

Canons in Context:
A History of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the Eighteenth Century

Benjamin James Nourse
Charlottesville, Virginia

M.A., University of Virginia, 2009
B.A., University of Wisconsin, 2002

A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Religious Studies

University of Virginia
August, 2014

Abstract

In the eighteenth century, emperors, local rulers, and religious leaders funded and supervised massive efforts to print the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (the Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur) using engraved wood-blocks. My dissertation examines the historical and cultural contexts of these publishing projects in order to understand Tibetan collections of scripture not merely in terms of their content but as objects which are given meaning and value within specific historical circumstances, social relationships, and religious ideas. The eighteenth-century watershed in canonical publications inspired contemporary monastic scholars to compose numerous new treatises on the Canon. These works, in particular the large catalogues (*dkar chags*) that were written to supplement each new edition, make the eighteenth century a particularly fruitful time period for studying the Tibetan Buddhist Canon and they form the basis of the dissertation.

The eighteenth-century catalogues, far from being mere lists of texts, contain some of the most sustained and detailed discussions of the Kangyur and Tengyur to be found in Tibetan. They also contain rich historical sections detailing the history of Buddhism and Buddhist texts as well as the local histories of the places where the new editions were published. This dissertation is an analysis of these catalogues, the conceptions of the Kangyur and Tengyur that they provide us, and the historical circumstances in which they were written. A close study of these catalogues gives us the opportunity to explore Tibetan scholastic interpretations of the history and content of the Kangyur and Tengyur, the organization and funding involved in printing them, and the religious ideas and political circumstances of the eighteenth century that made the production of wood block editions both possible and desirable.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements	v
Introduction.....	1
Previous Scholarship	8
Source Materials and Outline of Chapters	15
Chapter 1: Cataloguers and their Catalogues.....	18
Cataloguing and the Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon	18
Editions and Catalogues of the Kangyur and Tengyur	34
Catalogues (<i>dkar chags</i>)	37
Eighteenth-Century Cataloguers and their Catalogues.....	39
Conclusion	53
Chapter 2: Defining the Canon	56
The Importance of the Buddha, the Source of the Word.....	57
Definitions and Divisions	58
The Place of Physical Texts within Doctrine and History.....	71
History of Buddhist Teachings in India, Tibet, and Other Lands	73
The Canon and Community Identity and Lineage	79
Chapter 3: The Production of a Canon.....	82
Introduction.....	82
Beijing	87
Printing in Tibetan Areas.....	102
Choné.....	102
Degé.....	127
Conclusion	153
Chapter 4: The Purposes of a Canon	154
Centrality: Making a Canon.....	154
Spectacle: Performing a Canon.....	165
Authority: Giving a Canon	178
Conclusion	195
Chapter 5: Printing and Canons in the Eighteenth Century.....	197
Institutionalization and Standardization in the Eighteenth Century.....	197
Kangyur and Tengyur Printing	211
Bibliography	218

Tibetan Sources	218
Chinese Sources	224
Other Sources	225

To my parents

Jean

&

Jim and Ann

for their unending love and support

Acknowledgements

I began my journey down this road with the study of Tibetan language, first with Tsetan Chonjore during a beautiful summer in Madison, WI, and then with Tsetan and his colleague Tinley Dhundup (aka Tenzin Tinley Lama) during an incredible year in Kathmandu, Nepal. The best teachers inspire you in ways well beyond the immediate subject matter at hand. My first Tibetan teachers were and continue to be inspirations, and I am grateful that we have remained good friends over the years. I am ever indebted to my advisor, professor Kurtis Schaeffer. I was extremely lucky that he came to the University of Virginia at the same time as me and that I was able to study under his generous guidance. He is a model scholar and an all around good guy. If it were not for professor David Germano, I would not have come to Virginia. He took a chance on a lawn care technician, hiring me to work for the Tibetan and Himalayan Digital Library (now just the Tibetan and Himalayan Library) and thereby allowing me to enter into the world of Tibetan Studies. He has continued to allow me to dabble in a few of his many, many projects from which experience I have learned an incredible amount. I am also grateful to the other members of my dissertation committee, professors John Shepherd and Paul Groner. Professor Groner in particular very kindly agreed to join my committee late in the process. Throughout coursework and early in the dissertation process, professor Clarke Hudson provided generous feedback on my written work. Also during my coursework, I was fortunate to be able to take two classes in the English department from professor David Vander Meulen. Professor Vander Meulen opened my eyes to the world of books as material objects and provided a structure in which I was able to actually begin conducting original research. He is ever encouraging and his enthusiasm is contagious.

Research for this dissertation was carried through the support of a Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship, which allowed me spend a research year in China. During my Fulbright year I was graciously hosted by Tsering Thar and the Tibetan Studies department of Minzu University of China (Zhongyang Minzu Daxue). I am grateful to all of the faculty, staff, and students who made my time at Minzu University so productive and enjoyable. In particular, I want to thank Professor Tupten Püntsook (at the time a professor at Minzu University, but now of Southwest Nationalities University in Chengdu) who was extremely generous with both his time and his extensive knowledge of Tibetan history, religious life, and many other subjects. In addition to his erudition, I very much enjoyed his constant good cheer and laughter. In Beijing, I also made use of the Number One Historical Archives (Di yi lishi dang'an guan) housed within the Palace Museum and I am grateful to the archives' staff for their aid in conducting research there. I must also express my indebtedness to the other researchers at the archives, especially Max Oidtmann, for showing me the ropes, as it were. I spent about half of my research year in China outside of Beijing—in Sichuan, Qinghai, and Gansu provinces. Chelsea Hall, Pema, and Khamoji made time in Chengdu very much a respite among friends. I was able to visit and spend time admiring, talking with staff, and taking notes at the Degé Printing House and the Labrang Printing House. I thank the staff of those institutions for entertaining my questions on their histories and allowing me to linger among the workers and wood blocks. Brenton Sullivan let me crash at his place in Xining once or twice, and shared a drink with my travel weary soul on several occasions, whether in Labrang or Beijing. Finally, Chris Bell and Cici Haynes graciously hosted Erin and I in Hong Kong, even when we missed our train and had to extend our stay several days.

Further research funding was provided by a Florence Tan Moeson Research Fellowship (for work at the Library of Congress) and a grant-in-aid from the Friends of the University of Wisconsin Library (for work in the Special Collections department of the University of Wisconsin Library). At the Library of Congress, the Tibetan collection librarian Susan Meinheit was extremely helpful and also very encouraging of my work.

I am ever grateful that my graduate school years coincided with those of so many wonderful fellow students who were not only excellent classmates, but also great people to hang out with, including Geoff Barstow, Chris Bell, Gloria Chien, Craig Danielson, David DiValerio, Emily Filler, Karen Guth, Peter Kang, Christie Kilby, Jonathan Loar, Manu Lopez, Alison Melnick, Betsy Mesard, Natasha Mikles, Jann Ronis, Brenton Sullivan, Katarina Turpeinen, Jed Verity, Daniel Weiss, Free Williams, Jongbok Yi, and many others. Much of my time working for the Tibetan and Himalayan Library was under the sage guidance of Steve Weinberger, whose amazing ability to organize and move forward complex projects often overshadow the even more amazing extent of his knowledge in the fields of Tibetan Studies and Digital Humanities. Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee was one of the very first people I met in Charlottesville when we both had just moved to town. I benefitted greatly from our initial work together, and have continued to appreciate his warm welcome whenever I make it out to Tashi Choeling. I am also grateful to Trinity Episcopal Church, which offered a place of support, comfort, and inspiration away from the university bubble.

Throughout my long career as a graduate student, as I have rambled about and pursued arcane topics of study, my family has always been there for me. Jean, Jim, Ann, Frank, Becky, Mike, Katie, Alan, Sam, and Abe—thanks for the support, the phone calls, the visits, the laughter, and all the love. Thanks to Aunt Susan for always having her door and heart open to Erin and I.

Thanks to Margaret, Emily, Richard, Jan, and Jing for taking me in as their own. And an especially huge thanks to Margaret for several extended visits that allowed Erin and me to write while she and little Margaret went on adventures together.

There is no way to adequately thank my wife Erin for everything she is to me. She is a constant source of inspiration. I have learned more from her than anyone else I have ever met. She makes me a better scholar and a better person. Finally, I am ever thankful to my daughter Margaret, for being such an amazing little person and for reminding me, even when the dissertation was getting me down, that there is always fun to be had at the park.

Introduction

In the course of the eighteenth century, some of the greatest Tibetan intellectuals of the time turned their attention to massive collections of translated Buddhist literature originating from India. These collections were the Kangyur and Tengyur, two compendia considered to be the textual repositories of the Buddha's teachings (the Kangyur) and the commentaries and treatises by past Buddhist masters (the Tengyur). While these two collections form the fundamental basis of Tibetan Buddhist religion and literature, in the course of Buddhism's history in Tibet, Tibetan scholastics have often been more concerned with Tibetan writings—textbooks, commentaries, and ritual literature—than with the older texts found within the Kangyur or Tengyur (though certain texts of the Tengyur did retain a prominent place in Tibetan scholarly life through the centuries).¹

So why was there a renewed focus on the Kangyur and Tengyur in the eighteenth century, and what was the result? The brief answer to those questions is that the eighteenth century witnessed the production of an unprecedented number of new block print editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur. Eminent religious figures regarded for their scholastic achievements and depth of learning were selected to act as editors and cataloguers for these new editions. The most concrete product of the involvement of religious scholars in the Kangyur and Tengyur publication projects, besides the new wood block Canons themselves, were the catalogues written to accompany each edition.

These eighteenth-century catalogues, far from being mere lists of texts, contain some of the most sustained and detailed discussions of the Kangyur and Tengyur to be found in Tibetan.

¹ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 140.

They also contain rich historical sections detailing the history of Buddhism and Buddhist texts as well as the local histories of the places where the new editions were published.

This dissertation is an analysis of these catalogues, the conceptions of the Kangyur and Tengyur that they provide us, and the historical circumstances in which they were written. A close study of these catalogues gives us the opportunity to explore Tibetan scholastic interpretations of the history and content of the Kangyur and Tengyur, the organization and funding involved in printing them, and the religious ideas and political circumstances of the eighteenth century that made the production of wood block editions both possible and desirable. These three elements—conceptions of the Kangyur and Tengyur, the production of wood block editions, and the eighteenth-century historical and cultural context—will be treated in the chapters that follow.

This dissertation is largely about looking at the Tibetan Buddhist Canon through a variety of lenses to gain a fuller appreciation of the place and purpose of this collection within Tibetan culture and society. I take the first printings of the entire Tibetan Buddhist Canon (the Kangyur and Tengyur) in the eighteenth century as a point of departure for an analysis of how this collection of religious scriptures functioned as a topic of scholastic inquiry, an economic stimulus, an item of prestige and exchange, and a sacred object that was the focus of ritual and devotional practices. My aim is to examine the historical and cultural contexts of eighteenth-century canonical publishing projects in order to understand Tibetan religious texts not merely in terms of their content but as objects which are given meaning and value within specific historical circumstances, social relationships, and religious ideas.

With the eighteenth-century printings of Tibetan Buddhist Canon, there was renewed activity and discussion surrounding canonical collections. The production of canons on an

unprecedented scale in the eighteenth century meant that more people were coming into contact with these canons than ever before, and so a study of this time period provides us the opportunity to explore, in some detail, just what these collections were thought to be and how they were produced and used. Tibetans had and have a multifaceted view of their scriptures. The eighteenth-century Tibetan religious scholars who wrote on the Canon (whose work I investigate in this dissertation), even when they are merely discussing the Canon in terms of doctrine and organization, present it as a complex entity with a variety of ways of approaching it. I build on these explanations and try to tease out several facets that are not necessarily highlighted by the Tibetan scholars whose work I draw on—for example, when I propose that a form of social reciprocity underlies the giving of canons.

What I refer to in this dissertation under the generic term “Tibetan Buddhist Canon” was actually a complex and evolving multitude of texts which were and are enmeshed in a network of ideas and practices. The ways that Tibetans and others (including groups of Mongolians, Manchus, Chinese, Europeans, and North Americans who also came to have a stake in these texts) thought about these collections of texts changed from place to place, time to time, and person to person. I use the term Tibetan Buddhist Canon to refer to the collections of texts known as the Kangyur (Bka’ ’gyur) and Tengyur (Bstan ’gyur), keeping in mind Phil Stanley’s caveats about using this term to refer to such “formal canons” in the Tibetan tradition. Stanley writes:

Since the formal canons of Buddhist traditions tend to be well defined at any given point of time—even though typically they have been fluid and expansionary over time—if one prefers to restrict to use the western term “canon” to such formal Buddhist canons, it should be done so with three significant caveats, namely, that one needs to explicitly set aside three Christian presuppositions: (1) that the canon consists only of scriptures, not treatises, 2) that the texts in the formal canon are sharply separated from all other texts

outside the formal canon, and 3) that the canon is closed and hence does not change over time.²

The Tibetan Buddhist Canon, as we know it today and as it was generally known by the eighteenth century, is divided into two main sections: the Kangyur, or the Translated Word, and the Tengyur, or the Translated Treatises. The Translated Word consists of works said to have been spoken by the historical Buddha or some other cosmic Buddha (the latter in the case of many tantras), and in most editions comprises between 100 and 110 volumes (several editions are, or are claimed to be, a very auspicious 108 volumes). The Translated Treatises consists of commentaries and other works attributed mainly to Indian Buddhist masters and generally takes up between 209 and 225 volumes. These collections are veritable libraries of religious scripture, forming the foundations of both Tibetan Buddhist religion and literature. Prior to the eighteenth century, only the shorter section, the Translated Word, had been carved onto wood blocks for printing, and that had only been done twice.

In the eighteenth century, Tibetan kings and queens sponsored the printing of Tibetan scriptures on an unprecedented scale. The complete Tibetan Buddhist Canon (the Kangyur and Tengyur) was printed in four separate wood-block editions (the Beijing, Choné, Degé, and Nartang editions). The printing of these Canons amounted to an incredible increase in printing activity, especially in eastern Tibet (Kham and Amdo), and led to the printing of other collections of literature—multi-volume collected works of famous religious masters as well as historical, biographical, and philosophical literature—and the development of a robust monastic printing industry which spread throughout eastern Tibet and Mongolia. The printing of all of these collections was carried out through wood-block-printing, the dominant printing technology in Asia prior to the twentieth century. This method required impressive amounts of resources,

² Stanley, *Threefold Formal, Practical, and Inclusive Canons*, 45.

labor, and skill, including craftspeople to hand-carve each page of text onto wooden blocks. Printing the voluminous canons therefore required generous patrons to provide funding. The eighteenth-century patrons of canonical printing were all leaders of strong, rising polities, and they continued a long Buddhist tradition in which political power was connected with the compilation and dissemination of large collections of Buddhist scripture.

The eighteenth-century editions of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon were produced in Beijing under the Qing emperors and under Tibetan rulers in central Tibet, the southeastern kingdom of Degé (Sde dge), and the northeastern kingdom of Choné (Co ne).³ In Beijing, a series of Qing emperors, from the Kangxi to the Qianlong emperor, sponsored the publication of an unprecedented amount of Tibetan language literature throughout the eighteenth century, including a complete edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon with a quadri-lingual preface and catalogue. The Tibetan Buddhist centers in Beijing, including temples, monasteries, and Tibetan language printeries, were extremely active during the Qing. Their populations of resident monks, the amount of imperial funding they received, and the output of printed texts from their printeries exceeded that of both Daoist and Han Chinese Buddhist institutions during the height of the Qing in the eighteenth century.⁴

The area of Choné in today's southern Gansu province was the site of a thriving kingdom and monastic center which produced its own xylograph edition of Tibetan Buddhist Canon from 1721 to 1731 (the Translated Word) and from 1753 to 1773 (the Translated Treatises). Although

³ The production of the Canon in central Tibet, that is, the Nartang (Snar thang) Kangyur and Tengyur, have been omitted from the present study due to time constraints. However, the catalogues of this edition are also rich sources and deserve close study.

⁴ Vincent Goosaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800-1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 195, 212-213. Goosaert's brief comparisons of statistics on Beijing Taoists and Beijing Tibetan Buddhist lamas hints at the wealth of information to be gleaned on the Tibetan Buddhist temples of Beijing from archival sources.

it was an important center of trade and exchange, the history of Choné is not well-known. My research on the printing activities in Choné contributes to our understanding of this important but understudied place.

Today's western Sichuan province was the locus of several important developments in Tibetan canon production and printing in the eighteenth century, including a famous printing of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon and the first printing of the Collected Tantras of the Ancients (at the still active Degé Printing House, in today's Ganzi prefecture). The first two printings of the Bönpo canon took place due east of Degé in Gyelrong, in today's Aba prefecture. While the present dissertation does not delve into these Nyingma and Bönpo publications, they would make excellent comparative cases to the Tibetan Buddhist Canon projects and I hope to make a detailed study of them in future research.

Choné and Degé, like the Qing dynasty, were on the rise beginning in the seventeenth century and continuing into the eighteenth century. They expanded their kingdoms, largely through military conquest, and consequently their tax bases.⁵ With their increasing wealth, these rulers engaged in various cultural projects, prominent among them being the printing of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. This was part of the larger trajectory of the eighteenth century. Because of the increasing wealth and stability of several major polities, the eighteenth century was a dynamic period in which Tibetan cultural activities, including the establishment of new Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and academies, the construction of religious monuments, and the writing

⁵ The rise of the Degé kingdom is described in Jann Ronis, "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas: Contestation and Synthesis in the Growth of Monasticism at Katok Monastery from the 17th through the 19th Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009), 42-43. The rise of Choné can be read in the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue: Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], particularly starting with the reign of the seventeenth-century king Tsewang Döndrup (Tshe dbang don grup) through the eighteenth-century ruler Jamyang Norbu ('Jam dbyangs nor bu), 362.3-418.2.

and publishing of scholarship and literature all flourished. These accomplishments were the result of the rise of relatively stable and prosperous polities which were able to sponsor great cultural works and provide an environment in which people and ideas could travel across Tibet, Mongolia, and China with relative ease. This situation would come to a close as the Qing dynasty began to decline in the nineteenth century, and intellectual trends became more regionally based.⁶ The legacies of the eighteenth century, however, persisted, and in many ways they gave shape to Tibetan cultural and institutional forms that survived into the twentieth century.

Part of that eighteenth-century legacy was the development of printing as an industry that spread throughout the Tibetan cultural world. Although there had previously been pockets of printing activity in Tibet, it was only with the large-scale sponsorship of Tibetan canonical publishing in the eighteenth century that printing became a ubiquitous presence within Tibetan society. While several aspects of eighteenth-century printing have been explored in previous scholarship, much remains to be treated. Often the less well known aspects reveal larger trends and patterns which give us a deeper sense of eighteenth-century history. For example, while the relationship between Changkya Rölpé Dorjé (Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje, 1717-1786) and the Qianlong emperor has been written on extensively, the relationship between Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chömden (Lcang skya ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, 1642-1714) and the Kangxi emperor has received much less attention. Yet it is exactly in the activities of Ngawang Lobzang Chömden that we see many of the characteristics of the Changkya-Qing emperor relationship first emerge.

⁶ E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts* (Boston: Wisdom, 2001), 89, makes this point, noting that the great nineteenth century intellectual movement known as *rimé* (*ris med*) was largely confined to Kham (Khams).

In another example, while Degé and its printing house have achieved some relative fame, one of the only western sources for the history of Choné and its Tibetan printing house is Joseph Rock's article "Life among the Lamas of Choni" which appeared in the November 1928 issue of the *National Geographic Magazine*.⁷ Tibetan sources on eighteenth-century Choné reveal that this kingdom preceded the Degé kingdom in establishing a relationship with the Qing dynasty, which was an important factor in Choné also being the first Tibetan polity to undertake the printing of the Translated Word in the eighteenth century. By looking at Choné and Degé together, we see that Qing involvement in these border kingdoms was part of an overall pattern of Qing interaction with Tibetan regions which was in many ways beneficial to both parties.⁸

Previous Scholarship

A reflection by Paul Harrison at the end of his article on the history of the Kangyur (the Translated Word) and Tengyur (the Translated Treatises) captures a sense of the motivations which initially propelled (and often still propels) research on the Kangyur by Euro-America scholars as well as suggesting some of the directions in which this research is now heading and which I hope this dissertation to be a contribution to. His thoughts are worth quoting in full; he writes:

Most modern Western scholars, trained as they are in an academic or scientific approach to texts, view the translations preserved in the bKa' 'gyur (and bsTan 'gyur) as a series of windows through which the historical development of Buddhist thought and practice can be glimpsed. In these translations many texts have been captured which would otherwise have disappeared forever. They contain information, meanings and messages which Western scholars are concerned to extract and use in the pursuit of their own purposes;

⁷ Joseph Rock, "Life among the Lamas of Choni," *National Geographic Magazine* 54, no. 5 (November, 1928): 569-619.

⁸ Of course, the relationship between the Qing and Tibetan or Tibetan Buddhist polities was not always amicable, as is evident from the Lubsang-Danzin Rebellion of 1723-1724 and the Qianlong emperor's wars on the Gyelrong (Rgyal rong) region of Kham (Khams) in the mid to late eighteenth century. We could also mention in this regard the sometimes beneficial, but often fraught relationship with the central Tibetan government in Lhasa.

they have a content which can be appropriated intellectually. Tibetans are also capable of reading in this fashion, as the prolific nature of Tibetan scholarship indicates, yet at the same time they also believe the texts to be “meaningful” in a further sense. That is to say, they both contain meanings within themselves—in particular, the teachings relating to liberation from suffering—and have meaning or significance in their own right, as symbols of that liberation, the latter sense clearly being dependent on the former. Thus, as complete entities the texts of the bKa’ ’gyur are thought to be powerful and transformative, as physical objects when seen or touched or as sounds when uttered or heard, whether or not intellectual understanding takes place. And if one text can be powerful, then the complete set of them, the entire canon, represents a total power source of considerable importance.⁹

We will be exploring some of Harrison’s latter reflections on the place of the Canon in Tibetan religious life throughout the body of the dissertation. For the moment it is worth reviewing some of the ways that the Canon has been studied in the Europe and America which Harrison alludes to earlier in the passage.

The Tibetan Buddhist Canon has been a subject of study for European scholars since almost the beginning of Tibetan Studies by Europeans. One of the first scholars to study these collections was Alexander Csoma de Körös (1784-1842), the pioneering Hungarian scholar of Tibetan literature who is often regarded as the father of Tibetan Studies among Europeans.¹⁰ As Harrison indicated, most early scholars saw the Tibetan Buddhist Canon as a useful collection for studying Indian Buddhism, since many scriptures that have been lost in their Sanskrit originals survive in Tibetan.

Later, interest in the history of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon itself emerged. Initially, the main objective of scholarship on the history of the Canon was to understand the genealogy or

⁹ Paul Harrison, “A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa’ ’gyur,” in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by José Cabezon and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), 84-85.

¹⁰ Alexander Csoma de Körös, “Analysis of the Dulva, a Portion of the Tibetan Work Entitled Kah-gyur,” *Asiatic Researches* 20, no. 1 (1836): 41-93; and “Analysis of the Sher-chin—P’hal ch’hen—Dkon-séks—Do-dé—Nyáng-dás—and Gyut; Being the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Divisions of the Tibetan Work, Entitled the Kah-gyur,” *Asiatic Researches* 20, no. 2 (1839): 393-552.

textual relationships of the surviving editions of the canon. Using classical philological methods, scholars such as Helmut Eimer, Paul Harrison, Jonathan Silk, and Peter Skilling have undertaken text critical studies of canonical texts in order to establish lineages of textual transmission and stemmas charting the affinity of various editions of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon.¹¹ The work of these scholars has opened up the world of Tibetan canonical collections and has provided important catalogues of the texts contained in many different editions of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. While mostly focused on the texts themselves isolated from broader historical questions, this school of scholarship has occasionally ventured into the historical context in which the canons were redacted and produced. Notable pieces in this regard are Paul Harrison's brief introduction to the history of the Kangyur which combines the results of historical research with philological findings, Jonathan Silk's article on the creation of the Yongle emperor's Kangyur, and several studies by Leonard van der Kuijp and Kurtis Schaeffer.¹² The field has even moved to discussions of other religious canons in Tibet. In *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*, a collection of papers edited by Helmut Eimer and David Germano, a number of pieces focus on

¹¹ An example of this approach is Jonathan A. Silk's critical edition of Tibetan canonical versions of the Heart Sūtra: *The Heart Sūtra in Tibetan: A Critical Edition of the Two Recensions Contained in the Kanjur* (Wien: Arbeitskreis Für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1994). This approach is also well-represented in the papers contained in Helmut Eimer, ed., *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997).

¹² Jonathan A. Silk, "Notes on the History of the Yongle Kanjur," in *Suhrlekhāḥ: Festgabe für Helmut Eimer*, edited by Michael Hahn, Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Roland Steiner (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica, 1996), 153-200. Paul Harrison, "A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by José Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), 70-94. Kurtis R. Schaffer and Leonard van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of Bcom ldan ral gri* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Oriental Series, Harvard University Press, 2009). Kurtis R. Schaffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

philology and the cataloguing of titles in newly discovered editions of the canon.¹³ The second half of the volume, however, turns our attention to canons of religious literature that exist outside of the Kangyur and Tengyur, mainly within the Nyingma school of Tibetan Buddhism. These essays both broaden the field of canonical studies while at the same time making significant contributions to our knowledge of the early history of Nyingma scriptures.

Recently, there is an increasing awareness of the need for more investigations into the broader historical contexts of the creation and transmission of Tibetan religious canons, and to view such collections of religious texts from social and ritual perspectives as well as from philological and doctrinal ones. The need for such research has been recognized by several scholars in the field. In 1990, Steven Collins challenged scholars of Buddhism with his historical analysis of the Pāli Canon of Theravāda Buddhists, in which he called on scholars to analyze canonical collections as products of particular environments.¹⁴ More recently, and within Tibetan Buddhist Studies, Franz-Karl Ehrhard suggested in a review of a scholarly publication of two Tibetan canonical catalogues that “with these well-organized catalogues before us—which document the paradigm shift in Kangyur studies from well-known block print editions to rare manuscript versions—it may be time to cast a glance at those registers of the Kangyur which describe the actual production of the books, and to be on the lookout for new literary sources providing insights into the reasons behind and circumstances of the immense task of writing out or carving a new Kangyur in a specific area of Tibet at a given time in history.”¹⁵ My dissertation

¹³ Helmut Eimer and David Germano, eds., *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism, PIATS 2000: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

¹⁴ Steven Collins, “On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 15 (1990): 89-126.

¹⁵ Franz-Karl Ehrhard, “Review of The Brief Catalogues to the Narthang and the Lhasa Kanjurs and The Early Mustang Kanjur Catalogue,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 44, no. 2 (2001): 178-179.

begins to fill this desideratum by undertaking a comprehensive history of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the eighteenth century which considers its full context within the religious, political, and economic spheres.

The reasons behind eighteenth-century interest among kings and clerics in canonical printing are still not well understood. A scholar of the history of Tibetan books, Kurtis Schaeffer, recently wrote, “Just why this explosion of printing occurred during the eighteenth century and not earlier despite the fact that the technology had been available for centuries is a fascinating question yet to be explored in detail....”¹⁶ My dissertation explores this historical context, with a particular emphasis on the development of religious publishing institutions and the ways in which the promotion and printing of literature is used as a means of asserting community identity and the establishment of authority.

Patronage of religious institutions and cultural projects was an important aspect of eighteenth-century politics, but one which has not been fully explored. While the role of Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhists within the Qing court has been the subject of several important recent studies, most of the work thus far has been focused on the personal relationships between specific emperors and individual Buddhist clerics while less work has been done to uncover the institutional apparatuses and the concrete products of Qing patronage of Tibetan Buddhism.¹⁷

This desideratum has been reflected elsewhere in the academic community, for instance see, Brian J. Cuevas, *The Hidden History of the Tibetan Book of the Dead* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 214: “[A] critical study is much needed of Tibetan books more generally, with special focus on the social and historical circumstances involved in their production and circulation.”

¹⁶ Kurtis R. Schaeffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 92.

¹⁷ This type of approach is exemplified by two recent articles, one by Wang Xiangyun: “The Qing Court’s Tibet Connection: Lcang skya Rol pa’i rdo rje and the Qianlong Emperor,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60, no. 1 (Jun., 2000): 125-163; and one by Marina Illich: “Imperial Stooage or Emissary to the Dge lugs Throne? Rethinking the Biographies of Chankya

There have been no detailed studies of the Tibetan language printing houses sponsored by the Qing court. Research into this area and comparison with other types of political patronage and institution building in the eighteenth century will improve our knowledge of the intersections between politics and religion in the eighteenth century; intersections which put in place many of the institutional frameworks that lasted into the twentieth century.

Detailed research of several eastern Tibetan polities in the eighteenth century helps us place each unique history within a larger perspective. Through comparative analysis of the histories of Choné, the Degé kingdom, and the Qing dynasty, we can identify important differences in the role of religion and religious leaders in regional politics while at the same time recognizing some of the common factors that went into the making of political and religious authority in the eighteenth century. Patterns also begin to emerge, such as the similar course of events that took place in Choné and Degé when the rulers of each of these areas established relationships with the Qing dynasty.

The printing of books was one of the primary activities of these eighteenth-century polities, and so my research also comes into conversation with the academic study of the history of the book. The study of book history has been a field of increasing interest to scholars in the last half century and has shown that the production and use of books is often intimately related to the cultural and economic context in which books are produced. Innovations in book production can in turn have profound impacts on culture. In other sub-disciplines, Harry Gamble has explored the role of books within early Christian communities, while Joseph P. McDermott and others have recently analyzed the cultural and economic aspects of books and publishing in late

Rolpé Dorjé,” in *Power, Politics, and the Reinvention of Tradition: Tibet in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Bryan J. Cuevas and Kurtis R. Schaeffer, pp. 17-32. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

imperial China.¹⁸ My research adds to and enriches this growing body of literature on the history of the book by offering a comparative perspective from Tibetan culture, which will prove especially enlightening in contrast to the neighboring, but very different, Chinese book industry and culture.

The scope of the history of the book is ripe for expansion into new frames of analysis. As Robert Darnton, one of the leading scholars of the history of the book, has expressed in his essay “What Is Book History?” the field has been slow to establish more detailed approaches to the social importance of books, including their roles in gift exchange, in oath taking, and ritual.¹⁹ This sentiment has recently been echoed in Leslie Howsam’s overview of the state of book history as a field.²⁰ Catherine Bell has blazed a trail in this direction within the study of Chinese religions through her insightful articles on the implications of printing for religious books and the ‘ritualization’ of religious texts.²¹ These areas of book history are precisely where rich studies of the Buddhist canons could offer much insight.

¹⁸ Harry Gamble’s *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) was a groundbreaking study of the book in Christian culture. His work has led to a multitude of scholarly attention on books in Christianity. Joseph P. McDermott’s *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006) and Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, ed., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) have ushered in a new era in scholarship on the history of the book in China.

¹⁹ Robert Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?” in *The Case for Books: Past, Present, and Future* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2009), 205.

²⁰ Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

²¹ Catherine Bell explores these themes in a series of three articles: “Ritualization of Texts and Textualization of Ritual in the Codification of Taoist Liturgy,” *History of Religions* 27 (4 1988) 366-92; “Printing and Religion in China: Some Evidence from the Taishang Ganying Pian,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 20 (1992) 173-86; and “‘A Precious Raft to Save the World’: The Interaction of Scriptural Traditions and Printing in a Chinese Morality Book,” *Late Imperial China* 17, no. 1 (1996) 158-200.

The study of sacred texts within Religious Studies has historically focused largely on their content, especially doctrinal content. Even when attempting to explain what a religious scripture or canon is, scholars have often focused on doctrinal explanations with less attention to their social, ritual, and other roles. Jonathan Z. Smith has argued in an essay on the idea of canon that comparative religion would benefit from looking beyond doctrinal explanations and toward “ethnographic” explanations which demonstrate how scriptures are produced and used within a religious culture.²² In the present dissertation, I explore doctrine, ritual, and other perspectives in order to understand sacred books in Tibetan Buddhist culture.

Source Materials and Outline of Chapters

The eighteenth-century watershed in canonical publications inspired contemporary monastic scholars to compose numerous new treatises on the Canon, as well as ritual, linguistic, and historical works related to the Canon. These works, in particular the large catalogue-chronicles (*dkar chag*) that were written to supplement each new edition, make the eighteenth century a particularly fruitful time period for studying the Tibetan Buddhist Canon and form the basis of the dissertation. The genre of the traditional Tibetan “catalogue” (*dkar chag*) was written to accompany the production of an edition of a collection of texts, whether the Canon or other important collections such as the collected works of a religious master.²³ The eighteenth-century catalogues of the Canon contain much more than simple lists of texts; they also provide a wealth of information on the process of editing each new collection and the resources that went into the production of a particular edition. They also treat the history of Buddhist literature in Tibet and

²² Jonathan Z. Smith, “Sacred Persistence: Toward a Redescription of Canon,” In *Imagining Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 36-52.

²³ Catalogues (*dkar chag*) are also written to describe the history and contents of sacred monuments and religious sites. An introduction to this genre of literature is provided by Dan Martin, “Tables of Contents (*dkar chag*),” in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion, 1996), 500-514.

have extended theoretical discussions concerning the bases for the authority of scriptures and ways of organizing the canonical scriptures. In addition, they are often an important source for the local history of the area in which a canon was produced. In addition to these catalogue-chronicles, I also make use of other Tibetan and Chinese language historical and biographical literature relating to the figures and institutions involved in canonical publications as well as archival material including Qing court records.

Chapter One provides a general overview of the history of Kangyur and Tengyur catalogues and the basic structure and content of such a catalogue. It then briefly introduces several eighteenth-century cataloguers and the works they composed for the publications of new Kangyur and Tengyur editions. In Chapter Two, I examine in greater detail the conceptions of the Kangyur and Tengyur presented in the catalogues. In particular, I describe the content and history of these collections as seen through the eyes (or, more accurately, the writings) of the cataloguers. How were these collections understood by Tibetan scholars? How did they explain the history of the Kangyur and Tengyur?

Chapter Three turns to the actual production of the wood block editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur in the eighteenth century. I provide some historical background for several of the polities who published the Kangyur and Tengyur, relying on the local histories contained in the catalogues as well as other historical Tibetan and Chinese sources. I then focus in on the tremendous amounts of organization and resources required to create a xylograph edition of the Kangyur or Tengyur. These aspects of the projects are set out in each of the catalogues and give us a window onto the administration of large cultural projects and the economics of the eighteenth century.

Chapter Four explores the purposes and impacts of printing the Kangyur or Tengyur for the rulers and patrons who funded these expensive and time-consuming projects. The cataloguers put forth their own views of the purposes of a printed canon and the merit that is gained from such an endeavor in their catalogues, always in the final chapter. I use these chapters and other parts of their work as a jumping off point to contemplate how the presence of wood-block editions of the Canon and the dissemination of printed copies centered these kingdoms, using both the Buddhist conception of a “central land” (*yul dbus*) and Geertz’s theory of the link between charisma and centrality. Similarly, I examine how rulers used their newly printed Canons as items of prestige which they gave as gifts to other elite political and religious figures and institutions. These acts are described by monastic scholars as examples of the Buddhist ideal of the “perfection of giving” which created incredible amounts of religious merit. Moreover, the “inexhaustible gift of Dharma” represented by the wood-block Canon was considered the work of an ideal Buddhist ruler, a bodhisattva and universal monarch (*'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po*, Skt. *cakravartin*).

In Chapter Five, I conclude the dissertation by taking a broader view of the historical era in which the Kangyur and Tengyur cataloguers lived. In doing so, I offer some reflections on why the Kangyur and Tengyur came together with printing so powerfully in the eighteenth century. I offer some possible explanations, including how the increasing wealth and territory of several eighteenth-century polities lead to increased institutional standardization and the need to promote rulers as legitimate Buddhist rulers.

Chapter 1: Cataloguers and their Catalogues

Cataloguing and the Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon

In this chapter I will explore the history of the Kangyur and Tengyur and in particular the efforts to catalogue these collections. Cataloguing in Tibet helped shape these collections of scripture, while at the same time the genre of the catalogue itself developed and changed. The first scriptural catalogues were probably not much more than lists of translated texts, but eventually developed into the form which was typical of most eighteenth-century catalogues—a lengthy treatise on the history and import of the Kangyur and Tengyur together with detailed descriptions of the production of the particular edition being catalogued. The eighteenth century catalogues are the primary focus of this dissertation, but before turning to them we should make a preliminary examination of the tradition in which they worked and wrote their catalogues. This chapter will begin with some general comments on cataloguers, and then turn to the history of cataloguing translated scriptures in Tibet. The final part of the chapter will introduce several of the eighteenth-century cataloguers whose work will be explored in more detail through the rest of the dissertation.

Cataloguers are not given much thought these days. In North America, as in many places, people most likely think of cataloguers as quiet, inconsequential people tucked away in the basement of some library drearily entering into a computer database the Library of Congress cataloguing-in-publication data—that funny paragraph of information, stubbornly preserving a format which seems to be a hold-over from the long-gone days of the card catalogue, found on the verso following the title page of many modern English books. Of course, cataloguers are much more than this and they always have been, including in Tibet. And far from being

inconsequential, cataloguers have given shape to some of the most well known intellectual and material constructs of human culture. The Tibetan Buddhist Canon, one of the three main canons of Buddhist literature in Asia, was the product of generations of Tibetan cataloguers working in scriptoriums, palaces, monasteries, and possibly even a library basement somewhere (though, in general, Tibetans are not fond of basements).

The Tibetan Buddhist Canon consists of two main divisions: the Translated Word (the Kangyur) which is considered to contain the teachings of the Buddha or other enlightened beings, and the Translated Treatises (the Tengyur) containing authoritative commentaries and treatises. These two collections together comprise over three hundred volumes of religious writings. The Kangyur and Tengyur were not received whole cloth by Tibetans from their Indian predecessors. These collections of religious texts were organized into the more or less similar forms of the Canon that we have today over a period of several hundred years.

The shape of the Canon, far from being set in stone, was formed by Tibetans' understanding of the history and purpose of individual parts as well as the whole. This work of defining and organizing the Tibetan Buddhist Canon was the labor of Tibetan cataloguers, who set down in their catalogues their understanding of its history and of the how the diverse literature and teachings of the Kangyur and Tengyur fit together. The eighteenth-century cataloguers of printed editions of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon wrote within this tradition. Much of what they have to say about the Canon is based on centuries of previous cataloguing and description of the Buddhist scriptures in Tibetan translation.

In the early transmission of Buddhism to Tibet, the translation of Buddhist scriptures from other Asian languages and their cataloging was largely controlled by the Tibetan emperors. Later, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, efforts at cataloguing this scriptural corpus and

physically producing the first canons were accomplished with wealth that flowed from the powerful Mongol empire. In Tibet, as elsewhere, the production of scriptures, especially large collections such as religious canons, was often accomplished through the patronage of political leaders. This relationship between patronage and sacred book production continued up through the eighteenth century, when we have well-documented efforts at the creation of printed canons sponsored by Asian kings and emperors.

In the latter half of the first millennium CE, Tibet was surrounded by Buddhist cultures in south, central, and east Asia. Buddhist scriptures were transmitted to Tibet from all these areas and translated into Tibetan. Translations were made mainly from Sanskrit and other South Asian languages, but there were also translations from Chinese, Uighur, and other languages. The translation of thousands of texts occurred over the course of several centuries beginning in the seventh century CE. Through this process, Tibetan Buddhists received the accumulated textual tradition of over a millennium of scriptural creation in Buddhist India and elsewhere.

As the process of translation went forward, Tibetan scholars then found themselves facing the task of collecting and arranging the mass of materials received. Catalogues of scripture were compiled, and eventually canons produced, based on such catalogues. Each new catalogue or edition of a canon brought a re-analysis of the project of understanding the scriptures, often as well sparking debate on the limits of the canon and the establishment of scriptural authority.¹

¹ The debates over scriptural authenticity are largely beyond the purview of the present dissertation, but are certainly worthy of further study. A good initial treatment of the issues involved is Matthew T. Kapstein's "The Purificatory Gem and Its Cleansing: A Late Polemical Discussion of Apocryphal Texts," chapter 7 of *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 121-137.

Beginnings: The Tibetan Empire

While today there is recognition of collections called the Kangyur and Tengyur, the Buddhist scriptures that were translated into Tibetan did not come with a predefined idea of a canon and its limits. In fact, the scriptures represented several traditions in Indian Buddhism that do not fit together so neatly. In Tibet, initial attempts to understand the relationships between scriptures and their organization began with imperial sponsored catalogues of translated scriptures during the Tibetan empire.

The translation of Buddhist texts from other languages into Tibetan began in the seventh century. This was the time of the Tibetan Empire under which Tibet was ruled by a series of kings who were able bring a large area of territory under their control and led successful military campaigns against Chinese and Indian polities. Tibetan Buddhist histories describe this period as the early diffusion (*snga dar*) of Buddhism into Tibet. During this period, when Buddhism first began to be transmitted to Tibet from other regions, there was no one set of authoritative scriptures that were easily identified as a canon.² Instead, Tibetans received a variety of scriptures representing many different strands of Buddhism that had developed in India, China, and elsewhere. These included scriptures found in the Pāli Tipiṭaka, Mahāyāna scriptures such as the various perfection of wisdom texts (*sher phyin*, Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*), and tantric (*rgyud*) or secret mantra (*gsang sngags*) scriptures that had only recently come onto the Buddhist scene.

² Paul Harrison notes that while in India there had developed fairly early on a notion of the three baskets (Pali *tipiṭaka*, San. *tripiṭaka*), there seems to have been no single set of Mahāyāna or tantric scriptures that formed a canon; Harrison, “A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa’ ’gyur,” in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. José Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), 70-73. Helmut Eimer makes a similar point, but also suggests the influence of the organization of the Pāli Tipiṭaka on the eventual organization of the Tibetan Kangyur; Helmut Eimer, “On the Structure of the Tibetan Kanjur,” in *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism, PIATS 2000: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. Helmut Eimer and David Germano (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 58.

This last category was not especially favored by the Tibetan emperors, however, and they attempted to limit their translation and circulation.

Such restrictions were part of a larger effort by the Tibetan emperors through the eighth and ninth centuries to control and organize the translation of Buddhist texts into Tibetan. In a series of decrees (*bkas bcad*) they established standards for translation and proscriptions on the translation of some categories of scriptures and particularly certain tantras.³ According to some Tibetan histories, the emperors also regarded the translated scriptures as powerful sacred objects, and institutionalized their worship. The emperor Muné Tsenpo (Mu ne btsan po, reigned ca. 797) is said to have ordered the regular worship of scriptures at Samyé (Bsam yas) monastery—a practice which survived for centuries.⁴ More mundanely, the emperors had official catalogues (*dkar chag*) of scriptures prepared. With these catalogues, as with the decrees, the empire sought to begin codifying the tremendous amount of new literature in Tibetan which early on had often been translated *ad hoc* and unsystematically. The most well-known of these imperial catalogues were the *Denkarma* (*Ldan dkar ma*, also called the *Lhenkarma* [*Lhan kar ma*]), the *Chimpuma* (*Mchims phu ma*), and the *Pangtangma* (*'Phang thang ma*).⁵

³ The imperial edicts related to translation procedures and proscriptions are treated in Cristina A. Scherrer-Schaub, “Enacting Words: A Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees (*bkas bcad*) and their Application in the sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa Tradition,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25, nos. 1-2 (2002): 263-340.

⁴ Peter Skilling, “From bKa’ bstan bcos to bKa’ ’gyur and bsTan ’gyur,” in *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, ed. Helmut Eimer (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 90.

⁵ On the dating of these early catalogues, see Kurtis R. Schaeffer and Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi ’od of Bcom ldan ral gri* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Oriental Series, Harvard University Press, 2009), 53-57. On the *Lhenkarma* catalogue see Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die lHan kar ma: Ein früher Katalog der ins Tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen Texte* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008). For a study of the *Pangtang Kama Catalogue* (*Dkar chag ’phang thang ka ma/med*; that is, the *Pangtangma*) which also contains a

These catalogues sought to list the extant Buddhist literature that had been translated into Tibetan up to the time of their compilation. The composition of the *Denkarma* catalogue is attributed to the famous translator Kawa Peltsek (Ska ba dpal brtsegs) and Namkha Nyingpo (Nam mkha' snying po). The catalogue begins with sections on Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna literature, followed by several categories of tantric material, then texts on discipline (*'dul ba*, Skt. *vinaya*), and finally various commentarial literature, works on logic, and compositions attributed to the Tibetan emperor Tri Songdetsen (Khri srong lde btsan). The last two sections of the catalogue list unrevised and in-progress translations. The texts within sections are often listed according to their length in descending order, that is, longer texts are followed by shorter texts. There is not yet in these catalogues the clear distinction between Word (Bka') and Treatises (Bstan bcos) that is the hallmark of the later Kangyurs and Tengyurs. Some treatises are mixed in with the discourses (*mdo*, Skt. *sūtras*) of the first sections and tantric commentaries are listed after their root tantra.⁶ During the imperial period, it seems that the sum of the translated scriptures were more often referred to as the three baskets (*sde snod gsum*), a common appellation for the canonical collections of early mainstream Buddhism, than as the Word and Treatises.⁷ Another important point to note is that these early catalogues were not describing an actual collection of texts that existed together; they instead were an attempt to identify all extant translations in Tibet regardless of where they resided. In other words, we do not have any evidence that a set of the entire corpus in one physical collection was made.

The imperial period witnessed the translation, revision, and initial organization of an impressive amount of Buddhist literature—the *Denkarma Catalogue* lists over seven hundred

useful summary of the standardization of translation practices during the Tibetan Empire see Georgios Halkias, "Tibetan Buddhism Registered: A Catalogue from the Imperial Court of 'Phang Thang," *The Eastern Buddhist* 36, nos. 1 & 2 (2004): 46-105.

⁶ Skilling, "From bKa' bstan bcos," 92.

⁷ Skilling, "From bKa' bstan bcos," 89 n. 19.

distinct texts.⁸ This period of intense Buddhist scriptural activity came to a close with the assumption of power by Langdarma (Glang dar ma) who ended the lavish patronage of Buddhism and its institutions which previous kings had provided. His assassination in 842 marks the end of the Tibetan empire as a significant polity after which political power on the Tibetan plateau fractured into many local enclaves.

The Renaissance

By the late tenth century, there began to be pockets of renewed translation activity. This period of renewal, known in Tibetan historiography as the later diffusion (*phyi dar*) of the Dharma, was marked by renewed interest in South Asia, new translations made by individual translators, an emphasis on tantra, and diffuse political power resulting in more local patronage of religious figures.

In western Tibet, the scholar Rinchen Zangpo (Rin chen bzang po, 958-1055) was a prolific translator during the early part of the later diffusion. In fact, his work is often regarded as marking the start of this period in Tibetan history. Born in the region of Ngari (Mnga' ris) in west Tibet, he was ordained as a monk at the age of thirteen. He undertook several trips to Kashmir to study Buddhism and Indian languages. He enjoyed the patronage of Lha Lama Yeshe Ö (Lha bla ma ye shes 'od), the king of Ngari. When the famed Bengali master Atiśa came to Tibet, Rinchen Zangpo (who was eighty-five at the time) met and studied with him. During his life Rinchen Zangpo was also instrumental in the construction of religious buildings and monuments in west Tibet, some of which survive to this day. In the *Blue Annals* (*Dep ther sngon po*), Gö Lotsawa ('Gos lo tsA ba, 1392-1481) largely credits Rinchen Zangpo with the increase of tantra in Tibet. Speaking of Rinchen Zangpo in the chapter of the *Blue Annals* on the later

⁸ Eimer, "On the Structure of the Tibetan Kanjur," 58 and Harrison, "A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur," 73-74.

spread of the teachings, Gö Lotsawa writes: “The ‘later’ spread of the Tantras in Tibet was greater than the ‘early’ spread (of the Tantras), and this was chiefly due to this translator (lo tsā ba).”⁹ Altogether, he is credited with over one hundred and seventy translations.¹⁰ Many other translators followed, including Drokmi Lotsawa (’Drok mi lo tsā ba) and Marpa Lotsawa (Mar pa lo tsā ba). Around these charismatic figures the so-called ‘new schools’ (*gsar ma*), most prominently the Sakya (Sa skya) and Kagyü (Bka’ brgyud), began to coalesce.

While all this new translation was taking place, the old translations for the most part had not disappeared. Between the early and later diffusions, Buddhists are said to have hid texts in rocks or safeguarded them within small groups of householder Buddhists. Due to these or some other protective measures, much of the literature translated during the time of the empire seems to have survived into the renaissance period despite the lack of patronage (and according to Tibetan Buddhist histories the outright persecution of Buddhism) resulting from the collapse of the Tibetan empire.¹¹ However, early in the period of the later diffusion, there does not seem to have been a conscious effort to collect or catalogue all the translated materials in one place. Peter Skilling has argued that during this time, collections of translated scripture probably were unique to each local monastery or temple which gathered them together bit by bit without any urgent sense of needing to be comprehensive. Local institutions likely specialized in particular types and classes of literature (especially true in the case of tantras) and focused their collections accordingly, though some of the largest monastic institutions likely had substantial collections

⁹ George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1949 [reprinted 1996]), 68.

¹⁰ Hera Paul Gangnegi, “A Critical Note on the Biographies of Lo chen Rin chen bZang po,” *Tibet Journal* 23, no. 1 (1998): 41.

¹¹ Skilling, “From bKa’ bstan bcos,” 95-96. Some texts were of course lost, however, and this fact is noted by later cataloguers of Buddhist scriptures, including Butön Rinchendrup (“From bKa’ bstan bcos,” 96).

covering a wide range of Buddhist literature.¹² At the same time, it does appear that individual discourses (*sūtras*), perfection of wisdom texts, and tantras were gathered together into collections of ‘manifold discourses’ (*mdo mang*) and ‘collected tantras’ (*rgyud ’bum*). Again, however, these were probably not uniform collections and varied from place to place.¹³

Mongol Overlordship

The next great wave of comprehensive cataloguing coincided with the rise of a significant new political power in Asia, the Mongol empire. The Mongols began to establish control of Tibet in 1240 and founded the Yuan dynasty in China in 1271. This had repercussions for collections of Tibetan Buddhist scriptures. As Leonard van der Kuijp and Kurtis Schaeffer note, “from the second half of the thirteenth century onward we begin to witness a definite increase in the production of large-scale collections of texts. Much of this had to do with direct or indirect material support by the Mongol imperial court in China.”¹⁴ Along with the new consolidation of political power in the form of the Mongol overlordship, there were several other factors leading to a dramatic increase in scriptural compilation and organization in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹⁵ For one, by the turn of the fourteenth century there was a considerable amount of Indic Buddhist literature existing in Tibetan translation. On the other hand, Buddhism was by that time on the decline in South Asia, and concomitant with that

¹² Skilling, “From bKa’ bstan bcos,” 98-99.

¹³ Skilling, “From bKa’ bstan bcos,” 97-98. See also Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 18 for a discussion of early manuscript collections, and 58 for references to several early collected tantras (*rgyud ’bum*) compilations.

¹⁴ Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 9.

¹⁵ These factors are discussed by Skilling, “From bKa’ bstan bcos,” 99, and David Phillip Stanley, “The Threefold Formal, Practical, and Inclusive Canons of Tibetan Buddhism in the Context of a Pan-Asian Paradigm: Utilizing a New Methodology for Analyzing Canonical Collections” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009), 55-56.

decline was a decrease in the amount of new Buddhist scriptures being brought to Tibet. The focus of scholars turned from translation to organization and compilation.¹⁶

We know of several large-scale compilations of translated literature in the second half of the thirteenth century which gathered together the smaller ‘manifold discourses,’ ‘collected tantras,’ and other such collections. One of these projects was a manuscript collection of “translations of the Buddha’s excellent speech” (*gsung rab ’gyur ro ’tshal*, this phrase having a similar meaning to “Kangyur”) recorded by Lama Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen (Bla ma ’phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1235-80) as being prepared from around 1275 to 1278 in northeast Tibet and afterward being deposited in Sakya monastery. The collection contained sections devoted to tantra, perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), Avataṃsaka, Ratnakūṭa, discourses (*sūtra*), and discipline (*vinaya*).¹⁷ In Kham (Khams), too, in the late thirteenth century, collections of the Buddha’s Word were compiled, such as the manuscript Kangyurs of Ga Anyen Dampa Kūnga Drak (*Sga a gnyan dam pa kun dga’ grags*, 1230-1303). References to Tengyurs from around this time are also mentioned in several Tibetan sources, though it is not clear what the contents of such collections were.¹⁸

Chomden Reldri

One of the first cataloguers of this new period was Chomden Reldri (Lcom ldan ral gri, 1227-1305), a scholar based at Nartang (Snar thang) monastery in Tsang (Gtsang) province,

¹⁶ It should be noted that new scriptures continued to become available in Tibet. While there were less and less translations being made, within the Nyingma school attention shifted to newly revealed scriptures in the form of ‘treasure texts’ (*gter ma*). These revelations may have been one impetus for the establishment of standard canonical collections by members of the other schools wishing to limit the influence of the Nyingma by excluding these treasure texts and also early tantra translations claimed by the Nyingma. This point is made by Stanley, “Threefold Formal, Practical, and Inclusive Canons,” 17 and 55-56.

¹⁷ Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 20-26.

¹⁸ Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 28-30.

though he also had close connections with Sakya (Sa skya) monastery. While he was not a supporter of the Mongol presence in Tibet, there is evidence that later in his life Chomden Reldri and his monastery, Nartang, received support from Mongol sources.¹⁹ In any case, his cataloguing activities would most likely not have taken place had there not been the influx of patronage more generally from the Mongols and the political stability that followed in the wake of their conquest.

Sometime in the 1260s or 1270s Chomden Reldri wrote a catalogue of the translated scriptures known to exist at that time, titled *Sunlight Ornamenting the Expanse of Teachings* (*Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*).²⁰ This catalogue does not seem to have been based on an actual collection of texts, but rather catalogued known scriptures regardless of whether a text was actually in the holdings of Nartang monastery or not.²¹ Chomden Reldri's *Sunlight* begins with a short history of Buddhism in Tibet as an introduction to the list of texts that follow. He organizes his catalogue mainly in terms of the time period in which a text was translated and then by translator arranged according to the dates of their lives. The three main time periods that structure the catalogue are the early (*snga*), middle (*bar*), and later (*phyi*) diffusions of the Dharma in Tibet, with the middle diffusion here indicating a span of time that roughly coincides with the life of Atiśa (980-1054). He also has short sections at the end listing what he considers spurious works that are not true translations of Indic scriptures, and a section on works composed by Tibetans.²² These features are reminiscent of many catalogues and editions of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, but they were soon eclipsed in Tibet by other organizational schemes.

¹⁹ Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 7-8.

²⁰ Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 51.

²¹ Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 9.

²² Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 63.

The Nartang Kangyur and Tengyur

Several of Chomden Reldri's disciples carried on work related to the compilation and codification of scriptures, particularly Jampeyang ('Jam pa'i dbyangs) and Üpa Losel (Dbus pa blo gsal, ca. 1270-ca. 1355). These Nartang scholars produced the most famous of the early Kangyur and Tengyur compilations at Nartang monastery. The funding was provided by Jampeyang, who had spent considerable time in the Yuan capital at Dadu (present-day Beijing) and enjoyed Mongol patronage. Like Lama Pakpa's manuscript Kangyur, the Nartang Kangyur was compiled from numerous sets of smaller compilations of canonical texts which were held in various monastic libraries.²³ The organization of the Nartang Kangyur and Tengyur and their respective catalogues departed from the chronological framework of Chomden Reldri.²⁴ They instead adopted an approach that was organized around a division between the Word and the Treatises and organized according to classes of texts, such as the tri-part division of the Kangyur into tantras (*rgyud*), discourses (*mdo*), and discipline ('*dul ba*).²⁵ This would eventually become the standard organizing principle of collections of translated scripture.

Butön and the Zhalu Kangyur and Tengyur

The Nartang Kangyur and Tengyur served as a foundation for the work of another cataloguer based at Zhalu (Zhwa lu) monastery in Tsang, Butön Rinchendrup (Bu ston rin chen grub, 1290-1364), who followed their organizational framework. Under Butön the process of cataloging and classifying scripture reached a high point. His description of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (the Kangyur and Tengyur) set the example that many later scholastics would follow in

²³ Harrison, "A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur," 77.

²⁴ Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 10.

²⁵ The actual ordering of these sections in the Nartang Kangyur is not known, though Helmut Eimer suggest that the order of Tantra, Sūtra, Vinaya is likely very early. Eimer, "On the Structure of the Tibetan Kanjur," 62.

understanding the contours of these collections, especially the Tengyur. Butön drew on some theories of scripture already present in Mahāyāna sūtras as well as the work of Indian Buddhist scholastics and the emerging tradition of Tibetan scriptural organization to create a catalogue of canonical Tibetan scriptures organized into a sophisticated classification scheme. In addition to the catalogue proper, he also narrates this system in prose, by describing the historical development of the various types of scriptures and the levels of teaching they contain. Like Chomden Reldri's catalogues, Butön's list of scriptures in his famous fourteenth-century history and catalogue, the *History of the Dharma: A Treasury of Precious Speech* (*Chos 'byung gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*) written in 1322-26, is a list of known texts in translation and not a record of the texts in a single collection of scriptures.²⁶ However, Butön also edited and wrote the catalogue for an actual edition of the Tengyur completed in 1335. This became known as the Zhalu Tengyur and it set the model for most subsequent Tengyur collections. As van der Kuijp and Schaeffer write:

The way in which Bu ston ordered and classified the manuscripts of the Zhwa lu Tengyur was to form the basis for the vast majority of the subsequent Tengyurs, block-printed or handwritten, that peppered the Tibetan intellectual landscape before the 'Cultural Revolution,' and therefore played an extremely influential role in the sociology of knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism.²⁷

His direct impact on the textual history of the Kangyur is less clear-cut, but it is likely that in addition to his catalogue of the Kangyur, Butön or his disciples actually produced a physical edition of the Kangyur, too, though hard evidence is lacking. Harrison posits that such a Zhalu

²⁶ Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 9. An early English translation of Butön's *History* is Bu ston Rin chen grub, *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, trans. E. Obermiller (Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz, 1932). A new translation of Butön's *History* has recently been published: Butön Rinchen Drup, *Butön's History of Buddhism in India and Its Spread to Tibet: A Treasury of Priceless Scripture*, trans. Lisa Stein and Ngawang Zangpo (Boston: Snow Lion, 2013).

²⁷ Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 56.

Kangyur was probably the basis for what became the so-called Tempangma (Them spangs ma) manuscript produced in 1431 in Gyantsé (Rgyal rtse). Copies of the Tempangma Kangyur, of which many were made, form the Tempangma line of Kangyurs, one of the two main lines in the textual history of the Kangyur.²⁸ This line is represented mainly by manuscript editions of the Kangyur produced in areas of western Tibet.

Regardless of whether or not a physical edition of the Kangyur was produced at Zhalu under Butön, several of his innovations in the cataloguing of the Kangyur and Tengyur provided immensely influential. For example, he set the precedent for excluding multiple translations of a single work. He also abandoned the cataloguing of spurious scriptures and based inclusion of a text on strict authentication, especially of tantras, through evidence of an original Sanskrit text (though, of course, for Butön as for others sectarian and political motivations could cloud one's judgment of authenticity).²⁹ These features, and the division of scriptures into Kangyur and Tengyur, were to be followed in most subsequent compilations of translated scripture, consigning other frameworks, such as those of Chomden Reldri, to historical obscurity.

The Tselpa Kangyur

The monastery of Tsel Gungtang ('Tshal gung thang) in Central Tibet (Dbus) produced a number of Kangyur sets under the patronage of the myriarch (*khri dpon*) Tselpa Künga Dorjé ('Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje, 1309-1364) and his predecessors.³⁰ An edition of the Kangyur

²⁸ Harrison, "A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur," 78-81.

²⁹ Skilling, "From bKa' bstan bcos," 100 n. 96.

³⁰ Harrison, "A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur," 78, and Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 32-33. Schaeffer and van der Kuijp note that Künga Dorjé's father also is recorded as having been a patron for a manuscript Kangyur. Skilling argues that the Tselpa Kangyur does not derive from the so-called Old Nartang edition, whereas many other scholars, based on the testimony of the Jang Satam/Litang Kangyur have described as such. Schaeffer and van der Kuijp leave open the possibility that it does indeed have a relationship with the Old Nartang Kangyur.

produced between 1347 and 1351 became the basis for many subsequent Kangyur recensions which are thus referred to as members of the Tselpa line of Kangyurs, the other main line in the textual history of the Kangyur.³¹ Most of the xylograph editions of the Kangyur are from the Tselpa line. Editions in the Tselpa line of Kangyurs sometimes include a section of ancient tantras (*rnying rgyud*) and collected spells (*gzungs 'dus*) not found in manuscripts of the Tempangma line (many of the ancient tantras having been excluded by Butön from his catalogues).

The inclusion of these sections is one indication that, while the catalogues of Butön and the production of the Tselpa Kangyur set the overarching parameters for almost all subsequent Kangyur and Tengyur collections, the collections remained fluid and open to variation. After the fourteenth century, just as before it, the contents of many of these collections and their catalogues differ from one other, often due to sectarian or political reasons (these two often going hand-in-hand). However, most of these differences were relatively minor and did not constitute a continuing source of concern among Tibetan writers. The greatest discrepancy, as we have just seen, was in the inclusion or exclusion of certain tantras and their commentaries that were particular to the Nyingma (Rnying ma) school—texts such as the Secret Essence (*Gsang ba'i snying po*, Skt. *Guhyagarbha*) and Adamantine Dagger (*Rdo rje phur pa*, Skt. *Vajrakila*) tantras. Whether or not one included these scriptures in one's Canon, while ostensibly a matter of authentication through evidence of a Sanskrit original, was more likely a matter of one's sympathies, or one's patron's sympathies, with the Nyingma school or its textual traditions.

³¹ The date of this Kangyur is variously given 1348 (Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 33) and 1349 (Silk, "Notes on the History," 154). Both of these sources agree that Butön consecrated this Tselpa Kangyur in 1351.

The Yongle Kangyur and the Emergence of Xylographic Editions

In the early fifteenth century, the Kangyur was printed for the first time. This xylograph edition was produced with the support of the Yongle (r. 1403-1424) emperor of the Ming dynasty of China in 1410. It was based on a copy of the Tselpa Kangyur. Copies of the Yongle Kangyur are known to have been deposited in a temple at Wutai Shan and bestowed on central Tibetan religious figures in the first decade after it was completed.³² The same blocks served as the basis for the slightly revised reprint of the Wanli emperor in 1606.

The only other printed edition of the Kangyur produced prior to the late seventeenth century was the Jang Satam, or Litang, Kangyur.³³ The work on this Kangyur was carried out from 1609 to 1614 in the kingdom of Jang Satam ('Jang Sa tham), a Naxi kingdom in the area Lijiang in today's northwest Yunnan province. The king of Jang Satam, known by the Tibetan name Sönam Rapten (Bsod nams rab brtan, d. 1647), invited the Sixth Zhamar (Zhwa dmar) of the Karma Kagyü school, Chökyi Wangchuk (Chos kyi dbang phyug, 1584-1630), to oversee the project. Chökyi Wangchuk brought with him a copy of a Tselpa Kangyur which had been stored at a place called Chingwa Taktsé ('Phying ba stag rtse) and used this as the base text of his editorial work. This edition then, along with the Yongle Kangyur, falls within the Tselpa line of Kangyurs. Chökyi Wangchuk wrote a narrative catalogue for the collection. The blocks of the Jang Satam Kangyur were later removed and placed in a Gelukpa monastery in Litang (Li thang) in Kham during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, so that this edition of the Kangyur is often known as the Litang Kangyur.

³² Silk, "Notes on the History," 156, 166-67.

³³ The following description of this Kangyur project is based mainly on Jampa Samten's research as reported in "Notes on the Lithang Edition of the Tibetan bKa'-gyur," *Tibet Journal* 12, no. 3 (Autumn 1987): 17-40.

Editions and Catalogues of the Kangyur and Tengyur

Xylograph Editions of the Kangyur³⁴	
Edition	Date
Yongle	1410
Wanli (largely a reprint of the Yongle, but with additional volumes)	1605
Jang Satam/Litang	1609-1614
Kangxi	1684-1700
Choné	1721-1731
Nartang	1730-1732
Degé	1729-1733
Chamdo	18 th century?
Ragya	1814-1820
Urga	1908-1910
Wara	ca. 1930
Chamdo	ca. 1930s
Lhasa	1934

Xylograph Editions of the Tengyur	
Edition	Date
Kangxi	1724
Nartang	1741-42
Degé	1737-1744
Choné	1753-1773
Urga (unfinished)	1937
Wara (unfinished)	1945

A Preliminary List of Kangyur and Tengyur Catalogues			
Author	Title	Collection Catalogued	Date
unknown	Lhan dkar ma	translated scriptures	9 th c.
unknown	Mchims phu ma	translated scriptures	9 th c.
unknown	'Phang thang ma	translated scriptures	9 th c.
Bcom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri (1227-1305)	Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od	translated scriptures	1260s or 1270s
Dbus pa blo gsal	Bstan bcos kyi dkar chag	Tengyur	14 th c.?

³⁴ On the editions listed in this and the following chart and the following, see Paul Harrison, "A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. José Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), 70-94 and David Phillip Stanley, "The Tibetan Buddhist Canon," Tibetan and Himalayan Library, 2005, <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/index.php#!essay=/stanley/tibcanons/all/>, as well as the Tibetan Buddhist Resources Center's (TBRC) webpages devoted to Kangyur and Tengyur editions and related works: "Canon" (<http://www.tbrc.org/#!/catalog/canon>) and "bka' 'gyur dang bstan 'gyur" (<http://www.tbrc.org/#!/rid=T1129>).

Sangs rgyas 'bum (ca. 1265-1355)			
Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364)	Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod	Kangyur and Tengyur	1322-26
Bu ston Rin chen grub	Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba	Tengyur	1335
Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa 3 (1284-1339)	Rje rang byung rdo rje'i thugs dam bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag	Tengyur	ca. 1333-1336
Rang byung rdo rje	Bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag	Tengyur	ca. 1333-1336
Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje (1309-1364)	Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag nor bu'i phung po	Tengyur	14 th c.
Rin chen nram rgyal, Sgra tshad pa (1318-1388)	Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che'i za ma tog	Tengyur	1362
Phyogs las nram rgyal, Jo nang mkhan chen (1306-1386)	Bstan 'gyur dkar chag	Tengyur	14 th c.
Kun dga' bzang po, Ngor mkhan chen 1 (1382-1456)	Bka' 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag bstan pa gsal ba'i sgron me	Kangyur	15 th c.
Kun dga' bzang po	Bstan 'gyur dkar chag	Tengyur	15 th c.
Kun dga' bzang po	Rdo rje theg pa'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag	Tengyur	15 th c.
Kun dga' bzang po	Bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyi 'od	Tengyur	15 th c.
Chos grags ye shes, Zhwa dmar 4 (1453-1524)	Bka' 'gyur gyi dkar chag bstan pa rgyas byed	Kangyur	1519
Kun dga' rin chen (1475-1527)	bka' bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag rnam par dbye ba la log rtog kun sel	Kangyur and Tengyur	1523
Rtsi shag bla ma mngon dga'	Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' gangs can gyi brdas 'dren pa ji snyed pa'i phyi mo par gyi dkar chag thub pa dgyes byed	Kangyur	1621
Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682) / Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705)	Bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog go dkar chag 'jig rten gsum gyi bde skyid pad tshal bshad pa'i nyin byed	Tengyur	1688

unknown	Kangxi Kangyur catalogue	Kangyur	1700
unknown	Kangxi Tengyur catalogue (the main part of this catalogue simply reproduces the work by Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho / Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho above)	Tengyur	1724
Grags pa bshad grub, Co ne bla ma (1675-1748)	Co ne'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i dkar chags gsal ba'i me long	Kangyur	1731
Bzhad pa'i rdo rje, Sle lung rje drung (1697-1740).	Bka' 'gyur rin po che'i gsung par srid gsum rgyan gcig rdzu 'phrul shing rta'i dkar chag ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho'i lde mig	Kangyur	1732
Chos kyi 'byung gnas, Si tu paṅ chen (1699-1774)	Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' gangs can gyi brdas drangs pa'i phyi mo'i tshogs ji snyed pa par du bsgrubs pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam bzang po blo ldan mos pa'i kunda yongs su kha byed pa'i zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing	Kangyur	1733
Ngag dbang byams pa, Phur bu lcoṅ (1682-1762)	Bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gsung par du bsgrubs pa'i dkar chag tshangs pa'i dbyangs	Tengyur	1742
Tshul khri rin chen, Zhu chen (1697-1774)	Kun mkhyen nyi ma'i gnyen gyi bka' lung gi dgongs don rnam par 'grel pa'i bstan bcos gangs can pa'i skad du 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi 'chad pa'i ngo mtshan 'phrul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa'i bsod nams kyi sprin phung rgyas par dkrigs pa'i tshul las brtsams pa'i gtam ngo mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gсар pa	Tengyur	1744
Ye shes rgyal mtshan, Tshe mchog gling yongs 'dzin 1 (1713-93)	Bkra shis bsam gtan gling gi bka' bstan rin po che'i dkar chag thub bstan gsal byed	Kangyur and Tengyur	1768
Ye shes rgyal mtshan	bka' 'gyur gsar bzhegs dang rdo rje 'jigs byed dkyil 'khor gyi dkar chag	Kangyur	18 th c.
Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa 2	Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka'i dgongs 'grel bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog par du sgrub pa'i tshul las	Tengyur	1773

(1728-1791)	nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam yang dag par brjod pa dkar chag nor bu'i phreng ba		
unknown	Bka' 'gyur dkar chag yid kyi 'dod 'jo [Catalogue of the Tok Palace Kangyur]	Kangyur	18 th c.
Ye shes blo bzang bstan pa'i mgon po, Rta tshag 8 (1760-1810)	Rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i dkar chag bai dUrya'i zhun ma'i bzhin snod	Kangyur	late 18 th or early 19 th c.
Bstan pa'i nyi ma, Paṅ chen 7 (1782-1853)	Bde bar gsegs pa'i gsung rab gans can gyi skad du 'gyur ro cog gi phyi mo par du bskrun pa'i dkar chag mdo rgyud chos kyi sgo brgya cig car 'byed pa'i lde mig [Ragya Kangyur catalogue]	Kangyur	1820
Ngag dbang nor bu, Dga' ldan khri pa 81	mi dbang pho lha ba'i gser bris bstan 'gyur srid zhi'i rgyan gcig gi dkar chag	Tengyur	19 th c.
unknown	Urga Kangyur catalogue	Kangyur	20 th c.

Catalogues (*dkar chags*)

As we have just seen, the creation of the Kangyur and Tengyur was intimately tied to the cataloguing of collections of translated scripture. It may be appropriate then to make a few comments on the Tibetan genre of the catalogue. Dan Martin has written a very useful introduction to the Tibetan genre of the catalogue (*dkar chag*, called by Martin “tables of contents”) in which he argues that Tibetan catalogues are primarily a description of the creation of one or more of the three supports (*rten gsum*). The three supports are those of body (statues and paintings), speech (texts), and mind (stūpas) and they represent the primary devotional objects of Tibetan Buddhism. They are among the essential elements which should be housed within any temple or monastery if it is to be considered an authentic religious site. In addition to the three supports, catalogues can also document the origin and significance of sacred sites such as monasteries or mountains. According to Martin, “Stated in a simplified manner, a *dkar chag* is

a text describing the construction and/or content of items which the Tibetan Buddhist traditions consider holy and capable of bestowing blessings (*byin brlabs*).”³⁵

Martin takes Sanggyé Gyatso’s 1697 catalogue of the Fifth Dalai Lama’s reliquary stūpa as representative of the genre of catalogue in Tibet. Martin writes:

Its 766 folio pages contain thirteen chapters, beginning with a cosmogony and cosmography that only gradually begins to narrow in on Tibet, then Lhasa, and finally the Potala itself. It includes a lengthy treatise on astrology/astronomy, since choosing the perfect moments for building and consecrating such a monument is considered quite important. There are elaborate descriptions of the actual layout of the *mchod rten*, the materials used, the relics and other sacred items (including an enviable library of Buddhist scriptures) that were enclosed within it, a treatise on consecration rituals in general as well as the particular one performed, a discussion of the benefits of building and paying reverence to *mchod rten*s, and so forth. . . . There is a record of the offerings designated for the upkeep and compensation of the workmen, even some discussion about the tools they used. Overall, the text contains poetry, astronomy, technology, economics, geography, physics, “theology,” philosophy, controversy—but also a record of the complex interactions necessary for constructing a public receptacle for “the sacred.”³⁶

As we will see below, most of the main features present in Sanggyé Gyatso’s catalogue are witnessed in the eighteenth-century catalogues of the Kangyur and Tengyur.

Catalogues, in addition to their overt function as a history and guide to a monument or a collection of literature, were also a way for the patron and others who took part in such Buddhist productions to document their meritorious acts for posterity. This explains why many catalogues go into extensive detail in relating the labor, materials, and costs of these projects given that these things all contribute to the merit earned. Martin even speculates that the Tibetan word for catalogue, *karchag* (*dkar chag*), may connote “an account of merit making.”³⁷

³⁵ Dan Martin, “Tables of Contents (dKar chag),” in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. José Cabezon and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), 504.

³⁶ Martin, “Tables of Contents (dKar chag),” 502.

³⁷ Martin, “Tables of Contents (dKar chag),” 505.

Eighteenth-Century Cataloguers and their Catalogues

Most of the catalogues of the Kangyur or Tengyur written in the eighteenth century were written to accompany the production of xylograph editions of these collections. The four cataloguers who I profile below and whose catalogues serve as the primary sources for this dissertation are Choné Lama Drakpa Shedrup (Co ne bla ma Grags pa bshad sgrub), Situ Pañchen Chökyi Jungné (Si tu pañ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas), Zhuchen Tsültrim Rinchen (Zhu chen Tshul khri ms rin chen), and Könchok Jikmé Wangpo (Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po). Drakpa Shedrup and Könchok Jikmé Wangpo were the cataloguers of the Choné Kangyur and Tengyur respectively. Chökyi Jungné catalogued the Degé Kangyur and Tsültrim Rinchen catalogued the Degé Tengyur. These later two also acted as editors-in-chief of their respective projects at Degé. The catalogues that these men wrote were not mere lists of texts. In fact, except for Drakpa Shedrup's catalogue, the bulk of these works are concerned with biography/hagiography or history/legend. They also provide detailed descriptions of what a Kangyur or Tengyur is, its contours and divisions, and the benefits to be gained from the production of an edition. Most of them also contain poetry, geography, and textual history, as well as aspects of the economy and ritual life of eighteenth-century Tibet.

In terms of the structure of the catalogues, they generally share a similar flow of content. The majority of these works contain the following major sections: 1) a homage or invocation, 2) a history of Buddhism in India and Tibet (sometimes other countries are also included), 3) an explanation of the meaning and classifications of the Buddhist teachings, 4) a history of the kingdom in which the edition was made, 5) an overview of how the edition was made, 6) the actual catalogue listing the texts in the edition, and 7) a discussion of the benefits of producing an edition and a dedication of merit.

The first part of each catalogue, following the requisite opening homage or invocation, is usually a history of Buddhism in India and Tibet. These histories are similar to many stand-alone Tibetan histories of Buddhism in India and Tibet, recounting the life of the Buddha (sometimes narrating in detail the twelve acts of the life of the Buddha) and the development of Buddhism in India told largely through accounts of the three Buddhist councils and the lives of great Indian Buddhist masters and kings. The history of Buddhism in Tibet focuses on the period of the Tibetan Empire and the lives of the great religious kings, Tibetan translators, and Indian scholars. The section on Tibet sometimes also includes the development of the different schools of Buddhism in Tibet.

The catalogues move from this historical presentation of the Kangyur and Tengyur to descriptions of the meaning, purpose, and methods for classifying Buddhist scripture. These sections give definitions and etymologies of key terms such as “dharma” (*chos*), “word” (*bka'*), and “treatise” (*bstan bcos*). They also explain the relationship between the Buddhist teachings and the practice of Buddhism and the attainment of realization. However, the vast majority of these sections are taken up with considerations of how the Buddhist teachings are to be classified. The most basic division is between the actual teachings, or words (*bka'*), of the Buddha and the treatises (*bstan bcos*) written by other great Buddhist (or occasionally non-Buddhist) masters of the past. But within these two great overarching categories, which of course largely separate the Kangyur from the Tengyur, there are many other subdivisions relating to the genre or style of the teaching, the level of profundity, the level of the student being taught, or the type of affliction which is overcome through the specific teaching. While the order of the texts in a given Kangyur or Tengyur and the corresponding list of texts in the catalogue proper are arranged according to a classification scheme, the sections of the catalogues which discuss classification are of much

greater scope, since in this narrative section the authors can present a variety of ways of dividing, entering into, and understanding these vast collections while the arrangement of the texts in the catalogue can only follow one such scheme. The catalogue proper is therefore more of a finding aid to texts in the collection, while the sections which discuss classification are in some sense a theoretical guide to the various ways of approaching and using the texts.

Next, the cataloguers generally provide a history of the locality where the edition has been produced and a genealogy of the royal family who sponsored its production. These can be quite lengthy, tracing the history of the family back to one of the great clans during the time of the Tibetan empire. The successive generations are recounted along with the exploits of some of the prominent figures in the family history. There is an emphasis on military prowess on the one hand and generous religious patronage on the other. The family history usually concludes with a lengthy section on the most recent generation, especially the patron of the current edition.

This brings the catalogues to a detailed description of the production of the new wood block edition. Here we learn details about the exact time (always an auspicious time meticulously calculated), the previous editions of texts that were consulted, and the editing process. There is also an accounting of the staff and the wages that the staff were paid. These wages, combined with the expenses for raw materials, are then figured into a total reckoning of the exact cost of the project. Some catalogues also give details of the various rituals performed during the production of the edition and the consecration of the edition upon completion.

We then come to the catalogue proper, where the contents of the edition of the Kangyur or Tengyur are listed. This section is sometimes called the ‘list catalogue’ (*bzhugs byang dkar chag*). The texts within each volume are listed, and within each entry the title, author, translator, and number of folios are generally given.

Finally, the catalogues end with sections on the reasons or purposes that the editions were made and a dedication of the merit earned through the production of the edition. The primary purpose of these projects is generally stated as the maintenance and further spread of the Buddha's teachings so that people may achieve enlightenment. The other main purpose is the production of merit. It is hoped that the immense amount of merit that is supposed to accrue from these projects will benefit those who took part, especially the royal patrons and particularly in terms of favorable rebirths, long lineages, the security and growth of their wealth and domain, and freedom from illness and misfortune. The catalogues end, as befitting proper Buddhist compositions, with dedications of merit to the well-being and future enlightenment of all beings.

Choné Lama Drakpa Shedrup

Drakpa Shedrup (1675-1748) was a native of Choné and entered the religious life at age nine.³⁸ He spent his early monastic life at the Great Monastery of Choné before heading to Central Tibet at age nineteen. In central Tibet he studied at Sera Tekchen Ling (Se ra theg chen gling) in the Me college (Smad kyis chos grwa). This was in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, during the troubling years leading up to the rule of Lhazang Khan (Lha bzang khan) over central Tibet. He was able to earn his Geshé Lharampa degree, though delayed by the funeral ceremonies for the Regent (*sde srid*) Sanggyé Gyatso, who was killed during the unrest in 1705.

³⁸ The biographical sketch presented here is based on the short biographies of Drakpa Shedrup contained in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [*Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka'i dgongs 'grel bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog par du sgrub pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam yang dag par brjod pa dkar chag nor bu'i phreng ba*] (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986/9), 399.14-401.3; Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho* [*The Ocean Annals of Amdo: Yul mdo smad kyi ljoñs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*] (Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1975-1977), 3:132b.5-133b.4; and Grags pa 'byung gnas and Blo bzang mkhas grub, *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*, (Lanzhou, Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992), 485-486.

Having earned his degree, and no doubt not wishing to linger in the instability of central Tibet, at age thirty-two he left central Tibet to return to Choné. He arrived back in Amdo in 1707. He quickly established himself within the leadership of the Great Monastery of Choné. He was appointed instructor of the newly established philosophy college (*mtshan nyid grwa tshang*) in 1714 and took the throne of the new tantra college (*rgyud pa'i grwa tshang*) in 1729. In addition, he held the leadership (*mkhan po*) of the entire monastery twice. He was the spiritual advisor to both the Choné Lord, Jamyang Norbu ('Jam dbyangs nor bu), and his uncle, Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso (Ngag dbang 'phrin las rgya mtsho), the abbot of the Great Monastery of Choné. At the completion of the Kangyur project in 1731, he wrote the catalogue for the publication. He was a prolific writer and his collected works were said encompass eleven volumes, though the blocks for the only known xylograph edition, the Choné edition, were destroyed and examples are rare.

Drakpa Shedrup's Catalogue

Drakpa Shedrup's catalogue of the Choné Kangyur is a relatively short work, only forty-five folios. The catalogue bears the title *The Clear Mirror: The Catalogue of the Precious Kangyur of Choné* (*Co ne'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i dkar chags gsal ba'i me long*). The catalogue proper, listing titles, translators, revisers, and so forth, makes up nearly thirty-eight folios of the work.³⁹ The rest of the catalogue, totaling less than seven folios, is written entirely in verse consisting of lines of nine or, less often, fifteen syllables each. But Drakpa Shedrup condenses a lot of information into his tightly constructed verse. Drakpa Shedrup does not explicitly divide his text into sections, but we can say generally that his work consists of 1) an opening homage; 2) a history of the teachings in India and Tibet, including some brief remarks on previous printed editions of the Kangyur; 3) a brief introduction to the context of the publication at Choné,

³⁹ Grags pa bshad grub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 5b.3-43a.8.

including brief descriptions of the two main sponsors Makzor Gönpö, the Lord of Choné, and his brother, Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso; 4) the catalogue proper; 5) mention of other sponsors, including the queen, Dampa Menjang (Dam pa sman byang), and her youngest son, Jamyang Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen ('Jam dbyang blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan); 6) some comments on the staff and work involved in the publication; 7) the dedication of merit.

The text opens with a homage to the Buddha, the great Indian masters, Tsongkhapa and his disciples, and the great scholars and translators who brought the teachings to Tibetan and translated them. After one verse in which he sets out his reason for writing the catalogue, he then gives a very truncated overview of the history of Buddhism and the Buddhist teachings, beginning with a very brief description of the world and its inhabitants. He gives a short biography of the Buddha and then a summary of how his teachings were transmitted and came to Tibet. Drakpa Shedrup goes on to relate that the Kangyur was printed in Litang (Li thang), and even later by the Chinese emperor.⁴⁰ Here, the otherwise extremely knowledgeable Drakpa Shedrup has made some slight errors in recounting the publication history of the Kangyur. The Litang edition he refers to was actually first published in Jang Satam or, in Chinese, Lijiang, before the blocks were moved to Litang, most likely during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Moreover, an imperial Chinese edition was produced by the Yongle emperor of the Ming dynasty previous to the Jang Satam/Litang edition. Drakpa Shedrup may have only been familiar with the Qing emperor Kangxi's edition which had been published only about thirty years before Drakpa Shedrup wrote his catalogue.

In any case, his history of previous editions brings his narrative up to the printing at Choné. He relates how in the area of Domé (Mdo smad), no one had ever made a complete

⁴⁰ Grags pa bshad grub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 4b.7-8.

xylograph edition of the entire Kangyur until the Lords of Choné created the aspiration to accomplish that feat.⁴¹ He gives very few details, only mentioning that the Choné Lord Makzor Gönpö worked with his brother, the national preceptor (*ko'u shi*), to accomplish the publication and that they achieved it without imposing taxes on their subjects to fund the project. He also gives the start and end dates of the project.⁴²

Having set forth this most basic framework of the history of the Kangyur and the context of the Choné publication, Drakpa Shedrup then presents the catalogue proper—the list of texts in the Choné edition of the Kangyur. He writes, “The register of that which was accomplished thus I will now set forth in clear stages, distinguishing each in terms of section and volume, and in prose which is easy to understand.”⁴³ After the catalogue proper, Drakpa Shedrup mentions several other members of the Choné court, as well as a number of patrons, who were supporters of the Kangyur project. He begins with Makzor Gönpö’s queen, Dampa Menjang. Her very brief biography is followed by a short biography of her son, Jamyang Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen, who is said to have seen the project to completion on his father’s behalf. This is followed by a list of donors to the project, mainly consisting of members of the royal family and some local officials, and some brief comments on the staff who carried out the work. Finally, Drakpa Shedrup includes a dedication, in which the merit gained through the publication is dedicated to the future complete enlightenment of all beings and to the long lives and future wealth and stability of the Choné royal family.

⁴¹ Grags pa bshad grub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 4b.8-5b.1

⁴² The dates are at Grags pa bshad grub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 5a.8-5b.1.

⁴³ Grags pa bshad grub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 5b.2-3.

Situ Pañchen Chökyi Jungné

Chökyi Jungné (1699-1774) was the premier renaissance man of eighteenth-century Tibet.⁴⁴ He was a scholar and artist, adept in Sanskrit, poetry, linguistics, medicine, and painting. He was sought out for consultation by other eminent religious figures as well as politicians and especially enjoyed patronage and support from the royal court of Degé, particularly king Tenpa Tsering (Bstan pa tshe ring). He was a native of the Degé area and is probably best known as the editor of the Degé Kangyur from 1731 to 1733.

Situ was an accomplished artist, and his integration of several styles as well as elements from China, Nepal, and India into his painting had a lasting influence on Tibetan art, particularly in Kham.⁴⁵ With the help of Tenpa Tsering, he founded the monastery of Pelpung (Dpal spungs) near Degé in 1729 which subsequently became the main seat of the Situ incarnation line.⁴⁶ He traveled to Nepal twice and his exposure to and study of Sanskrit in Nepal, together with his work on the Kangyur, greatly affected the course of his scholarly pursuits. Having finished his work as editor of the Kangyur, Situ devoted much of his scholarly attention to studying and translating Sanskrit. He retranslated a number of Indian works on grammar, poetry, and lexicography, as well as several tantras. To aid his studies, he sought out Sanskrit manuscripts in his travels through Nepal and in the monasteries of western and central Tibet.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ On the life and work of Situ Pañchen Chökyi Jungné see his own autobiography published as *The Autobiography and Diaries of Si-tu Pañ-chen*, ed. by Lokesh Chandra with a forward by E. Gene Smith (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1968), as well as the chapter “The Diaries of Si tu Pan chen” in E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 87-96 (Boston: Wisdom, 2001) and the section on Situ in David Jackson, *A History of Tibetan Painting: The Great Tibetan Painters and Their Traditions* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996).

⁴⁵ On Situ as an artist, see Jackson, *History of Tibetan Painting*.

⁴⁶ E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts* (Boston: Wisdom, 2001), 91, and Jackson, *History of Tibetan Painting*, 261 and 264.

⁴⁷ Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 91-92.

Just as Situ was completing work on the Kangyur, tragedy struck the Kagyü school of Buddhism to which he belonged. In 1732 the two highest lamas of the Karma Kagyü school, the Zhanak (Zhwa nag) and Zhamar (Zhwa dmar) lamas, died while on their way to China. The deaths of these two young lamas left Situ as the highest ranking lama of his order and increased his prominence.⁴⁸ During his life he enjoyed a reputation as an artist and scholar of the highest degree, and he corresponded with a wide range of religious and political figures from Beijing to Bhutan. His religious contacts furthermore included figures from all the major schools of Tibetan Buddhism.⁴⁹

Situ's Catalogue

There are at least two versions of the catalogue that Chökyi Jungné wrote for the Degé wood block edition of the Kangyur. His original catalogue was an eight-chapter work consisting of 260 folios, and it is this version which was later included in his collected works published by Pelpung monastery. However, the work was deemed too long for inclusion with the Kangyur publication itself and so was reduced to 171 folios in five chapters.⁵⁰ Both versions of Chökyi Jungné's catalogue of the Kangyur are therefore much larger than Drakpa Shedrup's catalogue, and it is with the Degé Kangyur catalogue that we begin seeing catalogues in which the narrative sections substantially outweigh the list of texts. The actual list of texts of the Degé Kangyur

⁴⁸ Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 90.

⁴⁹ On his correspondence with scholars from a variety of schools and his meeting with Nepalese scholars royalty, see Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 90-91 and 94-5.

⁵⁰ Peter Verhagen, "Studies in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Hermeneutics (1): Issues of Interpretation and Translation in the Minor Works of Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-'byuñ-gnas (1699?-1774)," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 24, no. 1 (2001): 64. These two different versions are represented by two modern editions: *Rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i bzhus byang dkar chag* (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2008) is the eight-chapter version, while *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988) is the five-chapter version.

makes up less than a quarter of the entire long version of Chökyi Jungné's catalogue. This trend would continue in the writing of subsequent eighteenth-century catalogues.

The chapters that did not make the cut in the short version of Chökyi Jungné's work were the first three. These chapters cover the world and its inhabitants (chapter one), how the Buddha made the aspiration for complete enlightenment in previous lives (chapter two), and the life of the Buddha including the twelve acts (chapter three).⁵¹ These three opening chapters set the cosmological scene and provide the background of the Buddha's journey toward enlightenment.

The next chapter (which is chapter four in the eight-chapter version, but becomes chapter one in the five-chapter version) is an analysis of the Buddha's teachings as contained in the Kangyur and Tengyur. In this chapter, Chökyi Jungné explains the meaning of "Dharma" (*chos*) and puts forth various schemes for classifying the Dharma, or the Buddha's teachings. The following chapter (chapter five/two) moves back to a historical perspective and narrates the collection and transmission of Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayana teachings in India as well as their transmission to Tibet.

Chökyi Jungné describes the creation of the Degé edition in chapter six/three. The chapter starts with a sketch of the region of Degé followed by a history of the royal family of Degé which concludes with a biography-laudation of the patron of the edition, king Tenpa Tsering. The latter part of the chapter includes details on the actual work of producing the Degé edition. The next chapter (seven/four) is the actual catalogue (the *bzhugs byang dkar chag*) of the

⁵¹ The Tibetan chapter titles and the pages they begin on are as follows: 1. *yal 'dab dang po/_bdag cag gi ston pas gang du byang chub brnyes pa'i snod bcud kyi 'jig rten legs par bshad pa/* (5), 2. *yal 'dab gnyis pa/_ston pa nyid kyi sngon byang chub kyi lam du ji ltar gshegs pa'i tshul legs par bshad pa/* (29), and 3. *yal 'dab gsum pa/_bdag cag gi ston pa rnam 'dren shAkya'i dbang po'i mdzad pa mdo tsam du legs par bshad pa/* (57). Pages numbers refer to the recent 2008 edition: *Chos kyi 'byung gnas, Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag [Rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i bzhugs byang dkar chag]* (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2008).

texts in the Degé edition. The final chapter (eight/five) explains the purpose of creating the edition and the benefits that arise from such an endeavor, and concludes with a dedication of the merit gained through the publication of the Kangyur.

Zhuchen Tsültrim Rinchen

Zhuchen Tsültrim Rinchen (1697-1774) was a master of Tibetan literary and visual arts, and the preeminent scholar of the Sakya (Sa skya) school during the eighteenth century.⁵² He served as chief editor for several large publishing projects at the Degé Printing House, including editions of the *Collected Works of Sakya* (*Sa skya bka' 'bum*), the Tengyur, and Longchenpa's (Klong chen pa) *Seven Treasuries* (*Mdzod bdun*). These activities earned him the title "Great Editor" (*zhu chen*). He wrote an extensive catalog for the Degé edition of the Tengyur which contains a wealth of information on Tibetan literature, the history of the Degé kingdom, and the production of the Tengyur. His collected works are in thirteen volumes.

Zhuchen's Catalogue

Tsültrim Rinchen's catalogue is the longest of the eighteenth-century catalogues. He follows Chökyi Jungné in dividing his work into eight chapters, though his chapters differ from those of his cataloguing predecessor. He begins with an invocation and introduction and then launches into his first chapter on the Buddha. The chapter starts with a cosmological discussion of the world system into which the Buddha arrived, before detailing the life of the Buddha and his turning of the wheel of the Dharma. Chapter two contains Tsültrim Rinchen's version of the history of Buddhism in India and Tibet. Chapters four and five present a detailed discussion of

⁵² On the life of Tsültrim Rinchen, see his own autobiography in Tshul khrims rin chen, *The Autobiography of Tshul-khrims-rin-chen of Sde-dge and Other Selected Writings* (Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971), and David Jackson, "Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen of IDanma," chapter 12 of *A History of Tibetan Painting: The Great Tibetan Painters and Their Traditions* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 301-316.

the meanings and classifications of the Buddhist teachings as represented in the Kangyur and Tengyur respectively. Tsültrim Rinchen breaks up the local history of Degé and the account of the production of the Degé Tengyur into two chapters. Chapter five, entitled “The Request to Accomplish in Print the Commentaries for the Purpose of Having the Teachings Remain [in the World]” (Bstan pa gnas pa’i ched du dgongs ’grel par du sgrubs par bskul ba), begins with a short section on “the one who made the request” (*gang gis bskul ba*) that the Tengyur be printed—Ngorchen Trashī Lhündrup (Ngor chen Bkra shis lhun grub, 1672-1739). The bulk of the chapter however focuses on “the one who was requested” (*gang la bskul ba*) to carry out the publication—the Degé king Kūnga Trinlé Gyatso (Kun dga’ phrin las rgya mtsho, 1714-1751), also known as Püntsoḳ Tenpa (Phun tshogs bstan pa). In this section we get a detailed history of this king’s lineage before Tsültrim Rinchen narrates the qualities of this king, which consist mainly of the many ways the king has provided extensive support for Buddhism in the Degé kingdom.

Chapter six explains the process of producing the Degé Tengyur. Tsültrim Rinchen provides more economic and organizational details than any other eighteenth-century cataloguer, making his catalogue an unparalleled historical source in these areas. Of course, he also includes many details about the auspiciousness of the time and place of production, listing the attributes of the Degé region and calculating the dates of the project in several systems for dating and calculating astrological significance. Chapter seven is Tsültrim Rinchen’s actual catalogue listing the order of the texts in the Degé edition of the Tengyur. Chapter eight, as usual, presents the purpose and benefits of publishing the Tengyur as well as the dedication of merit.

Some cataloguers not only seek to narrate and catalogue a body of knowledge but also aim to demonstrate their mastery of that knowledge. Zhuchen Tsültrim Rinchen stands out as the

epitome of this type of cataloguer. One of the reasons that his catalogue is so large—the longest catalogue of a Kangyur or Tengyur in the eighteenth century—is that he was not shy about wandering down into tangents or detouring around the main narrative to describe in detail an area of Tibetan Buddhist culture or knowledge. In his description of the section of the Tengyur on the arts (*bzo rig pa*) he presents a detailed breakdown of the three types of supports, those of body, speech, and mind, in which he provides information on the production of statues, the writing of calligraphy, and the construction of different types of stūpas.⁵³ In his biography of the patron of the Degé Tengyur contained within the catalogue we find a detailed description of the liturgical calendar for monasteries in the Degé kingdom broken down into annual, monthly, and daily ritual activities.⁵⁴ Like the projects of the Degé Printing House itself, Tsültrim Rinchen seems to have aimed for encyclopedic coverage of the entire Tibetan Buddhist tradition.

Könchok Jikmé Wangpo

Könchok Jikmé Wangpo (1728-1791) was the second in the line of Jamyang Zhepa (’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa) incarnations based at Labrang Trashi Khyil (Bla brang Bkra shis ’khyil) monastery in Amdo.⁵⁵ He studied at Drepung (’Bras spungs) monastery’s Gomang (Sgo mang) college in central Tibet. He returned to Amdo to lead Labrang monastery and also served for a while as the abbot of Kumbum (Sku ’bum) monastery. He seems to have been particularly

⁵³ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge ’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [*Kun mkhyen nyi ma ’i gnyen gyi bka’ lung gi dgongs don rnam par ’grel ba ’i bstan bcos gangs can pa ’i skad du ’gyur ro ’tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi ’chad pa ’i ngo mtshar ’phrul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa ’i bsod nams kyi sprin phun rgyas par dkrigs pa ’i tshul las brtsams pa ’i gtam ngo mtshar chu gter ’phel ba ’i zla ba gsar pa*] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1985), 219-238.

⁵⁴ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge ’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 436-446.

⁵⁵ On the life of Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, see the biography by his disciple Dkon mchog bstan pa ’i sgron me, *Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po ’i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa rgyal sras rgya mtsho ’i ’jug ngogs*, in *Gsung ’bum/ Dkon mchog bstan pa ’i sgron me* [TBRC W22112], vol. 4 (Lhasa: Zhol par khang gsar pa), 207-722. More details of his life relating to printing and books can be found in chapter five of this dissertation.

interested in books and book production. Under his leadership, the first xylograph editions were prepared at Labrang. He is said to have made a trip later in life to central Tibet where he collected many rare books. He also wrote the catalog to the xylograph edition of the Tengyur prepared at Choné in Amdo. His collected works fill twelve volumes and include many biographical works.

Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's Catalogue

Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's catalogue of the Tengyur is shorter than Tsültrim Rinchen's catalogue, but contains many elements not found in the latter which set Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's effort apart. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo divides his catalogue into two parts, each part consisting of three chapters. The first part (chapters one through three) covers the general history and description of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon and the communities that have maintained it. The second part (chapters four through six) focuses on the history of Choné and the production of the Choné Tengyur.

The catalogue begins with the requisite opening homage. The first chapter is on the life of the Buddha. This chapter begins with a discussion of how the Buddha arrived at his final rebirth told from the perspective of the Hīnayāna and then the Mahāyāna. The latter half of the chapter narrates the life of the Buddha through the framework of the twelve acts. Chapter two consists of Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's description and classification of the Buddhist teachings. He covers both the Kangyur and Tengyur in this one chapter (whereas Tsültrim Rinchen broken these up into two chapters). In chapter four, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo provides a history of the Buddhist tradition. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's history is much more expansive than the other cataloguers, as he includes not only India and Tibet but also Shambhala (Sham+bha la), Khotan (Li), China

(Rgya nag), and Mongolia (Hor).⁵⁶ The section on China is particularly interesting for its description of Chinese geography (including mention of the Great Wall and over a dozen Chinese provinces), a detailed dynastic history, and, of course, a history of Buddhism in China. In addition, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's treatment of the various schools of Tibetan Buddhism is more comprehensive and extensive than that of any of the other catalogues.⁵⁷

The second part of the catalogue narrows in on Choné. Chapter four is an expansive chapter on Choné, covering its geography, the history of the royal family, and the production of the Choné Tengyur. Chapter five is Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's catalogue proper (the *bzhugs byang dkar chag*) of the Choné Tengyur. The catalogue ends with a chapter explaining the purpose and benefits of the publication and the dedication of merit.

Conclusion

Throughout the history of the cataloguing and compilation of Buddhist scriptures in Tibet we have seen that patronage from political elites was crucial. The cataloguing, compilation, copying, and printing of collections as large as the Tibetan Buddhist Canon could not be undertaken without the backing of wealthy and powerful patrons. The two pre-eighteenth-century eras of cataloguing activity, the eighth through ninth century and the late thirteenth through fourteenth century, occurred during times that Tibet was relatively unified under a single ruling power that was able to leverage significant resources toward Buddhist projects. In the eighteenth-century, the rise of powerful polities again gave rise to significant canonical compilations and cataloguing.

⁵⁶ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [*Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka'i dgongs 'grel bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog par du sgrub pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam yang dag par brjod pa dkar chag nor bu'i phreng ba*] (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986/9), 307-349.

⁵⁷ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 248-307.

While it took political elites to muster the resources and labor, they could not accomplish the compilation and publication of scriptures on their own. The collection, collation, organization, and editing required for cataloguing and publishing projects also necessitated the participation of religious elites knowledgeable in the scriptural corpus. To be asked to act as the cataloguer of a Kangyur or Tengyur was a great honor. As we have seen, the ranks of those who performed this service in Tibet was made up of illustrious figures, chief among them the “all knowing” (thams cad mkhyen pa) Butön. Cataloguers were expected to understand intimately the contours of a body of written knowledge in a given intellectual tradition. They were chosen for this knowledge and continued to develop it as they move through their work of editing and cataloguing. The eighteenth-century cataloguers of the Kangyur and Tengyur lavishly displayed their understanding of Buddhist knowledge in their catalogues. They not only narrated the history of this textual tradition in several ways—through what we might call biography, textual history, and history—they demonstrated their encyclopedic knowledge by peppering their work with citations from texts of the Kangyur and Tengyur and utilized a variety of genres and styles.

The work of these cataloguers helped to promote something of a renaissance of scholarship in the fields of grammar, poetics, Sanskrit, history, geography, and art. Cataloguing of the Canons promoted a renewed interest in geography and local history. The production of the Canons directly prompted the writing of many local histories. Histories of Degé, Choné, as well as Gyelrong (Rgyal rong) where the Bön Canon was printed, were included in the catalogues to Canons produced in those areas. A history of Shelkar (shel dkar) was instigated by the production of a canon there.⁵⁸ These eighteenth-century works served as the bases for most

⁵⁸ For the role of the canon project on the writing of the *Shel dkar chos 'byung* see Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Shel dkar chos 'byung, History of the “White Crystal”: Religion and Politics of Southern La stod*, translated and edited by Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger

subsequent historical writings concerning these regions, and they remain, over two centuries later, among the most important sources for such local history.

Eighteenth-century catalogues were also models of a new expansive scholarship that would reverberate through the literary flowering of Amdo and the non-sectarian (*ris med*) movement in Kham in the following centuries. These cataloguers also ushered in the greatest era of textual scholarship since the age of the great canonical cataloguing, compiling, and editing efforts, largely based at Nartang, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Chapter 2: Defining the Canon

When the eighteenth-century printed editions of the Canon were prepared, the patrons requested eminent religious figures to compose catalogues for the new publications. The task of the chosen cataloguer was not only to give a list of the scriptures contained in the edition, they also had to frame the collection within the larger perspective of Buddhist doctrine and history. In this chapter, I will explore how the eighteenth-century cataloguers went about that task of situating and describing these collections of scripture.

Many cataloguers were deeply involved in preparing new editions of the Canon, and while their discussions of the Buddhist teachings are at times highly theoretical, they are also grounded in the recognition that these scriptural collections are physical items with a history and a presence in the world. The Kangyur and Tengyur have lineages, lineages that the cataloguers and their communities were a part of and that helped shape their identities. The resulting compositions demonstrate a great debt to previous Tibetan canonical cataloguers, and in particular Butön Rinchendrup. Whereas the catalogues of translated scriptures before Butön used a variety of classification and organizing schemes, most written after him follow his general principles of organization. We might say that when our eighteenth-century cataloguers think about the Kangyur and Tengyur, they think about them through a very Butönian lens. The later cataloguers also expanded on Butön's work in important ways, particularly in their augmentation of the historical treatment of the Canon.

This chapter will focus on some of the more explicit descriptions of the Canon that are set forth in the catalogues. There are two main ways that the Canon is described in these catalogues: through the history of Buddhism in India and Tibet and through definitions and classifications of the teachings contained in the Kangyur and Tengyur. These two aspects, what I will call the

historical and doctrinal descriptions of the Canon, together with the actual lists of texts, constitute the bulk of the catalogues. In Butön's *History of Buddhism*, his section explaining the meaning and divisions of the Kangyur and Tengyur comprises 38 folio sides while his history of Buddhism in India, including the life of the Buddha, and Tibet is 177 folio sides.¹ The same sections in the *Degé Tengyur Catalogue* are 114 and 198 folio sides, while in the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* they comprise 64 and 265 folio sides.²

The Tibetan Buddhist Canons of the eighteenth century very literally tell their history. The catalogues that accompany them describe the history of the scriptures in India and Tibet as well as the history of the locality where they were published and the particular circumstances under which they were brought to print. But before all of that, the catalogues open with the life of the Buddha.

The Importance of the Buddha, the Source of the Word

For the eighteenth-century cataloguers, the history of the Canon begins with the Buddha.³ Beginning in this way, the cataloguers solidly establish themselves within the Buddhist tradition,

¹ These folio extents are for the Zhöl Printing House's edition of Butön's *Collected Works*: Bu ston rin chen grub, *Chos 'byung gsung rab rin po che'i gter mdzod*, in *Gsung 'bum/_rin chen grub* [TBRC W1934], vol. 24 (Lhasa: Zhol par khang), 619-1042.

² These folio extents are for the Indian reprint edition of the Degé print of Tsültrim Rinchen's catalogue: Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag = Kun mkhyen pa chen po ñi ma'i gñen gyi bka' luñ gi dgoñs don rnam 'grel pa'i bstan bcos Gañs can pa'i skad du 'Gyur ro 'Tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi 'chad pa'i no mtshar 'phul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa'i bsod nams kyi sprin phuñ rgyas par dkrigs pa'i tshul las ñe bar brtsams pa'i gnam No mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gсар pa*; *A History and Detailed Survey of the Contents of the Sde-dge Redaction of the Tibetan Bstan-'gyur* [TBRC W1KG10093], (Delhi: Trayang and Jamyang Samten, 1974), and the version of Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's catalogue published in the Indian reprint of the Labrang edition of his collected works: Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, in *The Collected works of Dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dban-po, the Second 'Jam-dbyans-bzad-pa of La-bran Bkra-sis-'khyil* [TBRC W1KG9560], vol. 5 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1971), 1-527.

³ In this respect, the eighteenth-century cataloguers all depart from Butön's format by beginning with the life of the Buddha. Butön begins his *History of Buddhism* not with the life of the

based around the teachings of the Buddha Śākyamuni, and establish his life and teachings as the foundation of all the scriptures in the Canon. Tsültrim Rinchen even titles his opening chapter on the life of the Buddha “A Discussion of the Source of the Teachings” (Bstan pa gang las byung ba brjod pa).⁴ This and similar chapters in the other catalogues are no mere summaries. The cataloguers give ample space to detailing how the Buddha made the aspiration to become enlightened in his previous life and some of his deeds on the way to his final rebirth in the life in which he would achieve Buddhahood. After these detailed narratives, including the famous twelve acts of the Buddha’s life, most of the catalogues then turn to a description of the Buddha’s teachings as represented by the Word and the Treatises.⁵

Definitions and Divisions

The cataloguers generally follow the life of the Buddha with an extensive theoretical discussion of the Buddhist teachings from a doctrinal perspective. The emphasis of these sections of the catalogues is on explaining what the Buddha’s Word and the Treatises are and how to understand the contents of the Kangyur and Tengyur.⁶ The following discussion will focus

Buddha but with a discussion of why it is important to study the teachings of the Buddha. He then gives the doctrinal definitions of the Word and Treatises, followed by an explanation of how the teachings should be taught and studied. Then, in chapter two, he includes the life of the Buddha as part of his treatment of Buddhism in India. Bu ston rin chen grub, *Chos ’byung gsung rab rin po che’i gter mdzod*, chapter 1 (617-684) and chapter 2 (684-860).

⁴ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [*Kun mkhyen nyi ma’i gnyen gyi bka’ lung gi dgongs don rnam par ’grel ba’i bstan bcos gangs can pa’i skad du ’gyur ro ’tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi ’chad pa’i ngo mtshar ’phrul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa’i bsod nams kyi sprin phun rgyas par dkrigs pa’i tshul las brtsams pa’i gtam ngo mtshar chu gter ’phel ba’i zla ba gsar pa*] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1985), 18.

⁵ The Kangyur catalogues generally only discuss the Word.

⁶ Tsültrim Rinchen’s *Degé Tengyur Catalogue* (*Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*), however, follows the life of the Buddha with the history of Buddhism in India and Tibet in chapter two. His third and fourth chapter focus on doctrinal explanations of the Buddha’s Word and the Treatises respectively. Drakpa Shedrup’s short catalogue of the Choné Kangyur does not go into these doctrinal explanations and only presents a brief summary of the Buddha’s life and the history of the Buddha’s teachings in India and Tibet.

largely on Tsültrim Rinchen and Könchok Jikmé Wangpo’s presentations of these topics in their respective catalogues of the Degé Tengyur and the Choné Tengyur. These more explicit descriptions of Buddhist scriptures and the Canon are found in the one or two chapters in their catalogues directly dealing with the subject, particularly Könchok Jikmé Wangpo’s second chapter, “An Explanation of the Classifications of the Teachings Spoken by that Teacher [the Buddha]” (Ston pa des gsungs pa’i bstan pa’i rnam bzhag bshad pa), in his *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* and chapters three and four of Tsültrim Rinchen’s *Degé Tengyur Catalogue*, titled respectively “A Teaching on the Classification of the Holy Dharma which is the Object of Commentary” (Bkral bya dam pa’i chos kyi rnam bzhag bstan pa) and “The Classifications of the Treatises which Provide the Commentary” (’Grel byed bstan bcos kyi rnam bzhag).

Their presentations are structured in a similar way. They begin with a discussion of the overarching term ‘dharma’ and the more specific ‘holy Dharma’ which includes both the Word and Treatises. They then divide their discussion into two sections, one on the teachings (*bstan pa*) or word (*bka’*) of the Buddha (the Kangyur) and the other on the treatises (*bstan bcos*) (the Tengyur). For each of these sections, they give a definition (*mtshan nyid*), etymology (*sgra bshad, nges tshig*), and then explain the different ways that the holy Dharma, the Word, and Treatises can be classified or divided (*dbye ba*). This is a common structure for giving an overview of the Buddhist teachings contained in the Canon, and these writers were familiar with previous works on the topic such as Butön Rinchendrup’s *History of the Dharma*.

Dharma

In the most general sense, the cataloguers include the Canon, both the Kangyur and Tengyur, within the concept of holy Dharma (*dam pa’i chos*, Skt. *saddharma*). Their presentations begin by defining and then giving etymologies for the word dharma (*chos*). At the

most basic level, the holy Dharma is defined as that which eliminates all obscurations and clears away all suffering.⁷ The catalogues next provide their etymologies, and while these writers mainly use the Tibetan translation, chö (*chos*), of the Sanskrit word dharma, their explanations of the etymology begin with the Sanskrit term.

Dharma is a word with expansive connotations and many meanings. The root meaning of the word, we are told, is to hold or sustain (*'dzin pa*). There are ten meanings commonly given for the word dharma, and these are all described as relating back to the root meaning by reference to what is being held or sustained. For example, two meanings of dharma are phenomena (*shes bya*, literally “that which is to be known”) and life or life force (*tshe*). Butön writes of these, “Phenomena hold characteristics....Life force holds (or, ‘preserves’) the body or common species.”⁸ The cataloguers make a distinction between the numerous meanings of dharma unrelated to the Buddhist teachings, and those that relate to the ‘holy Dharma,’ that is, to the Buddhist teachings. Among the ten common definitions associated with dharma, which the cataloguers dutifully list for us, four give shape to the concept of holy Dharma.⁹ Three—merit

⁷ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [*Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka'i dgongs 'grel bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog par du sgrub pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam yang dag par brjod pa dkar chag nor bu'i phreng ba*] (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986/9), 39.4-6.

⁸ Butön Rinchen Drup, *Butön's History of Buddhism in India and Its Spread to Tibet: A Treasury of Priceless Scripture*, trans. Lisa Stein and Ngawang Zangpo (Boston: Snow Lion, 2013), 19.

⁹ The cataloguers list ten traditional glosses for dharma, all of which are said to relate to the etymology of the word, which comes from the symantic Sanskrit root “dhr,” meaning “to hold” something. These ten are: 1) that which is to be known (*shes bya*), 2) the path (*lam*), 3) nirvana (*myang 'das*, lit. “passing beyond suffering”), 4) object of mind (*yid kyi yul*), 5) merit (*bsod nams*), 6) life (*tshe*), 7) excellent speech (*gsung rab*), 8) arising (*'byung 'gyur*), 9) ascertaining (*nges pa*), 10) and [religious] system (*lugs*). For example, see Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [*Rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i bzhugs byang dkar chag*] (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2008), 205; and Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 176.11-177.13. As a source for these ten, Tsültrim Rinchen cites the *Complete Explanation* (Tib. *Rnam bshad rigs pa*, Skt. *Vyākhyāyukti*) by Vasubandhu. For a list of further sources on the definition of dharma, see José Ignacio Cabezón,

(*bsod nams*), path (*lam*), and passing beyond suffering (*mya ngan las 'das pa*, Skt. *nirvāṇa*)—constitute what the holy Dharma expresses, or teaches. They are the subject matter of the holy Dharma. The fourth, excellent speech (*gsung rab*), is that which gives expression to the holy Dharma. It is the means through which the holy Dharma is taught. The Dharma is considered “holy” because it was taught by the Buddha. As Tsültrim Rinchen explains, “It is called ‘the holy Dharma’ because these are teachings which were spoken by the holy one, that is, our teacher the perfect Buddha.”¹⁰

The main categories into which the holy Dharma are divided are the Dharma of realization (*rtogs pa'i chos*) and the Dharma of scripture (*lung gi chos*), where scripture is the words in which the teachings are conveyed, and realization is putting those teachings into practice, integrating them into one’s own experience so that one achieves liberation. As written, linguistic representations of holy Dharma, the Translated Word and Translated Treatises are scriptural Dharma, and in particular are examples of exalted speech (*gsung rab*). Tsültrim Rinchen explains exalted speech as being equivalent to the holy Dharma. More specifically, he mentions the twelve branches of exalted speech, a list of styles of speech that are found among Buddhist teachings, especially the Word of the Buddha. He also says that the activities associated

Buddhism and Language: A Study of Indo-Tibetan Scholasticism (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 215-16 n. 10.

¹⁰ *dam pa ni ston pa rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas yin la/_chos ni des gsungs pa yin pa'i phyir dam pa'i chos zhes bya'o/*. Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 179.7-8. A similar statement is found in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 40.18-20. This is echoed in modern scholarship by Paul Harrison, “A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur,” in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by José Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), 70: “For Buddhists, whose canonical literature is extraordinarily prolific, the sacredness of their scriptures depended originally on their utterance by the Buddha, Siddhārtha Gautama.”

with exalted speech are listening and contemplating; that is, one engages in exalted speech through these two, while meditation is the means of engaging in the Dharma of realization.¹¹

For many Tibetan monastic scholars these two categories of scriptural Dharma and the Dharma of realization are closely related, and even dependent on each other. In his catalogue of the Degé Kangyur, Situ Pañchen writes:

There are said to be two: holding in terms of listening and contemplating the holy Dharma of scripture, and holding in terms of experiencing the holy Dharma of realization. As for that, if an edition of the exalted speech [that is, scriptural Dharma] is not arranged into a garland of volumes, listening and contemplating cannot arise. And if those do not exist, experience of accomplishment will also not arise. So, [editions of the exalted speech] are the root of perfectly upholding the Dharma and one should understand them as just this.¹²

For these writers, the scriptural Dharma is of fundamental importance. The main repositories of scriptural Dharma are of course the Translated Word and Translated Treatises. The cataloguers continue their discussion by looking first at the Buddha's Word.

The Word

Definition and Etymology

Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's definition and etymology of the Word closely follows that of Butön. On the definition of the Word, Butön writes:

Some identify the Buddha's word as "a magnificent collection of words and meanings—the setting, the teachings presented, and the supporting words of rejoicing."

The canon's [= the Word's (Bka')] subject matter is connected to meaningful qualities; its function is [to promote] renunciation of the three realms' emotional afflictions; its fruition is [the teachings'] content that reveals the benefits of peace; and the dominant causal condition that produced its content is the Buddha's acts.¹³

¹¹ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 177.6-8.

¹² Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [2008 ed.], 517.6-10: *lung gi dam chos thos bsam gyi sgo nas 'dzin pa dang /_rtogs pa'i dam chos nyams len gyi sgo nas 'dzin pa gnyis gsungs pa yin zhing /_de la gsung rab kyi phyi mo glegs bam gyi phreng bar 'khod pa med na thos bsam byed pa mi 'byung la/_de med par yang sgrub pa nyams len mi 'byung bas chos yongs su 'dzin pa'i rtsa ba'ang 'di nyid kho nar shes par bya'o/.*

¹³ Butön, *Butön's History of Buddhism*, 24.

The first part of this definition allows us to equate the Word with the discourses (*mdo*, San. *sūtra*) of the Buddha, which, as set down in Buddhist scriptures, contain these features of setting, teaching, and supporting words. The last part of this definition again brings to the fore the importance of the Buddha as the source of the teachings.

In the etymological section, the cataloguers equate the Word (Bka') with the Sanskrit term *subhāṣita*. This term is broken down into its components: *su*, meaning good or well (Tib. *legs pa*), and *bhāṣita*, meaning to speak or say (*gsungs pa*). Thus, the Buddha's Word is "well-spoken."¹⁴ There are many reasons for it being well-spoken, chief among which are that the Buddha spoke his teachings after achieving complete enlightenment. His speech also had wonderful tonal qualities and was imbued with the sixty qualities of melodious speech. These qualities celebrate the pleasing aspects of the voice, the clarity of instruction, its all-encompassing nature, and the profoundness of the meaning. These sentiments are reminiscent of Jonathon Z. Smith's idea of the "classic" as a work which is taken as the model of literary and grammatical perfection.¹⁵ In the qualities of the Word we also see that grammatical perfection is emphasized, as for example in the forty-fourth quality, "consistent with all forms of grammar, since it conforms to the forms of Sanskrit and other grammars," and the fifty-fourth, which is "grammatically complete, since one speech has many grammatical forms."¹⁶

Divisions of the Word

The Tibetan tradition, often following cues from Indian Buddhist scriptures and commentators, developed a number of different organizational schemes for dividing the Word of

¹⁴ This etymology is given in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 41.15-17.

¹⁵ Jonathan Z. Smith, "Canons, Catalogues and Classics," in *Canonization and Decanonization*, ed. A. van der Kooij and K. van der Toorn (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 305.

¹⁶ Butön, *Butön's History of Buddhism*, 27.

the Buddha into conceptual components. These schemes can almost be read as a history of strategies for conceptualizing, organizing, and making sense of these collections. There is recognition within these systems of division that the Canon is a vast collection whose diverse contents have complex relationships which require the imposition of conceptual frameworks through which they may be approached. The usefulness of at least some of these frameworks, however, could be called into question, and we might posit that they have become merely textual artifacts of previous (largely Indian) attempts to make sense of the mass of Buddhist scriptures.

Some of these schemes, or frameworks, can be seen in the actual organizational structure of the texts in editions of the Kangyur (and Tengyur), while others are more purely theoretical.¹⁷ In their respective sections on the divisions (*dbye ba*) of the Word, Tsültrim Rinchen and Könchok Jikmé Wangpo both set forth five such frameworks, though their sets are slightly different. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo explains dividing the Dharma in terms of time (*dus*), subject matter (*brjod bya*), style (*rjod byed*), dominant condition (*bdag rkyen*), and disciples (*gdul bya*). Tsültrim Rinchen's divisions are the same except that instead of time he includes antidote (*gnyen po*). Butön's *History of the Dharma* includes all six of these frameworks. Tsültrim Rinchen also presents the frameworks in a different order from Könchok Jikmé Wangpo: subject matter, style, antidote, disciples, and dominant condition.

Time

With regard to time, Jikmé Wangpo notes that there are different opinions concerning this manner of division which concerns the successive teachings of the Buddha, known as the three

¹⁷ David Phillip Stanley, "The Threefold Formal, Practical, and Inclusive Canons of Tibetan Buddhism in the Context of a Pan-Asian Paradigm: Utilizing a New Methodology for Analyzing Canonical Collections" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009), particularly in chapters 6 and 7, presents a detailed analysis of how several of these frameworks are actually used in the organization of texts in catalogues and editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur.

turnings of the wheel of Dharma. According to the tradition of the Hearers, there was only one turning of the wheel. However, according to Mahāyāna followers, there were three turnings. It is these three turnings of the Dharma wheel which constitute the categories for dividing scriptures within the framework of time.

The paradigm of the three turnings was an idea inherited from Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist texts such as the Saṃdhinirmocana sūtra (*Mdo sde dgongs 'grel*). Könchok Jikmé Wangpo quotes at length from this sūtra, which is the prime source for this doctrine.¹⁸ According to this paradigm, the Buddha taught different teachings associated with different levels of profundity and truth at different stages of his teaching career. The first turning is thus the beginning of his teaching career when he taught the basic mainstream Buddhist tenets which are the basis for the vinaya and the abhidharma. The second turning is represented by the teachings of the perfection of wisdom on the doctrine of Emptiness and the Middle Way (Mādhyamika) commentaries on those teachings. The third wheel is represented by other Mahāyāna sūtras expounding the Mind Only (Yogācāra or Cittamātra) doctrine and their commentaries. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo states that for Middle Way followers (*dbu ma pa*), the second turning is definitive and the final turning is provisional, while for followers of Mind Only (*sems tsam pa*) the final turning is definitive.¹⁹

Tsültrim Rinchen does not include a discussion of the divisions according to time in his chapter presenting the Teachings of the Buddha (his third chapter); instead he deals with this topic in his first chapter on how the Buddhist Teachings came into the world. The bulk of that chapter concerns the life of the Buddha. At the end of the chapter he describes the teachings activities of the Buddha in a section titled “How the Wheel of the Dharma Was Turned” (Cho

¹⁸ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 46.12-47.14.

¹⁹ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 51-52.

kyi 'khor lo ji ltar bskor ba).²⁰ Tsültrim Rinchen divides “the turning of the Dharma wheel” into two main categories: the turning of the wheel of the philosophical vehicle (*mtshan nyid theg pa*), and the turning of the wheel of the adamantine, or tantra, vehicle (*rdo rje theg pa*). Under the first he presents the ‘three turnings’ which are the core of Butön and Könchok Jikmé Wangpo’s presentation of the Dharma according to time. However, Tsültrim Rinchen presents these three turnings as just one view of the way, the gradual way (*rim can*), that the teachings were given. He also presents the view that all of the teachings of the Buddha were given simultaneously (*cig car*). Since Tsültrim Rinchen covers these topics in his first chapter, he omits the framework of time from his presentation of the divisions of Dharma in his second chapter.

Subject Matter

Dividing the Dharma according to the subject matter or meaning (*brjod bya*) generally boils down to the two truths (*bden pa gnyis*). If a teaching on Dharma deals directly with the ultimate truth (*don dam pa'i bden pa*), then it is a definitive (*nges*) teaching. If a scripture focuses on conventional truths, then it only has provisional meaning (*drang don*). Teachings of provisional meaning were taught to help certain disciples or groups of people in particular situations, but which outside of that particular teaching context may not be generally beneficial or ultimately true. Teachings of the ultimate truth on the other hand are considered definitive because they are not dependent on context but are valid at all times.

Könchok Jikmé Wangpo also includes under this heading a division of the teachings into the three baskets (*sde snod gsum*), however Tsültrim Rinchen (and Butön) discuss the baskets under the heading of antidote (*gnyen po*), and we will also consider them under that topic below.

²⁰ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 83-88.

Style

The next framework for organizing the teachings is in terms of the style of presentation or the genre (*rjod byed*). Under this heading we find descriptions of each of the twelve types of exalted speech (*gsung rab yan lag bcu gnyis*). These are discourses (*mdo 'i sde*), hymns of praise (*dbyangs kyis bsnyad pa 'i sde*), prophecy (*lung du bstan pa 'i sde*), verse (*tshigs su bcad pa 'i sde*), aphorisms (*ched du brjod pa 'i sde*), narrative (*gleng gzhi 'i sde*), accounts of realization (*rtogs pa brjod pa 'i sde*), parables (*de lta bu byung ba 'i sde*), stories of former lives [i.e., jātakas] (*skyes pa 'i rabs kyi sde*), extremely extensive [texts] (*shin tu rgyas pa 'i sde*), marvels (*rmad du byung ba 'i sde*), and established teachings (*gtan la phab par bstan pa 'i sde*).

Antidote

Tsültrim Rinchen, as well as Butön, discusses the division of the teachings into three baskets under the framework of antidotes (*gnyen po*), a framework omitted by Könchok Jikmé Wangpo who instead includes the items discussed in this framework in his presentation of time. In this section the cataloguers divide the teachings into the three baskets (*sde snod gsum*), the well-known tri-part division consisting of the discourses (*mdo sde*, San. *sūtra*), the discipline (*'dul ba*, San. *vinaya*), and the higher learning (*mngon pa*, San. *abhidharma*).²¹ The cataloguers relate the division into three baskets to the three trainings (*bslab pa/bya gsum*), defining each of the baskets in terms of the primary training which it teaches. They state that the discourses teach mainly the training in meditative concentration (*ting nge 'dzin*), the discipline teaches mainly the training in rules of conduct (*tshul khrims*), and the higher learning teaches mainly the training in wisdom (*shes rab*). Similar relationships are made between the three baskets and the three abandonments (*spang bya gsum*) and the three knowledges (*shes bya gsum*), and both

²¹ Tsültrim Rinchen discusses the baskets in a slightly different order: discourses (*mdo sde*), higher learning (*mngon pa*), and discipline (*'dul ba*).

cataloguers also give a more nuanced description of the relationship between the three baskets and the three trainings. Tsültrim Rinchen additionally lists the types of exalted speech that are found in each basket.

Disciples

The framework of disciples (*'dul bya*) is common to both the catalogues of Tsültrim Rinchen and Könchok Jikmé Wangpo. The basic division under this rubric is between disciples of the Lesser Vehicle, followers of the Hīnayāna, and those of the Greater Vehicle, followers of the Mahāyāna. In terms of scripture, these two categories are then represented by texts falling within a 'Hearers' Basket' (*nyan thos kyi sde snod*) and those within a 'Basket of the Greater Vehicle' (*theg pa chen po 'i sde snod*) or a 'Bodhisattvas' Basket' (*byang chub sems dpa 'i sde snod*).

Dominant Condition

The divisional framework of dominant condition (*bdag rkyen*) stresses in what way and by whom a particular discourse of the Word was given. The most obvious source of a discourse is of course the Buddha having spoken it himself, and this is known as 'the Word spoken from the mouth [of the Buddha]' (*shal nas gsung pa ' bka '*). But there are also two ways in which others may contribute to the Word. Someone may be blessed by the Buddha to give a particular teaching and this is known as 'the blessed Word' (*sbyin kyis bslab pa 'i bka '*). Additionally, someone may give a teaching, or part of a discourse, that the Buddha later approves of and this is known as 'subsequently approved Word' (*rjes su gnang ba ' bka '*).

The Treatises

Earlier we saw that the holy Dharma was considered holy because it was taught by the Buddha, but such a definition would seem to exclude all the teachings in the Tengyur, the collection of texts authored mainly by Indian Buddhist masters, not the Buddha himself.

However, the cataloguers assure us that the Tengyur is also considered to be holy Dharma.

Tsültrim Rinchen writes:

Furthermore, in terms of the treatises (*bstan bcos*), they are holy on account of the masters (*slob dpon*) in whose mindstream is composed the meaning of the Word by the emanated forms of the Buddha and his sons, and the masters who are empowered to make commentaries on the scriptures. They are Dharma on account of being well presented (*legs par bshad pa*) by those [masters]. And thus the treatises are holy Dharma.²²

Thus the Tengyur is also considered to be holy Dharma. Later, when we discuss the merit accrued from copying or printing the Canon (in chapter four), we will see that the cataloguers make a similar case for the Tengyur being on equal status with the Kangyur in terms of merit earned from such activity. For now, let us consider the definition and etymology of treatise (*bstan bcos*) as presented in the catalogues.

Definition and Etymology

Könchok Jikmé Wangpo defines the treatises as “Explanations of the meaning of the Word by writers with undistracted minds which are consistent with the path for attaining liberation.”²³ He then explains that the Tibetan word for the treatises, *tenchö* (*bstan bcos*), is a translation of the Sanskrit word *śāstra*. Breaking down *śāstra*, he writes that *śāsana* means to reform or overcome (*'chos pa*) as in “the three poisons which cause afflictive emotions are reformed in those who practice the three trainings.” *Tāyi* or *taraṇa* means to protect (*skyob pa*),

²² Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 179.8-11.

²³ This and the following are found in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 92.12-93.4.

generally from suffering and future negative states.²⁴ Taken together, the treatises are therefore compositions “which have these two qualities of reforming and protecting.”

Divisions of the Treatises

Just as with the Word, there are several frameworks for understanding the relationships between the different Treatises, as well as the relationships between the Word and the Treatises. In his presentation of these divisions, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo closely follows the presentation in Butön’s *History*. He gives five different ways of dividing the treatises: in terms of 1) supreme and lesser (*mchog dman*), 2) function (*byed las*), 3) subject matter (*brjod bya*), 4) the [part of the] Word which is discussed (*'chad bya bka'*), and 5) a summary of the types of treatises (*bstan bcos kyi rigs bsdu*). Tsültrim Rinchen gives a more succinct list, presenting divisions based on 1) function (*byed las*), 2) subject matter (*brjod bya*), and the [part of the] Word which is explained (*bshad bya bka'*).

Defining the Kangyur and Tengyur

In the theoretical sections of the Canon catalogues we see the scholars who wrote these works pulling together a vast array of approaches to Buddhist scripture and arranging them into a coherent and unified system. This effort was largely successful, in that collections of Tibetan Buddhist scriptures largely stabilized into the two collections called the Kangyur and Tengyur. While the order of some of the larger categories within each collection shifted from time to time, the overall categories themselves remained relatively stable. Moreover, one gets the sense when reading Tibetan literature that when an author discusses the Kangyur or Tengyur, there is an underlying assumption that others have a fixed sense of what is being discussed.

²⁴ Tsültrim Rinchen gives these as *traya* or *tāraṇa*. Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 215.13.

We can read these theoretical sections of the catalogues almost as histories of the efforts of Buddhists in India and Tibet to codify and arrange the vast and heterogeneous corpus of Buddhist scriptures. The cataloguers, however, do not make many overt historical claims in this section, instead they are attempting to create a sense of coherency out of the diversity of literature within the Kangyur and Tengyur. History, however, is a prominent theme of the catalogues as a whole, and it is to the cataloguers' narration of the history of the Buddhist Canon that we now turn.

The Place of Physical Texts within Doctrine and History

In general, from a doctrinal point of view, Tibetan Buddhist scriptures are held as sacred, that is, religiously powerful texts, mainly in two ways: in that the words they contain provide instruction and insight which can lead to liberation, and that they are relics of Buddhas or saints and have been consecrated and blessed by a divine presence. We will discuss the latter more in chapter four. In the case of the former, Buddhist scriptures, especially those believed to contain the words of the Buddha, are seen as important in the path to salvation, or liberation. Traditional Tibetan Buddhist scholars like Butön Rinchendrup explain that one must rely on Buddhist teachings contained in the scriptures in order to generate insight and experience which will in turn allow one to attain enlightenment. In such explanations, the value of the books is in their ability to lead one on the path to liberation.

Jose Cabezón's study *Buddhism and Language* explores this relationship between physical texts and experiential practice. His study focuses on Buddhist theories of language including theories about Dharma and about scripture as linguistic representations of religious teachings. In Cabezón's book, he sets forth a summary of the Tibetan Buddhist scholastic tradition, mainly basing his analysis on monastic scholarship in the Geluk tradition. Cabezón

argues that one of the main concerns of these scholastics is with the definition of scripture and its relationship to religious practice. For scholastic Tibetan Buddhists, the importance of scripture was placed squarely on its stereological function. To paraphrase Cabezón, these scholastics feel that the scriptures are just empty words unless they help one on the path to liberation.²⁵ Written scriptures are only one aspect of the Buddhist definition of “doctrine” (*chos*) which encompasses both scripture (*lung*) and also the realizations (*rtogs pa*) which provide insight into the nature of reality that propel one toward enlightening liberation (we have seen this type of description already in the cataloguers’ writings). In all this, there is an emphasis on experience which leads to transforming insight. Scriptures are valued as a guide to cultivating those realizations, and while they are regarded as essential to that path, they are not an end to themselves.

Throughout his analysis, Cabezón emphasizes that the Buddhist scholastic tradition, particularly as represented by Gelukpa (Dge lugs pa) scholars, is ambivalent toward scripture. This scholastic tradition sees as more important the Dharma of realization (*rtogs pa’i chos*), and in some radical interpretations discounts any physical or linguistic understanding of what constitutes the Buddhist doctrine. While the catalogues under consideration in this dissertation would not disagree that realization has primacy over the linguistic aspect of the Buddhist doctrine, they do not emphasize this as Cabezón does. The cataloguers of canonical collections in the eighteenth century (and of previous centuries as well), were often writing their pieces to commemorate and describe physical texts of the Translated Word and the Treatises. The physicality of the Buddhist doctrine was undeniable for them, and, moreover, was something that they lauded. In my reading of these catalogues, while they give space to scholarly Buddhist

²⁵ Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language*, 33.

theories of doctrine and scripture, including linguistic (*lung*) and experiential (*rtogs pa*) definitions, there is a tendency for them to highlight the physical and linguistic aspects.

Moreover, whereas Cabezón does not delve into the history of the Buddhist scriptures, and even suggests that scholarly Buddhist considerations of the topic were unconcerned with history, we find in the catalogues to printed Canons an abundance of history which frames their presentations of the Buddhist teachings and how they are to be understood.²⁶

History of Buddhist Teachings in India, Tibet, and Other Lands

In the larger history of Buddhism told within each of the catalogues, the writers present a historical perspective on the divisions or categories within the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. Their narration of Buddhist history is structured around the composition, compilation, and transmission of various texts and groups of texts within the Canon. In many ways, these are literary histories. The life of the Buddha, the source of many of the discourses, was presented at the very beginning of the catalogues. Generally following the technical description of the meanings and divisions of the Word and Treatises, the cataloguers go into the history of Buddhism after the Buddha, detailing the compilation of the Buddha's teachings, the appearance of Mahāyāna literature, and the composition of the Treatises. These constitute a history of Buddhism in India, and they organize it generally according to vehicle (*theg pa*, Skt. *yana*), moving from the

²⁶ See Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language*, chapter 2 “The Nature of Doctrine,” and specifically pp. 35, and 45: “Nowhere in the preceding analysis of scripture commentary do we ever find historical considerations or requisites of authenticity as criteria in the definition of holy word.” Technically, this is largely true of the eighteenth-century catalogues as well, since in the sections which strictly offer definitions of terms such as *chos*, *bka'*, *bstan pa*, *gsung rabs*, and so forth, we do not find extensive historical criteria. However, taken as a whole, the catalogues frame these concepts completely in historical circumstances and narrative, from the life of the Buddha, to the maintenance and transmission of scriptures in India and Tibet, to the circumstances surrounding the printings of the contemporary editions.

Common Vehicle (*theg pa thun mong*) to the Great Vehicle (*theg pa chen po*), and finally to the teachings of the secret mantra (*gsang sngags*).

Indian Compilers, Kings, and Composers of the Treatises

The early history of Buddhism in India is framed by Tsültrim Rinchen as the history of the Common Vehicle (*theg pa thun mong*) and described by Könchok Jikmé Wangpo as the maintenance of the Dharma by the seven successive arhats (*gtad rabs bdun*), seen as the patriarchs of the early Buddhist community. In this period, the three councils took place which brought together the three baskets (*sde snod gsum*)—the discourses (*mdo sde*), discipline (*'dul ba*), and the mother [teachings?] (*ma mo*, what is usually referred to as the higher learning [*mngon po*]) and transmitted them to each succeeding generation. This history explains the compilation of Lesser Vehicle (*theg pa dman pa*) teachings.

The Tibetan Buddhist cataloguers, however, consider themselves followers of the Great Vehicle and provide an alternate, or complimentary, history of the compilation of the Buddhist scriptures. In this second version, in addition to the Lesser Vehicle compilations, several bodhisattvas (Manjuśri, Maitreya, and Vajrapani or Samantabhadra) also collected three baskets of scripture which included Great Vehicle scriptures (*theg pa chen po'i mdo*) as well as the common scriptures. This was purportedly done because many of the Buddha's disciples, including the arhats who compiled the Lesser Vehicle baskets, were not capable of understanding the Greater Vehicle teachings.²⁷

Having thus explained the compilation of both Lesser and Greater Vehicle scriptures within three baskets, the catalogues narrate the rest of Buddhist history through the biographies

²⁷ On this narrative, and other variations of it, see Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 117.13-118.6, and a brief summary in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 92.3-9.

of prominent writers of treatises and through a survey of kings who maintained the teachings. For example, the biography of Nagarjuna is presented, including prophecies of his life and work. We learn that he not only wrote a series of important treatises, but that he also recovered several Great Vehicle discourses on the perfection of wisdom from the realm of the serpent spirits called nagas.²⁸ In addition, the catalogues demonstrate how the final vehicle, that of the secret mantra or the Resultant Vehicle (*'bras bu'i theg pa*), was established.²⁹ The content of this section is quite diverse; we get stories of the Buddha and other enlightened figures giving teachings in a variety of lands and realms, including to the serpent spirit nagas. Tsültrim Rinchen tells us that the compilers of the tantras were none other than those who first taught them and first heard them expounded.³⁰ He goes on to explain that the two main places in which collections of tantric material were brought together were Changlochen (Lcang lo can) and Oaḍyāna (Oa DyAna).³¹ Könchok Jikmé Wangpo includes a separate section just on tantric commentators, while Tsültrim Rinchen provides the biographies of tantric and non-tantric commentators together. Finally, the catalogues sketch the history of the five sciences in India and the treatises which explain them. Treatises on these sciences, which are not strictly speaking Buddhist and include grammar, logic, arts and craftsmanship, medicine, and religion, are included in the Translated Treatises and therefore it is important for the cataloguers to touch on their history as well.

Through all of this, the cataloguers create a cohesive history which includes the origination, compilation, and exegesis of all the different types of literature that would come together in the Translated Word and Translated Treatises.

²⁸ Nagarjuna's biography can be found in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 106.8-110.21.

²⁹ This aspect of the history of the Buddha's teachings is not included in Butön's *History*.

³⁰ Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 119.13-21.

³¹ Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 122.2-3.

Miraculous Texts, Translators, Scholars, and Kings

The catalogues next provide a history of the transmission of Buddhist texts into Tibet and the subsequent translation and cataloguing activities that took place there. Within the catalogues, and many other narratives of Tibetan history, the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet begins not with the transmission of teachings from one person to another, but with the miraculous appearance of Buddhist texts. In Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's narration of this event, at the time of the Tibetan empire, during the reign of Lha Totori Nyentsen (Lha tho tho ri gnyan btsan), several Buddhist texts along with a golden stūpa landed on the roof of the palace. No one understood what the meaning or purpose of these objects was, so they were kept locked away and came to be known as the "Secret Power" (*gnyan po gsang ba*).³²

Later, Tonmi Sambhota was sent to India and developed a Tibetan script, and the catalogues tell us that from that time the importation of Buddhism could begin in earnest. The catalogues focus on the activities of the religious kings, the Indian scholars, and the Tibetan translators in their narration of the transmission of Buddhist texts to Tibet. The history is divided between the well known periods of the early and later diffusions. As we saw in the last chapter, the translation of scriptures was at first quite unsystematic, and only late in the imperial period was the empire able to establish relatively binding standards for the scope and methods of translation activity. The catalogues attribute even more to the political elites of the empire. In the

³² Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne 'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 205.5-205.11. Versions of this story are found in the earliest Tibetan histories, including the *Bazhé (Dba' bzhed)*; see Hildegard Diemberger, "Holy Books as Ritual Objects and Vessels of Teaching in the Era of the 'Further Spread of the Doctrine' (*bstan pa yang dar*)," in *Revisiting Rituals in a Changing Tibetan Context*, ed. K. Buffetrille (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 16. Notable in the *Bazhé* account translated by Diemberger is that the texts were immediately venerated and offerings made to them. Diemberger (17) also notes that not all Tibetan scholars accepted the legend and some, such as the author of the *Blue Annals (Dep ther sngon po)*, Gö Lotsawa Zhönnu Pel ('Gos lo tsA ba gzhon nu dpal), took a critical stance toward it. The eighteenth-century cataloguers, however, do not indicate any critical attitude toward this story.

relatively short history given in the *Choné Kangyur Catalogue*, Drakpa Shedrup credits the imperial rulers and their ministers with bringing together the translated Indian scriptures into the collection called the Kangyur. He writes:

The Victor's Word was scattered around Tibet in different places.
 Only by relying on the great kings and ministers who were patrons of the teachings
 Could the volumes [of the Buddha's Word] be brought together in one place,
 And [the resulting collection] became known all around as the "Kangyur."³³

A similar summary is found in Ngawang Lobzang Chömden's homage within his piece on the acquisition of the Litang Kangyur for Gönlung monastery in 1691:

To the emanated religious rulers together with their ministers,
 And to the translators and scholars, to all of these kind ones who
 Excellently spread the Buddha's teachings in the land of snow
 Expanding benefit and happiness, to them I respectfully pay homage.

To those who gathered together the translated Word
 Which had been scattered in Tibet and excellently arranged them into
 The tantras, perfection of wisdom, and the other classes,
 And [thus] prepared medicine for the teachings and beings, to them I respectfully pay
 homage.³⁴

The later history of Tibetan Buddhism is told through the development of the different schools, beginning with the great patriarchs and following the transmission of their teachings down through successive generations. It is here that we see arguably the most overt sectarian maneuvers displayed in the catalogues. Each writer places his own school at the end of this

³³ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags* [*Co ne'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i dkar chags gsal ba'i me long*] (University of Washington: Tibetan microfilm collection, East Asia Library), 4b.6-7: *rgyal ba'i bka' kun bod yul so so na/_/thor bu'i tshul gyis bzhags pa thams cad kyang /_/bstan pa'i sbyin bdag rgyal blon chen po la/_/brten nas phyogs gcig bsdus te glegs bam bzhengs/_/de la bka' 'gyur zhes ni phyogs su grags/_/.*

³⁴ Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, *Ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed* [*Bka' 'gyur rin po che byin rlabs gzi 'bar gyi kha byang ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed*], in *Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan gyi gsung 'bum* [TBRC W1KG1321], vol. 7 (*ja*) (Beijing, n.d.), 1b.3-5: *gangs can ljongs su thub bstan legs spel te/_/phan bde rgyas par mdzad pa'i bka' drin can/_/sprul ba'i chos rgyal blon por bcas pa dang /_/sgra bsgyur lo paN rnam la gus bas 'dud/_/bod du 'gyur ba'i bka' yi glegs bam ni/_/thor bur bzhugs pa bsdus te rgyud sde dang /_/sher phyogs la sogs so sor legs bsdeb te/_/bstan 'gro'i sman yon mdzad pa rnam la 'dud/_/.*

section, framing their school as the pinnacle of Tibetan Buddhism and giving them the most detailed treatment.

Alternate History in the Beijing Kangyur

The Beijing Kangyur catalogue and its related material are very different from the catalogues of the Kangyur and Tengyur printed in Tibetan areas. The catalogue proper (the list) is flanked not by a series of chapters on history and the divisions of Dharma. Instead we find an imperial preface written by the Kangxi emperor, and the memorials from ministers of the Qing court requesting the emperor to write a preface for the publication. The catalogue is followed by the list of staff, mainly the administrative staff (absent are any of the laborers such as block carvers and the like). These paratextual elements are part of the Chinese, and in particular the imperial Chinese, tradition of book formatting, and have little resemblance to the Tibetan catalogues. They do, however, contain some Buddhist history.

In both the demand for an imperial preface (Tib. *mdzad byang zhu ba'i yi ge*, Chi. *qing xu shu* 請序疏) and the imperial preface (Tib. *rgyal po'i mdzad pa'i bod kyi bka' 'gyur gyi 'bri sbyangs*, Chi. *yu zhi fan zang jing xu* 御製番藏經序) a history of Chinese Buddhism is presented. We find the legendary dream of the Han dynasty emperor Ming which is said to have sparked the introduction of Buddhism to China and we are told of Xuanzang's prolific translation activities during the Tang dynasty.³⁵ As for Tibetan Buddhist history, they also relate the printing of the Tibetan Kangyur under the Ming dynasty emperor Yongle, but that is the extent of the coverage of the history of Tibetan scriptures. Overall, this material largely follows Chinese conventions of

³⁵ The imperial preface is in *Dkar-chag: Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, Bstan-ḥgyur*, in *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition*, ed. Daisetz T. Suzuki, vol. 151 (Tokyo and Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1958), 1.2-1.4 (Tibetan) and 51.1-51.3 (Chinese). The demand for an imperial preface is in the same volume, 2.1-2.3 (Tibetan) and 51.3-51.4 (Chinese).

book formatting and Buddhist historiography.³⁶ The demand for a preface and the preface itself are appealing to a different audience than the catalogues of the Kangyurs and Tengyurs printed in Tibetan areas. They represent a different lineage and identity, even while containing many of the same Tibetan scriptures.

The Canon and Community Identity and Lineage

For the Tibetan cataloguers, and even the Kangxi emperor, the identity and import of the Canon was closely tied to its history. As discussed above, the reason it was venerated above other collections of religious texts was that its source was the Buddha, in the case of the Kangyur, and Indian Buddhist masters, in the case of the Tengyur. The importance of history in thinking about these collections comes across clearly in the eighteenth-century catalogues, the bulk of which are concerned with the history of the Buddhist scriptures. In fact, within these catalogues the history of Buddhism in India and Tibet becomes a history of its scriptures. Through this history, the canon becomes a representation of the history and identity of Tibetan Buddhists. The Canon as an object symbolically holds within it the story of a group's history and identity. It is a symbol of the entire history and lineage of the tradition. We might say that the Dharma, as it exists in a physical collection of texts that make up a particular canon, again lives up to its root etymology "to hold" or "sustain." The canon holds symbolically the history and lineage of the tradition and sustains the identity of the community through what it represents.

This function of canons can be seen in other religious traditions as well. A torah does not just tell the history of the Jewish people, as a physical object it also represents that history and is a marker of identity. This is vividly demonstrated in the dispersal of torahs which belonged to

³⁶ The catalogue and related materials of the Beijing Tengyur, on the other hand, merely reproduce the history and catalogue of the Tengyur written by Sanggyé Gyatso at the conclusion of the production of a manuscript Kangyur in 1688.

Czech synagogues and were confiscated by the Nazis during World War II. In the 1960s, these torah were deposited in a London synagogue and subsequently many of them were distributed to congregations around the world. These torahs, called Czech Holocaust Torahs, are only rarely if ever used—some are too damaged to be read—, but instead held as symbols of history and identity, and even hope for the future of a community.³⁷ To varying degrees, many scriptures and canons hold these significations for their communities. In the Tibetan context, a similar story is told by Hildegard Diemberger of the recovery of books from a sealed cave at one of the first great sites of Tibetan printing, Trakkar Taso (Brag dkar rta so). This cave was discovered after the destruction of many Tibetan books during the ravages of the Cultural Revolution in China during the 1960s and 70s. Although many of the books found in the cave had rotted and were sometimes merely illegible fragments, they were still deposited in the main chapel on shelves with other religious texts. Diemberger writes that “These books and book-fragments started to tell a new story of survival and miraculous rescue to the community of believers and the pilgrims visiting the monastery. They had started to tell a story by their sheer presence, even if many of them could no longer be read.”³⁸ Books have the ability to communicate messages both through their content and through their physical form. As the example of the Holocaust Torahs and the recovered books of Trakkar Taso illustrate, sometimes their mere presence is a powerful statement.

³⁷ See the chapter “Case Study 2: The Holocaust Torah” in Vanessa L. Ochs, *Inventing Jewish Ritual* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2007), 187-213. Writings about these torahs sometimes even personify them as the main character of the story. See for example an article in a Chicago Jewish magazine: Pauline Dubkin Yearwood, “Like Old Times: A Chicago Torah Visits Its Old Home in Europe,” *Chicago Jewish News*, Sept. 16-20, 2005, and an illustrated children’s book: Alex J. Goldman, *I Am a Holocaust Torah: The Story of the Saving of 1,564 Torahs Stolen by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 2000).

³⁸ Diemberger, “Holy Books,” 24-26.

In this chapter we have explored the broader historical and doctrinal context in which the eighteenth-century cataloguers situated the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. In the next chapter we will delve more deeply into the local circumstances in which the individual publications of the Canon in the eighteenth century came about, highlighting the immense organization and funding necessary to produce a printed edition of the Kangyur or Tengyur.

Chapter 3: The Production of a Canon

Introduction

From the beginning of this grand production of the Commentaries [i.e., the Tengyur]—an unsurpassed reliquary in the triple world—hundreds of thousands of doors of considerable generosity were simultaneous opened. Supported in that way, most of the people who were subjects [of the king of Degé] became participants in these good works of swiftly accomplishing extensive gifts of Dharma.... [All] assisted in the great ruler's accomplishment of a wealth of virtue. For example, just as birds who nest on the side of the king of mountains, Lhünpo [= Mount Meru], although they are of different varieties and colors, appear only as the color of the precious mineral Kanydzana [i.e., the color of the mountain]; if the great ruler of the people enters onto the path of virtue with amazing fortitude, subsequently all those who are his subjects will also carry out and practice virtuous activities.¹

These words written by the Great Editor (*zhu chen*) of the Degé Tengyur, Tsültrim Rinchen, describe in poetic terms the grandness of a publishing project such as the printing of the Tengyur. While Tsültrim Rinchen was not shy about using hyperbole, based on his more prosaic accounting of the specific numbers of people involved, their remuneration, and the resources used in making the wood block edition of the Degé Tengyur, it is clear that the Tengyur project

¹ Tshul khirms rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [*Kun mkhyen nyi ma'i gnyen gyi bka' lung gi dgongs don rnam par 'grel ba'i bstan bcos gangs can pa'i skad du 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi 'chad pa'i ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa'i bsod nams kyi sprin phun rgyas par dkrigs pa'i tshul las brtsams pa'i gtam ngo mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gsar pa*] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1985), 554.22-555.13: *khyad par 'jig rten gsum gyi mchod stong bla na med par gyur pa'i dgongs 'grel gyi rten bzhengs chen po 'di'i mgo brtsams pa nas/_gtong phod mi dman pa'i sgo mo brgya stong phrag du ma cig car du bye bar brten/_mnga' 'og gi mi'i 'gro ba mang shas shig ni/_legs byas chos kyi sbyin pa rgya chen po 'di dag myur du 'grub par byed pa'i las byed par gyur to/....mi bdag chen po'i dge tshogs sgrub pa'i grogs su gyur pa ni/_dper na ri'i rgyal po lhun po'i ngos la brten pa'i 'dab chags kyi rigs kha dog tha dad par yod pa rnams kyang /_rin po che kany+dza na'i kh dog 'ba' zhig tu snang ba ltar/_mi bdag skye dgu'i sa 'dzin chen po dge ba'i lam du snying stobs rmad du byung ba zhugs pa na/_de'i rjes su chab 'bangs kyi skye bo thams cad kyang dge ba'i las kyi bya ba byed pa dang lag tu len pa por gyur te/.*

was indeed an endeavor like virtually no other and one which directly employed or effected almost everyone living near the king's capital, and many other areas as well.

Apart from warfare, the creation of xylographic editions of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon required more resources and labor than nearly any other undertaking in the Tibetan cultural world of the eighteenth century. These projects involved huge outlays of time and finances, as well as large workforces of skilled and unskilled workers. In short, the making of a Canon was indeed a grand production.

Whereas in the last chapter, we mainly explored theoretical definitions of scripture and canon, in this chapter we begin to look at the Canons more concretely in their physical manifestations. In particular, we will explore the sections of the catalogues that describe how the wood block editions of the Canon were produced in the eighteenth century. I will supplement the accounts in the catalogues with information from other historical and contemporary sources on the politics involved. By analyzing the organization and funding of the Canon publications, we begin to see how these projects redirected wealth, focused large groups of people toward a single purpose, and help to establish community and personal identities.

Royal Publications

The canonical printing projects were state projects, carried out by kings, queens, or emperors through organized administrations and labor forces paid with finances from the royal treasury. Work on the projects was mainly carried out in royal or imperial monasteries, such as the imperial Protecting the Nation Temple (Huguo si 護國寺) in Beijing. In the case of Degé and Choné, the royal monasteries which served as headquarters for publishing activities were located adjacent to or in the same compound as the royal residence.

The production of a wood-block edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon required tremendous organization of human and material resources over considerable lengths of time. Most of these projects had work forces numbering several hundred people who were employed for years at a time. The projects themselves were among the most expensive activities undertaken by a royal court. In the Tibetan cultural world, only political elites could undertake organization and financing on such a scale.² The example of Yershong Samten Chömpel Ling (G.yer gshong bsam gtan chos 'phel gling) monastery points to the limits of smaller institutions that delved into publishing in the eighteenth century. Yershong monastery created a wood block edition of the *Bum* ('*Bum*; that is, the *One Hundred Thousand Line Perfection of Wisdom*) in the mid-eighteenth century. This was no small feat. The *Bum* generally takes up about twelve printed volumes. It took the monastery five years to complete the project.³ Working at that pace, it would have taken them forty-five years to complete the entire Kangyur, not to mention the tremendous financial resources they would have had to invest over such a long period. An investment of time and resources on that scale was beyond the means of most Tibetan monasteries. It was much easier for a monastery to acquire an edition from elsewhere, or even to have a manuscript prepared, rather than to print the entire canon themselves. Indeed, not long

² This situation is in contrast to the publishing of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, which was printed by several private monasteries beginning in the Song dynasty (960-1125). A list of these Chinese Buddhist Canon publications is found in Lewis R. Lancaster, "Buddhist Books and Texts: Canon and Canonization" in *The Encyclopedia of Religions, Second Edition*, ed. Lindsay Jones (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), 1255. I think the difference here likely reflects the very different economic and demographic situations of China, where China much earlier developed urban commercial centers with dense populations while Tibetan areas were largely agricultural and nomadic and very sparsely populated even through the twentieth century. Much more research would need to be done to bear out such a conjecture however.

³ Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho* [*The Ocean Annals of Amdo: Yul mdo smad kyi ljoñs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*] (Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1975-1977), 1:772.3.

after Yershong published the *Bum*, they obtained a copy of the Tengyur (as well as the *Collected Works of Sakya* [*Sa skya bka' 'bum*] and other texts) from the Degé Printing House.⁴

As the domain of rulers, canon printing in the eighteenth century was carried out within the administrative structure of their empires or kingdoms. The top level managerial staff was appointed by the ruler and was composed of officials within the court or monastic elites patronized by the court. In Beijing, for example, the main project manager for the Kangyur publication was a Manchu noble and son of the Shunzhi emperor, and the administrative staff was filled by officials from the main ministries (*bu* 部) of the Qing bureaucracy. Similarly, in Degé and Choné the project administrators were drawn from the ranks of ministers (*blon*), treasures (*phyag mdzod*), stewards (*gnyer pa*), and other bureaucrats within these kingdoms.

With this overlap of administrative personnel, the organization of Canon projects reflected to some extent the administrative organization of the polities as a whole. It is worth considering in this regard whether the Canon projects were one way of training a skilled workforce who, in addition to their work on the Canons, could be subsumed into the larger bureaucracy of the polity. Such a practice of using Buddhist institutions for the cultivation of government servants would not be without precedent.⁵ While state support for monastic

⁴ Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 1:772.4-5.

⁵ Richard H. Robinson and Willard L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction*, Fourth Edition (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1997), 135, mention that the Pāla dynasty of India, although Hindu, were patrons of the great Buddhist universities because of their ability to train civil servants. For the relationship between the political realm, patronage, and monastic civil servants in Southeast Asia, see Stanley J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976), especially Part Two. Sam van Schaik in “A New Look at the Tibetan Invention of Writing,” in *New Studies of the Old Tibetan Documents: Philology, History and Religion*, ed. Yoshiro Imaeda, Matthew T. Kapstein, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi (Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2011), provides a study of the imperial period in Tibet in regard to

institutions could train a monastic population with skills useful for government service, the Canon publication projects cultivated monastics and non-monastics alike in a variety of skill sets, not just clerical, useful to the ruling court for a variety of purposes, including civil service but also construction and building skills. The training of skilled workers also created a pool which other regions and polities drew from when engaging in scribal, artistic, or construction projects.⁶

The labor-intensive nature of the creation of a wood block edition of a collection like the Kangyur or Tengyur was the main reason that these publications were also very expensive. The bulk of the cost of producing a Canon was in the labor, though there were significant other expenses as well. Managing all of this fell to a team of administrators who oversaw different aspects of the project, generally organized around labor and materials, with the materials subdivided between the raw materials (wood, paper, ink, etc.) and food for the workers. Labor was also divided and organized into groups including the editing staff, scribal workshops, illustrators, and block carvers. In addition to this staff working directly on the production of the edition, there was also support staff. Most notable in this regard were the teams of cooks required to prepare tea and food for the workforce. We might also include as support staff the large numbers of monks who were made to perform rituals for the success of the project at different stages.

With this general outline of the organization of a Canonical publishing project in mind, let us now turn to look at several specific examples of the organization and workflow of a project.

the invention of writing and the promotion of literacy, which were used by the empire as both administrative tools and as means for importing Buddhism and Buddhist institutions.

⁶ Examples of a scribes and carvers being recruited from one location in eastern Tibet to another during the later half of eighteenth century can be found in the biography of Könchok Jikmé Wangpo by his disciple Könchok Tenpé Drönmé: *Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me*, *Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa rgyal sras rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs*, in *Gsung 'bum/_Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me* [TBRC W22112], vol. 4 (Lhasa: Zhol par khang gsar pa), 37b.2-3 and 136a.6-136b.2.

The order of the three case studies that follow is based on the chronology of their canonical printings, with a printed Kangyur being issued in Beijing in 1700, followed by printings of the same collection in Choné and Degé in the first half of the century. After some historical background on each polity, I narrate the printing activities of each place as they developed from initial printing projects, to canonical publications, and finally to the printing of other important collections of religious literature, usually the classic texts of the particular sect that was dominant in the area.

Beijing

The Qing dynasty swept into power over China in 1644, seizing control of much of north China from the previous Ming dynasty. While the Ming rulers were Han Chinese, the Qing were what they themselves came to call Manchu, an ethnic group from the far northeast. During the reigns of the first four Qing emperors—Shunzhi, Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong—the new dynasty asserted its control over the territory of the previous Ming dynasty while at the same time expanding into new areas, particularly Inner Asia and Taiwan. The resulting empire was vast and encompassed multiple ethnicities, cultures, and languages. The Qing rulers recognized and in some ways cultivated this multi-ethnic character of their domain, often using multiple languages in public decrees and monuments and cultivating public personas which drew on the different cultural repertoires within their growing empire.

Even before establishing the Qing dynasty, the Manchus had developed relationships with Mongolian groups and it was from the Mongols that the Manchu elite developed an interest in Tibetan Buddhism.⁷ Over the course of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), the court steadily

⁷ On the early involvement of the Manchu with Mongol-Tibetan Buddhism, see Samuel M. Grupper, “Manchu Patronage and Tibetan Buddhism during the First Half of the Ch’ing Dynasty: A Review Article,” *Journal of the Tibet Society* 4 (1984): 47-75.

increased its patronage of Tibetan Buddhism. Their support included temple and monastery construction, sponsorship of liturgical celebrations, as well as the publication of Tibetan religious literature. We will begin this section by surveying the role of Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhists within the Qing government and Beijing life. We will then turn to Tibetan language publishing in Beijing under the Qing, with a focus on the printing of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon.

Administration of Tibetan Buddhists under the Qing

Tibetan Buddhism in Beijing was closely overseen by the Qing government, and was in fact integrated into the Qing bureaucracy. In terms of managing religious affairs, Tibetan Buddhism held a special position within the Qing system. Chinese Buddhist and Daoist clergy were overseen by the Central Buddhist and Daoist Registries (Senglusi 僧錄司 and Daolusi 道錄司) which were under the administration of the Ministry of Rites (Libu 禮部).⁸ In addition, the Imperial Household Department (Neiwufu 內務府), the administrative organization that handled the personal matters of the court during the Qing and which controlled considerable wealth, managed logistical issues related to Chinese Buddhist and Daoist activities in imperial temples. Tibetan Buddhists sponsored by the Qing, however, were under the jurisdiction of the Office of Lama Affairs (Lama yinwu chu 喇嘛印務處), which was administered by the Court for Managing the Frontiers (Lifan yuan 理藩院), the department in the government which handled relations with the people on the periphery, or frontier, of the Qing empire.⁹ On the other hand, as

⁸ Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 50, where she goes on to describe some of their responsibilities: “The Registries were in theory responsible for the ‘affairs’ of Buddhist and Daoist clergy throughout the empire, setting standards for ordination, controlling the number of licenses issued, and investigating malfeasance.”

⁹ Vincent Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800-1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 59. An exception to this was the

with the Han Buddhist and Daoist temples, many of the activities, such as ritual performances and daily recitations, of imperially sponsored Tibetan Buddhists resident in Beijing were coordinated through the Imperial Household Department, and occasionally the Ministry of Rites.

Tibetan Buddhist temples and monks received funding from the state through the Court for Managing the Frontiers, as well as receiving gifts and compensation for the performance of ritual activities from Imperial Household Department. Some Tibetan Buddhist monks and lamas also received official positions and titles within the government, granting them both religious and political authority. The highest positions, the Jasagh Lamas (Zhasake Lama 札薩克喇嘛) were given control of their own “banners” (qi 旗, a Qing division of political authority), with the powers of managing and adjudicating the populations, mostly monastic, under their jurisdiction.¹⁰ The status and number of Tibetan Buddhist monks at court grew until, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, virtually all religious specialists employed by the court were Tibetan and Mongolian lamas.¹¹

Qing Publishers of Tibetan Texts

Beijing, as the capital of China during the latter half of the Ming dynasty and the Qing dynasty, was the locus of tremendous power and wealth. It was also a relatively cosmopolitan city, particularly during the Qing. Book publishing in Beijing reflected these traits. While the book trade in the lower Yangzi River delta, the Jiangnan region, was largely made up of commercial printers and private sellers and buyers, in Beijing publishing was dominated by the

temples within the Forbidden City, which were generally directly under the Imperial Household Department and not the Court for Managing the Frontiers. Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhist and the Making of Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 24.

¹⁰ Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 254-255.

¹¹ On the dominance of Tibetan Buddhist lamas among religious specialists at the Qing court, see Goosaert, *Taoists of Peking*, 213.

government. During the eighteenth century, imperial editions were published in a variety of languages on all manner of topics.¹²

The Qing inherited from the Ming at least one Tibetan-language printing institution, the Foreign Scriptures Workshop (Fanjing chang 番經廠). The Foreign Scriptures Workshop produced Tibetan texts and also arranged some Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies for the Ming court. It also served as a residence for visiting Tibetan lamas. It was housed in a temple complex that included the Zhizhu Temple (智珠寺) and Fayuan Temple (法淵寺), which were also home to a Han Scripture Workshop (Hanjing chang 漢經廠) and a Daoist Scripture Workshop (Daojing chang 道經廠). During the Qing, these temples and institutions were combined into the Songzhu Temple (嵩祝寺; Tib. Zung cu ze, or Zung gru zi), which in 1711 became the official Beijing residence of the successive incarnations of the Changkya (Lcang skya) lama. The Daoist Scripture Workshop all but ceased publishing operations during the Qing and the Han Scripture workshop was officially disbanded in 1746, much of its property and personnel being handed over to the Changkya Lama with some items also being redistributed to Chinese Buddhist temples in the capital.¹³ As the Changkya residence, the Songzhu Temple maintained and even

¹² One interesting publication was a Jesuit-produced atlas of the empire, on which see Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century: History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 25. Petech explains that the atlas contained maps of Tibetan areas, but that these were not part of the official empire mapping project; they were produced by the Jesuits of their own accord when they had passed through Tibetan areas on a mission to Tibet.

¹³ On the Daoist Scripture Workshop through the Qing, see Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 195. The memorial documenting the merging of the Han Scripture Workshop into Songzhu Temple is found in Weng Lianxi 翁連溪, ed., *Qing nei fu ke shu dang an shi liao hui bian 清內府刻書檔案史料彙編* (Yangzhou: Guang ling shu she, 2007), 113.

increased its importance as a publisher of Tibetan texts.¹⁴ Besides the Songzhu Temple, other imperial temples active in Tibetan-language publishing were Huguo Temple (護國寺), Hei Temple (黑寺), and, from the mid-eighteenth century, the famous Yonghegong (雍和宮) monastery. Many Tibetan language publications in the capital were imperially sponsored, but there were also many that were sponsored by individual members of the court acting on their own or by other Manchu and Mongolian aristocrats. Tibetan and Mongolian lamas visiting or residing in Beijing also sponsored Tibetan publications in the city. The texts printed included canonical sūtras, classics of Tibetan literature, and liturgical texts needed for the daily rituals of the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries.

Organization of Beijing Kangyur

While there were many one-volume publications produced in Beijing, the Qing court also produced editions of large collections, including the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. The Qing court in Beijing began producing an edition of the Kangyur in 1684 when the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722) initiated a project to publish a new edition of the collection. During the previous Ming dynasty, the Kangyur had been engraved on wood-blocks and published in 1410 during the reign of the Yongle emperor (r. 1402-1424). The same blocks were used, with some additional blocks added, in a revised edition published during the reign of the Wanli emperor (r. 1573-1619) at the

¹⁴ Information on this temple complex can be gleaned from Marina Illich, “Selections from the Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Polymath: Chankya Rolpai Dorje (Lcang skya rol pa’i rdo rje), 1717-1786” (PhD dissertation, Columbia, 2006), 434 n. 830; Robert James Miller, *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959), 78; and Zhang Yuxin 张羽新, Liu Limei 刘丽楣, Wang Hong 王红, Zhang Shuangzhi 张双志, *Zangzu wen hua zai Beijing 藏族文化在北京* (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 2008), 143-144.

beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁵ The Kangxi emperor's edition, while based on the previous Ming editions, was composed of all new blocks. It therefore stands as the first completely new engraving of an imperial edition of the Tibetan Kangyur since it was first printed at the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹⁶ The project, completed in 1692, was also the first xylograph edition of a Tibetan canonical collection during the “long eighteenth century,” a century that would subsequently see a major rise in printing of Tibetan canons and also Tibetan religious literature in general.

What we know of this 1692 edition of the Beijing Kangyur comes from a short one-folio addendum, or postscript, to the edition that gives very few details.¹⁷ Jinpa Gyatso (Sbyin pa rgya mtsho, 1629-1695) was the main monastic figure overseeing the project. He was, like many lamas involved in Qing affairs, a native of Amdo (A mdo) and he was educated in Lhasa at Drepung ('Bras spungs) monastery. He was well-known as an expert on the Kangyur and was commonly referred to by the title “Kangyurwa/pa” (*bka' 'gyur ba/pa*) reserved for those who were esteemed for their knowledge of the Kangyur and their qualification to bestow reading

¹⁵ Detailed information on the Yongle and Wanli editions can be found in Jonathan A. Silk, “Notes on the History of the Yongle Kanjur,” in *Suḥṛllekhāḥ: Festgabe für Helmut Eimer*, ed. Michael Hahn, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, and Roland Steiner (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica, 1996), 153-200.

¹⁶ Silk, “Notes on the History,” 164, argues, based on his reading the preface to the Kangxi edition, that the Kangxi edition was in fact a new engraving and not just an updated reprint from the same blocks.

¹⁷ This addendum is reproduced, translated, and discussed in Alexander von Staël-Holstein, “On a Peking Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur Which Seems to be Unknown in the West,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22, no. 1 (1999): 215-249. See also Jampa Samten and Hiroaki Niisaku, “Notes on Ulan Bator Copy of Peking Kagyur,” *Tibet Journal* 36, no. 3 (2011): 9-10.

transmissions (*lung*) for the entire collection.¹⁸ This expertise may have been part of the reason he was chosen to lead the Kangxi emperor's Kangyur publication team.

During Jinpa Gyatso's time in Beijing, he was associated with the Protecting the Nation Temple, a fact noted in the Kangyur addendum. This temple, also known as the Flourishing of Virtue and Protecting the Nation Temple (Da Longshan Huguo si 大隆善護國寺), was located in the northwest part of the Imperial City, just outside of the northwest corner of the Forbidden City, and its foundation dated back to the Yuan dynasty. The monastic members of this temple were involved in other printing projects during the Kangxi era and the temple probably served as a headquarters for textual preparation and editing, even if the actual carving and printing work were carried out elsewhere in the capital.¹⁹ Jinpa Gyatso left Beijing in 1692 to become the forty-sixth Throne Holder of Ganden (*dga' ldan khri pa*) and the Kangyur was printed from the new blocks the same year.

The 1692 edition of the Kangyur, however, did not satisfy the emperor and was never imperially approved. Major revisions were made to the edition, including the insertion of several

¹⁸ See for example the brief biography: Ye shes rgyal mtshan, "Khri rin po che sbyin pa rgya mtsho 'am ngag dbang dpal bzang gi rnam thar," in *Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa 'i rnam thar* [TBRC W2DB4613], vol. 2 ('Bar khams: rnga khul bod yig rtsom sgyur cus, n.d.), 476-478 (TBRC pages 490-492), and particularly 477.17-20 and 478.8-9. A similar term denoting a master of a scriptural corpus is mentioned by Leonard van der Kuijp, "Faulty Transmissions: Some Notes on Tibetan Textual Criticism and the Impact of Xylography," in *Edition, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, ed. Anne Chayet, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin, and Jean-Luc Achard (München: Indus Verlag, 2010), 449, where he discusses a "Slob dpon Dus 'khor ba, that is, one who was obviously a recognized expert in the Kālacakra!"

¹⁹ Besides the Kangyur, Protecting the Nation Temple also published other Tibetan works. For example, there are two publications from this temple held by the Department of Rare and Special Collections at the University of Wisconsin Library: Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Bder gshegs bdun gyi mchod pa 'i chog sgrigs yid bzhin dbang rgyal* (Beijing: Longshan Huguo Temple, 1690), held in the University of Wisconsin Library's Special Collections: Lessing collection, no. 71; and Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Dpal brtan chen po bcu drug gi mchod pa rgyal bstan 'dzad med nor bu* (Beijing: Longshan Huguo Temple, 1711), Lessing collection, no. 18. For general information on Protecting the Nation Temple, see Naquin, *Peking*, 7 and 162-63, and Zhang, et al., *Zangzu wen hua zai Beijing*, 139.

new texts, leading to a revised edition which was issued in 1700. Bruce Hall nicely summarizes the revisions made to the 1700 Kangyur:

It contained thousands of brief corrections and emendations, which were made by inserting new sections into the woodblocks, and occasionally by carving entirely new blocks. This 1700 KANJUR is further distinguished by the insertion of 2 entire texts into 2 volumes of the *Dkon-brtsegs* section, the addition of an entire new volume in place of volume ZA of the *Rgyud* section, and the placing of this displaced volume as Volume 1 (labeled “Om”).²⁰

With Jinpa Gyatso engaged in central Tibet, the Beijing court recruited Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chömden (Lcang skya ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, 1642-1714) as the chief religious figure overseeing the revised edition of 1700.²¹ Ngawang Lobzang Chömden’s autobiography reveals that prior to his work in Beijing he had been in contact with the emperor, or at least the Qing court, regarding the acquisition of a print of the Litang (Li thang) Kangyur for his home monastery Gönlung (Dgon lung). This was in 1691 while he was still in residence at Gönlung monastery, but after he had stepped down from the abbacy.²²

He elaborates on the circumstances of this acquisition in a short piece entitled *Amazingly Luminous Sun* (*Ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed*), which he wrote after the Kangyur arrived at

²⁰ Bruce C. Hall, *A Descriptive List of the Tibetan (Tib) Collection in the Rare Books Room of the Harvard-Yenching Library* (Cambridge, MA: 1980), [3]. von Staël-Holstein, “On a Peking Edition,” also reports on many of the textual discrepancies between the 1692 Beijing edition of the Kangyur and the 1700 Beijing edition.

²¹ Ngawang Lobzang Chömden (Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan) is considered either the first or second Changkya (Lcang skya) incarnation depending on whether one considers Drakpa Özer (Grags pa ’od zer) the first or not. Wang Xiangyun, “Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing: The Life and Work of lCang-skya Rol-pa’i-rdo-rje (1717-1786)” (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1995), 42-43, discusses this issue.

²² Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, *Rnam thar bka’ rtsom* [*Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan dpal bzang po’i rnam thar*], in *Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan gyi gsung ’bum* [TBRC W1KG1321], vol. 2 (*kha*), (Beijing, n.d.), 15b.2-15b.3. The acquisition is also mentioned in the *Dgon lung dkar chag* by Thu’u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma (1737-1802), for a summary of which see E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts* (Boston: Wisdom, 2001), 165.

Gönlung and had been consecrated.²³ Changkya explains that while Gönlung monastery housed many manuscript copies of canonical texts by the latter half of the seventeenth century, the monastery still lacked a high-quality printed edition of the canon. Ngawang Lobzang Chömden was aware that the Kangyur had been printed in Beijing and Litang, and he tells us that the Litang print was held by several other monastic institutions in Amdo. He therefore made a request to the Kangxi emperor for the resources needed to procure a copy of the Litang Kangyur for Gönlung. The request was granted, and the requisite materials were provided, including fine paper and ink, with which a Kangyur could be printed and brought to Gönlung.²⁴

In the *Amazingly Luminous Sun*, Ngawang Lobzang Chömden displays an obvious appreciation for the Buddhist canon and its history, the physical features of books, and the technology of printing. In the span of a few folios, he gives a short history of the canon and a detailed account of the features of the Kangyur acquired for Gönlung.²⁵ Ngawang Lobzang Chömden's interest in the canonical texts and the books which transmitted them, and in particular his high valuation of printed editions, were all qualities which would have made him an ideal candidate to serve as an editor for imperial publishing projects.

Ngawang Lobzang Chömden first traveled to Beijing in 1687. During his stay there, he had two audiences with the emperor. However, he did not stay long in Beijing before returning to Amdo (A mdo) to take the abbacy of Gönlung monastery the next year.²⁶ He seems to have made a good impression at the Qing capital though, for in 1693 envoys of the emperor arrived at

²³ Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, *Ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed* [*Bka' 'gyur rin po che byin rlabs gzi 'bar gyi kha byang ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed*], in *Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan gyi gsung 'bum* [TBRC W1KG1321], vol. 7 (*ja*) (Beijing, n.d.).

²⁴ Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, *Ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed*, 3a-b.

²⁵ Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, *Ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed*, historical summary: 1b-3a, description of *Bka' 'gyur* brought to Dgon lung: 3a-4a.

²⁶ Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, *Rnam thar bka' rtsom*, 12b-13a.

Gönlung with orders for Ngawang Lobzang Chömden to return to Beijing. Ngawang Lobzang Chömden complied and made the journey to the capital where he was praised by the emperor for his talents, which seemed to have included knowledge of medicine and rainmaking rituals, though Changkya modestly denied such learning during this exchange as narrated in his autobiography.²⁷ From the mid-1690s, Ngawang Lobzang Chömden spent significant stretches of time in Beijing, and was given a series of official positions with the Qing administration of Tibetan Buddhism.

In the quadri-lingual catalogue (*dkar chag*) to the Kangxi emperor's xylograph Kangyur, we find him listed first among the editors of the new revised edition. This list of staff is dated to the thirty-ninth year of the Kangxi emperor's reign, or 1700.²⁸ Besides Ngawang Lobzang Chömden, six other monastic figures are listed, including two head lamas (Tib. *mgo pa bla ma*, Chi. *zhuchi lama* 住持喇嘛) and a monastic financial officer (Tib. *tem chi*).²⁹ All of these monastics are listed as editorial staff. Non-monastic personnel who worked on the revised Kangxi edition of the Kangyur included Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian officials. The official manager (Tib. *do dam [pa]*, Chi. *jianzao guanyuan* 監造官員) of the project is listed as

²⁷ Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, *Rnam thar bka' rtsom*, 15a-16a.

²⁸ Ngawang Lobzang Chömden is identified in the catalogue as “cang [*sic*] skya zhabs drung” in the Tibetan section and as “章家胡圖圖” (Zhangjia Hututu) in the Chinese section: *Dkar-chag: Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, Bstan-ḥgyur*, volume 151 of *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition*, ed. Daisetz T. Suzuki (Tokyo and Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1958), 12.5.4 (Tibetan), 59.3.3 (Chinese). The date is given in Tibetan as “rgyal po bde skyid [= Kangxi] gyi lo sum cu so dgu zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes bzang por par bzhengs bsgrubs pa'o'.” *Dkar-chag: Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, Bstan-ḥgyur*, 12.5.7-8.

²⁹ “Head lama” was probably an official position within an imperial monastery, possibly equal to the position of Da Lama (大喇嘛). On the term *tem chi*, or *demchi*, see Miller, *Monasteries and Culture Change*, 54.

“Imperial Prince Yu, minister Fuquan.”³⁰ Fuquan (1653-1703) was a Manchu noble, a son of the Shunzhi emperor. He was forced out of military service in 1690 after a botched encounter with the army of Galden Khan. While subsequently his military career was largely over, he was a man with literary interests and his brother the Kangxi emperor appointed him to manage the revision of the Kangyur. The next figure listed, Arpidhu (Tib. Ar pid hu, Chi. A le bei te hu 阿勒卑忒胡), probably a transliteration of a Manchu or Mongolian name, held a unique position within the Qing administration. He was the Director of Studies (Tib. *slob dpon*, Chi. *siye* 司業) for the Tibetan language institute under the Court for Managing the Frontiers (Lifan yuan 理藩院).³¹ A Manchu with the qualifications for that position would be a sensible choice to also help manage the Tibetan Kangyur publication. Twenty-nine further officials are listed on the staff of the Kangyur project, including representatives from the Grand Secretariat (Neige 內閣), the Censorate (Ducha yuan 都察院), and five of the six Ministries (Justice, Works, Personnel, War, and Rites; the Ministry of Revenue seems to have been unrepresented).

The staff section of the catalogue only provides the names of the higher level staff. There were certainly many more who worked as scribes and carvers, among other positions, but they are not mentioned. While the catalogue to the Beijing Kangyur does not describe for us further details of the staff or the day to day labor involved, we can get a sense for the diverse atmosphere of the printing work from what we know of other imperial printing projects in the Qing capital.

³⁰ Chi. heshuo Yu qinwang chen Fuquang 和碩裕親王臣福全, Tib. bca' khrimis kyi blon po phu chwon el gin chin wang. *Dkar-chag: Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, Bstan-ḥgyur*, 12.4.1 (Tibetan), and 59.2.3 (Chinese). For a short biography, see Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 251-252.

³¹ This is made clear in the Tibetan, where the full title reads: *bod yig gi slob dpon blon po ar pid hu*. Also, the entry for *siye* in Charles O. Hucker's *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 459, entry 5821, explains that during the Qing the title could refer to “one non-official specialists in the Tibetan School (*t'ang-ku-t'e hsüeh*) maintained by the Court of Colonial Affairs (*li-fan yüan*).”

One such publication from the mid-eighteenth century is a bilingual (Tibetan and Mongolian) edition of a commentary on Tsongkhapa's *Great Stages of the Path* (*Lam rim chen mo*) by the Pañchen Lama Lobzang Chökyi Gyeltsen (Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1570-1662) published at Songzhu Temple, the imperial temple that was the seat of the Changkya lineage in Beijing. In the colophon, written by Changkya Rolpé Dorjé (Rol pa'i rdo rje, 1717-1786; the successor to Ngawang Lobzang Chömden) we get a sense for the multiethnic environment in which these projects were carried out.³² The publication was sponsored by a Tumed Mongolian noble by the name of Qamuḃa Bayasqulangtu (Thu med bi si Ha mu ga ba ya su ga lang thu). It was translated into Mongolian by one Chömpel (Chos dpal) and the scribe in both languages was a monk named Sumati (Su ma ti). The project was managed by a certain Lobzang Samdrup (Blo bzang bsam grub). The actual carving of the printing blocks was done by a group of skilled Chinese workers. So we have at least three (Mongol, Monguor, and Chinese), and possibly more,

³² Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams cad mkhyen par bgrod pa'i bde lam* (Beijing: Songzhu si, mid-eighteenth century). A print of this edition is held in the University of Wisconsin Library's Special Collections: Lessing collection, no. 329. The colophon is also transcribed in Manfred Taube, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, XI (Weisbaden: Steiner, 1966), vol. 3, entry no. 2592. The pertinent parts of the print colophon are at 95r.1-97r.1: *dad brtson shes rab gtong ba phul byung ba'i/_/thu med be si kun dga'i mtshan can gyis/_/gzhan phan bsam pas rgyu rkyen legs sbyar te/_/chos tshul du mar blo rgyas lo ts+tsha ba/_/chos dpal zhes byas the tshom dogs gnas rnams/_/mkhas la dris gtugs zhush dag legs par bsgyur/_/hor bod shan sbyar yi ge'i 'du byed po/_/dge tshul su ma ti zhes bya bas bgyis/_/spar gyi do dam khur len byed po ni/_/dpyod ldan dka' chen blo bzang bsam grub bo/_/bka' dang bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi tshal/_/zung gru zir grags lha khang chen po ru/_/tsi na'i brko mkhan mkhas pas spar du bsgrub/_/lam bzang bdud rtsi'i dga' ston myong 'dod rnams/_/byin ldan dpyad gsum dag pa'i khrid yig mchog_'di 'dra yod bzhin ma sbyangs ma bsgom pa'i/_/grags 'dod pho tshod ngag la yi ma rton/_/dge des mar gyur drin ldan 'gro ba kun/_/lam 'dis byang chub mchog la gzhol ba dang /_/blo bzang rgyal ba'i mdo sngags bshad bsgrub bstan/_/ljongs 'dir srid mtha'i bar du rgyas gyur cig/_/sbyin ba dag ltos bcas tshe bsod dpal 'byor dang /_/chos srid legs tshogs rab rgyas bsam don 'grub/_/mthar thug sgrib gnyis dgra bcom byang chub mchog_'thob nas 'gro ba ma lus 'dren bar shog/_/___//ces byang chub bde lam gyi spar byang 'di yang thu med bi si ha mu ga ba ya su ga lang thus bskul ba'i ngor/_/lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rjes sbyar ba yi ge pa ni dge tshul tshul khirms chos 'phel lo//dge legs 'phel//.*

ethnicities working together to create a new bilingual edition of a text by a central Tibetan scholar. These kinds of multi-lingual and multi-ethnic interactions were not uncommon and are in evidence in many of the colophons to Beijing publications, where we find Tibetans, Mongolians, Chinese, Manchus, and others taking part in the production. As the largest imperial Tibetan language publications, the Kangyur and Tengyur projects no doubt also drew workers from multiple ethnicities, some resident in Beijing and others brought to the capital specifically to work on the project.

The Beijing Tengyur and the Publishing Activities of Changkya Rölpe Dorjé

The involvement of Ngawang Lobzang Chömden in the editing of the Kangxi emperor's Kangyur was part of the overall relationship between the Kangxi emperor and the Changkya Lama, and indeed between the Kangxi emperor and Tibetan Buddhism. The Kangxi emperor was a generous patron of Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chömden and gave him control of a new monastery, the Huizong Temple (彙宗寺), which the emperor had constructed in 1691 at Dolonor, Mongolia.³³ The relationship between the Changkya Lama and the Qing emperor continued with the next incarnation of the Changkya line, Rolpe Dorjé, and the next two Qing emperors, the Yongzheng (r. 1723-35) and the Qianlong (r. 1736-95).

The Yongzheng emperor, while by all accounts not as fervent a patron of Tibetan Buddhist figures and projects as Kangxi and Qianlong, nevertheless was far from neglecting the Tibetan Buddhist contingent in the capital. During his reign, the first ever xylograph edition of the Tengyur was begun. The start date of the project is unclear, but the end date is given in the

³³ Aleksei Matveevich Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, ed. John R. Krueger and trans. John Roger Shaw and Dale Plank (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University, 1977), 2:187-191; Wang, "Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing," 83-84.

catalogue for the edition as the second year of the Yongzheng emperor, that is, 1724.³⁴ The publication of the Tengyur included two supplements: the collected works of the founder of the Geluk (Dge lugs) school, Tsongkhapa Lobzang Drakpa (Tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa, 1357-1419), and the collected works of Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chömden. It is evident from the imperial preface to the Beijing Tengyur written in 1724 that these two collected works were meant to be a part of the Tengyur publication project and their inclusion was advocated by the emperor. That these two collected works were appended to the Tengyur is representative of the Qing court's bias toward the Geluk school. It also can be seen as an attempt to define the true successor to Tsongkhapa in a court-sponsored religious leader who spent significant time in the imperial capital. A copy of this edition of the Tengyur was sent to the Dalai (TA la'i) and Pañchen (PaN chen) Lamas soon after it was completed. It arrived in central Tibet the next year, at the end of 1725.³⁵

³⁴ The 1724 date is found in the imperial preface and request for the imperial preface in the catalogue to the Beijing Tengyur: *Dkar-chag: Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, Bstan-ḥgyur*, 303.3.3 and 304.1.22. According to the catalogue to the recently published Comparative Tengyur (Bstan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma), the Beijing Tengyur project began in 1724 and was not completed until the seventh reign year of the Qianlong emperor in 1738; see *Bstan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma'i dkar chag chen mo*, in *Bstan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma*, volume 122, part 1 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1994-2007), 26. However, 1724 seems almost certain to be the end date, since the imperial preface containing this date mentions the number of volumes for the Tengyur as well as the collected works of Tsongkhapa and Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chömden which were appended to the Tengyur. Furthermore, the Beijing Tengyur is said to have been sent to the Dalai and Panchen Lamas in central Tibet in 1725, on which see Petech, *China and Tibet*, 104. Perhaps the cataloguers of the Comparative Tengyur are aware of some revisions to the original Yongzheng edition made by the Qianlong emperor in the year 1738. Bruce Hall suggests the possibility that Qianlong revised or reissued both the Kangyur and Tengyur around the year 1737 in his handlist of the Harvard Tibetan Collection: Hall, *Descriptive List of the Tibetan (Tib) Collection*, 3-5, 16. Almost the same information as is found in the Comparative Tengyur catalogue is also given by Dge 'dun, "Dgongs 'grel gyi bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi par gzhi khag la dpyad pa," in *Si khron bod rig pa'i zhib 'jug*, vol. 10, ed. Yangs gling rdo rje, (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003), 70.

³⁵ Petech, *China and Tibet*, 104.

Unfortunately the imperial prefaces and postfaces to the Beijing Tengyur provide very little information on the circumstances of its publication.³⁶ In fact, the Tibetan language catalogue merely reproduces the colophon to the manuscript Tengyur that the Fifth Dalai Lama's regent Sanggyé Gyatso (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653-1705) had prepared from 1687 to 1688 as part of his attempts to keep the death of the Dalai Lama (which had occurred in 1682) a secret.³⁷ This manuscript edition was prepared by consulting collections around Lhasa and identifying new texts that had been translated since Butön had compiled his Tengyur catalogue in the early fourteenth century as well as old translations that previously had not been included. The resulting compilation added hundreds of new texts to the Tengyur.³⁸ The Beijing editors had access at least to the catalogue of the Tengyur that had been prepared by Sanggyé Gyatso. The Beijing Tengyur follows the arrangement of this catalogue closely, and the entire collection was likely based on the 1688 manuscript.³⁹

³⁶ This conclusion is mainly based on my reading of the Tibetan language catalogue. Much of the Chinese language catalogue in the 1958 reprint edition is illegible. From what is legible, it appears to be similar to the Tibetan. The imperial preface to the Tengyur (several folios of which are lacking in the Tibetan section of the reprint) in Chinese does tell us that the Tengyur (called in the preface the 'continuation of the scriptures' [*xu zang jing* 續藏經]) publication filled two hundred and twenty-five cases (*han* 函), while the collected works (collected works being rendered in Chinese as *bai qian fa yu* 百千法語, an interesting and almost literal translation of the Tibetan *gsung 'bum*) of Tsongkhapa took up twenty cases and the collected works of Ngawang Lobzang Chömden filled seven cases. *Dkar-chag: Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, Bstan-ḥgyur*, 303.2.10-22.

³⁷ In the colophon of the catalogue to this Tengyur, Sangyé Gyatso signed it as the Fifth Dalai Lama using one of the Fifth Dalai Lama's noms de plume: *za hor gyi ban rgan gdong drug snyems pa'i lang tshos sbyar*. The colophon is dated to 1688 (*sa 'brug lo*) which of course was after the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1682. The statement of authorship is reproduced in the Beijing catalogue: *Dkar-chag: Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, Bstan-ḥgyur*, 119.1.6-8.

³⁸ *Dkar-chag: Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, Bstan-ḥgyur*, 118.1.1-2.

³⁹ *Bstan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma'i dkar chag chen mo*, 26 and Dge 'dun, "Dgongs 'grel gyi bstan bcos 'gyur," 71. The writers of the *Bstan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma'i dkar chag chen mo* state that an explanation for how Sanggyé Gyatso's 1688 manuscript Tengyur came to be the basis for the Beijing Tengyur is yet a dissederatum.

Throughout the Qianlong reign there was continued support for Tibetan Buddhist publishing. Rolpé Dorjé was charged by the emperor to supervise many new translation and printing projects, often overseeing a diverse staff which included Tibetan Buddhist monks of several ethnicities as well as eunuch-lamas. The projects ranged from the translation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon into Mongolian, and the subsequent creation of an imperial xylograph edition of the Mongolian language Canon, to printing classics such as the *Life and Songs of Milarepa* (*Mi la ras pa'i rnam thar* and *Mgur 'bum*) and the engraving of monastic customaries. The efforts of Rolpé Dorjé in printing and publishing Tibetan and Mongolian language books were the dominant factor, outside of the Canon publications, that the eighteenth century saw exponential growth in printing in these languages in Beijing.⁴⁰

Printing in Tibetan Areas

Just a few decades after the Kangxi emperor sponsored the publication of the Kangyur, three separate Tibetan rulers nearly simultaneously sponsored their own Kangyur printing projects. These took place under the Choné ruler Makzor Gönpö (Dmag zor mgon po, b. 1686), the Degé ruler Tenpa Tsering (Bstan pa tshe ring, 1678-1738), and the central Tibetan ruler Polhané Miwang Sönam Topgyé (Pho lha nas mi dbang bsod nams stobs rgyas, 1689-1747). The publication projects of the first two kingdoms, Choné and Degé, are the subjects of the next two sections.

Choné

The Great Monastery of Choné (Tib. Co ne dgon chen, Chi. Chanding si 禪定寺) sits prominently on a low bluff facing south with a commanding view over the Lu river (Tib. Klu chu,

⁴⁰ Evelyn S. Rawski, "Qing Publishing in Non-Han Languages," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 311-12 and 318.

Chi. Tao he 洮河). Today, you can still walk up to the monastery from the town below on the old stone path that literally carves its way up through the bluff. While this narrow path, once used to haul water up to the monastery from the river below, remains, the monastery itself is only a shadow of its former glory. In the early part of the twentieth century it was almost completely destroyed. Much of the original wall around the monastery is still there, but it is now composed mainly of crumbling mud. Only in the past thirty years have efforts been made to reconstruct the colleges and temples of the monastery. I was told by a monk at Choné that reconstruction began after the Paṅchen Lama visited in 1982 and urged that the historic monastery be rebuilt (at the time the Paṅchen Lama, having just been rehabilitated, was visiting many Tibetan monasteries and encouraging the reconstruction of cultural sites).⁴¹ As we will see in this section, the Paṅchen Lama has been a significant figure for the Choné community for a long time. Much of the recent construction work has been financed by private donations from individuals, attested by lists of donors pasted or hung near the entrance way to each building.

When I visited Choné in the spring of 2011, I inquired from several monks I met about the former printing activities at Choné. Most could tell me nothing except that the printing houses had been destroyed and none of the blocks or prints remained. One monk however, suggested that if I was interested in Choné's printing activities, I should investigate the writings of Joseph Rock and go to see the Choné edition of the Kangyur and Tengyur that he took abroad (the Kangyur and Tengyur Rock acquired are now in the US Library of Congress in Washington, DC). I heard similar suggestions, in fact, from several Tibetans in Choné and other parts of

⁴¹ The importance of the visit by the Tenth Panchen Lama in the recent history of Choné is discussed by Mgon po dbang rgyal, *Co ne'i lo rgyus* [*Co ne sa skyong gi lo rgyus klu chu sngon mo'i gyer dbyangs*] (Lanzhou: kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), 12-23.

Amdo.⁴² A hotel room I stayed in while in Choné was decorated by a photograph of a valley near Choné which I recognized as being one of Rock's photographs. Likewise, many of the Tibetan and Chinese publications I was shown or that I found in libraries and book stores in China featured Rock's photographs. Rock's documentation of Choné just before its destruction seems to be appreciated not just in the United States, but also by locals. However, to understand the full scope of Choné's history and, for our purposes here, the extensive efforts of its leaders to publish the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, we need to examine the rich Tibetan and Chinese historical sources that are available.

Choné (Tib. Co ne, Chi. Zhuoni 卓尼) was once a powerful and thriving kingdom on the Sino-Tibetan frontier in southeast Amdo. Choné is almost exclusively known for the publication of xylograph editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur in the eighteenth century. The Choné Kangyur was the first printed edition of an entire Kangyur produced in an ethnically Tibetan area, and it brought lasting prestige to Choné.⁴³ Its publication placed Choné at the forefront of the eighteenth-century upsurge in the printing of both canonical and non-canonical literature on the Tibetan plateau.

Despite Choné's fame for its canonical publishing efforts, there has been almost no research into the circumstances that allowed a small regional polity to suddenly begin heavily

⁴² The association between the Choné Kangyur and Tengyur and Joseph Rock among Tibetans today may stem from, among other sources, the recent documentary film directed by Yongdrol K. Tsongkha, *In the Steps of Joseph Rock: Exploring A Lost Tibetan Kingdom in the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands* (2008/9), which traces Rock's travels and experiences in eastern Tibet and Choné in particular.

⁴³ The Jang Satam (?Jang sa tham), or Litang (Li thang), xylograph Kangyur was published in the previous century, but this was done by the ruler of Jang Satam (in present-day Yunnan province) who was of the Naxi, not Tibetan, ethnicity. Of course, ethnicity is not a straightforward matter, and there are some Tibetans who have expressed to me their opinion that the people of Choné, or at least the royal family, are/were not Tibetan. Nevertheless, it is clear from several Tibetan-language historical texts about the rulers of Choné that they considered themselves Tibetan (*Bod pa*).

patronizing religious institutions and the creation of religious monuments. In fact, the main source for information about Choné in a European language remains Joseph Rock's article "Life among the Lamas of Choni" which appeared in the November 1928 issue of the *National Geographic Magazine*.⁴⁴ In the more than eight decades since that pioneering piece was published, very little has been written about Choné in European languages. Rock's article, in colorful style, gives an important picture of this monastery in the 1920s, but the information on Choné's history that he presents needs to be revised. The historical sections of his article provide only a rough sketch of the kingdom's history, and there are errors in the information he does offer. It is past time for a fresh look at the history of the Choné kingdom.⁴⁵

In this section, I have made use of several Tibetan sources containing rich information on the history of eighteenth-century Choné. These sources include the catalogue of the Choné Kangyur composed by Choné Lama Drakpa Shedrup (Co ne bla ma grags pa bshad sgrub, 1675-1748); Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's (Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, 1728-1791) catalogue and chronicle of the Choné Tengyur (1773); and Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé's (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, 1801-1866) religious history of Amdo, the *Ocean Annals* (*Deb ther rgya mtsho*,

⁴⁴ Joseph F. Rock, "Life Among the Lamas of Choni," *National Geographic Magazine* 54, no. 5 (November, 1928): 569-619.

⁴⁵ Recently, a couple of American scholars have begun to research the history of Choné, including Elliott Sperling, who delivered a paper at the Amnye Machen Institute in Dharamsala, India, on Ming-era Choné. Additionally, Gray Tuttle has recently contributed a short overview of Choné's history to the Place Dictionary of the Tibetan and Himalayan Library (www.thlib.org). The state of research on Choné is quite different in China, where there have been several recent Tibetan studies published, including a history of Choné by Gönpö Wangyel (Mgon po dbang rgyal) and a monograph on the Great Monastery of Choné by Luosang Danzhu and Popa Ciren. These are: Mgon po dbang rgyal, *Co ne'i lo rgyus*, and Juenai Luosang Danzhu 觉乃·洛桑丹珠 and Bingjiao Popa Ciren 冰角·婆帕次仁, *Anduo gucha Chandring si* 安多古刹禅定寺 (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1995). There is also a history of the kings of Choné in Chinese by Yang Shihong (杨士宏): *Zhuoni Yang tu si zhuan lue* 卓尼杨土司传略 (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1989).

completed in 1865), also known as the *Religious History of Domé* (*Mdo smad chos 'byung*). Other, even earlier sources than these may yet come to light. For instance, the *Ocean Annals* mentions that the mid-eighteenth century See (*gdan sa*) of the Great Monastery of Choné, Rinchen Penjor (Rin chen dpal 'byor), wrote histories of both the monastery and the kingdom. The *Ocean Annals* also indicates that a history of the kings of Choné was written by another eighteenth-century See of the Great Monastery of Choné, Sanggyé Pelzang (Sangs rgyas dpal bzang).⁴⁶ Hopefully these texts will someday come to light and be made available for study.

History of Choné

The Royal Genealogy

Since the history of the royal family of Choné has not been elaborated in a European language, it is worth providing some background on this once important kingdom of northeastern Tibet. The main sources for what follows are those outlined above, the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* by Könchok Jikmé Wangpo and the *Ocean Annals* by Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé. In addition, the Chinese language *Taozhou Subprefecture Gazetteer* (*Taozhou ting zhi* 洮州廳志) provides a basic outline of Choné's royal genealogy.

According to the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue*, the kings of Choné trace their ancestry to the Striped Tiger (*stag ris can*) clan, one of the four main branches of the Ga (*dga'*; “happy”)

⁴⁶ Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:261.4-5: *chos rje rin chen dpal 'byor/ 'dis bsgrigs pa'i dgon chen gyi chos 'byung bla rabs dang bcas pa gsal ba'i nyin byed dbang po/ gzhan yang co ne'i lo rgyus me tog phreng mdzes/*, and 142b: *'di nyid kyi rnam thar dang/ dpon rabs rtogs brjod mkhas pa'i mdzes rgyan ces bya ba mu ne dpon slob sangs rgyas dpal bzang gis mdzad pa yod do/*. In another instance, Drakpa Shedrup, in his catalogue of the Choné Kangyur, seems to suggest that there existed biographical material relating to Nangso Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen, for which see Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags* [*Co ne'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i dkar chags gsal ba'i me long*] (University of Washington: Tibetan microfilm collection, East Asia Library), 5a.4-5a.5: *sras mchog chos rgyal dmag zor mgon po dang /_ko'u shi nang so sku mched gnyis 'khrungs shing /_gcung po nang sos bstan la phan pa'i tshul/_logs su gsal bas 'dir ni brjod mi bya/_/*.

lineage of central Tibet. In particular, the Choné line stems from a minister of the emperor Ralpachen by the name of Ga Yeshé Dargyé (Dga' ye shes dar rgyas) who was sent to Domé (Mdo smad) as a tax collector.⁴⁷ He settled in the Upper Dzögé (Mdzod dge stod) region and his sons became the lords (*dpon*) of the Upper and Lower Dzögé (Mdzod dge stod smad) regions. The eldest son inherited his father's domain and it is from this eldest son that the kings of Choné descend.⁴⁸

The line of Choné lords (sometimes also referred to as kings [*rgyal po*]) proper begins in the early fifteenth century with Chang Ti (Spyang thI). Chang Ti and his brother Ngo Ti (Dngo thI) decided they would leave Dzögé, a land of pastoralists, to search for a place to settle down that had good land for agriculture.⁴⁹ This search led them to Choné. At that time, Choné was under some sort of Chinese control. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo says that, "...They suppressed the Chinese and established themselves in the manner of Tibetan leaders."⁵⁰ The *Taozhou Subprefecture Gazetteer* records that several local clan leaders submitted to Chang Ti in 1404 (the second year of the Yongle emperor).⁵¹ Könchok Jikmé Wangpo goes on to explain that Chang Ti came to be known as the Lord of Choné (*Co ne dpon po*) after the Buddhist teacher (*dge bshes*) who was in charge of Choné Monastery entrusted the institution to Chang Ti who then provided for its upkeep.⁵² Chang Ti is the first to be regarded as holding the title of "Lord of

⁴⁷ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 353.

⁴⁸ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 354.

⁴⁹ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 354-355.

⁵⁰ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 355: ...*rgya'i kha gnon dang / bod kyi mgo 'dzin tshul bzhin du byas pas/*.

⁵¹ Bao Yongchang 包永昌 and Zhang Yandu 張彥篤, *Taozhou ting zhi 洮州廳志* (1907; Reprint, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), *juan* 16, 479a.11-479a.12.

⁵² Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 356.

Choné.” In 1418, Chang Ti had an audience with the Yongle emperor and received from him the title General of Martial Virtue.⁵³

Befitting a leader on the border between Tibet and China, Chang Ti’s name is said to have both Tibetan and Chinese elements. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo parses the syllables and explains that Chang comes from the Tibetan word for clever or smart (*spyang po*) while Ti comes from the respectful Chinese title *taiye* (太爺; in Tibetan transliteration: *thai yes*). Whether or not this etymology accords with the original sources of the name, it does highlight the way this lineage would come to straddle the divide between Tibetan and Chinese culture and politics. Chang Ti probably died around the year 1429 (the fourth year of the Xuande emperor), the year the *Taozhou Subprefecture Gazetteer* records that his son Tsepo (Btsad po) inherited his title.⁵⁴

Nearly one hundred years after Chang Ti had been awarded a title by the Yongle emperor, the fifth Lord of Choné, Wangchuk (Dbang phyug), went to Beijing for an audience with the Zhengde emperor in 1512.⁵⁵ It is at this meeting that the Choné lords were given the Chinese surname Yang (楊). Wangchuk was further given the name Hong (洪), becoming Yang Hong. The next three generations seem to have used Chinese names exclusively, or at least their

⁵³ Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 356.17-18, where the Tibetan, “ug t+rai kyAn kyIng,” is a transliteration of the Chinese title Wude Jiangjun 武德將軍, and Bao and Zhang, *Taozhou ting zhi*, *juan* 16, 479a.13. The name of the title is not given in the *Taozhou ting zhi*.

⁵⁴ Bao and Zhang, *Taozhou ting zhi*, *juan* 16, 479a.13-14. The *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* and the *Deb ther rgya mtsho* both give the date for Tsepo (Btsad po) inheriting rule from his father as the year the Zhengtong emperor took the throne (*spyan ’ding rgyal po rgya nag gi rgyal sar phebs pa’i lor*), 1435/6. Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 357-358 and Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:275.4.

⁵⁵ Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 359. The date is given in both Tibetan years, the water male monkey year (*chu pho spre’u lo*), and Chinese reign date, the third year of emperor Zhengde (*cEng tAI rgyal po khrir ’khod nas lo gsum lon pa*). The third year of Zhengde was 1508. This four or five year mismatch between the Tibetan date and the Chinese reign date occurs several times when recounting events during the Ming era. There is no longer this discrepancy in the dates when the narrative enters the Qing era.

Chinese names are the only ones recorded in the histories (the Tibetan histories record these names phoneticized in Tibetan script). These were Yang Tsin (Tib. Yang tsin, Chi. Yang Zhen 楊臻), Yang Khu (Tib. Yang khu, Chi. Yang Kuiming 楊葵明), and [Yang] Kailung (Tib. KAI lUng, Chi. Yang Guolong 楊國龍).

Wangchuk/Yang Hong is the first Choné lord who is recorded in the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* as patronizing religious activities (apart from the stewardship of Choné Monastery by Chang Ti). We are told that he was given many gifts by the Ming emperor, that he began to amass many goods, including religious scriptures, and that he provided for the performance of religious ceremonies (*zhabs tog bsnyen bkur*). However, he is also described as itinerant, “living in the mountain passes and valleys.”⁵⁶ A fixed residence may only have come with Wangchuk’s son, Yang Tsin, who built a castle (*mkhar rdzong*) in the valley of Choné. Later, Yang Tsin’s grandson, Kailung, constructed a palace (*pho brag*).⁵⁷ From the time of Wangchuk, we see a pattern emerge in which the Choné lords offer military services, usually to the emperors of China. In return they are given rewards which they use, at least in part, in promoting religion within their domain.

At the same time, and particularly beginning with the reign of Yang Khu/Yang Kuiming, the Choné lords began steadily expanding the territory and population within their domain. According to the scholar Druktar (’Brug thar), who has written extensively on the history of Amdo society and politics, Yang Kuiming led an expansion of the Choné domain to include

⁵⁶ Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 359: *la lung du bzhugs*.

⁵⁷ Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 361.

thirteen tribal areas (*yul tsho*). By the late seventeenth century or early eighteenth century, however, their domain had mushroomed to include over five hundred tribes.⁵⁸

The Great Monastery of Choné

The main monastery of Choné, commonly known as the Great Monastery of Choné (Co ne dgon chen) and also known as Ganden Shedrup Ling (Dga' ldan bshad sgrub gling) or Tingdzin Dargyé Ling (Ting 'dzin dar rgyas gling), has a long history. The original monastery was established at least as early as the thirteenth century when a disciple of Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen ('Phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan) is said to have founded a temple at the site in the wood female sheep year (*shing mo lug*, 1295). According to the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue*, the monastery was named “Choné” after the name of a local tree.⁵⁹ In the fifteenth century it was converted to a Gelukpa monastery by Chöjé Rinchen Lhünpowa (Chos rje rin chen lhun po ba),⁶⁰ the son of Choné Leader Chang Ti and brother of Tsepo.⁶¹ From the sixteenth century on, the monastery no doubt benefited from the increasing presence of the Gelukpa school in Amdo, and particularly after the ascension of the Fifth Dalai Lama to power in central Tibet in 1642.

Makzor Gönpö and the Choné Kangyur

During the early eighteenth century, the Great Monastery of Choné saw tremendous growth when the king of Choné, Makzor Gönpö (Dmag zor mgon po, b. 1686), established a

⁵⁸ 'Brug thar, *Mdo smad byang shar gyi bod kyi tsho ba shog pa'i lo rgyus dang rig gnas bcas par dpyad pa* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002), 271. This period is narrated at length in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 361-382. The early eighteenth-century expansion of territory is also reported in Mgon po dbang rgyal, *Co ne'i lo rgyus*, 39. On the term *tsho ba* see Nietupski, *Labrang*, 58, where he states that according to most informants he spoke to “*tsowa* groups had from three to about fifteen separate families/households, both related and unrelated by kinship.”

⁵⁹ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 355.

⁶⁰ Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:243.6-244.1.

⁶¹ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 357.

relationship with the Qing Manchu empire in which he provided military support for Qing interests in Amdo and Kham in return for which the Choné court received a considerable amount of wealth and prestige from the Qing. To begin with, in 1709, twenty-five tribes revolted against the Qing emperor. As Könchok Jikmé Wangpo relates the affair, when imperial troops were unable to subdue the revolt, the emperor recruited Makzor Gönpo to lead an army to help put down the rebellion. Makzor Gönpo rallied three thousand troops, successfully brought the rebellious areas under his control, and returned them to the emperor.⁶² Shortly after this campaign, Makzor Gönpo began inviting prominent lamas to Choné, bestowing gifts upon local monasteries, and constructing temples throughout the region.⁶³ Due to his service to the Qing, Makzor Gönpo was granted an audience with the Kangxi emperor around the year 1716.⁶⁴ He then accompanied the emperor's entourage to the imperial hunting grounds where he is said to have impressed the emperor with his horse riding and other exploits.⁶⁵

Makzor Gönpo was able to be of service to the Qing again in 1718, in the wake of the Oirad Zunghar Mongol invasion of Ü (central Tibet). The Oirad Zunghar, a confederation of western Mongol tribes, entered Ü in 1717 in order to wrest control of the region from the Khoshuut Mongols. The Oirad occupied central Tibet for three years, until Qing and Tibetan troops forced them out in 1720. The Kangxi emperor, probably fearing that Zunghar power could

⁶² Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 384.5-18. This and the events that follow are also related in Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:280.

⁶³ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 385.5-12.

⁶⁴ 1716 is the date given in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 385.12-14, and in Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:245.1-2 (*me sprel* year) and 280.3 (*khang zhi nga lnga pa*). However, Pu Wencheng 蒲文成, ed., *Gan Qing Zangchuan Fojiao siyuan 甘青藏转佛教寺院*, (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1990), 531, dates this event to 1713.

⁶⁵ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 385.15-18.

spread eastward, ordered Makzor Gönpö to lead his army through areas of eastern Tibet to ensure their stability. This mission was again followed by a period of intensive investment in religious institutions and cultural projects in the Choné region.⁶⁶

During this period of interaction between Choné and the Qing, the Great Monastery of Choné was led by Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso (Ngag dbang 'phrin las rgya mtsho, 1688-1738), Makzor Gönpö's younger brother. This was in accordance with the system of political and religious authority that was in place in Choné throughout the eighteenth century in which rule of the kingdom was handed down to the first-born son of the king while a younger son became a monk and abbot of the monastery. This close relationship between the court and the monastery allowed a non-monastic ruler (king or queen) to remain vital, while in other areas, such as Labrang (Bla brang) monastery and central Tibet, power was shifting decisively toward monastic establishments and the reincarnate lamas at their heads. Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso, as abbot of the Great Monastery of Choné, accompanied his older brother Makzor Gönpö during his journey to meet the Kangxi emperor. During that visit, Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso received from the emperor the title "Great National Preceptor."⁶⁷ It was at the emperor's suggestion, or order, that Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso later established two colleges at the Great Monastery of Choné: the Philosophical College (*mtshan nyid grwa tshang*) in 1714 and the Tantric College (*rgyud pa grwa tshang*) in 1729.⁶⁸ During this period the monastery's population expanded significantly. According to

⁶⁶ Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:280.4-281.1.

⁶⁷ Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:245.2, gives this title as *tA ku shri* which is a Tibetan transliteration of the Chinese Da Guoshi (大國師). Similarly, in Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 5a.5, he is titled *ko'u shi*, corresponding to the Chinese Guoshi (國師).

⁶⁸ Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 264.2-4. Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa bla rabs dang bcas pa chos 'byung gsal bar ston pa'i sgron me*, in

Choné Lama Drakpa Shedrup, who served in several important leadership positions at the monastery in the early eighteenth century, the total number of monks reached nearly two thousand five hundred.⁶⁹

Scripture Production

Besides expanding the Great Monastery of Choné and other monasteries, Makzor Gönpö and Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso also became active in sponsoring the collection and production of scriptures. They had the collected works of Tsongkhapa written out in gold on black paper and a Tengyur was brought from central Tibet. They also acquired a Kangyur from the imperial palace.⁷⁰ This last item was the Kangxi emperor's xylograph edition of the Kangyur completed only recently, in the year 1700. Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso made an offering of two thousand *sang* (*srang*, a Tibetan measure of weight for metals) of silver in order to procure the imperial Kangyur and bring it back to Choné, where it was deposited in the newly built Jokhang.⁷¹

The most important scriptural undertaking, however, began in 1721 when Makzor Gönpö initiated a project to have a new edition of the Kangyur engraved on printing blocks at Choné. This was only the second time that the production of a xylograph edition of the Kangyur had been attempted outside of a Chinese capital—the Litang Kangyur preceded it and the Nartang (Snar thang) and Degé (Sde dge) Kangyur projects would not commence until the end of the decade. The Choné court was aware of the previously produced xylograph Kangyurs and these probably served as inspiration for their own project. The Litang Kangyur had been distributed throughout Amdo by the early eighteenth century. In Drakpa Shedrup's catalogue to the Choné

Chone Drakpa Shedrup Rinpoche: Collected Works of a Buddhist Master, vol. 10 (a) (Asian Classics Input Project, n.d.), 14a.4-14b.6.

⁶⁹ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa bla rabs*, 14b.6.

⁷⁰ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 402.1-9 432.3, and Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 245-246.

⁷¹ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 402.1-3.

Kangyur, the Litang Kangyur is the first xylograph Kangyur he mentions in his sketch of the history of Kangyur editions. Immediately after that, he discusses the recently produced Beijing Kangyur, which as we have seen had been acquired for Choné by Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso. The editors of the new Choné Kangyur had at their disposal the Litang (Li thang), or Jang Satam ('Jang sa 'tham), xylograph Kangyur (produced in the early seventeenth century), as well as the imperial xylograph edition completed in 1700 in Beijing. They also made use of a manuscript edition of the Kangyur from Central Tibet (Dbus).⁷²

Organization of Choné Kangyur Work

The catalogues to the Choné Kangyur and Tengyur give us a sense of the staff and laborers who worked on these publications. The *Choné Kangyur Catalogue* lists several figures involved in the Choné Kangyur project divided between three main groups of staff. The first group consisted of the head monastic officials. The three people that are mentioned by name under this heading are listed with their titles or positions. These three are the Manager of Guest Relations (*mgron gnyer*), Kachu Ngawang Namgyel; the Treasurer (*phyag mdzod*), Ngawang Samdrup; and the Master Cook (*gsol dpon*), Ngawang Gyeltsen.⁷³

The second group was “those acting chiefly as the managers of the various work units.”⁷⁴ Under this heading we find the names Lodrö Gyatso (Blo gros rgya mtsho) and Jamyang Topden ('Jam dbyangs stobs ldan). The third grouping consisted of the remaining staff, including “the

⁷² Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 395.7-9.

⁷³ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 44a.2-44a.3: *dgon gyi drung 'khor kun gyi gtso bo ni/_mgron gnyer dka' bcu ngag dbang rnam rgyal dang /_phyag mdzod dge slong ngag dbang bsam 'grub dang /_gsol dpon dge slong ngag dbang rgyal mtshan sogs/_/.*

⁷⁴ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 44a.3: *pan gyi las byed do dam gtsor mdzad pa*. The “*pan*” which begins the sentence could be emmended to “*phan*” which we could translate as: “those acting cheifly as the managers of the beneficial work.”

stock managers, resource collectors, cooks, and so forth.”⁷⁵ No names are given under this last heading. Drakpa Shedrup explains that to list all these workers by name would be an endless task. While this is certainly an exaggeration; nevertheless, the entire staff must have been considerable and the addition of their names would no doubt have lengthened Drakpa Shedrup’s text by many pages.

The positions which Drakpa Shedrup includes here reveal something of the organization of the project, and the importance of organization itself to the project, in which the allocation of resources and their distribution were crucial not only in terms of work materials, but also in terms of providing such a large work force with sustenance over a long period of time. We see in these positions an emphasis on three areas: people or personnel (the Manager of Guest Relations and managers of the various work units), materials (the Treasurer, stock managers, and resource collectors), and food (the Master Cook and staff cooks).

The publication effort must have, over the course of a decade, brought diverse groups of people in relatively large numbers through Choné. We can imagine that the Manager of Guest Relations was busy during this period attending to the needs of high-level religious figures involved in the project, as well as the many scribes, editors, and artisans who came to Choné to work on the project.

The catalogue to the subsequent Tengyur project at Choné, while it does discuss the circumstances of the Kangyur printing, does not provide much more information on the staff of the Kangyur publication. It does give us a window onto the role of the king and the editing of the texts for the Choné Kangyur. For example, we are told that “[Makzor Gönpö] gathered all the scribes and block carvers in his domain...and [they] were given instructions for the carving of

⁷⁵ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne’i bka’ ’gyur dkar chags*, 44a.4: *’gul ’dug ’tshag len ja ma sogs*.

the wood blocks.”⁷⁶ The copy text was produced by “the knowledgeable lord Khen Rinpoché,” though it is unclear to whom this is referring.⁷⁷

Work on the Kangyur lasted a full decade and was complete in 1731. While the historical accounts do not give a date of death for Makzor Gönpö, he probably did not live to see the completion of the project. His first son, Jamyang Norbu (’Jam dbyangs nor bu, 1703-1751), was installed as ruler of Choné in 1724, and it is likely that Makzor Gönpö passed away around the same time.⁷⁸ Whether because of death or illness, Makzor Gönpö did not direct the publication to its completion. This fell to his third son, Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen (Blo bzang bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan, b. 1708). In the *Choné Kangyur Catalogue*, Drakpa Shedrup writes:

In order to fulfill the wishes of his father, and according to [his father’s] instructions, [Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen], mainly through his efforts as director and manager of the publication of the Kangyur, brought [that project] to completion and accomplished the aim of himself and his father.⁷⁹

Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen also led, along with his teachers Kyagé Rinpoché and Topden Gyatso, the consecration of the finished Kangyur printing blocks. The consecration was “based on the mandala of glorious Dorjé Jikjé,” after which they held a large celebratory feast.⁸⁰ Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen’s considerable involvement with the Kangyur publication during his late teens

⁷⁶ Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 395.2-5.

⁷⁷ Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 395.7. Not long after this in the text we find that Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen, a son of Makzor Gönpö, is mentioned and his name is preceded by the title “Khen Rinpoché” (395.17-18); however, particularly at the start of the publication, Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen would have been quite young (around fourteen years old)—probably too young to have taken on such an important position. On the other hand, the *Choné Kangyur Catalogue* informs us that Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen did manage the project in its final stages (Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne’i bka’ ’gyur dkar chags*, 43b.7). Still, it seems like the position of head editor would have been given to a more senior monk.

⁷⁸ Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 407.4-7.

⁷⁹ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne’i bka’ ’gyur dkar chags*, 43b.7.

⁸⁰ Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 395.15-21.

and early twenties no doubt was a factor in his continuing publication activities in Choné and elsewhere later in his life, which we will discuss more below.

Funding the Production of the Choné Kangyur

Könchok Jikmé Wangpo reckons the entire expense of producing the Choné Kangyur at 17,525 sang of silver.⁸¹ To get a sense for the relative expense of the publication, we can compare this figure to the cost of several construction projects from roughly the same time as the Kangyur publication that took place at the Great Monastery of Choné under the abbot Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso. During his tenure, buildings for a new monastic college, a Jokhang (*jo khang*, a temple for a Buddha image), and a Cakrasamvara temple (*bde mchog lha khang*) were constructed within the Great Monastery. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo lists the expenses for these construction projects: one thousand five hundred sang of silver for the monastic college's assembly hall, one thousand sang of silver for the Jokhang, and five hundred sang of silver for the Cakrasamvara temple.⁸²

Compared to the price tag for these three buildings and all their interior furnishings (three thousand sang of silver altogether), the Kangyur publication—at well over five times that amount—was an enormous financial undertaking. This makes it all the more interesting that in the catalogue for the Kangyur composed by Drakpa Shedrup, he emphasizes the fact that the entire publication was paid for by the king, without imposing taxes on anyone, and produced in a

⁸¹ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 396.21-397.2: *de ltar bka' 'gyur par du bzhengs pa'i yon la snga phyir song ba rnams bsdoms na dngul srang khri phrag gcig dang stong phrag bdun lnga brgya dang nyi shu rtsa lnga song zhing /*.

⁸² Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.] 401.17-402.1. We find the same figures in Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:245.5-6: *grwa tshang gsar tshugs la dngul srang stong dang lnga brgya tsam gyis 'du khang bzhengs/ dngul srang stong phrag lhag tsam gyis jo khang dang/ dngul srang lnga brgya lhag tsam gyis bde mchog lha khang yang bskrun/*.

way that was harmonious with the Dharma.⁸³ However, elsewhere in the catalogue Drakpa Shedrup informs us that others did contribute to the project, although the lion's share of the financial burden was taken on by the Choné royal court. Toward the end of the *Choné Kangyur Catalogue*, Drakpa Shedrup lists a number of other donors to the Kangyur project. Most of these were members of the royal family, including the king, Makzor Gönpö, and his wife, Dampa Menjang; their sons: Jamyang Norbu, Lobzang Penjor (Blo bzang dpal 'byor), and Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen; Jamyang Norbu's wives: Khandro Tso (Mkha' 'gro mtsho), Bandé Men (Ban+de sman), U Shipa (U shi pA), and Cou Ti (Co'u ti); Jamyang Norbu's son, Sönam Chömpel (Bsod nams chos 'phel); and Lobzang Penjor's wife Dampa Hu Wa (Dam pa hu wA). The rest of the list seems mainly to consist of local petty leaders and officials or staff within the royal court: "the headman Tolopa, Khamchen Kyap, Nambö Chuk, Dorjé Namdzom, Gyakar Kyap, the steward Benchung, Za Chukao, the secretary Lumbum, and the queen's servant Tsunnyi Yülen."⁸⁴ Overall, eleven members of the royal family are listed as well as nine other figures.

Finally, at the conclusion of the project, Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen requested Choné Lama Drakpa Shedrup to write the catalogue for the publication. Drakpa Shedrup tells us that the request came with gifts and a fine horse.⁸⁵

⁸³ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 5b1-5b2. This interesting statement of publishing ethics will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

⁸⁴ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 43b.8-44a.2: *de ltar sgrub pa'i bstan pa'i sbyin pa dag gtso/_/gong brjod mi dbang yab yum sras lnga dang /_/che ba'i sras po bsod nams chos 'phel dang /_/btsun mo mkha' 'gro mtsho dang ban+de sman/_/u shi pA dang co'u ti la sogs dang /_/bring gi btsun mo dam pa hu wA nyid/_/'go pa tho lo pa dang kham chen skyabs/_/gnam 'bos phyug dang rdo rje rnam 'dzoms dang /_/rgya dkar skyabs dang gnyer ba ban chung dang /_/za chu kao dang drung yig klu 'bum dang /_/btsun mo'i phyag g.yog tshun nyid yud lan sogs/_/.*

⁸⁵ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 44b.6-45a.2.

Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen's Printing Projects

In the decades following the Kangyur publication, Choné published several more collections, most notably Tsongkhapa's collected works, as well as artistic prints.⁸⁶ These activities took place under the direction of Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen (Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, b. 1708), the third son of Makzor Gönpö, who inherited the abbatial throne of the Great Monastery of Choné.

Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen was born in 1708. After taking novice monastic vows from Jamyang Püntsok ('Jam dbyangs phun tshogs) in his early youth (at which time he received the religious name Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen), he studied under a variety of teachers including Trinlé Dargyé ('Phrin las dar rgyas), Sera Pendita (Se ra paN+Di ta), Drakpa Shedrup, and Drakpa Gyatso (Grags pa rgya mtsho). He took full monastic vows from the Instructor of Khyagé Lodrö Gyatso (Khya dge dpon slob Blo gros rgya mtsho) at age twenty, after which he trained under that teacher before embarking on extensive studies under the tutelage of Topden Gyatso (Stobs ldan rgya mtsho).⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Several modern accounts state that there was a tradition of wood block printing at Choné going back to the sixteenth century. Gönpö Wanggyel, in his history of the Choné lords, states that printing began at Choné during the rule of Gönpö Dargyé (alias Yang tsin, Chi. Yang Zhen 楊臻) who ascended the throne in 1538. Printing then continued sporadically through the seventeenth century. Mgon po dbang rgyal, *Co ne'i lo rgyus*, 33. This is also stated in Juenai and Bingjiao, *Anduo gucha Chandng si*, 123. The existence of printing at Choné in the first half of the sixteenth century would be significant for the history of printing in Tibet, particularly eastern Tibet, and is not at all unlikely given that Tibetan-language printing had been taking place in cultural regions surrounding Choné (in China, Mongolia, and Xixia or the Tangut empire) for centuries prior to that time. However, I have not yet seen any pre-twentieth century primary sources that attest to printing at Choné before the eighteenth century, and neither Mgon po dbang rgyal nor Juenai and Bingjiao indicate specific sources for their information on early Choné printing.

⁸⁷ On Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen's (Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan) early years, see Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 420.16-423.20.

Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen continued the royal family's involvement with printing. As we saw above, in his late teens and early twenties he became the nominal director of the Choné Kangyur publication work, probably after the death of his father, Makzor Gönpö, in the mid-1720s. From this early and intensive involvement with printing, he went on to publish other works. Most notable among these publications was the collected works of Tsongkhapa together with a collection of works by Tsongkhapa's main disciples, all together comprising seventeen volumes.⁸⁸ Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen also oversaw the addition of artistic prints, or printed tangkas, to the catalogue of Choné's publications. These included depictions of the lives of the Pañchen Lamas (*paN chen gyi 'khrungs rabs*), the Sixteen Elders or Arhats (*gnas bcu*), and the mandalas of Great Bliss, the Secret Gathering, the Terrifying One, and All Knowing (*bde gsang 'jigs gsum/_kun rig dang bcas pa'i dkyil 'khor*).⁸⁹

In addition to these projects at Choné, there is evidence that Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen was involved in the printing of texts in Beijing as well. The colophon to a 1752 edition of the *Long Life Ritual of the Mighty King Granting the Desire for Immortality* (*Tshe chog 'chi med 'dod 'jo dbang gi rgyal po*) by Pañchen Lama Lobzang Chökyi Gyeltsen (Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1570-1662) reports that while Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen was staying at Tsituzi Temple (Tshi tu zi lha khang), he was requested to perform a recitation of the text. However, he found that the Beijing editions of this text were faulty and therefore made a corrected version which was then prepared on printing blocks. The writer of the colophon was the Manchu noble

⁸⁸ These projects are mentioned by Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 423.20-424.5. Also mentioned are several works by Namkha Gyeltsen of Gomdé (Sgom sde Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan).

⁸⁹ These artistic pieces are listed in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 426.4-6. While the number of Elders in this xylographic portrayal is not clearly stated (the title being contracted) in the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue*, from other references to the Elders in the same text it is clear that the tradition of Sixteen Elders was followed at Choné.

Prince Iletu (Chi. Xian Qinwang 顯親王; Iletu is Manchu for Xian), who states that it was written in the twelfth month of the seventeenth year of the Qianlong emperor, or 1752.⁹⁰

While no mention is made of Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen traveling to Beijing in the biographical sketches contained within either the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* or the *Ocean Annals*, it seems likely that the temple mentioned in this colophon was a part of the Black Temple (Hei si 黑寺) complex in the northern suburbs of Beijing known as the Cidu Temple (Cidu si 慈度寺) and hence the Tibetan transliteration.⁹¹ This temple was in the same complex as the Chahan Lama Temple, where several printing projects were carried out during the Yongzheng reign period. Here we see a Tibetan religious publisher on the move, using the resources of the Qing capital to produce a new xylograph. This type of scenario, in which traveling lamas are able take advantage of the printing capabilities of emerging centers of printing, was made possible both by the increase of wood-block publishing ushered in by the canonical printings as well as military and political ties between eighteenth century polities. The kingdom of Choné typified such networks, as a key player in the frontier political and military strategies of both Beijing and Lhasa. Choné continued to be an important player through the rest of the eighteenth century.

⁹⁰ Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *Tshe chog 'chi med 'dod 'jo dbang gi rgyal po* (Beijing: Cidu si, 1752). A print of this edition is held in the University of Wisconsin Special Collections: Lessing collection, nos. 56a and 56b. The text of the print colophon (45b.4-46a.4) reads: ...*ces tshe chog 'chi med 'dod 'jo dbang gi rgyal po zhes bya ba 'di 'i dpe rnying deng sang pe 'i cing gi spar du mang du yod kyang /_cho ga 'i yan lag mthun mi mthun dang mdor bsdu pa ni mang che ba 'i gnas rnams/_co ne 'i bsam gtan dar rgyas gling gi tA bla ma chung h+phan pying kyo kwa shrI 'jam dbyangs blo bzang bstan pa 'i rgyal mtshan gyis tshi tu zi lha khang la 'dug pa 'i skabs 'don pa mdzad par gdan drangs nas khong la 'dri gtugs bdar sha bcad nas legs par bsgrigs pa 'i bris pa glegs bam mchod bzhin te/_dko[=brkos?] bskyar nas gzhig ste zhus dag par bstun nas lhag phri chad bsnan du bris shing spar du sgrub pa la brten nas rang gzhan zlos klog pa 'i dge bas thub bstan rgyas pa yun ring du gnas shing mar gyur 'gro ba kun gyis mgon po tshe dpag med kyi go 'phang thob par gyur cig/_//khyin lung gnam lo bcu bdun zla ba bcu gnyis pa '[i] tshes brgyad la ho sho 'i i le thu phyin wang yan hwang gis sug bris so//.*

⁹¹ For a short history of this temple see Zhang, et al., *Zangzu wen hua zai Beijing*, 151.

Rinchen Pendzom, Tensung Tsering, and the Choné Tengyur

Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen's older brother, Jamyang Norbu ('Jam dbangs nor bu, 1703-1751), ascended the political throne of Choné in 1725. Only about a year into his reign, he carried on his father's legacy by helping to put down a rebellion against the Qing emperor. For this service, he was rewarded by the emperor with gold, silver, silk, and other precious gifts.⁹²

Jamyang Norbu died in 1751, or very shortly thereafter.⁹³ Our sources are not clear on the political leadership of Choné for the next few years. The heir apparent and only son of Jamyang Norbu, Sönam Chömpel (Bsod nams chos 'phel), probably died soon after succeeding his father.⁹⁴ Sönam Chömpel's son, Tensung Tsering (Bstan srung tshe ring), was still too young to take over leadership. Jamyang Norbu's brothers were also not considered to be in positions to become the next Lord of Choné. Lobzang Penjor (Blo bzang dpal 'byor, b. 1706) had set up his own estate and palace in Pelyül (Dpal yul), while Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen was abbot of the Great Monastery of Choné.⁹⁵ The rulership of Choné instead fell to Jamyang Norbu's wife, Rinchen Pendzom (Rin chen dpal 'dzom) sometime around 1753 or 1754.⁹⁶ There is very little information in our sources on the life of Rinchen Pendzom. The section of the *Choné Tengyur*

⁹² Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 407.4-407.21. See also Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:281-282.

⁹³ Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:282.6.

⁹⁴ He is described as a lord (*dpon*) in the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* (Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 427.7-8) which would indicate he actually attained that position before he died. Bao and Zhang, *Taozhou ting zhi* (*juan* 16, 479b.7-8), says that he died before inheriting [the seal of Choné] (未及承襲而卒), something that often happened several years after the lords of Choné had taken over rule of their territory, as seen in the discrepancy in these dates in the two sources for several figures.

⁹⁵ On Lobzang Penjor (Blo bzang dpal 'byor), see Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], L418.3-420.15. Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen (Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan) is discussed in detail above.

⁹⁶ The *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* does not give specific dates for the time of her rule, but Bao and Zhang, *Taozhou ting zhi*, *juan* 16, 479b.9-479b.10, state that she ruled from the nineteenth through the twenty-fifth year of the Qianlong emperor (c. 1754-1760).

Catalogue devoted to her is mostly a string of canonical quotations. She is described in general terms as being very skilled in worldly affairs, able to command her subjects, and a dedicated Buddhist. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo says that she performed daily and monthly religious practices, including the practice of taking one-day precepts (*bsnyen gnas*) on the three special days of the month.⁹⁷

After the death of Jamyang Norbu, Rinchen Pendzom and her grandson, Tensung Tsering, sponsored the preparation of printing blocks for a new edition of the Tengyur.⁹⁸ Könchok Jikmé Wangpo relates that the Queen and her grandson were requested to carry out the Tengyur project by Sanggyé Pelzang (Sangs rgyas dpal bzang), who was the See (*gdan sa*) of the Great Monastery of Choné beginning from 1737. Sanggyé Pelzang personally instructed the Queen in religious teachings and in return received her patronage.⁹⁹ The work began in 1753 and took two decades to complete.

Organization of Choné Tengyur Work

In the catalogue to the Choné Tengyur, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo gives us a more specific breakdown of the staff of the Tengyur project. In terms of the actual work involved, he divides the labor into eight categories, summarized in the following table.¹⁰⁰

Category of Labor	Number	Named Individuals
printing managers (par gyi do dam pa)	7	Ngawang Dargyé (ngag dbang dar rgyas), Kambum Tsering (ka 'bum tshe ring), Zan Kyin (zan kyin), Tsewang Norbu (tshe dbang nor bu), Dorjé (rdo rje), Tsering

⁹⁷ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 430.9-17.

⁹⁸ Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 282.6-283.4.

⁹⁹ The request is related in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 446.12-17, and his relationship as teacher of Rinchen Pendzom is related at 430.13-17. For the date of his appointment as See (*gdan sa*), see Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 260.6-261.1.

¹⁰⁰ The information in this table comes from Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 447.5-15.

		(tshe ring), and Wang Hen (wang han).
printing text scribes (par yig 'bri mi)	15	led by Lobzang Gyeltsen (blo bzang rgyal mtshan)
deity painter/illustrator (dbu lha 'bri mi)	1	Penjor Gyatso (dpal 'byor rgya mtsho)
editors (zhus dag pa)	10	
block carvers (par brkos pa)	over 300	
wood cutters (shing bzo pa)	not given	
ink workers (snag las pa)	not given	
paper workers (shog las pa) ¹⁰¹	not given	

Of the managers, the first listed, Ngawang Dargyé, is the only one who is clearly a monk. Three are designated as headmen (*mgo ba/pa*): Kambum Tsering, Tsewang Norbu, and Dorjé; and the other three: Zan Kyin, Tsering, and Wang Hen, are designated as stewards (*gnyer pa*). Two of the managers, Zan Kyin and Wang Hen, have names which are likely Chinese in origin but which have been phoneticized in the Tibetan script. The presence of these names points again to the multicultural and borderland setting which the Choné kingdom occupied.

Könchok Jikmé Wangpo does not state the exact wages that each division of labor was paid. Instead, he only refers to their compensation in a general way, assuring us that “the scribes and block carvers were awarded the [tax exempt] status of *darhan*, having no need to perform corvee labor, and were given satisfying wages. Not only that, but each division of labor was also contented with abundant food, drink, and gifts.”¹⁰² The work went on continuously from 1753 until 1772. This was a relatively long period compared to the other Tengyur projects of the eighteenth century.

¹⁰¹ On the term *shog las* and what such work sometimes entails, see Christoph Cüppers, “Some Remarks on *Bka' gyur* Production in 17th-century Tibet,” in *Edition, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, ed. Anne Chayet, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin, and Jean-Luc Achard (München: Indus Verlag, 2010), 116.

¹⁰² Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 447.15-18.

After the Tengyur was completed, a new temple, in Tibetan a “tsuklak khang” (*gtsug lag khang*), was constructed to house the printing blocks. The designation of tsuklak khang, while often used loosely to refer to temples and monastic complexes more generally, is particularly apt in this context, since the meaning of the term specifically indicates that it is a building (*khang*) for housing scriptures (*gtsug lag*).¹⁰³ Once the blocks had been properly deposited in the temple, a tantric consecration ritual was performed, providing a definitive conclusion to the project.

Funding the Production of the Choné Tengyur

For the production of the Choné Tengyur, the catalogue tells us that again all the resources were provided by the court, this time the Queen and the Prince, Rinchen Pendzom and Tensung Tsering, and that they paid better than market value for the materials and labor.¹⁰⁴ Just as in the Kangyur catalogue however, other donors—thirteen in all, not including the royal court—are listed as contributing resources to the project. Whereas the donors to the Kangyur project were largely local leaders or officials at the Choné court, in the case of the Tengyur the donors were almost all religious figures, including prominent religious elites from central Tibet, Amdo, Beijing, and Mongolia. Such a donor list suggests that the stature of Choné had risen since the Kangyur publication and the court was now able attract prestigious donors from other regions.

Donor ¹⁰⁵	Contribution
The honorable precious throne holder Gyeltsen Senggé (khri rin po che rgyal mtshan seng ge'i sku zhabs)	21 wild stallions
Kachen Nomönhan (dka' chen no mon han)	1300 sang of silver

¹⁰³ Zhang Yisun 张怡荪, ed. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo; Zang Han da ci dian 藏汉大辞典* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1998), 2194, defines *gtsug lag* as: “sde snod dam gsung rab” (basket [i.e. a collection of scriptures] or exalted speech [i.e. scriptures]).

¹⁰⁴ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 447.1-4.

¹⁰⁵ The information in this table comes from Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 447.19-448.17.

Yunghwagung [=Yonghegong?] Nomönhan Sharwa Chöjé (yung hwa gung no mon han shar ba chos rje)	150 sang of silver
Lobzang Yönten of Detang (bde thang blo bzang yon tan)	193 sang of silver
Chepa Koyunang incarnation Lobzang Rapten (chas pa ko yu nang sprul pa'i sku blo bzang rab brtan)	100 sang of silver
Gendün Dargyé (dge 'dun dar rgyas)	65 sang of silver
Lobzang Trashi, monk of Yartil (yar mthil dge slong blo bzang bkra shis)	50 sang of silver
Dharma Lord Lobzang Gelek (chos rje blo bzang dge legs)	50 sang of silver
Wachu Lama (wa chu bla ma)	100 sang of silver
Jampa Pelzang of Tsawo (tsha bo byams pa dpal bzang)	50 sang of silver
Toyö Dharma Lord of the left division of Sunyi (?) (su nyid g.yon ru'i tho yod chos rje)	50 sang of silver
Khyomsar Jamyang (khyom gsar 'jam dbyangs)	48 sang and 5 zho of silver
Könchok Jikmé Wangpo (referring to himself in the text with the royal we: kho bo cag)	100 sang of silver
From the treasury of the Holy Protector [of Choné] (sa skyong dam pa'i mdzod nas)	13,937 sang, seven zho, and seven karma of silver
TOTAL	16194.27 sang of silver, 21 stallions

As seen in the table above, the majority of the funding came from the rulers of Choné—Queen Rinchen Pendzom and her grandson Tensung Tsering. Among the other donors, we can relate some background information for a few of them. Gyeltsen Senggé (1678-1756) was the fifty-third Throne Holder of Ganden monastery (*dga' ldan khri pa*), the highest non-reincarnate Gelukpa authority. He traveled to Amdo in 1747 and spent the last decade of his life there. He visited both Labrang Trashi Khyil monastery and Choné, where he was invited by the royal family and gave several teachings and empowerments during his stay.¹⁰⁶ Kachen Nomönhan is described as a propagator of Buddhist teachings in the kingdom of greater Hor (*chen po hor gyi*

¹⁰⁶ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 416.18-417.17. This is also briefly related in Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 282.6. See also the brief biography by Samten Chhosphel, “The Fifty-Third Ganden Tripa, Gyeltsen Sengge,” on *The Treasury of Lives* (January 2011). <http://www.treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Trichen-53-Gyeltsen-Sengge/4492>.

rgyal khams), i.e., Mongolia.¹⁰⁷ Yunghwagung Nomönhan Sharwa Chöjé (Yung hwa gung no mon han shar ba chos rje) is most likely a figure related to the imperial monastery in Beijing, called Yonghegong (雍和宮) in Chinese, that had just been completed in 1744. These donors, then, represent centers of Gelukpa authority across the vast expanse of Geluk influence during the eighteenth century. Furthermore, in the figure of Gyeltsen Senggé, we see how a senior figure in the central Tibetan monastic establishment went about propagating the Geluk school in Amdo.

Just as with the publication of the Kangyur at Choné, at the conclusion of the project a prestigious religious figure was requested to write the catalogue for the publication. This time, Rinchen Pendzom and Tensung Tsering made the request of Könchok Jikmé Wangpo. The request was accompanied by three hundred sang of silver.¹⁰⁸

Degé

Brief History of Degé

Printing activities in Degé, much like Choné, were made possible by the expanding power and wealth of the Degé royal court beginning in the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁰⁹ In his dissertation on Katok (Kah thog) monastery, Jann Ronis describes the rapid rise of the kingdom as follows:

¹⁰⁷ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 447.20-21. I am unclear as to why *chen po* precedes *hor* in this sentence.

¹⁰⁸ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 489.15-490.7.

¹⁰⁹ The early history of the Degé is nicely summarized in Jann Ronis, "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas: Contestation and Synthesis in the Growth of Monasticism at Katok Monastery from the 17th through the 19th Centuries" (PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009), 38-43. Other studies of the history of Degé include Joseph Kolmas, ed., *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge* (Prague: Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1968) and Leonard van der Kuijp, "Two Early Sources for the History of the House of Sde-dge," *The Journal of the Tibet Society* 8 (1988): 1-20.

After a century or more of stasis as small-scale local rulers, in the 1630s and 1640s the estate became the dominant political entity in the region. This was accomplished through a combination of skillful military campaigns against its enemies and the good fortune to receive a large gift of land from an outside power. The founding father of Degé was Great Lama (Lachen) Jampa Puntsok (*bla chen byams pa phun tshogs*).¹¹⁰

Jampa Püntsoḱ and his successors led successful military campaigns against many of their neighbors and also received support, and a gift of territory, from the Mongol leader Guśri Khan, alias Tendzin Chögyel (Bstan 'dzin chos rgyal, 1582-1655), the “outside power” that Ronis mentions. During the same period, the great monastery of Degé, Lhündrup Teng (Lhun grub steng), was founded on the eastern side of the royal compound. Eventually, the Degé Printing House (Sde dge par khang) would come to occupy the western side of the compound, though printing in Degé was established even before the Printing House was built.

The printing projects that took place at Degé are particularly well documented in a series of catalogues, including the *Degé Kangyur Catalogue* (*Sde dge bka' 'gyur dkar chag*) by Situ Paṅchen Chökyi Jungné and the *Degé Tengyur Catalogue* (*Sde dge bstan 'gyur dkar chag*) by Tsültrim Rinchen (Tshul khirms rin chen). In addition to the larger catalogues, the colophons to individual texts printed during the eighteenth-century are another valuable source. These colophons help to fill in the gaps left by the catalogues in the story of Degé’s extensive eighteenth-century printing activities. This is particularly true of the early period of printing at Degé, before the first major publication (that of the Kangyur from 1729 to 1733).

Early Printing at Degé

Xylographic printing at Degé began early in the eighteenth century. The famous nineteenth-century historical work on the Degé royal house, the *Royal Genealogy of Degé* (*Sde dge'i rgyal rabs*) by Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin (Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin, b. 1786), contains a

¹¹⁰ Ronis, “Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas,” 42.

brief mention of one of the first, perhaps the very first, printed work produced in Degé. This passage describes the making of a bilingual xylographic edition of the *Eight-Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom* (*'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa*) with illustrations of the twelve acts of the Buddha. This passage reads:¹¹¹

The abbot of the meditation center, the nephew,
 Carved onto blocks a gift of Dharma offered to this lord—
 A bilingual *pustaka* [i.e., book]¹¹² of the *Eight-Thousand [Verse Perfection of Wisdom]*,
 [Which was] the tutelary deity of the lama patriarchs of Ewam [= Ngor monastery].
 The arrangement of the twelve acts as frontispiece illustrations and
 The proofreading and so forth were unmatched in their execution.
 The consecration, catalogue, and so forth
 Were done by the learned and accomplished Sanggyé Püntsook.
 In this land, inexhaustible gifts of Dharma
 [Such as] the *Word* together with its commentaries,
 [All] proceeded from this first arising of a support [or, dependent arising]
 Which opened hundreds of doors to prosperity and goodness.

In a Chinese translation of this passage, Zhaxia explicitly identifies the patron (the nephew, or *dbon po* in Tibetan, a term Zhaxia seems to omit in his translation and a title usually designating a nephew of a ruler) of this publication as Sanggyé Tenpa (Sangs rgyas bstan pa, Chi. Songji Dengba 松吉登巴), the third abbot of Lhündrup Teng and the tenth king of Degé.¹¹³ This

¹¹¹ Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin, *Sde dge rgyal rabs* [*Dpal sa skyong sde dge chos kyi rgyal po rim byon gyi rnam thar dge legs nor bu 'i phreng ba 'dod dgu rab 'phel*] (Bir, Distt. Kangra, H.P.: D. Tsondu Senghe Yorey Tsang, 1994) [TBRC: W23737], 19b.1-3: *sgrub khang mkhan chen dbon pos e waM pa 'i/_/bla ma gong ma 'i thugs dam brgyad stong pa/_/skad gnyis shan sbyar can gyi pu s+ta ka_/rje 'dir phul bar chos sbyin par brkos pa 'i/_/dbu lhar mdzad pa bcu gnyis bkod pa dang/_/zhus dag la sogs dpyis phyin 'gran bral grub/_/de yi rab gnas dkar chag la sogs pa/_/mkhas grub sangs rgyas phun tshogs gong gis mdzad/_/ljongs 'dir bka' dang dgongs 'grel bcas pa yi/_/chos sbyin mi zad legs tshogs sgo brgya phrag_'byed pa 'i rten 'byung dang po 'di nas 'grigs/_/*. This passage is discussed in Zhaxia 扎呷, ed., *Zang wen «Da zang jing» gai lun 藏文《大藏经》概论* (Xining: Qinghai ren min chu ban she, 2008), 111-112.

¹¹² *skad gnyis shan sbyar can gyi pu s+ta ka_/_*. Both Zhaxia, *Zang wen «Da zang jing» gai lun*, 112, and the *Dege Xian zhi 德格县志*, ed. Sichuan Sheng Dege Xian zhi bian zuan wei yuan hui 四川省德格县志编纂委员会 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1995), 425, describe this as a trilingual publication.

¹¹³ Zhaxia, ed., *Zang wen «Da zang jing» gai lun*, 112.

identification is likely correct, since this passage is located in a section of the *Royal Genealogy of Degé* otherwise concerned with the Degé king Jampa Püntsoḳ (Byams pa phun tshogs), Sanggyé Tenpa's uncle. In addition, as will be discussed immediately below, Sanggyé Tenpa was the patron of a number of the earliest Degé publications.

The other figure mentioned in the passage, Sanggyé Püntsoḳ (Sangs rgyas phun tshogs, 1649-1705), was the twenty-fifth "Great Abbot" (*mkhan chen*) of Ngor (Ngor), one of the three main Sakya monasteries in central Tibet. According to a recent compilation of biographies of teachers in the Sakya path and fruit (*lam 'bras*) tradition, Sanggyé Püntsoḳ was invited to Degé by its ruler in a hare (*yos*) year, probably 1699. He spent the last years of his life in and around Degé and during that time encouraged the royal court of Degé to print scriptures.¹¹⁴ The death of the Sanggyé Püntsoḳ in 1705 means that the publication of the *Eight-Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom* must have come before then.¹¹⁵

Sanggyé Püntsoḳ's sojourn in Kham was indicative of the larger trend in which members of the Sakya, Kagyü (Bka' brgyud), and Nyingma (Rnying ma) schools increasingly shifted their focus to Kham over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This eastward transition was a result of the military successes of Gelukpa (Dge lugs pa) supporters over the patrons of other schools in central Tibet and Amdo, the suppression of non-Geluk schools in much of central Tibet, and the sometimes aggressive policies of the Ganden Podrang (Dga' ldan pho brang)

¹¹⁴ Mu po, ed., *Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar* [*Gsung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar kun 'dus me long*] (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002), 136-141. This source identifies the Degé ruler who made the invitation as "sde dge sa skyong bla ma tshe dbang rdo rje" (139). This biography may be mistaking the nineteenth-century Degé ruler and writer of the *Royal Genealogy of Degé* (*Sde dge'i rgyal rabs*), Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin (Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin), for a late seventeenth-century ruler.

¹¹⁵ *Dege Xian zhi*, 425, dates this publication to 1703, stating that "据记载为康熙四十二年 (1703) 刻制" [according to written records the carving was done in the forty-second year of Kangxi (1703)].

government under the Dalai Lamas and their regents. At the same time, polities favorable to the non-Geluk schools, particularly the Degé kingdom, were on the rise in Kham. In such an atmosphere, it is not surprising that a respected lama from one of the main seats of the Sakya school was drawn to the court of Degé in the last years of his life. A series of abbatial throne holders from Ngor Ewam Chömden (Ngor e wam chos ldan) monastery followed the example of Sanggyé Püntsock and made extended journeys to Degé, including the thirty-first abbot, Trashī Lhündrup (Bkra shis lhun grub, 1672-1739) in the 1730s; the thirty-fourth abbot, Penden Chökyong (Dpal ldan chos skyong, 1702-1760) in the 1750s; and the thirty-eighth abbot, Mingyur Gyeltsen (Mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan, b. 1717), who was active in Degé in the 1760s. The steady stream of lamas from Ngor must certainly have been enticed by the favorable conditions in Degé under the patronage of the royal court. Many of the printing activities at Degé were said to be undertaken at the request of these hierarchs of Ngor.

Sanggyé Tenpa was responsible for the printing of several works in the very early years of the eighteenth century, including a commentary on Tonmi Sambhota's (Thon mi Sam+b+ho ṭa) texts on Tibetan linguistics, the *Excellent Sayings of Sakya* (*Sa skya legs bshad*), and the *Religious History of Ngor* (*Ngor chos 'byung*).¹¹⁶ The dates for Sanggyé Tenpa, however, are not clear. Jann Ronis, in his study of the history of Katok monastery, has established that the period

¹¹⁶ These works are still held by the sDe dge Printing House. The commentary on commentary on Tonmi Sambhota's work will be discussed in more detail in chapter five. The printer's colophon to the *Sa skya legs bshad*, which I transcribed from the sDe dge blocks, reads: *lugs gnyis kyi blang dor gsal bar ston pa legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos 'di nyid srid mthar dar zhing rgyas ba'i ched du sa skyong shing bya lor sde dge lhun grub steng du sde dge bla ma sangs rgyas bstan pas chos sbyin mi zad pa'i rgyun spel ba 'dis bstan pa dang sems can la phan pa'i rgyur gyur cig//*; Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Sa skya legs bshad* (Sde dge: Sde dge par khang, 1705), 26b.3-4. The printer's colophon to the *Ngor chos 'byung* may be found in the Indian reprint of the sDe dge edition; Dkon mchog lhun grub and Sangs rgyas phun tshogs, *A History of Buddhism: Being the Text of Dam pa'i chos kyi byuñ tshul legs par bśad pa bstan pa rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru chen Źes bya ba rtsom 'phro kha skoñ bcas* (New Delhi: Ngawang Topgey, 1973), 457.2-458.2.

of Sanggyé Tenpa's rule extended from the 1660s through the 1680s.¹¹⁷ Tupten Püntso (Thub bstan phun tshogs), in his monograph study of the history of Degé, gives the dates of 1628-1700 for Sanggyé Tenpa and says that he ascended the throne after the death of his elder brother Künga Püntso (Kun dga' phun tshogs).¹¹⁸ This date of death conflicts with the statements in the colophons of the early Degé publications mentioned above, in which we find Sanggyé Tenpa credited with the sponsorship of printing projects in 1704 and 1705. The date of Sanggyé Tenpa's death should be moved forward by at least a half decade from Tupten Püntso's assessment of 1700.¹¹⁹

Degé Kangyur

With the reign of the Degé king Tenpa Tsering (Bstan pa tshe ring, 1678-1738), printing became a major activity within Degé. While he is well-known for his sponsorship of the printed Kangyur beginning in 1729, there is evidence that his printing aspirations began earlier than the official start of that project. The *Sūtra of the Buddhas' Vastness* (*Sangs rgyas phal po che*, or *sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo*) found in the Degé Kangyur preserves an earlier colophon to this text which informs us that it was published by Tenpa Tsering in 1722. The manager (*do dam pa*) of the project was Trashi Wangchuk (Bkra shis

¹¹⁷ Ronis, "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas," 65-66.

¹¹⁸ Thub bstan phun tshogs, *Sde dge lo rgyus* [manuscript copy], 40-41. This manuscript has now been published as *Sde dge'i lo rgyus spyi don zla 'od gсар pa'i me long* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2010), but the published version is currently unavailable to me.

¹¹⁹ Kurtis R. Schaeffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 93, mentions that Sanggyé Tenpa's early publishing efforts led him to establish a full-fledged printing house as part of the monastery in 1721. This would have to push the date of Sanggyé Tenpa's death well into the twentieth century and seems untenable. There may be some confusion here between Sanggyé Tenpa and his successor, Sönam Püntso (Bsod nams phun tshogs), although Sönam Püntso himself is reported to have died in 1714; see Joseph Kolmas, ed., *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge* (Prague: Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1968), 36.

dbang phyug), who was the first West Lama (*nub bla ma*).¹²⁰ The West Lama was, along with the East Lama (*shar bla ma*), the highest monastic position at Lhündrup Teng. The colophon provides a detailed discussion of the uncertainties in the textual history of this sutra and the base texts used in the creation of the new print. These kinds of questions would return later when Situ Pañchen Chökyi Jungné (Si tu paN chen chos kyi 'byung gnas, 1699-1774) and the Great Editor (*zhu chen*) Tsültrim Rinchen (Tshul khirms rin chen, 1697-1774) took on the editing of the entire Kangyur and Tengyur in subsequent years.

We find an early colophon very similar to the one above preserved in the Degé Kangyur appended to the three volume *Perfection of Wisdom in Twenty-Five Thousand Verses* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa*). This colophon states that this text was published together with the above mentioned *Sūtra of the Buddhas' Vastness* in the same year, 1722. Again, Tenpa Tsering is credited with ordering the publication and Trashi Wangchuk wrote the colophon. The work force was composed of two hundred and fifty carvers. The work was carried out at Lhündrup Teng Palace, and more specifically the religious college of Choklé Nampar Gyelwa (Phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i chos kyi grwa). Trashi Wangchuk says that he wrote the colophon at “Dzongsar Palace, east of the place where the printing workshop was set up.”¹²¹ This Dzongsar Palace is most likely either the monastery of Dzongsar itself, which lies in

¹²⁰ See *Sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo*, in *Sde-dge mtshal-par bka'-'gyur* [TBRC W22084] (Delhi: Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1976-79), 38:725.5-6: ...chos rgyal byang chub sems dpa'i mi'i dbang po bstan pa tshe rings kyi zhal snga nas/_dge byed ces ba chu stag lor gsung rab 'di nyid par du bsgrub par mdzad pa'i bskal zhu dag las 'phros te 'di nyid kyi do dam par bkas gnang ba'i zhabs 'bring ba dge slong bkra shis dbang phyug gis gleng pa dz yan+tu//. On Trashi Wangchuk (Bkra shis dbang phyug) and the positions of West and East Lama at the Great Monastery of Degé, see the brief note in David P. Jackson, *A Saint in Seattle: The Life of the Tibetan Mystic Dezhung Rinpoche* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2003), 595 n. 225.

¹²¹ *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa*, in *Sde-dge mtshal-par bka'-'gyur* [TBRC: W22084] (Delhi: Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1976-79),

a valley just east of the capital of Degé, or a palace of the Degé kings in the same area. With these works, Tenpa Tsering early in his reign exhibited a concern for the printing of sūtras, but it would not be until 1729 that he decided to undertake the publication of the entire Kangyur.

One possible reason for the timing of the Kangyur project was the increasing contact between the court of Degé and the Qing dynasty. In the early 1720s, Tenpa Tsering initiated a correspondence with the Qing emperor through the local Sichuan provincial administration in which he offered services, including intelligence and military support, in exchange for the benefits of being granted the official status of local leader (*tusi* 土司). In 1728, Tenpa Tsering was granted a title by the emperor, and the next year the king was able to initiate work on a xylograph Kangyur.¹²² We might speculate that Tenpa Tsering's relationship with the Qing either inspired or offered the financial means to finally publish the entire Kangyur.

When the Kangyur project commenced, Tenpa Tsering chose the Karma Kagyü (kar+ma bka' brgyud) master Situ Pañchen Chökyi Jungné to act as editor. Just a few years before, in 1727, Tenpa Tsering had begun sponsoring the construction of a monastery for Situ Pañchen. The monastery, Pelpung (Dpal spungs), was completed in 1729, and the same year Situ began work on the Kangyur project. The Litang edition of the Kangyur served as the base text for Situ's new edition, but he also consulted other sources, including Sanskrit texts, resulting in an eclectic

28:763. The relevant section of the dedication prayer, including the number of carvers is on page 763.2-3: *phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i chos kyi grwa/_lhun grub steng gi pho brang chen po du/_dge byed chu stag shel dkar dangs pa'i ngos/_spyon zla'i gzhon nu'i bzhin ras 'char ba'i tshe/_rko byed rtser son bcu phrag nyer lnga yis/_legs tshogs rten 'brel phun sum tshogs bas bsgrubs/_*. The colophon itself gives the other details (763.3-4): *sde dge sa skyong mi'i dbang po bstan pa tshe rings kyi zhal snga nas sangs rgyas phal po che dang 'di nyid stabs gcig tu par du bsgrubs pa gnang skabs/_go'i len dge slong bkra shis dbang phyug gis par gyi las gra tshugs pa'i gnas shar kha rdzong gsar pho brang du bris ba dza yan+tu/_*.

¹²² The correspondence between Tenpa Tsering and the Qing court is described in detail in Joseph Scheier-Dolberg, *Treasure House of Tibetan Culture: Canonization, Printing, and Power in the Derge Printing House* (A.M. thesis, Harvard University, 2005), 74-84.

new redaction. Compared to the approximately one thousand five hundred printing-blocks that had been carved prior to 1729, the blocks for the Kangyur amounted to roughly 66,000.¹²³ Not only was the scale of the project unlike previous printing that had taken place at Lhündrup Teng monastery, the quality of the calligraphy and engraving was also of a higher quality.¹²⁴

Situ Pañchen offers a very clear explanation for the improvement of quality in the Kangyur publication. In his catalogue to the Degé Kangyur, toward the beginning of the section recording how the work on the Kangyur was carried out, he tells us that previous to the Kangyur project greater Tibet (*Bod chen*, that is, eastern Tibet) lacked skilled calligraphers. With the commencement of the Kangyur project, many scribes began arriving in Degé and were trained in the calligraphic arts. Situ Pañchen writes that many of them soon became adept and around sixty of the best were organized into a scribal workshop that was established at Lhündrup Teng.¹²⁵ The entire staff of the project, including the scribes, is summarized in the table below.

Degé Kangyur Staff ¹²⁶	
Position	Names or Number
general managers (las spyi'i do dam pa)	Karma Peldrup (karma dpal grub) and Tsering Pel (tshe ring dpal)
scribes (yi ge pa)	over 60
block carvers (par brkos pa)	over 400
editors (zhus dag pa)	around 10
wood cutters/carpenters (shing bzo ba)	not given
paper experts (shog bu mkhan po)	
ink workers (snag las pa)	
paper workers (shog las pa)	

¹²³ Scheier-Dolberg, *Treasure House*, 92; Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book*, 105.

¹²⁴ Scheier-Dolberg, *Treasure House*, 93. I myself witnessed the difference in quality when inspecting blocks at the Degé Printing House.

¹²⁵ Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [*Rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i bzhus byang dkar chag*] (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2008), 416.11-20. This and other passages relating to the training of scribes for the Degé Kangyur are treated in Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book*, 104.

¹²⁶ The information in this table comes from Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [2008 ed.], 416.19-417.10.

The work progressed in stages beginning with the editing of the texts. The edited texts were then written out, resulting in a copy text (*par yig*). The copy text was checked twice by a first group of proofreaders before being twice checked by master editors. This copy text was then handed over to the block carvers for the engraving of the text onto the blocks.¹²⁷ Throughout the entire four or five years of the project, food and beverages were supplied to the staff daily. There were also occasional banquets and feasts.

The one hundred and one volumes of the Degé Kangyur, along with three sections of Ancient Tantras (*rnying rgyud dum gsum*), were finished in 1733 (a water ox, *chu glang*, year). After the entire Kangyur was completed, the printing blocks were consecrated in a ceremony led by the Great Abbot of Ngor, Trashi Lhündrup.¹²⁸ A catalogue detailing the contents and the history of the edition, as well as the history of the Degé royal house, was composed by Situ. The entire cost of the project amounted to 7,622 baskets of fine tea (*bzang ja spob rtse*).¹²⁹

The Degé printing of the Kangyur was a watershed, ushering in a period of intensive wood-block engraving at the printing house. The next two works published at Lhündrup Teng in the same year as the Kangyur was finished, 1733, were published together at the same time and

¹²⁷ Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [2008 ed.], 417.1-4. This information is also discussed by Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book*, 104-105.

¹²⁸ Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [2008 ed.], 417.17-418.3. His name is given (on 417.19) as “mang+ga la,” which I take as a Sanskrit translation of the first part of his Tibetan name.

¹²⁹ Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [2008 ed.], 417.11-15. The measure of tea, the *spob rtse*, used in this passage by Situ Penchen is obscure, at least today. I would agree with Rémi Chaix that the term is equivalent to the *'khor drug* (basket) measure used by Tsültrim Rinchen in his accounting of the expenses for the Degé Tengyur; see Rémi Chaix, “Les aspects économiques de l'édition xylographique à l'imprimerie de sDe dge (I): La réalisation des blocs xylographiques sous le règne de bsTan pa tshe ring (1713/14-1738),” in *Edition, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, ed. Anne Chayet, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin, and Jean-Luc Achard (München: Indus Verlag, 2010), 91. The relative scale of the projects (Kangyur and Tengyur) in relation to their expense in these two units of tea at least seems to make a reasonable correspondence.

were both concerned with medicine: the *Four Tantras* (*Rgyud bzhi*), comprising the fundamental texts of Tibetan medicine, and the *Pith Instructions and Their Application* (*Man ngag lhan thabs*), a compendium of medical knowledge and commentary on the *Pith Instructions Tantra* (*Man ngag rgyud*; one of the *Four Tantras*) written by Desi Sanggyé Gyatso (Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653–1705) in 1691. In these two prints, we see both a strong interest in medical knowledge among the court at Degé and also the influence of the central Tibetan government, the Ganden Podrang, and its publishing efforts. The colophon to the Degé edition of the *Four Tantras* explicitly mentions that it used a print from the Potala (*po Ta la'i par ma*) as the base text for the new edition.¹³⁰ The colophon to this work again shows a concern for the textual history of the work, describing the different editions, their editors and qualities.¹³¹ The colophon also praises Tenpa Tsering for this publication, which sprung from his intention to aid the people of his kingdom in overcoming the sufferings of diseases. Tsültrim Rinchen, in his catalogue to the Degé Tengyur, mentions these two medical works together with the publication of liturgical materials needed for rituals and recitation, altogether making up eleven volumes.¹³²

Collected Works of Sakya

The next large project began the next year, in 1734, and consisted of a fifteen-volume edition of the *Collected Works of Sakya* (*Sa skya bka' 'bum*). Tenpa Tsering was encouraged to

¹³⁰ The colophon is reproduced in G.yu thog yon tan mgon po, *Sde dge rgyud bzhi* (Beijing: mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007), 734-735.

¹³¹ I do not see any name of an author for the colophon in the text of the colophon itself, but the entry for TBRC W2DB4628 mentions that the Degé edition was edited by Tsültrim Rinchen. Perhaps this information is contained in Tsültrim Rinchen's autobiography, or in the introduction to the modern Beijing edition.

¹³² Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 448: *gzhan yang ngor lugs gtso bor bton pa'i chos spyod kyi rigs dang /_sgrub thabs dang /_dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga dang /_mchod pa dang /_gtor ma la sogs pa nye bar mkho ba'i rigs su gtogs pa dang /_gso ba rig pa'i rgyud bzhi dang /_man ngag rgyud kyi lhan thabs sogs/_bsdoms pa glegs bam bcu gcig tsam par du bsgrubs te chos kyi sbyin pa btang ngo //.*

sponsor this project by Trashi Lhündrup, the abbot of the Ngor. Trashi Lhündrup had come to eastern Tibet in 1728 at the invitation of Tenpa Tsering.¹³³

The king appointed Tsültrim Rinchen, a local Sakya scholar of grammar and poetics who was then only in his mid-thirties, to be the chief editor. The project was completed in 1736. Trashi Lhündrup is credited with compiling and writing the catalogue for this publication, but David Jackson has convincingly argued that it was actually ghost written by the younger Tsültrim Rinchen with the senior Trashi Lhündrup's name affixed to the work after it was completed.¹³⁴ According to the *Degé Tengyur Catalogue*, in the first eight years after its completion, the *Collected Works of Sakya* was printed three hundred times.¹³⁵

Staff of the *Collected Works of Sakya* project:¹³⁶

Category of Labor	Number	Named Individuals	Wages (in barley)
Project Manager / Leader (<i>gtso bo</i>)	1	steward Asung (gnyer pa a srung)	n/a
Assistant Managers (<i>mgo 'dzin</i> , or <i>grogs ldan pa</i>)	2	secretary Tsering Pel (drung yig tshe ring 'phel), treasurer Guru Trashi (phyag mdzod gu ru bkra shis)	n/a
Printing Manager (<i>par dpon</i>)	1	Zungkyap (gzungs skyabs)	n/a
Chief Editor (<i>dag byed gtso bo</i>)	1	the monk Tsültrim Rinchen (dge slong tshul khirms rin)	n/a, maybe same as assistant editors

¹³³ Mu po, ed., *Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, 157.

¹³⁴ David P. Jackson, *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III): Sa-skyā Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate* (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1987), 1:236.

¹³⁵ Tshul khirms rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 501: *phyi mo rdzogs pa me mo sbrul gyi lor yongs su grub pa nas brtsams te/_shing byi 'di yan ched du yongs su tshang ba tshar grangs brgya phrag gsum tsam chos kyi sbyin par btang ba*.

¹³⁶ The information in the chart comes from Bkra shis lhun grub and Tshul khirms rin chen, *Sa skyā bka' 'bum dkar chag* [*Dpal ldan sa skyā'i rje btsun gong ma lnga'i gsung rab rin po che'i par gyi sgo 'phar 'byed pa'i dkar chag 'phrul gyi lde'u mig*], in *Sa skyā bka' 'bum* [TBRC W22271], (Dehra Dun: Sakya Center, 1992-1993), 15:941.4-943.6 Most of this information is also found in Jackson, *Entrance Gate for the Wise*, 1:232-235, and Chaix, "Les aspects économiques," 93-98. On the Tibetan measures used, see note 162 below.

		chen)	
Assistant Editors (<i>zhus dag pa</i>)	3	Jinpa Gyatso of Muksang (rmugs sangs pa sbyin pa rgya mtsho), Tendzin Gyeltsen (bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan), and another unnamed person	11 pints ('dong) per person per day
Frontispiece Carver (<i>dbu lha'i brkos pa</i>)			1 bushels (<i>khal</i>), 2 gallon (<i>zho</i>) per image
Scribes (<i>bris pa</i>)	16		high quality: 15 pints ('dong) per page medium quality: 14.5 pints ('dong) per page low quality: 14 pints ('dong) per page
Block Carvers (<i>brkos pa</i>)	150		high quality: 2 bushels (<i>khal</i>), 2 gallon (<i>zho</i>) per page upper medium quality: 2 bushels (<i>khal</i>), 1 gallon (<i>zho</i>), 5 pints ('dong) per page medium quality: 2 bushels (<i>khal</i>), 1 gallon (<i>zho</i>) per page low quality: 2 bushels (<i>khal</i>) per page
Liners (<i>thig 'debs pa</i>)			4 pints ('dong) per day
Paper Workers (<i>shog mkhan</i>)			4 pints ('dong) per day
Wood Cutters (<i>shing gzhog mkhan</i>)			1 gallon (<i>zho</i>) per seven <i>shar</i> of wood

The cost for some of the raw materials is also included. The price of wood was one brick (*bar khag*) of tea per fifteen *shar* of wood, and the total expenses for wood came to 1013 baskets (*'khor drug*) of tea.¹³⁷

Organization of Degé Tengyur Work

In 1737 Tenpa Tsering acceded to the Great Abbot of Ngor Trashi Lhündrup's request to print the Tengyur at Degé. In the catalogue to the publication, Tsültrim Rinchen explains that there was a particular need for the Tengyur in eastern Tibet. He writes that while Tengyurs could be found in many monasteries in Ü and Tsang, “previously in this land of Domé there was no significant tradition of writing out completely all the volumes of the Commentaries.”¹³⁸

Neither Tenpa Tsering nor the Great Abbot would see the project to completion. Tenpa Tsering died the following year while Trashi Lhündrup passed away in 1739. Sponsorship of the compiling, editing, carving, and printing of the Tengyur was taken over by Tenpa Tsering's son Püntsok Tenpa (Phun tshogs bstan pa, 1714-1751), also commonly known as Künga Trinlé Gyatso (Kun dga' phrin las rgya mtsho), who became the next ruler of Degé. For editorial responsibility and management of the Tengyur project, the court turned to Tsültrim Rinchen, who, as we have seen, had just finished serving in the same capacity for the fifteen-volume Degé edition of the *Collected Works of Sakya*. He was quickly earning the title he came to be known by: the Great Editor (*zhu chen*). The new Tengyur edition was ready for printing in 1744.

¹³⁷ I have so far been unable to determine the value of the unit (the *shar*) used here for measuring wood.

¹³⁸ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 547.22-548.1: *mdo smad kyi ljongs 'dir sngon dus dgongs 'grel 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi glegs bam yongs su tshang ba'i 'dri srol che ba zhig ma byung ba*. A similar statement is found in his autobiography; Tshul khrims rin chen, *The Autobiography of Tshul-khrims-rin-chen of Sde-dge and Other Selected Writings* (Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971), 488.1-2.

Tsültrim Rinchen's catalogue to the Degé Tengyur supplies detailed information on the creation of this publication. In particular, part three of chapter six of the *Catalogue* explains how the work was carried out.¹³⁹ This section includes information on the procedures of the work, the staff, and the financial aspects of the project. Coming closely on the heels of the publication of the *Collected Works of Sakya*, the Tengyur project involved some of the same staff, though with important changes and expansions in personnel. At the beginning of the project, the administrative staff was appointed by Tenpa Tsering and his son Künga Trinlé Gyatso. Lhabu Tsering (Lha bu tshe ring), a minister (*blon*) of the court was appointed as project leader (*mgo 'dzin*, or *mgo gnyer*). In this position, Lhabu Tsering was in charge of both overseeing the workers, that they were making sufficient progress and maintaining quality, and managing the finances and raw materials required for the project. Tsültrim Rinchen quotes from Śāntideva's *Entering the Way of the Bodhisattva* (*Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod par 'jug pa*) in order to explain some of the necessary qualities of a project leader:¹⁴⁰

Skillful in motivating others,
Direct and helpful in speaking,
Acting with respect and humility,
And always being a [guiding] lamp for everyone.

In terms of financial administration, Tsültrim Rinchen explains in a characteristically embellished tone that the project manager must be “someone who could independently both open and regulate the many doors of the sky[-like] treasury.... Specifically, he was appointed to carry on his powerful shoulders the great mountainous weight of responsibility for purchasing and

¹³⁹ This section, titled “Ji ltar bsgrubs pa las kyi 'khor lo,” is found at Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 537-602.

¹⁴⁰ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 537.7-9: *gzhan la gzhan bskul 'debs mkhas shing /_ma bcol phan par byed pa'i ngag_/gus pas spyi bor blang bgyis te/_rtag tu kun gyi sgron mer gyur/_/.*

organizing the necessary materials.”¹⁴¹ Tsültrim Rinchen further explains in his catalogue that when Lhabu Tsering was engaged in other affairs or suffering from illness, a representative (*skutshab po*) was appointed to manage the project temporarily in his stead. In a separate, abbreviated account of the Tengyur printing, Tsültrim Rinchen calls these representatives “managers of the workforce” (*las byed rnams kyi mgo ’dzin pa*) and does not mention Lhabu Tsering.¹⁴² This could indicate that Lhabu Tsering’s position was largely honorary, while the day to day management was in fact handled by the representatives/managers. Three such managers were appointed over the course of the project: Guru Trashi (Gu ru bkra shis), a minister and treasurer (*blon chen phyag mdzod*) who had been one of the managers of the *Collected Works of Sakya* publication; the steward (*gnyer pa*) Adö (A zlos); and the monk (*dge slong*) Tsültrim Rapten (Tshul khirms rab brtan).¹⁴³ Under the project manager were a number of assistants (*grogs ldan pa*). These included the printing managers (*par dpon*), of which four were monks: Rinchen Trashi (Rin chen bkra shis); Lodrö Tenpa (Blo gros brtan pa); Penden Gyeltsen (Dpal ldan rgyal mtshan); and Ngawang Rinchen (Ngag dbang rin chen). The head printing manager was Zungkyap (Gzung skyabs). Zungkyap had served in the same capacity on the *Collected Works of Sakya* publication and was specifically charged with assessing the quality of the block carving.¹⁴⁴ The chief editor was none other than Tsültrim Rinchen, who styles himself as “I, the

¹⁴¹ Tshul khirms rin chen, *Sde dge ’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 537: *nam mkha ’ mdzod kyi sgo mang po ’byed pa dang bsdams pa gnyis ka la gzhan dring mi ’jog.... bye brag tu dngos rdzas kyi gtong sgo dang tshag bsdu thams cad kyi las ’gan ri bo ’i ljid chen po snying stobs kyi phrag par ’degs pa*.

¹⁴² Tshul khirms rin chen, “Sde dge bstan ’gyur gyi phyi mo yongs su rdzogs par grub pa ’i bsngo ba smon lam gyi tshigs su bcad pa gzhi lam ’bras bu ’i dge legs yid bcugs mdza’ bo ’gugs pa ’i rgyang glu,” in *Bstan ’gyur (Sde dge)* [TBRC W23703], vol. 207 (*nyo*) (Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Choedhey, Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1982-1985), 720.4.

¹⁴³ Tshul khirms rin chen, *Sde dge ’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 537-538.

¹⁴⁴ Tshul khirms rin chen, *Sde dge ’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 538.

boy from Den” (*ldan phrug bdag*).¹⁴⁵ Tsültrim Rinchen describes all the positions mentioned above as being appointments made by the king who issued a decree together with the Great Abbot Trashi Lhündrup which set forth the preparations allowing the work to begin.¹⁴⁶

Under the direction of these managers and their assistants, the rest of the staff came together and was composed of several classes of workers, including editors, scribes, artists, illustration carvers, block carvers, and paper and wood workers. The main assistants to Tsültrim Rinchen on the editorial staff came largely from monastic establishments in or very near the Degé region, including Muksang (Rmugs sangs), Polu Labrang (Spo lu bla brang), Chakra (Lcags ra), and Dzomtök (’Dzom thog).¹⁴⁷ Tsültrim Rinchen also notes that many scribes and other artisans came from outside of Degé, travelling long distances to work on the project.¹⁴⁸ Of those who came, some were brought into the ranks of editors and scribes, but most were put to work carving the blocks. He also mentions that there were scribes who brought their own tools of the trade with them, which suggests that word had spread that Degé was hiring scribes and it might have been expected that these skilled workers arrive with their own writing equipment.¹⁴⁹ This might also help to explain why, unlike at Choné, ink workers are not mentioned among the staff of the Degé Tengyur.

¹⁴⁵ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 538.

¹⁴⁶ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 539.12-16.

¹⁴⁷ Muksang Gön (Rmugs sangs dgon) is in present-day Jomda (’Jo mda’) county in the Chamdo (Cham mdo) region; see TBRC G2177. Polu (spo lu) is in the same area as Muksang (personal communication with Tupten Phuntsok). Chakra Gön (Lcags ra dgon) is in present-day Degé county, see TBRC G1654. Dzomtök (’Dzom thog) is just over the river from Degé in the TAR (personal communication with Tupten Phuntsok).

¹⁴⁸ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 554.17-19.

¹⁴⁹ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 555.3-7. A similar statement is made by Situ Chökyi Jungné in the *Degé Kangyur Catalogue*, for a translation of which see Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book*, 104.

Tsültrim Rinchen provides a general idea of the work flow of the project. First of all, the text that was to be printed had to be established. For this, Tsültrim Rinchen, aided by four other editors, read through several editions of the canonical texts and created a new copy, or, as it is called by Tsültrim Rinchen, the child text (*bu yig*).¹⁵⁰ The resulting ‘child text’ was then proofread by a second group of editors.¹⁵¹ The text was then ready to be written out by the scribes, who would render it into the form that was to be followed by the carvers.¹⁵² This was called the printing text (*par yig*), which was basically what in European or American book production is called the copy text. This copy text was then proofread once before carving the text on the blocks finally commenced.¹⁵³

Once a copy text was ready, pages were distributed to the nearly five hundred block carvers who would carve the calligraphy of the copy text into wood blocks. The process of carving is not explained by Tsültrim Rinchen, but is generally done by pasting the copy text onto the block with the calligraphy down. The paper is then wet or peeled off in such a way so that the letters show clearly as a reverse image of the text on the block, thus serving as a guide to the

¹⁵⁰ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 553.8-10. The four assistants were: the lama of Muksang (Rmugs sangs kyi bla ma), Jinpa Gyatso (Sbyin pa rgya mtsho); the secretary of Polu Labrang (Spo lu bla brang gi drung yig), Lodrö Gyeltsen (Blo gros rgyal mtshan); the secretary of Chakra (Lcags ra'i drung yig), Tendzin Lhündrup (Bstan 'dzin lhun grub); and the monk from Dzomtök ('Dzom thog gi dge slong), Sönam Lodrö (Bsod nams blo gros).

¹⁵¹ Tsültrim Rinchen gives the names of three of these secondary editors: the monk from Muksang (Rmugs sangs kyi dge slong), Orgyen Rapga (O rgyan rab dga'); Sherap Tendzin (Shes rab bstan 'dzin) (also from Muksang?); and the monk from Dzomtök ('Dzom thok gi dge slong), Pelzang (Dpal bzang). See Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 553.10-11.

¹⁵² This was done through a process which involved laying the copy text face down on the block and pasting it to the block in such a way that the lettering could be read in mirror image on the face of the block as a guide to the carvers.

¹⁵³ Tsültrim Rinchen names only one of the copy text proofreaders, a certain Kutsé Pema (Sku tshe'i padma), in the *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 553.11. For a more detailed study of the editorial methods employed by Tsültrim Rinchen, and his counterpart on the Degé Kangyur project Situ Panchen Chökyi Jungné (si tu paN chen chos kyi 'byung gnas), see Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book*, 94-103.

carvers. One final piece that remained was the adding of illustrations. Blank squares were left on the right and left side of certain folios within the volumes to be filled with illustrations. Most first folios of the volumes received illustrations in addition to some other folios, usually title pages for certain individual texts within a volume. The illustrated areas are called the head [deity] dwellings (*dbu khang*), which may be translated as frontispieces,¹⁵⁴ while the deity illustrations themselves are called the ‘head deities’ (*dbu lha*). Interestingly, the artist who drew the illustrations was a Bönpo of the Yungdrung (G.yung drung) school by the name of Apel (A ’phel). His drawings were carved into the spaces by a particular group of three illustration carvers. There were also two additional carvers who specialized in carving the decorative Lañsa and Warty scripts used on some title pages.¹⁵⁵

The work of writing out the scriptures by the scribes, like much of the work involved in printing in Tibet, was a seasonal activity carried out during the three summer months (the main reason for this being that the ink was susceptible to freezing in the winter). During the first summer season, fifteen scribes were chosen from a larger group by the head scribe, Tenpa Gyeltsen (Bstan pa rgyal mtshan), to begin copying out texts. By the second season, the number of scribes working on the project grew to eighty. This swelling of the ranks is possibly the result

¹⁵⁴ Both of these terms, frontispiece and *dbu khang*, have architectural meanings in addition to their use in book terminology. However, despite this similarities the connotations of the terms in each situation do not entirely overlap. The Tibetan term can refer, to the best of my knowledge, to areas of illustration throughout a text, while frontispiece is specific to the illustration on or facing the title page (or, rarely, the beginnings of a book’s sections). Cüppers, “Some Remarks on *Bka’ ’gyur* Production,” 119, mentions the use of the term *dbu khang* to refer to the raised border surrounding the deity illustrations and the text on the first pages of luxurious Tibetan manuscripts.

¹⁵⁵ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 564.9-11. The main artist, Apel (A ’phel), was likely also one of the main artists commissioned to paint the murals of the temple which was built to house the printing blocks for the Canon. See Cynthia Col, “Picturing the Canon: The Murals, Sculpture and Architecture of the Derge Parkhang” (Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 2009), 427 and 428, where an Apel of Meshö (smad shod a ’phel) is listed as one of the two main artists for the murals.

of scribes arriving from further away as well as more scribes achieving the necessary level of training, including mastering the particular style of calligraphy used for Degé publications.

The order in which the editorial and scribal work progressed was somewhat counterintuitive. Tsültrim Rinchen had chosen to arrange the Degé Tengyur from ‘high to low’ (*mchog dman gis rim pa*), that is, beginning with the tantras and ending with the outer sciences. Despite that, work on the Degé Tengyur began with texts of the philosophical vehicle (*mtshan nyid theg pa*, i.e., the non-tantric Buddhist material). Tsültrim Rinchen explains that it is perfectly acceptable to order the Tengyur from highest to lowest, and they could have likewise ordered the workflow. However, in order to minimize hindrances to the project, they did not begin with the tantras in deference to the protector deities who might otherwise have become enraged if they had begun with the tantras.¹⁵⁶

By the end of the season of 1740, the ‘team of scribes’ (*yi ger ’dri ba’i gra*) had finished work on the sections of the Tengyur relating to the philosophical vehicle and the sciences (*rigs pa’i gnas*) comprising one hundred and twenty-eight volumes.¹⁵⁷ Work on the tantra commentaries was nearly completed by autumn of 1742. The next summer, twenty-five scribes worked for two and a half months and were able to complete the copying out of the tantra commentaries. At the same time, many of the commentaries on the sciences that had already been copied were carved onto blocks and printed. As blocks were finished, they were proofread a final time. Thus the text was checked altogether four times and thereby, as Tsültrim Rinchen writes, “making them trustworthy.”¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 539.15-20.

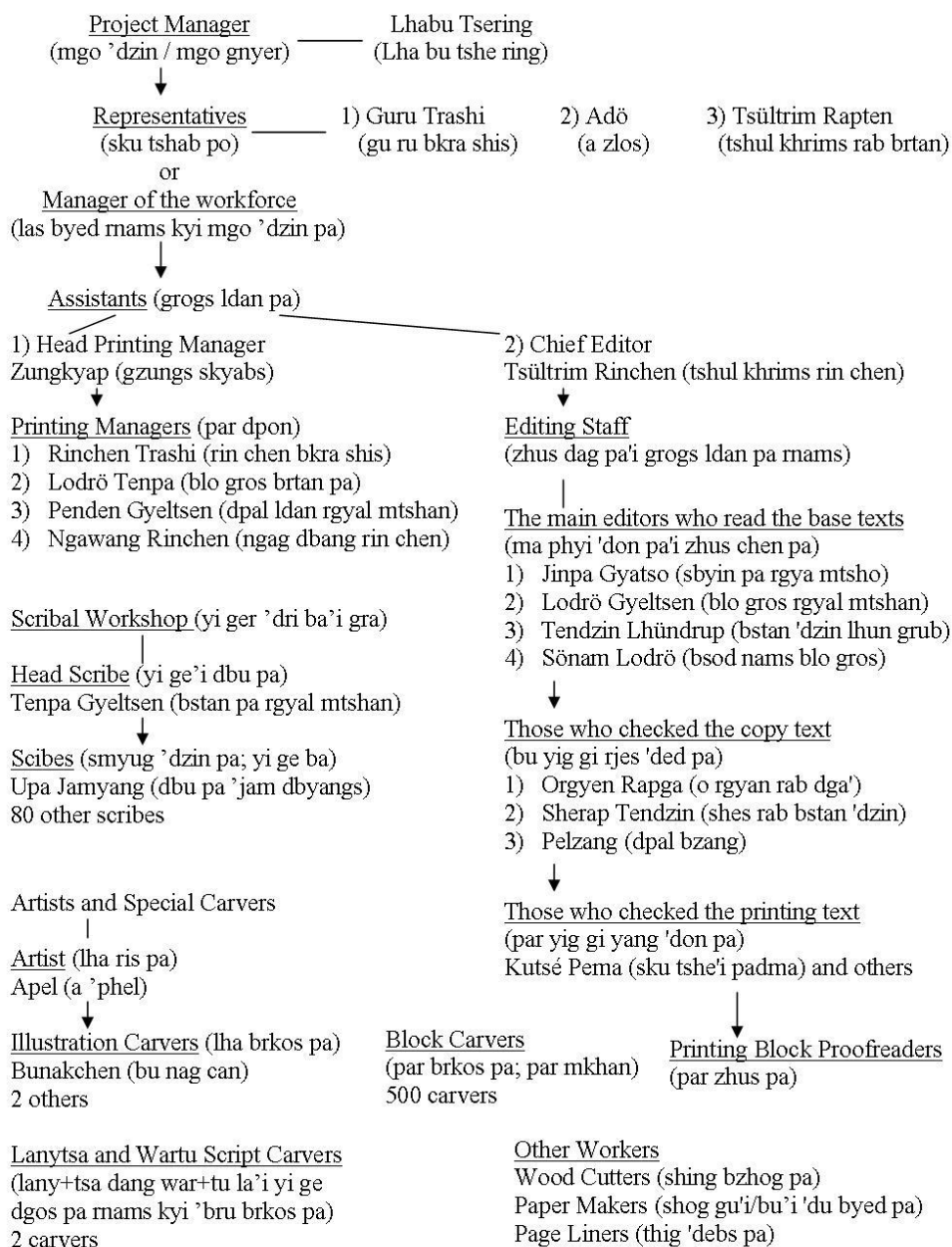
¹⁵⁷ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 556.2-12 and 563.3-5.

¹⁵⁸ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 564.12-13: *mdor na snga phyir zhus dag lan bzhi tsam gyis yid rton du btub par bgyis so/*.

In this way, work progressed until all the blocks were completed in 1744. At the same time, there was a substantial renovation and expansion of the printing house to allow it to hold the new Tengyur blocks in addition to the previously produced Kangyur blocks. This construction work took two years and employed about five hundred workers, though at times the number involved rose to one thousand. After the structure was completed, nearly eighty artisans worked for another year to add murals and other decorative pieces to the building.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ Cynthia Col, "Picturing the Canon," 390 and 492-493.

Degé Tengyur Publication Staff



Funding the Production of the Degé Tengyur

Of any of the eighteenth century cataloguers of Kangyur or Tengyur publications, Tsültrim Rinchen provides us with the most detailed information on wages and other expenses, detailing the wages for each type of work involved in the Degé Tengyur publication, as well as the expenses for raw materials such as wood blocks, paper, and food and beverages for the workers. Tsültrim Rinchen's figures for these expenditures are presented in the three charts below.

Degé Tengyur Wages¹⁶⁰				
Position		Rate	Wage in barley	TOTAL in bushels (<i>khal</i>) of barley
editors (<i>zhus dag pa</i>)	chief editors (<i>zhus dpon... bris pa rab gcig</i>)	daily	22 pints (' <i>dong</i>)	6,960
	assistant editors (<i>de 'og</i>)	daily	14 pints (' <i>dong</i>)	
	other editors (<i>zhus dag pa gzhan</i>)	daily	13 pints (' <i>dong</i>)	
deity painter/illustrator (<i>lha ris pa</i>)		every 2 deities	25 pints (' <i>dong</i>)	135
deity/illustration carvers (<i>lha brkos pa</i>)		every 2 deities	3 bushels (<i>khal</i>)	640
scribes (<i>yi ge ba</i>)	extremely good (<i>yang rab</i>)	per 1 page (leaf)	22 pints (' <i>dong</i>) [this is the average for the 3 levels]	34,241
	good (<i>rab</i>)			
	decent (' <i>bring</i>)			

¹⁶⁰ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 577.22-578.14. The Tibetan units of dry measure of volume used here are '*dong*, *bre*, and *khal*. These measures were not standard across the Tibetan plateau and so there was considerable variation in their use from place to place. However, Tupten Puntsok (Thub bstan phun tshogs), professor of Tibetology at Southwest Nationalities University in Chengdu and a native of the Degé region has informed me (personal communication, Oct. 2010) that in contemporary Degé the equivalences are as follows: 1 *khal* = 4 *zho*; 1 *zho* = 5 *bre*; 1 *bre* = 2 '*dong*. Note that there was a *zho* used for dry measure of volume as well as a *zho* used for weight. Tupten Puntsok explained to me that the '*dong* is a volume roughly equal to a Tibetan tea bowl. Charts presenting the breakdown of wages and expenses for the Degé Tengyur based on Tsültrim Rinchen's catalogue may also be found in Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book*, 159-60, and Chaix, "Les aspects économiques," 97-98.

carvers (<i>par brkos pa</i>)	good (<i>rab</i>)	per 1 page (leaf)	3 bushels (<i>khal</i>) and 1 gallon (<i>zho</i>) [this is the average for the 3 levels]	202,335
	upper-level decent (<i>'bring stod</i>)			
	decent (<i>'bring</i>)			
printing block proofreaders (<i>par zhus pa</i>)		daily	13 pints (<i>'dong</i>)	2,600
page liner (<i>thig 'debs pa</i>)		daily	10 pints (<i>'dong</i>)	500
paper makers (<i>shog gu'i 'du byed pa</i>)		daily	10 pints (<i>'dong</i>)	2,720
wood cutters (<i>shing bzhog pa</i>)		every 140 blocks of wood made	5 bushels (<i>khal</i>)	2,223
TOTAL expenses for wages				252,354

Degé Tengyur: Other Expenses and Totals ¹⁶¹			
Item	Rate	Cost	TOTAL
paper (<i>shog bu</i>)	per 40 sheets (<i>kha</i>)	1 brick (<i>bar khag</i>) of tea	3,123 bushels (<i>khal</i>) of barley
wood blocks (<i>shing ldeb</i>)	per 16 blocks	1 brick (<i>bar khag</i>) of tea	19,455 bushels (<i>khal</i>) of barley
food and beverages (<i>bza' btung</i>)			168,400 bushels (<i>khal</i>) of barley
Wages, wood, and paper (<i>las byed pa rmams kyi yon 'bul dang /_shing dang shog gu'i rin du song ba</i>) [this does not include religious rituals or food and drink]			274,932 bushels (<i>khal</i>) of barley

¹⁶¹ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 578.14-22. Several of these expenses are given in measures of tea. The units used are the tea brick (*bar khag*) and the tea basket (*ja 'khor drug*). The spelling *bar khag* seems to be one of the lesser known of the many variant forms of this term. Other variations include *ja bag*, *sbag khag*, and *bag khag* (see Zhang, ed., *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, 870, 1805, and 2013). The tea brick is a cube made of wet tea bound tightly together. Bricks of tea were put together into tea baskets (*ja 'khor drug*) woven from bamboo for transport (these can still be seen in some Tibetan areas today). Tupten Puntsok informs me that generally in Kham (Khams), there are four bricks (*bar khag*) of tea to one basket of tea (*ja 'khor drug*). In central Tibet, there were large and small tea bricks. The large tea bricks were again four bricks to one basket. However, the small bricks were sixteen bricks to one basket.

Same as above measured in tea			13,746 baskets of tea (<i>ja 'khor drug</i>), 2 bricks (<i>bar khag</i>) of tea, and a remaining piece [of a brick] (<i>sdum gcig gi lhag ma</i>)
GRAND TOTAL for all expenses, including wages, wood, paper, food and beverages			443,332 bushels (<i>khal</i>) of barley

Printing House Expenses ¹⁶²		
	measured in tea	measured in barley
printing house construction and decoration expenses	about 3,600 baskets of tea (<i>ja 'khor drug</i>)	about 72,000 bushels (<i>khal</i>)

It is interesting to note what Tsültrim Rinchen does not mention in his discussion of expenses. For instance, the administrative staff—the project managers (*mgo 'dzin pa*) and their assistants (*grogs ldan pa*), including all the printing managers (*par dpon*)—are not discussed in the section of the catalogue on wages. One possible reason for this omission is that the administrative staff was composed of people already employed by the royal court. These members of the royal staff, then, would just receive their normal wage or allowance from the court which would not be counted among the expenditures specifically for the publication of the Tengyur. Such a situation would also suggest that the chief editor(s) (*zhus dpon*) listed in the wages tabulation correspond not to Tsültrim Rinchen, who is listed among the administrative

¹⁶² Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 578.22-579.2. Tsültrim Rinchen only gives the expenses for the printing house as measured in baskets of tea (*ja 'khor drug*). The figure for the expenses as measured in bushels (*khal*) of barley was arrived at by comparing the figures given just above (as represented in the previous table) for the total expense for wages, wood, and paper combined, which Tsültrim Rinchen gives in terms of both bushels of barley and baskets of tea. Based on those figures, the exchange rate between the two comes to about 20 baskets of tea per bushel of barley ($274,932 \div 13,746.5 = 20.00014549157967$).

staff, but to the ‘main editors who read the base texts’ (*ma phyi ’don pa’i zhus chen pa*). The next two levels of editorial wages would then correspond to the two groups of editors who followed in the work flow: those who proofread the copy text (*bu yig*) and those who proofread the printing text (*par yig*).

Another group that is not mentioned is the cooking staff who provided at least tea and perhaps other food and beverages as well. The *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* lists cooks among those who were part of the project, but in the *Degé Tengyur Catalogue* Tsültrim Rinchen does not include these in his discussion of the staff and gives no indication of how such kitchen staff may have been compensated. Possibly he included their remuneration, without specifically indicating it, within the expenses for food and beverages (*bza’ btung*). This is not a minor omission given the amount of tea and food we might expect to have been consumed. Tsültrim Rinchen provides more information in this regard in his catalogue detailing the construction and decoration of the printing house. In that work, he lists cooks as part of the workforce and writes that each day those working on the printing house received thirteen servings of tea and soup, as well as half a pint of barley.¹⁶³

After the Tengyur was completed, Tsültrim Rinchen was ordered by the king to compose a catalogue to the new edition. In Tsültrim Rinchen’s autobiography, he tells us that the king took a very personal interest in the writing of the catalogue, stipulating what the contents should be, in what order, and looking over Tsültrim Rinchen’s work with him before the catalogue was engraved on printing blocks.¹⁶⁴ The royal patrons of the Degé Kangyur and Tengyur were invested in these projects—financially, administratively, religiously, and intellectually. They collaborated with the abbots of Ngor monastery, their own court chaplains, and other religious

¹⁶³ Cynthia Col, “Picturing the Canon,” 493-494.

¹⁶⁴ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Autobiography*, 507.3-509.3.

figures to bring out new editions of Buddhist scriptures which would be ‘inexhaustible gifts of Dharma.’ The emphasis on maintaining and giving scriptures by Buddhist monarchs will be the focus of the next chapter, but first let us close with some final thoughts on the production of xylograph canons in the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

All the polities we have explored in this chapter were kingdoms and empires on an upward trajectory. Through the seventeenth century they had increased their domains, wealth, and spheres of influence. The Qing took control of China from the Ming and thereafter expanded into Inner Asia and the border regions of the southwest. Choné and Degé increased the populations under their control to become major regional powers and were drawn into the sphere of influence of the Qing in ways that were often beneficial to both parties. Having established such positions of power and increasing wealth, the rulers of these areas turned to religious projects, and in particular the printing of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. Much as Aśoka was said to have done in India, where he established control over most of the subcontinent through a series of brutal wars before promoting religion throughout his empire. But whereas Aśoka is known (at least in Buddhist sources, including the catalogues of eighteenth-century Canons) for sponsoring the third council of Buddhist monastics during which the Buddhist scriptures were recited and their contents affirmed, eighteenth-century rulers maintained the Buddhist scriptures through printing. In the next chapter we will explore the social implications of eighteenth-century rulers as Buddhist wheel-turning monarchs in the mold of Aśoka.

Chapter 4: The Purposes of a Canon

In this chapter, we will focus on the social and ritual dimensions of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. In the first part, I explore the purposes and impacts of printing a canon for the rulers and patrons who funded these expensive and time-consuming projects. I contemplate how the presence of wood-block editions of the Canon and the dissemination of printed copies centered these kingdoms, using both the Buddhist conception of a “central land” (*yul dbus*) and Geertz’s theory of the link between charisma and centrality. This charisma and centrality was reinforced and given added significance by a range of ritual activity which took place around the production of the wood block Canons. Later in the chapter, I examine how rulers used their newly printed Canons as items of prestige which they gave as gifts to other elite political and religious figures and institutions. These acts are described by monastic scholars as examples of the Buddhist ideal of the “perfection of giving” which created incredible amounts of religious merit. Moreover, the “inexhaustible gift of Dharma” represented by the wood-block Canon was considered the work of an ideal Buddhist ruler, a bodhisattva and universal monarch (*'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po*, Skt. *cakravartin*).

Centrality: Making a Canon

The catalogues of the eighteenth century editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur go to great lengths to emphasize that nearly all the funding for these publications came from the treasuries of the particular king, queen, or emperor who acted as sponsor of the project. These rulers were also credited with ordering that the publication be carried out, often after being requested to take up the project by a cleric who received patronage from the ruler. In many cases they issued decrees about how the work was to proceed and some are said to have been directly involved in

the selection of the staff. In short, the funding and the organization are depicted as radiating down from the monarch.

At the same time, people and resources were drawn into the project from near and far. Editors, scribes, artisans, and common laborers gathered from around the region, and sometimes across regions, to work on the projects. Particularly in the case of the Choné Tengyur, donations supplementing the rulers' core financial contribution came from religious elites from central Tibet, Amdo, Mongolia, and Beijing.

Just as the catalogues to the various editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur in the eighteenth century highlight the ruler as the culmination of a long lineage of Buddhist masters and protectors going back to the Buddha, the catalogues also place the ruler at the nexus of the financial and organizational networks of the publication. This central role in the project is further elevated by associating it with the role of the bodhisattva ruler, the wheel-turning universal monarch. Such a ruler sits at the center of their domain, often likened to Mount Meru, the mountain at the center of the world in Buddhist cosmology, protecting the Buddhist community and spreading the teachings of the Buddha.¹

Centers and Kings

Tibetan rulers' patronage of the production and maintenance of religious scriptures is part of what is often seen as a long tradition of Buddhist rulers who undertake similar tasks. The archetype for this role is the Indian king Aśoka. Aśoka was a powerful king who controlled

¹ The association of canon publication with political rule was not limited to eighteenth-century Tibet. Stanley Tambiah's classic study of Buddhist kingship in South and Southeast Asia, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, documents the tradition of sponsoring new and revised editions of the Pali Buddhist Canon by kings in those regions who wished to be seen as revivalists of Buddhism. Pertinent examples in this regard can be found in Stanley J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 84, 92, 185-86, and 212.

much of South Asia. He is said to have converted to Buddhism and promoted Buddhist teachings, even convening a council of the most eminent Buddhist monastics of the day to reaffirm the contents of the Buddhist teachings (they were not yet written down at that point). In *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, Mircea Eliade argues that religious traditions seek to continually recreate a mythic beginning or origin.² In the case of political patronage of the Buddhist religion, the kings could be seen as recreating the acts of the original Religious King or Universal Monarch, who is also often portrayed as a bodhisattva. From then on, Buddhist kings have sought to recreate this glorious time in the Buddhist past, including recreating the establishment of the Buddhist Canon. Part of Eliade's theory is that in the continual attempt to return to the beginning and mold contemporary events as just another iteration of the beginning time, the individual uniqueness of historical figures is painted over with an image of them as nothing more than that which has always been and what will always be.

The theory is similar in some respects to Clifford Geertz's theories of charisma and power which he elaborates in his essay "Centers, Kings, and Charisma" and his book *Negara*.³ In these works, he makes a case for the use of powerful symbols to reinforce the image and legitimacy of a ruler. As a means of increasing prestige and serving as a form of promotion for the ruler and his or her kingdom, we can see the production of Canons as creating both Geertzian centrality and charisma. In a similar vein as Eliade, Geertz's theory of charisma often has nothing to do with the individual qualities of a particular political figure, and much more to do with the practices, performances, and rituals which take place around the individual and which define him or her quite apart from their historical self. This kind of institutional charisma is

² Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954).

³ Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Symbolics of Power," in *Local Knowledge* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 121-146. Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

highlighted in its most extreme case in Geertz's analysis of the "theatre state" of historical Indonesian kingdoms, especially that of Bali. Geertz explains that in Bali kings were often empty placeholders into which were projected, through elaborate state rituals, a sacred lineage of kingship at the center of the mandala of his domain.

While Geertz's theory has been a popular one for explaining the political role of reincarnate lamas in Tibet (which it seems to fit relatively well), it may be less useful for explaining the actions and rhetoric of other types of Tibetan political rulers. While the Tibetan kings of Degé and Choné certainly paralleled their activities with those of other great Buddhist kings and queens, and sought to cultivate an image of themselves as bodhisattvic rulers, they, their community, and later historical tradition recognized and remember aspects of their uniqueness as well. It is partly the uniqueness of these individual rulers which allowed them to amass enough wealth to carry out their canonical printing projects. They were not empty placeholders, as in Geertz's Indonesian kings, but powerful figures who used the military and economic power that they had cultivated themselves through historical actions in order to further promote themselves within an image which tapped into powerful associations in their cultural repertoire. Stanley Tambiah has made a similar critique in his analysis of Thai Buddhist kingdoms.⁴ These Tibetan and Thai rulers are much more like the Moroccan rulers in Geertz's "Centers" essay who constantly create an image of themselves through proving their military and organizational strength. However, the Moroccan example seems an awkward fit in the essay precisely for this reason. Much more helpful in the Tibetan context are some of Geertz's early reflections in the essay, in which he discusses charisma as being associated with centers. Geertz defines a "center" not as a specific place, but instead in relative terms: as where the significant

⁴ Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*.

action of culture takes place.⁵ By placing themselves in the midst of significant action—economic and organizational, as well as cultural and ritual—Tibetan kings and queens cultivated both their own charisma and also the center that propelled that charisma.

The creation of a new center could be accomplished in multiple ways. Several scholars have pointed out that the Qing court's construction of Tibetan temples in Beijing, at Wutai Shan (Tib. *ri bo rtse lnga*), and at Chengde (formerly known as Rehe, or Jehol) some of which even mimicked famous religious sites in central Tibet such as the Potala (Po ta la), Trashī Lhünpo (Bkra shis lhun pa), and Samyé (Bsam yas), were part of an effort to re-orient Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhists toward the Qing court.⁶ Choné also witnessed a boom in monastery building concurrent with the publications of their editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur.⁷ In addition to building many new monasteries and temples in the surrounding region, the Choné court significantly expanded the royal monastery in the first half of the eighteenth century, founding colleges of philosophy and tantra. The monastery was soon drawing monks from around Amdo, and even parts of Mongolia, to train and study, offering an alternative to the large Gelukpa monastic colleges around Lhasa.

⁵ Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Symbolics of Power," in *Local Knowledge* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 122-23.

⁶ Such an argument is suggested by Nikolay V. Tsyrempilov in "Dge lugs pa and the Qing Empire: Union of Ideologies," *Northeast Asian Studies* [東北アジア研究] 8 (2003): 54. Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 344, also hints at this idea. Large-scale construction of Tibetan monasteries and temples in China, Mongolia, and Tibet under imperial patronage had a precedent going back at least to the Yuan dynasty; see Leonard van der Kuijp, *The Kālacakra and the Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism by the Mongol Imperial Family*, Central Eurasian Studies Lectures 4 (Bloomington, IN: Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, 2004), 8.

⁷ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [*Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka'i dgongs 'grel bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog par du sgrub pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gnam yang dag par brjod pa dkar chag nor bu'i phreng ba*] (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986/9), 385.11 and 393.21.

Construction of monasteries and temples, however, was not the only means for reorienting Tibetan Buddhism toward a new center. It is necessary to add the role of Tibetan publications within the same strategy. The Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors all had the Tibetan Buddhist Canon printed and given as gifts to high lamas in the imperial capital and in Mongolia and Tibet. In addition, the imperially sponsored Tengyur contained two supplements: the collected works of Tsongkhapa and the collected works of Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chömden. This effectively placed the court supported Changkya Lama as the successor to the Buddha (represented by the Kangyur), the Indian Buddhist masters (represented by the Tengyur), and the great founder of the Geluk school (Tsongkhapa's collected works).⁸

This editorial decision is perhaps even more striking given the situation in central Tibet at the time in which the Beijing Tengyur and its supplements were published. After the death of the Great Fifth, the institution of the Dalai Lamas had suffered a series of crises. The Sixth turned out to be an unconventional Dalai Lama, and was removed and possibly killed by Lhazang Khan (Lha bzang khan) and the Qoshot Mongols. Lhazang Khan then placed his own choice for Sixth in the Potala. The Seventh was brought up outside of central Tibet, only being brought to Lhasa in 1720 in the wake of three years of devastating rule by the Dzungars. By 1724, when the Beijing Tengyur was completed, the Seventh was again in Lhasa, but his power and influence was very much in question, and he was soon forced into exile again in eastern Tibet by Polhané.

Given the circumstances, it is not surprising to find the Qing court heavily promoting other reincarnation lineages as a means of providing alternatives and counterweights to the

⁸ Similar editorial arguments were being made on the southern side of the Himalayas. The editors of the Bhutanese edition of Pema Karpo's collected works added biographical material that supported Ngawang Namgyel's rightful claim to authority within the Drukpa Kagyü ('Brug pa Bka' brgyud) school, challenging other editions which contained material defending Paksam Wangpo (Dpag bsam dbang po) as the rightful successor. History goes to those who write the histories—and those who edit, print, and disseminate them.

unpredictable institution of the Dalai Lama. These other reincarnates could serve as stable means of Qing influence within Tibet and Mongolia. Qing patronage was focused mainly on reincarnate lamas based in Amdo, from where they could be brought to Beijing frequently, and they provided the Qing with powerful religious charisma much closer to home. The Changkya lineage was the prime example of this, with Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chömden elevated on par with Tsongkhapa, and his successor, Changkya Rolpé Dorjé, literally living at the imperial court.

The reorientation toward new centers of Tibetan Buddhism was not confined to the Qing court. We find that Degé as well was developing as a center of non-Geluk Tibetan Buddhism. Again this was in part due to the circumstances prevailing in central Tibet. Because of the growing dominance, and aggression, of the Geluk school in central Tibet, prominent religious figures of the other schools from that region made extended visits to Degé throughout the eighteenth century, beginning with the abbots of Ngor monastery and later in the century attracting many Nyingmapa lamas as well. Degé would remain a stronghold of non-Geluk traditions, providing the environment in which the non-sectarian (*ris med*) movement flourished in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The tremendous output of printed textual material from the Degé printing house, and later other printing establishments in Kham, no doubt aided the great non-sectarian scholars in their research and encyclopedic compiling of Tibetan Buddhist literature and practices.

The centering of Degé can also be seen in its publications. This is perhaps most striking in the illustrations added to the Degé Kangyur and Tengyur. Like editorial decisions, artistic aspects of the Canons could make arguments. The first folio of the first volume of the Degé Tengyur features an illustration of the Buddha to the left while on the right is an illustration of Sakya Paṇḍita, one of the great early patriarchs of the Sakya school to which the Degé royal

family adhered most closely. In the last volume of the Tengyur, there is an illustration of the patron of the Tengyur publication, Kunga Trinlé Gyatso, thus mirroring in an artistic mode the trajectory of the catalogue narrative in which the patron is the culmination of the line of great Buddhist masters and benefactors.⁹

Buddhist Centrality

Editorial and artistic considerations aside, the sheer grandeur of these projects was enough to bring attention to an area and its ruler. The production of a xylograph Canon in itself was an implicit argument for the centrality of a kingdom, one which resonated in Buddhist history and cosmology. In the nineteenth-century work *Words of My Perfect Teacher* (*Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*), Orgyen Jikmé Chökyi Wangpo (O rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po, also known as Patrul Rinpoche) discusses the basic advantages (*'byor*) of human life which allow one to practice Buddhism. Within the well-known list of ten advantages is the advantage of being born in a central land (*yul dbus*). Orgyen Jikmé Chökyi Wangpo distinguishes between geographic centrality and centrality in relation to the Dharma. In terms of geography, India is central and the Adamantine Seat (Rdo rje gdan; today's Bodh Gaya, India), the place where the Buddha achieved enlightenment, is the absolute center. But in terms of Dharma, centrality depends on where the Buddhist teachings exist. From the time of the Buddha Shakyamuni through the first several centuries of the second millennium, India had been central both geographically and in relation to Dharma. However, the teaching and practice of Buddhism eventually declined in India. By the nineteenth century, Orgyen Jikmé Chökyi Wangpo could

⁹ These illustrations are reproduced in Joseph Kolmas, *Iconography of the Derge Kanjur and Tanjur* (New Delhi: Vedams, 2002), 163 and 276. Tsültrim Rinchen also discusses the illustrations in his catalogue; Tshul khirms rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, beginning at 563.9.

write that, in terms of the continuing existence of the Dharma, India is peripheral (*mtha' khob*) while Tibet (which used to be a peripheral country in terms of Dharma) is a central country.¹⁰

Under these definitions of centrality, the kingdoms producing canons, by creating an amazing abundance of scriptures and being a source for Buddhist teachings, could become central in terms of Dharma. In fact, Orgyen Jikmé Chökyi Wangpo explicitly links the transformation of Tibet into a central land of Dharma with the activities of religious kings (*chos rgyal*) who sponsored the translation and compilation of scriptures during the Tibetan empire. In the words of Orgyen Jikmé Chökyi Wangpo:

In the days of the Buddha, Tibet, the Land of Snows, was called 'the border country of Tibet,' because it was a sparsely populated land to which the doctrine had not yet spread. Later, the population increased little by little, and there reigned several kings who were emanations of the Buddhas....

...King Trisong Detsen invited one hundred and eight pandits to Tibet, including Padmasambhava, the Preceptor of Uddiyana, the greatest of mantra-holders, unequalled throughout the three worlds. To represent the Buddha's form, Trisong Detsen had temples built, including 'unchanging and spontaneously arisen' Samye. To represent the Buddha's speech, the authentic Dharma, one hundred and eight translators, including the great Vairotsana, learned the art of translation and translated all the main sutras, tantras and shastras then current in the noble land of India. The 'Seven Men for Testing' and others were ordained as monks, forming the Sangha, to represent the Buddha's mind.

From that time onwards up to the present day, the teachings of the Buddha have shone like the sun in Tibet and, despite ups and downs, the doctrine of the Conqueror has never been lost in either of its aspects, transmission or realization. Thus Tibet, as far as the Dharma is concerned, is a central country.¹¹

¹⁰ See O rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po, *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* [*Rdzogs pa chen po klong chen snying tig gi sngon 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*] [TBRC W00KG04062] (Delhi [Ldi li]: Chos spyod dpar skrun khang, 2003), 37.5-41.3, and the English translation: Patrul Rinpoche [Dpal sprul rin po che], *Words of My Perfect Teacher*, revised edition, trans. the Padmakara Translation Group (Boston: Shambhala, 1998), 24-25.

¹¹ Patrul Rinpoche, *The Words of My Perfect Teacher*, 23-24. For the Tibetan, see O rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po, *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*, 39.2-41.3.

In a similar vein, in Tsültrim Rinchen's description of the site of the Degé printing house, he evokes other great sites which served as sources and treasure houses of Dharma.¹² He writes that the Degé printing house can be compared to the “Dharma-gaṅja of the Adamantine Seat [i.e., Bodh Gaya] in the Noble Land [of India] which was the source of the precious teachings of the three vehicles.” Dharma-gaṅja, a Sanskrit word Tsültrim Rinchen gives in Tibetan transliteration (*d+har+ma g+hany+dza*), means a treasury or storehouse of Dharma.¹³ He further associates the Degé printing house with important sites in the transmission of the tantras: Chanlochen (Lcang lo can) and Oddiyana (Oa DyAna).¹⁴ In claiming the printing house to be an institution on par with these foundational South Asian sources of Buddhist teaching, Tsültrim Rinchen was placing Degé on the map as a great center of Buddhism.¹⁵

¹² Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [*Kun mkhyen nyi ma'i gnyen gyi bka' lung gi dgongs don rnam par 'grel ba'i bstan bcos gangs can pa'i skad du 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi 'chad pa'i ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa'i bsod nams kyi sprin phun rgyas par dkrigs pa'i tshul las brtsams pa'i gtam ngo mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gsar pa*] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1985), 575.22-576.4. Cynthia Col, “Picturing the Canon: The Murals, Sculpture and Architecture of the Derge Parkhang” (Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 2009), 371 n. 28, notes another instance in which Tsültrim Rinchen, in his account of the construction of the Degé Printing House, compares the Printing House to the Gandhola shrine at Bodh Gaya. A similar comparison between a printing house and the Adamantine Seat (Rdo rje gdan) can be found in a list of printing blocks (*par tho*) for the main Bhutanese printing house in Pungtang (Spungs thang; Punakha), for which see Yoshiro Imaeda, “Une contribution à la bibliographie bhoutanaise,” in *Indo-Sino-Tibetica: Studi in Onore di Luciano Petech*, ed. Paolo Daffinà (Roma: Bardi, 1990), 202.

¹³ The entry for “gaṅja” in Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1956), 342: “a treasury, jewel room, place where plate &c. is preserved” and “a mart, place where grain &c. is stored for sale....” The library at the ancient Buddhist monastery/university of Nālandā was known as Dharma-gaṅja; see Hartmut Scharfe, *Education in Ancient India* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 159.

¹⁴ Elsewhere in his catalogue, Tsültrim explains the importance of these sites as sources of the transmission of tantra. Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 119-123.

¹⁵ A similar statement is found at Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 576.1-4.

This type of Buddhist centrality added to the centrality that was already associated with Buddhist monarchy. Wheel-turning rulers (*'khor los rgyur ba'i rgyal po*, San. *cakravartin*) were seen as figures at the center of a domain which they ruled through the force of their moral example. As Paul Mus, a scholar of Buddhism in Southeast Asia, describes the idea, “Mount Meru’s massive presence, stabilizing the world, is explicitly linked to the throne and power of the Cakravartin, who makes the wheel of righteousness to revolve around that center. His rule thus appears, in the Buddhist image of the world, as a moral and ‘ordinating’ service of the Community....”¹⁶ Such an idea is poetically suggested by Tsültrim Rinchen in the quote from the *Degé Tengyur Catalogue* that opened chapter three of this dissertation. Tsültrim Rinchen in those lines compares the Degé king to Mount Meru as a way of describing the moral sway of the king. This moral sway, which causes “all those who are his subjects” to “carry out and practice virtuous activities,” is in this instance directly related to leading his kingdom in the production of a xylograph edition of the Tengyur. This project orients his whole kingdom, and even regions beyond, to the virtuous activity of reproducing Buddhist scriptures. The king and his printing house sit at the center of this field of virtue.

A similar statement, augmented by a quote from a canonical scripture, is made by Könchok Jikmé Wangpo in the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue*:

Through Makzor Gönpö’s example, his subjects also became endowed with a sense of diligence in virtuous activity, just as is said in the precious narrative of the Buddha’s previous lives, the *Wish Granting Vine*:

“If a ruler is wise, the people will take supreme delight in knowledge;
 If a ruler is courageous, the people will join him in battle and uphold disciplined conduct;
 If a ruler is foolish, they will be ignorant; if deceitful, they will be deceitful; if cruel, their conduct will be terrible;

¹⁶ Paul Mus, “Thousand-Armed Kannon,” *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu)* 12, no. 1 (1964), 441 (30). This is partially quoted in Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, 38.

However the ruler acts, in just such a way all the people will act as well.”¹⁷

Being a central land had important implications. The kingdom became a place of pilgrimage, and a place deserving of respect and protection. At Degé, we find this outcome, whether actual or hoped for, depicted on one of the murals within the Printing House. In this mural, the king of Degé Kunga Trinlé Gyatso is shown seated on his throne surrounded by other prominent political and religious figures of Degé, while in the foreground envoys from other lands arrive on horseback and people make offerings before the seated figures. In Tsültrim Rinchen’s catalogue of the building of the printing house, he explains this mural: “Several envoys from India, Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet, and China are shown bowing down as they make majestic offerings to both human and divine figures.”¹⁸ Whether or not envoys from all these regions actually arrived to pay tribute to the publication of the Canon at Degé, the printing house did become a place of pilgrimage for Tibetans. Even today, pilgrims come to circumambulate the printing house and receive blessed pills made partly from the water used to wash the ink off of boards used to print the Kangyur and Tengyur. In the last couple of decades, the Degé Printing House has even become a travel destinations for both Chinese and international tourists.

Spectacle: Performing a Canon

Rituals Performed During Production

In the production of a canon, rulers assembled massive workforces made up of people ranging from laborers and artisans to elite monastic scholars all working on one grand project. Along with the normal labor that went into producing the canons—the chopping of wood,

¹⁷ This is translated by Benjamin Deitle in Kurtis R. Schaeffer, Gray Tuttle, and Matthew T. Kapstein, eds., *Sources of Tibetan Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 599.

¹⁸ Col, “Picturing the Canon,” 352 and 475-481. On page 352 Col also provides a photograph of this mural.

copying of texts, printing of pages—there was also a second level of activity which occurred during the production of a new edition. This second level involved all the ritual activities which were performed throughout the duration of the project and seen as necessary for its success and for the creation of an authentic and ritually powerful Kangyur and Tengyur. These rituals varied in size and duration, from small semi-private affairs lasting less than a day to large public displays that continued for multiple days.

From the very start of the production of the Degé Tengyur there was concern that the work progress as smoothly as possible. Careful consideration of the organization and training of the workers was only one aspect of this. Setbacks in the project were also seen as arising from the activities of supramundane beings and elements of the spirit world. Considerations of these latter phenomena could even affect the overall schedule of the work. For example, work on the Degé Tengyur began with non-tantric texts, even though the finished collection was to begin with the tantric materials. This was done so that the *ḍākinīs* and other protectors would not become angered and disturb the commencement of the project.

Similar considerations were behind the ongoing ritual activity that took place during the project. This ritual work was seen to be just as important to the success of the publications as the editing, scribal work, and engraving. Tsültrim Rinchen informs us in his autobiography that as work began on the Degé Tengyur, malevolent demons (*nag phyogs bdud ris rnams*) sought to mock and disrupt the project. In order to be free of these hindrances and ensure that the creation of the xylograph Tengyur succeeded, an assembly of monks led by the Abbot of Ngor, Trashi Lhündrup, performed a propitiation rite (*bskang gso*) to the guardian deities in the Great Protector Chapel (*mgon khang chen po*). In the catalogue to the Tengyur Tsültrim Rinchen elaborates on this event, telling us specifically that twenty-five monks trained in tantric practice

performed mantras, mudras, and meditative concentrations (*ting nge 'dzin*) which gave them the power to summon the demons and make them submit to an oath to not obstruct the work. Similar rites were performed in the East Protector Chapel.¹⁹

Before the scribes began writing out the tantra commentaries, rituals were performed by all the monks of the West and East protector chapels (*nub shar mgon khang gnyis*) to gain the permission of the *dākinīs* and religious protectors and thus ensure that no obstacles arose during work on the esoteric scriptures. What is more, Tsültrim Rinchen says that three monks were assigned to make continual recitations of every new block that was carved, and two large ritual cake offering ceremonies were performed twice a month until the entire project was completed.²⁰ Elsewhere, Tsültrim Rinchen elaborates on further rituals that were performed, giving us the sense that the welfare of the project depended on continuous ritual action.²¹ The main locus of ritual activity was the royal monastery of Lhündrup Teng, but rituals were also performed at monasteries throughout the domain of the Degé king.

The rituals performed during the production often took place in close proximity to or within the areas and workshops where the staff and laborers were busy producing the texts and woodblocks. They would have been seen and heard by the workers as they engaged in their tasks,

¹⁹ Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *The Autobiography of Tshul-khriṃs-rin-chen of Sde-dge and Other Selected Writings* (Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971), 482.1-4; Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 541.11-19.

²⁰ Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *Autobiography*, 500.4-501.3.

²¹ Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 562.8-563.5. Christoph Cüppers, "Some Remarks on *Bka' 'gyur* Production in 17th-century Tibet," in *Edition, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, ed. Anne Chayet, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin, and Jean-Luc Achard (München: Indus Verlag, 2010), 122, mentions murals in the Potala Palace that depict scenes from manuscript Kangyur making workshops. In some of the workshop scenes there are monks performing ritual activity, adding to our sense that ritual action was seen as a necessary component of scriptural production. Cüppers suggests that the ritual performers may have served a double purpose: carrying out rituals for the success of the project and also keeping an eye on the laborers to make sure that work was being done correctly.

and along with the increased wages and feasts that were part of the Canon projects, alerted the staff to the unique status of these publications. The message was heard even further afield through the rituals that were performed at monasteries around the kingdom, not just at the royal monastery that was the headquarters of the work. These rituals announced the creation of a sacred object able to focus immense ritual attention in its direction.

Temples for Canons

The Canons, as objects worthy of worship, were housed in their own temples filled floor to ceiling with shelves of printing blocks. We find mention of the building of the temple, usually called a *tsuklakkhang* (*gtsug lag khang*), in most of the catalogues of the eighteenth-century editions. These were very large buildings, since they had to accommodate tens of thousands of printing blocks. Choné had two separate buildings, one for housing the Kangyur and another for the Tengyur. For the Kangyur, an existing hall, the Wheel of Dharma (*chos kyi 'khor lo*) hall, was renovated to be the repository of the Kangyur blocks. The temple for the Tengyur was also made by converting a previously existing hall within the Great Monastery of Choné.²² In the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue*, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo tells us that the Tengyur blocks were installed immediately upon their completion in a new temple (*gtsug lag khang*) built just for them.²³

The blocks for both the Degé Kangyur and Tengyur were housed together in one building.²⁴ A new temple had been built specifically for the Degé Kangyur after it was completed in 1733. This building, located on the south side of the Degé royal palace, was inadequate to

²² Juenai Luosang Danzhu 觉乃·洛桑丹珠 and Bingjiao Popa Ciren 冰角·婆帕次仁, *Anduo gucha Chanding si* 安多古刹禅定寺 (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1995), 119-120.

²³ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 448.17.

²⁴ On legends of the establishment of the Degé Printing House, see Col, "Picturing the Canon," 75-78.

house the additional Tengyur blocks when they were completed in 1744. Substantial renovations and additions were made to the original building so it could store the blocks for both collections. This temple-cum-printing house was named the Auspicious Many-Doored Source of the Dharma Temple (Gtsug lag khang chos 'byung bkra shis sgo mangs). Auspicious many-doored (*bkra shis sgo mang*) is the name of a particular type of stūpa, and the name of the Degé Printing House may be partly indicating that the printing house is a type of stūpa itself. This association can be seen in Tsültrim Rinchen's account of the renovation and extension of the building after the completion of the Tengyur. This text is titled *Rippling Waves of Nectar: An Account of the Construction of the Auspicious Many-Doored Source of the Dharma Temple and Its Contents* (*Gtsug lag khang chos 'byung bkra shis sgo mangs rten dang brten pa ji ltar bskrun pa las brtsams pa 'i gleng ba bdud rtsi 'i rlabs phreng*).²⁵ Within this work Tsültrim Rinchen tells us that construction of the temple began with an earth ritual (*sa 'i cho ga*).²⁶ According to Tsültrim Rinchen's account, holy figures blessed the site through all manner of ritually purifying and protecting rituals, and by “empowering every direction of the site, consequently every direction became like a stūpa [*mchod rten*].”²⁷

In a more detailed explanation of the earth ritual in the Tengyur catalogue, Tsültrim Rinchen writes that this process normally contains five elements: examining the site (*sa gzhi*

²⁵ This text is translated in Col, “Picturing the Canon,” 360-537.

²⁶ This is a common preliminary to the construction of a Buddhist site. It is also used for establishing and protecting areas where intensive vajrayana practice sessions will take place. On earth rituals and construction, see Thubten Legshay Gyatsho, *Manual of Tibetan Monastic Customs, Art, Building and Celebrations*, trans. David Paul Jackson (Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1979), 29-44, and in the context of establishing and protecting spaces see Cathy Cantwell, “The Earth Ritual: Subjugation and Transformation of the Environment,” *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 7 (April 2005): 4-21. Col, “Picturing the Canon,” 73, further notes that the process of constructing the Printing House was similar to that of the construction of a stupa, thus highlighting the Degé Canon as a relic of the Buddha.

²⁷ Col, “Picturing the Canon,” 386.

brtag pa), requesting (*bslang ba*), purification (*sbyang ba*), taking possession (*bzung ba*), and protecting (*srung ba*).²⁸ Since the entire ritual had been previously performed during the construction of the royal monastery, Lhündrup Teng, and the original temple, it was not necessary to re-perform each element. Still, several of them were performed again for the renovation of the site after the completion of the Tengyur.

Examining the site includes surveying the area where the new construction is to take place to make sure that it displays favorably qualities and that is free of negative defects. These qualities and defects are largely concerned with the natural geographic features of the site, the types of terrain and landscapes that are present which are interpreted as either beneficial or hindering to religious activity. The second element involves obtaining the rights to the land from the current owners, both human owners as well as spirit beings. In requesting use of the land from the human owners, either one has to offer a payment or an oath must be pledged. For spirit beings, the monastic community must carry out rituals in which offering cakes (*gtor ma*) and other ceremonial offerings are made to the earth goddess (*sa'i lha mo*) the directional guardians (*phyogs skyong ba*). These first two elements for the most part were unnecessary. Since the Printing House was located right next to the royal palace and the royal monastery, the site had already been examined and the permission of the king granted. However, Penden Chökyong and members of the Degé monastic community still petitioned the non-human owners of the earth and made offerings in order to secure their permission to renovate and expand the temple which would house the Kangyur and Tengyur.²⁹

²⁸ The process of carrying out these five elements is described in Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 568.18-572.12. Compare the presentation in Thubten Legshay Gyatsho, *Manual of Tibetan Monastic Customs*, 29-33.

²⁹ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 574.9-10.

The third element, purification, is an intricate process in which the location of the serpent-bellied earth lord (*sa bdag lho 'phye*) is determined and drawn on the construction site. The diagram is laid out in a grid and according to astrological calculations a certain section of this grid and drawing are then dug out and replaced with treasure and precious materials. The removal of the earth within the specified section is seen as removing the defects of the site. Also, the ground is cleared of bones, rocks, and sharp objects and sprinkled with pure substances. Through these activities it is made suitable for the construction of a mandala. Further purifications can be performed utilizing “mantras, mudras, and meditative concentrations, which will make it pure like the sky.”³⁰ Taking possession is done in two ways. First, one should take an oath that they will actually fulfill the desired result for the site. Secondly, a master of instruction (*slob dpon*) along with a group of disciples should take hold of the site through a series of dances or ritualized steps (*stang stabs*). This is a tantric rite in which the master of instruction visualizes him or herself as a tantric deity who through the steps of the dance forcefully subdues the site and dispels obstructing forces. Finally, protection is accomplished through a special meditation in which a tantric practitioner visualizes a circle of protection (*srung ba'i 'khor lo*) surrounding the site. Protection circles often consist of visualized interlocking vajras forming an impenetrable barrier around the site which prevents negative forces from causing disturbances in the area. Only after these preliminary rituals are performed may the actual construction of the temple begin. Tsültrim Rinchen indicates that parts of these final three elements were performed by Penden Chökyong and other qualified members of the monastic community. The performance of these rites blessed or consecrated (*byin kyis brlab*) the

³⁰ Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 571.20-22.

site, infusing it with ritual power that could be in turn transferred as further blessing to those who came to worship at the temple.

While some of these preliminary practices are visualized meditations which would be apparent principally only to the ones performing them, several elements would involve elements that members of the community would be able to witness, including the location of the serpent-bellied earth deity, the digging, offerings, and, probably most impressive, the ritual dance around the area where the construction was to take place. These practices establish that this is a place set apart from other areas. They display a concern for non-human actors that must be negotiated with and sometimes forcefully dealt with so that the site becomes a pure area worthy of the respect and worship of the community. After detailing the physical renovation and decoration of the temple, Tsültrim Rinchen says that the Tengyur, the “unsurpassed object of worship in the triple world,” was enthroned (*mnga' gsol ba*) within the temple and honored with an array of offerings.³¹ Tsültrim Rinchen here demonstrates again how the Canon, spoken of with language generally reserved for persons of authority, is transformed into an object worthy of worship and respect through the rites of temple construction and the installation of the of the Canon into the temple.

Relics and Consecrations

As we have seen when discussing merit, the Buddhist canon could be treated on par with, and sometimes with theoretically even greater esteem than, more corporeal relics. However, the relationship between the Canons and relics was not just a matter of the scholarly calculation of the merit associated with each one. The Tibetan Buddhist Canon was often regarded as a relic of

³¹ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 576.12-14.

the Buddha's speech.³² Relics, and relic veneration, are an important aspect of many schools of Buddhism, and Tibetan Buddhism is no exception. Within Buddhism, relics are the continuing remains of the Buddha or other Buddhist masters after their death. Relics can be bodily remains, but also can include items that were in contact with the revered figure. Interestingly, the remains of the Buddha's teachings or speech as captured in textual form also have come to be considered a remain, and therefore on par with relics.³³ Tsültrim Rinchen refers to the Degé Tengyur in his catalogue as "an unprecedented gift of Dharma, a reliquary stūpa in the three realms of existence."³⁴ The term I have translated here as "reliquary stūpa" (*mchod sdong*) is literally an object or post (*sdong*) which is worthy of offerings (*mchod*) but is most commonly understood as a reliquary stūpa housing the remains of a past Buddhist master. Tsültrim Rinchen's laudation of the Degé Tengyur with these words may simply be seen as poetic hyperbole (something he displays often in his writing), but there is also reason to understand his choice of words as pointing to the relic-like quality of scriptures. In fact other Tibetan writers use the same term to refer to the Canon and the equation of Buddhist Canons to relics of the Buddha is known in other Buddhist cultures.³⁵ Ngawang Lobzang Chömden is more explicit in the connection when he

³² For a brief synopsis of Buddhist texts as embodiments of the Buddha in India and Tibet, see Diemberger, "Holy Books," 11-13.

³³ How and when texts came to be regarded as remains and relics of the Buddha is an interesting question that, as far as I know, has yet to be answered. Timothy H. Barrett, *The Woman Who Discovered Printing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 46, suggests that such ideas came out of the early Mahāyāna movement. The scriptures associated with the early Mahāyāna, such as many perfection of wisdom texts, contain within them exhortations to copy scripture and treat it as an object of worship. As discussed later in this dissertation, these perfection of wisdom texts became scriptural sources used to justify the printings of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons. Barrett also points to specific instances from early Chinese Buddhism in which texts are treated as relics (48).

³⁴ Tshul khirms rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 449: *srid pa gsum gyi mchod sdong snga na med pa'i chos sbyin gyi phyi mo 'di nyid*.

³⁵ Another instance of the use of this term for a canon is found in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 450.8. Similar types of language which point to

refers to the Litang edition of the Kangyur that he obtained for his monastery of Gönlung as “this heap of excellent sayings, a relic pill of the Dharma body.”³⁶

In fact, in a sense, the way they were treated allowed them to become relics or even more than relics, since through the ritual process of consecration (*rab gnas*) they were transformed into an emanation body (*sprul sku*) of the Buddha.³⁷ This practice of consecration was performed both for a new set of printing-blocks and also for the printed texts which were struck from those printing blocks.³⁸

Consecration is the process of inviting an enlightened deity to become present in the object which is being consecrated. The object then becomes a receptacle (*rten*) for the enlightened presence. There are three main types of receptacles, those which serve as an enlightened body, such as paintings and statue; those for enlightened speech, such as books or other textual objects; and those for enlightened mind, which are usually stūpas. The consecration of these objects is accomplished through the use of specialized forms of means of accomplishment (*grub thabs*) or deity yoga (*lha'i rnal 'byor*) rituals. These are tantric rituals in

written texts as reliquaries can be found in Chinese translations of Buddhist scripture; see Barrett, *Woman Who Discovered Printing*, 47.

³⁶ Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, *Ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed*, 5a.1: *chos sku'i ring bsril* [read: *ring sel*] *legs bshad phung po 'di*. Reliquary pills (*ring sel*) are the small crystal-like objects found among the ashes of cremated religious figures which are signs of their high level of spiritual realization.

³⁷ Buddhist texts, after being consecrated, become emanation bodies (*sprul sku*). Of the three types of emanation bodies, consecrated scriptures are made emanation bodies (*bzo sprul sku*). On the three types see Yael Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 5-6. The others are supreme emanation bodies (*mchog gi sprul sku*), that is, Buddhas, and “incarnations of Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* born in the world, such as the Dalai Lamas” which are called born emanation bodies (*skye ba sprul sku*).

³⁸ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 395.15-395.21, describes the consecration of the blocks for the Coné Kangyur. Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 583-602, describes the consecration of the blocks for the Degé Tengyur, including the liturgy that Tsültrim Rinchen wrote specifically for that occasion.

which practitioners visualize themselves taking on an enlightened personality, though in consecration rituals the object to be consecrated is also visualized as the deity.

In brief, the process of consecration entails that the ritual performers enter into a meditative visualization in which the object to be consecrated is dissolved into emptiness. Out of this emptiness, the object is then visualized re-emerging as an enlightened deity. This visualized deity is called the ‘pledge being’ (*dam tshig sems dpa*’). The actual enlightened deity, called the wisdom being (*ye shes sems dpa*’), is then invited to merge and become one with the pledge being. To complete the process the enlightened deity takes on the appearance of the original object; however, the deity has now infused the object. The object has thus become a manifestation of the enlightened deity.³⁹

The consecration of the xylograph editions of the Canon were performed by large assemblies of the monastic community of the royal monastery of the kingdom. Tsültrim Rinchen summarizes the transformation of the Tengyur at the end of his description of the process of consecrating that collection. He explains that, having performed the consecration, “worshipping [the volumes which are supports of speech] and venerating them is to worship and venerate all the Ones Gone Thus.”⁴⁰ He elsewhere explains that the consecration was not limited to that one event, but could be re-performed again and again, many times a year if desired.⁴¹ Furthermore, the printed canons that were produced from the wood blocks were themselves consecrated when they were installed in a monastery or temple.

³⁹ The process of consecration is detailed in Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*.

⁴⁰ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 596.11-14.

⁴¹ Tshul khrims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 590.4-5.

Worship of Canons

The perfection of wisdom literature encourages those reading Buddhist scripture, and particularly perfection of wisdom scriptures, to worship the texts. Many Euro-American scholars have read these admonitions as evidence of a “cult of the book” within Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. Whether or not these admonitions to worship were carried out in Indian Buddhist circles, Tibetans took these encouragements quite literally and provided all manner of offerings and veneration to holy texts. Such practices are said to have begun very early and may have converged with pre-Buddhist forms of worship, as suggested by Hildegard Diemberger.⁴² She discusses the legend of the Buddhist scriptures which descended onto the roof of the residence of the early Tibetan king Lha Totori Nyentsen (Lha tho tho ri gnyan btsan) which is said to have been the first introduction of Buddhism to Tibet. The narrative continues with the king immediately making offerings of barley and libations to the books. Later during the Tibetan empire, emperor Muné Tsenpo (Mu ne bstan po) is said to have established regular worship of the three baskets (*sde snod gsum*) of Buddhist scripture.⁴³

The account of the Catholic missionary Ippolito Desideri reports that such practices, with the full Kangyur as the focus of worship, were not uncommon in the early eighteenth century when Desideri was resident in central Tibet. In his *Historical Notices of Tibet* he writes:

In many temples one also sees on one side large well-carved wooden bookcases, partially painted with high quality paints and partially gilt, in which are kept the more than one hundred volumes that make up the Kangyur, or canonical books of these people, who

⁴² Diemberger, “Holy Books,” 16-17.

⁴³ Peter Skilling, “From bKa’ bstan bcos to bKa’ ’gyur and bsTan ’gyur,” in *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, ed. Helmut Eimer (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 90.

prostrate themselves before them, light lamps, burn incense, and make many offerings to them.⁴⁴

We do not need to rely on the accounts of foreigners to gauge the ritual veneration of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chömden tells us that after an edition of the Litang Kangyur was brought to his monastery of Gönlung and consecrated, the entire monastic community offered it the appropriate honor, worship, and service. They also made prostrations and dedicated prayers to the newly installed collection.⁴⁵

If the production of a xylograph edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon affirmed that a ruler and their kingdom were charismatic centers of economic and organizational power, the ritual performances centered on the Canon affirmed the Canon as a locus of sacred power and blessing. The performances which defined the Canon in this way began during the process of their physical construction and continued through their investiture in temples and their consecration as receptacles of the Buddha's Dharma body (*chos kyi sku*) and as relics of the Buddha's speech. These initial ritual performances both encouraged and were augmented by further ritual acts and worship.

The performative aspects of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon—the worship, rituals, and spectacles that often surrounded them—has parallels with recent theories on the reception of books by the public in other book cultures. These theoretical frameworks focus attention on the ways in which books are presented to readers so that “the cultural viability of a given author's book might be (as it still is) affected by such matters as its physical workmanship, the reputation

⁴⁴ Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733), *Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.*, trans. Michael J. Sweet, ed. Leonard Zwilling (Boston: Wisdom, 2010), 435-6.

⁴⁵ Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, *Ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed*, 3b.3-6.

of the publisher, and the means by which it makes its way into readers' hands."⁴⁶ These aspects of book reception are applicable to the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, though in the context of the Canon we might revise the last phrase to "the means by which it makes its way onto the worshippers head" (touching one's head to an object being a show of great respect or veneration in a Tibetan Buddhist context). In this section, we have explored the ritual performances which situated the Canon in both social and cosmological realms. The ritual activity surrounding the Canon imbued it with a sense of sacred power that was understood by a wide audience. This is one of the reasons it was such an attractive object for kings and queens to produce and exchange.

As large-scale public works and ritual spectacles, wood block editions of the Canon certainly highlighted the kingdoms that produced them as centers where significant things were happening. This perception was enhanced even more when large collections of texts began disseminating from that center out into other communities—creating lasting prestige for the kingdoms and their rulers. In the next section, we will focus on the dissemination of the Canon. While the cataloguers frame this dissemination largely in terms of 'gifts of Dharma' given altruistically by rulers, we will also explore how these Canons were used as items of exchange which brought both tangible and intangible returns.

Authority: Giving a Canon

The Gifts of Buddhist Monarchs

At the beginning of this chapter, we introduced the idea of the Buddhist ruler as a bodhisattva, showing how such an ideal Buddhist monarch functioned as a centralizing figure orienting those in his or her domain toward virtuous activity. In this section we will explore

⁴⁶ Lawrence Manley, "Review of Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*," *Comparative Literature* 52, no.1 (2000): 93.

another aspect of the bodhisattva ruler—their role as patron, donor, and giver of gifts. To start out, let us look again to the catalogues written to accompany the printing of the eighteenth-century Canons.

In these catalogues, the term “Dharma ruler” or “religious ruler” (*chos rgyal*) is often reserved for rulers who were most ardently involved in the transmission of Buddhist scriptures in Tibet. For example, if one were to wonder whether the king of Choné deserved this appellation, the cataloguer, Drakpa Shedrup, explains, “Having produced a great many printed Kangyurs, is it any wonder that he is definitely a religious king (*chos rgyal*)?”⁴⁷ We also find direct comparisons between eighteenth-century rulers and the Indian monarch Aśoka. In one such reference in the *Catalogue of the Degé Kangyur*, Situ Pañchen (si tu paN chen) describes the king of Degé as “one whose enlightened activity is like the coming again of the religious king Aśoka.”⁴⁸ In a similar passage in the *Choné Kangyur Catalogue* Makzor Gönpö is called “the second wheel-turning monarch” (*stobs kyi 'khor los bskyur ba gnyis pa mi dbang mag zor mgon po rgyal*).⁴⁹ A wheel-turning monarch is an ideal Buddhist ruler who having pacified his or her domain is able, through their political and military strength, to spread the teachings of the Buddha far and wide. The turning of the wheel thus has a double meaning for them. They turn the wheel of political authority, the chariot wheel of the conquering leader which subdues vast territories, but they also (ideally subsequent to conquest) rule in accord with Buddhist teachings and turn the wheel of the

⁴⁷ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags* [*Co ne'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i dkar chags gsal ba'i me long*] (University of Washington: Tibetan microfilm collection, East Asia Library, Reel No. A3-7.2), 5a.7-8: *mang mang bka' 'gyur par du bsgubs 'dis nges nges chos rgyal yin nam snyam/_/*. The second phrase is somewhat elusive to me, and could also be translated as: “One thinks, ‘Is he not certainly a Religious King?’”

⁴⁸ *chos kyi rgyal po mya ngan med slar yang 'ongs pa lta bu'i phrin las can zhig go/*. *Mya ngan med* literally means “Sorrowless,” and is the common Tibetan name of Aśoka. *Chos kyi 'byung gnas*, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag*, 404.

⁴⁹ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 44b.1.

Buddhist teachings. The classical example, the first, of the wheel-turning monarchs is Aśoka. According to Drakpa Shedrup then, Makzor Gönpo inherits this legacy as the second wheel-turning king. Other patrons of the published Canons also received this appellation by the respective cataloguers.⁵⁰ In addition to being wheel-turning monarchs, several of the rulers who sponsored Canon printing were said to be emanations of enlightened Buddhas or bodhisattvas. For example, Rinchen Pendzom, the sponsor of the Choné Tengyur is described as “Tārā in human form.”⁵¹

A primary role of a bodhisattva at work in the world as a wheel-turning monarch is to maintain and spread the Buddhist teachings. For the cataloguers, the Tibetan Buddhist Canon would not exist was it not for the intervention of Buddhist rulers. Drakpa Shedrup writes that it was only due to the efforts of great Tibetan rulers and their ministers that the Tibetan translations of Indian Buddhist literature scattered across Tibet were able to be compiled together, copied into books, and become known as the Kangyur.⁵² Thus it is primarily based on a patron’s publication of the Canon that he or she was regarded in this light and compared to other great Buddhist rulers of the past.

Being able to bring about the compilation, editing, and dissemination of the Canon is not just important for maintaining the integrity of Buddhist textual traditions, it has vital soteriological repercussions. Situ Pañchen Chökyi Jungné argues that all the well-being and happiness of beings, as well as the enlightened realizations of Buddhist masters, all depend on the efforts of people in places of power who arrange for Buddhist texts to be copied and made

⁵⁰ For example, Tsültrim Rinchen refers to Degé king Tenpa Tsering as a wheel-turning ruler in Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, 548.22-549.1.

⁵¹ Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 446.19-20.

⁵² Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne’i bka’ ’gyur dkar chags*, 4b.6-8.

available.⁵³ This is, he writes, because the well-being of beings depends on the Buddhist teachings, and the Buddha's teachings in turn depend on masters who hold the teachings. Masters of course only exist because they have listened to, contemplated, and meditated on the Buddha's words, and such activities depend on having uncorrupted textual editions of the teachings. Furthermore, listening and contemplating relies on scriptures, and without those the Dharma of realization does not arise. For all of these reasons, Chökyi Jungné claims that producing Buddhist books is the foundation for perfectly holding the Buddha's teachings.

Giving the Dharma

As great religious rulers, the kings and queens who funded printed canons are described as bodhisattvas who work for the benefit of beings through their role as political leaders. Rather than being great religious masters who expound teachings to students, kings and queens are instead portrayed as using their tremendous wealth to support the Buddhist community and to benefit the teachings through protecting and spreading them. These activities are discussed within the catalogues in terms of generosity, or giving (*sbyin pa*), and its perfection (*pha rol tu phyin pa*). Tsültrim Rinchen describes the king of Degé, Künga Tinlé Gyatso, and his father, Tenpa Tsering, in just this way. In a long section of the catalogue (fifty-six pages in the modern bound edition), Tsültrim Rinchen narrates the many ways that Künga Tinlé Gyatso has benefitted beings and teachings through three types of giving: material giving, giving of Dharma, and the giving of fearlessness and love.⁵⁴ While the printing of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon and other scriptures may at first seem like material gifts, according to Tsültrim Rinchen they fall under the second category, the giving of Dharma.

⁵³ Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [2008 ed.], 515.2-9.

⁵⁴ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 415-470.

In Tsültrim Rinchen’s catalogue, he highlights the giving of Dharma as the paramount form of giving. After citing several canonical scriptures on the perfections, he explains that “Among all giving, the quintessential or foremost is the giving of Dharma.”⁵⁵ Tsültrim Rinchen gives two definitions of “giving the Dharma,” one general and one specific. “In general,” he says, “giving the Dharma (*chos kyi sbyin pa ni*) is anything which is done by bodhisattvas for the development of others,”⁵⁶ which implies that the giving of the Dharma by the kings and queens of Degé is part of their character as bodhisattvas. Tsültrim Rinchen goes on to say that, more specifically, the giving of the Dharma includes the activities of “writing the words of the holy Dharma, giving volumes [of scripture], transmitting, memorizing, reading, or reciting scriptures, and extensively and perfectly instructing others.”⁵⁷ This definition mirrors many of the admonitions found within the perfection of wisdom sūtras, where the same activities are promoted in regard to spreading the particular sūtra in which the admonition is found. According to Tsültrim Rinchen, with these activities of “giving the Dharma” in mind, Tenpa Tsering, the king of Degé, along with his sons began their ambitious efforts to print the entire Tibetan Buddhist Canon. By doing so, Tsültrim Rinchen tells us, they saved the Buddhist teachings from the great danger of imminent demise which they faced in this degenerate age and ensured that they would continue to be available long into the future. In addition, great stores of merit were created by all who took part in the publishing efforts.

⁵⁵ Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 447.6-7: *sbyin pa thams cad kyi nang nas snying po'am gtso bor gyur pa ni chos kyi sbyin pa yin*.

⁵⁶ Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 446.3-5: *spyir chos kyi sbyin pa ni byang chub sems dpa' rnam kyis sems can gzhan smin par byed pa'i thabs su gyur pa gang yin pa*.

⁵⁷ Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 447.10-12: *dam pa'i chos rnam yi ger 'dri ba dang /_glegs bam sbyin pa dang /_lung nod pa dang /_'chang ba dang /_klog pa dang /_kha ton du byed pa dang /_gzhan dag la'ang rgya cher yang dag par rab tu ston pa*.

From this doctrinal stance, the cataloguers emphasize the Buddhist ideal of the perfection of giving (*sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*). Within this framework, the ruler is generally portrayed as acting purely for the benefit of others, and his or her gift of the Dharma is represented as completely altruistic. Furthermore, the best recipient of a gift within a Buddhist worldview is the community of ordained monks (the ordained sangha), and the canons would have been seen as a gift to the monastic community. Reiko Ohnuma in her chapter “Gift” in *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism* explains that the ideal form of giving in Buddhism (called *dana* in Sanskrit) is understood as a giving without any thought of receiving in return.⁵⁸ Indeed, the giver should even let go of any conception of there being a giver, receiver, or gift!

This conception of giving is probably one reason why the cataloguers explain to us that the kings and queens who acted as patrons used all their own finances for the projects. None of the resources or labor involved in the publications came through taxes or corvee labor, and in fact the patrons reimbursed labor and materials at a rate higher than the current market value at the time. The first time we find these claims made during the eighteenth century is in the catalogue for the Choné Kangyur where the cataloguer, Drakpa Shedrup, emphasizes the fact that the entire publication was paid for by the king, without imposing taxes on anyone, and therefore produced in a way that was harmonious with the Dharma.⁵⁹

This statement of publishing ethics that Drakpa Shedrup outlines in his catalogue is seen again in other eighteenth-century catalogues to xylograph canons, including those of the Degé Kangyur and Tengyur and the Choné Tengyur. In fact, in the Choné Tengyur catalogue Könchok Jikmé Wangpo elaborates on the circumstances of the Kangyur project, telling us that it was

⁵⁸ Reiko Ohnuma, “Gift,” in *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 103-123.

⁵⁹ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags*, 5b.1-5b.2.

actually the queen, Dampa Menjang (Dam pa sman byang), who suggested that the work be carried out without using taxes or compulsory labor, and to that end she herself donated large amounts of gold, silver, and cloth to the project.⁶⁰ The Degé Tengyur Catalogue explains the king's generosity in sponsoring the publication of the Tengyur with this effusive praise:

With his outstretched arms of great generosity this vow-preserving lord of beings and great king, as if opening wide the treasury of Vaishravana [the Buddhist deity of wealth], free of the extensive bonds of stinginess, freely opened his full treasury of wealth, storehouse of grain, and enclosure of cattle, with nothing left to be desired.⁶¹

Critique of the perfect, or pure, gift

While the Tibetan Buddhist authors acknowledge karmic reciprocity and the accumulation of merit as results of patronage, they tend to be silent on the issue of social reciprocity or an exchange between individuals. This is in line with the Buddhist ideal of the perfection of giving, an ideal akin to what has been called the “pure” gift, a gift which is given without any thought of reciprocation from the receiver. In contrast to this ideal, scholars like Pierre Bourdieu have claimed such an idea to be “the impossible gift.” Marcel Mauss’ essay *The Gift* is probably the most well-known critique of the pure gift (a gift given with no reciprocation), in which Mauss argues that all gifts are reciprocated. Mauss’ essay posits that gift giving is a form of economic exchange and always entails a counter-gift.⁶² Within this school of thought, there is no pure gift, that is, all gifts are reciprocated. If we take this critique of gift giving seriously, we must then ask what is being reciprocated in the social realm when a ruler gives a canon of religious scriptures.

Social Reciprocity and the Cult of Relics

⁶⁰ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [New Delhi ed.], 424.4.

⁶¹ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 577.12-15.

⁶² Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Reissue; W. W. Norton & Company, 2000).

To answer that question, I will borrow from Patrick Geary's analysis of the circulation of the relics of Christian saints in medieval Europe.⁶³ Such a comparison allows us to highlight the often overlooked ritual and social function of Tibetan canons. The circulation of the Christian relics, or "sacred commodities" as Geary calls them, has much in common with the giving of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. Indeed, the Tibetan Buddhist Canons were often treated as relics of the Buddha's speech.

In terms of social reciprocity, the giving of such objects as relics or consecrated collections of scripture had at least two effects: 1) the creation of a bond between giver and receiver in which prestige was conferred on the giver, and 2) the creation of a sense of authority around the giver. In the first case, Geary writes, "Between equals or near equals, cordial relationships were created and affirmed by the exchange of gifts. Between individuals or groups of differing status, the disparity of the exchange both articulated and defined the direction and degree of subordination."⁶⁴ In this light, when a Tibetan ruler gave a printed canon of scriptures, he or she placed the monastic community and their other subjects in their debt, highlighted their role at the top of society (as someone able to give a gift that outweighs what anyone else can adequately reciprocate), and increased their authority and prestige.

In the second case, the creation of authority for the giver, Geary notes that in the exchange of relics in medieval Europe, the giving of relics constituted an important form of promotion for the giver. The giving of relics by the Pope, far from decreasing the importance of Rome as a holy site because it was dispersing its cache of sacred objects around Europe, in fact

⁶³ Patrick Geary, "Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 169-191.

⁶⁴ Geary, "Sacred Commodities," 173.

increased the prestige and holiness of Rome as the ultimate source of sacred objects.⁶⁵ It increased knowledge of Rome even among the general public, who increasingly wanted to make pilgrimage to the source of their local relic. In the same way, a Tibetan ruler did not diffuse his or her power by sending out copies of the scriptures to all the monasteries in the kingdom, but instead heightened the prestige of the king and the capital.

The Canons produced in the eighteenth century, particularly in Tibetan areas, were distributed widely. Tsültrim Rinchen, in the catalogue of the Degé Tengyur, informs us that the Degé Kangyur was printed and given as a “gift of Dharma” around 1,500 times in the first decade after it was completed. Moreover, he informs us that even as he was finishing the catalogue to the Tengyur in 1744, that collection had already been printed and given as a “gift of Dharma” twenty-one times.⁶⁶ The distribution and influence of the Degé Kangyur and Tengyur is attested to in Tibetan writings that mention their acquisition. Copies were distributed throughout eastern Tibet, and formed the basis of several subsequent efforts to print canonical collections, including the Choné Tengyur, and the Ragya (Ra rgya) and Wara (Wa ra) editions of the entire Canon. Even the leaders of Trochen (Khro chen) in Gyelrong (Rgyal rong) to the east, who favored the Bön (Bon) religion, acquired a copy of the Degé print of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. The grandeur of the publication may have been influential in the decision to print the Bön canon in Gyelrong later in the eighteenth century.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Geary, “Sacred Commodities,” 182-83.

⁶⁶ Tshul khrim rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 448: *bka' 'gyur ro 'tshal yongs su tshang ba tshar grangs brgya phrag bco lnga tsam chos kyi sbyin par btang ba dang / ... dgongs 'grel yongs su tshang pa tshar nyi shu rtsa gcig tsam chos kyi sbyin par stsal ba dang /*.

⁶⁷ Samten Gyaltzen Karmay, *Feast of the Morning Light: The Eighteenth Century Wood-Engravings of Shenrab's Life-Stories and the Bon Canon from Gyalrong* (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2005), 78; Kurtis R. Schaeffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 204 n. 57.

The books printed at Choné were also circulated and made their way into the hands of the most celebrated figures in Asia. Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé tells us in the *Ocean Annals* (*Deb ther rgya mtsho*), a historical work on the Tibetan region of Amdo, that while the Third Pañchen Lama Lobzang Penden Yeshé (PaN chen bla ma blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes) was staying at Kumbum (Sku 'bum) monastery during his journey to China in 1779-1780, Rinchen Pendzom sent him a print of the new Choné Tengyur. She also sent one of the first sets of prints (*dpar phud*) of the Choné Tengyur to the emperor of China, at which, as Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé narrates the event, the emperor was pleased.⁶⁸

After these initial gifts, the *Ocean Annals* indicates that prints of the entire Tibetan Buddhist Canon from Choné and Degé continued to be acquired throughout the next century. The *Ocean Annals*, which was completed in the 1860s, contains dozens of instances of printed Kangyurs being acquired, usually for the purpose of depositing in a newly built or renovated temple. For example, we find at least ten references to the Choné Kangyur being acquired, and four instances of the Choné Tengyur being acquired. The Degé Kangyur was acquired at least three times and the Degé Tengyur was acquired five times. This includes only the instances in which the source of the Canon is explicitly mentioned, and this history only covers the northeastern region of Amdo. The Beijing Kangyur and Tengyur were likewise sent out to religious institutions as well as eminent religious and political figures.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho* [*The Ocean Annals of Amdo: Yul mdo smad kyi ljoñs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*] [TBRC W6004] (Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1975-1977), 3:283.6-284.3.

⁶⁹ The giving of a Kangyur by the Qianlong court to an official in Rehe (Chengde) is discussed in a palace memorial dated to the ninth year of Qianlong (Neiwufu zouzhi 內務府奏摺, no. 05-0060-007). While I have not come across any documents relating to the giving of the Canon to imperial monasteries, it is likely that this occurred, and at the least we know that there were Beijing editions in imperial monasteries.

Not only were these Canons sent out, but when they arrived at the recipient location, consecration rituals were performed to invest them with religious power.⁷⁰ In medieval Europe, the relics of saints similarly went through what was called a “translation” at their new home, a set of ritual acts which Geary explains as both authenticating them as true relics and promoting them to the local community.⁷¹ In the case of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, in addition to the sight of a large pony or yak train loaded down with volumes of texts, the consecration of a newly acquired Canon announced its arrival and its importance to the new community.

Economic Exchanges

The cataloguers largely extol the perfection of giving by eighteenth-century monarchs, and indeed many Kangyurs and Tengyurs are said to have been given as gifts. This seems to have been particularly the case in the first few years after the completion of a new xylograph edition and in some cases gifts continued to be given on occasion to figures or institutions of great esteem. But not everyone, or even the majority of those, who obtained a printed canon received it as a free gift. The catalogues describe several instances, and more are found in other sources, of the printed Canons being exchanged for silver or other material goods.

In most instances in which a Kangyur or Tengyur is obtained by a person or institution, Tibetan sources describe the collections as being “invited” (*gdan ’dren pa / gdan ’dren zhus pa*), which does not imply one way or the other if anything was exchanged for the Canon. At other times we are told that the collections were “ransomed” (*blus*), which implies that something was exchanged for them. We find this term often in the *Ocean Annals* in instances when a Kangyur

⁷⁰ For a late seventeenth century description of the acquisition of a printed Kangyur and its consecration at its new home, see Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, *Ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed* [*Bka’ ’gyur rin po che byin rlabs gzi ’bar gyi kha byang ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed*], in *Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan gyi gsung ’bum* [TBRC W1KG1321], vol. 7 (*ja*) (Beijing, n.d.), 519-528.

⁷¹ Geary, “Sacred Commodities,” 186.

or Tengyur is obtained. Most obvious is when something is clearly stated as being “offered” (*phul*) in exchange, or ransom, for a Kangyur or Tengyur.⁷²

For example, the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* tells us that when Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso travelled with his brother Makzor Gönpö to meet the Kangxi emperor, Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso made an offering (*phul*) of two thousand sang of silver in order to procure the imperial Kangyur. He brought (or invited: *gdan 'dren pa*) it back to Choné where it was deposited in the newly built Jokhang.⁷³ In the *Ocean Annals* we find that around the year 1825, Könchok Senggé (dkon mchog sengge, 1768-1833), who had been the twenty-fifth throne holder of Labrang monastery, offered five hundred sang of silver for a Kangyur from Choné.⁷⁴

Income for a College

The *Ocean Annals* gives us a glimpse of the continuing use of the Kangyur and Tengyur at Choné, stating that “There is still a printing house director (*dpar dpon*) today and the offerings for Kangyurs and Tengyurs are given to support the Tantra College.”⁷⁵ The word I translate as “offering” here is the Tibetan *yön* (*yon*), a word that can mean a fee or a price but that in a religious context implies that it is a gift in exchange for something else. Since one should not charge money for, or sell, the Buddhist teachings, Tibetan Buddhists speak of money or items given in exchange for Buddhist teachings or scriptures with this special term which implies the

⁷² On the use of human honorific terms, such as inviting (*gdan 'dren pa*; *spyän 'dren pa*), see Hildegard Diemberger, “Holy Books as Ritual Objects and Vessels of Teaching in the Era of the ‘Further Spread of the Doctrine’ (*bstan pa yang dar*),” in *Revisiting Rituals in a Changing Tibetan Context*, ed. K. Buffetrille (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 10-11.

⁷³ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstän 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.] 402.1-3: *snga sor pho brang du byon pa'i skabs dngul srang nyis stong lhag tsam phul te gtan drangs pa'i bka' 'gyur rin po che jo khang gi steng du bzhugs su bcug*.

⁷⁴ Dkon mchog bstän pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 2:142.5.

⁷⁵ Dkon mchog bstän pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 3:288.1-2: *dpar dpon na rim kyang 'di nas bsdad de bka' bstän gyi yon gyis rgyud pa grwa tshang la chos thebs gtong zhing /*.

sense of a donation or offering and not of a payment or fee, although it is often hard to tell the difference.

Karma, Merit, and Other Reciprocations

In the previous section we examined some critiques of the pure gift and highlighted ways in which Canons were items of exchange, bringing tangibles like silver but also intangibles such as prestige and the reinforcement of hierarchy. Buddhist theories of merit and karma, however, do allow for a way for the production and giving of Canons to bring returns, sometimes very extravagant returns, though the mechanisms for this are often couched in the impersonal laws of cause and effect. In this section we will look at how the cataloguers describe the merit earned from producing Canons and the karmic results such an accumulation of merit may bring.

Merit

When we examine what the catalogues say about the motivations of the rulers, we see that the overwhelming justification given is the powerful merit attached to activities surrounding scripture, and in particular to printing and disseminating the entire Canon. The cataloguers explain in no uncertain terms the tremendous amount of merit accumulated through the production of a wood-block edition of the Canon. These are generally found in sections of the catalogues on the benefits (*phan yon*) of scriptural production and dissemination. The case for the production of the Canon as a supreme merit making activity is made by quoting from canonical scriptures at length. To take one example, in the section of the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* in which Könchok Jikmé Wangpo discusses the merit gained from the Tengyur

project, he quotes from over a dozen different canonical texts. Many of the same sources are also used by the other cataloguers.⁷⁶

The main theme of these quotes is similar to the famous passages from the perfection of wisdom literature which state the great merit gained and other benefits accrued through copying out scripture, particularly the scripture in which a given passage is found. Most of these passages then discuss copying the Word of the Buddha in the form of that particular scripture. The cataloguers make the case that these canonical references to merit earned through copying a particular scripture can be extrapolated and applied to all scripture, an argument that is not without warrant based on the canonical passages. In addition, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo makes the case in his catalogue that the Tengyur should be considered as bringing the same benefits as the Kangyur. To support this position, he quotes from the *Unexcelled Continuum* (*Rgyud bla ma*) attributed to Maitreya (Mgon po byams pa), a work found in the Tengyur. This passage explains that the words of someone who truthfully explains the Buddha's teachings should be treated just the same as the words of the Buddha.⁷⁷

This argument seems reasonable enough when applied to the straight-forward commentaries on Buddhist scriptures and treatises on Buddhist topics, but the Tengyur also contains treatises dealing with topics, or sciences that are not exclusively Buddhist and that in some cases were composed by non-Buddhists. These treatises make up what are known as the five outer (that is, non-Buddhist) sciences which include grammar and medicine. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo makes the case that these works should also be considered as generating vast merit when reproduced in the Tengyur. Quoting again from the *Unexcelled Continuum*, he cites a

⁷⁶ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 456.13-467.16. Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [2008 ed.], 511.10- 517.4, cites seven of the same passages that are used in the *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*.

⁷⁷ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 456.18-457.6.

passage which explains that learning the five sciences is a necessary prerequisite in the training of those who eventually become omniscient Buddhas. These treatises then, according to Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, are essential texts for traversing the Buddhist path.⁷⁸ Thus Könchok Jikmé Wangpo establishes that the Tengyur, which contains explanations of the Buddha's teachings by Indian masters as well as material (some not explicitly Buddhist) on the five outer sciences, is equal to the Kangyur—at least in terms of the merit gained from reproducing the collections. Having established that, he can then go on to use quotes from scriptures in the Kangyur and apply the benefits outlined in them to the production of the Tengyur as well.

The canonical sources used to discuss the benefits of the printing of the canon obviously do not mention the use of printing since they are Indic compositions from before the introduction of printing technology to the Indian subcontinent. However, the cataloguers are able to use quotes which promote the production of books, printing being a method for such production (and one of the most effective at that). Könchok Jikmé Wangpo begins with a passage from the *Eight Thousand Line Perfection of Wisdom* (*'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa*, Skt. *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*; Könchok Jikmé Wangpo refers to it as the *Mother Sūtra* [*Yum gyi mdo*]) which recommends that “at the least one should include these teachings in a book and then hold it or set it in a place” so that one can worship it in various ways (the types of worship that could be offered are listed in the text).⁷⁹ The idea of making books of scriptural teachings and then worshipping them is repeated frequently throughout the rest of the discussion.

Karmic Reciprocations

⁷⁸ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 465.5-12.

⁷⁹ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 457.19: *chung ngu na glegs bam du chud par byas te 'chang ngam bzhag la....*

The accumulations of merit, and in particular the great stores of merit that we have just seen are said to be gained from the production and giving of the Canon, are explained as bringing corresponding karmic results. Several specific results are suggested by the catalogues in the same section on the benefits of publication. These results include peace and prosperity for the areas in which the production takes place, as well as the continuation of the royal family as rulers and the maintenance of their wealth for generations.

The domains of the kings and queens who printed the Canon are said to become peaceful. There will be a cessation of warfare, and even violence and theft between subjects of the kingdom will subside. The threat of disease will also subside. In addition to the lessening of these negative situations, there will be an increase in positive aspects of life and livelihood. These are described particularly in terms of favorable environmental and agricultural circumstances.

In another section on the purpose (*dgos ched*) of printing the Canon found in many of the catalogues, the writers record the outcomes which are hoped will result from the publications. In these sections we see that those who produced the Canons intentionally sought positive karmic results from their endeavors. These lists of desired outcomes start with the most lofty of intentions: to benefit the teachings of the Buddha and aid in the liberation of all beings. As one moves down the list we read that the publications aim to be a cause of long-life for eminent religious and political figures. The sponsoring rulers themselves hope to be blessed with many offspring and continuing wealth and political strength.

The list of purposes “in the minds of the ruling mother and [grand]son” contained in the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* begins with a hope for the continuation and spread of the Buddhist

teachings and, in particular, the teachings of the Geluk (Dge lugs) school.⁸⁰ Next there is the intention that religious teachers have long lives and their network of activities continue to expand. Three religious leaders are mentioned specifically here, all contemporary leaders of the Geluk school: the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama, and Changkya Rolpé Dorjé. Following that, the health of the emperor of China and the increase of his domain are mentioned. Then there is a general hope that in all kingdoms of the world “may rain fall as in a monsoon, may crops and cattle always be good, may epidemics, famine, fighting, war, banditry, earthquakes, and so forth, all signs of inauspiciousness, be completely pacified, and may all excellent qualities such as being good to one another, being religious, wealthy, full of life, powerful, famous, and so forth, increase like the waxing moon.”⁸¹ After that, the intention of the publication moves specifically to the rulers of Choné. First, it is hoped that all the aspirations of the recently deceased king, Jamyang Norbu, be fulfilled. Then, it is hoped that the queen, Rinchen Pendzom, and her grandson, Tensung Tsering, be free of harm, have long lives, and that their political domain continue to expand. Finally, the writer himself, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, expresses the aspiration that he himself attain the unification of knowledge and wisdom and lead all beings to complete liberation.

The *Degé Kangyur Catalogue* contains a similar set of purposes.⁸² It begins with three primary purposes (*brnags pa'i dgos pa'i btso bo*): that all beings take part in enlightened activities, that they achieve enlightenment, and that bodhisattvas continue to purify lands and ripen beings. These three are followed by a list of provisional purposes (*gnas skabs kyi dgos pa*)

⁸⁰ The entire listing of purposes is found in Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 455.1-456.12.

⁸¹ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 455.15-21.

⁸² These are found in Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [2008 ed.], beginning at 509.17.

which is largely the same as the one found in the *Choné Tengyur Catalogue* except that the *Degé Kangyur Catalogue* makes no mention of the emperor of China and expounds a little further on the purposes related to the Degé king and his domain. For example, the hope is expressed that all previous sins of the ruler, in his present life and all past lives, be eliminated. It is hoped that his aspirations be accomplished and his “life, merit, and wealth increase like a waxing moon.” There is also the hope that all the monastic establishments in his domain will continue and be stable.

The aspiration that one’s kingdom or empire continue to be prosperous and grow, and that the ruling house maintain their power and wealth is well within the mainline Tibetan Buddhist reading of the law of karmic cause and effect. Powerful rulers were often regarded as having achieved such status as the result of many lifetimes of accumulating merit. There is even precedence for this within the Jataka narratives and the life story of the Buddha.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have explored the ways in which the production of an edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon was a centralizing event which conferred prestige and authority on its creators; however, there are different ways of seeing such centrality and authority. Geertz’s theories gives us a perspective on how large cultural productions can create a charisma of office, and, perhaps more appropriately in our present study, a charisma of activity. In the creation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, charisma is generated through the ruler’s ability to act in a culturally significant fashion, but on a scale which is only possibly because of his or her unique place in history. The Tibetan Buddhist writers we have surveyed interpret this charisma as the qualities of a lay bodhisattva, and specifically a religious king or wheel turning monarch, working for the benefit of the teachings and beings. Such a figure has moral charisma generated by their ability to bend the activity of their subjects toward religious endeavors. The merit that a

ruler gains through their religious projects, which are on a scale that no one else is capable of, allows them to continually be reborn as rulers of prosperous and pious polities.

While the Dharma activities of a religious ruler are located within the framework of perfect giving and merit, we can also interpret the creation of a xylograph Canon as helping to maintain the social stratification in which the rulers remain at the top of society and keep the rest of the population both morally and economically indebted to them. As Geary would have it, all forms of reciprocity reinforce social hierarchy. In addition, while the canons were given as gifts, they were also bought and sold and in some cases served as revenue streams for the polity or the polity's monastic institutions long after the wood blocks were carved. The dissemination of these editions of the Canon also gave the institutions from which they came lasting prestige. They centered them, making them both locations where the (written) Dharma flourished and also where intense economic activity and the organization of resources and labor was carried out.

Chapter 5: Printing and Canons in the Eighteenth Century

One of the original questions that I brought to this project and that initially drove my research was “What was it about the eighteenth century that brought together Kangyur and Tengyur production and the technology of printing in an unprecedented way?” While I came across few explicit historical explanations for this question, a couple of factors emerged as likely contributors to the surge of Kangyur and Tengyur printing in the eighteenth century. The first factor involves the compatibility of printing in general to the needs of eighteenth-century polities and institutions resulting in wider usage of printing technology. The second factor also involves the political context, but more specifically the eighteenth-century lay rulers, their religious worldviews and their need to legitimate their rule. Their legitimacy was increasingly important given the power relations of the time and in particular the rise of a new type of political leader—the reincarnate lama. This chapter will explore these elements which contributed to the rise of eighteenth-century printing and Kangyur and Tengyur publication.

Institutionalization and Standardization in the Eighteenth Century

I will begin by addressing one of the possible reasons that printing gained so much traction in eighteenth-century Tibet. At least part of the answer lies in the steady increase of institutionalization and standardization within polities and monasteries during the eighteenth century. Several new or newly prominent polities were on the rise in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the Qing dynasty, the Ganden Podrang (Dga’ ldan pho brang) government, Bhutan, Choné (Co ne), Degé (Sde dge), and the Gorkha kingdom in Nepal. There was a consolidation of power and wealth among these Asian polities the likes of which had not been seen for several centuries. At the same time a number of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries,

especially within the Geluk school, were expanding to become mega monasteries housing thousands of monks and controlling vast estates.¹ These expanding polities and monasteries were interested in processes to enable effective administration and standards that could be used, and reproduced, across large bureaucracies and institutional structures. Printing seems to have appealed to these new centers of power as a means of standard reproduction. Most of eighteenth-century power-holders, polities and monasteries, became involved in the publication of wood block editions of Tibetan texts. They established printing houses of unprecedented size that were used to support institutional standardization and were also a means of strengthening their institutional power and influence.

The motivation behind at least some of these publishing projects stemmed from a desire to train able administrators in these growing kingdoms and large monasteries. For the monasteries, there was also a need to provide texts used in the increasingly standardized monastic curricula of large religious institutions which housed several colleges and thousands of monks. Standard monastic curricula, as well as standard ritual calendars and liturgical materials, created a common institutional identity throughout the monasteries of a particular region or school. The increasing demand for such materials was well met by the establishment of printing houses. We can get a sense for these institutional uses of printing by looking at the eighteenth-century development of printing houses in the Degé kingdom in Kham and at Labrang Trashikhyil (Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil) monastery in Amdo.

¹ On the development of large monasteries within the Ganden (dGa' ldan)/Geluk (dGe lugs) school see Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 142-43.

Training Scribes in Degé

Degé is famous for its large publishing projects, and we have discussed the printing of the Kangyur and Tengyur there in previous chapters. Now, however, I would like to call attention to some of the printing that took place in Degé before the more well known Kangyur project commenced in the late 1720s. In doing so, I will highlight the gradual development of printing at Degé and the way that wood block printing perhaps aided the Degé court in the training scribes within their domain.

The rulers of Degé were probably inspired to undertake immense canonical printing projects by the examples of the Jang Satam ('Jang sa tham)/Litang (Li thang) and Kangxi editions of the Kangyur. However, the direct impetus for initially engaging in xylograph printing in Degé came from their close relationship with the abbots of Ngor Ewam Chömden (Ngor E wam chos ldan) monastery, one of the three main Sakya monasteries in central Tibet. The primary early instigator of printing at Degé was Sanggyé Püntsoḳ (Sangs rgyas phun tshogs, 1649-1705), the twenty-fifth Great Abbot (*mkhan chen*) of Ngor. Sanggyé Püntsoḳ was invited to come to Degé by its ruler. He spent the last years of his life in Degé and was influential in the establishment of xylograph publishing there.² As we saw in chapter three, he is mentioned in the *Royal Genealogy of Degé* (*Sde dge'i rgyal rabs*) by Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin (Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin, b. 1786), as the key figure in one of the earliest wood block publications produced at Degé—a bilingual xylographic edition of the *Eight-Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom* (*'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa*).³ The patron of this and other early

² Mu po, ed., *Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar* [*Gsung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar kun 'dus me long*] (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002), 136-141.

³ Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin, *Sde dge rgyal rabs* [*Dpal sa skyong sde dge chos kyi rgyal po rim byon gyi rnam thar dge legs nor bu'i phreng ba 'dod dgu rab 'phel*] [TBRC: W23737] (Bir, Distt. Kangra, H.P.: D. Tsondu Senghe Yorey Tsang, 1994), 19b.1-3. The same passage is discussed in

publications was Sanggyé Tenpa (Sangs rgyas bstan pa), the third abbot of the Degé royal monastery (Degé dgon chen Lhun grub steng) and the king of Degé for several decades in the latter half of the seventeenth century.⁴

The earliest datable Degé publication that I have found was not a strictly religious text, but a grammar treatise published by Sanggyé Tenpa at Lhüdrup Teng in the wood monkey (*shing sprel*) year, 1704. This work is a short (25 folios) commentary by Chökyong Zangpo (Chos skyong bzang po, 1441-1527) on Tonmi Sambhota's (Thon mi Sam+b+ho ṭa) two root texts on Tibetan grammar and spelling.⁵ A grammar treatise is a very practical choice for an early publication. It could be used to help train future scribes and editors or serve as a reference for them. Such a purpose is mentioned in the printer's colophon, where it states that the publication was made "having found this root text and commentary to be indispensable to the fulfillment of reading and writing."⁶

Zhaxia 扎呷, ed., *Zang wen «Da zang jing» gai lun* 藏文《大藏经》概论, (Xining: Qinghai ren min chu ban she, 2008), 111-112. The *Dege Xian zhi* 德格县志, ed. Sichuan Sheng Dege Xian zhi bian zuan wei yuan hui 四川省德格县志编纂委员会 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1995), 425, dates this publication to 1703, stating that "据记载为康熙四十二年 (1703) 刻制" (according to written records the carving was done in the forty-second year of Kangxi [1703]).

⁴ Joseph Kolmas, ed., *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge* (Prague: Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1968), 34 and Jann Ronis, "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas: Contestation and Synthesis in the Growth of Monasticism at Katok Monastery from the 17th through the 19th Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009), 65.

⁵ For the date of this edition see Chos skyong bzang po, *Sum rtags rtsa 'grel* ['Gos lo tsā ba d+harma pā las mdzad pa'i bod kyi brda'i bye brag legs par bshad pa sum cu pa dang rtags kyi 'jug pa'i rtsa 'grel] (Sde dge: Sde dge par khang, 1704), 25a.2. The blocks for this text are still held by the Degé Printing House. Zhaxia, ed., *Zang wen «Da zang jing» gai lun*, 112, also discusses this text as one of the earliest publications at Degé, though only giving a Chinese gloss of the title: *Zangwen wenfa* [Tibetan Grammar].

⁶ *rtsa 'grel 'di nyid 'dri klog mtha' dag la med du mi rung ba lta bu'i nges pa rnyed nas...* The full printer's colophon to this edition reads: *ces pa bsil ldan ljong gi bstan pa'i srol 'byed chen po thon mi sam+b+ho ṭa'i mdzad ba'i sum rtags rtsa 'grel 'di nyid 'dri klog mtha' dag la med du mi rung ba lta bu'i nges pa rnyed nas sde dge lhun grub steng du sde dge gdan sa pa sangs rgyas bstan pas rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i nyi sgröl byed pa shing sprel lo'i sa ga can gyi zla ba'i*

Sanggyé Tenpa's successor to the Degé throne, Sönam Püntsoḳ (Bsod nams phun tshogs), is also credited in colophons with the printing of several short texts. Two of these are also works on grammar and spelling: the *Lamp of Speech* (*Ngag gi sgron ma*) by Pelkhang Lotsāwa Ngawang Chökyi Gyatso (Dpal khang lo tsā ba Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho, 15th/16th c.) and the *Clove Pavilion Dictionary* (*Dag yig li shi'i gur khang*) by Möndrup Lotsāwa Rinchen Trashī (Smon grub lo tsā ba Rin chen bkra shis, b. 15th c.).⁷ In these early Degé printing projects we see an interest in practical reference works for a kingdom looking to train literate scribes,

dkaṛ tshes la chos sbyin mi zad pa'i rgyun spel ba'i dge bas lung rtogs dam pa'i chos kyi tshig don 'khrul med dar zhing rgyas pa'i rtsa lag tu gyur cig/. Chos skyong bzang po, 'Gos lo tsā ba d+harmā pā las mdzad pa'i bod kyi brda'i bye brag legs par bshad pa sum cu pa dang rtags kyi 'jug pa'i rtsa 'grel (Sde dge: Sde dge par khang, 1704), 25a.1-3.

⁷ The blocks for these works are still held by the Degé printing house. The printer's colophon for the *Ngag gi sgron ma* reads: *oM s+ba s+ti/_brjod bya rang bzhin gyis grub rtsa yi gre'i/_dbyi bas su gnas pas brjod _dpal khang pa chos mdzad lo tsA bar grags/_byed ngag grub pa/_gangs can mrda' yi lam du 'dren byed pa'i/_gtsug lag bye ba'i rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru/_mkhas pa'i ngag sgron gdeng can bsti ba'i gnas/_glegs bshad chu klung 'bum gyi yongs gang ba/_blo ldan ngang mo rtse ba'i do ra che/_dzad med rba rlab 'phyur ba'i par 'di ko ta/_lugs zung mkhyen pa'i lus stobs rmad byung sdes/_dge bcu'i rgyal bstan 'degs la mi dal zhing /_bgrangs yas bsod nams mtsho ba drug ldan pa'i/_phun tshogs phan bde'i dra bas mdzas des bskrun/_de lta'i legs byas me shel khang bzang can/_khor gsum yang dag gzi 'od 'bum 'phro bas/_mtha' med 'khor ba'i mun pa drung 'byin nas/_rnam mkhyen rdzogs byang lam du bsgrod phyir bsngo//sar+wa dza yan+tu//_//_lha skyab kyis gso pa'o//. Circles underneath the text highlight the syllables *sde dge*, *bsod nams*, and *phun tshogs*, that is, the name of the Degé ruler. For the colophon, see Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho, *Bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa'i bstan bcos tshig le'u byas pa mkhas pa'i ngag gi sgron ma* (Sde dge: Sde dge par khang, n.d. [early 18th c.]), 21a.4-7. The printer's colophon for the *Dag yig li shi'i gur khang* reads: *oM dza ya dza yan+tu/_gsung rab yan lag bcu gnyis chu gter che/_gsar rnying brda tshig gting zab spog dka' ba/_rnam dpyod khyor chur gsol byed li gur 'di/_thos bsam bdud rtsir bsgyur phyir mkha' la bskrun/_brda tshig skom gyis gdungs ba'i phyin pa/_tshig don yan lag brgyad ldan da 'thungs shig/_grangs med gcig car bskrun pa'i chos sbyin 'di/_sde dge lhun grub steng gi chos grwa ru/_byang phyogs nor 'dzin chos bzhin skyong ba po/_rdo rje 'dzin pa bsod nams phun tshogs kyis/_par du bsgrubs pa'i legs byas gang thob pa/_sangs rgyas bstan pa rgyas pa'i mchod par 'bul/_dpe 'di phyi mo gnyis dang bstun nas bris shing dpang po po ta la'i par yig yid brten dang mi 'gal bar rgyas pa'i yan lag 'ga' zhig zhabs rtog gi tshul du bkod cing slan chad kyang zhus dag sogs 'dug na mdzad par zhu zhu/_yi ge pa ni bkra lus bgyis so/_sar+ba mang+galaM//_b+ha wan+tu/. For this colophon, see Rin chen bkra shis, *Dag yig li shi'i gur khang* [*Bod kyi skad las gsar rnying gi brda'i khyad par ston pa legs par bshad pa li shi'i gur khang*] [TBRC W27219] (Sde dge: Sde dge par khang, n.d. [early 18th c.]), 16a.4-6.**

likely for the purpose of both writing out scriptures as well as administering the growing domain of the Degé kingdom. The training of scribes reached its apex during the large Kangyur and Tengyur projects, when these grammars, along with other texts, were used to train dozens of scribes to work in the scribal workshops which prepared the texts that were to be carved onto blocks. The editors of both the Degé Kangyur and Tengyur remark that the publications of the Degé court increased knowledge of writing in the region.⁸ By the time of the canonical publication projects, Degé was a veritable factory of printing blocks—a technology that one early Degé colophon describes as “this gift of Dharma which produces countless amounts all at once.”⁹ The increase in publishing was matched by an increase in literary studies. With Situ Pañchen Chökyi Jungné and Zhuchen Tsültrim Rinchen leading the way, Degé became renowned in the eighteenth century as a major center of study for grammar and linguistics.¹⁰

Textbooks and the Institutionalizing of Printing at Labrang

By the second half of the eighteenth century we find calligraphers from Degé showing up in other areas. In 1777, a calligrapher from Degé came to Labrang Trashi Khyil monastery in Amdo to write out texts. He stayed for several years and received compensation in the form of

⁸ Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* [*Rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i bzhugs byang dkar chag*] (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2008), 416.11-20 (this and other passages relating to the training of scribes for the Degé Kangyur are treated in Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book*, 104) and Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [*Kun mkhyen nyi ma'i gnyen gyi bka' lung gi dgongs don rnam par 'grel ba'i bstan bcos gangs can pa'i skad du 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi 'chad pa'i ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa'i bsod nams kyi sprin phun rgyas par dkrigs pa'i tshul las brtsams pa'i gtam ngo mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gсар pa*] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1985), 554.2-556.4.

⁹ *grangs med gcig car bskrun pa'i chos sbyin 'di*. Rin chen bkra shis, *Dag yig li shi'i gur khang*, 16a.5-6.

¹⁰ See Ronis, “Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas,” 241, for comments on the status and continuing legacy of linguistic studies initiated by Chökyi Jungné at Degé.

silver, horses, cloth, leather, and other goods.¹¹ Inviting scribes from other areas was a common occurrence in the early decades of the Labrang printing house.¹² I would now like to look briefly at the development of printing at that institution in order to demonstrate some of the ways that a rapidly growing monastery used printing. The increasing use of printing at Labrang in turn had an effect on the practice of printing itself.

Wood block printing began at Labrang Trashi Khyil in the mid-eighteenth century under the direction of the Second Jamyang Zhepa ('Jam dbyangs bzhad pa), Könchok Jikmé Wangpo (Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, 1728-1791). In the biography of Könchok Jikmé Wangpo written by his disciple the Third Gungtang (Gung thang), Könchok Tenpé Drönmé (Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, 1762-1823), we find several passages relating to the establishment of printing at Labrang. The earliest reference is recorded when Könchok Jikmé Wangpo was just twenty-two years old, or around the year 1749. At that time, he brought a block carver by the name of Lobzang Dargyé (Blo bzang dar rgyas) from Yershong (G.yer gshong) to carve sādhana texts related to the previous Jamyang Zhepa's tutelary deity.¹³ This episode seems to have been a limited affair which did not establish regular publishing activities at Labrang, since later in the biography Könchok Tenpé Drönmé states that before the iron snake (*lcags sbrul*) year of 1761 there was not a tradition of printing at Labrang.¹⁴

¹¹ Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, *Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i rnam thar* [*Dus gsum rgyal ba'i spyi gzugs rje btsun dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa rgyal sras rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs*], in *Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me'i gsung 'bum* [TBRC W22112], vol. 4 (*nga*) (Lhasa: Zhol par khang gsar pa), 136a.6-136b.2.

¹² For a pair of other references to the movement of scribes and book artisans across regions see Peter Skilling, "From bKa' bstan bcos to bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur," in *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, edited by Helmut Eimer (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 103 n. 16).

¹³ Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, *Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i rnam thar*, 37b.2-3

¹⁴ Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, *Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i rnam thar*, 69a.2-69b.3

Then, in 1761, two years after his return from studying in Central Tibet, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo established wood block printing as an integral part of Labrang's activities. In that year,

Because all of the textual traditions had become rare, [Könchok Jikmé Wangpo] instructed Darhan Chöjé [to act as] patron and Rapjam Künga Tendzin [to act as] manager. Several monks were made to study block carving and afterward printing blocks for both the *Mind* and *Signs* (*Blo Rtags gnyis*) were the first to be carved. Since then, the carving has been continuous and now has become a source of Dharma [in itself].¹⁵

The *Mind* and *Signs* mentioned here by Könchok Tenpé Drönmé refer to the textbooks on the topics of mental states (*blo rig/rigs*) and reasoning (*rtags rigs*) written by the founder of Labrang monastery Jamyang Zhepé Dorjé Ngawang Tsöndrü ('Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje Ngag dbang brtson 'grus, 1648-1722).¹⁶ The selection of these two texts as the first to be printed is significant since they are the textbooks used at the beginning of monastic education in many Gelukpa monasteries.¹⁷ Prioritizing their publication indicates an emphasis toward using printing to supply study materials to monks of the monastery.

¹⁵ *sngar dgon 'dir par rkos rgyun chags kyi srol ma byung bas dpe rgyun thams cad dkon par yod pa'i stabs mnga' ris dar han chos rjer sbyin bdag dang / _rab 'byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin la gnyer gyi bka' phebs te/_grwa pa kha shas la par brko tshul slob tu bcug nas/_blo rtags gnyis kyi par thog mar brkos shing / _de nas bzung rgyun mi 'chad du brkos pa da lta chos kyi 'byung gnas lta bur gyur te.... Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i rnam thar, 69b.1-3.*

¹⁶ These two works are the *Rtags rigs kyi rnam bzhag nyung gsal legs bshad gser gyi phreng mdzes* and *Blo rig gi rnam bzhag nyung gsal legs bshad gser gyi phreng mdzes* which are found in the Labrang edition of Jamyang Zhepé Dorjé's collected works; see 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje'i gsung 'bum [TBRC W22186], (Bla brang bKra shis 'khyil, n.d.), 14:174-301 (*Rtags rigs*) and 14:303-374 (*Blo rig*).

¹⁷ Jamyang Zhepé Dorjé's textbooks were used at Gomang (Sgo mang) college of Drepung ('Bras spungs) and at Labrang monastery, as well as at their affiliates. There were two other main sets of textbooks used in Geluk monastic colleges. The standardization of curricula around these textbooks seems to have happened gradually from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and the wider use of printing in the eighteenth century likely helped cement these texts in the curriculum as well as making them easier to disseminate among the increasing population of monks at large monastic centres. On the three main sets of textbooks, or manuals, and their standardization, see Dreyfus, *Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, 124-25 and 143. Dreyfus also notes (148) that the textbooks of Labrang monastery eventually came to be used even in some

The printing of curricular materials to be used by monks is again attested in an episode found within the history of Buddhism in Amdo known as the *Ocean Annals* (*Deb ther rgya mtsho*) by Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, 1801-1866). This episode occurred in the wood pig (*sa phag*) year, 1779, when Labrang had just finished construction of its new assembly hall (*'du khang*). Tsang Trülku Tenpa Gyatso (Gtsang sprul sku Bstan pa rgya mtsho, 1737-1780) was invited to Labrang for the consecration of the new building. “At that time,” the *Ocean Annals* tells us, “he acquired many print copies of Trashi Khyil’s *Collected Topics* (*Bsdus grwa*) and distributed them to the community of monks.”¹⁸ The *Collected Topics* mentioned here most likely refers to *Opening the Golden Door to the Path of Reasoning: A Presentation of the Great Collected [Topics]* (*Bsdus chen gyi rnam bzhag rigs lam gser gyi sgo 'byed*) written by the first Jamyang Zhepa as a guide to the study of logic.¹⁹

Not only was Labrang printing study materials, but printing itself became a skill which monks studied at Labrang. By 1790, Labrang’s traditions of calligraphy and block carving were being disseminated to many of the forty or so branch monasteries under Labrang at the time, helping to spread this technical knowledge to other locations in Amdo and Mongolia.²⁰ The regularization of printing within monastic training and more widespread knowledge of the craft may have had the unintended result of devaluing the skills associated with printing. In early

non-Geluk monasteries in Amdo, in particular Nyingma (Rnying ma) and Jonang (Jo nang) institutions.

¹⁸ *sa phag la 'du khang gzims khang bcas gsar bskrun grub pa'i rab gnas kyang rje de nyid la zhus/ de dus khong gis bkra shis 'khyil gyi bsdus grwa tshar mang po dpar nas bsnams pa grwa mang la bkram/*. Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho [The Ocean Annals of Amdo: Yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho]* [TBRC W6004] (Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1975-77), 1:593.5-6.

¹⁹ This text is found in the Labrang edition of Jamyang Zhepa Dorjé’s collected works.; see 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje'i gsung 'bum, 14:377-488.

²⁰ Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, *Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i rnam thar*, 240a.1-6 and Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 2:38.5.

central and western Tibetan prints, such as those from Mang yul Gung thang, one often sees carver's signatures. Franz-Karl Ehrhard has suggested that these signatures are a sign of the high esteem paid to the carvers.²¹ However, by the eighteenth century these types of signatures became rare in Tibetan xylographs. Instead, we read in the *Ocean Annals* that by the time of the twenty-fifth abbot of Labrang monastery, Könchok Senggé (Dkon mchog seng ge, 1768-1833), the ones who were made to study printing and calligraphy at Labrang were monks of inferior intellect.²²

While the work of printing may not have carried great esteem at Labrang, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo nevertheless certainly valued the technology of printing and had a genuine interest in making books available for reading and studying. We see this in his establishment of a library at Labrang around the year 1775 when he was forty-eight years old. His biography tells us that:

Before this, although there was not a library (*dpe mdzod*) tradition, he established a tradition for the purpose of benefiting those students of limited means, and quickly over one thousand books arrived and became a great benefit for continuous teaching.²³

Here we see a concern for making books available to students for study, and particularly those who could not obtain books otherwise. From 1784 to 1786, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo travelled again to Ü (Dbus) and Tsang (Gtsang) and collected over three thousand rare texts which he

²¹ Franz-Karl Ehrhard, *Early Buddhist Block Prints from Mang-yul Gung-thang* (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2000), 69.

²² Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho*, 2:127.3; the pertinent statement reading: *blo dman rnams la dpar dang yi ge slob bcug/*. In a similar vein, Stanley Tambiah (citing D. K. Wyatt) provides evidence that working in the Thai Royal Printing Press was a punishment for high status monks who left the monkhood. Stanley J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 289.

²³ *de sngon dpe mdzod kyi srol med kyang /_don gnyer can cha rkyen srab pa rnams la phan pa'i phyir de'i srol btsugs pas ma 'gyangs par po ti stong phrag brgal ba byung ste bstan rgyun la shin tu phan por song /*. Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, *Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i rnam thar*, 130a.6-130b.1

brought back to Labrang for its library and for printing.²⁴ We can speculate that Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's intense interests in book collecting and printing were factors in making Labrang, and Amdo more generally, a centre of intense literary output in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Ritual Liturgies in Degé and Beijing

Monastic curricula were not the only things being standardized in the eighteenth century. The adoption of common liturgies in some areas coincided with the printing of liturgical collections. These could be distributed to the monks throughout a monastery or temple or even throughout the region for use in the regular ritual life of religious communities. Much of that ritual life was subsidized and sometimes even ordered by political leaders.

At Degé, the Ngor abbots who had been responsible for encouraging the court to take up printing also worked to establish new codes of conduct and reinvigorate the monastic ritual calendar. Zhuchen Tsültrim Rinchen in his catalogue to the Degé Tengyur tells us that Ngor abbots like Sanggyé Püntsock and Trashi Lhündrup (Bkra shis lhun grub) wrote new monastic customaries (*bca' yig*) and instituted new annual ceremonies and daily ritual schedules for monasteries throughout the Degé kingdom.²⁵ At the same time, the Degé court financed a large number of these rituals at monasteries throughout the kingdom.²⁶ Zhuchen later in his catalogue mentions among a list of several early Degé publications a collection of liturgical materials needed for rituals and recitation.²⁷ The exact content of this collection and its extent is not recorded by Zhuchen, but from the context it is likely that it was several volumes of texts. This was material that would be used in the regular ritual activity of Lhündrup Teng and other

²⁴ Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, *Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i rnam thar*, 195a.2-3.

²⁵ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 433.3-16.

²⁶ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 445.15-446.1.

²⁷ Tshul khriims rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 448.18-21.

monasteries in the Degé kingdom, particularly as the same schedule of ritual activities was adopted at religious centers across the region. The promulgation of monastic customaries and liturgical materials was continued by the canonical editors of Degé, Chökyi Jungné and Tsültrim Rinchen, who themselves wrote and spread these materials throughout Kham.²⁸

We see Choné Lama Drakpa Shedrup and Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen engaged in a similar effort to promote a standard code of conduct, course of study, and liturgy at Choné in the eighteenth century. This was almost a necessity for them as they oversaw the establishment of the first two monastic colleges at Choné (the philosophy and tantra colleges) and a rapid increase in the population of the monastery. They revised and promoted the rules of the monastery and developed a core liturgy and curricula for the colleges.²⁹ At the same time they, along with the Lords of Choné, worked to establish new monasteries in Amdo as well as areas of China and Mongolia to which these new models could be disseminated.³⁰ At least some of these efforts involved printing, as when several texts by Gomdé Namkha Gyeltsen that were studied in the tantra college were printed by Lobzang Tenpé Gyeltsen.³¹

Several collections of liturgical materials were also published in eighteenth-century Beijing.³² Most of these are one-volume collections composed of multiple short prayers and

²⁸ On Chökyi Jungné's monastic customaries, see Ronis, *Katok Monastery*, 157.

²⁹ On all these developments, see Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa bla rabs dang bcas pa chos 'byung gsal bar ston pa'i sgron me*, in *Chone Drakpa Shedrup Rinpoche: Collected Works of a Buddhist Master*, vol. 10 (a) (Asian Classics Input Project, n.d.), 15a.2-3; Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 400.2-4 and 424.5-17; and Juenai Luosang Danzhu 觉乃·洛桑丹珠 and Bingjiao Popa Ciren 冰角·婆帕次仁, *Anduo gucha Chandring si* 安多古刹禅定寺 (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1995), 65-66.

³⁰ Grags pa bshad sgrub, *Ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa bla rabs*, 15a.3.

³¹ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 424.2-5.

³² The Lessing Collection of University of Wisconsin-Madison Library's Special Collections Department holds prints of several of these collections and Taube (1966, 1145-1149) has catalogued a number of them.

ritual liturgies that would be used in the daily assemblies of a monastery. For example, a collection published in 1731 by the imperial monastery Ganden Chökhör Ling (Dga' ldan chos 'khor gling), also known as the Chahan Lama Lhakang (Cha han bla ma lha khang), contains thirty short individual texts ranging from prayers of refuge and the cultivation of bodhicitta (*skyabs 'gro sems bskyed*) to confessional rites (*ltung bshags*) and ritual cake offerings (*gtor 'bul*).³³ Just as with the printing of standard of monastic curricula, the printing of liturgical collections ensured a certain standard and interoperability between the monasteries within a particular domain or a particular school. Eighteenth-century monasteries, particularly those that received heavy patronage from local rulers, often had defined liturgical calendars. In Beijing, the schedule of monastic rituals was decreed by the Qing court.³⁴ For most of these ritual events the recitation of texts was the primary activity. In addition, at certain times, many monasteries were called on to engage in ritual activity simultaneously. For recitations by an entire assembly or multiple assembles of monks, printed texts helped ensure they were all on the same page, so to speak.

In the works on grammar and orthography printed at Degé and the monastic textbooks printed at Labrang, we find books which are primarily to be used for study. At Labrang,

³³ This is in the Lessing Collection of University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries' Special Collections Department, nos. 362-88. These have been catalogued by Leonard Zwilling, though Zwilling's primary numbering system is different than the shelf numbers of Lessing Collection items; see Zwilling, *Tibetan Blockprints in the Department of Rare and Special Collections*, Occasional Papers of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries 5 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, 1984), entries 31, 339, 325, 38, 292, 155, 249, 198, 237, 253, 369, 23, 110, 107, 141, 429, 101, 345, 172, 215, 481, 471, 475, 529, 146, 450, 137, and 2). The colophon at the end of the catalogue to this liturgical collection (Lessing no. 388, 3a.1-4) reads: *ta'i ching yung ceng rgyal po lo dgu zla ba brgyad pa la yar tshes la/ /cha han bla ma lha kha ba [= khang] dga' ldan chos 'khor gling du legs par bsgrubs// //yi ge pa ni dge slong dge legs 'byung nas pris [= bris] pa'o// //dge bas 'gro rnam sangs rgyas thob par shog/.*

³⁴ An example of a court document listing the annual ritual activities performed at over a dozen Tibetan Buddhist temples in Beijing can be found in the *Qing huidian shili* 清会典事例 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, Xinhua shudian, 1991), vol. 12, *juan* 1219, pages 1117b.12-1119a.21.

textbooks were printed that were used in the monastic curriculum of the monastery. Degé printed texts useful for training scribes who could employ their skills for religious or secular purposes. Degé was also, along with Beijing and Choné, promoting new monastic customaries and liturgical collections for use in monasteries throughout their domain. In all of these cases, we see the interplay between printing and institutional growth and standardization. Printing was valued by eighteenth century ruling courts and by large monastic centers as they set about creating strong institutional frameworks. Publishing projects and the printed texts that resulted could be used to help train monks and secular administrators. Printed monastic customaries and liturgical collections held the promise of creating institutional uniformity and a common identity across the monasteries within a particular kingdom or school. I would venture that in these ways the ability of print technology to reproduce many identical copies resonated with the concerns of the leaders of increasingly large and wealthy polities and monasteries in the eighteenth century and was a key factor in the widespread adoption of printing technology throughout the Tibetan cultural world during that period.

The eighteenth-century push toward institution building and standardization created an environment in which printing technology became an increasingly appealing method for the production of texts. The practical benefits of printing were also probably a factor in the printing of Kangyurs and Tengyurs in the eighteenth century, particularly the need to supply a large number of monasteries and temples, especially new or renovated monasteries, with appropriate materials. There does seem to have been a general increase in the founding and construction of new monasteries in the eighteenth century. New monasteries required the installation of sacred items—the ‘three supports’ (*rten gsum*) consisting of representations of the Buddha’s body (statues), speech (texts), and mind (stūpas)—in order to make them proper Buddhist temples.

The Kangyur and Tengyur were ideal forms of the speech support (*gsung rten*). There are several references in the eighteenth-century catalogues to the installation of a Kangyur, and sometimes a Tengyur, in a newly established monastery or temple.³⁵ Additionally, Kangyur and Tengyur were sometimes used in ritual contexts in which the entire collection would be read out loud. The printing and dissemination of Kangyur and Tengyur to monasteries throughout a ruler's domain enabled a ruler to have increasingly large (in terms of numbers of monasteries taking part) ritual readings of the Kangyur and Tengyur. Printing allowed Kangyur and Tengyur to be more efficiently supplied to new monasteries or monasteries regularly engaged to perform ritual recitations. All of these reasons for printing would have been largely practical considerations. But there were many less concrete factors which influenced the production of xylograph Kangyur and Tengyur.

Kangyur and Tengyur Printing

This brings us to our second concern: why were the Kangyur and Tengyur a particular focus of printing in the eighteenth century? To answer this, I think it bears keeping in mind that nearly all the sponsors of canon printing in the eighteenth century were lay rulers, not monastic figures or monasteries. These lay leaders seemed to have a particular interest in asserting their Buddhist identity through canon production. This was likely in part a reaction to the rise of monastic figures, and especially reincarnate lamas, as the heads of governments or of powerful monastic institutions.

³⁵ For example, see Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 401.17-402.9.

An Age of Canons: The Prestige and Merit of Printing

The stated motivation for encouraging or funding printing projects was often the accumulation of merit and the benefits which followed from that, such as increased life-span. There was also the issue of prestige shown through a ruler's ability to sponsor more rituals or publish more extensive collections than anyone else. These motivations are seen in the largest publishing endeavors of the eighteenth century—the printing of large religious canons. The eighteenth century saw the publication of several new editions of the Buddhist Kangyur and Tengyur, including the Beijing, Choné, Degé, and Nartang (Snar thang) printings. In addition, the eighteenth century witnessed the first two printed editions of the Bönpo (Bon po) Kangyur, and the century closed with the first printing of the Collected Tantras of the Ancients (Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum). In no other century were more xylograph editions of canons produced than in the eighteenth century.

This is in sharp contrast to the fifteenth and sixteenth-century printing boom in central Tibet which saw relatively little printing of canonical literature. Printing first became established in central and western Tibet in the fifteenth century. However, fifteenth and sixteenth-century Tibetan printing never reached the scale that would be accomplished in the eighteenth century. Moreover, the printing of canonical texts, that is, texts from the Kangyur and Tengyur, was very rare with the exception of the Kangyur printed by the Yongle emperor in China in 1410. Instead of canonical materials, publishers prior to the eighteenth century focused largely on local and sectarian works. We find Tsongkhapa's collected works published in Ü (Dbus) and the *Collected Works of Sakya* (*Sa skya bka' 'bum*) published in Tsang (Gtsang) early in the fifteenth century. The collected works of other figures such as Bodong Pañchen Choklé Namgyel were printed close to their base of operations. The publications of Tsangnyön Heruka and his followers were

dominated by hagiographical works related to prominent masters in the Kagyü lineage. During this time, a major impetus for printing seems to have been the promotion of a particular school or lineage at a time when the boundaries between schools and lineages were becoming more rigid.

We do, however, find in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries some publishing of materials that would have had more widespread significance and appeal. These works include what Franz-Karl Ehrhard has described as “Buddhist classics” such as the *Four Tantras* (*Rgyud bzhi*), the *Collected Pronouncements of the Maṇi* (*Ma ṇi bka’ ’bum*), and the *Chronicle of the Lotus* (*Padma bka’ thang*).³⁶ The *Four Tantras* are the foundational texts of Tibetan medicine while the other two works contain legendary accounts of the Tibetan empire. The political leaders who sponsored the publication of these works were probably attracted to them for their value in promoting a ruler as a bodhisattva concerned with the welfare of the people and the flourishing of Buddhism. This is especially true in the case of the *Collected Pronouncements of the Maṇi*, a treasure text (*gter ma*) whose composition is attributed to the Tibetan emperor Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po). It is the primary text that establishes Avalokiteśvara as the special protector of Tibet while at the same time designating Songtsen Gampo as a manifestation of this bodhisattva. It is thus a powerful statement on the sacred nature of Tibetan kingship. It is not surprising, then, that we find political figures sponsoring its publication in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The eighteenth-century witnessed a wave of new wood block editions of the *Collected Pronouncements of the Maṇi* published in Choné, Degé, Bhutan, and Beijing. The *Four Tantras* were also widely published, with editions made by the Ganden Podrang government (in the late

³⁶ Ehrhard, *Early Buddhist Block Prints*, 14.

seventeenth century), Degé, Beijing, Kumbum monastery, and in Bhutan. Many of these publications were again used to promote the image of the ruler as a beneficent bodhisattva.

This impulse reached a whole new level, however, with the eighteenth-century publications of the Kangyur and Tengyur, the largest publishing projects ever undertaken in Tibet up to that time. The Kangyur and Tengyur editions can be seen as continuing the publishing trajectory that was begun by political support for the publication of the *Collected Pronouncements of the Maṅi* in the fifteenth century. The canonical collections, however, brought a whole new set of symbolic associations that seem to have been particularly appreciated by lay rulers of the eighteenth century.

The governments of Bhutan and the Ganden Podrang both promoted an image of their leaders as emanations of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and made use of both ritual performance and the composition and printing of texts to reinforce this image.³⁷ However, neither of these polities was particularly interested in printing the Kangyur or Tengyur. It was not until the twentieth century that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama initiated an effort to publish a xylograph Kangyur in Lhasa. On the other hand, several lay rulers of the eighteenth century were extremely active in Kangyur and Tengyur publishing. It is worth considering whether the difference between reincarnate and lay ruler had something to do with the discrepancy in Kangyur and Tengyur printing activities. I think it is entirely possible that the reincarnate status of the Zhapdrung (Zhabs drung) in Bhutan and the Dalai Lama in Lhasa provided them with an obvious religious legitimacy that did not require the publication of a Kangyur or Tengyur to reinforce that legitimacy. With the emergence of these new reincarnate political leaders, as well as the rising clout of reincarnate leaders of powerful monastic institutions like the Jamyang Zhepas of

³⁷ See John Ardussi, “Formation of the State of Bhutan (’Brug gzhung) in the 17th Century and its Tibetan Antecedents,” *Journal of Bhutan Studies* 11, no. 2 (2004): 11.

Labrang, lay rulers probably more than ever felt the need to assert their religious credentials and reinforce their claims to be emanations of bodhisattvas. They were also competing with each other for the loyalty of subjects in a time of territorial expansion on all sides.

As discussed in chapter three, the first Tibetan kingdom to print the Kangyur was Choné. Around the year 1711, the king of Choné, Makzor Gönpö, and his brother, Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso, who was abbot of the Great Monastery of Choné, went to Beijing for an audience with the emperor. During this trip, Ngawang Trinlé Gyatso paid two thousand silver *srang* in order to bring a Beijing Kangyur back to Choné for installation in its new Jowo Lhakhang (Jo bo lha khang).³⁸ Acquiring the newly completed edition of the Kangyur from the palace of the emperor was likely a factor in the decision of the Choné court to print their own edition of the Kangyur, a project that began in 1721 and was completed a decade later.

Indeed, later in the eighteenth century when the Choné queen Rinchen Pendzom printed the Tengyur at Choné, competition with other polities is cited as one of her initial motivations, before turning to more pure intentions. We read in the catalogue written for the Tengyur publication (the *Co ne bstan 'gyur dkar chag*) that after some initial feelings of doubt as to the possibility of completing such a grand project, the queen then considered her status and the renown that would result from sponsoring the Tengyur project:

[The great ruler] thought dejectedly, “How can we accomplish such a difficult endeavor?” Then she thought arrogantly, “I alone can accomplish a task such as this which could not be undertaken by most common people.” She thought competitively, “Since in other great countries they have accomplished this excellent course of perfect virtue, I, who am equal to them, also will accomplish it.” With fame in mind she thought, “In accomplishing such service to the teachings, all the border people also will praise [me].”³⁹

³⁸ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 385.12-14 and 402.1-3.

³⁹ Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 439.18-440.4: *bya dka' ba'i gnas 'di lta bu bdag cag gis ji ltar sgrub nus snyam pa'i zhum pa dang / _skye bo phal mo che sus kyang rtsom par mi nus pa'i gnas 'di lta bu sgrub pa ni bdag nyid 'ba' zhig go*

We are told that after reading some verses from scripture she abandoned these thoughts and developed more pure motivations. Nevertheless, this candid passage suggests that competition was a factor in the eighteenth-century printings of the Kangyur and Tengyur and that prestige was granted to those who could undertake such projects.

Printed canons also garnered prestige for rulers in other ways. Printed Kangyur and Tengyur were given as gifts to other prominent political and religious figures, and, as we saw in chapter four, they were valued as signs of a ruler's legitimate claim to be a wheel-turning monarch (*'khor los rgyur ba'i rgyal po*, Skt. *cakravartin*). The act of reproducing and thereby maintaining and protecting the Buddhist teachings was seen as the domain of Buddhist monarchs, and Tibetan rulers who published canons were compared to the great religious protectors of old, as when Situ Pañchen Chökyi Jungné described the Degé king as the second coming of Aśoka.⁴⁰

Political leaders, however, were not exclusively motivated by prestige or competition. Canons were also printed because they were powerful sacred objects. Productions of xylograph editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur were often carried out for the purposes of merit accumulation, ritual practice, and worship. The catalogues to eighteenth-century xylograph editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur describe at length the great merit generated by these projects, the good results that are likely to result from them, and the protection from evil events and forces gained through the production of Kangyur and Tengyur.⁴¹ To cite just one example, in

snyam pa'i khengs pa dang / _yul gru chen po gzhan dag tu rnam dkar gyi lam bzang po 'di lta bu bsgrubs 'dug pas de dang mtshungs par bdag gis kyang bsgrub par bya'o snyam pa'i 'gran sems dang / _bstan pa'i zhabs tog 'di lta bu sgrub pa la sa mtha'i skye bo rnams gyis kyang bsngags pa 'rjod [read: brjod] par 'gyur ro snyam pa'i grags pa...

⁴⁰ Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag*, 404.11.

⁴¹ These are mostly found in the sections on the benefits (*phan yon*) to be gained through printing the Kangyur or Tengyur; see Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag*, 511-520;

his catalogue to the Degé Kangyur, Chökyi Jungné ends an analysis of several quotations from Buddhist scriptures that describe the merit of copying Buddhist texts by extending the discussion to the merit resulting specifically from printing:

In summary, if each time one writes out a sūtra there are these kinds of benefits, then in tens of thousands of aeons one could not even partially describe the heap of merit resulting from printing an edition consisting of many volumes of sūtra and tantra for the purpose of distributing inexhaustible gifts of Dharma.⁴²

The results of accruing such great stores of merit included peace and prosperity for the kingdom in which the production took place, as well as the continuation of the royal family as rulers and the maintenance of their wealth for generations.⁴³

In trying to understand the eighteenth-century boom in Canon production, we might be tempted to reduce the sponsorship of a xylograph edition of the Canon merely to functionalist motivations in which overt political goals and practical considerations were paramount. While these motivations were most likely present, we also have to acknowledge what the cataloguers tell us and recognize that there was a specific worldview in which these eighteenth-century rulers acted. This was a Buddhist worldview in which the laws of karmic reciprocity were at play and rulers immersed their kingdoms in Buddhist projects to keep negative forces at bay. Perhaps, like Rinchen Pendzom as she deliberated the production of the Choné Tengyur, there were elements of both forms of motivation, practical and soteriological, behind the eighteenth-century creation of Tibetan Buddhist Canons.

Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 864-875; and Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 456-467).

⁴² Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag*, 514.20-515.2: *mdor na mdo sde re re 'dri ba la'ang de lta bu'i phan yon yod na/_mdo rgyud kyi glegs bam mang po'i phyi mo mi zad pa'i chos sbyin spel ba'i phyir par du bsgrubs pa'i bsod nams kyi phung po la ni phyogs tsam zhig kyang bskal pa bye pa phrag mang por brjod pas mtha' gtugs par nus pa ma yin no/.*

⁴³ See for example Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag*, 509.17-511.6; and Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [Lanzhou ed.], 455.1-456.12

Bibliography

Tibetan Sources

Bkra shis lhun grub and Tsul khirms rin chen, *Sa skya bka' 'bum dkar chag* [*Dpal ldan sa skya'i rje btsun gong ma lnga'i gsung rab rin po che'i par gyi sgo 'phar 'byed pa'i dkar chag 'phrul gyi lde'u mig*]. In *Sa skya bka' 'bum* [TBRC W22271], volume 15, 839-969. Dehra Dun: Sakya Center, 1992-1993.

[http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O01CT0026|O01CT002600KG04639\\$W22271](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O01CT0026|O01CT002600KG04639$W22271).

Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, PaN chen 1/4 (1570-1662). *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams cad mkhyen par bgrod pa'i bde lam*. Beijing: Songzhu si, mid-eighteenth century. A print of this edition is held in the University of Wisconsin Library's Special Collections: Lessing collection, no. 329.

———. *Tshe chog 'chi med 'dod 'jo dbang gi rgyal po*. Beijing: Cidu si, 1752. A print of this edition is held in the University of Wisconsin Special Collections: Lessing collection, nos. 56a and 56b.

'Brug thar. *Mdo smad byang shar gyi bod kyi tsho ba shog pa'i lo rgyus dang rig gnas bcas par dpyad pa*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002.

Bstan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma'i dkar chag chen mo. In *Bstan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma*, volume 122, part 1. Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1994-2007.

Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364). *Chos 'byung gsung rab rin po che'i gter mdzod*. In *Gsung 'bum/_rin chen grub* [TBRC W1934], vol. 24, 619-1042. Lhasa: Zhol par khang. [http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O00EGS101979|O00EGS1019792MS11191\\$W1934](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O00EGS101979|O00EGS1019792MS11191$W1934).

Bzhad pa'i rdo rje, Sle lung rje drung (b. 1697). *Catalogue of the Narthang Kanjur [Bka' 'gyur rin po che'i gsung par srid gsum rgyan gcig rdzu 'phrul shing rta'i dkar chag ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho'i lde mig]*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1983.

Chos kyi 'byung gnas, Si tu paN chen (1699-1774). *The Autobiography and Diaries of Si-tu Pañ-chen*. Edited by Lokesh Chandra with a forward by E. Gene Smith. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1968.

———. *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag [Rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i bzhugs byang dkar chag]*. Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2008 (this edition has the full eight chapters). The full title of this work is: *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' gangs can gyi brdas drangs pa'i phyi mo'i tshogs ji snyed pa par du bsgrubs pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam bzang po blo ldan mos pa'i kunda yongs su kha byed pa'i zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing*. Also published by: Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988 (this edition only has five chapters).

Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527). *Sum rtags rtsa 'grel ['Gos lo tsā ba d+harma pā las mdzad pa'i bod kyi brda'i bye brag legs par bshad pa sum cu pa dang rtags kyi 'jug pa'i rtsa 'grel]*. Sde dge: Sde dge par khang, 1704.

Dge 'dun. "Dgongs 'grel gyi bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi par gzhi khag la dpyad pa." In *Si khron bod rig pa'i zhib 'jug*, volume 10, 58-83. Edited by Yangs gling rdo rje. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003.

Dkar-chag: Bkaḥ-hgyur, Bstan-hgyur. In *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition*, ed. Daisetz T. Suzuki, vol. 151. Tokyo and Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1958.

Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas (1801-1866). *Deb ther rgya mtsho* [*The Ocean Annals of Amdo*:

Yul mdo smad kyi ljoñs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho] [TBRC W6004]. 3 Volumes. Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1975-1977.

Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me. *Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa rgyal sras rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs*. In *Gsung 'bum/_Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me* [TBRC W22112], vol. 4: 207-722. Lhasa: Zhol par khang gsar pa.

[http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O00CHZ0102080|O00CHZ010208000CHZ0102456\\$W22112](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O00CHZ0102080|O00CHZ010208000CHZ0102456$W22112)

Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa 2 (1728-1791). *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [*Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka'i dgongs 'grel bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog par du sgrub pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam yang dag par brjod pa dkar chag nor bu'i phreng ba*]. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986/9. Also published in *The Collected works of Dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dban-po, the Second 'Jam-dbyans-bzad-pa of La-bran Bkra-sis-'khyil* [TBRC W1KG9560], vol. 5, 1-527. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1971.

Dkon mchog lhun grub, Ngor chen, completed by Ngor chen Sangs rgyas phun tshogs. *A History of Buddhism: Being the Text of Dam pa'i chos kyi byuñ tshul legs par bśad pa bstan pa rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru chen 'Zes bya ba rtsom 'phro kha skoñ bcas*. New Delhi: Ngawang Topgey, 1973.

Grag pa 'byung gnas and Blo bzang mkhas grub. *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*. Lanzhou, Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992.

Grag pa bshad sgrub, Co ne bla ma (1675-1748). *Co ne'i bka' 'gyur dkar chags* [*Co ne'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i dkar chags gsal ba'i me long*]. University of Washington: Tibetan microfilm collection, East Asia Library, Reel No. A3-7.2.

- . *Ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa bla rabs dang bcas pa chos 'byung gsal bar ston pa'i sgron me*. In *Chone Drakpa Shedrup Rinpoche: Collected Works of a Buddhist Master*, vol. 10 (a). Asian Classics Input Project, n.d.
http://www.asianclassics.org/chone_lama/DATA/uni/AA02uni.txt.
- G.yu thog yon tan mgon po. *Sde dge rgyud bzhi*. Beijing: mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007.
- 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje. *'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje'i gsung 'bum* [TBRC W22186].
 14 volumes. Bla brang bKra shis 'khyil, n.d. <http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W22186>.
- Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, Sa skya paṇḍi ta (1182-1251). *Sa skya legs bshad*. Sde dge: Sde dge par khang, 1705.
- Lessing Collection. University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, Department of Special Collections.
- Mgon po dbang rgyal. *Co ne'i lo rgyus* [*Co ne sa skyong gi lo rgyus klu chu sngon mo'i gyer dbyangs*]. Lanzhou: kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997.
- Mu po, ed. *Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar* [*Gsung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar kun 'dus me long*]. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002.
- Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, Lcang skya (1642-1714). *Ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed* [*Bka' 'gyur rin po che byin rlabs gzi 'bar gyi kha byang ngo mtshar snang ba rgyas byed*]. In *Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan gyi gsung 'bum* [TBRC W1KG1321], vol. 7 (ja), 519-528. Beijing, n.d.
- . *Rnam thar bka' rtsom* [*Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar*]. In *Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan gyi gsung 'bum* [TBRC W1KG1321], vol. 2 (kha), pp. 447-518. Beijing, n.d.

Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, TA la'i bla ma 5 (1617-1682). *Bder gshegs bdun gyi mchod pa'i chog sgrigs yid bzhin dbang rgyal*. Beijing: Longshan Hugu Temple, 1690. A print of this edition is held in the University of Wisconsin Library's Special Collections: Lessing collection, no. 71.

———. *Dpal brtan chen po bcu drug gi mchod pa rgyal bstan 'dzad med nor bu*. Beijing: Longshan Hugu Temple, 1711. A print of this edition is held in the University of Wisconsin Library's Special Collections: Lessing collection, no. 18.

Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho, Dpal khang (15th/16th c.). *Ngag gi sgron ma [Bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa'i bstan bcos tshig le'u byas pa mkhas pa'i ngag gi sgron ma]*. Sde dge: Sde dge par khang, n.d. (early 18th c.).

O rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po, Dpal sprul (b. 1808). *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung [Rdzogs pa chen po klong chen snying tig gi sngon 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung]* [TBRC W00KG04062]. Delhi [Ldi li]: Chos spyod dpar skrun khang, 2003.

Rin chen bkra shis, Smon grub lo tsA ba (b. 15th c.). *Dag yig li shi'i gur khang [Bod kyi skad las gsar rnying gi brda'i khyad par ston pa legs par bshad pa li shi'i gur khang]* [TBRC W27219]. Sde dge: Sde dge lhun grub steng, n.d. (early 18th c.).

Sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo. In *Sde-dge mtshal-par bka'-'gyur* [TBRC W22084], volumes 35-38. Delhi: Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1976-79.

[http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1GS12980|O1GS1298001JW13512\\$W22084](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1GS12980|O1GS1298001JW13512$W22084).

Sangs rgyas phun tshogs, Ngor mkhan chen 25 (1649-1705). *Thugs rje chen po'i dmar khrid nges don dpyid kyi thig le*. In *Thugs rje chen po tshem bu lugs kyi chos skor* [TBRC W27297], 1-106. Kathmandu, 2000.

Sde-dge mtshal-par bka'-'gyur [TBRC W22084]. Delhi: Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1976-79.

Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa, in *Sde-dge mtshal-par bka'-'gyur* [TBRC: W22084], volumes 26-28. Delhi: Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1976-79.

[http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1GS12980|O1GS1298001JW13460\\$W22084](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1GS12980|O1GS1298001JW13460$W22084)

Thub bstan phun tshogs. *Sde dge lo rgyus*. Manuscript. [This work has been published as *Sde dge'i lo rgyus spyi don zla 'od gsar pa'i me long* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2010), but the published edition was not available to the present author.]

Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin. *Sde dge rgyal rabs* [*Dpal sa skyong sde dge chos kyi rgyal po rim byon gyi rnam thar dge legs nor bu'i phreng ba 'dod dgu rab 'phel*] [TBRC W23737]. Bir, Distt. Kangra, H.P.: D. Tsondu Senghe Yorey Tsang, 1994.

Tshul khriims rin chen, Zhu chen (1697-1774). *The Autobiography of Tshul-khriims-rin-chen of Sde-dge and Other Selected Writings*. Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltzan, 1971.

———. *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag* [*Kun mkhyen nyi ma'i gnyen gyi bka' lung gi dgongs don rnam par 'grel ba'i bstan bcos gangs can pa'i skad du 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi 'chad pa'i ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa'i bsod nams kyi sprin phun rgyas par dkrigs pa'i tshul las brtsams pa'i gtam ngo mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gsar pa*]. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1985. Also published as: *Sde dge'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag = Kun mkhyen pa chen po ñi ma'i gñen gyi bka' luñ gi dgoñs don rnam 'grel pa'i bstan bcos Gañs can pa'i skad du 'Gyur ro 'Tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi 'chad pa'i no mtshar 'phul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa'i bsod nams kyi sprin phun rgyas par dkrigs pa'i tshul las ñe bar brtsams pa'i*

gtam No mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gsar pa; A History and Detailed Survey of the Contents of the Sde-dge Redaction of the Tibetan Bstan-'gyur [TBRC W1KG10093]. 2 volumes. Delhi: Trayang and Jamyang Samten, 1974.

———. “Sde dge bstan 'gyur gyi phyi mo yongs su rdzogs par grub pa'i bsngo ba smon lam gyi tshigs su bcaad pa gzhi lam 'bras bu'i dge legs yid bcugs mdza' bo 'gugs pa'i rgyang glu.” In *Bstan 'gyur (Sde dge)* [TBRC W23703]. Vol. 207 (*nyo*): 708-724. Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Choedhey, Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1982-1985.
[http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1GS6011|O1GS60111GS36686\\$W23703](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1GS6011|O1GS60111GS36686$W23703)

Ye shes rgyal mtshan. “Khri rin po che sbyin pa rgya mtsho'am ngag dbang dpal bzang gi rnam thar.” In *Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar* [TBRC W2DB4613]. Vol. 2: 490-492. 'Bar khams: rnga khul bod yig rtsom sgyur cus, n.d.
[http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1PD107490|O1PD1074901PD1075741PD107673\\$W2DB4613](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1PD107490|O1PD1074901PD1075741PD107673$W2DB4613)

Zhang Yisun 张怡荪, ed. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo; Zang Han da ci dian 藏漢大辭典*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1998.

Chinese Sources

Dege Xian zhi 德格县志. Edited by Sichuan Sheng Dege Xian zhi bian zuan wei yuan hui 四川省德格县志编纂委员会. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1995.

Bao Yongchang 包永昌 and Zhang Yandu 張彥篤. *Taozhou ting zhi 洮州廳志*. 1907. Reprint, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970.

Juenai Luosang Danzhu 觉乃·洛桑丹珠 and Bingjiao Popa Ciren 冰角·婆帕次仁. *Anduo gucha Chandong si 安多古刹禅定寺*. Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1995.

- Neiwufu zouzhi 内務府奏摺 (Imperial Household Department memorials) in the No. One National Historical Archives (Diyi Lishi Dang'an Guan 第一历史档案馆), Beijing.
- Pu Wencheng 蒲文成, ed. *Gan Qing Zangchuan Fojiao siyuan 甘青藏转佛教寺院*. Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1990.
- Qing huidian shili 清会典事例*. Volume 12. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, Xinhua shudian, 1991.
- Qingliang shan zhi [Wutai shan zhi]*. Yangzhou Shi: Jiangsu Guangling gu ji ke yin she, 1993.
- Weng Lianxi 翁連溪, ed. *Qing nei fu ke shu dang an shi liao hui bian 清内府刻書檔案史料彙編*. Yangzhou: Guang ling shu she, 2007.
- Yang Shihong 杨士宏. *Zhuoni Yang tu si zhuan lue 卓尼杨土司传略*. Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1989.
- Zhang Yuxin 张羽新. *Qing zhengfu yu lama jiao 清政府与喇嘛教*. Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1988.
- Zhang Yuxin 张羽新, Liu Limei 刘丽楣, Wang Hong 王红, Zhang Shuangzhi 张双志. *Zangzu wen hua zai Beijing 藏族文化在北京*. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 2008.
- Zhaxia 扎呷, ed. *Zang wen «Da zang jing» gai lun 藏文«大藏经»概论*. Xining: Qinghai ren min chu ban she, 2008.

Other Sources

- Ardussi, John. "Formation of the State of Bhutan ('Brug gzhung) in the 17th Century and its Tibetan Antecedents." *Journal of Bhutan Studies* 11, no. 2 (2004): 10-32.
- Barrett, Timothy H. *The Woman Who Discovered Printing*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Bentor, Yael. *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Berger, Patricia. *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003.

Bu ston Rin chen grub (Butön Rinchen Drup). *Butön's History of Buddhism in India and Its Spread to Tibet: A Treasury of Priceless Scripture*. Translated by Lisa Stein and Ngawang Zangpo. Boston: Snow Lion, 2013.

———. *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. Translated by E. Obermiller. Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz, 1932.

Cabezón, José Ignacio. *Buddhism and Language: A Study of Indo-Tibetan Scholasticism*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Campany, Robert F. "On the Very Idea of Religions (in the Modern West and in Early Medieval China)." *History of Religions* 42, no. 4 (2003): 287-319.

Cantwell, Cathy. "The Earth Ritual: Subjugation and Transformation of the Environment." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 7 (April 2005): 4-21.

Chaix, Rémi. "Les aspects économiques de l'édition xylographique à l'imprimerie de sDe dge (I): La réalisation des blocs xylographiques sous le règne de bsTan pa tshe ring (1713/14-1738)." In *Edition, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, ed. Anne Chayet, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin, and Jean-Luc Achard, 85-114. München: Indus Verlag, 2010.

Col, Cynthia. "Picturing the Canon: The Murals, Sculpture and Architecture of the Derge Parkhang." PhD dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 2009.

Collins, Steven. "On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 15 (1990): 89-126.

- Csoma de Körös, Alexander. "Analysis of the Dulva, a Portion of the Tibetan Work Entitled Kah-gyur." *Asiatic Researches* 20, no. 1 (1836): 41-93.
- . "Analysis of the Sher-chin—P'hal ch'hen—Dkon-séks—Do-dé—Nyáng-dás—and Gyut; Being the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Divisions of the Tibetan Work, Entitled the Kah-gyur." *Asiatic Researches* 20, no. 2 (1839): 393-552.
- Cuevas, Brian J. *The Hidden History of the Tibetan Book of the Dead*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Cüppers, Christoph. "Some Remarks on *Bka' 'gyur* Production in 17th-century Tibet." In *Edition, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, edited by Anne Chayet, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin, and Jean-Luc Achard, 115-128. München: Indus Verlag, 2010.
- Darnton, Robert. *The Case for Books: Past, Present, and Future*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2009.
- Debreczeny, Karl. "Situ Panchen's Activities and Artistic Legacy in Yunnan." Paper presented at the conference *Situ Panchen: Creation and Cultural Engagement in 18th-Century Tibet* at the Rubin Museum of Art, Feb. 8, 2009.
- Desideri, Ippolito (1684-1733). *Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.* Translated by Michael J. Sweet. Edited by Leonard Zwilling. Boston: Wisdom, 2010.
- Diemberger, Hildegard. "Holy Books as Ritual Objects and Vessels of Teaching in the Era of the 'Further Spread of the Doctrine' (*bstan pa yang dar*)." In *Revisiting Rituals in a Changing Tibetan Context*, edited by K. Buffetrille, 9-41. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Dreyfus, Georges B. J. *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

- Edgren, J. S. "The History of the Book in China." In *The Book: A Global History*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, S.J. and H. R. Woudhuysen, 573-592. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Edkins, Joseph. "Peking." Chapter 16 of *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia; with Some Account of Corea*, by Alexander Williamson, vol. 2, pp. 313-392. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1870.
- Ehrhard, Franz-Karl. *Early Buddhist Block Prints from Mang-yul Gung-thang*. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2000.
- . "Review of The Brief Catalogues to the Narthang and the Lhasa Kanjurs and The Early Mustang Kanjur Catalogue." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 44, no. 2 (2001): 178-179.
- Eimer, Helmut, ed. *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997.
- , ed. *The Brief Catalogues to the Narthang and the Lhasa Kanjurs: A Synoptic Edition of the Bka' 'gyur rin po che'i mtshan tho and the Rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i chos tshan so so'i mtshan byañ dkar chag bsdus pa*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde Volume 40, ed. Ernst Steinkellner. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1998.
- . "On the Structure of the Tibetan Kanjur." In *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism, PIATS 2000: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, edited by Helmut Eimer and David Germano, 57-72. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

- Eimer, Helmut and David Germano, eds. *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism, PIATS 2000: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Eliade, Mircea. *The Myth of the Eternal Return*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1954.
- Elverskog, Johan. *The Pearl Rosary: Mongol Historiography in Early Nineteenth Century Ordos*. Mongolia Society Occasional Papers 26. Bloomington, IN: The Mongolia Society, 2007.
- Gangnegi, Hera Paul. "A Critical Note on the Biographies of Lo chen Rin chen bZang po." *Tibet Journal* 23, no. 1 (1998): 38-48.
- Goldman, Alex J. *I Am a Holocaust Torah: The Story of the Saving of 1,564 Torahs Stolen by the Nazis*. Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 2000.
- Goldstein, Melvyn C. *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913-1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Goossaert, Vincent. *The Taoists of Peking, 1800-1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007.
- Geary, Patrick. "Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, pp. 169-191. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Geertz, Clifford. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- . "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Symbolics of Power." In *Local Knowledge*, 121-146. New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- Grupper, Samuel M. "Manchu Patronage and Tibetan Buddhism during the First Half of the Ch'ing Dynasty: A Review Article." *Journal of the Tibet Society* 4 (1984): 47-75.

- Gyatso, Janet. *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Halkias, Georgios. "Tibetan Buddhism Registered: A Catalogue from the Imperial Court of 'Phang Thang." *The Eastern Buddhist* 36, nos. 1 & 2 (2004): 46-105.
- Hall, Bruce C. *A Descriptive List of the Tibetan (Tib) Collection in the Rare Books Room of the Harvard-Yenching Library*. Cambridge, MA: 1980.
- Harrison, Paul. "A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur." In *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by José Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson, 70-94. Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996.
<http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/genres/genres-book.php#!book=/studies-in-genres/b3/>.
- Herrmann-Pfandt, Adelheid. *Die lHan kar ma: Ein früherer Katalog der ins Tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen Texte*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008.
- Howsam, Leslie. *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Hummel, Arthur W. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943.
- Illich, Marina. "Imperial Stooze or Emissary to the Dge lugs Throne? Rethinking the Biographies of Chankya Rolpé Dorjé." In *Power, Politics, and the Reinvention of Tradition: Tibet in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Bryan J. Cuevas and Kurtis R. Schaeffer, 17-32. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

- . “Selections from the Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Polymath: Chankya Rolpai Dorje (Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje), 1717-1786.” PhD dissertation, Columbia, 2006.
- Imaeda, Yoshiro. “Une contribution à la bibliographie bhoutanaise.” In *Indo-Sino-Tibetica: Studi in Onore di Luciano Petech*, edited by Paolo Daffinà, 201-206. Roma: Bardi, 1990.
- Jackson, David P. “Notes on Two Early Printed Editions of Sa-skya-pa Works.” *The Tibet Journal* 8, no. 2 (1983): 3-24.
- . *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III): Sa-skya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāna and Philosophical Debate*. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1987.
- . *A History of Tibetan Painting: The Great Tibetan Painters and Their Traditions*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996.
- . *A Saint in Seattle: The Life of the Tibetan Mystic Dezhung Rinpoche*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2003.
- Jampa Samten. “Notes on the Lithang Edition of the Tibetan bKa’-’gyur.” *Tibet Journal* 12, no. 3 (Autumn 1987): 17-40.
- Jampa Samten and Hiroaki Niisaku. “Notes on Ulan Bator Copy of Peking Kagyur,” *Tibet Journal* 36, no. 3 (2011): 3-13.
- Jang, Scarlett. “The Eunuch Agency Directorate of Ceremonial and the Ming Imperial Publishing Enterprise.” In *Culture, Courtiers, and Competition: The Ming Court (1368-1644)*, ed. David M. Robinson, 116-185. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008.

- Kapstein, Matthew T. "The Purificatory Gem and Its Cleansing: A Late Polemical Discussion of Apocryphal Texts." Chapter 7 of *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory*, 121-137. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Karmay, Samten Gyaltzen. *Feast of the Morning Light: The Eighteenth Century Wood-Engravings of Shenrab's Life-Stories and the Bon Canon from Gyalrong*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2005.
- Karmay, Samten G. and Yasuhiko Nagano, eds. *A Catalogue of the New Collection of Bonpo Katen Texts*. Osaka : National Museum of Ethnology, 2001.
- Kolmas, Joseph, ed. *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge*. Prague: Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1968.
- . *Iconography of the Derge Kanjur and Tanjur*. New Delhi: Vedams, 2002.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard. "Two Early Sources for the History of the House of Sde-dge." *The Journal of the Tibet Society* 8 (1988): 1-20.
- . "Two Mongol Xylographs (*Hor Par Ma*) of the Tibetan Text of Sa Skya Paṇḍita's Work on Buddhist Logic and Epistemology," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 16, no. 2 (1993): 279-298.
- . *The Kālacakra and the Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism by the Mongol Imperial Family*. Central Eurasian Studies Lectures 4. Bloomington, IN: Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, 2004.
- . "Faulty Transmissions: Some Notes on Tibetan Textual Criticism and the Impact of Xylography." In *Edition, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, edited by Anne Chayet, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin, and Jean-Luc Achard, 441-463. München: Indus Verlag, 2010.
- Kvaerne, Per. "The Canon of the Tibetan Bonpos." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 16, no. 1 (1974): 18-56.

- Lancaster, Lewis R. "Buddhist Books and Texts: Canon and Canonization." In *The Encyclopedia of Religions, Second Edition*, ed. Lindsay Jones, 1251-1258. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005.
- Mala, Guilaine. "A Mahayanist Rewriting of the History of China by Mgon po skyabs in the *Rgya nag chos 'byung*." In *Power, Politics, and the Reinvention of Tradition: Tibet in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Bryan J. Cuevas and Kurtis R. Schaeffer, pp. 145-170. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Manley, Lawrence. "Review of Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*." *Comparative Literature* 52, no.1 (2000): 90-96.
- Martin, Dan. "Introduction." In *A Catalogue of the Bon Kanjur*, ed. Dan Martin, et al., pp. 1-19. Senri Ethnological Reports 40, Bon Studies 8. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2003.
- . "Tables of Contents (dKar chag)." In *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by José Cabezon and Roger R. Jackson, 500-514. Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996.
- <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/genres/genres-book.php#!book=/studies-in-genres/b30/>
- Martin, Dan, et al., eds. *A Catalogue of the Bon Kanjur*. Senri Ethnological Reports 40, Bon Studies 8. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2003.
- Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Reissue: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000.
- Miller, Robert James. *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959.
- Monier-Williams, Monier. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1956.

- Mus, Paul. "Thousand-Armed Kannon." *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu)* 12, no. 1 (1964), 470-438 (1-33).
- Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho. *Shel dkar chos 'byung, History of the "White Crystal": Religion and Politics of Southern La stod*. Translated and edited by Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger in cooperation with Guntram Hazod. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996.
- Naquin, Susan. *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Nietupski, Paul. "Sino-Tibetan Relations in Eighteenth-Century Labrang." In *Territory and Identity in the Tibet and the Himalayas: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*, ed. Katia Buffetrille and Hildegard Diemberger. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Ochs, Vanessa L. *Inventing Jewish Ritual*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2007.
- Ohnuma, Reiko. "Gift." In *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, 103-123. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Patrul Rinpoche (Dpal sprul rin po che). *Words of My Perfect Teacher*. Revised edition. Translated by the Padmakara Translation Group. Boston: Shambhala, 1998.
- Petech, Luciano. *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century: History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet*. Leiden: Brill, 1972.
- Pozdneyev, Aleksei Matveevich. *Mongolia and the Mongols*. Edited by John R. Krueger. Translated by John Roger Shaw and Dale Plank. 2 volumes. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University, 1971, 1977.

- Rawski, Evelyn S. *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- . “Qing Publishing in Non-Han Languages.” In *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, pp. 304-331. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Robinson, Richard H. and Willard L. Johnson. *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction*, Fourth Edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1997.
- Rock, Joseph F. “Life Among the Lamas of Choni.” *National Geographic Magazine* 54, no. 5 (November, 1928), 569-619.
- Roerich, George N. *The Blue Annals*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1949 (reprinted 1996).
- Ronis, Jann. “Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas: Contestation and Synthesis in the Growth of Monasticism at Katok Monastery from the 17th through the 19th Centuries.” PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009.
- Sagaster, Klaus. *Subud erike, ein Rosenkranz aus Perlen: die Biographie des 1. Pekinger lČan skya Khutukhtu Ńag dbaŃ blo bzaŃ č’os ldan*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967.
- Schaeffer, Kurtis R. *The Culture of the Book in Tibet*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.
- Schaeffer, Kurtis R., and Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp. *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi ’od of Bcom ldan ral gri*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Oriental Series, Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Schaeffer, Kurtis R., Gray Tuttle, and Matthew T. Kapstein, eds. *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.

- van Schaik, Sam. “The Great Perfection and the Chinese Monk: rNyingmapa Defenses of Hashang Mahāyāna in the Eighteenth Century.” <http://earlytibet.com/about/hashang-Mahāyāna/>.
- . “A New Look at the Tibetan Invention of Writing.” In *New Studies of the Old Tibetan Documents: Philology, History and Religion*, ed. Yoshiro Imaeda, Matthew T. Kapstein, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi, pp. 45-96. Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2011.
- Scharfe, Hartmut. *Education in Ancient India*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Scheier-Dolberg, Joseph. *Treasure House of Tibetan Culture: Canonization, Printing, and Power in the Derge Printing House*. A.M. thesis, Harvard University, 2005.
- Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina A. “Enacting Words: A Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees (bkas bcad) and their Application in the sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa Tradition.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25, nos. 1-2 (2002): 263-340.
- Shakabpa, Tsepon W. D. *Tibet: A Political History*. New York: Potala Publications, 1984.
- Shen Weirong. “Reconstructing the History of Buddhism in Central Eurasia (11th-14th Centuries): An Interdisciplinary and Multilingual Approach to the Khara Khoto Texts.” In *Edition, éditions: l’écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, ed. Anne Chayet, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin, and Jean-Luc Achard, 337-362. München: Indus Verlag, 2010.
- Sherab Sangpo. “Observations on Recent Discoveries: From Hor spar ma to Early Prints produced in Tibet.” Paper delivered at the conference *Printing as an Agent of Change in Tibet and Beyond*, Cambridge University, November 8, 2013.
- Shi Jinbo. “A Study of the Earliest Woodcut Copies.” Translated by Zhang Xiaomei. *China Tibetology* no. 1 (March 2007): 76-83. [For the original Chinese language version, see:

Shi Jinbo 史金波. “Zuizao de zangwen mukeben kaolue 最早的藏文本刻本攷略.”

Zhongguo zangxue 中国藏学 (China Tibetology) no. 4 (2005): 33-49.]

Silk, Jonathan A. *The Heart Sūtra in Tibetan: A Critical Edition of the Two Recensions*

Contained in the Kanjur. Wien: Arbeitskreis Für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien

Universität Wien, 1994.

———. “Notes on the History of the Yongle Kanjur.” In *Suhrllekhāḥ: Festgabe für Helmut*

Eimer, edited by Michael Hahn, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, and Roland Steiner, 153-200.

Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica, 1996.

Skilling, Peter. “From bKa’ bstan bcos to bKa’ ’gyur and bsTan ’gyur.” In *Transmission of the*

Tibetan Canon: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International

Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995, edited by Helmut Eimer, 87-111. Wien:

Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997.

Smith, E. Gene. *Among Tibetan Texts*. Boston: Wisdom, 2001.

Smith, Jonathan Z. “Sacred Persistence: Toward a Redescription of Canon.” In *Imagining*

Religion, 36-52. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

———. “Canons, Catalogues and Classics.” In *Canonization and Decanonization*, ed. A. van der

Kooij and K. van der Toorn, 295-311. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

von Staël-Holstein, Alexander. “On a Peking Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur Which Seems to be

Unknown in the West.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22,

no. 1 (1999): 215-249.

Stanley, David Phillip. “The Tibetan Buddhist Canon.” Tibetan and Himalayan Library, 2005.

<http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/index.php#!essay=/stanley/tibcanons/all/>.

- . “The Threefold Formal, Practical, and Inclusive Canons of Tibetan Buddhism in the Context of a Pan-Asian Paradigm: Utilizing a New Methodology for Analyzing Canonical Collections.” PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009.
- Stoddard, Heather. “Stitched Books from the Tibetan World.” In *Edition, éditions: l’écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, ed. Anne Chayet, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin, and Jean-Luc Achard, 363- 379. München: Indus Verlag, 2010.
- Tambiah, Stanley J. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Taube, Manfred. *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XI.1-4. Weisbaden: Steiner, 1966.
- Thubten Legshay Gyatsho. *Manual of Tibetan Monastic Customs, Art, Building and Celebrations*. Translated by David Paul Jackson. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1979.
- Tibetan Buddhist Resources Center (TBRC). <http://www.tbrc.org>.
- Tsyrempilov, Nikolay V. “Dge lugs pa and the Qing Empire: Union of Ideologies,” *Northeast Asian Studies* [東北アジア研究] 8 (2003): 45-57.
- Tuttle, Gray. *Tibetan Buddhist and the Making of Modern China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Verhagen, Pieter C. (Peter). “Studies in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Hermeneutics (1): Issues of Interpretation and Translation in the Minor Works of Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-’byuñ-gnas (1699?-1774).” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 24, no. 1 (2001): 61-88.

———. *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet, Volume One: Transmission of the Canonical Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Wang Xiangyun. “Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing: The Life and Work of lCang-skyā Rol-pa’i-rdo-rje (1717-1786).” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1995.

———. “The Qing Court’s Tibet Connection: Lcang skyā Rol pa’i rdo rje and the Qianlong Emperor.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60, no. 1 (June, 2000): 125-163.

Yearwood, Pauline Dubkin. “Like Old Times: A Chicago Torah Visits Its Old Home in Europe.” *Chicago Jewish News*, Sept. 16-20, 2005,

<http://www.chicagojewishnews.com/story.htm?sid=1&id=196781>.

Zwilling, Leonard. *Tibetan Blockprints in the Department of Rare and Special Collections*.

Occasional Papers of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries 5. Madison: The University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, 1984.