On the Transmission of the Verse-text of Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* and the *Rang 'grel*-Auto-commentary

LEONARD W.J. VAN DER KUIJP
Harvard University
vanderk@fas.harvard.edu

Abstract: The early thirteenth century *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* by Sa skya Paṇḍita is one of the best known works on Tibetan Buddhist logic and epistemology, and it was the recipient of numerous commentaries. It consists of a verse-text and an auto-commentary. The tradition recognized that their structure and textual histories, as well as the relationship between the verse-text and the auto-commentary, were not entirely unproblematic. In fact, as is indicated, we may have to reckon with three different texts: one in eight chapters, one in eleven, and one in thirteen chapters. It still needs to be determined whether these differences were due to variations in the structuring of the verses of the verse-text or to the presence of verse-texts with different lengths. This essay aims to shed some light on these issues and its goal is expository rather than exploratory.

It is a truism that few indigenous Tibetan treatises were the recipient of the kind of sustained attention that the tradition has given to Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's (1182–1251) justly famous *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* [hereafter *Rigs gter*].[1] To be sure, this may come as a bit of a surprise and may indeed even appear counter-intuitive to the uninitiated when we consider for a moment the sub-ject-matter of the *Rigs gter*. After all, it is a rather abstruse work on epistemology and logic (*pramāṇa*, *tshad ma*), a subject that, begin-ning with the writings of Dignāga (sixth century) and Dharmakīrti (seventh century), enjoyed up to the era of Sa skya Paṇḍita a long and involved history in the Indian subcontinent and the Tibetan region. That notwithstanding, the *Rigs gter*'s popularity, if this be the right word, or, perhaps more accurate, its conceptual difficulty is amply borne out by the numerous commentaries that were written on the verse-text or on the auto-commentary. These began to be composed shortly after its appearance and in-depth studies continue to be writ-ten up to the present time.

The *Rigs gter* is undated and it shares this feature with most of Sa skya Paṇḍita's writings. Later writers of the Sa skya pa school surmised that it may have been composed around the year 1219.[2] They appear to have arrived at this conclusion on the basis of their inquiry into the relative chronology of his by and large undated

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[1]   What I will henceforth call the *Rigs gter* comprises both the basic verse-text (*rtsa ba*) and what is ostensibly the auto-commentary (*rang gi 'grel pa*). For the *Rigs gter* commentarial literature, see Jackson, 'Commentaries on the Writings of Sa-skya Paṇḍita', 8–12, and, adding more titles to Jackson's already impres-sive dossier, Mkhan po Bsod nams rgya mtsho, *Rigs gter na tshod*, 45–48. The undoubtedly very recent but undated *Rigs gter na tshod* is possibly the last of these. Commentaries on the verse-text are much more plentiful than studies of the auto-commentary of which there are very few indeed.

[2]   Jackson, *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III)*, 64, 66–67. So far, the earliest one to have done so of whom I am aware is A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597–1659), the twenty-sixth abbot of Sa skya monastery, who suggested this in his 1638 study of the Cakrasamvara precepts; see A mes zhabs, '*Dpal sa skya pa'i yab chos kyi*', 170.

oeuvre. What must have been of help is that in some of his works Sa skya Paṇḍita directs readers to his other writings for further information. The obvious problem with the surmise of these writers is three-fold. Firstly, most of these later scholars simply write *Rigs gter* and thus make no explicit distinction between the verse-text and the auto-commentary. Secondly, they do not allow for the possibility that Sa skya Paṇḍita may have revisited either work at a later date to make revisions. Thirdly, we do not know when he wrote the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary. Was it at the same time that he conceptualized and articulated the verses, or did he write it much later?

We have no direct insight into these aspects of his workshop. However, we do know that the method Sa skya Paṇḍita employed in writing his auto-commentary was to preface his specific comments in prose with the pertinent verses from what appears to be the entire *Rigs gter* verse-text, and that, with some exceptions, his verses in turn were prefaced by a topic-statement.[3] What is more, it appears that in later times some of his lines of verse were forced, as it were, into the prose text of the auto-commentary (see below notes 71–76).

Sa skya Paṇḍita cited what he called the *Rigs gter* in the following four works that without a doubt issued from his pen:

1. *Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*[4]
2. *Mkhas pa rnams la 'jug pa'i sgo*[5]
3. *Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa*[6]
4. *Bka' gdams do kor ba'i zhus lan*[7]

There is nothing in these to suggest that, with his laconic *Rigs pa'i gter*, Sa skya Paṇḍita intended either the verse-text or auto-commentary!

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[3]   A user-friendly topical outline (*sa bcad*) of the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge] is given in Horváth, 'Structure and Content of the *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter*'.

[4]   Sa skya Paṇḍita, '*Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*', 92.

[5]   Sa skya Paṇḍita, '*Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo*', 28–29, 96, 99, 128.

[6]   Sa skya Paṇḍita, '*Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa*', 300.

[7]   Sa skya Paṇḍita, '*Bka' gdams do kor ba'i zhus lan*', 460. Sa skya Paṇḍita mentions his *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba* on page 463.

The majority of references to the *Rigs gter* occur in the *Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa* which, while attributed to Sa skya Paṇḍita in later circles and was thus included in the 1736 Sde dge xylograph edition of his collected writings, both Jackson and I independently concluded that it was not written by him.[8] However, what distinguishes these references from the ones in the above four works is that while the author of the *Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa* does not cite the auto-commentary, he does actually quote the *Rigs gter* verse text![9] The first involves six lines from the ninth chapter of its received text:

> *sems las gzhan la ltos med kyi //*
> *rtags kyi sngon mtha' thug med 'grub //*[10]
>
> *rgyu tshogs tshang zhing gegs med pa'i //*
> *rtags kyi phyi mtha' thug med 'grub //*
>
> *skye mched 'di las skye mched gzhan //*
> *de yi bzang ngan las kyis byed //*

In 1271, while residing in Shing kun, a place that is located in Gansu Province, 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280), Sa skya Paṇḍita's nephew and close disciple, completed a versified tract for his patron Qubilai Qaγan (r. 1260–1294) that he titled, *Rgyal*

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8   Jackson, 'Two *Grub mtha'* Treatises of Sa-skya Paṇḍita', and van der Kuijp, 'On the Authorship of the *Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa*'. This is of course not to say that this is an uninteresting work. Indeed, it is, and it is certainly worthy of further attention.

9   Sa skya Paṇḍita, '*Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa*', 252–53, 262, 265–66, 278.

10   This is the sole quotation that is characterized as deriving 'from the *Rigs pa'i gter* that was written by me' (*kho bos byas pa'i rigs pa'i gter las*). The second line is misquoted—it has *phyi mtha'* for *sngon mtha'*—in Stag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen's (1405–1477) 1467 polemical treatise on the Kālacakra literature; see Stag tshang Lo tsā ba, '*Gzhan dus kyi 'khor lo'i spyi don bstan pa'i rgya mtsho*', 482.

po la gdams pa'i rab tu byed pa (Tract that Instructs the Emperor).
His aim with this little work was, so it would seem, to provide and
familiarize Qubilai with the basics of Buddhist religion and philoso-
phy. Writing in the East Tibetan monastery of Tsom mdo gnas sar,
his student Shes rab gzhon nu composed a commentary on this work,
which he completed towards the end of 1275. Shes rab gzhon nu
followed the topical structure that 'Phags pa wrote for his work and
cites an impressive array of canonical literature as he explains 'Phags
pa's treatise. He also states that his comments were consistent with
his master's own statements and that he verified this by repeatedly
consulting with him. We know from the colophons of 'Phags pa's
writings that he was indeed in the area during this time, and this
adds a measure of confidence to the veracity of Shes rab gzhon nu's
remarks. As a matter of fact, 'Phags pa left Shing kun in 1274 and was
en route to his home monastery of Sa skya, which he reached in 1276.
Shes rab gzhon nu's work is among the few thirteenth century trea-
tises with which I am familiar that in fact cite the *Rigs gter* verse-text,
albeit not entirely unproblematically. In his work, he states that the
following quatrain stems from [the ninth chapter of] the *Rigs gter*:[11]

> *thabs dang shes rab legs sbyangs pas //*
> *phan tshun rgyu dang rkyen gyur pas //*
> *ji lta ba dang ji snyed pa'i //*
> *ye shes gzigs pa 'grub par 'gyur //*

This quotation is unproblematic. He also cites two lines from what
he explicitly states were taken from the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*, but
these are *not* found in any of the sources used for this essay. The two
lines in question read:

> *phyi ltar don rig du ma yang //*
> *nang ltar rang rig nyid du gcig //*

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[11]   Shes rab gzhon nu, '*Rgyal po la gdams pa'i rab tu byed pa*', 333, 373. Shes
rab gzhon nu cites Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba* on page 338.

Finally, Btsun pa Ston gzhon, another student of 'Phags pa, mentions the *Rigs gter* four times in his 1297 study of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*.[12] These will be discussed on another occasion.

Not least owing to the genius of Sa skya Paṇḍita, the obvious recognition of the *Rigs gter* as a first-rate work and its ensuing reputation came at a cost. Due to its growing popularity and the many places where it was taught[13]—there can be no doubt that this was in part a sociological and economic consequence of Sa skya monastery's close connections with the Mongol imperial family—the unchecked proliferation of manuscript copies of both the verse-text and the alleged auto-commentary resulted in a measure of textual contamination that in some quarters even led certain individuals to question whether the textual discrepancies between the verse-text and the verses cited in the auto-commentary might be indicative that these were written by two different authors. In what follows, I briefly deal with the problem of the auto-commentary's authorship and I will point to some of the philological problems one encounters in the study of the *Rigs gter* corpus.

The first complete set of printing blocks carved for the auto-commentary was accomplished in Dadu, China, is dated December 16, 1284, and is usually referred to as the 'Mongol xylograph' (*hor par ma*).[14] The preparation of these blocks began with the financial sup-

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[12]   For this work, see van der Kuijp, 'Studies in Btsun pa Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* Commentary of ?1297, Part One', and 'Studies in Btsun pa Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* Commentary of 1297, Part Two'.

[13]   For some of the institutions where the *Rigs gter* had a place in their curricula, see van der Kuijp, 'Studies in Btsun pa Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* Commentary of ?1297', 130ff.

[14]   For details and the texts of the colophons of the 1284 and 1339 xylographs, see van der Kuijp, 'Two Mongol Xylographs (*Hor Par Ma*) of the Tibetan Text', 281, 283. In 1298, Dpal mo 'Bol gan, that is, the Empress Bulugan [= Boluhan], the wife of the Chengzong Emperor [= Öljeitü Qan] (r. 1294–1307), had two hundred copies printed from the 1284 printing blocks; see Ska ba Shes rab bzang po, 'Zangwen "Yuan ban" kao', 42–43 [= Kawa Sherab Sangpo, 'Analysis of Tibetan Language Prints Produced During the Yuan Period (*hor par ma*)', 202–

port of Čabi (?–1284), Qubilai's senior wife, and the printing project was completed by her daughter-in-law, Kököčin, after Čabi passed on. Located in what is now Beijing, Dadu was the winter capital of the Yuan Dynasty. Another series of xylographs from these very same printing blocks, ostensibly therefore the second printing, dates from 1339.[15] It is safe to say that the xylographs from these blocks indicate that the manuscript[?s] on which basis the printing blocks were carved had eleven chapters, from which we might in turn conclude that it was based on a *Rigs gter* verse-text that had eleven chapters as well. These chapters are identified as follows:

1.	*yul brtag pa*	–	Investigating the object	[2a]
2.	*blo brtag pa*	–	Investigating the knowing awareness	[9b]
3.	*spyi dang bye brag brtag pa*	–	Investigating the universal and the particular	[17a]
4.	*snang ba dang gzhan sel*	–	Appearance and exclusion	[22b]
5.	*brjod bya dang rjod byed*	–	Investigating the linguistic referent and	
	brtag pa	–	the linguistic utterance	[37b]
6.	*'brel pa brtag pa*	–	Investigating relations	[44a]
7.	*'gal ba brtag pa*	–	Investigating incompatibilities	[66a]
8.	*mtshan nyid brtag pa*	–	Investigating the definition	[72a]
9.	*mngon sum brtag pa*	–	Investigating perception	[103b]
10.	*rang don rjes dpag bstan pa*	–	Showing inference for oneself	[125a]
11.	*gzhan don rjes dpag brtag pa*	–	Investigating inference for others	[165b]

205] and Xiong, 'Yuandai huangshi chengyuan shikande zangwen fojing', 91, 94–95.

[15]   See *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu]. In the colophon of the 'reprint', read *sa mo yos bu*, 'earth-female-hare' (1339) and *not shing mo yos bu*, 'wood-female-hare' year (1325), as I had inadvertently done.

The xylograph itself presents us with a series of interesting paleo-graphical features; these are mainly the following:

1. The use of a 'reverse' *gi gu* graph [= *ị*] for the second *gi gu* when one follows immediately or too closely upon another as in, for instance, *gangs ri'ị khrod* and *blo'i nyị 'od* [fol. 1b4, 1b5]; the *ị* graph is used for reasons of spacing or must be interpreted as a 'carvo'.
2. The inconsistent use of the spelling of *stsogs* and *rtsogs* instead of the 'modern' *sogs* [fol. 2a5, 2b2].
3. The occasional use of abbreviated expressions (*skung yig*) as in *nyidu* (< *nyid du*), *rang gi mchid* (< *rang gi mtshan nyid*), and *spyim* (< *spyi mtshan*) [fol. 3a6, 3b, 41a4].
4. The inconsistent use of the palatalizing *ya btags* as in, for example, *myi, myig, my-ing, myin, rmyi, dmyigs*, and *myed* instead of *mi, mig, ming, min, rmi, dmigs*, and *med* from the fourth chapter onward [fol. 38a6, 38b2, 40a3,6, 40b6, 41a1,6].
5. The use of the *bar tsheg*, intersyllabic dot, before a *shad* (/).
6. The xylograph does not always clearly distinguish between *pa/pa'i/pas* and *ba/ba'i/bas* that occur after specific conso-nants.

While the xylograph of 1284/1339 suggests that the *Rigs gter* consisted of eleven chapters in all, I show elsewhere that this was by no means the case prior to its production. Glo bo Mkhan chen Bsod nams lhun grub (1456–1532) remarks in his 1482 study of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary that older *Rigs gter* texts (*gzhung rnying pa rnams*) had not eleven but thirteen chapters. Thus, the chapter on the definition was split into two parts, one in which the general features of a definition was investigated and one that dealt with the definition of the valid means of cognition (*tshad ma*, *pramāṇa*) in particular, and it appears there was a spin-off chapter analyzing nega-tion and affirmation (*dgag sgrub brtag pa'i rab tu byed pa*).

When Ldong ston Shes rab dpal, one of Sa skya Paṇḍita's disciples, was working on his *circa* 1260 commentary, he most probably used a manuscript of the *Rigs gter* verse-text that contained these thirteen

chapters.[16] Thus, according to Glo bo Mkhan chen, Ldong ston's commentary was structured in the following manner:

		bzhag bya – ngo bo	*yul*	[1]
			blo	[2]
I.	*shes bya*			
		'jog byed – khyad par	*spyi dang bye brag*	[3]
			snang ba dang sel ba	[4]
			brjod bya dang rjod byed	[5]
			'brel pa	[6]
			'gal ba	[7]
		ngo bo	*tshad ma'i mtshan nyid*	[8]
II.	*shes byed*		*mtshan gzhi*	[9]
			rtogs tshul	[10]
		dbye ba	*mngon sum*	[11]
			rjes dpag *rang don*	[12]
			gzhan don	[13]

Obviously, the sequence of the chapters of his work corresponds quite closely to the eleven-chapter text of the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu]. Glo bo Mkhan chen cites Ldong ston's work on a number of other occasions.[17]

It is a pity that we do not have access to Ldong ston's treatise. By contrast, we now have available to us a commentary on the verse-text by 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge (ca.1195–after 1267), who was yet another disciple of Sa skya Paṇḍitda and therefore a contemporary of Ldong ston.[18] This work, which I will henceforth refer to as the *Rigs pa grub pa*, seems to be based on a manuscript of the *Rigs gter* verse-

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[16]   See van der Kuijp, 'Ldong ston Shes rab dpal', which is based on Glo bo Mkhan chen, '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*', 14–15, a study of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary. On this work, see briefly below.

[17]   Glo bo Mkhan chen, *Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*', 47, 56, 111, 183, 223, 343–44.

[18]   On him and his oeuvre, see van der Kuijp, 'Studies in Btsun pa Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* Commentary of 1297'.

text that may have contained in all not eleven, not thirteen, but eight chapters! It is structured along the triad of beneficial at the outset (*thog mar dge ba*), in the middle (*bar du dge ba*), and at the end (*tha mar dge ba*), a triad that we find in various Indic sources, including the large compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.[19] The section 'beneficial in the middle' forms the main body of the text and contains, according to the editor[s], the following eight chapter-headings:[20]

1.	*yul gyi ngo bo dpyad pa*	–	Analyzing the nature of the object	[2–40]
2.	*yul gyi khyad par dpyad pa*	–	Analyzing the particulars of the object	[42–67]
3.	*blo spyi'i rnam gzhag dpyad pa*	–	Analyzing an exposition of cognition in general	[68–116]
4.	*tshad ma spyi yi rnam gzhag dpyad pa*	–	Analyzing the exposition of the valid means of cognition in general	[117–172]
5.	*mngon sum dpyad pa*	–	Analyzing valid perceptual awareness	[173–222]
6.	*rang don rjes dpag dpyad pa*	–	Analyzing inference for oneself	[223–327]
7.	*gzhan don rjes dpag dpyad pa*	–	Analyzing inference for another	[327–355]
8.	*mtshan nyid dpyad pa*	–	Analyzing the definition	[356–372]

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[19] Asaṅga, '*Yogācārabhūmi*', 76.

[20] Truth be told, it is by no means clear whether these were found in the actual text or that, and I suspect that this is so, they were added by the editor[s]. The editors have on occasion misread the text, or the manuscript is not always pristine. The explanation of the status of the object (*yul*) at 'U yug pa, *Rigs pa grub pa*, 2, begins with 'Ka 1 First, an explanation of the nature (*rang bzhin*) of the knowable, the object...' And it states that this item has three parts (*de la gsum ste*), that is, [1] The nature of the knowable, the object and [2] A conclusive analysis (*gtan la dbab pa*) of the definition[s] that are common to the [objects]. In other words, there is NO third part, one that would have had to do with an

Looking at his work's architecture, it would appear that 'U yug pa either took some liberties with the chapter sequence of the *Rigs gter* verse-text or that *his* text of the latter was quite different from what we know the sequence was at one time from the 1284/1339 Mongol xylograph of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary and, we should add, from all the later texts of the *Rigs gter* that have been published thus far. What is more, the *Rigs pa grub pa*'s topical outline is miles away from that of the auto-commentary and suggests a more far-reaching independence from Sa skya Paṇḍita than we might expect from a close disciple. For example, compare this outline of the opening of the first chapter with that of the auto-commentary:

> *Rigs pa grub pa*, 4–6:

> I.   *shes par bya ba yul gyi rang bzhin*
>   1.   *yul gyi mtshan nyid*
>   1a.   *mtshan nyid dngos*
>   1b.   *de'i skyon spang ba*
>   1a1.   *dngos med la ma khyab pa spang ba*
>   1a2.   *bde sogs la ma khyab pa spang ba*
>
>   2.   *mtshan gzhi'i dbye ba*
>   2a.   *gzhan gyi log rtog dgag pa*
>   2a1.   *kha cig na re....zhes zer ro //*
>   2a1.a.   *gzung yul*
>   2a2.a.   *zhen yul*
>   2a3.a.   *'jug yul*

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explanation of the typology of cognitive agents *shes byed* or *blo*. In fact, this is the theme of the third chapter. It is advisable to compare, which I did, the readings of this Beijing 'edition' of 'U yug pa's work with the text of *Rigs pa grub pa* [Chengdu].

Rigs gter rang 'grel [Sde dge], 167/3–167/1 [Da, 27a–b][21]:

I.   *shes bya spyi ldog nas gtan la dbab pa*
    1.   *shes bya'i yul*
        1a.   *mtshan nyid*
        1b.   *dbye ba*
            1b1.   *gzhan gyi lugs dgag pa*
                1b1.a.   *khas blang brjod* [*na*]
                ...

Rigs pa grub pa, Items 1a–2a, and *Rigs gter rang 'grel*, 1a–1b1a, comment on:

yul gyi mtshan nyid blos rig bya //	1a
don spyi dang ni med snang gnyis //	1b1a
yul yin zhe na. .... //	

The definition of an object is that of which the mind is aware.
Query: The two, an object-universal and a non-existent that appears,
Are objects. ....

Sa skya Paṇḍita adds nothing to item 1a in his auto-commentary. 'U yug pa, on the other hand, leaves the auto-commentary at quite a distance, for he comments:[22]

mtshan nyid dngos ni chos 'ga' zhig gi rnam pa blo la shar ba la brten nas nges par bya ba'o // de'ang kha cig ni rang gi [3] *rnam pa shar nas nges par bya ba ste sngon po lta bu'o // kha cig ni dgag gzhi'am dgag bya'i rnam pa shar nas nges par bya ba ste / bum med lta bu'o //*

The actual definition of the object: What is ascertained on the basis of a sensum (*rnam pa*, *ākāra*) of some phenomenon that has emerged in a cognition. Further, some [suggested that] it is what is

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21   Horváth, 'Structure and Content of the *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter*', 271.
22   'U yug pa, '*Rigs pa grub pa*', 2–3.

ascertained after its own sensum has emerged [in a cognition]; like a blue object. Some [suggested that] it is what is ascertained after the sensum of the basis of a negation or of what is to be negated has emerged in a cognition; like the absence of a jug.

He then devotes item 1b to a rejection that a non-existent object is not implied and to a rejection that feelings, such as pleasure, are not implied in the definition, which reflects the two opinions he cited under item 1a. In this respect, 'U yug pa seems a bit more sophisticated than his master.

Gzan dkar Rin po che Thub bstan nyi ma, the apparent author of the introduction to the *Rigs pa grub pa*, notes that 'U yug pa's commentary, which he calls a meaning (*don*)—as opposed to a word-by-word (*tshig*)—commentary, collapsed chapters two to seven of the received text of the *Rigs gter* into the third chapter of the *Rigs pa grub pa* titled *blo spyi'i rnam gzhag dpyad pa* (*Analysis of the Exposition of Cognition in General*). But this is not quite the case. Titled *yul gyi khyad par dpyad pa* (*Analyisis of the Particulars of the Object*), the beginning of the second chapter suggests that it falls into four parts:

1.	*rdzas dang ldog pa*	–	substance and property	[42–46]
2.	*dngos po dang dngos med*	–	thing and non-thing	[46–47]
3.	*spyi dang bye brag*	–	universal and particular	[48–60]
4.	*dgag pa dang sgrub pa*	–	negation and affirmation	[61–67]

Thus, the expectation is that we find these four parts embedded in the second chapter of 'U yug pa's text, and indeed we do. But this goes against the received verse-text and auto-commentary, where each of these receive their own very substantial chapters.

The fourth part foreshadows the more detailed discussion of the subject on concept formation or 'exclusion' ([*gzhan*] *sel*), [*anya*] *apoha*) of the third chapter.[23] Striking is the fact that separate chap-

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23   'U yug pa, '*Rigs pa grub pa*', 84–116, especially 97–116.

ters on relations (*'brel ba*) and incompatibilities (*'gal ba*), that is, chapters six and seven of the received text of the *Rigs gter*, are entirely absent from the *Rigs pa grub pa*. Similarly missing from 'U yug pa's text is a chapter on the logic and epistemology of the notion of a definition (*mtshan nyid*) that precedes the discussion of the valid means of cognition. A chapter in which this topic is discussed forms the entire eighth chapter and occurs as such *before* the chapters on each of the valid means of cognition in all the other versions of the *Rigs gter* that have been published to date. I believe the received chapter sequence to be authentic, because it appears to me that the study of the logical structure of a definition (*mtshan nyid*) and the logical and epistemic relationships that exist among the definition, the definiens (*mtshan nyid*) and the definiendum (*mtshon bya*)[24] would need to precede the discussion of the valid means of cognition and their respective definitions and definitional instantiations (*mtshan gzhi*).

Roughly speaking, a preliminary characterization of the nature of a valid means of cognition is exactly what we find at the outset of Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* and *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, and it is this that is echoed in the *Tshad ma bsdus pa* tradition of the intellectual traditions that first originated in Gsang phu sne'u thog monastery and then spread to other monastic institutions that were closely or even loosely affiliated with it.[25] 'U yug pa's fourth chapter begins with a discussion of the various definitions of the valid means of

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[24]   See the valuable study of Hugon, 'The Origin of the Theory of Definition and its Place', 319–68. For 'U yug pa's discussion of its problematic, see 'U yug pa, '*Rigs pa grub pa*', 356–72.

[25]   For details on these, see Everding, 'gSang phu Ne'u thog, Tibet's earliest Monastic School' and Hugon, 'Enclaves of Learning, Religious and Intellectual Communities in Tibet'. An interesting exception (and there are probably more) is Gtsang drug pa Rdo rje 'od zer's work which the author wrote under the inspiration of his teacher Gnyal pa Zhang Tshes spong, that is, probably Zhang Tshes spong Chos kyi bla ma, a disciple of Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab (ca. 1059–1109), one of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge's (1109–1169) masters, and the third abbot of Gsang phu sne'u thog; see Gtsang drug pa, '*Yang dag rigs pa'i gsal byed* [*sgron ma*]', 165.

cognition[26]—these are the definitions offered by Rgyan byed pa (*Alaṃkārakara), that is, Prajñākaragupta (ca. 800), Devendrabuddhi (late seventh century), and Dharmottara (late eighth century)—and subjects these to a critique. He adds for good measure someone (*kha cig na re*) citing Śaṅkaranandana's (tenth century) point of view. Sa skya Paṇḍita signals their positions as well, but in a slightly different order, namely in the sequence of Devendrabuddhi, Rgyan mdzad pa, Dharmottara, and Śaṅkaranandana, after which he submits each of these to a critique.[27] We do have a separate chapter devoted to the notion of the definition at the very end of the *Rigs pa grub pa*, but it is remarkably thin on details and seems to be an afterthought without any obvious or critical connection to the text itself.

    Now what can be concluded from the foregoing? For one, at least from the fifteenth century on, 'U yug pa's *Rigs pa grub pa* has been styled a commentary on the *Rigs gter*. Yet, obviously, it is not a work that comments on the version of the *Rigs gter* for which the printing blocks were carved in Dadu in 1284. It would appear that 'U yug pa was not entirely unaware of the auto-commentary, even if so many of his comments do not hint at or use its diction. Moreover, while 'U yug pa does pay homage to Sa skya Paṇḍita at the very end of his work, he nowhere mentions the *Rigs gter* by name, let alone that he conceived the *Rigs pa grub pa* as a commentary on it. This is hardly insignificant. Finally, in the eighth and last chapter of his work, he but once articulates a position explicitly held by Sa skya Paṇḍita and in doing so he uses his teacher's name. This position occurs in Sa skya Paṇḍita's very brief discussion of the need for a definiens (*mtshan nyid*) of a definiens after having rejected, in G.yag ston Sangs rgyas dpal's (1348–1414) opinion, the views on the matter that were expressed by such interpreters as Rngog Lo tsā ba, Phya pa and Gtsang nag pa Brtson 'grus seng ge (?–after 1193).[28]

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[26]   'U yug pa, '*Rigs pa grub pa*', 118–22.

[27]   *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 233–36; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], 229–32; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 88a–89b; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 282–87; and *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 212/1–4 [Da, 115b–117a].

[28]   'U yug pa, '*Rigs pa grub pa*', 358; *ad Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 212;

We do not have access to the fourteenth century *Rigs gter* commentaries such as the ones written by Gnas drug pa Blo gros mtshungs med,[29] Byams mgon, alias Phyogs glang gsar ma, 'the new Dignāga', alias Te['u] ra ba,[30] or his student Bka' bzhi pa Rigs pa'i seng ge (1287–1375) of Mi nyag.[31] However, four of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth commentaries, namely the ones by G.yag ston, Rong ston Smra ba'i seng ge (1367–1449),[32] 'Jam dbyangs Shes rab rgya mtsho (1396–1474)[33] and the one allegedly by Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432),[34] all suggest that the

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Rigs gter rang 'grel [Chengdu], 209; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 88a–89b; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 249; and *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 206/4 [Da, 105a]; see also G.yag ston, '*Sde bdun gyi dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs*', 328.

[29]   Gnas drug pa Blo gros mtshungs med was *inter alia* a close disciple and amanuensis of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), the great Sa skya pa scholar and erstwhile abbot of Sa skya, and Glo bo Mkhan chen cites him several times; see his '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*', 9, 135, 294, 316, 352, 370. We do have a work of his on *tshad ma* which, however, is not a study of the *Rigs gter*. There he cites his senior contemporary, Phyogs glang gsar ma, and the *Rigs gter* verse-text. See, respectively, Gnas drug pa, '*Tshad ma'i don bsdus*', 652, 657, 703.

[30]   It would appear that Byams mgon was widely recognized as an expert in the *Rigs gter* and a manuscript in one hundred and thirty-seven folios of his study is listed in Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs ed., 1461, no. 016466. It is titled *Tshad ma rig[s] pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa sde bdun dgongs gsal rigs pa'i 'brug sgra*. Glo bo Mkhan chen's commentary contains some eight fragments from it; see his '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*', 13, 26, 85, 95, 11, 135, 254, 262.

[31]   For him, see below.

[32]   For these two works, see Hugon, *Trésors du raisonnement*, 373–74. Rong ston wrote his treatise at the behest of Nang chen Rab 'byor bzang po. If he is none other than Nang chen Rab 'byor 'phags pa, then he must be identified as the younger brother of Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags (1389–1442), the ruler of Rgyal mkhar rtse principality.

[33]   For this work, see the 'Jam dbyangs Shes rab rgya mtsho, '*Tshad ma sde bdun gyi dgongs 'grel*', and also van der Kuijp, 'Apropos of some Recently Recovered Manuscripts', 160–61.

number of chapters was eleven and that they basically had the very same chapter titles as the text of the Mongol xylograph.

Judging from Glo bo Mkhan chen's text, critical remarks in his study of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary, the actual text of the verse-text was far from stable and he points to a large number of variant readings, the sources for which he unfortunately does not identify.[35] However, the number of his variants almost pales into insignificance when we compare those found in the *Rigs gter* verse-text of the 1736 Sde dge xylograph of his collected works with those embedded in the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary of the very same 1736 Sde dge xylograph.[36] This means, of course, that Sde dge texts of the verse-text and the auto-commentary are differently filiated. Thus, what we need to take away from these remarks is that the transmission of the *Rigs gter*, the verse-text as well as the auto-commentary, is particularly problematic. In fact, it was considered to be so problematic by members of the tradition itself that around the turn of the fifteenth century the authorship of the auto-commentary began to be questioned in some circles. Evidence for this is found in the colophon of the commentary attributed to Rgyal tshab, as well as in statements placed in the mouths of a Bsod nams skyabs and his contemporary Bo dong Paṇ chen 'Jigs med grags pa (1375–1451), alias Phyogs las rnam rgyal. Indeed, the former has it that:[37]

> *'grel pa 'di la bdag gi bla ma mkhas pa'i dbang po kha cig[38] / cha 'di rang 'grel min zhes bzhag par dka' gsungs yang / mi shes pa kha cig gis*

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[34]   For this commentary and its possible place in his complete oeuvre, see van der Kuijp, 'Gyaltsab Darma Rinchen and the *Rigs gter dar ṭik*'.

[35]   See, for example, '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*', 11, 13–14, 60 ff.

[36]   Dbyangs can seng ge, ed., *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rtsa ba dang 'grel pa*, 371–77.

[37]   '*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam bshad legs par bshad pa'i snying po*', 150a.

[38]   The strangeness of the phrase *bdag gi bla ma mkhas pa'i dbang po kha cig* is preserved in my translation. It seems to me that that either *bdag gi bla ma* or, less likely, *mkhas pa'i dbang po kha cig* was originally a gloss that subsequently, and inadvertently, made its way into the text itself.

rtsa ba dang 'gal ba skabs 'gar cung zad bcug pa yod par mngon pas /
nor ba mi 'dor du mi rung ba rnams dor la 'grel pa dang mthun par
byas so //

As for this commentary, although someone, my teacher, a powerful scholar, has said that it is difficult to affirm that this piece is not an auto-commentary, since it is obvious that there were some ignoramuses who, in some passages, inserted some contradictions with the basic verse-text, I made the verse-text consistent with the commentary when I expelled errors for which it would not have been appropriate not to expel them.

Bo dong Paṇ chen's works and days are detailed in his biography by 'Jigs med 'bangs of 1453. Another study of his life was written by Ngag dbang grags pa (1418–1496), the twelfth abbot of Stag lung monastery and another one of his students, but it has, to my knowledge, not yet been recovered. We learn from 'Jigs med 'bangs that he met a number of senior luminaries in a series of public debates when he was still quite young. The first of these was G.yag ston, alias G.yag Mi pham pa, with whom he debated aspects of the perfection of insight literature in front of Ta'i si tu (Ch. *dasitu* 大司 徒) Lha btsun skyabs, his patron and the castellan (*rdzong dpon*) of Shel dkar.[39] The second opponent of Bo dong Paṇ chen singled out by 'Jigs med 'bangs was a certain Bsod nams skyabs. They debated in Byang Ngam ring, Ngam ring of the North, and the public disputa-

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[39]   See 'Jigs med 'bangs, *Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 179–96. The narrative is evidently based on a record of the disputation (*rtsod yig*) that has its counterpart in the medieval European *quaestiones quodlibetales*; for a unique study of a fifteenth century *rtsod yig*, see Huang, 'A Record of a Tibetan Medieval Debate'. Diemberger et al., trans., *Feast of Miracles*, 50 suggests that the *Rigs gter* was the subject of debate between these two men, but 'Jigs med 'bangs makes no mention of this. An aside: the authors of the *Feast of Miracles* never make clear what one is actually reading in translation, Bo dong Paṇ chen's biography by 'Jigs med 'bangs or the narratives from 'Chi med 'od zer's (?–?) *Bo dong chos 'byung*, a work that is not accessible to me.

tion took place in the presence of its learned ruler Rnam rgyal grags
bzang (1395–1475) and a potential rival of Lha btsun skyabs.[40] It
appears that the local intellectual community was in uproar because
it heard that the precocious Bo dong Paṇ chen—here also called 'the
young/little scholar from the South' (*lho pa mkhan chung*)—ob-
jected to much of the *Rigs gter*, a text that was apparently cherished
by this community, but this was not the case. He simply had a few
problems with this work and above all with the question whether the
auto-commentary was in fact Sa skya Paṇḍita's. This issue was raised
with a certain Bsod nams skyabs in view of the contradictions that
existed between the verse-text and the auto-commentary.[41] A number
of other problems were also addressed, including whether these and
a few other issues might also cast doubt on whether Sa skya Paṇḍita
was indeed the author of the verse-text. We also learn from 'Jigs med
'bangs that a certain Dge legs dpal was involved in a debate with Bo
dong Paṇ chen as well.[42] Indeed, there exists a tradition among the
Dge lugs pa that, as a youth, Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang po
(1385–1438) debated with the slightly older Bo dong Paṇ chen in
Ngam ring, in circa 1400, and that one of the main subjects under
dispute was precisely Bo dong Paṇ chen's unrelenting critique of the
Rigs gter in which connection he alleged there were 'heaps' (*phung
po*) of internal contradictions between the *Rigs gter* verse-text and the
auto-commentary. We are told that Mkhas grub was apparently able
to defeat his opponent with little effort.[43]

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[40]   'Jigs med 'bangs, *Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 196–207;
see also the summary in Diemberger et al., trans., *Feast of Miracles*, 67–8, 71–2,
203–4. The narrative is in part based on a *rtsod yig*.

[41]   He is probably identical with the Bsod nams skyabs who is said to have
written a *Rigs gter* commentary; see Jackson, 'Commentaries on the Writings of
Sa-skya Paṇḍita', 8.

[42]   'Jigs med 'bangs, *Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 207–16.

[43]   See, for example, Ary, *Authorized Lives*, 126–27. This circumstance is
probably intended by the phrase, in Mkhan po Bsod nams rgya mtsho, *Rigs gter
na tshod*, 46, that he authored a response to a critique (*dgag lan*) of the *Rigs gter*.
It should be mentioned that none of the printed editions of Mkhas grub's oeuvre

Dharmakīrti's *Rigs thigs* [*Nyāyabindu*] received some attention from 'Jigs med 'bangs, which most probably has to do with the fact that Bo dong Paṇ chen prefaced his large study of *tshad ma* with this précis of Dharmakīrti's thought.[44] Titled *Tshad ma rigs pa snang ba*, this sprawling treatise challenged the *Rigs gter* on numerous occasions.[45]

Hugon presented us with exceptionally fine surveys of the various editions of the *Rigs gter* verse-text and the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary that are thusfar available.[46] In addition, several chapters of the verse-text and the auto-commentary are now also available in edited form.[47] We need to single out two recent first steps towards a critical edition of the *Rigs gter* verse-text and the auto-commentary in their entirety. The first was published in Chengdu in 2005.[48] The volume in question is part of a newly launched series that was conceived by the indefatigable Gzan dkar Rin po che. It is the first volume of the *Gangs ljongs rig gnas gter mdzod*, subsection *Shes bya'i gter bum*. The full title of the volume is *Rigs gter rtsa 'grel dpe bsdur ma bzhugs*. Almost one of the one and a half pages devoted to a description of the three main witnesses of the auto-commentary's text by members of Sa skya's editorial office (*sa skya dpe sgrig tshan khang*) state the matter, as well as the editorial process that was followed, in succinct and confident terms. It is first pointed out that the Sde dge print of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary was taken as the point of departure, because it is the best known—this is of course hardly an argument

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contain a work in which he can be seen to defend the *Rigs gter*.

[44] 'Jigs med 'bangs, *Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 234–35. Diemberger et al., trans., *Feast of Miracles*, 71, mistakenly has it that it was the *Rigs gter* that is at issue here.

[45] See Bo dong Paṇ chen, '*Tshad ma rigs pa'i snang ba*'.

[46] Hugon, *Trésors du raisonnement*, 363–72, and now also Hugon, 'Sa skya Paṇḍita's Classification of Arguments by Consequence', under 2.2.

[47] See, lastly Przybyslawski, *Cognizable Object in Sa skya Paṇḍita*, who offers a critical edition of the first chapter of the auto-commentary. My thanks to Dr. Przybyslawski for having shared with me a copy of his valuable study.

[48] What follows is based on *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], *4–*5.

for giving it such a preeminent position in the editorial process, especially in view of its manifold textual problems. Leaving that aside, its readings were compared with a Mongol xylograph and a Zhwa lu manuscript, and the variants thus found are respectively marked [*ha*] and [*zha*]. The Mongol xylograph is dated to 1344 and stated that the Mongol empress, 'Bol gan, ordered some two hundred copies to be printed. This is patently wrong on both counts, as can be gleaned from the colophons of both.[49] It is also unfortunate that the paleographical features of the Mongol xylograph that I outlined above are entirely glossed over, so that the editorial policies that were apparently followed leave us feeling somewhat ill at ease and uncertain. Without giving any concrete evidence for this, they date the Zhwa lu manuscript to the second half of the fourteenth century. They note that two other witnesses, the 1445 Glang thang xylograph from the blocks that were carved at the behest of Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, and a manuscript in the non-cursive *dbu can* script of unidentified provenance, were found to have the same readings as the Mongolian xylograph and were for this reason not used.[50] Again, I am not at all sure whether this was really the case. Half a page is devoted to a description of the verse-text and its editors. The editors, who out of politeness will remain unnamed, mention that they once again took the Sde dge xylograph as their point of departure and compared its readings with an old Zhwa lu manuscript of the same, whereby the variant readings are given in square brackets []. It must be said, and I do so with a sigh of profound regret, that this edition of the auto-commentary and the verse-text is not the success it could have been. Finally, the text of the verse-text is set off from the auto-commentary with a larger font, but here, too, there are some problems.

The second edition of the verse-text and the auto-commentary was edited by an institution calling itself the Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, The Dpal brtsegs Research Institute for

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[49]   See above note 14.

[50]   For this xylograph, see van der Kuijp, 'Apropos of some Recently Recovered Manuscripts', 161–62.

Ancient Tibetan Writing, and was published in Beijing in 2007.[51] It figures as volume three of an edition of Sa skya Paṇḍita's collected writings that is based on the aforementioned Sde dge xylograph edition, as well as on manuscripts of his collected writings that were housed in Zhwa lu and Lu phu monasteries. The variant readings of the latter are given as [*zhwa*] and [*lu*].

Both the Chengdu and the Beijing editions offer separate texts of the verse-text and auto-commentary, whereby in the latter the lines of verse are isolated and identified by the use of larger graphs. The Sde dge xylograph does not do so and neither does the Dehradun text nor the Dadu xylograph of the auto-commentary. Striking is that the Sde dge xylograph's eighth chapter, which is devoted to the study of the definition, contains two fairly substantial glosses that are offset from the rest of the text in smaller graphs.[52] Their origin is as yet unclear, but suffice it to say that neither gloss is found in the Dadu and Dehradun editions, that the Beijing text only recognized the first and stated that it is found in the Zhwa lu and Lu phu manuscripts, and that the Chengdu text identified the second as being absent from the Zhwa lu manuscript and the Dadu xylograph.

Let us now briefly take a closer look at Glo bo Mkhan chen's study of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary that is filled with important information on the problematic transmission of the verse-text and the earliest commentaries that were written on it. The author completed this work in September of 1482 at the monastery of Thub bstan dar rgyas gling in Glo bo Smon thang, an area that is presently located in northern Nepal. He wrote this virtually unique study of the auto-commentary under the inspiration of his teacher Gser mdog Paṇ chen whom he thanks in the colophon—he is there styled 'Jam mgon bla ma—and thus prior to his falling out with him that marked a turning point in his career as an intellectual and commentator. The title of his work presents us with an unexpected problem.

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[51] What follows is based on *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], *2.

[52] *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 206/3 [Da, 104b]; see also *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 209–10; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 88a–89b; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 246; and the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], 206–7.

In the first place, we must account for the different titles of the Sde dge xylograph of his work and the manuscript which, unfortunately, cannot be merely blamed on a misplaced first page since these different titles are also echoed in their opening pages as well as in their respective colophons.[53] These read, omitting the standard prefatory phrase of *Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*, found in the titles of almost all the *Rigs gter* commentaries, as follows:

Xylograph: *Tshad ma rig[s] pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rig[s] lam gsal ba'i nyi ma*

Manuscript: *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo*[54]

The title of the xylograph clearly indicates that it is a study of the [auto-]commentary, whereas that of the manuscript simply suggests that it is a commentary on the *Rigs gter* verse-text. Striking is that the title of the xylograph of Glo bo Mkhan chen's work is virtually identical to the 1488 study of the *Rigs gter* verse-text by Mus chen Rab 'byams pa Thugs rje dpal bzang po, who was a disciple of Go rams pa. The title page of the undated Sde dge xylograph of Mus chen's work reads *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa rigs lam rab gsal*, but the title that appears in its colophon reads ...*rigs lam rab tu gsal ba'i nyi ma*. Both Mus chen and Glo bo Mkhan chen are cited in Mkhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags' *Rigs gter* verse-text commentary, which he completed in 1611 at his monastery of Thub bstan yangs pa can. Ngag dbang chos grags mentions several times the titles, or their short form, of their respective treatises, allowing us to determine, if not the actual title of Glo bo Mkhan chen's work, then at least the title that was known to him. Ngag dbang chos grags associates what he calls the *Rigs gter rnam bshad / rigs lam gsal ba'i nyi ma* and the *Sde bdun nyi 'od* with Mus chen. On

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[53]   See, respectively, Glo bo Mkhan chen, '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*', 413, and *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa*, 421.

[54]   For these titles, see also Kramer, *A Noble Abbot from Mustang*, 200, 202.

the other hand, he quite clearly writes elsewhere in his work that Glo bo Mkhan chen was the author of a work on the *Rigs gter* that had the subtitle *Rig[s] pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo*.[55] In sum then, it appears that the editors of the manuscript(s) of Glo bo Mkhan chen's work were misled mislead in taking its title to be that of the xylograph, whereas its factual title was in all likelihood that of manuscript. It is improbable that, had the title been that of the former, Mus chen would have chosen a virtually identical name for his *Rigs gter* commentary. We may assume, albeit not on the basis of text-immanent criteria, since he does not cite Glo bo Mkhan chen's work, that he knew of it, for he was also in several important respects Go rams pa's intellectual heir. Finally, Mkhan po Bsod nams rgya mtsho refers to the most recent commentaries:[56]

1. Smra ba'i dbang phyug Mkhan chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan
2. Mkhan chen Khang dmar Rin chen rdo rje
3. Mkhan chen Ngag dbang yon tan bzang po (1927–2010), alias Mkhan po A pad, 'a second Sa skya Paṇḍita'—an incomplete commentary (*rtsom 'phro can*)
4. Mkhan chen Ngag dbang kun dga' dbang phyug, an interlinear commentary (*mchan 'grel*)[57]

Hugon's listing of the available corpus of *Rigs gter* commentaries, including the auto-commentary, reflected the state of the art of research done on the *Rigs gter* verse-text and its auto-commentary up to 2008.[58] We can now update it with some additional texts that were published in the interim.

1. Mkhan chen Dbang phyug dpal bzang po (fourteenth century) *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi tshar bcad dang ltag chod brtag pa'i rnam par bshad pa rtsod pa'i rgyan*[59]

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[55] See his *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dgongs don gsal bar*, 401, 624.
[56] Mkhan po Bsod nams rgya mtsho, *Rigs gter na tshod*, 48.
[57] See tbrc.org, W3CN4072; this work was completed in 1989.
[58] Hugon, *Trésors du raisonnement*, 766–67.

2. 'Jam dbyangs Shes rab rgya mtsho
   Tshad ma sde bdun gyi dgongs 'grel rigs pa'i gter zhes bya ba'i dgongs don gsal bar byed pa legs bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer[60]
3. Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523–1596)
   Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' 'grel gnas kyi snying po gsal byed[61]

In what we have of his work on the *Rigs gter*, Mang thos is so far the only Sa skya pa scholar who explicitly reacted to several of Bo dong Paṇ chen's striking criticisms of the *Rigs gter* whereby he rose to its defense on a number of occasions. This stands in sharp contrast to the important commentaries by Rong ston, Go rams pa, Gser mdog Paṇ chen and Glo bo Mkhan chen, where no such reactions obtain. In addition, he severally cites two as yet unpublished *Rigs gter* commentaries, one by Byams pa chos grags (1433–1504), alias 'Bum phrag gsum pa, and the other by Paṇ chen Dngos grub dpal 'bar (1456–1527), alias Paṇ chen Gzhung brgya pa.[62] The latter work must be the *Rig[s] gter gyi sbyor ṭi ka* (< *ṭīkā*), which is mentioned in the Paṇ chen's biography of 1528 by Byams pa Lha btsun Grags pa.[63] Of these eight chapters, two have their own colophons. Thus, on page 490 of Chapter 2, Mang thos pays his respects to a 'Jam dbyangs phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba Skyid gshongs pa chen po, who must certainly be identified as his teacher Blo gros rnam rgyal

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[59]   This is the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi tshar bcad dang ltag chod brtag pa'i rnam par bshad pa rtsod pa'i rgyan*; for a description of a [or the] manuscript of this work, see van der Kuijp, 'Apropos of some Recently Recovered Manuscripts', 159–60.

[60]   See above note 32.

[61]   See his *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' 'grel gnas kyi snying po gsal byed*, nd, [1] 420–54, [2] 455–90, [3] 491–510, [4] 511–42, [5] , 542–33 [6] 543–61, [7] 561–79, [8] 579–602.

[62]   See, respectively, his *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' 'grel gnas kyi snying po gsal byed*, 474, 478, 507, 520, 539, 541 and 439, 477. Mang thos' 1587 study of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist chronology includes a capsule biography of Byams pa chos grags; see Mang thos, *Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed*, 233–36.

(1505–1585). Another colophon is found on pages 541–542, at the end of Chapter 4, where he remarks that it was written in a chapel of Mnyam yod bya rgod gshongs monastery, an institution that Byams pa chos grags founded in 1489 and of which he himself became abbot. We also learn on pages 541 and 602 that a certain 'Jam pa'i rdo rje of Bzang ldan functioned as his scribe. It is curious that the chapters on perception, inference, and disputation are absent from these studies, an inexplicable [to me] feature that is in fact shared with the *Rigs gter* commentaries by 'Jam dbyangs Shes rab rgya mtsho and Mang thos' own disciple Mkhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags.[64] Mang thos nowhere mentions Glo bo Mkhan chen's exegesis of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary, but he does mention Phyogs glang gsar ma twice, once in connection with the relationship between logical analysis and the articulation of universals and once in connection with the linguistics of formulating a logical argument (*rtags*) and a definition (*mtshan nyid*).[65] Only the latter reference is also found in Glo bo Mkhan chen's work.[66]

Long ago, I drew attention to the fact that Gser mdog Paṇ chen had some problems with Sa skya Paṇḍita's formulation of three verses of the *Rigs gter* verse-text, that he even suggested they ought to be re-written and in fact he himself did rewrite them.[67] On the other hand, he seldom draws attention to variant readings of the *Rigs gter* corpus to which he had access. It is markedly different with Glo bo Mkhan chen and this is what makes his work so valuable and also disquieting, since he signals a litany of variant readings and thus casts many doubts on the veracity of the corpus' transmission. It now appears

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[63]   Byams pa Lha btsun grags pa, *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa gzhung brgya smra ba'i seng ge*, 74.

[64]   See, respectively, the '*Tshad ma sde bdun gyi dgongs 'grel rigs pa'i gter zhes bya ba'i dgongs*' and the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dgongs don gsal*.

[65]   Mang thos, '*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' 'grel*', 522, 589.

[66]   Glob o Mkhan chen, '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig[s]*', 254.

[67]   For these, see van der Kuijp, *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology*, 18–19.

that he was the first to draw attention to the fact that, in terms of its structure, the manuscript transmission of the *Rigs gter* verse-text was already problematic by the middle of the thirteenth century, as is indicated in his remark concerning the text Ldong ston apparently had at his disposal. Curiously, and I have no explanation for this, he does not mention the fact that 'U yug pa not only used a different text from that of Ldong ston, but also from the one he himself was using. Glo bo Mkhan chen was also the first to draw attention to a problematic reading of a verse that evidently surfaced in the second half of the fourteenth century. He cites to this effect a remark made by Gnas drug pa,[68] who had puzzled over the line:

> *chos dang bsgrub bya de dang 'dra //*

> The predicate and the probandum are similar to that,

This line occurred in the chapter on inference in some *Rigs gter* verse-text manuscripts (*gzhung dag*). These contained this reading as opposed to the following found in other manuscripts:

> *bsgrub bya'i chos kyang de dang 'dra //*

> The predicate to be proven, too, is similar to that,

Gnas drug pa apparently decided to accept the veracity of the latter and Glo bo Mkhan chen was apparently quite willing to let his decision stand. I plan to take a closer look at this conundrum on a separate occasion.

Sa skya Paṇḍita's arguments leading up to the verse with this variant line consist of the following. He first discusses[69] the foundation

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[68]   Glo bo Mkhan chen, '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig[s]*', 352. I have not found this conundrum in Gnas drug pa, *Tshad ma'i don bsdus*.

[69]   The relevant passage was thoroughly studied in Hugon, *Trésors du raisonnement*, 610–63. It is not unimportant to observe that Sa skya Paṇḍita does not appear to distinguish between *gtan tshigs* and *rtags*.

of valid logical reasons or indicators (*gtan tshigs*, *hetu / rtags*, *liṅga*), that is, the three relations (*tshul gsum*, *trirūpa*) to which it must conform. In the rough, the three relations are (1) [that the logical reason must be present in the predicate (*phyogs chos* [*grub pa*], *pakṣadharma*), (2) that it must be present in similar instances of the predicate (*mthun phyogs*, *sapakṣa*), and (3) that it must absent in dissimilar instances of the predicate (*mi mthun phyogs*, *vipakṣa / asapakṣa*). The latter two are the foundations for positive (*rjes 'gro*, *anvaya*) and negative concomitance (*ldog pa*, *vyatireka*). He then turns his attention to the typology of these logical reasons. His analysis is three-pronged. (1) He begins his discussion with a series of rejections of a number of proposals towards what might consist of a definition of a valid logical reason, and he critically refers *inter alia* to the views of the Jaina philosopher Snod kyi rje [Pātrasvāmin] (early eighth century), Dbang phyug sde [Īśvarasena], Dignāga's alleged disciple, and Rgya ston.[70] (2) He follows this up with his own very succinct definition of a valid logical reason and (3) he ends with a brief discussion that is dedicated to potential counter aguments, but here we encounter an unexpected problem. The *Rigs gter* verse-text in all the available editions maintains uncontroversially:[71]

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[70]   See the ensuing discussion in *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 333–39; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], 327–32; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 139a–141b; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 441–50; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 237/4–239/2 [Da, 167a–170a]. For Pātrasvāmin and Īśvarasena, see Steinkellner, 'Kumārila, Īśvarasena and Dharmakīrti in Dialogue' and Steinkellner, 'An Old Transmissional Mistake in Pātrasvāmin's Definition of the Logical Reason', 185–88. Another point of view discussed by Sa skya Paṇḍita in this passage is the one that G.yag ston and then Rong ston identified as belonging to Rgya ston, that is, Rgya dmar Byang chub grags (eleventh to twelfth century); see G.yag ston, '*Sde bdun gyi dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*', 392 [Rgya] and 393 [Rgya ston]; and Rong ston, '*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi*', 423–24.

[71]   *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Beijing], 35; *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Chengdu], 32; *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Ms.], 65; and *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Sde dge], 164/2 [Da 19b].

tshul gcig nas ni drug gi bar //   [a]
nyi tshe'i tshul gzhan 'dod pa 'khrul //   [b]

phyogs chos grub cing 'brel pa nges //   [c]
gtan tshigs mtshan nyid skyon med yin //   [d]

{phyogs chos grub pa tshul dang po //   [e]
tshul gnyis pa dang rjes 'gro yis //   [f]
ldog pa 'phen pa'i skyon gnyis med //   [g]}

From one relation to six,
The claims of other partial relations are in error.

Present in the predicate and the interconnections
of the positive and negative concomitance are determined.
The definition of the logical reason is without error.

{And then there is a large text-critical problem!}

With these seven lines we have three finite sentences, the first ending in *'khrul*, the second in *med yin*, and third in *med*. The edition of the Dadu auto-commentary does *not* recognize that [e] is part of the verse-text, and distributes the following lines of verse for the second and third parts of the analysis:[72]

[2] My own position (*rang gi lugs*)

phyogs chos grub cing 'brel pa nges //   [c]
gtan tshigs mtshan nyid skyon med yin //   [d]

phyogs chos grub pa tshul dang po /[73] *yod na yod pa'i rjes'gro dang / log na ldog pa'i ldog pa tshang na 'brel ba grub pas tshul gsum gyi dgongs pa de yin no //*

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[72]   *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 139b.

[3] Elimination of Counter Arguments (rtsod pa spang ba)

tshul gnyis pa dang rjes 'gro yis //	[f]
ldog pa 'phen pa'i skyon gnyis med //	[g]

The prose commentary then proceeds with the discussion of these two lines. The Sde dge xylograph of the auto-commentary and the Beijing edition are rather corrupt here and their editors, or their sources, evidently bled a portion of the commentary into the verse-text. They have:[74]

phyogs chos grub cing 'brel pa nges //	[c]
gtan tshigs mtshan nyid skyon med yin //	[d]
phyogs chos grub pa tshul dang po //	[e]
yod na yod pa'i rjes 'gro dang //	[f]
tshul gnyis pa dang rjes 'gro yis //	[g]
ldog pa 'phen pa'i skyon gnyis med //	[h]

Lines e and f do not belong in the verse-text! The Beijing and Chengdu editions of the text suggest that *phyogs chos hgrub pa tshul dang po //* was part of the verse-text but not *yod na yod pa'i rjes 'gro dang //*.[75]

   As stated, Glo bo Mkhan chen was among the very few scholars to pay particular attention to variant readings of the *Rigs gter* verse-text. This begins with a phrase in the two verses in which Sa skya Paṇḍita explains what he intended to do with his work that is technically known as the *rtsom par dam bca' ba*; the two verses read:[76]

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[73]   *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 443–44, has the same, but instead of having a regular *shad* [/] after *...dang po*, it has an ornamental *shad*-punctuation mark.

   [74]   *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 238/1–2 [Da, 167b–168a].

   [75]   See, respectively, *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 335 and *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], 328.

   [76]   See also Hugon, 'Inherited Opponents and New Opponents', 28.

gangs ri'i khrod 'dir mkhas pa'i rgyu skar bye ba brgyas //   [a]
dpal ldan grags pa'i gsung rab pad mo kha phye mod //   [b]
gang blo'i nyi 'od snang bas ma khyab de srid du //   [c]
gzhung lugs dgongs don ge sar snying po gsal ma nus //   [d]

chos kyi grags pa'i bzhed gzhung ji lta bar //   [e]
blo gros gsal ba'i mig gis legs mthong nas //   [f]
shes ldan gzu bor gnas pa don gnyer ba //   [g]
gzhan la brtse ba'i bsam pas 'di bshad do //   [h]

In this range of glaciated mountains, a billion constellations of scholars,
Have indeed opened the surface of the lotus-like pronouncements of glorious Grags pa [*{Dharma}kīrti],
[But] so long as it was not enveloped by the radiant sun light of someone's intelligence
The intended meaning of the system, the core of the perianth, could not be illuminated.

Having well observed with the eye of a luminous intellect,
The exact textual claim of *Dharmakīrti,
I will explain it with a compassionate attitude towards other,
Intelligent, upright, and diligent ones.

Glo bo Mkhan chen states here that 'some book' (*glegs bam kha cig*) had ...*gsung rab pad mo rab phye mod //* , 'Have indeed opened the lotus-like pronouncements...', for line b.[77] As pointed out by Hugon, Gser mdog Pan chen combines both readings in his study of 1482:

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[77]   '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig[s]*', 11. This reading is found in the Zhwa lu and Lu phu manuscripts of the verse-text and the auto-commentary and in the Lu phu manuscript of the auto-commentary; see the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 1, 47. It is also found in the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 1a; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 167/3 [Da, 26b]; and the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], 44, with a nod to the Zhwa lu manuscript. The *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Chengdu], 2; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 3; has *kha phye*, as does the *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Sde dge], 155/2 [Da, 1b].

padmo kha rab tu phye mod.[78]   He also takes the phrase *ge sar snying po* as a *dvandva* compound, '*ge sar* and *snying po*', which is quite possible. G.yag ston and Rong stong interpreted the phrase in the sense of 'core like the perianth' (ge sar lta bu'i snying po).[79] It think it is quite possible that the references to the sun, sunlight, illumination, and luminosity in these two verses had an influence on the titles of some of the studies of the *Rigs gter*.

Anyone familiar with Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Rigs gter* alone must be struck by the extreme parsimony when it comes to the express identification of the individuals who apparently stood behind the numerous positions that he subjects therein to various registers of criticism. His references usually amount to *kha cig na re*, 'some say', *bod pa rnams*, 'Tibetans', etc. The earliest available *Rigs gter* commentaries, such as those by G.yag ston, Rong ston, and Rgyal tshab, identified some of these individuals. It is undeniable that these identifications reached a high point with the oeuvre of Gser mdog Paṇ chen and Glo bo Mkhan chen. In fact, Gser mdog Paṇ chen often cites long passages from the writings of such men as Rngog Lo tsā ba, Phya pa, and Gtsang nag pa, to name a few. Glo bo Mkhan chen is unique in that he cites passages from the oeuvre of Sa skya Paṇḍita's very own students as well as from a host of early *Rigs gter* interpreters that were by and large ignored by Gser mdog Paṇ chen. What is more, as Hugon pointed out, in connection with Sa skya Paṇḍita's auto-commentary, Glo bo Mkhan chen also referred to a work on *tshad ma*, the *Tshad ma sgron ma*, that was written by Mtshur ston Gzhon nu seng ge (ca.1150–1210),[80] Mtshur ston was a student of Gtsang nag pa and one of Sa skya Paṇḍita's teachers. In fact, the evidence points

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[78]   Hugon, 'Inherited Opponents and New Opponents', 28; see also Gser mdog Paṇ chen, '*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa*', 367. His teacher Rong ston did the same, for which see his '*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi*', 438.

[79]   See G.yag ston, '*Sde bdun gyi dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* gyi', 250, and Rong ston, '*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi*', 438.

[80]   '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig*[*s*]', 252–53. For Mtshur ston's dates and the passages in question, see Hugon in Mtshur ston, '*Tshad ma shes rab sgron me*', vii–viii, xii–xv.

to the notion that Sa skya Paṇḍita may have studied the *Tshad ma sgron ma* with Mtshur ston himself. Indeed, Hugon concluded the following after careful consideration:[81]

> Among the texts of early Tibetan logicians, it seems to be the *sGron ma*, a text he studied with mTshur ston himself, that had the most influence on him.

Yet, in spite of these and other influences, there is no question that the *Rigs gter* marked a paradigm shift in the Tibetan appreciation of the theories of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. The steadily growing corpus of research into this fascinating workthat over the last few decades has ever increasingly begun to consider its Tibetan antecedents and its later interpreters, amply bears witness to this fact. That said, in our research on this work, we cannot ignore the problematics of its textual history and transmission, the bare outlines of which I ventured to describe in this brief paper.

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81   Mtshur ston, '*Tshad ma shes rab sgron me*', xv.

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