

## Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's Edition of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*

Marek MEJOR

**Abstract:** Paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's (1893–1963) contribution to Buddhist studies is well-known, substantial and everlasting, thanks to his sensational discoveries of Sanskrit manuscripts in the monasteries of Tibet during his four expeditions in search of manuscripts in 1929–1930, 1934, 1936, and 1938. He collected only Tibetan books and thangka paintings during the first trip. It was during his 1934 and 1936 expeditions that he discovered in Ngor monastery the Sanskrit manuscript of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* and *Bhāṣya*. However, in 1931, long before his discovery, Rāhul Jī had published his edition of the *Abhidharmakośa* in Sanskrit, which he based on the French translation of the text from the Chinese made by Louis de La Vallée Poussin (Paris 1923–1931). Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana relying on de La Vallée Poussin's annotated translation reconstructed all the *kārikās* and provided them with a lucid running Sanskrit commentary, which he called *Nālandikā-ṭīkā* (or *vivṛti*). Besides, the edition was provided with an introduction (*bhūmikā*) in which the learned Pandit offered a sketch of the development of Buddhism (sects, Buddhist canon, Abhidharma, etc.). At the end of the book, he attached many appendices (index of *kārikās*, index of *kārikās* reconstructed by him, word-index). In addition to these, he appended also numerous folded pages which contain various useful lists of terms, schemes, tables, drawings, etc. painstakingly prepared by the author. The present paper offers an overview of the pioneer work of Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana.

**Keywords:** Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Buddhist Sanskrit literature, Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, Abhidharma, *Abhidharmakośa*

Marek MEJOR, Research Centre of Buddhist Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland;  
m.mejor@uw.edu.pl;  0000-0001-7353-3818



This article is distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>).

## Introductory remarks

The life and works of Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana (Rahul Sankrityayan) (9 April 1893–14 April 1963) have long been the subject of many studies and research on his great and manifold achievements is by no means exhausted.<sup>1</sup> The International Conference on Rahul Sankrityayan “Mahapandit in the Land of Snow”, held in Delhi from 14th to 16th March, 2018, organised by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, clearly showed that the figure of the outstanding scholar, explorer, and writer attracts the attention of researchers for his enormous contribution to human culture.<sup>2</sup>

This paper consists of two parts. In the first, we attempt to trace the circumstances which led Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana to undertake the task of rendering into Sanskrit Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośa* on the basis of the French translation by Louis de La Vallée Poussin. Next, we look at his efforts at publishing his work. Finally, we shall follow Rāhul Jī to Tibet in his search of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts, which was so successful. The discovery of the Sanskrit original of the *Abhidharmakośa* overshadowed Rāhul Jī’s own edition of Vasubandhu’s work.

In the second part we offer a detailed survey of the contents of Rāhul Jī’s edition of the *Abhidharmakośa*.<sup>3</sup> Our investigation will be focused also on the relevant fragments of Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana’s autobiography and other sources.

## I. In search of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts

### I.1. Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana’s Buddhist studies in Śrī Laṅkā

One of the greatest achievements the world of science owes to Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana (henceforth RS) is his sensational discovery in Tibet (the “Land of Snow”) of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the most important Buddhist works, which had been regarded as lost for ever. Among these was the *Abhidharmakośa*, or the “Treasury of Higher Doctrine”, the famous treatise of Vasubandhu (5th c. CE), which had been existent so far only in the Chinese and Tibetan translations.<sup>4</sup>

However, a few years before that epoch-making discovery, RS compiled in Sanskrit Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośa* (1931) from the French translation

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. MACHWE (1978), MULE (1998), CHUDAL (2016); cf. BANDURSKI (1994: 27, fn. 78).

<sup>2</sup> See Conference 2018; Exhibition 2018. Cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hDBnewzIZIE> (Dr. Sacchidanand Joshi, International Conference on Rahul Sankrityayan).

<sup>3</sup> I have used the original printed edition of the *Abhidharmakośa*; an electronic version is available at [https://archive.org/details/bMdu\\_abhidharma-kosha-of-acharya-vasubandhu-sanskrit-with-nalandikabidhaya-commentary/page/n359/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/bMdu_abhidharma-kosha-of-acharya-vasubandhu-sanskrit-with-nalandikabidhaya-commentary/page/n359/mode/2up), but it lacks the additional folding pages with tables and diagrams; the quality of the scans is not good enough.

<sup>4</sup> See his reports from 1935, 1937, 1938.

made by the eminent Belgian scholar Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869–1938).<sup>5</sup>

From his autobiography, *Merī jīvan-yātrā*, we learn that, driven by a desire to study the history and teachings of Buddhism in depth, RS went to Śrī Laṅkā on the recommendation and with the help of the Mahābodhi Society.<sup>6</sup> He stayed for nineteen months from 16 May 1927 to 1 December 1928 at the Vidyālaṃkāra Pariveṇa in Peliyagoda (now a suburb of Colombo).<sup>7</sup> At that time he was known under the name of Rāmodar Sādhu. The Vihāra monks regarded him as a learned Brahmin (*brāhmaṇa paṇḍita*) from India.

The principal (*pradhān*) of Vidyālaṃkāra at that time was Ven. Dharmānanda Mahāsthavira, an expert in Pāli grammar (*pāli-vyākaraṇa*) and a disciple of Ven. Dharmārāma Mahāsthavira, an authority on Pāli and Sanskrit. There RS received great help from Mahāsthavira Śrī Dharmānanda, with whom he could converse in Sanskrit.<sup>8</sup> Ācārya Prajñāsāra, ācārya Devānanda, and ācārya Prajñāloka also assisted him with their knowledge. In addition to studying the Pāli canon, RS also taught Sanskrit at the Vihāra. The library of Vidyālaṃkāra was supplied with many Pāli and other books. Thanks to D.B. Jayatilaka's (1868–1941) help Rāhul Jī was able to use the library of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Colombo. He also himself ordered books from India and Europe.<sup>9</sup> RS studied the texts of the Pāli canon in the Pāli Text Society edition, read issues of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society published in London and also in the Ceylon, Bengal and Bombay branches. During his imprisonment at Hazārībāg jail (1923–1925), he acquainted himself with the Brahmi script by reading volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*, became familiar with the Avesta and learnt the rudiments of French.<sup>10</sup> In Vidyālaṃkāra he continued to study French with the help of Julius de Lanerolle (Juliyaś ḍi-Lānral).<sup>11</sup> From Marburg arrived Prof. Rudolf Otto with whom RS had interesting discussions.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> De LA VALLÉE POUSSIN (1923–1931). Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana could not consult the last volume containing the fragment of the *kārikās* (AK I.1–IV.8, with lacunae) edited by LVP on the basis of an incomplete palm leaf Nepalese manuscript given to him by Sylvain Lévi. I was able to identify this manuscript in the collection of the National Archives, Kathmandu.

<sup>6</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, pp. 17–18. See also MULE (1998: 36–39) (*Śrīlaṅkā meṃ adhyayan-adhyāpan*). Transcription of Hindi words according to the McGregor dictionary system (MCGREGOR 1993); I consulted also Bahri's *Hindi-English Dictionary* (BAHRI 2011).

<sup>7</sup> Founded 1 November 1875 by Ven. Ratmalane Sri Dharmāloka Thera (1828–1885) as a centre for learning of Buddhist monks; from 1978 it became the University of Kelaniya, a state university of Śrī Laṅkā (<https://www.kln.ac.lk/>). See *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, chapter 2: *Laṅkā meṃ unnīs mās (16 mā 1927 ī. se 1 disambar 1928 ī.)*, pp. 18–26.

<sup>8</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.1, p. 282; cf. CHUDAL (2016: 119).

<sup>11</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 23. On Julius de Lanerolle (1896–1964), lexicographer, see de SILVA (1968: 15, fn. 74).

<sup>12</sup> Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), theologian, philosopher, comparative religionist. See *Merī jīvan-*

After leaving Śrī Laṅkā, RS published Hindi translations of large parts of the Pāli canon.<sup>13</sup> Drawing on his extensive study of the Buddhist scriptures, he wrote the life of the Buddha, *Buddha-caryā*, in Hindi, which he published in 1931 along with his Sanskrit rendering of the *Abhidharmakośa* from the French translation by La Vallée Poussin. Apparently Rāhul Jī's studies made him realise the special importance of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, however, in his autobiography one cannot find any explicit mention of undertaking the task of translating it.

From the literature cited in the footnotes of the Introduction (*bhūmikā*) in his *Abhidharmakośa*, it can be surmised that J. Takakusu's articles on Vasubandhu's life (TAKAKUSU 1904; TAKAKUSU 1905) and on the Abhidharma literature of the Sarvāstivādin school in particular (TAKAKUSU 1904–1905) may have influenced RS's decision to prepare the Sanskrit version of the *Abhidharmakośa* treatise. He also realised that many Buddhist texts were to be found in Tibet, so he wanted to travel to the Land of Snow in search of Sanskrit manuscripts.

## I.2. Return to India

On 1 December 1928, Rāmodar Sādhu *alias* Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana left the Vidyālaṃkāra for India, saddening the Nāyakaṇḍa Śrī Dharmānanda Mahāsthavira. After having left Śrī Laṅkā with a big load of books, he went to Madurā (Madurai) and Śrīraṅgam, from where he reached Pūnā.<sup>14</sup> It is only now that in his autobiography Rāhul Jī mentions for the first time his Sanskrit translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* provided with his own *īkā*, which he made later from the French translation of La Vallée Poussin. In his Foreword (*saṃjñāpanam*) to the *Abhidharmakośa* he mentioned that he compiled the book in two and a half months.<sup>15</sup>

While in Pūnā he tried to find a publisher of his book, in hope of earning some money that would enable him to travel to Tibet, however without success.<sup>16</sup>

---

*yātrā* I.2, p. 19. On Rāhul Jī's contacts with Otto, H. Lüders and other foreign scholars, see CHUDAL (2016: 160–161).

<sup>13</sup> In the Mahābodhi-grantha-mālā series he published successively *Dhammapadam* (1933), *Majjhima Nikāya* (1933), *Vinaya Piṭaka* (1935), *Dīgha Nikāya* (jointly with Jagdīś Kaśyap, 1936).

<sup>14</sup> See *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, chapter 3: *Laṅkā se prasthān*, pp. 26–31.

<sup>15</sup> Rāhul Jī worked remarkably fast. In the introduction to his translation of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, he writes with some pride that it took him 68 days to write the *Buddhacaryā*, 38 days to translate the *Majjhima Nikāya*, and only 27 days to translate the *Vinaya*.

<sup>16</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 27: *Abhidharmakoṣ ke khaṇḍit aṃśom ko phreṃc anuvād se pūrā karke us par maim ne ek saṃskṛt īkā likhī thī | Tibbat jāne ke lie kuch rupayom kī zarūrat thī, samajhā thā Pūnā ke kisī prakāśak se is pustak ke lie kuch rupaye mil jāyenge | lekin saṃskṛt pustakom ke prakāśak lekhakom ko rupayā denā kam pasand karte haim | Cf. MULE (1998: 38).*

Rāhul Jī travelled across India, visiting places connected with the Buddhist past, from Pūnā (Pune), Kārle, Elora-Ajāntā, Sañcī, through Saṃkāsya, Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī, arriving finally in Sārnāth-Banāras.<sup>17</sup> Again he set his hope on finding here a publisher of his Sanskrit book. He met Ācārya Narendra Deva there.

Narendra Deva (1889–1956) played a significant role in the Indian socialist movement and was one of the co-founders of the Kāśī Vidyāpīṭh in 1921. Kāśī Vidyāpīṭh was a Hindu educational institution established independently from the existing British-controlled system of education, following Mahatma Gandhi's call for a Non-Cooperation movement.<sup>18</sup> From 1926 to 1936, Narendra Deva performed the duties of a principal. With the help of Narendra Deva, the Kāśī Vidyāpīṭh agreed to print the *Abhidharmakośa*, with small financial support.<sup>19</sup> However, the printing was delayed due to some problems with proofreading and Rāhul Jī had to come again to Banāras.<sup>20</sup> The Foreword (*saṃjñāpanam*) by Rāhul Jī bears the date *pauṣa-śuklaikādaśyāṃ 1985 vikramābde*, which is equivalent to 21 January 1929, Monday. The date on the title page is 1988, i.e. 1931 CE.<sup>21</sup>

### I.3. The first trip to Tibet in search of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts

During his studies in Śrī Laṅkā, RS became deeply acquainted with the Pāli canonical scriptures of the Tipiṭaka (which earned him the title of tipiṭakācārya). At the same time, he became aware of the existence of extensive canonical Buddhist literature in Tibetan and Chinese translations. It was then that he conceived the idea of travelling to Tibet in search of manuscripts of Sanskrit Buddhist texts lost in India.<sup>22</sup> RS decided to travel first to Nepal as a Hindu pilgrim and then make his way to Tibet.

At the end of February 1929, Rāhul Jī left India for Nepal and Tibet.<sup>23</sup> In March 1929, he attended the great religious festival of Śivarātri at the Paśupatiṅgā

<sup>17</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, pp. 27–30; cf. MULE (1998: 39).

<sup>18</sup> In 1974 it acquired the status of a regular university under the name Mahātmā Gāndhī Kāśī Vidyāpīṭh.

<sup>19</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 30: *Sārnāth gayā aur Banāras to khās karke Abhidharmakoṣ ke prakāśan aur ho sake to kuch rupayā prāpt karne ke khyāl se gayā | ek prakāśak ne, pahile to yah jānanā cāhā ki yah kisī kām kī pustak hai bhī yā nahīm, lekin jab mālūm ho gayā ki mahatvapūrṇ pustak hai, to chapne ke bād 10, 15 kāpī dene kī bāt kahī | kah rahe the – maim to isī tarah pustakem chāpā kartā hūm | khair; Vidyāpīṭh mem ācārya Narendradev se bāt hū | Vidyāpīṭh ne use chāpnā svikār kiyā aur mujhe kuch rupaye bhī mile | śāyad is prabandh ke lie mujhe dūsrī bār Banāras ānā para thā |*

<sup>20</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 79.

<sup>21</sup> Vikrama saṃvat 1988 commenced from April 1931.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. CHUDAL (2016: 148 et seq.).

<sup>23</sup> Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana described his first travel to Tibet in *Tibbat mem savā varṣ*, included in his *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, chapter 5, pp. 40–76. See MULE (1998); CHUDAL (2016: 159 et seq.).

temple. While in Kāṭhmāṇḍu, he had the occasion to meet at the Mahābodhā temple a Tibetan senior lama, Dukpa Lama (Ḍukpālāmā, 'Brug pa bla ma). Rāhul Jī had a letter of recommendation from Hemis Lama of Ladakh,<sup>24</sup> in which he declared that during his stay in Śrī Laṅkā he had studied the Pāli Tipiṭaka, but that since many Buddhist texts had not been available there he would like to come to Tibet for study and afterwards to promulgate the Buddhadharma in India. Dukpa Lama agreed to RS's request to join him and a group of his disciples, thereby facilitating his entry into Tibet (CHUDAL 2016: 149–150). The group slowly made its way across Nepal. RS decided to enlist the help of Nepalese merchants, with whom he was able to reach the vicinity of the Tibetan border (CHUDAL 2016: 150–151). He had the good fortune to meet a Mongolian Lama, Blo bzang shes rab (Sumatiprajña), whom he had met years before in Bodhgaya.<sup>25</sup> With his help he obtained permission to cross the border and they travelled together to Tibet. Rāhul Jī reached Lhasa on 19 July. During his stay in Tibet, he visited the most important monasteries, such as Tashilhunpo, Narthang, Shigatse, Drepung, Sera, Zhalu, Samye. Thanks to the donations of Narendra Deva of Kāśī Vidyāpīṭh and Ānanda Kausalyāyana of Śrī Laṅkā, RS was able to obtain the Tibetan canon, Kanjur and Tanjur, as well as hundreds of Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs and many thangka paintings; he acquired only a single Sanskrit palm leaf manuscript of the *Vajradākatantra*.

In his article “Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet” he wrote:

During my last journey to Tibet in 1929–30, I was able to collect a mass of Tibetan works, either originally translated from Sanskrit or Indian Vernaculars, or original works composed by Tibetan scholars themselves. Though I had heard numerous rumours about the existence of Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS, but after search I found them unfounded. After several trials I drew the conclusion, that there was hardly much of a possibility of getting Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet. But on my return, while studying the materials thus collected there for my little monograph in Hindi entitled “A Short History of Buddhism in Tibet” (तिब्बतमें बौद्धधर्म), I felt convinced about the existence of them, at least a hundred in number.

(SĀMKRITYĀYANA 1935a: 21)

The materials brought back from Tibet were given by RS to the Bihar Research Society in Patna. The first preliminary catalogue was compiled by Dge 'dun chos 'phel, a friend and companion of RS on subsequent expeditions to Tibet.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* 1.2, p. 31.

<sup>25</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* 1.2, p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> See JACKSON (1989).

After his return from Tibet, in February 1930 the assembly of paṇḍits of the Kāśī Vidyāpīṭha conferred to Rāmodar Sāṃkṛtyāyana the title (*padvī mahāpaṇḍita*). In June, he went again to Śrī Laṅkā where he received *pravrajyā* from Mahāsthavira Śrī Dharmānanda at Vidyālaṃkāra Pariveṇa on 22 June 1930.

#### I.4. Publication of the *Abhidharmakośa*

While back in India, he went to Banāras to see that the printing of the *Buddha-caryā*, a story of the life of the Buddha in Hindi, and of the *Abhidharmakośa* would soon be completed in December-January 1931. However, due to various problems (also financial) the printing was still not finished and it took another few months of efforts, including help by Narendra Deva and others, to bring the book to completion.<sup>27</sup> By the end of the rainy season (*barsāt*) 1931 – probably in September – the printing process of the two books, *Buddha-caryā* and *Abhidharmakośa*, was finished.<sup>28</sup>

RS remained in close contact with the Mahābodhi Society. He published an article in the Mahābodhi Journal on the rise and fall of Buddhism in India (SĀMĀKṚTYĀYANA 1932–1933). His Hindi translation of the *Majjhima Nikāya* appeared in 1933 as volume 2 of the Mahābodhi-granthamālā series.

#### I.5. In Paris

At the beginning of July 1932, Rāhul Jī, together with Ānanda Kausalyāyana<sup>29</sup> and two monks, left from Colombo harbour for Europe. On 16 November 1932, while in Paris Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana paid a visit to Prof. Sylvain Lévi. He recalls a four-hour long conversation with the professor, during which he handed him a copy of his book, the *Abhidharmakośa*.<sup>30</sup> In the aftermath of his visit to Paris, R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana's two articles under the joint title “Recherches bouddhiques” were published in the *Journal Asiatique*.<sup>31</sup>

It is likely that the visit to Prof. S. Lévi inspired RS to take on another challenge, namely to render into Sanskrit Xuanzang's translation of the Chinese commentary *Cheng weishi lun* (成唯識論, \**Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*, Taishō 1585; Nanjio 1197), as indicated by the reference to the volume published by Sylvain

<sup>27</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 84.

<sup>28</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 85.

<sup>29</sup> Bhadanta Ānanda Kausalyāyana (5.01.1905–22.06.1988), Buddhist monk, scholar, and activist, close associate and friend of Rāhul Jī, whom he met in the Vidyālaṃkāra in Śrī Laṅkā (at that time his name was Brahmācārī Viśvanāth).

<sup>30</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 107; SĀMĀKṚTYĀYANA (1935b: 130, 131, 133). Furthermore, he presented Th. Stcherbatsky with a copy of his book in 1932; see CHUDAL (2016: 156–158) on Sāṃkṛtyāyana's close contacts with Stcherbatsky.

<sup>31</sup> SĀMĀKṚTYĀYANA (1934). See *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 107. Cf. CHUDAL (2016: 153 and nn. 30, 31).

Levi in 1932.<sup>32</sup> His Sanskrit restoration of Xuanzang’s translation was prepared “with the help of Mr. Wong Mow Lam, Editor, ‘The Chinese Buddhist’”, and was published in two parts in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (SĀMKRĪYĀYANA 1933–1934).

However, not before long his pioneer work on the rendering of the Sanskrit text of the *Abhidharmakośa* was to become superseded by his sensational and crucial discoveries of the original Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts in the monasteries of Tibet.

### I.6. Back in Tibet in search of the manuscripts

RS made four expeditions to Tibet.<sup>33</sup> On the first, in 1929–1930, he collected many Tibetan books, including the Buddhist canon, as well as a large collection of paintings (thangka) and objects of worship.

Three other expeditions followed in 1934, 1936 and 1938. Their aim was to find manuscripts of Buddhist Sanskrit texts that had been preserved in Tibetan monasteries and lost in India. The scientific results of his expeditions in search of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts were published in three articles in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.<sup>34</sup> He described his second and third expeditions in a series of articles entitled “On the Way to Tibet” published in the *Mahā-Bodhi Journal* (SĀMKRĪYĀYANA 1936–1937).

On the expeditions to Tibet in 1934 and 1938, he was accompanied by Gendun Chopel (Dge ’dun chos ’phel, 1903–1951), a Tibetan monk who had received an extensive scholastic education at Drepung Monastery (MENGELE 1999, LOPEZ 2018, TSENYI 2019). However, Gendun Chopel did not take the final examination for the *geshe* degree, but joined Rāhul Jī, who had just arrived in Lhasa (1934). Gendun Chopel accompanied Rāhul Jī during his two expeditions. A concise description of the monasteries they visited and the manuscripts they found he gave in his book *Grains of Gold*.<sup>35</sup>

A. A. Chudal characterised RS’s expeditions to Tibet in search of manuscripts as follows:

Now that he had met many European scholars, Sankrityayan’s interest in collecting manuscripts and working on them increased. He became aware

<sup>32</sup> Sāmkṛtyāyana’s reference to p. 15 appears to be incorrect, as the text he rendered into Sanskrit refers to Lévi’s French translation of the beginning of the *Triṃśikā*, LÉVI (1932: 61).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. KELLNER (2010).

<sup>34</sup> SĀMKRĪYĀYANA (1935a, 1937, 1938). Cf. BANDURSKI (1994: 28–29).

<sup>35</sup> GENDUN CHOPEL (2014). Original Tibetan title: *Rgyal khams rig pas bskor ba’i gtam rgyud gser gyi thang ma*. See DUTTA (2016).

that European scholars were also working on them, and that they were keen, in particular, on finding manuscripts of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*. During his second visit to Tibet, then, he tried to locate a copy of it. He had heard that Hemraj Sharma<sup>36</sup> had an old copy of it in Kathmandu, and so he returned via Kathmandu to meet him to see if he could borrow it. [...] Sankrityayan learned there that the Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci had already taken the manuscript of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. Still, although the original was not available, he was able to obtain a photographic copy of it, of which ten pages were missing [...]. Sankrityayan's third visit to Tibet in 1936 was aimed specifically at finding a complete Sanskrit manuscript of the *Pramāṇavārttika*, which he succeeded in doing.

(CHUDAL 2016: 154–155)

During his second expedition to Tibet in 1934, Śrī Rāhul Jī reached Ngor monastery. There, on 4 October, he saw 27 pothi books and among them he identified the *Abhidharmakośa-mūla*, i.e. the *kārikā*-portion of Vasubandhu's work, however incomplete (*apūrṇa*).<sup>37</sup>

He was able to visit Ngor monastery again, on his third expedition to Tibet in 1936. On 18 September, Rāhul Jī saw in the monastery library the complete (*sampūrṇa*) palm-leaf manuscript of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, which he photographed.<sup>38</sup>

A few years later, the Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984) visited Ngor Monastery during his five-month Tibet expedition in April–September 1939, where he was able to examine the same manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* and take photographs.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> See CHUDAL (2016, Appendix 1: 270–276): “Rājguru Pandit Hemraj Sharma (1935–2010 VS [=1878–1953])”.

<sup>37</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 176: *agle din (4 aktūbar) ko bākī 27 pothiyom ko dekhā | unmem sabse adhik mahatvapūrṇ thī – (1) Vādanyāya-ṭīkā, (2) Abhidharmakośa-mūla, (3) Subhāṣitaratnakośa (Bhīmajñāna Soma), (4) Amarakośa-ṭīkā (Kāmadhenu), (5) Nyāyabindu-pañjikā-ṭīkā (Dharmottara + Durvekamiśra), (6) Hetubindu-anuṭīkā (Dharmākaradatta + Arcaṭa + Durvekamiśra), (7) Prāpti-mokṣasūtra (Lokottaravāda), (8) Madhyāntavibhaṅga-bhāṣya | īndhan kī taklīf bahut thī, mol lene par bhī nahīm miltā thā | sardī barhatī jā rahī thī, abhī hamem Sākyā bhī jānā thā [...]* |

<sup>38</sup> *Merī jīvan-yātrā* I.2, p. 252: *[...] 18 sitambar ham phir Nor pahuṃc gaye | usī din muhar toṛī gaī aur pustakālay kī tālapothiyom ko dekhā gayā | Vasubandhu kā 'Abhidharmakośabhāṣya' sampūrṇ mil gayā | [...] | maiṃ ne pustakom ke bahut se photo khūnce |*

<sup>39</sup> SFERRA (2008: 43, No. 13). The photographs are deposited at the Library of the Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, Rome.

## I.7. Aftermath

The discovery of the fundamental texts of Vasubandhu and Dharmakīrti has been instrumental in the development of the study of the history of Buddhist thought.

Interestingly, it was during his studies at Vidyālaṃkāra in Śrī Laṅkā that RS became interested in the *Abhidharmakośa* treatise. It was then that he undertook to compile its Sanskrit version from the French translation of La Vallée Poussin.

After a decade there appeared the edition of the *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* prepared by V.V. Gokhale (GOKHALE 1946),<sup>40</sup> and only in 1967 Prahlad Pradhan published his critical edition of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (PRADHAN 1967; 1975 2nd ed.). These publications are the landmarks in the study of Buddhism and the history of Indian philosophy.

A detailed description of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Abhidharmakośa*, provided with copious references and exhaustive bibliography, was given by F. Bandurski in his descriptive catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts discovered by Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana in Tibet (BANDURSKI 1994: 52–55, No. 22).

While Rāhul Jī did not continue to work on the *Abhidharmakośa* after the discovery of the original manuscripts, Dharmakīrti's treatise as well as other works on logic became the focus of his attention.<sup>41</sup> In 1943, RS published an edition of the *svārthānumana-pariccheda* chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. He dedicated the work to Th. Stcherbatsky (1866–1942),<sup>42</sup> “the greatest orientalist of his time”. In his preface, he writes that after his return from his first journey to Central Tibet in 1929–1930 he began the reconstruction of the *Pramāṇavārttika* from Tibetan into Sanskrit.<sup>43</sup> But his hopes of recovering the original were rekindled when he learned that an incomplete manuscript of the text had been located in Nepal.<sup>44</sup> So he stopped working on the retranslation. Fortunately,

<sup>40</sup> It is astonishing that N. N. Law, the editor of the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, the commentary of Yaśomitra, though mentioning RS's publication of the *Abhidharmakośa* (LAW 1949: i), was unaware of his discovery of the Sanskrit manuscripts or even of Gokhale's editing of *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* in 1946.

<sup>41</sup> For a complete list of RS's publications on the *Pramāṇavārt(t)ika* etc., see SFERRA (2008: 36).

<sup>42</sup> RS incorrectly: 1870–1942.

<sup>43</sup> SĀMKṚTYĀYANA (1943: 9, Preface).

<sup>44</sup> GENDUN CHOPEL (2014: 55):

We met with the chief priest of the king of Nepal, the great Hindu paṇḍita Hemarāja or “gold king.” He is said to be a scholar learned in the ocean-like treatises, both Hindu and Buddhist, and is famous in both India and Nepal. He is the person chiefly responsible also for maintaining the vitality of Hinduism in Nepal and ensuring that what little Buddhism is left remains outshone. He also conducts the great Vedic rituals as well. [...]

during his next two expeditions to Tibet (in 1936 and 1938), he was able to find a large number of Buddhist texts, including many of the basic texts on logic (*pramāṇa*).

The manuscripts from the Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's Collection pertaining to the Buddhist epistemological school (*pramāṇa*) have been described by M.T. Much (MUCH 1988).

## II. Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's edition of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*

Louis de La Vallée Poussin translated Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* from the Chinese translation by Xuanzang and a Tibetan translation, and also used the Japanese edition of *Kusharon* by SAEKI Kiokuga (Kyoto 1887). La Vallée Poussin provided the Sanskrit text of the *kārikās* in the footnotes to his translation, taken from Yaśomitra's commentary (*Sphuṭārtha Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*), the only surviving Sanskrit commentary, or reconstructed the text of the *kārikās* from the Tibetan translation or other sources. His translation is densely saturated with Sanskrit terms.

### II.1. Title page

The full title of Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's work as given on the title page is:

*Abhidharmakośaḥ ācārya-Vasubandhu-praṇītaḥ |*  
*“Mahāpaṇḍita”-“Tripiṭakācārya”-śrīRāhula-Sāṃkṛtyāyana-viracitayā*  
*Nālandikābhīdhayā ṭikayā pariśiṣṭādinā ca sahitaḥ |*  
*Vārāṇasyaṃ Kāśī-vidyāpīṭhena prakāśitaḥ | 1988.*

The *Abhidharmakośa* [“Treasury of Higher Doctrine”] composed by Vasubandhu, with the commentary called *Nālandikā* and appendices etc. compiled by Mahāpaṇḍita, Tripiṭakācārya śrī Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, published in Vārāṇasī, in Kāśī-vidyāpīṭha, in 1988 [1931 CE].

### II.2. Dedication

On the back of the title page the author put the following stanza in praise of the great scholar Louis de La Vallée Poussin (\*Pūṣiṇ):

*pramathya cīna-podbhāṣām ayaṃ kṣīra-mahāvarṇavam\* |*  
*yenoddhṛtaṃ kośa-ratnaṃ tasmai śrīPūṣiṇe 'rpaye ||*

\*recte: -mahāvarṇavam

---

This paṇḍita had found a fragmented edition of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. I read the Tibetan version and they [he and Rāhula] translated [what I read] into Sanskrit and correlated it [with the Sanskrit fragments].

I offer [this book of mine] to Śrī Pūṣiṅ [La Vallée Poussin] who having churned Chinese and Tibetan languages, this great ocean of milk, pulled out the *Kośa*-jewel.

### II.3. Notification (*saṃjñāpanam*)

In his Notification (Foreword) (*saṃjñāpanam*) RS briefly explained that the present work is based on the French translation of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (with *bhāṣya*), which was made by the Belgian scholar Louis de La Vallée Poussin from the Chinese translation by Xuanzang and published by the Belgian Society of Oriental Studies. More than five hundred *kārikās* in the original Sanskrit, which were placed in the footnotes, have been extracted from the manuscript of Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* commentary or restored into Sanskrit with the help of the Chinese and Tibetan translations.<sup>45</sup>

In the following Rāhul Jī explained his editorial principles regarding the Sanskrit text of the *kārikās*:

- round brackets (*cāpa-bandhin*) = restored by Rāhul Jī,
- square brackets [*catuṣkoṇa-bandhin*] = restored by La Vallée Poussin,
- round brackets (*cāpa-bandhin*) = *kārikās* extracted from Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārtha* commentary.

He emphasised that the depth (*gāmbhīrya*) of Vasubandhu's treatise is well known – the gist of the Tripiṭaka was condensed into six hundred minus one stanzas (*kārikā*). To make their dense content easier to understand, RS provided them with a light running commentary, which he called *Nālandikā*.

Rāhul Jī generally copied the Sanskrit text of the *kārikās* set down by La Vallée Poussin faithfully, trying to retain the square brackets used by him. He bound the *kārikās* together with a concise summary of the text of Vasubandhu's commentary (*Bhāṣya*) and omitting any discussion or polemic. Generally, he presents the content of a stanza by following LVP's translation. Occasionally he also gives cross-references to other stanzas of the *Abhidharmakośa*. At the end of the book is a detailed index of technical terms. In addition to these there are appended numerous folded pages which contain various useful lists of terms, schemes, tables, drawings, etc. painstakingly prepared by the author.

The work was completed in a very short time of two and a half months, just before RS's return from Śrī Laṅkā to India. After coming back to India he hastily set off to Tibet, therefore was unable to bring to completion some details.

<sup>45</sup> Of great help was the Japanese edition of *Kusharon* by SAEKI Kyokuga (1887).

Finally, the author acknowledged with gratitude the help of ācārya Narendra Deva, the principal of the Kāśī-vidyāpīṭha, for publishing his work.<sup>46</sup> Also words of thanks were directed to [bhadanta] Ānanda Kausalyāyana of Śrī Lankā, and last but not least to the publisher, the Kāśī-vidyāpīṭha. The Foreword is dated to *pausa-śuklaikādaśyām 1985 vikramābde*, which corresponds to 21 January 1929, Monday. The date of the publication as given on the title page is 1988, which corresponds to 1931 (see above).

#### II.4. Table of contents (*viśaya-sūcī*)

After the Foreword there follows the Table of contents (*viśaya-sūcī*). In the square brackets I added the titles of the chapters according to the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* (ed. GOKHALE 1946):

1. *saṃjñāpanam* = Notification (Foreword),
2. *viśaya-sūcī* = Table of contents,
3. *bhūmikā* = Introduction (pp. 1–24),
4. *dhātu-nirdeśaḥ* [I] (pp. 1–20),
5. *indriya-nirdeśaḥ* [II] (pp. 21–48),
6. *lokadhātu-nirdeśaḥ* [III] (pp. 49–84) [Ms. *loka-nirdeśaḥ*],
7. *karma-nirdeśaḥ* [IV] (pp. 85–129),
8. *anuśaya-nirdeśaḥ* [V] (pp. 130–158),
9. *ārya-pudgala-nirdeśaḥ* [VI] (pp. 159–192) [Ms. *mārga-prahāṇa-nirdeśaḥ*],
10. *jñāna-nirdeśaḥ* [VII] (pp. 193–220),
11. *dhyāna-nirdeśaḥ* [VIII] (pp. 221–236) [Ms. *samāpatti-nirdeśaḥ*],
12. *kārikānukramaṇikā* (pp. 237–247) = Index of *kārikās*,
13. *matpūrita-kārikāṃśānāṃ sūcī* (pp. 248–249) = Index of parts of *kārikās* restored by me [=RS],
14. *śabdānukramaṇikā* (pp. 250–320) = Word index,
15. *śuddhāśuddha-patram* (pp. 321–327) = Corrigenda.

<sup>46</sup> Narendra Deva (1889–1956) prepared his own translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* into Hindi. In 1942 ācārya Narendra Deva was under detention in Ahmadnagar, during the *rāṣṭrīya āndolan*. At that time he translated Vasubandhu's work from the French translation of La Vallée Poussin in full, and the three chapters (Bhāg 1: *Kośasthāna* I–III) were published posthumously in 1958. The remaining chapters have been published later: Bhāg 2 (IV–V): 1973, Bhāg 3 (VI): 1984, Bhāg 4 (VII–IX): 1986 (NARENDRA DEVA 1958–1986). In 2008, the Hindustani Academy (Allahabad) published the complete translation in 4 volumes. Narendra Deva presented Vasubandhu and his works in his other book, *Bauddha-dharma-darśan* (NARENDRA DEVA 1956). He did not mention anything about the Sanskrit edition of the *Abhidharmakośa* by Rāhul Jī who was mentioned only once, on p. 169, that he brought photos of the main Sanskrit text found in Tibet (*Tibbat se mūl saṃskṛt-granth kā photo laye the*).

The list of the folded pages attached at the end of the book containing the tables, schemata, drawings, etc., was not given. The following is a list of contents compiled by me:

1. ad p. 1 (ka) – \*75 *dharmāḥ*
2. ad p. 1 (kha) – \*18 *dhātavaḥ*
3. ad p. 21 – \**saṃskṛta-dharmāḥ*
4. ad p. 21 – \*22 *indriyāṇi*
5. no page number – (*kāṃcana*) *bhūmaṇḍalam*
6. ad p. 49 – *lokadhātuḥ*
7. no page number – *dvādaśāṃga-pratītya-samutpādaḥ* | *bhava-cakram*
8. ad p. 85 (ka) – \**karma*
9. ad p. 85 (kha) – *karma-patha* | *karma-samutthāna* | *karma-vedanīyatā* | *vikṣiptatā* | *prahāṇabhāgīya* | *āvaraṇa* | *pāramitā* | *yogapravartita karma*
10. ad p. 131 (ka) – *anuśaya*
11. ad p. 131 (kha) – *kleśa*
12. ad p. 159 (ka) – *bhāvanā*
13. ad p. 159 (kha) – *ārya-pudgala*
14. ad p. 159 (ga) – *mārga* | *bodhipakṣika-dharma*
15. ad p. 193 – *prajñā* – *jñāna* – *drṣṭi* | *buddhāveṇika-dharma* | *prāntakoṭika* | *vidyā* | *jñāna*
16. ad p. 221 – *dhyāna*
17. no page number – \**dhyāna*

## II.5. Introduction (*bhūmikā*)

The Introduction, or *bhūmikā*, contains the following main topics, not specified as such, which may be grouped under the following headings (below I offer a general overview of the content):

### A. Section on the Buddha and the development of religion (pp. 1–6)

- Brief account of the life of the Buddha. According to R. Sāṃkrtyāyana's calculation, the Buddha was born in 505 and passed away in year 423 of the ancient Vikrama era (*Vikrama-pūrva-vatsare*);
- First council (*prathamā saṃgīti*);
- Second council (*dvitīyā saṃgīti*);
- 18 schools or sects (*nikāya*) of Buddhism according to the chronicle *Dīpavaṃsa* and Vasumitra's treatise;
- Aśoka's reign and the third council (*trītiyā saṃgīti*);

- Mission to Śrī Lankā and implementation of the Dharma on the island (year 190 Vikrama-pūrvābde);
- B. Section on the *Abhidharmakośa* (pp. 6–21)
1. Historical development of the Abhidharma
    - Definition of the appellation Kāśmīra Vaibhāṣika (ad AK VIII.40);
    - School of the Sarvāstivāda on the historical background;
    - Succession of masters (*sthavira-paramparā*) according to the *Aśokāvadāna* and the Vinaya-piṭaka;
    - Classifications of the Tripiṭaka according to the traditions of the Sthaviravāda and the Sarvāstivāda:
      - Sūtra-piṭaka
      - Vinaya-piṭaka
      - Abhidharma-piṭaka;
    - Content of the *Jñānaprasthāna*, the first treatise of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma-piṭaka, following the article of J. Takakusu<sup>47</sup> in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society (TAKAKUSU 1904–1905);
    - *Mahāvibhāṣā*, or the Great Commentary on the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma;
  2. Vasubandhu and the *Abhidharmakośa*
    - *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu in Chinese translations by Paramārtha and Xuanzang;
    - Problem of the date of Vasubandhu;
    - Account of the life and works of Vasubandhu;
    - List of Vasubandhu's works according to the Chinese and Tibetan catalogues of the Tripiṭaka;
    - Structure of the *Abhidharmakośa*; number of *kārikās*: according to the author – 597 ½, according to Takakusu – 602;
    - Popularity of the *Abhidharmakośa* in India – testimony of a passage in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* VIII;
    - In Śrī Lankā a certain Rāhulasāṅgharāja composed a treatise *Moggallāna-pañcikā-pradīpa*;
    - List of commentaries on the *Abhidharmakośa* preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur;
    - List of the Abhidharma treatises preceding the compilation of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*;

<sup>47</sup> The name of the Japanese scholar J. Takakusu was "Sanskritised" by Rāhul Jī into \*(ācārya-) Tarka-kuśala.

C. Discussion on the origin of the Mahāyāna and its difference from the Śrāvakayāna (pp. 21–24)

- The so-called Nine Jewels (*nava-ratna*) or the Mahāyāna *sūtras* which are highly esteemed in Nepal;
- Rāhula Sāṃkrtyāyana's list of four differences between Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna according to the work of Th. Stcherbatsky<sup>48</sup>, *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* (STCHERBATSKY 1927);
- Quotations of passages referring to the Buddhist schools from Śaṅkara's *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya* II.2 conclude the Introduction.

### II.5.1. List of references in the *bhūmikā*

In the footnotes to the *bhūmikā*, RS gives bibliographical references in abbreviated form (here we give them in full). References indicate the sources from which RS drew his knowledge of Buddhist history, Abhidharma literature, Vasubandhu and his *Abhidharmakośa*, etc.

#### Page / footnote number

- 5/1: Beal, Samuel. "The Eighteen Schools of Buddhism". *Indian Antiquary* Dec. 1880: 299–302.
- 5/2: *Dīpavaṃsa*.
- 6/5 and 7/1, 2, 4: Przyluski, Jean. *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*. Paris 1923.
- 7/3: Lüders, H. "A list of Brahmi inscriptions from the earliest times to about A.D. 400 with the exception of those of Aśoka". *Appendix to Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 10, 1912. [Probably the work in question; reference given by RS uncertain: *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X, p. 113.]
- 8/1: *Vinaya-piṭaka Parivāra, Aṭṭhapārājikā*.
- 9/1: Konow, S. "The Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kuṣāṇa King". *Epigraphia Indica* 14, 1917–1918: 284–295. [From the context it follows that it is most likely Konow's article; the reference to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX, App., p. 25 seems to be wrong.]
- 9/2: D.B. Spooner. "The Kaniṣka Casket Inscriptions". *Annual Report of the Archeological Survey of India*, 1909–1910: 135–141.
- 12/1: Takakusu, J. "On the Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins". *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 1904–1905: 67–146. [RS wrongly: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1905, p. 161.]
- 12/2, 3: Takakusu, J. "Abhidharma Literature...", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 1904–1905.

<sup>48</sup> The name of the Russian Buddhistologist Th. Stcherbatsky (Ščerbatskoy) was "Sanskritised" by Rāhul Jī into \*(ācārya-)Cira-vāsuki.

- 13/1: Takakusu, J. "The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha (A.D. 499–569)". *T'oung Pao* V, 1904: 269–296.
- 14/1: Takakusu, J. "A Study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu and the Date of Vasubandhu". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1905: 33–53.
- 14/2: Bhattacharyya, B. Foreword to the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (ed. E. Krishnacharya, Baroda 1926. GOS 30–31), pp. LXVI–LXX: "Vasubandhu".
- 14/3: Rangaswami Saraswati, A. "Vasubandhu or Subandhu". *Indian Antiquary* LIII, Jan–Aug 1924: 8–12, 177–180.
- 17/1: Cordier, P. *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. III. *Index du Bstan-gyur*. (Tibétain 180–332). Paris 1915.
- 17/2: Takakusu, J. "Abhidharma Literature...". *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 1904–1905.
- 18/1: Bāṇa(bhaṭṭa), *Harṣacarita*, chapter VIII.
- 18/2: *Moggallāna-pañcikāpradīpa*, Dharmakīrti-śrī-Dharmārāma-nāyaka-mahāsthavira-sampādita. [A commentary on the Pāli grammar of Moggallāna.]
- 18/3: Cordier, P., *Catalogue du fonds tibétain...*
- 19/1: Takakusu, J. "Abhidharma Literature...". *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 1904–1905.
- 22/1: Stcherbatsky, Th. *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana*. Leningrad 1927.
- 23/1: *Brahmasūtra-Śaṅkara-bhāṣyam*.
- 24/1: *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha, Bauddha-darśanam*.

## II.6. The Sanskrit text of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*

The main body of the book consists of the *mūla* of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, i.e. the *kārikās* of the chapters I–VIII, which are provided with a simple commentary the author called *Nālandikā-ṭīkā*. As a rule, the *kārikā* or its part is followed by a more or less extended elucidation of the subject matter, which develops a succinct contents of a stanza. Sometimes the author simply offers a synonymical word to explain a given term. A good example of such extended explanation is *kārikā* VII.29 (pp. 206–207) or VI.2 (pp. 159–160), where the author after brief development of its meaning gave an etymological explanation of the technical term(s), and also inserted references to Buddhist Pāli texts, in this case the *Yamaka* and the *Visuddhimagga*. The author refers for the most part to the Pāli texts. Elsewhere one can find references to Sanskrit Buddhist texts too, e.g. *Madhyamakāvātāra*, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

Within the second chapter the author introduced, occasionally, a sub-section *hetu-phala-nirdeśa* (p. 39), where he provided copious internal references to

the other parts of the *Abhidharmakośa*. There are no footnotes, except those on p. 137 ad AK V.22.

The text of the *Abhidharmakośa* ends with the chapter VIII, stanza 40,<sup>49</sup> which agrees with the text edition of Gokhale (GOKHALE 1946: 99). In Gokhale's edition there follow three stanzas numbered 41–43 that make up the end of chapter eight (*samāpatti-nirdeśo nāma aṣṭamaṃ kośa-sthānam*). In Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's rendering these three stanzas (without numbering and marked with inverted comas)<sup>50</sup> follow his short elucidation of the meaning of the *kārikā* 40 (p. 236).<sup>51</sup> Now, the edition of Gokhale contains stanzas numbered 1–13 extracted from the ninth prose chapter *pudgala-nirdeśa* (p. 100), whereas Sāṃkṛtyāyana concluded his edition with his own six stanzas (numbered 1–6) before closing the whole text with the formulas (p. 236):

(iti dhyāna-nirdeśaḥ) |  
 (samāptaṃ aṣṭamaṃ kośasthānam) |  
 (samāptaś cā 'bhidharmakośaḥ) |  
 iti |

In his stanzas Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana praised the greatness of Vasubandhu and his treatise as being like a jewel, then paid homage to the great scholar Louis de La Vallée Poussin who translated it into French using the Chinese and Tibetan translations, expressed his gratitude to Śrīlaṅkān Vidyālaṃkāra, and finally gave his name, place and date of the publication of his book.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *kāsmīra-vaibhāṣika-nīti-siddhaḥ*  
*prāyo mayāyaṃ kathito 'bhidharmaḥ* |  
*yad durguhītaṃ tad ihāmadāgaḥ*  
*saddharmanītau munayaḥ pramāṇam* || 40 ||

<sup>50</sup> After LVP, *Kośa* VIII, p. 224, fn. 1 (with some mistakes).

<sup>51</sup> *kāsmīrāṇaṃ vaibhāṣikānāṃ (=vibhāṣāśāstra-pramāṇakānāṃ) matānusāraṃ eva prāyogaṃ*  
*abhidharmakośaḥ proktaḥ* | *yat kim apīha mayā na sugrhitam, tan mama doṣaḥ* | *saddharma*  
*varṇane tu buddhā bhagavantaḥ, buddhaputrāḥ śāradvatīputrādaya eva pramāṇam* |

<sup>52</sup> *sambuddha-sambodhi-mahārṇavottha-prakṛṣṭa-ratnāvali-pūrṇa-kośaḥ* |  
*vyadhāyī dhīreṇa vihīna-doṣo 'bhidharma-kośo vasubandhunā yaḥ* || 1 ||  
*kāle kalāñjāna payovimukta srotassu nālandamukheṣu so 'yam* |  
*chinneṣu niḥśeṣapadaṃ samāgājjādyāvṛtasvātmajanikṣamāyām* || 2 ||  
*sa pūṣiṇā kovida-puṅgavena cīna-tripod-vāgvasanaṃ vīṇya* |  
*prakāśitaḥ phraṃsagirā sabhāṣyaḥ, gīrvānavāk kārikayā ca sārddham* || 3 ||  
*tasyāvalambena divogaviṣu pramā citā śeṣitakārikāṇām* |  
*nālandikāṃ tadvivṛtiṃ vidhāya sthānaṃ durūhaṃ saralīkṛtaṃ ca* || 4 ||  
*pīyūṣiṇaḥ pūṣiṇa āśrayeṇa prāyo nibaddhā vivṛtir mayātra* |  
*yad durguhītaṃ tviha māmakaṃ tat sphuṭaṃ ca sarvaṃ vibudhasya tasya* || 5 ||  
*laṃkālaṃkāra-bhūte bibudhavarajuṣi kṣāntikīrttyānavavāye,*  
*vidyālaṃkāra-vidyāśadanabudhāpade proṣitena prabaddhā* |  
*sāṃskṛtyeṇārya-kāśikṣitīṣu janijūṣā rāhulenātmaneyaṃ,*  
*kārtikyārka-grahau vikramaśaradi vidhau vāṇavasvaṃ kacāmdre* || 6 ||

## II.7. *Nālandikā-ṭīkā*

To show the method RS used in translating LVP's French translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* into Sanskrit, I have selected four passages below as examples: first I give the text of RS's edition, then the original fragment from LVP's translation, and in a footnote the corresponding fragment from P. Pradhan's edition of the *Abhidharmakośa*, based on a manuscript found by RS in Tibet.

The text of the *kārikās* was taken by RS from the LVP footnotes to his translation. RS founded his commentary on the French translation of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, adapting and abridging it, omitting polemical passages, and using LVP's footnotes with passages from Yaśomitra's commentary and other texts.

The printed Sanskrit text in devanāgarī of Rāhul Jī's edition of the *Abhidharmakośa* (abbr. RS, AK) does not always follow the sandhi rules. There are also occasional misprints and the division of compound words is sometimes unusual (cf. e.g. AK V.22). In some places, the typographical symbols used by RS are missing, and some of the letters are poorly legible. The text of the *kārikās* is printed in bold type (here: in normal type) and the text of the explanatory section is printed in smaller type (here: in italics). Occasionally I have made minor corrections and additions to the RS text in braces {}.

### 1. Ad AK II.49

RS, AK, p. 39:

(hetu-phalanirdeśaḥ) |

[kāraṇahetuḥ sahabhūḥ sabhāgaḥ samprayuktakaḥ |  
sarovatrago vipākaś ca] ṣaḍvidho hetur iṣyate || 49 ||

*kāraṇahetvādayaḥ* | *ṣaḍ hetavaḥ* – *kāraṇahetuḥ* = *sattāhetuḥ* | *sahabhūḥ* = *anyonyakāraṇam* | *sabhāgahetuḥ* = *anugatahetuḥ* = *samāna-bhāgahetuḥ* | *samprayuktahetuḥ* = *preritahetuḥ* | *sarovatrago* = *sārvadaiśikā* \*<sup>53</sup>

\**vipākahetuḥ* is missing!

LVP, *Kośa* vol. I, p. 245 and fn. 1:

**49.** *Kāraṇahetu*, *sahabhū*, *sabhāga*, *samprayuktaka*, *sarovatraga*, *vipāka*:  
le *hetu* est considéré comme sextuple.

*Kāraṇahetu*, raison d'être ; *sahabhūhetu*, cause mutuelle ; *sabhāgahetu*, cause pareille ; *samprayuktakahetu*, cause associée ; *sarovatragahetu*, cause universelle ; *vipākahetu*, cause de rétribution : telles sont les six sortes de causes que reconnaissent les *Abhidharmikas* (Jñānaprasthāna, I, ii).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. AKBh, p. 82:

*kāraṇaṃ sahabhūś caiva, sabhāgaḥ samprayuktakaḥ |  
sarovatrago vipākākyah, ṣaḍvidho hetur iṣyate || 49 ||*

*ṣaḍ ime hetavaḥ | kāraṇahetuḥ sahabhūhetuḥ sabhāgahetuḥ samprayuktakahetuḥ  
sarovatragahetuḥ vipākahetur iti |*

## 2. Ad AK V.22

RS, AK, p. 137 and fn. 1–4:

[ekāṃśena vibhāgena pṛcchātaḥ sthāpanīyataḥ |  
vyākṛtaṃ] maraṇotpatti-viśiṣṭā-tmānya tādivat\* || 22 ||

\*recte: maraṇotpattiviśiṣṭātmānyatādivat – MM.

*caturvidhaṃ praśna-vyākaraṇa{m}* – 1. *ekāṃśena vyākaraṇam*; 2. *vibhajya vyākaraṇam*; 3. *paripṛcchā-vyākaraṇam*; 4. *sthāpanīyaṃ (=anuttaritaṃ) iti* ||

1. “*mriyaṃte sarve sattvā*” *iti praśne*, “*mriyaṃte*” *iti ekāṃśena vyākartaṃ śakyate* |
2. “*utpadyante sarve sattvā*” *iti praśne*, *vibhajya vyākartavyaṃ bhavati*, “*kleśasamanvitā utpadyante na kleśavarjitāḥ*” |
3. “*manuṣyo viśiṣṭo hīno ve*” *ti praśne*, “*kasya sambandhene*” *ti praṣṭavyaṃ bhaviṣyati* | “*devasambandhene*” *tyukte “hīna” iti vyākartavyaḥ*, “*apāyagati sattvasambandhene*” *tyabhihite “viśiṣṭa” iti vyākartavyam* |
4. “*skandhāḥ sattvā eva tato bhinnā ve*” *ti praśnaḥ sattvasya viṣaye*, *sattvaś ca nāstyeva kim api vastu* | *tenāyaṃ praśnaḥ “vandhyāputraḥ śuklaḥ kṛṣṇo ve” ti vat sthāpanīya eva* |<sup>54</sup>

LVP, *Kośa* vol. IV, p. 44:

22. Réponse catégorique, comme pour la mort ; réponse en distinguant, comme pour la renaissance ; réponse par question, comme pour la supériorité ; réponse en récusant la question, comme pour la nonidentité.<sup>55</sup>

1. Si on demande : « Tous les êtres mourront-ils ? », il faut répondre d’une manière catégorique : « Ils mourront ».
2. Si on demande : « Tous les êtres naîtront-ils ? », il faut répondre en distinguant : « Les êtres revêtus de passion (*kleśa*) naîtront ; les êtres exempts de passion ne naîtront pas. »
3. Si on demande : « L’homme est-il supérieur (*viśiṣṭa*) ou inférieur (*hīna*) ? »,

<sup>54</sup> Cf. AKBh, p. 292: *caturvidho hi praśnaḥ* || *ekāṃśavyākaraṇīyo vibhajyavyākaraṇīyaḥ paripṛcchyavyākaraṇīyaḥ sthāpanīyaś ca* | *tatra yathākramaṃ vedītavam* | *ekāṃśato vyākaraṇam vibhajya paripṛcchya ca* | *sthāpyam ca maraṇotpattiviśiṣṭātmānyatādivat* || 22 ||  
*kiṃ sarvasattvā marīṣyantīti ekāṃśena vyākartavyaṃ marīṣyantīti* | *kiṃ sarve janiṣyanta iti vibhajya vyākartavyaṃ sakleśā janiṣyante, na niḥkleśā iti* | *kiṃ manuṣyo viśiṣṭo hīna iti paripṛcchya vyākartavyam* | *atha brūyād apāyān iti viśiṣṭa iti vyākartavyam* | *kim anyaḥ skandhebhyaḥ sattvo nanya iti sthāpanīyaḥ* | *sattvadravābhāvāt* | *bandhyāputraśyāmagauratādivat* |

<sup>55</sup> LVP, *Kośa* vol. IV, p. 44 fn. 1: *mgo geig dañ ni nnam phye dañ* | *dri dañ bzhag par luñ bstan pa* | *chi dañ skye bar khyad par ḥphags* | *bdag gzhan la sogs lta bu yin*.  
[*ekāṃśena vibhāgena pṛcchātaḥ sthāpanīyataḥ* | *vyākṛtaṃ*] *maraṇotpattiviśiṣṭātmānyatādivat* ||

il faut répondre par une question : « Par rapport à qui ? » Si on répond : « Par rapport aux dieux », il faut répondre : « Il est inférieur ». Si on répond : « Par rapport aux êtres des mauvaises destinées », il faut répondre : « Il est supérieur ».

4. Si on demande : « Les *skandhas* sont-ils la même chose que le *sattva* ou être-vivant, ou en sont-ils différents ? », c'est une question à récuser parce que la chose appelée ' être vivant ' n'existe pas. De même on récuserait la question : « Le fils d'une femme stérile est-il noir ou blanc ? »

### 3. Ad AK VI.2

RS, AK, pp. 159–160:

[satyānyuktāni catvāri]

tāni ca –

[duḥkhaṃ samudaya-stathā |

nirodho mārگاḥ]

duḥkha-satyam, samudaya-satyam, nirodha-satyam, mārگا-satyam ceti |

eteṣāṃ yathābhisamayam kramah || 2 ||

*sarvaprathamam duḥkhasatyasyaiva sākṣātkāro bhavati, tataḥ samudayasatyasya, tato nirodhasatyasya, tato mārگasatyasya, ata eveṣāṃ parisamkhyāne prathamādi kramah | duḥkhaṃ hi prathamārya-satyam, samudayaṃ dvitīyam |*

*abhisamayah (abhi + sam + iṅ) = abhisambodhah {,} ayah = jñānam, sam = samyak, abhi = abhimukhaṃ, nirvāṇabhimukhaṃ\* hi samyajjñānam abhisamayah |*

<sup>56</sup>(1) pañca upādāna-skandhāḥ duḥkha-satyam |

(2) sāsrava-dharmāṅgāṃ hetuḥ samudaya-satyam |

(3) pratisamkhyā nirodhah (2:55) nirodha-satyam |

(4) śaikṣā āśaikṣā dharmā mārگا satyam |

yadvā –

(1) nāmarūpaṃ duḥkhasatyam; (2) karma kleśās ca samudayah; (3) karma kleśa-kṣayah nirodhasatyam; (4) śamatha-vipaśyanāḥ mārگasatyam |

vibhajyavādinastu –

(1) aṣṭau duḥkhasvabhāvāḥ – duḥkhaṃ duḥkhasatyam ca; anye sāsravā duḥkhaṃ, paraṃ na duḥkhasatyam | (Yamaka – I:17)

(2) bāhya-saṃstḥiti-kārikā trṣṇā samudayah samudaya-satyam ca, anyāḥ sarvāḥ trṣṇāḥ sāsravadharma-hetavaś ca samudayo na samudaya-satyam |

(3) tasyāḥ trṣṇāyā nirodhah nirodho nirodhasatyam ca, sarvānyatrṣṇānāṃ nirodhah, sāsravadharmāṅgāṃ sarve 'nye hetavaśca nirodhah, paraṃ na nirodhasatyam |

<sup>56</sup> From hereon RS has translated his comment from LVP, *Kośa* IV, p. 122, fn. 3.

(4) *śaikṣasya aṣṭāṅgamārgo mārgaḥ mārga-satyam ca, śaikṣasyānye dharmāḥ, sarve 'śaikṣa-dharmāśca mārgaḥ, na paraṃ mārga-satyam | etasmin mate arhanto duḥkha-nirodha-satyadvaya-samanvitā bhavaṃti, na tu samudaya-mārga-samanvitāḥ | "yasmā pana etāni saccāni buddhādayo ariyā paṭivijjhanti, tasmā ariyasaccānīti vuccaṃti... ariyānīti = tathāni – avitathāni = avisaṃvādakānīti attho |"*<sup>57</sup> (*Visuddhimagga* 495).

\*recte: *nirvāṇābhimukhaṃ* – MM.

LVP, *Kośa* vol. IV, p. 120 and fn. 2–4:

2 a. Les quatre vérités ont été dites.

2 b–c. A savoir douleur, origine, destruction et chemin.

2 c–d. Leur ordre est celui dans lequel elles sont « comprises ».<sup>58</sup>

[...]

LVP, *Kośa* vol. IV, p. 122, fn. 3:

Vibhāṣā, 77, 5. – Quelle est la nature des quatre vérités ? – Les maîtres d'Abhidharma disent : 1. la vérité de douleur est les cinq *upādānaskandhas* ; 2. la vérité de l'origine est la cause des *dharmas* impurs (*sāsravahetu*) ; 3. la vérité de la destruction est leur *pratisaṃkhyānirodha* (ii. 55 d) ; 4. la vérité du chemin est les *dharmas* qui font les Saints (*dharmas śaikṣas* et *āśaikṣas*). – Les Dārṣṭāntikas disent: 1. la vérité de la douleur est le *nāmarūpa* ; 2. la vérité de l'origine est le *karman* et le *kleśa* ; 3. la vérité de la destruction est l'anéantissement (*kṣaya*) du *karman* et du *kleśa* ; 4. la vérité du chemin est le calme et l'intellection (*śamatha vipaśyanā*). – Les Vibhajyavādins (voir v. trad. p. 23, 52) disent : 1. ce qui a huit caractères de *duḥkha* est *duḥkha* et *duḥkhasatya*; les autres *dharmas* impurs (*sāsrava*) sont *duḥkha*, mais non pas *duḥkhasatya* [comparer les sources pālies citées ci-dessous p. 125 n. c] ; 2. la *trṣṇā* qui produit existence ultérieure est *samudaya* et *samudayasatya*; toute autre *trṣṇā* et les autres causes de *dharmas* impurs (*sāsravahetu*) sont

<sup>57</sup> Cf. AKBh, p. 327: *kānīmāni satyāni kati ca |*

*satyāny uktāni catvāri || 2a ||*

*kvoktāni | sāsravānāsravadharmanirdeśe | anāsravā mārgasatyam iti svasābdena, pratisaṃkhyānirodho yo viśaṃyoga iti nirodhasatyam, duḥkhaṃ samudayo loka ity atra duḥkhasamudayasatye | kim eṣa evaiṣāṃ anukramaḥ | nety āha | kim tarhi |*

*duḥkhaṃ samudayas tathā |*

*nirodhamārga iti || 2bc ||*

*eṣa eṣāṃ anukramaḥ | svabhāvastu yathā pūrvam uktas tathaiyeti pradārśanārthas tathāśabdaḥ | sa punar ayam,*

*eṣāṃ yathābhisamayaṃ kramaḥ || 2cd ||*

*yasya hi satyasyābhisamayaḥ pūrvas tasya pūrvanirdeśaḥ | itarathā hi pūrvam hetunirdeśo bhaviṣyat paścāt phalanirdeśaḥ |*

<sup>58</sup> LVP, *Kośa* vol. IV, p. 120, fn. 2. *bden pa dag ni bzhir bshad do* = [satyāny uktāni catvāri];

fn. 3. *sdug bsngal kun 'byung de bzhin du | 'gog dang lam ste* = [duḥkhaṃ samudayas tathā | nirodho mārgaḥ];

fn. 4. *de dag ji liar mngon rtogs rim = eteṣāṃ yathābhisamayaṃ kramaḥ.*

*samudaya*, mais non pas *samudayasatya* ; 3. la destruction de cette *trṣṇā* est *nirodha* et *nirodhasatya* ; la destruction de toute autre *trṣṇā* et des autres causes de *dharmas* impurs est *nirodha*, mais non pas *nirodhasatya* ; 4. le chemin à huit membres du Śaikṣa est *mārga* et *mārgasatya* ; les autres *dharmas* de Śaikṣa et tous les *dharmas* d'Āśaikṣa sont *mārga*, mais non pas *mārgasatya*. Mais, dans ce système, les Arhats possèdent seulement les vérités de *duḥkha* et de *nirodha*, et non pas les vérités de *samudaya* et de *mārga*.

#### 4. Ad AK VII.28cd–29

RS, AK, pp. 205–207:

sthānāsthāne daśa jñānānyasṭau karmaphale [nava] || 28cd ||  
dhyānā ’dhyakṣā-’dhimokṣeṣu [dhātau ca], pratipatsu [vā] |  
daśa dve saṃvṛtijñāne ṣaḍ vā daśa vā kṣaye || 29 ||<sup>59</sup>

*tāni tathāgatasya daśa balāni* – <sup>60</sup>

1. sthānā ’sthānajñānabalaṃ – “*tathāgataḥ sthānaṃ ca sthānato yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | asthānaṃ ca asthānataḥ | idaṃ prathamam tathāgatasya balaṃ, yena balena samanvāgataḥ tathāgato ’rhan samyak-sambuddha udāraṃ ārabhaṃ sthānaṃ pratijñāti brāhmaṃ cakraṃ, pravartayati parṣadi samyaksiṃha-nādaṃ nadati* |”<sup>61</sup> *atra daśā ’pi (saṃvṛtādi) jñānāni parisamkhyāṃ gacchati* |
2. karmavipākajñānabalaṃ – “*tathāgato ’tītānāgatapratyutpannāni karmadharmasamādānāni sthānato {hetuto} vastuto vipākataś ca yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti, ...idaṃ dvitīyaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ, yena...* |”<sup>62</sup> *mārganirodha-jñānavarjitāni aṣṭau jñānāni* |

<sup>59</sup> Cf. AKBh, pp. 411–412:

dhyānādyakṣādhimokṣeṣu dhātau ca || 29ab ||  
*dhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpattijñānabalaṃ nava jñānāni | nirodhajñānaṃ hitvā | evam indriyaparāparajñānabalaṃ nānādhimuktijñānabalaṃ nānādhātujñānabalaṃ veditavyam |*  
pratipatsu tu || 29b || [p. 412]  
daśa vā || 29c ||  
*nava veti matavikalpārtho vāśabdah | yadi saphalā pratipat gṛhyate | sarvatragāmīni pratipajñānabalaṃ daśa jñānāni | na cen nava | anyatra nirodhajñānāt |*  
saṃvṛtijñānaṃ, dvayoḥ || 29cd ||  
*pūrvanivāsānumṛtijñānabalaṃ \*cyutyupapattijñānabalaṃ ca\* saṃvṛtijñānaṃ |*  
ṣaḍ daśa vā kṣaye || 29d ||  
*āsravakṣayajñānabalaṃ ṣaḍjñānāni dharmānvayanirodhakṣayānutpādasamvṛtijñānāni | yadi nirodhajñānaṃ evāsravakṣayajñānaṃ | atha kṣiṇāsravasamtāne jñānaṃ āsravakṣayajñānaṃ tato daśa jñānāni |*  
\*\_\* Pradhan omits!

<sup>60</sup> Here and below, all Sanskrit text in quotation marks follows Yaśomitra's *Iyākhyā*, quoted by LVP, *Kośa* vol. V, p. 68–69, fn. 1. LVP's edition of the *Iyākhyā* was based on his reading of the manuscript kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Société Asiatique). In my footnotes, I give references to the text of Wogihara's edition (AKVy).

<sup>61</sup> WOGIHARA (1932–1936: 641.15–19).

<sup>62</sup> WOGIHARA (1932–1936: 641.19–23).

- 3–6. *dhyāna-vimokṣa-samādhi-samāpattijñānabalāni* – “*tathāgato dhyāna-vimokṣa-samādhi-samāpattinām saṃkleśa-vyavadāna-vyavasthānavisuddhiṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | {... 3} {parasattvānām} parapudgalānām indriyaparāparatām yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti... | {... 4} nānādhimuktikaṃ lokaṃ anekādhimuktikaṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti... | {... 5} nānādhātukaṃ lokaṃ anekadhātukaṃ... | {... 6}*”<sup>63</sup> *nirodhajñānam antareṇa nava jñānāni atra caturṣu |*
7. *sarvatra{-}gāminī[-]pratipajñānabalaṃ* – *nānāgatisambandhi mārgajñānabalaṃ | atra nava daśa vā jñānāni | “pratipado narakādīgāminyaḥ | narakagāminī pratipad yāvad devagāminī nirodhagāminī ca | tatra yā narakādīgāminyaḥ pratipadastā hetuḥ | pratipadyante tābhir iti kṛtvā | mārgo ’pi pratipaducyate tena hi viśaṃyogaḥ pratipadyate | nirodhastu kathaṃ sa cāpi pratipad? pratipadyate taṃ iti kṛtvā, pratipatphalaṃ vā pratipad ity ucyate |”*<sup>64</sup> “*hetur hi sarvatragāminī pratipad iṣyate | tathā hi vyācakṣate | sarvatra gāminī pratipad jñānabalaṃ | satkāya-samudaya [nirodha] gāminīty artha iti | tatra satkāyaḥ paṃcopādānaskandhāḥ | samudaya utpāda ihābhipretaḥ | {...} satkāyanirodho viśaṃyoga{h}* | *tatra sarvatra gantuṃ śīlaṃ asyā iti sarvatragāminī | sarvatra gāminī cāsau pratipacca sarvatragāminī pratipat | tadjñānaṃ tadeva ca balamiti sarvatra gāminī pratipajñānabalaṃ |*”<sup>65</sup> *tatra svaphalavirahite mārge pariḡrhitē nava jñānāni, saphale tu daśa |*
- 8–9. *pūrvanivāsajñānabalaṃ, cyutyupapādajñānabalaṃ ca* – *etad dvayaṃ saṃvṛtijñānam |*
10. *āsravakṣayajñānabalaṃ, “āsravāṇāṃ kṣayād anāsravāṃ ceto-vimuktiṃ prajñāvimuktiṃ dṛṣṭa eva dharme svayaṃ abhijñāya sākṣāt-kṛtvopasampadya prativedayate | kṣīṇā me jātirusitaṃ brahmacaryaṃ kṛtaṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ asmād bhavaṃ prajānāmīti... |*”<sup>66</sup> *tatra ṣaḍ daśa vā jñānāni bhavanti | ṣaḍ dharmā-vaya-nirodha-kṣayā ’nutpāda-saṃvṛtijñānāni |*

LVP, *Kośa* vol. V, pp. 68–71:

**28c–29.** Dix savoirs dans le *sthānāsthāna*; huit dans le *karmaphala* ; neuf dans les *dhyānas*, etc., dans les *indriyas*, dans les *adhimokṣas*, dans les *dhātus* ; neuf ou dix dans les *pratipads* ; deux sont *saṃvṛtijñāna* ; le *nirodha* est six ou dix savoirs.<sup>67</sup> [p. 69]

1. Le *sthānāsthānajñānabala* – la force qui consiste dans la connaissance de ce qui est possible et impossible (= le savoir du possible et de l’impossible

<sup>63</sup> WOGIHARA (1932–1936: 641.23–33).

<sup>64</sup> WOGIHARA (1932–1936: 643.33–644.4).

<sup>65</sup> WOGIHARA (1932–1936: 644.5–11).

<sup>66</sup> WOGIHARA (1932–1936: 642.22–25).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. LVP, *Kośa* vol. V, p. 68, fn. 1.

- qui est une « force », c'est-à-dire absolu, vii. 30 c) – est les dix *jñānas*, comporte les dix *jñānas*.
2. Le ***karmavipākajñānabala*** – la force qui consiste dans la connaissance de la rétribution des actes – est huit *jñānas*, en excluant la connaissance du chemin et celle de la destruction (*mārgajñāna*, *nirodhajñāna*).
- 3–6. Le ***dhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpattijñānabala*** – la force de la connaissance des *dhyānas*, *vimokṣas*, *samādhis* et *samāpat*[p. 70]tis; l'***indriyaparāparajñānabala*** – la force de la connaissance du degré des facultés morales des êtres ; le ***nānādhimuktijñānabala*** – la force de la connaissance des diverses aspirations des êtres ; le ***nānādhātujñānabala*** – la force de la connaissance des diverses dispositions acquises des êtres ; ces quatre forces comportent neuf *jñānas*, en excluant la connaissance de la destruction (*nirodhajñāna*).
7. Le ***sarvatragāminīpratipajñānabala*** – la force de la connaissance des chemins qui mènent aux diverses destinées, au Nirvāṇa – est ou bien neuf *jñānas* ou bien dix *jñānas*.  
Si on comprend « le chemin avec son fruit » (*saphalā pratipad*), cette force comporte la connaissance de la destruction (qui est le fruit du Chemin, *mārga*) ; si on comprend « le chemin sans son fruit », cette force comporte neuf *jñānas*. [p. 71]
- 8–9. Le ***pūrvanivāsajñānabala*** – la force de la connaissance des anciennes résidences – et le ***cyutyupapādajñānabala*** – la force de la connaissance de la mort et de la renaissance des êtres : ces deux forces sont « savoir mondain », *saṃvṛtijñāna*.
10. L'***āsravaḥkṣayajñānabala*** – la force de la connaissance de la destruction des « vices » – est six *jñānas* ou dix *jñānas*. On peut considérer l'*āsravaḥkṣayajñāna* en soi, la connaissance de la destruction des vices qui comporte *dharmajñāna*, *anvayajñāna*, *nirodhajñāna*, *kṣayajñāna*, *anutpādajñāna* et *saṃvṛtijñāna* ; on peut entendre par *āsravaḥkṣayajñāna* le *jñāna* qui se produit dans une série d'où les « vices » ont été expulsés : les dix *jñānas* existent dans semblable série.

### III. Conclusion

Rāhul Jī avidly studied the Pāli canon and the literature available to him during his stay in Śrī Laṅkā. Even then he realised that a huge amount of Buddhist texts existed in Tibetan and/or Chinese translations. He paid particular attention to Vasubandhu's great work, the *Abhidharmakośa*, which had been translated from Chinese and Tibetan into French by Louis de La Vallée Poussin. Rāhul Jī's intention was to make this extremely important text available to the Indian reader in Sanskrit, with the necessary brief commentary. When the book appeared in print in 1931 (in a small number of copies), its author never imagined that a few

years later he would make the remarkable discovery of the original Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Abhidharmakośa* at Ngor Monastery in Tibet. At the time, however, his attention was focused on searching for the *Pramāṇavārttika* of Dharmakīrti and other texts on logic. Rāhul Jī did not return to a study of the *Abhidharmakośa* again, while the editing of the manuscripts he discovered was done by other Indian scholars, Gokhale in 1946 and Pradhan in 1967. Rāhul Jī's work has been forgotten, but it is worth remembering today as a contribution to the history of Buddhist studies in India. Rāhula Sāṃkrtyāyana's personal interest in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* stimulated his untiring efforts in search of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet. His successful discovery of these most valuable treasures of human thought is an everlasting contribution to the scientific researches (cf. STEINKELLNER 2004).

### Author's note

This is a revised and extended version of a paper presented at the International Conference on "Rahul Sankrityayan: Mahapandit in the Land of Snow", organised by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Delhi, 14–16 March, 2018 (cf. fn. 2 above).

### Abbreviations

AK	<i>Abhidharmakośa</i> .
AKBh	<i>Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya</i> . Ed.: PRADHAN (1975).
AKVY	<i>Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā</i> , Yaśomitra. Ed.: WOGIHARA (1932–1936).
LVP	de La Vallée Poussin, Louis.
LVP, <i>Kośa</i>	de La Vallée Poussin, <i>L'Abhidharmakośa</i> .
<i>Merī jīvan-yātrā</i>	SĀMKRITYĀYANA (1998).
RS	Rāhula Sāṃkrtyāyana (Rahul Sankrityayan).

### References

- BAHRI, Hardev 2011. *Rājṣpāl Advanced Learner's Hindi-English Dictionary*. Vol. 1 (a–dha); Vol. 2 (na–ha). Delhi: Rājṣpāl.
- BANDURSKI, Frank 1994. *Übersicht über die Göttinger Sammlungen der von Rāhula Sāṃkrtyāyana in Tibet aufgefundenen buddhistischen Sanskrit-Texte*. Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften III. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- CHUDAL, Alaka Atreya 2016. *A Freethinking Cultural Nationalist. A Life History of Rahul Sankrityayan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199466870.001.0001>
- Conference 2018. Publication accompanying the *International Conference on Rahul Sankrityayana (1893–1963): Maha Pandita in the Land of Snow, March 14 – March 16, 2018*. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts.
- DUTTA, Suman 2016. “Travel of Gendun Chopel with Rahul Sankrityayana in Tibet and Nepal”. *International Journal of Humanities & Social Science Studies* III(II): 197–205.
- Exhibition 2018. Publication accompanying the *Exhibition on Rahul Sankrityayana's Antiquity Collection (From Patna Museum)*. Organised by Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, in collaboration with Patna Museum, Patna, Bihar, March 17th 2018 to April 9th 2018. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts.
- GELONG LODRÖ SANGPO 2012. *Abhidharmakośa-Bhāṣya of Vasubandhu: The Treasury of the Abhidharma and Its (Auto) Commentary*. Translated into French by Louis de La Vallée Poussin; annotated English translation by Gelong Lodrö Sangpo; with a new introduction by Bhikkhu KL Dhammajoti. 4 vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- GENDUN CHOPEL 2014. *Grains of Gold. Tales of a Cosmopolitan Traveler*. Translated by Thupten Jinpa and Donald S. Lopez Jr. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226092027.001.0001>
- GOKHALE, V. V. 1946. “The Text of the *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā* of Vasubandhu”. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series) 22: 73–102.
- JACKSON, David P. 1989. *The “Miscellaneous Series” of Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Research Society, Patna: A Handlist*. Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies 2. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- KELLNER, Birgit 2010. “Rahul Sankrityayan (1893–1963) und seine Tibetreisen im Kontext”. *Masala: Newsletter Virtuelle Fachbibliothek Südasiens* 5(4).
- LAW, Narendra Nath 1949. *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā of Yaśomitra (1–3 Kośasthāna)*. Luzac & Co, London. (Calcutta Oriental Series 31).
- LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, Louis de, trans. 1923–1931. *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, trad. et annoté*. Tome I: Chapitres 1–2; Tome II: Chapitre 3; Tome III: Chapitre 4; Tome IV: Chapitres 5–6; Tome V: Chapitres 7–9; Tome VI: *Fragment des Kārikās, Index, Additions*. Paris-Louvain: Société Belge d'Études Orientales. [English translations: (1) by Gelong Lodrö Sangpo, Delhi 2012; (2) by Pruden, Leo, Berkeley 1988–1990.]

- LÉVI, Sylvain 1932. *Matériaux pour l'Étude du Système Vijnaptimātra*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques 260. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion.
- LOPEZ, Donald S., Jr. 2018. *Gendun Chopel: Tibet's Modern Visionary*. Boulder, CO: Shambhala.
- MACHWE, Prabhakar 1978. *Rahul Sankrityayan*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- MCGREGOR, Ronald Stuart 1993. *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MENGELE, Irmgard 1999. *dGe-'dun-chos-'phel. A Biography of the 20th-Century Tibetan Scholar*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- MUCH, Michael Torsten 1988. *A Visit to Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana's Collection of Negatives at the Bihar Research Society: Texts From the Buddhist Epistemological School*. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- MULE, Guṇākara 1998. *Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhul Sāṅkrtyāyan. Jīvan aur kṛtita*. Nayī Dillī: Neśanal Buk Ṭraṣṭ, Imḍiyā. [1st ed. 1993].
- NARENDRA DEVA 1956. *Bauddha-dharma-darśan*. Paṭṇā – 3: Bihār-Rāṣṭrabhāṣā-Parīṣad.
- NARENDRA DEVA, trans. 1958–1986. *Ācārya Vasubandhu kṛta Abhidharmakośa*. Hindustānī Ekeḍemī, Uttar Pradeś, Ilāhābād. [Hindi trans.: Part 1 (chapters I–III): 1958; Part 2 (chapters IV–V): 1973; Part 3 (chapter VI): 1984; Part 4 (chapters VII–IX): 1986.]
- PRADHAN, P. 1975. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu, Deciphered and Edited. Revised Second Edition with Introduction and Indices*. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 8. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Institute. [1st ed. 1967.]
- SAEKI, KYOKUGA 佐伯旭雅 1887. *Kandō Abidatsuma kusharon* 冠導阿毘達磨俱舍論. Kyoto: Hōzōkan. [Reprint: 1978].
- SĀMĀKRṬYĀYANA, Rāhula 1931. *Abhidharmakośaḥ ācārya-Vasubandhu-praṇītaḥ | “Mahāpaṇḍita” - “Tripiṭakācārya” - śrīRāhula-Sāṅkrtyāyana-viracitayā Nālandikābhīdayā īkayā pariśiṣṭādinā ca sahitaḥ | Vārāṇasyāṃ Kāśī-vidyāpīṭhena prakāśitaḥ* | 1988 [= 1931 CE]. Scanned book available at: [https://archive.org/details/bMdu\\_abhidharma-kosha-of-acharya-vasubandhu-sanskrit-with-nalandikabhidhaya-commentary/page/n13/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/bMdu_abhidharma-kosha-of-acharya-vasubandhu-sanskrit-with-nalandikabhidhaya-commentary/page/n13/mode/2up) (accessed 15 October 2024).
- SĀMĀKRṬYĀYANA, Rāhula 1932–1933. “The Rise and Fall of Buddhism in India”. *Mahā-Bodhi Journal* 40(12): 555–564; 41(3): 100–111.
- SĀMĀKRṬYĀYANA, Rāhula 1933–1934. “Sanskrit Restoration of Yuan Chwang's Vijnaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra”. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 19 (Appendix): 3–73; 20 (Appendix): 73–152.

- SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA, Rāhula 1934. "Recherches bouddhiques, par le bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana (de Bénarès). I. Les origines du Mahāyāna. II. L'origine du Vajrayāna et les 84 Siddhas". *Journal Asiatique* 225 (Octobre–Décembre): 195–230.
- SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA, Rāhula 1935a. "Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet". *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 21(1): 21–43.
- SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA, Rāhula [SĀṂKṚTYĀYAN, Rāhul] 1935b. *Merī Yūrop yātrā*. Sahitya Sewak Sangh, Chaprā.
- SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA, Rāhula 1936–1937. "On the Way to Tibet". *Mahā-Bodhi Journal* 44(10): 454–464; 44(11): 495–511; 45(1): 1–12; 45(4): 141–154.
- SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA, Rāhula 1937. "Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet". *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 23(1): 1–57.
- SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA, Rāhula 1938. "Search for Sanskrit Mss. in Tibet". *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 24(1): 137–163.
- SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA, Rāhula 1943. *Ācārya-Dharmakīrteḥ Pramāṇavārttikam (Svārthānumānaparicchedaḥ) Svopajñavṛtṭiyā Karṇakagomiviracitayā taṭṭikayā ca sahitam*. Allahabad: Kitāba Mahala.
- SĀṂKṚTYĀYANA, Rāhula [SĀṂKṚTYĀYAN, Rāhul] 1998. *Merī jīvan-yātrā [ātmakathā]*. Part I.1; Part I.2. [In:] *Rāhul-vānmaya: jīvan yātrā*. 4 vols. Nayī Dillī: Rādhākṛṣṇa Prakāśan Pr. Ltd. [1st ed. 1994].
- SFERRA, Francesco 2008. "Sanskrit Manuscripts and Photographs of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci's Collection". [In:] Sferra, Francesco, ed., *Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection*. Part I. Manuscripta Buddhica I. Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, pp. 15–78.
- SILVA, G. P. S. H. de 1968. "A Chronological Survey of Sinhalese Lexicographical works in Ceylon during the period 1800–1950". *Vidyodaya Journal of Arts, Science, and Letters* 1(1): 1–28.
- STCHERBASKY, Th. 1927. *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*. Leningrad: Publishing Office of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.
- STEINKELLNER, Ernst 2004. *A Tale of Leaves. On Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet, their Past and their Future*. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- TAKAKUSU, Junjiro 1904. "The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha (A.D. 499–569)". *T'oung Pao* 5: 269–296.
- TAKAKUSU, Junjiro 1904–1905. "On the Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins". *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 14: 67–146.

- TAKAKUSU, Junjiro 1905. "A Study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu and the Date of Vasubandhu". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 37(1): 33–53. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0035869X00032688>
- TSENYI, Tenzin 2019. "Rahul Sankrityayan in the Land of Snow with Gedun Choephel". *The Tibet Journal* 44(2): 57–73.
- WOGIHARA, Unrai, ed. 1932–1936. *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā of Yaśomitra*. 2 vols. Tokyo.