Continuity and New Developments in 15th Century Tibetan Book Production: Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1376–1451) and His Disciples as Producers of Manuscript and Print Editions

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1 Introduction

In 1402 at the Shel dkar palace Si tu Chos kyi Rin chen, the great dharma king of southern La stod, passed away. It was the end of the extraordinary life of a king that was later described by the *Shel dkar chos 'byung* (folio 12r) as having the features of a Paṇḍita (*rgyal po Paṇḍita cha lugs su gzugs pa*). His son Si tu lHa btsan skyabs and his spiritual master Grags pa rgyal mtshan together with all the lamas of southern La stod performed the funeral in an excellent way. In order to accumulate merit for the deceased they carried out many ritual activities and one of these was the printing of the Buddhist treatise *'Grel chung don gsal*.¹ The following year Grags pa rgyal mtshan passed the abbot's throne of Shel dkar to his nephew Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal. This latter with the support of Si tu lHa btsan skyabs completed the work in 1407. According to a recently published collection of Bo dong pa texts, which contains a handwritten version of the text of the colophon, this was written originally by Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal himself. (*Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi gsung 'bum gsar rnyed skor*, vol. 4, 301–303) This just confirms his direct involvement in the printing process, which was predictably the case as he was by then the head of Shel dkar monastery.

This early Tibetan print drew my attention to the role that Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal and his disciples played in Tibetan fifteenth century printing and encouraged me to explore Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal's views concerning the production of books as an important part of the arts and crafts (*karmasthānavidyā*, *bzo rig pa*) dedicated to the creation of supports of body, speech and mind (*sku gsung thugs rten*). In this article, I begin with an

1 *'Grel chung don gsal*, is a famous commentary by the Indian master Haribhadra (Seng ge bzang po) on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

examination of what he writes on book production in his collected works. I also consider what can be gleaned from printing colophons. The aim is to understand his views on the subject. I then look at how his disciples carried on his legacy by having many of his works printed as well as numerous other texts. By analysing the motivations and processes that informed printing in this area, I show that printing as technological innovation is to be seen in continuity with established forms of book production, so much so that only some of the biographical accounts of masters involved in printing refer to it as something distinctive. Printing did not supersede manuscript production; it, rather, complemented it. The particular emphasis that Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal and his disciples gave, to teaching the doctrine to a large number of people and to spreading Buddhist texts as widely as possible, might be seen as one of the factors that let the Bo dong pa embrace printing technology when this was still in its early days in Tibet.

2 Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal's Views on the Making of Books as Supports of the Speech [of the Buddha] (*gsung rten*)

In Buddhism, especially but not exclusively in the Mahāyāna tradition, books are considered the supports of the speech of the Buddha and are worshipped as such. This is reflected, for example, in a dialogue between the Gung thang king Khri bKra shis lDe (1313–1365) and his masters (*Gung thang rgyal rabs*, folio 11r):

Thanks to the power of the merits (*bsod nams mthu*) of the king, he obtained a great wealth of gold. Then he thought: 'Things in this world are truly without meaning and the wealth of this life is an outcome of the compassion of the Jewel [of Buddhism] and the actions of giving in previous lives. Therefore, I do not want to waste the gold, I want only to serve the Jewel', [and] he asked the master: 'By what actions can I accumulate the most merits?' [To this the master replied,] 'The excellent field of merits is the precious Buddha's teaching, which is the source of all happiness and benefit. The meaning of the scriptures is the root of Buddha's teachings and should be explained by standardised treatises. In Tibet, texts with many words, in a complete form are quite rare. If Tibetan treatises could be produced, they would bring great benefit.' Having happily accepted the suggestion, he had all the treatises explaining all teachings of the dharma produced on lapis lazuli paper written in golden ink.

In the collected works of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal, generally known as *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa*, there are several texts dedicated to the arts and crafts. Among these, there are two texts written by Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal himself, included in Vol. 2 of *Encyclopaedia Tibetica*. According to the original organisation of his collection, these texts belong to the *mKhas pa la 'jug pa'i sgo* (*The entrance door for expert beings*).² The discussion of the supports of speech is given in the text: *rtan gsum bzhengs tshul bstan bcos lugs bshad pa* (*Discourse on the tradition of setting up supports of the three planes*).³ This text consists of five parts and the main portion of the text focuses on where the supports of the three planes should be housed. In practice, this is dedicated to the construction of monasteries and temples. The fourth and fifth parts of this text are dedicated to the actual supports of the three planes which included the “supports of speech”, i.e. the scriptures. Discussing the “supports of speech” he makes three main points:

- 1) Since the words of the Buddha are beyond our imagination, the books (*glegs bam*), which are the supports of Buddha's speech, should be understood as being beyond our imagination (*bsam gyis mi khyab pa*) in terms of importance, features and number. This is important because Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal seems to see himself as directly enacting the legacy of the Buddha which he considers to be wider than anything common human beings had done before.
- 2) In order to make supports of the three planes, including the supports of speech, in the proper way, five factors need to be considered to obtain the best result: patron (*yon bdag*), leader of the scholarly work (*yon tan mkhan po*), craftsmen (*bzo bo*), materials (*rgyu*), conditions (*rkyen*). The discussion of the materials and the processes reflect the fact that he had direct experience of what he was writing about and was himself a skilled

2 The *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa* was originally organised in four sections: the entrance door for [common] human beings; the entrance door for expert beings; the entrance door to the Sutra; the entrance door to the Tantra (See Biography of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal I, pp. 355–357).

3 Comparing this text with another text on this subject in the same collection written in *dpe tshugs*, it can be inferred that the latter was the original version on which the *dbu can* version is based. This is consistent with Gene Smith's comments on the fact that *Encyclopedia Tibetica* was the result of an assemblage of two different sets so that it presented both duplications and gaps due to texts being lost in the transportation out of Tibet (Hildegard Diemberger, personal communication). The *dpe tshugs* set seems to be more accurate than the *dbu can* version.

artist and craftsman as reported in his biography by Amoghasiddhi 'Jigs med 'bangs (Biography of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal I, pp. 168–171), which mentions among other skills his painting and carving abilities.

- 3) The criteria according to which what is to be reproduced are important and are linked to the actual process of writing. From this we can see that he understood all practical aspects of bookmaking as intrinsically linked to Buddhist morality and to a discerning vision about the reproduction and distribution of scriptures, i.e. some are to be accessible to everybody, some only to a few and some not at all.

Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal paid a lot of attention to the moral qualities and the expertise of the people involved in the production of books. He observes (*Encyclopaedia Tibetica*, vol. 2, pp. 333–334):

The definition of a bad sponsor is as follows: he does not pay attention to sins and has little faith; he has a mind of competition and yearning for this life; he is impatient, has little tolerance and is full of regrets; he wants to achieve things without effort and does not complete undertaken tasks; he is doubtful of the benefits [of Buddhist teachings] and blames the gods and the craftsmen (*lha dang lha bzo*). The definition of an excellent sponsor is as follows: he is faithful, hard-working and compassionate; he is willing to offer selflessly and do the preparatory work for the achievement of merits; he is stable, patient and without hypocrisy; he has great respect for the gods and the craftsmen. The fake leader of the scholarly work (*yon tan mkhan po*) is as follows: he has no intellectual abilities, cannot concentrate, is not friendly and likes beer; if he drinks a bit he becomes like a madman; he finds it difficult to endure work and is very arrogant; he is greedy, sharp-mouthed and has great desires; he does not use things like provisions thoughtfully and, unsatisfied, can even steal. In this way his own sins and those of others grow and expand while the sponsors' faith is certainly crushed. Having transformed good karma into bad karma, this person will be reborn in the lower realm of existence. Please don't make contact with such a person and keep away from him. The definition of the excellent craftsmen is as follows: the treaty *dPal ldan rgyud chen sa ma su di* says: "they should be calm, faithful, young, sharp-minded and not distracted by many thoughts; they refrain from anger and behaving badly behind one's back; they are very skilled and enjoy what they are doing; they are tolerant and compassionate." The *dPal ldan sdrom pa 'byung rgyud* says: "they are very calm and competent in the skills of arts and crafts, they consider rituals and are very

conscientious". This is a concise definition or, in other words, they have little desire and are able to endure [hard work] (*bzol ba zob cing rkyen la bgyi*). They speak in a well-mannered way, are patient and easily agree with each other. They express their gratitude [to human beings] and respect the gods. They don't like beer and they are easy-going.

In the production of books Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal highlights some practical aspects of materials and processes. Concerning writing supports he lists four classes of paper (*shog*): golden paper written with lapis lazuli is the best, blue-black paper written in gold and silver is the best in the medium options, blue-black paper written in a gold-silver mix or silver only is a lesser medium option, beige paper (*shog skya*) or tree bark (*shig shun*) written in black ink (*snag tsha*) are the lowest quality options. He then states (*Encyclopaedia Tibetica*, vol. 2, pp. 339–340):

If you want to produce supports for the dharma, paper (*shog bu*) and other materials provide the basis [for writing]. They must be smooth, flexible and have the right consistency. They must have a light colour and the appropriate thickness. They can be written on with the best precious stones or gold and silver or black ink. The ink must be appropriate according to the basis. The ink must have a good colour in clear contrast with that of the basis. There must be the right spaces and the lines must be straight and well shaped. The scribes should be excellent at writing" and this should be according to the description given previously in the text in which both moral qualities and expertise of craftsmen are discussed.

Concerning that which ought to be written and the manner of writing, he states (*Encyclopaedia Tibetica*, vol. 2, pp. 340–341):

What deserves to be written should be meaningful and it should provide great benefit to those who read it or even just see it. Furthermore, it must support the teaching of the dharma and benefit self and others. The immaculate teachings of the Buddha, the sutra and the Tantra, as well as the excellent undisputed treatises should be produced. Whatever you wish to write, should follow a perfect root text which you need to get. If there are any doubts concerning words or mistakes you should compare the root text with others and edit well. The size of the lines should fit the paper base (*shog khyim*), the size of each word (*yig khyim*) should fit the line (*thig khyim*). The letters should be well shaped, aligned and consistent as if the whole book was written in a single day with a single

pen. It is said that [comparing letters] one above should be exactly the same as one below. The letters should be equal if compared. Paper technology (*shog bzo*), paper colouring and the colour of inks and so on, all must be excellent as if they are produced in competition. Treatises that raise enthusiastic faith should be written in such a way. The fake sutra and Tantra or those treatises that contain wrong information or distorted meaning, written by foolish men of Tibet who act as if they are learned persons should not be written. This should be done avoiding the sins of bad and incorrect writing and wording with the purpose of raising yearnings and competitions. As soon as the text is written down and a good editing performed, *rtsi gres* (counted and put in order?), endowed with book covers and so on, then the consecration and the *rgya tshar bya* (one-hundred times) [ritual] must be performed well. The common [books] (*thun mongs pa rnams*) benefit the common sentient beings. The uncommon [books] (*thun mongs mayin pa*) should be hidden from those who do not have the karma [to access them] and benefit those who have.

Most of what is said in this text applies also to book production through printing. Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal does not single out this technique in his treatises. Details of the printing processes in which he was involved are given only in printing colophons. Most of what he says about merit making through book production, the features of patronage, the moral qualities and the skills of craftsmen as well as some of the information about materials could apply to both prints and manuscripts. Despite the fact that he did not highlight the technique, he was clearly an enthusiast of it.

There are several elements that underpinned Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal attitude towards printing. I can identify four but there are probably more.

- 1) He came from a very scholarly background and had great interest in books through his activities of teaching, translating and writing. He considered the compilation of his vast collection his great achievement and his main tools for teaching students how to strive for enlightenment.
- 2) Building on the legacy of dPang Blo gros brtan pa, Byang chub rtse mo and Grags pa rgyal mtshan⁴ who had first advocated and eventually built a school of philosophy in Shel dkar monastery, Bo dong Phyogs las rnam

4 These great translators, all born in Zur tsho, were part of the of the uncle-nephew lineage to which Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal belonged. See *Shel dkar chos 'byung* folio 35r–46v and also *Bo dong chos 'byung* folio 14v–16v.

rgyal was dedicated to teaching a large number of disciples. For this purpose sets of identical texts were particularly useful.

- 3) He was following in the footsteps of masters who were very dedicated to book production. He was aware of and building on the work of Bu ston Rin chen grub who gave precise instructions especially concerning editing (See Schaeffer 2009).
- 4) He had a special attention for the social and technical aspects of book production within his wider interest in secular arts and science.

3 Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal and His Disciples as Pioneers of Printing

Most detailed information on how Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal was involved in printing projects can be gleaned from the printing colophons of two prints from the early 15th century (text 1 and 3 in Porong Dawa's collection, see his article in this volume). The biography by Mi bskyod rdo rje, one of his young disciples during the final part of his life, mentions (Biography of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal II, folio 69r–69v) the reproduction of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal's works and other famous texts in manuscript and print form as follows:

After the completion of the great treatises, i.e. the *de kho na nyid 'dus pa*, the original manuscript by the Lord siddha himself was produced (*bzhengs*) as follows: one whole set was produced by the Bo dong community; one whole set at Yar 'brog by Hyeng du Kun dga' rgyal mtshan and his brother; one whole set at Rin spungs by Drung chen Nor bzang and his brother; one whole set by Ta'i Si tu lHa btsan skyabs; one whole set by Chos rgyal rnam rgyal grags bzang; one whole set by sTag lung bka' drug pa [Ngag dbang grags pa]; one whole set by the queen Byang chub chos kyi sgron me at mNga' ris Gung thang and also a whole set was sponsored by sKyid grong mNgon dga' ba. Altogether these were nine [manuscript] sets. So up to now there are nine whole sets. Furthermore half of a medium sized set [of Bo dong pa] works was sponsored by Si tu Rab brtan pa of rGyal mkhar rtse, another half of a medium-sized set by rNam rgyal gling pa and another by bSod rgyal, ruler of Shang pa. The *Tripitaka* holder dPal ldan sangs rgyas (1391–1455) sponsored an entire medium sized-set. Then under the sponsorship of Shel dkar chos sde the *rGyud sde spyi rnam* [by Bo dong pan chen] was printed (*spar du brkos*). Furthermore the *sBas don gsal ba* was sponsored by mNga' ris chos sde.

[The print edition of the] *De nyid 'dus pa snying po* was sponsored by the Zur tsho ba. The *De nyid 'dus pa snying po* was produced (*bzhengs*) [in printing] at Yar 'brog mNgon dga' again. The *Kye rdo rje mngon [tog] dkyil* ['*khor*] was produced (*bzhengs*) [in printing] with the sponsorship of faithful patrons. Also the *mNgon rtogs kyi rnam nges*, the *gSang 'dus mdor byas kyi mngon dkyil*, the '*jigs byed mngon dkyil*, the *bDe mchog dril bu lugs kyi mngon dkyil*, the [*Tshad ma*] *rnam nges*, the *Kun rig*, the *sMan bla* and so on were printed (*spar du brkos*). Furthermore many currently famous scriptures were reproduced in print and manuscript form. Up to now, regarding the volumes at dBus gtsang mNga' ris, their quantity is beyond what can be counted even discarding those that have been spreading through printing.

Among the book production projects mentioned here some were supervised by Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal himself, most of them, however, were sponsored and supervised by his numerous lay and monastic disciples. Most important among them were local rulers who were very devoted to him as spiritual master and who felt that producing books was a Buddhist deed of merit that enhanced not only their path towards enlightenment but also the fulfilment of their role as successful Dharmaraja. In doing so, they were following in the footsteps of their ancestors. For example the *Shel dkar chos 'byung* (folio 18r) states that Si tu Chos kyi Rin chen: "Looking at the example (*spyen yar lta*) of the great deeds of the Bodhisattva ancestral kings of religion as well as Sa [skya pa] ... wanted to build many religious symbols such as temples." However, at this point in history printing became particularly fashionable.

4 Printing as an Enhancement in Buddhist Book Production

Many print colophons highlight that one of the aims of this particular form of book production is to produce an endless stream of merit and knowledge. This is highlighted in the 1407 *Shel dkar* print as follows: "From the hill of *Shel dkar* in the east, which had become an ornament of the world, from the hands of the leading scribe Byang skyabs hundreds of thousands of treaties in printed form spread like the rays of the sun to the lotus garden of each monastery [i.e. school of philosophy]. At that time, everywhere there were many youths with their bright minds endowed with the wings of scriptural and philosophical knowledge and singing the melody of good sayings, enjoying the step of the dance like a swarm of bees". A similar idea can be found for example in the *Gung thang rgyal rabs* according to which the Gung thang king Khri rNam rgyal lde (1426/7?–1502) whose root lama was Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal produced

at rDzong dkar “the print editions of the medical treatises Yan lag brgyad pa, the *Ma ni bka’ ’bum*, *Urgyan thangyig* and the *Mi la bka’ ’bum* in order to spread innumerable books”. His father Khri lHa dbang rgyal mtshan (1404–1464), who was also a disciple of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal “had the great scriptures (*bstan bcos chen po*) of this master, the *de nyid ’dus pa* reproduced in its extensive, medium and short form and also innumerable prints (*gsung par mtha’ yas pa*) of the works *Dus ’khor ye shes mchod rten*, the *rGyud sde bzhi mngon rtogs gyi dkyil ’khor rnam nge*.”⁵

Clearly these comments reflect the idea that a great number of books equal a great number of merits, which is a well-known tenet of Mahāyāna Buddhism especially reflected in the Prajñāpāramitā literature. Whether this vision corresponded to an actual high number of texts being printed and distributed is difficult to assess on the basis of the current available materials. What is certain is that some of these texts travelled and generated new print editions that spread across the Tibetan Buddhist world promoting the establishment of certain texts as classics or standard texts (see Nourse, this volume).

In addition to merit making, there seems to have been a sense of competition among patrons who were using Buddhist deeds to enhance their power and prestige (*mnga’ thang*). For example the *Shel dkar chos ’byung* (see folio 33r–33v) directly correlates Buddhist deeds with the ruler’s *mnga’ thang*. Here it is also stated that the Thirteen Deeds (*legs mdzad bcu gsum*) of Situ Chos kyi Rin chen were comparable to the Eighteen Deeds (*phun tshogs bco brgyad*) of Si tu Rab brtan kun bzang ’phags, ruler of rGyal rtse and disciple of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal. The construction of the monasteries of Gung thang chos sde in Mang yul Gung thang, Shel dkar chos sde in Southern La stod, Ngam ring chos sde in Northern La stod and dPal ’khor chos sde in rGyal mkhar rtse, sponsored by the respective local rulers within a period of less than twenty years can be understood in this light. It is therefore not surprising that this logic applied also to book production and in particular to print editions that had become the fashion of the day.

The Yar ’brog rulers were no exception. Disciples of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal, they sponsored a great number of prints as well as manuscripts over the 15th century and later. As a native of Yar ’brog, I shall discuss in detail the print of the *dPal de kho na nyid ’dus pa snying po* and refer to other early print editions produced in this area.

5 The *Gung thang rgyal rabs* included in the *Deb ther khag lnga* edited the term ‘*gsung par*’ to ‘*gsungs pa*’. The original given by Everding (13v), however, clearly reports ‘*gsung par*’, which he translated with the German “Drucke”, i.e. English “prints” (Everding 2000: 129). See also Ehrhard 2000: 12.

5 The Royal Prints of Yar 'brog: When Spiritual Aims Merge with Secular Governance

Bo dong Phyogs las rnam was repeatedly invited to Yar 'brog and had a close connection with the Yar 'brog ruling family. In 1440 he went there responding to an invitation by the Yar 'brog ruler and especially his brother Amoghasiddhi 'Jigs med 'bangs, who was one of his disciples and later became one of his biographers (Biography of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal 1, p. 384–386). On that occasion the Khri dpon Kun dga' rgyal mtshan took the oath that he would produce a full set of the Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal's collected works (*dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa*). During Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal's stay, which lasted five months, while he was giving teachings to vast crowds of people the reproduction of his collection was completed (and we can infer that it was in manuscript form). Some three years later (for the dating see below), not much after Bo dong Phyogs rnam rgyal wrote the essence of his collected works (*dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po*), its print edition was produced at Yar 'brog, too.

A volume of this early Tibetan print seems to be the one currently preserved at the British Library where it arrived after having been taken from Tibet to the UK by the Younghusband military expedition of 1903/4 (see Diemberger 2012: 131–171). During my research stay at Cambridge in 2013, I took the opportunity to visit the British Library and see the original of this work. It was with deep emotion that I had my first encounter with this precious text. It had been printed over five hundred years ago in the royal palace, behind which I was born, and it had been read by innumerable generations of monks and devout Buddhists from my homeland. A century after this text made a long journey away from its place of origin to come to the UK, carried by mule and ship, I was able to see and touch it. It was like finding an ancient, long-lost relative.

As a scholar I read it carefully and I was delighted to discover that it had a very interesting and distinctive colophon. This version of the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po* is particular in that it contains not only the actual text but also an authors' colophon (*mdzad byang*) referring to the entire *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa* collection.

The colophon does not give us the actual printing date. However the biography of Byams pa gling pa bSod nams rnam rgyal (see TBRC W26621, folio 31r), one of Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal disciples, mentions the fact that he himself had compiled the colophon of the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po* printed by the rulers of Yar 'brog in 1443. According to both his biography (folio 28r–28v) and that of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal written by Amoghasiddhi 'jig med 'bangs (Biography of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal 1, pp. 374–376)

he was in Yar 'brog in 1440 when Bo dong Phyogs rnam rgyal was there. The colophon of the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po* preserved at the British Library mentions Hing du Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (birth before 1425 and death after 1478), brother of Amoghasiddhi 'jig med 'bangs, as *khri dpon* of Yar 'brog. It also mentions a praise to Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal without referring to his passing, as was done in the 1478 Yar 'brog edition of his works (see *dkar chag yid nor*, folio 22r). It is therefore likely that the British Library text is a print from the blocks carved in 1443.

FIGURE 12.1 *Nojin Gangsang and the sNa dkar rtse county.*
TSERING DAWA SHARSHON 2007.

FIGURE 12.2 *Yamdrok prints Folio iv.*
COURTESY BRITISH LIBRARY.

FIGURE 12.3 *Yamdrok prints Folio 169v.*
COURTESY BRITISH LIBRARY.

FIGURE 12.4 *Yamdrok prints Folio 170r.*
COURTESY BRITISH LIBRARY.

Two full sets of the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa* were produced in manuscript form at Yar 'brog in the 15th Century, one in 1440 and one in 1478. The 1440 edition is reported in both biographies of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal (Biography of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal I, p. 518; Biography of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal II, folio 69r) and in the colophon of the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po* preserved at the British Library (folio 170r). A newly discovered catalogue of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal's works reported that the 1478 edition was produced at Yar 'brog under the sponsorship of Kun dga' gyal mtshan and the second bSam sdings rDo rje Phag mo Kun dga' bzang mo (see *dkar chag yid nor*, folio 22r and Diemberger in this volume). Furthermore, three of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal's works are extant in print from this period: the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po* mentioned above (1443?); the *Kun rig cho ga de nyid rnam nges* printed in 1446 (see text number 6 in Porong Dawa's collection); the *rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhang pa* printed in 1468.

The biography of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal by Amoghasiddhi 'Jig med 'bangs (Biography of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal I, pp. 519–520) states: “The *rGyud sde rin po che spyi'i rnam par gzhang pa* was supported by Shel dkar chos sde and the *Khrid yig sbas don kun gsal* was supported by mNga' ris chos sde, the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa'i snying po* was supported by the Zur tsho ba. The *dPal de nyid 'dus pa'i snying po* was produced here again. All these texts were printed (*spar du grub*).”

This passage gives us important clues: except for the *Khrid yig sbas don kun gsal* this passage refers to extant printed texts, which correspond to texts number 3 and number 10 in Porong Dawa's collection. It can therefore be assumed that *Khrid yig sbas don kun gsal* was actually produced in print form in Gung thang before the date of the compilation of the biography 1453 (i.e. during Khri lHa dbang rgyal mtshan's reign, see also Diemberger in this volume). The *De nyid 'dus pa snying po* produced at Zur tsho must have been printed between 1441 and 1443, i.e. between the date of its compilation (see Biography of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal I, pp. 391–392) and that of the new print edition in Yar 'brog.⁶ The 'here' referring to the site where the new print edition was made (*slar 'dir bzhengs pa*) clearly indicates sNa dkar rtse where the biographer, Amoghasiddhi 'Jig med 'bang, was residing. He was the brother of the Yar 'brog ruler Khri dpon Kun dga' rgyal mtshan also mentioned in the colophon of the print preserved at the British Library.

While the manuscripts were produced at Yar 'brog mNgon dga' monastery, the three printed texts were produced at the Yar 'brog royal palace. This is clearly stated in the colophons. These three volumes have letters on the margins: the first has the letter *ka*, the second *ga*, the third *Om hung ho* (each letter for one of the three texts forming the book). They all have the same style of writing and carving, which can be seen from the lay-out, the simple and non-decorated title page, the punctuation such as the *dbu khyud* sign and the shape of the letters. Some distinctive features of the first text will be discussed below. The colophon of the first text mentions as the main carver mKhas pa bZod pa 'phel, the colophon of the second text mentions mGon po dpal without any title or description, and the colophon of the third text mentions the excellent

6 This is presumably the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po* printed at Zur tsho with the sponsorship of sLob dpon ma Nam mkha' dpal bzang mo, see Porong Dawa text number 10. This is consistent with the fact that its colophon mentions the spiritual master 'Dul 'dzing Ngag dbang as having participated in a leading position in the project. He was a teacher of Sha ra rab byams pa Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan (1427–1470), disciple of gTsang smyon Heruka, and a contemporary of Chos kyi sgron ma. The colophon also mentions a Drung chen bSod nams rgyal mtshan as deceased official to whom the printing project was dedicated. This bSod nams rgyal mtshan is different from the homonymous teacher of bTsun pa chos legs. The biography of bTsun chos legs (folio 84v–85r) in this respect reports that his bLa ma bSod nams rgyal mtshan, one of his eight main disciples of Kun skyong gling pa, "was not... the official (*sku ngo*) of the Zur tsho people known as sPang ston bSod nams rgyal mthan, who was killed by the Byang pa [i.e. the ruler of La stod Byang]" (*Zur tsho ba'i sku ngo sPang ston bSod nams rgyal mtshan du grags pa byang pas bkrong pa de ni ma yin te... sprul sku kun skyong gling pa'i thugs sras brgyad kyi nang tshan du gyur pa'i bsod nams ming can de yin par shes par bya'o*).

carver mGon po dpal together with his students. It is plausible that the 1443 text was the first to be produced as volume *ka* and that between 1446 and 1468 a local carving school emerged under the leadership of mGon po dpal. These volumes are probably what is extant of a much wider collection of prints consisting of either the most popular of the Bo dong pa texts or even the entire *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa*. According to the late Thub bstan rnam rgyal, former head monk of bSam sdings monastery, the sNa dkar rtse palace of Yar 'brog used to house a full set of printing blocks of the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa*. These were destroyed in the period between 1959 and the end of the Cultural Revolution.⁷

The characters of the Yar 'brog print of the *De kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po* present features that remind of the 1428 print of Tsong kha pa's work (see text number 5 in Porong Dawa's collection)⁸ produced at 'Ol kha sTag rtse with the sponsorship of the local ruler. The carver of this text Sangs rgyas bsam [one syllable missing] and the Yar 'brog carver mKhas pa bZod pa 'phel might be seen as reflecting a tradition of style (*phyag rgyun*) common in southern Tibet. The shape of the letters, the punctuation and the layout are similar. Also, both texts use the reverse *gigu*, which is relatively rare in printed texts, and do so whenever a regular *gigu* would clash with features of the line above or with the vowel of the next or the previous letter on the same line. More generally, a lot of attention is placed on harmonising the letters. The thickness of the strokes (*smyug kham*), however, differs between the two prints: the 'Ol kha sTag rtse print shows thinner, neater and more homogenous strokes, which could be attributed to (or at least enabled by) the use of a harder wood. The Yar 'brog print has strokes that are either thicker or start thick and become thin at the end. It is likely that a softer and more readily available wood such as birch (*shing stag pa*) was used in this higher and remoter area, as reflected in the carving style.

The Yar 'brog print of the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po* shows an interesting irregularity: folios 56–57, folios 80–92 and folios 96–103 are stylistically different from the rest of the text and seem closer to La stod prints. First of all, there is no continuity in the text, despite continuity in the numbering of the folios. Furthermore, the calligraphy is marginally different; the marks on

7 This is according to a personal communication by Hildegard Diemberger, who met Thub bstan rnam rgyal several times between 1996 and 2000.

8 Porong Dawa considers this print as probably related to *dGa' ldan spar rnying*, see Porong Dawa's commentary to the text (2013: 140). 'Ol kha stag rtse is located in lHo kha, on the northern bank of the gTsang po river. This locality is opposite the palace of the Ne'u gdong rulers, who acted as sponsors for the *dGa' ldan spar rnying*.

the margins are absent; the *dbu kyud* is shaped differently and includes two dots (which is common in early Bo dong pa manuscripts and in many other manuscripts); there are no reverse *gigu* (except for perhaps one); there are many abridgements (*skung yig*), very infrequent in the rest of the text; and several of these folios have a seal imprint. Intrigued by the differences, I compared these folios with other texts. I then realised that they must have been printed from the Zur tsho blocks of the same text as they are absolutely identical (see Porong Dawa's collection number 10). They were probably added to the volume when some original folios went missing in order to guarantee auspiciousness (*rten 'brel*). However, the sense of completeness was presumably obtained through the continuity of the numbers rather than that of the text. This action was not repeated when other folios went missing, since thirteen of them are missing altogether.

FIGURE 12.5 *Zur tsho prints iv.*
COURTESY PORONG DAWA.

FIGURE 12.6 *Zur tsho prints 175r.*
COURTESY PORONG DAWA.

FIGURE 12.7 *Zur tsho prints 175v.*
COURTESY PORONG DAWA.

FIGURE 12.8 'Ol kha prints Folio 166v.
COURTESY PORONG DAWA

FIGURE 12.9 'Ol kha prints Folio 167r.
COURTESY PORONG DAWA

TABLE 12.1 Comparative table 1

	Yar 'brog version	'Ol kha version	Zur tsho version
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	Yar 'brog version	'Ol kha version	Zur tsho version
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ཁ

TABLE 12.1 *Comparative table 1 (cont.)*

	Yar 'brog version	'Ol kha version	Zur tsho version
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TABLE 12.2 *Comparative table 2*

	Yar 'brog version	'Ol kha version	Zur tsho version
གི་གྲ།
ཞབས་ཀྱ།
འབྲེང་པོ།
ན་ཚོ།
གི་གྲ་ལོག་པ།			without
དབྱ་ཁྱུང།

I shall now discuss the printing colophon of this work, which can be found at folios 169v–170r. The last folio, which contains the key information, is badly damaged and therefore there are some gaps in my rendition and discussion of this text. There are twelve incomplete verses missing one or two words, four verses that were completely lost and one verse with two unclear words.

The text of the colophon presents some remarkable features, the names of people, places and texts are highlighted by having the relevant syllables carved

in reverse, i.e. as negative, in the blocks (see illustration 1–2). There is also a very particular punctuation mark separating the main text from the colophon, a very ornamented *sprul bshad*, which shows that scribe and carver paid a lot of attention to the aesthetics and clarity of the text. This way of ornamenting punctuation marks is common in beautifully produced manuscripts but is rare in prints.

The translation is as follows:

May the miracles of 'Jig med grags pa (Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal), who holds the teachings of the 84000 *dharmaskanda* taught by innumerable Buddhas in the Buddhafields of the ten directions, enlighten the three [classes of?] beings without limits. [This is a prayer for Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal]

Emaho! The [real] jewel of the mankind is whoever holds in a pure way to one's own wealth of virtue and goodness. This is like the ocean expanded to be the prosperity of the *nāgas*. [This is praise to human beings with high moral virtue, implicitly a reference to the ruling family]

The happy land where glorious virtue arises is Yar 'brog the navel of the earth, a place of heavenly accomplishment. The white divine mountain with snow on its top [gNod sbyin gang bzang] is beautified by the clouds in the sky. [This is a praise of the Yar 'brog area]

To the east of it, on one side, there is a miraculous place like the land of Akshobhya where, thanks to meritorious prayers, people like swarms of geese rejoice. Like blue sky molten [on the ground] is the lake. On its shore, pure like the mind, is the palace, white like the moon, which rises up to the top of the sky. The land that remains purest despite all kinds of things gathering there [words missing] [This is praise of the fortress of sNa dkar rtse]

At the excellent palace of sNa dkar rtse, was the one known in the world with the name of Ag glen.⁹ He was born originally together with Gang ba bzang (i.e. gNod sbyin gang bzang), one of the great deities of the world, who holds the prosperity of gods and humans and is excellent [words missing] of the world. The Lord of the World Sa skya pa [words missing] controls the law of [d]Bus gtsang. [This is praise of Ag glen]

His descendant in the sixth generation of the lineage, elevated by countless good deeds, is Hing du Nam mkha' legs pa. He raised in an

9 This was Ag len rDo rje dpal, Sa skya dpon chen ca. 1290–1298 and famous general, who became the ruler of the Yar 'brog myriarchy at the beginning of the 14th century (See Petech 1990: 71).

excellent way [his son?] Nam mkha' 'bum. The great female ruler, from the divine 'Khon lineage,¹⁰ the wise woman [with a mind] as broad as the sky [words missing] fulfilled [words missing] and is endowed with thousands of waves of the stream of merits. In order to obtain excellent ability for the son Kun dga' rgyal mtshan to be at the top of the expanse of the ocean of politics as Nam mkha Phun tshogs bzang po¹¹ did; in order to obtain virtue and goodness like the waxing moon for all those people [words missing] [including] 'Dren dpal, the Magnificent woman who Assembles all the beautiful qualities of high ranked women; and in order to fulfil all the wishes of the ancestors the teachings of the Buddha that are beyond what mind can conceive [words missing] hundreds of volumes of the magnificent *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa* were produced. All wise people marvelled greatly at this. Then the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po* followed, precious shoot causing an endless transfer of dharma treasures to the throat of many learned people [reading it].

The scribe(s) (*yi ge pa*) writing were Don grub (words missing). For the printing bZod pa 'phel carried out the scribal work. Seng ge bzang who has excellent Vinaya vows controlled the spelling. The grammarian was bSod nams dpal.

May the thus achieved virtue and goodness that are white like the light of the autumn moon, the snow, the *ku mud* flower and the root of the lotus flower let all sentient beings enjoy the endless prosperity of the pure *dharma*.

May the sky exist forever and may all human beings without exception enter the excellent path without stain of the ultimate [enlightenment].

Here, thanks to the deeds and the appreciation of the deeds, may all enjoy the political and religious power and may the excellent deeds of the great Buddha be the guide bringing together all beings.

(One sentence missing)

Although this text was [already] printed in (word missing) [in this case] the spelling was left as the original by the Lord [Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal]. It was carved by the skilled carver bZod pa 'phel.

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- 10 The 'Khon lineage (descending from gYa' phrug 'khon bar skyes) is famously linked to the Sa skya monastery and the Sa skya rule. The Yar 'brog had a close connection to Sa skya.
- 11 According to *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* (folio 47v) Nam mkha' bzang po was the uncle of Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. He was not identical with Amoghasiddhi 'Jig med 'bang as previously believed (See Ehrhard 2002a: 74). From the correspondence of Khrims khang lo tsa ba bSod nams rgya mtsho it is also clear that Amoghasiddhi 'Jig med 'bang and Kun rgyal mtshan were brothers (Erhard 2002b: xiii).

This colophon is quite distinctive and reflects strongly one of the main aims of the printing operation: beyond general merit making, the enhancement of the power and prestige of the ruler and the fulfilment of their legacy. At that time Kun dga' rgyal mtshan had a wife, 'Dren phel, and a son, rGyal bu lHun grub bkra shis (see Ehrhard 2002b: xiv). However, he must have recently ascended to the throne of *khri dpon* following or joining his uncle Nam mkha' bzang po. The text is quite explicit in declaring this as one of the main aims of the printing project: "In order to obtain for Kun dga' rgyal mtshan the son [of Nam mkha' 'bum and dPon mo che from the 'Khon lineage] the excellent ability to be at the top of the expanse of the ocean of politics as [his uncle] Nam mkha' Phun tshogs bzang po did". Although it is not uncommon for the prestige of the ruler and the well-being of the country to be listed among the aims of printing projects, and of Buddhist deeds more generally, this colophon is particularly straight forward in this respect. The Yar 'brog ruling family dominated both patronage and production and aimed at consolidating the power of the young ruler in his position as excellent *Dharmaraja*. It is also interesting that the prestigious ancestor Ag len, embodying the Sa skya legacy of control over this area, is celebrated in connection with the ancient mountain god gNod sbying gang bzang symbolising the honour of the land and its prosperity – reminding of mountain cults in imperial times and before.¹²

This print recalls the 1407 one sponsored by Si tu lHa btsan skyabs after the death of his father. As in that case the colophon celebrates king and country. However, spiritual and scholarly aims as well as merit making for the deceased are given more space there. In both cases, rulers who were also disciples of the spiritual master combined spiritual aspirations with worldly aims such as guaranteeing good governance and prosperity based on a shared vision of Buddhist morality. However, this is not the only form of patronage that fuelled the printing production of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal and his disciples. Printing colophons often reveal wide networks of people of various social standing involved in different ways in such Buddhist deeds.

12 gNod sbyin gang bzang is a snow-capped mountain located between the Yar 'brog and Myang area (the name Myang is directly related to a legend telling of Padmasambhava inviting his disciples to taste (myang) the nectar he had dropped from heaven on the top of this mountain. This mountain god is considered to be the king of all gNod snyin spirits (*gnod sbyin rta brtags brgyed*) and also a palace of Cakrasaṃvara. This was already a holy mountain during the imperial period when this area was part of sNubs: it was identical with or at least related to sNubs lha mThon drug connected to rituals enhancing the power and prestige of the rulers (See *dba' bzhed folio 30r*).

6 Printing Colophons and Social Histories: When Books are Produced by Wider Networks

Some print editions are produced with the patronage of one main sponsor, often a local ruler or monastery, supporting a range of scholars and craftsmen. Others involve wider networks of people operating in different capacity (sometimes both as patrons and as craftsmen) and their colophons are particularly interesting because they reflect the social fabric of the time in striking ways. They also elicit the question of whether printing actually widened people's involvement in literate culture.

Colophons reflect the way in which people participated in the operation in different ways: sometimes there is a strong emphasis on a single sponsor, sometimes on a range of village communities, sometimes on individuals of different standing contributing through donations and work. Sometimes these forms of representation are mixed within a single colophon.

Above, I discussed examples of royal print editions; here I wish to mention a colophon that highlights a range of village communities rather than a big ruler. This is the colophon of text number 2 in Porong Dawa's collection (for a detailed discussion see his paper in this volume). Here, after the mention of two monks (mKhas btsun Chos nyid rnam rgyal and sDom btson Tshe dbang rgya mtsho) who requested the printing project, the spiritual master (Seng ge bzang po) who took care of the carving with his disciples, and a main sponsor who was apparently a religious authority (rGyal tshab chos rje), there is a list of people referred to collectively: monastics (*dge 'dun*), people (*mi mangs*) and women? (*mo dben?*) of Che sgres; lamas, headmen (*dpon bcur*) and people (*mi mangs*) of sNyings; lamas, headmen (*dpon bcur*) and people (*mi mangs*) of sMyams; officials (*rgya dpon*), lamas and patrons from sNa shod belonging to dGe gling; dGe bshes Nam [mkha] bzang [po], lamas, headmen (*bcur dpon*) and patrons from rTshang. All of these people are mentioned as having made great donations (*'bul 'deg rgya cher*). In this case the repeated use of the term *mi mangs* seems to highlight the communities involved rather than the individuals. The printing project taking place, probably, in Nub ris lHa mdun monastery seems to have relied on bringing together the efforts of the surrounding communities to print the works of the monastery founder.

Another colophon (discussed in Ehrhard 2000: 95–100) rather than communities seems to highlight a great number of individuals mentioned with their names and titles. The 1525 print edition of the biography of bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521), a scholar belonging to the teaching lineage of Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal, was apparently supported by a wide network of followers of different social standings. At the top of the list is the disciple (*'jigs med bzang po*) who instigated and led the project dedicating to it all what he had, followed

by the names of close disciples of the master (*nye gnas*) who assisted him in a variety of ways. Then there is a long list of patrons who provided sponsorship by donations. The first name is that of the queen dKon mchog bzang mo, who was very devoted to the deceased master and was the wife of the king of Gung thang Khri Kun dga' rnam rgyal lde (by then deceased) and his nephews.¹³ She is followed by a range of religious masters, starting from rTa sga chos rje Ngag dbang grags pa who had been one of bTsun pa Chos legs leading disciples. The patrons are subdivided as follows: male monastic disciples listed according to the amount of barley they offered; female monastic disciples listed according to the amount of barley they offered; monastic and lay patrons listed in a mixed way mentioning title, profession, place of origin, social position and sometimes kinship terms with which they were known in village communities; people speaking different languages (*skad mi gcig*); relatives of the deceased master. At the end the person who donated all the woodblocks that were needed for the printing is mentioned again. This colophon is also remarkable because it mentions details of units of measure, type of donations, titles and positions, all of which gives insight into the social fabric of the time.

On the whole, the colophon is beautifully written and reads like a text in its own right with the three traditional sections: *sbyor* (opening), *ngos* (main body) and *rjes* (dedication and prayers of auspiciousness). It shows that the very act of mentioning the patrons and the people involved in various capacities had ritual significance, sealing the book production as a Buddhist deed (For a further discussion of this colophon and the relevant work see Ehrhard in this volume).

This colophon seems to reflect a wide-ranging network of disciples and followers as well as more occasional patrons that became involved in the printing project. In addition to monastics and officials, there were several people who were doctors, craftsmen and village elders. They seem to indicate that such a project involved a wider range of people from different social backgrounds. Although many of them were involved only in terms of participation to a merit making activity, they were apparently aware of book production as a worthy enterprise. Literate people may have had access to some of the texts; illiterate people may have had access to contents only through books being read in their houses and temples. In all cases books were considered important ritual objects, bestowing blessings and good fortune.

The attitude of worship and respect towards books, however, was not considered satisfactory enough by some of the masters who promoted printing

13 The royal marriage arrangements and the politics of this period, reflected in other print colophons such as that of the Ma ñi bka' 'bum edition of 1521 was described in detail in Ehrhard 2013: 143–161.

activities, for example the colophon of the Zur tsho print edition of the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa snying po* supported by sLob dpon ma Nam mkha bzang mo states (folio 175 v):

Although three or four waves of tantric teachings and practices have appeared from the ocean of the classes of Tantra, the precious volumes of the four classes of Tantra have become largely something to prostrate and make ritual offerings to. Considering this issue, thanks to the prayers to the Inner and outer Buddhas and the power of their blessings, the collected essence of the ocean of Sutra and Tantra (i.e. the *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus pa*) explained in an excellent way the 84000 *dharmaskanda*.

This statement reflects not only Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal's vision that underpinned the compilation of his collection but also his wish to make scriptures accessible and rigorously studied. This vision was taken forward by his disciples and can be seen as tightly linked to printing as a tool that facilitates the distribution of standardised texts and teachings. Printing as technological innovation was adopted without it being celebrated as such; it was much more seen in continuity with the overall vision of the spread of the dharma. However, colophons such as that of the 1407 print edition of the *'Grel chung don gsal* certainly celebrated the endless stream of teachings that had become possible thanks to it.

7 Conclusion

As an increasing number of materials are becoming available, we are gaining new insights into the spiritual, social and economic aspects of fifteenth century book production. Printing clearly developed from manuscript production but, rather than superseding it, complemented it. Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal engaged with book production in original ways by enacting the legacy of the Buddha creatively, harnessing the moral authority of ancient Buddhism and its attitude to books. He supported his attitude by highlighting that “the words of the Buddha are beyond our imagination so the books (*glegs bam*) which are the supports of Buddha's speech should be understood as being beyond our imagination (*bsam gyis mi khyab pa*) in terms of importance, features and number”. In this way he considered his aim of re-enacting the ancient Indian Buddhist civilization as wider than anything common human beings had done before (especially those around him). Innovation could thus happen in the name of tradition. With printing, the number, repetition and propagation of texts, became as important as lavishly decorated manuscript editions in merit

making enterprises. This may have promoted a new relationship to access and content. However, the extent to which the vision of innumerable prints propagating Buddhist teachings and narratives in an endless stream of merit corresponded to reality remains uncertain. The fact that some of the texts became popular classics and part of teaching curricula however seems to indicate that printing had an impact on their reproduction and distribution. Looking at a colophon-less print of Bo dong Phyogs las nram rgyal's *rGyud sde spyi nram par bzhag pa* retrieved in Glang thang, I can imagine that it is a descendant of some of the early Bo dong pa printing projects but no information allows us to map it. The same is often true for the heaps of prints in monastic and private collections as well as retreats and caves scattered around Tibet, and these are just a fraction of what existed before the Cultural Revolution. Assessing systematically the origin and distribution of prints remains therefore a challenge, but biographies and colophons offer precious glimpses into Tibetan book culture and its transformations.

Appendix

[1]

Gung thang rgyal rabs las (Folio 11r):

de ltar mnga' bdag rang nyid kyi bsod nams mthu la brten gser gyi 'byor pa rgya chen po rnyed pa la thugs kyi dgongs par 'jig rten 'di snang gi bya ba la snying po med par ya ma brla kho nar nges shing tshe 'di'i 'byor pa yang skye ba snga ma'i sbyin 'bras dkon mchog gi thugs rje kho nar grub pas des na gser 'di chud zos su ma song pa dkon mchog gi srid zhu ched kho nar btang bar dgongs nas dge ba'i bshes gnyen rnams la bsod nams kyi tshogs gang gi che dris pas na re tshogs kyi zhing mchog ni phan bde'i 'byung gnas sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa rin po che kho na yin cing/ de yi rtsa ba gsung rab kyi dgongs pa yang bstan bcos tshad ldan rnams kyi gsal bar 'grel ba yin cing yig tshogs kyang che la mtha' dag tshangs ba yang dkon pas bstan bcos bod du 'gyur ro 'tshal bzhangs nas dkon bzhin phan yon che zhes gsol bas de thugs la 'jug shing dgyes pa yi bka' yang dag pa'i dgongs 'grel bstan bcos kyi glegs bam rnams be+eDUr+ya yi kha dog lta bu'i gan shog la btso ma gser gyi yang zhun gyis legs par bzhangs//

[2]

Bo dong pan chen gyi gsung 'bum pod gnyis pa las (pp. 333–334):

yon bdag spangs bya'i mtshan nyid ni/ sdig la mi 'dzems dad 'dun chung/ tshe 'di 'i lo 'dod 'gran 'dod blo/ ngang thung theg chung 'gyod sem can/ mi 'brul bsgrub 'dod 'phror 'jog dang/ pha yon dag la the tshom zhing/ lha dang lha bzo smod pa'o/ yon

bdag mchog gi mtshan nyid ni/ dad 'dun rtson 'grus snying rjer ldan/ dge la sngon 'gro stong phod can/ bstan cing ngang ring g.yo sgyu med/ lha dang lha bzo la gus pa'o/ yon tan mkhan po ltar snang ni/ yon tan mi mkhas 'dug mi tshugs/ 'grogs pa mi bde chang la rtshi/ cung zad zi na smyon pa 'dra/ bkur dka' zhe 'khyengs shin tu che/ za 'dod mchu rno 'dod po che/ yon rgyags la sogs thang med 'bebs/ des kyang ma tshim rgyu rnams rku/ rnyed pas rang gzhan sdig pa 'phel/ yon bdag dang ba dbang med bzlog/ dge las sdig par 'gyur mkhan po/ de'i 'gro sa ngan po gsum/ de 'dra mi bsten rgyangs rings spangs/ lha bzo mchog gi tshan nyid ni/ dpal ldan rgyud chen sam su Tir/ dul zhing dad ldan lang tsho bab/ dbang po rnams gsal rnam tog med/ khro med lkog 'chas med pa dang/ shin tu mkhas pa spro ba dang/ bzod ldan snying rje cher ldan pas/ zhes pa dang/ dpal ldan sdom pa 'byung ba las/ dul zhing bzo rnams kun shes pas/ cho ga mthong zhing mnyam bzhang pas/ zhes ni mdor bsdu bzhan yang ni/ 'dod pa chung la bkur ba sla/ bzo la bzob cing rkyen la bgyi/ snyan cing ngang ring bstun pa mkhas/ byas pa shes shing lha la gus/ chang sogs mi rtshi 'grogs bde ba'o//

[3]

Bo dong pan chen gyi gsung 'bum pod gnyis pa las (pp. 339–340):

chos kyi brten bzhengs par 'dod na/ shog bu la sogs pa gzhi bzang zhing 'jam la ngyen pa/ 'khregs zhing kha dog gsal la dngas pa/ srab mthug ran pa dang/ rin po che'i mchog rnams sam/ gser dngul la sogs pa'am/ phal pa snag tshas kyang rung ste/ gzhi dang rjes su mthun pa dag mdog legs la khyed che ba/ dam tshad ran zhing/ drang ba bde ba/ yig mkhan yi ge'i 'du byed la shin tu mkhas/

[4]

Bo dong pan chen gyi gsung 'bum pod gnyis pa las (pp. 340–341):

bri bar 'os shing bris na don che ba bris pa'am/ mthong ba'am/ klags pa tsam la/ phan yon dpag du med pa can/ bstan pa dang/ rang bzhan la nges par phan pa/ rgyal ba'i gsung rab mdo rgyud dri ma med pa dang/ bstan bcos khyad 'phags rtsod pa dang bral ba rnams las/ rang nyid gang dang gang 'bri bar 'dod pa de'i/ dpe phye shin du dag pa btsal zhing/ gal te dag ma dag the tshom za na dpe 'dab pa sogs te zhus dag legs par byas la/ shog khyim dang 'tsham pa'i thig dang/ thig khyim la 'tsham pa'i yig khyim la sogs pa bkod pa dang/ yi ga'i gzugs legs la kyus nyi ma ci la bris pa 'dra dang/ snyug gu gcig gis bris 'dra dang/ gong ma 'og du 'pho 'dra dang/ ces pa ltar snyom pa dang/ shog bzo dang/ shog mdog dang/ snag mdog la sogs pa khyad 'phags phan tshun 'dran pa lta bu/ mthong ba tsam gyis dang ba'i dad pa skye ba bri bar bya'i/ bod kyi blun po mkhas par bcas pas byas pa'i mdo rgyud sdzun ma dang/ bstan bcos don phyin ci log ston pa gang dag/ 'phel zhing dar na/ bstan pa rin po che'i bya ba nub par 'gyur ba rnams bri bar mi bya'o/ yig ge nyid kyang mi legs pa/ ma dag pa dang/ lo 'dod dang 'gran 'dod la sogs pa'i ched du/ sdig pa dang ma 'dres par bri bar bya'o// bri ba tshar ba dang/ zhus

dag legs par byas te/ rtsi gras dang/ gleg shing la sogs pas brgyan cing/ rab gnas dang/
brgya tshar legs par grub pa dang/ thun mongs ba rnams kyis/ thun mong du 'gro don
mdzag cing/ thun mong ma yin pa/ skal ba dang ldan pa rnams la sbas te/ skal ba dang
ldan pa'i don mdzad du bzhug go//

[5]

Bo dong phyogs las nam rgyal gyi nam thar ngo mtshar rgya mtsho las (Folios 69r–69v):
de nas bstan bcos chen po grub te/ rje grub thob nyid kyi rtsa ba'i phyag dpe nyid/ bo
dong tshogs pas yongs rdzogs bzhengs pa idang/ ya 'brog du h+yeng du kun dga' rgyal
mtshan pa sku mched kyi yongs rdzogs idang/ rin dpung du drung chen nor bzang pa
sku mched kyi yongs rdzogs idang/ ta'i si tu lha rtsan skyabs mas yongs rdzogs idang/
chos rgyal nam rgyal grags pas yongs rdzogs idang/ stag lung bka' drug pa chen pos
yongs rdzogs idang/ mnga' ris gung thang du mnga' bdag rgyal mo byang chub chos
kyi sgron mes yongs rdzogs idang/ skyid grong mngon dga' bas sbyin bdag mdzad nas
yongs rdzogs cig dang dgu'o// ding gi bar la rgyas pa tshar dgu dang/ rgyal mkhar rtse
pa si tu rab brtan pas sbyin bdag mdzad nas 'bring po phyed tsam dang/ nam rgyal
gling pas 'bring po phyed/ shangs pa dpon bsod rgyal gyi 'bring po phyed/ sde snod
'dzin pa dpal ldan sangs rgyas pas 'bring po yongs rdzogs dang/ shel dkar chos sdes
sbyin bdag mdzad nas rgyud sde'i spyi'i nam bzhag spar du brkos/ mnga' ris chos sdes
sbyin bdag mdzad nas sbas don kun gsal ba dang/ zur tsho bas sbyin bdag mdzad nas
dpal de kho na nyid 'dus pa'i snying po dang/ yang ya 'brog mngon dgar bzhengs pa'i
de nyid snying po dang/ gzhan yang yon bdag dad pa can gyis bzhengs pa'i kye rdo rje'i
mngon dkyil/ mngon rtogs kyi nam nges/ gsang 'dus mdor byas kyi mngon dkyil/ 'jigs
byed mngon dkyil/ bde mchog dril bu lugs kyi mngon dkyil/ nam nges/ kun rig/ sman
bla sogs spar du brkos pa dang/ gzhan yang deng sang grags che ba'i gsung rab mang
po spar dang/ bris pa la sogs ding sang phan la'ang dbus gtsang mnga' ris na bzhugs pa
rnams la spar gyis 'phel ba ma yin pa'i glegs bzhugs tshod ni dpag par dka' ba yin no//

[6]

De nyid 'dus pa'i snying po yar 'brog spar ma'i spar byang ni (Folio 169v–170r):
rab 'byam phyogs bcu'-i zhing gi rgyal rnams kyi//brgyad khri bzhi stong chos kyi sgo
mang 'dzin//dpal ldan 'jigs med grags pa'i ngo mtshar ni//mtha' yas 'gro ba gsum du
gsal gyur cig//srid pa'i chu gter 'jig rten byed po yis//yangs par byas pa'ang lag 'gro '-i
dpal 'byor nyid//e maho su zhih rang gi dge legs nor//yang dag 'dzin de skyes bu'i r-in
chen yin//dpal ldan dge ba 'byung ba yi//yul khams bde ba gang zhih ni//mtho r-is
phun tshogs rab rgyas pa//yar 'brog sa yi thig le ni//lha yi sa 'dzin dkar po yang//ke la
sha yi zur phud la//mthon mthing sprin gyis mdzes pa yod//gang gi shar phyogs logs
cha la//mi 'khrugs rgyal ba'i zhing lta bur//dkar po'i smon lam las byung zhih//skye
bo ngang pa'i phung phung gis//kun dgar 'os pa'i ya mtshan sa/ gnam sngon zhu ba

'khyil 'dra ba//yid ltar dngas pa'i mtsho ngogs na//zla shel dkar po'i pho brang ni//nam mkha'i mtho ba la snyog pa//sna tshogs 'du yang dkar po'i gzhi//[*****]ba med//sna dkar rtse mo'-i khang bzangs na//srid pa'i lha chen gang ba bzang//gang dang lhan cig sngon byung ba//lha dang mi yi dpal 'byor 'dzin//srid pa'i [**]'dzangs pa la//ag glen zhes su'ang 'jig rten brjod//'jig rten dbang phyug[*]skya pa//[***** *]bus gtsang khirms kyi kha lo bsgyur//de yi gdung rigs drug pa ni//legs byas grangs med kyis mtho ba//h+ying du nam mkha' legs pa yi//legs par bskyed byed nam mkha' 'bum//lha rigs 'khon gyi dpon mo che//mkha' ltar yangs pa'i blo ldan ma//gang[***** **]sa gtams pa las//dge ba'i chu rlabs stong spro ba//des ni rang sras kun dga' yi//rgyal mtshan 'dzin pa gang gi ni//chab srid mtsho ltar rgyas pa'i rtser//legs pa'i yon tan rab rtsegs pa//nam mkha'i phun tshogs bzang po la//rnam par bkod 'dra thob phyir dang//[***** *]kra shis ljon pa'i rtse mor son//mtho rigs bu mo'i mdzes pa rnams//gcig tu 'dren byed dpal ldan ma//gang rnams dge legs yar ngo ltar//rnam par rgyas pa thob phyir ram//gdung mes gong ma'i dgongs zab ni//yongasu bskang pa'i don phyir yang//rgyal ba'i chos tshul bsam yas dag[***** *]ldan de nyid 'dus pa yi//glegs bam brgya phrag snyed kyis ni//shes ldan ngo mtshar ci yang bsgrubs//slar yang de nyid snying po'i don//rin chen myu gu'i rjes 'thun grogs//gang 'di mkhas mang mgrin pa la//mi bzad 'pho ba'i chos gter du//nye bar bskrun pa'i yi ge pa/ don grub [***** **]te par du yang//bri bar bzod de bzod pa 'phel//dag byed sdom brtson seng ge bzang//brda sprod tshul rig bsod nams dpal//dir ni dge legs ston ka'i zla 'od dang//kha ba ku muta pad rtse ltar dkar ba//gang thob de yis 'gro rnams dam chos kyi//dpal 'byor mi zad pa la spyod par [* *****]bu//de yang nam mkha' srid du gnas pa dang//ma lus skye bo 'di dag dam pa yi//legs lam dri ma med la 'jug gyur cig/ 'dir ni bgyid dang bgyid rtal yi rang ba//kun kyang chos srid dbang phyug gi 'byor zhing//rlabs chen rgyal ba'i mdzad pa rmad byung gis//gro kun 'dren pa'i ded dpon du gyur cig/[***** **]na par yod na'ang//rje nyid kyi dag yig sor gzhaq pa yin///par mkhan mkhas pa bzod pa 'phel gyis brkos//

[7]

De nyid 'dus pa'i snying po zur tsho'i spar ma'i spar byang las (folio 175v):

rgyud sde rgya mtsho'i tshogs las rgyud kyi ni//rba rlabs gsum bzhi bshad sgrub ltar byed kyang//rgyud sde bzhi yi glebs bam rin po che//phal cher phyag mchod tsam gyi yul du gyur//tshul 'di mthong nas phyi nang rgyas pa la//gsol ba btab cing de yi byin brlabs mthus//mdo rgyud rgya mtsho'i de nyid 'dus pa ni//chos tshoms brgyad khri bzhi stong legs par bshad//

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