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Marginalia to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Oeuvre¹

by Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp

Sa-skya Paṇḍita 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 Bsod-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 lnga*², 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 Paṇḍita 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 Paṇḍita 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 these³; a number of philological and text-historical issues will be discussed by me elsewhere.⁴ 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 shown⁵ 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 1736.⁶ 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.⁷ 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)⁸, and was in part responsible for linking up the various transmissions of Sa-skyapa and Zhwa-lu-pa tantric theory and practice. It seems that his mother, Dpal-ldan 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 Paṅ-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 Paṅ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507).⁹ 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-skyapaṅḍita's *Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter*.¹⁰ The earliest evidence for these philological 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-ldan 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 Paṇḍita 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 Paṇḍita and 'Phags-pa bla-ma, but his name is not given in the lists of Sa-skya Paṇḍita'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 Śākya-rgyal-mtshan (1367–1449) received teachings and the oral transmission for this collection in ca. 1393 from Bdag-chen Grags-pa blo-gros, Bzhi-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 Paṇḍita'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 Ewaṃ-chos-ldan 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 editions²) 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 Paṇḍita 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 Ewaṃ-chos-ldan.

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 Ewaṃ chos-ldan 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.¹³ The first of these will be dealt with in a measure of detail below, since its listing of Sa-skya Paṇḍita'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 Ewaṃ-chos-ldan, 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, Ngor-chen gave this King the oral transmission for the *bka'-'bum-s* of the first three Sa-skyapa masters. It was on this occasion, around 1427, that Ngor-chen 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 block-print 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,¹⁴ 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-'phel¹⁵ (1445–1526), he was first given the name of Rta-rgod-dar. Upon his ordination as a monk by Dkon-mchog-'phel and Glo-bo 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 Eṃ-chos-ldan 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 Eṃ-chos-ldan. 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 Eṃ-chos-ldan, and the nephew of Dpal-ldan don-grub. He was the first of the Ngor Eṃ-chos-ldan 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 Paṇḍita'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:

SSBB5 DKAR-CHAG p. COMMENT

1. No. 23 328/3/3

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.

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 *Rtogs-ldan zhib-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 Paṇḍita was its author.
5. No. 77 329/4/1–3 According to Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, the text bears the title of *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:

1. *Brtag-gnyis-kyi sa-bcad sna-bsring-ba.*
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-skyā Paṇḍita had made some editorial corrections to it.¹⁶ In addition, the *Dkar-Chag* not only frequently gives different spellings for the titles that were carved on the blocks, but also on occasion has different titles.¹⁷ These discrepancies that exist between notices of the *Dkar-Chag* and the Sde-dge edition of the *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 *gsan-yig* of Dkon-mchog lhun-grub.

In his assessment of his contributions to scholarship, the *Nga-brgyad-ma'i 'grel-pa—SSBB 5*, no. 18—Sa-skyā Paṇḍita 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 *bka'-'bum*, nor are they listed by Bkra-shis lhun-grub; indeed, the latter did not seem to be aware that Sa-skyā Paṇḍita had written these. They are also not enumerated in Ngor-chen's *Thob-Yig*, which suggests that they had already been lost for a very long time. These works are the following:

<i>SSBB 5</i> , no. 18, p.	TITLE
1. 149/2/5	<i>Grub-mtha'i rnam-dbye</i> ¹⁸
2. 150/4/4	<i>Sku-gzugs-kyi bstan-bcos</i>
3. 150/4/4	<i>Sa-brtag-pa</i>
4. 151/1/3	<i>Yan-lag brgyad-pa'i don-bsdus</i> ¹⁹

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

If we compare the listing of Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's *bka'-'bum* of the *Dkar-Chag* with Ngor-chen's *Thob-Yig*, which includes the

oldest available catalogue of Sa-skya Paṇḍita'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 Paṇḍita's *bka'-'bum*, whereas he quite explicitly refers to it on numerous occasions in his catalogues of the *bka'-'bum*-s of Sa-chen 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, 326/3/3, 326/3/6, 327/2/5.

According to the *Thob-Yig* pp. 61/4/6 ff., Vol. Ka of Sa-skya Paṇḍita'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 Paṇḍita'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-tsā-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 Paṇḍita 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-skyā did not have a complete manuscript edition of Sa-skyā Paṇḍita'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-skyā Paṇḍita'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-skyā Paṇḍita. 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-skyā Paṇḍita'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-skyā Paṇḍita's own writings in a manner which would have otherwise allowed him to provide a more comprehensive overview of Sa-skyā Paṇḍita'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-ba'i tshigs-bcad*—SSBB 5 no. 80—completed in 1206, the year in which he was ordained by Śākyaśrībhadrā. 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 dbye-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 *Sdeb-sbyor 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 *Sdeb-sbyor sna-tshogs me-tog-gi chun-po* p.133/1/5 refers to Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's *Legs-par bshad-pa rin-po-che'i-gter*—SSBB 5 no. 2—which is better known under its Sanskrit title of *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*. The *Rnam-Thar* p. 434/2/2–3 states that, with his uncle Rje-btsun Grag-spa rgyal-mtshan, he had studied *nītiśāstra*, which included the writings of Canaka, Vasuraksa (or, perhaps better, Masuraksa), and the so-called *Lugs-chen-po'i gdam-rgyud lugs-pa*.²³ The *Rnam-Thar* states that some time thereafter (*dus-phyis*) he wrote what it calls the *Legs-par bshad-pa'i-gter* (**Subhāṣitanidhi*). 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-skyā Paṇḍita 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 sangs-rgyas dang byang-chub sems-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.²⁴

On the basis of the above, one can set up the following relative chronologies for Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's major writings:

I. *Rol-mo'i bstan-bcos* *Sgra'i bstan-bcos shes-rab 'phro-ba*

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

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

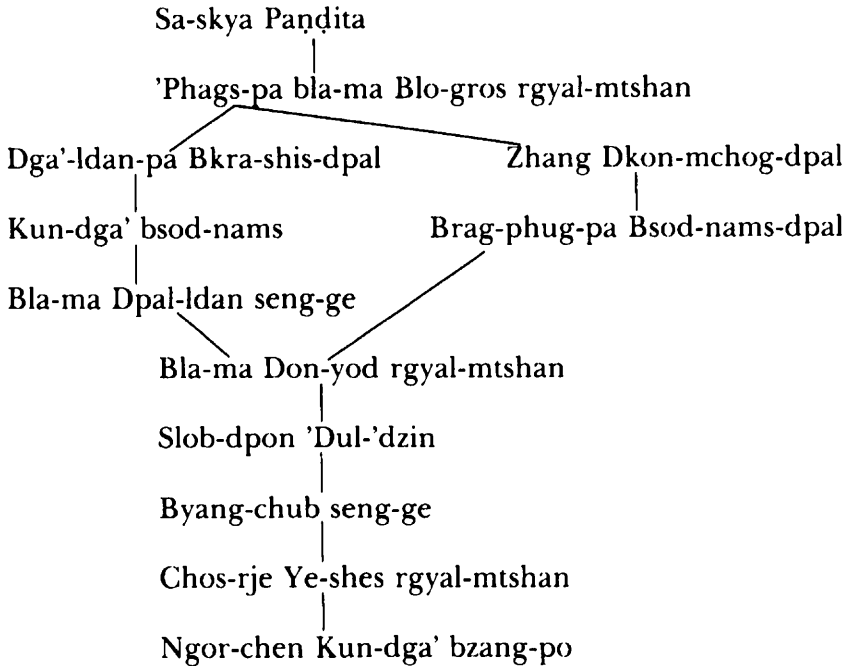
Tshig-gi-gter *Legs-bshad rin-po-che'i-gter*

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 Paṇḍita's Bka'-'Bum Thob-Yig* p. 62/3/2:



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 Ewaṃ-chos-ldan monastery).

NOTES

1. *Abbreviations and Bibliography*

- Arts *The Literary Arts in Ladakh*, Vol. 1, Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1972.
- BSRT Kong-ston Dbang-phyug-grub, *Kun-mkhyen Bsod-nams seng-ge'i rnam-par thar-pa*, New Delhi, 1973.
- DCBT Dkon-mchog lhun-grub and Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, *Dam-pa'i chos-kyi 'byung-tshul legs-par bshad-pa rgya-mtshor 'jug-pa'i gru-chen zhes-bya-ba rstom-'phro kha-skong*, New Delhi, 1973.
- Dkar-Chag Bkra-shis lhun-grub, *Dpal sa-skya'i rje-btsun gong-ma-lnga'i gsung-rab rin-po-che'i par-gyi sgo-'phar-byed-pa'i dkar-chag 'phrul-gyi lde-mig*, SSBB 7, pp. 310 ff.
- Gdan-Rabs 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, *Gangs-can bod-kyi yul-du byon-pa'i gsang-sngags gsar-nying-gi gdan-rabs mdir-bstus ngo-mtshar padmo'i dga'-tshal*, Collected Works, Vol. Da, Gangtok, 1977, pp. 315 ff.
- MJRB Glo-bo Mkhan-chen Bsod-nams lhun-grub, *Mkhas-pa-rnams 'jug-pa'i-sgo rnam-par bshad-pa rig-gnas gsal-byed*, New Delhi, 1979.
- Rnam-Thar Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal-bzang-po, *Dpal-ldan sa-skya paṇḍita chen-po'i rnam-par thar-pa*, SSBB 5 no. 111, pp. 433 ff.
- RSRT Gser-mdog Paṅ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, *Rje-btsun thams-cad mkhyen-pa'i bshes-gnyen śākya-rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po'i zhal-snga-nas-kyi rnam-par thar-pa ngo-mtshar dad-pa'i rol-mtsho*, *Complete Works*, Vol. 16, Thimphu, 1975, pp. 299 ff.
- SGRBRB Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge, *Sdom-pa gsum-gyi rab-tu dbye-ba'i rnam-bshad rgyal-ba'i gsung-rab-kyi dgongs-pa gsal-ba*, SSBB 14, pp. 119 ff.
- SMLRT Kun-dga' grol-mchog, *Paṇḍita chen-po śākya-mchog-ldan-gyi rnam-par thar-pa zhib-mo rnam-par-byed-pa*, in *The Complete Works (gsung-'bum) of Gser-mdog Paṅ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan*, Vol. 16, Thimphu, 1975, pp. 1 ff.
- SSBB *Sa-skya bka'-bum*, Sde-dge edition (plus supplementary texts of the Sa-skya-pa), comp. Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho, 15 Vols., Tokyo: The Toyo Bunyo, 1968–1969.
- Thob-Yig Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po, *Thob-yig rgya-mtsho*, SSBB 9, pp. 61/4/6 ff.
- Zhwa-Lu Blo-gsal bstan-skyong, *History of Zhwa-lu [Dpal-ldan zhwa-lu-pa'i bstan-pa-la bka'-drin che-ba'i skyes-bu dam-pa-rnams-kyi rnam-thar lo-rgyus ngo-mtshar dad-pa'i 'jug-ngogs]*, Leh: Smarntsis Shesrig Spendzod, Vol. 9, 1971.

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2. This is the *SSBB* of which the *SSBB 5* comprises the collected works of Sa-skya Paṇḍita. 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 Paṇḍita'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, svārthānumāna*) and inference for others (*gzhan-don rjes-dpag, parārthānumāna*) 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 Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen (1697–1774), Sbyin-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-skyapa masters. In other words, this edition was intended to be used as a vehicle for the propagation of Sa-skyapa 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-rin-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-skyapa bka'-'bum* from Mus-chen Dkon-mchog rgyal-mtshan (1388–1469) at Mus and Ngor Ewaṃ-chos-ldan, around 1458. Here, this collection of texts is styled *rje-btsun gong-ma-lnga'i bka'-'bum*. According to the *SMLRT* p. 105/5, it would appear that Gser-mdog Paṅ-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-skyapa bka'-'bum* at Glo-bo Smon-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 Paṅ-chen's regret at not having cared for the *Sa-skyapa bka'-'bum* when he had stayed in Sa-skyapa 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-skyapa bka'-'bum*.

10. On this, see van der Kuijp (1983:18–19, 265).

11. According to Khetsun Sangpo (1979:303), however, Bla-ma dam-pa

received only the oral transmission for the greater part of Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's *bka'-'bum*. His biography, found on pp. 294–322, also fails to mention his efforts at bringing together the *lung* and manuscripts for what was to become the *Sa-skyā bka'-'bum*! This is already found in the *Thob-yig*, p. 60/2/5f.

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

13. See the *Rje-btsun sa-skyā-pa'i bka'-'bum-gyi dkar-chag*, *SSBB 10*, pp. 366/4/4–369/2. 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 *Dkar-Chag* are quite enormous, and I intend to return to these at a later date. The other work is Ngor-chen's *Thob-Yig*, where the catalogues for the works of all of the five supreme Sa-skyā-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-skyā monastery.

14. See the note in the *Gdan-Rabs* p. 382/6.

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

16. Sa-skyā Paṇḍita had also made some corrections (*zhu-dag*) to Slob-dpon Bsod-nams rtse-mo's classification of the Buddhist tantras (see *Dkar-Chag* p. 321/4/3), and to Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's work on the three fundamental tantras of the Sa-skyā-pa *lam-'bras* teachings (see *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 *Mkhas-pa rnam 'jug-pa'i-sgo*, but the *Dkar-Chag* p. 328/1/6 gives *Mkhas-pa 'jug-pa'i-sgo* for *SSBB 5* no. 6. Similarly, the Sde-dge edition has *Nga-brgyad-ma'i 'grel-pa*, but the *Dkar-Chag* p. 328/2/6 gives the more correct title of *Nga-brgyad-ma rtsa-'grel* for *SSBB 5* no. 18. Similarly, whereas Sde-dge has *Virvapa-la bstod-pa*, the *Dkar-Chag* p. 328/3/5 gives *Virūpa-la bstod-pa* for *SSBB 5* no. 27.

18. This work is quoted in the *Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter rang-gi 'grel-pa*, *SSBB 5* no. 20, p. 172/2/1 under the title of *Grub-mtha'i rnam-'byed*. It is also mentioned in the *Thub-pa dgongs-pa rab-tu gsaṅ-bā*, *SSBB 5* no. 1, p. 24/3/3 with the title of *Grub-pa'i-mtha'i dbye-ba*, as well as in the *Mkhas-pa-rnam '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 Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā*, and probably is the same as the *Gso-ba rig-pa'i bstan-bcos* which formed part of Gser-mdog Paṅ-chen's monastic examinations (*grwa-skor*) in 1455—see the *SMLRT* p. 76/7. The *MJR* p. 40/4–5 also lists this work, but I am inclined to believe that this title was simply taken from the *Nga-brgyad-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-skyia Paṇḍita'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-skyia Paṇḍita'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'o//*. 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 *Nāganāndanātaka*, and the so-called *Gzugs-kyi snye-ma*. According to the *Rnam-Thar* p. 437/3/1, however, he had studied dramaturgy with Śākyaśrībhadrā when the latter was staying in Sa-skyia, that is, around 1208. The *Rab-dga'i 'jug-pa* is not mentioned by Sa-skyia Paṇḍita.

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-skyia Paṇḍita, the date of the colophon can only correspond to 1223. While the first title would suggest that it deals with poetics (*snyan-ngag, kāvyā*) 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-skyia Paṇḍita's text, see Bosson (1969:2, 302 ff.).

24. See my forthcoming paper, cited in note 4.