# "Feast of the Wise": Author, Structure and Textual Witnesses of the 16th Century Religio-Historical Work Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston by the Second dPa' bo, gTsug lag phreng ba (1504–1566)

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#### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

[In] dPa' bo gTsug lag's Chos 'byun we have something of exceptional value. Detailed examination of the whole work is likely to provide a wealth of information, some of it, perhaps, quite new, on many aspects of Tibetan studies.

Hugh E. Richardson, 1959<sup>2</sup>

he *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, composed by the Second dPa' bo, gTsug lag phreng ba<sup>3</sup> (1504–1566), has often been praised for its fidelity to historical documents in its presentation.<sup>4</sup> In particular, it is considered a valuable source for the imperial period of Tibetan history, and at the same time contains extensive materials about the history of the bKa' brgyud, and particularly the Karma bka' brgyud, tradition of Tibetan Buddhism for the period before the mid-sixteenth century. gTsug lag phreng ba is called "the great sixteenth-century historian" by van der Kuijp (1996, 41) and Lokesh Chandra says that he "stands out among Tibetan historians by his un-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Jim Rheingans for his high-level feedback and advice on this paper, which I very much appreciated. I am deeply indebted to Bruno Galasek-Hul for his detailed comments and especially for challenging my translations. Last but not least, I am grateful to Paul Partington for his English copyediting. All three have contributed in complementary ways to raise the quality of this article.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Richardson 1959, x-xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Depending on the source, both spellings, gTsug lag phreng ba and gTsug lag 'phreng ba, are found. In this paper, the first variant is applied throughout, apart from direct quotes that use another variant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For instance, according to Richardson (1980, 62), it "has unique value among Tibetan histories in recording what are generally accepted as copies of original documents from the time of the early kings which had been preserved at Bsam-yas".

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usual and accurate use of the ancient inscriptions and archive materials in the monasteries" (Chandra 1959, vii).

The Italian Orientalist, Guiseppe Tucci (1894–1984), and the British Tibetologist, Hugh E. Richardson (1905–2000),<sup>5</sup> were probably the first Western scholars to thoroughly work with the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (e.g. Tucci 1950; Richardson 1958; 1959; 1980; 1987). A significant number of scholars have used this religio-historical oeuvre for their research since—referencing passages here and there. Only a few, mostly short, passages have been translated.<sup>6</sup> However, altogether, to date the majority of the work remains untranslated and still deserves more research. For this reason, this article aims at providing some material to facilitate access to this sixteenth-century work.

In the introduction, I will briefly touch upon the *chos 'byung* genre, before entering into some discussion on the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga'* ston (CKG)<sup>7</sup> itself. This is followed by a section about the author of the CKG, the Second dPa' bo, gTsug lag phreng ba, where I provide a brief overview of the state of research about his life, as well as a very short summary of some of the main events of his biography. Section 3 outlines the structure of the CKG based on the table of contents and the length of the different chapters. In section 4, the different textual witnesses and editions available-xylographs, manuscripts and modern book editions-are characterized. There are five appendices. Appendix A provides Tibetan text and annotated translation of the beginning of the CKG. More precisely, it covers the title page, the expression of worship (mchod briod), and the declaration of intent for the exposition (bshad par dam bca' ba). Appendix B, likewise, translates the colophon at the end of the work, which is split into the author's epilogue, an outline of the structure of the work, the author's colophon, and the printer's colophon. Appendix C provides a table of the structure of the work according to the block print edition, while Appendix D presents a detailed table of contents in Tibetan, together with English translation and indication of length of the different sections based on one of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For a short biography, see Freeman 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> It goes beyond the scope of this article to provide a bibliography of translations and research done based on the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Nevertheless, it would be desirable to compile such a bibliography in the future. For instance, translations of passages of the oeuvre are found in Rheingans (2021, 149–55), and Dell (2020, 48–51; 2021a, 86–89; 2021b; forthcoming).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In the remainder of this article, I will use the acronym *CKG* in order to refer to the *Chos 'byung khas pa'i dga' ston* in general. When referring to a specific edition of the *CKG*, a three-letter *siglum* will be used. Those *sigla* are defined in the bibliography. The first letter is always "P" and stands for the author (dPa' bo ...), the middle position takes the letters "X" (xylograph), "M" (manuscript), or "B" (modern book), respectively. The last position takes a number to distinguish the editions or textual witnesses of the respective type, e.g. "PX1", PB3" etc. Other Tibetan texts will be referred to using the author-title system.

the modern book editions (PB3). Finally, Appendix E uses this granular table of contents to assign the respective page numbers to any of the textual witnesses available to me, which should be a useful tool for quickly locating content.

# 1-1. The Genre of chos 'byung

Tibetan historiography knows quite a number of genres. Among them the more famous ones are *lo rgyus* (records, chronicles), *rgyal rabs* (royal genealogy, royal chronicle), and *chos 'byung*.<sup>8</sup> Literally, *chos 'byung* means "emergence/arising of the Dharma". It has been rendered into English using different terms, such as "history of religion or the doctrine" (Vostrikov 1994, 139), "history of the origin of religion (= Buddhism)" (Sørensen 2015, 157), "religious chronicle" (van der Kuijp 1996, 42), or "origin of Buddhism" (ibid., 46). Other valid candidates are "Dharma history", "doctrinal history", "history of Buddhism", "Buddhist history" or "religious history".

According to Sørensen (2015, 157) the earliest known representative of this genre dates back to the eleventh century, and *chos 'byung* became "by far the most dominant" among the various historiographic genres. "In a sense, it reflects what we would term 'religious historiography', a (quasi-)historical narrative model that merges the modes of ecclesiastical and doctrinal historiography" (ibid.).

As a possible motivation out of which this genre developed, van der Kuijp suspects that due to "the proliferation of various doctrinal cycles a need was felt to place these in historical perspective and thereby legitimate them" (van der Kuijp 1996, 46).

According to Vostrikov (1994, 39), works of this genre may contain one or more of the following topics:

- History of Tibet,
- History of Buddhism in Tibet,
- History of the spread of Buddhism in China/ India/ Mongolia,
- Secular and ecclesiastical history of all or some peoples of these countries,
- History of some Buddhist sect or monastic school,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For an overview on Tibetan historical genres and historiography, see the articles by Sørensen (2015) and van der Kuijp (1996), as well as the monograph by Vostrikov (1994). Vostrikov also characterizes some more historiographic genres, apart from the ones mentioned here. Particularly, for a more in-depth discussion of the *chos 'byung* genre, see Vostrikov 1994, 139–79, van der Kuijp 1996, 46–47, and Sørensen 2015, 157–58.

• History of Buddhist mystic cults.

Oftentimes, *chos 'byung*s are compiled from materials of other types of historical and related works such as *lo rgyus, rgyal rabs* or *rnam thar*. Therefore, the borders between the different genres are somewhat fluid.

#### 1-2. Feast of the Wise

The *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, as it is called by its short title, was composed by the Second dPa" bo, gTsug lag phreng ba, over a period of nineteen years between 1545 and 1564.<sup>9</sup> He finished it only about two years before his death. The work is also referred to as the *lHo brag chos 'byung*, "in reference to the author's principal seat in the region of Lho brag in southern Tibet" (Buswell and Lopez 2014, 189). According to the author's colophon (Appendix B), gTsug lag phreng ba wrote the *CKG* due to his own wishes and the request of the great ruler (*sa skyong ba chen po*) bSod nams rab brtan (b. 16<sup>th</sup> cent.).<sup>10</sup>

Wooden printing blocks were produced from the manuscript. The printer's colophons at the end of (almost) every volume of the *CKG* provide some information on the circumstances of production of the printing blocks. The printing blocks were obviously not produced in one go, since the printer's colophons of the different volumes indicate different sponsors and places of production.<sup>11</sup> The information provided there points to the ruling families of Bya yul<sup>12</sup> and sKu rab<sup>13</sup> as sponsors, who are both known as supporters of the Karma bka'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See author's colophon, translated in Appendix B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Identification is not completely certain. It could be Karma mi pham bsod nams rab brtan. According to the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC) (<u>www.tbrc.org</u>), he was the "ruler of the *yar stod* principality; a supporter of the *karma kaM tshang* tradition" (BDRC, P10352).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> There are fourteen printer's colophons (PX1, vol. 1, 84, 102, 149, 459, 503, 531, 661, 750, 871, vol. 2, 506, 528–29, 555, 605, and 707).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Bya yul is a region situated east of IHo brag (Powers and Templeman 2020, 461). The name of the Bya yul ruler most frequently mentioned is Nor 'dzin dbang mo Tshogs gnyis grub (e.g. in PX1, vol. 1, 531, 661), where Nor 'dzin dbang mo seems to be a "title of queens or princesses" (Monlam 2016, *nor 'dzin dbang mo*). Other names possibly pointing to Bya yul are gNam gshegs dpal 'byor bzang mo and Chos kyi rgyal po khu dbon. For some information on the Bya yul rulers, see Czaja 2013, 473–80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> sKu rab is a principality of Dwags po located in Southern Tibet. The name of a ruler from sKu rab is mentioned in the printer's colophon of volume *pa* as g.Yul rgyal bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (PX, vol. 1, 871). For more background on sKu rab rulers and their support of the Karma bka' brgyud tradition, see also Ehrhard (2013, 72–73) and Rheingans (2021, 89, 102, passim).

brgyud.<sup>14</sup> The year of production of the different volumes is not indicated explicitly, but in some cases, conclusions can be drawn from the wishes or dedications at the end of the colophons. For instance, in volume *tha*, there is a wish for the long life of the glorious lama (*dpal ldan bla ma*), which might indicate that this volume's printing blocks were still completed during the lifetime of gTsug lag phreng ba. In contrast, in volume *pa*, it is stated that the virtue of producing the printing blocks shall be dedicated to complete the intent of the glorious lama (*dpal ldan bla ma'i dgongs pa rdzogs phyir bsngo*), an indication that gTsug lag phreng ba had already passed away at the time of completion.<sup>15</sup>

The ornamental title of the work is *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, which has been translated as "Feast for Scholars", "Feast for the Wise", "Scholars' Feast" and the like. It seems that everyone agrees on the rendering of *dga' ston* as "feast", <sup>16</sup> while there are two fractions for the translation of *mkhas pa*. In order to find out which rendering of the term *mkhas pa* fits best, one has to ask to whom it refers. Here, I see three possibilities: (1) the author, (2) the readership, or (3) the protagonists of the work. Option (1) can be deemed unlikely, as Tibetan authors tend to be humble and would not praise themselves in their own book title.<sup>17</sup> Option (2), the readership, is a possibility, which can be and has been argued for, resulting in renderings such as the "Feast for Scholars". In this paper, I will rather argue for option (3), the protagonists. My argumentation will be supported by an analysis of the long title of the *CKG* and by the author's epilogue (Appendix B), his expression of worship, and declaration of intent (Appendix A).

Who are the protagonists of the *CKG*? As will be shown in more detail in section 3 of this article, the protagonists are various figures who play a crucial role in propagating Buddhism, starting with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> For instance Karma 'phrin las pa (1456–1539)—one of gTsug lag phreng ba's teachers—was involved in block printing projects using funds from Bya and sKu rab (Rheingans 2021, 89).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> I would like to thank Franz-Karl Ehrhard who provided me with some useful hints for my analysis of the printer's colophons and especially for the identification of the different names mentioned there (e-mail communication in April 2021). A detailed analysis of all printer's colophons is beyond the scope of this paper, as the printing circumstances appear somewhat complex and there is enough material to dedicate a separate article to it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo provides the following definition: "yid dga'ba'i ston mo/ dga' ston rten brel/ ming gi rnam grangs la dgyes ston dang/ mchod ston/ nyer dga' ha gsol bcas so/" (Yisūn 1985, dga' ston). Hence, it has the connotation of some kind of celebration with good food involved and of joy (dga' ba), entertainment (mchod ston), and delight (nyer dga'). The English "feast" bears a similar connotation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> There is a social norm to refer to oneself with humility. Roesler has analyzed this in the context of autobiographical life writing, since there this social norm creates a tension with the need to present oneself in a positive way as a Buddhist teacher and example to be followed (Roesler 2020).

Buddha, to the Dharma kings (especially Srong btsan sgam po (617–649) and Khri srong lde btsan (742–796)), and up to various Buddhist masters of different schools of Tibetan Buddhism, especially the Karma pas.<sup>18</sup> If they are referred to by *mkhas pa*, the standard translation "scholar" does not fit very well. Looking up *mkhas pa* in the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, one finds the following definition: "to be extremely knowledgeable or to fully understand".<sup>19</sup> The first part is well translated with "scholar". The term *rtogs pa* in the second part can refer to both conceptual ("scholar") and non-conceptual understanding ("fully realized") depending on context. I am not aware of an English word that would fully convey all connotations, but given the protagonists, that is what one should be looking for. In my opinion, "wise" or "sage", comes at least reasonably close.

We find support for this interpretation when looking at the nonabbreviated title of the work: Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston zhes bya ba'i legs par bshad pa. My attempt at a translation would be this: "The excellent exposition elucidating the history of the ones who ruled<sup>20</sup> through the wheel of the authentic Dharma, called the 'Feast of the Wise'". This is the title as found on the title page (Appendix A) and in the colophon (Appendix B). The title in the incipit (Appendix A) differs in one syllable. Instead of bsgyur ba rnams, it reads bsgyur rgyal rnams, which in my opinion helps to make the intended meaning even clearer. In terms of translation, this would just replace "the ones" by "the victorious ones" making it more specific, and more evident that it refers to the protagonists. On the one hand, rgyal can be short for rgyal ba, an epithet of the Buddha, but also an honorific title often used to refer to high lamas, for instance the Karma pas. On the other hand, *rgyal* can also be short for rgyal po ("king"), thus referring to the Dharma kings (chos rgyal). Summing up, the descriptive title of the CKG clearly puts the protagonists to the fore. The ornamental title—*mKhas pa'i dga' ston*—likely aims at expressing the same meaning in more poetical and abbreviated language. Hence, *mkhas pa* likely refers to the protagonists.

The focus on the protagonists is also confirmed when looking at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> This idea of Tibetan historiography mainly consisting of a succession of hagiographies also matches the analysis brought forward by Schwieger (2013). A brief summary of some of Schwieger's findings is provided below in this section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Yísūn 1985, mkhas pa: rab tu shes pa'am legs par rtogs pa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Tib. *chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba rnams*. The expression seems to be an allusion to the worldly *cakravartin ('khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po)*, "the king who rules by means of the wheel", here referring to the Dharma counterpart. In the context at hand, the (nominalized, transitive) verb is a past stem (*bsgyur ba*). Both—the *cakravartin* allusion and the variant of the title in the incipit discussed in the main text hereafter—support the interpretation that this refers to persons rather than to a thing ("that which ruled" or "that which caused changes"), hence, "the ones who ruled…".

"expression of worship" (*mchod brjod*), where the author says "[we bow down] to the Supreme Teacher and his sons and students", a reference to the protagonists (Appendix A). Likewise, the author's epilogue refers to the protagonists as "the innumerable assembly of authentic great beings who elucidate the excellent teachings of the lion of the Śākyas" (Appendix B).

I deliberately gave some room to the analysis of the title, as the descriptive part of the title—dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba/rgyal *rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa*—can be understood as an extension of the term *chos 'byung*, thus, providing a definition of the genre or at least illuminating gTsug lag phreng ba's understanding thereof. His work seeks to elucidate the history of great beings or bodhisattvas who ruled or caused changes through the application of the Dharma. Hence, he sees Dharma history (*chos 'byung*) (1) as accounts of great beings' lives, (2) as an active process (great beings have the power to influence and steer history through their actions, as opposed to a view where events just occur without being able to influence them), (3) as application of the Dharma, and (4) as a means to generate trust to great beings in the reader. The last point can be derived from the declaration of intent (bshad par dam bca' ba) at the beginning of the work, where gTsug lag phreng ba clearly states: "... only through trust, the highest mind will be drawn toward the qualities of the authentic ones, and in order to bring benefit also to others [who are] of similar kind to myself, [I] write [about] the excellent way of acting of the victorious ones of the Dharma"<sup>21</sup> (Appendix A).

The fact that gTsug lag phreng ba sets out to generate trust in the reader toward the Dharma and the authentic beings presented in the CKG is indeed formative for his work. Here, it is fundamentally distinct from a mere historical work based on facts. Nevertheless, gTsug lag phreng ba also states in the declaration of intent that in all passages the text "relates to reliable sources (nges pa'i khungs)" (Appendix A). This may coincide with the much-praised faithful adherence to original sources of the work, but it is not automatically the same as adherence to facts according to Western understanding. The source might contain information that we would consider non-factual, as happens often in spiritual biographies (*rnam thar*), when miraculous or visionary events are described. From an emic point of view, such accounts might very well be considered true, as Buddhists often think in the category of the two truths: the conventional and the ultimate truth. The conventional truth or reality is perceived by "normal individuals", while "at the same time the very same world and conventional reality

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Tib. *chos rgyal rnams*, lit. "Dharma kings", here probably to be understood in a wider sense as also including the Buddhist masters he writes about, therefore rendered as "victorious ones of the Dharma".

by any advanced master or saint [is] seen and perceived of as being 'unreal', a reality that constituted the 'ultimate reality or truth'. The interplay between 'these realities' seems to permeate much biographical and historical writing" (Sørensen 2015, 162).

Schwieger (2013) goes into even more depth with his analysis of Tibetan historiographical writing. He examines history as "myth" in the sense "that history has been assigned the role of conferring meaning and that normative claims have been derived from it" (ibid., 65–66). Historiographies are written by the clergy with the aim of conserving the culture, drawing an "unbroken connection" to its Indian origins. The perspective taken by the historiographers is the one of the institution they are affiliated with (ibid., 68). Historiographies are mostly built according to a genealogical structure, which "divides history into a series of biographies linked by the principle of hereditary succession" (ibid., 69). Both the starting point of history and the role model for all following hagiographies that history consists of is the life of Buddha Śākyamuni. Consequentially, "the actions and protagonists take center stage, while social, economic, and political structures take a back seat" (ibd., 70–71). The depiction of the life of the protagonists is limited to certain topoi, such as a life crisis resulting in the search for a spiritual teacher, "receipt and granting of initiations and religious instructions", "foundation of monasteries", "the setting up of religious images, pilgrimages, and travel by groups of students" (ibid., 72). In this respect, the historiography of gTsug lag phreng ba perfectly mirrors the general patterns derived by Schwieger.

#### 2. Author

Of course, when looking at a work such as the "Feast of the Wise", it is important to also consider the person of the author. One might ask questions such as: Who was he? When did he live und under which circumstances? What was his lineage affiliation? By which (historical) characters was he influenced? Who were his teachers? Under which circumstances did he write this work? Did he have a certain agenda when writing this work?

Not all of these questions can be answered fully here, and research on his life is still in the fledgling stages. This section aims at providing a brief overview of the research about his life, and summarizes its key aspects very briefly.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> An overview of the original Tibetan sources goes beyond the scope of this article, but can be found in Bjerregaard 2007, 3–4.

#### 2-1. Western Research about His Life

One of the most extensive and well-founded summaries of gTsug lag phreng ba's life, based on several Tibetan sources, seems to be an unpublished BA thesis by Maria Bjerregaard from Copenhagen University (Bjerregaard 2007). She provides some historical background, before summarizing what she calls "the most predominant events" in his life in about ten pages, where she also translates snippets of the source texts (Bjerregaard 2007, 10–20).

Rheingans analyzes the life and work of Karma 'Phrin las pa (1456– 1539), who was one of the main teachers of gTsug lag phreng ba. He also dedicates a passage to gTsug lag phreng ba's life (Rheingans 2021, 93–95; 2004, 75–77). Though comparatively short, his summary unearths interesting aspects and has clear references to the sources used. In his book about the Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507– 1574)—gTsug lag phreng ba's root lama—Rheingans also occasionally touches on aspects of his life (Rheingans 2017, 44, 67, 95, 101, 110).

Chhosphel (2010) compiled another useful summary of gTsug lag phreng ba's life based on Tibetan sources.

The entry on gTsug lag phreng ba on the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC) also contains some biographical information and some references to Tibetan sources.<sup>23</sup>

#### 2-2. Brief Summary of His Life

It goes beyond the scope of this article to provide a comprehensive summary of dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba's life. Due to limitations of space, such an attempt would not add anything new to the work done by the scholars mentioned in the previous section. Nevertheless, I would like to briefly highlight some key aspects of his life, as it seems that a little bit of context is helpful before directing focus again to his main work, the "Feast of the Wise".

The incarnation lineage of the dPa' bo Rin po ches belongs to the Karma bka' brgyud tradition and therefore is closely connected with that of the Karma pas. The First dPa' bo Rin po che, Chos dbang IHun grub (1440/1455–1503),<sup>24</sup> was born in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and was a student of the Seventh Karma pa, while the Second dPa' bo Rin po che was the second main student<sup>25</sup> of the Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje,<sup>26</sup> after the Fifth Zhwa dmar pa, dKon mchog yan lag

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> BDRC, P319, accessed March 16, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> BDRC, P818, accessed March 23, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Rheingans 2010, 259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> For the life and works of the Eighth Karma pa, see Rheingans 2017.

#### (1525–1583).27

The Second dPa' bo Rin po che, gTsug lag phreng ba, was born in dBus ru sNye thang,<sup>28</sup> Central Tibet, in 1504. His paternal family lineage was called the Eastern Nyag (shar gyi snyags).<sup>29</sup> He was already recognized as the incarnation of the First dPa' bo Rin po che when his mother was pregnant. After his birth, Rin spungs Don vod rdo rie (1463–1512),<sup>30</sup> who was one of the most powerful aristocrats in Tibet at that time, took care of him and his mother.<sup>31</sup> At the age of five, gTsug lag phreng ba was enthroned in the Sras mkhar dgu thog tower at Gro bo lung monastery in lHo brag.<sup>32</sup> He obtained the *upāsaka* (*dge bsnyen*) and the *śrāmanera* (*dge tshul*) vows from the Fourth Zhwa dmar pa, Chos kyi grags pa (1453–1524),<sup>33</sup> at the age of nine. From him he received the name Mi pham chos kyi rgyal po don thams cad yongs grub pa.<sup>34</sup> At the same age, he met Karma 'Phrin las pa, who acted as a mentor and took care of his education for nineteen years.<sup>35</sup> Only at the age of twenty-nine, in 1532, did he meet his root lama, the Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje, who then started to train him further. From him he received the name under which he has been most well known: gTsug lag phreng ba. From the age of thirty-seven (1540), he did several meditation retreats at different holy sites and attained realization.<sup>36</sup> After the Eighth Karma pa's death in 1574, he acted as the de facto regent of the Karma bka' brgyud lineage, while the Fifth Zhwa dmar Rin po che, dKon mchog Yan lag (1525–1583)<sup>37</sup> and the Fourth

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> BDRC, P1426, accessed March 23, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> BDRC, G1477, accessed March 23, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Bjerregaard 2007, 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> BDRC, P375, accessed March 23, 2021. For more information about this Rin spungs ruler, who was a patron of the Fourth Zhwa dmar Rin po che, Chos grags Ye she (1453–1524), and of the Seventh Karma pa, Chos grags rGya mtsho (1454–1506), see Tuttle and Schaeffer 2013, 269–71, and Shakabpa 2010, 273–78. For a brief overview of the Rin pungs government, see Schaeffer 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Bjerregaard 2007, 8–9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Lho brag is a region in Southern Tibet close to the Bhutanese border. Sras mkhar dgu thog literally means "nine-story tower" (BDRC, G3429) and is part of the Gro bo lung dgon, the monastery which was the seat of the dPa' bo Rin po ches from their first to their fifth incarnation (BDRC, G3618). The Fifth dPa' bo changed his seat to gNas nang dgon in sTod lung, which the Fifth Dalai Lama had confiscated from the Zhwa dmar pa lineage and given to him in 1673/74 (BDRC, G194).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> BDRC, P317, accessed March 23, 2021. For the life and work of the Fourth Zhwa dmar pa, see Mojzes forthcoming.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Bjerregaard 2007, 28–29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Rheingans 2021, 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> BDRC, P1426, accessed March 23, 2021.

rGyal tshab Rin po che, Grags pa Don grub (1550–1617),<sup>38</sup> were searching for the Ninth Karma pa, dBang phyug rDo rje (1556–1601/1603)<sup>39</sup>, whom he recognized shortly before his death.<sup>40</sup>

Apart from "The Feast of the Wise", on which he worked for about nineteen years (1545–1564) until shortly before his death, there are other famous works of his that have come down to us. Among them are a commentary to the Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva (*sPyod 'jug gi 'grel pa*) and an exegesis of the Vajravārāhī practice (*Phag mo'i rnam bshad chen po*).<sup>41</sup>

#### 3. Structure

The block print edition of the *CKG* is divided into two volumes for printing, one of 435 folios and one of 353 folios. As for the internal structure, there are five different parts (*yan lag*) of greatly varying length, some of which have explicitly mentioned sections (*le'u*). There is another layer of structure, which divides the work into seventeen volumes designated with Tibetan letters *ka* to *tsa*. Volumes *ka*, *ma* and *tsa* correspond to parts 1, 4 and 5, respectively, while each of the remaining fourteen volumes corresponds to a section of parts 2 and 3, respectively. A detailed table of the outline and the respective titles is provided in Appendix C (Table 4).

For further outline of the content of the *CKG* in this section (and in Appendix D), I will draw from the table of contents as provided in one of the modern book editions (PB3). The reason for this is its higher granularity compared to the block print, which is useful to gain a quicker insight into the content. I also provide translations of the titles of parts and sections.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, in the tables provided in this section, I will also indicate the number of folios based on the lHo brag xylograph edition, together with a percentage indicating what share of the whole work it represents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> BDRC, P5684, accessed March 23, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> BDRC, P889, accessed March 23, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> BDRC, P319, accessed March 23, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Rheingans 2021, 95. For a *dkar chag* of his collected works see gTsug lag phreng ba, *dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba'i gsung 'bum.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> This is only an extract. In Appendix D the full table containing all section titles as used in PB3 is provided. Pirie and Manson (2017, 2–3) also provide a translation of parts of the table of content of PB3. Their focus is mostly on part 3, and there especially on section 3.2 (royal genealogy of Tibet) with its subsections.

Part	Vol.	Title	Fo- lios	Per- cent
1	ka	Overview of the world 'jig rten gyi khams spyir bstan pa/	13	2%
2	kha – ca	The chapter <sup>43</sup> about India <i>rgya gar kyi skabs</i> /	38	5%
3	cha – ba	The chapter about Tibet <i>bod kyi skabs</i> /	662	84%
4	ma	The chapter about Khotan, Earlier China, Tangut, Mongolia and Later China <i>li yul dang/ rgya nag snga ma/ mi nyag/ hor/ rgya nag</i> <i>phyi ma bcas kyi skabs/</i>	25	3%
5	tsa	History of the five fields of knowledge—the overall subjects and principal objects of knowledge <i>yul spyi dang shes bya'i gtso bo rig gnas lnga byung tshul</i> /	50	7%

Table 1: Overview of the Different Parts

The first four parts are organized according to historical period and geographical region, and are complemented in part 5 by the five fields of knowledge. The structure implies the coverage of a large share of the (historical) knowledge of the time. However, when comparing the sizes of the parts, the chapter on Tibet is clearly predominant, comprising 84% of the work. In the following, the single parts shall be treated in more detail, with a stronger focus on part 3.

# 3-1. Parts 1 & 2: World and India

Part 1 only comprises one volume of thirteen folios in the xylograph edition. At the beginning of the text there is a paragraph of "expression of worship" (*mchod brjod*) followed by the "declaration of intent for the exposition" (*bshad par dam bca' ba*).<sup>44</sup> Only afterward does the actual content commence, which is the world as understood by Tibetan tradition, based on Buddhist ideas originating from India. Part 1 covers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The term *skabs* appears several times in the table of contents. I would like to point out that here it does not mean "time", in the sense of "the Indian period", but it really refers to a logical division of the book, which can be inferred from the usage of the term in the section outline contained in the colophon (see Appendix B). There it is used as a synonym for both *yan lag* and *le'u* (which I rendered as "part" and "section" in this paper). In order to distinguish it, I render *skabs* as "chapter".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> For a translation of *mchod brjod* and *bshad par dam bca' ba*, see Appendix A.

less than 2% of the whole work and therefore plays rather a subordinate role. It might have been included for the sake of completeness, as a kind of starting point for the history.

Part 2 covers different aspects related to Indian Buddhist history, as shown in the following table. It comprises thirty-eight folios, which account for about 5% of the *CKG*. It fills the gap in the storyline between the exposition of the world in part 1 and the Buddhist history of Tibet as presented in part 3, and can certainly be seen as a crucial base on which the latter unfolds.

Sec- tion	Vol.	Title	Fo- lios	Per- cent
2.1	kha	Exposition of the Buddha's actions <i>ston pa'i mdzad pa bshad pa</i>	13	1.6%
2.2	ga	Exposition of the coverage of the Buddhist Councils <i>bka' bsdu ba khyab par du bshad pa</i>	10	1.4%
2.3	nga	History of the representation of the Three Jewels <i>dkon mchog gsum gyi rten byung tshul</i>	6	0.8%
2.4	са	Royal genealogy of India rgya gar gyi rgyal rabs	9	1.1%

Table 2: Sections of Part 2 (India)

Interestingly, parts 1 and 2, i.e. the first five volumes, are organized under one common heading in the block print edition of the CKG (see Appendix C). This is an exception, inasmuch as all subsequent volumes bear their own title. Volumes ka to ga have a sentence indicating that the respective part or section ends here, but otherwise are written continuously. Even the beginning or end of the sections does not always precisely match the volume. For instance, section 2.2 already starts on the last page of volume *kha* (PX1, 52). The end of volume *nga* seems to be the only place where the name of a scribe is mentioned— Tshe dbang bstan pa (PX1, 84). This might indicate that the first four volumes were written by this scribe, and it might imply that everything else was written by one or more other scribes, who did not follow the style of mentioning their name at the end of their portion of the text. Volume *nga* is also the first volume that exhibits a printer's colophon. It is followed by volume *ca*, which completes part 2, and also has its own printer's colophon, as does every other volume in the remainder of the CKG.

# 3-1. Part 3: Tibet

Part 3 can undoubtedly be seen as the core of the work, and contains the parts for which it is most relevant and outstanding. With its 662 folios, part 3 accounts for 84% of the *CKG*. It is divided into ten sections of greatly varying length as shown in the following table.

Sec- tion	Vol.	Title	Fol- ios	Per- cent
3.1	cha	How the Great Compassionate One [Ava- lokiteśvara] took possession of Tibet <i>thugs rje chen pos bod bdag gir mdzad tshul</i>	24	2.9%
3.2	ja	Royal genealogy of Tibet bod kyi rgyal rabs	155	21.0%
3.3	пуа	Account of the history of the Vinaya teachings 'dul ba'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	22	2.7%
3.4	ta	History of Buddhist translators and paṇḍitas lo paṇ chos 'byung	14	1.6%
3.5	tha	Account of the doctrinal history of the rNying ma [tradition] of the secret mantra gsang sngags rnying ma'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	65	7.7%
3.6	da	Account of the history of the bKa' gdams [tradition] <i>bka' gdams kyi byung ba brjod pa</i>	44	5.4%
3.7	na	Account of the general doctrinal history of the bKa' brgyud [tradition] bka' brgyud spyi'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	60	7.8%
3.8	ра	Account of the doctrinal history of the Karma Kaṃ tshang [tradition] karma kam tshang gi chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	253	32.4%
3.9	pha	Account of the history of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud [tradition] 'bri gung bka' brgyud kyi byung ba brjod pa	12	1.3%
3.10	ba	Account of the doctrinal history of various trans- mission lineages chos brgyud sna tshogs pa'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	13	1.4%

Table 3: Sections of Part 3 (Tibet)

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There are two sections that clearly stand out from the rest due to their mere length—the royal genealogy of Tibet (3.2) and the doctrinal history of the Karma Kam tshang tradition (3.8).

The royal genealogy of Tibet (*bod kyi rgyal rabs*) comprises 155 folios and accounts for 21% of the *CKG*. It briefly touches on the mythological kings of the pre-imperial period (about eight folios), but puts its main focus on the Tibetan Empire (7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century CE) starting with King Srong btsan sgam po (617–649). The section covers a long list of kings and devotes at least some sentences to each of them.<sup>45</sup> However, most folios are clearly dedicated to two characters, the two most famous Dharma kings. The subsection about King Srong btsan sgam po comprises about fifty-seven folios (8% of the *CKG*), and the subsection about King Khri srong lde btsan counts fifty-one folios (7% of the *CKG*). The section about the Tibetan Empire has been praised many times for its historical accuracy, as pointed out in the introduction (e.g. Chandra 1959, vii; Richardson 1980, 62).

The other outstanding section in part 3 is the one about the Karma Kam tshang tradition (3.8). It comprises 253 folios and accounts for more than 32% of the CKG. It contains the life stories (*rnam thar*) of the Karma pas reaching from the First Karma pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110 – 1193), to the Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554). This focus is natural, as the author himself is affiliated to the Karma bka' brgyud lineage headed by the Karma pa hierarchs and was a contemporary and student of the Eighth Karma pa (see section 2). All Karma pas' life stories are of considerable length, but two of them stand out: the Seventh Karma pa, Chos grags rgya mthso (1454–1506), with about ninety-four folios (12% of the CKG), and the Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje, with about seventy folios (9% of the CKG).<sup>46</sup> One reason for the relative extensiveness might be the contemporariness and easy access to sources and first-hand accounts. All of gTsug lag phreng ba's Karma pa life stories also contain information about their respective students at the end of the text. These accounts about his students sometimes take the extent of small life stories in themselves, which is particularly interesting when it comes to students of whom no other life story has come down to us.47

Another section of part 3 that should be highlighted is the general doctrinal history of the bKa' brgyud tradition (3.7). It precedes the section on the Karma pas both within the *CKG*, and also with respect to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> PB3 divided the section into seventeen subsections, whose titles shed more light on the content and are provided and translated in Appendix D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> For the length of the life stories of all Karma pas, see Appendix D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Among the editions of the CKG, PB5 is very useful in this respect. Its dkar chag has been enhanced to such a degree of detail that it even provides the names and page numbers for the students mentioned in the text (PB5, vol. 3, dkar chag).

the content and time period covered, as it describes the predecessors of the Karma pas, who are common to all branches of the bKa' brgyud transmission. It starts with the Indian masters and then goes over to Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (1012?–1097), the famous Mi la ras pa (1040–1123), sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen (1079–1153), and others.<sup>48</sup>

Part 3 also contains sections on other schools of Tibetan Buddhism such as rNying ma (3.5), bKa' gdams (3.6), 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud (3.9), and various other transmission lineages (3.10; notably Zhi byed, Sa skya, gCod, and Shangs pa bKa' brgyud). Certainly, the religio-historical works of the respective lineages themselves provide more information about them than the *CKG*. Nevertheless, when studying the reception of those lineages within the Kar ma bka' brgyud tradition, the *CKG* can be a relevant source.

#### 3-1. Parts 4 & 5: Other Regions and Five Fields of Knowledge

Part 4 covers the doctrinal history of regions other than India and Tibet. The outline in the block print does not devise any explicit section for this part, however the text can logically be divided into five sections according to regions (and periods)—Khotan, Earlier China, Tangut, Mongolia and Later China.<sup>49</sup> All in all, it comprises twenty-five folios and accounts for less than 3% of the whole work.

Part 5 shifts the focus from history to the five fields of knowledge (*rig gnas lnga*). Though not split into sections explicitly, the natural division of this part would be into those five fields of knowledge—the science of inner development (*nang don rig pa*), the science of valid cognition (*tshad ma rig pa*), the science of language (*sgra rig pa*), the science of fabrication (incl. arts and crafts) (*bzo rig pa*), and the science of healing (*gso ba rig pa*).<sup>50</sup> With fifty folios and a share of almost 7% of the whole work, this part seems not to be completely insignificant. Among those five, particularly the section about the inner development stands out due to its length (thirty-seven folios).

According to the author's colophon, parts 4 and 5 were written eighteen years after parts 1 to 3 had been started.<sup>51</sup> This information and the relative conciseness of the two parts give ground to conjecture that they were rather meant to round off the whole work.

At the end of part 5 an epilogue, an outline of the structure of the work, as well as the author's colophon and a printer's colophon are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Here again PB5 has to be mentioned, as for this section it meticulously lists all personal names in its table of contents (PB5, vol. 2, *dkar chag*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> This division into sections has been made in the table of contents of PB3, see Appendix D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Division according to PB3, see Appendix D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> For the Tibetan text of the colophon together with a translation, see Appendix B.

found, all of which are provided and translated in Appendix B.

# 4. Textual Witnesses

In this section the different textual witnesses and editions that I could identify shall be described. In order to identify them, I used different databases and catalogs—both online and in print. Among them are the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC),<sup>52</sup> the Tibetan Book and Manuscript Catalog of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (LTWA),<sup>53</sup> the Library of Congress Catalog (LOCC),<sup>54</sup> WorldCat,<sup>55</sup> various university library catalogs, the catalog of the Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP),<sup>56</sup> the catalog of the Tucci collection,<sup>57</sup> and the catalog of the library of Ogyen Chöling in Bhutan.<sup>58</sup> In addition, general search engines, as well as online book stores and publisher's websites (for the modern editions) have been consulted. Several block prints, (partial) manuscripts and modern book editions have been identified and will be presented in the following subsections.

## 4-1. Block Prints and Their Reprints

All textual witnesses described in this subsection are based on the lHo brag printing blocks. There are prints of those printing blocks in different libraries worldwide. BDRC has also scanned some of the available textual witnesses of this kind. Most of them are incomplete and only cover parts of the whole work. Some are not very legible. There are a number of reprints of block prints by certain publishing houses. Those are very close to the block prints proper, but usually more legible and complete.

Before characterizing the different block prints and reprints of block prints, some features they all share are to be described. When it comes to orthography, these block prints exhibit some non-standard spellings—applied, however, in a consistent way. Most obvious are the frequent use of the verb form *gsung* instead of *gsungs*, omission of *wa zur* where one would expect it, and use of the variants of the *lhag bcas* particle not according to the usual rules with respect to the preceding let-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> <u>https://www.tbrc.org/</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> <u>https://tibetanlibrary.org/tibetan-book-and-manuscript-catalog/</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> <u>https://catalog.loc.gov/</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> <u>https://www.worldcat.org/</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> <u>https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Rossi Filibeck 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Karmay 2003.

ter. The same applies to the *la don* particles *du* and *tu*. These observations are mainly based on my work with vol. *pa*—the Karma pas' life stories—but likely also apply to other sections.<sup>59</sup> Another common feature is an image of the Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rDo rje, at the beginning of vol. *pa*. Otherwise, there are no images contained in this work.

I will start with the description of the reprints and then continue with the block prints proper. Sigla, which are also referred to in the bibliography of this article, are given to all textual witnesses for quicker reference.

## PX1: Xylograph reprint by Dehli Karmapa Chhodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang

In 1980, an edition of the *CKG* in two volumes was published by Dehli Karmapa Chhodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang. The title and description on the title page read *Chos 'byun mkhas pa'i dga' ston. A detailed history of the development of Buddhism in India and Tibet by the Second Dpa'-bo of Gnas-nan, Gtsug-lag-'phren-ba. Reproduced from prints from Lho brag blocks from Rumtek Monastery. This edition was scanned by BDRC and is available as a PDF download (BDRC: W28792).* 

After the first two pages, the edition starts with folios in *dpe cha* format reproduced from a block print. The *dpe cha* title page bears a threeline title identical to the one seen in the block prints proper (e.g. PX3, PX4, PX6). However, there are differences. On the right-hand side of the title box, it features the emblem of the Karma pa lama (with the words *dpal rgyal pa karma pa* in *dbu can* script, two deer and a scepter with a Dharma Wheel in the middle),<sup>60</sup> which is not the case in the block prints proper. Since this reproduction is based on a block print which originates from Rumtek monastery, the seat of the Sixteenth Karma pa, Rang byung rig pa'i rdo rje (1924–1981), at the time of publication, the emblem might have been added to their copy by the monastery, possibly as a stamp, but this is hard to discern in the black-andwhite reproduction. The reproduction retains pagination as well as folio numbering and volume indication in *dbu can* letters at the left-hand side (usually) at the front page of each folio. However, an additional page numbering in Arabic numerals is added on the right-hand side of each page.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Dell 2020, 2021a, 2021b, and forthcoming. Rheingans (2021, 134) made similar observations for another section of volume *pa*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The image can be viewed on "Martin's Ecclesiastical Heraldry", section "Buddhism", <u>https://ecclesiasticalheraldry.weebly.com/buddhism.html</u>, accessed on 21 Feb 2021.

#### PX2: Xylograph reprint by mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang

In 2010, mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang published a collection called *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* ("History of Tibet, Collection of Life Stories"), consisting of thirty-one volumes in *dpe cha* format. Volumes 16 and 17 contain an edition of the *CKG* as a block print reproduction. The whole collection was scanned by BDRC and is available as a PDF download (BDRC: W1KG10687).

The title page contains the collection title and volume number in Arabic numerals. Moreover, it indicates that this text was compiled (bsgrigs) by dPal brtsegs bod vig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang and produced in print by the printing house mentioned above. The second folio says that this is vol. ma or tsa, respectively, of the collection and shows a dkar chag just showing that this is vol. stod or smad, respectively, of the CKG. These first two folios are in modern type setting. Then follows the reproduction, which is very much like the one described in PX1. Its title page also features the emblem of the Karma pa lama at the same position. Not only does it have the same layout, it also shows the same characteristics of print, such as bold face due to too much ink and spots of ink at the same places. This gives ground to conjecture that the reproduction is not only produced from the same block print, but that it is the same reproduction re-used in this collection thirty years after its initial publication. Nevertheless, there is one notable difference. While PX1 has an additional Arabic page numbering on the left-hand side of each page, PX2 exhibits it on the right-hand side.

# PX3: Block print from the collection dPe rnying rtsa chen par ma'i skor phyogs bsdus

BDRC (W2PD20323) digitized a collection of seventy volumes called *dPe rnying rtsa chen par ma'i skor phyogs bsdus* ("Collection of Prints of Important Old Pechas") and made it available for download. Volume 46 (*mi*) contains the first volume (*stod*) of the *CKG*. The second volume (*smad*) is not present. All scanned pages exhibit a vertical measuring tape, some also a horizontal one. The appearance of the paper is somewhat grayish and in some places the print is hardly legible or illegible, mostly due to lack of ink. The title page bears a stamp with the words "UGYEN CHOLING" in Roman script and "*o rgyan chos gling*" in *dbu can* script. This, most likely, points to O rgyan chos gling library in the sTang valley of Bum thang in Bhutan (Pommaret 2008, 7). Formerly, this place had been called "The Messed-Up Books" by the locals, until Samten Karmay cataloged the collection of 957 texts between 1999 and

2002 (Karmay 2003, 19-20). The catalog is organized according to religious schools. Item C.060 in the bKa' rgyud section is listed as the CKG (Karmay 2003, 176–77). A comment indicates that volumes ka to na are contained therein. This matches with the text at hand. The bKa' rgyud section in the catalog contains seventy texts, the same number of texts contained in the collection at hand. Hence, it is likely that all bKa' rgyud texts were just put together to make one collection. If so, however, the order of volumes in the collection is different from the order in the catalog. Pommaret describes the process of cataloging and mentions that "[each] of the books was given a number and the stamp of Orgvan chos gling, made specially for the occasion, applied to them" (Pommaret 2008, 9). This must be the stamp observed on the title page. Bum thang, the place where this text has been stored, is an area in Bhutan just south of the Tibetan border, which is close to the lHo brag region on the Tibetan side of the border, where the printing house producing the CKG block prints is located. They are geographically close and share a common history.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that this text was found in Bum thang.

## PX4: Incomplete block print with middle part missing and unknown location of preservation

This textual witness of the block print edition was scanned by BDRC on their premises in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and made available for download (BDRC, W3CN22702). Apart from this meta-information giving ground to conjecture that the physical text might be preserved in the United States, the *dpe cha* itself does not exhibit any hints as to its location of storage, such as a library stamp or the like. The paper has a brownish appearance and on many folios there are blurs showing that the paper had gotten wet at some point. In some places the text is difficult to read, mostly due to lack of ink, in a very few cases due to damage of the paper. The text is incomplete. Volumes *cha* to *tha*, *na*, and *pha* are missing. The remaining text only contains 434 folios. Hence, almost half of the work has been lost.

## PX5: Incomplete block print with different sections missing and containing an unrelated text

This textual witness of the block print edition was scanned by BDRC on their premises in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and made available for download (BDRC, W3CN15295). Apart from this meta-information giving ground to conjecture that the physical text might be preserved

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> For their common history, see Pommaret 2003.

in the United States, the *dpe cha* itself does not exhibit any hints as to its location of storage, such as a library stamp or the like. The paper has a brownish appearance and on many folios there are blurs showing that the paper had gotten wet at some point. With few exceptions, the print is legible. It starts with a folio, which seems not to belong there. It has some cloth with a flower pattern on the left-hand side, *dbu med* script on the back side, and the paper looks different from the rest. Following this, there comes the first folio bearing the title of vol. *cha*. Then again, there is one damaged folio, which does not belong there, bearing some hardly legible *dbu med* notes. After vol. *cha*, another text (block print) is inserted, which does not belong to the CKG. It comprises eighty folios and its title is *mNgon brjod kyi bstan bcos mkhas pa'i* rna rgyan. The Library of Congress Catalog lists a modern book edition of this text and describes its content as "Tibetan synonyms dealing with animate and inanimate phenomena of heaven, subterrestrial world (bhutala), and earthly world".<sup>62</sup> Obviously, this textual witness of the CKG not only contains additional material, but also with respect to the content it is supposed to have, it is rather incomplete. Volumes ka to ca, ja to na, and ba to tsa are missing. Hence, more than half of the work has been lost.

## PX6: Incomplete block print with colored Eighth Karma pa

This textual witness of the block print edition was scanned by BDRC on their premises in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and made available for download (BDRC, W1KG15897). Apart from this meta-information giving ground to conjecture that the physical text might be preserved in the United States, the *dpe cha* itself does not exhibit any hints as to its location of storage, such as a library stamp or the like. The title page bears a note affixed to its left-hand side with transparent adhesive tape. Written on it are the following words in *dbu can* script: *chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston shing par rnying pa ldeb ring pod gcig bar bar du ma tshang/ agro'i dpe cha/* (*CKG*, old xylograph print, long folios, volume one, occasionally incomplete, *dpe cha* of *agro*<sup>63</sup>). On the same note, there is a text of equal length in Chinese letters, presumably of the same content, and the Arab numeral "6". The text on the note describes the state of the *dpe cha* quite well. It might be added that the paper has a brown-ish appearance and many folios have rips and missing pieces of paper

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> <u>https://lccn.loc.gov/99949078</u>, accessed 25 Feb 2021. This edition is also available at BDRC, see Ngag dbang 'jigs med grags pa 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> This word is not found in any dictionary. Given the context, it could be a name meaning that this *dpe cha* belongs to the person called by this name. Only *a gro* is found in dictionaries, meaning "high quality wheat", but it does not really fit here, unless it possibly were to describe the color of the folios.

at the corners and edges, some of which are fixed with adhesive tape. Many folios also exhibit blurs of humidity. On some folios legibility is rather poor. Occasionally, single folios are missing in the different volumes. The digitized version indicates this by putting empty placeholder folios with the text "Missing folio". Apart from these single missing folios, the following volumes are missing as well: parts of *ja* (from section 3.2.7 onward), *nya*, *ta*, *da*, and *tsa*. On the title page of vol. *pa*, the section containing the Karma pas' life stories, short notes in an Indian script resembling Gujarātī script have been added in handwriting in three places. The back side of this folio exhibits the image of the Eighth Karma pa, which has been colored by paint (red robes, etc.). Likewise, the space between the lines framing the text has been colored in gray on this folio. The start of each Karma pa's life story is marked with a gray spot for the reader's convenience. The last page (i.e. the end of vol. *ma*) bears some handwritten annotations in *dbu med* script at the bottom margin.

## PX7: Partial block print reproduction (vol. ja) by Nang bstan shes rig 'dzin skyong slob gnyer khang

In 1965 a reproduction of vol. *ja* of the block print edition was published by Nang bstan shes rig 'dzin skyong slob gnyer khang in sBag sa. I was not able to get hold of a copy of this edition, but it was mentioned by Martin and Bentor (1997, 89) and also has entries in the catalogs of the LOC (LCCN: 89915066) and the LTWA (D01866 & D01867). Its title is *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi yan lag gsum pa bod kyi skabs le'u bcu las skabs gnyis pa bod kyi rgyal rabs*, which coincides with the title of section 3.2 (vol. *ja*) in the block print edition. It covers the chapter about the "Royal genealogy of Tibet" (*bod kyi rgyal rabs*).

## PX8/PX9: Block print from the Tucci collection

In the catalog of the Tucci collection, preserved by the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (IsIAO) in Rome, there are different entries for textual witnesses of the block print edition (nos. 775–79; Rossi Filibeck 2003, 353–55). The catalog provides the volume numbers (in Tibetan from *ka* to *tsa*) contained in each entry, as well as some section titles and sometimes information about the sponsor of the respective volume (extracted from the respective colophon). Obviously, nos. 775–77 and nos. 778–79 add up to complete textual witnesses, respectively. It is not clear to me why they are once split across three entries and once across two entries, but the catalog entries of nos. 778–79 refer to the nos. 775–77. Hence, though not stated very clearly, it can be assumed

that they are textual witnesses of the same printing block.<sup>64</sup> I could not get hold of either of these two textual witnesses, but Rheingans worked with a copy of vol. *pa* of catalog no. 778 and he describes it as follows: "The block print is slightly worn out and its legibility is problematic; at times it is hardly possible" (Rheingans 2021, 134).

# PX10: Incomplete block print preserved by the LTWA

The Tibetan Book and Manuscript Catalog of the LTWA contains nine different entries for presumably one textual witness of the lHo brag block print edition (the "Publisher" field contains the words *bod par*) preserved in Dharamsala. The title of the first entry (D01913) indicates that it contains sections 1 and 2 (vols. *ka–ca*). Furthermore, an addition to the title indicates that vols. *ja* (3.2), *na* (3.7), *ba* (3.10) are missing (*ja*/*na*/*ba*/*gsum ma tshang*). Accordingly, the other entries' (D01914–D01921) titles indicate that they contain vols. *cha* (3.1), *tha* (3.5), *da* (3.6), *pa* (3.8), *pha* (3.9), *ma* (4), *tsa* (5), and *nya* (3.3) in that order. Thus, apparently, apart from the three missing volumes *ja*, *na* and *ba* mentioned in the first entry, vol. *ta* (3.4) is also missing.

# 4-2. Manuscripts

A number of partial manuscripts could be identified, some of them in *dbu med*, and others in *dbu can* script. From the information available, it was not possible to date the manuscripts. A clear statement as to whether they are mere handwritten copies of the xylograph edition or date back to an original manuscript cannot be made at this point. Further content and text critical analysis would have to be undertaken to shed more light on this question.

*PM1: Incomplete (vols. pha–tsa) dbu med manuscript in very good condition* 

BDRC (W3CN17900) digitized a collection of the works of dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba (*dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba'i gsung phyogs bsdus*) in four volumes and made it available for download. It was scanned by BDRC on their premises in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Apart from this meta-information giving ground to conjecture that the physical text might be preserved in the United States, the *dpe cha* itself does not exhibit any hints as to its location of storage, such as a library stamp or the like. The collection mainly contains texts written in *dbu med* script. It can be considered incomplete in the sense that more works which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Rheingans (2021, 134) comes to the same conclusion.

are attributed to dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba are known than those contained here.<sup>65</sup> Volume 4 contains an incomplete edition of the CKG handwritten in *dbu med* script. It contains only volumes *pha* to *tsa*, i.e. the end of the work. Each of the four volume title pages bears a section title like the corresponding title in the block print edition, with a rectangular double stroke frame in red ink surrounding it. The first one or two pages of each volume usually also exhibit this kind of complete double stroke frame, while the further pages only have doubles strokes on the left and right margins of the text block. An exception to this is volume *ba*, which exhibits these margin double strokes on all pages. All fully filled pages have six lines, but in volume *ba*, the face of the script is thinner than in volumes *pha*, *ma* and *tsa*. Moreover, the letters are smaller and the number of syllables per page is clearly higher. This gives ground to conjecture that volume *ba* was written by a different scribe. Generally, in all volumes the paper is in very good condition. Neither damage nor blurs are visible. The script is very clearly written in black ink and very legible (disregarding the sometimes tricky identification of ligatures in *dbu med* script). Occasionally, there are annotations on the upper and lower margins and between the lines written with red ink in *dbu med* script. Especially, on the last few folios of volume *ma*, there are many such annotations. The face of the script of these annotations is not very clear (as opposed to the actual text). When comparing the colophons of the four volumes with their counterparts in the block print edition, the author's colophons are identical, but the printer's colophons (the ones which indicate the sponsor of the printing and the names of the carvers of the wooden printing blocks etc.) are missing, which is expected, as there was no printing involved. The good condition of the *dpe cha* gives ground to conjecture that this manuscript is not very old. Hence, it is either a handwritten copy of an older manuscript or of the block print edition (not copying the printer's colophons). Further analysis might shed some light on this question.

## *PM2: Incomplete (vol. ka–ja) dbu can manuscript from Tucci collection*

The catalog of the Tucci collection, preserved by the IsIAO in Rome, contains an entry for an *dbu can* manuscript (no. 780; Rossi Filibeck 2003, 355). The entry is divided into three sections. Section three refers to no. 775/1 of the catalog (the beginning of the block print edition), which probably means that it comprises the same content. Hence, this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> See e.g. the *dkar chag* of a recently published modern edition of his collected works in fourteen volumes (gTsug lag phreng ba, *dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba'i gsung 'bum, dkar chag*).

would be volumes ka to ca (or sections 1 and 2) of the CKG. According to the catalog, the folio pagination is "1a–92b" (the corresponding part of the block print edition counts fifty-one folios). If folio 92 is the last one of volume *ca*, the manuscript uses almost twice as many folios as the block print for the same content. Section 1 of the catalog entry refers to volume *cha* (section 3.1). The folio pagination is "1a-5b" (twenty-four folios in the block print edition). Comparing these numbers, apparently, a great number of folios must be missing. Section 2 of the catalog entry refers to volume *ja* (section 3.2). The folio pagination is "1a-3b" (compared to 155 folios in the block print edition). Here also, most of the folios of volume *ja* must be missing. All three catalog sub-entries indicate their respective part of the CKG as "incomplete". It is not further differentiated if the folios are only missing at the end of the respective text or also in between. I could not get hold of this manuscript and I have no information to infer if it is a partial copy of the block print edition or if it constitutes a parallel textual transmission. Further text-critical and colophon analysis might answer this question.

## PM3: dbu med manuscript of volume ja ("Richardson manuscript")

The University of Washington Libraries hold an *dbu med* manuscript of volume *ja* of the *CKG* as microfilm (Worldcat OCLC No. 860914911). It comprises 205 folios, which are out of order according to the catalog entry. The entry also says "known as the Richardson ms". The famous scholar Hugh E. Richardson, who travelled Tibet before the Chinese invasion, states that when he was in Lhasa a manuscript copy of volumes *ka* to *ja* was lent to him (Richardson 1959, x). The catalog entry seems to imply that the cataloged text is the one used at that time by Richardson. Either volumes *ka* to *cha* have been lost or, since the folios are described as out of order, it can very well be that those volumes have not been recognized when cataloging it (in the block print edition volumes *ka* to *cha* only count seventy-five folios, while volume *ja* counts 155 folios). Richardson does not explicitly say that his manuscript was copied from the block print edition, but the passage where he writes about it seems to imply that.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> "A manuscript copy of vols KA to JA was lent to me when I was at Lhasa [...] I set about enquiring about other copies. It appears from the colophon that the book was printed at gNas bžis, a bKa' rgyud pa monastery, in Lho brag ..." (Richardson 1959, x). Obviously, the manuscript contained the printer's colophon—a rather clear indication that it had been copied from the xylograph edition.

## PM4: Manuscript of extracts of volume ja

The University of Washington Libraries hold a manuscript containing extracts of volume *ja* of the *CKG* as microfilm made by the British Museum Photographic Service in London in 1962 (Worldcat OCLC No. 859573214). It counts thirty-one pages and must therefore be incomplete (the complete volume *ja* in the block print edition counts 155 folios). It is not stated in the catalog entry whether the manuscript is written in *dbu med* or *dbu can*.

## PM5/PM6: Manuscripts of volume ja (NGMCP)

The Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) holds two different microfilms of manuscripts of volume *ja* of the CKG, both of which bear the section title as known from the xylograph edition.

The first of these manuscripts (PM5) is cataloged under the reel number E755/20-756/1. It counts 204 folios (the xylograph counts 155 folios) and the owner is indicated as Gyaltsen from Kathmandu. The folio size is 9.5 cm x 51 cm. It is attributed to gTsug lag phreng ba as author.

The second manuscript (PM6) has the reel number L 593/3 and counts 106 folios. It is indicated as incomplete. According to a remark, the folios 80, 82, 83, 86, 87, 90, 106 and 107 are missing. Folio size is 8.3 cm x 47.8 cm. It belongs to lCags phug sPrul sku from Phole, Tapeljung. Interestingly, the catalog gives the author's name as Blo gros yangs pa referring to the colophon. This does not seem to be a name of gTsug lag phreng ba, but given the exact match of the volume title, it is still likely that it is a fragment of the *CKG*.

## PM7/PM8: Manuscripts of volume ma (NGMCP)

The NGMCP holds two different microfilms of manuscripts of volume *ma* of the *CKG* (part 4, about the regions other than India and Tibet), both of which bear the section title as known from the xylograph edition.

The first of these manuscripts (PM7) is cataloged under the reel number DD 32/6. It counts twenty-five folios (which matches the number of folios in the block print) and the owner is indicated as Chetsang Rinpoche from Byang chub gling. The folio size is 9.4 cm x 55.5 cm. Interestingly, the catalog provides the author according to the colophon as Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, the Fifth Dalai Lama, which is unlikely given the exact match of the volume title with gTsug lag phreng ba's volume *ma*.

The second manuscript (PM8) has the reel number E 3071/2 and counts forty-two folios. The folio size is 7.2 cm x 42.5 cm. It belongs to Lachen Rinpoche from Lachen, Sikkim. The catalog does not provide any author information.

#### 4-3. Modern Book Editions

A number of different modern book editions of the *CKG* could be identified. Unfortunately, I could not get hold of all of them. It seems very likely that all of them are based on a textual witness of the xylograph edition. Most notable are probably the Lokesh Chandra edition (PB1), as it was already published in 1959 to 1965 and was a very valuable contribution at that time, and the different editions by rDor rje rgyal po (PB2, PB3, PB4), for their clear editorial statement of standardizing spelling to contemporary orthography. The very recent edition by dPal brtsegs (PB5) is very useful inasmuch as the table of contents has been enhanced compared to the block print and exhibits at times a very high granularity.

#### PB1: Lokesh Chandra edition

In the years 1959 to 1965, Lokesh Chandra published an edition of the CKG in four volumes in New Delhi. It is based on a block print he had borrowed and reproduced from one Lopsang Phuntshok Lhalungpa. This block print was incomplete inasmuch as volume *ja*, the chapter about the Tibetan imperial period, was missing (Chandra 1959, viiviii). Therefore, it was omitted in the first three volumes, which have been copied in handwriting in *dbu can* script. Volume 4 of Chandra's edition then contains a reprint of the block print edition of volume *ja*. The handwritten reproduction mostly retains the non-standard spellings of the block print described above, such as *gsung* instead of *gsungs* or the specific variant of the *lhag bcas*. However, wa zur is usually added where one would expect it; also the *la don* particle *tu* is sometimes changed to *du* according to the preceding letter, but not consistently. This observation is based on extracts of volume *pa* I have worked with. In other sections it might be different, especially since Chandra mentions that the text was copied by at least three different scribes.<sup>67</sup> It is not stated if these emendations follow any systematic principle, or if the scribes just did them occasionally where they felt the spelling was incorrect, or maybe even unwittingly.

The handwritten reproduction follows the division of the block print edition into volumes *ka* to *tsa* (apart from volume *ja*) and uses the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> See Chandra 1959, viii, and Chandra 1961. In each of the prefaces to volumes 1 and 2, two scribes are mentioned, where one of the names overlaps. Volume 3 has no preface, hence names or number of scribes are not mentioned.

same section titles. The page numbering at the bottom of each page uses numerals in Devanāgarī script and is continued over the first three volumes. The handwriting occasionally exhibits corrections, where missing letters or syllables are written between the lines above or below the place they belong to. In volumes 2 and 3, folio numbers of the original block print edition are indicated at the left or right margins, respectively. In volume 1 there is no such reference. As described above, in the block print edition there is an image of the Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje, at the beginning of volume *pa*. Even in this respect, Chandra tried to provide a faithful reproduction of the block print by inserting an illustration of Mi bskyod rdo rje right before volume *pa* (PB1, vol. 2, 425). The name and location of the artist are provided in the preface (Chandra 1961).

All four volumes are available for download from BDRC (W1KG24245).

## PB2/PB3/PB4: Beijing edition by rDo rje rgyal po

Mi rigs dpe skrun khang published a modern book edition of the *CKG* in two volumes in Beijing in 1986 (PB2). It was edited by rDo rje rgyal po. Two more editions, this time in one volume, were published by the same publishing house and editor in 2006 (PB3) and 2015 (PB4). The first two editions are available for download at BDRC (W7499; W1PD9606). The 2015 edition has an entry in the BDRC database, but is not available for download (W8LS19006).

The 1986 edition is split into two volumes in the same place as the block print edition, i.e. after volume *na*. The page numbering of the first volume (stod cha) continues in the second volume (smad cha). The first volume contains a table of contents (*dkar chag*) referring to both volumes. The separation into volumes ka to tsa is not used here. Instead, the division into five *yan lag* and a number of *le'u* as subdivisions is used. The information for this structure is contained in the volume titles of the block print and, alternatively, in the colophon. The titles in the table of contents do not always match the wording from those sources exactly, but are at least similar with respect to their meaning. The first volume contains a publisher's preface (*dpe skrun gsal bshad*) of a bit more than one page. According to this preface, the text that the book edition is based on is a print of the Lho brag blocks (*lho brag gi* par ma, PB2, 2). Further, it is stated that spellings that were not in accordance with contemporary orthography were modified, but otherwise the original text is retained.<sup>68</sup> It also gives examples, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> PB2, 1: deng skabs kyi yig srol dang gtan nas mi mthun pa rnams bcos pa las/ de byings tshig dang don rnams ma yig sor bzhag tu bsgrigs yod lags/.

mainly cover changes of the *lhag bcas* particle according to the preceding letter, as well as changes of the phrase connector *cing* and its variants. When comparing the text of this edition to the block print edition, this is confirmed. The irregularities in orthography described above for the block print are emended according to contemporary orthography (this also includes the emendation of *gsung* to *gsungs* etc.).

In the second edition, the one from 2006 (PB3), the original preface is reprinted and additionally, there is a publisher's preface to the second edition (par gzhi gnyis pa'i gsal bshad, PB3, 2–5). It mainly contains a summary of the content of the CKG. However, at the end, it is also said that there has been some editing (*zhus dag*) with respect to mistaken letters (*yi ge nor ba*), mistakes in case markers (*rnam dbye'i phrad*) and in verb tenses (dus gsum by a byed kyi tshig), as well as with respect to missing and additional letters (*yi ge chad lhag*).<sup>69</sup> It is also mentioned that despite the fact that this book is published in its second edition, some mistakes will certainly still remain. This gives ground to conjecture that the editing process described above refers not only to what had already been done for the first edition, but also to another round of editing and proofreading that seems to have taken place. In the few paragraphs that I compared, I could not find any difference in spelling and the like between the two editions. Hence, the changes due to reediting seem to be minor. The preface of the second edition also mentions that additional titles (sa bcad) for chapters (le'u) and subsections (don tshan) were inserted. This can indeed be witnessed in the table of contents and within the text. Much to the reader's convenience, this feature facilitates the quick localization of information within the text and goes clearly beyond the outline of the original block print.<sup>70</sup>

Apart from the orthographic standardization and few occasional errors, the book versions are very faithful to the block print. There is one exception: when looking at the printer's colophons at the end of each volume, there are sometimes significant differences, ranging from replacement of syllables and words to replacement of several clauses.<sup>71</sup> It is not clear to me where this comes from. The printer's colophon is usually carved in smaller letters on the printing block and therefore a bit more difficult to read. However, in the textual witness of the block print edition I have seen, legibility of this part was still acceptable.

I could not get hold of a copy of the third edition of the book published in 2015 (PB4). However, it seems reasonable to me to assume that the changes made to the 2006 edition are very minor, if extant at all.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> PB3, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> For this reason, I used this outline in Appendix D of this paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> One of the more striking examples is the colophon of volume *nya*. Compare PB3, 262, with PX1, 503.

#### PB5: Lhasa edition by dPal brtsegs

Only recently, dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang gathered the available works of dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba. All texts were typed in on computers and published as his Collected Works in a modern book format in fourteen volumes in 2019. There is a record of this work in the BDRC database (W3CN25711), but its text cannot be accessed. I was able to obtain a copy of the *dkar chag* of all volumes.<sup>72</sup> The first four volumes contain an edition of the CKG. I have no information as to any principles of editing applied to the text. However, what is remarkable about this edition is that it comes with a very detailed table of contents, which goes far beyond that of the original block print edition. In some places its granularity lags the table of contents of rDo rje rgyal po's 2006 edition (PB3), while in other places it exceeds it. In volume *ja*, which covers the royal genealogy of Tibet (*bod kyi rgyal rabs*), rDo rje rgyal po dedicates a separate entry to most of the kings presented in the text, adding up to seventeen subsections, while dPal brtsegs only divides the volume into eight subsections. For volume *na*, the account of the general doctrinal history of the bKa' brgyud (bka' brgyud spyi'i chos kyi byung ba briod pa), the situation is opposite. rDo rje rgval po does not provide any subsections, while dPal brtsegs is extremely granular here. An entry is dedicated to every single person appearing in this volume, even if the subsection sometimes covers less than one page. It starts with eighteen characters of the Indian part of the lineage and continues with the Tibetan protagonists (such as Mar pa, Mi la ras pa, sGam po pa etc.), for which it even exhibits entries for sub-subsections. For volume pa, the account of the doctrinal history of the Karma Kam tshang (karma kam tshang gi chos kyi byung ba brjod pa), the situation is somewhat similar, though less extreme. rDo rje rgyal po provides an entry for each of the Karma pas (from the First to the Eighth Karma pa), while dPal brtsegs is more granular. Very often, at the end of a *rnam thar* a list of the students of the respective master is provided. Sometimes, the students are not only mentioned, but a short description of their lives, which may comprise up to a couple of pages, is included. This is also the case for the Karma pa life stories contained in the CKG. dPal brtsegs dedicates entries to those students in the table of contents, which is very useful information, especially if the students are less prominent and other accounts of their lives have not come down to us. As for volume *ba*, the doctrinal history of various transmission lineages (chos brgyud sna tshogs pa'i chos kyi byung ba), the tables of contents of both books provide the same level of additional granularity, a division of subsections into four different schools. Similarly,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> I would like to thank Jörg Heimbel for providing this to me.

for volume *ma*, the chapter about Khotan, Earlier China, Tangut, Mongolia and Later China (*li yul dang*/ *rgya nag snga ma*/ *mi nyag*/ *hor*/ *rgya nag phyi ma bcas kyi skabs*), both books divide the chapter into five subsections according to the regions. As for volume *tsa*, the history of the five fields of knowledge (*yul spyi dang shes bya'i gtso bo rig gnas lnga byung tshul*), it is divided into five subsections by rDo rje rgyal po, while dPal brtsegs does not add granularity. Since the dPal brtsegs edition forms a part of the collected works of dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba, the remainder of volume 4 is filled up with texts that are not part of the *CKG*.

# PB6: Lhasa edition by Tshe ring rdo rje

According to the Library of Congress Catalog, there is an edition of the *CKG* in two volumes edited by Tshe ring rdo rje and published by Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang in Lhasa in 2014.<sup>73</sup> It appeared in a series called *Gangs can gtsug lag rin chen phreng ba* as volume 9. I have no further information about this edition.

# PB7: Varanasi edition by Vajra Vidya Institute

According to the Tibetan Book and Manuscript Catalog of the LTWA, there is an edition of the *CKG* in two volumes published by Vajra Vidya Institute in Sarnath, Varanasi, in 2002 and 2003 (D29446 & D29447). I have no further information about this edition.

# PB8: Karma Lekshey Ling edition

There is a purely electronic edition of the *CKG* published by the Karma Lekshey Ling Institute in Kathmandu in 2014. It counts 1031 pages and is available for free download.<sup>74</sup> The table of contents lists titles according to the seventeen volumes of the block print and additionally provides the section numbering, but there is no additional granularity (PB8, 1–2). Folio numbers of the block print, as well as volume and front or back side, are indicated in the text in brackets at each change-over using Tibetan letters and numerals. The book pages themselves bear Arabic numerals for pagination. At the end of the book, after the colophon, verses of good wishes (*par byang smon tshig*) have been added (PB8, 1031). Principles of editing are not mentioned in the book, but it seems that some standardization to contemporary orthography has been applied, e.g. *gsung* has been changed to *gsungs* in the samples

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> <u>https://lccn.loc.gov/2017323915</u>, accessed 6 March 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> http://www.dharmadownload.net/pages/english/Texts/texts\_0095.htm, accessed March 19, 2021.

I looked at.

#### 4-4. Summary

I leave it to the reader to decide which editions to use, and, of course, it depends very much on the purpose to be served. Nevertheless, I would like to try a summary to provide some orientation. All prints and published reprints of prints from the wooden printing blocks should be equivalent, if no restoration of the printing blocks took place between the prints. Therefore, for most purposes, it should be sufficient to use one representative of this class. Due to their legibility and completeness, PX1 or PX2 should be a most convenient choice. Concerning the manuscripts, the question of whether they are mere handwritten copies of the xylograph edition needs to be approached, e.g. through text-critical analysis. However, depending on which part of the CKG is to be studied, the manuscripts that have come down to us might be irrelevant, as they are all partial manuscripts, and even taken together do not cover the whole CKG. As for the modern book editions, they are helpful at times. The rDo rje rgyal po editions (PB2, PB3, PB4) use the approach of standardizing the block prints' archaic spelling to contemporary orthography, but otherwise are faithful to the original. Their emendations should, of course, not be consumed uncritically, but can be considered as valuable suggestions for a better understanding of the text. The newer rDo rje rgyal po editions (PB3, PB4) and for some sections, especially the dPal brtsegs edition (PB5) can be very valuable for finding information quickly due to their at times very granular table of contents. Based on the current state of analysis, it seems that the differences between the editions are mostly limited to minor spelling variants. Therefore, depending on the purpose to be served, it can also be justified to just pick up any of them.

## 5. Conclusion

In this article, an introduction into the *chos 'byung* genre and the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* by the Second dPa' bo, gTsug lag phreng ba, have been provided. The state of research on the author's life has been highlighted and a brief summary of his life has been compiled. The structure of his much-praised religio-historical oeuvre has been outlined. Finally, different textual witnesses and editions of the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* have been identified and described.

To date, it seems not much of this oeuvre has been translated and only parts have been researched to a certain extent. Hence, there is much work left for future research. A next useful step could be to compile a bibliography of research and translations based on the *Chos*  *'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Likewise, research on gTsug lag phreng ba's life is still in its infancy, given the extent of available biographical sources.

Referring to the quote by Hugh Richardson presented at the beginning of the paper ("Detailed examination of the whole work is likely to provide a wealth of information [...] on many aspects of Tibetan studies"), my feeling is that this wealth of information is still far from having been explored fully, even more than sixty years later. I hope this paper helps to draw some, certainly deserved, attention to gTsug lag phreng ba's *chos 'byung*, as well as to his life.

## Appendix A: Title, Worship, Declaration of Intent

In this appendix, first, the Tibetan text of the title page and the beginning of volume *ka* of the xylograph edition is provided according to PX1. Variant readings according to the modern book edition PB3 are supplemented in the footnotes. However, here the variant readings are mostly limited to spelling standardization. Afterward, a translation is provided. The paragraph presented here can be divided into the title page, the expression of worship (*mchod brjod*, partly in verse), and the declaration of intent for the exposition (*bshad par dam bca' ba*, in verse).

Tibetan Text

## [Title page]

(PX1, vol. 1, p. 1)

dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston zhes bya ba'i legs par bshad pa la yan lag chen po lnga las yan lag dang po 'jig rten gyi khams spyir bstan pa dang/ yan lag gnyis pa rgya gar gyi skabs la le'u bzhi las dang po ston pa'i mdzad pa bshad pa/ gnyis pa bka' bsdu ba khyad par du bshad pa/ gsum pa dkon mchog gsum gyi rten byung tshul bzhi pa rgya gar gyi rgyal rabs rnams bzhugs so//

## [Expression of worship (mchod brjod)]

(PX1, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 1)

dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur rgyal rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston zhes bya ba'i legs par bshad pa/ thams cad mkhyen pa sras dang slob mar bcas pa la phyag 'tshal lo/

/don kun rab grub skye 'gro'i rten gnas gcig po gang/ /theg gsum dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los mnga' sgyur ba/ /ston pa mchog dang de sras slob mar bcas kun la/ /byang chub bar du spyi bos 'dud to<sup>75</sup> rab 'dud to<sup>76</sup>/

# [**Declaration of intent for the exposition** (*bshad par dam bca' ba*)] (PX1, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 3)

/rab mchog gtso bo rnams kyi ngo mtshar gtam/ /thos tshe bdag 'dra gyi na'i skye bo yang/ /lus kyi spu ldang mchi ma khong nas 'khrug

/dad pa'i shugs drag zlogs<sup>77</sup> par dka' gyur na/ /skal bzang blo gsal dpyod ldan skye bo rnams/ /ci phyir dad pa'i dbang stobs rgyas mi 'gyur/

/mtshan thos tsam yang don chen ldan 'gyur na/ /mos cing<sup>78</sup> gus par gyur rnams lta ci smos/

/de phyir dam pa rnams kyi yon tan la/ /gcig du<sup>79</sup> dad pas yid rab drang ba dang/ /bdag dang skal mnyam gzhan la'ang phan bya'i phyir/ /chos rgyal rnams kyi mdzad pa'i tshul bzang 'bri/

/rgya mtsho'i chu bo sngon nas mang bcus mod/ /da dung su yis blangs kyang mi zad ltar/ /'di tshul sngon rabs mkhas pas mang sbyar mod/ /da dung legs (PX1, p. 3) bshad mkhas pa'i spyi nor yin/ /'on yang<sup>80</sup> don rgyas tshig nyung mtha' rgya chod/

/kun la gzur gnas nges pa'i khungs dang 'brel/ /chos nyid la 'jug mtshan mar mi smra ba/ /de ni legs bshad 'di yi khyad chos ste<sup>81</sup>/ /de bas blo ldan rnams kyis mnyan par gyis/

Translation

## [Title page]

In "The excellent exposition elucidating the history of the ones who ruled through the wheel of the authentic Dharma, called the 'Feast of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> *do* PB3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> *do* PB3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> *zlog* PB3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> shing PB3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> *tu* PB3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> kyang PB3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> *te* PB3.

the Wise'",<sup>82</sup> among the five major parts the first part [is] the "Overview of the world". In the second part, the "Chapter on India", among the four sections, the first [one is] the "Exposition of the Buddha's actions", the second [one is] the "Exposition of the coverage of the Buddhist Councils", the third [one is] the "History of the representation of the Three Jewels" [and] the fourth [one is] the "Royal genealogy of India".<sup>83</sup>

#### [Expression of worship (mchod brjod)]

"The excellent exposition elucidating the history of the victorious ones who ruled through the wheel of the authentic Dharma, called the 'Feast of the Wise'"<sup>84</sup>. [We] pay homage to the sons and students of the Omniscient One, to [all of them] together.

Until enlightenment [we] bow down with the crown of [our] head to the one who controls the three vehicles by means of the wheel of the authentic Dharma, [the one] who [is] the only place of support of all sentient beings [for] the full accomplishment [of] the benefit of all. [We bow down] to the Supreme Teacher and his sons and students, to all [of them] together. [We] bow down fully.

#### [Declaration of intent for the exposition (*bshad par dam bca' ba*)]

When [they] hear the accounts of the miracles of the highest, the supreme, the principal ones, even the hair of the body [of] beings of a level similar to ours stand on end [and they have] tears of being touched inside.

If it will be difficult to repel the great force of trust [once developed], why have beings with good fortune [and] an analytical clear intellect not developed [this] strong power of trust?

If [one] will be endowed with great benefit, even if [one] only hears the name, what is there to say [about] the view [of] those who became respectful and oriented toward [it]?

For that reason, only through trust, the highest mind will be drawn toward the qualities of the authentic ones, and in order to bring benefit also to others [who are] of similar kind to myself, [I] write [about] the excellent way of acting of the victorious ones of the Dharma.<sup>85</sup>

The rivers, which [became] the ocean, previously collected lots of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Identical to title in colophon, but different from title in incipit. An analysis and discussion of the translation of the title is found in the introduction of this paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Tib. *rgya gar gyi rgyal rabs*. In the colophon, this section is called *rgyal po byon tshul* instead ("Royal history").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Differs from title on title page and in colophon by one syllable. An analysis and discussion of the translation of the title is found in the introduction of this paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Tib. *chos rgyal rnams,* "Dharma kings", here probably to be understood in a wider sense as also including the Buddhist masters he writes about, therefore rendered as "victorious ones of the Dharma".

water, but still: "By whom has [it] been taken, although [it is] inexhaustible?"

In this way, the scholars [of] previous generations composed a lot, but still an excellent exposition is the overall wealth of a scholar.

Nevertheless, the little [number of] words puts a limit [to] an extensive presentation.

In all passages, [the text] right in front relates to reliable sources. The entering into the very Dharma cannot [be] expressed in conceptual structure. As for that, the divisions of this excellent exposition [are] Dharma: Therefore, intelligent ones listen!

# Appendix B: Epilogue, Colophon

In this appendix, first, the Tibetan text of the end of volume *tsa* of the xylograph edition is provided according to PX1. Variant readings according to the modern book edition PB3 are supplemented in the footnotes. However, here the variant readings are mostly limited to spelling standardization. Afterward, a translation is provided. The paragraph presented here can be divided into an epilogue (in verse), an outline of the structure of the work (in prose), the author's colophon providing the circumstances of composition (in prose), and the printer's colophon providing the circumstances of printing (in verse).

Tibetan Text

# [Epilogue]

(PX1, vol. 2, p. 705, l. 7) de ltar bskal pa bzang po 'di nyid kyi/ /bzhi pa shAkya seng ge'i bstan pa mchog (PX1, 706) gsal bar mdzad pa'i skyes chen dam pa'i tshogs/ /grangs med kun du<sup>86</sup> khyab par byon pa las/ /'phags yul rgya nag hor dang li yul dang / /byang phyogs bod kyi yul du byon pa rnams/ /ngo mtshar gtam gyi cha shas dpag med las/ /cung zad tsam re bdag gis dad pas brjod/ /'dir 'bad dge bas bod kyi rgyal khams 'di'i/ /dus 'khrug yams nad thams cad rgyun chad cing/ /'gro kun dal 'byor don dang ldan byed pas/ /dam pa'i chos kyi snod tu<sup>87</sup> rung bar shog /tshe rabs kun tu snying po'i bstan la 'jug

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> *tu* PB3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> *tu* PB3.
/sangs rgyas dngos kyi bla mas rjes su 'dzin/ *legs pa'i rten 'brel mtha' dag lhun grub pas/* /rang gzhan don gnyis cig char 'grub gyur cig

## [Outline]

(PX1, vol. 2, p. 706, l. 3)

/dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston zhes bya ba'i legs par bshad pa las yan lag dang po'i 'jig rten gyi khams spyir bstan pa'i skabs/

yan lag gnyis pa rgya gar gyi skabs la ston pa'i mdzad pa bshad pa/ bka' bsdu ba khyad par du bshad pa/ dkon mchog gsum gyi rten ji ltar byung tshul rgyal po byon tshul ste nang tshan du le'u bzhi/

yan lag gsum pa bod yul gyi skabs la dang por spyan ras gzigs kyis bod bdag gir mdzad tshul/ gnyis pa chos rgyal gyi rgyal rabs/ gsum pa 'dul ba'i chos byung/ bzhi pa lo pan ji ltar byon pa/ lnga pa gsang sngags snga 'gyur gyi chos byung/drug pa bka' gdams kyi chos byung /bdun pa bka' rgyud spyi'i chos byung/ brgyad pa karma kaM tshang gi chos byung/ dgu pa 'bri khung bka' rgyud kyi chos byung/ bcu pa chos rgyud sna tshogs pa'i chos byung ste nang tshan le'u bcu/

yan lag bzhi pa rgya nag sogs su chos byung tshul/

yan lag lnga pa spyir rig gnas ji ltar byung tshul ste skabs chen po lnga/nang tshan le'u bcu bdun gyis (PX1, 707)/legs par grub pa ste/

#### [Author's colophon]

(PX1, vol. 2, p. 707, l. 1)

rang gi dad pa'i blo dang/ sa skyong ba<sup>88</sup> chen po bsod nams rab brtan gyis bskul bar mdzad pa'i rkyen las/ shākya'i dge slong dus kyi dbang gis chos smra ba'i re mos su son pa mi pham chos kyi rgyal po don yongs su grub pa ming gzhan gtsug lag gi phreng ba 'dzin pas rang lo zhe gnyis pa la skabs dang po gsum<sup>89</sup> brtsams cing<sup>90</sup>/ phyis rang lo drug bcu pa'i skabs ci rigs par le'u lhag ma rnams bris cing<sup>91</sup> re gcig pa shing pho byi ba'i lo hor zla gnyis pa'i tshes gcig la dpal sangs rgyas mi 'gyur lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang chen por grub par bgyis pa dge bar mthar phyin to//

### [Printer's colophon]

(PX1, vol. 2, p. 707, l. 4) //rig gnas lnga yi chos kyi byung ba 'di/ /gnam gshegs dpal 'byor bzang mo'i dgongs rdzogs phyir/ *lho brag gnas kyi gzhis khar par du bsgrubs* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> pa PB3. <sup>89</sup> gsum pa

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> gsum pa PB3.
<sup>90</sup> shing PB3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> shing PB3.

/yig rkos<sup>92</sup> gnyis ka byed po g.ye pa<sup>93</sup> yin/ /dge 'dis 'gro kun thams cad mkhyen thob shog/ //

#### Translation

### [Epilogue]

With regard to that [text], [the bodhisattvas<sup>94</sup>] came to form<sup>95</sup> completely the innumerable assembly of authentic great beings who elucidate the excellent teachings of the lion of the Śākyas,<sup>96</sup> the fourth [Buddha] of our own "good kalpa".

From among unfathomably [many] pieces of amazing episodes [of] those who came to the Noble Land [India], China, Mongolia, Khotan and to the North, to the land of Tibet, I faithfully described only a few [for] each [of them].

Through virtuous effort, during the period of this Tibetan kingdom, all contagious diseases were stopped and all beings were endowed with the benefit of [the eight] freedoms [and the ten] circumstances [which turn the human body into a precious one].<sup>97</sup> Therefore, may [they] be suitable vessels for the excellent Dharma!

[May they] practice the essential teachings in all lifetimes!

[May they] be guided by the lamas who are the real buddhas!

Through spontaneous accomplishment [of] the excellent connections in [their] entirety, may the two-fold benefit for oneself and others be accomplished at once!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> brkos PB3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> ba PB3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> The first part of the sentence, the temporal clause ending in *byon pa las*, which I made into a separate sentence in English, has no subject mentioned. It only appears in the main clause as *yang phyogs bod kyi yul du byon pa rnams*, but using it in the first clause does not sound good in English due to doubling and length. Therefore, I inserted a subject according to meaning, "the bodhisattvas", which refers to the different lamas and teachers described in this work. Given the context of Mahāyāna and the fact that many of them are described to have descended from a heavenly realm, as would a bodhisattva incarnating in this world, the term "bodhisattva" seems appropriate to be used here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Tib. *khyab pa*. It might be a rather free translation to render it with "to form", but it appears to me that the meaning is not that there is one group that permeates another group, but that they actually make up this group.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Tib. *shAkya seng ge*. Skt. Šākyasiṃha, epithet of Buddha Śākyamuni.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Tib. *dal 'byor* refers to the two aspects of the precious human body (*mi lus rin po che*)—"the eight freedoms" (*dal ba brgyad*) and "the ten connections" (*'byor pa bcu*). The eight freedoms refer to being free from the eight unfree states, in which beings cannot practice the Dharma. The ten connections are the circumstances which make a human existence suitable for practicing the Dharma. The person has connected with these ten circumstances through previous accumulated merit (Duff 2009, *dal 'byor, dal ba brgyad, 'byor pa bcu*).

### [Outline]

[In] "The excellent exposition elucidating the history of the ones who ruled through the wheel of the authentic Dharma, called the 'Feast of the Wise'"<sup>98</sup> the first part [is] the chapter on the "Overview of the world".

In the second part, the "Chapter on India", [there is] a division into four sections: [2.1] "Exposition of the Buddha's actions", [2.2] "Exposition of the coverage of the Buddhist Councils", [2.3] "History of the representation of the Three Jewels", [and 2.4] "Royal history".<sup>99</sup>

In the third part, the "Chapter on Tibet", [there is] a division into ten sections: [3.1] "How Avalokiteśvara took possession of Tibet", [3.2] "Royal genealogy of Dharma kings", [3.3] "Doctrinal history of the Vinaya teachings", [3.4] "History of translators and paṇḍitas", [3.5] "Doctrinal history of the early translation of the secret mantra", [3.6] "Doctrinal history of the bKa' gdams [tradition]", [3.7] "General doctrinal history of the bKa' brgyud [tradition]", [3.8] "Doctrinal history of the Karma Kam tshang [tradition]", [3.9] "Doctrinal history of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud [tradition]", [and 3.10] "Doctrinal history of various transmission lineages".

The fourth part [deals with] the [4.] "Doctrinal history of China and other [countries]".

The fifth part [deals with] the [5.] "History of the [five] fields of knowledge in general". [The work] has been well accomplished through five major parts [and] an inner division [into] seventeen<sup>100</sup> sections.

### [Author's colophon]

Out of the circumstances of being encouraged by my own faithful wishes<sup>101</sup> and by the great ruler bSod nams rab brtan,<sup>102</sup> [and since] the Dharma has come down [to us] through time [from] the fully ordained monks of [Buddha] Śākya[muni] via alternations of [re]telling, [I], Mi pham chos kyi rgyal po don yongs su grub pa, also bearing the name of gTsug lag gi phreng ba, started<sup>103</sup> the first three chapters at the age

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Identical to title on title page, but different from title in incipit. An analysis and discussion of the translation of the title is found in the introduction of this paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Tib. *rgyal po byon tshul*. On the title page this section is called *rgya gar gyi rgyal rabs* instead ("Royal genealogy of India").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> The five parts are mentioned here. The seventeen sections correspond to the number of volumes (*ka* to *tsa*) the work is organized into.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Tib. *rang gi dad pa'i blo*, lit. "my own faithful mind".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> On his identity, see the discussion in the introduction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Here the past stem of the verb *rtsom* is used, which has two meanings: "to compose" and "to start". Hence, it is not clear, if he composed those parts within that year or if he started to write them. Given the mere extent of part 3 and its being based on various sources, it seems unlikely to have been written within one year

of forty-two [1545]. Afterwards, when [I was] sixty years old, [I] wrote the remaining sections of various kinds. [At the age of] sixty-one, at the first day of the second month of the male wood-mouse year (1564), in the big temple dPal sangs rgyas mi 'gyur lhun gyis grub pa,<sup>104</sup> [I] finally completed [this] virtuous undertaking.

## [Printer's colophon]

This doctrinal history of the five fields of knowledge<sup>105</sup> was produced in printing at the IHo brag gnas kyi gzhis kha [printing house]<sup>106</sup> in order to complete the intent of gNam gshegs dpal 'byor bzang mo.<sup>107</sup> The one who did both writing and carving is [called] g.Ye pa. May all beings attain omniscience through this virtue!

# **Appendix C: Structure of Block Print Edition**

The following table presents the structure of the xylograph edition in terms of volumes, volume titles and sections. This also corresponds to the structure devised originally by the author, as it is also described in this way in the author's colophon (see Appendix B). The modern book editions do not necessarily refer to the seventeen volumes, but they use the section structure and sometimes enhance its granularity.

Print Vol- ume	Vol- ume	Fo- lios	Sec- tion	Title
1/	ka	13	1	dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston zhes bya ba'i legs par bshad pa
stod	kha	13	2.1	la yan lag chen po lnga las yan lag dang po 'jig rten gyi khams

<sup>(</sup>unless all the information had been gathered and extracted before). Also Bjerregaard (2007, 29) concludes from his biographies that he was working on the *CKG* for almost twenty years.

<sup>104</sup> Lit. "the big temple where the unchanging [state of] the glorious Buddha is accomplished spontaneously". This is the name of the temple of bSams yas monastery given by BDRC (G287) as dPal lugs gsum mi 'gyur lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang. For gTsug lag phreng ba, bSams yas was one of the most important places for writing this work, as "copies of original documents from the time of the early kings [...] had been preserved" there and he copied many of them himself and included them in the *CKG* (Richardson 1980, 62). An example of an edict copied by him is found in Richardson (1980, 64), where gTsug lag phreng ba explicitly mentions the temple of "bsams yas lhung gyis grub pa" (PX1, vol. 1, 366).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> While the paragraphs before referred to the work as a whole, this paragraph only refers to the last volume (*tsa*), since each volume bears a printer's colophon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Full name of the printing house as given in BDRC, G3JT12590: IHo brag gnas kyi gzhis kha'i par khang. As explained in the introduction, it seems that not all printing blocks were produced in the same location and at the same time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> For possible sponsors, see the discussion in the introduction.

	ga	10	2.2	spyir bstan pa dang/ yan lag gnyis pa rgya gar gyi skabs la le'u
	nga	6	2.3	bzhi las dang po ston pa'i mdzad pa bshad pa/ gnyis pa bka' bsdu ba khyad par du bshad pa/ gsum pa dkon mchog gsum gyi
	са	9	2.4	rten byung tshul bzhi pa rgya gar gyi rgyal rabs rnams bzhugs so//
	cha	24	3.1	chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi yan lag gsum pa bod kyi skabs la le'u bcu las dang po thugs rje chen pos bod bdag gir mdzad tshul bzhugs/
	ja	155	3.2	chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi yan lag gsum pa bod kyi skabs la le'u bcu las skabs gnyis pa bod kyi rgyal rabs bzhugs//
	nya	22	3.3	dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston zhes bya ba las yan lag gsum pa bod kyi skabs la le'u bcu las gsum pa 'dul ba'i chos 'byung bzhugs so//
	ta	14	3.4	dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston zhes bya ba las yan lag gsum pa bod kyi skabs la le'u bcu las bzhi pa lo paṇ chos 'byung bzhugs//
	tha	65	3.5	chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi yan lag gsum pa bod yul gyi skabs la le'u bcu las skabs lnga pa gsang sngags rnying ma'i chos 'byung bzhugs so//
	da	44	3.6	chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi bod yul gyi skabs la le'u bcu las drug pa bka' gdams chos 'byung bzhugs//
	na	60	3.7	chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi yan lag gsum pa bod gyi skabs las bdun pa bka' brgyud spyi'i chos 'byung bzhugs//
	ра	253	3.8	chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi yan lag gsum pa bod gyi skabs las brgyad pa sgrub rgyud karma kam tshang gi chos 'byung rgyas pa bzhugs//
	pha	12	3.9	chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi yan lag gsum pa bod gyi skabs las dgu pa 'bri gung bka' rgyud kyi rnam thar snying po bzhugs so//
2/ smad	ba	13	3.10	chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi yan lag gsum pa bod gyi skabs la le'u bcu las bcu pa chos rgyud sna tshogs pa'i chos 'byung bzhugs so//
	ma	25	4	chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston las yan lag bzhi pa la li yul/ rgya nag snga ma/ mi nyag/ hor/ rgya nag phyi ma rnams su rgyal po dang chos ji ltar byung ba rnams bzhugs so//
	tsa	50	5	chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi yan lag lnga pa yul spyi dang bye brag ma phye bar shes bya'i gtso bo rig gnas lnga ji ltar byung tshul bshad pa bzhugs so//

Table 4: Structure of Block Print Edition

# Appendix D: Table of Contents—Translated

The outline of the different sections in the colophon was translated in Appendix B. Here, I chose to translate the table of contents of the modern book edition PB3. It coincides with the block print in structure and content, but exhibits a higher granularity, and thus sheds more light on the content. As an edition-independent measure, the table provides the number of syllables<sup>108</sup> (instead of folios or pages). Additionally, the lengths of the different entries have been related to the total length of the opus expressed as a percentage, in order to provide an intuitive idea of the significance of the different paragraphs.<sup>109</sup>

Sec- tion	Title	Sylla- bles	Per- cent
	Expression of worship <i>mchod brjod</i>	87	0.0%
	Declaration of intent for the exposition <i>bshad par dam bca' ba</i>	193	0.0%
1.	Overview of the world 'jig rten gyi khams spyir bstan pa	8186	1.6%
2.	The chapter about India <i>rgya gar kyi skabs</i>		
2.1.	Exposition of the Buddha's actions <i>ston pa'i mdzad pa</i>	8265	1.6%
2.2.	Exposition of the coverage of the Buddhist Councils <i>bka' bsdu ba khyab par du bshad pa</i>	7091	1.4%
2.3.	History of the representation of the Three Jewels <i>dkon mchog gsum gyi rten byung tshul</i>	3893	0.8%
2.4.	Royal genealogy of India 1gya gar gyi rgyal rabs	5829	1.1%
3.	The chapter about Tibet <i>bod kyi skabs</i>		
3.1.	How the Great Compassionate One [Avalokiteśvara] took possession of Tibet <i>thugs rje chen pos bod bdag gir mdzad tshul</i>	14616	2.9%
3.2.	Royal genealogy of Tibet bod kyi rgyal rabs		
3.2.1.	History of human population in Tibet bod yul du mi'i 'gro ba byung tshul	2219	0.4%

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Based on some samples, average syllable amounts for full pages and lines have been determined and used to estimate the length of all parts and sections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Pirie and Manson (2017, 2–3) also provide a translation of parts of the table of contents of PB3. Their focus is mostly on part 3 and there especially on section 3.2 (royal genealogy of Tibet) with its subsections.

3.2.2.	About the twelve minor king[dom]s amongst other things rgyal phran bcu gnyis sogs kyi skor	348	0.1%
3.2.3.	About the seven heavenly kings gnam gyi khri bdun gyi skor	1370	0.3%
3.2.4.	About the two superior kings of the upper sphere stod kyi steng gnyis kyi skor	1653	0.3%
3.2.5.	About the six excellent kings of the terrestrial sphere and the eight lDe kings of the intermediate sphere <i>sa yi legs drug dang bar gyi lde brgyad skor</i>	196	0.0%
3.2.6.	About the five inferior kings 'og gi btsan lnga'i skor	2936	0.6%
3.2.7.	About the king Srong btsan sgam po rgyal po srong btsan sgam po'i skor	40433	7.9%
3.2.8.	About the king Mang srong mang btsan rgyal po mang srong mang btsan gyi skor	305	0.1%
3.2.9.	About the king 'Dus srong mang po rje rgyal po 'dus srong mang po rje'i skor	283	0.1%
3.2.10.	About the king Khri lde gtsug brtan rgyal po khri lde gtsug brtan gyi skor	1131	0.2%
3.2.11.	About the king Khri srong lde btsan rgyal po khri srong lde btsan gyi skor	34496	6.8%
3.2.12.	About the king Mu ne btsan po rgyal po mu ne btsan po'i skor	2849	0.6%
3.2.13.	About the king Khri lde srong btsan rgyal po khri lde srong btsan gyi skor	2436	0.5%
3.2.14.	About the king Khri gtsug lde btsan Ral ba can rgyal po khri gtsug lde btsan ral ba can gyi skor	1979	0.4%
3.2.15.	About the king 'U dum btsan rgyal po 'u dum btsan gyi skor	3524	0.7%
3.2.16.	About [the kings] gNam lde 'od srung, Khri lde yum brtan and others gnam lde 'od srung dang khri lde yum brtan sogs kyi skor	5829	1.1%
3.2.17.	About Ra sa [lHa sa], bSam yas and other [places] ra sa dang bsam yas sogs kyi skor	4807	0.9%
3.3.	Account of the history of the Vinaya teachings 'dul ba'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	13898	2.7%
3.4.	History of Buddhist translators and paṇḍitas lo paṇ chos 'byung	8135	1.6%
3.5.	Account of the doctrinal history of the rNying ma [tradi- tion] of the secret mantra gsang sngags rnying ma'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	39063	7.7%
3.6.	Account of the history of the bKa' gdams [tradition] <i>bka' gdams kyi byung ba brjod pa</i>	27449	5.4%

3.7.	Account of the general doctrinal history of the bKa' brgyud [tradition] bka' brgyud spyi'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	39911	7.8%
3.8.	Account of the doctrinal history of the Karma Kam tshang [tradition] <i>karma kam tshang gi chos kyi byung ba brjod pa</i>		
3.8.1.	[First] Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa karma dus gsum mkhyen pa	7243	1.4%
3.8.2.	[Second Karma pa] Karma pakshi Chos kyi bla ma karma pakshi chos kyi bla ma	13159	2.6%
3.8.3.	[Third] Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje karma rang byung rdo rje	10940	2.1%
3.8.4.	[Fourth] Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje karma rol pa'i rdo rje	14290	2.8%
3.8.5.	[Fifth] Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa <i>karma de bzhin gshegs pa</i>	12528	2.5%
3.8.6.	[Sixth] Karma pa mThong ba don ldan karma mthong ba don ldan	1936	0.4%
3.8.7.	[Seventh] Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho karma chos grags rga mtsho	60596	11.9%
3.8.8.	[Eighth] Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje karma mi bskyod rdo rje	44131	8.7%
3.9.	Account of the history of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud [tra- dition] 'bri gung bka' brgyud kyi byung ba brjod pa		
3.9.1.	The teachings [on] the origin of the transmission lineage <i>chos brgyud kyi khungs bstan pa</i>	1436	0.3%
3.9.2.	Spread of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud [tradition] 'bri gung bka' brgyud dar tshul	5111	1.0%
3.10.	Account of the doctrinal history of various transmission lineages <i>chos brgyud sna tshogs pa'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa</i>	283	0.1%
3.10.1.	About the Zhi byed [tradition] <i>zhi byed pa'i skor</i>	479	0.1%
3.10.2.	About the Sa skya pa [tradition] <i>sa skya pa'i skor</i>	2784	0.5%
3.10.3.	About the [tradition of the] gCod [practice] gcod kyi skor	805	0.2%
3.10.4.	About the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud [tradition] shangs pa bka' brgyud kyi skor	2893	0.6%
4.	The chapter about Khotan, Earlier China, Tangut, Mongo- lia and Later China <i>li yul dang/ rgya nag snga ma/ mi nyag/ hor/ rgya nag phyi ma</i> <i>bcas kyi skabs</i>		

4.1.	Account of the kings and the doctrinal history of Khotan <i>li yul gyi rgyal po dang chos kyi byung ba brjod pa</i>	1958	0.4%
4.2.	Account of the kings and the doctrinal history of Earlier China rgya nag snga ma'i rgyal po dang chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	6612	1.3%
4.3.	Account of the kings and the doctrinal history of Tangut <i>mi nyag gi rgyal po dang chos kyi byung ba brjod pa</i>	1566	0.3%
4.4.	Account of the kings and the doctrinal history of Mongo- lia hor gyi rgyal po dang chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	3502	0.7%
4.5.	Account of the kings and the doctrinal history of Later China <i>rgya nag phyi ma'i rgyal po dang chos kyi byung ba brjod pa</i>	305	0.1%
5.	History of the five fields of knowledge—the overall sub- jects and principal objects of knowledge yul spyi dang shes bya'i gtso bo rig gnas lnga byung tshul	174	0.0%
5.1.	About the science of inner development <i>nang don rig pa'i skor</i>	24012	4.7%
5.2.	About the science of valid cognition <i>tshad ma rig pa'i skor</i>	1675	0.3%
5.3.	About the science of language <i>sgra rig pa'i skor</i>	1718	0.3%
5.4.	About the science of fabrication [incl. arts and crafts] <i>bzo rig pa'i skor</i>	783	0.2%
5.5.	About the science of healing gso ba rig pa'i skor	4328	0.9%
	Epilogue, colophon	544	0.1%

Table 5: Translated Section Titles

## **Appendix E: Page Numbers for Available Sources**

The table provided in Appendix E is meant as a practical resource, which can save a lot of time when working with the different sources. It shows directly which sections are present in which source and on which page or folio number they start.<sup>110</sup> The incipit of all sections is also provided. Apart from quickly finding the exact place in editions where the new section is not set apart in a new paragraph, the incipit is also useful when working with the e-text search of PB2 in BDRC (W7499) to locate passages in the text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Some of the block prints exhibit both Western page numbering as well as traditional folio numbering. In these cases, the presentation in the table gives preference to the Western page numbering.

In order to save space, the notation in the table is highly abbreviated and adheres to the following conventions. "Volume" is abbreviated to "v.". Page and folio are without any indication, in case of folios the number is followed by r for *recto* (front side) or v for *verso* (back side). In some cases, the line number is indicated (especially when the paragraph is not set off by layout); the line is separated from the folio or page number by a dot. For the user's convenience the electronic page number of the PDF file, as obtained from BDRC, is indicated in brackets. The word "missing" is abbreviated to "m.".

Sec- tion	Title	Incipit	PX1	PX2	РХ3	PX4	PX5	PX6	PM1	PB1	PB2	PB3
(1)	mchod brjod/	dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los sgyur rgyal rnams	v. 1/ka, 2.1 (6)	v. 16/ka, 2.1 (10)	v. 1/ka, 1v.1 (4)	v. ka, 1v.1 (4)	m.	v. ka, 1v.1 (4)	m.	v. 1, 3.1 (19)	v. 1, 3 (13)	3 (19)
(1)	bshad par dam bca' ba/	rab mchog gtso bo rnams kyi ngo mtshar gtam	v. 1/ka, 2.3 (6)	v. 16/ka, 2.3 (10)	v. 1/ka, 1v.3 (4)	v. ka, 1v.3 (4)	m.	v. ka, 1v.3 (4)	m.	v. 1, 3.5 (19)	v. 1, 3 (13)	4 (20)
	yan lag dang po/ 'jig rten gyi khans spyir bstan pa/	chos kun rang bzhin gzod nas rnam dag nyid	v. 1/ka, 3.2 (7)	v. 16/ka, 3.2 (11)	v. 1/ka, 2r.2 (5)	v. ka, 2r.2 (5)	m.	v. ka, 2r.2 (5), m. fols. 2, 3, 10, 11, 13	m.	v. 1, 3.15 (19)	v. 1, 5 (15)	5 (21)
2	yan lag gnyis pa/ rgya gar gyi skabs/	da ni ston pa'i mdzad pa brjod par bya	v. 1/kha, 26.8 (30)	v. 16/kha, 26.8 (34)	v. 1/kha, 13v.8 (28)	v. kha, 13v.8 (28)	m.	v. kha, 13v.8 (28), m. fols.	m.	v. 1, 23.1 (39)	v. 1, 29 (39)	18 (34)
2.1	le'u dang po/ ston pa'i mdzad pa bshad pa/	da ni ston pa'i mdzad pa brjod par bya	v. 1/kha, 26.8 (30)	v. 16/kha, 26.8 (34)	v. 1/kha, 13v.8 (28)	v. kha, 13v.8 (28)	m.	v. kha, 13v.8 (28), m. fols. 13, 15	m.	v. 1, 23.1 (39)	v. 1, 29 (39)	18 (34)
2.1	le'u gnyis pa/ bka' bsdu ba khyab par du bshad pa/	gang tshe mchog zung mya ngan 'das pa'i tshe			v. 1/ga, 26r.7 (53)	v. ga, 26r.7 (53)	m.	v. ga, 26r.7 (53)	m.	v. 1, 42.2 (58)	v. 1, 53 (63)	31 (47)
2.3	le'u gsum pa/ dkon mchog gsum gyi rten byung tshul/	bskal bzang sangs rgyas bzhi pa sh'akya'i tog	v. 1/nga, 73.3 (77)	v. 16/nga, 73.3 (81)	v. 1/nga, 37r.3 (75)	v. nga, 37r.3 (75)	m.	v. nga, 37r.3 (73)	m.	v. 1, 58.14 (74)	v. 1, 73 (83)	42 (58)
3.4	le'u bzhi pa  rgya gar gyi rgyal rabs	ston pa mchog la slar yang gus btud nas	v. 1/ca, 85.1 (89)	v. 16/ca, 85.1 (93)	v. 1/ca, 43r.1 (87)	v. ca, 43r.1 (87)	m.	v. ca, 43r.1 (85)	m.	v. 1, 67.17 (83)	v. 1, 84 (94)	48 (64)
3	yan lag gsum pa/ bod kyi skabs/	rgyal dang rgyal sras kun gyi brtse chen ni	v. 1/cha, 104.1 (108)	v. 16/cha, 104.1 (112)	v. 1/cha, 1v.1 (106)	m.	v. cha, 1v.1 (108)	v. cha, 1v.1 (104)	m.	v. 1, 83 (99)	v. 1, 103 (113)	57 (73)
3.1	le'u dang po/ thugs rje chen pos bod bdag gir mdzad tshul/	rgyal dang rgyal sras kun gyi brtse chen ni	v. 1/cha, 104.1 (108)	v. 16/cha, 104.1 (112)	v. 1/cha, 1v.1 (106)	m.	v. cha, 1v.1 (108)	v. cha, 1v.1 (104)	m.	v. 1, 83 (99)	v. 1, 105 (115)	59 (75)
3.2	le'u gnyis pa/ bod kyi rgyal rabs/	na mo ke shwa ra ya/ /de ltar rgyal	v. 1/ja, 152.1 (156)	v. 16/ja, 152.1 (160)	v. 1/ja, 1v.1 (154)	m.	m.	v. ja, 1v.1 (152)	m.	v. 4/ja, 1v.1 (15)	v. 1, 149 (159)	81 (97)
3.2.1	dang po/ bod yul du mi'i 'gro ba byung tshul/	na mo ke shwa ra ya/ /de ltar rgyal	v. 1/ja, 152.1 (156)	v. 16/ja, 152.1 (160)	v. 1/ja, 1v.1 (154)	m.	m.	v. ja, 1v.1 (152)	m.	v. 4/ja, 1v.1 (15)	v. 1, 149 (159)	81 (97)
	gnyis pa/ rgyal phran bcu gnyis sogs kyi skor/	de tshe rgyal phran sil ma bcu gnyis dang	v. 1/ja, 158.6 (162)	v. 16/ja, 158.6 (166)	v. 1/ja, 4v.6 (160)	m.	m.	v. ja, 4v.6 (158)	m.	v. 4/ja, 4v.6 (20)	v. 1, 155.12 (165)	84 (100)

Sec- tion	Title	Incipit	PX1	PX2	РХ3	PX4	PX5	PX6	PM1	PB1	PB2	PB3
3.2.3	gsum pa/ gnam gyi khri bdun gyi skor/	'phags pa'i thugs rjes byin gyis brlabs pa yis	v. 1/ja, 159.5 (163)	v. 16/ja, 159.5 (167)	v. 1/ja, 5r.5 (161)	m.	m.	v. ja, 5r.5 (159)	m.	v. 4/ja, 5r.5 (21)	v. 1, 156.12 (166)	85 (101)
3.2.4	gnyis kyi skor/	de yi btsun mo sa btsun klu rje'i sras	v. 1/ja, 163.2 (167)	v. 16/ja, 163.2 (171)	v. 1/ja, 7r.2 (165)	m.	m.	v. ja, 7r.2 (163)	m.	v. 4/ja, 7r.2 (29)	v. 1, 160.12 (170)	87 (103)
3.2.5	lnga pa/ sa yi legs drug dang bar gyi lde brgyad skor/	rgyal po de sho legs dang thi sho legs	v. 1/ja, 167.3 (171)	v. 16/ja, 167.3 (175)	v. 1/ja, 9r.3 (169)	m.	m.	v. ja, 9r.3 (167)	m.	v. 4/ja, 9r.3 (33)	v. 1, 165.9 (175)	90 (106)
3.2.6	drug pa/ 'og gi btsan lnga'i skor/	btsan lnga'i thog ma to re long btsan yin	v. 1/ja, 167.7 (171)	v. 16/ja, 167.7 (175)	v. 1/ja, 9r.7 (169)	m.	m.	v. ja, 9r.7 (167)	m.	v. 4/ja, 9r.7 (33)	v. 1, 165.21 (175)	90 (106)
3.2.7	bdun pa/ rgyal po srong btsan sgam po'i skor/	de yang 'phags mchog spyan ras gzigs dbang gis	v. 1/ja, 175.5 (179)	v. 16/ja, 175.5 (183)	v. 1/ja, 13r.5 (177)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 13r.5 (41)	v. 1, 174.11 (184)	95 (111)
	brgyad pa/ rgyal po mang srong mang btsan gyi skor/	mang srong bcu gsum bzhes pas rgyal sa mdzad	v. 1/ja, 288.5 (292)	v. 16/ja, 288.5 (296)	v. 1/ja, 69v.5 (290)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 69v.5 (154)	v. 1, 291.21 (301)	155 (171)
3.2.9	dgu pa/ rgyal po 'dus srong mang po rje'i skor/	yab 'das zhag bdun lon pa chu byi'i lor	v. 1/ja, 289.5 (293)	v. 16/ja, 289.5 (297)	v. 1/ja, 70r.5 (291)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 70r.5 (155)	v. 1, 292.20 (302)	155 (171)
3.2.1 0	bcu pa/ rgyal po khri lde gtsug brtan gyi skor/	de sras khri lde gtsug brtan zhes bya ba	v. 1/ja, 290.5 (294)	v. 16/ja, 290.5 (298)	v. 1/ja, 70v.5 (292)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 70v.5 (156)	v. 1, 293.15 (303)	156 (172)
3.2.1 1	bcu gcig pa/ rgyal po khri srong lde btsan gyi skor/	de nas chos rgyal khri srong lde btsan	v. 1/ja, 293.7 (297)	v. 16/ja, 293.7 (301)	v. 1/ja, 72r.7 (295)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 72r.7 (159)	v. 1, 297.1 (307)	158 (174)
		de nas lha sras mu tig btsan po yis	v. 1/ja, 394.7 (398)	v. 16/ja, 394.7 (402)	v. 1/ja, 122v.7 (396)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 122v.7 (261)	v. 1, 398.11 (408)	209 (225)
3.2.1 3	bcu gsum pa/ rgyal po khri lde srong btsan gyi skor/	de nas khri lde srong btsan rgyal sar bskos	v. 1/ja, 403.5 (407)	v. 16/ja, 403.5 (411)	v. 1/ja, 127r.5 (407)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 127r.5 (270)	v. 1, 406.21 (416)	213 (229)
3.2.1 4	bcu bzhi pa/ rgyal po khri gtsug lde btsan ral ba can gyi skor/	rgyal po de la sras lnga ste lha sras gtsang ma	v. 1/ja, 411.3 (415)	v. 16/ja, 411.3 (419)	v. 1/ja, 131r.3 (415)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 131r.3 (278)	v. 1, 414.4 (424)	217 (233)
3.2.1 5	bcu lnga pa/ rgyal po 'u dum btsan gyi skor/	de nas bod yul 'gro ba'i bsod nams ni	v. 1/ja, 417.3 (421)	v. 16/ja, 417.3 (425)	v. 1/ja, 134r.3 (421)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 134r.3 (284)	v. 1, 419.23 (429)	220 (236)
	bcu drug pa/ gnam lde 'od srung dang khri lde yum brtan sogs kyi skor/	phyi lo me mo yos la btsun mo chun ma	v. 1/ja, 427.7 (431)	v. 16/ja, 427.7 (435)	v. 1/ja, 139r.7 (431)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 139r.7 (294)	v. 1, 430.8 (440)	225 (241)
3.2.1 7	bcu bdun pa/ ra sa dang bsam yas sogs kyi skor/	de yang bstan pa phyi dar gyi rnam gzhag gzhag du	v. 1/ja, 445.3 (449)	v. 16/ja, 445.3 (453)	v. 1/ja, 148r.3 (449)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 4/ja, 148r.3 (312)	v. 1, 447.9 (457)	234 (250)
	le'u gsum pa/ 'dul ba'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa/	bod du thub bstan phyi ma dar tshul yang	v. 1/nya, 462.1 (466)	v. 16/nya, 462.1 (470)	v. 1/nya, 1v.1 (466)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 1, 120 (136)	v. 1, 465 (475)	242 (258)
3.4	le'u bzhi pa/ lo paṇ chos 'byung/	sprul pa'i chos rgyal dam pa de rnams kyi	v. 1/ta, 506.1 (510)	v. 16/ta, 506.1 (514)	v. 1/ta, 1v.1 (512)	m.	m.	m.	m.	v. 1, 156 (172)	v. 1, 509 (519)	263 (279)
4.5	le'u lnga pa/ gsang sngags rnying ma'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa/	dpal ldan bla ma'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo	v. 1/tha, 534.1 (538)	v. 16/tha, 534.1 (542)	v. 1/tha, 1v.1 (540)	m.	m.	v. tha, 1v.1 (180)	m.	v. 1, 178 (194)	v. 1, 537 (547)	276 (292)

Sec- tion	Title	Incipit	PX1	PX2	РХ3	PX4	PX5	PX6	PM1	PB1	PB2	PB3
3.6	le'u drug pa/ bka' gdams kyi byung ba brjod pa/	sngon tshe rgyal sras gtso bo bzang skyong ni	v. 1/da, 664.1 (668)	v. 16/da, 664.1 (672)	v. 1/da, 1v.1 (672)	v. da, 1v.1 (105)	m.	m.	m.	v. 2, 279 (15)	v. 1, 655 (665)	335 (351)
3.7	le'u bdun pa/ bka' brgyud spyi'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa/	rgyal bas bstan pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs kun	v. 1/na, 752.1 (756)	v. 16/na, 752.1 (760)	v. 1/na, 1v.1 (760)	m.	m.	v. na, 1v.1 (310); only fols. 1, 3–8	m.	v. 2, 348 (84)	v. 1, 739 (749)	376 (392)
3.8	le'u brgyad pa  karma kam tshang gi chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	dpal karma bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar gyi	v. 2/pa, 2.1 (6)	v. 17/pa, 2.1 (10)	m.	v. pa, 1v.1 (194)	v. pa, 1v.1 (218)	v. pa, 1v.1 (324)	m.	v. 2, 427 (163)	v. 2, 859 (9)	436 (452)
3.8.1	dang po/ karma dus gsum mkhyen pa/	dpal karma bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar gyi	v. 2/pa, 2.1 (6)	v. 17/pa, 2.1 (10)	m.	v. pa, 1v.1 (194)	v. pa, 1v.1 (218)	v. pa, 1v.1 (324)	m.	v. 2, 427 (163)	v. 2, 859.1 (9)	436 (452)
3.8.2	gnyis pa/ karma pakshi chos kyi bla ma/	rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ngo bo	v. 2/pa, 24.7 (28)	v. 17/pa, 24.7 (32)	m.	v. pa, 12v.7 (216)	v. pa, 12v.7 (240)	v. pa, 12v.7 (346)	m.	v. 2, 440.25 (176)	v. 2, 880.9 (30)	447 (463)
3.8.3	gsum pa/ karma rang byung rdo rje/	de la grub thob chen po karma ba nyid kyis	v. 2/pa, 65.4 (69)	v. 17/pa, 65.4 (73)	m.	v. pa, 33r.4 (257)	v. pa, 33r.4 (281)	v. pa, 33r.4 (387)	m.	v. 2, 464.14 (200)	v. 2, 918.12 (68)	466 (482)
3.8.4	bzhi pa/ karma rol pa'i rdo rje/	de la rje rol pa'i rdo rje ni	v. 2/pa, 98.4 (102)	v. 17/pa, 98.4 (106)	m.	v. pa, 49v.4 (290)	v. pa, 49v.4 (314)	v. pa, 49v.4 (420)	m.	v. 2, 484.15 (220)	v. 2, 950.1 (100)	483 (499)
3.8.5	lnga pa  karma de bzhin gshegs pa	dpal karma pa na rim Inga pa ni	v. 2/pa, 142.1 (146)	v. 17/pa, 142.1 (150)	m.	v. pa, 71v.1 (334)	v. pa, 71v.1 (358)	v. pa, 71v.1 (464)	m.	v. 2, 510.22 (246)	v. 2, 991, 1.8 (141)	504 (520)
3.8.6	drug pa/ karma mthong ba don Idan/	na rim drug pa rje mthong ba don ldan ni	v. 2/pa, 179.3 (183)	v. 17/pa, 179.3 (187)	m.	v. pa, 90r.3 (371)	v. pa, 90r.3 (395)	v. pa, 90r.3 (501)	m.	v. 2, 533.22 (269)	v. 2, 1027.2 (177)	522 (538)
3.8.7		de la sprul pa'i sku bdun pa ji ltar byon pa'i tshul ni	v. 2/pa, 184.7 (188)	v. 17/pa, 184.7 (192)	m.	v. pa, 92v.7 (376)	v. pa, 92v.7 (400)	v. pa, 92v.7 (506)	m.	v. 2, 537, 1.9 (273) – v. 3, 654	v. 2, 1032.14 (182)	526 (542)
3.8.8	brgyad pa/ karma mi bskyod rdo rje/	dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad dang	v. 2/pa, 371.1 (375)	v. 17/pa, 371.1 (379)	m.	v. pa, 186r.1 (559)	v. pa, 186r.1 (588)	v. pa, 186r.1 (693)	m.	v. 3, 654.17 (44)	v. 2, 1206.6 (356)	616 (632)
3.9.	le'u dgu pa/ 'bri gung bka' brgyud kyi byung ba brjod pa/	khyad par du 'bri gung bka' rgyud ni	v. 2/pha, 508.1 (512)	v. 17/pha , 508.1 (516)	m.	m.	v. pha, 1v.1 (725)	v. pha, 1v.1 (830)	v. 4/pha, 1v.1 (4)	v. 3, 742 (132)	v. 2, 1337 (487)	682 (698)
3.9.1		khyad par du 'bri gung bka' rgyud ni	v. 2/pha, 508.1 (512)	v. 17/pha , 508.1 (516)	m.	m.	v. pha, 1v.1 (725)	v. pha, 1v.1 (830)	v. 4/pha, 1v.1 (4)	v. 3, 742 (132)	v. 2, 1337 (487)	682 (698)
3.9.2	gnyis pa/ 'bri gung bka' brgyud dar tshul/	mar mi dwags gsum phag gru pa rnams thar	v. 2/pha, 513.4 (517)	v. 17/pha , 513.4 (521)	m.	m.	v. pha, 4r.4 (730)	v. pha, 4r.4 (835)	v. 4/pha, 5r.4 (11)	v. 3, 744.19 (134)	v. 2, 1341.7 (491)	684 (700)
3.10	le'u gcu pa/ chos brgyud sna tshogs pa'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa/	de ltar chos rgyal rnams kyi bka' drin las	v. 2/ba, 532.1 (536)	v. 17/ba, 532.1 (540)	m.	v. ba, 1v.1 (695)	m.	v. ba, 1v.1 (854)	v. 4/ba, 1v.1 (40)	v. 3, 756 (146)	v. 2, 1359 (509)	693 (709)

Sec- tion	Title	Incipit	PX1	PX2	PX3	PX4	PX5	PX6	PM1	PB1	PB2	PB3
	dang po/ zhi byed pa'i skor/	de yang gsang sngags snga 'gyur ni	v. 2/ba, 533.3 (537)	v. 17/ba, 533.3 (541)	m.	v. ba, 2r.3 (696)	m.	v. ba, 2r.3 (855)	v. 4/ba, 2r.3 (41)	v. 3, 756.15 (146)	v. 2, 1359.19 (509)	693 (709)
	gnyis pa/ sa skya pa'i skor/	lam 'bras kyi man ngag gsung ba po	v. 2/ba, 535.3 (539)	v. 17/ba, 535.3 (543)	m.	v. ba, 3r.3 (698)	m.	v. ba, 3r.3 (857)	v. 4/ba, 3v.3 (44)	v. 3, 757.24 (147)	v. 2, 1362.1 (512)	694 (710)
	gsum pa/ gcod kyi skor/	dam chos bdud kyi gcod yul zhes bya ba ni	v. 2/ba, 543.7 (547)	v. 17/ba, 543.7 (551)	m.	v. ba, 7r.7 (706)	m.	v. ba, 7r.7 (865)	v. 4/ba, 9v.6 (56)	v. 3, 763.7 (153)	v. 2, 1369.17 (519)	699 (715)
	bzhi pa/ shangs pa bka' brgyud kyi skor/	rgya mthso'i bar du khyab pa'i shin tu	v. 2/ba, 546.4 (550)	v. 17/ba, 546.4 (554)	m.	v. ba, 8v.4 (710)	m.	v. ba, 8v.4 (868)	v. 4/ba, 11v.3 (60)	v. 3, 764.20 (154)	v. 2, 1371.23 (521)	700 (716)
4	yan lag bzhi pa/ li yul dang/ rgya nag snga ma/ mi nyag/ hor/ rgya nag phyi ma bcas kyi skabs/	da ni 'dzam gling gi yul gru gzhan las	v. 2/ma, 558.1 (562)	v. 17/ma, 558.1 (566)	m.	v. ma, 1v.1 (722)	m.	v. ma, 1v.1 (880)	v. 4/ma, 1v.1 (76)	v. 3, 772 (162)	v. 2, 1381 (531)	707 (723)
4.1	le'u dang po/ li yul gyi rgyal po dang chos kyi byung ba brjod pa/	da ni 'dzam gling gi yul gru gzhan las	v. 2/ma, 558.1 (562)	v. 17/ma, 558.1 (566)	m.	v. ma, 1v.1 (722)	m.	v. ma, 1v.1 (880)	v. 4/ma, 1v.1 (76)	v. 3, 772 (162)	v. 2, 1383 (533)	707 (723)
4.2	le'u gnyis pa/ rgya nag snga ma'i rgyal po dang chos kyi byung ba brjod pa/	gnyis pa rgya nag gi rgyal rabs la	v. 2/ma, 564.4 (568)	v. 17/ma, 564.4 (572)	m.	v. ma, 4v.4 (728)	m.	v. ma, 4v.4 (886)	v. 4/ma, 6v.6 (86)	v. 3, 775.22 (165)	v. 2, 1389 (539)	711 (727)
	le'u gsum pa  mi nyag gi rgyal po dang chos kyi byung ba brjod pa	gsum pa mi nyag rgyal po'i lo rgyus ni	v. 2/ma, 584.4 (588)	v. 17/ma, 584.4 (592)	m.	v. ma, 14v.4 (748)	m.	v. ma, 14v.4 (906)	v. 4/ma, 24v.5 (122)	v. 3, 788.12 (178)	v. 2, 1408 (558)	721 (737)
	le'u bzhi pa/ hor gyi rgyal po dang chos kyi byung ba brjod pa/	hor gyi rgyal rabs ni de yang gsung	v. 2/ma, 589.3 (593)	v. 17/ma, 589.3 (597)	m.	v. ma, 17r.3 (753)	m.	v. ma, 17r.3 (911)	v. 4/ma, 29v.2 (132)	v. 3, 791.17 (181)	v. 2, 1412 (562)	724 (742)
4.5	le'u lnga pa/ rgya nag phyi ma'i rgyal po dang chos kyi byung ba brjod pa/	rgya nag phyi ma ni tha'i ju rgyal pos	v. 2/ma, 604.4 (608)	v. 17/ma, 604.4 (612)	m.	v. ma, 24v.4 (768)	m.	v. ma, 24v.4 (926)	v. 4/ma, 43r.1 (159)	v. 3, 801.16 (191)	v. 2, 1427 (577)	732 (748)
5	yan lag lnga pa/ yul spyi dang shes bya'i gtso bo rig gnas lnga byung tshul/	rgyal bas mdo rgyud mang por lung bstan pa	v. 2/tsa, 608.1 (612)	v. 17/tsa, 608.1 (616)	m.	v. tsa, 1v.1 (772)	m.	m.	v. 4/tsa, 1v.1 (164)	v. 3, 804 (194)	v. 2, 1431 (581)	735 (751)
5.1	le'u dang po/ nang don rig pa'i skor/	de yang snying rje chen po pad dkar las	v. 2/tsa, 608.5 (612)	v. 17/tsa, 608.5 (616)	m.	v. tsa, 1v.5 (772)	m.	m.	v. 4/tsa, 2r.1 (165)	v. 3, 804.10 (194)	v. 2, 1431.12 (581)	735 (751)
5.2	le'u gnyis pa/ tshad ma rig pa'i skor/	bstan 'gyur na dus 'khor gyi skor po ti lnga	v. 2/tsa, 680.5 (684)	v. 17/tsa, 680.5 (688)	m.	v. tsa, 37v.5 (844)	m.	m.	v. 4/tsa, 69v.3 (296)	v. 3, 849.5 (239)	v. 2, 1501.15 (651)	771 (787)
	le'u gsum pa  sgra rig pa'i skor	sgra'i rig pa ni/ sngon sum bcu rtsa gsum	v. 2/tsa, 685.5 (689)	v. 17/tsa, 685.5 (693)	m.	v. tsa, 40r.5 (849)	m.	m.	v. 4/tsa, 74r.5 (305)	v. 3, 852.1 (242)	v. 2, 1506.11 (656)	773 (789)
5.4	le'u bzhi pa/ bzo rig pa'i skor/	bzo rig pa la spyir rnam par ma gyur ba sems	v. 2/tsa, 690.6 (694)	v. 17/tsa, 690.6 (698)	m.	v. tsa, 42v.6 (853)	m.	m.	v. 4/tsa, 80r.1 (315)	v. 3, 855.3 (245)	v. 2, 1511.13 (661)	776 (792)

Sec- tion	Title	Incipit	PX1	PX2	PX3	PX4	PX5	PX6	PM1	PB1	PB2	РВЗ
5.5	DA 1 SKOY/	sman mchog byang chub sems kyi bdud rtsi yis	v. 2/tsa, 693.1 (697)	v. 17/tsa, 693.1 (701)	m.	v. tsa, 44r.1 (857)	m.	m.	v. 4/tsa, 82r.2 (319)	v. 3, 856.12 (246)	v. 2, 1513.19 (663)	777 (793)
(5)		dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur pa rnams	v. 2/tsa, 706.3 (710)	v. 17/tsa, 706.3 (714)	m.	v. tsa, 50v.3 (870)	m.	m.	v. 4/tsa, 94.2 (344)	v. 3, 864.9 (254)	v. 2, 1526.8 (676)	784.10 (800)

Table 6: Page Numbers of all Available Sources

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