New pages from the Tibet Museum birch-bark manuscript (1): Fragments Related to Jñānapāda

Kazuo Kano Péter-Dániel Szántó

The six pages edited here for the first time in full are from a now deservedly famous artefact, a mid-eleventh century Kashmiri birch-bark leather-bound multiple-text manuscript presently housed at the Tibet Museum (Lhasa, TAR, PRC). Unfortunately we do not have direct access to this remarkable document and to date we can read only a limited number of pages from a variety of photographic sources.

First, a few words about the physical features. The size of the manuscript (reported to be 15.6 cm long and 15.3 wide) suggests a concern for easy portability. The writing support is birch bark in various stages of preservation: some leaves are in almost pristine condition, while some have suffered from delamination. There is no evidence of the white blooming sometimes seen on birch bark due to natural resins coming to the surface owing to environmental changes. There does not seem to be a great tonal variation in the folios. The leaves are arranged in 5 or 6 gatherings with an unknown number of leaves (certainly more than a dozen) to the middle. Some folios seem to have become detached and the spine of the binding is very likely not intact anymore. Apparently both the head and the tail had headbands. These were presumably attached to the gatherings via tie-downs, but this is not visible on the present documentation. The sewing was presumably done with hemp chord, but the only sample of this kind we see is on the flap.

Finally, the gatherings were wrapped in some kind of leather, presumably tanned goat hide. This was very finely engraved with intricate non-figurative

patterns arranged in 6 or 7 concentrical rectangles on both sides. Similar patterns can be detected on the spine. The cover returns after having protected the fore-edges with a flap ending in an attached chord which can be introduced into the top cover. The quality of the folios and the intricate binding show that great care was taken in creating the artefact. At least one of the images we have shows some intrusive paper slips; these might be traces of some kind of attempt at conservation.

CONTENTS SHEET

The first publication about the manuscript was Kawasaki 2002. This short paper announced the existence of the artefact, provided a short codicological description, and published the final colophon as well as the contents of a sheet pasted to the reverse side of the front cover. This sheet seems to be an emic table of contents, according to which there are 27 works altogether in the volume. According to Kawasaki, the sheet's "style of writing is about the same as the one used in the main text" (2002: 51), but we have it on good authority that this leaf is not contemporary with the other parts of the volume and it is not on the same support, but on paper. We must therefore exercise some caution regarding its contents. Here is the list with some improved readings proposed:

māyājālakrame¹ tārābhaṭṭārikāsādhanam || 1 || dākinīvajrapañjaramaṇḍalakramaḥ || 2 || jñānapādānusāreṇābhisamayaḥ || 3 || abhiṣekavidhiḥ || 4 || akṣobhyanāthasya sādhanam || 5 ||

 $^{^{1} = ^{\}circ}krame$ ņa/ $^{\circ}krama^{\circ}$.

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caturthasadbhāvopadeśah śrīratnavajrakrtah || 6 ||
mahāpratisarāmantracatustavam || 7 ||
pratisarā || 8 ||
sattvārādhanastavah || 9 ||
ātmasādhanāvatārah || 10 ||
śrīvajrasattvasādhanam kusumañjali<sup>2</sup> || 11 ||
jñānapādanam<sup>3</sup> śrīsamantabhadrasva pindārtham || 12 ||
vajragīti || 13 ||
sekakramah kecaranandinah<sup>4</sup> || 14 ||
homavidhih || 15 ||
pratisthāvidhih || 16 ||
rāgavajrasādhanam krti dombipādah<sup>5</sup> || 17 ||
jñānapādīvavivaranam śrīpadmavajrakrtam || 18 ||
tantranidhānam<sup>6</sup> || 19 ||
śrīcakrasamvarasādhanam || 20 ||
navanatravahrdavam<sup>7</sup> || 21 ||
śrīcakrasamvarasya homavidhiķ || 22 ||
ghantālaksanam || 23 ||
pratisthāvidhih || 24 ||
\dot{s}r\bar{s}am\bar{a}jatantroktabhadrap\bar{a}d\bar{v}a^{8}
\dot{s}r\bar{r}ratn\bar{a}kara\dot{s}\bar{a}ntiviracit\bar{a}t\bar{t}k\bar{a}^{9} \parallel 25 \parallel
s\bar{a}madvottarag\bar{a}th\bar{a}vv\bar{a}karanam^{10} \parallel 26 \parallel
śrītārābhattārikā<sup>11</sup> māvājālakramastotram || 27 ||
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 $^{10} = m\bar{a}madyottara^{\circ}?$

² I.e. kusumāñjalyuddhṛtam of some similar formulation.

 $^{^{3} =} j\tilde{n}\bar{a}nap\bar{a}d\bar{a}n\bar{a}m.$

 $^{^{4} =} ked\bar{a}ranandinah.$

^{5 =} krtir dombīpādānām.

 $^{^{6} = ^{\}circ}nid\bar{a}nam.$

 $^{^{7} =} naya^{\circ}$ as already proposed by Kawasaki.

 $^{^{8}}$ = no space.

⁹ = with space before $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$.

 $^{^{11} = ^{\}circ}bhattarikaya.$

As for the colophon, we can now improve Kawasaki's reading with the help of Kano (2014). The year is said to be 29 during the reign of Anantadeva. The year, as was the custom in Kashmir, must be that of the *laukika* or *saptarşi* era, and not regnal years as in for example the Pāla realm. If this is so, the last two digits of the Common Era equivalent must be 53/54. We know from Kalhaṇa that Ananta reigned between 1028–1063 CE, the date must therefore be 1053/54. Fortunately, the month and date is also provided, so we can convert the colophon's *kārttika*, waning fortnight 4 to October 23, 1054 CE.¹²

The sponsor of the artefact is styled "a follower of the way of mantras (*mantranayānuyāyin*), the master ($\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$) Ratnaśrībhadra." The affiliation formula, as opposed to the more common *mahāyānānuyāyin* merits special attention, because it seems to be unique so far. The sponsor's interest in the tantric path is perfectly well mirrored by the table of contents. Indeed, most of the titles listed seem to be those of ritual manuals for daily practice (1, 3, 5, 11, 12, 17, 20), for initiation (2, 4, 14), for oblation into fire (15, 22), and for consecration (16, 24). Further works are commentaries of such manuals (18, 25) or treatises on some aspect of tantric practice (6, 10, 21).

The central master of the collection is Jñānapāda/Buddhaśrījñāna (on whom, see Dalton and Szántó 2019). There are at least five works either by him (3, 10) or related to him (12, 18, 25) in the list. Other masters mentioned explicitly are Ratnavajra (6), Kedāranandin (14), Dombīpāda (17), Padmavajra (18), Bhadrapāda/Dīpamkarabhadra (25), and Ratnākaraśānti (25). Ratnākaraśānti, as will be shown below, can also be associated with item no. 11.

As for the tantric scriptures underlying the collection, first place goes to the *Guhyasamājatantra* (3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 18, 25), then the *Hevajratantra* (2, 17), the *Cakrasamvara* (20, 22), the *Māyājāla* (1, 27), and the *Mahāpratisarā* (7, 8).

¹² For the detail, we will discuss in another occasion.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON EACH TITLE

Perhaps now we are in a position to enlarge and improve slightly the discussion concerning the identity of these works.

We cannot say anything certain about nos. 1 and 2.

Item no. 3 is very likely Jñānapāda's *Samantabhadra* (for two pages from this work, see Kano 2014), an extremely influential meditation manual of the Guhyasamāja system written at the behest of one of Jñānapāda's erstwhile teachers, Pālitapāda of the Konkan coast.

Item no. 4, an initiation manual, may be that of Jñānapāda, since we know that he had written such a work and that it was transmitted to Kashmir. However, the same report suggests that it was in verse (unless the passage simply stated the measurement of the work in *granthas*), and the fragments we edit below under the assumption that they are part of the same *Abhişekavidhi* is not.

Item no. 5 may point to a certain amount of catholicity, since Akşobhya-[vajra] was the central Guhyasamāja deity of the rival Ārya school. Kawasaki conjectured that this could be Tōh. 1884, a work by Ratnavajra.

Item no. 6 has already been briefly discussed by Kawasaki (2002: 51) and a forthcoming article by Szántó. The author, Ratnavajra, was a vehement opponent of the existence of the Fourth Initiation (*caturthābhişeka*), and his present essay is part of a fascinating debate taking place in real time between him and an influential Eastern Indian authority, Vāgīśvarakīrti.

Items no. 7 and 8 cannot be identified. Perhaps they were some sort of ritual manuals based on the *Mahāpratisarā* in the vein of the one edited in Hidas 2012.

Item no. 9 is a well-known text, which does not seem to survive in full in Sanskrit (Lévi 1929: 264–266). Its presence in the present collection might be something of an oddity. However, we know that these verses were used in a tantric ritual setting, more precisely before initiation.¹³

¹³ The Ādikarmapradīpa of Anupamavajra states (Takahashi ed., p. 136): tadanu dašākušalaparityāgasadgatikārikāsattvārādhanagurvārādhanādibhih samskrtya samsekair anugraham kuryāt |.

Item no. 10 is perhaps the crown jewel of the collection. Jñānapāda's $\bar{A}tma-s\bar{a}dhan\bar{a}vat\bar{a}ra$ is a highly influential defense of deity *yoga* and an argumentation for the superiority of the tantric path. About half of the text can now be recovered in the original from the "Pāla recension" of Samantabhadra's *Sāra-mañjarī*, a commentary to the founder's *Samantabhadra*.

Item no. 11 is one from which we seem to have a fragment in the present publication. It does indeed seem to be a *sādhana* text closely matching a part of the Tibetan translation of Ratnākaraśānti's *Kusumāñjali*, from which it is probably an excerpt, since the *Kusumāñjali* (spreading across two volumes in the *Bstan 'gyur*) is too long to be present in full in the manuscript.

Item no. 12 is self-evidently a condensed version of Jñānapāda's *Samanta-bhadra*. However, the *Samantabhadra* itself is quite dense to begin with, so perhaps the intended purpose of this work was to solve some of the tricky rhetoric of the main work.

Item no. 13 may refer to an explanation of some *vajragīti* in Apabhramśa. It is impossible to tell what set of verses this title may refer to.

Item no. 14 is another rarity, since we do not know of any works by this author besides a short *sādhana* related to the Trisamaya system (Tōh. 2697).

Items no. 15 and 16 are perhaps related to the above work, but again the identification seems to be impossible with the information at hand.

A fragment of item no. 17 will be edited by the present authors in a forthcoming paper. This is an unknown work of Dombīpāda, also known as Dombīheruka, a significant author of the Hevajra system.

We have no less than three fragments from item no. 18, a commentary to Jñānapāda's *Samantabhadra*. While there are some parallels with a commentary by one *Śrīphalavajra preserved in the Tibetan Canon, this seems to be an

[&]quot;Thereafter, after having prepared [the disciple] by means of [teaching texts] such as the Daśakuśalaparityāga, the *Şadgatikārikā*, the *Sattvārādhana*, [and] the *Gurvārādhana* (this text is better known as the *Gurupañcāśikā*), [the master] should favour him with perfectly executed initiations."

independent work, the fifth known commentary to the founder's manual next to those of Samantabhadra, *Vitapāda/*Vaidyapāda, *Śrīphalavajra, and *Thagana.

We cannot say anything certain about item no. 19, beyond the speculation that it was some kind of tantric explanation of a tantra's opening passage, perhaps the *Guhyasamājatantra*'s *evam mayā* etc.

Item no. 20 too remains shrouded in obscurity.

Item no. 21 is perhaps a discussion on the relationship between the three modes of practice (*śrāvakayāna*, *mahāyāna*, *vajrayāna*). A versified short work with the same title *Nayatrayahṛdaya* is found in a collection of miscellaneous tantric works preserved in Potala.¹⁴

Items no. 22, 23, 24 cannot be identified.

Item no. 25 might possibly be another extremely important work, Ratnākaraśānti's commentary to Dīpamkarabhadra/Bhadrapāda's *Mandalavidhi* (Tōh. 1871), as already conjectured by Kawasaki. This too is a fairly long work, but certainly not as long as the *Kusumāñjali*, so it is not inconceivable that we may have the full text in the codex. A transcription of an image belonging to this item was published by Kano (2016).

The title of item no. 26 is corrupt, but we can infer that it was some kind of elucidation of a verse or set of verses, perhaps ones used in initiation.

Item no. 27 too cannot be identified, but it is noteworthy that the collection begins and ends with two work about Tārā. This may suggest a personal relationship with the sponsor, perhaps the goddess was his *iṣṭadevatā/adhi-devatā*, certainly not an uncommon motif in mediaeval Buddhist hagiography.

¹⁴ This collection also includes other relevant works, i.e., Bhatta Trivikrama's *Nayatrayapradīpa* and Kuśalaśrī's *Nayatrayabheda*. See Kano and Li 2019.

IMAGES

The images we worked from came from the following sources:

• I-II. A now closed flickr.com account. Unfortunately, we did not note the owner's name.

- III-IV. A fineartamerica.com account belonging to one Ruth Hager.¹⁵
- V-VI-VII. "Precious Deposits" album.
- VIII-IX. "Tibet Museum" album.
- X-XI-XII-XIII. An anonymous amateur photographer.

On the left end margin of each page, abbreviations of work titles and folio numbers are written:

I-II: The label is missing due to damage of the left edge.

III-VI: Jñā Țī 8

V-VI: Jñā <u>T</u>ī 13

VII: Only right page image¹⁶ (transcription: Kano 2016) VIII-IX: *A Vi* 3¹⁷

X-XI: A Vi 7 XII-XIII: Jñā A 3¹⁸

¹⁵ https://fineartamerica.com/featured/book-written-on-birch-bark-in-tibet-museum-in-lhasa-tibet-ruthhager.html (last accessed on 13.10.2019).

¹⁶ The label is not photographed.

¹⁷ An annotated English translation of the fragment labelled "A Vi 3" is under preparation with Daisy Chung.

¹⁸ There are further fragments with labels "Jñā Na 1" (Samantabhadra, verses 19d–55a, transcribed by Kano 2014) and "Mā Vyā 5."

In the present paper, we shall provide transcriptions of fragments II, III-VI, and V-VI. Transcriptions of remaining fragments (I, VIII-XIII, etc.) will be dealt with in another occasion.

CONVENTIONS

We used the following conventions in transcribing the texts: We retain the orthographical features of the scribes, e.g. *sandhis*, the *jihvāmūlīya*- (h) and *upadhmānīya*-type (h) *visargas*, gemination of k over a *repha*, other geminations under a *repha*, degeminations such as *tva* for *ttva*.

We add certain mark-ups such as line numbers and desired *dandas* in square brackets. We also use square brackets to reconstruct *akşaras* lost due to delamination or some minor damage (but we do not supply *avagrahas*).

We render the half-*danda* with a subscript *danda* (). A plus sign (+) marks a lost full *akşara*. A question mark (?) means an *akşara* we cannot read. Additions, usually interlinear, are placed between chevrons (<>). An asterisk (*) marks final consonants' long, left-slanting *virāma*. We apply strikethrough (kimeit) to cancelled *akşara*s or vowel signs.

1. The beginning of a commentary to Jñānapāda's *Samantabhadra-sādhana* (frag. II)

Fragment II, the recto of a folio facing fragment I consists of 24 lines penned in a bold and elegant hand, and contains the initial part of a commentary to Jñānapāda's *Samantabhadra*. This work must correspond to item no. 18 in the table of contents, which gives the author as one Padmavajra. However, the text is preceded by a heading in Tibetan, which attributes the work to one 'Phags pa (*Ārya). We are not at all certain about the authorship: the text does not

match any of the *Samantabhadra* commentaries in the *Bstan 'gyur*, but it does have some very strong parallels with the work of *Śrīphalavajra (Tōh. 1867). Perhaps the Tibetan is the result of a misreading of *pad mas* written in *dbu med*, where the *d* was mistakenly read as the shortened *gs*. But for this we must also conjecture that thereafter *pa* became '*pha* and *mas* became *pas*, therefore a multiple corruption that takes quite a lot to explain.

Kawasaki (2004: 51) states that Padmavajra is considered on the four major disciples of Jñānapāda. We do not know the source of this information, and it could be case that this is simply wrong, because the four major disciples are usually given as Dīpamkarabhadra, *Praśāntamitra, *Vajramahāsukha, and *Rāhulabhadra.¹⁹

The text starts with a scribal obeisance, two obeisance verses to Mañjuśrī, a statement of purpose (noting that he is following the command of his *guru*), a verse humbly asking forgiveness, a verse listing general sources, and a request not to be blocked from exercising virtue by composing. This is followed by the description of the practice proper. The practitioner (here called a *bodhisattva*) should first recall his aspiration to save all beings and then undertake practice according to the superior tantric method. The fragment breaks off after the beginning of a discussion on meditative cultivation, using a verse from the *Tattvāvatāra* of Jñānakīrti (Tōh. 3709) to start the deliberation.

One of the most striking features of this fragment is the author's choice of words to describe tantric Buddhism next to the usual *mantranaya*: *mahātantra-yāna* and *mahātantranaya*. As far as surviving Sanskrit materials are concerned, to the best of our knowledge these two compounds are completely unparalleled for the period; indeed, we could find only *tantranaya* used by Ratnarakṣita in his *Padminī* (Ms Nagoya Buddhist Library, Takaoka CA 17, fol. 3r). The same expression seems to have been used by Durjayacandra in his **Kaumudī* (Tōh. 1185, 30b1).

¹⁹ Cf. Szántó 2015a: 546-547.

[II upper margin; Tibetan *dbu med* header in red ink:] sgrub thabs kun bzaň gi 'grel pa 'phags pas mdzad pa |

[1] siddham²⁰ svasti²¹ || namas sakalakaluṣāpahāriņe śrīmanmañjuvajrāya ||

sarvasatvaika[2]gurave mohadhvāntaikabhānave | sārvajñajñānarūpāya śāstre mañjuśriye namaḥ [||]

[3] sarvaprapañcanirmuktam satprajñopāyarūpiņam* [|] natvā mañjuśriyam nātham advayajñāna[4]m ādarāt* [||]²²

śrīmatsamājatantrotthamamjuśrīsādhanakrame | pragṛhya mūrdhnā gurvājñām karo[5]mi vivṛtim sphuṭām [||]²³

kva gambhīram mahāyānam dusprajña<ḥ> kva nu mādṛśaḥ [|] bāladurlalitaprā[6]yam kṣamyatām mama sādhubhiḥ [||]

tantrapāramitātarkakosamādhyamikais saha | yathā [7] gurumukhāl labdham tathaital likhyate mayā |

yathākathamcid abhyāso guņesu bahusa[8]mmatah []] buddhānām iti gambhīre py arthe dhāryo na mādrsah []]]²⁴

²⁰ Expressed with a symbol.

²¹ Followed by a circle.

 $^{^{22}}$ Cf. *Samantabhadrasādhanavrtti (Tōh. 1867) 139b4: spros pa kun las nes grol źin | śes rab thabs mchog no bo ñid | sku gsun thugs kyi rdo rje can | kun bzan źes bya ba la btud de |.

²³ Cf. *Samantabhadrasādhanavrtti (Tōh. 1867) 139b4–5: dpal ldan 'dus rgyud las gsuns pa'i | 'jam dpal sgrub pa'i rim pa ni | ji ltar slob dpon gyis bstan pa | de ltar 'di ni bdag gis bri ||.

²⁴ Cf. *Samantabhadrasādhanavrtti (Töh. 1867) 139b5: yon tan man la mnon 'dod pa | ci yan run bas bslab bya bas | sans rgyas don ni rab zab kyan | bdag 'dra dgag par bya ma yin ||.

ādau tāvat samyagutpāditabo[9]dhicitto bodhisattvaos sarvasattvoddharaņakāmatām avalambya praņidhānam āmukhīkuryāt* [|] [10] sarva evāyam loko mayā samsāraduhkhād uddhrtya buddhatve niyojanīyah [|]

> yāvatī [11] prathamā koțis saṃsārasyāntavarjjitā | tāvat satvahitārtham ca cariṣyāmy amitācarīm*²⁵ [||]²⁶

[12] daśadigvyomaparyantam²⁷ sarvasatvārthasādhane | yathā carati mamjuśrīs saiva caryā bha[13]ven mama |²⁸

na caivam bodhisatvena cittakausīdyam utpādyam koa<tha>m aham sarvasattvoddharaņā[14]samartho bodhim āsāditum śaknuyāt²⁹ [|]

> sarve buddhā bhavişyanti nābhavyo bhuvi vidyate || [15] na kartavyo vasādo smāt samyaksambodhisādhane |³⁰

iti bhagavadvacanaprāmāņyād *buddho bha*[16]*veyam jagato hitāya*ivam pranidhānam drdhīkrtya buddhatvaprāptihetoh mahātantrayā[17]ne vajrayānottame guruprasādād upadeśān samadhigamya śrutacintābhāvanākra[18]meņa

²⁵ Read: amitām carīm.

²⁶ Also quoted in the *Śikşāsamuccaya* (Bendall ed., p. 13) with a slightly different second hemistich: *tāvat sattvahitārthāya carişyāmy amitām carim* ||; in the translation, Bendall and Rouse admit that the exact meaning of the first line is uncertain (1922:15). The fragmentary line *yāvatī prathamā koţiḥ samsārasya* also survives as the beginning of an unknown work in Ms. Kaiser Library 127, image 35, lower folio. Perhaps it is also incorporated into *Sādhanamālā* no. 83 (Bhattacharya ed., p. 166) with a garbled second hemistich: *bhāvayan sattvahitāyaiva carişyāmy amṛtākşarīm* || with the noted variants *amṛtākşarī* and *mṛtākşarīm*.

²⁷ Read: °paryanta°?

²⁸ Perhaps also incorporated into Sādhanamālā no. 83 (Bhattacharya ed., p. 166).

²⁹ Read: *śaknuyām*.

³⁰ Locus classicus untraced; also quoted in the Tattvaratnāvalī (Gerloff ed., p. 821).

yathāyogam samudācāravrttim ārabhet* yato mahā³¹tantranayāt sarvair bodhisa[19]tvair bodhir āsādhitā³² | tad āha |

> buddhās triyadhvasambhūtā<u>h</u> kāyavākcittavajriņaḥ [|] samprāptā [20] jñānam atulam vajramantraprabhāvanaiḥ [||]³³

tathā |

bauddhāh pāramitās siddhā dhāraņyo bhūmaya[21]s tathā $_{\parallel}$ mahāyānanayāt sarvāh prāpyante nedam anyatheti |³⁴

tasmān mantranayoktabhāvanā[22]balād acireņaiva kālena puņyajñānasambhārapūraņam krtvā saugatam padam ā[23]sādyata iti sarvatantra³⁵ mantranaye bhagavataiva nirdistam* [|] keyam bhāvanā nāma ||

> [24] svavācātha pramāņābhyām āgamo³⁶ yo na bādhyate | tasyārthe bhāvanābhogo bhāvato guru³⁷[end of fragment II]

³¹ The manuscript has here an insertion mark, and the bottom margin has the additional *akşaras* "rapari," which does not seem to fit to insert this place.

³² Read: āsāditā.

³³ Guhyasamājatantra 13.6.

³⁴ Untraced. The first line is *Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinījālaśamvara* (Szántó ed.) 4.4.ab, which is also incorporated in Dīpamkarabhadra's *Mandalavidhi* (Cambridge Ms. add. v. 11, with *yatah* for *tathā*).

³⁵ Read: *sarvatra*.

³⁶ Perhaps read: *āgamair*.

³⁷ Tattvāvatāra (Tōh. 3709) 41b2–3: ran gi tshig dan tshad ma dan | lun dan gan źig mi 'gal ba | de don bsgom pa la spyod pa'i | bla mas bsten [=bstan?] pa bsgom pa yin ||. Cf. *Ratnahrdaya (Tōh. 2259) 285b4–5: ran gi tshig dan tshad ma dan | gan źig lun dan mi 'gal ba | de don spyod dan mthun pa ni | bla ma'i gdams nag yin par gsuns |.

2. A commentary to Jñānapāda's Samantabhadra vs. 17–18 (frags. III and IV)

Fragments III and IV are two facing pages with 23 lines each. The text on these pages has already been noted and briefly discussed by Kano (2014: 69-70). It is not entirely clear which item in Kawasaki's list this text corresponds to, but chances are good that this is the continuation of what we found on fragment II. First, the text here deals with the 17th and 18th verses of Jñānapāda's Samantabhadra. Second, here too the Tattvāvatāra is quoted (once with reference). Third, the scribal hand seems to be the same. Fourth, here too we find strong parallels with the text attributed to *Śrīphalavajra. The left margin of the lefthand page is marked with the numeral 8 and the abbreviation $J\tilde{n}\bar{a}$ $T\bar{i}$ (for *Jñānapādābhisamavatīkā or something similar). This fragment is unique and valuable, for it quotes a full verse from the $m\bar{u}la$ (v. 18) which is not available in the original elsewhere. Another significant feature of this passage is the attestation of the name Jñānakīrti, and the title of his influential work, the Tattvāvatāra, a learned treatise available to us only in Tibetan (Toh. 3709). This is for the first time that verses in the original from this work have emerged; these quotations also allow us to establish the upper limit of Jñānakīrti's activity. At this stage in the repeated daily meditation session, the yogin is about to finish what might be called the Mahāyāna prelude to deity-voga, which culminates in the contemplation of emptiness. The author first addresses some objections concerning meditating on Means (upāya) and Wisdom $(praj\tilde{n}\bar{a})$ as if they were separate. He then tackles stanza 18, which discusses three doors of liberation (vimoksamukha).

[III.1]jñānasvabhāvo bhavet* [|] mantraśabdena jñānam ucyate | mana jñāne |³⁸

³⁸ Dhātupāţha 4.67; cf. Tattvāvatāra (Tōh. 3709) 51a2–3: skad kyi dbyins las mā na dzñā ni źes pa dan | mā na a ba bo dha ne źes bya ba yid ni śes pa la bya ba'am | yid ni khon du chud pa la bya ba'i phyir [...].

jñānārthasya mano [2] rūpo mantro jñānan nirucyate | advayam manasas trāņān mantrah [1]³⁹

evam mahākaruņā[3]svabhāvam bodhicittam vibhāvya sarvadharmanisprapamcarūpām prajñām vibhāvayetd ity arthah []]

[4] nanu ca sarvatra mantranaye prajňopāyabhāvaneti vācoyuktih [|] katham upāyam bhā[5]vayitvā prajňām bhāvayed iti śāstrakartur asambaddhaparihārārtham ucyate | uktam ā[6]cāryaJňānakīrttipādais Tattvāvatāre |

sarvabhāvasvabhāvātmā yogī syāt karuņā[7]tmakaḥ | bhāvanākramataḥ paścān mahāmudrātmako bhaved⁴⁰

iti |⁴¹ bhāvanākramato hi [8] yogī sarvabhāvasvabhāvo bhūtvā mahākaruņāsvabhāvo bhavet* [|] tatab paścāt prajňā[9]pāramitāmahāmudrāparanāmikāsvabhāvo bhaved iti saṅkṣepaḥ [|] upāyabhā[10]vanām uktvā prajňābhāvanām āha || ||

> śūnyaṃ svabhāvavirahād dhetuviyo[11]gāt tathānimittaṃ tu | ūhāpagamād akhilaṃ vastu praṇidhānanirmuktam* ||⁴²

³⁹ Tattvāvatāra (Tōh. 3709) 51a2: ye śes don gyi yid kyi gzugs | sňags ni ye śes yin par bśad | gñis med yid ni skyob pas na | gal te de lta na yaň sňags |. Also quoted without attribution in the *Jñānatilakapañjikā (Tōh. 1203) 244a3-4: yid kyi gzugs 'di ye śes don | sňags ni ye śes yin par brjod | gnyis med yid 'di skyob pas na | gal te de lta na yań sňags ||. Both renderings of the verse suggest *advayamanasas, but that would be unmetrical; we must therefore construe advayam with jñānam.

⁴⁰ Tattvāvatāra (Töh. 3709) 46a2: dňos kun raň bźin bdag ñid du | rnal 'byor sňiň rje can gyur pa | bsgom pa'i rim pa phyi nas ni | phyag rgya che bdag nyid can 'gyur ||.

⁴¹ From *nanu* in 1. 4 up to the *iti* in 1. 7, cf. *Samantabhadrasādhanavrtti (Tōh. 1867) 146b1–2.

⁴² Samantabhadra 18.

śū[12]nyatānimittāpraņihitavimokşatrayabhāvanayā prajñāpāramitābhāvanām ni[13]rdiśati | grāhyagrāhakābhiniveśabhāvyabhāvakabhāvanopalambhavyudāsārtham [14] āśrayaparāvṛttir ucyate | akhilam vastu praņidhānanirmuktam | yad etad vastujā[15]tam drśyate tad avidyāvāsanābalāt* [|] paramārthatah praņidhānavarijitam | praņi[16]dadhatīti praņidhih [|] praņidhih praņidhānam | prakarşeņa nidadhati nikşipati [17] ātmātmīyagrāhyagrāhakākārāvidyāvāsanāvastv iti praņidhih [|]

> gandharvana[18]garasannibham akhilam sacarācaram vastv⁴³

iti vacanāt* māyāmarīcigandharva[19]nagarasvapnopamam i ātmātmīyaklistamanovāsanāvasāt pratibhāsate avi[20]dyamānam eva | ucyate |

> yathā māyā yathā svapnam gandharvanagaram yathā []] tathotpāda[21]s tathā bhango bhāvānām sampragīyata⁴⁴

iti | **vastv** iti | tac **chūnyaṃ** | śūnyatāsvabhāvaṃ ni[22]ṣprapaṃcarūpaṃ []] **svabhāvavirahāt*** ekānekasvabhāvāpagamāt* svabhāvāsatvāt* [23] sarve bhāvā nisvabhāvasvabhāvāḫ paramārthataḥ []] yathoktaṃ Bhagavatyām*

na hi Subhū[IV.1]te śūnyatayā sarve-adharmāh śūnyāh kriyante api tu dharmā eva śūnyāh []]^{45 46}

⁴³ Samantabhadra 115cd.

⁴⁴ Possibly a different recension of *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 7.34; for the second hemistich the vulgate reads: *tathotpādas tathā sthānam tathā bhanga udāhṛtam* ||. Also quoted in the **Samanta-bhadrasādhanavṛtti* (Tōh. 1867) 146b6-7.

⁴⁵ Untraced in the Astasāhasrikā. Cf. Prasannapadā (p. 248): yathoktam bhagavatāryaRatnakūtasūtre | yan na sūnyatayā dharmān sūnyān karoti, api tu dharmā eva sūnyāļ |.

⁴⁶ From vastu in l. 22 to śūnyāh in l. 1, cf. *Samantabhadrasādhanavrtti (Tōh. 1867) 146b3-4.

tathā coktaṃ |

[2] na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyām nāpy ahetutah []] utpannā jātu vidyante bhāvāh kva[3]cana kecana []]⁴⁷

iti |

yathaiva darpaņe rūpam ekatvānyatvavarjitam | drśyate na ca [4] tatrāsti tathā bhāvesu bhāvatām⁴⁸ |⁴⁹

hetuviyogāt tathānimittiam ca⁵⁰ | hetuviyogāt* [5] kāraņābhāvāt* paramārthato ni<ḥ>svabhāvatvāt* **ānimittaṃ** | ahetukās sarvadha[6]rmāḥ nātra kiñcit kāraņam upalabhyate | uktaṃ Bhagavatyāṃ |

> utpādād vā tathāgatānām [7] anutpādād vā tathāgatānām sthitaivaisā dharmāņām dharmatā |⁵¹

uktaṃ ca |

buddhyā vive[8]cyamānānām svabhāvo nāvadhāryate | ato nirabhilāpyās te nissvabhāvāś ca de[9]śitāh [||]⁵²

⁴⁷ Mūlamadhyamakakārikā 1.1.

⁴⁸ Read: bhāvatā.

⁴⁹ Possibly a different recension of the Lankāvatārasūtra (Nanjio ed.) 10.709. Quoted thus in the Bhāvanākrama (1°, Tucci ed., p. 204), the Muktāvalī (p. 11), and the Rahahpradīpa (Ms 5r2). Slightly different reading incorporated into the Sthitisamuccaya (Ms 8r-8v). Also quoted in the *Samantabhadrasādhanavṛtti (Töh. 1867) 146b4–5.

⁵⁰ The quoted verse has **tu** here, which is attested *inter alia* by Samantabhadra's *Sāramañjarī* ('Pāla recension', Ms 6r). Perhaps the **ca** is just a slip of the pen, or not be taken as part of the lemma.

⁵¹ Untraced in the Astasāhasrikā, but otherwise very often quoted.

⁵² Lankāvatārasūtra (Nanjio ed.) 2.175; ed. has tasmān for our ato. Also quoted in the *Samantabhadrasādhanavrtti (Töh. 1867) 146b7–147a1.

na kaścil labhyate bhāvo yasyotpādasya sambhavah [|] nissvabhāveșu bhāveșu [10] bālas sambhavam icchati ||⁵³

ūhāpagamāt* vitarkābhāvāt* na kiñcid apy upala[11]bhyate **vastu** sthiracalātmakam | kin tu vāsanābalāt* vastv iti |

vāsanācitritam ci[12]ttan citrākāram hi drsyate |54

abhūtam khyāpayaty artham bhūtam āvrtya tisthati | avi[13]dyā jāyamānaiva kāmalātankavrttivat* [||]⁵⁵

evam paramārthato naissvābhāvyam jagato [14] vicāryāśrayaparāvrttiyogam vibhāvayet* [|] āśrayasyāvidyāyā ālaya[15]vijñānakliṣṭamanovijñānayoḫ parāvarttanam āśrayaparāvrttiḥ [|] katham atra bhāva[16]nā [|] tad ucyate |

> cittamātram samāśritya bāhyam artham na kalpayet* []] tathatālambane sthi[17]tvā cittamātram atikramet* [|]⁵⁶

tasmād āśritya vijñānam bāhyam artham parityajet* [|] śū[18]nyatālambane sthitvā grāhakānšam parityajet* [||]⁵⁷

⁵³ The *locus classicus* for this verse seems to be a rather old *sūtra* called the *Hastakakşya* or, perhaps more correctly, *Hastikakşya*; attributed to said text in the *Bhāvanākrama* (1°, Tucci ed., p. 200, with slightly different *pāda c: asambhaveşu dharmeşu*). Also quoted in the *Samanta-bhadrasādhanavṛtti (Töh. 1867) 147a4–5.

⁵⁴ Untraced.

⁵⁵ *Ālokamālā* 18.

⁵⁶ Lankāvatārasūtra (Nanjio ed.) 10.256 with samāruhya instead of samāšritya. Also quoted (inter alia) in the Tattvāvatāra (Tōh. 3709) 63b1–2 and 3.

⁵⁷ Tattvāvatāra (Tōh. 3709) 63b3–4: rnam par śes la brten nas su | phyi yi don ni yons su span | ston ñid dmigs pa la gnas nas | 'dzin byed cha yan span bar bya ||.

bāhyābhāvāc ca grāhyābhāvād grā[19]hakarūpāpi vijňaptir nāstīti grāhyagrāhakākāradvayavirahād advayarū[20]patathatāsvabhāve tatve sthitvā grāhakarūpam cittamātram api tyajet* []]

> citta[21]mātram atikramya nirābhāsam api tyajet* [|] nirābhāse sthito yogī mahāyā[22]nam sa paśyati |⁵⁸

śūnyam adhyātmakam paśya śūnyam paśya bahirgatam | na labhyate so pi ka[23]ścid yo bhāvayati śūnyatām* [||]⁵⁹

ity anayā bhāvanayā āśrayaparāvrttyā bāhyā[end of fragment IV]

3. A commentary to Jñānapāda's Samantabhadra vs. 23-24 (frags. V and VI)

These facing pages we call fragments V and VI have been published in facsimile in a coffee-table book about the Tibet Museum, "Precious Deposits – Historical Relics of Tibet, China (Volume One)", on pp. 114–115, fig. 75. The mark on the left margin of the left page has the same abbreviation $J\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ $T\tilde{i}$ and the number 13. At this stage in the practice, the *yogin* is to visualise the palace of the deities ($k\bar{u}t\bar{a}g\bar{a}ra$) together with a contemplation of their 'symbolism' (*viśuddhi*).⁶⁰ The basic idea is that elements of the ritual cosmos are seen as corresponding to elements of doctrine. On the mystical-meditative level this means that the yogin takes possession over these doctrinal elements thus

⁵⁸ Laňkāvatārasūtra (Nanjio ed.) 10.257; ed. has atikramet for api tyajet, nirābhāsasthito for nirābhāse sthito and na for sa (!). Also quoted (again, inter alia) in the Tattvāvatāra (Tōh. 3709) 64b4 and 5.

⁵⁹ The *locus classicus* is uncertain, perhaps a text from the *Kşudrakāgama*, as the verse is quoted with that attribution in the *Abhidharmakośabhāşya* (ch. 9, p. 466). Also quoted in the **Samanta-bhadrasādhanavṛtti* (Tōh. 1867) 147a5.

⁶⁰ Cf. Sferra 1999.

encapsulating the long Mahāyāna path of the *bodhisattva* into the quick path of the tantric practitioner. On the historical level, this was a convenient way for Tantric Buddhists to fill imported ritual elements with Buddhist doctrinal meaning.

[V.1] uktam ca |

pūrveņa bhūmayo lekhyā daksiņena tathojjvalāh []] sarva⁶¹pāramitā lekhyā[2]h paścime vašitā daša | uttare sarvadhāraņyāh koņesu pratisamvidah []]⁶²

āsām [3] nāmavarņņamukhabhujapraharaņavibhāgo nāmasangītitīkāyām viśvanirmā[4]ņacakkradhrggāthā⁶³ vyākhyāyām⁶⁴ nirdistah [₁] granthavistarabhayān neha pratanyate |

sarvābhara[5]ņavicittram⁶⁵ [|] kutah [|] yato jagatas sarvāšāpūparipūraņam [|] sarvābharaņāni ka[6]ṭakakeyūrahārārdhahārā jāmbūnadādayah [|] vaicittram muktājālasamdigdhatvāt [|] [7] yā bodhisatvāvasthāyām dānapriyavacanārthacaryāsamānārthatārthijane[8]bhyas sakalatraidhātukasya dānātidānamahādānādibhis sampāditā tena [9] pūrvopacitakuśalamūlena sarvābharaņavicitratā kūṭāgārasya prādurbhū[10]tā |⁶⁶

⁶¹ Read: sarvāh?

⁶² Cf. *Amalagaganasupariśuddhadharmadhātujñānagarbha (Töh. 2589) 157a3–4. Also quoted in the *Samantabhadrasādhanavŗtti (Töh. 1867) 150b3–4 with the attribution dkyil 'khor gyi mchog pa'i cho ga las.

⁶³ Mañjuśrīnāmasamgīti 115d/8.39d.

⁶⁴ We cannot trace the commentary the author refers to here. We checked the voluminous $G\bar{u}dhapad\bar{a}$ (Royal Asiatic Society, London, Ms. Hodgson no. 34), but we could not find a match. Perhaps what is meant is the lost *Brhatkāśmīrapañjikā*, a long commentary the author of the $G\bar{u}dhapad\bar{a}$ and several others refer to.

⁶⁵ Samantabhadra 23c.

⁶⁶ Cf. this paragraph with *Samantabhadrasādhanavrtti (Tōh. 1867) 150b4-6.

tatra katamam bodhisatvānām dānam^{*} [|] yad utānnārthikebhyo nnadānam [|] pānayānavastra[11]dīpadhūpagandhamālyavilepanacchattradhvajapatākārathābharaņādi nāsti kiñci[12]d bodhisatvānām adeyam [_i] idam ucyate dānam^{*} [|] bhāryāputraduhitṛpriyadāsīdāsa[13]karmakarapauruṣeyagṛharājyaparityāgam [] idam ucyate tidānam^{*} [|] bodhisatvaḥ a[14]rthiṣu śarīram vikartya dānam dadāti [|] cakṣur utpāṭyottamāṅgaśarīrārtham ⁶⁷ uṣṇīṣādidā[15]nam raktamāṃsaprāṇaparityāgād idam ucyate mahādānam^{*} [|]⁶⁸

katamā priyavāditā [|] [16] dharmaśravaņikānām yācakānām ca priyābhilāpitā |⁶⁹ arthacaryā yā ātmanab pare[17]ṣām ca yathāśayābhiprāyaparipūraņatā |⁷⁰ samānārthatā [|] yad atraiva⁷¹ yāne ā[18]tmanā guņasaminī bhavati | tatraiva yāne dharmāmiṣapratigrāhakā⁷² pratiṣṭhāpaya[19]tīti || ||⁷³

vinayoddhūtanavāṅgapravacanasaddharmasarvagaṃ yad ataḫ [|] pavano[20]ddhūta⁷⁴dhvajālīghaṇṭādhvanimukharasarvadigvadanam* ||⁷⁵

vinayena uddhūtam ca tat* [21] navāngapravacanam⁷⁶ | vineyākhyena⁷⁷ śāstrena yat tad uddhūtam navāngam bhagavatprava[22]canam | sarva⁷⁸dharmaśā-

⁶⁷ Read: °śarīrārthişu?

⁶⁸ Cf. this paragraph with *Samantabhadrasādhanavrtti (Tōh. 1867) 150b6-7.

⁶⁹ Cf. this paragraph with *Samantabhadrasādhanavrtti (Tōh. 1867) 150b7-151a1.

⁷⁰ Cf. this paragraph with *Samantabhadrasādhanavrtti (Tōh. 1867) 151a1.

⁷¹ Read: yatraiva.

⁷² Read: °*pratigrāhakān*.

⁷³ Cf. this paragraph with *Samantabhadrasādhanavṛtti (Tōh. 1867) 151a1-2.

⁷⁴ Read: °oddhata°.

⁷⁵ Samantabhadra 24.

⁷⁶ Perhaps a ca is missing here.

⁷⁷ Read: vinayākhyena.

⁷⁸ Read: sarvasad°?

stravyāpi yat* [|] vinayenābhidharmas sangrhītah [|]⁷⁹ prādhānyena [23] vineyaprakāśakatvād vineaya ity ākhyā | gūdhapadaprakāśakatvād abhidharma i[VI.1]ty ākhyā | prakāśakatvād vinayena abhidharmas sangrhītas sarvasaddharmaśāstravyāpitvāt* [|]

[2] navāngapravacanalakṣaṇam ucyate | sūtram geyam vyākaraṇam gāthoddānaïti⁸⁰vṛ[3]ttakajātakavaipulyādbhutam* []] sūcanāt sūtram* []] bhagavatpravacanasūcanāt* []] idam a[4]bhidhāya bhagavatā smitam āviṣkṛtam* []] tad eva praśnanirṇayadvāreṇa bhagavā[5]n vistaratopadiśati⁸¹ bodhisatvānām | geyam ṣaṣṭisvarāngasamyuktam sarvasatvānām ā[6]hlādanakaram narakapretatiryañcām duhkhottāraṇam* []] tac ca stotropahāradharmade[7]śanāyuktam* []] vyākriyate aneneti vyākaraṇam [₁] karmaviśeṣād anāgatavipāko[8]pavarṇanam* | yathoktam |

> śāradvatīputra āha || kimartham bhagavatā dārakau mṛddānam [9] dadaātau smitam āvişkṛtam [|] bhagavān āha | iha khalu jambūdvīpe cakkravartinau rājānau [10] bhavişyatah [|] vyākṛtau etau mahācakkravartirājye |⁸²

gāthā ślokaprabandhaḥ [₁] chandolaṅkāra[11]sacchabdaghaṭitaṃ kāvyaṃ | udānaṃ abhūtasadbhūtārthaśravaṇaparituṣṭebhyas sādhukā[12]ra⁸³ aho dharma ityādy upavarṇanam* [|] †...†⁸⁴ jātakaṃ buddhānāṃ atītajanmādyupavarṇanam* [|] [13] vaipulyam ekasyāpy aprameyabhedopavarṇanam* [|] adbhutam

⁷⁹ From vinayena in l. 20 to sangrhītah in l. 22, cf. *Samantabhadrasādhanavŗtti (Tōh. 1867) 151a2-3.

⁸⁰ Read: °odāneti°.

⁸¹ Read: vistarata upadiśati.

⁸² Source untraced.

⁸³ Sic!

⁸⁴ The definition of *itivrttaka* is missing, perhaps due to an eye-skip caused by °varnanam.

alpasyāpi karmaņo pra[14]meyakarmavipākopavarņanād⁸⁵ iti navāngapravacanam* [|]

satām dharmah sa[15]ddharmah [|] satām buddhānām eva dharmah [₁] anyatīrthikaparavādyasādhāranatvāt* [|] kāyavā[16]kcittaniyamena kalyānamitrāder eva gamyā⁸⁶ saddharmaparyeşti⁸⁷ | saddharmam prati śru[17]tacintābhāvanālekhanādhāranāvācanodgrahanaprakāśanasvādhyāyādi ku[18]śalakarma sarvam sangrhītam* [|] uktam Madhyāntavibhāge |

> saddharmalekhanā⁸⁸ dānam śrava[19]nam vācanodgrahah [|] prakāśanātha svādhyāya⁸⁹ cintanā bhāvanā ca tat* [||] ameyapu[20]nyaskandham hi caritam tad daśātmakam* [|]⁹⁰

saddharmasarvagam iti | sarvanayatraya[21]vyāpi yat* tad vinayoddhūtanavāngabhagavatpravacanayuktam saddharmasāstram sarvasa[22]tvānām desitam | ato smād dhetoh pavanoddhūta⁹¹dhvajālīghaņţādhvanimukharasarvadi[end of VI]⁹²

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⁸⁵ Read: °opavarņanam |.

⁸⁶ Read: avagamyā?

⁸⁷ Read: °paryesțih.

⁸⁸ Read: lekhanā pūjanā or pūjanā lekhanā?

⁸⁹ Read: svādhyāyah.

⁹⁰ Madhyāntavibhāga 5.9–10ab.

⁹¹ Read: °oddhata°.

⁹² From *navānga*° in l. 2 up to here, cf. **Samantabhadrasādhanavṛtti* (Tōh. 1867) 151a2–151b2.

Tattvaratnāvalī by Advayavajra. See Gerloff 2018.

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