



A preliminary survey of Sanskrit manuscripts of Madhyamaka texts preserved in the Tibet Autonomous Region¹

Ye Shaoyong, Beijing

Although the Madhyamaka was one of the most influential schools in the history of Buddhist thought, not many Sanskrit manuscripts of its texts have survived until today. Often scholars must rely on the Tibetan and Chinese translations. In 2003 while checking microfilms of manuscripts from the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) with the help of my supervisor, Prof. Duan Qing, I succeeded in identifying two incomplete Sanskrit manuscripts dated paleographically to between the sixth and seventh centuries. One turned out to be a copy of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (ms. 1.1.1); the other was Buddhapālita's commentary thereon (ms. 3), which had long been deemed lost (cf. Ye 2007a). The identification of these two works made me wonder how many priceless Sanskrit manuscripts of the Mādhyamika School might still be covered with dust on the shelves

¹ I would like to take this opportunity to pay homage to Professor Luo Zhao of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, as this paper would not have been possible without his pioneering work and the generosity in providing me with his unpublished manuscript. Heartfelt thanks are due to all the participants of the Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies (2008) for their invaluable suggestions. I am greatly indebted to Professor Harunaga Isaacson, who kindly gave me many suggestions regarding the readings of the colophons. I am very grateful to Professor Akira Saito, who was kind enough to read through my draft and provide suggestions. I am also indebted to Dr. Saerji of Peking University, who helped me to find a number of Tibetan references.

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of monasteries or sleeping in the drawers of museums in the TAR, while scholars are diligently striving to guess the original wordings based on the Tibetan and Chinese renditions, the only works at their disposal.

In the following, I will present a preliminary survey of the Sanskrit manuscripts of Madhyamaka texts preserved in the TAR based on the information I have uncovered until now. Due to limitations of many kinds, the list below is by no means complete. The information has mainly come from three sources, namely, the reports by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1935, 1937, 1938), and the catalogues compiled in the 1980s by Luo Zhao (罗炤) and Wang Sen (王森).² Inasmuch as I have not had access to either the originals or microfilms of all the manuscripts recorded by Luo Zhao and others, the information has in many cases been collected from secondary sources only. As a result, some descriptions of manuscripts may be incomplete or inaccurate.

It may be expected that in the future these precious manuscripts preserved in the TAR will offer independent testimony for better new editions, fill lacunas in previous editions, and in some instances, even establish the existence of texts that were as yet unknown to the modern world.

The texts listed below have been selected according to two criteria: first, they were written by authors traditionally believed of the Mādhyamika School, and second, they are not Tantric works. This may, to some extent, help stave off the dilemma of determining the authenticity of certain texts. The following description does not include the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* literature or commentaries on the different recensions of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, although both are to some extent related to Mādhyamika thought.

² In addition to these, other references to the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the TAR can be found in: Much 1988, Bandurski 1994, Bretfeld 1997, Sferra 2000; for an overview of the history of these manuscripts, see Steinkellner 2004.

1. Nāgārjuna

More than one hundred texts are transmitted under the name of Nāgārjuna in the form of Sanskrit manuscripts and Chinese and Tibetan translations. It is quite clear that the Nāgārjuna who composed Tantric works is not the same figure as the author of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*; however the authenticity of the remaining works, ranging from scholastic treatises to commentaries on Sūtras as well as epistles and hymns, still remains a subject of debate. Thus, there may remain some doubt concerning the authorship of several of the works listed below.

1.1 *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*

1.1.1 Palm-leaf, 3 fols. (fols. 5, 7, 8, incomplete), size unknown, 6 lines, eastern variety of the post-Gupta script, ca. 550–650 CE (dated paleographically, cf. Ye 2008b), belonging to the Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library, now at the Tibet Museum, Lhasa (Wang Cat.: no. 17); ed. Ye 2007a: 121–130.

1.1.2 Palm-leaf, 16 fols. (complete 27 chapters), 31.8 × 5.4 cm, 7 lines, Dhārikā script,³ preserved at the Drepung Monastery, Lhasa at the time the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. I: 127f.).

Tibetan notes on the cover leaf read *dbu ma'i rab tu byed pa | slob dpon chen po'i spyan sngar dbus ma tsa ba shes rab gnyos pas 'phulo* |. The word *gnyos* is not clear. It could also be *gnyis*, but is more likely *gnyos*. This manuscript was probably brought from India by gNyos Lo tsā ba in the eleventh century.⁴

³ The naming system of scripts in Luo Zhao's catalogue follows the Tibetan tradition. By comparing the sample photos published in the Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region (China Tibetology Publishing House 2005–2008), we can roughly estimate that the so-called Dhārikā script is equivalent to the Proto-Bengālī script, and the Gupta script is equivalent to the Nepalese hooked script.

⁴ As proposed by Luo Zhao. The name *gnyos* in the colophon may refer to gNyos 'byung po Lo tsā ba, a contemporary of Marpa (1012–1097); cf. Roerich 1949: 373.

The Sanskrit text of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* is known to the modern world through Candrakīrti's commentary thereon, the *Prasannapadā* (La Vallée Poussin 1903–1913). The manuscripts listed above are the only two extant Sanskrit copies of an independent *kārikā* text. Ms. 1.1.1 has preserved 107 verses (9.10–12, 10.1–16, 11.1–8, 12.1–8a, 17.29–33, 18.1–12, 19.1–6, 20.1–24, 21.1–21, 22.1–5) – although these individual verses are not always complete due to the damage of individual folios – which amounts to approximately one fourth of the whole work. Because of its early date, many readings are clearly different to those found in the *Prasannapadā* edition of La Vallée Poussin or that of de Jong (1977). This might afford either better readings for a future edition or provide hints of the work's textual lineage (cf. Ye 2007b).

When I identified this manuscript in 2003, I thought it to be the first independently transmitted Sanskrit version of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* to have been found, and I introduced it this way in earlier articles (2007a, b). But the first discovery of such a text should correctly be attributed to Luo Zhao, who recorded the second manuscript (1.1.2) in 1984, i.e. more than twenty years ago! This manuscript, described by him as being complete, may in the future reveal valuable textual information about the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*.

1.2 *Ratnāvālī*, palm-leaf, 33 fols. (complete, only the first 15 bear folio numbers), 5 lines, 30.6 × 5.5 cm, Rañjanā script, preserved at the Drepung Monastery, Lhasa, at the time the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. I: 128f).⁵

Parts of the Sanskrit text of the *Ratnāvālī* were first edited by Giuseppe Tucci (1934, 1936) based on a palm-leaf manuscript in the private collection of Mahārāja Joodha Sham Shere in Kathmandu.⁶

⁵ The title of this manuscript was recorded by Luo Zhao as *Āryaratnāvātṇā nāma parikathā*, Tib. *dbu ma rin phreng* or *rgyal po la gdams pa rin chen phreng ba*. He pointed out further that the word *avatnā* might be a scribal error for *avataṃsa*, which corresponds to Tib. *phreng ba*. Apparently here *ratnāvātṇā* is an error for *ratnāvālī*.

⁶ This manuscript is now preserved in the National Archives, Kath-

Because this manuscript is incomplete, Tucci's edition only includes verses 1–77 of the first chapter, 1–46 of the second, and 1–100 of the fourth. Siglinde Dietz (1980) published an edition of the available portions of the fifth chapter, verses 1–55ab and 79–100ab, based on an incomplete paper manuscript preserved in the National Archives, Kathmandu (NGMPP reel no. B 90/13). In her comparison of this paper manuscript with Tucci's edition, she notes many different readings between them, although they share the same lacuna, and states that it is not always clear whether one is superior to the other. Nevertheless they are likely to have descended from the same source (cf. Hahn 1982: introd., 8).

The latest edition of the *Ratnāvālī* by Michael Hahn (Hahn 1982), based on the editions of Tucci and Dietz, the aforementioned paper manuscript, as well as quotations in other Sanskrit works, includes $302\frac{3}{4}$ verses (cf. 1982: 25), which amounts to three-fifths of the entire work (500 verses). Luo Zhao reports that Ms. 1.2 is complete, and to judge from the number of folios and lines, this might indeed be the case. Therefore, the missing two-fifths of this work might hopefully become available in the future.

1.3 *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, palm-leaf, 7 fols. (complete), 8 lines, $22\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in., Tibetan dBu med script, preserved at the Zhalu Monastery when visited by Sāṅkṛtyāyana, belonging to the Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library, now at the Tibetan Museum, Lhasa (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937: 36; Wang Cat.: no. 30); eds. Jayaswal/Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937; Johnston/Kunst 1948–1951; Lindtner 1982b: 76–86; Yonezawa 2008; facsim. Taishō University 2001.

1.4 *Pratītyasamutpādaḥṛdaya*, paper, incomplete, preserved at the Kundeling Monastery when visited by Vasudev V. Gokhale in 1949, once in the possession of Paṇḍita Lokottara, who was in Central India in the 14th century; ed. Gokhale 1955.

mandu (NGMPP reel no. B 23/23). Its variant readings are also examined in Hahn 1987.

This manuscript, found by Gokhale and edited by him in 1955, includes five verses and commentary on the first three. In 1978, based on a Gilgit manuscript in Proto-Śāradā script, Gokhale published another edition that includes all six verses and most of the commentary. For the latest edition, see Gyaltzen Namdol 1997.

1.5 *Catuḥstava* (*Lokātītastava*, *Nirauṇamyastava*, *Acintyastava* and *Paramārthastava*)

1.5.1 Paper, Bengal script of around the 13th or 14th century; preserved at the Kundeling Monastery when Gokhale visited there in 1949 (cf. Lindtner 1982b: 123–124).

1.5.2 Palm-leaf, 25 fols. (complete), 2–4 lines, 20.9 × 3.3 cm (size varies), Nāgarī script, preserved at the Norbulingka when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. I: 6; Sangdhag Cat.: reel 5, no. 88/2).

Tibetan title on the cover: 'jig rten las 'das par bstod pa la sogs |.

1.5.3 Palm-leaf, 10 fols., 5–6 lines, 28.5 × 4.9 cm, Dhārikā scripts, including the *Lokātītastava*, the *Nirauṇamyastava* and the *Acintyastava*, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 28f.; Sangdhag Cat.: reel 6, no. 121/6/1).

Colophon: *Pīṭhīpatyācāryaśrīmadbuddhasenadevapādānā⁷ ajyudarājy⁸ saṃ 8 māgha dine 5.*

1.5.4 *Catuḥstotra*, palm-leaf, 7 fols. (incomplete, *Lokātītastava*, fols. 1–3; *Nirauṇamyastava*, fols. 3–4; *Acintyastava*, fols. 4–7; *Paramārthastava*, fol. 7, only the beginning left), 6 lines, 31.9 × 5 cm, slanting script between Dhārikā and Gupta, belongs to the same bundle and shares the same scribe as ms. 1.5.7, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 41f.; Sangdhag Cat.: reel 6, no. 129/5).

A piece of paper is found inside the bundle with the Chinese note: No. 33, 54 fols., Zha lu.

⁷ The king of Pīṭhī, Buddhasena, mentioned in the colophon suggests a date of the 13th century (Majumdar 1943: 259–260).

⁸ *ajyudarājye*: for *akṣayarājye*?

1.5.5 *Catuḥstotra*, palm-leaf, included in a ms. of 95 fols. (*Cittaviśuddhi*, fols. 1–14; *Lokātūtastava*, fols. 15–17; *Niraupamyastava*, fols. 17–19; *Acintyastava*, fols. 19–23; *Paramārthastava*, fols. 23–24; *Ālokamālā*, fols. 40–59), 5–7 lines, 19.6 × 3.5 cm, scratched and blued Dhārikā script, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 172f.; Sangdhag Cat.: reel 3, no. 57/1/2–5).

1.5.6 *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* by Amṛtākara, palm-leaf, 1 fol. (incomplete, the commentary on the *Lokātūtastava* and the beginning of the commentary on *Niraupamyastava* are missing), preserved at the Ngor Monastery when Tucci visited there; ed. Tucci 1956: 233–246.

1.5.7 *Catuḥstotravivaraṇa* (*bstod pa bzhi'i rgyas 'grel*), palm-leaf, 47 fols. (complete), 5 lines, 31.9 × 5 cm, slanting script between Dhārikā and Gupta, belongs to the same bundle and shares the same scribe as ms. 1.5.4 (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 41f.; Sangdhag Cat.: reel 6, no. 129/5); not edited yet.

Colophon: *saṃvat 38⁹ nayayalo¹⁰ Kalipattanāvasthiteḍoguhāyāṃ teṭadeśīya¹¹* (this transliteration may have mistakes) *locavapaṇḍitabhikṣuśrī-vajradhvajasya¹² sauga-tāvadhūtaśrībālabodhin¹³ likhitapustakam Pauṣṇakṛṣṭapratipādaḥ somavāsare mahā-rājādhirājaramyuvātsādbhava-*

⁹ Based on the dates of Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (see n. 11) and Jayabhīmadeva (see n. 13), a reasonable date for this manuscript would be sometime in the 1260s CE, which equals the 380s of the Nepal era. Thus, if the date is referring to the Nepal era and is reckoning the date in the same way as is found in later Nepalese inscriptions, here the number 38 might have lost one digit.

¹⁰ *nayayalo*: for *Nayapāle* or *Nayapāla-*, i.e., Nepāla?

¹¹ *teṭadeśīya*: for *bhoḷadeśīya*.

¹² Lo tsā ba Vajradhvaja, the owner or donor of this manuscript, might refer to Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (ca. 1235–), who went to Nepal in about 1265 CE (cf. *bsTan rtsis* 536).

¹³ °*bodhina*: for °*bodhinā*.

*śrījayabhīśadevasya rājyo*¹⁴ *śubham asta sarvajagata parahitaniratā bhavanta bhūtagaṇaḥ*¹⁵

Based on a Nepalese manuscript, Tucci (1932) published editions of two *stavas*, viz., the *Nirauṣṭamyaṣṭava* and the *Paramārthastava*. At the Ngor Monastery he also found an incomplete manuscript of the *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* (ms. 1.5.6), a commentary on the *Catuḥstava* by Amṛtākara, and edited it in 1956 (233–246). Based on two Nepalese paper manuscripts,¹⁶ M. Tubiansky's transcription of a manuscript from Mongolia, and Gokhale's handwritten copy of ms. 1.5.1, Christian Lindtner (1982b: 121–161) published the other two *stavas*, the *Lokātīstava* and the *Acintyaṣṭava*.¹⁷ Inasmuch as the texts have already been critically edited by Tucci and Lindtner, the four palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Catuḥstotra* recorded by Lou Zhao (mss. 1.5.2–5) might be of comparatively less value, unless by chance they offer some older readings because of their earlier date. The *Catuḥstotravivarāṇa* (ms. 1.5.7), however, is a hitherto unknown commentary on the *Catuḥstotra*.

¹⁴ *mahārājādhirājaramyuvātsādbhavaśrījayabhīśadevasya rājyo*: for °*ādhirāja-raghuvaṃśodbhava-śrī-jayabhīmādevasya rājye*. The Malla king Jayabhīmādeva reigned from 1258 to 1271 CE.

¹⁵ *śubham asta sarvajagata parahita niratā bhavanta bhūtagaṇaḥ*: restored as *śubham astu sarvajagatām parahitaniratā bhavantu bhūtagaṇāḥ*.

¹⁶ 1) IASWR, MBB-I-93, *Catuḥstava*, Nepālī paper, 14 fols. (fols. 1, 3 and 15ff. are missing), 6 lines, 20 × 8cm, Nevārī script, belonging to Manavajra Vajracharya, Kathmandu.

2) Tokyo no. 340-I, *Catuḥstava* (including the commentary *Akāriṭikā* by Samantadācārya Śīromaṇi), paper, 36 fols. (fols. 1–4 are damaged on the right ends), 9 lines, 9¾ × 3¼ in., Nepalese script, Saṃvat. 612 (= 1492 AE), preserved in the Tokyo University Library (Collection of Kawaguchi Takakusu), cataloged as no. 340 in Matsunami 1965: 122; facsim. Lindtner 1982b: 292–327, also available at <http://utlskts.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp>.

¹⁷ For the most recent edition of the four *stavas*, see Gyaltzen Namdol 2001.

1.6 Dharmasaṃgraha, palm-leaf, 6 fols. (complete), 5 lines, 30 × 4.5 cm, Gupta script, preserved at the Drepung Monastery when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. I: 129f.).

Tibetan notes on the cover: *dpal ldan Sa skya nas sog par bris pa yin* ; only a few words are legible of the Tibetan notes on the last folio: *rgya dgar gyis phyag ...* Both notes are written in the long-legged cursive style of the Yuan Dynasty; they are faint and have been intentionally rubbed out by someone. These notes reveal that this manuscript formerly belonged to the Sakya Monastery.

Ed. (based on another ms.) Müller/Wenzel 1885.

1.7 Mahāyānaviṃśika, 20²/₃ × 2¹/₃ in., Śāradā script, preserved at the Zhalu Monastery when Sāṅkṛtyāyana visited there (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935: 31); ed. Tucci 1956: 193–207.

2. Rāhulabhadra

Nirvikalpastotravyākhyā (*rNam par mi rtog pa'i bstod pa'i bshad pa*), palm-leaf, 6 fols. (incomplete, fols. 2–3 are missing), 4 lines, 31.1 × 4.8 cm, script between Rañjanā and Dhārikā, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 29f.; Sangdhadg Cat.: reel 6, no. 121/7); not yet edited.

Colophon on the verso of the fourth folio: *Nirvikalpastutisamāsāśraḥ kṛtir iyam Āryanāgājunapādānāṃ*.¹⁸ The first four folios are verses and the latter four folios are commentaries thereon.

The hymn *Prajñāpāramitāstotra*,¹⁹ which is usually found at the beginning of *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* manuscripts, is attributed to Nāgārjuna in the Tibetan translations, but modern scholars have established its author as having been Rāhulabhadra (cf. e.g. Ruegg 1981: 54; Tsukamoto/Matsunaga/Isoda 1990: 185–186). In a list of hymns ascribed to Nāgārjuna in the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (247), this

¹⁸ Restored as *Nirvikalpastutisamāsārthaḥ kṛtir iyam Āryanāgājunapādānāṃ*.

¹⁹ For Sanskrit editions, see Mitra 1888: 1–3; Dutt 1934: 1–3; Hikata 1958: 1–2; Hahn 1988: 62–73, etc.

work is given the full title *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i rnam par mi rtog par bstod pa* (= **Prajñāpāramitānirvikalpastotra*); in the Phudrag Kanjur, its Sanskrit title is *Nir pi kal pa sta* (*sic*) and the Tibetan title is *rNam par mi rtog pa'i bstod pa* (cf. Hahn 1988: 53, 57). In the Kaiser Library in Nepal there is also a three-folio manuscript of the same hymn under the title *Nirvikalpastuti*, which has been microfilmed by the NGMPP (reel no. C 21/7). This work also can be found in the list compiled of Tucci's collection (Sferra 2000: 412). The manuscript entitled *Nirvikalpastotravyākhyā* at the Potala Palace is most likely a commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitāstotra*, although the commentator is still unknown.

3. Buddhapālita

Buddhapālitaṃmūlamadhyamakavṛtti, palm-leaf, 11 fols. (incomplete, fols. 9, 10, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 33, 36, 42, 68), 6 lines, size unknown, eastern variety of the post-Gupta script, ca. 550–650 CE (dated paleographically, cf. Ye 2008b), belonging to the Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library, now at the Tibetan Museum (Wang Cat.: no. 17), included in the same bundle of mss. as ms. 1.1.1; ed. Ye 2007a: 131–147, 2008a.

This incomplete manuscript of eleven folios contains 57 verses of the *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* together with Buddhapālita's commentary thereon. As it has been passed down to us, the Tibetan translation of this text is almost identical to chapters 23 to 27 of the *Akutobhayā*. Due to the fact that the present manuscript does not include these chapters, the question remains whether Buddhapālita's commentary on these five chapters was different. Based on the Tibetan translation, this manuscript comprises approximately one ninth of the whole work, if chapters 23 to 27 additionally are taken into account.

4. Bhāviveka, *Madhyamakahrdayakārikā*

4.1 Palm-leaf, 24 fols. (incomplete, fol. 18 is missing), 5–6 lines, 58 × 4.7 cm, Eastern Nāgarī script, ca. 11th century(?), preserved at the

Zhalu Monastery when Sāṅkṛtyāyana visited there, belonging to the Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library, now at the Tibet Museum, Lhasa (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937: 48, 55; Wang Cat.: no. 29; Sferra 2000: 410).

Editions:

- Chap. 1: Gokhale 1972: 41 (vv. 4, 5); Gokhale/Bahulkar 1985
 Chap. 2: Gokhale 1972
 Chap. 3: Gokhale 1962 (vv. 275–284); Iida 1980: 52–242 (vv. 1–136); Ejima 1980: 259–361
 Chap. 1–3: Heitmann 1998; Heitmann 2009
 Chap. 4: Gokhale 1958: 179–180 (vv. 7, 56); Eckel 2008: 303–388
 Chap. 5: Iida 1966 (vv. 1, 7–9, 27); Lindtner 1995; Saito 2007; Eckel 2008: 389–445
 Chap. 6: Nakada 1972 (vv. 1–4); 1983 (vv. 5–7)
 Chap. 8: Gokhale 1958 (vv. 1–16); Nakamura 1975 (vv. 18–96); Nakamura 1981: 555–635; Qvarnström 1989, 1990
 Chap. 9: Kawasaki 1973 (vv. 1–17), 1976 (vv. 1–17), Kawasaki 1985 (vv. 132–138), 1992: 407–467; Lindtner 1997, 2001a;
 Chap. 10: Kawasaki 1992: 468–471
 Chap. 1–11: Lindtner 2001b; Bahulkar 1994 (photographs of Gokhale's hand-copy).

Facsim. Jiang 1991

4.2 Paper, 12 fols. (complete; the right ends of the fols. have been burned and about a quarter is missing), 10 lines, 64.5 × 8.5 cm, Dhārikā script, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 70f.).

A piece of paper with Tibetan notes has been placed in this bundle: *ga || dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i 'grel pa sogs | dha ri ka | rgyu 'brug shog (Rwa sgrenḡ |)*. From this we know that this bundle originally belonged to the Rwa sgrenḡ Monastery and that the paper was made in Bhutan. (68)

Colophon: *ācāryānekaśāstrakarttamahābodhisattvabhāvita. [...]* Title of Chap.3: *tattvāmṛtācatāratattvajñānaiṣaṇā;*²⁰ Chap.4: *śrāvaka-*

²⁰ *tattvāmṛtāvātāre tattvajñānaiṣiṇā* is attested in ms. 4.1 (Ejima 1980:

tattvaniścayāvatāra; Chap.5: *yogācāratattvaviniścaya*. The titles of chapter 1 and 2 can not be found. They may have been burned. (70f.)

To date, all the Sanskrit editions of the *Madhyamakahr̥daya* are based either on ms. 4.1 or on Gokhale's hand-copy thereof. Ms. 4.1 is not without fault. Folio 18, corresponding to verses 6.49–64 and 7.1–26, is lost. In addition, the Tibetan translation contains verses 9.149–167 and 10.1–12 together with their chapter titles, but they are lacking in this manuscript. Considering that the 31 verses omitted here could approximately fill one folio, this lacuna may have been caused by one folio having been missing or damaged in the exemplar from which ms. 4.1 was copied. The paper manuscript 4.2 reported by Luo Zhao is also not perfect; although Luo Zhao considered it complete, only the titles of chapters 3 to 5 can be found. His judgment may have been made on the basis of the folio numbers. The burned quarter of each folio, as reported in the Luo Cat., is a major loss. There is still a chance, however, that this paper manuscript may in the future not only provide parallel readings, but also fill some of the lacunas in ms. 4.1.

5. Candrakīrti

5.1 *Prasannapadā*, palm-leaf, 83 fols. (incomplete; fols. 10, 16, 43 and 86 are lost; the right edge of some fols. is damaged resulting in the loss of 7–8 *akṣaras*, ends at the equivalent of 593.5 of La Vallée Poussin's edition; no colophon or date is found), 7–9 lines, 57 × 4.5 cm, Nepālī script(?), preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 129f.; Sangdhag Cat.: reel 7, no. 136/2; cf. also Yonezawa 2004b: 56, 2005: 160, MacDonald 2008: 23ff.).

Editions (based on other mss.): Das/Sastri 1894–1897; La Vallée Poussin 1903–1913, emended by de Jong 1978; MacDonald 2003 (Chap. 1); Kragh 2006 (Chap. 17.1–20); Kishine 2001a, 2001b, 2002 (Chap. 24).

In an article published in 2008, Anne MacDonald has provided an overview of all eighteen known Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Prasannapadā*, and discerned six “better” ones that could be used for a critical edition, considering the others to be just direct or indirect copies thereof. The aforementioned ms. 5.1 is among these six and is one of only two palm-leaf manuscripts that bear a comparatively earlier date.²¹ Unfortunately ms. 5.1 is also the only one that has not yet been accessible to most scholars. Yoshiyasu Yonezawa first reported its existence to the academic world in 2004b: 56 and briefly described it in 2005: 160. He was permitted to check most of the readings and to make a hand-copy, the use of which, at present, being restricted to scholars of the Taishō University Study Group (MacDonald 2008: 24). Based on Yonezawa’s articles and an unpublished Taishō University B.A. thesis by Koji Matsumoto, which considers the readings of this ms. for approximately the first third of the first chapter of the *Prasannapadā*, MacDonald has presented a great deal of textual information about this manuscript (2008: 24ff.). According to Yonezawa and MacDonald, this manuscript preserves a number of correct readings that are not found in other manuscripts.

²¹ The other five manuscripts are:

- 1) Paper, 208 fols., 10 lines, 31.8 × 12.7 cm, Devanāgarī script, N. S. 959 = 1839 AE, in the private collection of Āśa Kājī Vajrācārya of Pathan, Nepal, described as KA 45 in Takaoka 1981 (NGMPP reel no. E 1294).
- 2) Paper, 178 fols., 9 lines, 15 × 4½ in., Devanāgarī script, N. S. 901 = 1781AE, preserved in the Cambridge University Library, described as Add. 1483 in Bendall 1883.
- 3) Palm-leaf, 80 fols. (incomplete), 7 lines, 22 × 1⅞ in., Nepalese hooked script, ca. 13th century, preserved in the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford (cf. Tsukamoto/Matsunaga/ Isoda 1990: 239, no. 16; MacDonald 2000: 168).
- 4) Paper, 113 fols., 13 lines, 39 × 16.7 cm, Newarī script, discovered by Giuseppe Tucci, held by the Keshar Library in Kathmandu, Nepal (catalogue no. 9-182; NGMPP reel no. C 19/8).
- 5) Paper, 241 fols., 6 lines, 14¼ × 3½ in., Newarī script, N. S. 851 = 1731 AE, preserved in the Tokyo University Library, cataloged as no. 251 in Matsunami 1965: 95, facsim. available at <http://utlsktmls.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp>.

5.2 *Madhyamakāvātāra*, palm-leaf, 97 fols. (missing only fol. 2), 5 lines, 56.1 × 5 cm, Gupta script, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 128f.; Sangdhag Cat.: reel 7, no. 136/1).

This is the only extant Sanskrit manuscript of the *Madhyamakāvātāra*. The China Tibetology Research Center and the Austrian Academy of Sciences are cooperating on the preparation of an edition, which will appear in the series *Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region*.

6. Śāntideva

6.1 *Śikṣāsamuccaya*

6.1.1 1 fol. (incomplete), 2 lines, 22¹/₂ × 2 in., Māgadhi script, preserved at the Sakya Monastery when Sāṅkrtyāyana visited there (Sāṅkrtyāyana 1937: 32).

Only 2 lines. In the colophon – *puṇyavṛddhi samāptaḥ | samāptaś cāyam bodhisatvavinayaḥ || anekasūtroddhṛtaḥ || Śikṣāsamuccaya iti || śrīmatkum(ā)ra-pāladevarājye samvat 3²² agrahaṇadine |*.

6.1.2 Palm-leaf, 153 fols. (incomplete, fols. 149, 150, 154ff. are missing), 5 lines, 57 × 5.3 cm, Dhārikā script, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 130ff.).

The title of the eighteenth chapter is found on fol. 147: *Ratnatrayānusmṛtī-nāmāṣṭādaśaḥ paricchedaḥ*. The author's name is not given in the text. Tibetan notes on the cover: *rgyal sras zhi ba lhas mdzad pa'i bslab pa kun las btus yin zhabs bag tsam ma tshang ba 'dug*. From this we know that the author is the Indian master Śāntideva of the seventh or eighth century, and this manuscript was incomplete from a very early time – a small portion is missing.

6.1.3 Palm-leaf, 193 fols. (complete), 6–8 lines, 33.9 × 5 cm, Dhārikā script, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 132f.; Sangdhag Cat.: reel 6, no. 123).

²² The third year of the reign of Kumārapāla suggests a date of the early 12th century (1120s).

Colophon: *Kāmarūpadeśa*²³ *saṃrājasīmhadhīya*²⁴ *śākyabhikṣupaṇḍit* *aśrījinendrabhadrasya yad atra puṇyaṃ ... Śakanrpater atītānde*²⁵ *likhitaṃ 1230 Āśvinavadi 13 [= 1308 CE] Śukrevaratīśrārmāvasthitau*²⁶ *Gayāndāranekhikā*²⁷ *śrīvāgīśvarapāleneti*. In another hand: *mahāmahantakamahāsāmantādhiyati*²⁸ *mahārājādhirājatragāṇeśūrānām*²⁹ *galamagahidyāpāṭacāpitaḥhyārānakasalapām utamāṃ. Śrīcandrapāninā ghateyaṃ...* (The transliteration above may have errors. Some errors may also have been committed in the ms.).

Editions (based on other mss.): Bendall 1897–1902; Vaidya 1961; Joshi 1965.

6.2 Bodhicaryāvatāra

6.2.1 14 fols. (incomplete), 12×1²/₃ in., Māgadhi script, preserved at the Ngor Monastery when Sāṅkṛtyāyana visited there (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935: 37).

6.2.2 Palm-leaf, 23 fols. (complete, 10 chapters), 6 lines, 22 × 2 in., Proto-Bengālī script, preserved at the Sakya Monastery when Sāṅkṛtyāyana visited there, belonging to the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library, now at the Tibetan Museum (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937: 24; Wang Cat.: no. 124).

6.2.3 Paper, 71 fols. (incomplete, fols. 8, 9, 31, 42, 50, 59 are missing, 10 chapters), 5 lines, Eastern Nāgarī script, belonging to the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library, now at the Tibetan Museum (Wang Cat.: no. 213).

²³ Kāmarūpa is the name of an ancient kingdom roughly corresponding to the modern state of Assam.

²⁴ °sīmhadhīya: for °sīmhādhipa?

²⁵ atītānde: for atītābde.

²⁶ Śukrevaratīśrārmāvasthitau: for Śukravāre tīrthārāmāvasthitau?

²⁷ Gayāndāranekhikā: for Gayādvāralekhaka?

²⁸ °ādhiyati: for °ādhipati.

²⁹ trāgaṇeśūrānām: for śrīgaṇeśvarānām?

6.2.4 Paper, 38 fols. (incomplete, missing fol. 17), 8 lines, 29.9 × 6.3 cm, Gupta script, preserved at the Norbulingka, Lhasa, when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. I: 120f.).

6.2.5 Palm-leaf, 58 fols. (incomplete, fols. 27, 38, 39, 60 are missing, 10 chapters), 5 lines, 30.2 × 4.9 cm, Gupta script, preserved at the Drepung Monastery when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. I: 130).

Tibetan notes on the last folio: *sgu rum dpe gang gi rgya dpe*. From this we know that this manuscript comes from India and was formerly held in the sGu rum library of the Sakya Monastery.

6.2.6 Palm-leaf, 67 fols. (complete, 10 chapters), 5 lines, 29.1 × 5.4 cm, Dhārikā script, preserved at the Drepung Monastery when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. I: 130f.).

6.2.7 *Caryāvatāra*, palm-leaf, 69 fols. (complete), 5 lines, 32.2 × 5.6 cm, script similar to Gupta, title on the cover: *spyod 'jug gi bzhung*. Held by the Administrative Committee of Cultural Relics of the Lho ka District when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. III: no. 4).

Editions (based on other mss.): Minayev 1890; Śāstri 1894; Bhattacharya 1960, etc.

According to Luo Cat. II, there is also a Tibetan palm-leaf manuscript at the Potala Palace written in Tibetan cursive script entitled *Byang chub kyi spyod pa la 'jug pa'i rgya cher bshad pa*. Its colophon states that it was composed by Prajñākaramati, written by Tsa mi (Sangs rgyas grags pa), given to Ga rod (Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas) Lo tsā ba³⁰ and translated by the Indian scholar Sumati and Lo tsā ba Dharmakīrti.

Byang chub kyi spyod pa la 'jug pa'i rgya cher bshad pa, palm-leaf, 170 fols., 6–7 lines, 30.5 × 6 cm, Tibetan Tshug thung cursive script, preserved at the Potala palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 211f.; Sangdhaḡ Cat.: reel 8, 172/3)

³⁰ Ga rod Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas studied in Magadha for ten years (ca. 1126–1136) under Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa (cf. Roerich 1949: 1053; *bsTan rtsis* 432).

Colophon: *dge slong mkhas pa chen po Shes rab 'byung gnas blo gros kyi(s) mdzad pa | bla ma Tsa mi'i phyag gi bris phyag dpe'o | Ga rod Lo tsta ba ba[sic] la gnang ba'o | mkhas pa chen po Su ma ti dang Lo tsa ba Dhar ma gir tis bsgyur ba'o |*

7. Kamalaśīla

Bhāvanākrama, palm-leaf, 27 fols. (first Bhāvanākrama only, incomplete, first fol. is missing),³¹ 6 lines, 12 × 2 in., Eastern Nāgarī script, preserved at the Zhalu Monastery when Sāṅkrtyāyana visited there, belonging to the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library, now at the Tibetan Museum, Lhasa (Sāṅkrtyāyana 1937: 39; Sferra 2000: 410, Wang Cat.: no. 97); ed. Tucci 1958: 187–229.

8. Kambala

8.1 Ālokamālā, palm-leaf, included in a ms. of 95 fols. (cf. ms. 1.5.5), 20 fols., 5–7 lines, 19.6 × 3.5 cm, scratched and blued Dhārikā script, 279 verses, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 174; Sangdhag Cat.: reel 3, no. 57/1/10).

Ed. (based on a manuscript in the Tokyo University Library)³² Lindtner 1982a, 1985.

8.2 Ālokamālāpañjikā (*snang ba'i phreng ba'i dka' 'grel*) by **Prajñāmitra**, palm-leaf, 35 fols. (complete), 6–7 lines, 19.8 × 3.6 cm, scratched script, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 177; Sangdhag Cat.: reel 3, no. 57/2); not yet edited.

³¹ It is incorrectly reported by Sāṅkrtyāyana that this manuscript has 36 folios (1937: 39).

³² Tokyo no. 59, palm-leaf, 26 fols., 5 lines, 10⁷/₈ × 1⁷/₈ in., Nepalese script, described in Matsunami 1965: 26; facsim. available at <http://utlsk-tms.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp>.

This is the only extant manuscript of the *Ālokamālāpañjikā* and it has not been translated into Tibetan or Chinese.

9. Abhayākaragupta

9.1 *Madhyamakamañjarī* (*dBu ma snye ma*), palm-leaf, 47 fols. (complete, the right end of fol. 25 is damaged), 7 lines, 56.4 × 4.5 cm, Dhārikā script, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 155; Sangdhaḡ Cat.: reel 5, no. 91/1); not yet edited.

This is the only extant manuscript of this text; it was not translated into Tibetan or Chinese. It is mentioned once in the same author's *Munimatālamkāra*.³³

9.2 *Munimatālamkāra*, palm-leaf, 202 fols. (complete), 4–5 lines, 62 × 5.8 cm, script between Gupta and Dhārikā, preserved at the Potala Palace when the Luo Cat. was compiled (Luo Cat. II: Tanjur, 202f.; Sangdhaḡ Cat.: reel 4, no. 86); not yet edited.

Colophon: *śūrīr Vikramaśīlasyābhayo marmasprśaṃ girāṃ rājye Śrī-rāmapālasya triṅśadave*³⁴ (')karod imāḥ³⁵

sārdhapañcasahasrīyaṃ pañḍitaḥ piṅḍitāpramā prakāṇḍamañḍanā-yāsya prameva hr̥ḍi vāstavi

5500 ... *bhikṣupañḍitāśrīcchya(?)kalvaccāvas*³⁶ *teṣāṃ yad ataḥ(trah)*³⁷ *puṇyam ...*

³³ See Tibetan Tanjur: D 3903, dBu ma, A 145b6. This information was provided by Professor Matthew T. Kapstein.

³⁴ *triṅśadave*: for *triṅśadabde*.

³⁵ *imāḥ*: for *imāṃ?*

³⁶ *bhikṣupañḍitāśrīcchya(?)kalvaccāvas*: for *bhikṣu-pañḍita-śrīcchya-ka-lvaccāvas*. It might refer to Chag Lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal (1197–1264), who traveled in Nepal and India in 1230s (cf. Roerich 1959: xl–xlii).

³⁷ *ataḥ(trah)*: for *atra*.

The Tibetan rendition of these two verses is found in the colophon of the Tibetan translation of the *Munimatālaṃkara* (P 5299, dBu ma, Ha 397b6; D 3903, dBu ma, A 292b5):

rNam gnon tshul mkhas 'jigs med kyi ||

gnad³⁸ la reg pa'i tshul 'di ni ||

dPal ldan dga' skyong rgyal srid kyi ||

sum cu'i lo la byas pa yin ||

phyed dang bcas pa'i stong phrag lnga ||

mkhas pa rnam kyis sdom pa'i tshad ||

bsngags 'os brgyan pa'i ched du 'di'i ||

tshad bzhin snying la dngos po rnam ||

zhes pa'o ||

These verses reveal that the *Munimatālaṃkāra* was composed by Abhayākara Gupta during the 30th year of the reign of Rāmapāla (1106 or 1113 CE, cf. Bühnemann 1991: xvi).

10. **Lakṣaṇaṭīkā* (Sanskrit notes on the *Prasannapadā*, the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* and the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā*), palm-leaf, 18 fols. (incomplete), 22¹/₄ × 2¹/₄ in., 7–8 lines, Proto-Bengālī and Tibetan dBu med script, ca. 1090–1125 CE (cf. Yonezawa 2001a: 8), preserved at the Zhalu Monastery when Sāṅkrītyāyana visited there, belonging to the Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library, now at the Tibetan Museum (Sāṅkrītyāyana 1937: 35; Wang Cat.: no. 25–27); ed. Yonezawa 1999, 2001b, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Suzuki 2004; facsim. Taishō University 2001.

This manuscript is a brief commentary, or rather, student notes on the *Prasannapadā*, the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* and the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā*. It was probably written in India by Dharmakīrti or Dharmagrags, a Tibetan lo tsā ba, under the supervision of Abhayākara Gupta in the beginning of the 12th century (Yonezawa 2001a). The citations of the *Prasannapadā* in this manuscript, though fragmentary, preserve archaic readings that are in some cases the only correct read-

³⁸ *gnad*: D *gnas*.

ings, readings that are not found in the extant *Prasannapadā* manuscripts. In addition, it provides important information about certain Sanskrit terms. For instance, instead of “Bhāvaviveka”, “Bhāviveka” is attested many times, which supports Yasunori Ejima’s proposal in a 1991 article, and the word “Svatantrasāḍhaṅnavādin”, as the name of the Svātantrika sub-school of the Mādhyamika, is attested for the first time in a Sanskrit source (cf. Yonezawa 1999: 1022; 2004a: 119).

Abbreviations

ARIRIAB – *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*. Tokyo.

Bu ston chos ’byung – Bu ston Rin chen grub, *Bu ston chos ’byung*. Xining: Krung go’i Bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang 1988.

D – Derge (sDe dge) block print edition of the Tibetan Tanjur

IBK – *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 (Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies)

IJJ – *Indo-Iranian Journal*

JBORS – *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*

JNIBS – *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūsho kiyō* 成田山仏教研究所紀要 [Journal of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies]

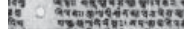
JRAS – *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. London.

Luo Cat. I – Luo Zhao 罗炤, 羅布林卡所藏貝葉經目錄, 附哲蚌寺現藏貝葉經概況 [A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved at the Norbulingka, with an Appendix of a Survey of the Manuscripts Preserved at the Drepung Monastery]. (Unpublished manuscript) December 1984.

Luo Cat. II – Luo Zhao 罗炤, 布達拉宮所藏貝葉經目錄 [A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved at the Potala Palace]. (Unpublished manuscript) July 1985.

Luo Cat. III – Luo Zhao 罗炤, 山南地区文管会所藏貝葉經概況 [A Survey of the Manuscripts Preserved by the Administrative Committee of Cultural Relics of the Lho ka district]. (Unpublished manuscript) August 1984.

NGMPP – Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project



P – Peking block print edition of the Tibetan Tanjur

Sangdhag Cat. – 中国藏学研究中心收藏的梵文贝叶经(微缩胶卷)目录 [Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts (Microfilms) Preserved at the China Tibetology Research Center]

bsTan rtsis – Huang Mingxin and Xie Shujing, *bsTan rtsis ka phreng lag deb*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1996.

TAR – Tibetan Autonomous Region

Wang Cat. – Wang Sen 王森, 民族圖書館藏梵文具葉經目錄 [A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Preserved in the China Ethnic Library]. 1985. Published as an appendix to: Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber, Some remarks on the Sanskrit manuscript of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Prātimokṣasūtra found in Tibet. In: Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Anne Peters (eds.), *Jainaitihāsa-ratna: Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*. (Indica et Tibetica 47) Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag 2006, 283–337.

WZKS – Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens

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