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A Re-examination of the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā on the Basis of the

Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet

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A Re-examination of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* on the Basis of the Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet*

YE Shaoyong

The *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MK), as indicated by its name, is the fundamental Sanskrit text of the Madhyamaka school. It became known to the modern world through Candrakīrti's commentary, the *Prasannapadā* (PSP), which was first edited by Chandra Das and Chandra Sastri¹ and later appeared in a better edition by Louis de La Vallée Poussin from 1903 to 1913 (LVP). One century has passed and more than a dozen new manuscripts have been discovered² and scholars such as J.W. de Jong, Christian Lindtner, Akira Saito and Anne MacDonald have made great efforts to suggest emendations to the text³. But the case of the MK is not yet ended.

Although the work was composed by Nāgārjuna as early as the 2^{nd} or 3^{rd} century CE, no relevant Sanskrit manuscript older than the 12^{th} century had been found. And what is more frustrating is that all the sources are monogenic, namely, extracted from Candrakīrti's commentary. This situation remained until 2003, when some miscellaneous palm-leaves drew my attention in the process of checking the microfilms of the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library.⁴ With the help of my supervisor, Dr. Duan Qing, I was able to identify 14 folios belonging to two incomplete manuscripts (hereafter referred to as our manuscripts), among which 3 folios are from a separate copy of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MK_{Ms}) and 11 folios are from Buddhapālita's commentary

^{*} I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai for making my stay in Japan possible. My thanks are also due to Professor Seishi Karashima for his kind support and guidance during my time at the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University. Thanks to my supervisor, Professor Duan Qing of Peking University, for the help and advice in many aspects. I am very grateful to Professors Akira Saito, Jan Nattier and Anne MacDonald who were kind enough to read through my draft and provided valuable suggestions. I am also benefited from Professor Harunaga Isaacson and Dr. Jundo Nagashima who generously afforded me some needed materials. Thanks to Professor Shoryu Katsura who provided me an opportunity to give a lecture in Ryukoku University on this topic and thanks all the participants for their insightful comments. Finally, I would like to thank Mr. Yang Zhaohua of Stanford University who took the trouble of checking my English. Needless to say, any errors that remain are my own.

¹ Mādhyamika Vrtti: The Philosophy of the Mahāyāna School Containing the Aphorisms of Nāgārjuna with Its Commentary of Āchārya Chandrakīrti, Buddhist Text Society of India, Calcutta, 1894-1897.

 $^{^2}$ For the review of the *Prasannapadā* manuscripts and new discoveries see Tsukamoto 1990: 237ff.; MacDonald 2000: 166-168; Yonezawa 2005: 160.

³ Cf. dJ; de Jong 1978; Lindtner 1982a: 177-215, 1982b: 25-26 (note 79), 1988; Saito 1984: xv, 1985; MacDonald 2000: 169-171, 2007.

⁴ The original manuscripts are now kept in Tibet Museum in Lhasa, and are not accessible to me so far. The microfilms I used belong to the Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Buddhist Literature at Peking University. For the history of these Sanskrit manuscripts see Steinkellner 2004; Hu-von Hinüber 2006.

 (BP_{Ms}) . I first reported on these manuscripts at the 14th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held in London in 2005.

These 14 folios, mixed with some other palm-leaves, had been cataloged by Wang Sen as "No. 17, Sanskrit miscellaneous leaves".⁵ No colophon or date has been found in the manuscripts. Their script, which could be called an eastern variety of the post-Gupta script, suggests a paleographical date of the 7th century. These manuscripts are not only the oldest extant Sanskrit manuscripts insofar as the Madhyamaka texts are concerned, but also mark the first time that the Sanskrit copies of an independent MK and of Buddhapālita's commentary were found. I have provided a complete edition of MK_{Ms} and the first portion of BP_{Ms} in an article published in this same issue (Ye 2007).

In this article I will re-examine some verses of the MK on the basis of these two newly identified manuscripts, from two aspects. First, some verses require emendation. In using the word "emendation", I assume that in these cases there were originally no differences among specific verses cited in different commentaries as reflected in different languages, and that our two manuscripts suggest better readings than those in the editions of dJ and LVP. That is to say, different commentators at their times may have had the same readings, and what is suggested here is most likely closer. As to the second aspect, things are much more complicated. It has been conjectured earlier by scholars that the Sanskrit text of the MK may have existed in different versions, given that discrepancies can be found in the same verse embedded in different commentaries.⁶ This is now confirmed by these two old manuscripts. Therefore the philological task of scholars working on the MK is no longer as simple as to pursue a "better" reading, but to draw a genealogy of its transmission. Needless to say, the task cannot be achieved only on the basis of these two manuscripts. It is not intended here to carry out a systematic study of the MK's lineage, but rather to focus on some minor points where, based on our manuscripts, some hints of the textual lineage can be traced. By doing so, I hope to shed a little light on the further study of the MK.

No.	Verse	dJ	LVP	Emendations
1.1	VII.14c	utpadyate tad ākhyātam utpadyate tathākhyātam u		utpadyate tad vyākhyātam (BP _{Ms})
1.2	X.9c	evaṃ satīndhanaṃ cāpi		bhaviṣyatīndhanaṃ cāpi (MK _{Ms})
1.3	XX.11c	na hy adṛṣṭvā na dṛṣṭvāpi	na hy adṛṣṭvā vā dṛṣṭvā vā	na hy adṛṣṭvā ca dṛṣṭvā ca (MK _{Ms})
1.4	XX.23d	sā kathaṃ janayet phalaṃ//	[sā] kathaṃ janayet phalaṃ//	katham janayate phalam// (MK_{Ms})
1.5	XX.24a	na sāmagrī	na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ tasmān (MK _{Ms})	
1.6	XXI.11b	vibhavaś caiva te bhavet/		vibhavaś ceti te bhavet/ (MK _{Ms})
1.7	XXI.14d	nityo 'nityo 'tha vā bhavet//	nityo 'nityo ['tha] vā bhavet //	nityo 'nityo 'pi vā bhavet//(MK _{Ms})
1.8	XXI.21cd	trișu kāleșu yā nāsti	[triṣu kāleṣu yā nāsti	yā nāsti trișu kāleșu
		sā kathaṃ bhavasaṃtatiḥ//	sā kathaṃ bhavasaṃtatiḥ//]	kutah sā bhavasamtatih// (MK_{Ms})
1.9	XXII.1d	katamo 'tra tathāgataḥ//		katamo nu tathāgataḥ// (MK _{Ms})

1. Emendations to the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā

⁵ Wang Sen 王森,民族圖書館藏梵文貝葉經目录 (A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Preserved in the China Ethnic Library), 1985. See Hu-von Hinüber 2006: 297-335.

⁶ Cf. Yamaguchi 1944; Lindtner 1982b: 26; Saito 1984: xv-xvii, 1987a, 1987b, 1995.

1.1 MK VII.14

BP_{Ms} (notpadyamānam notpannam nānutpannam katham cana /) utpadyate <u>tad vyākhyātam</u> gamya[māna]gatā[gat](ai)ḥ //⁷

"The originating, the originated and the not-yet-originated do not originate whatsoever. This has been explained by [the analysis of] the being-gone-over, the gone-over and the not-yet-gone-over."

tad vyākhyātam: dJ tad ākhyātam; LVP, Mss C, T, K tathākhyātam; Ms R tad yākhyātam.

ABh, BP _{Tib} , PP _{Tib}	ૹ૾ૢૢૺૹઽઽઽૹૹ૾ૢૢૺૹૹૢ૾ૺ૱ૡ૽૾ૡૡૻૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡૻ૽ૡૻૡૻૻૡૻ૽ૡૻૻૡ૽૿ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ
MK _{Tib} , PSP _{Tib}	ૹ૾ૢૢૺૹઽૢઽઽૹૹ૾ૢૢૺૹૹૢ૽ૺૻૻૡ૽ૼૺૡૻૻૻ૽ૣૻૣૻ૾૽ૡ૽ૺૡૻૺૡૻૻૡૻૻૡૻૻૡૻૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ

The prefix $\bar{\mathfrak{F}}^{aveq}$ found in all the Tibetan translations agrees with the prefix *vy*- in BP_{Ms}. And also in the context, the word *vyākhyātaṃ* "explained in detail" is more suitable than $\bar{a}khy\bar{a}tam$ "declared". Ms R reads *tad yākhyātaṃ*, which seems to be a scribal error for *tad vyākhyātaṃ*.

1.2 MK X.9

"If fire exists depending on fuel, there will be an establishment of an already established fire, and fuel will exist without fire."

bhavişyatīndhanam: dJ, LVP evam satīndhanam.

As to this verse, the problem is not about some reading to be emended, but about how to extract the verse from the prose, i.e., where the verse starts and ends.

Thus reads LVP:

evam api /

yadīndhanam apeksyāgnir agneh siddhasya sādhanam /

bhavişyati / yadīndhanam apekşyāgnir bhavişyatīti parikalpyate ... tasmād indhanam apekşyāgnir bhavatīti na yuktam //

api ca / yadīndhanam apekṣyāgnir bhavatīti parikalpyate /

evam satīndhanam cāpi bhavisyati niragnikam // 9 (LVP 207, ll. 10-19)

The underlining by de La Vallée Poussin shows his understanding of the verse. Now based on MK_{Ms} , we know that *bhavisyati* in LVP after pāda b is actually the beginning of

 $^{^7}$ All the verses cited from MK_{Ms} and BP_{Ms} are diplomatic transcriptions. For the conventions see the end of this article.

pāda c, and evam sati which was taken as the beginning of pāda c is nothing but part of the prose. Probably this is because the sandhi occurs between sati and indhanam and the metrical feasibility is misleading. Therefore our reading of this verse can well answer the question, already posed by Saito (1984: Chapter X, note 23), why all the Tibetan translations did not put evam sati into the verse, yet gave an "unnecessarily long equivalent" for indhanam, i.e., ฐราราฐารริเพิร, to meet the required number of syllables.

1.3 MK XX.11

MK_{Ms} athāvŗtah phalenāsau katamam* janayet phalam / na hy ad[rstvā ca drstv]ā ca hetur janaya[te] phalam //

* katamam: cf. BHSG §21.11; dJ, LVP katamaj.

[ca drstv]ā ca: dJ na drstvāpi; LVP vā drstvā vā; Ms R ca drsta ci; Mss C, T, K ca drstā са.

Our reading is supported by Ms C, T and K and partly by Ms R, putting their scribal errors aside.

1.4 MK XX.23

MK_{Ms} na ca pratyayahetūnām iyam ātmānam ātmanā / yā sāmagrī janayate katham janayate phalam //

"The combination of causes and conditions does not produce itself by itself. How could [it] produce a result?"

katham janayate: = Mss C, R, T, B; dJ sā katham janayet; LVP [sā] katham janayet.

ક્તુ ઋષ્ય ઽઽ વે ઝુેવ ઽવાવી । ॐવષ્ય ચાવર પ્ષેત્ર રે પ્ષેષ્ય વે । ચઽવાવીષ્ય ચઽવા છે ઽ એ ઝ્રે ઽ વા ! પરવષ્ય સુદે ભુર ઝ્રે ઽ ચર સે ઽ ા ! Tib.

The $s\bar{a}$ in brackets in LVP is reconstructed to meet the required number of syllables, and dJ simply followed this. If we have *janayate* instead of *janayet*, there is no need for sā. Our reading is supported by all the manuscripts of the PSP that I have consulted and by all the Tibetan translations. In Tibetan the two pronouns in pada b, namly \P 5 and 5, were translated respectively from *iyam* in pāda b and yā in pāda c. There is no equivalent for another sā.

1.5 MK XX.24

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MK<sub>Ms</sub>
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na sāmagrīkrtam tasmān nāsāmagrīkrtam phalam // asti pratyayasāmagrī kuta eva phalam vinā //

"Therefore, there exists no result made by combination or made by non-combination. Without a result, where is the combination of conditions?"

na sāmagrīkŗtam tasmān: dJ na sāmagrīkŗtam phalam; Saito 1985 tasmān na sāmagrīkrtam.

LVP ... tasmāt / na sāmagrīkrtam phalam / (LVP 406, 1.14-15); Mss C, R, T, K ... tasmān na sāmagrīkrtam phalam /;

ABh, PP _{Tib} , BP _{Tib}	<u>ઽૺૡ૿ૡ૾૾ૢ</u> ઽઃૹ૾૽ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ
MK _{Tib} , PSP _{Tib}	<u>ઽૺૡ૾ૢૺ</u> ૠૹ૾ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૹૡૻૡૻૡ૾ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૺૡૡ૽ૻૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ
PG	是故果不從,緣合不合生,若無有果者,何處有合法.
PP _{Ch}	是故果不從,緣合不合生,以果無有故,和合法亦無.
SM	若因緣和合,所作得成者,果若無集因,即因緣不合.

LVP underlined *na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ phalaṃ* as pāda a. Saito rightly noticed that there is $\exists \exists x \text{ in all the Tibetan translations as the equivalent for$ *tasmāt*, but no equivalent for*phalaṃ*. So he suggested*tasmān na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ*as pāda a, which unfortunately does not meet the metrical requirement. The word order in our manuscript solves this problem, and also shows that this sentence in PSP is not a citation in its proper order.

1.6 MK XXI.11

MK_{Ms}

dṛśyate saṃbhavaś caiva vibhavaś <u>ceti</u> te bhavet / (dṛ)śya(te) sam(bhava)ś c(aiva mohād vibha)va eva ca //

"If you think that rising and decaying can be seen, [it must be] because of delusion that rising is seen, and so for decaying."

ceti: dJ, LVP, Ms C, R, T, K caiva.

Tib.

ૡ૱ૢઽ૱ઽઽૡ૾ૺૠદેવા૱ઽવાઌૹ૽ૼઽૼ૾ૼૹૢ૱ૢૢૢૢૢૢૡ૽ૻૢૼઽૡૺ૱ૹૡૻ ૡ૱ૢઽ૱ઽૡ૾ૺૠદેવા૱ઽવાઌૹ૽ૼૼૼૼૼઙ૾૾ૢ૱ૹ૾ૢ૱ૹ૽૾૱૱ઌ૾ૡૻ

Although the reading *eva* is not impossible, the word *iti* in our manuscript makes it clear that the previous sentence is the quotation of the opponent's view; and it also fits the context better than *eva*.

1.7 MK XXI.14

MK_{Ms} [bhā] vam abhyupapannasya śāśvatocchedadarśanam / prasajyate sa bhāvo hi nityo (')nity(o) <u>(')[p]i</u> [v](ā) [bhavet] //

"For him who asserts the existence of things, the views of eternity and annihilation will follow, because existing things are either permanent or impermanent."

(')[p]i: dJ 'tha; LVP ['tha]; Mss C, R, T, K omit this akṣara;

This *akṣara* is not seen in any of the manuscripts of the PSP that I have consulted. It must have been omitted in an earlier exemplar which has affected all its descendants. The word *['tha]* is LVP's conjecture, which was then taken over by dJ.

1.8 MK XXI.21

MK_{Ms}e[va]m tri[s]v ap(i) [kālesu] na yuktā [bhava]santatiḥ /
y(ā) nāsti tri[su kāle]su kutaḥ s(ā) [bhavasamtatiḥ] //

"Thus the continuity of being is not reasonable in the three times. Where is the continuity of being that does not exist in the three times?"

Pādas cd: dJ trișu kāleșu yā nāsti sā katham bhavasamtatih; LVP [trișu kāleșu yā nāsti sā katham bhavasamtatih]; Ms C, R, T, K omit these two pādas;

Tib. દુશ્યવાયું સંદેવા દુવાર એન ગા ને વે દે સર શેન ગરે જીવા !

According to all the manuscripts of the PSP that I have consulted, these two pādas are absent either because an earlier exemplar omitted them or because Candrakīrti did not cite them at all. Except for the word order and *kutaḥ*, the reading of our manuscript is identical with de La Vallée Poussin's reconstruction.

1.9 MK XXII.1

MK_{Ms} skandhā na n{y}ā{na}nyah skandhebhyo nāsmin skandhā na teşu sah / tathāgatah skandhavān na katamo <u>nu</u> tathāgatah //

"[The Tathāgata is] not aggregates, nor different from aggregates; aggregates are not in him; he is not in them. The Tathāgata does not possess aggregates. Then which is the Tathāgata?"

In pāda d, there is no equivalent for *tra*, such as $\tilde{\uparrow}^{\mathfrak{T}}$, in any of the Tibetan translations. The reading *tra* found in dJ and LVP and *tra* in all the PSP manuscripts I have consulted could be the result of miscopying *nu* as in our manuscript, due to the confusion between these two *akşaras*. In our manuscripts, which are as old as post-Gupta period, the shapes of *tra* (\mathfrak{T}) and *nu* (\mathfrak{T}) are different. Saito (1987b: 762-760) suggested that this verse in the Sanskrit text of the PP might have the reading *kāya* rather than *skandha*. Our manuscript does not have this reading.

2. Hints of the lineage of the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā

As a first step, the text of the MK in different sources and languages can be roughly divided into two groups.

Group I, earlier commentaries:

ABh. The *Mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtty-akutobhayā*, written probably in the 4th century, was translated into Tibetan by Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan in the early 9th century. It is claimed in Tibetan to be Nāgārjuna's auto-commentary, but this is not plausible.

PP_{Tib}, PP_{Ch}. The *Prajñāpradīpa-mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti*, written by Bhāviveka (ca. 490-570) in the 6th Centrury, was translated into Tibetan by Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan in the early 9th century, and into Chinese by Prabhākaramitra (波羅頗蜜多羅, 565-633) in 631 CE.

BP_{Tib}. The *Buddhapālita-mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti*, written by Buddhapālita (ca. 470-540) at the end of the 5th century or the beginning of the 6th century, was translated into Tibetan by Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan in the early 9th century.

PG. The Zhonglun 中論, written by Pingala (ca. 300-350), was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什, 343-413 or 350-409) in 409 CE.

SM. The *Dasheng zhongguan shilun*大乘中觀釋論, written by Sthiramati (ca. 510-570), was translated into Chinese by Dharmapāla (法護) and Weijing (惟净) etc. at the beginning of the 11th century.

Group II, the PSP tradition:

LVP, PSP_{Tib}. The *Mūlamadhyamakakārika-vṛtti-prasannapadā*, written by Candrakīrti (ca. 600-650), was translated into Tibetan by Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (1055-?) who collaborated with the Indian scholar Mahāsumati at the close of the 11th century, and was later revised by Nyi ma grags and the Indian scholar Kanakavarman at the beginning of 12th century.

 MK_{Tib} , the Tibetan translation of *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, was first translated by the Indian scholar Jñānagarbha and the Tibetan translator Klu'i rgyal mtshan in the early 9th century, and then was revised or retranslated to some extent in accordance with PSP_{Tib} by Nyi ma grags with some Indian scholars at the close of the 11th century and the dawn of the 12th century. This is the reason why MK_{Tib} agrees with the verses embedded in PSP_{Tib} in most cases, although a few verses escaped revision (Saito 1986).

As to group I, as was already pointed out by Saito (1987a, b, 1995), the fact that the three Tibetan translations have the identical text of the verses may be due to the fact that the translator first completed the translation of Avalokitavrata's *Prajñāpradīpatīkā*, and then fit the rendering of verses into the others, as some verses which are discordant with the commentary can be found in ABh, BP_{Tib} and even in PP_{Tib}. The so-called group I is thus a provisional classification and later I will also point out some divergences within it⁸. In the following seven cases, I will first deal with MK_{Ms} and BP_{Ms} as a whole and show that their readings are closer to those of group I.

⁸ This idea was originally suggested to me by Professor Akira Saito at the 14th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held in London in 2005.

		Gro	up I			Group II
		ABh, BP _{Tib} , PP _{Tib}	PG	PP_{Ch}	SM	LVP, PSP _{Tib} , MK _{Tib}
2.1	BP _{Ms} : VII.32	0	0	0	0	×
2.2	MK _{Ms} : X.1	0	_	—	—	×
2.3	MK _{Ms} : XVIII.2	○?	0?	0?	0?	×
2.4	MK _{Ms} : XVIII.8	0	_	—	—	×
2.5	MK _{Ms} , BP _{Ms} : XX.13, 14	0	0	—	—	×
2.6	MK _{Ms} : XXI.8	0	0	0		×
2.7	MK _{Ms} : XXI.20	0	_	—	—	×
	I	1				
2.8	MK _{Ms} : chapter IX title	×	—	×	—	×
2.9	MK _{Ms} : X.13	×	0	×	0?	×
2.10	MK _{Ms} : chapter XI title	×	Ø	×	×	0
2.11	MK _{Ms} : XII.6	×	0	×	0	0
2.12	MK _{Ms} : absence of PSP XXI.5	×	_	×	0	×
	\bigcirc agree \emptyset partly agree	× different –	uncl	ear	[emp	<i>ty</i>] no equivalent

2.1 MK VII.32

 BP_{Ms}

na svātmanā <u>nirodhasya</u> nirodho na parātmanā / utpādasya ya[tho]tpā[do] [nā](tma)[nā na pa](rā)[tma](nā //)

"Cessation's ceasing is not [caused] by itself nor by another [cessation], just as origination's origin is not [caused] by itself nor by means of another [origination]."

dJ, LVP na svātmanā <u>nirodho 'sti</u> nirodho na parātmanā / utpādasya yathotpādo nātmanā na parātmanā //

"Cessation does not exist by itself nor by means of another [cessation], just as origination's origin is not [caused] by itself nor by means of another [origination]."

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} प्रयायाप्य प्यायाप्य यालन ५८ ने।। २े ७२ ग्रीभ ग्राट प्रयायाकी में याथा। हे सुर क्लेप्ट राज्य राज्य ने की। यालन ग्रीभ यक्ले राज्य के प्रयाय ने की।

MK _{Tib} , PSP _{Tib}	प्रवायायाययत्वाये स्वायित्या हे हो हो हो स्वायायायाय स्वायित्य स्वायायाय स्वायाय स्वायाय स्वायाय स्वायाय स्वाया
	૾૽ ૾૽ૡ૱ૻૢૢૢૢૢૢ૽ૺ૾૽ૡૻૻ૱ૻ૱ૻૡ૽૾ૺૡૻૡૡૻ૽૱ૡૻૡૡૻૡૡ૽ૡૡ૽ૺૡૡૡૡ૽૽ૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ

- PG 法不自相<u>滅</u>,他相亦不滅,如自相不生,他相亦不生.
- PP_{Ch} <u>法</u>不自體<u>滅</u>, 他體亦不滅, 如自體不起, 他體亦不起.

SM 法不自體滅, 他體亦不滅, 如生不自生, 他體亦

As is shown above, the two groups of Tibetan translations are confirmed by the Sanskrit reading of our manuscript and that of dJ and LVP respectively.

The genitive *nirodhasya* in our manuscript accords with its parallel verse, i.e.

sthityānyayā <u>sthiteh</u> sthānam tayaiva ca na yujyate /

utpādasya yathotpādo nātmanā na parātmanā // VII.25

"it is not possible that the duration's enduring is [caused] by the duration itself or by means of another duration, just as origination's origin is not [caused] by itself nor by means of another [origination]."

These two verses have the same pādas c and d, in which the genitive form is also supported by the word $utp\bar{a}dasya$ as an analogue. In VII.32, pāda b, the word \hat{z}_{\P} found in ABh, BP_{Tib} and PP_{Tib} has no equivalent in Sanskrit. It must have been understood by the Tibetan translator as having a verb to be supplied, or one that had to be carried over from VII.25, i.e., *yujyate*. In the translation of MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib}, this supplement is not needed for the verb *asti* is already there.

From the context we know that the topic here is how cessation ceases or more literally, cessation's ceasing (*nirodhasya nirodha*).

Candrakīrti seems to have been fully aware of this, though he had a different reading in his citation of the verse. He wrote in his commentary,

yadi nirodho nāma bhāvānām nirodhaka iti kalpyate tasyedānīm kim anyo nirodha işyate uta na / (LVP 171, 11. 4-5)

"if one thinks that cessation can cause things to cease, now, is another cessation admitted as [the cause] of that [cessation] or not?"

and later,

evam nirodho 'pi svātmānam na nirodhayati

"thus cessation does not cause itself to cease" (op. cit., p.171, ll. 11-12).

Meanwhile there are words which show that Candrakīrti must have had the reading *nirodho 'sti*, i.e.,

evam na svātmanā nirodho 'sti // nirodha idānīm parātmanāpi nāsti / (op. cit., p. 172, ll. 1-2, emendated according to de Jong 1978, p. 46)

"thus cessation does not exist by itself. Now [we will discuss the fact that] cessation also does not exist by means of another entity."

Although the reading *nirodho 'sti* is a bit strange and not consistent with the previous verses, it is not completely wrong in meaning. The discussion here is premised on the assumption that the possibility that the characteristics of conditioned phenomena themselves be unconditioned has been eliminated.⁹ Being the characteristic of the conditioned, cessation must exist in the way that the conditioned exists, namely, it must also cease. Therefore we can say that "cessation exists" (*nirodho 'sti*) in the context here has a meaning similar to "cessation's ceasing" (*nirodhoaya nirodhah*), and this is also the way Candrakīrti understood it. The reading *nirodho 'sti* might originally have been a scribal error for *nirodhasya*, which was then taken over by Candrakīrti, and eventually the two readings were rendered into Tibetan translations respectively.

As far as the Chinese translations are concerned, the word fa法 in法不自相滅 "dharmas do not cease by themselves" looks doubtful. But later we have a perfect explanation in PG, <u>滅法</u>亦如是, 不自相滅不他相滅 "so it is for the dharma of cessation: it is neither caused to cease by itself nor by means of another", which shows that the Chinese translations of this verse agree with our manuscript. However, it is beyond my understanding why all the Chinese translations choose the word *fa* 法 instead of directly using *mie* 滅 as in 滅不自相滅.

⁹ Cf. yadi samskrta utpādas tatra yuktā trilaksanī / athāsamskrta utpādah katham samskrtalaksanam // VII.1

2.2 MK X.1

MK_{Ms} <u>yadīndhanam bhaved</u> agnir ekatvam kartṛkarmmanoh / anyaś ced indhanād agnid (read agnir) indhanād apy rte bhavet //

"If fuel were fire, agent and action would be one. If fire were different from fuel, it would exist even without fuel."

yadīndhanam bhaved: dJ, LVP yad indhanam sa ced.

PG	<u>若然</u> 是可然,	作作者則一,	若然異可然,	離可然有然.	
DD	本 ル町月茹	你 老你 <u>要</u>	生ル貝込菇	敵悲庵ちル	

PP_{Ch} <u>若火</u>即是新,作者作業一,若火異於新,離新應有火.

SM <u>若火</u>即是薪,作作者一性,若薪異於火,離薪應有火.

As is shown above, although the meaning does not differ, the reading *yad* in dJ and LVP has its equivalent, i.e., 雪, only in MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib}, but not in ABh, BP_{Tib} and PP_{Tib}. As to the Chinese translations, since the pronoun is absent and the word *ruo*若 can be translated either from *yadi* or from *ced*, it is not clear from which Sanskrit text they were translated.

It is interesting to note that the readings found in BP_{Tib} as a whole may be divided into two groups of editions, i.e., P, N, G and D, C. The original reading must be preserved in P, N and G because ABh, PP_{Tib} and BP_{Tib} have the same translator. Thus we can imagine that BP_{Tib} must have been proofread against MK_{Tib} or PSP_{Tib} and revised when the Derge edition was compiled, while this does not seem to have happened to the other two Tibetan translations.

2.3 MK XVIII.2

MK_{Ms}: ātmany asati cātmīyam kuta eva bhaviṣyati / nirmmamo nirahamkārah śamād ātmātmanīyayoh //

"When self does not exist, from where would mine arise? Because of the appeasement of self and mine, unselfishness and non-egotism arise."

ātmātmanīyayoh: dJ, LVP ātmātmanīnayoh.

Tib.	⁵ 241'85'र्थे5' ^{दा} संप्लेब'बा। ⁵ 54'र्ग'यी'पेंर'यर या'प'प्रयुह्या।
	ᠵᠫ᠋᠋᠋᠊᠋ᡊ᠆ᡪᠴ᠋᠋᠋ᠵ᠋᠋ᡎ᠄ᡏᡅ᠄ᡊᡱ᠄ᢓᠴ᠋᠋᠋ᡰᡄᡵ᠂ᡅᢄᢅ᠋ᠯ᠆ᠵᡃᢂ᠊ᠵ᠂ᡅᢄᢅᠯ᠄᠗ᢆ᠆᠋ᡅᢩ᠊᠍᠊ᡚᠵ᠋
PG	若無有我者,何得有我所,滅我 <u>我所</u> 故,名得無我智.
PP _{Ch}	我既無所有, 何處有我所, 無我無我所, 我執得永息.
SM	若或無有我,我所當何有,無我無我所,我 <u>我所</u> 即滅.

In pāda d, the word $\bar{a}tman\bar{i}ya$ found in our manuscript and $\bar{a}tman\bar{i}na$ in PSP refers to the $\bar{a}tm\bar{i}ya$ mentioned in pāda a, and its equivalent word in all the Tibetan and Chinese

translations is the same as that of $\bar{a}tm\bar{i}ya$, i.e., ㅋདགགག and wo suo 我所. For the sake of the metre, a synonym of $\bar{a}tm\bar{i}ya$ with one more syllable was required. $\bar{A}tman\bar{i}ya$, as seen in our manuscript, has the same meaning as $\bar{a}tm\bar{i}ya$, "one's own",¹⁰ while $\bar{a}tman\bar{i}na$, which is found in PSP, means "beneficial to oneself" (cf. Lindtner 1988: 246, ll. 12-14). The word $\bar{a}tman\bar{i}na$ is explained in $P\bar{a}nini$ V.1.9 as the stem $\bar{a}tman$ plus a taddhita affix kha ($\bar{i}na$). The meaning of this affix is stated in $P\bar{a}nini$ V.1.5 as tasmai hitam, "beneficial to that". According to Buddhist terminology, the term $\bar{a}tm\bar{i}ya$ refers to what is mine, namely, one's possessions, and they are not necessarily beneficial to oneself.¹¹ So the reading $\bar{a}tman\bar{i}na$ seems to be a mere scribal error. But what is more interesting is that Candrak \bar{i} rti wrote in his commentary:

ātmani hitam ātmanīnam skandhapañcakam ātmīyam ity arthah / (LVP 347, 1. 13)

"ātmanīna means beneficial to oneself. It refers to the [body] consisting of five aggregates, namely, [what is] mine (*ātmīya*)".

It appears that the text in Candrakīrti's hand may have already been changed into $\bar{a}tman\bar{n}a$. His explanation, $\bar{a}tmani \ hitam$, which is close to $P\bar{a}nini$ V.1.5, is certainly correct. But the association he made with $\bar{a}tm\bar{i}ya$ is hardly acceptable. To the best of my knowledge, except for this instance, the word $\bar{a}tman\bar{n}a$ never means $\bar{a}tm\bar{i}ya$. Candrakīrti might also have thought this word was strange and needed clarification. As reflected in the Tibetan translations, however, the authors of the other commentaries appear to have no such sense of obligation. A daring guess could be that the text in their hands may have read $\bar{a}tman\bar{i}ya$ rather than $\bar{a}tman\bar{n}a$.

2.4 MK XVIII.8

MK_{Ms} sarvvan tathyam na vā tatthyam tathyam cātatthyam eva ca / naivātatthyam naiva tathya{m}m <u>etat tad buddhaśāsanam</u> //

"Everything is real; or not real; or both real and not real; or neither not real nor real. This is the teaching of the Buddha".

etat tad buddhaśāsanam: dJ, LVP etad buddhānuśāsanam.

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib (DC)} घ्रम्भराउदाप्परादगाप्परादगामेना। प्यरादगाप्परादगामामेनाभ्रेत्रा। प्यरादगामेनामेनामेनामानामेनामानामेना। देवि स्वरमामुम्बाद्देशावस्वन्यर्थे।

¹⁰ Cf. ... te pi śāriputra dharmā jātā bhūtā samskrtā vedayitā pratītya samutpannā naivātmā naiv<u>ātmanīyā</u> śūnyā ātmena vā <u>ātmanīyena</u> vā // (MV, 3, p. 66, ll. 7-8); nāme ca rūpe ca asaktamānasah samāhitas so hi sudāntacittah yasyeha ātmā na ca <u>ātmanīyā</u>-m-etāvatā śīlas[thi]to nirucyate • (KP, 2002, p. 48, ll. 4-8 = 1926, p. 198, ll.1-4).

¹¹ Cf. T1579, 30.628a10-13, 瑜伽師地論: 薩迦耶見及邊執見, 若於樂俱行蘊觀我<u>我所</u>, 或觀為常, 喜根相 應; 若於<u>苦</u>俱行蘊觀我<u>我所</u>, 或觀為常, 憂根相應; 若於捨俱行蘊觀我<u>我所</u>, 或觀為常, 捨根相應. " If those who have the view of existence of the body and the view of attachment to extremes, observe self (*ātman*) and mine (*ātmīya*) in the conditioned and the aggregates which co-exist with pleasure, and observe them as permanent, [their views] will correspond to the root of satisfaction. If they observe self and mine in the conditioned and the aggregates which co-exist with <u>suffering</u> ... [their views] will correspond to the root of sorrow..."

The prefix *anu*- in LVP and dJ has its exact equivalent in MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib} , i.e., $\mathfrak{E}_{\mathfrak{N}}$, whereas the absence of $\mathfrak{E}_{\mathfrak{N}}$ in ABh, $BP_{Tib}(PNG)$ and PP_{Tib} is confirmed by our manuscript. Again here BP_{Tib} of Derge and Cone edition was revised to be consistent with MK_{Tib} or PSP_{Tib} .

As to the word *anuśāsana* (accordant teaching) or *śāsana* (teaching), these commentaries explain it as follows:

"For the numerous disciples, according to [their] faculties, dispositions, dormant afflictions and the occasions, he (the Buddha) teaches the path to heaven and salvation accordingly without error. This is the [Buddha's] teaching."

PP_{Tib}:

"The 'teaching' means, to those who desire the pleasure of heaven and salvation belonging to the celestial beings and human beings [respectively], according to [their] faculties, dispositions, dormant afflictions and the occasions, [the Buddha] teaches the path to heaven and salvation accordingly without error."

BP_{Tib}: no explanation of this word.

PSP:

etac ca buddhānām bhagavatām anuśāsanam / ... evam anupūrvyā <u>śāsanam anuśāsanam</u> / vineyajanānurūpyeņa vā <u>śāsanam anuśāsanam</u> / (LVP 371, 1. 13-14).

 a^{2} તે અપ્યાસુય વર્ડે અ પ્ટત પ્રત્ય શી પરે દેવ પ્રદેશ સુવસ્ત પ્રસ્તુ ... તે પ્રત્ય અથપ શી પ્રાર્થે તે પાતે દેવ પર્યો બિપ્ય તે વાડુ પા શી તે પ્રત્ય સ્વ પ્રાર્થે તે પ્રત્ય સુવ પ્રાર્થે તે પ્રત્ય સુવ પ્રાર્થે સુવ પ્રદેશ બિપ્ય શી ... તે પ્રત્ય અથપ શી સુવ પ્રાંથે દેવ પ્રાર્થે તે પ્રાર્થે તે પ્રાર્થે તે પ્રત્ય સુવ પ્રાર્થે સુવ પ્રાયત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વ સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વ સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે સ્યત્વે સુવ સ્યત્વે

"This is the Buddha's, the blessed one's accordant teaching. ... Thus the teaching according to the grade is the accordant teaching (*anuśāsanam*), or the teaching corresponding with the people to be instructed is the accordant teaching."

As is shown above, $\underline{\xi} = \underline{\xi} = \underline{$

As to the expression of *etat tad* in our manuscript, it is also attested in MK XVIII.11, *Acintyastava* 52 and *Buddhacarita* XII.65¹².

2.5 MK XX.13, 14

MK_{Ms}, BP_{Ms} <u>nājātasya</u> hi* ajātena phalasya saha hetunā / nātītena na jātena samgatir jātu vidyate // XX.13

* nājātasya hi: MK_{Ms} nājātasyāpy.

¹² MK XVIII.11: anekārtham anānārtham anucchedam aśāśvatam / <u>etat tal</u> lokanāthānām buddhānām śāsanāmṛtam//(dJ 25, LVP 377). Acintyastava 52: <u>etat tat</u> paramam tattvam niḥsvabhāvārthadeśanā / bhāvagrahagṛhītānām cikitseyam anuttarā // (Lindtner 1982b: 156). Buddhacarita XII.65: <u>etat tat</u> paramam brahma nirlingam dhruvam akṣaram / yan mokṣa iti tattvajñāḥ kathayanti manīṣiṇaḥ // (E. H. Johnston, The Buddhacarita: or, the Acts of the Buddha, Panjab University Oriental Publications No. 31, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1935, p.101).

"Because no combination is found of an <u>unborn</u> result with an unborn cause, nor with a past [cause], nor with a present [cause]."

<u>na jātasya</u> hi jātena phalasya saha hetunā / nājātena na nastena samgatir jātu vidvate // XX.14

"Because no combination is found of a <u>present</u> result with a present cause, nor with an unborn [cause], nor with a [cause] that has perished."

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} <u>na jātasya</u> hy ajātena phalasya saha hetunā / nātītena na jātena samgatir jātu vidyate // XX.13

"Because no combination is found of a <u>present</u> result with an unborn cause, nor with a past [cause], nor with a present [cause]."

<u>nājātasya</u> hi jātena phalasya saha hetunā / nājātena na nastena samgatir jātu vidyate // XX.14

"Because no combination is found of an <u>unborn</u> result with a present cause, nor with an unborn [cause], nor with a [cause] that has perished."

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} འབྲས་བུ་མ་སྐྱིས་མྱོས་མྱོས་མ་སྱོས་པ་དར་ནི་སྐྱིས་པ་དར་གི ལྒན་ଓག་ཕོད་པ་མ་གྱུར་པ་ནི།། ནམ་ལང་ལོད་པ་མ་ལིནོནོ།། XX.13 འགྲས་བུ་སྐྱིས་པ་རྒྱུ་སྐྱིས་དར་།། མ་སྐྱིས་པ་དང་འདས་པ་དར་།। ལྒྱན་ଓག་ཕོད་པ་མ་གྱུར་བ་ནི།། ནམ་ལང་ལོད་པ་མ་ལིནོནོ།། XX.14

PG 若言<u>未來</u>因,而於未來果,現在過去果,是則終不合.XX.13 若言<u>現在</u>因,而於現在果,未來過去果,是則終不合.XX.14

As to these two verses, our manuscripts share the the same pādas b, c and d with LVP and dJ, but have the reversed pāda a. These two verses in dJ and LVP agree with those in MK_{Tib} , PSP_{Tib} , while our readings agree with ABh, BP_{Tib} , PP_{Tib} and PG. Two other Chinese translations from group I, PP_{Ch} and SM, appear to have rearranged these two verses which made a comparison impossible.

2.6 MK XXI.8

MK_{Ms}

saṃbhavaṃ vibhavaṃ caiva vinā bhāvo na vidyate / (saṃbhavo vibhavaś caiva) vinā bhāvān* na vidyate //

* bhāvān: abl.

"No thing exists without rising and decaying, and also no rising and decaying exist without a thing."

dJ, LVP	saṃbhavo vibhavaś caiva vinā bhāvaṃ na vidyate / saṃbhavaṃ vibhavaṃ caiva vinā bhāvo na vidyate //
ABh, BP _{Tib} , PP _T	᠋ᢧ᠊ᡆᢒᡃᢩᠵ᠊ᡪ᠋ᡪ᠆ᡆᢄᡃ᠋ᠬᠴ᠈᠗ᡪᡃᠴᠵ᠊᠋᠋ᠯ᠋᠋᠆ᡪᢅᡬ᠉ᡇᢅᢁᠫᠴ᠉ᢍᢆᠯ᠍᠍᠍᠍ᠯ᠋ ᡪᡬ᠊᠍᠉ᡆᢅ᠆ᠴ᠈᠗ᢁᢆᡆ᠄ᠴᠵ᠋᠋᠌ᡆᢩᢓᠵ᠂ᡪ᠆ᠵ᠂ᡆᢄ᠊᠋᠋ᠬᠴᢁᢅᢋᢃ᠉᠗᠊ᠯ᠋
MK _{Tib} , PSP _{Tib}	ᡪઽૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૻઽૼૺૻઌ૾ૻૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૻૻ૱ૻઌ૾૽ૡૼૻ૱ૻૻૻ૽ૡૻૺૡૻૻૡૻૻૡૼૻૼૻઌ૾ૻૡૼૻઌ૾ૻૡૼૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૼૡૻ ૡ૱ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૾૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ
PG	若離於成壞, 是亦無有法, 若當離於法, 亦無有成壞.

Compared with PSP, our manuscript has reversed the order of $p\bar{a}das$ ab and cd. ABh, PP_{Tib} , BP_{Tib} , PG and PP_{Ch} follow the same $p\bar{a}da$ order as our manuscript, while MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib} follow the order of dJ and LVP. No equivalent verse is found in SM.

若離彼成壞,則無有物體,是成壞二法,離物體亦無.

2.7 MK XXI.20

 PP_{Ch}

MK_{Ms}

na cen niruddhyamānaś ca jāyamānaś ca <u>vidyate</u> / sārdhdham ca yeşu mriyate teşu skandheşu jāyate //

"[Such a case] is not found that ceasing and rising occur together. [If so] the aggregates where [one] dies will be that where [one] arises?"

dJ, LVP na cen nirudhyamānaś ca jāyamānaś ca <u>yujyate</u> / sārdham ca mriyate yeşu teşu skandheşu jāyate //

"It is not reasonable that ceasing and rising occur together. [If so] the aggregates where [one] dies will be that where [one] arises?"

The word *vidyate* found in our manuscript agrees with $\widetilde{\mathfrak{m}}_{5}$ in ABh, PP_{Tib} and BP_{Tib}, while the reading *yujyate* in dJ and LVP is confirmed by \mathfrak{Fq} in MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib}. This discrepancy is not reflected in Chinese translations.

As to the second step, in the following five cases I will discuss discrepancies found between MK_{Ms} and the commentaries of group I.

2.8 The title of chapter IX

Before entering upon a comparison of the chapter titles, let me remark that the identical chapter titles found in ABh, BP_{Tib} and PP_{Tib} may again be due to the fact that the translator first completed one rendition, and then fit the titles into the others. In BP_{Ms} the title of chapter

 MK_{Ms} (v)[y](a)[va]sthitaparīkṣā; LVP, Mss C, R, T, K pūrvaparīkṣā; Ms P pūrvasthitiparīkṣā;

It is difficult to decide whether *benzhu*本住in PG was translated from *vyavasthita*, as in PG IV. 2, 3, 4 (where *vyavasthita* was rendered as *benzhu*本住), or from *pūrva*, as in PG IV. 6, 7 (where *pūrva* corresponds to本住), or rather from *pūrvasthiti* as in Ms P. The same confusion occurs with the rendering of *xianfenwei*先分位in SM. But it is certain that the title of chapter IX in MK_{Ms} is completely different from that in ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch}, namely, $3\sqrt[3]{4\sqrt[3]$

2.9 MK X.13

MK_{Ms} āgacchaty anyato nāgnir indhane (')g[n]ir na vidyate / <u>athendhanam(</u>←tathedhanam) śeṣam uktam gamyamānagatāgataiḥ //

"Fire does not come from another thing. In fuel fire is not found.

The same [goes for] fuel. The remaining [statements] have been explained by [the analysis of] the being-gone-over, the gone-over and the not-yet-gone-over."

athendhanam: dJ, LVP, Mss C, R, T, K atrendhane.

ABh, BP _{Tib}	, PP _{Tib}	৯'রি'বা	ववायश्वाकी दिनाक्षी।	᠂ᠹᠵᠬᠬᡆ᠋ᠵ᠄᠗᠂᠋᠊᠋ᢆᡆ᠄ᡐᢅ᠆᠂ᠣ	^{भन्भ} ना ।
		র্থন:দৃদ	:ঝার্ঝিরাবান্দ্রীঝাব্যান্দ্রীঝ	۱۱ <u> </u>	বান্ধানস্থিৰা।
MK _{Tib} , PSF	7 Tib	৯'ন্বি'বা	ववाय्ययाकी दिनाङ्गी।	᠂ᡇᠵᠬᠬᡆᠵ᠄᠗᠂᠋᠋ᡇ᠂ᡐᢅᡗ᠊᠋	المريحة الم
		<u> ଟ</u> ି'ସଜିa	(``वैर`ची``झेया'स'वे।।	র্মিন:নৃন:ঝার্মিন:নর্ব্যাঝা	यश्य क्षेत्री ।
PG	然不餘	處來,	然處亦無然,	可然亦 <u>如是</u> ,	餘如去來說.
PP_{Ch}	火不餘	處來,	薪中亦無火,	<u>如</u> 薪餘亦遮,	去來中已說.
SM	火不餘	處來,	薪中亦無火,	餘法亦復然,	如去來品說.

Although in PSP_{Tib} the translation of the verse itself suggests the reading *tathendhane* "likewise concerning fuel", Candrakīrti's commentary seems to support the reading *atrendhane* "concerning this fuel":

agninendhanam dahyamānam upalabhyata ity <u>atrendhanaprastāve</u> śeşam dūşanam gamyamānagatāgatadūşanena samam veditavyam / (LVP 211, ll. 8-9)

"Against this topic of fuel saying that fuel being burned by fire is perceived, the remaining refutations should be known as the same as that of the being-gone-over, the gone-over and the not-yet-gone-over."

We may conclude that the original Sanskrit text of this verse in PSP indeed read atrendhane,

and that its Tibetan translator, Nyi ma grags, simply accepted the rendering $5\pi \bar{q}\bar{q}$ (= *tathā*) he found in ABh, BP_{Tib} and PP_{Tib}, failing to make it consistent with Candrakīrti's commentary, as happened in the case of II.2 and VII.16 etc (cf. Saito 1984: chapter X, note 37, 1987a, 1995). The reading *atha* in our manuscript may indicate how the reading changed from *tathā* to *atha* and eventually to *atra*.

All the Commentaries other than PSP appear to have had the reading $tath\bar{a}$, as confirmed by both the renditions of the verse and the commentaries. As far as the case ending for *indhana* is concerned, however, they can further be divided into two groups. The reading *indhanam* suggested by our manuscript is supported by PG and probably SM as well, while the reading *indhane* is confirmed by ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch}.

PG:

然不餘處來, 然處亦無然. 可然亦如是, 餘如去來說.

然不於餘方來入可然中,可然中亦無然. 析薪求然不可得故. 可燃亦如是,不從餘處來入然中, 然 中亦無可然. 如然已不然, 未然不然, 然時不然, 是義如去來中說. (PG 963-964)

"Fire does not come from another place. In fuel there is no fire. The same [goes for] fuel. The remaining [statements] have been explained by [the analysis of] going.

Fire does not come from another place and enter fuel, and in fuel there is no fire, because fire is not to be found by investigating fuel. The same [goes for] fuel. [It] does not come from another place and enter fire, and in fire there is no fuel. Just as the burned is not to be burned, the not-yet-burned is not to be burned and the being-burned is not to be burned, this has been explained in [the chapter] of going."

As we can see both from the rendition of the verse and the comment by Pingala, pādas c and d were understood as two sentences. One is *tathendhanam*; the other is *śeṣam uktam gamyamānagatāgataih*. This can happen only when the reading is *tathendhanam*. If it is read *tathendhane*, the only way left to us to understand pādas c and d is that taken by ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch}, i.e., to deem it as one sentence, "likewise concerning fuel the remaining [statements] have been explained by [the analysis of] the being-gone-over, the gone-over and the not-yet-gone-over".

ABh, BP_{Tib}:

สสาय ते त्वा बीख ते पत्नि व तू वुर विराय प्यर वहें त्य खुवा व त्वा व छुवायर विरातू छुत यर जेवें। (D tsa 54b6-7; D tsa 208a6-7)

"By [the analysis of] the gone-over, the not-yet-gone-over and the being-gone-over, likewise, the remaining [statements] on fuel have been explained.

It should be understood that in these ways the remaining statements on fuel have likewise been explained."

PP_{Tib}:

૿ૼૡ૾ૼઽઽઽૻૡૡ૾ૼઽૻ૱ૡ૽ૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૻૻૡ૿ૡૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡ૽ૻ૱૱ૡ૾ૡ

È ଌୁଽୖୄୡ୶ୄୢ୕ୄୢ୶୕ଽ୰୶ଽ୰୶ୖ୶ଽ୕ଽ୶ଽଽଽ୷ୖ୶ଽ୕ଽ୶ଽଽ୲୲୶ୖ୶୶୰୷୴ୖୣଌ୕୲ଽ୶ଌୢୖଽଽ୰ୖଽ୲ଌୄୖ୶ୠୄଽ୰ଽୖଽ୶ୖଢ଼୶ୄୢଽ୲୵ୡୗ୶୶୰୰ଽଽ୲୲ୡୗ୶୲୰ଢ଼ୖ୶ ଽ୲୴୴ଽୖୡ୶୲୰ୖ୶ଽୖଽ୲୲୷(D tsha 135b2-3)

"By [the analysis of] the gone-over, the not-yet-gone-over and the being-gone-over, likewise the remaining [statements] on fuel have been explained.

Just as one infers that there is no going in the gone-over, the not-yet-gone-over and the being-gone-over, likewise there is no burning in the burned, the not-yet-burned and the being-burned"

PP_{Ch}:

如薪餘亦遮, 去來中已說.

釋曰:如第一義中已去,未去,去時無去,已燒,未燒,燒時無燒義亦如是. (PP_{Ch} 86a13-15).

"Like fuel, others are also to be denied. [This] has been explained in the chapter of going.

Just as one can deduce¹³ that there is no going in the gone-over, the not-yet-gone-over and the being-gone-over, likewise there is no burning in the burned, the not-yet-burned and the being-burned."

In SM the matter is rather confused.

火不餘處來 … 薪中亦無火.

釋曰: <u>離火亦無差別因性, 彼火因果無異性火故. 此應思擇.又復能取發起所得, 彼即不有, 是故無</u> <u>別異性薪從餘處而來至火, 亦非無火</u>. 故下頌言

餘法亦復然,如去來品說.¹⁴ (K 41.131b7-c10; 卍正藏 49.97b20-98a17)

"Fire does not come from another place ... In fuel there is no fire.

Commentary: <u>apart from fire there is no distinct cause (i.e., fuel)</u>, <u>because [in] the cause and effect of the fire</u>, there is no fire of a different nature. One should consider in this way. Moreover, if the agent (i.e., fuel) has produced an effect (i.e., fire), it will no longer exist. Therefore no fuel of a different nature comes from another place and reaches fire, and it is not the case that there is no fire.

The same [goes for] the other things. They have been explained in the chapter of going"

Due to the poor quality of the translation, the commentary of Sthiramati is not always intelligible, and my above English translation is thus very tentative. But the analysis (underlined) of pāda b might imply something. The context here is the discussion of the relation between cause and effect represented by fuel and fire respectively. Thus 離火亦無差 別因性 "apart from fire there is no distinct cause (i.e., fuel)" looks like a paraphrase of "fuel does not come from another place", and 能取發起所得, 彼即不有 "if the agent (i.e., fuel) has produced an effect (i.e., fire), it will no longer exist.", a paraphrase of "in fire there is no fuel". This is exactly the explanation of *tathendhanam* and same as the understanding of Pingala! It is also confirmed by the conclusion, 是故無別異性薪從餘處而來至火, 亦非無 火 "Therefore no fuel of a different nature comes from another place and reaches fire, and it is not the case that there is no fire", although the final part of the sentence is intelligible. Hence a daring hypothesis would be that here Sthiramati might have cited pāda b followed by *tathendhanam*, which is unfortunately not reflected in the rendition of the verse. If this is the case, the reading of our manuscript is also supported by SM. Based on the knowledge now available, however, this conclusion must remain speculative.

Therefore, as to this verse, the different Sanskrit readings in the hands of different commentators might be as follows:

PSP: *atrendhane*; PG, SM(?): *tathendhanam*; ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib}, PP_{Ch}: *tathendhane*.

2.10 The title of chapter XI

MK_{Ms} pūrvvāpa[ra]koṭiparī[kṣā] = LVP, Mss C, R, T, K, P; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} 奚ོན་ད་ཕྱི་མའི་མཐའ་བརྒྱག་པ</sub>; ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} འོགོར་ག་བརྒྱག་པ;</sub> PG 觀本際 (= pūrvakoṭiparīkṣā); PP_{Ch}, SM 觀生死 (= saṃsāraparīkṣā).

¹³ Also in other places of PP_{Ch}, the word *divivi*第一義 is used by Prabhākaramitra as the equivalent for ਵੇषाष्ट्रप्राप्राप् (= *anumāna*).

¹⁴ The Chinese text continues as follows: 釋曰: 若或無薪, 云何得有能燒所燒? 若有所燒時, 非無能燒, 亦 無能燒中有能燒發起. 若有能燒時, 非無所燒, 是故無能燒所燒亦非相離. This offers no help, however, to our current topic.

Here our reading is identical to LVP, MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib}, and agrees with PG except that the reading *apara* has no equivalent, but completely differs from ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and SM.

2.11 MK XII.6

 MK_{Ms}

[para]pud(g)alajaṃ duḥkhaṃ yadi kaḥ parapudgalaḥ / vinā (du)[ḥkhena] yaḥ kṛtvā (paras)m[ai prahiṇoti] (ta)[t]//

This verse appears in dJ, LVP, MK_{Tib} , PSP_{Tib} , PG and SM, but is absent in ABh, BP_{Tib} , PP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch} .

2.12 PSP XXI. 5

dJ, LVP sambhavo vibhavenaiva katham saha bhavişyati / na janma maramam caiva tulyakālam hi vidyate // "How could rising be together with decaying?
For birth and death are not found at the same time."

This verse, which appears in dJ and LVP as XXI. 5, is found in all the Tibetan translations and PP_{Ch} , but absent in our manuscript MK_{Ms} . The content of this verse is related to PSP XXI.3,

saṃbhavenaiva vibhavaḥ kathaṃ saha bhaviṣyati / na janma maraṇaṃ caivaṃ tulyakālaṃ hi vidyate // "How could decaying be together with rising? For birth and death are not found at the same time."

PG seems to have merged these two verses into one, as the 3rd verse of this chapter:

成壞共有者, 云何有成壞, 如世間生死, 一時俱不然

"If rising and decaying exist together, how could there be rising and decaying?

Just as it is not tenable that in the world birth and death are together at the same time."

This is also confirmed in the commentary of PG. Both gong cheng you huai 共成有壞 "decaying exists together with rising" and gong huai you cheng 共壞有成 "rising exists together with decaying" are explained. But it seems impossible that a Sanskrit verse could have combined these two aspects, because it would have disrupted the metre. It can not be determined whether the Sanskrit text of Pingala had one of these two verses or both.

In SM, There is no verse equivalent to PSP XXI. 5, but instead a rather unintelligible verse is found:

若離成有壞, 云何當可得, 亦如生與死, 非同時而有. And the comment follows:

若法未生即無壞體可得和合,以生死等互相違故. (K 41.154a20-23; 卍正藏 49.127b6-8)

Considering the meaning of the second half of this verse, the word *li* 離 in pāda a makes no sense. We may understand how the unintelligible rendition was made by reconstructing the Sanskrit text. The translator might have had the same text as PSP XXI.3, but wrongly understood pāda a as *saṃbhave naiva vibhavaḥ* or *saṃbhavo naiva vibhavaḥ* and thus translated it as a conditional clause, 若離成有壞 "if there is decaying apart from rising". Accordingly, we may reconstruct the comment on this verse as follows:

na sambhavenaiva vibhavah saha bhavisyati / janmamaranayor virodhāt //

Decaying should not occur together with rising, because birth and death are opposed."

He must have understood this sentence as *na sambhave, naiva vibhavah saha bhavişyati*, and wrongly rendered as 若法未生,即無壞體可得和合"if a thing is not born, nothing can be found to combine". Then we may understand the strange expression, *kade hehe* 可得和合, as from *saha bhavişyati*. If my conjecture is correct, this verse found in SM is identical to PSP XXI.3.

3. Conclusions

3.1 These two newly identified manuscripts preserve a significant number of the older readings of the MK, which have unfortunately become corrupted over the centuries.

3.2 As far as the lineage of the MK is concerned, the two groups of translations, i.e., the earlier (ABh, BP_{Tib} , PP_{Tib} , PG, PP_{Ch} , SM) and the later (PSP_{Tib} , MK_{Tib}), derive not only from the fact that they had different translators but also from the fact that they were based on different Sanskrit readings. The verses of the MK found in our two manuscripts are, as a whole, much closer to the first group than to the second (cf. 2.1-7).

3.3 Despite the fact that our two manuscripts have been put together in the same bundle, and were most probably copied by one and the same scribe, the stanzas found in MK_{Ms} are not those extracted from BP_{Ms} , but rather go back to a separate lineage. In some examples, they show features which can only be traced in PG or SM, but not in ABh, PP_{Tib} , BP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch} (cf. 2.8-12).

3.4 As for the reason why the verses in the PSP tradition are sometimes different from those found in the older commentaries, we indeed cannot exclude the possibility that Candrakīrti modified them intentionally. However, we can at least say that in two cases (2.1, 2.3) he kept the readings as passed down to him, even though he apparently found them rather strange. In two cases (2.10, 2.11), PSP shares features with PG and MK_{Ms}, but not with ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib}, which implies that some of the different readings found in PSP are not later developments.

Appendix: Other discrepancies

There are some more discrepancies of the MK found in our manuscripts, which I could not explain. They are listed below waiting for the discovery of new materials.

II.10 b: BP_{Ms} na yujyate; dJ, LVP prasajyate;
VII.9 b: BP_{Ms} vya(va)[sthitaḥ]; dJ, LVP pratiṣṭhitaḥ;
VII.10 c: BP_{Ms} (')pi; dJ, LVP hi;
VII.33 b: BP_{Ms} [k](u)taḥ; dJ, LVP kathaṃ;
X.7 b: MK_{Ms}, BP_{Ms} prāpnuyāt kāmam indhanaṃ; dJ, LVP indhanaṃ kāmam āpnuyāt;
XI.8 c: MK_{Ms} eva dharmmāṇāṃ; dJ, LVP api bhāvānāṃ;
XX.17 a: MK_{Ms}, BP_{Ms} notpadyate; dJ, LVP notpatsyate;
XXI.10 b: MK_{Ms} naikam; dJ, LVP naika
XXI.12: no avagraha is found in MK_{Ms}. So it can be understood either as na bhāvāj jāyate

bhāvo bhāvo 'bhāvān na jāyate / nābhāvāj jāyate 'bhāvo 'bhāvo bhāvān na jāyate //, or *na bhāvāj jāyate bhāvo 'bhāvo bhāvān na jāyate / nābhāvāj jāyate bhāvo 'bhāvo 'bhāvān na jāyate //*. The former reading is the same as dJ and LVP, and is followed by MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} and partly by SM, while the latter is followed by ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib}, PG and PP_{Ch}.

Symbols of transcription:

()	restored aksara(s)
[]	damaged aksara(s)
$\langle \rangle$	omitted (part of) aksara(s)

{} superfluous *akṣara*(s)

Bibliography and Abbreviations:

ABh	Tibetan translation of the <i>Mūlamadhyamakakārikāvṛtty-akutobhayā</i> (ব্রুঅস্থ্র বর্ষদ্ব্য্ব্য্ব্য্ব্য্ব্য্য্ব্য্য্য্ব্য্য্ব্য্য্য্য্ব্র্য্র্য				
BP _{Ms}	Sanskrit manuscript of the <i>Buddhapālita-mūlamadhyamakavŗtti</i> (Collection of Sanskrit				
DI MS	Manuscripts formerly kept in the China Ethnic Library, Beijing)				
BP _{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the Buddhapālita-mūlamadhyamakavrtti (नइअङ्ग्वेपयोवययहाङ्घ्रायेष) D				
C	3842) Cons blockmint edition of the Tibeten Tiniteles				
C	Cone blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipitaka				
D	Derge (sDe dge) blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka				
de Jong 1978	J. W. de Jong, "Textcritical Notes on the <i>Prasannapadā</i> ", <i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i> 20, 1978, pp. 25-59, pp. 217-252.				
dJ	J. W. de Jong, Nāgārjuna: Mūlamadhyamakakārikāh, Madras: The Adyar Library and				
dj	Research Centre, 1977.				
G	dGa'-ldan (or Golden) <i>bsTan 'gyur</i>				
Hu-von Hinüber	Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber, "some Remarks on the Sanskrit Manuscript of the				
2006	Mūlasarvāstivāda-Prātimokļasūtra found in Tibet", Jaina-itihāsa- ratna: Festschrift für				
	Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag, Indica et Tibetica 47, Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz and				
	Anne Peters, ed., Marburg, 2006.				
K	高麗大藏經				
KP	Kāśyapa-parivarta: Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, The Kāśyapaparivarta: A				
	Mahāyānasūtra of the Ratnakūța Class, Shanghai, 1926. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya,				
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Lindtner 1982a	Christian Lindtner, Nāgārjunas Filosofiske Vaerker, Indiske Studier 2, Copenhagen:				
	Akademisk Forlag, 1982.				
1982b	Id, Nagarjuniana: Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna, Indiske Studier 4,				
	Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1982.				
1988	Id., "Review of Saigusa Mitsuyoshi 三枝充悳, Chūron geju sōran 中論偈頌総覧, Tokyo:				
	Daisan Bummeisha 第三文明社, 1986", Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie 4, Special Issue on				
	Taoist Studies 1, 1988, pp. 244-247.				

LVP	L. de la Vallée Poussin, Madhyamakavrttih, Mūlamadhyamakakārikās
	(Mādhyamakasūtras) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā Commentaire de Candrakīrti,
	Bibliotheca Buddhica 4, 1903-13, reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1992.
MacDonald 2000	Anne MacDonald, "The Prasannapada: More Manuscripts from Nepal", Wiener Zeitschrift
	für die Kunde Südasiens 44, Wien, 2000, pp. 165-181.
2007	Id., "Revisiting the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā: Text-Critical Proposals and Problems", $\cancel{1}$
	ド哲学仏教学研究 Studies in Indian Philosophy and Buddhism 14, Department of Indian
	Philosophy and Buddhist Studies, Graduate School of Humanities, the University of Tokyo,
	2007.
МК	<i>Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā</i> by Nāgārjuna
MK _{Ms}	Sanskrit manuscript of the <i>Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā</i> by Nāgārjuna (Collection of Sanskrit
	Manuscripts formerly kept in the China Ethnic Library, Beijing).
MK _{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the <i>Prajñānāma-mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā</i> by Nāgārjuna
1111-110	(รุสูพฐานนิธิสาพินุรา อูงนางศิพาราชิพอูา) D 3824)
Ms K	The <i>Prasannapadā</i> manuscript (N.S. $959 = 1839$ AE) in a private collection in Pathan,
	Nepal, described as KA 45, A Microfilm Catalogue of the Buddhist Manuscripts in Nepal,
	vol. 1, H. Takaoka, ed., Nagoya: Buddhist Library, 1981.
Ms C	The <i>Prasannapadā</i> manuscript (N. S. 901 = 1781AE) preserved in the Cambridge
	University Library, described as Add. 1483, Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit
	Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, C. Bendall, Cambridge, 1883.
Ms P	The palm-leaf manuscript of the <i>Prasannapadā</i> preserved in the Bodleian Library of
	Oxford.
Ms R	The Prasannapadā manuscript discovered by Giuseppe Tucci, held by the Keshar Library
	in Kathmandu, Nepal (catalogue no. 9-182).
Ms T	The Prasannapadā manuscript (N. S. 851 = 1731 AE) preserved in the Tokyo University
	Library, cataloged as No. 251, A catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in in the Tokyo
	University Library, S. Matsunami, Tokyo, 1965.
MV	Mahāvastu: É. Senart, Le Mahāvastu, Collection d'Ouvrages Orientaux 2, Paris,
	1882-1897.
Ν	Narthang (sNar thang) blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipitaka
Р	Peking blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipitaka
PG	Chinese translation of Pingala's commentary on the Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā (中論, 藏要
	2, 上海書店, p. 903).
PP	Prajñā-pradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavrtti by Bhāviveka
PP _{Ch}	Chinese translation of the Prajñā-pradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti by Bhāviveka (般若燈論
	釋, T1566, 30.50c3)
PP _{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the Prajñā-pradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavrtti by Bhāviveka
	(ન્તુઅર્વસ્યવેયવ્યુગ્યવ્યુગ્યવ્યુગ્યવ્યુગ્યવ્યું D 3853)
PSP	Mūlamadhyamakakārikavrtti-prasannapadā by Candrakīrti
PSP _{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the Mūlamadhyamakakārikavrtti-prasannapadā by Candrakīrti
	(ન્તુ:અસ્પર્યપ્રેયચેગ્ગ્યાર્ઝેગ્ગ્યાંગ્યગ્યાયલેગ્યગ્રુગ) D 3860)
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1995	Id., "Problems in Translating the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā as Cited in its Commentaries",
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SM	Chinese translation of Sthiramati's commentary on the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā (大乘中觀
	釋論, T1567, 30.136a5, chapters 1-13; K1482, 41.102c14; 卍正藏經, 49, p. 62, chapters
	1-27)
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Т	Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經
Tib.	MK_{Tib} , PSP _{Tib} , ABh, BP _{Tib} and PP _{Tib}
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Errata

- p. 152, l. 20: Mss C, R, T, B \rightarrow Mss C, R, T, K
- p. 154, l. 19: Mss C, R, T, B, P \rightarrow Mss C, R, T, K, P
- p. 161, l. 7: MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} \rightarrow dJ, LVP
- p. 163, l. 9: PG IV.2, 3, 4 → PG IX.2, 3, 4
- p. 167, l. 3: kade \rightarrow kede