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Two Mongol Xylographs (*Hor Par Ma*) of the Tibetan Text of Sa Skya Paṇḍita's Work on Buddhist Logic and Epistemology

The history of printing in Central Tibet has received the attention of several scholars in recent years. David P. Jackson, who has written the most about early Tibetan prints, has pointed out that Tibetan authors are generally of the opinion that the printing of books by way of xylographs started in this area sometime during the beginning of the fifteenth century.[1] In addition, he has made significant contributions to our know-

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1. See Jackson 1983, and his "The Earliest Printings of Tsong-kha-pa's Works: The Old Dga'-ldan Editions," *Reflections on Tibetan Culture. Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, eds. L. Epstein and R. Sherburne (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1990) 107-116 and, "More on the Old Dga' ldan and Gong dkar ba Xylographic Editions," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 2 (1989): 1-18. For a survey of a number of early (and not so early) printing projects in Tibet, see Tshe ring phun tshogs, "Snga rabs bod kyi par skrun dang par khang skor mdo tsam gleng ba," *Bod rig pa'i ched rtsom gces btus*, ed. Ngag dbang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1987) 345-375, and Klu tshang Rdo rje rin chen, "Rtsom rigs kyi rnam bzhag las par skrun gyi skor bshad pa," *Bod ljongs zhib 'jug* 1 (1989): 103-117. See also Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang U rgyan, *Bod kyi lo rgyus rags rim g.yu yi phreng ba*, Bar Cha [Part 2] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs dpe rnying

ledge of the corpus of texts that were committed to the printing block during that time. Heather Karmay was, to my knowledge, the first to provide evidence that Tibetan texts were being printed as early as sometime around the year 1306, although not in the Tibetan cultural area, but rather in China proper.[2] Elsewhere, we have examined various notices of Mongol-sponsored printing projects anent the Kalacakra literature and the dissemination of its esoteric doctrines, first in China and then in Mongolia. The earliest evidence for the preparation of a xylograph of its main tantra, most likely in China, dates from either the last decade of the thirteenth or the first decade of the fourteenth century.[3] The present paper has to do in part with an even earlier xylograph of a Tibetan text that was to all appearances prepared in China as well.

Among the writings for which Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251), the fourth patriarch of the Sa skya school and one of the finest scholars of his (or any other) era, is justly famous by any standards, his most widely studied work, was the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* and autocommentary, which he completed sometime in the 1220s. This study of Buddhist logic and epistemology (*tshad ma*) soon became a classic and went into numerous printings, in addition to eliciting an enormous commentarial literature.[4] The Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing contains two different xylographs of this work, one of which dates from the beginning, the other from the middle of the Yuan dynasty. The first of these is the earliest known blockprint of this work in particular and, perhaps, also constitutes the earliest Tibetan blockprint as such. An essential description of these and a reproduction of their print-colophons (*par byang*) can be found in Appendix One.

The first of these two xylographs was initially sponsored by empress Čabi (?-1284),[5] or Ča[m]bui, the *dpon mo chen mo*, "Grand Lady,"

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dpe skrun khang, 1990) 294. The allegation in the *Life and Teachings of Tsong khapa*, ed. R. Thurman (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1982) 11, that Snar thang housed the printing blocks for the canon during Tsong kha pa's stay there is of course unacceptable.

2. See her *Early Sino-Tibetan Art* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1975) 44.

3. See my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History II: The Mongol Imperial Family and Tibetan Kalacakra Texts" which is forthcoming in *Asia Major*.

4. For this, see D. P. Jackson, "Commentaries on the Writings of Sa skya Paṇḍita: A Bibliographical Sketch," *The Tibet Journal* 8.3 (1983): 8-12.

5. For the literature on her and the previous problems of dating her passing,

senior wife of Qubilai and mother of prince Zhenjin (1243-5 January 1286), the heir apparent who passed away before his father. The cutting of the blocks apparently commenced under her patronage at the instigation of a "Chos kyi rgyal po bzang po," whom I am unable to identify. The work was evidently left unfinished, presumably due to Čabi's passing, and the project was brought to completion by order of her daughter-in-law Go go cin (Kökočin, ?-1300), "the wife of [her] supreme son" (*sras mchog gi btsun mo*) Zhenjin, and like her husband a major sponsor of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280), Sa skya Paṇḍita's nephew. The date given for this in the colophon is the eighth day of the *rgyal ba* (**pauṣa*) lunar month of the wood-male-monkey year. This would therefore be the oldest known xylograph of a Tibetan text. Unfortunately, no place name is given for where the blocks were originally carved. Towards the very end of the colophon we read that a certain Dpal mo 'Bog gan, presumably a lady, realized two hundred [copies?] of the text (for purposes of acquiring good karma). Of further interest is the fact that its pagination, like that of the second blockprint, is given in Tibetan and Chinese on the left of the "a" side, and only in Chinese on the "b" side of the folio. The only reason for having a Chinese pagination that I can think of is that it was added lest the Chinese block-carvers would be confused about the woodblock-order. Of equal interest is the fact that it has a marginal notation of "KA" (= Vol. 1) which could very well indicate that it was the first volume of a projected printed edition of Sa skya Paṇḍita's collected oeuvre, one that presumably never materialized. The various catalogues of his writings known so far do not list the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* autocommentary as comprising or being part of a first volume.[6]

The colophon of the second xylograph is not altogether unproblematic. It basically begins with stating that the view of Vasubandhu and the author of the *'Bum tik* (= *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitābṛhattikā*), Gdang ṭa se na (sic), that is, Daṃṣṭ[r]āsena, is that the Buddhist doctrine will remain for five thousand years. This then lays the foundation for dating this print to the earth-female-hare (*sa mo yos*) year, 1339, which, it is alleged, completes three thousand four hundred and forty-nine years

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see note two of my aforementioned paper.

6. For these, see Jackson 1987, 507-523. It may be that the "Mongol blockprint" of Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba*, alluded to in Jackson 1983, 6 and 22, note 17, belongs to this same period. If so, then we could assume that the Mongol court was involved in having, if not his entire corpus, then at least some of his major writings published in print.

since the passing of the historical Buddha. However, the Sa skya school dates the passing of the Buddha to the year 2133 B. C. E. so that the year 1339 does not come close to this chronology. The fact that immediately thereafter the colophon continues by stating that: "Henceforth, we claim that the Buddha's Teaching will remain for one thousand five hundred and fifty-one years," and that the earth-female-hare year is mentioned once again below, leads us to suspect that the colophon's author either fell victim to an error in arithmetic, or that, more drastically, we may have to correct *sa mo yos* to *shing mo yos*, "wood-female-hare," which would be the year 1315. The plausibility of this correction is strengthened by the next reference to emperor Buyantu (Renzong, r. 7 April 1311 to 1 March 1320); note the use of the present stem of the verb *skyong*! This, in turn, is followed by the mention of a Grand Empress-Dowager (*tha'i hu*, Ch. *taihou*). If we allow for an error in the year of the colophon, then she must be identified as Hong-gu-la-shi-da-ji/gu, and not as Mai-lai-di, the mother of emperor Toyon Temür (Shundi, r. in China 19 July 1333 to 14 September 1368; r. in Mongolia to 23 May 1370). The colophon then notes two other individuals, namely a cleric by the uninformative name of "Kun dga'" who had proposed the project to a Sha-zin a-kho-che who then made the formal request (*zhus*) to have the print "established."[7] The editor-in-chief of the text was the elderly(?) 'Jam snyeg,[8] who was assisted by Zla ba and

7. The last line of this passage is not easy to interpret. It reads *rnam 'grel rigs gter stong phrag par du bsgrubs //*, which means "Established a thousand [copies of?] the *rnam 'grel rigs gter* as a print," where the phrase *rnam 'grel rigs gter* can be interpreted a *dvandva* compound meaning *rnam 'grel* and *rigs gter*, that is, a print of the Tibetan translation of Dharmakīrti's *[Pramāṇa]varttika* and the *Tshad ma rigs gter*. Alternatively, we can also take it in the more likely sense of *rnam 'grel gyi rigs gter*, that is to say, a "treasury of *tshad ma* anent the *Varttika*," bearing in mind the meaning of "*tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*." Thus far, a Yuan, "Mongol print" of Dharmakīrti's work is not referred to in the known Tibetan literature.

8. A "'Jam nyeg"—*nyeg* and *snyeg* are homophones—is mentioned as one of the scribes of 'Phags pa's *Kyai rdo rje'i bdag 'jug gi cho ga dbang la 'jug pa, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, Vol. 6, comp. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968), no.47, 118.4.3. There this man is styled "wondrous scribe" (*'phrul gyi yig mkhan*) and it is also said that he was among those who petitioned 'Phags pa to write it. The work in question is dated to the year 1266. Seng ge bzang po's biography of his master Dka' bzhi pa Rig[s] pa'i seng ge (1287-1375) of 1418 notes a Slob dpon 'Jam nyag in Khro phu monastery who taught him the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and a *Summary* [of logic and epistemology?] sometime early in 1322; see SENG 22 [SENG 58].

Thog dpon. The ones who were actually responsible for the printing process were the official (*mi chen*) Sar du, Ta'i hyo and Peb ha du. The preparation of the printing blocks was begun on the fourth day of the eighth month and completed on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the wood-female-hare year, that is, again if the correction is in order, they were cut and edited from 2 August to 14 November of 1315 (or from 9 August to 14 November 1339). Lastly, the place where the blocks were prepared is stated to be the monastery of "Ka'u lang ho."[9] It is of course tempting to hold that this print is simply a clone of the first one due to the good possibility that the original blocks of 1284 had worn out. This does not appear to be case, however. The differences between these two prints in terms of pagination are substantial enough to warrant the view that this second print derives from newly carved blocks.

The first indication that all was not well with the transmission of the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*'s verse-text and autocommentary in which the verses are also reproduced is found in a passage of Glo bo Mkhan chen Bsod nams lhun grub's (1456-1532) exegesis of Sa skya Paṇḍita's autocommentary of 1482, where he quotes from the mid-fourteenth century commentator Gnas drug pa Blo gros mtshungs med to the effect that there were conflicting readings in at least two manuscripts of the text's tenth chapter.[10] Other important notices of conflicting readings in the eleventh and last chapter are alluded to *expressis verbis* in Bo dong Paṇ chen 'Jigs med grags pa's (1375-1451) biography of 1453 by his disciple and patron 'Jigs med 'bangs, that is, the Sna dkar rtse scion Nam mkha' bzang po of Yar 'brog.[11] The issue at hand was Sa skya

9. This could refer to a monastery at Gaolang river, (at the time) south of Dadu. My thanks to my colleague A. Yue-Hashimoto for drawing my attention to this possibility. This may be confirmed by a passage in one of the Wang Guowei writings to which F. W. Cleaves has drawn attention in his "The *Bodistw-a čari-a awatar-un tayilbur* of 1312 by Čosgi Odsir," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954): 15, 33, note 18. The "monastery at Gaoliang" river is none other than the well-known monastery of Da Renwang huguo, built by Qubilai, which was located on a site that is right behind the Beijing National Library. One wonders if this be an alternate name for what the *Yuanshi* refers to as the Southern Monastery (*nansi*) in YS 2, [20] 434 and 8, [90] 2284. This was the locale where Rong po Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (1283-1325) had the *Kālacakramūlatantra* printed sometime between 1310 and 1325.

10. GLO 352 [GLO1 358, GLO2 223].

11. See the *Dpal ldan bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba'i zhabs kyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar gyi dga' ston,*

Paṇḍita's numerical determination of two kinds of a refutation by way of a *reductio ad absurdum* (*thal 'gyur*, **prasaṇga*), one which in its contraposed form implies a proof of a similar logical type and structure (*bzlog/ldog pa rang rigs 'phen pa*) and one which implies a dissimilar one (*gzhan rigs 'phen pa*).[12] Apart from the intellectual satisfaction of establishing the correct reading, the textual problems raised by these divergent manuscript (and blockprint) traditions were not exclusively a scholastic exercise in philology. On the contrary, it was something that had obvious practical significance when we bear in mind that the art of disputation was one that was very well developed in the Tibetan monastic environment.

It is also precisely at this juncture that the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* commentaries of Go rams pa Bsod nams seng ge (1429-1489) of 1471 and Gser mdog Paṇ chen Shakya mchog ldan (1428-1507) of 1474 refer to the readings of a Mongol print (*hor sp/par ma*) which had a classification of these two in, respectively, four and fourteen types. The reading they assert of this print is confirmed by both blockprints,[13] so that we may conclude that the *hor par ma* (singular!) to which they refer indicates one or both of these. Whereas Go rams pa accepts the *hor par ma*'s reading, Gser mdog Paṇ chen does not with some vehemence and argues instead for accepting a four by sixteen classification, for which,

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Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo-don(sic) Pan(sic)-chen Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal, Vol. 1, (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1981) 283 [= *Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990) 203].

12. The textual conundrums and philosophical issues were first discussed in S. Onoda, "Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge's Classification of *Thal 'gyur*," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 2 (1986): 65-85, and the points made in this paper are now made with more precision and somewhat expanded in his excellent Onoda 1992: 71-86; see now also the involved T. Tani, "*Rang rgyud 'phen pa'i thal 'gyur* [Hypothetical Negative/Indirect Reasoning (*prasaṇga*) with the Implication of Independent Direct Proof (*svatantra*)] [Tibetan Commentators' Meta-Interpretations on Dharmakīrti's Interpretation of *prasaṇga*]," *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Buddhist Studies, Narita 1989*, Vol. 1, eds. Shōren Ihara and Zuihō Yamaguchi (Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992) 281-301. For the relevant passage in Sa skya Paṇḍita's work, see the Sde dge print of the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rang 'grel* in the *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, Vol. 5, comp. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968), no. 20, 263.1.4-5 and 2.1-2.

13. Onoda 1992, 80; blockprint no.1 reads on fol. 187a: *bzlog pa rang rigs 'phen pa bzhi // . . gzhan rigs 'phen pa bcu bzhi yod //*, and blockprint no.2 has on fol. 187a-b: *bzlog pa rang rigs 'phen pa bzhi // . . gzhan rigs 'phen pa bcu bzhi yod //*.

as indicated by Glo bo Mkhan chen, there is already a thirteenth century precedent by way of the *Sde bdun gsal ba'i rgyan* of Lho pa Kun mkhyen Rin chen dpal, a disciple and biographer of Sa skya Paṇḍita.[14] It is of course likely that, when earlier fourteenth century exegeses of the text come to light—I am thinking here particularly of the works by Byams mgon dpal, alias Phyogs glang gsar ma, and his student Dka' bzhi pa Rigs pa'i seng ge[15]—we shall have further evidence that these early xylographs of the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* autocommentary were put to use in other interpretations of Sa skya Paṇḍita's work. Aside from the fact that these blockprints are of undoubted historical significance, they also underscore the methodological imperative that textual criticism should precede translation (and interpretation), something that is all too often and easily forgotten these days in the study of Tibet's vast literary heritage.[16] Indeed, at least three different xylograph-editions of the autocommentary were prepared during the fifteenth century. We now have located the Glang ri thang monastery blockprint, as ordered by Kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, that was completed on the fourteenth day of the third month of the wood-female-ox year, which can only refer to 22 March 1445.[17] Other prints that have yet to come to light are the one prepared in Thub chen mngon par dg[y]es pa temple in Glo bo Smon thang in 1474, for which Gser mdog Paṇ chen wrote a notice,[18] and the one of Dpal rdo rje gdan mi 'gyur bde ba chen po

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14. GLO 404 [GLO1 412, GLO2 256]:
sgrub byed 'phen pa nyi shu la // rang rigs 'phen pa rnams bzhi // gzhan rigs 'phen pa bcu drug ste // tsha reg gsum gyis grang reg gsum // 'gog pa'i spyod pa rnam dgu las // rang rigs 'phen pa rnam gsum bri // lhag ma drug dag rang bzhin dang // 'bras bu'i thal ba rnam gnyis te // brgyad las phye ba'i bcu drug nyid //
Glo bo Mkhan chen concurs with this numerical determination.

15. SENG 20-21, 25, 36 [SENG 1 56, 60, 71]. Some of their views are cited severally in Glo bo Mkhan chen's exegesis. To be sure, Seng ge bzang po does not state that Phyogs glang gsar ma wrote a *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* commentary. Although he does mention that he enjoyed special renown in Sa skya for his expert knowledge of this difficult work.

16. This holds already for the serious inconsistencies in the most widespread available texts of both by way of the Sde dge print of 1736, for which see the useful tabulation of variant readings in the verse texts in the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989) 395-401. For the particulars of this print, see Jackson 1987, 232-236.

17. This blockprint is housed in the Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities where it is catalogued under no. 004783(2). It consists of one hundred and fifteen folios and bears the marginal notation "Ka" (= Vol. 1).

18. See the *Rigs gter gyi gzhung par du bsgrubs pa'i dkar chag* in GSER

monastery that was effected through the financial patronage of Gong dkar Rdo rje gdan pa Kun dga' rnam rgyal (1432-1496).[19] It may be that the Sa skya xylograph of the verse-text of the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* as such also belongs to this century.[20]

In his discussion of these arguments, S. Onoda points out that the four by sixteen scenario is also met with in the later Dga' ldan pa and Dge lugs pa *bsdus grwa* texts, the earliest of which he signalled is the work by Mchog lha 'od zer (1429-1500). He tentatively suggests that its origin might be sought in Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen's (1364-1432) *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* commentary. This is perhaps unlikely given the fact that it was consistently surpressed by later editors of his collected oeuvre, and is so far only extant by way of a Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil blockprint. Like their master Tsong kha pa, Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang po (1385-1438) is but content with giving a very general description of both types, adding that one should look elsewhere for a detailed subdivision of their typology.[21] Lastly, their disciple Dge 'dun grub pa (1391-1474) is so far the earliest known Dga' ldan pa scholar to have argued for a four by sixteen scenario, one which we encounter in his survey of Buddhist logic and epistemology of 1437.[22]

In addition to the dossier provided by S. Onoda, we may also refer to the discussion in the anonymous, undated, and hitherto unknown work on Buddhist logic and epistemology entitled the *Tshad ma shes rab sgron ma*, a beautifully calligraphied handwritten *dbu med* manuscript of which we located in the Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, which also accepts the four by sixteen classification with-

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220-222. It was sponsored by her ruler Bkra shis mgon (?-1489).

19. Rgya ston Byang chub dban rgyal's biography of Gong dkar ba, the *Chos kyi rje thams cad mkhyen pa rdo rje gdan chen po kun dga' rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rin po che'i gter mdzod*, fols. 45a, 49b. Two identical blockprints (on different size paper) of this biography are housed in the Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities where they are catalogued under nos. 002655(1), (2).

20. This xylograph is briefly noted in D. P. Jackson, "Sources for the Study of Tibetan *Pramāṇa* Traditions Preserved at the Bihar Research Society, Patna," *Studies in the Buddhist Epistemological Tradition*, ed. E. Steinkellner (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991) 104.

21. See his *Tshad ma sde bdun gyi rgyan yid kyi mun sel* [based on the Bkra shis lhun po print], ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984) 372.

22. See his *Tshad ma'i bstan bcos chen po rigs pa'i rgyan, Collected Works*, Vol. 4 (Gangtok: n. p., 1979) 367-370.

out further comment.[23] Moreover, the recently published survey of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist epistemology and logic by Bcom ldan Rigs pa'i ral gri (ca. 1235-1314) makes it clear that this great controversialist accepted a total of seventeen different types of *prasaṅga*s which he classified by means of a four by thirteen division.[24] Lastly, Bo dong Paṇ chen's monumental *Tshad ma rigs pa'i snang ba*[25] refers rather critically to three different positions which are not attributed to any one specifically. These are a five by sixteen, a four by fourteen and a three by ten classification, the first two of which are attested in different *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* manuscripts (and other xylographs?).[26] He himself argues for a three by eleven scenario. These issues deserve further exploration.

We may take this opportunity to furnish some additional remarks on the *Tshad ma shes rab sgron ma*. Its colophon does not shed any light on its authorship, the title does somewhat resemble the so-called *Gzhal bya shes rab sgron ma'i phreng ba*—the *phreng ba* is somewhat peculiar in this title—of unknown authorship which, according to Zhang Rgyal ba dpal, yet another biographer and disciple of Sa skya Paṇḍita, the latter had studied under Mtshur Gzhon nu seng ge around the years 1200 to 1201.[27] This work has not been located so far. However, we can unequivocally say that the intellectual environment of the *Tshad ma shes rab sgron ma* is clearly the exegetical traditions that had their inception in Gsang phu ne'u thog monastery. With some modifications, it accepts its rather distinctive five-fold typology of the so-called non-valid means of cognition (*tshad min*) against which Sa skya Paṇḍita reacted so critically.[28] For example, its discussion of the notion of

23. AN fols. 65b-66a. For three other manuscripts of early *tshad ma* texts, see Appendix Two.
24. See his *Tshad ma'i bstan bcos sde bdun rgyan gyi me tog*, handwritten *dbu med* manuscript of the Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, catalogue no. 002468(2), fols. 88b-89a [*Ibid.*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Pe cin: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1991): 128-129].
25. See the text in *Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo dong Paṇ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal*, Vol. 8 (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1970) 533-543. S. Onoda did not examine Bo dong Paṇ chen's remarks.
26. GLO 404 [GLO1 412, GLO2 256].
27. Jackson 1987, 106.
28. For these, see the preliminary (and sometimes erroneous) remarks in my "Phya-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge's Impact on Tibetan Epistemological Theory," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 5 (1978): 355-369. For Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109-1169) there were a total of five types of invalid cognitions, a determination that was followed in the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* commentary by his dis-

reflection (*yid dpyod*),[29] an epistemological type which Sa skya Paṇḍita is loathe to accept, begins with a negative reference to an earlier definition in which it was maintained that it is a type of cognition that ascertains an object independent of either a direct experience of it, or a logical justification on which basis the object could be deduced. We find something very similar to this in Gtsang nag pa's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* commentary[30] which belongs to the second half of the twelfth century, not to mention the fact that such a standpoint is also more or less attributed to Phya pa. The author's own position is that reflection consists of an ascertainment of an imperceptible object, on par with an [actual] object, that has not been previously cognized and which is, however, independent of a logical indicator (*rtags*) or justification. The text is polemical and argumentative, but none of its references to other opinions are identified by their owners—an exception is made in its citation of Indian Buddhist philosophers—the author being content with prefixing these opinions by the somewhat exasperating *kha cig na re*, "some say." However, several glosses in an unknown hand do identify—future research will have to show whether rightly or wrongly—several such *kha cig*s. Among the first of these is a sublinear "Rgya" anent a definition of a cognition which does not ascertain what is present [to it] (*snang la ma nges pa*) with which the author disagreed.[31] It is quite probable that "Rgya" refers here not to an Indian (*rgya*[*-gar*]) scholar, but rather to Rgya dmar pa Byang chub grags, a disciple of Gangs pa She'u Blo gros byang chub and Khyung Rin chen grags and one of Phya pa's masters, for an epistemological type of the *snang la ma nges pa* variety never seems to have been conceptualised in India.[32]

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ciple Gtsang nag pa Brtson 'grus seng ge, for which see GTSANG fols. 22b-24a. For these men, see also van der Kuijp 1983, 60-84, Jackson 1987 index, 590, 603, my *Introduction* to GTSANG 1-5, E. Steinkellner, "Early Tibetan Ideas on the Ascertainment of Validity (*nges byed kyi tshad ma*)," *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, eds. Shōren Ihara and Zuihō Yamaguchi (Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992) 257-273, the numerous contributions by S. Onoda referred to in Onoda 1992, 226-227 and his "Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge's Theory of *'gal ba*," *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, eds. Shōren Ihara and Zuihō Yamaguchi (Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992) 197-202.

29. AN fol. 6a.
30. GTSANG fol. 23a.
31. AN fol. 5b.
32. For him, see van der Kuijp 1983, 60, 293, notes 213-215. The remain-

Other *kha cig na res* are glossed by "Lo," "Gangs pa," and "Khyung," which would refer to possibly Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab (1059-1109) and his disciples Gangs pa She'u and Khyung.[33] On the strength of the glosses of "Rtsang nag pa," that is, "Gtsang nag pa," we can argue that it postdates Gtsang nag pa's logical oeuvre.[34] Moreover, we may have to place the author at sometime between Gtsang nag pa and the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*, although we can only adduce negative evidence for this inasmuch as, for instance, he does not take issue with Sa skya Paṇḍita's criticism of the earlier five-fold classification of the *tshad min*. Only a detailed study of our text will reveal whether or not there is evidence for the author having known Sa skya Paṇḍita's work. A potential snag in a pre-*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* dating of this work may be the two glosses that attribute a position to a "S[R?]tag pa" or "S[R?]tag."[35] The only individual who might be identified by "Stag" is Stag lung Lo tsā ba Shakya bzang po (1322-1404). The chronicle of the Stag lung Bka' brgyud sect written by Stag lung pa Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (1571-1626) in 1609 states that he had written a *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary which carried the subtitle of *Rig[s?] tshul snang chen*.[36] However, it seems unlikely that the *Tshad ma shes rab sgron ma* is to be placed sometime in the latter part of fourteenth century, or even beyond.

Excursus: The Rtses thang Print of Dignaga's Pramāṇasamuccaya

Aside from the numerous printing projects that were undertaken anent Tibet's indigenous literature, the fifteenth century also knows of various xylograph editions of canonical texts, including those of the Tibetan renditions of the writings of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. One such xylograph is the Rtses thang print of the Tibetan rendition of Dignāga's

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ing "Rgya" glosses are found in AN fols. 23a, 26a, 51b, and 62b, but these do not have parallel attributions in other texts examined so far. AN fol. 10b does have an "*insert*" of *rgya dag na re* . . . "Indians say . . .." Other candidates for "*Rgya*" may also be Rgya M/'chims ru ba—GSERa 452 writes "Rgya ston Phying ru ba"—, the founder of Bde ba can and a onetime abbot of Gsang phu ne'u thog monastery's Gling stod college—for the literature on this monastery, see below note 43—or any of the more or less contemporaneous Rgya ston-s.

33. For instance, AN fols. 21a, 23a, 31a.
34. See, for instance, AN fol. 22a.
35. See, for instance, AN fols. 5b, 15b.
36. See the *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*,Vol. 1 (Tashijong, 1972) 484.

Pramāṇasamuccaya—the blockprint specifies that it is the translation of Vasudhararakṣita and Seng ge rgyal mtshan—which is housed in the Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities where it is catalogued under no. 004806(2). It consists of ten folios with seven lines per folio side and measures 9 x 61 cm. The upper center of the title page has a marking in red ink *phyi, zha, 18*. *Phyi*, "external" would suggest that it was accessible to the "public," whereas *nang* in other manuscripts would mean that it was for "internal" circulation only. There is a miniature on either side of fol. 1b; on the left Mañjuśrī and on the right Dignāga. The printer's colophon states that it was prepared by Bsod nams bkra shis in Rtses thang monastery for the fulfillment of [his] preceptor's final wishes and the longevity of the Phag mo gru/Sne'u gdong ruler Grags pa 'byung gnas (1414-1445). The person who may have been in charge of the actual printing, or who had particular expertise in this text—I have difficulty in interpreting the phrase *chos 'di mkhas pa*—was a Lama Rin chen dga'.

Text of the Printer's Colophon

bstan bcos kun gyi mi gcig thos pa'i mchod // thub pa'i bstan pa dngos stobs legs sgrubs pa'i // rigs lam dri ma med pa'i gzhung lugs 'di // dpal ldan bla ma'i thugs dgongs rdzogs pa'i phyir dang / [here the text has a *rin spungs shad*] rgyal ba'i sras grags pa 'byung gnas kyi // sku tshe brtan cing chab srid brgyas bya'i phyir // chos gra chen po dpal gyi rtses thang du // bsod nams bkra shis bdag gis par du sgrubs // de'ang ?byung pa'i bde ba gang thob pas // rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor bzang zhing dga' ba der // padmo dam pa shin du mdzes las skyes // snang ba mtha' yas rgyal bas mngon sum du // lung bstan pa yang bdag sogs der thob shog // chos 'di mkhas pa bla ma rin chen dga'?o /

Lastly, Gser mdog Paṇ chen signals the existence of a xylograph of the Tibetan version of the *Pramāṇavārttika* in Thub chen mngon par dgyes pa monastery in his notice of this "publication" dated 1474.[37] Like that of the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* autocommentary, it too was sponsored by Bkra shis mgon. The scribe who prepared the manuscript was Shes rab grags and the carver/printer was Dge legs seng ge.

37. See his *Rnam 'grel gyi gzung par du bsgrubs pa'i dkar chag* in GSER 216-220.

APPENDIX ONE

Note: "No." refers to the catalogue number of the Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing.

1. No title page

No.	004817.
Folios:	2a-190a; six lines per folio side.
Dimension:	12.5 x 64 cm.
Incomplete:	fols. 1 and 66 are missing.
Marginal notation:	KA.
Tibetan/Chinese pagination.	

Incipit: [2a] . . . pa rnams kyang log par rtog pa du ma mthong pas de sun dbyung pa dang yang dag pa'i don gtan la dbab pa'i phyir 'di brtsam mo //
Printer's Colophon: [189b-190a] tshad mar gyur ba [read: pa] rgyal ba'i gsung rab kun // tshad ma nyid du nges byed gzhung kun gyi // tshad mas grub pa'i rigs mchog kun bsdus pa'i // tshad ma'i bstan bcos 'di ni rigs pa'i gter // 'di ni shes bya'i gnas la mkhyen pa rab gsal zhing // 'gro ba kun la kun nas brtse ba'i thugs mnga' ba // chos kyi rgyal bo [read: po] bzang bo'i [read: po'i] zhabs kyi zhal snga nas // bstan pa dri med rnam par spel phyir rab tu mdzad // gzhung lugs [190a] [gzhung lugs; reduplication] 'di yi dri med 'thad pa mthong gyur zhing // gzhung rtsom de yi ngo mtshar dpag yas shes gyur nas // gzhung mchog 'di ni blo gsal rnams la rgyas pa'i phyir // gzhung 'di'i par gi gter chen legs par phye ba yin // 'di ni rigs gzugs dge mtshan ldan zhing // dad dang brtse dang dpal 'byor phun sum tshogs // sna tshogs bkod pa'i tshul la rab mkhas pa // dpon mo chen mo cha bus mgo btsugs nas // de sras mchog gi btsun mo dpal ldan pa // bstan pa'i rtsa lag skye rgu'i ma lta bu // rigs gzugs yon tan phun sum tshogs pa yi // go go cin gi lung gis rdzogs par bsgrubs // rgyal ba rnams la dam chos mi zad ltar // par 'di las kyang chos tshul zad mi shes // de 'dra sgrub par gang zhig bka' sgo ba // de'i bsod nams tshul yang zad mi shes // de las byung ba'i dge ba rgya mtsho dang // rgyal sras rgya mtsho'i spyod pa 'dres gyur nas // sems can rgya mtsho'i tshogs rnams smin byed cing // rgyal ba'i ye shes rgya mtshor 'jug par shog // gnas skabs su yang rgyal po yab sras dang // btsun mo sras dang brgyud par bcas pa rnams // sku khams bzang zhing

sku tshe ring ba dang // chos dang zang zing dpal 'byor phun tshogs shog // 'di 'dra gang gis dran bskul byas pa dang // yi ger 'bri dang par du rko pa dang // yo byad sgrub pa'i gnyer pa la stsogs kun // gnas skabs mthar thug don rnams lhun grub shog // phyogs dus thams cad du bkra shis par gyur cig // shing pho spre'u lo / rgyal gyi zla ba yi / yar ngo'i tshis [read: tshes] brgyad la / legs par grub pa yin /
// [figure comprising a circle plus two semicircles underneath it] btsun mo dam pa mtho ris kyi // yon tan kun kyi brgyan pa can // dpal mo 'bol gan zhes bya bas // rigs gter brgya phrag gnyis bsgrubs te // bshad nyan spel phyir phul ba yis // rgyal po sku tshe legs brtan zhing // kun gyi sangs rgyas thob par shog // bkra shis par gyur cig /

2. No title page.
   No. 004796.
   Folios: 1-190b; six lines per folio side.
   Dimension: 12.5 x 65.2 cm.
   Tibetan/Chinese pagination.
   Fol. 1b has two miniatures in black and white: "'Jam dpal [Mañjuśrī]" on the left and "Chos rje Sa skya Paṇ ḍi ta" on the right side.
   Fol. 190a has seven lines.

Printer's colophon: [190a-b] tshogs gnyis rgyas pa'i kling [read: gling] las legs 'khrungs shing // legs spyad lhun mdzes phan bde'i lo 'dab can // sku gsum 'bras ldan phrin las bsil grib kyis // nyon mongs gdung sel dkon mchog gsum la 'dud // me tog u dum stong gi lnga ltas las // gnas gtsang lha yis bzang po zhes bsgrags pa'i // bskal bzang 'di la bde gshegs stong 'byon pa'i // 'khor ba 'jig dang gser thub 'od bsrung 'das // brgya pa'i dus 'dir shakya'i [read: shākya'i] rgyal po byon // rgyal ba'i bstan 'di lnga stong gnas so zhes // sangs rgyas gnyis pa lta bu'i dbyig gnyen dang // 'bum tig mkhan po gdang Ma se na bzhed // de la thub bstan lo ni sum stong dang // bzhi brgya zhe dgu sa mo yos los rdzogs // da phyis rgyal ba'i bstan pa lo stong dang // lnga brgya lnga bcu nga gcig gnas par 'dod // de lta'i thub pa'i bstan pa'i rtsa lag mchog // lnga brgya bdun par 'dzam kling [read: gling] byang phyogs su // stobs kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba brgyad par ni // sngon bsags bsod nams mtsho chen 'khyil pa la // dam 'byor chu skyes yon tan ge sar 'khrigs // sa chen 'di na sa la mnga' mdzad pa // bu yan du gan rgyal srid skyong pa [read: ba] na // bsod nams stobs kyis sa la mnga' bsgyur zhing // dad pa'i stobs kyis dbu sde rnam gnyis mchod // snying rje'i stobs kyis mnga' ris chos

bzhin skyong // rigs gzigs 'byor ldan tha'i hu chen mo la // shes bya'i mkha' la mkhyen pa'i chu 'dzin 'khrigs // shes rab klog 'khyug stong nyid 'brug sgra sgrogs // legs spyad char gyis nyon mongs tshad gdung sel // kun dga'i mtshan can bla ma'i gsung bzhin du // sna tshogs shes bya'i nam mkha' yangs pa la // dri med blo gros 'od zer rab 'phro zhing // thub bstan gsal byed bstan pa'i khur 'dzin pa'i // sha zin a ko che yis zhus nas ni // bstan pa yun du gnas zhing dar ba dang // yangs pa'i 'ro la bde skyid 'byung ba dang // 'gro kun byang chub chen po thob bya'i phyir // rnam ggrel [read: 'grel] rigs gter stong phrag par du bsgrubs // 'di'i [read: 'di yi] dran bskul lag len zhus dag pa // mang thos sde snod 'dzin pa 'jam snyeg yin // lung rigs dbang phyug smra ba'i zla ba dang // thog dpon gnyis kyis zhus dag grogs ldan byas // dam chos dpar 'di'i bya ba bsgrub byed pa // dad brtson ldan ba'i [read: pa'i] mi chen sar du dang // ta'i hyo dang peb ha du yis bsgrubs // de las byung ba'i dge ba rgya mtsho des // tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho yongs su rdzogs byas nas // sems can rgya mtsho yongs su smin byed [190b] cing : 'gro kun rgya mtsho'i tshogs dang bcas pa rnams // sku gsum rgya mtsho'i kling [read: gling] du phyin par shog // gnas skabs su yang rgyal po yab sras dang // btsun mo sras dang brgyud par bcas pa rnams // sku khams bzang zhing sku tshe ring ba dang // chos dang zang zing dpal 'byor phun tshogs shog // 'di 'dra gang gis dran bskul byas pa dang // yi ger 'bri dang par du rko pa dang // yo byad sgrub pa'i gnyer pa la stsogs kun // gnas skabs mthar thug don rnams lhun 'grub shog // sa mo yos bu'i lo / zla ba brgyad pa'i / tshes bzhi nas dbu btsugs nas / zla ba bcu gcig pa'i tshes bcwo lnga'i nang du ka'u lang ho'i sde chen por / legs par grub pa yin / phyogs dang dus dang gnas skabs thams cad du / bkra shis dang bde legs chen pos khyab par gyur cig //

APPENDIX TWO

The Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities houses a large number of other early treatises on *tshad ma*. Among these there are the following three manuscripts which I was able to inspect only very briefly due to exigencies of time:

1.Title: *Bod snga rabs pa'i tshad ma'i spyi don*
No. 004783(1)
Folios 1-97a.

Upper center of the title page has *Phyi, Zha, 17*, for which see the remarks in the excursus.

Incipit: [1b] 'phags pa 'jam dpal la phyag 'tshal lo / / dag gsal mthu' ldan byams pa'i dkyil 'hor can / / gsung gi 'd zer 'gro ba'i lam ston pas / / ma rig mun sel kun gyi sgron mer gyur / / rdzogs sangs nyi ma'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo //
Colophon: [97a] dad mos brtson pas yang dag don rtogs nas // rtog ge rigs pa'i brgyan gyi snying po brtsams // de [b]rtsams bdag gis dge ba gang thob pa // 'gro kun bde gshegs snying po myur thob shog // dgag dang sgrub pa bya ba'i gnas 'di la // lha ngan 'chal pa'i wa tshogs zil mnan nas // rtsal ldan smra ba'i seng ger 'gyur 'dod na // mtha' ldan rtog ge tshul la 'jug par gyis // ma rig mun gdongs srid pa'i lam dub la // lam ston rigs shes sgrone [= sgron me] par gyur pa yis // phan bde gtan gyi gnas mchog 'gyur 'dod na // gsal byed rtog ge'i tshul la 'jug par gyis // sdug bsngal rgyur gyi rtog ngan dra ba 'di // bden rtogs shes rab mtshon gyis rnam bcad nas // zhi ba byang chub dam pa thob 'dod na // rnam dpyod rtog ge'i tshul la 'jug par gyis // // rtog ge rigs pa'i brgyan [= rgyan] gyi snying po zhes bya ba / shag kya'i dge slong dha rma rad na zhes bya bas sbyar ba // rdzogs shyo // // rtog ge rigs pa'i snying po 'di // kho bo zhang gis gzabs nas bris // bshes gnyen se'i thugs mdzod //

Despite the title page, the actual title of this work by the monk Dharma rad[read: t]na was *Rtog ge rigs pa'i [b]rgyan gyi snying po*. It was carefully written out by a certain Zhang. Who was Dharmaratna, that is, Chos kyi rin chen/dkon mchog or Dar ma rin chen/ dkon mchog? If my suspicion is correct, then he may be identified as the late twelfth and early thirteenth century scholar signalled by Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje (1309-1364) as "Dar dkon."[38] This is no doubt an abbreviation of "Dar ma dkon mchog." The bearer of this name, either a native of Phu thang, or one who was associated with this place on a professional basis, had been one of the disciples of the very influential Gnyal zhig 'Jam pa'i rdo rje,[39] himself a student of 'Dan bag pa Smra ba'i seng ge who in turn had studied with Phya pa. Dar ma dkon mchog is said to have been active in Yar lung and Mtsho smad temples. 'U yug pa Bsod nams seng ge, alias Rigs pa'i seng ge, the author of the first Tibetan commentary on

38. TSHAL 69-70 [TSHAL fol. 29a-b, Inaba-Satō 1963, 150, Chen-Zhou 1988, 62].
39. On him, see van der Kuijp 1983, 117, 314, note 356.

the *Pramāṇavārttika*, had been one of Gnyal zhig's disciples prior to joining Sa skya Paṇḍita in Sa skya. It now appears that he wrote two other texts on *tshad ma*. The first would be the *Bsdus pa* text on *tshad ma*—it is entitled *Rigs pa* [*s*]*grub pa*—which might have been written when he was still with Gnyal zhig; he refers to it towards the end of his *Pramāṇavārttika* exegesis.[40] The other text would be his short *Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi bsdus don rigs pa'i sdom*. I was able to inspect a late nineteenth century Sde dge print of the latter through the kind offices of Mr. Rgya rong Blo bzang of the department of nationalities' literature of the Beijing National Library where it is catalogued under no. 3154-1. This little text is nothing but a topical outline of his *Pramāṇavārttika* exegesis which he possibly wrote while at Sa skya, so that it must be assigned to a later period of his life.

2. No title page
   No. 004827(4)
   Fols. 1-152a.

Incipit: [1b] thugs rje chen po la phyag 'tshal lo // sangs rgyas gzhan phan dgongs pa can / / kun bzang rab zhi gnyis myed cing / / thams cad khyab pa'i sku ldan pa / / skyob pa mchog la phyag 'tshal lo //
Colophon: [152a] // rgya shes rab dbang phyug dang 'jang shag kya dpal dang s/rkyel grags pa seng ge la sogs pa chen po rnams kyi zhabs kyi rdul spyi bos blangs te mang du thos pa rgya mtsho'i pha rol du phyin pa'i don / slob dpon chos mchog gis mdzad pa'i ti ka 'thad ldan dang / kha che dznya na shri'i ti ka la sogs pa mthong ba'i don / bsams pa las byung ba'i shes rab kyis legs par gtan la phab pa'i don ston par byed pa / blo la zin pa tsam gyis mkhas pa'i mchog tu 'gyur zhing mkhas pa rtag tu mi nyams par byed pa'i ti ka chen po 'di / shag kya'i dge slong gtsang chu mig pa seng ge dpal gyis gsang phu ne'u thog gi gtsug lag khang du brtsams te yar lung kha 'brug gi gtsug lag khang du yi ger bkod pa'o //.

This is a *Pramāṇaviniścaya* commentary which, as is to be expected, takes to some extent the Indian exegeses of Dharmottara and Jñānaśrī as its point of departure, was begun by Gtsang Chu mig pa Seng ge dpal[41] in the monastery of Gsang phu ne'u thog, and committed to writing in

40. van der Kuijp 1983, 117; Jackson 1987, 153, note 40.
41. For later references to him, see van der Kuijp 1983, 117, 314, note 356.

the temple of Kha 'brug in the Yar lung river valley. His masters were evidently Rgya Shes rab dbang phyug, 'Jang Shakya dpal and Skyel Grags pa seng ge. Tshal pa writes that Skyel nag Grags [pa] seng [ge] had been a student of Gnyal zhig and Dānaśīla, a member of Śākyaśrībhadra's party, that he was responsible for setting up a tradition of *tshad ma* study in Snar thang monastery and that this attracted such men as Skyo ston Grags [pa] 'bum and Chu mig pa Seng ge dpal.[42] It seems therefore rather likely that this Skyel nag is none other than the colophon's "Skyel Grags pa seng ge." Most sources have it that Chu mig pa succeeded Rgya M/'chims ru ba as abbot of Gsang phu ne'u thog's Gling stod college, a post which he allegedly occupied for eighteen years.[43]

3. No title page.
No. 004827(1)
Folios 1-68a.
Upper center of the first page has *phyi, zha, 9.*

Incipit: [1b] tshad ma bde bdun gyi phyogs cig du bsdus pa gzhan gyi phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba /..
Colophon: [68a] // gzhan gyi phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba zhes bya ba / rigs par smra ba'i dge slong sing ha shris gsang phu ne'u thog gi gtsug lag khang du logs par brtsams te / dpal rtse dkar gyi gtsug lag khang du yi ger bkod pa'o // rdzogs sho //

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42. TSHAL 63, 71, 73 [TSHAL 1 fols. 26b, 30a-31a, Inaba-Satō 1963, 142, 152, 154, Chen-Zhou 1988 57, 64-65]. Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba (1504-1566) relates that although Chu mig pa was a scholar at Snar thang, he had come to Rgya M/'ching ru ba [in the Gling stod college of Gsang phu ne'u thog] to debate with him. Unable to defeat him, he became his disciple; see his *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, Vol. 1 (New Delhi: Delhi Karmapae chodey gyalwae sungrab partun khang, 1981) 749 [*Ibid.*, Stod-cha, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986) 734].
43. For Gsang phu [s]ne'u thog, see my "The Monastery of Gsang phu ne'u thog and Its Abbatial Succession from ca. 1073 to 1250," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 3 (1987): 103-127, and the studies by S. Onoda in his "The Chronology of the Abbatial Successions of the Gsang phu sne'u thog Monastery," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 8 (1989): 203-213, and "Abbatial Succession of the Colleges of Gsang phu sne'u thog Monastery," *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka* 15.4 (1990): 1049-1071. GSERa 453 is unique in stating that Chu mig pa, Gnyal zhig's *nying slob*, "grand-disciple," was never abbot of [the Gling stod college of] Gsang phu, but that he did teach there for a long time.

This work was evidently entitled the *Gzhan gyi phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba*, which is described a summary of the purport of Dharmakīrti's *tshad ma* writings. The colophon gives the author's name in Sanskrit as "Sing ha shri" which in Tibetan would read "Seng ge dpal." He may therefore have to be identified as Chu mig pa as well. The text was begun in Gsang phu ne'u thog, and completely committed to writing in the monastery of Dpal rtse dkar.

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Abbreviations

AN — Anonymous. *Tshad ma shes rab sgron ma.* Handwritten *dbu med* manuscript in fols. 67. Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, catalogue no. 004827(5).

GLO — Glo bo Mkhan chen Bsod nams lhun grub. 1985. *Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig[s] pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam bshad rig[s] lam gsal ba'i nyi ma* [Sde dge print]. Dehra Dun: Pal Evam Chodan Ngorpa Centre.

GLO1 — *Ibid.* 1970. *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo.* Gangtok.

GLO2 — *Ibid.* 1988. *Tshad ma rigs gter gyi 'grel pa* [based on the Sde dge print]. Ed. Rdo rje rgyal po. Pe cin: Krung go bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang.

GSER — Gser mdog Paṇ chen Shakya mchog ldan. 1975. *Glo bo phar phyin gyi par bzhengs pa'i dkar chag tu gnang ba, Collected Works.* Vol. 17. Thimphu. 213-242.

GSERa — *Ibid.* 1975. *Rngog Lo tstsha ba chen pos bstan pa ji ltar bskyangs pa'i tshul mdo tsam du bya ba ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho, Collected Works.* Vol. 16. Thimphu. 443-456.

GTSANG — Gtsang nag pa Brtson 'grus seng ge. 1989. *Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i ṭī ka legs bshad bsdus pa. An Ancient Commentary on Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścāya.* Otani University Collection No. 13971, in Otani University Tibetan Works Series. Vol. 2. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co.

SENG — Seng ge bzang po. 1983. *Mkhan chen bka' bzhi pa chen po rig pa'i seng ge'i rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che'i rgya mtsho.* Dehradun: Sakya Centre.

SENG1 *Ibid. 1986. Mi nyag mkhas dbang lnga'i rnam thar.* Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 37-115.

TSHAL Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje. 1981. *Deb ther dmar po.* Ed. Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las. Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

TSHAL1 *Ibid.* 1961. Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.

YS Song Lian, *et al.* 1976. *Yuanshi.* 15 Vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuqu.

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