

Once More on the so-called Old dGa' ldan Editions of Tsong kha pa's Works *

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1 Introduction

The year 2019 marked the 600th death anniversary of Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419), the founding figure of the dGa' ldan pa or dGe lugs pa, who is throughout the different traditions of Tibetan Buddhism remembered as an outstanding scholar in his own right. As part of the ceremonial program in late 2019, the master's literary oeuvre was released in two anniversary editions of the *Collective Writings of Lord Tsong kha pa and his Spiritual Sons* (rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum). In two independent publication projects conducted in Tibet/P.R. China and in India, the collected writings of Tsong kha pa and his two main disciples, rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432) and mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang (1385–1438), were ambitiously re-edited and compiled as comparative editions (*dpe bsdur ma*) in a modern book format.

The Tibetan anniversary edition in 37 volumes was compiled by a team of editors and researchers under the direction (*spyi'i 'gan 'dzin*) of bZhag pa rin po che 'Jam dbyangs mkhas grub¹ (b. 1968; 夏坝·

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1 sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar and Shes rab rgya mtsho, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum skor dpyad pa 2018*, p. 23. Information on the project is found on the website of the Renmin University of China, School of Philosophy; see “中国人民大学国际佛学研究中心发布重大研究成果 《宗喀巴师徒三尊文集（对勘本）》出版”, posted 2019-12-02, URL: http://phi.ruc.edu.cn/Index/news_cont/id/5835.html (accessed: 28.08.2020).

降央克珠) and published by the Nationalities Publishing House (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2019) as *rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma* (宗喀巴师徒三尊文集 对勘本). In two additional articles, sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar, who was among the leading researchers of the project, compares the different pre-1950 xylograph editions of Tsong kha pa's and his disciples' writings and addresses editorial interventions and issues in the compilation process.² I was unable to access the edition while preparing this paper. The Indian anniversary edition with the same title, *rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, was edited by Loseling college of Drepung monastery in South India (Mundgod: Drepung Loseling Pethub Khangtsen Education Society, 2019). It consists of 44 volumes,³ plus an additional volume with background information on earlier Tibetan printed editions and on the publication project.⁴ Having recently heard about the release of the two new comparative editions, I became very curious as to whether or not material from the so-called "Old Ganden xylographs"⁵ (*dGa' ldan par rnying*) had been employed for the text collation.

The "Old Ganden xylographs" represent the earliest printings of Tsong kha pa's works dating from the early fifteenth century. This "edition" was first made known to a wider audience in the late 1980s by the Tibetan scholar Dung dkar rin po che Blo bzang 'phrin las (1927–1997) and by David Jackson.⁶ In two articles, David Jackson described

2 sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017 and sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar and Shes rab rgya mtsho, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum skor dpyad pa* 2018. For a catalogue and detailed description of the edition, see sNyan bzang pa dGe 'dun, *rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma rab gsal me long* (《宗喀巴师徒三尊文集 (对勘本)》说明及目录大全), Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2019.

3 Digital PDF files of the volumes are available at "Jetsongkhapa Net", *rJe tsong kha pa'i dra ba*, URL: <http://bo.jetsongkhapa.net/gsungrab/sungbum/2020-03-02/3571.html> (accessed: 28.08.2020).

4 So ru Blo bzang dar rgyas, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum zhib 'jug*. On the publication project, see also "Je Yabje Sungbum - World Sungbum Project", URL: <https://jeyabjesungbum.org/> (accessed: 28.08.2020).

5 Depending on the context, the short form "*par rnying*" can refer to either "old wooden block(s) [for printing]" (*par shing rnying pa*) or "old print(s)" (*par ma rnying pa*).

6 Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar 'phrin las gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 74–120, *Bod yig dpe rnying dpar skrun dang 'brel ba'i gnad don 'ga' zhib skor gleng ba*, first published in *Bod ljongs zhib 'jug* 1989/4: 1–13, continued in *Bod ljongs zhib*

and contextualized six xylographs from the edition that he had located during fieldtrips to India and Nepal. His research remains a seminal contribution to the origins of book printing in Central Tibet (dBus).⁷

Particularly with regard to the substantial amount of medieval literature that is being rediscovered and published from the surviving Tibetan collections at Drepung, the Potala, the Norbulinka and elsewhere, I was intrigued to find out if examples from among the earliest prints of Tsong kha pa's oeuvre could have been consulted for the new comparative editions. In fact, they had been consulted for the 2012-book edition of Tsong kha pa's collected writings in 18 volumes, edited by the Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang).⁸

My hopes to discover new evidence relating to the "Old Ganden prints" in the two new book editions were, however, diminished with the initial inquiries carried out for this paper: Both projects had employed the standard xylograph collections from centuries later. mKhar byams thar clarifies that the Tibetan anniversary edition employed the collections produced at gTsang bKra shis lhun po (sigla: gTsang), A mdo Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil (sigla: Bla), mDo smad sKu 'bum dgon (sigla: sKu) and lHa sa'i Zhol par khang (sigla: Zhol), with the old bKra shis lhun po prints serving as the master copy (*ma phyi'i gzhi 'dzin sa gtso bo*) for the collation.⁹ For the edition compiled by Drepung Loseling, three of the four editions were considered: sKu 'bum Byams pa gling (sigla: sKu), Zhol (sigla: Zhol) and gTsang (sigla: gTsang). The

'jug 1990/1: 61–83; also *Dung dkar 'phrin las gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 137–142, "Bod kyi dpar skrun," in *Bod kyi dkar chag rig pa*. Dung dkar rin po che's article *Bod kyi dkar chag rig pa* was first published in *sBrang char*, 1986/2: 70–82, 69 and 1986/3: 72–98.

7 Jackson 1989; Jackson 1990.

8 In the preface, the editors state that they, in addition to the main editions of Zhol and sKu 'bum, also considered "Old Ganden prints" (*dge ldan par rnying*) in cases of uncertain and problematic readings; see Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang (ed.), *Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum* 2012, vol. 1, *bsDu sgrig gsal bshad*, pp. 7f.: *the tshom can dang dka' gnas khag dga' ldan phun tshogs gling gi par ma dang / dge ldan par rnying / bkra shis [8] lhun po'i par rnying sogs la'ang dpe bsdur zhus pa ma zad mkhas dbang dag la dka' 'dri zhus te bka' phebs bzhin go sgrig zhu snas gtan la phab pa [...]*.

9 sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017, p. 154; *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum skor dpyad pa* 2018, pp. 21f.

sKu 'bum prints served as the master copy (*ma phyi gtso bo*) to which the readings of the Central Tibetan editions were compared.¹⁰

Therefore, this paper will draw from other material that has become available since Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las and David Jackson encountered the first examples more than thirty years ago. Taking their findings as a starting point, I will present new evidence from recently discovered block prints, secondary literature and the most recent research.

2 Overview – What is Known About the Edition?¹¹

According to Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las and David Jackson, the “Old Ganden xylographs” constitute the earliest printings of Tsong kha pa's works that were produced in the first decades of the fifteenth century. The production of blocks was undertaken at different locations in Central Tibet (dBus), distributed among regional ruling houses and

10 So ru Blo bzang dar rgyas, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum zhib 'jug*, p. 169. On the different print editions of Tsong kha pa's oeuvre, see *ibid.*, pp. 11–139, 147f., as well as sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017, pp. 148f.; sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar and Shes rab rgya mtsho, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum skor dpyad pa* 2018, pp. 21f.; dPal rdor, *Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum par shing skor* 2018; Tsering 2020: 201–211.

11 Before describing here xylograph witnesses and the setting of their production, a short note on terminology should be made. Given that colophons of Tibetan printed works indicate the time, place, sponsorship and staff of the block's production (if they do) and not of the actual printing, I prefer to talk of “block colophons” or “xylograph colophons” (*par byang*) and “carving projects” instead of the more commonly used expressions “printing colophons” and “printing projects.” It must be acknowledged that we can hardly tell when and where prints (and reprints) were made from the blocks without a proper analysis of paper, ink and so forth. I follow here Andrei Vostrikov's translation of *par byang* as “a technical term meaning ‘publisher's’ or more correctly ‘xylograph’ colophon”; see Vostrikov 1970: 46; also Cabezon 2001: 253; David Jackson frequently uses the translation “xylographic colophon”; cf. Jackson and Onoda 1988; Jackson 1989, 1996, *et passim*. I understand “*par*” in “*par du brkos pa*,” “*~ bzhengs pa*” or “*~ bsgrubs pa*” not as referring to the printing, but to the manufacture of the text as a “[physical] image” (*par/dpar/spar*) in the form of an engraved wooden block or xylograph (*par shing*). The phrases “*par (du) brkos pa'i par byang*” and “*par (du) bsgrubs pa'i par byang*” point to this meaning and are frequently attested in the 5th Dalai Lama's collected works; see Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang (ed.), *lNga pa chen po'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 2 (*kha*), p. 172, vol. 5 (*ca*), p. 394, vol. 9 (*ja* 3), p. 271, vol. 19 (*ma*), pp. 124f., 143f., 357, vol. 20 (*tsa*), pp. 144f., *et passim*.

monastic communities who facilitated the carving on their territory. Traditional histories and the blocks' colophons reveal that the xylographic production of Tsong kha pa's oeuvre was encouraged by the fifth Phag mo gru pa ruler Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1374–1432) and that the rulers of Gong dkar and sNe'u were strong forces behind this transregional endeavour.¹²

The surviving prints tell us that blocks were produced by Tsong kha pa's wealthy patrons at Gong dkar and in the wider lHa sa area, at 'Bras spungs and dGa'ldan, but also in 'Ol dga' and likely at Brag dkar (?) in Upper sKyid shod, as is claimed by Dung dkar rin po che. David Jackson had identified six prints from the edition on account of their block size (ca. 47×6 cm), similar appearance and the information contained in the xylograph colophons (*par byang*). Dung dkar rin po che, and recently Pad ma bkra shis, recognise a particular typeface (*yig gzugs*) and style of miniature illustrations (*dbu lha*, *dbu zhabs lha sku*) in those early prints that is said reflect the high degree of wood craftsmanship.¹³

At some point in time, the wooden printing blocks (*par shing*) were offered or transported to dGa'ldan monastery, which is how this collection obtained its name. Jackson writes that “many of these early blocks, if they were not originally carved at Dga'-ldan, were later moved there. Xylographs from them later came to be known as “old Dga'-ldan prints” (dga'-ldan dpar-rnying)”.¹⁴ Khri byang rin po che (1901–1981) reports in his autobiography that the blocks of Tsong kha pa's *Great Treatise on the Path of Mantra* (*sNgags rim chen mo*) were donated to dGa'ldan monastery in the seventh year of rGyal tshab's tenure as throne holder (i.e. 1425/26?),¹⁵ while Dung dkar 'phrin las explains that the collection was xylographically manufactured (*dpar skrun*) after Tsong kha pa's death by the Brag dkar estate officer at the prompting of rGyal

12 Paṇ chen bSod nams grags pa, *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* (Tucci ed. 1971), fol. 98.1–3 (cited below), fol. 101.1–6. Also Jackson 1990: 107f.

13 Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar 'phrin las gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 88f., 138 (for a translation, see Gonkatsang 2016: 166). Pad ma bkra shis, *gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, pp. 156f., *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 140f. For stylistic features of the xylographs, compare the example folios reproduced under figures 1–8.

14 Jackson 1990: 108.

15 Khri byang Blo bzang ye shes bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, *Khri byang rin po che rang rnam*, p. 478.1–3 (for a translation, see Tenzin Trinley 2018: 330). Also Jackson 1990: 108.

tshab rje and that it was offered to dGa' ldan monastery, comprising a total of 18 volumes.¹⁶ Elsewhere, Dung dkar rin po che writes that the dGa' ldan par khang contained a few printed works by Tsong kha pa and his two main disciples that were produced with the patronage of the sNe'u district officer Nam mkha' bzang po at the time when mKhas grub rje was occupying the abbatial throne.¹⁷

The carving of rJe rin po che's works on wooden blocks for a wider dissemination might have begun at his monastic seat. David Jackson documented two titles (cf. title list, nos. 1, 3) that were produced at dGa' ldan monastery. Here, a collection of old blocks referred to as the "dGa' ldan spar rnying" survived until the first half of the twentieth century. According to a pre-1950 inventory of Central Tibetan block holdings, the collection was stored at the Zung 'ju kham s tshan and amounted to more than two thousand folios.¹⁸ Phur lcog Ngag dbang byams pa (1682–1762), in his survey of the four great Gelugpa monasteries of Central Tibet, writes that the printing house of dGa' ldan was storing blocks of Tsong kha pa's major compositions that the master himself had consecrated.¹⁹ Perhaps it was this passage that led later authors

16 Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, p. 1659: *gsung 'bum pod bco brgyad yod pa sku gshegs rjes rgyal tshab rjes bskul ma gnang ba ltar gzhis ka brag dkar nang sos dpar skrun byas te dga' ldan du phul ba dga' ldan par rnying zhes de sngon zung chu khang tshan du bzhugs yod/*.

17 Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar 'phrin las gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, p. 139: *dga' ldan par khang / rje tsong kha pa sku 'das rjes khong gi slob ma mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang gis dga' ldan khri pa gnang skabs sne'u rdzong dpon nam mkha' bzang pos sbyin bdag byas te rje tsong kha pa dang / rgyal tshab dar ma rin chen/ mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang bcas kyi gsung rtsom khag gcig dpar bskrun byas pa ni yig gzugs ha cang legs/*.

18 See Gangs can gyi ljongs su bka' dang bstan bcos sogs kyi glegs bam spar gzhi ji ltar yod pa rnam nas dkar chag spar thor phyogs tsam du bkod pa phan bde'i pad tshal 'byed pa'i nyin byed, in Ngawang Gelek Demo (ed.), *Three dkar chag's*, p. 201.4–5: *zung 'ju kham s tshan du/ dga' ldan spar rnying sngags rim chen mo dang / lam rim che chung sogs rje tsong kha pa chen po'i bka' 'bum gras shog bu nyis stong brgal tsam dang / [...]*. Also Jackson 1990: 108; Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar 'phrin las gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, p. 88 (cited below), *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, p. 1659 (cited above).

19 See Phur lcog Ngag dbang byams pa, *Grwa sa chen po bzhi dang rgyud pa stod smad chags tshul pad dkar 'phreng ba* (compiled 1744), in Ngawang Gelek Demo (ed.), *Three dkar chag's*, p. 77.6: *par khang du / 'grel pa bzhi sbrags/ lam rim che chung / sngags rim/ rim lnga gsal sgron sogs kyi par shing rje'i phyag nas mang du gnang ba rnam s bzugs so//*.

to assume that the *Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path* (no. 4; no xylograph colophon) and some other prominent works were carved onto blocks during Tsong kha pa's lifetime.²⁰

Regarding the origins of the collection, it must be noted that the colophons and additional Gelugpa biographies reviewed for this contribution do not indicate whether or when the blocks were moved to dGa' ldan.²¹ We cannot exclude the possibility that the transport and gathering of blocks might have taken place only centuries after the production, maybe for reprinting or recarving the blocks. Recent research has shown that the term “dGa' ldan par rnying” can first be attested in a dGa' ldan pho brang print from 1715 that was reproduced from an Old Ganden original (no. 18).²²

Moreover, Tibetan authors seem to have different ideas about the extent and completeness of what became referred to as the “Old Ganden xylographs.”²³ While some refer to only the early xylographs of Tsong kha pa's writings from around the 1420s–30s, others consider the

20 sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017, pp. 149f.: *dga' ldan par rnying ni rje rin po che khong zhal bzhugs dus su* «byang chub lam rim chen mo» [150] *dang / «legs bshad gser 'phreng » sogs glegs bam 'ga' dngos su shing par du rkos zin na'ang skabs der rje gsung 'bum cha tshang shing par du brkos mi 'dug; rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum sdud sgrig khang* (ed.), *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma* 2, p. xvi: *rje nyid zhal bzhugs pa'i skabs nyid nas dga' ldan du gsang 'dus 'grel pa bzhi sbrags dang / lam rim chen mo/ sngags rim chen mo/ drang nges rnam 'byed sogs par shing du brko thub par mdzad pa las/ rim pas dga' ldan par mar grags pa byung ba sogs yongs su grags/*. In the context of the block manufacture of the *Guhyasamājatantra* and its *Pradīpodyotana* commentary in the years 1418–19, Thupten Jinpa (2019: 305) states that “other texts commissioned for printing probably included *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path*, *The Great Treatise on Tantra*, *The Essence of True Eloquence*, and *The Lamp to Illuminate the Five Stages*.”

21 Jackson (1989: 10) noted this lack of evidence for a later xylograph of the *Middle-Length Treatise on the Stages of the Path* (*Lam rim 'bring po*).

22 Pad ma bkra shis, *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 143, 146. Also Tsong kha pa, *gSang 'dus rtsa rgyud 'grel pa bzhi sbrags*, p. 39.4–6 (cited under no. 18). A dGa' ldan pho brang print of the *Legs bshad gser 'phreng* carved in 1722 at dGa' ldan phun tshogs gling (formerly rTag brtan phun tshogs gling) identifies a group of old blocks patronized by the gZhis ka sNe'u pa as the master copy for reproduction; see Tsong kha pa, *Legs bshad gser 'phreng*, fol. 622a3–5 (cited under no. 15).

23 Pad ma bkra shis rightly designates the titles that were produced at Gong dkar as Gongkar prints (*Gong dkar spar ma*); see *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 134, 140, 143.

complete literary output by his inheritors, rGyal tshab rje (1364–1432) and mKhas grub rje (1385–1438), as part of the larger collection.²⁴ Dung dkar 'phrin las states that “dGa' ldan dpar rnying” refers to Tsong kha pa's complete oeuvre carved onto wooden blocks, and that the entire collection existed as xylographs in the libraries of the Potala (rTse po ta la),²⁵ Sera and Drepung (Se 'bras),²⁶ Gyalse Labrang (rGyal sras bla brang) and Kundeling (Kun bde gling).²⁷ Regardless of what later authors understand by the term, it is difficult to estimate the scope of the original collection with only a few witnesses accessible. Lately, doubts

24 Apart from the earliest prints of Tsong kha pa's works, mKhar byams thar considers another, later xylographic collection of Tsong kha pa and his disciples' writings, apparently produced or assembled at dGa' ldan, to be “Old Ganden prints” (*dGa' ldan par rnying gi rje yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum*); see *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017, pp. 148, 150. See also Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar 'phrin las gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, p. 139 (cited above). Early fifteenth-century xylograph witnesses of rGyal tshab rje's commentaries of the *Abhisamayālamkāra* and *Pramāṇavārttika* have survived; see under BDRC W1KG15417 and W00KG03841. The blocks of both titles were produced in gTsang, at gNas rnying gi chos grwa chen po in 1441(?) (*bya'i lo*) and at 'Thon gyi dGa' ldan rtse in 1449 (*sa mo sbrul gyi lo*). For the latter, see also van der Kuijp 2018. An old(?) Ganden print of rGyal tshab's *Ratnagotravibhāga* commentary is furthermore mentioned by Jeffrey Hopkins; see Hopkins 2003: 1050, n. 1146, 1068.

25 A xylograph collection of 18 volumes is listed in Po ta la rig dngos srung skyob do dam so'o, *Po ta la gsung 'bum dkar chag*, pp. 1–12, catalogue nos. 00368–00385.

26 Several printed works of Tsong kha pa survive at Se ra and 'Bras spungs; see sKa ba Shes rab bzang po, *Chos sde khag dpe rnying dkar chag*, pp. 203–419 (*gDan sa chen po se ra theg chen gling gi tshogs chen yang thog gzims chung du bzhugsu gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*) and dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, *'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, inter alia*, vol. 2, pp. 2329–2475 (*'Bras spungs kun dga' rwa ba'i dpe mdzod dkar chag*).

27 Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar 'phrin las gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, p. 88: *bod du dpar shing rko ba'i lag rtsal thog mar dar nas yun ring ma song bar rje tsong kha pa sku 'das shing / de nas lo bcu (sic!) bdun song ba'i me rta spyi lo 1426lor gong dkar dang sne'u rdzong dpon nam mkha' bzang po bcas la rgyal tshab rin po che dang / rtogs ldan 'jam dpal rgya mtsho sogs kyis bka' gnang ba ltar rje tsong kha pa'i gsung 'bum cha tshang dpar skrun byas pa de'i gras de sngon rtse po tā la (=po ta la) dang / se 'bras/ 'on rgyal sras bla brang / kun bde gling bcas kyi dpe mdzod khang du cha tshang yod/ dpar shing de la dga' ldan dpar rnying zer zhing de sngon rig gnas gsar rje'i gong tsam bar dga' ldan zung ju khang tshan du bzhag yod pa [...]. Also *ibid.*, p. 138 (for a translation, see Gonkatsang 2016: 166).*

about the completeness of the edition have been raised,²⁸ and it remains an open question whether the earliest printings of Tsong kha pa's works were meant to embody a complete set of the master's collected writings (*bka' 'bum*, *gsung 'bum*). The surviving prints lack marginal notations (*pod rtags*) and are partly without xylograph colophons. And there are other challenges for a proper identification of titles belonging to this "edition". The fact that blocks were fabricated somehow independently in different parts of Central Tibet must naturally have resulted in regional varieties in style and typography.²⁹ In addition, there is evidence for slightly later Central-Tibetan prints whose relation to the "Old Ganden xylographs" is unclear.³⁰ As holds true for the oeuvre of many masters, a great number of hitherto unknown prints of Tsong kha pa's works are listed in the many catalogues of surviving Tibetan collections that have appeared in the past years. Without access to the originals or a fuller documentation, however, it is almost impossible to relate those titles to a distinct period, let alone a particular edition or printing house. Some "Old Ganden prints" in the Drepung collection, for instance, seem to be mistakenly identified as Uchen manuscripts (*bris ma dbu can*).³¹ Dung dkar rin po che had recognised this similarity long ago, pointing out that the old prints can easily be mistaken for handwritten manuscripts, due to their typeface being similar to the copper (*zangs dpar*) or bronze prints (*khro dpar*).³²

28 sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar and Shes rab rgya mtsho, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum skor dpyad pa* 2018, p. 21; rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum sdud sgrig khang (ed.), *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma* 2, p. xv; So ru Blo bzang dar rgyas, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum zhib 'jug*, p. 17; also dPal rdor, *Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum par shing skor* 2018, p. 199.

29 Compare the miniature depictions of Tsong kha pa in figures 1–4.

30 David Jackson, for instance, discovered another edition of the *Middle-Length Treatise on the Stages of the Path* that was produced at gZhis chen sNe'u rdzong in 1465; see Jackson 1989: 7–10. Early 'Bras spungs prints of Tsong kha pa's collected writings (*'Jam mgon tsong kha pa chen po'i gsung 'bum par rnying gras*) are listed in Eimer 1992: 11ff. A later Ganden print of the *rTsa ltung gi rnam bshad* is mentioned in the 1897 Zhol reproduction of this text; see under no. (12).

31 See references under nos. (6) and (7).

32 Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar 'phrin las gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, p. 88: *de la dga' ldan dpar rnying zer zhing* [...] *de'i yig gzugs dpe cha lag bris ma dang nor 'gro ba lta bu'i dpar rko'i lag rtsal ha las pa zhig 'dug*. Also Pad ma bkra shis, *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, p. 140.

3 New Titles in Context

This contribution surveys a total of nineteen titles, among them the six titles documented by David Jackson (nos. 1–6), three new xylograph discoveries in the form of digital scans (nos. 7–9) and nine further titles cited in the later literature (nos. 15–19) and modern publications (nos. 11–14). Particularly the recent research by Padma bkra shis from the TAR section for the Preservation of Ancient Scriptures (Bod rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe srung skyob lte gnas) brought to light several hitherto unknown works from the edition. The author cites short passages from the xylograph colophons and links those titles to the early book production at Gong dkar. Unfortunately, he fails to provide valuable information about the provenance, size and extent of the originals.

A Titles from Gong dkar (Yar rgyab sponsorship)

Gong dkar, during the reign of I nag bZhi 'dzom³³ (1372/73–1446) of the Yar rgyab family, was a major place for the production of religious books. In the *New Red Annals*, Paṇ chen bSod nams grags pa (1478–1554) recounts that Gong dkar bZhi 'dzom ordered a Golden Kanjur and many of the works of rJe rin po che to be printed, following the order of Gong ma Grags pa rgyal mtshan.³⁴ Gong dkar must have been a privileged location for taking part in the ambitious project of producing the first printed examples of Tsong kha pa's writings. The 'Ching ru valley to the southeast of the old fortress at Gong dkar (Gong dkar rdzong) has been recognised as an important site for producing xylographs in dPon bZhi 'dzom's realm.³⁵ bZhi 'dzom's nephew and

33 On him, see Fermer 2017: 70, 73f. The dates of his life are given according to Byang chub rnam rgyal dge legs, *Byams pa gling pa'i rnam thar*, fols. 31a–32b. Pad ma bkra shis and dPal rdor give the dates 1371–1445 for his life; *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, p. 135, *gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, p. 154 and *Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum par shing skor* 2018, p. 198. I nag bZhi 'dzom should not be confused with bZhi 'dzom Rin chen don yod; Pad ma bkra shis, *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 135f. He was a later Yar rgyab official who lived in the second part of the fifteenth century; see Fermer 2017: 82f.

34 Paṇ chen bSod nams grags pa, *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* (Tucci ed. 1971), fol. 98.1–3: *gong dkar bzhi 'dzom pas ni gong ma grags pa rgyal mtshan pa'i gsung bzhin/ gser gyi bka' 'gyur sogs gsung rab mang po bzhengs pa dang / rje rin po che'i gsung rab mang po'i spar brko ba sogs mdzad/* (translation in *ibid.*, p. 237). Also Jackson 1990: 107f.

35 Fermer 2017: 75.

foster-son, Byams pa gling pa bSod nams rnam rgyal (1400–1475), compiled an inventory list of the existent blocks at 'Ching ru (var. 'Phying ru) while sojourning at Gong dkar in 1434.³⁶ This lost inventory and the colophon information of an old 'Ching ru print point to the full-scale adoption of printing technology during bZhi 'dzom's reign. By the 1420s the powerful official of Gong dkar could probably draw upon existing facilities and skilled personal to produce woodcut blocks on a larger scale.

Among the earliest xylographs manufactured under his patronage are a volume of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra in Eight Thousand Lines*³⁷ (*Sher phyin brgyad stong pa*) and a group of Indian works, both said to be produced by the wishes of the sNe gdong ruler. Two witnesses of Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* survive from the latter collection which was explicitly dedicated to the Gong ma's wellbeing and temporal success.³⁸ The carving of Guṇaprabha's text on long wooden blocks (paper size: ca. 64×10 cm) was accomplished in 1419 at bZhi 'dzom's palace (*pho brang*) at Gong dkar.³⁹ The block colophon reports that the collection, among other titles, included also Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* and the *gTsug tor dri med rab gnas cho ga*.⁴⁰ Shortly afterwards, two other works of Indian authorship, similar in size and general appearance, were carved onto blocks at Gong dkar. They were Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*⁴¹

36 *Ibid.* After Byang chub rnam rgyal dge legs, *Byams pa gling pa'i rnam thar*, fol. 22a3.

37 Pad ma bkra shis, *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 134f., 137f., 144. The *Prajñāpāramitā* volume in this length is said to be the first xylographic edition of the text produced in Tibet; see *ibid.*, p. 134: *kha ba can 'dir dar zhing rgyas na yang / /sngon chad par du bzhangs pa'i srol ma dod/*.

38 Yon tan 'od, *'Dul ba'i mdo*, fol. 82a. Witnesses of this edition are preserved at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (Dharamsala), signature: *kha 5 / 14585*, and at Matho monastery (Mang spro Shar gling chos 'khor) in Ladakh, signature on title folio: *da 12*.

39 *'Dul ba'i mdo*, fol. 82a.

40 *Ibid.*, fol. 82a. Here seems to be referred to the *gTsug tor dri ma med pa'i gzungs kyi cho ga* (**Vimaloṣṇīṣadhāraṇīvidhi*) attributed to Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna; see Tōh. 3082, also Tōh. 3081.

41 Zhi ba lha, *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa* [= *sPyod 'jug*]. A xylograph witness is preserved in the Peltsek xylograph collection, text no. 4; see dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (ed.), *Porong Dawa Collection*, p. 12–14; Fermer 2017: 75, nn. 34f.; Ehrhard and Sernesi 2019: 121f.

(carved in 1422) and Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka*⁴² (carved prior to the Gong ma's death in 1432) and represent the earliest Tibetan print productions of these Buddhist classics outside of the Tengyur collection.⁴³ A closer look at their block colophons brings to light the names of several individuals who were also active in the production of Tsong kha pa's writings at Gong dkar. As David Jackson inferred from the colophon, the carving of the *Great Treatise on the Path of Mantra* (no. 6) was accomplished at Gong dkar palace in the year 1426 under the patronage of Drung chen bZhi 'dzom pa and his nephew (*khu dbon*),⁴⁴ who can now be identified as the Yar rgyab official lHun grub bkra shis.⁴⁵

Among bZhi 'dzom's main editors (*zhus dag pa*) for the text, the colophon specifies, was a certain Rin chen dpal bzang.⁴⁶ Rin chen dpal bzang *alias* bShes gnyen Rin chen dpal must have been a key figure in the book production at Gong dkar, having earlier directed (*do dam*) the manufacture of the *Vinayasūtra*⁴⁷ (completed 1419) and commissioned xylographs of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*⁴⁸ (completed 1422) and the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra*.⁴⁹ Sponsored by bZhi 'dzom, the carving of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* must have been accomplished at around the same time. Rin chen dpal bzang himself can be identified as a disciple of rJe Rin po che.⁵⁰ He was a member of the rNgog family based in

42 'Phags pa lha, *Byang chub sems dpa'i rnal 'byor spyod pa bzhi brgya pa* [= bZhi brgya pa]. This old Gong dkar print of Āryadeva's *Four Hundred Verses* had already caught David Jackson's attention; see Jackson 1990: 115, n. 3. It is preserved in the Library of Tibetan works and Archives (Dharamsala), signature: *kha 3 / 19137* (old signature: *kha 3, 44, no. 2615*).

43 These titles may have been single productions, or they may have well belonged to a larger xylograph collection of Indian treatises produced at Gong dkar for the scriptural study centres flourishing in dBus at the time.

44 Jackson 1989: 5.

45 For this official, see Fermer 2017: 74.

46 Jackson 1989: 4, here *mkha' spyod brnyes pa'i gdung brgyud sdom brtson mchog // rgyud sde'i mnga' bdag rin chen dpal bzang yin /*.

47 Yon tan 'od, *'Dul ba'i mdo*, fol. 82a5–6, here *par du bsgrubs pa'i do dam zhal lta pa [...]* *dpal ldan sa skya'i gshes* (=bshes) *gnyen rin chen dpal*.

48 Zhi ba lha, *sPyod 'jug*, fol. 34a2, here *dad pa'i gsal 'debs bshes gnyen rin chen dpal*.

49 Pad ma bkra shis, *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 134f., here *deng sang bshes gnyen dam pa rin chen dpal / / bstan la gcig tu bya ba byed pa des / [...]* *dge la spro ba'i padma kha phye nas [...]*.

50 Kaschewsky 1971: 211; Paṇ chen bSod nams grags pa, *bSod grags bka' gdams chos*

the neighbouring gZhung valley under Gong dkar's administration.⁵¹ Another member of the rNgog family, who was strongly involved in book production at Gong dkar, is Nam mkha' bzang po. Addressed in the *Commentary of the Root Infractions* (no. 12) as gZhung pa Nam mkha' bzang po, his association with the gZhung valley and the hereditary lineage of the rNgog gzhung pa can be clearly established.⁵² Nam mkha' bzang po was responsible for copying the manuscript pages for carving this text, as well as for the *Great Treatise on the Path of Mantra* (*sNgags rim chen mo*),⁵³ Āryadeva's *Four Hundred Verses*⁵⁴ and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*,⁵⁵ all produced under the commission of the Gong dkar ruler. The identity of a person called Gu ru in the *sNgags rim chen mo* colophon can now also be established.⁵⁶ He was bZhi 'dzom's steward in charge of Gong dkar estate, who supported the carving of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and is referred to as gNyer chen 'Gu ru in the colophon.⁵⁷

The identity of the block carvers for Tsong kha pa's influential treatise on the Vajrayāna path can also be clarified by comparing the historical information in the block colophons. sKyabs pa,⁵⁸ one of the main carvers, can be identified with mKhas pa sprul sku dPon mo che dPon skyab, who is listed as the master carver for the *Vinayasūtra* and

'byung, pp. 57, 179; Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Las chen bka' gdams chos 'byung*, p. 707 (here Chos rje sna rab ba Rin chen dpal bzang), *ibid.*, p. 821. He should not be confused with Tsong kha pa's scribe Brag dgon dKa' bzhi pa Rin chen dpal; see *ibid.*, p. 814.

51 This has also been noticed by Pad ma bkra shis; see *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 139f. On Rin chen dpal, see Ducher 2017: 324f. He belonged to the gTsang tsha branch of the rNgog family and is known for having established Brag dmar Chos 'khor gling monastery on the western ridges of the gZhung valley; see Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Las chen bka' gdams chos 'byung*, pp. 821f. For gZhung, see Fermer 2017: 75f. and Fermer forthcoming.

52 Pad ma bkra shis (*Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 138f.) describes Nam mkha' bzang po as a master copyist (*yig mkhan dbu chen*) at Gong dkar.

53 Jackson 1989: 4, here *mkhas pa'i phul byung nam mkha' bzang pos bris*.

54 'Phags pa lha, *bZhi brgya pa*, fol. 13a4, here *yi ge pa ni nam mkha' bzang pos bzabs*.

55 Pad ma bkra shis, *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, p. 138, here *yig mkhan mkhas pa gzhung pa nam mkha'*.

56 Jackson 1989: 4, here *phun tshogs dpal 'byor gyis mdzes gu ru*.

57 Pad ma bkra shis, *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, p. 137.

58 Jackson 1989: 4, here *rig byed 'dzin pa'i gtso bo skyabs pa*.

the supervisor for the *Catuḥśataka* carving.⁵⁹ Addressed as dPon mo che, he can be considered a leading carver entrusted by bZhi 'dzom with the execution of prestigious book projects. Another accomplished carver addressed with this title was dPon mo che dGe 'dun 'od zer, who was in charge of the carving of Rong ston's *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* commentary at 'Phan po Nalendra in 1436,⁶⁰ and probably also for the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala ritual (no. 11) at Gong dkar.⁶¹ dGe bsam,⁶² the other main carver for the *sNgags rim chen mo*, appears as a sponsor for the *Middle-Length Treatise on the Stages of the Path* (*Lam 'rim 'bring po*; no. 5) carved in the northern Lhasa area, and as the head carver for Dar ma rin chen's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* exegesis produced in a bird year (1429/1441?) at gNas rnying in gTsang.⁶³

B Titles from sKyid shod (sNe'u pa/sNel pa sponsorship)

An "Old Ganden print" of Tsong kha pa's *Essence of Eloquence distinguishing between the provisional and the definite meaning*, the *Drang nges legs bshad snying po* (no. 8), found in the BDRC database, reveals the involvement of another dGa' ldan pa monastery in the overall project. The colophon reveals that the carving was carried out at 'Bras spungs monastery within the realm of the sNe'u pa family. Mi dbang Nam mkha' bzang po (fl. ca. 1400–1430), the incumbent ruler, and his nephew (*khu dbon pa*) commissioned and funded (*zhal ta dang mthun pa'i rkyen sbyar*) the production that was completed in a hare year (1423?).⁶⁴ Uncle and nephew had earlier taken on the manufacture of Tsong kha pa's *Vajrasattva sādhana* from the Guhyasamāja cycle (no. 2) in lHa sa shortly after the master's demise in 1419. The personnel recruited for

59 Yon tan 'od, 'Dul ba'i mdo, fol. 82a6, here *rkos mkhan mkhas pa sprul sku dpon mo che* / *dpon skyab thog grangs mkhas pa rnam kyis gzabs* //; 'Phags pa lha, bZhi brgya pa, fols. 12b7–13a1.

60 Rong ston Shes bya kun rig, *dBu ma rtsa ba rnam bshad*, pp. 336f.

61 Pad ma bkra shis, *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, p. 140, here *dge 'dun dang (?) 'od zer*. A certain Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan was likewise addressed with this title. He led a group of carvers in preparing the blocks of an early *Rig gter rang 'grel* edition completed at Glang thang of 'Phan po in 1445; cf. Van der Kuijp 1993: 153f.

62 Jackson 1989: 4.

63 rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen, *mNgon rtogs rgyan 'grel pa*, fol. 191b3, here *dge sbyong dge bsam 'khor dang bcas pa'i lag pa'i 'du byed las* [...].

64 Tsong kha pa, *Drang nges legs bshad snying po*, fol. 60b.

the project's realization at 'Bras spungs were basically the same as for the *Vajrasattva sādhana* with sDom brtson bSod nams blo gros responsible for proofreading and dGe sbyong Yon tan 'od responsible for the carving.⁶⁵ As may be deduced from their names, both craftsmen were ordained monks. Yon tan 'od had also coordinated (*do dam*) the production of the *Lam rim 'bring po* (no. 5), which was accomplished with the funding of a certain dPon Nam, who can probably be identified as Tsong kha pa's great advocate, the sNe'u district officer sNe'u dPon Nam mkha' bzang po from above.⁶⁶ At Gong dkar, Yon tan 'od led a group of carvers in cutting the blocks of the *Catuḥśataka* mentioned above.⁶⁷ Moreover, the Zhol edition of the *Guhyasamājatantra with its Four Combined Commentaries* (*gSang 'dus rtsa rgyud 'grel pa bzhi sbrags*) reproduces what seems to be the original colophon of the first ever printed edition of the *Guhyasamāja* root tantra. The colophon states that the expert mKhas pa Yon tan 'od was the master carver for the project facilitated by Tsong kha pa himself.⁶⁸ A gloss added by the Zhol editors elaborates that the first Tibetan xylograph edition of the root tantra (*rtsa ba'i rgyud*) and its explanatory tantra (*bshad pa'i rgyud*) was accomplished at 'Bras spungs monastery under sNe'u pa patronage by the persons of dPon Nam mkha' bzang po and his nephew.⁶⁹ Tsong kha pa's main biographer mKhas grub rje likewise recounts that the carving project of the *Guhyasamāja* root tantra and Candrakīrtipāda's *Pradīpoddhyotana* (*'Grel pa sgron gsal*) in the years 1418–19 was initiated and facilitated (*sbyor ba nye bar brtsams*) by Tsong kha pa himself.⁷⁰ Considering this, we can now ask, if the project included the

65 Jackson 1990: 109f., 112. Notice that a certain bSod nams blo gros served as the proofreader for the carving template of Rong ston's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* commentary in 1436; see Rong ston Shes bya kun rig, *dBu ma rtsa ba rnam bshad*, p. 336. Tsong kha pa's exposition on Nāgārjuna's *Root Verses of the Middle Way*, the *rTsa shes tik chen*, is also found among the new titles identified from the edition; see no. (10).

66 Jackson 1989: 7.

67 'Phags pa lha, *bZhi brgya pa*, fol. 13a4, here *shakya'i dge slong yon tan 'od*.

68 Tsong kha pa, *gSang 'dus rtsa rgyud 'grel pa bzhi sbrags*, p. 151.5–6 (cited under no. 17).

69 *Ibid.*, p. 151.6–7 (cited under no. 17).

70 mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang, *Tsong kha pa rnam thar 1*, p. 111.4–5: *lo* [1418] *de'i gzhus nas thugs kyi dgongs pa dang sta gon mdzad nas/ dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rtsa rgyud 'grel pa sgron gsal dang bcas pa par du brko ba'i sbyor ba nye bar brtsams*

carving of Tsong kha pa's interlinear sub-commentary (*yang 'grel*) to Candrakīrtipāda's *Guhyasamāja* commentary (no. 17). Indeed, some modern authors have understood mKhas grub rje in this way. Thupten Jinpa (2019: 305) writes that "Tsongkhapa also initiated the project of having some of his major compositions committed to woodblock prints, including especially his interlinear annotations on the *Guhyasamāja* root tantra and Candrakīrti's commentary on it, *The Clear Lamp* (*Pradīpodyotana*) (sic!)." ⁷¹

The colophon of another dGa' ldan pho brang print reveals the patronship of the sNe'u pa for yet another title from the edition: Tsong kha pa's famous *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentary known as the *Legs bshad gser 'phreng* (no. 15). ⁷² Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that the sNe'u family, after the death of Drung chen Nam mkha' bzang po, continued to produce printed editions of Tsong kha pa's works, as well as those of his disciples. The main agents in the second generation of patrons from the sKyid chu valley were the nobleman dPal 'byor rgyal po and his wife Chos kyi dpal 'dzom from the Brag dkar family. ⁷³ Under their sponsorship a later copy of the *Lam rim 'bring po* was produced in 1465 at sNe'u rdzong. ⁷⁴

C A title from 'Ol dga' (Brag dkar sponsorship)

An "Old Ganden print" of Tsong kha pa's commentary on the Laghu-tantra of *Samvara* (no. 7) stands out from the other titles. This witness, contained in the set of xylographs collected by Porong Dawa, ⁷⁵

te / 'bad rtsol med par phag lo'i [1419] *nang du legs par mthar phyin par mdzad la/* [...]. Also Jackson 1990: 107; Jinpa 2019: 305.

71 Also dPal rdor, *Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum par shing skor* 2018, p. 198; Tsering 2020: 198. David Jackson (1990: 107) understands the passage from Tsong kha pa's *vita* as referring to only "the *Guhyasamājamūla Tantra* and its *Pradīpodyotana* commentary by Candrakīrtipāda."

72 Tsong kha pa, *Legs bshad gser 'phreng*, fol. 622a3–5 (cited under no. 15).

73 Pan chen bSod nams grags pa, *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* (Tucci ed. 1971), fol. 101.4–6 (translation in *ibid.*, p. 241). Also Jackson 1990: 108; Sernesi 2017: 205; So ru Blo bzang dar rgyas, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum zhib 'jug*, pp. 19f., "dPal 'byor lhun po'i shing par"; rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen, *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi tik chen dgongs pa rab gsal*, fols. 400b–402a, here Nang so Chos kyi dpal 'dzom pa.

74 Jackson 1989: 7–10, here Bu khrid dpal 'dzom, dPal 'byor rgyal po with his nephew (*khu dbon pa*).

75 dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (ed.), *Porong Dawa Collection*, text no. 5, pp. 15–17.

locates the site of manufacture as being a considerable distance from the known production sites in dBus. The colophon states that the project was realized at rTag rtse rNam par rgyal ba'i khang bzang of 'Ol kha (var. 'Ol dga', 'Ol kha) in present-day Zangs ri county, where Tsong kha pa maintained a circle of devotees from the noble Brag dkar family. Tshul khrims rin chen and bSod nams rgyal [... ?] are mentioned as donors for the carving in 1428,⁷⁶ at a time when Tsong kha pa's major patron, Brag dkar ba Rin chen dpal, reigned as the district's officer (*rdzong dpon*). Besides them, the colophon names further persons active in the sponsorship. Due to the damage of the folio's side portions, their names remain unidentified for the time being. The other individuals mentioned for the copying, proofreading and the carving of the work are presently unknown.

4 Concluding Remarks

With the discovery of the first witnesses in the 1980s, David Jackson acknowledged the historical and philological significance of the so-called "Old Ganden editions."⁷⁷ Next to the early printed works of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1376–1451) and Rong ston Shes bya kun rig (1367–1449) from around the same time, the titles described here can be identified as the earliest Central-Tibetan xylograph productions from a master's literary heritage.⁷⁸

The discovery of a title from 'Ol dga' in the north-eastern part of lHo kha reveals that the enterprise of reproducing Tsong kha pa's works in print was geographically much wider in scope than previously

76 Tsong kha pa, *bDe mchog rgya cher bshad pa*, fols. 166b–167a. Also Ehrhard and Sernesi 2019: 122.

77 Jackson 1990: 110.

78 Also Jackson 1989: 1. On early printed editions of Bo dong's works, see Ehrhard 2016: 215f.; Sharshon 2016; Sernesi 2017: 205f.; Ehrhard and Sernesi 2019: 120f. On surviving xylographs from Rong ston's oeuvre carved at different places in dBus, see Rong ston Shes bya kun rig, *dBu ma rtsa ba rnam bshad*, pp. 336f.; Jackson and Onoda 1988; Van der Kuijp 1991; Cabezón 2001: 245–247; Pho brang po ta la dpe rnying bsdu sgrig khang, *Po ta la'i sa skya'i gsung rab dkar chag*, pp. 171f., nos. 01906(7), 01906(9), digitized under BDRC W4PD1496, vol. 2; Dan Martin mentions "an extremely old woodblock print" of Rong ston's *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag lam lnga gsal ba'i sgron me* (6 fols.) that he had seen in the library of Ellis Gene Smith (1936–2010), see "Printery Catalogues, Par-tho," *Tibetological Google site*, URL: <https://sites.google.com/site/tibetological/50-tibetan-geo-texts/Home/printeries-par-khang> (accessed: 23.09.2020).

thought. It fosters the assumption of yet more production sites to be discovered outside lHa sa and the surrounding regions, or even in the gTsang province. Speculating a bit further, one is tempted to think of the Phag mo gru pa seat at sNe gdong in Yar lung as another likely site of production.

The overall project was realized through the joint endeavour of different ruling houses of dBus, at that time under the administration of the Phag mo gru pa. The exploration of new titles further affirmed a strong involvement of dGa' ldan pa monasteries in providing facilities and labour. Several monastics are recorded as being directly involved in the tasks of copying, editing and carving. The identity of previously unknown craftsmen from Gong dkar and other production sites could be clarified by consulting the colophons of xylographs from the same period and region. Considering the length of some of Tsong kha pa's works comprising several hundred folios, the editing and the preparing of the blocks must have required a large staff of specialized workmen. The colophons convey that the craftsmen and artisans were headed by accomplished carvers and supervisors, whose involvement has been attested in several of the above production sites. What the colophons do not tell is how and from where the overall project was coordinated. Although the colophons' wish verses and dedication include the Phag mo gru pa administration, the donors appear to have operated largely independently. Information on the larger operational framework might be found in the extensive collection of Tsong kha pa's biographies that was also compiled for the master's 600th death anniversary, but has been only randomly consulted for this contribution.⁷⁹ Interestingly, the biographies of other Central-Tibetan masters indicate that Tsong kha pa's oeuvre continued to be reproduced in the fifteenth century in other editions.⁸⁰ I assume that those were handwritten copies of his

79 dGa' ldan rnam par rgyal ba'i gling gi tshogs chen (ed.), *rJe tsong kha pa chen po'i rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*. 6 vols. Mundgod: Gaden Monastery, 2019.

80 See the life stories of sGo sel ba bSod nams bzang po (1380–1416), sNar thang pa Shes rab seng ge (1383–1445) and Nam mkha' 'od zer (b. 1368); cf. rTa tshag Tshe dbang rgyal, *lHo rong chos 'byung*, p. 392; Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan, *Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, pp. 736f. and also the nineteenth-century Tsong kha pa *vita* by Tho yon Ye shes don grub (1792–1855), i.e. *Tsong kha pa rnam thar* 2, p. 355f.; sTag tshang lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen, *Nam mkha' 'od zer rnam thar*, p. 94: [...] *bu ston rin po che dang tsong kha pa chen po'i bka' 'bum mtha' dag dang rje btsun chen po'i brtsams chos phyed tsam la sogs pa'i gsung rab mang du bzhengs pa/* [...]. The existence of other fifteenth-century editions of Tsong kha pa's collected

collected writings produced next to the earliest prints, whose status as a complete collection is questionable. Thanks to the ongoing initiatives of digitizing and distributing Tibetan material inside and outside of Tibet, I am very confident that more titles will soon become accessible to help in clarifying the origins of this early printed oeuvre of a great master.

5 Title List

This list documents currently identified titles from among the “Old Ganden xylographs” for which a set of particularities can be observed. Each entry provides remarks on the work's title, information on the provenance of the witness, its physical appearance and references to secondary sources and available copies from the same edition. Due to the limitation of space in this paper, main information on the block production has been extracted from the block colophons, while the full transcripts of available witnesses are made available on the SRC website (see respective IDs under references).

Particularities of the Edition

- size: ca. 47.5 × 6.5 cm [block], ca. 48–52 × 8–9 cm [paper]
- text body unframed⁸¹
- no marginal notations⁸² (*pod rtags med pa*)
- miniatures with framed inscription
- reversed *gi gu* (*gi gu phyir log*)⁸³
- word shortenings with stacked suffixes (*yang 'jug rjes 'jug gi 'og tu bris pa*)⁸⁴
- similar wish verses after author colophon⁸⁵

writings has been pointed out by others; see Jinpa 2019: 330, 453f., nn. 612, 613; rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum sdud sgrig khang (ed.), *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma 2*, p. xv; So ru Blo bzang dar rgyas, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum zhib 'jug*, pp. 147f.

81 Cf. also So ru Blo bzang dar rgyas, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum zhib 'jug*, p. 17.

82 Cf. also Jackson 1989: 2.

83 Cf. also sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017, p. 150.

84 Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 150.

85 Tsong kha pa, *sNgags rim chen mo* (no. 6), fol. 360a7: 'dis kyang bstan pa rin po che phyogs kun tu rgyas par byed nus par gyur cig; bDe mchog rgya cher bshad pa (no. 7),

(1) *dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub pa'i thabs*

Title Remarks: Title according to Jackson 1990: 109, no separate title folio; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 10 (*tha*), pp. 439–471) reads *dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub thabs rin po che'i za ma tog*.

Provenance: Monastic library near Bodhnath, Nepal.

Physical Description: 11 fols., 47.2×6.0 cm [block], 7 lines, no marginal notation, xylograph colophon: fol. 11?, wish phrase at text ending: *shubham//*.

Date of Writing: [around 1418];⁸⁶ **Date of Carving:** [before 1419];⁸⁷

Place of Carving: 'Brogi ri bo che dGe ldan rnam par rgyal ba'i gling;

Supervisor (do dam): bTsun pa Chos seng.

Other copies: 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 1, p. 488, no. 005187, *phyi da 31, shing dpar*, 11 fols., 49×9 cm, title: *bCom ldan 'das rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub thabs rin po che'i za ma tog*; 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 1, p. 495, no. 005280, *phyi da 39, shing dpar*, 11 fols., 50.6×8.2 cm, title: *dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub thabs rin po che'i za ma tog ces bya ba bzhugs so*; 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 1, p. 496, no. 005295, *phyi da 41, shing dpar*, 11 fols., 50×8 cm, title: *dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub thabs bzhugs so*; 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 2, p. 2260, no. 000604, *nang 163, shing dpar*, 12 fols., 48×9 cm, title: *dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub pa'i thabs rin po che'i za ma tog ces bya ba bzhugs*.

References: Jackson 1990: 109, 111 (colophon transcription); the Zhol edition has preserved the block colophon of the Old Ganden xylograph; see *Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 10 (*tha*), pp. 470.6–471.5; SRC: S4853 (digital transcription of the colophon).

fol. 166a3: [bsta]n pa rin po che phyogs kun tu rgyas par byed nus par gyur cig; Drang nges legs bshad snying po (no. 8), fol. 59b7: 'dis kyang bstan pa rin po che phyogs kun tu rgyas par byed nus par gyur cig; dPal gsang ba 'dus pa mi bskyod rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga (no. 3), fol. 43 (Jackson 1990: 113), here after the block colophon: 'dis kyang bstan pa rin po che phyogs dus kun du rgyas par byed nus par gyur cig.

86 Jinpa 2019: 304.

87 The blocks for this title seem to have been produced during Tsong kha pa's lifetime; see Jackson 1990: 111: [...] *mgon khyod nam mkha' ji srid par/ /mya ngan mi 'da' rtag bzhugs nas/ /ma rig mun par lhung rnams la/ /chos kyi 'khor lo bskor du gsol//*.

(2) *Khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa' bsnyen bsgrub bzhi'i sbyor bas mnyes par byed pa'i 'dus pa'i sgrub thabs rnal 'byor dag pa'i rim pa*

Title Remarks: Title according to Jackson 1990: 111; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 7 (ja), pp. 627–683) reads *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i sgrub thabs rnal 'byor dag pa'i rim pa*.

Provenance: Monastic library near Bodhnath.

Physical Description: 19 fols., 46×5.7 cm [block], 7 lines, no marginal notation, xylograph colophon: fols. 18b–19a.

Date of Carving: [after 1419]; **Place of Carving:** Chos 'khor chen po dPal gyi lha sa; **Carver:** Yon tan 'od and companions (*grogs mched*);

Donor: dPon 'Dir⁸⁸ and his spouse (*yab yum*), dGe sbyong Rin chen dpal;⁸⁹ **Fundraiser** (? *dad pa'i gsol 'debs*): Bla ma 'Jam pa; **Proofreader/Editor:** sDom brtson bSod nams blo gros; **Intention/Dedication:**

fulfilling the intentions of Tsong kha pa and to cause the domain of Nam mkha' bzang po and his nephew (*khu dbon*) to flourish.

Other copies: *'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag*, vol. 1, p. 404, no. 004170, *phyi tha* 12, *shing dpar*, 19 fols., 49.2×8.2 cm, title: *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i sgrub thabs rnal 'byor dag pa'i rim pa zhes bya ba bzhugs*; *'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag*, vol. 1, p. 406, no. 004183, *phyi tha* 13, *shing dpar*, 19 fols., 50.8×7.3 cm, title: *Khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa' bsnyen bsgrub bzhi'i sbyor bas mnyes par byed pa 'dus pa'i sgrub thabs rnal 'byor dag pa'i rim pa*; *'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag*, vol. 1, p. 412, no. 004266, *phyi tha* 37, 004261, *shing dpar*, 19 fols., 49×8.3 cm, title: *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i sgrub thabs rnal 'byor dag pa'i rim pa zhes bya ba bzhugs so*; *'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag*, vol. 2, p. 2044, no. 001069, *shing dpar*, 19 fols., 50×8 cm, *nang* 201, title: *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i sgrub thabs rnal 'byor dag pa'i rim pa zhes bya ba bzhugs so*.

References: Jackson 1990: 109f., 111 (colophon transcription); SRC: S4854 (digital transcription of the colophon).

Remarks: This is said to be the first ever xylograph (*sngon med dpar du sgrub pa*) of this work (Jackson 1990: 110, 112); a certain Bla ma 'Jam pa seems to have been responsible for raising funds for the block production (Jackson 1990: 112: *dad pa'i gsol 'debs bla ma 'jam pas mdzad*).

88 A certain dPon 'Dir from dPon bKra shis sben tsa 'dir in the northern lHa sa area is mentioned in the *Lam rim 'bring po* colophon; see text (no. 5).

89 dGe sbyong Rin chen dpal may have been identical with Tsong kha pa's disciple bShes gnyen Rin chen dpal of the rNgog gzhung pa (see above).

(3) *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa mi bskyod rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga dbang gi don gyi de nyid rab tu gsal ba*

Title Remarks: Title according to Jackson 1990: 113; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 5 (*ca*), pp. 549–681) reads *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa mi bskyod rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga dbang gi don gyi de nyid rab tu gsal ba*.

Provenance: Monastic library near Bodhnath.

Physical Description: 43 fols., 46.5×6.0 cm [block], 7 lines, no marginal notation (?), xylograph colophon: fol. 43?.

Date of Carving: [between 1419–1432];⁹⁰ **Place of Carving:** Ri bo dge ldan rnam par rgyal ba'i gling; **Carver:** sDom brtson Sangs rgyas bsam grub and companions (*grogs mched*); **Requester** (*bka' yis bskul*): Rin chen rgyal mtshan; **Donor:** [Rin chen rgyal mtshan and] the monastic community (*dge 'dun rnams*) of [dGa' ldan]; **Intention/Dedication:** fulfilling the final intentions (*thugs dgongs?*) of Bla ma mchog [Tsong kha pa] and to increase the lifespan and activities of rGyal tshab dam pa [Dar ma rin chen] (1464–1432).

References: Jackson 1990: 110, 113 (colophon transcription); SRC: S4855 (digital transcription of the colophon).

(4) *Thams cad mkhyen pa tsong kha pa chen pos mdzad pa'i byang chub lam rim che ba bzhugs so/ mang ga lam* [i.e. *Lam rim chen mo*]

Title Remarks: Title according to Jackson 1989: 2 (witness A), title written in *dbu med* script on the cover folio, cover folio reinforced with newer paper; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 13 (*pa*)) reads *mNyam med tsong kha pa chen pos mdzad pa'i byang chub lam rim che ba*.

Provenance: (A) Theg chen chos gling (residence of the 14th Dalai Lama, Dharamsala), offered to H. H. the Dalai Lama by the late Khri byang rin po che; (B) Nor bu gling kha, ending folios reproduced in Bod rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe srung skyob lte gnas, *Rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe'i ming mdzod*.

Physical Description: (A,B) 336 fols., (A) 47×6cm [block], (B) 9×5.5cm (sic!) [paper], (A) 7 lines, (A,B) no marginal notation, (A,B) no xylograph colophon; **Particularities:** text body unframed;

⁹⁰ Jackson 1990: 110.

miniatures with inscription (fols. 1b, 2a); reversed *gi gu*,⁹¹ wish phrase at text ending: *mam gha la bha wa tu//*; sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar describes particularities of the xylograph in *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017, pp. 150f.

Date of Writing: [1401–02];⁹² **Date of Carving:** ?.

Other copies: *'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag*, vol. 2, p. 2468, no. 001768, *nang ma* 41 440, *shing dpar*, 336 fols., 52 × 8.5 cm, title: *Byang chub lam rim chen mo bzhugs so*.

References: sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017, pp. 149–151; *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 134, 143; Jinpa 2019: 305, 330; (A) Jackson 1989: 2; Jackson 1990: 108; Khri byang Blo bzang ye shes bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, *Khri byang rin po che rang rnam*, pp. 451f. (for a translation, see Tenzin Trinley 2018: 314); SRC: S1924 (digital transcription of the colophon); (B) Bod rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe srung skyob lte gnas, *Rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe'i ming mdzod*, pp. 66–71, no. 06629 (facsimile reproduction of folios 335b, 336a);⁹³ SRC: S3305.

Remarks: The title has no xylograph colophon. Some modern authors claim that this title was produced during Tsong kha pa's lifetime (see above). Pad ma bkra shis (*Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 134, 143) presumes that it was carved at Gong dkar.

(5) *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa bzhugs* [i.e. *Lam rim 'bring po* or *Lam rim chung ngu*]

Title Remarks: Title according to Jackson 1989: 6 (witness A), title written in *dbu med* script on cover folio of newer paper; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 14 (*pha*), pp. 5–406) reads *sKyes bu gsum gyi nyams su blang ba'i byang chub lam gyi rim pa*.

Provenance: (A) Theg chen chos gling (residence of the 14th Dalai Lama, Dharamsala), offered to H. H. the Dalai Lama by gSer skong rin po che Thub bstan stobs 'byor (1912–1983); (B) Nor bu gling kha, folio

91 sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017, p. 150.

92 Jinpa 2019: 198f.

93 Folios of mKhas grub rje's Tsong kha pa biography from an unknown xylograph edition (fol. 2a) and the *Lam rim 'bring po* (no. 5) from the "Old Ganden edition" (fol. 1b) are mistakenly reproduced under this catalogue entry (pp. 68f.).

1b reproduced in Bod rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe srung skyob lte gnas, *Rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe'i ming mdzod*, p. 68.

Physical Description: (A) 135 fols., (A) 47.5×6.3 cm [block] (B) 9×5.5 cm (sic!) [paper], (A,B) 7 lines, (A,B) no marginal notation, (A) xylograph colophon: fols. 135a–b?; **Particularities:** text body unframed; framed miniatures with inscription (fols. 1b, 2a); The miniatures show a particular style different from other titles of the edition.⁹⁴

Date of Writing: [1415?];⁹⁵ **Date of Carving:** ?; **Place of Carving:** bKra shis sben tsa 'dir in the northern lHa sa area (lHa sa'i byang gi phyogs); **Donor:** dPon 'Dir ba and his spouse (yab yum); dGe bsam and dPon Nam [mkha' bzang po?]; **Supervisor** (do dam): Yon tan 'od; **Fundraiser** (gathered the offerings): Bla ma 'Jam nyag.⁹⁶

Other copies: 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 2, p. 1634, no. 018537, *phyi la* 267, *shing dpar*, 135 fols., 48×9 cm, title: *Byang chub lam rim chung ba bzhugs so*.

References: (A) Jackson 1989: 6f. (colophon transcription); Jackson 1996: 128, figs. 60–63 (miniature reproductions); SRC: S1925 (digital transcription of the colophon); (B) Bod rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe srung skyob lte gnas, *Rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe'i ming mdzod*, pp. 68, no. 06629⁹⁷ (facsimile reproduction of folio 1b); SRC: S3305.

94 See fig. 2 and Jackson 1996: 128, figs. 60–63. A similarity in the style and composition of miniatures can be noticed in an illuminated print of a manual on the *Six Yogas of Nāropa* authored by the sPyan snga bSod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1386–1434). This xylograph of similar size and appearance (ca. 49×9cm, 7 lines) has been dated to the author's lifetime or shortly afterwards. It survives in the Tucci Tibetan collection at the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, IsIAO (De Rossi Filibeck 2003: 448, no. 1359) and is described in Sernesi 2010. Several of the miniature illustrations are reproduced in *ibid.*: pp. 124f., 148, 150f. and Czaja 2013: 610–612.

95 Jinpa 2019: 285f.

96 He and Bla ma 'Jam pa, who is mentioned in the block colophon of the *Vajrasattva sādhana* (no. 2; carved in lHa sa), may have been one and the same person. Bla ma 'Jam nyag might furthermore be identical with a certain bKa' bzhi 'dzin pa gZhon nu rdo rje *alias* 'Jam nyag pa who is mentioned in the biography of Byams pa gling pa bSod nams rnam rgyal (1400–1475); see Byang chub rnam rgyal dge legs, *Byams pa gling pa'i rnam thar*, fol. 17a.

97 Folios of Tsong kha pa's biography by mKhas grub rje from an unknown xylograph edition (fol. 2a) and the *Lam rim chen mo* (no. 4) from the "Old Ganden edition" (fols. 335b, 336a) are also reproduced under this catalogue entry (pp. 69–71).

Remarks: This is said to be the first ever xylograph (*sngon med spar du legs par grub pa*) of this work (Jackson 1989: 6).

(6) [*sNgags rim chen mo*]

Title Remarks: No original title, the cover folio is reinforced with newer paper (Jackson 1989: 3); the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 3 (*ga*)) reads *rGyal ba khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyis* (sic!) *rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad rnam par phye ba*.

Provenance: (A) Theg chen chos gling (residence of the 14th Dalai Lama, Dharamsala), offered to H. H. the Dalai Lama by the late Khri byang rin po che; (B) unknown collection, information from *gNa' dpe rnam bshad* and *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*.

Physical Description: (A,B) 361 fols., (A) 47.5×6.5 cm [block], (A,B) 7 lines, (A,B) no marginal notation, (A,B) xylograph colophon: fols. 360a7–360b7; **Particularities:** text body unframed, miniatures with framed inscription (fols. 1b, 2a, 360b); reversed *gi gu* (?), wish phrase at text ending: *maṃ ga la bha wa tu//*.

Date of Writing: [1404/05];⁹⁸ **Date of Carving:** *zil gnon kyi lo* (1426);

Place of Carving: Pho brang gnyis pa Gong dkar dpal gyi sde chen;

Carver: sKyabs pa, dGe bsam and others; **Requester:** rGyal tshab chos kyi rje [Dar ma rin chen] (1364–1432), 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho (1356–1428), [Byang sems] Kun dga' bzang po; **Donor:** Drung chen bZhi 'dzom and his nephew (*khu dbon*) [i.e. dGe bsnyen lHun grub bkra shis]; **Leading Staff** (*las byed*): Gu ru, g.Yu rung [and]? bSam bzang; **Proofreader/Editor:** Blo gros (?) chos rgyal, Rin chen dpal bzang; **Copyist:** Nam mkha' bzang po; **Author of wish verses** (?): gZhon nu seng ge; **Intention/Dedication:** dedicated to fulfil Tsong kha pa's final intentions (*dgongs rdzogs*) and to stabilize the Gong ma Grags pa rgyal mtshan's rule, dedicated to the accomplishment of spiritual and temporal concerns during bZhi 'dzom's lifetime.

Other copies: Several prints with the same folio amount are listed in 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag; see, for example, 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 1, p. 747, no. 008274, *phyi ma* 304, *shing dpar*, 361 fols., 50.5×8 cm, title: *rGyal ba khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad rnam par phye ba bzhugs*; 'Bras spungs dpe

98 Jinpa 2019: 210f.

rnying dkar chag, vol. 1, p. 762, no. 008450, *phyi ma* 355, *shing dpar*, 361 fols., 52×8 cm, title: *rGyal ba khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad rnam par phye ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, also title entry above under no. 008449, *phyi ma* 355; 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 1, p. 786, no. 008736, *phyi ma* 384, *shing dpar*, 361 fols., 51×8 cm, title: *rGyal ba khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad rnam par phye ba zhes bya ba sngags rim chen mo*; 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 2, p. 2207, no. 000091, *nang* 26, *shing dpar*, 361 fols., 49×9 cm, title: *rGyal ba khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad rnam par phye ba zhes bya ba bzhugs*; 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 2, p. 2209, no. 000115, *nang* 37, *shing dpar*, 362 fols., 53×8.5 cm, title: *Khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad rnam par phye ba zhes bya ba bzhugs*; 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 2, p. 2469, no. 001778, *nang ma* 45 449, *bris ma dbu can* (!), 361 fols., 53×10 cm, title: *Khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad rnam par phye ba sngags kyi rim pa chen mo bzhugs so*.

References: Jinpa 2019: 305; (A) Jackson 1989: 2–5 (colophon transcription); Jackson 1990: 108; Khri byang Blo bzang ye shes bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, *Khri byang rin po che rang rnam*, p. 478 (for a translation, see Tenzin Trinley 2018: 330); SRC: S1392 (digital transcription of the colophon); (B) *gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, pp. 136, 152f., 155 (facsimile reproduction of folios 360a, 361a); *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 134, 135 (facsimile reproduction of folio 360b) 138f., 140f. (facsimile reproduction of miniatures of folio 360b); SRC: S4997.

Remarks: Another old print of this work is recorded in lHo kha grong khyer rig gnas cus, *lHo kha bod yig gna' dpe dkar chag*, p. 65 (facsimile reproductions of folios 1b, 2a).

(7) ***dPal 'khor lo sdom par brjod pa bde mchog bsdus pa'i rgyud kyi rgya cher bshad pa sbas pa'i don kun gsal ba bzhugs***

Title Remarks: Title according to cover folio; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 8 (*nya*), pp. 379–853) reads *bDe mchog bsdus pa'i rgyud kyi rgya cher bshad pa sbas pa'i don kun gsal ba*.

Provenance: (A) 'Bras spungs gNas bcu temple (?), signature on title folio: *phyi ka* 134; digitized images published by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, see *Porong Dawa Collection*, text no. 5,

digitized under BDRC W2PD19644, vol. 5; (B) Tucci Tibetan collection, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, IsIAO, text no. 642.

Physical Description: (A,B) fols. 1a–167a, size unknown, (A) 7 lines, (A) no marginal notation, xylograph colophon: fols. 166a3–167a4; **Particularities:** title on cover folio framed, text body unframed, miniatures with inscription (fols. 1b, 2a), reversed *gi gu*, shortenings have suffixes stacked under letters; folio nos. 166 and 167 have the ends torn off. **Date of Writing:** [1419];⁹⁹ **Date of Carving:** *sa pho spre'u'i lo* (1428); **Place of Carving:** 'Ol kha rtag rtse rNam par rgyal ba'i khang bzang; **Carver:** sDom brtson dam pa Sangs rgyas bsam [grub]; **Requester:** ?; **Donor:** Tshul khrims rin chen, bSod nams rgyal [...], Nor bu bzang po (?) and nephew (*khu dbon*) with their officials (*zhal ngo nang blon*); **Proofreader/Editor:** ? blo gros? and bShes gnyen Kun mchog pa;¹⁰⁰ **Copyist:** rGyal mtshan grags. **Intention/Dedication:** dedicated to the enduring activities and long life of the Gong ma Grags pa rgyal mtshan.

Other copies: 'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 1, p. 225, no. 002148, *phyi kha 91, bris ma dbu can* (!), 167 fols., 62×9.5 cm, title: *dPal 'khor lo sdom par brjod pa bde mchog bsodus pa'i rgyud kyi rgya cher bshad pa sbas pa'i don kun gsal ba ces bya ba bzugs so*. [Considering the folio size of this title, it might be a handwritten copy from the block print].

References: (A) dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (ed.), *Porong Dawa Collection*, pp. 15–17; Ehrhard 2016: 214f., n. 4; Ehrhard and Sernesi 2019: 121f.; BDRC: W4CZ301802, W2PD19644; SRC: S4868 (digital transcription of the colophon); (B) De Rossi Filibeck 2003: 328, no. 642; SRC: S5002.

(8) *gSung rab kyi drang ba dang nges pa'i don rnam par phye ba gsal bar byed pa legs par bshad pa'i snying po* [i.e. *Drang nges legs bshad snying po*]

Title Remarks: Title according to xylograph colophon (fol. 59b6), title folio missing; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 14 (*pha*), pp. 443–669) reads *Drang ba dang nges pa'i don rnam par phye ba'i bstan bcos legs bshad snying po*.

⁹⁹ Jinpa 2019: 308f.

¹⁰⁰ Tsong kha pa, *bDe mchog rgya cher bshad pa*, fol. 167a3: *zhib mo'i blo gros can bshes gnyen kun mchog pa gnyis kyis/ /bris shing brkos la dag par bgyis te / [...]*.

Provenance: unknown collection (maybe Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing), digitized under BDRC W1CZ1011.

Physical Description: fols. 1a–60b, size unknown, 7 lines, no marginal notation, xylograph colophon: fols. 59b7–60b7; **Particularities:** text body unframed, framed miniatures with inscription (fols. 1b, 2a), reversed *gi gu*, shortenings have suffixes stacked under letters.

Date of Writing: [1407–08];¹⁰¹ **Date of Carving:** *yos bu'i lo* (1423?);

Place of Carving: dPal ldan 'Bras spungs kyi sde chen; **Carver:** mKhas pa dGe sbyong Yon tan 'od, Sang rdor (Sangs rgyas rdo rje ?) and others;

Commissioner and Donor (*zhal ta dang mthun pa'i rkyen*): Mi dbang Nam mkha' bzang po and nephew (*khu dbon pa*); **Proofreader/Editor:** Shākya'i dge sbyong bSod nams blo gros.

Other copies: David Jackson (1989: 17, n. 15) remarks that Dwags po rin po che Blo bzang 'jam dpal byams pa rgya mtsho (b. 1932) “is said to have had with him in the 1960s an old dGa'-ldan edition of Tsong-kha-pa's *Legs bshad snying po*, which he subsequently sent back to a monastery in India”.

References: Jinpa 2019: 305, 330; rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum sdud sgrig khang (ed.), *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma* 2, p. xvi; SRC: S4867 (digital transcription of the colophon).

(9) *Rim pa lnga rab tu gsal ba'i sgron me zhes bya ba bzhugswo* [i.e. *Rim lnga gsal sgron*]

Title Remarks: Title according to witness A, title written in *dbu can* script on cover folio (fol. 1ab might be from another edition of the same work); the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 7 (ja), pp. 3–626) reads *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i man ngag rim pa lnga rab tu gsal ba'i sgron me*.

Provenance: (A) unknown collection, digitized under BDRC W4CZ74399, vol. 1; (B) unknown collection, information from *gNa' dpe rnam bshad*.

Physical Description: (A) fols. 1a–221b, incomplete (ending missing), size unknown, (A) 7 lines, (A) no marginal notation; **Particularities:** text body unframed; reversed *gi gu*.

101 Jinpa 2019: 218, 231.

Date of Writing: [1411];¹⁰² **Date of Carving:** ?; **Place of Carving:** ?.

References: Jinpa 2019: 305; (A) BDRC: W4CZ74399; SRC: S4952; (B) *gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, pp. 141 (facsimile reproduction of folio 1b? showing three miniatures with inscription), 154; SRC: S4884.

Remarks: Pad ma bkra shis (*gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, p. 154) presumes that this title was carved at Gong dkar.

(10) *dBu ma rtsa ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa shes rab ces bya ba'i rnam bshad rigs pa'i rgya mtsho zhes bya ba* [i.e. *rTsa shes tik chen*]

Title Remarks: Title according to witness A, incipit, fol. 1b1 (Bod rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe srung skyob lte gnas, *Nag chu gna' dpe'i dpar mdzod*, p. 154), original cover folio replaced with newer paper; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 15 (*ba*), pp. 3–562) reads *dBu ma rtsa ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa shes rab ces bya ba'i rnam bshad rigs pa'i rgya mtsho*.

Provenance: (A) Text holding of dGa' ldan rab brtan gling in Sog rdzong rong po rab brtan, see Bod rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe srung skyob lte gnas, *Nag chu gna' dpe'i dpar mdzod*, p. 154; (B) Potala collection; see Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang (ed.), *Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum 2012*, preface.

Physical Description: (A) fols. 1a–93a?, (A) 60×6 cm [block] (sic!), text ending missing, (A,B) 7 lines; **Particularities:** text body unframed, framed miniatures with inscription (fols. 1b, 2a), reversed *gi gu*.

Date of Writing: [1408];¹⁰³ **Date of Carving:** ?; **Place of Carving:** ?.

References: (A) Bod rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe srung skyob lte gnas, *Nag chu gna' dpe'i dpar mdzod*, pp. 154–156, no. 26;¹⁰⁴ also Bod rang skyong ljongs gna' dpe srung skyob lte gnas, *Nag chu gna' dpe'i dkar chag*, p. 229, no. 540000-6089-0000039; SRC: S3278; (B) Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang (ed.), *Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum 2012*, preface (facsimile reproduction of folios 1b and 2a, caption reads: *po tā (=ta) lar bzhuḡs pa'i dus rabs bco lnga pa'i nang gi rje'i gsung 'bum par ma*); *gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, p. 154; SRC: S4960.

Remarks: Modern authors claim that this title was produced during

102 Jinpa 2019: 262.

103 Jinpa 2019: 230.

104 The folio reproduced on p. 156 seems to be of a different text!

Tsong kha pa's lifetime (see above). Pad ma bkra shis (gNa' dpe rnam bshad, p. 154) presumes that this title was carved at Gong dkar.

(11) *dPal 'khor lo bde mchog lus kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba'i cho ga rin po che'i bang mdzod*

Title Remarks: Title and colophon information according to *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, p. 144; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 10 (tha), pp. 57–105) reads *rNal 'byor dbang phyug dril bu lugs bde mchog lus dkyil gyi dbang chog rin po che'i bang mdzod*.

Place of Carving: [Gong dkar]¹⁰⁵; **Carver:** dGe 'dun dang (?) 'od zer;¹⁰⁶ **Donor:** bZhi 'dzoms pa. **Proofreader/Editor:** rNgog gi ston pa mKhas btsun Rin chen dpal bzang po, bSod nams dpal grub.

References: gNa' dpe rnam bshad, p. 154; *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 134, 139f., 144; SRC: S4858.

Remarks: Deducing from the persons involved in the project, Pad ma bkra shis (*Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, p. 144) concludes that this title was carved at Gong dkar.

(12) *rDo rje theg pa'i tshul khrims kyi bslab pa yongs su dag par bya ba'i tshul rnam par bshad pa dngos grub kyi snye ma* [i.e. *rTsa ltung gi rnam bshad*]

Title Remarks: Title and colophon information according to *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, p. 145; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 1 (ka), pp. 373–512) reads *gSang sngags kyi tshul khrims kyi rnam bshad dngos grub kyi snye ma*.

Date of Writing: [ca. 1402/03?];¹⁰⁷ **Place of Carving:** Pho brang chen po Gong dkar dpal gyi bde chen; **Proofreader/Editor:** sDom brtson ldan pa Rin chen [dpal?] bzang po; **Copyist:** gZhung pa Nam mkha' bzang po.

References: *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 134 (here *rTsa ltung gi rnam bshad*), 137–139, 145; SRC: S4856.

Remarks: The Zhol edition preserves the original colophon of a later

105 *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, p. 144

106 This individual can probably be identified with dPon mo che dGe 'dun 'od zer, the master carver responsible for carving Rong ston's *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* commentary (see above).

107 Sparham 2005: 2.

Ganden print from which the blocks were reproduced in 1897.¹⁰⁸

(13) ***gSang sngags theg pa'i cho ga***

Title Remarks: Title according to *gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, p. 154; This work remains unidentified.

References: *gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, p. 154; SRC: S4953.

Remarks: Pad ma bkra shis (*gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, p. 154) presumes that this title was carved at Gong dkar.

(14) ***'Dul ba'i rnam gzhag***

Title Remarks: Title according to *gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, p. 154; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 2 (kha), pp. 3–199) seems to be the *'Dul ba mdo rtsa ba'i zin bris*.

References: *gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, p. 154; SRC: S4951.

Remarks: The title seems to refer to the *Notes on Guṇaprabha's Vinayasūtra* (*'Dul ba mdo rtsa ba'i zin bris*) that rGyal tshab rje compiled on the basis of Tsong kha pa's exposition in 1401.¹⁰⁹ Pad ma bkra shis (*gNa' dpe rnam bshad*, p. 154) presumes that this title was carved at Gong dkar.

(15) ***Legs bshad gser gyi phreng ba***

Title Remarks: Title according to a dGa' ldan phun tshogs gling print of the text; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*,

108 *Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol*, vol. 1 (ka), pp. 511.5–512.4: //swasti/ rdzogs rim khor yug gting zab cing / /bskyed rim rgyu skar gzugs brnyan bkra/ /'phrin las dus rlabs ci yang gyo/ /rgyud sde rgya mtshor 'jug pa yi/ /don mthun 'gro ba'i ded dpon che/ /dngos grub bsam 'phel stsol mdzad pa/ /lam gsum dkar bas brnyes pa'i thabs/ /'phags yul dpa' bos gsal bar mdzad/ /gang de'i bzhed gzhung padmo'i tshal/ /blo bzang grags pa'i tsha zer gyis/ /slar yang phye bas sprad [512] rtsi'i bcud/ /'phel zhing rgyas pa'i ge sar gyo/ /ze 'bru'i phreng ldan gsal ba 'di/ /gzhon nu blo ldan seng ge yis/ /yi ge'i rin chen 'byung gnas bskrun/ /gang des 'dren mchog chos kyi rje'i/ /mkhyen dgongs dkar po 'o ma'i mtsho/ /srid rtse'i bar du lud nas kyang / /srid gsum khongs 'dir 'khyil gyur cig/ // / swasti/ sku bzhi'i ngo bo rdo rje 'chang du/ /bgrod pa'i lam bzab rdo rje theg pa'i/ /sgor zhugs mchog thun dngos grub rnam gnyis/ /dam tshig sdom pa rnam par dag la/ /ngag las blang dor gsal byed rnam bshad/ /chos sbyin 'dzad med lha lam mdzod 'gran/ /dga' ldan rnam par rgyal ba chen por/ /par du bsgrubs pa'i rnam dkar dge 'dis/ /mthun rkyen sgrub pa'i grogs dang 'gro kun/ /ma rig sgrib gnyis gyul las rnam rgyal/ /rim gnyis them skas zab mor son nas/ /zung 'jug go 'phang thob pa'i rgyur bsngo// sarba mangga lam//.

109 Jinpa 2019: 194f.

vols. 17–18 (*tsha–tsha*)) reads *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i rgya cher bshad pa'i legs bshad gser phreng*.

Date of Writing: [1385–88];¹¹⁰ **Date of Carving:** ?; **Donor:** gZhis ka sNe'u pa.

References: sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017, p. 150; SRC: S4977.

Remarks: The colophon of a dGa' ldan phun tshogs gling print of the *Legs bshad gser 'phreng* conveys that its blocks were reproduced in 1722 from a print whose blocks had once been sponsored by the gZhis ka sNe'u pa.¹¹¹ sNyan bzang pa mKhar byams thar (*Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpar shing skor* 2017, pp. 149f.) presumes that the *Legs bshad gser 'phreng* was carved during Tsong kha pa's lifetime.

(16) '*Grel pa bzhi sbrags*¹¹²

Title Remarks: Title according to So ru Blo bzang dar rgyas, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum zhib 'jug*, p. 38.

References: So ru Blo bzang dar rgyas, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum zhib 'jug*, p. 38; rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum sdud sgrig khang (ed.), *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma* 2, vol. 1, p. xvi; SRC: S4961.

Remarks: According to So ru Blo bzang dar rgyas an “Old Ganden print” served as basis for the later dGa' ldan phun tshogs gling blocks.¹¹³ Phur lcog Ngag dbang byams pa (1682–1762) mentions a block set of the '*Grel pa bzhi sbrags* existent in the printing house at dGa' ldan.¹¹⁴ See also title nos. (17) and (18).

¹¹⁰ Jinpa 2019: 384.

¹¹¹ Tsong kha pa, *Legs bshad gser 'phreng*, fol. 622a3–5: *legs bshad gser gyi phreng ba 'di nyid snga thog gzhis ka sne'u pas bstan la gus btud kyi sbyin bdag mdzad pa'i par rnying bgras (= bgres) pas/ par ma de nyid la ngos bshus 'khrul med dang lung rigs smra ba rnams kyis zhus dag par bgyis te/ slar yang rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i nang gi chu pho stag gi lo [1722] chos grwa chen po dga' ldan phun tshogs gling du gsar du spel ba dge legs 'phel//*.

¹¹² The gSang 'dus '*Grel pa bzhi sbrags* refers to a collection of four commentarial works on the *Guhyasamāja* tantra, including Candrakīrtipāda's *Pradīpoddhyotana* ('*Grel pa sgron gsal*), Tsong kha pa's interlinear commentary on it ('*Grel pa sgron gsal yang 'grel*), his topical outline (*sa bcad bsdus don*) and analysis (*mTha' dpyod rin po che'i myu gu*).

¹¹³ So ru Blo bzang dar rgyas, *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum zhib 'jug*, p. 38.

¹¹⁴ See Grwa sa chen po bzhi dang rgyud pa stod smad chags tshul pad dkar 'phreng ba, in Ngawang Gelek Demo (ed.), *Three dkar chag's*, p. 77.6 (cited above).

(17) *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rtsa rgyud 'grel pa sgron gsal* (? including the 'Grel pa sgron gsal yang 'grel)

Title Remarks: Title according to mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang, *Tsong kha pa rnam thar* 1, p. 111.4 and *Tsong kha pa, gSang 'dus rtsa rgyud 'grel pa bzhi sbrags* (Zhol edition), p. 151; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum* Zhol, vol. 4 (nga)) reads *rGyud thams cad kyi rgyal po dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgya cher bshad pa sgron ma gsal ba'i tshig don ji bzhin 'byed pa'i mchan gyi yang 'grel*.

Date of Carving: *khyi/phag lo* (1418–19);¹¹⁵ **Place of Carving:** dPal ldan 'Bras spungs kyi chos grwa chen po; **Carver:** mKhas pa Yon tan 'od and others; **Requester:** dPal ldan bla ma dam pa Blo bzang grags pa; **Donor:** dPon Nam mkha' bzang po and nephew (*khu dbon*).

References: mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang, *Tsong kha pa rnam thar* 1, p. 111.4–5; *Tsong kha pa, gSang 'dus rtsa rgyud 'grel pa bzhi sbrags*, p. 151.5–7; dPal rdor, *Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum par shing skor* 2018, p. 198; Jinpa 2019: 305; Tsering 2020: 198; SRC: S5023.

Remarks: A 1890 Zhol print of the *Guhyasamāja* root- and explanatory tantra in the *gSang 'dus rtsa rgyud 'grel pa bzhi sbrags* collection, reproduces what seems to be the original colophon of the first ever Tibetan xylograph of the tantra. A gloss by the Zhol editors specifies that it was produced with the patronage of Nam mkha' bzang po and his nephew at 'Bras spungs.¹¹⁶ The production of the *Guhyasamāja* tantra and the

115 mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang, *Tsong kha pa rnam thar* 1, p. 111.4 (cited above); Also Jackson 1990: 107, 114; Jinpa 2019: 305.

116 *rGyud thams cad kyi rgyal po dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rtsa ba'i rgyud rgyud phyi ma dang bcas pa* in *Tsong kha pa, gSang 'dus rtsa rgyud 'grel pa bzhi sbrags*, p. 151.5–7: *gsung rab mthar thug dpal ldan 'dus pa yi//rgyud kyi mthar thug rtsa ba'i rgyud rgyal 'di//par mkhan mkhas pa yon tan 'od la stsogs//lag pa'i 'du byed rkos la mkhas rnams kyis//sngon med dpar du legs par bsgrubs pa ni// dpal ldan gsang ba 'dus pa'i rnal 'byor pa//blo bzang grags pa'i dpal gyis zab mo'i tshul//phyogs dus kun tu rgyas par bya phyir bgyis// di yi phyogs? su sgo gsum re res kyang //mthun pa'i rkyen la 'bad pa gang bgyis pa//de dag kun kyang rgyal ba'i dam chos kun//rgyal ba'i dgongs ba ji bzhin 'dzin gyur cig// {gloss: ces snyigs dus kyi rgyal ba gnyis par gyur pa dpal ldan bla ma dam pa blo bzang grags pa'i zhal snga nas kyi bkas bskul te/bstan pa'i sbyin bdag chen po dpon nam mkha' bzang po khu dbon gyis bstan pa spyi dang khyad par du zab mo rdo rje theg pa phyogs kun tu rgyas par bya ba'i phyir dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rtsa ba'i rgyud dang/de'i bshad pa'i rgyud phyi ma dang bcas pa/ dpal ldan 'bras spungs kyi chos grwa chen por par du legs par bsgrubs pa la phyi mor bgyis te/sprul shad rnams bsdu don dang mthun par bkod pa 'di ni gnam bskos? dga' ldan pho brang gi mchod yon? nyi zla zung gcig gis rnam dkar 'phrin las kyi cha shas las sngar bskrun par mdzad pa la gzhi bgyis te slar lcags stag lor [1890] bzhengs pa'o//}*

Pradīpoddhyotana commentary in the years 1418–19 might have also included Tsong kha pa's interlinear commentary to it, the '*Grel pa sgron gsal yang 'grel*', as is claimed by some modern authors (see above).

(18) *rGyud thams cad kyi rgyal po dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rtsa ba'i rgyud/sgron ma rab tu gsal bar byed pa'i rgya cher bshad pas 'chad pa'i sa bcad bsdus don*

Title Remarks: Title according to Tsong kha pa, *gSang 'dus rtsa rgyud 'grel pa bzhi sbrags* (Zhol edition), p. 3 and *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, p. 146; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum* Zhol, vol. 5 (ca), pp. 5–57) reads *rGyud thams cad kyi rgyal po dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rtsa ba'i rgyud/ sgron ma rab tu gsal bar byed pa'i rgya cher bshad pas 'chad pa'i sa bcad bsdus don*.

References: Tsong kha pa, *gSang 'dus rtsa rgyud 'grel pa bzhi sbrags*, pp. 3–39; *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 143, 146; SRC: S4974.

Remarks: The colophon of the Zhol edition states that an Old Ganden xylograph (*dga' ldan gyi par rnying*) served as master copy for the dGa' ldan pho brang edition produced in 1715? (*shing lug*) which was then employed for the New Zhol reproduction in 1890.¹¹⁷

(19) *Dril bu lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs dgongs pa rab gsal*

Title Remarks: Title according to sKal bzang rgya mtsho, *bDe mchog dril bu lha lnga sgrub thabs*, p. 206; the title in the Zhol edition (*Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum* Zhol, vol. 10 (tha), pp. 5–55) reads *rNal 'byor dbang phyug dril bu lugs bde mchog lus dkyil gyi mngon rtogs dgongs pa rab gsal*.

References: sKal bzang rgya mtsho, *bDe mchog dril bu lha lnga sgrub thabs*, p. 206; SRC: S4973.

Remarks: The 7th Dalai Lama sKal bzang rgya mtsho (1708–1757)

¹¹⁷ *rGyud thams cad kyi rgyal po dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rtsa ba'i rgyud/sgron ma rab tu gsal bar byed pa'i rgya cher bshad pas 'chad pa'i sa bcad bsdus don* in Tsong kha pa, *gSang 'dus rtsa rgyud 'grel pa bzhi sbrags*, p. 39.4–6: //dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rtsa rgyud/ 'grel pa sgron gsal gyis 'chad pa'i sa bcad bsdus don 'di ni/ dga' ldan gyi par rnying sor bzhag la tshig gi gcod 'tshams log pa rnams/ rtsa 'grel gyi sa bcad thobs tshod dang mthun par bgyis te/ gnam bskod dga' ldan pho brang gi 'phrin las kyi zegas ma las shing mo lug gi lor [1715] par du grub par mdzad pa la phyis mor bgyis te rab byung bco lnga pa lcags pho stag lor [1890] yongs 'dzin dge sbyong byams pa nas par du bzhangs pa'o/. Also Pad ma bkra shis, *Gong dkar spar ma'i skor*, pp. 143, 146 (here wrongly(?) indicated as dGa' ldan pho brang print from 1624).

refers to the “Old Ganden print” of the *Dril bu lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs dgongs pa rab gsal* in his *sādhana* of *Cakrasaṃvara*.¹¹⁸

Bibliography

Abbreviations

BDRC = Buddhist Digital Resource Center (<https://www.tbrc.org>)

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

Gong dkar spar ma'i skor = Pad ma bkra shis. 2019. “Dus rabs bco lnga pa'i skabs kyi gong dkar spar ma'i skor la mdo tsam dpyad pa.” *Bod ljongs zhib 'jug* 2019/4: 133–145.

gNa' dpe rnam bshad = Pad ma bkra shis. *Bod yig gna' dpe'i rnam bshad*. lHa sa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2013.

SRC = Sakya Research Centre (<https://sakyaresearch.org>)

Tōh. = The sDe dge edition of the Tibetan canon. Ui, Hukuji et al. (eds.). *A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canons (Bkaḥ-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur)*. Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University, 1934.

Tsong kha pa gsung 'bum Zhol = Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa. *rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsun 'bum*. Reproduced from prints from the 1897 Lha-sa Old Źol (Dga'-ldan-phun-tshogs-glin) blocks. 18 vols. New Delhi: Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1978.

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sKa ba Shes rab bzang po. *Chos sde khag dpe rnying dkar chag* = *Bod khul gyi chos sde grags can khag gi dpe rnying dkar chag*. Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010.

sKal bzang rgya mtsho. *bDe mchog dril bu lha lnga sgrub thabs* = dPal 'khor lo sdom pa grub chen dril bu zhabs kyi lugs lha lnga'i sgrub thabs

118 sKal bzang rgya mtsho, *bDe mchog dril bu lha lnga sgrub thabs*, p. 206.9–11: [...] {gloss: ces pa dang / yum gyi rtsa sngags ni/} om {gloss: sngags 'di dag la 'dra min sna tshogs yod par 'dir rje thams cad mkhyen pa'i dril bu lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs dgongs pa rab gsal dga'ldan par rnying ltar bkod/}.

bde chen dbang gi rgyal po. In *rGyal dbang sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum dpe tshogs*. 80 vols. Dharamsala, Distt Kangra (H.P.): sKu bcar rnam rgyal grwa tshang phan bde legs bshad gling, 2014, vol. 53, 172–222.

Khri byang Blo bzang ye shes bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho. *Khri byang rin po che rang rnam = dGa' ldan khri chen byang chub chos 'phel gyi skye gral du rlom pa'i gyi na pa zhi gis rang gi ngang tshul ma bcos lhug par bkod pa 'khrul snang sgyu ma'i zlos gar*. Ms., dbu can, fols. 1a–278a (558 pp.). [India]: 1975.

mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang. *Tsong kha pa rnam thar 1 = rJe btsun bla ma tsong kha pa chen po'i ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i 'jug ngogs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. In *rJe yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum*. Reproduced from prints from the 1897 Lha-sa Old Źol (Dga'-ldan-phun-tshogs-glin) blocks. 18 vols. New Delhi: Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1978, vol. 1, 5–146.

rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen. *mNgon rtogs rgyan 'grel pa = Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon rtogs rgyan gyi 'grel pa don gsal ba'i rnam bshad bzhugswo*. Xylograph, fols. 1a–191b. Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, accession no. 14401. SRC: S2135.

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Fig. 1 Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, Xylograph, 1428, 'Ol kha. From the *Lengthy Cakrasamvaratantra commentary* (no. 7), fol. 2a, right end.



Fig. 2 Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, Xylograph, early 15th century, sKyid shod. From the *Middle-Length Treatise on the Stages of the Path* (no. 5), fol. 2a, right end (after Jackson 1996: 128, fig. 63).



Fig. 3 Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, Xylograph, 1426, Gong dkar. From the *Great Treatise on the Path of Mantra* (no. 6), fol. 2a, right end (after Gong dkar spar ma'i skor, p. 141).



Fig. 4 Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, Xylograph, 1423?, sKyid shod. From the *Essence of Eloquence* (no. 8), fol. 2a, right end.

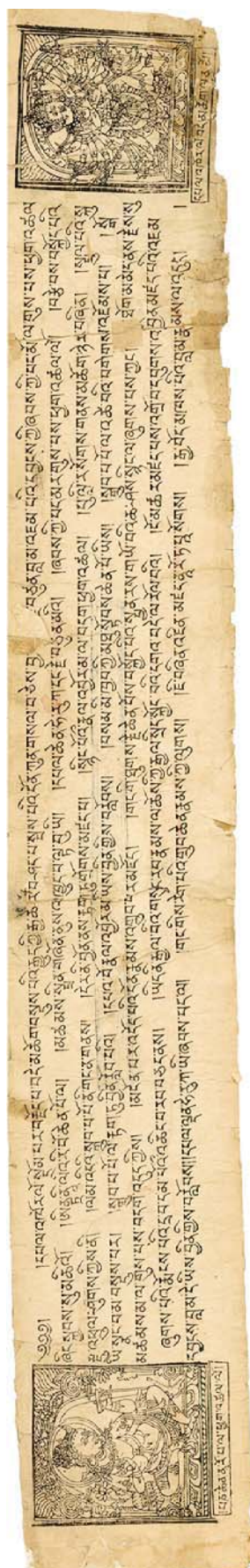


Fig. 5 Lengthy Cakrasamvaratantra commentary (no. 7), fol. 1b. Xylograph, 1428, 'Ol kha.

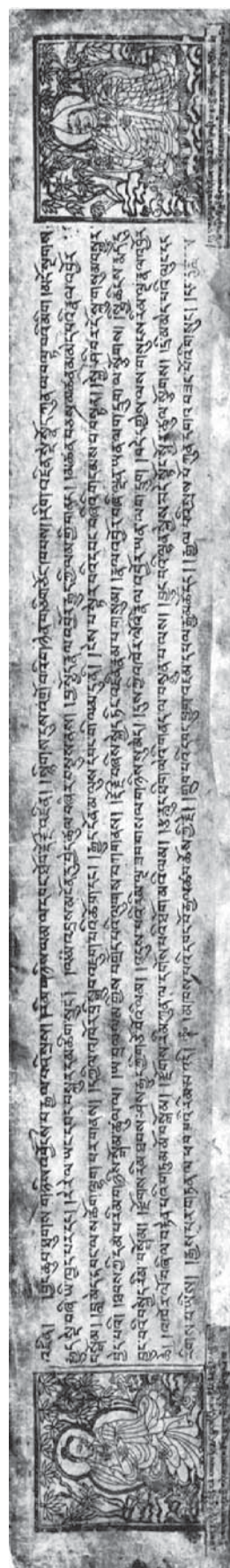


Fig. 6 Great Treatise on the Path of Mantra (no. 6), fol. 2a (after Gong dkar spar ma'i skor, p. 141). Xylograph, 1426, Gong dkar.

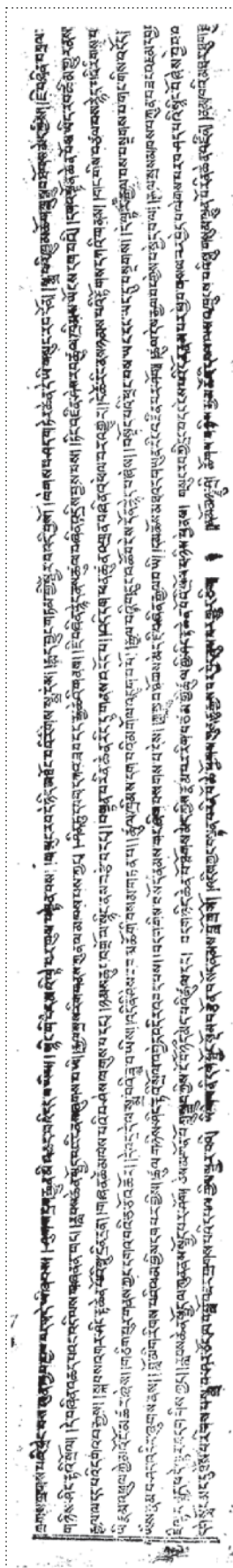


Fig. 7 Essence of Eloquence (no. 8), fol. 59b. Xylograph, 1423?, sKyid shod.

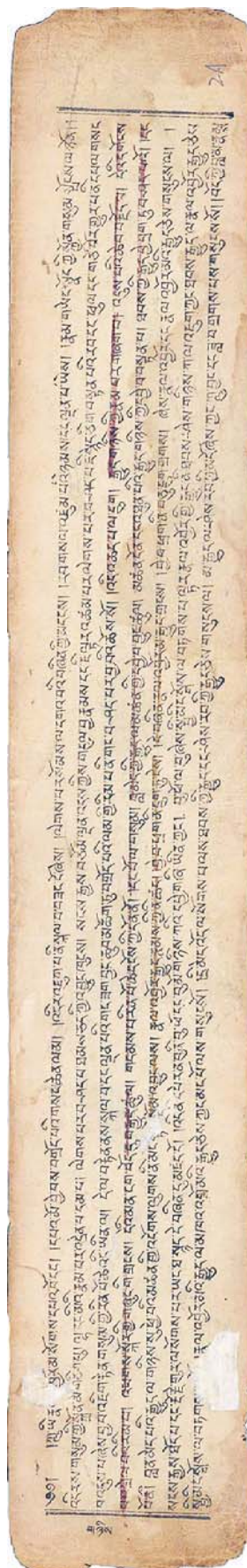


Fig. 8 Lamp to Illuminate the Five Stages (no. 9), fol. 2a. Xylograph, early 15th century.



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Gateways to Tibetan Studies

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

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