

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

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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 concentric 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:

*māyājālakrame*¹ *tārābhaṭṭārikāsāadhanam* || 1 ||

ḍākinīvajrapañjaramaṇḍalakramaḥ || 2 ||

jñānapādānusāreṇābhisamayāḥ || 3 ||

abhiṣekavidhiḥ || 4 ||

akṣobhyaṇāthasya sāadhanam || 5 ||

¹ = °*krameṇa*/°*krama*°.

caturthasadbhāvopadeśaḥ śrīratnavajrakṛtaḥ || 6 ||
mahāpratisarāmantracatuṣṭayam || 7 ||
pratisarā || 8 ||
sattvārāḍhanastavaḥ || 9 ||
ātmasāḍhanāvatāraḥ || 10 ||
*śrīvajrasattvasāḍhanam kusumañjali*² || 11 ||
*jñānapādanam*³ *śrīsamantabhadrasya piṇḍārtham* || 12 ||
vajragīti || 13 ||
*sekakramaḥ kecaranandinaḥ*⁴ || 14 ||
homavidhiḥ || 15 ||
pratiṣṭhāvidhiḥ || 16 ||
*rāgavajrasāḍhanam kṛti ḍombipādaḥ*⁵ || 17 ||
jñānapādīyavivaraṇam śrīpadmavajrakṛtam || 18 ||
*tantranidhānam*⁶ || 19 ||
śrīcakrasamvarasāḍhanam || 20 ||
*nayanatrayaḥṛdayam*⁷ || 21 ||
śrīcakrasamvarasya homavidhiḥ || 22 ||
ghaṇṭālakṣaṇam || 23 ||
pratiṣṭhāvidhiḥ || 24 ||
*śrīsamājatantrottabhadrapādīya*⁸ *śrīratnākaraśāntiviracitāṭīkā*⁹ || 25 ||
*sāmadyottaraḡāthāvyākaraṇam*¹⁰ || 26 ||
*śrītārābhaṭṭārikā*¹¹ *māyājālakramastotram* || 27 ||

² I.e. *kusumāñjalyuddhṛtam* of some similar formulation.

³ = *jñānapādānām*.

⁴ = *kedāranandinaḥ*.

⁵ = *kṛtir ḍombipādānām*.

⁶ = *°nidānam*.

⁷ = *naya*^o as already proposed by Kawasaki.

⁸ = no space.

⁹ = with space before *ṭīkā*.

¹⁰ = *māmadyottara*^o?

¹¹ = *°bhaṭṭārikāyā*.

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 *saptarṣi* 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 (*ācārya*) Ratnaśrībhadrā.” 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), Ḍombīpāda (17), Padmavajra (18), Bhadrāpāda/Dīpaṃkarabhadra (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 *Cakrasaṃvara* (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 *Abhiṣekavidhi* is not.

Item no. 5 may point to a certain amount of catholicity, since Akṣobhya-
[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 (*caturthābhiṣeka*), 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 daśākuśalapari-tyāgaśaḍgatikārikāsattvārādhanaḡurvārādhanaḡādibhiḡ saṃskṛtya saṃsekair anugrahaṃ kuryāt |*.

Item no. 10 is perhaps the crown jewel of the collection. Jñānapāda's *Ātma-sādhanaṅvatāra* 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 *Samantabhadra*. 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 Apabhraṃśa. 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 Ḍombīpāda, also known as Ḍombīheruka, 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

"Thereafter, after having prepared [the disciple] by means of [teaching texts] such as the *Daśākuśalaparityāga*, the *Ṣaḍgatikārikā*, 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 *evaṃ 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 *Nayatrayaḥṛdaya* 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 Dīpaṃkarabhadra/Bhadrāpāda's *Maṇḍalavidhi* (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/adhidevatā*, certainly not an uncommon motif in mediaeval Buddhist hagiography.

¹⁴ This collection also includes other relevant works, i.e., Bhaṭṭa Trivikrama's *Nayatrāyapradīpa* and Kuśalaśrī's *Nayatrāyabheda*. 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 Ṭṭ 8*

V-VI: *Jñā Ṭṭ 13*

VII: Only right page image¹⁶ (transcription: Kano 2016)

VIII-IX: *A Vi 3*¹⁷

X-XI: *A Vi 7*

XII-XIII: *Jñā A 3*¹⁸

¹⁵ <https://fineartamerica.com/featured/book-written-on-birch-bark-in-tibet-museum-in-lhasa-tibet-ruth-hager.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 *daṇḍas* in square brackets. We also use square brackets to reconstruct *akṣaras* lost due to delamination or some minor damage (but we do not supply *avagrahas*).

We render the half-*daṇḍa* with a subscript *daṇḍa* (₁). A plus sign (+) marks a lost full *akṣara*. A question mark (?) means an *akṣara* we cannot read. Additions, usually interlinear, are placed between chevrons (< >). An asterisk (*) marks final consonants' long, left-slanting *virāma*. We apply strikethrough (~~kinet~~) to cancelled *akṣaras* 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 Dīpaṃkarabhadra, *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*: *mahātantrayāna* 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 bzañ
gi 'grel pa 'phags pas mdzad pa |

[1] *siddham*²⁰ svasti²¹ || namas sakalakaluṣāpahāriṇe śrīmanmañjuvajrāya ||

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

[3] sarvaprapañcanirmuktaṃ satprajñopāyarūpiṇam* [||]
natvā mañjuśriyaṃ nāthaṃ advayajñāna[4]m ādarāt* [||]²²

śrīmatsamājatanrotthamañjuśrīsāadhanakrame |
pragrhya mūrdhnā gurvājñāṃ karo[5]mi vivṛtiṃ sphuṭām [||]²³

kva gambhīraṃ mahāyānaṃ duṣprajña<ḥ> kva nu mādrśaḥ [||]
bāladurlalitaprā[6]yaṃ kṣamyatāṃ mama sādhubhiḥ [||]

tantrapāramitātarkakoṣamādhyamikais saha |
yathā [7] gurumukhāl labdhaṃ tathaital likhyate mayā |

yathākathaṃcid abhyāso guṇeṣu bahusa[8]mmataḥ [||]
buddhānām iti gambhīre py arthe dhāryo na mādrśaḥ [||]²⁴

²⁰ Expressed with a symbol.

²¹ Followed by a circle.

²² Cf. **Samantabhadrasāadhanavṛtti* (Tōh. 1867) 139b4: *spros pa kun las nes grol zin | ses rab thabs mchog no bo nid | sku gsuñ thugs kyi rdo rje can | kun bzañ zes bya ba la btud de |*.

²³ Cf. **Samantabhadrasāadhanavṛtti* (Tōh. 1867) 139b4–5: *dpal ldan 'dus rgyud las gsuñs 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. **Samantabhadrasāadhanavṛtti* (Tōh. 1867) 139b5: *yon tan mañ la mñon 'dod pa | ci yañ ruñ bas bslob bya bas | sañs rgyas don ni rab zab kyañ | bdag 'dra dgag par bya ma yin ||*.

ādaṁ tāvat samyagutpāditabo[9]dhicitto bodhisattvaṁ sarvasattvoddhara-
ṇakāmatām avalambya praṇidhānam āmukhīkuryāt* [] [10] sarva evāyaṁ
loko mayā saṁsāraduḥkhād uddhṛtya buddhatve niyojanīyaḥ []

yāvati [11] *prathamā koṭis saṁsārasyāntavarjjitā* |
*tāvat satvahiṭārthaṁ ca carīṣyāmi amitācarīm**²⁵ []²⁶

[12] *daśadigvyomaparyantaṁ*²⁷ *sarvasatvārthasādhane* |
yathā carati maṁjuśrīḥ saiva caryā bha[13]*ven mama* |²⁸

na caivaṁ bodhisatvena cittakaṣṭhyam utpādyam kṛtaṁ ahaṁ sarva-
sattvoddharaṇā[14]samartho bodhim āśādituṁ śaknuyāt²⁹ []

sarve buddhā bhaviṣyanti nābhavyo bhuvi vidyate ||
[15] *na kartavyo vasādo smāt samyaksambodhisādhane* |³⁰

iti bhagavadvacanaprāmāṇyād buddho bha[16]veyaṁ jagato hitāyaivaṁ pra-
ṇidhānam dṛḍhīkrtya buddhatvaprāptihetoḥ mahātantrayā[17]ne vajrayānotta-
me guruprasādād upadeśān samadhigamya śrutacintābhāvanākra[18]meṇa

²⁵ Read: *amitāṁ carīm*.

²⁶ Also quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Bendall ed., p. 13) with a slightly different second hemistich: *tāvat sattvahiṭārthāya carīṣyāmi amitāṁ carīm* ||; in the translation, Bendall and Rouse admit that the exact meaning of the first line is uncertain (1922:15). The fragmentary line *yāvati prathamā koṭiḥ saṁsārasya* also survives as the beginning of an unknown work in Ms. Kaiser Library 127, image 35, lower folio. Perhaps it is also incorporated into *Sādhanaṁālā* no. 83 (Bhattacharya ed., p. 166) with a garbled second hemistich: *bhāvayan sattvahiṭāyaiva carīṣyāmi amṛtākṣarīm* || with the noted variants *amṛtākṣarī* and *mṛtākṣarīm*.

²⁷ Read: °*paryanta*°?

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

²⁹ Read: *śaknuyām*.

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

yathāyogaṃ samudācāravṛttim ārabhet* yato mahā³¹tantranayāt sarvair bodhi-
sa[19]tvair bodhir āsādhitā³² | tad āha |

buddhās triyadhvasaṃbhūtāḥ kāyavākcittavajrīṇaḥ [|]
saṃprāptā [20] *jñānam atulaṃ vajramantraprabhāvanaiḥ* [|]³³

tathā |

bauddhāḥ pāramitās siddhā dhāraṇyo bhūmaya[21] *s tathā* |
mahāyānanayāt sarvāḥ prāpyante nedam anyatheti |³⁴

tasmān mantranayoktabhāvanā[22]balād acireṇaiva kālena puṇyajñānasambhā-
rapūraṇaṃ kṛtvā saugataṃ padaṃ ā[23]sādyata iti sarvatantra³⁵ mantranaye
bhagavataiva nirdiṣṭam* [|] keyaṃ bhāvanā nāma ||

[24] *svavācātha pramāṇābhyāṃ āgamo*³⁶ *yo na bādhyate* |
*tasyārthe bhāvanābhogo bhāvato guru*³⁷[end of fragment II]

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

³² Read: *āsāditā*.

³³ *Guhyasamājatantra* 13.6.

³⁴ Untraced. The first line is *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara* (Szántó ed.) 4.4.ab, which is also incorporated in Dīpaṃkarabhadra’s *Maṇḍalavidhi* (Cambridge Ms. add. v. 11, with *yataḥ* for *tathā*).

³⁵ Read: *sarvatra*.

³⁶ Perhaps read: *āgamair*.

³⁷ *Tattvavātāra* (Tōh. 3709) 41b2–3: *raṇ gi tshig dan tshad ma dan | luṇ dan gaṇ ḥig mi 'gal ba | de don bsgom pa la spyod pa'i | bla mas bsten [=bstan?] pa bsgom pa yin* ||. Cf. **Ratnaḥṛdaya* (Tōh. 2259) 285b4–5: *raṇ gi tshig dan tshad ma dan | gaṇ ḥig luṇ dan mi 'gal ba | de don spyod dan mthun pa ni | bla ma'i gdams ṅag yin par gsuṅs* |.

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 left-hand page is marked with the numeral 8 and the abbreviation *Jñā Ṭī* (for **Jñānapādābhisamayaṭīkā* or something similar). This fragment is unique and valuable, for it quotes a full verse from the *mūla* (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 (Tōh. 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-*yoga*, which culminates in the contemplation of emptiness. The author first addresses some objections concerning meditating on Means (*upāya*) and Wisdom (*prajñā*) as if they were separate. He then tackles stanza 18, which discusses three doors of liberation (*vimokṣamukha*).

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

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

*jñānārthasya mano [2] rūpo mantro jñānan nirucyate |
advayaṃ manasas trāṇān mantrah [1]³⁹*

evaṃ mahākaruṇā[3]svabhāvaṃ bodhicittaṃ vibhāvya sarvadharmanīṣpra-
paṃcarūpāṃ prajñāṃ vibhāvayetd ity arthaḥ [1]

[4] nanu ca sarvatra mantranaye prajñopāyabhāvaneti vācuyuktiḥ [1] katham
upāyaṃ bhā[5]vayitvā prajñāṃ bhāvayed iti śāstrakartur asaṃbaddhaparihā-
rārtham ucyate | uktam ā[6]cāryaJñānakīrttipādais Tattvāvatāre |

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

iti ⁴¹ bhāvanākramato hi [8] yogī sarvabhāvasvabhāvo bhūtvā mahākaruṇās-
vabhāvo bhavet* [1] tataḥ paścāt prajñā[9]pāramitāmahāmudrāparanāmikās-
vabhāvo bhaved iti saṅkṣepaḥ [1] upāyabhā[10]vanām uktvā prajñābhāvanām āha
|| ||

śūnyaṃ svabhāvavirahād

dhetuviyo[11]gāt tathānimittaṃ tu |

ūhāpagamād akhilaṃ

vastu prañidhānanirmuktam* ||⁴²

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

⁴⁰ Tattvāvatāra (Tōh. 3709) 46a2: *dños kun rañ bžin bdag ñid du | rnal 'byor sñiñ rje can gyur pa | bsgom pa'i rim pa phyi nas ni | phyag rgya che bdag nyid can 'gyur ||*.

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

⁴² Samantabhadra 18.

śū[12]nyatānimitṭapraṇihitavimokṣatrayabhāvanayā prajñāpāramitābhāvanāṃ
ni[13]rdīśati | grāhyagrāhakābhīniveśabhāvyabhāvabhāvanopalambhavyu-
dāsārthaṃ [14] āśrayaparāvṛttir ucyate | **akhilaṃ vastu praṇidhānanirmu-
ktaṃ** | yad etad vastuḥ[15]taṃ dṛśyate tad avidyāvāsanābalāt* [[]] paramārtha-
taḥ praṇidhānavarjitaṃ | praṇi[16]dadhatīti praṇidhiḥ [[]] praṇidhiḥ praṇidhā-
naṃ | prakarṣeṇa nidadhati nikṣipati [17] ātmātmīyagrāhyagrāhakākāraṇavidyā-
vāsanāvastv iti praṇidhiḥ [[]]

gandharvana[18]garasannibham

*akhilaṃ sacarācaram vastu*⁴³

iti vacanāt* māyāmarīcigandharva[19]nagarasvapnopamaṃ | ātmātmīyakliṣṭa-
manovāsanāvāśāt pratibhāsate avi[20]dyamānam eva | ucyate |

yathā māyā yathā svapnaṃ gandharvanagaraṃ yathā [[]]

*tathotpāda[21]s tathā bhaṅgo bhāvānāṃ sampragīyata*⁴⁴

iti | **vastv** iti | tac **chūnyaṃ** | śūnyatāsvabhāvaṃ ni[22]ṣprapaṃcarūpaṃ [[]]
svabhāvavirahāt* ekānekasvabhāvāpagamāt* svabhāvāsatvāt* [23] sarve bhā-
vā nisvabhāvasvabhāvāḥ paramārthataḥ [[]] yathoktaṃ Bhagavatyaṃ*

na hi Subhū[IV.1]te śūnyatayā sarve-adharmāḥ śūnyāḥ kriyante api

tu dharmā eva śūnyāḥ [[]]^{45 46}

⁴³ *Samantabhadra* 115cd.

⁴⁴ Possibly a different recension of *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 7.34; for the second hemistich the vulgate reads: *tathotpādas tathā sthānaṃ tathā bhaṅga udāhṛtaṃ* ||. Also quoted in the **Samantabhadrasādhanavṛtti* (Tōh. 1867) 146b6-7.

⁴⁵ Untraced in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. Cf. *Prasannapadā* (p. 248): *yathoktaṃ bhagavatāryaRatna-kūṭasūtre | yan na śūnyatayā dharmān śūnyān karoti, api tu dharmā eva śūnyāḥ* |.

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

tathā cokaṭaṃ |

[2] *na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyāṃ nāpy ahetutaḥ* [[]]
utpannā jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kva[3] *cana kecana* [[]]⁴⁷

iti |

yathaiva darpaṇe rūpaṃ ekatvānyatvavarjitaṃ |
drśyate na ca [4] *tatrāsti tathā bhāveṣu bhāvatām*⁴⁸ |⁴⁹

hetuviyogāt tathānimittiaṃ ca⁵⁰ | hetuviyogāt* [5] *kāraṇābhāvāt** paramā-
rthato ni<ḥ>svabhāvatvāt* **ānimittiaṃ** | ahetukās sarvadhā[6]rmāḥ nātra kiñcit
kāraṇaṃ upalabhyate | uktaṃ Bhagavatyāṃ |

utpādād vā tathāgatānāṃ [7] *anutpādād vā tathāgatānāṃ*
sthitaivaīṣā dharmānāṃ dharmatā |⁵¹

uktaṃ ca |

buddhyā vive[8] *cyamānānāṃ svabhāvo nāvadhāryate* |
ato nirabhilāpyās te nissvabhāvās ca de[9] *śitāḥ* [[]]⁵²

⁴⁷ *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 1.1.

⁴⁸ Read: *bhāvatā*.

⁴⁹ Possibly a different recension of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (Nanjio ed.) 10.709. Quoted thus in the *Bhāvanākrama* (1°, Tucci ed., p. 204), the *Muktāvalī* (p. 11), and the *Rahasyapradīpa* (Ms 5r2). Slightly different reading incorporated into the *Sthitisamuccaya* (Ms 8r-8v). Also quoted in the **Samantabhadrasādhanaṣṭī* (Tōh. 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 *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, but otherwise very often quoted.

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

na kaścil labhyate bhāvo yasyotpādasya saṃbhavaḥ []
nissvabhāveṣu bhāveṣu [10] *bālas sambhavam icchati* ||⁵³

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

vāsanācitritaṃ ci[12]*ttañ citrākāraṃ hi dṛśyate* |⁵⁴

abhūtaṃ khyāpayaty arthaṃ bhūtaṃ āvṛtya tiṣṭhati |
avi[13]*dyā jāyamānaiva kāmālātāṅkavṛttivat** ||⁵⁵

evam paramārthato naiṣṣvābhavyaṃ jagato [14] vicāryāśrayaparāvṛttiyogaṃ vibhāvayet* [] āśrayasyāvidyāyā ālaya[15]vijñānakliṣṭamanovijñānayoḥ parāvarttanam āśrayaparāvṛttiḥ [] katham atra bhāva[16]nā [] tad ucyate |

*cittamātraṃ samāśṛitya bāhyam arthaṃ na kalpayet** []
tathatālabhane sthi[17]*tvā cittamātram atikramet** ||⁵⁶

*tasmād āśṛitya vijñānam bāhyam arthaṃ parityajet** []
śū[18]*nyatālabhane sthitvā grāhakāṅśam parityajet** ||⁵⁷

⁵³ The *locus classicus* for this verse seems to be a rather old *sūtra* called the *Hastakakṣya* or, perhaps more correctly, *Hastikakṣya*; attributed to said text in the *Bhāvanākrama* (1°, Tucci ed., p. 200, with slightly different *pāda* c: *asaṃbhaveṣu dharmeṣu*). Also quoted in the **Samantabhadrasādhanaṣṭī* (Tōh. 1867) 147a4–5.

⁵⁴ Untraced.

⁵⁵ *Ālokaṃālā* 18.

⁵⁶ *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (Nanjio ed.) 10.256 with *samāruhya* instead of *samāśṛitya*. 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 yonś su spañ | stoñ ñid dmigs pa la gnas nas | 'dzin byed cha yañ spañ bar bya ||*.

bāhyābhāvāc ca grāhyābhāvād grā[19]hakarūpāpi vijñaptir nāstīti grāhyagrā-
hakākāradvayavirahād advayarū[20]patathatāsvabhāve tatve sthitvā grāhaka-
rūpaṃ cittamātram api tyajet* [[]]

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

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

ity anayā bhāvanayā āśrayaparāvṛtṭyā 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 *Jñā Tī* and the number 13. At this stage in the practice, the *yogin* is to visualise the palace of the deities (*kūṭāgāra*) 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 *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (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 *Tattvavātāra* (Tōh. 3709) 64b4 and 5.

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

⁶⁰ Cf. Sfera 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] uktaṃ ca |

pūrveṇa bhūmayo lekhyā dakṣiṇena tathojjvalāḥ []
*sarva*⁶¹*pāramitā lekhyā*[2]*ḥ paścime vaśitā daśa* |
uttare sarvadhāranyāḥ koṇeṣu pratisaṃvidāḥ []⁶²

āsām [3] nāmavarṇaṃ mukhabhujapraharaṇavibhāgo nāmasaṅgītiṭkāyām vi-
śvanirmā[4]ṇacakkradhṛggāthā⁶³ vyākhyāyām⁶⁴ nirdiṣṭaḥ [] granthavistara-
bhayān neha pratanyate |

sarvābhara[5]**ṇavicittram**⁶⁵ [] kutaḥ [] **yato jagatas sarvāśāpāripūra-**
ṇaṃ [] sarvābharaṇāni ka[6]ṭakeyūrahārārdhahārā jāmbūnadādayaḥ [] vai-
citraṃ muktājālasaṃdigdhatvāt [] [7] yā bodhisatvāvasthāyām dānapriya-
vacanārthacaryāsamānārthatārthijane[8]bhyas sakalatraidhātukasya dānātidā-
namahādānādibhis sampāditā tena [9] pūrvopacitakuśalamūlena sarvābharaṇa-
vicitratā kūṭāgārasya prādurbhū[10]tā |⁶⁶

⁶¹ Read: *sarvāḥ*?

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

⁶³ *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* 115d/8.39d.

⁶⁴ We cannot trace the commentary the author refers to here. We checked the voluminous *Gūḍhapadā* (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 *Gūḍhapadā* and several others refer to.

⁶⁵ *Samantabhadra* 23c.

⁶⁶ Cf. this paragraph with **Samantabhadrasādhanaṣṭi* (Tōh. 1867) 150b4–6.

tatra katamaṃ bodhisatvānāṃ dānaṃ* [[] yad utānnārthikebhyo nnadānaṃ [[]
pānayānavastra[11]dīpadhūpagandhamālyavilepanacchatradhvajapatākāra-
thābharaṇādi nāsti kiñci[12]d bodhisatvānāṃ adeyaṃ [[] idam ucyate dānaṃ* [[]
bhāryāputraduhitṛpriyadāsīdāsa[13]karmakarapauruṣeyagrharājyaparityāgam [[]
idam ucyate tidānaṃ* [[] bodhisatvaḥ a[14]rthiṣu śārīraṃ vikartya dānaṃ
dadāti [[] cakṣur utpāṭyottamāṅgaśārīrārtham ⁶⁷ uṣṇīṣādidā[15]naṃ rakta-
māṃsaprāṇaparityāgād idam ucyate mahādānaṃ* [[]⁶⁸

katamā priyavādītā [[] [16] dharmaśravaṇikānāṃ yācakānāṃ ca priyābhilāpitā ⁶⁹
arthacaryā yā ātmanaḥ pare[17]śāṃ ca yathāśayābhiprāyaparipūraṇatā | ⁷⁰
samānārthatā [[] yad atraiva ⁷¹ yāne ā[18]tmanā guṇasaṃjñī bhavati | tatraiva
yāne dharmāmiṣapratigrāhakā ⁷² pratiṣṭhāpaya[19]tīti || ⁷³

vinayoddhūtanavāṅga-

pravacanasaddharmasarvagaṃ yad ataḥ [[]

pavano[20]ddhūta ⁷⁴dhvajālī-

ghaṇṭādhvanimukharasarvadigvadanam* || ⁷⁵

vinayena uddhūtaṃ ca tat* [21] navāṅgapravacanaṃ ⁷⁶ | vineyākhyena ⁷⁷ śāstre-
ṇa yat tad uddhūtaṃ navāṅgaṃ bhagavatprava[22]canaṃ | sarva ⁷⁸dharmāśā-

⁶⁷ Read: °śārīrārthiṣu?

⁶⁸ Cf. this paragraph with **Samantabhadrasādhanaṣṭī* (Tōh. 1867) 150b6–7.

⁶⁹ Cf. this paragraph with **Samantabhadrasādhanaṣṭī* (Tōh. 1867) 150b7–151a1.

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

⁷¹ Read: yatraiva.

⁷² Read: °pratiṅgrāhakān.

⁷³ Cf. this paragraph with **Samantabhadrasādhanaṣṭī* (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 saṅgrhītaḥ []⁷⁹ prādhānyena [23] vine-
yaprakāśakatvād vineaya ity ākhyā | gūḍhapadaprakāśakatvād abhidharma
i[VI.1]ty ākhyā | prakāśakatvād vinayena abhidharmas saṅgrhītas sarvasaddha-
rmaśāstravyāpitvāt* []

[2] navāṅgapravacanalakṣaṇam ucyate | sūtram geyam vyākaraṇam gātho-
ddānāiti⁸⁰vr[3]ttakajātakavaipulyādbhutam* [] sūcanāt sūtram* [] bhagava-
tpravacanasūcanāt* [] idam a[4]bhidhāya bhagavatā smitam āviṣkṛtam* [] tad
eva praśnanirṇayadvāreṇa bhagavā[5]n vistaratopadiśati⁸¹ bodhisatvānām |
geyam ṣaṣṭisvarāṅgasamyuktaṁ sarvasatvānām ā[6]hlādanakaram narakapre-
tatiryañcām duḥkhottāraṇam* [] tac ca stotropahāradharmade[7]śanāyuktaṁ* []
vyākriyate aneneti vyākaraṇam [] karmaviśeṣād anāgatavipāko[8]pavarṇa-
nam* | yathoktaṁ |

*śāradvatīputra āha || kimarthaṁ bhagavatā dārakau mṛddānam [9]
dadaṣṭau smitam āviṣkṛtaṁ [] bhagavān āha | iha khalu jambūdvīpe
cakkravartinau rājānau [10] bhaviṣyataḥ [] vyākṛtau etau mahā-
cakkravartirājye |⁸²*

gāthā ślokaprabandhaḥ [] chandolaṅkāra[11]sacchabdaghaṭitaṁ kāvyam | udā-
nam abhūtasadbhūtārthaśravaṇaparitūṣṭebhyas sādhuḥkā[12]ra⁸³ aho dharma
ityādy upavarṇanam* [] †...†⁸⁴ jātakam buddhānām atītajanmādyupavarṇa-
nam* [] [13] vaipulyam ekasyāpy aprameyabhedopavarṇanam* [] adbhutam

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

⁸⁰ Read: °*odāneti*°.

⁸¹ Read: *vistarata upadiśati*.

⁸² Source untraced.

⁸³ Sic!

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

alpasyāpi karmaṇo pra[14]meyakarmavipākopavarṇanād⁸⁵ iti navāṅgaprava-
canam* [[]]

satām dharmāḥ sa[15]ddharmāḥ [[]] satām buddhānām eva dharmāḥ [[]] anya-
tīrthikaparavādyasādhāraṇatvāt* [[]] kāyavā[16]kcittaniyamena kalyāṇamitrā-
der eva gamyā⁸⁶ saddharmaparyeṣṭi⁸⁷ | saddharmaṃ prati śru[17]tacintābhāva-
nālekhanādhāraṇāvācanodgrahaṇaprakāśanasvādhyāyādi ku[18]śalakarma sa-
rvaṃ saṅgrhītam* [[]] uktaṃ Madhyāntavibhāge |

*saddharmalekhanā⁸⁸ dānaṃ śrava[19]ṇaṃ vācanodgrahaḥ [[]]
prakāśanātha svādhyāya⁸⁹ cintanā bhāvanā ca tat* [[]]
ameyapu[20]ṇyaskandhaṃ hi caritaṃ tad daśātmakam* [[]⁹⁰*

saddharmasarvagam iti | sarvanayatraya[21]vyāpi **yat*** tad **vinayoddhūta-
navāṅgabagavatpravacanayuktaṃ saddharmaśāstraṃ sarvasa[22]tvānām
deśitaṃ | ato smād dhetoḥ pavanoddhūta⁹¹ dhvajālīghaṇṭādhvanimukhara-
sarvadi**[end of VI]⁹²

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⁸⁵ Read: °opavarṇanam |.

⁸⁶ Read: avagamyā?

⁸⁷ Read: °paryeṣṭiḥ.

⁸⁸ Read: lekhanā pūjanā or pūjanā lekhanā?

⁸⁹ Read: svādhyāyaḥ.

⁹⁰ *Madhyāntavibhāga* 5.9–10ab.

⁹¹ Read: °oddhata°.

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

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