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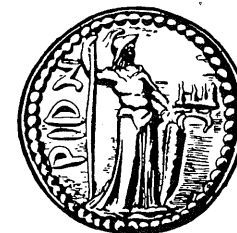
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GIUSEPPE TUCCI

**MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS**

PART II

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



ROMA  
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# MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS

Part II

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B  
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(In addition to those indicated in Part I)

- B = Buston, C'os a byuñ in gSuñ a b u m , vol. ya.  
 BEFEO = *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.*  
 Bhk = B h ā v a n ā k r a m a .  
 B. Ob. = BUSTON, transl. by E. OBERMILLER, *History of Buddhism by Buston*, Heidelberg, 1932.  
 BZ = s B a b ž e d , *Old Tibetan Chronicles*, Ms.  
 Concile = P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Le concile de Lhasa*. Bibl. Institut des Hautes Études chinoises. Vol. VII, Paris, 1952.  
 DM = D e b t ' e r d m a r p o g s a r m a , Ms.  
 Ferrari = Arthaviniścaya. Roma, Reale Accademia d'Italia. Mem. cl. Scienze Morali e Storiche, 7: 4. Roma, 1944, pp. 535-625.  
 GR = r G y a l r a b s g s a l b a i m e l o ñ , sDe dge ed.  
 D = sDe dge edition of bKa' a gyur and bsTan a gyur.  
 GT = G r u b m t ' a ' š e l g y i m e l o ñ , sDe dge ed.  
 JA = *Journal Asiatique.*  
 JASB = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*  
 JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*  
 KT = b K a ' t ' a ñ s d e l ũ a , Potala edition.  
 LALOU, *Inventaire* = M. LALOU, *Inventaire des Ms. Tibétains de Touenhouang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, Paris, 1939.  
 LAUFER, *Der Roman* = B. LAUFER, *Der Roman einer Tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig, 1911.  
 N = Ñor chronicles.  
 NGB = r Ñ i ñ m a r g y u d a b u m , sDe dge edition.  
 PK = P a d m a d k a r p o , C ' o s a b y u ñ , Punaka ed.  
 Preliminary Report = G. TUCCI, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*. Roma, Serie Orientale Roma - n. X, 1.  
 PT = d P a o g t s u g p ' r e ñ b a , C ' o s a b y u ñ .  
 PTY = P a d m a t ' a ñ y i g .  
 SP = S u m p a m k ' a n p o : d P a g b s a m l j o ñ b z a ñ e d . b y S. Ch. Das, Calcutta, 1908.  
 TH = J. BACOT, F. W. THOMAS, CH. TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touenhouang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris, 1940.  
 TLT = F. W. THOMAS, *Tibetan literary texts and documents*, Parts I-III, London, RAS, 1935-1955.  
 TOUSSAINT = G. CH. TOUSSAINT, *Le dict de Padma*, Paris, 1933.  
 TTK = G. TUCCI, *The tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Roma, 1950.  
 Validity = G. TUCCI, *Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition in India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, p. 359.  
 VDL = Chronicles of the 5th Dalai Lama.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	VII
PREFACE . . . . .	XI
SECTION I - <i>Introduction.</i>	
Chapter 1 - The debate of bSam yas according to Tibetan sources .	3
Chapter 2 - The contents of the <i>Bhāvanākrama</i> . . . . .	155
SECTION II - <i>Texts.</i>	
The Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the first <i>Bhāvanākrama</i> . . . .	185
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA . . . . .	283

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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 *Abhisamayālamkāra* superseded by that of *Haribhadra* but of great importance for the history of the exegesis of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Then the *Mahāyāna-samuccayakārikā* 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 I.

*THE DEBATE OF BSAM YAS ACCORDING  
TO TIBETAN SOURCES*

Kamalaśīla is a well-known personality. The Commentary written by him on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita<sup>1)</sup> 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 sron lde btsan<sup>2)</sup>, he was invited to Tibet and properly to bSam yas<sup>3)</sup> and there found himself engaged in a famous controversy with the Chinese Mahāyāna Hva šai (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. Demiéville<sup>4)</sup> in a book which is one of the most learned contributions to the history of cultural relations between China and Tibet as yet undertaken.

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

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

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

3) See below p. 27.

4) *Le Concile de Lhasa, Une controverse sur le quiétisme entre Bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine du VIII<sup>e</sup> 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 it<sup>1)</sup>. Prof. Lamotte published in the book of Prof. Demiéville the translation of the Tibetan version (pp. 336-353). Of the first *Bhāvanākrama* Prof. Demiéville gave a short résumé from the rather imperfect Chinese translation (pp. 333-335). Examining the photos of some Sanskrit manuscripts which I took in Tibet on my journey of 1939 I discovered that one of them, of which the first page is missing, had on top of recto of the second page a small note written in *dbu med* characters. It can be so read: *dBu ma sgom rim*.

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

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

2) TPS, p. 201.

Shigatse. The fact that some Tibetan monk or *lotsāva* wrote at the beginning of the second page the title of the work in Tibetan seems to show that when the palm-leaf manuscript fell into his hands<sup>1)</sup>, 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'an* 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<sup>2)</sup>.

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: *yathālabdhā*.

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' an po, the (first) abbot of bSam yas, had anticipated that the heresy—such was to him the Dhyan school—would have spread so widely in Tibet as to endanger the right understanding of the doctrine; therefore on the point of death<sup>1)</sup> he had recommended in his will that, should the situation grow worse, his pupil Kamalaśīla was to be invited. When new troubles arose, Yešes dbaṅ po, (Jñānendra), viz. one of the seven Tibetans who, as tradition would have us believe, were then properly ordained (sadmi mdun) and of whom we shall speak again, was insistently asked by the king to start the controversy with the Mahāyāna Hvašan. Jñānendra refused to appear<sup>2)</sup> 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 Hvašan 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 mc'od rten was built over them.

2) As we shall see he had left bSam yas.

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 accuracy<sup>1)</sup>. It is clear that the preaching of the Hvašan 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 pa<sup>2)</sup> (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), Naṅša mi (sBa bžed: Myaṅ) 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: tvon mun and brtse min.

sÑags bye ma la (evidently Vimala; sBa bzed: mÑa' bi ma) and rÑegs Rin po c'e crushed their genitals; the Chinese Hva šaň Me mgo (sBa bžed: the Chinese teacher, ston pa) put fire on his own head and died<sup>1)</sup>. For this reason all the followers of the Hva šaň decided to kill the members of the Indian party.

Some of these personages are mentioned elsewhere. sÑags bye ma la is perhaps the same as the Tibetan monk P'i mo lo referred to by Chinese sources (Demiéville, p. 41). As regards Ņaň ša mi, Ša mi of Ņaň, a part at least of his name seems to correspond to (Ch'i) shê mi (shih) 乞奢彌尸<sup>2)</sup> of the same documents. As to Me mgo 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<sup>3)</sup>; the only difference between the Chinese and the Tibetan tradition is that according to the latter he was a Chinese H va š a Ņ . 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 Śāntarakṣita 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. Saň ši 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 WITFOGEL-FÊNG, *History of Chinese Society*, Liao, p. 303 and n. 24, *Concile*, p. 38, n. 2.

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

3) See *Addenda*.

abode in Cho tag", (Obermiller, p. 187), but he "hid the book (c'os) which he had brought from China in a rock<sup>1)</sup>", cf. a few lines below: "the (king) got the sacred texts that were concealed". "The Chinese Me and Go and the Pañḍita Ananta these three", is a mistake of the text itself: rGya me mgo daň pañ ḍi ta Ananta daň g s u m , but it is evident that rGya me mgo is the same Me mgo about whom see above (B u s t o n , g S u Ņ a b u m , vol. ya, p. 125, b), viz. rGya bzaň 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 Saň ši and gSal snaň 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'aň in Has po ri. The books translated were those brought from China by Saň ši and those brought from Maň 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. rD o r j e g c o d p a (V a j r a c c h e d i k ā), S ā l u l j a Ņ p a (Ś ā l i s t a m b h a), and first of all, dG e b a b c u i m d o , 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 sroň lde btsan.

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

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

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

*Saṅ ši* (VDL, p. 32, b f.)  
 id. Buston (ya, p. 125, a)  
 id. PT (ja, p. 74 ff.)  
 id. GR (p. 85, b) in Laufers' copy *Saṅ ši*. Die *Bru-ža Sprache*, reprint, p. 9, n. 2<sup>1)</sup>.

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

There is a difference between KT *ca*, p. 16, a and KT *na*, p. 67, a; in the first we find *K'ri bžer* of *sBa* and in the second *sBa K'ri bžer Saṅ ši ratna*, as if they were one and the same person; in that case the *sad mi* would be six not seven; I therefore considered (TPS, p. 690) *sBa K'ri bžer* and *Saṅ ši ratna* to be two different persons. But BZ also takes *ṅBa K'ri žer Saṅ ši ta* as the name of a single person. This leads us again to consider the various lists of the seven *sad mi* i.e. the first Tibetans to be properly ordained as monks. Let us compare KT, PT, Buston, Nor, GR, PK.

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

KT A ( <i>na</i> p. 67, a)	KT B ( <i>ca</i> p. 16, a)	BZ	Buston A p. 127, a (Ob. II, p. 190)
1 Vairocana of Pa gor 2 Nam mk'a' sñin po 3 Rab rgyal ba dbyaṅs 4 sBa Ye šes dbaṅ po 5-6 sBa K'ri bžer saṅ ši ra tna 7 rGyal ba byaṅ c'ub	1 Vairocana 2 Lha luñ dpal gyi rdo rje 3 sBa dPal dbyaṅs 4 La gsum rgyal ba mc'og 5 sBa K'ri bžer 6 rMa rin c'en mc'og 7 sBa gSal snañ	Vairocana dPal dbyaṅs Ñan lam rGyal ba mc'og dbyaṅs La gsum rgyal bai byaṅ c'ub (Ye šes dbaṅ po) ṅBa' K'ri [b]žer Saṅ ši ta sMañ (sic) Rin c'en mc'og sBa gSal snañ	Vairocana ṅBa' Mañjuśrī (Ye šes dbaṅ po) ṅBa' Ratnarakṣita <sup>1)</sup> Bran ka Mu ti ka ṅK'on Nāgendra rTsaṅs Devendra (Ob. rMa rin c'en mc'og) Glaṅ Ka ta na The division is: 3 rgan: ṅBa' Mañjuśrī, Bran ka Mu ti ka, ṅBa' Ratnarakṣita 3 gžon nu: ṅK'on Nāgendra, Pa gor Vairocana, rTsaṅs Devendra B ar p a: Glaṅ Ka ta na (= Ye šes dbaṅ po)

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

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

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

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 *Nor*, *GR*, *PK*, because he is assimilated to *Ye šes dbaň 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*<sup>1)</sup> *sBas gSal snañ* born by the magic agency of a *Hva šaň*; when of age he was sent as a governor in *Maň 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' Maňjušrī*; 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 dbaň po bsruiñ*, *Nāgendarakṣita* and *Glañ (Buston A) Ka ta na* the same as *Sugatavarman* of *Nor* and *PK*<sup>2)</sup>; with *PK*, *B* and *GR* for the first time a man of *gTsañ (gTsañs, rTsañs)* also appears, called now *Devendra*, now *Legs grub*<sup>3)</sup>. The reason is clear; the *Sa skya pa* belonged to the *ṅK'on* family and the *P'ag mo gru pa* to the *rLaiñ* 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 *s a d m i*, the first men to be ordained in Tibet by the Indian *mk'an po* of *bSam yas*, viz. *Śāntarakṣita*. The lists were therefore altered in order to support these claims. A man of *gTsañ* was also introduced as a result of the importance which this country had attained during the times of the *Sa skya pa* and which was to lead to a fight between *dBus* and *gTsañ*, viz. the *P'ag mo gru pa* on the *dBus* side and the *Sa skya pa* and the rulers of *bSam grub rtse (Shigatze)* on the other. But as to the identity of this man, there is no agreement: he is called either *Devendra* or *Legs grub*.

*Buston*, who witnessed the political ascent of the *P'ag mo gru pa*, or perhaps more likely the editors of his book, went so far as to identify *Katana* of the *Glañs* alias *K'ams pa go c'a (P'ag mo gru pa)* with *Ye šes dbaň 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)*, *Maňjušrī* (in *B.A*, identical with *Ye šes dbaň 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 (s B a) b ž e d*<sup>1)</sup>, according to a quotation found in

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

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

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

byaṅ c'ub.

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

Buston lists nine *s a d m i*, 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 gzigz is not to be considered here as one of the *s a d m i* because after being ordained he obtained the realization of the five *a b h i j ñ ā* and the interpunctuation 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'a<sup>1)</sup> But this is not the end: other lists are also known (PT, 104, *a*), f.i.:

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

- 1) rBa Ratna, 2) mC'ims Sākyaprabha, 3) gTsañ Legs grub, 4) Vairocana, 5) Žaṅ lha bu (the same as the Žaṅ Ṇa bzaṅ gi bu Lha bu Lha btsan of p. 103, *a* see below p. 43); 6) Šud pu<sup>1)</sup> K'oñ legs (or leb: PT p. 104, *a*); 7) Ye šes dbaṅ po.

This variety of lists and also the fact that instead of seven *s a d m i* the older books (BZ in its larger redaction and KT. A) speak of six *s a d m i* 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 *L o r g y u s c ' e n p o*<sup>2)</sup>, 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>L o r g y u s c ' e n p o</i>	KT. ( <i>ca</i> , 16, <i>a</i> )
1-2 dGe sloṅ sdom pa sña ba rBa yi bandhe gñis	1 sBa gSal snañ 2 sBa dPal dbyaṅs
3-4 bTsun pai rab mi Ṇan 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'oñ 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 aḡrus (1011-1075). Cf. *Blue annals*, p. 94.

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

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

It is worth while to add that the identity of dPal dbyaṅs is not clear: in fact while, according to *BZ* (and *KT, B*) he is different from ḅBa' K'ri [b]žer Sañ ši ta, *Buston*, list b, considers the latter to be the same as dPal dbyaṅs. *SP* identifies with him sBa K'ri gzigz 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 <sup>1)</sup>. But, as we shall see later on (p. 140) this identification is very doubtful be-

<sup>1)</sup> *PT*, 104, b and *GR*—though a corruption of the text: sBa K'ri bžer kyi bu Sañ ši rat na into K'ri bžer Sañ ši ta has given origin to a reduplication: K'ri bžer and Sañ ši ta, but from *PT*, 103 a, (rBa K'ri bžer gyi bu K'ri gzigz sam sañ ši ta) his name before initiation seems to have been K'ri gzigz provided this identification has not been proposed in order to eliminate K'ri gzigz 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 sbyor* in which we read: Blon K'ri bžer sañ ši v. *CORDIER, Cat.*, III, p. 487, *A. FERRARI, Arthaviniścaya*, p. 540. *NILS SIMONSSON, Indo-tibetische Studien*, I, p. 241). It therefore seems to me that the reading of *GR* is right: it preserves the tradition of a Sañ ši who was the son of a Blon, Žaṅ blon K'ri bžer. The religious name of this son was Ratna. As to the Žaṅ blon K'ri

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

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

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 sroṅ 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 sañ. 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) Ńor, PK; SP is eclectic. KT and BZ are certainly the oldest but the text of KT has been subject to alterations as we can see by comparing KT, A and KT, B with BZ and the *Lo rgyus c'en po*.

The only names which seem to be generally recurrent are Vairocana, sBa gSal snañ, sBa dPal dbyaṅs, rMa Rin c'en mc'og: dPal dbyaṅs is said to be, but probably wrongly, the same as Ratna, the son of K'ri bžer. From PT we know of a Chinese Sañ ši who was the son of aBa' a de u<sup>1)</sup>, an ambassador sent by the Chinese emperor to the father of K'ri sroñ lde btsan. This boy was a dancer (g a r m k' a n) and had been ordered to remain in Tibet to be a playmate of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, whom the Tibetan tradition calls the son of a Chinese princess (PT, 73)<sup>2)</sup>. He was sent back to China by K'ri lde gtsug

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

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

btsan along with some ambassadors who were to bring back to Tibet some Buddhist texts in Chinese: PT, p. 74 a, (cf. VDL, p. 32, b, *Blue Annals*, p. 41)<sup>1)</sup>. 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 žuñ 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 žuñ are related he is, in fact, called as be-

Kim šeñ (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 steñ 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 šeñ, 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)<sup>1)</sup>. 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, šin ša, šan šin, šen ši, etc.<sup>2)</sup>. (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; Ñor, p. 121, a. SP, p. 171). In record of that fact, the spiritual lineage of Śāntarakṣita, the first abbot of bSam yas, was reproduced in the wall paintings of the temple; Śāriputra, Rāhula, Nāgārjuna, Legs ldan 'byed (Bhāvaviveka), Śrīgupta, Jñānagarbha, Śāntarakṣita (*ibid.*). The last fact is not of paramount importance because we do not know when these paintings were made and what happened to bSam yas between the reign of gLañ dar ma and the revival of Buddhism. But the chronological references are so precise with their indication of the animal of the cycle and of the month that they seem to go back to some old documents accessible to our historians.

Moreover, in the edict published at p. 50 reference to monks and abbots is made; we also know that in the second month (PT, 104, b) of winter of the same year an ācārya was appointed for the c'os 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)<sup>1)</sup>.

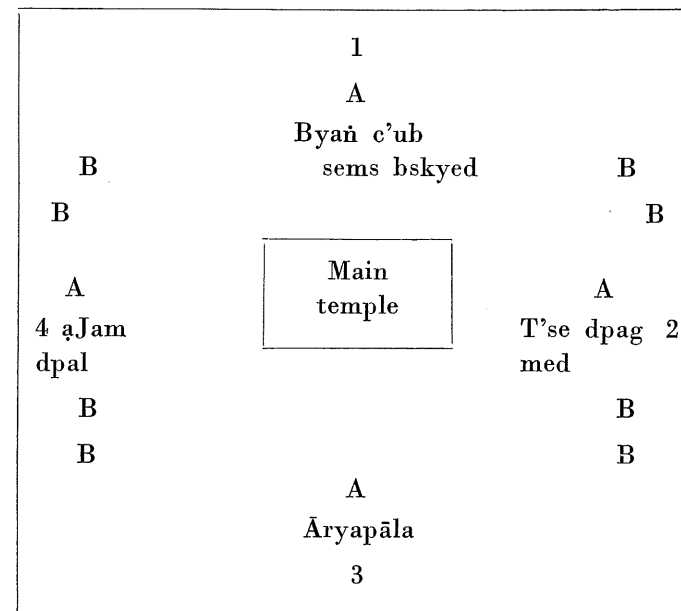
Let us go back to the arrival of Kamalaśīla.

As soon as Kamalaśīla arrived the meeting took place in the *Byañ c'ub gliñ*. This temple is known as *Sems bskyed byañ sems* (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:

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

his retinue is represented by 10 *bodhisattvas* standing and two *c'os 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<sup>1)</sup>:



A) four *gliñ*

B) eight minor *gliñ*

1-4) four *mc'od rten* blue, green, red, white.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PT Ja 108 foll.

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

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

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

Vaiḍūrya dkar po 751<sup>1)</sup>; BZ: hare-year when the king was 13.

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

<sup>1)</sup> 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 (b k o d p a) should have taken place in 742 + 22, 763<sup>1)</sup> 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

<sup>1)</sup> According to the Tibetan way of reckoning.

is therefore left for the revolt of the Bon, the arrival of Śāntarakṣita, the invitation of Padmasambhava, 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 sroñ 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 Myañ<sup>1)</sup> Tiñ ñe ṅ dsin, the tutor of K'ri lde sroñ 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 sroñ lde btsan. As a colleague of Bran ka Yon tan dpal, Tiñ ñe ṅ dsin signs with the qualification of Bande the edict of Karchung<sup>2)</sup>. On the other hand, as we shall see, either he died at the

<sup>1)</sup> Or Ñañ, the two forms alternate.

<sup>2)</sup> Edited by H. E. RICHARDSON in *JASB*, vol. XV, 1949, p. 45 ff. and by myself, *TTK*, p. 104 and p. 51. The rdo riñ of Karchung was erected by K'ri lde sroñ btsan (the son of K'ri sroñ 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 Ye š e s d b a ñ p o (see pp. 36, 47) he could not have been a boy. On the contrary he must have been of a fairly advanced age when Śāntarakṣita died if he could then play an important part in the events. For this reason I think that the date proposed by DT earth-hare 763 (in *TTK*, p. 81, n. 85 by a regrettable mistake 799) cannot be accepted. At most the year of the foundation can be either wood-hare 787 or much more probably fire-hare 775.

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

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

s a d m i were ordained four years later in 779<sup>1)</sup>; 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 Lhasa<sup>2)</sup>; 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 kluñ, where the old palaces and the tombs of the kings were located or in Brag mar (dmar) a little to the north of bSam yas (cf. G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond*, p. 123, f).

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

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

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

1) But see also *Addenda*.

2) See *Addenda*.

It is true that in the Chinese documents translated by Prof. Demiéville we find the name of Lhasa but this place is never given as the one where the debate was held: Mahāyāna only says that when he came to Tibet he arrived in Lhasa (*Concile*, p. 154), where he was questioned by the people on D h y ā n a ; in this occasion there is no mention of any meeting with the king: the meeting, on the other hand, took place in Ko 割 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)<sup>1)</sup>: '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<sup>1)</sup>. 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

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

ḡ 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 v a š a ñ sat to his right<sup>1)</sup> and his followers were placed behind him along with J o m o B y a ñ c ' u b<sup>2)</sup> and his aunt (s r u) Y a ñ

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

2) Jo mo 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 ḡBro bza' K'ri rgyal mo btsan and belonged therefore to the ḡBro 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 G r i n b z a ñ l h a k ' a ñ of Brag dmar; when this temple was destroyed by order of the Ministers hostile to Buddhism, it was taken over to mC'ims p'u and then it was brought to bSam yas. Its name was d g e r g y a s, merit-spreading. But this story cannot be accepted because we know for certain that rGyal mo btsan was one of the wives of K'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<sup>1)</sup>, the Bande L a n k a<sup>2)</sup>, 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'im-pératrice de la famille Mou-lou, ḡBro" 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 (J 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, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, I, Tib. Uebers, p. XIII, n. 1) Wang Si along with the queen and the aunt mentions also Pao ch'en, the administrator of the church of the Yi family (old pronunciation Ngiek or Ngak. (*Concile*,



ved for Kamalaśīla, behind him sat the few rTsen min pa, viz. dPal dbyaṅs, Vairocana, Ye šes dbaṅ po. Both parties seem to accentuate their own inferiority; the preface of Wang Si translated by Prof. Demiéville says that the Chinese were only three while the opponents were thirty. But PT ja, p. 116, a states that behind Kamalaśīla there were rBa dPal dbyaṅs, Vairocana (but on this see below p. 143), Ye šes dbaṅ po etc., dge sloṅ mi maṅ ba žig ste ṅuṅ žas cig las ma byuṅ “not many dge loṅ, no more than a few only.” So each party, in the report of the debate, aimed at insisting on its weakness, on its position of numerical inferiority as compared with the rival. The pact was that, at the end of the debate, in all sincerity and without hatred, the master who acknowledged that his views were wrong should offer a garland of flowers to the winner. The H va šaṅ spoke first, then Kamalaśīla replied followed by Ye šes dbaṅ po (Jñānendra), and dPal dbyaṅs. In the end, the H va šaṅ was unable to give a reply and therefore he offered the garland to Kamalaśīla. Co rMa rma, the gzims mal pa<sup>1)</sup> (PT ja, p. 118, b, 120, b) committed suicide by crushing his genitals. Then the king decided that the views of the H va šaṅ should not be followed and gave a summary of the doctrine as established by Kamalaśīla viz. that prajñā and upāya 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 H va šaṅ, viz. that of the sTon min pa, the method of immediateness, is harmful to the tenfold practice<sup>1)</sup> of the Doctrine and should not be followed. The spirit grows faint; when, the door of the purification of our mind (blo s byoṅ)<sup>2)</sup> 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 gnosis<sup>3)</sup> and entering both into means and gnosis, meditate jointly on śamatha and vipaśyanā<sup>4)</sup>. 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 (raṅ ga ba maṅ), but the doctrine is difficult to be understood and deep. Therefore the king invited from India a learned man, famous as a monk<sup>5)</sup> (rab a byuṅ ba, pravrajita) and became his patron; you should accept this doctrine which has been verified (gtan la p'ab pa) by a learned lotsāva<sup>5)</sup>. 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 sems sbyoṅ ba 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 ž a ñ b l o n ”<sup>1)</sup>. In this way according to PT, the Lhasras K'ri sroñ lde btsan, the Bodhisattva, son of the King of Zahor, viz. Śāntarakṣita, Ye šes dba ñ po of sBa and Sañ 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

<sup>1)</sup> 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 bcaid na sems byiñ žiñ c'os nub par agyur bas a'ro c'od la de lta bu ni k'yed rañ sgoms cig | gžan k'yed kyī ak'or rnams dañ bod rnams da slan c'ad lta ba nā gar dsu nai lugs zuñ | spyod pa p'a rol du p'yin pa drug la gyis la c'os spyod rnam pa bcu nams su loñ | sgom pa šes rab rnam pa gsum la blo sbyoñs la t'abs dañ šes rab zuñ du c'ud ciñ a'brei ba ži gnas dañ lhag mt'oñ la sgoms cig | da slan c'ad 'o skol bod rje blon abans bcas kyis kyañ c'os bya ba rnams kyis a'idi lta bya ste | spyir bod t'a k'ob du gyur pa dañ rig pa blun žiñ rañ ga ba mañ la c'os a'idi rtogs par dka' žiñ zab pas | rgya gar gyi mk'as pa rab tu gyur par grags pa rgyal pos spyan drañs te yon bdag byas | lo tsā ba mk'as pas gtan la p'ab pai c'os de la ajug par bya'o | rgyal pos yon bdag ma byas lo tsā ba mk'as pas gtan la ma p'ab pai c'os la ajug par mi bya'o | žes bka' nan drag du btsal nas bka' gtsigs kyī 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 rnams la dar bar byas |

and wives of the ž a ñ b l o n should learn the Law and he requested K a m a l a ś i l a to write down the essentials of the doctrine which by the triple method of learning, reflection and meditation (t'os, bsam, sgom, śrutamayī, cintāmayī, bhāvanāmayī prajñā) explains the unsubstantiality of all notions. So the first Bhāvanākrama 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 Bhāvanākrama was composed; finally in order to explain the result of this meditation the third Bhāvanākrama 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 Jñānendra had gone away to mK'ar c'u in Lho brag; when he had been appointed in the place of Śāntarakṣita, Myañ Tiñ ñe a'dsin and Nāñ Ša mi, who later committed suicide and was pro-chinese, (see *Concile*, p. 41)<sup>1)</sup> slandered him (PT ja, p. 114, b *Nor chronicles*, part I, p. 122, b. Cf. B. Ob, p. 191). His place as abbot of bSam yas was then taken by dPal dbyañs, Śrīghoṣa; B. Ob p. 291, PT ja, 114, b).

The cause of this disagreement and open fight between Jñānendra and Myañ Tiñ ñe a'dsin seems to be found

<sup>1)</sup> PT ja, 115, a Nāñ ša mi is said to be a pupil of Mahāyāna.

in the fact that Jñānendra, being appointed as chief of the religion after the death of Śāntarakṣita, advanced some claim to his new status: he wanted to be granted some privileges and an authority superior to that of the Blon c'en, golden letters of first class, gser yig c'en<sup>1)</sup>, etc. (PT ja, 114, a). To this the Bande Myañ Tiñ ne ḅsin was strongly opposed. He is presented by PT as the chief antagonist of Jñānendra; and he appears as a high official in the documents which I published in TTK, p. 54 where along with Bran ka Yon tan dpal he ranks above all other dignitaries, even the Žañ blon and the blon c'en.

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

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

consacration of bSam yas. This shows that our author drew from sources centered on other documents, chiefly documents of the sBa family and of bSam yas in which the Thaumaturge had not yet assumed the proportion that was to change him into a second Buddha. Śāntarakṣita and chiefly Kamalaśīla represented a dialectical and logical trend, while Padmasambhava was fundamentally an exponent of the Tantric liturgy and rituals. The fact is that Vairocana was perhaps away when the debate was held between Kamalaśīla and the Hva ša ṅ<sup>1)</sup>. When the debate was over the king sent for Vairocana and his colleague Tsañs btsun legs grub<sup>2)</sup>: but when they returned the Paṅḅit<sup>3)</sup> did not appear. There were therefore some misunderstandings and because of some slanders of the Indians, Vairocana was exiled to Ts'a ba roñ. 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 spañs 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 ḅgyur gyi k'añ par gzims mal du<sup>4)</sup>).

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 kyañ ḅp'ro lalus pas t'ugs mats'im nas Vairo tsa na dañ Tsañs bTsun legs grub gñis ts'ol du btañ.

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 ša ñ 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 ša ñ ; he agrees with PT and simply relates that after the victory of K a m a l a ś ī l a the Hva ša ñ 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 <sup>1)</sup>' (GR 92, b), which is evidently written having in mind the well-known story told about Bodhidharma. 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),

<sup>1)</sup> 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 ű e r , custodian, of R a m o c ' e (PT ja, p. 75, b). He went to China when the Bon started persecuting Buddhism soon after K'ri sroñ lde btsan was enthroned. Evidently the story was anticipated as a prophecy; it had the advantage of being confirmed by facts, but attributed to Mahāyāna Hva ša ñ , it had, from the point of view of orthodox Buddhism, no meaning, because the doctrine of the Hva ša ñ 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 H v a š a ñ 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 Ś ā n t a r a k ṣ i t a 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 Ś ā n t a r a k ṣ i t a to prove false and therefore accused the Hva ša ñ 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 ša ñ (*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 śī 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 an dkar library, which is said to contain the list of the books available in translation at the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan<sup>1)</sup>. In the bSam gtan, dhyāna-

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

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

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

The compilation of this catalogue by dPal brtseges and Nam mk'a' sñin 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 Śāntaraṅgita 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 B h ā v a n ā k r a m a s of Kamalaśīla (LALOU, *id.*, n. 606). The fact that we find in the catalogue the Y o ŋ s s u b s k o r b a i a k ' o r b a, P a r i ṇ ā m a n a c a k r a 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 T i ŋ ŋ e a d s i n g y i m i m t ' u n p a i p ' y o g s r n a m p a r b ž a g p a translated by him and Hva šaṅ Zab mo there are two redactions in the mDo section of the bsTan agyur (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' (sñin po), C'os kyī snaṅ ba, Šā kya 'od, etc.

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

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

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

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

In the introductory part of the Catalogue its authors are said to be dPal brtsegs and Nam mk'a' 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 IDan dkar catalogue as if it really represented the census of the Tibetan literature before the Council.

Everything on the contrary leads us to believe that the catalogue is posterior to that event, as can be seen comparing what later historians, f.i. Buston, say regarding the IDan dkar 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 sGra sbyor, 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 sGra sbyor. FERRARI p. 540).

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

The picture of the Buddhist literature which we gather from the IDan 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 sroṅ lde btsan many books were introduced from China and Li and then translated. But in the IDan dkar list only a few books appear as translated from Chinese (n. 565-572) of which three commentaries on the Lañkāvatāra and one on the Vajracchedikā, 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 sroṅ lde btsan, lha sras ya b kyi riṅ la, which, since we know that the MV was compiled by order of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan can only be translated as "during the time of my father the Devaputra". (Ferrari, p. 540, Simonsson, p. 243): they are Śāntarakṣita, Jñānendra, Žaṅ blon Ṇen ṅa bzaṅ, Blon K'ri bžer saṅ ši (see p. 14), Jñānendrakośa, lCe k'yi abrug<sup>1)</sup>, Ānanda the Brahmin; strangely enough there is no mention of Kamalaśīla; the above mentioned translators are referred to as belonging to the time of the father of K'ri lde sroṅ 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 Aṣṭama hāpādamaṅgala, Tōhoku Cat., 4350.

The impression which one gathers is that after the death of K'ri lde sroñ btsan there was a strong revival of Indian Buddhism, caused not only by the direct instigation of the court, anxious to prevent any further Chinese influence, but also by the growing prestige of the Indians and the coming of Indian ācāryas in greater number than before. Then Jñānamitra, Jñānendrabodhi, Śilendra, Dānaśīla, Bodhimitra, Ratnarakṣita, Dharmatāśīla Jñānasena, Jayarakṣita, Mañjuśrivarman, 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 lDan dkar 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 agrel gyi agrel 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 Pramāṇavarttika; it must then be the same as the vṛtti contained in mDo, Tōhoku Cat. 4216, 4217. Cordier, *Cat.*, XCV-18-XCVI (of Devendrabuddhi not Devendramati as in Tōhoku) a younger contemporary of Dharmakīrti. Two difficulties arise: first, that this highly technical work would have been of difficult access for the Tibetans not yet trained to its logical subtleties, second, that we know that the translation was made by order of Byañ c'ub 'od of Western Tibet at the time of the revival of Buddhism.

Let us then consider another case, the aJig rten p'a rol grub pa, Tōhoku Cat. 4251, Cordier, *Cat.*, CXII by Dharmottara; the translation was made by Ōnima 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 agyur 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), Zahor<sup>1)</sup>, 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 aP'añ t'añ ka med dkar c'ag, later the index of sNar t'añ<sup>2)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup>: 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. Myañ Tiñ ñe ądsin bzañ po, whose name appears with that of Bran ka Yon tan in the edict of Karchung as state minister (TTK, pp. 54, 65)<sup>2)</sup>. He is connected with some of the most important figures who

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

<sup>2)</sup> See above p. 26.

took part in the debate. We saw that he was not on good terms with Ye šes dbañ po; he is also known from other inscriptions and literary documents as well. He was a pupil of Vimala (the first Vimala-mitra who according to the Tib. tradition lived at the time of K'ri sroñ lde btsan) and was chosen by K'ri sroñ lde btsan as the tutor of his son K'ri lde sroñ btsaṅ. 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 sroñ 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 Vimalamitra and as such he is considered one of the masters of rDsoḡs c'en, a sect centering upon the sÑiñ t'ig (*Blue Annals*, p. 107 and p. 167 and PT, ja, p. 108, a). K'ri lde sroñ btsan, whose tutor Tiñ ñe ądsin had been appointed, was born in the year 774<sup>1)</sup> or 776; Tiñ ñe ądsin was therefore certainly older than K'ri lde sroñ btsan.

Both PT and Pad ma dkar po add that he was killed by gLañ 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 Myañ Tiñ ñe ądsin was considered as one of the greatest authorities of the rÑiñ ma pa

<sup>1)</sup> G. TUCCI, *Validity*, Chronological table. RICHARDSON, *JRAS*, 1952, p. 150.



sect<sup>1)</sup>, that the author of the *Blue Annals* knew very well the place where his estate was, and that the people there had all reason to magnify their ancient master and to glorify him, it is quite reasonable to think that a miraculous disappearance looked more fitting for such a holy person and that therefore the story of the killing by gLañ dar ma was eliminated on purpose. Anyhow, as we said before, there is little probability that he could live up to the reign of gLañ dar ma if at the time of the death of Śāntarakṣita he already enjoyed such authority as to oppose Jñānendra.

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

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 gTsuḡ lag k'añ rdo riñ in Lhasa as the principal Tibetan signatory of the treaty with China of 821-822. In this document his name is given as Bande c'en po dPal c'en po Yon tan<sup>2)</sup>. He is well-known to Chinese sour-

<sup>1)</sup> In a collection of gTer ma of the rDsogs c'en called bKa' rdsogs c'en po yañ zab dkon mc'og spyi ḍus 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.

<sup>2)</sup> 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<sup>1)</sup>. See Demiéville, *Concile*, pp. 21, n. 224, 228 n. etc.

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

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

<sup>1)</sup> See *Li Fang-kuei* 李方桂 Po ch'e-t'ung-kaio 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 king<sup>1)</sup> (bla nas) assigned an estate with one hundred and fifty peasants for its maintenance (rkyeṅ ris) (BZ: rkyeṅ ris brgya lña bcu bla nas gnaṅ te; PT rkyeṅ ñis brgya lña bcu); each year (PT adds: every month) 75 measures of barley to the abbot, the transmitter of the doctrine of the Blessed one<sup>2)</sup>, nine cloths (BZ na

1) This meaning of bla nas is clear also from the following passages l. 5: aḅaṅs lha ris la bla nas dbaṅ mi bya bar c'ad nas dbaṅ dge ḅdun la bskur nas.

2) For this translation of riṅ lugs in the sentence: bcom ldan ḅdas kyi riṅ lugs la, 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'os kyi riṅ lugs su bskos".

Ibid. p. 114, b; when Jñānendra goes away and dPal dbyaṅs is appointed in his place it is written: rBa dPal dbyaṅs riṅ lugs su bskos".

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'en po:

z a d g u p'rug<sup>1)</sup> re re; PT na za ni maṅ ste ḅp'an gyi bruṅs la sbyor<sup>2)</sup> na za p'rug re re), eleven hundred ounces (sraṅ) of seasoned butter (BZ spos mar PT spod mar)<sup>3)</sup>, a horse with mane (BZ: PT c'ibs dñog<sup>4)</sup> t'eg pa re re), four bundles (PT deb BZ sdeb) of paper, three pieces (yug) of ink; (he was allowed) to take salt at will.

"To the twenty five ascetics (gom c'en) of mC'ims p'u (BZ p'yin p'u) fifty five k'al of barley, 800 sraṅ of seasoned butter each, one riding horse each, six cloths each (BZ na bza' p'rug re re; PT na za drug p'rugs re); to the 13 ācāryas appointed as teachers of the seminary, c'os grva, 55 k'al of rice, one hundred k'al of seasoned butter (BZ spos mar, PT c'ab mar); to the bandya of the

*ibid.*, 114, a. Lha c'os kyi ḅdun sa gaṅ ḅdun sa c'uṅ ṅui goṅ du p'u la bcom ldan ḅdas kyi riṅ lugs kyi žaṅ blon c'en poi ḅdun sa c'uṅ ṅu ba gyis cig. "The representative of bCom ldan ḅdas should consider the assembly of the Žaṅ blon c'en po inferior to himself".

GR, p. 92, a de nas rgyal pos c'os kyi riṅ lugs ye šes dbaṅ po bskos. It is clear from these passages that bCom ldan ḅdas c'os riṅ lugs su bskos means: to appoint as the representative 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: ye šes dbaṅ po... ṅed rje aḅaṅs kyi dge bai bšes gñen lags pas saṅs rgyas kyi žal daṅ ḅdra bas) viz. the abbot: in fact Jñānendra, Śrighośa etc. were the successors of Śāntarakṣita, the first mk'an po of bSam yas.

1) "piece" corresponds to yug used for "cloth": it is a numerative (as in Chinese): "a piece of cloth".

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

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

4) dñog - rñog.

border (m t s ' a m s), relying on themselves<sup>1)</sup> (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<sup>2)</sup> 25 k ' a l of barley each, three cloths (g o s) each. This was to be a permanent donation<sup>3)</sup>.

“ In order that the receptacle<sup>4)</sup> of the three jewels may stay for a long time, one hundred householders<sup>5)</sup> 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 ' o s a k ' o r g y i r k y e n r i s ( P T r k y e n ñ i s ) b r g y a l ñ a b e u b l a n a s g n a ñ t e b c o m l d a n a d a s k y i r i ñ l u g s l a l o r e i z l a b a g c i g l a n a s k ' a l b d u n b e u r t s a l ñ a | n a z a d g u p ' r u g s r e r e | s p o d m a r s r a ñ s t o ñ d a ñ b r g y a | c ' i b s d ñ o g t ' e g p a r e r e | š o g b u s d e b b ž i | g n a g ( f o r s n a g ) t s ' a y u g g s u m | l a n t s ' v a z a ñ l e n | m c ' i m s p ' u i s g o m c ' e n ñ i š u r t s a l ñ a l a n a s k ' a l l ñ a b e u r t s a l ñ a l ñ a | s p o d m a r s r a ñ b r g y a d b r g y a r e | c ' i b s p a r e | n a z a d r u g p ' r u g s r e | c ' o s g r v a i s l o b d p o n d u b s k o b a b e u g s u m l a n a s k ' a l l ñ a b e u r t s a l ñ a l ñ a | n a z a p ' r u g s r e | c ' a b m a r s r a ñ b r g y a d b r g y a r e | m t s ' a m s k y i b a n d h y a r a ñ g a m a r n a m s l a g a ñ z a g r e r e l a n a s k ' a l b r g y a d r e | š o g b u r d e b g ñ i s r e s n a g t s ' a y u g r e | s l o b g ñ e r b a ñ i š u r t s a l ñ a l a r e r e l a n a s k ' a l ñ i š u r t s a l ñ a r e g o s s u m p ' r u g s r e s g y u n d u g n a ñ n a s | d k o n m c ' o g g s u m g y i r t e n y u n r i ñ d u g n a s p a i c ' e d d u d k o n m c ' o g g y i r t e n l a a b a ñ s m i k ' y i m b r g y a b a n d h y a r e r e l a a b a ñ s m i k ' y i m g s u m g s u m d u b e a d |

4) rTēn 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 ' i m s p ' u was at that time already functioning as the m t s ' a m s k ' a ñ , r i k ' r o d , hermitage, of bSam yas, that a c ' o s g r v a was opened with 13 ā c ā r y a s , and 25 students, (see before p. 21) few in comparison with the teachers. We do not know how many were the b a n d y a .

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 agra h ā r a 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 L h a d b a ñ s , subjects of the gods, viz. of the monastery itself: this property was called r k y e n r i s (also written r k y e n r i g s ) or L h a r i s . 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 ' y i m p a , 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 dbya ñ s who certainly had some links with the Ch ' a n sect and under whose leadership the Ch ' a n 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 rÑiñ 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 aḡyur 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 (da lta), 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 ajuḡ) 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<sup>1)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> 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
man 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' a b r u g s g r o g s t' o g b a b s k l o ñ a d u s  
s p y i r g y a l r g y a m d u d g y i r g y u d: translated  
by U r g y a n g y i s l o b d p o n p a d m a a b y u ñ  
and L o t s ā v a s K a b a d p a l b r t s e g s, and said to  
have been explained to L h a s r a s K' r i s r o ñ l d e b t s a n, in 10  
l e' u, the interlocutor being D a ñ d a ñ s k' y e u c' u ñ<sup>1)</sup> and the  
revealer s K y e m e d k a d a g c' o s s k u. We read in it that no  
Buddha has any name of the Buddha, no creature exists;

C) revealed by Kun tu bzañ po

1) Mahāyoga

2) Anuyoga

3) Atiyoga: rDsogs c'en.

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

nirvāṇa and s a m s ā r a 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<sup>1)</sup> 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 karma, no ripening of karma.

NGB, ga, p. 152.

R i g p a r a ñ š a r c' e n p o i r g y u d<sup>2)</sup>; 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 ñ i s)<sup>3)</sup>. The prince then gave it to Ñaṅ ban (= Myaṅ Tiñ ne ḍsin, see above) and he concealed it in Žvai lha k'añ (see above p. 47) under the protection of the mgon po Dres t'ag can (p. 283, a). This tantra preaches the doctrine of the

<sup>1)</sup> See below p. 126 and *Addenda*.

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

<sup>3)</sup> 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 rÑiñ ma pa which, though subject at various times to a process of re-elaboration, still preserves many old fragments pieced together. I allude to the b K a' t' a ñ s d e l ñ a, referred to above, and to a chapter of the same in which Ch'an doctrines and its teachers are recorded in a quite different way than orthodoxy would have us believe.

The method of instantaneous entrance is here preferred to that propounded by Kamalaśīla. The views of the Hva 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 ñ p o, where r g y u d corresponds to the Chinese 傳 chuan). This also implies that after the split, which occurred at the death of Hui neng 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 Hōrinden no Kenkyū 寶林傳の研究, Tōhō-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)ruçi 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'u an 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* envoy<sup>1)</sup> to the Western countries. The only difference is found in the name of the place where *Sung-yün* met *Bodhidharma* on his return to China: according to all the Chinese sources this place was in the *Ts'ung-ling* mountains 葱嶺. But in KT we find *Ka ra ma 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*

<sup>1)</sup> 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 Sam gtan mk'an po* "master of *dhyāna*", just as in the *Tun huang* manuscripts: it translates *Ch'an shih* which is transcribed in Tibetan as *Šan ši* (see p. 19).

The spelling of these names mishandled by so many copyists is hopelessly corrupt as one can gather from the different ways in which *Šan ši* is given in this text. In spite of that we can recognize here some of the names which appear in the *Tun huang* manuscripts; *Lalou*, *Inventaire*, n. 116 and 813. *A dhan her* is *A rtan hyver*, *A rdan hver* known also from other *Tun huang* mss. (M. Lalou, *Document tibétain sur l'expansion du dhyāna chinois*. *JA*, 1939, p. 505). *bDud aḍul sñiñ po* is *Nam mk'a' sñiñ po*, who was called *bDud aḍul* on account of his magic ability to subdue demons (cf. on him *Toussaint*, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 360 KT n. 68, *b d u l a ḍ 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 *Šākyamuni* 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<sup>1)</sup>.

*Tibetan Text.*

[19 a]<sup>2)</sup> 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 tsi mk'an po dhar mo ttā ra la | dug ni lan drug blud pas ma ts'ugs so | mjug tu c'os ni gtad sa ma rñed nas | rgya nag yul du sku ni aḍa' ts'ul bstan | rjes kyi bya ba dge [19 b] lñur zin nas su | rgya nag yul nas stod 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 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, Śāṅavāsa, (Śaṅika), 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. PRZYLUKI, *Açoka*, 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 aḗags pa yin no gleñ | ..... bo dhi dha rmo tta rai brgyud aḍsin ni | t'a ma hva šaṅ ma hā yā nai gžuñ | cig car ajug pa yoñs su rdsogs pa yis | dpe don mañ po mdo sde gžuñ la t'ug | de dag aḍod gžuñ yi ge yod pa dañ | dhar mo ttā rai rgya luñ c'en mo rnam | ci yañ byar med man ñag sñan k'uñ brgyud | rgya gar slob dpon kā ma ši la yis | drañ po don gyi mdo sde yoñs ma rdsogs | rim pa slob la sogs pa t'e ts'om gcod | sā tst'sa gdab dañ ñe aḍon bya ba dañ | stoñ zam aḍsugs dañ lam aḗreñ sel ba dañ | mc'od rten rtsig dañ gtsug lag k'añ mañ bžeñs | rab tu byuñ bai sde pa c'en po bca' | mdo sde rgya c'en klog aḍon bya ba dañ | c'os aḗ'or c'en po bšad ñan bya ba dañ | [20 b] dug bsñal can gyi grogs rnam bya ba dañ | ñe riñ med pas nad pa gso ba dañ | sbyin rgya c'en po rlab c'en ci c'er aḗad | hva šaṅ ma hā spyod t'abs bcu gñis spyod | t'eg pa c'en po gsañ sñags pa la ni | dbañ gi rim pa mañ po nod pa dañ | sgrub pai dkyil aḗ'or mañ po žal dbye dañ | sman rag gtor ts'ogs sreg mnan bya ba dañ | sgom grva aḍsugs pa sogs la aḗad pa'o | rab byuñ sde pa mc'od gnas mi bkur ro | ts'ul aḗ'os c'os lugs rdson ñam k'ud ciñ blta | gsañ sñags pa yi<sup>3)</sup> spyod t'abs bcu gñis so | mt'un pai mc'od rten t'os bsam sgom gsum bsgom | kā ma ši la rim gyis pa yañ bsten<sup>2)</sup> | hva šaṅ ma hā yā nai bsam gtan dañ | yo ga nañ pai zab moi c'os rnam dañ | lhag pai rnal aḗbyor rluñ<sup>1)</sup> rug bži sbugs<sup>4)</sup> dañ | k'o na ñid kyi zab moi rgyud drug dañ | sems aḗ'reñ ñi šu sems med bco brgyad bsten | aḗag med snañ bai t'og nas bsam gtan bsgom | mdo sde aḗbyuñ ba bšad 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 <sup>1)</sup> 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 snañ  
 gzigs snañ bži | [21 a] rgyu gñis rkyen gsum aḱbyuñ 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 <sup>2)</sup> 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 | aḱgro ba rigs drug  
 sems can min k'as blañs | drañ don gyis ni snañ ba ño mi  
 šes | gsañ sñags nañ pa rnal aḱbyor c'en po dañ | šin tu rnal  
 aḱbyor la ni aḱjug pai dus | man ñag t'ob pa rigs šig p'ye  
 nas gsol | rtse men t'abs ni ži gnas rgyud rtog pa | goms par  
 sla bai ži gnas dag t'ob byed | ston <sup>3)</sup> 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 aḱjug mi rtog pa la aḱjug | rnam par  
 mi rtog yid la mi byed bsgoms | rnam par t'ar pai sgo  
 gsum rim par bsgom <sup>4)</sup> | stoñ pa ñid dañ mts'an ma med pa  
 dañ | smon pa med pa rnam t'ar sgo gsum mo | ston mun  
 cig car aḱjug pa re mos med | don dam ma skyes pa la  
 cig car bslab | dañ po skye aḱgag med pai sems bskyed  
 nas | tha ma skye aḱgag 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 aḱp'ags pa mñam žiñ gcig | mi aḱgyur  
 ñams kyi gtan gnas p'an c'ad du | yi ge bstan pai rjes su  
 mi aḱbrañ ño | aḱdi ni yañ dag don gžii gnas su p'ab <sup>1)</sup> | rnam  
 par rtog med ži žiñ bya ba med | de ni don la aḱjug pa cig  
 car ro | bsam gtan mk'an po aḱjug dus bšad pa ni | mi sems  
 ts'ul k'rims mi dran tiñ ñe aḱsin | sgyu sems mi aḱbyuñ ba  
 ni šes rab bo | bsam gtan mk'an po bdud aḱdul sñiñ pos  
 bšad | ci yañ mi dran pa ni sañs rgyas dran | aḱdi ñid la  
 bltas ma yeñs sems sñoms na | de bžin gšegs pa yañ dag  
 c'os sku yin | bsam gtan mk'an po a dhan her gyis bšad |  
 sems ñid mi γyo ji bžin mñam pa ni | rnal aḱbyor ñes pai  
 sa t'ob lām yin no | bsam gtan mk'an po ma hā yāñ gyis  
 bšad | c'os ñid bsam med mi rtog pa ru bžag <sup>2)</sup> | sñar ma  
 sbyañs kyañ aḱdi la aḱjug tu btub | rtse men rim gyis aḱjug  
 pa sñar bšad ltar | dmigs pa ša t'añ aḱbad 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 aḱdod na | rgyu rkyen rim par aḱjug ces  
 bstan pa yañ | rmoñs pa rnams ni t'abs kyis aḱjug par  
 gsuñs | dbañ po t'a mai don du rim aḱjug bstan | sbur pai  
 aḱgros 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 aḱgag gñis su med par ma šes so | gñis med smra yañ  
 ma skyes re žig aḱdod | 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 aḱjug ces bya  
 ba ste | aḱdir ni ri bo c'en por aḱseg pa la | gom gcig  
 gom gñis p'yin pas brtol aḱdra 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  
dbañ gis aḡro don mdsad | aḡog pai tiñ ñe aḡsin ni gñid  
sad dpe | gzugs skur lañs te don mdsad pa ru bšed |

rtse men rim gyis pai skabs te beu gñis pao

[22 a, 5] ston mun cig car aḡjug pai dpe bstan pa | ri  
rgyal rtse mor p'yin na kun mt'oñ ts'ul | ri bran rtse  
nas lhun po mi mt'oñ bžin | rim gyis pa ni ko<sup>1)</sup> moi  
ña c'un aḡdra | cig car pa ni gtsañ c'ui ña dañ aḡdra |  
gžal bya gžal byed ye nas ma skyes pa | [22 b] ci yañ  
ma btsal ñid kyis go bar aḡdod | bla ma ñes pai mdo  
sde mi bsten<sup>2)</sup> yin | yul la ma bsten<sup>2)</sup> par ni sems mi  
skye | sems la ma bsten<sup>2)</sup> par ni yul mi snañ | šes bya  
šes byed gñis po p'an ts'un ltos | grub pai snañ ba mi  
aḡog pa ni t'abs | snañ ba rañ bžin med pa šes rab bo |  
gñis med don dam gcig par t'ag bcad de | cig car pa  
ni señ ge lam žugs aḡdra | gad med ḡyañ med kun la  
t'ogs med do | rim gyis pa ni va mo lam žugs aḡdra | gad  
ḡyañ mi t'ar ba la log skor byed | ñes skyon le los dmigs pa  
brjed<sup>3)</sup> pa dañ | byiñs<sup>4)</sup> dañ rgod dañ mi rtsol rtsol ba'o | de  
ñid spoñ bai gñen po aḡdu byed<sup>5)</sup> brgyad | dad pa<sup>6)</sup> aḡdun pa  
tsol ba šin tu sbyañs | dran pa šes bžin sems pa btañ  
sñoms so | aḡdod sred dañ bral dga' bde lam gyur tsam |  
sdug bsñal ma yin bde ba ma yin pai | btañ sñoms dran

1) D 239 a.

2) Lhasa ed. brten.

3) Both editions: brjed.

4) D byiñ.

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

6) Both xyl.; dad pas.

aḡdun bsam gtan bži pao | rtse men las aḡdir k'yad par bcus  
aḡ'ags te | t'abs kyī k'yad par ston mun aḡ'ags pa dañ |  
aḡjug lugs k'yad par ston mun aḡ'ags pa dañ | spyod pai  
k'yad par ston mun aḡ'ags pa dañ | tiñ aḡsin k'yad par ston  
mun aḡ'ags pa dañ | rnam rtog bcus lugs ston mun aḡ'ags  
pa dañ | sgrib pa sbyoñ t'abs k'yad par aḡ'ags pa dañ |  
sgrub pai k'yad par ston mun aḡ'ags pa dañ | ts'ogs kyī  
k'yad par ston mun aḡ'ags pa dañ |<sup>1)</sup> [23 a] rtogs<sup>2)</sup> pai  
k'yad par ston mun aḡ'ags pa dañ | aḡro don k'yad par  
dañ ni bcus aḡ'ags so | bsam gtan mk'an po ke hun šan  
tis bšad | sems mñam pa na c'os rnam mñam pa'o | sañs  
rgyas c'os ma yin pa gañ yañ med | sred ciñ c'ags pa t'ams  
cad skye bo yin | bsam gtan mk'an po dsiñ šin šas bšad pa |  
dran pai rtog pa mi aḡbyuñ tiñ ñe aḡsin | yoñs su rdsogs pas  
rtog med šes rab skye | de ni k'ams gsum pa las aḡdas par  
gyur | bsam gtan mk'an po sbab šan šin bšad pa | rnam  
par mi rtog cig car rig pa ni | gcan gzan rgyal po señ ge  
aḡyiñ pa aḡdra | sgra drag<sup>3)</sup> spyod pa rnam bži bag mi  
ts'a | bsam gtan mk'an po de'u šan šin bšad | sems ñid  
aḡ'rud la c'u mi dgos pa yin | sbyin pa gtoñ la nor mi dgos  
pa yin | yañ dag sems kyis dam pai don bsgrubs na | drañ  
por aḡdug pas de bžin gšegs pa aḡ'tob | bsam gtan mk'an po  
t'añ bzañ šin šis bšad | c'os gcig šes na c'os kun ma bslabs  
lobs | des ni ñon moñs bag c'ags mi skye'o | bsam gtan  
mk'an po han ze šin šis bšad | lam de bsgom žiñ sañs rgyas  
ñid bltas na | sañs rgyas mi mt'oñ gol ba sañs rgyas ñe |  
bsam gtan mk'an po ā rya rag šis bšad | t'eg pa c'en poi  
lta ba c'un pa ni | aḡjig rten aḡdus byas t'ams cad aḡdus  
[23 b] ma byas | t'og ma rnam par dag ciñ 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 sruñs  
 cig car ajuḡ pa t'abs med do | c'os sems la sems kun la  
 ma skyes so | bsam gtañ mk'an po bu cuñ bšad pa ni |  
 mts'an ma c'os rnams t'ams cad mts'am ma la | sems  
 kyis<sup>1)</sup> sems aṡs'ol sems kyis sems mi rñed | ci yañ mi rñed  
 ci yañ bstan rgyu med | bsam gtañ mkan po ma hā yā  
 nas bšad | yoñs blta bas ni p'yi nañ c'os bdag gis | lus  
 sems spyi mts'an ñid c'os bdag c'a<sup>2)</sup> | rañ gi mts'an ñid  
 mi rtag sdug bñal ba | spyi yi mts'an ñid stoñ pa bdag  
 med mjal | bsam gtañ mk'an po k'a šen ši yis bšad | c'os  
 so cog kun stoñ par šes pa ni | stoñ par šes pas nus pai ye  
 šes stoñs | de bas c'os rnams stoñ pa ñid kyañ stoñs | bsam  
 gtañ mk'an po dsañ šan ši yis bšad | c'os so cog la ts'ogs  
 pa med pa ni | c'os lam spyod pa yin no ts'ogs drug aṡ'ar<sup>3)</sup>  
 | mdo sde tob pa sañs rgyas luñ ston no | bsam gtañ  
 mk'an po yen šan šis bšad pa | mig mt'oñ gnas ñid bden  
 pai c'os mt'oñ mt'a' | c'os so cog kyañ bden pai mt'a'  
 yin no | de las gžan du btsal du ci žig yod | bsam gtañ  
 mk'an po a šan šis bšad pa | sems drañ ba ni c'os lam spyod  
 pa yin | stoñ pa mi spyod t'abs mi aṡs'ol bai py'ir | drañ  
 por spyad de p'an [24 a] c'ad lam med do | bsam gtañ  
 mk'an po len šan šis bšad pa | c'os kyi ño bo ñid la t'e  
 ts'om med | drañ por bsgom la t'e ts'om ma za žig | bsam  
 gtañ mk'an po hañ šan šis bšad pa | γyo žiñ byed do cog  
 kyañ de bžin ñid | yul drug gañ byuñ ba yañ de bžin ñid |  
 aḡyur<sup>4)</sup> ba med ciñ t'a dad med pa'o | bsam gtañ mk'an po  
 kan šan<sup>5)</sup> šis bšad pa | sems ni ci la mi rtog par go na | de

1) D 240 a.

2) D c'e.

3) D aṡ'añ.

4) D aḡgyur!

5) D 240 b.

ñid mdo sde c'os kyi lam srol yin | c'os kyis bciñs pas grol  
 bar mi mt'oñ ño | bsam gtañ mk'an po dsi šan šis bšad  
 pa | c'os<sup>1)</sup> 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 | aḡu šes mi  
 šes gzugs mi mt'oñ ba yin | bsam gtañ mk'an po kam  
 šan šis bšad pa | rnam par šes drug mi dgei aḡu šes yin<sup>2)</sup> |  
 dei miñ bdud kyi las su šes bya'o | mk'an c'en bo dhi  
 dha rmo ttā ras bšad pa | aḡu šes γyos ts'e γyo ba med pa  
 de | sañs rgyas c'os yin mi rnams šes drug aḡ'rul | mk'an  
 po hyau aḡyeu šan šis bšad | sems dañ rnam par šes pai  
 rañ bžin no | gnas so cog rnams sañs rgyas mya ñan aḡas |  
 sems kyi yul log sañs rgyas c'os min med | bsam gtañ  
 mk'an po gyi šan šis bšad pa | ma rabs aḡ'ags<sup>3)</sup> pa sgo [24 b]  
 gñis gnas lugs gcig | rgyu dañ aḡbras bu gcig la mi bltos  
 pas | dge mi dgei las mi stor aḡbral ba med | k'rims lña  
 bsrñs na ñes par mi lus aṡ'ob | stoñ ñid c'os lam spyad  
 na dgra bcom aṡ'ob | bsam gtañ mk'an po ci šan šis bšad  
 pa | c'os so cog kun sañ srgyas c'os la γyos | γyos su cog  
 kun byañ c'ub yin pas su | mi dñañs mi skrag gnas so cog  
 kun grags | bsam gtañ mk'an po p'og<sup>4)</sup> rtog šan šis bšad  
 | kun rdsob bden pa yod pas stoñ pa yin | dgra bcom  
 bden pa med pas yod ma yin | aḡ'ags pas gziḡs na stoñ  
 pa nas gñis med | bsam gtañ mk'an po jo šan šis bšad pa |  
 bslab pai mis ni sdig med sdig tu mt'oñ | šes pai mis ni  
 sdig nas sdig med mt'oñ | bsam gtañ mk'an po yan šan  
 šis bšad pa | kun kyañ sems ni γyo bai c'os<sup>5)</sup> yin no |

1) Both xyl. šas!

2) D nu'n.

3) Both xyl. p'ag pa.

4) D broḡ.

5) D 241 a.

sems mi γyo ba bsam gtan sgom ci dgos | šes rab šes pai  
 mis aṭs'ol don dam zad | bsam gtan mk'an po han šan  
 šis bšad pa | sems c'os lam gyi no bo ñid yin te | lus ni  
 c'os lam gyi ni snod yin no | rgyu de dge bai bšes gñen  
 rkyen gyis aḅyuiñ | bsam gtan mk'an po ši šan šis bšad pa |  
 bdag gi yid kyis yañ dag sems šes na | de don zab dañ mi  
 zab dbye ba med | lam mi aḡal t'ob stor bai gnas mi  
 mt'oñ | bsam gtan mk'an [25 a] po he k'añ šis bšad pa |  
 lña p'uñ yoñs rdsogs mya ñan aḡas šes na | lus sems aḡir  
 spyod gcig ldan gžuiñ c'en yin | sems can t'ams cad mun  
 pa bsal<sup>1)</sup> bar byed | bsam gtan mk'an po la šan<sup>2)</sup> šis  
 bšad pa | c'os don rig na bden par mt'un pa dañ | t'a  
 dad yin min t'ams cad med pa'o | mñon dañ mi mñon  
 brtson aḡrus c'e rñams so | bsam gtan mk'an po ma šan  
 šis bšad pa | šes pai ts'e na aḡig rten aḡas pa yañ | mi  
 rñams stoñ pa aḡa' žig yoñs su zad | yi ge bstan pai rjes  
 su mi aḡrañ no | bsam gtan mk'an po a mo gzoñ c'us  
 bšad | c'os so cog rñams yod pa ma yin no | bšad pa  
 k'yod kyis med par ma mt'oñ ñam | skyes las ma skyes  
 ma skyes skyes par aḡyur | mk'an po c'en po dha rmo ttā  
 ras bšad | mi šes na ni mi c'os la aḡrañ žes | šes na lha c'os  
 la ni mi aḡrañ no | šes na rñam par šes pa gzugs su aḡu | slañ  
 na rñam par šes pa gzugs la aḡu | gzugs kyis rgyu la rñam šes  
 skyes ma lags | de ni gzugs su mi mt'oñ žes bya'o | aḡ'ags  
 pai mi<sup>3)</sup> sems nam mk'a' stoñ pa aḡdra | skye aḡag med  
 mt'oñ byañ c'ub ces bya'o | lo tsts'a ska ba dpal brtsegs  
 kyis bšad pa | aḡig rten t'ams cad yoñs btañ ste | rdul tsam  
 aḡsin pai sems med pa | sbyin pai p'a rol p'yin pa  
 rdsogs | ñes pa rdul tsam mi aḅyuiñ bas | ts'ul [25 b] k'rims

1) P gsal.

2) Xyl. šin.

3) D 241 b.

p'a rol p'yin pa rdsogs | c'os dbyiñs ñañ las bzod pa  
 brtan | bzod pai p'a rol p'yin pa rdsogs | de ñid don la  
 mi γyo bas | brtson aḡrus p'a rol p'yin pa rdsogs | mñam  
 ñid mi γyo bdag med pas | bsam gtan p'a rol p'yin pa  
 rdsogs | dmig med don lta rañ rig pas | šes rab p'a rol  
 p'yin pa rdsogs | c'os rñams aḅyuiñ ba med pai mdo las  
 gsuñs | sdig sems mu stegs can gyis ñag brjod dam | sañs  
 rgyas rñams kyis gsuñ gañ bka' stsal pa | de dag t'a dad  
 ts'ul gyur med pa ste | de ltar šes na de ni mgon por  
 aḡyur | hva šañ ma hā yā nas bšad pa ni | lus kyis aḡug t'abs  
 sems kyis gžag t'abs gñis | de la lus kyis aḡug t'abs bstan  
 pa ni | stan bde bar aḡug lus ni drañ por bsrañs | mig gñis  
 sna la bltas nas lce rkañ sbyar | skyil kruñ dam po beas  
 te aḡug 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 aḡus | byiñ bai rgyu ni sa dañ me c'u rmugs |  
 bcud can zas skom ñal dub rkyen gñid aṭ'ibs | rgod pai  
 rgyu rkyen me rluñ šas c'e yul p'yir aḡrañs | ñams myoñ  
 ñañ 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 aḡsin | rñam par mi rtog  
 pa<sup>1)</sup> la ñin mts'an aḡ'ul | don de lta bu yin par rig pai mis  
 | aḡu aḡsi γyeñ bai gnas su mi aḡug bsgom | srod dañ t'o  
 reñs [26 a] mi ñal bsam gtan aḡug | p'yi ñañ drod rtags  
 dbugs kyis aḡyur ba c'ad | rtse gcig lus dgon sems k'o mts'ams  
 la aḡug | la gsum rgyal ba byañ c'ub kyis bšad pa | mi  
 bden rdsun pai aḡu 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 rñam par rtog pa mi snañ ba | mi aḡog pa ni t'abs  
 la mk'as pai mc'og | myañ bran dpal gyi ye šes rgyal

1) D 242.

mt'san bšad | ək'or ądas c'os la re ba spu tsam med |  
 dbań poi sgo gsum ńes don mńam par bžag | rgyal po k'ri  
 sroń ldeu btsan bka' stsal pa | p'yi nań c'os kun dkar  
 dmar snań yań snań | mt'oń yań mt'oń ste šes kyań šes |  
 de ltar rnam par rtog pa med dań gcig | ri boń rva dań mo  
 gšam bu lta bu | c'os med de ltar mi rtog pa dań gńis |  
 mi rtog pa ądra dran pa med min gsum | k'oń bcud don  
 gžan rtsol ba med de bži | ądi bži dus gcig skad cig ma  
 la bsgom | mk'an po ar na mt'ar p'yin gyis bšad pa |  
 sems ńid ji bžin ńid du mńam pa de | rnal ąbyor ńes don  
 lam la žugs pa'o | bsam gtan mk'an po ądse mgo rgyan  
 gyis bšad | c'os rnam ji bžin ji ltar ma bcos na | bsam  
 gtan cig car ąjug pai sgo žes bya | mk'an po li žu sńiń po  
 [26 b] yis bšad pa | don' la c'os ńid gań yań ma yin pas |  
 yin pai blo ni cir yań ma bžag na | rnam par mi rtog don  
 sgom žes su gdags | gsum pa<sup>1)</sup> ye šes rgyal po yis bšad pa |  
 lta bas ąjal bai dus na yin pa med | rań rig ma skyes ts'e na  
 brjod du med | sgom dus blo med mńam gžag cig car ąjug |  
 lań ągro dkon cog ąbyuń gnas kyis bšad pa | bsam gyis mi  
 k'yab ma ńams mńam par gžag | skye ba med par ma grub  
 ągag pa med | ądi la sgo p'ugs dbus mt'a' gań yań med | li  
 tsa dri med grags pai mdo las ni | gań yań ma skyes ma  
 byuń ąjig pa med | mi skyei c'os la bzod pa t'ob pa yin |  
 de ni gńis su med par ąjug pa'o | byań c'ub sems dpa' dpal  
 sbas yis smras pa | ńa dań ńa yir žes pa gńis snań yań | sgro  
 btags med na ńa yi bar mi ągyur<sup>2)</sup> | gńis su med pa de la  
 ąjug pa'o | byań c'ub' sems dpa' ńes ądsum gyis smras pa |  
 mi dmigs pa de rtog pas gsal mi byed | mi spyod pa de gńis  
 su med par ąjug | byań chub sems dpa' skar rgyal gyis smras  
 pa | dge dań mi dge žes bya de gńis ni | mts'an bcas dań

1) D 242 b.

2) D ąbyuń.

ni mts'an med gńis su ąjug | byań sems seń ge blo gros  
 kyis smras pa | gań gi mńam pa ńid kyi c'os t'os nas | ądi  
 ni zag bcas ądi ni zag pa med | gań ąjug med pa de ni gńis  
 med ąjug | byań c'ub sems dpa bde mos [27 a] kyis  
 smras pa | ądi ni bde la ądi ni mi bde ba | gńis ka ye šes  
 rnam par bya bai p'yir | mi c'ags de ni gńis su med  
 par ąjug | bsam gtan mk'an po dpal dbyańs kyis bšad  
 pa | luń dań rig pas t'ag bead de | sems kyi rań bžin yań  
 dag yid c'es bya | hva šań ma hā yā na yis bšad pa | sdom  
 pa kun brtags yin pas bsruń mi dgos | bslab pa<sup>1)</sup> sems  
 bskyed yin pas ńams mi dgos | dam ts'ig gtsań ma  
 yin pas ńams mi dgos | spyod pa la ąjug spyod pa rnam  
 bži bsten<sup>2)</sup> | gcig ni ək'on la ldon pai spyod pa yin | gńis  
 pa rkyen gyi rjes su spyod pa'o | gsum pa ci yań ąts'ol rjes  
 spyod pa'o | bži pa c'os dań mt'un pai spyod pa'o | dań  
 po ək'on lan ldon pai spyod<sup>3)</sup> pa'o | bdag las sgom pas  
 sdug bsńal žig byuń ts'e | bdag gi yid la dran ciń ądi sńam  
 sems | bdag sńon t'og ma med pai bskal pa nas | yań  
 dag pa yi ńo bo ńid spańs te | p'yi yul ąbrańs nas srid  
 pa sna ts'ogs ək'yams | ək'on žiń sdań pa mań du byuń  
 bas na | že ągras brduń ąts'ogs gnod pa grańs med pas |  
 ts'e ądir gnod pa ńes pa ma byas kyań | sńa mai las ńan  
 sdug bsńal ts'e ądir smin | lhas ma byas šiń mis ma byas  
 pa yin | rań gi las ągyur pas ək'ań du med | bzod ciń  
 ma ək'ań du ° k'a dań du blań | brdeg pa la ni brdeg ciń  
 mi k'ro'o | sdug bsńal dań p'rad mya ńan mi byed [27 b] pa |  
 rań sems ądi ltar byuń bai don mi ągal | gńis pa rgyen  
 gyi rjes su spyod pa ni | sems can bdag med kun kyań

1) D 243 a.

2) D bstan.

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

las rkyen aḡyur | sdug bsñal bde ba blañs kun rkyen las  
 skyes | mñon mt'o aḡbras bu loñs spyod la sogs kun | t'ob  
 dañ stor ba dga' mi dga' ni med | c'os don mt'un te  
 rkyen gyi rjes su spyod | gsum pa ci yañ aḡs'ol rjes spyod  
 pa ni | aḡjig rten mi rñams rgyun par bde ba bsgrub | sdug  
 bsñal bsgrub pa ci yañ med lags mod | bde ba bsgrubs pas  
 sdug bsñal soñ ba yin | lus šig yod na kun la'n sdug bsñal  
 yod | su yañ bde ba t'ob pa ci yañ med | sems can bde bar<sup>1)</sup>  
 gnas na byar med bde | yod do cog gi aḡdu šes ži ba yin |  
 bži pa c'os dañ mt'un pai spyod pa ni | c'os la sems can  
 dri ma dañ bral ba | ye šes spyan gyis don rtogs yid c'es  
 na | k'añ bzañ nañ du loñs spyod gnas mi bya | gos bzañ  
 zas žim nor c'es ñon moñs so | dper na sñags sman yoñs su  
 zin pai dug | k'oñ du aḡt'uñs kyañ aḡc'i bar mi nus so |  
 de bžin t'abs šes mk'as pas yoñs su žin | ñon moñs pa la  
 spyad kyañ skyon med do | lcags kyi ga ru c'uñ yañ c'u  
 nañ aḡbyiñ | snod du byas na c'en po'n k'a ru aḡ'yo |  
 sñiñ rje ldan žiñ byams sems brtan pai p'yir | sems dge  
 ba la ñes pa med par bšad |

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

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

1) D 242 b.

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

*English Translation* (KT, ca, p. 19, a, 1. 4).

Then (the teaching) reached Hva šañ Mahāyāna, the  
 last | of the lineage, the lineage of the sevenfold Chi-  
 nese emanations (descended) from Dharmottāra, etc. |  
 As regards the lineage of the mk'an po Dharmottāra, |  
 generally the school of the immediate entrance (cig car  
 aḡjug) of 'Od sruñ, having crossed the eastern ocean |  
 (Dharmottāra) reached a country called Li kun which is  
 in China. | Then, when the Chinese emperor Sa'u yan and  
 the mk' a n p o met, | the latter knew that the true  
 meaning was not understood (by the Emperor). | He  
 went to a castle called C'u<sup>1)</sup>; some<sup>2)</sup> monks (dge sloñ)  
 and Le'u tsi, Kan rdor, etc. were jealous of him. | Le'u tsi  
 to Dharmattāra<sup>3)</sup>, 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) following<sup>4)</sup> deeds, having taken ...  
 [19 b], he went from China to the upper country. | A  
 merchant called Bun<sup>5)</sup> 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 Dharmottāra alternate.

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

5) The text has ts'oñ pa which means: a merchant; but it is clear that here it is for rdsoñ pa from rdsoñ: 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 (a p' a g s p a) (The story of 'Od srui waiting for the coming of Maitreya follows). The last successor<sup>1)</sup> of Bodhidharmottara was Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna; | the main substance of his teaching (g ž u ñ) (is that), having perfected the (method) of instantaneous entrance (cig car aju 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 (sñ a n k' u ñ) of the secret instructions, u p a d e ś a s (m a ñ ñ 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 ñ d o n, n e y a); he solved the doubts (concerning) the learning of (gradual) method etc.; he made ts' a ts' t s' a<sup>2)</sup> and established the practice of the muttering of formulae (ñ e a d o n<sup>3)</sup>); | he laid out bridges to the void and eliminated the narrow<sup>4)</sup> 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 sūtras; (he settled)

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

2) On the ts'a ts'a see G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. I, p. 53, Roma, 1932.

3) Upajāpa.

4) a P' r e ñ for a p' r a ñ. The meaning is that he taught the rituals and the prayers for eliminating the dangers of the bar do, antarābhava.

the rituals concerning the explanation and the hearing (of the texts) during the religious assemblies (c' o s a k o r) | [20 b] and the method (intended to) help those who are in grief, | the treatment of the diseased whether near or remote<sup>1)</sup>; | for great liberality and great blessings, for whatever great he strove. | Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna practiced the twelve methods of the practice: | in the secret mantras of the great vehicle | many methods of initiation he received, | he opened many maṇḍalas of the mystic realization; | the method of tasting medicines, of accumulating offerings, of submitting fire<sup>2)</sup>, | 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 (m c' o d g n a s)<sup>3)</sup>, to view (things) rejecting any traditional rule (t s' u l a c' o s) or tenet, such are the 12 methods of the practice of the secret mantras<sup>4)</sup>. | 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 šaṅ Mahāyāna addicted himself to dhyāna (b s a m g t a n), the deep dharmas of inner yoga, | the superior yoga, the breathing up of the four winds (p r ā ṇ a<sup>5)</sup>), | the six deep tantras concerned with the reality, | the 20 difficulties of mind, the 18 states of no-mind<sup>6)</sup>.

1) That is, related or not.

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

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

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

5) The four winds samāna, udāna, apāna, vyāna: r l u ñ 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 šaṅ Mahāyāna; I do not know which are the six tantras here referred to: as to the 20 difficulties of mind, I think that here also

| He meditated on dhyāna unobstructed from the very beginning of the appearance (of the existence) | and also, according to the explanations derived from the sūtras, | he said that all appearing existence is originated from mind | and this mind is eternally unspeakable (avyapadeśya, bstantu med) | 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<sup>1)</sup>. | [21, a] they are produced by the two causes, the three conditions and the four elements (abyuñ)<sup>2)</sup>; | so appearances are (the manifestation of) the characters of a being. | The appearances derive from four forms of births<sup>3)</sup>; | whatever appears has a birth, a growing old, disease, death or immortality (these five) kinds; | it is (then) possible to distinguish<sup>4)</sup> the meaning of sam-sāra and transcendental existence, these two. | [Thus appearances are the character of the beings]<sup>5)</sup>. | You should realize

ap'reñ = ap'rañ, samkṛta, though I do not remember having found this classification anywhere: are the 18 states of acitta, no-mind related to the 18 śunya-tā?

The acitta - 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, bhrañti, 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 snañ 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: aṇḍaja etc. from egg, placenta, exudation, miraculous apparition. AK. III, 8. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, L'Abhidharmakośa, III, p. 27 ff.

4) Byed for abyed.

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)<sup>1)</sup>. | 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<sup>2)</sup>. | 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 (gsaṅs nags nañ pa) and the Atiyoga, it is right to obtain the instructions and having chosen (the fit disciple, the master) administers them<sup>3)</sup>. | The means (proposed by) rTse men consist in considering (rtog pa) the process of śamatha (žignas); 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 (mirtog); | it is a meditation in which there is no mental work (manaskāra), no subjective representation, | a progressive meditation of the three gates of release; | these three gates of release are voidness, absence of

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

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

3) P'ye nas may als mean: dkyil ak'or žal p'ye nas, "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<sup>1)</sup>. | 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'rims) is no mind, concentration (tiñ ñe aḍsin) is no recollection, | non origination of an illusory mind, this is gnosis (šes rab)". | The master of dhyāna bDud aḍul 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 (sem s b sñoms) | (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)<sup>1)</sup>. | Walking like an ant (sbur pai gros) one cannot arrive at the top of Meru. | He who has apprehension preaches non-subjective representation<sup>2)</sup>. (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) asserted<sup>3)</sup>. | Whatever is void cannot appear, | (still) a void is adhered to (ž é 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 <sup>1)</sup> 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 bead) by two truths <sup>2)</sup>, 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 <sup>3)</sup>, (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) (a g o g p a i t i ñ ñ e ḅ d s i n) is like waking from sleep; | rising in a material body is said to be accomplishment of benefit <sup>4)</sup>. |

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 <sup>5)</sup>. | (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 <sup>1)</sup>. 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 <sup>2)</sup>:

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 ḅ p'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 ti<sup>1)</sup> 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 existence<sup>2)</sup>”. | The master of d h y ā n a sBab<sup>3)</sup> šan šin says: | instantaneous knowledge (r i g p a), with no subjective representation, | is like a lion, the king of wild animals who looks down upon (all other animals): he

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

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

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

3) Viz. sBa šan šī referred to above.

roars vehemently, (in his) four behaviours (i.e. as he sits, lies, stands, walks), unafraid”. | The master of dhyāna Deu šan šin said: | “for washing the mind itself there is no need of water, | for giving gifts, wealth is not necessary; | when with proper mind one has realized the supreme meaning, | by being upright one obtains the condition of Tathāgata”. | The master of d h y ā n a T’añ bzañ šin šī says: | “having known one single dharma, one learns all dharmas without learning (them); | therefore no defilements and no wrong propensities (b a g c’ a g s) are born”. | The master of d h y ā n a Han ze šin šī 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 šī 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 d h y ā n a Bu c’uñ says; | “imputed marks are all dharmas: everything is an imputed mark; by mind seek mind; by mind mind is not attained; there is nothing to obtain, there is nothing to be taught”. | The master of d h y ā n a Mahāyāna says: | “by a perfect view, internal and external (elements) viz. dharmas and ā t m a n (you should distinguish); the common character of body and mind are these (two) parts i.e. dharmas and self; | the proper character (s v a l a k ṣ a ṇ a) is non-eternity and pain; | the common character should be understood as void and no-self”. | The master of dhyāna K’a šen šī said: | “As regards the know-

ledge that all dharmas are void, | it is that by the knowledge of the void, potential knowledge is voided. | Therefore the voidness of all dharmas is also void". | The master of d h y ā n a Dsañ šan ši says: | "As regards non-association with dharmas, | this is the practice of the path of Dharma; the six accumulations<sup>1)</sup> (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 dharma<sup>2)</sup> 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 (*āduśes*) do not know and the object is not seen". |

The master of dhyāna Kam<sup>1)</sup> šan ši says: | "the six forms of consciousness<sup>2)</sup> are non-virtuous (*mi dge*) ideation; | (as to) their name, they should be known as the work of Māra (*b D u d*)". |

The master of dhyāna Bodhidharmottāra said: | "that stillness, when the notions (start) moving, is the dharma of the Buddha: | the six forms of notions<sup>3)</sup> of men are illusion". |

The master Hyau ḡyeu šan ši says: | (everything) has the nature of mind and consciousness; | it is not that all situations, the Buddha, the *nirvāṇa*, the erroneous objects of mind, the dharmas of the Buddha are not". | The master of d h y ā n a Gyi šan ši says: | "the lowest men and the noblest are two [24 b] gates, but there is only one mood of being; | if one does not look at cause and effect as being one, | karma either good or bad is not lost, does not go away; |(if one) observes the five moral precepts<sup>4)</sup> one certainly obtains a human body. | If one practices the path of the Law (*viz.*) voidness, one gets the state of arhat." | The master of dhyāna Ci šan ši says: | "all dharmas move in the Buddha-dharma; | whatever moves is Enlightenment; | all (dharmas) are called places of no alarm, of no terror". | The master of dhyāna: P'og rtog šan ši says: | "the conventional truth on account of being is void; | the

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

2) The six *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<sup>1)</sup> 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<sup>2)</sup> says: | “when the heap of the five is recognized as the perfect nirvāṇa<sup>3)</sup> | 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 śaikṣa.

2) Mistake for šan ši.

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

| evident and non-evident, all that is an act of great zeal”. | The master of d h y ā n a Ma 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 gzoñ c'u says: | “dhar- mas 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 arise<sup>1)</sup>. | 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 dharmas)<sup>1)</sup> | 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 loñ Ye šes dpal, La gsum rgyal ba byaṅ c'ub (neither take nor abandon), [26 a] sLob dpon Ži ba mc'og rgyan (in s a m ā p a t t i no object, no subjective representation), Myaṅ Bran dPal gyi ye šes rgyal mts'an<sup>2)</sup>.

K'ri sroñ ldeu btsan said: | "external and internal dharmas white or red, appear and again appear; | are seen and again are seen, are known and again are known. So absence of subjective representation: it is one; | they are like the horn of a hare, the son of a barren woman. | Absence of dharma is thus beyond subjective representation: it is two; | like non-subjective representation there is 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<sup>1)</sup>) what or how dharmas are | this is the door of instantaneous entrance". |

The master Li žu sñiñ po<sup>2)</sup> [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 šes rgyal po<sup>3)</sup> says: | "when you ponder by seeing, there is no being; | when self-knowledge does not arise, there is nothing to say; | during the time of meditation, there is the instantaneous entrance in attainment (m ñ a m g ž a g , s a m ā p a t t i) of no-mind".

Lañ ągro dKon cog ąbyuñ gnas<sup>4)</sup> says: | "an attainment (m ñ a m g ž a g , s a m ā p a t t i) indestructible, inconceivable; | being not born, it can be neither achieved nor stopped; | here there is no doorway or termination, (s g o p ' u g s), middle or end". |

The Li tsa dri med grags pai mdo says<sup>1)</sup>: | "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 ṣ ṭ i k a n i r d e ś 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 gr 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'ruḷ
1 dPal sbas	首閉 SHOU PI	2 德守 TE SHOU	2 勝密 SHENG MI	as KT
—	不昫 PU SHUN	as. n. 474	無昫 WU SHUN	Mig mi ḷdsum
2 [Mig] mi ḷdsum (in the text: Nes ḷdsum)	—	—	—	—
3 sKar rgyal	奉養 FENG YANG	弗沙 FU SHA	育養 YÜ YANG	as KT
4 Señ ge blo gros	9 勇意 YUNG I	10 師子意 SHIH TZU I	10 師子慧 SHIH TZU HUI	10 Señ ge blo gros
5 bDe mos	淨解 CHING CHIEH	as n. 474	淨勝解 CHING SHENG CHIEH	bDe mos

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

That Byañ c'ub sems dpa' Nes ḷdsum (but corr. Mig ḷdsum?) says: | “in that non-perception (d mig s)<sup>1)</sup> (there) is no discrimination nor indication; | non-practice is the entrance into nonduality”. |

Byañ c'ub sems dpa' sKar rgyal says: | “good (d ge) 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 dbyañs 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 observe<sup>2)</sup> 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 striving<sup>3)</sup> 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 *Vimalakīrtinīrdeśa* mDo, p'a, p. 340 a l. 4, *mi dmigs pa de la rtoḡ daṅ gsal bar mi byed* into: *ortog 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 (yoga) will be shown<sup>1)</sup>. | 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 . |

<sup>1)</sup> 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 *Yan 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 *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, the text book of the Yellow sect, passed almost unnoticed among the rNiñ ma pas and the bKa'rgyud pas; sGam po pa, the disciple of Milaraspa, writes a *Lam rim* which unlike that of Tsoñ 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, (*blañ rdor med pa*, PT, t'a, p. 3, b), it transcends any notion of karma and fruit which is fundamental for the

other schools, even if theoretically everything is a mere mental representation; in a moment one becomes a Buddha, in a moment the unreal distinctions of the illusory world are dissolved: skad cig gcig gis rdsogs 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: upāya is eliminated, or, in the Siddhasaṃpradāya, and in many tantric sects, is symbolised by the mudrā, the woman taken to signify compassion, in order to restore that inborn essence, sahaḥa, which is not only the truth, the Absolute, the Bodhicitta, but it is also Mahāsukha: 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 actualization 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 (blañ rdor med), no saṃsāra and no nirvāṇa, 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 dṛṣṭipātā, 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<sup>1)</sup>. 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<sup>2)</sup>.

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 Ņ i ṅ m a r g y u d ṅ 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 Mallik, *Nāthsampradāyer itihās, darśan o Sāadhanapraṇālī*, Calcutta 1940. Shashibhusan Das-

The similarity between the two trends of thought becomes more evident when we draw our attention on the songs of the Siddhas and compare them<sup>1)</sup>, with those of the Ch'an masters quoted in KT or referred to in the many Chinese biographies of the Ch'an masters.

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

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

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

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

- Where thought arises and where it dissolves,  
There you should abide, O my son.
38. One's own true nature cannot be explained by another,  
But it is revealed by one's master's instruction.  
There exists in it not an atom of evil,  
Both dharma and non-dharma are cleansed and con-  
sumed.
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 Padmasambhava. It so happened that many of the first masters of Ch'an, like Ākāśagarbha, were more or less forgotten, probably because their record remained more as that of magicians than of mystics. But are we sure that Vairocana was not influenced by the Ch'an doctrine? Not all sources quote him as a follower of the Indian point of view; the rDsogs c'en, chiefly the followers of the man ñag and kloñ section, consider him as one of their greatest masters. Vairocana was especially known as a translator, but I must refer to what we said before i. e. that PT (p. 116, a) though stating that he sided with Kamalaśīla, later adds that after the Council, Vairocana was sent in exile. He also relates, as we saw, that there was a misunderstanding between him and the Indians. Vairocana is supposed to be a pupil of Padmasambhava; 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 Myañ tiñ nie 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 mgo<sup>1)</sup>. The first was responsible through his magic intervention for the birth of gSal snaṅ (cf. Buston, Obermiller, p. 186 and PT ja, p. 76, b; cf. *Blue Annals*, p. 41, Nor, p. 120 Ch.). The central figures in the activities which led to the acceptance of Buddhism against the Bon po masters seem to have been Saṅ ši the son of a Chinese Ambassador, Saṅ ši [Ra]-ta[na] of sBas and gSal snaṅ of sBas: he also was not

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

only considered to have been born through the agency of a Hva šaṅ but is said to have received from the same Hva šaṅ the teachings concerning meditation (PT, ja, p. 76, b). He brought back to Tibet with him a Hva šaṅ from China. (VDL, p. 32, b). Moreover we know that there was in bSam yas a special temple or house where the followers of Ch'an could meditate; it was called Mi γ y o b s a m g t a n g l i ṅ (B. Ob., p. 191, PT); Nāṅ 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 bsñen, 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' sñiñ 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 n a m t ' a r)<sup>1)</sup> of Vairocana exists; it gives the impression of having undergone a great revision, and, as usual, the legendary elements represent in it the

<sup>1)</sup> rJe btsun t'ams cad mk'yen pa Bai ro ca nai rnam t'ar ādra ābag 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 bzin gšegs pas legs par gsuṅs pai gsuṅ rab rgya mts'oi sñiñ po āgyur pa rig ādsin pai sde snod dam sña āgyur rgyud ābum rin po c'ei rtogs brjod ādsam gliñ kun (?) k'yab pai rgyan; but if we compare the contents we will easily realize that between the rñiñ ma pa book and this catalogue there is very little in common. We know also that the Pad ma t'añ 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 ādsin, with Vimalamitra who had a greater influence on Tibet than is generally believed; he and Myaṅ Tiñ ñe ādsin belonged to the same trend of thought as Vimāla whose name, as a translator, occurs so frequently in the rñiñ ma rgyud ābum; a small treatise written by him is preserved in the bsTan āgyur (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 ājug 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 ājug pa as opposed to the rim kyis ājug pa.

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

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

It centres, in its very beginning, on *žignas*, *śamatha* and *lhag mt'oñ*, *vipaśyanā* which are taken the one positively and the other negatively. In fact in *śamatha* mind does not take hold on the characters of things as if they were real (*mts'an mala mi gnas*); in *vipaśyanā* these characters do not come to existence (*mts'an ma mi skye ba*).

In *vipaśyanā* there is no character from which mind should be separated (*mts'an ma dañ yañ ma bral*) and no character of things to be suppressed (*mts'an ma mi agag 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' ma lhuñ 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, *āsana*, *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 (*šes rab*), one does not perceive any essence of things. But then, quite abruptly, a passage begins which looks like a short summary of *Bhāvānākrama* § 13 (when there is no joy in that *samādhi*, meditation on the advantages of that is recommended; when depression begins, meditation on the qualities of the Buddha, etc., against frivolity, non-eternity up to *anābhoga*; then conjunction of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*; the yogin should go on meditating in this way until he can, and, if mind and body are tired, he should reflect that all worldly things are like a mock-show, a mirage, etc. Then meditation on *nirvikalpajñāna* starts again. Thus one realizes that in reality nothing exists and then one transcends affirmation and negation, *apavāda* and *samāropa*; in this *nirvikalpa bhāvānā* conditioned and unconditioned elements (*samskṛta* and *asamskṛta*), the Bodhicittotpāda, the meditation of path, etc. are included because, as the *Prajñāpāramitā* says, "non-perception (*anupalambha*) is the path", (*Mādhyamika*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, identity and immobility (*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 (*γyomedpa*), unborn (*skyesmedpa*), on which mind cannot take hold (*semsmi 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 *dharmā* 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 (*kunrdsobtu*); 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 *Yešesnañ bairgyan gyimdo*, urges that the progressive method [11, a] is only valid for those who are mentally obscured (*rmons 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 *dharmas* are known. Somebody objects, it is true, that one should practice the six perfections, but the reply is found in the statement of the *Vajrasamādhi*<sup>1)</sup> 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 aḡyur*, vol. Ki p. 9, *bsam žiñ mod pa med na, ldan du mi skye ste | yan dag pa ji lta ba bžin du mi γyo ba'o | de ni t'eg pa c'en po'o žes 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 γyona, 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: śiñ 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 nirvikalpa samādhi, 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'aba 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 šaṅ, but what is of real interest to us is this connection of Vairocana with Chinese Buddhism and with Vimalamitra on which the biography insists so diffusely.

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

Now we may ask: is there in the Tibetan tradition some trace of the literary activities, if any, of those persons who, we are told, participated in the debate? In the section sNa ts'ogs of the bsTan agyur, containing the works of the Tibetan authors mentioned in some old catalogues or some anonymous but reliable (bz a ṅ

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.

(bK a' yañ dag paits'ad ma las mdo btus pa<sup>1)</sup> bsTan agyur, Tōhoku Cat. n. 4352, Co, p. 173)

Invocation to various gods, praise of Dharmaśāntighoṣa born in K'a ga sa ra na<sup>2)</sup>, the Bhikṣu Mahāyāna (t'eg pa c'en po) of Zahor.

Without praising the doctrine (gtsug lag) of the gods of the people (ajig rten kyilha) 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 nyāya of the Saṃdhinirmocana (Lamotte, p. 262) are explained at length so as to represent the real contents of the book.

I. Itos pai rigs pa, apekṣā-nyāya (p. 175, a-178, a) concerning aḍu byed (saṃskāra) external and internal and vyavahāra; discussion on the

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

<sup>2)</sup> 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 ba byed pai rigs. kriyā-kāraṇa-nyāya (Lamotte proposes: kṛtakāraṇa), p. 178, a-178, b.

Causes and conditions which assure the attainment of the dharmas their arrangement, and their activity after birth.

III. gtan ts'igs sgrub pai rigs (in the text of Saṃdhinirmocana, p. 155, 7a aṭ'ad pas sgrub, upapatti-nyāya, (p. 178, b); causes and conditions by which the sense of the things held, preached, and said is proved and made properly known (gtan ts'igs sgrub pai rigs pai mts'an ñid la dam bcas śiñ bstan te smra bai don sgrub pa dañ yañ dag par šes par bya bai p'yir rgyur gyur pa dañ rkyen du agyur pa aḍi dag; this is explained from p. 178, b, l. 4 up to p. 182, a, l. 1); affirmative and negative assumption, samāropa and apavāda, four kinds of each, 179, b-180, various questions on eternity, non-eternity, being, non-being etc. the five vādālaṃkāra expounded by Ācārya Asaṅga, 181, b. (Abhidharmasamuccaya ed. Pralhad Pradhan, p. 105 knows of six vādālaṃkāra).

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

## A.

- 1) *pratyakṣa-pariśuddha-lakṣaṇa*, p. 182, a-186, a<sup>1)</sup>.
- 2) *anumāna-pariśuddha-lakṣaṇa*, p. 182-187 b.
- 3) *svajātīya-dṛṣṭāntopasaṃhāra-lakṣaṇa*, 187, b-188, b.
- 4) *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa* (yoṅ su gregs pa)<sup>2)</sup>, 188, b-189, a.
- 5) *suviśuddhāgamopadeśa-lakṣaṇa*, 189, a-192, b.

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

## B.

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

- 1) *tadanya-sārūpyopalabdhi-lakṣaṇa*.....
- 2) *vairūpya*.....
- 3) *sarvasārūpya*.....
- 4) *sarvavairūpya*.....
- 5) *anyajātīya-dṛṣṭāntopasaṃhāra-lakṣaṇa* (but text *rañ bžin gyi rigs dañ mt'un* for: *gžan rigs*).

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

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

- 6) *apariṣpanna-lakṣaṇa* (but text wrongly *yoṅ su gregs / for: yoṅ su ma gregs*)
- 7) *aviśuddhāgamopadeśa-lakṣaṇa* (*lus rnam par ma dag pa bstan: lus* evidently a mistake for *luñ*).

Detailed discussion 197, b-202.

IV. *dharmatā-nyāya* concerning the absolute.

P. 202, b-204, b whether the Tathāgatas are born or not there is a *dharmatā* and a sphere of the Absolute where all things abide.

10 kinds of *satya*, truth:

<i>kun rdsob</i>	<i>saṃvṛtti</i>	conventional
<i>don dam</i>	<i>paramārtha</i>	true, absolute
<i>mts'an ñid</i>	<i>lakṣaṇa</i>	characteristic, sign
<i>rnam par</i>	<i>vibhakti</i>	distinction
<i>dbye ba</i>		
<i>ñes par rtog</i>	<i>nirūpaṇa</i>	definition
<i>dños po</i>	<i>vastu</i>	thing
<i>nus pa</i>	<i>sāmarthya</i>	capacity
<i>zad pa dañ</i>	<i>kṣayānutpatti-jñāna</i>	knowledge of destruction and non-origination of things
<i>mi skyes</i>		
<i>pai šes</i>		
<i>lam la ajug</i>	<i>mārgāvatāra-jñāna</i>	knowledge by which one enters the path
<i>pai šes</i>		
<i>de bžin gšegs</i>	<i>tathāgata-jñāna</i>	origination of the
<i>pa ye šes</i>	<i>nodaya</i>	knowledge of the Tathāgata
<i>kun a byuñ</i>		

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

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

## Vairocana

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

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

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

This commentary "which is a lamp illuminating the great sense contained in a few words" was therefore made by Śrīsiṃha<sup>1)</sup> and was explained in the shape of *formulae* taken from the sūtra for the sake of Vairocana, and Vairocana presented it to the king and his son when an intense desire for the practice of the supreme Law was born in K'ri sroñ lde btsan.

So we read in the colophon of D which is a little different from that of Peking and sNar t'añ (Cordier, *Cat.*, III, p. 489, n. 9); Śarisimha, Peking and sNar t'añ editions, is evidently a mistake for Śrīsiṃha. 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 kṣi tas rgyal

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

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

This explanation in *formulae* taken from the sūtra (m do las sñags su bkrol ba aḡdi) should be taught to outstanding people not to the logicians (rtog ge = tārki ka)<sup>1)</sup>. 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 saṃbhogakāya of the pañcakula, the holy pentad; in the secret sense to the essence of the gnosis of the self-knowledge. The dharmas exoterically are the ten kuśalapaṭha etc. the ten moral rules, the ten virtues to be followed, esoterically the dharmas of Mahāyāna, in the secret sense intellection of intelligence, rig pa ye šes; basic teaching is anupalambha i.e. that there is no object for mind, voidness, śūnyatā, of the five skandhas, constituents of the phenomenal personality; example: rūpa = śūnya, śūnya = rūpa: the nirvanic dharmas also are śūnya; no birth, no old age, no death, therefore no pain, no defilement (203, 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'ertsod pai ṅak'or lo  
(Tōhoku Cat. 4354. Co, p. 209, b)

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

thesis	dam bca'	pratijñā
reason	gtan ts'igs	hetu
example	dpe	drṣṭānta
probandum	bsgrub bya	sādhya

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)<sup>2)</sup> because they are knowable (*gtan*

1) See above p. 56.

2) Because the notion of duality is only denomination.

*ts'igs*, reason)<sup>1)</sup> like the moon reflected on the water (*dpe*, example)<sup>2)</sup>.

The probandum, *grub par bya*, *sādhya*, 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 *dharma-tā*, 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*, *ṅbras bu*) to which correspond an external debate, an internal debate, a secret debate always being referred (these three) to *ṅak'rul*, *bhrānti*, error, which is actuated by nescience. Further division: there is a basis (*gži*) which appears as a fourfold error,

according as it refers to { body  
word  
spirit  
objects (*yul*)

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

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

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

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

Then it is explained how this error arises concerning the four things above said. The same as regards the fruits of the error divided into the four groups above mentioned and their varieties; f. i. different kinds of bodies, disease, pleasure and pain, mountains, trees etc. Necessity of uprooting these errors according to the *rD 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 bai 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 sṅags*, 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, *saṃsāra* 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, *saṃsāra* 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, *saṅs rgyas ño bo* (p. 215, b): but here *saṅs rgyas* should be taken in its etymological sense: purification *sku yi ñon mon saṅs 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 (*gži*) this basis being twofold: 1) of all viz. Absolute, *dharmatā*, 2) of one's own essence;

b) path viz. 1) downwards<sup>1)</sup> = error (*ak'ru*) =

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

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

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

Again:

effortlessness as regards origination:

a) basis (g ž i)

b) essence (r a ṅ b ž i n)

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

d) name (m i ṅ).

Or, in more detail:

a) as regards activity in basis; five points:

1) basis of basis

2) essence

3) spirit

4) word

5) object.

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

b) As regards essence:

1) essence of body

2) " of intellection

3) " of non-duality of body and intellection

4) " of word

5) " of objects

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

there is no possibility of realizing the C'os sku, 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 ṇ a of five jewels

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

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

In the great yoga, there is no distinction between the five intellections and the five poisons; being beyond elimination of the five poisons it does not know of any means intended to strive for (r t s a l) the five intellections (y e š e s)<sup>1)</sup>. Being beyond the ma ṇ ḍ a l a of the five elements (i.e. actuated existence) there is no need to strive for the ma ṇ ḍ a l a 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.

<sup>1)</sup> Because it is the full realization of transcendental reality.



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

3) secret name: dark is the gnosis which by some means wants to determine one's own secret, or to split asunder one's own head, or to take hold of one's own prison<sup>1)</sup>; 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 (dbyiñs) does not exist; it is beyond words and mind— but this does not mean that it does not exist<sup>2)</sup>, the basis (g ži) of nirvāṇa is there, the basis of the Buddha-sambhogakāya 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-

<sup>1)</sup> That is with pure rational and dialectical methods to attain reality.

<sup>2)</sup> On the contrary sarva — i.e. everything from it is derived.

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

α) In the light of the mirror of the absolute, Dharmatā, the body is not perceived, but it rests (b žugs) 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-brilliancy.

β) In the mirror of self-light, body of the dharmas, the body rests as sam bhogakāya, the word rests as a state of echo-like word, spirit rests in wind-like (? skyi bser) 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 (sem s) shines forth as mind, yid

2) thought shines forth as realization, rtogs

3) thought shines forth as great intellection, ye šes.

As regards thought (sem s) (221, a) many distinctions f.i.

a) mar ldan — downwards: bad form of existence

b) yar ldan 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, vāsanā and five poisons; their mechanism. When by the great bril-

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

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

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

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

2) Z e r k y i k u n t u b z a ñ p o; in the very D h a r m a k ā y a, self-shining, unmoved, a ray of light (z e r) flickers, a subtle part of the intellection (y e š e s) flickers which becomes coarser and coarser – and it exteriorizes itself and assumes a name; it shines forth as something external and internal (b h ā j a n a and s a t t v a l o k a) which appears when the self-created essence is not known; but external and internal are only the great brilliancy of the depth self-Illuminating<sup>1)</sup> (222, b) and that ray of light being only a drop<sup>2)</sup> 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 rDsoḡs c'en.

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

The way of origination of the origin (b y u ñ b a i - b y u ñ 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 ñ 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 ñ, ū r m i) of that matrix which is the b o d h i; in the coiled lotus the self-representation (r a ñ 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) in 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 űid      Logic  
dBu ma          Mādhyaṃika

Tantra and Mantra { Kriyā  
Upayoga  
Yoga  
Mahāyoga  
Anuyoga  
Atiyoga

Each trend is higher than the preceding one, the acme being the Atiyoga which transcends being or non-being (b d e n g ű 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 ű = v i k ṣ e p a) what is the use to say that one should not commit sin?" (p. 238, a). When the eight dharmas are neither abandoned nor accepted and nowhere defilements arise, this is a sign that one is marching towards the stage (of the Buddha).

d P a l b r t s e g s

(g S u ű r a b r i n p o c ' e g t a m r g y u d d a ű ṣ a  
k y a i r a b s r g y u d ; T ō h o k u n . 4 3 5 7 , C o , p . 2 3 9 a - 3 7 7)

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 ű k ā v a t ā r a , P r a j ű 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 ű h a , K ā - r a ṇ ḍ a v y ű 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 ṣ a p a r i v a r -

ta, Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka, Anakṣarakaraṇḍaka, Dharmaskandha, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Dharmārthavibhaṅga, Bhavasamkrānti, Jayamati, Vajramaṇḍanāmadhāraṇī, Yeśesnaṅbaīrgyan, Sarvadharmagaṇavyūharāja, De bžin gšegs pa skye ba ḅbyun ba, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Nam mk'ai spyān, Saṅs rgyas bdun gyi smon lam, Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetravyūhālamkāra, Maitreyamahāsimhanāda, Subāhupariṣcchā, Karmavibhaṅga, Tathāgatagaṇajñānācintyaaviṣayāvātāranirdeśa, Śrīmālādevī, Vinayaviniścayopālipariṣcchā, 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 Vimalakīrtinirdeśa 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 Lanākāvātāra (text, p. 55) not quoted by Kamalaśīla in his Bhāvanākrama in which the statement is contained that the purification of the mental continuum and its representations which constitute what we call an individual cannot be realized suddenly yugapat, cig car, but progressively kramavṛttyā; kramavṛttyā, mahāmate, svacittadṛṣyadhārā viśudhyati na yugapat tadyathā āmrāphalāni kramaśaḅ pacyante na yugapat.

The other works which are attributed to dPal brtsegs, i.e. Tōhoku n. 4362 and 4363 C'os kyirnam graṅs kyibrjedbyaṅ 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 ḅgyur, vol. no, Tōhoku Cat. n. 4446-51: T'ugs kyisgron ma, lTaba yaṅdag sgron ma, mT'ai mun sel sgron ma, T'abs šes sgron ma, rNal ḅbyor spyod pai lugs ṅes pai don la ji bžin sgomt'abs kyisgron ma, lTaba rin c'en sgron ma, and in vol. co, n. 4355, a letter to the Tibetan king and subjects gCes pa bsdus pai ḅp'rin yig bod rje ḅbaṅs la brdsāṅs pa. The letter is written on the example of the two famous letters attributed to Nāgārjuna and directed to Kaniska p. 228 a (Kaniśakalagsolbai ḅp'rin yig) and bDe spyod bzaṅ po (p. 228, b), the Bodhisattvacaryā, made by the Buddha for compassion towards his mother, bŠes šin mdsā'bai ḅp'rin yig (Tōhoku n. 4182, Suhrillekha); Rin c'en ḅp'reṅ ba, Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna<sup>1)</sup>, dPal ḅp'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 (*kleśa*) by means of gnosis, victory over the four *Māras* etc.), the 10 practices according to the Law (*c'os spyod bžin*) – quotation from *mGon po byams pas dbus mt'a'*, *Madhyāntavibhāṅga* of *Maitreya nātha* – the ten *pāramitās*. Then advice is given to the king to be generous, to rely on *kalyāṇamitras*, good friends, to protect the Law, not to introduce the *svastika* doctrine, (i.e. *Bon*, *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 kyis byin 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 *adun sa*, see above p. 50, n. 2); honest people should be judges, *žal lce gcad*, servants should be appointed as watchmen (*mel tse*). Then the behaviour and the practices and studies of the priests, *dGe 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 sroñ 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 kyim dun 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 (c i g c a r) understanding of the supreme truth, one transcends all relative notions inherent in mind such as being and non-being; one should exert oneself in the passive reception, effortlessness (a n ā b h o g a); neither meditation nor thing to be meditated upon can be an object of perception (d m i g s); if one realizes that mind itself is nothing but the Absolute, D h a r m a t ā, then the Absolute should not be meditated upon somewhere else; thus also because reality is beyond time, it is unborn, there are no contraries to meditation (v i p a k ṣ a) and no counteragents: one should avoid all efforts, remain in perfect indifference (b t a n s ñ o m s); this in this world is called conventionally meditation; then whatever mental representations arise, they will spontaneously cease to proceed, and spontaneously be appeased; without any activity whatever they will be expelled <sup>1)</sup>.

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 (ṛ d u b y e d) are like space: a meditation, d h y ā n a, born from them is faulty.

<sup>1)</sup> Read b s a l for g s a l.

T ' a b s ṣ 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 ṣ 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 ṛ 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 ṛ b y o r s p y o d p a i l u g s ṅ e s p a i d o n  
l a j i b ṛ 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 one's 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 (a d s i n) and in it the various mental representations arise, the intelligence is self-brilliant, non-dual; it contains no form of external object, it is shining like a crystal. The yoga transcends all ideas of cause and fruit.

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

The first thing which we would like to know is if the attribution of these works is certain. The answer is difficult. There is no doubt that the language of these books looks old, though it has certainly been revised when the texts of the bsTan ḡyur 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 ḡ P' a ñ t' a ñ (Cordier, III, p. 284) a huge commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā (*Ibid.*, p. 283-4, mDo XII-XIII) was said to be the work of K' r i s r o ñ 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*)<sup>1)</sup>, a *dBu mai gzer bu* in 30 verses, a *De bžin gšegs skad brda* (Catalogue of *IDan 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 verses<sup>2)</sup>, another to *Mi γyo mgon po* in verses, a *bSam gtan gyi dogs brgyad bsal ba lha btsan pos bkas bead pa* in verses<sup>3)</sup>. Of the *bKa' yan 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 bšad*<sup>4)</sup>, 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 *sMon lam* is attributed to the Queen *Jo mo byañ c'ub*<sup>1)</sup>.

Let us now consider the contents of the treatises briefly summarized above: concerning the works attributed to *dPal dbyañs* 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; *dPal dbyañs* emphasizes that everything is a dream, and that everything is but a creation of our mind. The reference to officials, to nobles, *mdsañs*, military men, *dpa'ba*, to the assembly, *adun sa* is quite in agreement with what we know from other sources; see, for instance *PR*.

The other treatises breathe the air of the *Lañkāvatāra*, but *rañ rig*, as the Absolute, predominates: the origin of the various appearances is there, whether as Buddhas or as creatures and though *upāya*, means, compassion, is referred to, gnosis, *prajñā*, is greatly emphasized to its detriment, there being only that self-intelligence, *rañ rig*; we need only transcend duality.

The doctrine is brought to its extremes and mention is clearly made of the sudden or instantaneous *excessus mentis*, the immediate reintegration in the Intellect, bril-

1) See above, p. 31, n. 2



liant and transcending the illusions of appearance. We are not yet definitely in the *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: *gÑan*.

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

whom the letter of *dPal dbyaṅs* is directed is called *Lha btsan po* apparently the title of *K'ri lde sroṅ btsan TTK*, p. 14 and p. 70, were not this title given also implicitly to *K'ri sroṅ lde btsan* by the T colophon of our *Bhāvānākrama* (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 <sup>1)</sup> 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 *rÑin 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 Abhidharmaśāstra of Asaṅga (Pralhad Pradhan ed. p. 105 – pratijñā, hetu, dṛṣṭānta, upanaya, nigamana, viz. the same as NS, sadhyasya svabhāva ātmasvabhāvodharmaśāstra).

Further researches will clarify the position of Vimalamitra, his pupils and his school: but the fact is certain that Padmasambhava is not isolated. The rGyud rñin pa, the old Tantric school dogmatically sometimes supporting, just as the followers of Ch'an, the gcig car method, the way of the instantaneous entrance, most probably had, in the very beginning of Tibetan Buddhism, a larger influence than later orthodoxy wants us to believe. Vairocana who has been connected by tradition with Kamalaśīla must be assigned, on the contrary, to the other school of Vimalamitra along with rMa rin c'en (PT, 39, b, *Blue Annals*, 191), gÑags Jñānakumāra (*Blue Annals*, 192), Myaṅ Tiñ ne ṅsin, rDo rje me loñ and rDo rje rgya mts'o followers of the gcig c'ar method (referred to by PT, 39, b), gÑan dPal dbyañs, etc. and many other masters whom the rNiñ 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<sup>1</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> 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 ṅgroi 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.

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

Anyhow the debate between the Hva šaṅ and Kamalaśīla 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 Tsoñ-kha-pa's Lam-rim c'en-mo with annotation and prefatory remarks*, Iwanami Shoten, Tōkyō, 1954 in Japanese, short introduction in English, p. XII; the Hva šaṅ is quoted p. 103, 193, 271, 362, 37, 378, of the *Lam rim* (Peking edition).

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

## CHAPTER 2.

THE CONTENTS  
OF THE FIRST BHĀVANĀKRAMA

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

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

§ 3. When compassion is so realized, it is known as great compassion; as such it is the cause of the first blossoming of the bodhicitta, the will to reach perfect Enlightenment for the benefit of all suffering beings. This is a means which brings about great results; even if it is not accompanied by practice (pratipatti), it abolishes the miseries of saṃsāra.

§ 4. If the bodhicitta is accompanied by practice, even greater are its benefits; it is in fact a seed of all the properties of the Buddha, buddhadharma. It is twofold, in so far as it consists of two moments i. e. the determination itself (praṇidhi: "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 (kālyāṇamitra)<sup>1</sup> 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 (saṃgrahaṣṭu), able to produce elevation (abhaya), 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<sup>1</sup>.

§ 8. Only in this way the apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa, 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

<sup>1</sup>) 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 saṃsāra, since saṃsāra is the source of all sorts of wrong ideations<sup>1</sup>.

Both means and gnosis are necessary because gnosis helps us to avoid the extreme of affirmation (saṃāropa) 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”<sup>2</sup>). 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 saṃsāra, 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

<sup>1</sup>) The apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa ‘the nirvāṇa not definitely fixed’, plays a great role in Mahāyāna: the path to Buddhahood is not absolute abstraction from saṃsāra: 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 saṃsāra and abides in nirvāṇa, by means, with the infinite manifestations or emanations, he helps the creatures to realize the soteric intuition of truth.

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

<sup>2</sup>) 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 either<sup>1)</sup> 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?<sup>2)</sup> 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

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

<sup>2)</sup> 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 (ā d i k a r m i k a). When one has mastered one's power of attention (j i t a m a n a s k ā r a), one purifies this process by differentiating the component parts of human personality, s k a n d h a - d h ā t u , 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 s k a n d h a , d h ā t u , 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 (a ś u - b h a) 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 s a m ā d h i and contemplate the pleasure of s a m ā d h i 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 (l o k a s a m j ñ ā) one should concentrate on such pleasing objects (p r a m o d y a v a s t u) as the attributes of the Buddha etc.; in this way idleness is suppressed and the object of meditation can again be grasped. If, by remembering previous happiness, the mind



becomes frivolous one should suppress that frivolity by concentrating on such objects as impermanence, etc. which perturb the mind; again as regards that object of meditation one should exert oneself in the mood (v a h i t ā) of non-mental accumulation (c i t t ā n a b h i s a m s k ā r a). When, by forsaking depression and frivolity, one perceives that the mind is in a state of perfect equilibrium (s a m a p r a v ṛ t t a) and in its essential mood (s v a r a s a v ā h i n), then one is in a state of indifference, because all effort is relaxed: all effort causes in fact distraction. When, by one's own will, the mind is directed toward the object of contemplation in a mood of non-accumulation, ś a m a t h a is perfect. This is the general character of all kinds of ś a m a t h a, because ś a m a t h a consists only in concentration of mind (c i t t a i k ā g r a t ā). Its object is undetermined.

§ 14. In brief there are six possible defects in the practice of this ś a m a t h a, viz. sloth, confusion of the object of contemplation, idleness and frivolity, lack of effort (a n ā b h o g a), striving (b h o g a t ā); as their correctives the eight conditionings (s a m s k ā r a) for their suppression must be resorted to. These are: faith, zeal, exertion, serenity, mindfulness, awareness, investigation, indifference. The first four are the correctives of sloth. In fact, faith is characterized by complete confidence in the virtues of s a m ā d h i and therefore the yogin feels a desire for it.

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

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

§§ 15-16. Then the four d h y ā n a s (usual description) are reached and successively realized.

The same should be attempted as regards other objects of contemplation: ā r ū p y a s a m ā p a t t i, v i m o k ṣ a m u k h a, a b h i b h v ā y a t a n a, 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 (p r a j ñ ā) so that all the seeds of bewilderment may be annulled. The process is that described by the L a ñ k ā v a t ā r a 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 (p r a t i b h ā s a t e) 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<sup>1)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> 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 (*asamjñisamāpatti*), 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<sup>1)</sup>.

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 (*asamjñisamāpatti*). 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

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

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

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

Then those seeds will not again grow in his mind; it is with the purpose that the obstructions may be removed that the Blessed One has revealed the path of the convergence of *ś a m a t h a* and *v i p a ś y a n ā*, because they are the cause of right knowledge free from imagination.

In fact when, by means of *ś a m a t h a*, the mind has been steadied in the support of its contemplation, then, in the yogin, investigating with the help of gnosis, the light (*ā l o k a*) of pure knowledge arises and the obstructions are eliminated. Therefore these two, *s a m ā d h i* and *g n o s i s*, 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 two<sup>1)</sup>, 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 *d h a r m a s*.

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.

<sup>1)</sup> 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 śrāvakaś, etc. cannot lead to the proper elimination of the twofold obstructions because it does not suppress false assumptions. (Laṅkāṅ, 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 śrāvakaś, 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 śrāvakaś 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 (nirabhāsenā)". 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 (anabhisaṃskāreṇa), 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 (adhimuktikaryābhūmi); 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 saṃsāra 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 (*skaṇḍha*) as a mere illusion, but he does not wish to forsake them; the same as regards *rūpa*, *vedanā*, etc.

§ 22. In this process of meditation there are twelve moments or situations (*avasthā*) called stages (*bhūmi*) rising progressively higher: from the initial stage (*adhimuktīcaryābhūmi*) up to the Buddha-stage.

The initial stage, stage of adhesion (*adhimuktīcaryābhūmi*) 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 *samādhi*, *dhāraṇī*, means of salvation (*vimokṣa*), supernatural faculties (*abhijñā*), etc. Then contemplating the unreality of everything, he comes to possess four forms of insight (*nirvedhabhāgīya*) 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:         | <i>uṣmagata n. bh.:</i><br>warminsight  |
|                                     | <i>samādhi:</i> = <i>ālokalabdha</i>    |
| 2) light of knowledge, half bright: | <i>mūrdhan n. bh.:</i><br>lofty insight |
|                                     | <i>samādhi:</i> = <i>vṛddhāloka</i>     |

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

After that, reality is entered.

§ 23. Stage 1° 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 ideas enables him to realize the non-essence of all dharmas; the bodhisattva then enters a state of perfection (*samyaktvanyāmāvakrānti*); 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-*

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

śana); the remaining 16 impurities belonging to the three dhātus are to be cast off in the following stages (= path of contemplation)<sup>1)</sup>

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 sins<sup>2)</sup>.

### 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" because<sup>3)</sup> 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

<sup>1)</sup> 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.

<sup>2)</sup> For this section cf. Mdh., p. 97 ff.

<sup>3)</sup> 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 (kāyavañmanojalpa); 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 saṃsāra and inclined to nirvāṇa, and to contemplate the conditions favorable to Enlightenment.

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

#### 5th Stage.

Here the contemplation of the conditions favorable to Enlightenment and assisted by the means is difficult to practice; it is therefore called Sudurjāyā, «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-

*dhisattva* abides repeatedly in the conditions favorable to Enlightenment.

So long as he is unable to attain a state where no sign of things is ever perceived (*animitta* *vihāra*), his mind being occupied by the depression which arises from the consideration of the process of *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 (*kuśalapakṣa*), and the perfection of his vow (*praṇidhāna*) is here more intense. Since here he does not depart from that state of effortlessness and of non-perception of all signs, this stage is called *Acālā* "Unshakable". He abides there in that effortlessness and non-perceiving state, so long as he is unable to acquire mastery of the teaching of the Law in its various aspects of arrangement, explanation (*nirukti*), etc. When he acquires that mastery he enters the:

9th Stage.

Here the *bodhisattva* obtains a particular form of a fourfold<sup>1)</sup> knowledge (*pratisamviti*) and is possessed of a special power of gnosis; therefore here the perfection of power predominates. This stage is called *Sādhumatī*, "The good one", because the *bodhisattva* here acquires spiritual irreprehensibility (*anavadya*) due to his ability to teach the Law in all its aspects.

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

10th Stage.

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

<sup>1)</sup> *Dharma, artha, nirukti, pratibhāna.*



the teaching of the Law is like a rain cloud which showers truth over all the worlds, this stage is called *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.*

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

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

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

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

1) Ms. °padhānam.

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

vajñapadam<sup>1)</sup> adhigacchati | tato buddhadharmāṇām ka-  
 ruṇaiva mūlam | mahākaruṇāparigrahād eva buddhā  
 2 b, 1 bhagavanto 'dhigamyā sar\*va[jñā]<sup>2)</sup>padam aśeṣasya jagato  
 'rtham vikurvānās tiṣṭhanta iti nirvāṇāpratiṣṭhāne saiva  
 bhagavatām nāmahākaruhetuḥ | sā ca duḥkhitasattvā-  
 2 lambanamanaskārahulikārato vṛddhim upetya \* (?) sarve  
 ca te sattvās tridhātukāvacarās trividhaduḥkhatayā yathā-  
 yogam atyantaduḥkhitā eveti sarveṣv eva sattveṣu bhā-  
 3 vaniṇyā | tathā ca ye tāvan nārakās te vividhacira\*ntanadīr-  
 ghakālikadāhāduduḥkheṣu nimagnā eva bhagavatā varṇi-  
 tāḥ | tathā pretā api duḥsahatīvrakṣuttṛṣāduduḥkhapīḍābhi-  
 4 samśoṣitamūrtayas tīvraduḥkha\*m anubhavanti [Tib. 23 a]  
 | yena varṣāsatēnāpy aśuciṃ khetapiṇḍanam ca bhok-  
 tum na labhanta ityādi varṇitam bhagavatā | tiryāṅco 'pi  
 5 parasparakrodhavadhāhimsādibhir anekavidham duḥkham\*  
 anubhavanto dr̥śyanta eva | tathā hi kecin nāsikābheda-  
 natāḍanabandhanādibhir atantrikṛtaśarīrāḥ paritaḥ paripī-  
 6 ḍyamānāḥ katham apy anicchanto 'pi atidurvahaguru\*  
 bhārodvahanaparikhinnavapuṣaḥ pariklāmyanti | tathāra-  
 nye 'pi nivasanto 'naparādhāḥ kecit kvacit... to 'nviṣya  
 hanyante | nityam ca bhayavihvalamanasas tatas tataḥ  
 3 a, 1 palā\*yamānās tiṣṭhantīty aparimitam eṣām duḥkham  
 dr̥śyanta eva | tathā mānuṣye 'pi nārakam duḥkham dr̥śya-  
 ta eva | atra ye caurādayo 'ngacchedaśūlārpaṇodbandha-  
 2 nādibhiḥ kāryanta eva teṣām nāra\*kam eva duḥkham  
 | ye ca dāridryādyupahatās teṣām pretānām iva tat  
 kṣuttarṣādibhi[r] duḥkham | ye ca bhṛtyādayaḥ parāy-  
 attikṛtātmabhāvāḥ | ye ca balibhir ākramya pīḍyante  
 3 teṣām<sup>3)</sup> \* tiraścām iva tāḍanāvarodhanāduduḥkham | ta-

1) Ms. jñampa.

2) Ms. jñam pa°.

3) Ms. tāsām.

thā paryeṣṭikṛtam anyonyadrohopaghātādikṛtam priya-  
 viprayogāprijasamyogakṛtam cāprameyam eṣām duḥ-  
 kḥa[m] | ye kvacid iś\*varāḥ sukhitā iva lapyante<sup>1)</sup> te 'pi 3 a, 4  
 viparyavasānasampado vividhakudrṣṭigahananimagnā nā-  
 rakāduduḥkhānubhavahetuvividhakleśakarmāny upacin-  
 vantāḥ prapātasthā \* iva taravo<sup>2)</sup> duḥkhaḥetau vartamā- 5  
 nāḥ paramārthato duḥkhitā eva [Tib. 23 b] | devā api ye  
 tāvat kāmāvacarās te 'pi tīvrakāmāgnisaṃdīptamānasā  
 ākṣiptacittā ivāsvacchacetasaḥ \* kṣaṇam api samādhā- 6  
 nam<sup>3)</sup> cetasām na labhante | teṣām praśamasukhadhana-  
 daridrāṇām kīdr̥śam nāma tat sukham | nityacyavanapa-  
 tanā<sup>4)</sup>dibhayaśokopahatāḥ katham sukhitā nāma | ye ca  
 rū\*pārūpāvacarās te 'pi yadi nāma kiyatkālam duḥkhaduḥ- 3 b, 1  
 khatām vyatītās tathāpy atyantam kāmāvacarāṇām anu-  
 śayānām aprahāṇāt [teṣām] punar api nārakādivinipāta-  
 sambhavād vipariṇāma\*duḥkham [asty eva] | sarve nāma 2  
 devamanuṣyāḥ kleśakarmādipāratantryāt te saṃskāra-  
 duḥkhatayā duḥkhitā eva |

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

tad evam sakalam eva jagad duḥkhāgnijvālāvaliḍham<sup>5)</sup>  
 ity avetya yathā \* mama duḥkham apriyam tathānyeṣām 3  
 apriyam iti cintayatā sarveṣv eva sattveṣu kṛpā bhāva-  
 niṇyā | 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 aḥog par mi aḥyur te.

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

5) T. me leci p'reñ bai sa yin par bhtas la.

3 b, 5 ścit sattvo yo na me śataśo bandhur abhūd iti paricinta-  
yatā<sup>1)</sup> vyasteṣu bhāvanīyā | yadā mitrapakṣeṣv \* iva [vya-  
steṣu] tulyā karuṇā pravṛttā bhavati | tadā śatrupakṣe 'pi  
tathāiva sattvasamatādīmanasikāreṇa bhāvanīyā | yadā  
ca [śatrupakṣe<sup>2)</sup>] 'pi mitrapakṣavat samapravṛttā bhavati |  
6 tadā \* kramaśo daśasu dikṣu sarvasattveṣu bhāvayet |  
yadā ca duḥkhitabālapriyeṣv iva<sup>3)</sup> [Tib. 24 a] duḥkhod-  
dharāṇecchākārā svarasavāhinī<sup>4)</sup> sarvasattveṣu samapra-  
4 a, 1 vṛttā kṛpā bhavati | tadā sā ni\*ṣpannā bhavati | mahāka-  
ruṇāvvyapadeśa[m] ca labhate | yathā akṣayamatisūtre ca  
varṇitam | ayam ca kṛpābhāvanākramo bhagavatā 'bhi-  
dharmaśūtrādaḥ varṇitaḥ |

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

2 tasyaivam<sup>5)</sup> kṛpābhyāsabalāt sakal\*asattvābhyuddharaṇa-  
pratijñāyānuttarasamyaksambodhiprārthanākāram ayat-  
nata eva bodhicittam utpadyate | yathoktam daśadharmasūtre:  
3 "sattvān atrāṇān aśaraṇān advīpān dṛṣṭvā karu-  
ṇāyai \* cittam upasthāpya yāvad anuttarāyāṃ samyaksam-  
bodhau cittam utpādayati" | iti<sup>(a)</sup> | yadi nāma parasamādā-  
panādināpi bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya bodhicittam ut-  
4 padyate | tathāpi kṛpāvegato<sup>6)</sup> yat svaya\*m eva bodhisat-  
tvasya bodhicittam utpadyate tad bhagavatāryatathāga-  
tajñānamudrāsamādhaḥ viśiṣṭataratvena varṇitam | tad etad

(a) Śs., p. 8, l. 12.

1) Ms. navyastebhā°.

2) T. dgra la yañ.

3) Ms. almost illegible.

4) T. rañ gi ñañ gis ajug pa.

5) T. de ltar only.

6) T. sñiñ rje c'en pos non te.

bodhicittam 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 sarvaśrāvaka-pratyekabuddhagu-  
ṇa<sup>1)</sup>suvarṇālaṃkāram abhibhavati bodhici\*tanāma na vi- 4 b, 1  
jahāti | saṃsāradāridryam ca vinivartayati" iti<sup>(a)</sup> | yo 'pi pā-  
ramitāsu sarveṇa sarvaṃ sarvathā śiṅṣitum 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 dānapāramitāyāṃ  
śiṅṣitum yāvat prajñāpāra\*mitāyāṃ śiṅṣitum | tasmāt 3  
tarhi tvam, mahārāja, evam eva sambodhau chandam  
śraddhām prārthanām prañidhim gacchann api tiṣṭhann  
api niṣanno 'pi śayāno 'pi jāgrad api bhuñjāno 'pi pibann  
api \* satatasamitam anusmara manasikuru bhāvaya sarva- 4  
buddhabodhisattvārya<sup>2)</sup>śrāvaka-pratyekabuddhapṛthagjanā-  
nām ātmanaś cātītānāgatapratyutpannāni kuśalamūlāni  
piṇḍa\*yitvā, anumodasva | agrayā'numodanayā 'numodya 5  
ca sarvabuddhabodhisattvapratyekabuddhāryaśrāvakaṅṇām  
pūjākarmāni niryātaya | niryātya ca sarvasattvasādhā- 6  
raṇāni ku\*ru tataḥ sarvasattvānām yāvat sarvajñatāprati-  
lambhāya sarvabuddhadharmaparipūraṇāya dine traikā-  
lyam anuttarāyāṃ 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 ukṭvā | atha khalu punas tvam, mahārāja, samyaksambodhicittakuśalamū-  
5 a, 2 lavipāke\*nānekakṛtyo deveṣūpapanno 'bhūḥ | anekakṛtyo  
manuṣyeṣūpapanno 'bhūḥ | sarvāsu ca devamanuṣyopapat-  
tiṣv ādhipatyam kārayiṣyasi" | iti <sup>(a)</sup> vistarah |

§ 4. *Bodhicitta: thought of Enlightenment.*

3 yat punaḥ pratipa\*ttisāram bodhicittam tad atitarām vi-  
pulam [phalam] iti <sup>1)</sup> siddham | ata evāryavīradattaparipṛc-  
chāyām ukṭam | [Tib. 25 a]

“ bodhicittād vai yat puṇyam tac ca rūpi <sup>2)</sup> bhaved yadi |  
4 ākāśadhātum sampūrya bhūy\*as cottaritam bhavet ||  
5 gaṅgāvālu<sup>3)</sup>kaśamkhyāni buddhakṣetrāni yo narah | \*  
dadyād ratnaprapūrṇāni lokanāthebhya eva hi ||  
yaś caikaḥ prāñjalībhūtvā cittam bodhāya nāmati |  
iyam viśiṣyate pūjā yasyā anto na vidyate <sup>(b)</sup> || ” iti |

yathāryagaṇḍavyūhe varṇitam | “ bodhicittam, kulaputra,  
bijabhūtam sarvabuddhadharmāṇām <sup>(c)</sup> ” iti vistarah | tac  
6 ca bodhicittam dvivi\*dham praṇidhicittam prasthānacittam  
ca | āryagaṇḍavyūhe varṇitam | tathā | “ durlabhās te, ku-  
laputra, sattvāḥ sattvaloke ye 'nuttarāyām samyaksambo-  
5 b, 1 dhau praṇidadhati” iti | “ tato 'pi durlabhatamās\*<sup>4)</sup> 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) Gaṅḍavyūha, p. 494, l. 1.

1) Reading doubtful; T., sgrub par snin poi byed pai byan c'ub kyi sems  
kyi abras bu gañ yin pa de śin tu c'e bar grub ste.

2) Ms. rupi.

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

4) Ms. durlabhastamas.

ye 'nuttarām<sup>1)</sup> samyaksambodhim abhisamprasthitāḥ” iti <sup>(a)</sup> |  
sakalajagato hitāya buddho bhavyam iti prathamata-  
ram prārthanākārā cetanā tat praṇidhicittam | yataḥ pra-  
bhṛti sam\*varagrahaṇe... vartamānāḥ sambhāreṣu dṛ- 5 b, 2  
śyante tat <sup>2)</sup> prasthānacittam | samvaraś ca vijñātaprati-  
balasamvarasthitā[t] kalyāṇamitrāt purato <sup>3)</sup> grāhyaḥ |  
asati pratirūpe grā\*hake <sup>4)</sup> buddhabodhisattvān āmukhī- 3  
kṛtya yathā mañjuśriyā 'mbararājabhūtena bodhicittam  
utpāditaḥ <sup>5)</sup> tathotpādaniyaḥ | evam utpādītābodhicitto  
bodhisattvaḥ sva\*yam eva dānādi dadāti <sup>6)</sup> 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 <sup>7)</sup> bodhir avāpyate | yathoktam  
āryagayā\*śirṣe “ pratipattisārāṇām bodhisattvānām bo- 5  
dhir nāpratipattisārāṇām <sup>(b)</sup> ” iti | āryasamādhirāje cōktam: |  
“ tasmāt 'pratipattisāro bhaviṣyāmi' ity evam 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 dan 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<sup>(a)</sup> | sã ca pratipattir bodhisattvasya pãramitã-  
 6 a, 1 'pramãnasamgrahavastvãdibhede\*na akṣayamati<sup>1)</sup>ratname-  
 ghãdisũtreṣu vistareṇa varñitã | tathã laukikañilpãdisthã-  
 neṣv<sup>(b)</sup> api yãvad bodhi<sup>2)</sup>sattvena śikṣitavyam | kiṃ pu-  
 2 nar lokottareṣu dhyãnãdiṣu | anyathã katham sar\*vãkã-  
 ram sattvãrtham<sup>3)</sup> kuryuḥ<sup>(c)</sup> | sã ceyam samkṣepeṇa  
 bodhisattvasya prajñopãyarũpã pratipattir na prajñãmã-  
 3 tram nopãyamãtram yathãryavimalakirtinirdeṣe " prajñã-  
 rahita [upãya]\* upãyarahitã ca prajñã bodhisattvãnãm ban-  
 dhanam"<sup>(d)</sup> ity uktam | upãyasahitã prajñã prajñãsaḥita upã-  
 4 yo mokṣatvena varñitaḥ | ãryagayãñirṣe coktam | " dvãv  
 imau bodhisattvãnãm samkṣip\*tau mãrgau | dvãbhyãm mãr-  
 gãbhyãm samanvãgatã bodhisattvã mahãsatvãḥ kṣipram  
 anuttarãm samyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyante | kata-  
 mau dvau | upãyaś ca prajñã ca" |<sup>(e)</sup> iti |

### § 6. Gnosis and means.

5 | tatra pra\*jñãpãramitãm tyaktvã dãnãdipãramitãsamgra-  
 havastvãdikam sarvam eva kṣetrapariśuddhimahãbhogapa-  
 6 rivãrasampatsattvapariḥpãkanirmãñãdikasakalãbhyu\*daya-  
 dharmasamgrãhakaṃ kuśalam upãya ucyate | prajñã tu  
 tasyaiva copãyasyã'viparĩtasvabhãvaparicchadahetuḥ | 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.

thãnuṣṭhãñãd viṣam iva mantrapariḡhãtam<sup>1)</sup> bhuñjãno<sup>2)</sup>  
 na samkliṣyate [Tib. 26 a] | tathã coktam atraiva sũtre |  
 " upãyaḥ samgrahajñãnam | prajñã paricchadajñãnam" iti<sup>(a)</sup>  
 | ãryaśraddhãbalãdhãne coktam | " upãyakau\*śalam kata- 6 b, 2  
 mam | yat samgrahaḥ sarvadharmãñãm | prajñã katamã |  
 yat sarvadharmãñãm asaṃbhedanakauśalam"<sup>(b)</sup> iti | etau  
 prajñopãyau dvãv api sarvakãlam eva sevanĩyau bhũmi-  
 praviṣṭair api na \* tu prajñãmãtram nopãyamãtram<sup>3)</sup> yataḥ 3  
 sarvãsv eva daśasu bhũmiṣu bodhisattvasya pãramitãsa-  
 mudãcãraḥ paṭhito daśabhũmikãdau | " na ca pariṣeṣãsu  
 na samudãcarati" iti<sup>(c)</sup> vaca\*nãt | aṣṭamyãm ca bhũmau 4  
 bodhisattvasya śãntavihãriṇo buddhair vyutthãnam tad  
 virudhyeta<sup>4)</sup> | tac ca tatas tatra pãṭhãd avagantavyam |  
 [Tib. 27 a]

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

yac cãryavimalakirtinirdeṣe gayãñirṣe coktam \* tad api 5  
 pũrvoktam<sup>5)</sup> virudhyeta eva sãmãnyenaiva tatrãbhidhã-  
 nãt | yat sarvadharmasamgrahavaipulye coktam tad api  
 virudhyeta eva | tatroktam | " sũkṣmaṃ hi, mañjuśrĩḥ,  
 saddharmapratikṣepakarmãvaraṇam | 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) Dbhũ, p. 20, l. 9 samudãgacchati instead of samudãcarati.

1) T. sãags kyis htab pai dug za ba dañ ãdra 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. pũrvakoktam.

juśrīs, tathāgatabhāṣite dharma ekasmin śobhana<sup>1)</sup> sam-  
 jñām utpādayati | ekasminn aśobhanasamjñām utpādayati  
 7 a, 1 | sa saddharmaṃ pratikṣipati | tēna \* saddharmaṃ pratikṣi-  
 patā tathāgato 'bhyākhyāto bhavati''<sup>(a)</sup> iti vistaram uktvā  
 āha | “yo 'yaṃ, maitreya, ṣaṭpāramitāsamudāgamo bo-  
 2 dhisattvānām bodhāya taṃ te mohapuruṣā evaṃ vakṣya\* n-  
 ti | ‘prajñāpāramitāyām eva bodhisattvena śikṣitavyaṃ  
 kiṃ śeśābhiḥ<sup>2)</sup> pāramitābhir’ iti | te 'nyām upāyapārami-  
 3 tām<sup>3)</sup> dūṣayitavyāṃ manyante | tat kiṃ manyase, 'jita,\*  
 duṣprajñāḥ sa kāsīrājo 'bhūt yena kapotārtham śyenāya  
 svamāmsāni dattāni | maitreya āha | no hīdaṃ, bha-  
 gavan | bhagavān āha | yāni mayā, maitreya, bodhisattva-  
 4 caryā\*ṃ caratā ṣaṭpāramitāsamyuktāni kuśalamūlāny upa-  
 citāni | apakṛtaṃ nu tair kuśalamūlair | maitreya āha |  
 no hīdaṃ, bhagavan | bhagavān āha | tvam, tāvad, ajita,  
 5 dāna\* pāramitāyām ṣaṣṭiṃ kalpān samudāgataḥ<sup>4)</sup> | yāvat  
 prajñāpāramitāyām ṣaṣṭiṃ kalpān samudāgataḥ | tat te  
 mohapuruṣā evaṃ vakṣyanti | ekanayenaiva bodhir ya-  
 7 b, 1 duta śūnyatāna\*yena'' iti<sup>(b)</sup> vistarāḥ | vairocanābhisam-  
 dhau cuktam | tad etat sarvajñajñānaṃ karuṇāmūlaṃ bo-  
 dhicittahetukam upāyaparyavasānam'' iti<sup>(c)</sup> | [Tib. 27 b]  
 2 tasmād ubhayaṃ sarvakālam eva bodhisattvena \* sevānī-  
 yam |

(a) Śs. p. 95, l. 10.

(b) Śs. p. 97, l. 6. This passage in Ta. 1664 p. 565, a is attributed wrongly to the G ā y ā ś ī r ṣ a 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 aśan°

2) Ms. makaiviśeśābhiḥ.

3) Tib. omits: upāya.

4) Ms. samudāgamaḥ.

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

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

evaṃ hi bhagavatām apratiṣṭhitānirvāṇam sidhyati | tathā  
 hi dānāder upāyasya rūpakāyakṣetraparivārādīmahābho-  
 gātāphalasampratigrahaḥ bhagavatām \* na<sup>1)</sup> nirvāṇe 'va-  
 7 b, 3 sthānam | prajñayā ca sakalaviparyāsaprahāṇān na sam-  
 sāre 'vasthānam viparyāsamūlatvāt saṃsārasya | anayā  
 ca prajñopāyasvarūpayā pratipadā samāro\* pāpavādāntavi-  
 4 varjanena madhyamā pratipad udbhāvitā | prajñayā samā-  
 ropāntasya varjanād upāyenāpavādāntasya varjanāt | ata  
 evāryadharmasamgītāv uktam | “la\*kṣaṇānuvyañjanarūpa-  
 5 kāyapariniṣpādanābhirataś ca bhavati na dharmakāyābhisa-  
 mayamātrābhirataḥ''<sup>(a)</sup> iti | punar uktam | “prajñopāyajanitas  
 tathāgatānām parapratyayataḥ sa[m]bhav\*o 'nugantavyaḥ''  
 8 a, 1 iti<sup>(b)</sup> | yat<sup>(c)</sup> punar uktam | “kolopamaṃ dharmaparyāyam  
 ājānadbhir dharmā<sup>(d)</sup> eva prahātavyāḥ | prāg evādharmāḥ''  
 iti<sup>(c)</sup> | tad viparītābhiniveśaprahāṇataḥ prahātavyā ity  
 abhiprāyād uktam | na \* tu prayojanasampādanārtham api  
 2 nāśrayaṇīyam | tathā cuktam | “dharmāḥ pragrahītavyo  
 nodgrahītavya'' iti<sup>(d)</sup> | nonmārgeṇa pragrahītavya ity arthaḥ |  
 yac cāpi kvacid dānādi samsāri\*kaphalatvena varṇitaṃ  
 3 tat prajñārahītānām dānādīnām pūrvam uktam tāvanmā-

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

(b) Passage not located.

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

(d) *Ibid.* p. 23, cfr. p. 44, § 28.

1) T. *deest.*

2) T. de bñin gśegs pa ni śes rab dan t'abs kyis bskyed pa ste gzan gyi  
 drin la ajog pa yañ srid par śes bya že'o.

3) Here T. inserts passage of *Vairocanābhisa mbodhi*.

4) Ms. ajānādhirmma.



trakuśalamūlasamtustāś<sup>1)</sup> cādhikṛtyottarakuśalamūle pro-  
 8 a, 4 tsāhanārtham | anyathā vimalakīrtiyādinirde\*śaḥ sarva eva  
 virudhyeta | tasmāt tu dvāv api prajñopāyau sevaniyāv  
 iti sthitam | tatra prajñāparigṛhitā dānādayaḥ pārami-  
 5 tāvyapadeśam labhante nānyatheti | ato dānā\*dipariśud-  
 dhaye samādhānam āsthāya prajñopādānārtham yatnam  
 kurvīta |

§ 9. *Prajñā: śrutamayī, cintāmayī, bhā-  
 vānāmayī.*

tatra prathamam tāvat śrutamayī prajñotpādaniyā | tayā  
 hi tāvad āgamārtham avadhārayati | tatasā cintāmayyā  
 8 b, 1 prajñā\*yā nītaneyārtham<sup>2)</sup> nirvedhayati | tatasā tayā ni-  
 ścitya bhūtam artham bhāvayen nābhūtam | anyathā hi  
 viparītasayāpi bhāvanād vicikitsāyāś cāvyapagamāt sam-  
 2 yagjñānodayo na syāt | tatasā ca vyarthāiva<sup>3)</sup> bhāvanā syāt |  
 yathā tīrthikānām | uktaḥ ca bhagavatā samādhirāje |

“nairātmyadharmān yadi pratyavekṣate  
 tān pratyavek<sup>4)</sup>ṣya yadi bhāvayeta |  
 3 sa hetur nirvāṇaphalasya prāp\*taye  
 yo anyahetu na sa<sup>5)</sup> bhoti śāntaye<sup>(a)</sup>” iti |

tasmāc cintāmayyā prajñayā yuktyāgamābhīyām pratyavekṣya bhūtam<sup>6)</sup> eva vastusvarūpaḥ bhāvanīyam | va-

(a) SR. I. p. 105, v. 37.

1) Ms. otustas.

2) Ms. adds: stayā; T. nes pa dañ drañ bai don rnam par aḥbyed par byed do.

3) Ms. ovyam eva.

4) Ms. tānaprāḥ.

5) Ms. tad.

6) Corrected according to T.

stūnām svarūpaḥ ca para\*mārthato 'nutpāda evā- 8 b, 4  
 gamato<sup>1)</sup> yuktiś ca niścitam |

§ 10. *The non-origination of all things is ascertained  
 by a) āgama and b) yukti.*

a) āgama, authority: tatrāgamato | yathoktam ārya-  
 dharmasamgītau | “anutpādaḥ satyam asatyam anye  
 dharmāḥ” iti<sup>2)</sup> (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 | “utpādanirodhābhīnivi\*ṣṭaḥ, kula- 2  
 putra, lokasamniveśaḥ | tasmāt tathāgato mahākāruṇiko  
 lokasyottrāsapadaparihārārtham vyavahāravaśād uktavān  
 utpadyate nirudhyate ceti na cātra kasyacid dharmasya-  
 o\*tpādaḥ<sup>(b)</sup>” iti | āryabuddhasamgītau cōktam | “katamā 3  
 yoniśaḥ pṛcchā | katamā yoniḥ | āha | anutpādo yoniḥ |  
 tasya pṛcchā yoniśaḥ pṛcchā” (c) | punar atraivoktam | “akā-  
 ramukhāḥ<sup>3)</sup> sa\*rvadharmāś cyutyutpattivigatāḥ | abhāvamu- 4  
 khāḥ sarvadharmāḥ | svabhāvaśūnyatām upādāya” (d) iti |  
 āryasatyadvayavibhāge cānutpādasamatayā sarvadharmā-

(a) Summarized from Ta. n. 761, p. 716, a; T. mDo, dsa, p. 48, b, 49, a, but not identical.

(b) Śs. p. 263, l. 5.

(c) Ta. n. 810, p. 761, a (correspondence not literal); T. mDo, tsa, p. 358, b, ll. 6-7, ts'ul de ni gañ | smra pa | mi skye ba ni | ts'ul te | de aḍra bar aḍi aḍra ba ni | ts'ul bzin du aḍri 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 nām samatā bha\*vati<sup>(a)</sup> | prajñāpāramitāyām coktam | “rū-  
pam, subhūte, rūpasvabhāvena śūnyam yāvad vijñānam vij-  
ñānasvabhāvena śūnyam iti svalakṣaṇaśūnyatām upādāya”  
6 iti”<sup>(b)</sup> | hastikakṣye co\*ktam |

“na kaścil labhyate bhāvo yasyotpādasya sambhavaḥ |  
asambhaveṣu [dharmeṣu] bālaḥ sambhavam icchati” | iti<sup>(c)</sup>

pitāputrasamāgame coktam | “sarva ete dharmāḥ sarve sa-  
9 b, 1 mās traikālyasamatayā | atite ’dhvani \* sarvadharmāḥ sva-  
bhāvarahitā yāvat pratyutpanne ’dhvani” | iti<sup>(d)</sup> evaṃ tāvad  
āgamataḥ pratyavekṣaṇīyam | yuktyā hi sthīrikṛtasyāga-  
mārthasyānyair apohitum aśakyatvāt. |

b) y u k t i, *arguing: b, 1 origination is not uncaused:*

2 ato yuktyāpi \* pratyavekṣaṇīyam | tatra samkṣepato yuktir  
ucyate | utpādo bhāvānām ahetuko vā syāt sahetuko vā |  
na tāvad ahetukaḥ kā- [Tib. 29 a] dācitkatvadarśanāt |  
3 kāraṇānape\*kṣā hi viśeṣābhāvād utpādakālavat sadā sar-  
vatraiva ca bhāvāḥ kiṃ na bhavyeḥ | abhāvakālād avi-  
śeṣād vā utpādakāle ’pi naiva bhavyeḥ | evaṃ tāvan na  
4 nir\*hetuko yuktaḥ |

b, 2 *origination is not caused; criticism of God as creator:*  
nāpi sahetukaḥ | tathā hi yas tāvad īśvarādis tīrthikair nityo  
hetuḥ kalpitas tato bhāvā na jāyante krameṇotpādadarśa-  
5 nāt | na tv avikalakāra\*nasya krameṇotpādo yukto nirapek-  
ṣatvāt | nāpīśvarādeḥ svayaṃ samarthasya parāpekṣā |  
nityatvena parair anupakāryatvāt | anupakāriṇi cāpekṣā-

(a) In the short treatise by Jñānagarbha dedicated to the discussion of the two truths this point is only occasional. bsTan 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 \* eveśvarādīnām sarvasāmarthyaśūnyatvād 10 a, 1  
vandhyāputrādivan niḥsvabhāvatvam eva | arthakriyāsa-  
marthatvād vastunaḥ | teṣām kvacid api kārye na krameṇa  
sāmarthyaṃ 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 evoktam bhaga-  
vatā | “asatsamāropaḥ punar, mahā\*mate, ākāśanīrodhanir- 4  
vāṅkṛtakabhāvābhīniveśasamāropaḥ” | iti<sup>(a)</sup> | tasmān na  
nityād eṣām utpādo yuktaḥ |

b, 3 a *noneternal cause is also illogical: nāpy anityāt*  
| tatrātītānāgatayor avastut\*vān na tāvat tato janma 5  
yuktam | ahetukatvaprasaṅgāt | nāpi vartamānāt | samā-  
nāsamānakālayos ta<sup>1</sup>)ta [Tib. 29 b] utpādayogāt | tathā  
hi na tāvat samānakālam, kāraṇa\*svabhāva[va]t kārya- 10 b, 1  
syāpi tatsamānakālabhāvitayā<sup>2</sup>) niṣpannatvāt | nāpi bhīn-  
nakālam | kālāntaravyavadhānenotpāde ’tītāder<sup>3</sup>) evot-  
pattiprasaṅgāt | avyavavadhānenāpy ut\*pāde sarvātmanā 2  
yady avyavadhānaṃ tadaikasminn eva kṣaṇe sarva-  
kṣaṇānām anupraveśāt kalpasya kṣaṇamātratāprasāṅgaḥ  
| yathā paramāṇoḥ sarvātmanā saṃyoge piṇḍasyāṇu\* 3  
mātratāprasāṅgaḥ | athaikadeśena | tadā kṣaṇasya sāvaya-  
vatvaprasaṅgaḥ | svato ’pi notpadyante | nirhetukapakṣe-  
ṇaivāsya pakṣasya saṃgrhītatvāt | svātmani ca kārītra-

(a) L a n k, p. 72, l. 3.

1) Ms. vartamānāsamānatata ut° T. dus mñan pa dañ mi mñan pa de las mi sbye bai p’yir da ltar gyi las yañ mi skyed.

2) Ms. tasya.

3) Ms. anyatītād. T. aḍas pa la sogs pa las.

10 b, 4 viro\*dhāt | nāpy ubhayataḥ | ubhayapakṣa<sup>1)</sup> bhāvīdoṣadva-  
ya<sup>2)</sup> prasaṅgāt | tasmāt paramārthato 'nutpannā<sup>3)</sup> evāmī  
bhāvāḥ | samvṛtyā tūtpādasya<sup>4)</sup> vidyamānatvān, nāga-  
5 mādivirodhaḥ | tathā coktam bhagavatā |

“ bhāvā jāyante samvṛtyā paramārthe 'svabhāvakāḥ |  
niḥsvabhāveṣu bhāveṣu bhrāntiḥ sā samvṛtir matā<sup>5)</sup> || iti<sup>(a)</sup>  
iyam ca yuktir bhagavato 'bhipretā<sup>6)</sup> śālistambādau |  
11 a, 1 svataḥ para\*ta ubhābhyām<sup>7)</sup> 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 evaṃ yuktyā vicārayet<sup>8)</sup> | dvividhā bhāvā rūpiṇo  
'rūpiṇas ca | tatrāpi tāvad rūpiṇo ghaṭādayas te 'ṇuśo  
2 vibhinnarūpatvān \* naikasvabhāvāḥ | aṇūnām pūrvāpa-  
rāvasthitānām pūrvādidigbhāgatvena<sup>9)</sup> vibhidyamānānām  
asiddhāv apy<sup>10)</sup> aṇusamcayātmakatve 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 satyam samvṛtir bhavet.

1) Ms. pakṣi.

2) T. dvaya deest.

3) Ms. °nna.

4) Ms. samvṛttyantu ut°.

5) Ms. mārga. T. ādod pa.

6) Ms. doubtful.

7) Ms.: °partabhyāma

8) Ms. athavā evāyu° but T. rnam pa geig tu ādi ltar rigs pas rnam par  
dpyad par bya ste.

9) Ms. °disvabhāgatvena T. p'yogs dañ ldan pa ñid kyis.

10) T. t'a dad pa rnam kyañ rnam par p'ye na mi aṅrub pai p'yir.

kaścid bhāvasvabhāvo 'stīti niḥsvabhāvā evāmī paramā-  
rthataḥ svapnādyupalabdharūpādivad rūpiṇo bhāvāḥ |  
etac ca bhagavataiva coktam ār\*yalañkāvatāre | “ [go]- 11 a, 4  
viṣāṇaṃ punar, mahāmate, aṇuśo<sup>1)</sup> pi vibhidyamānaṃ  
nāvatiṣṭhate | punar apy aṇavo 'pi vibhidyamānā aṇu-  
valakṣaṇena nāvatiṣṭhanta<sup>(a)</sup> ” iti | ye cārūpi\*<sup>2)</sup> ṇas te 'pi 5  
tathaiva vicāryamāṇā niḥsvabhāvā eva | tathā hi bāhyasya  
nīlāder<sup>3)</sup> artha<sup>4)</sup> syābhāvāt sāmartyata<sup>5)</sup> eva vijñānādayo  
'rupiṇaḥ skandhā nīlādirūpeṇa \* pratibhāsanta ity abhyu- 11 b, 1  
peyam | uktaṃ ca bhagavatā |

“ bahirdhā nāsti vai rūpaṃ svacittaṃ dṛśyate bahiḥ ”<sup>(b)</sup> | iti |

tataś ca nīlādicitrākāranirbhāsatayā \* grāhyagrāhakākāra- 2  
nirbhāsatayā naikasvabhāvā amī yuktāḥ | na caikasyā-  
nekarūpatā yuktimatī, ekānekavirodhāt | ekasya kasyacit  
svabhāvasyāsiddhāv anekarūpatāpy ayuktimatī, \* ekasa- 3  
mūharūpatvād anekasya | athavā tatrālikā evāmī rūpā-  
daya ākārāḥ pratibhāsanta ity abhyupagamyaṭe | tadā  
vijñānam apy alikam prāpnoti | vijñānasya ta\*tsvarūpā- 4  
vyatirekāt | na hi svayaṃ<sup>6)</sup> prakāśamānarūpatāvyatireke-  
ṇānyad vijñānasya rūpaṃ asti | svayaṃ ca na nirbhā-  
sante rūpādayaḥ | teṣāṃ ca vijñānasvarūpāpannānām  
alī\*katve sarvam eva vijñānam alikam abhyupetaṃ syāt | 5  
tasmān “ māyopamaṃ ca vijñānam ” ity uktaṃ bhagavatā |

(a) Lañk, p. 53, l. 16.

(b) Lañk, p. 326, v. 489

1) Ms. anuṣā.

2) Ms. °rūrū°.

3) Ms. nīlarede.

4) Ms. doubtful.

5) Ms. samartyatu.

6) Ms. nahisampra°.

12 a, 1 tasmād ekānekasvabhāvaśūnyatvena paramārthato 'likā  
evā\*mī sarvabhāvā iti niścitam etat | ayaṃ cārtha ukto  
bhagavatā laṅkāvatāre | [Tib. 30 b]

“ yathaiva darpaṇe rūpam ekatvānyatvavarjitam  
2 drśyate na ca tatrāsti tathā bhāveṣu bhāvatā ” || iti (a) \*

ekatvānyatvavarjitam iti | ekatvānyatvarahitam ity ar-  
thaḥ | punaś coktam |

3 “ buddhyā vivicyamānānām svabhāvo nāvadhāryate |  
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 | bahuś<sup>2)</sup>rutādīmātrakeṇa nārthaḥ \* pratyakṣo bhava-  
tīti<sup>(c)</sup> niveditam āryaratnameghādiṣu | anubhavaś ca prati-  
pattīnām | na cāpi sphuṭatarajñānālokodayam antareṇa  
5 samyag āvaraṇatamo 'pahiya\*te | bhāvanābahulīkāra[ta]ś  
cābhūte 'py arthe sphuṭatarajñānam utpadyate | yathā  
'subhā<sup>3)</sup>dipṛthvīkrtsnādisamāpannānām<sup>4)</sup> | kiṃ punar bhū-  
12 b, 1 te | tathā ca bhāvanāyāḥ parisphuṭajñānaphala\*tvena sā-  
phalyam uktam āryasamādhirāje |

“ ārocayāmi prativedayāmi vo  
yathā bahulam vitarkayen naraḥ |

(a) Cf. Laṅk, p. 55, l. 17, and p. 327, v. 49 b.

(b) Laṅk, p. 116, l. 9. Cf. 1 a, 650 p. 225 c.

(c) Ta. n. 658, p. 225, c; Ta. n. 659, p. 29, a; T. mDo, ts'a, 108, b.

2) Ms. bahisru°.

3) T. ādi deest.

4) T. adds: šes pa byuñ ba lta bu yin na.

tathā tathā bhavati hi nimnacittas  
tehi vitarkehi tannīśritehi\* ” || (a) 1)

12 b, 2

iti vistaraḥ | tasmāt tattvaṃ sāksātkartukāmo bhāvanāyāṃ  
pravartate |

### § 13. Śamatha:

tatra prathamatarāṃ tāvad yoginā śamatho niṣpādaniyaś  
cittasthirikaraṇāya | salilava\*c cañcalatvāc cittasya, na śa- 3  
matham ādhāram antareṇa sthitir<sup>2)</sup> asti | na cāsamāhitena  
cetasā yathābhūtaṃ śakyate jñātum | uktam hi bhagavatā  
“ samāhitacitto yathā\*bhūtaṃ prajānāti ” | iti [Tib. 31 a] | 4  
śamatho lābhādikāmatānirapekṣasya samyakpravṛttau  
sthitasya duḥkhādyadhivāsanaśī<sup>3)</sup>lasyārabdhavīryasya śi-  
ghrataraṃ sampadyate | ata evā\*ryasaṃdhinirmocanādu 5  
dānādaya uttarottaratvena varṇitāḥ | tad evaṃ śīlādi-  
śamathasaṃbhāreṣu sthito mano'nukūlade[śe]<sup>4)</sup>sarvabud-  
dhabodhisattveṣu praṇāmādi<sup>5)</sup>k\*am kṛtvā pāpadeśanām 13 a, 1  
puṇyānumodanām vidhāya sakalajagadabhyuddharanā-  
śayo mahākaruṇām evābhīmukhīkṛtya kāyam ṛjuṃ pra-  
ṇidhāya sukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ paryaṅkam ābhujya sa\*mā- 2  
dhim abhiniṣpādayet | tatra prathamam tāvad yad<sup>6)</sup> va-  
stu vicārayitavyaṃ yāvatā prakāreṇa saṃkṣepataḥ saka-  
lavastusaṃgraho bhavati tatra cittaṃ badhniyāt | saṃ-

(a) SR. I, p. 50, v. 16.

1) Ms. doubtful: T. de la gnas pai rnam par rtogs des.

2) Ms. inserts here asthītir.

3) Ex cj.; ms. ādyavikāśanīlasya. T. la sogs pa dañ du len pai ñaṅ 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 vikṣepa<sup>1)</sup>doṣaparihārārtham samkṣi-  
 ptam tāvad yuktam ālambayitum | yadā tu jitamana-  
 4 skāro bhavati \* tadā skandhadhātṽdibhedena viśodhya  
 vistāraśo 'py<sup>2)</sup> ālambata eva | tathā samdhinirmocanādau  
 yoginām aṣṭādaśaparakāraśūnyatālambanādibhedena [nānā]-  
 5 pra\*kāram ālambanam uktam | atraiva bhagavatā sattvā-  
 nugrahād rūpyārūpyādibhedena samkṣepamadhyavistārair  
 vastubhedo 'bhidharmādau nirdiṣṭaḥ | tac ca<sup>3)</sup>vastv adhyā-  
 13 b, 1 ropāpavāda\*parihārāya skandhadhātṽdisamgrahato gaṇa-  
 yet | tato niścitya sarvavastusamgraham tatraiva punaś  
 cittam [Tib. 31 b] prabandhena prerayet | yadā tv antarā  
 2 rāgādīnā cittam bahir vikṣipet | tadāva\*gamya vikṣepatām  
 aśubhādibhāvanayā vikṣepam upaśāmya punas tatrai-  
 vopary upari cittam prerayet | aśubhādibhāvanākramas  
 3 tu granthavistarabhayān na likhitaḥ | ya\*dā tu cittam<sup>4)</sup>  
 tatrānabhiratam paśyēt | tadā<sup>5)</sup> samādher guṇadarśanato  
 'bhiratiṃ tatra bhāvayet | vikṣepadoṣadarśanād aratiṃ  
 4 praśamayet | atha yadā styānamiddhābhi\*bhavād<sup>6)</sup> ālam-  
 banagrahaṇāprakaṣayā līnam cittam bhavati | tadā lokasa-  
 mājñābhāvanayā prāmodyavastubuddhādiguṇamanasikārāl  
 5 layam upaśāmya<sup>7)</sup> punas tad evāmba\*nam dṛḍhataram  
 grhṇīyāt | atha yadā pūrvahasitarāmitādyanusmarato  
 'ntarā cittam uddhatam paśyēt | tadā 'nityatādisamve-  
 14 a, 1 gamanasikārād auddhatyam praśamayet | tataḥ\* punas ta-

1) Ms. vyāksepa°.

2) Ms. vistarasopy. T. rgyas par yan 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 cittasyānabhisamkāravāhitāyām yatnam  
 kurvīta | atha yadā layauddhatyābhyām viviktatayā sa-  
 mapravṛttam svarasavāhi cittam paśyēt | tadābhogaśīthi-  
 likaraṇād up\*ekṣate | yadā<sup>1)</sup> tu samapravṛtte saty ābhogaḥ 14 a, 2  
 kriyate tadā cittam vikṣipet | yadā tu tatrālabane 'na-  
 bhisamkāravāhi yāvadiccham cittam pravṛttam bhavati |  
 ta\*dā śamatho niṣpanno veditavyaḥ | etac ca sarvaśamathā- 3  
 nām sāmānyalakṣaṇam | cittai<sup>2)</sup>kāgratāmātrasvabhāvatvāt  
 śamathasya | ālambanam tu tasyāniyatam\* eva | ayam ca 4  
 śamathamārgo bhagavatā āryaprajñāpāramitādau<sup>3)</sup> nir-  
 diṣṭaḥ |

§ 14. *Six defects and eight counteragents*

yad āha | “ tatra cittam sthāpayati | samsthāpayati | ava-  
 sthāpayati | upasthāpay\*ati || damayati | śamayati | vyupa- 5  
 śamayati | ekotīkaroti | samādadhāti ” i[ti nava]-<sup>(a)</sup>[Tib. 32 a]  
 padaiḥ | tatra sthāpayati, ālambanena badhnāti | samsthāpa- 6  
 \*yati, tatraivālabane prabandhena pravartayati | avasthā- 6  
 payati, vikṣepam avagamya tat pariharati<sup>4)</sup> | upasthāpayati,  
 vikṣepam parihṛtya upary upari punas<sup>5)</sup> tatraivālabane  
 sthāpa\*yati | damayati, ratim utpādayati | śamayati ara- 14 b, 1  
 tiṃ vyupaśamayati vikṣepadoṣadarśanā[t] | vyupaśama-  
 yati, styānamiddhādin vyu<sup>6)</sup>tthitān vyupaśamayati | eko-  
 tīkaro\*ti, ālabane 'nabhisamkāravāhitāyām yatnam 2

(a) Bobhū, p. 109, l. 17. Cf. MSA, XIV, śl. 14.

1) T. gal te, yadi.

2) Ms. citte.

3) Ms. tāyāyādau.

4) Ms. pari . . . punas praharati.

5) Ms. doubtful.

6) Ms. °dinavyut°.

karoti | samādadhāti, samaprāptaṃ cittam upekṣate saman-  
 vāharatīty arthaḥ | eṣa caiṣām padānām arthaḥ pūrvācār-  
 14 b, 3 y[air] \* maitreya<sup>1)</sup> (a) ca vyākhyātaḥ | samkṣepena sarva-  
 syaiva samādheḥ<sup>2)</sup> ṣaḍ doṣā bhavanti | kausīdyam ālamba-  
 4 nasampramoṣo layauddhatyam anābhoga<sup>3)</sup>ābhoga\*teti<sup>4)</sup> (b)  
 tesām pratipakṣeṇāṣṭau prahāṇasamskārā bhāvanīyāḥ | tad  
 yathā śraddhā chando vyāyāmaḥ praśrabdhiḥ smṛtiḥ sam-  
 5 prajanyam cetanā upekṣā<sup>5)</sup> ceti | tatrādyās \* catvāraḥ kau-  
 sīdyasya pratipakṣāḥ | tathā hi samādher guṇeṣv abhisam-  
 pratyayalakṣaṇayā śraddhayā<sup>6)</sup> 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 pratipakṣāḥ | samprajanyam layauddhatyayoḥ pra-  
 tipakṣāḥ | 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 tadānim upekṣā bhāvanīyā | ebhir aṣṭabhiḥ  
 prahāṇasamskāraiḥ samanvāgataḥ samādhiḥ paramakarma-  
 4 ṇyo bhavati | ṛddhyādīn guṇān niṣpāda\*yati | ata evoktam  
 sūtre | “ prahāṇasamanvāgataḥ ṛddhipādam<sup>7)</sup> 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 uttarottarakarmanyatāsamprayogād  
 āla\*mbanādiguṇaviśeṣayogāc ca dhyānārūpya[samāpatti]<sup>1)</sup>. 15 a, 5  
 vimokṣādivyapadeśam labhate | tathā hi yadopekṣāveda-  
 nāsamprayuktā savitarkasavicārā sā bhavati | tadā\*nāgam- 15 b, 1  
 yam ucyate | yadā ca kāmātrṣṇayā<sup>2)</sup> viviktā bhavati<sup>3)</sup>  
 prītisukhādhyātmasamprasādaiḥ<sup>4)</sup> samprayuktā bhavati |  
 tadā prathamam dhyānam ucyate | ata eva prathamam  
 dhyānam vitarkamātrara\*hitam dhyānāntaram ucyate | 2  
 yadā vitarkavicārarahitā prathamadhyānabhūmitṣṇayā  
 viviktā ca bhavati | prītisukhādhyātmasamprasādaiḥ sam-  
 prayuktā bhavati | tadā dvitīyam dhyān\*am ucyate | 3  
 yadā tu dvitīyadhyānabhūmitṣṇayā viviktā bhavati |  
 sukhopekṣāsmṛtisamprajanyasamprayuktā bhavati | tadā  
 tṛtīyam dhyānam ucyate | yadā tṛtīyadhyānabhūmitṣ-  
 ṇayā<sup>5)</sup> viviktā bhavati, aduḥkhāsukhā \* upekṣāsmṛtyabhi- 4  
 samprayuktā bhavati, tadā caturtham dhyānam ucyate |  
 evam arūpyasamāpatti<sup>6)</sup>vimokṣābhībhvā<sup>7)</sup>yatanādiṣv ālam-  
 banākārādibhedena yoḥyam | \* tad evam ālambane [Tib. 5  
 33 a] cittam sthīrikṛtya prajñayā vivecayet | yato jñānālo-  
 kotpādāt samṃmohabījasyātyantaprahāṇam bhavati | anya-  
 thā hi tīrthikānām iva samādhi<sup>8)</sup>mā\*treṇa kleśaprahāṇam 16 a, 1  
 na syāt | yathoktam sūtre,

1) Ms. deest; T.: sñoms par ajug pa.

2) T. adds sdiḡ pa c'os rnam = pāpadharmaiḥ.

3) T. adds: rtog pa dañ dpyod pa.

4) T. adhyātmasamprasādaiḥ 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 ātmasamjñā ||  
punaḥ prakupyati<sup>1)</sup> kilesu tasyā |  
16 a, 2 yathodrakasyeha<sup>2)</sup> samā\*dhibhāvanā ” | iti |

§ 16. *Method of meditation according to Laṅkāvatāra;  
vicāra on the dharmas (no object, no subject) etc.:*

tatrāyam āryalaṅkāvatāre saṃkṣepāt prajñābhāvanā-  
kramo nirdiṣṭaḥ |

“ cittamātram samāruhya bāhyam artham na kalpayet |  
3 tathatālambane \*<sup>3)</sup> sthitvā cittamātram atikramet ||  
citta[mātram] atikramya nirābhāsam atikramet |  
nirābhāse sthito yogī mahāyānaṃ sa paśyati ||  
4 anābhogagatiḥ śāntā praṇi\*dhānair viśodhitā |  
jñānaṃ nirātmakam śreṣṭham nirābhāsenā paśyati ” | iti<sup>(a)</sup> |  
tatrāyam arthaḥ<sup>4)</sup> |  
prathamam<sup>5)</sup> yogī ye rūpiṇo dharmā bāhyārthatayā pa-  
5 raiḥ parikalpi\*tās teṣu tāvad vicārayet | kim ete vijñānād  
anye āhosvid vijñānam evaitat tathā pratibhāsate  
yathā svapnāvasthāyām iti | tatra vijñānād bahiḥ para-  
16 b, 1 māṇuśo \* vicārayet | paramāṇuś ca bhāgaśaḥ pratyavek-  
śamāno yogī tāt arthān na samanupaśyati | tasyāsamanu-  
paśyata evam bhavati | cittamātram evaitat sarvaṃ na  
2 punar bāhyo rtho vi\*dyate | tad evam |

(a) Laṅkā, 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 tyajet ity arthaḥ | teṣām upa[labdhi]-  
lakṣaṇaprāptānām vicāra\*yed anupalabdheḥ | [Tib. 33 b] 16 b, 3  
evam rūpiṇo\*dharmān vibhāvyrūpiṇo vibhāvayet | tatra  
yac cittamātram tad apy asati grāhye grāhako na yukto  
grāhakasya grāhyāpekṣatvāt<sup>1)</sup> | tato cittaṃ grāhyagrāha-  
kaviviktam advayam eva cittaṃ iti vicārayet, advaya-  
lakṣaṇe tathatāla\*mbane sthitvā tad api cittamātram 4  
atikramet | grāhakam ākāram atikramet | dvayanirā-  
bhāsa eva<sup>2)</sup>dvayajñāne tiṣṭhed ity arthaḥ | evam cit-  
tamātram atikramya tad api dvay\*anirābhāsam yaj<sup>3)</sup> 5  
jñānaṃ tad atikramet | svataḥ parato bhāvānām jan-  
mānupapatteḥ | grāhyagrāhakayoś cālikatve tadavyatire-  
kāt tasyāpi satyatvam ayuktam iti vicārayet \* | tatrāpy ad- 17 a, 1  
vayajñāne vastutvābhiniveśam tyajet, advayajñānanirā-  
bhāsa eva jñāne tiṣṭhed ity arthaḥ | evam sati sarvadar-  
mani<sup>4)</sup>hsvabhāvatāpratipattau sthito<sup>5)</sup> bhavati | tatra  
sthitasya para\*matattvapraveśāt, nirvikalpasamādhiprave- 2  
śaḥ | tathā cādvayajñānanirābhāse jñāne yadā sthito yogī  
tadā paramatattve sthitatvāt<sup>6)</sup>, mahāyānaṃ sa paśyati |

§ 17. *Meditation on the absolute:*

etad eva tan \* mahāyānaṃ ucyate yat paramatattvadarśa- 3  
nam | etad eva tat paramatattvadarśanaṃ yat sarvadar-

1) So from T.; ms. tatra yadi cittamātram tad asati grāhyagrāhakavivik-  
tam; de la sems tsam gañ yin pa de yañ gzuñ pa med na 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. dharmāniḥsva°.

5) Ms. prativiviṣṭhito.

6) T. reads: darśanamārge sthitatvāt.

mān prajñācakṣuṣā nirūpayataḥ samyagjñānāvaloke saty  
 17 a, 4 adarśanam | tathā cōkt\*am sūtre | “katamaṃ paramārtha-  
 darśanam | sarvadharmāṇām adarśanam ” iti | atredṣam  
 evādarśanam abhipretam | na tu nimilitākṣajātyandhānām<sup>1)</sup>  
 5 iva pratyayavaika\*lyād amanasikārato vā yad adarśanam ||  
 tato<sup>2)</sup> [Tib. 34, a] bhāvābhīniveśā<sup>3)</sup>diviparyāsavāsanāyā  
 aprahīnatvāt<sup>4)</sup> | asaṃjñīsamāpattyādivyutthitasyeva pu-  
 17 b, 1 ter amukta eva yogī bhavet | bhāvābhīniveśamūlo rā\*-  
 gādir āryasatyadvaya<sup>6)</sup>nirdeśādu varṇitaḥ | yat punar  
 2 uktam avikalpaprav\*esādhāraṇyām “ amanasikārato<sup>7)</sup> rū-  
 pādīnimittam varjayati ” iti<sup>(a)</sup> | tatrāpi prajñayā nirūpayato  
 yo ’nu[p]alambhaḥ sa tatrāmanasikāro ’bhipreto na ma-  
 3 nasikār\*ābhāvamātram | na hy asaṃjñīsamāpattyādir iva  
 anādikālīko rūpādyabhīniveśo manasikāravarjanamā-  
 4 trāt prahīyate | saṃśayāprahāṇe tu na<sup>8)</sup> pūrvopalabdheṣu  
 ca rūpādiṣv abhīniveśamanasikāravarjanam śakyam  
 kartum agnyaparivarjane dāhāparivarjanavat | tathāmī  
 5 rūpādīmithyā<sup>9)</sup>\*vikalpāḥ kaṅṭakādivad utkilya na hastena  
 cetaso ’panetavyāḥ | kiṃ tarhi, saṃśayabījāpagamāt | tac  
 ca saṃśayabījam yoginaḥ samādhyāloke sati prajñācak-  
 18 a, 1 ṣu\*ṣā nirūpayatas teṣām rūpādīnām pūrvopalabdhanām

(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. dvāyacaratānir°.
- 7) T. yid la mi byed pas but mss. avikalpato.
- 8) Ms. na cāpi prajñānivāsasāyabījaprahānam syāt pūrva etc.
- 9) Ms. deest.

upalabdhilakṣaṇaprapṭānām anupalambhād, rajjau sarpa-  
 jñānavad apagacchati nānyathā | tathā<sup>1)</sup> saṃśaya[bījā]-  
 pagamād rūpādīnimi\*ttamanasikārah śakyate varjayitum<sup>18 a, 2</sup>  
 nānyathā | anyathā hy asati samādhyāloke prajñācakṣu-  
 ṣāpy anavaloke yathā andhakū<sup>2)</sup>pāvasthitapurūṣasyāva-  
 carakaga\*taghaṭādiṣv iva yogino rūpādiṣv astitvasa<sup>3)</sup>m<sup>3</sup>  
 śayo naiva nivarteta | tadanivṛtṭyā [Tib. 34, b] cāprahīna-  
 timiradoṣasyeva yo ’yukto ’likarūpādyabhīniveśaḥ pravart-  
 teta \* na kenāpi nivartyeta<sup>4)</sup> | tasmāt samādhihastena ma-  
 4 naḥ saṃdhāya sūkṣmataraprajñāśastreṇa tatra cetasi rūpā-  
 dīmithyāvīkalpabījam<sup>5)</sup> uddharet | evaṃ saty utkhātāmūlā\*<sup>5</sup>  
 iva taravo bhūmer nirmūlatayā mithyā<sup>6)</sup>vikalpāḥ punaś  
 cetasi na virohanti | ata evāvaraṇaprahāṇāya śamathavipaś-  
 yanāyuganaddhavāhī mārgo bhagavatā nirdiṣṭaḥ\* | tayor<sup>18 b, 1</sup>  
 avikalpasamyagjñāne hetutvāt | tathā cōktam |

“ śīlam pratiṣṭhāya samādhilābhāḥ |  
 samādhilābhāc ca hi prajñābhāvanā |  
 prajñayā jñānam bhavati<sup>7)</sup> viśuddham |  
 viśuddhajñānasya hi śī\*lasampat ” | iti |<sup>2</sup>

tathā hi yadā śamathenālambane cittam sthīrikṛtam<sup>8)</sup>  
 bhavati | tadā prajñayā vicārayataḥ<sup>9)</sup> samyagjñānāloka  
 utpadya | tetathān<sup>10)</sup>dhakāram ivālo\*ke prakāśayati<sup>11)</sup> āva-<sup>3</sup>

- 1) T. dei ts’e, tadā.
- 2) Ms. yato andhayakārāvasthita.
- 3) Ms. °tvam saṃśayo.
- 4) Ms. nirvayeta.
- 5) T. adds zug rñu: śalyam
- 6) Ms. dravika° T. log par rnam rtog; or: durvikaipa.
- 7) Ms. bhavati.
- 8) Ms. kṛtamkṛ.
- 9) Ms. °rayetaḥ.
- 10) T. dei ts’e = tadā.
- 11) Ms. padāṣaseti.



raṇam apahīyate | ata evānayoś cakṣurālokayor iva samyagjñānotpādam praty anyonyānugūṇyenāvasthitatvān  
 18 b, 4 nālokāndhakāravat par\*asparāvirodhaḥ | 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 <sup>1)</sup> 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-  
 vābhāvādi<sup>2)</sup>vikalpalakṣaṇasya prapañcasyopaśamāt [Tib.  
 35, a] | tathā hi [yadā] <sup>3)</sup> prajñayā nirūpayan na kiṃcid  
 2 bhāvasvabhāvam upalabha\*te yogī, tadāsyā naiva bhā-  
 vavikalpo bhavati | abhāvavikalpo 'pi tasya nāsty eva |  
 yadi bhāvaḥ kadācid drṣṭo bhavati, evam sati tanni-  
 3 ṣedhenābhāvavikalpaḥ pravartate \* | yadā tu kālatraye  
 'pi bhāvo yoginā prajñācakṣuṣā nirūpayatā nopalabdhaḥ |  
 tadā kathaṃ tasya pratiṣedhenābhāvavikalpaṃ kurvīta |  
 4 evam anye 'pi vikalpās tadā tasya\* na samutpadyanta  
 eva bhāvābhāvavikalpābhyām sarvavikalpasya vyāptat-  
 vāt | vyāpakābhāve ca vyāpyasyāsambhavāt | ayam asau  
 paramanirvikalpo yogaḥ |

§ 18. *Definite elimination of kleśa – and jñeyā-  
 āvaraṇa:*

5 atra <sup>4)</sup> sthitasya \* yoginaḥ sarvavikalpānām astaṅgamāt  
 samyak kleśāvaraṇaṃ jñeyāvaraṇaṃ ca prahīyate | tathā

1) Ms. viruddhas tu syāt.

2) Ms. °bhāvāvika°.

3) T. ḍi ltar gañ gi ts'e.

4) Ms. anusthitasya T. de la gnas pai.

hi kleśāvaraṇasyānutpannāniruddhabhā<sup>1)</sup>veṣu bhāvādivi-  
 paryāso mūlaṃ kāraṇam \* āryasatyadvayanirdeśādaḥ var- 19 b, 1  
 ṇitaṃ bhagavatā | anena ca yogābhyāsenā sarvabhāvā-  
 divikalpānām prahāṇāt sakalabhāvādiviparyāsasyāvidy-  
 āsvabhāvāsya kleśāvaraṇa\*mūlasya prahāṇam | tato mū- 2  
 locchedāt kleśāvaraṇaṃ samyak prahīyate | tathā coktaṃ  
 satyadvayanirdeśe | “ kathaṃ, mañjuśrīḥ, kleśā vinayaṃ  
 gacchanti | kathaṃ kleśāḥ \* pariñātā bhavanti | mañjuśrīr 3  
 āha | paramārthato 'tyantājātānutpannābhāve<sup>2)</sup>ṣu sarva-  
 dharmeṣu samvṛtyāsadviparyāsaḥ | tasmād asad<sup>3)</sup>vipar-  
 yāsāt samkalpavikalpaḥ\* | tasmāt samkalpavikalpād [Tib. 4  
 35 b] ayoniśomanasikāraḥ | tasmād ayoniśomanasikārād  
 ātmasamāropaḥ | tasmād ātmasamāropād drṣṭiparyutthā-  
 nam \* | tasmād drṣṭiparyutthā[nāt] kleśāḥ pravartante | 5  
 yaḥ punar, devaputra, paramārthato 'tyantājātānutpan-  
 nābhāvān<sup>4)</sup> sarvadharmān prajānāti, sa paramārthato  
 'viparyastaḥ | yaś ca \* paramārthato 'viparyastaḥ so 'vi- 20 a, 1  
 kalpaḥ | yaś cāvikalpaḥ sa yoniśaḥ prayuktaḥ | <sup>5)</sup> yaś ca  
 yoniśaḥ prayuktas tasyātmasamāropo na bhavati | ya-  
 syātmasamāropo na bhavati \* tasya drṣṭiparyutthānam [na] 2  
 bhavati | yāvat paramārthato nirvānadrṣṭisarvadrṣṭiparyut-  
 thānam api na bhavati | tasyaivam anutpādavihāriṇaḥ  
 kleśā atyantam vinītā draṣṭavyāḥ | ayam ucya\*te kleśavi- 3  
 nayāḥ | yadā, devaputra, kleśān nirābhāsenā jñānena pa-  
 ramārthato 'tyantaśūnyān atyantābhāvān atyantānit- 4  
 yān<sup>6)</sup> prajānāti tadā, devaputra, kleśā\*ḥ pariñātā bha-  
 vanti | tatra yathāpi nāma, devaputra, ya āśīviṣasya go-

1) Ms. °ddhābhā.

2) Ms. °nabhā°; T. dños po med.

3) From T.

4) Ms. °vāt.

5) T adds: mi rtog which seems useless.

6) Ms. °tyāni: T. better; śin tu mts'an ma med pa, atyantānimittān.

20 a, 5 tram prajānāti<sup>1)</sup> | sa tasyāśīviṣasya viṣam śamayati |  
 evam eva, devaputra, yaḥ kleśānām gotra\*ṃ prajānāti  
 tasya klesāḥ prasāmyanti | devaputra āha | kataman, ma-  
 ñjuśriḥ, kleśānām gotram | āha | yāvad eṣā<sup>2)</sup> paramār-  
 thato 'tyantā[jātā]<sup>3)</sup>nutpannābhāveṣu sarvadharmeṣu kal-  
 6 panā \* idaṃ kleśānām gotram ” iti vistarāḥ | bhāvādivipa-  
 ryāsenā ca sakalaviparyāsasya vyāptatvāt | tatprahāṇe sa-  
 20 b, 1 kalaviparyāsaprahāṇāt | jñeyāvaraṇam apy anena samyak\*  
 prahīyate, viparyāsalaḥṣaṇatvād āvaraṇasya [Tib. 36 a] |  
 jñeyāvāraṇe ca prahīṇe<sup>4)</sup> pratibandhābhāvād ravikiranavad  
 2 apagatameghādyāvaraṇe nabhasi sarvatrāv\*yāhato yogi-  
 pratyakṣo jñānālokaḥ pravartate | tathā hi vastusvabhāva-  
 prakāśarūpaṃ vijñānam | tac ca saṃnihitam api vastu prati-  
 3 bandhasadbhāvān \* na prakāśayati | pratibandhābhāve tu  
 saty, acintyaśaktiviśeṣalābhāt kimiti sakalam eva vastu  
 yathāvan na prakāśayet | ataḥ saṃvṛtiparamārtharūpeṇa  
 4 sakalasya vastuno ya\*thāvat pariññānāt sarvajñatvam avā-  
 pyate | ato'yam evāvaraṇaprahāṇe sarvajñatvādhigame  
 ca paramo mārghaḥ<sup>5)</sup> | yas tu śrāvakādīnām mārghas tena  
 5 viparyāsāprahāṇān na samyag \* āvaraṇadvayaṃ prahīyate ||  
 || tathā cuktam āryalaṅkāvatāre | “ anye tu kāraṇādīnān  
 6 sarvadharmān dṛṣṭvā nirvāṇe'pi nirvāṇam itibuddha\*yo  
 bhavanti | \* dharmanairātmyādarśanāt nāsti, mahāmate,  
 mokṣa eṣām | mahāmate, śrāvakayānikābhisamayagotrasyā-  
 21 a, 1 niryāṇe niryāṇabuddhiḥ | atra, \* mahā<sup>6)</sup>mate, kudṛṣṭivyāvar-  
 tanārtham yogaḥ karaṇīyaḥ ” iti<sup>(a)</sup> | ata eva cānyena [mārge-

(a) Laṅkā, p. 63, l. 16.

1) Ms. pathanti T. rab tu ṣes pa.

2) Ms. eva T. gañ yin pa de.

3) From T.: ma skyes pa.

4) Ms. 'oḥiṇa.

5) Ms. paramaḥ pakṣaḥ.

6) Ms. twice.

na]<sup>1)</sup> mokṣābhāvād, ekam eva yānam<sup>2)</sup> uktam bhagavatā |  
 kevalam avatāraṇābhisamdhinā śrāvakādīmā\*rgo deśitaḥ |<sup>3)</sup> 21 a, 2  
 tathā hi skandhamātram evaitat<sup>4)</sup> | na tv ātmāstīti bhāva-  
 yan śrāvakaḥ pudgalanairātmyam<sup>5)</sup> avatarati | vijñaptimā-  
 3 tram traidhātukam iti bhāvayan vijñānavādibā\*hyārtha-  
 nairātmyam avatarati | anena tv asyādvayajñānasya nai-  
 rāt<sup>6)</sup>myapraveśāt paramata<sup>7)</sup>itvapraviṣṭo [Tib. 36 b] bha-  
 vati | na tu vijñaptimātratāpraveśa eva tattvapraveśaḥ |\*  
 4 yathoktam prāk | uktam cāryalokottaraparivarte<sup>8)</sup> “ punar  
 aparam, bho jinaputra, cittamātram traidhātukam avata-  
 rati tac ca cittam anantamadyatayāvatarati ”<sup>(a)</sup> iti | anta\*  
 5 yor utpādabhaṅgalakṣaṇayoḥ sthītilakṣaṇasya ca madhya-  
 syābhāvād anantamadyam cittam | tasmānn advayajñāna-  
 praveśa eva tattvapraveśaḥ | sā ceyam yoginām avasthā  
 kuto \* viśodhiteti | āha | “ prañidhānair viśodhitā ” iti | ma-  
 6 hākaruṇayā yat sarvasattvārthakaraṇāya bodhisattvena  
 prañihitam tataḥ prañidhānabalād uttarottaradānādiku-  
 21 b, 1 śalā\*bhyāsāt sā tathā viśuddhā jātā yena sarvadharmā-  
 niḥsvabhāvatājñāne 'pi sakalasattvāpekṣā na vyāvartate  
 yāvat “ saṃsāra [evā]nanuliptāḥ saṃsāradoṣair avatiṣṭhan-  
 ta ” iti | \* katham 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. 'omam.

6) Ms. nirāt<sup>o</sup>.

7) T. bdag med pa ñid mc'og la žugs pa yin no | paramanairātmyapra-  
 viṣṭo bhavati.

8) Ms. 'oto.

“jñānaṃ nirātmakam sreṣṭham nirābhāsenā paśyati” iti |  
 yasmād yad advayalakṣaṇam [jñānam] advayavādinām <sup>1)</sup>  
 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 samvṛti:*

4 \* atredānīm ko 'sau yogī vidyate yaḥ paśyatīti cet | <sup>2)</sup> na  
 paramārthataḥ kaścīd ātmādiḥ svatanthro 'sti yogī nāpi ka-  
 ścit paśyati | kiṃtu samvṛtyā yathā rūpādiviśayākārajñā-  
 5 notpā\*damātreṇa vijñānam [Tib. 37 a] eva loke tathā  
 tathā vyavahriyate devadatto yajñadattam jñānena pa-  
 śyatīti <sup>3)</sup> na tu kaścīd ātmādir asti | tathā'trāpi jñānam  
 6 evādvayajñānanirābhāsam utpadyamānam tathā vyapa\*-  
 diśyate nirābhāsenā jñānena paśyatīti | na hi sarvadharmā-  
 nām paramārthato niḥsvabhāvatve 'pi samvṛtyā yogi-  
 jñānam anyad vā pṛthagjñānam neṣṭam | tathā coktam  
 22 a, 1 āryasatyā\*dvayanirdeṣe | “paramārthato 'tyantābhāvaś ca  
 samvṛtyā ca mārgam bhāvayati” iti | anyathā śrāvaka-  
 pratyekabuddhabodhisattvādi<sup>4)</sup>pṛthagjanavyavasthā katham  
 2 bhavet | kiṃtu yasya samvṛtyāpi kāraṇam \* nāsti sa sam-  
 vṛtyāpi notpadyate | yathā śaśaviśānādi | yasya tu <sup>5)</sup> vi-  
 dyate sa paramārthato 'liko 'pi samutpadyata eva | ya-  
 thā māyāpratibimbādi <sup>6)</sup> | na ca māyādeḥ samvṛtyā pra-

1) T. nañ gi šes bya smra ba rnam s kyī, antarjñeyavādinām.

2) T. inserts bden te = satyam.

3) But T. lha sbyin nam mc'od sbyin gyi šes pa mt'ou'no.

4) T. adds: sañs rgyas.

5) T. adds: rgyu = kāraṇam.

6) T. adds: brag ca, pratiśrut.

tī\*tyasamutpāde paramārthato vastutvaprasaṅgaḥ | tasya <sup>22 a, 3</sup>  
 vicārākṣamatvāt | ataḥ sarvam eva māyopamaṃ jagat |  
 tatra yathā kleśakarmamāyāvaśāt sattvānām janmamāyā\* <sup>4</sup>  
 pravartate, tathā yoginām api puṇyajñānasambhāramāyā-  
 vaśāt yogijñānamāyā pravartata eva || tathā coktam  
 āryaprajñāpāramitāyām | “kaścīd śrāva\*kanirmitaḥ | kaścīd <sup>5</sup>  
 pratyekabuddhanirmitaḥ | kaścīd bodhisattvanirmitaḥ |  
 kaścīd tathāgatanirmitaḥ | kaścīd kleśanirmitaḥ | kaścīd  
 karmanirmitaḥ | anena, subhūte, \* paryāyeṇa sarvadhārmā <sup>6</sup>  
 nirmittotpannaḥ” <sup>(a)</sup> | iti | ayaṃ [Tib. 37 b] tu viśeṣo yoginām  
 pṛthagjanebhyaḥ | te hi māyākāravat tām māyām yathā-  
 vat pariññānāt satyato nābhiniḥ\*śante | tena te yogina <sup>22 b, 1</sup>  
 ucyante | ye tām <sup>1)</sup> bālapṛthagjanavat kautūhalaṃ satyat-  
 venābhiniḥśās te viparītābhiniveśād bālā ucyanta iti sar-  
 vam aviruddham | tathā coktam āryadharmasamgītā <sup>2)</sup> \* | <sup>2</sup>  
 “māyākāro yathā kaścin nirmitam mokṣam udyataḥ |  
 na cāsya nirmite saṅgo jñātapūrvō yato 'sya saḥ ||  
 tribhavam nirmitaprakhyam jñātvā sambodhipāragaḥ <sup>3)</sup> |  
 samnahyate <sup>4)</sup> jagad\*dhetor jñātapūrvam <sup>5)</sup> jagat tathā” || <sup>3</sup>  
 iti <sup>(b)</sup> |

§ 20. *Progress in meditation, yuganaddhamārga:*

evam anena krameṇa tattvaṃ bhāvayet | tatra ca layau-  
 ddhatyādīn vyutthitān pūrvavat praśamayet | yadā tu

(a) Nor identified.

(b) Ta. n. 761, p. 627, c. Tib., mDo, dsa, p. 67, b, ll. 3-5.

1) Ms. ye tu tā bālapṛthagjanavat.

2) Ms. twice.

3) Ms. pārayaḥ T. rdsogs pai byañ c'ub mk'as pas šes.

4) Ms. sannaddhanti.

5) Ms. °pūrve T. sñā nas šes.

22 b, 4 sarvadharmāni\*ḥsvabhāvatālabhane ca layauddhatyādi-  
 rahitam anabhisamskāreṇa pravṛttam jñānam bhavati, tadā  
 śamathavipaśyanāyuganaddhavāhī mārgo niṣpanno bha-  
 5 vati | tadā <sup>1)</sup> yā\*vat śaknoti tāvad adhimukti<sup>2)</sup>balenādhi-  
 mukticyābhūmau sthito bhāvayet | tato yatheccham  
 paryānkam ābhujya <sup>3)</sup> vyutthāya punar evam cintayet |  
 6 yadi nāmāmī dharmāḥ paramārthata eva niḥsvabhāvā \*  
 apy ete samvṛtyā sthitā eva | tathā cōktām āryaratname-  
 ghe | “katham bodhisattvo nairātmyakuśalo <sup>4)</sup> bhavati |  
 iha, kulaputra, bodhisattvaḥ samyakprajñayā rūpaṃ pra-  
 23 a, 1 tyavekṣate vedanām \* samjñām samskārān vijñānam pra-  
 tyavekṣate | sa rūpaṃ pratyavekṣamāṇo rūpasyotpādam  
 nopalabhate | nirodham nopalabhate | samudayaṃ nopa<sup>5)</sup>-  
 2 labhate | evam vedanāyāḥ, samjñāyāḥ <sup>6)</sup> \*, samskārāṇām, vi-  
 jñānasyotpādam [Tib. 38 a] nopalabhate | nirodham nopala-  
 bhate <sup>7)</sup> | samudayaṃ nopalabhate | ayam ca<sup>8)</sup> paramārthato  
 3 ’nutpādavihāriṇyā<sup>9)</sup> prajñayā na punar vyāvahāri\*keṇa sva-  
 bhāvena <sup>(a)</sup> ” iti vistaraḥ | ete ca bālabuddhaya evam niḥ-  
 svabhāveṣu bhāveṣu viparītābhiniveśāt saṃsāre paribhra-  
 4 manto vividhāni duḥkhāni pratyānubhavanti \* | mahākaru-  
 ṇām evāmukhikṛtya evam anuvicintayet | tathāham kari-  
 ṣyāmi yathā sarvajñatvaṃ prāpya eṣām<sup>10)</sup> 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 samudayo 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\*dhisattvebhyah 23 a, 5  
 pūjāstotropahāraṃ kṛtvā, āryabhadracaryāpraṇidhānam  
 abhinirharet | tataḥ śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha eva sakaladānādi-  
 puṇya [jñāna] saṃbhāropārjane pravartate | tathā co\*ktam 6  
 āryadharmasamgītau | “yathābhūtadarśino <sup>1)</sup> bodhisattva-  
 sya sattveṣu mahākaruṇā pravartate [evam cāsya bhavati]<sup>2)</sup> |  
 idaṃ mayā samādhimukhaṃ sarvadharmayathābhūtadar-  
 śanaṃ ca sarvasattvānām niṣpādayi\*tavyam | sa tayā ma- 23 b, 1  
 hākaruṇayā saṃcodyamāno ’dhiśīlam adhicittam adhipra-  
 jñam ca śikṣātrayaṃ <sup>3)</sup> paripūryānuttarām samyaksaṃ-  
 bodhim abhisambudhyata’ iti <sup>(a)</sup> | ayam eva prajñopāyayu\* 2  
 ganaddhavāhī bodhisattvānām mārgo yat paramārthadar-  
 śaṇe ’pi samvṛtiṃ nocchedayanti | samvṛtiṃ cānuccheda-  
 yanto mahākaruṇāpūrvāṅgamā aviparyastā eva sattvārtha-  
 kriyāsu pravartante <sup>4)</sup> | tatra \* yadi nāma lokottaraprajñā- 3  
 vasthāyām upāyasevanā na saṃbhavati | upāyasevanākāle  
 tu bodhisattvasya māyākāravat aviparyastatvāl lokot-  
 tarajñānāt pra<sup>5)</sup>\*yogaprṣṭhabhāvanī yathāvad vastupa- 4  
 ramārthatattvābhiniveśanī prajñā saṃbhavaty eveti |  
 bhavaty eva prajñopāyayuganaddhavāhī mārgaḥ |  
 āryākṣayamatirdeśe ca dhyānākṣayatayā <sup>6)</sup> \* prajño- 5  
 pāyayuganaddhavāhī mārgo ’nugantavyaḥ <sup>4)</sup> | uktam  
 āryaratnameghe “katham bodhisattvo mahāyānakuśalo  
 bhavati | iha bodhisattvaḥ sarvasū śikṣāsu śikṣate śikṣā\*- 6  
 mārgam <sup>7)</sup> 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 śikṣyate tam api [Tib. 38 b] nopalabhate<sup>1)</sup> | na ca taddhetukaṃ tannidānaṃ tatpratyayam uchedadr̥ṣṭau patati ” iti <sup>(a)</sup> | #

### § 21. *Pratipatti:*

24 a, 1 āryadharmasam\*gītau cōktam | “ katamā bodhisattvānām pratipattiḥ | yat kiṃcit<sup>2)</sup> bodhisattvānām kāyakarma, yat kiṃcid vākkarma, yat kiṃcin manaḥkarma [tat] sarvasattvāpekṣakaṃ pravartate mahākaruṇāpūrvaṃ\*gamatvāt, mahākaruṇādhipatyam sarvasattvahitasukhādhyāśaya<sup>3)</sup>samutthitam ” <sup>(b)</sup> iti | ayam evam<sup>4)</sup> hitāśayaḥ samjñībhavati | sā mayā pratipattiḥ pratipattavyā sarvasattvānām hitā\*vahā sukhāvahā | tasya skandheṣu māyāvat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca skandhāparityāgam sprhatīti | dhātuṣv<sup>5)</sup> āśīviṣavat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca dhātupari\*tyāgam sprhatīti | āyataneṣu śūnyagrāmavat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na cāyatanāparityāgam sprhatīti | rūpasya phenapiṇḍavat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca \*tathāgatarūpakāyaviṭhapanā[m] jahāti | vedanāyā budbudavat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca tathāgata-dhyānasamādhisamāpattisukhaniṣpādanaprayogam nārabhate | sa\*mjñāyām marīcivat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca tathāgatajñānaniṣpādanasamjñāyām apratipattiḥ | saṃskārāṇām kadalīvat 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.

buddhadharmasam\*sārā<sup>1)</sup>ṇām apratipattiḥ | vijñānasya 24 b, 1 māyāvat pratyavekṣaṇā pratipattir na ca jñānapūrvamgamakāyavānmanaska[rma]niṣpādanā 'pratipattir ” iti vistaraḥ | evam [Tib. 39 a] aparyanteṣ\*u sūtrānteṣu prajñō- 2 pāyarūpā pratipattir anugantavyā<sup>2)</sup> |

### § 22. *The stages: (a) adhimukticaryā:*

evam anena krameṇa bodhisattvasya prajñām upāyam ca satataṃ satkr̥tya dirghakālābhyāsenā bhāvayato dvādaśāva\*sthāviṣeṣā bhavanti | tā evāvasthā uttarottaraguṇa- 3 pratiṣṭhārthena bhūmayo<sup>3)</sup> vyavasthāpyante | adhimukticaryābhūmer yāvad buddhabhūmir<sup>4)</sup> iti | tatra yāvat pudgaladhar\*manairātmyatattvam na sāksātkaroti | kevalam 4 dr̥ḍhatarādhimuktir mārādibhir apy abhedyo yadādhimuktibalena tattvam bhāvayati | tadā dr̥ḍhādhimuktito 'dhimu\*kti<sup>5)</sup>caryābhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyām api 5 bhūmau vartamāno bodhisattvaḥ pṛthagjano 'pi sarvabālavipattiḥ samatikrānto 'saṃkhyeyasamādhidhāraṇīvimokṣābhijñādiguṇānvita ārya\*ratnameghe paṭhyate | asyā eva ca 6 mṛdumadhyādhimātrādhimātratarāvasthācatuṣṭayena catyāri<sup>6)</sup> nirvedhabhāgīyāni vyavasthāpyante | tathā hi yadā sarvadarmanairā<sup>7)</sup>tmyam bhāva\*yata iyatspaṣṭo jñānā- 25 a, 1 loko [bhavati tadā uṣmagatanāmakaṃ nirvedhabhāgīyam bhavati | sa cātra mahāyāna ālokalabdhasamādhir ucyate |

1) T. *c'os mñon* par *adu bgyi ba*, abhisamskr.

2) Ms. *vyāḥ*; here in T. are inserted ll. 3-4-5 of fol. 23 b.

3) Ms. *twice*.

4) Ms. *buddhariti*.

5) Ms. *tito 'dhicāryā*.

6) Ms. *°sthāsvāsraca*°.

7) But T. *p'yi rol gyi don rnam* par *ajig pa na*, bhāyārthavidhvamsana.

[Tib. 39 b] yadā tu sa eva jñānāloko<sup>1)</sup> madhyamaspaṣṭo bhavati, tadā mūrddhanāmakanirvedhabhāgīyaṃ bhavati vṛddhālokaś ca samādhir ucyate | yadā tu spaṣṭataro bā-  
 25 a, 2 hyārthānbhāsajñānālo\*ko jāyate, tadā vijñaptimātrāvasthānāt kṣāntināmakaṃ nirvedhabhāgīyaṃ bhavati | eka-  
 3 deśapraviṣṭaś ca samādhir ucyate grāhyākārānupalambhapraveśāt | yadā tu grāh\*yagrāhakākārahitaṃ advayaṃ  
 jñānaṃ vibhāvayet, tadāgradharmākhyāṃ nirvedhabhāgīyaṃ bhavati | ānantaryaś ca sa samādhir ucyate | tada-  
 4 nantaram e[va] tattvapraveśāt | atra \* tāvad<sup>2)</sup> adhimukticyābhūmiḥ |

§ 23. *The ten bhūmis and the Buddhabhūmi:*

itarās tu bhūmayāḥ saṃkṣepata ekādaśāṅga<sup>3)</sup>paripūrito vyavasthāpyante | tatra prathamā bhūmiḥ prathamam pud-  
 5 galadharmanairātmya<sup>4)</sup>tattvādhiga\*māṅgaparipūrito vyavasthāpyate | tathā hi yadāgradharmānantaram prathamataram lokottaram sarvaprapañcarahitaṃ sarvadharmāniḥsvabhāvatāsākṣā<sup>5)</sup>tkāri sphuṭataram jñānam utpa-  
 6 dyate, tadā<sup>6)</sup> bo\*dhisattvaḥ samyaktvanyā<sup>7)</sup>māvakrāntito, darśanamārgotpādāt, prathamāṃ bhūmiṃ praviṣṭo bhavati | ata evāsyāṃ bhūmau prathamato 'nadhigatatattvādhigamād bodhisattvaḥ \* pramudito bhavati | tata eṣā  
 25 b, 1 bhūmiḥ pramuditety ucyate | atra ca dvādaśottaram darśanaheyaṃ kleśāsatam 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<sup>25 b, 2</sup>  
 ṣoḍaśa kleśāḥ prahīyante | asyāṃ ca bhūmau bodhisattva-  
 [sya] [dharmadhātusamudāgamatā]<sup>1)</sup>prabodhāt svārtha iva  
 [Tib. 40 a] parārthe pravartanāt, dānapāramitā 'tiriktatarā<sup>2)</sup>  
 bha\*vati | sa ca bodhisattvaḥ samadhigatatattvo 'pi vā<sup>3</sup>  
 yāvan na śaknoti sūkṣmāpattiskhaliteṣu samprajanyavihārī bhavitum<sup>3)</sup>, tāvat prathamā bhūmiḥ | yadā tu śaknoti ta\*dāsyāṅgasya paripūrito dvitīyā bhūmir vyavasthāpyate | ata evāsyāṃ bhūmau sūkṣmāpattiskhalita-  
 4 asamudācārāt, śīlapāramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati \* sarvaduḥ-  
 5 śīlyamalāpagamād iyaṃ bhūmir vimalety ucyate | sa sūkṣmāpattiskhaliteṣu samprajanyavihārī bhavati | yāvan na śaknoti sakalalau<sup>4)</sup>kikaṃ samādhiṃ samāp\*attum yathāś-  
 6 rutaṃ cārtham ādhartum<sup>5)</sup> tāvad dvitīyaiva bhūmiḥ | yadā śaknoti, tadā tasyāṅgasya paripūritas tṛtīyā<sup>6)</sup> bhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyāṃ ca bhūmau bodhisattvasya śrutadhār\*anyā<sup>7)</sup> sarvalauki<sup>8)</sup>kasamādhyabhinirhārārtham<sup>26 a, 1</sup>  
 sarvaduḥkhasahanāt, kṣāntipāramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati | teṣāṃ samādhināṃ lābhād iyaṃ bhūmir apramāṇam lokottaram jñānā\*vabhāsaṃ karotīti prabhākarīty ucyate |  
 2 sa pratilabdhalaukikasakalasaṃādhir api yāvan na śaknoti yathāpratilabdhair bodhipakṣair dharmair bahulaṃ vihartum sarvasamāpa\*ttinām ca cittam<sup>9)</sup> upekṣitum tāvat<sup>3</sup>

1) Ms. ottvaḥ metāprabodhāt. T. c'os kyi dbyiṅs su kun tu āgro ba ñid rtogs pas.

2) Ms. atirakta<sup>o</sup>.

3) Ms. prajanyaviharītacittam.

4) Ms. sampulla.

5) Ms. ādhastum T.

6) Ms. otiya.

7) Ms. dhāralyā.

8) Ms. lokaika.

9) Ms. ottitṛṣṭāyāśca T.: c'os dan sñoms par ājug pai sems btañ sñoms su byed mi nus.

tr̥ṭiyā bhūmiḥ || yadā tu śaknoti tadā tasyāṅgasya pari-  
 pūritaś caturthī bhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyām bhūmau  
 27 a, 4 bodhisat\*tvasyābhīkṣṇaṃ kāyavānmanojalpasamatikrama-  
 ṇāya bodhipakṣair dharmair viharāṇāt, vīryapāramitā 'ti-  
 riktatarā bhavati | iyam ca sakalakeśendhana[dāha]sa-  
 5 mar\*thasya bodhipakṣadharmārciṣa udgatatvād arcīṣmatīty  
 ucyate | so 'bhīkṣṇaṃ bodhipakṣadharmavihārī [Tib. 40 b]  
 bhavati | yāvan na śaknoti satyāni bhāvayan saṃsārā-  
 6 [na]bhimukhaṃ nīrvāṇābhī\*mukhaṃ ca ceto vyāvart-  
 tayitum upāyasamgr̥hītān bodhipakṣān dharmān bhāva-  
 yitum tāvat caturthī bhūmiḥ | yadā tu śaknoti tadāsyān-  
 26 b, 1 gasya paripūritaḥ pañcamī bhūmir vyavasthā\*pyate | ata  
 evāsyām<sup>1)</sup> iyam upāyasamgr̥hītābodhipakṣabhāvanā suṣṭhu  
 duḥkhena jīyate abhyasyatā iti sudurjayety ucyate | asyām  
 2 cāryasatyākārabhāvanābahulikārāt\*, dhyānapāramitā 'ti-  
 riktatarā bhavati | upāyasamgr̥hītābodhipakṣabahulavi-  
 hārī ca bhavati | yāvan na śaknoti saṃsāra<sup>2)</sup>pravṛttipra-  
 3 tyavekṣaṇān<sup>3)</sup> nīrvitsahayā ci\*ttasantatyā<sup>4)</sup> 'nimittavihā-  
 raṃ samāpattum<sup>5)</sup> tāvat pañcamī bhūmiḥ | yadā śaknoti  
 tadāsyāṅgasya paripūritaḥ ṣaṣṭhī bhūmir vyavasthāpyate |  
 4 asyām ca bodhisattvasya \* pratītyasamutpādabhāvanāvihā-  
 rāt prajñāpāramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati | ata eva prajñā-  
 pāramitāyā atiriktataratvāt, sarvabuddhadharmeṣv abhi-  
 5 mukho 'syām \* bhūmau<sup>6)</sup> vartata iti kṛtvā, abhimukhīty  
 ucyate | so 'nimittavihāralābhī bhavati | yāvan na śaknoti  
 nīśchidram animittavihāraṃ samāpattum<sup>7)</sup> tāvat ṣaṣṭhī

1) T. adds: yoṅs su rdsogs par byed pa.

2) Ms. saṃskāra T. ṅk'or lo.

3) Ms. satyavekṣaṇāt T. so sor rtog pas.

4) T. skyo ba dañ ldan pas sems kyi rgyud kyis; ms. nīrvitsahamaha-  
 yāsantatyā.

5) Ms. °vihāraṃ samāpattam.

6) Ms. °ṣv ābhimukho niṣā bhūmir.

7) Ms. °āpattam.

bhūmiḥ | yadā śa\*knoti tadāsyāṅgasya paripūritaḥ saptamī  
 bhūmir vyavasthāpyate | asyām api<sup>1)</sup> bhūmau bodhi- 26 b, 6  
 sattvaḥ sarvanimittam nīrnimittena pratividhyati<sup>2)</sup> nimit-  
 takṛtavayahāraṃ ca na viro\*dhayati | ato 'syām upāyapā- 27 a, 1  
 ramitā 'ti<sup>3)</sup>riktatarā bhavati | iyam ca bhūmir<sup>4)</sup> anābho-  
 gamārgopaśleṣāt suṣṭhu dūraṃgamāt, dūraṃgamā | [sa] ni-  
 śchidrānimittavi\*hārī bhavati | yāvan na śaknoty anābho- 2  
 gavāhinam animittavihāraṃ [Tib. 41 a] samāpattum<sup>5)</sup> tāvat  
 saptamī bhūmiḥ | yadā śaknoti tadāsyāṅgasya paripūrito  
 'ṣṭamī bhūmir vyava\*sthāpyate | asyām ca [bhūmau] anā- 3  
 bhogena<sup>6)</sup> kuśalapakṣayogāt prañidhānapāramitā 'tirikta-  
 tarā bhavati | animittābhogāprakampyatvād iyam acalety  
 ucyate | so 'nābhogānimittavihārī ca bhavati | yāvan na 4  
 śaknoti paryāyaniruktyādiprabhedaiḥ sarvākārasarvadharm-  
 madeśanāyām<sup>7)</sup> vaśībhavitum tāvad aṣṭamī bhūmiḥ | \* yadā 5  
 śaknoti tadāsyāṅgasya paripūrito navamī bhūmir vyava-  
 sthāpyate | asyām ca [bhūmau] bodhisattvasya pra-  
 tisamvidviśeṣalābhāt<sup>8)</sup> prajñābala<sup>9)</sup> viśeṣayogād balapā\*- 6  
 ramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati | sarvākāradharmadeśanākauśa-  
 lato 'navadyamativiśeṣalābhāt sādhumatī bhūmir ucyate |  
 asyām ca pratisamviccatuṣṭa<sup>10)</sup>\*yalābhī bhavati | yāvan na 27 b, 1  
 śaknoti buddhakṣetra<sup>11)</sup>parṣannirmāṇādi darśayitum pari-  
 pūrṇadharmasambhogaṃ sattvapariṣākaṃ ca kartum tāvan

1) Ms. asyāpi bhūmau.

2) Ms. prativindhati.

3) Ms. pratiriktātāra.

4) Ms. bhūminābhogopāyasmārga°; T. lhun gyis grub pai lam.

5) Ms. °āpattim.

6) Ms. cānābhogena.

7) Ms. sarvākārasarvadharmādarśanāyam.

8) Ms. pratisamvit vi°.

9) Ms. °balāvi°.

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 <sup>1)</sup> sattvaparipācanāya jñānaviśeṣayogād bodhisat-  
 3 tvasya jñānapāramitā 'tiriktatarā bhavati | \* iyaṃ ca dhar-  
 madeśānāmeghair ananteṣu lokadhātuṣu dharmā<sup>2)</sup>pravar-  
 ṣaṇād dharmameghety ucyate | aparair api<sup>3)</sup> skandhapari<sup>4)</sup>-  
 4 śuddhyādivyavasthāpanair bhūmīnāṃ vyavasthā\*panam  
 asti granthavistarabhayān na likhitam | sa<sup>5)</sup> pratilabdha-  
 nir<sup>6)</sup>māṇādivaśito 'pi yāvan na śaknoti sarvasmin jñeye <sup>7)</sup>  
 5 sarvākāram asaktam apratihataṃ<sup>8)</sup> jñānam utpā\*dayi-  
 tum tāvad daśamī bhūmiḥ | yadā śaknoti tadāsyāṅga-  
 sya pari[Tib. 41 b]pūrito buddhabhūmir vyavasthāpyate |  
 etac ca bhūmivyasthāpanam āryasaṃdhnirmocane nir-  
 6 diṣṭam | “ asyāś ca \* buddhabhūmeḥ <sup>9)</sup> sarvākārasakalasaṃ-  
 patprakarṣaparyantagamanān nāparam utkrṣṭam sthānān-  
 28 a, 1 taram asti ” iti<sup>(a)</sup> | asyāś ca buddhabhūmer guṇapakṣa\*pra-  
 bhedo buddhair api na śakyate sarvākāraṃ vaktum | tasyā  
 aprameyatvāt || katham punar asmatsadṛśaiḥ | yathoktam  
 āryagaṇḍavyūhe

[guṇaikadeśaparyantaṃ nādhigacchet svayaṃbhavaḥ |  
 2 ni]rīkṣ\*yamāno 'pi buddhadharmā hy acintiyāḥ <sup>(b)</sup> ||

(a) SN. Chap. IX, p. 236.

(b) GV. p. 29, v. 7.

1) Ms. nirmāṇakarmasattva.

2) Ms. dharmavapra°.

3) Ms. apacairapi.

4) Ms. paraśu°.

5) Ms. saṃprati.

6) Ms. °labdham.

7) Ms. °smin ajñeye.

8) Ms. apratihatum.

9) Ms. bhūmiḥ.

iti | etāvat tu saṃkṣepeṇa vaktum śakyate | [yath]ālabdho  
 bhadantakamalaśilaviśruto bodhisattva\* bhāvanākramaḥ <sup>28 a, 3</sup>  
 samāptaḥ |

ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetum 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 | aḥjam dpal g'zon nur  
 gyur pa la p'yag aṭs'al lo |

t'eg pa c'en poi mdo sde yi |  
 ts'ul spyod las ni dañ po pa ||  
 de las brtsams te bsgom pa yi |  
 rim pa mdo tsam brjod par bya ||

t'ams cad mk'yen pa ñid myur du t'ob par aḍod pas mдор  
 na sñiñ rje dañ | byañ c'ub kyi sems dañ | sgrub pa dañ |  
 gnas aḍi gsum la aḍad par bya'o | | de la sañs rgyas  
 kyi c'os ma lus pai rgyui rtsa ba ni <sup>1)</sup> sñiñ rje k'o na  
 yin par šes par byas la de ñid la t'og ma k'o nar bsgom  
 mo <sup>2)</sup> | de skad du aḥ'ags pa c'os yañ dag par sdud pa  
 las gsuñs te | de nas bcom ldan aḍas la aḥ'ags pa spyan  
 ras gzigs dbañ p'yug gis aḍi skad ces gsol to | | bcom  
 ldan aḍas byañ c'ub sems dpas c'os rab tu mañ po la bslab  
 par mi bgyi'o | | bcom ldan aḍas byañ c'ub sems dpas  
 c'os gcig rab tu gzuñ žiñ rab tu rtogs par bgyis na sañs

1) D. deest.

2) D. deest.



rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad dei lag mt'il du mc'is pa lags  
 so | | c'os gcig po gañ že na | | ađi lta ste | | sñiñ rje  
 c'en po'o | | bcom ldan ađas sñiñ rje c'en pos ni sañs  
 rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad byañ c'ub sems dpa' rnam s kyi  
 lag mt'il du mc'is pa lags so | | bcom ldan ađas dper  
 bgyis na ađ'or los sgyur bai rgyal poi ađ'or lo rin po c'e  
 gañ du mc'is pa der dpuñ gi ts'ogs t'ams cad mc'i'o | |  
 bcom ldan ađas de bžin du byañ c'ub sems dpai sñiñ rje  
 c'en po gañ du mc'is pa der sañs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad  
 mc'i'o | | bcom ldan ađas dper bgyis na srog gi dbañ  
 po mc'is na dbañ po gžan rnam s ađbyuñ bar ađgyur ro | |  
 bcom ldan ađas de bžin du sñiñ rje c'en po mc'is na byañ  
 c'ub sems dpai c'os gžan rnam s kyañ ađbyuñ bar ađgyur  
 ro žes ađbyuñ ño | | ađ'ags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan  
 pa las kyañ gsuñs te | | btsun pa ąa ra dva tii bu gžan  
 yañ byañ c'ub sems dpa' rnam s kyi sñiñ rje c'en po ni  
 mi <sup>1)</sup> zad do | | de cii p'yir že na | | sñon du ađro  
 bai p'yir ro | | btsun pa ąa ra dva tii bu ađi lta ste  
 dper na dbugs p'yi nañ du rgyu ba ni mii srog gi dbañ  
 [22 b] po sñon du ađro ba yin no | | de bžin du byañ  
 c'ub sems dpai sñiñ rje c'en po t'eg pa c'en po yañ dag  
 par ađrub par bya bai p'yir sñon du ađro ba yin no žes  
 bya ba la sogs pa rgyas par bšad do | | ađ'ags pa ga  
 ya goi rii mdo las kyañ gsuñs te | | ađam dpal byañ c'ub  
 sems dpa' rnam s kyi spyod pai rtsom pa ni ci | | gnas  
 ni gañ | | ađam dpal gyis smras pa | | lhai bu byañ  
 c'ub sems dpa' rnam s kyi spyod pai rtsom pa ni sñiñ rje  
 c'en po'o | | gnas ni sems can no žes de la sogs pa rgya  
 c'er ađbyuñ ño | | de ltar sñiñ rje c'en pos bskyod pas  
 byañ c'ub sems dpa' rnam s <sup>2)</sup> bđag 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' <sup>1)</sup> žiñ yun riñ la dub par ađgyur ba la ađjug  
 go | | ađ'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 <sup>2)</sup> 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 <sup>3)</sup> dka'  
 ba la žugs nas riñ por <sup>4)</sup> mi t'ogs par ts'ogs yoñs su rdsogs  
 te gdon mi za bar t'ams cad mk'yen pai go ađ'an t'ob  
 par ađgyur ro | | de bas na sañs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad  
 kyi <sup>5)</sup> 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 ađ'an brñes nas ađro  
 ba ma lus pai don mdsad ciñ bžugs so | | mi gnas  
 pai mya ñan las ađas pa lta bu <sup>6)</sup> 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  
 šiñ yid la bya ba mañ du <sup>7)</sup> byas pas skye bar ađgyur 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 ađ'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 s kyañ p'al c'er šin tu [23 a] mi bžad  
 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 me'il mai t'al ba dañ | mi gtsañ ba tsam yañ  
 bzar mi rñed do žes bcom ldan ađas kyis bka' stsal to | |  
 dud ađro rñams kyañ gcig la gcig za ba dañ<sup>1)</sup> | k'ro  
 ba dañ | rnam par aťs'e ba dañ | gsod pa la sogs pas  
 sdug bsñal mañ po myoñ ba k'o nar snañ ste | ađi ltar  
 k'a cig sna abugs pa dañ | brdeg pa dañ | bciñ ba  
 dañ | gdags pa la sogs pa bdag la dbañ med par<sup>2)</sup> kun  
 gyis bda' ba yin te | mi ađod bžin du k'al c'en po lei  
 ba bskur bas skyo žiñ ñal lo | | de bžin du dgon pa  
 na ať'od pa yañ ñes pa med par k'a cig byed du ts'ol  
 žiñ gsod de | rtag tu ađigs pas yid ať'rugs te p'an ts'un  
 ať'or<sup>3)</sup> ciñ aťros pa yañ grañs med pai<sup>4)</sup> sdug bsñal dpag  
 tu med pa myoñ ba<sup>5)</sup> k'o nar snañ ño | | de bžin du  
 mi la yañ sems can dmyal bai sdug bsñal la sogs pa yod  
 pa k'o na ste | ađi na rkun po la sogs pa gañ dag yan  
 lag gtub pa dañ | gsal šiñ la bskyon pa dañ | dpyañs<sup>6)</sup>  
 te btags pa la sogs pas ñon moñs pa de dag ni sems can  
 dmyal bai sdug bsñal k'o na yin no | | gañ dag dbul  
 žiñ p'oñs pa de dag ni yi dags dañ ađra bar bkres šiñ  
 skom pa la sogs pas sdug bsñal lo | | bran la sogs pa  
 gañ dag gžan gyis lus la dbañ byas pa dañ | gañ dag  
 mt'us mnan te gnod par byed pa de dag ni dud ađro dañ  
 ađra bar brdeg pa dañ | gdags pa la sogs pas sdug bsñal  
 lo | | de bžin du btsal bar bya ba dañ | gcig la gcig  
 gnod pa byed pa la sogs pa dañ | sdug pa dañ bral ba  
 dañ | mi sdug pa dañ p'rad pa la sogs pa de dag la

1) N. za ba | | k'ro.

2) N. med pa.

3) D. ať'od.

4) Grañs med pai *deest* in Sk.5) N. myoñ ba *deest*.

6) N. spyañs.

sdug bsñal dpag tu med do | | gañ dag k'a cig p'yug  
 ciñ skyid pa dañ ađra bar snañ ba de dag kyañ aťyor 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 ađyur bai rgyu las dañ ñon moñs pa bsags pas  
 gad ka na ađug pa dañ ađra 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 ađod pai k'ams na spyod pa  
 de dag ni ađod pai mes yid rab tu aťbar žiñ sems ať'rugs  
 pa dañ ađra bar gša' mar mi ađug la | skad cig kyañ  
 sems mñam par ađog par mi ađyur te | rab tu ži ba<sup>1)</sup> bde  
 bai nor gyis dbul ba de dag la bde ba ci žig<sup>2)</sup> yod | rtag  
 tu ať'i ať'o ba dañ ltuñ ba la sogs pai ađigs pai mya  
 ñan gyis non pa dag ste de dag ji ltar bde | gañ dag  
 gzugs dañ gzugs med pa na<sup>3)</sup> spyod pa de dag kyañ  
 skad cig sdug bsñal gyi<sup>4)</sup> sdug bsñal ba las ađas mod kyi |  
 'on kyañ de dag ađod pa na spyod pai bag la ñal rñams  
 šin tu ma spañs pas yañ sems can dmyal ba la sogs par  
 ltuñ bar yod pas<sup>5)</sup> ađyur bai sdug bsñal yod pa ñid  
 do | | lha dañ mi ađi dag t'ams cad ni las dañ ñon  
 moñs pa la sogs pai rgyus<sup>6)</sup> gžan gyi dbañ du gyur pas  
 na ađu byed kyi sdug bsñal gyis sdug bsñal ba ñid do |

§ 2 | de ltar ađro ba t'ams cad sdug bsñal gyi me lcei  
 p'reñ bai sa yin par bltas la | ji ltar bdag ñid kyi sdug  
 bsñal mi sdug pa ltar gžan dag gi yañ de dañ ađra  
 ba sems šiñ sems can t'ams cad la sñiñ brtse ba k'o na  
 bsgom par bya ste | t'og ma k'o nar mdsa' bšes kyi

1) N. rab ži ba.

2) D. cig žig.

3) N. gañ dag gzugs med.

4) N. skad cig sdug bsñal gyi *deest*.

5) D. yod par.

6) N. rgyui.

p'yogs la goñ du smos pai sdug bsñal sna ts'ogs myoñ  
 bar lta žiñ bsgom par bya'o | | de nas sems mñam  
 pas bye brag med par lta ste | t'og ma med pa<sup>1)</sup> 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 adra bar p'al pa<sup>2)</sup> rnams 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  
 adra bar dgra la yañ mñam par ajug pa dei ts'e<sup>3)</sup> 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 adod pai [24 a] rnam pai<sup>4)</sup> sñiñ rje rañ gi  
 ñañ gis ajug pa bdag ñid kyis mts'uñs par gyur ba<sup>5)</sup> dei  
 ts'e de rdsogs pa yin pas sñiñ rje c'en poi miñ t'ob ste |  
 ap'ags pa blo gros mi zad<sup>6)</sup> pas bstan pai mdo las bsñags  
 pa bžin no | | ađi ltar sñiñ rje bsgom pai go rim<sup>7)</sup> ađi  
 ni bcom ldan adas 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 beas 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 | ap'ags pa c'os bcu pai mdo las | sems can

1) N. om. pa.

2) N. ap'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'oñ  
 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 adsin du beug 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  
 adas kyis ap'ags pa de bžin gšegs pai ye šes kyi p'yag  
rgyai tiñ ñe adsin las bka' stsal to | | byañ c'ub kyi<sup>1)</sup>  
 sems de<sup>2)</sup> sgrub pa dañ mi ldan yañ ak'or bai nañ na  
 abras bu c'e bar bcom ldan adas kyis de skad byams pai  
rnam par t'ar pa las bka' stsal te | rigs kyi bu ađi lta  
 ste dper na rdo rje rin po c'e ni<sup>3)</sup> c'ag kyañ gser gyi rgyan  
 k'yad par du ap'ags pa t'ams cad zil gyis gnon to— |  
 rdo rje rin po c'ei miñ yañ mi ador 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 rañ sañs rgyas  
 kyi gser gyi rgyan t'ams cad zil gyis gnon to | | byañ  
 c'ub sems dpai miñ yañ mi ador žiñ ak'or bai dbul ba  
 yañ zlog par byed do žes abyuñ no | | gañ<sup>4)</sup> 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 abras bu c'e bai p'yir t'abs  
 kyis yoñs su zin par byañ c'ub tu sems bskyed par bya  
 [24 b] ste | ap'ags pa rgyal po la gdams pai mdo las<sup>5)</sup> |  
 ađi ltar rgyal po c'en po k'yod ni bya ba mañ byed pa mañ  
 ste | t'ams cad kyi t'ams cad rnam pa<sup>6)</sup> t'ams cad

1) N. kyi deest.

2) N. om. de.

3) D. om. ni.

4) N. gañ la.

5) N. ap'ags pa rgyal po la gdams pai mdo las deest.

6) N. t'ams cad rnam pa deest. D. ornam 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  
 ađi ltar rgyal po c'en po rdsogs pai byaň c'ub la ađun  
 pa daň | dad pa daň | don du gñer ba daň | smon  
 pa ađi ađro yaň ruň | ađreň yaň ruň | ađug kyaň  
 ruň | ñal yaň ruň | sad kyaň ruň | za yaň ruň |  
 ať'uň yaň ruň | rtag tu rgyun mi ađad par dran par  
 gyis šig | yid la gyis šig | sgoms šig<sup>1)</sup> | saňs rgyas  
 daň byaň c'ub sems dpa' daň | ñan t'os daň raň saňs  
 rgyas daň | so so<sup>2)</sup> skye bo t'ams cad daň | bdag gi  
 ađas pa daň | ma 'oňs pa daň | da ltar byuň bai dge  
 bai rtsa ba t'ams cad bsdus te | rjes su yi raň bai mc'og  
 gis rjes su yi raň bar gyis šig | rjes su yi raň nas kyaň  
 saňs rgyas daň | byaň c'ub sems dpa' daň | raň saňs  
 rgyas daň | ñan t'os rnam la<sup>3)</sup> mc'od par bya bai p'yir  
 dbul lo | | p'ul nas kyaň sems can t'ams cad daň t'un  
 moň 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 daň |  
 saňs rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad yoňs su rdsogs par bya bai  
 p'yir ñin gcig bžin du dus gsum du bla na med pa yaň  
 dag par rdsogs pai byaň c'ub tu yoňs su sňos<sup>4)</sup> šig |  
 rgyal po c'en po k'yod de ltar žugs la rgyal po gyis šig |  
 rgyal poi srid kyaň mi ñams so | | byaň c'ub kyi ts'ogs  
 kyaň yoňs su rdsogs par ađyur ro<sup>5)</sup> žes de la sogs pa rgyas  
 par bšad nas | yaň bka' stsal pa | rgyal po c'en po k'yod  
 yaň dag par rdsogs pai byaň c'ub kyi sems kyi dge bai  
 rtsa ba dei rnam par smin pas lan du mar lha daň mir

1) N. bsgoms.

2) D. so soi.

3) N. la *deest*.

4) D. bsňos.

5) From: byaň c'ub up to: ađyur ro not in Sk.

skyes par<sup>1)</sup> gyur to | | lha daň mir skyes pa t'ams cad  
 na yaň dbaň por gyur to žes rgyas par bka' stsal pa bžin  
 no |

§ 4. | sgrub pa sňiň por byed pai byaň c'ub kyi<sup>2)</sup> sems  
 kyi ađbras bu gaň yin pa de šin tu rgya c'e bar grub ste |  
ať'ags pa dpas sbyin gyis žus pa las |

byaň c'ub sems kyi bsod [25 a] nams gaň |  
 de la gal te gzugs mc'is na ||  
 nam mk'ai k'ams ni kun gaň ste |  
 de ni de bas lhag par ađyur ||

| žes gsuňs pa lta bu'o | | sdoň po bkod pa las kyaň  
 bšiaňs te | rigs kyi bu byaň c'ub kyi sems ni saňs  
 rgyas kyi c'os t'ams cad kyi sa bon lta bu'o žes rgyas  
 par bšad de<sup>3)</sup> | | byaň c'ub kyi sems de yaň rnam  
 pa gñis te | smon pai sems daň | žugs pai sems  
 te | ať'ags pa sdoň po bkod pai mdo las gsuňs  
 pa | rigs kyi bu sems can gyi ađig rten na gaň dag  
 bla na med pa yaň dag par rdsogs pai byaň c'ub tu  
 sems kyis smon pai sems can de dag ni rñed par dka'o |  
 | sems can gaň dag bla na med pa yaň dag par rdsogs  
 pai byaň c'ub tu yaň dag par žugs pa de dag ni de bas  
 kyaň šin tu rñed par dka'o žes ađbyuň ño | | de la ađro  
 ba mt'a' dag la p'an pai p'yir saňs rgyas su gyur cig  
 ces gaň t'og mar don du gñer ba de ni smon pai sems  
 so | | gaň p'an c'ad sdom pa bzuň 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 daň ldan pa sdom pa la gnas pa las  
 mnod do | | mt'un pa med na saňs rgyas daň byaň

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 aĵam  
dpal rgyal po nam mk'a' Źes bya bar gyur pa na byaň  
c'ub tu sems bskyed pa de bžin du bskyed par bya'o |  
| de ltar sems bskyed pai byaň c'ub sems dpa' bdag ma  
dul na gžan mi dul bar Źes nas bdag ñid sbyin pa la sogs  
pa sgrub pa la rab tu sbyor ro |

§ 5. | sgrub pa med par byaň c'ub mi t'ob bo |  
| ađi lta ste ap'ags pa ga ya goi ri las gsuňs pa | byaň  
c'ub ni sgrub pa sñiň por byed pai byaň c'ub sems  
dpa' sems dpa' c'en po rnam s kyi yin te | log par  
sgrub pa sñiň por byed pa rnam s kyi ni ma yin no  
že'o | | ap'ags pa tiň ne ađsin rgyal po las kyaň  
gsuňs te | de lta bas na sgrub pa sñiň por bya'o Źes  
gžon nu k'yod kyis bslab par bya'o | | de cii  
p'yir Źe na | gžon nu sgrub pa sñiň por byed pa la bla  
na med pa yaň dag par rdsogs pai byaň c'ub rñed dka'  
ba ma yin [25 b] pai p'yir ro že'o | | byaň c'ub sems  
dpai sgrub pa de yaň p'a rol tu p'yin pa daň | ts'ad  
med pa daň | bsdu bai dños po la sogs pai bye brag  
yin par ap'ags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa daň | dkon  
mc'og sprin la sogs pai mdo las rgyas par bšad pa yin  
no | | ađi ltar aĵig rten gyi bzo la sogs pai gnas kyi  
bar dag la yaň byaň c'ub sems dpas<sup>1)</sup> bslab par bya ba  
yin na aĵig 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 | byaň c'ub sems dpai sgrub  
pa de yaň mdor na t'abs daň Źes rab kyi ño bo yin te |  
šes rab aba' žig kyaň ma yin te | t'abs aba' žig kyaň  
ma yin no | | de yaň ap'ags pa dri ma med par grags  
pas bstan pa las kyaň Źes rab daň bral bai t'abs daň |

1) N. sems dpa'.

t'abs daň bral bai Źes rab ni byaň c'ub sems dpai ač'iň  
ba'o Źes gsuňs so | | t'abs daň beas pai Źes rab daň |  
šes rab daň beas pai t'abs ni t'ar pa'o Źes bsñags so |  
| ap'ags pa ga ya goi ri las kyaň gsuňs te | byaň c'ub sems  
dpa' rnam s kyi lam ni mdor bsdu na ađi gñis te | byaň  
c'ub sems dpa' dag la lam ađi gñis daň ldan na myur du  
bla na med pa yaň dag par rdsogs pai byaň c'ub mñon  
par rdsogs par aťs'aň rgya'o | | gñis gaň Źe na | ađi  
lta ste | t'abs daň Źes rab bo že'o |

§ 6. | de la<sup>1)</sup> Źes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa ma  
gtogs par sbyin pa la sogs pai p'a rol tu p'yin pa  
daň | bsdu bai dños po la sogs pa daň<sup>2)</sup> žiň yoňs  
su dag pa daň | loňs spyod c'en po daň | γyog  
ať'or maň po p'un sum ts'ogs pa la sogs pa daň<sup>3)</sup>  
sems can yoňs su smin par byed pa daň | sprul pa la  
sogs pa mñon par mt'o bai c'os sdud par byed pai  
dge ba t'ams cad ni t'abs Źes bya'o | | Źes rab ni  
t'abs dei ño bo ñid p'yin ci ma log par rtogs pai  
rgyu yin te | des yaň dag par t'abs kyi bye brag p'yed  
nas p'yin ci log med pas bdag daň gžan gyi<sup>4)</sup> don ji lta  
ba bžin du bsgrubs pas sñags kyis btab pai dug za ba daň  
ađra ste | kun nas ñon moňs [26 a] par mi aĵyur ro |  
| de skad du mdo sde de ñid las bka' stsal te | t'abs  
ni bsdu ba Źes pa'o | | Źes rab ni yoňs su sbyoň ba  
šes pa'o že'o | | ap'ags pa dad pai stobs bskyed pa las  
kyaň gsuňs te | t'abs la mk'as pa ni c'os t'ams cad yaň  
dag par sdud pa gaň yin pa'o | | Źes rab gaň Źe na |  
gaň c'os t'ams cad ma ađres pa la mk'as pa'o | | t'abs

1) N. de las.

2) N. daň deest.

3) D. dag.

4) N. γyo.

dañ šes rab ađi gñis ni sar c'ud pa rnams kyis kyañ dus  
 t'ams cad du bsten par bya ste | šes rab aba' žig ni  
 ma yin no | | ađi ltar byañ c'ub sems dpai sa bcu po  
 t'ams cad la yañ p'a rol tu p'yin pa t'ams cad kun tu  
 spyod de | sa bcu pai mdo la sogs pa las<sup>1)</sup> kyañ lhag  
 ma rnams kyañ kun tu mi spyod pa ma yin no žes abyun  
 no | | sa brgyad pa la byañ c'ub sems dpa' ži bar gnas  
 pa la | sañs rgyas bcom ldan ađas rnams kyis bsal pa  
 dañ yañ ađal te | ađi ltar de las gsuñs pa ni | kye  
 rgyal bai sras de ltar<sup>2)</sup> byañ c'ub sems dpai sa mi γyo  
 ba ađi la gnas pai byañ c'ub sems dpa' sñon gyi smon  
 lam gyi stobs bskyed pa dañ | c'os kyis goi rgyun de  
 la gnas pa de la sañs rgyas bcom ldan ađas rnams de bžin  
 gšegs pai ye šes ñe bar sgrub par mdsad do | | de  
 la ađi skad ces kyañ bka' stsal to | | rigs kyis bu legs  
 so legs so | | sañs rgyas kyis c'os t'ams cad rjes su rtogs  
 par bya ba la ađi ni don dam pai bzod pa yañ yin na |  
 'on kyañ gañ ned kyis stobs bcudañ mi ajigs pa la sogs  
 pa sañs rgyas kyis c'os p'un sum ts'ogs pa de k'yed la  
 med kyis | sañs rgyas kyis c'os p'un sum ts'ogs pa de  
 yoñs su btsal bai p'yir brtson ađrus rtsoms šig | bzod  
 pai sgo ađi ñid kyañ ma dor šig | rigs kyis bu k'yod  
 kyis de ltar ži ba rnam par t'ar pa t'ob kyañ byis pa so  
 soi skye bo ma ži ba | rab tu ma ži ba | ñon moñs  
 pa sna ts'ogs kun tu<sup>3)</sup> abyun bar ađyur ba | rnam par  
 rtog pa rnam pa sna ts'ogs kyis γyan spyo ba ađi dag la  
 soms šig | yañ rigs kyis bu sñon gyi smon lam dañ |  
 sems can gyi don t'ob par bya ba dañ | ye šes kyis  
 sgo bsam gyis [26 b] mi k'yab pa dran par gyis šig |

1) N. la sogs las.

2) N. de ltar deest.

3) N. tu deest.

yañ rigs kyis bu ađi ni c'os rnams kyis c'os ñid de | de  
 bžin gšegs pa rnams byun yañ ruñ | ma byun yañ ruñ |  
 c'os kyis dbyiñs ađi ni gnas pa ñid de | ađi ltar c'os  
 t'ams cad stoñ pa ñid dañ | c'os t'ams cad dmigs su  
 med pa'o | | ađis ni de bžin gšegs pa rnams ñi ts'e  
 rab tu dbye bar bya ba ma yin gyi | ñan t'os dañ  
 rañ sañs rgyas t'ams cad kyañ rnam par mi rtog pai c'os  
 ñid ađi t'ob bo | | yañ rigs kyis bu ned kyis lus ts'ad  
 med pa dañ | ye šes ts'ad med pa dañ | sañs rgyas  
 kyis žiñ ts'ad med pa dañ | ye šes mñon par sgrub pa  
 ts'ad med pa dañ | 'od kyis dkyil ađ'or ts'ad med pa  
 dañ | dbyañs kyis 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 kyis bu gañ k'yod kyis c'os  
 t'ams cad la rnam par mi rtog pai snañ ba ađi ni snañ  
 ba geig pur zad do | | rigs kyis bu de bžin gšegs pa  
 rnams la ni c'os snañ ba ađi ađra ba mt'a' yas par ađyur  
 te | mdsad pa mt'a' yas šin ađrel ba mt'a' yas par ađyur  
 te | gañ dag grañs dañ | bgrañ ba dañ | ts'ad dañ |  
 dpe dañ | zla yañ med pa de dag t'ob par bya bai  
 p'yir mñon par sgrub pa skyed cig | rigs kyis bu re žig  
 p'yogs bcui žiñ ts'ad med pa dañ | sems can ts'ad med  
 pa dañ | c'os rnam par p'ye ba ts'ad med pa la ltos  
 te | ji lta ba bžin bgrañ bar gyis 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 ađas 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 ađas

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  
madsad du zin na de ni de ñid du yoñs su mya ñan las  
ađa' bar agyur te | sems [27 a] can t'ams cad kyi don  
bya ba yañ rgyun c'ad par agyur ro žes rgya c'er abyuñ  
ño |

§ 7. | aṅ'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 | | aṅ'ags  
pa c'os t'ams cad šin tu rgyas par bsdus pa las bka'  
stsal pa de dañ yañ aḡal lo | | de ni aḡi skad bka' stsal  
te | aḡam dpal dam pai c'os spañ bai las kyi sgrib pa  
ni p'ra'o | | aḡam dpal gañ la la<sup>1)</sup> de bžin gšegs pas gsuñs  
pai bka' la la ni bzañ bar aḡu šes | la la ni ñan par  
aḡu 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' rnam kyi  
p'a rol tu p'yin pa drug yañ dag par sgrub pa aḡi ni  
byañ c'ub kyi p'yir yin na | de la yañ mi blun po de  
dag aḡi 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 rnam la sun aḡyin to | | ma  
p'am pa aḡi ji ltar sems | na ka ši kai rgyal por gyur  
pa gañ yin pa des<sup>2)</sup> aḡi 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 aḡas de ni ma lags so | | bcom  
ldan aḡas kyi bka' stsal pa | byams pa na byañ c'ub  
sems dpai spyad pa spyod pa na p'a rol tu p'yin pa drug  
dañ ldan pai dge bai rtsa ba dag bsags na dge bai rtsa

1) N. gañ la.

2) N. pa des *deest.*

ba de dag gis gnod par gyur tam | byams pas gsol  
pa | de ni ma lags so | | bcom ldan aḡas kyi bka'  
stsal pa | ma p'am pa k'yod kyi 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<sup>1)</sup> p'a rol tu p'yin  
pai bar du yañ dag par bsgrubs na | de la mi blun po  
de dag aḡi skad du ts'ul gcig k'o nas byañ c'ub ste | aḡi  
lta ste stoñ pa ñid kyi ts'ul gyis so žes zer ro žes rgyas  
par aḡyuañ ño | | de lta bas na gñi ga<sup>2)</sup> dus t'ams [27 b]  
cad du yañ byañ c'ub sems dpas<sup>3)</sup> bsten par bya ba  
k'o na yin no |

§ 8. | de ltar na de bžin gšegs pai mi gnas pai  
mya ñan las aḡas pa yañ aḡrub pa'o | | aḡi ltar sbyin  
pa la sogs pai t'abs kyi gzugs kyi sku dañ | žiñ  
dañ | γyog aḡ'or la sogs pa loñs spyod c'en poi aḡbras  
bu p'un sum ts'ogs pa yoñs su aḡsin pas bcom ldan aḡas  
yoñs su<sup>4)</sup> mya ñan las aḡas pa la yañ mi gnas | šes  
rab kyi p'yin ci log yañ dag par spañs pas aḡ'or ba la  
yañ mi gnas te | aḡ'or bai rtsa ba ni p'yin ci log yin  
pai p'yir ro | | šes rab dañ t'abs kyi rañ bžin gyi  
lam aḡdis sgro aḡogs pa dañ | skur pai mt'a' rnam par  
spañs nas dbu mai lam bstan te | šes rab kyi ni sgro  
aḡogs pai mt'a' spoñ la | t'abs kyi ni skur pai mt'a'  
spoñ bai p'yir ro | | de bas na aṅ'ags pa c'os yañ dag  
par sdud pa las kyañ bka' stsal te | mts'an dañ dpe  
byad pa bzañ<sup>5)</sup> 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 kyis sku mñon par rtogs pa  
 tsam la mñon par dga' ba ni ma yin no | | žes so |  
 | yañ bka' stsal pa | de bžin gšegs pa ni šes rab  
 dañ t'abs kyis bskyed pa ste gžan gyi driñ la ajog pa yañ  
 srid par šes par bya'o že'o | | rnam par snañ mdsad  
 mñon par rdsogs par byañ c'ub pa las kyañ | t'ams  
 cad mk'yen pai ye šes de ni sñiñ rjei rtsa ba las byuñ  
 ba yin | byañ c'ub kyis sems kyis rgyu las byuñ ba  
 yin | t'abs kyis mt'ar p'yin pa yin no žes gsuñs so |  
 gañ c'os gziñs dañ ađra bar šes pa rnams kyis c'os ñid  
 kyañ spañ bar bya na | c'os ma yin pa lta ci smos  
 žes gsuñs pa de yañ p'yin ci log tu mñon par žen pa spañ  
 bai p'yir de la dgoñs te spañ no 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 kyis log par  
 mi <sup>1)</sup> gzuñ no žes bya ba ni lam log par gzuñ bar mi  
 bya bai don to | | k'a cig las sbyin pa la sogs pa ak'or  
 bai ađras bu brjod pa gañ yin pa de ni šes rab dañ bral  
 bai sbyin pa la sogs pa snar brjod pa <sup>2)</sup> dañ | de tsam  
 gyi dge [28 a] bai rtsa bas c'og par ađsin pa rnams kyis  
 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 ap'ags pa dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa la sogs  
 pa snar smos pa t'ams cad dañ yañ ađal ba k'o nar ađyur  
 ro | | de lta bas na šes rab dañ t'abs gñis ka bsten  
 dgos pa k'o nar gnas so | | de la šes rab kyis yoñs su  
 zin pai sbyin pa la sogs pa p'a rol tu p'yin pai miñ t'ob  
 ste | gžan du ma yin no | | de bas na sbyin pa la  
 sogs pa yoñs su dag par bya bai p'yir mñam par gžag

1) N. adds: gzuñ žes ađyurñ bai log par mi.

2) D. brjod.

pa la gnas par byas la | šes rab bskyed pa la je ađad  
 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 ađsin par byed do | | de nas bsams pa las byuñ  
 bai šes rab kyis ñes pa dañ drañ bai don rnam par  
 ađyed 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 <sup>1)</sup> bas yañ dag pai šes pa yañ ađyurñ bar mi ađyur  
 te | dei p'yir bsgom pa don med par ađyur bas mu  
 stegs can rnams kyis bsgom pa dañ ađra'o | | bcom ldan  
 ađas kyis tiñ ñe ađsin 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 ađas t'ob ađras bui rgyu |  
 rgyu gžan gañ yin de ni ži mi ađyur ||

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  
 no bo bsgom par bya'o | | yañ dag pai dños poi rañ  
 gi no bo ni don dam par <sup>2)</sup> skye ba med pa k'o na ste  
 rigs pa dañ luñ gis gtan la dbab bo |

§ 10. | de la luñ ni ap'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 kyis | don dam par ni skye ba

1) D. btsal.

2) D. par na.



yañ ma yin | mi skye ba yañ ma yin te | de t'a sñad  
 t'ams cad [28 b] las ađas pai p'yir ro | | yañ de ñid  
 las bka' stsal pa | rigs kyi bu ađig rten la<sup>1)</sup> gnas pa ni  
 ađig pa dañ ađyuiñ ba la mñon par žen te | dei p'yir  
 de bžin gšegs pa t'ugs rje c'en po dañ ldan pas ađig rten  
 gyi skrag pai<sup>2)</sup> gnas bsal bai p'yir t'a sñad kyi dbaň gis  
 skye'o | ađag go žes gsuňs kyi | ađi la ni c'os gaň  
 yañ skye ba med do že'o | ađ'ags pa saňs rgyas kyi  
 c'os yañ dag par sdud pa las kyaň bka' stsal te<sup>3)</sup> ts'ul  
 bžin<sup>4)</sup> ađri ba ni gaň lags | ts'ul bžin ni gaň lags | bka'  
 stsal pa | skye ba med pa ni ts'ul bžin no | | de ađri  
 ba ni ts'ul bžin ađri ba'o že'o | | yañ de ñid las bka'  
 stsal pa | c'os t'ams cad ni tsai sgo ste | ađ'i ađ'o  
 dañ skye ba<sup>5)</sup> dañ ađral ba dag go | | c'os t'ams cad  
 ni no bo med<sup>6)</sup> kyi sgo ste | no bo ñid kyi stoň pa ñid  
 kyi p'yir ro žes ađyuiñ no | ađ'ags pa bden pa gňis rnam  
 par ađyed<sup>7)</sup> pa las kyaň | skye ba med par mñam pa  
 ñid kyi c'os t'ams cad mñam pa ñid do žes brjod do |  
 | šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa las kyaň | rab ađyor  
 gzugs ni gzugs kyi no bo ñid kyi stoň no | | rnam par  
 šes pai bar du rnam par šes pai no bo ñid kyi stoň  
 ste | raň gi mts'an ñid kyi stoň pa ñid kyi p'yir ro žes  
 bka' stsal to | | glaň poi rtsal las kyaň |

gaň la skye ba srid pa yi |  
 dños po gaň yaň mi dmigs te |

1) N. la *deest.*

2) N. skrag pa.

3) N. ađ'ags pa saňs rgyas ađro ba las kyaň bka' stsal te.

4) N. bžin du.

5) N. daň skye ba *deest.*

6) D. ñid.

7) D. ađyed.

ađyuiñ ba med pai dños rñams la |  
 byis pa dag ni ađyuiñ bar ađod ||

ces gsuňs so | | yab daň sras mjal ba las kyaň | c'os  
 ađi dag t'ams cad ni dus gsum du mñam pa ñid kyi  
 mñam pa dag ste | ađas pai dus na yaň c'os t'ams  
 cad no bo ñid med pa na<sup>1)</sup> da ltar byuiñ bai dus kyi  
 bar du no bo ñid daň bral ba'o žes bka' stsal te | de  
 ltar re žig<sup>2)</sup> luň gis brtag par bya'o | | rigs pas brtag  
 par byas na luň gi don gud du bkri mi nus te | de bas  
 na rigs pas so sor brtag par bya'o | | de la rigs pa mđor  
 brjod par bya ste | dños po rñams kyi skye ba rgyu  
 med pa las ađyuiñ ba žig gam | rgyu yod pa las ađyuiñ  
 ba žig tu ađyur graň na | res ađa' ba yin par snaň bai  
 p'yir rgyu med [29 a] pa las ađyuiñ 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<sup>3)</sup> dños po rñams cii p'yir mi  
 ađyuiñ | dños po med pai dus daň yaň bye brag med  
 pas skye bai dus na yaň ađyuiñ bar<sup>4)</sup> mi rigs so | | de  
 ltar re žig rgyu med pa las ađyuiñ du mi ruň no | | rgyu  
 yod pa las ađyuiñ ba'ň<sup>5)</sup> ma yin te | | ađi ltar mu  
 stegs can rñams kyi dbaň p'yug la sogs pa rtag pa rgyur  
 btags pa de las kyaň dños po rñams mi skye ste | rim  
 gyis ađyuiñ bar snaň bai p'yir ro | | rgyu ma ts'aň ba  
 med pai ađras bu ni rim gyis ađyuiñ ba mi rigs te |  
 ltos<sup>6)</sup> pa med pai p'yir ro | | dbaň p'yug la sogs pa bđag  
 ñid la mt'u yod pa ni gžan la ltos<sup>6)</sup> pa med de | rtag

1) N. med pa nas.

2) N. re žig.

3) D. t'ams cad.

4) N. ađyuiñ bai.

5) N. 'ň *deest.*

6) N. bltos.

pa yin pas de la gžan dag gis p'an gdags mi dgos pai  
 p'yir ro | | p'an mi adogs pa la ltos par yañ mi ruñ  
 ño | | de bas na dbaň p'yug, la sogs pa nus pa t'ams  
 cad kyis stoň pai p'yir mo gšam<sup>1)</sup> 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 gaň du  
 yaň abras bu rim gyis skyed<sup>2)</sup> kyaň mi nus te | goň du  
 brtags pa yin no | | cig car yaň mi skye ste | adi  
 ltar abras bu t'ams cad cig car<sup>3)</sup> bskyed nas | p'yin c'ad  
 kyaň gal te de k'o na bžin du de ñid bskyed nus na ni  
 dei ts'e nus pai raň bžin rjes su ajug pas sna ma bžin  
 du abras bu skye bar agyur ro | | rjes su mi ajug na  
 ni sna mai no bo ñid bor bas mi rtag par agyur ro | | de  
 bas na rtag pa žes bya bai dños po gaň yaň med do | | de  
 ñid kyi p'yir bcom ldan adas kyis bka' stsal pa | blo  
 gros c'en po adi lta ste | nam mk'a' daň | aogog pa  
 daň | mya nan las adas pa la sogs pa ma byas pai dños  
 por mñon par žen ciň sgro adogs pa ni med pa las sgro  
 adogs pa yin no žes so<sup>4)</sup> | | de ltar re žig de dag ni  
 rtag pa las skyer mi ruñ ño | | mi rtag pa las kyaň ma  
 yin te | de las adas pa daň ma 'oňs pa ni dños po med  
 pas de las skyes žes byar mi ruñ ste | rgyu med pa las  
 skye bar agyur bai p'yir ro | | dus mñam pa daň mi  
 mñam pa de las mi skye [29 b] bai p'yir da ltar gyi [de]  
 las kyaň mi skye'o | | adi ltar re žig dus mñam pa las  
 ma yin pa ni rgyui no bo ñid daň adra bar abras bu yaň  
 de daň dus gcig tu abyuň ste | grub pai p'yir ro | | dus  
 t'a dad pa las kyaň 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 adas pa la sogs pa las skye bar agyur 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 yaň skad cig  
 tsam du agyur te | dper na rdul p'ra rab rnams bdag  
 ñid t'ams cad kyis adres nas goň bu rdul p'ra mo tsam  
 ñid du agyur ba bžin no | | ji ste p'yogs gcig gis p'rad  
 na ni dei ts'e skad cig la c'a šas yod par agyur ro | |  
 | bdag ñid kyaň mi skye ste rgyu med pa las byuň ba  
 k'o na'o | | p'yogs kyi naň du p'yogs adi adus pai  
 p'yir te | bdag ñid la byed pa ađal bai p'yir ro | |  
 gñis ka las kyaň ma yin te | p'yogs gñis kai skyon  
 adu bar agyur bai p'yir ro | | de lta bas na don dam  
 par dños po adi dag t'ams cad ni<sup>1)</sup> ma skyes pa k'o na  
 yin la | kun rdsob tu ni skye ba yod pas luň la sogs  
 pa daň yaň mi ađal lo | | de skad bcom ldan adas kyis  
 kyaň bka' stsal te |

dños po skye ba kun rdsob tu |  
 dam pai don du raň bžin med ||  
 raň bžin med la ak'rul pa gaň |  
 de ni yaň dag kun rdsob adod ||

| ce'o | | rigs pa adi bcom ldan adas kyis kyaň dgoňs  
 te | | sā lu ljaň pa la sogs pa las | | bdag daň gžan  
 daň gñis ka daň rgyu med pa las skye ba bkag pai p'yir  
 ro |

§ 11. | rnam pa gcig tu na adi ltar rigs pas rnam  
 par dpyad par bya ste | dños po rnams ni rnam pa gñis  
 te | gzugs can daň | gzugs can ma yin pa'o | | de  
 la re žig gzugs can bum pa la sogs pa de dag ni rdul

1) N. ni *deest.*

p'ra mo t'a dad pai no bo ñid<sup>1)</sup> yin pas na rañ bžin geig  
 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 na<sup>2)</sup> mi agrub pai  
 p'yir rdul p'ra mo<sup>3)</sup> bsags pai bdag ñid yin pas na<sup>4)</sup> |  
 du mai rañ bžin [30 a] yañ ma yin no | | geig dañ  
 du mai no bo ñid las ma gtogs pa dños poi no bo ñid  
 gžan med pas dños po gzugs can ađi dag ni rmi lam  
 la sogs par dmigs pai gzugs la sogs pa bžin du don  
 dam par no bo ñid međ pa k'o na'o | | de yañ ap'ags  
 pa lañ kar gšegs pa las bcom ldan ađas kyis bka' stsal  
 pa | blo gros c'en po glañ gi rva yañ rdul p'ra mor bšig  
 na mi ađug go | | rdul p'ra mo rnams kyañ so sor  
 bšig na rdul p'ra moi mts'an ñid las mi gnas so žes so<sup>5)</sup> |  
 | gañ dag gzugs med pa de dag kyañ de bžin du brtags  
 na no bo ñid med pa k'o na ste | ađi ltar p'yi rol gyi  
 sñon po la sogs pai don med pai stobs kyis rnam par  
 šes pa la sogs p'uñ po gzugs can ma yin pa de dag ñid  
 sñon po la sogs pai no bor k'as blañ dgos so | | bcom  
 ldan ađas 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 kyi rnam par snañ bai p'yir dañ | gzuñ ba dañ  
 ađsin pai rnam par snañ bai p'yir no bo ñid geig tu mi  
 ruñ ste | geig dañ du ma mi mt'un pai p'yir geig ni du

1) N. ñid *deest.*

2) N. rnam par p'ye na *deest.*

3) D. inserts rnam ni which is not necessary.

4) N. yin pas na *deest.*

5) N. že'o.

mai no bo ñid k'o nar mi ruñ no<sup>1)</sup> | gañ gi no bo ñid  
 geig tu ma grub pai p'yir du mai no bor yañ mi ruñ ste |  
 du ma ñid ni geig ađus pai no bo ñid<sup>2)</sup> yin pai p'yir ro |  
 | ji ste gzugs la sogs pai rnam pa ađi dag brdsun pa ñid  
 du snañ bar k'as len na rnam par šes pa'n mi bden par  
 ađyur te | rnam par šes pa dei no bo ñid dañ t'a<sup>3)</sup>  
 dad pa ma yin pai p'yir ro | | bdag ñid rtogs pai no  
 bo las gud na rnam par šes pai no bo med la | gzugs  
 la sogs pa'n bdag ñid kyis snañ bar byed na rnam par  
 šes pai rañ gi no 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 ađra'o žes bcom ldan ađas kyis kyañ bka' stsal  
 to | | de lta bas na geig dañ du mai no bo ñid kyis  
 stoñ pai p'yir dños po ađi dag t'ams cad don dam par  
 bden pa ma yin no žes bya ba de nes so | | dei don  
 bcom ldan ađas kis kyañ ap'ags pa [30, b] lañ kar gšegs  
 pa las |

ji ltar gzugs rnams me loñ la |  
 geig dañ gžan rnams rnam spañs par ||  
 snañ yañ de ni yod ma yin |  
 de bžin dños rnams no bo ñid ||

| ces bka' stsal to | | geig 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 |  
 no bo ñid ni gzuñ du med ||

1) N. no bor mi ruñ no.

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<sup>1)</sup> byas la de mñon sum  
du bya<sup>2)</sup> 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 sgrub pai mun pa mi spoñs so | | bsgom  
pa lan mañ du byas na yañ dag pa ma yin pai don la  
yañ<sup>3)</sup> 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  
kyi šes pa abyuñ ba lta bu yin na yañ dag pai don la lta<sup>4)</sup>  
ci smos | de ltar bsgoms<sup>5)</sup> pai abras bu ni yoñs su gsal  
pai šes pa yin pas abras bu dañ beas 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<sup>6)</sup> lta de ltar de la sems<sup>7)</sup> 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 bžag<sup>1)</sup> pai sems kyis ni yañ dag pa ji lta ba<sup>2)</sup>  
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 la<sup>3)</sup> [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 ap'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 rnams la gnas te | yid  
du 'oñ bai sa<sup>4)</sup> p'yogs su sañs rgyas dañ byañ c'ub sems  
dpa' t'ams cad la p'yag [aťs'al] la sogs pa bya žiñ | sdig  
pa bšags pa dañ bsod nams kyi rjes su yi rañ ba yañ byas  
nas | sñiñ rje c'en po k'o na mñon sum du byas pas  
ađro ba mt'a' dag gdon pai bsam pa can du gyur nas  
lus drañ por bsrañs<sup>5)</sup> la stan bde pai steñ du ađug ste |  
skyil mo<sup>6)</sup> 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 agyur 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'e<sup>1)</sup> p'uñ po dañ k'ams  
 la sogs pai bye brag gis<sup>2)</sup> 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 rnam kyī stoñ pa ñid  
 rnam pa<sup>3)</sup> 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 can<sup>4)</sup> t'ams cad la p'an  
 gdags pai p'yir gzugs can dañ gzugs can ma yin pa la  
 sogs pai bye brag gis mdor bsdus pa dañ | bar ma dañ |  
 rgyas pa dag gis dños por rab tu dbye ba c'os mñon pa  
 la sogs pa las bstan to | | de yañ dños po la sgro ʔdogs  
 pa dañ skur pa spañ bai p'yir p'uñ po dañ k'ams la sogs  
 par bsdus pai sgo nas bgrañ ño<sup>5)</sup> | | 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 šiñ 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 kyis<sup>6)</sup> dogs te ma bris so |  
 | gañ gi ts'e<sup>7)</sup> la mi dga' bar mt'oñ ba dei ts'e tiñ ñe

1) N. ts'e deest.

2) N. brag gyi.

3) N. rnam pa deest.

4) N. sems can deest.

5) N. ʔgrañ ño.

6) N. kyī.

7) N. gañ gyi ts'e de la.

ʔdsin gyi yon tan la lta baš de la dga' ba bsgom žiñ  
 rnam par ʔyeñ 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 ʔdsin pa la mi gsal žiñ sems  
 byiñ bar gyur pa dei ts'e snañ bai ʔdu šes bsgoms<sup>1)</sup> 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 rgod<sup>2)</sup>  
 pa dañ rtse ba la sogs pa dran žiñ bar bar du sems rgod  
 par mt'oñ ba dei ts'e mi rtag pa la sogs pa yid ʔbyuñ  
 bar ʔgyur bai dños po yid la byed pas rgod pa ži bar  
 bya'o | | de nas yañ dmigs pa de ñid la sems mñon  
 par ʔdu byed pa med par ʔjug pa la ʔbad par bya'o |  
 | gañ gi ts'e byiñ ba dañ rgod pa gñis ka<sup>3)</sup> dañ bral te  
 mñam par ʔjug ciñ sems rañ gi ñañ gis ʔbyuñ bar mt'oñ  
 ba dei ts'e rtsol ba klod de btañ sñoms su bya'o | | gal  
 te mñam par ʔjug pa la rtsol ba byas na sems rnam par  
 ʔyeñ bar ʔgyur ro | | gañ gi ts'e dmigs pa de ñid la  
 mñon par ʔdu byed pa med par ji srid ʔdod pai bar du  
 sems ʔjug par ʔgyur ba dei ts'e ži gnas rdsogs pa yin par  
 rig par bya ste | | ži gnas kyī ño bo ñid ni sems rtse gcig  
 pa tsam du zad pai p'yir ʔdi ni ži gnas t'ams cad kyī  
 spyii mts'an ñid yin no | | dei dmigs pa la ni ñes pa  
 med do | | ži gnas kyī lam ʔdi ni šes rab kyī p'a rol  
 tu p'yin pa la sogs pa las kyañ bšad de |

§ 14 bka' stsal pa | de dañ de la sems ʔjog go |  
 | rgyun du ʔjog go | | blan te ʔjog go<sup>4)</sup> | ñe bar ʔjog  
 go | | ʔdul bar byed do | | ži bar byed do | | rnam par

1) N. bsgom.

2) D. dgod.

3) N. gñi ka.

4) N. ʔjog rgyun du ʔjog blan te ʔjog go.

ži bar byed do | | rtse gcig tu byed do | | mñam [32 a]  
 par ajog go žes ts'ig dgu smos #so | | de la ajog ces  
 bya ba ni dmigs pa la sems 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 | | adu' bar byed do žes bya ba ni  
 dga' ba bskyed<sup>1)</sup> pa'o | | ži bar byed do žes bya ba ni  
 rnam par γyeñ bai ñes pa mt'on nas mi dga' bar rab tu  
 ži bar byed do | | rnam par ži bar byed pa ni rmugs  
 pa dañ gñid la sogs pa lañs pa rnams sel ba'o | | rtse  
 gcig tu byed pa ni mñon par 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 žes<sup>2)</sup> 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 kyi 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  
 por<sup>3)</sup> 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 ltañ 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 kyi lus dañ sems las su ruñ ba ñid byed do |  
 | de nas lus dañ sems šin tu sbyañs par gyur pas le lo  
 ldog ste | de bas na dad pa la sogs pa ni le lo spon'<sup>1)</sup>  
 bai p'yir bsgom mo | | dran pa ni dmigs pa brjed pai  
 gñen po'o | | šes bžin ni byiñ ba dañ rgod pai gñen  
 po ste | des byiñ ba dañ rgod pa yañ dag par rtogs pai  
 p'yir ro | | byiñ ba dañ rgod pa rab tu ži bai<sup>2)</sup> dus  
 na mi rtsol ba ñes pa ste | dei gñen [32 b] por sems  
 pa bsgom mo | byiñ ba dañ 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 | | spon' bai adu byed brgyad po de dag dañ ldan  
 na tiñ ñe adsin šin tu k'ugs pa yin te | des rdsu ap'rul  
 la sogs pa yon tan rnams sgrub par byed do | | de lta  
 bas na mdo sde las spon' bai adu byed brgyad dañ ldan  
 pai rdsu ap'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 dañ ldan žiñ dmigs pa la sogs pai yon tan gyi k'yad  
 par t'ob pas bsam gtan dañ | gzugs med pai sñoms par  
 ajug pa dañ | rnam par t'ar pa la sogs pai<sup>3)</sup> miñ t'ob po |  
 | adi ltañ gañ gi ts'e btañ sñoms kyi ts'or ba dañ ldan  
 žiñ rtog pa dañ bcas pa dañ | dpyod pa dañ bcas par  
 gyur pa dei ts'e mi lcogs pa med pa žes bya ste | <sup>4)</sup>bsam  
 gtan dañ poi sbyor bai sems so<sup>4)</sup> | | gañ gi ts'e adod  
 pai sred pa dañ | sdig pai c'os rnams dañ bral žin rtog  
 pa dañ | dpyod pa<sup>5)</sup> dañ | dga' ba dañ | bde ba  
 dañ ldan par gyur pa dei ts'e bsam gtan dañ po žes bya'o |

1) D. spañ.

2) D. ma ži bai.

3) N. dañ 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<sup>1)</sup>  
 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<sup>2)</sup> dañ  
 ldan par gyur pa dei ts'e<sup>3)</sup> 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<sup>4)</sup> sbyar bar  
 bya'o | | de ltar dmigs [33 a] pa de la sems brtan  
 par byas nas šes rab kyis rnam par dpyad par bya ste |  
 ađi ltar šes pai snañ ba byuñ bas kun tu rmoñs pai sa  
 bon šin tu spoñ bar agyur ro | | de lta ma yin na mu  
 stegs can rnam kyis bžin du tiñ ñe ađsin tsam gyis ñon  
 moñs pa spoñ bar mi agyur ro | | mdo sde las ji skad  
 du |

tiñ ñe ađsin de sgom par byed mod kyis |  
 de ni bdag tu ađu šes ađig mi byed |  
 de yi ñon moñs p'yir žiñ rab ađ'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 ađ'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 kyis 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 ađyor pa |  
 de yis t'eg pa c'en po mt'oñ ||  
 ži ba lhun gyis grub pai gnas |  
 smon lam dag gis rnam par sbyañs ||  
 ye šes dam pa bdag med pa |  
 snañ ba med pas mt'oñ bar agyur ||

de la don ni ađi yin te | | t'og mar rnal ađyor 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 ađi dag  
 rnam par šes pa las gžan žig yin nam | 'on te rnam  
 par šes pa de ñid de ltar snañ ste | rmi lam gyis 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 ađyor pas don de dag mi mt'oñ ño | | des de dag  
 ma mt'oñ bas ađi sñam du ađi dag t'ams cad ni sems tsam  
 ste p'yi rol gyi don med do sñam du sems so | | ađi  
 ltar |

sems tsam la ni rab brten nas |  
 p'yi rol don la mi brtag go |

| žes de skad ađyuñ ba ni c'os gzugs can la rnam par  
 rtog pa spoñ ba'o žes bya bai t'a ts'ig go | | dmigs

su ruñ bai mts'an ñid du gyur pa de dag la<sup>1)</sup> rnam  
 par dpyad<sup>2)</sup> na mi dmigs pai p'yir ro [33 b] | de ltar  
 c'os gzugs can rnam<sup>3)</sup> 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<sup>4)</sup> med na aḍsin par mi ruñ  
 ste | aḍsin pa ni gzuñ ba la ltos pai p'yir ro | de  
 lta bas na sems ni gzuñ ba dañ aḍsin 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<sup>5)</sup>  
 nas | sems tsam las kyañ bzla bar bya | aḍsin 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<sup>6)</sup> bzlas nas  
 gñis snañ ba med pai šes pa las kyañ bzla bar bya ste |  
 bdag dañ gžan las dños po rnam skeye ba mi aṭ'ad pai  
 p'yir gzuñ ba dañ aḍsin 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<sup>7)</sup> 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<sup>8)</sup> la žugs pas  
 rnam par mi rtog pai tiñ ne aḍsin la žugs pa yin no |  
 de ltar rnal aḅyor 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 Lañk.

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 gnas<sup>1)</sup> pas t'eg pa c'en po mt'oñ no |  
 § 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 kyi mig gis brtags te yañ  
 dag pai ye šes kyi snañ ba šar na ci yañ mt'oñ ba med  
 pa gañ yin pa'o | de skad mdo las kyañ gsuñs te |  
 don dam pa mt'oñ ba gañ že na | c'os t'ams cad mt'oñ  
 ba med pa gañ yin pa'o žes aḅyuñ no | aḍir de lta  
 bui mt'oñ ba med pa la dgoñs te | mi mt'oñ ba žes  
 bka' stsal gyi mig btsums pa dañ | dmus loñ la sogs  
 pa lta bu rkyen ma ts'añ ba dañ<sup>2)</sup> 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 pa<sup>3)</sup> p'yin ci log gi bag c'ags ma  
 spañs pas aḍu šes med pai sñoms par aḅjug pa la sogs pa  
 las lañs pa bžin du dños po la sogs pa mñon par žen pai  
 rtsa ba can aḍod c'ags la sogs pa ñon moñs pai ts'ogs  
 yañ aḅyuñ bai p'yir rnal aḅyor pa ma grol ba ñid du  
 aḅgyur ro | aḍod c'ags la sogs pai rtsa ba ni dños po  
 la<sup>4)</sup> 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 aḅjug pai gzuñs las yid la mi byed pas gzugs la sogs  
 pai mts'an ma spoñ no žes gsuñs pa gañ yin pa de yañ  
 šes rab kyis brtags na mi dmigs pa gañ yin pa de<sup>5)</sup> |  
 der yid la mi byed par dgoñs kyis | yid la byed pa med  
 pa tsam ni ma yin te | aḍu šes med pai sñoms par  
 aḅjug pa la sogs pa ltar | t'og ma med pai dus nas gzugs la

1) N. mt'oñ bai dam pa la gnas.

2) N. dmus loñ ... ts'añ ba dañ deest.

3) N. pa deest.

4) N. dños po la deest.

5) N. de deest.



sogs pa la mñon par žen pai yid la byed pa spañs pa tsam  
 gyis spoñ ba ni ma yin no | | t'e ts'om ma spañs par  
 ni sñon dmigs pai gzugs pa sogs pa la mñon par žen pai  
 yid la byed pa yoñs su spañ bar mi nus te | me ma  
 spañs par ts'a ba spañ du mi ruñ ba bžin no | | ađi  
 ltar gzugs la sogs pa rnam par rtog pa log pa<sup>1)</sup> ađi 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 ađyor pai  
 tiñ ñe ađsin gyi snañ ba byuñ ste | šes rab kyis 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 la<sup>2)</sup> sbrul du šes pa bžin du spañ gi | gžan du  
 ma yin no | | dei ts'e t'e ts'om gyi sa bon dañ bral  
 bas gzugs la sogs pai mts'an ma yid la byed pa spoñ nus  
 par ađyur te | gžan du ma yin no | | de lta ma yin  
 te | tiñ ñe ađsin gyi snañ ba ma byuñ | šes rab kyis  
 mig gis ma bltas na mun k'uñ na ađug pai mi ltar k'yim  
 gyi nañ na yod pai bum pa la sogs pa som ñi za bar  
 gyur pa bžin du rnal ađyor pa yañ gzugs la sogs pa yod  
 par som ñi za ba ldog par mi ađyur [34 b] ro | | de ma  
 log na mig rab rib kyis skyon ma bsal ba bžin du gzugs  
 la sogs pa mi bden la mñon par žen pa ađyuiñ ste cis  
 kyañ mi zlogs so | | de lta bas na tiñ ñe ađsin gyi lag  
 gis sems gzuñ ste šin tu c'a p'ra bai šes rab kyis mts'on  
 gyis gzugs la sogs pa log par rnam par<sup>3)</sup> rtog pai sa  
 bon gyi<sup>4)</sup> zug rñu sems de la yod pa bsal bar bya'o | | de  
 ltar byas na rtsa ba nas p'yuñ bai šiñ 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<sup>1)</sup> rtsa ba med pas na log par rnam par rtog  
 pai sems kyañ skye bar mi ađyur ro | | de bas na sgrib  
 pa spoñ bai p'yir ži gnas dañ lhag mt'oñ zuñ du ađrel  
 par ađjug pai lam bcom ldan ađas kyis bka' stsal te | de  
 gñis ni yañ dag pai ye šes rnam par mi rtog pai rgyu  
 yin pai p'yir ro | | de skad du |

ts'ul k'rims la ni gnas nas tiñ ñe ađsin ať'ob ste |  
 tiñ ñe ađsin t'ob nas kyañ šes rab sgom<sup>2)</sup> par byed |  
 šes rab kyis<sup>3)</sup> ni ye šes rnam par dag pa ať'ob |  
 ye šes rnam par dag pas ts'ul k'rims p'un sum ts'ogs |

| šes bka' stsal to | | ađi ltar gañ gi ts'e ži gnas  
 kyis dmigs pa la sems brtan par byas pa dei ts'e šes  
 rab kyis rab tu brtags na yañ dag pai ye šes kyis snañ  
 ba ađyuiñ ste | dei ts'e snañ ba byuñ bas mun pa  
 bsal ba bžin du sgrib pa ađyuiñ<sup>4)</sup> no | | de gñis ka  
 yañ mig dañ snañ ba bžin du yañ dag pai ye šes ađyuiñ  
 ba la p'an ts'un mt'un par gnas pa yin gyi | snañ  
 ba dañ mun pa bžin du mi mt'un pa ma yin no |  
 | tiñ ñe ađsin ni mun pai no bo ñid ma yin te | ci  
 že na sems rtse geig pai mts'an ñid do | | de ni  
 mñam par bžag na yañ dag pa ji lta ba bžin du rab tu<sup>5)</sup>  
 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 ađyor pa rnam kyis gnas skabs<sup>6)</sup> kyis mts'an ñid

1) N. bžin.

2) N. bsgom.

3) N. šes rab kyis.

4) Evidently ađyuiñ from ađyuiñ.

5) N. rab tu *deest*.

6) D. ži gnas skabs.

de ādra 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 | | ādi ltar gañ gi ts'e rnal ābyor pas šes rab  
kyis brtags na dños poi no bo ñid gañ yañ mi dmigs pa  
dei ts'e de la dños por <sup>1)</sup> rnam par rtog pa mi ābyuñ ba  
ñid do | | dños po med pa rnam par rtog pa yañ de la  
med pa ñid do | gal te brgya la dños po āga' žig mt'oñ  
bar gyur na ni de lta na ni bkag pas dños po med par <sup>2)</sup>  
rnam par rtog pa ābyuñ no | | gañ gi ts'e rnal ābyor 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 ābyuñ 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 ābyor dam pa  
yin te |

§ 18. de la gnas pai rnal ābyor pa ni rnam par  
rtog pa t'ams cad nub pas | ñon moñs pai sgrib pa dañ  
šes byai sgrib pa <sup>3)</sup> yañ dag par spoñ no | | ādi ltar  
ñon moñs pai sgrib pa ni ma skyes pa dañ ma āgags pai  
dños po rnam la dños po la sogs par p'yin ci log pai  
rtsa ba ste rgyu yin no žes āp'ags pa bden pa gñis pa bstan  
pa la sogs pa las bcom ldan ādas kyis bka' stsal to |  
| rnal ābyor goms pa ādis dños po la sogs pa rnam par  
rtog pa t'ams cad spoñs 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 no bo ñid ñon moñs pai sgrib  
pai rtsa ba spoñ ste | | dei p'yir rtsa ba bead pas  
ñon moñs pai sgrib pai rtsa ba yañ dag par spoñ no |  
| ji skad du yañ āp'ags pa bden pa gñis bstan pa las  
gsuñs te | | ājam dpal ji ltar ñon moñs pa rnam ādul  
bar āgyur | | ji ltar ñon moñs pa rnam yoñs su šes pa  
yin | | ājam 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 <sup>1)</sup> la byed pa'o | | ts'ul bžin  
ma yin pa yid la byed pa de las bdag tu sgro ādogs  
pa'o | | bdag tu sgro ādogs pa de las lta ba kun nas  
ldañ no | | lta ba kun nas ldañ ba de las ñon moñs  
pa rnam ābyuñ no | | 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 <sup>2)</sup> 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 rna n par mi rtog pa de ts'ul bžin la žugs pa'o |  
| gañ ts'ul bžin la žugs pa de bdag tu sgro ādogs par mi  
āgyur ro | | gañ bdag tu sgro ādogs par mi āgyur ba  
de lta ba kun nas ldañ bar mi āgyur te | | don dam  
par mya ñan las ādas par lta bai bar gyi lta ba kun nas <sup>3)</sup>  
ldañ ba yañ ābyuñ bar mi āgyur ro | | de ltar skye ba  
med par gnas pa dei ñon moñs pa rnam šin tu t'ul bar blta <sup>4)</sup>

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 aḍul ba žes bya'o |  
 | lhai bu gañ gi ts'e ñon moñs pa rnams snañ ba med  
 pai ye šes<sup>1)</sup> 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 aḍi lta ste dper na gañ  
 sbrul gdug pai rigs rab tu šes pa des sbrul gdug pa dei  
 gdug ži bar byed do | | lhai bu de bžin du ñon moñs  
 pa rnams kyi rigs rab tu šes pa dei ñon moñs pa rnams  
 rab tu ži bar aḡyur ro | | lhai bus smras pa | aḡam  
 dpal ñon moñs par<sup>2)</sup> gyur pa rnams kyi rigs gañ<sup>3)</sup> |  
 aḡam 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 kyi rigs yin no žes rgya c'er aḡyuiñ  
 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 aḡyur bai p'yir | šes byai sgrib  
 pa yañ aḍis yañ dag par spoñ bar aḡyur 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 aḡral bai nam mk'a' la t'ams cad du t'ogs  
 pa<sup>4)</sup> med par snañ ba bžin du ye šes kyis snañ ba aḡyuiñ  
 ño | | aḍi 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 aḡyur ro | gags med  
 par gyur na ni mt'ui k'yad par bsam gyis mi k'yab pa  
 t'ob pas cii p'yir dños po mt'a' dag ji lta ba bžin du

1) N. adds: rab.

2) N. moñs pa.

3) N. om. gañ.

4) N. om. pa.

gsal bar mi aḡyur | de bas na kun rdsob<sup>1)</sup> 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  
 aḍi ñid sgrib pa spoñ ba dañ | t'ams cad mk'yen pa  
 ñid t'ob par aḡyur bai lam<sup>2)</sup> 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<sup>3)</sup>  
 spoñs so | | de skad aḡ'ags pa lañ kar gšegs pa las  
 kyañ bka' stsal te<sup>4)</sup> | gžan dag ni c'os t'ams cad rkycn  
 la rag las par mt'oñ nas mya ñan las aḍas 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 kyis 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 aḍi la lta ba ñan pa las bzlog pai  
 p'yir brtson par bya'o žes aḡyuiñ ño | | de ñid kyis  
 p'yir lam gžan gyis t'ar bar aḡyur ba med pas t'eg pa gcig  
 k'o na'o žes bcom ldan aḍas kyis bka' stsal to | | ñan  
 t'os la sogs pai lam bstan pa las ni gžug pa la ldem por  
 dgoñs nas k'yeus k'yeu dbyuñ ba bžin du bstan par zad  
 do | | aḍi ltar aḍi 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 aḍis  
 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 | snar bšad pa bžin no | | ap'ags  
 pa ajig rten las ađas pai leu las kyañ gsuñs te | kye  
 rgyal bai sras gžan yañ k'ams gsum ni sems tsam du  
 rtogs te | sems de yañ mt'a' dañ dbus med par rtogs  
 so žes abyuñ ste | skye ba dañ ajig pai mts'an ñid mt'a'  
 gñis dañ | gnas pai mts'an ñid dbus med pai p'yir  
 sems mt'a' dañ dbus med do | | de lta bas na gñis  
 med pai šes pa la žugs pa ni de k'o na la žugs pa ñid  
 yin no | | rnal abyor pa rnams kyi gnas skabs de cis  
 rnam par dag ce na | smon lam dag gis rnam par  
 sbyañs | žes gsuñs te | sñiñ rje c'en pos sems can  
 mt'a' dag gi don la lta bar byañ c'ub sems dpa' smon lam  
 btab<sup>1)</sup> 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 agyur te | des c'os  
 t'ams cad no bo ñid med pa ñid du šes kyañ sems can  
 mt'a' dag la lta bar go [mi] bzlog ciñ ađ'or bai ñes pa rnams  
 kyis mi gos par ađ'or ba ji srid par gnas pa yin no | de  
 ltar lhun gyis grub ciñ ži ba yin že na |

ye šes dam pa bdag med par |  
 snañ ba med pas mt'oñ bar agyur ||

| žes ađir rgyu<sup>2)</sup> bka' stsal to | | ađi ltar nañ gi šes  
 bya smra ba rnams kyis<sup>3)</sup> gñis med pai mts'an ñid kyi  
 šes pa dam pa mc'og yin par ađod pa gañ yin pa de yañ  
 bdag med do | | no bo ñid med par rnal abyor pas  
 gñis med par snañ ba med pai ye šes kyis mt'oñ no |  
 | de p'an c'ad blta<sup>4)</sup> bar bya ba med pas na lhun gyis

1) N. btab.

2) N. rgyu *deest*.

3) N. kyis.

4) N. lta bar.

grub pa'o | | rnam par rtog pa sna ts'ogs t'ams cad  
 dañ bral bas ži ba'o |

§ 19. | gal te ji sñed<sup>1)</sup> 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 dbañ yod pai rnal abyor  
 pa gañ yañ med do | | mt'oñ ba ci yañ med do | | de  
 lta mod kyi kun rdsob tu ji ltar gzugs la sogs pa yul  
 gyi rnam par šes pa abyuñ 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 no žes t'a sñad ađogs  
 te | bdag la sogs pa ni gañ yañ med do | | de bžin  
 du ađir yañ gñis med pai ye šes snañ ba med pai šes  
 pa k'o na abyuñ ba nas<sup>2)</sup> snañ ba med pai ye šes kyis  
 mt'oñ no žes de ltar miñ ađogs so | | c'os t'ams cad don  
 dam par no bo ñid med mod kyi | kun rdsob tu rnal  
 abyor pai šes pa'm | so soi skye boi šes pa gžan  
 yañ ruñ ste | mi ađod pa ma yin no | | de skad  
 ap'ags pa bden pa gñis bstan pa las bka' stsal te | de  
 don dam par šin tu dños po med kyañ kun rdsob tu yañ<sup>3)</sup>  
 lam sgom par byed do žes bya ba la sogs pa abyuñ no |  
 | de lta ma yin na ñan t'os dañ | rañ sañs rgyas dañ |  
 byañ c'ub sems dpa' dañ | sañs rgyas dañ | so soi  
 skye bo la sogs pai bye brag kyañ cis dbye | ađi ltar  
 gañ la kun rdsob tu yañ rgyu med pa de ni kun rdsob  
 tu yañ mi skye ste | ri boñ gi rva la sogs pa bžin no |  
 gañ la rgyu yod pa de don dam par brdsun pa yin kyañ  
 skye ba k'o na ste | sgyu ma dañ | gzugs brñan dañ |  
 brag ca la sogs pa bžin no | | sgyu ma la sogs pa kun  
 rdsob tu rten ciñ ađrel par abyuñ ba yin yañ de dag brtag

1) D. ji ste.

2) N. abyuñ ba na.

3) N. om. yañ.

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 ađi ltar ñon moñs  
 pa dañ las sgyu mai dbañ gis sems can gyi skye ba sgyu  
 ma abyuñ no | | de bžin du rnal abyor pa rnams kyi <sup>1)</sup>  
 bsod nams dañ ye šes kyi ts'ogs sgyu mai dbañ 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 ađi ltar c'os t'ams cad  
 ni sprul pa yin te <sup>2)</sup> | la la ni ñan t'os kyi sprul pa'o |  
 | la la ni rañ sañs rgyas kyi sprul pa'o | | la la ni  
 byañ c'ub sems dpai sprul pa'o | | la la ni de bžin gšegs  
 pai sprul pa'o | | la la ni ñon moñs pai sprul pa'o |  
 | la la ni las kyi sprul pa'o | | rab abyor rnam grañs  
 ađis c'os t'ams cad sprul pa lta bu'o [37, b] žes abyuñ  
 no | | rnal abyor pa rnams dañ so soi skye bo rnams  
 kyi bye brag ni ađi 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 ađal 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 <sup>3)</sup> p'yir brtson |  
 des ni sña nas de šes pas |

1) N. kyis.

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 ađra bar ni |  
 rdsogs pai byañ c'ub mk'as pas šes |  
 agro bai c'ed du go bgos te |  
 agro ba de ltar sña nas šes |  
 | žes gsuñs so |

§ 20. | de ltar bsgom pai rim pa ađis de k'o na  
 bsgom par bya'o | | de la byiñ ba dañ rgod pa la  
 sogs pa byuñ na sñar bstan pa bžin du ži bar bya'o |  
 | gañ gi ts'e c'os t'ams cad no bo ñid med par dmigs  
 pa la byiñ ba dañ rgod pa la sogs pa dañ bral žiñ  
 mñon par ađu byed pa med par šes pa ađug par gyur  
 pa dei ts'e ži gnas dañ lhag mt'oñ zuñ du ađrel par ađug  
 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 ađod pa  
 bžin du skyil mo kruñ ma bšig par lañs la ađi sñam du  
 bsam par bya ste | yañ ni c'os ađi dag t'ams cad don  
 dam par no bo ñid med mod <sup>1)</sup> kyi | kun rdsob tu yod  
 par bsam mo | | de skad dkon mc'og sprin las kyañ  
 bka' stsal te | ji ltar byañ c'ub sems dpa' bdag med  
 pa la mk'as pa yin že na | | rigs kyi bu ađi la byañ  
 c'ub sems dpa' yañ dag pai šes rab kyis gzugs la so sor  
 rtog | ts'or ba dañ | ađu šes dañ | ađu byed rnams  
 dañ | rnam par šes pa la so sor rtog ste | de gzugs  
 la so sor rtog pa na gzugs kyi skye ba mi dmigs | kun  
 abyuñ ba mi dmigs | ađog pa mi dmigs so | | de  
 bžin du ts'or ba dañ | ađu šes dañ | ađu byed rnams  
 dañ | rnam par šes pai skye ba mi dmigs so | [38 a] |  
 de yañ don dam par skye ba med par gnas pai šes rab

1) N. med pa yin mod.

kyis yin gyi | t'a dad pai no bo ñid kyis ni ma yin no  
 žes rgya c'er abyun no | | byis<sup>1)</sup> pai blo can ađi dag no  
 bo ñid med pai dnos po rnams la mñon par žen pai  
 dbaň gis ađ'or ba na kun tu ađ'yam žiň sdug bsñal sna  
 ts'ogs dag ñams su myoň no sñam du sñiň rje c'en po  
 mñon du byas la ađi sñam du bsam par bya ste | ci  
 nas dbag gis t'ams cad mk'yen pa ñid t'ob nas ađi dag<sup>1)</sup>  
 c'os ñid k'oň du c'ud par byed par ađyur ba de ltar bya'o  
 sñam du bsam mo | | de nas saňs rgyas daň byaň c'ub  
 sems dpa' t'ams cad la mc'od pa daň bstod pa gsol te |  
 ađ'ags pa bzaň po spyod pa la sogs pai smon lam c'en po  
 gdab po | | de nas stoň pa ñid daň sñiň rjei sñiň po  
 can gyi sbyin pa la sogs pa bsod nams daň ye šes kyi ts'ogs  
 mt'a' dag sgrub pa la ađug par bya'o | | de skad ađ'ags  
 pa c'os yaň dag par sdud pa las kyaň bka' stsal te |  
 yaň dag pa ji lta ba bžin du mt'oň bai byaň c'ub sems  
 dpa' sems can rnams la sñiň rje c'en po ađug go | | de  
 yaň ađi sñam du bdag gis c'os t'ams cad yaň dag pa ji  
 lta ba bžin du mt'oň bai tiň ađsin gyi ne sgo ađi sems can  
 t'ams cad la bsgrub par bya'o sñam du sems te | dei  
 sñiň rje c'en po des bskul bas lhag pai ts'ul k'rims daň  
 lhag pai sems daň | lhag pai šes rab kyi bsam pa yoňs  
 su rdsogs par byas nas bla na med pa yaň dag par rdsogs  
 pai byaň c'ub mñon par rdsogs par ađs'aň rgya'o žes  
 abyun no | | t'abs daň šes rab zuň du ađrel par ađug  
 pa ađi ni byaň c'ub sems dpa' rnams kyi lam yin te |  
 ađi ltar don dam pa mt'oň yaň kun rdsob mi gcod la |  
 kun rdsob ma bead pas sñiň rje c'en po sñon du ađro žiň  
 p'yin ci log med pa sems can gyi don byed pa la sogs pa  
 la ađug go | | de skad ađ'ags pa dkon mc'og sprin las

1) N. om. dag.

kyaň bka' stsal te | ji ltar na byaň c'ub sems dpa' t'eg  
 pa c'en po la mk'as pa yin že na | ađi la byaň c'ub sems  
 dpa' bslab pa t'ams cad la slob kyaň<sup>1)</sup> bslab pa de yaň  
 mi dmigs | bslab pai [38 b] lam la<sup>2)</sup> yaň mi dmigs |  
 gaň slob pa de yaň mi dmigs te | rgyu de daň rkyen  
 de daň<sup>3)</sup> gži des c'ad par lta bar mi ltuň no žes abyun  
 no |

§ 21. | ađ'ags pa c'os yaň dag par sdud pa las kyaň  
 bka' stsal te | byaň c'ub sems dpa' rnams kyi sgrub pa  
 gaň že na | becom ldan ađas<sup>4)</sup> byaň c'ub sems dpa'  
 rnams kyi lus kyi las gaň ci lags pa daň | ñag gi las  
 gaň ci lags pa daň | yid kyi las gaň ci lags pa de dag  
 t'ams cad ni sems can t'ams cad la lta bas ađug pa lags  
 so | | sñiň rje c'en po sñon du ađro ba lags so | | sñiň  
 rje c'en poi dbaň du gyur pa lags so | | sems can t'ams  
 cad la p'an pa daň bde bar bgyi bai lhag pai bsam pa  
 las byuň ba lags so | | de ltar p'an par bgyi bai  
 [lhag pai] bsam pa daň ldan pa de ađi sñam du ađu šes.  
 bgyid de | | sems can t'ams cad la p'an pa sgrub pa daň  
 bde ba<sup>5)</sup> sgrub pai sgrub pa gaň yin pa de bdag gis bsgrub  
 par bya'o sñam pa<sup>6)</sup> lags so | | de p'uň po rnams la  
 sgyu ma lta bur so sor rtog pa yaň sgrub<sup>7)</sup> la p'uň po yoňs  
 su ađor ba yaň mi ađs'al | k'ams rnams la sbrul gdug pa  
 lta bur so sor rtog pa yaň sgrub<sup>7)</sup> la k'ams yoňs su ađor  
 ba yaň mi ađs'al | skye mc'ed rnams la groň stoň pa  
 ltar so sor rtog pa yaň sgrub la skye mc'ed yoňs su spon

1) N. om. slob kyaň.

2) N. la deest.

3) N. om. rkyen de daň.

4) N. adds: kyis.

5) N. om. sgrub pa daň bde ba.

6) N. om. pa.

7) N. bsgrub.

ba yañ mi aṭs'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 aḍor | 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 aḍsin la sñoms par ajuḡ pai bde ba bsgrub  
pai sbyor ba mi rtsom pa yañ ma lags | aḍu šes la smig  
rgyu lta bur so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub la <sup>1)</sup> de bžin gšegs  
pai ye šes sgrub pa mi sgrub pa yañ ma lags | aḍu byed  
rnams la c'u šiñ ltar so sor rtog pa yañ sgrub <sup>2)</sup> la sañs rgyas  
kyi c'os mñon par aḍu bgyi ba mi sgrub <sup>2)</sup> 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 aḡro bai lus dañ ñag dañ  
yid kyi <sup>3)</sup> las sgrub pa mi sgrub pa yañ <sup>4)</sup> ma lags so  
žes bya [39 a] ba la sogs pa rgyas par aḡyuiñ ño | | de  
ltar mdo-sde de dañ de dag las <sup>5)</sup> t'abs dañ šes rab kyi ts'ul  
sgrub pa mt'a' yas pa aḡyuiñ ba k'oñ du c'ud par bya'o |  
<sup>6)</sup> ajuḡ rten las aḡas pai šes rab kyi gnas skabs na t'abs  
la brten pa mi aḡyuiñ 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 ajuḡ rten las aḡas pai ye šes la sbyor ba  
dañ <sup>7)</sup> ye šes la sbyor bai rjes las byuiñ ba dños poi don  
gyi de k'o na ji lta ba bžin du rtogs pai šes rab yod pa <sup>8)</sup>  
ñid de | t'abs dañ šes rab zuñ du aḡrel bar ajuḡ pai lam de  
k'o na yin no | | aḡ'ags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan

1) D. sgrub pa.

2) N. bsgrub.

3) D. kyis.

4) N. yid kyi las ma bsgrub pa yañ.

5) N. de dag la.

6) From here up to end of paragraph see note 1 at p. 205 of Sk. text  
§ 20.7) N. ye šes la sbyor ba dañ *deest*.8) N. *om.* yod pa.

pa las kyañ bsam gtan mi zad pai skabs nas t'abs dañ  
šes rab zuñ du aḡrel bar ajuḡ pai lam aḡyuiñ ba k'oñ  
du c'ud par bya'o |

§ 22. | rim pa aḡi lta bu aḡis byañ c'ub sems  
dpa' t'abs dañ šes rab rtag tu gus par yun riñ du  
goms par bsgoms na gnas skabs kyi bye brag bcu gñis  
su aḡyur ro | | gnas skabs de dag ni goñ ma goñ  
mai yon tan gnas pai p'yir sar rnam 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 šiñ tu brtan  
pa tsam du zad de | bdud la sogs pas mi p'yed la gañ  
gi ts'e mos pai stobs k'o na sgom par byed pa dei ts'e  
mos pa brtan pai sgo nas mos pas spyod pai sar rnam  
par gžag go | | sa aḡi la gnas pai byañ c'ub sems dpa'  
ni so soi skye bo yin mod kyi | byis pai p'oñs pa t'ams  
cad las yañ dag par aḡas te tiñ ñe aḡsin dañ | gzuñs  
dañ | rnam par t'ar pa dañ | mñon par šes pa la sogs  
pai yon tan grañs med pa dag dañ ldan pa aḡ'ags pa  
dkon mc'og sprin las aḡyuiñ ba yin no | | aḡi ñid t'a  
ma dañ | aḡriñ dañ | rab dañ | rab kyi mc'og gi gnas  
skabs bžis ñes par aḡyed pai c'a dañ mt'un pa bžir rnam  
par gžag ste | aḡi ltar gañ gi ts'e p'yi rol gyi don rnam  
par ajuḡ pa na šes pai snañ ba cuñ zad gsal ba byuiñ ba  
dei ts'e ñes par aḡyed pai [39, b] c'a dañ mt'un pa dro  
bar gyur pa yin no | | de ni t'eg pa c'en po aḡdir snañ  
ba t'ob pai tiñ ñe aḡsin žes bya'o | | gañ gi ts'e šes  
pai snañ ba de ñid aḡriñ tsam du gsal bar gyur pa dei  
ts'e ñes par aḡyed pai c'a dañ mt'un pa rtse mo žes  
bya ba yin no | | snañ ba mc'od pai tiñ ñe aḡsin 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 byuiñ ba dei

ts'e rnam par šes pa tsam la gnas pai p'yir<sup>1)</sup> 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 ajig 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 ąjug pai p'yir ro | | dei bar du  
 ni mos pas spyod pai sa yin no |

§ 23. | sa<sup>2)</sup> gžan dag ni mdor na yan lag bcu  
 gcig yoñs su rdsogs pai sgo nas rnam par gžag  
 go | | de las dañ por<sup>3)</sup> 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 mjug<sup>4)</sup> 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 ajig rten las ądas pa spros pa t'ams cad  
 dañ bral ba t'og ma byuñ ba dei ts'e byañ c'ub sems  
 dpa' yañ dag pa ñid skyon med pa la žugs pas mt'oñ  
 bai lam skyes pai p'yir sa dañ por c'ud pa yin no |  
 | de bas na de k'o na<sup>5)</sup> k'oñ du ma<sup>6)</sup> c'ud pas ądi la  
 t'og mar k'oñ du c'ud pai p'yir byañ c'ub sems dpa'  
 rab tu dga' ba yin te | | des na sa de rab tu dga'  
 ba žes bya'o | | sa der mt'oñ bas spañ bar bya bai  
 ñom moñs pa brgya rtsa bcu gñis spoñ 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 rnams ni bsgom pai lam gyi no bo ñid de | de dag  
 tu bsgoms<sup>1)</sup> pas spañ bar bya ba k'ams gsum pai ñon moñs  
 pa<sup>2)</sup> bcu drug spoñ no | | sa der byañ c'ub sems dpa'  
 c'os kyi dbyiñs kun tu ągro ba ñid rtogs pas bdag gi don  
 dañ ądra bar gžan gyi [40 a] don la ąjug 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 ąk'rul pa c'a p'ra ba rnams la šes bžin du  
 gnas par byed mi nus pa de srid du sa dañ po'o<sup>3)</sup> | | gañ  
 gi ts'e nus pa dei ts'e<sup>4)</sup> yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa  
 gñis par rnam par gžag go | de bas na sa de la  
 ltuñ bai ąk'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 |  
 | ąc'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  
 ąk'rul pa c'a p'ra ba rnams la šes bžin du gnas pa yañ  
 yin no | | ji srid du ajig rten pai tiñ ne ądsin mt'a'  
 dag la sñoms par ąjug pa dañ | | ji skad t'os pai don  
 kun tu ądsin 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 ne ądsin de dag t'ob  
 pas sa de ni ajig rten las ądas pai ye šes kyi snañ ba  
 ts'ad<sup>5)</sup> med pa byed pas 'od byed pa žes bya'o | | de  
 ajig rten pai tiñ ne ądsin 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 kyi<sup>1)</sup> c'os rnams  
 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 gžag<sup>2)</sup>  
 go | | sa de la byañ c'ub sems dpa'<sup>3)</sup> rgyun mi ač'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 rnams kyis gnas  
 pas na brtson agrus 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 bsreg<sup>4)</sup>  
 par nus pai byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi c'os kyi 'od ač'ro  
 ba šin tu byuñ bas 'od ač'ro ba can žes bya'o | | de  
 byañ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi c'os [40 b] kyis rgyun mi ač'ad  
 par gnas pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du bden pa rnams  
 bsgom pa na<sup>5)</sup> ač'or ba la [mñon du] mi p'yogs pa dañ | |  
 mya ñan las ač'as 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' ba<sup>6)</sup> 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 lan<sup>7)</sup> mañ du gnas pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du ač'or

1) N. om. p'yogs kyi.

2) N. bžag.

3) N. byañ c'ub dpa'.

4) D. sreg.

5) D. bsgom pa.

6) N. dka' žes.

7) N. lan deest.

bar ajug pa la so sor rtog pas skyo ba dañ ldan pas sems  
 kyi rgyud kyis mts'an ma med par gnas pa la mñam  
 par ajug mi nus pa de srid du sa lña pa'o | | gañ gi  
 ts'e nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa drug  
 pa rnam par gžag go | | sa de la byañ c'ub sems dpa'  
 rten ciñ ač'rel par ač'yuñ ba bsgom<sup>1)</sup> 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 ajug mi nus  
 pa de srid du sa drug pa'o | | gañ gi ts'e nus pa dei  
 ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa bdun par rnam par  
 gžag go | | sa de la byañ c'ub sems dpa' mts'an ma  
 t'ams cad mts'an ma med par k'oñ du c'ud la mts'an  
 mar byas pai t'a sñad kyañ ač'og 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 ač'i lhun gyis grub pai lam dañ  
 ač'rel pai p'yir šin tu riñ du soñ bas<sup>2)</sup> riñ du soñ ba žes  
 bya'o | | de skabs med pa mts'an ma med pa la gnas  
 pa yañ yin no | | ji<sup>3)</sup> srid du lhun gyis grub pas  
 ajug pai mts'an ma med par [41 a] gnas pa la mñam  
 par ajug mi nus pa de srid du sa bdun pa'o | | gañ gi  
 ts'e nus pa dei ts'e yan lag de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa 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 |  
ñes 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 <sup>1)</sup> de yoñs su rdsogs pas sa dgu par rnam par gžag  
go | | sa de la byañ 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 <sup>2)</sup> 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 <sup>3)</sup> legs pai blo gros  
žes bya'o | | de so sor <sup>4)</sup> yañ dag par rig pa bži t'ob  
pa yañ yin no | | ji srid du sañs rgyas kyi žiñ dañ |  
ak'or dañ | sprul pa la sogs pa bstan pa dañ | c'os  
yoñs su rdsogs par loñs spyod pa dañ | sems can yoñs  
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 <sup>5)</sup> yoñs su rdsogs  
pas sa bcu par <sup>6)</sup> rnam par gžag go | | de la sprul pa  
la sogs pas sems can yoñs su smin par bya ba la mk'as  
pai k'yad par dañ ldan pas byañ 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 kyi ajig rten gyi k'ams  
mt'a' yas pa rnam su c'os kyi c'ar aḅebs pas na c'os kyi  
sprin žes bya'o | | gžan yañ p'uñ po yoñs su dag pa  
la sogs pai rnam par gžag <sup>7)</sup> pa rnam kyi sa rnam <sup>8)</sup>

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 kyi 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 aḅi  
ni aḅ'ags pa dgoñs pa ñes par aḅrel pa las bstan to |  
| sañs rgyas kyi sa aḅi ni p'un sum ts'ogs pa rnam pa t'ams  
cad mt'a' dag rab kyi mt'ar p'yin pai p'yir aḅi 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 rnam kyi kyañ mi spyod na bdag aḅra  
bas lta smos kyañ ci dgos | | ji skad du | aḅ'ags pa  
sdoñ po bkod pa las kyañ |

šin tu brtags kyañ rañ byuñ gi |  
yon tan rnam kyi p'yogs gcig mt'a' |  
mi rtog sañs rgyas rnam dañ ni <sup>1)</sup> |  
c'os rnam bsam gyis mi k'yab bo |

| žes bka' stsal pa lta bu'o | | mdor aḅi tsam žig  
b jod 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 aḅas rnam c'os kyi sku la bžugs te | | loñs spyod  
rdsogs pa dañ sprul pai skus aḅro ba ma lus pai don  
lhun gyis grub pai ts'ul gyis mdsad ciñ ak'or ba ji  
srid par bžugs so | | de lta bas na rtog pa dañ ldan  
pa rnam kyi yon tan t'ams cad kyi aḅyuñ gnas bcom

1) N. mi rtogs sañs rgyas rnam pa dañ ni.

ldan ḡdas rnam la dad pa bskyed la de dag gi yon tan  
yoṅs su bsgrub pai p'yir rnam pa t'ams cad kyis rab tu  
ḡbad 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 <sup>1)</sup> lugs mt'un pa |  
rgyal bai sras kyis lam ḡdi legs bḡad pas ||  
bdag gis bsod namṅs mi c'uṅ ḡaṅ t'ob des |  
ḡgro ba ṡes ḡan <sup>2)</sup> blo mc'og myur t'ob ṡog ||

sai mṅa' bdag dpal lha btsan pos bka' stsal nas <sup>3)</sup> ka  
ma la ṡi las <sup>4)</sup> bsgom pai rim pa mdor bsdus pa ḡdi bgyis  
so | | bsgom rim daṅ po rdsogs so || || rgya gar gyi  
mk'an po pra jṅā va rma daṅ | | ḡu c'en gyi lo tsā ba  
bande ye ṡes sde la sogs pas bsgyur ciṅ ḡus te gtan la  
p'ab pa ||

<sup>1)</sup> D. gyis.

<sup>2)</sup> N. gḡon.

<sup>3)</sup> From bdag daṅ ḡzan (third line from the bottom of preceding page) up  
to bka' stsal not in Sk.

<sup>4)</sup> N. ṡi.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

To Part I <sup>1)</sup>

- 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  
p r a y o j a n a of later dogmatical books.  
P. 20, l. 3: Prof. Demiéville informs me that the expression s h e n g s h i h  
never occurs in Chinese.  
P. 21, l. 5 read: of mGon po skyabs, reedition of ḡJam<sup>o</sup>  
P. 24, l. 9: omit 'is'  
P. 55, l. 1 read: ṡaṡkam  
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: mahāttvataḡ  
P. 84, l. 12 read: mā bhūt  
P. 91, l. 1 read: nirvāṅam  
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 p r a ṅ i d h i j ṅ ā n a: this is, according to *La Somme*,  
p. 285, the sixth g u ṅ a of the Dharmakāya, which AA. VIII, 8 so defines:  
anābhogam anāsaṅgam avyāghātaṅ sadā sthitam |  
sarvaprāśṅāpanud bauddham praṅidhijṅānam iṡyate ||  
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: *Suvikrāntavi-*  
*krāmi-prajṅāpāramitā*, ed. by Tokumyō Matsumoto, *Die*  
*Prajṅāpāramitā-Literatur*, Stuttgart 1932, p. 27  
P. 147, l. 3 read: dānām  
P. 149, l. 18 read: uccheda<sup>o</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> These *addenda* and *corrigenda* annul the provisory ones published at  
the end of Part I while I was away in Swat.

- P. 153, last line read: as if it  
 P. 158, ll. 6, 14 read: uttrasi°  
 P. 165, l. last but one: 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 padīya*, not found in the preserved text see: SADHU RAM, *Authorship of some kārikās and fragments ascribed to Bhartṛhari*. *J. of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, vol. XIII, 1956, p. 51 ff.  
 P. 283, l. 12: verse defective! corr.: astīdam ity artho'yaṃ svasaṃvidāḥ  
 P. 284, l. 34, p. 4 This stanza is quoted by Jayaratha in *Tantrāloka*, vol. VII, p. 170, but; bhāsate for śaṃsate  
 P. 291, last line read: cehopalabdhīḥ  
 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: kaṃcit.

## To Part II

ADD. p. 10, n. 3: The nickname Me mgo, 'fire-head' may also have been given to this priest because during the ordination he had undergone the fire ordeal which consisted in the branding of some marks on the shaven heads of the monks, these brandings being three or multiple. The practice is already recommended in the *Brahmajālasūtra*, Ta. n. 1484, p. 1006 a: burning of the body, of an arm, of finger, as an offering to the Buddha, without which one cannot be called a Bodhisattva who has given up family life. Cf. J. J. M. DE GROOT, *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*. *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 47 and 210. REICHELT, *Truth and tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, Shanghai 1934, p. 238.

ADD. p. 22, l. 9: The number itself of the seven sad mi looks rather suspicious: the "seven tests" remind us of the seven monks who in China were used to assist as representatives of the community every ordination ceremony and to be present there along with the karmācārya and the instructor (see J. J. M. DE GROOT, *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, p. 208, I. P. MINAYEFF, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*. Paris 1894, p. 309 "sept témoins vénérables").

An ideal assembly was thus imagined as the transmitter of a tradition handed over to it by the Sarvāstivādin monks invited from India; it assured the foundation and guaranteed the ordinations to come. This ideal assembly strengthened the claim of orthodoxy of the Tibetan clergy, it linked it with the Indian tradition and conferred upon it a sanctity which could justify the developments and continuity of the Tibetan Church.

This being the case it is likely that the story was imagined under the influence of Chinese customs.

ADD. p. 32, l. 1: After a new consideration,—and I must thank my friend H.E. Richardson for having given me the hint—I think that further precision is possible in the sense that the date of the ordination of the seven Sad mi and that of the foundation of the temple are the same, i.e. 779 that is a sheep year. The argument for that is the edict of K'ri sroṅ 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 authentical by the discovery of the original edicts. There is no doubt that there existed in bSam yas and elsewhere some archives still preserved at the times of PT. On the other side the importance of bSam yas is also testified by the literature connected with Padmasambhava, KT and KTY which though much re-elaborated, contain few old and genuine materials. A great religious and cultural life for a certain period was centred in the monastery. It was there that the edict in which the king proclaimed Buddhism to be the religion of the State was issued. The tradition concerning the importance of this monastery is so general that I found it difficult not to accept it. Moreover, it should be mentioned that the investigation of Tibetan history shows a gradual shifting of its centre from the South to the North. In the beginning we find Yar lung as the place of paramount importance. There

was the palace, P'o brañ, of Lha t'o t'o ri, then we find there the castle of P'yoñ rgyas and the tombs of the Tibetan Rulers scattered in the plains nearby. Later this centre shifted to the North of the river bTsan po in Brag dmar, Zuñ mk'ar, the plain of bSam yas, Haspori etc., then to Lhasa which had so far been the summer residence. The country near bSam yas and Brag dmar was much more easily defensible than Lhasa. It was protected on the East by high mountains and was also surrounded to the North and South by two big rivers in spring not easily fordable. Lhasa, as the summer residence, was the centre from which the king during the warm season started for his yearly hunting (*Concile*, p. 202) and the armies departed for their military expeditions. Any movement of troops would have been very difficult from bSam yas, while near Lhasa they could be easily accommodated and the roads were opened to China and Central Asia. But under king K'ri lde sroñ btsan and chiefly Ral pa can we assist to a definite transfer of the centre of the state to Lhasa. Then the Karchung and 'On can rdo temples are erected on the southern shore of the Kyichu and the treaties between Tibet and China are engraved in Lhasa. Thus Lhasa was a summer residence, the starting point of warlike expeditions, the centre of the territory in full array of war (*Ru*). It was walled as all other important settlements must have been walled, including most probably bSam yas. There is no reason to believe that the actual wall, lcags ri, is the original one and that in those times it was not bigger including also the habitation of the king. Those who have been in bSam yas certainly know how large is the valley and how easy it could be to have there a big encampment. We know that Ch. ch'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 Hya šañ meets the king were apparently Ko 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 bTsañ po and Brag dmar. But this I repeat does not exclude that Lhasa was for its situation more important than Brag dmar and that it may have therefore appeared to foreigners as the capital and that the Chinese princesses were received there. The only point on which we must rather be careful before accepting the statement of the Tibetan tradition is that concerning the duration of the debate. From the Tibetan sources we are under the impression that it lasted a short time; against it there are the records of a witness, Wang Si, from whom we know

that the debate went on for about one year and a half. Did all the meetings take place in bSam yas? Probably not, but I do not see any cogent reason to reject the statement of the Tibetan sources that the first meeting was held in bSam yas. We can hardly imagine that the king himself was present in all the debates in which things were discussed beyond his comprehension. Probably he assisted at the opening of the debate and then at the concluding sessions before promulgating his edicts, therefore in both cases during the cold season when he settled on the northern shore of the bTsan po near Brag dmar.

ADD. p. 33, l. 22: I do not say of course that K a t corresponds to G r a g s which is phonetically impossible. Mine is a mere surmise in case some character is missing or a mistake dropped in the text. I therefore do not insist too much on this supposition.

ADD. p. 35, l. 21: Mr. H. E. Richardson kindly reminds me that when Nepal is clearly referred to as e. g. in the treaty inscription of 821 A.D., it is prefixed by the word: l h o, South. He also suggests that in TH. under the year 705 g c e n l h o B a l p h o might be read g c e n L h o B a l p h o. Anyhow, as I stated, duplication of names is not rare in ancient Tibetan records. Prof. Demiéville in a letter to me refers to the Ch. XL of the T'ang shu 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 brog mts'o, the lake of the upper pasture grounds near Nankartse. But in the Tibetan books Paltits'o is unknown: Palti corresponds to Pedi, dPal sde (spelling uncertain), a rdoñ 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'ei rgyud tri ma med pa, p. 1, Tantras are so classified

Bon ñid lta bai rgyud	
tiñ ñe a dsin sgom pai rgyud	
s pyod pai	"
dam ts'ig sdom	"
yid bžin a bras bui	"
a p'rin las	"

P. 125, l. 12, read: samvr̥ti.

P. 127, l. 8, read: śrutam.

ADD. p. 133, l. 21: The five poisons correspond to the five coloured lights which are the source of the psycho-physic universe. This theory of cosmic evolution from uncoloured primeval light = Kun tu bzañ po down to the material world and the creatures living in it is common both to Bon po and to rDsogs c'en dogmatics and has been most probably influenced by Manichaeic doctrines. I quote the scheme of this evolution from the 'O d g s a l s e m s k y i m e l o ñ , The mirror of mind-light, revealed by Kun tu bzañ po to sNañ 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:	} five poisons
white	anger	
red	attachment	
blue	ignorance	
green	pride	
yellow	jealousy	

From them the various psychic and physico constituents of the individual, organs, parts of the body etc. arise. Then the external world starting from the material elements is originated:

lights:	yellow	earth
	red	fire
	blue	water
	green	wind
	white	ether.

P. 145, l. 25, read: Tōhoku Cat. n. 4450.

P. 146, l. 5, read: Tōhoku Cat. n. 4451.

ADD. p. 229-30: The Tibetan passage which has no counterpart in Sanskrit is here translated: Having attained the supreme limit of the accumulation of merits for their own benefit and of the others and having obtained the extreme elimination of all defects the Buddhas, the Blessed ones, abide in the dharmakāya. With the Sambhogakāya and the Nirmāṇakāya actuating the benefit of all beings in a spontaneous way they abide in saṃsāra as long as it exists. Therefore those who possess reason should have faith in the Blessed ones who are a source of all sorts of virtues and should by all means exert themselves in order to realize those virtues proper to them. The particularities concerning the three bodies are not written here because we are afraid of writing too much. By whatever small merit I may have gathered well explaining this path of the sons of the Victorious ones according to the method of different sūtras, may beings of weak intelligence acquire the supreme mind (Enlightenment).

NOTICE

This volume has been printed during the Author's absence: he has therefore been unable to check cross references in the last proofs. A list is here given of the corrections that should be taken into account:

p. 5 n. 3	read	p. 26	instead of	p. 27
p. 16 l. 14	»	p. 24	»	p. 19
p. 20 l. 21	»	p. 150 f.	»	p. 140
p. 23 n. 1	»	p. 11	»	p. 7
p. 25 l. 24	»	p. 56	»	p. 50
p. 31 l. 4	»	pp. 42, 54	»	pp. 36, 47
p. 34 l. 18	»	p. 3	»	p. 27
p. 37 l. 17	»	p. 26	»	p. 21
p. 37 l. 28	»	p. 45	»	p. 39
p. 38 l. 8	»	p. 152	»	p. 143
p. 39 l. 31	»	p. 198	»	p. 183
p. 39 l. 32	»	p. 205	»	p. 189
p. 44 n. 1	»	p. 82	»	p. 74
p. 48 l. 18	»	p. 21	»	p. 16
p. 49 l. 24	»	p. 18	»	p. 14
p. 52 l. 8	»	p. 101	»	p. 93
p. 52 l. 31	»	p. 30	»	p. 26
p. 58 n. 1	»	p. 39	»	p. 34
p. 58 n. 2	»	p. 25	»	p. 21
p. 63 l. 27	»	p. 133	»	p. 126
p. 81 n. 1	»	p. 66	»	p. 60
p. 96 n. 2	»	p. 13	»	p. 9
p. 97 n. 3	»	p. 64	»	p. 58
p. 133 l. 27	»	p. 137	»	pp. 127-28
p. 151 l. 5	»	p. 282	»	p. 263

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