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The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa in the mountains suggests on the dimensions of the field.

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Preface

Perhaps it is no exaggeration that Tibet occupies a distinct place in the academic world regarding the practice and culture of the Buddhist logic. India where it first originated in the 5th century A.D. practically with the advent of Dignaga, could not retain its glory in this field from the 13th century onward i.e. immediately after the fall of the Vikramasila Mahavihara. Culture took a back seat and unfortunately a large portion of logical literature in its original form appears to have been lost for ever. But Tibet, being one of the neighbouring countries which received Indian thoughts, preserved the lost literature in translation. The study on the subject was carried on more or less continuously in different monasteries of the country for centuries, and even now Buddhist logic is extensively practised among the Tibetans. As a result of continuity of rich culture in this field, a good number of original treatises and commentaries were also composed in Tibet.

So, on the one hand these translations of the Indian logical works are the treasure house with the help of which the gap in the history of philosophical movement in ancient India can be filled and as the excellence of Indian understanding on the subject can be properly assessed; and on the other hand, the original Tibetan treatises and commentaries are of immense value as they record the contribution of that country to the storehouse of world knowledge. Scholars like Dr. S.C. Vidyabhusana, Rabula Sankriyapana, Dr. M.K. Ganguli (the teacher and guide of the present writer), A. Vostiakov, J. Tucci, B. Bandeen, B. Vassiliev, E.E. Obermiller, Prof. Oberhammer, Prof. E. Franswaldner, F. Th. Stcherbatsky, E. Steinbock and a number of excellent Japanese scholars and some others realised the importance of Tibetan commentaries and their study and research works sufficiently enriched the subject matter in many ways.

The present writer, while preparing a detailed catalogue of the Tibetan xylographs and manuscripts in the S.C. Das Collection preserved in the Calcutta University, got the opportunity of having a first-hand knowledge of a good number of Tibetan texts of Buddhist logic, which aroused in the writer the long suppressed wish to write an informative account on the subject. The present paper is a result of that.

The writer now takes the opportunity to remember those persons from whom he benefited in some way or the other. He is grateful to his Tibetan teacher Ven. A.P. Lama from whom he received many valuable information about Tibet. The eminent scholar Prof. Anantadul Thakur always inspired the writer in this field and the writer will never forget the help received from him in this regard.

Last of all, the writer is glad to know that a complete issue of the Bulletin of Tibetology is dedicated to his paper. He gives credit to Director Dr. Lama, T.D. Bhutia M.A., B.Ed., M.Phil., Ph.D. and Assistant Director Mr. Bhagyobhinda Ghosh of the SRTI for their deep interest in this matter. The writer expresses his gratitude also to the Authority of the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology without whose help the whole thing could not have been completed in such a nice way.

Calcutta 22.11.94
Sanjit K. Sadhukhan
A SHORT HISTORY OF
BUDDHIST LOGIC IN TIBET

- Dr. Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan

1. Rise of Buddhist logic in Tibet

By Buddhist logic we understand a system of logic and epistemology created in India in the VI-VII-th century A.D. by two great luminaries of Buddhist science, the Masters Dignaga and Dharmakirti. The original treatises and the huge commentaries in the line are part of the Buddhist logical literature. Buddhist logic obviously contains the forms and nature of syllogism, the essence of judgement, etc. for which it deserves the name of logic. But that logic is not only logic it also establishes the doctrines of the Buddhists. Thus the philosophical tenets were the fulcrum and the logic developed as tools to establish those. That is why when a theory of sense-perception or, more precisely, a theory on the part of pure sensation in the whole content of our knowledge, a theory on the reliability of our knowledge and on the reality of the external world as cognized by us in sensation and images, a theory on the art of conducting philosophic disputations in public, and so on are discussed, at the same time those keep faithful to the ideas with which Buddhism started with apprehension that entities whose existence is not sufficiently warranted by the laws of logic can mercilessly be repudiated. So having been led by this thought, Buddhist logic denied a God, it denied the Soul, it denied Eternity. It admitted nothing but the transient flow of
evanescent events and their final eternal quiescence in nirvana. Reality according to Buddhists is kinetic, not static, but logical, on the other hand, imagines a reality stabilized in concepts and names. The ultimate aim of Buddhist logic is to explain the relation between a moving reality and the static constructions of thought. It is opposed to the logic of the Realists, the logic of the schools of Nyaya, Vaisesika and Mimamsa for whom reality is static and adequate to the concepts of our knowledge.\(^1\)

Anyway, it is evident that the simple revelations of Buddhists and the reasonings in support of those, gave birth to a new subject ‘Buddhist logic’. In the literature of about seven centuries from 5th to 11th century, Buddhist logic showed examples of erudition of its scholars in the field of ideological conflict. But there was no such background of ideological conflict behind its rise in Tibet, although it had to establish its superiority on the soil of Tibet in competition with its Chinese counterpart.

Tibet, a neighbouring country of India was steeped in ignorance before the seventh century, without even an alphabetic system of their language. Sron-bsan sgam-po (7th cen.), the first Tibetan king, united different warring nomad groups and made Tibet a powerful kingdom with territorial sovereignty. This king keenly felt the deficiency of learning of the Tibetan people in contrast with the Indian and Chinese people, and promised them a good number of studying arrangements and materials. He established relations with India and China and sent scholars to India to innovate Tibetan script, collect manuscripts and translate them. He also encouraged more and more people in this connection. As a result of that the work began and the migration of Indian literature caused Buddhist logic to step in in the Land of Snow by the middle of the eighth century.

Khri-sron ide’u-btsan (740-c. 798) became the king of Tibet in 754 A.D. He invited many Indian panditas to his own country to spread the doctrine. At his invitation, Santaraksita, known in Tibet as the “Bodhisattva Abbot” reached there. He was a great Buddhist logician and had already composed
his great work on Buddhist logic, Tattvasamgraha before he reached Tibet. At his inspiration the king Khri-srong lde’-u-btsan in c. 779 A.D. built the famous Bsam-yas monastery, the first one of its kind in Tibet. Sántarākṣīṭa was also accompanied by his disciple Kamaśīla who was no less erudite than his preceptor in Buddhist logic.

Now there followed a surge of activity in the translation of Indian and Chinese Buddhist texts into Tibetan. A keen interest in doctrine began to develop, and this culminated in the great debate held at Bsam-yas about 792 A.D. as to whether Indian or Chinese Teachings should be followed. The Indian side, represented in this debate, argued the conventional Mahāyāna teachings connected with the theory of the gradual course of a ‘would-be buddha’ (bodhisattva) towards buddhahood. The basis of these teachings was the assumption that it was unnecessary to accumulate vast quantities of knowledge and merit through innumerable ages, if one wished to progress towards the final goal of buddhahood. The Chinese case concentrated upon the absolute nature of buddhahood, which could be realised by any practitioner who established himself in the state of complete repose. According to this, conventional morality and intellectual endeavour are irrelevant, and in some cases even directly harmful, if they obstruct the pure contemplation of the emptiness of all concepts whatsoever.

The verdict in the present case went to the Indian school, and contemporary dossiers show that it was a victory for a moralistic view skillfully defended by the Indian scholar Kamaśīla who had been specially invited for the occasion. This incident worked to directly influence Tibetans to follow of Buddhist logic in favour of Buddhistic path. Apart from this, it is natural that when at the moment the Tibetans adopted Buddhism Buddhist logic sneaked into the intellectual world since logic is already wound up with the life of the Buddhists in their homeland.

Sántarākṣīṭa is seen not only for the doctrine in Tibet, but also to have left mark from which we may call Sántarākṣīṭa the introducer of Buddhist
logic by virtue of his active assistance with a Tibetan interpreter named Bhikṣu Dharmaśākya in translation work of an Indian logical text Hetucakrādāmaru (Gtan-tshigs-kyi ’khor-lo gtan-la dbab-pa, Tg. mdö xcv 9. 189a7-190a4) of Dīgdrṣa (Phyogs-kyi gleñ-po).

The surge of activities of the Iranian panditas and the Tibetan interpreters, which started from the 7th century, was not always unhindered. In the 9th century an unfortunate disaster came to the life of the Tibetan nation when Glañ-dar-ma (b. c. 803) succeeded to the throne of Tibet in c. 836 and tried to expunge the Buddhist culture from Tibet. As a result, monasteries were destroyed, a large number of Buddhist manuscripts burnt, many monks killed and many fled in fear of life etc. Buddhist Study was completely stopped. But after the assassination (in 842 A.D.) of this tyrant king, the situation returned to normal.

It was the revivalism of Buddhist Tibet in all spheres of life, with the arrival of Aṭīṣa, the great Buddhist scholar from Bengal, in 1042. The work on the translation of the Buddhist texts and study thereon started in a fresh. At this time the Tibetan scholars came into close contact with the Kashmiri logicians. According to a famous Tibetan historian ’Gos lo-tsā-ba (1392-1481), the eleventh century was the beginning of the spread of the teaching of logic, which became established in the region of Dbus and Gtsan of Tibet, with the activities of the famous Tibetan interpreter named Rma lo-tsā-ba Dge-ba’i blo-gros (1044-1089). The

In this way, Buddhist logic went on to be studied in different monasteries. But a new dimension in the overall idea about the subject was given by Sa-skya pandita Kun-dga’ rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251) who maintained that logic was an utterly profane science, containing nothing Buddhist at all, just like medicine or mathematics like. He established Buddhist logic in that way. The celebrated historian Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1365) shared the same opinion. But Dge-lugs-pa or Yellow sect that was founded by the celebrated reformer of Tibet, Tsön-kha-pa (1357-1419)
and is predominant now, rejected these views and acknowledged Buddhist logic (of Dharmakirti) as a foundation of Buddhism as a religion.9 From the very time of Tson-kha-pa, Buddhist logic rose in Tibet as a constituent part of the religious practice of the people.

II. Indian works on Buddhist logic translated into Tibetan

It is well-known that the basic literature of Tibet is the translation of the Indian texts. In the 8th century and later in the 11th and the 12th centuries, a great number of works on Buddhist logic written by Indian logicians were translated into Tibetan. In the work of translating, the enthusiastic Tibetan scholar-interpreters of different corners of Tibet engaged themselves at work year after year with the help of the Indian panditas in Indis and Tibet. In this way, so vast amount of literature on this subject was gradually built up and this, in fact, stands heavier and richer than Indian Literature at present, because a good number of the invaluable texts have not come down to us in original.

Within the 11th century almost all the excellent and ordinary treatises were composed in India and from time to time the manuscripts of those works reached Tibet through the hands of the Tibetan scholars who came to India from Tibet and returned, and also through the hands of the Indian panditas who visited Tibet at the invitation of the Tibetan kings. Sometimes, the Tibetan scholars came to India, translated the text and carried only the translated version with them. Kashmir, an Indian state adjacent to Tibet was an ideal place of work for the Tibetans for a much longer period than other places of India.

The Buddhist logicians whose works were translated into Tibetan are the following: Dignāga (Phyogs-glaṅ), Dharmakirti (Chos-grags), Devendrabuddhi (Lha-dbaṅ-blo), Sākyabuddhi (Sākya-blo), Śubhagupta (Dge-sruṅ), Vinitadeva (Dul-ba?ha), Jinendrabuddhi (Rgyal-dbaṅ-blo-gros), Sāntaraksita (Zhi-ba’?tsho), Kamalasila, Dhammottara (Chos-mchog), Muktakalasha (Mutig bum-pa), Arcaṭa alias Dharmakaradatta (Chos-'byun-byin), Prajñakaragupta (Ses-tab 'byun-gnas sbas-pa), Jitzī (Dgra-las rgyal-
ba), Jina (Rgyal-ba-can), Ravigupta (Ni-ma ibas-pa), Ratravajra (Rin-chen rdo-rje), Jñānasrimitra, Jñānasribhadra (Ye-ses-dpal bzin-po), Ratnakarasānti (Śānti-pa), Yamāri, Saṃkarāṇanda (Bde-byed dge'-ba), and Mokṣākaragupta (Thar-pa'i byun-gnas ibas-pa). ([1] With the translation of numerous texts of the above logicians the Tibetan literature stored each and every topic of logical discussion which took several centuries to come up in India. Following are the names of the interpreters and their translated works:

1. Bhikṣu Dharmāśoka (8th cen.): This scholar has translated the Hetucaṅkara-dāmatu (Gtan-tshigs-kyi ’khor-lo gtan-la dbab-pa, Tg mdo xcv 9. 189a7-190b4) of Dignāga, with the help of the Indian logician Śāntarakṣita, widely known by the name "Bodhisattva Abbot" in Tibet.

The work deals with all nine possible relations between the reason and what is to be proved and has founded that there are among them two relations which conform to the three characteristics of the reason and the remaining seven relations are at variance with those characteristics.

2. Zhu-ch’en dpal-brtsegs-raksita (9th cen.): He was a native of Zhu-ch’en and was a Tibetan official interpreter. Following are the names of the works translated by him:

(a) Hetubindu (Gtan-tshigs-kyi thigs-pa, Tg mdo xcv 13. 337a8-357a3) of Dharmakīrti. Translated with the help of the Indian pandita Prabhūtaratna. It is a treatise on logical reasons.

(b) Hetubindu-tikā (Gtan-tshigs-kyi thigs-pa rgya-cher ’grel-ba, Tg mdo cxv 5. 128b8-223b6) of Vinītadeva. Translated with the assistance of the above Indian pandita. It is a commentary on the above work.

(c) Santānāṃśa-siddhi (Rgyud-grhan grub-pa, Tg mdo xcv 17. 404b7-404b3) of Dharmakīrti. Translated with the assistance of the Indian pandita Vīsuddhāśīla. It is a treatise on the reality of other minds, directed against skepticism.
(d) Santānāntarasiḍḍha-tīkā (Rgyud-gzhan grub-pa'i 'grel-bśad, Tg mdo cvii 1. 1-21b2) of Vinitadeva. Translated with the assistance of Visuddhasīṁha. It is a commentary on the above work.

(e) Nyāyabindu-puṣṭvakṣa-saṁśeṣṭi (Rigs-pa'i thigs-pa'i phyogs sna-ma mdo-brs-dus-pa, Tg mdo cvi 3. 113a1-122b6) of Kamalāśīla. Translated with the assistance of Visuddhasīṁha. It is a treatise on the prīna fāce arguments against the Buddhist logic.

(f) Ālambana-parīśa-tīkā (Dnigs-pa brtag-pa'i 'grel-bśad, Tg mdo cvii 3. 183a7-197b7) of Vinitadeva. Translated with the assistance of the Indian pandita Śākyasīṁha. It is a commentary on Dignāga's Ālambanaparīśa.

(g) Bāhyārthaśiddhi-kārikā (Phyī-rol-gyi don-grub-pa ces-byas-ba'i thigs-le'ur-ma-pa. Tg mdo cvi 8. 199b8-207b7) of the Vaibhāṣīka scholars Śāhyagupta. Translated with the help of the Indian pandita Jñāmitra. It is a Vaibhāṣīka treatise containing memorial verses on the reality of external objects.

3 Zhu-chan ye-ses-sde (9th cen.). He translated numerous texts of Sanskrit literature into Tibetan. Among those, Nyāyabindu-tīkā (Rigs-pa'i thigs-pa rgya-cher 'grel-ba, Tg mdo cvi 1. 1-43b3) of Vinitadeva is a remarkable text on logic, which was translated by him with the help of the Indian pandita Jñāmitra. It is a commentary on Dharmakīrti's Nyāyabindu.

4. Vande Nam-mkhā'-skyon (9th cen.) translated Sambhanda-parīśa ("Bre-lba brtag-pa, Tg mdo xcv 14. 357a3-358a7) of Dharmakīrti, and Sambhanda-parīśa ("Bre-lba brtag-pa rgya-cher bsad-pa, Tg mdo cvii 1.1-26b8) of Vinitadeva into Tibetā with the assistance of the Indian pandita Jñanagarbha. The first text is a metrical composition on the problem of relation and the second is a commentary on it.

5. Zhu-chan chos-kyi sba'ad (9th cen.) translated Nyāyabindu-tīkā (Rigs-pa'i thigs-pa'i 'grel, Tg mdo cvii 2. 43b3-113a1) of Dharmottara, with
the assistance of the Indian pandita Jiñānagarbha. It is a commentary on Nyāyatīndu of Dharmakirti.

6. Rma lo-tsa-ba dge-ba'i blo-gros (1044-1089): He was the celebrated interpreter (lo-tsa-ba) of Rma. Among the logical works translated by him, was the Pramāṇa-vārtika (Tshad-ma rnam-'grel) which got the honour of being a fundamental text in the monasteries throughout Tibet. According to 'Gos lo-tsa-ba (1392-1481), a famous Tibetan historian, the beginning of the spread of the study of logic was associated with Dge-ba'i blo-gros. His translations of the logical texts including Dharmakirti's Pramāṇa-vārtika, its auto-commentary and two voluminous commentaries, one by Devendrabuddhi and the other by Śākyabuddhi, show the sign of a perseverant and talented scholar. He was murdered by poison in 1089.

He translated the following works:

(a) Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā (Tshad-ma rnam-'grel tshigs-le'ur byas pa, Tg mdo xcv 10. 190a4-250b6) of Dharmakirti. Translated into Tibetan with the help of the Indian pandita Subhūtisrī-śānti.

It is a metrical composition regarded as a classical text on Buddhist logic. It advocates the philosophy of idealism. It has four chapters: Svārthānumāna (Raṅ-don rjes-dpags), Pramāṇasiddhi (Tshad-ma grub-pa), Pratyakṣa (Mnoon-sum) and Pāramāṇa-vārtika (Gzh'an-don rjes-dpags). First chapter contains the scrutiny of logical reason (hetu, gtan-tshigs), fallacy (hetvābhāsa, gtan-tshigs litar-sna'i), negation (anupalabdhi, mi-dmigs-pa), concomitance (avināḥhvā, med-na mi-'byun-ba), verbal testimony (sabdha, tshig), scripture (āgama gzugs-lugs), relation (sambandha, 'brel-pa), etc. Second chapter contains scrutiny of source of valid knowledge (pramaṇa, tshad-ma), god (śivara, lha), Buddhahood, four truths (catuḥ āryasatyas, 'phags-pa bden bzhis), etc. Third chapter contains scrutiny of perception (pratyakṣa, mion-sum), inference (anumāna, rjes-su dpag-pa), negation (anupalabdhi, mi-dmigs-pa), universal (sāminya, spyi), determination of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites (apoha, sel-ba), etc. Fourth chapter
contains scrutiny of inference for other's sake, constituent parts of syllogism, etc.

The arrangement of the chapter in Pramāṇa-vārtika is a bit peculiar i.e. not a traditional one. It begins with inference, goes over to the validity of knowledge, then comes back to sense-perception which is followed by syllogism at the close. The natural order would have been to begin with the chapter upon the validity of knowledge and then go over to perception, inference and syllogism.

(b) Pramāṇa-vārtika-vṛtti (Tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi 'grel-ba, Sde-dge Tg Tshad-ma No. 4216): It is the auto-commentary of Pramāṇa-vārtika. Translated with the help of Subhutiśrī-sānti.

The commentary is only on the first chapter of Pramāṇa-vārtika and Dharmakīrti could not comment more than this in his life-time.

(c) Vādanyāya (Rtsod-pa'i rig-pa, Tg mdo xcv 16. 364b8-400a7) of Dharmakīrti. Translated with the help of Jñānaśrī-bhadra, a Kashmirian scholar of Buddhist logic. It is a text on the art of debate.

(d) Pramāṇa-vārtika-parājikā (Tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi dk嵩 'grel, Tg mdo xcv 18 & xcvi. 404b3-535a4 and 1-390a8) of Devendrabuddhi. Translated with the help of Subhutiśrī-sānti. It is a commentary on Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇa-vārtika and the commentator was the personal disciple of Dharmakīrti.

(e) Pramāṇa-vārtika (parājikā)-tikā (Tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi 'grel-bśad, Tg mdo xvii & xcvi. i-402a8 and 1-349a8) of Śākyabuddhi, the disciple of Devendrabuddhi. The name of the Indian pandita is not found. It is a commentary on Devendrabuddhi's Pramāṇa-vārtika-parājikā.

7. Zhu-chen Tiin-ñe-dzin bzaṅ-po (11th cen.) translated Yuktī-prayoga (Rigs-pa'i sbyor-ba, Tg mdo cxii 27. 360b8-361a8) of Ratnāvajña, with the help of the Indian pandita Sri-subhutiśrī-sānti same with Subhutiśrī-sānti. It
8. Khuyün-po chos-kyi btsun-'grus (11th cen.): He seems to be a little senior to Rinog lo-tsā-ba as Rinog went to Kashmir with this interpreter and some others. He translated Pramāṇa-viniścaya-tikā (Tshad-ma rnam-par nes-pa'i 'grel-bsad, Tg mdo cx 2. 209b8-355a8) of Śrīnāśīrbhadra (c.1020-c.1080), into Tibetan with the assistance of the author himself who also visited Tibet. The work is a commentary on Dharmakīrti’s Pramāṇa-viniścaya.

9. Pa-tshab ni-ma-grags (b.1055) translated Paraloka-siddhi (’Jig-tsen pha rol grub-pa, Tg mdo cxii 15. 264a8-267b7) of Dharmottara, with the assistance of the Kashmiri pandita Bhavyarāja (1070). It is a treatise on the proof of the world beyond.

10. Grags-'byor sles-rab (11th cen.): He translated Tattvasamgraha-pañjikā (De-kho-na-nid bsdus-pa'i dka'-'grel, Tg mdo cxiii 2 & cxiv. 159b2-431a8 and 1-405a7) of Kamalasila, with the help of the Indian pandita Devendrabhadra (1040). It is a beautiful commentary on Śantaraksitā’s Tattvasamgraha-kārikā.

Another work, translated by him with the help of the Indian pandita Vināyaka, is Kṣanabhaṅga-siddhi-vivarana (Skad-cig-ma ’jig grub-pa'i rnam-'grel, Tg mdo cxii 18. 278b2-295b7) of Muktakalasa (1000). It is a commentary on Dharmottara’s Kṣanabhaṅga-siddhi.

11. Rinog lo-tsā-ba blo-dan sles-rab (1059-1109): According to the famous Tibetan historian Ggos lo-tsā-ba (1392-1481) Rinog lo-tsā-ba was the celebrated founder of the lineage known as the ‘New Nyāya’ (Tshad-ma gsar-ma) in Tibet. Up to now Khuyün-po grags-se’s (early 11th century) works were popular there and those were on ‘Old Nyāya’ (Tshad-ma min-ma). The works translated by Rinog lo-tsā-ba were of Dharmottara and Prajñākara-gupta who brought a new wave in the study of Buddhist logic, and the Tibetan scholastic world sincerely felt the existence of this new stream of thought.

Rinog lo-tsā-ba was the son of Chos-skyabs. He was the follower of the
Bka'-gdams-pa school and became the abbot of the Gsas-phu ne'u-thog monastery. In childhood he went to live with his uncle and studied much under him and Spo-chun-ba tshul-khrims ses-raz and others. When he was 17 (in 1076), he was sent to Kashmir for study. He went there in the company of Rva lo-tsa-ba (b. 1016), Gnam lo-tsa-ba, Khyin-po chos-kyi brtson-grus, Rdo-ston and Btsan kha-bo-che (b. 1011/1020). When king Rtsse-lde had invited most of the Tripitaka-dhara-s of Dbus, Gtsan and Khams, and held the religious council of 1076 A.D., he also attended it. Rtsse-lde's son Dbañ-phug-lde decided to become a supporter of Rnog lo-tsa-ba. Prnog then proceeded to Kashmîr where he attended on six teachers, including Sañana and Parahitabhadra (c. 1010- c. 1090). His provisions having come to an end he sent a letter to Mña'-ris. Dbañ-phug-lde sent him again much gold and requested him to translate Pramāṇa-vārtikā-ālaṃkāra. He made a good translation of it.

He studied for 17 years in Kashmir and then returned to Tibet in 1092, aged 35. In Tibet he studied the Doctrine with the panditas Trikalasa Shhirapsa and Sumanikirti. He visited Nepal for a short while and heard the Tantra from Atulyavajra, Varendrauci and others. Then he again returned to Tibet and made numerous correct translations. He preached at Lhasa, Bsam-yas, Myu-gu-sna, Gnas-sgan-thogs. Gtsan-ngyan-mkhar and other places. Among his assistant teachers were 55 teachers of Alaṅkāra (Pramāṇa-vārtika-ālaṃkāra of Prañnakaragupta) and Pramāṇa-viniscaya-tka (of Dharmottara) 280 expounders of Pramāṇa-viniscaya. He taught extensive logic, five treatises of Maitreyā, the Mādhyamika doctrine and other texts. He passed away at the age of 51 in 1109 on the road in the neighbourhood of Bsam-yas.

Following are the works translated into Tibetan by Rnog lo-tsa-ba:

(a) Nyāyabindu (Rigs-pa'i thigs-pa, Tg mdo xcv 12. 329b1-337a8) of Dharmakirti. Translated with the help of the Indian pandita Parahitabhadra and others.

It is divided into three chapters, (1) Perception (Prañyakṣa, Mñon-sum), (2) Inference for one's own sake (Śvārthānumāna, Ran-gi don-gyi rje-su
(dpag-pa), and (3) Inference for other’s sake (Pararthānamāna, Gzhan-gyi don-gyi rjes-su dpag-pa). Nyṣyābindu is an ideal text narrating all the important things and ideas of Buddhist logic in a simple way. It contains, apart from the definitions of perception and inference, the related theories of mental-conception (kalpaṇa, rto-pa), error (bhūrti, ‘khrul-pa), identity (svabhāva, ran-bzhin), effect (kārya, ‘bras-bu), negation (anupalabdhi, mi-dnigs-pa) and its different varieties, fallacies (hetvābhāsa, gstan-tshigs; lta-rstan), analogues for futilities (jati, lta-gchad), etc.

(b) Pramāṇa-viniscaya (Tshad-ma rnam-par nes-pa, Tg mdo xcv 11. 250b6-329b1) of Dhammakīrti. Translated with the help of the Indian pandita Parahitaḥhadra and others, in Anupamapura of Kashmir.

It is divided into three chapters, (1) Perception, (2) Inference for one’s own sake, and (3) Inference for other’s sake. It is a beautiful explanatory treatise of Dhammakīrti, covering all the necessary matters of Buddhist logic.

(c) Pramāṇa-viniscaya-tika (Tshad-ma rnam-nes-kyi tika, Tg mdo cix & cx 1. 1-347a8 and 1-209b8) of Dharmottara. Translated with the assistance of the Indian pandita Parahitaḥhadra (1080) and others, in Anupamapura of Kashmir. It is a commentary on Dhammakīrti’s Pramāṇa-viniscaya.

(d) Pramāṇa-vārtika-alaṃkāra (Tshad-ma rnam-‘grel-gyi rgyan, Tg mdo cix & c. 1-382a7 and 1-344a6) of Prajñākaraṇagupta. Translated with the help of the pandita Bhavyarāja (Skał-ladan rgyal-po) of Kashmir. Later the translation was checked by Riog lo-tsa-ba with the help of another Indian pandita Samatikīrti. The text is a commentary on Pramāṇa-vārtika of Dhammakīrti.

(e) Pramāṇa-vārtika-alaṃkāra-tīkā (Tshad-ma rnam-‘grel rgyan-gyi ‘grel-bsad, Tg mdo cii 2, cvi & cvii. 208a7-345a8, 1-290a7, 1-436a8 and 1-321a5) of Yama. Translated with the help of the Indian pandita Samatikīrti in the Sde-than monastery near Lhasa. It is a voluminous commentary on Pramāṇa-vārtika-alaṃkāra of Prajñākaraṇagupta, which is a commentary on
Dharmakirti’s Pramāṇavārttika.

(f) Pramāṇa-parikṣā (Tshad-ma brtag-pa, Tg mdo cxxii 12, 213a4-236b1) of Dharmottara. Name of the Indian pandita is not found. It is a treatise on the examination of the source of valid knowledge (pramāṇa, tshad-ma).

(g) Apoha-nāma-prakāraṇa (Gzhon-sel-ba rab-tu byed-pa, Tg mdo cxxii 14, 252b4-264a8) of Dharmottara. Translated with the assistance of the Indian pandita Bhavyarāja (1070), in Anupamapura of Kashmir. It is a treatise on the determination of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites.

(h) Kṣan-bhaṅga-siddhi (Skad-cig-ma ’jug-pa grub-pa, Tg mdo cxxi 17, 268a2-271b2) of Dharmottara. Translated with the assistance of the Indian pandita Bhavyarāja. It is a treatise on the momentariness of everything.

(i) Apohasiddhi (Sel-ba grub-pa, Tg mdo cxxi 20, 302b3-325a7) of Saṃkarāṇanda. Translated with the help of the Kashmirian pandita Manoratha (? Manorathanandin who composed an excellent Vṛtti on Pramāṇa-vārttika) in Anupamapura of Kashmir. It is a treatise on the determination of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites.

(j) Pratibandha-siddhi (’Bre-pa grub-pa, Tg mdo cxxi 21, 325a7-326b1) of Saṃkarāṇanda. Translated with the help of the Kashmirian pandita Bhavyarāja. It is a treatise on the establishment of the causal relation.

12. Zha-ma Seṅ-ge rgyal-po (Zha-ma seṅ-ge/Seṅ-ge rgyal-mtshan) (11th cen.): This famous interpreter learned the work of a translator under Rma lo-tsā-ba (1044-1089), Rōog lo-tsā-ba (1059-1109), and others. He translated some very important texts on Buddhist logic among which one that shook the entire world of Indian logic is the Pramāṇa-samuccaya of Dignāga. Following are the works translated by him into Tibetan:

(a) Pramāṇa-samuccaya (Tshad-ma kун-las btus-pa, Tg mdo xcv 1. 1-13a5) of Dignāga. Translated with the help of his collaborators, Dad-pa’i
It is a revolutionary text in the field of Buddhist logic. By virtue of it, the Buddhists in India got the strength to fight against the Naiyāyikas, their main opponents, in the duel ground. It is a metrical composition and is divided into six chapters, (1) Perception (Pratyakṣa, Māyon-suni), (2) Inference for one’s own sake (SVārthānumāṇa, Raṅ-ko-gyi rje-s-dpag), (3) Inference for other’s sake (Parārabhāvanā, Gzhan-gyi don-gyi rjes-dpag), (4) Reason and example (Hetu-dṛṣṭānta, Glar-tshigs dkar Dpe), (5) Determination of a thing by exclusion of its opposites (Apolā, Gzhan sel-ba), and (6) Analogue (jāti, Liig-gcod).

(b) Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti (Tshad-ma kun-las btus-pa’i grol-ba, Tg mdo xcv 2. 13a6-93b+). Translated with the help of the Indian pandita Vasudhararaksita. It is the auto-commentary of Pramāṇa-samuccaya.

13. Daṅ-pa’i sles-rab (11th cen.): He was the collaborator of Zha-ma Seṅ-ge rgyal-po in the work of translating Pramāṇa-samuccaya. He separately translated the auto-commentary (Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti, Tshad-ma kun-las btus-pa’i grol-ba) of Pramāṇa-samuccaya with the help of the Indian pandita Kanakavaramana. Luckily it has got the place in Taṣjur Collection and bears the No. Tg mdo xcv 3. 93b4-174a7.

14. Dga’ (? Dge)-ba’i rdo-rje (11th cen.) translated Sambandhapa-parikṣāṇaparāra (“Brel-pa brtag-pa’i rjes-su brai-ba, Tg mdo xcii 2. 27a6-44a3) of Saṃkaraṇanda, with the assistance of the Indian pandita Prarahita-bhadra (c.1010-c.1090). It is a commentary on Dharmakirti’s Sambandhapa-parikṣā.

15. Dpal-mchog dan-po’i rdo-rje of Sum-pa (in Amdo) (11th cen.) translated Bāhivatāraka-tarka (Byis-pa’ jug-pa’i rog-ge, Tg mdo xcii 26. 348a1-360b8) of Jñāti, with the help of the Indian pandita Nāgarakṣita. It is an introductory treatise on logic for the children.

16. Sakya bla-ma Zhi-ba’od (11th cen.): He lived in Gu-ge in western
Tibet. He translated, with the help of the Kashmirian pandita Guṇākaraśrī-bhadra, Tattvasaṅgraha-kārīka (De-kho-na-nid bsdus-pa'i tshig-le'ur byas-pa, Tg mdo cxii 1. 1-159b2) of Sāntarakṣita, in Phun-thon-shing-glii monastery in Gu-ge. The text is a metrical composition and is considered a magnum opus of the Buddhist logical literature.

17. ‘Bro Sakya-’od (11th cent.): He was a native of the village of Šeṅ-dkar in the province of “Bro. Following are the works he translated into Tibetan:

(a) Sahāvalamba-nīscaya (? Sahopalambha-niscaya) (Lhan-cig dmigs-pa ŋes-pa, Tg mdo cxii 19. 295b7-302b3) of Prajñākaragupta. Translated with the help of the Nepalese pandita Sāntibhadra. It is a treatise on the ascertainment of the existence of the objects simultaneously with their knowledge.

(b) Viśisṭatīmātratā-siddhi (Rnam-par rig-pa tsam-nid grub-pa, Tg mdo cxii 22. 326b1-329b6) of Ratnakarasānti. Translated with the help of the Nepalese pandita. It is a treatise on the existence of knowledge alone.

(c) Hetuttavopadesa (Gtan-tshigs-kyi de-kho-na-nid bstan-pa, Tg mdo cxii 24. 335a4-343b1) of Jitārī. Translated with the help of the Indian pandita Kumāralakṣa. It is a treatise on the real nature of the reasons in a syllogism.

(d) Kāryakāraṇabhāva-siddhi (Rgyu daṅ 'bras-bu'i nö-bo grub-pa, Tg mdo cxii 29. 399a3-403a4) of jiñānāśīri-mitra. Translated with the help of the Indian pandita Kumāralakṣa. The translation was checked by Sākya-’od with the assistance of the Nepalese pandita Anantasri. It is a treatise on the relation between cause and effect.

(e) Antavyāpti (Nan-gi khyab-pa, Tg mdo cxii 23. 329b6-335a4) of Ratnakarasānti. Translated with the assistance of the Indian pandita Kumāralakṣa. It is a treatise on internal inseparable connection.

(f) Vādanyāya-vṛtti vipaścitārtha nama (Rtsod-pa'i rig-gs-pa'i 'grel-pa don rnam-par 'byed-pa zhes-bya-ba, Tg mdo cviii 2. 21b2-137a8) of
Sántarakṣita. Translated with the collaborator “Phags-pa šes-rab and with the help of the Indian pandita Kumārasarī-bhadra, in the Bsam-yas monas
tery. It is an elaborate commentary on Dharmakīrti’s Vādanyāya.

18. Zhon-chen Bya-chub šes-rab (11th cen.) translated Pramāṇa-
vaśīka-laṅkāra-āṭīkā (Tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi rgyan-gyi 'grel-bsad, Tg
mdo ci & ci. 1-434a8 and 1-375a8) of Jina with the help of the great pandita
Dīpankararākṣita of Vikramāśīla in Anupamirabhoga vihāra of Tho-
lin. It is a voluminous commentary on Pramāṇa-vāśīka-laṅkāra of
Prajñākarāgupta.

19. Pa-tshab Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (12th cen.) translated Trikā-
paṇksā (Dus-gsum bṛtag-pa, Tg mdo xcv 6. 179a4-180b1) of Dignāga, with
the help of the Indian pandita Sāntyākarāgupta (b. c. 1117), It is a treatise
on the examination of three times.

20. Sa-skya Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216) was the fifth hierarch
of the Sa-skya monastery of western Tibet. He translated Nyāya-prāveśa
(Tshad-ma rigs-pa 'jug-pa'i sgo, Tg mdo xcv 7. 180b2-184b6) of Dignāga,
with the help of the Indian pandita Sarvajñāsirākṣita, in the Sa-skya
monastery.

21. Dpaṅ lo-tsa-ba blo-gros brtan-pa (1276-1342) translated a mag-
nificent commentary named Visālamālavatī (Yans-pa dan dri-ma med-pa
ldan-pa, Tg mdo cvx. 1-355a8) of Jinendra-buddhi. The name of the Indian
pandita is not found. However, Dpyi-lo-tsa-ba was assisted by another
Tibetan scholar named Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan (1283-1325), the teacher of the
famous Tibetan historian Bu-ston (1290-1364). The commentary is on
Dignāga’s famous work Pramāṇa-sanucca.

Tarkabhaṣa (Rtogs-pis i skad, Tg mdo cvii 28. 361a8-399a3) of
Moksākarāgupta was another work which was translated by him. Here
also no name of the Indian pandita is mentioned. It is a treatise on the
technicities of logic.

Apart from the above works, there are a number of very important

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works on Buddhist logic which were translated into Tibetan, but we do not find the names either of the Indian panditas or of the Tibetan interpreters. Those are the following:

Ālambana-parikṣā (Dmigs-pa brtag-pa, Tg mdo xcv 4. 177a7-177b5) of Dignāga. It is a metrical treatise on the objects of thought.

Ālambana-parikṣā-vṛtti (Dmigs-pa brtag-pa'i 'grel-pa, Tg mdo xcv 5. 177b5-179a4) of Dignāga. It is an auto-commentary on Ālambana-parikṣā.

Sambandha-parikṣā-vṛtti ('Brel-pa brtag-pa 'grel-ba, Tg mdo xcv 15. 356a7-364b8) of Dharmakīrti. It is an auto-commentary on Sambandha-parikṣā.

Sarvajñāsiddhi-kārikā (Thamsa-cad mkhyen-pa grub-pa'i thugs-le ur byas-pa, Tg mdo cxxi 7. 198b6-199b7) of Śubhagupta. It is a metrical composition on the existence of an Omniscient being.

Śrutī-parikṣā-kārikā (Thos-pa brtag-pa'i thugs le'ur byas-pa, Tg mdo cxxii 9. 207b7-208b5) of Śubhagupta. It is a metrical composition on verbal testimony.

Anyāpohavīcāra-kārikā (Gzhan sel-ba-la brtag-pa'i thugsgle'ur byas-pa, Tg mdo cxxi 10. 208b5-212a1) of Śubhagupta. It is a metrical composition on the determination of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites.

Īśvarabhāṅga-kārikā (Dban-phug 'gjig-pa'i thugs-le'ur byas-pa, Tg mdo cxxi 11. 212a2-213a3) of Śubhagupta. It is a metrical composition on the refutation of God.

Vādanyāya-līkā (Rtsed-pa'i rigs-pa'i 'grel-ba, Tg mdo cxxii 3. 44a3-71a5) of Vinītadeva. It is a commentary on Dharmakīrti's Vādanyāya.

Hetubindu-vivarāṇa (Gtan-thigs thigs-pa'i 'grel-ba, Tg mdc cxxi 6. 223b7-302a8) of Arcaṭa. It is a commentary on Dharmakīrti's Hetubindu.

Pramāṇa-vārtika-vṛtti (Tshad ma rnam 'grel-gyi 'grel-ba, Tg mdc cxxi 3. 3.137a8-266a6) of Ravigupta. It is an annotation on the Pramāṇa-vārtika of Dharmakīrti.

Pramāṇa-vārtika-līkā (Tshad ma rnam 'grel-gyi 'grel-bsad, Tg mdo

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Dharma-dharmi-visiscaya (Chos dan chos-can gtan-la dbab-pa, Tg mdo cxi 25. 343b2-347b8) of Jitāri. It is a treatise on the determination of the quality and qualificand.

One Pramāṇa-vidhvaṃsana-tīppitaka-vṛtti(10) (Tshad-ma rnam-par 'joms-pa mdo-rbsd-pa'i 'grel, Tg mdo cxi 11. 398b4-401b8) is seen to have been translated into Tibetan. But names of the translators are not found. The work is attributed to Nāgarjuna. It reproduced Nāgarjuna's definition of the sixteen categories, Pramāṇa (tshad-ma), Gzhal-bya (prameya), etc.

III. Buddhist logic: Its study in different big monasteries

Monasteries regulated the educational world of Tibet. The Grand lamas set the system of education, and curriculum in their respective monasteries. Even a single monastery is seen to follow different syllabus for its different schools (grva-tshaṅ). Thus the schools had their own set of manuals and their own learned tradition.

In a big monastery, there are five general subjects(10) taught, among which Buddhist logic or rather specifically Rṣam-'grel (Pramāṇa-vārtika)(10) was one.

The monastic history started with the foundation of Bsam-yes. Though it became sacred with the touch of an eminent Buddhist logician Sāntarakṣita who visited Tibet in c. 779 at the invitation of the Tibetan king Khri-ssoṅ Ide'u-btsan (8th cen.). no detail of the study in it is known to us. However, it continued still, enjoying wealthy patronage and regarded with respect by new generations of teachers, who nonetheless developed rather different lines of thought, derived from their contacts with Indian masters and such Tibetan scholars as 'Brog-mi (993-1074) and Mar-pa (1012-97), who returned
from study in India and Nepal. Groups of disciples gathered around these new masters, and it was in their centres of teaching that the various subsequent 'orders' of Tibetan Buddhism had their origin.

The first of the great new schools or 'orders' was the Sa-skya-pa, which takes its name from the monastery of Sa-skya, founded in 1073 by Dken-mchog rgyal-po of the 'Khcn family, who was a disciple of 'Bro-mgi. A great scholar of this sect, who increased the fame of this school rapidly was Sa-skya-pa-pandita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251). Sa-skya maintained a rich cultural tradition and prosperity in Tibet. Though an eccentric mystical type of education was preferred, yet study of logic was also given much importance. So far it is known that there is a set of manuals following the ancient tradition of the Sa-skya-pa-pandita monastery.5

Within a few centuries, a great change in the sectarian history of Tibet came about. In the 14th century Dge-lugs-pa or Yellow sect emerged, and spread all over Tibet. Gradually it became powerful with the relentless activities of the great reformist Tsioi-kha-pa Blo-bza'i grags-pa (1357-1419) Sectarian. This scholar himself wrote treatise on logic and extensive study is seen in the monasteries of the Yellow sect.

There are four great monasteries of the Yellow sect, namely, Dga'-ldan, 'Bras-spus, Se-ra and Bka'-sís lhun-po.

Dga'-ldan or rather fully Dga'-ldan rnam-par dge-ba'i gling was founded in 1409, by Tsioi-kha-pa. It is about twenty-five miles east of Lhasa. It had three schools, namely, Byan-rtses, sar-rtse and mna'-ris. Byan-rtse school followed the logical texts of Rje-btsun Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan (1469-1544) and Sar-rtse school followed the texts of Pan-chen Boed-nams grags-pa (1478-1554).6 In 1541, the second Dalai Lama Dge-'dun rgya-mtsho (1475-1542) founded the Mna'-ris school of the Dga'-ldan monastery. This school followed the text-books written by Bstan-pa dar-bzu'i and Blo-gros sbas-pa, with some additional reading materials on this matter, such as some writings on Rnam'-grel, by Gsa'i-bdag sprul-sku 'Ol-kha rje-dru'n Blo-bzu'i phrin-
One of the greatest monasteries of Tibet is 'Bras-spangs. It was founded in 1414, by Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma rin-chen (1364-1432), one of the disciples of Tsoi-kha-pa. It is situated about three miles west of Lhasa. This monastery has three schools, namely, Blo-gsal-glun, Bkra-sis sgo-ma-n and Bde-yas. Blo-gsal-glun school follows the logical texts of Pan-chen Bsdod-rams grags-pa. Bkra-sis sgo-ma-school was founded by Kun-mchyen 'Jan-dbyan's bzhad-pa Nag-dba'n brtson-grus (1648-1722) and follows the logical texts of the founder himself. Apart from those, the school also teaches Nag-dba'n bgra-sis's Bsdun-grva' i.e. a compendium on logic. All Mongolia follows the tradition of the Bkra-sis sgo-ma or rather simply sgo-ma school. Bde-yas is a small school and follows the syllabus of Sne-than Rva-ba-stod monastery.

Another great monastery of Tibet is Se-ra or rather Se-ra theg-chen-glin. It was founded in 1417, by Mkhhas-grub Dge-legs dpal-bzan-po (1385-1438). It is situated about a mile and a half to the north of Lhasa. Se-ra has two schools, namely, Se-ra-byes and Se-ra-smad. Se-ra-byes school follows the commentary on all the four chapters of Rnam-'gel, written by Rje-btsun-pa Chos-kyi nyal-mtshan (1469-1544). Se-ra-smad follows the texts of Mkhhas-grub Bstan-dar.

Another great monastery and the seat of the Panchen Lamas is Bkra-sis lhun-po. It was founded in 1447, by the first Dalai Lama Dge-'dun-grub (1391-1474), near the south bank of the Gtsan-po near Gzhin-kar-tse. This monastery has three different schools, namely, Thos-bsam-glun, Dkyil-kha'n and Sar-rtsa. Thos-bsam-glun school follows the text-books written by the following scholars: Pan-chen Bsdod-rams rnam-nyal, Byan-sronBlo-gros rgyal-mtsho Kun-mchyen Chos-byor dpal-bzan, Sa'i-rgyas rgyal-po dpal-rda'n rin-chen, Dri-med bses-gnen, Blo-bzan bses-gnen, Dge-'dun-bsam-grub and Dge-'dun Blo-bzan. Dkyil-kha'n school follows the texts of Bstan-pa dar-bzan and Blo-gros sbas-pa (1400-1475). Sar-rtsa school follows the
texts of Kun-mkhyen Legs-pa don-grub.\(^{86}\)

Extensive study on logic is carried on in the Sje-thaṅ Ra-va-stod monastery.\(^{67}\) Here the texts of Sams-pa kun-mkhyen Mchog-lha 'od-zer (1429-1500), Dkon-mchog chos-'phel\(^{19}\) (1573-1646), Gra-chun-pa Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, Rie Shes-rab ser-ge, Giṅ-śmad Nag-dbaṅ dpal-byor and Drun-chen Legs-pa bzan-po are followed.\(^{19}\)

'Jam-dbyans bzhad-pa was a native of Amdo in eastern Tibet. He studied in the Blo-gsal-glin school of the 'bras-spuṅs monastery. He founded the Sgo-maṅ school of the same monastery. But he dissented with his teachers, and retired to his native country. He then founded a new monastery in Amdo, named Bla-brāṅ Bka-ris-s'i-khyil. It became celebrated as a seat of profound learning and as the spiritual metropolis of all Mongolā. An extensive culture of Buddhist logic is reported to have been maintained in this monastery.

Buddhist logic was sincerely taught and studied also in Dag-po bzhad-sgrub-glin in south Tibet.

Whatever that is publicly interesting factor about logic lies in the practical side of this subject. Public debate over different subjects was very interesting in Tibet. Though the contents of Buddhist logic alone might have been open to discussion, Vinaya, Madhyamika philosophy, Prajñāparamitā, etc., were given equal importance to be and discussed in a public debate. Hence all those met with a common characteristic of being discussed publicly.

To study logic and participate in a discussion was a part of the daily routine of a monk in the great monasteries. We see that in the fourth assembly held about 3 p.m. in the Grand Lama’s private monastery of Chapel-royal of Rnam-rgyal, or mount Potala, the junior or middle-grade monks occasionally meet for a public wrangling on set themes to stimulate theological proficiency. In unreformed monasteries\(^{20}\) or small monasteries,
importance is given to sermons and sacrifice for the monks.\(^{(21)}\)

There is little doubt that public disputations made the subject much more attractive than any other exercise regarding that for the students. Indeed, the academic feature of the monastic universities of Tibet is perhaps seen at its best in the prominence given to dialectics and disputations, thus following the speculative traditions of the earlier Indian Buddhists. That is why in the great monastic universities of Dga’-ldan, ‘Bras-spyus, Se-ra and Bkra-sis lhun-po, each with a teeming population of monks ranging from about 4,000 to 8,000, public disputations are regularly held, and form a recognized institution, in which every divinity student or embryo lama must take part. This exercise is called expounding “the true and innermost essence (of the doctrine)” (mtshan-nid), in which an endeavor is made to ascertain both the literal sense and the spirit of the doctrine, and it is held within a barred court.

Within the court Chos-ra the disputations are held in seven grades (‘dzin-grva) namely: 1) Kha-dog 6kar-dmar, 2) Tshad-ma, 3) Phar-phyan, 4) Mdzod, 5) ‘Dul-ba, 6) Dbu-ma and 7) Bslab-btus. At these disputations there are tree-trunks, called the Sal-tree trunk (Sug-soin), Lca-h-ma sdan-po and yu-ba; and bounded by a wall, and inside the court is covered by pebbles (rde’u). In the middle there is a great high stone seat for the lord protector (Skyabs-mgon), and a smaller seat for the abbot (Mtshan-po of the school, and one still smaller for the chief celebrant.

On reaching the enclosure, the auditors take their respective seats in the seven grades in each of which discussions are held. One of the most learned candidates volunteers for examination, or as it is called to be vow-keeper (Dam-bca’), takes his seat in the middle, and the others sit round him. Then the students stand up one by one, and dispute with him.

The scholar who stands up wears the yellow hat, and, clapping his hands together says, Ka-yel and then puts his questions to the vow-keeper, who is questioned by every student who so desires; and if he succeeds in
any case, one is transferred to another grade after every three years.

After twenty-one years of age the rank of Dge-ses is obtained, though some clever students may get it even at eleven. The abbot of the college comes into the enclosure seven days every month, and supervises the disputations of the seven grades. When a candidate has reached the bslab-btus grade, he is certain soon to become a Dge-ses.

The great disputation, however, is held four times a year, in spring, summer, autumn, and in winter; in a great paved courtyard, and lasts for five to seven days. On these occasions, all the scholars and abbots of the four schools of the colleges of 'Bras-spuns congregate there. And all the learned students of the four schools who belong to the grade of bslab-btus volunteer for examination, and each is questioned by the students who ply their questions, saying My Lama, 'just like flies on meat'. When the voluntary examinee has successfully replied to all the questions he goes to the abbot of his own school, and, presenting a silver coin and a scarf, he requests permission to be examined on the Lhasa mass-day. If the abbot receives the coin and scarf, then the application is approved, and if not, the student is referred to his studies. In the great Lhasa mass-day all the monks of Dga'-ldan, 'Bras-spuns, and Se-ra congregate, and examinations are held every seventh day, and the Dge-ses of the three monasteries act as examiners. If the volunteer can answer them all, then the Lord Protector throws a scarf round his neck, and he thus receives the title of Dge-ses — somewhat equivalent to our Bachelor of Divinity.

The newly-fledged Dge-ses is now known as a Skya-ser-med-pa dge-ses. Then he must give soup (called Dge-ses thug-pa) to all the students of his school and club, each student getting a cupful. The soup is made of rice, mixed with meat and butter, and different kinds of fruits. Then the abbot of the school and the Spyl-so of his club, and all his friends and relatives, each gives him a Kha-gdags scarf and money as present.(20)
IV. Original Tibetan commentaries and independent treatises

When Buddhism in India proper had become extinct, an indigenous independent production of works on logic by Tibetan monks gradually developed and continued the Indian tradition. The original Tibetan literature on logic begins in the 11th century A.D. just a little before when Buddhism becomes extinct in northern India. Its history can be divided into two periods, the old one, up to the time of Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419), and the new one, after Tson-kha-pa.

The history of logic in Tibet is marked with the appearance of a famous Tibetan interpreter Rma lo-tsa-ba Dge-ba’i blo-gros (1044-1089). He made the logic into a system through teaching and study. This was the beginning of the spr-n-d of the teaching of logic, which became thus established in the region of Dbus and Gtsaṅ. At this time there was a famous scholar named Khyun-po grags-se who composed numerous treatises on logic. They are called the “Old Nyāya” (Tshad-ma miin-ma). Apart from this, we do not get any further information about the works of this great scholar. Khyun-po seems to have been a contemporary of Po-to-pa Rin-chen-gsal (1031-1105).

Next comes the name of the great scholar-translator Blo-l tan sles-rab who is reportedly to have written a short commentary on Pramāṇa-vārtika, named Sles-rab ‘grel-chuṅ.

Rgya-dmar-pa Byaṅ-chub-grags (11-12th cen.) was a learned scholar in logic as well as a possessor of numerous Tantric secret precepts. He lived in Stod-luns and taught at Myaṅ-po and other monasteries. He composed an original Tibetan commentary on Pramāṇa-viniscaya (Tshad-ma rnam-nes) of Dharmakirti (Chos-kyi grags-pa). He had many disciples. The great logician Cha-ba Chos-kyi sen-gge was one of them.

At this time another Tibetan scholar named Smon-lan tshul-khrims (11-12 th cen.) of Zhaṅ-gye is known to have written a commentary on
Pramana-viniscaya. He was the disciple of Khu Ser-brtson (1075-1124).

Cha-ba (/Phya-pa) Chos-kyi sen-ge(1109-1169) studied under Byan-chub-grags the systems of Madhyamika and Nyaya (logic). Later, he became the abbot of the Gsas-phu-ne-u-thog monastery for 18 years. Among his numerous commentaries on different treatises, there was a commentary on Pramana-viniscaya. Cha-ba composed its abridgement also. He composed an independent work on logic in mnemonic verse, named Tshad-ma'i bsdu-pa yid-kyi mun-sel or “Abridgement of logic — disperser of darkness of mind”, and an auto-commentary thereon. "Gos lo-tsā-ba (1392-1481), a renowned Tibetan historian writes: He (Gos lo-tsā-ba) heard about a Phyī-nā-ti grub-nitha’ bsdu-pa or “Summary on the the theories of non-Buddhist and Buddhist” and about a Ses-byā gzhis-i’a’i bsad-pa or “Exposition of the five bases of the knowable” by him."

Cha-ba is the creator of a special Tibetan logical style on which some remarks will be made in the sequel. He asserted that the absolute negation of the reality of external objects represented the paramārtta-satya which, according to him, was the object of an approximate judgement determined by words and thought-constructions.

A large commentary on Pramāṇa-viniscaya was composed by Gtsan-nag-pa Brtson-gus sen-ge (12th cen.). The commentator also composed a number of text-books on Nyaya, Madhyamika and other subjects. His numerous large and abridged commentaries on the Madhyamika follow the method of Candrakirti. His exposition of logic was very popular in the monastery of Roi-wo/Reb-kori, Amdo.

Dan-bag-pa Smra-ba'i sen-ge (12th cen.) composed an independent treatise on logic. Bu-stor (1290-1365) mentions in his Tshad-ma rnam-par rjes-pa'i mtha'-don (The meaning of the term pramāṇa-viniscaya), one Dan-bag-pa Dar-mabkra-sis in the lineage of Pramāṇa-viniscaya and most probably Dar-ma bkra-sis is same and identical with Smra-ba'i sen-ge. Anyway, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba says that he had seen other works composed by Dan-bag-pa except an “Abridgement of logic” (Tshad-ma'i bsdu-pa) by
hin and a commentary on Asuttaratantra. ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba is sure that Dan-
bag-pa had composed many refutations of acarya Cha-ba’s theory about
the endlessness of Time and the infinity of atoms.‘\textsuperscript{(16)}

The Classical Tibetan work of the 13th century has been produced by
the fifth grand lama of the Sa-skya monastery, the celebrated Sa-skya pandita
Kun-dga’ rgyal-nspan (1182-1251). It is a short treatise\textsuperscript{(17)} in mnemonic
verse with the author’s own commentary.\textsuperscript{(18)} Its title is Ishad-ma rigs-pa’i
gtler (Pramaṇa-yukti-nidhi). It was strongly criticised by the late logicians of
the Yellow School.\textsuperscript{(19)}

His pupil U-yug-pa Rigs-pa’i sen-ge\textsuperscript{(20)} (13th cen.) composed a detailed
commentary on the whole of Pramaṇa-vartika. This work is held in very
high esteem by the Tibetans. ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba writes\textsuperscript{(21)}: U-yug-pa [bso-\nphan sen-ge], the disciple of ‘Jan-ba ston-skryabs headed (the exposition) of
Pramana-vartika from Sa-skya pan-chen at Sa-skya. Thanks to his teaching,
there appeared numerous disciples, including the great scholar Zhan-
Mdo-sde-dpal and others. The spread of Pramanavartika up to the present
time [i.e. ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba’s year of completion of his history book, 1478] is
due to Pan-chen and him. In my younger days [i.e. around the first decade of
the 19th century] the inmates of Gsal-phu used to study Pramana-viniscaya,
but now-a-days they have changed over to Pramaṇa-vartika.

At the very time of U-yug-pa, another Tibetan scholar named ‘Jam-
dbyaṅs gsal-ma\textsuperscript{(22)} appears to have composed a commentary on Pramana
viniscaya.\textsuperscript{(23)}

An extensive commentary on Pramana-viniscaya was composed by
the famous historian and writer Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1365). Its title
is ‘Ishad-ma mnam-par ‘bles-pa’i tshigs-don rab-gsal\textsuperscript{(24)}; Bu-ston also com-
posed a small tract\textsuperscript{(25)} on the meaning of the term pramana-viniscaya.

Mahapandita Bisun-pa ‘Jam-dbyaṅs\textsuperscript{(26)} (‘Jam-pa’i dbyaṅs), a disciple
of the famous scholar ‘kcom-idan rigs-pa’i ral-glugs\textsuperscript{(27)}, became the court
chaplain (mchod-gnas) of Buyantu-pan (1311-1320), a Mongol prince. There
he wrote a short commentary on the Pramana-viniscaya.\(^{38}\)

The last writer of this old period was Red-mda’-pe Gzhon-nu blo-gros (1349-1412). He was the teacher of Tson-kha-pa and the author of an independent work on the general tendency of Dignaga’s system.\(^{39}\)

The literature of the new period can be divided into systematical works and school manuals. We here shall try to concentrate in systematical works only.

The first writer of this period was Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419). He was the greatest reformer of Tibet though himself wrote only a short introduction to the study of the Seven Treatises\(^{40}\) of Dhammakirti. The title of that work is Sde-bdzun-la ‘jug-pa’i sgo don-grub yid kyi mun-se\(^{41}\).

Tson-kha-pa’s three disciples Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma rin-chen (1364-1432), Mchus-grub Dge-legs dpal-bzah-po (1385-1438) and Dge-dun-grub (1391-1474) surpassed their preceptor in writing on logic, since they composed commentaries almost on every work of Dignaga and Dhammakirti.

Rgyal-tshab composed detailed commentaries on Pramana-vartika, Pramana-viniscaya, and Nyayabindu, all of Dhammakirti and Pramana-samuccaya of Dignaga. Those bear the titles Tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi tshegl-le'ur byas-pa'i rnam-bsad thar-lam phyin-cina-log-par-gsal-bar byed-pa\(^{50}\), Bstan-bcos tshad-ma rnam-nes-kyi tik-chen dgon-pa rab-gsal\(^{51}\) Tshad-ma rigs-thigs-kyi 'grel-pa legs-bsad shiin-po'i gter\(^{42}\) and Tshad-ma mdol'i rnam-bsad\(^{43}\) respectively.

Other important work of Rgyal-tshab is a commentary\(^{44}\) on the treatise Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter of S-skiya pandita. Its title is Tshad-ma rigs-gter-gyi rnam-bsad legs-par bsad-pa'i stiin-po but generally known by its short title Rigs-gter dar-tik. One summary\(^{45}\) of Pramana-vartika and other small related works\(^{46}\) were also composed by him. Original treatises of Rgyal-tshab includes Tshad-ma'i lam-khris\(^{47}\) on Introduction to logic, 'Gal-brel-gyi rnam-gzhas\(^{48}\) on Separation and relation which are the important topics of discussion in Buddhist logic, and Phyogs-sgra 'jug-tshul niin-su\(^{49}\) on
the use of propositional word.

Mkhas-grub wrote a very detailed commentary on Pramāṇa-vartika, with the sub-title Rg-pa'i nyga-ratsho⁴⁰. An annotative work on the Seven Treatises of Dharmakīrti was another treatise composed by him. Its title is Tshad-ma sde-bdun-gyi rgyan yid-kyi mun-se⁴⁰. His one independent work, Tshad-bras-kyi rram-bad chen-mo⁴⁰ deals with the source of valid knowledge and its effect.

Dge-'dun-grub was the first who acquired the post of religio-political supremacy in Tibet, i.e., he was the first Dalai Lama. He composed a commentary⁴⁰ on Pramāṇa-vartika in 1432. Tshad-ma rigs-rgyan⁴⁰ was an independent work written by him in 1437.

Thaṅ bla-ma thor-god Jam-dbyangs ses-rab sbyin-pa wrote two small works, one summary⁴⁰ of Pramāṇa-vartika and a commentary on inference for one's own sake⁴⁰.

Spyan-sna Elo-gros rgyal-mtshan, a close disciple of Mkhas-grub wrote a treatise named Tshad-ma rnam-'grel-la brta-pa'i lta-khrid⁴⁰.

Pañ-chen Bsod-rams grags-pa (1478-1554) wrote a commentary⁴⁰ on Pramāṇa-vartika.

Padma Ńkar-po⁴⁰ (1527-1592), a giant figure of the Tibetan academic world wrote two works, one detailed and the other brief, on the contention of Pramāṇa-samuccaya of Dīgācā and Seven Treatises of Dharmakīrti. The titles of those two works are Tshad-ma mdo dañ sde-bdun-gyi don gtan-la phab-pa'i bstan-bcos rje-btsun 'jam-pa'i dbya'i-dbyas-kyi dgoṅs-rgyan⁴⁰ and Tshad-ma'i mdo sde-bdun dañ bcas-pa'i spyi-don rigs-pa'i ston-po chesy-byas-ba⁴⁰.

The celebrated grand lama 'jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa Ngag-dbang brtson-'grus (1648-1722) was an extraordinary man to write a whole library of works on every department of Buddhist learning. He was a native of Amdo in
Eastern Tibet. He composed a commentary on Pramāṇa-vārttika.

Sum-pa mkha’-pa Ye-ses dpal-b’yor (1709-1786), a great historian, also touched the subject with his Tshad-ma sde-bdun-gyi stik-nor dan grub-mtha’i rnam-bzhag ’phan-dus[10].

Klön-rdo bla-ma Nag-dbaṅ blo-bzāṅ (b. 1719) was an erudite scholar and writer of a number of important texts on different subjects. He wrote Tshad-ma rnam-grel-sogs gstan-tshigs rig-pa-las byun-bzhi min-gi graṅs[10] containing explanation of important technical terms in Pramāṇa-vārttika and other treatises on logic.

The third Panchen Lama Blo-bzāṅ dpal-ldan ye-ses (1737-1780) was a renowned scholar who wrote a commentary[10] on Tshad-ma rigs-rgyan of Dge’-dun-grub. He also wrote a small tract[10] on Pramāṇa-vārttika.


Unabating culture of Buddhist logic or rather specifically the culture of Rnam-grel (Pramāṇa-vārttika) is observed in Tibet. Stecherbatsky also did not have the different experience and that is why wrote "The literary production in this field has never stopped and is going on up to the present time. The quantity of works printed in all the monastic printing offices of Tibet (and also Mongolia) is enormous."

V. Schools followed in Tibetan logical literature

Buddhist philosophy in India is broadly divided into four schools, namely, "Mādhyamika" - advocating the philosophy of voidness of everything, "Yogācāra" - advocating the philosophy of voidness of only external things, "Sautrāntika" - advocating the philosophy of ineradicable existence of external things, and "Vibhāṣika" - advocating the philosophy of perceivable existence of external things. The Indian logicians composed treatises following their respective philosophical lines they belonged to. Thus, we see the works of Nagarjuna and others follow Mādhyamika school.

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the works of Dignaga, Dharmakirti and others follow Yogačāra school: the works of Sāntaraksita, Kamalasila and others follow Sautrantika school and the works of Subhagaupta and others follow Vaibhāṣīka school.

The picture of the world of Tibetan logical literature is different. Though translations of the Indian logical works of all the four schools are available in Tibet, the subsequent Tibetan scholars followed only two systems among them, “Mādhyamika” and “Yogačara”. Mādhyamika system in Tibet, as in India, flourished in a separate line of study. And yogačāra system is kept up in Tibet through the study of Pramāṇa-viniscaya (Rnam-nyes and Pramāṇa-vartika (Rnam-grel). Rnam-grel was later reckoned as sole text under the subject called Buddhist logic or rather logic (tshad-ma) in specific sense.

In the exposition of Rnam-grel, there are different schools seen to have been followed by the Tibetan logicians. Mkhas-grub Dge-legs dpal-bzang-po belonged to the “Philological school” to which belonged the Indian commentators Devendrabuddhi and Śākyabuddhi. Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma rin-chen belonged to the “Critical school” of Kashmir, to which belonged the Indian commentator Śāṅkara-bharaṇa. No continuation of “Religious school” of Bengal, to which belonged the Indian commentator Prajñākara-gupta and sub-commentators Ravigupta, Jina and Yanari, is seen in Tibet. VI. Importance of the Tibetan logical literature

Tibetan logical literature is as it comprises the translations of Indian works on logic on the one hand, and numerous original Tibetan commentaries mainly on Rnam-grel (Pramāṇa-vartika) on the other, with also a very few independent treatises on the subject. Among these Rnam-grel was so popular and pervading in Tibet that the majority of scholastic brains were engaged in writing only lengthy commentaries on it. Hence Stcherbatsky writes: “Substantially logic has hardly made any great progress in Tibet. Dharmakirti had given it its final form”. Despite his statement like that Stcherbatsky did not fully deny the credit of the Tibetan scholars in creation of some new ideas in logic.
Following is an instance:

Dharmakirti's "position in Tibet can be compared with the position of Aristotle in European logic. The Tibetan logical literature will then be compared to the European mediaeval scholastic literature. Its chief preoccupation consisted in an extreme precision and scholastical subtlety of all definitions and in reducing every scientific thought to the three terms of a regular syllogism. The form of the propositions in which the syllogism can be expressed is irrelevant, important are only the three terms."

Adoption of a new method in syllogism may claim importance for the Tibetan logic. "The concatenation of thoughts in a discourse consists in supporting every syllogism by a further syllogism. The reason of the first syllogism becomes the major term of the second one and so on, until the first principles are reached. The concatenation then receives the following form: If there is S there is P, because there is M; this is really so (i.e. there is really M), because there is N; this again is really so because there is O, and so on. Every one of these reasons can be rejected by the opponent either as wrong or as uncertain. A special literary style has been created for the brief formulation of such a chain of reasoning, it is called the method of "sequence and reason" and its establishment is ascribed to the lama Cha-ba Chos-kyi sen-ge."

Moreover, Tibetan logical literature highlights many philosophical problems in Tibet, which are no less interesting in the Indian context. For example: 'Jam-dbyans bzhad-pa's Blo-rigs contains a vivid picture of the controversies that raged in Tibet on the interesting problem of a gap between a simple reflex and a constructed mental image."

Anyway immense importance is given to the Tibetan logical literature for the very translation works where the best achievements of Indian philosophy in the golden age of Indian civilisation are faithfully preserved. Those translations are considered much more important for India than for Tibet. Study on those has revealed many things of the hidden treasure of Indian philosophy in many ways. In fact, we would have been in complete darkness for a glorious period of Buddhist scholasticism, if we would not get those translation works, the original treatises of which were lost due to various causes.
NOTES
(Part One)

3. BA, p. 70.
4. HB - I, pp. 44-46.

"The sciences of logic and of grammar (and literature) are studied in order to vanquish one's adversaries in controversy...."

"A Logician is to be recognized ....................
by his disposition to argue, by analysis and discussion of matters,
by practice, obtained in former births, by non-perception of the Abso-
lute Truth, and by having no recourse to scripture.

5. BL - I, p. 46.

(Part Two)

1. Dignāga : 400-480 (according to Nakamura), 480-540
   (according to Frauwallner).
   Dharmakirti : c. 650 (according to Nakamura), 600-660
   (according to Frauwallner).
Devendrabuddhi : 630-690 (according to Frauwallner).
Śākyabuddhi : 660-720 (according to Frauwallner).
Subhagupta : 640-700 (according to Embar Krishna -
macharya), c. 650-750 (according to Nakamura).
Vinātadeva : 8th century.
Jinendrabuddhi : 8th century. 800-850 (according to Dinesh
Bhattacharya).
Śāntarakṣita : c. 680-740 (according to Nakamura), 705-762
   (according to Embar Krishnamacharya). But
Śāntarakṣita's death appears to be still later
because he was reportedly present in the great debate held at Bsam-yas monastery of Tibet about 792 A.D.

Kanatasila: c. 700-750 (according to Nakamura), 713-763 onwards (according to Embhar/Krishnamacharya). But his death appears to be still later, because he skillfully defended the moralistic view expressed by his preceptor Sāntarakṣita in the great debate in Tibet.

Dharmottara: 730-800 (according to Nakamura), 750-810 (according to Fraewallner).

Muktākālaśā: After 900 (according to Satish C. Vidyabhushan).

Araṇā alias Dharmakaraśūtta: 730-790 (according to Fraewallner).

Prajnākaraśūtta: early 10th century (according to Dinesh Bhattacharya).

Jñātari: c. 940-980 (according to Nakamura).

Jina: 940 (according to Satish C. Vidyabhushan).

Rūvīgupta: After 950.

Ratnavajra: 983 (according to Satish C. Vidyabhushan).

Jñānasrimitra: Between 975-1000 (according to Nakamura), 982-1055 (according to Dinesh Bhattacharya).

Jñānasribhudra: c. 925 (according to Nakamura).

Ramākaraśānti: 1040 (according to Nakamura).

Yanāri: 1050 (according to Satish C. Vidyabhushan).

Samkaraśānti: 1059 (according to Satish C. Vidyabhushan).

Mokṣāłkaragupta: Between 1050-1202 (according to Nakamura).

2. Later translation was done by Rūg lo-tsā-ba with the help of the Indian pandita Sumukkiṣīti.

3. BA, p. 70.
4. This was subsequently twice translated, first by Bhavyarāja and Blo-Iadan sles-rab (1059-1109), and finally by Śākyārībhadrā (1127-1225) and Sa-skya paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1181-1250).

5. Colophon of the Tibetan text shows that Dipaṅkara (982-1054) and the Tibetan interpreter Dar-ma-grags corrected the translation. By this, it is supposed that by 1054, the translation of this difficult text was already completed when Rma lo-tsā-ba did not even cross the age of 10 years.

6. According to Tārānātha (HOB, p.239), the story goes regarding the composition of Pramāṇa-vārtika-pānijīka: Dharmakīrti chose Devendrabuddhi to write a commentary on his Pramāṇa-vārtika. After Devendrabuddhi had finished the commentary for the first time and had shown it to Dharmakīrti, the latter erased it with water. After he had compiled it a second time, Dharmakīrti burnt it in fire. He then compiled it a third time and gave it to Dharmakīrti with the observation “Since the majority of the people are incompetent and time is fleeting, I have written this commentary for the people of lighter understanding.” This time Dharmakīrti allowed the work to exist.

7. BA, p. 70.

8. BA, p. 326.

9. Later, the work was retranslated by Phags-pa sles-rab with the help of Kumararṣi of Kashmir.

Before the translation of Rngog-lo-tsā-ba, one famous Zans-dkar lo-tsā-ba translated Pramāṇa-vārtika-alaṃkāra. [See BA, p. 70]

10. Sanskrit manuscripts of 12 works of Jñānaśrīmitra have been discovered by Rahul Samkṛityayan from Tibet. Apart from Karyakaranasiddhi, the rest are: Kṣaṇabhāgadhyāya, Vyāgicarca, Bhedaḥbhedaparipṛkṣa, Aṇupaladhirahasya, Sarvasabdābhava-carca, Āpohaprakaraṇa, Īśvaravāda, Yogiṇirpayaprakaraṇa, Advaitabindu prakaraṇa, Sākānsiddhīśastra and Sākānsargrahaśūtra.
11. There was one Dīpaṃkararākṣita in the 11th century. He was well-known by the names Bal-po thugs-rje chen-po or Pan-chen ne-isa liṅ-pa. Going to Tibet he bestowed Yoga to Zaṅs-dkar lo-tsa-ba. Then that Lo-tsa-ba translated the commentary of Anuttarayoga (Yo-ga-smad). Dīpaṃkararākṣita was also the teacher of Rva lo-tsa-ba.

[Indian and Tibetan Scholars who visited Tibet and India from the 7th to the 17th century A.D.]

12. The Kashmirian pandita Sākyāśīhadrā (1127-1225) went to madhyadeśa and received upasampadā from Sānyākara-gupta in 1156. [KLT, p. 174]

13. The translators are not found in Tānju. But Rahulji mentions Dpal-brtseg and Prajñāvarman as its translators in his Pramāṇa-vārtika-bhāṣya (p. 79).

14. It is same with Vaiṣālīya-sūtra and Prakaraṇa. The Vaiṣālīya-prakaraṇa is evidently spurious. [BL - I, pp. 28, 559]

(Part Three)

1. Dbu-ma (Mdhyaṃka philosophy), Phar-phyn (Thon-ka-ps’s commentary on Ser-phyn i.e. Prajñāpāramitā), (Dul-ba’ Vinaya), Mjon-mdan (Abhidharmakosā of Vasubandhu) and Rnam-’grel (Prāmāṇa-vārtika of Dharmakīrti).

2. Buddhist logic in Tibet, in one way, means nothing but the study of a logical text of Dharmakīrti, named Pramāṇapārītika which, in Tibetan, is called Tahad-ma rnam-’grel or more briefly Rnam-’grel.

3. BL - I, p. 56.

4. MHTL-III, p. 671. See the syllabus of Dkhyi’il-khain school of Bka’-sīs thun-po.

5. Same as that were taught in Bio-gst-gliṅ school of ‘Bras-spuṅ monastery.

We see that Dga’-ldan nāg-’roṅ sar-rtsé school published one exposition of all
the four chapters of Rnam-'grel, having 117 fols., 50 fols., 113 fols., and 52 fols. consecutively. See MHTL - III, p. 671.

6. Bsdod-grags's exposition of Rnam-'grel contains 117 fols., 115 fols., 42 fols., and 84 fols. for the four consecutive chapters. Besides, two other texts of the same author, one Blo-rig (for the exorcism of intellect) and one Rtags-rig (for the proper understanding of inferential signs) were also taught. See MHTL - III, p. 668.

7. 'Jam-dbyas bzhad-pa's Exposition of Rnam-'grel contains 268 fols. for the first chapter and 107 fols. for the second chapter. Blo-rig (25 fols.) and Rtags-rig (45 fols.) also were included in the syllabus. See MHTL - III, p. 669-70.

8. This Bshus-grwa contains 135 fols. See MHTL - III, p. 669.

9. See later, for the syllabus of Sné-thaṅ Eva-ba-stod monastery.

10. Byes means 'abroad, foreign country'. Many of the monks in the Se-ra-byes school were from Mongolia or territories of Greater Tibet like Khams and Amdo. [MHTL - III, p. 13]

11. Full name of this school is Se-ra sman thos-bsam ner-bu gniṅ.


13. This information is supplied by my Venerable teacher Ácārya Padma brtson-'grus, now the Tibetan teacher of Calcutta University.


Thos-gniṅ bya'-ston blo-gros rgya-mtsho'i rnam-'grel la-ba'i me-loṅ daz le'u daṅ-po'i mtha'-dpyod legs-bzad 'phro-ba.

Thos-gniṅ kun-mkhyen chos-'byor dpal-bzang-gi rnam-'grel mkhas-pa'i mgul-
Thos-glin blo-bzan bsen-gnyen-gyi rig-nyan.
Thos-glin dge-'dun bsam-'grub-kyi blo-gros kha-byaṅ.
Thos-glin'dge-'dun blo-bzaṅ-gis le'u-bzhi'i mt‐hna'‐gcod.'
[MHTL - EL, p. 664]

Bstan-pa dar-bzan- gi rnam-'grel luṅ-rig gter mdzod. ‘Dul-'dzin blo-gros sbas-par mdzad-pa'i le'u daṅ-po'mtna'-'gcod klag-pas don-'grub.
Le'u gnis-pa'i mt‐hna'‐gcod nor-bu'i phreṅ-sa yin. Des mdzad-pa'i spyir yig-cha maṅ.
Blo-gros sbas-pa'i rnam-'grel le'u bzhi-ka'i spyi-don.'
[MHTL - III, p. 664]

16. “Sat-rtsa kun-mkhyen leg-pa don-grub-kyi rnam-'grel.”
[MHTL - III, p. 665]

17. It is situated in Sné-thaṅ, near Lhasa. This monastery is also called Stag-tshaṅ Rva-bu-stod.

18. He received upasampadā under Dpal-'byor rgya-mtsho in 1593, became the judge of philosophical debate ('chad-sun-pa) in the Rva-ba-stod monastery in 1602, became Head of the Rgyud-stod monastery in 1612, became Head of the Rin-chen-glin in 1613, became Head of the Gsas-phu in 1619, became Head of the Rdzin-pheyi in 1620, became Mkhen-po of Blo-ge-lrin-glin in 1623, became Head (35th) of the Dgti'-ldan in 1626 and became the preceptor of the Dalai Lama in 1627.

19. “Snis-pa kun-mkhyen mchog-tha 'od zer-gis mdzad-pa'i rnam-'grel le'u daṅ-po'i nor-bu'i phreṅ-bu. (100 fols.) Le'u gnis-pa'i lugs-'byün rin-chen buṅ-mdzod.
(33 fols.) Lugs-lông legs-bsad baṅ-mûsod. (23 fols.) Le'u gsun-pa lûñ-rig sgo-brgya. (113 fols.) Le'u bszi-pa thar-lam gsal-ba'i dgal-rten-rgyan. (76 fols.) 'Dkon-mchog chos-'grel mam-'grel le'u so-so'i zur-bkol no-mtshar gces bs dus. Le'u dañ-po'i sbyor-tik.

Gra-chuⁿ-ba yon-lam rgya-mtshos mdzas-pa'i rnam-'grel ši-ma'i 'od-zer le'u bszi tshain-ma.

Rje śes-rab sen-ge'i gsun-bszi zin-bris mdzas-pa'i rnam-'grel thar-lam gsal-byd ni-ma'i 'od-zer le'u bszi tshain-ma.

Glin-smad rneg-dbaṅ dpal-'byor-gyi rtags-rig gsal-ba'i mt-loṅ.

(24 fols.)

Druñ-chen legs-pa bszi-po'i blo-rig. (30 fols.)

The above complete set of logical texts is called Rva-ba-stod bs dus-grva. One such set is being preserved in Bkra-sis sgo-maṅ school of the 'Bras-spuṅ moṇastery.

[MiTTL. - III. p. 665]

20. No sects appear to have existed prior to Glaṅ-daṅ-ma's persecution, nor till more than a century and a half later. The sectarian movement seems to date from the Reformation started by the Indian Buddhist monk Aṭisâ, who, as we have seen, visited Tibet in 1042 A.D.

Aṭisâ while clinging to Yoga and Tantrism, at once began a reformation on the lines of the purer Mahâyâna system, by enforcing celibacy and high morality and by deprecating the general practice of the diabolic arts. Perhaps the time was now ripe for the reform, as the Lamas had become a large and influential body, and possessed a fairly full and scholarly translation of the bulky Mahâyâna Canon and its commentaries, which taught a doctrine different from that then practised in Tibet.

The first of the reformed sects and the one with which Aṭisâ most intimately identified himself was called the Bka'-gdams-pa, or "those
bound by the orders (Commandments); and it ultimately, three and a half centuries later, in Tsön-kha-pa's hands, became less ascetic and more highly ritualistic under the title of "The Virtuous Style", Dge-lugs-pa, now the dominant sect in Tibet, and the Established Church of Lamaism.

The rise of the Bka'-gdams-pa (Dge-lugs-pa) sect was soon followed by the semi-reformed movements of Bka'-brgyud-pa and Sa-skya-pa, which were directly based in great measure on Atisa's teaching. The founders of these two sects had been his pupils, and their new sects may be regarded as semi-reformations adapted for those individuals who found his high standard too irksome, and too free from their familiar demonolatry.

The residue who remained wholly unreformed and weakened by the loss of their best members, were now called the Rnis-ma-pa or "the Old one", or "Unreformed", as they adhered to the old practices.

[BLT, pp. 54-56]

21. BLT, pp. 212-221.
22. BLT, pp. 184-5.

(Part Four)

1. BA, p. 70.
2. Perhaps he has been called also by the name of Khyun-po grags-pa. See BA, p. 93.

"Though there exists an account that Khyun-po grags-se had studied the 'Old Nyāya', and had left behind numerous disciples, it is not sure whether the 'Old Nyāya', which had been studied by him, had not originated from Khams and Mха'-ris, from a translation of Devendrabuddhi's commentary by Rma lo-tsā-ba."

[BA, p. 71]
3. BA, p. 698.

4. BA, p. 332.

5. Other disciples were the great pandita Cog-rgo Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, Dpal Phag-mo gru-pa, ’Bal Tshad-ma-ma, Skyil-mkhar lha-khaṅ-pa, Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa.

[BA, p. 332]

6. BA, p. 331.

7. Most of the Pitākadhara-s of that time had been his disciples. Gtsan-nag-pa Betson-grus sen-ge, Dan’bag-pa Smra-ba’i sen-ge (Dan’bag, near ’Bras-spu’s), Bru-sa Bsdod-nams sen-ge (Bru-sa, Gilgit), Rma-byas Rtsod-pa’i sen-ge (Rma-byas, near Sa-skya), Rtsags Dbañ-phyug sen-ge, Myan-bran Chos-kyi sen-ge, Ldan-ma Dken-mchog sen-ge and Gyal-pa Yon-tan sen-ge—the “Eight mighty lions” (Sei-chen bgyad). Some include (among them) Gtsan-pa’Jam-dpal sen-ge. ’Khon Jo-sras Rdse-mo,Riog Jo-sras Ra-mo, Khu Jo-sras Ne-tso, Grios Jo-sras Dpal-le—these four were called “The Four Jo-sras”. ’Car Dbañ-grub, Koṅ-po Jaṅ-chuṅ, Lho-pa Sgo-gzan and Ḍar-pu-pa—these four were called “The Four Wise Ones” (Ses-rab-can bzhi). Further Jai-pa Ston-skyabs, Rdo-rje ’od-zer and others. Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa, Zhaṅ Tshal-pa, as well as many others.

[BA, p. 333]

8. Commentaries on the Five Treatises of Maitreya, Satyadvaya-vibhāṅga-karikā, Madhyamakālaṃkāra-karikā, Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra and other texts, as well as respective abridgements of them were composed by Cha-ba.

[BA, p. 332]

9. Roerich informs: There exist several well-known texts of the same title written by various authors, but the text by Cha-ba is not extant at present.

[See BA, p. 333]

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10. BA, p. 333.

11. BA, p. 334. He wrote many refutations of the works of ācārya Čandrakīrti the celebrated commentator on Mula-madhyantakakṣa-ki of Nāgārjuna.

12. BL, p. 55.

13. BA, p. 349.

14. BA, p. 334.

15. Here Roerich informs: There exists a printed edition of his work Ro-i-wo. See BA, p. 334.

16. BA, p. 334.

17. A xylograph copy of it is in the possession of the writer of the present article. It contains 47 fols. of small format. It is divided into 11 chapters. Those are the following: 1) Yul brtag-pa, 2b1-34 (Viśaya-parikṣā), 2) Blo-brtag-pa, 5a4-7b1 (Buddhi-parikṣā), 3) Spyi dan byi-brag brtag-pa, 7b1-9a1 (Samanya-viśeṣa-parikṣā), 4) Grub-pa dan gzhur-sel brtag-pa, 9a1-13b1 (ādhaṇa-ānyāpeca-parikṣā), 5) Brjod-byin dan rjod-byed brtag-pa, 13b1-15b6 (Vacya-vacaka-parikṣā), 6) 'Bre-l-pa brtag-pa, 15b6-21a3 (Śambandha-parikṣā), 7) 'Gol-ba brtag-pa, 21a3-23b1 (Virodha-parikṣā), 8) Mthsan-rid brtag-pa, 23b1-29a2 (Lakṣaṇa-parikṣā), 9) Mten-sum brtag-pa, 29a2-33b3 (Pratyakṣa-parikṣā), 10) Ral-don rjes-dpag brtag-pa, 32b4-40b5 (Svārthānumāṇa-parikṣā), and 11) Gzhan-don rjes-su dpag-pa brtag-pa, 40b5-45b2 (Parārtha-numāṇa-parikṣā).

18. A xylograph copy of it is in the possession of the writer of the present article. Its title is Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-kyi legs-bris bza'i-po gsum-lidan ces-byas-ba (Pramāṇa-yuktī-nidhi-subhaṣīka-bhadra-tritayinana) and contains 161 fols. of medium format.


20. Though the name of the scholar U-yug-pa Rigs-pa'i sér-gje is clearly mentioned by Stcherbatsky in his Buddhist Logic (Vol. I, p. 56), the
verification of the Blue Annals (p. 335) confirms the name of the scholar as U-yug-pa Bstd-nams sen-ge.

21. BA, p. 335.

22. One of his disciples was Kun-mkhyen Chos-sku 'od-zer. 'Jam-dbyaṅ gsar-ma founded a school at Skyäṅ-'dur which had many monks. He in his later life founded a philosophical school. See BA, p. 335.

23. BA, p. 336.

24. The work consists of 301 folios and is included in the 24th (Ya) volume of the Collected Works of Bu-ston (Dalai Lama XIII's edition).

25. Tshad-ma rnam-par 'nes-pa'i tshan-don (5 fol.). It is included in the 24th (Ya) volume of the Collected Works of Bu-ston (Dalai Lama XIII's edition).

26. He was the first scholar who felt the necessity of collecting the translations of the Indian texts and worked successfully. See BA, p. 338.

27. Rig-ral, a native of Pu-thaṅ became a monk in the monastery of Mchod-rten dkar-mo of Bsam-yas. He was an opponent of the Kālacakra system which he considered to be a non-Buddhist system. Another famous opponent was Red-mda'-pa. See BA, pp. 336-9.


29. BL, p. 56.

30. Pramāṇa-vārtika (Tshad-ma rnam-'grel), Pramāṇa-viniścaya (Tshad-ma rnam-īes), Nyṣyābindu (Rigs-thigs), Sambandha-parikṣā ('Brel-pa rtag-pa), Vadanyāya (Rtsod-pa rigs-pa), Santānāntara-siddhi (Rgyad-gzhan grub-pa) and Hetubindu (Gtan-thigs thugs-pa).

31. It contains 25 fol. and is included in the 18th (Tsha) volume of the Collected Works of Tsoṅ-kha-pa (Bka'-sīs lhun-po edition.).

32. It contains 408 fol. and is included in the 6th (Cha) volume of the Collected Works of his preceptor Tsoṅ-kha-pa. Short title of the work is
Rnam-'greI thar-lam gsal-byed. Author composed it at the request of Gnas-rtags-pa Rin-chen rgyal-mishan. (See NL Tib. ms. No. 74)

33. It has two volumes, upper and lower. Upper vol. (307 fols.) is included in the 7th (Ja) volume of the Collected Works of the author. Lower vol. (260 fols.) is included in the next volume of the Collected Works. (Bkra-sis lhun-po edition). This was written at the inspiration of 'Bro-'rtse lha-btsun. Short title of the work is Rnam-nes Dgongs-pa rab-gsal.

34. It contains 63 fols. and is included in the 8th (Na) volume of the Collected Works of Tsön-kha-pa. It was written at the inspiration of 'Bro-'rtse lha-btsun. Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma mentions the text with a different subtitle Rin-chen gter-mdzod. For the last information see MHTL-III, p. 618.


36. See BL - I, P. 325.

'Brel-pa rtags-pa'i rnam-bshad 'zhi-ma'i siṣṇu-po (14 fols.): A text on Sambandha-paripuṣa of Dharmakirti. See NL Tib. ms. No. 25/8.


38. Tshad-ma'i brjed-byan chen-mo (47 fols.), Tshad-ma mil-o-sum le'di brjed-byan chen-po (55 fols.), Tshad -ma mil-o-sum le'u i tākka (102 fols.), as mentioned by Kloṅ-ndol. See MHTL-III, p. 617. For the first text mentioned above (containing 43 fols.) see NL Tib. ms. No. 59/4.


40. It contains 10 fols. See NL Tib. ms. No. 25/10.


(One bundle. Bkra-si lhun-po edition) See NL Tib. ms. No. 52. Another edition of this Tshad-ma rig-pa'i rgya-mtsho is also available in CU. S. C. Das Collection (TM No. 460/2-4).

43. It contains 192 fols. See NL Tib. ms. No. 27/3. Another edition of it also is available in 238 fols.

44. See MHTL-III, p. 519.

45. (Ka: 1st chapter) Tshad-ma rnam-'grel legs-pa bsdad-pa zhes-byab-tams-cad mkhyen-pa dge-'dun-grub-khyis mdzad-pa las rañ-don rjes-su dpag-pa'i le'u'i rnam-bsad. 42 fols. (Kha: 2nd chapter) Tshad-ma ... las tshad-ma grub-pa'ile'u'i ... 36 fols. (Ga: 3rd chapter) Tshad-ma ... las m ön-sum le'u'i ... 64 fols. and (Na: 4th chapter) Tshad-ma ... las gzhan-don rjes-dpag-gi rnam-bsad. 46 fols. See NL Tib. ms. No. 48.

Perhaps another edition of the above text is also available since Klon-rdol shows the text as containing 230 fols. and being in the 4th (Na) volume of the Collected Works of the author. See MHTL-III, p. 622.

46. It contains 170 fols. and is included in the 4th volume of the Collected Works of the author, according to Klon-rdol. See MHTL-III, p. 622. A copy of the text is preserved in the CU. S. C. Das Collection (TM No. 327).


49. See MHTL-III, p. 641.


52. It contains 94 fols. and comprises the 5th book of the 4th volume of Collected Works of the author. See CU. S. C. Das Collection (TM No. 266/5).


54. It contains 29 fols. and is included in the 2nd (Kha) volume of the Collected Works of the author.

55. It contains 27 fols. and comprises the 14th (Psha) volume of the Collected Works of the author.


57. It contains 6 fols. See CU. S. C. Das Collection (TM No. 332/7).

58. From the autobiography called Dkya'-zur dka'-chen blo-bzain sbyin-pa'i spyod-shul dzin-po'i gtim-gyis gsal-bar bjod-pa rin-chen dbang gi rgyal-po'i do-sal (NL Tib. ms. No. 100/8), it is known that the author wrote it in 1891 at the age of 71. The year of birth of the author, then, can easily be calculated to be 1820. He wrote the biography of the fourth Panchen Lama in 1883. See Tibetan Historical Literature, p. 197.

59. Rje smon-lam dpal-bas mdzad-pa'i le'u dañ-po'i tikka (Ka, 1st chapter, 116 fols.); Le'u gnis-pa'i tikka (Kha, 2nd chapter, 68 fols.); Le'u gsun-pa'i tikka (Ga, 3rd chapter, 124 fols.) and Le'u bzhis-pa'i tikka (Na, 4th chapter, 103 fols.). See CU S. C. Das Collection (TM No. 240/1-4).
(Part Five)

1. The extraordinary predominance given to this work, is noteworthy. It is alone studied by everybody. Dharmakirti’s other works, as well as the works of Dignaga, Dharmottara and other celebrated authors, are given much less attention and are even half forgotten by the majority of the learned lamas. The reason for that, according to Mr. Vostrikov, is the second chapter, in the traditional order of the chapters of Pramana-vartika, the chapter containing the vindication of Buddhism as a religion. The interest of the Tibetans in logic is, indeed, chiefly religious; logic is for them ancilla religionis. Dharmakirti’s logic is an excellent weapon for a critical and dialectical destruction of all beliefs unwarranted by experience, but the second chapter of the Pramana-vartika leaves a loophole for the establishment of a critically purified belief in the existence of an Absolute and Omniscient Being. All other works of Dharmakirti, as well as the works of Vasubandhu, Dignaga and Dharmottara incline to a critically agnostic view in regard of an Omniscient Being identified with Buddha. BL-I, pp. 57-8.

2. BL-I, p. 46.
3. BL-I, p. 46.
4. BL-I, p. 47.

(Part Six)

1. BL-I, p. 58.
2. BL-I, p. 58.
3. BL-II, p. 313.

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APPENDIX
(Original Tibetan commentaries produced in Mongolia)

1. Bicige ci chos-je Nag-dban tshis-ring of Urga (1) wrote his works in fourteen volumes (Ka-Pha). The 400 folios of the 13th (Pa) volume are solely dedicated to the exposition on the three chapters of Pramana-vartika. Its title is Tshad-ma nam'i 'grel-gyi 'grel-ba rigs-pa'i ba mdzod ces-pa las le'u dan-po ran-don le'u'i rnam-bsad (202 fols.),... Le'u'i gnis-pa'i rnam-bsad (148 fols.) and... Le'u'i gsum-pa'i rnam-bsad rtsom-'phro (incomplete) (50 fols.).

2. Bstan-dar lha-rams-pa (b. 1758) of the Alashan (2) -Olots is variously referred to as Smon-lam rab-byams-pa Nag-dban bstan-dar, Smon-lam bla-ma, Alasa lha-rams-pa Nag-dban bstan-dar, A-lag-sa Bstan-dar lha-rams-pa and Nag-dban bstan-dar lha-rams-pa. He was eighty years of age when he published his Tibetan Mongolian Dictionary (139 fols.) in 1838 A.D. So his date of birth can be reckoned to 1758 A.D. In 1839 A.D. at the age of 81 he wrote a work on Blo-sbyon which confirms this date. His sumbera was xylographed at Kumbum. Each of the 3 works is indicated by a letter of the alphabet (Ka-chi).

(Ja) Dmigs-pa bttag-pa'i 'grel-ba mu-tig 'phren-mdzad (21 fols.) [Exposition of Alambana-pariksa of Dignaga]

(Na) Chos-kyi grags-pas mdzad-pa'i rgyud-gzhan grub-pa zhes-byar-ba'i bstan-bcos-kyi 'grel-pa mkhas-pa'i yid-'phrog (21 fols.) [Exposition of Santantarasiddhi of Dharmakirti]

(Ki) Rnam-'grel rtsom-'phro (24 fols.) [An incomplete commentary on Pramana-vartika]

1. Urga had three famous schools, each specialising in a particular curriculum or yig-cha and each situated in a different direction North Bkra-sis chos-'phel Sgo-man yig-cha South Kun-dga' chos-glin Blo-gsal-glin yig-cha West Yig-dga chos-'dzin Ser-(byas yig-cha


[MHTL-II, p. 21-2]
3. [Blo-bzan] 'jigs-med bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (19th cen.) was the nom-
un qan of Cin sujugtu in Sayin noyan qan. His eight-volume sumbum
(Collected Works) was xylographed in the Urga qosirun. The sixth
volume contains the [Exposition of] Nyayabindu (31 fols.) with other
philosophical works.

4. Mkhas-pa'i dban-po slob-dpon Bsdod-nams rgya-mtsho came from the
Sayin noyan qan qosirun. He was famous for his grammatical
erudition. Seven volumes of his sumbum were xylographed in his
qosirun and the eighth volume was handwritten.

Unxylographed last volume (Na) contains an exposition of Pramana-
varśīka
Abbreviations

BA : (The) Blue Annals.
BL : Buddhist Logic
BLT : Buddhism and Lamaism of Tibet.
CU : Calcutta University
HB : History of Buddhism.
HOB : Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India.
KLT : Bstan-rtsis kun-has btus-pa
MHTL : Materials for the History of Tibetan Literature
NL : National Library, Calcutta.

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Indian and Tibetan Scholars who visited Tibet and India from the 7th to the 17th century A.D. Tibetan Educational Printing Press, Kashmir House, Darmasala, Kangra (H.P.), 1968.


Lha-bTsun Nam-mkha’ 'Jigs-Med is famed to have embodied in his person, the spiritual essence of the Indian Pandita Vimalamitra and the Tibetan Master kLong-chen rab-byams (1308-1363 A.D.). He was born towards the southern end of byar-Yul in the family of Lha-btsed-po in the tenth sexagesary cycle (Rab-byung) of the fire-bird year of the Tibetan Calendar corresponding to 1507 A.D. He took his ordination as a celibate monk at the monastery of gsung-snyak Ri-khrod by virtue of which he was given the name Kun-bzang rnam-rgyal and studied Thong-hborg under the tutelage of illustrious masters Prul-sklu U-gYan dpal-hbyor. He undertook monastic studies at the feet of erudite scholars from a period of seventeen years in the course of which he comprehended the crux of all the doctrines and understood the essential nature of all external and mundane phenomena as illusory and void.

Thereafter, with the cardinal objective to practice and gain experience on the basis of his accumulated learning, he went on pilgrimage to every sacrosanct and holy place in India and Tibet and mastered the esoteric wisdom. On attaining the age of fifty summers, the Teachers Rig-hzin ha-chon snying-po and gTer-chen bdud-hbul rdzogs prophetically entreated him that the appropriate time to visit hBras-mo Ilongs, the hidden land of Guru Padmasambhava had arrived. Accordingly he started his sojourn from Sans-Yas and made his debut in hBras-Ilongs from the northern point of Tsod-Ia. He discovered the hidden treasure of Rig-hzin sogs-sgrub at Brag-dkar bkra-shis-sdzings and disseminated the doctrine amongst those who deserved to inherit it. Next, guided by an intuitive flash and inner vision, he discovered
from the northernly cave called Lha-ri snying-phug, the hidden treasure entitled rDo-rje snying-po sprin-gyi tho-glu.

He played pivotal role in establishing monasteries and stupas in the land and in widely disseminating the doctrine of Great Perfection, rZogs-Chen Ati-Yoga. His teachings gained so much currency and popularity among the masses that his followers came to be known as Zogs-chen-Pa. Using the earth and stones collected from all the quarters of the land, he along with other contemporary Yogins materialized the Stupa or mChod-rten called bKa-shis hot-hbar at Yuksam. These Yogins also performed the coronation of the first ever ruler of hBas-Mo-lJongs, Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal at Yuksam thus heralding a new epoch in the history of the land.

The hermitage established by this great anchorite at Yuksam known by the name of Bag-tog-gdon was perhaps the first Buddhist establishment founded in hBras-lJongs. The great monasteries of Dubsde, gSang-snag chod-ling etc founded by him speak volumes about the devout and indefatigable zeal of this great visionary.

After fifty eight years of mortal existence, he summoned his disciples and addressed them thus: “Do not grieve for I am destined to depart from the world of mortal beings at this age. Even then, you have with you the great doctrines of Rig-hzin srog-sgrub and Rdo-rje snying-po and also my chief disciple Rig-hzin lhun-sgrub to guide you. However, if you insist that I should reincarnate again to come amongst you, look for me in the valley of Bumthang.” With these words, he passed away. This occurred in a place known as bLon-chen gangs-kyi ra-wa. Miraculously, his body soon diminished into a diminutive size which further dissolved and metamorphosed into holy relics. In the course of time, his disciples searched for his reincarnation and discovered him at Bumthang where he was known by the name Mi-skyyod rdo-rje. He died at a tender age and was born again as the famed Lha-ptsun ’jigs-med dpa’-bo. In his fourth reincarnation, he was named as Kun-bzang ’jigs-med rgya-mtsho. Thus, the seen and unseen manifestations of Lha-ptsun nam-mkha’ ’jigs-med have been instrumental in the introduction and propagation of the great wisdom of rZogs chen-po n hBras-Mo-lJongs.

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Gangtok
BOOK REVIEW


Hugh E. Richardson spent a total of nine years at the British, later Indian mission at Lhasa. No Westerner has ever spent a longer period at Lhasa, and certainly none has a more intimate knowledge of life in Central Tibet before the Chinese occupation.

The Bulletin of Tibetology was launched in 1964 by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology (since 1973 known as the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology). Since 1985 Richardson has been a regular contributor to this journal. In the present volume, these papers, totalling eighteen, are conveniently brought together. They form an impressive contribution to the study of the history, ancient as well as modern, of Tibet. As the Bulletin of Tibetology is not always available in libraries in the West, this volume (only marred by the curious singular form "Paper" in the title) is most welcome, and is at the same time a tribute to the still active dean of Tibetan studies in the West. The usefulness of the volume is increased by an updated, complete bibliography of H.E. Richardson's publications.

courtesy: University of Oslo

Bulletin of Tibetology: aspects of classical Tibetan medicine, special volume of '93, Gangtok, Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, 1993, pp. xii, 128, Rs. 245

In this special issue of the Bulletin of Tibetology Marianne Winder has edited the proceedings of a symposium held at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, on 18 April 1986. As pointed out by Rechung Rinpoche in the preface, the volume is dedicated in honour of the late Terry Clifford's life work by Arthur Mandelbaum, has been unintentionally omitted and will appear in the February 1995 issue of the Bulletin of Tibetology. Winder's 'General Introduction' (pp. i-ii) is followed by Clifford's own contribution, 'Tibetan psychiatry and mental health' (pp. 3-14). This is a study of three chapters (pp. 77-9) devoted to demonic possession, madness and epilepsy, from the third of the rGyud bzhis, the "Four Treatises" which are the foundation of Tibetan medicine. The author argues that Tibetan psychiatry is a complete tradition of a etiology, diagnosis and treatment, as
well as a holistic system related to the Buddhist doctrine.

The second paper, 'Diagnosis and therapy according to the rGyud-bzhi' (pp. 17-35), by Elizabeth Finckh, deals with 180 terms found in chapters 4 and 5 of the first of the "Four Treatises" concerning diagnosis (observation, feeling the pulse and questioning) and therapy (nutrition, behaviour and medicaments). This traditional classification is illustrated in two painted scrolls appended to Ronald Emmerick's paper in the same volume (pls ES 12-3).

In 'Past, present and future life in Tibetan medicine' (pp. 40-52), Trogawa Rinpoche discusses chapters 2 and 7 of the second of the rGyud bzhis, dealing with death and birth: presages of on-coming death, the intermediate experience between death and rebirth known as bar-do, and physical and environmental circumstances conditioning birth. The author closely relates medical notions to the Buddhist doctrine, and defines Tibetan medicine as "an interrelated combination of philosophy and practice" (p. 41). When speaking of conception, Trogawa accepts the Western biological notion of the union of semen and ovum (p. 48), which, as pointed out by Nawang Dakpa in his paper, 'Certain problems of embryology according to the Tibetan medical tradition' (pp. 82-95), is unknown to traditional Tibetan medicine (p. 84). Nawang Dakpa deals with some points of embryology according to the Vaidurya sgon-po ('Blue Beryl'), the famous commentary to the rGyud bzhis, written in 1678-1688 by the great scholar and lay regent of Tibet, Sangs-gyas-rgya-mtsho. The whole process of conception and birth is conveniently illustrated by two of the twelve black-and-white plates appended to Emmerick's paper (ES 16).

Emmerick's contribution, 'Some Tibetan medical tanks' (pp. 56-78), is a detailed analysis of sixteen painted scrolls photographed during the author's visit to the Medical and Astrological College of Lhasa in 1983. Emmerick has compared these pictures with relevant Tibetan medical iconographic sources published up to 1988. The paintings belong to a series of seventy-nine scrolls, the earliest set of which was commissioned by Sanga-rgyas-rgya-mtsho to illustrate his Vaidurya sgon-po. Although a set has been recently published by Serindia in Tibetan medical paintings (by Y. Parfionovitch, G. Dorje and F. Meyer, London, 1992), Emmerick's contribution is interesting in as much as it shows variants between paintings.
belonging to different sets, both in the iconography and in the captions.

A place apart is occupied by Charles Bawden’s paper, ‘Written and printed sources for the study of Mongolian medicine’ (pp. 100-25), where the author, besides classifying the literature on the subject, attempts to assess the bearing which the Tibetan medical tradition had upon Mongolian medicine. Biographical notes on the contributors are appended to the volume (pp. 126-8).

It is a pity that the publication of these proceedings should have been delayed for so many years and followed that of Tibetan medical paintings, which have provided so much new information, especially concerning the Tibetan materia medica. In spite of this handicap, Aspects of classical Tibetan medicine is a useful contribution to the history of Tibetan medicine and shows that the only possible approach to such a complicated topic is the close collaboration of Western and Tibetan physicians, linguists and historians.

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Courtesy: MEDICAL HISTORY, THE WELLCOME INSTITUTE FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE, LONDON

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The following is a complete list of books published from 1961 to 1993. Full list of SRIIT publications is available from SRIIT office.

In view of price hike in the printing and stationery cost, the following revision was made in the prices of publication with effect from 1st May 1993 subject to further revision in course of time.

Annual subscription rate of "Bulletin of Tibetology has also been revised from Rs. 30/- to Rs. 50/- within India, Bhutan and Nepal per annum plus extra postage charges. Subscription rate for other countries has also been revised from US$ 30/- to US$ 50/- per annum inclusive of any postage charge.

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   35.00

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   20.00

   20.00

   The Vajrayana, 1979
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    Catalogue Series Vol. 1: 1990
    250.00

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    245.00

    245.00

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