

More on the Old dGa'-ldan and Gong-dkar-ba Xylographic Editions

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Although the history of xylographic printing in Tibet is just beginning to be worked out in any detail, it is clear that two of the earliest important collections to have been xylographically printed there were the so-called Old dGa'-ldan prints (*dga' ldan par rnying*) of many works of Tsong-kha-pa (1357–1419) and the Gong-dkar-ba edition of the writings of the Sa-skyapa founders. In previous papers I have described these 15th century editions, enumerating the examples that I had found until then.¹

Since that time, however, I have been able to locate and examine several more examples of both editions. Though no doubt even more such prints remain to be found and identified, the newly located materials fill several gaps in previous knowledge about those two editions.

Four Works of Tsong-kha-pa in Early Editions

As I had previously learned from the autobiography of the late Khri-byang rin-po-che, prints from the old dGa'-ldan editions of the *Lam rim chen mo* and *sNgags rim chen mo* of Tsong-kha-pa had been offered to H.H. the Dalai Lama on two different occasions.² But it remained to be seen whether these books could actually be located and described. In June of 1987, while briefly visiting Dharamsala, I tried personally to confirm their present existence and to examine them. Through the kind co-operation of His Holiness's private office and of the caretakers of his private library, I managed after a few days to view them. Not only was I shown the two works that I had specifically requested, viz. the *Lam rim chen mo* and *sNgags rim chen mo*, but I was also shown a previously unknown old dGa'-ldan edition of the *Lam rim 'bring po*, which allowed me to clarify an identification that I had previously made. The volumes I saw on that day were:

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¹ Wee D. Jackson (1983), pp. 3–24, and “Old Dga'-ldan Editions of Tsong-kha-pa's Works”, forthcoming in L. Epstein and R. Sherburne, eds., *Reflections on Tibetan Culture: Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie* (Edwin Mellen), pp. 107–16.

Two important recent studies which touch on the history of printing in Tibet, though dealing in particular with the history of the Kanjur, are: H. Eimer (1983), “Some Results of Recent Kanjur Research”, *Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. 1 (Sankt Augustin), and (1986), “Hevajratāntra II: v: 1–2 and the History of the Tibetan Kanjur”, *Berliner Indologische Studien*, Vol. 2, pp. 3–12.

² I am indebted to Mr. Tshultrim Kalsang for first showing me this source.

(1) *The Lam rim chen mo in the Old dGa'-ldan edition*

The copy of the *Lam rim chen mo* in this edition was 336 folios long, with seven lines of text per side. The printing block sizes were for instance (2b) 47 x 6cm, (3a) 47.2 x 5.8cm, and (100a) 47.2 x 5.7cm. To the right and left of folio 1b one sees depictions of the Buddha Śākyamuni (left) and of Maitreya (right). To the left and right of folio 2a are figures of two unidentified teachers.

This edition lacks a printing colophon, but its great similarity with the next print, and its common provenance make its identification as a dGa'-ldan par-mying most probable. It also lacks, like the other two dGa'-ldan par-mying prints I saw that day, any marginal notation

The text begins (1b):

*na mo gu ru many dzu gho ṣa ya |
phun tshogs dge legs bye bas bskrun pa'i sku ||*

This particular copy had its first and last folios reinforced with newer paper. Folio 1a contained the following title written in *dbu med* script: *Thams cad mkhyen pa tsong kha pa chen pos mdzad pa'i byang chub lam rim che ba bzhugs so | mang ga lam*. Below this were the additional verses also written in *dbu med* script, apparently added when it was offered as part of a request for teachings. The name of the offerer, Blo-bzang-ye-shes, is imbedded in the second verse.

*rgyal dang sras bcas bye ba'i shul lam mchog ||
yongs rdzogs yongs su bgrod pa'i rim pa gang ||
blo gter bio bzang rgyal bas legs gsal ba ||
che mchog che ba bzhi ldan glegs bam 'di ||*

*blo la bzang po'i yon tan ma dmigs kyang ||
ye nas dad gus rab brtan shes rmongs des ||
srid zhi'i nam 'dren srid pa ji srid bar ||
theg mchog chos kyi 'khor lo bskor phyr phul ||*

Folio 334 was missing from this copy, so this folio had been copied out by hand on new white paper to make the book complete.

(2) *The sNgags rim chen mo in the Old dGa'-ldan edition*

The second major work I was shown was the *sNgags rim chen mo*. This edition consisted of 361 folios, with seven lines of text per side. The first folio, verso, has images of Vajradhara (left) and Vajrasattva (right), folio 2a has images of Mañjuśrī (left) and Maitreya (right; both fine, with verse inscriptions), and finally folio 360b has quite nicely executed images of the Buddha Śākyamuni (left) and a lama (right). The verse under the small image identifies the lama as Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa

dus gsum rgyal ba'i dgongs pa rgya mtsho che'i ||
 gting mthar *blo* gros brtan pa'i dbang gi [ri?] ||
 gnyis kyi [?] zla'i phrin las *bzang* po can ||
grags pa'i mdangs gsal gang khyod rgyal [gyur cig] ||

The sizes of the printing blocks were, for instance, (2b) 47.4 x 6.2cm, (3a) 47.5 x 6.5cm, and (100a) 47.6 x 6.5cm. The first and last folios of this particular copy had been reinforced with newer paper, which completely covered folio la. Perhaps originally there was no title there. In any case, the text on f. 1b began with the title. The beginning of the text (f. 1b.1) reads:

rgyal ba khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad
 rnam par phyed ba zhes bya ba | bla ma dam pa rnam dang rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs
 kyi zhabs kyi padmo la skye ba kun du gus pa chen pos phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su
 mchi'o ||

The top left edges of the final few folios were browned, as if scorched by fire. This book had been used by one or more teachers: one could see many place markers in the form of paper tags attached to the left and right margins, and strings attached to the bottom. The colophon (f. 360a.7) reads:

om swasti ||
 khrims brgya rnam dag gnas brtan 'dul ba [360b] 'dzin ||
 byang chub thugs gnyis 'byongs pa rgyal ba'i sras ||
 rim gnyis lam la dbang thob rdo rje 'dzin ||
 snyigs dus 'gro ba'i gnyen gcig tsong kha pas ||

rig 'dzin sde snod kun la blta ba'i mig ||
 mdo sngags rgyud sde bzhi yi khyad par dang ||
 re re la yang dbang bskur dam tshig srung ||
 lam 'bras mngon du byed tshul bzhir bsdus nas ||

bya spyod mal 'byor rgyud kyi lam gyi gnad ||
 mtshan bcas mtshan ma med pa'i mal 'byor bsgom ||
 bla med dbang la sa chog lhag par gnas ||
 dkyil 'khor bri sgrub 'jug pa'i cho ga dang ||

rgyud don ma lus dbang gi lam du ni ||
 nges pa ster ba'i dbang bzhi'i gdams pa bstan ||
 skye shi bar do sku gsum bsgyur byed pa'i ||
 thabs kyi dam pa rim gnyis sgom tshul la ||

ya bral lam gyis bgrod pa'i lugs bkag nas ||
 rdo rje bzhis skyed ting 'dzin rnam pa gsum ||
 rnal 'byor bzhi ldan yan lag drug la stsogs ||
 spyi chings rmad du byung ba'i bskyed rim bsgom ||

rdzogs rim thabs shes rgyud kyi gtso bo'i lam ||
 'dus pa'i rim lnga zab gsal gnyis su med ||
 dus kyi 'khor lo'i rnal 'byor yan lag drug ||
 bde dgyes las gsungs rim lnga mal 'byor che ||

'khor lo bzhi la brtan pa'i gtum mo bsgom ||
 rdzogs rim kun la dgos pa'i thog ma'i lam ||
 rtsa rlung thig le'i gnad la bsnun pa las ||
 byung ba'i lhan skyes bde stong sbyor tshul stsogs ||

dri ma med pa'i lung dang rigs pa yis ||
 rgyas par gtan la phab pa'i rim pa 'di ||
 mkhas pa'i dbang po rgyal tshab chos kyi rje ||
 grub pa'i dbang phyug 'jam dpal rgya mtsho dang ||

rgyal ba'i sras po kun dga' bzang po'i gsung ||
 dang du blangs [361a] nas rje btsun tsong kha pa'i ||
 thugs dgongs rdzogs shing rdo rje theg pa'i lam ||
 phyogs dus kun du rgyas par bya ba dang ||

sa la dbang bsgyur *grags pas* 'dzam gling khyab ||
 phas rgol bdud kyi dpung 'joms *rgyal* ba'i mchog ||
 bod khams chos bzhin skyong ba'i dge *mtshan* can ||
 mi dbang rgyal po'i chab srid brtan pa'i phyir ||

bsod nams stobs kyis gzhan sde zil gyis gnon ||
 lhag bsam dag pas rang sde khirms kyis 'tsho ||
 gong ma'i bka' sgrub skyabs gsum gus pas bsten ||
 rnam *bzhi 'dzom* pa'i drung chen khu dbon gyis ||

par du bzhengs pa'i yi ge'i zhus dag pa ||
 mdo sngags gzhung brgya gsal ba'i blo gros can ||
 bslab gsum rnam par dag pa'i chos rgyal dang ||
 mkha' spyod brnyes pa'i gdung brgyud sdom brtson mchog ||
 rgyud sde'i mnga bdag rin chen dpal bzang yin ||

mkhas pa'i phul byung nam mkha' bzang pos bris ||
 lag pa'i 'du byed bsgyur la 'gran zla bral ||
 rig byed 'dzin pa'i gtso bo skyabs pa dang ||
 dge bsam la stsogs mkhas pa rnam kyis brkos ||
 phun tshogs dpal 'byor gyis mdzes gu ru dang ||
 g.yu rung bsam bzang las byed rnam kyis 'bad ||

dge ba 'di yis 'gro ba ma lus pa ||
 rdo rje theg pa'i lam dang mi bral zhing ||
 phyogs dus kun tu lam gyi rim pa 'di'i ||
 bshad sgrub bstan pa ches cher rgyas par shog ||

sbyin bdag khu dbon skye ba thams cad du ||
 in tra bhu ti zla ba bzang po ltar ||

sngags spyod rgyal po kho nar gyur nas kyang ||
rdo rje 'chang gi go 'phang myur thob shog ||

sku tshe 'dir yang mnga' ris thams cad du ||
gtsug lag gnyis kyi 'byor pa rgyas pa dang ||
'gal rkyen zhi zhing phun tshogs pha ma ltar ||
byams pa'i sems kyis rtag tu gnas gyur cig ||

ces rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa 'di pho brang gnyis pa gong dkar dpal gyi
sde chen du zil gnon kyi lo chu stod kyis nyal ba'i gral tshes bzhi la legs par grub pa'o
|| ||

'di yi ched du 'bad pa cher bgyis pa'i ||
gzhon nu seng ge byang chub snying po'i bar ||
dam chos ma lus rgyal ba'i dgongs pa bzhin ||
rang gis nges nas gzhan la 'doms par shog ||
mam ga lam bha wa tu ||

[Added below recently on new (Indian?) paper in handwriting, *khyug* script:]

rje bdag nyid chen pos lha ldan smon lam chen mo gsar 'dzugs mdzad skabs kyi sbyin
bdag gras | sne gdong sde srid dbang grags pa rgyal mtshan nas | lho kha gong dkar gyi
rdzong dpon du brkos pa dpon bzhi 'dzom zhes pa 'dis | rje rin po che sa phag lor zhi
bar gshegs nas lo drug 'das pa zil gnon zhes pa me rta lor | rgyal tshab chos rjes dga'
ldan du gdan sa skyong skabs dpar du bsgrun [=bskrun] pa'o |

The printed colophon relates that the main patrons of the project were the nobleman (I-nag) bZhi-'dzom (of Gong-dkar) and his nephew, who acted as such following the wishes of the Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1374–1432), then ruler of Tibet. The editors (*zhu dag pa*) of the edition were the monastic scholars (Blo-gros?) Chos-rgyal and Rin-chen-dpal-bzang. The original was written out by Nam-mkha'bzang-po, and the blocks carved by the masters sKyabs-pa and dGe-bsam. Gu-ru and g.Yu-rung bSam-bzang contributed to the completion and beautification of the work (i.e. by carving the images?). The project was accomplished at Gong-dkar dPal-gyi-bde-chen in the sixth lunar month of the *zil-gnon year* (*me-pho-rta* = 1426).

The hand-written addition, perhaps the work of Khri-byang Rin-po-che himself, clarifies the historical context a little. The ruler Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan is called “sNe-gdong sde-srid” and he is said to have been one of the patrons when Tsong-kha-pa instituted the Lha-sa sMon-lam-chen-mo. The nobleman bZhi-'dzom is said to have been appointed by him to the position of rdzong-dpon of Gong-dkar. The *zil-gnon* year of the block carving (1426) is identified as being the earth-pig year six years after the passing of Tsong-kha-pa (d. 1419), one of the years of the tenure of rGyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen as abbot of dGa'-ldan.

(3) *The Lam rim 'bring po in the Old dGa'-ldan edition*

The third xylograph which I was shown at that time was an edition of the *Lam rim 'bring po* that I had not known of previously. Once again, this volume had the top and bottom reinforced through the gluing on of a new sheet of Tibetan paper. On this new first page, written in *dbu med* script, was the title *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa bzhugs*. Below the title in a more cursive script was the inscription: “*bla ma rin po che ser kong rin po che nas gnang nas* [?] *byung ba'i dga' ldan par rnying yin* || 1969.” Thus was recorded the receiving of the book in 1969 from mTshan-zhabs gSer-skong Thugs-sras rin-po-che Thub-bstan-stobs-'byor (1912–83).³

In this edition the work is 135 folios long, seven lines of text per side. The sizes of the printing blocks were, for instance, (2b) 47.5 x 6.3cm, (3a) 47.2 x 6.5cm, and (100b) 47.4 x 6.2cm. Four very nicely drawn and carved figures of Śākyamuni, Maitreya, Atiśa, and Tsong-kha-pa were found, with inscriptions: on f. 1b (left) *sangs rgyas la na mo*, (right) *byams pa la na mo*, and f. 2a (left) *dpal ldan a ti sha la na mo*, and (right) *bla ma rin po che bio bzang grags pa la na mo*. The text itself begins [f. 1b]:

rje btsun dam pa thugs rje chen po dang ldan pa rnams kyī zhabs la gus pas phyag
'tshal lo | mi mjed zhing gi dbang phyug bcom ldan 'das || ...

This copy of the book contained highlighting of subject headings in yellow and brown, and also some annotations in pencil.

The colophon begins on f. 135a.4:

swasti |

rgyal ba'i rgyal tshab rje btsun mkhyen brtse'i gter ||
mnyam med 'gro ba'i mi[g] gcig tsong kha pa ||
de yi rlabs chen spyod pa'i rgya mtsho las ||
rmaḍ byung mngon par rtogs pa'i yid bzhiḅ nor ||

gsung rab kun gyi snying po legs bsḍus pa ||
'gro ba'i re skong byang chub lam rim 'di ||
sngon med spar du legs par grub pa'i sa ||
rdo rje gḍan mtshungs lha sa'i byang gi phyogs ||

tshangs chen gnas mtshungs bkra shis sben tsa 'dir ||
sngon bsags ḍpal gyis mtho ba'i ḍpon 'dir ba ||
yab yum ḍad pas gzhi rten legs par bsgrubs ||
gzhan phan khur khyer bla ma 'jam nya[g] gis ||

'byor ldan kun la ḍad 'bul bskul te brḍzangs ||
legs par sgrub pa'i do ḍam yon tan 'od ||

³ I am indebted to Mr. Tashi Tsering for these dates.

skyes bu 'bring gi bdag rkyen dge bsam dang ||
 skyes bu chung ngu'i sbyin bdag dpon nam yin ||

dam chos 'di'i phyir sgo gsum re res kyang ||
 'thun pa'i rkyen la 'bad pa gang bgyis pa ||
 de dag kun kyang rgyal ba'i dam chos kun ||
 rgyal ba'i dgongs pa ji bzhin 'dzin gyur cig ||

'thun rkyen sbyor ba'i sbyin bdag chen po rnam ||
 gna[s] skabs bzhed don chos bzhin 'grub pa dang ||
 mthar thug sangs rgyas go 'phang myur thob ste ||
 'gro kun sangs rgyas sa ru 'dren par shog ||

gzhan yang rgyal ba 'od dpag med ||
 'khor dang bcas pa mthong ba dang ||
 yid la dga' ba rgyas bzhin du ||
 bde ba can du skye bar shog ||

byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i gsung rab la ||
 legs tshogs ji snyed mchis pa'i bkra shis shog ||

The colophon yields the information that the blocks were carved under the sponsorship of the noble family of bKra-shis-sben-tsa, which lay to the north of Lha-sa. The religious teacher Bla-ma 'Jam-nyag helped gather the offerings from patrons. The foreman (?) (*do dam*) (or a main patron?) was named Yon-tan-'od. Two patrons who supported the work were dGe-bsam and dPon Nam, the latter being perhaps the powerful noble sNe'u-pa Nam-mkha'-bzang-po of the sGyer clan.

The name Yon-tan-'od, a certain “Bla-ma 'Jam-pa”, and the nobleman Nam-mkha'-bzang-po are also found mentioned in one of the early dGa'-ldan prints which I have described elsewhere, that of the *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*. Khri-byang rin-po-che had identified rTogs-ldan 'Jam- dpal-rgya-mtsho (1356–1428) as having been one of the people whose urging resulted in the carving of these blocks. Perhaps he is to be identified with the “Bla-ma 'Jam-pa” or “Bla-ma 'Jam-nyag” of the colophons.

(4) *Another Early Central Tibetan Edition of the Lam rim 'bring po*

A few days later I also had the chance to examine more carefully an old edition of the *Lam rim 'bring po* in the possession of a private person in Dharamsala, the state astrologer Brag-mthon Byams-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Previously I had erroneously thought that it was one of the early dGa'-ldan par-nying, but it turned out instead to be from a very similar though slightly

later Central Tibetan edition.⁴ The size of the printed portion of the blocks was, for example, (f. 159a) 46 x 6.7cm and (160a) 44.4 x 6.5cm.

With the help of its owner and Mr. Tashi Tsering, I was able to decipher most of the badly damaged colophon. Even in its incomplete state, the long colophon gives much valuable information.

The colophon (f. 160b.6) reads:

swasti dza ya |

lha dbang dbang phyug gdong bzhi khyab 'jug sogs ||
cher rlom rnams kyi gtsug gi bung ba yis ||
gang gi zhabs pad gus pas rab rten pa'i ||
zla med ston pa de la phyag 'tshal lo ||

gang de'i mdzad pa'i khyad [?] [chos?] 'khyer ba la ||
rgyal sras kun gyi dbus na mngon mtho ba ||
'jam pa'i dbyangs dang mi pham chos rje la ||
dad pa'i spu long g.yo bas phyag bgyid do ||

tshul gnyis shing rta'i srol chen legs phye nas ||
rgyal ba'i bstan pa mtha' dag gsal mdzad par ||
rgyal bas [161a] lung bstan klu sgrub thogs med la ||
rnam pa kun du dad pas phyag bgyid do ||

'dzam gling ban chen kun gyi gtsug gi rgyan ||
klu sgrub thogs med gnyis kyis phye ba'i [?] lam ||
ji bzhin bzung nas gdams pa mchog 'di nyid ||
phyogs 'dir [bstan?] mdzad a ti sha la 'dud ||

blo bzang mkhyen pa'i 'od kyis shes bya yi ||
sa chen gcig char khyab pa'i grags pa'i sgra ||
skal bzang kun gyi rna ba'i dpal gyur pa'i ||
bka' drin mnyam med [b]rgyud par bcas la 'dud ||

nor 'dzin sa yi lte ba rdo rje gdan ||
de dang mtshungs par ra sa 'phrul snang gi ||
dpal 'byor ma lus 'du ba'i pho brang ni ||
ri dbang lhun po'ang zil kyis gnon pa nas ||

skyes bu gsum gyi nyams su blang ba'i lam ||
zab mo'i lta ba rgya chen spyod pa'i phring ||
dpal ldan mar med mdzad kyi gdams pa mchog ||
nyams su bzhes pa'i 'thun rkyen 'dzom pa des ||

sngon bsags tshogs gnyis brlabs che bskrun pa'i mthus ||
mtho ris yon tan kun ldan mngon mtho'i rten ||
thob tshe phyi mar bde ba'i thabs tshol ba ||

⁴ In "O1d dGa'-ldan Editions", q.v., I identified the work as the *Lam rim chung ngu*, which seems to be an alternative name for it.

gang de dam pa'i spyod par legs dgongs te ||

rgyal ba'i gsung rab kun kyi gnad rnam kun ||
gcig tu bsdu pa byang chub lam rim 'di ||
spar du bsgrubs nas chos kyi sbyin pa yis ||
mkhas pa'i tshogs kyid rab tshim par mdzad ||

gang 'di dpal 'byor nor dang dpung gi tshogs ||
'khor los bsgyur ba'i rgyal po la 'dran [= 'gran] pa'i ||
mi dbang yab yum sras bcas sku tshe dang ||
chab srid yar ngo'i zla ltar 'phel ba dang ||

tshe rabs kun tu rje btsun tsong kha pas ||
dgyes bzhin rjes su bzung ba'i bka' drin las ||
gting dpag dka' ba'i chos tshul rgya mtsho la ||
blo gros thogs med 'jug par bya phyir dang ||

gling bzhi'i dbus na lhun po rab mdzes shing ||
ma pham nyi ma rdo rje gdan spo la ||
ji srid shar par ma gyur de srid du ||
chos kyid mdzod 'di gnas par bya phyir yin ||

bskos mkhan mkhas pa mon rdor ngag dbang dang ||
dpal bzangs la swogs mkhas pa'i tshogs kyis gzabs ||
phyi mo'i yig ge dge bsnyen don rgyal dang ||
dag byed pa ni kun mkhyen pad ma bzang ||

'di yi dge bas skye rgu thams cad kyid || [161b]
[????] rgyal ba'i bstan pa mchog ||
phyogs dus kun du dar zhing rgyas pa dang ||
bstan 'dzin zhabs brtan bshad sgrub 'phel bar shog ||

khyad par snyigs ma'i dus 'dir thub pa yi ||
bstan pa'i snying po mtha' dag gsal mdzad pa ||
khams gsum chos kyid rgyal po tsong kha pa'i ||
lugs bzangs phyogs dus kun tu rgyas par shog ||

... ? ... tshogs gnyis brlab po che dpag tu med pa bskrun pa la brten nas | ... ? ...
ri gs rus cho 'brang phun sum tshogs pa 'khrungs pa'i | dad pa dang gtong ba la sogs
pa'i rkyen gyis nye bar mdzes ... ? ... mchog tu gyur ... ? ... drung bu khrid dpal
'dzom ... ? ... chen po dpal 'byor rgyal po'i khu dbon pa'i sku tshe dang chab srid
brtan par bya ba'i phyir | ... ? ... l dan par bya ba'i phyir | gnam la sa skyong shing
mo bya'i zla ba bgyad pa'i tshe [bcu'i?] nyin ma stag gza' lhag pa | skar ma lha
mtshams | 'phrod gzhon | sbyor ba sel pa rnam 'dzom pa'i gza' skor 'phrod sbyor
bzang po la | gzhis chen sne'u rdzong du ... [par du brkos pa?] ... 'di kyang bstan pa
rin po che phyogs dus thams cad du dar zhing rgyas par byed nus par gyur cig || ... ||

In the verses of the colophon we read that the carvers were the expert craftsmen Mon-rdor-ngag-dbang, dPal-bzang, and others. The original manuscript for printing (*phyi mo'i yig ge*) was prepared by dGe-bsnyen Don-rgyal, and it was proofread and corrected by Padma-bzang. Though the final prose section of the colophon does not survive in its entirety, some important information can be gleaned from it. It mentions the names of the noble lady Bu-khrid-dpal-'dzom and the nobleman dPal-'byor-rgyal-po with his nephew. These names and the mention of gZhis-chen sNe'u-rdzong as the place where the project was accomplished identify the patrons once again as members of the sNe'u-pa family, though of a subsequent generation. The sNe'u-pa dPal-Tjyor-rgyal-po is also mentioned in the *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* of Pan-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa (1478–1554) as having been a very powerful nobleman in the period c. 1466.⁵ He was the son of Nam-mkha'-bzang-po's half-brother dPon-shag-pa (also known as Drung-chen Grags-pa).⁶ His wife, the noble lady (*dpon sa*) Chos-kyi-dpal-'dzom from the Brag-dkar-ba family, is also known to have sponsored the printing of many works of Tsong-kha-pa and his two main disciples.⁷ What we do not know is whether these blocks of the *Lam rim 'bring po* were ever transported to dGa'-ldan and thus truly became “dGa'-ldan par-nying” (actually, the same is not definitely known about the earlier blocks of the same work either). Finally, the colophon very helpfully mentions the date of carving: it was the *sa-skyong* or wood-female-bird year, which can only have been 1465.

Four Fragments of the Gong-dkar-ba Edition

In the early spring of 1987 before my examination of the above-mentioned editions, I had the chance to pursue research in the library of the Bihar Research Society, Patna. At that time I went bundle by bundle through most of the “miscellaneous series” of Tibetan works there, looking for interesting early xylographs and manuscripts and compiling a provisional handlist of this part of the collection.⁸ Because I had already located prints of an early Sa-skyia edition of two of Sa-skyia Paṇḍita's works there,⁹ I fully expected to find one or more examples of the old dGa'-ldan and Gong-dkar-ba editions.

⁵ bSod-nams-grags-pa, Pan-chen, *rGyal rabs 'phrul gyi lde mig gam deb ther dmar po'am deb gsar ma* (Rome: 1971), f. 86 verso. See also the translation of G. Tucci, *Deb ter dmar po gsar ma, Tibetan Chronicles by bSod nams grags pa*, Serie Orientale Roma, Vol. 24, p. 223.

⁶ G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome: 1949), p. 646, and Genealogical Table IX.

⁷ bSod-nams-grags-pa, Pan-chen, f. 101 recto.

⁸ The results of these investigations were published as: D. Jackson (1989), *The “Miscellaneous Series” of Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Research Society, Patna: A Handlist*. Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies, Vol. 2 (Stuttgart). [See the review by PKS elsewhere in this issue (*ed. note*).]

⁹ These were the 1439 edition of the *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* (Bihar Research Society, Miscellaneous Series, handlist and old catalogue No. 1166) and the similar incomplete xylograph of the *Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter* (handlist and old catalogue no. 970). See D. Jackson (1983), pp. 6f, and (1989), pp. 37 and 135.

I was disappointed not to find any interesting old editions of Tsong-kha-pa's writings there, but my expectations of finding old Sa-skyapa prints did not go completely unfulfilled. I found there two previously unknown fragments of the Gong-dkar-ba edition, together with a few fascicles of two unknown editions of the writings of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382–1456) and Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429–89).¹⁰

(1) *Two Texts for Tantric Meditative Practice*
by *Thags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan*

Until the discovery of these fragments of Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa's oeuvre, only certain writings of Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142–82), rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216), and Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita (1182–1251) had been definitely confirmed as having formed part of the old edition of the Sa-skyapa founders' writings that had been blockprinted in c. 1450 under the patronage of Gong-dkar-rdo-rje-gdan-pa Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal (1432–96). Now the only Sa-skyapa founder for whom no work has yet been found in this edition is Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092–1158).

The two brief works of 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235–80) that I found in Patna were preserved in bundle No. 278 of the miscellaneous Tibetan series of the Bihar Research Society. They form No. 1045–1 of my handlist, and they were the only xylographs in this bundle of manuscripts. As expected, the marginal notation is *ca*, marking this as belonging to part five of the great collection, i.e. to the section reserved for the writings of the fifth great founder, 'Phags-pa. A sample block size was (1b) = 6.2 x 46.6cm.

The first work is a Hevajra *sādhana* which he composed in the earth-male-horse year (1258). It takes up ff. 1–3a.6, and its title is given as: *Kye rdor yan lag drug pa'i mngon rtogs rgyu mtshan dang bcas pa*. It begins (1b.1):

dpal rdo rje 'dzin pa la phyag 'tshal lo ||

mkha' dbyings dag pa'i klong dkyil du ||
paṃ las sna tshogs padma'i steng ||
ri las nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor kyi ||
dbus su hūṃ las byung ba yi ||

It ends:

rdo rje khro bo'i 'phrin las la ||
bskul ba'i tshul 'di 'phags pa yis ||
sa pho rta'i rgyal zla la ||
pho brang dam par sbyar ba yin ||

¹⁰ For a work of Ngor-chen in an old (gTsang?) edition, see D. Jackson (1989), p. 222, No. 1502–3. For the first fascicles of an old (gTsang?) edition of Go-rams-pa's works, see *ibid.*, p. 36, No. 968–2.

The two works together comprised only four folios, seven lines of text per side. Therefore the work *dPal kye rdo rje 'i mngon rtogs yid bzhin nor bu* found in the Derge edition (ca 197a–216a), which was composed in the same year, seems too long to be identical with this first work.

The short second work concludes this fascicle, being ff. 3a.6–4a.3. Its title is given at the beginning of the text:

bla ma dam pa rnam la phyag 'tshal lo | bsnyen bsgrub bzhi dang | yan lag drug pa'i
mngon par rtogs pa mi 'dra ba'i khyad par ni | ...

This work, which discusses the differences between the *bsNyen bsgrub bzhi* and the *Yan lag drug pa*, was composed in the earth-male-dragon year (1268). It is the same as the work entitled *mNgon rtogs yan lag drug chung* in the Derge edition (pa 221a.1–222a.4).

The xylographic colophon to both works reads (f. 4a.4):

nā mo badzra dha rā ya |

khyab bdag he ru ka dpal sgrub pa'i thabs ||
zab don yan lag drug gis rab bcings pa ||
lam bzangs [sic] gsal mdzad 'phags pa mchog gi gsung ||
mi nyams bskal pa'i bar du gnas pa'i slad ||

rab gsal par du bsgrubs shes bka' stsal tshe ||
'ching ru dge 'phel dgon gsar zhes bya'i gzhir ||
nam mkha' chos bzang dpon slob dad pas bsgrubs ||
dge bas rdo rje theg pa rgyas gyur cig ||

khyad par chos rgyal grwa lnga rgyal po yi ||
phun tshogs dge ba'i 'phrin las rab rgyas te ||
bstan la bzo lums spyod pa tshar bead nas ||
rgyu dang mi rgyu bde chen spyod gyur cig ||

manggalam bhawantu ||

The place where the xylograph blocks were carved is thus mentioned as having been 'Ching-ru dGe-'phel dgon-gsar, and the main sponsor was one Nam-mkha'-chos-bzang and his disciples. As in all the known Gong-dkar-ba prints, the main patron is mentioned as having been Chos-rgyal Grwa-lnga-rgyal-po, which was the pre-ordination name of Gong-dkar-rdo-rje-gdan-pa Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal (1432-96).

(2) *Two Stray Folios of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's sDom gsum rab dbye*

In the Patna collection one finds in addition to the many complete works a few bundles of incomplete works and mixed-up or damaged folios, some

apparently of considerable antiquity. These materials seem to have been unwanted, discarded books that, in accordance with Tibetan religious tradition, had been deposited in some out-of-the-way nook of a temple or some other suitable place rather than just being thrown onto a refuse heap. Two such bundles of what could perhaps best be called “sacred rubbish” are nos. 247 and 271. When looking through the leaves of these bundles, I happened to notice a stray folio from Sa-skya Paṇḍita’s *sDom gsum rab dbye* in each. They could be identified as from the Gong-dkar-ba edition from their general appearance and size, and in addition from the presence of the marginal notation *nga ka*, which marks them as having belonged to fascicle one of the fourth main section (the section of Sa-paṇ’s works) of that edition.

The first folio turned up in bundle No. 247, among the fragments of many seminary manuals written in a difficult *dbu-med* script on poor-quality paper, perhaps the discarded student handbooks from a seminary in gTsang such as Sa-skya. Many of these folios appear old and some are disintegrating, either from age or as a consequence of the more fragile nature of this type of paper. This particular leaf of the old edition caught my eye because it was a xylograph with seven lines of text per side, and was marked with the marginal notation *nga ka*. It bore the foliation *bdun* (= f. 7). The size of the printed area was (f. 7a) 6.5 x 46cm. The text begins:

... [7 a] snying po yin snyan na ||
ma yin chos kyi dbyings la ni ||

◦
◦
◦

gnas dang gnas ma yin [7b] pa gnyis ||
gnas kyi bsngo ba ’grub par gsungs ||

◦
◦
◦

tshong pa g.yo can bsad pa yi ||
las kyi rdzogs pa’i [end 7b]

The second folio of the *sDom gsum rab dbye* was found in bundle No. 271 (No. 1033 of my handlist), and it is badly torn in places. The size of the printing block was 6.4 x 44.5cm, and very faintly in the margin one could make out: *nga ka, bcu gcig*. The text (f. 11a) begins:

yang |
'di 'dra bden par 'dod na ni ||
lag len phyin ci log gzhan yang ||...

◦
◦
◦

de gnyis lta ba tha dad pas ||
 cho ga yang ni tha dad yin ||
 [1 1 b]
 ltung ba dang ni phyir bcos dang ||
 bslab par bya ba'ang so sor yod ||...
 °
 °
 °
 srog gcod sdom pa blangs pa la ||
 byang chub sems dpa'i sems [bskyed? (corner of folio broken)]
 [12a]

What identifies these two leaves as belonging to the Gong-dkar-ba edition—in addition to the great similarity in the size and shape of the characters and the similar format and size of the printing blocks—is the presence of the marginal notation *nga ka*. This marks the work as forming part or all of the first fascicle of Sa-pan's works in this edition.

More fragments of the Gong-dkar-ba edition of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*—if not the complete treatise—are bound to survive in Tibet, perhaps at Sa-skyia itself. The work was constantly in great demand in the Sa-skyia-pa and affiliated seminaries, and many exemplars must have been printed from these blocks. The *Tshad ma rigs gter* and of course of the *Sa skya legs bshad* were two other perennial favourites by this author. The materials for the study of Sa-skyia Paṇḍita's works will be considerably enriched the day that more old prints such as those from the Gong-dkar-ba and Hor-par-ma editions finally do emerge from their places of concealment.

(3) *A Fragment of the mKhas 'jug and of
 Two Other Complete Works of Sa-skyia Paṇḍita*

In a previous article I described the existence of a Bhutanese manuscript of the *mKhas pa rnams jug pai sgo*, which descends from the Gong-dkar-ba edition.¹¹ From among all the available materials, its colophon alone mentions Gong-dkar-rdo-rje-gdan-pa's ordination name Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal and not the name of his youth, Grwa-lnga-rgyal-po. I had accepted this colophon at its face value and had understood it to mean that his patronage of xylograph printing had continued in this case until sometime after his ordination at age 26 in the year 1458. But while visiting Sakya in the summer of 1986 I was lucky enough to find a fragment of this same fascicle in a small pile of miscellaneous, incomplete materials. When I read the original xylographic colophon, I noticed that these verses had been added to and distorted by the

¹¹ D. Jackson (1983), pp. 8f.

later scribes of the Bhutanese manuscript or their predecessors.¹² Here is the original colophon (f. 55a.8):

om swa sti |

rgyal sras kun las lhag pa'i snying stobs can ||
 sa la thub bstan spel ba'i chos rgyal byung ||
 de ni dpal ldan grwa lgar brjod pa des ||
 mkhas rnm 'jug pa'i sgo khang gts[u]g gyur pa ||

mtshungs med gzh[u]ng 'di par du sgrub pa yi ||
 'thun rkyen grong mying dge ba'i grong nas bsgrub ||
 dag byed chos kyi spyan ldan dpal 'dzin bzang ||
 par gyi rig byed mthar son bzod pa 'phel ||

Here one finds Grwa-Inga-rgyal-po named as the main sponsor, though the actual patronage came from Grong-mying dGe-ba'i-grong. The editor/proofreader was dPal-'dzin-bzang, and the man in charge of the carving was bZod- pa-'phel.

Actually this xylographic colophon was not only for the *mKhas 'jug*, but also for two other works that formed the end of this fascicle. The fragment in Sakya included the last folio of the *mKhas 'jug* (fascicle *nga ca*, f. 46a. 1–5) as well as the following two works, which were also found in this position in the Bhutanese manuscript:

- *sGra nye bar bsod pa'i tshigs su bead pa, nga ca*, ff. 46a.5–46b.6
 - *Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa byis pa la phan pa, nga ca*, ff. 46b.6–55a.7.
- The last folio (which contains the colophon) also has the foliation marked as *nga lga byon*, thus indicating that this fascicle was complete in fifty-five folios.

(4) *Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo's Commentary on
 the Bodhisattvacāryāvatāra*

The last fascicle of the Gong-dkar-ba edition which has come to my notice is a commentary on the *Bodhisattvacāryāvatāra* from the pen of the second patriarch Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142–82). This is one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest, available Tibetan commentary on Śāntideva's classic of Mahayana theory and practice, and it reflects the interpretations of bSod-nams-rtse-mo's great teacher Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109–69). Its colophon seems to indicate in fact that bSod-nams-rtse-mo's treatise is a reworking of Phywa-pa's commentary, expanding in particular the explanations of the ninth chapter. I saw this xylograph in Samath when I was there in April, 1987. It was in the possession of the teachers of the Sa-skyapa section of the Central Tibetan Institute, having been borrowed from the Sa-skya

¹² I have also presented these findings in D. Jackson (1987), pp. 230f.

mkhan-po Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin (1906–) for reproduction. Unfortunately they never succeeded in reprinting it, but they were kind enough to lend it to me for close examination.¹³

The front of the first folio bears the title: *sPyod 'jug fī ka bzugs so*. In this edition the work is 84 folios long, seven lines of text per side. A sample block size is (1b): 46 x 6.25cm. After about f. 30 the recto sides of the folios bear the marginal notation *kha*. Before that, a small rectangular area of wood was left blank and uncarved. Each folio of paper had been slightly lengthened through the glueing on of a second piece of paper to the right edge. On folio 51b, right margin, one finds the imprint of a seal with the character *sa* in its center. Could this indicate one of the libraries of Sa-skya as the provenance of this exemplar? (At the time I examined this print, I was told that a very similar-looking edition of Rong-ston's *dBu ma rtsa ba shes rab* commentary also exists in mKhan-po Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin's library.)

The printing colophon to bSod-nams-rtse-mo's commentary in this edition reads (f. 48a.2):

nā mo mañdzu nā tha ya |

brlabs chen rgyal sras spyod pa gsal za'i [sic] gzhung ||
 rnam par 'grel byed mkhas pa'i mgrin rgyan gang ||
 chos kyi dbang phyug grwa lnga rgyal po yi ||
 rnam dkar phrin las stobs la legs brten nas ||

gra thang mkhas pa 'du ba'i chos kyi gar ||
 rigs pa'i dbang phyug dge ba rgyal mtshan gyi ||
 bka' bzhin sdom brtson bkra shis dpal ldan gyis ||
 phun 'tshon [=tshogs?] mthun rkyen sbyar nas par du bsgrubs ||

gang gi dge bas ma lus 'gro ba'i tshogs ||
 brlabs chen rgyal ba'i spyod pa sgrub pa la ||
 snying stobs mchog gi pha rol son gyur te ||
 myur du rgyal ba'i go 'phang bsgrong bar [=bsgrod par] shog ||

khyad par sa la rigs pa'i dbang phyug gi ||
 phrin las pha mtha' med par rnam rgyas shing ||
 rig 'dzin rigs pa smra ba rgyal ba'i sras ||
 grwa lnga rgyal po'i ring lugs 'phel gyur cig ||

mu mtha' med pa'i dge legs sgrub pa'i gzhi ||
 rtag par ngan 'gro 'gog pa'i sgo glegs che ||
 srid na mtshungs med rgyal sras spyod pa la ||
 'jug la yi rang rtag tu rgyal gyur cig ||

par mkhan mkhas pa rdo rje rtan pa grogs 'ched gis bskos || ... || dge'o ||

¹³ I hope to arrange the reproduction of this xylograph in a future volume of the *Biblia Tibetica* Series (Kyoto).

As expected, the colophon clearly names Grwa-lnga-rgyal-po as one of the main forces behind the carving of the blocks. The actual patronage, however, was furnished by a certain bKra-shis-dpal-ldan at Gra-thang chos-kyi-gra, who acted on the orders of the great scholar dGe-ba-rgyal-mtshan. The latter is known from other sources to have lived from 1387 to 1462, and to have been the third abbot of Na-lendra, occupying the see of Rong-ston from 1459 to 1462.¹⁴ Thus the block carving probably dates to sometime in or before 1459, and by all means before 1462. The leader of the block-carvers is mentioned as having been the expert rDo-ije-[b]rtan-pa and his colleagues and relatives.

Concluding Remarks

Probably quite a few more fascicles of the Old dGa'-ldan and Gong-dkar-ba editions remain to be found in India and Nepal, and perhaps even in the West or in Japan.¹⁵ To some extent finding them is a matter of knowing a few things to look for and just keeping one's eyes open, though indeed it also helps to have a bit of luck as well as the goodwill of the present owners. Most of these editions that survive in India and Nepal for instance are probably kept in the private libraries or collections of Tibetan Buddhist teachers, safely hidden from the prying eyes of Western scholars. Even with the co-operation of the lama in charge of a temple, there can still be difficulties from those who must do most of the actual work of retrieving books—i.e. from the monks or attendants serving under him. The caretakers of monastic and bla-brang libraries are traditionally among the least co-operative of Tibetan monks—at least, that is, until one can get to know them personally and win their confidence.

One could also expect to find most or all of the remaining fascicles of these old editions in Tibet proper, for instance in the huge collections of books that survive at Sa-skya and in the Potala. Unfortunately in the case of these collections too there is an equal if not greater tendency for the authorities in charge of the books to want to shield them completely from the hands and eyes of foreigners. Though their motivations are nowadays quite different, the effect is equally detrimental to research on Tibetan bibliography and xylograph printing in particular, and to the study of Tibetan literature and religion in general. In view of the higher standard of recent Tibetological research in Tibet (judging from the publications emanating from there) and the better climate for Tibetan studies that prevailed there at least through the summer of 1987, one has reason to hope that in the coming decades such

¹⁴ The dates of dGe-ba-rgyal-mtshan are given in Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang, *Bla ma dam pa rong ston chos kyi rje'i rnam par thar pa 'phrin las rgyas shing rgyun mi 'chad pa'i rten 'brel bzang po*, a 10-folio xylograph in Patna which is listed in D. Jackson (1989), No. 1096–2.

¹⁵ Dwags-po Rin-po-che in Paris, for instance, 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.

early editions will gradually be described, catalogued, and perhaps even made available in some form. The day may yet come when these old editions are no longer looked upon as oddities by both Tibetans and Westerners, but rather are seen as indispensable materials for any serious work on these subjects.

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