followers of the two parties, the Indian and the Chinese, the rTsen min pa (漸門派 tsien men p'ai), rim pa, krama (the gradual path) and the sTon min pa²⁾ (頓門派 Tun men p'ai), gcig c'ar, also cig car, yaugapadya, (the sudden path) lost control of their nerves. We do not know if the Indian party really lost a great number of its adherents; the sources agree in telling us that they were the minority and that only some of the leading monks remained faithful to the teaching of the Bodhisattva; among others were sBa Ratna, and Vairocana. The quarrel turned into tragedy. Some of the members of the two opposite parties had recourse to violence, to suicide and to murder (PT ja, 115), Nāṇ śa mi (s B a b ž e d: M y a ñ) cut his own flesh to pieces,

1) See TTK *passim*.

2) This is the transcription adopted by PT ja, p. 115, b, l. 7 but, as a rule, Ch. *men* is transcribed in other texts *min* in the case of the followers of Kamalaśīla and *mun* in the case of the Ch'an adepts. VDL, p. 39, b transcribes: t v o n m u n and b r t s e m i n.

s Ñ a g s b y e m a l a (evidently Vimala; s B a b z e d : m Ñ a ' b i m a) and r Ñ e g s R i n p o c ' e crushed their genitals; the Chinese H v a š a ñ M e m g o (s B a b ž e d : the Chinese teacher, s t o n p a) put fire on his own head and died ¹⁾. For this reason all the followers of the H v a š a ñ decided to kill the members of the Indian party.

Some of these personages are mentioned elsewhere. s Ñ a g s b y e m a l a is perhaps the same as the Tibetan monk P ' i m o l o referred to by Chinese sources (Demiéville, p. 41). As regards Ñ a ñ š a m i, Š a m i of Ñ a ñ, a part at least of his name seems to correspond to (C h ' i) s h ê m i (shih) 乞奢彌尸 ²⁾ of the same documents. As to M e m g o this is not a name, but a nickname by which the monk was known after he had committed suicide by putting fire on his head ³⁾; the only difference between the Chinese and the Tibetan tradition is that according to the latter he was a Chinese H v a š a ñ. It is clear that there is complete agreement as regards the details also between PT and B u s t o n (p. 195) and other Tibetan writers on one hand and the Chinese works on the other.

The pages of B u s t o n on the events which prepared the advent of Ś ā n t a r a k ṣ i t a and P a d m a s a m b h a v a are more or less condensed from the s B a b ž e d and suggest only a few remarks. S a ñ š i did not take up "his

¹⁾ The Ch'an followers were accustomed to bloody mutilations of their body. The story of Shên kuang who cut off his left arm with a sword is well-known; but see D. T. SUZUKI, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, I, p. 177.

For other references see WITTFOGEL-FÊNG, *History of Chinese Society*, Liao, p. 303 and n. 24, *Concile*, p. 38, n. 2.

²⁾ *Concile*, p. 41, n. 3: but Prof. Demiéville notes: "coupure incertaine".

³⁾ See *Addenda*.

abode in Cho tag", (Obermiller, p. 187), but he "hid the book (c'o s) which he had brought from China in a rock¹⁾", cf. a few lines below: "the (king) got the sacred texts that were concealed". "The Chinese Me and Go and the Paṇḍita Ananta these three", is a mistake of the text itself: rGya me mgo dan paṇ ḍi ta Ananta dan gsum, but it is evident that rGya me mgo is the same Me mgo about whom see above (Buston, gSuñ ṅabum, vol. ya, p. 125, b), viz. rGya bzai me mgo of PT, ja, p. 78, a. We find his name very often in PT, 78, a, 78, b as the adviser of the young king and along with Sañ ši and gSal snai as one of those who insisted on the king choosing the Buddhist religion. The translations were made by him from the Chinese, by Ānanda from Sanskrit and by another from other languages (PT, ja, 78, b). The place where the translators met was Bya k'ai in Has po ri. The books translated were those brought from China by Sañ ši and those brought from Mañ yul, viz. from the roads leading to Nepal.

The books taken from China to Tibet and then buried in mC'ims p'u (PT ja, 77, b, and VDL, p. 31, a) were according to PT only three i.e. rDo rje gcod pa (Vajracchedikā), Sā lu ljañ pa (Śālistambha), and first of all, dGe ba bcui mdo, a list of the ten moral actions which plays an important part in the preaching of the Buddhist Law at the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan.

As regards Sañ ši, the question is more complicated. Who is this Sañ ši? Is he a Chinese or a Tibetan? The

1) The place where the books were buried was mC'ims p'u according to PT ja, p. 77, b and the 5th Dalai Lama (p. 31, a). On mC'ims p'u cf. G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and beyond*, pp. 171, 123; TTK, p. 83, n. 124.

common tradition is that he was sent to China and to India, and that he took along with him from China some books and, according to some, also a *Hva šaṇ*. Some, as we shall see, say that he was a Tibetan, others (PT) a Chinese: moreover *Saṇ ši* is a title variously spelt in the historical works in which we find:

Saṇ ši (VDL, p. 32, *b f.*)
 id. Buston (*ya*, p. 125, *a*)
 id. PT (*ja*, p. 74 ff.)
 id. GR (p. 85, *b*) in Laufers' copy *Saṇ ši. Die Bru-ža Sprache*, reprint, p. 9, n. 2¹⁾).

KT *na*, p. 67, *a*, and *ca*, p. 16, *a* *Saṇ ši ratna* who is the same as Ratna, the son of *sBa Saṇ ši* of GR, p. 85, *b*, viz. Ratna-(rakṣita) of Buston p. 190. But in BZ we find *Saṇ ši ta*; this form occurs also in PT, p. 116 and is perhaps a corruption of *Saṇ ši Rat na* (also written in T. Ratana).

There is a difference between KT *ca.*, p. 16, *a* and KT *na*, p. 67, *a*; in the first we find *K'ri bžer* of *sBa* and in the second *sBa K'ri bžer Saṇ ši rat na*, as if they were one and the same person; in that case the *sad mi* would be six not seven; I therefore considered (TPS, p. 690) *sBa K'ri bžer* and *Saṇ ši rat na* to be two different persons. But BZ also takes *ṭBa K'ri žer Saṇ ši ta* as the name of a single person. This leads us again to consider the various lists of the seven *sad mi* i.e. the first Tibetans to be properly ordained as monks. Let us compare KT, PT, Buston, Ñor, GR, PK.

1) What LAUFER says, *ibid.* on this name *sBa saṇ ši* is wrong.

KT A (ña p. 67, a)	KT B (ca p. 16, a)	BZ	Buston A p. 127, a (Ob. II, p. 190)
1 Vairocana of Pa gor	1 Vairocana	Vairocana	Vairocana
2 Nam mk'a' sñiñ po	2 Lha luñ dpal gyi rdo rje	dPal dbyaṅs	dBa' Mañjuśrī (Ye šes dbaṅ po)
3 Rab rgyal ba dbyaṅs	3 sBa dPal dbyaṅs	Ñan lam rGyal ba mc'og dbyaṅs	dBa' Ratnarakṣita ¹⁾
4 sBa Ye šes dbaṅ po	4 La gsum rgyal ba mc'og	La gsum rgyal bai byaṅ c'ub (Ye šes dbaṅ po)	Bran ka Mu ti ka
5-6 sBa K'ri bžer sañ ši ra tna	5 sBa K'ri bžer	ṁBa' K'ri [b]žer Sañ ši ta	ṁK'on Nāgendra
7 rGyal ba byaṅ c'ub	6 rMa rin c'en mc'og	sMañ (sic) Rin c'en mc'og	rTsaṅs Devendra (Ob. rMa rin c'en mc'og)
	7 sBa gSal snañ	sBa gSal snañ	Glañ Ka ta na The division is: 3 r gan: dBa' Mañjuśrī, Bran ka Mu ti ka, dBa' Ratnarakṣita 3 gžoñ nu: ṁK'on Nāgen- dra, Pa gor Vairocana, rTsaṅs Devendra B a r p a: Glañ Ka ta na (= Ye šes dbaṅ po)

1) When those people were initiated they all took a religious name to which, as it is the custom, the name of the mk'añ po who presided over the ordination was added (which is technically called: zur). Therefore we have Jñānendrarakṣita, Ratnarakṣita etc.

Buston B	PT p. 103, b	Nor p. 121, b
Bya (<i>ibid</i>) K'ri gzigs Vairocanarakṣita Ñan lam rGyal ba mc'og dbyaṅs sBa gsal snaṅ (= Ye šes dbaṅ po) sBa K'ri bžer saṅ ši ta (= dpal dbyaṅs) rMa Rin c'en mc'og ṅK'on Klui dbaṅ po bsruṅ ba gTsaṅ Legs grub	He refers to different lists	Ye šes dbaṅ po sruṅ dBa' rin c'en bsruṅ } three rgan Rin c'en dbaṅ po } bDe bar gšeg pa Bar pa, go c'a Vairocana Klui dbaṅ po } three gžon nu gTsaṅ Lhai dbaṅ po

GR p. 85, <i>b</i>	PK p. 100, <i>a</i>	SP p. 171
Pa gor Rat nai bu Vairocana	Three rgan : sBas Ratnarakṣita	sBa K'ri gzigs (= sBa dpal dbyaṅs)
Ñan lam rGyal ba mc'og dbyaṅs	sBas Jñānendrarakṣita	sBa gsal snaṅ (= Ye šes dbaṅ po)
sBa saṅ ši bu Rat na	Ratnendrarakṣita	sBa K'ri gžir (corr.: gžer) bu maṅ (corr.: saṅ) ši ta
rMa Rin c'en mc'og	Bar pa : Glaṅ Sugatavarmarakṣita	Spa gor he[n] ḍodod bu Vairocana
ḥK'on Klui dbaṅ po bsrūṅ (gloss: in some lists missing)	Gžon nu : Vairocana	Ñan lam rgyal ba mc'og dbyaṅs
mC'im A nui bu Ša kya pra ba	ḥK'on Nāgendrarakṣita	rMa Rin c'en mc'og
gTsaṅ Legs grub	rTsaṅs Devendrarakṣita	La[s] gsum rGyal bai byaṅ c'ub

As I have already shown in TPS, p. 690, the list of the seven *s a d m i* is far from being reliable; a few names only occur regularly in the various catalogues: *Vairocana*, *sBa K'ri bžer Sañ ši ta*, or *Sañ ši ratna son of K'ri bžer*, *rMa Rin c'en mc'og*, *Ñan lam rgyal ba mc'og*; *sBa gsal snañ* disappears in *Ñor*, *GR*, *PK*, because he is assimilated to *Ye šes dbañ po*, *Jñānendra*. The same identification is found in *SP*, p. 171, *Jñānendra* being considered the religious name of *gSal snañ*, after his initiation. *gSal snañ*, according to the very confused story of *B*, was the incarnation of *Ba Lan glag gi*¹⁾ *sBas gSal snañ* born by the magic agency of a *Hva šañ*; when of age he was sent as a governor in *Mañ yul*. Evidently,—we shall come back again to this point (see below, p. 19),—there has been here a confusion with the *Sañ ši* often referred to before. He was sent to China to collect books and to Nepal and India to fetch *Śāntarakṣita*. He is said to belong to the *sBa* tribe; in the first list of the *s a d m i* given by *B* he became *dBa' Mañjuśrī*; but such a name does not appear in the second list.

With *Buston*, who was on good terms with the two contending powers of his day, viz. the *Sa skya pa* and the *P'ag mo gru pa*, two new names appear, *ṅK'on Klu'i dbañ po bsrūñ*, *Nāgendrarakṣita* and *Glañ* (*Buston A*) *Ka ta na* the same as *Sugatavarman* of *Ñor* and *PK*²⁾; with *PK*, *B* and *GR* for the first time a man of *gTsañ* (*gTsañs*, *rTsañs*) also appears, called now *Devendra*, now *Legs grub*³⁾. The reason is clear; the *Sa skya pa* belonged to the *ṅK'on* family and the *P'ag mo gru pa* to the *rLañs* family; as overlords

1) Which may be a mistake of the copyists uncertain between a *sBa* and a *Glañ* clan.

2) But *PT ja*, 104, *K'ams pa go c'a*. So also *Po ti bse ru*. *Sugatavarman* looks like a learned sanskritization.

3) Missing in *KT* and *BZ*.

of Tibet or striving for such supremacy, they boasted that some of their ancestors were among the famous seven *sad mi*, the first men to be ordained in Tibet by the Indian *mk'an po* of *bSam yas*, viz. Śāntarakṣita. The lists were therefore altered in order to support these claims. A man of *gTsañ* was also introduced as a result of the importance which this country had attained during the times of the *Sa skya pa* and which was to lead to a fight between *dBus* and *gTsañ*, viz. the *P'ag mo gru pa* on the *dBus* side and the *Sa skya pa* and the rulers of *bSam grub rtse* (Shigatze) on the other. But as to the identity of this man, there is no agreement: he is called either *De-vendra* or *Legs grub*.

Buston, who witnessed the political ascent of the *P'ag mo gru pa*, or perhaps more likely the editors of his book, went so far as to identify *Katana* of the *Glañs* alias *K'ams pa go c'a* (*P'ag mo gru pa*) with *Ye šes dbaṅ po*, one of the most important figures in the period with which we are dealing. This shows that there was a tendency to attribute the most distinguished personalities of the first introduction of Buddhism and those who started the monkish tradition to the families which became, in the course of time, the most powerful.

On the other hand *Ratnarakṣita* (B.A, Nor, PK), *Mañ-juśrī* (in B.A, identical with *Ye šes dbaṅ po*) included among the elders of the *Sad mi* are listed by the *sGra sbyor bam gñis pa* among the translators and the compilers of the MV.

We can also add that the larger redaction of the *rB a* (*sB a*) *bžed*¹⁾, according to a quotation found in

¹⁾ This text is said to have circulated in three different redactions, a larger, a smaller, a middling.

PT, ja, 103, *b*, tells us that the *sad mi* were not seven but only six (and so implicitly KT, A if, following GR, we have to read K'ri bžer [bu] sañ ši Ratna as the son of sBa K'ri bžer), these being:

- 1) rBa K'ri gzigs who was then called dPal dbyañs,
- 2) rBa gSal snañ then called Ye šes dbañ po,
- 3) Pa gor Vairocana,
- 4) Nan lam rGyal mc'og dbyañs
- 5) rMa Rin c'en mc'og
- 6) Las (in other places written Legs) gsum rgyal ba byañ c'ub.

A new list with seven *sad mi* was obtained, according to PT by substituting gTsañ legs grub for Las (in the text of PT here: legs) gsum and adding, after Nan lam, ąK'on klui dbañ po. These last two names point, as I said before, to a new political situation.

Buston lists nine *sad mid*, but the printers or those who revised his manuscript and prepared it for the print, as already suggested by TP, may be responsible for this; Bya K'ri gzigs is not to be considered here as one of the *sad mi* because after being ordained he obtained the realization of the five *abhiñā* and the interpunction between rBa K'ri bžer and sañ ši ta must be cancelled. Moreover it is clear that at the time of Buston, another list was circulated (BA.) which is also mentioned by PT though with a different spelling of some names. Instead of Bran ka Mu ti ka, PT has Mukhendrarakṣita and instead of Glañ Ka ta na, Glañ K'ams pa go c'a¹⁾ But this is not the end: other lists are also known (PT, 104, *a*), f.i.:

1) Which is the reading of Glañs po ti bse ru.

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1) rBa Ratna, 2) mC'ims Śākyaprabha, 3) gTsañ Legs grub, 4) Vairocana, 5) Žaṅ lha bu (the same as the Žaṅ Ņa bzai gi bu Lha bu Lha btsan of p. 103, *a* see below p. 43); 6) Šud pu ¹⁾ K'oṅ legs (or leb: PT p. 104, *a*); 7) Ye šes dbaṅ po.

This variety of lists and also the fact that instead of seven *sad mi* the older books (BZ in its larger redaction and KT. A) speak of six *sad mi* while more recent catalogues bring the number to nine, confirm what I said above that the tradition concerning the first people to be initiated is far from being reliable.

A list which is given by PT, 104, *a*, as taken from the *Lo rgyus c'en po* ²⁾, most probably derives from the same source as that of KT *ca*, p. 16, *a*, as we can see by comparing the two texts:

<i>Lo rgyus c'en po</i>	KT. (<i>ca</i> , 16, <i>a</i>)
1-2 dGe sloṅ sdom pa sṅa ba rBa yi bandhe gñis	1 sBa gSal snaṅ 2 sBa dPal dbyaṅs
3-4 bTsun pai rab mi Ņan lam Lha luṅ gñis	3 Las gsum rgyal mc'og 4 Lha luṅ dPal gyi rdo rje
5 Blo rno rab mc'og rMa ban Rin c'en mc'og	5 rMa Rin c'en mc'og
6 T'os pa c'e rab Las gsum Byaṅ c'ub rgyal;	6 sBa K'ri bžer
7 mK'as pai yaṅ rab Vairo- cana	7 Vairocana

The corruption of the text of KT is evident: the members of the *sBa* are here three and not two as in all lists;

¹⁾ Viz. Šud p'u, name of a clan, on which see TTK, p. 66. A Šud p'u blon K'oṅ K'ri signs with other «officials of the exterior» the copy of the edict of Karchung, Ibid, p. 55.

²⁾ This is a work of K'u ston brtson agrus (1011-1075). Cf. *Blue annals*, p. 94.

an anachronism is found in substituting Lha luñ dPal kyī rdo rje, the man who killed gLañ dar ma and who was born according to the tradition just about the times of which we are speaking, for a Lha luñ Rab ḡbyor dbyaṅs.

But to these names others are added, that is those of Nam mk'a' sñiñ po and the king himself. The king is here obviously introduced on account of the support given by him to religion, while Nam mk'a' sñiñ po is called in the *Lo rgyus c'en po: mt'u c'e ba* the man possessed of great magic power just as in KT, *na*, p. 67.

It is worth while to add that the identity of dPal dbyaṅs is not clear: in fact while, according to BZ (and KT, B) he is different from ḡBa' K'ri [b]žer Sañ ši ta, Buston, list b, considers the latter to be the same as dPal dbyaṅs. SP identifies with him sBa K'ri gzigs still retaining in his list sBa K'ri bžer bu sañ ši ta. PK. evidently duplicates the same personage into sBa Ratnarakṣita and Ratnendrarakṣita. GR ignoring dPal dbyaṅs but mentioning sBa sañ ši bu Ratna seems to identify the two ¹⁾. But, as we shall see later on (p. 140) this identification is very doubtful be-

¹⁾ PT, 104, b and GR—though a corruption of the text: sBa K'ri bžer kyī bu Sañ ši rat na into K'ri bžer Sañ ši ta has given origin to a reduplication: K'ri bžer and Sañ ši ta, but from PT, 103 a, (rBa K'ri bžer gyī bu K'ri gzigs sam sañ ši ta) his name before initiation seems to have been K'ri gzigs provided this identification has not been proposed in order to eliminate K'ri gzigs from some lists.

However this passage as well as the others already quoted of GR and Sum pa mk'an po distinguish a Sañ ši ta (= Ratna = sBa ratna) from K'ri bžer and make of him the son of the latter (but this is contradicted by sGr a s b y o r in which we read: Blon K'ri bžer sañ ši v. CORDIER, *Cat.*, III, p. 487, A. FERRARI, *Arthaviniscaya*, p. 540. NILS SIMONSSON, *Indo-tibetische Studien*, I, p. 241). It therefore seems to me that the reading of GR is right: it preserves the tradition of a Sañ ši who was the son of a Blon, Žaṅ blon K'ri bžer. The religious name of this son was Ratna. As to the Žaṅ blon K'ri

cause there is reason to believe that there was a dPal dbyañs who was not of the sBa clan.

Nam mk'a' sñiñ po, Ākāśagarbha of gNubs, was a well-known master of Ch'an, about whom some information has been collected by Mlle Lalou, *JA*, 1939, p. 505 ff. and myself in TPS, p. 615, n. 252. That he was a Ch'an master is evident from the texts published by Mlle Lalou and by his connection with Ch'an teachers who considered themselves as the spiritual descendants of Bodhidharma. Nam mk'a' sñiñ po is recorded in the rÑiñ ma pa literature, but very little can be found concerning him in the books of the other sects, certainly on account of his peculiar doctrines. But many translations by him are preserved in the huge collection called rÑiñ ma rgyud ḁbum. This contains the most authoritative Tantras of the rDsogs c'en sect, whose dogmatics as we shall see, continue, at least partially, some Ch'an doctrines. Many of these Tantras are certainly apocryphal but some are no doubt genuine, and may contain fragments of the old texts upon which the Ch'an masters of Tibet based their doctrines. It may therefore be surmised that these catalogues of the sād mi have been altered in the course of time not only with the fortunes of the lead-

bžer he may be the same as Žaṅ blon K'ri bžer of TLT, II, 223. Cf. *Concile*, p. 280 n. 5 and p. 368.

In the Karchung inscription of K'ri lde sroñ btsan we find K'ri bžer gsum mdo btsan TTK, p. 54 who was dBas blon. Moreover the personality of K'ri bžer is attested by PTY (TOUSSAINT, p. 240 and 317) where the text seems corrupt, K'zi gžir san ši being here given as a Chinese: perhaps a verse is missing in which it was said that Bha sañ: (= sBa sañ [ši] ?) was sent to China to bring back the Hva šaṅ. But in a manuscript of the same book the reading is the same: the error must go back to the archetype. In the same PTY (TOUSSAINT, p. 280) Sañ ši ta is different from K'ri bžer, (cf. *ibid*, p. 280).

ing families of Tibet but also with the doctrinal developments of the sects. The triumph of the other schools left in the background such persons as Ākāśagarbha, because they belonged to a trend of thought which was then considered heretical, and the record of his name was only preserved in that peculiar sect which somehow maintained certain doctrinal connections with Ch'an.

Comparing the different lists we can divide them into three groups: *a*) KT and BZ; *b*) Buston, GR; *c*) Nor, PK; SP is eclectic. KT and BZ are certainly the oldest but the text of KT has been subject to alterations as we can see by comparing KT, A and KT, B with BZ and the *Lo rgyus c'en po*.

The only names which seem to be generally recurrent are Vairocana, *sBa gSal snañ*, *sBa dPal dbyaṅs*, *rMa Rin c'en mc'og*; *dPal dbyaṅs* is said to be, but probably wrongly, the same as Ratna, the son of K'ri bžer. From PT we know of a Chinese *Sa ṅ ši* who was the son of *ṅBa' ṅde u*¹⁾, an ambassador sent by the Chinese emperor to the father of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan. This boy was a dancer (*gar mk'an*) and had been ordered to remain in Tibet to be a playmate of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, whom the Tibetan tradition calls the son of a Chinese princess (PT, 73)²⁾. He was sent back to China by K'ri lde gtsug

¹⁾ Has this person anything in common with De'u lim, a Ch'an master of LALOU, *Inventaire*, p. 40?

²⁾ But, as suggested by Prof. Demiéville (*Concile*, p. 9 note) this is highly improbable. We read in TH (p. 26, cf. p. 54) under the year 742: *btsan po sroṅ lde brtsan brag mar du bltam/yum mañ mon rje noṅs* – i.e.: “the btsan po Sroṅ lde brtsan was born in Brag mar; [his] extolled mother died”. Though in the text there is no relative pronoun, from the context it is evident that this event refers to his mother and the fact that the two events are recorded in immediate succession induces us to surmise that she died after the delivery. On the other hand we know that the princess

btsan along with some ambassadors who were to bring back to Tibet some Buddhist texts in Chinese: PT, p. 74 a, (cf. VDL, p. 32, b, *Blue Annals*, p. 41)¹⁾. He was asked by the Chinese Emperor to stay in China but he refused; when he went back to Tibet, perceiving that the times were not yet ripe for preaching Buddhism, since K'ri sroñ lde btsan was still a boy and the ministers in charge hated Buddhism, he concealed the books in a cave at mC'ims p'u *ibid.*, p. 77 b.

He was later on sent by K'ri sroñ lde btsan to Guge to find out where the treasure of that kingdom had been concealed; he was successful because he was aided by the deity of Žaṅ žuṅ Lha Mu tsa men. Such is the story told of him by PT. That Sañ ši and the Chinese boy were for PT one and the same person is beyond doubt; when his achievements in Žaṅ žuṅ are related he is, in fact, called as be-

Kim šeṅ (Kin ch'eng) had already died in the year 739 (TH, p. 25 and 51). Moreover some other TH documents clearly state that the mother of K'ri sroñ lde btsan was Mañ mo rje bži steṅ of sNa nam. The orthodox Tibetan tradition without exception, on the other hand, considers the emperor to be the son of the Chinese princess. The reason is to be found in the desire to magnify the dignity of the Tibetan dynasty and to insist on the blood relation of its members with the imperial family of China: this was giving a basis to a pretence which was codified in the expression *dbon žaṅ* so common in the Tibetan documents. But does this mean that no trace remains of the sNa nam princess being the mother of the king? Not at all: more than that, a careful investigation of the story of the birth of K'ri sroñ lde btsan might equally well lead us to be very sceptical about the orthodox narration. The story relates that as soon as the boy was born from Kim šeṅ, the other wife sNa nam bza' said that the boy was her own: and she stole him and ran away with him. The ministers were in great doubt how to settle the question, but then the king invited from their respective countries the paternal relations of his two wives and let the boy recognize straight away his own mother; the child ran into the arms of the Chinese maternal uncle saying: "I am the grandchild of Chinese extraction". The legendary character of the story is evident and if properly read and interpreted fully confirms the TH annals.

¹⁾ See above p. 7.

fore: rgya p'rug, the Chinese boy (cf. PT, ja, p. 103, b)¹⁾. So, according to the Tibetan tradition as recorded by PT, we must distinguish the Sañ ši, a Chinese who introduced some Buddhist books from China and was intimate of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, from a sBa Sañ ši, who was a Tibetan.

In either case, Sañ ši is the common spelling in the historical texts. But we cannot rely much on the accuracy of the transcriptions handed down through many manuscripts; nor must we forget that similar titles, more or less corrupt, are to be found at the end of the names of the bsam gtan mk'an po, masters of Dhyāna, mentioned by KT (*Blon po bkai t'añ yig*, 15 b, Potala edition) as pointed out by R. Stein in his review of Prof. Demiéville's book (*JA*, 1953, p. 278): šan ti, šiñ ša, šan šin, šen ši, etc.²⁾. (Cf. Ch'an texts of TH, Lalou, *Inventaire*, p. 40). Thus the conclusion appears legitimate that Šan ši is here the correct spelling and that this word corresponds to Ch. 禪師 'master of Dhyāna'. But the fact is undeniable that our personages are called always Sañ ši with the dental sibilant and the velar n, while in the case of the masters of dhyāna we find regularly the initial š and the dental n: it therefore seems reasonable to suppose that occasionally a confusion was made by the Tibetans between šan ši—ch'an shih and sheng.

To conclude, in spite of the uncertainty of our sources as regards the names of the six (or seven) sad mi we cannot consider that story as a mere legend: it seems natural that some people were ordained, after the foun-

¹⁾ Gya p'rug sañ ši ni rgya nag gi p'o ñai bu yin.

²⁾ See below p. 82 ff.

dation of bSam yas and the official recognition of Buddhism.

The tradition is general and precise as regards this point. We know also (PT, 103, *a*) that for the occasion some people and precisely Lañ gro sNañ bžer, gÑer sTag btsan gdoñ gzigs, and Señ mgo Lha luñ gzigs were sent to Vikramaśīla, that they brought back with them to Tibet 12 monks of the Sarvāstivāda school and that the ordination took place in the first fortnight of the first month of spring of the sheep year under the supervision of Śāntarakṣita (PT, 103, *a*, B. Ob., p. 190, VDL, 38, *a*; Nor, p. 121, *a*. SP, p. 171). In record of that fact, the spiritual lineage of Śāntarakṣita, the first abbot of bSam yas, was reproduced in the wall paintings of the temple; Śāriputra, Rāhula, Nāgārjuna, Legs ldan 'byed (Bhāvaviveka), Śrī-gupta, Jñānagarbha, Śāntarakṣita (*ibid.*). The last fact is not of paramount importance because we do not know when these paintings were made and what happened to bSam yas between the reign of gLañ dar ma and the revival of Buddhism. But the chronological references are so precise with their indication of the animal of the cycle and of the month that they seem to go back to some old documents accessible to our historians.

Moreover, in the edict published at p. 50 reference to monks and abbots is made; we also know that in the second month (PT, 104, *b*) of winter of the same year an ācārya was appointed for the c'os grva of the ordained monks (rab tu byuñ bai c'os grva slob dpon bskos) as well as an ācārya of the ña ma, the lay disciples.

So, to conclude, if great uncertainty remains as regards the first Tibetans who were ordained, with the

exception of a few of them, it appears highly probable that after the foundation of bSam yas and the official recognition of Buddhism as state religion and the consequent spread of Buddhism, some people really entered religion and were properly ordained. As to the year when that happened, that is said to be by PT and B a sheep year: this indication is supplemented by others (f.i. VDL, 38, *a*) as *me lug*; but we know how cautious we should be in accepting these additions of the second element specifying the cyclic year made in later times.

The sheep year can be either 767, or 779, or 791. If we accept that the debate took place in the year 792, we must dismiss the year 791 because in the space of one year it is impossible that so many things happened, such as the organization of the new church, the death of Śāntarakṣita, the growing antagonism between the Indian and the Chinese, the invitation of Kamalaśīla. Therefore, the year 767 being too early we must accept as most probable the year 779, which agrees with the probable date of the foundation of bSam yas (775)¹⁾.

Let us go back to the arrival of Kamalaśīla.

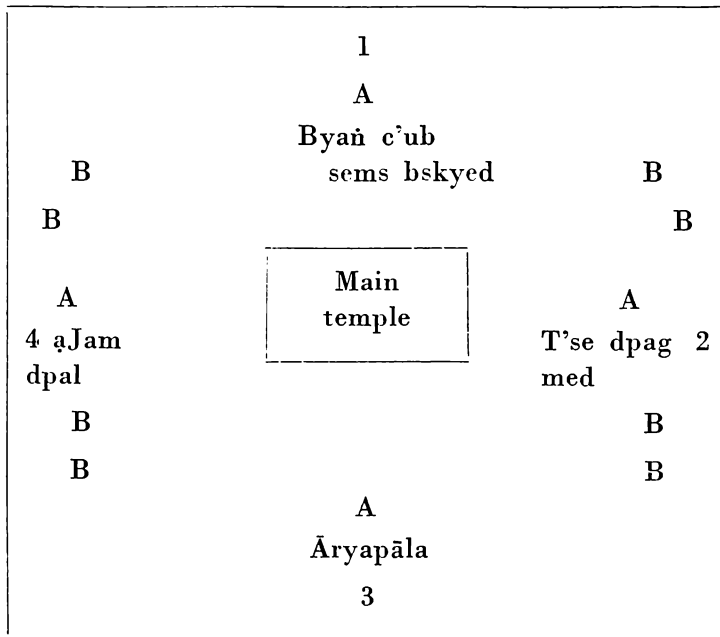
As soon as Kamalaśīla arrived the meeting took place in the Byañ c'ub gliñ. This temple is known as *S e m s b s k y e d b y a ñ s e m s* (PT ja, p. 96 *a*; cf. Laufer, *Die Bruža Sprache*, p. 29), and is one of the most important in bSam yas.

It is to the north of the main chapel in the center. In fact, the plan of bSam yas is naturally the same as that of a maṇḍala. In the middle is the five-storied temple: in the first floor, the *gtso* or fundamental deity is Jo bo:

¹⁾ That the ordination took place after the foundation of bSam yas is well known PT ja, 102, b. B. Ob., p. 189 ff., etc.

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his retinue is represented by 10 bodhisattvas standing and two c'os skyoñ. The bodhisattvas are in Chinese style. On the second floor the main deity is again Jo bo, surrounded by 10 bodhisattvas and two c'os skyoñ, but in Tibetan style. On the third floor there is rNam par rnañ mdsad, with four statues facing the four corners. The retinue is represented by eight seated Bodhisattvas. On the fourth floor there is bDe mc'og surrounded by the rigs lña. As I said elsewhere, the general plan of bSam yas is as follows ¹⁾:



A) four gliñ

B) eight minor gliñ

1-4) four mc'o d rten blue, green, red, white.

1) Cf. G. TUCCI, *To Lhasa and beyond*, p. 119 and *Symbolism of the Temples of bSam yas: East and West*, vol. VI, n. 4, 1956, p. 279.

It would be interesting to ascertain exactly the date of the foundation of bSam yas as in that case we could also establish a *terminus ad quem* for the death of Śāntarakṣita. But the problem is very complicated.

In note 85 of TTK I proposed for the date of foundation of bSam yas the year 791. This hypothesis is untenable: according to the Tib. sources we must distinguish between the year of the planning (b k o d p a) of the temple and the year in which it was actually completed. The years are designated according to the duodenary cycle, but in most cases only one of the elements of the cyclic designation is recorded.

B. Ob., p. 189: fire-hare

PK, p. 100, a: started in fire-hare; finished after twelve years

VDL, p. 36, a, 37, a: begun in water-tiger, finished in fire-horse

PTY (Toussaint, p. 258, 261): begun in earth-tiger, finished after five years in the horse-year

PT Ja 108 foll.

DT (*Blue Annals*, p. 44): begun in a hare-year, finished in a sheep-year

GR, p. 90, b and PT, p. 89, a: begun in the hare-year, finished in one cycle

DM, p. 26, a: founded in the year earth-hare

Vaidūrya dkar po 751¹⁾; BZ: hare-year when the king was 13.

Guide of bSam yas p. 16, b in year fire-horse.

¹⁾ From A. CSOMA DE KÖRÖ', *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, p. 183 (date revised with the addition of two years).

Both DM and the guide of bSam yas add that the temple was erected when K'ri sroñ lde btsan was only 22 years old. We know that K'ri sroñ lde btsan was born in 742 (TH, p. 51).

Thus, starting from the date of the birth of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, which is certain, we may assume that the foundation of bSam yas took place in one of these following years:

fire-hare 787

earth-tiger 798

earth-hare 799

fire-horse 766

hare-years are 751, 763, 775, 787

sheep-year = the fifth year after the hare-years

horse years are 754, 766, 778.

It appears from these data that it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion. The tradition preserved by DM states that when the king undertook the building of bSam yas he was 22 years old. In this case the planning (bkod pa) should have taken place in $742 + 22$, 763¹⁾ and the completion one cycle later: viz. 774. But then the indication earth-hare is wrong, once more confirming that the only workable element of the cyclic determination is the second term viz. hare = 763. The statement of the guide of bSam yas fire-horse 766 comes near to that; the date of Vaiḍūrya 751, provided a complete duodenary cycle is not added to it, must be excluded because the king was not yet enthroned. The BZ states that in this year of the hare the king was 13, but this is impossible, since this date coincides with the date of his being enthroned; no time

1) According to the Tibetan way of reckoning.

is therefore left for the revolt of the Bon, the arrival of Śāntarakṣita, the invitation of Padmasaṃbhava, etc. All these events and developments are likely to have taken many years.

Theoretically there is an almost general agreement that the temple was undertaken in a hare-year which, excluding for the reason before said the year 751, can only be 763, 775, 787. On the other hand it cannot be forgotten that the hare-year has a suspicious preminence in the story of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan: in a hare year his son was born, in a hare year he married, in a hare year he built bSam yas. A *terminus ante quem* is established by the date in which the debate between the Hva šaṅ and Kamalaśīla took place, which is certainly posterior to the foundation of bSam yas; in fact, the most probable date for this debate has been fixed by Demiéville between 792 and 794 (*Concile*, p. 177).

On the other, hand, the fact that Mya ṅ¹⁾ Tiṅ ṅe ṇ dsin, the tutor of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, is recorded by some sources in connection with the troubles which arose in Tibet within the Buddhist community itself and which led to the invitation of Kamalaśīla and the ensuing debate, seems to support the view that the building of bSam yas cannot be pushed back to the very beginning of the reign of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan. As a colleague of Bran ka Yon tan dpal, Tiṅ ṅe ṇ dsin signs with the qualification of Bande the edict of Karchung²⁾. On the other hand, as we shall see, either he died at the

¹⁾ Or ṅaṅ, the two forms alternate.

²⁾ Edited by H. E. RICHARDSON in *JASB*, vol. XV, 1949, p. 45 ff. and by myself, *TTK*, p. 104 and p. 51. The rdo riṅ of Karchung was erected by K'ri lde sroṅ btsan (the son of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan), who died AD 815. (Cf. recently H. E. RICHARDSON, *JRAS*, 1957, p. 69).

age of 55 before his colleague Bran ka Yon tan dpal killed by g L a ñ d a r m a , or he met the same fate of the latter in 841 AD.: in any case, if he enjoyed such authority as to be able to oppose Y e š e s d b a ñ p o (see pp. 36, 47) he could not have been a boy. On the contrary he must have been of a fairly advanced age when Śāntarakṣita died if he could then play an important part in the events. For this reason I think that the date proposed by DT earth-hare 763 (in TTK, p. 81, n. 85 by a regrettable mistake 799) cannot be accepted. At most the year of the foundation can be either wood-hare 787 or much more probably fire-hare 775.

This last year is highly possible when we remember what we have said concerning the seven s a d m i : their ordination has been fixed in a sheep year, and we saw that there is much likelihood that this date, enunciated by the name of the animal only, as is the rule in TH and the old documents, is 779. Few years elapsed between the foundation of the temple and the initiation of the sad mi, but some more years are necessary for explaining that state of tension which broke between the two schools, the Chinese and the Indian, as well as the work of translation which is said to have taken place at that time. Moreover there is an indication contained e.g. in B.Ob., p. 190 according to which the feast for the consecration of bSam yas lasted 13 years; a number which, in spite of the Tibetan court turning towards Buddhism, is easily explained in Tibet where the aboriginal superstitions were not likely to be cancelled in so short a time and the number 13 enjoyed a special prestige.

I am thus inclined to think that the year 775 as that of the foundation of bSam yas is highly probable: that the

s a d m i were ordained four years later in 779¹⁾; the debate took place between 792 and 794 as indicated by Prof. Demiéville.

Anyhow the fact is well ascertained that the Council took place in bSam yas and not in Lhasa²⁾; we must therefore call this Council “ the Council of bSam yas ”, not of Lhasa. During the period with which we are concerned the centre of Tibet was Yar klun, where the old palaces and the tombs of the kings were located or in Brag mar (dmar) a little to the north of bSam yas (cf. G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond*, p. 123, f).

Kri sron lde btsan, Mu ne btsan po and K’ri lde sron btsan were born, according to Grags pa rgyal mts’an, in Brag mar (and TH, p. 51, *Validity*, p. 314).

Man sron was born in sGrags (TH sGregs) to the west of bSam yas. Brag mar is usually referred to in TH as the winter residence of the kings (E. g. years 708, 709, 711, 718, 719, 723, 728, 732, 735, etc.).

Much that is told in classical literature of Lhasa during the first period of Tibetan history is the result of a purposeful glorification of the town which was to become the capital of Tibet. If we read the TH chronicle, we see that the Tibetan kings used to shift from one place to another according to seasons, and that the centre of their activities was, besides Yar klun, the territory round bSam yas. The castle of Zuñ mk’ar where K’ri sron lde btsan died, was also a few miles from bSam yas TTK, p. 79, n. 49. The fact itself, that the temple consecrated to the new religion was built there, proves beyond doubt that the place was evidently the core, as it were, of Tibet.

¹⁾ But see also *Addenda*.

²⁾ See *Addenda*.

It is true that in the Chinese documents translated by Prof. Demiéville we find the name of Lhasa but this place is never given as the one where the debate was held: Mahāyāna only says that when he came to Tibet he arrived in Lhasa (*Concile*, p. 154), where he was questioned by the people on D h y ā n a ; in this occasion there is no mention of any meeting with the king: the meeting, on the other hand, took place in Ko 𑖀𑖳 where Mahāyāna says “ I had the honour of being questioned by Your Holy Majesty ”. Then he went to other places in order to preach and another interview with the King took place in Po man 勃漫. So Mahāyāna did not meet the king in Lhasa but in other places. The identity of these two places is doubtful also because the reading of one character in the second case is not certain. As to Ko, ancient pronunciation *Kāt*, Tibetan names rendered by only one Chinese character are rare; I suppose that some word is missing or that the text is corrupt. In that case one would think of Grags i.e. the country from bSam yas and Brag dmar to Srin po ri; the other name is perhaps a transcription of Brag dmar, the usual residence of the king.

Lhasa was one of the summer residences; (cf. TH, year 710, p. 42 and probably 743 p. 51) its real name was not Lhasa which was given to it later, but Ra sa, Ra bai sa (as suggested by G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, I, n. 5; cf. TH, p. 42 year 710)¹⁾: ‘the walled ground’ that is one of those camps walled and protected also by ditches which we find among the peoples of the steppes with which the Tibetans had so many points in common.

¹⁾ Cf. also bSam yas and Karchung inscriptions. TTK, p. 94 and 104.

The valley of Lhasa with wide and fertile pasture-grounds appears therefore to have been one of the places where the kings used to go in summer for hunting. The country of Grags and Brag dmar was warmer: it was the winter residence. Tibetans even then changed their abodes according to seasons, and tried to avoid the heat and the rains. This is the reason why I cannot accept the translation of Nepal proposed for Bal yul in many passages of TH. Reference to Bal po is made in several passages of TH and always explicitly or implicitly (subsequent mention of winter) in connection with summer-months, p. 34 year 675, p. 37 year 690, p. 38 years 695 and 697, p. 39 year 699, p. 41 year 707, p. 42 years 709, 710, 711, p. 44 year 718, p. 45 year 719, p. 46, year 722. In other cases we are told that in summer the king went to the North for hunting e.g. p. 39, year 698, and in the year 699 it is recorded that a Chinese envoy came to meet him. On the other hand we find in TH (see above p. 27) that the winter residence was specially in Brag dmar or in the valley of 'On which is not very far from that. The descent of the king into Nepal during the hot season would represent a strange inversion of the usual habit of the Tibetans who cannot stand the damp heat and according to their old nomadic tradition today also spend the summer time on the high plateaux.

Moreover the interest of the Tibetan Empire during that time converged towards Central Asia and China and it would be very strange that the court went so far south, where no political or military reasons necessitated its presence, the climate was particularly bad, the roads almost impracticable and from where the king would have been out of touch with the assembly of the nobles and his

generals. Nor can we think that Bal po here refers to the Tibetan side of Nepal because we would then expect Mañ yul or Glo bo (already found in PTY and KT) while Bal po indicated the valley of Nepal where the Nepalese civilization developed and flourished. It is true that *ru lag* is said to border on Bal po in the geographical catalogue preserved by PT (*Preliminary Report*, p. 78, Bal po glañ sna); but for the reason said above, I think that this Bal po has nothing to do with Nepal (accordingly, the note of *Preliminary Report* should be cancelled). We know that Bri 'u t'añ was in Bal po TH, p. 39 year 699 and p. 47 year 725, that in the proximity of the same country was Gro pu of Dra (p. 38 year 695). As regards Bri 'u t'añ the spelling (Bri = yak?) excludes that it should be connected with Bri c'u. Bri'u t'añ may be connected with Bri mts'ams, aBrin mts'am which was between gTsañ and dBus, a country therefore not far from another summer residence of the Tibetan kings i.e. Ñen kar, Ñen gar, *Preliminary Report*, p. 81 and 82, often recorded in TH; Gro pu of Dra (year 693) suggests Dra of the Sum pai ru (*Preliminary Report*, p. 84).

Nor can it be objected that the kings had only theoretically the leadership of the state and that politics and military enterprises were in the hands of the ministers and generals, because the sacred character of the king requested his presence in the territory and the court was to live with him ¹⁾. For all these reasons I believe that Bal yul, where the king used to move in summer has nothing to do with Nepal and that on the contrary it refers to some

¹⁾ See my article: *The Sacred character of the Tibetan kings*. East & West, Year VI, no. 3, p. 197.

ṁ brog, pasture ground, between gTsañ and dBus and not far from the routes leading to the vital points of Central Asia, of paramount importance to the Tibetan kingdom. Nor have we to forget that we meet in Tibet during the time with which we are dealing curious duplications of place names of which I gave some examples in TTK. But let us go back to our story.

When the council was opened the king took his place in front, the H va š a ñ sat to his right ¹⁾ and his followers were placed behind him along with Jo mo Byañ c'ub ²⁾ and his aunt (sru) Ya ñ

¹⁾ According to the Bon po rituals the right was the place of honour: the chief shaman, g š e n r a b, used therefore to sit to the right of the king (Bon po rgyal rabs, p. 27, b).

²⁾ Jo mo Byañ c'ub rje is the name taken by one of the five wives of K'ri sroñ lde btsan (PT, ja, p. 98, b): she was ṁ Bro bza' K'ri rgyal mo btsan and belonged therefore to the ṁ Bro clan. The text speaking of her participation in the Council of bSam yas says incidentally of her: s r a s m i m ñ a' 'she had no son', which seems to be contradicted by the inscription on the bell of bSam yas. "The mother noble queen rGyal mo btsan (in TTK, p. 69 by mistake: The mother noble queen [and the king]) and the son in order that adoration be made to the three jewels of the ten directions, had this bell made. By the power of this merit the divine king K'ri sroñ lde btsan, the father and the son, may realize the supreme illumination, being endowed with the exalted voice of the 60 attributes (of the teaching of Buddha); this is the vow".

This inscription shows that the bell was made for a temple, presumably for bSam yas; according to PT ja, p. 76, a (source s B a b ž e d) this bell was formerly in m Grin bzañ lha k'añ of Brag dmar; when this temple was destroyed by order of the Ministers hostile to Buddhism, it was taken over to mC'ims p'u and then it was brought to bSam yas. Its name was dge rgyas, merit-spreading. But this story cannot be accepted because we know for certain that rGyal mo btsan was one of the wives of K'ri sroñ lde btsan and the destruction of mGrin bzañ (supposing that this temple really existed) took place when the king was still a boy. Anyhow the inscription seems to imply that the queen had not taken the vows and that she had a son. Therefore in this case the statements of PT and BZ cannot be accepted; but the sentence s r a s m i m ñ a' may also mean that *when* the queen contributed to bSam yas she had not a son, because he was dead. (On her son born

d a g ¹⁾, the Bande L a n k a ²⁾, etc. (PT, ja, p. 116, a). To the left of the king a seat was reser-

in 760 see H. E. RICHARDSON, *JRAS*, 1954, pp. 168-9). This fact might have induced her to take the vows. It is also possible that the son here mentioned is not her son but the son of another of the five wives of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, that is generally the son of the Emperor.

Anyhow she is recorded in the report of the debate written by Wang Si and translated by Demiéville (*Concile*, p. 25 ff.). She is there called "l'impératrice de la famille Mou-lou, aBro" which may be not quite exact, because, according to the T. sources, the chief wife of the king belonged to the Ts'e spoñ clan.

Jo mo byan c'ub is evidently the name given her after the vows.

It is also clear that she, as related by Wang Si, was a follower of Ch'an. We know from PT, 104, b (who calls her Jo mo gcen K'ri rgyal mo btsan) that she took the vows along with the aunt bTsan mo rgyal (see following note) in the same year in which the s a d m i were ordained, that is 779 (see above p. 21). This happened in the first fortnight of the second month of winter of the same year (l u g g i l o i d g u n z l a b r i ñ p o i ñ o l a) and the chronological reference tallying with that given in the ancient documents is a proof that PT draws his information from old sources. We know from the same source that on that occasion sBa Ratna (dPal dbyaṅs) acted as m k ' a n p o . dPal dbyaṅs (Śrīghoṣa) was the successor of Śāntarakṣita in the abbotship of bSam yas. Anyhow I am afraid we cannot accept the dates of birth and death of Śāntarakṣita proposed by prof. Hajime Nakamura (in his great work *Indo Tetsugaku Shisō*, Tōkyō 1950, vol. I *Shoki-Vedanta Tetsugaku*, Tōkyō p. 113) i.e. 680-740, because they do not fit in the series of well ascertained events; for the same reason we cannot accept the date, proposed by him for Kamalaśīla 700-750 (see below p. 39).

1) So the text here; but before, when PT, speaks of her ordination, the name is spelt in a different way which seems more likely: bTsan mo rgyal. Perhaps Yañ dag is here an honorific title.

She is also mentioned as the maternal aunt by Wang Si, *Concile*, p. 33 where she is said to be of the Si-nang-nan family (which Demiéville thinks, and in my opinion rightly, a transcription of sNa nam: *ibid.*, p. 4 but sNa nam has nothing to do with Samarkand as proposed by Jäschke and S. Ch. Das. As to its location in Tibet see TLT and *Preliminary Report*, p. 80).

2) I do not think that he is the same as Mūlakośa of bLan ka of Buston-Obermiller, p. 186 the translator of *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and *Karmaśataka* with Jñānakumāra (cf. also Pad ma dkar po p. 95, b; but his name is corrupt see, J. NOBEL, *Suvarṇaprabhāśottamasūtra*, I, Tib. Uebers, p. XIII, n. 1) Wang Si along with the queen and the aunt mentions also Pao ch'en, the administrator of the church of the Yi family (old pronunciation Ngiek or Ngak. (*Concile*,

ved for K a m a l a ś ī l a , behind him sat the few r T s e n m i n p a , viz. d P a l d b y a ṅ s , V a i r o c a n a , Y e š e s d b a ṅ p o . Both parties seem to accentuate their own inferiority; the preface of Wang Si translated by Prof. Demiéville says that the Chinese were only three while the opponents were thirty. But PT ja, p. 116, *a* states that behind Kamalaśīla there were r B a d P a l d b y a ṅ s , Vairocana (but on this see below p. 143), Ye š e s d b a ṅ p o etc., d g e s l o ṅ m i m a ṅ b a ž i g s t e ṅ u ṅ ž a s c i g l a s m a b y u ṅ “not many dge loṅ, no more than a few only.” So each party, in the report of the debate, aimed at insisting on its weakness, on its position of numerical inferiority as compared with the rival. The pact was that, at the end of the debate, in all sincerity and without hatred, the master who acknowledged that his views were wrong should offer a garland of flowers to the winner. The H v a š a ṅ spoke first, then K a m a l a ś ī l a replied followed by Y e š e s d b a ṅ p o (Jñānendra), and d P a l d b y a ṅ s . In the end, the H v a š a ṅ was unable to give a reply and therefore he offered the garland to K a m a l a ś ī l a . Co r M a r m a , the g z i m s m a l p a ¹⁾ (PT ja, p. 118, *b*, 120, *b*) committed suicide by crushing his genitals. Then the king decided that the views of the H v a š a ṅ should not be followed and gave a summary of the doctrine as established by K a m a l a ś ī l a viz. that p r a j ṇ ā and u p ā y a are both to be realized. Doctrinally the point of view of

p. 33, n. 6); I am inclined to see in this personage the same rÑegs Rin po c'e (Pao c'en) quoted above; in this case his suicide, of which mention is made in our sources, must have taken place after the council and not before. Wang Si also most probably refers to his suicide.

1) On this title see G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report*, p. 89: “officer of the bed-chamber”.

Nāgārjuna was to be followed. “ The doctrine of the Hva šaṇ, viz. that of the sTon min pa, the method of immediateness, is harmful to the tenfold practice¹⁾ of the Doctrine and should not be followed. The spirit grows faint; when, the door of the purification of our mind (b l o s b y o ṇ)²⁾ or of that of others, being obstructed and the entry being interrupted, the spirit grows faint and the doctrine sinks down, progress is cut off.: so you should reflect. Moreover your retinue and all Tibetans from now on should accept the point of view of Nāgārjuna ”.

“ As to practice, follow the six perfections, apply yourselves to the tenfold practice of the doctrine. As to meditation, purify your mind in the threefold gnosis³⁾ and entering both into means and gnosis, meditate jointly on ś a m a t h a and vipaśyanā⁴⁾. From now on we prince, ministers and subjects of Tibet, shall follow the religious duties: so shall we do. Generally Tibet is a barbarous border country and her mind is dull and greatly relying on herself (raṇ ga ba maṇ), but the doctrine is difficult to be understood and deep. Therefore the king invited from India a learned man, famous as a monk⁵⁾ (ra b a b y u ṇ b a, pravrajita) and became his patron; you should accept this doctrine which has been verified (g t a n l a p ' a b p a) by a learned lotsāva⁵⁾. You should never accept a doctrine which is not patronized by the king or has not been verified by a learned lotsāva ”.

1) The daśakuśalapatha.

2) But s e m s s b y o ṇ b a means also *cittottāpana*, cf. MV 1816, LAMOTTE, *Somme*, p. 156, n. 4.

3) Viz. śruta-mayī, cintā-mayī and bhāvanāmayī. See below p. 183 (Bhk., § 9).

4) See below p. 189.

5) No trace of plural.

“Thus he severely ordered and the (order) was written in three accurate letters (containing) the edict, and they were placed in a leather box, a lock was applied to its opening and it was placed in the royal archives (p'yag dbal v. TTK, n. 94), committed to the gnod sbyin Dam rgya nag po; a copy (c'e loñ) was circulated among the ža ñ blon''¹⁾. In this way according to PT, the Lha sras K'ri sroñ lde btsan, the Bodhisattva, son of the King of Zahor, viz. Śāntarakṣita, Ye šes dba ñ po of sBa and Sa ñ ši ta of sBa (viz. sBa Ratna) established the foundation for the worship, that is, are to be considered as the real authors of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet.

PT contains no trace of the dramatic story subsequently built on this event, of the vengeance taken by the Hva ša ñ on his rival; he adds the more convincing statement that the Hva ša ñ built a chapel, gtsug lag k'a ñ, and then went to China. Then the king ordered that the sons

¹⁾ de nas btsan (PT, 119 a) poi žal nas | hva ša ñ gi c'os ston min pa cig c'ar du ajug zer pa de ni c'os spyod rnam pa bcu la skyon bkal ste mi dgyid | sems pa ni byiñ | bdag dañ gžan gyi blo sbyoñ gi sgo bkag ste agro beađ na sems byiñ žiñ c'os nub par agyur bas aþ'ro c'od la de lta bu ni k'yed rañ sgoms cig | gžan k'yed kyi ak'or rnames dañ bod rnames da slan c'ad lta ba nā gar dsu nai lugs zuñ | spyod pa p'a rol du p'yin pa drug la gyis la c'os spyod rnam pa bcu ñams su loñ | sgom pa šes rab rnam pa gsum la blo sbyoñs la t'abs dañ šes rab zuñ du c'ud ciñ abrel ba ži gnas dañ lhag mt'oñ la sgoms cig | da slan c'ad 'o skol bod rje blon abans beas kyis kyañ c'os bya ba rnames kyis ađi ltar bya ste | spyir bod t'a k'ob du gyur pa dañ rig pa blun žiñ rañ ga ba mañ la c'os ađi rtogs par dka' žiñ zab pas | rgya gar gyi mk'as pa rab tu gyur par grags pa rgyal pos spyan drañs te yon bdag byas | lo tsā ba mk'as pas gtan la p'ab pai c'os de la ajug par bya'o | rgyal pos yon bdag ma byas lo tsā ba mk'as pas gtan la ma p'ab pai c'os la ajug par mi bya'o | žes bka' nan drag du btsal nas bka' gtsigs kyi yi ge žib mo gsum du mc'is te gsei sgrom bur bcug k'a la sgo lcags btsal ste rjei p'yag dbal na mc'is te gnod sbyin dam rgya nag po la btañ | c'e loñ žig ni ža ñ blon rnames la dar bar byas |

and wives of the *ž a ñ b l o n* should learn the Law and he requested *K a m a l a ś ī l a* to write down the essentials of the doctrine which by the triple method of learning, reflection and meditation (*t ' o s , b s a m , s g o m , ś r u t a m a y ī , c i n t ā m a y ī , b h ā v a n ā m a y ī p r a j ñ ā*) explains the unsubstantiality of all notions. So the first *B h ā v a n ā k r a m a* was written. He then wanted to know how, having realized that there is only one Vehicle, this doctrine can be meditated upon; and so the second *B h ā v a n ā k r a m a* was composed; finally in order to explain the result of this meditation the third *B h ā v a n ā k r a m a* was compiled. The excitement of the community seemed to have come to an end, but the situation was far from being easy; evidently different currents were in conflict and it is quite natural that the religious sects or their chiefs had their patrons and supporters in various circles of the restless aristocracy.

The Buddhist community was not at this stage very peaceful; its prominent personalities were far from being on friendly terms; even before the debate took place we are told that *J ñ ā n e n d r a* had gone away to *mK'ar c'u* in *Lho brag*; when he had been appointed in the place of *Śāntarakṣita*, *M y a ñ T i ñ ñ e ṇ ḍ s i n* and *Ñ a ñ Ś a m i*, who later committed suicide and was pro-chinese, (see *Concile*, p. 41) ¹⁾ slandered him (PT ja, p. 114, *b* *Ñor* chronicles, part I, p. 122, *b*. Cf. B. Ob, p. 191). His place as abbot of *bSam yas* was then taken by *dPal dbyaṅs*, *Śrīghoṣa*; B. Ob p. 291, PT ja, 114, *b*).

The cause of this disagreement and open fight between *Jñānendra* and *Myaṅ Tiṅ ñe ṇ ḍ sin* seems to be found

1) PT ja, 115, *a* *Ñ a ñ ś a m i* is said to be a pupil of *Mahāyāna*.

in the fact that Jñānendra, being appointed as chief of the religion after the death of Śāntarakṣita, advanced some claim to his new status: he wanted to be granted some privileges and an authority superior to that of the Blon c'en, golden letters of first class, gser yig c'en¹⁾, etc. (PT ja, 114, a). To this the Bande Myaṅ Tiṅ ne ṁdsin was strongly opposed. He is presented by PT as the chief antagonist of Jñānendra; and he appears as a high official in the documents which I published in TTK, p. 54 where along with Bran ka Yon tan dpal he ranks above all other dignitaries, even the Žaṅ blon and the blon c'en.

Though Vairocana, sBa Ratna and Tsans btsun legs grub (quoted in PT ja, p. 122, b) had opposed the Chinese party, according to a tradition which, as we shall see, is, for some of them, at least uncertain, they were not pleased with the development of events and therefore they also went away. Though later tradition is inclined to establish a unity of action between Padmasaṃbhava, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, it seems more probable that the followers of Padmasaṃbhava suffered a setback when the new pandits came into Tibet. In PT, though himself a bKa' rgyud pa, Padmasaṃbhava is praised, no doubt, when mention is made of him and of his miracles on the occasion of his coming to Tibet, but, in general, his figure is reduced to his true proportions of a powerful exorcist whose work was necessary for the

1) The officials had different patents or diplomas according to their rank, the highest being the gold diploma. PT has given a full list and description of them, which I resumed in *Preliminary Report*, p. 88. As other references should there be added R. STEIN, *BEFEO*, 1941, p. 463, P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 285, n. 1.

consacration of bSam yas. This shows that our author drew from sources centered on other documents, chiefly documents of the sBa family and of bSam yas in which the Thaumaturge had not yet assumed the proportion that was to change him into a second Buddha. Śāntarakṣita and chiefly Kamalaśīla represented a dialectical and logical trend, while Padmasambhava was fundamentally an exponent of the Tantric liturgy and rituals. The fact is that Vairocana was perhaps away when the debate was held between Kamalaśīla and the Hvaśaṇ¹⁾. When the debate was over the king sent for Vairocana and his colleague Tsaṅs btsun legs grub²⁾: but when they returned the Paṇḍit³⁾ did not appear. There were therefore some misunderstandings and because of some slanders of the Indians, Vairocana was exiled to Ts'aba roṅ. One of the leading personalities who played a great role in this unsettled period, Jñānendra, was also dissatisfied with the turn of events and, as incidentally related by some sources, (*Ñor chronicles*, first part, 123, b) he abstained from food and died (k'ams kyi zas spaṅs te gšegs). But things did not end here; Kamalaśīla himself was killed by some butchers who squeezed his kidneys while he was lying on his bed in the house of the Translators (sgra agyur gyi k'aṇ par gzims mal du⁴⁾).

¹⁾ Buston p. 192 does not mention him among the followers of the Indian party.

²⁾ Ja, p. 122: slad kyis btsan po slob dpon Padma sambha vai c'os kyaṇ ap'rolalus pas t'ugs ma ts'im nas Vairotsana daṇ Tsaṅs bTsun legs grub gñis ts'ol du btaṇ.

³⁾ i.e. Kamalaśīla.

⁴⁾ On this house see TOUSSAINT, p. 260 and above p. 7.

According to some historians, for instance Buston, it was a vengeance of the H v a š a ñ ; but earlier accounts, not yet influenced by later legends, which soon crept into the story of the debate and made the Hva šaṅ the portrait of a devilish opponent, the course of events was different; in fact PT ja, p. 122 simply relates that the murder was prompted by an heretic (m u s t e h).

Another author, who certainly had access to earlier sources, viz. bSod nams rgyal mts'an, who wrote the GR, agrees with PT and does not say anything about the murder of Kamalaśīla committed by the emissaries of Hva šaṅ; he agrees with PT and simply relates that after the victory of K a m a l a ś ī l a the Hva šaṅ went to China, and then he adds: "he left one of his boots and said 'now in Tibet there are some followers of my doctrine ¹⁾' (GR 92, b), which is evidently written having in mind the well-known story told about B o d h i d h a r m a . In fact, that the school of the H v a š a ñ did not completely disappear is confirmed by the discoveries of a Dhyāna text in Central Asia (M. Lalou, *Inventaire*, n. 116, p. 39: M. Lalou, *Document Tibétain sur l'expansion du dhyāna Chinois*, JA, 1939, p. 505 ff.; TPS, p. 615, n. 252), by some traditions, preserved in later authors such as Pad ma dkar po (p. 101, b),

¹⁾ But according to other sources this story of the boots left in Tibet is attributed to a previous H v a š a ñ , rGyai H v a š a ñ r g a n p o who was a d k o n g ñ e r , custodian, of Ra m o c ' e (PT ja, p. 75, b). He went to China when the Bon started persecuting Buddhism soon after K'ri sroṅ lde btsan was enthroned. Evidently the story was anticipated as a prophecy; it had the advantage of being confirmed by facts, but attributed to Mahāyāna Hva šaṅ, it had, from the point of view of orthodox Buddhism, no meaning, because the doctrine of the Hva šaṅ had been for ever suppressed. This story of the boots left in Tibet is derived from Ch'an centers and it is a duplicate of that told of Bodhidharma when he was compelled to leave China TPS, p. 615, n. 252 and below p. 74.

that some books of his school were buried by the Hva šaṅ as g t e r m a , just as were the books of the r Ñ i ñ m a p a , and, as we shall see, by the survival of some of their views in the r D s o g s c ' e n branch of the r Ñ i ñ m a p a sect.

The story of the murder of Kamalaśīla, as a vengeance of the Chinese master, was perhaps concocted later on, the result of a belated *odium theologicum* against the expounder of a view considered to be heretical.

The killers of the Indian paṇḍits were according to BZ, PT and GR the Mu stegs pa; these, as is well-known, are not buddhists, but tīrthika, heretics. As a matter of fact GR p. 92, *b* as well as Buston, p. 191 refers to the will of Śāntarakṣita in which he prophesied that after him there would be no more heretics in Tibet, but there would be a split in the Church.

Probably later writers did not want the prophecy of Śāntarakṣita to prove false and therefore accused the Hva šaṅ and his followers of the murder of K a m a l a ś ī l a .

The conclusion, then, seems to be that the debate did not turn into an internecine tragedy, but that K a m a l a ś ī l a was killed by the Bonpo or their party, still doing their very best to regain what they had lost. Anyhow the fact remains that K a m a l a ś ī l a was probably killed and that this event should be placed immediately after the year 792-794.

We must add that there is no complete agreement between the Chinese records and the Tibetan tradition. According to the Chinese document translated by Demiéville, the Tibetan king decided in favour of the Hva šaṅ (*Concile*, p. 442) but the Tibetan sources, without exception, tell of

the firm support given by K'ri sroñ lde btsan to K a m a - l a ś ī l a and his point of view. We cannot say whether the edict preserved by PT, enforcing Kamalaśīla's views and proclaiming the doctrine of the Hva šaṅ to be harmful, is genuine or not.

The language in which it is written is certainly old, so also the conclusion in which its sealing and preservation are mentioned, though it is quite evident that that concluding passage, being a formula which occurs in very many official documents of that time, might have been easily copied from them.

I find it strange that in an edict to laymen mention is made of Nāgārjuna, a name which then meant very little to the Tibetan people at large. I suspect that the document has been if not concocted *ex novo* at least modified to serve the purpose of the Indian party. Even supposing that Kamalaśīla was proclaimed the winner, this does not imply that there was a real persecution of the followers of the Ch'an. The court and the ministers might have advised that Kamalaśīla's doctrine should be followed, but we have no reason to state that severe steps were taken to impose by force the Indian theory on the people. Still there is no doubt that there was a time when the Ch'an theory fell into disgrace; this is indirectly proved by the catalogue of the lD a n d k a r library, which is said to contain the list of the books available in translation at the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan¹⁾. In the bSam gtan, dhyāna-

1) This catalogue lD a n k a r m a , (or: Lhan kar ma, as in some Central Asian documents) exists, as known, in bsTan ṅgyur, mDo ṅgrel, vol. CXXVII and has been edited by Prof. SHYUKI YOSHIMURA, *The Denkar-ma an oldest catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon with Introductory notes* (title in English, Text in Japanese), Ryukoku University, Kyoto 1950 and

section, only one Ch'an book of Dharmottara is found. In this case also, nothing prevents us from believing that

by MARCELLE LALOU, *Les textes bouddhiques au temps du Roi Khri-sron-lde-bcan*. JA, Tome CCXLI, 1953, p. 313 ff.

The compilation of this catalogue by dPal brtseges and Nam mk'a' sñiñ po took place, as it is written in the text, in a dragon year. The tradition accepted by later historians PT, ja, p. 106, B. Ober., p. 101, places the redaction of this catalogue before the death of Śāntarakṣita and therefore before the debate of bSam yas.

This would place the compilation of the index in the year 788 if our date proposed for bSam yas is exact. But is evident that the tradition as preserved by the historians depends on no other documents except the catalogue itself. That their attribution of this book to the period intervening between the erection of bSam yas and the Council is wrong can be deduced from the inclusion among the books listed of the *Bhāvanākramas* of Kamalaśīla (LALOU, *id.*, n. 606). The fact that we find in the catalogue the *Yoñs su bskor bai ak'or ba*, *Parīṇāmanacakra* transl. by Śīladharma and rNam par mi rtog which Yōshimura considers of great importance for fixing the date of the lDan dkar (824 according to him) is not cogent. We know that rNam par mi rtog pa was in China in the year 804 (*Concile*, p. 228 and n. 1), but nothing prevents us from believing that the translation might be made by him earlier, after meeting Śīladharma in Beš baliq where the manuscript of that book and other texts had been brought in 789 by Wu k'ung and there translated in that year; see P. PELLIOU, *Notes à propos d'un catalogue du Kanjur*, JA, 1914, p. 27 (reprint). We may recall that of the *Tiñ ñe ḍdsin gyi mi mt'un pai p'yogs rnam par bžag pa* translated by him and Hva šaṅ Zab mo there are two redactions in the mDo section of the bsTan ḡgyur (Tōhoku Cat. 3932, 4534). He is quoted by PT ja, 105, b among the first translators along with the seven Sad mi, Nam mk'a' (sñiñ po), C'os kyi snañ ba, Šā kya 'od, etc.

There are good reasons for stating that the catalogue does not go back to the times to which the orthodox tradition attributes it; it is hardly believable that in a few years, just after overcoming with great difficulty the opposition of a powerful part of the aristocracy, so many books were translated. This work of translation presupposes a large staff and many years of activity. The traditional account is contradicted by what we read in some of our historians, and probably based on other sources, that in the beginning more works were translated from the Chinese than from Sanskrit. In fact, in PT ja (p. 105, b, 106, a), who goes certainly back to older documents, we read that while the translations from Sanskrit were entrusted only to the great translator, i.e. Vairocana, the translators from Chinese were many: Brañ ka Legs k'oñ, Lha luñ Kloñ goñ, 'Og gom dbus goñ, K'yuñ po rtse and that, to help them, a Hva šaṅ called Ma ho le was invited from China. Then PT (105, a) adds a very impor-

the book was accepted in the library for dialectical reasons, that is, in order to know the opinion of the *pūrvapakṣa*, the

tant quotation from the larger redaction of the BZ according to which when the translation was going to start it was insisted in some quarters that precedence should be given to the Chinese books, that the *Nañ rgyud* speaking in their liturgies of flesh and wine were unfit for the Tibetans, that it was necessary to insist on the books of the *Sarvāstivādins* and *Vi-bhāṣya vādins*, and that commission was given to *Ye šes dbaṅ po* to translate the *Dirghāgama* and the *Gaṇ po i rtogs* in its shorter redaction (in the catalogue n. 273 *Gaṇ po la sogs pai rten pa brjod pa*)

The impression we gather from all these details is that the *lD a n d k a r* catalogue is later than the tradition would have us believe and that it was subject to revisions, additions and changes: or perhaps an older list was enlarged and revised when the number of the works translated had increased and a great change had taken place among the Buddhists of Tibet.

In the introductory part of the Catalogue its authors are said to be *dPal brtsegs* and *Nam mk'a' sñiṅ po*, a Tibetan whose connection with Ch'an is certain (see p. 16), but a few lines after the name of *Nam mk'a' sñiṅ po* disappears in the vague *la sogs* (etc.) and the authorship of the book is attributed to *dPal brtsegs* and *Klu dbaṅ po*, chief collaborators of the MV. All this gives the impression that we should be rather sceptical concerning the contents of the *lD a n d k a r* catalogue as if it really represented the census of the Tibetan literature before the Council.

Everything on the contrary leads us to believe that the catalogue is posterior to that event, as can be seen comparing what later historians, f.i. Buston, say regarding the *lD a n d k a r* and then the events concerning the redaction of the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (B. Ober., p. 191 and *Ibid.*, p. 197), a work which, as I have shown elsewhere TTK p. 14 ff., has wrongly been attributed to the times of *Ral pa can*, *K'ri gtsug lde*, while, as we gather from the *sG r a s b y o r*, it was compiled during the times of *K'ri lde sroṅ btsan*. In that case two Dragon years are possible either 800 or 812 during the reign of *K'ri lde sroṅ btsan*, the son and successor of *K'ri sroṅ lde btsan*: the horse year, date of the redaction of MV should then be either 802 or 814: but considering that the date of accession of *K'ri lde sroṅ btsan* is still under discussion 812 (for the Catal.) and 814 (for MV) are the most probable.

The two works to my mind, are connected: first of all it was necessary to draw up a list of the books translated and preserved in the royal library selecting only the authoritative texts, those which were thought to represent the orthodox point of view. Then on those well-established and revised texts the indexing of the words was made, so that the *lotsāvas* should have a norm to follow (*nam du yaṅ gžuṅ lugs de las mi bsgyur žiṅ kun gyis bslab du ruṅ bar gyis*: order of the king in *sG r a s b y o r*. FERRARI p. 540).

opponent's view, as was the rule with the Indian pandits.

The picture of the Buddhist literature which we gather from the lD an dkar catalogue and the sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa is that the indexing of MV was made on a certain number of texts translated from Sanskrit: on the other hand we know that during the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan many books were introduced from China and Li and then translated. But in the lD an dkar list only a few books appear as translated from Chinese (n. 565–572) of which three commentaries on the L a ñ k ā v a t ā r a and one on the V a j r a c c h e d i k ā, books often referred to also by the Dhyāna followers: to these the treatise of Dharmottaratāla should be added, equally translated from Chinese; all together only eight works out of 736. In the sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa we find mention of the translators working at the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, lha sras yab kyi riñ la, which, since we know that the MV was compiled by order of K'ri lde sroñ btsan can only be translated as “during the time of my father the Devaputra”. (Ferrari, p. 540, Simonsson, p. 243): they are Śāntarakṣita, Jñānendra, Žaṇ blon Ānā bzañ, Blon K'ri bžer sañ ši (see p. 14), Jñānendrakośa, lCe k'yi abrug¹⁾, Ānanda the Brahmin; strangely enough there is no mention of Kāma-laśīla; the above mentioned translators are referred to as belonging to the time of the father of K'ri lde sroñ btsan, so as to emphasize the distinction between the two periods, in the former the translation of the technical terms being inadequate and therefore in need of revision.

1) The translator of the A ṣ ṭ a m a h ā p a d a m ū l a, Tōhoku Cat., 4350.

The impression which one gathers is that after the death of K'ri sroñ lde btsan there was a strong revival of Indian Buddhism, caused not only by the direct instigation of the court, anxious to prevent any further Chinese influence, but also by the growing prestige of the Indians and the coming of Indian ācāryas in greater number than before. Then Jñānamitra, Jñānendrabodhi, Śīlendra, Dānaśīla, Bodhimitra, Ratnarakṣita, Dharmatāśīla Jñānasena, Jayarakṣita, Mañjuśrīvarman, Ratnendrarakṣita etc. representing the new trend of Buddhism based on a careful study not only of the Law but also of Vyākaraṇa and eager to find a strict correspondence between Sanskrit and Tibetan, undertook a great work of translation and revision. In this period, which, if we accept the data contained in the sGra sbyor, covers the reign of K'ri lde sroñ btsan, the real consolidation of Indian Buddhism took place. The data of the lDandkar thus reflect a situation later than that mentioned in the tradition referred to by PT or B.; in other words, I repeat, they reflect a situation of Buddhism and Buddhist translations which is certainly later than the orthodox tradition would us have believe, that codifies a state of things which is to be attributed to the time of K'ri lde sroñ btsan; moreover it is not to be excluded that it has been greatly interpolated and mishandled. Let us take among others a very precise reference: under the last section XXX, bsTan bcos sgyur ap'ro la, works under translation there is: rNam ṅgrel gyi ṅgrel pa, viz. Pramāṇavarttikavṛtti, i.e. a commentary on the Pramāṇavarttika of Dharmakīrti. The fact that it consists of 18 Bam po excludes that it is the Svavṛtti written by Dharmakīrti himself on the anumāna sec-

tion of the *Pramāṇavārttika*; it must then be the same as the *vr̥tti* contained in mDo, Tōhoku Cat. 4216, 4217. Cordier, *Cat.*, XCV-18-XCVI (of Devendrabuddhi not Devendramati as in Tōhoku) a younger contemporary of Dharmakīrti. Two difficulties arise: first, that this highly technical work would have been of difficult access for the Tibetans not yet trained to its logical subtleties, second, that we know that the translation was made by order of Byan c'ub 'od of Western Tibet at the time of the revival of Buddhism.

Let us then consider another case, the *ṅJig rten p'a rol grub pa*, Tōhoku Cat. 4251, Cordier, *Cat.*, CXII by Dharmottara; the translation was made by Ñi ma grags, during the time of Śrīharṣa of Kashmir viz. in the 11th century.

In order to solve this problem it would be necessary to discover and to compare other catalogues of ancient libraries and their colophons. That these catalogues existed we gather from the catalogue of the *bsTan ṅgyur* written by Buston, vol. ya p. 209, b. This author says that the works made or translated by learned people of India, Kashmir, Suvarṇadvīpa (gSer gliñ), Ceylon (Siñ ga gliñ), Swat (Urgyan), Za hor¹⁾, Nepal (Bal po), Khotan (Li), China and Tibet were listed in various catalogues, such as the *P'o brañ stod t'añ lDan dkar dkar c'ag*, then *bSam yas mC'ims p'ui dkar c'ag*, then *ṅP'añ t'añ ka med dkar c'ag*, later the index of *sNar t'añ*²⁾.

In conclusion, the pretended triumph of Kamalaśīla extolled by the orthodox tradition as the most important

1) On Zahor see TPS, p. 736.

2) Which is evidently an addition by the editors of Buston.

event in the history of Buddhism appears to have been magnified when Indian Buddhism was on a solid basis: the story reflects on the times of the king rightly recognized, for his edicts and the famous foundation of bSam yas, as the most efficient supporter of Buddhism in Tibet, a situation which materialized under his son and his nephew, but could not completely cancel even in Tibet (KT, see p. 93) the record that events were not really so definite and decisive as the winning orthodoxy would have us believe. It is thus most probable that the king did not at all intervene in an energetic way in the debate: he attendant it, followed the course of the discussion but he did not evidently have the doctrinal preparation to be a judge ¹⁾: most probably he established at the conclusion of the debate that the doctrine to be followed was the Mādhyamika, a statement which appears both in KT and in the orthodox tradition. And this did not say very much, because neither school could deny resting on that system for a starting-point.

Are there other persons, monks or converts, considered by later sources as outstanding figures in the events which brought about the establishment of Buddhism, besides those already mentioned?

In the documents copied by PT and inserted in his history, a person is mentioned, well-known from other sources, viz. *Mya ñ Ti ñ ñ e ą d s i n b z a ñ p o*, whose name appears with that of *Bran ka Yon tan* in the edict of Karchung as state minister (TTK, pp. 54, 65) ²⁾. He is connected with some of the most important figures who

¹⁾ This seems also to be the opinion of Prof. DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 183.

²⁾ See above p. 26.

took part in the debate. We saw that he was not on good terms with Ye šes dbaṅ po; he is also known from other inscriptions and literary documents as well. He was a pupil of Vimāla (the first Vi mā la - mi tr a who according to the Tib. tradition lived at the time of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan) and was chosen by K'ri sroṅ lde btsan as the tutor of his son K'ri lde sroṅ btsan. This fact is recorded in the *Blue Annals*, p. 192 and in the inscription of Žvai lha k'aṅ (Richardson, *JRAS*, 1952, p. 133 ff.). The latter document confirms the high esteem in which he was held by K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, and also supports the statement of the *Blue Annals* that he received an endowment or landed property from the same king.

He is recorded as having received the instructions in the mantra from Vi mā la mi tr a and as such he is considered one of the masters of rD sogs c'en, a sect centering upon the sÑiṅ t'ig (*Blue Annals*, p. 107 and p. 167 and PT, ja, p. 108, a). K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, whose tutor Tiṅ ñe ḡdsin had been appointed, was born in the year 774¹⁾ or 776; Tiṅ ñe ḡdsin was therefore certainly older than K'ri lde sroṅ btsan.

Both PT and Pa d ma dkar po add that he was killed by gLaṅ dar ma, who was enthroned in the year 841: on the other hand, the *Blue Annals*, p. 192 say that at 55 he disappeared and that no trace was found of his body.

We are not in a position to decide in favour of either source: but if we recall that Myaṅ Tiṅ ñe ḡdsin was considered as one of the greatest authorities of the rÑiṅ ma pa

1) G. TUCCI, *Validity*, Chronological table. RICHARDSON, *JRAS*, 1952, p. 150.

sect¹⁾, that the author of the *Blue Annals* knew very well the place where his estate was, and that the people there had all reason to magnify their ancient master and to glorify him, it is quite reasonable to think that a miraculous disappearance looked more fitting for such a holy person and that therefore the story of the killing by gLan dar ma was eliminated on purpose. Anyhow, as we said before, there is little probability that he could live up to the reign of gLan dar ma if at the time of the death of Śāntarakṣita he already enjoyed such authority as to oppose Jñānendra.

Richardson (*JRAS*, 1952, p. 137) advances the hypothesis that he was the leader of a Tibetan embassy to the Chinese Court, known in the Chinese sources as Nan po t'e ki po, and he surmises that Ch. Nan may stand for T. Myañ, which seems phonetically difficult. I rather agree with Prof. Demiéville, p. 228, n. 1 who supposes for Nan po t'e chi po 南撥特計波 an original rNam par [mi] rtog pa.

Myañ Tiñ ñe ḍsin was a colleague of Bande Bran ka Yon tan (TTK, p. 54); the latter was the Chief minister of Ral pa can, and as such he appears in the inscription of the gTsug lag k'añ rdo riñ in Lhasa as the principal Tibetan signatory of the treaty with China of 821-822. In this document his name is given as Bande c'en po dPal c'en po Yon tan²⁾. He is well-known to Chinese sour-

1) In a collection of gTer ma of the rDsogs c'en called bKa' rdsogs c'en po yañ zab dkon mc'og spyi ḍdus there is a booklet containing a series of questions concerning the rDsogs c'en attributed to him: Myañ ban Tiñ ḍsin bzañ poi žus len.

2) H. E. RICHARDSON, *Ancient historical edicts at Lhasa* (Prize Publication Fund, RAS London 1952, pp. 40, 42, 50, 51, 52, 74, 76 and Id., *JRAS*, October 1952, p. 136 TTK, pp. 54, 65. The reading has been kindly confirmed by H. E. Richardson in a recent letter.

ces ¹⁾. See Demiéville, *Concile*, pp. 21, n. 224, 228 n. etc.

Before concluding this discussion I should like to refer to some Ch'an hints or symbolical allusions, of which the Ch'an adepts frequently make use and which are recorded in the G-R; these references show a certain acquaintance of the Tibetans with Ch'an methods. When K a m a l a ś ī l a arrived, the H v a ś a ñ went to meet him on the shore of the river. Each of the two masters tried to investigate the intelligence of the other, having recourse to mere hints or suggestions. K a m a l a ś ī l a bent down and went round the H v a ś a ñ three times; this he did because he wanted to ask him what are the causes by which the t r i d h ā t u transmigrates. The H v a ś a ñ, in order to show that he had understood and that those causes are found in the false imaginations of object (g r ā h y a) and subject, (g r ā h a k a), took off his own cloak and threw it twice on the ground. Each one measured in this way the wisdom of the other and understood that they were a worthy match for each other.

Considering the scarcity of the sources at our disposal I would abstain from advancing theories or hypotheses. But it appears to me that bSam yas and the people who centered on the new institution may have played a noticeable part in these events. bSam yas was the royal temple, the place where the edict proclaiming Buddhism to be the accepted religion was promulgated; it was the centre of the apostolic activity of the Indian missionaries supported by the court. As such it could not help being involved in the play of the opposite political currents; the court

¹⁾ See Li Fang-kuei 李方桂 Po ch'e-t'ung-kao 鉢掣通考. *Kuo-li Chung-yung yen-chin yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so chi-kan* february 1951, p. 443 ff. H. HOFFMANN *Quellen zur Geschichte der tib. Bon-Religion*, p. 225 ff.

patronizing Buddhism, a large part of the aristocracy still siding with the Bon, the intrigues of the Chinese at work underground. The allusion of PT (generally so well informed and particularly so about the archives of bSam yas) to the impoverishment of bSam yas as a result of the Hva šaṅ's preaching, seems to confirm this hypothesis; this does not mean that at that time the temple had already acquired such an importance as to influence the development of politics, but at least it was presumably in a condition to add fuel to the fire.

Another statement contained in the BZ and PT ja, p. 122, *b* confirms these ideas: I refer to a passage of these works in which it is related that after the victory of K a - m a l a śī l a , great endowments of a permanent character were made to bSam yas.

“Then the king¹⁾ (b l a n a s) assigned an estate with one hundred and fifty peasants for its maintenance (r k y e ṅ r i s) (BZ: r k y e ṅ r i s b r g y a l ṅ a b c u b l a n a s g n a ṅ t e; PT r k y e ṅ ṅ i s b r g y a l ṅ a b c u); each year (PT adds: every month) 75 measures of barley to the abbot, the transmitter of the doctrine of the Blessed one²⁾, nine cloths (BZ n a

¹⁾ This meaning of b l a n a s is clear also from the following passages l. 5: a b a ṅ s l h a r i s l a b l a n a s d b a ṅ m i b y a b a r c ' a d n a s d b a ṅ d g e a d u n l a b s k u r n a s.

²⁾ For this translation of r i ṅ l u g s in the sentence: b c o m l d a n a d a s k y i r i ṅ l u g s l a, we must quote here other passages in which the same expression occurs.

PT ja, p. 114, *a*, 1,3 says of Jñānendra that he was “c' o s k y i r i ṅ l u g s s u b s k o s”.

Ibid. p. 114, *b*; when Jñānendra goes away and dPal dbyaṅs is appointed in his place it is written: r B a d P a l d b y a ṅ s r i ṅ l u g s s u b s k o s”.

On the other hand, as regards the struggle for authority between Jñānendra and the Žaṅ blon we read that the king ordered that the assembly of the monks should be more important than that of the Žaṅ blon c' e ṅ p o :

MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS

z a d g u p'rug¹⁾ r e r e; PT n a z a n i m a ñ
s t e a p' a n g y i b r u ñ s l a s b y o r²⁾ n a z a
p'rug r e r e), eleven hundred ounces (s r a ñ) of
seasoned butter (BZ s p o s m a r PT s p o d m a r)³⁾,
a horse with mane (BZ: PT c' i b s d ñ o g⁴⁾ . t' e g
p a r e r e), four bundles (PT d e b BZ s d e b) of
paper, three pieces (y u g) of ink; (he was allowed) to
take salt at will.

“To the twenty five ascetics (g o m c' e n) of mC'ims
p'u (BZ p'y i n p'u) fifty five k'al of barley, 800
s r a ñ of seasoned butter each, one riding horse each, six
cloths each (BZ n a b z a' p'rug r e r e; PT n a
z a d r u g p'r u g s r e); to the 13 ācāryas ap-
pointed as teachers of the seminary, c' o s g r v a, 55
k'al of rice, one hundred k'al of seasoned butter (BZ
s p o s m a r, PT c' a b m a r); to the b a n d y a of the

ibid., 114, a. L h a c' o s k y i a d u n s a g a ñ a d u n s a c' u ñ ñ u i
g o ñ d u p' u l l a b c o m l d a n a d a s k y i r i ñ l u g s k y i s z a ñ
b l o n c' e n p o i a d u n s a c' u ñ ñ u b a g y i s c i g. “The repre-
sentative of bCom ldan aḍas should consider the assembly of the Žaṇ blon c'en
po inferior to himself”.

GR, p. 92, a d e n a s r g y a l p o s c' o s k y i r i ñ l u g s y e š e s
d b a ñ p o b s k o s. It is clear from these passages that bCom l d a n
a d a s c' o s r i ñ l u g s s u b s k o s means: to appoint as the repre-
sentative of the (doctrine of the) Blessed One, the transmitter of the Law,
the man who continues the tradition of the Law (cf. PT, 104, b, l. 4: y e š e s
d b a ñ p o... ñ e d r j e a b a ñ s k y i d g e b a i b š e s g ñ e n l a g s p a s
s a ñ s r g y a s k y i z a l d a ñ a d r a b a s) viz. the abbot: in fact Jñā-
nendra, Śrighośa etc. were the successors of Śāntarakṣita, the first mk'an po
of bSam yas.

1) “piece” corresponds to y u g used for “cloth”: it is a numerative
(as in Chinese): “a piece of cloth”.

2) BZ is simplified; PT contains a passage the sense of which is not very
clear: perhaps “many clothes to be used as hanging curtains”.

3) Preserved in bundles and covered with some leaves as is still practiced
in Tibet.

4) d ñ o g - r ñ o g .

border (m t s ' a m s), relying on themselves ¹⁾ (r a ñ g a m a), eight hundred k ' a l of barley for each person, two bundles of paper, one piece of ink each; to the 25 disciples ²⁾ 25 k ' a l of barley each, three cloths (g o s) each. This was to be a permanent donation ³⁾.

“ In order that the receptacle ⁴⁾ of the three jewels may stay for a long time, one hundred householders ⁵⁾ to the receptacle of the three jewels and three householders to each B a n d h y a for their maintenance were assigned ”.

It can be easily seen that, as in many other cases, there is entire agreement between BZ and PT, the only difference between the two being that the language of BZ is rather modernized. This fact is worthy of notice because it proves either that PT had access to an earlier edition of the same book or that he copied direct from the act of donation. In any case, we are confronted with an old document. From this document we can infer that

¹⁾ See above p. 34.

²⁾ See above p. 21.

³⁾ de nas c'os ak'or gyi rkyen ris (PT rkyen ñis) brgya lña bcu bla nas gnañ te bcom ldan aḍas kyi riñ lugs la lo rei zla ba gcig la nas k'al bdun bcu rtsa lña | na za dgu p'rugs re re | spod mar srañ stoñ dañ brgya | c'ibs dñog t'eg pa re re | šog bu sdeb bži | gnag (for snag) ts'a yug gsum | lan ts'va zañ len | mc'ims p'ui sgom c'en ñi šu rtsa lña la nas k'al lña bcu rtsa lña lña | spod mar srañ brgyad brgya re | c'ibs pa re | na za drug p'rugs re | c'os grvai slob dpon du bsko ba bcu gsum la nas k'al lña bcu rtsa lña lña | na za p'rugs re | c'ab mar srañ brgyad brgya re | mts'ams kyi bandhya rañ ga ma rnams la gañ zag re re la nas k'al brgyad re | šog bu rdeb gñis re snag ts'a yug re | slob gñer ba ñi šu rtsa lña la re re la nas k'al ñi šu rtsa lña re gos sum p'rugs re sgyun du gnañ nas | dkon mc'og gsum gyi rten yun riñ du gnas pai c'ed du dkon mc'og gyi rten la abañs mi k'yim brgya bandhya re re la abañs mi k'yim gsum gsum du bcaḍ |

⁴⁾ rTen is any religious object: it may be of three kinds: s k u , body, g s u ñ , words, books, t ' u g s , spirit, viz. m c ' o d r t e n : here the word is clearly used in the sense of temple, place of worship.

⁵⁾ That is one hundred householders less than originally (PT ja, 114, b) established, for the maintenance of the temple.

mC'ims p'u was at that time already functioning as the mts'ams k'an, ri k'rod, hermitage, of bSam yas, that a c'os grva was opened with 13 ācāryas, and 25 students, (see before p. 21) few in comparison with the teachers. We do not know how many were the banya.

Though the monks to be fed and attended to are not yet many, it is clear that with the foundation of bSam yas and its endowment a start was given to a new economic situation. A part of the land was assigned to the monks, the agrahāra system of India had evidently been introduced. The monastery was assigned a property of its own which was exempted from taxation and the tenants became in this way the Lha dbaṅs, subjects of the gods, viz. of the monastery itself: this property was called rkyen ris (also written rkyen rigs) or Lha ris. This property was no longer under control of the state but represented a permanent property of the monastery.

As regards the monks, who had already been exempted from taxation and military service (PT, p. 104, b), three k'yim pa, householders, were assigned for their sustenance. It is quite clear that the Indian party and chiefly Jñānendra had insisted on getting these privileges and that this was the cause of his being compelled to take shelter in Lho brag. If we have to judge from the fragmentary information about him which survives, he tried to establish for the buddhist community a position of supremacy. No wonder therefore that his requests caused a great opposition and he was obliged to leave his abbotship to sBa dPal dbyaṅs who certainly had some links with the Ch'an sect and under whose leadership the Ch'an followers greatly increased in number and power.

I said before that, in my opinion, Ch'an did not completely disappear from Tibet and that traces of it can be found in the rDsogs c'en, a branch, as is known, of the rÑin ma pas.

The rDsogs c'en laid great stress on the Haṭhayoga and on the mantras, but their doctrine emphasizes the existence of a pure mind, luminous, and unshakable; except it, nothing exists, since it is the only reality; its recognition leads to release; no effort or practice is needed. The means proposed by the school for arousing this releasing consciousness of our inner reality are not those proposed by the other schools of Mahāyāna or even of Vajrayāna. The progressive method of the Bodhisattva, which Kamalaśīla supports and explains, is considered by them as one of the inferior vehicles; their classification of the Tantras is quite different from that postulated by the Vajrayāna (Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, Anuttara) and they proclaim the Atiyoga as superior to all revelations; they praise its methods as surpassing all other means of salvation. That explains why the rDsogs c'en were considered as in some way heretical, the school more distant than any other from the teaching of Śākyamuni, and why the exponents of Tibetan thought, following the example of their Indian models, start by expounding Tibetan philosophical systems with that of the rDsogs c'en as the remotest from the true image of the Buddhist tradition. That is also why they base their own doctrine on some books which were excluded from the orthodox canon, as being or supposed to be heretical. Their Tantras are not those included in the bsTan agyur but they are edited separately, in a collection peculiarly rDsogs c'en, the NGB already referred to. rDsogs c'en is called—says the GT, 30, b, l. 1—an extratemporal (d a l t a), immaculate intelligence, rig pa, luminous, void, naked

(rjen pa); every dharma, samsaric or transcendental, has in it its pleroma (rdsogs); rDsogs c'en is also called c'en po, "great", because there is no other way to salvation except it. Reality or absolute, c'os ñid, is nothing else but the very undulation (kloñ, ūrmi) of Kun tu bzañ po; it is unchangeable.

By a synthetical (zuñ ajug) intelligence of non-duality which transcends any idea concerning something either to be taken or to be abandoned, one masters all dharmas, whether samsaric or transcendental, in voidness, stoñ ñid, but devoid of any notion (grāha) of voidness itself; thus and so the direct experience (mñon sum) of the absolute, c'os ñid, as knowledge (rig pa) transcending saṃsāra or nirvāṇa, is realized ¹⁾.

1) The three subjects contemplated by the different sections of the rDsogs c'en itself are: a) unborn intelligence = sems, mind section. b) absolute = kloñ, undulation. c) synthetical intelligence of non-duality, mañ ñag mantra. As to the teachers they are (*ibid.*, p. 30 b. Cf. *Blue Annals*, p. 107).

kloñ	first master: Vimala
mañ ñag (sñiñ tig)	Vairocana
sEMS	Vairocana and gYu sgra sñiñ
	who transmitted it to gÑags Jñānakumāra.

From the Grub t'ab gsal bai me loñ, p. 26, b we know that the rDsogs c'en sect of the rÑiñ ma pa states that in Buddhism there are nine vehicles (cf. S. CH. DAS, *Contributions on Tibet*, JRASB, 1882, p. 10 and p. 121) divided into three groups:

A) revealed by Śākyamuni

- 1) Śrāvaka
- 2) Pratyekabuddha
- 3) Bodhisattva

B) revealed by rDo rje sems dpa'

- 1) Kriyā
- 2) Upa (yoga)
- 3) Yoga

Whatever is manifest (s n a ñ) is pure mind, and it appears in the self-existent intelligence (r a ñ a b y u ñ g i y e š e s), which is mind itself; therefore it cannot become anything else except this self-existent intelligence.

NGB, A, p. 63, b, l. 7.

rDsogs c'en is the unchanging knowledge, y e š e s, self-existent, abiding *ab aeterno* in its abode, its essential uncreated (l h u n g r u b) nature, light; mind is essentially pure.

NGB, ka, p. 106, b.

G a g a n a g a r d s d s i t a r a v a ñ a m a i g h a d s y o t ā (sic)-
b e s o r m i s a m ā j a s a m ā n y a d s a y a m u d r ā g r a n -
t h a t a n t r a

Nam mk'a' abrug sgrogs t'og babs klon a dus
s pyi rgyal rgya mdud gyi rgyud: translated
by U rgyan gyi slob dpon pad ma a byuñ
and Lotsāva sKa ba dpal brtsegs, and said to
have been explained to Lha sras K'ri sroñ lde btsan, in 10
le'u, the interlocutor being Dañ dañs k'yeu c'uñ¹⁾ and the
revealer sKye med ka dag c'os sku. We read in it that no
Buddha has any name of the Buddha, no creature exists;

C) revealed by Kun tu bzañ po

1) Mahāyoga

2) Anuyoga

3) Atiyoga: rDsogs c'en.

¹⁾ The question of K'yeu c'uñ is very complex: there is mention in Tibet at least of two K'yeu c'uñ and therefore of two different cycles. One is of Chinese origin, and it has been recently studied by M. SOYMIÉ, *L'entrevue de Confucius et de Hiang T'o*, *JA*, 1954, p. 311. The other one points to Or-gyan, Uḍḍiyāna: he is the 'Od K'yeu c'uñ or Šel K'yeu c'uñ who reveals some Tantras to Vairocana. See PT, p. 30, b and below p. 119.

nirvāṇa and saṃsāra are identical. Not even the name of dharmas exists; they are an illusion (a k' r u l) of the mind, there are no transcendental dharmas; no mind (s e m s), no intelligence (r i g p a), no world. From the very beginning there is no body; gnosis is *ab aeterno* pure, there are neither the five poisons nor the five bodies: the five poisons ¹⁾ and the five bodies are therefore identical. *Ab aeterno* there is pure luminosity; no maturation of karma, no contamination exists.

From the beginning there is no contamination, there are neither the five poisons, nor the five bodies: the five poisons are from the beginning pure; the five bodies are not different from the three bodies; *ab aeterno* no creatures and no Buddha; no virtue, no sin, no paradise, no hell, no contamination, no v ā s a n ā, no k a r m a, no ripening of k a r m a.

NGB, ga, p. 152.

R i g p a r a ṇ ś a r c ' e n p o i r g y u d ²⁾; it was translated by Vimalamitra, sKa (dPal brtsegs), Cog (Klui rgyal mts'an) these three (in the colophon s G r a m i m t ' u n g s u m), in bSam yas: then it was given to the prince and his ministers (r j e b l o n g ṇ i s) ³⁾. The prince then gave it to Ñaṇ ban (= Myaṇ Tiṇ ṇ e ṇ ṇ a ṇ, see above) and he concealed it in Žvai lha k'an (see above p. 47) under the protection of the mgon po Dres t'ag can (p. 283, a). This tantra preaches the doctrine of the

¹⁾ See below p. 126 and *Addenda*.

²⁾ This is the title of the book in the colophon but in the title: y e š e s ṇ d u s p a i m d o.

³⁾ It is here clear that r j e b l o n cannot be translated: noble ministers (SIMONSSON, p. 247) but as ruler and ministers.

non-existence of a path and the non-existence of cause and effect.

That the rDsogs c'en school has to a certain extent accepted and preserved some ideas of the Ch'an school which had penetrated into Tibet, during the time of the kings, from China and from Central Asia, is proved not only by the few quotations from some most authoritative books of the rDsogs c'en, but also by the reference to Bodhidharma and to other masters of Ch'an contained in one of the fundamental books of the rÑin ma pa which, though subject at various times to a process of re-elaboration, still preserves many old fragments pieced together. I allude to the b K a' t' a n s d e l n a, referred to above, and to a chapter of the same in which Ch'an doctrines and its teachers are recorded in a quite different way than orthodoxy would have us believe.

The method of instantaneous entrance is here preferred to that propounded by Kamalaśīla. The views of the Hva šaṅ are expounded in detail and many quotations meant to explain the ideas of the school are attributed to different dhyāna masters. The Mahāyāna Hva šaṅ is said to be the seventh in the sevenfold lineage of masters of dhyāna beginning with Bodhidharmatāla (see below p. 73), quite in accordance with the Ch'an fragments discovered in Central Asia (See M. Lalou, *Inventaire*, p. 44 b d u n r g y u d d a n p o, where r g y u d corresponds to the Chinese 傳 *chuan*). This also implies that after the split, which occurred at the death of Hui nēng in 713 a. D. the Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna considered himself and was considered by his followers as the authentic perpetuator of the teaching of Bodhidharma.

Then, as the conclusion of the debate, the king orders quite in accordance with the orthodox tradition that the Mādhyamika system should be accepted, but, differing from the tradition, it is added that the method of the instantaneous entrance is the Mādhyamika; moreover the doctrines of the rDsogs c'en as expounded in the various groups or classes of Tantras are made to fit into the eleven stages, bhūmis, of the Bodhisattva. Thus implicitly the text agrees with the Chinese sources published by Prof. Demiéville according to which the winner was the Hva šaṅ and not Kamalaśīla. As to the short biography contained in KT it is clear that the KT summarizes from a life of Bodhidharma written originally in Chinese, though it narrates only a few of the most important events usually told by the legendary accounts of the Ch'an Patriarch. To give an example there is no mention in KT of the famous dialogue between Bodhidharma and Liang Wu ti. It is difficult to say which were the sources used by the compilers of KT, not only because their story is limited to the essential facts, but also because these facts are found with slight, if any, differences in the various biographies of Bodhidharma: f.i. Pao lin chuan 寶林傳 by 智炬 Chih-chü (801 A. D.) (see Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 in Hô-rinden no Kenkyû 寶林傳の研究, Tôhō-bungaku'in, 1935), H. Dumoulin, *Bodhidharma und die Anfänge des Ch'an Buddhismus*, "Monumenta Nipponica", 1951, p. 67 ff.); Li tai fa pao chi, 歷代法寶記, Ta. n. 2075 p. 180; Ching tê ch'uan têng lu, 景德傳燈錄 of 道原 Tao-yüan (about 1004). Ta. n. 2076, p. 217-220; Ch'uan fa chêng tsung chi (1061), 傳法正宗記 Ta. n. 2078, p. 743.

Among these sources the one which shows the greatest

similarity to our text is certainly the account contained in the *Li tai fa pao chi* (8th century). In fact just as narrated in that book, the KT tells us that (Bodhi)ruci and Kuang T'un attempted to poison the Patriarch six times (Ta. n. 2075, p. 180, c); so also the *Pei shan lu* 北山錄 (Ta. 2113, p. 612, a), while the *Ching tê ch'uan têng lu* knows only of five attempts (Ta. n. 2076, p. 219, c). Moreover the *Li tai fa pao chi* equally calls the Patriarch Bodhidharmottara.

The names which occur in the KT can easily be identified with those contained in the Chinese texts with the exception of Li Kun, which is perhaps a mistake of the copyists from an original transcription of Liang Kuo; the castle (mk'ar lag) C'u is probably Kuang chou; as to Sa'u yan it is Hsiao yen 蕭衍, the name of Liang Wu ti; Kan rdor is, Kuang t'ung, 光統 and Leu ci is Liu-chih 流支 that is P'u ti liu chih 菩提流支 of the *Li ta fa pao chi*, p. 180, c.

The Bun (a mistake of the copyists for Sun?) is Sung-yün 宋雲 the Wei envoy¹⁾ to the Western countries. The only difference is found in the name of the place where Sung-yün met Bodhidharma on his return to China: according to all the Chinese sources this place was in the Ts'ung-ling mountains 蔥嶺. But in KT we find Ka ra ma tiñ which has no relation with the Chinese. The first part of the word is undoubtedly Turkish: qara-black. As to the second part, I have nothing to suggest.

There is nothing in principle against the existence of some Uigur translation of a biography of Bodhidharma

1) See E. CHAVANNES, in *BEFEO*, 1903, p. 382-383.

just as there was one of Hsüan tsang, nor is there anything to prevent us from believing that that translation was used by the Tibetans. But the other solution is also possible that Ts'ung-ling was identified by the compilers of KT with a mountain pass well-known to them.

The names of these masters are always preceded by their title *b S a m g t a n m k ' a n p o* "master of dhyāna", just as in the Tun huang manuscripts: it translates *Ch'an shih* which is transcribed in Tibetan as *Š a n š i* (see p. 19).

The spelling of these names mishandled by so many copyists is hopelessly corrupt as one can gather from the different ways in which *Š a n š i* is given in this text. In spite of that we can recognize here some of the names which appear in the Tun huang manuscripts; *Lalou*, *Inventaire*, n. 116 and 813. *A dhan her* is *A rtan hyver*, *A rdan hver* known also from other Tun huang mss. (M. Lalou, *Document tibétain sur l'expansion du dhyāna chinois*. *JA*, 1939, p. 505). *bDud ṛdul sñiñ po* is *Nam mk'a' sñiñ po*, who was called *bDud ṛdul* on account of his magic ability to subdue demons (cf. on him Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 360 KT *ña 68*, *b d u l ṛ d u l s ñ i ñ p o*). *Bu c'u* is the same as *Bu c'u* of those documents; *Dsañ* is most probably *Jañ šen ši* and *Ši* is possibly for *Švei* of n. 813: in *La* we should perhaps find the *Lu* of the same n. 813 and in *Ma*: *Man hva šan* of the mss. studied by M. Lalou, l. c. p. 506. As regards *sBab* this is certainly our *sBa sañ ši* of whom we spoke before.

The KT places at the beginning of the Ch'an school Śākyamuni who when entering nirvāṇa transmits the teaching to 'Od sruñ, Kāśyapa: this last named is acknowledged

by the Chinese tradition as the first patriarch of the Ch'an school see Ta. n. 2076, p. 205; n. 2078, p. 719 ¹⁾.

Tibetan Text.

[19 a] ²⁾ dpe don mañ po 'od sruñs ñid la gsuñs | de nas
dha rmo ttā ra la sogs nas | rgya nag sprul bdun brgyud
pa brgyud pai t'a | hva šaṅ ma hā yā na ñid la t'ug | 'od
sruñs cig car ajug pa p'al c'en sde | mk'an po dha rmo ttā
ra lai brgyud ni | šar gyi p'yogs su rgya mt'so brgal nas
p'yin | rgya yul li kun žes byai yul du slebs | rgya rje sa 'u yan
dañ mk'an po mjal | don dam go ba ma yin pa ru šes | mk'ar
lag c'u žes bya bar byon pa dañ | dge sloñ k'a ši dañ ni
le'u tsi | kan rdor la sogs pa yis p'rag dog byas | le'u tsis
mk'an po dhar mo ttā ra la | dug ni lan drug blud pas ma
ts'ugs so | mjug tu c'os ni gtad sa ma rñed nas | rgya nag
yul du sku ni aḍa' ts'ul bstan | rjes kyi bya ba dge [19 b]
lñur zin nas su | rgya nag yul nas stod kyi p'yogs su yoñs |
ts'oñ pa bun žes bya bas p'yin pa dañ | ka ra ma tiñ žes
byai la ga ru | mk'an po bo dhi dhar mo ttā ra mjal |
p'yag na lham ni ya gcig t'ogs nas aḍug | de ru bka'
mc'id žib tu lhon pa dañ | ts'oñ pa bun gyis slar log
rgya yul du | gtam rnam s žib tu bsñad pas dur k'a
p'ye | bltas pas lham ni ya gcig mi aḍug nas | rgya nag

¹⁾ The Chinese list of the Ch'an patriarchs contains Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Śāṇavāsa, (Śaṇika), Upagupta etc. (See Ta. n. 2076, p. 205 ff.). The Tibetan list of KT inserts, just as the Kṣudrakavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin and A-yu wang chuan (A yu wang ching; J. PRZYLUŚKI, *Aṣoka*, p. 372-342), Madhyandina (Madhyāntika). On the interpolation of this patriarch in the list cfr., E. FRAUWALLNER, *The earliest Vinaya and the beginnings of Buddhist Literature* (Serie Orientale Roma, VIII, p. 29 ff.).

²⁾ The text is metrical, but in order to save space it is here printed consecutively as in the Tib. xylograph. The T. text is based on two editions; one of sDe dge, photos of which were kindly sent me by Prof. R. Stein (here D), and the other of Potala (here P.).

mi kun ap'ags pa yin no gleñ | bo dhi dha rmo tta
rai brgyud adsin ni | t'a ma hva šaṅ ma hā yā nai gžuñ |
cig car ajug pa yonś su rdsogs pa yis | dpe don mañ po
mdo sde gžuñ la t'ug | de dag adod gžuñ yi ge yod pa
dañ | dhar mo ttā rai rgya luñ c'en mo rnams | ci yañ
byar med man ṇag sñan k'uñ brgyud | rgya gar slob
dpon kā ma šī la yis | drañ po don gyi mdo sde yonś ma
rdsogs | rim pa slob la sogs pa t'e ts'om gcod | sā tst'sa
gdab dañ ñe adon bya ba dañ | stoñ zam adsugs dañ lam
ap'reñ sel ba dañ | mc'od rten rtsig dañ gtsug lag k'añ
mañ bžeñś | rab tu byuñ bai sde pa c'en po bca' | mdo sde
rgya c'en klog adon bya ba dañ | c'os ak'or c'en po bśad ṇan
bya ba dañ | [20 b] dug bsñal can gyi grogs rnams bya ba
dañ | ñe riñ med pas nad pa gso ba dañ | sbyin rgya c'en
po rlabs c'en ci c'er abad | hva šaṅ ma hā spyod t'abs bcu
gñis spyod | t'eg pa c'en po gsañ sñags pa la ni | dbaṅ
gi rim pa mañ po nod pa dañ | sgrub pai dkyil ak'or mañ
po žal dbye dañ | sman rag gtor ts'ogs sreg mnan bya ba
dañ | sgom grva adsugs pa sogs la abad pa'o | rab byuñ
sde pa mc'od gnas mi bkur ro | ts'ul ac'os c'os lugs rdsoñ
ṇam k'ud ciñ blta | gsañ sñags pa yi ³⁾ spyod t'abs bcu gñis
so | mt'un pai mc'od rten t'os bsam sgom gsum bsgom |
kā ma šī la rim gyis pa yañ bsten ²⁾ | hva šaṅ ma hā yā nai
bsam gtan dañ | yo ga nañ pai zab moi c'os rnams dañ |
lhag pai rnal abyor rluñ ¹⁾ rug bži sbugs ⁴⁾ dañ | k'o na
ñid kyi zab moi rgyud drug dañ | sems ap'reñ ñi šu sems
med bco brgyad bsten | agag med snañ bai t'og nas bsam
gtan bsgom | mdo sde abyuñ ba bśad pa ñid las kyañ | snañ

1) D. 237, b.

2) D. bstan.

3) D. khoñ.

4) sbugs for dbugs.

srid t'ams cad sems las byuñ ba ste | sems ñid de ñid rtag tu
 bstan ¹⁾ tu med | sems kyi rañ bžin byañ c'ub ñid du gsuñs
 byañ c'ub rañ bžin sems can t'ams cad de | sems can rnams
 dañ byañ c'ub gñis su med | de ltar rtogs na skyes bu mc'og
 tu agyur | žes gsuñs pas | aḱ'rul snañ las snañ ñams snaiñ
 gzigs snañ bži |. [21 a] rgyu gñis rkyen gsum abyuñ ba bži
 las grub | de ltar snañ ba sems can mts'an ñid yin | snañ ba
 skye ba rnam pa bži las skyes | snañ ba skye rga na ač'i ač'i
 med rigs | aḱ'or aḱas gñis kai ²⁾ don byed nus pa ste | de ltar
 snañ ba sems can mts'an ñid yin | snañ ba spañs pai sems can
 gcig bsgrub mdsod | ro la snañ ba med pas sems can min
 sems yin can min yul drug med k'as blañs | aḱro ba rigs drug
 sems can min k'as blañs | drañ don gyis ni snañ ba ño mi
 šes | gsañ snags nañ pa rnal abyor c'en po dañ | šin tu rnal
 abyor la ni ajug pai dus | man naḱ t'ob pa rigs šig p'ye
 nas gsol | rtse men t'abs ni ži gnas rgyud rtog pa | goms par
 sla bai ži gnas dag t'ob byed | ston ³⁾ mun t'og ma ñid nas
 don dam pa | ma skyes bya ba med pa goms pai t'abs | t'ob
 par byed kyañ t'abs ni yañ dag min | de la t'abs ni c'en po
 mi bya'o | rtse men rim ajug mi rtog pa la ajug | rnam par
 mi rtog yid la mi byed bsgoms | rnam par t'ar pai sgo
 gsum rim par bsgom ⁴⁾ | ston pa ñid dañ mts'an ma med pa
 dañ | smon pa med pa rnam t'ar sgo gsum mo | ston mun
 cig car ajug pa re mos med | don dam ma skyes pa la
 cig car bslab | dañ po skye aḱag med pai sems bskyed
 nas | tha ma skye aḱag med [21 b] pai aḱbras bu t'ob |
 mk'an c'en bo dhi dha rmo ttā ras gsuñs | yañ dag yañs
 p'yogs mi ltos yañs | hlam mer gnas na bdag gžan gañ yañ

1) D. brtan.

2) D. gai.

3) D. 238 a.

4) D. sgom.

med | ma rabs dañ ni ʔp'ags pa mñam žiñ gcig | mi ʔgyur
 ñams kyi gtan gnas p'an c'ad du | yi ge bstan pai rjes su
 mi ʔbrañ ño | ʔdi ni yañ dag don gžii gnas su p'ab¹⁾ | rnam
 par rtog med ži žiñ bya ba med | de ni don la ʔjug pa cig
 car ro | bsam gtan mk'an po ʔjug dus bšad pa ni | mi sems
 ts'ul k'rims mi dran tiñ ñe ʔdsin | sgyu sems mi ʔbyuñ ba
 ni šes rab bo | bsam gtan mk'an po bdud ʔdul sñiñ pos
 bšad | ci yañ mi dran pa ni sañs rgyas dran | ʔdi ñid la
 bltas ma yeis sems sñoms na | de bžin gšegs pa yañ dag
 c'os sku yin | bsam gtan mk'an po a dhan her gyis bšad |
 sems ñid mi ʔyo ji bžin mñam pa ni | rnal ʔbyor ñes pai
 sa t'ob lam yin no | bsam gtan mk'an po ma hā yān gyis
 bšad | c'os ñid bsam med mi rtog pa ru bžag²⁾ | sñar ma
 sbyaṅs kyañ ʔdi la ʔjug tu btub | rtse men rim gyis ʔjug
 pa sñar bšad ltar | dmigs pa ša t'añ ʔbad nas mi dmigs
 skye | dños po gtan ts'igs kyis ni gžal nas su | dbu mai don
 ni dañ du len pa'o | ston mun bžed pa bdag gžan c'os so
 c'og | ye nas ma skyes don du gñer pas bslad | des ni
 nam yañ don byed mi mt'oñ ste | 'on kyañ ci bsam [22 a]
 sñoms par gžug ʔdod na | rgyu rkyen rim par ʔjug ces
 bstan pa yañ | rmoṅs pa rnams ni t'abs kyis ʔjug par
 gsuṅs | dbaṅ po t'a mai don du rim ʔjug bstan | sbur pai
 ʔgros kyis ri rab k'ar mi rtol | dmigs pa can gyis mi rtog
 par bšad do | de ltai ston mun bya ba bral gsol kyañ |
 skye ʔgag gñis su med par ma šes so | gñis med smra yañ
 ma skyes re žig ʔdod | stoñ pa cir yañ snañ du mi nus pa
 rañ gi lta bas bsgribs pai stoñ žen no | sañs rgyas mdo sde
 stoñ par bsgom pa la | ci p'yir rim gyis ʔjug ces bya
 ba ste | ʔdir ni ri bo c'en por ʔdseg pa la | gom gcig
 gom gñis p'yin pas brtol ʔdra žiñ | bden gñis ži lhag ris

1) D bab.

2) D 238 b.

bcad sa non aḡyur spyod lam dge ba lña dños brtson par
bya | de ltai ts'ogs gñis aḡad pas kun 'od aḡro | skad
cig sña p'yii p'yi mar c'os sku t'ob | smon lam t'ugs rjei
dbaṅ gis aḡro don mdsad | aḡog pai tiṅ ñe aḡsin ni gñid
sad dpe | gzugs skur laṅs te don mdsad pa ru bšed |

rtse men rim gyis pai skabs te bcu gñis pao

[22 a, 5] ston mun cig car aḡjug pai dpe bstan pa | ri
rgyal rtse mor p'yin na kun mt'oṅ ts'ul | ri bran rtse
nas lhun po mi mt'oṅ bžin | rim gyis pa ni ko¹⁾ moi
ña c'uṅ aḡdra | cig car pa ni gtsaṅ c'ui ña daṅ aḡdra |
gžal bya gžal byed ye nas ma skyes pa | [22 b] ci yaṅ
ma btsal ñid kyis go bar aḡdod bla ma ñes pai mdo
sde mi bsten²⁾ yin | yul la ma bsten²⁾ par ni sems mi
skye | sems la ma bsten²⁾ par ni yul mi snaṅ | šes bya
šes byed gñis po p'an ts'un ltos | grub pai snaṅ ba mi
aḡog pa ni t'abs | snaṅ ba raṅ bžin med pa šes rab bo |
gñis med don dam gcig par t'ag bcad de | cig car pa
ni seṅ ge lam žugs aḡdra | gad med ḡyaṅ med kun la
t'ogs med do | rim gyis pa ni va mo lam žugs aḡdra | gad
ḡyaṅ mi t'ar ba la log skor byed ñes skyon le los dmigs pa
brjed³⁾ pa daṅ | byiṅs⁴⁾ daṅ rgod daṅ mi rtsol rtsol ba'o | de
ñid spoṅ bai gñen po aḡdu byed⁵⁾ brgyad | dad pa⁶⁾ aḡdun pa
stsol ba šin tu sbyaṅs | dran pa šes bžin sems pa btaṅ
sñoms so | aḡdod sred daṅ bral dga' bde lam gyur tsam |
sdug bsñal ma yin bde ba ma yin pai | btaṅ sñoms dran

1) D 239 a.

2) Lhasa ed. brten.

3) Both editions: brjed.

4) D byiṅ.

5) Both xyl. dun byed; the correction is necessary; cfr. Bh.k § 14. from which this passage derives.

6) Both xyl.; dad pas.

ʔdun bsaṃ gtaṇ bži paṃ | rtsē mēn las ʔdir k'yad par bcus
 ʔp'ags te | t'abs kyi k'yad par ston mun ʔp'ags pa daṇ |
 ʔjug lugs k'yad par ston mun ʔp'ags pa daṇ | spyod pai
 k'yad par ston mun ʔp'ags pa daṇ | tiṇ ʔdsin k'yad par ston
 mun ʔp'ags pa daṇ | rnam rtog bcos lugs ston mun ʔp'ags
 pa daṇ | sgrib pa sbyoṇ t'abs k'yad par ʔp'ags pa daṇ |
 sgrub pai k'yad par ston mun ʔp'ags pa daṇ | ts'ogs kyi
 k'yad par ston mun ʔp'ags pa daṇ | ¹⁾ [23 a] rtogs ²⁾ pai
 k'yad par ston mun ʔp'ags pa daṇ | ʔgro don k'yad par
 daṇ ni bcus ʔp'ags so | bsaṃ gtaṇ mk'an po ke hun šan
 tis bšad | sēms mñam pa na c'os rnam s mñam pa'o | saṇs
 rgyas c'os ma yin pa gaṇ yaṇ med | sred ciṇ c'ags pa t'ams
 cad skyē bo yin | bsaṃ gtaṇ mk'an po dsiṇ šin šas bšad pa |
 dran pai rtog pa mi ʔbyuṇ tiṇ ṇē ʔdsin | yoṇs su rdsogs pas
 rtog med šes rab skyē | de ni k'ams gsum pa las ʔdas par
 gyur | bsaṃ gtaṇ mk'an po sbab šan šin bšad pa | rnam
 par mi rtog cig car rig pa ni | gcaṇ gzan rgyal po seṇ ge
 ʔgyiṇ pa ʔdra | sgra drag ³⁾ spyod pa rnam bži bag mi
 ts'a | bsaṃ gtaṇ mk'an po de'u šan šin bšad | sēms ṇid
 ʔk'rud la c'u mi dgos pa yin | sbyin pa gtoṇ la nor mi dgos
 pa yin | yaṇ dag sēms kyis dam pai don bsgrubs na | draṇ
 por ʔdug pas de bžin gšegs pa ʔt'ob | bsaṃ gtaṇ mk'an po
 t'aṇ bzaṇ šin šis bšad | c'os gcig šes na c'os kun ma bslibs
 lobs | des ni ṇon moṇs bag c'ags mi skyē'o | bsaṃ gtaṇ
 mk'an po han ze šin šis bšad | lam de bsgom žiṇ saṇs rgyas
 ṇid· bltas na | saṇs rgyas mi mt'oṇ gol ba saṇs rgyas ṇē |
 bsaṃ gtaṇ mk'an po ā rya rag šis bšad | t'eg pa c'en poi
 lta ba c'un pa ni | ʔjig rten ʔdus byas t'ams cad ʔdus
 [23 b] ma byas | t'og ma rnam par dag ciṇ mñam pai

1) D 239 b.

2) D rtog.

3) A grags.

p'yir | mk'an poi bka' la yan par ma bšad pa | 'od sruṅs
 cig car ajug pa t'abs med do | c'os sems la sems kun la
 ma skyes so | bsam gtan mk'an po bu cuṅ bšad pa ni
 mts' an ma c'os rnams t'ams cad mts'am ma la | sems
 kyis ¹⁾ sems aṭs'ol sems kyis sems mi rñed | ci yaṅ mi rñed
 ci yaṅ bstan rgyu med | bsam gtan mkan po ma hā yā
 nas bšad | yoṅs blta bas ni p'yi naṅ c'os bdag gis | lus
 sems spyi mts'an ñid c'os bdag c'a ²⁾ | raṅ gi mts'an ñid
 mi rtag sdug bśial ba | spyi yi mts'an ñid stoṅ pa bdag
 med mjal | bsam gtan mk'an po k'a šen ši yis bšad | c'os
 so cog kun stoṅ par šes pa ni | stoṅ par šes pas nus pai ye
 šes stoṅs | de bas c'os rnams stoṅ pa ñid kyaṅ stoṅs | bsam
 gtan mk'an po dsaṅ šan ši yis bšad | c'os so cog la ts'ogs
 pa med pa ni | c'os lam spyod pa yin no ts'ogs drug aṭ'ar ³⁾
 | mdo sde tob pa saṅs rgyas luṅ ston no | bsam gtan
 mk'an po yen šan šis bšad pa | mig mt'oṅ gnas ñid bden
 pai c'os mt'oṅ mt'a' | c'os so cog kyaṅ bden pai mt'a'
 yin no | de las gžan du btsal du ci žig yod | bsam gtan
 mk'an po a šan šis bšad pa | sems draṅ ba ni c'os lam spyod
 pa yin | stoṅ pa mi spyod t'abs mi aṭs'ol bai py'ir | draṅ
 por spyad de p'an [24 a] c'ad lam med do | bsam gtan
 mk'an po len šan šis bšad pa | c'os kyi ño bo ñid la t'e
 ts'om med | draṅ por bsgom la t'e ts'om ma za žig | bsam
 gtan mk'an po haṅ šan šis bšad pa | γyo žiṅ byed do cog
 kyaṅ de bžin ñid | yul drug gaṅ byuṅ ba yaṅ de bžin ñid |
 aḡgyur ⁴⁾ ba med ciṅ t'a dad med pa'o | bsam gtan mk'an po
 kan šan ⁵⁾ šis bšad pa | sems ni ci la mi rtog par go na | de

1) D 240 a.

2) D c'e.

3) D aṭ'aṅ.

4) D aḡgyur !

5) D 240 b.

ñid mdo sde c'os kyi lam srol yin | c'os kyis bcins pas grol
 bar mi mt'oñ ño | bsam gtañ mk'an po dsi šan šis bšad
 pa | c'os ¹⁾ so cog la yin min ñes pa med | mig gis gzugs
 mt'oñ ts'e na mi mt'oñ med | de bžin rna ba sna lce lus dañ
 yid | gzugs kyi rgyu la rnam šes mi skye na | Ɂdu šes mi
 šes gzugs mi mt'oñ ba yin | bsam gtan mk'an po kam
 šan šis bšad pa | rnam par šes drug mi dgei Ɂdu šes yin ²⁾ |
 dei min bdud kyi las su šes bya'o | mk'an c'en bo dhi
 dha rmo ttā ras bšad pa | Ɂdu šes ɣyos ts'e ɣyo ba med pa
 de | sañs rgyas c'os yin mi rnams šes drug Ɂk'rul | mk'an
 po hyau Ɂgyeu šan šis bšad | sems dañ rnam par šes pai
 rañ bžin no | gnas so cog rnams sañs rgyas mya ñan Ɂdas |
 sems kyi yul log sañs rgyas c'os min med | bsam gtan
 mk'an po gyi šan šis bšad pa | ma rabs Ɂp'ags ³⁾ pa sgo [24 b]
 gñis gnas lugs gcig | rgyu dañ Ɂbras bu gcig la mi bltos
 pas | dge mi dgei las mi stor Ɂbral ba med | k'rims lña
 bsruñs na ñes par mi lus Ɂt'ob | stoñ ñid c'os lam spyad
 na dgra bcom Ɂt'ob | bsam gtan mk'an po ci šan šis bšad
 pa | c'os so cog kun sañ srgyas c'os la ɣyos | ɣyos su cog
 kun byañ c'ub yin pas su | mi dñañs mi skrag gnas so cog
 kun grags | bsam gtan mk'an po p'og ⁴⁾ rtog šan šis bšad
 | kun rdsob bden pa yod pas stoñ pa yin | dgra bcom
 bden pa med pas yod ma yin | Ɂp'ags pas gzigs na stoñ
 pa nas gñis med | bsam gtan mk'an po jo šan šis bšad pa |
 bslab pai mis ni sdig med sdig tu mt'oñ | šes pai mis ni
 sdig nas sdig med mt'oñ | bsam gtan mk'an po yan šan
 šis bšad pa | kun kyañ sems ni ɣyo bai c'os ⁵⁾ yin no

1) Both xyl. šas !

2) D nu'n.

3) Both xyl. p'ag pa.

4) D brog.

5) D 241 a.

sems mi γyo ba bsam gtan sgom ci dgos | šes rab šes pai
 mis ąts'ol don dam zad | bsam gtan mk'an po han šan
 šis bšad pa | sems c'os lam gyi ño bo ñid yin te | lus ni
 c'os lam gyi ni snod yin no | rgyu de dge bai bšes gñen
 rkyen gyis ąbyuñ | bsam gtan mk'an po ši šan šis bšad pa |
 bdag gi yid kyis yañ dag sems šes na | de don zab dañ mi
 zab dbye ba med | lam mi ągal t'ob stor bai gnas mi
 mt'oñ | bsam gtan mk'an [25 a] po he k'añ šis bšad pa |
 lña p'uñ yoñs rdsogs mya ñan ądas šes na | lus sems ądir
 spyod gcig ldan gžuñ c'en yin | sems can t'ams cad mun
 pa bsal¹⁾ bar byed | bsam gtan mk'an po la šan²⁾ šis
 bšad pa | c'os don rig na bden par mt'un pa dañ | t'a
 dad yin min t'ams cad med pa'o | mñon dañ mi mñon
 brtson ągrus c'e rnam so | bsam gtan mk'an po ma šan
 šis bšad pa | šes pai ts'e na ąjig rten ądas pa yañ | mi
 rnam stoñ pa ąba' žig yoñs su zad | yi ge bstan pai rjes
 su mi ąbrañ ño | bsam gtan mk'an po a mo gzoñ c'us
 bšad | c'os so cog rnam yod pa ma yin no | bšad pa
 k'yod kyis med par ma mt'oñ ñam | skyes las ma skyes
 ma skyes skyes par ągyur | mk'an po c'en po dha rmo ttā
 ras bšad | mi šes na ni mi c'os la ąbrañ žes | šes na lha c'os
 la ni mi ąbrañ ño | šes na rnam par šes pa gzugs su ądu | slañ
 na rnam par šes pa gzugs la ądu | gzugs kyi rgyu la rnam šes
 skyes ma lags | de ni gzugs su mi mt'oñ žes bya'o | ąp'ags
 pai mi³⁾ sems nam mk'a' stoñ pa ądra | skye ągag med
 mt'oñ byañ c'ub ces bya'o | lo tsts'a ska ba dpal brtsegs
 kyis bšad pa | ąjig rten t'ams cad yoñs btañ ste | rdul tsam
 ądsin pai sems med pa | sbyin pai p'a rol p'yin pa
 rdsogs ñes pa rdul tsam mi ąbyuñ bas | ts'ul [25 b] k'rims

1) P gsäl.

2) Xyl. šin.

3) D 241 b.

p'a rol p'yin pa rdsogs | c'os dbyiñs ñaṇ las bzod pa
 brtan | bzod pai p'a rol p'yin pa rdsogs | de ñid don la
 mi γyo bas | brtson aḡruṣ p'a rol p'yin pa rdsogs | mñam
 ñid mi γyo bdag med pas | bsam gtan p'a rol p'yin pa
 rdsogs | dmig med don lta rañ rig pas | šes rab p'a rol
 p'yin pa rdsogs | c'os rnams aḡyuiṇ ba med pai mdo las
 gsuiṇs | sdig sems mu stegs can gyis ñag brjod dam | sañs
 rgyas rnams kyis gsuiṇ gañ bka' stsal pa | de dag t'a dad
 ts'ul gyur med pa ste | de ltar šes na de ni mgon por
 aḡyur | hva šaṇ ma hā yā nas bšad pa ni | lus kyi aḡdug t'abs
 sems kyi gžag t'abs gñis | de la lus kyi aḡdug t'abs bstan
 pa ni | stan bde bar aḡdug lus ni drañ por bsrañs | mig gñis
 sna la bltas nas lce rkañ sbyar | skyil kruñ dam po beas
 te aḡdug par bya | sgo gsum yañ por mi gtañ srol du bžugs |
 lus brel ñag lab sems yeñs ga nas k'om | gegs ni mañ yañ byiñ
 rgod gñis su aḡdus | byiñ bai rgyu ni sa dañ me c'u rmugs
 beud can zas skom ñal dub rkyen gñid aṭ'ibs | rgod pai
 rgyu rkyen me rluñ šas c'e yul p'yir aḡbrañs | ñams myoñ
 nañ nas šar na gegs p'yir sol | dge sloñ ye šes dpal gyis bšad
 pa ni | mi γyo ži ba c'en poi tiñ ñe aḡdsin | rnam par mi rtog
 pa¹⁾ la ñin mts'an aḡp'ul | don de lta bu yin par rig pai mis
 | aḡdu aḡdsi γyeñ bai gnas su mi aḡdug bsgom | srod dañ t'o
 reñs [26 a] mi ñal bsam gtan aḡdug | p'yi nañ drod rtags
 dbugs kyi aḡgyu ba c'ad | rtse gcig lus dgon sems k'o mts'ams
 la aḡdug | la gsum rgyal ba byaṇ c'ub kyis bšad pa | mi
 bden rdsun pai aḡdu šes rab γyos aṭs'al | mi spoñ mi len
 t'abs la mk'as lags so | slob dpon ži ba mc'og rgyan
 gyis bšad pa | mñam par gžag pa k'o nai skabs ñid na | yul
 dañ rnam par rtog pa mi snañ ba | mi aḡgog pa ni t'abs
 la mk'as pai mc'og | myaṇ bran dpal gyi ye šes rgyal

1) D 242.

mt'san bšad | ək'or ȁdas c'os la re ba spu tsam med
 dbaṅ poi sgo gsum ṅes don mñam par bžag | rgyal po k'ri
 sroṅ ldeu btsan bka' stsal pa | p'yi naṅ c'os kun dkar
 dmar snaṅ yaṅ snaṅ | mt'oṅ yaṅ mt'oṅ ste šes kyaṅ šes |
 de ltar rnam par rtog pa med daṅ gcig | ri boṅ rva daṅ mo
 gšam bu lta bu | c'os med de ltar mi rtog pa daṅ gñis
 mi rtog pa ȁdra dran pa med min gsum | k'oṅ bcud don
 gžan rtsol ba med de bži | ȁdi bži dus gcig skad cig ma
 la bsgom | mk'an po ar na mt'ar p'yin gyis bšad pa
 sems ṅid ji bžin ṅid du mñam pa de | rnal ȁbyor ṅes don
 lam la žugs pa'o | bsam gtan mk'an po ȁdse mgo rgyan
 gyis bšad | c'os rnams ji bžin ji ltar ma bcos na | bsam
 gtan cig car ȁjug pai sgo žes bya | mk'an po li žu sñiṅ po
 [26 b] yis bšad pa | don' la c'os ṅid gaṅ yaṅ ma yin pas
 yin pai blo ni cir yaṅ ma bžag na | rnam par mi rtog don
 sgom žes su gdags | gsum pa¹⁾ ye šes rgyal po yis bšad pa |
 lta bas ȁjal bai dus na yin pa med | raṅ rig ma skyes ts'e na
 brjod du med | sgom dus blo med mñam gžag cig car ȁjug
 laṅ ȁgro dkon cog ȁbyuṅ gnas kyis bšad pa | bsam gyis mi
 k'yab ma ṅams mñam par gžag | skye ba med par ma grub
 ȁgag pa med | ȁdi la sgo p'ugs dbus mt'a' gaṅ yaṅ med | li
 tsa dri med grags pai mdo las ni | gaṅ yaṅ ma skyes ma
 byuṅ ȁjig pa med | mi skyei c'os la bzod pa t'ob pa yin |
 de ni gñis su med par ȁjug pa'o | byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' dpal
 sbas yis smras pa | ṅa daṅ ṅa yir žes pa gñis snaṅ yaṅ | sgro
 btags med na ṅa yi bar mi ȁgyur²⁾ | gñis su med pa de la
 ȁjug pa'o | byaṅ c'ub' sems dpa' ṅes ȁdsum gyis smras pa |
 mi dmigs pa de rtog pas gsal mi byed | mi spyod pa de gñis
 su med par ȁjug | byaṅ chub sems dpa' skar rgyal gyis smras
 pa | dge daṅ mi dge žes bya de gñis ni | mts'an beas daṅ

1) D 242 b.

2) D ȁbyuṅ.

ni mts'an med gñis su ajug | byañ sams señ ge blo gros
 kyis smras pa | gañ gi mñam pa ñid kyī c'os t'os nas | aḍi
 ni zag bcas aḍi ni zag pa med | gañ ajug med pa de ni gñis
 med ajug | byañ c'ub sams dpa bde mos [27 a] kyis
 smras pa | aḍi ni bde la aḍi ni mi bde ba gñis ka ye šes
 rnam par bya bai p'yir | mi c'ags de ni gñis su med
 par ajug | bsam gtan mk'an po dpal dbyañs kyis bšad
 pa | luñ dañ rig pas t'ag bcad de | sams kyī rañ bžin yañ
 dag yid c'es bya | hva šaṇ ma hā yā na yis bšad pa | sdom
 pa kun brtags yin pas bsruñ mi dgos | bslab pa ¹⁾ sams
 bskyed yin pas ñams mi dgos | dam ts'ig gtsañ ma
 yin pas ñams mi dgos | spyod pa la ajug spyod pa rnam
 bži bsten ²⁾ | gcig ni aḅ'on la ldon pai spyod pa yin | gñis
 pa rkyen gyi rjes su spyod pa'o | gsum pa ci yañ aṭs'ol rjes
 spyod pa'o | bži pa c'os dañ mt'un pai spyod pa'o | dañ
 po aḅ'on lan ldon pai spyod ³⁾ pa'o | bdag las sgom pas
 sdug bsñal žig byuñ ts'e | bdag gi yid la dran ciñ aḍi sñam
 sams | bdag sñon t'og ma med pai bskal pa nas | yañ
 dag pa yi ño bo ñid spaṇs te | p'yi yul abraṇs nas srid
 pa sna ts'ogs aḅ'yams | aḅ'on žiñ sdañ pa mañ du byuñ
 bas na | že aḡras brduñ aṭs'ogs gnod pa graṇs med pas
 ts'e aḍir gnod pa ñes pa ma byas kyañ | sña mai las ñan
 sdug bsñal ts'e aḍir smin | lhas ma byas šiñ mis ma byas
 pa yin | rañ gi las aḡyur pas aḅ'añ du med | bzod ciñ
 ma aḅ'añ du k'a dañ du blaṇ | brdeg pa la ni brdeg ciñ
 mi k'ro'o | sdug bsñal dañ p'rad mya ñan mi byed [27 b] pa |
 rañ sams aḍi ltar byuñ bai don mi aḡal | gñis pa rgyen
 gyi rjes su spyod pa ni | sams can bdag med kun kyañ

1) D 243 a.

2) D bstan.

3) Here aḅ'on lan ldon instead of: aḅ'on la ldon as before;
 but lan and ldon are synonyms.

las rkyen aḡyur | sdug bsñal bde ba blaṅs kun rkyen las
 skyes | mñon mt'o aḡbras bu loṅs spyod la sogs kun | t'ob
 daṅ stor ba dga' mi dga' ni med | c'os don mt'un te
 rkyen gyi rjes su spyod | gsum pa ci yaṅ aṭs'ol rjes spyod
 pa ni | aḡig rten mi rnams rgyun par bde ba bsgrub | sdug
 bsñal bsgrub pa ci yaṅ med lags mod | bde ba bsgrubs pas
 sdug bsñal soṅ ba yin | lus šig yod na kun la'n sdug bsñal
 yod | su yaṅ bde ba t'ob pa ci yaṅ med | sems can bde bar¹⁾
 gnas na byar med bde | yod do cog gi aḡdu šes ži ba yin
 bži pa c'os daṅ mt'un pai spyod pa ni | c'os la sems can
 dri ma daṅ bral ba | ye šes spyan gyis don rtogs yid c'es
 na | k'aṅ bzaṅ naṅ du loṅs spyod gnas mi bya | gos bzaṅ
 zas žim nor c'es ñon moṅs so | dper na sñags sman yoṅs su
 zin pai dug | k'oṅ du aṭ'uṅs kyaṅ aṭ'i bar mi nus so
 de bžin t'abs šes mk'as pas yoṅs su žin | ñon moṅs pa la
 spyad kyaṅ skyon med do | lcags kyi ga ru c'un yaṅ c'u
 naṅ aḡbyiṅ | snod du byas na c'en po'n k'a ru aḡ'yo
 sñiṅ rje ldan žiṅ byams sems brtan pai p'yir | sems dge
 ba la ñes pa med par bšad |

ston mun cig car ba aḡjug pai skabs te bcu gsum pa'o

[28 a] de nas bod kyi btsad poi bka' luṅ la | ña yi
 ban de t'ams cad sems blta t'abs | rnal aḡbyor dbu mai
 gžun du blta bar bya | lus ñag sdom pa so so t'ar pa
 ste | rigs ni rnam pa bdun nam brgyad brten nas
 t'ams cad yod par smra bai sde gžun spyod | ston mun
 cig car aḡjug pa dbu ma yin | sa ni daṅ po daṅ ni gñis
 pa aṭ'ob | sa ni gsum pa bži pai spyod yul du | gsaṅ sñags
 kri ya daṅ ni u pa bstan | sa ni lña pai spyod yul yo ga
 bstan | sa drug spyod yul ma hā yo ga'o | sa bdun spyod

¹⁾ D 242 b.

yul a nu yo ga bstan | sa brgyad pa la a ti yo ga bstan |
 sa dgu pa la spyi ti yo ga bstan | sa bcu pa la yañ ti yo
 ga bstan | bcu gcig kun tu 'od la mt'a' c'en bstan.

English Translation (KT, ca, p. 19, a, l. 4).

Then (the teaching) reached Hva šaṇ Mahāyāna, the last | of the lineage, the lineage of the sevenfold Chinese emanations (descended) from Dharmottārāla, etc. | As regards the lineage of the mk'an po Dharmottārāla, | generally the school of the immediate entrance (cig car ajug) of 'Od sruṇ, having crossed the eastern ocean | (Dharmottārāla) reached a country called Li kun which is in China. | Then, when the Chinese emperor Sa'u yan and the mk' a n p o met, | the latter knew that the true meaning was not understood (by the Emperor). | He went to a castle called C'u¹⁾; some²⁾ monks (dge sloṇ) and Le'u tsi, Kan rdor, etc. were jealous of him. | Le'u tsi to Dharmattāra³⁾, the mk' a n p o six times gave him poison to drink, without harming him; | at last, since he could find no place where the teaching could be delivered | in the country of China, he showed the way of bodily trespass. | As (his) following⁴⁾ deeds, having taken ... [19 b], he went from China to the upper country. | A merchant called Bun⁵⁾ came | and met the mk'an po Bodhidharmottāra on the top of the pass Ka ra ma tiñ;

1) See above p. 60.

2) K' a š i most probably for k' a š a s .

3) In the text the two spellings Dharmottāra and Dharmottārāla alternate.

4) rjes kyi bya ba dge lñur zin nas su: dge lñur is not clear to me: "having taken the appearance of a monk"?

5) The text has ts'o ṇ pa which means: a merchant; but it is clear that here it is for r d s o ṇ p a from r d s o ṇ : to send an envoy.

he was holding one boot in his hand; | there he accurately gave him back his teachings. | The merchant Bun again returned to China; | having related accurately the story, (the emperor) opened the tomb; | looking (inside) they saw that one boot was missing. | All people in China said that he was a saint (ṭ p ' a g s p a) (The story of 'Od srūn waiting for the coming of Maitreya follows). The last successor ¹⁾ of Bodhidharmottara was Hva šaṇ Mahāyāna; | the main substance of his teaching (g ž u ṇ) (is that), having perfected the (method) of instantaneous entrance (c i g c a r ṭ j u g), | one comes in contact with the many exemplary meanings, the kernel of the sūtras; | that kernel aiming at those (meanings) extant in writings and the extensive Chinese instructions of Dharmottāra, | represent the authoritative tradition (s ṇ a n k ' u ṇ) of the secret instructions, u p a d e ś a s (m a ṇ ṇ a g) with no recourse to any activity whatsoever. | The Indian ācārya K a m a [l a] ś ī l a did not fully realize (the meaning) of the sūtras the sense of which is to be determined (i. e. relative) (d r a ṇ d o n, n e y a); he solved the doubts (concerning) the learning of (gradual) method etc.; he made t s ' a t s ' t s ' a ²⁾ and established the practice of the muttering of formulae (ṇ e ṭ d o n ³⁾); | he laid out bridges to the void and eliminated the narrow ⁴⁾ paths, | erected many m c ' o d r t e n and dedicated many chapels | and established (b c a ') a great community of ordained monks; | (he determined) the rituals for reading and reciting the great s ū t r a s; (he settled)

1) A b r g y u d ṭ d s i n is more than a successor: he is a master who belongs to a same *saṃpradāya*.

2) On the t s ' a t s ' a see G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. I, p. 53, Roma, 1932.

3) Upajāpa.

4) ṭ P ' r e ṇ for ṭ p ' r a ṇ. The meaning is that he taught the rituals and the prayers for eliminating the dangers of the b a r d o, a n t a r ā b h a v a.

the rituals concerning the explanation and the hearing (of the texts) during the religious assemblies (c'os a k o r) [20 b] and the method (intended to) help those who are in grief, | the treatment of the diseased whether near or remote¹⁾; | for great liberality and great blessings, for whatever great he strove. | Hva šaṇ Mahāyāna practiced the twelve methods of the practice: | in the secret mantras of the great vehicle | many methods of initiation he received, | he opened many maṇḍalas of the mystic realization; | the method of tasting medicines, of accumulating offerings, of submitting fire²⁾, | building of colleges of meditation, etc. for all this he greatly strove. | To pay no homage to the ordained monks, to communities and places of worship (mc'od gnas)³⁾, to view (things) rejecting any traditional rule (ts'u l a c'os) or tenet, such are the 12 methods of the practice of the secret mantras⁴⁾. | K a m a l a ś ī l a, the propounder of the progressive method, addicted himself to meditation on the common supports of worship, on these three: learning, reflection, concentration. | Hva šaṇ Mahāyāna addicted himself to dhyāna (b s a m g t a n), the deep dharmas of inner yoga, | the superior yoga, the breathing up of the four winds (p r ā ṇ a⁵⁾), | the six deep tantras concerned with the reality, | the 20 difficulties of mind, the 18 states of no-mind⁶⁾.

1) That is, related or not.

2) Viz. elimination of the five or eight dangers.

3) m C'od gnas may also mean chaplain but I take it here in its literal sense because it comes after s d e p a.

4) The enumeration starts from: in the secret mantras etc.

5) The four winds s a m ā n a, u d ā n a, a p ā n a, v y ā n a: r l u ṇ r u g = gathered wind = p r ā ṇ a

6) In this case also Tantric doctrines of the rDsogs c'en are evidently attributed to Hva šaṇ Mahāyāna; I do not know which are the six tantras here referred to: as to the 20 difficulties of mind, I think that here also

| He meditated on dhyāna unobstructed from the very beginning of the appearance (of the existence) | and also, according to the explanations derived from the sūtras, | he said that all appearing existence is originated from mind | and this mind is eternally unspeakable (avyapadeśya, b s t a n t u m e d) | and that Enlightenment itself is the essence of mind. | All beings have the very essence of Enlightenment; | beings and Enlightenment are not a duality.

So realizing one becomes a supreme person. | So he said. The four appearances are: the illusory, the karmic, the mental, and the visive ¹⁾. | [21, a] they are produced by the two causes, the three conditions and the four elements (a b y u ñ) ²⁾; | so appearances are (the manifestation of) the characters of a being. | The appearances derive from four forms of births ³⁾; | whatever appears has a birth, a growing old, disease, death or immortality (these five) kinds; | it is (then) possible to distinguish ⁴⁾ the meaning of s a m - s ā r a and transcendental existence, these two. | [Thus appearances are the character of the beings] ⁵⁾. | You should realize

ap'reñ = ap'rañ, samkṛta, though I do not remember having found this classification anywhere: are the 18 states of a c i t t a, no-mind related to the 18 ś u n y a t ā?

The a c i t t a – no-mind – represents the main subject of a small treatise found in Tun huang and attributed to Bodhidharma, though being a dialogue between a disciple and a Ho shang. 無心論 Wu hsin lun, Ta. n. 2831; in it many ideas are expounded which we meet also in KT and in rDsogs c'en literature: no-mind – on account of illusion, b h r ā n t i, we have the representation of a being: but in fact there are no sins and no nirvāṇa etc.

1) This shows that the sense of s n a ñ is twofold: appearance objective and subjective, just like Sanskrit ābhāsa.

2) I cannot say from where this classification is taken: as known the Abhidharma lists six hetu and four pratyaya.

3) The four births: a ṇ ḍ a j a etc. from egg, placenta, exudation, miraculous apparition. AK. III, 8. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, L'Abhidharmakośa, III, p. 27 ff.

4) By ed for a b y e d.

5) This is a repetition of the previous sentence.

a being which abandons those appearances; since in a corpse there do not arise any appearances there is no being (in it) ¹⁾. | If there is not a being, the implication is that there are not the six objects of perception | and the implication is (also) that there are not the beings belonging to the six kinds of existence ²⁾. | By the relative meaning (of the scriptures) one cannot understand (the real nature) of the appearances; | when one enters the Mahāyoga, the esoteric secret mantras (g s a ñ s ñ a g s n a ñ p a) and the Atiyoga, it is right to obtain the instructions and having chosen (the fit disciple, the master) administers them ³⁾. | The means (proposed by) rTse men consist in considering (r t o g p a) the process of śamatha (ž i g n a s); it makes one attain the śamatha which is easy to meditate. | The sTon mun is a means of meditating on the supreme reality existing ab aeterno, | unborn, inactive; | though it makes one attain (truth), the means in reality does not exist. | There this means is not taken as great. | The entrance into the gradual method, the rTse men, is the entrance into a state of non-subjective representation (m i r t o g); | it is a meditation in which there is no mental work (m a n a s k ā r a), no subjective representation, | a progressive meditation of the three gates of release; | these three gates of release are voidness, absence of

1) But literally here: sems can: one having mind: mind being the cause and the center of the illusory individuality and its perceptions.

2) On the six forms of existence see KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, III, p. 11 (n. 1) ff. P. MUS, *La lumière sur les Six Voies*, Paris 1939.

3) P'ye nas may also mean: d k y i l a k ' o r ž a l p ' y e n a s, "having uncovered the maṇḍala", an operation which is essential before administering the initiation; but the meaning is also the same because the initiation to a particular maṇḍala supposes that the master has already discovered that the disciple is fit for it.

any character, absence of purpose ¹⁾. | The immediate entrance of the sTon mun, is not in a succession, | the immediate learning of the supreme thing, the unborn; | having at first produced a thought of no birth and no obstruction, | [21 b] at the end one obtains a fruit of which there is no birth, no obstruction. |

(Thus) the great master (mk'an po) Dharmottāra said: | “really wide, unrelated to space, wide | when one stays in clarity, there is neither a self nor another; | consider the lowest ones and the noble ones as being equal; | beyond the state of an unchangeable concentration, | do not tread on the steps of the written teaching. | This (we call) abiding in a place which is the foundation, the perfect meaning; | no subjective representation, quietude, inactivity, | this is the immediate entrance into the meaning (don)”. | The mk'an po of dhyāna aJug du (said): | “moral conduct (ts'ul k'rim s) is no mind, concentration (tiñ ñe a dsin) is no recollection, | non origination of an illusory mind, this is gnosis (šes rab)”. | The master of dhyāna bDud ādul sñiñ po said | “no recollection of anything is the recollection of the Buddha; | looking at this, and mind unshaken being in a state of evenness (sems bsñoms) | (this) is the real absolute body, the Tathāgata” | The master of dhyāna A dhan her said | “while mind is unshaken, so to say, even | this is the way of obtaining the stage of a real yoga” | The master of dhyāna Mahāyāna said: “the absolute (c'os ñid) is (the state of) no-mind, to abide in (a condition) of non-subjective representation; | even one who has not been formerly purified can enter this (method)”. |

1) Viz. the three vimokṣamukha: śūnyatā, animittam, apraṇihitam MV. 1541-4.

(Summary of the rTse men pa views follows:) The entrance by the gradual method of the rTse men is as explained before. | Having applied oneself to the utmost to the apprehension (in its process), non-apprehension is born; | the essence (of things) by logical reason having measured, | the meaning of Mādhyamika is complied with. | (Reference is now made to the opposite view:) According to the explanation of the sTon mun, | the notion of the ego or of another, (that is) all dharmas are non-born *ab aeterno*; they are adulterated by him who exerts himself; | therefore their practical efficiency is never seen; | [22 a] yet if one desires to enter a state of evenness of mind (b s a m s ñ o m s), there is a gradual entrance (by a series of) causes and conditions: this is also thought. | The ignorant ones are said to enter (the path) mediately; | the gradual entrance is taught for those of lower perception (d b a ñ p o t ' a m a)¹. | Walking like an ant (s b u r p a i g r o s) one cannot arrive at the top of Meru. | He who has apprehension preaches non-subjective representation². (Up to the end, conclusion of the rTse men pa:) Accepting such sTon mun pa's theory of inactivity, | one does not know that birth and obstruction (a g a g) are not a duality. | Though one speaks of non-duality, the non-origination (of things) is nevertheless (in fact) asserted³. | Whatever is void cannot appear, | (still) a void is adhered to (ž e n), being defiled by one's own views. | Why do the sūtras

1) Beings are divided according to their capacity of receptiveness of the doctrine into three different classes: lower, middling and superior.

2) Non-subjective representation (nirvikalpa) cannot be taught and only those who think that mental states can be apprehended can speak of it as if it were something which can be described.

3) Which is a theory, a grāha.

of the Buddha say that one may gradually enter the meditation of the void? | Here ¹⁾ it is like ascending a big mountain and | going by successive steps (lit: one step, two steps) to arrive at the top, | pressing that soil which is marked (ris bcad) by two truths ²⁾, and śamatha (žī) and vipaśyanā (lhag = lhag mt'oñ). One should really exert oneself in the practice of the path and the five virtues (dge). | In such a way striving after two such accumulations ³⁾, (in) the all (pervading) light (one) goes. | One moment after the other at last one obtains the body of the absolute. | By the force of the vow and of the compassion one accomplishes the benefit of the living beings. | The concentration of the arrest (of mental activity) (agog paitiññe ḍsin) is like waking from sleep; | rising in a material body is said to be accomplishment of benefit ⁴⁾. |

End of Chapter 12 on the gradual method of the rTse men.

[Now] as regards the essential teaching of the sTon mun, the teaching of the immediate entrance (of the sTon mun pa) is just like one who sees everything when one has reached the top of a big mountain ⁵⁾. | (The other) method is like one who does not see Meru (lhun po) from the top of a small hill. | The (practice) of the gradual method is

1) That is, in the school of the gradual method.

2) Viz. conventional and absolute truth.

3) Of merit and knowledge.

4) That is the rūpakāya or nirmāṇa-kāya, the corporal body by which the Buddha accomplishes the benefit of the beings.

5) This sentence is taken from the treatise of Vimalamitra quoted below p. 106 ff.: dper na ri mt'on poi k'ar p'yin te bltas na t'ams cad gsal bar mt'oñ ba bžin.

just like a small fish in a raft (k o m o); | the practice of the immediate method is like a fish in pure water. | What is to be measured, what measures is not born, *ab aeterno*; | [22 b] it should be understood without seeking for anything. | A Master does not depend on a fixed sūtra; | if one does not depend on the objects, mind does not arise; | [but] without depending on mind, objects do not appear. | The knowable and the knower both are interrelated; | means is (called) not to obstruct the appearances (when) they are actuated; | gnosis (is to know) that the appearance has no essence. | Non-duality should be taken for certain as identical with the supreme truth. | The follower of the immediate method is similar to a lion on the way: | there is no bluff, no abyss, no hindrance anywhere. | The follower of the gradual method is like a fox on the way; | he cannot cross the bluff nor the abyss and comes back. | Six defects: sloth, confusion as regards the object of meditation, idleness, frivolity, lack of effort, striving ¹⁾. As counteragents (apt) to avoid them, | these are the eight conditionings: faith, zeal, exertion, purity | mindfulness, awareness, investigation, indifference of mind (u p e k ṣ ā). | A path of pleasure and bliss devoid of desire and thirst (s r e d), | indifference (of mind) devoid of pain and pleasure, | recollection and zeal these are the four contemplations. As regards the ten points in which the rTse men pa excel, they are ²⁾:

¹⁾ Cf. for all this passage Bhk. § 14.

²⁾ This passage appears to me to have been rather clumsily inserted: the rTsen men pa doctrine was expounded in the previous chapter and it should be placed there. Grammatically the person or thing which excels is governed by las Cf. f.i. Bodhicaryāvatāra, I, 27, *b sañs rgyas mc'od las k'yad par ap'ags, buddhapūjā viśisyate*. The fact is that these two chapters of KT have been composed from various frag-

- 1) the excellence of means |
- 2) the excellence of the manner of entrance |
- 3) the excellence of practice |
- 4) the excellence of concentration, s a m ā d h i |
- 5) the excellence of the manner of counteracting
(b c o s , p r a t i k ā r a) subjective representations |
- 6) the excellence of how to cleanse defilements |
- 7) the excellence of attainment (s g r u b) |
- 8) the excellence of accumulations | [23 a]
- 9) the excellence of realization (r t o g s) |
- 10) the excellence of the benefit of beings |

The master of d h y ā n a Ke hun šan ti¹⁾ said:

“when mind is even (m ñ a m) all dharmas are even.
There is no (dharma) which is not a dharma of the Buddha;
thirst and all desires, this is man (s k y e b o) | ”.

The master of d h y ā n a Dsiñ šin ša said: | “when
imagination of a recollection does not arise, there is s a -
m ā d h i; (when this) is complete, gnosis devoid of
subjective representation arises; | it transcends the triple
existence²⁾ ”. | The master of d h y ā n a sBab³⁾ šan
šin says: | instantaneous knowledge (r i g p a), with no
subjective representation, | is like a lion, the king of
wild animals who looks down upon (all other animals): he

ments: Ch. 12 is dedicated first of all to a brief history of Ch'an up to Mahāyāna. Then the tenets of the two schools are briefly expounded and opposed so that their differences may appear evident. At this point the exposition of the rTe men pa's theory starts (p. 80, l. 1C ff.). The passages taken from Bhāvanākrama and that explaining the 10 excellences of the rTe men pa should go in my opinion at the end of Ch. 12 and conclude it. On the other hand the quotation from Ch'an masters Dharmottāra, ąJug du, A dhan her, Mahāyāna p. 78-79, should be added to the long list of quotations of Ch. 13.

1) Here and in the following cases one must always read: šan ši.

2) Viz. the three spheres: k ā m a , r ū p a , a r ū p a .

3) Viz. sBa šan ši referred to above.

roars vehemently, (in his) four behaviours (i.e. as he sits, lies, stands, walks), unafraid". | The master of dhyāna Deu šan šin said: | "for washing the mind itself there is no need of water, | for giving gifts, wealth is not necessary; | when with proper mind one has realized the supreme meaning, | by being upright one obtains the condition of Tathāgata". | The master of dhyāna T'añ bzañ šin ši says: | "having known one single dharma, one learns all dharmas without learning (them); | therefore no defilements and no wrong propensities (b a g c' a g s) are born". | The master of dhyāna Han ze šin ši says: "meditating on this path and looking at the Buddha himself | one does not see the Buddha: turn away and the Buddha is near". | The master of dhyāna Ā rya rag ši says: | "all the ways of viewing (l t a b a) Mahāyāna (consist in realizing that) | the conditioned elements [23 b] of the world are not conditioned elements, | because they are *ab aeterno* pure and equal". | The printed section of the teachings of the Master says; | "the instantaneous method of 'Od sruñs is not a means; | dharmas are mind; mind is nowhere born". | The master of dhyāna Bu c'uñ says; | "imputed marks are all dharmas: everything is an imputed mark; by mind seek mind; by mind mind is not attained; there is nothing to obtain, there is nothing to be taught". | The master of dhyāna Mahāyāna says: | "by a perfect view, internal and external (elements) viz. dharmas and ātman (you should distinguish); the common character of body and mind are these (two) parts i.e. dharmas and self; | the proper character (s v a l a k ṣ a ṇ a) is non-eternity and pain; | the common character should be understood as void and no-self". | The master of dhyāna K'a šen ši said: | "As regards the know-

ledge that all dharmas are void, | it is that by the knowledge of the void, potential knowledge is voided. | Therefore the voidness of all dharmas is also void". | The master of d h y ā n a Dsañ šan ši says: | "As regards non-association with dharmas, | this is the practice of the path of Dharma; the six accumulations¹⁾ (then) appear; (this is) to get the sūtras, (this is) the teaching of the words of the Buddha". | The master of d h y ā n a Yen šan ši says: | "the place that the eyes can see is the limit of the visible true dharmas: | all dharmas also are the limit of truth; | what is there to search for anywhere else"? | The master of d h y ā n a A šan ši says: "a straight mind is the practice of the path of the dharma, | because the void is not practised and a means is not sought for; | beyond this straight practice [24 a] there is nothing else". | The master of dhyāna Len šan ši says: | "as regards the essence of the dharmas there is no doubt: | no doubt is possible as regards a straight meditation". | The master of d h y ā n a Hañ šan ši says: | "agitation (γ y o), action are the reality; | whichever of the six objects (of sense) arises that also is reality; | there is no change, no difference". |

The master of dhyāna Kan šan ši says: | "understanding mind as no-subjective representation of anything, | this is the way in which D h a r m a (is explained) in the sūtras. | By the dharma²⁾ one is bound, no liberation is seen". | The master of dhyāna Dsi šan ši says: | "there is no certainty that the dharmas are or are not; | when one sees the visible objects with the eye, there is not non-vision; | it happens in the same way as (regards the other senses) ears, nose, tongue, body and mind (y i d); if concerning the cause

1) The six *niyatipāta* of *MSA*, XIX, 38?

2) As generally understood.

of perception of the visible objects, no consciousness (vijñāna) is born, | notions (aḍḍeśa) do not know and the object is not seen". |

The master of dhyāna Kam¹⁾ śan śi says: | "the six forms of consciousness²⁾ are non-virtuous (miḍḍe) ideation; | (as to) their name, they should be known as the work of Māra (baddha)". |

The master of dhyāna Bodhidharmottāra said: | "that stillness, when the notions (start) moving, is the dharma of the Buddha: | the six forms of notions³⁾ of men are illusion". |

The master Hyau aḡyeu śan śi says: | (everything) has the nature of mind and consciousness; | it is not that all situations, the Buddha, the nirvāṇa, the erroneous objects of mind, the dharmas of the Buddha are not".

The master of dhyāna Gyi śan śi says: | "the lowest men and the noblest are two [24 b] gates, but there is only one mood of being; | if one does not look at cause and effect as being one, | karma either good or bad is not lost, does not go away; | (if one) observes the five moral precepts⁴⁾ one certainly obtains a human body. | If one practices the path of the Law (viz.) voidness, one gets the state of arhat."

| The master of dhyāna Ci śan śi says: | "all dharmas move in the Buddha-dharma; | whatever moves is Enlightenment; | all (dharmas) are called places of no alarm, of no terror". | The master of dhyāna: P'og rtog śan śi says: "the conventional truth on account of being is void; | the

1) Perhaps the same as Kan of the previous passage.

2) The six vijñānakāya from visual sensation to consciousness of non-sensorial objects, mano-vijñāna.

3) The same as the 6 vijñānakāyas.

4) That is, the first five precepts of the *daśaśīla*. H. KERN, *Manual*, p. 70.

truth of the arhat on account of not being does not exist. | When they are looked at by the saints, being void, those two do not exist.” | The master of d h y ā n a Jo šan ši says: | “the man who has still to learn ¹⁾ sees as sin what is not sin, | the man who knows, having sinned, sees no sin”. |

The master of d h y ā n a Yan šan ši says; | “everything is a dharma of mind in motion; | a mind which does not move what need has it to meditate on dhyāna? | what the man who knows (according to) gnosis seeks for is the supreme thing only”. |

The master of dhyāna Han šan ši says: | “mind is the essence of the path of Dharma; | body is the vessel of the path of Dharma; | that cause is born out of the agency (r k y e n) of a good helper”. |

The master of d h y ā n a Ši šan ši says: | “having exactly known mind with our intellect (yid), there is no distinction between a deep meaning and a non-deep meaning, | path is non transgressed, no place to attain or to abandon is seen”. | The master of d h y ā n a [25 a] He k'añ ši ²⁾ says | :“when the heap of the five is recognized as the perfect nirvāṇa ³⁾ | body and mind have here an unique practice; this is the great teaching, | it expels the darkness of all beings”. | The master of dhyāna La šan ši says: “when one has known (r i g) the meaning of dharma, (no notion) such as existence or non-existence, similarity or | dissimilarity with truth, nothing any longer exists;

1) Viz. the śaīkṣa.

2) Mistake for šan ši.

3) That is the five s k a n d h a s which compose the psycho-physical complex of the individuals. In the same way in the Tantric literature the five s k a n d h a s are assimilated to the five Buddhas, e.g. G u h y a s a m ā - j a t a n t r a .

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evident and non-evident, all that is an act of great zeal". | The master of d h y ā n a Ma šan ši says: | "at the moment of knowledge, things of this world and trascendental | and all men are only void; that is all; | do not follow on the path of the written teaching". |

The master of dhyāna A mo gzon c'u says: | "dharma do not exist. | Do you not see that what is said does not exist? | From what is born no (thing) is born; what is not born is born". | The great master Dharmottāra says: | "if one does not know, one follows the dharma of men; | if one knows, one does not follow the dharma of the gods; | if one knows, consciousness shrinks into matter, | if one is excited consciousness shrinks into matter; in that cause (of the perception of the) visible objects consciousness does not arise¹⁾. | This is what we say viz. that it (consciousness) does not see matter; the mind of the saint is like the void of the sky. | Enlightenment is called (that condition when) neither birth nor obstruction are seen". The lotsāva sKa ba dpal brtsegs says: | "All worlds you give in charity, | but there is no being, even so small as an atom, to accept (the gift). | This is the perfection of liberality. | (When you know) that there is no sin, even so small as an atom, | this is perfection of virtue. | When receptivity of the absolute is steady, this is perfection of patience; | not to stir from the sense of reality, this is the perfection of energy. | Unshakable equanimity and selflessness of things (n a i r ā t m y a), this is perfection of d h y ā n a. | Vision of things by self-knowledge without taking hold of them, this is perfection of gnosis. | This is what is explained by the

1) That is, matter is not the cause of perception as usually believed: its idea is the result of mental states.

C'os rnam s ąbyuñ ba med mdo (the sūtra of non-origination of dharma)s¹⁾. | Be they the words said by the heretics of sinful mind | or the teachings of the Buddha, | there is no reason for their difference. | When one knows this, one becomes a Lord (n ā t h a , m g o n p o)".

The Hva šaṅ Ma hā yā explains the well-known yoga practices, fixing the eyes on the nose etc. There follow other rules of dGe loṅ Ye šes dpal, La gsum rgyal ba byaṅ c'ub (neither take nor abandon), [26 a] sLob dpon Ži ba mc'og rgyan (in samāpatti no object, no subjective representation), Myaṅ Bran dPal gyi ye šes rgyal mts'an²⁾.

K'ri sroṅ ldeu btsan said: | "external and internal dharma)s white or red, appear and again appear; | are seen and again are seen, are known and again are known. So absence of subjective representation: it is one; | they are like the horn of a hare, the son of a barren woman. | Absence of dharma is thus beyond subjective representation: it is two; | like non-subjective representation there is not no-recollection: it is three; this is the meaning to be impressed on the mind; | nothing else one should strive for; it is four. | These four things should be meditated in a single instant". |

The mk'an po Ar na mt'ar p'yin says: "this state of mind which is identical to everything whatsoever | is the entrance to the path of the explicit meaning of yoga".

1) Not identified.

2) Of these masters I know only La gsum rgyal ba byaṅ c'ub: on him see above p. 9 ff.

The master of d h y ā n a ąDse mgo rgyan says: “ not to fancy (m a b c o s ¹⁾) what or how dharmas are | this is the door of instantaneous entrance ”. |

The master Li ąu sñiñ po²⁾ [26b] says: “ in the thing there is no absolute, d h a r m a t ā; | therefore place nowhere the idea of its existence. | Then you will be addicted to the meditation of that thing which is non-subjective representation ”. The gSum pa Ye řes rgyal po³⁾ says: | “ when you ponder by seeing, there is no being; | when self-knowledge does not arise, there is nothing to say; | during the time of meditation, there is the instantaneous entrance in attainment (m ñ a m g ř a g , s a m ā p a t t i) of no-mind ”.

Lañ ągro dKon cog ąbyuñ gnas⁴⁾ says: | “ an attainment (m ñ a m g ř a g , s a m ā p a t t i) indestructible, inconceivable; | being not born, it can be neither achieved nor stopped; | here there is no doorway or termination, (s g o p ’ u g s), middle or end ”. |

The Li tsa dri med grags pai mdo says¹⁾: | “ nothing is born, nothing is originated, nothing is destroyed; | (when) you attain (such a mental state that) you can stand this (truth) of non-birth, | this is the entrance to non-duality ”.

1) bCos artificial. b c o s m i n = d o n d a m .

2) Or Li is = from Li yul, Khotan.

3) gSum pa “ the third one ” does it refer to the s a m p r a d ā y a of the seven masters referred to above, p. 58, this master being the third? Or is it a mistake for Sum pa, the Sum pa man?

4) We cannot say whether he is the same as the dKon mc’og ąbyuñ gnas author of N a i r ā t m y a s ā d h a n a p a u ř t i k a n i r d e ř a of bsTan ągyur, CORDIER, Cat. XXII 21, Tōhoku Cat. 1309 Lañ ągro is a place-name in Tibet; and we know from PTY (TOUSSAINT, p. 280) that Ratnākara was a Tibetan.

1) Quotation from *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* up to 28, a. Ta. n. 474, p. 530, c: n. 475, p. 550, c; n. 476, p. 577, a; T. mDo, p’a, p. 339, b. The text of KT

Byañ c'ub sems dpa' dPal sbas says | “ though the (notion) of “ I ” and “ mine ” appear as dual, | if there is no positive assumption (s g r o b t s a g s, s a m ā r o p a), talk (b a r for a b a r) of the ego does not arise; | (this is) the entrance into non-duality ”. |

is abridged and metrical, while the corresponding part of the Chinese and Tib. full text is in prose: many bodhisattvas and their statements are missing in KT. as can be seen from the following table:

KT	Ta. n. 474	n. 475	n. 476	T.
—	1 法作 FA CHA	1 法自住 FA TZU CHU	1 as n. 475	1 C'os rnam ap'rul
1 dPal sbas	首閉 SHOU PI	2 德守 TE SHOU	2 勝密 SHENG MI	as KT
2 [Mig] mi adsum (in the text: Nes adsum)	不昀 PU SHUN	as. n. 474	無昀 WU SHUN	Mig mi adsum
3 sKar rgyal	奉養 FENG YANG	弗沙 FU SHA	育養 YÜ YANG	as KT
4 Señ ge blo gros	9 勇意 YUNG I	10 師子意 SHIH TZU I	10 師子慧 SHIH TZU HUI	10 Señ ge blo gros
5 bDe mos	淨解 CHING CHIEH	as n. 474	淨勝解 CHING SHENG CHIEH	bDe mi adsum

We cannot say whether KT summarizes and puts into verses the text of the *Vimalakirtinirdeśa*, or if its compilers used a different redaction. A *Vimalakirtinirdeśa* is included in the catalogue of IDañ Kar, LALOU, n. 103 (but in the Sanskrit Index only Vimala); but we do not know if it refers to the extant translation made by Dharmatāśīla, a contemporary of Ye šes sde, as we know from the colophon of the treatise on *dhyāna* by Vimala referred to below.

That Byañ c'ub sems dpa' Ņes ąđsum (but corr. Mig ąđsum?) says: | “ in that non-perception (d m i g s)¹⁾ (there) is no discrimination nor indication; | non-practice is the entrance into nonduality ”. |

Byañ c'ub sems dpa' sKar rgyal says: | “ good (d g e) and not good, these two | what possesses a mark and what is devoid of marks fall into the duality | ”.

Byañ sems Señ ge blo gros says: | “when one has listened to the dharma of identity | and one does not fall into an alternative such as: | ‘ this possesses misery, this does not possess misery ’, | that is entrance into nonduality.

Byañ c'ub sems dpa' bDe mos says: | “ —‘ This is good, this is not good ’— | because these two (statements) are modifications of knowledge, not attachment (to them is needed); | this is called entrance into non-duality ”. |

[28 a] The master of d h y ā n a dPal dbyaṅs says: settling (it) by authority (ā g a m a) and logic (r i g p a), | the reality of mind is to be believed ”. |

The Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna says: | “ discipline (s d o m p a), being something imagined, there is no need to observe it; | learning, being born from mind, there is no need to observe²⁾ it; | the vow being not pure, there is no need to observe it; | the entrance into practice leans on the fourfold practice; | one is the practice to pay back ill will. | The second is the practice of following the concomitant causes (r k y e n), | the third is the practice of striving³⁾ for something, | the fourth is the practice in accordance with the Law | First: the practice to pay back ill will: | meditating on one's

1) We should correct the text according to the reading of the T. transl. of *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* mDo, p'a, p. 340 a l. 4, *mi dmigs pa de la rtog daṅ gsal bar mi byed* into: *rtog daṅ gsal mi byed*.

2) ñ a m s for ñ a m s s u l e n .

3) Viz. ā b h o g a .

own actions, when a pain arises, | in one's mind, one should remember and think: | I, formerly, from aeons without beginning, | have abandoned the perfect reality; | pursuing external objects, I wandered in various forms of existence; | much ill will and hatred have come into being; | therefore there were innumerable enmities, beating, chopping, offences; | in this time, though I did not offend or wrong anybody, | now the pain derived from previous sinful actions ripens—(this pain) is not caused by gods, nor by men; | it derives from myself, I should not be worried. | I should be patient, not wrong (anybody) and accept that pain; | one who beats (you) beat him with no anger; | when incurring a pain do not be sorry. | [27 b] Do not oppose the thing that is so originated from your own mind. | As to the second, the practice of following the concomitant cause: | all beings, though unsubstantial, are derived from concomitant causes; | all experiences of pain or of happiness are derived from concomitant causes; | that fruit which consists in fortune (a b h y u d a y a), wealth, | to get or to lose, happiness or unhappiness (all this) does not exist. | (This) is the practice of following the concomitant causes, and it is in accordance with the meaning of the Law. The third is the practice of striving for something. Men in this world continually (try) to achieve happiness; | there is nobody who (wants) to achieve pain; | when happiness is achieved, pain goes; | when there is destruction of body this is for all a pain. | There is nobody who gets happiness. | When beings are in a state of happiness they are inactive and happy; | the idea of whatever exists (then) ceases. | The fourth is the practice in accordance with the Law. | In Dharma all beings are devoid of defilement. | When by the eye of knowledge one investigates the

things (d o n) and believes, | one does not place wealth in a palace; | good dress, sweet food, precious things are only (cause of) defilements. | Just as when poison is exorcized by a medical herb and (a proper) m a n t r a , | even if one drinks it, one does not die, | so also when a thing is taken hold of by a man clever in means and knowledge, | even if he practices defilements, he remains faultless; | a solid piece of iron, though small, sinks in the water; | when made into a vessel, even if big, it floats on top. | Because of steady compassion and because it possesses love, | in a virtuous mind there is no fault. | So it is said. |

End of the thirteenth chapter, the sTon mun pa, the (method) of instantaneous entrance.

Then the bTsad po of Tibet proclaimed: | “all my Bande, (as to) to the means for viewing mind, | they should (fix their) view on the tenets of the Mādhyamika-yoga. | Leaning on the seven or eight kinds (of disciplinary rules), | such as the rules concerning the discipline of body and speech (and) the p r ā t i m o k ṣ a | they should practise the tenets of the Sarvāstivāda school. | The sTon mun pa, the instantaneous entrance, is the Mādhyamika. | They obtain the first and the second stage (among the eleven stages, see Bhk., § 23) | In the domain of the third and fourth stage, | K r i y ā (yoga) and U p a (y o g a) will be shown¹⁾. | In the domain of the fifth stage Y o g a will be shown. In the domain of the sixth stage there is M ā h ā - y o g a, | In the domain of the seventh stage A n u y o g a will be shown. | In the eighth stage the A t i y o g a . |

1) But b s t a n may be a misprint for b r t e n to lean on, to adhere, as usually in this text.

In the ninth stage the *Spyi ti yoga* will be shown; in the tenth stage the *Yañ ti yoga* will be shown. In the eleventh stage the all-light, the great limit will be shown”.

There were doctrinal reasons for these contacts between the Ch'an and the rDsogs c'en. Neither the rDsogs c'en nor the Ch'an accepted the progressive method. The *Abhisaṃyālaṃkāra*, the text book of the Yellow sect, passed almost unnoticed among the rÑin maps and the bKa'rgyud pas; sGam po pa, the disciple of Milaraspa, writes a *Lam rim* which unlike that of Tson k'a pa, ignores the book.

Both rDsogs c'en and Ch'an state that there is only one reality i.e. mind pure by itself, and nothing else except it. Whatever else appears is non-existent, less than a dream. This non-duality was also the point of view accepted by other schools of Mahāyāna: but they insisted on the necessity of eliminating the wrong view by a training calling for the joint cooperation of *karuṇā* and gnosis. For the followers of the Ch'an and the rDsogs c'en, the mere realization of the essential purity of our mind is able to bring about reality. As a consequence both opposed learning: the elimination which is the cause of release is not caused by much study: it flashes out suddenly.

Both of these schools seem to go back to that current of mystic experiences out of which developed in India the school of the Mahāsiddhas. Whatever might have been the purely Chinese contribution made by Taoist China to Ch'an, I think that the source of this stream of thought both in the Chinese Ch'an as well as in the Tibetan rDsogs c'en is to be found in those ideas out of which the Siddhas arose.

In India the alliance with the yoga and tantric praxis was easy: it was the line which the Tibetans followed. In China, in a quite different spiritual and ethical environment, it kept itself aloof from the intricacies and sometimes aberrations of Haṭhayoga and Tantra, and was strongly influenced by Taoism; but the remote, theoretical background which was introduced in China by Bodhidharma is the same.

One of the two coefficients of Enlightenment that is to say compassion, *karuṇā*, i.e. the means, *upāya* was given up both by Ch'an and the *Siddhasampradāya*. Gnosis only can lead to realization and this gnosis is not to be acquired by the long practice of very complicated meditation, for the very reason that being ourselves coessential with the Buddha, and all representations which constitute the world in its twofold aspect i.e. container (physical cosmos) and contents (creatures) being illusory or a magic play of the Absolute, pure shining consciousness, what we need is only to jump, as it were, from the plane of the representations into that of Buddhahood, our true nature, by a sudden elimination of those mental representations. We must arrest the play of their emanation, stop our mind, and see into our own nature: Ch'an will help us to attain that end through the intuition of one's own essence *chien-hsing* 見性 and such other means, the *Siddhasampradāya* through yoga practices; but both schools start from the same background and intend to produce an immediate revulsion or reintegration with reality, *Dharmakāya*. The path is beyond any notion of grasping an idea and rejecting another, (*blan rdor med pa*, PT, t'a, p. 3, b), it transcends any notion of karma and fruit which is fundamental for the

other schools, even if theoretically everything is a mere mental representation; in a moment one becomes a Buddha, in a moment the unreal distinctions of the illusory world are dissolved: *skad cig gcig gis rdsogs sañs rgyas; skad cig gcig gis bye brag p'yed* (PT, t'a, 5, b); in fact we are nothing but pure brilliant mind. The complex and gradual purification proposed by the other schools is a hindrance, it leads one astray: *up ā ya* is eliminated, or, in the *Siddhasampradāya*, and in many tantric sects, is symbolised by the *mudrā*, the woman taken to signify compassion, in order to restore that inborn essence, *śaḥaja*, which is not only the truth, the Absolute, the Bodhicitta, but it is also Mahā-sukha: the supreme bliss. Mahāyāna, which was originated as an impulse of love for the suffering beings and had perfected the ideal of the Bodhisattva, a man ready to stand all sorts of sacrifices for the benefit of living beings, turns into the path of the solitary man, only intent on the realization of his own release; though theoretically the actuation of the supreme truth, was the potentiality of all soterical means.

But in a certain sense both views are the extremist conclusion of the implications of Mahāyāna: if the *śūnyatā* is in the very *abhūtaparikalpita*, if the indefinable absolute is concealed in the play of the relative, if the *mārga*, the path, to Enlightenment and to realization is efficient only in so far as the sense of that *śūnyatā* is never misunderstood or missed, if that absolute is the ineffable identity of the Buddha and of living creatures, the assumption was natural that realization can be actuated by a sudden *excessus mentis*: "If the absolute exists in the play of the relative, all beings can achieve release without effort",

that is the objection anticipated in Mdh. V. p. 12, l. 21-22. It is true that infections moral and intellectual must be totally cancelled if one wants release; but it is also true that all these infections are like a dream, unreal *in se*, that in the realm of relativity there is nothing to accept and nothing to abandon (*blāṇ r d o r m e d*), no *s a ṃ - s ā r a* and no *n i r v ā ṇ a*, no creatures and no Buddha: the path itself is therefore the work of the same representative power which individualizes through a process of dichotomy; but how can representative imagination purify representative imagination? We must transcend dichotomy and this can only be achieved by looking into one's own nature, that is into the Absolute.

The only teaching is silence, a point of view accepted both by the Ch'an and the Siddhas. (Cf. Kāṇha n. 40; M. Shahidullah, *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha* p. 121, *Concile*, p. 113, n. 1, 114, n. 1, p. 156).

When that absolute flashes out (one is reminded of the *dṛṣṭipāta*, the sudden illumination of the Śaiva-Siddhānta) release can be achieved; the gem which is concealed within ourselves shines forth in its essential brilliancy: if we admit that the *abhūtaparikalpita* the power of subjective representation exists ontologically, the monism of Mahāyāna is broken and we are confronted with two realities *abhūtaparikalpita* and *śūnyatā*, and no dialectics, however acute, can solve the difficulty. *Pratipatti*, the practice, recedes into the background along with compassion, *karuṇā*. This was, it seems to me, the theoretical background which led to the view of the immediate realization, which took two different ways: one in China with Ch'an, not disdaining to accept Taoist views and methods: the other, the Sa-

haja, which flourished in India ¹⁾. But the background, the starting point being the same it is no wonder that in Tibet there was in the beginning a symbiosis, of the two trends and that Vairocana, a pupil of Padmasambhava and Vimala, was also instructed by Chinese masters and according to PT, t'a p. 33,6 also by Khotanese ones (Li) (so also *Biography*, p. 73, a).

It will therefore not appear strange at all if the KT, when speaking of the sTon mun pa, the school of the immediate entrance introduced and preached by the Hva šaṅ quotes a sentence of a d h y ā n a master stating that that is the proper way to become a n ā t h a . N ā t h a , as known, is the name given to the Siddhas, a mystic and yoga sect which represents the blending of Vajrayāna and Śaivism ²⁾.

1) But as regards the rDsogs c'en the problem is more complicated because it seems to me that also theoretically it has preserved something new: its texts are not based, at least generally, upon a Sanskrit original, as can be seen from the Sanskrit rendering of their titles which are evidently added later on; doctrinally they contain elements which point to ideas which cannot be considered as essential in Buddhism: e.g. the evolution of reality = ṅ o b o = ' o d g s a l , light into the five luminous elements or colours and then progressively into the five poisons which substitute the three *doṣa* of traditional Buddhism. Everything points to a centre which was influenced by Manichean or such-like theories which either directly or through the rDsogs c'en penetrated also into Bon; though it is not excluded that the contrary is also possible, that is, that some Bon po doctrines, which probably during the same time were given a systematic aspect, drawing largely from the cultural world surrounding Tibet (see H. HOFFMANN, *Die Religionen Tibets*, p. 76), were accepted by the rDsogs c'en. But this is a problem which needs investigation and first of all a full analysis of the r Ñ i ṅ m a r g y u d ṭ a b u m and the texts derived from it.

In the PTY, there is the record of a concomitant work of translation by the Buddhists and the Bon pos at the time of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, cf. H. HOFFMANN, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Tibetischen Bon Religion*, p. 260 (TOUSSAINT, p. 311) and p. 264, (TOUSSAINT p. 330): among the translators of Bon po works Vairocana is also included.

2) On the Nātha-school see S r i k a l y ā n i M a l l i k , *Nāthsampradāyer itihāś, darśan o Sādhana-praṇālī*, Calcutta 1940. S h a s h i b h u s a n D a s -

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The similarity between the two trends of thought becomes more evident when we draw our attention on the songs of the Siddhas and compare them¹⁾, with those of the Ch'an masters quoted in KT or referred to in the many Chinese biographies of the Ch'an masters.

13. Whoever deprived of the Innate, seeks nirvāṇa,
Can in no wise acquire the absolute truth.
14. Whoever is intent on anything else, how may he gain
release?
Will one gain release, abiding in meditation?
What's the use of lamps? What's the use of offerings?
What's to be done by reliance on mantras?
15. What is the use of austerities?
What is the use of going on pilgrimage?
Is release achieved by bathing in water?
16. Abandon such false attachments and renounce such
illusions!
Than knowledge of This there is nothing else.
Other than This no one can know.
17. It is This that's read and This that's meditated,
It's This that's discussed in treatises and old legends.
There is no school of thought that does not have This
as its aim,
But one sees it only at the feet of one's master.

gupta, *Obscure religious cults as background of Bengali Literature*, Calcutta 1946, p. 242 ff.

¹⁾ I take these passages from *Buddhist Texts through the Ages*. Ed. by E. CONZE. Oxford. Page 224 ff.

19. Without meditating, without renouncing the world,
One may stay at home in the company of one's wife.
Can that be called perfect knowledge, Saraha says,
If one is not released while enjoying the pleasures
of sense?
20. If it's already manifest, what's the use of meditation?
And if it is hidden, one is just measuring darkness.
Saraha cries: The nature of the Innate is neither existent
nor non-existent.
21. By means of that same essence by which one is born
and lives and dies,
By means of that, one gains the highest bliss.
But although Saraha speaks these profound and mi-
sterious words,
This stupid world seems not to understand.
22. If it exists apart from meditation, how may one medi-
tate upon it?
If it is ineffable, how may it be discussed?
The whole world is enslaved by the appearance of
things,
And no one apprehends his true nature.
34. The nature of the sky is originally clear,
But by gazing and gazing the sight becomes obscured.
Then when the sky appears deformed in this way,
The fool does not know that the fault's in his own mind.
36. They do not perceive the true basis of mind,
For upon the Innate they impose a threefold falsifi-
cation.

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Where thought arises and where it dissolves,
There you should abide, O my son.

38. One's own true nature cannot be explained by another,
But it is revealed by one's master's instruction.
There exists in it not an atom of evil,
Both dharma and non-dharma are cleansed and consumed.
42. Thought bound brings bondage, and released brings release,
Of that there is no doubt.
By that with which fools are bound, the wise are quickly released.
43. When so bound it dashes in all directions,
But released, it stays still.
Just consider the camel, my friend.
I see there a similar paradox.
64. Enjoying the world of sense, one is undefiled by the world of sense.
One plucks the lotus without touching the water.
So the yogin who has gone to the root of things,
Is not enslaved by the senses although he enjoys them.
77. In it all forms are endowed with the sameness of space,
And the mind is held steady with the nature of this same sameness.
When the mind ceases thus to be mind,
The true nature of the Innate shines forth.
88. The whole world is tormented by words

And there is no one who does without words.
But in so far as one is free from words
Does one really understand words.

107. The fair tree of thought that knows no duality,
Spreads through the triple world.
It bears the flower and fruit of compassion,
And its name is service of others.

No doubt, in course of time, many things were forgotten, many works lost or hidden; there was a continuous tendency, even among the rDsogs c'en themselves, to conceal as far as possible their connection with a teaching which was said to have been condemned by a king considered to be the founder of Tibetan Buddhism and the patron of their chief master Padmasaṃbhava. It so happened that many of the first masters of Ch'an, like Ākāśagarbha, were more or less forgotten, probably because their record remained more as that of magicians than of mystics. But are we sure that Vairocana was not influenced by the Ch'an doctrine? Not all sources quote him as a follower of the Indian point of view; the rDsogs c'en, chiefly the followers of the man ñag and klon section, consider him as one of their greatest masters. Vairocana was especially known as a translator, but I must refer to what we said before i. e. that PT (p. 116, a) though stating that he sided with Kamalaśīla, later adds that after the Council, Vairocana was sent in exile. He also relates, as we saw, that there was a misunderstanding between him and the Indians. Vairocana is supposed to be a pupil of Padmasaṃbhava; he is considered a great lotsāva (according to KT he knew 300 languages: B. Laufer, *Der Roman*, p. 3, n. 7). We also read in the

same book (Laufer, *Der Roman*, p. 138 f.) that he was invited to China, but on account of some false charges brought against him by the queen, Ts'e spon ma, who had fallen in love with him and was infuriated by the refusal of the ascetic to comply with her amorous advances, he was exiled. The same story is contained in PTY which, confirming PT, insists on the fact that on his return to Tibet, after his journey to India, he was slandered by Indian Pandits (Transl. Toussaint, p. 293) who spread the rumour that the doctrine preached by him was wrong and sinful, so that the king, much against his will, was compelled to exile him. His exile is therefore confirmed from various sources. What is more, the story of his disagreement with the Indian pandits, most probably with Kamalaśīla, also has a good foundation. All this shows how the tradition of his being a partisan of the Indian point of view and a supporter of Kamalaśīla is suspect. Moreover, was Myan tiñ ñe ḍsin, (revered at the same time as one of the greatest authorities by the rDsogs c'en), the opponent of Jñānendra for political reasons only, or have we to suppose that between the two there was also doctrinal disagreement? The fact is that he is considered as one of the chief masters of the rDsogs c'en and that he is said to have concealed, as we saw, some books when the Ch'an theories were condemned.

All these facts show that there has been a process of reabsorbing many of these personages within the frame of orthodoxy and that during this process much information has been lost concerning the situation of Buddhism at its dawn in Tibet.

Now we can therefore only have a faint idea of the various currents and influences which were then at play.

Later tradition contributed to concealing and to altering the facts. But from the few scattered data to be gleaned in later literature, it appears, as was to be expected, that in the beginning the influence of Chinese Buddhism and specially of Ch'an was stronger than the Indian. Wang Si also states that when Mahāyāna was invited to Tibet there were no Buddhists; even if he exaggerates, there is no doubt that his preaching aroused great success and that the Chinese very aptly used their religious propaganda also for political purposes, as shown by Prof. Demiéville. This was perhaps the cause which instigated one part of the aristocracy to oppose Buddhism, as a whole, in order to counteract the influence of the Chinese, and another part, sustaining the court in its struggle against the supporters of the old tradition and customs, to find in Indian Buddhism an antagonist to the Chinese trends and to develop the cultural link with India. Tibetan tradition preserves the record of other Chinese Hva šaṅ at that time: one was in charge of the Ra mo c'e and was often asked for his advice by the king: rgya Hva šaṅ mñon šes can, PT, ja, p. 72, a; another was the translator rGya bzaṅ Me mgo, rGya Me mgo¹⁾. The first was responsible through his magic intervention for the birth of gSal snaṅ (cf. Buston, Obermiller, p. 186 and PT ja, p. 76, b; cf. *Blue Annals*, p. 41, Nor, p. 120 Ch.). The central figures in the activities which led to the acceptance of Buddhism against the Bon po masters seem to have been Saṅ ši the son of a Chinese Ambassador, Saṅ ši [Ra]-ta[na] of sBas and gSal snaṅ of sBas: he also was not

1) Not to speak of the later tradition concerning the coming to Tibet of Hva šaṅ Mahāyānadeva under Sroṅ btsan sgam po and who most probably was identified with Hsüan tsang. See *Concile*, p. 11, n. 4.

only considered to have been born through the agency of a Hva šaṅ but is said to have received from the same Hva šaṅ the teachings concerning meditation (PT, ja, p. 76, *b*). He brought back to Tibet with him a Hva šaṅ from China. (VDL, p. 32, *b*). Moreover we know that there was in bSam yas a special temple or house where the followers of Ch'an could meditate; it was called Mi γ y o b s a m g t a n g l i ṅ (B. Ob., p. 191, PT); Naṅ Ša mi is a pupil of Mahāyāna Hva šaṅ (PT, 115, *a*).

The existence of Ch'an in Tibet is confirmed by the fragments discovered in Central Asia; moreover, as I have shown elsewhere (TPS, II, p. 556 ff.) the iconography of Dharmatāla, Dhamottaratāla, Bodhidharma as found in some Central Asian paintings entered into the scheme of the eighteen arhats so common in Tibet along with the Hva šaṅ who appears in Central Asian lists of the Ch'an masters as the seventh from Bodhidharmatāla = Bodhidharma (Dharmatāla), *Ibid.*, n. 252. This iconographic scheme was based on such a tradition that it was impossible to depart from it, but since the names of both Dharmatāla and the Hva šaṅ were linked up with the old heresy which had been condemned by the winning orthodoxy, the story was concocted of a much later introduction of those two personages into the pictorial representation as supplementary members of the 16 arhats. Dharmatāla then became a dGe bsṅen, a lay devotee, and he was said to have lived during the Ming. Evidently the very mention of this dynasty proves that we are confronted with a rather unclever device of the dGe lugs pa meant to cut off any connection of the two supernumerary arhats with the representatives of the old Ch'an trend of thought by then definitely condemned. But it is clear

that if Dharmatala and the Hva šaṅ were added to the list of the 16 arhats, this could have only happened when Ch'an was held in great consideration, and, appropriately or not, boasted of having been of paramount importance in the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. The series of the eighteen arhats therefore proves itself to be very ancient, to be derived probably from Central Asian sources, and to have taken such a hold on Tibet that even orthodoxy could not cancel it, but was compelled to interpret Dharmatala and the Hva šaṅ in a different way and to place them in quite different surroundings.

Nor can the fact be forgotten that dPal brtsegs for instance appears in the lD an dkar catalogue as a translator along with Nam mk'a' sñiṅ po, who is undoubtedly a follower of Ch'an. The same sKa ba dPal brtsegs is spoken of as an expert in the Chinese language (Laufer, *Der Roman*, p. 3, n. 7).

A biography (r nam t'ar)¹⁾ of Vairocana exists; it gives the impression of having undergone a great revision, and, as usual, the legendary elements represent in it the

1) rJe btsun t'ams cad mk'yen pa Bai ro ca nai rnam t'ar ḡdra ḡbag c'en mo. It was written by Dharma seṅ ge who collected various sources, chiefly a gter ma containing a biography and other old works. The book is therefore a compilation in which most probably the old and original elements have been altered to suit the purpose of the writer and the demands of the new situation. That orthodoxy tried to get hold of the genuine rDsogs c'en tradition is proved e.g. by the fact that also a dkar c'ag of the NGB which contains a long summary of the doctrine has been edited under the auspices of the ruling sect. The title is De bžin gšegs pas legs par gsuṅs pai gsuṅ rab rgya mts'oi sñiṅ po ḡgyur pa rig ḡdsin pai sde snod dam sñā ḡgyur rgyud ḡbum rin po c'ei rtogs brjod ḡdsam gliṅ kun (?) k'yab pai rgyan; but if we compare the contents we will easily realize that between the rñiṅ ma pa book and this catalogue there is very little in common. We know also that the Pad ma t'aṅ yig too has been re-edited by the Yellow sect and subject to a long process of revision.

bulk of the narration. The story contains *mgur*, songs, attributed to Vairocana himself in which he expresses his various feelings, now exaltation for the discovery of truth, now dejection for the unfortunate events which he had to suffer. But the central point of the tale consists in the story of the persecution of Vairocana by the Indian pandits. When the book was revised it would have been unwise to identify them with Kamalaśīla, but the fact is undeniable that the hostility of the Indians against Vairocana, and chiefly their bitterness because in spite of his travels in India he had spread in Tibet heretical and false opinions, represent a leitmotif in the literature dealing with him. All this shows therefore that Vairocana did not follow the orthodox views and that the tradition was on this point so authoritative and general that later *diaskeuastes* could not cancel the record of his inclinations.

Moreover we know that he was connected, just as was Myaṅ Tiñ ñe ṁsin, with Vimalamitra who had a greater influence on Tibet than is generally believed; he and Myaṅ Tiñ ñe ṁsin belonged to the same trend of thought as Vimāla whose name, as a translator, occurs so frequently in the *rñiñ ma rgyud ṁbum*; a small treatise written by him is preserved in the *bsTan ṁgyur* (*dbu ma*, Ki, p. 6, *b*, 1). It is introduced as *Mi rtog pai sgom don* (*avikalpa-bhāvanā-ārtha* but the title, as we deduce from the first verse, was: *Cig car ṁjug pa mi rtog pai bsgom don* that is: *Yugapat* (or *sakṛt*)—*praveśa-avikalpa-bhāvanā-ārtha*; the book therefore explains views similar to those of Ch'an, the *cig car ṁjug pa* as opposed to the *rim kyis ṁjug pa*.

Its main purpose is to teach how those who want to obtain quickly the omniscience should meditate on the

meditation of non-subjective representation (*nirvikalpa samādhi*).

It centres, in its very beginning, on *žigñas, śamatha* and *lhagmt'oñ, vipaśyanā* which are taken the one positively and the other negatively. In fact in *śamatha* mind does not take hold on the characters of things as if they were real (*mts'an malami gñas*): in *vipaśyanā* these characters do not come to existence (*mts'an mamiskye ba*).

In *vipaśyanā* there is no character from which mind should be separated (*mts'an madani yanma bral*) and no character of things to be suppressed (*mts'an mamiaḡag pa*). Therefore, the first is *dños poi mt'a', bhāvānta*, the end of existence: the second does not admit even of the *bhāvānta* (*dños poi mt'a' malhuñ pa*).

In them all forms of *samādhi* are included; the person abiding in them can be compared with a man inside a glass pavilion who can see clearly whatever is inside and outside. Both of them presuppose an accumulation (*ts'ogs, sambhāra*) of preparatory and concomitant exercises or requisites such as yogic practices, *āśana*, *prāṇāyāma*, avoidance of forbidden food, familiarity with holy persons, learning (knowledge of the scriptures), succinct non-erroneous meditation on reality, evocation of the Tathāgata, etc., elimination of depression and frivolity etc. Then, subjecting to investigation the various notions concerning the different components of the human personality, one should realize that everything is devoid of any essence, *ab aeterno*. Here, after this introduction which has little if any relation to that which is going to follow, the essential discussion starts.

It is mainly based upon the *Mādhyamika* in so far as there is neither *samsāra* to be abandoned nor *nirvāṇa* to be realized, the acme of the process transcending all sorts of subjective representation; by non-accumulation one meditates on and abides in reality; thus the various mental streams are no longer in agitation. Then one enters the state of non-representation, *nirvikalpa*, which is beyond the ripple of imagination (*prapañca*). This stage transcends the material sphere (*zugs, rūpa*) and is the *dhyāna* of supreme gnosis, because, discriminating by means of gnosis (*śes rab*), one does not perceive any essence of things. But then, quite abruptly, a passage begins which looks like a short summary of *Bhāvanākrama* § 13 (when there is no joy in that *samādhi*, meditation on the advantages of that is recommended; when depression begins, meditation on the qualities of the Buddha, etc., against frivolity, non-eternity up to *anābhoga*; then conjunction of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*; the yogin should go on meditating in this way until he can, and, if mind and body are tired, he should reflect that all wordly things are like a mock-show, a mirage, etc. Then meditation on *nirvikalpajñāna* starts again. Thus one realizes that in reality nothing exists and then one transcends affirmation and negation, *apavāda* and *samāropa*; in this *nirvikalpabhāvanā* conditioned and unconditioned elements (*samskṛta* and *asamskṛta*), the Bodhicittotpāda, the meditation of path, etc. are included because, as the *Prajñāpāramitā* says, “non-perception (*anupalambha*) is the path”, (*Mādhyamika*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, identity and immobility (*mi γyo ba*) of mind, supreme morality, forsaking of signs, vision of

absolute, Dharmatā, self-intelligence or consciousness *rañ rig*). This immediate entrance is not in contradiction with the *sūtras*. In fact they teach that no sign exists, every sign being a wrong imposition of error; when one does not abide in the two extremes (being and non-being) or in the existence of signs of things, that is cause of *nirvāṇa*; on the contrary perception of signs is *sam-sāra*; all those texts say that the immediate entrance into the *nirvikalpa* is the supreme path to *nirvāṇa*. So we can attain a pure identity (*samatā*), because whatever we think to be a dharma is devoid of any character and cannot be perceived; it is a state unshakable (*gyo med pa*), unborn (*skyes med pa*), on which mind cannot take hold (*sems mi gnas*). His authorities are *Nāgārjuna*, *Āryadeva*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Vajracchedikā*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Vajrasamādhi* and also *Haribhadra*. The passage attributed to *Haribhadra* says that he who realizes a single dharma as the absolute, realizes all dharmas as being the absolute, which by implication means that the dharmas exist, while, on the other hand, the author argues that dharmas do not exist; yet he adds, in order to adapt the passage quoted to his argument, that this is said conventionally (*kun rdso b tu*); but, from the real point of view nothing can be said to exist, though conventionally we may say that it exists.

Vimalamitra, quoting from the *Ye šes snañ bai rgyan gyi mdo*, urges that the progressive method [11, *a*] is only valid for those who are mentally obscured (*rmonis pa*); real worship is there when no ideation appears concerning the true jewels [11, *b*-12, *a*].

There is no need of any worship because true worship is there when no notion of Buddha, Law and Community does any longer arise; learning and explanation of texts is useless just as a spark cannot dry up the ocean; all explanations are mere error and truth transcends words; when the absolute (*dharmadhātu*) is known, all *dharma*s are known. Somebody objects, it is true, that one should practice the six perfections, but the reply is found in the statement of the *Vajrasamādhi*¹⁾ that, when mind rests unshakable on the void, this very state is the essence

1) The quotation of the *Vajrasamādhisūtra*, some expressions of which have sometimes great resemblance to those of the taoists, is important because, as pointed out by prof. Demiéville, the authenticity of this book has been questioned also in China. The quotations from this text by Vimala are two: *bsTan agyur*, vol. Ki p. 9, *bsam zin mod pa med na, ldan du mi skye ste | yan dag pa ji lta ba bzin du mi γyo ba'o | de ni t'eg pa c'en po'o zes so*. "If there is no thinking, no breaking out is originated (there being nothing which can flash after a long practice), reality does not move in its very essence; this is called *Mahāyāna*". This corresponds, though the correspondence is not literal, to Ch. Ta. n. 273, p. 366, c. l. 22. "If there is no thinking, then there is no birth nor destruction:

reality does not break out. This is called *Mahāyāna*" 若無思慮則無生滅如實不起... 是謂大乘.

In the second passage p. 9 it is said: *sems ston pa ñid du mi γyo na, p'arol tu p'yin pa drug adus so*". "When mind in voidness does not shake, the six perfections are collected" which corresponds literally to Ch. p. 367 a, l. 14 "mind void not moving collects the six *pāramitā*" 空心不動具六波羅蜜. *Vimalamitra* was an Indian, but he spent many years in Tibet; he may have taken the *Vajrasamādhisūtra* with him from India or he may also have had access to the Tibetan translation from the Chinese which is listed in the *lDan kar* catalogue among the books translated from Chinese. LALOU, n. 254. The fact that one passage does not correspond exactly with the Chinese text, that in that very sentence some words of the Chinese are missing and specially that the small treatise of Vimala is said in the colophon to have been translated from a sanskrit original would suggest that a sanskrit text of the *Vajrasamādhisūtra* existed: otherwise, we should think that Vimala came in Tibet across the Tibetan version of the same book, or in

of all pāramitās; liberality etc. is practiced also by the heretics, and, being based on the assumption that there are things endowed of certain characters, it cannot lead to liberation from saṃsāra [13, a]. Recitation of texts is also of small utility. Nor can it be argued that if we practice the nirvikalpa method, the ecstasy devoid of any mental participation, there is no way (upāya) to benefit living creatures, which, as the scriptures say, is the aim of the Buddha, to lead them to nirvāṇa. In fact also in this case the reply is found in the Prajñāpāramitā that when a Bodhisattva practices gnosis he is in a condition to lead people to spiritual ripeness.

Nor can it be said that in this nirvikalpa there is no possibility of confession of one's own sins, because the very intuition of reality of mind, of which so often we spoke, is the best confession. This method is the only one which can lead men to salvation through a short cut as it were.

The impression which we have on reading the book of Vimalamitra is that it consists of two portions which do not cohere. The book is stated to explain the immediate path, so that one may quickly reach truth, but it is introduced by a part which has little to do with the very bulk of the book and in some sentences as we saw, is nothing

China across the Chinese, retranslated some passages into Sanskrit and inserted them into his booklet.

Among the authorities quoted there is a book, a sūtra, called: śīṇ t'an va gai mdo. This title is to my mind a transcription from the Chinese though I am unable to find its original.

If it is so, it shows that Vimalamitra came across this book in Tibet or in China and could not refer to any Sanskrit original. That Vimala after Tibet visited China is confirmed by *Blue Annals*, I, p. 192.

but a summary of the *Bhāvanākrama* itself. I am inclined to think that the treatise has been interpolated in later times and rather clumsily in order to agree with orthodoxy. But its aim, opposing as it does the two methods, and insisting on *nirvikalpasaṁādhi*, is to establish the superiority of the immediate entrance *sakṛt-krama*; only this part, and the criticism there contained of the progressive path is to my mind the original one. In it we find the same doctrinal atmosphere in which breathes the Vairocana of our *rNam t'ar*. But this biography gives also further details and places Vairocana in the school of the Chinese; in fact after having spent some time in Ts'a ba roñ where he became the master of a famous *rDsogs c'en* teacher, *γYu sgra*, and after coming to know that Vimalamitra had arrived in Tibet, he went to China; there he went from master to master to ask for instructions. The names of these masters are fictitious, they have nothing Chinese in them, and are incorrect transcriptions of Sanskrit names; but some of them are a reminiscence of Bodhidharma. Other masters are called *Hva šaṇ*, but what is of real interest to us is this connection of Vairocana with Chinese Buddhism and with Vimalamitra on which the biography insists so diffusely.

This fact and his being recognized as a great master of the *rDsogs c'en* sect, excludes him, as his legend certainly proves, from any connection with Kamalaśīla.

Now we may ask: is there in the Tibetan tradition some trace of the literary activities, if any, of those persons who, we are told, participated in the debate? In the section *sNa t's'o gs* of the *bsTan agyur*, containing the works of the Tibetan authors mentioned in some old catalogues or some anonymous but reliable (*bz a ṇ*

p o) books (see Cordier, *Cat.*, p. 491 and p. 495), we find a few treatises of various length which are attributed to some of the personages we met in the course of our study, K'ri sroñ lde btsan, dPal dbyaṅs, Vairocana, dPal brtsegs.

I will come back to these texts in a study I am preparing on the rDsogs c'en, but I think it is useful to resume here briefly their main contents.

K'ri sroñ lde btsan.

(b K a' y aṅ dag pa i t s' a d m a l a s m d o b t u s
p a¹⁾ bsTan agyur, Tōhoku Cat. n. 4352, Co, p. 173)

Invocation to various gods, praise of Dharmasāntighoṣa born in K'a ga sa ra na²⁾, the Bhikṣu Mahāyāna (t' e g p a c' e n p o) of Zahor.

Without praising the doctrine (g t s u g l a g) of the gods of the people (a j i g r t e n k y i l h a) and in spite of the harm which they did, he does not feel hatred for them, but he extols Buddhism, the doctrine which avoids sacrifices. Then, the four n y ā y a of the S a m d h i - n i r m o c a n a (Lamotte, p. 262) are explained at length so as to represent the real contents of the book.

I. l t o s p a i r i g s p a, a p e k ṣ ā - n y ā y a (p. 175, a-178, a) concerning a d u b y e d (s a m s k ā r a) external and internal and v y a v a h ā r a; discussion on the

¹⁾ It is quoted also in the *IDan kar* catalogue, LALOU, n. 723.

²⁾ This peculiar form of the name of Śāntarakṣita is quoted also by Tāranātha (SCHIEFNER's transl. p. 213) who explains it as one of the many names of the writer, assumed after the initiations.

According to the tradition Śāntarakṣita was born in Zahor in Bengal. TPS, p. 736. K'agasarana (= Khagaśaraṇa: 'the refuge of birds') cannot be traced to any name of known locality.

various aspects of causality, intermingling of causation, causes, *hetu* (six), conditions, *pratyaya* (five), result *phala*, quotations of *Karmavibhaṅga*, *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetravyūhālaṃkāra* (Tōhoku Cat., n. 59).

II. *bya b a b y e d p a i r i g s . k r i y ā - k ā r a ṇ a - n y ā y a* (Lamotte proposes: *kṛtakāraṇa*), p. 178, *a*-178, *b*.

Causes and conditions which assure the attainment of the *dharma*s their arrangement, and their activity after birth.

III. *g t a n t s ' i g s s g r u b p a i r i g s* (in the text of *Samdhinirmocana*, p. 155, 7*a* *āt'ad pas sgrub*, *upapatti-nyāya*, (p. 178, *b*); causes and conditions by which the sense of the things held, preached, and said is proved and made properly known (*g t a n t s ' i g s s g r u b p a i r i g s p a i m t s ' a n ñ i d l a d a m b e a s ś i ṇ b s t a n t e s m r a b a i d o n s g r u b p a d a ṇ y a ṇ d a g p a r ś e s p a r b y a b a i p ' y i r r g y u r g y u r p a d a ṇ r k y e n d u ṇ g y u r p a ṇ d i d a g*; this is explained from p. 178, *b*, l. 4 up to p. 182, *a*, l. 1); affirmative and negative assumption, *s a m ā r o p a* and *a p a v ā d a*, four kinds of each, 179, *b*-180, various questions on eternity, non-eternity, being, non-being etc. the five *vā d ā l a ṃ k ā r a* expounded by *Ācārya Asaṅga*, 181, *b*. (*Abhidharma samuccaya* ed. Pralhad Pradhan, p. 105 knows of six *vā d ā l a ṃ k ā r a*).

Division (as in SN, p. 263 ff.) in A) pure (five) and B) impure (seven) characteristics or signs (MV. CC. 1-12);

A.

1) *pratyakṣa-pariśuddha-lakṣaṇa*, p. 182, *a*-186, *a* ¹⁾.

2) *anumāna-pariśuddha-lakṣaṇa*, p. 182-187 *b*.

3) *svajātiya-dṛṣṭāntopasaṃhāra-lakṣaṇa*, 187, *b*-188, *b*.

4) *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa* (*yoñ su gregs pa*) ²⁾, 188, *b*-189, *a*.

5) *suviśuddhāgamopadeśa-lakṣaṇa*, 189, *a*-192, *b*.

Means of knowledge, *ts'ad ma*, *pramāṇa*: perception, *pratyakṣa*; inference, *anumāna*; authority, *āgama* – 192, *b*: but they also should be verified by the aforesaid five *lakṣaṇa*, detailed discussion and application of *pratyakṣa*, 193, *a*-195, *a*, *anumāna* 195, *a*-197, *a*, *āgama* 197, *a*-197, *b*.

B.

apariśuddha-nyāya (here *gtan ts'igs* for *rigs*).

1) *tadanya-sārūpyopalabdhī-lakṣaṇa*.....

2) *vairūpya*.....

3) *sarvasārūpya*.....

4) *sarvavairūpya*.....

5) *anyajātiya-dṛṣṭāntopasaṃhāra-lakṣaṇa* (but text *rañ bžin gyi rigs dañ mt'uun* for: *gžan rigs*).

1) For the meanings here implied see the transl. of Prof. Lamotte.

2) In the sense of *yoñs su grub pa* of SN.

6) a p a r i n i ṣ p a n n a – l a k ṣ a ṇ a (but text wrongly
y o ṇ s s u g r e g s / for: y o ṇ s s u m a g r e g s)

7) a v i ś u d d h ā g a m o p a d e ś a – l a k ṣ a ṇ a (l u s
r n a m p a r m a d a g p a b s t a n : l u s evidently
a mistake for l u ṇ).

Detailed discussion 197, b-202.

IV. d h a r m a t ā – n y ā y a concerning the absolute.

P. 202, b-204, b whether the Tathāgatas are born or not
there is a d h a r m a t ā and a sphere of the Absolute
where all things abide.

10 kinds of s a t y a , truth:

k u n r d s o b	s a ṃ v ṛ t t i	conventional
d o n d a m	p a r a m ā r t h a	true, absolute
m t s ' a n ṇ i d	l a k ṣ a ṇ a	characteristic, sign
r n a m p a r	v i b h a k t i	distinction
d b y e b a		
ṇ e s p a r r t o g	n i r ū p a ṇ a	definition
d ṇ o s p o	v a s t u	thing
n u s p a	s ā m a r t h y a	capacity
z a d p a d a ṇ	k ṣ a y ā n u t p a t -	knowledge of destruc-
m i s k y e s	t i - j ñ ā n a	tion and non-origi-
p a i ṣ e s		nation of things
l a m l a a j u g	m ā r g ā v a t ā r a -	knowledge by which
p a i ṣ e s	j ñ ā n a	one enters the path
d e b ṛ i n g ṣ e g s	t a t h ā g a t a - j ñ ā -	origination of the
p a y e ṣ e s	n o d a y a	knowledge of the Ta-
k u n a b y u ṇ		thāgata

Qualities or advantages of knowing all these things as
they have been explained (204 b).

- 1) fulfillment of pure qualities
- 2) no defilement by the impurities
- 3) possession of benefits.

G. TUCCI

Vairocana

(Tōhoku Cat. n. 4353. Co, p. 203, b-209, b.)

Šer sñiñ ṅgrel pa sñags su ṅgrel pa -
but in the colophon: a) Śrīsimha s mdsad pai
ṅgrel pa mdolas sñags su bai ro ca nai
don du bgol (sic) bai ts'ig ñuñ la don c'e
ba gsal bai sgron ma.

b) slob dpon bai ro ca nas rgyal po
k'ri sroñ lde btsan la mts'an mai c'os
spyod la dregs pa skyes pai dus su bu
dañ bcas la ṅgrel pa ṅdi gnañ no.

This commentary "which is a lamp illuminating the great sense contained in a few words" was therefore made by Śrīsimha¹⁾ and was explained in the shape of *formulae* taken from the sūtra for the sake of Vairocana, and Vairocana presented it to the king and his son when an intense desire for the practice of the supreme Law was born in K'ri sroñ lde btsan.

So we read in the colophon of D which is a little different from that of Peking and sNar t'añ (Cordier, *Cat.*, III, p. 489, n. 9); Śarīsimha, Peking and sNar t'añ editions, is evidently a mistake for Śrīsimha. This was then the author of the commentary and Vairocana was not the author but gave it (gnañ in D; in N snañ which does not make sense here) to the king.

In the catalogue of Buston we find only (vol. ya. p. 207a):
slob dpon bai ro tsa na ra kši tas rgyal

¹⁾ He appears as a translator in some of the colophons of the Tantras included in the NG. Cf. PT, t'a, p. 15, and specially PTY passim, and the Biography of Vairocana.

po la gnañ ba don gsal bai sgron ma, “the lamp illuminating the sense, given by Vairocanarakṣita the Ācārya to the king”.

This explanation in *formulae* taken from the sūtra (mdo las snags su bkrol ba ḍḍi) should be taught to outstanding people not to the logicians (rtog ge = tārkaika)¹⁾. The various sentences (evam mayā srutaṃ) “so I have heard” are explained according to their exoteric, esoteric and secret meanings (p’yi nañ gsañ ba successively); e.g. the Peak of the Vulture exoterically is a hillock near Rājagṛha, esoterically is the Akaniṣṭha, in the secret sense is intelligence, (rig pa), bodhicitta. So also the assembly of the listeners exoterically is that of the ādikarmakikas, the beginners, esoterically it refers to the sambhogakāya of the pañcakuḥ, the holy pentad; in the secret sense to the essence of the gnosis of the self-knowledge. The dharmas exoterically are the ten kuśalapatha etc. the ten moral rules, the ten virtues to be followed, esoterically the dharmas of Mahāyāna, in the secret sense intellection of intelligence, rig pa ye šes; basic teaching is anupalambha i.e. that there is no object for mind, voidness, śūnyatā, of the five skandhas, constituents of the phenomenal personality; example: rūpa = śūnya, śūnya = rūpa: the nirvanic dharmas also are śūnya; no birth, no old age, no death, therefore no pain, no defilement (208, a), no experience of things in saṃsāra, no reason to take hold of the path to nirvāṇa, no need to exert oneself for the path and the stages of

1) Here a reference may be found to Kamalaśīla and his supporters with whom, as we saw, Vairocana was not on good terms.

the Bodhisattva. The only help is *prajñāpāramitā*: in intelligence there are no blemishes; it transcends all erroneous ideations: *nirvāṇa* is the non-existence of a knowledge having as support the world; all that is condensed in the *mantra* of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*.

Rin po c'e rtsod pai ṅk'or lo
(Tōhoku Cat. 4354. Co, p. 209, b)

It is a treatise written on the lines of a *sūtra*: the king K'ri sroṅ lde btsan asks some questions and Vairocana replies to them. The king rendered homage to Vairocana for seven days. The *rtsod pai ṅk'or lo* originated in Urgyan, Uḍḍiyāna, Swat, where it was revealed by the *Šel gyi k'yeu c'uṅ*¹⁾; prophecy of times when much debating (*rtsod*) will take place; then this *rTsoḍ pai ṅk'or lo* will be needed. It is articulated on the following members:

thesis	<i>dam bca'</i>	<i>pratiñā</i>
reason	<i>gtan ts'igs</i>	<i>hetu</i>
example	<i>dpe</i>	<i>dṛṣṭānta</i>
probandum	<i>bsgrub bya</i>	<i>sādhya</i>

Both the dharmas of the Vehicle of ninefold progression (from *Anu-to Ati yoga*) and the subject, *c'os can*, *dharmin* are devoid of any essence (*dam bca'*, thesis)²⁾ because they are knowable (*gtan*

1) See above p. 56.

2) Because the notion of duality is only denomination.

ts'igs, reason)¹⁾ like the moon reflected on the water (dpe, example)²⁾.

The probandum, grub par bya, sādhyā, is: dharmatā i.e. dharmas, things that appear as form, matter and tā, i.e. immaterial, that is dharmakāya (=c'os) and jñānakāya intellection-body (=tā). As to vyāpti, absolute concomitance, just as the sesamum seed is pervaded by oil, so also body and intellection are not distinct; dharmas and dharmatā, the relative and the absolute are not distinguishable just as water and the image of the moon reflected on it cannot be distinguished.

In a debate three things should be distinguished: a basis; a path, a result (gži, lam, ābras bu) to which correspond an external debate, an internal debate, a secret debate always being referred (these three) to ak'rul, bhrānti, error, which is actuated by nescience. Further division: there is a basis (gži) which appears as a fourfold error,

	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{body} \\ \text{word} \\ \text{spirit} \\ \text{objects (y u l)} \end{array} \right.$
according as it	
refers to	

Error is caused by nescience which prevents us from understanding the self-shining nature of body, the purity of word, the self-shining nature of spirit, infinite as space, the unobstructed luminous essence of objects; it causes the

1) Object of mind, blo, while the Dharmakāya cannot be so; everything (dharmas of the nine Vehicles) is mind and mind is everything, because everything is namable.

2) The non-existent appears as existent: here the analogous example being dharmakāya.

real to appear as unreal just as a rope falsely perceived as a snake; if that reality were not *ab aeterno* pure, but erroneous, the notion of error being so unrelated would then be impossible; but in fact error and non-error cannot be postulated and error is falsely assumed by mind.

Then it is explained how this error arises concerning the four things above said. The same as regards the fruits of the error divided into the four groups above mentioned and their varieties; f. i. different kinds of bodies, disease, pleasure and pain, mountains, trees etc. Necessity of uprooting these errors according to the *rD sogs c'en*; if they are not eliminated no realization is possible. Difference between the cosmos, the *bhājanaloka*, the receptacle etc. (non-intelligent), and the *sattva*-(intelligent)-*loka*. *Ab aeterno* there exists a great light, unimpeded appearance of the five luminous colours; in spite of their luminosity these are not intelligent, and constitute the (five) qualities of the body. Since they were non-intelligent in the beginning, now also they are non-intelligent; (on the contrary) the internal world, the world of beings, the *sattvaloka* is intelligence, luminous, unshakable, unchangeable, the five qualities of the great purifications (*saṅs rgyas c'e hai yon tan*). But the essence of body and intelligence is identical though their characters appear as different. Different vehicles have been preached according to the different minds of the listeners; but we can state briefly that there are only three Vehicles; a) that which determines the characters of the conditioned existence, *saṃskṛta*, b) that of the *rD sogs c'en* and c) that of the secret mantras, *gSaṅ sñags*, of the unchangeable diamond-fruit; as regards the last (p. 216 a) one, in the Universal basis (*kun gži = ālaya*),

which can be compared with the great space, there is identity of the Buddha and of the creatures, realization and non-realization, happiness and grief, *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*; it is beyond any verbal expression.

As regards the nature of the self-created essence (*rañ bžin lhun grub ño bo*), the distinction between realization (*rtogs*) and non-realization arises; when there is realization, there is Buddhahood. When there is no realization, there is the condition of a being, distinction between happiness and sorrow, *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* arise; Buddhahood and the condition of defilements of body word, spirit, objects are examined; the elimination of the defilements leads to Buddhahood (= purification, fourfold, of body, word, spirit, object and, besides that, the nature of Buddha, *sañs rgyas ño bo* (p. 215, *b*): but here *sañs rgyas* should be taken in its etymological sense: purification *sku yi ñon monś sañs na yid bžin skur rgyas* (p. 216, *a*); when the infections have been purified, (there is) amplification in a body (having) the essence of mind; the body is then purified as essential body, word as an echo, spirit as the great intellectual gnosis, object as the great *maṇḍala*; the plerosis, without rest of body, word, spirit, object is the *rDsogs c'en*.

Effortlessness, spontaneity (*lhun gyis grub, anābhoga*), p. 217, *a*; definition: *c'os ñid rtsol ba kun dañ bral bas na – ma bcos lhun gyi mts'an dañ ldan*), as regards:

a) basis (*gžī*) this basis being twofold: 1) of all viz. Absolute, *dharmatā*, 2) of one's own essence;

b) path viz. 1) downwards ¹⁾ = error (*ak'ru l*) =

1) I think that here in these sentences *yas* and *mas* should be inverted.

union with coarse and subtle things, materiality; 2) upwards = reversion (l d o g), union with the unique essence of the three bodies.

c) fruit = 1) s a ṃ b h o g a k ā y a 2) n i r v ā ṇ a .

Again:

effortlessness as regards origination:

a) basis (g ž i)

b) essence (r a ṇ b ž i n)

c) ability (r t s a l , b r t s a l)

d) name (m i ṇ).

Or, in more detail:

a) as regards activity in basis; five points:

1) basis of basis

2) essence

3) spirit

4) word

5) object.

g ž i = d h a r m a t ā , space, immutability

b) As regards essence:

1) essence of body

2) " of intellection

3) " of non-duality of body and intellection

4) " of word

5) " of objects

Explanation of r a ṇ b ž i n l h u n g r u b , effortlessness of essence; r a ṇ = essence of dharma-body, nature of intellection, nature of non-duality of body and intellection; b ž i n = essence of dharma-body and m a ṇ ḍ a l a ; l h u n , d h a r m a t ā , transcending all striving, pure spontaneity, privation of all characteristics; g r u b = spontaneous, causeless flashing of the Dharma-body in one's own intelligence, r a ṇ r i g . If this effortlessness is not known

there is no possibility of realizing the C'o s s k u , dharma-body.

c) As regards effortlessness of ability, r t s a l , three topics: 1) ability of body, 2) ability of intellection, 3) ability concerning non-duality of the two.

1) ability of body: various ornaments such as rings etc. or m a ṇ ḍ a l a of five colours or celestial palaces, v i m ā n a of five jewels

2) ability of intellection, y e š e s , which investigates, or determines, or settles

3) ability concerning non-duality of body and intellection; the three above mentioned operations of mind concerning the appearance of the five colours, subject, object, non-duality of body and intellection; realization is the only cause of the condition of Buddha (s a ṇ ṣ r g y a s , as before), the great fruit; non-realization is the only cause of s a ṁ s ā r a ; subject is error concerning the path, then pain arises and no Buddhahood is possible; if there is no subject the five poisons are eliminated.

In the great yoga, there is no distinction between the five intellections and the five poisons; being beyond elimination of the five poisons it does not know of any means intended to strive for (r t s a l) the five intellections (y e š e s)¹⁾. Being beyond the maṇḍala of the five elements (i.e. actuated existence) there is no need to strive for the maṇḍala of the mother and son (realization of primeval synthesis, see below p. 127-8).

d) As regards name:

1) external name: essentially the five colours are devoid of name; concerning that which has no name, names are assumed as regards space, elements, etc.

¹⁾ Because it is the full realization of transcendental reality.

2) internal name: the great brilliancy of the depth is in its nature devoid of names, but in the triple wheel of existence (*āk'or lo*), mind is agitated and names are imposed on what has no name and the error of name arises, such as five limbs, five senses, five ambrosias, five diseases etc.

3) secret name: dark is the gnosis which by some means wants to determine one's own secret, or to split asunder one's own head, or to take hold of one's own prison¹⁾; if one does not find a *guru* one will always remain in darkness.

From beginningless time (p. 219, *a*) there is a triple mirror: *a*) the absolute, *dharmatā*, mirror of meaning: *b*) *dharmakāya*, body of the dharmas, mirror of self-light: *c*) *kun g ži*, *ālaya*, all-foundation or mirror of mind; in these mirrors the light of phenomenal appearance arises. That is:

a) there is no character of things and the coloured sphere (*db y i ñ s*) does not exist; it is beyond words and mind— but this does not mean that it does not exist²⁾, the basis (*g ži*) of *nirvāṇa* is there, the basis of the *Buddha-saṃbhogakāya* is there; so also the physical and intelligent cosmos (*bhājana* and *sattvaloka*); it is the pleroma of everything: splendid but with no essence and no designation.

b) from beginningless time there is not even the name of Buddha or beings, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, birth, old age, disease, death, sunrise and sunset, white and red colour. In the triple mirror there appears the triple cha-

¹⁾ That is with pure rational and dialectical methods to attain reality.

²⁾ On the contrary *sarva* – i.e. everything from it is derived.

racter of (add: body); the triple character of word; the triple character of spirit; the triple character of object.

α) In the light of the mirror of the absolute, *Dharmatā*, the body is not perceived, but it rests (*bhūga*) as body of the Dharma; word unshakable rests unshakable word; spirit self-brilliant rests in non-representation: object rests as object of the space of Absolute, *Dharmatā*; so the *Dharmakāya* shines in the mirror of self-brilliance.

β) In the mirror of self-light, body of the dharmas, the body rests as *sambhogakāya*, the word rests as a state of echo-like word, spirit rests in wind-like (*skyibser*) spirit, object rests in the form of a bodily effort; if in the spirit infatuation and drowsiness arise, on account of former errors, one is not conscious of it, and therefore not recognizing the dharma-body, the qualities of this one turn into defects, and the error increases, duality, passions, diseases; all that happens because one does not know that it is an infatuation or a drowsiness of one's own intelligence.

γ) In the mirror of mind, the *ālaya*:

1) thought (*sems*) shines forth as mind, *yid*

2) thought shines forth as realization, *rtogs*

3) thought shines forth as great intellection, *yeses*.

As regards thought (*sems*) (221, a) many distinctions f.i.

a) *marldan* – downwards: bad form of existence

b) *yardan* upwards: three heavens.

c) possessed of doubt, unable of efficiency – in this world grief; no fruit in the other.

As regards intellection four distinctions viz. according as it is related to body, word, spirit, object.

Habit-energies of previous existences, *vāsānā* and five poisons; their mechanism. When by the great bril-

liancy blemishes are eliminated the five poisons are purified and intellection develops.

But the essence of the great brilliancy of the depth (g t i ñ g s a l) is reached without meditation, without effort: it is complete negation.

D h a r m a k ā y a, though being inexpressible, is symbolized by words: that is K u n t u b z a ñ p o, who may be considered under three different aspects of different materialization (p ' r a r a g s):

1) d B y i ñ s k u n t u b z a ñ p o, unchanging, real d h a r m a k ā y a, self-luminous, not illuminating others, in the sphere (d b y i ñ s) which has no limits and no centre.

2) Z e r k y i k u n t u b z a ñ p o; in the very D h a r m a k ā y a, self-shining, unmoved, a ray of light (z e r) flickers, a subtle part of the intellection (y e š e s) flickers which becomes coarser and coarser – and it exteriorizes itself and assumes a name; it shines forth as something external and internal (b h ā j a n a and s a t t v a l o k a) which appears when the self-created essence is not known; but external and internal are only the great brilliancy of the depth self-Illuminating¹⁾ (222, b) and that ray of light being only a drop²⁾ of d h a r m a k ā y a it has no spatial relation.

3) s P r u l p a i k u n t u b z a ñ p o –; when in the unshaken essence of the d h a r m a k ā y a the ray of light (z e r) is perceived, the magic epiphany arises: the five colours get a name and the error consisting in the assumption of an external world arises, the five brilliancies get a name and the error consisting in the assump-

1) That is, it appears but just as a mere potentiality.

2) Which is going to play a great role in the dogmatics of the r D s o g s c ' e n.

tion of a world of living beings arises and on account of the fact that by nescience one ignores that body and intellection (y e š e s) are not a duality, there arises the other error which consists in taking as a duality what is a mere identity: and so the various forms of existence, the six forms of destiny (ṣ a ḍ g a t i) arise.

The way of origination of the origin (b y u ṇ b a i - b y u ṇ l u g s):

a) how the attribute (y o n t a n) of mother as regards the d h a r m a t ā arises.

b) how the attribute of son as regards the d h a r - m a t ā arises

c) how the attribute of non-duality of mother and son arises (as moon in the water):

Again, how the denominations of intellection (y e š e s), thought (s e m s) and thing (d ṇ o s p o , v a s t u) arise (224 a)

Three abodes:

a) D h a r m a k ā y a , sky unobstructed, infinite, unchangeable, unmovable.

b) S a ṃ b h o g a k ā y a , non-designed maṇḍala, of brilliant colour, like a rainbow, unchangeable, palace of the Dharma, the absolute, unlimited

c) N i r m ā ṇ a k ā y a , maṇḍala of the five elements.

d P a l b r t s e g s

(l T a b a i r i m p a , Tōhoku Cat. n. 4356, Co, p. 236, b)

Everything is a vibration or undulation (k l o ṇ , ū r m i) of that matrix which is the b o d h i; in the coiled lotus the self-representation (r a ṇ g i r t o g), viz. the essential purity, is overcome by a mountain of dirt; by different condi-

tions depending on each individual series, there appear wrong appearances: there are appearances of a person, of a heretic, the six kinds of existence, the opposite views of eternity and annihilation (r t a g , c ' a d)

Whatever appearance is seen (as being) outside mind (as it were really existent) is not real. To a person hit by representation, a mock show as it were, in the form of (something) inside or outside, appears and the *empires* of imagination (b r t a g s) and denominations (b r d a) arise; (different kinds of heretics according as they conceive the notion of cause: no cause, God, s v a b h ā v a , everything is created by the force of its nature, atoms, ā r a m - b h a v ā d a i. e. the effect is a new thing as compared with the cause, etc.).

In Buddhism various trends:

		Śrāvaka		{ Sūtra Vaibhāṣā - (b y e b r a g)	
		Pratyekabuddhas			
		mTs'an ñid		Logic	
		dBu ma		Mādhyamika	
				Kriyā	
Tantra and Mantra	{			Upayoga	
				Yoga	
				Mahāyoga	
				Anuyoga	
				Atiyoga	

Each trend is higher than the preceding one, the acme being the Atiyoga which transcends being or non-being (b d e n g ñ i s); it is gnosis devoid of any spacial limitation; it is self-appearance and self-origination of everything, *ab aeterno* privation of the two representations (of

subject and object), neither identity nor diversity, beyond words and definition, not an object of perception (*d m i g s*), or of meditation. It is the object of knowledge of the person who is himself a mock show, but not of the Buddha; it is beyond good and evil; no action, no gift, no ritual are therefore needed. “Since good actions are a distraction (*g y e ñ = v i k ṣ e p a*) what is the use to say that one should not commit sin?” (p. 238, *a*). When the eight dharma are neither abandoned nor accepted and nowhere defilements arise, this is a sign that one is marching towards the stage (of the Buddha).

d P a l b r t s e g s

(*g S u ñ r a b r i n p o c ' e g t a m r g y u d d a ñ ṣ a k y a i r a b s r g y u d*; Tōhoku n. 4357, Co, p. 239 *a*-377)

This is an anthology from many Mahāyāna-sūtras intended to explain the *p ā r a m i t ā s*, the various forms of existence, passage from death to rebirth (*s a ṃ k r ā n t i*), the qualities and attributes of the Bodhisattva and the Buddha, the vow to attain Enlightenment, the practice to be followed by the Bodhisattva on his way to Enlightenment, the body of the Buddha (= a non-body). Doctrinally the treatise follows the point of view expounded in the various texts; *L a ṅ k ā v a t ā r a*, *P r a j ñ ā p ā r a m i t ā*, *R a t n a m e g h a*, *G a ṇ ḍ a v y ū h a*, *K ā r a ṇ ḍ a v y ū h a*, *M a h ā m e g h a*, *S ā g a r a n ā g a r ā j a p a r i p ṛ c c h ā*, *V i n a y a* (from which the genealogy of the Śākyas is taken, p. 365 ff.), *P r a t i b h ā n a m a t i p a r i p ṛ c c h ā*, *U d a a n a v a t s a r ā j a p a r i p ṛ c c h ā*, *T r a y a s t r i ṃ ś a p a r i v a r -*

ta, Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka, Anakṣarakaraṇ-
ḍaka, Dharmaskandha, Bhaiṣajyaguru,
Dharmārthavibhaṅga, Bhavasamkrānti,
Jayamati, Vajramaṇḍanāmadhāraṇī, Ye
śes snaṅ bai rgyan, Sarvadharmaguṇa-
vyūharāja, De bžin gšegs pa skye ba
abyun ba, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Nam
mk'ai spyān, Saṅs rgyas bdun gyi smon
lam, Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetravyūhālam-
kāra, Maitreyamahāsiṃhanāda, Su-
bāhupariṣṛchā, Karmavibhaṅga, Ta-
thāgataguṇajñānācintya viśaya āvatāranir-
deśa, Śrīmālādevī, Vinayaviniścayopā-
lipariṣṛchā, Śrīgupta.

The author puts very little of his own in this treatise, except the connecting links between the various quotations. The book is therefore a useful synopsis of Mahāyāna Buddhism, quite in agreement with the point of view of Kamalaśīla; reference is made to a passage of the Vi-
malakīrtinirdeśa according to (p. 260, *b*) which, means, upāya, without gnosis, prajñā, gnosis without means are mere bondage (p. or 261, *b*) and to another of the Laṅkāvatāra (text, p. 55) not quoted by Kamalaśīla in his Bhāvanākrama in which the statement is contained that the purification of the mental continuum and its representations which constitute what we call an individual cannot be realized suddenly yugapat, ciḡ car, but progressively kramavṛttyā; kramavṛttyā, mahāmate, svacittadṛṣyadhārā viśudhyati na yugapat tadyathā āmrāphalāni kramaśaḥ pacyante na yugapat.

MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS

The other works which are attributed to dPal brtsegs, i.e. Tōhoku n. 4362 and 4363 C'os kyirnam graṅs kyibrjed byañ and C'os kyirnam graṅs, Jo, 231 b-289 a, and 289 a-294 b, are mere catalogues of the fundamental terms and notions of Buddhism with a brief explanation. They agree with the usual treatment of the subject in any Abhidharma treatise.

dPal dbyaṅs (Śrīghoṣa)

Some small treatises under his name are included in the bsTan agyur, vol. no, Tōhoku Cat. n. 4446-51: T'ugs kyisgron ma, lTa ba yaṅ dag sgron ma, mT'ai mun sel sgron ma, T'abs šes sgron ma, rNal abyor spyod pa lugs nes pa don la jibžin sgomt'abs kyisgron ma, lTa ba rin c'en sgron ma, and in vol. co, n. 4355, a letter to the Tibetan king and subjects gCes pa bsdus pa ap'rin yig bod rje abaṅs la brdsaṅs pa. The letter is written on the example of the two famous letters attributed to Nāgārjuna and directed to Kaniska p. 228 a (Ka ni sa ka la gsol bai ap'rin yig) and bDe spyod bzaṅ po (p. 228, b), the Bodhisattvacaryā, made by the Buddha for compassion towards his mother, bŠes šiṅ mds a' bai ap'rin yig (Tōhoku n. 4182, Su hṛllekha); Rin c'en ap'reṅ ba, Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna ¹⁾, dPal ap'reṅ mdo sde, that is, elementary books which contain a summary of the doctrine for practical purposes,

1) Partly edited by myself from a Nepalese ms. in JRAS. 1934, p. 307.

in order to show the buddhist way of living without entering into complicated dogmatical details.

The letter begins with an enumeration of the ten moral actions, *dge bcu*, reference to which so often appears in the first edicts of the kings concerning the Buddhist Law and its propagation, the 16 *mi c'os*, precepts to be followed by men (honour to monks and Brahmins, uprightness, respect to parents, elders etc. elimination of infections (*k le ś a*) by means of gnosis, victory over the four *Māras* etc.), the 10 practices according to the Law (*c'os spyod b žin*) – quotation from *m Gon po byams pas dbus mt'a'*, *Madhy-āntavibhaṅga* of *Maitreya nātha* – the ten *p ā r a m i t ā s*. Then advice is given to the king to be generous, to rely on *kalyāṇamitras*, good friends, to protect the Law, not to introduce the *svastika* doctrine, (i.e. *Bon*, *γyūñ druñ btsugs par ma dgoñs šig* (228, *a*); he should not misbehave towards *dGe sloñ*, brahmins, parents, wives, sons etc. (229 *a*), but he should behave as a *C'os kyi sbyin bdag* a patron acting as prescribed by the Law; even if he is angry he should master himself and smile, he should rule over his enemies and even if they offend him he should not give bad replies, nobles (*mdsañs*, see PR, p. 89) should be employed at the job for which they are fit, soldiers *dpa' ba* (*Ibid.*, p. 89) will lead the fight, honest and elderly men will be given a place in the assembly (*mdun sa*, mistake for *ādun sa*, see above p. 50, n. 2); honest people should be judges, *žal lce gcad*, servants should be appointed as watchmen (*m el t s e*). Then the behaviour and the practices and studies of the priests, *dGe sloñ*, novices, *dGe ts'ul*, nuns, *dGe sloñ ma*, are described (232, *a*). Medi-

tation on the impurity and unreality of wordly things follows; the idea of 'I' and 'my' should disappear (233, *a*). To obtain a human body is difficult; one should therefore avoid sins and since these derive from mind one should observe the instructions *śikṣā*; necessity to subdue mind.

Patience should be specially observed; the *triśaraṇa*, the triple refuge in the Buddha, the Law, the community and the vow for the benefit of other creatures and oneself should be repeated three times, day and night, in front of a temple, or a *mc'od rten* or an image (235, *b*). In Tibet formerly they did not even know what a monk is but His Majesty, the Bodhisattva (which seems to mean that the king was already dead), *K'ri sron lde btsan* obtained the holy Law and then the noble *Lha btsan po* developed faith. An ordained monk who assumed the name *dPal dbyaṅs*, the accomplished reverend one, the tranquillity of whose nobility was extreme and who had no rival in the assembly of Tibet (*bod kyi mdun sar*, as before for *adun sar*) composed this treatise.

lT a b a y a ṅ d a g s g r o n m a ,
(Tōhoku, Cat., n. 4447, No, p. 383-384, *a*)

Reality is like space which can only be indicated by words, but has no characteristics and is beyond emanation (*spros, prapañca*); it transcends mind; things are like a mirage, a mere appearance in which there is nothing but void space. Things also appear, but when we want to characterize them, we must resort to the symbol of space because they are, like the latter, unsubstantial. The supreme Vehicle is non-perception, transcendence

of all emanations. By an instantaneous (cig car) understanding of the supreme truth, one transcends all relative notions inherent in mind such as being and non-being; one should exert oneself in the passive reception, effortlessness (a n ā b h o g a); neither meditation nor thing to be meditated upon can be an object of perception (d m i g s); if one realizes that mind itself is nothing but the Absolute, D h a r m a t ā, then the Absolute should not be meditated upon somewhere else; thus also because reality is beyond time, it is unborn, there are no contraries to meditation (v i p a k ṣ a) and no counteragents: one should avoid all efforts, remain in perfect indifference (b t a n s ñ o m s); this in this world is called conventionally meditation; then whatever mental representations arise, they will spontaneously cease to proceed, and spontaneously be appeased; without any activity whatever they will be expelled ¹⁾.

m T ' a i m u n s e l s g r o n m a
(Tōhoku Cat. n. 4448, No, p. 384, a-384, b)

No dharma exists besides mind; the appearance of dharmas is caused by error; everything is like a mock; how, it cannot be the object of mental representation or of verbal expression. There are no dharmas to be meditated upon; mind itself is unborn; when reality is understood there is no play of fictitious images (b c o s). But one should not abide in the non-existence of the characters of things, or in the non-mental representation of them (this would be upholding negation): saṃskāras (a d u b y e d) are like space: a meditation, d h y ā n a, born from them is faulty.

¹⁾ Read b s a l for g s a l.

T ' a b s š e s s g r o n m a
(Tōhoku Cat. n. 4449, No, p. 384, a-385, a)

Just as in the sky there appears the rainbow, but the sky is pure identity (r o g c i g), devoid of any distinction, thus, though the bodies of the Buddhas are many, in the sphere of the intellection (y e š e s) there is pure identity and no distinction; the essence of Buddha, and the nature of the creatures is the same. Buddhas are a mayic appearance of the intellection and the creatures are a mayic appearance of false mental representations; though there is a great difference between the two, in so far as both are mayic appearances they are similar; when one has recognized this similarity there is no need of some external help to realize it. Thus compassion arises towards those who are unaware of that and a method is taught which may be useful to them through a mayic s a m ā d h i (r g y u m a i t i ñ ñ e ą d s i n); meditating on the nature of the creature as standing nowhere and practicing sympathy, one meditates by the mediating (t ' a b s) s a m ā d h i of the yogin: but in that mediating practice non-origination, non-existence and mayic appearance of all dharmas should always be present.

r N a l ą b y o r s p y o d p a i l u g s ñ e s p a i d o n
l a j i b ž i n s g o m t ' a b s k y i s g r o n m a ,
(Tōhoku 4450, Cat. No, p. 385 a-385 b)

What is the use of the yogic positions? All bodily actions derive from the false representation of a body; but the body in fact does not exist; body and mind are unborn,

they have no foundation, like space: there is no reason to speak either of the necessity of the existence of an object of meditation or of its non-existence.

l T a r i n c ' e n s g r o n m a
(Tōhoku 4451 Cat. No, p. 385, b-386, a).

All the various mental representations like existence, release, cause and fruit arise from various mayic agencies: but they do not exist and therefore their mental representation also does not exist; since there is no subject (c ' o s c a n , d h a r m i n) there are no dharmas. Dharmas are unspeakable; but the notion also of non-existence should be avoided by those who know.

Everything is like the visions seen in a dream which disappear when one awakens: this refers to the defilements as well as to the practice of the path. When one has purified by means of the supreme gnosis the erroneous mental representations (which are the reason for the appearance of the creatures), then one realizes the Absolute, Dharmakāya, great accumulation of intellection (y e š e s). By the meditation on the characters primary and secondary of the Buddha, one realizes the corporeal body which is an accumulation of merit. Conjunction with ones'own mind is the s a m ā d h i of gnosis; creatures thus are placed in the Buddha; what is the use of the vow to be reborn in the pure realms of the Buddha? Compassion is not grief for the creatures: the characters of m ā y ā become self-manifest, coessential with non-character and the sphere of reality.

The same ideas are more widely explained in the T ' u g s k y i s g r o n m a , Tōhoku Cat. n. 4446, p. 373, a-383. b.

The self-originated intellection (p. 373, *b*) is without external limit or centre, is unshakable, brilliant, devoid of perception (ṭ d s i n) and in it the various mental representations arise, the intelligence is self-brilliant, non-dual; it contains no form of external object, it is shining like a crystal. The yoga transcends all ideas of cause and fruit.

When in intellection (y e š e s), beyond origination and arrest, nothing is perceived, this the extreme arrest; the mayic play of the intellections of the self-intelligence (r a ṇ r i g y e š e s) are like the waves of the ocean.

The first thing which we would like to know is if the attribution of these works is certain. The answer is difficult. There is no doubt that the language of these books looks old, though it has certainly been revised when the texts of the bsTan ṭgyur have been collected; words or expressions no longer used are sometimes met with.

Then we know at least a *terminus ad quem*: these works existed at the times of Buston and enjoyed such an authority that he could not help introducing them in the collection. Their antiquity and their authenticity were not questioned by him on account of a tradition which he dared not oppose and chiefly because these texts were listed in the previous catalogues to which I referred above.

According to those catalogues and to Buston, (ya, p. 206, *b*) who sometimes echoes them, other works were also attributed to the above mentioned authors: e. g. in the catalogue of ṭ P ' a ṇ t ' a ṇ (Cordier, III, p. 284) a huge commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā (*Ibid.*, p. 283-4, mDo XII-XIII) was said to be the work of K ' r i s r o ṇ l d e b t s a n, which evidently cannot be accepted. Buston adds, as com-

posed by the same king, a Grub pai mt'a' gro ba in forty verses (žu log = śloka)¹⁾, a dBu mai gzer bu in 30 verses, a De bžin gšegs skad hrda (Catalogue of lDan kar, Lalou n. 724. skad dha) in five bam po, and stotras in honour of rNam par snañ mdsad, Śa kya t'ub pa and the eight Bodhisattvas, in verses. Another stotra to aJam dpal in verses, a big Stotra to Byams pa in one bam po in 100 verses, a small Stotra to the same in 50 verses²⁾, another to Mi γyo mgon po in verses, a bSam gtan gyi dogs brgyad bsal ba lha btsan pos bkas bcad pa in verses³⁾. Of the bKa' yañ dag pai ts'ad ma Buston knows two redactions, one in 7 bam po and a summary of the same in one bam po.

To dPal brtsegs besides the works above quoted the following one ones are also attributed:

P'yii yul dran rgyud du yod par adod pa sel ba in two bam po, and a mTs'an ñid gsum mdor bstan pa in verses.

Vairocana is also said to be the author of:

Rigs drug c'u pa las btus te mdor bšad⁴⁾, but no mention is made of the Rin po c'ei rtsod pai ak'or lo.

Then mention is made of bSam gtan gyi lha btsan pos mdsad which may be the same as the

1) In the list of Mlle LALOU, n. 727.

2) LALOU n. 725 and 7

3) LALOU n. 729 where the king is regularly called bTsan po and not Lha btsan po.

4) But the contents of the treatises summarized above are concluded in sixteen topics: both titles may therefore refer to the same work.

work quoted above: a s M o n l a m is attributed to the Queen J o m o b y a ñ c ' u b ¹⁾.

Let us now consider the contents of the treatises briefly summarized above: concerning the works attributed to d P a l d b y a ñ s we must distinguish the letter to the king and his subjects from the series of his more doctrinal booklets.

I do not think that the authorship of the letter can be doubted, and if this is the case, it gives an idea of the literary accomplishments of its writer. It shows that its author felt it as an urgent task to divulge among the Tibetans the essentials of Buddhism and that, as was to be expected, he insisted only on those fundamental moral tenets which Buddhism enjoins; but occasionally we see that the dogmatical background comes to the surface; d P a l d b y a ñ s emphasizes that everything is a dream, and that everything is but a creation of our mind. The reference to officials, to nobles, m d s a ñ s, military men, d p a ' b a, to the assembly, a d u n s a is quite in agreement with what we know from other sources; see, for instance PR.

The other treatises breathe the air of the L a ñ k ā v a t ā r a, but r a ñ r i g, as the Absolute, predominates: the origin of the various appearances is there, whether as Buddhas or as creatures and though u p ā y a, means, compassion, is referred to, gnosis, p r a j ñ ā, is greatly emphasised to its detriment, there being only that self-intelligence, r a ñ r i g; we need only transcend duality.

The doctrine is brought to its extremes and mention is clearly made of the sudden or instantaneous *ex c e s s u s m e n t i s*, the immediate reintegration in the Intellect, bril-

¹⁾ See above, p. 31, n. 2

liant and transcending the illusions of appearance. We are not yet definitely in the *rDsogs c'en* atmosphere, but there is a great theoretical distance between Kamalaśīla and the author of these treatises, nearer certainly to the *rDogs c'en* than to the point of view of the Indian dialectician. But now the question arises: are we sure that the author of these treatises is the same *dPal dbyaṅs*, the successor of Śāntarakṣita? There is one difficulty in the way and this is that *dPal dbyaṅs* seems to have been more in the line of orthodoxy than Jñānendra: while the letter to the king does not contain anything objectionable, the doctrinal contents of the small treatises appear, as we saw, to diverge from the theories expounded in the *Bhāvānākrama* as being uncompromisingly more adherent to the quick way. Moreover in two colophons the name of *dPal dbyaṅs* is preceded by that of his clan: *gNan*.

This is confirmed by PT, t'a, 25, a (and *Blue Annals*, p. 104) who calls him *gNan dPal dbyaṅs* and makes him a pupil of *gNags Jñānakumāra* whose teacher was *Vimalamitra*. This means that PT considers *dPal dbyaṅs* of *gNan* as belonging to the *rDsogs c'en*. We know that the abbot of *bSam yas* was on the contrary of the *sBas* clan. On that all our sources agree. On the other hand PT is supported by the colophons of the *bsTan agyur*. How to solve this difficulty? Either the attribution of *dPal dbyaṅs* to the *sBas* clan is to be credited to the authors of the *sBas bžed* intent to glorify the *sBas* family, and then the contrast between the contents of the letter and those of the treatises remains; or we have to consider the possibility that there existed two *dPal dbyaṅs*. This suggestion could be supported by the fact that the king to

whom the letter of dPal dbyaṅs is directed is called Lha btsan po apparently the title of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan TTK, p. 14 and p. 70, were not this title given also implicitly to K'ri sroṅ lde btsan by the T colophon of our Bhāvanākrama (p. 263). Anyhow our author can hardly be the same person who was one of the 7 Sad mi and encouraged the young K'ri sroṅ lde btsan to accept and propagate Buddhism.

The treatise attributed to K'ri sroṅ lde btsan is most probably spurious, its contents are merely logical and, as we saw, refer to a particular doctrine and to classifications which were discussed in SN and in its commentaries, particularly in the huge commentary by an unknown author, contained in bsTan agyur (specially vol. Jo, pp. 136 ff.) very important from the philosophical point of view. It is too technical and certainly far beyond the knowledge of the Buddhist dogmatics which the king might have possessed. The name also given to Śāntarakṣita i.e. Dharmaśāntighosa for Śāntarakṣita, quite unusual, and the attribution to him of the title of Mahāyāna, and the name of the place where he was born, though this may go back to a tradition which has not come down to us from other sources, are subject to doubt. On the whole, this work cannot be ascribed to the king.

Of Vairocana we have a manual on debate ¹⁾ which is said, as we saw, to have come from Uḍḍiyāna, Swat. This confirms the connection of Vairocana with Padmasambhava, quite in accordance with the rÑiṅ ma pa tradition. The doctrine here contained is purely rDsogs c'en: we find in it mention of the rDsogs c'en division of Tan-

1) The other booklet was not written by him but given to the king.

tras, the equation Dharmatā/ Samantabhadra, of reality and light, 'od gsal: the world is an illusory emanation of the five coloured lights, which are objectivated intellection; realization is conceived as a sudden actuation of reality to which the elimination of the cosmic illusion corresponds.

The logical section ignores the logical literature which, if we have to believe the tradition, by that time had already been translated, and of which the commentary on Saṃdhinirmocana, referred to above, contains an interesting exposition; but the logical scheme of the author is related to that expounded in the Abhidharmaśāstram of Asaṅga (Pralhad Pradhan ed. p. 105 – pratijñā, hetu, dṛṣṭānta, upanaya, nigamana, viz. the same as NS, sadhyasya svabhāva ātmasvabhāvodharmasvabhāvāśca).

Further researches will clarify the position of Vimalamitra, his pupils and his school: but the fact is certain that Padmasambhava is not isolated. The rGyud rñin pa, the old Tantric school dogmatically sometimes supporting, just as the followers of Ch'an, the gcig car method, the way of the instantaneous entrance, most probably had, in the very beginning of Tibetan Buddhism, a larger influence than later orthodoxy wants us to believe. Vairocana who has been connected by tradition with Kamalaśīla must be assigned, on the contrary, to the other school of Vimalamitra along with rMa rin c'en (PT, 39, b, *Blue Annals*, 191), gNags Jñānakumāra (*Blue Annals*, 192), Myaṅ Tiñ ñe ṇsin, rDo rje me loñ and rDo rje rgya mts'o followers of the gcig c'ar method (referred to by PT, 39, b), gNan dPal dbyañs, etc. and many other masters whom the rNin ma

pas still consider as the chief authors of their school. It seems at all events certain that they strongly counteracted the missionary work of Kamalaśīla and, generally, of the advocates of the progressive method, sided with the Chinese and probably met therefore with some difficulties ¹⁾.

The personality of the first masters whom the rDsogs c'en connect with the origin of their school must therefore be carefully investigated, their place of origin also, as far as possible, established. How many of them did then come e.g. from Uḍḍiyāna, Swat, which had become a great centre of Tantrism or from the bordering country of Bruža at that time in the hands of the Tibetans and where many trends of thought met and reacted on one another? Moreover we must try to determine exactly what happened during the times of K'ri lde sroñ btsan and Ral pa c'en and to distinguish it from the events of K'ri sroñ lde btsan who was perhaps credited with more than he actually did. Buddhism was still in its infancy in Tibet and between the two rival schools, the Ch'an and the Indian, the Tibetans wavered and it took some time before they could decide with full knowledge which way to follow. Briefly I suppose that traditional accounts of the debate of bSam yas should be accepted with some caution, being a reflection back to former periods of a later spiritual and religious situation and properly of that which developed especially under K'ri lde

1) The *Blue Annals*, I, 192 relate the story that Vimalamitra's behaviour aroused the suspicion of the king and that therefore in order to explain himself he wrote the *Ṣadaṅgaśaraṇa*. But the verse: rgyal blon yid c'es ma gyur pas | skyabs agroi c'o ga bdag gis bśad only means: 'since the king and the ministers did (not yet) have faith (in Buddhism), I explained the ceremony concerning the triple refuge'. This can only prove that when Vimalamitra came to Tibet the king and the court were not yet definitely inclined towards Buddhism.

sron btsan. It is therefore wise to follow those historians who usually describe this period as that of the old tradition, and still the undetermined source of later developments.

Anyhow the debate between the Hva šaṅ and Kama-laśīla was never forgotten and the two points of view, that of the immediate release and that of gradual path, continue to be opposed also in later theoretical treatises of the Tibetan masters, starting from the *Lam rim c'en mo* which often quotes, to refute it, the opinion of the Hva šaṅ and accepts the authority of the *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla (who is quoted in the *Lam rim c'en mo* 56 times; see Gadjin Masato Nagao, *A study of Tibetan Buddhism, being a translation into Japanese of the Exposition of Vipāśyanā in Tson-kha-pa's Lam-rim c'en-mo with annotation and prefatory remarks*, Iwanami Shoten, Tōkyō, 1954 in Japanese, short introduction in English, p. XII; the Hva šaṅ is quoted p. 103, 193, 271, 362, 37, 378, of the *Lam rim* (Peking edition).

As late as the 18th century there are books which take the start from that controversy, such is for instance the *Lhag mt'oṅ c'en moi dka' bai gnad sal bar byed pai legs bšad pa* of the *Žva dmar dge ʾadun bstan ʾadsin rgya mts'o* (who must be posterior to Kloṅ rdol bla ma, born 1729, because not contained in his list of the *Žva dmar* hierarchs) commented upon by P'a boṅ k'a pa Byams pa bstan ʾadsin p'rin las rgya mts'o in his *Lhag mt'oṅ c'en moi bka' gnas rnam s brjed byaṅ du bkod pa dgoṅ s zab snaṅ bai sgron me* (p. 3 edition of sMan rtsis k'aṅ).

CHAPTER 2.

THE CONTENTS
OF THE FIRST BHĀVANĀKRAMA

§ 1. The treatise starts with a statement that Mahāyāna is contained within three things: compassion, b o d h i c i t t a , realization. Compassion is the basis of all; the path to Buddhahood starts from compassion. One should meditate on it, considering the universality of sorrow to which all beings are fatally subject, in whatever destiny they are born; neither kings nor gods can escape it.

§ 2. This perception that sorrow is implicit in whatever exists produces in ourselves a feeling of compassion for our fellow-beings, friends and enemies, as well as the desire to free them from it; by this feeling of compassion towards all sorts of beings and by the determination to be of help to them the bodhisattva considers all beings as equal to himself (s a t t v a s a m a t ā).

§ 3. When compassion is so realized, it is known as great compassion; as such it is the cause of the first blossoming of the b o d h i c i t t a , the will to reach perfect Enlightenment for the benefit of all suffering beings. This is a means which brings about great results; even if it is not accompanied by practice (p r a t i p a t t i), it abolishes the miseries of s a m s ā r a .

§ 4. If the b o d h i c i t t a is accompanied by practice, even greater are its benefits; it is in fact a seed of all the properties of the Buddha, b u d d h a d h a r m a . It is twofold, in so far as it consists of two moments i. e. the determination itself (p r a ṇ i d h i: “ may I become a Buddha for the benefit of all beings ”) and the setting in mo-

tion of that thought of Enlightenment (*prasthāna*) after having either taken the vows (*saṃvara*) from a saintly friend (*kalyāṇamitra*) or invoked the presence of the Buddha, the Bodhisattvas, etc.

§ 5. Enlightenment cannot be realized without practice (*pratipatti*); this practice consists, to state it briefly, in following both the path of gnosis (*prajñā*) and the appropriate means (*upāya*) i. e. compassion; these two should be practiced and realized jointly; no progress is possible if only one is insisted upon.

§ 6. We recognize as means all sorts of merits consisting of the various perfections, such as liberality, etc. excluding gnosis, but including all the attractions (*saṃgraha vastu*), able to produce elevation (*abhyudaya*), purification of the Buddha fields, supernatural creations (*nirmāṇa*) and to make living beings spiritually ripe; the gnosis, *prajñā*, on the other hand, makes one rightly understand the real nature of that very means so that one may accomplish one's own benefit and that of others without danger of being contaminated by wrong assumptions. They should be practiced jointly in all the ten stages, *bhūmis*.

§ 7. To accept *prajñā* alone would contradict the teaching of the Buddha; in fact such a theory as that gnosis alone leads to Enlightenment disagrees with what we read in the Holy texts ¹⁾.

§ 8. Only in this way the *apraṭiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*, viz. the permanence of the Buddhas in the *saṃsāra* can have a meaning. The merit deriving from *upāya* results in a corporeal body in the Buddha-fields, etc. brought

¹⁾ Which is a reply to the point of view of Mahāyāna.

about by means such as liberality, etc.; the Buddhas are then not in *nirvāṇa*. On the other hand, by gnosis they suppress all sorts of wrong ideations, and do not therefore stay in *samsāra*, since *samsāra* is the source of all sorts of wrong ideations ¹⁾.

Both means and gnosis are necessary because gnosis helps us to avoid the extreme of affirmation (*samāropa*) and *upāya* the extreme of negation (*apavāda*); so the middle path is fully realized. It is true that the *Vajracchedikā* says:

“Those who know the discourse on dharma as a raft, should forsake dharmas, and how much more so non-dharmas” ²⁾. But the meaning of this is that a wrong interpretation of the dharmas should be forsaken. This does not imply that they should not be resorted to as instruments of practice.

If it is sometimes said that liberality, etc. brings about results to be assumed in *samsāra*, this refers only to liberality and such other virtues practised without the light of gnosis, and in regard to those who are only intent to get the merit which derives from them; in that way they may be stimulated to accumulate higher merits such as those which gnosis begets. Liberality, etc. obtain the name of

¹⁾ The *apratīṣṭhitānirvāṇa* ‘the *nirvāṇa* not definitely fixed’, plays a great role in *Mahāyāna*: the path to Buddhahood is not absolute abstraction from *samsāra*: were it so, no *buddhakṛtya* would be possible, the Buddha would give up his soteric power; the coexistence of gnosis and means saves with its dialectics that position: by gnosis he transcends *samsāra* and abides in *nirvāṇa*, by means, with the infinite manifestations or emanations, he helps the creatures to realize the soteric intuition of truth.

On *apratīṣṭhitānirvāṇa* see S. LÉVI and *MSA*, III, 3, n. 4. *Siddhi*, p. 672, n. etc. *RG.* (Ob.), p. 162, 163. *MS*, p. 255.

²⁾ Transl. of E. CONZE, *Selected Sayings from the Perfection of Wisdom*, p. 81.

perfection (p ā r a m i t ā) only when they are accompanied by gnosis. In order to purify them one should therefore exert oneself in gnosis.

§ 9. This gnosis is triple, that is to say it is based on study, on investigation, on contemplation: śrutamayī, cintāmayī, bhāvanāmayī. The śrutamayī-gnosis consists in study and learning; its purpose is to ascertain the meaning of the truths revealed by the Buddha and expounded in the holy texts; as cintāmayī, i.e. as investigation, it penetrates (nirvedhayati) by means of logic (yukti) and reference to authority (āgama) the true meaning of truth, either implicit (neya) or explicit (nīta). Then follows the bhāvanāmayī, contemplation; it is the contemplation of the truth as it has been previously ascertained by logic and authority viz. as the real meaning of things (bhūtam artham bhāvayet), i.e. their real nature, vastusvarūpa, that is that they are not produced (anutpāda). In fact one ascertains that things are not produced as objective, self-existing realities by means of a) authority and b) logic. (8, b-9, a).

§ 10.

a) authority – i.e. the sūtras of the great Vehicle – teaches us that the only reality is the non-production of things; all the rest is unreal; from the absolute point of view we cannot speak either of origination or non-origination, because both notions imply a duality, and reality is beyond all sorts of relative notions; whatever we say or predicate is a non-entity.

b) When we have learnt from the holy texts this truth we must confirm our conviction by logic, arguing in the following way:

The origin of things could be either¹⁾ causeless or caused.

b, 1) Origination cannot be causeless because we see that it is incidental; in fact if things were unrelated to a cause, there would be no diversity among them and they would always and everywhere be the same, as they were at the time of their production; or there being no diversity (represented by intervention of a cause) between their being in existence and their not yet being in existence (before origination), at the time of their production they should be non-existent.

b, 2) Neither can origination be caused. What is this cause?

b, 2, a) Is it an eternal cause like God?²⁾ Now we see that things are born in succession, not simultaneously; but this origination in succession cannot be explained if there is only a universal cause independent of anything which might prompt its activity. God being autonomous he cannot depend on anything else, and in so far as he is eternal he cannot be assisted by others (in his activity); anything which does not need the assistance of others is not related to, does not depend on others. Therefore God and suchlike causes are unsubstantial like the son of a barren woman, because they are devoid of any efficiency. Now what we call a thing is something efficient.

Nor can God produce all things simultaneously; in fact, supposing that all effects come into existence together, if God is also able to create a second time, then two alternatives are possible: either he is consistent with his previous creative efficiency, and then he will create the same creation

1) The criticism of the notion of cause is essential in Mahāyāna: from MK chapter III to TS, I-IV.

2) For the Buddhist criticism of the notion of God see TS, chap. II, which our author follows closely.

as before; or he is not consistent with his previous creative efficiency, and thus he would forsake his previous nature and he could not therefore be eternal.

No eternal cause can thus be logically accepted.

b, 2, b) Neither can origination be caused by a non-eternal cause, because in temporal succession there is a past and a future (cause and effect), but past and future are unreal; things would therefore have no cause. Nor can it be produced from the present, because origination is either simultaneous or nonsimultaneous with it; if it is simultaneous, the effect would be produced at the same time as the cause and therefore there would be no relation of cause and effect; if there is difference of time in production, two alternatives are possible: if the origination occurs after an interval of time it could also happen after the past, etc. (there being no connection between the two moments); if there be no interval of time, the two times, that of the cause and that of the effect, would coincide and in each instant all instants would be originated. The same criticism should, in other words, be here made as that advanced against the existence of atoms. If the two instants coincide only partially, then the instant would have parts and would thus no longer be instant. Nor can you argue that origination is self-originated, because it would be the same as saying that it is not caused; moreover it would contradict the principle that no thing can be active on itself. Nor can origination be caused by the two together i.e. self and another's agency because both theories have already been refuted. The consequence is that from the absolute point of view things are non-originated. We may speak of the origination of things only from the conventional point of view.

§ 11. We can also argue in the following way: things are either material or immaterial. Things material, such as a pot, etc., are made of atoms, therefore they are not a unity; nor is a thing a multiplicity because it is an agglomeration, a whole composed of atoms; these, on the other hand, being placed in front or behind, being therefore divisible into a front-part or a hind-part, lose the property of atoms, i.e. indivisibility. Since no theory other than unity or multiplicity is possible, material things are therefore unreal as things seen in a dream.

In the same way immaterial things such as mind do not exist; first of all, since external things e. g. "a blue thing", as we saw, does not exist, when we have a perception of blue, we must assume that immaterial things such as mind take the form of a perception of something blue, etc.

These things cannot therefore be assumed to be one, because they are reflected in different forms such as blue colour, etc., i.e. in a subjective and an objective form; but what is one cannot assume different forms, because unity and multiplicity are two contradictory notions.

When unity is proved not to exist, multiplicity is equally illogical, because many is an agglomeration of units. If it is argued that these forms which are reflected in our perception as material things etc. are false, then the result would be that consciousness also must be false, because consciousness coincides with the being of these things; in fact no other form of mind-consciousness exists except this perceptive aspect. Nor are material things, etc. reflected in it by their own power.

When these things, which are nothing but consciousness itself, are false, we must agree that consciousness also is false. That is why Buddha said that consciousness is

like a mock show; therefore everything is false because no notion of unity or multiplicity can logically be superimposed on it.

§ 12. Having thus ascertained reality by means of gnosis consisting in investigation, in order to make this evident one should have recourse to the gnosis consisting in contemplation. By mere study or investigation no object can become evident.

Those who have entered the path of progress must strive for direct experience; if the light of knowledge does not clearly arise, it is impossible that the darkness of the impediments be properly expelled. But by the frequency of contemplation a sufficiently clear knowledge arises, even as regards things which, in fact, are not real such as a ś u b h a b h ā v a n ā , etc. all the more so as regards things real.

§ 13. For this purpose, first of all ś a m a t h a is necessary. It is the only means which makes mind (c i t t a) steady; if c i t t a, which by nature is instable like water, is not concentrated (s a m ā h i t a) truth cannot be known.

This ś a m a t h a is quickly attained by one who is indifferent to profit etc., who observes proper behavior, who can endure suffering, who has developed energy. It is conditioned by the accumulation of liberality, moral rules, etc. and brought about, as concomitants, by the yogic rules (clean place, worship of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, confession of one's own sins, rejoicing at the good deeds of others, concentration on the great compassion in order to help other beings to salvation, yogic postures, etc.) and s a m ā d h i .

First of all, whatever the object to be investigated, in whatever way, it must be taken as a synthesis of all

objects on which one should fix one's mind. This object again is twofold, material and immaterial. This abridged object should be taken as the basis of meditation in order to avoid distractions which may obstruct the meditation of the beginner (*ādikarmika*). When one has mastered one's power of attention (*jīta mānaskāra*), one purifies this process by differentiating the component parts of human personality, *skandha-dhātu*, etc.; so one can also take as a basis of meditation wider objects. For details see *Abhidharmakośa*, VI (the object of meditation, either material or immaterial, can be taken in a summarized, synthetical, or average, or extensive, wider form).

In order to avoid any positive or negative assumption, examination of the object under a different point of view, as a synthesis of *skandha*, *dhātu*, etc. is required.

If, in this process, the attention by chance is diverted by passion, etc. then, perceiving this, one should suppress distraction by contemplation of the impurities (*āśubbha*) so that the mind be then redirected to the object of contemplation again and again. If one perceives that mind does not take pleasure in it, then one should consider the advantages of *samādhī* and contemplate the pleasure of *samādhī* and therefore suppress that lack of pleasure in contemplation. If torpor and drowsiness prevail and the object of contemplation cannot be grasped clearly, and the mind is depressed, then by means of contemplation congenial to common ideas (*lokaśaṃjñā*) one should concentrate on such pleasing objects (*pramodyavastu*) as the attributes of the Buddha etc.; in this way idleness is suppressed and the object of meditation can again be grasped. If, by remembering previous happiness, the mind

becomes frivolous one should suppress that frivolity by concentrating on such objects as impermanence, etc. which perturb the mind; again as regards that object of meditation one should exert oneself in the mood (*vāhitā*) of non-mental accumulation (*cittānabhisamskāra*). When, by forsaking depression and frivolity, one perceives that the mind is in a state of perfect equilibrium (*samaprabhṛtta*) and in its essential mood (*svārasavāhin*), then one is in a state of indifference, because all effort is relaxed: all effort causes in fact distraction. When, by one's own will, the mind is directed toward the object of contemplation in a mood of non-accumulation, *śamatha* is perfect. This is the general character of all kinds of *śamatha*, because *śamatha* consists only in concentration of mind (*cittaikāgratā*). Its object is undetermined.

§ 14. In brief there are six possible defects in the practice of this *śamatha*, viz. sloth, confusion of the object of contemplation, idleness and frivolity, lack of effort (*anābhoga*), striving (*bhoga*); as their correctives the eight conditionings (*samskāra*) for their suppression must be resorted to. These are: faith, zeal, exertion, serenity, mindfulness, awareness, investigation, indifference. The first four are the correctives of sloth. In fact, faith is characterized by complete confidence in the virtues of *samādhi* and therefore the yogin feels a desire for it.

On account of this desire he starts with energy, and by the force of this energy he obtains dexterity (*karmāṇyatā*) of body and mind. When his mind is in a state of serenity, sloth departs. Therefore faith, etc. should be meditated on to suppress sloth. Mindfulness is the correc-

tive of loss of the object of contemplation; awareness is the corrective of depression and frivolity, because it ascertains carefully what idleness and frivolity are. When depression and frivolity have been suppressed, there is the danger that effortlessness may arise. To correct that, one should concentrate on investigation; when the mind is tranquil then effort may arise; its corrective is indifference. In this way *samādhi* is extremely effective and one acquires various miraculous capacities.

§§ 15-16. Then the four *dhyānas* (usual description) are reached and successively realized.

The same should be attempted as regards other objects of contemplation: *ārūpyasamāpatti*, *vimokṣamukha*, *abhibhvāyatana*, AK, VIII, p. 203 ff., etc. When mind is properly fixed upon the object of contemplation, then one should abandon it by means of gnosis (*prajñā*) so that all the seeds of bewilderment may be annulled. The process is that described by the *Laṅkāvatāra* p. 298, see 256-258,

First of all the yogin should thus investigate the material things which are by others conceived of as real external objects existing independently of our experience: are these things different from consciousness or are they consciousness itself and do they appear (*pratibhāsate*) just as visions in the state of dream? He should investigate the things which appear as external to consciousness and imagine them to be divisible into atoms. When the yogin has reflected on the atoms as being composed of parts (front, behind, etc.) he no longer sees any object and so he thinks: all this (which appears) is only mind, no external object exists. He should therefore forsake all imaginations concerning the (so called) external material

objects. In spite of the condition of their perceptibility being present, they are not perceived.

Having in this way reached the conclusion that all material things do not exist he should do the same regarding immaterial things. As regards the assumption of mere mind (*cittamātra*) he should so think: when there is no object, it is illogical to assume that there is a subject, because the subject is only such in regard to the object; therefore mind transcends both subject and object.

Having thus investigated that mind is not dual, he should abide in the absolute, (*tathatā*), as being the support of contemplation and non-dual. Then he should transcend this postulation of mere mind and the idea that what is perceived has its forms in the perceiving mind: that is, he should abide in the experience of non-dual knowledge beyond any appearance of duality.

Having thus transcended the postulation of mere mind, he should transcend also that postulation of knowledge beyond the appearance of duality, because (the supposed) things cannot be self-created, either by their own agency or by the agency of other factors. He then should so investigate: when subject and object are false notions, the non-dual knowledge, being inconceivable without those two, cannot be logically considered as real. He should therefore abandon any attachment to that non-dual knowledge as if it were something real.

Thus investigation leads him to conclude that all *dharma*s are devoid of essence; abiding there he enters the experience of supreme truth and he therefore enters the *samādhi* devoid of any representation ¹⁾.

¹⁾ I.e. the full realization of *adhiprajñā* or *prajñāpāramitā*. Cf. on this MS, chap. VIII.

§ 17. Then the yogin can be said to see Mahāyāna, because Mahāyāna is nothing else but the vision of the supreme truth. In fact this vision of the supreme truth is a non-vision, which dawns on the yogin who looks upon all *dharma*s with the eye of gnosis. Therefore his is the sort of non-vision that is alluded to in the texts, not the non-vision of those who shut their eyes or which is caused by distraction or defect of concomitant circumstances. Were there a non-vision of that description, the yogin would not be liberated, just as happens to the man who awakens from the state of unconscious concentration (*asaṃjñisaṃpatti*), for in such case the swarm of impurities (*kleśa*) such as passions, etc., having their roots in the attachment to the existence of things, will start again ¹⁾.

As regards the sentence of the *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇī*: “he eliminates the marks of material things, etc. by non-accumulation of thought (*amanasikāra*)”, here also non-accumulation of thought is understood as the non-perception (*anupalambha*) proper to the person investigating according to gnosis, but not as the mere absence of thought (*amanasikāra*), like that of the man who is in a state of unconscious concentration (*asaṃjñisaṃpatti*). The attachment to material things etc. which exists *ab aeterno* cannot be removed by merely eliminating thought; if doubts have not been removed it is not possible to remove the conscious attachment to material things etc. previously perceived, just as it is impossible to remove a burning sensation when

¹⁾ This was one of the central points of the debate which has been discussed in detail by Prof. DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 131-132.

fire has not been extinguished; these false imaginations concerning material things, etc. cannot be removed from the mind, as thorns are removed by the hand, but only by elimination of the very roots of doubt. These roots of doubt disappear, just as the false notion of a snake in what is really a rope disappears when the yogin, having reached the light of *samādhi*, looks upon things with the eye of gnosis; in fact he does not then perceive those material things which he had previously perceived, though now the conditions for their perception still exist. To conclude, it is only when the roots of doubt have been removed, and in no other way, that thought concerning material things, etc. can be eliminated; otherwise the attachment to the representation of false objects will continue.

Therefore, when his mind has been taken hold of by the hand, as it were, of *samādhi*, the yogin by using the sharper weapon of gnosis should root out the seeds of false imagination such as those material things, etc. which are still in his mind.

Then those seeds will not again grow in his mind; it is with the purpose that the obstructions may be removed that the Blessed One has revealed the path of the convergence of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*, because they are the cause of right knowledge free from imagination.

In fact when, by means of *śamatha*, the mind has been steadied in the support of its contemplation, then, in the yogin, investigating with the help of gnosis, the light (*āloka*) of pure knowledge arises and the obstructions are eliminated. Therefore these two, *samādhi* and gnosis, are subsidiary one to the other for the production of right knowledge, just as eye and light (as regards vision); there

is no reciprocal contradiction between the two¹⁾, as there is in the case of light and darkness; *s a m ā d h i* indeed is not of the nature of darkness, but it is characterized by concentration of mind. When a man in a state of *s a m ā d h i* investigates by means of gnosis, he acquires experience of truth i.e. non-perception of all *dhar-mas*.

This is the supreme non-perception. Such a condition of the yogin is the condition of spontaneity (*a n ā b h o g a*), spoken of in the text of the *Laṅkāv.*, for above it there is nothing else to be seen: it is also called (in the same text) "quiescence" (*ś ā n t ā*), because the illusion of false imagination, such as that of existence or non-existence, is there extinct.

In fact, when the yogin, investigating by means of gnosis, no longer perceives any essence of things, no representation of a thing arises in him; and so not even the representation of a no-thing arises in him. Suppose that a thing is seen, then as a result of its negation, the representation of its non-existence arises. But when the yogin, investigating by the help of gnosis, no longer perceives anything as existent, either in the past or in the present or in the future, how could he have the representation of a no-thing as a consequence of its negation? This means that no representation of any kind can arise in him, because all sorts of representations are pervaded by these two moods: existence and non-existence (and we know) that when there is no pervader the pervaded also does not exist.

1) As the followers of Ch'an would implicitly admit, arguing that all *s a m ā d h i* and all *p r a t i p a t t i* are fundamentally wrong, the only truth being in the sudden, intuitive flash of Enlightenment.

§ 18. This yoga is called supreme non-representation because, when the yogin has reached this stage, all forms of representation disappear. Moreover in this state, all moral as well as mental obstructions are properly eliminated. In fact the chief cause of the moral obstructions is a false conception, such as existence, as regards things which are really neither born nor destroyed, because, as we have seen before, all sorts of false assumptions arise from the false assumption of existence. When that assumption has been removed, mental obstructions are also duly removed, for they consist only in a wrong assumption i.e. in nescience by which we take to be existent what is not. As soon as mental obstructions have been removed, all obstacles having also been eliminated, the light of knowledge self-evident to the yogin penetrates everywhere, unimpeded, just as the rays of the sun find no impediment in the sky when the impediment of clouds is gone. In fact, the nature of consciousness consists in illuminating the real nature of things; but when there is an impediment of any sort consciousness cannot do so, even if the thing is near; it can do so only when there is no such impediment, because only then can it assume the peculiar quality of its unfathomable power; how could it then fail to illuminate all possible things? Then by the complete knowledge of all things, both in their conventional and absolute aspect, the yogin obtains omniscience. This is the supreme path both as regards the elimination of obstructions as well as the realization of omniscience. On the contrary, the path of *ś r ā v a k a s*, etc. cannot lead to the proper elimination of the twofold obstructions because it does not suppress false assumptions. (Laṅkāv, p. 63, 1, 16 ff.). There is in short no liberation

except by this path. Therefore the Blessed One has stated that there is only one Vehicle; he preached the path of the śrāvakā, etc. only aiming to give listeners an opportunity to start to understand the true path. In fact, meditating on his own person as being a mere agglomeration of components (skandha) and so realizing that no self exists, the śrāvakā realises that the ego is not a self. Then, meditating on the universe as being a mere ideation, he realizes that external objects have no self, as stated by the Vijñānavādin. By the above said process, realizing that this non-dual knowledge also is nothing *per se*, one enters the supreme truth, because as already stated, the view that ideation only exists does not coincide with truth.

By what is this condition of the yogin then purified? By the vow which the Bodhisattva, stimulated by his great compassion, made for the sake of all beings and by the practice of the various virtues such as liberality, etc.; though he has acquired the knowledge that all dharmas are devoid of essence, still consideration i.e. compassion, for all living beings does not cease. But how is his condition spontaneous and in a state of quiescence? The non-dual knowledge which the monists take as supreme knowledge, the yogin, by his knowledge transcending duality, perceives to be non-existent *per se*, devoid of any essence; that condition is therefore called “spontaneous” because there is nothing to be seen beyond it; “quiescent” because there is in it absence of all forms of representations.

§ 19. You may now ask who is the yogin of whom you speak? Who is he who sees? Does he exist? From the absolute point of view there is no yogin who sees, but, from the conventional point of view, consciousness, by the

mere acquisition of a particular form of knowledge, such as that of material objects etc., is variously called empirically; e.g.: “Devadatta sees with his knowledge Yajñadatta”, though in fact there is no self; in the same way, here also knowledge, when it arises as non-dual knowledge, in which nothing appears is so designated: “he sees with the non-dual knowledge in which there is no representation (*nīrabhāsenā*)”. In fact, from the absolute point of view, all dharmas have no essence, but still from the conventional point of view, we speak of the knowledge of the yogin and of that of the profane as being different; otherwise there would be no difference between the Buddha and the profane. On the other hand, whatever, even from the conventional point of view, is not caused, from that same point of view does not originate, like the horns of a hare; but whatever has a cause, though from the absolute point of view it is but a false assumption, originates like a magic vision. But this mock show, though it happens to be produced by some causes and conditions and conventionally exists, cannot be taken as being something real, because it does not stand investigation. Therefore, everything is like a mock show, *māyā*. Just as the illusion of birth is the consequence of that other illusion which consists in the impurities and the karma of the beings, so also in consequence of that illusion which consists in the accumulation of virtue and knowledge, the illusion of the yogic knowledge arises in the yogin. Still there is a difference; the yogin like the magician recognizes the illusion for what it is and therefore he has no attachment to it, because he knows that it is not real: the profane on the contrary takes it to be real and feels attachment to it.

§§ 20-21. Progress in contemplation of reality: suppression of depression and frivolity as before; when knowledge, devoid of depression and frivolity, has as its object of contemplation the non-essence of everything, but with no accumulation (*anabhisamskāreṇa*), then the path of the concomitance (*yuganaddha*) of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* is completed. Then, as far as he can, the yogin should remain in the stage of adhesion (*adhimuktīcaryābhūmi*); he should, then, consider that though the dharmas which compose his personality, from the absolute point of view, have no essence, still they are here from the conventional point of view and the common people wrongly assume them to exist in reality and therefore they transmigrate in *samsāra* and suffer. For this reason he should resort to the great compassion and make the vow to obtain Buddhahood so that he may teach the truth. Then worship, etc. of the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas, etc. are needed; after that he should accumulate merits by practice of liberality, etc. intrinsically based on and accompanied by the realization of voidness and compassion. This is the path of the *bodhisattva*, a concomitance of gnosis and means; though he has obtained the view of supreme truth, the *bodhisattva* does not deny conventional truth and therefore, without being led astray by wrong opinions, prompted by his great compassion he can strive for the benefit of others.

It is thus ascertained that when the *bodhisattva* has reached transcendental knowledge, the practice of means is no longer called for, but in the practice of means the concomitance of gnosis is needed which discovers what is the reality of things. This path is therefore a concomitance of gnosis and means. In his intent (*āśaya*) to benefit others

the Bodhisattva sets out to be useful to others and every act of his has the imprint of compassion; he understands the component elements of personality (s k a n d h a) as a mere illusion, but he does not wish to forsake them; the same as regards r ū p a , v e d a n ā , etc.

§ 22. In this process of meditation there are twelve moments or situations (a v a s t h ā) called stages (b h ū m i) rising progressively higher: from the initial stage (a d h i m u k t i c a r y ā b h ū m i) up to the Buddha-stage.

The initial stage, stage of adhesion (a d h i m u k t i c a r y ā b h ū m i) is the stage of zealous conduct. In this one the bodhisattva realizes that the ego as well as the dharmas has no self; but his adhesion to truth is great, he is not to be subdued even by Māra, etc. and by that adhesion he reflects on reality. The bodhisattva, though still being one of the profane, is beyond the errors of the ignorant people because he possesses infinite s a m ā d h i , d h ā r a ṇ ī , means of salvation (v i m o k ṣ a), supernatural faculties (a b h i j ñ ā), etc. Then contemplating the unreality of everything, he comes to possess four forms of insight (n i r v e d h a b h ā g ī y a) according to his inferior, average, superior, highest degree of realization of the reality of selflessness of ego and all dharmas:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1) light of knowledge, dim: | u ṣ m a g a t a n . b h . :
warminsight |
| s a m ā d h i : = | ā l o k a l a b d h a |
| 2) light of knowledge, half bright: | m ū r d h a n n . b h . :
lofty insight |
| s a m ā d h i : = | v ṛ d d h ā l o k a |

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- 3) light of knowledge brighter and no appearance of external objects: *kṣānti n. bh.:*
 realization that everything is but receptivity of the
 consciousness only: truth that there is
 (*viññaptimātra*) no origination
samādhi:= ekadeśapraviṣṭa
 (non-perception of
 objects)
- 4) non-dual knowledge devoid of object and subject *agra dharmā*
samādhi:= ānantarya ¹⁾.

After that, reality is entered.

§ 23. Stage 1^o to 11 - established according to the accomplishment of 11 requisites.

A) *Darśanamārga*, path of vision.

1st Stage.

There the truth of the unreality of the ego and of the dharmas is realized; after obtaining the fourth degree of insight of the career of the beginner, a very bright supramundane knowledge devoid of all forms of illusory ideations enables him to realize the non-essence of all dharmas; the *bodhisattva* then enters a state of perfection (*śamyaktvaṇyāmāvakrānti*); the path of vision then arises: he rejoices at having obtained a truth formerly unobtainable and this stage is therefore called the *Pramuditā* "the stage of Joy". He then forsakes the 112 impurities (*kleśa*) to be forsaken by vision (*dar-*

¹⁾ AK, VI, pp. 166-167. MS, III, p. 169 ff. and p. 28*, Mdh., pp. 188-192. *Siddhi*, pp. 575-584.

śāna); the remaining 16 impurities belonging to the three dhātus are to be cast off in the following stages (= path of contemplation)¹⁾.

Having been awakend by the approach of the absolute, the bodhisattva works for the benefit of others as if it were his own; therefore the perfection of liberality is here more intense. Though the bodhisattva has realized the truth, he is not fully conscious of his fall into the minor sins²⁾.

B) Bhāvanāmārga, path of contemplation.

2nd Stage.

It is reached when he becomes fully conscious of that fall, and that requisite is accomplished; here ethical perfection is more intense. This stage is called Vimālā "the stainless" because³⁾ the stains of impure moral conduct have been eliminated, and the bodhisattva has become conscious of his fall into the minor sins. He remains in the second stage till he is unable to maintain hold of all the worldly samādhi and of the objects as he has studied them. When this requisite is fulfilled he enters the:

3rd Stage.

The bodhisattva bears all sorts of pains in order to maintain his hold on what he has learned and on the accomplishment of all worldly samādhis; here the perfection of patience is therefore more intense. With the

1) On the impurities to be abandoned by darśanamārga and bhāvanāmārga see AK, V, p. 10, n. p. 100 ff. *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, p. 26, *Siddhi*, p. 357 ff., 382.

2) For this section cf. *Mdh.*, p. 97 ff.

3) For such etymologies see *MSA*, XX-XXI, 32 ff.

obtainment of those *samādhis*, this stage produces a transcendental, incommensurable brightness of knowledge and it is therefore called *Prabhākārī*, “the Luminous stage”. He remains in this stage until he is unable to abide repeatedly in the conditions favorable to Enlightenment when obtained and to let his mind be indifferent to the longing (*upekṣitum*) of *samāpatti*.

When he succeeds in so doing and that requisite is accomplished he enters the:

4th Stage.

Then he constantly abides in the conditions favorable to Enlightenment (*bodhipakṣadharmā*) in order to pass beyond all desires of body, speech, and mind (*kāya vañmano jalpa*); here the perfection of energy is more intense. Since the fire of the conditions favorable to Enlightenment can consume the fuel of all impurities, this stage is called, *Arciṣmatī* “the Flaming one”. He remains there, contemplating the four truths, until he is unable to reverse the mind so that it becomes disinclined to *samsāra* and inclined to *nirvāṇa*, and to contemplate the conditions favorable to Enlightenment.

When he is able to do that then he enters the:

5th Stage.

Here the contemplation of the conditions favorable to Enlightenment and assisted by the means is difficult to practice; it is therefore called *Sudurjaya*, «Difficult to gain»; in it, on account of the repeated contemplation of the aspects of the four noble truths, the perfection of meditation, *dhyāna*, is more intense and the bo-

bodhisattva abides repeatedly in the conditions favorable to Enlightenment.

So long as he is unable to attain a state where no sign of things is ever perceived (*animittavihāra*), his mind being occupied by the depression which arises from the consideration of the process of *saṃsāra*, he remains in the fifth stage. When he is able to do so, he enters the: 6th Stage.

In this one the *bodhisattva* abides in the contemplation of the law of causal origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) and consequently here the perfection of gnosis is more intense. He is therefore intent on (*abhimukha*) all the buddhadharmas; hence this stage is called *Abhimukhī* "The facing". The *bodhisattva* dwells in that state where no sign of things is perceived (*animitta*). He remains there so long as he is unable to attain without interruption that concentration on the realization that no sign of things is perceived; when he is able to do so he enters the:

7th Stage.

In it the *bodhisattva* acquires the realization that no sign of things exists; but he has not yet overcome the empirical stage in which attention is fixed on the signs of things. In this stage the perfection of means is more intense and since it is difficult to pass beyond it, being connected with a path of effortlessness, it is called *Duraṅgamā* "The far-going". So long as the *bodhisattva* is unable to attain concentration on the realization that no sign of things is perceived (*animitta*), which is a mode of effortlessness (*anābhogavāhi*), he remains here. When he is able to do so, he enters the:

8th Stage.

Here he acquires, with no effort, the conditions favorable to virtue (*k u ś a l a p a k ṣ a*), and the perfection of his vow (*p r a ṇ i d h ā n a*) is here more intense. Since here he does not depart from that state of effortlessness and of non-perception of all signs, this stage is called *A c a l ā* "Unshakable". He abides there in that effortlessness and non-perceiving state, so long as he is unable to acquire mastery of the teaching of the Law in its various aspects of arrangement, explanation (*nirukti*), etc. When he acquires that mastery he enters the:

9th Stage.

Here the *b o d d h i s a t t v a* obtains a particular form of a fourfold¹⁾ knowledge (*p r a t i s a ṃ v i t*) and is possessed of a special power of gnosis; therefore here the perfection of power predominates. This stage is called *S ā d h u m a t ī*, "The good one", because the *b o d d h i s a t t v a* here acquires spiritual irreprehensibleness (*a n a v a d y a*) due to his ability to teach the Law in all its aspects.

So long as he is unable to show magical creations (*n i r - m ā ṇ a*), such as the Buddha-fields and the assemblies, to complete the spiritual maturity of beings and to enter into full enjoyment of the Law, he remains there; when he is able to do so, he enters the:

10th Stage.

Here he possesses a peculiar knowledge which leads to the maturity of beings through magical creations and therefore the perfection of knowledge here predominates. Since

¹⁾ *D h a r m a , a r t h a , n i r u k t i , p r a t i b h ā n a .*

the teaching of the Law is like a rain cloud which showers truth over all the worlds, this stage is called *D h a r m a - m e g h ā* . “ The Cloud of the Law ”.

(Other classifications of *Bhūmis* are also possible).

He has then acquired mastery over *nirmāṇa* , etc.; so long as he is unable to produce (*u t p ā d a y i t u m*) omniscience as regards all knowable things (*s a r v ā k ā r a*), with no attachment, and no obstruction, he remains there. When he is able to do so, then the Buddha-stage is realized than which nothing higher exists, because all forms of perfection have been attained in their climax; not even the Buddha can express its perfection.

SECTION II

TEXTS

*THE SANSKRIT AND TIBETAN TEXTS OF THE
FIRST BHĀVANĀKRAMA*

A. – SANSKRIT TEXT

§ 1. *Great compassion is of primary importance to the Bodhisattva; universality of pain; necessity of compassion.*

... dharmāṇāṃ pravṛttir bhavati | āryākṣayamatīrdeṣe 2 a, 1
coktam | “ punar aparaṃ, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, bodhi-
sattvānāṃ mahākaruṇāpy akṣayā | taṭ kasya hetoḥ | pūr-
vaṅgamatvāt | tad yathāpi nāma, bha*danta śāradvatīputra, 2
āśvāsāḥ puruṣasya jīvitendriyasya [Tib. 22b] pūrvaṅgamāḥ |
evam eva mahāyānasambhāra[samud]āgamāya bodhisat-
tvasya mahākaruṇā pūrvaṅgamā” iti ^(a) vistarāḥ | āryagayā-
śīr*ṣe coktam | “ kimārambhā, mañjuśrīḥ, bodhisattvānāṃ 3
caryā kimadhiṣṭhānā | mañjuśrīr āha | mahākaruṇārambhā,
devaputra, bodhisattvānāṃ caryā sattvādhiṣṭhānā” iti ^(b)
vistarāḥ | tathā hi tayā * preryamāṇā bodhisattvāḥ svāt- 4
manirapekṣā ekāntena paropakārārthatayā, atiduṣkaradīr-
ghakālike 'pi sambhāropārjanapariśrame pravartante | 5
tathā coktam āryaśraddhābalādhāne | “tatra karuṇayāpi
sarvasattvapariṣānanārtham na tat kiṃcit sukhopādhā-
nam ¹⁾ yan na parityajati” iti ²⁾ ^(c) | ato 'tiduṣkare pravar*ta- 6
māno na cireṇaiva sambhārān paripūryāvaśyam eva sar-

(a) Śs., p. 287, l. 6. When quotations are found in Śs. no reference is given to corresponding passages in Ta. and T.

(b) DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 103, n, Ta. n. 464 (465–67), p. 482, a; T., mDo, ca, p. 464, b, ll. 2–3.

(c) Ta. n. 305, p. 934, c; T. mDo, ma, p. 23, b, ll. 3–4.

¹⁾ Ms. °padhānam.

²⁾ T adds: there is no pain which they do not accept.

- vajñāpadam¹⁾ adhigacchati | tato buddhadharmāṇāṃ ka-
 ruṇaiva mūlam | mahākaruṇāparigrahād eva buddhā
 2 b, 1 bhagavanto 'dhigamya sar*va[jñā]²⁾padam aśeṣasya jagato
 'rthaṃ vikurvāṇās tiṣṭhanta iti nirvāṇāpratiṣṭhāne saiva
 bhagavatāṃ ṇāmahākaruhetuḥ | sā ca duḥkhitasattvā-
 2 lambanamanaskārabahulikārato vṛddhim upetya * (?) sarve
 ca te sattvās tridhātukāvacarās trividhaduḥkhatayā yathā-
 yogam atyantaduḥkhitā eveti sarveṣv eva sattveṣu bhā-
 3 vanīyā | tathā ca ye tāvan nārakās te vividhacira*ntanadīr-
 ghakālikadāhādiduḥkheṣu nimagnā eva bhagavatā varṇi-
 tāḥ | tathā pretā api duḥsahatīvrakṣuttrṣādīduḥkhapīḍābhi-
 4 samśoṣitamūrtayas tīvraduḥkha*m anubhavanti [Tib. 23 a]
 | yena varṣāsatēnāpy aśuciṃ khetapīṇḍanam ca bhok-
 tum na labhanta ityādi varṇitam bhagavatā | tiryāṇco 'pi
 5 parasparakrodhavadhāhimsādibhir anekavidham duḥkham*
 anubhavanto dṛśyanta eva | tathā hi kecin nāsikābheda-
 natāḍanabandhanādibhir atantrīkṛtāśarīrāḥ paritaḥ paripī-
 6 ḍyamānāḥ katham apy anicchanto 'pi atidurvahaguru*
 bhārodvahanaparikhinnavapuṣaḥ pariklāmyanti | tathāra-
 ṇye 'pi nivasanto 'naparādhāḥ kecit kvacit... to 'nviṣya
 hanyante | nityaṃ ca bhayavihvalamanasas tatas tataḥ
 3 a, 1 palā*yamānās tiṣṭhantīty aparimitam eṣāṃ duḥkham
 dṛśyata eva | tathā mānuṣye 'pi nārakam duḥkham dṛśya-
 ta eva | atra ye caurādayo 'ngacchedaśūlārpaṇodbandha-
 2 nādibhiḥ kāryanta eva teṣāṃ nāra*kam eva duḥkham
 | ye ca dāridryādyupahatās teṣāṃ pretānām iva tat
 kṣuttarṣādibhi[r] duḥkham | ye ca bhṛtyādayaḥ parāy-
 attīkṛtātmabhāvāḥ | ye ca balibhir ākramya pīḍyante
 3 teṣāṃ³⁾ * tiraścām iva tāḍanāvarodhanādīduḥkham | ta-

1) Ms. jñampa.

2) Ms. jñam pa^o.

3) Ms. tāsām.

thā paryeṣṭikṛtaṃ anyonyadrohopaghātādikṛtaṃ priya-
viprayogāpriyasamyōgakṛtaṃ cāprameyam eṣāṃ duḥ-
kḥa[m] | ye kvacid īś*varāḥ sukhitā iva lapyante ¹⁾ te 'pi ^{3 a, 4}
viparyavasānasampado vividhakudrṣṭigahananimagnā nā-
rakādiduḥkhānubhavaḥetuvividhakleśakarmāṇy upacin-
vantāḥ prapātasthā * iva taravo ²⁾ duḥkhahetau vartamā- ⁵
nāḥ paramārthato duḥkhitā eva [Tib. 23 b] | devā api ye
tāvat kāmāvacarās te 'pi tivrakāmāgnisamdiptamānasā
ākṣiptacittā ivāsvacchacetasaḥ * kṣaṇam api samādhā- ⁶
naṃ ³⁾ cetasāṃ na labhante | teṣāṃ praśamasukhadhana-
daridrāṇāṃ kīdrśaṃ nāma tat sukham | nityacyavanapa-
tanā⁴⁾ dibhayaśokopahatāḥ kathaṃ sukhitā nāma | ye ca
rū*pārūpāvacarās te 'pi yadi nāma kiyatkālaṃ duḥkhaduḥ- ^{3 b, 1}
khatāṃ vyatītās tathāpy atyantam kāmāvacarāṇāṃ anu-
śayānāṃ aprahāṇāt [teṣāṃ] punar api nārakādivinipāta-
saṃbhavād vipariṇāma*duḥkham [asty eva] | sarve nāma ²
devamanuṣyāḥ kleśakarmādipāratantryāt te saṃskāra-
duḥkhatayā duḥkhitā eva |

§ 2. *How compassion should be meditated upon.*

tad evaṃ sakalam eva jagad duḥkhāgnijvālāvalīḍham ⁵⁾
ity avetya yathā * mama duḥkham apriyaṃ tathānyeṣāṃ ³
apriyaṃ iti cintayatā sarveṣv eva sattveṣu kṛpā bhāva-
nīyā | prathamam tāvat mitrapakṣe[ṣu] pūrvoktavividha-
duḥkhānubhaveṣv anupaśyatā bhāvanīyā | tataḥ sa*ttva- ⁴
samatayā viśeṣam apaśyatā 'nādimati ca saṃsāre na ka-

1) T. snañ ba. Cfr. pāli: lapeti.

2) T. deest.

3) Ms. samantāto T. sems mñam par ajog par mi agyur te.

4) Ms. adds: tāḍana not in T.; it seems to be here out of place.

5) T. me lcei p'reñ bai sa yin par bltas la.

3 b, 5 ścit sattvo yo na me śataśo bandhur abhūd iti paricinta-
 yatā¹⁾ vyasteṣu bhāvanīyā | yadā mitrapakṣeṣv * iva [vya-
 steṣu] tulyā karuṇā pravṛttā bhavati | tadā śatrupakṣe 'pi
 tathāiva sattvasamatādīmanasikāreṇa bhāvanīyā | yadā
 ca [śatrupakṣe²⁾] 'pi mitrapakṣavat samapravṛttā bhavati |
 6 tadā * kramaśo daśasu dikṣu sarvasattveṣu bhāvayet |
 yadā ca duḥkhitabālapriyeṣv iva³⁾ [Tib. 24 a] duḥkhoḍ-
 dharaṇecchākārā svarasavāhinī⁴⁾ sarvasattveṣu samapra-
 4 a, 1 vṛttā kṛpā bhavati | tadā sā ni*ṣpannā bhavati | mahāka-
 ruṇāvyapadeśa[m] ca labhate | yathā akṣayamatisūtre ca
 varṇitam | ayam ca kṛpābhāvanākramo bhagavatā 'bhi-
dharmaśūtrādaḥ varṇitaḥ |

§ 3. *It helps the thought of illumination.*

2 tasyaivaṃ⁵⁾ kṛpābhyāsabalāt sakal*asattvābhyuddharaṇa-
 pratijñayānuttarasamyaksambodhiprārthanākāram ayat-
 nata eva bodhicittam utpadyate | yathoktaṃ daśadharmasūtre:
 3 “sattvān atrāṇān aśaraṇān advīpān dṛṣṭvā karu-
 ṇāyai * cittam upasthāpya yāvad anuttarāyāṃ samyaksam-
 bodhau cittam utpādayati” | iti^(a) | yadi nāma parasamādā-
 panādināpi bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya bodhicittam ut-
 4 padyate | tathāpi kṛpāvegato⁶⁾ yat svaya*m eva bodhisat-
 tvasya bodhicittam utpadyate tad bhagavatāryatathāga-
 tajñānamudrāsamādhau viśiṣṭatataratvena varṇitam | tad etad

(a) Śs., p. 8, l. 12.

1) Ms. navyastebhā°.

2) T. dgra la yañ.

3) Ms. almost illegible.

4) T. rañ gi ñañ gis ajug pa.

5) T. de ltar only.

6) T. sñiñ rje c'en pos non te.

bodhicittam pratipattivikalam api saṃsāre mahā*phalam 4 a, 5
 bhagavatā varṇitam | tathā coktam maitreyavimokṣe | “tad
 yathāpi nāma, kulaputra, bhinnam api vajraratnam sar-
 vam ativiśiṣṭam suvarṇālaṃkāram abhibhavati | vajrara-
 tnanāma ca na vija*hāti sarvadāridryam ca vinivartayati | 6
 evam eva, kulaputra, pratipattibhinnam api sarvajñatā-
 cittotpādavajraratnam sarvaśrāvakapratyeka**buddhagu-**
ṇa¹⁾suvarṇālaṃkāram abhibhavati bodhici*ttanāma na vi 4 b, 1
 jahāti | saṃsāradāridryam ca vinivartayati” iti^(a) | yo ’pi pā-
 ramitāsu sarveṇa sarvaṃ sarvathā śikṣitum asamarthaḥ,
 tenāpi bodhicittam utpādanīyam eva | upāyaparigrahe*ṇa 2
 mahāphalatvāt | [Tib. 24 b] yathā coktam āryarājāvavā-
dakasūtre | “yasmāt tvam, mahārāja, bahukṛtyo bahuka-
 raṇīyo ’sahaḥ sarveṇa sarvaṃ sarvathā dānapāramitāyām
 śikṣitum yāvat prajñāpāra*mitāyām śikṣitum | tasmāt 3
 tarhi tvam, mahārāja, evam eva sambodhau chandam
 śraddhām prārthanām prañidhiṃ gacchann api tiṣṭhann
 api niṣanno ’pi śāyāno ’pi jāgrad api bhuñjāno ’pi pibann
 api *satatasamitam anusmara manasikuru bhāvaya sarva- 4
 buddhabodhisattvārya²⁾śrāvakapratyeka**buddhapṛthagjanā-**
nām ātmanaś cātītānāgatapratyutpannāni kuśalamūlāni
 piṇḍa*yitvā, anumodasva | agrayā’numodanayā ’numodya 5
 ca sarvabuddhabodhisattvapratyeka**buddhāryaśrāvakāṇām**
 pūjākarmāṇi niryātaya | niryātya ca sarvasattvasādhā-
 raṇāni ku*ru tataḥ sarvasattvānām yāvat sarvajñatāprati- 6
 lambhāya sarvabuddhadharmaparipūraṇāya dine traikā-
 lyam anuttarāyām samyaksambodhau pariṇāma[ya] eva[m]
 khalu tvam, mahārāja, pratipannaḥ svarājy*am kariṣyasi | 5 a, 1

(a) Śs., p. 9, l. 8.

1) T. *deest.*

2) T. *deest.*

rājakṛtyāni ca na hāpayiṣyasi | ityādikam uktvā | atha kha-
lu punas tvam, mahārāja, samyaksaṃbodhicittakuśalamū-
5 a, 2 lavipāke*nānekakṛtyo deveṣūpapanno 'bhūḥ | anekakṛtyo
manuṣyeṣūpapanno 'bhūḥ | sarvāsu ca devamanuṣyopapat-
tiṣv ādhipatyam kārayiṣyasi ” | iti ^(a) vistaraḥ |

§ 4. *Bodhicitta: thought of Enlightenment.*

3 yat punaḥ pratipa*ttisāraṃ bodhicittaṃ tad atitarāṃ vi-
pulaṃ [phalam] iti ¹⁾ siddham | ata evāryavīradattaparipṛc-
chāyām uktam | [Tib. 25 a]

“ bodhicittād vai yat puṇyam tac ca rūpi ²⁾ bhaved yadi |
4 ākāśadhātum saṃpūrya bhūy*aś cottaritaṃ bhavet ||
5 gaṅgāvālu³⁾kāsaṃkhyāni buddhakṣetrāṇi yo naraḥ | *
dadyād ratnaprapūrṇāni lokanāthebhya eva hi ||
yaś caikaḥ prāñjalibhūtvā cittaṃ bodhāya nāmati |
iyam viśiṣyate pūjā yasyā anto na vidyate ^(b) || ” iti |

yathāryagaṇḍavyūhe varṇitam | “ bodhicittaṃ, kulaputra,
bījabhūtaṃ sarvabuddhadharmāṇām ^(c) ” iti vistaraḥ | tac
6 ca bodhicittaṃ dvivi*dham praṇidhicittaṃ prasthānacittaṃ
ca | āryagaṇḍavyūhe varṇitam | tathā | “ durlabhās te, ku-
laputra, sattvāḥ sattvaloke ye 'nuttarāyām samyaksaṃbo-
5 b, 1 dhau praṇidadhati ” iti | “ tato 'pi durlabhatamās*⁴⁾ te sattvā

(a) Śs., p. 9, l. 12.

(b) Ta. n. 331, p. 70, a; T. dKon brtsegs, ca, p. 352, b, ll. 3-4.

(c) Gaṇḍavyūha, p. 494, l. 1.

1) Reading doubtful; T., sgrub par sñiñ poi byed pai byaṅ c'ub kyi sems
kyi ābras bu gañ yin pa de šin tu c'e bar grub ste.

2) Ms. rupi.

3) Ms: vālika; from here up to... na vidyate T. deest.

4) Ms. durlabhastamas.

ye 'nuttarāṃ¹⁾ samyaksambodhim abhisamprasthitāḥ" iti ^(a) |
 sakalajagato hitāya buddho bhavedyam iti prathamata-
 raṃ prārthanākārā cetanā tat praṇidhicittam | yataḥ pra-
 bhr̥ti sam*varagrahaṇe . . . vartamānāḥ sambhāreṣu dṛ- ^{5 b, 2}
 śyante tat ²⁾ prasthānacittam | samvaraś ca vijñātaprati-
 balasamvarasthitā[t] kalyāṇamitrāt purato ³⁾ grāhyaḥ |
 asati prairūpe grā*hake ⁴⁾ buddhabodhisattvān āmukhī- ³
 kṛtya yathā mañjuśrīyā 'mbararājabhūtena bodhicittam
 utpāditam ⁵⁾ tathotpādaniyaḥ | evam utpāditabodhicitto
 bodhisattvaḥ sva*yam eva dānādi dadāti ⁶⁾ pratipattau ⁴
 prayokṣyate | na hi svayam adāntaḥ parān damayatīti
 matvā |

§ 5. *Gnosis and means, prajñā and upāya, must be realized jointly.*

|| na cāpi vinā pratipattiyā ⁷⁾ bodhir avāpyate | yathoktam
 āryagayā*śīrṣe " pratipattisārāṇāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ bo- ⁵
 dhir nāpratipattisārāṇāṃ ^(b) " iti | āryasamādhirāje cōktaṃ : |
 "tasmāt 'pratipattisāro bhaviṣyāmi' ity evaṃ tvayā kumāra
 śikṣi*tavyam | tat kasya hetoḥ | pratipattisārasya hi, ku- ⁶
 māra, na durlabhā bhavaty anuttarā samyaksambodhir "

(a) Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 492, (l. 24. Śs. p. 8, l. 16).

(b) Ta. n. 465, p. 465, b, ll. 25 ff.; T. mDo, ca, p. 472, a, ll. 1-2.

1) Ms. āyām.

2) T. gañ p'an c'ad sdom pa bzuñ ste ts'ogs rnam la žugs pa de ni žugs
 pai sems so.

3) But T. p'a rol po mk 'as pa mt'u dañ ldan pa sdom pa la gnas pa
 las. Ms. °balāsamvara °; kalyāṇamitrāt not in T.

4) T. *deest*.

5) Ms. utpādayatā.

6) T. *deest*.

7) Ms. pallyan.

[Tib. 25 b] iti ^(a) | sã ca pratipattir bodhisattvasya pãramitã-
 6 a, 1 'pramãṇasaṃgrahavastvãdibhede*na akṣayamati¹⁾ratname-
 ghãdisũtreṣu vistareṇa varṇitã | tathã laukikaśilpãdisthã-
 neṣv ^(b) api yãvad bodhi²⁾sattvena śikṣitavyam | kiṃ pu-
 2 nar lokottareṣu dhyãnãdiṣu | anyathã katham sar*vãkã-
 ram sattvãrtham ³⁾ kuryuḥ ^(c) | sã ceyam saṃkṣepeṇa
 bodhisattvasya prajñopãyarũpã pratipattir na prajñãmã-
 tram nopãyamãtram yathãryavimalakirtinirdeṣe “ prajñã-
 3 rahita [upãya] * upãyarahitã ca prajñã bodhisattvãnãm ban-
 dhanam ” ^(d) ity uktam | upãyasahitã prajñã prajñãsahita upã-
 yo mokṣatvena varṇitaḥ | ãryagayãśirṣe caktam | “ dvãv
 4 imau bodhisattvãnãm saṃkṣip*tau mãrgau | dvãbhyãm mār-
 gãbhyãm samanvãgatã bodhisattvã mahãsatvãḥ kṣipram
 anuttarãm samyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyante | kata-
 mau dvau | upãyaś ca prajñã ca ” | ^(e) iti |

§ 6. *Gnosis and means.*

5 | tatra pra*jñãpãramitãm tyaktvã dãnãdipãramitãsaṃgra-
 havastvãdikam sarvam eva kṣetrapariśuddhimahãbhogapa-
 6 rivãrasaṃpatsattvapariṣãkanirmãṇãdikasakalãbhyu*daya-
 dharmasaṃgrãhakam kuśalam upãya ucyate | prajñã tu
 tasyaiva copãyasyã'viparĩtasvabhãvapariśchedahetuḥ | tayã
 6 b, 1 hi samyagupãyam vivicyã'viparyasto yathãvat svaparãr*-

(a) SR., p. 113, l. 2. .

(b) Cf. Bobhu., p. 212, l. 20.

(c) Bobhu., p. 222, l. 6.

(d) Ta. n. 474, p. 526, c; T. mDo, p'a, p. 313, a, ll. 3-4.

(e) Ta. n. 464, p. 482, c; T. mDo, ca, p. 468, a, ll. 1-3.

1) T. adds: nirdeśa.

2) Ms. bobodhi°

3) Ms. sarvãrtham, T. sems can kyi don.

thānuṣṭhānād viṣam iva mantrapariḡhītaṃ¹⁾ bhuñjāno²⁾
na saṃkliṣyate [Tib. 26 a] | tathā cōktaṃ atraiva sūtre |
“upāyaḥ saṃgrahajñānaṃ | prajñā paricchedajñānaṃ” iti^(a)
| āryaśraddhābalādhāne cōktaṃ | “upāyakau*śalaṃ kata- 6 b, 2
mam | yat saṃgrahaḥ sarvadharmāṇām | prajñā katamā |
yat sarvadharmāṇām asaṃbhedanakauśalaṃ”^(b) iti | etau
prajñopāyau dvāv api sarvakālaṃ eva sevānīyau bhūmi-
praviṣṭair api na * tu prajñāmātraṃ nopāyamātraṃ³⁾ yataḥ 3
sarvāsv eva daśasu bhūmiṣu bodhisattvasya pāramitāsa-
mudācāraḥ paṭhito daśabhūmikādaḥ | “na ca pariśeṣāsu
na samudācarati” iti^(c) vaca*nāt | aṣṭamyām ca bhūmau 4
bodhisattvasya śāntavihāriṇo buddhair vyutthānaṃ tad
virudhyeta⁴⁾ | tac ca tatas tatra pāṭhād avagantavyam |
[Tib. 27 a]

§ 7. *No contradiction can be discovered in the scriptures.*

yac cāryavimalakīrtinirdeśe gayāśīrṣe cōktaṃ * tad api 5
pūrvoktaṃ⁵⁾ virudhyeta eva sāmānyenaiva tatrābhidhā-
nāt | yat sarvadharmasaṃgrahavaipulye cōktaṃ tad api
virudhyeta eva | tatroktaṃ | “sūkṣmaṃ hi, mañjuśrīḥ,
saddharmaprati*kṣepakarmāvaraṇam | yo hi kaścin, mañ- 6

(a) Ta. *Ibid.* T. *Ibid.*, p. 468, a, ll. 3-4.

(b) Ta. n. 305, p. 944, a, (ll. 2-3) and (second sentence) 943, c, last line; T. mDo, ma, p. 50, b, l. 7, and (the second sentence) 50, b, l. 4.

(c) Dbhū, p. 20, l. 9 samudāgacchati instead of samudācarati.

1) T. sñags kyis btab pai dug za ba dañ ādra ste.

2) Reading doubtful.

3) *Deest* in T.

4) Here in T. a long quotation from Dbh. p. 65 l. 5-66, l. 20 follows T. p. 26, a, l. 4, p. 27, a, l. 1.

5) Ms. pūrvakoktaṃ.

- juśrīs, tathāgatabhāṣite dharma ekasmin śobhana¹⁾saṃ-
 jñām utpādayati | ekasminn aśobhanasaṃjñām utpādayati
 7 a, 1 | sa saddharmaṃ pratikṣipati | tena * saddharmaṃ pratikṣi-
 patā tathāgato 'bhyākhyāto bhavati''^(a) iti vistaram uktvā
 āha | “yo 'yaṃ, maitreya, ṣaṭpāramitāsamudāgamo bo-
 2 dhisattvānām bodhāya taṃ te mohapuruṣā evaṃ vakṣya*n-
 ti | ‘prajñāpāramitāyām eva bodhisattvena śikṣitavyaṃ
 kiṃ śeśābhiḥ²⁾ pāramitābhir' iti | te 'nyām upāyapārami-
 3 tām³⁾ dūṣayitavyāṃ manyante | tat kiṃ manyase, 'jita,*
 duṣprajñāḥ sa kāsīrājo 'bhūt yena kapotārthaṃ śyenāya
 svamāmsāni dattāni | maitreya āha | no hidaṃ, bha-
 gavan | bhagavān āha | yāni mayā, maitreya, bodhisattva-
 4 caryā*m caratā ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃyuktāni kuśalamūlāny upa-
 citāni | apakṛtaṃ nu tair kuśalamūlair | maitreya āha |
 no hidaṃ, bhagavan | bhagavān āha | tvam, tāvad, ajita,
 5 dāna*pāramitāyām ṣaṣṭiṃ kalpān samudāgataḥ⁴⁾ | yāvat
 prajñāpāramitāyām ṣaṣṭiṃ kalpān samudāgataḥ | tat te
 mohapuruṣā evaṃ vakṣyanti | ekanayenaiva bodhir ya-
 7 b, 1 duta śūnyatāna*yena'' iti^(b) vistaraḥ | vairocanābhisambo-
dhou coktam | tad etat sarvajñajñānaṃ karuṇāmūlaṃ bo-
 dhicittahetukam upāyaparyavasānam'' iti⁵⁾ (c) | [Tib. 27 b]
 2 tasmād ubhayaṃ sarvakālam eva bodhisattvena * sevani-
 yam |

(a) Śs. p. 95, l. 10.

(b) Śs. p. 97, l. 6. This passage in Ta. 1664 p. 565, a is attributed wrongly to the *Gayāśīrṣa* V. DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 335, n. 3.

(c) Ta. n. 888, p. 1, b, c. Cf. TAJIMA, *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-Sūtra*, Paris 1936, pp. 96-99.

1) Ms. śobham aṣaṇo

2) Ms. makaivīśeśābhiḥ.

3) Tib. omits: upāya.

4) Ms. samudāgamaḥ.

5) T. *deest.* here, but see n. 4.

§ 8. *Apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*; it can be explained only if there is cooperation of gnosis and means.

evaṃ hi bhagavatām apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇaṃ sidhyati | tathā
 hi dānāder upāyasya rūpakāyakṣetraparivārādimaḥbhog-
 atāphalasamṣatparigrahād bhagavatām * na¹⁾ nirvāṇe 'va- 7 b, 3
 sthānam | prajñayā ca sakalaviparyāsaprahāṇān na saṃ-
 sāre 'vasthānam viparyāsamūlatvāt saṃsārasya | anayā
 ca prajñopāyasvarūpayā pratipadā samāro* pāpavādāntavi- 4
 varjanena madhyamā pratipad udbhāvitā | prajñayā samā-
 ropāntasya varjanād upāyenāpavādāntasya varjanāt | ata
 evāryadharmasamṁgītāv uktam | “la*kṣaṇānuvyañjanarūpa- 5
 kāyapariniṣpādanābhīrataś ca bhavati na dharmakāyābhisa-
 mayamātrābhīrataḥ”^(a) iti | punar uktam | “prajñopāyajanitas
 tathāgatānāṃ parapratyayataḥ sa[m]bhav*o 'nugantavyaḥ” 8 a, 1
 iti²⁾(b) | yat³⁾ punar uktam | “kolopamaṃ dharmaparyāyam
 ājānadbhir dharmā⁴⁾ eva prahātavyāḥ | prāg evādharmāḥ”
 iti^(c) | tad viparītābhīniveśaprahāṇataḥ prahātavyā ity
 abhiprāyād uktam | na * tu prayojanasamṁpādanārtham api 2
 nāśrayaṇīyam | tathā cōktam | “dharmāḥ pragrahītavyo
 nodgrahītavya” iti^(d) | nonmārgena pragrahītavya ity arthaḥ |
 yac cāpi kvacid dānādi samsāri*kaphalatvena varṇitaṃ 3
 tat prajñārahitaṇāṃ dānādīnāṃ pūrvam uktam tāvanmā-

(a) Ta. n. 761, p. 616, c, ll. 3-4; T. mDo, dsa, p. 28, b, ll. 4-5.

(b) Passage not located.

(c) Vajracch., p. 23, l. p. 14-15.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 23, cfr. p. 44, § 28.

1) T. *deest.*

2) T. de bžin gšegs pa ni šes rab dan t'abs kyis bskyed pa ste gžan gyi
 drin la ajog pa yañ srid par šes bya že'o.

3) Here T. inserts passage of *Vairocanaḥbhisambodhi*.

4) Ms. ajānādhirmma.

trakuśalamūlasamtuṣṭānś¹⁾ cādhikṛtyottarakuśalamūle pro-
 8 a, 4 tsāhanārtham | anyathā vimalakīrtiyādinirde*śaḥ sarva eva
 virudhyeta | tasmāt tu dvāv api prajñopāyau sevaniyāv
 iti sthitam | tatra prajñāparigrhitā dānādayaḥ pārami-
 5 tāvyapadeśaṃ labhante nānyatheti | ato dānā*dipariśud-
 dhaye samādhānam āsthāya prajñopādānārtham yatnaṃ
 kurvīta |

§ 9. *Prajñā: śrutamayī, cintāmayī, bhā-
 vanāmayī.*

tatra prathamam tāvat śrutamayī prajñotpādaniyā | tayā
 hi tāvad āgamārtham avadhārayati | tataś cintāmayyā
 8 b, 1 prajñā*yā nītaneyārtham²⁾ nirvedhayati | tatas tayā ni-
 ścitya bhūtam artham bhāvayen nābhūtam | anyathā hi
 viparītasyaāpi bhāvanād vicikitsāyāś cāvyapagamāt sam-
 2 yagjñānodayo na syāt | tataś ca vyarthaiva³⁾ bhāvanā syāt |
 yathā tīrthikānām | uktaṃ ca bhagavatā samādhirāje |

“nairātmyadharmaṃ yadi pratyavekṣate
 tān pratyavek⁴⁾ṣya yadi bhāvayeta |
 3 sa hetur nirvāṇaphalasya prāp*taye
 yo anyahetu na sa⁵⁾ bhoti śāntaye^(a)” iti |

tasmāc cintāmayyā prajñayā yuktyāgamābhyāṃ pratyavekṣya bhūtam⁶⁾ eva vastusvarūpaṃ bhāvanīyam | va-

(a) SR. I. p. 105, v. 37.

1) Ms. °tustas.

2) Ms. adds: stayā; T. ñes pa dañ drañ bai don rnam par aḅyed par byed do.

3) Ms. °vyam eva.

4) Ms. tānaprā°.

5) Ms. tad.

6) Corrected according to T.

stūnām svarūpaṃ ca para*mārthato 'nutpāda evā- 8 b, 4
gamato ¹⁾ yuktitaś ca niścitam |

§ 10. *The non-origination of all things is ascertained
by a) ā g a m a and b) y u k t i .*

a) ā g a m a , *authority*: tatrāgamato | yathoktam ārya-
dharmasaṃgītau | “ anutpādaḥ satyam asatyam anye
dharmāḥ ” iti ²⁾ (a) | etac ca pa*ramārthānukūlatvād anutpā- 9 a, 1
daḥ satyam ity uktam | paramārthatas tu notpādo nāpy
anutpādaḥ | tasya sarvavyavahārātītatvāt [Tib. 28 b]
punaś cātraiva cōktam | “ utpādanīrodhābhiniṣṭaḥ, kula- 2
putra, lokasaṃniveśaḥ | tasmāt tathāgato mahākāraṇiko
lokasyottrāsapadaparihārārtham vyavahāraśāśā uktavān
utpadyate nirudhyate ceti na cātra kasyacid dharmasya-
o*tpādaḥ ^(b) | ” iti | āryabuddhasaṃgītau cōktam | “ katamā 3
yonīśaḥ prcchā | katamā yonīḥ | āha | anutpādo yonīḥ |
tasya prcchā yonīśaḥ prcchā ” ^(c) | punar atraivoktam | “ akā-
ramukhāḥ ³⁾ sa*rvadharmāś cyutyutpattivigatāḥ | abhāvamu- 4
khāḥ sarvadharmāḥ | svabhāvaśūnyatām upādāya ” ^(d) iti
āryasatyadvayavibhāge cānutpādasamatayā sarvadharmā-

(a) Summarized from Ta. n. 761, p. 716, a; T. mDo, dsa, p. 48, b, 49, a,
but not identical.

(b) Śs. p. 263, l. 5.

(c) Ta. n. 810, p. 761, a (correspondence not literal); T. mDo, tsa, p. 358, b,
ll. 6-7, ts'ul de ni gaṇ | smra pa | mi skye ba ni | ts'ul te | de ādra bar ādi ādra
ba ni | ts'ul bzīn du ādri ba'o.

(d) Ta. n. 810, p. 768, c, l. 6. *Ibid.*, p. 326, a, l. 7 (commenting on: tsa
of the formula a r a p a t s a n a etc.).

1) Ms. ammodamevāgamṣu.

2) T. skye ba la sogs pai c'os gžan mi bden no: ms. anutpādasatyam.

3) T. tsai sgo.

9 a, 5 ṇām samatā bha*vati ^(a) | prajñāpāramitāyām cōktaṃ “rū-
paṃ, subhūte, rūpasvabhāvena śūnyam yāvad vijñānam vij-
ñānasvabhāvena śūnyam iti svalakṣaṇasūnyatām upādāya”
6 iti ” ^(b) | hastikakṣye co*ktam |

“na kaścil labhyate bhāvo yasyotpādasya saṃbhavaḥ |
asaṃbhaveṣu [dharmeṣu] bālāḥ saṃbhavam icchati ” | iti ^(c)

pitāputrasamāgame cōktaṃ | “sarva ete dharmāḥ sarve sa-
9 b, 1 mās traikālyasamatayā | atīte ’dhvani * sarvadharmāḥ sva-
bhāvarahitā yāvat pratyutpanne ’dhvani ” | iti ^(d) evaṃ tāvad
āgamataḥ pratyavekṣaṇīyam | yuktyā hi sthīrīkṛtasyāga-
mārthasyānyair apohitum aśakyatvāt. |

b) y u k t i, *arguing: b, 1 origination is not uncaused:*
2 ato yuktyāpi * pratyavekṣaṇīyam | tatra saṃkṣepato yuktir
ucyate | utpādo bhāvānām ahetuko vā syāt sahetuko vā |
na tāvad ahetukaḥ kā- [Tib. 29 a] dācitkatvadarśanāt
3 kāraṇānape*kṣā hi viśeṣābhāvād utpādakālavat sadā sar-
vatraiva ca bhāvāḥ kim na bhaveyuh | abhāvakālād avi-
śeṣād vā utpādakāle ’pi naiva bhaveyuh | evaṃ tāvan na
4 nir*hetuko yuktaḥ |

b, 2 *origination is not caused; criticism of God as creator:*
nāpi sahetukaḥ | tathā hi yas tāvad īśvarādis tīrthikair nityo
hetuḥ kalpitastato bhāvā na jāyante kramēnotpādadarśa-
5 nāt | na tv avikalakāra*ṇasya kramēnotpādo yukto nirapek-
ṣatvāt | nāpīśvarādeḥ svayaṃ samarthasya parāpekṣā |
nityatvena parair anupakāryatvāt | anupakāriṇi cāpekṣā-

(a) In the short treatise by Jñānagarbha dedicated to the discussion of the two truths this point is only occasional. bsTan agyur, mDo, sa, Tōhoku Cat., 3881.

(b) I cannot locate this passage.

(c) Ta. n. 813, p. 779, b, n. 814, p. 785, b; T. mDo, ma, p. 163 a l. 5 (translation different).

(d) Ta. n. 320, p. 975, b. T. dKon brtsegs, na, p. 348, b, l. 1.

'yogāt | ata * eveśvarādinām sarvasāmarthyaśūnyatvād ^{10 a, 1}
 vandhyāputrādivan niḥsvabhāvatvam eva | arthakriyāsa-
 marthatvād vastunaḥ | teṣām kvacid api kārye na krameṇa
 sāmarmhyaṃ yathā vicāritam | * nāpi yaugapadyena | tathā ²
 hi sarvakāryaṃ sakṛd utpādyottarakāle 'pi yady [utpatti]-
 samartha evāsau tadā punar api samarthasvabhāvānu-
 vṛttau pūrvavat kāryotpattiprasaṅgaḥ | * ananuvṛttau vā ³
 pūrvasvabhāvaparitāgād anityatvaprasaṅgaḥ | tasmān na
 nityaṃ nāma kiṃcid vastu vidyate | ata evoktaṃ bhaga-
 vatā | “asatsamāropaḥ punar, mahā*mate, ākāśanirōdhanir- ⁴
 vāṇākṛtakabhāvābhiniveśasamāropaḥ” | iti ^(a) | tasmān na
 nityād eṣām utpādo yuktaḥ |

b, 3 a noneternal cause is also illogical: nāpy anityāt
 tatrātītānāgatayor avastut*vān na tāvat tato janma ⁵
 yuktaṃ | ahetukatvaprasaṅgāt | nāpi vartamānāt | samā-
 nāsamānakālayos ta¹ta [Tib. 29 b] utpādāyogāt | tathā
 hi na tāvat samānakālaṃ, kāraṇa*svabhāva[va]t kārya- ^{10 b, 1}
 syāpi tatsamānakālabhāvitayā ² niṣpannatvāt | nāpi bhin-
 nakālam | kālāntaravyavadhānenotpāde 'tītāder ³ evot-
 pattiprasaṅgāt | avyavavadhānenāpy ut*pāde sarvātmanā ²
 yady avyavavadhānaṃ tadaikasminn eva kṣaṇe sarva-
 kṣaṇānām anupraveśāt kalpasya kṣaṇamātratāprasaṅgaḥ
 | yathā paramāṇoḥ sarvātmanā saṃyoge piṇḍasyāṇu*- ³
 mātratāprasaṅgaḥ | athaikadeśena | tadā kṣaṇasya sāvaya-
 vatvaprasaṅgaḥ | svato 'pi notpadyante | nirhetukapakṣe-
 ṇaivāsya pakṣasya saṃgrhītatvāt | svātmani ca kāritra-

(a) L a ŋ k, p. 72, l. 3.

1) Ms. vartamānāsamānatata ut° T. dus mñan pa dañ mi mñam pa
 de las mi skye bai p'yir da ltar gyi las yañ mi skyed.

2) Ms. tasya.

3) Ms. anyatītād. T. ādas pa la sogs pa las.

10 b, 4 viro*dhāt | nāpy ubhayataḥ | ubhayapakṣa¹⁾ bhāvidoṣadva-
ya²⁾ prasaṅgāt | tasmāt paramārthato 'nutpannā³⁾ evāmi
bhāvāḥ | samvṛtyā tūtpādasya⁴⁾ vidyamānatvān, nāga-
5 mādivirodhaḥ | tathā cokaṁ bhagavatā |

“ bhāvā jāyante samvṛtyā paramārthe 'svabhāvakāḥ |
niḥsvabhāveṣu bhāveṣu bhrāntiḥ sā samvṛtir matā⁵⁾ || iti^(a)

iyam ca yuktir bhagavato 'bhipretā⁶⁾ śālistambādaḥ |
11 a, 1 svataḥ para*ta ubhābhyām⁷⁾ ahetoś ca janmaniṣedhāt |

§ 11. *Other reasons. Criticism of the notion of matter (and atoms), of immateriality (vijñāna), of external objects as being distinct from mind:*

athavā evaṁ yuktyā vicārayet⁸⁾ | dvividhā bhāvā rūpiṇo
'rūpiṇaś ca | tatrāpi tāvad rūpiṇo ghaṭādayas te 'nuśo
2 vibhinnarūpatvān * naikasvabhāvāḥ | aṇūnām pūrvāpa-
rāvasthitānām pūrvādidigbhāgatvena⁹⁾ vibhidyamānānām
asiddhāv apy¹⁰⁾ aṇusaṁcayātmakatve nānekasvabhāvo yu-
3 ktaḥ | [Tib. 30, a] na caikānekasva*bhāvavyatirekeṇāparaḥ

(a) Lañk, p. 319, 429 but vidyanti for jāyante in a, na bhā-
vakā in b; c, d yā bhrāntiḥ tat satyaṁ samvṛtir bhavet.

1) Ms. pakṣi.

2) T. dvaya deest.

3) Ms. onna.

4) Ms. samvṛtṭyantu ut°.

5) Ms. mārga. T. ādod pa.

6) Ms. doubtful.

7) Ms.: °partabhyāma

8) Ms. athavā evāyu° but T. rnam pa gcig tu ādi ltar rigs pas rnam par
dpyad par bya ste.

9) Ms. °disvabhāgatvena T. p'yogs dañ ldan pa ñid kyis.

10) T. t'a dad pa rnam kyañ rnam par p'ye na mi āgrub pai p'yir.

kaścīd bhāvasvabhāvo 'stīti niḥsvabhāvā evāmi paramā-
rthataḥ svapnādyupalabdharūpādivad rūpiṇo bhāvāḥ |
etac ca bhagavataiva cōktam āraṇkāvatāre | "[go]- 11 a. 4
viśāṇaṃ punar, mahāmate, aṇuśo¹⁾pi vibhidyamānaṃ
nāvatiṣṭhate | punar apy aṇavo 'pi vibhidyamānā aṇu-
valakṣaṇena nāvatiṣṭhanta^(a) " iti | ye cārūpi²⁾ṇas te 'pi 5
tathaiva vicāryamānā niḥsvabhāvā eva | tathā hi bāhyasya
nīlāder³⁾ artha⁴⁾syābhāvāt sāmāthyata⁵⁾ eva vijñānādayo
'rūpiṇaḥ skandhā nīlādirūpeṇa * pratibhāsanta ity abhyu- 11 b. 1
peyam | uktaṃ ca bhagavatā |

"bahirdhā nāsti vai rūpaṃ svacittaṃ dṛśyate bahiḥ"^(b) | iti |

tataś ca nīlādicitrākāranirbhāsatayā * grāhyagrāhakākāra- 2
nirbhāsatayā naikasvabhāvā amī yuktāḥ | na caikasyā-
nekarūpatā yuktimatī, ekānekavirodhāt | ekasya kasyacit
svabhāvasyāsiddhāv anekarūpatāpy ayuktimatī, * ekasa- 3
mūharūpatvād anekasya | athavā tatrālikā evāmi rūpā-
daya ākāraḥ pratibhāsanta ity abhyupagamya | tadā
vijñānaṃ apy alikaṃ prāpnoti | vijñānasya ta*tsvarūpā- 4
vyatirekāt | na hi svayaṃ⁶⁾ prakāśamānarūpatāvyatireke-
ṇānyad vijñānasya rūpaṃ asti | svayaṃ ca na nirbhā-
sante rūpādayaḥ | teṣāṃ ca vijñānasvarūpāpannānām
alī*katve sarvaṃ eva vijñānaṃ alikaṃ abhyupetaṃ syāt | 5
tasmān "māyopamaṃ ca vijñānaṃ" ity uktaṃ bhagavatā

(a) L a ṇ k , p. 53, l. 16.

(b) L a ṇ k , p. 326, v. 489

1) Ms. anuṇā.

2) Ms. °rūrū°.

3) Ms. nīlarede.

4) Ms. doubtful.

5) Ms. samāthyatu.

6) Ms. nahisaṃpra°.

tasmād ekānekasvabhāvaśūnyatvena paramārthato 'likā
12 a, 1 evā*mī sarvabhāvā iti niścitam etat | ayaṃ cārtha ukto
bhagavatā laṅkāvatāre | [Tib. 30 b]

“ yathaiva darpaṇe rūpam ekatvānyatvavarjitam
2 dṛśyate na ca tatrāsti tathā bhāveṣu bhāvatā ” || iti ^(a) *
ekatvānyatvavarjitam iti | ekatvānyatvarahitam ity ar-
thaḥ | punaś coktam |

“ buddhyā vivieyamānānām svabhāvo nāvadhāryate |
3 ato nirabhilāpyās te niḥsvabhāv*ās ca darśitāḥ ” | ^(b) ||

§ 12. *Bhāvanāmayī prajñā.*

tad evaṃ cintāmayyā prajñayā niścitya bhūtam arthaṃ
tasya pratyakṣikaraṇāya bhāvanāmayīm prajñām utpāda-
4 yet | bahuś²⁾rutādīmātrakeṇa nārthaḥ * pratyakṣo bhava-
tīti^(c) niveditam āryaratnameghādiṣu | anubhavaś ca prati-
pattīṇām | na cāpi sphuṭatarajñānālokodayam antareṇa
5 samyag āvaraṇatamo 'pahīya*te | bhāvanābahulikāra[ta]ś
cābhūte 'py arthe sphuṭatarajñānam utpadyate | yathā
'subhā³⁾dipṛthvīkṛtsnādisamāpannānām⁴⁾ | kiṃ punar bhū-
12 b, 1 te | tathā ca bhāvanāyāḥ parisphuṭajñānaphala*tvena sā-
phalyam uktam āryasamādhirāje |

“ ārocayāmi prativedayāmi vo
yathā bahulaṃ vitarkayen naraḥ |

(a) Cf. L a ṅ k , p. 55, l. 17, and p. 327, v. 49 b.

(b) L a ṅ k , p. 116, l. 9. Cf. l a , 650 p. 225 c.

(c) Ta. n. 658, p. 225, c; Ta. n. 659, p. 29, a; T. mDo, ts'a, 108, b.

2) Ms. bahisru°.

3) T. ādi deest.

4) T. adds: śes pa byuñ ba lta bu yin na.

tathā tathā bhavati hi nimnacittas
tehi vitarkehi tanniśritehi* ” || ^(a) 1)

12 b. 2

iti vistaraḥ | tasmāt tattvaṃ sākṣātkartukāmo bhāvanāyāṃ
pravartate |

§ 13. *Śamatha*:

tatra prathamataram tāvad yoginā śamatho niṣpādanīyaś
cittasthirikaraṇāya | salilava*c cañcalatvāc cittasya, na śa- 3
matham ādhāram antareṇa sthitir²⁾ asti | na cāsamāhitena
cetasā yathābhūtaṃ śakyate jñātum | uktaṃ hi bhagavatā
“samāhitacitto yathā*bhūtaṃ prajānāti” | iti [Tib. 31 a] 4
śamatho lābhādikāmatānirapekṣasya samyakpravṛttau
sthitasya duḥkhādyadhivāsanaśī³⁾lasyārabdhavīryasya śi-
ghrataram saṃpadyate | ata evā*ryasaṃdhinirmocanādu 5
dānādaya uttarottaratvena varṇitāḥ | tad evam śīlādi-
śamathasaṃbhāreṣu sthito mano'nukūlade[śe]⁴⁾sarvabud-
dhabodhisattveṣu prañāmādi⁵⁾k*am kṛtvā pāpadeśanāṃ 13 a. 1
puṇyānumodanāṃ vidhāya sakalajagadabhyuddharaṇā-
śayo mahākaruṇāṃ evābhimukhīkṛtya kāyam ṛjuṃ pra-
ñidhāya sukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ paryāṅkam ābhujya sa*mā- 2
dhim abhiniṣpādayet | tatra prathamam tāvad yad⁶⁾ va-
stu vicārayitavyam yāvatā prakāreṇa saṃkṣepataḥ saka-
lavastusaṃgraho bhavati tatra cittaṃ badhnīyāt | saṃ-

(a) SR. I, p. 50, v. 16.

1) Ms. doubtful: T. de la gnas pai rnam par rtogs des.

2) Ms. inserts here asthītir.

3) Ex cj.; ms. ādyavikāśānilasya. T. la sogs pa dañ du len pai ñaṃ ts'ul
can du gyur la.

4) T. sa p'yogs su.

5) Ms. pramāṇādikam.

6) Ms. yatatava°.

- 13 a, 3 kṣi*ptam punar vastu rūpyarūpibhedena dvidhā bhavati |
 etac cādikarmikasya vikṣepa¹⁾doṣaparihārārtham saṃkṣi-
 ptam tāvad yuktam ālambayitum | yadā tu jitamana-
 4 skāro bhavati * tadā skandhadhātvādibhedena viśodhya
 vistāraśo 'py²⁾ ālambata eva | tathā saṃdhninirmocanāda-
 yogināṃ aṣṭādaśaprakāraśūnyatālambanādibhedena [nānā]-
 5 pra*kāram ālambanam uktam | atraiva bhagavatā sattvā-
 nugrahād rūpyārūpyādibhedena saṃkṣepamadhyavistārair
 vastubhedo 'bhidharmādaṃ nirdiṣṭaḥ | tac ca³⁾vastv adhyā-
 13 b, 1 ropāpavāda*parihārāya skandhadhātvādisaṃgrahato gaṇa-
 yet | tato niścitya sarvavastusaṃgrahaṃ tattraiva punaś
 cittam [Tib. 31 b] prabandhena prerayet | yadā tv antarā
 2 rāgādīnā cittam bahir vikṣipet | tadāva*gamya vikṣepatām
 aśubhādibhāvanayā vikṣepam upaśāmya punas tattra-
 vopary upari cittam prerayet | aśubhādibhāvanākramas
 3 tu granthavīstarabhayān na likhitaḥ | ya*dā tu cittam⁴⁾
 tatrānabhiratam paśyet | tadā⁵⁾ samādhher guṇadarśanato
 'bhiratiṃ tatra bhāvayet | vikṣepadoṣadarśanād aratiṃ
 4 praśamayet | atha yadā styānamiddhābhi*bhavād⁶⁾ ālam-
 banagrahaṇāprakaṭayā līnam cittam bhavati | tadā lokasa-
 mājñābhāvanayā prāmodyavastubuddhādiguṇamanasikārāl
 5 layam upaśāmya⁷⁾ punas tad evālamba*nam dṛḍhataram
 grhṇīyāt | atha yadā pūrvahasitaramitādyanusmarato
 'ntarā cittam uddhatam paśyet | tadā 'nityatādisaṃve-
 14 a, 1 gamanasikārād auddhatyam praśamayet | tataḥ * punas ta-

1) Ms. vyāksepa°.

2) Ms. vistarasopy. T. rgyas par yañ dmigs par byed k'o na ste: AK. Chap. VI, p. 151.

3) Ms. tavaccastu.

4) T. *deest*.

5) Ms. yadā. T. dei ts'e.

6) Ms. °vad.

7) Ms. kārādvalayasupa°.

traivālabane cittasyānabhisamṣkāravāhitāyām yatnaṃ
 kurvīta | atha yadā layauddhatyābhyām viviktatayā sa-
 mapravṛttaṃ svarasavāhi cittaṃ paśyet | tadābhogaśithi-
 likaraṇād up*ekṣate | yadā ¹⁾ tu samapravṛtte saty ābhogaḥ ^{14 a, 2}
 kriyate tadā cittaṃ vikṣipet | yadā tu tatrālabane 'na-
 bhisamṣkāravāhi yāvadicchāṃ cittaṃ pravṛttaṃ bhavati |
 ta*dā śamatho niṣpanno veditavyaḥ | etac ca sarvaśamathā- ³
 nāṃ sāmānyalakṣaṇaṃ | cittai²⁾kāgratāmātrasvabhāvatvāt
 śamathasya | ālambanaṃ tu tasyāniyatam* eva | ayaṃ ca ⁴
 śamathamārgo bhagavatā āryaprajñāpāramitādu ³⁾ nir-
 diṣṭaḥ |

§ 14. *Six defects and eight counteragents*

yad āha | “ tatra cittaṃ sthāpayati | saṃsthāpayati | ava-
 sthāpayati | upasthāpay*ati || damayati | śamayati ¹ vyupa- ⁵
 śamayati | ekotikaroti | samādadhāti ” i[ti nava]-^(a)[Tib. 32 a]
 padaiḥ | tatra sthāpayati, ālambanena badhnāti | saṃsthāpa-
 *yati, tatraivālabane prabandhena pravartayati | avasthā- ⁶
 payati, vikṣepam avagamya tat pariharati ⁴⁾ | upasthāpayati,
 vikṣepam parihṛtya upary upari punas ⁵⁾ tatraivālabane
 sthāpa*yati | damayati, ratim utpādayati | śamayati ara- ^{14 b, 1}
 tiṃ vyupaśamayati vikṣepadoṣadarśanā[t] | vyupaśama-
 yati, styānamiddhādīn v⁶⁾vyutthitān vyupaśamayati | eko-
 tikaro*ti, ālabane 'nabhisamṣkāravāhitāyām yatnaṃ ²

(a) Bobhū, p. 109, l. 17. Cf. MSA, XIV, śl. 14.

1) T. gal te, yadi.

2) Ms. citte.

3) Ms. tāyāyādu.

4) Ms. pari ... punas praharati.

5) Ms. doubtful.

6) Ms. oḍinavyut^o.

karoti | samādadhāti, samaprāptam cittam upekṣate saman-
 vāharatīty arthaḥ | eṣa caiṣām padānām arthaḥ pūrvācār-
 14 b, 3 y[air] * maitreyeṇa^{1) (a)} ca vyākhyātaḥ | saṃkṣepeṇa sarva-
 syaiva samādheḥ²⁾ ṣaḍ doṣā bhavanti | kausīdyam ālamba-
 4 nasampramoṣo layauddhatyam anābhoga³⁾ ābhoga*teti^{4) (b)}
 tesām pratipakṣeṇāṣṭau prahāṇasaṃskārā bhāvanīyāḥ | tad
 yathā śraddhā chando vyāyāmaḥ praśrabdhiḥ smṛtiḥ saṃ-
 5 prajanyam cetanā upekṣā⁵⁾ ceti | tatrādyās * catvāraḥ kau-
 sīdyasya pratipakṣāḥ | tathā hi samādhher guṇeṣv abhisam-
 pratyayalakṣaṇayā śraddhayā⁶⁾ tatra yogino 'bhilāṣa utpa-
 6 dyate | tato 'bhilā*ṣād vīryam ārabhet tadvīryabalena
 kāyacittakarmanyatām āsādayati | tataḥ praśrabdhakāya-
 15 a, 1 cetasaḥ kausīdyam āvartate | ataḥ śraddhādayaḥ kausī*-
 dyaprahāṇāya bhāvanīyāḥ | smṛtir ālambanasampramo-
 ṣasya pratipakṣaḥ | samprajanyam layauddhatyayoḥ pra-
 tipakṣaḥ | tena layauddhatyayoḥ samyagupalakṣaṇāt | la-
 2 yauddhatyapra*śamanakāle tv anābhogadoṣaḥ | tat prati-
 pakṣeṇa ca cetanā bhāvanīyā | layauddhatyapraśame sati
 yadā cittam praśa[ma]vāhi tadābhogadoṣaḥ [Tib. 32 b] | tat
 3 pra*tipakṣas tadānīm upekṣā bhāvanīyā | ebhir aṣṭabhiḥ
 prahāṇasaṃskāraiḥ samanvāgataḥ samādhīḥ paramakarma-
 4 ṇyo bhavati | ṛddhyādīn guṇān niṣpāda*yati | ata evoktaṃ
 sūtre | “ prahāṇasamanvāgataḥ ṛddhipādam⁷⁾ bhāvayati ”
 iti |

(a) MSA, XIV, śl. 14.

(b) Cf. Dharmas. 118.

1) T. ap'ags pa ajams pa dañ sñon gyi mk'an po rnam kyis bśad do.

2) Ms. °dhih.

3) Ms. °gāt.

4) Reading doubtful; Tib. rtsol ba.

5) Ms. upekṣā-cetanā.

6) Ms. °kṣaṇāya śaddhāyā tatra.

7) Ms. ṛddhyāpadam.

§ 15. *Dhyāna etc.*

eṣā ca cittaikāgratā uttarottarakarmaṇyatāsaṃprayogād
 āla*mbanādiguṇaviśeṣayogāc ca dhyānārūpya[samāpatti] ¹⁾ 15 a. 5
 vimokṣādivyapadeśaṃ labhate | tathā hi yadopekṣāveda-
 nāsaṃprayuktā savitarkasavicārā sā bhavati | tadā*nāgam- 15 b. 1
 yam ucyate | yadā ca kāmātrṣṇayā ²⁾ viviktā bhavati ³⁾
 prītisukhādhyātmasaṃprasādaiḥ ⁴⁾ saṃprayuktā bhavati |
 tadā prathamam dhyānam ucyate | ata eva prathamam
 dhyānam vitarkamātrara*hitam dhyānāntaram ucyate ²
 yadā vitarkavicārarahitā prathamadhyānabhūmitṛṣṇayā
 viviktā ca bhavati | prītisukhādhyātmasaṃprasādaiḥ saṃ-
 prayuktā bhavati | tadā dvitīyam dhyān*am ucyate | ³
 yadā tu dvitīyadhyānabhūmitṛṣṇayā viviktā bhavati |
 sukhopekṣāsmṛtisamprajanyasaṃprayuktā bhavati | tadā
 tṛtīyam dhyānam ucyate | yadā tṛtīyadhyānabhūmitṛṣ-
 ṇayā ⁵⁾ viviktā bhavati, aduḥkhāsukhā * upekṣāsmṛtyabhi- ⁴
 saṃprayuktā bhavati, tadā caturtham dhyānam ucyate |
 evam arūpyasaṃpatti⁶⁾vimokṣābhibhāvā⁷⁾yatanādiṣv ālam-
 banākārādibhedena yojyam | * tad evam ālambane [Tib. ⁵
 33 a] cittam sthīrīkṛtya prajñayā vivecayet | yato jñānālo-
 kotpādāt saṃmohabījasyātyantaprahāṇam bhavati | anya-
 thā hi tīrthikānām iva samādhi⁸⁾mā*treṇa kleśaprahāṇam 16 a. 1
 na syāt | yathoktam sūtre,

1) Ms. *deest*; T.: sñoms par ajug pa.

2) T. adds sdig pa c'os rnam = pāpadharmaḥ.

3) T. adds: rtog pa dan dpyod pa.

4) T. adhyātmasaṃprasādaiḥ *deest*.

5) Ms. tṛtīyā.

6) From T.

7) Ms. °bhiḥ svā°.

8) Ms. °māmatrena.

“ kiṃ cāpi bhāv[ay]et samādhim etam |
na vāpi bhāvayet sā ātmasaṃjñā ||
punaḥ prakupyati ¹⁾ kilesu tasyā |
16 a, 2 yathodrakasyeha ²⁾ samā*dhībhāvanā ” | iti |

§ 16. *Method of meditation according to Laṅkāvatāra;
vicāra on the dharmas (no object, no subject) etc.:*

tatrāyam āryalaṅkāvatāre saṃkṣepāt prajñābhāvanā-
kramo nirdiṣṭaḥ |

“ cittamātram samāruhya bāhyam arthaṃ na kalpayet
3 tathatālambane * ³⁾ sthitvā cittamātram atikramet ||
citta[mātram] atikramya nirābhāsam atikramet |
nirābhāse sthīto yogī mahāyānaṃ sa paśyati ||
4 anābhogagatiḥ śāntā praṇi*dbānair viśodhitā |
jñānaṃ nirātmakaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ nirābhāsenā paśyati ” | iti ^(a) |

tatrāyam arthaḥ ⁴⁾ |
prathamam ⁵⁾ yogī ye rūpiṇo dharmā bāhyārthatayā pa-
5 raiḥ parikalpi*tās teṣu tāvad vicārayet | kim ete vijñānād
anye āhosvid vijñānam evaitat tathā pratibhāsat
yathā svapnāvasthāyām iti | tatra vijñānād bahiḥ para-
16 b, 1 māṇuśo * vicārayet | paramāṇuś ca bhāgaśaḥ pratyavek-
śamāno yogī tān arthān na samanupaśyati | tasyāsamānu-
paśyata evaṃ bhavati | cittamātram evaitat sarvaṃ na
2 punar bāhyo 'rtho vi*dyate | tad evam |

(a) L a ṅ k , p. 298, vv. 256-258.

1) Doubtful.

2) Cf. Lhag spyod Mv. 3516, Udrako Rāmaputraḥ.

3) Ms. tarakṣaṇe.

4) Ms. °avāyaḥ.

5) Ms. praśambhāva.

“cittamātram samāruhya bāhyam artham na kalpayet”
 rūpidharmavikalpān tyajed ity arthaḥ | teṣām upa[labdhi]-
 lakṣaṇaprāptānām vicāra*yed anupalabdheḥ | [Tib. 33 b] 16 b, 3
 evaṃ rūpiṇo*dharmān vibhāvyārūpiṇo vibhāvayet | tatra
 yac cittamātram tad apy asati grāhye grāhako na yukto
 grāhakasya grāhyāpekṣatvāt ¹⁾ | tato cittam grāhyagrāha-
 kaviviktaṃ advayam eva cittam iti vicārayet, advaya-
 lakṣaṇe tathatāla*mbane sthitvā tad api cittamātram ⁴
 atikramet | grāhakam ākāram atikramet | dvayanirā-
 bhāsa evā²⁾dvayajñāne tiṣṭhed ity arthaḥ | evaṃ cit-
 tamātram atikramya tad api dvay*anirābhāsaṃ yaj ³⁾ ⁵
 jñānaṃ tad atikramet | svataḥ parato bhāvānām jan-
 mānupapatteḥ | grāhyagrāhakayoś cālikatve tadavyatire-
 kāt tasyāpi satyatvam ayuktaṃ iti vicārayet * | tatrāpy ad- ^{17 a, 1}
 vayajñāne vastutvābhiniveśaṃ tyajet, advayajñānanirā-
 bhāsa eva jñāne tiṣṭhed ity arthaḥ | evaṃ sati sarvadharmā-
 ni⁴⁾ḥsvabhāvatāpratipattau sthito ⁵⁾ bhavati | tatra
 sthitasya para*matattvapraśeṣāt, nirvikalpasamādhipra- ²
 śeṣaḥ | tathā cādvayajñānanirābhāse jñāne yadā sthito yogī
 tadā paramatattve sthitatvāt ⁶⁾, mahāyānaṃ sa paśyati |

§ 17. *Meditation on the absolute:*

etad eva tan * mahāyānaṃ ucyate yat paramatattvadarśa- ³
 nam | etad eva tat paramatattvadarśanaṃ yat sarvadharmā-

1) So from T.; ms. tatra yadi cittamātram tad asati grāhyagrāhakavivik-
 taṃ; de la sems tsam gañ yin pa de yañ gzuñ pa med na ḍsin par mi ruñ
 ste ḍsin pa ni gzuñ pa la ltos pai p'yir ro | de lta bas sems ni gzuñ pa dañ
 ḍsin pa las dben žiñ gñis su med pa k'o na yin par ro rnam par dpyad nas.

2) T. *deest*.

3) Ms. yata.

4) Ms. dharmāṇiḥsva°.

5) Ms. prativiviṣṭhito.

6) T. reads: darśanamārga sthitatvāt.

mān prajñācakṣuṣā nirūpayataḥ samyagjñānāvaloke saty
 17 a, 4 adarśanam tathā cōkt*am sūtre | “katamam paramārtha-
 darśanam | sarvadharmāṇām adarśanam ” iti | atredṛśam
 evādarśanam abhipretam | na tu nimilitākṣajātyandhānām¹⁾
 5 iva pratyayaivaika*lyād amanasikārato vā yad adarśanam |
 tato²⁾ [Tib. 34, a] bhāvābhiniveśā³⁾diviparyāsavāsanāyā
 aprahīnatvāt⁴⁾ | asaṃjñīsamāpattyādivyutthitasyeva pu-
 nar api bhāvābhiniveśamūlasya⁵⁾ rāgādikleśagaṇasyotpat-
 17 b, 1 ter amukta eva yogī bhavet | bhāvābhiniveśamūlo rā*-
 gādir āryasatyadvaya⁶⁾nirdeśātau varṇitaḥ | yat punar
 2 uktam avikalpaprav*ēśadhāraṇyām “amanasikārato⁷⁾ rū-
 pādīnimittam varjayati” iti^(a) | tatrāpi prajñayā nirūpayato
 yo ’nu[p]alambhaḥ sa tatrāmanasikāro ’bhipreto na ma-
 3 nasikār*ābhāvamātram | na hy asaṃjñīsamāpattyādir iva
 anādikāliko rūpādyabhiniveśo manasikāraparivarjanamā-
 4 trāt prahīyate | saṃśayāprahāṇe tu na⁸⁾ pūrvopalabdheṣu
 ca rūpādiṣv abhiniveśamanasikāraparivarjanam śakyam
 kartum agnyaparivarjane dāhāparivarjanavat | tathāmī
 5 rūpādīmithyā⁹⁾*vikalpāḥ kaṇṭakādivad utkīlya na hastena
 cetaso ’panetavyāḥ | kiṃ tarhi, saṃśayabījāpagamāt | tac
 ca saṃśayabījam yoginaḥ samādhyāloke sati prajñācak-
 18 a, 1 ṣu*ṣā nirūpayatas teṣām rūpādīnām pūrvopalabdhānām

(a) Ta. n. 654, p. 805, c. T. mDo, da, p. 5, b, l. 2 (rnam par rtog pai mts’an
 mai rnam pa t’ams cad yid la mi byed pas yoṅs su spoñ ba na).

1) Ms. °dhānomiva.

2) Ms. teto. T. de lta bas.

3) Ms. *deest*. T. dños por mñon par žen pa la sogs pa.

4) Ms. °sanāya | aprahī.

5) Ms. lasya twice.

6) Ms. dvāyacarātānir°.

7) T. yid la mi byed pas but mss. avikalpato.

8) Ms. na cāpi prajñānīvasaṃśayabījaprahānam syāt pūrva etc.

9) Ms. *dcest*.

upalabdhilakṣaṇaprāptānām anupalambhād, rajjau sarpa-
jñānavad apagacchati nānyathā | tathā ¹⁾ samśaya[bijā]-
pagamād rūpādinimi*ttamanasikāraḥ śakyate varjayitum ^{18 a, 2}
nānyathā | anyathā hy asati samādhyāloke prajñācakṣu-
ṣāpy anavaloke yathā andhakū²⁾pāvasthitapuruṣasyāva-
carakaga*taghaṭādiṣv iva yogino rūpādiṣv astitvasa³⁾m- ³
śayo naiva nivarteta | tadanivṛtṭyā [Tib. 34, b] cāprahīṇa-
timiradoṣasyeva yo 'yukto 'likarūpādyabhiniveśaḥ pravar-
teta * na kenāpi nivartyeta ⁴⁾ | tasmāt samādhihastena ma- ⁴
naḥ samdhāya sūkṣmataraprajñāśastreṇa tatra cetasi rūpā-
dimithyāvikalpabījam⁵⁾ uddharet | evaṃ saty utkhātāmūlā* ⁵
iva taravo bhūmer nirmūlatayā mithyā⁶⁾vikalpāḥ punaś
cetasi na virohanti | ata evāvaraṇaprahāṇāya śamathavipaś-
yanāyuganaddhavāhī mārgo bhagavatā nirdiṣṭaḥ* | tayor ^{18 b. 1}
avikalpasamyagjñāne hetutvāt | tathā cōktam |

“ śīlaṃ pratiṣṭhāya samādhilābhāḥ |
samādhilābhāc ca hi prajñābhāvanā |
prajñayā jñānaṃ bhavati ⁷⁾ viśuddham |
viśuddhajñānasya hi śī*lasampat ” | iti | ²

tathā hi yadā śamathenālabhane cittaṃ sthīrīkṛtaṃ ⁸⁾
bhavati | tadā prajñayā vicārayataḥ ⁹⁾ samyagjñānāloka
utpadya | tetathān¹⁰⁾dhakāram ivālo*ke prakāśayati ¹¹⁾ āva- ³

1) T. dei ts'e, tadā.

2) Ms. yato andhayakārāvasthita.

3) Ms. °tvam samśayo.

4) Ms. nirvayeta.

5) T. adds zug rñu: śalyaṃ

6) Ms. dravika° T. log par rnam rtog; or: durvikaipa.

7) Ms. bhavati.

8) Ms. kṛtamkr.

9) Ms. °rayetaḥ.

10) T. dei ts'e = tadā.

11) Ms. padāśaseti.

raṇam apahīyate | ata evānayoś cakṣurālokayor iva sa-
 myagjñānotpādam praty anyonyānugūṇyenāvasthitatvān
 18 b, 4 nālokāndhakāravat par*asparavirodhaḥ | na hi samādhir
 andhakārasvabhāvaḥ | kiṃ tarhi cittaikāgratālakṣaṇaḥ |
 sa ca samāhito yathābhūtaṃ prajānātīti vacanād ekān-
 5 tena prajñānu*kula eva bhavati na tu viruddhaḥ | ta-
 smāt syāt ¹⁾ samāhitasya prajñayā nirūpayataḥ sarva-
 dharmāṇām anupalambhaḥ | sa eva paramo 'nupalam-
 19 a, 1 bhaḥ | sā ca tādrśī yoginām avasthānala*kṣaṇā gatir
 anābhogā | tataḥ paraṃ draṣṭavyasyābhāvāt | śānteti bhā-
 vābhāvādi²⁾ vikalpalakṣaṇasya prapañcasyopaśamāt [Tib.
 35, a] | tathā hi [yadā] ³⁾ prajñayā nirūpayan na kiṃcid
 2 bhāvasvabhāvam upalabha*te yogī, tadāsyā naiva bhā-
 vavikalpo bhavati | abhāvavikalpo 'pi tasya nāsty eva |
 yadi bhāvaḥ kadācid dr̥ṣṭo bhavati, evam sati tanni-
 3 ṣedhenābhāvavikalpaḥ pravartate * | yadā tu kālātraye
 'pi bhāvo yoginā prajñācakṣuṣā nirūpayatā nopalabdhaḥ |
 tadā katham tasya pratiṣedhenābhāvavikalpaṃ kurvīta |
 4 evam anye 'pi vikalpās tadā tasya* na samutpadyanta
 eva bhāvābhāvavikalpābhyām sarvavikalpasya vyāptat-
 vāt | vyāpakābhāve ca vyāpyasyāsaṃbhavāt | ayam asau
 paramanirvikalpo yogaḥ |

§ 18. *Definite elimination of kleśa – and jñeyā-
āvaraṇa :*

5 atra ⁴⁾ sthitasya * yoginaḥ sarvavikalpānām astaṃgamāt
 samyak kleśāvaraṇaṃ jñeyāvaraṇaṃ ca prahīyate | tathā

1) Ms. viruddhas tu syāt.

2) Ms. 'bhāvāvika°.

3) T. ṇḍi ltar gaṇ gi ts'e.

4) Ms. anusthitasya T. de la gnas pai.

hi kleśāvaraṇasyānutpannāniruddhabhā¹⁾veṣu bhāvādivi-
 paryāso mūlaṃ kāraṇaṃ * āryasatyadvayanirdeśādu var- 19 b, 1
 ṇitaṃ bhagavatā | anena ca yogābhyāsenā sarvabhāvā-
 divikalpānāṃ prahāṇāt sakalabhāvādiviparyāsasyāvidy-
 āsvabhāvasya kleśāvaraṇa*mūlasya prahāṇaṃ | tato mū- 2
 locchedāt kleśāvaraṇaṃ samyak prahīyate | tathā cokaṃ
 satyadvayanirdeśe | “kathaṃ, mañjuśrīḥ, kleśā vinayaṃ
 gacchanti | kathaṃ klesāḥ * pariññātā bhavanti | mañjuśrī 3
 āha | paramārthato ’tyantājātānutpannābhāve²⁾ṣu sarva-
 dharmeṣu saṃvṛtyāsadviparyāsaḥ | tasmād asad³⁾vipar-
 yāsāt saṃkalpavikalpaḥ * | tasmāt saṃkalpavikalpād [Tib. 4
 35 b] ayoniśomanasikāraḥ | tasmād ayoniśomanasikārād
 ātmasamāropaḥ | tasmād ātmasamāropād dṛṣṭiparyutthā-
 nam * | tasmād dṛṣṭiparyutthā[nāt] kleśāḥ pravartante | 5
 yaḥ punar, devaputra, paramārthato ’tyantājātānutpan-
 nābhāvān ⁴⁾ sarvadharmān prajānāti, sa paramārthato
 ’viparyastaḥ | yaś ca * paramārthato ’viparyastaḥ so ’vi- 20 a, 1
 kalpaḥ | yaś cāvikalpaḥ sa yoniśaḥ prayuktaḥ | ⁵⁾ yaś ca
 yoniśaḥ prayuktas tasyātmamasamāropo na bhavati | ya-
 syātmamasamāropo na bhavati * tasya dṛṣṭiparyutthānaṃ [na] 2
 bhavati | yāvat paramārthato nirvāṇadṛṣṭisarvadrṣṭiparyut-
 thānaṃ api na bhavati | tasyaivam anutpādavihāriṇaḥ
 kleśā atyantam vinītā draṣṭavyāḥ | ayam ucyate kleśavi- 3
 nayāḥ | yadā, devaputra, kleśān nirābhāsenā jñānena pa-
 ramārthato ’tyantaśūnyān atyantābhāvān atyantānit-
 yān ⁶⁾ prajānāti tadā, devaputra, kleśā*ḥ pariññātā bha- 4
 vanti | tatra yathāpi nāma, devaputra, ya āśīviṣasya go-

1) Ms. °oddhābhā.

2) Ms. °nabhā°; T. dños po med.

3) From T.

4) Ms. °vāt.

5) T adds: mi rtog which seems useless.

6) Ms. °tyāni; T. better; śin tu mts'an ma med pa, atyantānimittān.

- tram prajānāti ¹⁾ | sa tasyāśīviṣasya viṣaṃ śamayati |
 20 a, 5 evam eva, devaputra, yaḥ kleśānāṃ gotra*ṃ prajānāti
 tasya klesāḥ praśāmyanti | devaputra āha | kataman, ma-
 ṇjuśriḥ, kleśānāṃ gotram | āha | yāvad eṣā ²⁾ paramār-
 thato 'tyantā[jātā] ³⁾nutpannābhāveṣu sarvadharmeṣu kal-
 6 panā * idaṃ kleśānāṃ gotram'' iti vistaraḥ | bhāvādivipa-
 ryāsena ca sakalaviparyāsasya vyāptatvāt tatprahāṇe sa-
 20 b, 1 kalaviparyāsaprahāṇāt | jñeyāvaraṇaṃ apy anena samyak*
 prahīyate, viparyāsalakṣaṇatvād āvaraṇasya [Tib. 36 a] |
 jñeyāvaraṇe ca prahīṇe ⁴⁾ pratibandhbābhāvād ravikiraṇavad
 2 apagatameghādyāvaraṇe nabhasi sarvatrāv*yāhato yogi-
 pratyakṣo jñānālokaḥ pravartate | tathā hi vastusvabhāva-
 prakāśarūpaṃ vijñānam | tac ca saṃnihitam api vastu prati-
 3 bandhasadbhāvān * na prakāśayati | pratibandhbābhāve tu
 saty, acintyaśaktiviśeṣalābhāt kimiti sakalam eva vastu
 yathāvan na prakāśayet | ataḥ saṃvṛtiparamārtarūpeṇa
 4 sakalasya vastuno ya*thāvat pariññānāt sarvajñatvam avā-
 pyate | ato'yam evāvaraṇaprahāṇe sarvajñatvādhigame
 ca paramo mārgaḥ ⁵⁾ | yas tu śrāvakādīnāṃ mārgas tena
 5 viparyāsāprahāṇān na samyag * āvaraṇadvayaṃ prahīyate ||
 || tathā coktam āryalaṅkāvatāre | “ anye tu kāraṇādhīnān
 6 sarvadharmān dṛṣṭvā nirvāṇe'pi nirvāṇam itibuddha*yo
 bhavanti * dharmanairātmyādarśanāt nāsti, mahāmate,
 mokṣa eṣāṃ | mahāmate, śrāvakayānikābhīṣamayagotrasyā-
 21 a, 1 niryāṇe niryāṇabuddhiḥ | atra, * mahā⁶⁾mate, kudṛṣṭivyāvar-
 tanārthaṃ yogaḥ karaṇīyaḥ'' iti^(a) | ata eva cānyena [mārge-

(a) Lañk, p. 63, l. 16.

1) Ms. pathanti T. rab tu šes pa.

2) Ms. eva T. gañ yin pa de.

3) From T.: ma skyes pa.

4) Ms. °hīṇa.

5) Ms. paramaḥ pakṣaḥ.

6) Ms. twice.

ṇa] ¹⁾ mokṣābhāvād, ekam eva yānam ²⁾ uktaṃ bhagavatā |
 kevalam avatāraṇābhisaṃdhinā śrāvakādimā*rgo deśitaḥ | ³⁾ 21 a, 2
 tathā hi skandhamātram evaitat ⁴⁾ | na tv ātmāstīti bhāva-
 yan śrāvakaḥ pudgalanairātmyam ⁵⁾ avatarati | vijñaptimā- 3
 tram traidhātukam iti bhāvayan vijñānavādibā*hyārtha-
 nairātmyam avatarati | anena tv asyādvayajñānasya nai-
 rāt ⁶⁾ myapraveśāt paramata ⁷⁾ ttvapraviṣṭo [Tib. 36 b] bha-
 vati | na tu vijñaptimātratāpraveśa eva tattvapraveśaḥ | * 4
 yathoktaṃ prāk | uktaṃ cāryalokottaraparivarte ⁸⁾ “ punar
 aparam, bho jinaputra, cittamātram traidhātukaṃ avata-
 rati tac ca cittam anantamadyatayāvatarati ” ^(a) iti | anta* 5
 yor utpādabhaṅgalakṣaṇayoḥ sthītilakṣaṇasya ca madhya-
 syābhāvād anantamadyaṃ cittam | tasmānn advayajñāna-
 praveśa eva tattvapraveśaḥ | sā ceyam yoginām avasthā
 kuto * viśodhiteti | āha | “ prañidhānair viśodhitā ” iti | ma- 6
 hākaruṇayā yat sarvasattvārthakaraṇāya bodhisattvena
 prañihitaṃ tataḥ prañidhānabalād uttarottaradānādiku-
 śalā*bhyāsāt sā tathā viśuddhā jātā yena sarvadharmā- 21 b, 1
 niḥsvabhāvatājñāne ’pi sakalasattvāpekṣā na vyāvartate
 yāvat “ saṃsāra [evā]nanuliptāḥ saṃsāradoṣair avatiṣṭha-
 ta ” iti | * kathaṃ punar anābhogā śāntety atra kāraṇam 2
 āha |

(a) Not identified.

1) Ms. cānena T. lam gžan gyis.

2) Ms. yānem.

3) T. adds: k’yeus k’yeu dbyuñ ba bžin du.

4) T. ādi dag ni p’uñ po la sogs pai c’os tsam du zad de | skandhā-
 didharmamātram evaitat.

5) Mss. °mam.

6) Ms. nirāt°.

7) T. bdag med pa ñid mc’og la žugs pa yin no | paramanairātmyapra-
 viṣṭo bhavati.

8) Ms. °to.

“ jñānaṃ nirātmakam sreṣṭham nirābhāsenā paśyati ” iti |
 yasmād yad advayalakṣaṇam [jñānam] advayavādinām ¹⁾
^{21 b, 3} śreṣṭham paramārthenābhīmatam tad api nirātmakam *
 niḥsvabhāvam advayanirābhāsenā jñānena paśyati yogī |
 ato 'parasya draṣṭavyasyābhāvād anābhogā | sarvavi-
 kalpābhāvāt śānteti |

§ 19. *Absolute and conventional; paramārtha and saṃvṛti:*

⁴ * atredānīm ko 'sau yogī vidyate yaḥ paśyatīti cet | ²⁾ na
 paramārthataḥ kaścīd ātmādiḥ svatanthro 'sti yogī nāpi ka-
 ścit paśyati | kiṃtu saṃvṛtyā yathā rūpādiviṣayākārajñā-
⁵ notpā*damātrena vijñānam [Tib. 37 a] eva loka tathā
 tathā vyavahriyate devadatto yajñadattam jñānena pa-
 śyatīti ³⁾ na tu kaścīd ātmādir asti | tathā'trāpi jñānam
⁶ evādvayajñānanirābhāsam utpadyamānam tathā vyapa*-
 diśyate nirābhāsenā jñānena paśyatīti | na hi sarvadar-
 māṇam paramārthato niḥsvabhāvatve 'pi saṃvṛtyā yogi-
 jñānam anyad vā pṛthagjñānam neṣṭam | tathā cōktam
^{22 a, 1} āryasatyā*dvayanirdeśe | “paramārthato 'tyantābhāvaś ca
 saṃvṛtyā ca mārgam bhāvayati” iti | anyathā śrāvakapra-
 tyekabuddhabodhisattvādi⁴⁾ pṛthagjanavyavasthā katham
² bhavet | kiṃtu yasya saṃvṛtyāpi kāraṇam * nāsti sa saṃ-
 vṛtyāpi notpadyate | yathā śaśaviṣāṇādi | yasya tu ⁵⁾ vi-
 dyate sa paramārthato 'liko 'pi samutpadyata eva | ya-
 thā māyāpratibimbādi ⁶⁾ | na ca māyādeḥ saṃvṛtyā pra-

1) T. nañ gi ṣes bya smra ba rnam kyī, antarjñeyavādinām.

2) T. inserts bden te = satyam.

3) But T. lha sbyin nam mc'od sbyin gyi ṣes pa mt'oñ űo.

4) T. adds: sañs rgyas.

5) T. adds: rgyu = kāraṇam.

6) T. adds: brag ca, pratiśrut.

tī*tyasamutpāde paramārthato vastutvaprasaṅgaḥ | tasya 22 a. 3
 vicārākṣamatvāt | ataḥ sarvam eva māyopamam jagat |
 tatra yathā kleśakarmamāyāvaśāt sattvānām janmamāyā* 4
 pravartate, tathā yoginām api puṇyajñānasam̐bhāramāyā-
 vaśāt yogijñānamāyā pravartata eva || tathā cōktam
 āryaprajñāpāramitāyām | “kaścit śrāva*kanirmitaḥ | kaścit 5
 pratyekabuddhanirmitaḥ | kaścid bodhisattvanirmitaḥ |
 kaścit tathāgatanirmitaḥ | kaścit kleśanirmitaḥ | kaścit
 karmanirmitaḥ | anena, subhūte, * paryāyeṇa sarvadhārmā 6
 nirmitotpannaḥ ” (a) | iti | ayaṃ [Tib. 37 b] tu viśeṣo yoginām
 pṛthagjanebhyaḥ | te hi māyākāravat tām māyām yathā-
 vat pariññānāt satyato nābhini*śante | tena te yogina 22 b. 1
 ucyante | ye tām 1) bālapṛthagjanavat kautūhalaṃ satyat-
 venābhiniṣṭās te viparītābhiniveśād bālā ucyanta iti sar-
 vam aviruddham | tathā cōktam āryadharmasam̐gītau 2) * | 2
 “ māyākāro yathā kaścin nirmitaṃ mokṣaṃ udyataḥ |
 na cāsyā nirmite saṅgo jñātapūrvō yato 'sya saḥ ||
 tribhavaṃ nirmitaprakhyam jñātvā sam̐bodhipāragāḥ 3) |
 sam̐nahyate 4) jagad*dhetor jñātapūrvam 5) jagat tathā ” || 3
 iti (b) |

§ 20. Progress in meditation, yuganaddhamārga :

evam anena krameṇa tattvaṃ bhāvayet | tatra ca layau-
 ddhatyādīn vyutthitān pūrvavat praśamayet | yadā tu

(a) Nor identified.

(b) Ta. n. 761, p. 627, c. Tib., mDo, dsa, p. 67, b, ll. 3-5.

1) Ms. ye tu tā bālapṛthagjanavat.

2) Ms. twice.

3) Ms. pārayaḥ T. rdsogs pai byaṅ c'ub mk'as pas šes.

4) Ms. sannaddhanti.

5) Ms. °pūrvē T. sñā nas šes.

- 22 b. 4 sarvadharmāṇi*ḥsvabhāvatālambane ca layauddhatyādi-
 rahitam anabhisamskāreṇa pravṛttam jñānam bhavati, tadā
 śamathavipaśyanāyuganaddhavāhī mārgo niṣpanno bha-
 5 vati | tadā ¹⁾ yā*vat śaknoti tāvad adhimukti²⁾balenādhi-
 mukticaryābhūmau sthito bhāvayet | tato yatheccham
 paryāṅkam ābhujya ³⁾ vyutthāya punar evaṃ cintayet |
 6 yadi nāmāmī dharmāḥ paramārthata eva niḥsvabhāvā *
 apy ete samvṛtyā sthitā eva | tathā cōktām āryaratname-
 ghe | “katham bodhisattvo nairātmyakuśalo ⁴⁾ bhavati |
 iha, kulaputra, bodhisattvaḥ samyakprajñayā rūpaṃ pra-
 23 a. 1 tyavekṣate vedanām * samjñām samskārān vijñānam pra-
 tyavekṣate | sa rūpaṃ pratyavekṣamāṇo rūpasyoṭpādaṃ
 nopalabhate | nirodhaṃ nopalabhate | samudayaṃ nopa⁵⁾-
 2 labhate | evaṃ vedanāyāḥ, samjñāyāḥ ⁶⁾ *, samskārāṇām, vi-
 jñānasyoṭpādaṃ [Tib. 38 a] nopalabhate | nirodhaṃ nopala-
 bhate ⁷⁾ | samudayaṃ nopalabhate | ayaṃ ca⁸⁾ paramārthato
 3 'nutpādavihāriṇyā⁹⁾ prajñayā na punar vyāvahāri*keṇa sva-
 bhāvena ^(a) ” iti vistaraḥ | ete ca bālabuddhaya evaṃ niḥ-
 svabhāveṣu bhāveṣu viparītābhīniveśāt saṃsāre paribhra-
 4 manto vividhāni duḥkhāni pratyanubhavanti * | mahākaru-
 ṇām evāmukhīkṛtya evaṃ anuvicintayet | tathāhaṃ kari-
 ṣyāmi yathā sarvajñatvaṃ prāpya eteṣāṃ ¹⁰⁾ dharmatām

(a) Ta. n. 658, p. 216, b, Ta. 659, p. 249, b.; T. mDo, ts'a, p. 40, a, l. 2.

1) Ms. yadā T. dei ts'e.

2) Ms. adhibhaktaba°.

3) Ms. tata icchāsthāyavyutthāya.

4) Ms. mairātma°.

5) T. better inverts samudaya° nirodh.

6) Ms. twice.

7) T. deest.

8) So according to T.; Ms. yaś ca.

9) Ms. vicāriṇyā.

10) Ms. eṣātmanām.

avabodhayeyam iti | tataḥ sarvabuddhabo*dhisattvebhyaḥ 23 a. 5
 pūjāstotropahāraṃ kṛtvā, āryabhadracaryāpraṇidhānam
 abhinirharet | tataḥ śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha eva sakaladānādi-
 puṇya [jñāna] saṃbhāropārjane pravartate | tathā co*ktam 6
 āryadharmasaṃgītau | “ yathābhūtarśino ¹⁾ bodhisattva-
 sya sattveṣu mahākaruṇā pravartate [evaṃ cāsyā bhavati] ²⁾
 idaṃ mayā samādhimukhaṃ sarvadharmayathābhūtar-
 śanam ca sarvasattvānāṃ niṣpādayi*tavyam | sa tayā ma- 23 b. 1
 hākaruṇayā saṃcodyamāno 'dhiśīlam adhicitam adhipra-
 jñam ca śikṣātrayaṃ ³⁾ paripūryānuttarāṃ samyaksaṃ-
 bodhim abhisambudhyata' iti ^(a) | ayam eva prajñopāyayu*- 2
 ganaddhavāhī bodhisattvānāṃ mārgo yat paramārthadar-
 śaṇe 'pi saṃvṛtiṃ nocchedayanti | saṃvṛtiṃ cānuccheda-
 yanto mahākaruṇāpūrvāṅgamā aviparyastā eva sattvārtha-
 kriyāsu pravartante ⁴⁾ | tatra * yadi nāma lokottaraprajñā- 3
 vasthāyām upāyasevanā na saṃbhavati | upāyasevanākāle
 tu bodhisattvasya māyākāravad aviparyastatvāl lokot-
 tarajñānāt pra⁵⁾*yogapṛṣṭhabhāvanī yathāvad vastupa- 4
 ramārthatattvābhiniveśanī prajñā saṃbhavaty eveti
 bhavaty eva prajñopāyayuganaddhavāhī mārgaḥ |
 āryākṣayamatinirdeśe ca dhyānākṣayatayā ⁶⁾ * prajño- 5
 pāyayuganaddhavāhī mārgo 'nugantavyaḥ ⁴⁾ | uktam
 āryaratnameghe “ katham bodhisattvo mahāyānakuśalo
 bhavati | iha bodhisattvaḥ sarvāsu śikṣāsu śikṣate śikṣā*- 6
 mārgam ⁷⁾ ca nopalabhate | yac ca śikṣate tad api nopa-

(a) Śs. p. 119, l. ss.

1) Ms. darśano.

2) From T. and Śs.

3) T. *deest*.

4) In T. this passage is placed at the end of § 21 after: *anugantavyā*.

5) Tib. slightly different.

6) Ms. kṣayatāyā. T. *bsam gtan mi zad pai skabs nas*.

7) T. adds *tām śikṣām nopalabhate*.

labhate | yaś ca śīkṣyate tam api [Tib. 38 b] nopalabh-
ate¹⁾ | na ca taddhetukaṃ tannidānaṃ tatpratyaṃ u-
chedadṛṣṭau patati ” iti ^(a) |

§ 21. *Pratipatti*:

- ^{24 a, 1} āryadharmasam*gītau cōktam | “ katamā bodhisattvānāṃ
pratipattiḥ | yat kiṃcit²⁾ bodhisattvānāṃ kāyakarma, yat
kiṃcid vākkarma, yat kiṃcin manaḥkarma [tat] sarva-
² sattvāpekṣakaṃ pravartate mahākaruṇāpūrvān*gamatvāt,
mahākaruṇādhipatyam sarvasattvahitasukhādhyāśaya³⁾sa-
mutthitam ” ^(b) iti | ayam evaṃ ⁴⁾ hitāśayaḥ samjñibhava-
ti | sā mayā pratipattiḥ pratipattavyā sarvasattvānāṃ
³ hitā*vahā sukhāvahā | tasya skandheṣu māyāvat praty-
avekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca skandhāparityāgaṃ sprhatīti
| dhātuṣv ⁵⁾ āśīviṣavat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca
⁴ dhātupari*tyāgaṃ sprhatīti | āyataneṣu śūnyagrāma-
vat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na cāyatanāparityāgaṃ sprha-
tīti | rūpasya phenapiṇḍavat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir
⁵ na ca * tathāgatarūpakāyaviṭhapanā[m] jahāti | vedanāyā
budbudavat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca tathāgata-
dhyānasamādhisamāpattisukhaniṣpādanaprayogaṃ nāra-
⁶ bhate | sa*mjñāyām marīcivat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir
na ca tathāgatajñānanīṣpādanasamjñāyām apratipattiḥ |
saṃskārāṇāṃ kadalivat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca

(a) Ta. n. 658, p. 216, c; 659, p. 250, a; T. mDo, ts'a. p. 42, a, l. 6.

(b) Ta. n. 761, p. 639, c; Tib. mDo dsa, p. 114, b, l. 6-115, a, l. 2.

1) T. *deest*.

2) Ms. *yo kacit*.

3) Ms. *ādhyāyamsam*°.

4) Ms. *°aya evam*.

5) Ms. *dhatusthā*; T. *k'uñs rnam* la.

buddhadharmasaṃs*kārā¹⁾ṇām apratipattiḥ | vijñānasya ^{24 b, 1}
māyāvat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca jñānapūrvamga-
makāyavānmanaska[rma]niṣpādanā 'pratipattir ' itī vīsta-
raḥ | evaṃ [Tib. 39 a] aparyanteṣ*u sūtrānteṣu prajñō- ²
pāyarūpā pratipattir anugantavyā ²⁾ |

§ 22. *The stages: (a) adhimukticaryā :*

evaṃ anena krameṇa bodhisattvasya prajñām upāyaṃ ca
satataṃ satkṛtya dīrghakālābhyāsenā bhāvayato dvāda-
śāva*sthāviśeṣā bhavanti | tā evāvasthā uttarottaraguṇa- ³
pratiṣṭhārthena bhūmayo ³⁾ vyavasthāpyante | adhimuk-
ticaryābhūmer yāvad buddhabhūmir ⁴⁾ itī | tatra yāvat pud-
galadhar*manairātmyatattvaṃ na sāksātkaroti | kevalaṃ ⁴
dṛḍhatarādhimuktir mārādibhir apy abhedyo yadādhi-
muktibalena tattvaṃ bhāvayati | tadā dṛḍhādhimuk-
tito 'dhimu*kti⁵⁾caryābhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyām api ⁵
bhūmau vartamāno bodhisattvaḥ pṛthagjano 'pi sarvabāla-
vipattiḥ samatikrānto 'saṃkhyeyasaṃmādhidhāraṇīvimokṣā-
bhijñādiguṇānvita ārya*ratnameghe paṭhyate | asyā eva ca ⁶
mṛdumadhyādhimātrādhimātratarāvasthācatuṣṭayena cat-
vāri⁶⁾ nirvedhabhāgiyāni vyavasthāpyante | tathā hi yadā
sarvadarmanairā⁷⁾tmyaṃ bhāva*yata iyatspaṣṭo jñānā- ^{25 a, 1}
loko [bhavati tadā uṣmagatanāmakaṃ nirvedhabhāgiyaṃ
bhavati | sa cātra mahāyāna ālokalabdhasamādhir ucyate |

1) T. c'os mñon par ādu bgyi ba, abhisam̐skr.

2) Ms. vyāḥ; here in T. are inserted ll. 3-4-5 of fol. 23 b.

3) Ms. twice.

4) Ms. buddhariti.

5) Ms. tito 'dhicāryā.

6) Ms. °sthāsvaśraca°.

7) But T. p'yi rol gyi don rnam par ājig pa na, bāhyārthavidhvamsana.

[Tib. 39 b] yadā tu sa eva jñānāloko]¹⁾ madhyamaspaṣṭo bhavati, tadā mūrddhanāmakanirvedhabhāgiyaṃ bhavati vṛddhālokaś ca samādhir ucyate | yadā tu spaṣṭataro bā-
 25 a, 2 hyārthānābhāsajñānālo*ko jāyate, tadā vijñaptimātrāva-
 sthānāt kṣāntināmakaṃ nirvedhabhāgiyaṃ bhavati | eka-
 3 deśapraviṣṭaś ca samādhir ucyate grāhyākārānupalambha-
 praveśāt | yadā tu grāh*yagrāhakākārahitaṃ advayaṃ
 jñānaṃ vibhāvayet, tadāgradharmākhyam nirvedhabhā-
 giyaṃ bhavati | ānantaryaś ca sa samādhir ucyate | tada-
 4 nantaram e[va] tattvapraveśāt | atra * tāvad²⁾ adhimukti-
 caryābhūmiḥ |

§ 23. *The ten bhūmis and the Buddhabhūmi:*

itarās tu bhūmayah saṃkṣepata ekādaśāṅga³⁾paripūrito
 vyavasthāpyante | tatra prathamā bhūmiḥ prathamam pud-
 5 galadharmanairātmya⁴⁾tattvādhiga*māṅgaparipūrito vya-
 vasthāpyate | tathā hi yadāgradharmānantaram pra-
 thamataram lokottaram sarvaprapañcarahitaṃ sarvadar-
 maniḥsvabhāvatāsākṣā⁵⁾tkāri sphuṭataram jñānam utpa-
 6 dyate, tadā⁶⁾ bo*dhisattvaḥ samyaktvanyā⁷⁾māvakrān-
 titō, darśanamārgotpādāt, prathamāṃ bhūmiṃ praviṣṭo
 bhavati | ata evāsyāṃ bhūmau prathamato 'nadhigatatat-
 25 b, 1 tvādhigamād bodhisattvaḥ * pramudito bhavati | tata eṣā
 bhūmiḥ pramuditety ucyate | atra ca dvādaśottaram dar-
 śanaheyam kleśaśataṃ prahīyate | śeṣās tu bhūmayo bhā-

1) Ms. *deest*; restored from T.

2) T. de bar du.

3) Ms. ekadeśa.

4) Ms. myam.

5) Ms. bhāvatākāri; T. mñon sum du byed pai ye šes.

6) Ms. yaśca T. dei ts'e.

7) Ms. niyāma.

vanāmārgasvabhāvāḥ | tāsu bhāva*nāheyās traidhātukāḥ ^{25 b, 2}
 ṣoḍaśa kleśāḥ prahīyante | asyāṃ ca bhūmau bodhisattva-
 [sya] [dharmadhātusamudāgamatā]¹⁾prabodhāt svārtha iva
 [Tib. 40 a] parārthe pravartanāt, dānapāramitā 'tiriktatarā²⁾
 bha*vati | sa ca bodhisattvaḥ samadhigatatattvo 'pi vā ³
 yāvan na śaknoti sūkṣmāpattiskhaliteṣu samprajanya-
 vihārī bhavitum ³⁾, tāvat prathamā bhūmiḥ | yadā tu
 śaknoti ta*dāsyāṅgasya paripūrīto dvitīyā bhūmir vyava- ⁴
 sthāpyate | ata evāsyāṃ bhūmau sūkṣmāpattiskhalita-asa-
 mudācārāt, śīlapāramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati * sarvadauḥ- ⁵
 śīlyamalāpagamād iyaṃ bhūmir vimalety ucyate | sa
 sūkṣmāpattiskhaliteṣu samprajanyavīhārī bhavati | yāvan na
 śaknoti sakalalau⁴⁾kikaṃ samādhim samāp*attum yathāś- ⁶
 rutam cārtham ādhartum ⁵⁾ tāvad dvitīyaiva bhūmiḥ |
 yadā śaknoti, tadā tasyāṅgasya paripūrītas tṛtīyā ⁶⁾ bhū-
 mir vyavasthāpyate | asyāṃ ca bhūmau bodhisattvasya
 śrutadhār*anyā ⁷⁾ sarvalauki⁸⁾kasamādhyabhinirhārārtham ^{26 a, 1}
 sarvaduḥkhasahanāt, kṣāntipāramitā 'tiriktatarā bha-
 vati | teṣāṃ samādhīnām lābhād iyaṃ bhūmir apramāṇam
 lokottaram jñānā*vabhāsam karotīti prabhākarīty ucyate | ²
 sa pratilabdhalaukikasakalasamādhir api yāvan na śak-
 noti yathāpratilabdhair bodhipakṣair dharmair bahulam
 vihartum sarvasamāpa*ttinām ca cittam⁹⁾ upekṣitum tāvat ³

1) Ms. °ttvaḥ metāprabodhāt. T. c'os kyi dbyiñs su kun tu āgro ba ñid
 rtogs pas.

2) Ms. atirakta°.

3) Ms. prajanyavīharītacittam.

4) Ms. sampulla.

5) Ms. ādhastum T.

6) Ms. °tiya.

7) Ms. dhāraḥ.

8) Ms. lokaika.

9) Ms. °ttitṛṣṭāyāśca T.: c'os dan sñoms par ājug pai sems btañ sñoms su
 byed mi nus.

- tṛtīyā bhūmiḥ || yadā tu śaknoti tadā tasyāṅgasya paripūritaś caturthī bhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyāṃ bhūmau
 27 a, 4 bodhisat*tvasyābhīkṣṇaṃ kāyavānmanojalpasamatikrama-
 ṇāya bodhipakṣair dharmair viharāṇāt, vīryapāramitā 'ti-
 riktatarā bhavati | iyaṃ ca sakalakleśendhana[dāha]sa-
 5 mar*thasya bodhipakṣadharmārciṣa udgatatvād arciṣmatīty
 ucyate | so 'bhīkṣṇaṃ bodhipakṣadharmavihārī [Tib. 40 b]
 bhavati | yāvan na śaknoti satyāni bhāvayan saṃsārā-
 6 [na]bhimukhaṃ nirvāṇābhi*mukhaṃ ca ceto vyāvarta-
 yitum upāyasamgrhitān bodhipakṣān dharmān bhāvaya-
 yitum tāvat caturthī bhūmiḥ | yadā tu śaknoti tadāsyān-
 26 b, 1 gasya paripūritaḥ pañcamī bhūmir vyavasthā*pyate | ata
 evāsyāṃ¹⁾ iyaṃ upāyasamgrhitabodhipakṣabhāvanā suṣṭhu
 duḥkhena jīyate abhyasyatā iti sudurjayety ucyate | asyāṃ
 2 cāryasatyākārabhāvanābahulikārāt*, dhyānapāramitā 'ti-
 riktatarā bhavati | upāyasamgrhitabodhipakṣabahulavi-
 hārī ca bhavati | yāvan na śaknoti saṃsāra²⁾pravṛttipra-
 3 tyavekṣaṇān³⁾ nirvitsahayā ci*ttasantatyā⁴⁾ 'nimittavihā-
 raṃ samāpattum⁵⁾ tāvat pañcamī bhūmiḥ | yadā śaknoti
 tadāsyāṅgasya paripūritaḥ ṣaṣṭhī bhūmir vyavasthāpyate |
 4 asyāṃ ca bodhisattvasya *pratītyasamutpādabhāvanāvihā-
 rāt prajñāpāramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati | ata eva prajñā-
 pāramitāyā atiriktataratvāt, sarvabuddhadharmesv abhi-
 5 mukho 'syāṃ * bhūmau⁶⁾ vartata iti kṛtvā, abhimukhīty
 ucyate | so 'nimittavihāralābhi bhavati | yāvan na śaknoti
 niśchidram animittavihāraṃ samāpattum⁷⁾ tāvat ṣaṣṭhī

1) T. adds: yoṅs su rdsogs par byed pa.

2) Ms. saṃskāra T. ak'or lo.

3) Ms. satyavekṣaṇāt T. so sor rtog pas.

4) T. skyo ba dañ ldan pas sems kyi rgyud kyis; ms. nirvitsahamaha-
 yāsantatyā.

5) Ms. °vihāraṃ samapattam.

6) Ms. °ṣv ābhimukho niṣā bhūmir.

7) Ms. °āpattam.

bhūmiḥ yadā śa*knoti tadāsyāṅgasya paripūritaḥ saptamī
 bhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyām api ¹⁾ bhūmau bodhi- 26 b, 6
 sattvaḥ sarvanimittam nirnimittena pratividhyati ²⁾ nimit-
 takṛtavavyavahāram ca na viro*dhayati | ato 'syām upāyapā- 27 a, 1
 ramitā 'ti³⁾riktatarā bhavati | iyaṃ ca bhūmir ⁴⁾ anābho-
 gamārgopaśleṣāt suṣṭhu dūraṃgamāt, dūraṃgamā | [sa] ni-
 śchidrānimittavi*hārī bhavati | yāvan na śaknoty anābho- 2
 gavāhinam animittavihāram [Tib. 41 a] samāpattum ⁵⁾ tāvat
 saptamī bhūmiḥ | yadā śaknoti tadāsyāṅgasya paripūrito
 'ṣṭamī bhūmir vyava*sthāpyate | asyām ca [bhūmau] anā- 3
 bhogena ⁶⁾ kuśalapakṣayogāt praṇidhānapāramitā 'tirikta-
 tarā bhavati | animittābhogāprakampyatvād iyaṃ acalety
 ucyate | so 'nābhogānimittavihārī ca bhavati | yāvan na 4
 śaknoti paryāyaniruktyādiprabhedaiḥ sarvākārasarvadharmadeśanāyām ⁷⁾
 vaśībhavitum tāvad aṣṭamī bhūmiḥ | *yadā 5
 śaknoti tadāsyāṅgasya paripūrito navamī bhūmir vyava-
 sthāpyate | asyām ca [bhūmau] bodhisattvasya pratisam-
 vidviśeṣalābhāt ⁸⁾ prajñābala⁹⁾viśeṣayogād balapā*- 6
 ramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati | sarvākāradharmadeśanākauśa-
 lato 'navadyamativiśeṣalābhāt sādhumatī bhūmir ucyate |
 asyām ca pratisamviccatuṣṭa¹⁰⁾*yalābhī bhavati | yāvan na 27 b, 1
 śaknoti buddhakṣetra¹¹⁾parṣannirmāṇādi darśayitum pari-
 pūrṇadharmasambhogam sattvapariṣkāṣam ca kartum tāvan

1) Ms. asyāpi bhūmau.

2) Ms. prativindhati.

3) Ms. pratiriktātāra.

4) Ms. bhūminābhogopāyasmārga^o; T. lhun gyis grub pai lam.

5) Ms. °āpattim.

6) Ms. cānābhogena.

7) Ms. sarvākārasarvadharmādarśanāyām.

8) Ms. pratisamvit vi^o.

9) Ms. °balāvi^o.

10) Ms. asyām casampratisampratisanviccaya.

11) Ms. kṣetre.

- 27 b, 2 navamī bhūmiḥ | yadā tu śaknoti tadāsyāṅgasya pari*-
 pūrito daśamī bhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyāṃ ca nirmā-
 ṇādinā ¹⁾ sattvaparipācanāya jñānaviśeṣayogād bodhisat-
 3 tvasya jñānapāramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati | * iyaṃ ca dhar-
 madeśanāmeghair ananteṣu lokadhātuṣu dharma²⁾pravara-
 ṣaṇād dharmameghety ucyate | aparair api ³⁾ skandhapari⁴⁾-
 4 śuddhyādivyavasthāpanair bhūmīnāṃ vyavasthā*panam
 asti granthavistarabhayān na likhitam | sa ⁵⁾ pratilabdha-
 nir⁶⁾māṇādivaśito 'pi yāvan na śaknoti sarvasmin jñeye ⁷⁾
 5 sarvākāram asaktam apratihataṃ ⁸⁾ jñānam utpā*dayi-
 tum tāvad daśamī bhūmiḥ | yadā śaknoti tadāsyāṅga-
 sya pari[Tib. 41b]pūrito buddhabhūmir vyavasthāpyate |
 etac ca bhūmivyasthāpanam āryasaṃdhinirmocane nir-
 6 diṣṭam | “ asyāś ca * buddhabhūmeḥ ⁹⁾ sarvākārasakālasaṃ-
 patprakarṣaparyantagamanān nāparam utkrīṣṭam sthānān-
 28 a, 1 taram asti ” iti^(a) | asyāś ca buddhabhūmer guṇapakṣa*pra-
 bhedo buddhair api na śakyate sarvākāram vaktum | tasyā
 aprameyatvāt || katham punar asmatsadṛśaiḥ | yathoktam
 āryagaṇḍavyūhe

[guṇaikadeśaparyantaṃ nādhigacchet svayaṃbhavaḥ |

- 2 ni]rīkṣ*ya māno 'pi buddhadharmā hy acintiyāḥ ^(b) ||

(a) SN. Chap. IX, p. 236.

(b) GV. p. 29, v. 7.

1) Ms. nirmāṇakarmasattva.

2) Ms. dharmavapra^o.

3) Ms. apacairapi.

4) Ms. paraśu^o.

5) Ms. samprati.

6) Ms. labdham.

7) Ms. °smin ajñeye.

8) Ms. apratihatum.

9) Ms. bhūmiḥ.

MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS

iti | etāvat tu saṃkṣepeṇa vaktuṃ śakyate [yath]ālabdho
bhadantakamalaśīlaviśruto bodhisattva* bhāvanākramaḥ 28 a, 3
samāptaḥ |

ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy
avadat |

teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ||

B. – TIBETAN TEXT.

§ 1 [22 a] | rgya gar skad du | bhā va na kra ma |
bod skad du | bsgom pai rim pa | aḡam dpal gžon nur
gyur pa la p'yag aṡs'al lo |

t'eg pa c'en poi mdo sde yi |
ts'ul spyod las ni daṅ po pa ||
de las brtsams te bsgom pa yi |
rim pa mdo tsam brjod par bya ||

t'ams cad mk'yen pa ṇid myur du t'ob par aḡod pas mdor
na sṇiṇ rje daṅ | byaṇ c'ub kyi sems daṅ | sgrub pa daṅ
gnas aḡi gsum la aḡad par bya'o | | de la saṇs rgyas
kyi c'os ma lus pai rgyui rtsa ba ni ¹⁾ sṇiṇ rje k'o na
yin par šes par byas la de ṇid la t'og ma k'o nar bsgom
mo ²⁾ | de skad du aḡ'ags pa c'os yaṇ dag par sdud pa
las gsuṇs te | de nas bcom ldan aḡas la aḡ'ags pa spyan
ras gzigs dbaṇ p'yug gis aḡi skad ces gsol to | | bcom
ldan aḡas byaṇ c'ub sems dpas c'os rab tu maṇ po la bslab
par mi bgyi'o | | bcom ldan aḡas byaṇ c'ub sems dpas
c'os gcig rab tu gzuṇ žiṇ rab tu rtogs par bgyis na saṇs

¹⁾ D. *deest.*

²⁾ D. *deest.*

rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad dei lag mt'il du mc'is pa lags
 so | | c'os gcig po gañ že na | ădi lta ste | sñiñ rje
 c'en po'o | | bcom ldan ădas sñiñ rje c'en pos ni sañs
 rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad byaň c'ub sems dpa' rñams kyi
 lag mt'il du mc'is pa lags so | | bcom ldan ădas dper
 bgyis na ăk'or los sgyur bai rgyal poi ăk'or lo rin po c'e
 gañ du mc'is pa der dpuň gi ts'ogs t'ams cad mc'i'o | |
 bcom ldan ădas de bžin du byaň c'ub sems dpai sñiñ rje
 c'en po gañ du mc'is pa der sañs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad
 mc'i'o | | bcom ldan ădas dper bgyis na srog gi dbaň
 po mc'is na dbaň po gžan rñams ăbyuň bar ăgyur ro | |
 bcom ldan ădas de bžin du sñiñ rje c'en po mc'is na byaň
 c'ub sems dpai c'os gžan rñams kyaň ăbyuň bar ăgyur
 ro žes ăbyuň ño | | ăp'ags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan
 pa las kyaň gsuňs te | | btsun pa ăa ra dva tii bu gžan
 yaň byaň c'ub sems dpa' rñams kyi sñiñ rje c'en po ni
 mi ¹⁾ zad do | | de cii p'yir že na | sñon du ăgro
 bai p'yir ro | | btsun pa ăa ra dva tii bu ădi lta ste
 dper na dbugs p'yi naň du rgyu ba ni mii srog gi dbaň
 [22 b] po sñon du ăgro ba yin no | | de bžin du byaň
 c'ub sems dpai sñiñ rje c'en po t'eg pa c'en po yaň dag
 par ăgrub par bya bai p'yir sñon du ăgro ba yin no žes
 bya ba la sogs pa rgyas par bšad do | | ăp'ags pa ga
 ya goi rii mdo las kyaň gsuňs te | | ăjam dpal byaň c'ub
 sems dpa' rñams kyi spyod pai rtsom pa ni ci | | gnas
 ni gaň | | ăjam dpal gyis smras pa | | lhai bu byaň
 c'ub sems dpa' rñams kyi spyod pai rtsom pa ni sñiñ rje
 c'en po'o | | gnas ni sems can no žes de la sogs pa rgya
 c'er ăbyuň ño | | de ltar sñiñ rje c'en pos bskyod pas
 byaň c'ub sems dpa' rñams ²⁾ bdag ñid la mi lta bar gžan

¹⁾ D. *deest.*

²⁾ N. *deest.*

la šin tu p'an pa don du gñer bai p'yir ts'ogs bsags pa
 šin tu bya dka' ¹⁾ žiñ yun riñ la dub par agyur ba la ajug
 go | | ap'ags pa dad pai stobs bskyed pa las gsuñs pa
 lta bu ste | | de la sñiñ rje c'en po ni gañ sems can t'ams
 cad yoñs su smin par bya bai p'yir sdug bsñal bskyed
 pa ²⁾ mi len pa ci yañ med do | | des bde ba skye ba mi
 ađor ba ci yañ med do že'o | | de ltar šin tu bya ³⁾ dka'
 ba la žugs nas riñ por ⁴⁾ mi t'ogs par ts'ogs yoñs su rdsogs
 te gdon mi za bar t'ams cad mk'yen pai go ap'an t'ob
 par agyur ro | | de bas na sañs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad
 kyi ⁵⁾ rtsa ba ni sñiñ rje c'en po k'o na'o | | sñiñ rje
 c'en pos yoñs su zin pas na sañs rgyas bcom ldan ađas
 kyis t'ams cad mk'yen poi ye šes go ap'an brñes nas ađro
 ba ma lus pai don mdsad ciñ bžugs so | | mi gnas
 pai mya ñan las ađas pa lta bu ⁶⁾ yañ bcom ldan ađas
 kyi t'ugs rje c'en poi rgyus mya ñan las ađa' ba la mi
 gnas so | | de yañ sdug bsñal bai sems can la dmigs
 šin yid la bya ba mañ du ⁷⁾ byas pas skye bar agyur te |
 sems can ađig rten gsum na spyod pa t'ams cad sdug bsñal
 rnam pa gsum gyis ji ltar mt'un pa bžin du sdug bsñal
 lo žes de ltar sems can t'ams cad la bsgom mo | | de
 la sems can dmial ba pa de dag ni rgyun mi ač'ad ciñ yun
 riñ la ts'a ba la sogs pai sdug bsñal sna ts'ogs kyi c'u bor
 byiñ ño žes bcom ldan ađas kyis bka' stsal to | | de
 bžin du yi dags rnam kyañ p'al c'er šin tu [23 a] mi bzad
 pai bkres pa dañ skom pai sdug bsñal gyi mes skams pai

1) N. šin tu dka'.

2) D. skye ba.

3) N. *deest.*

4) N. riñ po.

5) D. inserts c'os kyi.

6) N. de lta bu. From: mi gnas up to: lta bu yañ not in Sk.

7) N. bya ba mañ du *deest.*

lus šin tu sdug bsñal mañ po myoñ ste | lo brgyar yañ
 la las mc'il mai t'al ba dañ | mi gtsaṅ ba tsam yañ
 bzar mi rñed do žes bcom ldan aḍas kyis bka' stsal to | |
 dud aḡro rnams kyaṅ gcig la gcig za ba dañ ¹⁾ | k'ro
 ba dañ | rnam par aṭs'e ba dañ | gsod pa la sogs pas
 sdug bsñal mañ po myoñ ba k'o nar snañ ste | aḍi ltar
 k'a cig sna aḡugs pa dañ | brdeg pa dañ | bciṅ ba
 dañ | gdags pa la sogs pa bdag la dbaṅ med par ²⁾ kun
 gyis bda' ba yin te | mi aḍod bžin du k'al c'en po lei
 ba bskur bas skyo žiṅ ṅal lo | | de bžin du dgon pa
 na aḡ'od pa yañ ṅes pa med par k'a cig byed du ts'ol
 žiṅ gsod de | rtag tu aḡigs pas yid aḡ'rugs te p'an ts'un
 aḡ'or ³⁾ ciṅ aḡros pa yañ graṅs med pai ⁴⁾ sdug bsñal dpag
 tu med pa myoñ ba ⁵⁾ k'o nar snañ ṅo | | de bžin du
 mi la yañ sems can dmyal bai sdug bsñal la sogs pa yod
 pa k'o na ste | aḍi na rkun po la sogs pa gaṅ dag yan
 lag gtub pa dañ | gsal šin la bskyon pa dañ | dpyaṅs ⁶⁾
 te btags pa la sogs pas ṅon moṅs pa de dag ni sems can
 dmyal bai sdug bsñal k'o na yin no | | gaṅ dag dbul
 žiṅ p'oṅs pa de dag ni yi dags dañ aḍra bar bkres šin
 skom pa la sogs pas sdug bsñal lo | | bran la sogs pa
 gaṅ dag gžan gyis lus la dbaṅ byas pa dañ | gaṅ dag
 mt'us mnan te gnod par byed pa de dag ni dud aḡro dañ
 aḍra bar brdeg pa dañ | gdags pa la sogs pas sdug bsñal
 lo | | de bžin du btsal bar bya ba dañ | gcig la gcig
 gnod pa byed pa la sogs pa dañ | sdug pa dañ bral ba
 dañ | mi sdug pa dañ p'rad pa la sogs pa de dag la

1) N. za ba | | k'ro.

2) N. med pa.

3) D. aḡ'od.

4) Graṅs med pai *deest* in Sk.

5) N. myoñ ba *deest*.

6) N. spyāṅs.

sdug bsñal dpag tu med do | | gañ dag k'a cig p'yug
 ciñ skyid pa dañ ādra bar snañ ba de dag kyañ abyor pai
 mt'a' ni rgud pa ste | lta ba ñan pa sna ts'ogs gziñ
 bar nub ciñ sems can dmyal ba la sogs pai sdug bsñal
 myoñ bar āgyur bai rgyu las dañ ñon moñs pa bsags pas
 gad ka na ādug pa dañ ādra bar sdug bsñal gyi rgyur
 gyur pa yañ yañ dag par [23 b] sdug bsñal ba k'o na yin
 no | | lha la yañ gañ dag ādod pai k'ams na spyod pa
 de dag ni ādod pai mes yid rab tu ābar žiñ sems āk'rugs
 pa dañ ādra bar gša' mar mi ādug la | skad cig kyañ
 sems mñam par ājog par mi āgyur te | rab tu ži ba¹⁾ bde
 bai nor gyis dbul ba de dag la bde ba ci žig²⁾ yod | rtag
 tu āc'i āp'o ba dañ ltuñ ba la sogs pai ājigs pai mya
 ñan gyis non pa dag ste de dag ji ltar bde | gañ dag
 gzugs dañ gzugs med pa na³⁾ spyod pa de dag kyañ
 skad cig sdug bsñal gyi⁴⁾ sdug bsñal ba las ādas mod kyī |
 'on kyañ de dag ādod pa na spyod pai bag la ñal rnams
 šin tu ma spañs pas yañ sems can dmyal ba la sogs par
 ltuñ bar yod pas⁵⁾ āgyur bai sdug bsñal yod pa ñid
 do | | lha dañ mi ādi dag t'ams cad ni las dañ ñon
 moñs pa la sogs pai rgyus⁶⁾ gžan gyi dbañ du gyur pas
 na ādu byed kyī sdug bsñal gyis sdug bsñal ba ñid do |

§ 2 | de ltar āgro ba t'ams cad sdug bsñal gyi me lcei
 p'reñ bai sa yin par bltas la | ji ltar bdag ñid kyī sdug
 bsñal mi sdug pa ltar gžan dag gi yañ de dañ ādra
 ba sems šin sems can t'ams cad la sñiñ brtse ba k'o na
 bsgom par bya ste | t'og ma k'o nar mdsa' bšes kyī

1) N. rab ži ba.

2) D. cig zig.

3) N. gañ dag gzugs med.

4) N. skad cig sdug bsñal gyi *deest.*

5) D. yod par.

6) N. rgyui.

p'yogs la goñ du smos pai sdug bsñal sna ts'ogs myoñ
 bar lta žiñ bsgom par bya'o | | de nas sems mñam
 pas bye brag med par lta ste | t'og ma med pa ¹⁾ can
 gyi ak'or ba lan brgyar yañ bdag gi gñen du ma gyur pai
 sems can gañ yañ med do sñam du sems pas p'al pa la
 bsgom par bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e mdsa' bšes kyi p'yogs
 dañ ađra bar p'al pa ²⁾ rnam la yañ sñiñ rje mts'uñs par
 ajug pa dei ts'e dgrai p'yogs la yañ de bžin du sems
 [can] mñam pa ñid la sogs pa yid la byed pas bsgom
 par bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e mdsa' bšes kyi p'yogs dañ
 ađra bar dgra la yañ mñam par ajug pa dei ts'e ³⁾ rim
 gyis p'yogs bcui sems can t'ams cad la yañ bsgom par
 bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e yid du 'oñ bai bu mi bde ba
 bžin du sems can t'ams cad la yañ sdug bsñal gtan nas
 dbyuñ bar ađod pai [24 a] rnam pai ⁴⁾ sñiñ rje rañ gi
 ñañ gis ajug pa bdag ñid kyis mts'uñs par gyur ba ⁵⁾ dei
 ts'e de rdsogs pa yin pas sñiñ rje c'en poi miñ t'ob ste |
aṗ'ags pa blo gros mi zad ⁶⁾ pas bstan pai mdo las bsñags
pa bžin no | | ađi ltar sñiñ rje bsgom pai go rim ⁷⁾ ađi
ni bcom ldan ađas kyis c'os mñon pai mdo la sogs pa
las bka' stsal to |

§ 3. | de ltar sñiñ rje goms pai stobs kyis sems
 can ma lus pa drañ bar dam bcas na bla na med pa
 yañ dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub tu smon pai rañ
 bžin gyis byañ c'ub kyi sems sgrim mi dgos pa k'o nar
 skye ste | aṗ'ags pa c'os bcu pai mdo las | sems can

1) N. om. pa.

2) N. aṗ'el.

3) N. om. ts'e.

4) N. om. rnam pai.

5) N. mts'uñs par ajug par gyur ba.

6) N. bzad.

7) D. rims.

mgon med pa skyabs med pa | gliñ med pa dag mt'on
nas bla na med pa yañ dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub tu
sems bskyed do žes gsuñs pa bžin no | | gžan gyis yañ
dag par ądsin du bcug pa las kyañ byañ c'ub sems dpa'
la byañ c'ub kyi sems bskyed mod kyi | 'on kyañ sñiñ
rje c'en pos non te | byañ c'ub sems dpa' bdag ñid
kyis byañ c'ub tu sems bskyed pa k'yad c'e bar bcom ldan
ądas kyis ąp'ags pa de bžin gšegs pai ye šes kyi p'yag
rgyai tiñ ñe ądsin las bka' stsal to | | byañ c'ub kyi¹⁾
sems de²⁾ sgrub pa dañ mi ldan yañ ąk'or bai nañ na
ąbras bu c'e bar bcom ldan ądas kyis de skad byams pai
rnam par t'ar pa las bka' stsal te | rigs kyi bu ądi lta
ste dper na rdo rje rin po c'e ni³⁾ c'ag kyañ gser gyi rgyan
k'yad par du ąp'ags pa t'ams cad zil gyis gnon to— |
rdo rje rin po c'ei miñ yañ mi ądor žiñ dbul ba t'ams cad
kyañ bzlog go | | rigs kyi bu de bžin du t'ams cad
mk'yen pa ñid du sems bskyed pai rdo rje rin po c'e
sgrub pa dañ mi ldan pa yañ ñan t'os dañ ran sañs rgyas
kyi gser gyi rgyan t'ams cad zil gyis gnon to | | byañ
c'ub sems dpai miñ yañ mi ądor žiñ ąk'or bai dbul ba
yañ zlog par byed do žes ąbyuñ ño | | gañ⁴⁾ p'a rol
tu p'yin pa rnams la rnam pa t'ams cad kyi t'ams cad
du slob mi nus pa des kyañ ąbras bu c'e bai p'yir t'abs
kyis yoñs su zin par byañ c'ub tu sems bskyed par bya
[24 b] ste | ąp'ags pa rgyal po la gdams pai mdo las⁵⁾ |
ądi ltar rgyal po c'en po k'yod ni bya ba mañ byed pa mañ
ste | t'ams cad kyi t'ams cad rnam pa⁶⁾ t'ams cad

1) N. kyi *deest.*

2) N. om. de.

3) D. om. ni.

4) N. gañ la.

5) N. ąp'ags pa rgyal po la gdams pai mdo las *deest.*6) N. t'ams cad rnam pa *deest.* D. ąrnam pa t'ams cad kyi t'ams cad.

du sbyin pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa la bslab pa nas
 šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pai bar la slob mi bzod na
 ʔadi ltar rgyal po c'en po rdsogs pai byañ c'ub la ʔdun
 pa dañ | dad pa dañ | don du gñer ba dañ | smon
 pa ʔadi ʔagro yañ ruñ | ʔgreñ yañ ruñ | ʔdug kyañ
 ruñ | ñal yañ ruñ | sad kyañ ruñ | za yañ ruñ |
 ʔat'un yañ ruñ | rtag tu rgyun mi ʔacad par dran par
 gyis šig | yid la gyis šig | sgoms šig¹⁾ | sañs rgyas
 dañ byañ c'ub sems dpa' dañ | ñan t'os dañ rañ sañs
 rgyas dañ | so so²⁾ skye bo t'ams cad dañ | bdag gi
 ʔadas pa dañ | ma 'oñs pa dañ | da ltar byuñ bai dge
 bai rtsa ba t'ams cad bsdus te | rjes su yi rañ bai mc'og
 gis rjes su yi rañ bar gyis šig | rjes su yi rañ nas kyañ
 sañs rgyas dañ | byañ c'ub sems dpa' dañ | rañ sañs
 rgyas dañ | ñan t'os rnams la³⁾ mc'od par bya bai p'yir
 dbul lo | | p'ul nas kyañ sems can t'ams cad dañ t'un
 moñ du gyis šig | de nas sems can t'ams cad t'ams cad
 mk'yen pa ñid kyi bar du t'ob par bya bai p'yir dañ |
 sañs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad yoñs su rdsogs par bya bai
 p'yir ñin gcig bžin du dus gsum du bla na med pa yañ
 dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub tu yoñs su sños⁴⁾ šig |
 rgyal po c'en po k'yod de ltar žugs la rgyal po gyis šig |
 rgyal poi srid kyañ mi ñams so | | byañ c'ub kyi ts'ogs
 kyañ yoñs su rdsogs par ʔgyur ro⁵⁾ žes de la sogs pa rgyas
 par bšad nas | yañ bka' stsal pa | rgyal po c'en po k'yod
 yañ dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub kyi sems kyi dge bai
 rtsa ba dei rnam par smin pas lan du mar lha dañ mir

1) N. bsgoms.

2) D. so soi.

3) N. la *deest*.

4) D. bsños.

5) From: byañ c'ub up to: ʔgyur ro not in Sk.

skyes par ¹⁾ gyur to | | lha dañ mir skyes pa t'ams cad
na yañ dbaṅ por gyur to žes rgyas par bka' stsal pa bžin
no |

§ 4. | sgrub pa sñiṅ por byed pai byaṅ c'ub kyi ²⁾ sems
kyi ṅbras bu gaṅ yin pa de šin tu rgya c'e bar grub ste
ap'ags pa dpas sbyin gyis žus pa las |

byaṅ c'ub sems kyi bsod [25 a] nams gaṅ |
de la gal te gzugs mc'is na ||
nam mk'ai k'ams ni kun gaṅ ste |
de ni de bas lhag par agyur ||

| žes gsuṅs pa lta bu'o | | sdoṅ po bkod pa las kyaṅ
bsnags te | rigs kyi bu byaṅ c'ub kyi sems ni saṅs
rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad kyi sa bon lta bu'o žes rgyas
par bšad de ³⁾ | | byaṅ c'ub kyi sems de yaṅ rnam
pa gñis. te | smon pai sems daṅ | žugs pai sems
te | ap'ags pa sdoṅ po bkod pai mdo las gsuṅs
pa | rigs kyi bu sems can gyi ajig rten na gaṅ dag
bla na med pa yaṅ dag par rdsogs pai byaṅ c'ub tu
sems kyis smon pai sems can de dag ni rñed par dka'o |
| sems can gaṅ dag bla na med pa yaṅ dag par rdsogs
pai byaṅ c'ub tu yaṅ dag par žugs pa de dag ni de bas
kyaṅ šin tu rñed par dka'o žes ṅbyuṅ no | | de la agro
ba mt'a' dag la p'an pai p'yir saṅs rgyas su gyur cig
ces gaṅ t'og mar don du gñer ba de ni smon pai sems
so | | gaṅ p'an c'ad sdom pa bzuṅ ste ts'ogs rnam
la žugs pa de ni žugs pai sems so | | sdom pa ni p'a
rol po mk'as pa mt'u daṅ ldan pa sdom pa la gnas pa las
mnod do | | mt'un pa med na saṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ

1) N. skye par.

2) N. om. kyi.

3) N. bšad pa do.

c'ub sems dpa' rnam s mñon du byas la | ap'ags pa aJam
 dpal rgyal po nam mk'a' žes bya bar gyur pa na bya
 c'ub tu sems bskyed pa de bžin du bskyed par bya'o
 | de ltar sems bskyed pai bya c'ub sems dpa' bdag ma
 dul na gžan mi dul bar šes nas bdag ñid sbyin pa la sogs
 pa sgrub pa la rab tu sbyor ro |

§ 5. | sgrub pa med par bya c'ub mi t'ob bo |
 | ađi lta ste ap'ags pa ga ya goi ri las gsuñs pa | bya
 c'ub ni sgrub pa sñiñ por byed pai bya c'ub sems
 dpa' sems dpa' c'en po rnam kyi yin te | log par
 sgrub pa sñiñ por byed pa rnam kyi ni ma yin no
 že'o | | ap'ags pa tiñ ñe ađsin rgyal po las kyañ
 gsuñs te | de lta bas na sgrub pa sñiñ por bya'o žes
 gžon nu k'yod kyis bslab par bya'o | | de cii
 p'yir že na | gžon nu sgrub pa sñiñ por byed pa la bla
 na med pa yañ dag par rdsogs pai bya c'ub rñed dka'
 ba ma yin [25 b] pai p'yir ro že'o | | bya c'ub sems
 dpai sgrub pa de yañ p'a rol tu p'yin pa dañ | ts'ad
 med pa dañ | bsdu bai dños po la sogs pai bye brag
 yin par ap'ags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa dañ | dkon
 me'og sprin la sogs pai mdo las rgyas par bšad pa yin
 no | | ađi ltar ađig rten gyi bzo la sogs pai gnas kyi
 bar dag la yañ bya c'ub sems dpas ¹⁾ bslab par bya ba
 yin na ađig rten las ađas pai bsam gtan la sogs pa lta ci
 smos te | de lta ma yin na sems can gyi don gyi rnam
 pa t'ams cad ji ltar bya | bya c'ub sems dpai sgrub
 pa de yañ mdor na t'abs dañ šes rab kyi ño bo yin te |
 šes rab aba' žig kyañ ma yin te | t'abs aba' žig kyañ
 ma yin no | | de yañ ap'ags pa dri ma med par grags
 paš bstan pa las kyañ šes rab dañ bral bai t'abs dañ |

¹⁾ N. sems dpa'.

t'abs dañ bral bai šes rab ni byañ c'ub sems dpai əc'in
 ba'o žes gsuñs so | | t'abs dañ bcas pai šes rab dañ
 šes rab dañ bcas pai t'abs ni t'ar pa'o žes bsñags so
 | ąp'ags pa ga ya goi ri las kyañ gsuñs te | byañ c'ub sems
 dpa' rñams kyi lam ni mdor bsdu na ądi gñis te | byañ
 c'ub sems dpa' dag la lam ądi gñis dañ ldan na myur du
 bla na med pa yañ dag par rdsogs pai byañ c'ub mñon
 par rdsogs par ąts'añ rgya'o | | gñis gañ že na | ądi
 lta ste | t'abs dañ šes rab bo že'o |

§ 6. | de la ¹⁾ šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa ma
 gtogs par sbyin pa la sogs pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa
 dañ | bsdu bai dños po la sogs pa dañ ²⁾ žiñ yoñs
 su dag pa dañ | loñs spyod c'en po dañ | ęyog
 ąk'or mañ po p'un sum ts'ogs pa la sogs pa dañ ³⁾
 sems can yoñs su smin par byed pa dañ | sprul pa la
 sogs pa mñon par mt'o bai c'os sdud par byed pai
 dge ba t'ams cad ni t'abs žes bya'o | | šes rab ni
 t'abs dei ño bo ñid p'yin ci ma log par rtogs pai
 rgyu yin te | des yañ dag par t'abs kyi bye brag p'yed
 nas p'yin ci log med pas bdag dañ gžan gyi ⁴⁾ don ji lta
 ba bžin du bsgrubs pas sñags kyis btab pai dug za ba dañ
 ądra ste | kun nas ñon moñs [26 a] par mi ągyur ro |
 | de skad du mdo sde de ñid las bka' stsal te | t'abs
 ni bsdu ba šes pa'o | | šes rab ni yoñs su sbyoñ ba
 šes pa'o že'o | | ąp'ags pa dad pai stobs bskyed pa las
 kyañ gsuñs te | t'abs la mk'as pa ni c'os t'ams cad yañ
 dag par sdud pa gañ yin pa'o | | šes rab gañ že na
 gañ c'os t'ams cad ma ądres pa la mk'as pa'o | | t'abs

1) N. de las.

2) N. dañ *deest*.

3) D. dag.

4) N. ęyo.

dañ šes rab aḍi gñis ni sar c'ud pa rnams kyis kyañ dus
 t'ams cad du bsten par bya ste | šes rab aba' žig ni
 ma yin no | | aḍi ltar byaṅ c'ub sems dpai sa bcu po
 t'ams cad la yaṅ p'a rol tu p'yin pa t'ams cad kun tu
 spyod de | sa bcu pai mdo la sogs pa las¹⁾ kyañ lhag
 ma rnams kyañ kun tu mi spyod pa ma yin no žes abyuñ
 ño | | sa brgyad pa la byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' ži bar gnas
 pa la | sañs rgyas bcom ldan aḍas rnams kyis bsłaṅ pa
 dañ yaṅ aḡal te | aḍi ltar de las gsuñs pa ni | kye
 rgyal bai sras de ltar²⁾ byaṅ c'ub sems dpai sa mi γyo
 ba aḍi la gnas pai byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' sñon gyi smon
 lam gyi stobs bskyed pa dañ | c'os kyī sgoi rgyun de
 la gnas pa de la sañs rgyas bcom ldan aḍas rnams de bžin
 gšegs pai ye šes ñe bar sgrub par mdsad do | | de
 la aḍi skad ces kyañ bka' stsal to | | rigs kyī bu legs
 so legs so | | sañs rgyas kyī c'os t'ams cad rjes su rtogs
 par bya ba la aḍi ni don dam pai bzod pa yaṅ yin na |
 'on kyañ gaṅ ñed kyī stobs bcudañ mi ajigs pa la sogs
 pa sañs rgyas kyī c'os p'un sum ts'ogs pa de k'yed la
 med kyī | sañs rgyas kyī c'os p'un sum ts'ogs pa de
 yoñs su btsal bai p'yir brtson aḡrus rtsoms šig | bzod
 pai sgo aḍi ñid kyañ ma dor šig | rigs kyī bu k'yod
 kyis de ltar ži ba rnam par t'ar pa t'ob kyañ byis pa so
 soi sbye bo ma ži ba | rab tu ma ži ba | ñon moñs
 pa sna ts'ogs kun tu³⁾ abyuñ bar aḡyur ba | rnam par
 rtog pa rnam pa sna ts'ogs kyis γyan spyo ba aḍi dag la
 soms šig | yaṅ rigs kyī bu sñon gyi smon lam dañ |
 sems can gyi don t'ob par bya ba dañ | ye šes kyī
 sgo bsam gyis [26 b] mi k'yab pa dran par gyis šig |

1) N. la sogs las.

2) N. de ltar *deest.*

3) N. tu *deest.*

yañ rigs kyi bu ʔadi ni c'os rnams kyi c'os ñid de | de
 bžin gšegs pa rnams byuñ yañ ruñ | ma byuñ yañ ruñ |
 c'os kyi dbyiñs ʔadi ni gnas pa ñid de | ʔadi ltar c'os
 t'ams cad stoñ pa ñid dan | c'os t'ams cad dmigs su
 med pa'o | | ʔadis ni de bžin gšegs pa rnams ñi ts'e
 rab tu dbye bar bya ba ma yin gyi | ñan t'os dan
 rañ sañs rgyas t'ams cad kyañ rnam par mi rtog pai c'os
 ñid ʔadi t'ob bo | | yañ rigs kyi bu ñed kyi lus ts'ad
 med pa dan | ye šes ts'ad med pa dan | sañs rgyas
 kyi žiñ ts'ad med pa dan | ye šes mñon par sgrub pa
 ts'ad med pa dan | 'od kyi dkyil ʔk'or ts'ad med pa
 dan | dbyañs kyi yan lag rnam par dag pa ts'ad med
 pa la ltos te | k'yod kyis kyañ de bžin du mñon par
 sgrub pa skyed cig | rigs kyi bu gañ k'yod kyi c'os
 t'ams cad la rnam par mi rtog pai snañ ba ʔadi ni snañ
 ba gcig pur zad do | | rigs kyi bu de bžin gšegs pa
 rnams la ni c'os snañ ba ʔadi ʔdra ba mt'a' yas par ʔgyur
 te | mdsad pa mt'a' yas šin ʔbrel ba mt'a' yas par ʔgyur
 te | gañ dag grañs dan | bgrañ ba dan | ts'ad dan |
 dpe dan | zla yañ med pa de dag t'ob par bya bai
 p'yir mñon par sgrub pa skyed cig | rigs kyi bu re žig
 p'yogs bcui žiñ ts'ad med pa dan | sems can ts'ad med
 pa dan | c'os rnam par p'ye ba ts'ad med pa la ltos
 te | ji lta ba bžin bgrañ bar gyis šig ces de skad bka'
 stsal to | | kye rgyal bai sras dag de ltar byañ c'ub
 sems dpa' de lta bu la sañs rgyas bcom ldan ʔdas de dag
 ye šes mñon par sgrub pai ts'ad med pa de dag la sogs
 pa gañ dag gis byañ c'ub sems dpa' ye šes rnam par
 p'ye ba ts'ad med pa mñon par sgrub pai lam mñon par
 sgrub pa dag ñe bar sgrub par mdsad do | | kye rgyal
 bai sras k'yod mos par bya'o | | k'yod kyis k'on du
 c'ud par bya'o | | gal te sañs rgyas bcom ldan ʔdas

de dag gis byañ c'ub sems dpa' de de ltar t'ams cad mk'yen
 pai ye šes mñon par sgrub pai sgo dag la žugs par ma
 mdsad du zin na de ni de ñid du yoñs su mya ñan las
 aḍa' bar aḡyur te | sems [27 a] can t'ams cad kyi don
 bya ba yañ rgyun c'ad par aḡyur ro žes rgya c'er aḡyuiñ
 ño |

§ 7. | aḡ'ags pa dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa
dañ | ga ya goi ri las gsuñs pa goñ du smos pa yañ
spyir bšad pa yin pas de dañ yañ aḡal lo | | aḡ'ags
pa c'os t'ams cad šin tu rgyas par bsdus pa las bka'
stsal pa de dañ yañ aḡal lo | | de ni aḍi skad bka' stsal
te | aḡam dpal dam pai c'os spañ bai las kyi sgrib pa
ni p'ra'o | | aḡam dpal gañ la la¹⁾ de bžin gšegs pas gsuñs
pai bka' la la ni bzañ bar aḍu šes | la la ni ñan par
aḍu šes pa de ni dam pai c'os spañ ba'o | | gañ c'os
spañ ba des c'os spañs pas de bžin gšegs pa la skur ba
yin no žes rgyas par bka' stsal to | | de las yañ bka'
stsal pa | ma p'am pa byañ c'ub sems dpa' rñams kyi
p'a rol tu p'yin pa drug yañ dag par sgrub pa aḍi ni
byañ c'ub kyi p'yir yin na | de la yañ mi blun po de
dag aḍi skad du byañ c'ub sems dpa' šes rab kyi p'a rol
tu p'yin pa k'o na la bslab par bya'o žes zer žiñ | p'a
rol tu p'yin pa lhag ma rñams la sun aḡyin to | | ma
p'am pa aḍi ji ltar sems | ña ka ši kai rgyal por gyur
pa gañ yin pa des²⁾ aḍi ltar p'uḡ ron gyi p'yir bdag gi
ša k'ra la byin pa de šes rab aḡ'al pa yin nam | byams
pas gsol pa | bcom ldan aḍas de ni ma lags so | | bcom
ldan aḍas kyis bka' stsal pa | byams pa ña byañ c'ub
sams dpai spyad pa spyod pa na p'a rol tu p'yin pa drug
dañ ldan pai dge bai rtsa ba dag bsags na dge bai rtsa

¹⁾ N. gañ la.

²⁾ N. pa des *deest.*

ba de dag gis gnod par gyur tam | byams pas gsol
 pa | de ni ma lags so | | bcom ldan ʔdas kyis bka'
 stsal pa | ma p'am pa k'yod kyis bskal pa drug cur
 sbyin pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa yañ dag par bsgrubs |
 bskal pa drug cur ts'ul k'rims kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa
 dañ | bskal pa drug cur šes rab kyi ¹⁾ p'a rol tu p'yin
 pai bar du yañ dag par bsgrubs na | de la mi blun po
 de dag ʔdi skad du ts'ul gcig k'o nas byañ c'ub ste | ʔdi
 lta ste stoñ pa ñid kyi ts'ul gyis so žes zer ro žes rgyas
 par ʔbyuñ ño | | de lta bas na gñi ga ²⁾ dus t'ams [27 b]
 cad du yañ byañ c'ub sems dpas ³⁾ bsten par bya ba
 k'o na yin no |

§ 8. | de ltar na de bžin gšegs pai mi gnas pai
 mya ñan las ʔdas pa yañ ʔgrub pa'o | | ʔdi ltar sbyin
 pa la sogs pai t'abs kyis gzugs kyi sku dañ | žiñ
 dañ | ʔyog ʔk'or la sogs pa loñs spyod c'en poi ʔbras
 bu p'un sum ts'ogs pa yoñs su ʔdsin pas bcom ldan ʔdas
 yoñs su ⁴⁾ mya ñan las ʔdas pa la yañ mi gnas | šes
 rab kyis p'yin ci log yañ dag par spañs pas ʔk'or ba la
 yañ mi gnas te | ʔk'or bai rtsa ba ni p'yin ci log yin
 pai p'yir ro | | šes rab dañ t'abs kyi rañ bžin gyi
 lam ʔdis sgro ʔdogs pa dañ | skur pai mt'a' rnam par
 spañs nas dbu mai lam bstan te | šes rab kyis ni sgro
 ʔdogs pai mt'a' spoñ la | t'abs kyis ni skur pai mt'a'
 spoñ bai p'yir ro | | de bas na ʔp'ags pa c'os yañ dag
 par sdud pa las kyañ bka' stsal te | mts'an dañ dpe
 byad pa bzañ ⁵⁾ poi gzugs kyi sku yoñs su grub pa la mñon

1) N. šes kyi.

2) N. gñis ka.

3) N. sems dpa'.

4) N. yoñs su *deest*.

5) N. bzañs.

par dga' ba yin gyi | c'os kyi sku mñon par rtogs pa
 tsam la mñon par dga' ba ni ma yin no | | žes so |
 yañ bka' stsal pa | de bžin gšegs pa ni šes rab
 dañ t'abs kyi bskyed pa ste gžan gyi driñ la ajog pa yañ
 srid par šes par bya'o že'o | | rnam par snañ mdsad
mñon par rdsogs par byañ c'ub pa las kyañ | t'ams
 cad mk'yen pai ye šes de ni sñiñ rjei rtsa ba las byuñ
 ba yin | byañ c'ub kyi sems kyi rgyu las byuñ ba
 yin | t'abs kyi mt'ar p'yin pa yin no žes gsuñs so |
 gañ c'os gziñs dañ ađra bar šes pa rnams kyi c'os ñid
 kyañ spañ bar bya na | c'os ma yin pa lta ci smos
 žes gsuñs pa de yañ p'yin ci log tu mñon par žen pa spañ
 bai p'yir de la dgoñs te spañ ño žes bka' stsal gyi | dgos
 pa sgrub pai p'yir mi brtan pa yañ ma yin no | | yañ
 ađi skad du gsuñs te | c'os yoñs su gzuñ mod kyi log par
 mi ¹⁾ gzuñ ño žes bya ba ni lam log par gzuñ bar mi
 bya bai don to | | k'a cig las sbyin pa la sogs pa aḱ'or
 bai aḱras bu brjod pa gañ yin pa de ni šes rab dañ bral
 bai sbyin pa la sogs pa sñar brjod pa ²⁾ dañ | de tsam
 gyi dge [28 a] bai rtsa bas c'og par ađsin pa rnams kyi
 dbañ du mdsad nas | goñ nas goñ du dge bai rtsa ba
 la spro bar bya bai p'yir ro | | de lta ma yin du zin
 na aḱ'ags pa dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa la sogs
pa sñar smos pa t'ams cad dañ yañ aḱal ba k'o nar aḱyur
ro | | de lta bas na šes rab dañ t'abs gñis ka bsten
 dgos pa k'o nar gnas so | | de la šes rab kyi yoñs su
 zin pai sbyin pa la sogs pa p'a rol tu p'yin pai miñ t'ob
 ste | gžan du ma yin no | | de bas na sbyin pa la
 sogs pa yoñs su dag par bya bai p'yir mñam par gžag

1) N. adds: gzuñ žes aḱyūñ bai log par mi.

2) D. brjod.

pa la gnas par byas la | šes rab bskyed pa la je ʔabad
par bya'o |

§ 9. | de la t'og mar re žig t'os pa las byuñ bai
šes rab bskyed par bya ste | des re žig luñ gi don
kun tu ʔadsin par byed do | | de nas bsams pa las byuñ
bai šes rab kyis ñes pa dañ drañ bai don rnam par
ʔabyed par byed do | | de nas des bye brag p'yed pai
don la brten nas yañ dag pa k'o nai don bsgom par byai
yañ dag pa ma yin pa de ni ma yin no | | de lta ma yin
du zin na p'yin ci log tu bsgoms šiñ t'e ts'om yañ ma
bsal ¹⁾ bas yañ dag pai šes pa yañ ʔabyuñ bar mi ʔgyur
te | dei p'yir bsgom pa don med par ʔgyur bas mu
stegs can rnam kyis bsgom pa dañ ʔdra'o | | bcom ldan
ʔadas kyis tiñ ñe ʔadsin gyi rgyal po las kyañ bka' stsal te |

gal te c'os la bdag med so sor rtog |
so sor de brtags gal te bsgom pa ni ||
de ñid mya ñan ʔadas t'ob ʔbras bui rgyu |
rgyu gžan gañ yin de ni ži mi ʔgyur ||

že'o | | de lta bas na bsams pai šes rab kyis rigs pa
dañ luñ gis brtags la yañ dag pa k'o nai dños poi rañ gi
ño bo bsgom par bya'o | | yañ dag pai dños poi rañ
gi ño bo ni don dam par ²⁾ skye ba med pa k'o na ste
rigs pa dañ luñ gis gtan la dbab bo |

§ 10. | de la luñ ni ʔp'ags pa c'os yañ dag par sdud pa
las skye ba med pa ni bden no | | skye ba la sogs pai
c'os gžan ni mi bden no žes ji skad du gsuñs pa lta
bu'o | de yañ don dam pa dañ mt'un pai p'yir skye ba
med pa bden no žes gsuñs kyī | don dam par ni skye ba

1) D. btsal.

2) D. par na.

yañ ma yin | mi skye ba yañ ma yin te | de t'a sñad
 t'ams cad [28 b] las aḍas pai p'yir ro | | yañ de ñid
 las bka' stsal pa | rigs kyi bu aḡig rten la¹⁾ gnas pa ni
 aḡig pa dañ abyun̄ ba la mñon par žen te | dei p'yir
 de bžin gšegs pa t'ugs rje c'en po dañ ldan pas aḡig rten
 gyi skrag pai²⁾ gnas bsal bai p'yir t'a sñad kyi dbaṅ gis
 skye'o | aḡag go žes gsuṅs kyi | aḍi la ni c'os gaṅ
 yañ skye ba med do že'o | aḡ'ags pa saṅs rgyas kyi
c'os yañ dag par sdud pa las kyaṅ bka' stsal te³⁾ ts'ul
 bžin⁴⁾ aḍri ba ni gaṅ lags | ts'ul bžin ni gaṅ lags | bka'
 stsal pa | skye ba med pa ni ts'ul bžin no | | de aḍri
 ba ni ts'ul bžin aḍri ba'o že'o | | yañ de ñid las bka'
 stsal pa | c'os t'ams cad ni tsai sgo ste | aḡ'i aḡ'o
 dañ skye ba⁵⁾ dañ aḡral ba dag go | | c'os t'ams cad
 ni no bo med⁶⁾ kyi sgo ste | no bo ñid kyis stoṅ pa ñid
 kyi p'yir ro žes abyun̄ no | aḡ'ags pa bden pa gñis rnam
par abyed⁷⁾ pa las kyaṅ | skye ba med par mñam pa
 ñid kyis c'os t'ams cad mñam pa ñid do žes brjod do |
 | šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa las kyaṅ | rab abyor
 gzugs ni gzugs kyi no bo ñid kyis stoṅ no | | rnam par
 šes pai bar du rnam par šes pai no bo ñid kyis stoṅ
 ste | raṅ gi mts'an ñid kyis stoṅ pa ñid kyi p'yir ro žes
 bka' stsal to | | glaṅ poi rtsal las kyaṅ |

gaṅ la skye ba srid pa yi |
 dños po gaṅ yañ mi dmigs te |

1) N. la *deest*.

2) N. skrag pa.

3) N. aḡ'ags pa saṅs rgyas aḡro ba las kyaṅ bka' stsal te.

4) N. bžin du.

5) N. dañ skye ba *deest*.

6) D. ñid.

7) D. aḡyed.

abyuñ ba med pai dños rnams la |
byis pa dag ni abyuñ bar adod ||

ces gsuñs so | | yab dañ sras mjal ba las kyañ | c'os
adi dag t'ams cad ni dus gsum du mñam pa ñid kyis
mñam pa dag ste | adas pai dus na yañ c'os t'ams
cad ño bo ñid med pa na ¹⁾ da ltar byuñ bai dus kyi
bar du ño bo ñid dañ bral ba'o žes bka' stsal te | de
ltar re žig ²⁾ luñ gis brtag par bya'o | | rigs pas brtag
par byas na luñ gi don gud du bkri mi nus te | de bas
na rigs pas so sor brtag par bya'o | | de la rigs pa mdor
brjod par bya ste | dños po rnams kyis skye ba rgyu
med pa las abyuñ ba žig gam | rgyu yod pa las abyuñ
ba žig tu agyur grañ na | res aga' ba yin par snañ bai
p'yir rgyu med [29 a] pa las abyuñ ba ma yin te | rgyu
la mi ltos par bye brag med pai p'yir skye bai dus bžin
du rtag tu t'ams cad du ³⁾ dños po rnams cii p'yir mi
abyuñ | dños po med pai dus dañ yañ bye brag med
pas skye bai dus na yañ abyuñ bar ⁴⁾ mi rigs so | | de
ltar re žig rgyu med pa las abyuñ du mi ruñ ño | | rgyu
yod pa las abyuñ ba'n ⁵⁾ ma yin te | | adi ltar mu
stegs can rnams kyis dbañ p'yug la sogs pa rtag pa rgyur
btags pa de las kyañ dños po rnams mi skye ste | rim
gyis abyuñ bar snañ bai p'yir ro | | rgyu ma ts'añ ba
med pai abras bu ni rim gyis abyuñ ba mi rigs te |
ltos ⁶⁾ pa med pai p'yir ro | | dbañ p'yug la sogs pa bdag
ñid la mt'u yod pa ni gžan la ltos ⁶⁾ pa med de | rtag

1) N. med pa nas.

2) N. re žig.

3) D. t'ams cad.

4) N. abyuñ bai.

5) N. 'ñ deest.

6) N. bltos.

pa yin pas de la gžan dag gis p'an gdags mi dgos pai
 p'yir ro | | p'an mi ądogs pa la ltos par yañ mi ruñ
 ño | | de bas na dbań p'yug la sogs pa nus pa t'ams
 cad kyis stoń pai p'yir mo gšam¹⁾ gyi bu la sogs pa
 bžin du ño bo ñid med pa k'o na yin no | | dños po
 ni don byed nus pai mts'an ñid yin na de dag ni gań du
 yañ ąbras bu rim gyis skyed²⁾ kyań mi nus te | goń du
 brtags pa yin no | | cig car yań mi skye ste | ądi
 ltar ąbras bu t'ams cad cig car³⁾ bskyed nas | p'yin c'ad
 kyań gal te de k'o na bžin du de ñid bskyed nus na ni
 dei ts'e nus pai rań bžin rjes su ąjug pas sña ma bžin
 du ąbras bu skye bar ągyur ro | | rjes su mi ąjug na
 ni sña mai ño bo ñid bor bas mi rtag par ągyur ro | | de
 bas na rtag pa žes bya bai dños po gań yań med do | | de
 ñid kyi p'yir bcom ldan ądas kyis bka' stsal pa | blo
 gros c'en po ądi lta ste | nam mk'a' dań | ągog pa
 dań | mya ñan las ądas pa la sogs pa ma byas pai dños
 por mñon par žen ciń sgro ądogs pa ni med pa las sgro
 ądogs pa yin no žes so⁴⁾ | | de ltar re žig de dag ni
 rtag pa las skyer mi ruñ ño | | mi rtag pa las kyań ma
 yin te | de las ądas pa dań ma 'ońs pa ni dños po med
 pas de las skyes žes byar mi ruñ ste | rgyu med pa las
 skye bar ągyur bai p'yir ro | | dus mñam pa dań mi
 mñam pa de las mi skye [29 b] bai p'yir da ltar gyi [de]
 las kyań mi skye'o | | ądi ltar re žig dus mñam pa las
 ma yin pa ni rgyui ño bo ñid dań ądra bar ąbras bu yań
 de dań dus gcig tu ąbyuń ste | grub pai p'yir ro | | dus
 t'a dad pa las kyań mi skye ste | dus gžan gyis ma c'od

1) N. mi gšam.

2) N. bskyed.

3) N. cig car *deest.*

4) N. ze'o.

de skye na ni ʼadas pa la sogs pa las skye bar ʼagyur bai
 p'yir ro | | bar du ma c'od par skye na gal te bdag
 ñid t'ams cad kyis bar du ma c'od na ni skad cig gcig
 tu skad cig t'ams cad c'ud pas bskal pa yañ skad cig
 tsam du ʼagyur te | dper na rdul p'ra rab rnam bdag
 ñid t'ams cad kyis ʼadres nas goñ bu rdul p'ra mo tsam
 ñid du ʼagyur ba bžin no | | ji ste p'yogs gcig gis p'rad
 na ni dei ts'e skad cig la c'a šas yod par ʼagyur ro

bdag ñid kyañ mi skye ste rgyu med pa las byuñ ba
 k'o na'o | | p'yogs kyi nañ du p'yogs ʼadi ʼadus pai
 p'yir te | bdag ñid la byed pa ʼagal bai p'yir ro | |
 gñis ka las kyañ ma yin te | p'yogs gñis kai skyon
 ʼadu bar ʼagyur bai p'yir ro | | de lta bas na don dam
 par dños po ʼadi dag t'ams cad ni¹⁾ ma skyes pa k'o na
 yin la | kun rdsob tu ni skye ba yod pas luñ la sogs
 pa dañ yañ mi ʼagal lo | | de skad bcom ldan ʼadas kyis
 kyañ bka' stsal te |

dños po skye ba kun rdsob tu |
 dam pai don du rañ bžin med ||
 rañ bžin med la ʼak'rul pa gañ |
 de ni yañ dag kun rdsob ʼadod ||

| ce'o | | rigs pa ʼadi bcom ldan ʼadas kyis kyañ dgoñs
 te | | sā lu ljañ pa la sogs pa las | | bdag dañ gžan
 dañ gñis ka dañ rgyu med pa las skye ba bkag pai p'yir
 ro |

§ 11. | rnam pa gcig tu na ʼadi ltar rigs pas rnam
 par dpyad par bya ste | dños po rnam ni rnam pa gñis
 te | gzugs can dañ | gzugs can ma yin pa'o | | de
 la re žig gzugs can bum pa la sogs pa de dag ni rdul

¹⁾ N. ni *deest*.

p'ra mo t'a dad pai ño bo ñid¹⁾ yin pas na rañ bžin gcig
 pa ma yin no | | rdul p'ra mo šar nub na gnas pa
 rnams kyañ šar la sogs pai p'yogs dañ ldan pa ñid kyis
 t'a dad pa rnams kyañ rnam par p'ye na²⁾ mi a grub pai
 p'yir rdul p'ra mo³⁾ bsags pai bdag ñid yin pas na⁴⁾
 du mai rañ bžin [30 a] yañ ma yin no | | gcig dañ
 du mai ño bo ñid las ma gtogs pa dños poi ño bo ñid
 gžan med pas dños po gzugs can a di dag ni rmi lam
 la sogs par dmigs pai gzugs la sogs pa bžin du don
 dam par ño bo ñid med pa k'o na'o | | de yañ ap'ags
pa lañ kar gšegs pa las bcom ldan a das kyis bka' stsal
pa | blo gros c'en po glañ gi rva yañ rdul p'ra mor bšig
 na mi a dug go | | rdul p'ra mo rnams kyañ so sor
 bšig na rdul p'ra moi mts'an ñid las mi gnas so žes so⁵⁾ |
 | gañ dag gzugs med pa de dag kyañ de bžin du brtags
 na ño bo ñid med pa k'o na ste | a di ltar p'yi rol gyi
 sñon po la sogs pai don med pai stobs kyis rnam par
 šes pa la sogs p'un po gzugs can ma yin pa de dag ñid
 sñon po la sogs pai ño bor k'as blañ dgos so | | bcom
ldan a das kyis kyañ |

p'yi rol gzugs ni yod min te |
 rañ gi sems ni p'yi rol snañ ||

žes bka' stsal to | | de bas na sñon po la sogs pa sna
 ts'ogs kyis rnam par snañ bai p'yir dañ | gzuñ ba dañ
 a dsin pai rnam par snañ bai p'yir ño bo ñid gcig tu mi
 ruñ ste | gcig dañ du ma mi mt'un pai p'yir gcig ni du

1) N. ñid *deest.*

2) N. rnam par p'ye na *deest.*

3) D. inserts rnams ni which is not necessary.

4) N. yin pas na *deest.*

5) N. že'o.

mai ño bo ñid k'o nar mi ruñ ño ¹⁾ | gañ gi ño bo ñid
 gcig tu ma grub pai p'yir du mai ño bor yañ mi ruñ ste
 du ma ñid ni gcig ʔdus pai ño bo ñid ²⁾ yin pai p'yir ro |
 | ji ste gzugs la sogs pai rnam pa ʔdi dag brdsun pa ñid
 du snañ bar k'as len na rnam par šes pa'n mi bden par
 ʔgyur te | rnam par šes pa dei ño bo ñid dañ t'a ³⁾
 dad pa ma yin pai p'yir ro | | bdag ñid rtogs pai ño
 bo las gud na rnam par šes pai ño bo med la | gzugs
 la sogs pa'n bdag ñid kyis snañ bar byed na rnam par
 šes pai rañ gi ño bor gyur pa rnams brdsun pa ñid yin
 pas rnam par šes pa t'ams cad kyañ brdsun pa yin par
 k'as blañs par gyur to | | rnam par šes pa ni sgyu
 ma dañ ʔdra'o žes bcom ldan ʔdas kyis kyañ bka' stsal
 to | | de lta bas na gcig dañ du mai ño bo ñid kyis
 stoñ pai p'yir dños po ʔdi dag t'ams cad don dam par
 bden pa ma yin no žes bya ba de ñes so | | dei don
 bcom ldan ʔdas kis kyañ ʔp'ags pa [30, b] lañ kar gšegs
 pa las |

ji ltar gzugs rnams me loñ la |
 gcig dañ gžan rnams rnam spañs par ||
 snañ yañ de ni yod ma yin |
 de bžin dños rnams ño bo ñid ||

| ces bka' stsal to | | gcig pa ñid dañ du ma ñid bral
 žes bya bai t'a ts'ig go | | yañ bka' stsal pa |

blo yis rnam par gžigs na go |
 ño bo ñid ni gzuñ du med ||

1) N. ño bor mi ruñ ño.

2) N. ñid *deest*.

3) N. t'e.

de p'yir de dag brjod med ciñ |
 ño bo ñid kyañ med par bšad ||

| ce'o |

§ 12. | de ltar bsams pai šes rab kyis yañ dag
 pai don bye brag p'yed par ¹⁾ byas la de mñon sum
 du bya ²⁾ bai p'yir bsgoms pai šes rab bskyed do | t'os
 pa la sogs pa tsam gyis don mñon sum du mi agyur ro
 žes ap'ags pa dkon mc'og sprin la sogs pa las bstan
pa yin no | | sgrub pa po rnams la yañ ñams yod de |
 šes pai snañ ba rnams šin tu gsal ba abyuñ ba med pa
 yañ dag par sgrib pai mun pa mi spoñs so | | bsgom
 pa lan mañ du byas na yañ dag pa ma yin pai don la
 yañ ³⁾ šes pa šin tu gsal ba abyuñ ste | dper na mi sdug
 pa dañ zad par sa la sogs pa la sñoms par žugs pa rnams
 kyis šes pa abyuñ ba lta bu yin na yañ dag pai don la lta ⁴⁾
 ci smos | de ltar bsgoms ⁵⁾ pai abras bu ni yoñs su gsal
 pai šes pa yin pas abras bu dañ bcas pai don yin par
 bcom ldan ađas kyis tiñ ñe ađsin gyi rgyal po las bka'
 stsal te |

k'yod kyis k'oñ du c'ud par bya mos par bya |
 ji lta ji ltar mañ du mis brtags na |
 de la gnas pai rnam par rtog pa des |
 de ⁶⁾ lta de ltar de la sems ⁷⁾ gžol bar agyur |

žes de la sogs pa rgya c'er abyuñ ño | | de lta bas na

1) N. p'yed pa.

2) D. mñon sum.

3) N. yañ *deest*.

4) D. don lta.

5) N. bsgom.

6) D. da lta.

7) N. de la sogs.

de k'o na mñon sum du bya bai p'yir bsgom pa la rab
tu ajug go |

§ 13. | de la rnal abyor pas sems gnas par bya
bai p'yir t'og ma k'o nar re žig ži gnas bsgrub par
bya'o | | sems ni c'u bžin du γyo bai p'yir ži
gnas kyi gži med par gnas pa med do | | mñam
par ma bžag¹⁾ pai sems kyis ni yañ dag pa ji lta ba²⁾
bžin du šes par mi nus te | bcom ldan ađas kyis
kyañ mñam par bžag pas yañ dag pa ji lta ba bžin du
šes so žes bka' stsal to | | ži gnas de ni rñed pa la sogs
pa la³⁾ [31 a] ađod pa la mi lta žiñ ts'ul k'rims la legs par
gnas la sdug bsñal la sogs pa dañ du len pai ñañ ts'ul
can du gyur la brtson ađrus brtsams na šin tu myur du
ađrub bo | | de bas na ađ'ags pa dgoñs pa ñes par
ađrel pa la sogs pa las kyañ sbyin pa la sogs pa goñ mai
yañ goñ mai rgyu ñid yin par bstan to | | de ltar ts'ul
k'rims la sogs pa ži gnas kyi ts'ogs rnam la gnas te | yid
du 'oñ bai sa⁴⁾ p'yogs su sañs rgyas dañ bya c'ub sems
dpa' t'ams cad la p'yag [aťs'al] la sogs pa bya žiñ | sdig
pa bšags pa dañ bsod nams kyi rjes su yi rañ ba yañ byas
nas | sñiñ rje c'en po k'o na mñon sum du byas pas
ađro ba mt'a' dag gdon pai bsam pa can du gyur nas
lus drañ por bsrañs⁵⁾ la stan bde pai steñ du ađug ste
skyil mo⁶⁾ kruñ beas la tiñ ñe ađsin mñon par sgrub bo | |
de la t'og mar re žig mdor bsdu na rnam pa ji sñed
kyis rnam par dpyad par bya ba dños po mt'a' dag ađu
par ađyur bai dños po gañ yin pa de la sems gžag par

1) N. gžag.

2) N. bar.

3) N. la sogs pa.

4) N. sa *deest*.

5) N. drañ po srañ.

6) N. dkyil mor.

bya'o | dños po ʔdus pa ni gzugs can dañ | gzugs
 can ma yin pai bye brag gis rnam pa gñis te | las dañ
 po pai rnam par ʔyeñ bai ñes pa bsal bai p'yir re žig
 ʔdus pa de la ni dmigs pai rigs so | | gañ gi ts'e yid
 la byed pa k'ugs par gyur pa dei ts'e¹⁾ p'un po dañ k'ams
 la sogs pai bye brag gis²⁾ rgyas par yañ dmigs par byed
 pa k'o na ste | ʔdi skad dgoñs pa ñes par ʔgrel pa la
 sogs pa las kyañ rnal ʔbyor pa rnams kyi stoñ pa ñid
 rnam pa³⁾ bco brgyad la dmigs pa la sogs pai bye brag
 gis dmigs pai rnam pa kun tu bka' stsal to | | de
 bas na bcom ldan ʔdas kyis sems can⁴⁾ t'ams cad la p'an
 gdags pai p'yir gzugs can dañ gzugs can ma yin pa la
 sogs pai bye brag gis mdor bsdus pa dañ | bar ma dañ |
 rgyas pa dag gis dños por rab tu dbye ba c'os mñon pa
 la sogs pa las bstan to | | de yañ dños po la sgro ʔdogs
 pa dañ skur pa spañ bai p'yir p'un po dañ k'ams la sogs
 par bsdus pai sgo nas bgrañ ño⁵⁾ | | de nas dños po
 t'ams cad bsdus pai bye brag p'yed nas de ñid [31 b] la
 sems yañ dañ yañ rgyun du ʔjug par bya'o | | gañ gi
 ts'e bar skabs su ʔdod c'ags la sogs pas sems p'yi rol du
 rnam par ʔyeñ bar byed pa dei ts'e rnam par ʔyeñ bar
 šes par byas la mi sdug pa la sogs pa bsgoms pas rnam
 par ʔyeñ ba ži bar byas šin myur du de ñid la sems p'yi
 p'yir gžug par bya'o | | mi sdug pa la sogs pa bsgom
 pai go rim ʔdir yi ge mañs kyis⁶⁾ dogs te ma bris so |
 gañ gi ts'e⁷⁾ la mi dga' bar mt'oñ ba dei ts'e tiñ ñe

1) N. ts'e *deest*.

2) N. brag gyi.

3) N. rnam pa *deest*.4) N. sems can *deest*.

5) N. agrañ ño.

6) N. kyi.

7) N. gañ gyi ts'e de la.

ṛdsin gyi yon tan la lta bas de la dga' ba bsgom žiñ
rnam par ḡyeñ ba la ñes par lta bas mi dga' ba rab tu
ži bar bya'o | | ji ste gañ gi ts'e rmugs pa dañ gñid
kyis non te | dmigs pa ṛdsin pa la mi gsal žiñ sems
byiñ bar gyur pa dei ts'e snañ bai ṛdu šes bsgoms¹⁾ pa'm

mc'og tu dga' bai dños po sañs rgyas la sogs pai
yon tan yid la byed pas byiñ ba bsal la dmigs pa de ñid
dam du bzuñ ño | | ji ste gañ gi ts'e de sñon rgod²⁾
pa dañ rtse ba la sogs pa dran žiñ bar bar du sems rgod
par mt'on ba dei ts'e mi rtag pa la sogs pa yid ṛbyuñ
bar ṛgyur bai dños po yid la byed pas rgod pa ži bar
bya'o | | de nas yañ dmigs pa de ñid la sems mñon
par ṛdu byed pa med par ṛjug pa la ṛbad par bya'o |

gañ gi ts'e byiñ ba dañ rgod pa gñis ka³⁾ dañ bral te
mñam par ṛjug ciñ sems rañ gi ñañ gis ṛbyuñ bar mt'on
ba dei ts'e rtsol ba klod de btañ sñoms su bya'o | | gal
te mñam par ṛjug pa la rtsol ba byas na sems rnam par
ḡyeñ bar ṛgyur ro | | gañ gi ts'e dmigs pa de ñid la
mñon par ṛdu byed pa med par ji srid ṛdod pai bar du
sems ṛjug par ṛgyur ba dei ts'e ži gnas rdsogs pa yin par
rig par bya ste | ži gnas kyi ño bo ñid ni sems rtse gcig
pa tsam du zad pai p'yir ṛdi ni ži gnas t'ams cad kyi
spyii mts'an ñid yin no | | dei dmigs pa la ni ñes pa
med do | | ži gnas kyi lam ṛdi ni šes rab kyi p'a rol
tu p'yin pa la sogs pa las kyañ bšad de |

§ 14 bka' stsal pa | de dañ de la sems ṛjog go |
| rgyun du ṛjog go | | blan te ṛjog go⁴⁾ | ñe bar ṛjog
go | | ṛdul bar byed do | | ži bar byed do | | rnam par

1) N. bsgom.

2) D. dgod.

3) N. gñi ka.

4) N. ṛjog rgyun du ṛjog blan te ṛjog go.

ži bār byed do | | rtse gcig tu byed do | | mñam [32 a]
 par ajog go žes ts'ig dgu smos so | | de la ajog ces
 bya ba ni dmigs pa la sems adogs pa'o | | rgyun du
 ajog ces bya ba ni dmigs pa de ñid la rgyun du ajog
 pa'o | | blan te ajog ces bya ba ni rnam par γyeñ ba
 šes nas de spon ba'o | | ñe bar ajog ces bya ba ni rnam
 par γyeñ ba spañs nas p'yi p'yir brtun te dmigs pa de
 ñid la ajog pa'o | | adul bar byed do žes bya ba ni
 dga' ba bskyed¹⁾ pa'o | | ži bar byed do žes bya ba ni
 rnam par γyeñ bai ñes pa mt'oñ nas mi dga' bar rab tu
 ži bar byed do | | rnam par ži bar byed pa ni rmugs
 pa dañ gñid la sogs pa lañs pa rnams sel ba'o | | rtse
 gcig tu byed pa ni mñon par adu byed pa med pas ajug
 par abad par byed pa'o | | mñam par ajog šes bya ba
 ni sems mñam par gyur pa na btañ sñoms su byed pa
 ste | mñam par adsin žes²⁾ bya bai t'a ts'ig go | | ts'ig
 adi rnams kyi don adi ni ap'ags pa byams pa dañ | sñon
 gyi mk'an po rnams kyis bšad do | | mdor na tiñ ñe
 adsin t'ams cad kyi ñes pa drug yod de | le lo dañ |
 dmigs pa brjed pa dañ | byiñ ba dañ | rgod pa dañ |
 mi rtsol ba dañ | rtsol ba'o | | de rnams kyi gñen
 por³⁾ spon bai adu byed brgyad bsgom mo | adi lta
 ste | dad pa dañ | adun pa dañ | rtsol ba dañ |
 šin tu sbyañs pa dañ | dran pa dañ | šes bžin dañ |
 sems pa dañ | btañ sñoms so | | de la goñ ma bži ni
 le loi gñen po ste | adi ltar tiñ ñe adsin gyi yon tan dag
 la mñon par yid c'es pai mts'an ñid dañ ldan pai dad
 pa rnal abyor pa rnams de la adod pa skye'o | | de
 nas adod pas brtson agrus rtsom mo | de brtson agrus

1) N. skyed.

2) D. ces.

3) N. gñan po.

kyi stobs kyis lus dan sems las su ruñ ba ñid byed do
 | de nas lus dan sems šin tu sbyaṅs par gyur pas le lo
 ldog ste | de bas na dad pa la sogs pa ni le lo spoñ¹⁾
 bai p'yir bsgom mo | | dran pa ni dmigs pa brjed pai
 gñen po'o | | šes bžin ni byiñ ba dan rgod pai gñen
 po ste | des byiñ ba dan rgod pa yañ dag par rtogs pai
 p'yir ro | | byiñ ba dan rgod pa rab tu ži bai²⁾ dus
 na mi rtsol ba ñes pa ste | dei gñen [32 b] por sems
 pa bsgom mo | byiñ ba dan rgod pa rab tu ži ste |
 gañ gi ts'e sems rnal du ajug pa dei ts'e rtsol ba ñes
 pa yin te | dei gñen por dei ts'e btañ sñoms bsgom
 mo | | spoñ bai aḍu byed brgyad po de dag dan ldan
 na tiñ ñe aḍsin šin tu k'ugs pa yin te | des rdsu aḍ'rul
 la sogs pa yon tan rnams sgrub par byed do | | de lta
 bas na mdo sde las spoñ bai aḍu byed brgyad dan ldan
 pai rdsu aḍ'rul gyi rkañ pa bsgom mo žes bka' stsal to |

§ 15. | sems rtse gcig pa de p'yi p'yir las su ruñ ba
 ñid dan ldan žiñ dmigs pa la sogs pai yon tan gyi k'yad
 par t'ob pas bsam gtan dan | gzugs med pai sñoms par
 ajug pa dan | rnam par t'ar pa la sogs pai³⁾ miñ t'ob po |
 | aḍi ltar gañ gi ts'e btañ sñoms kyi ts'or ba dan ldan
 žiñ rtog pa dan bcas pa dan | dpyod pa dan bcas par
 gyur pa dei ts'e mi lcogs pa med pa žes bya ste | ⁴⁾bsam
 gtan dan poi sbyor bai sems so⁴⁾ | | gañ gi ts'e aḍod
 pai sred pa dan | sdig pai c'os rnams dan bral žin rtog
 pa dan | dpyod pa⁵⁾ dan | dga' ba dan | bde ba
 dan ldan par gyur pa dei ts'e bsam gtan dan po žes bya'o |

1) D. spañ.

2) D. ma ži bai.

3) N. dan sogs pai.

4) Not in Sk.

5) N. spyod.

| bsam gtan dañ po de ñid las rtog pa tsam med pa
 de ni bsam gtan k'yad par can žes bya'o | | gañ gi
 ts'e rtog pa dañ dpyod pa dañ bral te bsam gtan dañ poi
 sai sred pa dañ bral bar gyur nas dga' ba dañ bde ba dañ |
 nañ yoñs su dañ ba dag dañ ldan par gyur pa dei ts'e ¹⁾
 bsam gtan gñis pa žes bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e bsam gtan
 gñis pai sai sred pa dañ bral bar gyur te bde ba dañ |
 btañ sñoms dañ | dran pa dañ | šes bžin dag ²⁾ dañ
 ldan par gyur pa dei ts'e ³⁾ bsam gtan gsum pa žes bya'o |
 | gañ gi ts'e bsam gtan gsum pai sai sred pa dañ bral
 te sdug bsñal yañ ma yin bde ba yañ ma yin žiñ | btañ
 sñoms dañ | dran pa dag dañ ldan par gyur pa dei
 ts'e bsam gtan bži pa žes bya'o | | de bžin du gzugs
 med pai sñoms par ajug pa dañ | rnam par t'ar pa
 dañ | zil gyis gnon pai skye mc'ed la sogs pa yañ dmigs
 pa dañ rnam pa la sogs pai bye brag gis ⁴⁾ sbyar bar
 bya'o | | de ltar dmigs [33 a] pa de la sems brtan
 par byas nas šes rab kyis rnam par dpyad par bya ste |
 ađi ltar šes pai snañ ba byuñ bas kun tu rmoñs pai sa
 bon šin tu spon bar agyur ro | | de lta ma yin na mu
 stegs can rnam kyis bžin du tiñ ñe ađsin tsam gyis ñon
 moñs pa spon bar mi agyur ro | | mdo sde las ji skad
 du |

tiñ ñe ađsin de sgom par byed mod kyis |
 de ni bdag tu ađu šes ađig mi byed |
 de yi ñon moñs p'yir žiñ rab ak'rug ste |
 lhag spyod ađi ni tiñ ađsin bsgom pa bžin |
 | žes gsuñs pa lta bu'o |

1) N. ts'e *deest.*2) N. *deest.*3) N. ts'e *deest.*

4) N. brag gi.

§ 16. | de la ap'ags pa lañ kar gšegs pa las | šes rab
bsgom pai rim pa mdor bka' stsal te |

sems tsam la ni rab brten nas |
p'yi rol don la mi brtag go ||
de bžin ñid kyi dmigs gnas nas |
sems tsam las kyañ bzla bar bya ||
sems tsam las ni bzla nas su |
snañ ba med las bzla bar bya ||
snañ med gnas pai rnal abyor pa |
de yis t'eg pa c'en po mt'oñ ||
ži ba lhun gyis grub pai gnas |
smon lam dag gis rnam par sbyaṅs ||
ye šes dam pa bdag med pa |
snañ ba med pas mt'oñ bar agyur ||

de la don ni aḍi yin te | | t'og mar rnal abyor pas
c'os gzugs can gañ dag gzugs la sogs pa p'yi rol gyi
don du gžan dag gis brtags pa de dag la ci aḍi dag
rnam par šes pa las gžan žig yin nam | 'on te rnam
par šes pa de ñid de ltar snañ ste | rmi lam gyi gnas
skabs ji lta ba bžin nam žes dpyad par bya'o | | de la
rnam par šes pa las p'yi rol pa rdul p'ra rab tu bšig ste |
rdul p'ra rab rnam kyañ c'a šas kyis so sor brtags na
rnal abyor pas don de dag mi mt'oñ ño | | des de dag
ma mt'oñ bas aḍi sñam du aḍi dag t'ams cad ni sems tsam
ste p'yi rol gyi don med do sñam du sems so | | aḍi
ltar |

sems tsam la ni rab brten nas |
p'yi rol don la mi brtag go |
| žes de skad abyuñ ba ni c'os gzugs can la rnam par
rtog pa spon ba'o žes bya bai t'a ts'ig go | | dmigs

su ruñ bai mts'an ñid du gyur pa de dag la ¹⁾ rnam
 par dpyad ²⁾ na mi dmigs pai p'yir ro [33 b] | de ltar
 c'os gzugs can rnam ³⁾ rnam par bšig nas gzugs can ma
 yin pa rnam par bšig par bya ste | de la sems tsam
 gañ yin pa de yañ gzuñ ⁴⁾ med na ądsin par mi ruñ
 ste | ądsin pa ni gzuñ ba la ltos pai p'yir ro | | de
 lta bas na sems ni gzuñ ba dañ ądsin pa las dben žiñ gñis
 su med pa k'o na yin par rnam par dpyad nas gñis su
 med pai mts'an ñid | de bžin ñid kyi dmigs gnas ⁵⁾
 nas | sems tsam las kyañ bzla bar bya | | ądsin pai
 rnam pa las šin tu bzla bar bya ste | gñis su snañ ba
 med pa gñis med pai šes pa la gnas par bya žes bya
 bai t'a ts'ig go | | de ltar sems tsam las ⁶⁾ bzlas nas
 gñis snañ ba med pai šes pa las kyañ bzla bar bya ste |
 bdag dañ gžan las dños po rnam skye ba mi ąt'ad pai
 p'yir gzuñ ba dañ ądsin pa brdsun pa k'o na yin la | de
 dag las de yañ gud na med pai p'yir de yañ bden pa ñid
 ma yin par brtags la gñis med pai šes pa de la yañ dños
 por mñon par ⁷⁾ žen pa dor bar bya ste | gñis med pai
 šes pa snañ ba med pai šes pa k'o na la gnas par bya
 žes bya bai t'a ts'ig go | | de ltar na c'os t'ams
 cad la ño bo ñid med par rtogs pa la gnas pa yin no |
 de la gnas pas yañ dag pa ñid kyi c'os ⁸⁾ la žugs pas
 rnam par mi rtog pai tiñ ñe ądsin la žugs pa yin no |
 | de ltar rnal ąbyor pa gañ gi ts'e gñis med pai šes pa

1) D. de dag.

2) N. spyad.

3) N. rnam *deest.*

4) N. gzuñs.

5) N. gnas *deest.* Cf. above, quotation of L a ñ k.

6) D. tsam la.

7) N. mñon par *deest.*

8) D. mc'og.

snañ ba med pai šes pa la gnas par gyur pa dei ts'e
mt'oñ bai lam la gnas¹⁾ pas t'eg pa c'en po mt'oñ ño |

§ 17. | de k'o na dam pa mt'oñ ba gañ yin pa de ñid
t'eg pa c'en po žes bya'o | | de k'o na dam pa mt'oñ
ba de ni c'os t'ams cad šes rab kyimig gis brtags te yañ
dag pai ye šes kyisnañ ba šar na ci yañ mt'oñ ba med
pa gañ yin pa'o | | de skad mdo las kyañ gsuñs te |
don dam pa mt'oñ ba gañ že na | c'os t'ams cad mt'oñ
ba med pa gañ yin pa'o žes abyuñ ño | | ađir de lta
bui mt'oñ ba med pa la dgoñs te | mi mt'oñ ba žes
bka' stsal gyimig btsums pa dañ | dmus loñ la sogs
pa lta bu rkyen ma ts'añ ba dañ²⁾ yid la mi byed pas
mi mt'oñ ba ni ma yin no | | de bas na dños por mñon
par [34 a] žen pa la sogs pa³⁾ p'yin ci log gi bag c'ags ma
spañs pas ađu šes med pai sñoms par ajug pa la sogs pa
las lañs pa bžin du dños po la sogs pa mñon par žen pai
rtsa ba can ađod c'ags la sogs pa ñon moñs pai ts'ogs
yañ abyuñ bai p'yir rnal abyor pa ma grol ba ñid du
ađyur ro | | ađod c'ags la sogs pai rtsa ba ni dños po
la⁴⁾ mñon par žen pa yin no žes ap'ags pa bden pa gñis
bstan pa las kyañ bka' stsal to | | rnam par mi rtog
pa la ajug pai gzuñs las yid la mi byed pas gzugs la sogs
pai mts'an ma spoñ ño žes gsuñs pa gañ yin pa de yañ
šes rab kyis brtags na mi dmigs pa gañ yin pa de⁵⁾ |
der yid la mi byed par dgoñs kyis | yid la byed pa med
pa tsam ni ma yin te | ađu šes med pai sñoms par
ajug pa la sogs pa ltar | t'og ma med pai dus nas gzugs la

1) N. mt'oñ bai dam pa la gnas.

2) N. dmus loñ ... ts'añ ba dañ *deest.*

3) N. pa *deest.*

4) N. dños po la *deest.*

5) N. de *deest.*

sogs pa la mñon par žen pai yid la byed pa spañs pa tsam
gyis spoñ ba ni ma yin no | | t'e ts'om ma spañs par
ni sñon dmigs pai gzugs pa sogs pa la mñon par žen pai
yid la byed pa yoñs su spañ bar mi nus te | me ma
spañs par ts'a ba spañ du mi ruñ ba bžin no | | ądi
ltar gzugs la sogs pa rnam par rtog pa log pa¹⁾ ądi dag
ts'er ma la sogs pa bžin du sems las lag pas dbyuñ žiñ
bsal du mi ruñ ste | t'e ts'om gyi sa bon spañ dgos pai
p'yir ro | | t'e ts'om gyi sa bon de yañ rnal ąbyor pai
tiñ ñe ądsin gyi snañ ba byuñ ste | šes rab kyī mig gis
brtags na gzugs la sogs pa sñar dmigs pa dmigs su ruñ
bai mts'an ñid du gyur pa de dag mi dmigs pai p'yir
t'ag pa la²⁾ sbrul du šes pa bžin du spañ gi | gžan du
ma yin no | | dei ts'e t'e ts'om gyi sa bon dañ bral
bas gzugs la sogs pai mts'an ma yid la byed pa spoñ nus
par ągyur te | gžan du ma yin no | | de lta ma yin
te | tiñ ñe ądsin gyi snañ ba ma byuñ | šes rab kyī
mig gis ma bltas na mun k'uñ na ądug pai mi ltar k'yim
gyi nañ na yod pai bum pa la sogs pa som ñi za bar
gyur pa bžin du rnal ąbyor pa yañ gzugs la sogs pa yod
par som ñi za ba ldog par mi ągyur [34 b] ro | | de ma
log na mig rab rib kyī skyon ma bsal ba bžin du gzugs
la sogs pa mi bden la mñon par žen pa ąbyuñ ste cis
kyañ mi zlogs so | | de lta bas na tiñ ñe ądsin gyi lag
gis sems gzuñ ste šin tu c'a p'ra bai šes rab kyī mts'on
gyis gzugs la sogs pa log par rnam par³⁾ rtog pai sa
bon gyi⁴⁾ zug rñu sems de la yod pa bsal bar bya'o | | de
ltar byas na rtsa ba nas p'yuñ bai šin dag sa las mi skye

1) D. log pa *deest*; N. rnam par rtogs pa logs pa.

2) N. t'ag pa las.

3) N. rnam par *deest*.

4) N. sa bon gyis.

ba bžin du ¹⁾ rtsa ba med pas na log par rnam par rtog
 pai sems kyañ skye bar mi agyur ro | | de bas na sgrib
 pa spon̄ bai p'yir ži gnas dañ lhag mt'oñ zuñ du abrel
 par ajug pai lam bcom ldan aḍas kyis bka' stsal te | de
 gñis ni yañ dag pai ye šes rnam par mi rtog pai rgyu
 yin pai p'yir ro | | de skad du |

ts'ul k'rims la ni gnas nas tiñ ñe aḍsin aṭ'ob ste |
 tiñ ñe aḍsin t'ob nas kyañ šes rab sgom ²⁾ par byed |
 šes rab kyis ³⁾ ni ye šes rnam par dag pa aṭ'ob |
 ye šes rnam par dag pas ts'ul k'rims p'un sum ts'ogs |

| šes bka' stsal to | | aḍi ltar gañ gi ts'e ži gnas
 kyis dmigs pa la sems brtan par byas pa dei ts'e šes
 rab kyis rab tu brtags na yañ dag pai ye šes kyi snañ
 ba abyuñ ste | dei ts'e snañ ba byuñ bas mun pa
 bsal ba bžin du sgrib pa abyuñ ⁴⁾ ño | | de gñis ka
 yañ mig dañ snañ ba bžin du yañ dag pai ye šes abyuñ
 ba la p'an ts'un mt'un par gnas pa yin gyi | snañ
 ba dañ mun pa bžin du mi mt'un pa ma yin no |
 | tiñ ñe aḍsin ni mun pai ño bo ñid ma yin te | ci
 že na sems rtse gcig pai mts'an ñid do | | de ni
 mñam par bžag na yañ dag pa ji lta ba bžin du rab tu ⁵⁾
 šes so žes bka' stsal pai p'yir de šes rab dañ šin tu mt'un
 pa yin gyi | mi mt'un pa ma yin no | | de lta bas na
 mñam par gžag pai šes rab kyis brtags na c'os t'ams cad
 mi dmigs pa gañ yin pa de ñid mi dmigs pai dam pa'o |
 | rnal abyor pa rnams kyis gnas skabs ⁶⁾ kyis mts'an ñid

1) N. bžin.

2) N. bsgom.

3) N. šes rab kyis.

4) Evidently abyuñ from abyin̄.

5) N. rab tu *deest*.

6) D. ži gnas skabs.

de ʔdra ba de ni lhun gyis grub pa yin te | | dei p'a
rol tu blta bar bya ba gžan med pai p'yir ro | | ži ba
ni yod pa dañ med pa la sogs pa rnam par rtog pai
mts'an ñid kyis spros pa t'ams cad ñe bar [35, a] ži bai
p'yir ro | | ʔdi ltar gañ gi ts'e rnal ʔbyor pas šes rab
kyis brtags na dños poi ño bo ñid gañ yañ mi dmigs pa
dei ts'e de la dños por ¹⁾ rnam par rtog pa mi ʔbyuñ ba
ñid do | | dños po med pa rnam par rtog pa yañ de la
med pa ñid do | gal te brgya la dños po ʔga' žig mt'oñ
bar gyur na ni de lta na ni bkag pas dños po med par ²⁾
rnam par rtog pa ʔbyuñ ño | | gañ gi ts'e rnal ʔbyor pas
šes rab kyis mig gis brtags na dus gsum du yañ dños po
mi dmigs pa dei ts'e ci žig bkag pas dños po med par
rnam par rtog par byed | de bžin du rnam par rtog
pa gžan dag kyañ dei ts'e de la mi ʔbyuñ ba ñid de |
yod pa dañ med pa rnam par rtog pa gñis kyis rnam par
rtog pa t'ams cad la k'yab pai p'yir te | k'yab par
byed pa med pas k'yab par bya ba yañ med pai p'yir
ro | | de ni rnam par mi rtog pai rnal ʔbyor dam pa
yin te |

§ 18. de la gnas pai rnal ʔbyor pa ni rnam par
rtog pa t'ams cad nub pas | ñon moñs pai sgrib pa dañ
šes byai sgrib pa ³⁾ yañ dag par spon no | | ʔdi ltar
ñon moñs pai sgrib pa ni ma skyes pa dañ ma ʔgags pai
dños po rnam la dños po la sogs par p'yin ci log pai
rtsa ba ste rgyu yin no žes ʔp'ags pa bden pa gñis pa bstan
pa la sogs pa las becom ldan ʔdas kyis bka' stsal to |
rnal ʔbyor goms pa ʔdis dños po la sogs pa rnam par
rtog pa t'ams cad spañs pai p'yir dños po la sogs par

¹⁾ N. dños po.

²⁾ D. med pa.

³⁾ N. dañ šes byai sgrib pa *deest.*

p'yin ci log pa ma rig pai ño bo ñid ñon moñs pai sgrib
 pai rtsa ba spon ste | dei p'yir rtsa ba bcaḍ pas
 ñon moñs pai sgrib pai rtsa ba yañ dag par spon ño |
 | ji skad du yañ ap'ags pa bden pa gñis bstan pa las
 gsuñs te | aḡam dpal ji ltar ñon moñs pa rnams aḍul
 bar aḡyur | ji ltar ñon moñs pa rnams yoiñs su šes pa
 yin | aḡam dpal gyis smras pa | don dam par šin tu
 ma skyes pa dañ | ma byuñ ba dañ | dños po med
 pai c'os t'ams cad la kun rdsob tu yañ dag pa ma yin
 pai p'yin ci log go | | yañ dag pa ma yin pai p'yin
 ci log de las kun tu rtog pa dañ | rnam par rtog pa'o |
 | kun tu rtog pa dañ | rnam [35 b] par rtog pa de las
 ts'ul bžin ma yin pa yid ¹⁾ la byed pa'o | | ts'ul bžin
 ma yin pa yid la byed pa de las bdag tu sgro aḍogs
 pa'o | | bdag tu sgro aḍogs pa de las lta ba kun nas
 ldañ ño | | lta ba kun nas ldañ ba de las ñon moñs
 pa rnams aḡyuiñ ño | | lhai bu don dam par c'os t'ams
 cad šin tu ma skyes pa dañ | ma byuñ ba dañ | dños
 po med par rab tu šes pa gañ yin pa de ²⁾ don dam par
 p'yin ci ma log pa'o | | gañ don dam par p'yin ci ma
 log pa de mi rtog | rnam par mi rtog go | | gañ mi
 rtog rnam par mi rtog pa de ts'ul bžin la žugs pa'o |
 | gañ ts'ul bžin la žugs pa de bdag tu sgro aḍogs par mi
 aḡyur ro | | gañ bdag tu sgro aḍogs par mi aḡyur ba
 de lta ba kun nas ldañ bar mi aḡyur te | don dam
 par mya ñan las aḍas par lta bai bar gyi lta ba kun nas ³⁾
 ldañ ba yañ aḡyuiñ bar mi aḡyur ro | | de ltar skye ba
 med par gnas pa dei ñon moñs pa rnams šin tu t'ul bar blta ⁴⁾

¹⁾ D. yin pa ñid.

²⁾ D. om. de.

³⁾ N. adds: ldañ bai bar gyi lta ba kun nas.

⁴⁾ N. lta.

bar bya ste | de ni ñon moñs pa ʔdul ba ʒes bya'o |
 | lhai bu gañ gi ts'e ñon moñs pa rnams snañ ba med
 pai ye šes ¹⁾ kyis don dam par šin tu stoñ pa dañ |
 šin tu mts'an ma med pa dañ | šin tu dños po med pa
 rab tu šes pa dei ts'e lhai bu ñon moñs pa rnams yoñs
 su šes pa yin no | | lhai bu ʔdi lta ste dper na gañ
 sbrul gdug pai rigs rab tu šes pa des sbrul gdug pa dei
 gdug ʒi bar byed do | | lhai bu de bžin du ñon moñs
 pa rnams kyis rigs rab tu šes pa dei ñon moñs pa rnams
 rab tu ʒi bar ʔgyur ro | | lhai bus smras pa | ʔjam
 dpal ñon moñs par ²⁾ gyur pa rnams kyis rigs gañ ³⁾ |
 ʔjam dpal gyis smras pa | | lhai bu don dam par šin
 tu ma skyes pa dañ | ma byuñ ba dañ | dños po med
 pai c'os t'ams cad la kun tu rtog pa gañ yin pa de ni
 ñon moñs pa rnams kyis rigs yin no ʒes rgya c'er ʔbyuñ
 ño | | dños po la sogs par p'yin ci log pas p'yin ci log
 pa mt'a' dag la k'yab pai p'yir | de spañs na p'yin ci
 log t'ams cad spoñ bar ʔgyur bai p'yir | šes byai sgrib
 pa yañ ʔdis yañ dag par spoñ bar ʔgyur te | sgrib pa
 ni p'yin ci log gi mts'an ñid yin pai [36 a] p'yir ro |
 | šes byai sgrib pa spañs na gags med pai p'yir ñi mai
 'od sprin dañ ʔbral bai nam mk'a' la t'ams cad du t'ogs
 pa ⁴⁾ med par snañ ba bžin du ye šes kyis snañ ba ʔbyuñ
 ño | | ʔdi ltar rnam par šes pa ni dños poi ño bo
 ñid rtogs pa yin na | de yañ dños po ñe bar gnas su
 zin kyañ gags yod pas gsal bar mi ʔgyur ro | gags med
 par gyur na ni mt'ui k'yad par bsam gyis mi k'yab pa
 t'ob pas cii p'yir dños po mt'a' dag ʒi lta ba bžin du

1) N. adds: rab.

2) N. moñs pa.

3) N. om. gañ.

4) N. om. pa.

gsal bar mi aḡyur | de bas na kun rdsob ¹⁾ dañ don
dam pai ts'ul gyis dños po mt'a' dag ji lta ba bžin du
šes pas t'ams cad mk'yen pa ñid t'ob bo | | dei p'yir
aḡi ñid sgrib pa spoñ ba dañ | t'ams cad mk'yen pa
ñid t'ob par aḡyur bai lam ²⁾ mc'og yin no | ñan t'os la
sogs pai lam gañ yin pa des ni p'yin ci log t'ams cad
spoñ bar mi aḡyur bai p'yir sgrib pa gñis legs par mi ³⁾
spoñs so | | de skad aḡ'ags pa lañ kar gšegs pa las
kyañ bka' stsal te ⁴⁾ | gžan dag ni c'os t'ams cad rkyen
la rag las par mt'oñ nas mya ñan las aḡas pai blor gyur
te | c'os la bdag med par mt'oñ ba med pai p'yir blo
gros c'en po de dag la t'ar pa med do | | blo gros c'en
po ñan t'os kyi t'eg pa mñon par rtogs pai rigs can ni ñes
par aḡyuiñ ba ma yin pa la ñes par aḡyuiñ bai blor aḡyur
te | blo gros c'en po aḡi la lta ba ñan pa las bzlog pai
p'yir brtson par bya'o žes aḡyuiñ ño | | de ñid kyi
p'yir lam gžan gyis t'ar bar aḡyur ba med pas t'eg pa gcig
k'o na'o žes bcom ldan aḡas kyis bka' stsal to | | ñan
t'os la sogs pai lam bstan pa las ni gžug pa la ldem por
dgoñs nas k'yeus k'yeu dbyuiñ ba bžin du bstan par zad
do | | aḡi ltar aḡi dag ni p'uñ po la sogs pai c'os tsam
du zad de | bdag med par bsgoms nas ñan t'os gañ
zag bdag med pa la aḡug go | | k'ams gsum rnam par
šes pa tsam du bsgoms pas rnam par šes par smra bai
p'yi rol gyi don bdag med pa la aḡug go | | ts'ul aḡis
ni gñis su med pai šes pa de yañ bdag med pa ñid du
aḡug pas bdag med [36 b] pa ñid mc'og la žugs pa yin
no | | rnam par rig pa tsam la aḡug pa ni de k'o na

1) N. adds: pa.

2) D. lam gyi.

3) D. ma.

4) N. stsal pa.

la ajug pa ma yin te | sñar bšad pa bžin no | | ap'ags
 pa aḡig rten las aḡas pai leu las kyañ gsuñs te | kye
 rgyal bai sras gžan yañ k'ams gsum ni sems tsam du
 rtogs te | sems de yañ mt'a' dañ dbus med par rtogs
 so žes abyuñ ste | skye ba dañ aḡig pai mts'an ñid mt'a'
 gñis dañ | gnas pai mts'an ñid dbus med pai p'yir
 sems mt'a' dañ dbus med do | | de lta bas na gñis
 med pai šes pa la žugs pa ni de k'o na la žugs pa ñid
 yin no | | rnal abyor pa rnams kyis gnas skabs de cis
 rnam par dag ce na | smon lam dag gis rnam par
 sbyaṅs | žes gsuñs te | sñiñ rje c'en pos sems can
 mt'a' dag gi don la lta bar byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' smon lam
 btab¹⁾ pa gañ yin pai smon lam dei stobs kyis p'yi p'yir
 žiñ sbyin pa la sogs pa dge ba la goms par byas pas gnas
 skabs de de ltar yoñs su dag par aḡyur te | des c'os
 t'ams cad ño bo ñid med pa ñid du šes kyañ sems can
 mt'a' dag la lta bar go [mi] bzlog ciñ aḡ'or bai ñes pa rnams
 kyis mi gos par aḡ'or ba ji srid par gnas pa yin no | de
 ltar lhun gyis grub ciñ ži ba yin že na |

ye šes dam pa bdag med par |
 snañ ba med pas mt'oñ bar aḡyur ||

| žes aḡdir rgyu²⁾ bka' stsal to | | aḡdi ltar nañ gi šes
 bya smra ba rnams kyis³⁾ gñis med pai mts'an ñid kyis
 šes pa dam pa mc'og yin par aḡdod pa gañ yin pa de yañ
 bdag med do | | ño bo ñid med par rnal abyor pas
 gñis med par snañ ba med pai ye šes kyis mt'oñ ño |
 | de p'an c'ad blta⁴⁾ bar bya ba med pas na lhun gyis

1) N. btab.

2) N. rgyu *deest*.

3) N. kyis.

4) N. lta bar.

grub pa'o | | rnam par rtog pa sna ts'ogs t'ams cad
dañ bral bas ži ba'o |

§ 19. | gal te ji sñed¹⁾ dei ts'e gañ de ltar mt'oñ
bai rnal abyor pa de su yod ce na | bden te | don dam
par na bdag la sogs pa rañ dbaň yod pai rnal abyor
pa gañ yaň med do | | mt'oñ ba ci yaň med do | | de
lta mod kyi kun rdsob tu ji ltar gzugs la sogs pa yul
gyi rnam par šes pa abyuň ba tsam gyis rnam par
[37 a] šes pa ñid la de lta de ltar ajig rten na lha sbyin
nam mc'od sbyin gyi šes pas mt'oñ ño žes t'a sñad adogs
te | bdag la sogs pa ni gañ yaň med do | | de bžin
du adir yaň gñis med pai ye šes snaň ba med pai šes
pa k'o na abyuň ba nas²⁾ snaň ba med pai ye šes kyis
mt'oñ ño žes de ltar miň adogs so | | c'os t'ams cad don
dam par ño bo ñid med mod kyi | kun rdsob tu rnal
abyor pai šes pa'm | so soi skye boi šes pa gžan
yaň ruň ste | mi adod pa ma yin no | | de skad
ap'ags pa bden pa gñis bstan pa las bka' stsal te | de
don dam par šin tu dños po med kyaň kun rdsob tu yaň³⁾
lam sgom par byed do žes bya ba la sogs pa abyuň ño |
| de lta ma yin na ñan t'os dañ | raň saňs rgyas dañ |
byaň c'ub sems dpa' dañ | saňs rgyas dañ | so soi
skye bo la sogs pai bye brag kyaň cis dbye | adi ltar
gaň la kun rdsob tu yaň rgyu med pa de ni kun rdsob
tu yaň mi skye ste | ri boň gi rva la sogs pa bžin no |
| gaň la rgyu yod pa de don dam par brdsun pa yin kyaň
skye ba k'o na ste | sgyu ma dañ | gzugs brňan dañ |
brag ca la sogs pa bžin no | | sgyu ma la sogs pa kun
rdsob tu rten ciň abrel par abyuň ba yin yaň de dag brtag

1) D. ji ste.

2) N. abyuň ba na.

3) N. om. yaň.

mi bzod pas don dam par dños po yod pa ñid du mi
 agyur ro | | de bas na agro ba t'ams cad sgyu ma lta
 bu k'o na'o žes gsuñs so | | de la adi ltar ñon moñs
 pa dañ las sgyu mai dbaṅ gis sems can gyi skye ba sgyu
 ma abyuñ ño | | de bžin du rnal abyor pa rnams kyi ¹⁾
 bsod nams dañ ye šes kyi ts'ogs sgyu mai dbaṅ gis rnal
 abyor pai ye šes sgyu ma abyuñ ba ñid do | | de
 skad du | ap'ags pa šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa
las kyañ bka' stsal te | rab abyor adi ltar c'os t'ams cad
 ni sprul pa yin te ²⁾ | la la ni ñan t'os kyi sprul pa'o
 | la la ni rañ sañs rgyas kyi sprul pa'o | | la la ni
 byaṅ c'ub sems dpai sprul pa'o | | la la ni de bžin gšegs
 pai sprul pa'o | | la la ni ñon moñs pai sprul pa'o |
 | la la ni las kyi sprul pa'o | | rab abyor rnam grañs
 adis c'os t'ams cad sprul pa lta bu'o [37, b] žes abyuñ
 ño | | rnal abyor pa rnams dañ so soi skye bo rnams
 kyi bye brag ni adi yin te | de dag ni sgyu ma mk'an
 bžin du sgyu ma de ji lta ba bžin du yoñs su šes pas bden
 pa ñid mñon par žen pa med do | | de bas na de dag
 rnal abyor pa žes bya'o | | gañ dag byis pa ltad mo pa
 bžin du de la bden pa ñid du mñon par žen pa de dag ni
 p'yin ci log tu mñon par žen pai p'yir byis pa žes bya
 ste | de dag t'ams cad aḡal ba med do | | de skad
ap'ags pa c'os yañ dag par sdud pa las kyañ bka' stsal
te |

dper na sgyu mai mk'an po žig |
 sprul pa t'ar par bya ³⁾ p'yir brtson |
 des ni sñā nas de šes pas |

¹⁾ N. kyi.

²⁾ From: rab abyor up to: yin te not in Sk.

³⁾ D. om. bya.

sprul pa de la c'ags pa med |
 srid gsum sprul pa ądra bar ni |
 rdsogs pai byań c'ub mk'as pas řes |
 ągro bai c'ed du go bgos te |
 ągro ba de ltar sńa nas řes |
 | řes gsuńs so |

§ 20. | de ltar bsgom pai rim pa ądis de k'o na
 bsgom par bya'o | | de la byiń ba dań rgod pa la
 sogs pa byuń na sńar bstan pa bźin du ři bar bya'o |
 | gań gi ts'e c'os t'ams cad ńo bo ńid med par dmigs
 pa la byiń ba dań rgod pa la sogs pa dań bral řiń
 mńon par ądu byed pa med par řes pa ąjug par gyur
 pa dei ts'e ři gnas dań lhag mt'on zuń du ąbrel par ąjug
 pai lam rdsogs pa yin no | dei ts'e ji srid du nus pa
 de srid du mos pai stobs kyis mos pas spyod pai sa la
 gnas pas bsgom par bya'o | | de nas ji ltar ądod pa
 bźin du skyil mo kruń ma břig par lańs la ądi sńam du
 bsam par bya ste | yań ni c'os ądi dag t'ams cad don
 dam par ńo bo ńid med mod ¹⁾ kyi | kun rdsob tu yod
 par bsam mo | | de skad dkon mc'og sprin las kyań
 bka' stsal te | ji ltar byań c'ub sems dpa' bdag med
 pa la mk'as pa yin ře na | | rigs kyi bu ądi la byań
 c'ub sems dpa' yań dag pai řes rab kyis gzugs la so sor
 rtog | ts'or ba dań | ądu řes dań | ądu byed rnams
 dań | rnam par řes pa la so sor rtog ste | de gzugs
 la so sor rtog pa na gzugs kyi skye ba mi dmigs | kun
 ąbyuń ba mi dmigs | ągog pa mi dmigs so | | de
 bźin du ts'or ba dań | ądu řes dań | ądu byed rnams
 dań | rnam par řes pai skye ba mi dmigs so | [38 a] |
 de yań don dam par skye ba med par gnas pai řes rab

¹⁾ N. med pa yin mod.

kyis yin gyi | t'a dad pai ño bo ñid kyis ni ma yin no
 žes rgya c'er abyun ño | | byis pai blo can adi dag ño
 bo ñid med pai dños po rnams la mñon par žen pai
 dbaṅ gis ak'or ba na kun tu ak'yam žiñ sdug bsñal sna
 ts'ogs dag ñams su myoñ ño sñam du sñiñ rje c'en po
 mñon du byas la adi sñam du bsam par bya ste | ci
 nas dbag gis t'ams cad mk'yen pa ñid t'ob nas adi dag ¹⁾
 c'os ñid k'oñ du c'ud par byed par agyur ba de ltar bya'o
 sñam du bsam mo | | de nas sañs rgyas dañ byaṅ c'ub
 sems dpa' t'ams cad la mc'od pa dañ bstod pa gsol te |
ap'ags pa bzañ po spyod pa la sogs pai smon lam c'en po
gdab po | | de nas stoñ pa ñid dañ sñiñ rjei sñiñ po
 can gyi sbyin pa la sogs pa bsod nams dañ ye šes kyis ts'ogs
 mt'a' dag sgrub pa la ajug par bya'o | | de skad ap'ags
pa c'os yañ dag par sdud pa las kyaṅ bka' stsañ te |
 yañ dag pa ji lta ba bžin du mt'oñ bai byaṅ c'ub sems
 dpa' sems can rnams la sñiñ rje c'en po ajug go | | de
 yañ adi sñam du bdag gis c'os t'ams cad yañ dag pa ji
 lta ba bžin du mt'oñ bai tiñ adsin gyi ñe sgo adi sems can
 t'ams cad la bsgrub par bya'o sñam du sems te | dei
 sñiñ rje c'en po des bskul bas lhag pai ts'ul k'rims dañ
 lhag pai sems dañ | lhag pai šes rab kyis bsam pa yoñs
 su rdsogs par byas nas bla na med pa yañ dag par rdsogs
 pai byaṅ c'ub mñon par rdsogs par ats'añ rgya'o žes
 abyun ño | | t'abs dañ šes rab zuñ du abrel par ajug
 pa adi ni byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' rnams kyis lam yin te |
 adi ltar don dam pa mt'oñ yañ kun rdsob mi gcod la |
 kun rdsob ma bead pas sñiñ rje c'en po sñon du agro žiñ
 p'yin ci log med pa sems can gyi don byed pa la sogs pa
 la ajug go | | de skad ap'ags pa dkon mc'og sprin las

1) N. om. dag.

kyañ bka' stsal te | ji ltar na byañ c'ub sems dpa' t'eg
 pa c'en po la mk'as pa yin že na | ądi la byañ c'ub sems
 dpa' bslab pa t'ams cad la slob kyañ ¹⁾ bslab pa de yañ
 mi dmigs | bslab pai [38 b] lam la ²⁾ yañ mi dmigs |
 gañ slob pa de yañ mi dmigs te | rgyu de dañ rkyen
 de dañ ³⁾ gži des c'ad par lta bar mi ltuñ ño žes ąbyuñ
 ño |

§ 21. | ąp'ags pa c'os yañ dag par sdud pa las kyañ
 bka' stsal te | byañ c'ub sems dpa' rnams kyi sgrub pa
 gañ že na | bcom ldan ądas ⁴⁾ byañ c'ub sems dpa'
 rnams kyi lus kyi las gañ ci lags pa dañ | ñag gi las
 gañ ci lags pa dañ | yid kyi las gañ ci lags pa de dag
 t'ams cad ñi sems can t'ams cad la lta bas ąjug pa lags
 so | | sñiñ rje c'en po sñon du ągro ba lags so | | sñiñ
 rje c'en poi dbań du gyur pa lags so | | sems can t'ams
 cad la p'an pa dañ bde bar bgyi bai lhag pai bsam pa
 las byuñ ba lags so | | de ltar p'an par bgyi bai
 [lhag pai] bsam pa dañ ldan pa de ądi sñam du ądu šes
 bgyid de | | sems can t'ams cad la p'an pa sgrub pa dañ
 bde ba ⁵⁾ sgrub pai sgrub pa gañ yin pa de bdag gis bsgrub
 par bya'o sñam pa ⁶⁾ lags so | | de p'uñ po rnams la
 sgyu ma lta bur so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub ⁷⁾ la p'uñ po yońs
 su ądor ba yañ mi ąts'al | k'ams rnams la sbrul gdug pa
 lta bur so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub ⁷⁾ la k'ams yońs su ądor
 ba yañ mi ąts'al | skye mc'ed rnams la groń stoń pa
 ltar so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub la skye mc'ed yońs su spoń

1) N. om. slob kyañ.

2) N. la *deest*.

3) N. om. rkyen de dañ.

4) N. adds: kyis.

5) N. om. sgrub pa dañ bde ba.

6) N. om. pa.

7) N. bsgrub.

ba yañ mi ʼats'al | | gzugs la dbu ba rños pa ltar so sor
rtog pa yañ sgrub la de bžin gšegs pai gzugs kyi sku rnam
par sgrub pa yañ mi ʼador | ts'or ba la c'ui c'u bur
ltar so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub la de bžin gšegs pai bsam
gtan dañ tiñ ñe ʼadsin la sñoms par ʼajug pai bde ba bsgrub
pai sbyor ba mi rtsom pa yañ ma lags | ʼadu šes la smig
rgyu lta bur so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub la ¹⁾ de bžin gšegs
pai ye šes sgrub pa mi sgrub pa yañ ma lags | ʼadu byed
rnams la c'u šiñ ltar so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub ²⁾ la sañs rgyas
kyi c'os mñon par ʼadu bgyi ba mi sgrub ²⁾ pa yañ ma lags |
rnam par šes pa la sgyu ma lta bur so sor rtog pa yañ
sgrub la | ye šes t'og mar ʼagro bai lus dañ ñag dañ
yid kyi ³⁾ las sgrub pa mi sgrub pa yañ ⁴⁾ ma lags so
žes bya [39 a] ba la sogs pa rgyas par ʼabyuñ ño | | de
ltar mdo sde de dañ de dag las ⁵⁾ t'abs dañ šes rab kyi ts'ul
sgrub pa mt'a' yas pa ʼabyuñ ba k'oñ du c'ud par bya'o |
⁶⁾ ʼajig rten las ʼadas pai šes rab kyi gnas skabs na t'abs
la brten pa mi ʼabyuñ mod kyi | t'abs brten pai dus
na byañ c'ub sems dpa' sgyu ma mk'an ltar p'yin ci ma
log pai p'yir ʼajig rten las ʼadas pai ye šes la sbyor ba
dañ ⁷⁾ ye šes la sbyor bai rjes las byuñ ba dños poi don
gyi de k'o na ji lta ba bžin du rtogs pai šes rab yod pa ⁸⁾
ñid de | t'abs dañ šes rab zuñ du ʼabrel bar ʼajug pai lam de
k'o na yin no | | ʼap'ags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan

1) D. sgrub pa.

2) N. bsgrub.

3) D. kyis.

4) N. yid kyi las ma bsgrub pa yañ.

5) N. de dag la.

6) From here up to end of paragraph see note 1 at p. 205 of Sk. text
§ 20.

7) N. ye šes la sbyor ba dañ *deest*.

8) N. *om.* yod pa.

pa las kyañ bsaṃ gtaṃ mi zad pai skabs nas t'abs dañ
 šes rab zuñ du ʾbrel bar ajuḡ pai lam ʾbyuñ ba k'oñ
 du c'ud par bya'o |

§ 22. | rim pa ʾdi lta bu ʾdis byañ c'ub sams
 dpa' t'abs dañ šes rab rtag tu gus par yun riñ du
 goms par bsgoms na gnaṣ skabs kyi bye brag bcu gñis
 su ʾgyur ro | | gnaṣ skabs de dag ni goñ ma goñ
 mai yon tan gnaṣ pai p'yir sar rnaṃ par gžag ste | mos
 pas spyod pai sa nas sañs rgyas kyi sai bar du'o | | de
 la ji srid du gañ zag dañ c'os la bdag med pai de k'o na
 mñon sum du mi byed mod kyi | mos pa šin tu brtan
 pa tsam du zad de | bdud la sogs pas mi p'yed la gañ
 gi ts'e mos pai stobs k'o na sgom par byed pa dei ts'e
 mos pa brtan pai sgo nas mos pas spyod pai sar rnaṃ
 par gžag go | | sa ʾdi la gnaṣ pai byañ c'ub sams dpa'
 ni so soi skye bo yin mod kyi | byis pai p'oñs pa t'ams
 cad las yañ dag par ʾdas te tiñ ñe ʾdsin dañ | gzuñs
 dañ | rnaṃ par t'ar pa dañ | mñon par šes pa la sogs
 pai yon tan grañs med pa dag dañ ldan pa ʾp'ags pa
dkon mc'og sprin las ʾbyuñ ba yin no | | ʾdi ñid t'a
 ma dañ | ʾabriñ dañ | rab dañ | rab kyi mc'og gi gnaṣ
 skabs bžis ñes par ʾbyed pai c'a dañ mt'un pa bžir rnaṃ
 par gžag ste | ʾdi ltaṣ gañ gi ts'e p'yi rol gyi don rnaṃ
 par ajig pa na šes pai snañ ba cuñ zad gsal ba byuñ ba
 dei ts'e ñes par ʾbyed pai [39, b] c'a dañ mt'un pa dro
 bar gyur pa yin no | | de ni t'eg pa c'en po ʾdir snañ
 ba t'ob pai tiñ ñe ʾdsin žes bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e šes
 pai snañ ba de ñid ʾabriñ tsam du gsal bar gyur pa dei
 ts'e ñes par ʾbyed pai c'a dañ mt'un pa rtse mo žes
 bya ba yin no | | snañ ba mc'od pai tiñ ñe ʾdsin žes
 kyañ bya'o | gañ gi ts'e de ñid c'es gsal bar gyur te
 p'yi rol gyi don mi snañ bai šes pai snañ ba byuñ ba dei

ts'e rnam par šes pa tsam la gnas pai p'yir¹⁾ nes par
 abyed pai c'a dañ mt'un pa bzod pa žes bya ba yin no |
 | p'yogs gcig la žugs pai tiñ ne ądsin žes kyañ bya ste |
 | gzuñ bai rnam pa mi dmigs par žugs pai p'yir ro |
 | gañ gi ts'e [gzuñ dañ] ądsin pai rnam pa dañ gñis su med
 pai šes pa yañ rnam par ąjig pa dei ts'e nes par abyed pai
 c'a dañ mt'un pa c'os kyi mc'og ces bya ba yin no | | de
 ma t'ag pai tiñ ne ądsin žes kyañ bya ste | de ma t'ag
 k'o nar de k'o na la ąjug²⁾ pai p'yir ro | | dei bar du
 ni mos pas spyod pai sa yin no |

§ 23. | sa²⁾ gžan dag ni mdor na yan lag bcu
 gcig yoñs su rdsogs pai sgo nas rnam par gžag
 go | | de las dañ por³⁾ ni t'og mar gañ zag dañ
 c'os la bdag med pai de k'o na rtogs pai yan lag
 yoñs su rdsogs pa las rnam par gžag ste | ądi ltar
 gañ gi ts'e c'os kyi mc'og gi mjug⁴⁾ t'ogs k'o nar c'os
 t'ams cad no bo ñid med par mñon sum du byed pai ye
 šes šin tu gsal ba ąjig rten las ądas pa spros pa t'ams cad
 dañ bral ba t'og ma byuñ ba dei ts'e bya c'ub sems
 dpa' yañ dag pa ñid skyon med pa la žugs pas mt'oñ
 bai lam skyes pai p'yir sa dañ por c'ud pa yin no |
 | de bas na de k'o na⁵⁾ k'oñ du ma⁶⁾ c'ud pas ądi la
 t'og mar k'oñ du c'ud pai p'yir bya c'ub sems dpa'
 rab tu dga' ba yin te | | des na sa de rab tu dga'
 ba žes bya'o | | sa der mt'oñ bas spañ bar bya bai
 ñom moñs pa brgya rtsa bcu gñis spoñ no | | sa lhag
 pai tiñ ne ądsin t'ams cad mñon par sgrub pai p'yir sdug

1) N. om. p'yir.

2) N. om. sa.

3) N. dañ po.

4) N. ąjug.

5) N. om. k'o na.

6) N. om. ma.

ma rnam^s ni bsgom pai lam gyi ño bo ñid de | de dag
 tu bsgoms¹⁾ pas spañ bar bya ba k'ams gsum pai ñon moñs
 pa²⁾ bcu drug spoñ ño | | sa der byañ c'ub sems dpa'
 c'os kyi dbyiñs kun tu agro ba ñid rtogs pas bdag gi don
 dañ adra bar gžan gyi [40 a] don la ajug pai p'yir sbyin
 pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e ba yin no | | byañ
 c'ub sems dpa' des de k'o na k'oñ du c'ud kyañ ji srid
 du ltuñ bai ak'rul pa c'a p'ra ba rnam^s la šes bžin du
 gnas par byed mi nus pa de srid du sa dañ po'o³⁾ | | gañ
 gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e⁴⁾ yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa
 gñis par rnam par gžag go | de bas na sa de la
 ltuñ bai ak'rul pa c'a p'ra ba kun tu mi spyod pas ts'ul
 k'rims kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e ba yin no |
 | ac'al bai ts'ul k'rims kyi dri ma t'ams cad dañ bral
 bai p'yir sa de dri ma med pa žes bya'o | | ltuñ bai
 ak'rul pa c'a p'ra ba rnam^s la šes bžin du gnas pa yan
 yin no | | ji srid du ajig rten pai tiñ ñe adsin mt'a'
 dag la sñoms par ajug pa dañ | | ji skad t'os pai don
 kun tu adsin mi nus pa de srid du sa gñis pa k'o na'o |
 | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs
 pas sa gsum par rnam par gžag go | | sa de la byañ
 c'ub sems dpa' t'os pa gzuñ bai p'yir dañ | | ajig rten
 bsñal t'ams cad bzod pas na bzod pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa
 šin tu šas c'e ba yin no | | tiñ ñe adsin de dag t'ob
 pas sa de ni ajig rten las adas pai ye šes kyi snañ ba
 ts'ad⁵⁾ med pa byed pas 'od byed pa žes bya'o | | de
 ajig rten pai tiñ ñe adsin mt'a' dag t'ob kyañ ji srid du

1) N. bsgom.

2) N. ñon moñs pai ñon moñs pa.

3) N. de srid sa dañ po'o.

4) N. ts'e *deest*.5) N. *om.* ts'ad.

ji ltar t'ob pai byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi¹⁾ c'os rnam
 kyis lan mañ du gnas par byed pa dañ | | c'os dañ
 sñoms par ajug pai sems btañ sñoms su byed mi nus pa
 de srid du sa gsum pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e
 yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa bži bar rnam par gžag²⁾
 go | | sa de la byañ c'ub sems dpa'³⁾ rgyun mi aç'ad par
 [lus dañ] ñag dañ yid kyi brjod pa las yañ dag par bzla
 bai p'yir byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi c'os rnam kyis gnas
 pas na brtson aḡrus kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e
 ba yin no | | sa de ni ñon moñs pai šin mt'a' dag bsreg⁴⁾
 par nus pai byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi c'os kyi 'od aḡro
 ba šin tu byuñ bas 'od aḡro ba can žes bya'o | | de
 byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi c'os [40 b] kyis rgyun mi aç'ad
 par gnas pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du bden pa rnam
 bsgom pa na⁵⁾ aḡ'or ba la [mñon du] mi p'yogs pa dañ | |
 mya ñan las aḡas pa la mñon du p'yogs pa las sems bzlog
 ste | t'abs kyis zin pai byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs bsgom mi nus
 pa de srid du sa bži pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e
 yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa lña par rnam par gžag
 go | | de bas na sa de la t'abs kyis zin pai byañ c'ub
 kyi p'yogs bsgom pa de yoñs su rdsogs par byed pa ni
 šin tu sbyañ bar dka' bas na šin tu sbyañ dka' ba⁶⁾ žes
 bya'o | | sa de la bden pai rnam pa sgom pa lan mañ
 du byed pas bsam gtan gyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas
 c'e ba yin te | de t'abs kyis zin pai byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs
 kyis lan⁷⁾ mañ du gnas pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du aḡ'or

1) N. om. p'yogs kyi.

2) N. bžag.

3) N. byañ c'ub dpa'.

4) D. sreg.

5) D. bsgom pa.

6) N. dka' žes.

7) N. lan *deest*.

bar ajug pa la so sor rtog pas skyo ba dañ ldan pas sems
 kyi rgyud kyi mts'an ma med par gnas pa la mñam
 par ajog mi nus pa de srid du sa lña pa'o | | gañ gi
 ts'e nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa drug
 pa rnam par gžag go | | sa de la byañ c'ub sems dpa'
 rten ciñ ābrel par ābyuñ ba bsgom¹⁾ pas gnas pas na šes
 rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e ba yin no |
 | de bas na šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas
 c'e bai p'yir sa de la sañs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad mñon
 du gyur pa žes bya'o | | de mts'an ma med par gnas
 pa t'ob pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du skabs med par
 mts'an ma med par gnas pa la mñam par ajog mi nus
 pa de srid du sa drug pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei
 ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa bdun par rnam par
 gžag go | | sa de la byañ c'ub sems dpa' mts'an ma
 t'ams cad mts'an ma med par k'oñ du c'ud la mts'an
 mar byas pai t'a sñad kyañ āgog par mi byed do | | de
 bas na sa de la t'abs kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas
 c'e ba yin no | | sa ādi lhun gyis grub pai lam dañ
 ābrel pai p'yir šin tu riñ du soñ bas²⁾ riñ du soñ ba žes
 bya'o | | de skabs med pa mts'an ma med pa la gnas
 pa yañ yin no | | ji³⁾ srid du lhun gyis grub pas
 ajug pai mts'an ma med par [41 a] gnas pa la mñam
 par ajog mi nus pa de srid du sa bdun pa'o | | gañ gi
 ts'e nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa brgyad
 par rnam par gžag go | | sa de la lhun gyis grub par
 dge bai p'yogs la sbyor bas na smon lam gyi p'a rol tu
 p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e ba yin no | | mts'an ma med
 pa la rtsol bas mi bskyod pai p'yir de mi γyo ba žes

1) D. sgom.

2) N. soñ bas na.

3) D. adds de.

bya'o | | de lhun gyis grub par mts'an ma med pa la
 gnas pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du rnam grañs dañ |
 nes pai ts'ig la sogs pai rab tu dbye bas rnam pa t'ams
 cad du c'os ston pa la dbaṅ bsgyur bar mi nus pa de
 srid du sa brgyad pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e
 yan lag ¹⁾ de yoṅs su rdsogs pas sa dgu par rnam par gžag
 go | | sa de la byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' so so yañ dag par
 rig pai k'yad par t'ob pas šes rab kyi stobs kyi k'yad
 par dañ ldan pas na stobs kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin
 tu ²⁾ šas c'e ba yin no | | rnam pa t'ams cad du c'os
 ston pa la mk'as pai p'yir k'a na ma t'o ba med pai
 blo gros kyi k'yad par t'ob pai p'yir ³⁾ legs pai blo gros
 žes bya'o | | de so sor ⁴⁾ yañ dag par rig pa bži t'ob
 pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du saṅs rgyas kyi žiṅ dañ |
 ak'or dañ | sprul pa la sogs pa bstan pa dañ | c'os
 yoṅs su rdsogs par loṅs spyod pa dañ | sems can yoṅs
 su smin par byed mi nus pa de srid du sa dgu pa'o |
 | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de ⁵⁾ yoṅs su rdsogs
 pas sa bcu par ⁶⁾ rnam par gžag go | | de la sprul pa
 la sogs pas sems can yoṅs su smin par bya ba la mk'as
 pai k'yad par dañ ldan pas byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' ye šes
 kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa šin tu šas c'e ba yin no | | de
 ni c'os ston pai sprin rnam kyis ajig rten gyi k'ams
 mt'a' yas pa rnam su c'os kyi c'ar aḃebs pas na c'os kyi
 sprin žes bya'o | | gžan yañ p'uṅ po yoṅs su dag pa
 la sogs pai rnam par gžag ⁷⁾ pa rnam kyis sa rnam ⁸⁾

¹⁾ N. yan lag lañ.

²⁾ N. om. šin tu.

³⁾ N. t'ob pa.

⁴⁾ D. de so so.

⁵⁾ N. om. de.

⁶⁾ N. om. par.

⁷⁾ N. bžag here and in following sentences.

⁸⁾ D. sa only.

rnam par gžag pa yod de | yi ge mañs kyis dogs nas
 ma bris so | | des sprul pa la sogs pai dbaṅ t'ob k'yañ
 ji srid du šes bya t'ams cad la rnam pa t'ams cad du c'ags
 pa med pa dañ | t'ogs pa med pai ye šes bskyed [41 b]
 par mi nus pa de srid du sa bcu pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e
 nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sañs rgyas
 kyi sar rnam par gžag go | | sa rnam par gžag pa ādi
 ni ap'ags pa dgoñs pa ñes par āgrel pa las bstan to |
 | sañs rgyas kyi sa ādi ni p'un sum ts'ogs pa rnam pa t'ams
 cad mt'a' dag rab kyi mt'ar p'yin pai p'yir ādi las goñ
 na rnam pa gžan med pas de p'an c'ad sa rnam par gžag
 pa med do | | sañs rgyas kyi sa dei yon tan gyi p'yogs
 rab tu dbye ba dpag tu med pas rnam pa t'ams cad brjod
 pa ni sañs rgyas rnams kyis kyañ mi spyod na bdag ādra
 bas lta smos kyañ ci dgos | | ji skad du | ap'ags pa
sdoñ po bkod pa las kyañ |

šin tu brtags kyañ rañ byuñ gi |
 yon tan rnams kyi p'yogs gcig mt'a' |
 mi rtog sañs rgyas rnams dañ ni ¹⁾ |
 c'os rnams bsam gyis mi k'yab bo |

| žes bka' stsal pa lta bu'o | | mdor ādi tsam žig
 brjod par nus te | bdag dañ gžan gyi don p'un
 sum ts'ogs pa rab kyi mt'ar p'yin pa ñes pa ma
 lus pa bsal bai mt'ar t'ug pa brñes nas sañs rgyas bcom
 ldan ādas rnams c'os kyi sku la bžugste | loñs spyod
 rdsogs pa dañ sprul pai skus āgro ba ma lus pai don
 lhun gyis grub pai ts'ul gyis mdsad ciñ āk'or ba ji
 srid par bžugs so | | de lta bas na rtog pa dañ ldan
 pa rnams kyis yon tan t'ams cad kyī abyuñ gnas bcom

1) N. mi rtogs sañs rgyas rnam pa dañ ni.

ldan aḍas rnams la dad pa bskyed la de dag gi yon tan
 yoṅs su bsgrub pai p'yir rnam pa t'ams cad kyis rab tu
 aḅad par bya'o | | sku gsum la sogs pai rnam par
 dbye ba ni yi ge maṅs kyis dogs te ma bris so |

mdo sde dag gi ts'ul gyi ¹⁾ lugs mt'un pa |
 rgyal bai sras kyī lam aḍi legs bṣad pas ||
 bdag gis bsod nams mi c'uṅ gaṅ t'ob des |
 aḡro ba ṣes žan ²⁾ blo mc'og myur t'ob ṣog ||

sai mṇa' bdag dpal lha btsan pos bka' stsal nas ³⁾ ka
 ma la ṣī las ⁴⁾ bsgom pai rim pa mdor bsdus pa aḍi bgyis
 so | | bsgom rim daṅ po rdsogs so || || rgya gar gyi
 mk'an po pra jṇā va rma daṅ | | žu c'en gyi lo tsā ba
 bande ye ṣes sde la sogs pas bsgyur ciṅ žus te gtan la
 p'ab pa ||

¹⁾ D. gyis.

²⁾ N. gžon.

³⁾ From bdag daṅ gžan (third line from the bottom of preceding page) up
 to bka' stsal not in Sk.

⁴⁾ N. ṣi.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

To Part I ¹⁾

- P. 5, n. 1 read: p. 196
- P. 19, l. 24 ff. and p. 142, l. 15 ff.: logically, the sequence of the arguments in section II according to A is to be preferred to that of B because it is a kind of general introduction and it corresponds to the discussion on *prayojana* of later dogmatical books.
- P. 20, l. 3: Prof. Demiéville informs me that the expression *sheng shih* never occurs in Chinese.
- P. 21, l. 5 read: of mGon po skyabs, reedition of aJam°
- P. 24, l. 9: omit 'is'
- P. 55, l. 1 read: ṣaṭkam
- P. 57, l. 11 read: °pāsanāt
- P. 59 kārikā l. 12 read: samyag
- P. 61, l. 12: °stambhād
- P. 63, l. 3 from below read: med ni
- P. 65, l. 1 read: mahāttvataḥ
- P. 84, l. 12 read: mā bhūt
- P. 91, l. 1 read: nirvāṇam
- P. 99, stanza 13: the Buddhas do not deduce the present and future achievements of the Bodhisattvas, on account of the fruit which these bodhisattvas may realize, that is by a logical arguing, but by the unimpeded, extratemporal intuition called *prañidhijñāna*: this is, according to *La Somme*, p. 285, the sixth *gūṇa* of the Dharmakāya, which AA. VIII, 8 so defines:
anābhogam anūsaṅgam avyāghātaṃ sadā sthitam |
sarvaprāśnāpanud bauddhaṃ prañidhijñānam iṣyate ||
- See ibid. commentary of Haribhadra, AAA, p. 524 ff.
- P. 101, n. 1 substitute: T: rtog pa yin p'yir ro "because the two are imagined".
- P. 132, n. 1 read: aparipakva
- P. 133, l. 4 from below, read: 'dhigama
- P. 137, l. 11 read: 自性
- P. 141, n. 1 For another definition of Mahāsattva see: *Suvikrāntavikrāmi-prajñāpāramitā*, ed. by Tokumyō Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur*, Stuttgart 1932, p. 27
- P. 147, l. 3 read: dānām
- P. 149, l. 18 read: uccheda°

¹⁾ These *addenda* and *corrigenda* annul the provisory ones published at the end of Part I while I was away in Swat.

G. TUCCI

- P. 153, last line read: as if it
P. 158, ll. 6, 14 read: uttrasi°
P. 165, l. last but one: gāṅgāyām
P. 168, l. 8 °nuttarā and samyak°
P. 195: The English translation of the *Vimśikā* by Yamaguchi is reedited in *A book of Indian Philosophy* ed. by Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore, Princeton, 1957, p. 228
P. 199: Mention of an ācārya Nāgārjuna is found in a dedicatory inscription discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa; it records the erection of an image of Buddha ordered to be made by Candraprabha a pupil of Jayaprabhācārya in his turn a pupil of ācārya Nāgārjuna. The Brahmi characters in which this inscription is written seem to go back to 450-500 A. D. (see T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* (Mem. Arch. Survey of India n. 71, p. 29). This inscription deserves a better attention than it has attracted so far.
P. 263 note to ll. 1-2. So ms.: but T. supposes: vāpur sthiraśvabhāvam (in this case there is no necessity of adding: prasiddhasambandha)
P. 276 n. 1 read: samyag
P. 277 n. 3 On the missing stanzas of *Vākya-pādīya*, not found in the preserved text see: SADIU RAM, *Authorship of some kārikās and fragments ascribed to Bhartṛhari. J. of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, vol. XIII, 1956, p. 51 ff.
P. 283, l. 12: verse defective! corr.: astīdam ity artho'yaṁ svasamvidah
P. 284, l. 34, p. 4 This stanza is quoted by Jayaratha in *Tantrāloka*. vol. VII, p. 170, but; bhāsate for śamsate
P. 291, last line read: cehopalabdhiḥ
P. 294, n. 2 dele: svabhāva after hetu
P. 296, l. 16 read: tat sādhar°
P. 297, l. 20 read: °opādhyana°
P. 303, l. 14 the correction paramāṇuvāt seems evident. Note 2 should therefore be suppressed.
P. 304: For: kaścit read: kameit.

To Part II

ADD. p. 10, n. 3: The nickname Me mgo, 'fire-head' may also have been given to this priest because during the ordination he had undergone the fire ordeal which consisted in the branding of some marks on the shaven heads of the monks, these brandings being three or multiple. The practice is already recommended in the *Brahmajālasūtra*, Ta. n. 1484, p. 1006 a: burning of the body, of an arm, of finger, as an offering to the Buddha, without which one cannot be called a Bodhisattva who has given up family life. Cf. J. J. M. DE GROOT, *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*. Verhandelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 47 and 210. REICHELT, *Truth and tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, Shanghai 1934, p. 238.

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ADD. p. 22, l. 9: The number itself of the seven *sad mi* looks rather suspicious: the "seven tests" remind us of the seven monks who in China were used to assist as representatives of the community every ordination ceremony and to be present there along with the *karmācārya* and the instructor (see J. J. M. DE GROOT, *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, p. 208, I. P. MINAYEFF, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*. Paris 1894, p. 309 "sept témoins vénérables").

An ideal assembly was thus imagined as the transmitter of a tradition handed over to it by the Sarvāstivādin monks invited from India; it assured the foundation and guaranteed the ordinations to come. This ideal assembly strengthened the claim of orthodoxy of the Tibetan clergy, it linked it with the Indian tradition and conferred upon it a sanctity which could justify the developments and continuity of the Tibetan Church.

This being the case it is likely that the story was imagined under the influence of Chinese customs.

ADD. p. 32, l. 1: After a new consideration,—and I must thank my friend H.E. Richardson for having given me the hint—I think that further precision is possible in the sense that the date of the ordination of the seven *Sad mi* and that of the foundation of the temple are the same, i.e. 779 that is a sheep year. The argument for that is the edict of *K'ri sroñ lde btsan* which I published in TTK. The text of this edict has been preserved by PT and about its authenticity, I think, no doubts are possible. In it, TTK P. 44, it is said that the *Lhun gyi grub pa* "as receptacle of the Law" was established in the sheep year. Here 757 is excluded because the king was then too young and we know from another edict that when he was 20 years old the troubles caused by the Bonpo started ($742 + 20 = 761$); only two years seem thus possible i.e. 767 and 779.

Considering that the tradition has preserved the unanimous record of a long interval between the foundation and the completion we have to conclude that the year of the completion cannot but be 779.

ADD. p. 32, l. 3: One may object that my account gives too much weight to PT and that I insist too much on the validity and the authority of this source. But the fact is certain that the documents which he quotes have so far proved to be authentic by the discovery of the original edicts. There is no doubt that there existed in bSam yas and elsewhere some archives still preserved at the times of PT. On the other side the importance of bSam yas is also testified by the literature connected with Padmasambhava, KT and KTY which though much re-elaborated, contain few old and genuine materials. A great religious and cultural life for a certain period was centred in the monastery. It was there that the edict in which the king proclaimed Buddhism to be the religion of the State was issued. The tradition concerning the importance of this monastery is so general that I found it difficult not to accept it. Moreover, it should be mentioned that the investigation of Tibetan history shows a gradual shifting of its centre from the South to the North. In the beginning we find Yar lung as the place of paramount importance. There

was the palace, P'o brañ, of Lha t'o t'o ri, then we find there the castle of P'yoñ rgyas and the tombs of the Tibetan Rulers scattered in the plains nearby. Later this centre shifted to the North of the river bTsan po in Brag dmar, Zuñ mk'ar, the plain of bSam yas, Haspori etc., then to Lhasa which had so far been the summer residence. The country near bSam yas and Brag dmar was much more easily defendable than Lhasa. It was protected on the East by high mountains and was also surrounded to the North and South by two big rivers in spring not easily fordable. Lhasa, as the summer residence, was the centre from which the king during the warm season started for his yearly hunting (*Concile*, p. 202) and the armies departed for their military expeditions. Any movement of troops would have been very difficult from bSam yas, while near Lhasa they could be easily accommodated and the roads were opened to China and Central Asia. But under king K'ri lde sroñ btsan and chiefly Ral pa can we assist to a definite transfer of the centre of the state to Lhasa. Then the Karchung and 'On can rdo temples are erected on the southern shore of the Kyichu and the treaties between Tibet and China are engraved in Lhasa. Thus Lhasa was a summer residence, the starting point of warlike expeditions, the centre of the territory in full array of war (*Ru*). It was walled as all other important settlements must have been walled, including most probably bSam yas. There is no reason to believe that the actual wall, lcags ri, is the original one and that in those times it was not bigger including also the habitation of the king. Those who have been in bSam yas certainly know how large is the valley and how easy it could be to have there a big encampment. We know that Ch. ch'eng is not necessarily a town. It means also a walled camp (*Concile*, p. 201), and we gather from the Ch. sources (*Concile*, p. 202) that the kings used to take shelter during the cold seasons in the walled town or camp, which corresponds to what TH. often says (see above) that the king in winter resided in Brag dmar and nearby places. Therefore I think that the "pure walled town" cannot but be bSam yas: 'pure' can only be applied to a sacred place. There is nothing in the Ch. documents so far known that points to Lhasa as the place where the debate took place; the two places where the Hva šaṅ meets the king were apparently K'o and Po·man which latter seems to me to correspond to Brag dmar. The king was nomadizing and hunting in the hot season; the only time when he settled was in winter and we saw that generally the winter was spent in the country near the bTsan po and Brag dmar. But this I repeat does not exclude that Lhasa was for its situation more important than Brag dmar and that it may have therefore appeared to foreigners as the capital and that the Chinese princesses were received there. The only point on which we must rather be careful before accepting the statement of the Tibetan tradition is that concerning the duration of the debate. From the Tibetan sources we are under the impression that it lasted a short time; against it there are the records of a witness, Wang Si, from whom we know

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that the debate went on for about one year and a half. Did all the meetings take place in bSam yas? Probably not, but I do not see any cogent reason to reject the statement of the Tibetan sources that the first meeting was held in bSam yas. We can hardly imagine that the king himself was present in all the debates in which things were discussed beyond his comprehension. Probably he assisted at the opening of the debate and then at the concluding sessions before promulgating his edicts, therefore in both cases during the cold season when he settled on the northern shore of the bTsan po near Brag dmar.

ADD. p. 33, l. 22: I do not say of course that K a t corresponds to G r a g s which is phonetically impossible. Mine is a mere surmise in case some character is missing or a mistake dropped in the text. I therefore do not insist too much on this supposition.

ADD. p. 35, l. 21: Mr. H. E. Richardson kindly reminds me that when Nepal is clearly referred to as e. g. in the treaty inscription of 821 A.D., it is prefixed by the word: l h o, South. He also suggests that in TH. under the year 705 g c e n l h o B a l p h o might be read g c e n L h o B a l p h o. Anyhow, as I stated, duplication of names is not rare in ancient Tibetan records. Prof. Demiéville in a letter to me refers to the Ch. XL of the T' a n g s h u where the itinerary is preserved of the Ch. envoys to the Tibetan king nomadising for his summer sports in Pa-pu, B'uat puo, Bal po. This would correspond according to distance and direction to the Yar a b r o g m t s ' o, the lake of the upper pasture grounds near Nankartse. But in the Tibetan books Paltits'o is unknown: Palti corresponds to Pedi, dPal sde (spelling uncertain), a r d s o n on the lake. S. CH. DAS., *Journey to Lhasa* (ed. Rockhill), p. 141. Cf. G. TUCCI, *To Lhasa and beyond*, p. 66.

P. 44, l. 7, read: mu steg.

ADD. p. 51, l. 5: So the actual colophon; but of course we may also consider the cause of a later revision.

ADD. p. 59, l. 11: But of course in China we find at the same period analogous donations.

ADD. p. 83, n. 6: The collusion between the Bon pos and the rñiñ ma pas is well known: it is therefore interesting to recollect that a classification of the Tantras into six groups is accepted by the Bon pos. According to Bon po sources, f. i. a D u s p a r i n p o c ' e i r g y u d t r i m a m e d p a, p. 1, Tantras are so classified

Bon ñid lta bai rgyud	
tiñ ñe a d s i n s g o m p a i r g y u d	
spyod pai	"
dam ts'ig sdom	"
yid bžin a b r a s b u i	"
a p ' r i n l a s	"

P. 125, l. 12, read: samvṛti.

P. 127, l. 8, read: śrutam.

G. TUCCI

ADD. p. 133, l. 21: The five poisons correspond to the five coloured lights which are the source of the psycho-physic universe. This theory of cosmic evolution from uncoloured primeval light = Kun tu bzañ po down to the material world and the creatures living in it is common both to Bon po and to rDsogs c'en dogmatics and has been most probably influenced by Manichaeic doctrines. I quote the scheme of this evolution from the 'Od gsal sems kyi me loñ, The mirror of mind-light, revealed by Kun tu bzañ po to sNañ žer lod po, which I will send to the press very shortly.

Void = rig-pa, self-born, primeval intelligence = 'od gsal - light, uncoloured.

From it a ray emanates of the same uncoloured light. If one recognizes that ray as one's own essence, release is immediately realized.

In case one does not recognize it as such, one feels anger and saṃsāra begins:

five lights	five passions:	
white	anger	} five poisons
red	attachment	
blue	ignorance	
green	pride	
yellow	jealousy	

From them the various psychic and physic constituents of the individual, organs, parts of the body etc. arise. Then the external world starting from the material elements is originated:

lights:	yellow	earth
	red	fire
	blue	water
	green	wind
	white	ether.

P. 145, l. 25, read: Tōhoku Cat. n. 4450.

P. 146, l. 5, read: Tōhoku Cat. n. 4451.

ADD. p. 229-30: The Tibetan passage which has no counterpart in Sanskrit is here translated: Having attained the supreme limit of the accumulation of merits for their own benefit and of the others and having obtained the extreme elimination of all defects the Buddhas, the Blessed ones, abide in the dharma-kāya. With the Saṃbhogakāya and the Nirmāṇakāya actuating the benefit of all beings in a spontaneous way they abide in saṃsāra as long as it exists. Therefore those who possess reason should have faith in the Blessed ones who are a source of all sorts of virtues and should by all means exert themselves in order to realize those virtues proper to them. The particularities concerning the three bodies are not written here because we are afraid of writing too much. By whatever small merit I may have gathered well explaining this path of the sons of the Victorious ones according to the method of different sūtras, may beings of weak intelligence acquire the supreme mind (Enlightenment).

N O T I C E

This volume has been printed during the Author's absence: he has therefore been unable to check cross references in the last proofs. A list is here given of the corrections that should be taken into account:

p. 5 n. 3	read	p. 26	instead of	p. 27
p. 16 l. 14	»	p. 24	»	p. 19
p. 20 l. 21	»	p. 150 f.	»	p. 140
p. 23 n. 1	»	p. 11	»	p. 7
p. 25 l. 24	»	p. 56	»	p. 50
p. 31 l. 4	»	pp. 42, 54	»	pp. 36, 47
p. 34 l. 18	»	p. 3	»	p. 27
p. 37 l. 17	»	p. 26	»	p. 21
p. 37 l. 28	»	p. 45	»	p. 39
p. 38 l. 8	»	p. 152	»	p. 143
p. 39 l. 31	»	p. 198	»	p. 183
p. 39 l. 32	»	p. 205	»	p. 189
p. 44 n. 1	»	p. 82	»	p. 74
p. 48 l. 18	»	p. 21	»	p. ' 16
p. 49 l. 24	»	p. 18	»	p. 14
p. 52 l. 8	»	p. 101	»	p. 93
p. 52 l. 31	»	p. 30	»	p. 26
p. 58 n. 1	»	p. 39	»	p. 34
p. 58 n. 2	»	p. 25	»	p. 21
p. 63 l. 27	»	p. 133	»	p. 126
p. 81 n. 1	»	p. 66	»	p. 60
p. 96 n. 2	»	p. 13	»	p. 9
p. 97 n. 3	»	p. 64	»	p. 58
p. 133 l. 27	»	p. 137	»	pp. 127-28
p. 151 l. 5	»	p. 282	»	p. 263

PRINTED IN ROME
BY
DR. GIOVANNI BARDI
TIPOGRAFIA DEL SENATO
SALITA DE' CRESCENZI 16 - ROME
1958

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