The Unacknowledged Revolution? A Reading of Tibetan Printing History on the Basis of Gung thang Colophons Studied in Two Dedicated Projects

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1 Introduction

Between the 15th and the 16th centuries, the kingdom of Gung thang in southwestern Tibet, experienced a true blossoming of printing projects. Printing workshops of various size and importance were established in many sites, including the Gung thang royal palace, monasteries and villages. Looking at colophons of extant prints, it is possible to identify some of these places and reflect on the process that made them into key locations for the introduction of printing technology in Tibetan book culture.

This paper has the twofold aim of exploring the printing history of the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom in southwestern Tibet and making some preliminary remarks on the extent of early printing operations as well as on the effects of the introduction of the xylographic technique into this country. It is divided into two parts with an appendix that provides a systematic treatment of the materials on which this paper is based. The first section provides general information on printing houses and their production, based on an examination of several colophons of xylographs from the Gung thang area collected by the University of Cambridge in collaboration with the British Library within the AHRC project entitled “Transforming Technologies and Buddhist Book Culture: The Introduction of Printing and Digital Text Reproduction in Tibetan Societies.”¹ The second part discusses issues related to the extent of

1 The project is funded by the British Art and Humanities Research Council (2010–2015) and led by Professor Uradyn Bulag. I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Hildegard Diemberger and Professor Franz-Karl Ehrhard for giving me the opportunity of collaborating in this project. The texts are being studied in correlation with another project entitled “Tibetan Book Evolution and Technology” (TiBET) granted by the Marie Skłodowska Curie Intra-European Fellowship. A database with a detailed description of these texts, transliteration and mark-up of colophons, transliteration and mark-up of entire biographies, entries of personal and place names built within both projects enables scholars to cross check information extracted by studying early prints from those areas. This is the result of a teamwork of several people

printing projects and the impact that xylography had on Tibetan society by presenting some reflections elicited by the study of blockprints and the mapping of the workshops where they were produced. How did printing technology affect Tibetan cultural tradition? Can we talk about a printing revolution in Tibet? These are the questions that inspired this section, which rather than an exhaustive treatment is meant to be a starting point for further investigations with a cross-cultural perspective in mind.

Kurtis Schaeffer states that despite the long term engagement in Tibetan studies with texts: “[...] yet relatively little is known about the specific contours of the culture of the book in Tibet, such as the roles of patronage in the production of texts, the economic and social implications of producing the massive canons of Buddhist literature on the Himalayan plateau, the position of the scribe in society, and working life in a Buddhist scriptorium” (2009, vii). Concerning Tibetan xylographs in particular, despite some important works on specific projects,² there is no clear understanding of the introduction of printing in Tibet as a social and cultural process. Why don’t we have a clear picture of Tibetan printing history and the consequences of the introduction of the xylographic technique in this country? This question can be addressed with an eye to Elizabeth L. Eisenstein’s considerations on European printing history:

Although the history of the book is normally allocated to courses in library studies; the topic of printing itself is assigned to historians of technology while type design, layout and lettering are treated as part of a subspecialty taught in school of design. Given a topic that is segmented, subdivided and parcelled out in this fashion, it is little wonder that one rarely gets a sense of its significance as a whole (Eisenstein 1979, 24).

based in the UK, in Tibet, Nepal and Italy, but it has also been achievable thanks to the starting idea of Gene Smith and the research undertaken by Franz-Karl Ehrhard. The database is accessible from the websites of both the above-mentioned projects: *Transforming Technologies and Buddhist Book Culture*: <http://www.ttbbc.socanth.cam.ac.uk/>; *TiBET*: www.tbvoltech.socanth.cam.ac.uk. It is also linked to the TBRC database and will supplement it with entries of people and places that are not currently available there. This is the result of a collaboration with the TBRC team. I would like to thank Burkhard Quessel of the British Library and Jeff Wallman of TBRC in particular for having made this possible.

- 2 See for example, Clemente 2015; Ehrhard 2000a; Schaeffer 2011; Sernesi 2013; Sernesi (forthcoming).

In my opinion, this is also true for the Tibetan printing history. In order to progress with our research, it is necessary to look at the same topic from different perspectives and collaborate with specialists in fields other than Tibetan Studies. In addition to the issue of disciplinary boundaries, the main reason for the lack of consistent information on Tibetan printing history is that most works have not survived to the present day in their original edition. Fortunately, relevant works are now surfacing thanks to the efforts of Tibetan organisations such as the dPal brtsegs Research Institute. The Cambridge collaboration with this latter as well as with the IsIAO Library in Italy,³ the National Archives of Kathmandu, the Nepal Research Centre⁴ and several libraries in the UK, is currently contributing to the study of the Tibetan printing history in the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom and the neighbouring areas.

The projects I have been part of chose to start with Mang yul Gung thang and the neighbouring areas, since these were an important hub of Tibetan early printing. These are among the places where the first printing houses of Tibet were set up, perhaps because this kingdom had developed into an important gateway between the north and the south of the Himalayas over the centuries. The main route between Tibet and Nepal, which passed through the sKyid grong valley and led to Kathmandu, traversed the kingdom. This area was politically important during the 13th and the 14th centuries, as a centre for Tibetan regional governance within the Sakya-Yuan imperial polity.⁵

3 It seems relevant to underline that IsIAO is now under liquidation and its Library is not accessible anymore. Fortunately, we were able to photograph all Gung thang xylographs before the closedown of the Institute thanks to a collaboration between IsIAO and the University of Cambridge within the project "Transforming Technologies and Buddhist Book Culture: The Introduction of Printing and Digital Text Reproduction in Tibetan Societies". I would like to thank the former President of IsIAO, the late Professor Gherardo Gnoli, and Dr. Francesco D'Arelli, former Director of the Library, for their collaboration with us. It is my hope that the Library will soon be reopened and that this significant cultural heritage will be accessible to all scholars in African and Asian studies again.

4 Unfortunately, this is another important Institution that was closed due to financial issues. Fortunately, all microfilms are still preserved at the National Archives of Kathmandu thanks to collaboration with the Centre for Manuscript Studies, University of Hamburg (Nepal German Manuscript Preservation and Conservation Projects [NGMPP-NGMCP]).

5 For the history of this kingdom, see Ehrhard 2000a; Everding 2000; Everding 2004; Petech 1990; Petech 1997.

2 Where are we? A Preliminary Reading of the 16th Century Printing History in Gung thang

The projects mentioned above collected about two hundred early prints from Gung thang and La stod areas which are now being studied and described. These data are available via the relevant websites and represent a platform for use and expansion by all scholars for future research.

One of the earliest xylographs produced in Tibet is a 1407 print from Shel dkar, the capital of Southern La stod (lHa stod lHo),⁶ which was located immediately to the East of the kingdom of Mang yul Gung thang. This print was discovered by the dPal brtsegs Research Institute in collaboration with the University of Cambridge and the British Library.⁷ This xylograph can be seen as reflecting a network of scholarship that linked La stod lHo and Gung thang which was instrumental for the establishment of printing houses in the region.

Mapping printing houses located in southwestern Tibet, so far I have identified sixty xylographs which were produced in ten different printing houses. A list of printing houses with information on identified xylographs produced in each of them is available in the appendix of this paper.⁸ I provide hereafter general data on the print production in these ten printing houses, starting from the most productive, that is to say, Brag dkar rta so. So far I have identified twenty-three xylographs printed there, which range from 1525 to 1563. Most are biographies or biographies with songs and are associated with the *bka' brgyud* school. Brag dkar rta so printing house (lit. 'white rock horse tooth'), located between the Mang yul and Gung thang areas, was founded by lHa btsun Rin chen nam rgyal (1473–1557),⁹ who is associated with the *bka' brgyud* tradition and who established his seat there in 1525. He is renowned for having continued his master's endeavours after this latter's death. His master was gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507),¹⁰ an outstanding *bka' brgyud pa bla ma* who also spent some time at the Gung thang court, being the teacher of King rNam rgyal

6 For the history of this kingdom, see Diemberger 2007, 37–38; Everding 1997.

7 On this text, see Diemberger 2012, 22, 23–26, 28–31; Diemberger (in press); Porong Dawa (this volume).

8 Printing houses that have not been examined so far do not appear in this list. This includes Zur tsho, lHa mdun/dun, rDza ri bSam gling, 'Od gsal phug, Na zlum, Lab phyi se phug, etc.

9 On this master, see Clemente 2009; Clemente 2014b; Clemente 2015; Clemente (in press a); Diemberger and Clemente 2013.

10 On this figure and his work, see Larsson 2009; Larsson 2011; Larsson 2012; Quintman 2006, chapt. 5–6; Sernesi 2007, introduction, 100–18; Sernesi 2010, 406–08, 419–20, 422; Sernesi 2011a; Sernesi 2011b, 191–98, 201–02; Sernesi (forthcoming); Smith 2001, 59–74; I. M. Stearns 1985.

lde (1426-/7–1502).¹¹ His project consisted of the compilation, editing, writing and printing of many *bka' brgyud pa* works. After gTsang smyon's death, this project was continued by some of his disciples, most notably lHa btsun and rGod tshang ras chen (1482–1559).¹² These masters produced a huge amount of xylographs, not only in the numerous printing houses established in Gung thang, but also in the neighbouring areas and then spread to other regions. The project was also sponsored by the rulers of Mang yul Gung thang, southern and northern La stod among others.¹³ lHa btsun died in 1557 but his disciples printed some xylographs after his death, especially texts that he had started to work on. Later generations of scholars continued the printing endeavor and Brag dkar rta so became a highly renowned printing house.

The second printing house to mention in order of productivity is rDzong dkar/Khyung rdzong dkar po, located in the royal palace of the Gung thang capital. So far I have found thirteen xylographs printed there, which range from 1514 to 1540. Since the promoters of the majority of projects carried out in rDzong dkar were bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521)¹⁴ and Chos dbang rgyal mtshan (1484–1549),¹⁵ who belonged to the *bo dong pa* school,¹⁶ most identified works are *bo dong pa* and associated with the Mahāmudrā tradition, but the literary genre of biographies/hagiographies is also represented.

Twelve xylographs produced at Kun gsal sGang po che, in Gung thang, have been identified so far. These range from 1523 to 1551. This place was the residence of Bo dong Chos dbang rgyal mtshan, who, as mentioned above, is also

11 For Khri rNam rgyal lde's birth date, see Diemberger 2007, 53, 121–22, 326.

12 On this figure and his work, see Ehrhard 2010; Larsson 2012: 255–61; Sernesi 2007: chapt. 2; Sernesi 2011a: 191–92, 197–98; Sernesi (forthcoming). On this project, see Clemente 2007; Clemente 2009, 1.2, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7; Clemente 2014b, 443–47; Clemente 2015; Clemente (in press a); Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 134–37; Larsson 2012, 229–76; Schaeffer 2009, 58–63; Schaeffer 2011; Sernesi 2011a; Sernesi (forthcoming); Smith 2001, 73–79.

13 On the sponsors of this project, see Clemente 2014b; Clemente (in press a); Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 127–31.

14 On this master, see Ehrhard 2000a, 15; Ehrhard 2000b, IX–XIII; Ehrhard 2000d, 201, 204–09. See also my entry in the database of the above-mentioned projects.

15 On this master, see Ehrhard 2000a: 23–50.

16 The origins of the *bo dong* school go back to Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan, who invited Vibhūticandra from Nepal and received from him a new transmission of esoteric teachings centring around the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* (*yan lag drug gi rnal 'byor*), the six-limbed yogic practices. This school reached its climax with *bo dong* Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1376–1451). The monastery of Bo dong E, one of the most important cloisters of this school, was founded in 1049 (see Smith 2001: 179–80). On *bo dong* Phyogs las rnam rgyal and this school, see Chok Tenzin Monlam 2005; Diemberger 2009; Diemberger, Wangdu, Kornfeld and Jahoda 1997; Ehrhard 2000b; Hazod 1998; Jackson 1996: 95–96; Smith 2001: 179–208.

associated with Khyung rdzong dkar po, both places being very close. It seems that most works produced at Kun gsal sGang po che are related to the *bka' gdams pa* school, but *bka' brgyud*, *rnying ma* and *bo dong pa* texts were also printed there so that we can call it an eclectic production. Most works belong to the genre of biographies.

The number of analysed xylographs from the printing house of gNas is still limited, but it is possible to make some preliminary remarks. So far only five prints produced there have been identified. gNas is located in the vicinity of sKyid grong, in Mang yul and is the birthplace of Rab 'byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581),¹⁷ a disciple of both lHa btsun and rGod tshang ras chen. He followed his teachers' example and undertook many printing projects in the Gung thang kingdom starting from 1555.¹⁸ Four of the identified xylographs are indeed associated with him (see texts no. 1, 2, 3 and 4 in the appendix). Three of these prints are dated. They range from 1559 to 1561. The fourth one was printed between 1555 and 1581; however, since it was edited by rGod tshang ras chen, I tend to think that it was produced between 1555 and 1560, possibly soon after this latter master's death. The fifth identified xylograph is instead a later print, which was produced after 1627. This allows us to make a comparison between the xylographs printed in the 16th century and those produced in the 17th century and therefore make some preliminary observations about features of xylographs over space and time. Prints from gNas produced in the 16th century exhibit different features in comparison to xylographs produced at the same time in other printing houses in the Gung thang area. For example, the size of gNas prints is bigger than others and the number of lines differs too, presenting eight lines instead of seven.¹⁹ By analysing the xylograph printed in the 17th century, I discovered that this holds the same above-mentioned features. This might imply that each printing house employed its own layout for the production of printing blocks. I am not aware of any manual with instructions on the layout but some might have been used in schools of calligraphy and printing which were established in Tibet since the 15th century.²⁰ They might also have transmitted this kind of instruction orally during classes. Unfortunately, we do not have significant information on the course of study in these schools; a subject that I would like to investigate in future research.²¹

17 On this master, see in particular Ehrhard 2012.

18 See Ehrhard 2012, 160.

19 For preliminary remarks on this subject, see Clemente (in press c).

20 See Ehrhard 2000a, 13.

21 However, thanks to a measurement tool built for the above-mentioned projects, we can now automatically measure the distance between two points. This will allow us to

There is a limited number of xylographs from Chab rom phug, Glang phug, Shel dkar, mDzo/'Dzo lhas, A ti sha'i chos 'khor and Khams gsum g.yul las nram rgyal pho brang that have been analysed so far. I will limit myself here to provide some preliminary information. Chab rom phug is a hermitage which is located near the village of Rud, south of Kun gsal sGang po che and West of rDzong dkar (its exact location is still unknown). This holy site was established by bTsun pa Chos legs as one of his retreat places, therefore the texts printed there seem to be associated with the *bo dong pa* tradition. Chos dbang rgyal mtshan, who was a close disciple of bTsun pa Chos legs, also moved there in 1511.²² It seems that the production of prints at Chab rom phug is connected with these masters and that it stopped after their death; however, this subject is still under investigation.

We do not know the exact location of Glang phug, which was presumably situated in the La 'de/'debs Valley. Two prints identified so far as having been produced there are associated with the 'ba' ra ba bka' brgyud pa but at the moment we do not have enough information to assess the link between this place and the above-mentioned religious school.

The relevance of Shel dkar in the printing history is already well known and it seems that further xylographs from that area are surfacing now, but this is something currently under investigation.²³ Both prints identified so far were produced at the beginning of the 15th century so that we may guess that this was one of the first printing houses established in Tibet and a seminal place for the spread of printing, especially for projects associated with the *bo dong pa* tradition.

Khams gsum nram rgyal is a castle established by King Kun dga' rnam rgyal lde in the area of sKyid grong and is again associated with the *bo dong pa* scholar Chos dbang rgyal mtshan.²⁴

As for mDzo lhas and A ti sha'i chos 'khor, I do not have significant information at the moment, but hope to identify further xylographs from this printing house which will provide us with more data.

To sum up: most xylographs analysed thus far were printed between 1515 and 1563. Most texts belong to the literary genre of hagiographies, but we also find many spiritual songs and some instruction manuals. The most represented

better understand if Tibetan used standardised criteria for the *mise en page* of prints. This subject is under investigation and will be the topic of a future publication. I would like to thank Terry Chilvers for this amazing tool.

22 See Ehrhard 2000a, 24.

23 On this subject, see Diemberger (this volume); Porong Dawa (this volume).

24 See Ehrhard 2000a, 31–33; Ehrhard 2004a, 139.

religious school is the *bka' brgyud*, but we also find several *bo dong pa* texts. We indeed know that in the Mang yul Gung thang area there was close contacts between a local *bo dong pa* school and members of the so-called "gTsang smyon Heruka's school".²⁵ As highlighted by Franz-Karl Ehrhard, the xylographs printed in the kingdom of Mang yul Gung thang in the 15th and 16th centuries played a significant role in spreading the tradition of these Buddhist works.²⁶ The same occurred in southern La stod, which was also a center for calligraphers and scribes at least since the 15th century.²⁷

In the printing history of Mang yul Gung thang a particular role was played by the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, which is a collection of various mythico-historical, ritual and doctrinal texts attributed to the first Tibetan king Srong btsan sgam po. Providing a link to the imperial period seen as a golden age of Tibetan Buddhism before the fragmentation began in the 9th century, this collection is considered a treasure text (*gter ma*). It is an assemblage of specific portions considered to have been consecutively discovered by three treasure revealers (*gter ston*) from the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century. Centred on the cult of Avalokiteśvara, the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* provides a number of legendary biographies of Srong btsan sgam po and Avalokiteśvara, the former considered to be an emanation of the latter. The *Maṇi bka' 'bum* played a central role in promoting the cult of Avalokiteśvara, who is considered the protector of Tibet, whereas Srong btsan sgam po as well as the Dalai lama are regarded as emanations of this *bodhisattva*. This text became particularly significant in the political context of the 14th century when Tibet was under the control of Phag mo gru pa, who encouraged Tibetans to get back to their roots and remained since then a very popular text not only in monasteries but also among the laity. This text was particularly relevant in the kingdom of Mang yul Gung thang, where the rulers were considered to be descendants and sometimes reincarnations of the Tibetan emperors. It is not surprising that Khri rNam rgyal lde, considered to be an emanation of Khri Srong lde btsan, is said to have ordered the printing of this work to spread it in innumerable volumes.²⁸ While this edition has not surfaced yet, the text seems to have been widespread by the very beginning of the 16th century. The *Biography of Kun tu bzang mo*,

25 See Ehrhard 2012, 149.

26 See for example the history of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, the *Padma thang yig*, the *rGyud bzhi* (Ehrhard 2000a, 14–15).

27 See Ehrhard 2000a, 13.

28 See *Gung thang rgyal rabs*: [...] *yang sman rgyud yan lag brgyad pa ma ṇi bka' 'bum o rgyan gyi thang yig mi la'i bka' 'bum rnams legs bam grangs med spel ba'i phyir par in* Everding 2000, 138–39.

gTsang smyon Heruka's consort, mentions that she used to read the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* when performing religious services for various people (see Diemberger, this volume). According to Georges Dreyfus, the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* contributed to give Tibetan people a form of national identity, which he termed 'proto-nationalism', centered on the imperial legacy. Printing is likely to have been instrumental in promoting this sense of belonging by consolidating the feeling of a shared territory and history among Tibetans.²⁹ While no prints of the Khri rnam rgyal lde edition are extant, the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* produced under his son Kun dga' rnam rgyal lde (?–1524)³⁰ certainly had a great impact. The xylograph of this text printed in 1521 in the royal palace spread its narrative widely. Used as *editio princeps* it was the basis for its re-print elsewhere in Gung thang as well as in other areas of Tibet and Bhutan. In the 17th century the 5th Dalai Lama also used the same edition to produce further copies of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*,³¹ which was central in his vision of the state.

Against the background of George Dreyfus' observations, the printing history of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* may recall the links between printing technology and nationalism explored and discussed in the European context.

3 Preliminary Remarks on the Extent of Early Printing Operations and the Impact of Printing on Tibetan Society

Tibetan people are still printing texts with the xylographic technique, even though it has been increasingly superseded by movable type and digital technology. There is often a direct transfer from xylography to digital technologies, which shows how successful this technique was in the country. At the time of its introduction it indeed offered great advantages for several reasons. Tibetans were able to make as many copies of a text as they wished, thereby assuring a wider distribution of the works all over the country and at the same time reduced the risk of their loss. Moreover, Tibetan people tended to consider print editions the most reliable and authoritative versions of a work. Before printing a text, they edited and proofread it many times. Finally the abbot of the monastery had to approve it. Nevertheless, this practice did not prevent mistakes; on the contrary, xylographs sometimes contributed to spreading texts with plenty of scribal errors, as Leonard Van der Kuijp pointed out.³²

29 See Dreyfus 1994, 205.

30 For his dating, see Ehrhard 2004a, 82.

31 See Diemberger 2012, 32; Ehrhard 2000a, 15; Ehrhard 2013; Kapstein 2000, 260, n. 9.

32 See Van der Kuijp 2010.

Block printings also allowed for flexibility in relation to demand: it was possible to print a rather small number of copies and, once a stock ran out, it was easy to pull out the stored blocks and reprint the text without having to waste labour and time on re-composition.³³

Although it is undeniable that this technique was widely used in Tibet since its introduction, the effects that this new technology had on Tibetan culture are still unrecognised. This subject is currently under investigation, but it is possible to make here some preliminary considerations. We know that in the 15th century printing houses mushroomed in different places of Tibet within a few decades and that in the 16th century they were everywhere. The historical period in which the printing technique spread in the country is particularly significant for the understanding of its success. After the collapse of the Yuan Dynasty (1280–1368), numerous Tibetan local noble families had emerged and were fighting to gain more power and territories. Like the kings of Mang yul Gung thang, the leaders of these families took advantage of the new technology to assert their political power by sponsoring religious schools, the foundation of printing houses as well as the production of Buddhist xylographs. They promoted several printing projects supervised by outstanding masters of the time, preserving and spreading Buddha's teachings and also accumulating merits thanks to their virtuous deeds. This allowed them to be considered as *Dharmarājas*, "Kings of the Dharma".³⁴ The fact that these enterprises did not aim at turning any profits might be one of the reasons why the impact of xylography on the Tibetan society has never been recognised as something revolutionary like the introduction of movable printing in Europe. However, the effects that the xylographic technique generated on Tibetan culture seem to have been numerous and significant:

- 1) An increase in the spread of works and the consequent decrease of their loss;
- 2) A rapid spread of ideas;
- 3) The emergence of certain works as classics;
- 4) An improvement in the continuity of transmission of texts;
- 5) A facilitation in accessing textual resources;
- 6) A contribution to the creation of shared standards and editing criteria;
- 7) A contribution to the rise of certain religious schools through the sponsorship of its masters, lineages and works;

33 See Brokaw and Kornicki 2013, xix; Diemberger 2012, 33.

34 On this subject, see Diemberger 2007, 32.

- 8) An increase in the assertion of political power thanks to the support of Buddhism;
- 9) The decline of the production of manuscripts, which even froze at times;
- 10) An increased standardization of the monastic curricula;
- 11) A correlation in the spread of printing and an increased use of Daphne as paper for the production of xylographs (Stellera and Daphne being the best combination for paper production);
- 12) The spread of literate forms of popular religiosity.³⁵

Scholars who research this field could not understand thus far whether Tibetan printing in the 15th and 16th century was a small scale operation or something that had a broader involvement. The small number of extant prints would seem to support the view of a limited impact of printing. However, the effects listed above, references to worn out blocks, circulation of prints, reading practices, transformations elicited by the production of print editions seem to indicate a wider phenomenon. We should also consider that most of the original works have not survived until now, or they have not surfaced yet; however, many works are currently being discovered, therefore in some years the situation could be very different. Also, the search for old prints has so far been difficult because of the type of texts – classical and famous – which did not attract the same attention as rare texts. The lack of accuracy in cataloguing these works, especially in libraries in the Himalayan area may mean that many other original early xylographs might have survived undetected. We should also take into account that Tibetans have always hidden their texts during difficult times, therefore many of those might be still concealed somewhere. We should bear in mind as well that Tibetan xylographs – but also manuscripts – had not only to stand the test of time to survive, but also crises such as the so-called “Cultural Revolution”, when they were targeted for destruction or abandoned to neglect. This might be one of the reasons why we have not found a larger number of printed works. Something that seems to support the theory that xylography played a bigger role in the Tibetan history is the fact that a printing project required extensive support and had to rely on a wide network of patronage. Over the last years, research in this field has shown that several printing projects were carried out in 15th and 16th century in Mang

35 There might be a further point worthy of investigation: I wonder whether Tibetans started to record more lives, accounts, etc. with the introduction of printing. For considerations on the impact of the xylographic technique in Tibet and differences and similarities with the introduction of printing in Europe, see Clemente (in press b).

yul Gung thang and in the neighbouring areas, and similar enterprises were undertaken in Central Tibet at the same time. Thinking about the number of printing houses located all over the country, we cannot really support the theory that each of them used to print only few copies of a work. Moreover, in many sources of the time we read that woodblocks wore out in few years. How could it happen if they were used so little? Given the scarcity of wood in many areas of Tibet, it seems unlikely that blocks were replaced unless strictly necessary.

4 Conclusion

I presented in this paper a preliminary reading of the printing history of the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom in southwestern Tibet in the 16th century according to some colophons of xylographs from that area which have been analysed so far. I also made some preliminary considerations on the extent of early printing operations in the country and on the effects of the introduction of the xylographic technique into Tibet. I do not have any real conclusion because these are open questions that need further research and discussion among scholars in different fields. Given this, I conclude this essay by quoting Elizabeth L. Eisenstein:

While trying to cover this unfamiliar ground I discovered (as all neo-phytes do) that what seemed relatively simple on first glance became increasingly complex on examination and that new areas of ignorance opened up much faster than old ones could be closed (Eisenstein 1979, x).

Appendix

List of printing houses with the number of identified texts produced in each of them:

- 1) Brag dkar rta so (between Mang yul and Gung thang): 23.
- 2) rDzong dkar/Khyung rdzong dkar po (in the capital of Gung thang): 13.
- 3) Kun gsal sgang po che (Gung thang): 12.
- 4) gNas (in the vicinity of sKyid grong, Mang yul): 5.
- 5) Chab rom phug (near the village of Rud, further south of Kun gsal sGang po che): 2.
- 6) Glang phug (La 'de Valley): 2.
- 7) Shel dkar (in the capital of Southern La stod): 2.

- 8) mDzo/'Dzo lhas (on the banks of the dPal khud mtsho, not far from Chos sdings, Gung thang): 1.
- 9) A ti sha'i chos 'khor (La 'de Valley): 1.
- 10) Khams gsum g.yul las nram rgyal pho brang/Khams gsum nram rgyal (Mang yul): 1.³⁶

List of identified xylographs (under the name of the printing house in which they were produced) with information on dating, literary genre and religious school:

- 1) Brag dkar rta so
 1. *Grub thob gling ras kyi nram mgur mthong ba don ldan* (not before 1525 not after 1557, biography with songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).³⁷
 2. *Yang dkon chos rje'i mdzad pa'i bar do 'phrang bsgrol* (not before 1525 not after 1557, *bar do* instructions, *bka' brgyud pa*).³⁸
 3. *Khams gsum 'dran bral grub thob ko rag pa'i mgur 'buṇ* (not before 1525 not after 1557, spiritual songs).³⁹
 4. *Thun mong ma yin pa rdo rje mgur drug sogs / mgur ma 'ga 'yar* (not before 1525 not after 1557, spiritual songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁴⁰
 5. *mKhas grub kun gyi gtsug rgyan / paṇ chen nā ro pa'i nram thar / ngo mtshar rmad 'byung* (not before 1525 not after 1557, biography, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁴¹

36 We were able to locate and map some of these printing houses and we also have pictures of several places taken by Hildegard Diemberger, Bruce Huett and Agnieszka Helman-Ważny during their journeys in Tibet. Pictures of these places will soon appear on the interactive map built for the above-mentioned projects.

37 Cf. NGMPP E2518/6, L194/11 (some folios are difficult to read), L12/1 (it is difficult to read), L581/5 (it is incomplete, missing folios from 57 to 61). On this work see also Clemente 2015, 190; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Schaeffer 2011, 472; Smith 2001, 76.

38 Cf. NGMPP E2518/9, L456/5 (it has some dark folios), L970/6 (it has many dark folios). On this work, see also Clemente 2015, 192; Schaeffer 2011, 473.

39 Cf. NGMPP E2518/11, L970/2 (some folios are difficult to read) and L456/8 (it is difficult to read); dPal brtsegs, text no. 28. For a translation of this work, see Stearns 2000. On this work, see also Clemente 2015, 191; Schaeffer 2011, 473. The affiliation of Ko brag pa to one of the religious schools is difficult to make. Stearns (2000, 3) indeed wrote: "even the authors of some of the most definitive histories of religion remained uncertain about where to place him because of the widespread and eclectic nature of his practices and activities."

40 Cf. NGMPP L477/14 (some folios are difficult to read), E1256/1 (it is difficult to read). On this work, see also Clemente 2015, 192; Schaeffer 2011, 471.

41 Cf. NGMPP L969/4[1] (it is possible to find this work after two texts with the same reel no), L36/1 (it is unreadable). There is another copy of this work, but it is a handwritten *dbu can*

6. *Phyag rgya chen po yi ge bzhi pa'i sa bcad sbas don gsal ba'i nyi ma* (not before 1525 not after 1557, mahāmudrā's manual, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁴²
7. *rJe ras chung pa'i rnam thar mdor bsdus* (1538, biography, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁴³
8. *sTon pa sangs rgyas kyi skyes rabs brgyad bcu pa slob dpon dpa' bos mdzad pa bzhuḡs* (1541 or 1553, *Jātakamālā*).⁴⁴
9. *Grub thob gtsang pa smyon pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i spu long g.yo ba* (1543, biography, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁴⁵
10. *Bram ze chen pos mdzad pa'i dho ha bskor gsum / mdzod drug / ka kha dho ha / sa spyad rnams* (1543, spiritual songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁴⁶
11. *Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rnam 'phrul rje btsun ti lo pa'i rnam mgur* (1550, biography with songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁴⁷
12. *rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i rdo rje mgur drug sogs gsung rgyun thor bu 'ga'* (1550, spiritual songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁴⁸
13. *'Gro ba'i mgon po gtsang pa rgya ras kyi mgur 'bum rgyas pa* (1551, spiritual songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁴⁹
14. *bDe gshegs phag mo gru pa'i rnam thar* (1552, biography, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁵⁰

manuscript (see NGMPP AT29/5). See also PBP 2007, 346. For a translation of this work, see Guenther 1963. See also Clemente 2015, 190; Sernesi 2004, 257; Smith 2001, 76.

42. Cf. NGMPP L569/10. See also Schaeffer 2011, 476.
43. Cf. NGMPP E908/3, f. 39a4–6. See also Clemente 2015, 195.
44. Cf. FGT 707. The colophon states that the xylograph was printed by lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal in an Ox Year, which would fit with 1529, 1541 and 1553. Since one of the carvers of this print seems to have been active in Gung thang at least from 1540 to 1555, this xylograph was more likely printed in 1541 or 1553. On this work, see Clemente 2011, 60–61; Clemente 2015, 190; Clemente (in press c); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 341.
45. Cf. FGT 706; NGMPP E2518/10, L12/2. Information about the drafting of this work is provided in lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal's *rnam mgur*. Cf. FGT 657/5, 16a6–16b5. On this work, see also Clemente 2007, 124, 135–37; Clemente 2015, 188; De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 341; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 134; Larsson 2009; Larsson 2012; Sernesi (forthcoming).
46. Cf. FGT 1102; NGMPP L237/13, L 456/6; U rgyan rdo rje 1976, 107–79. On this work, see also Clemente 2007, 125, 139–40; De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 397; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 137; Schaeffer 2011, 468.
47. Cf. NGMPP E2517/6, L1107/4. See also dPal brtsegs: text no. 32; U rgyan rDo rje 1976, 37–83.
48. Cf. FGT 1089/2; NGMPP L251/2; UL Tibetan 155.2. For the story of the order and preparation of this work, cf. FGT 657/6, 22b4. On this work, see also Clemente 2007, 124–25, 138; Cutillo and Kunga Rinpoche 1978; Cutillo and Kunga Rinpoche 1986; De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 394; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 137; Roberts 2007: 37–38; Sernesi 2004; Sernesi 2011, 198.
49. Cf. NGMPP L581/4, E2518/7, L970/4, L194/10. On this work, see also Schaeffer 2011, 472.
50. Cf. NGMPP L194/13, L970/3, E2518/5, E693/4 (it is difficult to read); U rgyan rDo rje 1976, 1–35. See also Schaeffer 2011, 472.

15. *sGra bsgyur mar pa lo tstsha'i mgur 'bum* (1552, spiritual songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁵¹
16. *rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i nram thar rgyas par phyed pa mgur 'bum* (1555, biography with songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁵²
17. *dPe chos rin po che spungs pa'i 'bum 'grel* (1555, commentary, *bka' gdams pa*).⁵³
18. *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhas grub lha btsun chos kyi rgyal po'i nram mgur blo 'das chos sku'i rang gdangs* (not before 1555 not after 1600, biography with songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁵⁴
19. *Phyag rgya chen po rnal 'byor bzhi'i rim pa snying po don gyi gter mdzod* (1556, *Mahāmudrā* instructions, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁵⁵
20. *rNal 'byor dbang phyug lha btsun chos kyi rgyal po'i nram thar gyi smad cha* (not before 1557 not after 1600, biography, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁵⁶
21. *rGyud kyi dgongs pa gtsor ston pa / phyag rgya chen po yi ge bzhi pa'i 'grel bshad gnyug ma'i gter mdzod* (1561, *Mahāmudrā* commentary, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁵⁷
22. *Tshe gcig la 'ja' lus brnyes pa rje ras chung pa'i nram thar rags bsduṣ mgur nram rgyas pa* (1563, biography with songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁵⁸

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- 51 Cf. NGMPP L969/4 (it is possible to find this work after the biography of Nāropa with the same reel. no.), L194/7 (some folios are difficult to read), E2518/2 (it is incomplete). On this work, see also Schaeffer 2011, 470; Sernesi 2011a, 201; Smith 2001, 77.
 - 52 Cf. BL 19999a3; NGMPP L250/8–L251/1. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Eimer 2010; Eimer and Tsering 1990, 71–72; Roesler 2000, 227–29; Schaeffer 2009, 62; Schaeffer 2011, 470; Sernesi 2011a, 184, 188–89, 200, 225–26.
 - 53 Cf. NGMPP L10/22, L813/2, E2617/9. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); Roesler 2000; Roesler 2011; Schaeffer 2011, 476.
 - 54 Cf. FGT 657/5; NGMPP L477/13; dPal brtsegs, text no. 31. On this work, see Clemente 2007, 124, 130–32; Clemente 2009; Clemente 2014b; De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 331; Diemberger and Clemente 2013.
 - 55 Cf. FGT 1356; NGMPP E1784/3, L567/5. On this work, see also Clemente 2007, 125, 141; De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 447; Schaeffer 2011, 476.
 - 56 Cf. FGT 657/6; NGMPP L456/7. On this work, see Clemente 2007, 124, 133–35; Clemente 2009; Clemente 2014b; Clemente (in press c); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 331; Diemberger and Clemente 2013.
 - 57 Cf. NGMPP L194/9, L 512/8, L1219/3, L503/2, L956/8. On this work, see also Ehrhard 2004b, 593, n. 6; Schaeffer 2011, 476.
 - 58 Cf. FGT 657/3; NGMPP E2518/3. On this work, see also Clemente 2007, 125, 142–43; De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 330; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135.

23. *rje rgod tshang pa'i rnam thar rgyal thang pa bde chen rdo rjes mdzad pa la mgur chen 'gas rgyan pa* (1563, biography with songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁵⁹
- 2) rDzong dkar/Khyung rdzong dkar po:
1. *blTa ba'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa* (1514–21, Mahāmudrā, *bo dong pa*).⁶⁰
 2. *sGom pa'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa* (1514–21, Mahāmudrā, *bo dong pa*).⁶¹
 3. *sPyod pa'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa* (1514–21, Mahāmudrā, *bo dong pa*).⁶²
 4. *'Bras bu'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa* (1514–21, Mahāmudrā, *bo dong pa*).⁶³
 5. *Nyams yig ma ṅi'i lu gu rgyud* (1521, *bo dong pa*).⁶⁴
 6. *Chos skyong ba'i rgyal po bsrong btsan rgam po'i bka' 'bum las stod kyi cha thog mar bla ma rgyud pa'i gsol 'debs lo rgyus sogs* (1521, Mani bka' 'bum).⁶⁵
 7. *sPrul sku rig 'dzin mchog ldan mgon po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum dang ldan spro ba bskyed byed* (1527, biography with songs, *rnying ma pa*).⁶⁶
 8. *rje btsun 'ba' ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (1540, biography with songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁶⁷
 9. *'Ba' ra pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po gi rnam thar kha skong* (1540, biography, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁶⁸

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- 59 Cf. NGMPP L211/3, E2518/8, L969/5–970/1. On this work, see also Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Schaeffer 2011, 472; Smith 2001, 75–76, 289, n. 183.
- 60 Cf. NGMPP AT61/21[2], L189/3; NAK 754 no. 2, 927 no. 3. This text is reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 21–96. On this work, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 70.
- 61 Cf. NGMPP AT61/21[3], L189/3; NAK 754 no. 3, 927 no. 4. This text is reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 97–143. On this work, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 70.
- 62 Cf. NGMPP AT61/21[4], L189/3; NAK 754 no. 4, 927 no. 5. This text is reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 145–210. On this work, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 70.
- 63 Cf. NGMPP AT61/21[5], L189/3, L501/2; NAK 754 no. 5, 927 no. 6. This text is reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 211–240. On this work, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 70.
- 64 Cf. NGMPP AT61/21[1], L189/3, L390/4, NAK 754 no. 1. This text is reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 349–85. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); Ehrhard 2000a, 87.
- 65 Cf. Tibetan 149; NGMPP E2933/5–2934/1, E2934/3–2935/1, AT167/5–168/1. For its cataloguing, see <http://catalogue.socanth.cam.ac.uk/exist/servlet/db/mssbp.xq>. On this work, see also Clemente 2014a; Ehrhard 2000d; Ehrhard 2013; Ricciardi and Pallipurath 2014; Ricciardi and Pallipurath (this volume).
- 66 Cf. NGMPP L189/4. A further copy is available at the National Archives of Kathmandu (NGMPP L9/3). On this work, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 32–33, 101–03.
- 67 Cf. FGT 671/1; NGMPP L535/5 (different edition), L195/9 (different edition), L1107/8–L1108/1, L1118/5–1119/1, L518/4; L785/2–786/1; L618/2–619/1; dPal brtsegs, text no. 20. On this work, see also Clemente (in press b); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335; Ehrhard 2000a, 45 n. 38, 61–63.
- 68 Cf. FGT 671/2. On this work, see also De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335; Ehrhard 2000a, 45 n. 38, 61–63.

10. *sKyes mchog gi rnam mgur chen mo'i dkyus na mi gsal ba'i gsang ba'i rnamn̄ thar rags sdus shig* (1540, biography, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁶⁹
 11. *Ka kha'i gsol 'debs sogs mgur phran tsheds rnams* (1540, spiritual songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁷⁰
 12. *sKyes mchog 'ba' ra bas mdzad pa'i sgrub pa nyams su blang ba'i lag len dgos 'dod 'byung ba'i gter mdzod* (1540, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁷¹
 13. *sKyes mchog 'ba' ra pas mdzad pa'i mdo sngags kyi smon lam* (1540, prayer, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁷²
- 3) Kun gsal sGang po che
1. *rGyal ba yang dgon chos rje'i mgur 'bum yid bzhin nor bu* (1523–24, spiritual songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁷³
 2. *rGyal ba yang dgon chos rje'i bka' 'bum yid bzhin nor bu* (1524, collected works, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁷⁴
 3. *Rig 'dzin sprul sku mchog ldan mgon po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum gyi smad cha rnams* (1531, biography with songs, *nying ma pa*).⁷⁵
 4. *Theg pa'i mchog rin po che'i mdzod* (1533, *nying ma pa*).⁷⁶
 5. *Jo bo rje lha gcig dpal ldan a ti sha'i rnam thar bla ma'i yon tan chos kyi 'byung gnas sogs. bka' gdams rin po che'i glegs bam* (1538, biography, *bka' gdams pa*).⁷⁷
 6. *Jo bo rin po che rje dpal ldan a ti sha rnam thar rgyas pa yongs grags* (1538, biography, *bka' gdams pa*).⁷⁸

69 Cf. FGT 671/3. On this work, see also De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335; Ehrhard 2000a, 45 n. 38, 61–63.

70 Cf. FGT 671/4. On this work, see also De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335; Ehrhard 2000a, 45 n. 38, 61–63.

71 Cf. FGT 671/5; NGMPP L195/10 (It seems that a further copy is available at the National Archives, but I was not able to check it. Cf. L1208/4). On this work, see also De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335.

72 Cf. FGT 671/7; NGMPP L195/12. On this work, see also De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335–36.

73 Cf. FGT 286/1; NGMPP L755/4–L756/1, L211/2. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 131; Ehrhard 2000a, 29–30.

74 Cf. FGT 286/2; NGMPP L755/4–L756/1. On this work, see also De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2.

75 Cf. NGMPP L189/5–L190/1. On this work, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 37.

76 Cf. NAK 743 no. 2; NGMPP AT 53/17–AT 54/1, L1121/3–L1122/1. Facsimile edition in Ehrhard 2000c, 1–510. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); Ehrhard 2000a: 104–14; Ehrhard 2000c, IX.

77 Cf. FGT 361/1. On this work, see also De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132; Vetturini 2013, 145–48.

78 Cf. FGT 361/1[1]. This section is not quoted in the catalogue of the Tucci Tibetan Collection.

7. *dGe bshes ston pas mdzad pa'i glegs bam gyi bka' rgya* (1538, *bka' gdams pa*);⁷⁹
 8. *Zhus lan nor bu'i phreng ba lha chos bdun ldan gyi bla ma brgyud pa rnam kyi nam thar*. (1538, biography, *bka' gdams pa*).⁸⁰
 9. *Jo bo yab sras kyi gsung bgros pha chos rin po che'i gter mdzod / byang chub sems dpa'i. nor bu'i phreng ba rtsa 'grel sogs* (1538, commentary, *bka' gdams pa*);⁸¹
 10. *'Brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs bka' gdams bu chos le'u nyi shu pa* (1539, biography, *bka' gdams pa*).⁸²
 11. *bKa' rgya / khu chos gnyis / lung bstan / rdor glu / kha skong rnam* (1539, *bka' gdams. pa*).⁸³
 12. *mTshan ldan bla ma dam pa mnyam med chos dbang rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa / rin po che nor bu'i phreng ba* (1551, biography, *bo dong pa*).⁸⁴
- 4) gNas
1. *rJe btsun 'ba' ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (not before 1555 not after 1581, biography and songs, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁸⁵
 2. *rJe btsun ras chung rdo rje grags pa'i rnam thar rnam mkhyen thar lam gsal bar ston pa'i me long ye shes kyi snang ba* (1559, biography, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁸⁶

79 Cf. FGT 361/2; TBRC: W00KG09688. On this work, see also De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132.

80 Cf. FGT 361/3; TBRC: W00KG09688. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132.

81 Cf. FGT 361/4; TBRC: W1KG4473. On this work, see also De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132.

82 Cf. FGT 363/1. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 129–30 n. 67.

83 Cf. FGT 363/2. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 129–30 n. 67; Ehrhard 2000a: 118–29.

84 Cf. NGMPP L66/5. The colophon is provided in Ehrhard 2000a, 165–70. On this work, see also Clemente (in press b).

85 Cf. L535/5.

86 Cf. FGT 657/4; UL Tibetan 155.1. According to the biography of Byams pa phun tshogs, he spent 5 months with rGod tshang ras chen at Ras chung phug, where he received a great number of reading authorisations, including the one of the biography of Ras chung pa, which was based on a xylographic edition of the text (see Ehrhard 2012, 158). Then, in 1559 he decided to print the biography of Ras chung pa written by rGod tshang ras chen, also thanks to a dream of his teacher and author of this work. He began to work in the fourth Hor month of the Sheep Year, when he was 57, and finished on the fifteenth day of the fifth Hor month of the same year. This work was first printed in 1531 at Ras chung

3. *mKhas grub sha ra rab 'jam pa sangs rgyas seng ge'i rnam thar mthong ba don ldan ngo mtshar nor bu'i phreng ba shar 'dod yid 'phrog blo gsal mgul brgyan* (1559, biography, *bka' brgyud pa*).⁸⁷
 4. *Jam dbyangs zhal gyi pad dkar 'dzum bya nas / lung rigs kyi gter mdzod ze 'bru bzheng la / blo gsal rkang drug ldan rnam pa phur lding rol / legs bshad sbrang rtsi'i dga' ston 'gyeng pa* (1561, Vinaya).⁸⁸
 5. *'Dul ba'i spyi don thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyin byed* (not before 1627 not after 1700, Vinaya).⁸⁹
- 5) Chab rom phug
1. *Phyag rgya chen po'i khrid yig bzhugs // skal bzang gso ba'i bdud rtsi snying po bcud bsdu* (1515, Mahāmudrā instructions, *bo dong pa*).⁹⁰
 2. *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa chos legs mtshan can gyi rnam thar yon tan 'brug sgra* (1525, biography, *bo dong pa*).⁹¹
- 6) Glang phug (La 'de Valley)
1. *Shā kya'i dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa chen po / na<m> mkha' rdo rje'i nam par thar pa ngo mtshar gsal ba'i me long* (1554, biography, *'ba' ra bka' brgyud pa*).⁹²
 2. *Shā kya'i dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa | na<m> mkha' rdo rje'i mgur 'bum / yid bzhin nor bu'i bang mdzod* (1554, spiritual songs, *'ba' ra bka' brgyud pa*).⁹³

phug (see Roberts 2007, 40–47). For its description and the translation of its colophon, see Clemente 2007, 125–26, 143–50. My attribution of this xylograph to Brag dkar rta so turned out to be wrong. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 330–31.

87 Cf. NGMPP L109/11; dPal brtsegs, text no. 36; U rgyan rdo rje 1976, 451–501. On this work, see also Bacot 1954, 292; Ehrhard 2012, 173; Schaeffer 2011, 473.

88 Cf. FGT 587. On this work, see Clemente (in press c); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 314; Ehrhard 2012, 163.

89 Cf. FGT 586. On this work, see De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 314.

90 Cf. FGT 286/3; NGMPP AT 61/21[.6], L501/2, L390/3; NAK 754 no. 6. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2; Ehrhard 2000b, 241–321.

91 Cf. NGMPP L18/3, L66/7–L67/1; dPal brtsegs, text no. 15. The transliteration of the colophon is provided in Ehrhard 2000a, 95–100.

92 Cf. FGT 709/2. For its cataloguing, see De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 342. For a summary of the life story of Nam mkha' rdo rje based on this work, see Ehrhard 2000a, 55–66. See also Sernesi 2013, 205.

93 Cf. FGT 709/3. For its cataloguing, see De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 342. See also Ehrhard 2000a, 55–66, 171–75; Sernesi 2013, 205.

- 7) Shel dkar
 1. 'Grel chung don gsal (1407, commentary).⁹⁴
 2. rGyud sde spyi rnam (between 1407 and 1410?,⁹⁵ bo dong pa).⁹⁶
- 8) mDzo lhas
 1. sKyes mchog gi zhus lan thugs kyi snying po zab mo'i gter mdzod (1540, questions and answers, bka' brgyud pa).⁹⁷
- 9) A ti sha'i chos 'khor
 1. rGyal ba yang dgon pa'i thugs kyi bcud ngo sprod bdun gyi mgur ma (1546, spiritual songs, bka' brgyud pa).⁹⁸
- 10) Khams gsum g.yul las rnam rgyal pho brang
 1. Rang byon jo bo 'phags pa wa ti bzang po'i rnam thar nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor (1525, biography).⁹⁹

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- FGT 286/1 = Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal (1213–1258). *rGyal ba yang dgon chos rje'i mgur 'bum*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–165a).
- FGT 286/2 = Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal (1213–1258). *rGyal ba yang dgon chos rje'i bka' 'bum yid bzhin nor bu*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–128a).
- FGT 286/3 = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521). *Phyag rgya chen po'i khrid yig bzhugs // skal bzang gso ba'i bdud rtsi snying po bcud bsdu*s. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–81a).

94 Cf. dPal brtsegs, text no. 1. On this work, see Diemberger 2012; Diemberger (in press).

95 For the dating, see Porong Dawa, this volume.

96 Cf. dPal brtsegs, text no. 3, f. 559. On this work, see Porong Dawa (this volume).

97 Cf. FGT 671/6; NGMPP L538/5, L195/11. On this work, see also Clemente (in press c); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335; Ehrhard 2000a, 130–41.

98 Cf. FGT 1466; U rgyan rdo rje 1976: 381–449. On this work, see also De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 458–59; Ehrhard 2000a, 65, 162–64.

99 NGMPP L546/4. On this work, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 94; Ehrhard 2004a.

- FGT 361/1 = 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/5–1064). *Jo bo rje lha gcig dpal ldan a ti sha'i rnam thar bla ma'i yon tan chos kyi 'byung gnas sogs bka' gdams rin po che'i glegs bam*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–19a).
- FGT 361/1[1] = 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/5–1064). *Jo bo rin po che rje dpal ldan a ti sha rnam thar rgyas pa yongs grags*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 20a–119a).
- FGT 361/2 = 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/5–1064). *dGe bshes ston pas mdzad pa'i glegs bam gyi bka' rgya*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 120a–123a).
- FGT 361/3 = 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/5–1064). *Zhus lan nor bu'i phreng ba lha chos bdun ldan gyi bla ma brgyud pa nams kyi rnam thar*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 124a–246a).
- FGT 361/4 = Legs pa'i shes rab. Ed. *Jo bo yab sras kyi gsung bgros pha chos rin po che'i gter mdzod / byang chub sems dpa'i nor bu'i phreng ba rtsa 'grel sogs*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 247a–365a).
- FGT 363/1 = A.A.V.V. 'Brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas kyi skyes rans bka' gdams bu chos le'u nyi shu pa. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–214a).
- FGT 363/2 = A.A.V.V. *bKa' rgya / khu chos gnyis / lung bstan / rdor glu / kha skong nams*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 215a–343a).
- FGT 586 = sDe snod 'dzin pa Ngag dbang Chos kyi grags pa (1572–1641). *'Dul ba'i spyi don thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyin byed*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–180a).
- FGT 587 = Shākya btsun pa Kun dga' chos bzang (1433–1503). *'Jam dbyangs zhal gyi pad dkar 'dzum phye nas / lung rigs gter mdzod ze 'bru bzheng la / blo gsal rkang drug ldan rnam 'phur lding rol / legs bshad sbrang rtsi'i dga' ston 'gyed pa*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–124a).
- FGT 657/3 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). *Tshe gcig la 'ja' lus brnyes pa rje ras chung pa'i rnam thar rags bsduṣ mgur rnam rgyas pa*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–93a).
- FGT 657/4 = rGod tshang ras chen (1482–1559). *rje btsun ras chung rdo rje grags pa'i rnam thar rnam mkhyen thar lam gsal bar ston pa'i me long ye shes kyi snang ba*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–243a).
- FGT 657/5 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhas grub lha btsun chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam mgur blo 'das chos sku'i rang gdangs*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–54a).
- FGT 657/6 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). *rNal 'byor dbang phyug lha btsun chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam thar gyi smad cha*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–32a).

- FGT 671/1 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391). *rJe btsun 'ba' ra pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–190b).
- FGT 671/2 = Nam mkha' rgya mtsho. *'Ba' ra pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po gi rnam thar kha skong*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 190b–193a).
- FGT 671/3 = Yon tan rgyal mtshan. *sKyes mchog gi rnam mgur chen mo'i dkyus na mi gsal ba'i gsang ba'i rnam thar rags sdus shig*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 193b–206a).
- FGT 671/4 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391). *Ka kha'i gsol 'debs sogs mgur phran tshegs rnams*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 206b–222a).
- FGT 671/5 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391). *sKyes mchog 'ba' ra bas mdzad pa'i sgrub pa nyams su blang ba'i lag len dgos 'dod 'byung ba'i gter mdzod*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 223a–365a).
- FGT 671/6 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391). *sKyes mchog gi zhush lan thugs kyi snying po zab mo'i gter mdzod*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 366a–397a).
- FGT 671/7 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391). *sKyes mchog 'ba' ra pas mdzad pa'i mdo sngags kyi smon lam* Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 398a–401a).
- FGT 706 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). *Grub thob gtsang pa smyon pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i spu long g.yo ba*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1–65a).
- FGT 707 = Āryaśūra, *sTon pa sangs rgyas kyi skyes rabs brgyad bcu pa slob dpon dpa' bos mdzad pa bzhugs*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–170a).
- FGT 709/2 = Chos rgyal lhun grub. *Shā kya'i dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa chen po / na<m> mkha' rdo rje'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar gsal ba'i me long*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–53a).
- FGT 709/3 = *Shākya'i dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa nam mkha' rdo rje'i mgur 'bum yid bzhin nor bu'i bang mdzod*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–25a).
- FGT 1089/2 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). Ed. *rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i rdo rje mgur drug sogs gsung rgyun thor bu 'ga'*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–109a).
- FGT 1102 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). Ed. *Bram ze chen pos mdzad pa'i dho ha bskor gsum / mdzod drug / ka kha dho ha / sa sbyang rnams*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–35b).

- FGT 1356 = Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal (1213–1258). *Phyag rgya chen po rnal 'byor bzhi'i rim pa snying po don gyi gter mdzod*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–18a).
- FGT 1466 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391). *rGyal ba yang dgon pa'i thugs kyi bcud ngo sprod bdun gyi mgur ma*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome (ff. 1a–34a).
- NAK 743 no. 2 = Klong chen rab 'byams pa Dri med 'od zer (1308–1364). *Theg pa'i mchog rin po che'i mdzod*. Xylograph kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–510a).
- NGMPP AT61/21[1] = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521). *Nyams yig ma ni'i lu gu rgyud*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–37a).
- NGMPP AT61/21[2] = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521). *blTa ba'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–76a).
- NGMPP AT61/21[3] = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521). *sGom pa'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–47a).
- NGMPP AT61/21[4] = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521). *sPyod pa'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–66a).
- NGMPP AT61/21[5] = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521). *'Bras bu'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–30a).
- NGMPP Ego8/3 = *rJe ras chung pa'i rnam thar mdor bsdus*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–39a).
- NGMPP E2517/6 = gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507). *Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rnam 'phrul rje btsun ti lo pa'i rnam mgur*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–24a).
- NGMPP E2518/6 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). Ed. *Grub thob gling ras kyi rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–61b).
- NGMPP E2518/9 = Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal (1213–1258). Ed. *Yang dkon chos rje'i mdzad pa'i bar do 'phrang bsgrol*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–38a).
- NGMPP E2518/11 = Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1170–1249). *Khams gsum 'dran bral grub thob ko rag pa'i mgur 'bum bzhugs / badzra dho dza*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–16a).
- NGMPP L10/22 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). *dPe chos rin po che spungs pa'i 'bum 'grel*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–170a).
- NGMPP L18/3 = dPal ldan bla ma dam pa chos legs mtshan can gyi rnam thar yon tan 'brug sgra. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–150a).
- NGMPP L66/5 = Chos dbang rgyal mtshan (1484–1549). *mTshan ldan bla ma dam pa mnyam med chos dbang rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa / rin po che nor bu'i phreng ba*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–129b).

- NGMPP L109/11 = Zla ba rgyal mtshan. *mKhas grub sha ra rab 'jam pa sangs rgyas seng ge'i rnam thar mthong ba don ldan ngo mtshar nor bu'i phreng ba shar 'dod yid 'phrog blo gsal mgul brgyan*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–26a).
- NGMPP L189/4 = mChog ldan mgon po (1497–1531). *sPrul sku rig 'dzin mchog ldan mgon po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum dad ldan spro ba bskyed byed*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–241a).
- NGMPP L189/5–190/1 = mChog ldan mgon po (1497–1531). *Rig 'dzin sprul sku mchog ldan mgon po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum gyi smad cha rnams*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–52a).
- NGMPP L194/9 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). *rGyud kyi dgongs pa gtsor ston pa / phyag rgya chen po yi ge bzhi pa'i 'grel bshad gnyug ma'i gter mdzod*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–50a).
- NGMPP L194/13 = bSod nams dpal. *bDe gshegs phag mo gru pa'i rnam thar*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–18a).
- NGMPP L211/3 = rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje. *rJe rgod tshang pa'i rnam thar rgyal thang pa bde chen rdo rjes mdzad pa la mgur chen 'gas rgyan pa*, Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–42a).
- NGMPP L477/14 = Mi la ras pa (1040–1123). *Thun mong ma yin pa rdo rje mgur drug sogs / mgur ma 'ga 'yar*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–19a).
- NGMPP L535/5 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391). *rJe btsun 'ba' ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–214b).
- NGMPP L546/4 = dPal ldan dar (1424–1510). *Rang byon jo bo 'phags pa wa ti bzang po'i rnam thar nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–17a).
- NGMPP L569/10 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). *Phyag rgya chen po yi ge bzhi pa'i sa bcad sbas don gsal ba'i nyi ma*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–9a).
- NGMPP L581/4 = 'Gro ba'i mgon po gtsang pa rgya ras kyi mgur 'bum rgyas pa. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–52a).
- NGMPP L969/4 = gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507). *sGra bsgyur mar pa lo tstsha'i mgur 'bum*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–40a).
- NGMPP L969/4[1] = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557). *mKhas grub kun gyi gtsug rgyan / pañ chen nā ro pa'i rnam thar / ngo mtshar rmad 'byung*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (ff. 1a–46a).
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