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- CARMEN DRAGONETTI  
Marginal Note on the Idealistic Conception  
of *citta-mātra* 165
- JOHN KIESCHNICK  
Blood Writing in Chinese Buddhism 177
- KLAUS-DIETER MATHES  
Tāranātha's Presentation of *trīsvabhāva*  
in the *gĪan stoṅ sñiṅ po* 195
- SARA McCLINTOCK  
Knowing All through Knowing One:  
Mystical Communion or Logical Trick  
in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* 225
- LINDA PENKOWER  
In the Beginning ... Guanding 灌頂 (561-632)  
and the Creation of Early Tiantai 245
- PETER SKILLING  
Vasubandhu and the *Vyākhyāyukti* Literature 297
- The XIIIth Conference of the International  
Association of Buddhist Studies,  
Bangkok 8-13 December 2002  
First circular 351

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### Vasubandhu and the *Vyākhyāyukti* Literature

Justly famed for his *Abhidharmakośa*, for his *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, and other works, Vasubandhu looms large in the history of Indian Buddhism. But despite his fame one of his most important works is scarcely known to modern scholarship. This is the *Vyākhyāyukti*, or “*Principles of Exegesis*”, preserved in Tibetan translation. The work was enormously influential, both in India and Tibet. Its importance in India may be seen, for example, in the *Nibandhana* on the *Arthaviniścayasūtra* composed by Vīryaśrīdatta at Nālandā during the reign of Dharmapāla (later half of the eighth century), or in the work of Vīryaśrīdatta’s contemporary Haribhadra. At the same time the *Vyākhyāyukti* played a key role in the formulation of the theoretical principles adopted for the great task of translating Indian texts from Sanskrit into Tibetan, as attested by the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* (*Madhyavyutpatti*). The earliest manuscript witnesses of the *Vyākhyāyukti* are in the collections of Dunhuang (ca. 9th-11th century) and Tabo (ca. 11th-13th century). In Tibet its continued influence may be seen in the *Entrance Gate for the Wise* (*mKhas pa ’jug pa’i sgo*) composed by Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251/2), in Bu-ston’s *History of Buddhism* (*Chos ’byuñ*, composed in 1321), and in written and oral teachings up to the present day.

#### I. *The Problem of Authorship: The Works of Vasubandhu the Kośakāra*

Numerous works are attributed to a Vasubandhu in the colophons of Sanskrit manuscripts, in Tibetan and Chinese translation, or by historical traditions.<sup>1</sup> Debate continues as to whether Vasubandhu the Kośakāra –

References to the Pāli canon are to the editions of the Pali Text Society. References to the Pāli commentaries are to Nālandā or Mahāmakūṭa editions, as specified. P = Daisetz T. Suzuki (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*, Tokyo-Kyoto (“Otani Reprint”). BST = Buddhist Sanskrit Text Series, Mithila Institute, Darbhanga. Sigla and references for the *Vyākhyāyukti* texts are given in Appendix 8. I am grateful to Cristina Scherrer-Schaub and Christoph Cüppers for their valuable comments.

1. See Hajime NAKAMURA, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Tokyo 1980, pp. 268-73 for a list, with detailed bibliography, of works attributed to Vasubandhu.

the author of the *Abhidharmakośa* – later “converted” to the Mahāyāna, and composed the Vijñaptivādin and Mahāyāna works ascribed to him by tradition, or whether the latter were composed by another, earlier Vasubandhu.<sup>2</sup> I do not intend here to rehearse the theses and counter-theses that have been proposed, or to discuss all of the works attributed to Vasubandhu, or to wrestle with the problem of his date. Rather, I will only deal with a group of twelve works for which I believe there to be sufficient internal or external evidence to assert that they were composed by the Kośakāra. I use two main criteria. The first is cross-references in the works of Vasubandhu himself or those of his commentators. These establish that the works are related: that they were known to and accepted by Vasubandhu, or held by representatives of his lineage to be his own compositions. The second criterion is style. Vasubandhu’s prose style is distinctive: it is confident and learned, replete with citations and allusions to canonical and other literature, and to the opinions of different teachers or schools. It often employs debate: an “opponent” raises an objection, which is resolved through recourse to reasoning or scripture. Vasubandhu’s prose cannot be mistaken for that of, say, Asaṅga or Candrakīrti. His verse is terse: compact, concise, mnemonic,

2. See E. FRAUWALLNER, *On the Date of the Buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu*, Rome 1951, which gives an extensive bibliography of earlier studies; Padmanabh S. JAINI: “On the Theory of the Two Vasubandhus,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XXI.1 (London 1958), pp. 48-53; Alex WAYMAN: *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1961, pp. 19-24; N. AIYASWAMI Sastrin: *Viṃśatikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhiḥ*, Gangtok 1964, pp. ii-vi; A.K. WARDER: *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi 1970, pp. 444-47; Akira HIRAKAWA in collaboration with Shunei HIRAI, So TAKAHASHI, Noriaki HAKAMAYA, Giei YOSHIZU: *Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (P. Pradhan Edition)*, Part One, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese, Tokyo 1973, Introduction; Jean DANTINNE: *Le Traité des Cinq Agrégats*, Brussels 1980, pp. xiii-xviii; NAKAMURA, *loc. cit.*; Thomas A. KOCHUMUTTOM: *A Buddhist Doctrine of Experience*, Delhi 1982, pp. xi-xiv; Stefan ANACKER: *Seven Works of Vasubandhu*, Delhi 1984, pp. 1-24; Roger J. CORLESS: “On the Continuity of Vasubandhu’s Thought: A Suggestion from the Continuity of Wittgenstein’s Thought,” in N.H. SAMTANI (ed.), *Amalā Prajñā: Aspects of Buddhist Studies* (Professor P.V. Bapat Felicitation Volume), Delhi 1989, pp. 455-62; Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA: “Once Again on the Hypothesis of Two Vasubandhus,” in V.N. JHA (ed.), *Kalyāṇa-mitta: Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume*, Delhi 1991, pp. 15-21; Marek MEJOR: *Vasubandhu’s Abhidharmakośa and the Commentaries preserved in the Tanjur*, Stuttgart 1991 (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien), pp. 1-13.

it could not be mistaken for that of Nāgārjuna or Śāntideva. Applying these criteria I classify the works into two groups:

(1) Works shown to be by the Kośakāra on the evidence of internal cross-references or references by Vasubandhu's commentators, and confirmed by style, sources used, methodology, and development of ideas: the *Vyākhyāyukti*, the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, the *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*, and the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*;

(2) Works that may be accepted as by the Kośakāra on the evidence of style, sources used, methodology, and development of ideas: the *Gāthāsaṃgraha* texts (and their excerpt, the *Ekagāthābhāṣya*), the *Viṃśatikā*, the *Triṃśikā*, and the *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa*.<sup>3</sup>

(1) *Vyākhyāyukti* and (2) *Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata*

The *Vyākhyāyukti* and the *Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata* are interdependent. Without reference to the *Vyākhyāyukti*, the *Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata* is a random collection of brief passages from the scriptures. Without reference to the *Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata*, the *Vyākhyāyukti* is incomplete, since the latter gives the extracts in abbreviation. Given this interdependence, there is no reason to doubt that the two works are indeed by the same author – Vasubandhu, according to the colophons.

External evidence – the evidence of authors within the commentarial tradition of Vasubandhu's works – supports the claim that the Vasubandhu of the *Abhidharmakośa* is that of the *Vyākhyāyukti*. Yaśomitra,

3. That I do not mention other works ascribed to Vasubandhu, such as the commentaries on the *Madhyāntavibhāga* and the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, etc., does not mean that I attribute them to a "second Vasubandhu", but simply that I have not had the leisure to examine them thoroughly. For a proposal that the author of the commentary on the latter was not Vasubandhu but Asaṅga, see Alex WAYMAN, "Doctrinal Affiliation of the Buddhist Master Asaṅga," in *Amalā Prajñā* (see n. 2), pp. 202-03. For a careful assessment of the authorship of the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśaṭīkā*, see Jens BRAARVIG, *Akṣayamatīnirdeśa-sūtra*, Vol. II, *The Tradition of Imperishability in Buddhist Thought*, Oslo 1993, pp. cxvii-cxxx. For the \**Sukhāvātīvyūhopadeśa*, a treatise on the Pure Land attributed to Vasubandhu and preserved only in Chinese, see Minoru KIYOTA, "Buddhist Devotional Meditation: A Study of the *Sukhāvātīvyūhopadeśa*," in Minoru KIYOTA (ed.), *Mahāyāna Buddhist Meditation: Theory and Practice*, Honolulu 1978, pp. 249-96; Jean ERACLE: *Aux sources du Bouddhisme Mahāyāna: Trois sōūtras et un traité sur la Terre Pure*, Geneva 1984, pp. 293-323; Hisao INAGAKI: *Ōjōronchū: T'an-luan's Commentary on Vasubandhu's Discourse on the Pure Land: A Study and Translation*, Kyoto 1998.

in his *Vyākhyā* on the *Abhidharmakośa*, discusses the case taken by the verb *namas-kr*, and states *anenaiva ācāryeṇa vyākhyāyuktau “namas-kṛtya munim mūrḍhnā” iti*.<sup>4</sup> The citation is from line *d* of the first of the opening verses of the *Vyākhyāyukti* (32a1), *thub la spyi bos phyag 'tshal te*. *Anenaiva ācāryeṇa*, “this same master”, refers to Vasubandhu as author of the *Abhidharmakośa*, and credits him with the authorship of the *Vyākhyāyukti*.

Beyond this, Vasubandhu himself refers to the *Vyākhyāyukti* in his *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*:<sup>5</sup>

rnām par bśād pa'i rigs pa las kyañ | deñ sañ mdo sde thams cad ni mi snañ źes  
bsgrubs te.

It has been proven in the *Vyākhyāyukti* that “the complete [corpus] of sūtras is today no longer extant”.

The reference is to *Vyākhyāyukti* 114b1 foll., which deals with “the lost portions of the canon”. While it establishes that Vasubandhu knew the *Vyākhyāyukti* and held it to be authoritative in at least this case, the reference does not absolutely establish common authorship. However, the style of the reference is unusual in Vasubandhu’s works, and to me suggests a cross-reference to one of his own works.<sup>6</sup> In the *Vyākhyāyukti* itself (124b4), Vasubandhu refers back to the same subject with similar phrasing:

sañs rgyas kyi gsuñ mtha' dag ni deñ sañ mi snañ no źes de skad kyañ  
bstan zin to.

That the complete teachings of the Buddha are today no longer extant has already been explained.

4. *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* I 9,12. References to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* are to the editions of P. PRADHAN – *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, Revised second edition, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna 1975 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series VIII) – and Swami DWARIKADAS Shastri, *Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Acharya Vasubandhu with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra*, Bauddha Bharati, 4 vols., Varanasi 1970-73 (Bauddha Bharati Series 5-7, 9). References to the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* are to DWARIKADAS Shastri.
5. Étienne LAMOTTE: “Le Traité de l’Acte de Vasubandhu”, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, Vol. 4, Brussels, July 1936, p. 201,15 (text), p. 252 (translation).
6. Traditional sources ascribe a certain vanity to Vasubandhu, and it strikes me as rather rare for him to refer favourably to another *śāstra* – outside of the canon – as having established anything.

Another of Vasubandhu's works, the *Pratīyasamutpādādivibhaṅga-nirdeśa* (23b2), contains a reference to the *Abhidharmakośa*:

*de dag ji ltar rdzas su yod pa ma yin pa ni chos mñon pa'i mdzod las śes par bya'o.*

How [the *viprayuktasamskāras*] are not substantial entities (*dravya*) may be known from the *Abhidharmakośa*.

Asaṅga makes cross-references to sections of his *Yogācārabhūmi*,<sup>7</sup> as does Buddhaghosa to his *Visuddhimagga* in his *Aṭṭhakathā*.<sup>8</sup> It is natural that Vasubandhu – like any prolific writer – should do the same.

Explaining the phrase “listen, and bear well and carefully in mind” (*śṛṇu sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasi kuru*) – an injunction with which the Buddha frequently opens a discourse – the *Vyākhyāyukti* (135a3-7) gives three similes for the “faults of a listener”:

- (1) an overturned pot: even though it rains, it will not collect water;
- (2) a dirty pot: water added to it will become polluted;
- (3) a leaky pot: it will not hold the water.

The same similes (the first of which occurs at *Ānguttaranikāya* I 130,5 foll.) are given in the *Pratīyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*, both in its Tibetan version and in a surviving Sanskrit fragment,<sup>9</sup> and in the *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra*.<sup>10</sup> In his *Abhisamayālamkāraloka*, Haribhadra, commenting on the same phrase, gives the similes, concluding with *evam hi śravaṇam saphalam ity ācārya vasubandhuḥ*: “thus is listening [to the Dharma] fruitful: so says Ācārya Vasubandhu”.<sup>11</sup> The

7. WAYMAN: “Doctrinal Affiliation,” pp. 202, 205, and notes 10, 24, 25.

8. For these references, cf. George D. BOND, *The Word of the Buddha, the Tipiṭaka and its Interpretation in Theravāda Buddhism*, Colombo 1982, pp. 117-18; K.R. NORMAN: *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 122; Bhikkhu NĀṆAMOLI: *The Path of Purification*, Kandy 1975, pp. xx-xxi.

9. P5496, Vol. 104, *mdo tshogs 'grel pa, chi*, 3b5-8; Sanskrit in TUCCI (see n. 17 below), p. 614,1-6.

10. *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra*, P5604, Vol.119, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos, nu*, 263b6-264a1. For the first simile with two different similes in the Theravādin tradition see Bruce EVANS (tr.), “Tayopuggala Sutta,” in *Fragile Palm Leaves: for the preservation of Buddhist literature 4* (September 2541/1998), pp. 8-9.

11. U. WOGIHARA (ed.), *Abhisamayālamkāralokā Prajñāpāramitāvvyākhyā the Work of Haribhadra*, The Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, [1932] 1973, pp. 137,26-138,6. It is not clear from which of Vasubandhu's works Haribhadra has taken the similes – if he is not paraphrasing – since his citation does not agree exactly with any of the three works of Vasubandhu that give them.

similes are given in the *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* and the *Arthaviniścayaṭīkā*.<sup>12</sup> In Tibet they have enjoyed an enduring popularity, from the time of sGam po pa and Bu ston, both of whom cite them, up to the present, having become part of the standard instruction on how to listen to the Dharma.<sup>13</sup>

On the basis of the evidence presented above – that of Vasubandhu himself, of Yaśomitra, and of style and thought – I conclude that the *Vyākhyāyukti* was composed by the Kośakāra, and that it preceded his composition of the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*.

### (3) Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa<sup>14</sup>

The common authorship of the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* and the *Abhidharmakośa* was accepted by LAMOTTE, who edited the Tibetan and translated it into French.<sup>15</sup> Since the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* is posterior to the *Vyākhyāyukti*, which contains a brilliant defence of the Mahāyāna, LAMOTTE's conclusion that the former is not a Mahāyāna work (pp. 175-79) cannot be sustained. Internal evidence, of which LAMOTTE was aware but chose to interpret differently, also supports its affiliation with the Mahāyāna: Vasubandhu's citation of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*

12. N.H. SAMTANI (ed.): *The Arthaviniścaya-sūtra & its Commentary (Nibandhana)*, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna 1971 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series XIII); 83,6-13; *Arthaviniścayaṭīkā*, P5852, Vol. 145, 10a4-10b4.
13. E. OBERMILLER (tr.): *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung) by Bu-ston, I. Part, The Jewelry of Scripture*, Heidelberg 1931 (Suzuki Research Foundation Reprint Series 5) (henceforth referred to as Bu ston [OBERMILLER]), p. 79; Herbert V. GUENTHER (tr.): *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation*, London 1959, p. 36 (cf. n. 25, pp. 38-40).
14. See bibliographical data in NAKAMURA, pp. 268-69. French translation by Étienne LAMOTTE: "Le Traité de l'Acte de Vasubandhu" (see n. 5 above); English translation in ANACKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-156; Tibetan edited with *Ṭīkā* by Ryoshun KAJIHAMA: *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa by Vasubandhu, Karmasiddhi Ṭīkā by Sumatiśīla*, Sarnath 1988. For the Tibetan edited by MUROIJI (not seen) see reference in Marek MEJOR, "On Vasubandhu's *Pratītyasamutpādayākhyā*," *Studia Indologiczne* 4 (1997) (Aspects of Buddhism: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Buddhist Studies, Liw, 25 June 1994), Oriental Institute, Warsaw University, p. 152: "Muroji ... made a comparative edition of Vasubandhu's *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* and showed its close relation to the P[ra]tītya[s]amutpāda[jy]ākhyā".
15. LAMOTTE: "Le Traité de l'Acte", pp. 180-81.

as “spoken by the Blessed One”,<sup>16</sup> his presentation of the Yogācāra classification of the “store consciousness” (*ālayavijñāna*, p. 197,8 foll.), and (perhaps) his closing verse (p. 204,33) with the dedication of merit in order that the world may realize Buddhahood. I conclude that the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* was composed by Vasubandhu as an advocate of the Mahāyāna, but addressed primarily to adherents of the Śrāvakayāna.

#### (4) *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*

The *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa* is preserved in Tibetan translation (P5496, Vol. 104) and in a few Sanskrit fragments from Nepal, published by Tucci who accepted its common authorship with the *Kośa*.<sup>17</sup> Like the *Vyākhyāyukti* and *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra* it depends on the sūtra literature, in this case on the *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅga-sūtra*, upon which it is a commentary. Mainly in prose, it also contains *saṃgrahaśloka* (8a2) and summarizing verses introduced as *gāthā* (17a2, 18a3, 20a5, etc.). It resembles the other works of Vasubandhu in style and methodology; it cites or refers to many of the same sūtras, and contains many of the same ideas or arguments. Like the *Vyākhyāyukti* and the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, it refers to the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* (25b5); like the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* and the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* (see following) it accepts the *ālayavijñāna* (24b2 foll.). Its defence of that concept is couched in similar terms to that of the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*. It also refers to the *Yogācārabhūmi* (5b2, 13a1, 25b4), in one place citing it at length on the definition of ignorance (*avidyā*).<sup>18</sup>

16. LAMOTTE: “Le Traité de l’Acte”, p. 198,14, *bcom ldan ’das kyis ... gsuñs so = uktaṃ bhagavatā*.

17. Giuseppe TUCCI: “A Fragment from the *Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā* of Vasubandhu,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London 1930, pp. 611-23. Two chapter colophons preserved in Sanskrit (pp. 619,5 and 620,24) give as title *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā*. MEJOR: “On Vasubandhu’s *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā*,” gives a comprehensive list of studies, translations, and editions (pp. 151-52), including Yoshihito G. MUROI, *Vasubandhu’s Interpretation des Pratītyasamutpāda: eine kritische Bearbeitung der Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā (Saṃskāra- und Vijñānavibhaṅga)*, Stuttgart 1993 (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 43).

18. *rnal ’byor spyod pa’i sa las*: 11b3-12b4 = Vidushekhara BHATTACHARYA: *The Yogācārabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga*, Calcutta 1957, pp. 204,2-206,9. For the passage – and other definitions of *avidyā* – see Marek MEJOR, “On the Formulation of the *Pratītyasamutpāda*: Some Observations from Vasubandhu’s *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā*,” *Studia Indologiczne* 4 (1997), pp. 145-46.

Again like the *Vyākhyāyukti*, it was commented upon by Guṇamati (see below). I have not found any indications of its chronology relative to the *Vyākhyāyukti* and the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*.

(5) *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*<sup>19</sup>

The short prose *Treatise on the Five Aggregates* (P5560, Vol. 113; = PSP) deals with the *ālayavijñāna* when discussing the *vijñānaskandha*. Yaśomitra cites the treatise four times in his *Kośavyākhyā*:

- (1) *Kośavyākhyā* 1:33ab, p. 89,23-25 (P5593, Vol. 116, 68b2-4) = PSP 16a3-4: *tathā hy anena pañcaskandhake uktam: vitarkaḥ katamaḥ ...* ;
- (2) *Kośavyākhyā* 2:24, p. 187,9-11 (P5593, Vol. 116, 131a3-4) = PSP 14a3-4: *tathā hy anenaivācāryeṇa pañcaskandhake likhitam: chandaḥ katamaḥ ...* ;
- (3) *Kośavyākhyā* 3:32b, p. 477,25-478,14 (P5593, Vol. 116, 346a7-346b3) = PSP 14a3-5: *yathā pañcaskandhake likhitam ... chandaḥ katamaḥ ... ity evam ādiḥ pañcaskandhakagrantho draṣṭavyaḥ*;
- (4) *Kośavyākhyā* 3:32b, p. 478,14-16 (P5593, Vol. 116, 346b3-4) = PSP 14a1: *tatra hy uktam: pañca sarvatragā. ...*

In the first two references, Yaśomitra attributes the work to the Kośākāra (*anena ... uktam; anenaivācāryeṇa likhitam*).

Three commentaries on the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* – by Sthiramati (P5567, Vol. 114), Guṇaprabha (P5568, Vol. 114), and Pṛthivībandhu (P5569, Vol. 114) – are preserved in Tibetan translation. At the beginning of his commentary (*sems tsam, hi*, 67b2), Guṇaprabha states that one should open a treatise (*śāstra*) by paying respect (*mchod par brjod pa*) to one's teacher [the Buddha]. There is, however, no such statement in the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*. Guṇaprabha explains the omission:

*mchod par brjod pa ni mdzod kyi bstan bcos (corr. from bstan chos) la sogs pa las smos pa de ñid 'dir blta bar bya ste, bsam pa des na slob dpon gyis 'dir mchod par brjod pa ma byas so.*

[Since there is no such opening in the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*,] the statement of homage given in the *Kośaśāstra* (*mdzod kyi bstan bcos*), etc., should be supplied here: with this in mind, the Ācārya [Vasubandhu] did not compose [a new] statement of homage here [in the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*].

19. See bibliographical data in NAKAMURA, p. 270. Tibetan and Chinese versions with French translation in DANTINNE, *op. cit.*; English translation in ANACKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-82.

Guṇaprabha cites *kārikās* from the *Kośa* as authoritative (67b7 = *kārikā* 1:3ab; 93b8 = *kārikā* 1:17ab), cites sūtras as cited in the *Kośa*, and paraphrases the *Kośabhāṣya*.

Prthivībandhu also deals with the subject of homage at the beginning of his commentary (*sems tsam hi*, 101b2):

*de la gtsug lag 'di yañ mñon pa'i chos mdzod la 'jug pa'i sgo lta bur gyur pa dañ de'i yan lag tu gtogs la, bstod pa'i cho ga ni mñon pa'i chos mdzod kyi mgor glens zin pas, der 'dus pa'i phyir 'dir logs śig tu ma bśad do.*

This treatise [the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*] is like a gateway to the *Abhidharmakośa* and is counted as a supplement to or part of (*yan lag = aṅga*) that work. The rite of homage has been spoken at the beginning of the *Abhidharmakośa*; since the former [the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*] is included in the latter [the *Abhidharmakośa*], it is not given separately.

Prthivībandhu states that the *Kośa* is addressed to one who understands a developed exposition (*vipañcitajñā*), the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* to one who understands a condensed exposition (*udghaṭitajñā*) (102a3):

*de la spros pas śes pa ni gzuñ žib tu bśad na don rtogs par 'gyur ba ste; de dag gi don du ni mñon pa'i chos mdzod la sogs pa yañ dgos par 'gyur ro. glens pas śes pa ni mdo tsam du bstan na don mañ du khoñ du chud par 'gyur ba ste; de'i phyir gtsug lag 'di brtsams pa don med par ma yin te.*

Thus both Guṇaprabha and Prthivībandhu, like Yaśomitra, attribute the *Kośa* and the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* to the same Vasubandhu, and treat the latter as a natural continuation of the former. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN's notes show other places in which alternate definitions proposed by the Kośakāra reappear in the *Pañcaskandhaka*.<sup>20</sup> DANTINNE (*op. cit.*, pp. xxiii-xxiv) has noted the relationship between the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* and the *Abhidharmakośa*, Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, and the *Triṃśikā-kārikās*.

(6) *Gāthāsaṃgrahaśāstra*, (7) *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra*, (8) *Ekagāthābhāṣya*<sup>21</sup>

What we may call the “*Gāthāsaṃgraha* literature” is similar to the “*Vyākhyāyukti* literature” in that it consists (primarily) of two inter-

20. See references at Louis DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Vol. VI, reprint: Brussels 1971, p. 121.

21. The correct Sanskrit form of the first two titles is uncertain: see Peter SKILLING, “The Synonyms of Nirvāṇa according to Prajñāvarman, Vasubandhu, and Asaṅga,” *Buddhist Studies Review* 11.1 (1994), p. 34, n. 19.

dependent works: the *Gāthāsaṃgrahaśāstra* (P5603)<sup>22</sup> – a collection of 21 verses drawn from canonical Śrāvakayāna texts such as the *Udānavarga* – and the *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra* (P5604), a prose commentary on the verses.<sup>23</sup> The latter cites, without naming them, the *Abhidharma-kośa* (*Kārikā* and *Bhāṣya*), cites sūtra passages identical to those of the “Hundred Extracts”, and contains several passages common to the *Vyākhyāyukti* and the *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*. It also adopts a number of explanations from works of Aśaṅga such as the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*. The definition of Vaipulya in the *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra* (246a3), unlike that in the *Vyākhyāyukti*, does not mention the Mahāyāna:<sup>24</sup>

*śin tu rgyas pa'i sde ni don rgyas par ston pa'o. gzan dag ni gzan dag tu brjod de, 'phags pa dge 'dun phal chen sde pa rnam ky'i 'don pa kho na lta bu'o zes so.*

The Vaipulya explains a topic at length. Others define it differently as “[scriptures] recited by the Ārya Mahāsāṃghikas”.

The *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra* does not cite or refer to any Mahāyāna texts or contain any uniquely Mahāyāna ideas, but it does resort to Aśaṅga’s *Abhidharmasamuccaya* as a major source. Until a complete study has been made, I would tentatively describe it as anterior to the *Vyākhyāyukti*. At any rate, since it relies heavily on the *Abhidharma-kośa*, it cannot be by the “elder Vasubandhu”.

The first verse of the *Gāthāsaṃgrahaśāstra* (240a2-3), along with its commentary from the *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra* (241a7-242b4), occurs as a separate work in the Tanjur under the title *Ekagāthābhāṣya* (*Tshigs su bcad pa gcig pa'i bsad pa*, P5488, Vol. 104), also ascribed to Vasubandhu. The *Ekagāthābhāṣya* may therefore be classed with the

22. Tibetan text with German translation by A. SCHIEFNER, in *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, Vol. VIII, April 1878, pp. 559-93; English translation by W. Woodville ROCKHILL as an appendix to his *Udānavarga: A Collection of Verses from the Buddhist Canon*, London 1883, pp. 213-16.

23. For identification of the verses see Fumio ENOMOTO, “Sanskrit Fragments Relating to the Saṃyuktāgama” [in Japanese], *Bukkyō Kenkyū* [*Buddhist Studies*] 15 (Hamamatsu 1985), pp. 81-93, especially pp. 91 and 93, note 13 and below, Appendix 7.

24. For Vaipulya see Peter SKILLING, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha*, Vol. II, Parts I & II, Oxford 1997, pp. 31-42.

“*Gāthāsaṃgraha* literature”. The verse, from the *Virūpa-avadāna* of the *Avadānaśataka*,<sup>25</sup> is also cited in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

A commentary, the *Ekagāthāṭīkā* (P2063, Vol. 46) is ascribed to Dignāga, who also composed a brief commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Marmapradīpa*. Dignāga’s authorship of the latter and his connection with Vasubandhu has been questioned by some scholars; the *Ekagāthāṭīkā* may be added to evidence in favour of the tradition.

I hope to have demonstrated so far that these six works were composed by Vasubandhu the Kośakāra. From these works we can extract doctrinal criteria that can be used to determine the authenticity of other works attributed to Vasubandhu. Three of them expound the theory of the *ālayavijñāna*; three of them cite or refer to the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* as authoritative. Since that sūtra is the main source for the theory of the three *svabhāvas*, we may assume that Vasubandhu accepted that theory. Works traditionally attributed to Vasubandhu that deal with these subjects in a style similar to that of the above-mentioned works can be accepted as by the Kośakāra.

(9) *Viṃśatikākārikā*<sup>26</sup> and (10) *Viṃśatikābhāṣya*

Like the *Vyākhyāyukti*, the *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*, and the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, this is a Mahāyāna work addressed primarily to adherents of the Śrāvakayāna. The prose autocommentary resembles

25. P.L. VAIDYA (ed.): *Avadānaśatakam*, Darbhanga 1958 (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts Series 19), p. 251,18-21; citation in *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 4:112, (PRADHAN) 267,13-16, (DWARIKADAS) 738,20.

26. See bibliographical data in NAKAMURA, pp. 268-69. Also: Sanskrit and Tibetan ed. in N. AIYASWAMI Sastrin, *op. cit.*; Sanskrit with Hindi translation in Mahesh TIWARY, *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi of Vasubandhu*, Varanasi 1967; Sanskrit and Tibetan with Hindi translation in Rāmsaṅkara TRIPATHĪ and Sempā DORJE: *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhiḥ (Prakaraṇa-dvayam) of Ācārya Vasubandhu: Viṃśatikā with an Auto-Commentary, Triṃśikā with the Commentary of Sthiramati*, Leh (Ladakh) 1984; Sanskrit with English translation in Thomas E. WOOD: *Mind Only: A Philosophical and Doctrinal Analysis of the Vijñānavāda*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu 1991 (Monographs of the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy, no. 9), Chap.5; English translations in KOCHUMUTTOM, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-75; in ANACKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-79; in David J. KALUPAHANA, *The Principles of Buddhist Psychology*, Albany 1987, pp. 173-92; translated from the Chinese under the title *The Treatise in Twenty Verses on Consciousness Only*, in Francis H. COOK, *Three Texts on Consciousness Only*, Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, Berkeley 1999 (BDK English Tripiṭaka 60-III).

these works stylistically, and its arguments are based on the doctrines and lore of the Śrāvakayāna, from the canon of which a number of sūtras are cited. AIYASWAMI Sastrin (pp. iii-v) has noted the relationship to the *Kośa*, particularly the “debate” on the existence of the atom.

(11) *Triṃśikā-kārikās*<sup>27</sup>

This work deals with the *ālayavijñāna* and the three *svabhāvas*, and gives some of the classifications of the prose *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* in verse. At times the relationship to that text is so close that the two could easily be combined: the verses of the *Triṃśikā* followed by the prose of the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*.

(12) *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa*<sup>28</sup>

I have noted that Vasubandhu accepted the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*, the main source for the “three *svabhāva* theory”, as authentic, and that the three *svabhāva* are mentioned in the *Triṃśikā-kārikās*. P.S. JAINI has shown that the author of the *Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti* on the *Abhidharmadīpa* accuses the Kośakāra of accepting and, according to Jaini’s interpretation, writing on this theory.

27. See bibliographical data in NAKAMURA, pp. 269-70. Also: Sanskrit with Hindi translation in Mahesh TIWARY, *op. cit.*; Sanskrit and Tibetan with Hindi translation in TRIPĀṬHĪ and Sempā DORJE, *op. cit.*; Padmanabh S. JAINI: “The Sanskrit Fragments of Vinīta-deva’s *Triṃśikā-īkā*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London 1985, pp. 470-92; Sanskrit with English translation in Thomas E. WOOD, *op. cit.*, Chap. 3; English translations in KOCHUMUTTOM, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-59; in ANACKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-90; in KALUPAHANA, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-214; translated from the Chinese under the title *The Thirty Verses on Consciousness Only*, in Francis H. COOK, *op. cit.* (= BDK English Tripiṭaka 60-II). See also Louis DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN’s monumental translation of Hsüan-tsang’s monumental compendium, *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, la Siddhi de Hsuan-tsang*, 2 Vols., Paris 1928, 1929; English translation with Chinese text by Wei TAT: *Ch’eng wei-shih lun, The Doctrine of Mere-consciousness*, Hong Kong 1976; English translation from the Chinese under the title *Demonstration of Consciousness Only*, in Francis H. COOK, *op. cit.* (= BDK English Tripiṭaka 60-I).

28. See bibliographical data in NAKAMURA, p. 271. Sanskrit text with English translation in Fernando TOLA and Carmen DRAGONETTI: “The Trisvabhāva-kārikā of Vasubandhu,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 11/3 (Sept. 1983), pp. 225-66 and in Thomas E. WOOD, *op. cit.*, Chap. 2; English translations in KOCHUMUTTOM, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-53; in ANACKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-97.

Lambert SCHMITHAUSEN reached a similar conclusion about the authorship of most of the works discussed above: "I use the expression '(works of) Vasubandhu the Kośakāra' when referring to (the author of) *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *Vyākhyāyukti*, *Karmasiddhi*, *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā*, *Pañcaskandhaka*, *Viṃśatikā* and *Triṃśikā*, because I find that there are good reasons for taking the author of these works to be one and the same person".<sup>29</sup> Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA remarks that "Schmithausen does not enter into details regarding the Vasubandhu controversy but refers to publications by Kazunobu Matsuda and Gijin Muroji through whose observations he finds his own conclusions corroborated". PĀSĀDIKA also refers to similar conclusions reached by Christian LINDTNER: "Lindtner speaks of Vasubandhu as 'the author of the *Viṃśatikā*, the *Triṃśikā*, *Karmasiddhi*, *Abhidharmakośa*, and *Vyākhyāyukti*, etc.'".<sup>30</sup>

Accepting a common authorship of the works discussed above, and accepting the tradition that the *Kośa* was Vasubandhu's first work, we may suggest the following tentative chronology, dividing his activity into two main perspectives:<sup>31</sup>

**"Sautrāntika perspective"**

*Abhidharmakośa* (*Kārikā* and *Bhāṣya*)

*Gāthasaṃgrahaśāstra* and *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra* [plus *Ekagāthābhāṣya*]

29. Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA, *op. cit.*, p. 16, citing Lambert SCHMITHAUSEN: *Ālayavijñāna, On the Origin and the Early Development of a Central Concept of Yogācāra Philosophy*, Tokyo 1987, p. 262, n. 101.
30. Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, citing Chr. LINDTNER: "Marginalia to Dharmakīrti's *Pramānaviśāyā* I-II," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* XXVIII (1984), p. 154 (not seen).
31. I must emphasize that this approach is provisional. Vasubandhu's presentation of Mahāyāna ideas by no means entails a rejection of Sautrāntika thought, or its wholesale replacement by some sort of ready-made Mahāyāna package. It is quite possible that Vasubandhu's profound study of the Śrāvaka scriptures led him directly to the ideas expressed in the *Vyākhyāyukti*. The oft-repeated story of Vasubandhu's conversion by his brother Asaṅga is given only in later biographies. There is no reason why Vasubandhu should not have composed the *Kośa* as a Mahāyānist, without advocating or mentioning the Mahāyāna since this would not be relevant. Indeed, Robert KRITZER, in his *Rebirth and Causation in the Yogācāra Abhidharma* (Vienna 1999, p. viii) writes that Vasubandhu's "'Sautrāntika' opinions ... can generally be traced to the *Yogācārabhūmi*," leading him to suspect "that Vasubandhu already accepted Yogācāra doctrine when he wrote the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*".

**“Mahāyāna perspective”**

*Vyākhyāyukti and Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata*

*Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*

*Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*

*Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*

*Viṃśatikā, Kārikā and Bhāṣya*

*Triṃśikā-kārikās*

*Trisvabhāvanirdeśa.*

From Yaśomitra’s reference to the Kośakāra as the author of the Mahāyānist *Vyākhyāyukti* and of the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, and from Vasubandhu’s cross-reference to the *Vyākhyāyukti* in his *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* we may suggest that Vasubandhu the Kośakāra became an energetic proponent of the Mahāyāna. This suggestion is corroborated by the unknown author of the *Abhidharmadīpa*, who severely chides the Kośakāra for his sympathy with the Mahāyāna. Furthermore, the *Vyākhyāyukti*, the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, and the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* show the influence of the Yogācāra school and of Asaṅga, as does the *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra*, while the *Viṃśatikā*, the *Triṃśikā*, and the *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa* are devoted to the exposition of specific Vijñaptivādin doctrines.

We may now attempt to sketch a broad outline of the Kośakāra’s career.<sup>32</sup> Vasubandhu mastered the scriptures and doctrines, the *Tripīṭaka* and *Abhidharma*, of the (Mūla)Sārvāstivādin school, specifically according to the tradition of the Vaibhāṣikas of Kashmir, and also studied the *Tripīṭaka* and *Abhidharma* of other schools. The result of these studies was his *Abhidharmakośa*, which summarized the tenets of the Vaibhāṣikas of Kashmir in its *kārikās*, but subjected them to a critique in its prose *Bhāṣya*. In this work he shows sympathy for the thought of the Sautrāntikas, but also maintains the intellectual independence which would be a hallmark of his work. At an uncertain point in his career – before or after the composition of the *Kośa*? – he was deeply influenced by Yogācāra thought as exemplified by Asaṅga and the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*. He retained, however, his independent and critical attitude, and retained or refined many of the ideas and arguments already presented in his *Abhidharmakośa*. He was prolific, and composed works on various subjects.

32. This is provisional, since it does not take into account some of the important works attributed to Vasubandhu.

This career, based entirely upon (originally) Indian literary sources, either those of the Kośakāra himself or those of his commentators, agrees in outline with that given in Paramārtha's biography of Vasubandhu. I would like to stress that these commentators worked within the same tradition and lineage of thought, and were connected with Vasubandhu if not directly then by succession. We find the same commentators, connected with each other by tradition, associated with texts attributed to Vasubandhu. Their testimony, which goes back to an Indian tradition in the direct lineage of succession of disciples of Vasubandhu, cannot be lightly dismissed.

I will not attempt a detailed refutation of FRAUWALLNER's conclusions, which are based primarily on Chinese sources, especially the life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha, whom he describes as the authority "who carries the greater weight by far", "the chief witness" (both on p. 11), and "our oldest and best authority (p. 13)". My own evidence is based rather on the works of Vasubandhu himself, and those of the commentators within his tradition.<sup>33</sup> FRAUWALLNER's "revised" biography of the second, younger or later Vasubandhu contains only one salient literary event: his composition of the *Abhidharmakośa*. Since the evidence presented above proves that the Kośakāra did indeed advocate the Mahāyāna, it undermines the greater part of FRAUWALLNER's arguments. The career outlined above does the reverse of what FRAUWALLNER set out to do: it identifies Vasubandhu the Kośakāra with Vasubandhu the Mahāyānist, and thereby robs FRAUWALLNER's earlier Vasubandhu of a biography.

This said, the problems of chronology remain. FRAUWALLNER's treatment of the dates of the two Vasubandhus is rather shaky, since it is based on his own conclusions about the date of the Buddha employed by

33. I find it extraordinary that FRAUWALLNER – who appeals to "the rules of sound criticism" (*op. cit.*, p. 30) and "scientific logic" (p. 31) – should reach such firm conclusions without taking into account many of the major works attributed to Vasubandhu, or giving any serious consideration to his thought. He creates more confusion than that he claims to have been created by his sources, which he treats in a cavalier manner. He repeatedly describes Paramārtha as trustworthy, but, it turns out, only for the date of Vasubandhu: otherwise he chops Paramārtha's biography up into parts, and ascribes anything that goes against his thesis to Paramārtha's pupils (pp. 18-20). I do not think FRAUWALLNER's monograph is a good starting point for the study of Vasubandhu, and hope that the Chinese evidence will be assessed anew, in the light of the thought of Vasubandhu based on a thorough examination of the works attributed to him.

his Chinese sources. I confess here to a pessimistic conclusion that the dates given in the Chinese sources utilized by FRAUWALLNER are either hopelessly confused, or, even if accurate, they cannot be resolved because of uncertainty about the date of the Nirvaṇa upon which they are variously based.<sup>34</sup>

Beyond this, there are Yaśomitra's references to an earlier Vasubandhu, which I cannot dismiss as lightly as has Stefan ANACKER.<sup>35</sup> In addition to these well-known references, there is one in Sthiramati's commentary on the *Kośa*:<sup>36</sup> *slob dpon dbyig gñen sna ma = pūrvācārya* Vasubandhu, parallel to the *ṛddhācārya* Vasubandhu at Yaśomitra 1:13d, p. 45, bottom.<sup>37</sup> This reference is not a simple borrowing from Yaśomitra, since Sthiramati gives a direct citation in several lines of the view of this "earlier Vasubandhu", not given by Yaśomitra. The references deal with points of interpretation of the Abhidharma. All that can be said is that there was indeed an earlier Vasubandhu, who worked within the (Mūla)Sārvāstivādin or Vaibhāṣika tradition. Considering the lack of references to him elsewhere, he seems to have been a relatively minor figure in the history of Indian Buddhist thought. There is no reason whatsoever to suppose that he turned later to the Mahāyāna, as did (according to the biographies) the Kośakāra.

The Kośakāra was clearly influenced by the Yogācāra and by Asaṅga. I do not care to conclude whether or not he was the latter's brother, or half-brother, but simply note that both Chinese and Tibetan tradition,

34. There seems to me to be a serious flaw in FRAUWALLNER's conclusion (p. 10) that the earlier date belongs to the earlier Vasubandhu, brother of Asaṅga and a person other than the Kośakāra. The "elder Vasubandhu" mentioned in the commentaries on the *Kośa* (and, it seems, nowhere else) does not appear to have been sufficiently well-known for his date or biography to have enjoyed a "wide diffusion". The points attributed to this "elder Vasubandhu" are fine points within the Abhidharma tradition of, presumably, the Vaibhāṣikas, and have nothing to do with the Mahāyāna. Thus there is no evidence to connect this elder Vasubandhu with the Mahāyāna or with the story of Asaṅga's brother who "converted" to the Mahāyāna.

35. *Op. cit.*, pp. xii-xiii.

36. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṭīkā-tattvārtha-nāma*, P5875, Vol. 146, *no mtshar bstan bcos*, to, 71a1.

37. The Tibetan of Yaśomitra (P5593, Vol. 116, *mdzod 'grel*, cu, 37a5, also has *sna ma*, as at 39a7. I have not been able to trace parallels to Yaśomitra's other references in Sthiramati. For the references see AIYASWAMI Sastrin, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

based on different sources from different periods, agree that the two great scholars were related. A tradition current in Tibet at the time of Tāranātha,<sup>38</sup> but rejected by him, was that the two were “spiritual brothers”. Given the lack of evidence it seems to me more fruitful to attempt to determine the relationship between the known works of Asaṅga and the known works of the Kośakāra than to worry about their genealogy.

#### *A note on Guṇamati*

LA VALLÉE POUSSIN notes that Yaśomitra refers to Guṇamati four times in his *Vyākhyā* on the *Abhidharmakośa*.<sup>39</sup> The first reference occurs in Yaśomitra’s opening verses, wherein he states that Guṇamati and Vasumitra had composed commentaries on the *Kośa*. In the remaining three references Yaśomitra registers his disagreement with Guṇamati’s interpretations; in two of them he refers to a Vasumitra as a student (*śiṣya*) of Guṇamati.<sup>40</sup> Tāranātha describes Guṇamati as a disciple of Guṇaprabha and “a master of the Abhidharma”.<sup>41</sup> Tibetan tradition describes Guṇaprabha as a direct disciple of Vasubandhu.<sup>42</sup>

This suggests a tentative succession:

Vasubandhu – Guṇaprabha – Guṇamati – Vasumitra – (Yaśomitra).

Guṇamati’s commentary on the *Kośa* has not been preserved. His commentary on another of Vasubandhu’s works, the *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa* (P5496), is preserved in Tibetan translation under the title *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśaṭkā* (P5497). He is also said to have composed a commentary, no longer extant, on Nāgārjuna’s *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*.<sup>43</sup> Hajime NAKAMURA suggests a date of

38. Antonius SCHIEFNER: *Tāranāthae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione*, St. Petersburg 1868, p.92,19; translation in Debiprasad CHATTOPADHYAYA (ed.): *Tāranātha’s History of Buddhism in India*, Calcutta 1980, p. 167.

39. *L’Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Vol. 1, repr. Brussels 1971, p. xix.

40. The references are at DWARIKADAS, Vol. 1, p. 3,18; 9,9, and Vol. 2, p. 406,18.

41. SCHIEFNER, *op. cit.*, p. 122,18: *yon tan ’od kyi slob ma mñon pa pa yon tan blo gros*; CHATTOPADHYAYA, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

42. Bu ston (OBERMILLER) II 160; Tāranātha in SCHIEFNER, *op. cit.*, p. 100,10, CHATTOPADHYAYA, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

43. David SEYFORTH RUEGG: *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*, Wiesbaden 1981, pp. 49, 62, 112.

*circa* CE 420-500 for Guṇamati, and states that he was a contemporary of Dignāga and that Sthiramati was his disciple.<sup>44</sup>

## II. A Survey of the Vyākhyāyukti Literature

What I describe as the “Vyākhyāyukti literature” consists of three texts, two by Vasubandhu and one by Guṇamati. Originally composed in Sanskrit, they survive only in Tibetan translations made about 800 CE. They are preserved in the “Mind Only” (*sems tsam*) division of the *Tanjur*, the collection of treatises and commentaries translated into Tibetan:<sup>45</sup>

(1) *Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata* (VyY-sū), *rNam par bśad pa'i rigs pa'i mdo sde'i dum bu brgya*: One Hundred Extracts from the Discourses for the Principles of Exegesis by Vasubandhu (dByig gñen), translated by Viśuddhasiṃha, Sarvajñadeva, Devendrarakṣita, and Mañjuśrīvarman.

(2) *Vyākhyāyukti* (VyY): *rNam par bśad pa'i rigs pa*: The Principles of Exegesis by Vasubandhu (dByig gñen), translated by Viśuddhasiṃha, Śākyasiṃha, and Devendrarakṣita.

(3) *Vyākhyāyuktitīkā* (VyY-t): *rNam par bśad pa'i rigs pa'i bśad pa*: Commentary on the Principles of Exegesis by Guṇamati (Yon tan blo gros), translated by Viśuddhasiṃha, Śākyasiṃha, and Devendrarakṣita.

### *Structure: the Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata*

The *Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata* is a collection of extracts or partial citations of sūtras, of varying brevity. They are presented without any introduction, classification, or comment, separated simply by *zes bya ba daṅ* = \* *iti ca*, and without any indication of source or title. As is often the case in Indian literature, the “Hundred” of the title is a conventional round number: counting each passage separated by the phrase *zes bya ba daṅ* as one extract, there are one hundred and nine.<sup>46</sup> In the *Vyākhyāyukti*, Vasubandhu’s initial citation of an extract is usually followed by

44. *Indian Buddhism, A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Osaka 1980, p. 280.

45. Bibliographical notices are given in Appendix 8.

46. This is the figure that I have arrived at. The extract numbers (signified by §) in the present article are my own: they are not assigned numbers in the text. Others might enumerate the extracts differently. The exact number of extracts, and various other points about the three *Vyākhyāyukti* texts, can only be determined when critical editions are prepared.

the phrase *zes bya ba ni mdo sde'i dum bu'o* = \*iti *sūtrakhaṇḍaḥ*, or a variant thereof.<sup>47</sup> The term *sūtrakhaṇḍa* does not occur in the *Abhidharmakośa*, but occurs in another work attributed to Vasubandhu, the *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra*,<sup>48</sup> and in Guṇamati's *Ṭikā* on Vasubandhu's *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*.<sup>49</sup> The Sanskrit is attested in the *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya*.<sup>50</sup>

It will be seen below that the "Hundred Extracts" serves simply as a collection of sources for the *Vyākhyāyukti* itself. It is not an independent work.

### Structure: the *Vyākhyāyukti* and its *Ṭikā*

The *Vyākhyāyukti*, and, following it, the *Ṭikā*, is divided into five untitled chapters (*le'ur bcas pa*):

Chapter 1:	VyY (P) 32a1; (D) 29a2	VyY-ṭ (P) 1a1; (D) 139b1
Chapter 2:	VyY (P) 45b4; (D) 40a7	VyY-ṭ (P) 19b7; (D) 155a6
Chapter 3:	VyY (P) 98a7; (D) 83b4	VyY-ṭ (P) 125b3; (D) 248a1
Chapter 4:	VyY (P) 113a8; (D) 96b7	VyY-ṭ (P) 146b4; (D) 265a3
Chapter 5:	VyY (P) 133a4; (D) 114a7	VyY-ṭ (P) 164a1; (D) 278a7

### Style: the *Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata*

The "Hundred Citations" are all in "canonical" prose, with the exception of §§ 29 and 39, which are in verse. Most of the extracts have parallels in the Pāli canon.

Extract § 29 (21a7), on the subject of suffering (*duḥkha*), is close to a verse cited in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (6:3, Pradhan p. 331,20) and the *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* (Samtani, p. 127,9): *saṃskārānitya-tām jñātvā, atho vipariṇāmatam*, and so on, with a variant in line a ('*du byed sdug bsñal ñid dan ni = saṃskāraduḥkhatām*). Extract § 39 (22a2), a verse of six lines listing conditions connected with concentration

47. Several extracts from the VyY-sū are not, however, called *sūtrakhaṇḍa* in the VyY: § 19, VyY 55b5; § 29, VyY 57b8; § 93, VyY 88b2. I doubt whether this affects their status, or the total number of extracts: § 1 (32a3), for example, is not called a *sūtrakhaṇḍa* when first introduced, but is later referred to as "the first *sūtrakhaṇḍa*" (36a3). At any rate, more than one hundred are described as *sūtrakhaṇḍa* in the VyY.

48. P5604, Vol. 119, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos*, nu, 255a5.

49. P5496, Vol. 104, *mdo tshogs 'grel pa, chi*, 106b4.

50. Nathmal TATIA (ed.): *Abhidharmasamuccaya-bhāṣyam*, Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna 1976 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 17), p. 142,26.

(*samādhi*) and calming (*śamatha*), is described at *Vyākhyāyukti* 61b4 as a “verse summary” (*sdom gyi tshigs su bcad pa = uddānagāthā*). No accompanying prose is given in either the “Hundred Extracts” or the *Vyākhyāyukti*. Another four line *uddāna* (*sdom*) occurs at the end of the longest citation, § 66, on the benefits of “the notion of impermanence” (*anityasamjñā*, 25a4): in this case it is to be counted with the preceding prose. Such “verse summaries” were composed by the editors of the *Tripitaka*, originally during the period of oral transmission, although there is no guarantee that they were not altered or added to by the editors of later written recensions. The present examples most probably belong to either the *Samyuktāgama* or the *Ekottarāgama* of – as will be seen below – the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādins. (A single line of another *uddāna*, possibly from the *Samyuktāgama*, is cited at *Vyākhyāyukti* 41a7. A complete *uddāna* is cited at *Abhidharmakośa* 3:12d, p. 122,23.)<sup>51</sup>

Most of the extracts are spoken by the Buddha to the monks in general, or, in a few cases, to specific monks, or to brahmins and “wanderers”. Two extracts from the *Arthavistarasūtra* (§ 67, 25a5; § 68, 25a8) are spoken by Śāriputra to the monks. A number of extracts are addressed to the Buddha, such as § 4 (19b1), which is most probably spoken by King Prasenajit, as is a similar passage in the Pāli *Āṅgulimālasutta* (see Appendix 1, extract [4]).

#### *Style: the Vyākhyāyukti*

The *Vyākhyāyukti* is mainly in “*śāstra* prose”.<sup>52</sup> Apart from citations from canonical verse texts, such as the *Udānavarga*, which is frequently cited under the name *gāthā* (see Appendix 5.1), the *Vyākhyāyukti* contains many verses in a non-canonical style. These may be classed under three headings:

51. Wrongly given in the printed editions as *uddānagāthā*: both the Tibetan and the style of the verse confirm that the correct form is *uddāna*-. For the source, cf. Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA, *Kanonische Zitate im Abhidharmakośabhāṣya des Vasubandhu*, Göttingen 1989, p. 53, § 168.
52. That is to say the original would have been in a form of “standard” Sanskrit, similar in style to treatises (*śāstra*) such as Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* or Vīryaśrīdatta’s *Arthavinīścayasūtranibandhana* (which, it will be shown below, is heavily indebted to the *Vyākhyāyukti* and other works of Vasubandhu).

(1) Terse “verse summaries” (*bsdus pa'i tshigs su bcad pa = saṃgrahaśloka*), found in all chapters.<sup>53</sup> These are listed in Appendix 2.1. In most cases the *saṃgrahaśloka* follow the prose treatment of the subject that they summarize.

(2) Verses introduced by phrases like “furthermore, in this context, it is said”, listed in Appendix 2.2. In some cases (e.g. 33b5, 34a1) these verses follow the prose that they summarize, and thus seem to be identical in function to the *saṃgrahaśloka*. In other cases (e.g. 48a8, 50a7, 104a5) they introduce independent ideas, without any accompanying prose.

(3) Verses without any introduction, listed in Appendix 2.3. There are many such verses in Chapter 5.

The authorship of these verses and their relationship to the work as a whole remains to be determined. Since Vasubandhu is well-known as an accomplished verse writer, it is possible that he composed at least some of the verses of the *Vyākhyāyukti*. In addition, verses in a “non-canonical” style are cited as *Āgama*. These will be discussed below.

#### *Style: the Vyākhyāyuktiṭīkā*

Guṇamati's prose *Ṭīkā* clarifies the root-text by paraphrasing Vasubandhu's ideas and by expanding his often terse statements. In style it resembles Guṇamati's *Ṭīkā* on Vasubandhu's *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*.

#### *Contents of the Vyākhyāyukti*

The *Vyākhyāyukti* opens with two verses (32a1-2): the first pays homage to the Buddha, while the second announces that the work has been composed for the benefit of “those who wish to explain the sūtras” (*mdo rnams 'chad 'dod*). The phrase *mdo rnams 'chad 'dod* of the verse occurs in prose as *mdo rnam par 'chad par 'dod pa* at 32a2; the Sanskrit

53. For the rather complex problem of the *saṃgrahaśloka*, see Katsumi MIMAKI, “Sur le rôle de l'*antaraśloka* ou du *saṃgrahaśloka*”, in *Indianisme et Bouddhisme, Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1980, pp. 233-44. The use of the *saṃgrahaśloka* is characteristic of Vasubandhu's works. MIMAKI (p. 233) notes two in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, and the present article shows that they occur in the *Vyākhyāyukti* and the *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*.

is probably *sūtram vyākhyātukāma*, as at *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* 72,1. The phrase *mdo rnam par bsad pa* occurs at 33b4.

Vasubandhu lists the main topics that he will deal with near the beginning of his work (33b4):

How are the sūtras to be explained? By five methods:

- (1) according to the purpose of the sūtra (*mdo sde'i dgos pa = sūtrānta-prayojana*), defined and discussed in Chapter 1, 34b3-36b5;
- (2) according to the summarized meaning (*bsdus pa'i don = piṇḍārtha*), defined and discussed in Chapter 1, 36b5-37a2;
- (3) according to the sense of the words (*tshig gi don = padārtha*), defined and discussed Chapter 1, 37a2-45b3 (end), in Chapter 2, throughout (45b3-98a6), and in Chapter 3, 98a7-98b8;
- (4) according to sequence or connection (*mtshams sbyar ba = anusamḍhi*), defined and discussed in Chapter 3, 99a1-100b3;
- (5) according to objections and responses [to objections] (*brgal ba dan lan = codyaparihāra*), defined and discussed in Chapter 3, 100b3 foll.

Vasubandhu notes that the fifth topic is to be counted as one since it means “the resolution of objections” (*brgal ba'i lan gdab pa*). He then discusses the relationship of the five topics to each other and their subdivisions (33b7-34b3); with (1) *sūtrāntaprayojana* (34b3-36b5); with (2) *piṇḍārtha* (36b5-37a2); and with (3) *padārtha* (37a2 foll.). He deals with topics (4) and (5) in Chapter 3. The five topics provide the basic structure of the *Vyākhyāyukti*, and are dealt with in the first four chapters. The fifth chapter, as will be seen below, is an “appendix” on the benefits of listening to the dharma.

A citation of the summarizing verse by Haribhadra in his *Abhisamayālaṅkārah* gives us the Sanskrit technical terms:<sup>54</sup>

(Haribhadra) *tatra*:

*prayojanaṃ sapiṇḍārthaṃ padārthaḥ sānusamḍhikah,*

*sacodyaparihāraś ca vācyah sūtrārthavādibhiḥ.*

*iti pañcabhir ākāraiḥ sūtram vyākhyātavyam iti vyākhyāyuktau nirṇitam.*

(*Vyākhyāyukti* 33b5) 'dir smras pa:

*mdo don smra ba dag gis ni, dgos pa bsdus pa'i don bcas dan,*

*tshig don bcas dan mtshams sbyor bcas, brgal lan bcas par bsad par bya.*

54. WOGIHARA 15,23. See below for the relationship between Haribhadra's *Āloka* and the *Vyākhyāyukti*. The verse is also cited at Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 71, and Sa-skya Paṇḍita adapts the five topics in his *mKhas pa la 'jug pa'i sgo* (David P. JACKSON: *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III): Sa-skya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate*, 2 Vols., Vienna 1987: I 195-96).

A slightly different list is given in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (142,11) under the heading *vyākhyāsaṃgrahamukha: sūtrasyotpattiprajāyana, padārtha, anusandhi, abhiprāya, codya, parihāra*.

A secondary structure is based on the “Hundred Extracts”. The first two chapters of the *Vyākhyāyukti* deal systematically with the “Hundred Extracts” in order of occurrence: Chapter 1 opens with the first extract, while Chapter 2 opens with the second and closes with the last. Although the extracts are thus relevant to only the first two chapters, the last extract (§ 109) sets the stage for Chapters 3 and 4. Vasubandhu usually gives abbreviated citations; Guṇamati usually repeats the extract in full. Vasubandhu classifies the first ten extracts by subject matter; after that, he introduces them without classification. A concordance of the first ten extracts and their headings is given as Appendix 1.

### Chapter 1

Chapter 1 opens with the statement (32a2) that “from the very start (*ādim eva*), one who wishes to explain the sūtras (*sūtraṃ vyākhyātukāma*) should have listened to many [teachings] (*thos pa mañ ba = bahuśruta*), should be endowed with the basis of listening to [teachings] (*thos pa'i gzi can*), and should accumulate [teachings] that have been listened to (*thos pa bsag par bya'o*)”. Vasubandhu then refers to and explains the first sūtra extract.

In dealing with *padārtha* (*tshig gi don*), Vasubandhu gives thirteen examples of one word having diverse meanings (VyY 38b3, *tshig gcig la don du ma*).<sup>55</sup> Each example opens with a verse of up to four lines listing the several meanings, each of which is then illustrated by a brief citation from scripture. For example, the treatment of the first term, *rūpa*, opens with two lines of verse:

*gzugs śes bya ba* [1] *gzugs phuñ dan*,  
[2] *kha dog* [3] *bsam gtan* [4] *rnam par 'dren*.

“*Rūpa*” refers to [1] the aggregate of matter (*rūpaskandha*);  
to [2] colour (*varṇa*), [3] meditation (*dhyāna*), and [4] aspect (*ākāra*).

A list of the thirteen terms is given as Appendix 3.

55. The same term occurs in Guṇamati’s *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅgādinirdeśaṭīkā*, *chi* 112a5: *sgar gcig la don du ma*.

Vasubandhu then deals with three types of meaning (42b3):

- (1) *so so re re la brjod par bya ba'i don*;
- (2) *bsdus pa'i don (piṅḍārtha)*;
- (3) *dgos pa'i don (prajojanārtha)*.

Under the latter, he discusses the purpose of “numerical teachings” (*grāṅs gsuṅs pa*, 43b2). The chapter concludes with seven reasons why the Buddha travelled from place to place; fifteen reasons why the bhikṣus travelled from place to place; reasons why the Buddha remained in seclusion and refrained from teaching for periods of a fortnight and of three months; and fifteen reasons for going into the presence of another. The verse summaries for the first three topics are cited without attribution by Haribhadra in his *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*.<sup>56</sup>

## Chapter 2

Chapter 2, the longest, deals with the remaining extracts. It opens with “four extracts in praise of the Buddha”, which are followed by “three extracts in praise of the Dharma” and “one extract in praise of the Saṃgha” (see Appendix 1).

Vasubandhu follows more or less the same technique in his treatment of the individual extracts. First he gives an abbreviated citation, for which the reader must refer to the “Hundred Extracts” for the full passage. He then explains or glosses the passage phrase by phrase in order of occurrence (*go rims bzin*, 32b5, 33b1, etc.). He often supplies alternate explanations, introduced by *gzan yañ* (46a2, 5, 8) or *rnam grāṅs gzan yañ* (35b6, etc.).

The last extract, at the end of the chapter (96b8), defines a monk who “knows the Dharma” (*chos śes pa = dharmajñā*) as one who knows the twelve *aṅgas*, the “classes” or “genres” of the Buddha’s teaching. The citation is parallel to *Anguttaranikāya* IV 113,12-16, which lists the nine *aṅgas* of the Theravādin tradition. Vasubandhu defines each of the *aṅgas* in turn; when he comes to the Vaipulya (97a8), he mentions the Mahāyāna for the first time:

The Vaipulya *aṅga* is the Mahāyāna: the instruction through which bodhisattvas, by means of the ten perfections (*daśapāramitā*), accomplish the ten stages

56. For an edition, study, and translation of these passages, see PRAPOD Assavavirulhakarn & Peter SKILLING, “Vasubandhu on Travel and Seclusion,” *Manusya: Journal of Humanities* 2.1 (Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, March 1999), pp. 13-24.

(*daśabhūmi*) and attain Buddhahood, the foundation of the ten powers (*daśabalāśraya*).<sup>57</sup>

At 97b5, Vasubandhu explains the terms Vaipulya and Mahāyāna. The latter is so called because it is “an extensive vehicle”, because it possesses “seven greatnesses”, which Vasubandhu lists.<sup>58</sup> Chapter 2 ends with the statement that the one hundred extracts have been explained in part; using this part as an example, the wise may investigate the meaning of other phrases [from other sūtras] (98a5).

### Chapter 3

Chapter 3 (98a7) opens with:

Furthermore, the meaning of terms (*tshig gi don = padārtha*) is to be understood in four ways:

- (1) through synonyms (*rnam granis = paryāya*);
- (2) through definitions (*mtshan nīd = lakṣaṇa*)
- (3) through derivation (*ries pa'i tshig = nirukti*)
- (4) and through classification (*rab tu dbye ba = prabheda*).<sup>59</sup>

Vasubandhu gives a definition and a canonical example for each, noting that the Buddha “employs one or the other after taking into account the specific needs of the [person to be] trained” (*'dul ba'i khyad pa*, 98b2). This concludes the third topic, *padārtha* (99b8), which is followed by an explanation of the fourth topic, *anusamḍhi* (99a1-100b3).

Vasubandhu then deals with the fifth topic, “raising an objection” (*brgal ba = codya*), which is of two types: “objection to the wording” (*sgra la brgal ba*, 100b4-101a5) and “objection to the meaning” (*don la brgal ba*). The latter is also of two types: *sna phyi 'gal bar brgal ba* (101a5), “raising the objection that there is an inconsistency of ‘before and after’ (contextual inconsistency?)” and *rigs pa dañ 'gal bar brgal ba* (101b5), “raising the objection that there is a logical inconsistency”. “Logic” (*rigs pa = yukti*) is defined as the three *pramāṇa*: *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, and *āptāgama* (102b6 *mdor na rigs pa ni 'dir tshad ma rnam pa gsum po mñon sum pa dañ rjes su dpag pa dañ yid ches pa'i gsuñ ño*).

57. For Vaipulya see Peter SKILLING, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha*, Vol. II, Parts I & II, Oxford 1997, pp. 31-42.

58. Cf. Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 38.

59. The passage is cited at Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 72.

The discussion of the fifth topic takes up the entire chapter, and is divided into two parts. The first (100b3-104a4) raises various objections by citing passages from sūtras that apparently contradict each other. Only the objections are given, without response. For example, under *śna phyi 'gal bar brgal ba* (101b2):

In some places “the four truths of the noble” are taught.<sup>60</sup> In some places “the three truths of the brahmans” are taught.<sup>61</sup> In some places it is taught that “there are two truths: conventional truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*) and ultimate truth (*paramārthasatya*)”; in some places it is taught that “There is only one truth: there is no second”.<sup>62</sup>

The final objection to be raised (103b2) refers back to Vasubandhu’s definition of the Vaipulya *aṅga* as the Mahāyāna: the Vaipulya *aṅga* cannot be the Mahāyāna, which cannot be the teaching of the Buddha, since it is inconsistent with the teaching of the Buddha well-known to all schools (*sarvanikāya*). Passages from Mahāyāna sūtras – “all dharmas are without inherent nature (*niḥsvabhāva*), are unborn (*ajāta*), are undestroyed (*aniruddha*); all dharmas are from the beginning calm (*ādiśānta*), by nature in complete nirvāṇa (*parinirvṛta*)” – are set against passages from the canon of the Śrāvakas – “In dependence upon the eye and visible form, visual consciousness arises”; “Alas – conditioned things are impermanent: they have the nature to arise and cease” (*Udānavarga* 1:3).

In the second part (from 104a4), Vasubandhu answers the objections one by one, in order of occurrence. All but the last objection – that the Vaipulya *aṅga* cannot be the Mahāyāna, which is taken up in Chapter 4 – are dealt with in the remainder of the chapter.

In several cases Vasubandhu brings in the important concept of *dgoṅs pa* = *abhiprāya*, the intention of a specific teaching, a theme fundamental to many of his works. For example, replying to the objections cited above, he states: “The various enumerations by which truth is taught to be fourfold, threefold, twofold, or single do not contradict each other, since they [were spoken with] different intentions (*dgoṅs pa tha dad pa'i phyir*, 109b8).”

60. Cp. *Samyuttanikāya* V 425,14, etc.

61. Cp. *Aṅguttaranikāya* II 176,26, which gives four.

62. *Suttanipāta* 884a; Nalinaksha DUTT (ed.): *Bodhisattvabhūmiḥ* (*Being the XVth section of Asaṅgapāda's Yogācārabhūmiḥ*), Patna 1978, p. 198,15.

### Chapter 4

Chapter 4 is devoted entirely to a debate on and a defence of the authenticity of the Mahāyāna. It opens (113a8) with the last objection raised in the first section of Chapter 3, repeating the challenge: “Because it is inconsistent with the well-known teachings of the Buddha, the Mahāyāna cannot be the word of the Buddha. Therefore [your] statement that ‘the Vaipulya is the Mahāyāna’ contradicts the scripture (*āgama*).” Vasubandhu turns the objection back upon the “opponent”: “If this is so, then what for you is ‘the well-known teaching of the Buddha’ is equally not the word of the Buddha, because it is self-contradictory”. He then cites a number of contradictory sūtra passages: “There are three feelings: pleasant, unpleasant, and neutral”;<sup>63</sup> “Whatever feeling there may be is suffering”;<sup>64</sup> “Pleasant feeling should be viewed as suffering”;<sup>65</sup> “To perceive suffering as pleasure is a misapprehension (*viparyāsa*)”;<sup>66</sup> and so on.<sup>67</sup>

Vasubandhu then makes the statement that “in the Śrāvakayāna, the teaching of the Buddha is not extant in its entirety” (114b2), which he backs up with citations from and references to the sūtras. He maintains that the canon of the Śrāvakas is incomplete, since Ānanda did not know all the sūtras, and that there is in fact no “teaching of the Buddha well-known to all schools” since the canon is arranged differently by different schools, and since some schools reject certain sūtras accepted by other schools. Other topics dealt with include “final” and “provisional” meaning (*nītārtha*, *neyārtha*), “teaching with a specific intention” (*abhiprāya*), and “literal interpretation” (*yathārutārtha*).

The longest citation of a Mahāyāna sūtra, which takes up six folios, is from Chapter 2 of the *Mahāyānaprasādaprabhāvanāsūtra* (P812) on the twenty-eight unwholesome views that arise “when a bodhisattva analyses the Dharma in a literal (*yathāruta*) and incorrect (*ayoniśas*) manner”. A similar citation, with some variants, is given by Asaṅga in his *Abhi-*

63. *Samyuttanikāya* IV 204, etc.

64. *Majjhimanikāya* III 208,27; *Samyuttanikāya* II 53,20; IV 216,17 foll.

65. *Samyuttanikāya* IV 207,6.

66. Cp. *Āṅguttaranikāya* II 52,20.

67. The last three passages are cited together at *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 6:3, (PRADHAN) 330, 11-13, (DWARIKADAS) 880,2-4.

*dharmasamuccaya* as from the *Mahādharmādarśadharmaparyāya*.<sup>68</sup> Otherwise, the sūtra and the passage seem little known.<sup>69</sup>

The final topic dealt with is whether Śākyamuni Buddha was an emanation (*nirmāṇa*, 129b4 foll.). This brings up various points connected with Śākyamuni's career as a bodhisattva and a Buddha, and the subject of his past unwholesome deeds that gave rise to negative effects in his final life (*karmaploti*, 131a6). Vasubandhu refers to the *Upāyakaūśalyasūtra* and the *Lokottaraparivarta* for the correct interpretation of the latter.<sup>70</sup> At the mention of the *Upāyakaūśalyasūtra*, the "opponent" states that it is not authoritative, since it allows a bodhisattva to kill.<sup>71</sup> Vasubandhu then explains under what circumstances and with what intention it is permissible for a bodhisattva to do so (131b7 foll.).

From this brief summary, it may be seen that the chapter is extremely interesting in that it contains many arguments not seen elsewhere.

68. Pralhad PRADHAN (ed.), *Abhidharma Samuccaya of Asaṅga*, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan 1950 (Visva-Bharati Studies 12) 84, 3-10. The *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* (112,18) gives the same title, as does the Tibetan of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, P5550, Vol. 112, *sems tsam, li*, 124a4: *chos kyi me lon chen po'i chos kyi rnam graṅs*. The Peking Kanjur title is ('Phags pa) *Theg pa chen po la dad pa rab tu sgom pa zes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*. At the end of the sūtra itself (37a3-5), the Buddha gives Ānanda four alternate, "internal" titles, according to a traditional formula; all four contain the element *mahāyāna-prasāda-*, and none of them *dharmādarśa*. Kazunobu MATSUDA has written (in Japanese) about the sūtra with reference to the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and *Vyākhyāyukti* in his "On the two unknown Sūtras adopted by the Yogācāra School, based on a passage found in the writings of Bu ston and Blo gros rgyan mtshan," in Zuihō YAMAGUCHI (ed.): *Buddhism and Society in Tibet*, Tokyo 1986, pp. 269-89.

69. EDGERTON (BHSD 425a), for example, gives only one reference under the "Kanjur title," to Mvy § 1365, and none for *Mahādharmādarśa*. The opening of the passage cited by Vasubandhu is given under the "Kanjur title" by Bu ston in his "Treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha": see David SEYFORTH RUEGG, *Le Traité du Tathāgatagarbha de Bu Ston Rin Chen Grub*, Paris 1973, p. 84.

70. For the former see the translation from the Chinese as "On the Pāramitā of Ingenuity" in Garma C.C. CHANG (ed.): *A Treasury of Mahāyāna Sūtras*, Pennsylvania State University Press 1983, pp. 455 foll.; translation from Tibetan, Mark TATZ: *The Skill in Means (Upāyakaūśalya) Sūtra*, Delhi 1994, pp. 74 foll. For *karmaploti* see Sally Mellick CUTLER, "Still Suffering After All These Aeons: the Continuing Effects of the Buddha's Bad Karma," in Peter Connolly and Sue HAMILTON (ed.): *Indian Insights: Buddhism, Brahmanism and Bhakti: Papers from the Annual Spalding Symposium on Indian Religions*, Luzac Oriental, London 1997, pp. 63-82.

71. See *A Treasury of Mahāyāna Sūtras*, pp. 456-57; TATZ, pp. 73-74.

## Chapter 5

On the whole, Chapter 5 leaves controversy behind. In the main it deals with how and why one who explains the sūtras should generate respect in his audience. It contains numerous similes, including a number of “numerical” similes, some of which are common to the *Gāthārthasamgrahaśāstra*:

- Like water the Dharma bestows five benefits;<sup>72</sup>
- Like fire it has four functions;<sup>73</sup>
- Like a pleasant beach it is resorted to for five reasons;<sup>74</sup>
- As for three reasons a cloth does not take drawings, so for the “pictures” of *jñāna* on the cloth of the mind;<sup>75</sup>
- Like a monkey the mind is agitated in two ways;<sup>76</sup>
- Like the sun rising in the sky, the Buddhavacana performs five functions;<sup>77</sup>
- As there are five benefits from relying on a competent guide, so for relying on a competent teacher;<sup>78</sup>
- As leather becomes workable for three reasons;<sup>79</sup>
- As three strengths enable travellers to safely traverse a jungle path.<sup>80</sup>

Similes of limestone (142b6), a sentinel (142b8), musicians and a blind man with a lamp variously illustrate the dangers of having listened to many [teachings] (*bahuśruta*) but knowing only the words and not the meaning (*artha*).<sup>81</sup> Examples are given of how even a little listening to the Dharma brings great benefit.<sup>82</sup> Ten distinctions that make good stronger than evil are listed (146a5).

Vasubandhu lists ten reasons why the Dharmavinaya is well-taught (*legs par gsuñs pa = svākhyāta*, 135a3). He defines the seventh (137b6),

- 72. *Vyākhyāyukti* 141a4; *Gāthārthasamgrahaśāstra* 260b8; Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 10.
- 73. *Vyākhyāyukti* 141a4; *Gāthārthasamgrahaśāstra* 260b5; Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 11.
- 74. *Vyākhyāyukti* 141b3; *Gāthārthasamgrahaśāstra* 261a3; Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 11.
- 75. *Vyākhyāyukti* 141b7; *Gāthārthasamgrahaśāstra* 261a7.
- 76. *Vyākhyāyukti* 142a6.
- 77. *Vyākhyāyukti* 142b2; *Gāthārthasamgrahaśāstra* 262b3.
- 78. *Vyākhyāyukti* 143a6.
- 79. *Vyākhyāyukti* 146a1; Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 80.
- 80. *Vyākhyāyukti* 146a3; Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 80.
- 81. All are cited at Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 82-83.
- 82. *Vyākhyāyukti* 143b2 foll.; Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 81.

“because it brings about comprehension” (*go bar mdzad pa ñid*) by “with a single utterance [the Buddha] brings understanding to world-systems without end” (*dbyañs gcig gis 'jig rten gyi khams mtha' yas par go bar mdzad pa*). Under the tenth, “because it comprises [all] qualities”, he cites the *Tathāgataguhyā* on the sixty qualities of the Buddha’s voice.

At folio 143a4, Vasubandhu gives a definition of the term “treatise” (*śāstra*), and cites, without attribution, a verse:

*ñon moñs dgra rnams ma lus 'chos pa dañ,*  
*ñan 'gro srid las skyob pa gañ yin te,*  
*'chos skyob yon tan phyir na bstan bcos te,*  
*gñis po 'di dag gžan gyi lugs la med.*

The same verse is cited by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā*:<sup>83</sup>

*yac chāsti vaḥ kleśaripūn aśeṣān, saṃtrāyate durgatito bhavāc ca,*  
*tac chāsanāt trāṇagunāc ca śāstram, etad dvayaṃ cānyamateṣu nāsti.*

It is also cited by Guṇaprabha in his *Pañcaskandhavivarāṇa*, which is a commentary on Vasubandhu’s *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*.<sup>84</sup> Guṇaprabha ascribes it to Ācārya Āryadeva (slob dpon 'Phags pa lha).

Vasubandhu cites the *Arthavistara*, an important sūtra of the (Mūla)-Sarvāstivādins, three times (140a8; 134b6; 134a3).<sup>85</sup> At folio 144b5, he cites and explains a verse on how the Dharma is no longer properly explained, and refers to two losses: the loss of the letter and spirit of the Āgama, and the loss of understanding. Similar sentiments are expressed in the final verses of the *Abhidharmakośa* (8:39, 41).

83. Louis de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN: *Madhyamakavṛttii: Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamikasūtras) de Nāgārjuna*, repr. Osnabrück 1970, p. 3,3-4. According to LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, n. 3, the verse is missing in the Tibetan.

84. P5568, Vol. 114, *sems tsam, hi*, 68a8. The verse is also cited at Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 42.

85. J.-U. HARTMANN has identified Sanskrit fragments of this text from Central Asia, and demonstrated that it belonged to the *Ṣaṣṭisūtrakānīpāta*: see his “Fragmente aus dem Dīrghāgama der Sarvāstivādins” in ENOMOTO, HARTMANN, and MATSUMURA: *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen*, Göttingen 1989, pp. 40-46.

### III. Sources of the Vyākhyāyukti

#### *Citations from the canon of the Śrāvakas*

All of the “Hundred Extracts” are culled from the scriptures of the Śrāvakayāna. In addition to the “Hundred Extracts”, in the *Vyākhyāyukti* Vasubandhu cites briefly or refers to numerous other sūtras. Those referred to in Chapters 1 and 2 belong exclusively to the canon of the Śrāvakas; those cited or referred to in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 belong to both the canon of the Śrāvakas and to the Mahāyāna. Chapter 5 has relatively few citations. As a whole, most of the citations and references are from the scriptures of the Śrāvakayāna. Most citations are in prose. As in his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*, and *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra*, Vasubandhu cites verses under the rubric *gāthā*.

The specific source of the “Hundred Extracts” and the other citations, with a very few exceptions, is the canon of the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādins. This can be established by their phraseology. For example, extract § 2, on the Buddha’s declaration of his enlightenment, corresponds to a passage in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Sanḥabhedavastu*, as does the citation from the \**Cetaḥparyāyābhijñānirdeśa* (see Appendix 5.1) as amplified by Guṇamati.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, Vasubandhu cites by title a number of sūtras which, so far as I know, are unique to the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin tradition, such as the *Arthavistara*, the \**Jaṭila*, the *Paramārthasūnyatā*, the *Māyājāla*, and the *Hastatāḍopama Sūtras*.<sup>87</sup> The *Paramārthasūnyatā*, the *Hastatāḍopama*, and the \**Jaṭila* (under the title *Bimbisāra*) *Sūtras* are also cited by Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, as are many of the sūtras cited without title. The (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin affiliation also holds for the citations in Guṇamati’s *Ṭīkā*, since Guṇamati simply amplifies the references given by Vasubandhu. It also holds for the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*<sup>88</sup> and the other works of Vasubandhu to be mentioned below.

86. I suspect that this is a reference to a section of a larger work (whether sūtra or vinaya), rather than the title of an independent work.

87. For the *Jaṭilasūtra* (known also as the *Bimbisāra-* or *Bimbisārapratyudgamana-sūtra*), see Peter SKILLING, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha*, Vol. II, Parts I & II, Oxford 1997, pp. 267-333 (for the title *Jaṭilasūtra*, see p. 278). For the *Māyājālasūtra* see *ibid.*, pp. 227-65.

88. Cf. Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA, “Über die Schulzugehörigkeit der Kanon-Zitate im *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*,” in H. BECHERT (ed.): *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, Part 1, Göttingen 1985, pp. 180-90.

The “few exceptions” are citations from the recensions of other schools. As in his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, in such cases Vasubandhu usually, but not always, names the school in question (see Appendix 5.2). An interesting example is at folio 33a1, where, after analysing the phrase *svartham svavyañjanam*, Vasubandhu notes that “some recite *sa-arthaṃ sa-vyañjanam*” (*kha cig ni don dañ ldan pa dañ, tshig 'bru dañ ldan pa zes 'don te*). Here neither Vasubandhu nor his commentator Guṇamati say who these “some” are, but the reading agrees with that of the Theravādin tradition, *satthaṃ sabyañjanam* (*Majjhimanikāya* I 179,7, etc.).

#### *Citations from the scriptures of the Mahāyāna*

A list of Mahāyāna scriptures cited by title is given in Appendix 6. In addition, Vasubandhu cites several without title. The *Samdhinirmocana* is also cited by Vasubandhu in his *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* and referred to in his *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*.

#### *Sources of Vasubandhu's methodology*

It is probable that Vasubandhu derived most of his terminology and methodology from earlier works, and that his originality lay in his arrangement and use of traditional material. He makes frequent references to *āgama* (*luñ*: see Appendix 5.1), sometimes in verse; in most cases the style and phrasing of the citations shows that he does not mean the canonical *Āgamas*, but is referring to an unidentified exegetical tradition. As is common in Buddhist *śāstra* literature, Vasubandhu occasionally refers to the opinions of “some” (*kha cig = kecit*: 67a6; 95b8) or “others” (*gžan dag = anya*: 80b8, in verse; 112b4). As noted above, the *Vyākhyāyukti* contains many other verses in a non-canonical style; whether any of these were composed by Vasubandhu remains to be determined.

As a manual of exegesis, the *Vyākhyāyukti* may be compared with the Pāli *Nettipakarana* of the pre-Buddhaghosa Theravādin tradition, so far as I know the only other major treatise devoted to this subject that has come down to us. Apart from the occasional use of similar terms, such as *saṃkleśabhāgīya*, and a similar interpretation of the *mahāpadeśa*, which might derive from a common source, I have not noticed any striking correspondences between the two texts (but a thorough study remains to be made). Exegesis is also dealt with by Asaṅga in his

*Yogācārabhūmi*<sup>89</sup> and in the *Sāṃkathyaviniscaya*, the last chapter of his *Abhidharmasamuccaya*.<sup>90</sup> A passage in the latter employs categories similar to those of the *Vyākhyāyukti* (36b5-37a1).<sup>91</sup> Only a thorough comparison of these texts will reveal their relationship.

#### IV. Translators and Translation

Since more or less the same team of translators rendered all three works into Tibetan, we are presented with a unified body of work. The works are listed in the *lDan* (or *Lhan*) *dkar Catalogue* of the early 9th century.<sup>92</sup> Viśuddhasiṃha and Devendrarakṣita were also responsible for the Tibetan version of Vasubandhu's *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* (P5563; KSP pp. 174-75) and the accompanying *Ṭīkā* by Sumatiśīla (P5572; KSP p. 175), as revised by Śrīkūṭa (dPal brtsegs).

I have not been able to find any biographical information for any of the translators, who also worked on the following texts:<sup>93</sup>

- Viśuddhasiṃha *et al.*: P166 (*dhāraṇī*); 351 (id.); 831; 855; 856; 874; 973
- Viśuddhasiṃha, Sarvajñādeva, Prajñāvarman, Ye šes sde, dPal brtsegs: P767
- Viśuddhasiṃha, dPal brtsegs: P5593 (Yaśomitra's *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*)
- Śākyasiṃha, Devendrarakṣita: P940
- Viśuddhasiṃha, Devendrarakṣita: P935
- Devendrarakṣita: P994
- Devendrarakṣita, Jinamitra, *et al.*: P827
- Devendrarakṣita, Vidyākaraṇabhā:<sup>94</sup> P141 (*dhāraṇī*), 508 (id.)
- Mañjuśrīvarman *et al.*: P367 (*dhāraṇī*)
- Sarvajñādeva, dPal brtsegs: P891; 896; 923; 999; 1013
- Sarvajñādeva *et al.*: P1030 (*Vinayavastu*); 1034 (*Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga*).

89. Cf. WAYMAN: "Doctrinal Affiliation," p. 203.

90. Ed. Pralhad PRADHAN, Santiniketan 1950, pp. 102 foll.; French translation by Walpola RAHULA: *Le Compendium de la Super-doctrine (Philosophie) (Abhidharma-samuccaya) d'Asaṅga*, Paris 1971, pp. 177 foll.

91. PRADHAN, p. 103,9-11; RAHULA, pp. 178-79. Cf. also *Abhidharmasamuccaya-bhāṣya*, 142,5-9.

92. That is, the *Vyākhyāyukti* and Guṇamati's *ṭīkā*: Marcelle LALOU, "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan", *Journal Asiatique* 1953, §§ 649, 650 (in section XXIV, *rnam par šes pa'i bstan bcos*): [649] *rnam par bśad pa'i rigs pa*, 1800 *ślokas*, 10 *bampos*; [650] *rnam par bśad pa'i 'grel pa*, *yon tan blo gros kyi mdzad pa*, 4500 *ślokas*, 15 *bampos*. I suspect the *Sūtrakhaṇḍa-sāta* is included with the *Vyākhyāyukti*.

93. For this list I have used the catalogue volumes of the Otani reprint of the Peking Kanjur and Tanjur.

94. Vidyākaraṇabhā worked with dPal brtsegs: P402, 432, 433.

The corpus of their work shows that the translators collaborated with the well-known Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, dPal brtsegs, and Ye śes sde on the translation of Dhāraṇī and Sūtra, the latter both of the Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna (and, in the case of Sarvajñādeva, on the *Vinaya*). Their activity belongs to the period of intensive translation during the “First Propagation” (*sña dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet, in about the beginning of the 9th century. Their familiarity with the thought of Vasubandhu shows itself in a lucid rendering, equal to the best standards of Tibetan translation.

### V. *The Influence of the Vyākhyāyukti*

#### *Influence in India (1): The Tarkajvālā of Bhavya*

The *Tarkajvālā* is an encyclopædic work composed by Bhavya (circa 500-70?) as a commentary on his *Madhyamakahrdayakārikās*.<sup>95</sup> It contains an important defense of the Mahāyāna, which in some cases seems to rely on the *Vyakhyāyukti*.<sup>96</sup> At one point Bhavya cites a verse list of sūtra titles that appears to be from the *Vyakhyāyukti*.<sup>97</sup>

(VyY 114b3)

*bla ma kun dga' 'od sel dañ,*  
*sdug bsñal phuñ ston sa ston dañ,*  
*'char ka stoñ ñid chu las skyes,*  
*gañ po sa mtsho chu śin dañ,*  
*mya ñan 'das dañ yul 'khor srui,*  
*'phro ba'i mdo dañ de bžin gžan,*  
*yañ dag bsdus pa'i gži ñams phyir,*  
*mtsha' dag min par rtogs pa yin,*

(*Tarkajvālā* 180a5)

*bla ma kun dga' pa ta li,*  
*sdug bsñal phuñ po sa ba dañ,*  
*'char byed skyod pa 'chañ ba dañ,*  
*gañ po spañs par ma pa dañ,*  
*mya ñan 'das lañ yul 'khor skyoñ,*  
*žes bya gžan yañ 'gro ba'i mdo,*  
*rtsa ba'i sdud pa ma tshañ bar,*  
*rgyas pa min par rtogs par bya.*

#### *Influence in India (2): The Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana*

The *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* (Arthav-n) is a commentary on the *Arthaviniścayasūtra*, a long compendium of many of the basic terms and categories of Buddhism. The *Nibandhana*, composed by Vīryasrīdatta at

95. For references to Bhavya and his date and work, see Peter SKILLING, “A Citation from the \**Buddhavaṃsa* of the Abhayagiri School,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XVIII (1993), pp. 168-69.

96. It is possible that some of Bhavya's material is taken from a common source, rather than directly from Vasubandhu. The extent of his debt to Vasubandhu can only be judged when the two works have been properly edited.

97. P5256, Vol. 96, *dbu ma, dza*.

Nālandā during the reign of King Dharmapāla (latter half of the 8th century),<sup>98</sup> cites or paraphrases the *Vyākhyāyukti* a number of times. Vīryaśrīdatta cites three verses from the *Vyākhyāyukti*, without naming his source:

(1) (Arthav-n 72,4) *tathā ca āha:*

*śrutvā sūtrasya mähātmyam śrotur ādarakāritā,  
śravaṇodgrahaṇam syād ity ādau vācām prayojanam.*

(VyY 34a1) 'dir smras pa:

*mdo don che ba űid thos na,  
ñan pa dañ ni 'dzin pa la,  
ñan pa po ni gus byed pas,  
thog mar dgos pa brjod par bya.*

(VyY133a7) snar:

*mdo sde'i che ba űid thos na,  
mñan pa dañ ni bzuñ ba la,  
ñan pa po ni gus byed 'gyur,  
de phyir thog mar dgos (corr. from dgoñs)  
pa brjod. ces bstan pa yin.*

This verse is cited by Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I, p. 17.

(2) (Arthav-n 77,2) *yathoktam:*

*aiśvaryasya samagrasya rūpasya yaśasaḥ śrīyah,  
jñānasyātha prayatnasya śaṇṇām bhaga iti śrutiḥ.*

(VyY 46b7) 'dir bśad pa:

*dbañ phyug dañ ni gzugs bzañs dañ, grags dañ dpal dañ ye śes dañ,  
brtson 'grus phun sum ldañ pa yi, drug po dag la bcom źes bśad.*

This verse is also cited by Haribhadra in his *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.<sup>99</sup>

(3) (Arthav-n 247,5 – in verse?) *padānām punaḥ piṇḍārthah:*

*bhañktvā vibandham śāstrvasampadam yañ hi yena saḥ,  
yathāgataḥ śāstrkarma yac ca yaś ca parigrahaḥ. ity etat paridīpitam iti.*

(VyY 45b7 – prose) *tshig rñams kyi bsdus pa'i don de ni bgegs bcom nas ston  
pa phun sum tshogs pa gañ du gañ gis, ji ltar gśegs pa dañ, ston pa'i phrin las  
gañ yin pa dañ, gañ dag gis yoñs su gzun ba źes bya ba 'di yoñs su bstan to.*

Several prose passages, such as parts of the sections dealing with the four *brahmavihāra*<sup>100</sup> and with the four *srota-āpattyāṅga*<sup>101</sup> are based on the *Vyākhyāyukti*. Otherwise, Vīryaśrīdatta relies heavily on the *Abhi-*

98. See Arthav, introduction, pp. 133-36; Arthav-n 312,3-6. I have not been able to trace any references to Vīryaśrīdatta in Tāranātha.

99. WOGIHARA: *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, p. 7,27, introduced by *atha vā*.

100. Cp. Arthav-n 193,3 - 195,1 with VyY 65b8-66a8.

101. Arthav-n 240-59. Since the VyY does not deal with this subject, the parallels are scattered here and there and do not follow the same order. Cp., for example, Arthav-n 248, 5-249,5 (on the Dharma) with VyY folios 49a, 49b, and 50a; Arthav-n 250, 5-252,2 (on the Saṃgha) with VyY folio 51a; Arthav-n 256, 6-258,6 (on *śīla*) with VyY folio 82b.

*dharmakośabhāṣya* and Yaśomitra's *Vyākhyā* (as shown by Samtani in his notes).<sup>102</sup> For his interpretation of *pratīyasamutpāda*, he uses Vasubandhu's *Pratīyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*.<sup>103</sup> Other passages may be traced to the *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra*, and to the commentaries on Vasubandhu's *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* by Guṇamati and Pṛthivībandhu. Thus Vīryaśrīdatta's work may be described as a compendium of the thought of Vasubandhu as applied to the interpretation of the *Arthaviniścayasūtra*. Its intrinsic value is enhanced by the fact that it supplies us with examples of the Sanskrit terminology and phraseology of the *Vyākhyāyukti* and the *Pratīyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*. Conversely, since there is no Tibetan or Chinese translation of the *Nibandhana*, doubtful readings or difficult passages in that text can be clarified by consulting Vīryaśrīdatta's sources in Tibetan translation.<sup>104</sup>

(A second and quite different commentary on the *Arthaviniścayasūtra*, the anonymous *Arthaviniścayaṭīkā* [P5852], which is preserved only in Tibetan translation, takes a quite different approach. A casual study shows a preference for the interpretations of Asaṅga. The only parallel to the *Vyākhyāyukti* that I have traced is the mention of the three types of pot, discussed above.)

### *Influence in India (3): The Abhisamayālamkāraloka*

The *Abhisamayālamkāraloka* was composed by Haribhadra, who resided at the Trikūṭaka Vihāra during the reign of King Dharmapāla, and hence was roughly contemporary to Vīryaśrīdatta. Haribhadra gives five citations of verse from the *Vyākhyāyukti*. The first, which is also cited in the *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* (see above), is introduced without title by the phrase *atha vā*. The second, which names the source as the *Vyākhyāyukti*, lists the five methods by which the sūtras are to be explained.<sup>105</sup> Haribhadra also cites *kārikās* from the *Kośa*.<sup>106</sup> In his

102. See also SAMTANI's introduction, pp. 134-35.

103. A reference to the Sanskrit fragments edited by TUCCI has been noted by SAMTANI. In addition there are numerous parallels to the complete Tibetan version.

104. For example, the variant *sunirjita* for Arthav-n 194, 1, *nirjita-vipakṣatvāt*, is confirmed by VyY 66a4, *mi mthun pa'i phyogs śin tu thul ba'i phyir*.

105. See above, n. 54. For the other three citations see PRAPOD & SKILLING, "Vasubandhu on Travel and Seclusion" (above, n. 56).

106. WOGIHARA 220,23; 222,2-26; 224,2; 225,7.

*Sphuṭārthā Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti*, Haribhadra cites the *Kośa* and the *Vimśatikā*.<sup>107</sup>

These references show that the *Vyākhyāyukti* was studied (along with the other works of Vasubandhu) in the great monasteries of Northern India during the reign of Dharmapāla. Tibetan tradition records that Sa skya Paṇḍita studied the *Vyākhyāyukti* under Indian *paṇḍitas*,<sup>108</sup> which shows that the work retained its importance in India up to the 12th century. Since, however, the work has not been edited, translated, or analyzed to date, the full extent of its influence upon Indian *śāstra* literature has yet to be determined.

*Influence in Tibet (1): Sa skya Paṇḍita and the Vyākhyāyukti*<sup>109</sup>

The *Vyākhyāyukti* was one of the sources used by Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251/2) for his *mKhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo*, which “described for the first time to Tibetans the literary values and scholastic methods of Indian Buddhists”, and set forth “the three main activities of a traditional scholar: composition, teaching, and debate”. The *Vyākhyāyukti*, cited by Sa paṇ, lends its structure to the second part on exposition.<sup>110</sup>

*Influence in Tibet (2): Bu ston and the Vyākhyāyukti*

Bu ston, in his renowned *History of Buddhism (Chos 'byun)* classes the *Vyākhyāyukti* among the “Eight Treatises” of Vasubandhu (OBER-MILLER, I 56-57), and describes it as “teaching the proper [method] of exposition and hearing [of the the Dharma] in the light of the doctrine

107. Bhikṣu SAMDHONG Rimpoche (ed.): *Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti Sphuṭārthā*, Sarnath 1977, Tibetan text, p. 118,1, 118,12-13, respectively.

108. See following section for reference.

109. The information and quotations in this section are from David JACKSON's foreword to *Mkhas pa la 'jug pa'i sgo, An introduction to the principles and concepts of Indo-Tibetan scholasticism*, Sakya Centre, Dehra Dun 1983. See also JACKSON's *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III): Sa-skya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate*, 2 Vols., Vienna 1987.

110. JACKSON (1987), Part I, pp. 195-96: *bśad pa la 'jug pa'i le'u*, p. 28, *rnam bśad rigs pa las*. See also Part II, Appendix I, for Glo bo mkhan chen's outline of the section.

of mind only”.<sup>111</sup> His citations begin at the very beginning of his work (OBERMILLER, I 9), with a verse which he attributes to the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, also found in the *Udānavarga* and cited by Vasubandhu in both the *Vyākhyāyukti* and the *Gāthāsaṃgraha*.<sup>112</sup> He then cites at length the interpretation of the verse from the *Vyākhyāyukti* (a similar explanation is given in the *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra*), followed by several further citations. In his *History* he cites the *Vyākhyāyukti* by name 22 times, and cites Guṇamati’s *Ṭīkā* once.<sup>113</sup> There are also several unattributed citations (I 38 = 97b5; I 81 = 140b7-141a1).<sup>114</sup>

### *The Vyākhyāyukti and modern scholarship*

The *Vyākhyāyukti* has been neglected by modern scholarship, perhaps in part because it is not available in Sanskrit or in Chinese translation. Although much has been written about Vasubandhu, the *Vyākhyāyukti* is scarcely mentioned. The only early scholar who seems to have consulted it extensively was OBERMILLER, who, in his translation of Bu ston’s *History* (see above), meticulously traced the *Vyākhyāyukti* references. LAMOTTE, in the introduction to his *Le Traité de l’Acte* (p. 176) describes the *Vyākhyāyukti* as “un ouvrage lexicologique”, while

111. *de ltar yin yañ bśad nān ’thad par ston pa rnam bśad rigs pa*: Bu ston rin chen grub, *Bu ston chos ’byuñ*, Gañs ljoñs śes rig gi ñiñ bcud, Kruñ go bod kyi śes rig dpe skrun khañ 1988, p. 31,20.
112. *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, Chap. XI (Ulrich PAGEL: *The Bodhisattvapiṭaka: Its Doctrines, Practices and their Position in Mahāyāna Literature*, Tring (UK) 1995 (Buddhica Britannica Series Continua V), pp. 341, 344; *Udānavarga* 22:6; *Vyākhyāyukti* 136b3; *Gāthāsaṃgraha* 240b4; *Gāthārthasaṃgrahaśāstra* 257a6; also cited at Śamathadeva, *Abhidharmaśāstra-upāyikāṭīkā*, P5595, Vol. 118, *tu*, 51b2.
113. See OBERMILLER’s Index, Part II, p. 230.
114. A study of the influence and application of the *Vyākhyāyukti* and its principles in the Land of Snows is a chapter of Tibetan intellectual history that remains to be written, lying beyond the range of this already bloated monograph and the competence of its author. Suffice to add here that it was regularly cited by the great 19th century scholar Jamgon KONGTRUL (Koñ sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas, 1813-99) in his *Śes bya mtha’ yas pa’i rgya mtsho*: see for example Jamgön KONGTRUL Lodrö Tayé, *Myriad Worlds: Buddhist Cosmology in Abhidharma, Kālacakra and Dzog-chen*, translated by the International Translation Committee of Kunkhyab Chöling founded by the V.V. Kalu Rinpoché, Snow Lion Publications, Ithaca (New York) 1995, pp. 88-89; *Buddhist Ethics*, translated by the International Translation Committee founded by the V.V. Kalu Rinpoché, Snow Lion Publications, Ithaca (New York) 1998, pp. 68, 76, etc.

ANACKER calls it a "history of the Buddhist Canon".<sup>115</sup> Both descriptions are inaccurate. A better one is offered by Hajime NAKAMURA: the *Vyākhyāyukti* "teaches how to interpret and explain the content of a sūtra. In the fourth chapter of this work the assertion that Mahāyāna cannot be considered as Buddhism is set forth and Vasubandhu refuted it".<sup>116</sup>

Exceptions to the neglect include an article by José Ignacio CABEZÓN, "Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti* on the Authenticity of the Mahāyāna Sūtras"<sup>117</sup> and the work of Kazunobu MATSUDA and other Japanese scholars.<sup>118</sup>

## VI. Conclusions: The Importance of the *Vyākhyāyukti*

### *As a source for Āgama studies and sūtra citations*

In the "Hundred Extracts", we have 109 citations from the (Mūla)-Sarvāstivādin scriptures, selected for their significance by Vasubandhu himself. Most of them are repeated in full in Guṇamati's *Ṭīkā*. In the *Vyākhyāyukti*, there are many other citations; though generally these are very brief, they are frequently amplified by Guṇamati. In addition, the *Vyākhyāyukti* contains numerous references to sūtra titles or to personages; in some cases where Vasubandhu gives only the title, Guṇamati supplies a citation which helps us to identify the sūtra. A number of the citations are not found in the *Abhidharmakośa* or other works of either Vasubandhu or the Vaibhāṣika tradition. In addition, there are occasional references to the scriptures or interpretations of other schools, and references to and citations of Mahāyāna scriptures.

### *As a source for Mahāyāna studies*

The study of the origins of the Mahāyāna and its relationship to the Śrāvakayāna is one of the most important and challenging fields of

115. ANACKER, *op. cit.*, p. 1; p. 155, n. 62.

116. NAKAMURA, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 271.

117. In Jeffrey R. TIMM (ed.): *Texts in Context: Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*, Albany 1992, pp. 221-43.

118. See (all in Japanese) the two articles by Susumu YAMAGUCHI mentioned by NAKAMURA, and Kazunobu MATSUDA, "Buddha's Teaching and its Meaning based on Passages in the *Vyākhyāyukti* by Vasubandhu," *Journal of Buddhist Studies and Humanities, Otani University*, 63-1 (1983), pp. 79-80; "On the Two Truths in the *Vyākhyāyukti* by Vasubandhu, Notes on Vasubandhu – Part Two," *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 33-2 (1985), pp. 750-56.

Buddhist studies. The *Vyākhyāyukti* is one of the few Indian works extant that treats at length with the validity of the Mahāyāna and its relationship to the Śrāvakayāna scriptures, in the form of a highly literate debate.<sup>119</sup> It is thus a primary source for studies on this subject.

*As a source for "Vasubandhu studies"*

On the evidence of his *Abhidharmakośa* alone, Vasubandhu has been rated one of the most learned and interesting Buddhist thinkers of all time. Since the *Vyākhyāyukti* is a mature, confident, and comprehensive work, it cannot be ignored in future studies on Vasubandhu. As noted above, controversy remains about who he was, when he lived, his relationship to Asaṅga and the Mahāyāna, and to the "Elder Vasubandhu". The present study shows that the works of Vasubandhu's later period are all interrelated, and that they are related to his earlier *Kośabhāṣya*. In order to gain a deeper insight into the development of Vasubandhu's thought, we need proper critical editions of these works, and – since they cannot be fully appreciated in isolation – a thorough concordance. This would put "Vasubandhu studies" on a firm footing.<sup>120</sup>

*As a manual of exegesis*

The three points listed above should be sufficient to establish the importance of the *Vyākhyāyukti*. But they must be subordinated to the purpose (*prayojana*) of the text itself.<sup>121</sup> The *Vyākhyāyukti* sets out the principles of exegesis or hermeneutics. Needless to say, the principles of exegesis described by Vasubandhu may be applied not only to the sūtras that he cites, but to Buddhist literature in general.

On the basis of these points, I venture to state that the *Vyākhyāyukti* can no longer be safely ignored, and that it is one of the most important Buddhist works remaining to be studied.

119. Another is Bhavya's *Tarkajvālā*, which depends for some of its ideas on the *Vyākhyāyukti*.

120. I am preparing a critical edition of the three works of the "Vyākhyāyukti literature".

121. We might say that while the emphasis of the *Kośa* is the clarification of categories and classifications (by nature of its being an Abhidharma text), the emphasis of the *Vyākhyāyukti* is meaning and interpretation (*gōṇs pa, abhiprāya*).

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Concordance of the first ten extracts

#### Chapter 1

- [1] VyY-sū 19a3-6; VyY 32a3 foll.; VyY-ṭ 2b1  
On hearing and realizing the Dharma; parallel to *Aṅuttaranikāya* V 6, 1-6, on *sutadhana*.

#### Chapter 2

- Four extracts “in praise of the Buddha” (VyY 45b5, *saṅs rgyas kyi bśnags pa las brtsams nas ni ... mdo sde'i dum bu bži dag ste*):
- [2] VyY-sū 19a6-7; VyY 45b7; VyY-ṭ 20a1  
The “ten epithets of the Buddha” = *Arthaviniścayasūtra* 45,9-11
- [3] VyY-sū 19a7-19b1; VyY 47a1-48a3; VyY-ṭ 22b5  
On the Buddha’s proclamation of his enlightenment = *Sanḅhabhedavastu* I 136,9-13
- [4] VyY-sū 19b1-3; VyY 48a3-b5; VyY-ṭ 23b7  
On the Buddha as “tamer of the untamed”; parallel spoken by King Pasenadi in the *Aṅgulimālasutta*, *Majjhimanikāya* 86, II 102,19.
- [5] VyY-sū 19b3; VyY 48b5-49a5; VyY-ṭ 26a3  
“The Tathāgata is a knower of the path ...” = *Vinayavastuṭṭikā*, P5615, Vol. 122, ‘*dul ba'i 'grel pa, dzu*, 347a4. Cf. *Majjhimanikāya* 107, III 6,8.  
Three extracts “in praise of the Dharma” (VyY 49a5, *chos kyi bśnags pa las brtsams na[s] ni ... mdo sde'i dum bu gsum ste*):
- [6] VyY-sū 19b3-4; VyY 49a7-50a3; VyY-ṭ 27a5  
Stock description of the Dharma = *Arthaviniścayasūtra* 45,12-46,1
- [7] VyY-sū 19b5-6; VyY 50a3-50b2; VyY-ṭ 28a2
- [8] VyY-sū 19b6-7; VyY 50b2-8; VyY-ṭ 30a2  
One extract “in praise of the Saṅgha” (VyY 50b8, *dge 'dun gyi bśnags pa las brtsams nas ni ... mdo sde'i dum bu ste*):
- [9] VyY-sū 19b7-8; VyY 50b8-51b2; VyY-ṭ 30b3  
Stock description of the Saṅgha = *Arthaviniścayasūtra* 46,3-4  
One extract on “the side of defilement” (*saṅkleśapakṣa*) (VyY 51b2, *kun nas ṅon moṅs pa'i phyogs las brtsams nas ni ... mdo sde'i dum bu ste*):
- [10] VyY-sū 19b8-20a5; VyY 51b2-52a2; VyY-ṭ 31a4

### Appendix 2: Verses in the Vyākhyāyukti

#### Appendix 2.1. Saṅgrahaśloka

- Chapter 1: 44b6; 45a5  
Chapter 2: 50b6; 80b3; 80b7  
Chapter 3: 100b2; 109b5  
Chapter 4: 123a8  
Chapter 5: 134a2; 146b6; 148b6; 152a5; 152b5.

#### Appendix 2.2. Introductory phrases to verses

- '*di ltar smras pa*: 34a1 (= *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana*: see above)  
'*dir smras pa*: 33b5 (= *Abhisamayālamkāra*: see above); 34a5; 59b5; 60b1

'dir: 45a7  
 'dir yañ: 55a7  
 'dir yañ smras pa: 61a2, 8; 65b5; 78b2; 87b8  
 'dir yañ bśad pa: 110b6; 127a7; 141a1  
 'dir bśad pa: 46b7 (= Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana: see above); 49b6  
 de la: 69b1  
 mnam grañs gźan yañ: 50a7; 80b4  
 gźan yañ: 48a8  
 gźan yañ go rims bźin: 48a7  
 gźan yañ smras pa: 69b3  
 yañ 'dir bśad pa: 112b5  
 yañ gźan dag na re: 80b4  
 yid ches pa'i luñ las: 87b1  
 luñ las ni: 60b2; 69b6

### Appendix 2.3. Verses without introduction:

45b2; 104a5; 106a5; 142a7; 144a3; 144a5; 144b1, 2, 3; 144b5; 145a7; 147a3, 5;  
 147b1, 4; 148a1; 148b7; 149a5, etc.

### Appendix 3: Thirteen terms with diverse meanings

[1]	VyY 38b4:	<i>gzugs</i>	= <i>rūpa</i>
[2]	VyY 38b6:	<i>mtha'</i>	= <i>anta</i>
[3]	VyY 39a2:	<i>mchog</i>	= <i>agra</i>
[4]	VyY 39a8:	<i>'jig rten</i>	= <i>loka</i>
[5]	VyY 39b4:	<i>zañ zih</i>	= <i>āmiṣa</i>
[6]	VyY 39b7:	<i>'byuñ ba</i>	= <i>bhūta</i>
[7]	VyY 40a4:	<i>pā da</i>	= <i>pada</i>
[8]	VyY 40b2:	<i>chos</i>	= <i>dharma</i> (cited at Bu ston I, p. 18)
[9]	VyY 41a2:	<i>sprañs pa</i>	= <i>prahāna</i>
[10]	VyY 41a6:	<i>tshul</i>	= <i>nyāya</i>
[11]	VyY 41b4:	<i>las kyi mtha'</i>	= <i>karmānta</i>
[12]	VyY 42a2:	<i>phuñ po</i>	= <i>skandha</i>
[13]	VyY 42a5:	<i>bsdu pa</i>	= <i>saṃgraha</i>

### Appendix 4: Concordance of Pāli and Sanskrit Titles

Titles are given only when the correspondence between versions is certain, in traditional order of Pali *Nikāyas*, by Sutta number for *Dīghanikāya* (DN) and *Majjhimanikāya* (MN), by Pali Text Society volume and page numbers for *Samyuttanikāya* (SN) and *Aṅguttaranikāya* (AN). When possible a restored Sanskrit title is given (otherwise unattested or tentative titles being preceded by an asterisk). Further details can be found under the appropriate titles in Appendix 5.

#### *Dīghanikāya*

DN 16	<i>Mahāparimibbāna-su</i>	= <i>Mahāparinirvāna-sū</i>
DN 17	<i>Mahāsudassana-su</i>	= <i>Mahāsudarśana-sū</i>
DN 34	<i>Dasuttara-su</i>	= <i>Daśottara-sū</i>

*Majjhimanikāya*

MN 13	<i>Mahādukkhakkhandha-su</i>	= *(Prathama-)Duḥkaskandhika-sū
MN 14	<i>Cūladukkhakkhandha-su</i>	= *Duḥkaskandha-nirdeśa (?)
MN 28	<i>Mahāhatthipadopama-su</i>	= <i>Hasṭipadopama-sū</i>
MN 61	<i>Ambalaṭṭhikā-rāhulovāda-su</i>	= <i>Rāhula-sū</i>
MN 78	<i>Samanamaṇḍikā-su</i>	= *Pañcāṅgasthapati-sū
MN 82	<i>Raṭṭhapāla-su</i>	= <i>Rāṣṭrapāla-sū</i>
MN 107	<i>Gaṇakamoggallāna-su</i>	= * <i>Gaṇaka-sū</i>
MN 108	<i>Gopakamoggallāna-su</i>	= * <i>Gopaka-sū</i>
MN 115	<i>Bahudhātuka-su</i>	= <i>Bahudhātuka -sū</i>
MN 121	<i>Cūlasuññatā-su</i>	= <i>Sūnyatā-sū</i>
MN 139	<i>Araṇavibhaṅga-su</i>	= <i>Araṇa-sū</i>

*Samyuttanikāya*

SN III 65-66	<i>Sammāsambuddha-su</i>	= <i>Arhat-sū</i>
SN III 86	<i>Khajjanīya-su</i>	= <i>bZa' ba lta bu'i mdo</i>
SN III 105-6	<i>Ānanda-su</i>	= <i>Pūrṇa-sū</i>
SN V 154-58	<i>Bhikkhunīvāsaka-su</i>	= <i>Bhikṣuṇī-sū</i>
SN V 320-22	<i>Vesālī-su</i> (also <i>Vin III 68</i> )	= <i>Ri dags zlog gi mdo</i>

*Ānguttaranikāya*

AN I 229	<i>Gadrabha-su</i> <sup>122</sup>	= * <i>Gardabha-sū</i>
AN IV 402-5	<i>Silāyūpa-su</i>	= * <i>Acandrikāputra-sū</i> (?)
AN IV 162-66	<i>Uttara-su</i>	= <i>Uttara-sū</i>
AN IV 100-6	<i>Suriya-su</i>	= <i>Saptasūryodaya-sū</i>

**Appendix 5. Śrāvakayāna sources and references**

Conventions: In Appendices 5 and 6 references are given in the order VyY-sū, VyY, VyY-ṭ. References without any preceding siglum are to the primary text, VyY. References are given first by known or restored (indicated by preceding asterisk) Sanskrit title, followed by Tibetan title for those for which the Sanskrit is unknown. When the source of a citation is known but not given by title in the text, the title is enclosed within brackets. Secondary elements of titles (*Prathama-*, *Ārya-*, etc.) are placed in parentheses. Further: *-[sū]* indicates that *-sūtra* is not included in title as cited; (vs) = verse; (?) indicates a doubtful restoration or possible parallel, etc.; *aṅga* indicates one of the twelve *aṅgas* of the Buddha's teaching; = indicates parallels rather than exact equivalents. When minor corrections have been made to the Tibetan of the Peking edition, the original reading follows the corrected form in curling brackets: { ... }.

**Appendix 5.1. Literary references**

\**Acandrikāputra-sū* (?): *Ma zla ba'i bu mo'i mdo* (VyY-ṭ *Ma zla ba'i bu mo'i bu*) = AN IV 402-5, *Silāyūpa-su*, in which a *Candikāputta* plays a role 37a3; VyY-ṭ 10b6, 7

*Adbhutadharma*, *aṅga*: *rMad du byuṅ ba'i chos kyi sde*  
VyY-sū 31b6; VyY 97b1; VyY-ṭ 122b5; 124b1 (def.)

- (Prathama-)Adbhuta-sū: rMad du byuñ ba dañ po'i mdo  
 127b6 (= DN II 109; AN IV 307); VyY-ṭ 159a4
- \*Anāgāmi-sū: Phyr mi 'oñ ba'i mdo  
 VyY-ṭ 153a2
- Abhidharma: Chos mñon pa  
 VyY-sū 25b8; VyY 77a4; 97b3; 124b1; VyY-ṭ 86a1; 124b5, 7; 162a7
- Abhidharmakośa: Chos mñon pa'i mdzod  
 VyY-ṭ 181a8
- Abhivinaya: 'Dul ba mñon pa  
 VyY-sū 25b8; VyY 77a4; VyY-ṭ 86a1; 162a7
- Araṇa-sū: Ñon moñs pa med pa'i mdo = MN 139, Araṇavibhaṅga-su  
 74a8; VyY-ṭ 79a5 = MN III 230,15-17
- Arthavistara: Don rgyas pa = P984, Vol. 39  
 134b6; [43a8 (= P984, Vol. 39, mdo, śu, 198a2); 74a2 (= VyY-sū no. 67);  
 134a3; 140a8]; VyY-ṭ 166a7
- Arhat-sū: dGra bcom pa'i mdo = SN III 65, Sammāsambuddha-su  
 127b1; VyY-ṭ 157a8; 158a5
- Avadāna, aṅga: rTogs pa brjod pa'i sde  
 VyY-sū 31b5; VyY 97a6; 141a1 (see Nanda, Gopāla); VyY-ṭ 122b5; 123b8  
 (def.). See also Dīrghala-
- Āgama: Luñ  
 33b2; 34b1; 36a6; 36b5; 44a1; 48b2; 49b8; 51a8; 54a5; 55b4; 57a3; 58a1; 60b2  
 (vs); 62b4 (vs); 65b6; 69b6 (vs); 74b6; 76a1; 76b5; 77b7; 79a4; 81b4; 87b1  
 (vs); 103a8; 104a4; 112b7; 116b2, 3; 125b1; 145a3, 7; VyY-ṭ 6a3; 58a6; 92b8;  
 93a1; 94a6; 133b4; 134a1, 3, 6; 147b8; 148a1, 2
- Ānanda-sū: Kun dga' bo'i mdo  
 114b3; 114b7
- Āyuhparyanta-[sū]: Tshe'i mtha' = P973, Vol. 39  
 116b4
- Āryasatya-sū: 'Phags pa'i bden pa'i mdo sde  
 124b8; VyY-ṭ 153b4 (= SN V 425,14-17, etc.)
- Itivṛttaka, aṅga: De lta bu byuñ ba'i sde  
 VyY-sū 31b6; VyY 97a7; VyY-ṭ 122b5; 124a5 (def.); 124b5
- Uttara-sū: bLa ma'i mdo = AN IV, Uttara-su (cf. uddāna p. 172,15, Uttaro)  
 114b3; 114b4 (= AN IV 166,7-10); 115a3
- Udāna, aṅga: Ched du brjod pa'i sde  
 VyY-sū 31b5; VyY 97a4; VyY-ṭ 122b5; 123b6 (def.)
- [Udānavarga]<sup>123</sup>  
 36a8 (= Uv 27:25ab, 26ab); 40a5 (= Uv 26:29b); 40a7 (= Uv 4:1ab); 103b7  
 (=Uv 1:3); 40b1 (= Uv 29:25ef, 27ef, 29ef, 31ef); 53a8 (= Uv 28:21); 104a1 (= Uv 26:9);  
 113b7 (= Uv 23:17); 114a1 (= Uv 29:24); 118a2 (= Uv 29:24a);  
 118a2 (= Uv 29:23a); 125a4 (= Uv 29:24a); 136b3 (= Uv 22:6). See also Gāthā.
- Udāyi-sū: 'Char ka'i mdo  
 114b3; 115b1 (cp. SN IV 224,29-30?); VyY-ṭ 162a6; 163a4

123. References are to Franz BERNHARD (ed.): *Udānavarga*, Göttingen, Vol. I, 1965, Vol. II, 1968 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden X) = Uv.

Uddāna: sDom

VyY-sū 25a4

-gāthā: - gyi tshigs su bcaḍ pa 41a7; 61b5; VyY-ṭ 51a6

Upadeśa, aṅga: bsTan la dbab pa bstan pa'i sde

VyY-sū 31b6; VyY 97b2; VyY-ṭ 122b5; 124b7 (def.)

Upāli-sū: Ņe bar 'khor [ba'i] mdo sde

VyY-ṭ 147b7

Ekottara: gCig las 'phros pa

116b5

\*Kadalī-sū: Chu śiñ gi mdo

114b3; 115b8

\*Kapiñjala-jātaḱa: Goñ ma sreg gi skyes pa'i rabs (cf. Mahāvyyutpatti [Sakaki] 4892)

VyY-ṭ 124a6

\*Gaṇaka-sū: rTsis mkhan [gyi] mdo = MN 107, Gaṇakamoggallāna-su

VyY-ṭ 171a8

\*Gati-sū: 'Gro ba'i mdo

114b3; 116a5; VyY-ṭ 153a2, 3

\*Gardabha-sū: Luñ boñ gi mdo = AN I 229, Gardrabha-su

51b5; VyY-ṭ 31a7 (= AN I 229, 11-25)

Garbhāvakrañti [-sū]: mñal {mal} du 'jug pa

116b3; VyY-ṭ 153a2

Gāthā: Tshigs su bcaḍ pa

33a6 (see Māroḱta-); 51b6; 68b7 (= Uv 26:10d); 73a1 (= Uv 30:33); 73a5; 84a4;

114a7; 118a2 (= Uv 29:24a); 118a2 (= Uv 29:23a); 123b3; 125a4 (= Uv

29:24a); 128a7 (dGe 'dun phal chen sde pa: Mahāsāmghika); 144b6; 150b1

VyY-ṭ 48b8; 75a8 (yathoktaṃ sthvirāñiruddhena); 100b1, 3; 130a7; 148b3

-aṅga: - pa'i sde: VyY-sū 31b5; VyY 97a3; VyY-ṭ 122b4; 123b5 (def.)

Geya, aṅga: dByaṅs kyis bsñad pa'i sde

VyY-sū 31b5; VyY 40b7; 97a1, 2; 140a4; VyY-ṭ 122b4; 122b7 foll. (def.)

\*Gopaka-sū: Sa mtsho'i mdo (cf. Mahāvyyutpatti 1071, Gopi [pā] = Sa 'tsho ma)

= MN 108, Gopakamoggallāna-su

114b3; 115b6 (= MN III 13,26-32); cf. Śamathadeva, mñon pa'i bstan bcos, thu,

111b4

\*Cetahparyābhijñā-nirdeśa: Sems kyi rnam grañs mñon par śes pa bstan pa

37a8 (cf. Sañghabhedavastu [Gnoli] II 248,21); VyY-ṭ 10a7

Jaṭila-sū: Ral pa can gyi mdo sde = Bimbisārapratyudgamaṅa-sū, P955, Vol. 38

[VyY-sū 20b5]; VyY 55b5

Jātaḱa, aṅga: sKyes pa'i rabs kyi sde

VyY-sū 31b6; VyY 97a8; VyY-ṭ 122b5; 124a6 (def.). See also Kapiñjala-,

Sunetra-

Tripiṭaka: sDe snod gsum

VyY-ṭ 124b5, 7

Daśottara[-sū]: bCur bskyed pa = DN 34, Dasuttara-su

44a4

Dīrghala-avadāna: Riñ po len gyi rtogs pa brjod pa

97a7; VyY-ṭ 124a2

- \*Duḥkhaskandha-nirdeśa (?): sDug bsñal gyi phuñ po ston pa [bstan pa?]  
 = MN 14, Cūḷadukkhakkhandha-su  
 115a6 (= MN I 92.26)
- \*(Prathama-)Duḥkhaskandhika-sū: sDug bsñal gyi phuñ po can gyi mdo dañ po  
 = MN 13, Mahādukkhakkhandha-su  
 88b3; VyY-ṭ 108a5 (= MN I 85,22-29); 108b1 (= MN I 88,6-13)
- \*Deva(tā)-sū: Lha'i mdo  
 73a8; VyY-ṭ 75b3
- Dharmamudrā-sū: Chos kyi phyag rgya'i mdo  
 VyY-ṭ 153a3
- \*Nandaka[-sū]: dGa' byed  
 116b3
- Nidāna, aṅga: Glen gzi'i sde  
 VyY-sū 31b5; VyY 97a5; VyY-ṭ 122b5; 124b5, 6
- Nipāta: Le'u  
 116b3; VyY-ṭ 1481, 2
- \*Nyagrodha-sū: Nya gro dha'i mdo  
 48b1; 137a7; VyY-ṭ 24b8; 168a2; 171a7
- \*Pañcāngasthapati-sū: Yan lag lña pa'i phyā mkhan gyi mdo = MN 78,  
 Samañamañdikā-su  
 37a6 (= MN II 27,5-10); VyY-ṭ 11b2 (= MN II 26,16-22)
- Paramārthaśūnyatā[-sū]: Don dam pa stoñ pa ñid  
 124a7; 127b7; VyY-ṭ 159b6
- Pūrṇa-sū: Gañ po'i mdo = SN III 105-6, Ānanda-su  
 114b3; 115b5 (= SN III 105,10-11)
- Pratītyasamutpāda-sū: rTen ciñ 'brel bar 'byuñ ba'i mdo  
 98b2 [98b4, de ñid las; 98b7]
- Pravacana, dvādaśāṅga: gSuñ rab, yan lag bcu gñis po  
 VyY-ṭ 124b5
- Bahudhātuka[-sū]: Khams mañ po pa = P963, Vol. 38 = MN 115, Bahudhātuka-su  
 127b1; VyY-ṭ 157a8
- Bimbisārapratyudgama-sū: gZugs can sñiñ po bsu ba[i] mdo = P955, Vol. 38  
 VyY-ṭ 152b8
- Bhikṣuñī-sū: dGe sloñ ma'i mdo sde = SN V 154-58, Bhikkhunīvāsaka-su  
 43a3 (spoken to Ānanda); VyY-ṭ 68b6
- Mahāparinirvāṇa-sū: Yoñs su mya ñan las 'das chen po'i mdo  
 = DN 16, Mahāparinibbāna-su  
 114b3; 116a1 (= MPS 42:17, p. 396); 116a8; VyY-ṭ 147b6
- Mahāsudarśana-sū: Legs mthoñ chen po[i] mdo sde = DN 17, Mahāsudassana-su  
 VyY-ṭ 147b7
- Mātrkā: Ma mo  
 97b3; VyY-ṭ 124b3
- Mānuṣyaka-sū: Mi'i mdo  
 VyY-ṭ 123b5; 153a1
- Māyājāla[-sū]: sGyu ma'i dra ba  
 126b1; VyY-ṭ 155b7

- \*Mārokta-gāthā: bDud kyis smras pa'i tshigs su bcad pa  
33a6 (= SN I, Mārasaṃyutta, p. 108); VyY-ṭ 4a5
- Rāṣṭrapāla-sū: Yul 'khor skyoñ [gi] mdo = MN 82, Raṭṭhapāla-su  
114b3; 116a3 (cf. MN II 68,15 foll.)
- Rāhula-sū: sGra gcan zin gyi mdo sde = MN 61, Ambalaṭṭhikā-rāhulovāda-su  
71a8; VyY-ṭ 71a4 (= MN I 415,30-416,6); 71a7 (= MN I 416,35-417,1);  
71a8 (= MN I 417,6-7)
- Varṣākāra-sū: dByar tshul [gyi] mdo sde  
VyY-ṭ 147b7
- Vinaya: 'Dul ba  
97a5; 124b1 foll.; 129b7; VyY-ṭ 124a5; 124b6; 153a6 foll.
- Vibhāṣā: Bye brag tu bśad pa  
108b5; VyY-ṭ 129b4
- Veda: Rig byed  
105b2
- Vaitulya, aṅga: mTshuñs pa med pa'i sde  
VyY-ṭ 125a7
- Vaipulya, aṅga: Śin tu rgyas pa'i sde  
VyY-sū 31b6; VyY 97a8; 97b5; 98a3; 103b2; 104a4; 113b1; 133a3  
VyY-ṭ 122b5; 124a6 (def.); 124b8
- Vyākaraṇa, aṅga: Luñ du bstan pa'i sde  
VyY-sū 31b5; VyY 97a3; VyY-ṭ 122b4; 123a6 foll. (def.)
- Vyākaraṇa: Byā ka ra ṇa (non-Buddhist grammatical work)  
105a8; 105b1, 2, 6, 7; VyY-ṭ 135b7; 136a5
- Śāstra: bsTan bcos  
143a4 (def.; see Bu ston I 42)
- Śūnyatā-sū: sToñ pa ñid kyi mdo = P956, Vol. 38 = MN 121, Cūlasuññatā-su  
114b3; 115b2 (= MN III 104,7-11); VyY-ṭ 152b8
- Śroṇa-sū: Gro bzin skyes kyi mdo  
94b6
- Samyuktāgama: Yañ dag par ldan pa'i luñ  
36b5; VyY-ṭ 9a8 (cp. SN III 51)
- Saptabhava-nāma-sū: Srid pa bdun źes bya ba'i mdo  
VyY-ṭ 153a1
- Saptasūryodaya-sū: Ñi ma bdun 'char ba'i mdo sde = AN  
VyY-ṭ 126b1, 2
- Sujāta-sū: Legs skyes kyi {kyis} mdo  
VyY-ṭ 122b8
- Sunetra-jātaka: sPyan legs kyis skyes pa'i rabs  
99a8; VyY-ṭ 126b1, 3. See also Sunetra.
- Sūtra, aṅga: mdo'i sde  
VyY-sū 31b5; VyY 40b7; 97a1, 2; 140a4; VyY-ṭ 122b4, 6 (def.)  
[Piṭaka] VyY-ṭ 124b6, 7
- Hastatāḍopama[-sū]: Lag pa rdob pa lta bu  
102b6; 111a2; VyY-ṭ 132b2; 143b8
- Hastipadopama[-sū]: gLañ po che'i stabs lta bu = MN 28, Mahāhatthipadopama-su  
109b3 (= MN I 191,18-19)

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Katya'i bu mo'i mdo

VyY-ṭ 78b2

sKye mched so so ba'i mdo (sde)

102b5; 109a2; 109a5; 109b6; 111a1; VyY-ṭ 132a4, 5; 140b5; 143b4

rGyan can gyi bu'i mdo sde

81a7

Cañ mi smra ba'i mdo

116a6

Ci žig gsuñ ba'i mdo

131b5; VyY-ṭ 162a6, 7

Chu las skyes pa'i mdo (see Mahāvvyutpatti 6142, Jalaja?)

114b3; 115b4

Ñan thos la bśad pa'i mdo sde gñis

41a6; VyY-ṭ 14b8

rTa cañ šes bžon bzañs kyi chos kyi rnam grañs

115a6

gNas pa'i mdo

116a7

Mig chuñ gi mdo sde

VyY-ṭ 147b7

dMag ldan gyi mdo

VyY-ṭ 69a7

bZa' ba lta bu'i mdo = SN III 86, Khajjanīya-su

98b6 (= SN III 86); VyY-ṭ 126a1

'Od sel gyi mdo

114b3; 115a5

Ri dags zlog gi mdo

132b7 (= Vinaya III 68, SN V 320). Ri dags (= mrga) zlog is a proper name equivalent to the Pali Migalaṇḍikā samaṇakuttaka at Vinaya III 68,22 foll. It also occurs at Vinayavibhaṅga (P1032, Vol. 42, 119a7 foll. as ri dags zlog dge sbyon sbed.

Sa ra'i mdo

49b1

## Appendix 5.2. Proper names

Aṅgulimāla: Sor phreñ

46b4; 113b8 (= MN II 99)

\*Acandrikāputra (?): Ma zla ba'i bu mo'i bu

VyY-ṭ 10b7

Ajitakeśakambala: Mi pham skra'i la ba can

VyY-ṭ 69a5

Anāthapiṇḍada: mGon med zas sbyin

116a5; 131a7

(grhāpati: khyim bdag = Saṅghabhedavastu [GNOLI] I 167,1);

VyY-ṭ 147b2

Aniruddha: Ma 'gags pa

āyusmant: tshe dañ ldan pa

116a2

(from Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra) ārya: 'phags pa

129b7

sthavira: gnas brtan

VyY-ṭ 75a7

Aśvajit, āyusmant: rTa thul, tshe dañ ldan pa

84a4

Ācārya: Slob dpon

VyY-ṭ 131a4, 7; 135b5, 7; 136b2, 3, 8; 138a2; 146a8

- \*Ācārya-kula: sLob dpon gyi rigs 124a2; 148a1; 153a4  
 Ānanda: Kun dga' bo 35b8 (=MN III 110); 43a3; 114a3 (Kośabhāṣya [D] 881);  
 115b3; VyY-ṭ 7b2 foll.; 17a6 foll.; 68b7; 147a6; 153a6; 159a4  
 āyusmant: tshe dañ ldan pa VyY-ṭ 192a3  
 ārya-: 'phags pa - 114b7, 8; 115a3; 115b2; VyY-ṭ 147a8  
 sthavira-: gnas brtan - 115b5; 116a1  
 [Āryadeva, ācārya: 'Phags pa lha, slob dpon] 143a  
 Uttara, bhādanta: Bla ma, btsun pa 114b4, 5 (see Uttara-sū)  
 Uttara, māṇava: Bla ma, bram ze'i khye'u (previous birth of Śākyamuni)  
 131a6, 8; 131b6; VyY-ṭ 160b7, 8  
 Uttarakaurava: Byañ gi sgra mi sñan pa (rnams) VyY-ṭ 54a7  
 Udāyin, sthavira: 'Char ka, gnas brtan VyY-ṭ 78b1  
 Ulūka: 'Ug pa VyY-ṭ 143a6  
 Kakudha Katyāyana: Katya'i bu nog can VyY-ṭ 69a4  
 Kapila: Ser skya VyY-ṭ 143a6  
 Kapotamālinī: Thi ba'i phren ldan ma VyY-ṭ 192a2, 6  
 Kātyāyana: Katya'i bu VyY-ṭ 39b8; 40a2  
 (= AN I 66, Śamathadeva tu 25b3; Sūtrakhaṇḍa no. 22)  
 Kālāma: sGyu rtsal śes (dag) VyY-sū 20b2, 3; VyY 54a7  
 Kāśī: Yul kā {ko} śi VyY-ṭ 124a2  
 Kāśyapa: 'Od sruñs (previous Buddha) 130b6; 131a6; VyY-ṭ 160b8  
 Kāśyapīya-nikāya: 'Od sruñs pa'i sde pa 32a7; 54b6 (btsun pa  
 'od sruñs pa'i gzuñ las); VyY-ṭ 153a2  
 Kośala: Yul ko sa la VyY-ṭ 124a2  
 \*Gahanavana (?): Thibs po'i tshal 100b4  
 Ḡḍhrakūṭa-parvata: Ri brgod bya 115a7, 8  
 Gautama: Gau ta ma (Buddha, addressed by "outsider") VyY-sū 30b4; VyY 115b7;  
 VyY-ṭ 69b1 foll.; 117a8  
 (- dag) (name of a clan, addressed by Buddha) VyY-sū 20a4; VyY 52a2  
 Chanda, āyusmant: 'Dun pa, tshe dañ ldan pa (cf. Mvy 9474; BHSD 235a) 64b8  
 Jambudvīpa: 'Dzam bu'i gliñ VyY-sū 24b7; 114b4 (from Uttara-sū)  
 Tīrthika: Mu stegs can 51a8; 100a2; 115b1; 130b7; 136b5; 140a6;  
 VyY-ṭ 68b8; 123a8; 143a6; 147a5; 161a2  
 Tuṣita: dGa' ldan 130b6; VyY-ṭ 160b8  
 Dīrghala: Riñ po len VyY-ṭ 124a2 (past King of Kosala)  
 See also Dīrghala-avadāna  
 Devadatta: Lhas byin VyY-ṭ 10b7  
 Droṇa, brāhmaṇa: Bre bo, bram ze 40a8 (= AN II 37,26-27)  
 Dharmaguptaka-nikāya: Chos sruñ gi sde VyY-ṭ 153a2  
 Dharmānanda: Chos dga' 143b8 (birth as a chu srin)  
 Nagaraka-nama Śākyānām nigama  
 Śā kya rnams kyi groñ rdal groñ khyer zes bya ba 115b2  
 Nadī-kāśyapa: Chu kluñ 'od sruñs 46b4; VyY-ṭ 22a7

- Nanda: dGa' bo 46b4  
 kulaputra: rigs kyi bu VyY-sū 27b6; 28a3, 6, 8; VyY 85a3;  
 86a5; VyY-ṭ 101b6 foll.; 103b7 foll.
- gopālaka: ba lan rdzi 140b8  
 (*avadāna* in which Nanda crushes a frog with a stick = Bhaiṣajyavastu, Gilgit  
 Manuscripts [DUTT] III-1 51,1-6)
- Nandaka, āyusmant: dGa' byed, tshe dañ ldan pa VyY-ṭ 50b2
- Nikāya: sDe pa 116b2, 3; 124b7; VyY-ṭ 147b8; 148a1; 153a2  
 sarva-: - thams cad 103b3, 5; 124b2; 129b5  
 aṣṭādaśa-: - bco brgyad 124a7; 124b1
- Nirgrantha: gCer bu pa VyY 115a7 (- lag pa bsgren ba dag);  
 VyY-ṭ 147a4 (rnams; addressed); 162a8; 162b2
- Nirgrantha Jñātiputra: gCer bu pa gñen gyi bu VyY-ṭ 69a5  
 Nyagrodha: Nya gro dha VyY-ṭ 168a2.  
 See also Nyagrodha-sū.
- Parivrājaka: Kun tu rgyu (dag) 39b3
- Pūraṇakāśyapa: 'Od sruṅs rdzogs byed VyY-ṭ 68b8, 69a4  
 Pūrṇa-maitrāyaṇīputra: Byams ma'i bu gañ po 115b5 = SN III 105,10.  
 See also Pūrṇa-sū.
- Bāhyaka: Phyi rol pa 32b5, 6; 37a6; 46b2; 47b1, 4, 6; 48a8;  
 49a7; 49b3; 50a3, 4; 50b7; 67a2; 68a3
- Brahma: Tshañs pa VyY-sū 19a7; VyY 47a4; 47b1  
 -loka: 'jig rten VyY-sū 22b4
- Brahmadatta: Tshañs pas byin (past King of Kāśī) VyY-ṭ 124a2
- Bhadravargīya, ṣaṣṭi: bZaṅ po'i sde pa drug cu dag 44b1
- Mathurā: Yul bcom brlag 106b7; VyY-ṭ 137b3, 4
- Maskarī Gośalīputra: Kun tu rgyu gnag lhas kyi bu VyY-ṭ 69a4
- Mahākāśyapa: 'Od sruṅs chen po 116b2; VyY-ṭ 147b8
- Mahākauṣṭhila, āyusmant: gSus po che chen po, tshe dañ ldan pa  
 43b6; 100b5 (= MN I 292)
- Mahānāma, Śākya: Miñ chen {can}, Śākya- 115a6  
 (= MN I 92,26; cf. \*Duḥkhaskandha-nirdeśa)
- Mahārāja: rGyal po chen po 36a7; 115b4
- Mahāsāṃghika-nikāya: dGe 'dun phal chen sde pa 128a6 (verses of)
- Mahāsudarśana, Rāja: Legs mthoñ chen po, rgyal po VyY-sū 28b2; VyY 86b5
- Mahīśāsaka-nikāya: Sa ston pa'i sde 124a8; VyY-ṭ 153a2
- Mahīśāsaka-sūtra (?): Sa ston gyi mdo 14b3; 115a8
- Mahendrasena, rāja: dBaṅ chen sde, rgyal po VyY-ṭ 192a5
- Māra: bDud VyY-sū 19a7; 20a5, 6; VyY 33a6; 45b8; 47a1, 4; 52b3, 4, 5
- Muni: Thub (vs) 32a1
- Maudgalīyāna: Maud gal gyi bu 116a7; VyY-ṭ 147b4; 162b4
- Rājagrha: rGyal po'i khab 115a7, 8; VyY-ṭ 192a2
- Rāhula: sGra gcan zin VyY-ṭ 74a4 foll. See also Rāhula-sū.
- Varṣākāra: dByar tshul 115b6. See also Varṣākāra-sū.
- Vāraṇāsi: Ba ra nā si VyY-ṭ 161a3
- Vinaya-dhara: 'Dul ba 'dzin pa VyY-ṭ 124a5
- Vinaya-vaibhāṣika: 'Dul {gdul} ba'i bye brag tu smra ba (rnams) VyY-ṭ 133b2

- Vinaya-saṃgīti: 'Dul ba yañ dag par bsdus pa 124b6  
 Vipulapārśva-parvata: Ri nos yañ 115a7  
 Vaibhāṣika: Bye brag tu smra ba (dag) VyY-ṭ 131a8; 146a1  
 Śakra, Devānām-indra: brGya byin, lha mams kyi dbaṅ po 114b4; 115a3  
 (from Uttara-sū)  
 Śākya: Śā kya 115b2  
 Śākyamuni: Śā kya thub pa 129b6; 130a3; 132b8; VyY-ṭ 163a8  
 Śāriputra: Śā ri' i bu VyY-sū 29b8; VyY 84b4; VyY-ṭ 112b3; 113a1; 162b4  
 āyuṣmant: tshe dañ ldan pa - 43b6; 100b4; VyY-ṭ 11a2  
 ārya: 'phags pa - 84a3; 134a3 (from Arthavistara-sū);  
 134b6 (id.); 140a8 (id.); 143b3; VyY-ṭ 100a8; 166a7  
 bhikṣu: dge sloṅ VyY-ṭ 162a7  
 Śāradvatīputra: Śa ra dvā ti' i bu VyY-ṭ 100a8  
 Śrāvakayāna: Nān thos kyi theg pa 114b2; 116b1; 120b6, 8;  
 125b4; 127b1; 129b5, 6; 130a7  
 Śrāvastī: mNān yod 43b4; VyY-ṭ 123a5  
 Śroṇa: Gro bzin skyes VyY-sū 21b3, 4; 29b1, 2;  
 VyY 59a6; VyY-ṭ 45b2, 3; 109a6, 7  
 ārya- : 'phags pa - 89a7  
 brāhmaṇa: bram ze  
 see also Śroṇa-sūtra VyY-sū 30b4; VyY-ṭ 117b1  
 Śvetaketu, devaputra: Tog dkar po, lha' i bu (Śākyamuni as bodhisattva in Tuṣita)  
 VyY-ṭ 161a1  
 Saṃgīti: Yañ dag par bsdus pa 116b3, 4; 124b7  
 -kāra: - sdud par byed pa 76a8; 115a4; 124b5; VyY-ṭ 84b8  
 -pa' i gzi po 116b2; 124b6; VyY-ṭ 147b8  
 see Vinaya-  
 Saṃjayī Vairāḍīputra: sMra 'dod kyi bu mo' i bu yañ dag rgyal ba can VyY-ṭ 69a4  
 (Ārya-)Sammāṭīya-nikāya: 'Phags pa kun gyis bkur ba' i sde pa 124a7  
 Sarvārthasiddha, bodhisattva  
 Don thams cad grub pa, byañ chub sems dpa' VyY-ṭ 161a1  
 Sunetra, Śāstr: sPyan legs, ston pa po 99a4; VyY-ṭ 126b1, 3  
 See also Sunetra-jātaka.  
 Sthapati: Phya mkhan VyY-ṭ 11b3
- \*\*\*\*\*
- Ka tyā' i nu mo smyug ma can 74a3 (Cf. Mvy 3798 smyug ma mkhan = veṇukāra)  
 sGra sgros 115b7  
 sTen {rten} lña (dge sloṅ ... rnames) 115b8; VyY-ṭ 147b1, 2 (= Pañcabhadravargīya)  
 dMag ldan VyY-sū 23b6; VyY 36b1; 70b3; VyY-ṭ 69a5, 8; 69b1; 85b4  
 sMra mkhas, khyim bdag VyY-ṭ 123b1, 4  
 'Dzambu' i grib ma can  
 = Pali Jambukhādaka VyY-sū 29b8; VyY-ṭ 112b3; 113a2, 6 (= SN IV 252-53)  
 'Od sel: name of monk 115a5; see - gyi mdo  
 Ol ma se can (?) 115b7  
 Zas gtsaṅ ma' i sras 129b6; VyY-ṭ 17b4 (Śākya-); 161a1 (cf. Mvy 24)  
 Sa ga, tshe dañ ldan pa VyY-sū 25b5; VyY 76b8; VyY-ṭ 15b8 foll. (= MN I 301)

**Appendix 6. Mahāyāna sources and references****Appendix 6.1. Literary references**

Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā: Śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stoñ pa  
122a8 (= Vaidya, p. 165,14-20)

Upāyakauśalya-sū: Thabs la mkhas pa'i mdo sde  
131b6, 7; 132a5; VyY-ṭ 162b5

Gāthā: Tshigs su bcad pa

128b5 (from Bhavasamkrānti, P 892, Vol. 35, mdo, tshu 186b2)

Tathāgataguhyaka: De bzin gsegs pa'i gsañ ba

138a1 (= cit. in Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra, ed. S. Bagchi, Darbhanga, 1970, pp. 78,5 foll.)

Tathāgatopatti-nirdeśa-sū: De bzin gsegs pa skye ba bstan pa'i mdo

VyY-ṭ 163b2; 173b6

\*Mahāyānasūtrānta-saṃgraha: Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde bsdu pa  
134a6

Prajñāpāramitā: Śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa

116b7; (de ñid las) 116b8 (= Dutt 21.11-19); 117a4 (= ibid. 23.3-5); 117a5 (= ib. 25.4-9); 117a7 (= ib. 29.14-18); 117b1 (= ib. 30.3-5); 117b2 (= ib. 32.4-15)  
VyY-ṭ 133b6

[Bhavasamkrānti-sū: see Gāthā]

Mahāprasādabrahāvanā-mahāyāna-sū:

Dad pa chen po skye ba, theg pa chen po'i mdo (P812)  
119a7

Lokottaraparivarta: 'Jig rten las 'das pa'i le'u

131b7; VyY-ṭ 162b5

(Ārya-)Vimalakīrtinirdeśa: ('Phags pa) Dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa

119a2 (LAMOTTE, p. 106, vs 4)

Śatasāhasrikā [Prajñāpāramitā]: sToñ phrag brgya pa

97b6

Samdhinirmocana-sū: dGoñs pa ñes par 'grel ba'i mdo

123b2 (LAMOTTE p. 67); 123b4 (= LAMOTTE p. 80); 129a7 (= LAMOTTE p. 35)

\*Samantāloka-sū: Kun tu snañ ba'i mdo sde

119a4

Sarvapūnyasamuccaya[-sū]: bSod nams thams cad bsags pa'i mdo

123a1

Sūtrālamkāra: mDo sde'i rgyan

155b3

**Appendix 6.2. Proper names**

Brahma: Tshañs pa

118b2, 5

Mahāyāna: Theg pa chen po

97a8 (= Vaipulya); 97b5 (id.); 97b6 (def.); 98a3; 103b3; 104a3, 4; 113a8; 113b1, 2; 114a8; 116b5; 118b6, 8; 119a8; 120a7; 122a6, 7; 122b5; 123a6, 7; 123b1; 124a5, 6; 125a2, 3; 126b3; 128a8; 128b5 (vs); 129b4; 130a8; 132b7, 8; 133a3; VyY-ṭ 152b8; 153b8; 156a4; 163b7

Māra: bDud

122a8; 122b4, 5, 6, 7

Ratnākāra, bodhisattva: dKon mchog 'byuñ gnas, byañ chub sems dpa'

119a3 (from Vimalakīrtinirdeśa)

Śāntamati: Ži ba'i blo gros:

138a1 (from Tathāgataguhyaka)

Subhūti: Rab 'byor

103b5; 122a8 (from Aṣṭasāhasrikā); VyY-t 133b7; 134a5

### Appendix 7. Sources of the verses of the *Gāthāsamgraha*<sup>124</sup>

- 1) *Avadānaśataka* (BST 19) 251; *Kośabhāṣya* 4:112 (Pradhan 267). Cf. Daśabalaśrīmitra (*Samskṛtāsamskr̥taviniścaya*: P5865, Vol. 146), *no mīshar bstan bcos, ño*, 37b8; Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 103.
- 2) *Udānavarga* 15:9-11; *Sūkarikāvādāna* P1014, Vol. 40, *mdu u*, 302a8-b2.
- 3) *Udānavarga* 28:40.
- 4) *Samyuttanikāya* I 133, *Therīgāthā* 200, 201; *Mahāvastu* I (BST 14) 23-24.
- 5) *Divyāvādāna* (BST 20) 103; *Kośabhāṣya* 7:34 (PRADHAN 416) 1099; Daśabalaśrīmitra, *no mtshar bstan bcos ño*, 268a4; Śamathadeva, *Abhidharmakośa-upāyikāṭikā*, P5595, Vol. 118, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos, thu*, 103a3.
- 6) Cf. *Samyuttanikāya* I 5, *Araññasutta*.
- 7) *Udānavarga* 32:8.
- 8) *Udānavarga* 10:9.
- 9) *Udānavarga* 5:24.
- 10) *Udānavarga* 22:6; Śamathadeva, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos tu*, 51b2; *Vyākhyāyukti*, *sems tsam si*, 36b3; Bu ston (OBERMILLER) I 9; *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, Chap. XI (Ulrich PAGEL: *The Bodhisattvapiṭaka: Its Doctrines, Practices and their Position in Mahāyāna Literature*, Tring (UK) 1995 (Buddhica Britannica Series Continua V), pp. 341, 344.
- 11) *Udānavarga* 28:1; Śamathadeva, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos, tu*, 242a6; *Ta chih tu lun* = Étienne LAMOTTE: *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)* II, [Louvain 1949] 1967, p. 1075.
- 12) *Divyāvādāna* (BST 20) 53. Cf. *Udānavarga* 30:5.
- 13) *Udānavarga* 20:16; *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭikā* (ed. Susumu YAMAGUCHI, Nagoya, 1934, p. 150.13; ed. R.C. PANDEYA, Delhi 1971, p. 114; c, d in *Pratītya-samutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa* (P5496, Vol. 104), *mdu tshogs 'grel pa, chi*, 30b8 (*gāthā*).
- 14) *Udānavarga* 30:11; a in *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*, *mdu tshogs 'grel pa, chi*, 26b2 (*gāthā*).
- 15) *Udānavarga* 28:2 (var. in d).
- 16) *Udānavarga* 33:2.
- 17) *Udānavarga* 10:1.
- 18) *Udānavarga* 1:5; *Divyāvādāna* (BST 20) 561.8-9.

124. The enumeration follows the commentary, the *Gāthārthasamgraha-śāstra*, which treats some as groups. It is therefore different from the numbering in ROCKHILL & SCHIEFNER. For further occurrences of the verses consult the appropriate verse in BERNHARD's *Udānavarga*.

- 19) *Udānavarga* 1:3.  
 20) *Udānavarga* 1:22.  
 21) Not traced.

### Appendix 8: Sigla and references for the Vyākhyāyukti texts

- (1) *Vyākhyāyukti* = *rNam par bśad pa'i rigs pa*, by Vasubandhu, translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan by Viśuddhasiṃha, Sarvajñadeva, and Devendrarakṣita:  
 P: Peking Tanjur 5562, *sems tsam si*, 31b8-156a5 (Repr. Vol. 113, 244.5.8-294.4.5)  
 D: Derge Tanjur 4061, *sems tsam śi* 29a2-134b2  
 G: Golden (Ganden) Tanjur, *sems tsam si* (Repr. Vol. 66, A22-99)
- (2) *Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata* = *rNam par bśad pa'i rigs pa'i mdo sde'i dum bu brgya*, by Vasubandhu (dByig gñen), translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan by Viśuddhasiṃha, Sarvajñadeva, Devendrarakṣita, and Mañjuśrīvarman:  
 P: Peking Tanjur 5561, *sems tsam si*, 19a2-31b7 (Repr. Vol. 113, 239.5.2-244.5.7)  
 D: Derge Tanjur 4060, *sems tsam śi*, 17b1-29a2  
 G: Golden (Ganden) Tanjur, *sems tsam si* (Repr. Vol. 66, A12-21)  
 N: Narthang Tanjur, *mdo si*, 18a1-29a1
- (3) *Vyākhyāyuktiṭīkā* = *rNam par bśad pa'i rigs pa'i bśad pa*, by Guṇamati (*Yon tan blo gros*), translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan by Viśuddhasiṃha, Śākyasiṃha, and Devendrarakṣita:  
 P: Peking Tanjur 5570, *sems tsam i*, 1a1-194a6 (Repr. Vol. 114, 95.1.1-173.5.6)  
 D: Derge Tanjur 4069, *sems tsam si*, 139b1-301a7  
 G: Golden (Ganden) Tanjur, *sems tsam i* (Repr. Vol. 66, C1-120)

### Colophon

*Although the product of over twenty years of devotion to the Vyākhyāyukti literature, the present article is a compilation of information culled at various times for various reasons, rather than a thorough and comprehensive study. Thus I feel more like one who has periodically plundered an ancient, overgrown stūpa of a part of its treasures than a careful archaeologist who has systematically laid bare its structure in full detail. I aver without reluctance that the Vyākhyāyukti is Vasubandhu's most brilliant work, far surpassing the already brilliant Abhidharmakośa, and that for historical, philological, and philosophical purposes it is the most important single and compact<sup>125</sup> Indian śāstra in Tibetan translation awaiting study and translation. It is with this somewhat missionary zeal that I put forward this paper, incomplete and imperfect as it is, in the hope that it will generate interest in the important but hitherto ignored work, and serve as a guide to at least some of its treasures.*

125. I have used these two adjectives to exclude that other mine of treasures, the vast *Yogācārabhūmi* literature associated with Asaṅga, which equally deserves a full study and translation.