

Michela Clemente and Filippo Lunardo

Typology of Drawn Frames in 16th Century Mang yul Gung thang Xylographs

Abstract: This article presents some preliminary results of the study of the drawn frames found in the title pages of 16th-century Tibetan xylographs from the kingdom of Mang yul Gung thang (South-western Tibet). Usually the title pages of Gung thang prints have very similar and characteristic drawn frames, which are typical of xylographs printed in this area in the 16th century. They may vary from a simple to a more elaborated design, which may differ even in xylographs produced at the same printing house. Title pages have been examined by the authors with the aim of understanding whether the different designs of drawings could be associated with a certain artist or a certain printing house. A description of identified types of drawings and minor variations is provided in the article. An appendix with information on artists working on title frames is also included.

1 Introduction

This essay has the aim of presenting preliminary results on one of the characteristic stylistic features of 16th-century Tibetan xylographs from Mang yul Gung thang, a small kingdom that played a significant role in the introduction and spread of printing into Tibet.¹ This research was carried out for the project *Tibetan Book Evolution and Technology* (TiBET), funded through a Marie Skłodowska Curie Fellowship granted to Michela Clemente (May 2013–April 2015) and hosted at the University of Cambridge (Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit). The Project collected and examined more than 200 extant Tibetan 15th- and 16th-century prints coming from the South-Western area of the country.² The research mainly focused on 16th-century

1 On the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom and its role in the Tibetan printing history, see Clemente 2016a; Clemente 2017; Diemberger and Clemente 2013; Clemente, Diemberger, Helman-Ważny and Lunardo (forthcoming); Ehrhard 2000a; Ehrhard 2000b; Ehrhard 2000c; Everding 2000; Everding 2004; Petech 1990, 52.

2 The TiBET Project, in collaboration with a correlated AHRC Project entitled *Transforming Technologies and Buddhist Book Culture: The Introduction of Printing and Digital Text Reproduction in Tibetan Societies* (Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit, 2010–2015), developed a database which contains detailed description of prints, transliteration and mark-up of colophons, entries of personal and place names, and information on paper and pigments, if available. Michela Clemente

xylographs from Mang yul Gung thang, since the majority of the surviving prints were produced in this kingdom at that time.

One of the aims of the TiBET Project was the identification of characteristic stylistic features that may help locating the provenance of a certain xylograph, that is to say the printing house where this was produced. Mang yul Gung thang xylographs are recognisable through at least five distinctive features:

- (a) front page (i.e. the drawn frame of the title);
- (b) layout;
- (c) ductus;
- (d) orthographic peculiarities;
- (e) woodcut representations.³

This essay will focus on the drawn frame of title pages which were analysed in collaboration with Filippo Lunardo.⁴ Usually the title pages of Gung thang prints have very similar and characteristic drawn frames. They may vary from a simple to a more elaborated design, which may differ even in xylographs produced at the same printing house. This drawn frame is typical of xylographs printed in this area in the 16th century, although it is also possible to find Gung thang prints with a simple title page.

wishes to thank Burkhard Quessel, Terry Chilvers, Camillo A. Formigatti, Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, Filippo Lunardo, Michael Pahlke, Christopher Kaplonski, Fabio Miarelli, Paola Ricciardi and Anuradha Pallipurath for their help and advice.

The Indo-Tibetan Books and Technology (ITBT) database is available at <http://booksdb.socanth.cam.ac.uk:8080/exist/apps/TTBBC/index.html>, and also accessible from the website of the TiBET Project at www.thevoltech.socanth.cam.ac.uk. Michela Clemente would also like to thank all the people who helped her with the TiBET Project in many ways: Hildegard Diemberger, Libby Peachey, Elena De Rossi Filibeck, Franz-Karl Ehrhard, Marta Sernesi, Katie Boyle, Alessandro Boesi, Daniel Sterling, and Bruce Huett. On both the above-mentioned projects, see Clemente 2016a; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); Clemente (forthcoming a); Clemente, Diemberger, Helman-Ważny and Lunardo (forthcoming); Diemberger and Clemente 2013.

3 The art of decorating Tibetan books was first employed in manuscripts. All embellishments made to enrich manuscripts were later presented on xylographs, but, to our knowledge, a study of title frames in Tibetan manuscripts has not been carried out yet. Our research appears to be the first on this subject. Since an examination of title frames in Tibetan manuscripts in general, and a comparison with those produced in the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom in particular, goes far beyond the aims of the TiBET project, such study remains to be done. For information on the other characteristic stylistic features, see Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (forthcoming a).

4 On this subject, see Clemente and Lunardo (forthcoming); Lunardo (forthcoming a); Lunardo (forthcoming b).

Title pages of Mang yul Gung thang prints have been examined by the authors of this essay with the aim of understanding whether the different designs of drawings could be associated with a certain artist or a certain printing house. It seems that at least two artists were involved in the creation of title frames: the painter, who depicted the drawing, and the carver, who cut it into the wooden block. Artists involved in printing projects were often mentioned in Gung thang colophons and/or signatures placed under the last line of folios, usually on the verso side.⁵ Craftsmen were in fact allowed to sign their work, a peculiarity that was typical of the earliest stage of printing.⁶ By comparing the different signatures and patterns of carving, writing or drawing, we might learn to distinguish the diverse style of each artist. This would help us in identifying those who worked on xylographs that lack signatures and do not mention their names in the colophons. Unfortunately, colophons never refer to the craftsmen who depicted and carved the title frames. This might imply that the artists who drew and engraved the illustrations of a certain xylograph were also in charge of its title page. This may be true since each artist seems to have specialised in only one art, that is to say, calligraphy, drawing, carving of blocks, and carving of illustrations.⁷ Assuming that the craftsmen who worked on the illustrations of a certain print were also responsible for its title frame, by analysing the typology of the drawing and looking for the name of the artists in the colophon and/or signatures, we might be able to understand whether the style of a certain drawn frame is associated with the artists who created it. If this is not the case, we might suppose that the style of title pages is instead a characteristic feature of a given printing house, which could come from guidelines suggested by the promotor of the projects of that printery. In order to understand this, it is necessary to examine a certain amount of extant prints and to gather data on printing projects and their supervisors. This essay presents preliminary results obtained with the first stage of research. So far we have indeed analysed sixty 16th-century xylographs from the Mang yul Gung thang area. The research is ongoing, and further results will be provided in due course.

⁵ Only one signature has been found so far above the first line. Cf. NGMPP AT167/5-168/1, fol. 59b. See also Clemente (forthcoming b).

⁶ See Ehrhard 2000a, 69, 75; Eimer 1996, 12.

⁷ On this subject, see Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017.

2 Typology of title pages

So far we have identified three types of drawings for the title pages. Each type exhibits several minor variations. A description of the types with all variations is provided below.

TYPE 1

General description: title inscribed in a simple rectangular frame:

- **Variation 1a:** title inscribed in a rectangular frame consisting of two simple black lines with a simple base of lotus petals;
- **Variation 1b:** rectangular frame composed by an external thick line and an internal line (see Fig. 1):

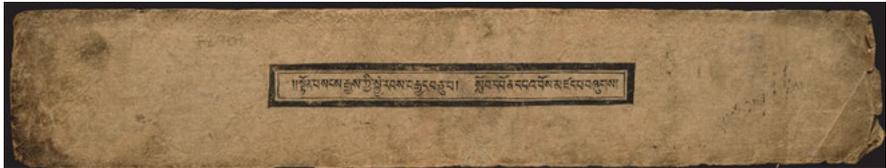


Fig. 1: Type 1b: *The Eightieth Life-story of Buddha Śākyamuni* written by Āryaśūra, Brag dkar rta so 1541 or 1553 (Tucci Tibetan Collection, Vol. 707, IIAO, Italy). Photograph by L&C Service.

- **Variation 1b1:** same features as 1b. Additionally, the frame is inscribed into a bigger one that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns, the outer one bigger than the inner;
- **Variation 1b2:** same features as 1b and 1b1. Moreover, both sides of the bigger frame have a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 1b3:** same features as 1b. Additionally, the frame is inscribed into a bigger one that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has two lines. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns, the outer one bigger than the inner;
- **Variation 1c:** the rectangular frame is composed by an external simple line, an internal thick one, and another simple line. This frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an

external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns, the outer one bigger than the inner;

- **Variation 1d:** rectangular frame composed by two lines;
- **Variation 1d1:** rectangular frame composed by two lines. This frame is inscribed into a bigger one composed by a thick line.
- **Variation 1e:** rectangular frame composed by a single thick line. It exhibits an arch in the middle of the upper side;
- **Variation 1e1:** rectangular frame composed by a thick and a simple line. It exhibits a flame in the middle of the upper side;
- **Variation 1f:** rectangular frame composed by a single thick line.

TYPE 2

General description: title inscribed in a frame that exhibits phytomorphic patterns and a circular shape in the middle of the upper side, which may have plant elements or jewels surrounded by flames. Both sides of the frame may have two further decorations (plant elements with different decorations in the centre).

- **Variation 2a:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by a thick external line and a double line. A base of lotuses is drawn underneath. The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has four lines. Both sides of the bigger frame exhibit two columns and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 2a1:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by a thick external line and a simple line. A base of lotuses is drawn underneath. The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has double lines. Both sides of the bigger frame exhibit two columns — the outer one bigger than the inner — and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 2a2:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by two simple lines. A base of lotuses is drawn underneath. The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has a thick external line and a simple internal one. Both sides of the bigger frame exhibit a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line. Leaves are drawn at the bottom of the bigger frame above the internal line;
- **Variation 2a3:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by two simple lines. A base of lotuses is drawn underneath. The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This

bigger frame has a double simple line. Both sides of the bigger frame have a column;

- **Variation 2a4:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by a thick external line and a simple line. A base of lotuses is drawn underneath. The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has a thick external line and a simple line. Both sides of the bigger frame exhibit a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line.
- **Variation 2b:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by a single thick line;
- **Variation 2c:** it exhibits a double simple line inside the phytomorphic frame;
- **Variation 2c1:** same features as 2c. Additionally, the title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 2c2:** same features as 2c. Additionally, the title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has a double line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns, the former of which is bigger than the latter;
- **Variation 2c3:** same features as 2c. Additionally, the title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has a double line. Both sides of the bigger frame have a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 2c4:** same features as 2c. Additionally, the title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has a double line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns — the outer one bigger than the inner — and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 2d:** it exhibits an external thick line and a simple internal line inside the floral frame (see Fig. 2). The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns - the outer one bigger than the inner — and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 2d1:** it exhibits the same first three features as 2d. However, both sides of the bigger frame have a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;



Fig. 2: Type 2d: *Nam mkha' rdo rje's Spiritual Songs*, Glang phug (La 'debs Valley), 1554 (Tucci Tibetan Collection, Vol. 709/3, ISIAO, Italy). Photograph by L&C Service.

- **Variation 2e:** it exhibits three lines — the central of which is thick — inside the floral frame. This frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger one that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns — the former of which is bigger than the latter - and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 2e1:** it exhibits three lines — the central one thick and split with a central empty space —inside the floral frame (see Fig. 3). This frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger one that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns — the outer one bigger than the inner — and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line.



Fig. 3: Type 2e1: *Nam mkha' rdo rje's Biography*, Glang phug (La 'debs Valley), 1554 (Tucci Tibetan Collection, Vol. 709/2, ISIAO, Italy). Photograph by L&C Service.

TYPE 3

General description: title inscribed in a frame that is similar to the second type but exhibits fewer plant decorations. This frame is placed upon a throne which is composed by two elements: the upper element presents lotus petals facing down; the lower element exhibits a sort of frame or platform which may have more or less elaborated decorations. Both sides of the frame may exhibit two further decorations (plant elements with different ornaments in the centre). The title frame is inscribed

in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line.

- **Variation 3a:** it exhibits three lines — the central one thick — inside the floral frame (see Fig. 4).



Fig. 4: Type 3a: *The Biography of lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal*, Brag dkar rta so (Tucci Tibetan Collection, Vol. 657/6, IIAO, Italy). Photograph by L&C Service.

3 Examination of drawn frames in 16th-Century Mang yul Gung thang xylographs

We analysed the sixty xylographs taken into account according to the printing houses in which they were produced in order to locate the characteristic features that may help discovering the provenance of each print. We tried to identify the artists who worked on the title frames, compared their dating and also contrasted these data against the literary genre to which the works belong. The examined xylographs were produced in nine printing houses located within the kingdom. The exact location of most printing houses is still unknown and information on their history is still scarce. Only two of these printerries seem to have been located near a monastery, but the areas in which they were established appear to have had a direct or close access to materials for book production. We list the printing houses hereafter starting from the most productive (according to data gathered so far) in descending order:

- 1) Brag dkar rta so: 24
- 2) Kun gsal sgang po che: 12
- 3) rDzong dkar/Khyung rdzong dkar po: 7
- 4) gNas: 5
- 5) 'Tsho rkyen: 5
- 6) Chab rom phug: 3
- 7) Glang phug (La 'debs Valley): 2
- 8) Ati sha'i chos 'khor (La 'debs Valley): 1
- 9) mDzo lhas: 1.

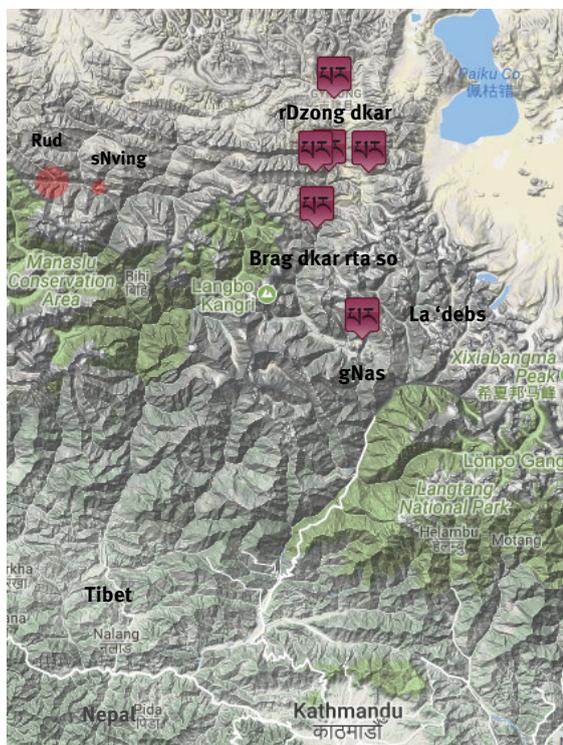


Fig. 5: Printing houses of the 16th-century Tibetan xylographs from the kingdom of Mang yul Gung thang (South-western Tibet). © Google Maps.

Brag dkar rta so

We were able to identify twenty-four prints produced at Brag dkar rta so, a printing house located between Mang yul and Gung thang, close to the small monastery with the same name. Both buildings were founded by a *bka' brgyud* master called lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557) who established his seat there in 1525 and, until his death, printed several works associated with his religious school. His literary activity was mostly sponsored by the Mang yul Gung thang rulers since he himself was a member of the royal family.⁸

⁸ On lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal and his activities at Brag dkar rta so, see Clemente 2007; Clemente 2009; Clemente 2014a; Clemente 2015; Clemente 2016a: 397–98; Clemente 2016c; Clemente (in press); Diemberger and Clemente 2013; Larsson 2012: 229–76; Schaeffer 2009: 58–63; Schaeffer 2011; Sernesi 2011; Smith 2001, 73–79.

Among the examined prints produced at Brag dkar rta so, twelve present a drawn frame belonging to the second type with ten different variations, namely 2a2, 2a3, 2b, 2c, 2c1, 2c2, 2c3, 2c4 and 2d. The frame of two xylographs, that is to say NGMPP E2518/11⁹ and L969/4,¹⁰ corresponds to variation 2c. The frame of vol. 1089/2 (Tucci Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome)¹¹ and NGMPP E2518/4¹² matches with variation 2c1. The drawn frame of two further prints, NGMPP E2517/6¹³ and L456/14,¹⁴ belongs to variation 2c3. Unfortunately, the names of the drawers of the illustrations in the first four xylographs are not mentioned in colophons or signatures. We know instead the name of the carver of the blocks of E2517/6 (printed in 1550), which corresponds to the artist who drew and engraved the illustrations of L456/14. This artist is bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan, who was active in Gung thang at least between 1533 and 1563. According to Clemente's research, rDo rje rgyal mtshan is one of the few artists who had three speciali-

9 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 191; Clemente 2016a, 406; Clemente (in press b); Schaeffer 2011, 473. For a translation, see Stearns 2000. Cf. NGMPP L970/2 and L456/8; dPal brtsegs 2013: text no. 28. Images and detailed descriptions including the transliteration of colophons and information on people involved in the production of all xylographs cited in this article are available in the aforementioned database. Cataloguing entries of these prints are also available in the NGMPP database (Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, 1970–2001, and the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP, 2002–2014, both funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG)).

10 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 191; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente (in press); Schaeffer 2011, 470; Sernesi 2011, 201; Smith 2001, 77. Cf. also NGMPP L194/7 and E2518/2.

11 It is catalogued in De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 394. The IsIAO Library was shut down in 2011, and the Collection is no longer accessible. Fortunately, these texts were digitised before the closure thanks to the aforementioned AHRC project and are now available in the above-mentioned database. For the story of this work, cf. vol. 657/6: 22b4. See also Clemente 2007, 124–25, 138; Clemente 2015, 189; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente (in press); Cutillo and Kunga Rinpoche 1978; Cutillo and Kunga Rinpoche 1986; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 137; Roberts 2007, 37–38; Sernesi 2004; Sernesi 2011, 198.

12 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 192; Clemente (in press); Schaeffer 2011, 475; Smith 2001, 77; vol. 657/6: fols 22a5–22b4. Cf. NGMPP L970/5.

13 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 191; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente 2016b; Schaeffer 2011, 469; Smith 2001, 76. Cf. NGMPP L1107/4; dPal brtsegs: text no. 32; U rgyan rDo rje 1976, 37–83.

14 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 191; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press). See also NGMPP L969/4; dPal brtsegs (text. no 22_1); U rgyan rdo rje 1976, 85–105.

sations, namely as calligrapher, carver of blocks and carver of illustrations, therefore we may guess that he worked on both the above-mentioned prints as engraver of the title pages.¹⁵

The remaining six xylographs that the title frames match with the second type are NGMPP L512/8,¹⁶ L477/14,¹⁷ L969/4_1,¹⁸ E2518/6,¹⁹ L250/8-251/1²⁰ and vol. 706.²¹ We do not have any available data on L477/14. The carvers of the illustrations of vol. 706, which was printed in 1543, are dpon btsun Padma and bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan. rDo rje rgyal mtshan is also mentioned as the carver of the blocks of L250/8-251/1, which was printed in 1555. The same artist is also cited as carver of E2518/6, while dpon btsun Padma is mentioned as engraver in both L512/8 (printed in 1561) and L969/4_1.

Ten xylographs from Brag dkar rta so exhibit instead a drawn frame belonging to the first type with four different variations (1a, 1b, 1e1, 1f). In particular, half of the frames in the xylographs belong to variation 1b. We are referring to vols 657/3,²² 707,²³ 1356²⁴ — all preserved in the Tucci Tibetan Collection of the IsIAO

15 Detailed files of all the artists mentioned in this article are available in the ITBT database. On this artist, see also Clemente 2007, 131, 132, 137, 146, 153; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Ehrhard 2000a, 73–79; Eimer and Tsering 1990, 71–72; Roesler 2000, 228; Schaeffer 2011, 470.

16 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 193; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2004, 593, n. 6; Schaeffer 2011, 476. Cf. NGMPP L194/9, L1219/3, L503/2 and L956/8.

17 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 192; Clemente 2016a, 406; Clemente (in press b); Schaeffer 2011, 471. Cf. NGMPP E1256/1.

18 For a translation of this work, see Guenther 1963. See also Clemente 2015, 190; Clemente 2016a, 406–07; Clemente (in press b); Sernesi 2004, 257; Smith 2001, 76. Cf. NGMPP L36/1; AT29/5. See also PBP 2007, 346.

19 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 190; Clemente 2016a, 406; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Schaeffer 2011, 472; Smith 2001, 76. Cf. NGMPP L194/11; L12/1; L581/5.

20 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Eimer 2010; Eimer and Tsering 1990, 71–72; Roesler 2000, 227–229; Schaeffer 2009, 62; Schaeffer 2011, 470; Sernesi 2011, 184, 188–89, 200, 225–26. Cf. BL 19999a3.

21 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 124, 135–37; Clemente 2015, 188; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente 2016b; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 341; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 134; Larsson 2012; Schaeffer 2011, 474; Vol. 657/5: fols 16a6–16b5.

22 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 125, 142–43; Clemente 2015, 189; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente 2016b; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 330; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Roberts 2007, 7–9, 37. Cf. NGMPP E2518/3.

23 On this work, see Clemente 2011, 60–61; Clemente 2015, 190; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 341.

24 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 125, 141; Clemente 2015, 192; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 447; Schaeffer 2011, 476. Cf. NGMPP E1784/3; L567/5.

Library in Rome — and to NGMPP E2518/5²⁵ and L569/10.²⁶ By comparing the known dates of the analysed xylographs, we discovered that most prints with a drawn frame matching with variation 1b were produced during the last years of lHa btsun's life. These data can also be cross-checked with the available information about the craftsmen who worked on those prints. The importance of identifying artists involved in the production of 16th-century xylographs for locating the place of printing of Tibetan works has already been pointed out.²⁷ Unfortunately, the names of the painters and carvers who worked on the illustrations of the above-mentioned five prints are not cited in colophons and signatures of those works. We only know the name of the carvers who worked on the blocks of three of these prints, namely vols 707, 657/3 and NGMPP L569/10. We may therefore suppose that the carvers involved in the engraving of the blocks also worked on the title frames. As stated above, artists with different specialisations seem to have been extremely rare, but we know the names of some carvers who used to work on both blocks and woodcut illustrations. Two of these correspond to the carvers involved in the production of the above-mentioned three prints. We are referring to dpon btsun Padma and, again, bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan. dpon btsun Padma worked on vol. 707 and L569/10, while rDo rje rgyal mtshan was employed in the production of vols 657/3 and 707. Both artists were also active during the years in which the other two xylographs belonging to variation 1b — E2518/5 and vol. 1356 — were produced, that is to say 1552 and 1556 respectively. So far we do not have any clues about the drawers of the title frames of the aforementioned four xylographs, but we are currently examining 16th-century Gung thang illustrations and trying to understand the style of painters, therefore we hope we will have a clearer picture when this research is completed.²⁸ As for the genre of the five examined prints, two are hagiographies (*rnam thar/rnam mgur*), two are Mahāmudrā instruction manuals, and the last one is a narrative of former lives (*skyes rabs*).

²⁵ On this work, see Clemente 2015, 191; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente (in press); Schaeffer 2011, 472. Cf. NGMPP L194/13; L970/3; E693/4; U rgyan rDo rje 1976, 1–35.

²⁶ On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente (in press); Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Schaeffer 2011, 476.

²⁷ See Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017. Detailed information on the identified craftsmen is available in the database of the above-mentioned projects. Information on fifteen artists is also provided in the appendix of this essay.

²⁸ On this subject, see Clemente and Lunardo (forthcoming); Lunardo (forthcoming a); Lunardo (forthcoming b).

The title frame of three further xylographs associated with the first typology, that is to say NGMPP E908/3,²⁹ L10/21³⁰ and L10/22,³¹ matches with variation 1f. Unfortunately, the last line of the last folio of E908/3 in which the artists' names appear is unreadable. Only one name is legible, i.e. Padma. We know the names of the carvers of the blocks of L10/21 and L10/22; nevertheless, only one carver mentioned in L10/21 and two cited in L10/22 have the appropriate specialisation, that is to say is skilled in carving both blocks and illustrations. The artist of the former print is also one of the two of the latter, namely *bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan*. The other is, once again, *dpon btsun Padma*.

Lastly, the frame of two xylographs, vols. 657/5³² and 657/6,³³ belongs to the third type. We know the name of the drawer of the illustrations of the former print, namely *mkhas pa dPal chen*, a famous Gung thang painter.³⁴ The carver of the illustrations is not specified, but the colophon mentions *dpon btsun Padma*, *mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis* and *bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan* among the carvers of the blocks. *bSod nams bkra shis* had two specialisations, as carver of blocks and carver of illustrations. He actually was a well-known engraver of illustrations and participated in many printing projects in Mang yul Gung thang at least from 1523 to 1555.³⁵ The drawers of the illustrations of vol. 657/6 are *mkhas pa Don bzang* and *mkhas pa Dri med*,³⁶ both renowned painters associated with

29 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 195; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente (in press).

30 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 193; Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 78; Schaeffer 2011, 476.

31 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 193; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente 2016b, 78; Clemente (in press); Roesler 2000; Roesler 2011; Schaeffer 2011, 476. Cf. NGMPP L813/2 and E2617/9.

32 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 124, 130–32; Clemente 2009; Clemente 2014a; Clemente 2015, 187–88; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); Clemente 2016c; De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 331; Diemberger and Clemente 2013. Cf. NGMPP L477/13; *dPal brtsegs*, text no. 31.

33 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 124, 130–35; Clemente 2009; Clemente 2014a; Clemente 2015, 188; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2016c; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 331; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 123, 130, 131, 134–137. Cf. NGMPP L456/7.

34 On this master, see also Clemente 2017; Clemente and Lunardo (forthcoming); Ehrhard 2000a, 77, 79; Jackson 1996, 122; Lunardo (forthcoming a).

35 On this artist, see also Clemente 2016b, 87–88; Clemente 2017; Ehrhard 2000a, 71–73, 75, 79.

36 On this master, see Clemente 2016b, 85–87; Ehrhard 2000a, 71, 73–76; Jackson 1996, 122–25; Lunardo (forthcoming a); Sernesi 2016.

sman thang pa sMan bla don grub's tradition.³⁷ Again, the carvers of the illustrations are not cited in the colophon, but among the carvers of the blocks we find bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan.

To sum up, the Brag dkar rta so prints examined so far exhibit title frames belonging to all three types. The drawn frames belonging to the first type were carved by both dpon btsun Padma and rDo rje rgyal mtshan. The frames of the xylographs associated with the second type were probably carved by bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan. Those belonging to the third type are associated with three famous painters, mkhas pa dPal chen, mkhas pa Dri med and mkhas pa Don bzang, as well as with three well-known carvers of illustrations, dpon btsun Padma, rDo rje rgyal mtshan and bSod nams bkra shis. Since we do not know the name/s of the artist/s who drew the title frames belonging to the first two types, we can only suggest that the more elaborated drawing of the third type is due to the involvement of different painters, or else that the innovation might have been favoured by the collaboration of the painters with bSod nams bkra shis, an artist who is never mentioned in the colophons and/or signatures of the prints belonging to the first two types.

Kun gsal sGang po che

We were able to locate twelve prints produced at Kun gsal sGang po che, near the village of gTsang, to the south-east of rDzong dkar, in Gung thang. This hermitage was one of the residences of bo dong Chos dbang rgyal mtshan (1484–1549),³⁸ a religious master who promoted many printing projects in the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom. All projects carried out here but one were supervised by him.

The drawn frame of seven examined xylographs belongs to the first type with two variations, that is to say 1b and 1c. Six frames match with variation 1c and are

³⁷ On sman thang pa sMan bla don grub's painting tradition, see Jackson 1996, chapt. 3. See also Clemente 2009, 3.7; Clemente 2016b, 85–86; Denwood 1996; Lo Bue-Ricca 1990, 27–28.

³⁸ On this master, see Ehrhard 2000a, 23–50.

those included in vols 361/1_1,³⁹ 361/2,⁴⁰ 361/3,⁴¹ 361/4,⁴² 363/2⁴³— preserved in the Tucci Tibetan Collection — and in NGMPP L560/23.⁴⁴ The first five were all printed in 1538–39 (the first four during the same printing project) and belong to the bka' gdams pa school. According to their colophons and signatures, mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis is the carver of the illustrations of vols 361/3 and 363/2. The name of the artist who drew the illustrations of the former xylograph is not mentioned, but we know the drawers who worked on vol. 363/2, namely mkhas pa Dri med, mkhas pa Chos dpal and mkhas pa sMon lam. The colophons and signatures of other two prints, that is to say, vols 361/1_1 and 361/3, tell us only the name of the scribe, mkhas pa sKyab pa, an eclectic artist who, according to Clemente's research, appears to have been trained in several specialisations. He seems to have worked as a master scribe, draftsman and carver of illustrations, so that he might have acted as drawer and/or carver of the frames of the above-mentioned xylographs. As for vol. 361/4, we only know the name of the carver of its blocks, namely bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan, who might have also been the carver of its title frame. The sixth xylograph, NGMPP L560/23, was instead printed in an unspecified Mouse Year, which may correspond to 1516, 1528, 1540, 1552 or 1564. According to the colophon, the scribe of the xylograph was mkhas pa sKyab pa and the drawer of illustrations mkhas pa dPal chen. From what Clemente has discovered so far, mkhas pa sKyab pa was active from 1521 to 1546, whereas mkhas pa dPal chen's worked as drawer of illustrations from 1546 until after 1555. Information gathered so far shows that mkhas pa sKyab pa worked as scribe between 1538 and 1540. We would therefore tend to exclude 1516, 1528 and 1564 as the date of printing of NGMPP L560/23. This xylograph was likely produced in 1540. As for the artists who drew and carved the title page, both mkhas pa sKyab pa and mkhas pa dPal chen could be the draftsmen. The carver may instead have been either mkhas pa sKyab pa or the carver of the blocks, namely gsol dpon Nam mkha' dkon mchog, but we

39 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente (in press).

40 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132. Cf. BDRC (= Buddhist Digital Resource Centre): W00KG09688.

41 On this work, see Clemente 2016a: 411; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132. Cf. BDRC: W00KG09688.

42 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente 2016b; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132. Cf. BDRC: W1KG4473.

43 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 129–130, n. 67; Ehrhard 2000a, 118–129.

44 On this work, see Clemente (in press).

do not have any information regarding the work of this latter artists. So far he is only mentioned as an engraver of NGMPP L560/23.

The frame matching with variation 1b belongs to NGMPP L189/5-190/1. This xylograph was printed in 1531 by Chos dbang rgyal mtshan. We do not have any specific information on the artists who worked on the print. We only know that five carvers were involved in its production.⁴⁵

The frames of the remaining five prints, that is to say NGMPP AT53/17-54/1,⁴⁶ printed in 1533, vols 286/1⁴⁷ and 286/2,⁴⁸ produced in 1523–24 (during the same printing project), NGMPP L66/5,⁴⁹ printed in 1551, and vol. 363/1,⁵⁰ produced in 1539–40, belong instead to the second type with four different variations, 2a1, 2c, 2c2 and 2e respectively. The drawer of the illustrations of AT53/17-54/1 and vol. 286/1 is mkhas pa Dri med, while the carver of illustrations is bSod nams bkra shis. This latter also carved the illustrations of vol. 363/1. We do not have any information on the artists who were involved in the production of vol. 286/2 but they were probably the same found in the colophon of vol. 286/1. The carver of the illustrations of L66/5 is bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan. L66/5 is the only one xylograph which was not produced by Chos dbang rgyal mtshan. This is one of the volumes included in his Collected works, which were printed after his death⁵¹.

To sum up, the frames of the twelve examined xylographs belong to the first and second types. Five of the seven prints with a first-type frame were produced in 1538–39. NGMPP L189/5-190/1 was printed in 1531 whereas L560/23 was likely printed in 1540. The drawers of the frames of these six prints were mkhas pa Dri med, sMon lam and Chos dpal—who worked together—, mkhas pa dPal chen, and mkhas pa sKyab pa. This latter artist may have acted as both drawer and carver. The frames of the five remaining xylographs belong to the second type and were drawn by mkhas pa Dri

45 On the story of the printing, see Ehrhard 2000a, 37.

46 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente 2016b; Ehrhard 2000c, IX. The printing colophon of this xylograph is provided in Ehrhard 2000a, 104–114. Facsimile edition in Ehrhard 2000c, 1–510. Cf. vol. 743 no. 2 (National Archives, Katmandu); NGMPP L1121/3–L1122/1.

47 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 131; Ehrhard 2000a, 29–30. Cf. NGMPP L755/4-L756/1; L211/2.

48 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2. Cf. NGMPP L755/4-756/1.

49 On this work, see also Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press). The colophon is provided in Ehrhard 2000a, 165–170.

50 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente 2016b; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 129–130, n. 67.

51 See Ehrhard 2016, 225–228.

med (in 1523–24 and 1533) and carved by bSod nams bkra shis (in 1523–24, 1533 and 1539–40). The frame of one of the prints was carved by rDo rje rgyal mtshan in 1551.

rDong dkar/Khyung rdzong dkar po

We identified seven xylographs produced in the printing house of rDzong dkar/Khyung rdzong dkar po, close to the rDzong dkar chos sde monastery, located in the capital of the Gung thang area. The drawn frame of all these prints but one belongs to the first type with five variations, that is to say 1b, 1b1, 1b3, 1c and 1d. The frame of vols NGMPP AT61/21_1⁵² and L189/4,⁵³ both preserved at the National Archives of Kathmandu, matches with variation 1b. The former xylograph belongs to the bo dong pa school and is associated with the Mahāmudrā tradition. It was produced in 1521. The latter print is instead associated with the rnying ma pa school. It belongs to the literary genre of hagiographies and is later than the bo dong xylograph since it was produced in 1527. Both xylographs were printed by Chos dbang rgyal mtshan. The name of the artists responsible for the illustrations of these two prints can be found in the colophons of both texts. mkhas pa Dri med is cited as the drawer of the illustrations of both works. The carver of the illustrations of AT61/21_1 is not mentioned in the colophon, but we know the names of the carvers who worked on the blocks. Among these, only bSod nams rnam rgyal seems to have been trained also as a carver of illustrations, therefore he may be the engraver in charge of the drawn frame of this print. The name of the carvers of the illustrations in L189/4 are instead mentioned in the colophon, namely bSod nams bkra shis and lha ris sKyab pa. lHa ris should be an epithet of mkhas pa sKyab pa.

The other four prints that exhibit a frame matching with type 1 are vol. 671/7,⁵⁴ NGMPP L143/6-144/1,⁵⁵ vol. 671/5⁵⁶ and NGMPP E2934/3-2935/1.⁵⁷ These present the

52 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 409; Clemente (in press b); Ehrhard 2000a, 87. This text is reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 349–85. Cf. NGMPP L189/3; L390/4; vol. 754 no. 1 (National Archives, Kathmandu).

53 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 409; Clemente 2016b; Ehrhard 2000a, 32–33, 72–73, 101–103. Cf. dPal brtsegs: text no. 16; NGMPP L9/3.

54 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335–36. Cf. NGMPP L195/12.

55 The colophon of this work is provided in Ehrhard 2000a, 115–17. See also Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 73.

56 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335. Cf. NGMPP L195/10; L1208/4.

57 On this work, see Clemente 2014b; Clemente 2016a, 409; Ehrhard 2000d; Ehrhard 2013. Cf. Tibetan 149.

following variations respectively: 1b1, 1b3, 1c and 1d. We do not have any information on the artists who worked on vol. 671/7; we know instead the name of the carver of illustration involved in the production of vol. 671/5, namely mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis. These two xylographs were printed during the same project undertaken in 1540 by Nam mkha' rdo rje (1486–1553), a master belonging to the 'ba' ra bka' brgyud sub-school, with the help of Chos dbang rgyal mtshan.⁵⁸ The drawer of illustrations of L143/6-144/1, which was printed in 1537, is mkhas pa Dri med, whereas the carver of illustrations is mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis. The drawers of the illustrations of E2934/3-2935/1, which was produced in 1521, are instead mkhas pa Dri med and mkhas pa rDor mgon, while the carvers are Chos skyabs dpal bzang — a skilled engraver of blocks and also a carver of illustrations who was active at least from 1514 to 1525⁵⁹ — bSod nams rnam rgyal and mkhas pa sKyab pa. Both the above mentioned projects were supervised by Chos dbang rgyal mtshan.

The only print with a frame belonging to the second type, variation 2e, is vol. 671/1, printed in 1540 during the same project of vol. 671/7 and 671/5.⁶⁰ According to the signature, the carver of the illustrations is mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis. The drawer of the illustrations is not mentioned in the colophon or signatures. However, according to Lunardo's examination of the style of illustrations, it is possible that the painter is mkhas pa Dri med.⁶¹

To sum up, the drawn frame of six xylographs matches with the first type. mkhas pa Dri med is the drawer of four of these—associated with rDo rje mgon po in one of the prints—, bSod nams bkra shis is the carver of three of these, and bSod nams rnam rgyal and mkhas pa sKyab pa should be the carvers who worked on two of the frames each. The frame matching with the second type is also associated with mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis and, likely, with mkhas pa Dri med.

⁵⁸ See Ehrhard 2000a, 55–66.

⁵⁹ On this artist, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 70.

⁶⁰ On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335; Ehrhard 2000a, 45 n. 38, 61–63.

⁶¹ On this subject, see Clemente and Lunardo (forthcoming); Lunardo (forthcoming a).

gNas

gNas is located in the vicinity of sKyid grong, in Mang yul, and is the birthplace of Rab 'byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581), a religious master who undertook many printing projects in the Gung thang kingdom starting from 1555.⁶²

Five examined prints were produced at gNas. The title frame of three of these works – NGMPP L109/11,⁶³ L535/5⁶⁴ and vol. 1355⁶⁵ – is associated with the first type, with three different variations, 1b2, 1d1 and 1e respectively. Unfortunately, we do not have any information about the artists who worked on these prints.

The drawn frame of the remaining two xylographs – vols 587⁶⁶ and 657/4⁶⁷ – belongs to the second type and matches with variation 2c1. The drawer of the illustrations of the former print produced in 1561 is mkhas pa Don bzang, while the carver should be bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan. The latter xylograph was printed in 1559, and the carver involved in its production is rDo rje rgyal mtshan.

'Tsho rkyen

Five identified prints were produced at the hermitage of 'Tsho rkyen, which should be located not far from Chab rom phug, in Mang yul Gung thang.⁶⁸ The drawn frame of all but one matches with the first type, variation 1b. The latter, NGMPP AT 150/7,⁶⁹ exhibits a frame belonging to the second type, variation 2c. All these xylographs actually belong to a unique printing project undertaken by bTsun pa Chos legs in 1514, during which he printed a textbook (*yig cha*) on Mahāmudrā he himself had written at Chab rom phug some years earlier, between 1501 and 1504.⁷⁰

62 On this master, see in particular Ehrhard 2012.

63 On this work, see Bacot 1954, 292; Clemente 2016a, 412; Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2012, 173; Schaeffer 2011, 473. Cf. dPal brtsegs: text no. 36; U rgyan rdo rje 1976, 451–501.

64 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente (in press).

65 On this work, see De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 447.

66 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 412; Clemente 2016b, 76–80; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 314; Ehrhard 2012, 163.

67 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 125–126, 143–150; Clemente 2016a, 411–12; Clemente 2016b, 79; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 330–331; Ehrhard 2012, 158; Roberts 2007, 40–47; Smith 2001, 76. Cf. Tibetan 155.1 (Cambridge University Library).

68 See Ehrhard 2000b, XIII–XV. See also Clemente (in press).

69 See Ehrhard 2000b, XIII–XIV. See also Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000b, 1–20.

70 See Ehrhard 2000a, 24; Ehrhard 2000b, XIII–XV.

The four xylographs with the drawn frame matching with the first type, namely NGMPP AT61/21_2,⁷¹ AT61/21_3,⁷² AT61/21_4,⁷³ AT61/21_5,⁷⁴ share the same drawer of illustrations, namely ltas dga' Chos bzang, an artist associated with the bo dong pa monastery of lTas dga'/rTa sga.⁷⁵ The carvers of AT 61/21_2 were gnas brtan dge slong Seng ge and dge bshes Chos skyong. The former came from lHa mdun⁷⁶ and was active at least between 1514 and 1521;⁷⁷ the latter was involved in printing projects from 1514 up to 1555. Unfortunately, so far we have no evidence that they used to carve illustrations as well. The engravers of AT 61/21_3 were dpon yig dPal ldan rgyal po and bSod nams rnam rgyal. dPal ldan rgyal po was both a master scribe and an expert carver. He worked as an engraver at least from 1514 until 1546.⁷⁸ However, he did not work as a carver of illustrations, thus bSod nams rnam rgyal must have been responsible for the engraving of the illustrations and, likely, of the title page of AT 61/21_3. The engravers of AT 61/21_4 were instead Chos skyabs dpal bzang and dKon mchog. So far Clemente has found the latter artist mentioned only in this xylograph, therefore the carver of the illustrations – and of the drawn frame – was probably Chos skyabs dpal bzang. The wooden blocks of AT 61/21_5, the last print of this project, were carved by dpon yig dPal ldan rgyal po and bSod nams rnam rgyal, and the latter probably engraved the illustrations.

The carvers of the blocks of AT 150/7, which exhibits a frame matching with the second type, were gnas brtan Seng ge and dpon yig dPal ldan rgyal po. Neither of them seems to have been trained as a carver of illustrations. Since this xylograph also belongs to the same printing project as the prints described above, it also shares the same painter of the illustrations, namely Chos bzang.

71 On this work, see Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 70; Ehrhard 2000b, XIV, 21–96. This work was erroneously identified as a rDzong dkar print in Clemente 2016a, 409.

72 On this work, see Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 70; Ehrhard 2000b, XIV, 97–143. This work was erroneously identified as a rDzong dkar print in Clemente 2016a, 409.

73 On this work, see Ehrhard 2000b, XIV, 145–210. See also Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 70. This work was erroneously identified as a rDzong dkar print in Clemente 2016a, 409.

74 On this work, see Ehrhard 2000b, XIV, 211–240. See also Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 70. This work was erroneously identified as a rDzong dkar print in Clemente 2016a, 409; Clemente 2016b, 81.

75 This monastery is located in the Nub ris region, in Mang yul Gung thang. See Ehrhard 2000a, 70.

76 lHa mdun is located in the Nub ris region, in Mang yul Gung thang.

77 On this artist, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 70.

78 On this artist, see also Clemente 2017; Ehrhard 2000a, 70; Ehrhard 2013, 145.

4 Chab rom phug, Glang phug, A ti sha'i chos 'khor, and mDzo lhas

The number of identified prints from Chab rom phug, mDzo lhas and A ti sha'i chos 'khor analysed so far is extremely limited, therefore it is not possible to make significant remarks. However, here we can provide the available data in the hope of supplementing these with further information in the coming months.

Chab rom phug

Chab rom phug is a hermitage located near the village of Rud, south of Kun gsal sGang po che and west of rDzong dkar. It was established by bTsun pa Chos legs as one of his retreat places, therefore the works printed there seem to be associated with the bo dong pa tradition. Chos dbang rgyal mtshan also moved there in 1511.⁷⁹

So far we have identified three prints from Chab rom phug, vol. 286/3,⁸⁰ NGMPP AT 61/21_7⁸¹ and L18/3.⁸² The drawn frame of all prints belongs to the first type and to the same variation, 1b. The two first xylographs were printed in 1515 during the same project. The name of the drawer of the illustrations is not cited in any of these prints. Among the carvers mentioned in vol. 286/3, Chos skyabs dpal bzang and bSod nams rnam rgyal should be those who engraved the title frames. The carvers of the blocks of AT 61/21_7 were instead bSam grub seng ge and dPal ldan rgyal po.⁸³ Unfortunately, so far we have no evidence that they used to carve illustrations as well. The third xylograph was printed in 1525. The drawer of the illustrations is dpon chen Grags mgon, whose name appears only in this print. The carver is again Chos skyabs dpal bzang.

⁷⁹ See Ehrhard 2000a, 24.

⁸⁰ This text is also reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 241–321. See also Clemente 2016a, 412; Clemente 2016b, 81–82; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2; Ehrhard 2000a, 24, 71; Ehrhard 2000b, XV.

⁸¹ This text is also reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 323–47. See also Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 71; Ehrhard 2000b, XV.

⁸² The colophon is transliterated in Ehrhard 2000a, 95–100. See also Clemente 2016a, 412; Clemente 2016b, 82; Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 72.

⁸³ The name of the second carver is found in the biography of bTsun pa Chos legs. Cf. NGMPP L18/3, fol. 110a5.

Glang phug

We were able to locate only two prints from Glang phug (La 'de/'debs Valley), namely vols 709/2⁸⁴ and 709/3,⁸⁵ both produced in 1554 by Nam mkha' dpal 'byor, a disciple of Nam mkha' rdo rje. The frame of both xylographs matches with the second type with two variations, 2e1 and 2d respectively. The carver of the frame of the former print should be dpon btsun Padma. The drawer of the frame of the latter xylograph seems to be mkhas pa bSod nam 'od zer, who is actually a renowned scribe.⁸⁶ The carver is bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan.

A ti sha'i chos 'khor

So far we have identified only one print from A ti sha'i chos 'khor (La 'de/'debs Valley), that is to say vol. 1466,⁸⁷ which was produced in 1546 by Nam mkha' rdo rje and rtogs ldan dPal mgon. Its frame belongs to the second type, variation 2a. The drawer of the frame should be mkhas pa sKyab pa and the carver dpon btsun Padma.

mDzo lhas

mDzo lhas should be situated on the banks of the dPal khud mtsho, not far from Chos sdings, in Gung thang. So far we have been able to locate only one print from this place, vol. 671/6,⁸⁸ which was produced in 1540. Its frame belongs to the first type, variation 1c. The drawer of the frame should be mkhas pa sKyab pa and the carver bSod nam bkra shis.

84 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 412; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 342; Ehrhard 2000a, 55–66; Sernesi 2013, 205.

85 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 412; De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 342; Ehrhard 2000a, 55–66, 77, 171–75; Sernesi 2013, 205.

86 On this artist, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 73–74, 76–78; Jackson 1996, 122; Roesler 2000, 229.

87 The text is available in U rgyan rdo rje 1976, 381–449. On this work, see also Clemente 2016a, 413; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 458–59; Ehrhard 2000a, 65, 162–64.

88 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 190; Clemente 2016a, 413; Clemente 2016b, 77; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335; Ehrhard 2000a, 75–76, 130–41.

5 Conclusion

This article has been undertaken with the aim of presenting the identified typology and variations of the drawn frames of 16th-century Mang yul Gung thang xylographs and making some preliminary remarks on sixty prints that have been examined so far.

Preliminary results show that the drawn frames matching with the first type can be found in xylographs produced in all the printing houses except Glang phug and Ati sha'i chos 'khor, although the number of prints from the latter places is too limited to provide us with the necessary amount of data. Xylographs with a title frame belonging to the second type come from all printing houses but Chab rom phug and mDzo lhas. Unfortunately, we do not have enough specimens even from the latter places. The third type is only present in prints from Brag dkar rta so, which is the most productive printing house in the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom.

It seems that the first type of drawn frames goes back to 1514 and is associated with 'Tsho rkyen. The first variation of this type appears to be 1b. In the following year a xylograph with the same variation was printed at Chab rom phug. The carvers of the illustrations seem to have been the same, namely Chos skyabs dpal bzang and bSod nams mnam rgyal. Both prints were produced by bTsun pa Chos legs. According to our study, the second type appears for the first time in the same year, 1514, at 'Tsho rkyen, during the same printing project of the above-mentioned xylographs under the supervision of bTsun pa Chos legs. The artists are therefore the same. However, it seems that this type starts to be widely used from 1523-24. It seems indeed comprehensible that the first type, which exhibits the simplest drawing, was the first to be adopted. The third type, which is the more elaborated, appears to have been developed many years later, after 1555; however, we do not have enough examples of this kind of drawn frame to hazard a guess.

While examining the colophons and signatures of these sixty prints, we noticed that most artists were employed in several printing houses, especially those who were specialised in two or more tasks. It appears that supervisors of projects used to summon the same group of artists for all their enterprises. Some of these supervisors, such as bTsun pa Chos legs and Chos dbang rgyal mtshan, had several residences, therefore they organised printing projects in different places. Only fifteen artists are mentioned as drawers and carvers of illustrations. As explained above, we think that the same artists were also responsible for the title frames. Among the fifteen artists, nine acted as draftsmen and five as engravers, only one craftsman was specialised in both arts. Five of the nine drawers, namely bSod nams 'od zer, dpon chen Grags mgon, rDo rje mgon po, mkhas pa Chos dpal and mkhas pa sMon

lam, worked in the production of one xylograph each. Information on the activities of these artists can be found in the appendix of this essay.

Since this field of research is completely new, at this stage of the research we are not able to suggest whether the typology of the title pages is associated with the specific style of a certain printing house or rather with a particular artist. Since the identification of the provenance of early xylographs was one of the aims of the TIBET project, and the location of characteristic stylistic features is one of the elements that may help discovering the origin of each print, all these features have been investigated according to place of production. This is also the reason why preliminary results on the study of title frames have been listed according to printing houses. Although these results seem not to indicate that the style of drawn frames depends on a certain place of production, the fact that several supervisors organised projects in different printing houses does not allow us to exclude this possibility. It is indeed likely that the style of drawn frames is associated to the guidelines given by the supervisors of these enterprises, therefore the fact that these organisers moved from one place to another makes our research much more complicated. This question will possibly find an answer only when further prints and projects of the same period and area are analysed. It is our hope to expand this research in the coming months.

Appendix

A chart with the available information on the activities of the above-mentioned fifteen artists is provided below. Names appear in Tibetan alphabetical order. The third column shows the printing houses where each artist was employed. Printing houses are indicated with abbreviations: BK for Brag dkar rta so; KS for Kun gsal sgang po che; ZK for rDzong dkar; GN for gNas; TK for 'Tsho rkyen; CR for Chab rom phug; GP for Glang phug; ACK for Ati sha'i chos 'khor; ZH for mDzo lhas. The fourth column shows the specialisation of each artist. In this chart we only took into account two specialisations, namely drawer and carver of illustrations and title frames. The specialisations are marked with D and C respectively. In case of an artist skilled in two tasks, the specialisation for which he is more renowned goes first. The fifth column indicates the types on which the artist worked.

Artist's name	Years of activity	Printing houses	Specialisation	Typology of drawn frame
mkhas pa sKyab pa	1521–1546	KS ZK ACK ZH	D & C	Type 1 & Type 2
dpon chen Grags mgon	1525	CR	D	Type 1
Chos skyabs dpal bzang	1514–1525	ZK TK CR	C	Type 1
mkhas pa Chos dpal	1538/39	KS	D	Type 1
ltas dga' Chos bzang	1514	TK	D	Type1 & Type 2
mkhas pa Don bzang	After 1557–1561	BK GN	D	Type 2 & Type 3
mkhas pa Dri med	1521–after 1557	BK KS ZK	D	Type1, Type 2 & Type3
mkhas pa rDo rje mgon po	1521	ZK	D	Type1
bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan	1538/39–1563	BK KS GN GP	C	Type1, Type 2 & Type3
dpon btsun Padma	1538 ⁸⁹ –1561	BK GP ACK	C	Type1, Type 2 & Type 3
mkhas pa dPal chen	1540/52–after 1555 ⁹⁰	BK KS	D	Type 1, Type 3
mkhas pa sMon lam	1538/39	KS	D	Type1
mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis	1523/24–after 1555	BK KS ZK ZH	C	Type1, Type 2 & Type 3
bSod nams rnam rgyal	1514–1521	ZK TK CR	C	Type 1
mkhas pa bSod nams 'od zer	1554	GP	D	Type 2

89 dPon btsun Padma started to work as a carver of blocks in 1533. We know that he was responsible for the engraving of the xylograph of Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan's biography, which was produced in one of the printing houses of the La 'de Valley. Cf. NGMPP L18/14: fol.19b (carver's signature at the bottom of the folio) and fol. 48a6.

90 mkhas pa dPal chen also worked as the drawer of illustrations of a xylograph printed at bTsum in 1546. The data about this xylograph were not included in this essay because prints produced at bTsum are still under examination.

References

Primary sources

- dPal brtsegs 2013 = dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, *Bod kyi shing spar lag rtsal gyi byung rim mdor bsdu*. Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang 2013.
- NGMPP AT53/17-54/1 = Klong chen rab 'byams pa Dri med 'od zer (1308–1364), *Theg pa'i mchog rin po che'i mdzod*. Xylograph kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–510a).
- NGMPP AT61/21_1 = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521), *Nyams yig ma 'ri'i lu gu rgyud*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–37a).
- NGMPP AT61/21_2 = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521), *blTa ba'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–76a).
- NGMPP AT61/21_3 = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521), *sGom pa'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–47a).
- NGMPP AT61/21_4 = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521), *sPyod pa'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–66a).
- NGMPP AT61/21_5 = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521), *'Bras bu'i skabs rnam par bzhag pa*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–30a).
- NGMPP AT61/21_7 = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521), *Phyag rgya chen po'i dka' ba'i gnas gsal byed sgron ma*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–25a).
- NGMPP AT167/5-168/1 = Srong btsan sgam po, *Chos skyong ba'i rgyal bsrong btsan rgan po'i bka' 'bum las smad kyi cha zhal gdams kyi bskor ba*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–319a).
- NGMPP E908/3 = *rje ras chung pa'i rnam thar mdor bsdu*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–39a).
- NGMPP E2517/6 = gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507), *Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rnam 'phrul rje btsun ti lo pa'i rnam mgur*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–24a).
- NGMPP E2518/4 = sGam po pa (1079–1153), *Chos rje dags po lha rje'i gsung / bstan chos lung gi nyid 'od*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–25a).
- NGMPP E2518/5 = bSod nams dpal, *bDe gshegs phag mo gru pa'i rnam thar*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–18a).
- NGMPP E2518/6 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557), edited by, *Grub thob gling ras kyi rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–61b).
- NGMPP E2518/11 = Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1170–1249), *Khams gsum 'dran bral grub thob ko rag pa'i mgur 'bum bzhugs / badzra dho dza*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–16a).
- NGMPP E2934/3-2935/1 = Chos skyong ba'i rgyal po bsrong btsan rgam po'i bka' 'bum las smad kyi cha zhal gdams kyi bskor. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–371a).
- NGMPP L10/21 = Po to ba (1027–1105), *dPe chos rin chen spungs pa'i zhung*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–7a).
- NGMPP L10/22 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557), *dPe chos rin po che spungs pa'i 'bum 'grel*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–170a).

- NGMPP L18/3 = *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa chos legs mtshan can gyi rnam thar yon tan 'brug sgra*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–150a).
- NGMPP L66/5 = Chos dbang rgyal mtshan (1484–1549), *mTshan ldan bla ma dam pa mnyam med chos dbang rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa / rin po che nor bu'i phreng ba*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–129b).
- NGMPP L109/11 = Zla ba rgyal mtshan, mKhas grub sha ra rab 'jam pa sangs rgyas seng ge'i rnam thar mthong ba don ldan ngo mtshar nor bu'i phreng ba shar 'dod yid 'phrog blo gsal mgul brgyan. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–26a).
- NGMPP L189/4 = mChog ldan mgon po (1497–1531), *sPrul sku rig 'dzin mchog ldan mgon po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum dad ldan spro ba bskyed byed*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–241a).
- NGMPP L189/5-190/1 = mChog ldan mgon po (1497–1531), *Rig 'dzin sprul sku mchog ldan mgon po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum gyi smad cha rnams*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a-52a).
- NGMPP L250/8-251/1 = gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507), *rJe btsun mi la ras pa rnam thar rgyas par phye pa mgur 'bum*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–250a).
- NGMPP L456/14 = Tilopa (928-?), *rGyal ba rdo rje 'chang yab yum gyi rnam thar*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–11a).
- NGMPP L477/14 = Mi la ras pa (1040–1123), *Thun mong ma yin pa rdo rje mgur drug sogs / mgur ma 'ga 'yar*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–19a).
- NGMPP L512/8 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557), *rGyud kyi dgongs pa gtsor ston pa / phyag rgya chen po yi ge bzhi pa'i 'grel bshad gnyug ma'i gter mdzod*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–50a).
- NGMPP L535/5 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391), *rJe btsun 'ba' ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–214b).
- NGMPP L560/23 = 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1008-1064), *Jo bo rje'i bstod pa 'brom ston rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas kyis mdzad pa'i phun tshog bham ga ma*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–3a).
- NGMPP L569/10 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473-1557), *Phyag rgya chen po yi ge bzhi pa'i sa bcad sbas don gsal ba'i nyi ma*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–9a).
- NGMPP L969/4 = gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507), *sGra bsgyur mar pa lo tstsha'i mgur 'bum*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–40a).
- NGMPP L969/4_1 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557), *mKhas grub kun gyi gtsug rgyan / pañ chen nā ro pa'i rnam thar / ngo mtshar rmad 'byung*. Microfilm kept at the National Archives, Kathmandu (fols 1a–46a).
- PBP 2007 = Pho brang po ta la do dam khru'u rig dngos zhib 'jug khang, *Pho brang po ta lar tshags pa'i bka' brgyud pa'i gsung 'bum dkar chag*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2007.
- U rgyan rdo rje (1976), *Rare dkar brgyud pa Texts from Himachal Pradesh. A Collection of Biographical Works and Philosophical Treatises. Reproduced from Prints from Ancient Western Tibetan Blocks*. New Delhi: Instituts d'Asie. Centre d'Études Tibétaines.
- Vol. 286/1 = Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal (1213–1258), *rGyal ba yang dgon chos rje'i mgur 'bum*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–165a).

- Vol. 286/2 = Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal (1213–1258), *rGyal ba yang dgon chos rje'i bka' 'bum yid bzhin nor bu*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–128a).
- Vol. 286/3 = bTsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521), *Phyag rgya chen po'i khrid yig bzhugs || skal bzang gso ba'i bdud rtsi snying po bcud bsdu*s. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–81a).
- Vol. 361/1_1 = 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/5–1064), *Jo bo rin po che rje dpal ldan a ti sha rnam thar rgyas pa yongs grags*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 20a–119a).
- Vol. 361/2 = 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/5–1064), *dGe bshes ston pas mdzad pa'i glegs bam gyi bka' rgya*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 120a–123a).
- Vol. 361/3 = 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/5–1064), *Zhus lan nor bu'i phreng ba lha chos bdun ldan gyi bla ma brgyud pa rnam ky'i rnam thar*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 124a–246a).
- Vol. 361/4 = Legs pa'i shes rab, edited by, *Jo bo yab sras ky'i gsung bgros pha chos rin po che'i gter mdzod / byang chub sems dpa'i nor bu'i phreng ba rtsa 'grel sogs*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 247a–365a).
- Vol. 363/1 = A.A.V.V., *'Brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas ky'i skyes rabs bka' gdams bu chos le'u nyi shu pa*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–214a).
- Vol. 363/2 = A.A.V.V. *bKa' rgya / khu chos gnyis / lung bstan / rdor glu / kha skong rnam*s. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 215a–343a).
- Vol. 587 = Shākya btsun pa Kun dga' chos bzang (1433–1503), *'Jam dbyangs zhal gyi pad dkar 'dzum phye nas | lung rigs gter mdzod ze 'bru bzheng la | blo gsal rkang drug ldan rnam 'phur ldng rol | legs bshad sbrang rtsi'i dga' ston 'gyed pa*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–124a).
- Vol. 657/3 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557), *Tshe gcig la 'ja' lus brnyes pa rje ras chung pa'i rnam thar rags bsdu*s mgur rnam rgyas pa. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–93a).
- Vol. 657/4 = rGod tshang ras chen (1482–1559), *rJe btsun ras chung rdo rje grags pa'i rnam thar rnam mkhyen thar lam gsal bar ston pa'i me long ye shes ky'i snang ba*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–243a).
- Vol. 657/5 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557), *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhas grub lha btsun chos ky'i rgyal po'i rnam mgur blo 'das chos sku'i rang gdangs*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–54a).
- Vol. 657/6 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557), *rNal 'byor dbang phyug lha btsun chos ky'i rgyal po'i rnam thar gyi smad cha*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–32a).
- Vol. 671/1 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391), *rJe btsun 'ba' ra pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–190b).
- Vol. 671/5 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391), *sKyes mchog 'ba' ra bas mdzad pa'i sgrub pa nyams su blang ba'i lag len dgos 'dod 'byung ba'i gter mdzod*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 223a–365a).

- Vol. 671/6 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391), *sKyes mchog gi zhus lan thugs kyi snying po zab mo'i gter mdzod*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 366a–397a).
- Vol. 671/7 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310–1391), *sKyes mchog 'ba' ra pas mdzad pa'i mdo sngags kyi smon lam*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 398a–401a).
- Vol. 706 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557), *Grub thob gtsang pa smyon pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i spu long g.yo ba*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1–65a).
- Vol. 707 = Aśvaghōṣa, *sTon pa sangs rgyas kyi skyes rabs brgyad bcu pa slob dpon dpa' bos mdzad pa bzhugs*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–170a).
- Vol. 709/2 = Chos rgyal lhun grub, *Shā kya'i dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa chen po / na<m> mkha' rdo rje'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar gsal ba'i me long*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–53a).
- Vol. 709/3 = Shākya'i dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa / nam mkha' rdo rje'i mgur 'bum / yid bzhin nor bu'i bang mdzod. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–25a).
- Vol. 1089/2 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557), edited by, *rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rdo rje mgur drug sogs gsung rgyun thor bu 'ga'*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–109a).
- Vol. 1355 = sGam po pa (1079–1153), *Chos rje dags po lha rje'i gsung / bstan chos lung gi nyi 'od*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–27a).
- Vol. 1356 = Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal (1213–1258), *Phyag rgya chen po rnal 'byor bzhi'i rim pa snying po don gyi gter mdzod*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–18a).
- Vol. 1466 = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391), *rGyal ba yang dgon pa'i thugs kyi bcud ngo sprod bdun gyi mgur ma*. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–34a).

Secondary sources

- Bacot, J. (1954), 'Titre et colophons d'ouvrages non canoniques tibétains. Textes et traduction', in *Bulletin de l'école Française d'Extrême-Orient* 44/2: 275–337.
- Clemente, M. (2007), 'Colophons as Sources: Historical Information from some Brag dkar rta so Xylographies', in *Rivista di Studi Sudasiatici* 2: 121–160.
- Clemente, M. (2009), *The Life of lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557) according to His rnam mgur and rnam thar*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 'La Sapienza' University of Rome.
- Clemente, M. (2011), 'From Manuscript to Block Printing: In the Search of Stylistic Models for the Identification of Tibetan Xylographs', in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 84: 51–66.
- Clemente, M. (2014a), 'Shedding Some Light upon lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557): A Study of Two Untranslated Works from the Tucci Tibetan Collection', in *Proceedings of the Sino-Italian Seminar of Tibetan Studies, China Tibetology Research Centre, Beijing, 17 June 2011*, edited by F. Sfera and Dramdul, Beijing: The China Tibetology Research Centre, 442–510.

- Clemente, M. (2014b), 'The *Mani bka' 'bum*', in *Buddha's Word: The Life of Books in Tibet and Beyond*, edited by M. Elliott, H. Diemberger and M. Clemente, Cambridge: Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 88–89.
- Clemente, M. (2015), 'The Literary Work of lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal', in H. Havnevik and C. Ramble (ed.), *From Bhakti to Bon. Festschrift for Per Kvaerne*, Oslo: Novus Forlag, 185–200.
- Clemente, M. (2016a), 'The Unacknowledged Revolution? A Reading of Tibetan Printing History on the Basis of Gung thang Colophons Studied in Two Dedicated Projects', in H. Diemberger, F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Kornicki (eds), *Tibetan Printing: Comparisons, Continuities, and Change*, Leiden: Brill, 394–423.
- Clemente, M. (2016b), 'Different Facets of Mang yul Gung thang Xylographs', in O. Almogi (ed.), *Tibetan Manuscript and Xylograph Traditions. The Written Work and Its Media within the Tibetan Cultural Sphere* (Indian and Tibetan Studies 4), Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, University of Hamburg, 67–103.
- Clemente, M. (2016c), 'The Patronage Network of lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal: From Brag dkar rta so to the 'Phags pa lha khang', in E. De Rossi Filibeck, M. Clemente, G. Milanetti, O. Nalesini and F. Venturi *Studies in Honour of Luciano Petech: A Commemoration Volume 1914-2014*, *RSO* 89/1: 103–110.
- Clemente, M. (2017), 'On a Particular Aspect of the Identification of Tibetan Xylographs: Preliminary Remarks on the Importance of Craftsmen', in D. Cuneo, E. Freschi and C.A. Formigatti (eds), *Not Far Afield: Asian Perspectives on Sexuality, Testimony and Print Culture. A Coffee Break Project. Kervan-International Journal of Afro-Asiatic Studies* 21: 373–95.
- Clemente, M. (in press), 'A Condensed Catalogue of 16th Century Tibetan Xylographs from South-Western Tibet', in M. Clemente, O. Nalesini and F. Venturi (eds), *Perspectives on Tibetan Culture. A Small Garland of Forget-me-nots offered to Elena De Rossi Filibeck*, Kathmandu: Vajra Publications.
- Clemente, M. (ed.) (forthcoming a), *Traditional Paths, Innovative Approaches and Digital Challenges in the Study of Tibetan Manuscripts and Xylographs*.
- Clemente, M. (forthcoming b), 'The Xylographic Print', in M. Kapstein (ed.), *Tibetan Manuscripts and Early Prints: Towards a Manual of Tibetan Manuscript Studies*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Clemente, M., H. Diemberger, A. Helman-Ważny, and F. Lunardo (forthcoming), *Catalogue of Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Prints from South-Western Tibet*.
- Clemente, M., and F. Lunardo (forthcoming), 'Woodcut Illustrations in Sixteenth Century Mang yul Gung thang Prints', in M. Clemente, H. Diemberger, A. Helman-Ważny and F. Lunardo, *Catalogue of Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Prints from South-Western Tibet*.
- Cuttillo, B., and Kunga Rinpoche (1978), *Drinking the Mountain Stream. Songs of Tibet's Beloved Saint Milarepa*, Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Cuttillo, B., and Kunga Rinpoche (1986), *Miraculous Journey. Further Stories and Songs of Milarepa, Yogin, Poet, and Teacher of Tibet*, California: Lotsawa.
- Denwood, P. (1996), 'The Artist's Treatise of sMan bla don grub', in *The Tibet Journal*, 21/2: 24–30.
- De Rossi Filibeck, E. (2003), *Catalogue of the Tucci Tibetan Fund in the Library of ISIAO*. Vol. 2, Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.
- Diemberger, H., and Clemente, M. (2013), 'Royal Kinship, Patronage and the Introduction of Printing in Gung thang: From Chos kyi sgron ma to lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal', in F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Maurer (eds), *Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe for Christoph Cüppers*, Beiträge

- zur Zentralasienforschung 28 & 29, Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 119–142.
- Ehrhard, F.-K. (2000a), *Early Buddhist Block Prints from Mang-yul Gung-thang*, Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- Ehrhard, F.-K. (2000b), *Four Unknown Mahāmudrā Works of the Bo dong pa School*, Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- Ehrhard, F.-K. (2000c), *The Oldest Block Print of Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa's Theg mchog mādod*, Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- Ehrhard, F.-K. (2000d), 'The Transmission of the *dMar khrid Tshems bu lugs* and the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*', in C. Chojnacki, J.-U. Hartmann and V. M. Tschannerl (eds), *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka: Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*, Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 199–215.
- Ehrhard, F.-K. (2004), "'The Story of How bla ma Karma Chos bzang Came to Yol mo": A Family Document from Nepal', in S. Hino and T. Wada (eds), *Three Mountains and Seven Rivers: Prof. Musashi Tachikawa's Felicitation Volume*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 581–600, 607.
- Ehrhard, F.-K. (2010), 'Editing and Publishing the Master's Writings: The Early Years of rGod tshang ras chen (1482-1559)', in A. Chayet, C. Scherrer-Schaub, F. Robin, and J.-L. Achard (eds), *Editions, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, Munich: Indus Verlag, 129–161.
- Ehrhard, F.-K. (2012), 'gNas rab 'byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581) and His Contribution to Buddhist Block Printing in Tibet', in C. Ramble and J. Sudbury (eds), *This World and the Next: Contributions on Tibetan Religion, Science and Society. Proceedings of the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*, Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 149–176.
- Ehrhard, F.-K. (2013), 'The Royal Print of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*: Its Catalogue and Colophon', in F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Maurer (eds), *Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*, Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 143–171.
- Ehrhard, F.-K. (2016), 'Collected Writings as Xylographs: Two Sets from the Bo dong pa School', in H. Diemberger, F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Kornicki (eds), *Tibetan Printing: Comparisons, Continuities, and Change*, Leiden: Brill, 212–36.
- Eimer, H. (1996), 'Two Blockprint Fragments of Mi la ras pa's *Mgur 'bum* Kept in the Wellcome Institute, London', in *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 26: 7–20.
- Eimer, H. (2010), 'Notizen zu frühen Blockdrucken von Mi la ras pas *Mgur 'bum*', in J.-L. Achard (ed.), *Études tibétaines en l'honneur d'Anne Chayet*, Genève: Librairie Droz S. A., 51–66.
- Eimer, H., and P. Tsering, (1990), 'Blockprints and Manuscripts of Mi la ras pa's *Mgur 'bum* Accessible to Frank-Richard Hamm', in H. Eimer (ed.), *Frank-Richard Hamm Memorial Volume. Oct. 8, 1990*, Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 59–88.
- Everding, K.-H. (2000), *Das Königreich Mang yul Gung thang. Königtum und Herrschaftsgewalt im Tibet des 13.-17. Jahrhunderts. Teil 1: Die Chronik Gung thang rgyal rabs. Edition und Übersetzung. Teil 2: Studien zur Geschichte des Reiches*, Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abteilung 1, Band 6/1–2, Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH.
- Everding, K.-H. (2004), 'rNying ma pa Lamas at the Court of Mang yul Gung thang – The Meeting of the gTer ston bsTan gnyis gling pa with King Kun bzang Nyi zla grags pa', in C. Cüppers (ed.), *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung 'brel) in Traditional Tibet. Proceedings of a Seminar Held in Lumbini, Nepal, March 2000*, Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 267–291.
- Guenther, H. V. (1963), *The Life and Teachings of Nāropa*, Oxford–London: Clarendon Press.

- Jackson, D. P. (1996), *A History of Tibetan Painting: The Great Tibetan Painters and Their Traditions* (Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 242 / Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte 15), Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Larsson, S. (2012), *Crazy for Wisdom. The Making of a Mad Yogin in Fifteenth-Century Tibet*, Leiden–Boston: Brill.
- Lo Bue, E., and F. Ricca, (1990), *Gyantse Revisited*, Firenze: Le Lettere.
- Lunardo, F. (forthcoming a), 'A Preliminary Analysis on Four Illustrations of 16th Century Mang yul gung thang Blockprints', in M. Clemente (ed.), *Traditional Paths, Innovative Approaches and Digital Challenges in the Study of Tibetan Manuscripts and Xylographs*.
- Lunardo, F. (forthcoming b), 'Particular elements of Mang yul Gung thang Illustrations: A Brief Note on the Iconography of bTsun pa Chos legs and Gling ras pa Padma rDo rje.'
- NGMPP= Nepal-German Manuscript Preserving Project (1970–2002) available at <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/forschung/ngmcp>
- Petech, L. (1990), *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan-Sa skya Period of Tibetan History*, Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Roberts, P. A. (2007), *The Biography of Rechungpa: The Evolution of a Tibetan Hagiography*, Abingdon–New York: Routledge.
- Roesler, U. (2000), 'Zusatzbemerkung zu Helmut Eimers Beitrag', in C. Chojnacki, J.-U. Hartmann and V. M. Tschannerl (eds), *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka: Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*, Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 227–232.
- Roesler, U. (2011), *Frühe Quellen zum Buddhistischen Stufenweg in Tibet: Indische und tibetische Traditionen im "dPe chos" des Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Schaeffer, K. R. (2009), *The Culture of the Book in Tibet*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Schaeffer, K. R. (2011), 'The Printing Projects of Gtsang smyon He ru ka and His Disciples', in R. R. Jackson and M. T. Kapstein (eds), *Mahāmudrā and the Bka'-brgyud Tradition. Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, Königswinter 2006, Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 453–479.
- Sernesi, M. (2004), 'Mi la ras pa's Six Secret Songs. The Early Transmission of the *bde mchog snyan brgyud*', in *East and West*, 54/1–4: 251–284.
- Sernesi, M. (2011), 'A Continuous Stream of Merit: The Early Reprints of gTsang smyon Heruka's Hagiographical Works', in *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 40: 179–237.
- Sernesi, M. (2013), 'Rare Prints of bKa' brgyud Texts: A Preliminary Report', in F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Maurer (eds), *Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*, Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 191–210.
- Sernesi, M. (2016), 'Works and Networks of *mkhas pa Dri med*. On the Illustrations of 16th Century Tibetan Printed Books', in H. Diemberger, F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Kornicki (eds), *Tibetan Printing: Comparisons, Continuities, and Change*, Brill: Leiden.
- Smith, E. G. (2001), *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Stearns, C. (2000), *Hermit of Go Cliffs: Timeless Instructions from a Tibetan Mystic*, Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- BDRC = Buddhist Digital Resource Centre available at www.tbrc.org