

Contextualizing a Mystery of Indic Commentaries on the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*

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This paper explores Indic commentaries on one of the most important Mahāyāna aspirations, the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* (*Bzang spyod smon lam*), i.e., *Aspiration for Good Conduct*. Its aim is to demonstrate that four out of the five Indic commentaries on the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* in the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur* canonical collections are subject to a synoptic problem, i.e., they come down to the same (currently unavailable) Sanskrit archetype that reached Tibet in multiple hyparchetypes. The currently known attributions of these hyparchetypes are to *Bhadrapaṇa (?), Buddhakīrti (?), Dignāga (c. 480–540), Guṇaprabha (c. 6th century), Nāgārjuna (c. 2nd–3rd century), and Vasubandhu (4th century), and potentially there could be other hyparchetypes circulating in India and reaching Tibet in the 9th–11th century. Why did compilers of the *Bstan 'gyurs* include four commentaries on the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* that were so similar? It is likely thanks to the tremendous importance of this aspiration within the Tibetan tradition, as well as to the prominence of the attributed authors. In other words, it is not likely that texts attributed to Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, or Dignāga could be excluded from the *Bstan 'gyur*. In the following study, I will look at the genre of these hyparchetypes, their dates, and witnesses, as well as subject them to synoptic and stemmatic analyses.

Sigla Codicorum

Manuscripts:

M_{A1} IOL Tib J 147
M_{A2} PT 151 } Anonymous hyparchetype

M_{B1} IOL Tib J 146
M_{B2} IOL Tib J 148 and PT 150 } *Bhadrapaṇa's hyparchetype

Sde dge bstan 'gyur Editions:

D_B *Bhadrapaṇa (Rgyan bzang po). 'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa (Āryabhadracaryāprañidhānarājatikā). Tōh 4014, *Sde dge bstan 'gyur*, mdo 'grel, vol. 117 (nyi), ff. 234r4–252v4 (pp. 467–504).

D _D	Dignāga (Phyogs kyi glang po). <i>Kun tu bzang po'i spyod pa'i smon lam gyi don kun bsdus</i> (<i>Samantabhadracaryāprañidhānārthaśamgraha</i>). Tōh 4012, <i>Sde dge bstan 'gyur, mdo 'grel</i> , vol. 117 (nyi), ff. 182r1–201r4 (pp. 363–401).
D _N	Nāgārjuna (Klu grub). <i>'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po chen po'i bshad sbyar</i> (<i>Āryabhadracaryāmahāprañidhānarājanibandhana</i>). Tōh 4011, <i>Sde dge bstan 'gyur, mdo 'grel</i> , vol. 117 (nyi), ff. 163v4–182r1 (pp. 326–363).
D _V	Vasubandhu (Dbyig gnyen). <i>'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi 'grel pa</i> (<i>Āryabhadracaryāprañidhānaṭīkā</i>). Tōh 4015, <i>Sde dge bstan 'gyur, mdo 'grel</i> , vol. 117 (nyi), ff. 252v5–269r7 (pp. 504–537).

Introduction

The Noble Kinglike¹ Aspiration for Good Conduct (*Āryabhadracaryāprañidhānarāja*, *'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po*,² hereafter *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*, is commonly known in Sanskrit under its abbreviated title as *Bhadracaryā* or *Bhadracarī* and is considered one of the most important Mahāyāna aspirations (*prañidhāna*, *smon lam*). It is well known in the Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan traditions as an independent text, as well as the final part of the *Gandavyūhasūtra*,³ a Mahāyāna sūtra that is, itself, included as the final chapter of the large *Buddhāvatāṇḍasakasūtra*.⁴ In the Tibetan tradition, it is commonly referred to as *Bzang spyod smon lam*, i.e., *Aspiration for Good Conduct*, and is one of the most popular devotional texts.⁵

¹ Regarding “kinglike” in the translation of the *Aspiration*’s title, the Skt. *rāja* in the compound *Āryabhadracaryāprañidhānarāja* does not explicitly represent a simile (i.e., *rājopamaprañidhāna*) but rather a metaphor. Following the Tib. rendering *'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po*, *King of Aspirations* would be more precise. However, in English, it would require a repetition of the word “aspiration,” i.e., *The Aspiration for Good Conduct, King of Aspirations*. To avoid that, “kinglike” has been chosen as a translation option.

² *'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po* (*Āryabhadracaryāprañidhānarāja*) [*The Noble Kinglike Aspiration for Good Conduct*]. Tōh 1095.

³ *Shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba las sdong pos brgyan pa'i le'u ste bzhi bcu rtsa lnga pa'o* (*Buddhāvatāṇḍasakaṇāmamahāvaipulyasūtrāt gandavyūhasūtrāḥ pāṭalāḥ*) [*“The Stem Array” Chapter from the Mahāvaipulya Sūtra “A Multitude of Buddhas”*]. Tōh 44–45.

⁴ *Sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo* (*Buddhāvatāṇḍa-kaṇāmamahāvaipulyasūtra*) [*The Mahāvaipulya Sūtra “A Multitude of Buddhas”*]. Tōh 44.

⁵ See a contextual exploration of the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* in Vasylieva 2024 “The Sanskrit *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* and Its Tibetan Translation in Textual, Doctrinal,

A question may arise: "If the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* is merely an aspiration, wouldn't its words and meanings be self-evident? Why does it need a commentary?" In response to that, the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*'s words are not self-evident because it is composed in the Buddhist versified (*gāthā*) Sanskrit⁶ and it has specific features unshared by the Classical Sanskrit. Moreover, the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* contains many compounds (*samāsa*) that may have several possible separations (*vigraha*) into constituent words and thus allow for multiple interpretations. Furthermore, its meanings are not self-evident because it is much more than just an aspiration prayer, it is rather a quintessential summary of the whole bodhisattva path. In this sense, it is a *dhāraṇī* (*gzungs*), an instrument for the retention of the Mahāyāna Dharma.

It is thus not surprising that the commentaries on the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* are plentiful. In the Tibetan tradition alone, at least ten can be currently found among the digitalized collections of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC), and there are certainly many more. Among them, there are commentaries of such prominent Tibetan masters as Sākyā mchog ldan⁷ (1428–1507), Jo nang rje btsun Tāranātha⁸ (1575–1634), and Lo chen Dharmāśri⁹ (1654–1717). If one were to ask about the foundation upon which all these Tibetan commentaries are based, their initial framework may be found in the *Bstan 'gyur* canonical collections. There are six *Bstan 'gyur* commentaries on the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*: five Indic and one Tibetan.

The five Indic commentaries are attributed to Nāgārjuna (Klu grub),¹⁰ Dignāga (Phyogs kyi glang po),¹¹ Śākyamitra (Shā kya bshes

and Historical Contexts."

⁶ Regarding Buddhist Sanskrit, see, e.g., *Aspects of Buddhist Sanskrit* 1991.

⁷ Shā kya mchog ldan. *Kun tu bzang po'i spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po'i rgya cher bshad pa dad pa rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs* [An Extensive Explanation of the Aspiration for Samantabhadra's Conduct "A Gateway to the Ocean of Faith"]. In *Gser mdog pañ chen shā kya mchog ldan gyi gsung 'bum gzhugs*, vol. 8, 375–461.

⁸ Jo nang rje btsun Tā ra nā tha. *'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgya cher 'grel pa 'phags mchog rnams kyi gsang ba'i mdzod* [An Extensive Commentary on the Noble Aspiration for Good Conduct "The Secret Treasury of the Exalted Nobles"]. In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 17, 107–225.

⁹ Lo chen dha rma shū ngag dbang chos dpal rgya mtsho. *'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi 'grel chung* [A Short Commentary on the Noble Aspiration for Good Conduct]. In *Gsun 'bum*, vol. 19, 344–364.

¹⁰ Nāgārjuna. *'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po chen po'i bshad sbyar* (Āryabhadracaryāmāhāprañidhānarājanibandhana) [Discourse on the Noble Kinglike Great Aspiration for Good Conduct]. Tōh 4011.

¹¹ Dignāga. *Kun tu bzang po'i spyod pa'i smon lam gyi don kun bsdus* (Samantabhadracaryāprañidhānārthaśamgraha) [Synopsis of the Aspiration for Samantabhadra's Conduct]. Tōh 4012.

gnyen),¹² *Bhadrapaṇa (Rgyan bzang po),¹³ and Vasubandhu (Dbyig gnyen).¹⁴ Moreover, there are four Dunhuang manuscripts—two (IOL Tib J 146 and IOL Tib J 148 / PT 150) of the commentary attributed to *Bhadrapaṇa and two (IOL Tib J 147 and PT 151) of an anonymous commentary that is not part of the *Bstan 'gyur* canonical collections. This commentary may be the one attributed to Guṇaprabha (Yon tan 'od) in the 9th century Tibetan catalogues (*dkar chag*) of the translated works.¹⁵ Note that it is an assumption, and there is no available data to verify it. Thus, altogether there are six currently available Indic commentaries on the *Bhadracaryāpranidhāna*. Their examination leads to an interesting finding: four out of the five *Bstan 'gyur* commentaries—attributed to Nāgārjuna, Dignāga, *Bhadrapaṇa, and Vasubandhu, as well as the fifth anonymous Dunhuang commentary are strikingly similar. Only one Indic commentary, attributed to Śākyamitra, is different both in length and content.

With the support of comparative textual analysis, I would like to present the following hypothesis: the similarity of the five above-mentioned Indic commentaries is not just an example of a scholarly tendency of the time; rather they come down to the same (currently unavailable) Sanskrit archetype that reached Tibet in multiple hyparchetypes. Three out of the five commentaries—those attributed to Dignāga, *Bhadrapaṇa, and Gunaprabha—reached Tibet during the early spread of Dharma (*snga dar*) of c. 641–842, and the remaining two—of Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu—during the later spread (*spyi dar*) of 986—the beginning of the 14th century. The five above-mentioned hyparchetypes are not the only ones that were present in the 8th–14th century Tibet. Thus, Lo tsā ba Ye shes sde (mid 8th–early 9th century), mentions in his *Bstan 'gyur* subcommentary an Indic commentary of Buddhakīrti (Sangs rgyas grags pa).¹⁶ There could have been more hyparchetypes circulating throughout India

¹² Śākyamitra. 'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa (Āryabhadracaryāpranidhānarājatikā) [Extensive Commentary on the Noble Kinglike Aspiration for Good Conduct]. Tōh 4013.

¹³ *Bhadrapaṇa. 'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa (Āryabhadracaryāpranidhānarājatikā) [Extensive Commentary on the Noble Kinglike Aspiration for Good Conduct]. Tōh 4014.

¹⁴ Vasubandhu. 'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi 'grel pa (Āryabhadracaryāpranidhānatikā) [Extensive Commentary on the Noble Kinglike Aspiration for Good Conduct]. Tōh 4015.

¹⁵ Pho brang stong thang lhan dkar gyi chos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag bzhugs [The Catalogue of All the Translated Dharma from Stong thang lhan dkar Palace]. Tōh 4407, Sde dge bstan 'gyur, vol. 206, f. 306v2; Dkar chag 'phang thang ma [The Catalogue from 'Phang thang] 2003, 37.

¹⁶ Ye shes sde. Bzang spyod kyi 'grel pa bzhi'i don bsdus nas brjed byang du byas pa bzhugs [Mnemonic Synopsis of the Four Commentaries on the Aspiration for Good Conduct]. Tōh 4402, Sde dge bstan 'gyur, vol. 206, f. 184r2 and f. 213r7.

and reaching Tibet at that time. However, only one of them is currently located—*Āryabhadracaryāprajñidhānaṭikā* attributed to Vasubandhu. It is mentioned in a publication in Japanese by Xuezhu Li,¹⁷ in which he asserts that it is one of 156 palm-leaf manuscripts found in Nor bu gling kha in Tibet, and its copy is preserved in a box no. 37 at the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC) in Beijing. It is a complete manuscript of 19 folios with a colophon that attributes the composition to Ācārya Vasubandhu. Unfortunately, there is no edition of this manuscript published yet, and there is no access to the manuscript itself.

The initial Sanskrit archetype of the hyparchetypes most probably was called **Bhadracaryāprajñidhānaṭikā* (*Bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi 'grel pa*), hereafter *Tīkā*—in English, the *Commentary on the Aspiration for Good Conduct*. Although all the authors to whom it is attributed could have composed the *Tīkā*, my hypothesis is that the *Tīkā* was composed by a rather unknown author, and it was so well-written that started to be attributed to the greatest philosophers of the time. Assuming that the actual author is one of the attributions, the authorship should likely be attributed to *Bhadrapaṇa. This will be further explained below.

Even without having access to the Sanskrit manuscript of the hyparchetype attributed to Vasubandhu, the *Tīkā* provides a unique opportunity for its study and translation, since it is available in five different Tibetan translations. This is a truly unique situation. Although many texts had several Tibetan translations in the past, only a few reached our times, primarily because, as a rule, only one translation was included in the canonical collections, and those not included were mostly lost.

As far as I am aware, there is only one recent Western-language research paper published by Jens-Uwe Hartmann¹⁸ focused on the synoptic commentaries. Although, Hartmann does not call them “synoptic,” he draws the same conclusion stating that “In reality, the exemplars of commentaries 1, 2, 4 and 5 ascribed respectively to Nāgārjuna, Dignāga, rGyan bzang po, and Vasubandhu must have been derived from the same Indian text.”¹⁹ It seems rather remarkable that the Western-language scholarship on the *Bhadracaryāprajñidhāna* apparently does not pay much attention to the commentarial tradition on it. For example, multiple English translations of the *Bhadracaryāprajñidhāna* show that the translators mostly treat it as an isolate without reliance on any commentary. The Japanese scholarship, as far as I can tell, is far ahead in this field. The synoptic problem

¹⁷ Li 2020, 406–401.

¹⁸ Hartmann 2023.

¹⁹ Hartmann 2023, 131.

was first addressed by Keikyo Nakamikado and Koji Takahashi in a paper published in the Japanese language in 2005, in which it is stated that although the four commentaries have different titles, they are very similar and essentially the same.²⁰ Keikyo Nakamikado appears to be the main Japanese scholar who researched the *Bhadracaryāprajñidhāna* and its *Bstan 'gyur* commentaries in the context of the tradition of Pure Land Buddhism.²¹ Alone and together with Ryuzen Fukuhara and Koji Takahashi he published a series of papers containing annotated Japanese translations of the synoptic hyparchetype attributed to Dignāga and the first seven chapters of the subcommentary by Ye shes sde.²²

Defining the Genre of the *Tīkā*

First, considering the genre of the *Bhadracaryāprajñidhāna* as belonging to the *buddhavacana* (*bka'*), i.e., the Word of the Buddha, we can categorize the *Tīkā* as being a Mahāyāna *śāstra* (*bstan bcos*), a treatise explaining the Word of the Buddha. In accordance with this status, *Tīkā*'s hyparchetypes are included into the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur* collections. The word *śāstra* is often translated as a "treatise" and could be understood as indicating a "teaching" or an "instruction."²³ Vasubandhu provides its conventional etymology (*nirukti*, *nges pa'i tshig*) in his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, "it is called *śāstra* because of instructing disciples [by means of it]."²⁴

However, in accordance with the explanation within the Buddhist tradition, *śāstra* is more than just a pedagogical text. It is endowed with special transcendental qualities. Vasubandhu explains its contextualized etymology in the *Vyākhyāyukti*,

Regarding its etymology (*nirukti*), since it cures (*śāsti*) and protects (*saṃtrāyate*), it is [called] *śāstra*:

It cures from all the enemies of afflictions
And protects from the unfortunate states of existence.

²⁰ Nakamikado and Takahashi 2005, 2.

²¹ Pure Land Buddhism or Pure Land School (Chinese *Jīngtūzōng*, Japanese *Jōdo bukyō*) is a broad branch of Mahāyāna Buddhism focused on achieving rebirth in Buddha Amitābha's pure land called Sukhāvatī. It is one of the most widely practiced traditions of Buddhism in East Asia.

²² Nakamikado and Takahashi 2005, Nakamikado and Fukuhara 2008, Nakamikado and Fukuhara 2010, Nakamikado and Fukuhara 2011, Nakamikado 2012, and Nakamikado 2013.

²³ In terms of the Sanskrit grammar, the term *śāstra* is derived by adding the suffix *ṣṭra* (*tra*), which indicates an instrument, to the *vṛ̥śas*, i.e., "to teach," "to instruct," etc. See Pāṇini 3.2.181-3.

²⁴ *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Pradhan 1975, 2): *śisyaśāsanācchāstram*.

Since it possesses qualities of curing and protecting,
It is [called] *sāstra*. These two [qualities] do not exist
in other traditions.²⁵

It implies that, within the Buddhist tradition, *sāstra* is understood as a means that serves the transcendental purpose of liberating one from *samsāra*.

Second, we can define the *Tikā*'s genre as a commentary on the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*. That said, it must be noted that there are many different possible Sanskrit equivalents for what we may call a "commentary" in English: *arthasaṃgraha*—a synopsis, *avacūrikā*—a short commentary, *bhāṣya*—an explanation, *bṛhatṭīkā*—a large commentary, *nibandhana*—a discourse or a connected explanation, *padabhañjikā*—a commentary which separates and analyses words; *pañjikā*—a running commentary which explains every word or a commentary on difficult points; *piṇḍartha*—a concise meaning commentary, *pradipaka*—a commentary that "illuminates" the meaning, *prabandha*—explanation of the subject matter, *prakaraṇa*—an exposition, *pravibhāga*—a detailed explanation, *saṃgraha*—a summary, *saṃskāra*—a compositional analysis, *tīppanīkā*—a gloss commentary, *tīkā*—a gloss commentary or a word and meaning commentary, *upadarśana*—a commentary that "exhibits" the meaning, *vārttika*—an explanation or a critical analysis of earlier commentaries, *vibhāṣā*—a great commentary, *vibhāga*—a commentary that discusses distinctions or correlations, *vivaraṇa*—an exposition or elucidation; *vr̥tti*—a running commentary; *vyākhyā*—an explanation, and so on. Thus, Sanskrit authors created a varied set of texts which can fall into the English category of a "commentary." Some of these texts are line-by-line or word-by-word explanations, some entail elaborate philosophical analyses, while others provide just brief comments. Thus, when we try to answer the question of what makes a text a "commentary," the only criterion that unites all the cases mentioned above is that a commentary depends on, and closely attends to, a root text. The mode of its engagement with that root text, however, may vary substantially.

Regarding the Sanskrit technical term *tīkā*, according to Jonardon Ganeri, a *tīkā* is a commentary whose function is to elucidate obscure or otherwise tricky words in the root text. Ganeri notes that "the

²⁵ Vasubandhu. *Rnam par bshad pa'i rigs pa* (*Vyākhyāyukti*) [Principles of Exegesis]. Tōh 4061, *Sde dge bstan 'gyur*, vol. 136, f. 123r2–3: *nges pa'i tshig tu 'chos pa dang | skyob par byed pas | de'i phyir bstan bcos sol | nyon mongs dgra rnams ma lus 'chos pa dang | ngan 'gro srid las skyob pa gang yin te | 'chos skyob yon tan phyir na bstan bcos te | gnyis po 'di dag gzhan gyi lugs la med*. This verse appears in Skt. in *Candrakīrti's Prasannapadā* (La Vallée Poussin 1903, 3): *yacchāsti vah kleśaripūnaśeṣān saṃtrāyate durgatito bhavācca | tacchāsanāttrāṇagunācā śāstrāṇ etadvayāṇ cānyamateṣu nāsti*.

*Śabdārthacintāmaṇī*²⁶ defines a *tīkā* as ‘an explanation of difficult words [in the root text]’ (*viṣamapadavyākhyāyām*).²⁷ Ganeri further explains the *tīkā* through the Oxford English Dictionary definition of the English “gloss:” “A word inserted between the lines or in the margin as an explanatory equivalent of a foreign or otherwise difficult word in the text; hence applied to a similar explanatory rendering of a word given in a glossary or dictionary. Also, in a wider sense, a comment, explanation, interpretation.” He concludes that the *tīkā*, like a gloss, is also used in a more general sense, as a synonym of *vṛtti* or *vivaraṇa*.²⁸ In relation to this definition, it is worth mentioning that a gloss is a simple explanation of a term, while the *tīkā* is not a gloss itself but rather a collection of glosses. That said, the commentary that is subject to our study is consistent with the more specific definition of *tīkā* since it attends to and explains individual words, as well as with the wider definition, since it serves as a more general explanation of the *Bhadracaryāprajñidhāna*.

To further define the genre of the *Tīkā*, it is useful to consider the Tibetan tradition of classification of Indian *śāstras*. Bu ston rin chen grub (1290–1364) in his *Chos 'byung*, i.e., *History of Buddhism*,²⁹ divides *śāstras* into two categories:

1. not based on the Word of the Buddha (*bka' la mi brten pa*) and
2. based on the Word of the Buddha ([*bka' la*] *brten pa*).

Śāstras that are based on the Word of the Buddha are further divided into two categories:

- 2.1 *śāstras* that comment on the Word of the Buddha itself (*bka' nyid la 'grel ba btab pa*) and
- 2.2 *śāstras* that are composed by applying the meaning of the Word of the Buddha to one's mind (*bka'i don rang rgyud du brtsams pa*), i.e., compositions based on the personal understanding of the meaning of the Word of the Buddha.

The first, *śāstras* that explain the Word of the Buddha, are further

²⁶ Ganeri 2008, 3: fn. 6 indicates “*Śabdārthacintāmaṇī*. Jaipur: Printwell, 1992 [1860], vol. 2, p. 1031.” It most probably refers to Sukhananda Natha’s *Śabdārthacintāmaṇī*, a Sanskrit encyclopedic dictionary in 4 vol., which contains vocabulary of the Sanskrit *śāstras* and explains etymology of terms in accord with Pāṇini.

²⁷ Ganeri 2008, 3.

²⁸ Ganeri 2008, 3.

²⁹ Bu ston rin chen grub. *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod ces bya ba bzhuugs so* [The Scripture on the Origins of Dharma that Explains the Teaching of Sugatas Called “The Precious Treasury”]. In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 24, f. 22r5–7 (p. 675).

divided into five categories:

- 2.1.1 *tīkā* (*rgya cher 'grel pa*): extensive commentaries on both words and meaning, e.g., *Pratimokṣasūtraṭīkā* in fifty volumes³⁰ (*tshig don gnyis ka rgya cher 'grel ba so so thar pa'i 'grel pa bam po lnga bcu pa lta bu rgya cher 'grel*);
- 2.1.2 *padabhañjikā*(?), *tshig 'byed pa*(?);³¹ word commentaries which explain parts of words (*tshig gi cha*) together with their analysis (*prapañca*(?), *spros pa*), e.g., a commentary³² on the two [compilations of] *Udānavarga*³³ (*tshig gi cha spros pa dang bcas nas 'chad ba ched du brjod pa'i tshoms gnyis kyi 'grel pa lta bu tshig gi 'grel ba*);
- 2.1.3 *pañjikā* (*dka' 'grel*): commentaries on difficult points, e.g., the two *Saṃcayagāthāpañjikas*³⁴ (*go dka' ba'i don rnam par 'byed pa sdud 'grel gnyis lta bu dka' 'grel*);

³⁰ *So sor thar pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa bam po lnga bcu pa*, i.e., *An Extensive Commentary on the "Pratimokṣa Sūtra"* in fifty volumes most probably refers to Vimalamitra's *So sor thar pa'i mdo rgya cher 'grel pa 'dul ba kun las btus pa* (*Pratimokṣasūtraṭīkāvivayaśamuccaya*) [*An Extensive Commentary on the "Pratimokṣa Sūtra," A Compendium of Monastic Discipline*], Tōh 4106, which consists of fifty volumes (*bam po ni lnga bcur byas so*).

³¹ Mentioned *tshig gi 'grel pa* does not seem to be a direct translation of a Sanskrit term, and based on Bu ston's categorization, this commentary type seems to refer to Skt. *padabhañjikā* (*tshig 'byed pa*). Since further mentioned commentary on the *Udānavarga* is titled *vivarāṇa* (*rnam par 'grel pa*), it is not entirely clear whether Bu ston refers to it or something else.

³² There is only one commentary on the *Udānavarga* included into the *Bstan 'gyurs*: Prajñāvarman's *Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms kyi rnam par 'grel pa* (*Udānavargavivaraṇa*) [*Exposition of Chapters of Inspired Utterances*]. Tōh 4100.

³³ Two [compilations of] *Udānavarga* ('chad ba ched du brjod pa'i tshoms gnyis): 'chad ba che du brjod pa'i tshoms is identified as *Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*, i.e., *Udānavarga*. Its mentioning as dual is unclear because the Tibetan *Bka' 'gyurs* and *Bstan 'gyurs* contain only one *Udānavarga* (*Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*) [*Chapters of Inspired Utterances*]. Tōh 326 and Tōh 4099 (the *Catalogue from Lhan dkar* also lists only one *Udānavarga* (*Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*), Lalou no. 309 (Lalou 1953, 326), which is a translation of the compilation attributed to the Sarvāstivādin Ācārya Dharmatrāta (2nd century CE). Thus, it might refer to either compilations or recensions of the *Udānavarga* itself, or the *Dhammapada* (*Dharmapada*) (there are several *Dhammapadas*, e.g., Pāli *Dhammapada*, Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*, and Patna *Dhammapada* (Anandajoti Bhikkhu 2020, 1–10) and, according to Woodville Rockhill, 300 verses of the *Udānavarga* are nearly identical with the verses of the *Dhammapada* and 150 more verses resemble verses of the *Dhammapada* (Rockhill 1883, viii).

³⁴ The two *Saṃcayagāthāpañjikas* most probably refer to Haribhadra's *Bcom ldan 'das yon tan rin po che sdud pa'i tshigs su bcad pa'i dka' 'grel zhes bya ba* (*Bhagavadratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthāpañjikānāma*) [*Commentary on the Difficult Points of the "Verses that Summarize the Perfection of Wisdom"*], Tōh 3792, and Buddhaśrījñāna's *Sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa'i dka' 'grel* (*Saṃcayagāthāpañjikā*) [*Commentary on the Difficult Points of the "Verses [that Summarize the Perfection of Wisdom]"*], Tōh 3798.

- 2.1.4 *piṇḍārtha* (*bsdus don*): concise meaning commentaries which summarize the principal part of the subject-matter in a concise form, e.g. a *Piṇḍārtha* commentary by Vimalamitra³⁵ (*don gyi gtso bo bsdus nas ston pa sdud pa'i don bsdus dri med bshes gnyen gyis mdzad pa lta bu bsdus don gyi 'grel pa*); and
- 2.1.5 *vākyārtha* (*ngag don*): merely sentence-meaning commentaries which reveal the [true] meaning of a sentence (*vākyā, ngag*) (also assertion, statement, etc.) by condensing it (*ngag gi don dril nas ston pa ngag don tsam gyi 'grel ba*).

Thus, according to Bu ston, *tīkā* refers to the type 2.1.1 “extensive commentaries on both words and meaning.” In accordance with the Tibetan title of the hyparchetypes attributed to *Bhadrapana and Vasubandhu, *tīkā* is rendered as *rgya cher 'grel pa* and *'grel pa* respectively. Similarly, in Ye shes sde’s subcommentary on the Indic commentaries, the Sanskrit term *tīkā* is featured at the beginning and the Tibetan term *'grel pa* in the end.³⁶

Moreover, the hyparchetype attributed to Nāgārjuna is titled *nibandhana* in Sanskrit and *bshad sbyar* in Tibetan, i.e., a discourse or a connected explanation. The reason for it may be the verse of dedication in the end of the *Tīkā* that refers to it as *bshad sbyar (smon lam rgyal po 'di'i bshad sbyar byas pa yis)*,³⁷ i.e. “Composing this discourse on the Kinglike Aspiration,” etc.). Sanskrit *nibandhana* (literal meaning is “binding together” or “tying”) means “a literary composition” rather than indicating a specific type of a commentary. A well-known śāstra that bears this title is *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana*, a commentary on the *Arthaviniścayasūtra*,³⁸ “written by Vīryaśrīdatta (8th century, Nālandā), which belongs to the Abhidharma literature and survives in original Sanskrit.”³⁹

³⁵ *Piṇḍārtha* commentary by Vimalamitra may refer to the commentary on the *Guhyagarbhatantra attributed to Vimalamitra: *Dpal gsang ba snying po'i don bsdus 'grel pa (Śrīguhyagarbhapiṇḍārthaṭīkā)*. P4755. *Pe cin bstān 'gyur*, vol. 77, ff. 1v1–311v4. On the attribution, see Kano 2008, 144–145, fn. 65.

³⁶ Ye shes sde. *Bzang spyod kyi 'grel pa bzhi'i don bsdus nas brjed byang du byas pa bzhugs* [*Mnemonic Synopsis of the Four Commentaries on the Aspiration for Good Conduct*]. Tōh 4402, *Sde dge bstān 'gyur*, vol. 206, f. 184r2 and f. 213r7.

³⁷ *Bhadrapana. *'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa (Āryabhadracaryāpranidhānarājāṭīkā)* [Extensive Commentary on the Noble Kinglike Aspiration for Good Conduct]. Tōh 4014, *Sde dge bstān 'gyur*, vol. 117, f. 252v3.

³⁸ *Don rnam par nges pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs* (*Arthaviniścayanāmadharmaparyāya*) [The Dharma Instruction “Distinctly Ascertaining the Meanings”]. Tōh 317.

³⁹ Horiuchi 2021, 1060. Also see the Sanskrit edition of *Arthaviniścayasūtra* in Samtani 1971.

As for the hyparchetype attributed to Dignāga, it is titled *arthasaṃgraha* in Sanskrit and *don kun bsdus* in Tibetan, i.e., a “synopsis.” This title must be due to the first sentence of the *Tīkā* that mentions *bsdus pa'i don* (*kun tu bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi bsdus pa'i don ni bcu ste*,⁴⁰ i.e., “The synopsis of the *Aspiration for Samantabhadra's Conduct* is tenfold”).

Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Tīkā*'s hyparchetypes feature the words of the root text written in red vermilion, which distinguishes them from the surrounding text of the commentary that explains these words and elucidates the meaning of the root text, and it is in accord with the above-mentioned meaning of the *tīkā* as a “word and meaning commentary.” Moreover, there is another category of commentaries composed within the Tibetan tradition—the “annotated commentary” (*mchan 'grel*). If the *Tīkā* was a text developed within the Tibetan commentarial tradition it could be classified as a *mchan 'grel*.

To demonstrate the thematic structure of the *Tīkā*, let us look at its structural outline. Its structure is stated to be tenfold. However, the *Tīkā* comments on 60 verses of the *Bhadracaryāprajñidhāna* but these ten parts cover only verses 1–54. Lo tsā ba Ye shes sde in his subcommentary adds the eleventh part “Concise Dedication.” Its subsections 11.1–11.5 appear in the *Tīkā* as well, although it does not single out the eleventh part as a separate section of the outline:⁴¹

1. Paying Homage to the Tathāgatas
 - 1.1 Paying homage with one's body, speech, and mind all at once (v.1)
 - 1.2 Paying homage with one's body (v.2)
 - 1.3 Paying homage with one's mind (v.3)
 - 1.4 Paying homage with one's speech (v.4)
2. Worshiping the Tathāgatas
 - 2.1 Excelled worship (v.5–6)
 - 2.2 Unexcelled worship (v.7)
3. Confessing Wrongdoing (v.8)

⁴⁰ *Bhadrapaṇa. ‘Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa (Āryabhadracaryāprajñidhānarājatīkā) [Extensive Commentary on the Noble Kinglike Aspiration for Good Conduct]. Tōh 4014, *Sde dge bstan 'gyur*, vol. 117, f. 234r5.

⁴¹ Ye shes sde's subcommentary (Ye shes sde. *Bzang spyod kyi 'grel pa bzhi'i don bsdus nas brjed byang du byas pa bzhus* [Mnemonic Synopsis of the Four Commentaries on the Aspiration for Good Conduct]. Tōh 4402) reproduces the tenfold outline of the *Tīkā* adding the eleventh part “Concise Dedication.” Since the *Tīkā* covers 60 verses of the *Bhadracaryāprajñidhāna*, it does not include subsections 11.6 “Dedicating the root of virtue accumulated through recitation” (v.61) and 11.7. “Dedication so that all beings may be reborn in the abode of Amitābha” (v.62) which are part of the subcommentary.

4. Rejoicing in Merit (v.9)
5. Requesting to Turn the Wheel of Dharma (v.10)
6. Asking the Tathāgatas to Remain (v.11)
7. Dedicating the Roots of Virtue (v.12)
8. Subdivisions of the Aspiration
 - 8.1 Intention
 - 8.1.1 Intention to worship the tathāgatas and fulfill their wish (v.13)
 - 8.1.2 Intention to purify buddhafields (v.14)
 - 8.1.3 Intention to bring benefit and happiness to all beings (v.15)
 - 8.2 Not forgetting bodhicitta (v.16–19)
 - 8.3 Stainless application (v. 20)
 - 8.4 Benefiting beings (v.21)
 - 8.5 The armor (v.22)
 - 8.6 Meeting with bodhisattvas who are similar to oneself (v.23)
 - 8.7 Pleasing virtuous friends (v.24)
 - 8.8 Directly perceiving the tathāgatas (v.25)
 - 8.9 Upholding the sublime Dharma (v.26)
 - 8.10 Acquiring the inexhaustible treasury (v.27)
 - 8.11 Engagement
 - 8.11.1–2 Engagement with seeing the buddhas and their fields (v.28–29)
 - 8.11.3 Engagement with the speech of the buddhas (v.30)
 - 8.11.4 Entering the turning of the wheel of Dharma (v.31)
 - 8.11.5 Penetration into the entrance of eons (v.32)
 - 8.11.6 Seeing the tathāgatas and engaging with their sphere of activity (v.33)
 - 8.11.7 Engagement with manifesting buddhafields (v.34)
 - 8.11.8 Engagement with going into the presence of the tathāgatas (v.35)
 - 8.12 Power (v.36–37)
 - 8.13 Antidote
 - 8.13.1 Overcoming karma (v. 38.1)
 - 8.13.2 Overcoming afflictions (v. 38.2)
 - 8.13.3 Overcoming the power of Māra⁴² (v. 38.3)

⁴² Māra refers to the four kinds of obstructive forces that create obstacles on the spiritual path: (1) Māra of the aggregates (*skandhamāra, phung po'i bdud*), which symbolizes clinging to forms, perceptions, and mental states as real; (2) Māra of the afflictions (*kleśamāra, nyon mongs kyi bdud*), which symbolizes being overpowered by afflictions; (3) Māra the lord of death (*mṛtyumāra, 'chi bdag gi bdud*), which symbolizes both death itself—the cutting short of the precious human life—and also the fear of change, impermanence, and death; and (4) Māra the son of

- 8.14 Activity (v.39–v.40)
- 8.15 Dedication by means of emulating the training
 - 8.15.1 Dedication emulating the training of the buddhas (v.41)
 - 8.15.2 Dedication emulating the training of bodhisattvas (v.42–v.44)
- 8.16 Summary (v.45)
- 9. Extent of the *Aspiration* (v.46)
- 10. Benefits of the *Aspiration*
 - 10.1 Benefits in this life
 - 10.1.1 Acquisition of superior merit (v.47–v.48)
 - 10.1.2 Seeing the tathāgatas (v.49)
 - 10.1.3 Obtaining an equal status with the bodhisattva (v.50)
 - 10.1.4 Purifying karmic obstructions (v.51)
 - 10.2 Benefits in the lives to come
 - 10.2.1 Benefits gathered as the cause (v.52)
 - 10.2.2 Benefits gathered as the result (v.53–v.54)
- 11. Concise Dedication
 - 11.1 Dedication in the manner of bodhisattvas (v.55)
 - 11.2 Dedication in the manner of tathāgatas (v.56)
 - 11.3 Freedom from obstructions (v.57)
 - 11.4 Obtaining a body conducive to the *pāramitās*⁴³ (v.58)
 - 11.5 Receiving a prophecy and accomplishing benefit of beings (v.59–v.60)

The outline shows that the *Tikā* begins with the explanation of the seven branches⁴⁴ (*saptāṅga, yan lag bdun*), i.e., the seven aspects of devotional practice which constitute a method of gathering accumulations and overcoming afflictions, and then continues with the practice

gods (*devaputraṁāra, lha'i bu'i bdud*), which symbolizes craving for pleasures and peace.

⁴³ *Pāramitā* (*pha rol tu phin pa*) is a quality of “transcendent perfection.” Ten such qualities are: (1) generosity (*dāna, sbyin pa*); (2) discipline (*śīla, tshul khrims*); (3) patience (*kṣānti, bzod pa*); (4) heroic effort, or diligence (*vīrya, brtson 'grus*); (5) meditative concentration (*dhyāna, bsam gtan*); and (6) wisdom (*prajñā, shes rab*) that comprise the training of a bodhisattva. The sixth *pāramitā* can be further divided into four: (7) the skillful means (*upā�akauśala, thabs la mkhas pa*); (8) power (*bala, stobs*); (9) aspiration (*pranidhāna, smon lam*); and (10) primordial wisdom (*jñāna, ye shes*), resulting in ten *pāramitās*.

⁴⁴ Seven branches (*saptāṅga, yan lag bdun*), the seven-branch practice, or the seven aspects of devotional practice, a method of gathering accumulations and overcoming afflictions: (1) prostration, the antidote to pride; (2) worshiping, the antidote to greed; (3) confession, the antidote to anger; (4) rejoicing, the antidote to jealousy; (5) requesting to turn the wheel of Dharma, the antidote to ignorance; (6) requesting not to pass into nirvāṇa, the antidote to wrong views; and (7) dedication of merit, the antidote to doubts.

of generating intention, cultivating bodhicitta, seeing the buddhas, associating with bodhisattvas, etc., followed by the seven kinds of engagement, teaching on antidotes and the statements of benefits, and finally concludes with dedications. In this sense, it can be viewed as a comprehensive explanation of various aspects of the bodhisattva's practice.

The *Tikā* in Its Historical Context

Unlike the *Bhadracaryāprāṇidhāna* that, although having many roles and functions, carries the status of belonging to the *buddhavacana* that transcends the ordinary human domain, the *Tikā*'s status is that of a literary composition that was created by a person who lived in a certain historical time. Thus, we may expect the task of its historical categorization not to be that complicated; yet it turns out to be challenging. The reason for this is that all historical interpretations should be based on evidence from historical sources, and this principle poses difficulties when applied to the context of ancient India—mainly for two reasons: the dearth of historical chronicles, and, arguably, the non-existence of the concept of authorship in the Western academic sense of the author as the creator of original composition, i.e., author's "origination function."⁴⁵ If one were to ask why it is so important for us to determine the time when a certain text was composed and the identity of its author, it is probably because by knowing these details we will be able to categorize it, put it into a certain framework, make parallels, and produce interpretations. As Paul Harrison says, in this search for the origins we deal with a kind of methodological cliché, "(...) the idea that if we can understand the beginnings of something, we are better placed to understand the whole thing, as if its essential character were somehow fixed and readable in the genetic encoding of its conception."⁴⁶ Thus, we see the unknown as a puzzle to be solved looking for the clues that will connect the unknown with something that we assume to know.

Dating the *Tikā*

My research on the Chinese Buddhist canonical collections was limited to Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*,⁴⁷ and on the Chinese Buddhist manuscripts—to Kazuo Enoki's catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist manuscripts in

⁴⁵ Regarding the "origination function" and other critical discussions of authorship, see Schwermann and Steineck 2014, 4–15.

⁴⁶ Harrison 1995, 49.

⁴⁷ Nanjio 1883.

Dunhuang.⁴⁸ Thus, I cannot assert with certainty that none of the *Tikā*'s hyparchetypes reached ancient China, and that no Chinese translations of any of them were produced. At any rate, since I don't have any account of them, I cannot establish the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Tikā* based on the dates of its Chinese translation. Moreover, I cannot rely on the dates of its author since it is attributed to at least six different individuals. What is left is to review the sources that the *Tikā* engages in the attempt to find any indications of the time when it may have been composed.

The *Tikā* contains references to sixteen identified sources:

- **ten Mahāyāna sūtras:** (1) *Caturdharmarideśasūtra*,⁴⁹
 (2) *Gocarapariśuddhisūtra*,⁵⁰ (3) *Karmāvaraṇavīśuddhasūtra*,⁵¹
 (4) *Tathāgatācintyaguhyānirdeśasūtra*,⁵²
 (5) **Tathāgatakoṣasūtra*,⁵³ (6) *Maitreyavimokṣa* of the
Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra,⁵⁴
 (7) *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha*,⁵⁵ (8) *Upālipariprcchāsūtra*,⁵⁶

⁴⁸ La Vallée Poussin 1962, 245–258.

⁴⁹ A verse included into the Potala Skt. manuscript of the *Caturdharmarideśasūtra*. See Tseng 2010, vol. 1, 404: M_{A2}25₁₁₋₁₃, D_B248r2–3, D_b196v2–3, D_N177r4–5, D_V265r1–2. Note: Here and in what follows, folio numbers of the manuscripts of the anonymous hyparchetype refer to the attributed folio numbers (see Vaslieva 2004. *A Study of the Bstan 'gyur Synoptic Indic Commentaries on the Bhadracaryāprajñādhāna in the Context of the Subcommentary by Lo tsā ba Ye shes sde*. Appendix II. Manuscripts, 2. M_{A1} and M_{A2}, pp. cciii–ccxxvii).

⁵⁰ 'Phags pa spyod yul yongs su dag pa'i mdo (Āryagocarapariśuddhisūtra) [The Noble Sūtra on the Purification of the Sphere of Activity] refers to Spyod yul yongs su dag pa'i le'u, Ch.16 of the *Buddhāvatāraṇasakasūtra*. Tōh 44–16: M_{A2}21₅₋₆, D_B245r3, D_D194r1, D_N174r7–174v1, D_V262r6.

⁵¹ 'Phags pa las kyi sgrib pa rnam par dag pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Āryakarmāvaraṇavīśuddhināmamahāyānasūtra) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra on the Purification of Karmic Obstructions]. Tōh 218: M_{A2}23₂₋₈, D_B246v1–4, D_D195r1–5, D_N175v2–5, D_V263v1–4.

⁵² 'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Āryatathāgatācintyaguhyānirdeśanāmamahāyānasūtra) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra Teaching on the Unfathomable Secrets of the Tathāgatas]. Tōh 47: M_{A1}10v2–4, D_B242r6–7, D_D191v1–2, D_N171v2–3, D_V259v7–260r1.

⁵³ 'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i mdzod kyi mdo (*Āryatathāgatakoṣasūtra) [The Noble Sūtra of the Tathāgata's Treasury] (not included in the Tibetan *Bka' 'gyur* collections): M_{A2}23₈₋₂₄, D_B246v4–247r6, D_D195r5–195v7, D_N175v5–176r7, D_V263v5–264r5.

⁵⁴ Byams pa'i rnam par thar pa (Maitreyavimokṣa) [Liberation of Maitreya], ch. 54 "Maitreya" of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*: M_{A2}24₁₂₋₁₃, D_B243r1–3, D_D192r2–4, D_N172r6–7, D_V260v2–3.

⁵⁵ 'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi sangs rgyas kyi zhing gi yon tan bkod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo. (Āryamañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūhanāmamahāyānasūtra) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra "The Array of Qualities of Mañjuśrī's Buddhafield"]. Tōh 59: M_{A2}28_{14–29}, D_B249v4–5, D_b198r6, D_N179r1–2, D_V266v3–4.

⁵⁶ 'Phags pa 'dul ba rnam par gtan la dbab pa nye bar 'khor gyis zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Āryavinayaviniścayopālipariprcchānāmamahāyānasūtra) [The Noble

- (9) *Vajracchedikāsūtra*,⁵⁷ and (10) *Vīradattapariprcchāsūtra*,⁵⁸
- **four non-Mahāyāna texts:** (11) *Abhiniskramanāśasūtra*,⁵⁹
 (12) *Karmaśataka*,⁶⁰ (13) *Karmavibhaṅga*,⁶¹ and
 (14) *Sūkarikāvadānāśasūtra*,⁶² as well as
- **two attributed texts:** (15) Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka*⁶³ and
 (16) Mātṛceṭa's *Varṇārhabavarṇastotra*.⁶⁴

When it comes to Mahāyāna, although, as Harrison says, “the more one considers the methodological problems involved, the less one can say about the origins of the Mahāyāna,”⁶⁵ the mentioned Mahāyāna sūtras do not typically appear among the lists of “early Mahāyāna sūtras.” For example, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* as a collection of sūtras is considered to represent a middle period of development within Mahāyāna and dates c. 200 to 300 CE.⁶⁶ Thus, taking these references to sūtras as a framework, we can say that the *Tīkā*'s *terminus post quem* is c. 2nd century CE.

Moreover, in the commentary on verses 28–29 of the *Bhadracaryāpranidhāna* (8.11.1–2 Engagement with Seeing the Buddhas and Their Fields) the *Tīkā* provides a quotation from Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka*, and in the commentary on verse 30 (8.11.3 Engagement

Mahāyāna Sūtra Ascertaining the Vinaya: Upāli's Questions]. Tōh 68: M_A24₉₋₁₂, D_B247r7–247v3, D_D196r1–2, D_N176v1–2, D_V264r6–264v1.

⁵⁷ 'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Āryavajracchedikānāmaprajñāpāramitāmahāyānāśasūtra) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom "The Diamond Cutter"]. Tōh 16: M_A24₁₃₋₂₅, D_B247v2–3, D_D196r3–5, D_N176v3–5, D_V264v1–3.

⁵⁸ Khyim bdag dpas byin gyis zhus pa'i mdo (Vīradattapariprcchāsūtra) [The Sūtra Requested by the Layman Vīradatta]. Tōh 72: M_A21₁₀₋₁₁, D_B245v2, D_D194r3–4, D_N174v3–4, D_V262v4.

⁵⁹ Mngon par 'byung ba'i mdo (Abhiniskramanāśasūtra) [Sūtra on Going Forth]. Tōh 301: M_A12r4–5, D_B234v7–235r1, D_D185r1, D_N164v1, D_V253v3.

⁶⁰ Las brgya tham pa (Karmaśataka) [The Hundred Deeds]. Tōh 340: M_A25₈₋₉, D_B248r1, D_D196v1–2, D_N177r3, D_V264v7–265r1.

⁶¹ Las rnam pa 'byed pa (Karmavibhaṅga) [The Exposition of Karma]. Tōh 338: M_A22₇₋₉, D_B246r2–3, D_D194v3–4, D_N175r3–4, D_V263r3–4.

⁶² Phag mo'i rtogs pa brjod pa zhes bya ba'i mdo (Sūkarikāvadānāśasūtra) [Sūtra "The Magnificent Account about a Sow"]. Tōh 345: M_A22₁₅₋₂₃, D_B246r6–7, D_D194v7–195r1, D_N175r7–175v1, D_V263r7–263v1.

⁶³ Āryadeva. Bstan bcos bzhi brgya pa zhes bya ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa (Catuhśatakaśāstranāmakārikā) [A Verse Treatise called "The Four Hundred"]. Tōh 3846: M_A10v4–5, D_B242v1, D_DØ, D_N171v4–5, D_V260r2.

⁶⁴ Mātṛceṭa. Sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das la bstod pa bsngags par 'os pa bsngags pa las bstod par mi nus par bstod pa zhes bya ba (Varṇārhabavarṇebhagavatobuddhasyastotreśākyastava) [In Praise of the Praiseworthy Bhagavat Buddha Eulogizing the One Who Cannot Be Eulogized]. Tōh 1138: M_A11r6–7, D_B242v7–243r1, D_D192r1–2, D_N172r5–6, D_V260v1–2.

⁶⁵ Harrison 1995, 48.

⁶⁶ Osto 2004, 60.

with the Speech of the Buddhas)—a quotation from the *Varṇārḥavarṇastotra* attributed to the ancient Indian poet Māṭṛceṭa.⁶⁷ The dates of Māṭṛceṭa are contested. Most commonly it is said he was born at the end of the 1st century CE and composed his works in the 2nd century CE. It is also mentioned by traditional sources that he was converted to Buddhism by Āryadeva, who is usually dated 2nd–3rd century CE.⁶⁸ Thus, taking Āryadeva's latest date as a framework, we can establish the *Tikā*'s *terminus post quem* as 3rd century CE. The *Tikā*'s *terminus ante quem* can be established with the reliance on the Tibetan imperial catalogues as the early 9th century CE. Thus, we may say that the *Tikā* was composed between 3rd and early 9th century CE.

The *Tikā* in India: Authorship and the Synoptic Problem

As it has already been mentioned, the comparative analysis of the Indic commentaries in the Tibetan canonical collections shows that four out of the five commentaries attributed to *Bhadrapaṇa, Dignāga, Nāgārjuna, and Vasubandhu are subject to a synoptic problem, i.e., they most probably come down to the same currently unavailable Sanskrit archetype. To the list of these four attributions, we should also add Guṇaprabha and Buddhakīrti since the former appears in the Tibetan imperial catalogues and the latter is mentioned by Ye shes sde in his subcommentary. Evidence for the synoptic problem will be provided further on, in the section devoted to the *Tikā* in Tibet. And here, I will try to address the question of the *Tikā*'s authorship.

The above-mentioned hypothesis entails two assumptions: (1) there was an initial archetype, a unitary original text of the *Tikā* produced in Classical Sanskrit in ancient India, and that (2) there were multiple hyparchetypes of it, attributed to various authors, coexisting in ancient India. Regarding the hypothesis and the two assumptions it entails, it is to be clearly stated that there is no historical evidence from ancient India at my disposal to confirm them. All I rely on is the currently available Tibetan textual record from the imperial catalogues of the early 9th century, Dunhuang manuscripts of the 9th–early 11th century, five *Bstan 'gyur* canonical collections dated 1724–1773, and recent evidence of the location of the Sanskrit hyparchetype attributed to Vasubandhu in Tibet—all in all, not that much. However, this situation seems not be uncommon in the investigations that touch upon the

⁶⁷ Māṭṛceṭa. *Sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das la bstod pa bsngags par 'os pa bsngags pa las bstod par mi nus par bstod pa zhes bya ba* (*Varṇārḥavarṇebhagavatobuddhasyastreśākyastava*) [In Praise of the Praiseworthy Bhagavat Buddha Eulogizing the One Who Cannot Be Eulogized]. Tōh 1138.

⁶⁸ Regarding Māṭṛceṭa's dates and life story, see Hartmann 1988, 77–184; also, Shomakhmadov and Hartmann 2022, 58–70.

criteria of authenticity in ancient India. As Peter Skilling characterizes it,

In our investigation, we do not have much to go on. We have no ancient (or even mediæval) Indian *sūtra* catalogues, no correspondence or diaries, no specificities whatsoever which might expose the historical underpinnings of the ideology of authenticity—or rather ideologies, given the intricacy of the family tree(s) of Indian Buddhism.⁶⁹

In the absence of historical evidence, we can still rely on the method of textual analysis to reconstruct the ancient Indian context for the *Tikā*. Regarding that, it must be understood that it is just an attempt at reconstruction.

First, there is a need for the evaluation of the *Tikā*'s hyparchetypes as subject to the synoptic problem. Before we proceed to their comparative textual analysis, which will be done in the next part, dedicated to the *Tikā* in Tibet, there is a need to explain more in detail what the synoptic problem is, and then evaluate the attributions to establish the most probable authorship.

As for the first necessary evaluation, the term “synoptic problem” was introduced into the biblical textual studies, specifically textual criticism of the New Testament, to establish the literary relationships among the first three Gospels—those of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. These three Gospels have so much in common that scholars called them “synoptic,” from Latin *synopticus*, i.e., “seeing together,” which means they can be reviewed side by side while being displayed in three parallel columns. As Raymond Brown explains,

(...) there must have been some dependence of one or two on the other or on a common written source. (...) so much of the order in which that common material is presented, and so much of the wording in which it is phrased are the same that dependence at the written rather than simply at the oral level has to be posited.⁷⁰

There are several solutions offered to solve this synoptic problem. The first posits a protogospel, i.e., a gospel that existed before the synoptic Gospels, a no-longer-extant Aramaic Gospel on which all three synoptic Gospels drew. The second is that Matthew was the first Gospel, and Luke used Matthew. And the third, the most common, is that Mark was written first, and Matthew and Luke drew on it while writing

⁶⁹ Skilling 2010, 2.

⁷⁰ Brown 1997, 111–112.

independently from each other and relying on one more, currently unavailable, source (the so-called “Two-Source Theory”). According to Brown, no solution on the Gospels’ synoptic problem solves all difficulties.⁷¹

Regarding the solution to the synoptic problem of the *Tīkā*’s hyparchetypes, I am inclined towards a hypothesis of a common source, i.e., a currently unavailable Sanskrit archetype. With this in view, the next question to consider would be its authorship. Although it is possible that the *Tīkā*’s author was someone else, not included among the attributions of its hyparchetypes, for the sake of context reconstruction let us assume that it is one of the six attributions that we currently know: *Bhadrapāṇa, Dignāga, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Guṇaprabha, or Buddhakīrti. These six could be further subdivided into two groups: the earlier attributions (*Bhadrapāṇa, Dignāga, Guṇaprabha, and Buddhakīrti) and the later attributions (Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu). The two groups are separated by at least two centuries—early 9th and 11th century respectively.

Moreover, they could be divided into two groups as to their renown and importance. Thus, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, and Guṇaprabha belong to the eight luminaries of ancient India, called in the Tibetan tradition “six ornaments and two supreme ones” (*rgyan drug mchog gnyis*). Among them, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, and Dignāga are counted among the six greatest philosophers, each of them considered a founder of one of the main philosophical schools: Nāgārjuna of Madhyamaka, Vasubandhu of Yogācāra, and Dignāga of the Buddhist Pramāṇa, while Guṇaprabha is considered one of the two principal masters of Vinaya.⁷² In drastic contrast to that, nothing is currently known about *Bhadrapāṇa and Buddhakīrti.

Although the biographical details and dates of all the attributed authors are uncertain, if we place their most common dates in a chronological order, they will range from the 2nd to the 6th century CE: Nāgārjuna (c. 2nd–3rd century), Vasubandhu (3rd–4th century), Dignāga (480–540), and Guṇaprabha (c. 550–630). The dates of *Bhadrapāṇa and Buddhakīrti are unknown. Furthermore, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, and Dignāga are connected by their affiliation to Nālandā University. Moreover, Dignāga is considered Vasubandhu’s disciple. Guṇaprabha is also counted among Vasubandhu’s disciples, although it seems chronologically problematic.⁷³

If one were to ask who among Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, and Guṇaprabha, based on an analysis of their literary corpora, could

⁷¹ Brown 1997, 112–115.

⁷² Edeglass 2023, 207.

⁷³ See Nietupski 2009, 2–3.

have authored the *Tīkā*, the answer would be: anyone, since all of them are credited with authorship of Mahāyāna sūtra commentaries and treatises on the bodhisattva path. Thus, there are many such treatises ascribed to Nāgārjuna, for example, the *Āryaśālistambakamahāyānasūtratāṭikā*⁷⁴ and the *Āryaśālistambakakārikā*,⁷⁵ as well as the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*,⁷⁶ *Bodhyāpattideśanāvṛtti*,⁷⁷ *Mahāyānaviñśaka*,⁷⁸ and *Sūtrasamuccaya*⁷⁹ among others. It is worth mentioning, however, that the attribution of some of these texts to Nāgārjuna is contested.⁸⁰ According to Christian Lindtner, for example, only the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* and the *Sūtrasamuccaya* among them are genuine, while the *Āryaśālistambakakārikā* and the *Mahāyānaviñśaka* are “perhaps authentic.”⁸¹

In Dignāga’s corpus, there are the *Āryaprajñāpāramitāsaṃgrahakārikā*,⁸² *Guṇāparyantastotraṭīkā*,⁸³ and *Yogāvatāra*.⁸⁴

In Vasubandhu’s corpus, there are the *Āryadaśabhūmivyākhyāna*,⁸⁵ *Āryākṣayamatirdeśatāṭikā*,⁸⁶ *Āryabhagavatīprajñāpāramitāvajracchedikāsaptārthaṭīkā*,⁸⁷ *Mahāyānasāṃgrahabhaṣya*,⁸⁸ and

⁷⁴ Nāgārjuna. ‘Phags pa sā lu ljang pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo’i rgya cher bshad pa (*Āryaśālistambakamahāyānasūtratāṭikā*) [Extensive Commentary on the Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra “The Rice Seedling”]. Tōh 3986.

⁷⁵ Nāgārjuna. ‘Phags pa sā lu ljang pa’i tshig le’ur byas pa (*Āryaśālistambakakārikā*) [Verses on the Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra “The Rice Seedling”]. Tōh 3985.

⁷⁶ Nāgārjuna. Byang chub sems kyi ‘grel pa zhes bya ba (*Bodhicittavivaraṇanāma*). Tōh 1800. Byang chub sems kyi ‘grel pa (*Bodhicittavivaraṇa*) [Exposition of the Bodhicitta]. Tōh 1801.

⁷⁷ Nāgārjuna. Byang chub kyi ltung ba bshags pa’i ‘grel pa (*Bodhyāpattideśanāvṛtti*) [Commentary on the Confession of Bodhisattva Downfalls]. Tōh 4005.

⁷⁸ Nāgārjuna. Theg pa chen po nyi shu pa (*Mahāyānaviñśaka*) [Twenty Verses on the Mahāyāna]. Tōh 3833.

⁷⁹ Nāgārjuna. Mdo kun las btus pa (*Sūtrasamuccaya*) [Compendium of Sūtras]. Tōh 3934.

⁸⁰ Carpenter 2023, 8–9.

⁸¹ Lindtner 1987, 10–17.

⁸² Dignāga. ‘Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin ma bsdus pa’i tshig le’ur byas pa (*Āryaprajñāpāramitāsaṃgrahakārikā*) [A Verse Summary of “The Noble Perfection of Wisdom”]. Tōh 3809.

⁸³ Dignāga. Yon tan mtha’ yas par bstod pa’i ‘grel pa (*Guṇāparyantastotraṭīkā*) [Commentary on the Praise of Limitless Good Qualities]. Tōh 1156.

⁸⁴ Dignāga. Rnal ‘byor la ‘jug pa (*Yogāvatāra*) [Introduction to Spiritual Practice]. Tōh 4074.

⁸⁵ Vasubandhu. ‘Phags pa sa bcu pa’i rnam par bshad pa (*Āryadaśabhūmivyākhyāna*) [Explanation of the Noble Ten Bhūmis]. Tōh 3993.

⁸⁶ Vasubandhu. ‘Phags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa rgya cher ‘grel pa (*Āryākṣayamatirdeśatāṭikā*) [An Extensive Commentary on The Teaching of Ākṣayamatī]. Tōh 3994.

⁸⁷ Vasubandhu. ‘Phags pa bcom ldan ‘das mā shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa’i don bdun gyi rgya cher ‘grel pa (*Āryabhagavatīprajñāpāramitāvajracchedikāsaptārthaṭīkā*) [An Extensive Commentary on the Seven Subjects of the Perfection of Wisdom ‘The Diamond Cutter’]. Tōh 3816.

⁸⁸ Vasubandhu. Theg pa chen po bsdus pa’i ‘grel pa (*Mahāyānasāṃgrahabhaṣya*) [Explanation of A Summary of the Mahāyāna]. Tōh 4050.

*Mahāyānasūtrālaṇkārabhāṣya*⁸⁹ among others.

And, finally, in Gunaprabha's corpus there are the **Bodhisattvabhūmivṛtti*⁹⁰ and the **Bodhisattvaśilaparivartabhbāṣya*.⁹¹ As for *Bhadrapaṇa and Buddhakīrti, there are no other works attributed to them in the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur* collections, and nothing is known about them from the ancient Indian or Chinese sources.

We need to take into account that only a portion of all the works of Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, and Guṇaprabha has reached our time, as well as that there are many pseudopigrapha attributed to Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu. However, if we consider their literary corpora as they are presented within the Tibetan tradition, it is noticeable that Dignāga is not credited with any treatise directly related to the bodhisattva conduct. Only the very concise *Yogāvatāra* partially touches upon the subject, but its attribution to Dignāga is disputed (e.g., according to Lindtner, it is "wrongly ascribed to Dignāga"),⁹² which makes the *Tikā* stand out in his literary corpus.

Second, chronologically, first thing to note is that the earlier attributions to *Bhadrapaṇa, Dignāga, Guṇaprabha, and Buddhakīrti are more probable than the later attributions to Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu. Moreover, we need to correlate the attributions with the *Tikā*'s references to Āryadeva and Mātrceṭa. As for the first, Āryadeva is dated later than Nāgārjuna, which rules Nāgārjuna out as a potential author of the *Tikā*. The earliest reference to Āryadeva is his hagiography translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva c. 405 CE.⁹³ As for the second, the earliest attested reference to Mātrceṭa appears in **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*⁹⁴ that is attributed to Nāgārjuna. The work is preserved only in Chinese and was translated by Kumārajīva between 402 and 405.⁹⁵ Since its attribution to Nāgārjuna is contested,⁹⁶ we cannot use it as evidence that Nāgārjuna referred to Mātrceṭa's work, but nevertheless it can serve as proof of a reference to Mātrceṭa's work in an Indian *sāstra* in the early 5th century CE. This would witness in favor of Dignāga's (480–540) and Guṇaprabha's (c. 550–630)

⁸⁹ Vasubandhu. *Mdo sde'i rgyan gyi bshad pa* (*Sūtrālaṇkāravyākhyā* or *Mahāyānasūtrālaṇkārabhāṣya*) [Explanation of The Ornament for the Mahāyāna Sūtras]. Tōh 4026.

⁹⁰ Gunaprabha. *Byang chub sems dpa'i sa'i 'grel pa* (**Bodhisattvabhūmivṛtti*) [Commentary on the Bhūmis of a Bodhisattva]. Tōh 4044.

⁹¹ Gunaprabha. *Byang chub sems dpa'i tshul khrims kyi le'u bshzad pa* (**Bodhisattvaśilaparivartabhbāṣya*) [Explanation of the Chapter on Bodhisattva Discipline]. Tōh 4045.

⁹² Lindtner 2003, 131.

⁹³ *Life of the Bodhisattva Deva* (or Āryadeva), no. 1462 of Nanjio's catalogue (Nanjio 1883, 322).

⁹⁴ Hartmann 1988, 177.

⁹⁵ **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, no. 1169 of Nanjio's catalogue (Nanjio 1883, 257).

⁹⁶ Ramanan 1975, 13.

authorship of the *Tīkā*.

And finally, it seems unlikely that a treatise composed by the greatest of the great—Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, or Guṇaprabha—would have been attributed to the unknown *Bhadrapaṇa or Buddhakīrti. The converse is much more likely: the *Tīkā* was composed by a rather unknown author but, due to the quality of its composition as well as the importance of the *Bhadracaryāprajñidhāna* it comments upon, it gained popularity and started to be attributed to prominent philosophers. Thus *Bhadrapaṇa and Buddhakīrti, in my opinion, are most probable attributions among all, and between these two—*Bhadrapaṇa is the most probable due to the fact that the *Tīkā*'s hyparchetype attributed to him, as Dunhuang collections show, seems to be popular in imperial Tibet and made its way to Dunhuang in at least two manuscripts that belong to separate recension lines. Furthermore, these manuscripts provide evidence that the commentary was not just kept but studied in Dunhuang, as can be deduced from their interlinear glosses.

What do we know about *Bhadrapaṇa? Nothing, in fact. Even his Sanskrit name is a reconstruction and should be used with an asterisk. The author is stated only in Tibetan as Rgyan bzang po in the attributed hyparchetype in the two Dunhuang manuscripts and all the *Bstan 'gyur* collections. At the beginning of the subcommentary by Ye shes sde he is referred to in Sanskrit, but his name is spelled differently in all the *Bstan 'gyur* collections, and none features *Bhadrapaṇa. Moreover, all versions contain agentive particle *sa* after *ka* in *tīkā* which makes it read as a part of the name, not a reference to the text, i.e., Bhadrapahitikā (*Co ne*), Bhadravānitikā (*Sde dge*), Bhadravahastika (*Snar thang*), Bhadrapahastika (*Pe cin*), and Bhadrapahastika (*Gser bris ma*). If we recognize *tīkā* as referring to the text, then the variants would be:

1. Bhadrapahi in the *Co ne bstan 'gyur*:

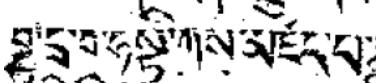
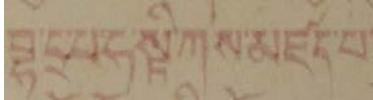


Fig. 1: Ye shes sde. *Bzang spyod kyi 'grel pa bzhi'i don, Co ne bstan 'gyur*, vol. 206, f. 189r6.

2. Bhadravani in the *Sde dge bstan 'gyur*:



Fig. 2: Ye shes sde. *Bzang spyod kyi 'grel pa bzhi'i don, Sde dge bstan 'gyur*, vol. 206, f. 184r2.

3. Bhadravaha in the *Snar thang bstan 'gyur*:Fig. 3: Ye shes sde. *Bzang spyod kyi 'grel pa bzhi'i don, Snar thang bstan 'gyur*, vol. 214, f. 212v3.4. Bhadrapaha in the *Pe cin bstan 'gyur*:Fig. 4: Ye shes sde. *Bzang spyod kyi 'grel pa bzhi'i don, Pe cin bstan 'gyur*, vol. 214, f. 217r3.5. Bhadrapaha in the *Gser bris ma bstan 'gyur*:Fig. 5: Ye shes sde. *Bzang spyod kyi 'grel pa bzhi'i don, Gser bris ma bstan 'gyur*, vol. 214, f. 265r2.

Thus, Sanskrit *Bhadrapāṇa is not directly attested in the witnesses of Ye shes sde's subcommentary. How then did this Sanskrit reconstruction of Rgyan bzang po appear? My research demonstrates that it appeared for the first time in Palmyr Cordier's catalogue of the Tibetan collection in the National Library of France published in 1915.⁹⁷

1. The catalogue entry on the hyparchetype attributed to *Bhadrapāṇa:

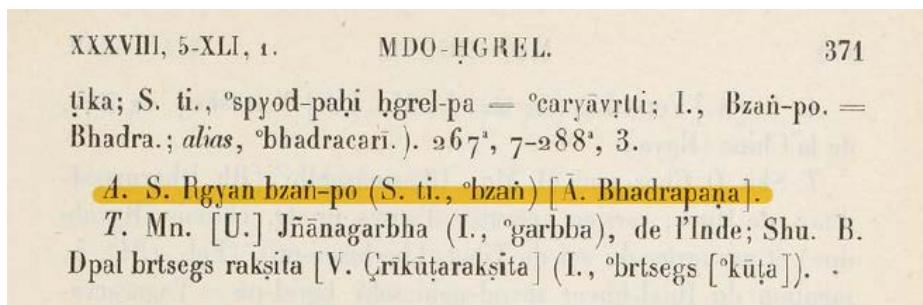
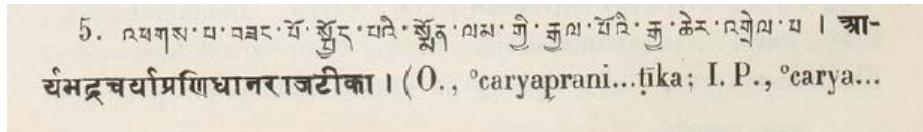


Fig. 6: Cordier 1915, 370-371.

⁹⁷ Cordier 1915, 371 & 492.

2. The catalogue entry on Ye shes sde's subcommentary:

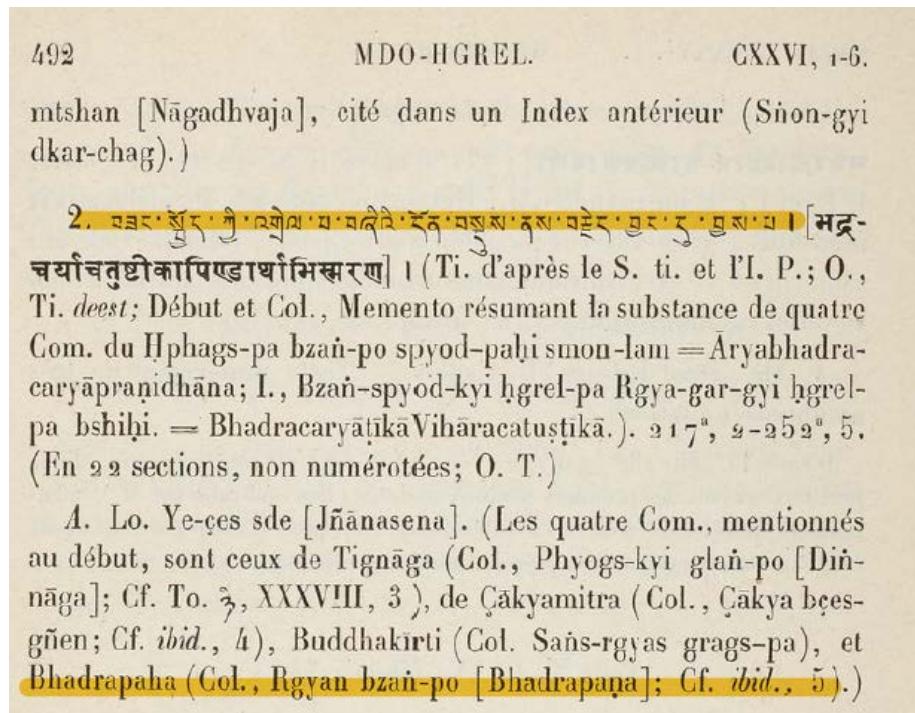


Fig. 7: Cordier 1915, 492.

These records show that Cordier reconstructed Rgyan bzang po as *Bhadrapaṇa from Bhadrapaha attested in the *Pe cin bstan 'gyur*. As we can see, *Bhadrapaṇa appears in Cordier's catalogue without an asterisk because reconstructions are marked there by square brackets. However, when the entry travelled to La Valée Poussin's catalogue of Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts⁹⁸ of Stein collection (currently part of the British Library), which he compiled in 1914–1918, it appears (as far as I can judge with reliance on its publication of 1962) without either an asterisk or square brackets. And later, it continues appearing everywhere without an asterisk as if it were attested in Sanskrit. *Bhadrapaṇa is also often spelled as Bhadrāpana, which, I think, is due to the entry in the Peking Tripitaka Online Search.⁹⁹ Among most

⁹⁸ No. 146 of La Vallée Poussin's catalogue attributes the composition to Ācārya Bhadrapaṇa with a reference to Cordier's catalogue. See La Vallée Poussin 1962, 56.

⁹⁹ Pe cin Tripitaka Online Search. Tibetan Works Research Project. The Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute, Otani University, https://web.otani.ac.jp/cri/twrpe/Pe_cin/

recent references, 84000 Project features Bhadrapaṇa without an asterisk, and what is more, in the introduction to the English translation of *The Magnificent Account About a Sow* (*Sūkarikāvadāna*) by Bodhinidhi Translation Group it is said that he lived in the 8th century.¹⁰⁰ I wish there was a footnote provided for this claim, so as to know its source, but, unfortunately, there is none.

Although Cordier does not seem to offer any explanation of his Sanskrit reconstruction of *Bhadrapaṇa, there is a valid, in my opinion, explanation of the Sanskrit-Tibetan correspondence, provided by Dorji Wangchuk, who takes Tib. *rgyan* usually translated as “ornament,” “decoration,” “jewelry,” etc., in its second meaning of “bet,” “stake,” or “lot,” which does correspond to Skt. *pāṇa* (“bet,” “stake,” also “wealth,” etc.). And there is no difficulty with *bzang po* that commonly renders *bhadra*, i.e., “good.” Thus, *Bhadrapaṇa would mean “Good Bet” or “Good Lot.”¹⁰¹ There seems to be no other way to approach it apart from this type of philological analysis because *Bhadrapaṇa does not appear in either Bu ston’s *History of Dharma*,¹⁰² or Tāranātha’s *History of Dharma in India*.¹⁰³

Summing it up, the attempt at reconstructing the ancient Indian context of the texts has brought me to the conclusion that among all the attributions it is *Bhadrapaṇa who is the most probable author of the *Tikā*’s archetype. This, of course, cannot be proven. That being the case, bracketing the question of who its actual author was, it is worth considering the *Tikā* through the lens of all the attributions under a broader scope of “author-function.” The author-function is not a direct analog for the person we call the author. Rather, it is our understanding of how a text is produced, distributed, and consumed. The author-function renders irrelevant such questions as: “Who is the real author?” and “Have we proof of their authenticity and originality?” replacing them with new questions, such as: “What are the modes of existence of this discourse; where does it come from; how is it

¹⁰⁰ *The Magnificent Account About a Sow* (*Sūkarikāvadāna*), “Introduction,” i.5: “In this commentary, Bhadrapaṇa, who also lived in the eighth century, similarly refers to *The Magnificent Account About a Sow* to illustrate “the power of support,” as Śāntideva does in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.”

¹⁰¹ Wangchuk 2020.

¹⁰² Bu ston rin chen grub. *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod ces bya ba bzhugs so* [*The Scripture on the Origins of Dharma that Explains the Teaching of Sugatas Called “The Precious Treasury”*]. In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 24: 633–1056.

¹⁰³ Jo nang rje btsun Tā ra nā tha. *Dam pa'i chos rin po che 'phags pa'i yul du ji ltar dar ba'i tshil gsal ston dgos 'dod kun 'byung zhes bya ba bzhugs* [*Demonstration of the Way the Precious Sublime Dharma Spread in the Noble Land Called “Accomplishment of All Wishes”*]. In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 16: 101–545.

circulated; who controls it," and so on.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the fact that such luminaries as Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, and Dignāga were considered authors of its Indian hyparchetypes bestowed upon them a great deal of implicit authority that almost certainly influenced their reception in the Tibetan tradition. Indeed, these attributions may be a major reason why these hyparchetypes were included into all the *Bstan 'gyur* collections and thus considered canonical texts.

The *Tīkā* in Tibet: Synoptic and Stemmatic Analysis

Currently, all the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur* collections contain five Indic commentaries on the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*:

- *Discourse on the Noble Kinglike Great Aspiration for Good Conduct* (*Āryabhadracaryāmahāprañidhānarājanibandhana*, 'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po chen po'i bshad sbyar) attributed to Nāgārjuna;
- *Synopsis of the Aspiration for Samantabhadra's Conduct* (*Samantabhadracaryāprañidhānārthaśamgraha*, Kun tu bzang po'i spyod pa'i smon lam gyi don kun bsdus pa) attributed to Dignāga;
- *Extensive Commentary on the Noble Kinglike Aspiration for Good Conduct* (*Āryabhadracaryāprañidhānarājaṭikā*, 'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa) attributed to Śākyamitra;
- *Extensive Commentary on the Noble Kinglike Aspiration for Good Conduct* (*Āryabhadracaryāprañidhānarājaṭikā*, 'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa) attributed to *Bhadrapaṇa; and
- [Extensive] *Commentary on the Noble Kinglike Aspiration for Good Conduct* (*Āryabhadracaryāprañidhānaṭikā*, 'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi 'grel pa) attributed to Vasubandhu.

The Tibetan imperial catalogues of the early 9th century list four Indic commentaries on the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*: by *Bhadrapaṇa, Dignāga, Gunaprabha, and Śākyamitra. Thus, the *Catalogue from Ldan kar* includes them into the "Commentaries on Mahāyāna Sūtras" (*Theg pa chen po'i mdo de'i tīkā*):

- '*Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa* by Ācārya Śākyamitra (Slob dpon Shākyā bshes gnyen), 800 ślokas, which is two *bampos* and 200 ślokas in length (Lalou no. 559);
- *Bzang spyod pa'i bshad sbyar* by Ācārya Guṇaprabha (Slob dpon

¹⁰⁴ See Foucault 1969, 299–314.

- Yon tan 'od), 500 *ślokas*, which is 1 *bampo* and 200 *ślokas* in length (Lalou no. 560);
- *Bzang po spyod pa'i 'grel pa* by Ācārya Dignāga (Slob dpon Phyogs kyi glang po), 450 *ślokas*, which is 1.5 *bampo* in length (Lalou no. 561);
 - *Bzang po spyod pa'i 'grel pa* by Ācārya *Bhadrapaṇa (Slob dpon Rgyan bzang po), 450 *ślokas*, which is 1.5 *bampo* in length (Lalou no. 562).¹⁰⁵

The Catalogue from 'Phang thang lists four commentaries on the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* in the section "Commentaries on Various Sūtras" (*Mdo sde sna tshogs kyi 'grel pa*):

- *Bzang po spyod pa smon lam gyi 'grel pa* by Ācārya *Bhadrapaṇa (Slob dpon Rgyan bzang po), 1.5 *bampo* in length;
- *Bzang po spyod pa smon lam gyi 'grel pa* by Ācārya Dignāga (Slob dpon Phyogs kyi glang po), 1.5 *bampo* in length;
- *Bzang po spyod pa smon lam gyi rgya cher 'grel pa* by Ācārya Śākyamitra (Slob dpon Shākyā bshes gnyen), 2.5 *bampos* in length; and
- *Bzang po spyod pa smon lam gyi bhad sbyar* by Ācārya Gunaprabha (Slob dpon Yon tan 'od), (?) *ślokas* in length.¹⁰⁶

There are five main conclusions I would make based on the comparison of the *Bstan 'gyur* collections with the lists in the imperial catalogues:

1. There is no commentary attributed to either Nāgārjuna or Vasubandhu in the catalogues, which implies that these hyparchetypes have been translated into Tibetan later than the 9th century;
2. The commentaries attributed to Dignāga and *Bhadrapaṇa are the same in length—450 *ślokas* (1.5 *bampo*);
3. The commentary attributed to Dignāga has the same title as the commentary attributed to *Bhadrapaṇa—**Bhadracaryāprañidhānaṭikā*—which would imply that the title of this commentary in the *Bstan 'gyur* collections most probably has been changed;
4. The commentary attributed to Śākyamitra is almost twice as long as the rest of the commentaries (800 *ślokas*), which

¹⁰⁵ *Pho brang stong thang lhan dkar gyi chos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag bzhugs, Sde dge bstan 'gyur*, vol. 206, f. 306v1–3; Lalou 1953, 332.

¹⁰⁶ *Dkar chag 'phang thang ma*, 37.

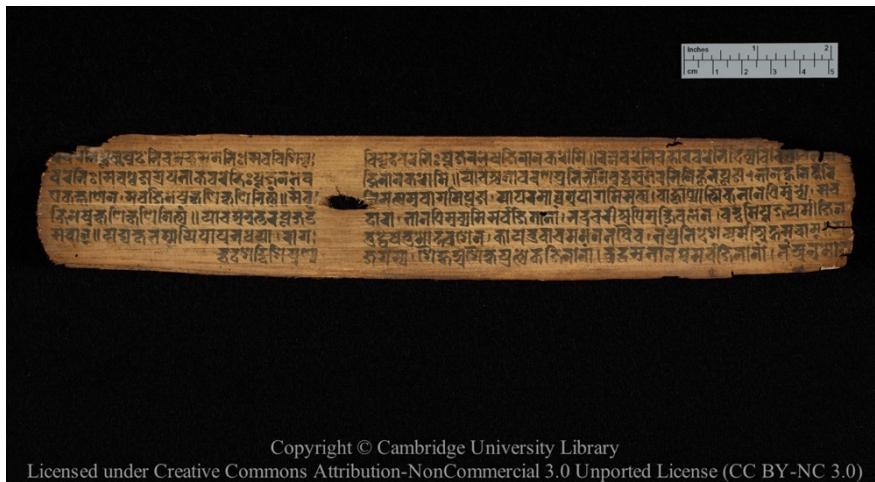
- is the same as it is currently in the *Bstan 'gyur* collections, and confirms that the attribution of this commentary has not been changed, and that it is different from the synoptic commentaries;
5. The commentary attributed to Guṇaprabha is called *nibandhana* (*bhad sbyar*) instead of Dignāga's and *Bhadrapaṇa's *tīkā* ('grel pa) and is 50 *ślokas* longer—500 instead of 450. As for the title, its difference does not mean much, e.g., the commentary attributed to Nāgārjuna is likewise called *nibandhana*, and it is one of the synoptic commentaries. As for the length difference, to decide on whether 50 *ślokas* is a significant difference we need to define the length of a *śloka*.

Apparently, the *bampo*, i.e., a “bundle,” “volume,” etc., is the largest unit of length and the *śloka* is the smallest. From the lengths listed in the *Catalogue from Ldan kar* we can deduce that 1 *bampo* equals 300 *ślokas*. Considering that manuscripts of the time were mostly in the *potī* format, i.e., unfolded leaves with a hole in the middle joined by a string, a *bampo* may refer to a bundle of such leaves tightened with a string.

As for the length of one *śloka*, it is unclear. In the Sanskrit tradition, *śloka* refers to a verse, especially a verse in Anuṣṭubh meter which contains 16 syllables. In accordance with the references provided by Georgios Halkias, 1 *śloka* in the catalogues refers to a unit of 8 syllables.¹⁰⁷ However, as it has been mentioned in relation to the *Bhadracaryāprāṇidhāna* in the imperial catalogues, they list it as containing 97 *ślokas*. The *Bhadracaryāprāṇidhāna* has 62 verses with 22 syllables per verse. If 1 *śloka* was 8 syllables, then it would have 170.5 *ślokas*. Thus, the assertion that 1 *śloka* consists of 8 syllables makes little sense, at least in the case of the *Bhadracaryāprāṇidhāna*. Moreover, I can hardly imagine distinguished Tibetan translators counting syllables in Sanskrit manuscripts to produce their length in *ślokas*, especially in the case of prose texts. It is a process that is time-consuming and does not seem to be of any visible benefit. Instead, I would think of *ślokas* as something demonstrative that can characterize the source Sanskrit manuscripts and be easily verified just by looking at one page and counting the overall number of pages.

Thus, I would make a different suggestion inspired by the image of the oldest available *Bhadracaryāprāṇidhāna*'s palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscript Add.1680.1 dated 1068 CE:

¹⁰⁷ Halkias 2004, 65: fn. 52.



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Fig. 8: MS Add.1680.1, f. 2r.

As we can see on the photo above, this manuscript is a *pothī*, and the string hole divides its text into two columns. If we count half-lines in each column separately, there would be 12 such half-lines per one folio side. This manuscript contains 115 such half-lines of the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* (ff. 1v2–6r6). If the manuscript had 4 folios (8 sides), then it would give us the number of 96. For example, MS Add.1326 contains 46 full lines (69v4–73v1) or 92 half-lines. Thus, depending on the script and the size of *akṣaras* per line, the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* can be written in Sanskrit in approximately 90–120 half-lines. Thus, one *śloka* may refer to one half-line (or one line in one column), which means that one full line consists of 2 *ślokas*.

We can further apply this hypothesis to the *Tīkā*'s Sanskrit hyparchetype attributed to Vasubandhu that has been found in Tibet. In accordance with Xuezhu Li,¹⁰⁸ this manuscript consists of 19 folios. If each side of one folio contained 6 lines, then it would amount to 12 *ślokas* per folio side or 456 *ślokas* per manuscript. If the last folio side was only half-filled, i.e., contained 3 instead of 6 lines, then it would be exactly 450 *ślokas* as indicated in the catalogues for the hyparchetypes attributed to *Bhadrapāṇa and Dignāga.

Assuming this hypothesis is correct, 50 *ślokas* would constitute roughly two folios. This poses a question: is a two-folio difference significant? On the one hand, if the format of the manuscripts was the same, i.e., they were written on the palm leaves (or paper) of the same size in the same script with the same number of *akṣaras* per line, then it would be a significant difference. On the other, since the sizes of

¹⁰⁸ Li 2020, 406.

palm leaves, scripts as well as the number of *akṣaras* per line in the manuscripts significantly vary, a two-folio difference is not that big. Thus, it cannot rule out a possibility that the commentary attributed to Guṇaprabha is one of the synoptic commentaries. This is one of the reasons this commentary was analyzed among the synoptic commentaries in the previous section.

Moreover, there are two anonymous manuscripts of the *Tīkā's* Tibetan translation—IOL Tib J 147 and PT 150—that are different from all the rest. They might contain a translation of the commentary attributed to Guṇaprabha. This, however, cannot be verified, because IOL Tib J 147 lacks the beginning and the end, and the colophon of PT 151 does not mention either the author or translators and calls this commentary a “sūtra:” “The sūtra that explains the *Noble Great Aspiration for the Conduct of Samantabhadra*” (*'Phags pha' kun du bzang pho sphyod pha'i smon lam cen pho 'grel pha'i mdo* (Old Tibetan orthography preserved)). Basing on its textual analysis, I would suggest that it is the oldest Tibetan translation of the *Tīkā's* hyparchetype among all those currently available. There are several reasons for this hypothesis. First, direct quotations of the *Bhadracaryāpranidhāna* in this translation are very different from the *Bka' gyur* and Dunhuang versions of the *Bhadracaryāpranidhāna*, which may imply that this hyparchetype had been translated before the translation of the *Bhadracaryāpranidhāna* was standardized. Moreover, it features non-standard translation of common terms, for example, *g.yung drung rdzogs pha'i byang chub* instead of *yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub* for *samyaksambodhi*, *mur 'dug pa* instead of *mu stegs pa* for *tīrthika*, *yang dag par gshegs pa* instead of *de bzhin gshegs pa* for *tathāgata*, *Gnas bden* instead of *Dga' ldan* for *Tuṣita*, and so on. This commentary is not included into the *Bstan 'gyur* collections. Moreover, the *Catalogue from Phang thang* does not provide the data on its length, which might indicate that it was not available when this catalogue was compiled. This might also be the reason why it is not mentioned in Ye shes sde's subcommentary.

Among the four synoptic commentaries currently available as attributed texts, the one attributed to Dignāga does not mention the translators. It is also different from the rest of the synoptic commentaries because it includes an outline, called, just like the commentary, “synopsis of the aspiration” (*smon lam gyi don kun bsdus pa*), with references to the root verses. It takes two folios in the *Sde dge bstan 'gyur*.¹⁰⁹ Recall that the commentary attributed to Guṇaprabha, according to the *Catalogue from Ldan kar*, is two folios longer. If this outline was part of the Sanskrit text of that hyparchetype as well, then it would explain its difference in length. However, it may have been

¹⁰⁹ D_b182r2–184r7.

added by Tibetan translators because this commentary might have served as a technical support for the Tibetan translation of the *Bhadracaryāpranidhāna*. I explored the hypothesis that its potential translator might have been Lo tsā ba Ye shes sde. However, through comparative analysis of the terms in it and the subcommentary of Ye shes sde such a hypothesis did not seem tenable.

Regarding the hyparchetype attributed to *Bhadrapaṇa, it was translated by Paṇḍita Ācārya Jñānagarbha and Lo tsā ba Ska ba dpal brtsegs. Since Ska ba dpal brtsegs is a well-known translator of the early spread of the Dharma (*snga dar*) in Tibet, there is no difficulty in dating this translation. It is the only attributed hyparchetype available as two Dunhuang manuscripts (IOL J 146 and IOL J 148 / PT 150). The first manuscript is part of the Stein collection in the British Library, and it is complete. The second manuscript is incomplete and divided between two collections—half of it belongs to the Stein collection in the British Library and half to the Pelliot collection in the National Library of France.

Moreover, a comparison of the translations of the hyparchetype attributed to *Bhadrapaṇa and the hyparchetype attributed to Dignāga demonstrates that the translation of *Bhadrapaṇa's hyparchetype was apparently more faithful to the Sanskrit version. The translation of Dignāga's hyparchetype is more concise and occasionally omits some sentences or passages. Of course, these sentences may be missing from the Sanskrit text itself, but it is also possible that it was the choice of the Tibetan translator to omit them because, as the analysis shows, they often contain explanations of the uncommon words of the *Bhadracaryāpranidhāna* in *gāthā* Sanskrit and complicated aspects of Sanskrit grammar, which either become repetitive or do not make much sense when rendered in Tibetan. For example, one section of the explanation of the verse 4 (part 1.4) is missing in Dignāga's hyparchetype. In accordance with the translation of *Bhadrapaṇa's hyparchetype, it contains the following explanation: "Again, since the **inexhaustible praise-oceans** (*akṣayavārṇasamudrān*) is a *saṃānādhikaraṇa*,¹¹⁰ **qualities** (*guṇān*) is its specification (*viśeṣa*). Thus, the actual meaning (*vākyādhyāhāra*) [of proclaiming qualities of all the jinas] is "proclaiming oceans of inexhaustible praises."¹¹¹ As we can see, it is a rather technical explanation. Nevertheless, Ska ba dpal brtsegs, who apparently was a great Sanskritist, did an amazing job, faithfully

¹¹⁰ *Samānādhikaraṇa* (*gzhi mthun pa*) apparently means that the Skt. compound *akṣayavārṇasamudrān* and the noun *guṇān* refer to the same object (*dravya*), which is *jināḥ*, and agree in grammatical qualities with both being masculine accusative plural.

¹¹¹ D_E235v7: *yang na bsngags pa mi zad rgya mtsho zhes bya ba ni gzhi mthun pa yin pa'i phyir yon tan zhes bya ba 'di'i khyad par yin te l' bsngags pa mi zad pa rgya mtsho rnams rab tu brjod cing zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go.*

rendering even such technical passages into Tibetan.

As for the hyparchetypes attributed to Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu, they were translated into Tibetan during the later spread of the Dharma (*phyi dar*) in Tibet. The hyparchetype attributed to Nāgārjuna was translated by a Kāśmīri Paṇḍita Tilakakalaśa (Thig le bum pa)¹¹² and a well-known Lo tsā ba Rngog blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109). Thus, there is no difficulty in dating this hyparchetype to the 11th century. The hyparchetype attributed to Vasubandhu was translated into Tibetan by the Indian Paṇḍita Ācārya Ānanda and Lo tsā ba Bhikṣu Bhadrapāla. The identity of Bhadrapāla is difficult to establish, as this is the only translation attributed to him in the *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur* collections. It is possible that the name Bhadrapāla is the Sanskrit reconstruction of Bzang skyong. While there is one Lo tsā ba Bzang skyong who is dated to the 9th century,¹¹³ it is unlikely that this is the same person because Paṇḍita Ānanda was a Kāśmīri scholar who lived c. 11th century,¹¹⁴ which shows that this hyparchetype was translated in the 11th century.

Now, to demonstrate the synoptic problem, let us look at the references to other texts contained in the *Tīkā* as they appear in the *Sde dge bstan 'gyur*. Among the sixteen identified sources, fifteen are shared by all the hyparchetypes, and only one—a reference to Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka*—is missing in Dignāga's hyparchetype. The references appear in the same places, and although they use different wording, it is obvious that they translate the same Sanskrit text. As it has been already mentioned, among the identified references there are:

- **ten Mahāyāna sūtras:** (1) *Caturdharmarideśasūtra*,
 (2) *Gocarapariśuddhisūtra*,
 (3) *Karmāvaraṇavīśuddhasūtra*, (4) *Tathāgatācintyaguhyā-nirdeśasūtra*,
 (5) **Tathāgatakoṣasūtra*, (6) *Maitreyavimokṣa* of the
Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra,
 (7) *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha*, (8) *Upālipariprcchāsūtra*,
 (9) *Vajracchedikāsūtra*, and (10) *Vīradattapariprcchāsūtra*;
- **four non-Mahāyāna texts:** (11) *Abhiniskramanāśasūtra*,

¹¹² BDRC Resource ID P4CZ15246: primary name is Tilakakalaśa (Ti la ka ka la sha), primary title is paṇḍita chen po Tilakakalaśa, 11th century. BDRC, <http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/P4CZ15246>

¹¹³ BDRC Resource ID P4256: primary name is Bzang skyong, primary title is Lo tsā ba Bzang skyong, early translator, 9th century. BDRC, <http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/P4256>

¹¹⁴ BDRC Resource ID P8252: primary name is Ānanda, primary title is Kha che'i paṇḍita Ā nanta or A nanta, 11th century. BDRC, <http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/P8252>

- (12) *Karmaśataka*, (13) *Karmavibhaṅga*, and
 (14) *Sūkarikāvadānasūtra*, as well as
- **two attributed texts:** (15) Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka* and
 (16) Mātṛceṭa's *Varṇārḥavarṇastotra*:

1. *Caturdharmanirdeśasūtra*

A verse included into the Potala Skt. manuscript of *Caturdharmanirdeśasūtra*. (Tseng 2010, vol. 1, 404): *kṛtvā budho 'lpam api pāpam adhaḥ prayāti kṛtvā budho mahad api prajahāty anarthān | majjaty ayo 'lpam api vāriṇī saṃhataṇ hi pātrikṛtaṇ mahad api plavate tad eva*. The Tibetan 'Phags pa chos bzhi bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Āryacaturdharmanirdeśanāmamahāyānasūtra) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra "Teaching the Four Factors"], Tōh 249, does not contain it. It appears without an attribution in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Pradhan 1975, 357): *kṛtvā budho 'lpam api pāpamadhaḥ prayāti kṛtvā budho mahad api prajahāty anartham | majjanyadho 'lpam api vāriṇī saṃhataṇ hi pātrikṛtaṇ mahad api plavate tadeva*:

M_A225₁₁₋₁₃:¹¹⁵

gzhung las 'byung ba myi shes phas ni sdig chung zad byas pha dang yang thur du 'gro'o mkhas phas cen pho byas pha'i nyes pha yang 'byung bar 'gyur ba ni 'di lta ste phor bur brdungs na cen pho'ang chu'i steng na 'phyo |

D_B248r2–3:

de skad du mi mkhas pas ni sdig pa chung ngu byas kyang 'og tu 'gro | | mkhas pas chen po byas kyang gnod pa rab tu spong bar 'gyur | | lcags kyi gong bu chung yang chu yi 'og tu 'bying 'gyur la | | de nyid snod du byas na che yang steng na 'phyo bar 'gyur | | zhes bshad pa lta bu yin no | |

D_D196v2–3:

de ltar yang gsungs pa | mi shes pas ni sdig pa chung byas 'og tu 'gro | | mkhas pas nyes pa che byas kyang ni yang bar 'gyur | | bsgongs pa'i lcags ni chung yang chu yi 'og tu 'byings | | de nyid snod du byas na che yang steng na 'phyo | | zhe'o | |

D_N177r4–5:

de skad du yang | mi mkhas sdig pa cung zad byas kyang 'og 'gro zhing | |

¹¹⁵ Here and in what follows, folio numbers of the manuscripts of the anonymous hyparchetype refer to the attributed folio numbers (see Vasylieva 2004, PhD Dissertation, Appendix II. Manuscripts, 2. M_{A1} and M_{A2}, pp. cciii–ccxxvi). Quotations from the manuscripts preserve Old Tibetan orthography.

*mkhas pas chen po byas kyang don med rab spong ste | | lcags ni chung yang
chu stengs bzhag na nub 'gyur ba | | de nyid che yang snod du byas na lding
ba bzhin | | zhes gsungs so | |*

D_V265r1–2:

*de bzhin du yang gsungs pa | mi mkhas sdig pa chung ngu byas kyang 'og tu
'gro | | mkhas pas chen po byas kyang des ni don med gnod pa spong | | lcags
kyi gong bu chung yang chu yi 'og tu 'bying | | snod byas na ni chen po yang
ni steng du lding | | zhes so | |*

English translation:¹¹⁶

Thus, it is said:

Even minor misdeeds prove the downfall of the foolish.
While even great misdeeds do not affect the wise.
An iron ball, though small, sinks in water.
But even a great mass of iron, when made into a vessel, floats.

2. *Gocarapariśuddhisūtra*

'Phags pa spyod yul yongs su dag pa'i mdo (Āryagocarapariśuddhisūtra) [The Noble Sūtra on the Purification of the Sphere of Activity] refers to the *Spyod yul yongs su dag pa'i le'u*, Ch.16 of the *Buddhāvatāṇḍasakasūtra*. Tōh 44-16:

M_A221₅₋₆: *de kun gyab 'phags ba'i spyad yul yongsu dag pha zhes bya ba'i
mdo ste la ltos shog*

D_B245r3: *'di thams cad ni 'phags pa spyod yul yongs su dag pa'i mdo la blta
bar bya'o | |*

D_D 194r1: *de ni 'phags pa spyod yul yongs su dag pa'i mdo la ltos shig*

D_N174r7–174v1: *'di thams cad spyod yul yongs su dag pa'i mdor blta bar
bya'o | |*

D_V262r6: *de yang 'phags pa spyod yul yongs su dag pa'i mdo la blta bar
bya'o | |*

¹¹⁶ Here and in what follows, English translation is based on the hyparchetype attributed to *Bhadrapaṇa.

English translation:

One should look all this up in the *Āryagocarapariśuddhisūtra*.

3. *Karmāvaraṇaviśuddhasūtra*

'Phags pa las kyi sgrib pa rnam par dag pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (*Āryakarmāvaraṇaviśuddhināmamahāyānasūtra*) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra on the Purification of Karmic Obstructions]. Tōh 218, *Sde dge bka'gyur*, vol. 62, ff. 284r–297v:

M_{A2}23₂₋₈: *las kyis bsgribs pha las bde ba'i mdo sde las 'byung ba dge slong zhig myi tshangs phar sphyod pha dang myi bsad pha'i pham ba gnyisu gyurd pha las phyis yid rab du 'gyod cing gdung nas gtsug lag khang gcig nas gcig du grong gcig nas gcig du song zhing 'gro ba kun kyi mdun du kye ma'o bdag ni bslus so | kye ma'o bdag ni bslus so zhes phyi phyir 'gyod de bshags shing bslar bton bas na las kyang srabs phar gyurd te de sems gdung zhing 'dug phal byang chub sems dpha' mngon bar shes pha thob pha zhig gis de la zab mo'i chos shed khong du chud phas na de'i sdig pa rtsa ba nas byung ste chos ma skyes ba'i bzod pha thob phar 'gyur tho | de bas na ngan song gi the tshom 'dul ba' chos thams cad gyis bsgribs pha rnam phar sbyong ba'di yin te zab mo'i chos la mos pha bzhin 'di la dad cing bslang phar bya'o |*

D_B246v1–4: *ji skad du las kyi sgrib pa rgyun gcod pa'i mdo las 'di lta ste | dge slong zhig mi tshangs par spyod pa dang | mi gsod pa'i phas pham pa gnyis byung ba dang | phyis mi dga' zhing yid gdungs nas myos pa bzhin du gtsug lag khang nas gtsug lag khang dang | grong nas grong dang | lam po che la sogz par 'gro na yang | sdig pa de skye bo kun gyis mngon sum du yang dag par rab tu 'chags te | yang dang yang du kye ma kyi hud bdag ni ma rung ngo | bdag ni nyams so zhes smra zhing las de srab mor gyur gyi bar du sdig pa 'chags pa'i stobs kyis sel bar byed do | de ltar sems shin tu gdungs par gyur pa de la byang chub sems dpa' mngon par shes pa thob pa zhig gis chos zab mo de dang de lta bu bshad pa dang | de na de chos thams cad la bdag med par rtogs pas sdig pa thams cad rnam pa thams cad du rtsad nas bton te mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa thob par gyur to zhes gsungs pa lta bu yin no | chos zab mo la mos pa 'di ni ltung ba dang | 'gyod pa thams cad sel ba dang | sgrib pa thams cad sbyong ba yin no zhes bya ba de ltar dad par bya ste |*

D_D195r1–5: *'di skad du las kyi sgrib pa so sor sbyong ba'i mdo las kyang 'di lta ste | dge slong gzhan zhig gis mi tshangs par spyod pa dang | ma bsad pa'i phas pham pa gnyis byung nas 'gyod de mi dga' bas yid gdungs te smyon pa bzhin du gtsug lag khang nas gtsug lag khang gzhan du | grong nas grong*

gzhan du | tshong dus la sogz par song nas sdig pa de dag 'gro ba thams cad kyi mdun du 'chags te | e ma'o bdag nyams so | | bdag nyams so | | zhes phyi phyir smras pa ste | sdig pa bshags pa'i dkrugs shing gis drung nas ji tsam nas las de bsrabs par gyur kyang | de'i phyir de shin tu sems la gdung zhing 'dug pa de la mngon par shes pa thob pa'i e ma'o bdag nyams so | | bdag nyams so | | zhes phyi phyir smras pa ste | sdig pa bshags pa'i dkrugs shing gis drung nas ji tsam nas las de bsrabs par gyur kyang | de'i phyir de shin tu sems la gdung zhing 'dug pa de la mngon par shes pa thob pa'i byang chub sems dpa' gzhan zhig gis zab mo'i chos ji lta ji lta bar bshad de | gang gis de'i sdig pa thams cad kyi thams cad du rtsa ba nas phyung nas chos thams cad bdag med par rtogs nas mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa thob par gyur to | | ngan song thams cad kyi nyes pa thams cad kyi the tshom sel ba dang | sgrub pa'i chos thams cad sbyong ba ni zab mo'i chos la mos pa 'di yin te | 'di bzhin du mos par byos shig ces gsungs so | |

D_N175v2-5: *ji skad du las kyi sgrub pa rnam par sbyong ba'i mdo las | dper na dge slong gzhan zhig gis mi tshangs par spyod pa dang | ma gsod pa'i phas pham pa gnyis byas te phyi nas de skyo ba skyes shing snying la gdung ba skyes par gyur te | smyon pa bzhin du gtsug lag khang nas gtsug lag khang dang | grong nas grong dang | srang nas srang du rgyu zhing skye bo thams cad kyi mdun du bdag bcom mo | | bdag bcom mo zhes yang dag par sgrogs te | yang nas yang kyi hud kyi hud ces zer zhing sdig pa bshags pa'i stobs kyis 'dor bar byed pa nas las de bsrabs pa'i bar du byas par gyur to | | de de ltar sems shin tu gdungs par gyur pa na mngon par shes pa thob pa'i byang chub sems dpa' gzhan zhig gang gis chos zab mo de lta de lta bu bstan pas chos thams cad bdag med pa nyid du rtogs nas thams cad nas thams cad rnam pa thams cad nas sdig pa de thams cad drungs phyung nas mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa thob par gsungs pa bzhin no | | zab mo'i chos la lhag par mos pa 'di ni ltung ba dang 'gyod pa thams cad sel ba dang | las kyi sgrub pa thams cad rnam par sbyong bar byed pa yin no zhes de ltar dad par bya ste |*

D_V263v1-4: *ji skad du las kyi sgrub pa rnam par dag pa'i mdo las kyang gsungs pa | dge slong zhig la mi tshangs par spyod pa dang | mi gsad pa'i pham pa gnyis byung ba la | phyis 'gyod pa'i sems kyis gdungs nas | snying 'bar bar gyur te smyon pa lta bur lha khang nas lha khang dang | grong nas grong dang | yul 'khor la sogz par song nas skye bo mang po'i mdun du sdig pa bsal bar byed de | ha ha brkus so | | brkus so zhes yang dang yang sdig pa bshags pa'i stobs kyis spangs zhing ji srid de'i las de chung bar byed par gnas te | de'i don kho nas yid gdungs par gyur pa dang | de las gzhan mngon par shes pa dang ldan pa'i byang chub sems dpas de dang de bzhin du zab mo'i chos bstan pas | gang gis de'i sdig pa rnam pa thams cad byang nas chos la bdag med par yang dag par rtogs te | mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa thob par gyur to zhes so | | ltung ba'i 'gyod pa thams cad sel bar byed pa dang | las kyi sgrub pa thams cad dag par byed pa yin pas | zab mo'i chos 'di la mos pa*

dang dad par bya'o | |

English translation:

It is recounted in the *Karmāvaraṇavīśuddhasūtra* that one monk who engaged in sexual intercourse and killed a person—the two defeats (*parājita*)¹¹⁷—later regretted it and felt deep distress. Like a madman he went from temple to temple, from town to town, wandering the roads and other places. He wholeheartedly and genuinely confessed this wrongdoing in the presence of all the people he met. He lamented again and again, “Oh no! I am unworthy! I have broken my vows!” He was saying it until his [negative] karma diminished and was cleared away by the power of confessing wrongdoing. One bodhisattva knew through developed clairvoyance that he was deeply distressed and taught him the profound Dharma. Then he realized that all phenomena are devoid of self, and by the power of this, all sorts of his wrongdoings were extracted with the very root, and he attained patience to accept phenomena as non-arising (*anutpatti kadharma kṣanti*).

4. *Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśasūtra*

'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (*Āryatathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśanāmamahāyānasūtra*) [*The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra Teaching on the Unfathomable Secrets of the Tathāgatas*], Tōh 47, contains the same list of the four inconceivable things—karma, *nāgas*, the absorbed in *dhyāna* (*dhyāyin*), and the Buddha. See *Sde dge bka' 'gyur*, vol. 39, f. 104r3–4: *grogs po dag de bzhin gshegs pas bsam gyis mi khyab pa 'di gsungs te | bzhi gang zhe na | 'di lta ste | las bsam gyis mi khyab pa dang | glu bsam gyis mi khyab pa dang | bsam gtan pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa dang | sangs rgyas bsam gyis mi khyab pa'o:*

M_A110v2-4: *bsam gyis myi khyab pa'i | gzhung las | gsungs pa | ngo mtshar du gyurd | cang myed | myed de | mkhas pa rnams gyi dbang po las kyang | 'gyur na' | de la ngo mtshard du ci yod ces 'byung ba dang | 'jig rten gyi mgon pos | gsungs pa | bsam gyis myi khyab pa | ni | rnam pa bzhi ste | bsam gtan pa dang | las dang klu dang sang rgyas rnams gyi | mthu ched po'o | |*

¹¹⁷ Refers to the four defeats (*catvāraḥ pārājikā dharmāḥ, phas pham par 'gyur ba'i chos bzhi*), the four main transgressions of the monastic vows that lead to expulsion from the monastic order: (1) having sexual intercourse; (2) taking what is not given (stealing), (3) depriving a human being of life (killing), and (4) claiming attainment of a superior human state (claiming attainment of stages of pure mental concentration that have not been achieved).

D_B242r6–7: *bsam gyi mi khyab pa nyid las kyang | gang tshe sa stengs mkhas pa rnams | mig 'phrul gyi ni rnam pa la | ya mtshan cung zhig yod min pa | de tshe ngo mtshar ci zhig che | 'jig rten mgon po skyob pa yis | bsam gtan las dang klu rnams dang | sangs rgyas bdag nyid che rnams kyi | bsam gyis mi khyab bzhir bshad do*

D_D191v1–2: *bsam gyis mi khyab par lung las kyang bshad pa | mkhas pa dag gis sa 'di la | ngo mtshar 'gyur ba cung zad med | sgyu ma'i rnam par gyur pa la | ya mtshan du ni su zhig 'dzin | bsam gtan las dang klu rnam dang | sangs rgyas rnams kyi che ba nyid | 'jig rten mgon po 'dren pa des | bsam gyis mi khyab rnam bzhir bshad |*

D_N171v2–3: *bsam gyis mi khyab pa nyid kyang | gang tshe sa ni mkhas rnams la | mtshar min cung zad yod min pa | de tshe dbang po rnams kyis ni | rtog pa nyid la mtshar ci yod | 'jig rten mgon po skyob pa yis | bsam gtan las tshul klu rnams dang | sangs rgyas bdag nyid che rnams kyi | bsam mi khyab pa bzhir gsungs so | zhes brjod pa 'dzin no |*

D_V259v7–260r1: *bsam gyis mi khyab pa yang gang gsungs pa | ngo mtshar cung zad yod par nil | 'jig rten mkhas pas ma mthong stel | dbang pos mngon du gyur pa nyid | de la ngo mtshar ci zhig yod | bsam gtan pa las klu dag dang | sangs rgyas mthu yi bdag nyid che | 'jig rten mgon po skyob pa yis | bzhi po bsam mi khyab par gsungs | zhes so |*

English translation:

It is said in the **Acintyanirdeśasūtra*:

Since (*yathā*) there is nothing amazing (*adbhuta*)
In the magical creations
Of the skillful (*kuśala*) on this earth
So (*tathā*) what is greatly amazing?

The Lord Protector of the World (*lokanātha*) taught
That there are four inconceivable things (*catvāry acintyāni*):
Dhyāna, karma, *nāgas*,
And the greatness (*māhātmya*) of the Buddha.

5. **Tathāgatakoṣasūtra*

'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i mdzod kyi mdo (**Āryatathāgatakoṣasūtra*) [The Noble Sūtra of the Tathāgata's Treasury] is not included in the Tibetan *Bka' 'gyur* collections:

M_A223_s–24_s: 'phags pha yang dag phar gshegs pha'i mdzod gyi mdo sde las bka' stsald pha | | yab 'od srung pha bsad pha'i nang na mchog ni rang sangs rgyas kyi tse yal bar byed pha mcog ste srog bcad pha'i nang na de mcog go | | ma byin bar lend pha'i nang na dkon mcog gsum gyi brkus pha de mcog go | | 'dod phas log phar spyod pha'i nang na ma dang dgra bcom ba la nyal ba ni mcog go | | mrdzun kyi nang na ni yang dag phar gshegs pha la smod pha de mcog go | | phra ma'i nang na ni dge 'dun kyi dbyen byed pha de mcog go | | tshig gyal ba'i nang na ni chos 'dod pha la bgegs byed pha ni mcog go | | chags phar byed pha'i nang ni drang phor byed pa dang drang phor zhugs pha'i rnyed pha la dphrog phar sems pha de mcog go | | nang du sems dpha'i nang na mtshams myed phar 'gro ba de mchog go | | 'og phar lta ba' nang na ni lta bzhin du sdug pha de mchog go | | sta | myi dge ba'i las kyi lam bcu pho'i 'di ni thams cad kyang ngan song gi nang na ce ste 'od srung de las sems can la la zhig ngan song can pho myi dge ba'i las kyi lam bcu pho de dang ldan bar gyurd pha las des yang dag pha gshegs pha'i rgyu dang rkyen du ldan bar bstand pha la zhugs nas chos 'di la ni bdag gam sems can nam srog gam | | gang zag gam byed pha'am gang gis so sor rigs shes bya ba gag gyang myed de de ltar ma byas phar mngon bar yid la byed cing skyu ma chos lta bur nyon mongs pha lta bur rang bzhin gyiś yongsu dag pha lta bur chos tams cad la 'jug ste chos thams cad la thog nas rnam phar dag pha mngon du dad cing mos na sems can de ni ngan song du 'gro ba'o zhe nga myi smra'o |

D_B246v4–247r6: ji skad du | | 'phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i mdzod las | | 'od srungs gang gi pha yin la rang sangs rgyas kyang yin pa de bsad na 'di ni srog gcod pa rnams kyinang na mi bzad pa yin no | | 'di lta ste | dkon mchog gsum gyi dkor'phrog pa 'di ni ma byin par len pa rnams kyi nang na mi bzad pa yin no | | 'di lta ste | ma yang yin la dgra bcom ma yang yin pa de la nyal po byas na 'di ni 'dod pas log par g.yem pa rnams kyi nang na ma rungs pa yin no | | 'di lta ste | de bzhin gshegs pa la skur pa 'debs pa 'di ni brdzun smra ba rnams kyi nang na ma rungs pa yin no | | 'di lta ste | dge 'dun gyi dbyen byed pa 'di ni phra ma rnams kyi nang na rungs pa yin no | | 'di lta ste | 'phags pa rnams la kha zer ba 'di ni tshig rtsub po rnams kyi nang na ma rungs pa yin no | | 'di lta ste | chos 'dod pa rnams rnam par g.yeng bar byed pa 'di ni tshig 'khyal pa rnams kyi nang na mi bzad pa yin no | | 'di lta ste | yang dag par song ba dang yang dag par zhugs pa rnams kyi rnyed pa 'phrog par sems pa 'di ni brnab sems kyi nang na ma rungs pa yin no | | 'di lta ste | mtshams med par 'gro bar 'gyur ba 'di ni gnod sems rnams kyi nang na ma rungs pa yin no | | 'di lta ste | lta ba shin tu thibs po ni log par lta ba rnams kyi nang na ma rungs pa yin no | | mi dge ba'i las kyi lam bcu po 'di dag ni gang las kyang kha na ma tho ba che ba yin no | | 'od srungs gal te sems can 'ga' zhig mi dge ba'i las kyi lam de dag kha na ma tho ba che ba bcu po de dag dang ldan par gyur la | | de yang de bzhin gshegs pas bstan pa'I chos rgyu dang rkyen dang ldan pa la 'jug ste | | 'di la bdag gam | | sems can nam | | srog gam | | gang zag gam | | gang zhig byed pa'am | | gang zhig mong bar 'gyur

ba ni 'ga' yang med do | de lta bas na chos thams cad ni ma byas pa mjon par 'dus ma byas pa sgyu ma'i chos nyid kun nas nyon mongs pa med pa rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba'o zhes bya ba la 'jug la | chos thams cad ni gzod ma nas dag pa'o zhes bya bar dad cing mos na | sems can de ngan song du song bar nga mi smra'o | |

D_D195r5–195v7: *ji ltar 'phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i mdzod kyi mdo las kyang | 'od srungs gang zhig gi pha yang yin la rang sangs rgyas kyang yin pa de 'tsho ba dang bral na 'di ni srog gcod pa'i nang na mchog go | | ma byin par len pa'i mchog ni 'di lta ste | dkon mchog gsum gyis dkor rku ba'o | | 'dod pas log par g.yem pa'i mchog ni 'di lta ste | ma yang yin la dgra bcom ma yang yin pa la nyal ba'o | | brdzun du smra ba'I mchog ni 'di lta ste | de bzhin gshegs pa la skurba'o | | phra ma'i nang na mchog ni 'di lta ste | dge 'dun gyi dbyen byed pa'o | | tshig rtsub mo'i nang na mchog ni 'di lta ste | 'phags pa rnams la 'phya ba'o | | tshig kyal pa'i nang na mchog ni 'di lta ste | chos 'dod pa rnams rnam par g.yeng bar byed pa'o | | chags pa'i mchog ni 'di lta ste | yang dag par song ba dang yang dag par zhugs pa rnams kyi rnyed pa 'phrog par sems pa'o | | ngan sems kyi nang na mchog ni 'di lta ste | 'phags pa rnams la mi brten pa'o | | log par lta ba'i nang na mchog ni 'di lta ste | lta ba la shin du zhen pa'o | | mi dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam 'di dag thams cad ni kha na ma tho ba chen po ste | 'od srungs gal te sems can 'ga' zhig gis kha na ma tho ba chen po mi dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam 'di dag dang ldan par gyur pa des de bzhin gshegs pas rgyu dang rkyen du ldan pa'i chos bshad pa la zhugs nas | 'di la bdag gam | sems can nam | 'tsho ba'am | gang zag gam | byed pa'am | so sor myong bar byed pa gang yang med de | de bas na chos thams cad ni ma byas pa | mngon par 'dus ma byas pa | sgyu ma'i chos nyid nyon mongs pa med pa | rang bzhin gyis yongs su dag pa la 'jug cing | thog ma nas rnam par dag pa'i chos thams cad la mngon par dad cing shin tu mos pa'i sems can de ni ngan song du 'gro bar ngas ma smras so | |*

D_N175v5–176r7: *ji skad du | 'phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i mdzod kyi mdo las | 'od srungs gang zhig pha yang yin la rang sangs rgyas kyang yin pa de srog dang bral bar byed la 'di ni srog gcod pa rnams kyi nang nas lci ba yin no | | 'di lta ste | dkon mchog gsum gyi dkor 'phrog pa 'di ni ma byin par len pa rnams kyi nang nas lci ba yin no | | 'di lta ste | ma yang yin la dgra bcom ma yang yin pa de la log par bsgrib pa 'di ni 'dod pas log par spyod pa rnams kyi nang nas lci ba yin no | | 'di lta ste | de bzhin gshegs pa la skur pa 'debs pa 'di ni brdzun du smra ba rnams kyi nang nas lci ba'o | | 'di lta ste | dge 'dun gyi dbyen byed pa 'di ni phra ma rnams kyi nang nas lci ba yin no | | 'di lta ste | 'phags pa rnams la gshe ba 'di ni tshig rtsub mo rnams kyi nang nas lci ba yin no | | 'di lta ste | chos 'dod pa rnam par g.yeng ba 'di ni ngag 'khyal pa rnams kyi nang nas lci ba'o | | 'di lta ste | yang dag par song ba rnams dang | yang dag par zhugs pa rnams kyi rnyed pa 'phrog par sems pa 'di ni brnab sems kyi nang nas lci ba'o | | 'di lta ste | mtshams med pa nye bar rtsom*

*pa 'di ni gnod sems kyi nang nas lci ba'o | | 'di lta ste | lta ba shin tu thibs
 por gyur pa 'di ni log par lta ba rnames kyi nang nas lci ba yin te | mi dge ba'i
 las kyi lam bcu po 'di dag thams cad ni kha na ma tho ba chen po yin no | | 'od
 srungs gal te sems can gcig 'ga' la la zhig mi dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam gyi las
 kha na ma tho ba chen po 'di dag dang ldan par gyur la | de yang de bzhin
 gshegs pa'i chos bstan pa rgyu rkyen du ldan pa la 'jug ste | 'di la gang zhig
 byed pa'am | gang gis myong bar byed pa bdag gam | sems can nam | srog
 gam | gang zag ni 'ga' yang med do snyam zhing de ltar chos thams cad bcos
 bu nyid dang | mngon par 'dus ma byas pa nyid dang | kun nas nyon mongs
 pa med pa nyid dang | sgyu ma'i chos nyid dang | rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal
 ba nyid la 'jug cing | chos thams cad gdod ma nas rnam par dag pa nyid la
 mngon par dad par byed | lhag par mos par byed na sems can de ngan song
 du 'gro bar nga mi smra'o | |*

Dv263v5–264r5: *ji skad du 'phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i mdzod las rgyas
 par gsungs tel 'od srungs gang phar yang gyur la rang sangs rgyas kyang
 yin pa de'i srog beac na 'di ni srog gcod pa'i nang na lci ba'o | | ma byin pa
 len pa'i nang na lci ba ni 'di lta ste | dkon mchog gsum gyi dkor phrogs
 pa'o | | mi tshangs par spyod pa'I nang na lci ba ni 'di lta ste | ma yang yin
 la dgra bcom ma yang yin pa de la spyod pa'o | | brdzun du smra ba'i nang
 na lci ba ni 'di lta ste | de bzhin gshegs pa la skur pa'o | | phra ma'i nang na
 lci ba ni 'di lta ste | dge 'dun gyi dbyen no | | tshig rtsub po'i nang na lci ba
 ni 'di lta ste | 'phags pa la tshig ngan par smras pa'o | | ngag 'khyal pa rnames
 kyi nang na lci ba ni 'di lta ste | chos 'dod pa g.yeng bar byed pa'o | | brnab
 sems kyi nang na lci ba ni 'di lta ste | yang dag par zhugs pa'i rnyed pa la
 brnab sems so | | gnod sems kyi nang na lci ba ni 'di lta ste | mtshams med
 pa byed pa'i sems so | | log par lta ba rnames kyi nang na lci ba ni 'di lta ste |
 shin tu thibs pa'i lta ba ste | 'di ltar mi dge ba'i las kyi lam bcu po thams cad
 kha na ma tho ba chen po dang bcas pa ste | 'od srungs de la gal te sems can
 gcig brgya lam na 'di lta bu'i kha na ma tho ba chen po dang bcas pa dag gi
 mi dge ba'i las kyi lam bcu po dang ldan par gyur na | de yang de bzhin gshegs
 pas rgyu rkyen dang yang dag par ldan pa'I chos bstan pas grol bar 'gyur te |
 de la cung zad bdag gam | sems can nam | srog gam | gang zag gam | byed
 pa po'am | myong ba po ni 'ga' yang med do zhes yid la byas shing mngon
 par 'dus nas | nyon mongs pa med pa sgyu ma lta bu'i chos nyid | chos thams
 cad rang bzhin gyis gsal bar 'gro bar 'gyur ba'o | | gdod ma nas rnam par
 dag pa'i chos thams cad la | dad pa dang ldan pas mos pa'i sems can de ngan
 song du 'gro bar mi 'gyur ro zhes nga smra'o | |*

English translation:

It is said in the **Āryatathāgatakośasūtra*,

Kāsyapa, when one kills one's father who is a *pratyekabuddha*,
 this is the worst (*parama*) among all kinds of killing

(*prāṇātipāta*). Stealing offerings made to the Three Jewels is the worst among all kinds of taking what is not given (*adattādāna*). Sleeping with one's mother who is an *arhatī* is the worst among all kinds of sexual misconduct (*kāmamithyācāra*). Denigrating the Tathāgata is the worst among all kinds of telling lies (*mṛṣāvāda*). Causing discord in the saṅgha is the worst among all kinds of slander (*paiśunya*). Insulting a noble being is the worst among all kinds of harsh speech (*pāruṣya*). Distracting the one who yearns for the Dharma is the worst among all idle gossip (*sambhinnapralāpa*). An intention (*cetanā*) to acquire belongings of those who have rightly gone (*samyaggata*)¹¹⁸ and those who have set forth (*samprasthita*)¹¹⁹ is the worst among all kinds of covetousness (*abhidhyā*). Committing deeds with immediate retribution (*ānantarya*)¹²⁰ is the worst among all kinds of malice (*vyāpāda*). Having an extremely obscured view¹²¹ is the worst among all kinds of wrong view (*mithyādrṣṭi*). These are the worst wrongdoings among the ten unvirtuous paths of karma (*daśakuśalakarmapatha*).¹²²

Kāśyapa, when beings turn in this way to the unvirtuous paths of action associated with the ten great misdeeds, and then, endowed with the causes and conditions, engage with the Dharma taught by the Tathāgata: "With respect to that, there is

¹¹⁸ The one who has gone rightly (*samyaggata*, *yang dag par song ba*) refers to a being who has attained the fruition of any vehicle, i.e., Śrāvakayāna or Mahāyāna, which means arhatship or complete and perfect buddhahood.

¹¹⁹ The one who has set forth (*samprasthita*, *yang dag par zhugs pa*) refers to a being who follows a path of any vehicle, i.e., Śrāvakayāna or Mahāyāna to attain self-liberation or buddhahood, e.g., *śrāvakayānasamprasthita* or *mahāyānasamprasthita*.

¹²⁰ It refers to the five deeds with immediate retribution (*pañcānantaryāni*, *mtshams med pa lnga*): (1) killing one's father (*pitrvadha*, *pha gsod pa*); (2) killing one's mother (*mātṛvadha*, *ma gsod pa*); (3) killing an arhat (*arhadvadha*, *dgra bcom pa gsod pa*); (4) maliciously drawing blood from the body of the Tathāgata (*tathāgataduṣṭacittarudhirotpādaḥ*, *de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku la ngan sems kyis khrag 'byin pa*); (5) creating a schism in the saṅgha (*saṅghabhedascti*, *dge 'dun gyi dbyen byas ba*).

¹²¹ An extremely obscured view (*lta ba shin tu thibs po*). D_D renders it differently as *lta ba la shin du zhen pa*, i.e., "extreme fixation on one's view."

¹²² The ten unvirtuous paths of action (*daśakuśalakarmapathāḥ*, *mi dge ba'i las kyi lam bcu po*) refer to the ten non-virtues (*daśakuśalāni*, *mi dge ba bcu*): (1) taking life, or killing (*prāṇātipāta*, *srog gcod pa*), (2) taking what is not given, or stealing (*adattādāna*, *ma byin par len pa*), and (3) sexual misconduct (*kāmamithyācāra*, *mi gtsang spyod pa*) constitute the three of the body (*kāyakarmapathāni*); (4) lying (*mṛṣāvāda*, *rdzun du smra ba*), (5) slander, or sowing discord (*paiśunyavāda*, *phra ma*), (6) harsh speech (*pāruṣyavāda*, *tshig rtsub*), and (7) idle gossip (*sambhinnapralāpa*, *ngag 'chal*) constitute the four of the speech (*vākarmapathāni*), and (9) covetousness (*abhidhyā*, *brnab sems*), (9) malice (*vyāpāda*, *gnod sems*), and (10) wrong view (*mithyādrṣṭi*, *log lta*) constitute the three of the mind (*manaskarmapathāni*).

no ‘self’ (*ātman*), ‘being’ (*sattva*), ‘life force’ (*jīva*), or ‘individual’ (*pudgala*). There is neither ‘doing’ (*kāraṇa*) or ‘experiencing’ (*pratisaṃvedana*). Therefore, all phenomena are uncreated (*akṛta*) and uncompounded (*anabhisaṃskṛta*). The illusory essence of phenomena (*dharmaṭā*) is undefiled (*asamkliṣṭā*) and luminous by nature (*prabhāsvarā prakṛtyā*),” and have faith and yearning towards “All phenomena are primordially pure (*ādiśuddha*),” I don’t say those [beings] will be reborn in the adverse states.

6. *Maitreyavimokṣa* of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*

6.1 Maitreyavimokṣa, ch. 54 “Maitreya” of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (Suzuki and Idzumi 1934 & 1949, 475): *ye dharmamegha sugatāna daśaddiśāsu ekāsane sthita pibanti asaṃpramūḍhāḥ aparāntakalpaniyutānyavitrptacittā sahabuddhisāgarasamānamayam vihāraḥ; Byams pa'i rnam par thar pa* (*Maitreyavimokṣa*) [*Liberation of Maitreya*], *Sde dge bka' 'gyur*, vol. 38, f. 296r1–2: *gang rnams phyogs bcu'i bde gshegs rnams kyi chos sprin la | stan gcig gnas bzhin rmongs pa med par 'thung byed kyang | phyi mtha'i bskal pa khrag khriг 'grangs par mi ngoms sems | blo chen rgya mtsho lta bu'i gnas ni 'di 'dra'o:*

M_{A1}11r7–11v2: *de bzhin du phags pa sdong pos brgyan pa'i mdo sde dang | 'phags pa byams pa rnam par | grol ba las gsungs | pa yang yang dag par gshegs pa'i chos gyi sprin ni phyogs bcu nam mkha'i rnams | sta la 'khod bzhin du | thos pas bskal pa bye ba khrag khriг du yang | sems ngoms myi myong stel | de'i blo ched po ni | rgya mtsho mtshungs par | spyod zhes 'byung |*

D_B243r1–3: *de bzhin du 'phags pa sdong po bkod pa'i mdo 'phags pa byams pa'i rnam par thar pa las kyang | gang zhig skad cig 'dug nas ma rmongs par | bskal pa dung phyur bye ba mang po phyogs bcu yi | bde gshegs chos sprin nyan par ngoms pa'i sems med pa | 'di ni blo chen rgya mtsho lta bu'i gnas pa yin | zhes gsungs te |*

D_D192r2–4: *sdong pos brgyan pa'i mdo sde 'phags pa byams pa'i rnam par thar pa las bshad pa | phyogs bcu'i bde bar gshegs pa rnams kyi chos sprin la | gnas gcig 'dug nas rmongs pa med par gyur te nyan | bskal pa bye ba mang por sems kyis ngoms pa med | blo chen rgya mtsho dang ni mnyam par spyod par shog |*

D_N172r6–7: *de bzhin du 'phags pa sdong po bkod pa'i mdo'i 'phags pa byams pa'i rnam par thar pa las kyang | 'di ni gang dag theg mchog la gnas rmongs med dang | bskal pa bye ba khrag khriг mang po rnams su yang | ngoms*

med sems kyis phyogs bcu'i bde gshegs rnames kyi ni | | chos sprin mthun par byed pa rnames kyi gnas yin no | | zhes gsungs pa yin te |

D_V260v2–3: *de bzhin du sdong po bkod pa'i mdo byams pa'i rnam par thar pa las kyang gsungs te | gang phyogs bcu'i bde bar gshegs pa'i chos kyi sprin stan gcig la gnas te ma rmongs par 'thung bas bskal pa bye ba khrag khrig gi bar du sems ngoms pa med par blo chen po rgya mtsho dang mtshungs par bdag gnas par bya'o zhes so | |*

English translation:

Likewise, it is said in the *Maitreyavimokṣa* of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*,

This is the dwelling of those with great understanding like an ocean,
 Who without any bewilderment drink on one seat
 From the Dharma clouds of the *sugatas* in the ten directions
 And will never have enough even in a hundred thousand million eons.¹²³

6.2 Maitreyavimokṣa, ch. 54 “Maitreya” of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (Suzuki and Idzumi 1934 & 1949, 494): *bodhicittam hi kulaputra (...) kalpoddāhāgnibhūtaṁ sarvaduṣkṛtanirdahanatayā; Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, Tōh 44, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, vol. 38, ff. 309v1–310r7: *rigs kyi bu byang chub kyi sems ni (...) nyes byas thams cad sreg pas bskal pas tshigs pa'i me lta bu'o:*

M_{A2}24_{12–13}: *yang bka' stsald pha rigs kyi bu byang chub kyi sems ni nyes byas thams cad la bskald pha'i myer 'gyur ro zhes pha las stsogs pha'o |*

D_B247v1–2: *de bzhin du rigs kyi bu byang chub kyi sems kyis ni nyes byas thams cad nges par sreg pa'i phyir bskal pa'i me lta bu yin no zhes bya ba la sog pa gang gsungs pa lta bu yin no | |*

D_D196r2–3: *de las yang gsungs pa | rigs kyi bu byang chub kyi sems ni nyes byas thams cad sreg pa'i bskal pa'i me lta bur 'gyur ba'o zhes bya ba la sog pa'o | |*

D_N176v2–3: *de skad du 'phags pa sdong po bkod pa'i mdo las kyang | rigs kyi bu byang chub kyi sems ni nyes par byas pa thams cad nges par sreg pa nyid kyis bskal pa sreg pa'i me lta bu'o zhes bya ba la sog pa gsungs pa'o | |*

¹²³ English translation of the verse by Roberts 2022, *The Stem Array*.

Dv264v1: *ji skad du | sdong po bkod pa'i mdo las kyang gsungs te | rigs kyi bu byang chub kyi sems ni bskal pa chen po'i me lta bu ste | nyes byas thams cad sreg pa'o zhes bya ba la sogs pa'o | |*

English translation:

It is also said, “Noble son (*kulaputra*), since bodhicitta burns all evil actions (*duṣkṛta*), it is like the elemental fire (*agnibhūta*) of the conflagration (*uddāha*) of the eon (*kalpa*),” and so on.

7. *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha*

'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi sangs rgyas kyi zhing gi yon tan bkod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo. (Āryamañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūhanāmamahāyānasūtra) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra “The Array of Qualities of Mañjuśrī’s Buddhafield”]. Tōh 59, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, vol. 41, f. 279r8: *'khor ba'i tha ma med pa yi | sngon gyi tha ma ji srid pa | de srid sems can phan don du | spyod pa dpag yas spyad par bya:*

M_{A2}28₁₄–29₁: *de'i smon lam ji lta bu zhe na 'jam dpal gzhon nu rgyal pho nam ka bzang zhes bya bar gyurd pha'i tshe smras pha 'khor ba'i mtha' dang pho de nam zad kyi bar du bdag sems can la phan ba'i phyir sphyad phar bya'o zhes sphyod pha de lta bu las stsogs pha rgyas phar ro*

D_B249v4–5: *de'i smon lam ji lta bu zhig ce na | 'phags pa 'jam dpal chos kyi rgyal por gyur pa na | 'khor ba la thog ma'i mu dang mtha' yas pa ji srid pa de srid du sems can la phan pa kho na'i phyir spyad pa tshad med pa spyod par gyur cig ces smon pa de lta bu la sogs pa rgyas par ji srid du 'byung ba lta bu yin no | |*

D_D198r6: *de'i smon lam ji lta bu zhe na | gzhung las | 'phags pa 'jam dpal nam mkha' zhes bya ba'i rgyal por gyur pa'i tshe 'khor ba thog ma dang tha ma dang bral ba ji srid pa de srid du sems can rnams la tshad med pa'i phan pa spyad do zhes bya ba la sogs pa rgya chen po rnams so | |*

D_N179r1–2: *de'i smon lam gang yin zhe na | ji skad du 'phags pa 'jam dpal rgyal po nam mkhar gyur pas | 'khor ba tha ma med pa yi | sngon gyi tha ma ji srid pa | de srid sems can phan don du | spyod pa dpag yas spyad par bgyi | zhes bya ba la sogs pa rgya cher gsungs pa bzhin no | |*

D_V266v3–4: *de'i smon lam ji lta bu zhe na | 'phags pa 'jam dpal chos kyi rgyal por gyur pa na gsungs pa | ji srid dang po'i mtha' nas ni | 'khor ba'i mtha' ma spangs pa ru | de srid sems can phan pa nyid | bdag ni spyod pa spyod par shog | ces pa la sogs pa rgyas par gsungs so | |*

English translation:

What are his aspirations like? When the noble Mañjuśrī was a Dharma king¹²⁴ he said: “For as long as the beginningless and endless samsāra lasts, for that long shall I practice only the immeasurable conduct for the sake of beings.” He made such an aspiration and others extensively.

8. Upālipariprcchāsūtra

*'Phags pa 'dul ba rnam par gtan la dbab pa nye bar 'khor gyis zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Āryavinayaviniścayopāli-pariprcchānāmamahāyānasūtra) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra Ascertaining the Vinaya: Upāli's Questions]. Tōh 68. Instead of *byang chub sems* (i.e., “*bodhicitta*”), the *Sde dge bka'* *'gyur* edition of the sūtra features *thams cad mkhyen pa nyid kyi sems* (i.e., “*omniscient mind*”). See *Sde dge bka'* *'gyur*, vol. 43, f. 124r7–124v4: *khor 'di la theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa'i* *byang chub sems dpa' ni gal te snga dro'i dus kyi tshe* | *nyes pa byung la gung tshigs kyi dus kyi tshe thams cad mkhyen pa nyid kyi sems dang ma bral bas gnas par byed na theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa'i byang chub sems dpa' i tshul khriṃs kyi phung po yongs su ma gtugs pa kho na yin no* | *gal te gung tshigs kyi dus kyi tshe na nyes pa byung la phyi dro'i dus kyi tshe thams cad mkhyen pa nyid kyi sems dang ma bral bas gnas par byed na theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa'i byang chub sems dpa' i tshul khriṃs kyi phung po yongs su ma gtugs pa kho na yin no* | *gal te phyi dro'i dus kyi tshe na nyes pa byung la mtshan mo'i thun dang po la thams cad mkhyen pa nyid kyi sems dang ma bral bas gnas par byed na theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa'i byang chub sems dpa' i tshul khriṃs kyi phung po yongs su ma gtugs pa kho na yin no*:*

M_A224₉₋₁₂: *'phags pha nye skyon gis kun dris pha'i mdo las 'byung ba 'di ltar byang chub sems dphas snga dro kun du ltung ba byung na gun la byang chub gyis sems mn̄gon du byang na byang chub sems dpha' de'i tshul khriṃs kyi phung pho ni mtha' yas phar rig phar bya'o* | *de bzhin du nyi ma'i gung la kun du ltung bar byung las nub kar byang chub gyi sems mn̄gon du byang na byang chub sems dpha' i de'i tshul khriṃs kyi phung pho ni de bzhin du rig phar bya'o zhes pha dang*

D_B247r7–247v3: *ji skad du* | *'phags pa nye ba 'khor gyis zhus pa'i mdo las* | *gal te byang chub sems dpa' snga dro ltung ba byung ba nyi ma'i gung la*

¹²⁴ Refers to the Dharma king Ākāśa (Nam mkha'), one of the previous births of Mañjuśrī in accordance with *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi sangs rgyas kyi zhing gi yon tan bkod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Āryamañjuśrībuddhakṣetra-guṇavyūhanāmamahāyānasūtra) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra “The Array of Qualities of Mañjuśrī’s Buddhafield”]*. Tōh 59.

byang chub kyi sems mngon du byed na | byang chub sems dpa' de'i tshul khriṃs kyi phung po yongs su gtugs pa med pa kho na yin par rig par bya'o | de bzhin du nyi ma'i gung la ltung ba byung ba | phyi dro byang chub kyi sems mngon du byed na de kho nas byang chub sems dpa' de'i tshul khriṃs kyi phung po mi zad par rig par bya'o zhes bya ba sogs pa gang gsungs pa dang |

D_D196r1–2: *ji skad du 'phags pa u pā lis dris pa'i mdo las gsungs pa de ste byang chub sems dpa' snga dro nyes pa byung na nyi ma gung la byang chub kyi sems mngon du byas na de'i tshul khriṃs kyi phung po mtha' yas par rig par bya'o | de bzhin du nyi ma gung la nyes pa byung na phyi dro byang chub kyi sems mngon du byas na de'i tshul khriṃs kyi phung po mi zad par rig par bya'o zhes bya ba la sogs pa'o | |*

D_N176v1–2: *ji skad du 'phags pa nye ba 'khor gyis zhus pa'i mdo las | gal te byang chub sems dpa' snga dro'i dus na ltung ba dang bcas pa nyi ma phyed na byang chub kyi sems mngon du byed na byang chub sems dpa' de'i tshul khriṃs kyi phung po ni mtha' med pa nyid du rig par bya'o | |*

D_V264r6–264v1: *ji skad du | 'phags pa u pā lis zhus pa'i mdo las | gal te byang chub sems dpa' de la snga dro'i dus su ltung ba byung bar gyur na | gung gi dus su byang chub kyi sems mngon du bya'o | de ltar na byang chub sems dpa' de'i tshul khriṃs kyi phung po phyin ci ma log par rig par bya'o | de ltar gung gi dus su ltung ba byung bar gyur na ni phyi dro'i dus su byang chub kyi sems mngon du bya'o | de ltar na byang chub sems dpa' de'i tshul khriṃs kyi phung po phyin ci ma log par rig par bya'o zhes pa la sogs pa'o | |*

English translation:

It is said in the *Āryopālipariprcchāsūtra*,

If a bodhisattva commits a downfall in the morning, but actualizes bodhicitta at noon, one should know that the aggregate of discipline (*sīlaskandha*) of that bodhisattva is not at all inhibited (*aparyādatta*). Likewise, if he commits a downfall at noon, but actualizes bodhicitta in the evening, one should know that the aggregate of discipline of that bodhisattva is not at all inhibited.

9. Vajracchedikāsūtra

Vajracchedikāsūtra §16a (Harrison and Watanabe 2006, 130–131): *ye te subhūte kulaputrā vā kuladuhitaro vā imān evanprūpāmī sūtrāntān udgrahīṣyamīti dhārayīṣyamīti paryavāpsyamīti | te paribhūtā bhaviṣyamīti suparibhūtās ca bhaviṣyamīti | || yāni teṣām satvānām paurvajamīkāni karmāṇī kṛtāny apāyasāñvartanīyāni drṣṭa eva dharme paribhūtatatayā pūrvajamīkāny asubhāni karmāṇī kṣapayīṣyamīti | buddhabodhim ca prāpsyamīti; 'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Āryavajracchedikānāmaprajñāpāramitāmahāyānasūtra) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom "The Diamond Cutter"]. Tōh 16, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, vol. 34, f. 127v4–5: *rab 'byor rigs kyi bu'am | rigs kyi bu mo gang dag 'di lta bu'i mdo sde'i tshig 'di dag len pa dang | 'dzin pa dang | klog pa dang | kun chub par byed pa de dag ni mnar bar 'gyur | shin du mnar bar 'gyur ro | de ci'i phyir zhe na | rab 'byor sems can de dag gi tshe rabs snga ma'i mi dge ba'i las ngan song du skye bar 'gyur ba gang dag byas pa dag tshe 'di nyid la mnar bas tshe rabs snga ma'i mi dge ba'i las de dag byang bar 'gyur te sangs rgyas kyi byang chub kyang thob par 'gyur ba'i phyir ro:**

M_A224₁₃–25₁: *sum brgya pha las bka' stsald pha yang rab 'byord rigs kyi bu pho'am rigs kyi bu mo gag gis mdo 'di lta bu 'dzingd tam blags sam klog gam kun du rgyas phar byed pha yang rung ste | de dag sphangs phar 'gyur ro shin du sphang phar 'gyur ro | de ci'i phyir zhe na sems can de dag tse snga ma'i las myi dge ba byas phas ngan song du ltung bar 'gyur ba'i rnams da ltar gyi tse 'di la brnyas phar gyurd phas na tse snga ma'i myi dge ba'i las bya bar 'gyuro | zhes de lta bur las stsogs pha ste*

D_B247v2–3: *sum brgya pa las kyang | rab 'byor rigs kyi bu'am rigs kyi bu mo gang la la dag mdo sde 'di lta bu 'dzin pa dang | 'chang ba dang | klog pa dang | kun chub par byed pa de dag ni brnyas par 'gyur | shin tu brnyas par 'gyur ro | de ci'i phyir zhe na | sems can de dag gi tshe rabs snga ma'i las mi dge ba ngan song du 'gro bar 'gyur bar byas pa gang dag yin pa de dag mthong ba'i chos kho na la brnyas pa zad par 'gyur ro zhes gsungs so | |*

D_D196r3–5: *sum brgya pa las gsungs pa | rab 'byor rigs kyi bu'am rigs kyi bu mo gang gis 'di lta bu'i mdo sde 'chang ba dang | 'dzin pa dang | klog pa dang | kun chub par byed pa de la yongs kyis brnyas par 'gyur shin tu yongs kyis brnyas par 'gyur ro | de ci'i phyir zhe na | gang sems can de dag gis tshe rabs snga ma la mi dge ba'i las byas te | gang ngan song du skye bar 'gyur ba de dag tshe 'di la yongs kyis brnyas pas tshe rabs snga ma'i las mi dge ba de dag 'byang bar 'gyur ro zhes bya ba la sogs pa bshad do | |*

D_N176v3–5: *sum brgya pa las kyang | rab 'byor rigs kyi bu'am | rigs kyi bu*

mo gang dag 'di lta bu'i rang bzhin gyi mdo sde 'di dag 'dzin par 'gyur ba dang | 'chang bar 'gyur ba dang | klog par 'gyur ba dang | kun chub par byed par 'gyur ba de dag ni gdung bar 'gyur | shin tu gdung bar 'gyur te | de ci'i phyir zhe na | sems can de dag ni tshe rabs snga ma'i mi dge ba'i las ngan song 'grub pa dang rjes su mthun pa byas pa gang yin pa de dag mthong ba'i chos nyid la yongs su longs spyod pas na sngon gyi mi dge ba'i las de dag zad par 'gyur ba'i phyir ro zhes gsungs te |

D_V264v1–3: *sum brgya pa las kyang gsungs pa | gang yang rab 'byor rigs kyi bu'am | rigs kyi bu mo rnam pa 'di lta bu'i tshul gyis mdo 'di len par byed pa dang | 'dzin par 'gyur ba dang | klog par 'gyur ba dang | tshul bzhin du yid la byed par de yongs su 'gyur ba dang | shin tu yongs su dag par 'gyur ro | ci'i phyir zhe na | gang sems can de dag gis skye ba snga mar mi dge ba'i las byas pas ngan song du skye bar nges pa mthong ba'i chos nyid la myong bar 'gyur ba skye ba sngon ma'i mi dge ba'i las yongs su zad par 'gyur ro zhes pa la sogs pas sdig pa'i las gang nges par myong bar 'gyur ba shin tu yongs su byang bar byed par 'gyur ro zhes pa'o | |*

English translation:

It is likewise said in the *Triśatikā*,¹²⁵

Subhūti, those noble sons and daughters who will learn, memorize, recite, and master such discourses as these will be despised, they will be thoroughly despised. Why is that? Whatever unvirtuous actions leading to the adverse states these beings have done in former lives, through being despised, they will exhaust them in this very life.

10. *Vīradattapariprcchāsūtra*

*Khyim bdag dpas byin gyis zhus pa'i mdo (Vīradattapariprcchāsūtra) [The Sūtra Requested by the Layman Vīradatta]. Tōh 72, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, vol. 43, f. 202v6: byang chub sems kyi bsod nams gang | | de la gal te gzugs mchis na | | nam mkha'i khams ni kun gang ste | | de ni de bas lhag par 'gyur. Its Skt. is found in Kamalaśila's *Bhāvanākrama* (Namadol 1984, 170): bodhicittād vai yat puṇyaṁ tacca rūpi bhaved yadi | ākāśadhātuṁ sampūrya bhūyaścottaritam bhavet:*

M_{A2}21₁₀₋₁₁: *bka' stsald pha byang chub kyi sems bskyled pha la gzugs yod na ni nam ka'i khams kun gang nas kyang lhag phar 'gyuro |*

¹²⁵ The Sūtra in the Three Hundred Lines (*Triśatikā, Sum brgya pa*) is an alternative title for the *Vajracchedikāsūtra*.

D_B245v2: *ji skad du | byang chub sems kyi bsod nams gang | | de ni gal te gzugs can gyur | | nam mkha'i khams kun bkang nas ni | | de bas kyang ni de lhag gyur | |*

D_D194r3–4: *'di skad du | byang chub sems kyi bsod nams gang | | gal te de ni gzugs gyur na | | nam mkha'i khams kyang gang gyur cing | | de bas de ni lhag par 'gyur | | zhes gsungs so | |*

D_N174v3–4: *ji skad du | byang chub sems kyi bsod nams gang | | gal te de la gzugs mchis na | | nam mkha'i khams ni kun gang nas | | de bas kyang ni lhag par 'gyur | | zhes gsungs so | |*

D_V262v4: *ji skad du gsungs pa | byang chub sems ni bskyed pa yi | | bsod nams gal te gzugs gyur na | | nam mkha'i khams kun gang ba dang | | de bas kyang ni lhag par 'gyur | | zhes gsungs so | |*

11. *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra*

Mngon par 'byung ba'i mdo (*Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra*) [*Sūtra on Going Forth*]. Tōh 301, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, vol. 72, f. 58v3: *sdig pa'i chos ni ngas bcom pas | | de bas nyer 'gro nga rgyal ba'o*. Also quoted in the *Udānavarga* 21.5 (Bernhard 1965, 280): *jītā me pātpakā dharmās tato 'ham upagā jināḥ; Ched du brjod pa'i tshom* (*Udānavarga*) [*Chapters of Inspired Utterances*]. Tōh 326, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, vol. 72, f. 227v4: *sdig pa'i chos las nga rgyal bas | | de bas nyer 'gro nga rgyal ba:*

M_{A1}2r4–5: *de 'di ltar bcom ldan 'da'as gyis gsungs pa nyer 'ong | | nga ni sdig pa'i chos rnams las rgyal bas na | rgyal ba'o zhes | 'byung ba lastsogs pa'o | |*

D_B234v7–235r1: *ji skad du bcom ldan 'das kyis | mi dge'i chos las nga rgyal te | | de bas nyer 'gro nga ni rgyal ba yin | | zhes gsungs pa lta bu ste |*

D_D185r1: *sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis 'di skad du | sdig pa'i chos rnams las rgyal bas | | nyer 'gro nga ni rgyal ba yin | | zhes gsungs pa la sog pa'o | |*

D_N164v1: *ji skad du bcom ldan 'das kyis | sdig pa'i chos las nga rgyal te | | des na nyer 'gro nga rgyal ba | | zhes bya ba la sog pa gsungs pa bzhin no | |*

D_V253v3: *ji skad gsungs pa | sdig pa mi dge'i chos las nga rgyal te | | de bas nyer 'gro nga ni rgyal ba yin | | zhes bya ba la sog pa ste |*

English translation:

As the Bhagavat said,

I am victorious over unvirtuous *dharma*s.
Thus, Upagā,¹²⁶ I am a Jina.

12. *Karmaśataka*

Avadānaśataka (Vaidya 1958, 263): *na praṇāśyanti karmāṇī kalpakoṭisatair*
api | sāmagrīn prāpya kālām ca phalanti khalu dehinām; Las brgya tham pa
(*Karmaśataka*) [The Hundred Deeds]. Tōh 340, *Sde dge bka' 'gyur*, vol. 73,
f. 10r2–3: *lus can dag gi las rnams ni | lbskal pa brgyar yang chud mi za | tshogs shing dus la bab pa na | 'bras bu nyid du smin par 'gyur:*

M_A25₈₋₉: *gzhung las 'byung ba las ji byas so cog bskald pha brgyar yang myi*
stord the skabs dang dusu 'phrod phar gyur na myi rnams kyi las de yang
'bras bu rgyas phar 'gyur zhes pha las stsogs pha'o |

D_B248r1: *lus can kun gyi las rnams ni | lbskal pa brgyar yang chud mi*
za | tshogs shing dus la babs pa na | 'bras bu smin pa nyid du 'gyur | zhes
bya ba la sogs pa gang gsungs pa ste |

D_D196v1–2: *gang gsungs pa | bskal pa brgya dag snyed du yang | las*
rnams chud zar mi 'gyur te | tshogs dang dus dang ldan pa na | lus can
rnams la 'bras bur smin | zhes bya ba la sogs pa de ji ltar shes par bya zhe
na |

D_N177r3: *'o na bskal pa bye ba brgyar yang ni | las rnams chud mi za ba*
de | tshogs shing dus la bab pa na | lus can rnams la 'bras bu 'byin | ces
bya ba la sogs pa gsungs pa gang yin pa de ji ltar drang zhe na |

D_V264v7–265r1: *gang 'di skad du gsungs pa | bskal pa bye ba brgya ru*
yang | las ni chud zos mi 'gyur te | tshogs pa'i dus su 'bras bu ni | lus
can la ni smin par 'gyur | zhes pa la sogs pa de ji ltar ma nges she na |

English translation:

"Why then is it said:

The actions of beings never go to waste,
Even in a hundred eons.

¹²⁶ Upagā (Nyer 'gro) refers to the mendicant (*parivṛājaka, kun tu rgyu*) Upagā.

They are accumulated, and, once the time comes,
The result will come to fruition?"

13. *Karmavibhaṅga*

Las rnam pa 'byed pa (Karmavibhaṅga) [The Exposition of Karma]. Tōh 338, *Sde dge bka' 'gyur*, vol. 72, ff. 282v7–283r1: *shin tu mi bzad las rnams byas pa ni | bdag la smod dang rab tub bshags pa dang | sdom par byed pas de dag srabs 'gyur gyis | shin tu rtsa nas phyin ces mi smra'o:*

M_{A2}22_{7,9}: *bka' stsald pha | shin du ma rungs las byas rnams | bdag gis re 'gyod 'byung 'gyur ba | bshags pha dang ni sdom ba stel rtsa nas shin du 'byung zhes sma'o |*

D_B246r2–3: *ji skad du | shin tu mi bzad las rnams byas pa ni | bdag la rnam par smod pas bsrabs par 'gyur | rab tu bshags dang sdom par byed pa yis | de dag shin tu rtsa nas bton par bshad | ces gsungs pa lta bu yin no |*

D_D194v3–4: *'di skad du | ma rung ba yi las byas pa | bdag gis 'gyod pas bsabs par 'gyur | bshags nas bsdams pa byas na ni | de dag rtsa nas 'don par bshad |*

D_N175r3–4: *sdig pa shin tu mi zad byas pa dag | bdag la rnam par smod pas srab par byed | rab tu bshags dang sdom par byed pas ni | de dag rtsa nas 'byin par ngas bshad do | zhes ji skad gsungs pa bzhin no |*

D_V263r3–4: *ji skad du gsungs pa | las byas pas ni shin tu skrag pa yis | bdag la rnam smad pas ni chung 'gyur te | de dag bshags dang sdom par byas pa yis | shin tu rtsad nas 'byin par nga smra'o | zhes so |*

English translation:

It is said,

I have committed hideous actions.
By feeling remorse
They will be diminished
By confessing them and promising not to do them again,
They will get completely erased.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ According to the *Karmavibhaṅga*, these words were spoken by Ajātaśatru before he was about to die and knew he would be reborn in Avīci hell.

14. *Sūkarikāvadānasūtra*

Phag mo'i rtogs pa brjod pa zhes bya ba'i mdo (Sūkarikāvadānasūtra) [Sūtra "The Magnificent Account about a Sow"]. Tōh 345, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, vol. 75, ff. 289v–291r:

M_{A2}22₁₅–23₁: *bsam ba'i stobs kyis pha ni phag du skye ba'i gzhung 'di bzhin te lha'i bu zhig 'ci 'phos nas phagi mngal du skyes shing sdug bsgal ba'i las kyi 'bras bu mngon du 'ongs pha las gsum la skyabsu song ba mthag du thams cad shin du byang ste sumchu rtsha gsum du shi 'phos nas gnas bden gnam du skyes so | |*

D_B246r6–7: *rten gyi stobs kyis yongs su dag par byed pa ni dper na phag mo'i rtogs pa brjod pa las | lha'i bu 'chi 'pho bar 'gyur ba'i chos can zhig phag mo'i mngal du skyes nas myong bar 'gyur ba'i las kyi 'bras bu smin par mngon du phyogs pa las gsum la skyabs su song ba tsam gyis thams cad shin tu rtsa ba nas bton te | sum cu rtsa gsum pa'i lha las shi 'phos te dga' ldan pa dag gi nang du skyes so zhes 'byung ba lta bu yin no | |*

D_D194v7–195r1: *rten gyi stobs kyis kyang ji ltar ched du brjod pa'i sde las | 'pho bar 'dod pa'i lha'i bu gzhān zhig btsog pa phag gi mngal du skye bar nges pa'i las kyi 'bras bu mngon par gyur nas | gsum la skyabs su song ba tsam gyis thams cad sbyangs te sum cu rtsa gsum gnam gyi lha las shi 'phos nas dga' ldan gnas su skyes so | |*

D_N175r7–175v1: *rten gyi stobs kyis kyang dper na phag mo'i rtogs pa brjod pa las | lha'i bu tshe zad pa 'ga' zhig grong gi phag mo'i mngal du skye bar byed pa nges par myong bar 'gyur ba'i las 'bras bu bskyed pa la mngon sum du phyogs par gyur la | de yang gsum la skyabs su song ba tsam gyis thams cad gtan du drungs phyung nas sum cu rtsa gsum pa'i lha rnams nas shi 'phos nas dga' ldan gyi lha rnams kyi nang du skyes pa bzhin no | |*

D_V263r7–263v1: *rten pa'i stobs kyang ji lta bar phag mo'i rtogs pa brjod pa las | lha'i bu zhig 'chi ba'i dus byas nas phag mo'i mngal du skye ba myong bar 'gyur ba'i las kyi 'bras bu mngon du byed pa | gsum la skyabs su 'gro ba tsam gyis thams cad rtsa ba nas bton nas | sum cu rtsa gsum pa'i lha dag gi nang nas shi 'phos te | dga' ldan gyi lha dag gi nang du skyes so | |*

English translation:

Regarding the purification through the power of support (*āśrayabala*), it is recounted, for example, in the *Sūkarikāvadānasūtra* that a son of gods (*devaputra*) was due to die and be reborn in the womb of a sow experiencing the result of the ripening of his karma (*karmavipāka*). But

before it was actualized, he took refuge in the Three Jewels, and at that very moment the result was completely extracted with its root. He was transferred to the Heaven of the Thirty-Three (*trāyastrīmśa*) and then reborn among the Tuṣita gods.

15. Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka*

Āryadeva. *Catuḥśataka* 12.5 as quoted in Candraṅkīrti's *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuhśatakaṭikā*, ch. 12 (Suzuki 1994, 248–249): *buddhokteṣu paro'kṣeṣu jāyate yasya saṃśayah | ihaiva pratyayas tena kartavyah śūnyatāṁ prati; Āryadeva. Bstan bcos bzhi brgya pa zhes bya ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa* (*Catuḥśatakasūstranāmakārikā*) [A Verse Treatise called "The Four Hundred"]. Tōh 3846, Sde dge bstan 'gyur, vol. 97, ff. 13r7–13v1: *sangs rgyas kyis gsungs lkog gyur la | gang zhig the tshom skye 'gyur ba | de yis stong pa nyid bsten te | 'di nyid kho nar yid ches bya; Candraṅkīrti. Byang chub sems dpa'i rnal 'byor spyod pa bzhi brgya pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa* (*Bodhisattvayogācāracatuhśatakaṭikā*) [Commentary on [Āryadeva's] "Four Hundred Verses" on the Yogic Conduct of Bodhisattvas]. Tōh 3865, Sde dge bstan 'gyur, vol. 103, f. 186v4: *sangs rgyas kyis gsungs lkog gyur pa | gang zhig the tshom skye 'gyur ba | de yis stong pa nyid bstan te | 'di nyid kho nar yid ches bya:*

M_{A1}10v4-5: *sangs rgyas gyi bka' de bzhin du gtan la bab pa | mn̄gon du ma khugs pas na | the tsom du gyurd te | 'jig rten thams cad kyang | stong pa nyid lta bu'i | rtags gyis yid ces par bya'*

D_B242v1: *'di gsal rab tu bsgrubs pas na | gang zhig sangs rgyas kyis bshad pa | lkog tu gyur pa dag la ni | the tshom skye ba de yis 'dir | stong pa nyid du yid ches bya*

D_D –

D_N171v4-5: *'di la shin tu gsal bar rab tu bsgrags pa yin te | sangs rgyas kyi gsung lkog gyur la | gang zhig the tshom skyed byed des | 'di nyid du ni stong nyid la | yang dag par ni yid ches bya'o | zhes bya ba'o*

D_V260r2: *'di yang shin tu gsal bar rab tu bsgrubs zin to | lkog don sangs rgyas kyi gsungs la | gang blo the tshom skye 'gyur ba | des ni 'dir ni yid ches pas | stong pa nyid la rab tu bya*

English translation:

Therefore, it is clearly ascertained:

For whomever a doubt (*samśaya*) arises
 Regarding things spoken by the Buddha (*buddhokta*)
 That are beyond perception (*parokṣa*),
 Here itself that person should elicit belief (*pratyaya*)
 in emptiness (*śūnyatā*).

16. Māṭrceṭa's *Varṇārhavarṇastotra*

Māṭrceṭa. *Varṇārhavarṇastotra*, vv. 5.21–22 (Hartmann 1987, 182–183):
kim adbhitatara(m) tasmāt *kim ā*(xxv - vx | xxxxv - - x xxxxv - vx || 21)
 (xxxxv - - x a)nekeva ca lakṣyate | madauddeśika[m] evai[t](a)d iti sa[rvo]
 'va(gacchati || 22); *Sangs rgyas bcom ldan das la bstod pa bsngags par 'os*
pa bsngags pa las bstod par mi nus par bstod pa zhes bya ba (*Varṇārhavarṇebhagavatobuddhasyastotreśākyastava*) [In Praise of the Praiseworthy Bhagavat Buddha Eulogizing the One Who Cannot be Eulogized]. Tōh 1138, *Sde dge bstan 'gyur*, vol. 1, f. 91r6: *mos pa du ma dang ldan pa | | mang po*
'khod par gyur pa la | | gsung gcig bka' ni stsal ba las | | du ma lta bur snang
'gyur tel | | kun gyis 'di ni bdag gi ched | | kho na'o snyam du go ba
gang | | de las ya mtshan che ci mchis | | de las ngo mtshar che ci mchis:

M_A11r6-7: *de lta bur ngo mtshar che ba ma yin dkon ba ma yin | bar gsungs*
pa ni dad pa mang po bsam ba tha dad pa grangs myed par 'khod pa'i rnams
kyang | tshig cig gsungs pa na | 'gro ba thams chad gyis kyang | so sor rang
la gsungs par go'o | |

D_B242v7–243r1: *de skad du | mos pa du ma dang ldan pa | | mang po nye*
bar 'khod pa la | | gsung gcig bka' ni bstsal mod kyis | | du ma gcig tu gda'
ba ste | 'di dag kho na'i ched yin zhes | | 'gro ba kun gyis rtog pa gang | | de
la ya mtshan che ci mchis | | de la ngo mtshar ci zhig mchis | | zhes gsungs
so | |

D_D192r1–2: *lung las kyang 'di skad du gsungs te | 'khor bar 'khor ba mang*
po rnams | | dad pa'i rnam pa sna tshogs la | | gsung gcig tu ni bshad mod
kyi | | du ma'i rnam par go bar gyur | | bdag la nyi tsher 'chad do snyam | |
'gro ba kun gyis ji ltar go | | ya mtshan de las ci zhig che | | de ltar ngo mtshar
ci zhig yod pa 'di lta ste |

D_N172r5–6: *de skad du yang mos pa sna tshogs can gyi ni | | 'khor mang*
rnams ni gnas pa la | | gsung gcig bka' ni stsal pa na | | gsung rnams du mar
go 'gyur zhing | | nga yi ched du yin no zhes | | skye bo kun gyis rtogs 'gyur
gang | | 'di las ches rmad ci yod de | | 'di las ches mtshar ci zhig yod | | ces
gsungs pa dang |

Dv260v1–2: *de bzhin du yang gsungs pa | de'i phyir ngo mtshar mi che
ste | 'di ni shin tu ngo mtshar che | mang po nye bar 'dug pa la | gang
de mos pa'i dbang gis ni | tshig gcig gi ni bshad pa yang | du ma nyid du
mtshon nas ni | bdag nyid la ni ston to zhes | skye bo mang pos go bar
'gyur | zhes so | |*

English translation:

It is said:

What could be more wonderful (*adbhutatara*) than this,
 What could be more wondrous than this?
 When many listeners with diverse inclinations
 Sit together,

As you speak a word,
 It is heard as many words.
 Thinking “This is meant only for me”
 All wandering beings understand it.

Summing it up, the synoptic commentaries are almost identical in their content. Rarely, they feature some differences in the sequence of passages, but mostly the sequence is also the same. The hyparchetypes attributed to *Bhadrapāṇa, Nāgārjuna, and Vasubandhu are the closest to each other. The hyparchetype attributed to Dignāga is slightly different, which may be explained by a different recension of the Sanskrit text or by ascribing the differences to the Tibetan translation style.

The last question to address is whether Tibetans recognized the similarity among these commentaries, and, if so, why they produced their multiple translations. I think the answer partly has to do with the criteria for scriptural authenticity in Tibet. As Peter Skilling defines it, in Tibet “the decisive determinant [for the authenticity] was whether a text had been translated from an Indian, or Indic original. (...) That is, authenticity depends upon source language and origins.”¹²⁸ Also, according to Orna Almogi,

Generally speaking, the most decisive conditions for authenticity and canonicity of Buddhist scriptures and treatises within the Tibetic cultural sphere have been, perhaps in this order, (1) the work’s provenance, that is, a solid proof of its Indic origin, (2) the existence of a verifiably valid tradition, and (3) the work’s content, that is, its being the actual Word of the Buddha

¹²⁸ Skilling 2010, 1–2.

in the case of a scripture, or its being in accord with the Word of the Buddha in the case of a non-scriptural work.¹²⁹

Since the synoptic Sanskrit hyparchetypes were brought to Tibet from India, Tibetans, apparently, did not question their authenticity. Moreover, the three translations of the imperial time could have been produced by different translators who might not have been in close contact. As for the two post-imperial translations, they were produced at least two centuries later than the imperial three, after a time of serious disruption of the Dharma activities in Tibet when many texts were destroyed or hidden to prevent their destruction. The two post-imperial hyparchetypes most probably were brought to Tibet from Kāśmīr. At least, it is known that Rngog blo ldan shes rab lived and worked in Kāśmīr and similarly to the translator of the hyparchetype attributed to Vasubandhu cooperated with Kāśmīri panditas. The translators of the later spread usually were sponsored and worked locally, and often did not have any access to the imperial translations. And if they had access to the imperial catalogues, they did not have an opportunity to recognize these texts as already translated because they had different attributions. As a result, five different Tibetan translations were produced and reached our time, which is a truly unusual situation, as it has already been explained.

Conclusion

To summarize, I have attempted to demonstrate that the similarity of the five Indic commentaries on the *Bhadracaryāprajñidhāna* (four *Bstan 'gyur* commentaries and one anonymous Dunhuang commentary probably attributed to Guṇaprabha) is due to the synoptic problem, i.e., they come down to the same currently unavailable Sanskrit archetype that reached Tibet in multiple hyparchetypes: three out of the five—those attributed to Dignāga, *Bhadrapaṇa, and Guṇaprabha—during the early spread of Dharma (*sṅga dar*), and the remaining two—of Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu—during the later spread (*spyi dar*). The initial Sanskrit archetype of the hyparchetypes most probably was called **Bhadracaryāprajñidhānatikā*. Although all the authors to whom it is attributed could have composed the *Tikā*, my hypothesis is that the *Tikā* was composed by a rather unknown author, and it was so well-written that started to be attributed to the greatest philosophers of the time. Assuming that the actual author is one of the attributions, in my opinion, the authorship should likely be attributed to *Bhadrapaṇa. I hope that the located Sanskrit manuscript of the hyparchetype

¹²⁹ Almogi 2020, 18.

attributed to Vasubandhu will soon become available either as a copy or an edition, which will further prove the hypothesis of the synoptic problem and provide this indispensable Sanskrit witness for further research of the *Bhadracaryāprajñidhāna*'s synoptic commentaries.

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'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi sangs kyi zhing gi yon tan bkod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Āryamañjuśrībuddhakṣetra-guṇavyūhanāmamahāyānasūtra) [The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra "The Array of Qualities of Mañjuśrī's Buddhafield"]. Tōh 59, *Sde dge bka' 'gyur*, vol. 41, ff. 249v1–298v2.

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Candrakīrti. *Byang chub sems dpa'i rnal 'byor spyod pa bzhi brgya pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa* (*Bodhisattvayogācāracatuhśatakātikā*) [Commentary on [Āryadeva's] "Four Hundred Verses" on the Yogic Conduct of Bodhisattvas]. Tōh 3865, *Sde dge bstan 'gyur*, vol. 103, ff. 30v6–239r7.

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