

Mapping Recently Recovered Early Tibetan Epistemological Works

Pascale Hugon
(Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Introduction

Research on the development of the Tibetan epistemological tradition (*tshad ma*) at the beginning of the Later Diffusion (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism to Tibet up to the thirteenth century, called the “pre-classical period” in van der Kuijp’s periodization of Tibetan epistemology,¹ has long been hindered by the scarcity of primary sources. The very first work on the topic composed in this period to have surfaced was a work by gTsang nag pa brTson ’grus seng ge (?–1195), published in 1989 in the Otani University Tibetan Works Series. Before that, indirect evidence could be found in the views reported (and largely criticized) by Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) in his *Rigs gter*, composed in 1219² (a work which, in addition to offering a window into the pre-classical period, marks the beginning of a new era in Tibetan epistemology), and yet later works by scholars such as gSer mdog Paṇ chen Śākya mchog ldan (1428–1507) and Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge (1429–1489).³ Although the *Rigs gter* has been known to Western scholars since the 1930s (Jackson located the first mention of this work in Stcherbatsky’s *Buddhist Logic*),⁴ it only became easily accessible after the publication, in 1968, of the sDe dge 1736 edition of the complete works of the Sa skya masters by the Tōyō Bunko.⁵

1 See van der Kuijp 1989.

2 See notably van der Kuijp 1983: 101 and 303, n. 293 and Jackson 1987: 64.

3 Such sources were extensively used in van der Kuijp 1983, Jackson 1987, and Dreyfus 1997.

4 Jackson 1987: 44.

5 bSod nams rgya mtsho (ed.), *Sa skya pa’i bka’ ’bum: The complete works of the great masters of the Sa skya sect of the Tibetan Buddhism*, 15 vols, Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1968–1969.

In the last two decades, the shortage of textual material pertaining to the pre-classical period and the early classical period of Tibetan epistemology has been replaced by an abundance of new manuscript sources from this period, including epistemological treatises by some of the most prominent early representatives of the field, rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109) and Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169). In particular, the publication in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* (KDSB) of facsimiles of manuscripts that had been preserved in the gNas bcu lha khang, at the monastery of 'Bras spungs, as part of the private library of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682) offers new opportunities for investigating the developments of Tibetan epistemology in the pre-classical period.⁶

It is my pleasure to contribute to this volume in honor of Professor David Jackson by offering a preliminary survey of recently surfaced early epistemological works, aimed at providing some orientation and drawing out features that are relevant to the mapping of this corpus of new sources.

1 Epistemological works in the 'Bras spungs collection

The vast collection of texts preserved in the gNas bcu lha khang at 'Bras spungs was rediscovered in the last decade of the twentieth century and a catalog was published in 2004 by the dPal brtsegs Tibetan Ancient Texts Research Centre (dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang).⁷ It is not known whether the manuscripts in this collection were strictly speaking cataloged at the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama—no catalog has been recovered so far—but they were subjected to a preliminary classification based on their origin and the topics of the works. This is shown in the signature that these works bear, typically on their cover page or in the top margin of the first available folio. The signature consists of three elements: the mentions “external” (*phyi*) or “internal” (*nang*) indicating whether the work was brought from outside 'Bras spungs or not; a letter standing for the topic of the work (twenty-three letters are used: *ka* to *la*, *bā*, *mā*, *zā*; the letter *zha* stands for epistemology [*tshad ma*])⁸; and a bundle number.

6 For an introduction to the collections of the gNas bcu lha khang, see Ducher 2020.

7 See 'Bras spungs dkar chag in References.

8 See 'Bras spungs dkar chag, vol. 1, Introduction, pp. 14–15.

For the gNas bcu lha khang collection, the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* records no less than 24,295 entries,⁹ 23,135 of which are texts that were brought from outside *'Bras spungs*, the remaining ones being “internal.”¹⁰ Also listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* are 3,044 “internal” works in the rJe Lam rim pa (1922–1977) (*'Bras spungs pho brang gzim chung gi rje lam rim pa'i dpe mdzod*) and the dGa' ldan pho brang zim chung libraries; 1,244 works in the library of sGo mang college; 1,855 more in the Kun dga' rwa ba library; and numerous volumes of collected works of individual authors in the sGo mang and Pho brang libraries. The gNas bcu lha khang collection was not complete at the time of cataloging. The bundle numbers lead one to expect a minimum of 4,417 bundles, whereas only 1,833 bundles were actually found on location.¹¹ Some bundles had been relocated to the Potala at the time of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thub bstan rgya mtsho (1876–1933). A large amount of Potala-bundles were brought to the China Library of Nationalities in Beijing in 1962 and manuscripts were later returned to the Tibetan Autonomous Region in the 1990s.¹²

The grouping of the manuscripts into bundles does not appear to have followed specific rules of organization. Tibetan translations of Indian works and Tibetan-authored works are not grouped in separate bundles and works by the same author in the same topic category are found in various bundles. Within a topic category, commentaries

9 First remarked by Jörg Heimbel and noted in Ducher 2020: 127, n. 21, although the entry numbers only go up to 22,694 in the catalog, 1,601 entries (from 10,000 to 11,600) are mistakenly given the same number. None of the latter are mentioned in the present article. Elsewhere, I add a “prime” to their catalog number to distinguish them from the previous entries with the same catalog number.

10 According to van der Kuijp (2018: 7), it is likely that the texts from outside “were originally part of the spoils of the civil war that had raged on and off for more than two decades between the Dga' ldan pho brang and the ruling family of Gtsang, the Gtsang pa Sde srid, whose court was located in Bsam grub rtse, that is, what is now Gzhis ka rtse (=Shigatse).” For the details of these historical events, see van der Kuijp 2018: 7–14.

11 *'Bras spungs dkar chag*, vol. 1, Introduction, pp. 14–15. See also Ducher 2020: 128.

12 See *'Bras spungs dkar chag*, vol. 1, Introduction, p. 12, Ducher 2020: 128, and van der Kuijp 2018. As van der Kuijp reports, “the vast majority of the manuscripts that were housed at the CPN were repatriated to the Tibetan Autonomous Region in 1993. Reports have it that many were redistributed to those monasteries when they could be identified as the sources for those manuscripts that had been initially collected from them in the early 1960s, apparently at the order of then Premier Zhou Enlai” (van der Kuijp 2018: 18).

related to distinct Indian treatises are not grouped by bundle. Bundles also contain manuscripts of various extension and dimension. One may propose the hypothesis that texts assigned to a topic category were grouped into bundles “on the go”—a new bundle being started when the preceding one had reached a given size of, say, anywhere from 500 to 700 folios.¹³ The grouping of texts in a single bundle may also, to some extent, reflect their having been grouped in a previous collection imported to ‘Bras spungs.¹⁴

The ‘*Bras spungs dkar chag* lists 159 items in the category of epistemological works (letter *zha* in the signature) collected from outside ‘Bras spungs (*phyi*).¹⁵ This is only a portion of the original collection: the bundle numbers indicated in the signature go up to 45, but only works from twenty-four bundles are listed in the catalog:

Table 1
Bundle numbers and number of items in the section *zha* of the ‘*Bras spungs dkar chag*

Bundle nr.	1	2	3	6	10	11	14	15	19	21	23	24
Nr. of items	1	6	1	7	3	2	26	7	7	9	7	3
Bundle nr.	25	26	27	29	31	32	34	35	38	42	44	45
Nr. of items	2	6	7	5	11	4	7	7	5	16	2	8

13 My estimation is based on the count of folios per bundle in the *zha* section. The first bundle contains a single text of 723 folios; the second six texts adding up to 465 folios; the third a single text of 128 folios; bundles 4 and 5 are missing; bundle 6 contains seven texts adding up to 504 folios. Since numerous bundles are missing and we have no way of knowing whether the extant bundles are complete or not, it is not possible to arrive at a more precise calculation.

14 The ‘*Bras spungs dkar chag* (vol. 1, Introduction, p. 7) names the inclusion in the ‘Bras spungs libraries of the libraries of the Phag mo gru pa, of the gTsang pa in bSam grub rtse, and of the Karma pa library of rTse lha sgang. These libraries, in turn, might have included the contents of earlier library collections.

15 ‘*Bras spungs dkar chag*, vol. 2, pp. 1447–1461, Nos. 16311 to 16469. By “item” I refer here and below to the referent of a catalog entry. Several items can represent the same work in different exemplars. In the *KDSB dkar chag*, two distinct items sometimes represent the same exemplar that was printed two times.

Leonard van der Kuijp recorded the presence at the National Library of the Cultural Palace in Beijing (CPN) of manuscripts bearing the signature *phyi zha* with the bundle numbers 9, 12, 17, 18, 22, 30, 37, 39, and 43, which may originally have been part of the 'Bras spungs collection.¹⁶

Among the 159 items listed in section *zha* of the 'Bras spungs *dkar chag*, 133 are compositions by Tibetan scholars, and twenty-six are Tibetan translations of Indian treatises. The Tibetan translations consist of thirteen manuscripts both in cursive and capital script, nine xylograph prints (*shing dpar*) (reference number in bold), and four lithographs (*rdo dpar*) (reference number italicized).

Table 2

Translations of Indian epistemological works in section *zha* of the 'Bras spungs *dkar chag*

Title	Author	Nr. of items	'Bras spungs catalog no.	Bundle no.
<i>Ālambanaparīkṣā</i>	Dignāga	1	16385	23
<i>Pramāṇaviniścaya</i>	Dharmakīrti	9	16318	3
			16327	10
			16328	10
			16388	24
			16390	15
			16398	26
			16402	27
			16409	29
			16451	42

¹⁶ See van der Kuijp 1993a, 1993b, and 1994a. A manuscript of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab's work reported by van der Kuijp as bearing the bundle number "83" (van der Kuijp 1994a: 6) has been published in the KDSB (see "2.3 Epistemological works not listed in the 'Bras spungs *dkar chag* published in the KDSB"). The bundle number is slightly faded but reads "43" rather than "83" (see No. 2 in the Summarizing table). A manuscript of an early commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttika* by sTon gzhon bearing the signature *phyi zha* 5, described in van der Kuijp 2014: 116–119, may possibly be of the same origin.

Title	Author	Nr. of items	'Bras spungs catalog no.	Bundle no.
<i>Vādanyāya</i>	Dharmakīrti	2	16319	6
			16459	42
<i>Nyāyabindu</i>	Dharmakīrti	2	16334	14
			16411	31
<i>Pramāṇavārttika</i>	Dharmakīrti	8	16372	21
			16387	24
			16403	27
			16404	27
			16405	29
			16408	29
			16425	34
			16431	34
<i>Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā 1</i>	Dharmottara	1	16320	6
<i>Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā 2</i>	Dharmottara	1	16321	6
<i>Nyāyabinduṭīkā</i>	Dharmottara	1	16357	15
<i>Nyāyabinduṭīkā</i>	Vinītadeva	1	16458	42

Among the 133 Tibetan compositions, at least five items appear to be non-epistemological works that have been misplaced in this topic category. Notably No. 16349 (bundle 14), an anonymous work entitled *dBu ma 'jug pa'i rnam bshad*, appears to be a Madhyamaka work that should have been labeled with the letter *tsa* rather than *zha*. Nos. 16364 (*Chos 'byung rin po che'i gter*), 16367 (*dBu ma chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa'i rnam par bshad pa snying po gsal ba*), 16368 (*'Dul ba'i lag len rin po che'i gter*) and 16369 (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i lus rnam gzha gi bsdus don*) also are, in view of their titles, not works of epistemology, but were placed in bundle 19 together with two epistemological works (Nos. 16365 and 16366) by the same author, Jo gdan dka' bzhi gNyag phu ba bSod nams bzang po (1341–1433).

Conversely, some Tibetan epistemological works are found outside the *zha* section. Such cases identified at this point are two

epistemological works by bCom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri (1227–1305) with the letter *ma* in the signature (the category identified by the editors of the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* as “diverse: bKa' rgyud teaching, etc.” [*bKa' rgyud chos skor sogs sna tshogs*]): No. 10493 (*rTsod pa rig pa'i bsdus don*), and No. 10496 (*rTsod rig rgyan gyi me tog*). They were grouped in a bundle (number 599) with eight other works by the same author. Two further epistemological works by bCom ldan Ral gri (see Nos. 24 and 39 in the Summarizing table) are found under the letter *la* (which stands for catalogs, gradual expositions of the path, and mental training [*dkar chag skor dang lam rim blo sbyong sogs*]), in bundle 501 together with twenty-five other works by the same author.

Epistemological works being classified in other categories is in other cases due to misidentification. For instance, a work by Rin chen tshul khrim (1297–1368) entitled *'Grel bshad kun las btus pa'i snying po nyi ma'i 'od zer gyi snang ba* (No. 27 in the Summarizing table) was classified under the topic category of Abhidharma (letter *dza* in the signature). Presumably, the title was understood to refer to *Chos mngon pa kun las btus pa* (Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya*), whereas the contents of the text make it clear that this is a work of epistemology, more precisely a commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.¹⁷

Many of the Tibetan compositions in the *zha* section are anonymous. The names of forty-four authors appear in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*. Besides fifteen authors whose works were published in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* (for these, see below “4.1 Authorship”), the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* lists works by well-known Sa skya pa scholars and a number of individuals (presumably non-bKa' gdams pa) whose identity I have not yet investigated.

17 Another manuscript preserved at the CPN of what appears to be the same work is described in van der Kuijp 1994a: 13. CPN 4895, signature: *phyi zha 12, 117 folios*, title: *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi legs par bshad pa 'grel pa kun las btus pa'i snying po nyi ma'i 'od zer gyi snang ba*. The incipit and colophon differ from those in No. 27.

Table 3

Authors of epistemological works in the *zha* section of the '*Bras spungs dkar chag* not published in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*

Authors of non-epistemological items in the *zha* section have not been included in the list. For authors without dates and whose identities are in question, I report under "Name" the authorship statement from the '*Bras spungs dkar chag*. For all others, I list their usual names. Catalog number references for distinct works are separated by a semi-column. Those for different exemplars of the same work are separated by a comma.

Name	Item no.
Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251)	16331, 16336, 16389, 16401, 16406, 16444, 16465; 16391, 16399 ¹⁸
'U yug pa Rig pa'i seng ge (?–1253)	16325, 16421; 16410
Phyogs glang gsar ma (fl. 1320)	16466
Jo gdan dka' bzhi gNyag phu ba bSod nams bzang po (1341–1433)	16365, 16366
Red mda' ba gZhon nu blo gros (1348–1412)	16312
rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432)	16420
Rong ston Shes bya kun rig (1367–1449)	16394
mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang (1385–1438)	16332
gSer mdog Paṇ chen Śākya mchog ldan (1428–1507)	16311, 16392, 16441; 16393; 16416, 16417, 16432, 16456; 16433; 16442; 16434, 16443, ¹⁹ 16453; 16439; 16440; 16430, 16437, 16448; 16428, 16429, 16436; 16427, 16435, 16450; 16374, 16438, 16449; 16455 ²⁰
Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge (1429–1489)	16400, 16407
Blo gros dpal bzang gi dgongs slob Rin chen rgyal mtshan	16317

18 According to the number of folios, seven items represent the verses of the *Rigs gter*, two items (16391 and 16399) the work with auto-commentary.

19 According to the catalog, the author is Śākya'i dge slong Kun dga' rgyal mtshan; but the title is one of Śākya mchog ldan's commentaries on Sa skya Paṇḍita's treatise.

20 This might be the same work as 16416, etc.

rTog ge pa Grags pa kun bzang	16333
Chos 'phel bzang po	16335
'Chi ba med pa'i sde	16339; 16342
mNga' ris zangs mkhar Tshul khrims shes rab	16341
bsTan pa dar rgyas	16344
Blo gros rgyal mtshan	16345
dKon mchog ming can	16348
Śākya'i btsun pa Sangs rgyas bkra shis	16351
lHa khang Chos kyi rgyal mtshan	16352
Śākya dpal bzang	16360
Gangs ri'i khrod kyi rtog ge ba chen mo dGe ba rgyal mtshan	16326
rGyal ba sku phreng dang po	16377
Blo gros rgya mtsho dang Blo bzang bstan 'dzin	16381
sNar thang Sangs rgyas dpal rin	16397
bTsun pa Sangs rgyas lhun grub	16414; 16418; 16462
Khams ston smra ba'i seng ge bzod pa dpal gyi skul ngor 'Jam sgeg	16415
bTsun pa 'Jam sgeg	16422
'Jam dbyangs yon tan mgon po	16452

2 Epistemological works in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*

2.1 The *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum*

A portion of the enormous bulk of new manuscript findings from the gNas bcu lha khang has already been published in various series—notably author-based, school-based, lineage-based and topic-based collections—as facsimile and type-set editions. One of these is the series entitled *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* (“Collected works of the *bKa' gdams pa*,” hereafter KDSB), published in Chengdu between 2006 and 2015. The KDSB consists of four sets of thirty volumes each (altogether 120 *dpe cha*-format volumes). Its table of contents lists 533 items published in facsimile (apart from a few exceptions that appear in typeset format, e.g., vol. 91, pp. 215–291). However, not all of these represent distinct works. Some items represent the same work in different exemplars.

On occasion, items represent the same exemplar, but one which was reproduced in different volumes. In addition, some items actually consist of two (or more) texts written one after the other with continuous page numbering. Thus, we will only be able to specify the exact number of works once the collection has been properly documented. These some 530 works are by more than 160 thinkers associated by the editors with the bKa' gdams pa tradition—the label “bKa' gdams pa” itself being subject to question, as is its application to the authors whose works have been included in the KDSB.²¹

Scanned images of the KDSB are accessible on the web site of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC).²² Basic cataloging information is provided by the editors of the KDSB in their introduction and table of contents within the *KDSB dkar chag*, which was integrated into the BDRC database. An annotated list of contents was prepared by Kazuo Kano for the first two sets.²³ A more detailed descriptive catalog is being prepared in the framework of the project *A Gateway to Early Tibetan Scholasticism* by Hugon and Kano.²⁴

The majority of the works in the KDSB are from the gNas bcu lha khang collection in 'Bras spungs (ca. 80% in the first set). However, not all of the bKa' gdams pa works extant in the 'Bras spungs collection have been included in the KDSB. For example, a five-folio manuscript of a work by dBang phyug seng ge, one of Phya pa's “Eight great lions,” is listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* under No. 15727 (signature: *phyi tsa* 120), but has not been published in the KDSB.²⁵ Also, when several exemplars are listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* for the same work, not all of them appear in the KDSB.²⁶

21 For some remarks on the question of the affiliation of scholars associated with the tradition of epistemology stemming from rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, see Hugon 2016a: 306 and n. 63.

22 See W1PD89051, W1PD89084, W1PD153536, W4PD3076. The four sets are in open access.

23 Kano 2007: 19[102]–33[87]; Kano 2009: 138[179]–152[165].

24 See <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/ikga/forschung/tibetologie/materialien/a-gateway-to-early-tibetan-scholasticism/> [accessed: 2.9.2020].

25 This text entitled *dBu ma rgyan gyi don legs par bsdu pa* is presumably a synoptic table of Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṅkāra*.

26 For instance, two exemplars of Phya pa's commentary on the *Madhyamakāloka* are listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (Nos. 15677 and 15726), but only the first was published in the KDSB.

2.2 Epistemological works from the gNas bcu collection in the KDSB

Of the 133 works by Tibetan authors in the *zha* section of the gNas bcu lha khang collection that are listed in the '*Bras spungs dkar chag*, twenty-five were published in facsimile in the KDSB. The others were presumably not held to qualify as "bKa' gdams pa works" by the KDSB editors (see Table 3 for those whose authors are named); also, not all exemplars of the same works were included in the KDSB. This is in particular the case for works by bCom ldan Ral gri.²⁷

In several cases, there is some incertitude regarding the item catalog number in the '*Bras spungs dkar chag* corresponding to the work published in the KDSB. The KDSB editors indeed report the signature but not the '*Bras spungs* catalog number of the texts. In some cases, the signature they report is unclear or not actually visible in the published facsimile. There are also frequent differences with regard to the number of folios of the published manuscripts and the number indicated in the '*Bras spungs dkar chag*, which turn out, in many cases, to be due to the latter reporting the number written on the last folio, without consideration of additional or missing folios.

In particular, my identification of No. 16375 and No. 16376 in the '*Bras spungs dkar chag* as No. 13 and No. 9 in the KDSB (see the Summarizing table), respectively, is tentative. The signature reported by the KDSB editors corresponds (*phyi zha* 21 in both cases), and the number on the last folio in the KDSB exemplar matches the number of folios reported in the '*Bras spungs dkar chag*. The catalog reports identical physical size and script for the two items. The indication of title and authorship in the '*Bras spungs dkar chag* suggest that the two texts are commentaries (possibly by the same author) respectively on the second and first chapter of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.²⁸ No. 13 (which I take to

27 For his commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (No. 22 in the Summarizing table), at least two additional exemplars listed in the '*Bras spungs dkar chag* (No. 16370 [*phyi zha* 19, 267 folios] and No. 16396 [*phyi zha* 26, 117 folios]) were not published in the KDSB. Another exemplar of his summary (No. 23) is also listed in the '*Bras spungs dkar chag* (No. 16464, *phyi zha* 45, 102 folios). For his commentary on the *Sambandhaparikṣā* (No. 24), the copy in the KDSB is from section *la*, and there is another exemplar listed in section *zha* (No. 16382, *phyi zha* 23, 9 folios) that was not published.

28 No. 16735: *Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i ṭikka las rang don le'u bzhuḡs so/*. Author: *ye shes dpal ste chos kyi ye shes min nam snyam brtag/*. No. 16736: *Tshad ma rnam*

correspond to No. 16375) indeed includes many references to the second chapter of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, but I describe it, rather, as a kind of summary.²⁹ However, while the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* names “Ye shes dpal” as the author of No. 16375, No. 13 bears no indication of authorship. As for No. 9 (which I tentatively identify as No. 16376), it is not a commentary on the first chapter of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* but on all three chapters. While the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* offers the hypothesis that the author might be Chos kyi ye shes, a student of Chos kyi bla ma of Ne'u thog, the editors of the KDSB identify the text as a commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* by Byang chub sems dpa' Jñānaśrī. The colophon of No. 9 confirms that the work was composed by “Dza na shri” in Ne'u thog, and provides the full title *Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i ṭikka blo gsal gyi mgul*.

Another tentative identification is for No. 19, listed as a commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (*Tshad ma rnam nges kyi 'grel pa*) in the KDSB. Its last folio is numbered “64”; the first folio is missing but the signature appears in the top margin of the second folio. The unclear bundle number is reported to be “12” by the KDSB editors, but the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* does not list any item in bundle 12 (though some works from this bundle were preserved at the CPN). On the other hand, one finds a sixty-four-folio manuscript in bundle 15, No. 16358, the title of which is reported to be *Tshad ma rnam nges le'u gsum pa'i 'grel pa zhig*—this corresponds to the colophon of the third chapter in No. 19 (fol. 64a5).

The identification is tentative as well for two works by bCom ldan Ral gri, his commentaries on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (No. 21) and on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (No. 22a), for which the signature is not visible on the facsimile. For the first, the number of folios suggests that it corresponds to item No. 16395 (signature: *phyi zha 26*) in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*. For the second, the number of folios and the title suggest a correspondence with No. 16373 (signature: *phyi zha 21*).

Four epistemological works in the KDSB (Nos. 24–27) are not from the *zha* section of the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*, but from sections *la*, *ma*, and *dza*.³⁰

par nges pa'i ṭikka las mngon sum le'u bzhugs so/. Author: ne'u thog pa chos kyi bla ma'i slob ma chos kyi ye shes yin nam snyam/.

29 The KDSB editors give to No. 13 the descriptive title *Tshad ma rnam 'grel le'u gsum pa'i rnam bshad*.

30 See nn. 17 and 27.

While some items from the *zha* section were not included in spite of their representing works by bKa' gdams pa scholars (see above), conversely, the editors of the KDSB have included works that were not authored by bKa' gdams pa scholars. Notably, as I have argued elsewhere,³¹ the author of No. 29 is not the Blo gros mtshungs med associated with gSang phu monastery, but his namesake, the Sa skya pa Blo gros mtshungs med gNas drug pa (active between 1330 and 1371). This conclusion was based on the fact that the Blo gros mtshungs med who authored No. 29 (writing after bCom ldan Ral gri and Chu mig pa, whom he abundantly refers to) wrote his work in Sa skya; he mentions the Sa skya pa master Phyogs glang gsar ma, and sides with the “followers of the *Rigs gter*” against the “followers of the Summaries.”³² The question of authors' institutional affiliation should, however, in general be distinguished from that of their philosophical affiliation.

2.3 Epistemological works not listed in the '*Bras spungs dkar chag* published in the KDSB

Some items published in the KDSB appear to have been originally part of the '*Bras spungs* collection—they bear a signature characteristic of the manuscripts in the gNas bcu lha khang collection—but are not listed in the '*Bras spungs dkar chag*. Their bundle numbers correspond to bundles that were not at '*Bras spungs* at the time of cataloging at the beginning of the twenty-first century. These are No. 2 (*zha* 43),³³ 10b (*zha* 6), and Nos. 11, 22b and 28 (*zha* 9). They had been kept at the CPN and were returned to various locations.³⁴ The first was obtained by the KDSB editors from the private collection of gZan dkar Rin po che Thub bstan nyi ma, the third from Zha lu monastery. No. 30 also seems to correspond to the manuscript in 122 folios with the same incipit kept at the CPN (catalog No. 5853(5)) that was described by van der Kuijp.³⁵

31 Hugon 2018: 867, n. 36.

32 E.g., fol. 38a5: *yang bsdus pa ba dang rigs gter ba rnams* [...].

33 See n. 16.

34 See van der Kuijp 1994a: 6, about No. 2, which was returned to Se ra; van der Kuijp 1993a: 295–296, about Nos. 10b and 11; van der Kuijp 1993a: 286–289, about No. 28; and van der Kuijp 1994b: 305, about No. 22b.

35 Van der Kuijp 1994a: 21. The colophon on the KDSB facsimile is hardly legible (due to heavy blotting) but seems to correspond to the one transcribed by van der Kuijp. No signature is reported.

The remaining epistemological works published in the KDSB come from rGyal rtse (No. 3) and Otani library in Japan (No. 6).

In total, the four sets of the KDSB contain thirty-nine entries for epistemological works. These represent thirty-seven different manuscripts, for thirty-five distinct works (thirty-six if one considers interlinear annotations such as in No. 24 to constitute a “work”).³⁶ Only five of these thirty-five works had been published prior to their diffusion through the KDSB: Nos. 2, 6, 22, 23, and 28.³⁷ Since then, several works have also been published as typeset *dbu can* editions, such as No. 1 in a volume of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab’s works and No. 5 in a volume of Phya pa’s works.³⁸ A critical edition of No. 21 appeared in van der Kuijp and McKeown 2013.

3 Other sources

To the epistemological works published in the KDSB, one should add here three treatises that are relevant for studying Tibetan epistemology

36 For No. 17, the same manuscript is printed twice, in vols. 46 and 88. For No. 30, the same manuscript is printed twice, in vols. 88 and 112. No. 10 is represented by two different manuscripts (Nos. 10a and 10b), as is No. 22 (Nos. 22a and 22b). In No. 24, which includes an annotated translation of the *Sambandhaparikṣā* and a topical outline of this text, the interlinear notes on the Indian base text were not listed as a distinct work in the Summarizing table. The excerpt from a *Pramāṇaviniścya*-commentary by mKhas pa bSam gtan bzang po of sNar thang added at the end of No. 15 has not be counted either.

37 No. 2 was published on the basis of a manuscript other than the one in the KDSB in *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi dka’ ba’i gnas rnam par bshad pa*, Sun Wenjing (ed.), Xining: Krung go’i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1994. A facsimile of the manuscript of No. 6, reproduced in the KDSB, was published by Rinsen Book Co (Otani University Tibetan Works Series 2), Kyoto, 1989. Nos. 22 and 23 appeared in *Tshad ma sde bdun rgyan gyi me tog*, rDo rje rgyal po (ed.), Beijing: Krung go’i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1991 (see van der Kuijp 1994b). The manuscript used for No. 23 in this publication is different from that published in the KDSB (CPN 4780(2) in eighty-nine folios, incomplete, fols. 13–18 missing). A critical edition of No. 28 appeared in Hugon (ed.) 2004.

38 The reference for the first is: *rNgog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor*. In *bKa’ gdams dpe dkon gces btus*, vol. 3. dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhig ’jug khang (ed.), Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009, pp. 545–625. BDRC: W1PD104832. That of the second: *Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge, Phya pa chos kyi seng ge’i gsung gces btus dbu tshad kyi yig cha*, Byang chub ljon bzang, no. 6. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2012.

in the pre-classical period. The first (No. 36 in the summarizing table) is an epistemological summary published in Chengdu in 2000 as a typeset edition based on two manuscripts, a cursive manuscript from the monastic library of dPal ldan byams 'byor, and a manuscript in capital script from rTse pho brang (i.e., the Potala) reported to be a copy of a manuscript in rDo rje brag monastery in dBus. Its colophon identifies the treatise as a work entitled *Tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa* by the rNying ma scholar Klong chen rab 'byams pa (1308–1364). In his introduction to this treatise, van der Kuijp pointed out that this attribution of authorship should not be trusted.³⁹ The title provided in the colophon as well may be regarded as editorial. The introductory verse of the treatise identifies the work as *Tshad ma'i de nyid rab tu bsdus pa'i brjed byang*. A relative dating for this work can be suggested by considering the author's extensive awareness of the positions of Phya pa and rGya dmar ba, as well as of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab and his disciples, and, in contrast, his complete silence on notable innovations by Phya pa's student gTsang nag pa, and on the criticism of Sa skya Paṇḍita. In a recent article, Jonathan Stoltz has presented convincing arguments for ascribing this work to 'Jad pa gZhon nu byang chub (ca. 1150–1210), whose teacher Byang chub skyabs was a direct student of Phya pa.⁴⁰

The other two works are a summary of epistemology (No. 37) and a commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (No. 38) by Dar ma dkon mchog (or Dharmaratna). Van der Kuijp tentatively identifies the author as a native of Phu thang and a disciple of gNyal zhig 'Jam pa'i rdo rje. He was active in Yar lung and mTsho smad temples and wrote in the first or second decade of the thirteenth century. A copy of the ninety-seven-folio summary previously preserved at the CPN (No. 4783(1)), which may also originally be from 'Bras spungs (signature: *phyi zha 17*),⁴¹ can be accessed via BDRC (W26453). Images of the commentary (which also bears a CPN stamp, but no visible signature) are accessible as well via BDRC (WooKG03840).

In addition to these three works, there is an additional work by bCom ldan Ral gri on the *Sambandhaparikṣā* (No. 39). This work, preserved in

39 See in particular van der Kuijp 2003: 390, 403, 405, 415, and 419.

40 See Stoltz 2020.

41 It was described in van der Kuijp 1993a: Appendix 2, 293–294. See also van der Kuijp 2003.

the gNas bcu lha khang, was not included in the KDSB but appeared in the typeset-format publication of his collected works.⁴²

Further works described in van der Kuijp's survey of epistemological works at the CPN⁴³ will hopefully become available as well in the future, as will the non-bKa' gdams pa epistemological works from 'Bras spungs, and possibly works still preserved at other locations.

4 Some orientation

The limited scope of the present paper and the actual state of research do not allow me to provide extensive details for each work. This section is meant to organize the available information that helps us situate these works chronologically and intellectually in relation to each other, and to single out some remarkable features that should support and facilitate future exploration of this material. Considered below are: the authorship of the works; their genre and format; references to Indian and Tibetan works and thinkers; and their authors' views.

4.1 Authorship

The thirty-five epistemological works in the KDSB are by more than sixteen different authors—fifteen are named in the manuscripts (typically, in the colophon or on the cover page) and one more (the author of No. 28) could be identified by means of external evidence. Accordingly, the dates of the works can be broadly assessed as ranging from the late eleventh century to the fourteenth century, and in at least one case even to the early fifteenth century. Among the authors' names, one recognizes some of the most important figures linked with gSang phu monastery, and the names of some of their students and successors:

- rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109), gSang phu's second abbot (Nos. 1, 2)⁴⁴

42 This short work is entitled *'Brel ba brtag pa rgyan gyi me tog*. It appeared in typeset format in *bCom ldan rigs pa'i ral gri'i gsung 'bum*, 10 vols., Lhasa: Khams sprul bSod nams don grub, 2006, vol. 10, 48–56. The source manuscript could be item No. 19262 in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*.

43 See van der Kuijp 1994a.

44 See van der Kuijp 1983 and Kramer 2007. On his extant epistemological works see Hugon 2014, and the abovementioned website *Gateway to Early Tibetan Scholasticism*.

- Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169), the sixth abbot of gSang phu (Nos. 3, 4, 5)⁴⁵
- gTsang nag pa brTson 'grus seng ge (?–after 1195), one of Phya pa's "Eight Lions" (No. 6)⁴⁶
- mTshur ston gZhon nu seng ge (ca. 1150–1210), a student of gTsang nag pa (No. 28)⁴⁷
- Chu mig pa Seng ge dpal (ca. 1200–1270/1220–1280), another abbot of gSang phu (head of the Upper College from ca. 1235 to 1253) (Nos. 10, 11)⁴⁸

Other figures whose identity is well-known or could be tentatively ascertained are:

- gTsang drug pa rDo rje 'od zer (12th c.), possibly one of the nine spiritual sons of gNyal zhig (No. 20)⁴⁹
- bCom ldan Ral gri (1227–1305), the famous scholar of sNar thang monastery (No. 21–26)⁵⁰
- Rin chen tshul khrims (1297–1368) (No. 27)⁵¹
- Blo gros mtshungs med (active between 1330 and 1371) (No. 29)⁵²
- Ānanda (Tib. *Kun dga') (1372–1454), who wrote his work based on lectures by Chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (perhaps Bo dong paṇ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal, 1376–1451) and Blo gros chos kyi seng ge (No. 30)⁵³

45 See the website *Materials for the Study of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169)* (<https://www.oeaw.ac.at/ikga/forschung/tibetologie/materialien/materials-for-the-study-of-phya-pa-chos-kyi-seng-ge-1109-1169/>) for a compilation of the available information on Phya pa's life and works and bibliographical resources [accessed: 2.9.2020].

46 See van der Kuijp 1989.

47 See Hugon (ed.) 2004 and, on the question of whether mTshur ston was a student of Phya pa, Hugon and Stoltz 2019: 51–52.

48 These works were briefly introduced in van der Kuijp 1993a: 295–296.

49 See Hugon and Stoltz 2019: 59.

50 See van der Kuijp 1994b and, on No. 21, van der Kuijp and McKeown 2013.

51 According to van der Kuijp 1994a: 27, n. 16, Rin chen tshul khrims could be the thirteenth abbot of the Bye rdzing pa monastic community and teacher of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361).

52 See above and Hugon 2018: 867, n. 36

53 See van der Kuijp 1994a: 21 and 28, n. 25.

- Zha lu Rin chen bsod nams 'phel (1361–1438) (No. 35, maybe No. 15)

The identity of the following scholars is yet to be ascertained or explored further:

- gNyag (No. 8)⁵⁴
- Byang chub sems dpa' Jñānaśrī (Nos. 8, 9)⁵⁵
- Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan (No. 12)⁵⁶
- Sangs rgyas bzang po (No. 16)⁵⁷
- Grags pa rgya mtsho bDe legs 'byung gnas (No. 18)⁵⁸

54 A study of his short summary, which will include a discussion of its date and authorship, is in preparation.

55 His works were written after 1219 (as he cites the *Rigs gter*) in gSang phu, and post-date Chu mig pa's commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (No. 11). The colophon of his summary (No. 8) indicates that the text was composed in the 54th year of the cycle, which could be 1260, 1320, or 1380 (probably not later).

56 He was writing after 1219 (as he cites the *Rigs gter*) and possibly after 1300 (as he refers to Mokṣākaragupta) in dBen gnas brag dkar. The '*Bras spungs dkar chag* (No. 16315) names him "gSang phu'i gdan rabs sum cu pa Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan." He could have been the abbot of the Lower monastery of gSang phu listed as sMad 24 in Onoda 1989: 210. The "bTsun pa Rin chen bzang po" referred to in the author's colophon of No. 12 could then be the previous abbot (sMad 23) bSam gtan bzang po. In view of the dates of the 30th abbot and the number of years of office indicated for the previous ones, Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan's dates of activity would lie somewhere in the middle of the fourteenth century.

57 Written after 1219 in Brom pa rgyang gi gtsug lag khang chen po. A "gTsang pa Sangs rgyas bzang po" is listed as 29th abbot of the Lower monastery of gSang phu (Onoda 1989: 210).

58 The author wrote after 1219 in Gur thang (maybe for Gung thang?) rtsug lag khang chen. The colophon verses give the alternative name "bDe legs 'byung gnas" for the author, 'Jam dbyangs 'od zer mgon po as the source of the teaching, and the author refers several times to the "Old sGros" (*sgros snying* [for *rnying*]). Kano and I think that this "'Jam dbyangs 'od zer mgon po" could be 'Jam dbyangs Śākya gzhon nu, the eighth abbot of the Lower monastery of gSang phu and founder of Tshal Gung thang monastery, or possibly, "'Jam dbyangs 'od zer mgon po" refers to both the seventh abbot Slob dpon 'Od zer mgon po and the eighth abbot. It is reported that during 'Jam dbyang Śākya gzhon nu's time as abbot of the sGros seminary of the Lower monastery (ca. 1326), there was a split between the old (*rnying*) and the new (*gsar*). Śākya gzhon nu's oral teachings were taught in "Old sGros" (van der Kuijp 1987: 118). This would place this text in the fourteenth century.

– Chos kyi bzhad pa (No. 33)⁵⁹

The authorship and date of Nos. 14, 15, 17, 19, 31, 32 and 34 remain to be ascertained.

4.2 Genre and format

The epistemological works in the KDSB fall, roughly speaking, into two categories: commentaries and summaries.

The first category is considered here in the broad sense of the term, including “classical” linear commentaries, works I have elsewhere called “concise guides” (and that comment on the base text section by section) (*don bsdus*), as well as topical outlines (detailed hierarchical tables of contents of the base text) (*don bsdus/bsdus don*) and more unusual types of explanations that refer to specific passages in a base text, such as the “chains of consequences” in No. 15. A borderline case (because it does not constitute an independent text) are the interlinear annotations attached to the Tibetan translation of the base text in No. 24.

The base text of these commentaries is always an Indian work. In the KDSB sample, it is found to be either the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (thirteen times) or the *Pramāṇavārttika* (twice), the only exceptions being the contributions by rNgog Blo ldan shes rab—who also comments on Dharmottara’s *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* (No. 1)⁶⁰—and bCom ldan Ral gri, whose commentaries also bear on Dignāga’s *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (No. 21), and Dharmakīrti’s *Vādanyāya* (Nos. 25 and 26) and *Sambandhaparīkṣā* (No. 24; see also No. 39). Most commentaries address the complete base text, but sometimes only a specific chapter is commented on—as in No. 31 the third chapter of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* on inference for others, and in No. 32 the first chapter on perception. Some commentaries address only the difficult points (e.g., No. 2), selected issues and/or passages (e.g., No. 15 and No. 35), or a specific topic within a work, as No. 34, which comments on the verses on reflexive awareness in the third chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika* (PV 3.485–510).

59 The work is a compendium of a treatise by rDo rje dbang grags written in 1217 or 1277. See Hugon and Stoltz 2019: 60 for some remarks.

60 The KDSB editors mistakenly identify this work as a concise guide on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (*tshad ma rnam nges kyi bsdus don*).

What I call here “summaries”—following a widespread English translation for the Tibetan *bsdus pa*, an expression that sometimes occurs in their titles, and by which some of the early ones are commonly referred to in Tibetan literature—are compendia that typically claim to explain the whole range of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti’s thought (i.e., the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, and Dharmakīrti’s works, referred to as “the seven-fold collection”), although, at least in the case of the earliest summaries, they generally rely mainly (if not exclusively) on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. No. 7, in eight folios, is properly speaking a “summarized” presentation. The other instances are, rather, extensive presentations, i.e., *summæ* rather than summaries.⁶¹

It appears to have been common for authors to write one work of each of these two genres. The pair “*Pramāṇaviniścaya*-commentary and summary” is extant for Phya pa (Nos. 4 and 5), Chu mig pa (Nos. 10 and 11), Byang chub sems dpa’ Jñānaśrī (Nos. 8 and 9), bCom ldan Ral gri (Nos. 22 and 23) and Dar ma dkon mchog (Nos. 37 and 38), and is reported for Phya pa’s teacher rGya dmar ba as well (*Tho yig* 11809–11810).

The border between the two genres is however somewhat blurred due to the fact that some commentaries also follow a structure of presentation akin to that of summaries and do not explicitly refer to the base text. This is the case for instance for work No. 9 by Jñānaśrī, which, were it not for the explicit statement of the author in his introduction that this work is a commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, could be thought to be a summary. The anonymous No. 14, identified with the editorial title “Commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttika*” on the cover page, belongs rather to the category of summaries: it does not follow linearly the *Pramāṇavārttika* (nor the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*), but, rather, embarks on a hierarchically structured presentation of valid cognition, which refers extensively to Dharmakīrtian sources and their Indian commentaries, and often also follows the explanations by Sa skya Paṇḍita in his *Rigs gter*, in particular the eighth chapter of that work. Similarly, No. 13, identified in the KDSB with the editorial title “Explanation of the third chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*,” is also a kind of summary. The author does refer to the third chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika* and Devendrabuddhi’s

61 On the English rendering “summary” see also my remarks in Hugon and Stoltz 2019: 48–50.

commentary, but also refers extensively to the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and Dharmottara's commentary, both being adduced in a general discussion of valid cognition.

The structural format of works I categorized as “summaries” in the Summarizing table varies. A multi-layered, hierarchical structure is well-illustrated in Phya pa's summary (No. 5), and this structure tends to be re-used for instance, in the summaries of Chu mig pa (No. 10), gTsang drug rDo rje (No. 20), mTshur ston (No. 28), Blo gros mtshungs med (No. 29), Chos kyi bzhad pa (No. 33), Dar ma dkon mchog (No. 37), as well as in No. 36 (which is the closest to No. 5 in structure). A chapter-division is sometimes combined with the overall hierarchical structure. Evolution and changes in structure are noticeable and often reflect a difference of interpretation. The similarity of local hierarchical structures in clusters of works suggests intellectual ties between their authors.⁶²

In contrast to the hierarchical structuring, the summaries by Byang chub sems dpa' Jñānaśrī (No. 8) and Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan (No. 12) are both organized according to a division into twenty topics listed at the outset of the work, a list which reminds one of the “lessons” in the compositions of *bsdus grwa*.⁶³

i	yul	vi	ldog pa	xi	mtshan	xvi	dam bca'
ii	yul can	vii	spyi	xii	mtshon	xvii	thal 'gyur
iii	'gal ba	viii	bye brag	xiii	rtags	xviii	rgol ba
iv	'brel pa	ix	dgag pa	xiv	sgrub bya	xix	dpang po
v	rdzas	x	bsgrub pa	xv	bsal bya	xx	tshad 'bras

These two works (whose other similarities suggest a connection between their authors) resemble the well-known *Don gnyer mun sel* ascribed to Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419) in their style of presentation, and many of the definitions they provide. In the latter

62 For instance, the similarities between gTsang drug rDo rje's summary (No. 20) and Chu mig pa's (No. 10) could result from their authors being in the same teaching lineage going back to gNyal zhig and Dan bag pa. Chos kyi bzhad pa's summary (No. 33) shares a similar structure and often cites the same Indian sources. See Hugon and Stoltz 2019: 59–60.

63 See Onoda 1992: 61–65.

work, the presentation of “the means of cognizing the object” (*yul rtogs pa'i thabs*) is dealt with by way of eight pairs of topics, including Nos. iii—xii of the above table. The discussion of pairs of topics within a hierarchical structure characterizes the summary by Sangs rgyas bzang po (No. 16). In the second-level subdivision of the overall hierarchical structure, he includes seven pairs, five of which correspond to the numbers iii to xii in the above list of twenty topics, with the addition of two pairs not found in this list (*khyab bya dang khyab byed* and *cig dang tha dad*). bCom ldan Ral dri's summary (No. 23) adopts a division into chapters, among which chapters 4–8 correspond to topics i–xii (dealt with in pairs) in the above list, and chapter 13 corresponds to topic xx.

Works that deal with topical pairs within a hierarchical structure appear to represent an intermediate state between the early summaries (organized hierarchically) and later works of *bsdus grwa* (organized in lessons). One can note that such a format is also attested in an epistemological summary by mKhas grub rje (1385–1438), the *rGyan mun sel*.⁶⁴ Earlier yet, the *Rigs gter* of Sa skya Paṇḍita—which Jackson rightly characterized as “a Summary of sorts”⁶⁵—combines a hierarchical structure with chapter divisions that correspond to topical pairs (*spyi/bye brag*, *sgrub pa/gzhan sel*, *brjod bya/rjod byed*, *'brel/'gal*).⁶⁶

One more thing worth mentioning in relation to the format of the works is the syntax of the arguments. Indeed, a number of works resort extensively to the formulation of arguments in the form of argumentation by consequence (... *thal...* *phyir*) and chains of such arguments, in which features of the initial consequence are examined (namely, the relationship between the subject and the logical reason, pervasion, and the derived conclusion), leading then—if the first two are contested or the third is accepted—to the formulation of subsequent consequences. In spite of the tradition crediting Phya pa with the invention of this technique, it is worth repeating here that it is not illustrated in any of his works.⁶⁷ The earliest among the datable works in the corpus instan-

64 See Hugon 2008: 74–75.

65 Jackson 1987: 131. This characterization is backed up by a statement of Śākya mchog ldan, who described the *Rigs gter* as an alternative tradition of epistemological summaries (see Jackson 1987: 172).

66 See Hugon 2008: 111–113.

67 See Hugon 2008: 91–92. Phya pa's system does account for the formulation of *thal...* *phyir* (or *phyir...* *thal*) arguments, and Phya pa provides many illustrations

tiating this technique seem to be those of Chu mig pa (Nos. 10, 11).⁶⁸ It is also used abundantly in Nos. 16, 17, 19, 27, 29 and 32, and to a lesser extent in Nos. 8 and 9. No. 15 is a commentary entirely formulated in chains of consequences. The use (or not) of the pronoun *khyod* as a variable in these arguments is also a notable feature of some of these works.⁶⁹

4.3 Textual background and references

4.3.1 Indian background

The Indian epistemological corpus is unequally represented in the Tibetan texts considered from the perspective of the range of Indian works that were the objects of commentaries, as well as in terms of the range of Indian work referred to and cited in Tibetan treatises. This may be linked to the availability of the translations of particular works (for instance the relatively late translation of works by Jinendrabuddhi or Mokṣākaragupta), but also reflects the importance given to specific works within a given intellectual milieu.

In twelfth-century Tibetan epistemological treatises, such as the works of Phya pa (Nos. 4, 5), gTsang nag pa (No. 6) or mTshur ston (No. 28), references to Dharmakīrti's treatises other than the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and *Pramāṇavārttika* are rare, and, when present, are usually limited to a specific verse, as for instance the initial, programmatic verse of the *Vādanyāya* or occasional references to the *Hetu-bindu*. Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, although a declared principal source of reference, is hardly ever mentioned in early summaries. As

when classifying such arguments. It is, however, not his favorite way of presenting an argument, and when he does resort to argumentation that draws an absurd consequence from an opponent's position, the argument does not develop into a chain of consequences in the way attested in *bsdus grwa* literature, and now in earlier bKa' gdams pa works. (See the following note for an example that should suffice illustrating what I call here "chain of consequences").

68 See for example in No. 10 (10a, fols. 3b8–4a1; 10b, fol. 3a6–7) the following argument: *ma gzhal na rjes dpag des chos can snang ba yang dag par na grub pa'i dogs pa tshad mas mi khegs par thal/ snang ba yang dag par na ma grub pa'i yid ma rtogs pa'i phyir/ rtags khas blangs khyab pa tshad ma/ 'dod na snang ba la bden pa'i dogs pa tshad mas mi khegs par thal lo/ 'dod na snang ba brdzun pa sgyu ma lta bur ma rtogs par thal lo// 'dod na rtogs pa nyams so//*.

69 On this feature, characteristic of *bsdus grwa* logic, see Tillemans 1989: 269–273.

for Dharmakīrti's commentators and other Indian scholars, one finds a few references to the positions of Devendrabuddhi, Prajñākaragupta, Vinītadeva and Śāṅkaranandana on specific topics (for instance, on the definition of valid cognition), and more frequently to the views of Dharmottara. In contrast, Byang chub sems dpa' Jñānaśrī, writing after Chu mig pa in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, refers extensively in his commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (No. 9) to the views of a large range of Indian scholars, including Dharmottara, Prajñākaragupta, Śāṅkaranandana, Devendrabuddhi, but also Jñānaśrībhadra, Śākya-buddhi, and Jinendrabuddhi. He also refers in his summary (No. 8) to Dharmottara, Devendrabuddhi and Śākya-buddhi, as well as to Mokṣākaragupta (Thar pa 'byung gnas), whose *Tarkabhāṣā* was translated only around 1300 by dPang Blo gros brtan pa (1276–1342). Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan also mentions Mokṣākaragupta (Thar pa 'byung gnas sbas pa) in his summary (No. 12), in the same context as Byang chub sems dpa'. This is a passage about the number of logical reasons qua non-apprehension, in which both authors also mention the count given by Jitāri, an author often mentioned in connection to this issue in early works (such as Phya pa's commentary, No. 4).

Occasional references on isolated issues are not compelling evidence for an author's extensive acquaintance with the work of any Indian author referred to. They could be derived from oral instruction, or textual re-use. These are to be taken with caution when dating a work. For instance, despite the late date of the translation of Mokṣākaragupta's *Tarkabhāṣā* by dPang Lo tsā ba, this work is listed among the Indian works that Sa skya Paṇḍita studied with Indian paṇḍits at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Sa skya Paṇḍita is even reported to have translated this work with Sugataśrī.⁷⁰ Works referring to Mokṣākaragupta thus do not necessarily post-date dPang Lo tsā ba's translation. The same caution holds for mentions of the position of Jinendrabuddhi (e.g., in Nos. 9, 14, 29), whose commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* was also translated by dPang Lo tsā ba at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In contrast to isolated references, the multiple references to Jitāri in Blo gros mtshungs med's text (No. 29) suggest a more extensive knowledge of Jitāri's work(s). Blo gros mtshungs med also stands out in referring a couple of times to Jinamitra's *Nyāyabindupiṇḍārtha*.

70 See Jackson 1987: 113.

The Indian commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* by Jñānaśrībhadrā—translated by the author himself and Khyung po Chos kyi brtson 'grus in the second half of the eleventh century—does not seem to have been known to rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, Phya pa, and gTsang nag pa. On the other hand, it is taken into consideration in the commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* by Chu mig pa (No. 11), who also mentions Jñānaśrībhadrā's translation of the base text, and (as mentioned above) in the commentary on the same text by Byang chub sems dpa' (No. 9). The name of Jñānaśrī is also mentioned in No. 18 by Grags pa rgya mtsho (along with Dharmottara and Nor bzangs, fol. 3a1); the author also cites his commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (e.g., fol. 4a4). Jñānaśrī's views are also referred to by Blo gros mtshungs med (No. 29, e.g., fols. 31a7, 40a6, 55b4, 57a3). Not to be confused with Jñānaśrībhadrā, called "Dznya na shri," and explicitly referred to as the author of a commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (on fol. 40a6), Jñānaśrīmitra is also mentioned once in this work as "Dznya na shri mi tri" (sic) (on fol. 33b6). No. 14 also has a reference to Jñānaśrī (fol. 9b3–4).

4.3.2 References to Tibetan scholars

References to other Tibetan scholars is a precious source of information for (at least relatively) dating anonymous works and works of authors whose dates are not known. They also open a window into the views of numerous scholars whose works are not extant, and further our knowledge of the intellectual networks of scholars in the domain of epistemology.

Typically, authors extensively discuss alternative positions before presenting their own view. But this is not an absolute rule. For instance, No. 7 only presents an opposite position once, probably in view of the reduced size of the work. No. 12 limits itself to the presentation of the author's own system, as does (mostly) No. 8.

Contrary to references to the positions of Indian authors, which usually include the mention of their name, sometimes of the title of their work, references to Tibetan scholars are often left unidentified by the author, who introduces them either simply as "someone" (*kha cig*) or with a descriptive expression such as "ancient teachers" (*sngon gyi slob*

dpon) or “great being” (*bdag nyid chen po*).⁷¹ The generic expression “upholders of summaries” (*bsdus pa smra ba*) is already attested in the summary of Chu mig pa (No. 10) and of Blo gros mtshungs med (No. 29), who criticizes them (see fol. 15a2–3).

Especially useful are manuscripts bearing interlinear notes identifying the proponents of opposing views (proponents that are otherwise left anonymous by the author), even if such identifications need to be taken with caution.

The names most frequently found in the body of the epistemological works in the KDSB are those of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, Phya pa, and Sa skya Paṇḍita. For instance, No. 17 only names “Lo tsha ba chen po” and “Chos rje Sa paṇ” and refers to a multitude of other positions anonymously. Chu mig pa, in his summary (No. 10), identifies more opponents: rNgog Blo ldan shes rab and Phya pa, but also Khyung, gTsang nag pa, and gNyal zhiḡ. Blo gros mtshungs med (No. 29) identifies in the body of the text Phya pa, Chu mig pa, Sa skya Paṇḍita, ’U yug pa and Phyogs glang gsar ma Byams pa mgon po, whereas the interlinear notes complete many of the other references with the identification “’U yug,” “Byams,” “Ral” (Rigs pa’i ral gri), and “Chu” (Chu mig pa). The author of No. 33 only refers to Phya pa and gTsang nag pa; the interlinear notes additionally provide the names of “Bre” and “g.Yor gnyan.”

The anonymous summary No. 36 is a mine of information about the views of a broad panorama of authors pre-dating and contemporaneous with Phya pa. Particularly often referred to are: rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, rGya dmar ba, Phya pa and Byang chub skyabs. Also mentioned are the views of Jo btsun (= Khyung), Zhang tshes spong, Gangs pa she’u, g.Yor gnyan, Me dig pa, sTag pa, gNyags, Gong bur can and sNa chung ston pa.⁷²

bCom ldan Ral gri’s summary (No. 23) also deals with numerous alternative views, but the KDSB manuscript has no interlinear identifications. Those are found, however, in another manuscript of the text preserved at the CPN (No. 4780(2))⁷³ and nowadays available via BDRC (WooKGo3838).

71 I discuss the question of quotations and identification and the difference between Indian and Tibetan sources in more detail in Hugon 2015.

72 See van der Kuijp 2003: 415–416 and Stoltz 2020.

73 See van der Kuijp 1994b: 305.

The manuscripts of gTsang drug rDo rje's summary (No. 20) and mTshur ston's (No. 28) are the richest in interlinear identifications. In No. 20 (the author of which only names "rGya" in the body of the text), one finds references to several generations of scholars starting with rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, his students Gangs pa she'u, Khyung Rin chen grags, their student rGya/sTod rgya (=rGya dmar ba), rGya's student Phya pa, his students gTsang nag pa and Dan bag pa, and additional figures such as gNyags, sBas dge mthong, Su rgya and rDu. mTshur ston, in No. 28, does not refer to any other Tibetan scholar by name, but the notes identify Lo, rNgog, Gangs pa, Khyung, rGya, rGya grags sod, Jo, gNyags Ye shes 'bar, sTag, Phya, Byang, rTsang (pa), rTsang nag pa, Su rya and U (/rDu?).

Similarly, the numerous views introduced by Dar ma dkon mchog (Nos. 37 and 38) are identified in interlinear notes. Notably, one finds the names of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, Phya pa, rGya dmar ba, rGya grags bsod nams, Khyung po grags se, Dan bag pa, gTsang nag pa, rTsags dbang seng ge, rMa bya, and gNyal zhig.

References to specific Tibetan works' titles are extremely rare. In the corpus considered here, the only instances I could (so far) locate are references to the title of Sa skya Paṇḍita's epistemological work, the *Rigs gter*. References to Sa skya Paṇḍita and/or the *Rigs gter* are an important chronological tip, establishing 1219—the date of the composition of the *Rigs gter*⁷⁴—as a *terminus a quo* for the writing of the works concerned. One can note that works post-dating the *Rigs gter* are also the ones in which one finds references to Jñānaśrībhadrā, Jinendrabuddhi, and Mokṣākaragupta. I could (so far) identify references to the *Rigs gter* and/or its author in No. 8 (e.g., fol. 15b4), No. 9 (e.g., fol. 88a8), No. 12 (e.g., fol. 3a5–6), No. 13 (e.g., fols. 80a9 and 80b8), No. 14 (numerous references to verses and auto-commentary, *passim*), No. 16 (e.g., fols. 10a9 and 23b8), No. 17 (e.g., fols. 3b3, 7a2, 13b1, 19a9), No. 18 (e.g., fols. 2b7 and 4b1). Some of the references to the *Rigs gter* on given topics are shared by several texts (suggesting some degree of relation between their authors). Notably, the same verse from the *Rigs gter* (on the ascertainment of validity) is cited in Nos. 12, 14 and 18.

74 See n. 2.

4.4 Views

The available works offer a broad panorama of positions, largely illustrating the notion of “hermeneutic flexibility” which van der Kuijp associated with Tibetan epistemological literature.⁷⁵ Typically, these views are articulated around the definitions of key notions. Some works in the corpus, such as No. 8 and No. 12, consist in compilations of definitions and typologies. This makes definitions and typologies an attractive starting point for mapping works in terms of their authors sharing or not the same definitions and typologies, and to a further degree, sharing or not a position on a given topic.

One difficulty in doing so is that differences may appear at times to surpass similarities, and that authors positioning themselves against opposing positions—refuting opposing positions, presenting their own, and defending it against actual or potential objections—tend to do so in the same way, whether the difference is a matter of detail or reveals a profound divergence of interpretation. We may pick out, for our mapping, features that appear relevant to us, though it may not be obvious what the philosophical weight of the variations might have been at the time the text was composed. One can, in addition to pure questions of interpretation, surmise that personal rivalries, and perhaps in some cases institutional rivalries, were involved in arguments against opposing positions, as can be seen by the occasional use of some particularly virulent expressions used in reference to opponents, or, on the contrary, particularly laudatory references to the scholars being cited.⁷⁶

Another difficulty, when dealing with selected features, is the risk of setting apart authors who concur in the general lines, or, on the contrary, of focusing on similarities that veil important distinctions.

A well-known illustration of the first phenomenon is found in the Tibetan tradition itself (and Western scholarship in its wake) in regard to

⁷⁵ Van der Kuijp 2003: 406.

⁷⁶ For instance, Phya pa refers in his summary (No. 5) to the upholder of a given view as “Someone who boasts about being the best although his intelligence is small” (fol. 27b2: *blo chung ngur gyur kyang mchog du rlom pa kha cig*) (the reference could be to Me dig pa, who is identified in No. 36, p. 89, as being the upholder of that view). In contrast, in No. 14, Sa skya Paṇḍita is referred to as “the great paṇḍit, the lord, the crown jewel of Tibet’s experts (fol. 16b7: *gangs can mkha pa’i gtsug rgyang chos rjes paṇḍita chen po*).

the conception of the *rngog lugs* and the *sa lugs* as two antagonistic epistemological traditions.⁷⁷ This construction follows Sa skya Paṇḍita's criticism of his predecessors, which, strategically, suggests that all of his predecessors partake in the same mainstream system, and that they are refuted on all points. It is well attested in Blo gros mtshungs med's summary (No. 29), which opposes "followers of the Summaries" and "followers of the *Rigs gter*," and in the commentarial literature on the *Rigs gter*. Such a construct veils the fact that Sa skya Paṇḍita integrated in great part in his system the contributions of his predecessors—something that his commentators usually gloss over, Śākya mchog ldan constituting an exception, as he points out those topics on which Sa skya Paṇḍita follows Phyapa's system.⁷⁸ In addition, if this split had become well-established by the fifteenth century,⁷⁹ a cursory look at those KDSB works that refer to the *Rigs gter* shows that it was not entirely representative of the reception of Sa skya Paṇḍita's work in the thirteenth/fourteenth century. Sa skya Paṇḍita's own views are indeed found as part of the "positions to be refuted" in the Summary of Sangs rgyas bzang po (No. 16)⁸⁰; and in No. 17, the author rejects a view ascribed to both rNgog Blo ldan shes rab and Sa skya Paṇḍita in the "refutation (of other views)" section (fol. 7a2). Some authors also acknowledge and reject Sa skya Paṇḍita's criticism of previous positions. (Elsewhere, I have argued this to be the case for instance in the summary of Chu mig pa (No. 10), whose author does not however refer to Sa skya Paṇḍita explicitly.⁸¹) However, Sa skya Paṇḍita is often found in the KDSB corpus to be cited in support of the author's own view. For instance, the verses on the ascertainment of validity from the *Rigs gter* are cited in No. 12, 14

77 These two systems are notably distinguished by gSer mdog Paṇ chen (see van der Kuijp 1983: 5 and chapter 1). The term "*rngog lugs*" refers to the tradition of epistemology initiated by rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, "*sa lugs*" to that going back to Sa skya Paṇḍita. These two systems vary considerably in their interpretation of Dharmakīrti although they have a considerable overlap.

78 See Hugon 2008: 115, n. 70.

79 See Dreyfus 1997: Introduction II and Dreyfus 1999.

80 The "partisans of the *Rigs gter*" (*rigs gter ba*) are mentioned when refuting other views (*gzhan lugs dgag pa*) on the definition of a definiens (f. 23b8), and the author subscribes to a view that corresponds to that of Phyapa.

81 See for instance Hugon and Stoltz 2019: 233. Van der Kuijp (2019: 314) reports rGyal tshab's defense of Sa skya Paṇḍita against a criticism by Chu mig pa.

and 18. No. 14 makes constant references to the *Rigs gter*'s verses and the auto-commentary. Further analysis of the contents of these works will be necessary to ascertain to what extent their authors side with Sa skya Paṇḍita. Such works may suggest an environment in which the *rngog lugs/sa lugs* divide had not yet become a standard model, and Sa skya Paṇḍita was considered just another influential scholar of epistemology, independently of issues of institutional affiliation.

While systematic positioning against alternative positions highlights the individuality of each author, there is also a large degree of agreement among thinkers, which stands out in the phenomenon of textual re-use and the adoption of similar formats of presentation (or the re-use of hierarchical structures), and in their concurring on definitions and typologies. The notion of a “shared system” could be constructed by being based either on the consideration of “family resemblances” across texts, or through comparing elements to a central point of reference (such as Phya pa's system) so as to elaborate a category containing more or less peripheral elements.

The fivefold typology of invalid cognitions—cognitions that do not qualify as valid cognition (*tshad ma*)—could be considered an element of such a “shared system.” Found at the earliest in the works of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (Nos. 1, 2), the fivefold typology is attested in the works of Phya pa (Nos. 4, 5), gTsang nag pa (No. 6), Chu mig pa (Nos. 10, 11), gTsang drug rDo rje (No. 20), mTshur ston (No. 28), Chos kyi bzhad pa (No. 33), Dar ma dkon mchog (No. 37) and in No. 36.⁸² It is sharply criticized by Sa skya Paṇḍita, who ascribes it to “most Tibetans” (*bod phal cher*). However, a fine-grain analysis of the various accounts of the fivefold typology discloses numerous differences regarding the definition adopted for each type and the inclusion of specific sorts of mental events in some categories. There are also some terminological (and orthographical) differences pertaining to the key terms in the typology.⁸³ In some cases, notably when comparing rNgog Blo ldan shes rab and

82 See Hugon and Stoltz 2019 for a detailed discussion of Phya pa's position and consideration of alternative views in these other works.

83 See Hugon and Stoltz 2019: 273–281, which lists the terminological variants in a selection of early epistemological works and distinguishes, for each type, several groups of definitions that, even if their formulation differs, involve the same defining criteria.

Phya pa, the shared adoption of a fivefold typology of invalid cognition should not obscure a major difference regarding their definition of valid cognition and the model of perceptual knowledge that they advocate.⁸⁴

Conclusion

bCom ldan Ral gri writes at the end of his short survey of the Indian epistemological tradition that “logical treatises composed by Tibetans are innumerable.”⁸⁵ Clearly, the material available nowadays is but the tip of the iceberg of Tibetan contributions to the field of epistemology in the pre-classical and the beginning of the classical period.

The first studies taking advantage of this new material have already amply demonstrated to what extent access to first-hand sources allows us to shed a completely new light on the Tibetan epistemological tradition. Yet, a good number of the extant bKa’ gdams pa works still awaits further investigation of their contents, authorship, date, and relationship with other works. This is greatly facilitated when full searchable versions of the texts are available. An important growing resource in this regard is the website of Prof. Yoichi Fukuda, *Online Search System on Logical Works in the Pre-Gelug pa Period*,⁸⁶ where many complete e-texts from the corpus dealt with in this paper are available for download and can be searched individually or collectively.⁸⁷ More details about the manuscript exemplars themselves, outlines of the texts, bibliographical resources, as well as additional e-texts and the translation of excerpts are in the process of being included in the descriptive catalog of the KDSB as part of the *Gateway to Early Tibetan Scholasticism* project.⁸⁸

A more substantial exploration of the works’ contents will hopefully soon enable the establishment of intellectual profiles of their authors (collections of the definitions they adopt for key concepts, and

84 See Hugon and Stoltz 2019: 92–100.

85 *Phyi nang gi rtog ge tshad ma’i bstan bcos ji ltar byung ba’i tshul*, KDSB 3, vol. 62, pp. 775–780. Fol. 2b7: *bod rnam kyis byas pa’i rtog ge’i bstan bcos la grang med do//*.

86 See <https://tibetan-studies.net/tiblogsearch/index.cgi> [accessed 2.9.2020].

87 Available on that website at the time of writing are the e-texts of Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30, 33, 36.

88 See the URL provided in n. 24 above.

the positions they adopt on debated topics), through which the affinities, continuities and divergences between the thinkers represented in the corpus will stand out more clearly, as will their relationship with the epistemological treatises of the classical and post-classical period.

I hope that the present survey, in spite of its limited scope, will provide, if not a roadmap, at least an incentive for researchers to engage further, and on a broader scale, in the exploration of this fascinating material.

Summarizing table

- The numbers in the first column are editorial and are used to refer to the works in the body of the article. The ordering of the works mostly follows their location in the KDSB, except for some authors whose works appeared in distinct sets.
- Titles are partly from the KDSB table of contents, partly editorial.
- [signature] indicates a signature (or part of a signature) that is unclear or not visible on the facsimile copy but is reported by the KDSB editors or in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* for the text assumed to correspond.
- Numbers under “Source” refer to the item number in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (in parentheses when the identification is uncertain) unless indicated otherwise. I report in footnotes information from colophons regarding the place of composition of the text or copy.
- Under “Genre,” S refers to a summary, “-c” to a commentary. Parentheses indicate a tentative categorization (see the section 4.2 in the article).

	Vol., p.	Fols. ⁸⁹	Title	Author	Date	Signature	Source	Genre
1	1, 369–409	21	<i>Rigs thigs 'grel don bsduś</i>	rNgog Blo ldan shes rab	1059–1109	<i>phyi zha</i> 21	16371; rGyal rtse	NBT-c
2	1, 419– 682(706)	132 ⁹⁰	<i>Tshad ma rnam nges kyi 'grel ba</i>	rNgog Blo ldan shes rab	1059–1109	<i>phyi zha</i> 43 ⁹¹	CPN 5139(1); Se ra	PVin-c
3	8, 3–28	13	<i>Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i bsduś don</i>	Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge	1109–1169		rGyal rtse	PVin-c
4	8, 35–427	197	<i>Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i 'grel ba</i>	Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge	1109–1169	<i>phyi zha</i> 11	16330	PVin-c
5	8, 434–626	97 ⁹²	<i>Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel</i>	Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge	1109–1169	<i>phyi zha</i> 11	16329 ⁹³	S

89 Given in this column is the number of extant folios. Additional details are provided in the footnotes.

90 The last portion of the manuscript is lacking; typeset pages based on another manuscript have been added by the editors. Folios 85 and 86 are on the same page. Folio 107 appears twice, with the specifications *gong ma* and *'og ma* respectively.

91 The first digit of the bundle number is slightly unclear on the KDSB facsimile, but I read “43” rather than “83” (as reported in van der Kuijp 1994a: 6).

92 The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* reports 96 folios. Last folio number: 96. There is however an additional folio between fol. 27 and fol. 28, numbered *nyer brgyad gong ma*.

93 Colophon information: *bri'u las gtsug lha khang du bris*.

6	13, 13–434	210+1	<i>Tshad ma rnam nges kyi 'grel ba</i>	gTsang nag pa brTson 'grus seng ge	?–after 1195		Otani	PVin-c
7	44, 199–214	8	<i>Tshad ma'i spyi skad bsdus pa</i>	gNyag		<i>phyi zha 45</i>	16463	S
8	44, 217–247	16	<i>Rig pa'i snying po de kho na nyid bsdus pa gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od</i>	Byang chub sems dpa' Jñānaśrī	13th or 14th c. >1219 >1300? 54th year of the cycle ⁹⁴	[<i>phyi zha 2</i>]	16314 ⁹⁵	S
9	44, 253–456	102 ⁹⁶	<i>Tshad ma rnam nges kyi ṭikka blo gsal mgul rgyan</i>	Byang chub sems dpa' Jñānaśrī	13th or 14th c. >1219, and after No. 11	[<i>phyi zha 21</i>]	(16376) ⁹⁷	PVin-c

⁹⁴ I.e., 1260/1320/1380...?

⁹⁵ Colophon information: *dpal ldan gsang phu'i chos grwar sbyar ba*.

⁹⁶ Last folio number: 102 (not legible, but *brgya 1* is legible on the previous folio). First folio missing. There are two consecutive folios numbered 35 between fols. 34 and 36.

⁹⁷ Colophon information: *gsang phu ne'u thog du sbyar ba*.

10a	45, 11–161	76 ⁹⁸	<i>Tshad ma sde bdun gyi don phyogs gcig tu bs-dus pa</i>	Chu mig pa Seng ge dpal	ca. 1200–1270/ 1220–1280	<i>phyi [zha 15]</i>	16362 ⁹⁹	S
10b	87, 314–448	68				[<i>phyi zha 9</i>]	CPN 4827(1) ¹⁰⁰	
11	87, 11–307	149 ¹⁰¹	<i>Tshad ma rnam nges 'grel</i>	Chu mig pa Seng ge dpal	ca. 1200–1270/ 1220–1280	<i>phyi zha 9</i>	CPN 4827(4); Thub bstan nyid ma ¹⁰²	PVin-c
12	45, 165–181	9	<i>Tshad ma'i mtshan nyid bsdus pa rigs pa'i sgo 'byed</i>	Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan	Mid-14th c.? >1219 >1300?	<i>phyi zha 2</i>	16315 ¹⁰³	S

98 The 'Bras spungs dkar chag reports 777 folios (probably a typo for 77). Last folio number: 77. Folios 58 and 59 are regrouped on the same folio.

99 Colophon information: *gsang phu ne'u thog gi gtsug lag khang du legs par brtsams; dpal rtse dkar gyi gtsug lag khang du yi ger bkod pa.*

100 Colophon information, see n. 99.

101 Last folio is number: 152. Two folios are missing (fols. 12 and 13) and the image of fols. 75b and 89a is lacking in the KDSB copy but can be found in another set of images of the same manuscript (BDRC: W1CZ2155), in which fols. 12 and 13 are also missing.

102 Colophon information: *chen po'i pho brang dge ba'i gnas; gsang phu ne'u thog gi gtsug lag khang du brtsams; yar lungs khra 'brug gi gtsug lag khang du yi ger bkod pa.*

103 Colophon information: *dben gnas brag dkar du sbyar ba.*

13	45, 191–254	32 ¹⁰⁴	<i>Tshad ma rnam 'grel le'u gsum pa'i rnam bshad</i>	- ¹⁰⁵	>1219	<i>phyi zha 21</i>	(16375)	(S)
14	45, 261–525	133 ¹⁰⁶	<i>Tshad ma rnam 'grel rnam par 'byed pa</i>	-	>1219 >1300?	<i>phyi zha 2</i>	16313	(S)
15	46, 7–25	10	<i>Thal phreng mdor bsdu pa</i> ¹⁰⁷	-	14th c.?	[<i>phyi zha 45</i>]	16469	PVin-c
16	46, 33–115	42 ¹⁰⁸	<i>Legs par bshad pa'i gter mdzod blo gsal yid la dga' ba ster byed</i>	Sangs rgyas bzang po	>1219	<i>phyi zha</i> [2/8] ¹⁰⁹	16316 ¹¹⁰	S

104 The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* reports 106 folios. Last folio number: 106. In the KDSB 32 folios are printed, starting with a cover page with the signature and on the verso (?), a portion of text that does not seem to represent the beginning of the work. The second available folio is numbered “76.”

105 *'Bras spungs dkar chag: ye shes dpal te chos kyi ye shes min nam snyam brtag/*. No author's name is found in the manuscript.

106 The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* reports 123 folios.

107 The text ends on fol. 9a2 with a verse of dedication to the recipient of the work, bSod nams rgya mtsho. It is followed by an addition that, according to the colophon on fol. 10a4, consists in an excerpt from a *Pramāṇaviniścaya*-commentary by mKhas pa bSam gtan bzang po of sNar thang. The latter could be bCom ldan Ral gri's student and biographer. The addition and the preceding work could then be dated to the late thirteenth or fourteenth century, or later.

108 Last folio number: 46. Four folios missing: 12, 13, 14, 44.

109 Signature “*phyi zha 8*” according to the editors of the KDSB, “*phyi zha 2*” according to the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*. Number not visible on the first folio.

110 Colophon information: *brom pa rgyang gi gtsug lag bkhag chen por nye bar sbyar ba*. Read *khang* for *bkhag*. “Brom pa rgyang” might be (s)Grom pa rgyang in gTsang.

17	46, 123–215 = 88, 220–311	47 ¹¹¹	<i>Tshad ma'i legs bshad dri med bcud kyi bdud rtsi</i>	-	>1219	<i>phyi zha</i> 15 ¹¹²	16359	S
18	46, 225–399	88 ¹¹³	<i>Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i sbyor 'phreng yid bzhin nor bu</i>	Grag pa rgya mt-sho bde legs 'byung gnas	14th c. (?) >1219	<i>phyi zha</i> 6	16322 ¹¹⁴	PVin-c
19	46, 405–520	58 ¹¹⁵	<i>Tshad ma rnam nges kyi 'grel ba</i>	-		[<i>phyi zha</i> 15] ¹¹⁶	(16358)	PVin-c
20	47, 11–165	78	<i>Rigs pa'i gsal byed sgron ma</i>	gTsang drug pa rDo rje 'od zer	12th c.	<i>phyi zha</i> 31	16412	S
21	53, 445–527	42	<i>Tshad ma kun btus rgyan gyi me tog</i>	bCom ldan Ral gri	1227–1305	[<i>phyi zha</i> 26]	(16395)	PS-c

111 Image of fol. 33a missing in volume 88, but present in volume 46.

112 The syllable *phyi* is not visible on the image in vol. 46.

113 The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* reports 89 folios. Last folio number: 89. One folio missing: 45.

114 Colophon information: *gur thang rtsug lag khang chen 'di sbyar rdzogs*. Large spaces are found between the syllables “*khang chen*” “*'di sbyar*” and “*rdzogs*.” One would expect to read “...*chen du*.” “*Gur thang*” might be a mistake for *Gung thang*.

115 The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* reports 64 folios. Last folio number: 64. Six missing folios: 1, 11, 12, 16, 25, 49.

116 The KDSB editors report the unclear bundle number to be “12.” There are no texts from this bundle listed in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*. One could rather read “15” and the work might correspond to No. 16358 in bundle 15.

22a	54, 9–323	158	<i>Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i ṭikka rgyan gyi me tog</i>	bCom ldan Ral gri	1227–1305	[<i>phyi zha</i> 21]	(16373)	PVin-c
22b	62, 449–743	148 ¹¹⁷				<i>phyi zha</i> 9	CPN 4827(2)	
23	54, 329–515	94 ¹¹⁸	<i>Tshad ma'i bstan bcos sde bdun rgyan gyi me tog</i>	bCom ldan Ral gri	1227–1305	<i>phyi zha</i> 44	16461 ¹¹⁹	S
24	55, 5–12	4	<i>'Brel ba brtag pa'i rab tu 'byed pa mchan dang sa bcad</i> ¹²⁰	bCom ldan Ral gri	1227–1305	<i>phyi la</i> 50[1]	19282	SP-c

117 148 folios are extant (as indicated on the cover page). Last folio number: 152. The scribe skipped “54” when numbering the folios. Fols. 71 and 72 occur on the same page, so do fols. 84 and 85 and fols. 147 and 148. Another manuscript of this work with a different number of folios is described in van der Kuijp 1994b: 6. CPN No. 5148(10) in 131 or 121 folios, signature *phyi zha* 36. Yet another 126-folio manuscript bearing a CPN stamp is available via BDRC: W11848, signature *phyi zha* 5.

118 The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* reports 98 folios. Last folio number: 98. The scribe skipped “4” when numbering the folios. One folio missing: 93. Fols. 36 and 37 are grouped together on the same page, as well as 41 and 42.

119 Colophon information: *gtsang rung lhag gi snying po dpal me tog mdangs ldan gyi dgon par sbyar pa*.

120 Although counted here as one item, this manuscript includes two components (this is reflected in the editorial title in *KDSB dkar chag*: *'Brel pa brtag pa'i mchan dang sa bcad gnyis*): first, the Tibetan translation of the SP, with interlinear annotations by bCom ldan Ral gri (according to a note reading *'Brel pa brtag pa'i chan bu dpal ldan ral gris bkod*) up to fol. 4b1, followed by a topical outline of the SP (*'Brel pa brtag pa'i don legs par bsdus pa*) by bCom ldan Ral gri on fol. 4b2–5. The author is identified as Dharmakīrti in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*. In contrast, what appears to be another exemplar with the same contents listed as No. 16382 in the *zha* section is ascribed to dGe slong Dar ma rin chen. Since the annotations do not constitute an independent text, they have not been given a separate number in this Summarizing table.

25	55, 13–25	7	<i>rTsod pa rigs pa'i bsdus don</i>	bCom ldan Ral gri	1227–1305	<i>phyi ma</i> 599	10493	VN-c
26	55, 33–177	73	<i>rTsod rigs rgyan gyi me tog</i>	bCom ldan Ral gri	1227–1305	<i>phyi ma</i> 599	10496	VN-c
27	81, 427–621	98 ¹²¹	<i>'Grel bshad kun las btus pa'i snying po nyi ma'i 'od zer gyi snang ba</i>	Rin chen tshul khri ms	1297–1368	<i>phyi dza</i> 8	16068 ¹²²	PVin-c
28	87, 450–582	67	<i>Shes rab sgron ma</i>	[mTshur ston gZhon nu seng ge]	ca. 1150–1210	[<i>phyi zha</i> 9]	CPN 4827(5); Zha lu	S
29	87, 586–707	61	<i>Tshad ma'i don bsdus pa</i>	Blo gros mtshungs med	active between 1330 and 1371	[<i>phyi zha</i> 6]	16323 ¹²³	S
30	88, 7–219 = 112, 209–454	107/122 ¹²⁴	<i>Tshad ma rnam 'grel gsal bar byed pa'i zin bris legs par bshad pa'i rin po che'i snying po</i>	Ānanda (?)	1372–1454		CPN 5853(5); spyi tshogs thog nas dpe rnyed son byung ba	PV-c

121 The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* reports 100 folios. Last folio number: 100. Two missing folios: 6, 7. Image of fol. 85b blank in the BDRC PDF.

122 Colophon information: *ne'u thog gi chos sgra chen por sbyar ba*.

123 Colophon information: *dpal sa skya gtsug lag khang du legs par sbyar ba*.

124 The copy in vol. 112 has twenty-three more pages than that in vol. 88, where fols. 49, 76–90, and 95b are missing.

31	88, 312–376	34 ¹²⁵	<i>gTan tshigs tshul gsum gyi zin bris</i>	-		<i>phyi zha 21</i>	16378	PVin-c
32	88, 377–435	30	<i>mNgon sum le'u'i 'grel pa slob ma'i yid 'phrog</i>	-		<i>phyi zha 23</i>	16383	PVin-c
33	88, 436–476	21	<i>Tshad ma'i de kho nyid bs-dus pa nye bar bsdus pa</i>	Chos kyi bzhad pa	13th c. >1217 or 1277	<i>phyi zha 31</i>	16419	S
34	88, 542–555	7 ¹²⁶	<i>Tshad ma rang rig gi sgrub tshul</i>	-		<i>phyi zha 23</i>	16380	PV-c
35	88, 504-523	10	<i>bsDus chos nor bu'i phreng ba</i>	Zha lu Rin chen bsod nams 'phel	1428	<i>phyi zha 45</i>	16468	(S)

125 The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* reports 79 folios. Only the first 34 folios are reproduced in KDSB.

126 The *'Bras spungs dkar chag* reports 9 folios. I take *nang rig* in the title reported in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* to be a typo for *rang rig*.

Sources external to the KDSB								
36		364 pp.	<i>Tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa</i>	[']Jad pa gzhon nu byang chub] (mistaken attribution to Klong chen rab 'byams pa)	ca. 1150–1210		dPal ldan byams 'byor / rTse pho brang (← dBus rDo rje brag)	S
37		97ff.	<i>rTog ge rigs pa'i rgyan gyi snying po</i>	Dar ma dkon mchog	13th c.	<i>phyi zha 17</i>	CPN 4783(1)	S
38		180ff.	<i>Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i ti ka rigs pa'i rgyan gyi snying po</i>	Dar ma dkon mchog	13th c.		(CPN)	PVin-c
39		4ff.	<i>'Brel ba brtag pa rgyan gyi me tog</i>	bCom ldan Ral gri	1227–1305	<i>(phyi la 501)</i>	(19262)	SP-c

Bibliography

Tibetan Sources

KDSB = *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* 1/2/3/4 = *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig thengs dang po/gnyis pa/gsum pa/bzhi pa*. 120 vols. Ed. dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2015.

KDSB *dkar chag* = *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgribs dang po'i dkar chag*. Ed. dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006.

rGyan mun sel = mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang po. *Tshad ma sde bdun gyi rgyan yid kyi mun sel*. In *The Collected Works (Gsun 'bum) of the Lord Mkhas-grub Rje Dge-legs-dpal-bzan-po*. 12 vols. Reproduced from a set of prints from the 1897 Lha-sa old Žol (Dga'-ldan-phun-tshogs-glin) blocks. Delhi: Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1978–1982, vol. 10 (*tha*), pp. 3–449.

Tho yig = A khu ching Shes rab rgya mtsho. *dPe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' zhig gi tho yig*. In Lokesh Chandra (ed.). *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1963.

Don gnyer mun sel = Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa. *sDe bdun la 'jug pa'i sgo don gnyer yid kyi mun sel*. In *Collected Works (Gsun 'bum) of Rje Tsoñ-kha-pa Blo-bzan-grags-pa: Khams gsum chos kyi rgyal po tsoñ kha pa chen po'i gsung 'bum*. 27 vols. Reproduced from an example of the old Bkra-śis-lhun-po redaction from the library of Klu-'khyil monastery of Ladakh. Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series 79–105. Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1975–1979, vol. 27 (*tsha*), pp. 494–542.

'Bras spungs dkar chag = dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. *'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*. 2 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004.

Tshad bsdus = (Ascribed to) Klong chen Rab 'byams pa. *Tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa*. Ed. Padma tshul khrims. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000.

Rigs gter = Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* and *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rang gi 'grel pa*. Ed. Nor brang o rgyan. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989.

Modern Studies

- Dreyfus, Georges. 1997. *Recognizing Reality. Dharmakīrti's Philosophy and Its Tibetan Interpretations*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- . 1999. "Getting Oriented in the Tibetan Tradition: A Contribution." In Sh. Katsura (ed.). *Dharmakīrti's Thought and Its Impact on Indian and Tibetan Philosophy. Proceedings of the Third International Dharmakīrti Conference. Hiroshima, November 4–6, 1997*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 37–46.
- Ducher, Cécile. 2020. "Goldmine of Knowledge: The Collections of the Gnas bcu lha khang in 'Bras spungs Monastery." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 55: 121–139.
- Hugon, Pascale. 2008. *Trésors du raisonnement. Sa skya Paṇḍita et ses prédécesseurs tibétains sur les modes de fonctionnement de la pensée et le fondement de l'inférence. Edition et traduction annotée du quatrième chapitre et d'une section du dixième chapitre du Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 69.1–2. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- . 2014. "Tracing the Early Developments of Tibetan Epistemological Categories in rNgog Blo ldan shes rab's (1059–1109) Concise Guide to the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*." *Journal of Tibetology/Zangxue xuekan* 9: 194–234.
- . 2015. "Text Re-use in Early Tibetan Epistemological Treatises." In E. Freschi (ed.). *Quotations, References and Re-use of Texts in Indian Philosophical Literature. Journal of Indian Philosophy* 43/4: 453–491.
- . 2016a. "Enclaves of Learning, Religious and Intellectual Communities in Tibet: The monastery of gSang phu Ne'u thog in the early centuries of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism." In E. Hovden, Ch. Lutter and W. Pohl (eds.). *Meanings of Community Across Medieval Eurasia: Comparative Approaches*. Brill's Series on the Early Middle Ages 25. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 289–308.
- . 2016b. "On the Sanskrit and Tibetan Versions of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*: A look into the translator's workshop of rNog Blo ldan shes rab." In H. Lasic and X. Li (eds.). *Sanskrit manuscripts in China II*.

- Proceedings of a panel at the 2012 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies, August 1 to 5. Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 49–113.*
- . 2018. “Sa skya Paṇḍita’s Classification of Arguments by Consequence Based on the Type of the Logical Reason: Editorial conundrum and mathematics for commentators.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 46/5: 845–887.
- Hugon, Pascale and Jonathan Stoltz. 2019. *The Roar of a Tibetan Lion: Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge’s theory of mind in philosophical and historical perspective*. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- Jackson, David P. 1987. *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III). Sa-skya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 17.1–2. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- Kano, Kazuo. 2007. “加納和雄, ゴク・ロデンシェーラプ著『書簡・甘露の滴』一校訂テキストおよび内容概観—” [“rNgog Blo ldan shes rab’s *sPring yig bdud rtsi’i thigs pa*. Critical edition”], 密教文化研究所紀要 (*Mikkyōbunka kenkyūjo kiyō*) 20: 1–58.
- Kano, Kazuo. 2009. “加納和雄, ゴク・ロデンシェーラプ著『書簡・甘露の滴』一訳注篇—” [“rNgog Blo ldan shes rab’s *sPring yig bdud rtsi’i thigs pa*: Annotated Japanese translation”] 密教文化研究所紀要 (*Mikkyōbunka kenkyūjo kiyō*) 22: 121–178.
- Kramer, Ralf. 2007. *The Great Tibetan Translator: Life and Works of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109)*. Collectanea Himalayica 1. München: Indus Verlag.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard. 1983. *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- . 1989. “An Introduction to Gtsang-nag-pa’s *Tshad-ma rnam-par nges-pa’i ṭi-ka legs-bshad bsdus-pa*. An Ancient Commentary on Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, Otani University Collection No. 13971.” Otani University Tibetan Works Series 2. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1–33.
- . 1993a. “Two Mongol Xylographs (*Hor Par Ma*) of the Tibetan Text of Sa skya Paṇḍita’s Work on Buddhist Logic and Epistemology.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 16/2: 279–298.

- . 1993b. “Apropos of Some Recently Recovered Manuscripts Anent Sa skya Paṇḍita’s *Tshad ma rigs pa’i gter* and Autocommentary.” *Berliner Indologische Studien* 7: 149–162.
 - . 1994a. “On Some Early Tibetan *Pramāṇavāda* Texts of the China Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing.” *Journal of Buddhist and Tibetan Studies* 1: 1–30.
 - . 1994b. “Review of: *Tshad ma sde bdun rgyan gyi me tog*: By bCom ldan Rigs pa’i ral gri.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114: 304–306.
 - . 1994c. “Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History IV: The *Tshad ma’i byung tshul ’chad nyan gyi rgyan*: A Tibetan History of Indian Buddhist *Pramāṇavāda*.” In N. Balbir and J. K. Bautze (eds.). *Festschrift Klaus Bruhn*. Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler, Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 375–402.
 - . 1995. “Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History VI: The Transmission of Indian Buddhist *Pramāṇavāda* According to Early Tibetan *Gsan yig*-s.” *Etudes Asiatiques* 49/4: 919–941.
 - . 2003. “A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong chen Rab ’byams pa (1308–1364) and Its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 31: 381–437.
 - . 2014. “Studies in Btsun pa Ston gzhon’s *Pramāṇavārttika* Commentary of 1297: Part One: Preliminary Observations and the Import of its Title.” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 30: 111–198.
 - . 2018. “Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), Part Two.” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 46: 5–89.
 - . 2019. “Gyaltsab Darma Rinchen and the *Rigs gter dar tik*, an Exegesis of Sakya Paṇḍita’s *Tshad ma rigs pa’i gter*.” In D. Arnold, C. Ducher, and P.-J. Harter (eds.). *Reasons and Lives in Buddhist Traditions: Studies in Honor of Matthew Kapstein*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 307–321.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard and Arthur McKeown. 2013. *bCom ldan Ral gri (1227-1305) on Indian Buddhist Logic and Epistemology: His Commentary on Dignāga’s Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Wiener Studien zur Tibe-

tologie und Buddhismuskunde 80. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.

Onoda, Shunzō. 1989. "The Chronology of the Abbatial Succession of the gSañ phu sne'u thog Monastery." *Wiener Studien für die Kunde Südasiens* 33: 203–213.

———. 1992. *Monastic Debate. A Study on the History and Structures of bsdus grwa Logic*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 27. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.

Stoltz, Jonathan. 2020. "On the Authorship of the *Tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa*." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 56: 48–69.

Tillemans, Tom. 1989. "Formal and Semantic Aspects of Tibetan Buddhist Debate Logic." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 17/3: 265–297.

Gateways to Tibetan Studies

A Collection of Essays in Honour of
David P. Jackson
on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday

Edited by

Volker Caumanns, Jörg Heimbels,
Kazuo Kano, and Alexander Schiller

Volume One



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES 12.1

Hamburg • 2021

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg

Gateways to Tibetan Studies



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES

Edited by Harunaga Isaacson, Dorji Wangchuk, and Eva Wilden

Volume 12.1

Hamburg • 2021

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg

Gateways to Tibetan Studies

A Collection of Essays in Honour of
David P. Jackson
on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday

Edited by

Volker Caumanns, Jörg Heimbel,
Kazuo Kano, and Alexander Schiller

Volume One



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES 12.1

Hamburg • 2021

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg

Published by the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Asien-Afrika-
Institut, Universität Hamburg, Alsterterrasse 1,
D-20354 Hamburg, Germany
Email: indologie@uni-hamburg.de

© Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg, 2021

ISBN: 978-3-945151-11-2 (set)

Volker Caumanns, Jörg Heimbels, Kazuo Kano, and Alexander Schiller
(eds.): Gateways to Tibetan Studies: A Collection of Essays in Honour of
David P. Jackson on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday

First published 2021

All rights reserved.

*Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review,
no part of the book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint,
microform or any other means without written permission. Enquiry should be made to the
publishers.*

Printing and distribution:

Aditya Prakashan, 2/18 Ansari Road, New Delhi, 110 002, India.

Email: contact@bibliainpex.com

Website: www.bibliainpex.com

Printed and bound in India by Replika Press Pvt. Ltd.

This publication has been supported by the Khyentse Center for Tibetan
Buddhist Textual Scholarship (KC-TBTS), Universität Hamburg.





*His Holiness
The Gongma Trichen*
SUPREME HEAD OF THE SAKYAPA ORDER
OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM

FOREWORD

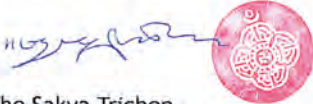
I am very pleased that this commemorative volume is being compiled in celebration of David Jackson's 70th birthday.

I have known Ngawang Kalden, as we know him in Tibetan, for a very long time and in one instance, we received teachings from Chogye Trichen Rinpoche together. We have always maintained contact throughout the years.

David's grasp of the Tibetan language is truly remarkable, certainly placing him among the most accomplished Tibetan-speaking westerners. Likewise, his knowledge of Tibetan literature and of the Tibetan Buddhадharma is pre-eminent, while his translations of the same are of exceptional precision.

He is a scholar in the true sense of the word, and it is befitting that this former students at Hamburg University show their gratitude to his accomplishments by dedicating this Festschrift to him.

With blessings,



The Sakya Trichen

3rd February 2021

DOLMA PHODRANG

192 Rajpur Road, P.O. box Rajpur, 248009 Dehradun, U.K. India
+91-135-2734081 • sakyadolmaphodrang@gmail.com



White Tārā, Artist: Tsechang Penba Wangdu (brTse byang sPen pa dbang 'dus).

TABULA GRATULATORIA

Almogi, Orna
Bayer, Achim
Caumanns, Volker
Cüppers, Christoph
Czaja, Olaf
Debreczeny, Karl
Dietz, Siglinde
Ehrhard, Franz-Karl
Eimer, Helmut
Everding, Karl-Heinz
Ferner, Mathias
Franco, Eli
Hazod, Guntram
Heimbel, Jörg
Heller, Amy
Henss, Michael
Hugon, Pascale
Isaacson, Harunaga
Kano, Kazuo
Kapstein, Matthew T.
Katsura, Shoryu
Klimburg-Salter, Deborah
Kramer, Jowita
Kramer, Ralf
van der Kuijp, Leonard
Larsen, Knud
Linrothe, Robert Nelson
Lo Bue, Erberto
Luczanits, Christian

Martin, Dan
Mathes, Klaus-Dieter
Maurer, Petra
Mimaki, Katsumi
Onoda, Shunzo
Pahlke, Michael
Preisendanz, Karin
Ramble, Charles
Rheingans, Jim
Roesler, Ulrike
Roloff, Carola
Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina
Schiller, Alexander
Schmithausen, Lambert
von Schroeder, Ulrich
Schuler, Barbara
Sernesi, Marta
Sobisch, Jan-Ulrich
Sørensen, Per Kjeld
Stearns, Cyrus
Steinkellner, Ernst
Tanaka, Kimiaki
Tsering, Tashi
Vinding, Michael
Wangchuk, Dorji
Wangdu, Penba
Yotsuya, Kodo
Zimmermann, Michael

Table of Contents

VOLUME ONE

Preface.	xix
རང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལན་མ། An Interview with the Honoree, David P. Jackson	1
Publications of David P. Jackson.	43
ORNA ALMOGI: Does a Buddha Possess Gnosis? Three Deliberations in 12th–13th Century Tibet.	59
ACHIM BAYER: Roads Taken and Not Taken: The Encounters of Eric Teichman and André Migot with the Scholarly Traditions of Kham.	87
VOLKER CAUMANN: „Ein Spektakel für jedweddes Auge, Speisen für jedweden Mund“: Die Einsetzung der 'Khon-Adligen bSod-nams dbang-po (1559–1621) und Grags-pa blo-gros (1563–1617) auf dem Großen Dharma-Thron des Klosters Sa-skya im Jahr 1570.	117
KARL DEBRECZENY: Of Bird and Brush: A Preliminary Discussion of a <i>parinirvāṇa</i> Painting in the Distinctive Idiom of the Tenth Karmapa Recently Come to Light.	161
SIGLINDE DIETZ AND HELMUT EIMER: Zum Hintergrund der in Zentral- und Ostasien verbreiteten Maudgalyāyana-Legende	189
FRANZ-KARL EHRHARD: In Search of the <i>bKa' 'gyur lung</i> – The Accounts of the Fifth Dalai Lama and His Teachers	205
KARL-HEINZ EVERDING: The 1920 Tibetan New Year's Festival in Lhasa: Impressions and Observations of Kaḥ thog Si tu Chos kyi rgya mtsho.	233
MATHIAS FERMER: Once More on the so-called Old dGa' ldan Editions of Tsong kha pa's Works.	253
JÖRG HEIMBEL: Portraits of the Great Abbots of Ngor: The Memorial or Death Anniversary Thangka (<i>dus thang</i>)	301
AMY HELLER: A Page from an Artist's Sketchbook.	381

MICHAEL HENSS: A Rare Image of the 28th Sakya Throne Holder Ngawang Sonam Wangchuk (1638–1685)	399
PASCALE HUGON: Mapping Recently Recovered Early Tibetan Epistemological Works	415
HARUNAGA ISAACSON: A Critical Edition of Ratnākaraśānti's <i>Muktāvalī Hevajrapañjikā</i> : Commentary on <i>Hevajratantra</i> I.i.1–12	461
KAZUO KANO: A Later Interpolation or a Trace of the Earliest Reading? — <i>Ratnagotravibhāga</i> 5.19 and an “Extra Verse”—	509
MATTHEW T. KAPSTEIN: Portrait of an Unknown Adept: An Inscribed Scroll-painting of Bla ma Rin po che Sangs rgyas grags pa	543
KNUD LARSEN: Surveying Architecture the ‘Danish Way’ with an Example from Tibet	569

VOLUME TWO

ROBERT N. LINROTHE: Lineage, Linearity, and the Lama Lhakhang: Jacksonian Methods at Mindröling.	593
ERBERTO LO BUE: Letters from Tibet: My First Fieldwork in Tibet (July–August 1987)	615
CHRISTIAN LUCZANITS: A Case of Old Menri (<i>sman ris rnying pa</i>) in Mustang?	643
KLAUS-DIETER MATHES: The Eight Indian Commentaries on the Heart Sūtra's Famous Formula “Form Is Emptiness; Emptiness Is Form”	659
KATSUMI MIMAKI: A Note on the Stages of the Peking bKa' 'gyur Edition.	685
SHUNZO ONODA: De'u dmar dge bshes' Knowledge of Basic Color Materials	701
CHARLES RAMBLE: The <i>Gelung Molla</i> : A Preliminary Study. . .	715

JIM RHEINGANS: Experience and Instruction: The Songs of the First Karma 'phrin las pa Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1456–1539)	747
ULRIKE ROESLER: Tigers and Leopards for the Monastery: An Inventory of Gifts from sNar thang to Rwa sgrenḡ	779
CAROLA ROLOFF: “The Biography of Red mda' ba”: The Life and Spiritual Practice of a Fourteenth Century Buddhist Yogin-Scholar	803
ALEXANDER SCHILLER: Das Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms als Quelle zum Inhalt und zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der „nördlichen Schätze“ (<i>byang gter</i>)	821
JAN-ULRICH SOBISCH: Divination and Buddhism: An Instance of Religious Contact.	891
KIMIAKI TANAKA: The Twelve Great Deeds or <i>mDzad pa bcu gnyis</i> –A Thangka Set in the Tibet House Museum Collection	913
ཇོ་སྤམ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་། སྤུན་མཁུན་བྲིས་རྒྱན་སྟོན་རྩེས་ཀྱི་བྲིས་ཆའི་སྐོར་ལ་སྟོན་འགྲོའི་རྟོག་དཔྱད་དང་བསམ་འཆར་བྱ་བ་ལྟུང་བྱས་པ།	931
MICHAEL VINDING AND PER K. SØRENSEN: Miscellanea Himalaica: Thakali <i>rhab</i> , <i>mi dpon</i> bKra shis bzang po and Bam steng Tulku	979
DORJI WANGCHUK: The Trope of a Lioness's Milk in Buddhist and Non-Buddhist Literatures	1017
KODO YOTSUYA: Shākya mchog ldan's Mahāyāna Tenets System and the Three Wheels of the <i>dharma</i>	1053

Erratum

The work listed as No. 31 in the summarizing table, on p. 454 of this publication, is actually not a Tibetan work, but the Tibetan translation of the third chapter of Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*. The folios published in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* cover the portion corresponding to ff. 1a-32b in the sDe dge edition, with some missing portions (f. 5 of No. 31 is missing, as is the image of f. 13b).

The version of the text in this manuscript does not significantly differ from the canonical version. It displays notable orthographic particularities such as *ya-btags*, *da-drags*, the alternance of prefixes (*rngos po*, *dngos po*), and the particle *pa/ba* taking the form *ba* after final *n*.

A few glosses are found on the manuscript, some of which report opinions (...*zer*).

Numbers given in the present article for the amount of Tibetan tshad ma works published in the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum* have to be adapted accordingly.