

Archaeologies of the Written: Indian, Tibetan, and  
Buddhist Studies in Honour of Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

*Series Minor*

LXXXIX

*Direttore*

Francesco Sferra

*Comitato di redazione*

Giorgio Banti, Riccardo Contini, Junichi Oue,  
Roberto Tottoli, Giovanni Vitiello

*Comitato scientifico*

Anne Bayard-Sakai (INALCO), Stanisław Bazyliński (Facoltà teologica  
S. Bonaventura, Roma), Henrietta Harrison (University of Oxford),  
Harunaga Isaacson (Universität Hamburg), Barbara Pizziconi (SOAS,  
University of London), Lucas van Rompay (Duke University),  
Raffaele Torella (Sapienza, Università di Roma),  
Judith T. Zeitlin (The University of Chicago)

Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo  
Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"

UniorPress  
Napoli  
2020

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI “L’ORIENTALE”  
ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D’EXTRÊME-ORIENT  
UNIVERSITÉ DE LAUSANNE

*Series Minor*

LXXXIX

Archaeologies of the Written: Indian,  
Tibetan, and Buddhist Studies in Honour of  
Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

Edited by  
Vincent Tournier, Vincent Eltschinger,  
and Marta Sernesi



Napoli 2020

Volume pubblicato con contributi del Fonds De Boer  
dell'Università di Lausanne, dell'École française d'Extrême-  
Orient e del Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo



ISBN 978-88-6719-174-1

Tutti i diritti riservati

Stampato in Italia

Finito di stampare nel mese di novembre 2020

Ricci Arti Grafiche S.n.c. — Via Bolgheri 22, 00148 Roma

Tutti gli articoli pubblicati in questo volume sono stati sottoposti al vaglio di due revisori anonimi

## Table of Contents

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Prefatory Words.....   | 9   |
| Publications of Cristina Scherrer-Schaub.....  | 13  |
| <br>   |     |
| Orna Almogi<br><i>Akaṅiṣṭha as a Multivalent Buddhist Word-cum-Name:<br/>With Special Reference to rNying ma Tantric Sources.....</i>                            | 23  |
| <br>   |     |
| Yael Bentor<br><i>The Body in Enlightenment: Purification According to<br/>dGe lugs' Works on the Guhyasamāja Tantra.....</i>                                    | 77  |
| <br>   |     |
| Johannes Bronkhorst<br><i>Sacrifice in Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Elsewhere:<br/>Theory and Practice.....</i>   | 95  |
| <br>   |     |
| Elena De Rossi Filibeck<br><i>Il dkar chag del monastero di Lamayuru (Ladakh).....</i>   | 103 |
| <br>   |     |
| Vincent Eltschinger<br><i>Aśvaghoṣa and His Canonical Sources: 4. On the Authority<br/>and the Authenticity of the Buddhist Scriptures.....</i>                  | 127 |
| <br>   |     |
| Anna Filigenzi<br><i>The Myth of Yima in the Religious Imagery of Pre-Islamic<br/>Afghanistan: An Enquiry into the Epistemic<br/>Space of the Unwritten.....</i> | 171 |

Archaeologies of the Written

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Dominic Goodall<br><i>Tying Down Fame with Noose-Like Letters: K. 1318, A Hitherto Unpublished Tenth-Century Sanskrit Inscription from Kok Romeas.....</i>  | 205 |
| Arlo Griffiths<br><i>The Old Malay Mañjuśrīgyha Inscription from Candi Sewu (Java, Indonesia).....</i>  | 225 |
| Paul Harrison<br><i>Remarks on Recently Identified Sanskrit Fragments of the Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra.....</i>                       | 269 |
| Guntram Hazod<br><i>The “Anti-Buddhist Law” and Its Author in Eighth-Century Tibet: A Re-consideration of the Story of Zhang Ma zhang Grom pa skyes....</i> | 287 |
| Pascale Hugon<br><i>Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka: A Fleeting Episode in the History of Tibetan Philosophy.....</i>   | 323 |
| Deborah Klimburg-Salter<br><i>The Materiality of the Bamiyan Colossi, across Three Millennia.....</i>   | 373 |
| Leonard van der Kuijp<br><i>A Note on the “Old” and the “New” Tibetan Translations of the Prasannapadā.....</i>   | 417 |
| Mauro Maggi<br><i>Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra 5.9 and Its Khotanese Translation.....</i>   | 447 |
| Georges-Jean Pinault<br><i>The Dharma of the Tocharians.....</i>  | 461 |
| Isabelle Ratié<br><i>A Note on Śaṅkaranandana’s “Intuition” according to Abhinavagupta.....</i>   | 493 |
| Akira Saito<br><i>Bhāviveka on prajñā.....</i>  | 517 |

Table of Contents

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Marta Sernesi<br><i>A Mongol Xylograph (hor par ma) of the<br/>Mahāyānasūtrālamkārahāṣya.....</i>  | 527 |
| David Seyfort Rugg<br><i>Remarks on Updating, Renewal, Innovation, and Creativity<br/>in the History of some Indian and Tibetan Knowledge Systems<br/>and Ways of Thought.....</i>                                       | 551 |
| Francesco Sferra<br><i>Pudgalo 'vācyah. Apropos of a Recently Rediscovered Sanskrit<br/>Manuscript of the Saṃmitīyas. Critical Edition of the First Chapter<br/>of the Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā by Saṅghatrāta.....</i> | 647 |
| Peter Skilling<br><i>Conjured Buddhas from the Arthavargya to Nāgārjuna.....</i>   | 709 |
| Ernst Steinkellner<br><i>Dharmakīrti and Īśvarasena.....</i>   | 751 |
| Samuel Thévoz<br><i>Paris, vu du Toit du Monde : Adjroup Gumbo, gter ston<br/>du « pays de France ».....</i>   | 767 |
| Raffaele Torella<br><i>Abhinavagupta as an Aristocrat.....</i>   | 843 |
| Vincent Tournier<br><i>Buddhist Lineages along the Southern Routes: On Two nikāyas<br/>Active at Kanaganahalli under the Śātavāhanas.....</i>  | 857 |
| Kurt Tropper<br><i>The Historical Inscription in the 'Du khang<br/>of mTho lding Monastery.....</i>  | 911 |
| Dorji Wangchuk<br><i>The Three Royal Decrees (bka' bcad gsum) in the History<br/>of Tibetan Buddhism.....</i>  | 943 |



Cristina Scherrer-Schaub at the XIII<sup>th</sup> Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, December 2002.



*Pudgalo 'vācyah — Apropos of a Recently  
Rediscovered Sanskrit Manuscript of the  
Saṃmitīyas. Critical Edition of the First Chapter  
of the Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā  
by Saṅghatrāta\**

FRANCESCO SFERRA

(Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”)

*1. Introductory remarks*

In July 2014, in San Polo dei Cavalieri, a small town not far from Rome, among the properties belonging to Francesca Bonardi—Giuseppe Tucci’s (1894–1984) widow, who had passed away a few months earlier—Oscar Nalesini, an official of the former Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale “Giuseppe Tucci” in Rome (to which all properties were donated), found three Sanskrit manuscripts: a fragment of a paper manuscript of the *Sphuṭārthā* by Haribhadra, a modern copy of the *Catuspīṭhatantra* on Nepalese paper, and an undated palm-leaf codex of an unpublished text belonging to the

\* This paper is the first result of a study on the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* of Saṅghatrāta that I have been carrying out since 2014. I wish to thank all the friends and colleagues who have invited me to introduce the text and its contents during lectures, conferences and workshops in the meantime: Nalini Balbir, Vincent Eltschinger, Harunaga Isaacson, Cristina Pecchia, Karin Preisendanz, Peter Skilling, Raffaele Torella, Vincenzo Vergiani and Stefano Zacchetti (a list of these events is given in Skilling 2016: 50, n. 71; more recently, for the same purpose, I was kindly welcomed by Lata and Mahesh Deokar at the Department of Pali and Buddhist Studies, Pune University, on 7 February 2019). In 2015, the first two chapters were perused during a workshop entitled “Buddhist Texts in

scholastic literature of the Saṃmitīya tradition,<sup>1</sup> the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* by Bhadanta Saṅghatrāta.<sup>2</sup>

The sensational discovery of the latter manuscript, along with a copy of the *Mañicūḍajātaka* by Sarvarakṣita (12<sup>th</sup> cent.) that Tucci made at the monastery of Gong dkar chos sde in Central Tibet in 1948, was described by Tucci himself in a moving passage from his travelogue *A Lhasa e oltre*.<sup>3</sup> The publication of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* had been anticipated for some years—as one of the books “in preparation” for the Serie Orientale Roma ever since the first volume of the series had appeared in 1950—under the title *The Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā by Saṅghatrāta, text and commentary of an unknown work, the Sanskrit manuscript of which has*

Sanskrit: Intensive Readings at Mahidol University” (Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mahidol University, Salaya Campus, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand, 12–25 February). I wish to thank Mattia Salvini, who organized this workshop, as well as all of the attendees who provided me with useful insights, in particular (in alphabetical order): Giuliano Giustarini, Kengo Harimoto, Harunaga Isaacson, Kei Kataoka, Gregory Max Seton and Peter Skilling. Special thanks is owed to Oscar Nalesini and to the authorities of the Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale “Giuseppe Tucci,” in particular to Laura Giuliano and the Superintendent Francesco di Gennaro, for kindly having allowed me access to the manuscript of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* and for having entrusted me with its study with a view to its publication. I thank the three editors of this volume very much—Marta Sernesi, Vincent Eltschinger, and Vincent Tournier—for having provided me with a number of interesting and useful comments. Dragomir Dimitrov, Harunaga Isaacson, Giacomella Orofino and Mattia Salvini have also read the paper and kindly offered me some comments and suggestions. Kristen de Joseph has kindly revised the English.

<sup>1</sup> On the spelling Saṃmitīya (instead of Sāṃmitīya), see below, § 2.3, and notes 37–38.

<sup>2</sup> On monastic names ending with °trāta, see the paper by Tournier in this volume, p. 889 and n. 95.

<sup>3</sup> See Tucci 1996: 169–170. For the official English translation, see Tucci 1956a: 151. Another English translation can be read in Sferra 2008: 21, n. 17. Note that the name of the Gong dkar monastery (aka Gong dkar rdo rje gdan and Gong dkar chos sde, see Fermer 2016) is misspelled in Tucci as Kong dkar.

As O. Nalesini (personal communication, e-mails of 5–6 February 2020) pointed out to me, the discovery of the manuscript that is described in his autobiography by Tenzing Norgay (bsTan ’dzin nor rgyas) (1914–1986), the Sherpa who assisted Tucci in 1948 and who later became famous for having been the first to reach the summit of Mount Everest with Edmund Hillary in 1953, could coincide with that of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* and/or of the *Mañicūḍajātaka* (see Norgay and Ullman 1955: 124–125). However, it should be noted that the account of Norgay does not perfectly coincide with the version we read in Tucci.

*been found in Tibet.* The editor would have been Antonio Gargano, one of his students, together with Tucci (e.g., vols. I, X, XVI, XVII), or Tucci on his own (e.g., vol. III). Later on, Tucci would speak briefly about the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* during a lecture he gave in Japan in October 1955.<sup>4</sup> From 1966 on, references to the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* disappeared from the cover of the Serie Orientale Roma (SOR),<sup>5</sup> but it is very likely that Tucci continued to work on this text in subsequent years, since he referred to it in two letters written in 1975 and addressed to his Indian friend and colleague Vasudeva Vishwanath Gokhale (1900–1991).<sup>6</sup> However, the announced book was never completed, and the text was never published.

After Tucci's death, all efforts to gain access to the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* manuscript, on the part of both Italian and foreign scholars, failed. I have personally been trying to trace this precious object since the mid-'90s, when, in cooperation with Claudio Cicuzza, I was working at the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts kept at the ISIAO. But while it was possible to find a film roll containing negatives of the *Mañicūḍajātaka*, which was later published by Albrecht Hanisch,<sup>7</sup> there was no trace of the Abhidharmic text. All attempts to make contact with Francesca Bonardi were unsuccessful.

As soon as Oscar Nalesini gained access to the manuscript, he contacted me and asked me to identify the work contained in it.

<sup>4</sup> Okano 1998: 14–15. The text of this lecture was published in Japanese the following year. See Tucci 1956b.

<sup>5</sup> The last reference to the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* as a book in preparation is on the inside back cover of vol. XXXIII.

<sup>6</sup> Part of this correspondence, which Nalesini found in spring 2015, is now kept in the archives of the library of the former Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale "Giuseppe Tucci." "In October 2017, after the demise of the Museum and the moving of its belonging to the seat of the newly established Museo delle Civiltà, the library, as well as the photographic and documental archives, due to space shortage, have been stored in an underground storeroom. The manuscript of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* was, together with other manuscripts, documents and ancient books from the Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale, placed in a metallic armoire in the library of the Museo delle Civiltà, where it still was in early 2019" (Nalesini's personal communication, 21 February 2020).

Gokhale and Tucci had known each other since Tucci's stay in Śāntiniketan in the second half of the 1920s (see Shendge 1993: 350).

<sup>7</sup> A complete edition of this text was published in Hanisch 2008, but some excerpts and reproductions had already appeared in Hanisch 2006: 136–155.

For this purpose, he kindly allowed me to take pictures of the manuscript, even if unofficially. In theory, at that time, the codex had not yet been formally acquired and inventoried by the museum. The manuscript was in fact simply wrapped inside some paper and two pieces of cardboard, and there were no clues or titles that permitted a clear and immediate identification of the work by a non-specialist. It was possible to work officially on this manuscript only several months later, after the completion of the bureaucratic process by which the manuscript was formally acquired as a museum property. At any rate, between July and August 2014, I transliterated the entire text and started to translate it. In February 2015, I had the opportunity to read and study the first two chapters of the work in Thailand with a small group of students and colleagues.<sup>8</sup>

Subsequently, in spring 2015, again at Tucci's home, Nalesini, who was still inventorying the properties that Mrs Bonardi had left to the museum, found some notebooks and a complete transliteration of the work. This transliteration, or more probably a preliminary draft of it, was mentioned in a short, undated letter, written on the old, prewar headed paper of the IsMEO, that Tucci had sent to Luciano Petech, and which is now preserved in the archives of Petech that the latter's heirs have donated to Elena De Rossi Filibeck.<sup>9</sup>

Caro Luciano,

Ho ricevuto con qualche ritardo, come sempre qui la posta, la tua lettera. [...] Qui ho lavorato molto intercalando il lavoro con le ascensioni: il mio diario è finito e così pure la trad. del Deb dmar: ho incominciato l'interpretazione dell'Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā trascritta da Gargano: è un'opera Saṃmitīya, [*sic*] molto difficile ma molto importante.<sup>10</sup> [...]

<sup>8</sup> See above, note \*.

<sup>9</sup> I thank Elena De Rossi Filibeck for having allowed me to transliterate this letter here. Together with Oscar Nalesini, she is planning to publish a volume containing the full correspondence between Tucci and Petech. Three letters have already been published in De Rossi Filibeck 2019.

<sup>10</sup> "Dear Luciano, I received your letter with some delay, as always with the mail here. [...] I have worked a lot here, interspersing the work with climbs: my diary is finished, as is the trans. of the Deb dmar: I started to interpret the Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā, which has been transcribed by Gargano: it is a Saṃmitīya work, very difficult but very important. [...]"

It is not clear when Gargano made his transliteration, or when (or where) this short letter was written. In fact, the references to mountain climbs, the completion of a diary and the translation of the *Deb dmar* suggest a date corresponding to one of Tucci's final expeditions in Nepal (1952–53, 1954) or in the Swāt valley (1955), certainly a date prior to 1971, which is the year in which Tucci published the volume *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma. Tibetan Chronicles by bSod nams grags pa, Vol. I* (SOR xxiv)<sup>11</sup>—even though, as Oscar Nalesini has pointed out to me, on those expeditions, he used to write letters on the new, postwar headed paper of the IsMEO.<sup>12</sup> Whatever the case may be, the above-mentioned correspondence with Gokhale demonstrates that the transliteration that has come down to us was completed only after 1975, since it is clear from a letter that in the mid-'70s, Tucci was still looking for someone able to decipher the manuscript. It suffices here to reproduce only a few sentences (see also below, figs. 1–4):

Rome,

11 GIU 1975

My dear Friend,

please excuse my very late reply to your kind and informative letter of February 25 last, [...] I shall also send you a page of a ms. written in the so-called arrow point script, which [*sic* for *which*] is as arre [*sic* for *rare*] as it is important. The text is a very difficult one, though there often occur verses entirely reproduced from the Abh. Dharma Kosa. If you can really find a team of your scholars, who can help us in the basic transcription of the texts, that would be an aid for us both, especially in saving our eyesight.

<sup>11</sup> As is clear from the correspondence with L. Petech, Tucci discovered a copy of the *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* in July 1948 (see De Rossi Filibeck 2019: 124–126). The discovery of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* was made some time later, during the final weeks of this expedition, which ended in October 1948. Gargano did not follow Tucci on this expedition, thus there is no doubt that he transliterated the manuscript after Tucci came back to Rome in January 1949 (after the expedition in Tibet, Tucci went directly to the USA; see Nalesini 2012: 135 and n. 24, 145–146). Therefore, it can be excluded that the diary mentioned in this letter refers to *A Lhasa e oltre*, and that this letter was written in 1948 while Tucci was still in Tibet. More likely, this letter was written in Nepal during the expedition carried out in 1952–53, the travelogue of which was published in 1953 (*Tra giungle e pagode*). The travelogues of the other expeditions in Nepal and Swāt were published in 1960 (1954 expedition: *Nepal: alla scoperta del regno dei Malla*) and in 1963 (1955 expedition: *La via dello Swat*).

<sup>12</sup> Private communication: e-mail of 12 July 2019.

Tucci annotated Gargano's transliteration and corrected it in a number of places (for a specimen, see fig. 5). In spring 2015, I was also able to compare my preliminary transliteration—a copy of which had in the meantime been deposited in the museum archives—with the one made by Gargano and revised by Tucci; the differences were minimal.

Besides Tucci and Antonio Gargano, it seems that after the discovery of the manuscript, the only scholar who had had the opportunity to check this Saṃmitīya work was Edward Conze (1904–1979), who refers to it in a note in his book *Buddhist Thought in India* (1962).<sup>13</sup>

In March 2015, I received the formal permission to work on this manuscript with a view to its critical edition and annotated English translation, which will be published in the *Manuscripta Buddhica* series. The completion of this volume might require another two or three years: the main difficulty is due to the absence of a commentary and to the conciseness and cryptic nature of the work. To the best of my knowledge, the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* by Saṅghatrāta has never been translated into Tibetan or Chinese: the author and work were totally unknown before Giuseppe Tucci found the manuscript in 1948. We do not even have quotes from this work in other texts, at least as far as we currently know. None of the 547 (*anuṣṭubh*) stanzas that make up the text occur, for instance, in the *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* by Daśabalaśrīmitra (c. 1100–1170),<sup>14</sup> which contains several Saṃmitīya verses.<sup>15</sup> Nor do we know the place or time of composition of this work. The only reliable data can be inferred from the manuscript itself, which probably dates back to the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century (see below). Luckily the manuscript is basically undamaged, but, as will be elaborated later, the copyist did not correct his own work: there is no shortage of errors, and the philological work also involves the study of parallels in the Abhidharma literature in Sanskrit and Pāli.

<sup>13</sup> See below, note 27.

<sup>14</sup> For the date of Daśabalaśrīmitra, see van der Kuijp n.d.

<sup>15</sup> In particular, in chapters 16–21. See Skilling 1987: 4–5, 8; 2006: 100; 2016: 11–12. The Tibetan text of several stanzas quoted from a Saṃmitīya treatise in the *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* are edited in Namikawa 2011: 377–405. I thank Kazunobu Matsuda very much for having provided me with a copy of Namikawa's book.

As a token of respect for Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, a special person and a scholar whom I greatly admire, I am pleased to present here the first result of this study, which, in addition to the account of the recent history of the manuscript, also includes its description and the annotated edition and tentative translation of the first chapter, entitled *Āyatanasamuccaya*.

## 2. *The manuscript*

2.1 The manuscript is one of the few examples of a rather rare Indian script that has been called “arrow-headed script,” “point-headed script” or “Pfeilspitzenschrift” by the first scholars who studied it in the last two decades of the nineteenth century (i.e., C. Bendall, G. Bühler, B. Liebich),<sup>16</sup> and which in more recent literature is better known as Bhaikṣukī,<sup>17</sup> a name used by Al-Bīrūnī—in his famous account of Indian culture and civilization entitled *Kitāb ta'riḫ al-Hind* (1030)—to refer to the script used by the Buddhist *bhikṣus*. More recently, Dragomir Dimitrov has suggested that the original name of this script was Saindhavī,<sup>18</sup> because it seems that this is the name by which it appears in several Tibetan works on calligraphy. Dimitrov further argues that the Saindhavī script was used predominantly by the Saṃmitīya Buddhists, who were also known as the Saindhavas, with a probable reference to the Sindhu region with which they are traditionally associated.

So far, besides a handful of epigraphs, only two Bhaikṣukī/Saindhavī manuscripts have been available to scholars: a copy of the *Candrālaṃkāra*, partly preserved in Cambridge (CUL MS Or. 1278) and partly in black and white photographs taken in Kathmandu in 1971, now kept at the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia;<sup>19</sup> and the above-mentioned *codex unicus* (available only on microfilm) containing the *Maṇicūḍajāṭaka* by Sarvarakṣita.

A few years ago, information about other manuscripts in Saindhavī script preserved in Tibet emerged. A fragment of a first

<sup>16</sup> See Dimitrov 2010: 3–5.

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., Hanisch 2006; 2008; Dimitrov 2010; Skilling 2016.

<sup>18</sup> See Dimitrov 2016 and 2020; see also Dimitrov 2010: 8.

<sup>19</sup> Reproductions of both parts of the *Candrālaṃkāra* manuscript have been published in Dimitrov 2010: Appendix.

manuscript was reproduced in a report on the preservation of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Tibetan Autonomous Region that was published in October 2012. This fragment (catalogue number ZX0165-YB15), which has been studied by Dimitrov, contains two small portions from the *Acelakamahāsūtra*, a Middle Indo-Aryan version of the *Kassapaśihanādasutta* (= *Dīgha Nikāya* no. 8), and from the very beginning of another *sūtra*, which immediately follows it and which corresponds to the Pāli *Tevijjasutta* (= *Dīgha Nikāya* no. 13).<sup>20</sup> Some leaves of a presumed second manuscript have been featured in a documentary (in two parts) on Xizang Television (XZTV) on 18 and 25 November 2012. Dimitrov was able to produce a still photograph from this documentary with an image of one of the leaves; he then identified the work it contained as a portion of the *Kevaṭṭasūtra*, one of the *sūtras* of the *Dirghāgama* (= *Kevaddhasutta*, *Dīgha Nikāya* no. 11).<sup>21</sup> A picture of yet another manuscript was published on the back cover of the 2017 edition of the journal *Tibetan Palm Leaves Manuscripts Studies*. In September 2018, Peter Skilling kindly sent me a digital scan of this cover. I transliterated the Saindhavī leaf it reproduced and identified its contents as a fragment of a Middle Indo-Aryan version of the *Rājāsūtra* or \**Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra*, again from the *Dirghāgama* (= *Sāmaññaphalasutta*, *Dīgha Nikāya* no. 2),<sup>22</sup> despite the title given in the cover refers to the *Brahmajālasūtra* (《梵网经》).<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, for the time being, no manuscript from which these pictures are taken is easily available to scholars (it is not even clear to me where they are currently kept), but it is probable that in the coming years they will become accessible and be studied.

The number of the known Sanskrit and Indic manuscripts written in Saindhavī script is in any case destined to increase in the near future. Just recently, during a workshop held in Beijing at the

<sup>20</sup> For bibliographical details, a transliteration and a thorough analysis of these snippets, see Dimitrov 2020: 185–199.

<sup>21</sup> For further details and a diplomatic transliteration of this leaf, see Dimitrov 2020: 168–184. See also Skilling 2016: 15–16 (p. 16 also contains a black-and-white reproduction of this leaf; see also below, fig. 11).

<sup>22</sup> See Hartmann 2004: 128.

<sup>23</sup> See below, fig. 12 (梵网经 is the simplified version of 梵網經). The Tibetan issue of the same number of the journal has *Brahmajālasūtra* in Tibetan translation (《ཚངས་པའི་རྩ་བའི་ལྷན་པའི་མཛོད་ཀྱི་འཇམ་མཛོད་》). An edition and study of this leaf will be published in Tournier and Sferra, in preparation.



China Tibetology Research Centre (*Workshop on Sanskrit Manuscripts Studies. A Pre-Panel Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Beijing International Seminar on Tibetan Studies*, 8 January 2020), Phurtsham (大普仓), from the Institute of Sanskrit Studies of the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences in Lhasa, presented a paper entitled “An Introduction to the Bhaikṣukī Manuscripts Preserved in Tibet.” She has introduced and briefly described eight unpublished manuscripts preserved in Tibet. From her account it is now evident that the snippets recently studied by Dimitrov, and identified by him as parts of a Saṃmitīya Canon,<sup>24</sup> actually belong to the same codex,<sup>25</sup> i.e., a copy of the *Dīrghāgama*—or at least of a part of it, or of a *mahāsūtra* anthology—again labelled *Brahmajālasūtra*, probably due to the title of the last *sūtra* of the collection.<sup>26</sup> This manuscript is catalogued with the number ZX0165-YB15 and counts 78 leaves. The same leaf of the *Kevaṭṭasūtra* reproduced by Dimitrov has been shown by Phurtsham in one of her slides as a specimen of this manuscript (see also below, fig. 11). The other seven manuscripts comprise a poetical work attributed to Buddhapālita (23 leaves), a copy of the *Haricandrajātaka* (8 leaves), a copy of the *Adhyarddhasātaka* attributed to Āśvaghoṣa (6 leaves), which is kept in the Tibet Museum in Lhasa, and four unidentified manuscripts (respectively of 30, 10, 10, and 2 leaves).

2.2 The manuscript of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* consists of 14 leaves, measuring approximately 50 × 6 cm.<sup>27</sup> Each leaf contains two string-holes and three writing areas on both the recto and the verso sides, with the exception of leaves 1r and 14v, which were originally blank.<sup>28</sup> There is no serious damage; a moisture stain is

<sup>24</sup> See Dimitrov 2020: chap. 2.6.

<sup>25</sup> Dimitrov was aware of this possibility; see Dimitrov 2020: 186, 188.

<sup>26</sup> The *Brahmajālasūtra* is in fact the last *sūtra* in the *Dīrghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins (see Hartmann 2004: 128) and it is possible that it has the same position in the *Dīrghāgama* of the Saṃmitīyas. For further considerations, see Tournier and Sferra, in preparation.

<sup>27</sup> E. Conze, who saw this manuscript at Tucci's place in the 1950s (see above § 1.1), provides a misleading statement on the number of leaves, likely confusing it with the number of written sides: “Sanghatrāta [*sic*], Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā. 26–27 leaves. To be published in SOR” (Conze 1962: 281, n. 7; see also p. 124).

<sup>28</sup> A few words, some *akṣaras* in Rañjanā script (see fig. 21) and a drawing (probably made by other hands), for the most rubbed away, are visible on these sides. I will transliterate and interpret these words and *akṣaras* in the future, when needed also with the help of an infrared photograph.

visible on the first leaf (fig. 6), and the edges of two leaves are partly cut: i.e., the upper margin of fol. 8, resulting in four *akṣaras* on the upper-right portion of fol. 8*v* being unreadable or hardly decipherable; and the lower margin of fol. 12, resulting in three *akṣaras* on the right bottom of fol. 12*r* being unreadable or hardly decipherable (fig. 7).

The manuscript contains the whole text but was never completed. There are two clues for this: 1) there are no corrections in the margins and no signs of correction (including cancellations) within the body of the text, even in the case of evident mistakes—like the repetition of stanzas 3.29c–32b (fols. 3*v*<sub>7</sub>–4*r*<sub>2</sub>) and 10.6–8 (fol. 11*r*<sub>8</sub>–*v*<sub>1</sub>), which occurs because the same line in the exemplar was copied twice (fig. 8). 2) There are no coloured drawings in the spaces usually reserved for this purpose on the first and last leaves of the manuscript. These blank spaces, both on the left and right edges of the leaves, measure circa 6 cm each (figs. 9–10).<sup>29</sup>

In relation to the other manuscripts in Saindhavī script that are currently available, we note that the support of the *Abhidharma-samuccayakārikā* matches almost perfectly with that of the *Mañicūḍajātaka* and the available portion of the *Dīrghāgama*, i.e., the *Kevattasūtra* and the other snippets published by Dimitrov; the layout of these three manuscripts is also quite similar, if not identical (see fig. 11).<sup>30</sup> Each contains three identical writing areas divided by similar vertical lines; each of the three contains 8 lines on each side with approximately the same number of *akṣaras*, which ranges from 25 to 32 in the two lateral writing areas and 31 to 38 in the central writing area; in all three manuscripts, there are similar, smaller writing areas on the first and last leaves. All this suggests that these three manuscripts may have been copied in the same scriptorium. The manuscripts of the *Candrālaṃkāra* and of

<sup>29</sup> That these blank spaces were normally used for this purpose is confirmed by the above-mentioned Saindhavī manuscript that was shown in the XZTV broadcast and by several northern Indian palm-leaf manuscripts, especially those of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (see, e.g., Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 1464, <https://www.cam.ac.uk/news/worlds-oldest-illustrated-sanskrit-manuscript-launches-india-unboxed-film-series>; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.86.1.85a-d [relevant images visible in Kim 2009]).

<sup>30</sup> As Phurthsham has pointed out during her presentation (see above), each leaf of the manuscript ZX0165-YB15 measures 54 × 5 cm and contains 8 lines per side (see also Dimitrov 2020: 186).

the *Rājāsūtra* instead feature a completely different support and layout (fig. 12). Moreover, the graphic signs for the numerals that are used in the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* and in the *Mañicūḍajātaka* manuscripts are identical with those of the *Candrālaṃkāra* (fig. 13). These three manuscripts are foliated in the left margin of the versos; the same is probably also true of the *Kevaṭṭasūtra* and the *Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra*, but we cannot be sure of this (the numerals are also not visible).

As regards the ductus, there are no significant differences among the Saindhavī manuscripts available so far. The script is very regular, and the tables provided by Hanisch and by Dimitrov also match quite well with the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* manuscript, and are already very comprehensive.<sup>31</sup> On the basis of the latter, we can add a relatively large group of new clusters (see below, fig. 14.1–4); notable are the rendering of the subscript *cha* (with the value of *śa*) (e.g., fols. 10v<sub>6</sub>, 11r<sub>5</sub>) and the use of a specific sign to indicate the *upadhmānīya* (in fols. 5r<sub>5</sub>, 6r<sub>8</sub>, 7v<sub>2</sub>, 10r<sub>4</sub>, 11v<sub>7</sub>), although it is not always used (e.g., on fol. 1v<sub>6</sub> and in a number of other places, we simply have the *visarga*) (fig. 15). Note that a similar sign to record the *upadhmānīya* occurs quite regularly in Śāradā and Proto-Śāradā,<sup>32</sup> and sometimes also in manuscripts produced in Nepal.<sup>33</sup> The *upadhmānīya* does not occur in the manuscripts of the *Candrālaṃkāra* and the *Mañicūḍajātaka*, nor is visible in the images of the *Kevaṭṭasūtra* and of the *Rājāsūtra* that are available so far.<sup>34</sup>

An interesting feature of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* manuscript is the use of letter numerals to indicate the number of stanzas. It should be noted that the placement of these numbers is seemingly random: they are often at the end of a chapter, but sometimes also in the middle of it. The shapes of these letters are

<sup>31</sup> See Hanisch 2006: 115–120; Hanisch 2008: 267–316; Dimitrov 2010: 73–119.

<sup>32</sup> See Slaje 1993: 28 and Melzer 2010: 64.

<sup>33</sup> See, for instance, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 1694, where the *upadhmānīya* is regularly written in this manner. I owe this reference to Florinda De Simini. For an example, see fol. 71r<sub>3</sub> (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/71>).

<sup>34</sup> I thank Dragomir Dimitrov for having kindly provided me with a colour image of the *Kevaṭṭasūtra* leaf that he was able to reproduce from the XZTV broadcast and with a preliminary draft of his book now just published.

slightly different from those that we usually find in northern manuscripts (fig. 16).<sup>35</sup>

We further note the presence of a few words in Tibetan in some of the colophons, in *dbu med* script (fig. 17),<sup>36</sup> and the use of drawings with the shapes of wheels or flowers in order to mark the boundaries of chapters and colophons (fig. 18.1–2).

2.3 The final colophon can be divided into two parts. The first part consists in the last stanza of the work and its final rubric.

*ity āryyasammitīyānām abhidharmmanayoditāḥ |*  
*samuccitā mayā dharmmah sūktam atra muner voacaḥ ||*

samāptā abhidharmmasamuccayakārikā kṛtir ā[13v<sub>8</sub>]cāryyabhada-  
ntasamghatrātasya mahākaveḥ || ||  
ślokaśatāni pañca ślokāś ca pañcāśat || ||

Thus, the *dharmas* taught according to the Abhidharma method of the Venerable Saṃmitīyas have been collected by me. The well-spoken teaching of the Muni is [to be found] here [i.e., in this text].

The *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* is completed; [it is] a work of the master Bhadanta Saṅghatrāta, a great poet.  
[Its extent is] 550 stanzas.

This part does not contain any particular problems. Suffice it here to note three things: 1) instead of the word *sāṃmitīya*, which is no doubt attested in primary sources (e.g., in the *Prasannapadā ad 7:4* [*avataraṇikā*], 9:1, 15:11) and is quite common in secondary literature, here we find the word *sammitīya*, which is likewise attested in some primary sources<sup>37</sup> and can be considered perfectly plausible

<sup>35</sup> See, for instance, the table “Letter-numerals” published in Bendall 1883, at the end of the book. See also Dimitrov 2010: 53–60 and Dimitrov 2020: 202, 204.

<sup>36</sup> Some of these words are simply transliterations of the Saindhavī script into *dbu med*. The fact that these transliterations occur in colophons might reveal the attempt to make immediately evident the content of the work to readers that were unfamiliar with the Saindhavī script. This is not an isolated case. The same practice is visible, for instance, at the end of the Saindhavī manuscript containing the poetical work attributed to Buddhapālita (see above, § 2.1) and that has been shown in one slide by Phurtsham (MS no. ZX0842-BG125, fol. 23v<sub>2</sub>). See also Dimitrov 2020: 198–199.

<sup>37</sup> For some references, see the paper by Tournier in this volume, p. 862, n. 9.

(and that for this reason has been adopted here).<sup>38</sup> 2) The name of the author is followed by the epithet *mahākavi*, which is relatively frequent for poets.<sup>39</sup> The same epithet also occurs in the colophons of the *Mañicūdājātaka*<sup>40</sup> and of the *Mahāsaṃvartanī-kathā*<sup>41</sup> by Sarvarakṣita, two works that can justify the attribution of this epithet to their author. In fact, if the first is properly a poem, whereas the second is a technical text—a poetic *śāstra* that describes the universe from the Saṃmitīya point of view—in the latter, Sarvarakṣita also utilizes a large array of metres<sup>42</sup> and *alaṃkāras*, especially *śabdālaṃkāras*.<sup>43</sup> In the case of Saṅghatrāta, we simply do not have any information about other possible works authored by him, and in no way can the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* be defined as a *kāvya*. Although we cannot exclude the possibility that he was a poet, it is also possible that the epithet is used here in a more generic way, perhaps just to stress his learning and/or intelligence. It may be relevant in this context to note that the epithet *mahākavi* also occurs in relation to historical kings<sup>44</sup> and that it can be read for instance in a laudatory formula, which von Hinüber has called the “Buddhaghosa colophon,”<sup>45</sup> that is

<sup>38</sup> The term *saṃmitīya* and its variants can be explained in several ways. Already in 1955, André Bareau had proposed various possible etymologies: “those who live in harmony” / “those who are worthy of respect” (*saṃmatīya*), “those who are gathered” / “those who are equal” (Pāli *samītiya*), “those who have a correct measure [that is, a correct understanding of Buddha’s teaching]” (*saṃmitīya*) and “those who follow the teaching of Saṃmata” (*sāṃmatīya*) (cf. Bareau 1955: 121; cf. also Eckel 2008: 114). According to Bu ston, “[they were called] “Worthy of Respect” (\*Saṃmatīya) since they taught the doctrine of a master who was respected (\*Saṃmata) by a great number of people.” (*Chos 'byung*, fol. 100v: *skye bo mang pos bkur ba'i slob dpon gyi lugs ston pas kun gyis bkur ba* |; cf. also Obermiller 1932: 100). It is difficult to say which one of these explanations is closest to the self-definition of the Saṃmitīyas themselves, because unfortunately we do not have original sources that provide us with an explanation or a para-etymology of the name.

<sup>39</sup> For instance, we find this epithet in the final rubric of some works of Aśva-ghoṣa (*Saundarananda*), Kālidāsa (*Vikramorvaṣīya*), Kṣemendra (*Avadānakalpalatā*, *Kalāvīlāsa*), Bhavabhūti (*Uttararāmacarita*) and Somadeva (*Kathāsaritsāgara*).

<sup>40</sup> See Hanisch 2008: 250.

<sup>41</sup> See Okano 1998: 382.

<sup>42</sup> See Okano 1998: 90–96.

<sup>43</sup> See, e.g., Okano 1998: 111–112, 213–214, 216–225, 228–241.

<sup>44</sup> See Tournier 2018: 38, n. 40.

<sup>45</sup> See von Hinüber 1996: 131; 2015b: 424.

present with slight changes in all the conclusions (*nigamana*), sometimes only in the Burmese edition, of the commentaries authored by or attributed to Buddhaghosa, as well as at the end of his *Visuddhimagga*.<sup>46</sup> As far as I am aware, this famous exegete never defined himself as a “great poet,” nor is he known to have composed *kāvya*s. 3) The work contains 547 stanzas, notwithstanding that the declared size of the text should correspond to 550 stanzas. It is very likely that the latter number is purely approximate: it frequently happens that the number given in the final rubrics of the texts differs slightly with respect to the actual extent of the works. Of course, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that some verses of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* were lost, that is, not copied during the transmission of the work, and that the text originally contained some additional stanzas, but as far as we can see at present, there are no evident gaps in it.

The second part of the final colophon, which was authored entirely by the copyist, consists of two stanzas, followed by the so-called *deyadharmā* formula and by the indication of the place where the manuscript was copied. It is written in a Sanskritized Middle Indic and requires a few corrections and comments. Suffice it here to briefly discuss the main points, because a thorough study of the passage and its language has just been published by D. Dimitrov.<sup>47</sup>

The first stanza, which is transliterated here verbatim, corresponds to the *pratītyasamutpādagāthā*, often referred to as the *ye dharmā* formula; it is extremely common and, as is well known, reproduced on many different objects, such as manuscripts (typically at the end of the text), epigraphs and seals:<sup>48</sup>

*ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā tesāṃ hetu tathāgato avaca |*  
*tesāṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃvā[14r<sub>1</sub>] dī mahāśśamaṇo || ||*

Of those *dharmas* that arise from a cause, the Tathāgata exposed the cause; and that which is their cessation, the great ascetic teaches in this way.

<sup>46</sup> See *Visuddhimagga* 614.1–11.

<sup>47</sup> See Dimitrov 2020, esp. pp. 45–46, 87–89.

<sup>48</sup> For a classification of objects inscribed with the *ye dharmā* formula, see Strauch 2009: 49–52. In the classification of different forms of this stanza pre-

A few things are worth noting: 1) the sequence *tesāṃ hetu* for the more usual *hetuṃ tesāṃ*— even though the sing. acc. *-u* is attested in BHSG § 12.22, the word *hetu* should probably be corrected, *metri causa*, to *hetuṃ*; 2) the words *tathāgato avaca* for *tathāgato hy avadat*, which is the more frequent ending of this *pāda*—in this case, no correction is needed, since the third-person sing. aorist *avaca* is attested, for instance in the *Mahāvastu* (see BHSG § 32.113), and is also common in Pāli; 3) the reading *mahaśśamaṇo* for the expected *mahāśramaṇo*/*mahāśramaṇah*; and 4) the retention of the nominative masculine endings in *-o*, which is clearly a Prakritism.

The second stanza is also quite common, and can be traced in various Buddhist sources either in this or in slightly different forms:<sup>49</sup>

*savvaṇṇapāpass<'> akaraṇaṃ kuśalass<'><sup>a</sup> upasaṃpadā<sup>b</sup> |*  
*sacittapayirodamaṇaṃ etaṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ || O || ||*

<sup>a</sup> *kuśalass<'>* em. ] *kuśalassa* MS

<sup>b</sup> *upasaṃpadā* em. ] *upasaṃpadāṃ* MS

Abstaining from all sins, attaining what is wholesome, completely disciplining one's own mind: this is the teaching of the Buddhas.

It is striking that the language here is identical with that of the Saṃmitīya (aka Patna) *Dharmapada*. This stanza may be compared to the parallel in the Pāli *Dhammapada*:

*savvaṇṇapāpass<'><sup>a</sup> akaraṇaṃ kuśalass<'> upasaṃpadā<sup>b</sup> |*  
*sacittapayirodamaṇaṃ etaṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ ||*  
 (Saṃmitīya *Dharmapada* 19:16)<sup>50</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *savva°* MS (see also Dimitrov 2020: 131) ] *sabba°* all editions (Shukla, Roth, Mizuno, Cone) ✧ *pāpass<'>* em. ] *pāpassa* all editions

<sup>b</sup> *kuśalass<'> upasaṃpadā* em. ] *kuśalassu apasaṃpadā* MS; *kuśalassa upasaṃpadā* Shukla, Mizuno; *kuśalassa apasaṃpadā* Cone; *kuśalassa apasaṃpadā(!)* Roth

sented recently by von Hinüber (2015a) it corresponds almost exactly to 2.2.1, the “*avaca* group” among the “Hybrid Pāli inscriptions.” On this stanza, see also Boucher 1991; Skilling 2003–2004; Dimitrov 2020: 11–12.

<sup>49</sup> On this stanza, see also Mizuno 1981: 160–161; 1984: 173–174.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. MS fol. 19r<sub>1-2</sub>. This is st. 357 in Shukla's ed. (p. 38), st. 358 in Roth's ed. (1980: 129), st. 357 in Mizuno's ed. (1981: 161; 1984: 173), st. 357 in Cone's ed. (1989: 197–198).

*sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ kusalassa upasampadā |*  
*sacittapariyodapaṇaṃ etaṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ ||*  
(*Dhammapada* 183 [14:5])<sup>51</sup>

In particular, we observe *savva* for P. *sabba* and Skt. *sarva*;<sup>52</sup> the genitive singular in *-ssa*; *sa°* for *sva°*; the reading °*payirodamaṇaṃ* instead of P. °*pariyodapaṇaṃ*;<sup>53</sup> *etaṃ* for Skt. *etad*; and the genitive plural *-āna*. Furthermore, the reading *buddhāna sāsanaṃ* instead of the likewise attested readings *buddhānuśāsanam*<sup>54</sup> and *buddhasya sāsanaṃ*<sup>55</sup> suggests a proximity between the Saṃmitīya and Theravāda transmission of this stanza.<sup>56</sup>

The text of the *deyadharmā* formula is no doubt corrupt. It is also transliterated here verbatim, although some corrections could easily be introduced in the text.

deyadharmmo yaṃ [14r<sub>2</sub>] paramudānadānapatisya bhadantaprabhā-kirttikasya yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu mātāpitrisarvassatvadevamanuṣyapādāprapāta iti [14r<sub>3</sub>] ||  
śrīnālin-dralikhitam iti || ||

<sup>51</sup> Reproduced from the edition by von Hinüber and Norman (p. 52), with only one minor change, i.e. *buddhāna* for *Buddhāna*.

<sup>52</sup> See also Dimitrov 2020: 131–133, 184, 207.

<sup>53</sup> The evolution *ṛya > riya > yira* (by metathesis) is quite common in Middle Indo-Aryan, including Pāli (see, e.g., Oberlies 2019, § 23.3), and is evidently common also in Saṃmitīya texts. One instance occurs in the available folio of the *Rājāsūtra* (line 2), where we read *ayirassa{ṇ}* instead of *ariyassa* of the Pāli parallel (see Tournier and Sfera, in preparation). See also Dimitrov 2020: 88, 194.

<sup>54</sup> See, for instance, *Mahāvastu* III.543.7–8: *sarvāpāpasyākaraṇaṃ kuśalasyopasampadā | svacittapariyodamaṇaṃ etad buddhānuśāsanam ||*. The same reading also occurs in the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins 93 (st. 8), variant: *svacittaparidamaṇam*) and in the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Lokottaravādins 36.22–23. V. Tournier has pointed out to me that the variant *svacittapariyodapaṇaṃ* in Tatia’s edition should be deleted, since it is an erroneous correction by the editor, likely based on Senart’s earlier emendation of the *Mahāvastu* verse: “I checked the Nor ms. of that portion, and the reading is confirmed by the Bāmiyān ms. of the same text (Karashima 2008: 82–83). The Bāmiyān manuscript (also representing a Lokottaravādin recension) incidentally reads *buddhāna sāsanaṃ*, so there isn’t a clear divide between Mahāsāṅghika and Mūlasarvāstivādin recension of the *pāda* on the one hand, and Saṃmitīya and Therīya on the other” (Tournier’s personal communication, 2 January 2020).

<sup>55</sup> See, for instance, *sarvāpāpasyākaraṇaṃ kuśalasyopasampadaḥ | svacittaparyavadanaṃ etad buddhasya sāsanaṃ ||* (*Udānavarga* 28:1 and *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins 73 [st. 7]).

<sup>56</sup> For further linguistic comments on this stanza, see Dimitrov 2020: 87–89.



In particular, *paramudāna*° is likely a mistake for *paramadāna*°, and the word *dāna* in the same compound is probably repeated twice due to a dittography (the compound *paramadānapati* is attested, for instance, in the *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*).<sup>57</sup> The genitive °*patisya* is a Prakritism for °*pater* (see BHSG §§ 10.78–79) and has to be retained. The name of the donor, Prabhākirttika, is a bit suspicious and might be a mistake for Prabhākīrti or Prabhākīrtikara, even if to the best of my present knowledge the latter name is not usual. The last words are certainly corrupt and perhaps also incomplete. The compound °*sarvassatva*° should be emended to °*sarvvasatva*°. Let us note en passant that the *akṣara de* of the word *deva* is not perfectly legible in the manuscript, but there is a good chance that this is the *akṣara* that should be read there (see fig. 19) and that “father” (*pitṛ*) is rendered with the spelling *pitri*, which is less regular, but nevertheless attested—for instance, in the Gilgit manuscript of the *Sanḅhabhedavastu*<sup>58</sup>—and should therefore be retained. In fact, the most problematic part of this formula is the last compound: the many parallels that are available both in inscriptions and manuscripts usually show a more elaborate clause, which involves the mention of both the beneficiaries of the merit produced as well as the goal, i.e., their acquisition of the supreme or unsurpassed knowledge (*anuttarajñāna*). Instead of the reading *mātāpitrisarvassatvadevamanuṣyaḥpādāprapāta iti*, the more common pattern, which we read for instance in a paratext of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (261.16–17), is *ācāryopādhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvvaṃgamam kṛtvā sakalasattvarāśer anuttarajñānāvāptaye iti* (*sic*). Let us note incidentally that instead of *anuttarajñānāvāptaye*, in some sources we find *anuttarajñānaphalāptaye* (e.g. in the Calcutta manuscript of the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*), *anuttarajñānaphalāvāptaye* (e.g. in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* [p. 511] and the *Yogāmbaraśādhānopāyikā* of Amitavajra [fol. 12v]),<sup>59</sup> *anuttarajñānalābhāya* (*Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa*, fol. 14v) or even *anuttaraphalāvāptaye* (*Vajrapadasārasaṃgraha*, fol. 85v<sub>6</sub>). In our case, it is not at all clear whether the mention of the *anuttarajñāna* is omitted due to a mis-

<sup>57</sup> See *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* 346.3.

<sup>58</sup> See Gnoli 1977: xv, whose policy, however, was to standardize *ri* with *r* when the latter was the expected vowel in classical Sanskrit.

<sup>59</sup> For two further examples, see Schopen 1979: 12.

take in transmission or it was never present in the sentence. We could also conjecture a reading such as *mātāpitri*<*pūrvamgamam kṛtvā*> *sarvasatva*<*rāser*> *devamanuṣyapadāvāptaya iti*, with no reference to the typically Mahāyānist goal, but the last part of this formula in particular remains uncertain and is apparently not attested in clear parallels.<sup>60</sup> Notwithstanding this substantial difference and the doubts about its original reading, there is no question that the use and adaptation of this formula at the end of a Saṃmitīya work is a further piece of evidence that it need not be identified exclusively with the Mahāyāna, pace the conclusions of Gregory Schopen (1979: 12, “[...] we must conclude that the formula *yad atra puṇyam*, etc., is virtually the exclusive property of the Mahāyāna”).<sup>61</sup>

The toponym present in the compound *śrīnālandralikhitam* (“[The manuscript] has been written in Śrīnālandra”) has been identified differently by previous scholars. Tucci suggests that Nalendra (*sic* for Nālandra in Tucci 1956b) is nothing but Nālandā, the famous monastic educational (and ritual) centre in present-day Bihar, and that the spelling Nalendra reflects the Tibetan pronunciation of this word.<sup>62</sup> However, Kiyoshi Okano, who did not have access to the manuscript of the *Abhidharma-samuccayakārikā* and could rely only on Tucci’s words, believes that this toponym, i.e., Nalendra, refers to a monastery in Tibet situated 30 kilometres northwest of Lhasa and 130 kilometres from Gong dkar chos grwa, a monastery also known as Nālandra, dPal

<sup>60</sup> V. Tournier has kindly pointed out to me that the wish to obtain good rebirths among god and human beings is attested (in that case en route to Buddhahood) in a 6<sup>th</sup>-century inscription from Jaggayyapeta in the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh ([...] *devamanu(s)[ya]vibhūtipūrvvakam buddhattvaṣṣṭinimittam* [...]); see Tournier 2020: 219–220. The entire inscription, no. 136 of the *Early Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa* (EIAD) corpus, is also published online at <http://epigraphia.efeo.fr/andhra/> (last accessed 7 February 2020).

<sup>61</sup> For a more recent and detailed discussion of this formula, see Tournier 2014: 36–42; 2018: 43–46; 2020: 181ff.

<sup>62</sup> See Tucci 1956b: 2: “Therefore, it seems that this manuscript was written at Nalendra temple, in other words, Nālandā (那爛陀寺). It is worth noting that the name of this famous forest of learning (学林) is not written as Nālandā but as Nalendra, according to the way Tibetans always spell [this temple’s name].” (I thank Kenji Takahashi for having kindly translated for me this passage from the original Japanese.)

Nāleन्द्रa (= \*Śrīnāleन्द्रa),<sup>63</sup> 'Phan yul Nāleन्द्रa and, again, Nāleन्द्रā. Accordingly, he thinks that the manuscript could not have been produced before the foundation of the monastery by Rong ston smra ba'i seng ge (aka Rong ston Shes bya kun rig) (1367–1449) in 1435 CE<sup>64</sup> and that the dating Tucci proposes for this manuscript (as well as for the manuscript of the *Mañicūḍajātaka*), i.e., the eighth or ninth century,<sup>65</sup> is wrong.<sup>66</sup> No date is indicated in the colophon, but it is likely that this manuscript was produced in the same period as the manuscripts of the *Mañicūḍajātaka* and the *Candrālaṃkāra*, that is, the twelfth century<sup>67</sup> or perhaps a bit later. The identification of Śrīnāleन्द्रa/Nāleन्द्रa is in any case problematic. It could perhaps, and provisionally, be identified with a monastery called Nāleन्द्रa that is mentioned by Tāranātha in chapter 32 of his *rGya gar chos 'byung* as—apparently—a different monastery than Nāleन्द्रā, established by the Pāla king Mahāpāla, son of Mahāpāla I (r. c. 980–1028).<sup>68</sup> However, one should keep in mind that Tāranātha, a relatively late author (1575–1634), is not always reliable in his accounts and some further research is no doubt required in this regard. The mention of two monasteries with very similar names is in fact a bit suspicious. Moreover, the actual existence of a king named Mahāpāla, not otherwise mentioned in any of the epigraphical records available thus far, is not at all certain. Alexis Sanderson has raised some skepticism in this regard in his essay “The Śaiva Age.”<sup>69</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See, for instance, Ferrari 1958: 39.

<sup>64</sup> On the history of this monastery, see Jackson 2019, who posits its foundation in 1436. For its geographical location, see Ferrari 1958: 39. A description of the monastery (with a map and some pictures) may be found in Akester 2016: 46–47, 56–61.

<sup>65</sup> See Tucci 1996: 170.

<sup>66</sup> See Okano 1998: 16 and n. 28, which refers to secondary literature on this monastery.

<sup>67</sup> For the dating of the *Candrālaṃkāra* manuscript, see Dimitrov 2010: 47.

<sup>68</sup> *rGya gar chos 'byung* A: fol. 82r<sub>2-3</sub>, p. 463; B: 175.5–7. B: [...] *mchod 'os kyī mthil du mdzad | dpal nā landār (A: leन्द्रār) yang chos gzhi 'ga' re btsugs | so (A: sau) ma pu ri dang | nā leन्द्रa dang | tsha ba gsum gyi gtsug lag khang la sogs par yang chos gzhi mang po btsugs*; “[Mahāpāla] [...] also established several religious foundations at Nāleन्द्रā, and many others also in Somapura, Nāleन्द्रa, and the Trikaṭukavihāra” (transl. Sanderson 2009: 95–96, n. 179; see also Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970: 289). For the dates of Mahāpāla I, see Dimitrov 2016: Appendix I, in particular p. 756.

<sup>69</sup> See Sanderson 2009: 96.

3. About the text

3.1 The *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* deals with the same topics as the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu and the *Abhidharmadīpa* of (Ārya/Ācārya) Īśvara,<sup>70</sup> but the subdivision of its chapters is not perfectly parallel to that of the other two works (see below, Table). Even though the *Abhidharmakośa* is never quoted directly and explicitly, since paraphrases of stanzas from this text occur all throughout the work, it is very likely that it is precisely Vasubandhu who is alluded to in those parts of the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* where Saṅghatrāta refers to doctrines supported by others by saying “*kecit* [...],” that is, “Some [say...]” or “*apare* [...]” or even “*anye* [...],” i.e., “Others [say...]” Two examples occur in the very first chapter:

1

*rūpaṃ viṃśatidhā śabdāś tridhā gandhaś ca ṣaḍ rasāḥ |*  
*saṣṭadhehāṣṭadhā spṛśyaṃ kecid ekādaśātmakaṃ || (1:7)*

Colour/shape has twenty aspects; sound and smell are threefold; tastes are six; in our system (*iha*), tangible object is sevenfold [and/or] eightfold; some [say that it] consists of eleven [aspects].

*rūpaṃ dvidhā viṃśatidhā śabdāś tv aṣṭavidho rasāḥ |*  
*ṣoḍhā caturvidho gandhaḥ spṛśyaṃ ekādaśātmakaṃ ||*  
(*Abhidharmakośa* 1:10)

*Rūpa*, which is twofold [= colour (*varṇa*) and shape (*saṃsthāna*)], has twenty aspects; sound is eightfold; taste is sixfold; smell is fourfold; tangible object consists of eleven [aspects].

In both texts, *rūpa* has twenty aspects, which, following the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, include four main colours (blue, red, yellow and white), eight secondary colours (grey, etc.), and eight shapes (long, short, square, round, tall, little, equal, unequal), whereas taste is sixfold (sweet, sour, salty, chilly, bitter, astringent). Differences concern sound, smell and tangible object. In the *Abhidharmakośa* and its *Bhāṣya*, sound is eightfold because each of its main four subdivisions—i.e., sound caused by the four great elements conjoined [with consciousness] (*upāttamahābhūtahetu-*

<sup>70</sup> On the name of the author of the *Abhidharmadīpa*, see Li 2012: 2–4.

ka), caused by the four great elements not conjoined [with consciousness] (*anupāttamahābhūtahetuka*), articulate (*sattvākhyā*) and inarticulate (*asattvākhyā*)<sup>71</sup>—can be pleasant and unpleasant. Smell is fourfold since it can be good, bad, mild (or neutral) and strong. Tangible object has eleven aspects, since it is connected with the four great elements and can be tender, rough, heavy and light, as well as cold, hunger and thirst.<sup>72</sup> At present I am unable to say with certainty why, in the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā*, sound and smell are threefold, and tangible is sevenfold and/or eightfold. As regards smell, we can hypothesize that Saṅghatrāta conceives it to be threefold inasmuch as it can be pleasant, unpleasant and neutral. Such a definition of smell actually occurs in primary sources, for example in the *Pañcaskandhaka* of Vasubandhu,<sup>73</sup> in the *Prakaraṇapāda* of Vasumitra<sup>74</sup> and in the *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* by Vīryaśrīdatta;<sup>75</sup> it is also referred to in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.<sup>76</sup> We could also hypothesize that the same pattern can be applied to sound, but I was unable to find confirmation on this regard in other sources. We could very tentatively explain tangible object as being sevenfold in connection with the seven categories of tactile objects, starting with “tender” and so on, and eightfold in connection with the four great elements together with their respective peculiar qualities,<sup>77</sup> or only taking into

<sup>71</sup> Lit. “called Being,” i.e., pertaining/belonging to living/sentient beings, and “called not-Being,” i.e., not pertaining/belonging to living/sentient beings.

<sup>72</sup> See also *Pañcaskandhaka* § 1.2.10 (3.5–7): *spraṣṭavyaikaśeṣaḥ katamaḥ | kāyasya viśayo mahābhūtāni sthāpayitvā ślakṣṇatvaṃ karkaśatvaṃ gurutvaṃ laghutvaṃ śītaṃ jighatsā pipāsā ca* |, and *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* 96.4–5.

<sup>73</sup> *Pañcaskandhaka* § 1.2.8 (3.1–2): *gandhaḥ katamaḥ | ghrāṇaviśayaḥ — sugandho durgandhas tadanyaś ca* |.

<sup>74</sup> See La Vallée Poussin 1971, vol. I: 18.

<sup>75</sup> See *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* 96.2–3: *gandhas trividhaḥ — sugandho durgandhaḥ samagandhas ceti* |.

<sup>76</sup> *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 7.6–7: *sugandhadurgandhayoḥ samaviśamagandhatvāt | trividhas tu śāstre — sugandho durgandhaḥ samagandha iti* |.

<sup>77</sup> See, for instance, *Pañcaskandhaka* § 1.1 (1.6–2.2): *catvāri mahābhūtāni katamāni | pṛthivīdhātur abdhātus tejodhātus vāyudhātus ca || tatra pṛthivīdhātuḥ katamaḥ | kakkhaṭatvaṃ | abdhātuḥ katamaḥ | snehaḥ | tejodhātuḥ katamaḥ | uṣmā | vāyudhātuḥ katamaḥ | laghusamudīraṇatvaṃ* |; *Mahāvīryūtpatti* §§ 1843–1851: *catvāri mahābhūtāni | 1 pṛthivīdhātuḥ | 2 abdhātuḥ | 3 tejodhātuḥ | 4 vāyudhātuḥ | 5 khakkhaṭatvaṃ (sic for kakkhaṭatvaṃ) | 6 dravatvaṃ | 7 uṣṇatvaṃ | 8 laghusamudīraṇatvaṃ* |. See also Rahula 1971: 4.

consideration their peculiar qualities, which in some sources are held to be eight, i.e., two per element.<sup>78</sup> Alternatively, the tangible could be eightfold in connection with the four great elements that can be internal and external, i.e., belonging to oneself or to the external reality, as is taught, for instance, in *Majjhima Nikāya*'s *sutta* no. 28.

2

*niṣyandaḥ sadṛśo hetoḥ vipākaḥ karmmaṇaḥ kila |  
satvākhyo 'vyākṛtaḥ kecit{o} balāj jātaṃ tu [2r<sub>1</sub>] pauruṣaṃ ||  
avighnabhāvādhigatam ādhīpatyaphalaṃ dvidhā ||  
prahāṇaṃ yo viśaṃyogo dhīyā prāptiḥ kvacit phalaṃ*<sup>79</sup> || (1:16–17)

[There are five kinds of fruit:] 1) *niṣyanda* (“[Fruit of] Equal Emanation”) is similar to the cause; 2) it is said that *vipāka* (“[Fruit of] Retribution”) comes from *karman*; some [others believe that *vipāka* is] called Being [i.e., it pertains to sentient beings, and] is non-defined (*avyākṛta*); 3) the *pauruṣa* (“[Fruit of] Human Strength”), in its turn (*tu*), arises from effort; 4) the *ādhīpatyaphala* (“Fruit of Sovereignty”), [which exists] in two ways,<sup>80</sup> is obtained from the absence of obstacles;<sup>81</sup> 5) *viśaṃyoga* (“[Fruit of] Disconnection”) is the destruction [of the evil propensities (*anusāya*)] made by insight.<sup>82</sup> In some [sources], it is [also] the attainment [of the unconditioned *nirvāṇa*].

*vipāko 'vyākṛto dharmāḥ sattvākhyo vyākṛtodbhavaḥ |  
niṣyando hetusadṛśo viśaṃyogaḥ kṣayo dhīyā ||  
yadbalāj jāyate yat tat phalaṃ puruṣakārajam |*

<sup>78</sup> See, for instance, *Arthaviniścayasūtra* 9.1–6: *rūpaṃ katamat? yat kiṃcid rūpaṃ sarvaṃ tac catvāri mahābhūtāni | catvāri ca mahābhūtāny upādāya, katamāni catvāri? tadyathā — pṛthivīdhātur abdhātus tejodhātur vāyudhātus ca | pṛthivīdhātuḥ katamaḥ? yad gurutvaṃ ca kakkaṭatvaṃ ca | abdhātuḥ katamaḥ? yad dravatvaṃ abhiṣyandana-tvaṃ ca | tejodhātuḥ katamaḥ? yad uṣṇatvaṃ pariṣācanatvaṃ ca | vāyudhātuḥ katamaḥ? yad ākuñcanaprasāraṇa<ṃ> laghusamudīraṇatvaṃ ca |*. See also *Caṇḍamahā-roṣaṇatantra* 468 (chap. 16); and *Sūtaka* 353–354 (chap. 2).

<sup>79</sup> I interpret the word *phalaṃ* as syntactically connected with the following stanza 18 (see below §§ 6, 8). Consequently, it is not translated here.

<sup>80</sup> This statement is not fully clear to me. It could be a reference to its being a fruit with respect to the “doer” and with respect to the “enjoyer” (see *Dhammajoti* 2007: 235).

<sup>81</sup> See below, § 6, st. 1.10cd.

<sup>82</sup> Following *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya ad 2:57: dhīḥ prajñā* |, both here and below I interpret the word *dhī* as synonym of *prajñā*.

*apūrvah saṃskṛtasyaiva saṃskṛto 'dhipateḥ phalam ||*  
(*Abhidharmakośa* 2:57–58)

The [Fruit of] Retribution is a non-defined *dharmā*, is called Being [i.e., it pertains to sentient beings and] arises from a defined [*dharmā*]. The [Fruit of] Equal Emanation is similar to the cause. The [Fruit of] Disconnection is the destruction [of evil propensities] due to insight. The Fruit arisen from Human effort is that which arises by force of that. A conditioned [*dharmā*] that follows a conditioned [*dharmā*] is the Fruit of Sovereignty.

Suffice it here to note that in this example, as well as in the previous one, it is not explicitly stated that the opinion of the others is wrong; it is simply registered as a (probably less attractive) alternative.

In many other passages, Saṅghatrāta simply reformulates the words of the *Abhidharmakośa*. Let us consider two examples:

1

*caittā veditacaitanyasaṃjñāsparsāmanaskri[3r<sub>7</sub>]yāḥ |*  
*cchando <'>dhimokṣo vyāyāmo smṛtibuddhisamādhyah || (3:4 [72])*

The thought concomitants (*caitta*) [that are known as the ten *ma-hābhūmikadharmas*] are: 1) feeling (*vedita*); 2) volition (*caitanya*); 3) ideation (*saṃjñā*); 4) contact (*sparsā*); 5) attention (*manaskriyā*); 6) desire for action (*chanda*); 7) determination (*adhimokṣa*) [i.e.,] exertion (*vyāyāma*); 8) memory (*smṛti*); 9) discernment (*buddhi*); and 10) concentration (*samādhi*).

*vedanā cetanā saṃjñā cchandaḥ sparśo matiḥ smṛtiḥ |*  
*manaskāro 'dhimokṣas ca*<sup>83</sup> *samādhiḥ sarvacetasi ||*  
(*Abhidharmakośa* 2:24)

Feeling, volition, ideation, desire for action, contact, discernment, memory, attention, determination and concentration are in any thought.

2

*śraddhānusārī mṛdvakṣo jñeyo darśanavartmani |*  
*dharmmānusārī tīkṣṇākṣas tasminn eva vyavasthītaḥ || (6:26 [233])*

<sup>83</sup> Or *'dhimuktiś ca* (see La Vallée Poussin 1971, vol. I: 153).

On the Path of Vision [of the truths], the “follower [of the path] in accordance with faith” has to be known as having weak faculties; established in this very [Path], the “follower [of the path] in accordance with the teachings” [instead] has sharp faculties.

*mṛdutiḥkṣṇendriyau teṣu śraddhādharmānusāriṇau |*  
(*Abhidharmakośa* 6:29ab)

At these [moments], the [practitioners] of weak and sharp faculties are [respectively] the “follower [of the path] in accordance with faith” and the “follower [of the path] in accordance with the teachings.”

3.2 In the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā*, there are only two sentences that contain a reference to the distinctive doctrine of the Saṃmitīyas, as well as of all the Vātsīputrīyas in general, i.e., to the *pudgala* (lit. “person”), which they hold to be a real and ultimate entity, even though indeterminate in its relation to both the aggregates and *nirvāṇa*, and which for this reason is most targeted in non-Personalists Buddhist works, where it is interpreted as contrary to the doctrine of *anātman*.

The first reference, which is quite explicit, occurs at the very beginning of the text. The passage is however somewhat problematic. The reading *evāvadanyatā* in *pāda* d is almost certainly corrupt. I have tentatively conjectured *evānyad anyathā*, which at present seems to me the closest possible correction.<sup>84</sup>

*arūpiṇo manovarjyā dharmmāyatanaṃ anyathā |*  
*vānye ca • pudga[1v<sub>3</sub>]lo 'vācyah sarvvaṃ evānyad anyathā*<sup>85</sup> || (1:8)

[All] the immaterial [*dharmas*] apart from the mind are the Basis of the Dharmas; alternatively (*anyathā vā*), even [all] the other [*dharmas* fall under *dharmāyatana*]. The *pudgala* is inexpressible. Any other thing [exists] in a different way [that is to say, is expressible].

The ineffability of the *pudgala* is a key Vātsīputrīya (and hence Saṃmitīya) standpoint. Comparison with the paradigmatic Vātsī-

<sup>84</sup> Other possible conjectures are more intrusive (e.g., *sarvvasyaiva tadanyatā*) or syntactically more problematic (e.g., *sarvvaṃ eva tadanyatā*).

<sup>85</sup> *evānyad anyathā conj. ] evāvadanyatā MS*



putriya thesis listed, expounded, and criticized for instance by Bhāviveka in the *Tarkajvālā*,<sup>86</sup> by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (18:92–103) and its *Vivṛti*,<sup>87</sup> and by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla in *Tattvasaṅgraha* 336–349 and its *Pañjikā*,<sup>88</sup> would invite to explain the word *avācyā* (“inexpressible,” “ineffable”) by the impossibility to say whether the *pudgala* is the same or different from the *skandhas*; the discussion here pertains rather to the twelve *āyatana*s, but this is likely not a problem, given that the two sets represent parallel, alternative schemes of phenomenological classification, which in the Theravāda tradition, at least, are consciously correlated starting with the Abhidhammapiṭaka.<sup>89</sup> Thus, the *vijñānaskandha* is associated with the *manaāyatana*, the other mental aggregates (*vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāras*) are associated with the *dharmāyatana*, and the *rūpa-skandha* is associated with all the remaining internal and external *āyatana*s (eye, ear, etc.; colour/shape, sound, etc.).

The second reference is implicit and occurs in stanza 23 of the sixth chapter, entitled *Mārgasamuccaya*, at the end of a description of the stages/fruits that lead the *ārya* to *nirvāṇa*. Here we find the famous metaphor of fire and fuel, which is already attested in early Buddhist scriptures<sup>90</sup> and can be found also in other *pudgalavāda* texts. According to the latter, this would exemplify the relationship that exists between the *pudgala* and the aggregates on the one hand, and between *pudgala* and *nirvāṇa* on the other.<sup>91</sup> To put it briefly: just as fire is identifiable and conceivable only in the presence of fuel, while it is not identical with it, so does the *pudgala* in relation to the aggregates; and like fire, once the fuel is extinguished, returns to its unmanifest and delocalized state, so the *pudgala* obtains *parinirvāṇa*, once defilements are extinguished. In

<sup>86</sup> See Iida 1968: 196–200, and Eckel 2008: 114–115, 118, 121 (trans.); 310, 313, 315 (text).

<sup>87</sup> See Eltschinger 2010.

<sup>88</sup> See Sferra, forthcoming.

<sup>89</sup> See Bodhi 2000: 1122–1123.

<sup>90</sup> See, e.g., *Majjhima Nikāya* 72 and *Saṃyutta Nikāya* II.84–87. On the fire metaphor in the early Buddhist teachings, see Gombrich 2009: chapter 8.

<sup>91</sup> For an indepth analysis, with references to primary and secondary sources, see Priestley 1999: 165–186.

this state it is not annihilated, but its existence—baseless, boundless and unmanifested—is unfathomable.<sup>92</sup>

The entire relevant passage is edited (without changes in orthography) and translated here below. Stanza 19 is not completely clear to me, and could be corrupt and in need of further emendation. At present, I limit myself to translating it literally.

*tatas trayodaśe citte phalam āryyo <'>dhigacchati |*  
*jugupsamāno nirvveti*<sup>93</sup> *tataḥ kāmān dvidhāsucīn || (6:19 [226])*  
*dvitīyaṃ bahunirvīṇṇaḥ phalam āpnoty anāsravaṃ |*  
*nirvīṇṇaḥ sarvasāsaḥ tv āryyaḥ tṛtīyaṃ adhigacchati || (6:20 [227])*  
*bahirmukhapravṛttānāṃ kleśānāṃ sarvasāsaḥ*<sup>94</sup> *kṣayāt |*  
*etad vairāgyam ity uktam vīta*[6v<sub>6</sub>] *rāgas*<sup>95</sup> *tv ataḥ*  
[*param* || (6:21 [228])  
*antarmukhapravṛttānāṃ baṃdhānānāṃ vimocanāt |*  
*sa vimuktīm avāpnoti caturthaṃ*<sup>96</sup> *cāmalaṃ phalaṃ || (6:22 [229])*  
*pūrvvāparādhānirjātabhavasamdhinirodhataḥ*<sup>97</sup> *|*  
*parinirvṛvāti niṣkleśo nirindhana ivānalaḥ || (6:23 [230])*

19. Then, in the thirteenth mind,<sup>98</sup> the Noble One attains the [first] fruit [i.e., the Srotaāpatti]; then, being disgusted, he becomes unfeeling<sup>99</sup> towards the twofold desires, that are impure.

<sup>92</sup> This interpretation of the metaphor of fire and fuel, which brings the Puḍgalavāda very close to various non-Buddhist traditions, was obviously criticized by other Buddhists. See Duerlinger 1982 and Eltschinger 2010: 314–316.

<sup>93</sup> *nirvveti* em. (Salvini) ] *nirvotte* MS

<sup>94</sup> *sarvasāsaḥ* em. ] *sarvasāḥ* MS

<sup>95</sup> *vītarāgas* em. ] *vītārāgas* MS

<sup>96</sup> *caturthaṃ* em. ] *caturddhaṃ* MS

<sup>97</sup> °*bhava*° em. ] °*bhavā*° MS

<sup>98</sup> It seems that according to Saṅghatrāta the *satyābhisamayas* are 12 (three for each of the *satyas*) and not 16, like in the *Abhidharmakośa* (st. 6:27ab): *tato duḥkhaṃ tribhir jñānaiḥ* (em.; *jñānauḥ* MS) *śeṣāny evaṃ tribhis tribhiḥ | paśyati [...]* (*Abhidharmasamucayakārikā* 6:18abc,) “Therefore, [the practitioner] sees the [truth of] suffering by means of three kinds of knowledge; in the same way [he sees] the remaining [three truths] each one by means of three [kinds of knowledge].”

<sup>99</sup> This translation is based on the assumption that in Buddhist texts, and in particular in this context, the verbal root *nirvid* (as well as the connected noun *nirvidā*) expresses more a lack of interest towards the objects of desire than a kind of disgust or revulsion, even if this is its basic meaning in Classical Sanskrit, and notwithstanding the word *jugupsamānaḥ* suggests that, at least at the beginning, a sense of dislike or aversion is in some way present. The formula *nibbindati ukkaṇṭhati nābhiramati*, which occurs several times in Pāli sources (see, e.g.,

20. Disenchanted with many [objects of desire], he attains the second fruit [i.e., the state of Sakṛdāgāmin], which is free from impurities; but [when] the Noble One is completely disenchanted, he attains the third [fruit, i.e., the state of Anāgāmin].

21. Due to the complete destruction of the defilements that are directed towards [something] external, this [third fruit] is called Detachment; it is after this [destruction that the Noble One] is [called] “free from attachment.”

22. Due to liberation from the fetters that are directed towards [something] internal, he attains liberation, i.e., the fruit that is the fourth and pure [= the state of Arhant].

23. [When he has become] free from defilements, due to the cessation of the bondage with [the chain of] existence, which is produced by the previous faults, he enters Parinirvāṇa, like a fire without fuel.

#### 4. *Style and language*

In accord with the typical Abhidharmic style, Saṅghatrāta privileges short and often also cryptic sentences. Although he is able to compose stylistically estimable verses, as evidenced by the opening of the text, sometimes, for the sake of conciseness, he opts for less regular syntactic constructions; quite striking, for instance, are the nine occurrences of the syllable *vā* at the beginning of a *pāda* (stt. 30, 66, 108, 150, 205, 224, 310, 317).

Apparently the particle *tu* is often used as a *pādapūraṇa* and sometimes to mark the change of the subject in the sentence. Consequently, in the translation, I have occasionally opted for a free rendering of this *nipāta* with expressions like “As for...” (in st. 10) or “in its turn...” (e.g., in st. 16) or even not translating it at all (e.g., in st. 25).

As regards the metre, we note that although the *pathyā* form remains prevalent, the author quite frequently resorts to *vipulās*. Just to offer an impression of the metrical style, the *vipulās* in the first chapter are as follows: *na-vipulā* (22c), *bha-vipulā* (4a, 17a), *ma-vipulā* (11c, 19a, 19c, 24c, 30a), *ra-vipulā* (3c, 12a, 12c, 20c).

*Visuddhimagga* 558.11–12), seems to imply also a positive aspect, that is, not only a disillusionment or disenchantment with the worldly objects of desire, but also a longing for or yearning for something better (see *Critical Pāli Dictionary* s.v. *ukkaṇṭhati*).

5. *About this edition*

Given the uniqueness and importance of this manuscript, its peculiarities have been retained: 1) The sandhi, both internal and external, has not been standardized. 2) The punctuation has been faithfully reproduced. Sometimes the copyist divides the words within the *pādas* using a dot (•); its function is not fully clear to me. 3) The orthography has not been standardized. In this regard, it is worth noting that in words that contain the cluster *gra*, the latter is always written as *ggra*;<sup>100</sup> in this case, the gemination of *g* is no doubt a purely orthographical device of disambiguation, since in Saindhavī/Bhaikṣukī script, the *akṣara gra* would be indistinguishable from *re*. The vowel *ṛ* is sometimes rendered with *ri*. One instance is at the beginning of the *Mārgasamuccaya*, where we find the word *śriṅvan* for *śṛṅvan* (st. 6:4 [211]) (see fig. 20).<sup>101</sup>

Among the most conspicuous editorial interventions is the arrangement of the text in metrical form, the insertion of the numbers of the stanzas and, in a few cases, the addition of a comma to help the reader.

For this edition, the following symbols and abbreviations have been used:

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| [...]    | enclose the pagination of MS   |
| ]        | separates the accepted reading, emendations or conjectures from other readings |
| (...)    | enclose the numbers of the stanzas   |
| <...>    | enclose the <i>avagrahas</i> that are absent in the MS                         |
| {...}    | enclose <i>akṣaras</i> or <i>daṇḍas</i> that should be cancelled               |
| †...†    | <i>cruces desperationis</i>  |
| ⊗        | fleuron/wheel  |
| ∪        | <i>siddham</i> sign  |
| <i>r</i> | <i>recto</i>   |
| <i>v</i> | <i>verso</i>   |

<sup>100</sup> See also Dimitrov 2010: 117, and 2020: 98–101.

<sup>101</sup> See also Dimitrov 2010: 118.

6. Text

[1*v*<sub>1</sub>] ॐ namo buddhāya ||

satvadharmmagaṇāgratvaṃ • buddhiśuddhiśamāptibhiḥ |  
prāptān saṃbuddhadharmmāryasamghān abhyarccya  
[sarvathā || (1)

abhidharmme prasiddhānāṃ saddharmmāṇāṃ samuccayaḥ |  
kariṣyate ya[1*v*<sub>2</sub>]to <'>nyeṣāṃ bhavaty, āyatanādayaḥ || (2)

dvidhā cakṣuḥśrutighrāṇajihvākāyamanāṃsi ṣaṭ |  
ādhyātmikāny āśrayatvāc<sup>α</sup> cetaso <'>nyatvam ātmanaḥ || (3)

rūpadhvanighreyarasasprṣyadharmmās tu gocaraḥ |  
bāhyā[1*v*<sub>3</sub>]ḥ sādharmaṇatvāc<sup>102</sup> ca prādhānyād  
[rūpadharmmayoḥ<sup>β</sup> || (4)

rūpālocanam atrā'kṣi śrotrādīni yathākramaṃ |  
vijñānādhyuṣitāny ebhiḥ saha maṃṭṭṛ manas tridhā || (5)

cakṣuḥṣo viṣayo rūpaṃ śabdādīni yathendriyaṃ |  
manasaḥ [1*v*<sub>4</sub>] sarvvam ekasya • svakalāpam apāsyā vā || (6)<sup>γ</sup>

rūpaṃ viṃśatidhā śabdāś tridhā gandhaś ca ṣaḍ rasāḥ |  
saptadhehāṣṭadhā sprṣyaṃ kecid ekādaśātmakaṃ || (7)<sup>δ</sup>

arūpiṇo manovarjyā dharmmāyatanam, anyathā |  
vānye ca • pudga[1*v*<sub>5</sub>]lo 'vācyaḥ sarvvam evānyad anyathā<sup>103</sup> || (8)

samutthānaṃ yad ākṣeptṛ • janako hetur eva ca |  
ānantaryyaṃ vinaśyad yad avibandhāya kalpate || (9)

ālaṃbanam abhipretam • yad ārabhya samudbhavaḥ |  
ādhipatyam tu janyasya sarvve <'>nye '[1*v*<sub>6</sub>]vighnatām  
[prati || (10)<sup>ε</sup>

utthānaṃ prāksahotpannaṃ • virūpe <'>pi pravarttakam<sup>104</sup> |  
sabhāgahetuḥ prāgjāto bhūnikāyasadṛk sa<sup>105</sup> vā || (11)<sup>ζ</sup>

sarvvatragaḥ saṃprayukto vipākas sahabhūs tathā |<sup>η</sup>  
sarvvatragāḥ sānuvṛttadvividhānāṃ,<sup>106</sup> sa[1*v*<sub>7</sub>]dhātukāḥ || (12)

yatra ye saṃprayuktās te sarvve <'>nyonyaṃ,<sup>θ</sup> vipacyate |  
yato <'>taḥ paktir ity anyas tatphalas sahabhūr iti || (13)<sup>ι</sup>

<sup>102</sup> *sādharmaṇatvāc* em. ] *sādharmaṇatvāc* MS

<sup>103</sup> *evānyad anyathā* conj. ] *evāvadanyatā* MS

<sup>104</sup> *pravarttakam* em. ] *pravarttakāt* MS

<sup>105</sup> *sa* em. ] *saṃ* MS (*contra metrum*)

<sup>106</sup> *sānuvṛtta*<sup>o</sup> em. ] *sānuvatta*<sup>o</sup> MS

- jāyamānasya yo yasya sthānadātārthato bhavet |  
 ānantaryyaṃ sa tasyānye cittacittikayo[1v<sub>8</sub>]r<sup>107</sup> mmanaḥ || (14)  
 vijñaptisaṃprayuktānām ālaṃbanam idaṃ dvidhā |  
 kevalaṃ saṃprayuktānām icchanti nikhilaṃ ca tat || (15)  
 niṣyandaḥ sadṛśo hetoḥ<sup>k</sup> vipākaḥ karmaṇaḥ kila |  
 satvākhyo 'vyākṛtaḥ<sup>λ</sup> kecit<sup>108</sup> balāj jātaṃ tu [2r<sub>1</sub>]  
 [pauruṣaṃ<sup>μ</sup> || (16)  
 avighnabhāvādhigatam ādhipatyaphalaṃ dvidhā ||  
 prahāṇaṃ yo viśamyogo dhiyā<sup>v</sup> prāptiḥ kvacit, phalaṃ || (17)  
 dvayor nniṣyanda ekasya vipākaḥ pauruṣaṃ dvayoḥ |<sup>ξ</sup>  
 ādhipatyam tu sarveṣāṃ prahāṇaṃ mokṣava[2r<sub>2</sub>]rtmanaḥ || (18)  
 adhvadvaye dvau triṣv anye hetavaḥ<sup>o</sup> phaladās tv amī |  
 dvau varttamānau bhaggnās ca śeṣā<sup>π</sup> bhaggnā kriyāpare || (19)  
 sarva eva tu gr̥hṇanti varttamānāḥ phalaṃ kila |  
 dvyekādhvakā jāyamānajātayoḥ karma  
 [kurvate || dha [2r<sub>3</sub>] || (20)<sup>ρ</sup>  
 anyeṣāṃ api hetūnāṃ phalānāṃ cātra saṃggrahaḥ |  
 etad evānuśaṃsaś ca guṇaś cādīnavo 'thavā || (21)  
 bhūtabhautikavijñānadharmmāṇāṃ hi parasparaṃ |  
 catustridvyekekaraṇaṃ<sup>109</sup> svajāteś caikadheha<sup>110</sup> saḥ || (22)<sup>σ</sup>  
 bhūtāni [2r<sub>4</sub>] bhūtasādṛśyāt pṛthivyambvagnimārutāḥ<sup>111</sup> |  
 dhṛtyādikaḥinatvādikṛtyāṃkāni<sup>τ</sup> sahaiva vā || (23)  
 rūpaśabdamanodharmmāḥ paṃcadhā'vyākṛtāny adaḥ |  
 sarvvāṇi kāme • rūpeṣu daśā'ntye dve arūpiṣu || (24)  
 anāśra[2r<sub>5</sub>]ve ca, caittās tu dharmmā anuśayādayaḥ |  
 vidādyāḥ saṃprayuktās ca tathānuparivarttinaḥ ||<sup>v</sup> (25)  
 sahabhūni tu sarvvāṇi vā • na dve manasī saha |  
 daśa rūpīṇi vaikaṃ tu triṣu vijñaptisaṃbhavaḥ || (26)  
 sālaṃbanam manaḥ [2r<sub>6</sub>] kiṃcit trayāṇāṃ trīṇi karma vā |  
 dve vipāko 'pare śabdavarjyāni sa tu yatnajaḥ || (27)  
 nava bhāvayitavyāni vā guptiguṇasaṃbhavāt |  
 abhijñeyāni sarvvāṇi sāksātkāryāṇi ṣaṭ tu vā || (28)

<sup>107</sup> *cittacittikayor* em. ] *cittā'cittikayor* MS

<sup>108</sup> *kecit* em. ] *kecito* MS

<sup>109</sup> °*karaṇaṃ* em. ] °*kāraṇaṃ* MS

<sup>110</sup> *caikadheha* em. ] *caikatheha* MS

<sup>111</sup> °*mārutāḥ* em. ] °*mābhatāḥ* MS (note that the *akṣaras ru* and *bha* can easily be confused in the Saindhavi/Bhaikṣukī script)

daśa dvayoḥ pra[2r<sub>7</sub>]deśāś ca prahātavyāni vartmanā |  
 pariññeyāni sarvvāṇi sāsravatvāc ca duḥkhavat || (29)  
 vā rūpaśabdau paṃcāptau mano dharmmās ca ṣaḍvidhāḥ |  
 nābhiprāyo yato <'>to <'>nyad bhāvanāheyam

[aṣṭakam || la || (30)

vitarkka[2r<sub>8</sub>]ś ca vicāraś ca kāme dhyāne vivekaje |  
 dhyānāntare vicāras tu • parastād dvayam apy asat || (31)  
 dvitīyād ā smṛtā prītis tṛtīyād ā sukhodayaḥ |

†prāmodyaijāniruddhatvād† antare dve kilāpare || (32)  
 aduḥ[2v<sub>1</sub>]khāsukhaniṣpattir ā bhavāggrāt prayogataḥ |  
 saṃjñāsaṃlekhaivaiśeṣyāc catasro 'rūpabhūmayah || (33)

saṃbhavāt saṃprayogād vā savitarkkādidēśanā |  
 saṃbhavād bhūmiṣu jñeyā saṃprayukteṣu

[ato <'>nyathā || ☉ || (34)

abhidharmasamuccaye āyatanasamuccayaḥ prathamā samā-  
 ptaḥ || ☉ || [2v<sub>2</sub>]

#### 7. Notes on the text

- α Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:9cd: *tadvijñānāśrayā rūpaprāsādās cakṣurādā-  
 yaḥ* ||. See also the corresponding *Bhāṣya* (p. 6): *rūpaśabdagandha-  
 rasaspraṣṭavyavijñānānām āśrayabhūtā ye pañca rūpātmaḥ prasādās  
 te yathākramaṃ cakṣuḥśrotagrahṇāñajihvākāyā vedītavayāḥ | yathoktaṃ  
 bhagavatā — cakṣur bhikṣo ādhyātmikam āyatanaṃ catvāri mahābhū-  
 tāny upādāya rūpaprāsāda iti vistaraḥ | yāny etāni cakṣurādāny uktāni  
 tadvijñānāśrayā rūpaprāsādās cakṣurādāyaḥ | cakṣurvijñānādyāśrayā  
 ity arthaḥ* |. See also *Abhidharmakośa* 1:45.
- β Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:24: *viśeṣaṇārthaṃ prādhānyād bahvagraharmā-  
 saṅgrahāt | ekam āyatanaṃ rūpam ekam dharmākhyam ucyate* ||.
- γ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 7:18cd: *sāṃvṛtaṃ* [scil. *jñānaṃ*] *svakalāpānyad  
 ekam vidyād anātmataḥ* ||.
- δ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:10: *rūpaṃ dvidhā viṃśatidhā śabdāś tu aṣṭavidho  
 rasāḥ | ṣoḍhā caturvidho gandhaḥ spṛśyam ekādaśātmakam* ||.
- ε Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:62d: *kāraṇākhyo 'dhipaḥ smṛtaḥ*.
- ζ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:52ab: *sabhāgahetuḥ sadṛśāḥ svanikāyabhūvo  
 'grajāḥ* |.
- η Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:49abc: *kāraṇaṃ sahabhūs caiva sabhāgaḥ  
 saṃprayuktakaḥ | sarvatrago vipākākhyāḥ*.
- θ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:53cd: *saṃprayuktakahetus tu cittacaittāḥ samā-  
 śrayāḥ* |.
- ι Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:50b: *sahabhūr ye mithaḥphalāḥ*.
- κ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:57c: *niḥśyando hetusadṛśāḥ*.

- λ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:57ab: *vipāko 'vyākṛto dharmāḥ sattvākhyo vyākṛtodbhavaḥ* |.
- μ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:58ab: *yadbalāḥ jāyate yat tat phalaṃ puruṣakārajam* |.
- ν Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:57d: *visaṃyogaḥ kṣayo dhiyā*.
- ξ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:56: *vipākaphalam antyasya pūrvasyādhipataṃ phalam* | *sabhāgasarvatragayor niṣyandaḥ pauruṣaṃ dvayoḥ* ||.
- ο Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:55ab: *sarvatragaḥ sabhāgāś ca dvyadhvagau tryadhvagās trayāḥ* |.
- π Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:63abc<sub>1</sub>: *nirudhyamāne kāritraṃ dvau hetū kurutas trayāḥ* | *jāyamāne*.
- ρ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:59: *varttamānāḥ phalaṃ pañca gṛhṇanti dvau prayacchataḥ* | *varttamānābhyatītau dvau eko 'tītaḥ prayacchati* ||. See also *Abhidharmakośa* 2:55ab.
- σ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:65: *dvidhā bhūtāni taddhetuḥ bhautikasya tu pañcadhā* | *tridhā bhautikam anyonyaṃ bhūtānām ekadhaiva tat* ||.
- τ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:12: *bhūtāni pṛthivīdhātur aptejovāyudhātavaḥ* | *dhytyādīkarmasamsiddhāḥ kharasnehoṣṇateraṇāḥ* ||.
- υ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:51abc<sub>1</sub>: *caittā dvau samvarau teṣāṃ cetaso lakṣaṇāni ca* | *cittānūvarttinaḥ*.

#### 8. Summary and tentative translation

The following translation is to be considered provisional for several reasons. To the cryptic nature of the text, which is common to other Abhidharmic works, we must add the absence of a commentary or a translation into Tibetan and/or Chinese, and in the end also the fact that the *codex unicus* containing this work was never proofread or corrected after the copying (see above, § 2.2). In order to highlight the passages that, in my opinion, are more problematic, and the interpretation of which is most probably inadequate, some words and sentences have been underlined. It cannot be ruled out that, especially in those parts, the text may also be corrupted and that some corrections may contribute to improving its intelligibility.

Saṅghatrāta begins with the initial homage to the three jewels and the explanation of the title and content of the work: “After having worshipped in every way [namely, with body, speech and mind] the Perfect Awakened, the Dharma and the Community of the Noble Ones, which have become the foremost among beings, among teachings and among groups through attainment of wisdom, purity and pacification [of defilements, respectively], a collection of the true *dharmas* that are well known in the Abhidharma



will be made, by means of which [a summary] of the other [*dharmas*] is [also] made.<sup>112</sup> [The true *dharmas* are] the bases (*āyatana*) and so on (stt. 1–2).”

Then the text starts by listing the twelve bases or sense spheres and their main characteristics; these bases are stated to be of two kinds: “[The bases] exist in two ways. Six—eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind—are the internal [bases], since [they] are the substratum [of the respective kinds of primary awareness (*viññāna*), i.e.,] of the mind; the *ātman*[, i.e., the mind,] is different [from them].<sup>113</sup> Conversely, [their] fields—colour/shape, sound, odour, taste, tangible object and mental objects—are external [i.e., are the external bases], since they are common [to all]. And [among the bases, only one is called *rūpāyatana* and only one is called *dharmāyatana*,] since *rūpa* and *dharma* are the most important (stt. 3–4).”

Subsequently, a basic description of the twelve bases is given in stanzas 5 to 8: “In this regard, [the sense faculty of] the eye is the vision of colour/shape. [That of] the ears, etc. are [the hearing of sound, etc.], respectively. [All of these, i.e., the eye, etc.,] are inhabited by [their own] primary awareness (*viññāna*). Together with them there is the thinker, i.e., the mind (*manas*), which [exists] in three ways [i.e., as defiled (*kliṣṭa*), non-defiled (*akliṣṭa*) and non-defined (*avyākṛta*).<sup>114</sup> The field of the eye is colour/shape. Sound, etc. are [the fields of their] respective senses. Everything [i.e., the twelve *āyatanas*] is [the object] of the mind alone,<sup>115</sup> or [everything] apart from its own totality.<sup>116</sup> Colour/shape has twen-

<sup>112</sup> I.e., probably of the *dharmas* that are not well known and that can easily be inferred from this collection.

<sup>113</sup> The mind is metaphorically called *ātman*; see *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya ad 1:39ab* (*ahaṅkārasanniśrayatvāc cittaṃ ātmety upacaryate*) and *Arthavinīścayasūtrānibandhana*, chapter 4, p. 95.

<sup>114</sup> Or, perhaps, but less plausibly, “the mind [exists] in three ways,” because it can be referred to in three ways, i.e., as *citta*, *manaḥ* and *viññapti* (cf. *Abhidharmakośa 2:34ab: cittaṃ mano 'tha viññānam ekārtham*).

<sup>115</sup> In other words, it is only the mind that has the capacity of making the other *āyatanas* its own object.

<sup>116</sup> The words “apart from its own totality” are quite cryptic; they apparently refer to another viewpoint, according to which everything—that is to say, all the *āyatanas*—is the object of the mind apart from the mind itself and its concomitants (*citta* and *caittas*). These words could refer to the idea that some Saṃmitīyas did not accept the *svasaṃvedana*: the mind cannot have itself or its concomitants as its own object, since it is impossible that an agent acts on itself.

ty aspects; sound and smell are threefold; tastes are six; in our system, the tangible object is sevenfold [and/or] eightfold; some [say that it] consists of eleven [aspects].<sup>117</sup> [All] the immaterial [*dharmas*] apart from the mind are the *dharmāyatana*; alternatively, even all the other [*dharmas* fall under *dharmāyatana*]. The *puḍgala* is inexpressible (*avācya*). Any other entity exists in a different way [that is to say, is expressible].”<sup>118</sup>

Stanzas 9 to 10 list the four Conditions (*pratyaya*): “1) The Origin (*samutthāna*) is precisely the projector and the producing cause.<sup>119</sup> 2) Immediateness (*ānantarya*) is that [Condition] which, while disappearing, effects the continuity (*avibandha*) [with the subsequent stage in the production of the effect]. 3) Object (*ālambana*) is intended [as that] clinging to which there is the arising [of the cognition]. 4) As for Sovereignty (*ādhipatya*), [it] is all other [*dharmas*] concerning the absence of obstacles to the thing that has to arise.”<sup>120</sup>

Stanzas 11 to 13 describe the subsequent elaboration of the *hetupratyaya* into the five causes: “Origin (*utthāna* = *samutthāna* = *hetupratyaya*), which arises before or together with [the effect], is also productive of what is different (*virūpa*). [Among its subdivisions, the] 1) Homogeneous Cause (*sabhāgahetu*), which has arisen before, is similar to the stage (*bhū*) and the category (*nikāya*) [of the effect], or is the same (*sa vā*).<sup>121</sup> [Then we have:] 2) Universal [Cause] (*sarvatraga*), 3) Conjoined [Cause] (*saṃprayukta*), 4) Maturation [Cause] (*vipāka*) and 5) Coexistent [Cause] (*sahabhū*). [As regards the Universal Cause,] the universal [defiled *dharmas*] (*sarvatraga*) are [the causes] of [other *dharmas*] that have conformity [with them—that is to say, are also defiled] and that are of two kinds [i.e., belonging to their own stage and belonging

<sup>117</sup> On this stanza, see above, § 3.1.

<sup>118</sup> On this stanza, see above, § 3.2.

<sup>119</sup> This corresponds to the *hetupratyaya*, the Condition qua cause. Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 4:10, *samutthānaṃ dvidhā hetutatkaṣaṇottānasamjñitam | pravartakam tayor ādyam dvitīyam anuvartakam ||*, and La Vallée Poussin 1971, vol. III: 36–37.

<sup>120</sup> See Dhammajoti 2007: 226. See also La Vallée Poussin 1971, vol. I: 309.

<sup>121</sup> In other words, the *sabhāgahetu* shares the category or stage of its effects, but it can even coincide (*sa vā* = *sa eva vā*, the particle *eva* being implicit) with its effect as regards category and stage. Origin, instead, is a wider category: its effect can also be different, that is to say, it can belong to different categories (*nikāya*) and stages (*bhū*) within a category.

to other categories as well].<sup>122</sup> Those [*dharmas*] that, with respect to some other [*dharma*] (*yatra*), are endowed with their constituent element,<sup>123</sup> they are all mutually connected [causes]. [As regards the Maturation Cause,] since [the fruit] becomes mature (*vipac-*) [from it, this cause] is therefore called (*iti*) ‘maturation’ (*ṣakti*). [As regards the Coexistent Cause,] it is called Coexistent [when the *dharmas* are mutually] each the effect of the other.”

Stanzas 14 to 15 again deal with the *samanantarapratyaya*, here called Immediateness (*ānantarya*): “That [*dharma*] that offers [its own] place to that which is being born [= the effect] is the [condition called] Immediateness for that [effect], in accordance with the meaning [of the word *ānantarya* itself]. Others [believe] that [only] *manas* is [the *ānantarya* condition] of thought and thought concomitants.<sup>124</sup> They contend that this [= *manas*] exists in two ways: merely as the support/object (*ālambana*) of [the factors] that are connected with mind (*viññapti*) [= *cittaprayuktasamkāra*] and as the totality (*nikhila*) of the connected factors.”

In stanzas 16 to 18, the five kinds of fruit or effect are described: “1) *Niṣyanda* (‘[Fruit of] Equal Emanation’) is similar to the cause; 2) it is said that (*kila*) *vipāka* (‘[Fruit of] Retribution’) comes from *karman*; some [others believe that *vipāka* is] called Being [i.e., it pertains to sentient beings, and] is non-defined (*avyākṛta*); 3) the *pauruṣa* (‘[Fruit of] Human Strength’), in its turn, arises from effort; 4) the *ādhipatyaphala* (‘Fruit of Sovereignty’), [which exists] in two ways, is obtained from the absence of obstacles; 5) *viśaṃyoga* (‘[Fruit of] Disconnection’) is the destruction [of the evil propensities (*anuśayas*)] made by insight. In some [sources], it is [also] the attainment [of the unconditioned *nirvāṇa*].<sup>125</sup> The [Fruit of] Equal Emanation is the fruit of two [causes, that is to say, of the *sabhāgahetu* and of the *sarvatragahetu*]; the [Fruit of] Retribution is [the fruit] of one [cause, that is to say, of the *vipāka-*

<sup>122</sup> See Dhammajoti 2007: 193.

<sup>123</sup> By saying that they are “endowed with their constituent element” (*sadhātuka*), it is probably meant that they have the same basis (*samāśraya*) (cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:53cd).

<sup>124</sup> See Dhammajoti 2007: 224.

<sup>125</sup> On stanzas 16–17, see above, § 3.1.

*hetu*]; the [Fruit of] Human Strength is [the fruit] of two [causes, that is to say, of the *sahabhūhetu* and of the *saṃprayuktakahetu*]. Sovereignty (*ādhipatyā*), which is the abandonment of all [the obstacles], is [the fruit] of the path that leads to liberation.”<sup>126</sup>

Stanzas 19 to 20 analyse time in causality as well as the “giving” and “grasping” of a fruit:<sup>127</sup> “Two [causes] are in two times [i.e., both in the past and in the present], the other [causes] are in three [times]; these causes bear fruit. [With respect to the fruit,] two [causes] are present and the remaining [three] are past (*bhagna*).<sup>128</sup> Others [believe that only their] action (*kriyā*) is past. It is said that all [five causes] grasp the fruit while being present.<sup>129</sup> Belonging to two or one of the times, [the causes] accomplish the [ir] action with regard to [one effect] that is arising or that has arisen.”

A further description of the *sahabhūhetu* and of the *mahābhūtas* in particular is given in stanzas 21 to 23: “In this regard, there is also the agglomeration of other causes and of other fruits. And precisely this is [their] advantage, quality or fault. Of the Elements (*bhūta*), Material Products (*bhautika*), Mind (*viññāna*) and mental objects (*dharma*), there are reciprocally four, three, two and one action. And here this [i.e., the *sahabhūhetu*] is [active on its effect] according to one’s own birth (*jāti*) [= *lakṣaṇa*] and in one way.<sup>130</sup> The *bhūtas*—earth, water, fire and wind—are [called *bhūtas*] due to similarity with [what is] existent (*bhūta*).<sup>131</sup> Their actions and their characteristics are supporting, etc. and hardness, etc.,<sup>132</sup> [individually] or together.”

<sup>126</sup> See Dhammajoti 2007: 182.

<sup>127</sup> See Dhammajoti 2007: 237–238.

<sup>128</sup> The *sahabhūhetu* and the *saṃprayuktahetu* are active on a fruit that is present, whereas the *sabhāghahetu*, the *sarvatragahetu* and the *vipākahetu* are active on a fruit that is about to arise (see above, n. π).

<sup>129</sup> This, for instance, is the viewpoint of the Vaibhāṣika Saṅghabhadra. See Dhammajoti 2007: 157–165.

<sup>130</sup> This probably means that, at first, no *bhūta*, etc. cooperates with the other *bhūtas*, etc. for the production of the effect: each *bhūta* is primarily the cause of its own effect. The possibility of their cooperation is mentioned below in st. 23d.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Sthiramati’s *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā* 5.3: [...] *bhavantīti bhūtāni*.

<sup>132</sup> Each one of the four *bhūtas* performs a different action: the earth, supporting (*dhṛti*); water, cohesion (*saṃgraha*); fire, ripening (*pakti*); wind, expansion (*vyūhana*). See above, n. τ.

The next set of stanzas (stt. 24–30) is quite cryptic; its interpretation is particularly problematic and uncertain. These verses explain further characteristics of the *āyatana*s, starting with their location in their respective spheres of existence: “Thus, colour/shape, sound, mind and mental objects are the non-defined (*avyākṛta*) [*āyatana*s and exist] in five ways. All [twelve *āyatana*s] are in the Kāma[dhātu],<sup>133</sup> ten are in the Rūpa[dhātu] spheres,<sup>134</sup> and the last two [i.e., the *manaāyatana* and the *dharmāyatana*] are in the Arūpa[dhātu] spheres<sup>135</sup> and in the pure (*anāsrava*) [realm]. The thought concomitants (*caitta*), i.e., the *dharmas* beginning with the evil propensities (*anuśaya*)<sup>136</sup> and feeling (*vit = vedanā*) and so forth, are [called] [*citta*] *samprayukta* as well as [*cittā*] *nuparivartin*<sup>137</sup> (stt. 24–25). All [twelve *āyatana*s] are Coexistent [causes], or, [if] the two minds [i.e., mind and mental objects] are not together [with them, only] the ten material [*āyatana*s] (*rūpin*) [are Coexistent causes], or [only] one [i.e., the *rūpāyatana*]; but *viññapti* arises when there are three (*trisu [satsu]*) [*āyatana*s] (st. 26). The mind is endowed with [its] object (*sālamhana*). Three [*āyatana*s] or some action is [the cause] of three. Two [*āyatana*s] are [the Fruit of] Maturation. Others believe that [all the other *āyatana*s are the Fruit of Maturation,] apart from sound, which (*sa tu*) arises from the effort [and is a Fruit of Human Strength] (st. 27). Or nine [*āyatana*s] should be cultivated due to the arising of the quality of protection; all [the *āyatana*s] should be recognized, or six should be directly realized (st. 28). Ten [i.e., the material *āyatana*s] and one part of two [= the immaterial *āyatana*s, i.e., *manas* and *dharmas*] have to be abandoned by means of the path. And all [*āyatana*s] have to be perfectly known to be like pain, since they are defiled (*sāsrava*)<sup>138</sup> (st. 29). Or

<sup>133</sup> Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:30a<sub>2</sub>b<sub>1</sub>: *kāmadhātvaṅgāḥ sarve* [note that the *dhātus* and not the *āyatana*s are referred to here].

<sup>134</sup> That is, all the *āyatana*s with the exception of smell and taste. Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:30b<sub>2</sub>cd: *rūpe caturdaśa | vinā gandharasaghrāṇajihvāvijñānadhātubhiḥ ||* [note that the *dhātus* and not the *āyatana*s are referred to here].

<sup>135</sup> Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 1:31ab: *ārūpyāptā manodharmamanovijñānadhātavaḥ |* [note that the *dhātus* and not the *āyatana*s are referred to here].

<sup>136</sup> Here the word *anuśaya* is used as a synonym of *kleśa* (see also Dhammajoti 2007: 423).

<sup>137</sup> Cf. *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* ad 2:51abc.

<sup>138</sup> The five *krtyas*, *bhāvayitavya*, *abhiññeya*, etc., also occur in *Vibhaṅga* 426.

form/colour and sound, which are five; mind and mental objects are sixfold. Since there is no aim, the other set of eight has to be abandoned by means of meditation (*bhāvanāheya*) (st. 30).”

Stanzas 31 to 33ab deal with the four *dhyānas* and some of their *aṅgas*:<sup>139</sup> “*Vitarka* and *vicāra* are in the Kāma[dhātu] and in the [first] *dhyāna*, which arises from seclusion (*viveka*),<sup>140</sup> whereas in the intermediate *dhyāna* (*dhyānāntara*) there is *vicāra* [but not *vitarka*];<sup>141</sup> afterwards, [in the following *dhyānas*,] both are absent.<sup>142</sup> Joy (*prīti*) is traditionally held to be present up to the second [*dhyāna*]; the arising of pleasure (*sukha*) is up to the third [*dhyāna*]. Others say that two [that is, *prīti* and *cittaikāgratā* are in the intermediate [*dhyāna*] due to the ...] The manifestation of Neither-pain-nor-pleasure[, which occurs in the fourth *dhyāna*,] is up to the highest state of existence (*bhavāgra*) through practice (*prayogataḥ*).”

The last lines of the chapter (stt. 33cd–34) deal with the four *arūpyasamāpattis*: “Because of the difference of the impressions of Ideation (*saṃjñā*) [i.e., due to the extent to which Ideation is present], there are the four formless stages (*arūpabhūmi*). The teaching [of the attainment] of *savitarka*, etc. is either by origination (*sambhava*) or by connection (*saṃprayoga*). [It] should be known by origination in the [formless] stages [i.e., by being born there], or in another way than that [i.e., by connection] in the [factors] connected [with the mind].”

## References

### Primary Sources

### Indic Sources

#### *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*

Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. Pradhan, Prahlad. 1975. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu*. Revised edition, with Introduction & Indices by Aruna Haldar. Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 8:7–8.

<sup>140</sup> This has many parallels. See, e.g., the *Arthavinīscayasūtra* 17: *iha bhikṣavo bhikṣuḥ [...] savitarkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekaṃ prītisukhaṃ prathamam dhyānam upasampadya viharati*.

<sup>141</sup> See also *Abhidharmakośa* 2:31cd and 8:22d, and *Abhidharmadīpa* 125cd.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 8:23cd.

*Pudgalo 'vācyah — The First Chapter of the Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā*

*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*

Yaśomitra, *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā. Śāstrī, Dwārikādās. 1987. Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Ācārya Vasubandhu with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra. Varanasi: Bauddha Bharatī.*

*Abhidharmadīpa*

Jaini, Padmanabh S. 1959. *Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣaprabhāṣitī [sic]. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.*

*Arthaviniścayasūtra*

See *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana.*

*Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana*

Viryaśrīdatta, *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana. Samtani, N.H. 1971. Arthaviniścayasūtra and Its Commentary (Nibandhana). Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.*

*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*

Vaidya, P.L. 1960. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā With Haribhadra's Commentary Called Āloka. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.*

*Udānavarga*

Bernhard, Franz. 1965. *Udānavarga: Band I, Einleitung, Beschreibung der Handschriften, Textausgabe, Bibliographie. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.*

*Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*

Chapter 16 edited in La Vallée Poussin 1897.

*Candrālamkāra*

See Dimitrov 2010.

*Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa*

Āryadeva, *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa. MS: China Tibetology Research Centre, Beijing, Box No. 57, Text 1, 14 fols. (photos nos. 20–23).*

*Dhammapada*

Hinüber, Oskar von, and Kenneth R. Norman. 1995. *The Dhammapada. Oxford: The Pali Text Society.*

*Dharmapada*

MS: Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, potographic images Xc14–46. Shukla, N.S. *The Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dharmapada. 1979. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute. See also Roth 1980, Mizuno 1981 and Cone 1989.*

*Pañcaskandhaka*

Vasubandhu, *Pañcaskandhaka. Li Xuezhong and Ernst Steinkellner, with a contribution by Toru Tomabechi. 2008. Vasubandhu's Pañcaskandhaka. Beijing; Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House; Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.*

*Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā*

Sthiramati, *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā. Kramer, Jowita. 2013. Sthiramati's Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā. Part I: Critical edition. Beijing; Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House; Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.*

- Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins  
See *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins.
- Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Lokottaravādins  
Tatia, Nathmal. 1976. *Prātimokṣasūtram of the Lokottaravādimahā-saṅghika School*. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
- Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins  
Klaus T. Schmidt. 1989. *Der Schlussteil des Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins. Text in Sanskrit und Tocharisch A verglichen mit den Parallelversionen anderer Schulen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht.
- Prasannapadā*  
Candrakīrti, *Prasannapadā*. La Vallée Poussin, Louis de. 1903. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamikasūtras) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā commentaire de Candrakīrti*. St.-Petersbourg: Académie Impériale des Sciences.
- Majjhima Nikāya*  
Trenckner, V. 1888. *The Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. I. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Mañicūḍajātaka*  
Sarvarakṣita, *Mañicūḍajātaka*. See Hanisch 2008.
- Mahāvastu*  
Marciniak, Katarzyna. 2019. *The Mahāvastu. A New Edition*. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism, Soka University.
- Mahāvvyūtpatti*  
Ishihama Yumiko, Fukuda Yōichi. 1989. *A New critical edition of the Mahāvvyūtpatti. Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary of Buddhist terminology* = 新訂翻訳名義大集. Materials for Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionaries, Vol. 1, Tōkyō: The Toyo Bunko.
- Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*  
Sarvarakṣita, *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*. See Okano 1998.
- Maitreyavyākaraṇa*  
MS: Asiatic Society of Calcutta, No. 4806. Published in Lévi 1932.
- Yogāmbarasādhanopāyikā*  
Amitāvajra, *Yogāmbarasādhanopāyikā*. MS: National Archives Kathmandu, No. 3–366/vi, *Bauddhadarśana* 74 = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, microfilm No. B 23/10.
- Vajrapadasārasaṃgraha*  
Yaśobhadra [aka Nāropā], *Vajrapadasārasaṃgraha*. MS: China Tibetology Research Centre, Beijing, Box 112 [actually 113], Text 2, fols. 85 (photos 20–42).
- Vibhaṅga*  
Rhys Davids. C.A.F. 1904. *The Vibhaṅga, Being the Second Book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. London: Oxford University Press.



*Pudgalo 'vācyah — The First Chapter of the Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā*

*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*

Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature. 2004. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa. Transliterated Sanskrit Text Collated with Tibetan and Chinese Translations*. Tokyo: The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University.

*Visuddhimagga*

Buddhaghosa, *Visuddhimagga*. Warren, Henry C. 1950. *Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosācariya*. Revised by Dharmananda Kosambi. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.

*Sanḅhabhedavastu*

See Gnoli 1977.

*Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*

Vaidya, P.L. 1961. *Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṅgrahaḥ*, Part 1. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute, pp. 340–352.

*Samyutta Nikāya*

Feer, Léon. 1884–1898. *The Samyutta-Nikāya of the Sutta-Piṭaka*. 5 vols. London and Oxford: The Pali Text Society.

*Samskṛtāsamskṛtaviniścaya*

Daśabalaśrimitra, *Samskṛtāsamskṛtaviniścaya (Dus byas dang 'dus ma byas nam par nges pa)*. Tibetan version: D 3897, Ha 109r<sub>1</sub>–317r<sub>7</sub>.

*Sūtaka*

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

Tibetan Sources

*rGya gar chos 'byung*

A: Tāranātha, *Dam pa'i chos rin po che 'phags yul du ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar ston pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung*. In *The Collected works of Jo-nan Rje-btsun Tāranātha. Reproduced from a set of prints from the Rtag-brtan Phun-tshogs-glin blocks preserved in the library of the Stog Palace in Ladakh*, Vol. 16, 101–545 (fols. 1r–223r). Leh: C. Namgyal & Tsewang Taru, 1985 (BDRC W22277). [The sTog Palace set is missing this text, which has been supplied from another non-specified redaction.]

B: *Tāranāthae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione Narratio. Contextum tibeticum e codicibus petropolitanis* edidit Antonius Schiefner, St. Petersburg 1868: Academia Scientiarum Petropolitana.

Secondary Sources

Akester, Matthew

2016 *Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo's Guide to Central Tibet*. Chicago: Serindia.

- Bareau, André  
1955 *Le sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*. Saïgon: École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Bendall, Cecil  
1883 *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, with Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palæography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [Reprint: Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992].
- BHSG Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary. Volume I: Grammar*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press; Oxford University Press [Reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970].
- Bodhi, Bhikkhu  
2000 *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha. A New Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya*. 2 vols. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Boucher, Daniel  
1991 "The Praṭīyasamutpādagāthā and Its Role in the Medieval Cult of the Relics." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14/1: 1–27.
- Chimpa, L. and A. Chattopadhyaya  
1970 *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Chinchore, Mangala R.  
1995 *Anattā/Anātmatā: An Analysis of Buddhist Anti-Substantialist Crusade*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.
- Cone, Margaret  
1989 "Pāṭna Dharmapada. Part I: Text." *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 13: 101–217.
- Conze, Edward  
1962 *Buddhist Thought in India*. London: G. Allen & Unwin.
- Critical Pāli Dictionary*  
*A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, vol. II, continuing the work of Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, comprising the material collected by W. Geiger, edited by an international body of Pāli scholars, Copenhagen 1960: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters.
- De Rossi Filibeck, Elena  
2019 "Dear Luciano...' Three Unpublished Letters by Giuseppe Tucci to Luciano Petech from Tibet: In Search for Tibetan Texts." In *Unearthing Himalayan Treasures. Festschrift for Franz-Karl Ehrhard*, ed. by Volker Caumanns, Marta Sernesi, and Nikolai Solmsdorf, 119–131. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.

- Dhammajoti, K.L. Bhikkhu (法光)  
2007 *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma*. 3<sup>rd</sup> revised edition. Hong Kong: Centre of Buddhist Studies, The University of Hong Kong [2002<sup>1</sup>, Colombo].
- Dimitrov, Dragomir  
2010 *The Bhaikṣukī Manuscript of the Candrālaṃkāra*. Study, Script Tables, and Facsimile Edition. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.  
2017 “Die entzifferte Indus-Schrift. Zur Geschichte der Saindhavi-Schrift nach einigen arabischen, tibetischen und indischen Quellen.” *Berliner Indologische Studien* 23: 33–68.  
2020 *The Buddhist Indus Script and Scriptures. On the so-called Bhaikṣukī or Saindhavī Script of the Sāṃmitīyas and their Canon*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Duerlinger, James  
1982 “Vasubandhu on the Vātsīputrīya’s fire-fuel analogy.” *Philosophy East and West* 32/2: 151–158.
- Eckel, Malcolm D.  
2008 *Bhāviveka and His Buddhist Opponents*. Cambridge (Mass.) and London: Harvard University Press.
- Eltschinger, Vincent  
2010 “On a Hitherto Neglected Text against Buddhist Personalism: *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* 18.92–103 and its *Bhāṣya*.” *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 64/2: 291–340.
- Fermer, Mathias  
2016 “Among Teachers and Monastic Enclaves: An Inquiry into the Religious Learning of Medieval Tibet.” In *Meaning of Community Across Medieval Eurasia. Comparative Approaches*, ed. by Eirik Hovden, Christina Lutter, and Walter Pohl, 417–450. Leiden: Brill.
- Ferrari, Alfonsa (†)  
1958 *Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*. Compiled and edited by Luciano Petech with the collaboration of Hugh Richardson. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Gnoli, Raniero  
1977–78 *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*. With the assistance of T. Venkatacharya. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Gombrich, Richard  
2009 *What the Buddha Thought*. London: Equinox Publishing Limited.
- Hanisch, Albrecht  
2006 “Progress in Deciphering the So-called ‘Arrow-head’ Script. Allowing Access to Sarvaraṣita’s *Mañicūḍajātaka*, a Text of the Buddhist Sāṃmitīya School.” *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies Sri Lanka* 4: 109–161.  
2008 “Sarvaraṣita’s *Mañicūḍajātaka*. Reproduction of the Codex Unicus with Diplomatic Transcript and Palaeographic Introduction to the

- Bhaikṣuki Script.” In *Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci’s Collection*, ed. by Francesco Sferra, 195–342. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.
- Hartmann, Jens-Uwe  
2004 “Contents and Structure of the *Dīrghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins.” *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 7: 119–137.
- von Hinüber, Oskar  
1996 *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.  
2015a “An Inscribed Avalokiteśvara from the Hemis Monastery, Ladakh.” *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2014*, 18: 3–9.  
2015b “Early Scripture Commentary.” In *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Volume 1: Literature and Languages*, ed. by Jonathan A. Silk, 419–429. Leiden: Brill.
- Iida, Shotaro  
1968 “An Introduction to Svātantrika-Mādhyamika.” Ph.D diss. Madison: The University of Wisconsin.
- Karashima, Seishi  
2008 “Fragments of a Manuscript of the Prātimokṣasūtra of the Mahā-sāṃghika-(Lokottara)vādins (1).” *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 11: 71–90.
- Kim, Jinah  
2009 “Illustrating the Perfection of Wisdom: The use of the Vessantara jātaka in a manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā sūtra.” In *Prajñādhara. Essays on Asian Art, History, Epigraphy and Culture in Honour of Gouriswar Bhattacharya*, ed. by Gerd J.R. Mevissen and Arundhati Banerji, 261–272. New Delhi: Kaveri Books.
- Jackson, David  
2019 “The History of Nā lendra Monastery: Sources and Some Recent Findings.” In *Unearthing Himalayan Treasures. Festschrift for Franz-Karl Ehrhard*, ed. by Volker Caumanns, Marta Sernesi, and Nikolai Solmsdorf, 235–258. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
- La Vallée Poussin, Louis de  
1897 “The Buddhist ‘Wheel of Life’ from a New Source.” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1897: 463–470.  
1971 *L’Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu. Traduction et annotations*. Nouvelle édition anastatique présentée par Étienne Lamotte. 6 vols. Brussels: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises [1923–31<sup>1</sup>].
- Lévi, Sylvain  
1932 “Maitreya le consolateur.” In *Études d’orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, 355–402. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- Li, Rongxi  
1996 *The Great Tang Dyansty Record of the Western Regions. Translated by the Tripitaka-Master Xuanzang under the Imperial Order. Composed by Śra-*

*mana Bianji of the Great Zongchi Monastery (Taishō, Volume 51, Number 2087). Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research.*

- Li, Xuezhū  
2012 “Further Folios from the *Abhidharmadīpavṛtti* Manuscript.” *China Tibetology* 2, September (General No. 19): 1–7.
- Melzer, Gudrun  
2010 “Ein Abschnitt aus dem Dīrghāgama.” 2 vols. Ph.D. diss. Munich: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität.
- Mizuno Kōgen (水野弘元)  
1981 *Hokkukyō no kenkyū 法句經の研究* [A Study of *Hokkukyō (Dhammapada)*]. Tokyo: Shunjū-sha 春秋社.  
1984 “A Comparative Study of Dharmapadas.” In *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Hammalava Saddhātisa*, ed. by Gatāre Dhammapala, Richard Gombrich, and Kenneth R. Norman, 168–175. Nugegoda: Buddhist Research Library Trust.
- Nalesini, Oscar  
2012 “Il carteggio Moise-Tucci sulla spedizione tibetana del 1948.” *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni* 37: 115–162.
- Namikawa Takayoshi (並川孝儀)  
2011 *Indo bukkū kyōdan shōryōbu no kenkyū インド仏教教団正量部の研究* [A Study of the Indian Buddhist School of the *Sāṃmitīyas*]. Tokyo: Daizōshuppan 大蔵出版.
- Norgay, Tenzing and James R. Ullman  
1955 *Man of Everest: the Autobiography of Tenzing*. London: Harrap.
- Oberlies, Thomas  
2019 *Pāli Grammar. The language of the canonical texts of Theravāda Buddhism. Vol. I: Phonology and Morphology*. Bristol: The Pali Text Society.
- Obermiller, Evgenij E.  
1932 *History of Buddhism (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu-ston. II. Part. The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. Heidelberg: Institut für Buddhismus-Kunde.
- Okano, Kiyoshi  
1998 *Sarvaraṅgīta Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā. Ein Sanskrit-Kāvya über die Kosmologie der Sāṃmitīya-Schule des Hīnayāna-Buddhismus*. Sendai: Tohoku University.
- Phurtsham (大普倉)  
“An Introduction to the Bhaikṣukī Manuscripts Preserved in Tibet.” Paper read in Beijing at the China Tibetology Research Centre (*Workshop on Sanskrit Manuscripts Studies. A Pre-Panel Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Beijing International Seminar on Tibetan Studies*, 8 January 2020).
- Priestley, Leonard C.D.C.  
1999 *Pudgalavāda Buddhism. The Reality of the Indeterminate Self*. Toronto: Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Toronto.

- Rahula, Walpola  
1971 *Le compendium de la superdoctrine (philosophie) (Abhidharmasamuccaya) d'Asaṅga*. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Roth, Gustav  
1980 "Particular Features of the Language of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins and their Importance for Early Buddhist Tradition." In *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung / The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, ed. by Heinz Bechert 78–135. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Sakaki Ryōzaburō (榎亮三郎)  
1962 (*Bon-Zō Kan-Wa yon'yaku taikō*) *Honyaku myōgishū (Mahāvvyutpatti)* 梵藏漢和四譯對校翻譯名義集 [(Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese Four Language Edition of) *The Mahāvvyutpatti*]. 2 vols. Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation [1916<sup>1</sup>].
- Sanderson, Alexis  
2009 "The Śaiva Age — The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period." In *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, ed. by Shingo Einoo 41–349. Tokyo: University of Tokyo.
- Schopen, Gregory  
1979 "Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 21: 1–19.
- Sferra, Francesco  
2008 "Sanskrit Manuscripts and Photos of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci's Collection." In *Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection. Part I*, ed. by Francesco Sferra. 15–78. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.  
forthc. "Materials for the Study of the Puḍgalavāda and Its Criticism: Critical Edition and English Translation of the *Vātsīputrīyātmaparīkṣā*." In *Volume in Memory of Helmut Krasser*, ed. by Vincent Eltschinger.
- Shendge, Malati J.  
1993 "[Obituary of] Professor Dr. V. V. Gokhale." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 74/1–4: 349–351.
- Skilling, Peter  
1987 "The Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya of Daśabalaśrīmitra." *Buddhist Studies Review* 4/1: 3–23.  
2003-04 "Traces of the Dharma. Preliminary reports on some ye dhammā and ye dharmā inscriptions from Mainland South-East Asia." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 90–91: 273–287.  
2006 "Daśabalaśrīmitra on the Buddhology of the Sāṃmitiyas." In: *Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Saṃbhāṣā* 25: 99–123.  
2016 "Rehabilitating the Puḍgalavādins: Monastic Culture of the Vātsīputrīya-Sāṃmitiya School." *Journal of Buddhist Studies* 13: 1–53.
- Slaje, Walter  
1993 *Śāradā. Deskriptiv-synchrone Schriftkunde zur Bearbeitung kaschmirischer Sanskrit-Manuskripte. Auf der Grundlage von Kuśālas Ghaṭakharpara-Gādhadīpikā und unter graphischer Mitwirkung von Eva Slaje*. Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen.

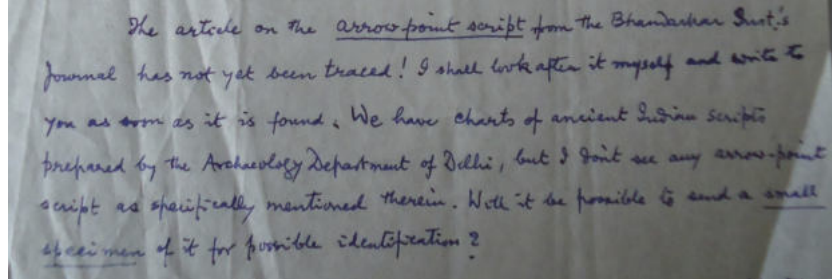
- Strauch, Ingo  
2009 “Two Stamps with the Bodhigarbhālamkāralakṣa Dhāraṇī from Afghanistan and Some Further Remarks on the Classification of Objects with the *ye dharmā* Formula.” In *Prajñādhara. Essays on Asian Art, History, Epigraphy and Culture in Honour of Gouriswar Bhattacharya*, ed. by Gerd J.R. Mevissen and Arundhati Banerji, 37–56. New Delhi: Kaveri Books.
- Thích Thiên Châu, Bhikshu  
1996 *The Literature of the Personalists of Early Buddhism*. English translation by Sara Boin-Webb. Ho Chi Minh : Nhà xuất bản Thành phố [Reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999].
- Tournier, Vincent  
2014 “Mahākāśyapa, His Lineage, and the Wish for Buddhahood: Reading Anew the Bodhgayā Inscriptions of Mahānāman.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 57: 1–60.  
2018 “A Tide of Merit: Royal Donors, Tāmraparṇīya Monks, and the Buddha’s Awakening in 5th–6th-Century Āndhradeśa.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 61: 20–96.  
2020 “Stairway to Heaven and the Path to Buddhahood: Donors and Their Aspirations in 5th/6th-century Ajanta.” In *Mārga. Paths to Liberation in South Asian Buddhist Traditions. Vol. 1. Papers from an international symposium held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, December 17–18, 2015*, ed. by Cristina Pecchia and Vincent Eltschinger, 177–248. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Tournier, Vincent and Francesco Sferra  
In prep. “A Fragment of the \**Śrāmanyaphalasūtra* of the Saṃmitiya Canon.”
- Tucci, Giuseppe  
1956a *To Lhasa and beyond: Diary of the expedition to Tibet in the year MCMXLVIII*. With an appendix on Tibetan medicine and hygiene by R. Moise. Translated by M. Carelli [Reprint: Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion, 1987].  
1956b “Chibetto oyobi Nepōru ni oite aratani Hakken-serareta Bukkyō-tenseki ni tsuite チベット及びネポールにおいて新たに発見せられた佛教典籍について.” *Ōtani-gakuhō* 大谷学報 36/1: 1–16.  
1996 *A Lhasa e oltre*. Rome: Newton Compton [1950<sup>1</sup>, Rome: La Libreria dello Stato].
- van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J.  
n.d. “A Brief Note on the Date of Daśabalaśrimitra and his *Saṃskṛtā-saṃskṛtaviniścaya*.”  
Unpublished draft, uploaded on the author’s Academia page: [https://www.academia.edu/36055425/A\\_Brief\\_Note\\_on\\_the\\_Date\\_of\\_Daśabalaśrimitra\\_and\\_his\\_Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya](https://www.academia.edu/36055425/A_Brief_Note_on_the_Date_of_Daśabalaśrimitra_and_his_Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya).

Table

Synopsis between the *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Abhidharmadīpa*  
and the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā*

| <i>Abhidharmakośa</i>  | <i>stt.</i> | <i>Abhidharmadīpa</i> | <i>stt.</i> | <i>Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā</i>          | <i>stt.</i> |
|------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|---|-------------|
| 1. Dhātunirdeśa        | 48          | Skandhāyatanaadhātu   | 71          | Āyatanasamuccaya                          | 34          |
| 2. Indriyanirdeśa      | 73          | Indriya               | 78          | Dhātusamuccaya                            | 35          |
| 3. Lokanirdeśa         | 102         | Lokadhātu             | (4)         | Skandhasamuccaya                          | 56          |
| 4. Karmanirdeśa        | 127         | Karma                 | 105         | Karmasamuccaya                            | 47          |
| 5. Anuśāyanirdeśa      | 70          | Anuśaya               | 125         | Anuśayasamuccaya                          | 35          |
| 6. Mārgapudgalanirdeśa | 79          | Mārga                 | 92          | Mārgasamuccaya                            | 70          |
| 7. Jñānanirdeśa        | 56          | Jñāna                 | 58          | Samadhisamuccaya                          | 53          |
| 8. Samāpatinirdeśa     | 43          | Samādhi               | 64          | (spatial measures, cosmos)                | 64          |
| 9. Ātmavādapratīṣedha  | (prose)     |                       |             | (temporal measures, astronomy)            | 38          |
| 10.                    |             |                       |             | (worlds, their lords and characteristics) | 23          |
| 11.                    |             |                       |             | (lifespan in the destinies)               | 14          |
| 12.                    |             |                       |             | (description of the infernal pains)       | 27          |
| 13.                    |             |                       |             | (birth and death of beings)               | 43          |
| 14.                    |             |                       |             | (again on elements and rain)              | 11          |



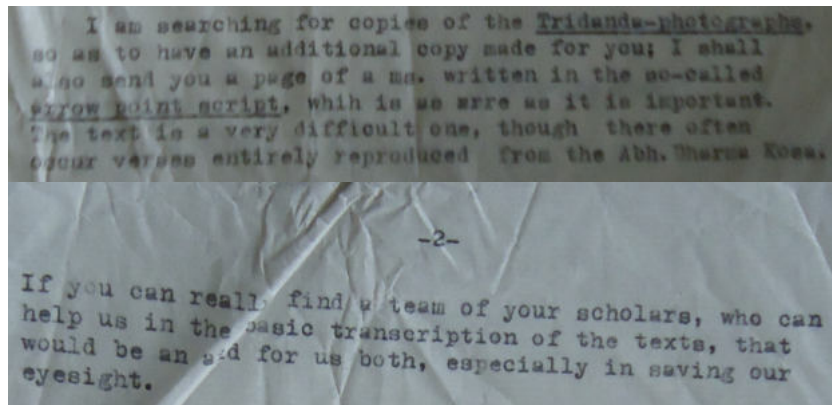


The article on the arrow-point script from the Bhandarkar Inst.'s Journal has not yet been traced! I shall look after it myself and write to you as soon as it is found. We have charts of ancient Indian scripts prepared by the Archeology Department of Delhi, but I don't see any arrow-point script as specifically mentioned therein. Will it be possible to send a small specimen of it for possible identification?

The article on the arrow-point script from the Bhandarkar Inst.'s Journal has not yet been traced! I shall look after it myself and write to you as soon as it is found. We have charts of ancient Indian scripts prepared by the Archeology Department of Delhi, but I don't see any arrow-point script as specifically mentioned therein. Will it be possible to send a small specimen of it for possible identification?

Fig. 1

From a letter of V.V. Gokhale to G. Tucci, 25 February 1975



I am searching for copies of the Tridanda-photographs so as to have an additional copy made for you; I shall also send you a page of a ms. written in the so-called arrow point script, which is as rare as it is important. The text is a very difficult one, though there often occur verses entirely reproduced from the Abh. Dharma Kosa.

-2-

If you can really find a team of your scholars, who can help us in the basic transcription of the texts, that would be an aid for us both, especially in saving our eyesight.

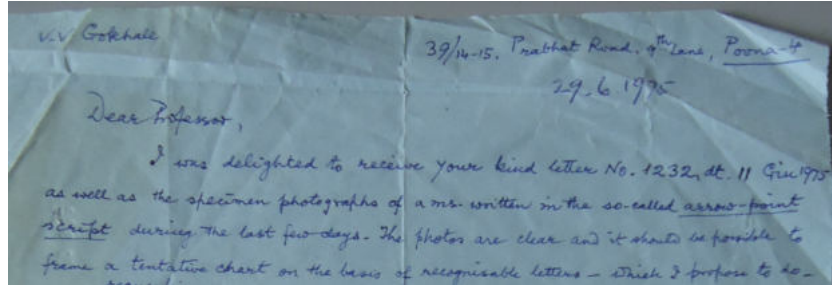
[...] I shall also send you a page of a ms. written in the so-called arrow point script, which (*sic*) is as rare (*sic*) as it is important. The text is a very difficult one, though there often occur verses entirely reproduced from the Abh. Dharma Kosa.

-2-

If you can really find a team of your scholars, who can help us in the basic transcription of the texts, that would be an aid for us both, especially in saving our eyesight.

Fig. 2

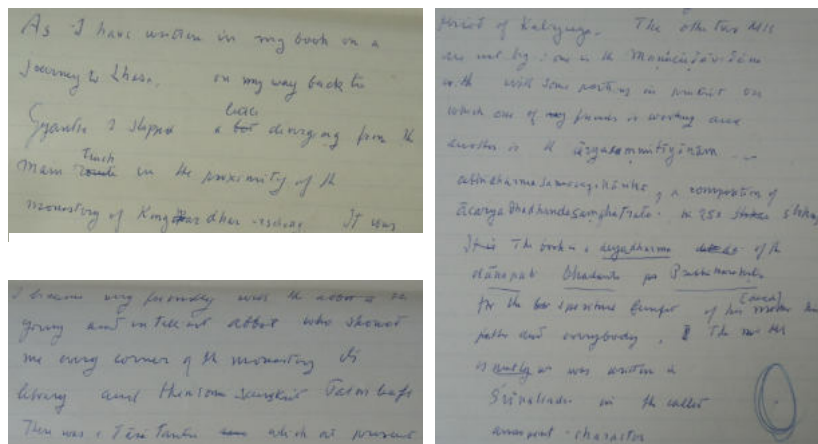
From a letter of G. Tucci to V.V. Gokhale, 11 June 1975



Dear Professor,

I was delighted to receive your kind letter No. 1232 at 11 Giu 1975 as well as the specimen photographs of a ms. written in the so-called arrow-point script during the last few days. The photos are clear and it should be possible to frame a tentative chart on the basis of recognisable letters – which I propose to do –

Fig. 3  
The answer of Gokhale, 29 June 1975



As I have written in my book on a journey to Lhasa, on my way back to Gyantse I stopped a little diverging from the main track in the proximity of the monastery of Kong dkar. [...] I became very friendly with the young and intelligent abbot who showed me every corner of the monastery, of the library and their own Sanskrit palmleaves. There was a *Tārāntra* [...] The other two MSS are not big: one is the *Mañicūdāvadāna* with some portions in Prakrit on which one of my friends is working and another is the *āryasammitīyanām ... abhidharmasamuccaya-kārikā*, a composition of *ācaryabhadantasamghatrāta* in 250 (sic) *slokas*. The book is a *deyadharmā* of the *dānapati bhadanta Prabhākarakṛta* (?) for the spiritual benefit of his [dead] mother, his father and everybody. The MS was written in *śrīmalindra* in the so-called arrowpoint-characters.

Fig. 4  
Notes on an undated notebook by G. Tucci  
(transliterated with silent corrections and adaptations)



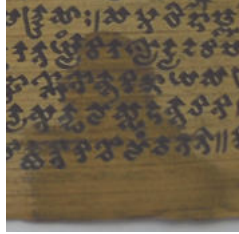
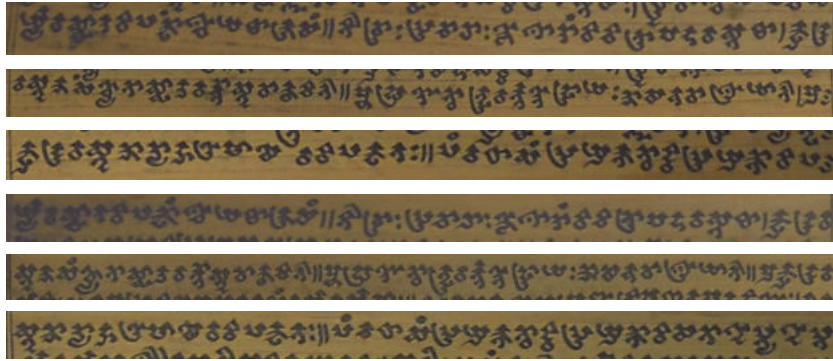


Fig. 6  
Fol. 1v<sub>5-8</sub>, specimen of damage in the MS: humidity



Fig. 7  
Fol. 12r<sub>8</sub>, specimen of damage in the MS: breaking of the edge



prādhānyāt pa[3v<sub>8</sub>]ryavasthānavipakṣāṃś ca yathākramam || (3.29 [98])  
tīvrāḥ pracārāḥ kleśānām vicitrā bahavas tathā |  
kṣudravastukasamkhyātās sānuvarttās tu vā kvacit || (3.30 [99])  
āghraṇatvāt pravarttante prāyaḥ kāmabhavāśrayāt |  
akṣudravastukāny āhur eṣām eva vipakṣataḥ || (3.31 [100])  
paṃcadhā samprayuktatvād viprayuktā vi  
pa[4r<sub>1</sub>]ryavasthānavipakṣāṃś ca yathākramam || (3.32 [101])  
tīvrāḥ pracārāḥ kleśānām vicitrā bahavas tathā |  
kṣudravastukasamkhyātās sānuvarttās tu vā kvacit || (3.33 [102])  
āghraṇatvāt pravarttante prāyaḥ kāmabhavāśrayāt ||  
akṣudravastukāny āhur eṣām eva vipakṣataḥ || (3.34 [103])  
paṃcadhā samprayuktatvād viprayuktā vimatāguptyagupta[4r<sub>2</sub>]yah |

Fig. 8  
Fols. 3v<sub>8</sub>–4r<sub>1</sub>: reduplication [stt. 98cd–101ab = 101cd–104ab]

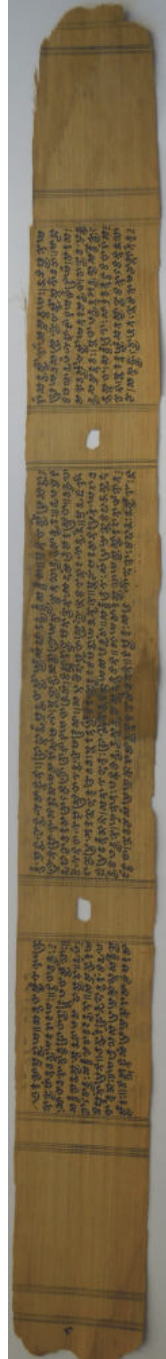
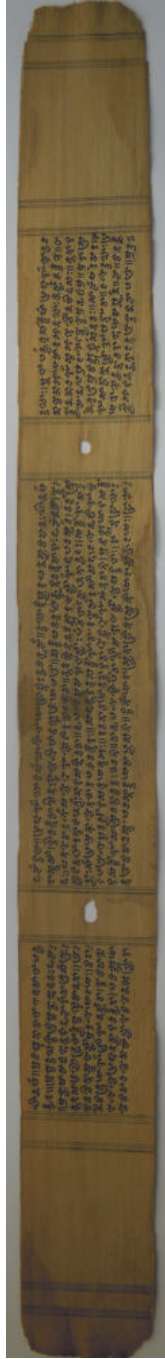


Fig. 9  
Fol. 1r: first leaf

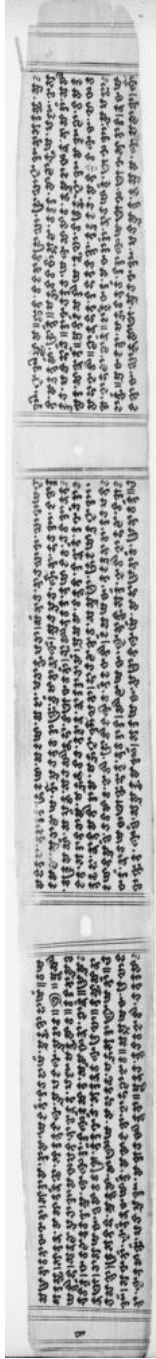


Fig. 10  
Fol. 14r: last leaf





*Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā*, fol. 2r



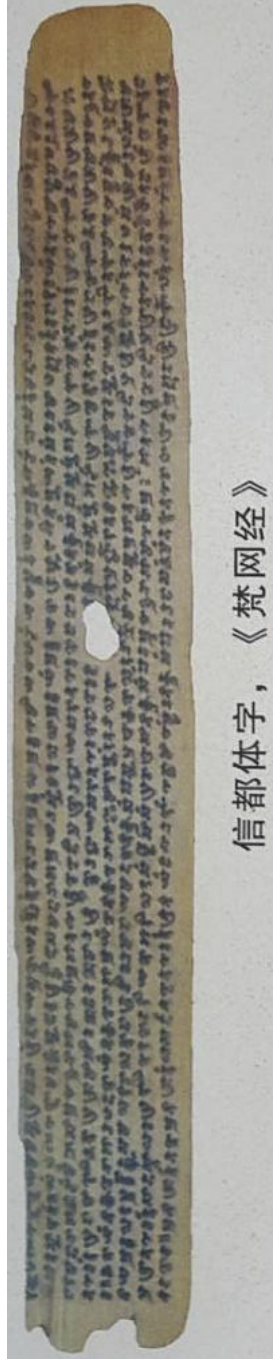
*Manicūḍajātaka*, fol. 3v



*Kevaṅṅasūtra*, fol. ?

(by courtesy of D. Dimitrov)

Fig. 11  
Similarities between Saindhavi/Bhaiṣṅuki manuscripts



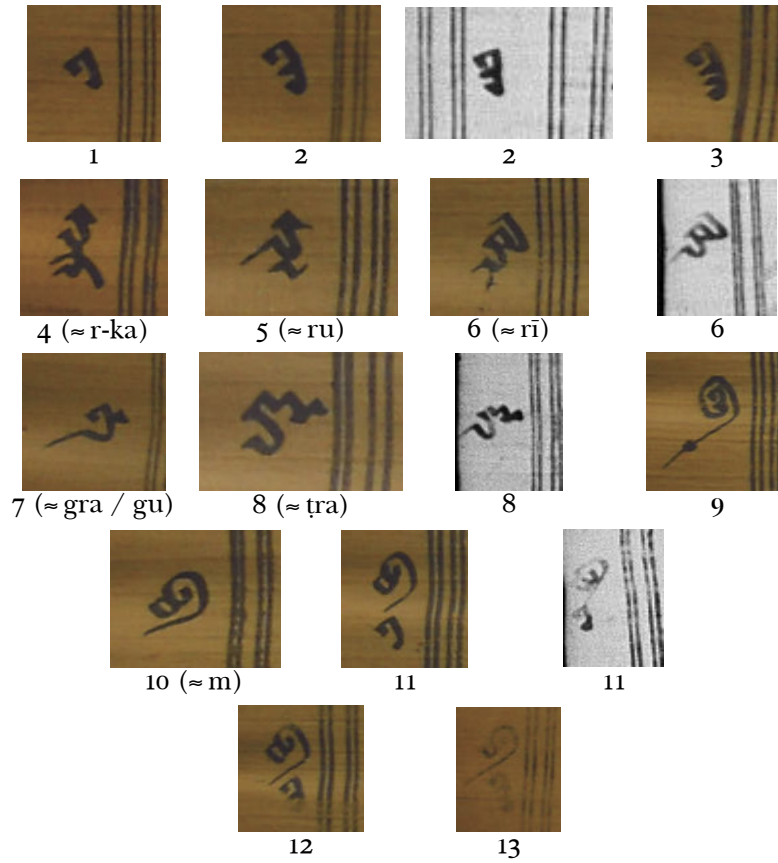
信都体字，《梵网经》

Rajāsūtra or \*Śrāmanyaṃphalasūtra, fol. ? [the identification in simplified Chinese characters is wrong, see above p. 654]  
(after *Tibetan Palm Leaves Manuscripts Studies* 2017)

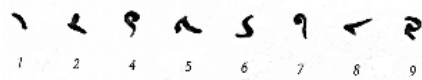


Cambridge MS Or. 1278, *Candrālamkāra*, fol. 4<sup>lv</sup>  
(after Dimitrov 2010: 137)

Fig. 12  
Other specimens of Saindhavi/Bhalkūṣkī manuscripts



(reproduced from the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* and the *Mañicūḍajātaka* manuscripts; see also Dimitrov 2010: 53–60)



Additional numbering system used in the *Candrālaṅkāra* manuscript (Cambridge MS Or. 1278) to indicate a line number in the case of marginal notes (after Dimitrov 2010: 89; see also p. 116)

Fig. 13  
Numerals



|                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. kcha (11 $r_3$ : tiryyak chata°)   | 20. gvā (14 $v_7$ : samyagvāg°<br>cf. Dimitrov 2010: 95) |
| 2. kte (11 $r_6$ : niruktena)         | 21. cchrā (6 $r_8$ : tacchrāvākāś)                       |
| 3. kto (4 $v_3$ : °yukto)             | 22. jñe (8 $v_4$ : tajjñeyam)                            |
| 4. ktva (6 $v_7$ : samyaktva°)        | 23. jyā (1 $v_4$ : manovarjyā)                           |
| 5. krū (12 $v_8$ : atikrūra°)         | 24. jva (10 $r_7$ : ujvalaiḥ)                            |
| 6. kli (2 $v_6$ : kliṣṭāt)            | 25. jvā (12 $r_8$ : aggnijvālāgatā)                      |
| 7. klo (5 $r_2$ : °śuklo°)            | 26. ñci (5 $r_2$ : kiñcid)                               |
| 8. kve (12 $v_3$ : °pakve)            | 27. ṭcha (10 $v_6$ : ṣaṭchatāni)                         |
| 9. kṣū (8 $r_1$ : °cakṣūṃṣi)          | 28. ṭtri (9 $r_3$ : ṣaṭtrimśat)                          |
| 10. kṣṇā (6 $v_7$ : tīkṣṇākṣas)       | 29. ṭya (12 $r_7$ : kuṭyante)                            |
| 11. kṣṇyā (13 $v_5$ : taikṣṇyādi)     | 30. ḍga (12 $v_1$ : vidgarttādiṣu)                       |
| 12. kṣmī (10 $r_6$ : lakṣmī°)         | 31. ḍya (12 $r_5$ : tāḍya)                               |
| 13. kṣmyā (10 $r_4$ : saukṣmyād)      | 32. ṇḍā (10 $r_6$ : pariṣaṇḍā)                           |
| 14. ksī (9 $v_7$ : °tiryaksītās)      | 33. ṇyā (11 $r_6$ : puṇyāt)                              |
| 15. ggre (8 $v_8$ : bhavāggre)        | 34. ṇye (3 $r_5$ : puṇye)                                |
| 16. ggnya (3 $r_2$ : °jalāggnyanila°) | 35. ṇva (6 $r_7$ : śriṇvan)                              |
| 17. gghe (3 $v_2$ : dṛggheyo)         | 36. tkā (2 $r_6$ : sāksātkāryāni)                        |
| 18. gdhā (12 $r_6$ : °dagdhārah)      | 37. ttī (8 $r_7$ : samāpattī)                            |
| 19. gdhe (13 $r_7$ : °jagdheś)        | 38. ttyu (8 $r_3$ : samāpattyupa°)                       |

Fig. 14.1  
Clusters

|  |  |
|--|--|
| 39. tprā (4r <sub>5</sub> : tatprāptih)      | 58. nne (12r <sub>5</sub> : °samcchanne)     |
| 40. tmī (9v <sub>6</sub> : ātmīyau)          | 59. nme (7r <sub>1</sub> : trijanmeha)       |
| 41. tvo (8v <sub>4</sub> : dhātvor)          | 60. nyū (5r <sub>7</sub> : nyūnatarāṇi)      |
| 42. tsā (5v <sub>4</sub> : vicikitsā)        | 61. nye (5r <sub>7</sub> : caivānye)         |
| 43. tsī (10v <sub>6</sub> : utsīdanti)       | 62. nva (5r <sub>4</sub> : °bhogānvayaṃ)     |
| 44. tsna (12r <sub>1</sub> : kṛtsna°)        | 63. pte (4r <sub>5</sub> : prāpter)          |
| 45. dga (12r <sub>3</sub> : udgatā)          | 64. pto (7r <sub>5</sub> : prāptāprāptopa°)  |
| 46. dggra (7v <sub>5</sub> : °udggrahīta°)   | 65. pye (4v <sub>7</sub> : nārūpye)          |
| 47. dggrī (11r <sub>4</sub> : °ād ggrīṣmā°)  | 66. bdau (2r <sub>7</sub> : rūpaśabdau)      |
| 48. dbhi (12r <sub>5</sub> : jvaladbhiś)     | 67. bdhi (7v <sub>1</sub> : kāyaprasrabdhir) |
| 49. dyai (12v <sub>2</sub> : sarppādyair)    | 68. bdhyu (7r <sub>8</sub> : °srabdhyupe°)   |
| 50. dre (9r <sub>3</sub> : udrekād)          | 69. bdhvā (10v <sub>1</sub> : labdhvā)       |
| 51. dvyā (3v <sub>2</sub> : dvy akhilā°)     | 70. bhye (10v <sub>5</sub> : abhyeti)        |
| 52. dvyē (2r <sub>3</sub> : catustridvyeka°) | 71. bhri (12r <sub>6</sub> : aurabhrikā°)    |
| 53. ntū (12r <sub>8</sub> : jantūn)          | 72. bhvā (8r <sub>3</sub> : abhibhvāyata°)   |
| 54. ntye (2r <sub>4</sub> : daśā'ntyē)       | 73. mno (4r <sub>7</sub> : nāmno)            |
| 55. ndī (10v <sub>1</sub> : bandīnāṃ)        | 74. myū (8v <sub>7</sub> : °bhūmyūrdhvā°)    |
| 56. ndo (10v <sub>4</sub> : cendos)          | 75. mye (11v <sub>7</sub> : ūrdhvaḡāmyēva)   |
| 57. ndyā (5v <sub>2</sub> : bhindyamānā)     | 76. rkṣa (12r <sub>8</sub> : śvarkṣasiṃha°)  |

Fig. 14.2  
Clusters

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 77. rgge (8v <sub>8</sub> : āryyamārgeṣu)     | 96. rnnā (7r <sub>8</sub> : °nirnnāsaṃ)      |
| 78. rggo (8v <sub>8</sub> : bhāvanāmārgge)    | 97. rppā (12v <sub>2</sub> : sarppādyair)    |
| 79. rgghi (10r <sub>4</sub> : dīrghike)       | 98. rbba (12v <sub>4</sub> : āyurbbala°)     |
| 80. rghgha (10v <sub>8</sub> : dīrghgha°)     | 99. rbbu (9r <sub>5</sub> : arbbude)         |
| 81. rghyā (9v <sub>2</sub> : dairghyāt)       | 100. rbhā (2v <sub>5</sub> : garbhāvakra°)   |
| 82. rccya (1v <sub>1</sub> : abhyarccya)      | 101. rbbhā (10r <sub>7</sub> : caturbbhāge)  |
| 83. rjja (13r <sub>5</sub> : parjjanyas)      | 102. rbbhi (12v <sub>5</sub> : durbbhikṣa°)  |
| 84. rjji (13r <sub>7</sub> : °varjjitāḥ)      | 103. rmmi (6r <sub>2</sub> : °dhārmmikāḥ)    |
| 85. rjje (13r <sub>1</sub> : °kāyikavarjjeṣu) | 104. rmmu (4r <sub>4</sub> : °nirmmuktaṃ)    |
| 86. rṃṃe (13r <sub>6</sub> : pūrṃṃeṣu)        | 105. rṃṃe (1v <sub>1</sub> : °dharmme)       |
| 87. rtte (11v <sub>5</sub> : suramartteṣu)    | 106. ryyu (3v <sub>4</sub> : paryyutthāna°)  |
| 88. rtyā (11r <sub>8</sub> : martyā)          | 107. rlla (10v <sub>4</sub> : caturllayā<ḥ>) |
| 89. rdda (2v <sub>2</sub> : caturddaśa)       | 108. rśo (9v <sub>8</sub> : °saṃsparśo)      |
| 90. rdvā (12r <sub>3</sub> : caturdvārā)      | 109. rśva (10r <sub>3-4</sub> : pārśvayoḥ)   |
| 91. rddhā (9r <sub>8</sub> : arddhārdde°)     | 110. rśvā (12r <sub>3</sub> : pārśvāny)      |
| 92. rddhi (7r <sub>8</sub> : °dhānārdhi°)     | 111. rśve (9r <sub>6</sub> : pārśve)         |
| 93. rddhe (11v <sub>8</sub> : sārddhe)        | 112. rśvo (9v <sub>3</sub> : °pārśvottare)   |
| 94. rddho (12r <sub>1</sub> : adhyarddho)     | 113. rṣyo (3v <sub>3</sub> : īrṣyo)          |
| 95. rddhva (12r <sub>3</sub> : ūrddhvaṃ)      | 114. rṣva (4r <sub>2</sub> : caturṣv api)    |

Fig. 14.3  
Clusters

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 115. rṣve (2v <sub>2</sub> : caturṣv eva)   | 131. styā (12r <sub>6</sub> : hastyādi)     |
| 116. lyo (9v <sub>7</sub> : tulyo)          | 132. strā (12v <sub>2</sub> : śastrāṇi)     |
| 117. vyū (11v <sub>4</sub> : gavyūtyabhya°) | 133. stri (9r <sub>5</sub> : catustriguṇa)  |
| 118. ści (13v <sub>3</sub> : kaścid)        | 134. strai (12v <sub>2</sub> : śastrais)    |
| 119. śche (12r <sub>6</sub> : śiraśchedādi) | 135. stvā (13v <sub>6</sub> : °bhūyastvād)  |
| 120. śyā (12r <sub>2</sub> : sudṛśyānām)    | 136. stve (3r <sub>3</sub> : stripuṃstve)   |
| 121. śyo (4r <sub>6</sub> : rāśyor)         | 137. stho (2v <sub>3</sub> : daśāvastho)    |
| 122. śva (7r <sub>6</sub> : śāśvatam)       | 138. sthau (6v <sub>8</sub> : phalasthau)   |
| 123. śvā (12v <sub>2</sub> : śvādibhir)     | 139. sne (13v <sub>4</sub> : snehaḥ)        |
| 124. ṣke (11v <sub>3</sub> : catuṣkeṇa)     | 140. sphī (10r <sub>8</sub> : sphītādvayaṃ) |
| 125. ṣṭhā (6r <sub>7</sub> : adhiṣṭhāne)    | 141. srā (9v <sub>6</sub> : sahasrāṇi)      |
| 126. ṣṭho (7r <sub>3</sub> : ṣaṣṭho)        | 142. sre (9v <sub>4</sub> : sahasre)        |
| 127. ṣpā (13r <sub>7</sub> : °niṣpādanam)   | 143. sro (10r <sub>6</sub> : catasro)       |
| 128. ṣvi (12v <sub>6</sub> : arāgeṣv ivo°)  | 144. hnā (10v <sub>6</sub> : cāhnāhnā)      |
| 129. sto (9r <sub>3</sub> : hasto)          | 145. hni (12r <sub>3</sub> : vahninā)       |
| 130. stya (4r <sub>4</sub> : nāsty anya°)   | 146. hyu (10r <sub>3</sub> : hy upendrā°)   |
|   | 147. hye (10v <sub>7</sub> : bāhye)         |

Fig. 14.4  
Clusters

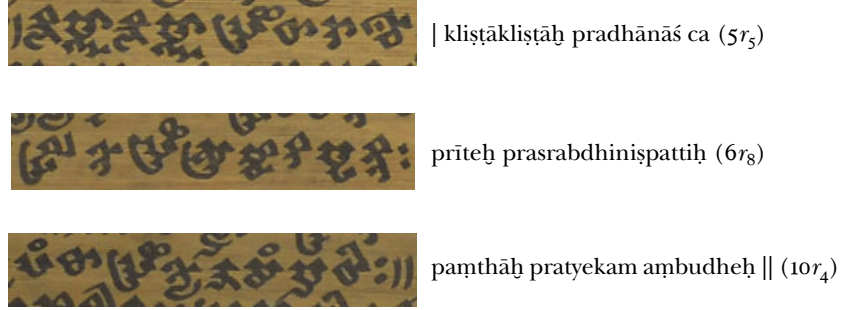


Fig. 15  
(*upadhmānīya*)

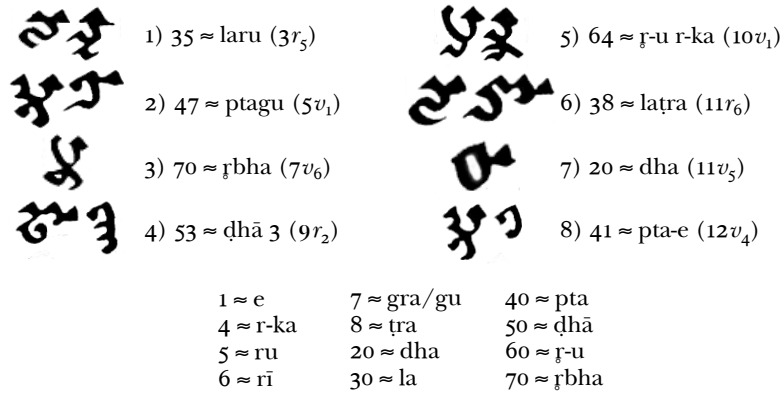
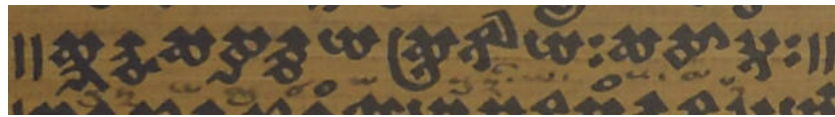


Fig. 16  
Letter/Figure numerals  
(see also Dimitrov 2010: 53–60)



|| skandhasamuccayas tṛtīyah samāptaḥ || (4v<sub>2</sub>)

Fig. 17  
Interlinear notes in *dbu med* script



Fol. 2v, end of chapter 1



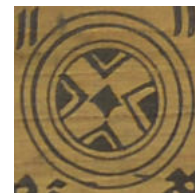
Fol. 3r, end of chapter 2



Fol. 4v, end of chapter 3



Fol. 5v, end of chapter 4



Fol. 6r, end of chapter 5



Fol. 7v, end of chapter 6



Fol. 9r, end of chapter 7



Fol. 10v, end of chapter 8



Fol. 11v, end of chapter 9



Fol. 12r, end of chapter 10

Fig. 18.1  
Wheels and flowers



Fol. 12v, end of chapter 11



Fol. 13v, end of chapter 12



Fol. 13v, end of chapter 13

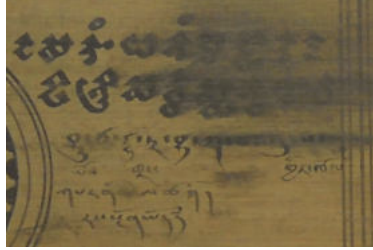


Fol. 13v, colophon



Fol. 14r, colophon

Fig. 18.2  
Wheels and flowers



*damaṇaṃ • etaṃ buddhāna* (line-filler)  
*pitrisarvassatvadeva*

Fig. 19  
Detail of the colophon, fol. 14r

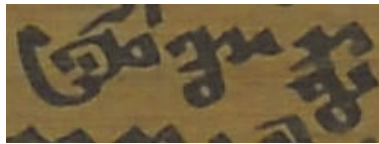


Fig. 20  
Detail of fol. 6r; *śriṇvaṇ svā*

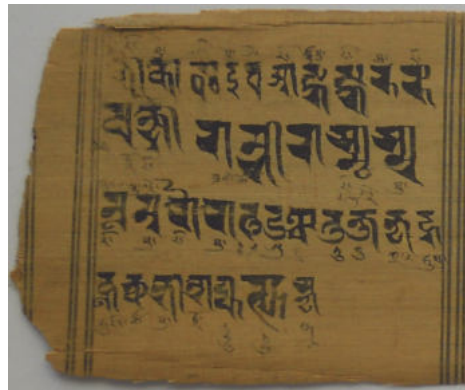


Fig. 21  
Characters in Rañjanā script, fol. 14r