



Newsletter of the NGMCP, Number 6

Spring-Summer 2008

Editorial

The sixth issue of the *Newsletter of the NGMCP*, which it is my pleasure to present herewith, is an occasion to introduce new things and to look forward, but also, even more importantly, an occasion to look back. To begin with the new: with this issue we will be starting a changed schedule, appearing with increased regularity but at a slower pace. From now onwards a *Newsletter* will be released twice yearly: a Spring-Summer issue and an Autumn-Winter one, with a minimum page-count of 24 per issue.

New are also two of the contributors to this issue, both young scholars who already have remarkable experience in working with Sanskrit manuscripts. Kazuo Kano, an assistant professor at Koyasan University in Japan, joins forces with Kengo Harimoto, of the NGMCP in Hamburg, to present an early manuscript fragment of an otherwise unknown commentary on the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarākṣita. Identified some twenty years ago by Prof. Kazunobu Matsuda, the well-known 'manuscript-hunter', this fragment has never before been studied in detail or published. Here Harimoto and Kano edit and translate the first of two surviving folios, with material which they show to be important for our understanding of the history of the Sāṃkhya system. A similar study of the second folio is forthcoming in a future *Newsletter* issue.

The second contributor whom we welcome for the first time in this issue is Péter-Dániel Szántó, who holds MA degrees in Tibetology and Indology from ELTE University, Budapest, and is at present a doctoral student in Oxford University. Szántó presents a pioneering study of a group of texts which deal with initiation into the *Catuspīṭha*, a major, but virtually unstudied, tantric Buddhist system. Szántó is able to clarify the relationships between a number of texts, and sheds much light on their complex history.

We have also, as is customary, a book notice in this issue. Kengo Harimoto introduces a publication which edits and translates, for the first time, an early and influential work on *hathayoga*. The author, James Mallinson, has used a large number of manuscripts, including no less than six which were filmed in Nepal by the NGMPP; unusual is that to elucidate the practices taught in the text he has conducted extensive fieldwork with living *hathayoga* practitioners.

I am proud of the fine and ground-breaking contributions which appear in this issue; they would suffice to make it a memorable one. It is, in my view, a landmark also for other reasons. Firstly, it marks the half-way point of the projected duration of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Begun in 2002, the project is expected to be concluded in 2014. A retrospective of the first six years is planned for the next issue of the *Newsletter*. I do not take this as an occasion for self-congratulation; but I think it can be said that much has been done in the first six years of this project, and we are looking forward to increasing our activity in the coming years, and to doing even more towards uncovering, making available, and making scholarly use of the treasures of the manuscript collections of Nepal.

Finally—and I have saved what is for me personally the important as the last—I would like to note another anniversary: this Spring-Summer issue appears not long after the 70th birthday of Prof. Albrecht Wezler, the founder of the NGMCP and my predecessor as holder of the chair for classical Indology in Hamburg. Cause for congratulation and for celebration indeed! Without his foresight, the NGMCP would not have come into being, and as a result a very large number of important indological discoveries (some of the more recent of which have been introduced in the six issues to date of the *Newsletter of the NGMCP*) would not have been made. Sāṃkhya, which is central in the paper by Harimoto and Kano, has long been one of the main focuses of Prof. Wezler's scholarship; and the breadth of interest, extending to countless little-known areas, that has been so noticeable throughout his long and distinguished career will, I hope, lead him to peruse also the other contributions to this issue with attention and pleasure. To our founder, and our teacher, most respectfully *namah*; to all our readers: Happy reading with the *Newsletter of the NGMCP*!

Harunaga Isaacson

Antiquarian Enquiries into the Initiation Manuals of the Catuṣpīṭha

Péter-Dániel SZÁNTÓ¹

Introduction

The aim of this paper is not to deal extensively with the contents of the *Catuṣpīṭha* initiation manuals. That is far too difficult a task to be undertaken at the moment, due to the paucity of material on one hand, and the ‘barbaric’ language peculiar to these works on the other. My aim is merely to present a certain corpus of manuscripts, mostly from the microfilm archives of the NGMPP, and try to clear up some points of confusion regarding them.

The Initiation Manuals

The *maṇḍalopāyikā*² is a genre of works in Tantric Buddhist (*Vajrayāna/Mantranaya/Mantramahāyāna*) literature prescribing in greater or lesser detail the *modus operandi* for initiating a would-be member of a Tantric cult.

In the core part of the ceremony described in these works, the officiant (*ācārya*) introduces the initiand (*śiṣya*) to the schematically arranged pantheon (*maṇḍala*) of the cult, provides the desired consecrations (*abhiṣeka*), subjects the initiand to pledges (*samaya*) and vows (*samvara*), and gives specific teachings (*upadeśa*) relating to the scriptural cycle that he is a master of. At the end of the ceremony the consecrated *śiṣya* becomes an initiate with the right—and indeed, duty (*adhikāra*)—to undertake meditative visualization of the central deity and his/her retinue (*devatābhāvanā*), to perform the rites taught by the cult, and to confer initiation himself, provided that he³ had taken the Consecration of the Officiant

¹I wish to thank Prof. Harunaga Isaacson and Iain Sinclair for their corrections, comments, and constant support.

²Lit. ‘method (*upāya*) for the *maṇḍala*[- rite]’. The affix *-kā* should perhaps be understood as qualifying ‘anthology (*saṃhitā*)’, ‘booklet (*pustikā*)’, or ‘work (*racanā*)’. Sometimes *maṇḍalopikā* is also seen in the Sanskrit titles preserved (or back-translated) in the Tibetan Canon. Perhaps this should not be readily dismissed as a corruption. According to Pāṇini 5.3.80 (BÖHTLINGK 1887:259) this is a justified abbreviation in the view of the ‘Eastern’ grammarians. However, it should be noted that this rule applies to male names only (cf. 5.3.78 *ibid*).

³I use the male pronoun here in accordance with the usage of our texts. Although there is some evidence that women could be and were initiated as well, the references to initiand/s are overwhelmingly male. The singular also follows the practice of the manuals, although there can be a number of initiands in the rite. In this case the most prominent of them will act on behalf of the others in the more crucial phases. Since this person can dispose of wealth, I tend to think that the paradigmatic initiand the authors had in mind was a well-to-do male householder. Beyond the laity monks and *yogins* are also in the foreground. However, the identification of the agents taking part in the ritual is and was controversial. The investigation of this matter is beyond the scope of this paper.

(*ācāryābhiṣeka*). The rest of the prescriptions in these manuals relate to a large number of auxiliary rites which may or may not require active participation on the initiand/initiate’s part. They are, nevertheless, considered essential.

The need for such manuals is quite evident: scriptures rarely provide clearly formulated and unambiguous prescriptions for initiation (or anything else for that matter). A *tantra* at best will usually provide the broad framework for the rite, leaving plenty of room for interpretation and detail.

Initiation into the Catuṣpīṭhatantra

The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* (CAPĪṬA) is a typical example. The tantra teaches initiation explicitly only in IV.1. whilst saying next to nothing about essentials such as the number and the proper order of consecrations. The synoptical outline of CAPĪṬA IV.1. is as follows:

- vv. 1–8. teach the characteristics of a proper officiant (*ācārya*) and the way an initiate should regard him;
- vv. 9–14. give the initiand the rules of conduct (*caryā*) concerning his officiant;
- vv. 15–17. contain a terse list of the consecrations with very unusual names: *mantrābhiṣeka*, *adaityabalyabhiṣeka*, *yogābhiṣeka*, and *ācāryābhiṣeka*;⁴
- vv. 18–19. describe the way the initiand should petition the officiant and the way the officiant should accept him;
- vv. 20–27. contain formulas to be recited by the initiand such as the refuge (*śaraṇagamana*), the vow (*samvara*), and the triple purification (*trivīśuddhi*);
- vv. 28–33. the blindfolded initiand is led in front of the maṇḍala (here called *balibhūmi*), then the blindfold is removed and formulas are recited;
- vv. 34–45. the initiand is given the pledge-water (*samayodaka*) mixed with the five nectars (*pañcāmṛta*), he then supplicates in front of the officiant who gives him the rules of conduct and some spiritual instructions;
- vv. 46–48. describe the offering of the fee (*gurudakṣiṇā*);
- vv. 49–61. contain a mixture of topics describing amongst others the dangers the initiate will have to face if he breaks his allegiance and vows, further general ethical rules, and some verses glorifying the rite.

With this the chapter ends.

Unfortunately the only extant Sanskrit commentary we have to this passage is that of Bhavabhaṭṭa. The other

⁴It is here that one of the most important commentators, Bhavabhaṭṭa, forces the text to include the series of consecrations up to the ‘Fourth’ (*caturthābhiṣeka*).

two Indian exegetes, Kalyāṇavarman and Durjayacandra, comment only up to the end of the third chapter (*pīṭha*).⁵

Despite our lacking his commentary to the fourth chapter, it is quite evident that Kalyāṇavarman must have thought that the actual teaching of the initiation rite is hinted at in CAPĪTA II.3.⁶ At this point in the commentary he makes a huge digression comprising more than one third of his work⁷ to give the additional details of the ceremony. On the other hand Bhavabhaṭṭa and Durjayacandra understand this sub-chapter as teaching the meditative visualization of the deities that make up the *maṇḍala*.

An Insertion in CaPīTa ms. A.

Kalyāṇavarman does not seem to have been the only one who thought that CAPĪTA II.3. did not provide enough information on the initiation rite. This was also the case with one of the scribes⁸ of one of the earliest CAPĪTA

⁵From Smṛtijñānakīrti's colophon to his translation of Kalyāṇavarman's work we are informed that the commentary (i.e. the CAPĪPA) was never completed: "These [chapters of the commentary] to three *pīṭhas* were written by the practitioner Kalyāṇavarman who thought compassionately of sentient beings. It is said that when [he was writing] the introduction to this [last] *pīṭha* the *ḍākinīs* forbade [him to continue]. Or, it is said that just when he was about to begin the commentary [to the fourth *pīṭha*] he met the *ḍākinī*'s face to face and thus achieving realization he disappeared. Hence [I], the Indian *upādhyāya* Smṛtijñānakīrti, have begun writing a commentary to the fourth *pīṭha* of the Catuspīṭha according to what I have heard from my consecrated masters." Tōh. 1608. 43^r–43^v *de dag gdan gsum na sgrub pa po Dge ba'i go chas sems can la thugs rjes dgongs nas mdzad de | gdan 'di'i ('di'i em.) 'di ni D) gleng gzhi'i (gleng gzhi'i em.) gleng bzhi'i D) nang na mkha' 'gro ma rnams kyis ma gnang ngo zhes kyang zer | ṭi ka mdzad pa'i thad ka na (thad ka na em.) thad ka nas D) mkha' 'gro ma dang zhal mjal nas grub ste mi snang bar song ngo zhes kyang zer || phyi nas rgya gar gyi mkhan po Smṛ ti dnyā na kī rtis bla ma'i brgyud (brgyud em.; rgyud D) las thos pa ji bzhin du de ltar gdan bzhi pa'i gdan phyi ma'i ṭi ka 'di brtsams so ||* Smṛtijñānakīrti's addenda to Kalyāṇavarman's translation, i.e. his own commentary to the fourth *pīṭha*, is most likely to have been written directly in Tibetan.

Durjayacandra's MiPAPA seems to be unfinished. He is certainly the latest commentator since he knows Yogāmbara, the male buddha superimposed on the originally exclusively female *maṇḍala* of the Catuspīṭha.

That both works seem to be unfinished is a curious coincidence rather than a sign that originally there were only three chapters in the tantra. It is certain that Kalyāṇavarman knew the fourth chapter, since he cites a lemma from it.

⁶Kalyāṇavarman's introduction to CAPĪTA II.3.: *evaṃ(evaṃ em.) eva CAPĪPA)bhāṣitasya yoginaḥ maṇḍalalikhanaṃ antareṇa uttamasiddhir na bhavatīti śṛṇu vajra mahārāja saṃsārapāralakṣaṇaṃ ityādīnā maṇḍalapaṭalam ārabhate. CAPĪPA 18^v*

⁷CAPĪPA 18^v–32^r out of 44 folios.

⁸There were at least three scribes working on this manuscript. The first, up to fol. 37^v, is the most legible and orderly. Hence another scribe took over who worked in an angular Newari script up to fol. 49^v. It seems to me that from this point the first scribe took over again, however, there seems to be much more space between the *akṣaras* and it is possible that this is the work of yet another scribe. From fol. 64^r the final hand takes over, writing in a hurried form that foreshadows the *pracalitanevārākṣara*, with occasional variations.

mss. to which I have assigned the siglum A.⁹

In contrast to all other mss. of the CAPĪTA and what the three commentators seem to have read, this ms. is unique as it contains three large batches of extra verses in CAPĪTA II.3. (i.e. the '*maṇḍala*'-chapter). The first, of 222 verses (or rather 'units', as I count mantras, instructions, section closers as 'verses'), which starts after II.3.7ab, was apparently intended to replace the root-text up to and including II.3.54ab. The second, of 70 verses, is nested between II.3.81ab and II.3.81cd. The third and shortest, of 36 verses, starts after II.3.137. and ends before II.3.143. They are all in the same hand, that of the first scribe, who was responsible for copying the greatest part of the text.

All the passages mentioned above contain material typical of initiation rites. Thus, for example, the first batch of verses¹⁰ deals with such topics as the ritual takeover of the ground for drawing out the *maṇḍala* (*bhūmiparigraha* or *bhūmiyācanā*), the ritual purification of the thread and the coloured powders that will be used for tracing out the *maṇḍala* (*sūtraprokṣaṇa* and *rajaḥprokṣaṇa* respectively), the outlining of the *maṇḍala* (*sūtrapātana*), ritually placing the vases for consecration in their proper place (*kumbhasthāpana*), and so forth. The second batch¹¹ teaches amongst others the *mudrās* and *mantras* of a series of deities (Pokkaṣī, Ghorī, Ugri, Kapālī and several worship-goddesses) and a host of brahmanical gods (Hari, Brahman, Rudra, Śakra, Indra, Kubera, Bhūtādhipati, Nāgādhipati) along with the *mantras* of their consorts (Lakṣmī, Varāhī, Sarasvatī, Brahmānī, Māheśvarī, Gaṅgā, Aindrānī, Tilottamā, Śaci, Rambhā, Vasumatī, Hāriti, Laṅkeśvarī, Raktapriyā, Bhogavatī and Utpalāpriyā). None of these deities are present in the original CAPĪTA. The third batch¹² describes the assignation of deities to guard the doors of the *maṇḍala* and three types of *bali*-offering: one for *devas*, one for *nāgas*, and one for *yakṣas*.

These are no doubt intentional insertions. It can hardly have been the case that the scribe was copying a ms. with shuffled folios from the *mūla* and another text describing the initiation rite. For all insertions occur beginning with a new and complete verse, never in the middle of a *pāda*. Were it the case that the folios were shuffled, I find it unlikely that all the pages would have begun and ended neatly with complete verses. It is possible however that the scribe was copying a text in which the insertions were

Since nothing suggests that the foreign hands are making up lost portions in the text, I believe that all folios were penned in a short space of time, the scribes taking turns.

⁹This ms. has been miscatalogued as a *śaiva* tantra and in lack of a better title, it has been named the *Prakarāṇatantra*, no doubt because of its colophons which usually end '*iti prakaraṇe . . .*'.

¹⁰CAPĪTA, ms. A 17^r–25^v.

¹¹CAPĪTA, ms. A 26^v–28^r.

¹²CAPĪTA, ms. A 30^r–31^v.

already present. If one reads ms. A. of the CAPĪTA in the absence of other witnesses, one would have great difficulty identifying the insertions, for they emulate the grammatical (or rather, ungrammatical) style of the tantra. Since stylistically these verses do not stand out clearly, they would not have prompted a copyist to suspect contamination.

The inserted passages in ms. A. match closely with material found in two works from among the satellite texts of the CAPĪTA. As I will argue below, the insertions are more likely to have served as the ancestor of both these works than the other way around.

The Catuṣpīṭhamaṇḍalopāyikā of Caryāvratipāda

The *Catuṣpīṭhamaṇḍalopāyikā* (CAPĪMAU) survives in its entirety in a single, old, palm-leaf manuscript in Bhumijol characters, now kept at the National Archives (NAK 5-89/1 [= NGMPP A 1298/6 and duplicate B 30/35]).¹³ The short colophon informs us that it is the work of Caryāvratipāda.¹⁴

This manuscript is not dated but it looks remarkably similar in measurement and scribal hand to a manuscript in the National Archives of another work, the *Yogāmbarasādhanopāyikā* (YOSĀU, NAK 3-366 [= NGMPP B 23/10]) of Amitavajra,¹⁵ which is dated to the 13th regnal year of Vighrahapāla.¹⁶ Since the subject

¹³This ms. is described in DBGP1:140–142 with a useful list of the chapter colophons. Janardan Pandey mentions another fragment of this work in the National Archives (14 folios, *devanāgarī*) as no. 125, but it is not entirely certain what he means by this number. His report states that this additional ms. ends in the 15th chapter of the CAPĪMAU. Probably the manuscript is NAK 3-602 [= NGMPP A 142/10, A 1275/7], but this remains to be confirmed.

¹⁴Fol. 30^v: *kṛtir iyaṃ maṇḍalopāyikā Caryāvratī[sic]pādānām iti.*

¹⁵For the Tibetan translation of this work see Tōh. 1619. = Ōta. 2491. There the work is attributed to Rnam par rgyal ba'i dbang po'i sde, i.e. Vijayendrasena. He seems to have been a Newar scholar (cf. LO BUE 1997:637). It is not impossible that Amitavajra was his initiation name. The *'Brug pa bka'* brygyud scholar Padma dkar po (1527–1592) mentions Vijayendrasena in a lineage list (the *yab bka'* dbang brygyud appendix to his *Gdan bzhī yum bka'i cho ga, The Collected works [gsuñ-'bum] of Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po – reproduced photographically from prints from the 1920–1928 Gnam 'Brug Se-ba Byan-chub-glin blocks*, vol. Tsa pp. 635–642.) as the disciple of Senavarman, an elusive character who is otherwise known only as the one who petitioned Kalyāṇavarman to write his commentary (cf. CAPĪPA 1^v *pañjikā likhyate seyaṃ prārthanāt Senavarmaṇaḥ*). In the lineage list Vijayendrasena is followed by Pham mthing pa, another Newar who is reputed to have attended on Nāropāda, and then two Tibetans, Mar [pa do pa] (cca. 1042–1136) and Rngog [lo tsā ba] (1059–1109). Thus, if Padma dkar po is correct, it is quite possible that even if the two, Vijayendrasena and Amitavajra, were not the same person, they were at least contemporaries.

¹⁶This is most likely Vighrahapāla III who ruled during the third quarter of the eleventh century and possibly a decade further. His copper plate grants (the Āngāchi grant from his 12th regnal year and the Bangāon plate from his 17th regnal year) show similar palaeographical features with these manuscripts. See EPIGRAPHIA

matter is related (Yogāmbara is later considered the chief deity of the cult propagated by the CAPĪTA) and the two mss. look significantly alike, it is probably not unreasonable to suspect that they formed part of the same collection. Thus we may surmise that this work was already in circulation by the last quarter of the eleventh century (or a little later if the dating is auctorial) together with the CAPĪMAU.

Pinning down the author, Caryāvratipāda, is a bit difficult. He may or may not be the same person as Kṛṣṇa/Kāṇha, who bears this epithet in the colophon of the *Vasantatilakā* (VATī)¹⁷ and several other works.¹⁸ The earliest reference I am aware of for this author comes from the *Samvarodayā nāma maṇḍalopāyikā* (SAUMA-U)¹⁹ of Bhūvācārya,²⁰ who mentions him twice.²¹ The only surviving and incomplete ms. of the SAUMA-U was

INDICA vol. XV, No. 18. and vol. XXIX, No. 7. respectively.

¹⁷*iti caryāvratīśrīKṛṣṇācāryeṇa gurūpadeśam āgamyā śrīHeruka-bhaṭṭarakasyādeśac ca svapnagatam avadhārya . . .* VATī p. 89. Cf. Vanaratna *ad loc. cit.:* *tathāgataḥyasthitena caryāvratīnā mayā Kṛṣṇenedaṃ Vasantatilakākhyam daśanirdesātmakam kṛtam . . .* *ibid.* p. 90.

¹⁸Dpal 'khor lo sdom pa zhes bya ba'i sgrub thabs (*Śricakrasamvarasādhana) Tōh. 1445. 276^v *dpal 'khor lo sdom pa'i sgrub thabs slob dpon chen po brtul zhugs spyod pa'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa rdzogs so;* Bcom ldan 'das dpal bde mchog 'khor lo'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga (*Bhagavacchrīcakrasamvaramaṇḍalavidhi) Tōh. 1446. 92^v *bcom ldan 'das dpal bde mchog 'khor lo'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga slob dpon chen po brtul zhugs spyod pa nag po pas mdzad pa rdzogs so;* Tshigs su bcaḍ pa lṅga pa (*Pañcagāthā), Tōh. 2282. 138^r *brtul zhugs spyod pa'i slob dpon chen po nag pos mdzad pa'i tshigs su bcaḍ pa lṅga pa rdzogs so;* Sdom pa bshad pa (*Samvaravyākhyā), Tōh. 1460. 10^v *slob dpon chen po brtul zhugs kyi spyod pa la zhugs pa nag po pas mdzad pa rdzogs so.* On the latter work see below.

¹⁹The title is misread and thus the work is incorrectly catalogued as *Svarodayānā-maṇḍalopāyikā* in MATSUNAMI 1965:160. This misreading is slightly corrected by PETECH 1984:44 to *Svarodayāmaṇḍalopāyikā* (Note that Petech misreads the catalogue number: 454 instead of 450). The date is rather NS 174 than Matsunami's NS 178 and Petech's NS 176. The folios of the ms. are shuffled at present. It should be kept in mind that when I quote from this codex below, I am referring to the restored pagination and my provisional verse numbering. The Tibetan 'translation' is canonical (Tōh. 1538.). It is unsigned and of such a low quality that I am inclined to believe that it is no more than a rough first attempt which somehow found its way into the Canon.

²⁰His name was variously reconstructed as *Bhuvamati (Bhu ba blo ldan), *Madhyadeśikamati (Dbus pa blo ldan), *Aṣṭadhīmat (Dbu pa blo ldan) or simply Dhīmat – no doubt because of an attribute in the closing verse: *śrīmadRatnagīrau sthītvā sarvasattvārthahetunā | kṛteyaṃ maṇḍalopāyikā Bhūvācāryeṇa dhīmatā ||* [= v. 790.] SAUMA-U 56^v.

²¹*abhīṣekaṃ tad evoktaṃ Caryāvratikramāgatam* [= v. 181cd] SAUMA-U 15^r; *dvibhujās caikavaktrās ca Caryāpādamatena hi* [= v. 214cd] SAUMA-U 18^v.

There is a further, rather curious, interaction between this work, the SAUMA-U, and the Sdom pa bshad pa = *Samvaravyākhyā (Tōh. 1460.) of *Caryāvratī Kṛṣṇa. The SAUMA-U seems to contain the entire work between 18^r and 26^r [= vv. 210cd to 320]. This is either an incorporation on Bhūvācārya's part, or there was a fragment of his work independently translated into Tibetan with the authorship credited to Caryāvratī Kṛṣṇa owing to doctrinal and practical similarities. The investigation of this problem is beyond the scope of the present paper, but I find the second scenario much more likely.

copied in NS 174 = 1054 CE. The author could not have been much earlier than this date since he also mentions Dārikāpāda²² who is credited with a work related to the Kālacakra.²³

Some further indirect evidence may be gathered from the CAPĪPA. In his commentary to CAPĪTA I.2.30. Kalyāṇavarman directs the reader to the/a *Maṅḍalopāyikā/maṅḍalopāyikā* for the visualizing meditation of Vajrasattva.²⁴ Such an instruction is indeed to be found in the CAPĪMAU,²⁵ but of course we may not state with certainty that he is referring to either Caryāvratipāda's CAPĪMAU or some other work with the same title or designation, such as that of Āryadeva's, dealt with in the next section of this paper. For the time being I will assume that he does. Thus, since the ms. of the CAPĪPA is dated 1012 CE, all circumstantial evidence seems to point to the late tenth century/early eleventh as the *terminus ante quem* for this author.

In order to ascertain Caryāvratipāda's authorship, we need to make a longer digression and deal with the Tibetan carrier of his work. The canonical Tibetan translation²⁶ bears the reconstructed title **Śrīcatuḥpīṭhatantra-rājasya maṅḍalopāyikā vidhipaṇḍi*[sic] *sārasamuccaya nāma* from *Rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal Gdan bzhi pa zhes bya*

²² *uktaṃ śrīDārikāpādair adhiṣṭhānasya lakṣaṇam* [= v. 193ab] SAUMA 15^v; *Indrabhūteḥ krameṇaiva Sañcāre Dārike mate* [= v. 211ab] SAUMA 18^r–18^v; *likhitā Dārikāmate* [= v. 323b] SAUMA 26^r.

²³ Tōh. 1355. *Rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal Dus kyi 'khor lo'i dbang gi rab tu byed pa'i 'grel pa* (*ŚrīkālacakratantrarājaSekaprakriyāvṛtti). Dārikāpāda (if the two authors are one and the same person) thus probably does not predate the early eleventh century.

There are references to several other *siddhas* and scriptures in this text which might help establish a relative chronology. Authors named include Jālandharapāda, Kacchapati, and Indrabhūti. Scriptures mentioned include the *Samcāra* (i.e. the *Yoginīsaṃcāra*), the *Herukābhyaḍaya*, 'sāmājīkatantras' [sic! for *sāmājīka*] (i.e. scriptures related to the *Guhyaśamāja*), the *Vajrāmṛta*, and the *Sarvabuddha* (i.e. the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasamvāra*). With the exception of the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* this list of tantras looks quite ancient, so it is possible that the argument related to Dārikāpāda should be overruled with the hypothesis that there were two Dārikāpādas (or, even more likely, someone adopted his name to write a Kālacakra work).

²⁴ *ayam upadeśaḥ: maṅḍalopāyīkōktakrameṇa kṛtavajrasattvayogah vajrasattvam ahaṃ paṭhet vajrasattvo 'ham iti kṛtāhaṃkāro bhāvayed ity arthaḥ* CAPĪPA 9^v–10^r.

²⁵ *candramaṅḍalamadhyasthaṃ vajrasattvābhicintitam | padma-m-āsanam āsīnaṃ himakundasamaprabham* || [= v. 2.14.] *dviḥbhujam sattvaparyāṅkaṃ pañcabuddhābhīśekharam | vajraṃ hṛdaya-pāṇasya ghaṅṭhā vāmakaṭiṇṇ nyaset* || [= v. 2.15.] *sarvābharanagāstras tu suśobhāvastrahūṣitam | raśmijvālām anekāś ca vajrasattvam ahaṃ paṭhet* || [= v. 2.16.] CAPĪMAU 2^v.

²⁶ Tōh. 1613. = Ōta. 2484. Translated by Gayadhara (or Gaṅgādhara?) and 'Gos Khug pa lhas btsas, a duo otherwise responsible for translating a number of important works related to the CAPĪTA (Tōh. 1607. = Ōta. 2478, the longest known commentary to the tantra, i.e. the CAPĪNI of Bhavabhṭṭa; Tōh. 1616. = Ōta. 2487, a *sādhana* by the same author; Tōh. 1620. = Ōta. 2492, an auxiliary work on the four 'realities' by Jetāri).

ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga Snying po mdor bsags pa,²⁷ most likely to be a later construction deriving from the closing verses of the CAPĪMAU.²⁸ There is no strong evidence inside the work for this title, such as its occurrence in chapter colophons. Furthermore, the practice of extracting and back-translating titles from works seems to have been fairly common in Tibet.

Another, more serious, problem is the attribution of this work to Āryadeva in the colophon.²⁹ The attribution is seemingly strengthened by the second quarter of the obeisance verse, where the author salutes Nāgārjuna (Klu sgrub). For centuries to come Tibetans apparently were under the impression that this translation is indeed an initiation manual in the spirit of the *Ārya school of the Guhyasamāja exegesis.

This can be ascertained for example from the Collected Works of Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal,³⁰ who 'wrote' an initiation manual to the Catuṣpīṭha cycle. This work (ET vol. 108., pp. 1–117.) is in fact the same as the CAPĪMAU from the second chapter onwards minus the final colophon. The title page and the introduction, however, make it clear that he too thought the work to be in the spirit of the *Ārya scholars ('Phags lugs).³¹

Caryāvratipāda's authorship was eventually restored by Si tu pa Bstan pa'i nyin 'byed (1699/1700–1774), but only in the colophon of his revised translation of the work.³² It did not seem necessary to him to have new carvings made for the colophon page of the Tibetan CAPĪMAU. With the precision of a good scholar Si tu records how he came into the possession of this manuscript and the circumstances of his work on it:

*dkyil 'khor sgrub pa'i thabs 'di ni dpal Spyod pa'i
brtul zhugs zhabs kyi mdzad pa'o || de ltar Rdo rje
gdan bzhi'i dkyil 'khor cho ga Snying po mdor*

²⁷ Tōh. 1613. 113^r.

²⁸ *de la dngos po tsaṃ bsdus pa | snying po mdor bsags zhes bya ste* | Tōh. 1613. 137^v corresponding to *tasya saṃgrahavastūni piṇḍa-sārasamuccayam* [= v. 28.28.] CAPĪMAU 30^v.

²⁹ *slob dpon chen po Ārya de bas mdzad pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal Gdan bzhi pa zhes bya ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga Snying po mdor bsags pa zhes bya ba rdzogs so*. Tōh. 1613. 137^v.

³⁰ Born in Ngam ring in Gtsang in 1375/6 and died in 1450/1. Also known as 'Jigs med grags pa, and Chos kyi rgyal mtshan. Although by far the most prolific Tibetan author ever (ET numbers 137 volumes), he seems to have fallen in relative obscurity. Later *dge lugs pa* authorities confuse him with *Jo nang* Phyogs las rnam rgyal, and classify him as an adherent to the controversial, and even persecuted, *gzhan stong* doctrine. Cf. SMITH 2001:192.

³¹ The title page has: *Gdan bzhi'i dkyil chog 'Phags lugs bzhugs so*. The work begins unceremoniously with the following: *da ni rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal Gdan bzhi pa zhes bya ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga 'Phags lugs bshad par bya ste | ji skad du Snying po mdor bsags pa las | ...* The rest is Caryāvratipāda's work.

³² The fourth work in Volume 7 (Ja), pp. 165–227. in *Ta'i Si-tu-pa Kun-mkhyen Chos-kyi-'byun*[sic]-*gnas-bstan-pa'i-nīn-byed kyi bka' 'bum* = *Collected works of the great Ta'i Si-tu-pa Kun-mkhyen Chos-kyi-'byun*[sic]-*gnas-bstan-pa'i-nyin-byed*, Palpung Sungrab Nyamso Khang, Kangra, 1990.

bsags zhes pa 'di'i rgya dpe Bal yul nas btsal te dpal 'Brug pa rin po che Bka' rgyud phrin las shing rta mchog gi zhabs nas | Mdo khams su nged la lta rtogs byed dgos phebs cing rten dang bcas stsal ba las lo shas brel g.yeng gis lus pa slar mi zad pa'i lor 'gyur rnying dang bstun nas zhus dag bgyis par bal dper ma dag pa mang yang 'gyur rnying du chad pa 'ga' re 'dug pas bsab cing bcos dgos nges 'ga' re yang bcos pa bcas me pho khyi lor Thub bstan chos 'khor du legs par grub pa Si tu bstan pa'i nyin byed kyi sug las so ||³³

This means to accomplish the *maṇḍala*-initiation is the work of the venerable Caryāvrati. Now, the Sanskrit manuscript of this *maṇḍala*-rite of the *Catuṣpīṭha* called the 'Condensed Essence' was obtained from Nepal. 'Brug pa rin po che Bka' brgyud phrin las shing rta mchog³⁴ permitted that it should be seen and examined by me, and [thus] sent it to Mdo Khams along with a support (*rten*).³⁵ Due to [my] distracting engagements, for a few years it remained neglected. Then, in the year of Inexhaustibility I have compared it with the old translation (*'gyur rnying*). As far as re-editing (*zhus dag*) goes, although the Nepalese manuscript has many corruptions (*ma dag pa*), the old translation contained some lacunae (*chad pa*). These I saw quite necessary to restore. [I also made] some corrections (*bcos pa*). [All] this was well achieved in the year of the Male-Fire-Hound [= 1766 CE] in Thub bstan chos 'khor [through] the work of Si tu Bstan pa'i nyin 'byed.³⁶

It is interesting to note that Si tu pa did not make an issue out of this restoration, although I find it highly improbable that he was not aware of Āryadeva's putative authorship in the Tibetan opinion.

The parallels for the inserted passages in CAPĪTA ms. A. can be found in the CAPĪMAU in the following locations:

ins. 1 CAPĪTA ms. A. 17^r-25^v = CAPĪMAU 3^v-11^v [= vv. 4.2-10.23]

ins. 2 CAPĪTA ms. A. 26^v-28^r = CAPĪMAU 14^v-15^v [= vv. 15.32-66] & CAPĪMAU 13^r-13^v [= vv. 13.1-35]

ins. 3 CAPĪTA ms. A. 30^r-31^v = CAPĪMAU 18^v-20^r [= vv. 19.1-33]

³³ *Op.cit.* p. 227.

³⁴ This is 'Brug chen VII. 1718-1766, who, although his junior, is listed as Si tu pa's teacher.

³⁵ This is most likely a reference to some accompanying gift, such as a statue.

³⁶ This monastery in Derge was Si tu's main seat.

The most striking difference between the two versions is that the name of Yogāmbara is missing from CAPĪTA ms. A whereas the CAPĪMAU mentions him twice. Thus (the passages are given here in diplomatic transcription):

tato vajrasattvamayaṃ dehācārya kṛtasyātmakam |
(Ms. A 20^r)

tato yogāmbaraṃmayaṃ dehācārya kṛtam ātmakam |
(CAPĪMAU 6^v)

"Then the officiant should visualize his own body as ... "

&

asya buddhamahāvajra dhyāpaya nādhyacetasā | (Ms. A 21^r)

asya yogāmbarībuddhaḥ dhyāpayen madhyacetasā |
(CAPĪMAU 7^v)

"He should meditate on this ... with an equipoised mind."

It is quite evident that the text has been tampered with. The CAPĪTA does not mention Yogāmbara at all, and nor do the two earlier commentators, Bhavabhaṭṭa and Kalyāṇavarman. It is only in Durjayacandra's commentary that we find Yogāmbara as the main deity of the cult, but even this commentator does not find the name of the deity in the text.

On the other hand it is quite natural that if someone wanted to superimpose Yogāmbara, he would change not the text of the tantra, but rather that of the *maṇḍalopāyikā*. Many *ācāryas* following and propagating the cult might never have read the basic text. They simply officiated at the rituals and gave the relevant teachings according to the orderly arranged manuals.

The *Catuṣpīṭhamāṇḍalopāyikā* of Āryadeva

The material treated above can be met with in a hitherto unidentified fragment in ms. NAK 5-37 [= NGMPP A 138/10]. This paper ms. of 118 folios containing the CAPĪTA and two fragments, was once part of a composite codex together with NAK 5-38 [= NGMPP B 112/4], which contains in its present state an incomplete CAPĪ-NI.³⁷ The two fragments of the NAK 5-38 are: a) 72^v-73^v a seemingly incomplete word by word commentary to the

³⁷ The fact that these four works now in two ms. bundles were a composite codex can be determined from their shape, scribal hand, and a secondary set of folio numeration which stretches over into the commentary. The missing portions of the CAPĪNI must be misplaced somewhere in the National Archives, since there is an apograph of this composite codex, which contains the entire work of Bhavabhaṭṭa. These copies were made by Mānabajra Bajrācārya in European-style stitched booklets. Their present whereabouts is somewhat doubtful. Microfilm copies are available in the IASWR collection: MBB-I-41 for the CAPĪTA (« NAK 5-37 [= NGMPP A

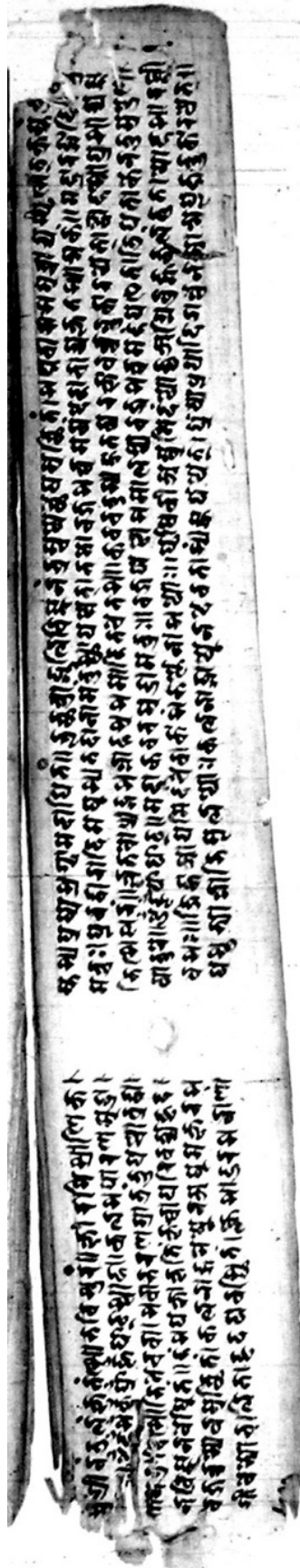


Figure 1: Ms. A 20r

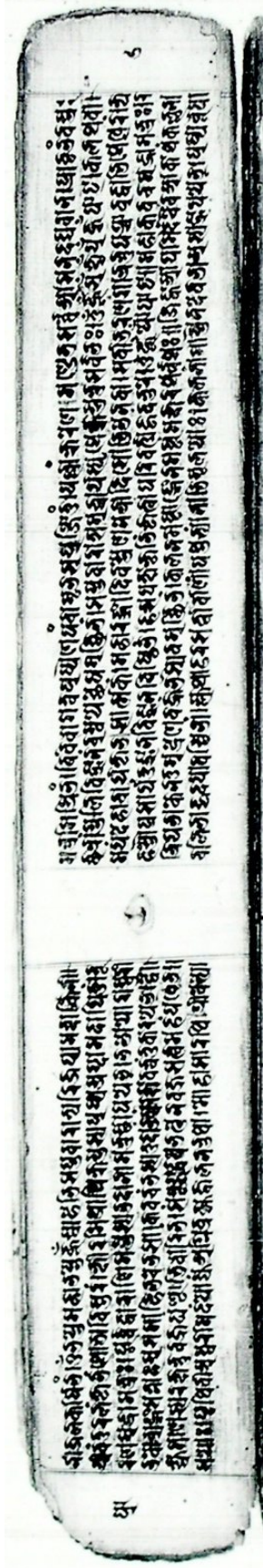


Figure 2: CAPIMA U 6v

beginning of the tantra. The listing of *pratīkas* and the terse commentary suggests that it was used as a teaching aid for exposing the tantra; and b) a fragment in the same linguistic style as the tantra discussing elements related to the initiation rite and other material.

Fragment b) begins abruptly in the middle of a *pāda*. We may surmise from this that the scribe of the composite codex had only a fragmentary manuscript at his disposal. The text is very corrupt.

There are several internal colophons (given here in diplomatic transcription):

1. iti pūrvasevābodhanapaṭala samāptaḥ || (fol. 4^v/75^v)
2. iti bhūmipari-graha dvitīya paṭala samāptaḥ || (fol. 6^r/77^r)
3. iti maṇḍalapaṭalas tṛtīyaḥ || (fol. 30^r/101^r)
 - iti pañcapanīkākramanirdeśaḥ samāptaḥ || (fol. 37^v/108^v)
4. iti caturthapaṭala samāptaḥ || (fol. 40^v/111^v)
 - iti prajñāvajrāvātāraṇayoḥ samāptaḥ || (fol. 47^v/118^v)³⁸

The text ends on the same page, but there are some additional verses before the closing formula *ye dharmā*, etc. This second part of the manuscript is not dated.³⁹

Up to the third chapter, i.e. what is described here as the *maṇḍalapaṭala* is by and large the same text as the CAPĪMAU. Thus, the *pūrvasevābodhanapaṭala* corresponds to CAPĪMAU 2.3b, second word (this is where the fragment starts) to the end of chapter 3; the second section of the fragment, i.e. the *bhūmipari-graha*, corresponds to CAPĪMAU ch. 4. The rest of the CAPĪMAU is closely parallel to the fragment's third section, that of the *maṇḍala*: up to first half of ch. 8 in the CAPĪMAU the text is essentially the same; from here, up to ch. 16 in the CAPĪMAU the subject matter is similar, but the text is arranged differently; the parallel resumes with ch. 16 of the CAPĪMAU and from there on the two texts run closely parallel to each other once again.

What follows in the present fragment (i.e. the 'fourth *paṭala*') is actually the text which in the Tibetan Bka'

138/10] first 71 folios); MBB-I-42 for an unidentified short commentary to the beginning of the tantra and the fragment treated above (« NAK 5-37 [= NGMPP A 138/10] 72^v–73^v and 73^v up to the end of the ms. respectively), and MBB-I-43 for the apograph of CAPĪNI ms. N (NAK 5-38 [= NGMPP B 112/4]). I am extremely grateful to Iain Sinclair (Hamburg) and Daniel Stender (Bonn) for their help in procuring a copy of MBB-I-42.

³⁸The final section has been incorrectly described as an independent work, the "*Prajñāvajrāvātāraṇayoga*" in DBG P1:206–207. The editor is wrong in stating that the tantra is on folios 1–110. As I have shown above, the CAPĪTA ends in fact on fol. 71.

³⁹The colophon to the first part, i.e. the end of the CAPĪTA, has NS 265 = 1145 CE, which is obviously too early for this paper ms. and must be the date of a direct or indirect ancestor.

'gyur is considered the first auxiliary tantra to the CAPĪTA, the **Mantrāṃśa* (Sngags kyi cha).⁴⁰ However, it should be noted that the **Mantrāṃśa* stretches much further than what seems to be the erstwhile end of the work in this fragment.⁴¹

Although this fragment does not state anywhere that it was authored by Āryadeva, there is an important piece of evidence that suggests that it was considered to be so by at least one learned author. Incidentally, from this evidence it also follows that the Tibetan attribution of the CAPĪMAU to Āryadeva was not without basis.

This piece of evidence is an anonymous, short, and very knowledgeable commentary to the first 35 verses⁴² taken from what is called the 'fourth' chapter (*caturthapaṭala*). The long title of the work is: *Catuṣpīṭhamāṇḍalopāyikā-yāś caturthapaṭalabhāṣitamantroddhāralakṣaṇasya pañjikā* (henceforth CAPĪMAUMAPA). It survives in a single, damaged palm-leaf ms. dated 1153 CE.⁴³ There is a modern apograph of this ms. in left-slanting *devanāgarī* under NAK 5-80 = NGMPP A 141/17.⁴⁴ After the *maṅgala*-verse the author states in his *pratījñā*:

Catuṣpīṭhamahātantrād uddhṛtya jñānasāgarāt |
kṛtam śrīDevapādena Maṇḍalopāyikāmṛtam ||
tasya caturthapaṭale⁴⁵ mantroddhārasya lakṣa-
ṇam |
gurupādaprasādena vijñātam yan mayā⁴⁶ śubham ||
tad vicakṣur aham śrutvā kalyāṇasakhībhaṣaṇam |

⁴⁰The full title is: *Dpal gdan bzhi pa'i bshad pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po sngags kyi cha* = Tōh. no. 429. Tr. by Gayadhara and Shākya ye shes. The other auxiliary tantra, which already has Yogāmbara as its major figure, is the **Catuṣpīṭhavikhyātatantrārāja* (Dpal gdan bzhi pa'i rnam par bshad pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po) = Tōh. no. 430. Tr. by Smṛtījñānakīrti and revised by Bu ston. The present reconstruction of the Sanskrit title is evidently a back-translation. I propose it should read *-vyākhyātāntra-* instead of *-vikhyātāntra-*. In Bu ston's long recension of the *Rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa* (The Complete Works of Bu-ston, Part 15 (Ba). Śatapitaka Series, International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1969. p. 462.) this latter tantra is called *Rnal 'byor ma thams cad gsang ba* (perhaps to be reconstructed as **Sarvayoginīguhya[ka]*).

⁴¹The text corresponds to Tōh. 429. 231b6–244b3. The Tibetan text ends on 260a2.

⁴²The lemmata in this commentary match the verses on fol. 30^r/101^r line 1–32^r/103^r line 1 in NAK 5-37 (Tōh. 429. 231b6–233a4 in the Tibetan translation).

⁴³Note that it is miscatalogued as *Catuṣpīṭhamāṇḍalopāyikā* on the NGMPP library card. The correct number of folios is 13, and not 12. The ms. is shuffled. The sequence of the microfilm frames is: 1^v, 12^v, 12^r, 11^v, 11^r, 10^v, 10^r, 9^v, 9^r, 8^v, 8^r, 7^v, 7^r, 6^v, 7^rbis, 6^vbis, 6^r, 4^v, 4^r, 3^v, 3^r, 2^v, 2^r, 13^r, 13^v. The numeration, although old, seems to be wrong, I find that one folio is misplaced.

⁴⁴The apograph is also miscatalogued as *Catuṣpīṭhamāṇḍalopāyikā*. The fact that it is an apograph of NAK 1-1679 2/24 can be easily determined: the scribe wrote only the *sūtra* for each missing *aṅśara* and the colophon states that the copy was made from an old Newari ms. (*ity antalekhaputāt(?) prācīnanevārākṣaralikhītāt prācīnatāḍapatrapustakād uddhṛtya 1987 vaikramābde likhītām idaṃ pustakam*).

⁴⁵caturthapaṭale] *conj.*; caturthapaṭala Ms.

⁴⁶yan mayā] *conj.*; padmayā Ms.

vicariṣye dṛḍhīkartuṃ mano nityaṃ svakīyakam ||
(CAPĪMAUMAPA 1^v)

Glorious [*Ārya*]*devapāda* composed the nectar of immortality that is the *maṇḍalopāyikā*, having extracted it from that ocean of wisdom, the great tantra in Four Chapters. Through the grace of my master (*guru*) I have come to know an agreeable exposition of the ‘raising of spells’ [contained] in the fourth chapter of that [work]. I, the blind one (*vicakṣuḥ*) [i.e. unable to understand it myself], after having heard the speech of my mentor (*kalyāṇasakhi* = *kalyāṇamitra*), shall proceed to [have it written down], in order to make my mind constantly firm.

I am not quite sure that I have interpreted every verse correctly. The essentials should suffice for the time being. What the author says is that: a) there was a *maṇḍalopāyikā* composed by [*Ārya*]*deva*; b) it is based on the CAPĪTA; c) it has at least four chapters; d) the fourth chapter partially deals with the extraction (lit. ‘raising’) of encoded *mantras*. This information tallies with the colophon we find in fragment b) of the second part of NAK 5-38 (but it does not agree with the chapter colophons in the CAPĪMAU).

The fact that *Āryadeva* is here called *Śrīdevapāda* for purely metrical reasons becomes clear later on in the work when the mythical history of the tantra is given. Unfortunately this passage is marred by physical damage to the manuscript:

atraiva ca pada + + + + + + + + + + + + +
+ + + + + + + + + + + (man)+(ras tu)
yad aṣṭādaśalakṣaṃ śrīCatuṣpīṭhamahātāntrarā-
jaṃ bhagavatā śrīVajradhareṇa śuddhāvā + +
+ + (2^v)nikāye⁴⁷ bhāṣitam || tasmāc chrīVajra-
pānīnā samhṛtya dvādaśasahasrikaṃ tantrarā-
jaṃ śrīmadOḍiyāne ’śītikoṭiyogayoginībhiḥ | pra-
bodhya ta + + + + tam tasmād api śrīNā-
gārjunabhaṭṭārakena tatra gatvā mahāguptena
śrutvā dvādaśaśatikamūlatantraṃ⁴⁸ loke pracā-
ritam || etac cchrutvā Āryadevapādena tantrarā-
jasya⁴⁹ maṇḍalopāyikāṃ kṛtvā tasyāś caturthena
paṭalena mantraṣya vinyāsādi kṛtam iti samban-
dha uktaḥ || (CAPĪMAUMAPA 1^v–2^r)

And in the same [verse] the great king of tantras, the glorious Four Chapters in 180,000 [verses], which was uttered by the Lord, the Bearer of Vajra, in the congregation of ... [=

gods] of a pure abode.⁵⁰ Then Vajrapāṇi, having condensed [the long tantra] into the king of tantras in 12,000 [verses] in the glorious [land of] Oḍiyāna, ... (*prabodhya?*) ... by 80 crores of *yogins* and *yoginīs*. From that [12,000 verse version], the glorious lord Nāgārjuna disseminated in the world the basic tantra in 1,200 verses after having gone there [i.e. to Oḍiyāna] and after having heard [the 12,000 verse version] in great secret (*mahāguptena?*). Having heard this [1,200 verse tantra], the venerable *Āryadeva* composed a *maṇḍalopāyikā* for this king of tantras, and in the fourth chapter of that he taught (*kṛtam?*) [procedures relating] to mantras such as their positioning [on the body]. With this the ‘connection’ (*sambandha*) is explained.

Conclusions

The CAPĪTA in its original form lacked detailed injunctions for the *maṇḍala* initiation ritual. For this reason, an author, emulating the un-grammatical style of the tantra, started to write supplementary verses which found their way into one ms. transmission of the basic text (witnessed here by ms. A). These verses form a kind of proto-*maṇḍalopāyikā*, one that still does not recognize *Yogāmbara* as the main deity of the cult.

At some point, most likely towards the end of the tenth century, a full *maṇḍalopāyikā* emerges. It is not only an initiation manual, but a wide-ranging anthology of many kinds of practices. This version incorporates the verses of the proto-*maṇḍalopāyikā* and tweaks the text to state that *Yogāmbara* is the presiding deity of the cult. There is also an effort to appropriate this ‘new Catuṣpīṭha’ into the **Ārya* exegetical school of the Guhyasamāja. By the twelfth century the text is thought to have been authored by *Āryadeva*.

The CAPĪMAU of *Caryāvratipāda* is most likely to have been a separate recension of an extract from the work of *Āryadeva*, the one that deals strictly with the *maṇḍala*-initiation (i.e. what originally were but three chapters of the work). New chapter colophons are given to the text, making it consist of 27 chapters. This is not a unique occurrence. Another work attributed to *Caryāvratipāda* has also been identified in this article as part of the SAUMAU of *Bhūvācārya*.

⁵⁰It has been suggested by Prof. Harunaga Isaacson that the portion missing here might have read *śuddhāvāsadevanikāye* or *śuddhāvāsakāyikadevanikāye*. This conjecture is substantiated by CAPĪTA I.1.1c *śuddhāvāsikāvasthānaṃ* and the commentary to that verse by *Bhavabhaṭṭa* (CAPĪNI Kaiser ms. 1^r): *śuddhāvāsikāvasthānam itī—śuddhāvāsikā devās, tān avatīti śuddhāvāsikāvaḥ, sumeruḥ. tatra sthānaṃ sthītir yasya sa tathā. sumeruḥprṣṭhe kūṭāgārāvasthīta ity arthaḥ*. The subject here is *bhagavān*, the speaker of the tantra (the neuter stands for masculine). It is also possible that the reading was *śuddhāvāsikadevanikāye*.

⁴⁷+ + + nikāye] Ms. pc., nikāyo Ms. ac.

⁴⁸mūlatantraṃ] *em.*; mūlattantraṃ Ms.

⁴⁹tantrarājasya] *conj.*; tantr+ + (j)asya Ms.

The CAPĪMAU is translated into Tibetan with the not unfounded attribution to Āryadeva. This Tibetan conviction stretches on for at least six centuries. In the meantime the Caryāvratipāda CAPĪMAU continues to circulate in Nepal as an independent work. A copy is retrieved from there in the 18th century and re-translated by the Tibetan scholar Si tu paṅ chen. He does not change the author in the edition of the Canon he supervised.

What remained of Āryadeva's work after extracting the first three chapters and circulating it as an independent work, that is, chapter four and onwards, is separately translated into Tibetan as the **Mantrāṃśa*, one of the two auxiliary tantras to the CAPĪTA. However, the Tibetan **Mantrāṃśa* is twice the size of the surviving Āryadeva recension. The single surviving ms. of this work seems to end half-way through the text.

It is quite evident that the Tibetan translators encountered the *Catuṣpīṭha* tradition at a stage where it was still (or, yet again?) quite malleable.

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CaPīMaU Catuṣpīṭhamāṇḍalopāyikā of Caryāvratipāda. NAK 5-89/1 [= NGMPP A 1298/6 and duplicate B 30/35]. 30 folios, palm-leaf, Kuṭila script.

CaPīMaUMaPa Catuṣpīṭhamāṇḍalopāyikāyās caturthapaṭalabhāṣitamantrodhārakṣaṇasya pañjikā, anonymous. NAK 1-1679 2/24 [= NGMPP B 31/9]. 13 folios, palm-leaf, Old Newari script. Dated NS 273 = 1153 CE.

CaPīNi Catuṣpīṭhanibandha of Bhavabhaṭṭa.

K Kaiser Library 134 [= NGMPP C 14/11]. 53 folios (of which 3 stray), palm-leaf, Gomola script. Undated, 11–12th century. The first three folios of Kaiser Library 231 [= NGMPP C 26/4], otherwise containing Kamalanātha's commentary on the Hevajratāntra, have been identified by Prof. Harunaga Isaacson as three missing folios from Kaiser 134.

M MBB-I-49. 127 folios, palm-leaf, Old Newari script. Undated, 12–13th century.

N NAK 5-38 [= NGMPP B 112/4]. 74 folios, paper, Common Newari script. Undated, modern. Originally in composite codex with ms. D. of the *mūla*.

N_A MBB-I-43, apograph of N. 138 pages, paper, Common Newari script. Undated, modern.

S ASB G 9992. 9 folios (of which 1 stray), palm-leaf, Old Newari script. Undated, 11–13th century.

CaPīPa Catuṣpīṭhapañjikā of Kalyāṇavarman. NAK 3-360 [= NGMPP B 30/37]. 44 folios, palm-leaf, Old Newari script. Dated NS 132 = 1012 CE.

CaPīTa Catuṣpīṭhatantra

A NAK 1-1078 [= NGMPP B 26/23]. 76 folios, palm-leaf, Old Newari script. Undated, 11–12th century.

B NAK 4-20 [= NGMPP B 30/36]. 64 folios (of which 3 stray), hook-topped Newari script. Undated, 13–14th century.

C Cambridge University Library Add. 1704.12. 81 folios (of which 1 stray), palm-leaf, Old Newari script. Undated, 11–12th century.

D NAK 5-37 [= NGMPP A 138/10]. Only first 71 folios of this composite codex, paper, Common Newari script. Undated, modern. The rest (up to fol. 118) is here identified as Āryadeva's Maṇḍalopāyikā.

E MBB-I-41, apograph of D. 62 pages, paper, Common Newari script. Undated, modern.

DBGP1 JANARDAN PANDEY, *Durlabha Bauddha Grantha Paricaya – Pratham Bhāg*. Rare Buddhist Texts Series vol. 3. Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, 1990.

DBGP2 JANARDAN PANDEY, *Durlabha Bauddha Grantha Paricaya – Dvītyā Bhāg*. Rare Buddhist Texts Series vol. 17. Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, 1997.

IASWR mss. on microfilm copies kept at the [recently defunct] Institute for the Advanced Studies of World Religions, Stony Brook, NY. Numbers as per BSM.

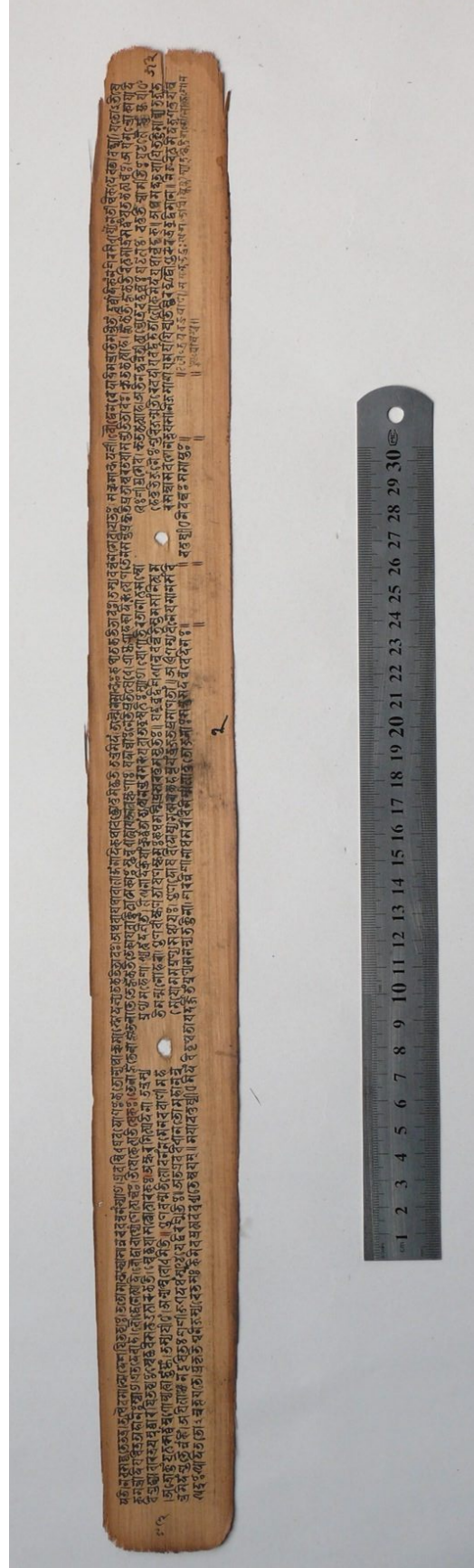
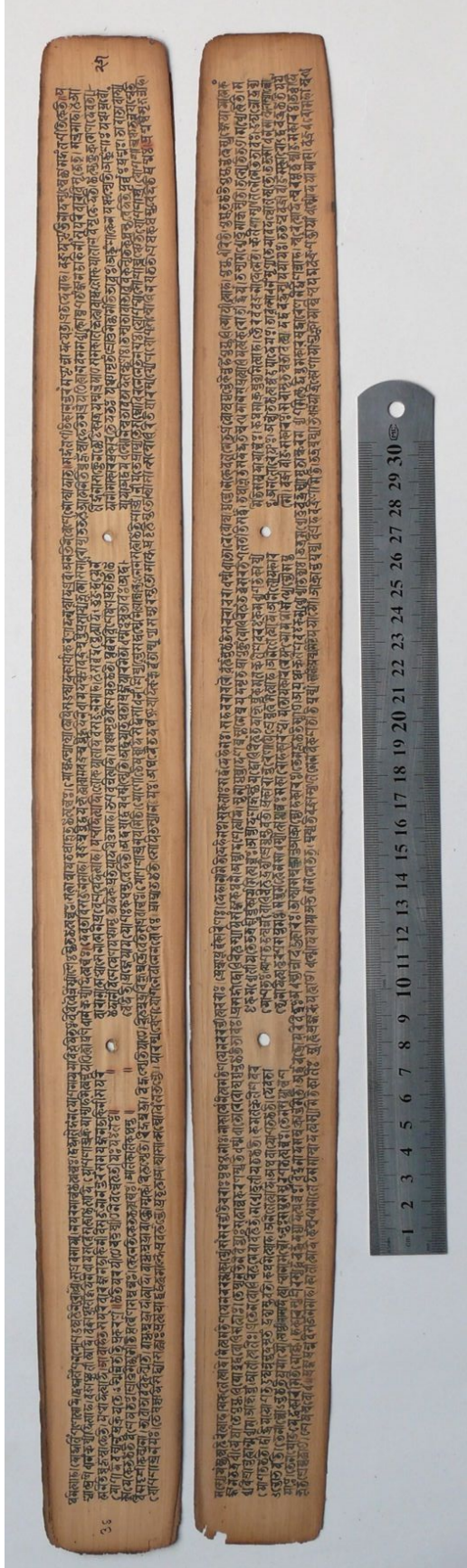
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NGMPP mss. on microfilm copies by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project. Numbers as per online catalogue at <http://134.100.72.204:3000/>.



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Ōta. catalogue numbers in DAISSETZ T. SUZUKI (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition. Catalogue & Index*, Suzuki Research Foundation, Tōkyo, 1962.

Peking Bstan 'gyur facsimile edition DAISSETZ T. SUZUKI (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition*, Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, Tōkyo-Kyōto, 1957. Numbers as per Ōta.

Petech 1984 LUCIANO PETECH, *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750–1482) – second, thoroughly revised edition*. Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma.

SaUMaU Samvarodayā Maṇḍalopāyikā of Bhūvācārya, Tōkyo University Library New 450/Old 296. 55 folios, palm-leaf, Old Newari script. Dates NS 174 = 1054 CE.

Sde dge Bstan 'gyur facsimile edition of the 18th century redaction of Situ Chos kyi 'byung gnas, Delhi, 1978. Numbers as per Tōh.

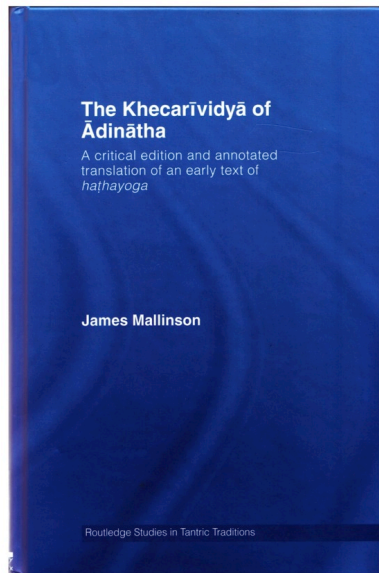
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VaTi SAMDHONG RINPOCHE & VRAJVALLABH DWIVEDI (eds.), *Vasantatilakā of Caryāvratī Śrīkr̥ṣṇācārya with commentary: Rahasyadīpikā by Vanaratna*, Rare Buddhist Text Series–7, Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, 1990.

YoSāU Yogāmbarasādhanopāyikā of Amitavajra, NAK 3-366 [= NGMPP B 23/10]. 12 folios, palm-leaf, Old Newari script.

Book announcement



The Khecarīvidyā of Ādinātha. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of an Early Text of Haṭhayoga. James Mallinson. Routledge, Oxford/New York 2007. pp. 299 Routledge Studies in Tantric Traditions. ISBN-13: 978-0-415-39115-3.

Today perhaps hundreds, if not thousands, of books are published each year, all over the world, having something to do with yoga. It is rare indeed, however, to find among them philological works that provide a solid ground for further research into yoga practices and their history. *The Khecarīvidyā of Ādinātha* by James Mallinson, a revised version of his doctoral thesis presented to the University of Oxford, is a welcome addition to the meager collection of scholarly books on yoga. The text edited for the first time in the volume, *Khecarīvidyā*, is a text on *haṭhayoga* and it teaches one particular practice, *kecarīmudrā*. It is a relatively early work (before 1400 CE), and was, as Mallinson shows, influential, with portions of it being incorporated in various other works. It is ascribed to Ādinātha, the first guru of the Nātha order, and consists of 284 verses divided into four *paṭalas*. The teaching is told in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and the Devī. The central practice taught is that of *khecarīmudrā*, which “involves the freeing and lengthening of the tongue of the yogin in order that it might be turned back and inserted above the soft palate to break through the *brahmadvāra*, the door of Brahmā, so that the yogin can drink the *amṛta*, the nectar of immortality, which is stored behind it.” (p. 4).

Mallinson used 28 manuscripts to prepare the critical edition. Of those, six (i.e. more than twenty percent) are from Nepal. Their NGMPP reel numbers are: A 999/7, E 1145/12, A 1289/9 (see the next page for a sample of this manuscript), M 23/10, C 32/12 (retake of C 86/6), A 207/9. The number and distribution of the manuscripts

attests to the broad popularity of the work in recent centuries.

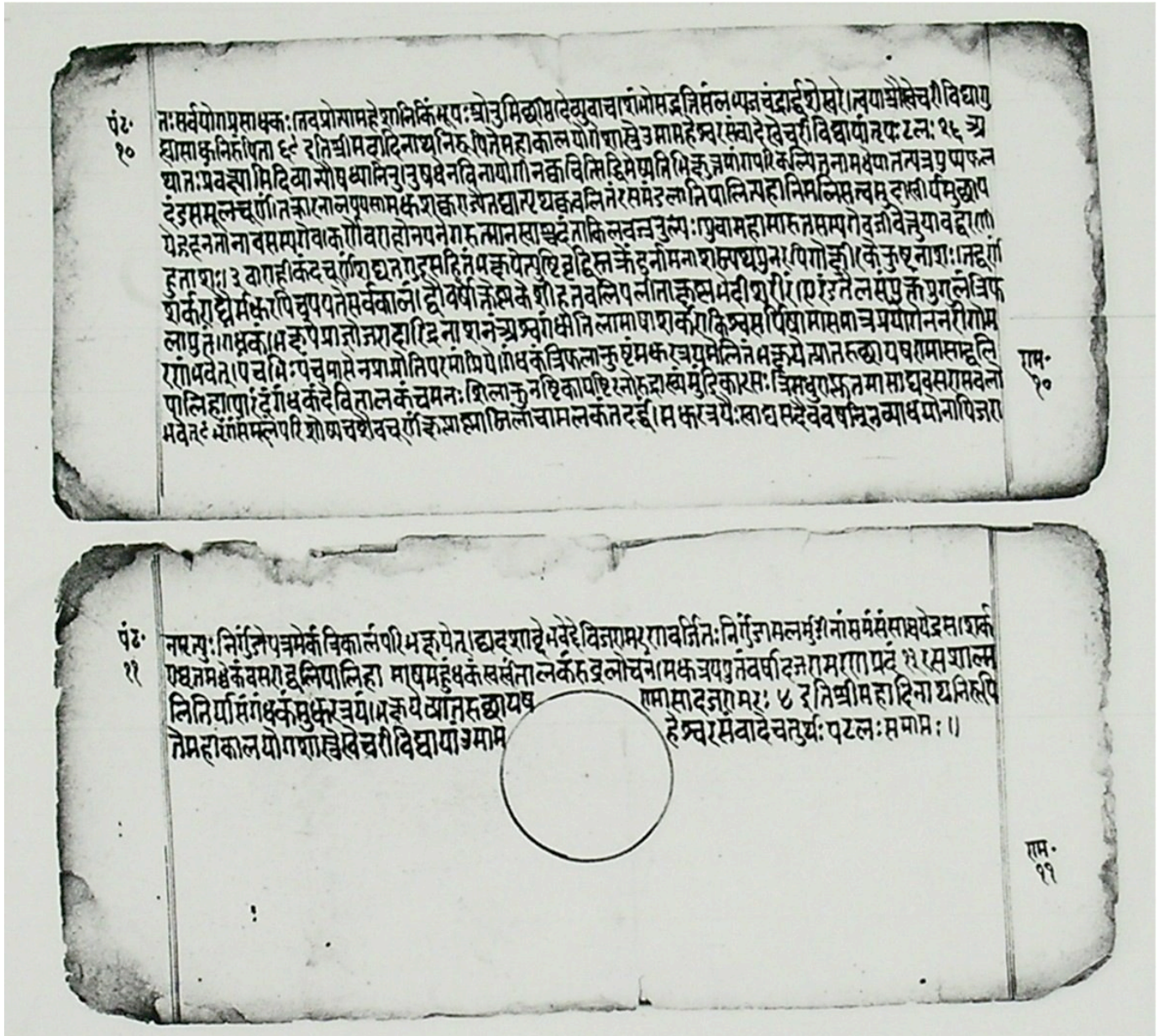
The introduction to the book includes brief discussions of the date and place of composition of the text, the witnesses of the text, the question whether the *Khecarīvidyā* is part of a larger text or an independent work, and the characteristics of its language.

The introduction is followed by a chapter titled “The haṭhayogic *khecarīmudrā*” that traces the history of the technique. Mallinson finds forerunners of the haṭhayogic *khecarīmudrā* in the Pali canon, early Sanskrit texts, and in tantric texts. After a short excursus—which serves to introduce the haṭhayogic *khecarīmudrā*—on the name of the technique, the author discusses two distinct approaches to the technique among the haṭhayoga texts. He observes that the conflict between the two contradictory aims of *khecarīmudrā*, the one characterized as *bindudhāraṇa* and the other *amṛtaplāvana*, in haṭhayoga texts reflect the taking over of haṭhayoga from its tantric origin by (orthodox) Advaita Vedāntins. He proposes the hypothesis that the text *Khecarīvidyā* was “an attempt by a school of yogins whose roots lay in Kaula tantrism at reclaiming the haṭhayogic *khecarīmudrā* from more orthodox *bindudhāraṇa*-oriented schools of *haṭhayoga*.” (p. 30) Mallinson also observes that the attempt had little effect in overturning the trend of haṭhayoga departing from its tantric origin. The author then reports on the results of his field research on the *khecarīmudrā* practice among the modern practitioners of haṭhayoga in India. The chapter is concluded with observations on the historical position that the *khecarīmudrā* technique has held among Indian ascetics.

The critical text (preceded by detailed descriptions of the manuscripts used, as well as of the ‘Ethnographic sources’, i.e. the living practitioners who Mallinson met or heard accounts of), the translation, and notes to the translation occupy most of the book, the last occupying as many pages as the first two. Testifying to the complicated transmission of the text, the book contains two appendices where editions of text fragments are presented. Appendix A is an edition of *Khecarīvidyā* 3.55–69 in a distinct recension found in the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* and one *Khecarīvidyā* manuscript (G), and Appendix B is the edition of 3 *paṭalas* (17, 18 and 27) of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*. The *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* is a curious text in which all the four *paṭalas* of the *Khecarīvidyā* are found incorporated.

This book should be interesting to anyone with a scholarly interest in yoga practice. It is a fine example of how philology and ethnological field work may be combined.

(Kengo Harimoto)



10 recto and 11 verso of a Khecarīvidyā MS (NGMPP A 1289-9/Mallinson's K4)

Fragments of a commentary on the Tattvasaṅgraha, part 1

Kengo HARIMOTO and Kazuo KANO

Introduction

Some twenty years ago, Kazunobu Matsuda (1990, 119) identified two folios in the codex photographed as NGMPP A 39/13¹ (frames 32–34) as fragments of an unknown commentary on the Tattvasaṅgraha (TS) of Śāntarakṣita.² This is part 1 of a report on those fragments. The folio we report on here, photographed in frames 34 (recto) and 33 bottom (verso), constitutes a part of the commentary on TS stanza 14.

The manuscript The folios are palm-leaf. The size of the manuscript is unknown. Yet it is probably not much different from the 49 × 5 cm reported as that of the bundle A 39/13. It is written in what is sometimes called transitional Gupta (the term adopted by the NGMPP/NGMCP), which covers various scripts in the north of South Asian sub-continent in around the 7th to the 10th centuries. Among the specimens of manuscripts written in this script found in Nepal, the script of the Skandapurāṇa manuscript dated 810 shares some features with our fragments. A notable feature in this respect is the distinction between the dental *sa* and palatal *śa* by means of their respectively open and closed top.³

Both the left and the right edges are broken off in both folios. It is, however, possible to estimate the approximate number of lost *akṣaras* due to surviving lines and the parallel text in the Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā (TSP). Five lines, except the recto of the second fragment (containing four lines), are written on each side.

The text Since the two folios, sharing physical and orthographical characteristics, are found together, and since parallel passages are found in the TSP in both folios, it is reasonable to suppose that they belong to the same text and that that is a commentary on the TS, as proposed by Matsuda. This should be mentioned here since, as discussed below, there are only slight indications that the first folio we report on here is a commentary on the TS. The second folio makes explicit references to portions of

¹This manuscript has the National Archives Kathmandu accession number 3-737. According to Matsuda (1997, n. 2; 2002, p. 264), this number is given to manuscripts seen by Bendall in 1898–99. The NGMCP title list records ten manuscripts that are given this accession number.

²Some folios photographed as A 39/13 belong to the Daśabhūmikasūtra and were published in Matsuda 1996. Among the rest, four folios belong to a Jyotiṣa work, the Sārvalī of Kalyāṇavarman and the rest to the Dhāraṇī of Amitābha.

³See Adriaensen, et al. 1998, p. 33.

the TS, and shows much more clear signs of being a commentary on the TS.⁴

The text of the first folio, the subject of this report, constitutes a part of the commentary on stanza 14 of the TS:

सुखाद्यन्वितमेतच्च व्यक्तं व्यक्तं समीक्ष्यते।
प्रसादतापदैत्यादिकार्यस्येहोपलब्धितः॥

“This [universe] is apparently understood as the manifest, accompanied by pleasure, etc. For, here [in this world] we observe their effects, such as pureness, heat, depression, etc., [everywhere].”

This stanza essentially argues for the existence of the *pradhāna* of the Sāṃkhyas; the view is later refuted in the TS. In order to analyze the text of our fragment, it is necessary to consult the TSP, since our text follows a similar strategy. Indeed, about half the text in our first fragment is shared with the TSP. In the TSP, stanza 14 of the TS is explained as referring to an argument for the existence of *pradhāna* formulated in Sāṃkhyakārikā (SK) 15:

भेदानां परिमाणात्समन्वयाच्छक्तिः प्रवृत्तेश्च।
कारणकार्यविभागादविभागाद्वैश्वरूपस्य॥

Most commentaries⁵ on this stanza, as well as the TSP, divide it into five reasons: (1) *bhedānām parimāṇāt*; (2) (*bhedānām samanvayāt*); (3) *śaktiḥ pravṛtteḥ*; (4) *kāraṇakāryavibhāgāt*; (5) *avibhāgād vaiśvarūpyasya*, and then explain each reason. According to Kamalaśīla, stanza 14 of the TS refers to the second reason (*bhedānām samanvayāt*).⁶ Kamalaśīla makes this point after citing SK 15 and explaining it. His explanation of SK 15, being very similar to those of a group of commentaries on the SK—Mātharavṛtti, Gauḍapādabhāṣya, an anonymous Vṛtti, Jayamaṅgalā, and the Suvarṇa- (or Kanaka-)saptati, extent only in Chinese translation, which in turn are similar to each other—is probably an almost verbatim copy from a lost commentary on the SK.⁷

Our text is available only starting from the middle of the discussion on the reason *samanvayāt*, which is the second in SK 15 and, according to Kamalaśīla, the reason behind TS k. 14. Having explained *samanvayāt*, the

⁴We will discuss the nature of the text as a commentary on the TS in more detail, including its relationship with the TSP, in the second part of this report.

⁵Vācaspati Mīśra's Tattvakaumudī is an exception.

⁶Cf. TSP (28,8): *tad atrācāryeṇa 'samanvayāt' ity ayam eva hetur uktaḥ...*

⁷It has long ago been noted that there are close similarities between the following commentaries on the SK: Mātharavṛtti, Gauḍapādabhāṣya, the anonymous Vṛtti, Jayamaṅgalā, and the Suvarṇa-saptati. It is thus natural to assume that a single commentary was the source of all of these. The *terminus ante quem* of that commentary is provided by the date of Paramārtha who translated the Suvarṇasaptati into Chinese in the sixth century.

author of our text moves on to discuss four other reasons mentioned in SK 15.⁸ Unlike the TSP, he does so without actually citing SK 15. Nonetheless the text of the commentary on the TS in effect appears as though it is a commentary on SK 15—to the point that it could have been mistaken as such, were it not for the order of explanations of the reasons.

The structure of the explanations of three reasons (*bhe-dānāṃ parimāṇāt, śaktiṭaḥ pravṛtṭeḥ,* and *kāryakāraṇa-vibhāgāt*) is clear. For each reason, our author first introduces an explanation almost identical to that of the TSP; then, he adds further explanations with the expression *apī ca* or *kiṃ ca*. In the conclusion of the explanation of each reason, he has a similarly formulated text that starts with an archaic expression *te manyāmahe . . . iti*.⁹

We have not found exact parallel passages to these additional explanations. It is, however, possible to find brief expressions that may reflect the same reasoning in the Jayamaṅgalā on the same kārikā. Also, the Ṭīkā on the Dvādaśāranayacakra (DDANCT), when the Sāṃkhya argument for *pradhāna* is presented, shares substantial text to the additional explanations in our text. Discussions in the Nyāyabhūṣaṇa (NBhū) may also reflect the same line of arguments.¹⁰ Interestingly, the portions in the NBhū and the DDANCT that have parallel passages also begin their exposition with the reason *anvitatvāt* (NBhū)/*samanvitatvāt* (DDANCT). They do not cite SK 15, either, nor do they have the same discussion as found in the TSP and other commentaries on the SK. Furthermore, in the Yuktidīpikā we find much more elaborate and sophisticated discussions in the same line of arguments. See our observations below (pp. 22 ff.) for more on these points.

Facsimile and Transcript

The facsimiles and transcripts are given in the pages 17–18. The following notations are employed:

- Line numbers are presented in bold typeface. They do not form part of the text on the folio.
- /// signifies where the folio breaks off. If this occurs at the beginning of a line, the text to the left of this sign is lost; when this sign is at the end of a line, the text that follows is lost.
- Text enclosed in parentheses () is hard to read. When only part of the akṣara is not clear, only that part is enclosed.

⁸This is merely an assumption, since the text is only available up to the middle of the explanation on the fourth reason *kāryakāraṇa-vibhāgāt*.

⁹This, too, is presumed, since one occurrence of *te manyāmahe* is reconstructed in our edition. For this expression, see note 52.

¹⁰In the edition and translation that follow, corresponding passages in these texts are reported in notes.

- ○ signifies the space created to clear the binding holes. In this folio, the lines above and below that are not directly affected by binding holes, too, have spaces, corresponding to the position of the binding holes. These spaces, too, are signified by the ○ symbol.
- . . . signify lost text whose length is unknown.
- + signifies lost akṣara whose numbers are relatively certain.
- The text enclosed in ` and ´ is a later addition.
- — represents a similar sign found at the beginning of the first line of the recto and the last line of the verso of this folio. The scribe indicates herewith that he left some space before he began the line, probably due to the curvature of the palm-leaf, which did not allow for a first/last line as long as the others.
- .. represent an akṣara we cannot decipher.
- . represents part of an akṣara we cannot decipher.
- * represents virāma.

Edition

In the following edition, the text enclosed in brackets (‘[’ and ‘]’) is our reconstruction of what was lost in the manuscript due to physical damage. The text enclosed in double brackets (‘[[’ and ‘]]’) found in the beginning and in the end of this edition is beyond the content of the folio, but nonetheless could be reconstructed on the basis of the content.

[[¹¹श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षुर्जिह्वाघ्राणवाग्धस्तोपस्थपा]]¹²युपादबुद्धहंकारमनांसि त्रयोदश त्रयाणां सुखदुःखमोहानां सन्निवेशविशेषाः, त्रयोदशानां त्रयोदशानामेकार्क्यभावात्। सुखाः करणप्रकाशाः। तेषां त्रयोदशानां तदेव प्रसादादि कार्यम्। दुःखाः करणप्रवृत्¹³त्तयः। तेषां तदेव शोषादि कार्यम्। मूढाः करणनियमाः। तेषां तदेव वरणा¹⁴दि कार्यम्॥

एवं¹⁵ भेदानामेकजातिसमन्वयो दृष्टः। सामान्यपूर्वकाणां शकलकपालामत्रभूषणप्रभृतीनामेकजातिसमन्वयो दृष्टः। ते मन्यामहे—प्रा¹⁶—

¹¹For this paragraph, cf. DDANCT, vol. 1, p. 314, ll. 8–13: सामान्यपूर्वकाणां च भेदानामित्यादि एकजातिसमन्वयप्रदर्शनेनार्थसुखादित्रिगुणैकजातिसमन्वयं कार्यात्मकानां तत्सन्निवेशविशेषत्वं पक्षीकृत्य ‘एककार्यत्वात्’ इति हेतुमाह तथोत्तरत्रोपसंहारात्। पञ्चानां पञ्चानामित्यादिविषया व्याप्तिं दर्शयति। तथा करणात्मकानां नेयम्। प्रसादादिशोषादिवरणादिकार्यात्मकं दृष्टं गुणत्रयैकजातिसमन्वितम्। तैरारब्धान्याकाशादीनि भूतानि एकोत्तरगुणवृद्ध्या तत्कार्यत्वात् तत्समन्वयाच्च तत्पूर्वकाणि। तथा बाह्यानामपि तैर्यग्योनमानुषदैवानां तत्पूर्वकतेति।

¹²श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षुर्जिह्वाघ्राणवाग्धस्तोपस्थपा° conj.] n/a MS

¹³दुःखाः करणप्रवृ° conj.] n/a MS. Cf. SK 12: प्रीत्यप्रीतिविषादात्मकाः प्रकाशप्रवृत्तिनियमार्थाः। अन्योन्याभिभवाश्रयजननमिथुनवृत्तयश्च गुणाः॥

¹⁴वरणा° em.] धरणा° MS. Cf. SK 13c: गुरु वरणकमेव तमः; JaMa on SK 13 (79,16): वरणापध्वंसनसादनगौरवदैव्यभीतयश्च; NBh 565,8–9: तथा तामसानां पञ्चानामेकं कार्यं दृष्टम्—वरणसादनापध्वंसवीभत्सदैव्यगौरवाणि।

¹⁵For this paragraph, cf. DDANCT, vol. 1, p. 314, ll. 13–14: तस्मात् त्रैगुण्यसमन्वितत्वाद्भेदास्त्रिगुणपूर्वकाश्चन्द्रनशकलादिवत्। शकलकपालामत्रभूषणप्रभृतीनामिति व्याप्तिदर्शनार्थं साधनस्य दृष्टान्तबाहुल्यम्।

¹⁶मन्यामहे—प्रा conj.] मन्याम. °T MS

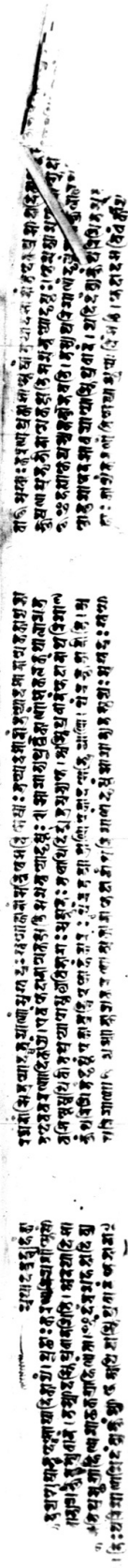


Figure 1: Unknown Tattvasaṅgraha commentary fragment A recto

Transcript

- 1 — yupādabuddhyahnikā◊ramanaṁsi trayodaśa' trayāṇāṁ sukhaduhkhamohanāṁ sanniveśavīṣeṣāḥ trayodasānām trayodasānām ekakāryabhā◊vāt* sukhāḥ
 karaṇaparakāsās teṣāṁ trayodasānām tad eva prasādādi kā(ryam) . u/// + + + + +
- 2 + + + + + + + + + + // tayas (t) eṣāṁ tad e' va' śoṣādi kāryam | mūḍhāḥ karaṇa(n)iyamās teṣāṁ ◊ tad eva dharanādi kāryam | evam bhedanām ekajātisamaṁvayo
 dīṣṭaḥ || sāmānyapūrvvakānām sakalakarapālāmātra◊bhūṣaṇaprabhīrṭīnām ekajātisamaṁvayo dīṣṭaḥ | te manyāma . e . āg bheda// + + + + + + + + + +
- 3 + + + + + + + + + + // (m)ānyam abhū(t)at pradhānām | tasmād asti pradhānam iti | anayā disā◊vasīṣṭeṣv api vītaprayogeṣv arthavibhāgaḥ sūjñātaḥ tathāpi
 dimmātram ucyaṭe | asti pradhānām bhedanām parimānā◊t* iha loka yasya karttā bhavati | tasya parimānām dīṣṭ(āṁ kulāla(h))/// + + + + + + + + + +
- 4 + + + + + + + + + + // (kaṛo)ti praśthagrahāṇām āḍhakagrāhāṇām vā | idaṁ ca mahadādi vya◊ktaṁ parimitam dīṣṭam ekā buddhir eko haṁkāraḥ pañca tannmātrāṇi
 ekādāsēndriyāṇi | pañca bhūtāṅgī | a◊to numāna sādhaṁvāno sti pradhānām | yad idaṁ vyaktam parimitam u(t)// + + + + + + + + + +
- 5 + + + + + + + + + + // niḥparimāṇam idaṁ vyaktam syāt* api cāsti pradhānām bhedanām◊ parimānāt* yasmāt kā(r)yakaranātmakanām bhedanām parimāṇam
 dīṣṭam sāmānyatas trayāḥ sukhaduhkhamo◊hāḥ kāryam karaṇam vīṣeṣās trayovimśati | bhedaśasavidham kārya// + + + + + + + + + +

ग्भेदा[त्सामान्यमभूदिति सर्वेषामेषां यत्सा]¹⁷मान्यमभूत्तत्रधानम्, तस्मादस्ति प्रधानमिति।

अनया दिशावशिष्टेष्वपि वीतप्रयोगेष्वर्थविभागः सुजातः, तथापि दिङ्मात्रमुच्यते—

अस्ति¹⁸ प्रधानं भेदानां परिमाणात्। इह लोके यस्य कर्ता भवति तस्य परिमाणं दृष्टम्। [यथा]¹⁹ कुलालः [परिमितान्मृत्पिण्डात्परिमितं घटं]²⁰ करोति प्रस्थग्राहणमाढकग्राहणं वा। इदं च महदादि व्यक्तं परिमितं दृष्टम्—एका बुद्धिरेको ऽहंकारः पञ्च तन्मात्राण्येकादशेन्द्रियाणि पञ्च भूतानीति। अतो ऽनुमानेन साधयामो ऽस्ति प्रधानं यदिदं व्यक्तं परिमितमुत्पादयतीति। यदि प्रधानं न स्यात्,²¹ निःपरिमाणमिदं व्यक्तं स्यात्॥

अपि²² चास्ति प्रधानं भेदानां परिमाणात्। यस्मात्कार्यकरणत्मात्मकानां भेदानां परिमाणं दृष्टम्। सामान्यतस्त्रयः सुखदुःखमोहाः। कार्यकरण-विशेषतस्त्रयो²³विंशतिर्भेदाः²⁴। दशविधं कार्यं [बुद्धिकर्मेन्द्रियविषयाः। त्रयोदशविधं करणं]²⁵ पञ्च बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाणि त्रिविधं चान्तःकरणं बुद्धिरहंकारो मनश्चेति। एवमादिना प्रकारेण भेदानां परिमाणं दृष्टम्।

संसर्गपूर्वकाणां²⁶ च लोके भेदानां परिमाणं दृष्टम्। तद्यथा व्रीहौ संसृष्टानां मूलाङ्कुर²⁷पर्णनालकाण्ड²⁸प्रसवशूकक्षी[रतण्डुलकणानां परिमाणम्। ते मन्यामहे—भेदात्]²⁹ प्रागभूत्संसर्ग इति यत्रैषां संसर्गो ऽभू-

¹⁷त्सामान्यं ... यत्सा° conj.] n/a MS

¹⁸For this paragraph cf. TSP 14 (26,19–24): इतश्चास्ति प्रधानम्, भेदानां परिमाणात्। इह लोके यस्य कर्ता भवति तस्य परिमाणं दृष्टम्। यथा कुलालः परिमितान्मृत्पिण्डात्परिमितं घटं करोति प्रस्थग्राहणमाढकग्राहणम्। इदं च महदादि व्यक्तं परिमितं दृष्टम्—एका बुद्धिः, एको ऽहंकारः, पञ्च तन्मात्राणि, एकादशेन्द्रियाणि, पञ्च भूतानि। अतो ऽनुमानेन साधयामः—अस्ति प्रधानं यत्परिमितं व्यक्तमुत्पादयतीति। यदि प्रधानं न स्यान्निष्परिमाणम् इदं व्यक्तं स्यात्; MāVr on SK 15: अस्ति प्रधानम्। कुतः? भेदानां परिमाणात्। लोके यत्र कर्तास्ति तस्य परिमाणं दृष्टम्। यथा कुलालः परिमितान्मृत्पिण्डात्परिमितमेव घटं कुरुते प्रस्थग्राहकम् आढकग्राहकं वा। एवं व्यक्तं परिमितम्। एका बुद्धिरेको ऽहंकारः पञ्च तन्मात्राण्येकादशेन्द्रियाणि पञ्च महाभूतानि इति त्रयोविंशतिकम्। एवमेतत्परिमितं व्यक्तं दृष्टानुमानेन साधयामो ऽस्त्यस्य कारणं प्रधानं यद्व्यक्तं परिमितमुत्पादयति [इति?]²¹। यदि च प्रधानं कारणं न स्यान्निष्परिमाणम् इदं व्यक्तं स्यात्। अस्ति चास्य परिमाणं तस्मादस्ति प्रधानम्; GauBh on SK 15: भेदानां परिमाणा[त्?]²²। लोके यत्र कर्तास्ति तस्य परिमाणं दृष्टम्। यथा कुलालः परिमितैर्मृत्पिण्डैः परिमितानेव घटान् करोति, एवं महदपि महदादिलिङ्गं परिमितं भेदतः प्रधानकार्यम्। एका बुद्धिरेको ऽहंकारः पञ्च तन्मात्राणि एकादशेन्द्रियाणि पञ्च महाभूतानीति। एवं भेदानां परिमाणादस्ति प्रधानं कारणं यद्व्यक्तं परिमितमुत्पादयति। यदि प्रधानं न स्यात्तदा निष्परिमाणमिदं व्यक्तमपि न स्यात्। परिमाणाच्च भेदानामस्ति प्रधानं यस्माद्व्यक्तमुत्पन्नम्।

¹⁹यथा conj.] n.l. MS

²⁰परिमितान्मृत्पिण्डात्परिमितं घटं conj.] n/a MS

²¹त्पादयतीति। यदि प्रधानं न स्यात्, conj.] n/a MS

²²For this paragraph, cf. DDANCT, vol. 1, p. 314, ll. 15–16: इतश्चास्ति प्रधानं भेदानां परिमाणात्। आध्यात्मिकानां कार्यकारणात्मकानां परिमाणं दृष्टम्। सामान्यतस्त्रयः सुखदुःखमोहाः, कार्यकरणविशेषतः षोडश भावाः . . .

²³कार्यकरणविशेषतस्त्रयो° em.] कार्यं करणं विशेषास्त्रयो° MS

²⁴विंशतिर्भे° em.] विंशति। भे° MS

²⁵[बुद्धि... करणं] conj.] n/a MS. Cf. MāVr on SK 32: कार्यमिति शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धाः पञ्च, वचनादानविहरणोत्सर्गानन्दाः पञ्च। एते दश विषयाः कार्यमित्युच्यते; JaMa on SK 32 (94,23–25): तस्य करणस्य दशविधं कार्यम्। तत्र शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धाः पञ्च, वचनादानविहरणोत्सर्गानन्दाः पञ्चेति दशधा।

²⁶For this paragraph, cf. DDANCT, vol. 1, p. 318, ll. 4–5: तस्मात् परिमितत्वात् संसर्गपूर्वका भेदाः, व्रीहाविव संसृष्टा मूलाङ्कुरपर्णनालकाण्डप्रसवतुषशूक-पुष्पक्षीरतण्डुलकणभावाः यथा वा शुक्रशोणितसंसृष्टाः कललावृद्धमांसपेशिशरीरव्यूहबाल्य-कौमारयौवनस्थाविरा भावा इति।

²⁷मूलाङ्कुर° em.] मूलकुर° MS

²⁸काण्ड° em.] काण्डा° MS

²⁹रतण्डुल... भदात् conj.] n/a MS. Cf. YD on SK 15a (141,18–19): तद्यथा मूलाङ्कुरपर्णनालकाण्डप्रसवतुषशूकपुष्पक्षीरतण्डुलकणानाम्; JaMa on SK

तत्रधानम्, तस्मादस्ति प्रधानं कारणं यत् इदं व्यक्तमुत्पन्नमिति॥

इतश्च³⁰ प्रधानमस्तीति पश्यामः। शक्तितः प्रवृत्तेः। इह³¹ लोके यो यस्मिन्³²नर्थे प्रवर्तते स तत्र शक्तः, यथा तन्तुवायः पटकरणे शक्तः। [अतः साधयामः—प्रधानस्यास्ति शक्तिर्यथा]³³ व्यक्तमुत्पादयति, सा च शक्तिर्निराश्रया³⁴ न भवति, तस्मादस्ति प्रधानं यत्र शक्तिर्वर्तते इति॥

किं³⁵ च शक्तितः प्रवृत्तेः। कार्यकारणानामधिष्ठितानामधिष्ठितानां च लोके शक्तिस्त्रिष्वपि कालेष्ववतिष्ठते—प्राक्प्रवृत्तेः प्रवृत्तिकाले चो[र्ध्वकाले च। प्राक्प्रवृत्तेः शक्तिरवतिष्ठते, शक्ता]³⁶नां प्रवृत्त्युपपत्तेः। प्रवृत्तिकाले ऽप्यवतिष्ठते तस्मादपवर्गदर्शनात्। कार्यकाले³⁷ ऽपि, तद्व्यतिरेकाभावात्, पृथक्परिमाणदर्शनाभावाच्च। इदं व्यक्तमव्यक्तवत्। ते मन्यामहे प्रागस्य भेदादस्त्यसावव्यक्ते शक्ति³⁸रवस्थिता [या व्यक्त-भावमापद्यते,]³⁹ या च सा शक्तिस्तत्रधानमिति।

इतश्चास्ति⁴⁰ प्रधानं कार्यकारणवि⁴¹भागात्। इह लोके कार्यकारण-योर्विभागो दृष्टः। तद्यथा मृत्पिण्डः कारणं घटः कार्यं घटो मधूदकपयसां धारणसमर्थो न तु मृत्पिण्डः। एवमिदं व्यक्तं म[हदादि कार्यं दृष्ट्वा

15 (80,25–26): यथा मूलाङ्कुरपत्रकाण्डप्रसवपुष्पतण्डुलकणानां भेदानां व्रीहिः . . . ; NBh 562,21 ff.: यथा व्रीहौ संश्लिष्टानां मूलाङ्कुरपर्णनालकाण्डप्रसवशूक-तुषपुष्पक्षीरतण्डुलकणानां परिमाणं दृष्टम्. See also note 26 above.

³⁰For this paragraph, cf. TSP 14 (27,12–15) इतश्चास्ति प्रधानम्—शक्तितः प्रवृत्तेः। इह लोके यो यस्मिन्नर्थे प्रवर्तते स तत्र शक्तः, यथा तन्तुवायः पटकरणे। अतः साधयामः—प्रधानस्यास्ति शक्तिर्यथा व्यक्तमुत्पादयतीति। सा च शक्तिर्निराश्रया न सम्भवति, तस्मादस्ति प्रधानं यत्र शक्तिर्वर्तते इति; MāVr on SK 15 (19,22–26): इतश्चास्ति—शक्तितः प्रवृत्तेः। इह लोके यो यस्मिन्नर्थे शक्तः स तस्मिन्नेव प्रवर्तते। तद्यथा कुम्भकारो घटघटिकाशरावोदञ्चवादिकरणे शक्तः। अतः साधयामः प्रधानस्याप्यस्ति शक्तिर्यथा शक्त्या व्यक्तमुत्पादयति। सा च शक्तिर्निराश्रया न भवति। तस्मादस्ति प्रधानं यत्र शक्तिरवतिष्ठते; GauBh on SK 15 (80,19–21) तथा शक्तितः प्रवृत्तेः। इह लोके यो यस्मिन् शक्तः स तस्मिन्नेवार्थे प्रवर्तते यथा कुलालो घटस्य करणे समर्थो घटमेव करोति न पटं रथं वा।

³¹प्रवृत्तेः। इह em.] प्रवृत्ते इह MS

³²यो यस्मि° em.] यो यस्मि° MS

³³अतः . . . शक्तिर्यथा conj.] n/a MS.

³⁴श्रया em.] श्रयो° MS

³⁵For this paragraph, cf. DDANCT, vol. 1, p. 319, ll. 7–11: इतश्चास्ति शक्तिमदवस्थात्मात्रत्वाच्छक्तीनाम्। कार्यकारणानामधिष्ठितानामधिष्ठितानां च स्वकार्यसमर्थस्त्रिषु कालेषु शक्तयो ऽवतिष्ठते। तद्यथा—प्राक् प्रवृत्तेः शक्त्यवस्थानमनुमीयते प्रवृत्त्युपलब्धेः, प्रवृत्तिकाले ऽवस्थानमपवर्गदर्शनात्, प्रवृत्त्युत्तरकालावस्थानं प्रवृत्त्यतिरेकेणावस्थानदर्शनात्। एवमाद्यन्तवद्व्यक्तमुपलभ्य व्यक्तशक्त्यवस्थास्ति, अवस्थितशक्तेराद्यवसानाभावात् खपुष्पवत्, अवस्थितशक्तेरेव तद्भावाद्युदः पिण्डादिभाववत्। तस्माद् व्यक्तशक्तिप्रवृत्त्युपलब्धेरस्ति प्रधानमिति।

³⁶र्ध्वकाले . . . शक्ता° conj.] n/a MS. Cf. DDANCT, vol. 1, p. 319, ll. 8: प्राक् प्रवृत्तेः शक्त्यवस्थानमनुमीयते प्रवृत्त्युपलब्धेः.

³⁷कार्यकाले em.] कार्यप्रवृत्तिकाले MS

³⁸शक्ति° em.] शक्ती° MS

³⁹या व्यक्तभावमापद्यते conj.] n/a (partly visible) MS. Cf. JaMa on SK 15 (81,12–13): यासौ शक्तिः सैवा(व?)व्यक्तभावमापद्यते इति सामान्यतोदृष्टम्

⁴⁰For this paragraph, cf. TSP 14 (27,16–19) इतश्चास्ति प्रधानम्, कारणकार्यविभागात्। इह लोके कार्यकारणयोर्विभागो दृष्टः। तथा हि मृत्पिण्डः कारणम्, घटः कार्यम्, स च मृत्पिण्डाद्विभक्तस्वभावः। तथा हि घटो मधूदकपयसां धारणसमर्थः, न मृत्पिण्डः। एवमिदं महदादि कार्यं दृष्ट्वा साधयामः—अस्ति प्रधानं यस्मान्महदादि कार्यमुत्पन्नमिति; MāVr on SK 15 (19,28–20,4): इतश्चास्ति—कारणकार्यविभागात्। करोतीति कारणम्, क्रियत इति कार्यं तयोर्विभागस्तस्मात्। तद्यथा मृत्पिण्डः कारणं घटः कार्यम्। स एव हि मधूदकपयःप्रभृतीनां धारणे समर्थः, न तु मृत्पिण्डः। एवं व्यक्ताव्यक्तयोर्विभागः। अन्यद्व्यक्तं महदहङ्कारतन्मात्रेन्द्रियमहाभूतपर्यन्तं, तच्च कार्यम्। अन्यच्च अव्यक्तं प्रधानं विपरीतं कारणमिति। तस्मादस्ति प्रधानम्; GauBh on SK 15 (80,22–81,2): तथास्ति प्रधानं कारणं कुतः कारणकार्यविभागात्। करोतीति कारणम्। क्रियत इति कार्यम्। कारणस्य कार्यस्य च विभागो यथा घटो दधिमधूदकपयसां धारणे समर्थः, न तथा तत्कारणं मृत्पिण्डः। मृत्पिण्डो वा घटं निष्पादयति न चैवं घटो मृत्पिण्डम्। एवं महदादि लिङ्गं दृष्टानुमीयते—अस्ति विभक्तं तत्कारणं यस्य विभाग इदं व्यक्तमिति।

⁴¹कारणवि° em.] कारणवि° MS

साधयामः—अस्ति प्रधानम्, यस्मान्महदादि कार्यमुत्पन्नमिति। ...]

Translation

... The thirteen [faculties (*karaṇas*)], [hearing, touch, sight, taste, smell, speech, hand, genitals, a]nus, foot, intellect, self-awareness, and mind⁴² are specific combinations of pleasure, pain and confusion;⁴³ for, every one of the thirteen [faculties] participate in one effect. Pleasant [things]⁴⁴ illuminate [those thirteen] faculties.⁴⁵ The effect [of those pleasant things] is the same pureness, etc. throughout the thirteen faculties.⁴⁶ Unpleasant [things]

⁴²We have supplied *śrotatvakcaṣṣurjihvāghrāṇavāgghastopasthā-pā(yu)*° to complete the thirteen *karaṇas* of Sāṃkhya. The order follows that of a similar compound in the Suśrutasaṃhitā Śarīra-sthāna 1.4 where *pāyu* is followed by *pāda*. A different reconstruction, however, is possible as long as all the thirteen *karaṇas* are listed. Also, any synonym of those *karaṇas* could have been used. Ten of them are listed in SK 26: *buddhīndriyāṇi caṣṣu-śrotagrāṇarasanasparśanakāni | vākṣpāṇipādapāyūpasthān karmendriyāṇy āhuḥ ||*.

⁴³See NBhū, 564,22 ff. for a similar discussion: *nanūktam pramānam—śabdasparsārūparasagandhāḥ pañcāpi trayānām sukha-duḥkhamohānām sanniveśaviśeṣāḥ | kasmāt? pañcānām pañcānām ekakāryabhāvāt | sāttvikarājāsātamasapañcakatrayāvārodhārtham vipśābhīdhānam | ekakāryabhāvād ity atrāpi vipśā draṣṭavyā | tatra sāttvikānām pañcānām ekam kāryam dṛṣṭam—prasādālāghavaprasavābhīṣvaṅgoddharṣaprītayāḥ | tathā hi—putras te jāta itī śabdām śrutvāsya prasādāḥ svasthendriyam bhavati | dehasya laḡhutvaṃ lāghavam, tuṣṭasādhanaadātrtvaṃ prasavaḥ, tatraiṣā śaktir abhiṣvaṅgaḥ, romāñcanam uddharṣaḥ, prītiḥ sukham iti | evaṃ sparśādiṣv api yojyam || tathā rājasānām pañcānām ekam kāryam dṛṣṭam—śoṣatāpabhedastambhodvegāpadveṣāḥ | tatra putras te mṛta itī śabdām śrutvāsya śoṣo bhavaty udakaprārthanaparātvaṃ, tāpo duḥkham, bhedo 'śruprasvedāmedhyādyutsargaḥ, stambhaḥ—kiṃ karomīty upāyāparijñānam, aratir udvegāḥ, pratikūlakaraṇecchāpadveṣāḥ | evaṃ sparśādiṣv api yojyam || tathā tāmasānām pañcānām ekam kāryam dṛṣṭam—varaṇasādanāpadhvamsabībhatsadainyagauravāṇi | tatra putras te mṛta itī śabdām śrutvāsya varaṇam kriyāpratibandhaḥ, sādanaṃ viṣaṇnatā, apadhvamsanaṃ nistejastvaṃ pratyaualo vā, bibhatso vikṣatarūpatvaṃ, dainyam yat kiṃcit prārthanaparātvaṃ, gauravaṃ svastādīnām apy utkṣepaṇādīdyasāmāthyam | evaṃ sparśādiṣv api yojyam | etaiś ca śabdādi-bhir ārabdhāni pṛthivyādīni pañca mahābhūtāni, tasmāt tāny api sattvādīnām sanniveśaviśeṣamātram | tathā karaṇātmanām sukha-duḥkhamohānām trayodaśānām tad eva kāryam prasādādi | tathā devamanuṣyatiryaḡyonyātmaḥkānām prakāśapravṛttiniyamānām tad eva kāryam prasādādi | tasmāt sarvaṃ jagat sukhādīnām sanniveśamātram iti ||*. See also the passage in the DDANCT cited in note 11. Cf. SK 36ab, *ete pradīpakalpāḥ parasparavilakṣaṇā guṇaviśeṣāḥ*, and commentaries thereon, especially the Jayamaṅgalā, which glosses *guṇaviśeṣāḥ* with *traya eva guṇā anyonyābhībhavadvāreṇa pariṇatāḥ śrotādivyapadeśabhāḡa ity arthaḥ*.

⁴⁴We assume behind the masculine adjective *sukhāḥ* (and *duḥkhāḥ* and *mūḡhāḥ* below), the noun *viśayāḥ* or *arthāḥ* is to be understood. In the parallel discussion in the NBhū cited in the previous note, it would be the *dvandva* compound *śabdasparsārūparasagandhāḥ* that has the masculine ending because of the final member of the compound *gandha* is a masculine word. In our text, however, such a compound is not mentioned, and the pleasant/unpleasant/stupifying [...] should include actions made by the motor faculties (*karmendriyas*).

⁴⁵For this sentence and the following, see SK 11–13.

⁴⁶Cf. TSP 27,4–5: *prasādālāghavābhīṣvaṅgoddharṣaprītayāḥ sattvasya kāryam | sukham iti ca sattvam evocāte |*

activate the [thirteen] faculties.⁴⁷ The effect [of those unpleasant things] is the same dryness, etc. throughout the [thirteen faculties].⁴⁸ Stupefying [things] restrain faculties.⁴⁹ The effect [of those stupefying things] is the same concealment, etc., throughout the [thirteen faculties].⁵⁰

Similarly, we observe the continuity of [being] the same kind in derivatives. We observe the continuity of [being] the same kind in potsherd, half-cup, drinking vessel [that are made of clay, and] ornaments [made of gold], etc., that are preceded by the same [material].⁵¹ Therefore,⁵² we postulate [the following]: before [things] derive, there was a universal; thus the universal that existed [before] all these [derivatives] is *pradhāna*. Therefore *pradhāna* exists.

By this direction, [viz., the argument from the viewpoint of continuation (*samanvaya*),] the difference in function in the remaining [four] positive inferences, too, becomes a matter of course; still, a brief exposition is given [below].⁵³

⁴⁷See SK 12ab (*prītyapṛitviśādātmakāḥ prakāśapravṛttiniyamārthāḥ*) for the reconstruction, *duḥkhāḥ karaṇapravṛttitayāḥ*.

⁴⁸Cf. TSP 27,5–6: *tāpaśoṣabhedastambhodvegāpadveṣā* [em. ° *padvegā* in edition] *rajasāḥ kāryam | rajas ca duḥkham |*.

⁴⁹Cf. SK 12ab (cited in note 47).

⁵⁰We have emended the reading *tad eva dharaṇādī*° to *tad eva varaṇādī* on the basis of SK 13 and parallel passages. Note that *va* and *dha* are very similar to each other in our script. The manuscript could perhaps also be read as *tad eva varaṇādī*°. The TSP (27,6–7) has *dainyāvaraṇasādanādhvamsabībhatsagauravāṇi tamasāḥ kāryam | tamaś ca moḡśābdenocyate |*. We note that the author of our text twice mentions the second item in the list of effects in the TSP (with regard to *duḥkha/rajas* and *mūḡha/tamas*). This is probably because Kamalaśīla placed the item used in TS 14 in the beginning of those *dvandva* compounds, while our author followed the traditional Sāṃkhya list. The three effects are found in the parallel in the DDANCT (*prasādādiśoṣādivaraṇādīkāryātmakam*). See note 11.

⁵¹The compound *śakalakapālāmātrabhūṣaṇādīnām* appears somewhat clumsy although the intention of the argument is more or less clear. The Māṭharavṛtti (19,19–20) has *asmād eva kāraṇāc śakalakapālāmātra[sic] samastasamanvayaḥ | bhūṣaṇādīn dṛṣṭvā tattvena darśayati |*. Also, the Jayamaṅgalā has *samanvayāt—bhedānām iti vartate | samanvayo 'nugamaḥ | ekajātyanugamād ity arthaḥ | ya ekajātyanugatā bhedāś teṣām ekam eva tathābhūtam kāraṇam dṛṣṭam | yathā kaṭakakeyūrādīnām suvarṇapīṇḡaḥ* on SK 15 (81,5–7). It appears as though our text has entries from different series in one compound. However, exactly the same compound *śakalakapālāmātrabhūṣaṇaprabhṛtinām* is found in the parallel passage in the DDANCT (see note 15). It is also used in the commentary *Pa-dhati* on Vākyapadīya 1.1 (p. 6, l. 21). This compound, thus, was probably well-known among the Sāṃkhyas, and therefore there is no need to suspect the reading we have here is a corruption.

⁵²We keep the reading *te manyāmahe* in our text. The expression is frequently used in the Mahābhāṣya. The use of the third person pronoun, even when the subject is in another person, in the sense of 'as such,' 'thus,' etc. in the Vedic and even in the classical Sanskrit is known. See A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, Oxford 1916, § 195B 3.b, pp. 294–5; J. S. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden 1886, § 445, pp. 344–5.

⁵³We understand that the purpose of this paragraph is to illustrate why only the reason *samanvayāt* is alluded in TSP 14. It also justifies why the other reasons are mentioned in this commentary. Cf. TSP (28,8): *tad atrācāryeṇa 'samanvayāt' ity ayam eva hetur*

Pradhāna exists since derivatives have a quantity.⁵⁴ In this daily life we observe that when something has a creator, it has a quantity. For example, a potter produces a pot that has a certain quantity from a lump of clay of a certain quantity—a pot that holds the volume of *prastha* or *ādhaka*. Also, we observe that the manifested (*vyakta*), which are *mahat*, etc., has a quantity—one thinking faculty; one self-awareness; five subtle elements; eleven faculties; [and] five elements. Accordingly, we establish, based on an inference, that there is *pradhāna* that produces this manifested that has a quantity. If there was no *pradhāna* then this manifested [universe] would have no [limited] quantity.

Also,⁵⁵ *pradhāna* exists since derivatives have a quantity. [To paraphrase,] for, we observe that derivatives, which are either effects or instruments, have a quantity. When seen collectively, [the derivatives are] three, i.e., pleasure, pain and confusion. In accordance to the division in the effects and instruments,⁵⁶ the derivatives are twenty-three: there are ten kinds of effects,⁵⁷ i.e., the objects of sense and motor faculties. Instruments are thirteen: five sense faculties, five motor faculties; and three kinds of internal faculties: thinking faculty, self-awareness, and mind. In this or other ways, we observe

uktah | pariśiṣṭānām upalakṣaṇārthaḥ | “Now, there [in the TS] the *ācārya* (Śāntarākṣita) mentions only this *hetu*. It represents the remaining [reasons (*hetus*)].” Interestingly, the two texts, the NBhū and the DDANCT, where we find parallel passages to the arguments not present in the TSP (at the same time lacking the arguments present in the TSP) also place the same reason *samanvayāt* first.

⁵⁴Now this commentary introduces the remaining four reasons mentioned in SK 15. This is contrary to the strategy taken by Kamalaśīla. He, when commenting TS k. 14, introduces SK 15 in the outset. He interprets each reason, presumably copying the text from a commentary on the SK at his disposal. (The text of the TSP on TS k. 14 shares much with the commentaries on SK 15 except the *Yuktidīpikā* and the *Tattvakaumudī*.) Then he gives the explanation of TS k. 14 at the end. Our author, although the beginning of the commentary on TS k. 14 is lost, probably has started explaining the stanza itself and went on to introduce the four other arguments of SK 15 without quoting it. This first paragraph on the reason *parimāṇāt* has close parallels with the TSP, MāVṛ, GauBhā. Reconstructions in the edition in this paragraph are based on the parallels, particularly the TSP.

⁵⁵Now our author introduces another interpretation of the reason *bhedānām parimāṇāt*. In his interpretations of the reasons listed in SK 15 he is consistent in first introducing the interpretation found in the TSP and many commentaries on the SK, and then introducing another with phrases such as *api ca* or *kiṃ ca*. Note that in the following, what are counted as twenty-three are not the usual Sāṃkhya’s twenty-five *tattvas* sans *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*. Dividing *vyakta* into the effect (*kārya*) and the instrument (*kaṛaṇa*), and the *kārya* into ten is attested in SK 32: *karaṇam trayodaśavidhaṃ tadāharaṇadhāraṇaprakāśakaram | kāryam ca tasya daśadhāhāryam dhāryam prakāśyam ca ||*

⁵⁶We have emended the reading *kāryam karaṇam viśeṣas* to *kāryakaraṇaviśeṣataḥ*. This is the reading found in the parallel passage in the DDANCT (see note 22), and is more intelligible.

⁵⁷See SK 32c: *kāryam ca tasya daśadhā*; MāVṛ on SK 32 (36,22–24): *kāryam iti śabdasparśarasarūpagandhāḥ pañca, vacanādānaviharaṇotsargānandāḥ pañca | ete daśa viśayāḥ kāryam ity ucyate |*

the quantity of derivatives.

Also,⁵⁸ we observe in daily life that derivatives that arise from a compound have a quantity. For example, [we observe] a [limited] quantity in the root, shoots, leaves, stalk, joints, flowers, awn, sap, paddy, and grain that are fused in a rice [grain]. Thus we think that a compound existed before [all these] derivatives [arose]; thus where the compound of [all] these [derivatives] existed, that is *pradhāna*; therefore, *pradhāna*, the cause, exists, from which this manifested [world] arose.

For the following reason, too, it is our opinion that *pradhāna* exists: for, [effects] take place according to [their] capabilities (*śakti*).⁵⁹ In our daily life [we observe] that if A acts on the object B, A is endowed with capability with regard to B; for example, a weaver is endowed with capability with regard to effecting clothes.⁶⁰ Therefore we

⁵⁸This paragraph constitutes yet another interpretation of the reason *bhedānām parimāṇāt*. The first sentence, up to the example of rice, has a close parallel in the DDANCT. (See note 26.) A parallel discussion, albeit much longer, is found in the YD on SK 15a: *yat parimitam tasya sata utpattir dṛṣṭā | tadyathā mūlāṅkuraparṇanāladanādbasatūṣaśūkapuṣpakṣīratāṅḍulakāṇānām | parimitās ca mahadahamkārendriyatanmātramaḥbhūtalakṣaṇabhedāḥ | tasmāt satkāraṇapūrvakāḥ | yad eṣām kāraṇam tad avyakam |* Cf. also NBhū 562,21 ff.: *kiṃ ca parimitatvān mūlādivat | yathā vrīhau saṃśliṣṭānām mūlāṅkuraparṇanālakāṇḍa-prasavaśūkatuṣapūṣpakṣīratāṅḍulakāṇānām parimāṇam dṛṣṭam |*

⁵⁹This paragraph moves on to the commentary on the phrase *śaktitah pravṛtteḥ* of uncited SK 15. The first interpretation, just like the previous interpretation on *bhedānām parimāṇāt*, starts with a parallel paragraph to the ones found in the TSP and SK commentaries such as the MāVṛ, GauBhā. See note 30.

⁶⁰This interpretation of the reason *śaktitah* is probably an old one since almost the same text is found in parallel passages in the MāVṛ, GauBhā and the TSP. Despite that, the argument seems to contain several problems, including textual ones. One is that this example has a potential danger of annulling the argument, since the weaver may be seen analogous to *puruṣa*, rather than *pradhāna*. Thus the argument could be used to argue that *puruṣa* has *śakti*. Rather, in order to make the point that the potential/capability lies in the cause, it might have been more appropriate to state that the threads (*tantu*) have the potential. It is in fact possible to emend the text to read *yathā tantavaḥ paṭakarāṇe śaktāḥ* with minor corrections. Nonetheless, since this part is extant in our fragment, and because of the parallel passages, we do not emend the text here. Other commentaries on the SK that do not share the exact reading also support the reading *tantuvāyah*. In the Gauḍapādabhāṣya the example is not a weaver but a potter (*yathā kulālo ghaṭasya karaṇe samartho ghaṭam eva karoti na paṭam ratham vā*). There it is clearly intended that the one who has the potential/capability is a human creator. Another parallel in the Māṭharavṛtti where again a potter is mentioned in a similar formulation as ours (*tadyathā kumbhakāro ghaṭaghatikāśarāvodañcanādīkaraṇe śaktah*) further suggests that the reading *tantuvāyah* is not an error in the transmission of our fragment. This potential danger might have been realized by the early Sāṃkhyas since the YD has only a remnant of this argument in the beginning of the commentary on the reason *śaktitah pravṛtteḥ* (See Wezler and Motegi 1998, p. 144, l. 32–145,3) and spends most effort in arguing from the point of view that *pradhāna* is *śakti*, the argument somewhat parallel to the second interpretation on the reason *śaktitah pravṛtteḥ* below. This line of argument might have arisen from the realization of the potential difficulty in the original interpretation. The use of the word *adhiṣṭhita* and *anadhiṣṭhita* below presupposes the role of an intelligent attendant

establish that *pradhāna* has *śakti* with which [it] produces the manifested (*vyakta*). And this *śakti* is not without a locus. Therefore *pradhāna* exists in which *śakti* resides.⁶¹

Furthermore, [*pradhāna* exists] since [events] take place according to capabilities.⁶² In our daily life [we observe that] the capability of effects and causes, whether or not being attended [by *puruṣa*], is consistent throughout three time periods—before an event, at the time of the event, and after the event. Prior to an event, the capability is established; for, it is reasonable that the capable [causes] take effect.⁶³ [The *śakti*] is stable at the time of an event, too[, i.e., it does not disappear when it has started to

in producing effects (cf. SK 17b).

⁶¹Again, as formulated, this argument appears circular. *Pradhāna* has already been mentioned as the locus of *śakti* two sentences earlier (*pradhānasyāsti śaktir yayā vyaktam utpādayati*); yet on the basis of that premise, it is argued that *pradhāna* exists in this sentence. We might again suspect a textual problem in the transmission of an early commentary on the SK. The sentence *ataḥ sādhyāmaḥ pradhānasyāsti śaktir yayā vyaktam utpādayati* contains two difficulties. One is the use of the word *pradhāna* already in that sentence; and the other is the verb *utpādayati*—the subject is not clear. Even though the most of the sentence is conjectured on the basis of parallel passages in the TSP and MāVṛ, we do not attempt to emend the text. Again, it appears that the reading in the old commentary on the SK on which many commentaries were based was very close to what is found in the TSP. We doubt that the author of our text had access to a commentary on the SK that had a better reading.

⁶²As mentioned in note 60, this argument is refined compared to the preceding interpretation, probably the original interpretation of the reason *śaktitah pravṛtteḥ*. The terms *adhiṣṭhita* and *anadhiṣṭhita* alludes to the argument for *puruṣa*, *adhiṣṭhānāt*, in SK 17. A close parallel discussion is found in the DDANCT (see note 35). Also, somewhat similar discussions in wording to the discussion here are found in the NBhū (563,9 ff.): *śaktiśabdena cāvyaktarūpeṇāvasthitam kāryam evocyste | tasya vyaktabhāvāpatih pravṛtir ity ucyate | pravṛtteḥ praḡ apy asti śaktiḥ, labdhātmakānām pravṛttidarśanāt | pravṛttikāle 'py asti, tirobhāvarśanāt | tadūrdhvam apy asti, punaḥ pravṛttidarśanāt | tad evaṃ yataḥ śakteḥ sarvaṃ vyaktaṃ pravartate, sā śaktiḥ sadāvasthāyini pradhānam ity ucyate |* and the JaMa on SK 15 (81,10–13): *śaktitah pravṛtteḥ ceti | iha kulādisaktipūrvikā ghaṭādīnām pravṛtir drṣṭā nāsaktipūrvikā | eṣām avigāhyādhyātmikānām pravṛtir drṣyate | tataś ca pravṛtter janitayā śaktiyā bhavitavyam | yāsau śaktiḥ saivāvyaktabhāvam āpadyata iti sāmānyatodṛṣṭam |* Note the use of *avigāhyādhyātmikānām* (a variant *apī bhāyādhyātmikānām* is recorded) in the JaMa.

⁶³Note that most of this sentence translates a reconstructed text. Based on the parallel passage in the DDANCT, most of the reconstruction is relatively secure. The only difficulty is the genitive plural word at the end of the reconstruction. The DDANCT does not have an equivalent. We chose the reading *śaktānām*, for the phrase *... nām pravṛtityupapatteḥ* should presumably state something rather obvious. Even the reading *śaktīnām* might be possible, although it makes the phrase apparently tautological. The YD has discussions in the same line of thought (cf. note 60), though they are much more sophisticated. An interesting point is that unlike in the preceding discussion, where *pradhāna* was the locus of *śakti*, here (and in the YD) *pradhāna* is *śakti*. We think that the discussion should contain the following points: in order for any event to take place, there has to be *śakti*; events can take place without the presence of *puruṣa*; effects in turn become the cause for the next event (thus *śakti* is preserved).

cause an event]; for, we observe the disappearance [of the cause] from the [effect].⁶⁴ Also, at the time of effect,⁶⁵ [the capability is established]; for [the effect] is not without it (*śakti*), and since we do not observe [that the effect acquires] independent quantity [besides the sum of quantities of the causes, thus suggesting the acquisition of capability from elsewhere]. The manifest is like the unmanifest [in that it is a cause for the next effect].⁶⁶ Therefore, we postulate: prior to this [world's] becoming distinct, this *śakti*, which becomes manifest, stably exists in the unmanifest; and this *śakti* is *pradhāna*.⁶⁷

For the following reason, too, *pradhāna* exists: for, the effect and the cause are different. In our daily life we observe the distinction between the effect and the cause. For example, a lump of clay is a cause [while] a pot is an effect. A pot can hold wine, water or milk, but not a lump of clay [can hold them]. . . .

Observations

The most obvious significance of the fragment we have reported on here is that there was a commentary on the TS apart from the TSP. This is a testimony to the importance of the TS. Apart from that, there are a few more points one can make concerning the short text.

As noted in the introduction, our text could be seen as a commentary on SK 15, which in its commentarial tradition was held to present five reasons (*hetus*) to ar-

⁶⁴It is not completely clear what this reasoning means. A similar sentence in a similar discussion in the NBhū (the parallel in the DDANCT is not helpful since it also has the same enigmatic reading *apavargadarśanāt*), *pravṛttikāle 'py asti, tirobhāvarśanāt* (see note 62 above) appears clearer. It would be referring to the fact that the cause (gradually) disappears in a process, thus suggesting the transfer of *śakti* from the cause to the effect. Here we follow that interpretation. Still somewhat puzzling in our text is the use of the word *apavarga*, which is a technical term among the Sāṃkhyas to mean liberation (*mokṣa*). Coupled with the use of the term *adhiṣṭhitānādhiṣṭhita*, the discussion appears to have something to do with the doctrine of *puruṣa*.

⁶⁵We emend *kāryapravṛttikāle* to *kāryakāle*. This is where the third phase should be discussed. Not only is the compound *kāryapravṛttikāle* rare (if ever used), it also means essentially the same thing as *pravṛttikāle*. If that were the case, the author would mention this phase two times. That is unlikely. Possible cause for the corruption is the same °*kāle pi* in the previous sentence. Other possible, but less likely, emendations include *kāryapravṛtte kāle*, *kāryapravṛtter uttarakāle*, etc.

⁶⁶We are not certain if this understanding is correct. It would seem appropriate—if one wishes to argue for the presence of *śakti* in all three phases with regard to an effect (before, during and after)—to argue that an effect in turn becomes the cause for the next event since the cause for the previous event, too, was a manifest (*vyakta*) in the first place. Again, a similar sentence in the similar context in the NBhū, *tadūrdhvam apy asti, punaḥpravṛttidarśanāt*, is clearer.

⁶⁷The reconstruction of this sentence is mainly based on the similar sentence in the JaMa, *yāsau śaktiḥ saivā(va?)vyaktabhāvam āpadyata iti sāmānyatodṛṣṭam |* (see note 62). Note that most of the sentence is partly visible in the small fragment of the folio photographed with the recto side.

gue for the existence of *pradhāna*. In our text the explanation of each *hetu* consists of two or more alternative interpretations. The first part is always parallel to the interpretation in the TSP, and further parallels are found in commentaries, such as the MāVṛ, GauBhā, JaMa, etc., on the SK itself.⁶⁸

We do not find close parallels to the remaining alternative interpretations (apart from what appear to be remnants) in commentaries on the SK, but parallels are found in the NBhū and in the DDANCT.⁶⁹ Interestingly, the parallels in the NBhū and the DDANCT start the Sāṃkhya argument for the existence of *pradhāna* with the reason (*sam*)*anvayāt*.⁷⁰ Also, they only offer interpretations of five *hetus* of SK 15 that are not found in the TSP or in commentaries on the SK. In this connection, it should also be noted that the TS in the first place refers to that reason (see page 15). Based on these observations, we may postulate the existence of a commentarial tradition on the SK which is separate from the one to which the Māṭharavṛtti, etc., belong.⁷¹ That commentarial tradition probably considered the reason *samanvitatvāt* in SK 15 as the main reason and the rest subsidiary,⁷² and offered different explanations for them. Although it is conceivable that there was a commentary on the SK that combined two strands of commentarial traditions, offering both the traditional (as in the Māṭharavṛtti, etc.) as well as the other (as reflected in the NBhū and the DDANCT) explanations, and that our text borrowed from this postulated commentary, it seems to us more plausible that the author of our text combined two different traditions—having first borrowed the interpretation from the TSP and then from another commentary on the SK. This scenario may be supported by the fact that among the similar interpretations of SK 15 in the TSP and commentaries on the SK, the TSP nonetheless offers the closest parallel to our text when it gives the first explanation of each *hetu*.

Text and Abbreviations

Anonymous Vṛtti An anonymous Vṛtti on the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*. See Nakada 1978.

DDANCT The *Ṭikā* on the *Dvādaśāranayacakra*. See Jambūvijaya 1966.

GauBhā The *Gauḍapādabhāṣya*, a commentary on the SK, ascribed to Gauḍapāda. See Wilson 1887.

⁶⁸See notes 18, 30, 40, 54, and 60.

⁶⁹See notes 11, 15, 22, 26, 35, 36, 43, 44, 50, 51, 53, 56, 58, 62, 63, 64, 66.

⁷⁰See page 16.

⁷¹See note 7.

⁷²Cf. *anayā diśāvāsiṣṭeṣv api vītaprayogeṣv arthavibhāgaḥ sujñānaḥ, tathāpi dīnmātram ucyate* in our text after the explanation of the *hetu samanvitatvāt*; *tad atrācāryeṇa 'samanvayāt' ity ayam eva hetur uktaḥ, pariśiṣṭānām upalakṣaṇārthaḥ* in the TSP after explaining all the *hetus* in SK 15, referring to TS k. 14.

JaMa The *Jayamaṅgalā*, a commentary on the SK, ascribed to Śāṅkarabhagavatpāda. See Śarmā & Vaṅgīya 1970.

MāVṛ The *Māṭharavṛtti*, a commentary on the SK. See Śarmā & Vaṅgīya 1970.

NBhū The *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* of Bhāsarvajña. See Yogīndrānanda 1974.

SK The *Sāṃkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. See Wezler & Motegi 1998.

TS/TSP *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarākṣita/*Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā* of Kamalaśīla. See S. D. Shastri 1969.

YD The *Yuktīdīpikā*, a commentary on the SK. See Wezler & Motegi 1998.

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