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A Textual Study of the *Lakṣaṇaṭīkā

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Part I

Chapter 1. The Date, Provenance, and Authorship of the *LT

This chapter attempts to clarify who compiled the *LT, and where and when it was compiled. As no colophon is available, the other texts with which it was bundled are analyzed in the hope that they will shed light on the history of the text.

1. The *dBu med* MSS

The *LT MS is included in the bundle reproduced as the *dBu med* MSS (published in 2001)¹. In this facsimile edition the images are not printed on paper, but on silk cloth replicating the original size and shape of each folio. The edition contains the following four MSS²:

W The *Vinayasūtra* (VS) 66 leaves, complete

X The *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasavyākhyāna* (VSS) 36 leaves, incomplete

Y The VV 7 leaves, complete

Z The *LT 18 leaves, incomplete

The VS, attributed to Guṇaprabha (550-630 CE), is a *sūtra*-style treatise based upon the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*³. The VSS is its auto-commentary. We can consider the version included in the *dBu med* MSS (W) to be an “extract version,” for commentaries on several *sūtras* have been intentionally omitted by the redactor⁴. In the colophon of the Tibetan VSS, its title is given as *’dul ba mdo’i ’grel pa bcom brlag ma*⁵. The colophon to a

¹ Apart from the *dBu med* MSS, Taisho University published facsimile editions of “*Śrāvakabhūmi*” Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscript in 1994, *Amoghapāśakalparāja* Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscript in 1997, *Abhisamācārika-Dharma* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin in 1998, and Palm-leaf Sanskrit Manuscripts of *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and *Jñānālokāṃkāra* in 2004. On the history of Sanskrit MS research at Taisho University, see Yonezawa & Nagashima 2014.

² See also *dBu med* MSS SG 2001: 9-22.

³ See *ibid*: 9-18. For details on the other MSS of the VS, see Luo hong 2009.

⁴ The MS is used in the VS’s *Pravrajyāvastu* SG: 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, and 2014.

⁵ D no. 4119, zu 273b5-6; P no. 5621, yu 341b3-4; *dBu med* MSS SG 2001: 12, fn. 5.

chapter of another incomplete VSS MS gives the original Sanskrit behind *bcom brlag* (*ma*) as Māthurī⁶. Most of the interlinear notes in the VS MS (W) correspond to the VSS text⁷. Accordingly, we can presume that both the VS MS and the VSS MS included in the *dBu med* MSS originated in Mathurā, North India. The VV is one of the minor Madhyamaka treatises attributed to Nāgārjuna (ca. 150-250 CE). There has been an abundance of research on this treatise⁸.

1.1 Repositories of the Original MSS

The originals of the *dBu med* MSS are now held in the Tibet Museum in Lhasa, which opened to the public on October 5, 1999⁹. Prior to this the originals had been kept in Nor bu gling ka Palace, in front of the museum. As a member of the Sanskrit MSS Research Team of Taisho University, I was able to access a collection which included the original *dBu med* MSS in Nor bu gling ka Palace in 1997, and at the Tibet Museum in 1999 and 2001¹⁰.

This collection of Sanskrit MSS has a rather complicated history. In 1961 they were included in a collection of the Cultural Palace of Minorities in Beijing. This collection was catalogued by Wangsen 王森 (1912-1991) and in 1993 the whole collection, including the *dBu med* MSS, was brought back to Tibet¹¹. Prior to 1961, the MSS were in the care of Zha lu ri phug monastery in Tibet, which is known as a hermitage of Bu ston rin chen grub. In the 1930s, Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana (1893-1963) with the help of dGe 'dun chos 'phel (1903-1951) reported on the Sanskrit MSS preserved at Zha lu ri phug and also on those at other Tibetan monasteries such as Ngor, Sa skya, and Se ra. From

⁶ See Yonezawa 2016b: 1149.

⁷ See Nakagawa 2002 and the VS's *Pravrajyāvastu* SG 2013, 2014.

⁸ For a textual survey of the VS, see Yonezawa 2008. See also Bhattacharya 2012. For publications on the VV a good resource is Tsukamoto *et al.* 1990: 203-205.

⁹ See "The Tibet Museum". (<http://zt.tibet.cn/english/zt/culture/20040200451384554.htm>) China Tibet Information Center. Retrieved May 18, 2010.

¹⁰ The Tibet Museum seems to be in charge of the 259 Sanskrit MSS which had been preserved in the China Library of Nationalities at the Cultural Palace in Beijing (see 2.2.1 below), as a well as a number of other MSS such as the *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* and the *Bodhisattvapīṭaka*, which used to be at the Nor bu gling ka Palace. The present author saw these MSS at the Tibet Museum in 2001. See also Yonezawa & Nagashima 2014: 326-7.

¹¹ See Steinkellner 2004; Hu von Hinüber 2006; Gyurme 2009.

Sāṅkr̥tyāyana's reports, we know that the *dBu med* MSS had originally been kept at the Zha lu ri phug monastery. We do not know the history prior to this, that is, we do not know how or when the *dBu med* MSS were brought to Zha lu ri phug monastery and incorporated into its library of Sanskrit MSS¹².

2. Testimonies

As mentioned above, Wangsen, Rāhula Sāṅkr̥tyāyana, and dGe 'dun chos 'phel catalogued the original *dBu med* MSS. Information from their catalogues and other descriptions of the MSS are provided and discussed below.

2.1 Wangsen Catalogue

Wangsen catalogued the 259 Sanskrit MSS that were in the care of the China Library of Nationalities at the Cultural Palace of Minorities in Beijing from 1961 to 1993¹³. In his catalogue dated 1985¹⁴, the *dBu med* MSS are listed as follows¹⁵:

7. Vinayasūtra (用藏文字母写的梵本)
律經 (有藏譯本・无汉譯本)
1-62 全 (内 38-46兩叶・共64叶)¹⁶
Guṇaprabha 德光(約四—五世紀人)¹⁷
8. Vinayasūtraṭīkā
律經疏
1-36 全? (内21-27在/3-20之前)
作者不祥
25. Lakṣaṇaṭīkā (依 Rāhula 所标)
相論疏

¹² Although “we still have no idea of the mechanisms by which manuscripts were formally lent out by their institutional or private owners [...] what is clear is that until the second half of the twelfth century, all Tibetan books were written out by hand and circulated by means of copying, lending and borrowing” (van der Kuijp 2013b: 121).

¹³ The 259 MSS were photographed in 35mm microfilm at the Library in Beijing. The present author viewed these photographs in 1997 and 1998.

¹⁴ The catalogue is reproduced in Hu-von Hinüber 2006, Appendix I, pp. 297-334.

¹⁵ For the VS and the VSS see *ibid.* 299; for the *LT see *ibid.* 301; for the VV see *ibid.* 302.

¹⁶ For more details see *ibid.* 9-10.

¹⁷ On the basis of both Tibetan and Chinese sources, Guṇaprabha is dated to 550-630 CE. See *ibid.* 12-14.

- 1-6 前兩叶零四行为梵文・以下系用藏文字母写的梵文
26. 藏文經殘叶
1-3
- 27 藏文字母梵文經 (无首尾)
1-8¹⁸
- 30 Vighavyāvartanī(vṛtti)
廻諍論 (有汉・藏譯本, 梵文本尚无校刊)
1-7 均稍有殘破其末叶尤甚
Nāgārjuna 龙树 (約二世紀人)
此本系用藏文字母在貝叶上写的梵文本

The above data conforms to Sāṅkṛtyāyana's report, quoted below.

2.2 Sāṅkṛtyāyana's Report

Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana took four trips to southern Tibet between 1934 and 1938. On these journies he visited Sa-skya, Zha-lu, and Ngor monasteries in the province of gTsang. He describes the *dBu med* MSS, which were preserved at Zha lu ri phug monastery in 1936, as follows¹⁹:

No.	Title	Script	Size	Leaves	Line	Status
243	Vinayasūtra	Tibetan	22 1/4 x 2 1/4	62	6	Complete
244	" ṭīkā	"	"	36	8	" (?)
245	" (ṭīkā)	"	"	9	8	Incomplete
246	" (lakṣaṇa-ṭīkā)	māgadhī	"	6	7,8	"
247	" (lakṣaṇa in Tibetan)	Tibetan	"	3	9	"
249	Vighavyāvartanī	"	"	7	8	Complete

Sāṅkṛtyāyana provides brief descriptions of the MSS in his footnotes:

(Ad no. 243) Begins — "atha nidānavṛttiḥ | sarvasmin sannipatite saṅghe riti purākalpaḥ || || saṅghādūpasamṣat || Tibetan translation is given between the lines, in several leaves. End— "bhikṣuṇīvibha(sic) Some of the subjects are — śrāmaṇeratvopanayavidhiḥ (1b6). upasamṣadvidhiḥ (2a4). pratyākhyānavidhiḥ (8a3). vadhapārājayikasamāptaḥ (11a5). naissārggika vibhaṅgaḥ (14a4). samāptaśca naissargikaḥ || (18a6). kaṭhinoddhāraḥ (35a6). bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅgasūtrāṇi samāptāni (37b4).

¹⁸ This must be a misprint of "9." See no. 245 in Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937, quoted below.

¹⁹ See Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937: 34-36.

vibhaṅgagataprāyāḥ paribhāṣāḥ samāptā (38b1). samāptam poṣadhavastu (39b6). vārṣikavastu (41a4). pravāraṇāvastu (42a4). kaṭhnavastu (43a2). cīvaravastu (44b3). kṣudrakādicīvaravastu gatam (46b6). bhaiṣajyavastu (49a4). karmavastu (51b3). pratikriyāvastu (53b3). bhūmyantarasthacaraṇavastu (54b4). karmabhedavastu (55b1). adhikaraṇavastu (56b6). vinaya karmasaṅgarahakārikāḥ samāptaḥ || (62b5). || samāptaṁ ca vinayasūtram || (62b5). kṛtir ācāryaguṇabhadrasya || śākyabhikṣudharmakīrttinā sakalasatvārthe likhitam śrīmadvi kra ma śi lā māśritya phālguna(?ṇa)māse ||²⁰ On the cover first page — "śī-la-a-ka-ras-bris-pa"

(Ad no. 244) Begins— "saṅgrahāyākarodyāni bodhisatvo guṇaprabhaḥ | sūtrāṇi vinasyeyam vṛttis teṣāṁ nigadyate ||" on the page 36b6— "vibhaṅgaprāyāḥ paribhāṣā(h) samāptāḥ || || na gocaretyādi poṣadham" So the MS. has commentary up to page 38b.

(Ad no. 245) It begins — "kṣayādhimātram eva hīnam |" (1a7) — "āsāntam digantaṁ uḍucandraḥ śāstracintaivāhiḥ sarppaḥ || madhyamakāvatāra ||" 2ba—"dvyaṅgulā grāse viśeṣaḥ |" 3b6—"iha-dhārmikaḥ vātsīputrīyaḥ | mādhyamikaṁ yathetyādinā dṛṣṭāntena vijñānavādimatam anūdyā evamityādinā dūṣayati|"

(Ad no. 246) The first 2 1/4 leaves are in Māgadhī characters; It begins — "nāgaścāsau śuklatvādarjunaśceti nāgārjunaḥ|" On the page 16a word "prasannapadā" shows that it is a portion of Candrakīrti's commentary on Mādhyamakakārikā.

Among these manuscripts, Sāṅkṛtyāyana photographed the VS and the VSS and copied the VV by hand into Devanāgarī. The photos of the VS and the VSS are listed in entry no. 62 (Xc 14/65) in Bandurski's catalogue²¹. The *LT, corresponding to nos. 246, 247, and 245²², seems to have been neither photographed nor copied.

As shown above, Sāṅkṛtyāyana provisionally gave these MSS, 245–7, the title 'Lakṣaṇaṭīkā,' which the present study adopts.

2.3 Eyewitnesses

Concerning the original MSS in question, we have the information from the catalogues quoted above and also further comments from both Sāṅkṛtyāyana and dGe 'dun chos 'phel. Sāṅkṛtyāyana comments on the MSS in question in the Preface to his edition

²⁰ On the structure of the VS, see *dBu med* MSS SG 2001: 20–21.

²¹ Bandurski 1994: 102–3.

²² Concerning the leaf numbers, see *dBu med* MSS SG 2001: 27 and Part II below (pp. 63–64).

of the VV, while dGe 'dun chos 'phel describes them in his book, *rGyal khams rig pas bskor ba'i gtam rgyud gser gyi thang ma*²³. Further information is available in Roerich's brief note on his translation of the *Deb ther sngon po*²⁴.

2.3.1 Sāṅkrtyāyana

Sāṅkrtyāyana's editions of the VS and the VV are *editiones principes*²⁵. In his posthumously published VS edition, no information about the MS is provided at all. In his VV edition, on the other hand, Sāṅkrtyāyana describes not only the VV MS but he also briefly describes the VS MS. His description runs as follows:

The present manuscript of *Vigrahavyāvarttanī* (*sic.*) was discovered in the monastery of Ṣha-lu in July, 1936. There are seven palm leaves of the size of 22 1/4" x 2 1/2", each leaf containing eight lines. The script is Tibetan u-cen (*sic.*). Though written in running hand it is quite legible. We find the name of the copyist in the colophon—लिखितमिदं श्रीधर्मकीर्तिना. In the same bundle we [have] got a palm leaf manuscript of *Vinayasūtra* of Guṇaprabha which is also written in Tibetan u-cen(*sic.*) by the same copyist. The colophon of which gives additional information that the manuscript was copied in India while the copyist was staying in the monastery of Vikramaśīlā. As for the time, we have got only the name of Phālguṇa without giving the name of the year. From another source (Buddhism in Tibet by R. Sāṅkrtyāyana, appendix XVI.) we know there was a Lo-tsa-va Dharma-grags (=धर्मकीर्तिः) of Gñub, who belonged to the time [of] Ba-ri Lo-tsa-va (1102-1111 A.C.). On the cover of this manuscript, "Śī-la-a-ka-ras-bris pa" (=written by Śīlākara). The manuscript itself was not written by Śīlākara as it is clear from the colophon but on a few pages Tibetan translation is given below the Sanskrit lines in a later and different hand which may be the writing of Śīlākara. We know that Śīlākara or Tshul-khrims-ḥbyuṅ-gnas of Steñ (1106-90 A.C.) translated *Vinaya-sūtra-vyākhyā* of Prajñākara with the Indian Pandit Alaṅka Deva. It seems that the manuscript of *Vinaya-sūtra* along with *Vigrahavyāvarttanī* was copied in India and afterwards it was taken to Tibet, where it came into the hands of Śīlākara. The exact date cannot be given with any certainty. It

²³ Textual problems in the two printed editions such as typos and misspellings are pointed out in Kano 2010. The editions are based not on the original handwritten MSS but on copies. See Kano 2010: 71-2.

²⁴ Roerich acknowledges dGe 'dun chos 'phel in the Introduction to his his translation (Roerich: xxi).

²⁵ Sāṅkrtyāyana 1981 and Jayaswal & Sāṅkrtyāyana 1937 respectively.

may be any time between 1100-20 A.C. all the manuscripts kept in the monastery of Ṣha-lu originally belonged to the great monastery of Sa-skya whence the famous scholar Buston (1290-1364 A.C.) carried them to his monastery of Ṣha-lu²⁶.

In the above explanation, the following points are to be noted: (1) Although they use a Tibetan script (not *dBu can* but *dBu med*), Sāṅkrṭyāyana suggests the MSS were written in India (2) Śīlākāra is identified as sTeng *lo tsā ba* Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas sbas pa, who translated together with Alaṅkāradeva not the *Vinayasūtravyākhyā*, as Sāṅkrṭyāyana states here, but the VSS (3) Sāṅkrṭyāyana assumes that Śīlākāra received the MSS from India when he was in Tibet (4) Dharmakīrti, whom Sāṅkrṭyāyana identifies as the scribe of the MSS, is understood to be a contemporary of Ba ri *lo tsā ba*, the latter of whom who was appointed as the abbot of Sa skya monastery in 1092²⁷.

2.3.2 dGe 'dun chos 'phel

Rev. dGe 'dun chos 'phel who accompanied Sāṅkrṭyāyana on his journey to Tibet also reports on the Sanskrit MSS preserved in the Sa skya and Zha lu ri phug monasteries. His posthumous book, *rGyal khamṣ rig pas bskor ba'i gtam rgyud gser gyi thang ma*, contains brief descriptions of the MSS he viewed. His description of the *dBu med* MSS follows (my trans.):

Vigrahavyāvartanī — *rTsod bzlog* with auto-commentary, composed by Nāgārjuna. 8 lines on [each] long [leaf]. On this palm-leaf, the Sanskrit [text] is written in Tibetan letters. At the end, we read, “[it was] written by gñub Dharmakīrti, a disciple of Jo tsa mi (Sangs rgyas grags pa).”

Vinayasūtra — '*Dul ba'i mdo* composed by the ācārya Guṇaprabha. A commentary in small [letters] on [almost] the entire [text can be found in the margins and between the lines on each leaf]. On the cover, we read, “Written by Shī la a ka ra”; and at the end, “[this text] was written by gñub Chos grags at the holy Vikramaśīla [monastery] in the month of *Phālguna*.” In this palm-leaf as well, Sanskrit is written in Tibetan letters. [The Tibetan] is mostly written in the modern style apart from the long “ī” which is represented by the two vowel signs of “i”, and similarly “ka” [is represented] by “ka'a.” The Vikramaśīla monastery is now in ruins; [it is] in such a condition that almost no trace

²⁶ Jayaswal & Sāṅkrṭyāyana 1937: viii-x.

²⁷ See Roerich 1949: 211.

of it is visible. But the texts are still fresh. The bhikṣu Śīlākāra seems to be also known as sTeng pa lo tsā ba Tshul khrim 'byung gnas, who was a disciple of Khong rtsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa. He studied in India for fifteen years in total, including his earlier and later visits. He revised translations related to the Vinaya many times. He is said to have brought numerous Indian texts to Tibet. These texts with Tibetan notes are considered a [part of] his collection. He was born during the last days of rNgog blo ldan shes rab. According to gZhon nu dpal ('Goms lo), he was the chief lama of Chag dgra bcom pa. His time is known as a period when many Tibetans visited Vikramaśīla. It is said that the university [there] had a shared dormitory for Tibetans.

Comments on the Madhyamaka treatises — Both the Sanskrit and Tibetan [texts] are written in Tibetan letters on palm leaf. In this [group of texts] as well, [we find] handwritten material by gñub Chos grags himself. It [this material by gñub Chos grags] also [includes] comments on the *Prasannapadā*. Some say that by recollecting the birth of Buddhapālita in previous [times and] by recollecting the birth of the ācārya Candrakīrti [in] this [world] in the middle [of this commentary], he [implicitly] supports his [Candrakīrti's] position. In the treatise [of the *Thal bzlog* he writes]: “In the previous [part] it is said that ‘darkness is nothing but nonexistence (*abhāva*).’ [This] is a mistake of the translator who says that [in] “bhā«ḥ» bhāva,” “bhā” is a light, brightness, or the sun” and that “that which is without it is the darkness,” etc. Thereafter, [we find] a Tibetan commentary, in which he reflects on his life and in which the Sanskrit text of the *Prasannapadā* is cited from time to time²⁸.

²⁸ The following text is a revised version of dGe 'dun chos 'phel 1986: 18-19:

Bīgrahavyāvartanī - rtsod bzlog rang 'grel dang bcas klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa brgyad thig dpe
 reng(ring?) | 'di ta la'i lo mar bod yig dang legs sbyar skad du bris pa'i mthar| gñub dharmakīrtis bris|
 Dzo rtsa myi'i mkhan bu yin| bya ba snang |
Binayasūtra - 'dul ba'i mdo slob dpon yon tan 'od kyis mdzad pa dang | de'i 'grel pa cung ma tshang ba'i
 dbu la Shīlākara mchan bu bris pa bya ba dang | mjug tu| dpal ldan Bikramashīlar dpyed zla rva ba la
 gñub chos kyi grags pas bris| bya ba snang zhing | 'di yang dpe gong mtshungs legs sbyar skad bod yig tu
 bras pa ste| E ring po la ii zhes gu gu gnyis rtsegs dang| de bzhin kā la kuu sogs bris pa tsam las| phal cher
 da lta'i bris dang mthun | Bikramashīla ni da lta 'jigs nas shul kyang mi shes pa tsam du song yang | dpe
 de da dung yi ge gsal la phra chem me ba 'dug 'di' dge slong shīlākara bya ba de stengs pa lo tsā ba Tshul
 khrims 'byung gnas yin nam snyam ste| khong rtsa mi sangs rgyas grags pa'i slob ma yang yin| rgya gar
 du snga phyi bsdoms pas lo bco lnga bzhugs| 'dul ba'i skor sogs la 'gyur bcos kyang mang du mdzad cing |
 rgya dpe phon chen gdan drangs zhes bshad pas| phyag dpe bod bris byas pa 'di dag kyang khong gi

Here dGe 'dun chos 'phel identifies the name of the scribe and suggests that Śīlākāra transported the MS to Tibet. He also describes certain paleographical characteristics of the VS, etc. It is notable that he names the *LT “*dBu ma'i skor gyi 'grel pa* (Comments on the Madhyamaka Treatises)” and that a passage from the Tibetan Notes on the VP is quoted literally²⁹.

The description of the Sanskrit MSS provided by dGe 'dun chos 'phel might have served as the basis for Sāṅkṛtyāyana's report and for the description of the MSS in the preface to the VV.

2.3.3 Roerich's Notes

Furthermore, dGe 'dun chos 'phel's journey to the Tibetan monasteries and the knowledge of the MSS he gained on that occasion are reflected in Roerich's translation of the BA. There he relates the following about the original *dBu med* MSS:

The great Commentary composed by the ācārya Candra(kīrti) on the sToñ-ñid bdun-ču-pa (Śūnyatā-saptati, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3827; Candrakīrti composed the Śūnyatā-saptati-vṛtti, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3867) has been translated by Abhaya (Abhayākara) and sNur Dharma-grags (the original manuscript of Dharma-grags is still preserved at the Žwa-lu monastery in gTsañ. Verbal communication by the Rev. dGe-'dun Čhos-'phel)³⁰.

*phyag dpe yin par bsam/ 'di rngog blo ldan shes rab kyi sku tshe'i mjug tsam na 'khrungs shing | chag
dgra bcom pa'i bla ma yin par 'goms los gsungs/ de dus bod rnams Bikramashīlar 'gro ba'i sgnag yin
zhing | der [19]bod pa sdod sa'i spyi khang shing kyang yod pa yin 'dug
dbu ma'i skor gyi 'grel pa dpe ring rgya bod kyi skad bsres nas bod yig tu bris pa'i ta la'i lo ma kha 'thor
zhing snang bal/ dir yang gnub chos grags kyi grags bris rang gi gzugs su 'dug cing | de yang tshig gsal
gyi 'grel bshad zhig stel/ bar skabs shig tu/ de yang slob dpon zla grags 'di skye ba dran pas sngon sangs
rgyas bskyangs su skyes pa dran te de'i 'dod pa la 'bad pa'o zhes kha cig ge'o sogs dang | thal bzlog skabs
shig gong du mun pa ni dngos po med pa tsam zhes pa ni lo tsā ba'i skyon te/ abhā yi bhā ni 'od zer dang |
gzi rjid dam nyi ma la bya bas/ de mad pa ni mun pa sogs 'dug des na bod 'grel rang du snang la bar bar
du tshig gsal rgya skad du bris nas 'dug*

The text is available at http://star.aa.tufs.ac.jp/tibet/?GC%2Fgserthang01%2Ftext#content_1_24 (accessed 16/5/2015). In Dhondup 2012 (pp. 55-78) dGe 'dun chos 'phel's description of the Sanskrit MSS is translated into English. However, there are several misunderstandings due to a lack of first-hand knowledge of the MSS.

²⁹ See the above note and the edition (II 1.4) below.

³⁰ Roerich 1949: 342. Tg. is for bstan 'gyur and the nos. of D are given. BA, Cha 7b7 (304): *stong nyid bdun bcu pa la slob dpon zla bas mdzad pa'i 'grel pa chen po de | a bha ya dang snur dha rma grags kyi bsgyur*

Roerich’s remark that “the original manuscript of Dharma-grags is still preserved in the Zha lu monastery in gTsang” might be misleading at first sight, since one may misinterpret “original manuscript” to mean the Sanskrit MS of the ŚSV³¹. All that Rev. dGe ’dun Chos ’phel must have meant, however, was that the original copy of the Sanskrit MS compiled by Dharma grags was “preserved in the Zha lu monastery.” If we look at Rev. dGe ’dun Chos ’phel’s description of the MSS above, we can see that he identifies Dharmakīrti (Chos grags), the scribe of the MSS and possibly the compiler of the *Lṭ, with sNur D[h]arma grags who translated the ŚSV together with Abhayākara(gupta).

3 The Script of the *dBu med* MSS

Before looking at the direct evidence of the *dBu med* MSS, namely the notes on the cover folio and in the colophons, it will be useful to briefly survey the primary script used in the MSS since it is one of the unique features of these palm-leaf MSS and is of help in ascertaining their date.

On the cover folio (1a) of each of the texts included in the *dBu med* MSS, we find both modern *nāgarī* letters and a Tibetan *dBu med* script that differs from that of the main text. The *nāgarī* letters, which must be an autograph of Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana’s, who viewed the MSS³², are described in the above-mentioned report (Sāṅkrtyāyana 1937) and are not discussed further in the present study. The Tibetan *dBu med* script, on the other hand, is taken into consideration because it provides a clue as to the date of the MSS.

3.1 The Tibetan Script

In the *dBu med* MSS, each letter is written just as in *dBu can* script. As is often found in Tibetan *dpe cha* pages, the *recto* folio begins with *siddham*. This is true for both the Tibetan and Sanskrit texts. The MSS of the Sanskrit texts can be easily distinguished from those of Tibetan as they lack *tshegs*³³.

ba las/.

³¹ For an explanation of this passage, see Erb 1990: lxxxi, Anm 1.

³² See Ye, Li, and Kano 2013: 32–33.

³³ To my knowledge, the only other extant Sanskrit MS written in Tibetan *dBu med* is a MS of Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyādarśa* (MS Y in Dimitrov 2007: 98.). Here, although it is a MS of a Sanskrit text, each letter is

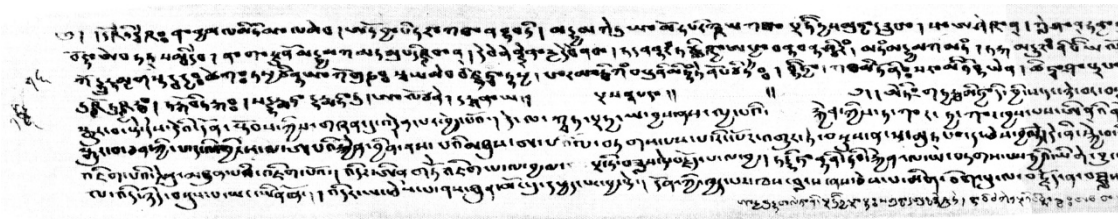


Figure 1. Left part of folio 7b of the *LT MS

In the Tibetan texts included in the *LT, most spellings are modern, as dGe 'dun chos 'phel points out (2.3.2). However, orthographic and paleographic particularities are sometimes found. These include the following: (1) a *thig le* or *bindu* is occasionally used instead of *m*; (2) *la sogs pa* is consistently spelled *la(-)stsogs pa*, etc³⁴. These can be regarded as archaisms. Another archaism is found in the colophon of the VV where we find the spelling 'myi,' which represents the palatalization of 'ma' by 'ya' *btags* before the vowel 'i.'

The *dBu med* script, which can be judged to be the same throughout the MSS, can be classified as the *gshar ma* type³⁵. Based on the handwriting style, it is possible to conclude that the same person was responsible for writing nearly all of the MSS. Concerning the MS of the VS, however, the interlinear Sanskrit notes as well as the Tibetan notes in the colophon appear to have been written by another person at a later date.

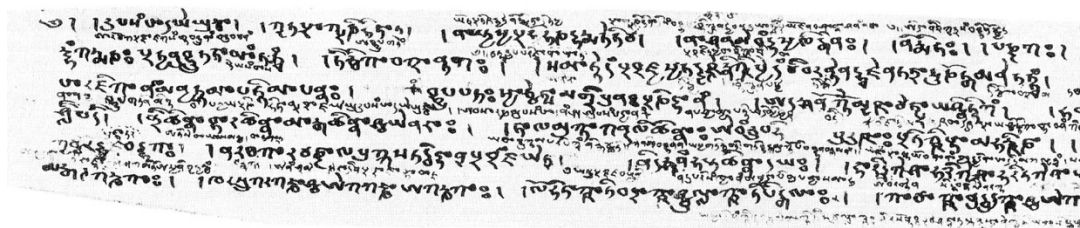


Figure 2. Left part of folio 3a of the VS MS

separated by a *tsheg*.

³⁴ For further details see II 1.2 below.

³⁵ See Gangs can mkhas pa 1990.

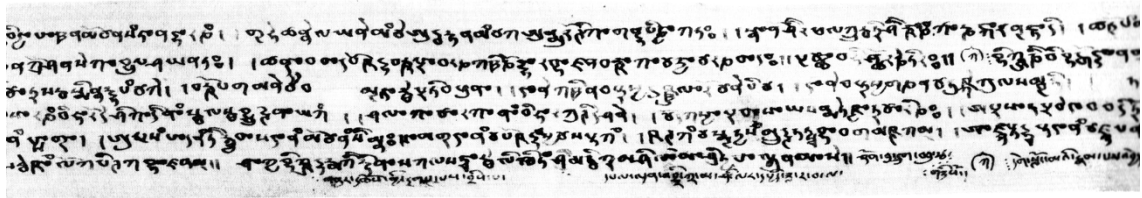


Figure 3. Middle part of folio 65b of the VS MS

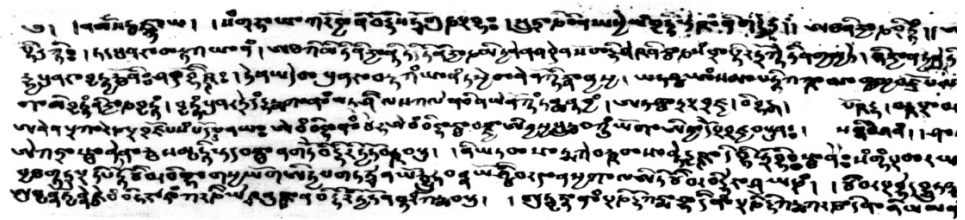


Figure 4. Left part of folio 1b of the VSS MS

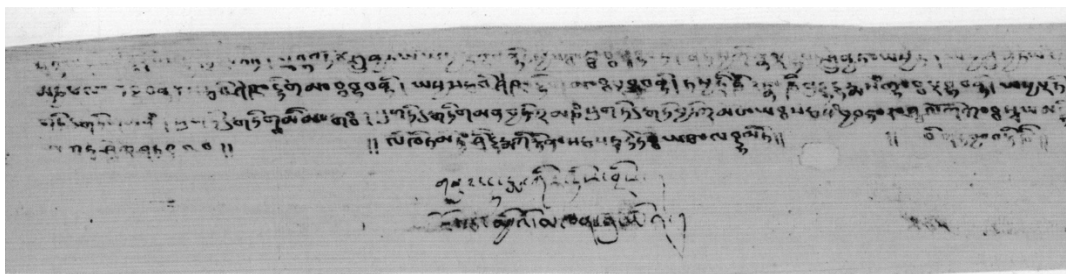


Figure 5. Left part of folio 7b of the VV MS

According to van Schaik 2012, *dBu med* script evolved as a cursive script out of *dBu can*: “the dbu med script evolved over time as the dbu can script was written quickly.” Van Schaik primarily addresses the script in use in the *sNga dar* period, and he deals briefly with materials from the post-Imperial period. Among the latter, the manuscripts dating to the 12th–13th century from the Tangut city of Khara Khoto show a similarity with the *dBu med* MSS.³⁶

³⁶ See van Schaik 2012: 440, Figure 14.21: IOL Tib M 50 = No. 99 (Takeuchi & Iuchi 2016: 66, 370); No. 49

3.2 The *LT's Indian Script

In the *LT MS, an Indian script is used from the beginning of the first folio (1b) to the fourth line of the third folio (3a4). The Tibetan *dBu med* script is used from the next line (3a5) to the end of the MS³⁷. It is worthwhile noting that the Indian script is similar to that found in the MS of the *AsDh*, especially insofar as the vowel sign 'i' is written in the same way.³⁸ Roth calls the script of the *AsDh* MS "Proto-Maithili-cum-Bengali."³⁹ Notably, the Indian script of the *LT is often found in the so-called Vikramaśīla codices⁴⁰. Further, not only the script but also the layout of the folios of the *LT are very similar to the *Abhayapaddhati* MS⁴¹. Roughly speaking, the Indian script used in the *LT can be dated to the period between the end of the 11th and the middle of the 12th century CE.

3.3 Conclusions Based on the Scripts

From the fact that most of texts are written in Tibetan *dBu med* script, it is reasonable to conclude that the MSS's scribe was a Tibetan who had knowledge of Sanskrit, for it is quite unlikely that an Indian would have copied both Sanskrit and Tibetan texts in Tibetan script.

Although the *dBu med* of the MSS is similar to that of other MSS dated from the end of the 12th through the 13th century CE, the Indian script used in the *LT MS is similar to the script current at Vikramaśīla monastery from the 11th to the middle of the 12th century CE.

4 The Direct Evidence

Tibetan notes on the cover folio (1a) of the VS and the VSS as well as Sanskrit or Tibetan notes or both in colophons of the VS and the VV are discussed below. The notes on the cover folios might have been *memoranda* of a librarian at the Tibetan monastery where

(Takeuchi & Iuchi 2016: 41, 320).

³⁷ The reason will be discerned at 2.2 in Chapter 2.

³⁸ See *AsDh* SG 1998: 17-18, 131ff.

³⁹ See Roth 1970: XVIII-XXVII; Bandurski 1994: 9-126, esp., 19-21. Among art historians, this script seems to be called "Bhujimol."

⁴⁰ Samples of the Vikramaśīla codices are introduced in Delhey 2013 and elsewhere.

⁴¹ Based on a personal email communication from Dr. Delhey. See also Luo Hong 2010, Figure 1: APmsc f. 24r.

the MSS were preserved. The symbols used in the transliteration below follow those in the Diplomatic Edition of the *LT (see II. 2 below).

4.1 The Tibetan Notes on the Cover Folio of the VS

On the cover folio (1a) we read the following:

slob dpon yon tan 'od gyis mdzad pa'i ['dul] ba mdo'i + + + [tti] ++ lagso / śī la a ga ras bris ||

“..... [a commentary] on the Vinayasūtra of ācārya Guṇaprabha. Written by Śīlākāra.”

4.2 The Colophon of the VS

Both Sanskrit and Tibetan are found in the colophon (65b5-6) of the VS. The Tibetan, which is written after the Sanskrit, is enclosed in double angle brackets (« ») below. The passage runs as follows:

vinaya «'dul ba» || vinayakarmasaṃgrahakārikāḥ samāptāḥ «'dul ba'i las bsdus pa tshig le'ur byas pa rdzogs sto» || || samāptam vinayasūtram «'dul ba'i mdo rdzogs sto |» || ^[65b6] kṛtir ācāryaguṇaprabhasya «slob dpon yon tan 'od gyis mdzad pa'i» || || anena puṇyena sarveṣāṃ lokapiṭakabhājanam || śākyabhikṣu-Dharmakīrtinā «gnur chos gyis(sic) grags pas bris pa|» sattvārthe likhitam śrīmad-Vikramaśīlām āśritya phālguṇamāse «dpal ldan 'bryi kra ma shi lar dpyod zla a ba la»

shog nu drug bcu rtsa «gnyis po||» {ka} dge slong ma'i rnam par 'byed pa'i sdom la.

“Vinaya. The Vinayakarmasaṃgrahakārikā has been completed. The Vinayasūtra has been completed. [This] is a work of ācārya Guṇaprabha. By this merit, [may] all partake of the piṭaka [that was made] for the people. [This] was written down [copied] by Śākyabhikṣu Dharmakīrti for the benefit of sentient beings during his stay at the venerable Vikramaśīla in the month of phālguṇa.

62 leaves. ka(?) bound together with the Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga.” ⁴²

4.3 The Tibetan Notes on the Cover Folio of the VSS

On the cover folio (1a) of the VSS, we read:

'dul ba mdo rtsa'i 'grel pa

“A commentary on the mūla-Vinayasūtra”

⁴² Apart from the last line, which describes the MS, the Tibetan text is identical with the Sanskrit text written above and is therefore not translated into English.

This sheds little light on the MSS.

4.4 The Colophon of the VV

In the case of the VV, no Tibetan notes are available on the cover folio (1a). The colophon (7b3-6) reads as follows:

ṛtīr iyaṃ ācāryānāgārjunapādān(ā)+++++4^[7b4] ekatra ślokaśata 450 ||

|| likhitam idaṃ śrīdharmakīrtinā(sic) sarvasatvāhetoh yathālabdham iti ||

|| vīgrahavyāvartanī ||

^[7b5] 43 *gnur dharma ki rtis bris|*

slob dpon klu grub gyis mdzad pa tshig sub cad pa bzhi brgya lnga bcus pa||

^[7b6] *jo tsa myi'i mkhan bu yin|*^[44]

“This is a work of ācārya Nāgārjuna ... consisting of 450 ślokas. This [work] was written down [copied] by śrī Dharmakīrti for the benefit of sentient beings, just as [he] received it, [so did he copied it]. Vīgrahavyāvartanī”

Written [copied] by gNur Dharmakīrti

...[who is] a disciple of Jo tsa mi.

4.5 A Summary of the Direct Evidence

From the direct evidence quoted above, it can be surmised that a Tibetan called Dharmakīrti (4.2 and 4.4) or Chos (kyi) grags (4.2) was the scribe or complier of the *dBu med* MSS and that he produced these copies at Vikramaśīla monastery in northern India (4.2). Although “the month of *phālguna*” (February/March) appears in the colophon of VS (4.2), no further indication of the date is given. Incidentally, the Tibetan notes on the cover folio of the VS (4.1) can be regarded as a description of the interlinear notes.

4.6 Persons Related to Dharmakīrti

In the above, we have come across the names Śīlākāra (4.1) and Jo tsa mi (4.4). For our study it will be useful to summarize what we know of them.

⁴³ From here the passage is written in another hand.

⁴⁴ This line, written just below “*gnur dharma ki rtis bris|*,” was not reported in Yonezawa 2008.

4.6.1 Śīlākāra/sTeng lo tsā ba Tshul khrims 'byung gnas⁴⁵

We read '*shī la a ka ras bris pa* (Written by Śīlākāra)' on the cover folio of the VS MS (4.1). As both dGe 'dun chos 'phel and Sāṅkr̥tyāyana concluded, Śīlākāra is the Tibetan sTeng lo tsā ba Tshul khrims 'byung gnas (sbas pa). His Tibetan translations are as follows:

rNal 'byor chen po'i rgyud dpal rdo rje phreng ba'i rgya cher 'grel pa zab mo'i don gyi 'grel pa (Śrī-vajramālāmahāyogatantraṭīkā-gambhīrārthadīpikā) of Alaṃkakalaśa; tr. together with Alaṃkakalaśa (P 2660; D 1795).

rMugs 'dzin 'chol ba'i sgrub thabs (Ucchuṣma-jambhala-sādhana) of Abhayākaragupta; tr. together with Alaṃkadeva; rev. by Mahā-Vibhūticandra, Chos rje dpal (P 4565; D 3743).

bCom ldan 'das ma'i man ngag go rjes su 'brang ba (Bhagavaty-āmnāyānusāriṇī) of dPal ldan rgyal po Jagattar gnas pa (Śrī-rāja-Jagaddalanivāsin); tr. together with Alaṃkadeva (Alaṃkāradeva) (P 5209; D 3811).

'Dul ba'i mdo'i 'grel ba mngon par brjod pa rang gi rnam par bshad pa (Vinayasūtra-vṛtti abhidhāna-svavyākhyāna) of Yon tan 'od (Guṇaprabha); tr. together with Alaṃkadeva (Alaṃkāradeva) (P 5621; D 4119).

Seng ge zhabs 'bring pa'i skyes pa rabs kyi phreng ba (Haribhaṭṭa-Jātakamālā) of rGyal po'i sras Seng ge zhabs 'bring pa (Rājaputrācārya-Haribhaṭṭa); tr. together with Paṇḍitālaṃkadeva'i zhabs (Alaṃkadeva, Alaṃkāradeva) (P 5652; D 4152).

As noted here, all of the translations of sTeng lo tsā ba Tshul khrims 'byung gnas (sbas pa) were produced in collaboration with Alaṃkakalaśa/Alaṃkadeva/Alaṃkāradeva⁴⁶. This Kashmiri composed a treatise of his own in the genre of Esoteric Buddhism and his knowledge extended to Kāvya literature as well. As mentioned above, it was Alaṃkāradeva and Śīlākāra who translated the VSS into Tibetan.

The biography of Śīlākāra alias sTeng lo tsā ba Tshul khrims 'byung gnas in the BA runs as follows:

(Roerich trans.) The sTeñs-pa lo-tsā-ba Tshul-khrims 'byuñ-gnas whose benefit was great for the Lineage of the Recitation of Sūtras in Tibet: He was born in the year Fire-Female-Hog (me-mo-phag—1107 A.D.) as son of father sTeñ-pa Tog-'bar and mother mDa'-mo Bu-skyid. At the age of six he peeped through the hole in

⁴⁵ See also Yonezawa 2016.

⁴⁶ For more about this Kashmiri scholar, see also Naudou 1980: 240–242.

the Wall and saw numerous countries (filled) with caityas. Later when he came to India, he discovered it to (be the same country seen previously by him). At the age of ten, he recited some mantras of Acala and was able to cure the ailments of others by blowing on the patient. From his childhood he placed confidence in the Ratna. At the age of 13, he proceeded to Dags-po, because of ill-treatment by his step-mother. He conveyed to his father's house all presents received by him for reciting sacred texts, but his father scolded him. He became sad, and again returned to Dag-po. There he cut his hair in the presence of sKam-mo gnas-brtan, and assumed the appearance of a monk. He had auspicious dreams. At the age of 15, he took up ordination in the presence of rGya-'dul in Upper Myan. He learnt the "Domain of Practice" (sPyod-phyogs) from Čhims, the "All-knowing." He received the final monastic ordination, bTsun-Śul-rgya acting as upādhyāya, dGe-'dun-skyabs of gÑal acting as ācārya, and Tshul-'phags of sKyī acting as Secret-Preceptor (gsaṅ-ston, gsaṅ-ste-ston-pa, raho'nuśāsaka, Mhvtpt, No. 8730). Desirous of going to India, but having no gold (to take with him), he copied two volumes of the Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā. For this he received 12 golden žos, which he took with him. When he reached Diṅ-ri, Ārya Avalokiteśvara in the guise of an old man, showed him the road. When he reached Nepāl, he prayed for a safe journey to 'Phags-pa 'Ja'-ma-li (at Kāṭhamāndu/Nepāl/. Nowadays called by Tibetan pilgrims 'Dzam-gliṅ dkar-mo) and other images. Then without regard for his life, he journeyed to India and met in Magadha Tsa-mi Saṅs-rgyas grags-pa. He spent ten years with him and then fell ill with malaria. The Tārā prescribed him an ablution, and he was cured. About that time his younger brother Čhos-'bar sold the field, and realized much gold. He left Dags-po and went inquiring about his brother, and thus arrived in Vajrāsana. He said: "The father has died. I have completed the funeral rites. This gold is your share. Now I shall return to my native place." But (sTeṅs-pa lo-tsā-ba) persuaded him to take up study and he became a learned paṇḍita, but died of fever. About the time of his death, he said: "You should take my bones to dGe-ri." Thrice he made him swear: "I shall proceed to Tibet." After that (sTeṅs-pa lo-tsā-ba) returned (to Tibet) and erected a caitya (a relic holder — gduṅ-khaṅ) for his remains. He completed his copying of twenty volumes of the Prajñāpāramitā begun by (his) father. Then taking with him about

fifty golden sraṅs, he again journeyed to India and found that the Teacher Tsami was no more. He offered presents to his mortal remains. He studied extensively the Tantras and Sūtras under thirteen scholars: the mahā-pañḍita Saṃ-ga-ta virwa (Saṃgatavīra), Daśabalaśrī (in the text Dā-sa-bhā-la-śrī), Candrakīrti, Sudhanagupta, Śīlacandra, Vimalarakṣita, Jayagupta, Siṃhahara, Bhāskara, Śīlaśrī, Vasantatilaka, Ānandadeva, and the Nepālese pañḍita Nayaśrī. He invited the pañḍita Alaṅkādeva (~Alaṅkāradeva), a descendant of the Kashmirian Trilocana (sPyan gsum-pa, a famous grammarian). He collected many man-loads of Indian books (many of his books are still preserved in the monastery of Ņor. The words “books of Śīlākara”/Tshul-Khrims ’byuñ-gnas/ are inscribed on the manuscripts. Verbal communication by Rev. dGe-’dun-čhos-’phel). He made numerous translations and revised existing translations: the sGrub-thabs bsdus-pa čhen-po, the ’Dul-ba rañ-gi rnam-bśad (Vinayasūtravṛtṭyabhidhāna-svavyākhyāna-nāma, Tg. rGyud, No. 4119), the Ņi-khri-gžuñ-’grel (Ārya-Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra-abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā-vārtika, Tg. Śer-phyin, No. 3788), the Jātakamālā composed by (Ārya)śūra (Tg. No. 4150), the Kālacakramūlatantra (Dus-’khor rtsa-rgyud. Probably the Kālacakranāma-tantrarāja, Kg. rGyud-’bum, No. 362), and the Cycle of Nāgarjuna (the Guhyasamaja), according to the method of the pañḍita Alaṅkāradeva. At that time he spent five years in India. Then having again come to India, he studied for three years the Mahāvibhāṣā (Bye-brag bśad-pa čhen-po; there exists a report that half of the Bye-brag bśad-pa had been translated during the reign of Khri-sroñ lde-btsan). He brought to Tibet the Sanskrit text of this book. After that he and Alaṅkāradeva translated it, but after finishing two thirds of the text, the pañḍita passed away.

Instead of a funeral rite, they held a great religious assembly of 48 religious chairs. In general, he possessed a clear vision of the maṇḍala of the sixty-two deities of the Saṃvara parivāra, and of many dharmapālas. He became the teacher of great scholars, such as Gro-luñ-pa čhen-po and others, and the Master of the Doctrine. He passed away at the age of 84, in the year Iron-Male-Dog (lčags-

pho-khyi — 1190 A.D.). 82 years had passed since the death of the great lo-tsā-ba bLo-ldan Śes-rab. Many relics and images were recovered (from the ashes)⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ Roerich 1949:1052-4. The verbal communication from Rev. dGe-'dun-chos-'phel that Roerich mentions (i.e., "The words 'books of Śīlākara'/Tshul-Khrims 'byuñ-gnas/ are inscribed on the manuscripts") must be a reference to the Tibetan notes on the VS cover folio (see 4.1 above). BA(933-935 = 21a5-22a6): Bod 'dir mdi sde rnams kyi lung go rgyun la shin tu phan che ba sTengs pa lo tsā ba Tshul khrims 'byung gnas ni/ yab sTeng pa tog 'bar dang / yum mda' mo bu skyid gnyis kyi sras su me mo phag go lo la 'khrungs/ lo drug lon ps na gyang phug gcig na phar bltas pas mchod rten dang bcas pa'i yul khams mang po mthong / phyis rgya gar du byon tsa na de ka bzhin du 'dug/ lo bcu lon pa'i tshel/ mi gYo ba la bsnyen pa dum re byas pas gzhan gyi and rigs gang la yang sngags btab pas phan par byung byis pa'i dus nas dkon mchog la blo khell/ ma yar stad pas lo bcu gsum lon pa'i tshel dags por byon klog 'don byas pa'i rnyed pa pha'i khyim du bskyal pas pha yang 'bar/ skyo ba skyes nas yang dwags por byon/ skan mo gnas brtan la skra bcad/ ser gzugs byas pas rmi ltas bzang po byung / bcwa lnga la myang ston du rgya 'dul la rab tu byung / 'chims thams cad mkhyen pa la spyod phyogs bslabs/ bcu dgu la rgyas mkhan po/ gnyal pa dGe 'dun skyabs kyis slob dpon/ skyi po tshul 'phags kyis gsang ston mdzad de bsnyen par rdzogs/ rgya gar du 'byon bzhed pa la gser med pas 'bum po ti gnyis bris/ gser zho bcu gnyis byung ba bsname nas byon/ ding rir sleb pa na spyen ras zgigs kyis mi rgan gcig tu sprul nas lam gyi rgyus bshad/ de nas bal por byon 'phagas pa 'ja' ma li sogs la lam gyi 'jigs pa med pa'i gsol ba btab/ srog la phangs pa med par byon pas ma ga dhar Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags dang mjal/ khong gi drung du lo bcu bzhugs/ chang nang kyis bsnyung ba la sgrol mas khros chab gsol bas dang/ de dus gcung chos 'bar zhing bcongs nas gser mang po khyer te dags po nas gar song 'dri zhing 'dos nas rdo rje gdan du sleb kho na re/ yab grongs shing kyang nged kyis char/ gser 'di khyed kyis skal pa yin/ da yul du 'gro zer ba la zhal ta mdzad nas slob gnyer la btsud pas pañḍi ta mkhas pa cig byung ste tshad pas grongs/ 'da' khar khyed kyis da'i rus pa 'di dge rir skyel dgos zer nas bod du mi 'gro rim na' lan gsum bsgags/ de nas tshul byon khong gi ched du gdung khang bzhangs/ yab kyis dbu btsugs pa'i 'bum nyi shu bum cig go 'phro yang tshar/ de nas gser srang lnga bcu tsam bsname tel/ slar rgya gar byon pas bla ma tsa mi gzugs par 'dus pas gdung la mchod pa phull/ de nas pañḍita chen po Saṃ ga ta virya/ dā sa bhāla śrī/ tsandra kīti/ su dhana gupta/ śīla tsa ndra/ bi ma la rakṣi ta/ dza ya gupta/ sinha ha ra/ bhā sa ka ra śī la śrī vasanta ti la ka / ā nand de va/ bal po'i pañḍi ta na ya śrī ste pañḍi ta bcu gsum la sngags mtshan nyid kyis gsan pa mang du mdzad/ kha che spyen gsum pa'i brgyud pañḍi ta alaṅka deva spyen drangs/ rgya dpe yang mi khur mang du bsags mas sgrub thabs 'sdus pa chen po/ 'dul ba rang gi rnam bshad/ nyi khri gzhung 'grel/ dpa' bos mdzad pa'i skyes rabs/ dus 'khor rtsa rgyud/ 'phags skor pañḍi ta alaṅka deva'i lugs sogs gzhi 'gyur dang 'gyur bcom mang du mdzad/ de rjes rgya gar du lo lnga bzhugs/ yang rgya gar du byon nas bye brag bshad pa chen mo lo gsum du bslabs/ bod du yang rgya dpe spyen drangs nas alaṅka de va dang gnyis kyis bsgyur ba las sum gnyis tasm 'gyur pa na pañḍi ta sku gshegs/ gshegs 'dab la chos khri bzhi bcu rtsa brgyad tsam brtsigs pa'i chos 'khor che ba cig mdzad/ spyir bde mchog drug bcu rtsa gnyis kyis dkyil 'khor dang chos skyong mang po'i zhal mngon sum du zgigs/ gro lung pa chen po la sogs pa'i mkhas pa che dgus zhabs la gtugs nas bstan pa'i bdag por gyur nas dgung lo brgyad bcu rtsa bhi pa lcags pha khyi'i lo la gshegs/ de'i tshel lo tsā ba chen po blo ldan shes rab gshegs nas lo brgyad bcu rtsa gnyis song / rten ring bsrel yang mang du byon noll.

From the above, it becomes clear that sTeng lo tsā ba Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas (1107–1190 CE) stayed in India for a total of eighteen years. During his first stay, he spent ten years under the supervision of Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa in Magadha. If he left Tibet immediately after his ordination, the period of his stay can be tentatively dated to 1127 through 1136 CE. Since he left India to erect a *caitya* for his brother, and since we are told that he embarked on only one writing project at the time, it seems that he soon returned to India. Therefore, if we accept the above date for his first journey to India, we can conjecture that his second stay, which lasted 5 years, probably took place between 1137 and 1141 CE, when he was in his early thirties. In this period, he not only studied many texts under the thirteen scholars named in the BA, but he also collected numerous Sanskrit MSS and brought them back to Tibet. It is uncertain how old he was when he went to India for the third and final time, on a visit that lasted three years. It is interesting to note that having taken up his family's profession he became so skilled a scribe that he could thereby fund his journey to India.

Since the BA identifies Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa as Śīlākāra/sTeng lo tsā ba Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas' teacher, if the brief description on the cover folio of the VS MS (4.1) is taken seriously together with the Tibetan notes “*jo tsa myi'i mkhan bu yin* ([who is] a disciple of Jo tsa mi)” just below ‘*gnur dharma ki rti*’ in the VV's colophon (4.4), we might wonder whether sTeng lo tsā ba Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas and the scribe gNur Dharma grags are one and the same person. However, dGe 'dun chos 'phel suggests this Tibetan *lo tsā ba* is not the scribe but the person who brought the *dBu med* MSS to Tibet. This seems quite reasonable from the descriptions in the BA.

4.6.2 Jo tsa mi/Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa

The name of Jo tsa mi appears under the words “Written by gNur Dharmakīrti” in the colophon of the VV (4.4). From the above citation, we know he was the first teacher of sTeng lo tsā ba Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas in India.

According to various Tibetan sources, Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa was originally from Mi-nyag (Tangut), went to India as a youth, and later became the abbot of the [main monastery] at Bodhgaya⁴⁸. For this reason, he is also called Mi nyag chen po or Mi nyag lo tsā ba. Although the exact dates of his birth and death do not seem to have

⁴⁸ See van der Kuijp 1993, 195; Sperling 1994.

been documented, according to the BA cited above, it can be said that he died around 1137 CE, when sTeng lo tsā ba Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas went to India for the second time.

In the Tibetan canon his name (underlined below) is found in association with the following works as author, translator, or reviser:

dPal rdo rjenag po chen po khros pa'i mgon po gsang ba dngos grub 'byung ba zhes by aba'i rgyud (*Śrī-vajramāhālakrodhanātharahasyasiddhibhavantra-nāma*); tr. by Abhayākaragupta-pāda and Khe'u gang 'khor lo grags; rev. by Sangs rgyas grags pa and Ke po shes rab dbal (D 416; P 62)

dPal yang dag par sbyor ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa man ngag go snye ma (*Śrī-saṃpuṭa-tantrarāja-ṭīkā-āmnāyamañjarī-nāma*) of Abhayākaragupta; tr. by Abhayākara-gupta and Sangs rgyas grags pa; rev. by Chos kyi bzang po and Blo gros brtan pa (D 1198; P 2328)

Sbyor pa'i phreng ba (*Yogamālā*) of rTsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa; tr. by Shes rab dpal (D 1376)

dPal lhan cig skyes pa'i man ngag bdag byin gyis brlab pa (*śrī-Sahajopadeśasvādhiṣṭhāna*) of Ri khrod pa cen po (Mahāśabara); tr. by Mi nyag lo tsā ba (D 1458; P 2174)

dPal lhan cig skyes pa bde ba'i mchog bdag byin gyis brla pa (*śrī-Sahajaśambarasvādhiṣṭhāna*) by Mi nyag chen po of Indrabodhi 'bring po (Madhyamendrabhūti) (D 1459; P 2176)

dPal lhan cig skyes pa bde ba'i mchog bdag byin gyis brla pa (*śrī-Sahajaśambarasvādhiṣṭhāna*) of Tello(Tilli) pa; tr. by Mi nyag chen po (D 1471; P 2193)

dPal nag po chen po'i sgrub thabs (*śrī-Mahākāla-sādhana*) of 'Phags pa Klu sgrub (Ārya-Nāgārjuna); tr. by Abhayākara and rTsa mi chen po (D 1772; P 2628)

dPal mgon po'i nang sgrub (*śrī-Mahākālāntara-sādhana*); tr. by Abhayākara and rTsa mi chen po (D 1760; P 2629)

rJe btsun dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa (*śrī-Bhaṭṭāraka-mahākāla-stotra*) of rTsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa; tr. by Se lo tsā ba (D 1776; P 2642)

rDo rje theg pa'i ltung ba'i snye ma (Vajrayānāpatti-mañjarī-nāma) of Abhayākaragupta; tr. by Abhayākaragupta and Sangs rgyas grags pa (D 2484; P 3310).

rDo rje theg pa rtso ba'i ltung ba'i las kyi cho ga (Vajrayāna-mūlāpatti-karma-vidhi) of Vajrāsanaguru; tr. by Abhayākaragupta and rTsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa (D 3728; P 4550).

gNyes su med pa'i rnal 'byor zhes bya ba dang po'i sangs rgyas kyi bsgrub pa (Avadhūtayoga-nāma-ādibuddha-sadhana) of Kālacakrarati-pa; tr. by Dus kyi 'khor lo zhabs chung ngu and Sangs rgyas grags pa; rev. by bDag dpon dpal (P 4612)

Grub thob brgyad cu rtso bzhi'i rtog brjod doha 'grel pa dang bcas pa [Dohāvṛtti-sahita-caturaśīti-siddhāvadāna] of dPa' bo 'od gsal (Vajraprabhāsvara) and Abhayaśrī; tr. by Mi nyag lo tsā ba (P 5092)

As can be seen from this list, Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa was a master of Esoteric Buddhism centered on the *Kālacakra* and *Mahākāla*, and had a close relationship with Abhayākaragupta⁴⁹.

5 The Scribe and His Date

On the basis of the colophon of the VS (4.2), we can conclude that the exemplars of the *dBu med* MSS were copied at Vikramaśīla monastery in eastern India. What follows is intended not only to identify the scribe but also to determine the date of the MSS therefrom.

5.1 The Name of the Scribe

In colophons of both the VS and the VV (4.2 and 4.4 above), the scribe's name is given as 'Dharmakīrti'. Below the line of the Sanskrit text, furthermore, we read *gnur chos gyis* (sic) *grags pa* in the VS colophon, and *gnur dharma ki rti* in the VV colophon. The Tibetan word 'gnur' probably indicates the family name of the scribe⁵⁰. Both Sāṅkṛtyāyana and dGe 'dun chos 'phel read 'gnub' for 'gnur' (See 4.1 and 4.2 above). They most likely read

⁴⁹ BA 669 (tha 5a5); Roerich 1949: 761; Sperling 1994.

⁵⁰ Verbal communication from Lama Tsultrim Kelsang Khangkar. As for 'snur,' see Erb 1997: 114 Anm. 120: "Snur soll eine Ortbezeichnung in Ladakh sein (mündliche Mitteilung von Prof. D. Jackson)." Thus, as is often observed, the family name is derived from the name of the region whence the family came.

“r” with a *tsheg* as “b”⁵¹.

5.2 The Scribe as a Translator (*lo tsā ba*)

It is quite reasonable to suppose, following Sāṅkṛtyāyana and dGe ’dun chos ’phel, that the scribe called “Dharmakīrti” or “Chos (kyi) grags (pa)” was a Tibetan translator (*lo tsā ba*). In the *bsTan ’gyur* of the Tibetan canon, we find the names Dharmakīrti and Chos (kyi) grags (pa), as well as the mixed form D[h]arma grags. There the works associated with these names are as follows:

Dharmakīrti:

Dus kyi ’khor lo la ’jug pa zhes bya ba (*Kālacakrāvātāra-nāma*) of Abhayākara Gupta (D 1383; P 2098)

’Phags pa ’jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa’i ’grel pa bdud rtsi’i thigs pa sgron ma gsal ba zhes bya ba (*ārya-Maṅjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti-amṛtabindupratyālokavṛtti-nāma*) of Anupamarakṣita; tr. together with Sugataśrī and rDo rje rgyal mtshan (Vajradhva) (D 1396; P 2112)

rDo rje phag mo dkar mo’i sgrub thabs (*Śuklavajravarāhīsādhana*) of Kokadatta; tr. together with Rakṣita (D 1573; P 2281)

rJe btsun ma sgrol ma’i man ngag me long dwangs pa zhes bya ba ([*Ādarśaprasāda-nāma-tārābhaṭṭārikopadeśa*]) of Śāśvatavajra; tr. together with rMa lo tsā ba, and Gus ston (D 1743; P 2614)⁵²

Ma he’i zhal gyi sgrub pa’i thabs (*Mahīśānanasya sādhana*) of Śrīdhara; tr. together with Vairocanarakṣita (D 1975; P 2838)

Shes rab ye shes gsal ba (*Prajñājñānaprakāśa*) of Devacandra; tr. together with Vajrapāṇi (D 2226; P 3070)

So sor ’brang ma chen mo’i bsrung ba ([*Mahāpratisarāraṅkāśa*]) of Buddhajñāna; tr. together with Sumatikīrti (D 3124; P 3945)

nGag gi rgyal po sgrub pa’i sgrub thabs (*Vāgrājasādhana*/P: *Vāg-*) (D 3314; P 4135)

rGyal po chen po’jam dpal rol pa’i sgrub thabs (*Mahārājaḍḍḍāmaṅjuśrīsādhana*) (D 3315; P 4136)

Rig pa ’dzin pa’i sde snod du gsungs pa’i mdor bsod pa’i ’jam dpal gyi sgrub pa’i thabs (*Vidyādharaṇṇakāśaṃkṣiptamaṅjuśrīsādhana*) (D 3316; P 4137)

Yan lag med pa’i rdo rje ’jam pa’i dbyangs kyi sgrub thabs (*Vajrāṇāṅgamaṅjughoṣasādhana*) (D 3319; P 4140)

⁵¹ See Figures 3 and 5 above.

⁵² In the catalogue of P, translators are listed as rMa lo tsā ba, Ba ri lo tsā ba, Dharmakīrti, Gus ston.

Chos kyi dbyings ngag gi dbang phyug gi sgrub pa'i thabs (Dharmadhātuvāgīśvarasādhana) (D 3320; P 4141)

'Jam dpal shes rab kyi 'khor lo sgrub pa'i thabs (Mañjuśrīprajñācākrasādhana) (D 3323; P 4144)

'Phrul du nyams su myong ba'i a ra pa tsa na'i sgrub thabs ([Sadyo 'nubhavārapacanasādhana]) (D 3324; P 4145)

gShin rje (gshed) nag po'i sgrub pa'i thabs ([Kṛṣṇayamārisādhana]) (D 3325; P 4146)

bDe ba'i 'byung gnas dpal ldan rje btsun ma la bstod pa ([Sukhākara-śrīmatī-bhaṭṭārikāstotra]) of mTshan yongs su grags pa rin po che (P 4877)

Chos (kyi) grags (pa)

Chos kyi grags pa:

dPal ngan song thams cad yongs su sbyong ba'i rgyud las phyung ba spyen ma'i ngan song sbyong ba'i cho ga (śrī-Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantroddhṛta-locanā-durgati-śodha-vidhi) (D 1907; P 2771)

gShing rje gshed nag po'i sgrub thabs ([Kṛṣṇamāri-sādhana]) (D 3325; P 4147)

Tshogs kyi bdag po chen po kham gsum dbang sdud dmar po'i sgrub pa'i thabs (Mahāgaṇapati-dhāturika-rakta-vaśikara-sādhana) (P 4992)

Tshogs kyi bdag po dam tshig gsang ba'i bsgrub thabs zhes bya ba (Gaṇapati-samaya-guhyasādhana nāma) (P 4995)

Chos grags dpal bzang po:

rDo rje'i tshig gi snying po bsdu pa'i dka' 'grel (Vajrapada-sāra-saṃgraha-pañjikā) (D 1186; P 2316)

Rang gi lta ba'i 'dod pa mdor bstan pa yongs su brtags pa zhes bya ba (Pradarśanānumatoddeśa-parīkṣā nāma) (P 4610)

dKon mchog Chos grags:

P'a ṇi ni'i byings kyi mdo (Pāṇinidhātusūtra) of Bhīmasena; tr. together with Kṛṣṇodaya and (P 5913)

Ba ri Chos kyi grags pa:

'Phags pa 'jam pa'i rdo rje'i dpa' bo gcig [tu grub] pa'i sgrub thabs (ārya-Maṇjuvajra-siddhikavīrasādhana) (D 3322; P 4143)

Blo bzang Chos grags:

tshe'i rig byed mtha' dag gi snying po bsdu pa ([Āyurvedasarvasvasārasaṃgraha]) of Brahmaputra Hasavajra; tr. by Khyim spangs Sa spyod and Ngag dbang phun tshogs lhun grub; rev. by Blo bzang chos grags (P 5879)

D[h]arma grags

Darma grags:

De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi sku gsung thugs gshin rje gshed nag po zhes bya ba'i rgyud (Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittakṛṣṇāyamāri-nāma-tantra); tr. by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba; rev. together with Bāro phyag rdun and rDo rje grags (D 467; P 103)

dPal mgon po nag po chen po'i sgrub thabs kyi rim pa (Ārya-nāthamahākālasādhana-krama) of Nāgārjuna; tr. together with 'Bum phrag gsum pa (D 1752; P 4898)

dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyan zhes bya ba (Ārya-Guhyasamājālaṃkāra-nāma) of Vimalagupta; tr. together with Sunayaśrī-mitra (D 1848; P 2711)

Le'u bco brgyad pa'i rnam par bshad pa ([Aṣṭādaśapaṭalavyākhyāna]) of Candraprabha; tr. together with Sunayaśrī-mitra (D 1849; P 2712)

De kho na nyid bcu pa (Daśatattva) of Alaṅkāra (D 1895; P 2759)

U tsu shm'a dzam bha la zhes bya ba'i sgrub thabs ([Ucchuṣmajambhalasādhana-nāma]) of Āryamati (D 3744; P 4567)

Maṇḍala gyi cho ga (Maṇḍalavidhi) of Ratnākara-gupta (D 3764=4528; P 4147=5441)

Byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa'i cho ga (bodhisattvasaṃvaravidhi) of Bodhibhadra; tr. together with Sunāyaśrī-mitra (D 3967=4491; P 5362=5404)

dGe bsnyen gyi sdom pa brgyad pa (Upāsakasaṃvarāṣṭaka) of Sunayaśrī; tr. together with Sunayaśrī (D 4141; P 5642)

dGe bsnyen gyi sdom pa brgyad pa'i bshad pa (Upāsakasaṃvarāṣṭakavivaraṇa) of Sunayaśrī; tr. together with Sunayaśrī (D 4142; P 5643)

rTsod pa'i rigs pa zhes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa (Vādanyāya-nāma-prakaraṇa) of Dharmakīrti; tr. by Jñānaśrībhadra and dGe ba'i blo gros; rev. together with Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (D 4218; P 5715)

Zhal bzhi pa'i dam tshig dngos grub bsgrub pa'i thabs zhes bya ba (Caturmukhasamaya-siddhisādhana-nāma) of Rakṣita (P 4901)

sKa cog Dar ma grags:

rDo rje snying po rdo rje lce dbab pa zhes bya ba'i gzungs (Vajrahṛdayavajrajihvānala-nāma-dhāraṇī) (D 462; P 100)

gNyan Dar ma grags:

dPal gshin rje tsho bdag nag po'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga (ārya-Yamakālāyuspatimaṇḍalavidhi) of Nag po (Kṛṣṇa); tr. together with Nag po (D 2089; P 4822) (NB. gnyan dar in D)

mTshan yang dag par brjod pa zhes bya ba'i sgrub thabs (Nāmasaṃgīti-nāma-sādhana) (D 2616; P 3443)

sTong pa nyid bdun cu pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa zhes bya ba (*Śūnyatāsaptatikārikā-nāma*) of Nāgārjuna; tr. together with gzhon nu mchog (D 3827; P 5227)

Byang chub kyi spyod pa la 'jug pa'i dka' 'grel (*Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*) of Prajñākaramati; tr. together with Sumatikīrti; (P) rev. by Mar pa chos kyi dbang phyug (D 3872; P 5273)

gNyen chung Dharma grags:

dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud phyi ma rgyud kyi snying po zhes bya ba (*śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottaratantra-hṛdaya nāma*) (D 363; P 5)

Ding ri Chos grags:

dPal nag po chen po la bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba (*ārya-Mahākālasya stotra-aṣṭamantra-nāma*) of Nāgārjuna; tr. together with Vairocana vajra (D 1779; P 2645)

lDi ri chos kyi grags pa (D):

dPal ngan song thams cad yongs su sbyong ba'i rgyud las phyung ba spyang ma'i ngan song sbyong ba'i cho ga (*ārya-Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantroddhṛtalocanādurgatīśodhanavidhi*) of sTong nyid ting nge 'dzin rdo rje; tr. together with Avadhūti-Vairocana vajra (D 1907; P 2771)

sNur Darma grags

sTong nyid bdun cu pa'i 'grel pa (*Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti*) of Candrakīrti; tr. together with Abhayākaragupta (D 3867; P 5268)

Dharmakīrti, known as *Ba ri lo tsā ba*, will be discussed below. Several authors are known by the name Chos (kyi) grags (pa). However, based on the works associated with them, none are likely to be the scribe of the *dBu med* MSS. Among those who go by the name D[h]arma grags, there are two whom we might identify as the scribe: gNyan Darma grags and sNur Darma grags. Both are translators of Madhyamaka texts. Hence, one of these three, Dharmakīrti, gNyan Darma grags, or sNur Darma grags, might be the scribe of the *dBu med* MSS.

5.2.1. Ba ri lo tsā ba

In his preface to the VV, Sāṅkṛtyāyana identifies the scribe of the VV and the VS as “a Lo-tsa-va Dharma-grags (=Dharmakīrtiḥ) of Gñub, who belonged to the time of Ba-ri Lo-

tsa-va (1102-1111 CE)⁵³”. In other words, he regards Ba ri lo tsā ba and the scribe as two different people. The date he provides in parentheses is the period when Ba ri lo tsā ba was active as the abbot of the Sa skya monastery⁵⁴. Sāṅkr̥tyāyana likely refers to Ba ri lo tsā ba because he saw the *dBu med* MSS in Zha lu ri phug, a branch of the Sa skya monastery, and understood them to have been there since Ba ri lo tsā ba’s abbotship.

Based on his translations in the *bsTan ’gyur* of the Tibetan canon, Ba ri lo tsā ba should be regarded not as a Madhyamaka scholar but as a *Sādhana* master.⁵⁵ Accordingly, it seems reasonable to presume with Sāṅkr̥tyāyana that Ba ri lo tsā ba was not the scribe of the MSS but a contemporary of his.

5.2.2 gNyan D[h]arma grags

The Tibetan lo tsā ba called gNyan D[h]arma grags⁵⁶, together with gZhon nu mchog, is known for his participation in the Chos ’khor in 1076⁵⁷ and for his subsequent twelve-year stay in India. Taking the biographical details of gZhon nu mchog into consideration, Erb presumes that the Tibetan translation of the ŚSK took place in Tibet before 1076⁵⁸. If this gNyan D[h]arma grags was responsible for copying the MSS in question, the date of copying could be established as falling sometime between 1076 and 1088, i.e., during his stay in India.

5.2.3 sNur D[h]arma grags

According to Erb 1990 and 1997, sNur D[h]arma grags, translator of the ŚSV, should be distinguished from gNyan Darma grags, since Abhayākara Gupta, sNur D[h]arma grags’ Indian collaborator, was not in residence at Vikramaśīla monastery during the visit of

⁵³ See 2.3.1 above (p. 6.).

⁵⁴ When Sa chen Kun dga’ snying po (the son of dKon mchog rgyal po) was eleven years old, his father passed away. Machig Shangmo then appointed Ba ri lo tsā ba as abbot of Sakya Monastery until Sachen Kunga Nyingpo became an adult. See Roerich 1949: 211.

⁵⁵ See Davidson 2005: 297ff.; *Gangs ljongs skad gnyis smra ba du ma’i ’gyur byang blo gsal dga’ skyed* (TBRC W24697): 255-260.

⁵⁶ For further information on his translations, see *Gangs ljongs skad gnyis smra ba du ma’i ’gyur byang blo gsal dga’ skyed* (TBRC W24697): 180-182.

⁵⁷ See Shastri 1997.

⁵⁸ Erb 1990: xxxiv.

gNyan D[h]arma grags⁵⁹. As is noted above, dGe 'dun chos 'phel identifies the scribe of the *dBu med* MSS as sNur D[h]arma grags. The colophon of Abhayākaragupta and sNur D[h]arma grags' Tibetan ŚSV runs as follows:

The ŚSV was translated by *bhikṣu* Dharma grags. The text, [consisting of] more than two thousand and one hundred [śloka?], was translated at the holy temple of Nāleṇdra(=Nālandā) by paṇḍita Abhayākara and sNur Dharma grags.⁶⁰

The word 'sNur' in this passage seems identical with 'gNur' in the colophon of the VS and the VV (4.2, and 4.4 respectively)⁶¹. His floruit can be determined by that of Abhayākaragupta, the Indian co-translator of the ŚSV.

5.3 The Identification of the Scribe

Most probably, Dharmakīrti or gNur Dharma grags, whose name is found in both the VS and the VV colophons, was sNur Dharma grags, a translator of the ŚSV. He is to be distinguished from gnyan Dharma grags, a translator of the ŚSK. The date of his activity can be narrowed down based upon his collaboration with Abhayākaragupta.

5.3.1 Abhayākaragupta

Abhayākaragupta's name has already appeared several times in the present study. Abhayākaragupta's period of activity can be determined to have extended from the last decade of the 11th century through the first quarter of the 12th century CE⁶², based on various pieces of evidence.

According to Tāranātha (*Chos 'byung*, dated to 1608), Abhayākaragupta was invited to act as an *upādhyāya* at Vajrāsana (Buddhagayā) shortly after King Rāmapāla of the Pāla Dynasty in Bengal and Bihar ascended to the throne (i.e., 1084 CE), and later he

⁵⁹ Erb 1990: xlvi, lxxiv; Erb 1997: 29.

⁶⁰ *stong pa nyid bdun cu'i 'grel pa ni/ dge slong dharma grags kyis bsgyur/ gzhung grangs stong phrag gnyis dang ni/ brgya phrag gcig gis lhag pa yin/ dpal na len dra'i (sic) gtsug lag khang du paṇḍita a bha yā kā ra dang / snur lo tsā ba dharma grags kyis bsgyur pa'o//* (D. No.3867; P. No.5268).

⁶¹ See also fn. 50 above.

⁶² See Ruegg 1981: 114-115; Bühnemann 1991, 1992; Erb 1990: lxxvi-lxxx; Erb 1997: 27-29.

became an abbot of Vikramaśīla monastery⁶³. According to *Sum pa ye shes dpal 'byor re'u mig*, he died in 1125 CE⁶⁴.

Since Abhayākaragupta moved to Vikramaśīla monastery in 1102 or 1107 CE, Erb concludes that he translated the *ŚSV* at Nālandā between 1102–1125 CE⁶⁵. The colophons to three of his own treatises indicate specific years in the reign of King Rāmapāla. The dates and the locations given are as follows:

Title	Year ⁶⁶	Place
<i>Abhayapaddhati</i>	25th year=1108 CE	Vikramaśīla
<i>MmA</i>	30th year=1113 CE	Vikramaśīla ⁶⁷
<i>Āmnāyamañjalī</i>	37th year=1120 CE	Nālandā

Although the dates of his other treatises are unknown, it can be hypothesized that he composed them in the last two decades of his life. However, although it is likely that his translation of the *ŚSV* took place earlier than the compositions of his treatises, there is no definite proof of this. Consequently, we can only conclude that his collaboration with sNur D[h]arma grags took place sometime during the first quarter of the 12th century CE.

6. Answers to Who, Where, and When

Concerning the bundle that comprises the **LT*, the *VV*, the *VS*, and the *VSS MSS*, it may be concluded from the direct evidence of the *MSS* presented above (namely, the notes on the cover folios and in the colophons) that a Tibetan called Dharmakīrti/gNur Dharma grags, who can be identified as sNur D[h]arma grags and who was the translator of the *ŚSV* together with Abhayākaragupta, wrote down the texts at Vikramaśīla monastery in northern India during the first quarter of the 12th century CE. The Indian script employed in the **LT* MS is further evidence for the date and provenance of the original *MSS*.

⁶³ See also Schiefner 1868 [1963]: 189, 9-13; 195-199, esp., 199, 1-2.

⁶⁴ See also Ruegg 1981: 114, fn 368 and Bühnemann 1992: 122–123.

⁶⁵ Erb 1990: lxxix – lxxx.

⁶⁶ See Bühnemann 1991: xiii and Erb 1997, *ibid.* However, the chronology of the Pāla dynasty is not settled.

⁶⁷ See Ye 2007: 324. In the Tibetan translation, Nālandā is given as the place where his *MmA* was composed. See *dBu med MSS SG* 2001: 7

As suggested by dGe 'dun chos 'phel, moreover, it can be added that it was likely Śīlākāra/sTeng *lo tsā ba* Tshul khirms 'byung gnas, a disciple of Jo tsa mi/Sangs rgyas grags pa, who carried this bundle of MSS to Tibet.