A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF BODHISATTVĀVADĀNAKALPALATĀ FOUND IN TIBET*

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There are two Sanskrit manuscripts of Ksemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* preserved at Drepung Monastery in Tibet. The earlier one (according to the colophon) contains all the 108 avadānas comprising the whole text, while the later one only includes the last 61 avadānas. In this paper, we compare and analyse two paratextual elements of the extant versions, namely, pallava-endings and prologue, in order to know how frequently the translator Shong ton Rdo rie rgyal mtshan and the redactor Zha lu lotsāva Chos skyong bzang po used these two manuscripts.

Key words: Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, Drepung Monastery, Shong ton Rdo rje rgyal mtshan, Zha lu lotsāva Chos skyong bzang po.

Kşemendra's (ca. 980-after 1065 C.E.)¹ Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (henceforth: Av-klp) is a highly influential poetic work within Indo-Tibetan Buddhist circles. His son, Somendra, composed an epilogue² according to which Ksemendra composed the Av-klp in 1052.

Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan and Laksmīkara translated it into Tibetan between ca. 1260 and 1280.³ Subsequently, Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302– 1364) included a recension of its translation in the Tanjur edition (van der Kuijp 1994: 139–142), and Zha lu lotsāva Chos skyong bzang po (1441–1528) prepared a bilingual

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¹ For the year of his birth and death I follow Formigatti (2019). ² samvatsare saptavimśe vaiśākhasya sitodayo | krteyam kalpalatikā jinajanmamahotsave || 16 ||, referred by Bendall (1992: 18).

³ This dating is suggested by de Jong (1979: 5) and followed by Straube (2006: 41). However, there are different hypotheses: 1272 (Das 1888-1913, Vol. I: iii), ca. 1267-1270 (van der Kuijp 1996: 401), ca. 1270-1275 (Mejor 1992: 5, Note 2) and followed by Dimitrov (2002: 45, Note 185). For a brief summary of dating conjectures, cf. Dimitrov (2002: 37, Note 151).

(Sanskrit and Tibetan) version (Mejor 1992: 65ff). During the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama, a complete and revised Sanskrit text of the Av-klp, together with its Tibetan translation, was printed in 1664 and 1665 (cf. Mejor 1992: 64).

Five printing blocks and one manuscript of the Tibetan translation are known to be preserved. Four printing blocks, Derge, Cone, Narthang and Peking, and one manuscript, Ganden, are in the Tanjur. There is also the printing block prepared under the Fifth Dalai Lama. Derge (henceforth: D1 for its transcription of Sanskrit text in Tibetan script and D2 for the Tibetan translation in Derge-Tanjur, *ke* 1b–366a and *khe* 1b–329a) and Cone include bilingual editions. So does the woodblock prepared under the Fifth Dalai Lama. These editions belong to Straube's hypo-archetype δ . The others, which belong to Straube's hypo-archetype β , only contain the Tibetan translation.⁴

Until now, six Sanskrit manuscripts (henceforth Mss.) are known to be extant: (1) Ms. A, at Cambridge University Library (Add. 1306, henceforth: A); (2) Ms. B, at the same library (Add. 913, henceforth: B); (3) Ms. E, at the National Archives of Nepal (reel No. B 95/5); (4) Ms. H, at the Library of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta (Hudgson Collection, B. 15); (5) Ms. F, at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (No. 8);⁵ (6) and a Ms. at the Kesar Library, Kathmandu (Kesar 519).⁶

All the above-mentioned Mss. are divided into two parts. *Pallavas* 1-49 correspond to the first part, while *pallava* 50 is the first chapter of the second part. E, H, F lack the first part. A and B preserve *pallavas* 41 to 49. B and F preserve the second part, but are incomplete (Straube 2006: 60–69; 2009: 10–11).

Two other Mss. of Av-klp have been found at Drepung (Tibetan: 'Bras spungs) Monastery. Luo, in his catalogue, gives us a brief description of one box of Mss. (213 leaves) preserved at that monastery, which includes thirteen texts Luo (1984: 126–135). However, the Av-klp is not mentioned there. Following Straube's (2006: 60–68) model, I provide detailed descriptions of both Mss. below.

Ms. C1

Possessor: Drepung Monastery (ZX0675-ZB 38). Material: Palm leaf. Size: 33 × 5.5 cm. Script: Old Newārī. Number of lines per page: 7. Number of folios: 296 (complete).

Pagination: On the *verso* page of each folio, there are three pagination marks. Pagination mark 1, on the left edge in 'letter-numerals',⁷ is written in the same ink and

⁴ For his hypo-archetypes, cf. Straube (2006: 90–92; 2009: 18).

⁵ For detailed descriptions of Mss. A, B, E, H, cf. Straube (2006: 60-69). For a description of Ms. F, cf. Filliozat (1941: 4-5) and Straube (2009: 10-11).
 ⁶ According to Martin Straube, this Ms. contains 13 folios of the 108th *pallava*, and has been

⁶ According to Martin Straube, this Ms. contains 13 folios of the 108th *pallava*, and has been double filmed. One of the films is reel No. C48/9, and the other one is C 104/10 (email communication on 27 May 2018).

⁷ I follow Bendall's terminology (1992: liii).

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handwriting style as the main text. Pagination mark 2, on the right edge, reflects Hindu-Arabic numbering and a similar Old Newārī style. It was probably written by the same hand. Pagination mark 3, on the right edge beneath pagination 2, written in New Newārī, was probably added by another person in a later period.

Condition of preservation: Apart from the fact that some *akşaras* are beginning to fade (e.g. 83a, 211a, 220a, 256a, 256b, 267a, 268a, 286b, 287a, 290b), the Ms. is still in acceptable condition. On several pages, neighbouring pages in particular, the ink has become blurred. The *akşaras* there are hardly legible (e.g. 55a, 76a, 199b, 216a, 220b, 233b, 234a, 264b, 275b, 276a, 278b). Almost all titles of the *pallavas* are marked in red.

Glosses/correction (*tippana*): Sometimes after a verse, the scribe identified figures of speech (*alamkāra*) according to *Alamkāraśāstra*. Later, scribes or perhaps common readers marked these terms in red, providing glosses with Tibetan counterparts. These glosses appear on the blank areas near the Sanskrit terms.⁸ Occasionally, the words in the main text also present glosses, such as on 282a and 284a.⁹ In the upper, lower or right margin of the Ms., one may find scribal corrections. Also, a later person wrote some *akṣaras* either in a script close to Devanāgarī or in Tibetan script. This person did so in order to transcribe these *akṣaras*' old script into a more familiar script. Additionally, there are some interlinear comments or notes. Assumedly, people who studied the text produced these notes,¹⁰ which reflect four hands,¹¹ being two in red ink,¹² and two in black ink.¹³ Comparing the bilingual Sanskrit–Tibetan glosses on the first page in a Nepalese Ms. of the *Ratnaśrīțīkā* (NAK Acc. No.: 1/468), the first red note presents a ductus similar to the one in that Ms., i.e., it consists in a possible autograph by Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan himself.¹⁴

Punctuation: Relatively regular, with one single *danda* after each half verse and a double *danda* at the end of the verse. At times, a verse number is added between two double *danda*s.

⁸ For example: (134a7) arthāntaranyāsah is glossed as don gzhan bkod pa below, cf. Kāvyādarśa II 166: jñeyah sorthāntaranyāso vastu prastutya kiñcana | tatsādhanasamarthasya nyāso yonyasya vastunah || and Tibetan translation: gang zhig dngos 'ga' rab bkod nas | de yi sgrub byed nus pa can | dngos po gzhan dag 'god pa de | **don gzhan bkod par** zhes par bya ||.

⁹ Straube (2009: 22) assumes that Zha lu lotsawa may have only provided glosses in the margins of a Sanskrit Ms. instead of a new copy of a Sanskrit Ms.

¹⁰ For example: (99b, above) *dmar chen gnyis po'i bar gyi snyad 'dod bod dpe la mi snang ngo*, 'between the two big red [marks] the simile in the Tibetan text with wrong intention does not appear'. Does "the two big red [marks]' indicate the two terms marked with red in the previous page, i.e. (99a4) *śleşaḥ* and (99a7) *upamā*?

¹¹ I am not sure if one of them wrote the glosses, too.

¹² 29a above, 31a above, 58a below, 71a below and 99b above by one hand (red 1), and ¹38a above and 187b below by one hand (red 2).

¹³ 287b below and 293a above by one hand (black 1), and 282a above & below, 283b below and 284a above by another hand (black 2).

¹⁴ The possibility that Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan left his autograph on the first page in a Ms. of Ratnaśrīţīkā was suggested by Dimitrov (2006: 6) who identified the interline notes in red with another 'autograph' by Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (personal communication, in November 2017).

Dating: 1169 C.E. or shortly before/after 1269 C.E.

Content: (1) Av-klp 1–107 (1b1–281b7); (2) Somendra's prologue (281b7–282b6); (3) Av-klp 108 (282b6–291b1; (4) Somendra's epilogue (291b1–292a4); (5) Somendra's list of contents (292a4–294a1); (6) *pranidhāna* (294a1–5); (7) colophon (294a5–7).

Beginning:

(1b1)namah śrīlokanāthāya || cittam yasya sphațikavimalam naiva grhņāti rāgam kāruņyārdre manasi nikhilāh śositā yena dosāh | akrodhena svayam abhihato yena samsāraśatruh sarvvajño sau bhavatu bhavatām śreyase ni(b2)ścalāya ||

Colophon:

(294a5) deyadharmmo (a6) $\langle \rangle$ yam pravaramahāyānayāyinah sakalatathāgat{{ā}}akrtānugrahasya mahācīnadešīyaśākyabhikṣuśrīmatirājasya yad atra || || puņyam tat* bhavatv ācāryopadhyāyamātāpitrpūrvvagammam krtvā sakalasa(a7)tvarāśe{{h śukha}}r anuttarajñānaphalāvāptaya iti || śūnyam grahaś ca bāhuś ca samvad yayau tadā {{dya}} māghasitetarapañcamadavase (°*davase* is scribal error for °*divase*) yad alekhi mādhavo nityam sarvvasatvārthahetunā || || namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṅghāya.

"'This is Śākyabhikşu Śrīmatirāja's religious gift; he is from *mahācīna*¹⁵, the follower of the eminent Mahāyāna [, and has received] favors from all Tathāgatas. Having placed the master, teacher, mother and father in the foreground, the entire group of living beings will obtain the merit, which [is created] here, in order to obtain the fruit of the highest knowledge.' On the fifth day of the black [half] of the winter month in the lapsed year 290 (= 1169 C.E.)¹⁶, this manuscript, which Mādhava has copied, is [dedicated] to the eternal wellbeing of all living beings. Pay homage to the Buddha, the Dharma and the monk community!"

On the penultimate inscribed page (294b) there is a line written in minute Tibetan *dbu med* script:

paṇția (scribal error for paṇḍita) dge ba'i dbang pos le'u brgya dang bdun mdzad do | dpag bsam 'khri shing le'u brgya dang brgyad yod pa las le'u brgyad pa 'di zla ba'i dbang pos mdzad do |

'Pandita Ksemendra composed 107 chapters. Since the Av-klp has 108 chapters, the 108th chapter is composed by Somendra.'

Furthermore, after a blank leaf (295), there is a leaf (296) whose *recto* side is inscribed while the *verso* is blank. On the *recto* page lines 1 and 3, there are three and a half verses from Dandin's $K\bar{a}vy\bar{a}darsa$ (II 4–7ab) transcribed in Tibetan script, with the corresponding Tibetan translation in lines 2 and 4. Besides these, there are occasional glosses in red ink. All these are in *dbu med*. The words in the Tibetan translation are

¹⁵ Mahācīna is rendered as dbus gtsang in Tibetan, cf. Roesler (2018: 361 and Note 37).

 $^{^{16}}$ I am in debt to Christopher Minkowski (Oxford) and Michael Witzel (Harvard) who helped me to calculate the date.

divided with numbering beneath into word unities, which are linked with red dotted lines to their respective counterparts in the Sanskrit text. According to the extant versions, both texts, Sanskrit and Tibetan, have scribal errors and a little different wording.¹⁷ However, the 7th verse stops at Pāda-b; the rest of it cannot be found on the *verso* page. It is difficult to say whether this folio was inserted into the Av-klp by mistake.

Ms. C2

Possessor: Drepung Monastery (ZX0650-ZB 22). **Material:** palm leaf. **Size:** 33.5×6.1 cm. **Script:** Old Newārī.¹⁸ **Number of lines per page:** 5.¹⁹ **Number of folios:** 230.

Pagination: The right edge of the Ms shows only Hindu-Arabic numbering. It is in the same style as that in the main text and is similar to the numbering 2 in C1. However, on 132b, the pagination mark repeats the number '131'. Therefore, from folio 132 to 230, the page number is always wrong, since the corresponding number is one unit smaller than the correct number.

Condition of preservation: The Ms. shows an excellent state of preservation. The *akṣara*s are clear. Almost all titles of the *pallavas* are marked in red.

Glosses/correction (*tippana*): The scribe made some corrections in both the upper and the lower margins of the Ms. However, a later person also wrote some *akṣaras* in a script close to Devanāgarī in order to decipher the corresponding old styled *akṣaras* in the text. Unlike C1, this text has no annotations. The text presents almost no glosses, except for 209b–210b, which has many glosses and a verse in Tibetan in the form of notes.²⁰

Punctuation: Relatively regular, with one single *danda* after each half verse and a double *danda* at the end of the verse. Only at times, a verse number is added between two double *dandas*.

¹⁷ The Tibetan text here has the same peculiar readings as in Cone- (C) and Derge-Tanjur (D), against these in Ganden- (G), Narthang- (N) and Peking-Tanjur (P), like, *ldog pa can dang srid pa can* CD vs. *ldog pa can dang srid pa dang* GNP (II 4d) and *lhan cig brjod dang yongs brjes shis* CD and *lhan cig brjod dang yongs brjes smon* GNP (II 7a). For these five Tanjur editions, cf. https://www.tbrc.org/.

¹⁸ It has the same ductus as that of C1.

¹⁹ In each above and below margin of 5b, below margin of 153a, and below margin of 170a, a line is added.

²⁰ It is noteworthy that there is a verse-citation from the Tibetan translation of the 108th *avadāna* on the upper margin of 210*a, *skabs der tsandan 'khri shing rlung gzhon gyis* | *bskyod cing shugs ring glal ba bsten rnams la* | 'dod pa'i grogs por gyur pa dpyid kyi ni | mngon par 'dod pa'i spyod tshul rab tu bstan |. This corresponds to the 14th verse of the Sanskrit version (210*a3): atrāntare candanavallarīņām dide\Sa vālānilalolitānām | ucchrasinīnām abhilāṣavṛttam jṛmbhājuṣām kāmasuhṛdvasantaḥ ||. The latter is marked with a cross in the Ms. This means a reader checked or compared this verse in the Ms. with its translation.

Dating: 1269 C.E.

Content: (1) Av-klp 48–107 (1b1–208*a1); (2) Somendra's prologue (208*a1–209*a5); (3) Av-klp 108 (209*a5–222b*4); (4) Somendra's epilogue (222b*4–224*a4); (5) Somendra's list of contents (224a*4–226b*5; (6) *pranidhāna* (226b*5–227*a5);²¹ (7) colophon (227*a5–b2).

Beginning:

(1b1) namo lokanāthāya || svārthapravrttau vigatasprhrāņām paropakāre satatodyatānām | kleśesv abhītāvyasanair anītā vighnair apīdākaram eti siddhih ||

Colophon:

(227*a5) *deyadharmmo (')yam pra(b1)varamahāyānayāyinah sakalatathāgataśāsanāmṛtasārasya bhoṭadeśīyaśākyabhikṣuśrīvajradhvajasya yad atra punyam tat* bhavatv ācāryopādhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvvam gamam kṛtvā sakala(b2)satvaraśer anuttaraphalāvāptaya iti || samvat(*) 389 caitrapañcamyām tithau likhitam idam mādhaveneti || śubham astu sarvvajagatām iti ||

'This is a religious gift from Śākyabhikşu Śrīvajradhvaja²² from Bhota,²³ who is a follower of the eminent Mahāyāna [, and has received] the essence of ambrosia from the instruction of all the Tathāgatas! Having placed the master, teacher, mother and father in the foreground, the entire group of living beings, will have the merit, which [is created] here, in order to obtain the highest fruit. On the 5th day of the second spring month in the year 389 (= 1269 C.E.), this is copied by Mādhava. May all beings have auspiciousness.'

On 230*a, there is a line in Tibetan dbu med script:

'di ni rgya dpe cig shos mchog tu dag pa'i khyad 'phags |

'This is the other Indian manuscript, which [contains] the excellence of foremost correctness.'

According to the above information, Mādhava copied two Mss. One of these (C1) had a template whose dating can be traced back to 1169 C.E. Mādhava probably did not alter the text, but he did replace the previous scribe's name with his own (cf. Bendall 1992: xviii–xix). In 1269 C.E., a Tibetan monk—or even more likely, Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan himself—commissioned the other Ms. (C2). The colophon of the second version was carefully prepared and does not reveal any information about its template. Both versions are earlier than the oldest Ms. (A), found outside Tibet.

²¹ There is one more verse: anena saddharmmarasāmŗtena sarvvajñavaktrād bhavaśītalena | kleśānalaprajvālitāturasya lokasya duḥkhapraśamo (')stu nityam iti ||.

 22 This name can be reconstructed into Tibetan as 'Rdo rje rgyal mtshan', which is identical to one of the translators, Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan. Coincidently, in the colophon of another Sanskrit Ms., *Catulistotravivarana*, his Sanskrit name is also attested. According to Ye (2011: 175), this Ms. was copied between 1260 and 1269 C.E. However, the Tibetan translation of this text has left no trace in Tibet (cf. Luo 1985: 41–42; Ye 2011: 175–176).

²³ In medieval Nepal (8th–15th century), Bhota can indicate either Tibet or Banepa (cf. Petech 1984: 27–28). According to Roesler (2018: 361), *'bhota* was an umbrella term for ethnically Tibetan people'.

A Ms. of the Av-klp could have either been copied in its entirety,²⁴ or divided into two parts. In the latter case, the division may have taken place either before the 50th *pallava*, as Straube (2006: 60–69) saw, or elsewhere. For instance, it could take place at the beginning of the 48th *pallava*, since the short homage phrase²⁵ is only found there. As in the Tibetan transcription of the Sanskrit text (D1) and the Tibetan translation (D2), C1 contains *pallava* 10, *Garbhāvakrāntideśanā*(*vadāna*),²⁶ while we do not find the *Şaddantāvadāna* in either of the two Mss.²⁷ Based on the dating of the Mss., it is possible that C1 and C2 could have been used in translation, redactions and transcription. Due to its better condition of legibility, C2 may have been used more frequently than C1 during some period. This might explain how the first part of C2 became lost.²⁸

Comparing C1 and C2 with the Tibetan translation and transcription in the framework of the *pallava*-endings and the prologue can help us to determine whether one or both Mss. were used in the translation and transcription process.

As we know, each *pallava* ends with a formulaic sentence, like *iti kşemendra-viracitāyām bodhisatvāvadānakalpalatāyām* [a title]-*avadānam* [an ordinal number] *pallavaḥ*. Here are alternative expressions, which trace back to scribal error or to a scribe's arbitrary decision.

6. Badaradvīpayātra

- C1: (29b3) iti kşemendraviracitāyām bodhisatvāvadānamālāyā (m)²⁹ kalpalatāyām badaradvīpayātrā şaştah pallavah
- D1:³⁰ (*ke* 70b1) iti kşe(b3)mendraviracitāyām bodhisatvāvadānakalpalatāyām badaradvīpayātrā sastah pallavah
- D2: (70b2) zhes pa dge ba'i (b4) dbang pos byas pa'i byang chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi 'khri shing las ba da ra'i gling du 'gro ba'i yal 'dab ste drug pa'o
- 13. Hārītikadamana
- C1: (56a2) hārītakādamanāvadānam
- D1: (132a5) hārītakādamanāvadānam
- D2: (132a6) 'phrog ma'i rtogs pa brjod gro ba'i

²⁴ Until the colophon, we do not find any other short beginning homage phrase.

²⁵ 1b1: *namo lokanāthāya*.

²⁶ 40b4, I am not convinced by de Jong's (1977: 28 ff) hypothesis concerning why this *pallava* has been placed after *pallava* 9.

²⁷ However, as in the other codices, *Şaddantāvadāna* as *pallava* 49 exists in Somendra's list of C1 and C2, and *Garbhāvakrāntideśanāvadāna* does not.

²⁸ We cannot rule out the possibility that C2 is only a partial copy of the whole Av-klp commissioned by Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan.

²⁹ This designation, *avadānamālā*, appears twice in C1 (here and 15b6–7, Av-klp 3) and three times in C2 (32a5, Av-klp 54, 40b1, Av-klp 58 and 189*a3, Av-klp 95).

³⁰ Instead of Romanising the Tibetan transcription, I transliterate it to make the comparison distinct.

- 45. Ajātaśatrupitrdroha
- C1: (146b7) ajātaśatrupitrdohaº
- D1: (342a5) ajātaśatrupitrdroha°
- D2: (342a6) ma skye dgras pha bsad pa

54. Sattvauşadha

- C1: (172a6) satvauṣadho nāmāvadānam
- C2: (khe 32a5) satvauşadho nāmāvadānam
- D1: (36b5) satvauṣadho (b7) nāmāvadānam
- D2: (36b6) sems (b8) can sman zhes bya ba'i rtogs pa brjod pa
- 56. Gopālanāgadamana
- C1: (175b6) gopālanāgadamanam sat*pamcāśah pallavah
- C2: (37b1) go(b2)pālanāgadamanāvadānam sat*pamcāśah pallavah
- D1: (45a5) gopālanāgadamanam sastpañcaśah pallavah
- D2: (45a6) klu ba lang skyon btul ba'i *rtogs pa brjod pa'i* yal 'dab ste lnga bcu rtsa drug pa'o

58. Puņyabala

- C1: (177b5) puņyavalāvadānam nāma°
- C2: (40b1) puņyavalāvadānam nāma°
- D1: (47a1) puņyavalāvadānam nāma°
- D2: (47a2) bsod nams stobs kyi rtogs pa brjod pa

74. prthivīpradāna

- C1: (229b3) prthivīpradāna(m) (b4) catuhsaptatitamah pallavah
- C2: (121b2) prthivīpradānāvadānam catuhsaptati(ta)mah pallavah
- D1: (167b3) prthivīpradānam catuhsaptatitamah pallavah
- D2: (167b4) sa gzhi phul ba'i rtogs pa brjod pa'i yal 'dab ste bdun cu tsa bzhi pa'o

82. Nārakapūrvika

- C1: (241b2) pallavah
- C2: (145*a3) without pallavah
- D1: (196a1) pallavah
- D2: (196a2) yal 'dab ste

83. Rāhulakarmapluti

- C1: (242b7) rāhulakarmmapluty
- C2: (147*a) rāhula*pūrvva*karmmapluty

- D1: (199a1) rāhulakarmmapluty
- D2: (199a2) sgra gcan 'dzin³¹

89. Dharmaruci

- C1: (258b7) dharmmarucyavadānam ekān navatitamah pallavah samāptah
- C2: (171*b1) dharmmarucyavadānam ekān navatitamah pallavah
- D1: (236b5) dharmmarucyavadānam ekān navatitamah pallavah
- D2: (236b6) chos sred kyi rtogs pa brjod pa'i yal 'dab ste brgyad cu rtsa dgu ba'o

92. Maitrakanyakā

- C1: (264a1) maitryakanyakā
- C2: (186*b) maitrakanyakā
- D1: (248b1) maitryakanyakā
- D2: (248b2) mdza' bo'i bu mo
- 100. Puņyaprabhāsa
- C1: (273b1) punah prabhāsāvadānam
- C2: (194*b3) puŋyaprabhāsāvadānam
- D1: (270b5) puņyaķ prabhāsāvadāna
- D2: (270b6) bsod nams rab gsal gyi rtogs pa brjod pa

105. Raivata

- C1: (279b5) rivatāvadānam
- C2: (204*b2) raivatāvadānam
- D1: (285b3) raivatāvadānam
- D2: (285b4) rai ba ta'i rtogs pa brjod pa

106. Kanakavarmā

- C1: (280b6) kanakavarmmāvadāna (m)
- C2: (206*a2) kanakavarmmāvadānam
- D1: (288a1) kanakavarmmāvadāna (m)
- D2: (288a2) gser gyi go cha'i rtogs pa brjod pa

Here, the Tibetan translation largely follows C2, only two of its passages conform to C1 (*pallava* 6 and 54). The Tibetan transcription is mostly drawn from C1. It is safe to argue that the Tibetan translation is based on one or more Sanskrit Ms(s), but there are already several redactions made after the translation had been finished. Therefore, almost all the variations in such formulaic expressions have been eliminated. There

³¹ It can be reconstructed as $r\bar{a}hulaka$, i.e. the 83rd title in Somendra's list of contents.

are several examples reflecting the detailed relationship between C1, C2, the Tibetan transcription, and the translation.

In Somendra's prologue:

netrāmṛtapracitalepyamayī babhūva buddhāvadānavividhādbhutakalpavallī || 1cd

c: netrāmŗtapracitalepyamayī A, B, C1, C2, D1] mig gi bdud rtsi rab skyed yi ge'i rang bzhin = *netrāmŗtaprabhavalekhyamayī D2, citrāmŗtapracitalekhyamayī Das.³²

somendranāmā tanayo 'tha tasya kavicchannakkāparanāmadheyah | 4ab

- b: kavicchannakkāparaº A^{pc}, C1, C2] kavicchannakkāparāº D1, ming gzhan nā ko ... mkhan D2, kavir nākāparāº de Jong, kavir niruddhāparaº A^{ac}, B, Das.
 bandhaḥ keralakāminīkucabharākāraḥ paraṃ saṃhataḥ kāñcīkāntakapolakomalataraḥ ko 'pi prasādodayaḥ | kārṇādīnayanacchaṭā paricitā karṇāntarāsaṅginī bhaṅgiryasya taraṅgiņī rasanidher vāndyaḥ sa sūktodadhiḥ || 5
- a: °*kuca*°A, B, C1, Das] *kaca*° D1, *skra* D2°, °*kara*° C2.
- b: kāñcī° A, B, C1] kerī° C2, D2, kāmrī D1, kāñjī° Das.
 umkārāt kuţilatvam eva paramam yaih śiksitam nāparam yesām svastipadam kadācid api na spastam mukhān nirgatam | 6ab
- a: nāparam A, C2, D1] cāparam B, gzhan pa yin D2, om. C1, līlayā Das.
- b: yeşām A, B, C1, C2, D1] yasya Das, gang gi D2. samsārorupariśramasya dadhatah kāmāsavakşībatām roham mohatamo nimīlitadršah suptasya luptasmrteh | samnaddham jagatah prabodhanavidhau nihšeşadoşāpaham bhāsvantam bhagavantam eva satatam buddham prabuddham namah || 8
- a: ^osava^o C1, C2, chang D2] ^ovaśa^o A, B, ^opava^o D1.
- b: roham moha^o C2] rohanmoha^o A, B, rohasmāha^o C1, mohasmāha^o D1, gti mug rgyas pa D2; lupta^o A, C1, C2, D1, nyams pa D2] supta^o B.
- c: samnaddham jagatah prabodhanavidhau C1, C2, D1] illegible A, sambuddham kramatah prabodhanaparam B, 'gro ba rab tu rtogs par sgrub la chas shing = *sādhanam jagatah prabodhanavidhau D2. ānandabandhum asakrt prthumānasānām sūktāmsubhir vihitasarvamukhopadesam | kşemendram ujjvalanijābhijanābdhicandram kīrttiprakāsajanakam janakam namāmi || 9
- b: sūktā° C1, C2, D1, legs bshad D2] śuddhā° A, B; °sarva° A, B, C2, D2] °sarvve° C1, D1.
- c: kṣemendram ujjvalanijā^o C1, C2, D1] illegible A, kṣemendrasamjam aniśam B, dri med ... dge ba'i dbang = *kṣemendram aniśam D2.

³² The reference to Ms. A and Ms. B is based on de Jong (1979), but I have also compared his reported readings with the manuscripts; de Jong for de Jong (1979), Das for Das (1888–1913).

vākpākapāvananidhānajināvadānanirmānapunvakalanākuśalābhivoge | 10ab

- a: *°nidhāna*° C1, C2, D1, *gter* D2] [°]*vidhāna*° A, B, Das. sarasvatī tūlikayā vicitravarņakramair ullikhitāvadānah | 12ab
- a: sarasvatī A, B, C1, C2, dbyangs can D2] saratī D1.
- b: varņa° A, B, C2, D1, D2] karņa° C1; ullikhitā° A, C1, C2, D1, bris D2] saņkalitā° B, Das. dikşu pratişthāpitapustapālī-

sthiraprasaktapratimāgaņasya || 13cd

- c: °*pustapālī*° A, B, C1, C2, *po ti` 'phreng ba* D2] °*pustakālī*° D1, °*puṣpapālī*° Das. mādhuryadhuryam amṛtaṃ śrutiśuktipeyam āmodasadmamukhapadmapade dhyanantīm | 15ab
- a: śrutiśuktipeyam A, C1, C2, D1] śrutisūktipeyam B; thos pa'i skyogs³³ kyis btung bya'i D2, śrutipātrapeyam Das.
- b: āmodasadma^o A, B, C1, dri bzang khang pa D2] ātmadasadma^o C2, āmodapadma^o D1.

Some variations are merely caused by misreading, e.g., *u* to *a*, *c* to *r*, *sa* to *pa*, *m* to *s*, etc.

These examples, however, do not allow one to conclude whether the translators or earlier redactors had access to these two Mss. or to another lost Ms.³⁴

In the colophon of the hypo-archetype δ of the Tibetan translation, there are two puzzling sentences between the paragraph about the translation by Laksmīkara and Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal and the paragraph about the bilingual edition by Zha lu lotsawa:

"(1) In the glorious monastery of Sa-skya the revision was accomplished, after [the translation] was carefully compared with a Sanskrit manuscript. (2) Since an accurate great revision for the two languages was accomplished, [*this*] is distinctly superior over the other."³⁵

³³ However, *śukti*, 'shell', can also serve as a ladle.

³⁴ In order to draw an ultimate conclusion and add these two Mss. into Straube's *stemma codicum* (Straube 2006: 73–87; 2009: 12), we have to go through more *avadānas* from the whole codices.

codices. ³⁵ Translated from Straube's German translation, cf. Straube (2009: 21, Note 2). For the Tibetan text, cf. Mejor (1992: 65): *dpal sa skya'i gtsug lag khang du rgya dpe dang <u>gtugs nas</u> zhu dag tshar bar byas so || skad gnyis ka la zhu chen zhib pa cig grub pas gzhan las khyad du 'phags so ||. Zha lu lotsawa's bilingual edition is mentioned Subsequently: rgyal ba'i rtogs brjod snyan ngag chen po dpag bsam 'khri shing zhes bya'i bstan bcos skad gnyis zung du sbyar ba 'dir || yi ge pa dang dag byed pa yi skyon las yig 'bru lhag chad brda nor 'khrul ba ji snyed mchis pa rnams || 'di yi skad gnyis zung sbyar thog mar byed po 'jig rten mig gyur chos skyong bzang po zhes bya'i dge slong gis || legs sbyar gzhung dang sdeb sbyor bstan bcos bod skad brda yi bstan bcos dang bstun blo gros zhib mos dag par byis ||.*

Mejor (1992: 65) builds an independent paragraph with these two sentences and interprets that this revision is that one sponsored by Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan in the 14th century.³⁶ Since the name of Ta'i si tu does not appear in the hypo-archetype δ , and the long praise in the hypo-archetype β looks like a later insertion, Mejor's interpretation remains difficult to accept.

Straube (2009: 20, Note 4) finds the phrase *rgya dpe dang <u>gtugs nas</u>* puzzling and assumes that this Sanskrit Ms. must be another version, not the edition on which the translation relied. However, he notes that the text in the colophon of his hypoarchetype δ and *dkar chag* of Derge-Tanjur³⁷ make the meaning clearer, and distributes sentence ① to the prior paragraph, i.e. record of Lakşmīkara and Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal, and sentence ② to the following paragraph, i.e. record of Zha lu lotsawa. For sentence ①, he assumes that possibly Lakşmīkara and Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal used an additional Sanskrit Ms. for their translation and proof-text (Straube 2009: 20). For sentence ②, he regards that the added sentence component, *this*, is the version prepared by Zha lu lotsawa (Straube 2009: 21, Note 2).

Since we have evidence that there are two Mss. and that there were possibly more than two Mss., one or some of them may have been copied in Nepal under Shong ton Rdo rje rgyal mtshan's request³⁸ for the purpose of translation or, possibly, also for the purpose of the first redaction in the Sa-skya Monastery taking place just after the translation. It is reasonable that both sentences ① and ② belong to the prior paragraph, which is about Lakşmīkara and Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal's translation.³⁹ If so, it could support Straube's assumption, and we could interpret that *this* manuscript was superior over the other manuscripts. However, it is not impossible that Shong ton Rdo rje rgyal mtshan did not use C2, even though he let the scribe put his name in the colophon.⁴⁰

According to *Deb ther sngon po*, Shong ton Rdo rje rgyal mtshan was encouraged by 'Phags pa to study Sanskrit poetics and grammar in India, when the latter returned to Tibet from the Mongolian court. Then he spent five years in Nepal for study (Roerich 1976: 784–785). Since 'Phags pa himself was at the Sa-skya Monastery from 1265 to 1267 (Petech 1990: 18 and Note 52), their first meeting must have occurred in this period. It then seems reasonable to conjecture that Shong ton Rdo rje rgyal mtshan obtained C2 in 1269 or a third Ms., for the purpose of translation or

³⁶ Probably his interpretation was based on the colophon of the hypo-archetype β of the Tibetan translation, in which sentence ① remains and sentence ② is replaced by a long praise for the sponsorship of Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan. For the Tibetan text, cf. Mejor (1992: 86ff).

³⁷ Straube (2009: 21, Note 2): dpal sa skya'i gtsug lag khang du rgya dpe dang <u>legs par</u> <u>gtugs nas</u> skad gnyis ka'i cha ma la zhu chen zhib pa cig grub pas gzhan las khyad du 'phags pa | <u>slar yang</u> 'di'i skad gnyis zhung du sbyar ba la | 'jig rten gyi mig tu gyur pa'i zha lu lotsā ba chos skyong bzang po legs par sbyar ba'i skad yi gzung la sogs pa dang bstun te | zhu chen mdzad pa bzhugs so ||.

³⁸ Cf. Note 22.

³⁹ The text in *dkar chag* of Derge-Tanjur has one more word, *slar yang* 'afterwards', and the paragraph about Zha lu lotsawa can then begin after this word. Cf. Note 37.

⁴⁰ He commissioned another Ms., *Catulistotravivarana*. This text is regarded as one of the Sanskrit texts that have never been translated into Tibetan, cf. Note 22.

redaction. From 1276 to 1280, 'Phags pa spent the rest of his life in Tibet at the Saskya Monastery where he saw this translation by Shong ton Rdo rje rgyal mtshan. According to these historical considerations, the period when this translation task took place can be narrowed to 1265-1280.⁴¹

Finally, in any case, we cannot connect both sentences ① and ② to the paragraph about Zha lu lotsawa. According to the biography of Zha lu lotsawa, he had never been to the Sa-skya Monastery, but had a good relationship with the Sa-skya school. So, it is likely that he did not prepare the bilingual version there, but rather got one or two Ms(s)., a little more likely C1, from the Sa-skya Monastery.⁴²

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⁴¹ Dimitrov's (2002: 45, Note 185) dating, ca. 1270–1275, relies on the same historical record.

⁴² Cf. an English summary of his biography at https://treasuryoflives.org/bo/biographies/ view/ChokyongZangpo/11285.

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