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Marginalia to Sa-skya Paññita's Oeuvre

by Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp

Sa-skya Paññita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1182–1251) was the fourth of the so-called "Five Supreme" (gong-ma lnga) masters of the Sa-skya-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism, and the great-grandson of 'Khon Dkon-mchog rgyal-po (1034–1104), the founder of Sa-skya monastery (1073). The four other masters were:

1. Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po (1092–1158)
2. Slob-dpon Bsd-nams rtse-mo (1142–1182)
3. Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216)
4. 'Phags-pa bla-ma Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1235–1280)

His writings, as preserved in the Sde-dge edition of the collected works (bka'-bum) of the sa-skya gong-ma lnga², evince an exceptionally keen sense of scholarship and a virtually boundless intellectual curiosity. In the course of my study of several of what are generally considered to be his major writings, I noticed that, as far as his bka'-bum is concerned, the Sde-dge edition is rather unsatisfactory for two main reasons. In the first place, the number of texts ascribed to Sa-skya Paññita by this edition does not square with the earliest catalogue (dkar-chag) of his collected works that is thusfar available. And neither does the Dkar-Chag of the Sde-dge edition take cognisance of those writings of Sa-skya Paññita which he himself cites in his subsequent literary endeavors. Secondly, a considerable number of its readings are philologically and text-historically problematic, and could very well lead to the conclusion that the editors and compilers of this edition were not as careful as they should have been. In the present paper I propose to deal at some length with the first of these; a number of philological and text-historical issues will be discussed by me elsewhere. In addition, I shall establish a relative chronology of his major
writings on the basis of external as well as bka'-'bum-internal evidence.

D. Jackson has shown that at least one set of blocks and hence edition of the bka'-'bum-s of these five masters predates the Sde-dge edition which, according to the Dkar-Chag p. 342/2/1, was completed in the year 1736. These blocks formed the basis for what may be called the Gong-dkar edition of the Sa-skya bka'-'bum. It was sponsored by Kun-dga' rnam-rgyal (1432-1496) of Gong-dkar, which is located about twenty-five kilometers northeast of Yar-brog lake. Kun-dga' rnam-rgyal is known under a number of different names: Gong-dkar Rdo-rje gdan-pa Sngags-'chang 'Jigs-med dpa'o, Thu-btsun Kun-dga' rnam-rgyal, Grwa-lnga rgyal-po, and their possible combinations and contractions. He had principally been the student of Shar-chen Ye-shes rgya-mtsho (1404-1473), and was in part responsible for linking up the various transmissions of Sa-skya-pa and Zhwa-lu-pa tantric theory and practice. It seems that his mother, Dpal-ltan rdo-rje bde-ma, was a major force in his life to the extent that, rather than permitting him to enter the religious life to which he appears to have been naturally inclined, she quite consciously pushed him into the arena of secular power. Indeed, at the early age of fourteen, Kun-dga' rnam-rgyal—he only received this name when he was committed to the śramaṇera vows by Byams-pa gling-pa Pan-chen Bsod-nams rnam-par rgyal-ba in 1458—was set up as commander (dpon) of the fortified town (rdzong) of Gzhis-ka gong-dkar. It was only in 1474 that he was ordained as a monk. Two years thereafter, he constructed the temple of Dpal-rdo-rje-gdan mi-'gyur bde-chen at Gong-dkar chos-grwa, which he had built in 1464.

It appears that this edition more or less fell dead off the blocks. Blo-gsal bstan-skyong makes no mention of it in his biographical note on Kun-dga' rnam-rgyal, and neither is it referred to in the lengthy biographies of Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge (1429-1489) and Gser-mdog Pan-chen Śākyamchog-ltan (1428-1507). To be sure, it may be alluded to in their text-critical remarks on certain conflicting readings of different manuscripts and blockprint editions of Sa-skya Pandita's Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter. The earliest evidence for these philosophical problems appears to be found in Go-ram-pa's larger commentary to this work, which dates from 1471. It should be
stressed, however, that nowhere is the Gong-dkar edition mentioned by name. Moreover, the Gong-dkar edition is also absent from the list of the sources used for the compilation of the Sde-dge edition. Nonetheless, Bkra-shis lhun-grub refers to a print (par) from this edition on one occasion in his Dkar-Chag (p. 323/1/4).

The first attempt at a systematic collection of the manuscripts of, and oral transmission (lung) for, the writings of the first three masters had been undertaken about a century earlier. At the instigation of Bla-ma Dpal-lidan seng-ge, Bla-ma dam-pa Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1312–1375) of Sa-skya sent Mkhan-po Shes-rab rdo-rje and Dbus-pa Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan all over Tibet to gather the manuscripts and the lung for these in one place, namely, Sa-skya monastery. If we are to believe the notice of the Dkar-Chag p. 337/4/5, they succeeded in doing so.11

During the latter half of the thirteenth century, the manuscripts of the bka’-bum-s of Sa-skya Paññita and 'Phags-pa bla-ma had been collected by a certain A-gnyal dam-pa, who had prepared a manuscript edition of these in golden and silver letters. This should, of course, also imply that he had obtained the lung for these as well, and it is curious that he is not mentioned in the lineages of transmission noted in the Dkar-Chag pp. 337/4/6–339/3/5 and in the Thob-Yig p.62/3/1 f. Jackson has also suggested that A-gnyal dam-pa had been a student of both Sa-skya Paññita and 'Phags-pa bla-ma, but his name is not given in the lists of Sa-skya Paññita’s students that are available to me.12 Whatever the case may have been, there was at least a manuscript edition of the Sa-skya bka’-bum in Sa-skya by the end of the fourteenth century. Rong-ston Sākya-rgyal-mtshan (1367–1449) received teachings and the oral transmission for this collection in ca. 1393 from Bdag-chen Grags-pa blo-gros, Bzhis-thog-pa Kun-dga’ rin-chen, and Ta-dben Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po—see the RSRT p. 309/6–7. For the lineages of transmission of Sa-skya Paññita’s bka’-bum, see the Appendix.

The Dkar-Chag to the Sde-dge edition was written by Bkra-shis lhun-grub, the thirtieth abbot of Ngor Evam-chos-lidan monastery, which had been founded in 1429 by Ngor-chen Kun-dga’ bzang-po (1382–1456). It was completed on the third
dkar-phyogs-kyi zla-ba, sa-ga (vaiśākha) month of the fire-dragon year which, if this date is based on the new phug-lugs calendar, would correspond to 21 May 1736 (see Schuh 1973: tables). Bkra-shis lhun-grub is quite explicit that he wrote the Dkar-Chag after the blocks had been fully carved, and that the edition was prepared at his behest. The financial support for this rather costly undertaking was provided by Bstan-pa tshe-ring (1678–1738) of the royal house of Sde-dge (see Dkar-Chag pp. 340/3/3–341/1/4).

The Dkar-Chag p. 341/2/2–5 lists the following sets of manuscripts (and/or editions?) which formed the foundation for the Sde-dge undertaking:

1. An exceedingly good set (cha-gcig) of the bka’-’bum-s of the gong-ma lnga from Bsam-gling in Skyor-mda’.

2. The bka’-’bum-s of Sa-skya Panḍita and ’Phags-pa bla-ma (khu-dbon) from Rga. This is the manuscript edition that was prepared by A-gnyal dam-pa, and it comprised six volumes.

3. A set of authoritative (khungs-thub) manuscripts from Gdan-sa thar-lam dgon that had been prepared by Bka’ Rab-’byams smra-ba’i dbang-po Kun-dga’ ye-shes who, according to the Dkar-Chag, had been a student of Rong-ston and Ngor-chen. He is, however, not listed among the students of Rong-ston who are enumerated in the RSRT pp. 335–337!

4. An edition that had been previously established in Sa-skya (gdan-sa chen-po), as well as an edition that had been prepared later at the wish of the Chos-rgyal himself. I am inclined to suppose that “Chos-rgyal” here does not refer to ’Phags-pa bla-ma, but rather to a King of Sde-dge.

5. A set from Lcags-ra monastery near Bsam-grub-rtse. More correctly, this should be Lcang-rwa, which had been built for Mkhas-grub Dgelegs dpal-bzang-po (1385–1438) by Shar-ka-ba Rab-brtan kun-bzang ’phags-pa (1389–1442), the ruler of Rgyal-rtse.

6. Miscellaneous manuscripts that belonged to Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, the twenty-fourth abbot of Ngor Evan-chos-ladan.

Bkra-shis lhun-grub has the following to say about the sources he used in the compilation of the catalogues for the Sa-skya bka’-’bum itself in terms of the arrangement and order of the texts—see Dkar-Chag p. 337/2/5–3/1:
The basis for the arrangement of these [texts]: Although, upon a careful comparison of the Gsan-yig rgya-mtsho (sic!) of Ngor-chen Rdo-rje-chang, the catalogue for the bka'-bum-s of the [first] three supreme [masters]—father and [two] sons—compiled by the King of Smon-thang in Glo, that was written by Rdo-rje-chang [Ngor-chen], the Gsan-yig Thub-bstan rgyas-pa'i nyin-byed of Dkon-mchog lhun-grub, and the Gsan-yig Dbang-gi rgyal-po of 'Jam-mgon Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, there were some differences in the arrangement [of the texts of the Sa-skya bka'-bum] among the early and later [versions as well as in] the num­ber of texts, since in these [works] the majority of the early [versions of the Sa-skya bka'-bum] are for the most part in agreement with [the arrangement and number of texts found in] the gsan-yig of Dkon-mchog lhun-grub, only those few [works] have been taken as the basis [for my catalogue].

The emphasis is clearly on Dkon-mchog lhun-grub's work. The same holds for the titling of the texts, in which Bkra-shis lhun-grub has also mainly followed the gsan-yig of Dkon-mchog lhun-grub, rather than the work of 'Am nyer-bzhi-pa', the twenty-fourth abbot of Ngor Evam chos-lidan monastery, Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs.

The records of the teachings received (gsan-yig), also known in Tibetan as thob-yig, as well as the catalogue by Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po (1382–1456), have been published. The first of these will be dealt with in a measure of detail below, since its listing of Sa-skya Pandita's bka'-bum shows a number of crucial departures from that given in Bkra-shis lhun-grub's Dkar-Chag. The catalogue for the bka'-bum-s of the first three supreme masters of the Sa-skya-pa school was prepared by Ngor-chen on the basis of manuscripts—or, more likely, copies of these—that were housed in the library of Sa-skya. He had sent his nephew (tsha-bo—this kinship term is distinctively eastern Tibetan khams-skad!) to Sa-skya in 1426 precisely for the purpose of collecting these copies, and Gzhon-nu bzang-po stayed there for some five months, beginning in either April or May, since the first half of this year includes an intercalary month. The manuscripts thus collected were again copied in Ngor Evam-chos-lidan, insofar as they were ultimately intended for King A-me [var.: ma]-dpal of Smon-thang in Glo, the pres-
ent-day Mustang of Nepal. During his first visit there, Ngorschen gave this King the oral transmission for the bka'-bum-s of the first three Sa-skya-pa masters. It was on this occasion, around 1427, that Ngorschen ordained King A-me-dpal as a monk, which Jackson (1980:135) has overlooked. What all of this seems to suggest is that by this time there was still no blockprint edition of the texts of these bka'-bum-s.

Dkon-mchog lhun-grub's (1497–1557) gsan-yig has to date not been published; his collected works apparently consisted of some four volumes, but only fragments of these have surfaced thusfar. Born in Sa-skya as the son of Kun-grub-dar and Lha-mo bu-'dren, the niece of Yongs-'dzin Dkon-mchog-'phel (1445–1526), he was first given the name of Rta-rgod-dar. Upon his ordination as a monk by Dkon-mchog-'phel and Globo Mkhan-chen Bsod-nams lhun-grub (1456–1532), the grandson of King A-me-dpal, he was given the name of Dkon-mchog lhun-grub. As the ninth abbot of Ngor Evam-chos-ladan monastery, he occupied the abbatial throne from 1534 until his death.

'Jam-dbyangs Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs from Mnga'-ris had been, as was already observed, the twenty-fourth abbot of Ngor Evam-chos-lidan. He had received the oral transmission of the Sa-skya bka'-bum from a certain Dpal-mchog—see Dkar-Chag p.337/3/1–2—who must be identified as 'Jam-dbyangs Dpal-mchog rgyal-mtshan, the twenty-first abbot of Ngor Evam-chos-lidan, and the nephew of Dpal-ladan don-grub. He was the first of the Ngor Evam-chos-lidan abbots to have initiated extensive ties with Sde-dge and its ruling classes. Nothing else seems to be known about Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, and his gsan-yig appears to be no longer extant.

Let us now examine the listing of Sa-skya Pandita's bka'-bum as given in the Dkar-Chag pp. 328/1/3–330/3/4. There, Bkra-shis lhun-grub has noted five specific problems with the following texts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SSBB5</th>
<th>DKAR-CHAG p.</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No. 23</td>
<td>328/3/3</td>
<td>Earlier manuscripts suggest that this work was written by Gnyan-phug chung-ba at the time of Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po. It is included for the sake of filling up the volume.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. No. 28 328/3/5-6  Interpolation of two unidentified verses by a subsequent scholar.

3. No. 33 328/4/3/5  According to Dkon-mchog lhun-grub, one should instead read *Rtags-ldan zhig-gi dris-lan*, but one cannot be certain as to which title is the correct one.

4. No. 43 329/1/3-4  This text has no colophon and inquiries should be made as to whether or not Sa-skya Pandita was its author.

5. No. 77 329/4/1–3  According to Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, the text bears the title *Bod-yul-la bsngags-pa*, but the titular discrepancy is probably based on scribal errors. There is, however, a text entitled *Bod-'bangs spyi-la gdams-pa*.

The *Dkar-Chag* p. 330/3/3–4 lists titles for five other manuscripts which, though found in the *gsan-yig*-s of Dkon-mchog lhun-grub and Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, the compilers of the Sde-dge edition had not been able to obtain. These are:

2. *Thub-pa'i bstod-pa lhug-pa*.
3. *Gur-ston zhu-lan*.
4. *Bka'-gdams-pa Nam-mkha'-'bum-gyi dri-lan mdor-bsdus*.
5. *Yan-lag-bdun ldan-gyi rtsa-ba*.

It is curious that the *Dkar-Chag* fails to mention *SSBB* 5 nos. 112–114, despite the fact that, according to Bkra-shis lhun-grub's own testimony, it was written after the edition had been carved on the blocks. Of these, nos. 112 and 113 may be identical to nos. 1 and 5 of the above list of texts that the compilers had failed to obtain. The colophon to no. 112 suggests, however, that it was written by Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and
that Sa-skya Panḍita had made some editorial corrections to it.\textsuperscript{16} In addition, the \textit{Dkar-Chag} not only frequently gives different spellings for the titles that were carved on the blocks, but also on occasion has different titles.\textsuperscript{17} These discrepancies that exist between notices of the \textit{Dkar-Chag} and the Sde-dge edition of the \textit{SSBB 5} suggest that either Bkra-shis lhun-grub was for some reason compelled to write his catalogue in great haste, or that he had not been in the possession of a print from the blocks and that, as a consequence, his titling and number of texts correspond to those provided by the \textit{gsan-yig} of Dkon-mchog lhun-grub.

In his assessment of his contributions to scholarship, the \textit{Nga-brgyad-ma'i 'grel-pa—SSBB 5}, no. 18—Sa-skya Panḍita lists a number of works that had come from his pen prior to his departure for Mongolia in 1244. Several of these, however, are neither to be found in the Sde-dge edition of his \textit{bka'-bum}, nor are they listed by Bkra-shis lhun-grub; indeed, the latter did not seem to be aware that Sa-skya Panḍita had written these. They are also not enumerated in Ngor-chen’s \textit{Thob-Yig}, which suggests that they had already been lost for a very long time. These works are the following:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{SSBB 5, no. 18, p.} & \textbf{TITLE} \\
1. 149/2/5 & \textit{Grub-mtha'i rnam-dbyes} \textsuperscript{18} \\
2. 150/4/4 & \textit{Sku-gzugs-kyi bstan-bcos} \\
3. 150/4/4 & \textit{Sa-brtag-pa} \\
4. 151/1/3 & \textit{Yan-lag brgyad-pa'i don-bsdus} \textsuperscript{19} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Moreover, Sa-skya Panḍita also refers to a work on grammar, the \textit{Sgra'i bstan-bcos shes-rab 'phro-ba}, which he had written in his late teens.\textsuperscript{20} This title is also not found in the extant catalogues. Later Sa-skya-pa scholars have also attributed to him an introductory work to Harṣadeva’s \textit{Nāgānandaṇṭaka} which, according to them, bore the title of \textit{Rab-dga'i jug-pa},\textsuperscript{21} and the colophon of recently published manuscript of a short work mainly on \textit{abhidharma} asserts that it was written by Sa-skya Panḍita.\textsuperscript{22} These two works are also not mentioned in the extant catalogues.

If we compare the listing of Sa-skya Panḍita’s \textit{bka'-bum} of the \textit{Dkar-Chag} with Ngor-chen’s \textit{Thob-Yig}, which includes the
oldest available catalogue of Sa-skya Panḍita’s writings, one cannot but be struck by the glaring differences that exist between them. This should be all the more surprising if it is recalled that Bkra-shis lhun-grub cited the Thob-Yig as one of the fundamental sources he had at his disposal for the compilation of the Dkar-Chag! What is even more astonishing, however, is that the Thob-Yig is not once mentioned in his catalogue of Sa-skya Panḍita’s bka’-bum, whereas he quite explicitly refers to it on numerous occasions in his catalogues of the bka’-bum-s of Sachen Kun-dga’ snying-po and Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan—see Dkar-Chag pp. 321/3/1, 323/2/5, 324/3/2, 325/2/3, 325/3/2, 326/3/3, 326/3/6, 327/2/5.

According to the Thob-Yig pp. 61/4/6 ff., Vol. Ka of Sa-skya Panḍita’s bka’-bum consists of thirteen texts, corresponding to SSBB 5 nos. 2, 4, 5–9, 13–18; Vol. Kha of three texts, corresponding to SSBB 5 nos. 19–20, 26; and Vol. Ga of thirteen texts, which correlate with SSBB 5 nos. 21–22, 1, 24, 29–32, 34–38. A large number of Sa-skya Panḍita’s minor writings, contained in the SSBB 5, are not listed in the Thob-Yig. At times, the latter has a more correct title than either the Sde-dge print or the one given by the Dkar-Chag. Thus, for instance, instead of Glo-bo Lo-tsa-ba’i zhus-lan as per SSBB 5 no. 95, the Thob-Yig more appropriately has Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba-la springs-yig; the little text in question is not a “reply to queries” (zhus-lan), but rather comprises a letter (springs-yig) in which, among other things, Sa-skya Panḍita admonishes Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba to show more circumspection with his Buddhist orthodoxy. On the other hand, some of the better titling of the Thob-Yig is offset by less satisfactory readings. For instance, the Thob-Yig inaccurately has Snye-mo Sgom-chen-la springs-yig, where the SSBB 5 no. 98 more precisely has the title of Snye-mo Sgom-chen-gyi dris-lan. But these are minor issues. What is striking is that the arrangement of the texts as well as their number—Thob-Yig does not include SSBB 5 nos. 3, 10–12, 23, 25, 27–28, 33 in its first three volumes, and neither in the remainder—as presented in the Thob-Yig, are quite at variance with those provided by the SSBB 5 and the Dkar-Chag. One can but guess what might have transpired during the hundred years or so that had elapsed between the composition of the Thob-Yig and Dkon-mchog lhun-grub’s gsan-yig, assuming of course, that Bkra-shis lhun-grub has closely stuck
to the readings of the latter. Either Sa-skya did not have a complete manuscript edition of Sa-skya Panḍita's bka'-'bum when Ngor-chen studied with Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, in addition to having spent some three years in virtual seclusion in Sa-skya Panḍita's private library of approximately three thousand volumes, or the texts that were later included by Don-mchog lhun-grub in his gsan-yig are spurious. There is strong evidence to support the contention that at least one of these, the Gzhung-lugs legs-par bshad-pa—SSBB 5 no. 3—which is not listed in the Thob-Yig, is falsely attributed to Sa-skya Panḍita. At the present stage of research, however, nothing further can be said.

The upshot of all this is that the Dkar-Chag can only provide an extremely tenuous picture of the extent of Sa-skya Panḍita's oeuvre, and hence, cannot be fully relied upon. Bkra-shis lhun-grub evidently not only failed to personally inspect the titles of the Sde-dge blocks, thereby omitting three titles from his catalogue, but he also neglected closely to inspect Sa-skya Panḍita's own writings in a manner which would have otherwise allowed him to provide a more comprehensive overview of Sa-skya Panḍita's writings.

Let us now turn to the chronology of his major writings. Here, the colophons to the texts contained in the Sde-dge edition are singularly uninformative. Only three of these provide what I shall assume to be reliable dates; that is, the Yon-tan sgrogs-pa'i tshul-la bstod-pa—SSBB 5 no. 81—completed in 1203, the Byis-pa bde-blag-tu 'jug-pa'i rnam-bshad—SSBB 5 no. 9—written in 1204, and the Mu-stegs-kyi ston-pa-drug btul-bai tshigs-bcad—SSBB 5 no. 80—completed in 1206, the year in which he was ordained by Śākyasri bhadra. Given the dating for the second one, this would mean that his Sgra'i bstan-bcos shes-rab 'phro-ba, which is no longer extant, was written before 1204. The same holds for his treatise on music and dramaturgy, the Rol-mo'i bstan-bcos—SSBB 5 no. 4—since it too is cited in the Byis-pa bde-blag-tu 'jug-pa'i rnam-bshad, p. 121/1/6.

Such later texts as the DCBT p. 318/4-5, on which no doubt the Dkar-Chag p. 315/4/2-3 is based, suggest that the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter—SSBB 5 no. 19—and the Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbyae-ba—SSBB 5 no. 24—were completed in, respectively, ca. 1219 and 1232. Of these, the former is repeatedly cited in the
Mkhas-pa-rnams 'jug-pa'i-sgo—SSBB 5 no. 6—pp. 101/4/5, 102/3/4, 109/4/5, and could indicate that the latter in its entirety, that is, both the verse and prose texts, postdates the year 1219. The prose text of the Mkhas-pa-rnams 'jug-pa'i-sgo refers to the Sdebsbyor sna-tshogs me-tog-gi chun-po—SSBB 5 no. 15—on p. 89/3/2, and, the latter in turn cites the former three times, on pp. 132/2/5, 133/2/4, and 140/3/5. Since these citations and cross-references occur in their prose texts, it can safely be assumed that at least their prose versions were written at about the same time.

The Mkhas-pa-rnams 'jug-pa'i-sgo also mentions the Tshig-gi-gter—SSBB 5 no. 14—a lexicon based on the Amarakośa and the Viśvalocana, on p. 98/4/5. Furthermore, the Sdebsbyor sna-tshogs me-tog-gi chun-po p.133/1/5 refers to Sa-skya Panḍita's Legs-par bshad-pa rin-po-che'i-gter—SSBB 5 no. 2—which is better known under its Sanskrit title of Subhāśitaratvanidhi. The Rnam-Thar p. 434/2/2-3 states that, with his uncle Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, he had studied nītiśāstra, which included the writings of Canaka, Vasurakṣa (or, perhaps better, Masurakṣa), and the so-called Lugs-chen-po'i glun-rgyud luga-pa. The Rnam-Thar states that some time thereafter (dus-phyis) he wrote what it calls the Legs-par bshad-pa'i-gter (*Subhāśitanidhi). This reading of the title of his work on nītiśāstra is in consonance with the titles of his other “treasures” (gter)—the Tshig-gi-gter and the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter—and suggests two things: firstly, that these were written at about the same time and, secondly, that the title of this work given by the Rnam-Thar could possibly be the original title that Sa-skya Panḍita had given to it.

In addition to such “replies to queries” as contained in the SSBB 5 nos. 79, 94, 97, I am inclined to hold that the Thub-pa dgongs-pa rab-tu gsal-ba—SSBB 5 no. 1—the Phyogs-bcu'i sangsrgyas dang byang-chub sms-dpa'-rnams-la sprin-yig—SSBB 5 no. 30—and the Skyes-bu dam-pa-rnams-la spring-ba'i-yig—SSBB 5 no. 30—were all written after the composition of the Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba. My reasons for assuming this to be the case, except where rather self-evident—the Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba is cited or is presupposed by the SSBB 5 nos. 79, 94, and 97—will be documented by me elsewhere.

On the basis of the above, one can set up the following relative chronologies for Sa-skya Panḍita's major writings:
I. Rol-mo'i bstan-bcos

    Byis-pa bde-blag-tu 'jug-pa'i rnam-bshad (1204)

II. Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter (ca. 1219)

    Tshig-gi-gter --- Legs-bshad rin-po-che'i-gter

    Mkhas-pa-rnams 'jug-pa'i-sgo

    Sdeb-sbyor sna-tshogs me-tog-gi chun-po

III. Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba (ca. 1232)

--- indicates that the above text is quoted or referred to by the lower one.
--- indicates contemporaneity of composition.
--- indicates the possibility of contemporaneous composition.
Appendix: *Lineages of Transmission of Sa-Skya Pandita's Bka'-Bum Thob-Yig* p. 62/3/2:

[Diagram of lineages]

Notes: It is remarkable that Bla-ma dam-pa Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan who, as we have seen, the *Dkar-Chag* alleges to have gathered (and hence obtained) the *lung* for the entire *Sa-skya bka'-bum*, is not listed in this pedigree. I am at a loss to explain this. To be sure, Don-yod rgyal-mtshan (1310–1344) was Bla-ma dam-pa's elder brother. The same holds for the lineage given below of the *Dkar-Chag* p. 339/2/3–3/1 (note: the numbers after the names refer to the line of the abbots of Ngor Evam-chos-ldan monastery).
Sa-skya Pandita

'Phags-pa bla-ma Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan

Zhang Dkon-mchog-dpal

Brag-phug-pa Bsod-nams-dpal

Bla-ma Don-yod rgyal-mtshan

Slob-dpon 'Dul-'dzin

Chos-rje Byang-seng-ba

Shar-chen Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan

Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po (1)

Kun-dga' dbang-phyug (4)

Dkon-mchog-'phel (6)

Rje Lha-mchog seng-ge (7)

'Dam-dbyangs Kun-dga' bsod-nams

Dkon-mchog lhun-grub (9)

Shar-khang-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan

Pan-chen Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang-po (22?)

Byams-pa Kun-dga' bkra-shis (13)

Rje Nam-mkha' sangs-rgyas (16)

Dpal-mchog rgyal-mtshan (21)

Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs (24)
NOTES

1. Abbreviations and Bibliography


Rnam-Thar Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal-bzang-po, Dpal-ldan sa-skya pandita chen-pa'i rnam-par thar-pa, SSBB 5 no. 111, pp. 433 ff.


SGRBRB Go-ran-pa Bsd-nams seng-ge, Sdom-pa gsum-gyi rab-tu dbyer-ba'i rnam-bshad rgyal-ba'i gSung-rab-kyi djongs-pa gsal-ba, SSBB 14, pp. 119 ff.


Jackson, D. (?), “A Fifteenth Century Xylograph Edition of Sa skya pa Works,” see below note 5.


2. This is the SSBB of which the SSBB 5 comprises the collected works of Sa-skya Panḍita. A major portion of the library of Sa-skya monastery is now housed in the library of the Cultural Palace of the Minorities, Beijing. This collection apparently includes, among a number of old Sanskrit manuscripts, also a manuscript edition of a Sa-skya bka’-‘bum.

3. The problems surrounding the authenticity of the Gzhung-lugs legs-par bshad-pa—SSBB 5 no. 3—have been fully dealt with in van der Kuijp (1983a), and will therefore not be discussed in this paper.

4. See my forthcoming monograph Sa-skya Panḍita’s Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba: Text Critical and Bibliographical Remarks, and the critical editions of the chapters on inference for oneself (rang-don rjes-dpag, svārthānāmāna) and inference for others (gzhan-don rjes-dpag, parārthānāmāna) of the Tshad-ma rigs-pa’i-gter—SSBB 5 no. 19—which I am currently preparing for publication.

5. See his “A Fifteenth Century Xylograph Edition of Sa-skya-pa Works”: I have had only access to a manuscript copy of this paper, but I believe it appeared in one of the Windhorse, Berkeley, volumes. In Nepal, these are not available to me. In Jackson’s paper, reference is also made to an unpublished manuscript of E. Gene Smith entitled “The Era of ’Gro-mgon ’Phags-pa and the Apogee of Sa-skya-pa Power: A Preliminary Study.”

6. The date for the completion of the carving of the blocks is given in Dkar-Chag p. 342/2/1 as me-pho-’brug-gi gnam-lo’i-zla tshes-bzang-po, for which, however, I am unable to give a more accurate Western calendrical equivalent.
A number of scholars were responsible for this edition, among whom Zhuchen Tshul-khrims rin-chen (1697–1774), Shyin-pa rgya-mtsho, and Bstan-'dzin are mentioned as the most prominent. The Dkar-Chag p. 341/3/3–6 gives an idea as to the personnel and materials that were involved in the preparation of the blocks. The need (dgos-pa) for this edition is eloquently described in the Dkar-Chag p. 318/1/6–3/2, and consists mainly in the preservation and propagation of the Buddha’s teachings via the writings of the early Sa-skya-pa masters. In other words, this edition was intended to be used as a vehicle for the propagation of Sa-skya-pa doctrines in eastern Tibet.

7. The following biographical details are based on the Zhwa-Lu pp.172–176, but see also Wylie (1962:166) for additional references, and the note on Gangs-dkar (!) rdo-rje-gdan, otherwise known simply as Gong-dkar chos-grwa, in the Gdan-Rabs p. 387/4–6.

8. For his biography, see the Zhwa-Lu pp. 167–171. Shar-chen had been a main exponent of Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub’s (1290–1364) bka’-bum, particularly the latter’s writings on Buddhist tantra. He had been student of Bsod-nams-phel (1361–1438), who was also closely linked with the exegetical traditions upheld at Zhwa-lu monastery, and Zla-ba dpal-ri-n-chen. Enjoying a rather close relationship with the Phag-mo-gru scion Grags-pa ‘byung- gnas (1414–1444), he stayed for a long time in Dbus province and met the Bengali scholar *Vanaratna (Nags-kyi rin-chen) (1384–1468) at the residence of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374–1440). This took place during *Vanaratna’s first visit to Tibet, which must have been rather disappointing, as no translator was available to interpret his teachings. When *Vanaratna visited Tibet again, he met him in Rgyal-mkhar-rtse, to which the former had been invited by its ruler, Rab-brtan kun-bzang ‘phags-pa (1389–1442). On this occasion, ‘Gos Lo-tsa-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392–1481), one of Shar-chen’s students, served in the capacity of translator, and Shar-chen obtained a number of teachings from him. As an author, Shar-chen was not prolific. A major portion of his writings—these probably only existed in manuscript form—were apparently housed in a college (bla-brang) of Gong-dkar rdo-rje-gdan monastery.

9. The BSRT p.14 states that Go-ram-pa obtained the oral transmission for the Sa-skya bka’-bum from Mus-chen Dkon-mchog rgyal-mtshan (1388–1469) at Mus and Ngor Exam-chos-Idan, around 1458. Here, this collection of texts is styled rje-btsun gong-ma-nga’i bka’-bum. According to the SMLRT p. 105/5, it would appear that Gser-mdog Pan-chen did not obtain the oral transmission for these texts in one go. The SMLRT pp. 134/6 ff. relates some interesting details concerning a Sa-skya bka’-bum at Glo-bo Smion-thang on the basis of information provided to Kun-dga’ grol-mchog by his elder brother (‘a-jo), a senior administrator (dpon-drung) of Glo-bo. The SMLRT pp.190 ff. gives a dispassionate account of Gser-mdog Pan-chen’s regret at not having cared for the Sa-skya bka’-bum when he had stayed in Sa-skya over a number of years, to the point of his breaking into tears (?). Whatever the case may be—the language of the SMLRT is rather difficult to understand at times—it does not furnish one iota of information regarding the compilation (or edition) of the Sa-skya bka’-bum.


11. According to Khetsun Sangpo (1979:303), however, Bla-ma dam-pa
received only the oral transmission for the greater part of Sa-skya Pandita's \textit{bka'-bum}. His biography, found on pp. 294–322, also fails to mention his efforts at bringing together the \textit{tang} and manuscripts for what was to become the \textit{Sa-skya bka'-bum}. This is already found in the \textit{Thob-yig}, p. 60/2/5f.

12. Jackson (see note 5) gives his name as Sga A-nyan dam-pa. The \textit{Dkar-Chag} p. 341/2/2 has it, however, that a set of manuscripts from Rga, that had been prepared by A-nyan dam-pa, was used for the Sde-dge edition. On Sa-skya Pandita's students, see van der Kuijper (1983:107–109).

13. See the \textit{Rje-btsun sa-skya-pa'i bka'-bum-gyi dkar-chag}, SSBB 10, pp. 366/4–369/2. On pp. 366/4/4–367/3/1, Ngor-chen describes its genesis, after which he lists the works of Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po (p. 367/3/1–367/4/3), Slob-dpon Bsod-nams rtse-mo (pp. 367/4/3–368/1/4), and Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (pp. 358/1/4–369/2/2). The differences among the listings and number of texts between this catalogue and the \textit{Dkar-Chag} are quite enormous, and I intend to return to these at a later date. The other work is Ngor-chen's \textit{Thob-Yig}, where the catalogues for the works of all of the five supreme Sa-skya-pa masters are found in the section devoted to the texts for which he had received the oral transmission from Shar-chen Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan at Sa-skya monastery.

14. See the note in the \textit{Gdan-Rabs} p. 382/6.

15. On him, see Khetsun Sangpo (1979a:481). He was the sixth abbot of Ngor Evam-chos-ldan monastery, which he became after Kun-dga' dbang-phyug's (1412–?) departure for Glo-bo Smon-thang and eventual demise.

16. Sa-skya Pandita had also made some corrections (\textit{zhu-dag}) to Slob-dpon Bsod-nams rtse-mo's classification of the Buddhist tantras (see \textit{Dkar-Chag} p. 321/4/3), and to Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's work on the three fundamental tantras of the Sa-skya-pa lam-'bras teachings (see \textit{Dkar-Chag} p. 323/1/4). The latter corrections are not alluded to in Ngor-chen's catalogue (see note 13) of Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's works, on which see p. 368/1/5–6.

17. Just three examples should suffice here. The Sde-dge print has \textit{Mkhas-pa rnams 'jug-pa'i-sgo}, but the \textit{Dkar-Chag} p. 328/1/6 gives \textit{Mkhas-pa 'jug-pa'i-sgo} for SSBB 5 no. 6. Similarly, the Sde-dge edition has \textit{Nga-bryad-ma'i 'grel-pa}, but the \textit{Dkar-Chag} p. 328/2/6 gives the more correct title of \textit{Nga-bryad-ma rtse-'grel} for SSBB 5 no. 18. Similarly, whereas Sde-dge has Virupa-la bstod-pa, the \textit{Dkar-Chag} p. 328/3/5 gives Virupa-la bstod-pa for SSBB 5 no. 27.

18. This work is quoted in the \textit{Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter rang-gi 'grel-pa}, SSBB 5 no. 20, p. 172/2/1 under the title of \textit{Grub-mtha'i rnam-'byed}. It is also mentioned in the \textit{Thub-pa dgongs-pa rab-tu gsäl-ba}, SSBB 5 no. 1, p. 24/3/3 with the title of \textit{Grub-pa'i-mtha'i dBye-ba}, as well as in the \textit{Mkhas-pa-rnams 'jug-pa'i-sgo}, SSBB 5 no. 6, p.107/2/2 with the same title as the first.

19. This work is a summary of \textit{Vāgbhata's Astāṅga-hṛdayaśamhitā}, and probably is the same as the \textit{Gso-ba rig-pa'i bstan-bcos} which formed part of Gser-mdog Pan-chen's monastic examinations (\textit{grwa-skor}) in 1455—see the \textit{SMLRT} p. 76/7. The \textit{MJRB} p. 40/4–5 also lists this work, but I am inclined to believe that this title was simply taken from the \textit{Nga-bryad-ma'i 'grel-pa}. 
20. This text is cited in the Sgra-la 'jug-pa, SSBB 5 no. 7, p. 115/4/6 and in the Byis-pa bde-blag-tu 'jug-pa'i rnam-bshad, SSBB 5 no. 9, p. 117/4/1. It is also mentioned in the MJRB p. 40/3 as the Shes-rab 'phro-ba. In addition, the MJRB notes a Shes-rab-la 'jug-pa, which most likely is an error for the Sgra-la 'jug-pa.

21. See the SMLRT p. 76/7, SGRBRB p. 127/4/1, and the MJRB p. 41/3–4 where Sa-skya Pandita's Rol-mo'i bstan-bcos, SSBB 5 no. 4, is described as a work which "shows some aspects of the guiding melodies for its music." This means, of course, that Glo-bo Mkhan-chen Bsod-nams lhun-grub would have had to assume that the Rab-dga'i 'jug-pa was written prior to the Rol-mo'i bstan-bcos, and, hence, before 1204—see the relative chronology for Sa-skya Panḍita's main writings below. Glo-bo Mkhan-chen probably had not himself seen this work. Its description in the MJRB is taken virtually verbatim from the Nga-brgyad-ma'i 'grel-pa, SSBB 5 no. 18, p. 150/1/1–2 where it says: zlos-gar-gyi bstan-bcos dbyangs-'dren-pa'i phyogs-tsam-zhig kho-bos byas-pa'i rol-mo'i bstan-bcos su blta-bar-bya'ollar. Pp. 149/4/5–150/1/6 deal with his training in dramaturgy, its essentials, its main texts, and his own contributions in this field, and the context makes it quite clear that the zlos-gar-gyi bstan-bcos refers to Bharata's work, the Ndgandndandtaka, and the so-called Gzugs-kyi snye-ma. According to the Rnam-Thar p. 437/3/1, however, he had studied dramaturgy with Śa-kyāśribhadra when the latter was staying in Sa-skyā, that is, around 1208. The Rab-dga'i 'jug-pa is not mentioned by Sa-skya Panḍita.

22. See the Arts pp. 1–39. This work bears the title of Snyan-ngag rang-gzhung pad-ma dkar-po'i phreng-ba or, alternatively, Dam-pa'i chos-la bskul-ba'i-gtam pad-ma dkar-po'i phreng-ba and, according to the colophon, it was written in the summer of a water-female-sheep year. Since the colophon explicitly attributes this work to Sa-skya Panḍita, the date of the colophon can only correspond to 1223. While the first title would suggest that it deals with poetics (snyan-ngag, kāvya) or poetry, it does not. This little text principally discusses a number of basic propositions of Buddhist philosophy.

23. This work is no doubt the Pañcatantra which, however, was not included in the canonical collection of the Bstan-'gyur. Along with the Hitopadeśa, it served as a major source for Sa-skya Panḍita's text, see Bosson (1969:2, 302 ff.).