TIBETAN PAINTED SCROLLS

AN ARTISTIC AND SYMBOLIC ILLUSTRATION OF 172 TIBETAN PAINTINGS PRECEDED BY A SURVEY OF THE HISTORICAL, ARTISTIC, LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF TIBETAN CULTURE. WITH AN ARTICLE OF P. PELLIOT ON A MONGOL EDICT, THE TRANSLATION OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS AND AN APPENDIX ON PREBUDDHISTIC IDEAS OF TIBET

II
GIVSEPPE TVCCI

TIBETAN PAINTED SCROLLS

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VIII
PART THREE

DESCRIPTION AND EXPLANATION
OF THE TANKAS
TANKA n. 1 (Plate E).

This tanka, certainly one of the oldest in the collection, although one of the best preserved, can be considered a splendid specimen of that hieratic art, faithful to India’s classical traditions, which Nepalese schools introduced into Tibet. In this case too we are helped by a comparison not only with the miniatures of Nepalese manuscripts and of their covers, but with some frescoes decorating the Sku album of Jo nān’s chapels; the latter, as I could judge, when I examined them in 1939, may be considered a product of the same school, and very probably of the same craftsmen.

The painting is not difficult to interpret: The Buddha Rīn c’en abyuṅ gnas is the principal personage, attended by two acolytes: including the two couples above and the two smaller figures in both of the lower corners, we have the group of the eight Bodhisattvas.\(^1\)

TANKAS nn. 2, 3 (Plates I, F).

They represent rDo rje sems dpa’, that is Vajrasattva, the visible symbol of cosmic consciousness in its absolute and incorruptible essence. His name, indeed, means adamantine being, because, as the diamond is incorruptible, so this first principle of all things is not subject to any decay. He is the unsubstantiality of things itself, dharmasāntatiṣṭhaya-sambhūta (Jañānasiḍḍha, p. 12), the being who is of himself, svayamabhūtā (Samputoddvāvakalparāja, fol. 56, 14th), the dharmakāya himself (ibid.).

He is then above the pentad because he is undifferentiated and, in the schools of the anuttara-yoga, the sixth Buddha, i.e. a moment of being preceding any evolution into the multiple: he is therefore identical with the Sarvatathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra, the adamantine essence of the physical, verbal and spiritual plane of all the Tathāgatas (Guhyaśāmāja, p. 111), he who has neither beginning nor end (anādiniśāṇa-sattva, Jañānasiḍḍha, p. 84). He is always represented with a bell and a rdo rje, the former in his left hand and the latter in his right; these instruments, essential to every esoteric Buddhist liturgy, are symbols: the first of the emptiness of all things and of the awareness of such emptiness, the second of the meditative process which translates into psychological experiences and spiritual realizations that same awareness. So when Vajrasattva is represented, as in the present tanka, embracing his sakti, that same symbolism is expressed by human figures: god = rdo rje, sakti = bell; that is, the synthesis of the two elements from which supreme enlightenment is derived: gnosis and compassion.\(^2\)

When he assumes forms, he reveals the Law, as Bhagavān Vajrasattva, to the choirs of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Guhyaśāmāja, p. 111); he may then be alone or with his sakti, who is gnosis connaturated with him (sābhaja prejñā, Samputoddvāvakalparāja, p. 50). Sometimes he is white, sometimes, as in the present case, blue, Aksobhya’s very colour; he, in reality, in his aspect as sambhogakāya, is often confused with Aksobhya, who is his first emanation (aksobhyo ’pi vajrasattvena mudryate, Advavajrasaṁṣeṣa, p. 42). Therefore in the Bar do, on the sixth day, when the deities of the pentad appear to the deceased’s conscious principle, Aksobhya’s name is substituted with Vajrasattva’s. Aksobhya, one of the five manifestations of cosmic consciousness in its creative principle, also has the rdo rje as a symbol; his name means “the unshakeable”, namely the adamantine state of being, its quintessential nature, beyond all becoming.

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On Plate I the god is represented with his female counterpart, wearing a diadem and necklaces. Above and below, figures of deities belonging to his cycle and masters initiated into his mysteries. Above: aBhi ma la (Vimala), Lobsāva Rin c'en mc'og, Gye re mc'og skyon, the Buddha Rin c'en gzon nu, rGyal ba yon tan, sGrub pa sans rgyas sems pa, Na ston mc'og. Then come two figures of Kun tu bzaṅ po, of a dark blue colour, in samādhirūḍra: on each side of rDo rje sems dpa' two Buddhas dressed as monks, Lhai srun ba and Lha ma gön gyi sruṅ ba. Underneath rDo rje gzon nu, rDo rje rnam 'ajoms, rDo rje (bzad pa?), mK'a' agro ma Seṅ ge gdoṅ ma, mGon po leags pa, Re ma ti, bLa ma Śa kya byaṅ c'ub.

Plate F represents the same god, but those listening to his revelation, or the heavenly choirs to which he manifests himself, are no longer Buddhas, but Bodhisattvas: two on each side of him and six above, namely the eight Bodhisattvas whom we shall often find in the course of these pages. The tanka is one of the most ancient and very probably the work of Nepalese artists.

TANKA n. 4 (Plate 2).

It represents Aksōbhya (cfr. n. 12). The god is seated, in the attitude belonging to him, with his right hand in bhūmisparsā-mudrā, Gotama Buddha's usual mudrā, which alludes to his victory over Mara, in the night of Bodhgaya, when, after long meditation, the truth was revealed to him in all its splendour and he became at last the Enlightened. The repetition of the same mudrā is not surprising: there seems to be no doubt that Aksōbhya originated as a symbol of the unchangeableness of a Buddha's condition. When supreme enlightenment has been achieved, he who has partaken of it: enlightenment has transferred him to a spiritual plane which is the kingdom of the absolute, symbolically called "the diamond sphere..., because it is incorruptible and unfailing.

On each side we see two standing Bodhisattvas, both exactly in the same position; the lotus they carry in their right hand shows them to be two figures of Padmapani. On the throne, his vehicle, the elephant, is visible. Above, figures of eleven Buddhas in different attitudes; around, various figures of deities belonging to Aksōbhya's cycle.

In Padmapani's two figures, the hem of the dress is in relief: putty has been applied and then gilded.

TANKA n. 5 (Plate G).

This tanka represents Śaṃvara-Heruka and his cycle, together with the bla ma brgyud. I have written elsewhere concerning this god and Tantric literature, and must refer the reader to those pages.4) The style of painting has a great analogy with the miniatures of Nepalese manuscripts, or of their coverings, and, on the other hand, with the most remarkable frescoes of the sKu ābum of Gyantse.

TANKA n. 6 (Plate 3).

This painting, of a dark red, is an absolute parallel of the frescoes, of Nepalese inspiration, in the sKu ābum of Gyantse. It is dedicated to bDe mc'og, Śaṃvara. I have more than once spoken about this god and his cycle in Indo-Tibetica, III, part II, and must refer the reader to this work.

The two central figures represent bDe mc'og according to the usual iconographies and the mK'a' agro ma.

Above, Heruka, with two arms, embracing his śakti and grasping the bell and the vajra; he is surrounded by four gods, i.e. Dākinī, Lāma, Khandarohi, gZugs can ma (Rūpinī): they all have four arms and on the left they hold the kapāla and the khatvāṅga, and on the right the knife and the magical tambourine.
Below, four K’ro mo, i.e. Kv’a gdon ma, ‘Ug gdon ma, K’yi gdon ma, P’ag gdon ma (Indo-Tibetica, III, part II, p. 32). Then the cycle of the four above-mentioned goddesses is repeated (on the left). Below, near the donor’s image, terrific deities, among which we can identify Jambhala, dPal ldan lha mo, Bya tog gdon, Ser ge gdon etc. On the first row, above, two Siddhas, rDo rje ac’an, rDo rje sems dpa’, mGon po. Around them unfolds the series of the masters connected with this cycle.

The tanka is probably of tNiin ma pa inspiration, as can be deduced from the caps of many lamas represented therein.

TANKA n. 7 (Plate 4).

This tanka comes from the monastery of Nor: the identification of the personages represented offers no difficulty, because even if iconographic tradition did not help us, the inscription at the bottom of the painting would supplement it; it leaves no doubt that this is a portrait of the Sa skya c’en po, Kun dga’ siiin po, mentioned more than once in the present work: rje btsun nang byor dban p’jug agran zla tams cad abral zin rje pa gdsin pai sa la gnas pa dpal ldan sa sky a c’en po kun dga’ siiin po rgyal mits’an, “the venerable lord of ascetics, who has no rivals, the vidyadhara residing on earth, the glorious great Sa sky a pa Kun dga’ siiin po.”

His hands are in the mudrā of the preaching of the Law, and from them issue two lotus flowers, which blooming on delicate tendrils uphold a little bell and a rdo rje. The lama is thus represented with the symbols of the vajrasattva or vajradhara, i.e., as substantiated with supreme reality. Around him 16 figures of masters develop: on the right and left two images of Virūpā, the initiatic master of the Sa skya pa school and Mañjuśrī. Below, within curves coiling in a parallel manner to the right and left, like leaves of a plant growing out of a vessel of ambrosia, the seven symbols of kingship and, completing the vase, also the eight well-omened signs. The ornaments on the throne are, as in the tanka n. 4, in relief, and obtained by the same technique.

The background of the painting is dotted here and there with floral patterns. The tanka certainly belongs to a Nepalese school. Indeed it is possible to be more definite: this tanka is part of a series of similar paintings, representing as many lamas and hierarchs of the Sa skya pa school; they are to be found in the Nor or Evam c’os sde monastery, often mentioned in the present work, founded in 1429 by rGyal ba rdo rje ac’an Kun dga’ bza’i po. On this occasion the latter invited many Nepalese artists to adorn the chapels of the new convent he had caused to be built with the help and contribution not only of the gTsan nobles, but also of devotees from remote provinces, among whom, for instance, were princes of Ladakh, Purang and mNa’ ris.

Among the other sacred objects he ordered, his biography mentions “bris sku,” i.e. “paintings of the gsun nang gi bla ma bgyud, masters of the transmission of the verbal plane,” (p. 44).

The present tanka belongs to this series, hence it goes back to the XVth century; it may be considered one of the most important paintings of the present collection.

TANKA n. 8 (Plate 5).

It is dedicated to the cycle of the 84 siddhas, perfect men, in whom India’s mystical experience is realized and in whose school the traditions of Indian yoga converge. I refer to what has been said before on these siddhas.

Round the two central figures, which the lack of inscriptions does not allow us to identify, unfolds the series of the siddhas, which is here reproduced in order.

The arabic numeral sometimes written near the Siddha’s name refers to the lists studied above. As we shall see, the tanka does not represent the 84 Siddhas’ traditional
list as contained in bsTan agyur LXXXVI, 1, but rather it follows the other text of the bsTan agyur LXXII, 52, Grub 'ob brgyad cu rtsa bzhig gol adeb which as we saw, was specially popular among the bKa’ gdams pa.

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<td>1. lohita</td>
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<td>2. [m]ts’o skyes rdo rje</td>
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<td>3. [m]ts’o skyes rdo rje (but a different iconography)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. šan [ti pa]</td>
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<td>5. dom bi he ru ka</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. rdo rje dri[l] bu pa</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. ra len dra o (sic) for: na len dra pa</td>
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<td>8. la ba pa</td>
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<td>9. mar me mdsad</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. nag po spyod pa</td>
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<td>4. p’ag ts’ad pa</td>
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<td>5. bsaṅ po ston pa</td>
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<td>6. sa ba ri</td>
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<td>7. name missing</td>
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<td>9. aje tu pa (jetāri pā?)</td>
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<td>ap’ags pa [lha¹]</td>
<td>stam... [ka la?]</td>
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<td>adsa ri pa (54 3)</td>
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**TANKA n. 9 (Plates 6, 7).**

This tanka is one of the most interesting and ancient: although it is not accompanied by any inscription, there is no doubt whatever
that it represents Śākyaśrī and, all around the large central figure, the most important events of his life, as they were imagined by believers and told by his more or less legendary biographies. Śākyaśrī, better known to Tibetans, from the country of his birth, as K'a ce pa n c'en, "the pandita of Kashmir", was one of the most remarkable figures of late Buddhism. The author of some notable works on dogmatics and liturgy, he may be considered one of the most active personages in the late period of the preaching of Buddhism in the Country of Snows.

His life is well known. Having been invited to come to Tibet by the lotsāva of K'ro p'u, he preached the doctrine and expounded its mysteries and its liturgy to his disciples, particularly in the region of gTsān; his teachings were later handed on by the lotsāva of K'ro p'u to the great theologian and polygraphist Bu ston, whom Tibetan tradition recognizes as an incarnation of the Kashmiri Panḍita.

He has been mentioned more than once in the present work; for greater clearness, it will now be well to add an extract from the summary of the Kashmiri master's life, well furnished with dates.⁹

"In the year wood-mouse (1204), 3337 after the Buddha's nirvana, the Kashmiri Panḍita Śākyaśrībhadra, with some lesser pandits, came to Tibet. These pandits, forming his retinue, were Sugataśrī, learned in the Madhyamika and in the Prajñāpāramitā, Jayadatta learned in the Vinaya, Vibhūtisānta versed in grammar and in the Abhidharma, Dānāśīla in logic, Saṅghāśrī in the Candravyākaraṇa both ancient and recent, Jivaguṣṭa in the laws of Maitreya, Mahābodhi in the Bodhicaryāvatāra, Kālacandra in the Kālacakra.⁹ This pandita was born in Dsaśobhāra, in K'ri stan of Kashmir in the year wood-ox (1145).⁹ At the age of ten he studied grammar under the Brahman Laksṇamidhara (in the text: laksṇandhīra); from nine to 22 he led the life of a pious layman, devoted to study. At 23 he was ordained as a monk by the abbot Sukhaśrībhadradeva and was given the name Subhadra. He remained in Kashmir up to the age of 29; at 30 he went to Magadha, where he obtained the first initiation at the hands of Śāntakaragupta, who was acting as an abbot (mī'ān po), of Daśabala, and of Dhavara (sic) as esoteric master. When he was already 60, the lotsāva of K'ro p'u, who was then 33, in the year of the mouse, in the month of magha, set off to invite him, got to the Indian market Vaiḍūrya,¹² and sent him, with gifts, a letter which began: "In the teachings of Śākya a son of Śākya has been born, whose name is Śākya. . . and met the panḍita in Vaneśvara...

"The Panḍita was very glad and, being about to depart, had two sedan-chairs made for the other lesser pandits too, and took them along. In C'u mig, K'ro p'u pa ordered 60 monks to go out to meet him, and with 60 sunshades, silken bands and music, they led him to K'ro p'u. On that same occasion the Sa skya panḍita, whose father dPal c'en 'od po had died in the year of the boar (1203) while he was going to rKyaṅ 'durb'¹³ with funeral offerings, met the C'os rje (Śāksyaśrī) and wrote the book on logic and the C'os me'og bsdod. Thus it is said.

"Residing in K'ro p'u during the summer retreat, 800 persons took vows while he expounded the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā. Then Byaṅ c'ub dpal of Lho brag was initiated by him; then they came to invite him with many gifts, on the part of the abbot of Abri k'un, in dBus. Having arrived in sLas mo c'e, he consecrated the objects of the cult, which had been brought from India, and presented precious offerings. Then bSod nams mdse of gTsān so met him...

"In the year of the elephant (1205) he passed the summer retreat in sLas mo c'e, and at the end of the retreat he came to C'u mig riṅ mo; in rGyān goṅ he conferred the vows upon tDo rje dpal: then he went to gZu sīe
mo. Through mTs'ur p'u he came to sTod lu'n, where he honoured the two images of Jo bo. Then, in the year of the tiger (1206) he passed the winter retreat in Srin mo ri, expounding the Law of Byams pa and various other subjects (rig ts'ogs). In the year of fire and of the hare (1207) he came to Sol nag t'a'n ... Then, on his way to Ra sgre'n, in the North, he was invited by (the abbot) of aBri k'u'n; thus having been prevented from going there, the bKa' gdam pa could not meet him. In the year earth-dragon (1208) he came to gTsa'i; in rGyan go'n in sNa smad he conferred the perfect initiation upon the Sa skya pan'dita; on this occasion Bya'i c'ub 'od of Lhasa acted as esoteric master; being born in the year wood-mouse, this was then 65 years old. In the year of the serpent (1209) he spent the summer retreat in Rin c'en sga'n and in the year of the horse (1210) he spent it in Sa skya.

"In the year of the sheep (1211) he spent the same summer retreat in Lug gu gdo'n, in Sa'n, and on this occasion he conferred the perfect initiation upon Lha btsun gu'n t'a'n pa; in the year of the ape (1212) he spent the summer in K'to p'u, in the year water-ape (1212) from the third to the thirteenth day of the month Bre, he consecrated Maitreya's statue in K'to p'u. Then from K'to p'u he went to mNa'ris. In the year of the bird (1213) he spent the summer retreat in Pu brans; in the year wood-dog (1214) he returned to Kashmir; for only 29 years he gave living creatures the benefit (of his teachings).

"At the age of 99, on the fifth of the month sGrog, he passed away."

The tanka considers not so much these episodes of his life, which we may call external, as his revelations and the interior events. The scenes it represents, however, would remain all but impossible to decipher, if we were not aided, not so much by the K'a c'e pan c'en's biography, as by a litany which, in the form of mystical invocations, sums up the main events of the saint's life. This litany was actually written by his Tibetan disciple, the lotsava of K'to p'u Byams pa dpal; its title is Pan c'en sa kya srii nam t'ar k'to p'u lo ts'a bas mdfsad pa. It contains, besides a few introductory and closing verses, 36 invocations, to each of which corresponds a scene. These litanies were used as a foundation by a rnam t'ar, who explained them and completed them, mostly by a paraphrase; the title of this work is: Sai ste'n na agran zla dan bral ba k'a c'e pan di ta sa kya sri bha drai rnam t'ar written by bSod nams dpal bza'n po on the base of the rNam t'ar composed by the lotsava of K'to p'u and by the lotsava of dpal (to be corrected dpyal).

The tanka is a pictorial translation of that small book. We would therefore be well advised to take these invocations as a base: without dwelling upon particular descriptions, we will simply translate the litanies themselves, which are the best illustration of the pictures. The scenes begin in the upper part of the tanka, to the left of the small picture placed over the axis of the central figure, and they end at the right of it.

1. Honour to him who was born in Dsa so dha ra as the son of the merchant Samaya sum bha ka, in the sacred village dBa'n p'yug c'e in Pra ba pu ra, in the peerless K'ri bstan, lofty city of Kashmir.

2. Honour to him, whom the king encircled with a diadem, because after having studied well under the Brahman La k'si dha ra, from his tenth year, grammar, rhetoric and medicine, he overcame (in public debates the followers of) other doctrines.

3. Honour to him who, after having studied grammar and logic according to the Buddhist system and the other treasures of the sacred scriptures and of the other schools under Rat na sri etc. in Bhrin gi bhi ha ra, saw (explained) in letters (emanating) like the circle of a rainbow from his lamp, the difficult points of the mystical sciences.

4. Honour to him who, favoured by his protecting deity, frequenting scholars and perfect men like La li ta trid etc. in Sa mi and in Sa tra bhi ha ra, progressed in the study
of various treatises of dogmatics, and then on the way to salvation.

5. Honour to him who, having become a great treasure-house of the sacred scriptures, abandoned the life of a layman and was ordained as a monk at the age of 23; by the grace of the Victorious, the bodhi tree (having appeared to him in a dream) bent its branches before him (as an act of homage) and Byams mgon stretching out his arms (over his head) taught him the way of ascetic purity.

6. Honour to him who in Dsa ya pu ri, having heard for a long time (the explanation of) the Mother of the Victorious (gnosis) was instructed in the Law by Mi p'am, who had appeared to him among the clouds: later he attained a condition of supreme ecstasy, (inspired) by the deep sound (of thunder) and lightning, as he saw in a dream.

7. Honour to him who, after having received instruction upon many of his (Maitreya's) books in the presence of masters like Zi abyu, dByaṅs snaṅ, Blo gros sbas, aByor Idan šes rab bkod pa, placing himself in a vase full of oil of sesame, learnt by heart hundreds of thousands (of verses).

8. Honour to him who in 16,000,000 of famous cities was the most celebrated among hundreds of pandits, both Buddhists and belonging to opposite schools, and having become at the same time a miraculous incorporation of the threefold science, founded a large number of wonderful mc'od rten.

9. Honour to him who in the temple of Sun bha ku ta, in a dream caused by the noble (Tātā), received the prophecy that he would be able to answer back in all debates concerning gnosia, grammar and logic, and became as a birch-tree for the ravens who had received from K'ro gifter can the gift of eloquence.

10. Honour to him who, having gone over the nine mountains from that holy place, K'a c'e, arrived in the Ma ga ta (Magadha) source of wisdom, and on his way, in a hut in the forest, had the vision of the great Bodhi-sattva; while many other visions appeared to him, he obtained the revelation of the sixfold magic formula.

11. Honour to him who, having reached the age of 30, was consecrated as a monk (by a ceremony in which took part) San ta ka ra gup ta as first officiant, Da sa bha le (as master of the liturgy) and Dha na ka ra (as master of the formulas).

12. Honour to him who became such a scholar as had never existed before him, when in the garden in Benares called Draṅ sroṅ bltams (Ṛṣipatana) the pandit De va pu nya, being inspired, taught the second preaching of the law, extracting its essence from the Mahāyāna.

13. Honour to him who, in the sandalwood palace of the Ma la ya, heard the revelation of Jam dbyaṅs, rTa mgrin and sGrol ma etc. and obtained the gift of receiving alms upon which were drawn eight manifestations of various signs of good omen.

14. Honour to him who in Ma ga ta, a place frequented by the Buddhas of the three epochs, heard from the master called Nī žla rgya mts'o various teachings concerning the Mahāyāna, and received from the gods who had appeared in the centre of the sky, an homage of celestial flowers.

15. Honour to him who, in the peerless temple of Bhi kra ma, having been baptized as the first among thousands of monks, became the point (where are collected) all the virtues, causing the rain of ambrosia represented by beautiful maxims to rain uninterruptedly.

16. Honour to you who, on the sea of Na len dra, that mine of scholars, have vanquished the masters of the heretics from all the points of space; you who have dedicated there sacred objects famous for their stores of royal gifts; you who have become lord of the protectors of the Buddha's teachings.

17. Honour to him who in O dan pu ri, that lofty place, was greeted by 12,000 monks, who came to meet him while the most important persons of all the four classes into which the Buddhist community is divided, bowed
before the lotus of his feet. There he had two marvellous visions.

18. Being in Ka ni ka and in Zla ba bkram, in a place called the well-omened forest of U si, he had a vision of the Buddha who, together with two Auditors, who followed him as attendants, begged alms of the lord of the Klu.

19. Honour to him who in Dsa ya na ga ra, when the King who ruled according to the law was married, saw that round Mi p'am, the central deity (of the group that had appeared to him) were Nor adsin (who sang beautiful songs), and a son of the gods who waved a white and graceful fly-whisk; then he heard the seven laws (of Maitreyanātha).

20. Honour to him whom, while in the temple of gSer 'od rgyal mts'an Chinese messengers, come from afar, were addressing prayers to him, a white and handsome monk, observant of the Law (appeared in a dream and) in an agreeable voice prophesied that which was to happen in another time.

21. Honour to him, to whom, in the "Garden of rushes", in Benares, while a drummer was lifting up his voice in song and beating his drum, a woman in a painting (having assumed a real body) offered as alms a milk-soup which became ambrosia.

22. Honour to him who, while, during the autumn solstice, the religious ceremony was taking place in the rDo rje gdan and clouds of thick, scented smoke uplifted, were gathered on high, and lightning flickered, listened to the perfect Law of the yoga and obtained a state of ecstasy.

23. Honour to you who, while in the heart of a forest (two Bodhisattvas) in the form of a buffalo and a cow, briefly explained the essence of the supreme ascetic, those beautiful maxims did (once again) explain in an ample manner, writing them in letters of blood on the skin of your body.

24. Honour to him who had the vision of Byams (pa), sGrol (ma) and T'ub dbar on the tips of the flames of the votive lamps; he who before this, when he abandoned the lay life and was consecrated as a monk, had taken them as the holy patrons of the four laws.

25. Honour to him who, while foreign soldiers were destroying Magadha (dbus agyur gc'an) and other places, in a dream inspired by the goddess actually saw, as if it had been a park, the road which leads northward and eastward.

26. Honour to him to whom, while in a night full of dangers he was travelling on the road to the East, the stars Pa ba sans and dGa' bde c'e pointed out the way, while Ma ḡa kā la held a lamp, dropping a rain of flowers upon him.

27. Honour to him over whom, in the temple of Dsa ha dha la, which protects the world, four goddesses of the class of Rig adsin, namely Tog can, Ne bai tog can, gSer p'ren can and Lo ma gos can, in the first hours of the day, held parasols.

28. Honour to him who, as once he sat absorbed in meditation, when the morning drum was beaten, heard the four Laws of the Son of the Victorious, (awakened by the sound) of the drum, coming from the home of the gods: he, then, realized in various manners (the experiences symbolized by) Kye rdo rje, aK'or lo sdom pa and of Dus abyuṅ.

29. Honour to him who in the seventh day of the second month of the years wood/mouse, while the lotsāva who was to lead him was on the way, was insistently invited to go northward by gTsug tor, gSer mdo can and rNam t'o sras.

30. Honour to him who, although moved to compassion like the great being he was, nevertheless, due to fatigue, was about to go back (to India); but at that moment a light of the great Maitreya was manifested to him, and trustworthy messengers uttered to him a prophecy regarding time, place and person.

31. Honour to him who, in the land celebrated as the centre of the Country of Snows, caused the good of infinite creatures, by appearing like a sun of the world, which moved
from South to North; through this apparition he did good, whether he was seen or whether he was spoken about or whether he was remembered or touched (in the books where he is mentioned).

32. Honour to him who, according to the prediction of the rṣī in Bya rkaṅ, of the Śiṅ skyoṅ in O rgyan and of the arhat in Śiṅ ga gлин, perfected himself until he became in the future a third Buddha; up to that time he took refuge in the dGa’ ldan.

33. Honour to you, lamp of the aDsam glin, master of the Law whom no one equals anywhere, whether in India, China, Nepal, Tibet, Khotan, Kashmir; you who accomplished on this earth endless miracles.

34. Honour to you who may be compared to a lotus, to the sun, to a gem and to the clouds, because trembling (with compassion) you are not tainted by any mud, you shine upon the world, you are the treasure of every beneficent deed, and you rain upon all a shower of ambrosia. You are the essence of mystical perfections.

By comparing these litanies with the scenes represented in the tanka, we see that the correspondence is perfect up to scene 31; the painter, of course, is concise, much more so than the author of the litanies we have translated. There is no doubt that the artist has very faithfully followed the outline drawn by the lotsāva of K’ro p’u. The small figures represented in the tiny pictures, although they are few and awkward, reproduce in a striking and life-like manner the scenes mentioned by the poet. From verse 31 to verse 34 the correspondence is lacking; from verse 31 to 34 there is no allusion to particular events in the saint’s life; it is rather an apotheosis, done in a general manner. Probably the painter has filled the space which remained at his disposal with scenes drawing their inspiration from oral tradition, and most likely from the events which brought Śākyāstrī to Tibet and from the account of his spiritual relations with the lotsāva of K’ro p’u, who was his greatest disciple.

TANKA n. 10 (Plates 8-12).

This tanka is the most ancient illustration of Tsŏṅ k’a pa’s life known to me; it has no relation with the later composition of Tashilunpo represented by nn. 55-60.

We are in another world, not only artistically speaking, but also from a spiritual point of view. There external events prevail: Tsŏṅ k’a pa’s meetings, his journeys, his ascent to great honours as the founder of a sect; he is magnified as the apostle of a new trend in the very circle of his devotees, who are already aware of the secure supremacy of their own school. In the present tanka, much older and probably painted in the XVIth century, he is seen with different eyes; the vicissitudes of his life recede into the background; the artist evokes his spiritual world, his visions, his attainment of sanctity, the revelation of truth expressed by the symbols of the gods. This tanka therefore is not so much a simple biography in pictures (rnam t’ar), as, rather, a gsan rnam t’ar, a secret biography in which the master’s mystical ascent is represented in its outstanding moments.

Of course these visions and miracles take place in well known localities, in monasteries and temples whose names we have learnt from his biography. But also in this case, the painter has not invented anything; he has followed a literary outline, conforming himself closely to the written biography; to each event and episode in the biography a small picture corresponds, numbered according to the letters of the alphabet, from ka to la. The single scenes can be identified with certainty, because each of them is accompanied by a brief inscription in running hand (dbu mchod) written in yellow or black ink, often discoloured with age and therefore not always quite legible.

The series of the pictures begins above the central image, at the top, to the right, with a scene in which two lamas are seen kneeling in front of an image of aJam dbyaṅs; it then unfolds on the band on the right, it is resumed.
on the left and joins the first picture, over the head of the central figure. Another two pictures are on both sides of the head. Below, in the scene on the left, the following inscription can be read in praise of Tson k’a pa:

1. de bdag cag gi bla ma dam pa šar tson
2. k’a pa blo bzañ grags pai dpal ŋes mts’an
3. yons su grags pa gro ba ma lus pai
4. spyi giën geig bu rgyur pai rgyal ba
5. t’ams cad t’ugs kyi ırs me’og dam pa
6. ... t’ugs rje dan mk’yen rab ts’an bai
7. ... mña’ bdag dam pa ădi la mk’yen pa
8. ... rtso bai dañ p’rin las sa sog s pa
9. dpag tu med pa ... rgyal bai bstan
10. pa la rgyal ba ŋid dañ ats’uns (36) šin k’yad par
11. du slogic pai dus kyi gro ba dam ... adul b a
12. la rgyal ba ghis pas kyañ ... mts’an c’e
13. ba ni ădir bkod pa la sog s pai rnam t’ar rnam
14. mi’oň pa ŋes par gyur ro.

“This is our exalted master Blo bzañ grags pa of Šar Tson, such is his famous name; he is the common and only friend of all creatures, the supreme exalted spiritual son of all Victors.

“In this master of all manners of compassion and knowledge, ... compassion and infinite action etc. ... in the teachings of the Victorious, he is the equal of the Victorious himself. In a special manner the created beings of this sinful epoch ... in the discipline ... by the second Victorious also ... great name - seeing the deeds of his life reproduced here, may they recognize them ...”

Is it possible to identify the source of the painter’s inspiration? Among the complete works of Tson k’a pa and of his two foremost disciples (Lhasa edition) there is a pamphlet entitled: rje rin po c’ei gsan bai rnam t’ar rgya mts’o lta bu las c’as šun du ıŠig yons su brjod pai gtam rin po c’ei šie ma, written by another of his pupils bKra šis dpal Idan (31) in aBra spuns, which, as the title shows, is a secret biography of the founder of the Yellow sect. Therefore, to illustrate the tanka, it will be enough to read and translate the inscriptions which accompany each single painting; thus each event, which the painter has represented according to the source he has taken as a model, will clearly appear. We have also noticed that often the inscriptions follow the text of the biography to the extent of using the same words: in these cases the correspondence I have noticed has not been printed in italics.

Before describing the single scenes which unfold from the right to the left of the central image, it will be well to speak of the latter. It reproduces Tson k’a pa’s figure according to its traditional iconography, between his two most celebrated disciples: Grags pa rgyal mts’an and Dar ma rin c’en.

A – blo ŋes nam mk’a’ srig bzi (? ) slogic dañ sña (?) las ... rgya lha min gyal pas rgyal ...
grags pai gsal adañs srid ıŠi mun pa ajoms
blo bzañ grags pai ıšads la ıŠigs ti’al lo
skye ba kun du rjes su g slander du gsol.

B – To the right:
   adul ba adsin pa
   grags pa rgyal mts’an

C – To the left:
   rig pai dbañ p’yug dar ma rin c’en

A – Homage at the feet of Blo bzañ grags pa: he is a sun of glory (grags pa) who overthrows the darkness of the world and the darkness beyond the world, vanquishing the demons in battle, (putting to flight) as the sun does to the spots of the sky, the sins of the mind (blo). May he assist all living beings.

B – Grags pa rgyal mts’an, keeper of the monastic rules.

C – Dar ma rin c’en, lord of science.

ka – bdag cag gi dbañ bla ma dam pa ădi shon sañs
rgyas (mdun) du byon nas (?) byañ c’ub sems dpal’ nos
pai blo gros adi dañ ajal (sic, always) (biogr., p. 4).
k’a – ădi yañ bla ma dam pa ădi sku skye ba ădi la
gsun rabs rab dbyañ kyi don mt’ad dag t’ugs su c’ud ciin
bslab pa 3 la ŋes skyon rdul tsm (?) yañ mña’ k’yad par du bila ma du bha ma pa dañ ajal ajam
dbyañs la di ri ba mañ du mdsad (32) (biogr.,
p. 2 b; in gTsasñ roñ).
ltar cig 'oṅ ba yod pas šes par byos šig ces dbugs p'yun ba dnos su byuṅ. de bas na skyes bu dam pa ǎdi sans rgyas daṅ k'yaḍ par med lta bur kyis šig (biogr., p. 7 b).

tsa — yaṅ myal (-gñana) smad sin ge sgaṅ na bzhugs dus su dpal dus kyi ǎk'or lo dpa' bo gcig pa žig nar mar gzhigs šin nub gcig mnal (-mnal) lam du k'yd kyis dus kyi ǎk'or lo zla ba bzaṅ po daṅ ādra ba žig 'on ba yod do gsunis (biogr., p. 8 a).

t'sa — yaṅ dmyal (-gñana) smad du bzhugs dus snał (-mnal) lam du dbyaṅs can maï gsun gis dguṅ lo lña bceu tsa bdun t'uṅ de ba rna žgan gyi don dpag tu med agrub gsun rje btsun ma rnam rgyal ma la sogs pa (la) gsal brag ci bṣen bshug byas (maṅ du byas)... bas riṅ žig t'uṅ par mi aṅgyur ram žes žus pas de t'ams cad sīonz gți sman lam gyć tugs sungs daṅ gyi gnad kyis blo gos goṅ na goṅ du ap'el bai rgyu soṅ na sku ts'e la c'er ma byuṅ ces gsun ba gcig byuṅ (biogr., p. 8 a).

da — yaṅ dmyal (-gñana) nas dvags po lha śdins su p'bs bła ma dkon la gsal ba drag po bṭab pas klu grub yab sras lña rahn bžin yod med kyi gnad rnam la abrel t'am ( disables) gyis bka' sgo (-bgro) ba mdsad kyi adug pai naṅ nas sans rgyas bskyin yin zer pai ...

va — yaṅ sman luṅ gi rgya sog p'u ur ts'o ap'rul c'en po žag bco lña bar du mc'od p'un sum ts'ogs p'uł mc'od pa ciṅ p'yogs bceu de bžin bṣegs pa spyen adai dmigs pa daṅ aduṅ pa drag po mdsad pa na sār p'yogs de bžin bṣegs t'ams cad rnam snaṅ ri rnam pa caṅ daṅ de bžin du p'yogs lha la de bžin bṣegs lhaṅ gaṅ pa mc'od pa bžeś par gzhigs (biogr., p. 9 a).

za — yaṅ 'ol ka bsam stan (for gtan) gliṅ du bsaṅ (for gsaṅ) bdus gyi rdsogs rin gsal bai sgron me mdsad pa p'yir bla ma daṅ dikon mcog la gsal ba drag po aḍebs pa mdsad pai nub gcig rje btsun ajan pai rdo rje lha bceu dgur dkyil ǎk'or yolis su rdsogs na dkyil ǎk'or tso (for gtso) bos bum pa gcig rje la ster tṛsīs mdsad ciṅ de dus byams pa daṅ ajan dbyaṅs kyaṅ snaṅ no (biogr., p. 10 a-b).

za — yaṅ dbyen (for dben) gnas da' ldan p'bs nas c'ad bṛtsod rtsom gsum gyis bstan pai rmaṅ ts'uṅs par mdsad do: de nas dguṅ lo lña bdun pai dus su sku k'ams (b)šnel bai t'sul (b)stan pa la sku (m)št'ams mdsad nas...

Under the image of the god: p'yag drug pa.

do rje slob ma bdun gyis žabs drūṅ du bzhugs nas p'yir zlog sogs la abad ciṅ rje rin po c'e ēṃ ni bde ston dben dbyer med sogs la bzhugs pa skabs bcom ldan ādas t'uṅ pa no msta' pa ldan pa gcig gzhigs de raṅ la stīm pai dmigs pa mdsad pas t'im (biogr., pp. 11 b, 12 a).

ha — ... p'yag drug pas sna drah bā bṣin (for gšin) gyis gnod byed kyi aṅgrin (for mṛgṛn) pa nas k'ri'k'yi (for kṣe) ta (for tra) pa las ded ciṅ byuṅ ba nas mgo g рядом gis bcad nas, abrub k'un de lña bu gcig na cug (for bcug) pa gzhigs pa daṅ ēṃ nas du (for mhaṅ du) p'yi rol na nag pōi p'yogs kyi gza' klu sa za rgyal po ste bži po sde daṅ bcas pa dmags p'am mo žes pa c'o niś (for c'o niś) pa gzhigs de nas riṅ po ma sōn bar sku k'ams sans par gyur ro (biogr., p. 12 b); yaṅ ts'e ǎdi ŋin rin po c'e k'ti gciąg gi steṅ na bu ston yin zer pai bla mai rnam pa can gcig pa bzhugs adug pa des ēṃ sān adus tsa rgyud kyis glegs bām žig gnaṅ nas ēddi bdag po gyis gsun ba daṅ p'yag gšis kyis glegs bām bteg nas ḍum vajra uttīṣṭha ces gsun žiṅ lan gsum dbyuṅ t'o du bṣag de dnos su gzhigs (biogr., p. 11).

ya — De nas sku k'ams sans pa daṅ ajan dbyaṅs kyis na p'yin c'ad gšo bor bskyed rdsogs kyis t'uṅs ēṃs su bžeś pa na niṅs bła me kyis gśo nas rōgs pa k'yaḍ par can rgyud la k'run sīṅ slob ma skal ldan du ma la rōgs pa k'yaḍ par can re skye bar aṅgyur ro žes gsum (biogr., p. 13).

la — yaṅ rje ǎdi sku śnel... dka' t'uṅ du... byaṅ c'ub sens dpa' śīn ... bar ... gda'.

ka — “This holy master of ours in past times, while going to meet the Buddha, met the bodhisattva Mos pa blo gros...” This scene therefore deals with Tsŏṅ k'a pa's first incarnation, concerning which many stories are told in the tradition which soon became widespread in the dGe legs pa schools. He is said to have been the son of a Brahman who met, in Śākyamuni's times, a Bodhisattva called Mos pa blo gros, was led by
him to the Buddha, was immediately touched and decided to follow the paths of wisdom, presenting the ascetic with a rock-crystal necklace.

ṭa - “This holy master, in this (his last) birth, learned all the infinite subjects of the holy scriptures in such a manner, that not even a speck of the dust of deficiency remained, as regards the threefold instructions; particularly, he met the master dBu ma pa and addressed several questions to aJam dbyaṅs.

This, according to the biography, happened in gTsan roṅ.

gā - “Then while the two, master and disciple, were meditating in dGa’ ba gdon, in the environs of sKyi’d sōd, as he attained the mystical experiences connected with aJam dbyaṅs, manifestations of bodies similar to the one of this (god) occurred; dBu ma pa acting as interpreter, (aJam dbyaṅs) (answered) questions, making numberless speeches, in which he revealed the fundamental meaning of the secret instructions.

ṭa - “Then, reflecting upon aJam dbyaṅs’s admonitions, he went to Bya brał with eight disciples, and having got to C’os lun in the environs of ‘Ol ka, they being very zealous in the exercise and in the accumulation [of religious merits ...] and the scriptures (or paintings?)...”

The episode described above is connected with the meeting between Tson k’a pa and the lama aJam dpal rgya mts’o who, at aJam dbyaṅs instigation, advised him to persist in meditating upon the deities he had evoked and who had already appeared to him, in order that all his doubts concerning the Law might be solved. Although, generally speaking, the facts correspond, between the text of the biography and the text of the inscription there is, in this case, a noticeable difference. Also in the text the indication of the locality is lacking.

t’a - “Then, during that same spring, rJe btsun said to him: If you will explain the Law to demons and to creatures who are difficult to convert what great profit will you be able to obtain? Therefore apply yourself earnestly to mystical experiences, retire into solitude, and thus you will attain a path profitable to yourself and to others.”

d’a - “Then, having visited in rDzin ji Jo bo’s image, he went to rGyal sog p’u, and his aptitudes for meditating developed greatly. In those times he saw in his actual form an
image of aJam dbyāns, very large and of supreme splendour, surrounded by innumerable Buddhas and Bodhisattvas: he actually saw Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Buddhapālita, Nāgabodhi, Candrakīrti, Asanga and his brother, Diñāga, Dharmakīrti, Gunaprabha, Śākyaprabha, Devendramati, Gyan mk’ān po, Kamalāśīla, Abhayākara the pāṇḍita, king Indrabodhi, the Brāhmaṇa Saraha, Luhipā, Ghaṇṭāpā, Kṛṣṇācārya, etc. As he thought them to be hallucinations, aJam dbyāns said to him: Hallucinations do not produce any joy, therefore pray earnestly: these prove that you have the omen of producing great good for yourself and for others. The passage and the enumeration of gods and masters literally corresponds to the text of the biography.

na – “Then in this place he had the vision of the blessed king rDo rje ajigs byed, with all his gigantic faces and hands, whose splendour it was difficult to sustain.” The inscription copies the text.

pa – “Then in that same place, in the heart of rJe btsun’s image, which had appeared to him in the same way as its preceding manifestations, a dagger was stuck, with its point into the heart and its hilt outside; an extraordinarily oily current of white and yellow ambrosia appeared above the dagger and disappeared into the saint’s heart.” According to the text we may supplement “(all his body was filled) with great bliss (so that he could not speak).”

The correspondence to the text is once more literal.

p’ːa – “Then, urged by rJe btsun’s words, he restored that part of the temple of rDsiṅ Ji which had been destroyed; then again urged by rJe btsun he composed the hymn of Byams pa, called: the precious, sparkling lamp.”

“Then in that time, having caused the (painted) heaven of aJam dbyāns to be made, and having celebrated its consecration, he saw that the divine spirit had really penetrated therein; further, during the consecration he said: It will not happen that (the spirit of the god) does not penetrate here; therefore do not think that these images and the god’s venerable heaven are different.”

ba – “Then, when he had the intention of going to Šin gi ri, in India, rJe btsun said to him: Lift up hymns to the Jo bo of rDsiṅ ji and offer him those gifts which have all the signs of purity, making a hymn called: Brahmā’s diadem.”

“hence an omen of good will proceed from it... Relying on these words, he did thus...”

ma – “Then in the night he spent under the slopes of the Mo la, on the way to gNal, when he was going there from Tsa ri, a huge image of rJe btsun aJam dbyāns mgon po appeared to him, like the Meru, majestic, shining like the sun, which suggested to him this true inspiration: O son of a noble family, you will be like a Buddha come into the world; know you this.”

“Therefore this lofty creature must be considered as not differing from a Buddha.”

tsa – “Then, while he was dwelling in Seṅ ge sgaṅ in gNal smad, he continually saw Dus kyi ak’or lo in visions, and one night, in his sleep, the latter said to him: You are like Zla ba bzāṅ po of Dus kyi ak’or lo come (on earth).”

ts’a – “Then, while he was dwelling in gNal smad, dByāns can ma said to him: You will live 57 years, therefore you will do incalculable good to yourself and to others. He asked: “Worshipping rJe btsun ma rnam rgyal ma and praying to her and to the other gods, shall I not be able to lengthen my life?” and the other answered: “All this (happened) by virtue of the essence itself of desire (matu. red) in the force of the vow made in preceding lives; this was the cause that your mind developed from one degree to the next: (but) this cannot produce a lengthening of life.”

dsa – “Then, having gone to gNal Lha sdiṅs in Dvags po, he addressed an earnest prayer to the precious master Klu grub and to his four disciples; then this master explained...”
to him in a speech the doctrine concerning (the problem, whether) things have an essence of their own or not: among them Śaṅgaṛghyas bskyarīṣa (Buddhapālita) (handed him a Sanskrit book of the Mañḍhāyaṃkā system).

va - “Again he presented as a gīha, during a fortnight, an extraordinary offering in rGya soṅ p'u, in the environs of sMan lun, on the occasion of the festival of the Great Miracle, and then he perceived that the Tathāgatas of the ten points of space, to whom he presented the offering, hastened towards him, and through an earnest prayer he saw that the Tathāgata of the Eastern region took the appearance of rNam par snaṅ mdsad, and so the five regions were filled with the five (families) of the Tathāgatas who accepted his offerings.

za - “Then, being in bSam gran glin, in the environs of 'Ol ka, with the purpose of writing the dPal soṅ adus gsal bai gdon me, one night he addressed an earnest prayer to the master and to the (three) gems, and then (in that same night) the complete maṇḍala of the 19 gods of rJe btsun aJām pai rdo rje, and the principal divinity of the maṇḍala offered him a vase... and in that time Byams pa and aJām dbyaṅs also appeared to him.

za - “Then having gone to the retreat of dGa' ldan, he laid the foundations of his teachings, with the explanations, the discussion and the composition of treatises; then at the age of 57 he showed in what manner the body becomes diseased; then, having shut himself up in the retreat... and his seven disciples in the vajra having placed themselves near him, performed the exorcisms with great zeal; and the precious saint himself, during the day, began to meditate upon the non-diversity of beatitude and of the void; then, he had the vision of the blessed and wonderful Ascetic, then he saw him as if resting into his own self, and so disappearing into himself...

ba - “Being invited by P'ycg drug pa, Las gšin (= gŠin rje gšed c'os rgyal) dragged the demon (gNod byed) by the neck, and the kṣetrapāla, attacking the (demon) with a knife, cut off his head, and it seemed to him (i.e. Tsōn k'a pa) as if he were dwelling inside a pit, and at the same time outside (the pit) the gza', the klu, the ṣa za and the rgyal po, namely the four orders (of demons) ruling over the black actions, with their retinue lifted up the lament called: defeat in battle.

“This he saw. After a short time his health improved...

“Then, this day, in the daytime, he saw that on the throne of gems the figure of a lama was seated, who must have been Bu ston; the latter gave him the fundamental tantra gSaṅ adus, telling him to take possession of it, and then, having lifted the book with both hands, he laid it thrice on his head saying: hüm vajra uttihṭha...

ya - “Then his body was healed and aJām dbyaṅs said to him: From now on, above all, you will experience the method of evocation and the perfect method, and an extraordinary intuition will be born in your spirit, and this will also happen to each of your disciples, who have been prepared for it through their karma.

ra - This is without any inscription; we see a mc'od rten honoured by some deities; below, four smaller mc'od rten.

It is the vision he had as a sign of the spiritual perfection attained by his disciples (biogr., p. 13 b).

la - “The saint’s body having become diseased... penances ... aByam dbyaṅs,... and the bodhisattva,

All round the central image, small images of masters follow one another, representing the sampradāya, the series of Indian and Tibetan doctors through whom the doctrines of initiation, the particular methods and the interpretation of the holy scriptures were transmitted to Tsōn k'a pa and by him to his principal disciples. They thus follow one another, beginning from the right of the figure of Amitābha which is, in fact, in the centre of the external frame encircling the painting.
The tanka has been discovered in the monastery of Toling; we find therefore in this list the name of Nag dban grags pa, the first apostle of the dGe legs pa in Western Tibet and himself a disciple of Tson k'a pa. 43)

It can be easily seen that many repetitions appear in this tanka: the painter had selected a given number of masters or disciples of Tson k'a pa, and as they were too few to fill the frame surrounding the tanka, he was obliged to repeat some of them.

In the centre of the carpet laid on the throne, the image of the donor who, as may be seen from his apparel, is a lama.

TANKA n. 11 (Plate 13).

A lama, perhaps Tson k'a pa, surrounded by masters and disciples. The attribution to the Yellow Sect seems certain, because in the series of lamas surrounding the central figure, no personage is present who may be considered Sa skya pa; some of the latter, in fact, are as a rule easily recognized by their special apparel. Above, in the centre, Avalokiteśvara, on the left Mañjuśrī, four-armed, Śākyamuni; on the right mGon po, two-armed, Khasarpana.

The image is enclosed within two frames in which are vertically arranged small images of masters and lamas. The 16 Arhats may be identified, accompanied by Dharma-ta la, placed inside the first frame. As we shall have to return at length to this cycle of the Arhats later on, I refer the reader to what I wrote in the illustration of tankas nn. 121-136. The series of the Arhats is closed by two images of Tārā, white and green.

Below, the donor attended by his family.

The free space round the central figure is strewn with small flowers, according to the manner of Nepalese miniature-painters and of the wall-paintings which are their reflection and continuation.
TANKA n. 12 (Plates 14-22).

This tanka, undoubtedly one of the most interesting in the collection, represents once more Aksobhya (Mi ak'tugs pa). He is represented as in tanka n. 4, with a single difference: the vajra, symbol of his spiritual essence, rests vertically on his left hand. The god, wearing monastic robes, is assisted, on the right and left, by two Bodhisattvas. He is seated on a lotus flower, from whose stem flexible leaves shoot out and, curving to form a circle, enclose figures of animals, two lions and two elephants. It is the symbol of the lotus being born out of the cosmic waters, which we have mentioned.

On the top and on the bottom of the tanka are seen eleven figures of Buddhas in the attitude of preaching the Law; perhaps they represent the Buddhas of the ten cardinal points, if we consider as independent from the cycle the central figure between two Bodhisattvas, enthroned on the top of the axis. The foliage of a tree surmounts the image: it represents the bodhi tree, under which Aksobhya, when he was still a Bodhisattva, attained enlightenment, though there is a more valid reason for explaining the presence of this tree as a symbol of Aksobhya: this god is, in fact, a duplication, so to say, of the Buddha in the vajrásana immediately after the conquest of the supreme illumination. Round Aksobhya, monks praying and kneeling, Bodhisattvas and gods.

There seems to be no doubt that the scenes here reproduced represent Aksobhya’s celestial glory and his heaven. Saints in monastic robes and angel-like Bodhisattvas surround him, amid groves of trees loaded with gems and precious bands, warbling birds and red flowers. The painter has taken his inspiration from the traditional models describing the Buddhas’ heavenly kingdoms; in reality there is no such detailed description of the Abhirati (i.e. of Aksobhya’s heaven) as we have, for instance, of the Sukhāvatī, Amitābha’s heaven. It is therefore difficult to tell whether in this case the painters have followed a tradition handed down by some literary text, or whether they have drawn this paradise after their own imagination, looking for an inspiration to the most famous and popular heavens, and following the usual cliché which describes the marvels of these celestial abodes. But there is no doubt that one scene at least was inspired by a famous book of the Mahāyāna: I allude to those ladders, placed on high, to the right and left of Aksobhya’s figure, on which different figures of gods or men (the former wearing diadems, the latter not) mount and descend; the stair of the gods is made of lotus flowers, the invariable symbol of every spiritual nature. It is clear that in this case the painter had before his mind’s eyes the brief description of the Abhirati found in the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, when Vimalakīrti, taking hold of that heaven as if it were a wreath of flowers, and laying it upon our earth, shows it to the community to reveal its glories and to exalt the boundless bliss which the Buddha’s Law has in store for its devotees: “Now I, seizing it, from the element of water (on which it rests) up to the Akanistha, and accurately cutting all around it, like the potter’s wheel, and lifting it with my right hand and holding it like a wreath of flowers, I will lay such a heaven upon this universe mi mje (sahaloka), and thus I will show it to this assembly, without rising from this throne. I will show this Abhirati heaven, with several hundreds of thousands of Bodhisattvas and gods and
Nāgas and Yakṣas and Gandharvas and Asuras, surrounded by the mountain which encircles it (Cakravāla); and waterfalls, ponds, sources, lakes, oceans, Sumeru, mountains, hills and knolls, and the moon, the sun and the constellations, with gods, Nāgas, Yakṣas and Gandharvas, and Brahmā's seat, and villages, cities, countries and regions, and kingdoms and monks and women; Bodhisattvas, listeners, and the Tathāgata Aksobhya's bodhi tree, and the Tathāgata Aksobhya explaining the Law, seated amid an assembly vast as the ocean; and lotuses (scattered) in the ten points of space, (seated on which he shows) the actions proper to a Buddha, and a threefold ladder, wrought with gems, going from the Jambudvīpa up to Trayastrimśa's heaven, and on that noble ladder the Trayastrimśa gods descend into the Jambudvīpa to see the Tathāgata Aksobhya and to do him homage and worship him to hear the Law. And all the men of the Jambudvīpa ascend to the Trayastrimśa's heaven to see the Trayastrimśa gods (BKA' AGYUR, mdo, vol. p'a, p. 365, chap. II - Chinese transl., chap. 12; Taishō, p. 555). 41)

In Tibet several smon lam or prayers inspired by these sacred texts, are circulat-ed; and people also take the vow of being born again, when their earthly life shall have reached its end, in Aksobhya's heaven. These smon lam, when uttered with an intense and earnest faith, put forth an extremely efficient power, which puts an end to the working of karma and projects the devotee into the paradise of his desire. Among the best known smon lam, leading to rebirth in the Abhirati heaven, I will mention the one by Pad ma dkar po: mNon par dga' bai ūiṅ du adren pai smon lam yid kyi ūiṅ rta (complete works, vol. ca) and the one by Tāranātha: mNon par dga' bai ūiṅ gi smon lam mdo sde'i dgon 'i don (complete works, vol. pa).

This is a literature adding nothing new to the traditional patterns according to which the devotees see these heavens in their imagination; moreover there seems to be no doubt that certain details on which it dwells are inspired by pictorial compositions representing heavenly bliss as suggested by a fervid imagination; we find there cool and shady gardens, trees from which scented tissues or divine food come down, according to the secret wishes of the inhabitants, tents ornamented with all manners of precious things and ponds whose banks are sprinkled with gold dust, and lotus flowers miraculously springing up at every step.

TANKA n. 13 (Plates 23, H).

This tanka represents a new heaven, not the Abhirati but another one, much more celebrated throughout the Buddhist world, viz. that of Amitābha: the heaven of the Sukhāvati, bDe ba can, "the pure earth of the West,, where those devotees are reborn who have offered themselves, in an impulse of love, to that god's compassionate grace.

Before speaking of the heaven represented in this tanka, it will be well to illustrate briefly the figure of the god ruling over it. The representation of the Sukhāvati always centres round 'Od dpag med, Amitābha, "infinite light,, represented in monastic dress, with the vase for alms placed on his hands in samādhi mudrā. 'Od dpag med is nowise distinguishable from Sakyamuni, except for his red colour and the two or eight Bodhisattvas which surround him. In front of this image we have that of Ts'e dpag med, Amitayuh "infinite life,, with diadem and royal ornaments, i. e. according to the type of the sambhogakāya. Besides these two aspects, Lamaist dogmatic knows a third one called sNaṅ ba mt'a' yas "infinite splendour,, Ananta-prabha. This is the Dharma-kāya, the Law, the absolute and its symbol; it is not representable.

Ts'e dpag med, as his iconographic type shows, is the sambhogakāya, the Buddha occupying the West in the manḍala of the pentad: the symbol of the "lotus family,,

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'Od dpag med is the nirmānakāya, adequate to the preparation and the spiritual and karmic maturity of those who believe in him. Leaving aside for the moment the symbol of the dharmākāya, transcendental reality, the other two are kept distinct in Lamaist tradition, both as to iconography and in name: they are parallel entities but independent, each being the expression of a different mythology.

This distinction made by the Tibetans between the three aspects of the same god, must it be considered as derived from India, or rather as a successive elaboration of Tibetan schools? To tell the truth, in Indian literature devoted to this cycle there is no distinction between Amitsbha and Amitsyuh: the great Sukhāvativyūha mentions indiscriminately Amityuh and Amitabha; in the small Sukhāvativyūha only Amitayuh appears, but as the contents of the two texts are the same and the mythography is the same, we must conclude that in the schools, from which those books come, the two names corresponded to a single entity and that no difference of ideological contents was attributed to the different names. The Saddharmapundarika, p. 184, mentions Amitayuh as the Buddha of the West, but on page 454 he becomes Amitabha, keeping nevertheless the same character as a ruler of the blissful Western kingdom.

Thus in the most ancient Mahāyānic tradition not only is there no trace of a different personality for Amitabha and Amityuh, but there is not even a difference in degree between their aspects: both forms, apparently, go back to a vow of Dharmākara’s, SBE, XLIX, p. 14: “... if, after I have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, my light should be liable to be measured in this Buddha country of mine... then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge...”

The Ta chih tu lun (Taishō, XXV, p. 93) relates Amitābha to the cosmic age in which human life lasts for an incalculable time. But unending life and infinite light, ज्ञोऽ and अज्ञो, have too great an importance for religious history, in India and outside India, for us to exclude that under this myth may be hidden an extremely complex history and two originally independent cycles.44)

Leaving this problem aside for the time being, it is certain that the same uncertainty remains also in the Vajrayāna; for instance in the SM, p. 445, in the same list of Tathāgatas, the god is called once Amitabha and another time Amitayuh. In the mandala described by Advayavajra, the West is occupied by Amitabha; in the Guhyasamāja, Amitayuh (Amitāyurvakra) predominates over Amitabha, but there is no allusion to a difference between the two; on p. 47 Amitavakra is identified with Amitayuh.

In the SM, p. 374, after having attracted Amitābha into the meditative process, honouring him with exoteric offerings (puja), they ask him for initiatic baptism, saying: “May Amitābha baptize me,... Then let one meditate on the vessels (kālaśa) which Amitābha emanates out of his heart, which are full of the fivefold ambrosia...” Here it is clear that Amitābha is in possession of the kālaśa, the vessel of immortality proper to the Tibetan Ts’i dpag med, instead of the pindapātra, the vase for alms, which Lamaism regularly attributes to him.

Hence there are good reasons for admitting that the division into Ts’i dpag med and ‘Od dpag med, although it gives back its value to an original difference between the two types, was the work of Tibetan masters. But they, avoiding as usual to take upon themselves any new departure in the religious field, state that the cult of Ts’i dpag med, as a distinct entity, goes back to Indian masters, namely to Ti p’u (Te p’u) who taught
its revelation to Ral c'uen grags pa, who in his turn spread his worship in Tibet. This Ts'e dpag med is called Ts'e dan ye shes dpag med, "infinite life and gnosis,"; the theological opinions of the schools are reflected upon him. On one side he remains sambhogakaya, and then he has royal draperies and ornaments, a diadem and a vase of ambrosia, kula$aba. His heaven is not stated: it is said in a general manner that those who have been initiated into his mysteries will obtain his go ap'an, the same mystical sphere whose visive symbol he is. But his other aspect is a spurl sku, nirmanakaya (dpal ldan sa sky a pai gser c'os lugs kyi ts'e dpag med spurl sku grib t'abs bum c'o ga t'jes gna' an da'n ba pai skor rnas, GT, Ka). He then carries the vase for alms (spurl sku c'a lugs mts'an dan ldan, GT, ka, p. 181) and he rules over the bDe ba can (gSUM abum sa skya pa, vol. p'a, p. 338). This last aspect is therefore identified with 'Od dpag med (ibid.) and then, as a spurl sku, the monastic dress is well adapted to him: the bDe ba can, besides being a heaven, still remains one of the numberless worlds in infinite space, where a Buddha analogous to the historical Buddha preaches the Law; he therefore repeats Sakya-muni's aspects, and is accordingly represented under the bodhi tree.

But the same cannot be said of Ts'e dpag med, who instead of being located in heaven, is placed in the abstract plane of the mandala, viz. in the elementary cosmogram of the world. The hope of the Tantric school to attain immortality through magic, alchemy or liturgy, contributed to his individuality and popularity with the later Vajrayana schools. The God of infinite life became the god of immortality; those initiated into his mysteries are rescued from death, as the Tantric schools will allow their adepts to be: he then becomes transformed from Ts'e dpag med into gC'i med, the immortal.

The rNin ma pa gave a greater theological discipline to these doctrines, placing above the two hypotheses, sambhoga and nirmanakaya, their essential aspect, the principle from which they draw the reason of their existence, namely, as we have said, the dharmakaya. (GT, ka, p. 180: "without abandoning the essential body sNa' ba mt'a' yas,"... hymn by ap'ags pa, written in the year sa rta, 1258), clarifying what the other schools had hinted at here.

In this tanka we find the same heavenly choirs, the same gatherings of chosen souls, eagerly listening to the preaching of the Law and gazing upon Amitabha's majesty: the same majestic pavilions, the ponds from which spring superb lotus flowers, on which miraculous apparitions of Buddha are manifested, surrounded by adoring crowds; heavenly trees raining gems and souls which ascend to paradise fluttering through the air (see SBE, vol. XLI, p. 33 ff.). Below, out of a few ponds, lotus flowers issue, on which preaching Buddhas are seated, surrounded by listening disciples, as in the Sukhavati-vyuba: "There are lots of flowers there, half a yogana in circumference... And from each gem-lotus there proceed thirty-six hundred thousand kotis of Buddhas, with bodies of a golden colour, possessed of the thirty-two marks of great men, who go and teach the Law to beings in immensurable and innumerable worlds..." (ibid., p. 36).

The pavilions, on the right and on the left, with personages in the interior, are referred to in another passage of the same text: "And if they desire a palace, with colours and emblems of such and such height and width, adorned with a hundred thousand gates made with different jewels covered with different heavenly flowers, full of couches strewn with beautiful cushions, then exactly such a palace appears before them. And in these delightful palaces they dwell, play, sport, walk about, being honoured and surrounded by seven times seven thousands of Apsaras," (ibid., p. 49 sgg.).

We cannot tell whether these representations of Amitabha's heaven have ever been very popular in India, at any rate we have no trustworthy documents on the subject; but in Tibet, where Amitabha's cult met with the
greatest fortune, the Sukhāvati is a subject very frequently treated by artists in their paintings and frescoes. The Sukhāvati is the heaven where through the ceremony of p'o ba, the dying man’s conscious principle is transferred, in order to escape the painful vicissitudes of transmigration. But in these representations the Tibetans followed Chinese, or perhaps, more exactly, central-Asian models (called Ping hsiang, in Japanese Henso-zu). They reproduce, through the devices of design and colour, the descriptions of these celestial places given by religious literature; in our case, besides the canonical works already alluded to, these descriptions are to be found particularly in the Kuan wu liang shou fo ching sbu 觀無量壽佛經疏 (Taishō, 1753) and other works by Shan tao, 善導 (cf. tanka n. 20).

Their influence is still felt to this day: a type of that heaven was based upon those influences; it was handed down through the centuries with unalterable fixity; but rarely, only in the case of exquisitely well-dowered artists, has it been represented with a certain amount of originality.

But our specimen is interesting because of its comparative independence from the most common types, in which Chinese influence prevails; here one breathes a monkish atmosphere, entirely imbued with India’s spiritual and esoterical influence, although the whole composition springs from the same literary themes as those which inspired Chinese artists.

In the centre towers ‘Od dpag med’s figure. He is between two Bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, seated on a throne resting on a lotus, of the same style as the preceding tanka. It is clear that the two pictures, 11 and 12, come from the same schools and belong to the same manner.

TANKA n. 14 (Plates 24-28, I).

This tanka may be considered typical of the western Tibetan manner of painting, which I have called the Guge style; it represents Śākyamuni between his two disciples Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra. The Buddha is touching the ground with his right hand, to invoke the goddess of the earth as a witness of the enlightenment he has attained; with his left hand he holds the pot in which to collect alms (pindapātra, lbum bzed). On a level with his head, in the halo there are: rJe byams pa and rJe byams aJam dbyaṅs.

Why are these two Bodhisattvas present in the halo, when the Buddha has on each side his two great śrāvaka? What is the meaning of the figures of two personages belonging to another assembly, different from the one of the "hearers"? Evidently the two vehicles, the greater and the lesser one, are not opposed to each other but complete each other, forming a single vehicle ekayāna - the Saddharmapundarika’s fundamental teaching - which reveals itself differently to created beings, according to their different spiritual capacity and maturity.

Precisely in the Saddharmapundarika, the first to ask the Buddha questions are Maitreya and Mañjuśrī, whom we see here reproduced in the halo; the Buddha first announces his doctrine to the Śrāvaka, and after they have gone, satisfied with the truth of nirvāṇa and believing that there is nothing further to be learnt, the Buddha reveals the transcendent truth of the "Lotus of the good faith", to the disciples who have remained with him and to the Bodhisattvas, headed precisely by Maitreya and Mañjuśrī. For this reason we are not mistaken in thinking that this tanka, while it represents the Buddha’s life according to the earthly vicissitudes, the nimmāṇakāya who has appeared as Āuddhodana’s son, actually stresses by the two Bodhisattvas’ presence the highest degree of revelation, the continuity of the Hinayāna in the Mahāyāna.

The halo, as in the preceding tanka, is perfectly circular and, according to the manner of bronze statues of the Pāla age, protects not only the Buddha’s head, but all of his chest. All around, tiny paintings are displayed: the most important are those to the right, to
the left and under the Buddha’s figure, representing the principal incidents of his life and preachings.

The story begins immediately to the left of the Buddha, under the figures of the Arhats. I will simply describe and translate the inscriptions which accompany the various scenes, all recalling well known incidents of Śākyamuni’s life.

A – First stripe:
1. a) ཁ་ལྡན་ན་བཞེངས་པའི་དམ་པ་ཏོག ཉེར་པོ།: “Śvetaketu in the Tusita heaven.” Śvetaketu is the name of the Bodhisattva who will descend upon earth from the Tusita heaven, to be incarnated as the son of Śudhodana and, at the end of his long spiritual preparation, will attain Buddhahood.

2. b) རྟེ་བཙུན་གཡལ་ཐོབ་དུ་ཟློས།: “He establishes rJe bsun as his successor.” The Bodhisattva, before descending upon earth, establishes as his successor Maitreya, who will be the Buddha of the next age.

B – Second stripe:
3. ཁ་ལྡན་གནས་ཉིན་པའི་གཞོན་ཀྱིས་ཤུམས་སུ་བཞེངས་པ་ལེ་བཙུན་གྱིས་མོ སྐྱོད་པ་བཟུང་བུ།: “From the Tusita heaven, entering into his mother’s womb in the likeness of a white elephant, he is worshipped by the gods.”

C – Third stripe:
4. a) His birth, represented in the traditional manner.

b) སྒྲུ་ཤེམ་པས་ལེ་བཙུན་མ་ནས་བྱུུན་ཁྲུུན།: “after his birth many marvellous signs appear.”

5. c) In the third picture: བཙུན་སྤེུ་ཀླུུས།: “He is washed by the gods.”

D – Fourth stripe:
6. a) བྱུུུན་ཟིབྲེུ་གོམ་པ་བདུན་བདུན་བོར་བས་ཏོག དཔ་བདུན་བདུན་བྱུུུན་བས།: “moving for every point of space seven steps, seven lotus flowers are born in every direction.”

7. b) (in the middle of the central figure): མ་མོ་བྱུུུན་ཀྱིས་མོ སྐྱོད།: “he is honoured by the eight mothers.” In the tanka they are only four.

8. c) གྲྱིལ་སྦྱོིན་ཉེས་པོས་མཚུན་བསྟུན་པ།: “the ascetic Asita reveals the omens.”

E – Fifth stripe:
9. ཀི་ན་རྣོུ་ལོ་དྲང་བཅས་ནས་ལྷ་ཀཾན་ལྷའི་རྣོུ་(རྣོུ་མོ) དུ་བཟུང་པོ་པས་ལྷ་ཐོམས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱོགས་བྱས་པ།: “then, going in a chariot to visit a temple, he is honoured by the gods.”

F – Sixth stripe:
10. On the edge: དེ་སྐྱུག སྐོད་ལྷ་བཞི་གཞོན།: “by the gate of Kapilavastu he sees a sick man; ཆོ་ལྡེ་བོ་བྱུུུན་(ཟིབྲེུ) རྡུང་རྱྱུན་; “The Cakravartin drives a chariot.”

G – Seventh stripe:
11. ... དོན་ཧོང་པོ་མོ་རྟེས་པྲོ་ལྷ་: “the young prince is present at games; the black figure is Devadatta’s.

From now on the scenes follow one near the other.

13. བཙུན་གྱིས་འཇལ་མོ་སྨུན་སེམས་གྱིས།: “Devadatta strikes (the elephant) with his hand and kills it.”

(To the right, above):
14. ཀྲུང་གསོ་སྤེུ་སྤེུའི་སྤེུ་ལ་ཐུབས་ཀྱིས་བསྐད་པ།: “he learns mathematics; the incident represents his mathematical contest with Arjuna.

16. བཙུན་གྱིས་འཇལ་མོ་བསྐྱོད་པ་: “he marries.”

17. ཁ་ལྡན་བཟྲུང།: “His amusements.”

18. རོ་རྣོུ་བཀའ་བཞི་གྱོན་: “he sees the peasant (at work).”

19. བཙུན་གྱིས་གློས་པ་བཞི་གྱོན།: “by the southern gate he sees an old man.”

20. མཚུན་མོ་ཅེས་བསྐོད་: “customs of the night.”

21. Above: དུབ་གསོར་ཨི་བཀའ་བཞི་གྱོན།: “by the western gate he sees a corpse.”

22. ཀྲུང་གསོར་(ཁུ་འབྲོ) རྡུང་བཀའ་བཞི་གྱོན།: “by the northern gate he sees a monk.”

23. The scenes which follow show his exit from the city with the horse Kanṭhaka, whose hoofs are supported by “the gods of the four points of the compass.” 

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24. The Buddha cuts off his hair: the inscriptions are mostly illegible.

Next:

25. p’yang dar gyi k’rod ...(k’yi) c’os gos ap’ul ... “offering of the monk’s tunic, made of rags...”

Still below:

26. rgyal po gsal rgyal spyan drañ: “king Prasenajit’s invitation,” then, in the following square, above:

27. drañ sron rnams lhan c’ig tu ... (gnot) msdan: “he meditates in the soothsayer’s company.” To the left of a river’s course:

28. c’u bo ne rañ dsa rar dka’ t’ub ma: “he practises asceticism on the bank of the Nairāṇjaṇa...”

Underneath, to the left:

29. legs skyes mas zo p’ul: “Sujātā offers curdled milk...”

From a lake the figures of two nāgas emerge:

30. klu (med) dañ ajal bas mig: meeting with the serpent (Kālika) ... bya ba (or byub = byañ c’ub’?).

Next:

31. k’yeu bkra’s bkra’ stis rtsa du rba’ ap’ul. “Young Svastika offers him dūrva grass (on which to sit)...”

In the last picture to the right follows the scene of victory over Māra: the inscription is illegible.

Above:

32. m’o rañs m’yon par rdsogs pai sañs rgyas rgyal c’en bëis lBTN bzed bëi ap’ul ba geig tu byin gys rlbs: “in the morning, when he had attained perfect enlightenment, the gods of the four heavenly regions offered him four bowls for alms, which by his grace became a single bowl...” To the right the figure of the Buddha under the Tree of Enlightenment.

33. sum bceu rtsa gsum du yum la c’os gsums kyi’s sa la p’obs: “having been to the heaven of the Trayāstrimśa to preach the Law to his mother, he descends again upon earth...”

On the same line, to the right:

34. c’ar rluñ dus klu bzuñs kyi(s) sku la ak’ral: “during a storm, a serpent winds itself around his body...”

35. yul ba ra sar qk’or lña sde sog s c’os qk’or bskor: “in Benares he preaches to the five disciples...”

36. rigs kyi bu grags pa rab tu byun: “the ordination of that son of a noble race, Yañas...”

37. To the right: btsun mo rnams kyañ rab tu byun: “women too take vows...”

Above, to the left:

38. rdsu ap’ul ra ma zuñ nas c’os la bchod: “by the miracle of the multiplication of the images, he converts (those present) to the Law...”

In the middle:

39. bya rgod p’uñ po rir c’os bskor: “he preaches on the Grdhrakūṭa...”

To the right: od mai ts’al: “the garden of the Veñuvana...”

Above, to the left:

40. mu tegs ston pa drug po ts’o ap’ul c’en stan nas, ts’ar bcad pas ts’or lBTN: “the six masters of the heretics, after he had displayed great miracles, are annihilated, and then, hurled into a lake...”

41. gzan yañ t’eg pa sna ts’ogs la c’os kyi ak’or lo bskor: “then he preaches the Law to followers of various schools...”

Above, to the left:

42. groñ k’yer bsd bignon la ap’obs: “he returns to the city to beg...”

To the right:

43. rgyal po k’ab tu glañ c’en sion pa btul: “In Rājagṛha he subdues the infuriated elephant...”

Above, to the left:

44. Yañs pa can du spreu spran rtsi ap’ul ba qc’i ba dus byas pas lBTN skyes: “In Śravasti an ape, after having offered honey to him, is reborn among the gods...”

To the right:

45. sÞuñ bai ts’ul bstan: “He falls ill...”

Above, to the left:

46. bcom lBTN dañ ñañ t’os rañ me gbar ba: “the Blessed One and his hearers burn in a self-created fire...”

To the right:

47. riñ srel c’a bryad du gos pa: “the division of the relics in eight lots...”
Above:
The eight mc’od rten:
48. go ma’i; bya’i c’ub; rnam rgyal; pad spu’is; bden stam (for gtam?); ts’o ap’rul, lha gbab; k’a’i rtsegs.

This, then, is a real biography of the Buddha in pictures. Of course, in the present case also, the painters had a rich literature from which to glean. Ranging from the canonical lives of the Buddha, like those in the Lalitavistara and in the Mahāvastu, to the summaries contained in the Vinaya and in poems (Asvaghosa), this literature supplied the Tibetans with first-hand sources for pictorial representations of Śākyamuni’s biography. Out of these same sources, at a very early date, the Indians themselves, with their mania for classification, had selected those main incidents which stand out with a striking distinctiveness in the Śākyamuni’s earthly life. Already Maitreya - Asaṅga in the Uttaratantra had discerned twelve fundamental episodes which sum up the Buddha’s life. The Tibetans follow their example; they often mention and not less frequently represent the mdsad pa bceu gnis, the twelve works of the Buddha, which are catalogued as follows: 1) he descended from the Tuṣita heaven; 2) entered his mother’s womb; 3) was born as Śākyamuni; 4) proved his ability in many skilful exercises; 5) led an untroubled existence among noble ladies; 6) fled from home; 7) practised asceticism; 8) appeared at the foot of the Tree of Enlightenment; 9) overcame Māra’s attacks; 10) obtained supreme enlightenment; 11) put the wheel of the Law in motion; 12) he passed away in nirvana.\(^{45}\)

But Śākyamuni’s life appeared so eventful that it could not be reduced to these twelve essential moments. The vastness of canonical literature concerning the Buddha’s life, the accounts which are sometimes irreconcilable, even the fact that many incidents are to be found scattered through different works, as in the case of the Vinaya, which is precisely one of the richest sources for reconstructing the Buddha’s legend, all these circumstances induced Tibetan writers also to sum up the master’s life in a systematic form. This necessity was all the more keenly felt because Śākyamuni’s mdsad pa were a favourite subject with painters and temple decorators. Just as in China, to supply the same need, the Shih chia ju lai ying hua tu 釋迦如來應化録 had been compiled, so in Tibet one of the greatest polygraphists, Tāranātha, summed up the legend in an original form: he summarized it in 125 episodes, in his work entitled bCom ldan qdas t’ub pai dbar po mdsad pa mdo tsam brjod pa mt’oṅ bas don ldan rab tu dga’ ba dāṅ bcas pas pad pai niṅ byed p’yogs bgrya’ qe’ar ba. Later he treated the same subject on invitation of P’un ts’ogs rnam rgyal cutting down the episodes of the Buddha’s life to a hundred, with the well-defined aim of furnishing a guide to artists; so we have the sTon pa ša kya dbar po mdsad pa bgrya’ pai bris yig rje btsun kun dga’ snyin gis mdsad pa, which, having divided the subject-matter into a hundred scenes, illustrates concisely the various episodes grouped in each scene.

Of course this book is a biography of the Buddha only in an indirect sense: very often Śākyamuni is simply the spiritual centre around which the story develops; the characters who act are his disciples, his rivals, the laymen who become converted after hearing his word. The Buddha himself is mostly a spectator, who having witnessed an incident, uses it as an occasion for a sermon or for a moral precept: many of the episodes are found in the Avadānakalpalatā, but it is not certain that all were introduced into Tāranātha’s biography through that rather random collection of different stories: their common source is the one from which Kṣemendra himself had drawn his material, that is the Vinaya (adul ba); then the Karmāsātaka, the Avadānaśataka, and other texts with the object (acknowledged by Tāranātha himself in the long and interesting colophon to his work) of putting the tales of...
Hinayāna in harmony with those of Mahāyāna. In order to obtain material for a comparison, it will be well to give a summary of Tārānātha’s 125 stories.

1. The Buddha was, in dGa’ ldan, Dam pa tog dkar po, Śvetaketu.
2. History of the Śākya family, a lofty family.
3. The five looks.
4. The descent from dGa’ ldan and the entrance into his mother’s womb.
5. Sojourn in his mother’s womb.
6. His birth in the garden at Lumbini.
7. Entrance into the city of Ser skya (Kapilavastu).
8. Prophecy of the soothsayer Nāon mons med (Araṇā).
9. He learns various arts.
10. He shows his skill.
11. He marries Grags ʿadsin ma (Yaśo-dharā).
12. Story of the tree ʿdgā bai sūṅ po (udumbara) born when the Buddha appeared.
13. He marries Sa ʿats’o ma (Gopa).
14. The three meetings: old man, sick man and corpse.
15. Meditation in the field and vision of the cemetery.
16. Story of Ri dvang skyes (Mrgajā) who, having seen him from a window, threw a pearl necklace to him.
17. The palace is guarded by sentries, lest the prince should go out.
18. Flight from home.
19. He assumes a monk’s apparel.
20. The quest for truth in the company of heretics.
21. The seven asceticisms.
22. He abandons asceticism and restores his body to health with milk-soup.
23. He starts for Bodhgayā.
24. He brings Māra into subjection.
25. He obtains supreme gnosis.
26. He rests in the forest.
27. On Brahmā’s and Indra’s request, he goes to Benares.

28. Sermon to his first five disciples.
29. Yaśas and four others are converted.
30. From Benares to Magadhā.
31. Conversion of Mahākāśyapa and other ascetics.
32. Meeting with Bimbisāra.
33. Śāriputra’s and Maudgalyāyana’s conversion.
34. The serpent Elāpatra’s conversion.
35. Kātyāyana sent to convert the king (Pradyota) of āP’ags rgyal (Ujjayin).
36. Story of Me skyes btsas pa (Jyotiska).
37. The Buddha, in the midst of flames, preaches to Indra and other gods.
38. Anāthapindāda’s conversion to truth.
39. Anāthapindāda builds the Jetavana.
40. The Buddha is invited to Śrāvasti.
41. King Prasenajit believes in the Buddha.
42. Meeting of the Buddha with his father Śuddhodana on the former’s return to Kapilavastu.
43. Sermon to the Śākya women.
44. Nanda’s ordination.
45. Gautami and other women are admitted into the order.
46. Story of Pūrṇa.
47. Maudgalyāyana goes into the ‘Od zer can (Prabhavatī) world, to find his mother who had been reborn there, in order to convert her.
48. Sermon to the Brahman Pad ma sūṅ po (Padmagarbha).
49. Story of the two boys, a Kṣatriya and a Brahman, the first of whom, through his wisdom, obtains good luck and is converted.
50. The Buddha sends Maudgalyāyana to convert the Nāgas Nanda and Upananda.
51. The Buddha protects Prasenajit from the Nāgas’ attacks.
52. Conversion of the yakṣa ʿbrog gnas (Ātavaka).
53. Lag rgyud (Hastaka) is taught the truth.
54. Story of Utāyana (Rudrāyana) and Rauraka (sGrags gros).
55. Submission of the lion Ral pa can, (Keśarin).
56. Birth of Ser skya (Kapila) as a sea-monster.

57. The Brahman Nya gro dha skyes (Pippalāyaṇa) marries a woman resembling the golden statue he had made, lives with her chastely and is ordained as a monk by the Buddha.

58. The Buddha invites Mahākāśyapa to sit with him on the same seat.

59. Ānanda has a part in each of the Buddha's acts.

60. An ape offers honey.

61. Story of the great Šrávasti miracle.

62. Conversion of 500 ascetics.

63. Reconciliation between the two kings of Pāicala (lid len).

64. Conversion of a thousand pisāta.

65. The great assembly in Kapilavastu; on this occasion demons and creatures of all kinds came together.

66. Conversion of five hundred Šrávasti merchants saved from a storm.

67. The descent from heaven (the fifth miracle).

68. Entry into the city of bZaṅ byed (Bhadramkara).

69. dPal sbed's (Śrigupta) conversion.

70. Ordination of Ma skyes dgra (Jyotiska).

71. Story of aP'rog ma (Hariti).

72. King Kapina of gSer gyi sa (Suvarṇabhūmi) in the South becomes an arhat.

73. He reveals the truth to gDañs can (Ghoṣila) of Kauśāmbi.

74. gDañs can invites the Buddha to Kauśāmbi; the king's conversion.

75. Story of Mu tig can (Mālikā) daughter of the king of Siṃhala.

76. Mā ga dha bzaṅ mo (Sumāgadha) invites the Buddha to Bu ram śin āp'el (Punḍravardhana).

77. Magic of Lhas byin (Devadatta).

78. Purification of the monks.

79. Sins of king Ma skyes dgra (Ajāta-śatru).

80. Lhas byin attempts in vain to hurt the Buddha.

81. The elephant Nor skyon, (Dhana-pāla) subdued.

82. The truth is revealed to āTs'o byed (Jivaka).

83. The rGyal c'en and a thousand rṣi see the truth.

84. Submission of Sor mo p'riē (Aṅgu-limāla).

85. Story of aP'ags pa legs 'oīs (Svāgata).

86. The Buddha passes the summer on the mountain C'u srin byis pa gso (Śiśumāra).

87. King Prasenajit honours Mahākāśyapa.

88. He prophesies that a poor woman will become a Buddha.

89. He pacifies king Prasenajit's ambitious pretensions.

90. He restrains Ma skyes dgra from offending.

91. He induces king Ma skyes dgra to believe in the faith.

92. Story of Lhas byin.

93. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana visit the sick.

94. Events on the way to Vaiśāli.

95. The inhabitants of Vaiśāli are induced to do good.

96. He visits Mithilā and other places.

97. He subdues the Malla.

98. He starts for the village of Nyagrodha.

99. In the Brahmans' village.

100. Conversion of the Northern populations.

101. Visit to bCom rlag (Mathurā).

102. Visit to O ta la (Story of Kajangah).

103. He passes the summer retreat in dGra mt'a' (Parāntaka).

104. Events on the way to lNa len (Pañcāla).

105. The story of the poor Brahman.

106. The prophecy on the course of works.

107. He guides the Śākya towards liberation.

108. He prophesies to the Brahman Gaṅ po (Pūrna) that he will attain enlightenment.

109. List of the seven indefectible causes (mi ñams pai tgyu').
110. What happened when he was on the way to Vaiśāli.

111. Sojourn in the wood of ściśapa trees, to the North of ‘Od ma can (Beluva).

112. Story of Nor can (Dhanika).

113. Renouncement of the vital saṃskāra.

114. On the way to rTsa can (Kuṣa).

115. Events in rTsa can.

116. Conversion of Rab dga’ ba (Supriya) king of the Dri za (Gandharva).

117. Rab bzai (Subhadra) becomes an arhat.

118. Parinirvāna.

119. The relics.

120. The relics are divided into eight lots.

121. Account of the first council.

122. ‘Od sruñ c’en po’s nirvāna.

123. Ordination of Śā nai goś can (Śāna-vāsin).

124. Kung dga’ bo’s last work.

125. The second council.

It is clear that the above outline has been used as a guide and an inspiration for larger and later pictorial representations of the Buddha’s life: the artists may have known Tiira~niitha’s very book (this is far from unlikely, as it is extremely popular in Tibet to this day), or they may have used some other work akin to it; in any case there is no doubt that, in its general lines, the series of tanka in the Musée Guimet, published by Hackin, fits into this scheme.

But let us go back to our tanka.

Above, in two rows, 34 images of the Buddha follow one another, each with a different posture of the hands: together with the central Buddha, they represent the 35 Buddhas who are invoked during the confession of sins.

The cycle of the itūn ḅīgs is also simply called the cycle of the 35 Buddhas.

This is not an innovation of the Tibetans but it goes back to well known canonical books, the oldest reference being the Chib tīng p’i ni ching 決定毘尼 經 Vinayaviniścaya (Upāliparipṛcchā) (Taishō, XII, n. 325, p. 38) which Śāntideva quotes with its list of the 35 Buddhas in the Śikṣāsāmakcaya (p. 169).

How is this number 35 reached? Evidently by the insertion of intermediate points in the spatial diagram of the maṇḍala: viz. the 4 fundamental directions, then the following 4 secondary points, then 24 intermediate points + centre + zenith + nadir = 35. They are therefore a synthesis of the space. In fact the Upāliparipṛcchā says: “all the perfect Buddhas, the Tathāgatas beginning with those above named who stay, exist, live in all spheres of existence, may protect one etc.” (quoted in Śikṣāsāmakcaya, p. 168).

In Tibet this cycle evolved from that formula enjoyed a great popularity and therefore a vast liturgical literature deals with it, out of which are worth quoting, for instance, the Saṁs rgyas sum cu so lha mts’an gyi p’an yon written by rGyal t’s’ab, and particularly the Saṁs rgyas so lha mṅon rtags dan lha skui p’ya t’al, of Tsoṅ k’a pa, important also from an iconographical point of view. This second work is especially interesting, because it describes in detail the characters of the cycle (see table in next page).

Underneath is painted the series of the Arhats, who are not 16 but 18; concerning their representation, I refer the reader to the illustration of tankas nn. 121-136.

Under the Buddha’s image are represented the donors: the principal personage is a woman, followed by two youths and three girls. They are all seated in the Tibetan...
### The Thirty-Five Buddhas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Mudrā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>left hand in bhūmisparśa, right in samādhi dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>holding the rdo rje upon his heart with both hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue up to his neck white above the neck</td>
<td>right hand in abhaya dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>like Śākyamuni as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>like dPa’ boi sde dharmavyākhyāna samādhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>like Śākyamuni dharmavyākhyāna samādhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>like dPa’ boi sde dharmavyākhyāna as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>like Śākyamuni dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>like dPa’ boi sde dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>like Śākyamuni dharmavyākhyāna as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>samādhi dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>like dPa’ boi sde dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>like Śākyamuni dharmavyākhyāna as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>samādhi dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>like dPa’ boi sde dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pale red</td>
<td>samādhi dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>like dPa’ boi sde dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>like Śākyamuni dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>like Śākyamuni dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>samādhi dharmavyākhyāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>right hand in dharmavyākhyāna, left in samādhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>a flag in his right hand, left hand in samādhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pale red</td>
<td>holds a yellow shield with both hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>both hands in bhūmisparśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>left in samādhi, right in abhaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red or yellow</td>
<td>as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>a mountain upon both hands in samādhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
manner, and all turned towards an altar, upon which, as if evoked by the donors’ piety, appears Jambhala, the god of wealth, who renews their devotion with his graces. In front of the donors we see the gifts offered to the temple: gold and vases of c’ari prepared for the occasion, with a threefold lump of flour kneaded with butter applied on the rim. It is the ever-present rten abrel, the invocation of a good omen, which is never missing in any ceremony.

As to style, this tanka is not unique, it finds its counterpart in the frescoes of some temples in Western Tibet, representing the same subject, which can be dated with certainty. I allude to the representations of the Buddha’s life decorating the red temple of Tsaparang (Indo-Tibetica, III, part II, p. 130 ff. and Plates CXXV, CXXXV). The parallelism is such that there can be no doubt the tanka is a contemporary of those frescoes and issued from the same school: in both cases we find the same scenes reproduced with the same details. It is clear that the manner is one and the same, and that a great space of time cannot have passed between the frescoes and the tanka (compare particularly Sujata milking a cow, the scene of the first sermon, that of the division of relics). The painter of the tanka, even if he does not attain the same grace and refinement as the author of the frescoes, breathes the same artistic atmosphere. The red temple of Tsaparang, as we learn from the history of the Yellow Sect, written by Sañ gya mts’o, was built by the wife of Blo bzañ rab brtan, king of Guge. The latter was a contemporary of Naď dbaṅ grags pa, the apostle of the dGe lugs pa in Western Tibet and a disciple of Tsoṅ k’a pa (1357-1419). This allows us to assign the construction of the red temple to the end of the XVth century; therefore our tanka must be a little later.

The four figures which are seen in the throne and represent the four Mara have been dealt with above (see p. 303).

Under the tanka is written:

Pun tsogs dge legs bya bas skruñ pai sku mt’a’ yas agro bai re ba skoñ pai gsuin ma lus šes bya ji bzin gzigs pai c’ugs ša kyai gtsa bo de la mgos p’yaŋ ats al mañ ga lam; dge’o.

“I bow my head to the loftiest among the Sakyas: his body was born by having done perfect good; his word fulfills the hope of innumerable creatures; his spirit sees, according to truth, all that can be known. May it be of good omen and well...”

TANKA n. 15 (Plate 29).

This tanka, of an extremely fine design, represents the Buddha in the act of calling upon the earth to witness his attainment of enlightenment. Draped in his monastic robes, he is seated on a lotus blossoming from its stem; around him the leaves bend in delicate curves, between which figures of lions and lamas peep. The god’s image is lined on two sides by two parallel rows of eight Buddhas, arranged one above the other, as on the small pillars of a throne. Further up, near his shoulders, two lamas in the midst of their disciples; another eight Buddhas on the halo and in the background. On the planes of the frame enclosing the Buddha’s head, eight mchod rten. At the root of the stalk of the lotus on which the Buddha is seated, the donors. Around, tiny figures of the Buddha, in the same pose as the large central image.

Here then is represented the heaven of the bhadrakalpa, i.e. the Buddhas of the cosmic age in which we are living; it is one of the most frequent motifs in Tibetan iconography and decorates with tiny frescoes the walls of many ancient temples which I have illustrated more than once in Indo-Tibetica (on the Bhadrakalpa see: Taishō, vol. XIV, p. 1; Weller, Tausend Buddha-Name des Bhadrakalpa).
In this painting is found an uncommon arrangement of the central figure's frame: instead of the usual spaces and the choirs in a circle, the whole design is contained in a hexagram, which on the sides of the Buddha's head develops through geometrical levels. Consequently the throne on which the Buddha is regularly seated and which serves as a background, is in the present case reduced to a mere ornamental motif. The small pillars on the sides, following a pictorial tradition which appears in several other Guge paintings, are used by the painter to contain delicate miniatures; the upper part of the throne disappears with its Garuḍa and its Nāgas, making room for the representation of eight mc'od rten; on top, instead of the Garuḍa, another image of the Buddha. The painter has stylized the throne to such an extent, that it has lost all its character, becoming but an ornamental pretext which, developing in a geometrical sense, gives this central part of the tanka the appearance of the rose in the centre of some Persian carpets. When our eyes, from a certain distance, encompass the entire tanka, this likeness to a carpet is so striking, that we naturally think of a conscious intention on the artist's part.

TANKA n. 16 (Plates 30, 31).

A figure of the Buddha, seated on a throne, towers between the two Bodhisattvas who assist him; the god carries on his left hand a vase, and his right is in the mudrā of the gift. Above, on top of the throne, a small figure of Śākyamuni, to show the identity of the two persons' nature. On the right and left, as if crowning the god's head, nine on each side, the eighteen Arhats, in whose series are included Dharma-tala and Hva-saṅ, represented below (on this series see tankas nn. 126-131).

On the pillars flanking the throne, eight on each side, sixteen figures: eight Bodhisattvas below and eight Buddhas above. On the upper edge the 35 Buddhas of the confession of sins. To the right and left of Śākyamuni's figure, two masters surrounded by their disciples: the one on the left is recognizable as Kun dga' sīniṃ po; hence we must conclude that the tanka was painted in Sa skya pa circles. Under the throne the figures of the donors. From his draperies and mudrā, the god may be identified as Bhaiṣajyaguru, a double of the Buddha interpreted as the god of medicine; the transposition is rather ancient. As in other similar cases, it is probably due to the fact that a title frequently attributed to the Buddha as the physician of human passions, the unfailing healer of the ills of samsāra through the medicine of the Law, vaidyarat, sarvavyadhipramocaka, as the Lalitavistara calls him, took on with time some consistence, and became a personage by itself. Dharmagupta and Hsuan Tsang in the VIIth century, and I Ching in the VIIIth translated a sūtra dedicated to Bhaiṣajyaguru, in which the figure of this hypostasis is already defined. Bhaiṣajyaguru and his heaven appear in this sūtra modelled on Amitābha and the Sukhāvatī; as the monk Dharmākara took the vow of attaining supreme enlightenment in a pure land, where pain was not known, and where those who reach it live in eternal bliss, so in the Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiduryaprabhārajasūtra this Buddha's land is said to be like the Sukhāvatī (yadrām sukhavatīlokadhātus tādṛśi, p. 10). This land was attained by virtue of his twelve initial prajñābāna. The fact that this pure land or heaven is localized in the East caused this god to receive as his attributes some of Aksobhya's qualities, because Aksobhya presides over the East: the land and the god have the colour of the vaidyāra, i.e. they are dark blue like lapislazuli; this is well known as Aksobhya's colour.

Hence it is clear that the two Bodhisattvas on the god's sides can only be Sūryavairocana and Candravairocana, the chief Bodhisattvas
among the eight of his cycle. These eight Bodhisattvas appear in front of the dying who have invoked the god with a burning faith, and obtain for them too what is granted to Amitābha’s devotees, rebirth on a lotus flower in the Vaiḍūryanirbhāsa heaven. These then must be the eight Bodhisattvas represented, four on each side, on the pillars flanking the throne; the other four figures above them are the eight Buddhas, i.e. the cycle of the seven gods of medicine, to whom was added Śākyamuni. The Bhāiṣajyajātuvaiḍūryaprabhāsūtra is not yet acquainted with the list of the seven Buddhas, but the list is in I Ching’s translation; it was born perhaps out of the multiplication of the god invoked for seven days running with seven images; each image, in its turn, is surrounded by seven lamps. Thus we have seven times seven, forty-nine, as the book must be recited forty-nine times, according to the Bodhisattva Trāṇamukha’s prescriptions, contained in the same sūtra, while a seven days’ fast is recommended. These numbers, seven and forty-nine, perhaps put us on the right way to understand the meaning of the cycles. In fact, according to dogmatics, the state of intermediate existence, antarābhaava, bar do lasted seven or forty-nine days (Abhidharmakośa, transl. La Vallée Poussin, vol. III, p. 51). And the sūtra does confirm our hypothesis, for it teaches that one of the main objects of its recitation is precisely to recall the conscious principle of the deceased from Yama’s kingdom, where it has been led by the Yamadūta and where he has a direct vision of the rewards and punishments for the good and evil deeds done during his life (tasya vijnānam punar api pratinivartteta svapnāntaragata ivātmānam samjñite). To this essential purpose, in course of time another was added which at the end gained the upper hand, namely the desire to be freed from disease and untimely death. Thus the purpose of being freed from incumbent peril and of reviving those already dead by one of the nine untimely deaths, has overshadowed what seems to me the initial character of this cycle, I mean the desire of obtaining the protection of the conscious principle during the intermediate existence. This is shown by the fact that the book must be recited and the Buddha invoked after death, near the corpse (yamapurusāra akṣarasamāsya ca tasya kāle vare mānasayāte vijnānam yamasya dharmarājasyagratāṁ upaniyate, p. 14). If this interpretation of mine is correct, some connection should exist between the cycle of the seven Buddhas of medicine and the Tibetan Bar do t’os grol (concerning which see tankas nn. 116-117).

TANKA n. 17 (Plates 32-35).

It represents one of Tibet’s commonest and most venerated divinities: this special aspect of 5Pyan ras gzigs, having eleven heads, generally goes by the name of bCu geig žal, Ekādaśamukha; it is very often identified with its other similar form called p’byag ston 5pyan ston “a thousand hands and a thousand eyes”, which also has eleven faces and whose multiple hands are almost certainly desumed from the first type.

This plurality of heads, arms and eyes naturally has its meaning; it is the translation into visible symbols of the omnipresence of the god’s compassion; in the Saddharmapundarika the god is already called samantamukha, “he whose face is turned towards every point”. And in reality what do eleven heads symbolize except the four points of space, the four intermediate points, the centre, nadir, zenith, namely the synthesis of space?

Hence we must not see in Avalokiteśvara’s eleven heads an influx of Rudra; we must rather admit that both iconographic types are derived from the same conception and from the same intention to translate into visible forms the omnipresence of a divine force.

In Japan the Shingon sects makes a clear distinction between Avalokiteśvara, with a thousand hands, coming in the first place, and Avalokiteśvara with eleven faces, the fourth
of the six kinds of Avalokiteśvara, each of which is related to one of the six kinds of beings that can be saved by him in a particular manner (see H. B. CHAPIN, A study in Buddhist iconography, OZ, 1932, p. 37, n. 4).

The liturgy dedicated to this god is very rich and complex, the greatest Tibetan masters having written about him; I quote for instance: aP'ags pa t'ugs rje c'en po žal bcu geig pa p'yag ston spyan ston grub bhrès dge sloṅ dpal mo lugs kyi dkyil ak'or c'en por ajug cin dbaṅ bskur bai c'o ga bde legs kun abyuṅ; aP'ags pa ... lugs kyi grub smyṅ bar gnān bai c'o ga dan bca's a p'an bdei snaṅ ba, both of Blo bzaṅ bskal bzaṅ rgya mts'o, seventh Dalai Lama (complete works, vol. ca).

These books have tried to give a symbolical interpretation of the images, to read into them a diagram and a plan of mahāyānic dogmatics. So, for instance, according to the Bla ma spyan ras gzigs sde rgya mts'o grub t'abs dnos grub kun abyuṅ, by mK'as grub sāṇs rgyas ye s'es, the eleven faces have a precise symbolism which can be summed up as follows: the faces are eleven inasmuch as they represent the c'os sku, dbarmakāya and the ten p'ar p'yin, pāramitā. They are divided as follows, beginning from the lower ones:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3 faces symbol of ũi, pacifying rites</th>
<th>central white covetousness pacified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>right green every mental perturbation pacified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left red anger pacified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 faces symbol of rgyas pa rites intended to develop good qualities</td>
<td>central green development of good intentions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right red development of concentration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left white development of gnosis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 faces corresponding to rites intended to get powers, dbaṅ</td>
<td>central red baptism in supreme praxis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right white baptism in supreme gnosis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left green baptism in supreme capability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 terrific, symbol of terrific rites, drag po</td>
<td>blue free from all obstacles and dangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red symbol of the c'os sku, dbarmakāya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The hands are a thousand because this aspect of Avalokiteśvara corresponds to the essence of the 1000 Buddhas of the sKal bzaṅ, Bhadrakalpa.

The two principal hands are joined in the aṅjali, to signify that he is identical with the c'os sku, dbarmakāya, plane of the absolute, and that in this manner his essence is revealed to others.

Only the first eight hands have particular symbols; the other 992 being all in varada-mudrā, the attitude of presenting a gift.

The principal figure, served by his acolytes, is surrounded on his shoulders by the circle of his thousand arms which take the place of the luminous halo; the throne has become flat, has lost all relief, and is turned into an ornamental background, all except its lateral pillars, on which are painted, eight on each side, sixteen figures of deities. Almost certainly these images represent as many shapes and hypostases of the same god: for instance in Blo bzaṅ bskal bzaṅ rgya mts'o's second work, fourteen of them are listed as follows, together with other similar deities:


Around, above, below and in the corners are arranged and displayed figures of masters (rgyud pai bla ma) and divinities.
Four divinities deserve to be particularly mentioned here, because they are a necessary part of the complex mandala dedicated to these deities: those placed on the right and on the left of the terrific head, and the other two immediately under the figures of his acolytes. They are, beginning from the lower left hand corner: gSan bai rdo rje - Guhyavajra - symbol of the Guhyasamāja; then, in the right corner: Jigs byed rdo rje, having a buffalo's head; above: dGyes mdsad rdo rje (Kyai rdo rje) and next K'rag t'un rdo rje who in the mandala ought to be found respectively to the East, South, West and North of the central image.

TANKA n. 18 (Plate 36).

Tanka n. 18 represents a Buddha in bhū-misaspariṇamudrā and beggar's bowl. The god is assisted on either side by Byams pa and sJam dbyaṅs. Around them, unfolding on four sides like a frame, the cycle of the 35 gods of the confession of sins; the 17 Arhats, concerning whom I refer the reader to what will be said on tankas nn. 126-131 the six-armed mGon po, rNam t'os ras and Jambhala. Above, on each side, Tson k'a pa between his two chief disciples, and other lamas, also between two disciples.

In this specimen too the throne has become a mere ornamental motif, serving as a background to the image; the halo almost mingles its arabesques with the embroidery on the Buddha's dress.

The curves of the lotus on which the throne rests are already stiffer and more stylized than in the other specimens; the tanka already belongs to a ripe period of the Guge school.

TANKA n. 19 (Plates 37, 38).

In the centre of the tanka towers a vast golden figure of Ts'e dpag med, "the god of endless life"; he wears a necklace, a diadem and a bracelet; a large red scarf, moved by the wind, plays round him like a luminous halo. He is seated on a throne covered with a green cloth dotted with golden stars. The throne rests on a lotus flower, which winding and multiplying its stalk in flexible curves, emerges from the primordial waters. Above, on the same axis, the figure of 'Od dpag med, "the god of endless light", escorted on both sides by two standing Bodhisattvas.

The back of the throne develops its manycoloured arabesques, which stand out sharply against the dark blue background: animals, flowers, men and monsters, mingle their bright colours in varied harmonies and attain their equilibrium in a wealth of baroque wreaths.

This riot of colours, bright yet so cleverly blended that the eye delights in them without becoming tired or dazzled, is the greatest merit of the present tanka; as to drawing, there are many other paintings more delicate. Nevertheless the figures of the monks and ascetics, radiant in their rich draperies, or naked after the Yogi's manner, are full of a nervous life, some being represented in a motionless state of ecstasy, others in the violent poses of exorcism, all intent on defeating that elemental world out of which evil and sin spring with a sudden terror.

The inscriptions accompanying the figures are largely obliterated; we can only read the names of the two first lamas below, on the right of the onlooker: sJam dbyaṅs e'os rje, and above brTogs Idan pa. Above, two on each side of 'Od dpag med, four Indian ascetics may be recognized by the topknot which Śādhus, and in Tibet Yogi of the bKa' brgyud pa sect, wear to this day, and by the red band they wear across their chest; that band is called sgon t'ag (yogapatta) and is used to hold the limbs firmly, for in some difficult postures of yoga they are distorted and contracted to such an extent that, if they were not confined it would be impossible to hold the pose continually for a certain time.
On the upper left-hand corner of Ts’de dpag med, all blue inside a halo red as a burning fire, stands gSaṅ ba ḍud pa (Guhyasamāja) clasping his ṣakti, Aksobhya’s esoteric and secret form; his mystical meaning and the liturgy which, wisely practised, leads up to him, are explained in the tantra bearing precisely the title of Guhyasamāja.

The greatest interest of this tanka is perhaps to be found in the scenes represented above and on the left. On the right we see the usual deities, yellow Jambhala, the god of riches, who will grant his blessings to those who had the painting made, mGon po Nilaḍaṇḍa and the six-armed protector (mGon po).

On the left we see, inside a large open tent, a personage seated on a throne; a red throne, with back and sides, like the one of lacquered papier mâché, on which the abbot of Hemis sits to his day when officiating in solemn ceremonies, a good piece of Kashmiri work of the XVIIth century. Round him, three other personages in smaller proportions, gradually diminishing; they all wear Tibetan clothes: coats, and the first one a tunic with very long sleeves; they also wear turbans like Panjabi Moslems. Behind the most important personage we see two attendants, wearing hats similar to those worn by Yar-kandis; one supports a canopy and the other waves a fly-whisk. On the left an attendant carrying an object I am unable to identify, and a second attendant with a bow and a quiver of arrows. Other personages in the background and on the margin. In front of the chief personage we see a man dressed after the Persian fashion, with ample sleeves, belt and turban who, having put water into a jar he carries in his right hand, is pouring into it with his left something not clearly discernible: the water springs out of the jar on all sides.

I have no doubt that the personage seated on the throne is a king of Ladakh: the umbrella and the fly-whisk, used in the Indian manner, point him out as such. Who this king may be, it is not easy to tell, as there is no inscription: the tanka has been found in the monastery of Ba sgo, which was enlarged and enriched by Seṅ ge rnam rgyal. For this reason I think that precisely this king may be represented; in this case the three personages seated on his right would be his three sons bDe śldan rnam rgyal, Indra bhūti rnam rgyal, bDe mC’og rnam rgyal. This takes the tanka back to the XVIIth century, as this king lived between 1590 and 1645.

TANKA n. 20 (Plate 39).

It represents once again a subject very frequent in Tibetan painting, of which we have various noteworthy instances in the present collection: Amitabha’s heaven, the Sukhāvati (cfr. tanka n. 13).

This tanka, in whose wavy clouds Chinese influence can already be perceived, comes from the aBrug pa school, as we see from the caps of the lamas represented on each side of the Buddha, on a level with his head. But we find here a detail which is missing in other representations of the same subject in this collection: under Amitabha’s great image there is the figure of a god in the act of descending towards an imploring being. This is Amitabha’s well known descent: the god leaves the serene contemplation of his bliss to answer the call of believers who invoke his grace at the point of death. In his past lives, before becoming a Buddha, he had in fact taken this solemn vow:

“O Bhagavat, if those beings who have directed their thought towards the highest perfect knowledge in other worlds and who, after having heard my name, when I have obtained the Bodhi (knowledge), have meditated on me with serene thoughts: if at that moment of their death, after having approached them, surrounded by an assembly of Bhikshus, I should not stand before them, worshipped by them, that is, so that their thoughts should not be troubled, then, may
I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge, (SBE, vol. XIX, pp. 15, 45).

This theme of the descent from heaven into the presence of a devotee who invokes the god with earnest faith, is outlined in Indian canonical literature, as already hinted for instance by the Ta chib tu lam attributed to Nāgārjuna where Amitābha comes down from his heaven to assist his devotee in the hour of death and appears to him (Taishō, XXV, p. 127); but it has been best defined and vastly developed, both theoretically and artistically in China, since the times of one of the greatest masters of the Pure Earth schools, as Shan tao was. But in Tibet this representation is very rare.

In Tibet the main theme, discussed in liturgy and prayers, is not the god’s almost paternal and succouring descent, to meet the soul of the pious and lead them to his heaven, but rather, according to the principles of Hatha-yoga, it is the violent projection of the conscious principle, to which human personality is reduced according to Buddhist dogmatics, into Amitābha’s heaven.

Out of the god’s heart a hook of light is projected, which draws towards itself the devotee’s unconscious principle, represented by a luminous globe, the size of a grain, residing in his heart; this principle, thus attracted, disappears and is dissolved into the god’s heart, with which it is substantially unified; next, it is once again emanated from it, in order to give birth to the new divine incarnation in the centre of the lotus miraculously sprung up in front of the god.

(bDe ba can gyi zin du t'ogs med par ajug pai myur lam of the Pan c'en Blo bzañ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an).

Of course when the believer dies, it is thought, also in Tibet, that by virtue of his prajñābāna the god, as it is written in the Sukhāvatīvyūha, appears before him to lead him to salvation. But the episode of the god’s descent occupies a subordinate position in all Tibetan hagiographical literature, mostly derived from esoteric texts of late Mahāyāna. This literature is also broken up into different trends, the most important of which, or at least the one most extensively followed, is perhaps that of the Yellow sect, which boasts its descent from Jetāri (to whom in the bSton agyur are attributed four sādhana and hymns of Ts'e dpag med, Cordier, Cat., LXVIII, pp. 6-8), whence, through theLotsāva of Ba ri and the Sa skya pandita, it finds an outlet in Tson k’a pa’s treatise (bDe ba can gyi zin bka' kyi zin me'og tu gbyed pa) which codifies, by developing the theories of the Sukhāvatīvyūha, Tibetan ideas on the wonders of this heaven. It is therefore not improbable that the iconographic type of this episode, as represented in the tanka, may have been inspired by Chinese models.

TANKA n. 21 (Plates 40, 41).

Zan pa rdo rje is represented in the centre of the painting, his right hand on a level with his ear, in the attitude iconography assigns to the poet and mystic Mi la ras pa; this attitude is peculiar the bards of the bKa' brgyud pa school. On the palm of his left hand he carries a skull-cap, an indispensable implement of tantric liturgies. The apparel most becoming to Zan pa would be that of the ras pa, the rough cotton tunic proper to ascetics addicted to meditation and to the exercise called g tum mo, that is belonging to schools which cultivate a certain practice of Hatha-yoga: this practice aims at producing a voluntary increase of the body’s temperature, as a sign of having attained a revulsion from the plane of phenomenal existence to the fire of cosmic light. On the contrary Zan pa is represented not as a ras pa, but wearing a rich mantle with embroidered hems; the ascetic’s band, however, is not missing.

One also notes the difference in the apparel of his two disciples: one of them wears the ascetic mantle, the other a lama’s draperies and cap, perhaps to mark the different trends
they followed. In this case also, the throne has become a mere background, its place is taken up by two disciples, although the Garuda remains on the heights and the makara are still represented on the headings of the two capitals on the sides. All this unfolds like an alien decoration, almost like tapestry ornamented with arabesques, serving as a background to the lama's figure.

All around are pictures of gods and masters, all belonging, as may be seen from the shape of their hats, to the AbBu school. Among the gods we see in the centre, above, 'Od dpag med, having on his right spYan ras gzigs, near whom is painted Padmasambhava; on the right Grub pai rgyal mo; on the right-hand corner, bDag med ma's dancing figure.

The formulas of invocation which accompany these figures enable us to identify the lamas who surround the group, beginning from Padmasambhava, who is enthroned above, near spYan ras gzigs:

Images above, to the left:
  P'ag mo grub pa (for grub pa)
  U rgyan padma abyun gnas
  spYan ras gzigs
  'Od dpag med
  Grub pai rgyal mo
  Ti p'u pa
  sKyob pa aij rten gsum mgon po

To the right:
  Yar dgon 'c'os rje
  Zur rgs pa
  Sa'ns rgyas bsod dba'n
  mk'a' grub Sa'ns rgyas dpal bza'n
  p'ruI sku Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an

To the left:
  spYan md'a' Grags pai abyun gnas
  spYan md'a' Rigs ldan
  skyes me'og rGyal mts'an dpal bza'n
  lo c'en Nam mk'a' grags pa
  p'a' rgod bSod nams bza'n po
  mk'a' btsun Nam mk'a' bsam agrub

Many of them are well known as the celebrated masters of the initiatic school of the bK'i'brgyud pa: Ti p'u pa, for instance, is the lama into whom was transferred the conscious principle of Dar ma mdo sde, the son of Marpa, when he fell off his horse and died. He then became the master of Ras c'un rdo rje. The story goes that on this occasion Mar pa, being unable to find another body into which to transfer the soul of his son, used the body of a dove who had just died; the dove, in which Dar ma mdo sde's conscious principle had found an abode, obeying the ascetic's command flew to India, crossing the Himalaya, exactly on time to enter the body of a young Brahman, newly deceased, and settled therein, recalling him to life. This was Ti p'u.

P'ag mo grub and Grags pa abyun gnas I have mentioned more than once in the course of this book.59

The figures of the deities and masters at the top of the paintings are enclosed between small pillars, of the same type as those which frame the statues in Gyantse or Tsaparang; the horses, standing on their hind legs, on the sides of the figures, and the makara which lean alternatively on them, are the only things left of the throne, once more reduced to a mere ornamental motif. On the three pillars, figures of deities with their right hands upraised, holding a suspended band.

Below, to the left, the donors, in front of whom the pageant of the terrific deities unfolds; they seem to have come down from their heavenly abodes, riding fantastic animals, to accept their devotees' gifts; among others C'os bdag ts'e ri'na, "Ts'e ri'n, with her sisters five in all, lords of the Law..."

The inscription reads as follows:

rnal abyor gyi dba'n p'yg / gza'n pa rdo rje
yab sras / gsum la ts'e k'rid rgyud pai bskor ba la
bdag nam mk'a' dpal mgon gk'or bas pa p'yg at'sal
zin skysbs su me'i 'o skye ba nas ts'e rabs /t'amns
cad du rjes su bzu'n du gso.l.

"I Nam mk'a' dpal mgon with my relatives do homage and take refuge in the lord
of ascetics, gZaṅ pa rdo rje together with his two disciples, surrounded by the masters who have handed down the initiatic secrets concerning life (Tse dpag med). I pray that, from this birth, they may be favourable to each incarnation.

TANKA n. 22 (Plates 42, 43).

In the centre Śākyamuni in monastic dress, surrounded by his two disciples, Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra. The Buddha’s right hand is in bhūmiśparśamudrā, with his left he holds the bowl (piṇḍapātra) in which the monks place the food given them as alms. The Buddha is seated on a “lunar” seat, resting on a lotus flower, which in its turn reclines on a large throne: the latter belongs to the simplest type; the lions usually seen either in the centre or on the corners of this traditional seat of the Buddha and of all divinities, are missing.

On the cloth between the throne and the lotus, an adoring figure in the centre: it represents the earth, rising to bear witness to the Buddha’s attainment of enlightenment, after the temptation by Māra.57)

On high, and above the figures of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, sixteen figures are placed, each in its own halo; they are the sixteen Arhats, represented according to pictorial paradigmata linking this series rather with Indian than with Chinese models.

The Chinese influence predominating over this cycle has not reached these paintings of Western Tibet at India’s door (the painting comes from Kanawar) or it has reached them late and in an attenuated manner. On each side of the throne the two supplementary Arhats: on the left the so-called Hvaštān, in the likeness of an ascetic, with a rosary in his right hand; on the other side Dharma-tala, wearing royal draperies: he is standing, a diadem on his head, in the act of striking with a fly-whisk at tiger placed in front of him.

Below, in the centre, a table on which are seen the offerings presented on the occasion of the consecration of the tanka, by those who had it painted to fulfill a vow. The donor is on the left of the table, accompanied by his wife and family. He is wearing a large turban, as was the fashion in those parts of Western Tibet, which had always remained in commercial relations with India; trading with Kashmir, Almora and even Lahore, where the kings of Guge had a commercial agent, the Tibetans adopted some of the customs of those provinces. Another one of the donors is a monk. They all carry a Chinese cup, in their left or right hand; the other hand rests on their crossed legs. They are represented in the act of presenting their offerings to the deity.

Facing the table, full bags, perhaps containing zampa, offered to the monastery; on the other side a pot-bellied Jambhala is seated, holding gems in his right hand and in his left the mongoose from whose mouth precious pearls issue.

The prevailing colours are red and gold; the material is a thick and coarse canvas. The tanka comes from Namgyal, on the extreme frontier of the State of Bashahr with Tibet proper.

The Tanka is evidently later then the others of the Guge school, and shows how, little by little, the Guge style lost its characteristics and, under the influence of other manners, gradually adapted itself to them, almost melting into that composite style which slowly spread all over Tibet.

TANKA n. 23 (Plate 44).

This tanka represents Avalokiteśvara, four-armed, in his well known form as Sañkarṣāvalokiteśvara, patron of Tibet; he is the merciful god who went down into hell to save the beings hurled therein for their sins. Moved by boundless pity, the god redeemed them and led them to salvation, as the
Karandavyūha relates. He is seated on a lotus, emerged from the waters of the samsaric plane, and is surrounded by six Buddhas, standing, each with a special symbol. It is easy to recognize them as the Buddhas who preside over the six forms of existence (sādgaṭṭi).

The reader is referred to tanka n. 115.

This tanka is a late modulation of the Guge style. It comes from Namgyal, in the State of Bashahr.

TANKA n. 24 (Plate 45).

It belongs to the same school and is also a late and provincial echo of the Guge manner: it also comes from Bashahr. It represents a dākinī, dancing to her own accompaniment with a dāmaru and the human tibia, ṭkan giṅi, used as a flute; she is the goddess presiding over the practices called gcod, i. e. the meditative technique leading the mystic to experience in the "void", of all that appears (see above p. 92). Round the dākinī unfolds the choir of secondary deities belonging to the same cycle and of masters particularly addicted to the gcod practices. Below, on the left, the donors; on the right the god of death, which gcod precisely defeats and annihilates. Above, assemblies of worshippers, in the act of listening to the preaching Buddha. In the first assembly on the left, below, the listeners are all monks, except one who may be a god; on the other scenes the personages in monastic dress are replaced by Bodhisat-tvas; in the last picture on the right, below, the Buddha's place is taken by the dākinī. This entitles us to suppose that in these scenes the painter wished to represent the Buddha's successive preachings, beginning from the Benares sermon, in which Hinayāna was revealed, up to the one on the Grdhraṅgū-ta, when Mahāyāna was proclaimed, and so forth, up to the successive revelations of the Vajrayāna, the "Adamantine Vehicle", culminating in the secrets of the gcod, expounded to the initiated by the dākinī.

The lotus flower on which the goddess rests is stylistically interesting; round its stalk develop tendrils enclosing in their curves pictures of birds, which recall similar motives of Sassanian textiles.

These tankas belong to a series which probably was more numerous, representing the blama of the Sa skya pa sects, namely the bla ma rgyud, or rather, as the picture comes from the Sa skya pa schools, the Lam dbras rgyud or lam zab rgyud “the esoteric school.” Every school possesses and hands down a teaching or a particular manner of interpreting and living the Buddhist doctrines, derived from arcane revelations; the continuity of masters and disciples has been compared to a row of lamps, each of which receives light from the one preceding it, and transmits it in its turn to the next. The light has come down from above, from a plane beyond the earth and it irradiates itself by virtue of some forces or of their emanations symbolized by certain deities; through the agency of these deities, thus visualized, man becomes aware of that intricate interplay of divine powers on which he may base his salvation. Every school has its chronicles, which relate the succession of its spiritual leaders and tell how, through their uninterrupted continuity, the first Master’s divine inspiration has been preserved, pure and spotless, upon earth. The Sa skya pa school’s most famous book is entitled “De bzin gregs t’ams cad kyi bgyod pa gcig pai lam c’en gsu’i nag rin po c’ei bla ma bgyud pai rnam t’ar,” and, as it is proper in such collections, it does not dwell much on facts and historical vicissitudes, but rather relates at great length the masters’ spiritual experiences and their progressive elevations and purifications, which made them worthy of receiving the eternal truths.

The Sa skya pa school maintains that its revelation descends from rDo rje ac’a’ni, first divine master of nearly all the schools, a symbol of the cosmic consciousness or of the first principle of all things. But immediately afterwards differentiations begin: according to the Sa skya pa, rDo rje ac’a’ni revealed the truth to bDag med ma; by this goddess it was revealed to the great Indian miracle-worker and ascetic Virūpā, whom they consider their earthly tutor; from him the school was propagated throughout the Country of Snows. On each tanka are represented four personages, whose identification is made certain by a brief inscription, which gives the name of each. To fill up empty space and in no perceptible relation to the principal personages, lesser figures of masters and deities are symbolically placed here and there.

In tanka n. 25 the principal figures are:
1. rDo rje ac’a’ni, Vajradhara, on the left, above, divine master.
2. bDag med ma, Nairātmyā, on the right, above, to whom the former revealed the wisdom which sets men free.
3. Virīpa, on the left, below, the Indian siddha, first earthly master.
4. Nag po pa, Kṛṣṇacārya, on the right, below.
In the centre of the tanka Pad ma ab’u gnas, Padmasambhava’s figure, with both his wives.

Above, in the centre, the Buddha: on the left the small figures represent; A la abad jar (Abalavajra?), Gar bar ri pa (Garbharipā).
On the right: Nag k’rod (Nags k’rod), dPa’ bo rdo rje.
Below: illegible, Lu hi pā, Klu grub, Āryadeva.

In tanka n. 26 the principal figures are:
1. rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mts’an, to the left, above.
2. Sa skya paṇḍita, to the right, above.
3. C'os rgyal aP'ags pa, to the left, below.
4. Zaṅ po dpal (for bZaṅ po dpal), to the right, below.

Small figures on the left:

rTsa skya pa.
Can li.

To the right:
Sa kya bēs gñen.
Gagana.

In the centre:
T'ā ga pa; sGra... d... żab(s).

Below:
Kotali, Tsa pa li, Vimati, Nī ma sbas pa, Nag gi dbaṅ p'jug.

In tanka n. 27 the principal figures are:

To the left:
1. rGyal ba grag(s) (rgyal mts'an) pa, to the left, above.
2. Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an, to the right, above.
3. dPal ldan ts'ul k'rims, to the left, below.
4. Buddhaśrī, to the left, below.

Small figures to the left:
Ki la pa.
Ku bu tsa.
Señ ge pa ba.

To the right:
Flying monk.
Ka la laṅ ka.
Glin bu mk'an.

Below:
Ma to pa, Ka lan ka, Bha ya ni, Ga na bha da, Ha ya si.¹⁹

What one notices in these tankas is their unusual shape: they are long and narrow, with cloth only above and below, through the evident influence of China, with which the Sa skya school had long contacts, both political and cultural. Chinese influence is perceptible also in the seats or thrones on which the masters are represented, in a sort of dignified simplicity which neglects to fill up empty spaces and only occasionally places the siddha's figures against a faintly outlined landscape; rising clouds interrupt with their white masses the dark background of the paintings: the mountains, however, still show traces of the Indian manner.

TANKA n. 28 (Plates 49, 50).

It gives us rather a new representation of Amitābha's heaven.

The influence of the great Chinese compositions, rich in palaces, temples, gardens, has here almost completely disappeared; in its place are introduced long pageants of praying monks and Bodhisattvas, who slowly advance, serene and composed. The painter has drawn his inspiration from the Sukhavatiyābha, in its most elementary scheme: on the upper left-hand corner a monk kneeling before a Buddha seated in a temple. The two inscriptions, one under the Buddha: sain sryas aij rten dbaṅ p'yug - Buddha Lokeśvara, and the other under the monk: dge sloṅ cōs kyi abyun gnas - Dharmākara, leave no doubt as to the meaning of the scene: it is the vow, taken by Dharmākara in front of the Buddha Lokeśvara, to become one day a Buddha in the Western heaven. The scene on the right, where a Buddha also appears in a gathering of monks is accompanied by the inscription t'u pa (Sa kya t'ub pa - Śākyamuni), kun dga' (Ananda) and ajam dbyais (Mañjuśrī); this takes us back to the revelation made by the Buddha to the meeting gathered in the Grdhra-kūta, when he told Dharmākara's story: how he had become the Buddha Amitābha, and described the glory of the Western heaven. In the pavilion to the left, under the scenes concerning Dharmākara, Byams pa (Maitreya), at the head of the Bodhisattvas who attended the revelation; to the right aJam dbyais, further down, on a level with the throne on the left, Sai śiṅ po (Kṣitigarbha), and on the right Nam mk'a' śiṅ po (Akaśagarbha); still lower down, almost on the lower corners, Kun tu bzaṅ po and sGribs rnam bsel. In the
centre of the tanka, below, we see a monk praying in front of the tree which, issuing from the cosmic waters, ascends towards the empyrean, passing through higher and higher spiritual planes, symbolized by an Indian master, then by Amitāyuh, next by Amitābha, assisted, on each side, by two acolytes; above, five on each side, adoring goddesses pay homage to the god, who is absorbed in deep meditation. The kneeling monk with his back to the spectator represents suffering humanity, who can find a possibility of redemption only in devotion to the god of infinite light. In the present case his salvation has already taken place; the monk is seated on the lotus flower which represents his spiritual rebirth, his revulsion from the plane of earthly existence. The waters representing the flow of thought and its bivalence have already yielded their fruit: the reborn turns towards the first revelation of gnosis embodied in the master who has pointed out the way and who, by his teaching, has lifted him from the samsaric to the celestial plane.

The tanka comes from the Nor monastery, but as we see from the dress of the monks represented, who partake in the revelation, being admitted into the choir of the Sukhvati, it is derived from a rNin ma pa school.

The khātyāṅga and the skull-cap show that the saint to whom the monk turns in prayer, is Padmasambhava in an ācārya's dress.

The pictorial representation of this heaven is not the traditional one.

In these scenes we see almost a reflection of convent life: disciples gathered round the master, processions of psalmody men; the painter has drawn his inspiration from the unpretentious life of convents, his idea of heaven is human and earthly, without any kingly pomp or glory, more composed and contemplating. Here we find greater serenity; in rich compositions whose inspiration is Chinese, our eyes are attracted first by one detail then by another, they pass from one pavilion to the next, they admire gardens and ponds, or the Bodhisattvas' robes, and they become distracted. On the contrary, this tanka breathes an atmosphere of tranquil piety and of devout simplicity, emphasized by its light colours, mellowed by time.

The name of the donor who had this tanka painted is known; it is written in dbu med on the outer edge of the picture: he was called Blo gsal rgyal mts'an.

The tanka shows another detail worthy of note: it is crossed by transversal lines which cut across each other, dividing its surface into equal lozenges; I know of no other instance.

TANKA n. 29 (Plate 51).

It takes us back to one of the principal esoteric schools of the "Diamond Vehicle." Surrounded by a flaming halo which gleams red all around him, Kalacakra performs his mystical dance, clasping his sakti, and tramples on Śiva's and Gaṇapatī's corpses, which their respective mates vainly try to save from being cruelly crushed. The goddess is orange-coloured, the god blue and white, he has three faces and 24 arms, each grasps an instrument which is also a symbol. The Kālacakra is one of the last creation of the Tantric masters, always ready to express through new symbols the inexhaustible wealth of their inner visions; it represents a new aspect of the first principle: the Ādi-Buddha or primeval Buddha, the origin of the mystic pentad. It is therefore an equivalent of the Guhyasamāja and his experiences run parallel to those of that famous Tantra. This tantric system, having entered Tibet very early, branched off into many schools, and received its first great organization at Buston's hands; later came the Yellow school with Tson k'a pa and his disciples: they centered their hopes of salvation from the samsaric plane round this symbol, which became still more popular. The rNin ma pa and the bKa' brgyud pa, though they did not ignore this cycle,
studied it with less interest and depth, giving prevalence to bDe me’og and to Heruka; the Sa skya pas, preferred the experiences of the Hevajra-tantra to it, while the dGe lugs pa saw in the Dus kyi .ak’or lo, Kalacakra, almost the highest point of Tantric esoterism, and made it the object of a vast literature, both mystical and liturgical. This tanka was painted by a Sa skya pa, as shown by Kun dga’ sfin po’s image; he is seen, in a white dress, on the right of the tanka, while on the left we see the Sa skya pa’s master, Virupa, of a dark colour, naked after the siddhas’ fashion.

Above, on each side of a triad looming large in the centre, unfolds the choice of the ts’ogs ziin, the masters to whom the revelations of the Kalacakra were handed down. Then, respectively under Kun dga’ sfin po and Virupa, gSa’i ba adus pa and Mi’ k’rugs pa with his faktsi; below, mGrol ma and Ts’e dpag med; still lower down, two mGon po and finally, on the lowest plane, the donor, a monk, in front of the altar, flanked by Jam-bhala riding on a lion, and by two more terrific deities, the last but one of them is the Zani blon rdo rje bdud ram ‘adu.60)

TANKA n. 30 (Plate 52).

This painting, rather damaged by age, is interesting because of its pleasing colours, in which red and gold predominate. The figure represents Busto. So I was assured by the lamas from whom I received it, in Za lu, where his incarnations succeed each other; but when there are no inscriptions, such identifications always remain doubtful. Busto, often mentioned in this book, is seated on a throne, draped in the sacred robes; in front of him stands a table, also of Chinese style, on which rest the liturgical objects: bell, vajra, skull-cap, plate with ritual offerings (gor ma), phial for consecrated water (ril ba spyi blug, kun’dika) and other things. All around are reproduced images of Busto himself, with his hands in various symbolical attitudes (mudra). Below, the donors, doing homage to a lama seated inside a palace: perhaps one of Busto’s incarnations; around, lamas kneeling and praying.

TANKA n. 31 (Plate 53).

It represents mT’in gi ‘jal bza’i ma a goddess belonging to the retinue of dPal ldan lha mo (see tankas nn. 170-173 and p. 592).

TANKA n. 32 (Plates 54-58).

It was bought in Sa skya and represents, as was to be expected, the life of an abbot of this sect. His name according to the invocation written under the central figure is: Kun dga’ bkra’sis. There is no record of him either in the Sa skya genealogies published in that convent or in the large collections of the Sa skya monks’ biographies, edited in Derge.61) But is name is quoted in the biography of the fifth Dalai Lama (’c’a, p. 42): Sa skyar dgu’u bygyud rin po c’u nag dba’ Kun dga’ bkra’sis who was confirmed on his see in the year 1668.

Under the abbot’s image we see two kneeling figures, representing the devotees who had the tanka painted; under their figure is written: bdag ’ses rab rjes su bzu’i tu gsol “I, ’Ses rab, pray to obtain the (Bla ma’s) favour.” Above, on the left, near aDod ak’ams dba’i p’yug ma’s figure: skyin pai dba’i po ts’ei bsam rjes su bzu’i tu gsol “the donor Ts’e (riin) bsam (grub) prays for (the Bla ma’s) favour.” The abbot wears the typical Sa skya cap; to represent his spiritual descent, above, on the same axis, is painted Sai’ns rgyas rdo rje ac’a’n “The Buddha rdo rje ac’a’n (Vajradhara),” and underneath the image of another Sa skya lama, who might be Kun dga’ bkra’sis’ father, because in this schools office was handed down from father to son. Below we see Gur mgon, the protecting deity of the Sa skya pa schools, between aDod k’ams dba’i p’yug ma, to the
left, and dMag zor ma, a particular form of dPal ldan lha mo.

Above, on the left, gSer c’o ajam nag, on the right rje btsun sGrol ma. Around, within well-defined squares, are represented some episodes of this abbot’s life, which would acquire a greater relief if Kun dga’ bkra šis’ biography had reached us. As it is, though each scene is accompanied by an inscription, it is very difficult to interpret it in a complete and satisfactory manner, and also to find out from which point one should begin to read the story. If we start from the left, the first scene we meet with represents a temple; squads of workmen are repairing the upper part; below monks in ceremonial robes seem to be consecrating it. The temple (Lha k’an c’en mo) inscription leaves no doubts: the horses, led k’an c’en mo, their

“On the throne of the Law Kun dga’ bkra šis preaches the doctrine to many doctors... “The Throne of the Law”, is the name of a temple near the banks of the river Grum c’u, before which a large courtyard opens: here, at the appointed times, the monks hold gatherings, to confer the title of doctor of theology and to hold examinations in logic. Next, on the right, we see a monk, in the apparel of Eastern Tibet; he is one of the donors, who had somehow contributed to the great work of reconstructing the decayed and ruinous temples, undertaken by Kun dga’ bkra šis. This donor’s name is Ts’e riin bsam grub, near him we see the gñer (pa), the manager or treasurer bSTan p’un. Below Ses rab p’un ts’ogs, perhaps a son of the former. On the left, Kun dga’ bkra šis in the act of pouring out gems in front of Kubera. “Kun bkra kyi žabs lha bža’ns mdsad ts’ul. - Kun dga’ bkra šis has images of gods made... The following scenes, representing various moments of the same episode, probably commemorate the construction of some temple by Kun dga’ bkra šis’ order: “mdsod pa nas bzo par bka’ k’yab gnañ ts’ul - The treasurer gives the order to build... And then: mdsod spel skya bas gziqs rto (= gziqs rten) p’ul ts’ul “The treasurer spel skya offers gifts... Next: Kun bloi mdsod pa spel skya gser sku bzoñs (for bža’ns) dgos ts’ul bk’a’ sgyur ba. “spel skya, treasurer of Kun (dga’), blo (gros), proclaims that a golden statue be made...”

TANKA n. 33 (Plates 59-63).

It contains a biography of Padmasambhava (Pad ma ahyuñ gnas) who has often been mentioned in this book.

Although legends concerning him have flourished in great abundance, there is no doubt whatever that he was one of the active propagators of Buddhism in K’ri sron lde btsan’s times. The great master Šanti-rakṣita then reached Tibet, and on his advice Padmasambhava was invited; he is probably identical with Padmavajra or Padmākara.
Since we have already discussed his personality and the reliability of the Tibetan tradition concerning him (see above p. 87) we cannot help referring to the things said above. A few facts must anyhow be recollected here which seem to have some historical consistency and can be taken as an introduction to the explanation of the tanka. Padmasambhava was born in Uddiyāna, that is in the Swat Valley, and after a long sojourn in India, chiefly in Vikramāśīla, which was the greatest Buddhist university, he went to Tibet. The Buddhism he preached was Tantric, certainly not in its noblest or highest form. Padmasambhava perceived that the Tibetan people, not yet refined, rude in its customs, lacked the intellectual maturity required to understand the subtle esoteric doctrines of the initiatic schools; on the contrary it appeared inclined to magic, indeed predisposed to it by the Bon, the native religion, mainly founded on exorcisms. Padmasambhava’s principal task was to show that the miracle-working power of Buddhist formulas was much superior to the power of Bon. By thus ably adapting Buddhism to the Tibetan people’s psychology, Padmasambhava contributed to its spread in the Country of Snows.

His historical personality, however, was soon extinguished by his myth, and he was magnified to such an extent that he finally came to occupy the place of the supreme mahāyānic deities, and was considered a second Buddha, the embodiment of supreme truth, who had revealed himself for the redemption of all creatures.

In his successive aspects he is a symbol of the emanation of the Buddha’s three planes, namely the physical plane, the verbal plane and the spiritual plane (Leu bdun ma, p. 38 b). In Padmasambhava, thus identified with supreme reality, the schools distinguish four shapes: the external or exoteric appearance (p’yi) as it is seen by persons not yet purified to the point of discovering his essential nature: the vicissitudes of this manifestation of Padmasambhava are to be found in his biographies, which tell how he came to Tibet, how he conquered the spirits and forces adverse to Buddhism; in this illusive shape he spent not more than twelve years in Tibet, then he went back to India. Under the esoteric aspect (nañ) he is supreme truth, incarnated in various countries: India, China, Khotan etc. It became embodied in various masters for the space of 3600 years; with the object of spreading the faith in Tibet he appeared miraculously out of a lotus flower in Uddiyāna and achieved the conversion of Tibet, vanquishing its demons and living there 117 years; at the end of this period he hid his revelations (gter ma) which subsequently were brought to light by his later followers, whom he had inspired.

In his secret aspect (gsan) Padmasambhava, essentially identical with Ts’ė dpag med in his nature, projected an emanation of himself from the Sukhāvati in Uddiyāna, and preached the esoteric law to the dakini and to the Bodhisatvas in the 24 consecrated places, which represent projections on earth of the heavenly spheres; having then assumed the form of terrific deities, he conquered the evil spirits which infested Tibet, vouchsafing his blessing to all those who were worthy of it, in all times.

In his most secret aspect (yan gsan) Padmasambhava is the supreme essence, as it appears to the Buddhas.

The Yellow sect, on assuming power, tried to oppose the prestige of Padmasambhava, to whom the crowds turned with confidence, invoking his help and protection. The Yellow sect tried to sift tradition and to show its incongruities: Sum pa mk’an po refused to consider Padmasambhava as a second Buddha and wanted to restore his figure to moderate proportions, but he was immediately contradicted and browbeaten by the “red,” bKa’ rgyud pas, or rNīṅ ma pas, whichever they were. The dGe lugs pas were unable to demolish Padmasambhava’s century-old prestige.
Padmasambhava’s great popularity with all the schools and centres of Tibet explains why his images are so frequently to be found in temples and in private chapels. His legend, told in books which are very widely circulated, consists of the narrative of his miracles and it is full of thrilling tales about the battles between demons and miracle-working saints, which move the Tibetans to rapture and emotion; to this day these stories are very often sung in religious or social gatherings. Story-tellers, as we have seen in other cases, make use of paintings illustrating the saint’s life: they recall to their wondering hearers its main incidents, summarizing his most celebrated biography, the Pad ma t’an yig. But there is an intermediate passage between this bulky and unwieldy book and the pictorial representations or the verbal illustrations of storytellers: those gsol adebs or invocations and jaculatories which I have very often mentioned, each of whose stanzas praises the divinity for one of his miracles or virtues; we have already met with a good instance of them when illustrating the tanka representing S~kyalri’s life. It will therefore be well to translate the best known and most widespread of these invocations,64) of Padmasambhava, which is indeed a summary of his biography; we shall place at the end of each stanza the number of the corresponding chapter in the PT-Y.65)

1. Honour to the Body of eternal truth (C’os sku) ‘Od dpag med. He dwells in the dDe ba can’s heaven, he, the lord who is unalterable light, boundless splendour of light and gnosis, who, on merely hearing his name, guides on the path of enlightenment.

2. Honour to sPyan ras gzigs, the symbolic Body (Loris sku); he possesses the five certainties (’nas lha); he rules over the five mystical families sprung from rNam snan; in this universe (on which the Buddha Sākyamuni preached) he appears as the supreme lord of the ten stages, and he is gifted with that compassion which draws created beings from the deepest cycle of births and deaths.

3. Honour to Pad ma əbyuñ gnas, magic body (sPrul sku). He is the Buddha born out of a lotus, he possesses bountiful glory: he is the adamantine body, free from any kind of affliction, birthless and deathless, and he accomplishes the task of all the victorious of the three times.

4. I bow before the adamantine body, who is not born, neither will he die; he brings to their fulfillment the thoughts of all creatures ripe for conversion; by different means he places created beings (in the spheres) of bliss; he is truth, self-begotten, and includes within himself the five bodies of the Buddha.

5. Honour to the five mystical families crowned with skulls, magical apparition of the lord ‘Od dpag med, who (dwelling) in the marvellous and supreme heaven of the bDe ba can, infused a spirit of good and of bliss into the universal monarch bZaň po me’og (chapp. I-III).

6. Honour to him who manifested himself as the master of the canonical sūtra and of the esoterical formulas (mantra), namely as Dri med smra and Pad ma skyes bzañ, in the universes called Dri med rtsa, then in magical manifestations having eight names, and as the six masters who convert created beings and accomplish the good of the six classes of beings (chap. III).66)

7. Honour to him who, by incarnating himself in the five mystical families of rd0 rje ac’an c’en po, with the purposes of spreading the lofty and secret teaching of esoterical formulas (chap. IV), caused the supreme vehicle to prosper, after having conquered Rudra by a double system: the one which ties and the one which redeems (chap. VI).

8. Honour to him who, through emanations assumed wherever there are creatures to be converted, causes the rain of the Law to fall, which confers immortality and includes the two teaching (chap. VIII); he to whom, when he was born as the son of King Yul sruñ, the ascetic Nus ldan rdo rje foretold that he would be baptized by a thousand Buddhas.
9. Honour to him who for a long time converted, by teaching the canonical books and the esoterical formulas, the kingdom of sPrin ldan (chap. X) and who put into practice those esoterical formulas; when he was gTsug p’ud ris bzaṅ’s and Kun tu ǝc’an’s son, the rivers of the four initiations rained down upon him (chap. IX).

10. Honour to the crowd of the mK’a’agro ma, thick as clouds, in the temple of Heruka which miraculously sprung up in the land of 0rgyan, source of the esoterical formulas (chap. XII), to the West of that holy country which is the cradle of the just Law (chap. XI).69)

11. Honour to him who was born upon a mound of lotuses in lake DhanakoSa of immaculate splendour, after having reflected as an emanation of mT’a’yas (Amitabha) on the three (preliminary) looks upon the places he might be born in (chap. XIV), while king sPyan med, furnished with all (sorts of) riches, distributed his treasures (chap. XIII).

12. King Indrabhūti, who practised the perfection of liberality (chap. XV) having gathered precious gems from the sea, with the desire of benefiting others (chap. XVI), took him (with him), having found him on the road (chap. XVII) and consecrated him upon the throne; honour to him who was called Pad ma rgyal po (chap. XVIII).

13. Honour to him who was worshipped by the dākini after having caused a great rain of all desirable things to fall as if from a cloud, satisfying all desires; to whom the mK’a’agro ma (of the family) of the Tathāgata addressed a hymn, greeting with worship his magic and symbolic body (chap. XIX).69)

14. In order to conform to the world’s customs, he married ‘Od ǝc’an ma. Honour to him who within the circle of mountains encircling the world, surpassed the glory of the four kings of the four points of the compass.

15. As the master rDo rje sms dpa’ had foretold, with the object of being enabled to abandon his kingdom he underwent various penances (brol ’dugs). Honour to him who, having thus renounced the world, retired into solitude (chap. XII).

16. Honour to him who taught the mK’a’agro ma the Law while he dwelt (near) the stūpa bDe byed brtsegs, in the cemetery of bSil bai ts’al, and who, in the cave bKa’ skyon, in the land of lNa len (Pañcāla), after having meditated upon the deities of the rDo rje dbyiṅs, saw them in a vision (chap. XXII).

17. Having reached Gau śod and openly practised the twofold system, the one which ties and the one which sets free, he was called Šor ba gzhon nu (chap. XXII). Honour to him who in the country of gSal ldan heard the science of astrology from the soothsayer Srid sgrub (chap. XXIII).

18. Honour to him who in Pad ma can, after having reached the remotest shore of the sea of medicine, as a disciple of ėTs’o byed gzhon nu (chap. XXIV) learnt grammar and writing in Rāgala from Kun gyi bšes gñen (chap. XXV).

19. Honour to him who discovered all that can be known, and reached the extreme limit of knowledge, feigning to learn (as others do), and who later learnt the potter’s art and other crafts from Viśvakarman and other masters.

20. Honour to him who received the name of Su mi tra and Šā kya sen when he was initiated to the (sacred) teaching by Kun dga’ bo; from the lofty master Pra bhā ha sti he heard the Yoga-Tantra, and fully realized (their mystical sense) (chap. XXVI).

21. Honour to him who (received the name of) Bodhisattva Su mi tra and reached the extreme shore of that ocean, the rules of life of the Victor’s sons, having thoroughly studied the three classes of Tantra of the esoteric formulas, the beautiful words (legs guñ) spoken by the master (i. e. the sûtra), logic and the teachings laid down by the Buddha in his three revelations (chap. XXVII).70)

22. Honour to him who was celebrated under the name of Ni ma ‘od zer: when he,
by practising yoga, extended his task of converting all creatures, in Mañū t'ōs mc'og (Śrāvasti) he questioned (Ānanda) concerning the sūtras of the two teachings (chap. XXVII) and in the country of Potali he dwelt in the cemetery sKu la rdsogs (chap. XXIX).

23. Honour to him who attained knowledge of the body of eternal ideas, after having obtained the name of lofty rDo rje ac'aṅ, because he had heard the spiritual doctrines (sems sde) of great perfection from the master Kun bzaṅ in the heaven 'Og min c'en po (chap. XXX).  

24. Honour to him who was celebrated as Blo Idban mc'og sred; with the practice (of those rules typical of the) Bodhisattva he caused the good of others to prosper, and having come to the land of K'a c'e, he turned the wheel of the Law in the Dākinī's assembly, being in the cemetery bDe c'en brdal (chap. XXX).

25. Honour to him who was celebrated as Señ ge sgrigs sgrags, when, having come to Nepal and being in the cemetery Lhun grub brtsegs, he obtained great mastery over the symbolic body, hearing all the Tantras of the Mahāyoga class from rDo rje sems dpā' (chap. XXXI).

26. Honour to him who was celebrated as Padmasambhāva, when, having reached Za hor, he dwelt in the cemetery Laṅ ka brtsegs; he asked for himself an (initiatic) name and heard the spyi ti Tantra from Kun tu ac'aṅ in the bKod pa lhun grub (chap. XXXII).

27. Honour to the lord of the holy teaching: he heard the essential books and the Tantra and the secret instructions whose perfection is great, when aJam dpal bzes gñien came to learn the Law from that miraculous incarnation who was dGa' rab rdo rje (chap. XXXII).

28. Honour to him who was celebrated as rDo rje gro lod; having come to the cemetery of Lo ka brtsegs in the country of Li, he heard from the Rigs Idban c'en po the canonical books and the sGyu ap'tul; then he came to O rgyan (chap. XXXIII) in the (cemetery) Pad ma brtsegs.

29. Honour to him who became perfect (because he had received) the rivers of the four investitures from rDo rje c'os rab in sTug po bkod; in the country of the mK'a' spyod, by virtue of the great "initiation of the act,, he put forth the power of the magic body (derived from) the deep baptism (chap. XXXIV).

30. Honour to him who was celebrated as T'od p'reñ rtsal; having come to the Sāla country, he dwelt in the cemetery gSaṅ c'en rol pa, and particularly he was invested by Śrīsimha with skill in science, in the cave dBen skyon, in gSer glin.

31. Honour to him who increased good and joy in the world; manifesting himself as an incarnation of Ts'ānis pa; as the saint sPyan ras gzigs had predicted, he heard from aJam dpal gzön nu c'e, on the five-peaked mountain, all the astrological Tantras (chap. XXXV).

32. Honour to rDo rje drag po rtsal, who having come to the city of bSan, converted the people by means appropriate to their kind, and in the P'un lun nag po valley conferred various tasks on the Dregs and made many weapons for the bsTan srun (chap. XXXVI).

33. Honour to the wonderful dPag yas snāṇ. He vanquished in Dha na ko ša the mK'a' a'gro ma (chap. XXXVII) and then, having come to the country of Za hor, obtained from Mandarā, mother of the absolute (dbyinbs), the supreme substance (human flesh) of one who will attain salvation within seven births (skyes bdun), produced by his power (chap. XXXVIII).  

34. Desiring to consecrate the divine maid-en (Lha leam) (Lha leam rab a świecie bdun par mK'a' nas gźegs, where bdun is a mistake, for adun) he came by air (chap. XXXIX). As he had obtained her favour, the king's ministers conceived evil thoughts (chap. XL). Honour to him who caused a great faith to be born in all the people, when, by one of his
marvellous miracles, the flaming fire (into which those ministers had thrown him) was transformed into a lake (chap. XLI).

35. (The king) offered him (then) his kingdom, the maiden the flesh of a body of a person who will attain salvation within seven births, and he, by one of his (miraculous) means routed a great army which was on that country's frontiers (the country of Za hor); honour to him who, foretelling the ocean of the Law, synthesis of the sacred teachings, set free the subjects of that king and led them to (spiritual) maturity (chaps. XLII, XLIII).

36. Honour to the great possessor of mystical wisdom, Rig adsin Ts'e dban; he obtained the supreme adamantine body of his mother's and father's non-duality, through the blessing and favour of aC'i med mgon po in Maratlka, in the "cave of good omen" (chap. XLIV).

37. While dwelling in gYa' ri gon he realized the series of Man dhe bzān mos incarnations and (having caused her to) give up her body (to the wild beasts), he induced her (to follow the path of the) Law. Honour to him, who was the monk dBan poi sde, who having converted Mya nan med, caused him to become the great king who ruled according to the Law (C'os rgyal) (chap. XLV).

38. Having come to the country of Be ta, he dwelt in the cemetery of gTsug dgu and, through Klu grub's favour, extracted the book of the gnosis (from the sea). Honour to him who having come to Sim ha la, was miraculously born as aP'ags lha and (according to) the prediction, led the people to (spiritual) maturity and freedom (chap. XLVI).

39. Having come to Bhangala, he converted the haughty king, took his place and protected his kingdom. Honour to him who spread the teachings, divulging the books of the Abhidharma through T'ogs med's brother (Vasubandhu) (chap. XLVII).

40. Having assumed the name of Do mbhi, in the market of aBras ldan, he obtained the mystical revelations (with the body) of one who will attain salvation within seven births; then, spiritually bringing to maturity and leading to liberation Vināśa, the liquor-seller, he stopped the course of the sun and cured the king (chap. XLVIII).

41. Having gone again to the country of rNga, he was thrown by wicked ministers into a flaming fire, but the fire was turned into water and the king trusted him exceedingly. Honour to him who emitted from himself supreme spiritual powers, who realized and explained the synthesis of the sacred teachings to those who might have doubts.

42. Having gone to the country of rNa t'ub and becoming famous as Sau k'ya deva, he realized mystical powers together with the (jakti) Kalastiddhi and by Hūm ka ra's favour established (bkos) her in the land of mystical perfections (chap. IV). Honour to him who spread the great light of the Law.

43. Having come to the country of K'a c'c, he blessed Dharmabodhi, divine maiden of king Dharma's family. Vimalamitra, marvellous incarnation, was then born. Honour to him who induced the whole kingdom to persevere in the Law (chap. L).

44. Having arrived in the country of Zaṅ glni, he vanquished fifty heretics, by the power of that thunderbolt, the magic formulas of the mK'a' agro ma, which overcome demons. Honour to him who spread the teachings of the Ascetic, after having conquered the son of the king of gSer ldīn together with his wife, by virtue of his magic strength (chap. LI).

45. Still honour to him who spread the supreme teachings in Ka ma ru pa, in the countries of Li, Ma ru, La ša, Bru ša, Šam bha la, Zaṅ ūn, Ta žig, T'o gar, Ruk ma (chap. LII).

46. Honour to him who caused the teachings to prosper greatly when, rDo rje gdan having been occupied by a king of the heretics named Klui k'ya bjug, he miraculously manifested himself as bDe mc'og dus sniṅ, and restored again to its former condition all that had been destroyed by fire (chap. LII).
47. In those times, according to the persons to be converted, he assumed different adamantine (initiatic) names, and manifested various emanations (bkod) of his body. Honour to him who appeared as Pad ma agro mgon rtsal, dBaṅ p’yug mgon po and Grub pă blo gros.

48. Honour to Pad ma mc’og rtsal, to mK’a agroi ma Gon po bir va pa, Nag po spyod, K’yeu c’u’i, mK’a’ ldii mgon, Sa ra ba, Pad ma mña’ bdag rtsal.

49. Honour to Pad ma kun tu rgyu, C’ags mc’og rtsal, Pad ma agro bai skyabs, P’rin las mgon, Pad ma don yod žags pa, gZi brjid ap’ro, Pad ma dom bhi pă (chap. LIII).

50. Honour to him who caused the deep and secret Law to rain according to twenty miraculous (!pJrul) aspects (literally: names), which are the cause of all human desires having been fulfilled (that is, besides the names already mentioned): Tigs ldan c’en po, Pad ma dkar po, Pad ma ba jra, T’od ap’ren (chap. LIII).

51. Having come to Yan le sod, he exercised a kya de vi and the Vidyiidhara Lhan gcig p’yag c’en mc’og, dispersed all obstacles and penetrated the lofty secrets of the gter (ma) of the 18 kinds (chap. LIII).

52. Honour to him who was greeted as the lord of the holy teaching: in Ts’a bai god he vanquished the four Sa bdag brothers and from the Lord of secrets (gsan bai bdag po) he obtained the secret treasure (gter) of the deep teaching, and in rDo rje gdan was greeted by Ni ma sen ge (chap. LIV).

53. And especially because the time had matured in which (was to be accomplished) the vow made in preceding lives, K’ri sron ldue btsan (the incarnation of) aJam dpal, was born in Tibet. Homage to him, who having tested chosen persons of ripe age and lofty descent, agreed to make a (new) preaching of the Law (chap. LIV).

54. Honour to him (i.e. to the king) who granted his Tibetan subjects works, means and instruction, and wishing them to build a temple for themselves, ordered Bi rje to examine the ground (on which the temple was to stand) (chap. LV, LVI) and then with great joy met the great scholar Ži ba ts’o, whom he had caused to come from Za ho (chap. LVII).

55. Then this great scholar (Ži ba ts’o) according to a preceding prophecy, repeatedly sent messengers to call the acarya (Padmasambhava) (chap. LVIII). Honour to him who, accepting out of compassion, having come into the country, placated the disturbances of the gods and demons (Lha srin) of Tibet (chapp. LIX, LX).

56. Honour to him who, having come to sTod luṅ caused the divine river (Lha c’u) of gZon to flow forth, and having met the king who ruled according to the Law, with his retinue, on the river’s bank in Zur mk’ar (chap. LXI), because (the king did not greet him first), uttering an adamantine song, by the power of his miracle, caused everyone to feel (a deep) faith (in his sanctity).

57. The king knelt with faith, and having repented, built a stūpa; as soon as he got to the heart of bSam yas, he placed the lotus of his feet on a golden throne, and having greatly reverenced him, asked him to bless the ground (upon which the monastery was about to be built). Honour to him who, satisfied (with this), agreed (to the king’s request) (chap. LXII).

58. Having established consecrated places (me btsa) in important localities, he stored (underground) the treasures (gter tra) of the serpents and, on the top of Has po ri, assigned their tasks to the dregs. Honour to him who laid the foundations of the wall encircling (the monastery) (on that part of the) land where his shadow fell, and, having ascended to heaven, performed the adamantine dance (chap. LXII).

59. Honour to him who completed (the monastery of bSam yas) resembling a mirage, which had been built by men and non-human beings, working day and night; it was arranged (like a projection of the universe) with (mount) Meru, the four great continents, the
lesser continents, the sun and the moon, well
surrounded by the outer wall and by the
three temples designed for the nuns (Jo mo)
(chap. LXII).

60. Honour to him who in mC’ims p’u,
in the environs of bSam yas, thought of van-
quishing a nāgini, while the king and his
attendants offered much gold, and by
the skill of his thought suspended the bell (in
that monastery) (chap. LXIII) and gave
its riches into custody (to the bsTan srun)
(chap. LXIII).

61. When, in the course of five years (that
monastery) was completed, the great scholar
(zi ba ts’o) and particularly the master him-
self, in the mandala of the rDo rje dbyins,
threw flowers for its consecration. Honour to
him who showed (how the wonderful
monastery) of bSam yas (should be honoured)
(chap. LXIV).

62. Honour to him who disseminated his
infinite merits, by consecrating K’ra abrug78)
Ra sa, and other places; he praised the
fruitful karmic connexions deriving from the
great monastery (of bSam yas) and enjoined
that it should be worshipped (chap. LXV).

63. Honour to him who showed a great
favour when, after the two masters (himself
and zi ba ts’o) had rightly brought the
temple to completion and alluded to their
desire of returning to India, when the sorrow-
ing king begged and requested them to stay,
complied (chap. LXVI).

64. Honour to him who began the trans-
lation of the sūtra and of the formulas
(chap. LXX), and while the king ruled ac-
cording to the twofold law (religious and civil)
(chap. LXVII) he invited, according to the
prophecy, Vairo (cana), the lōtsava of sKa ba
and the lōtsava of Cog ro, and they, by study-
ing the art of the lōtsava, became experienced
scholars (chapp. LXVIII-LXXIX).

65. And then, honour to him who laid
the foundations of the holy teaching, by propa-
gating for the first time the word of the
Ascetic, by assembling 108 lōtsava and by
consecrating seven “witnesses”79) and five
monks (chap. LXXI).

66. Having sent the latter to India to search
for the Law, Vairocana was the first to obtain
the perfect revelation (of wisdom). Honour to
him who in rDo rje gdan received the
ambrosia of the Law from 25 pāṇḍita
(chap. LXXII).

67. And, above all, honour be to Vairo-
cana, who having heard from Śrīsimhala the
depth meaning (of the doctrine) which repre-
sents the essence of the perfect mind, and having
realized the secret wisdom which makes men
swift-footed,10 on the point of going back to
Tibet told the story (of what had happened
to him) in a song (chap. LXXIII).

68. In Tsan da na gliṅ, having obtained the
king’s good graces, passing beyond gCan
ap’ran he arrived in Nepal; speaking with the
power of truth, he dispelled the fear of snow.
Honour to him who (thus) reached the heart
of bSam yas (chapp. LXXIV-LXXV).

69. The king invested him with the
dignity of royal chaplain; but, as the king gave heed
to the deep Law, wicked ministers, being
jealous, requested that (Vairocana) should be
put to death. Honour to him who, when
the person designed to replace him (in the
execution) was thrown into the water,
uttered out of compassion a vow which brought
forth its fruit, saving that man from peril
(chap. LXXV).

70. And then, when (the king) hid him
in a summer-house and heard the Law from
him, the queen and the ministers pressingly
asked for him. Honour to him who, when
the moment came to take his vow, took re.
fuge in Ts’a bai ron and in that place spread
the Ascetic’s teachings (chapp. LXXVI-
LXXVII).

71. Nam mk’a’ sīṅ po81) and other five
lōtsava were sent to the holy country and they
heard from the master Hūṃ ka ra the perfect
mystical science which causes spiritual matur-
ity and leads towards liberation (by virtue of
meditations upon) peaceful and terrific deities.
Honour to them who obtained mystical realization in that science (chap. LXXVIII).

72. dPal snyin (ge), having departed first, by reason of his karmic karma died on the way; but the king having fallen ill, (the others) arrived, having been sent for by him. Honour to Nam mk’a’ snyin po through whose grace the King’s illness was cured, and showed a wonderful miracle.

73. But while the king honoured him and heard the deep Law, the queen and the wicked ministers put obstacles in his way; honour be to Nam mk’a’ snyin po who was exiled to mK’ar c'u in Lho brag and from there gave himself up to ascetic practices, obtaining the supreme mystical attainments (chap. LXXIX).

74. But the king did not succeed in satisfying his desire concerning the Law, and then, being an experienced man, he compromised and proclaimed that both teachings (Buddhism and Bon po) should be (equally) introduced (in the country), and to invite a great scholar (from India) he sent (the lotuses) of sKa (ba), of Cog (ro) and of rMa. Honour to them, who arrived in Ser skyà (chap. LXXX).

75. Vimala (mitra) who was like the gem among five hundred scholars and ascetics, invited by the king to conform to his (Padmasambhava’s) order, speedily came. Honour to him who, having showed the force of his magic powers and having been comforted with many gifts by the king, who put great faith in him, met the king.

76. Furthermore another 108 great scholars of India were invited, like Sáhi ragas gsal ba etc. and the erroneous Bon po teaching was vanquished, being disputed with force and dialectic. Honour to the great light of the white Law, which then spread widely (chap. LXXXII).

77. Vairocana sent (in Tibet) gYu sgra to hear the Law: the lotsāva, the scholars, kings, ministers became convinced that he was a great lotsāva and sent for him; when he told his story, a great faith was born in everyone. Honour to him who offered the flower of his hymns (chap. LXXXIII).

78. Honour to scholars and to the first among them, the teacher, Vimala and Vairocana, whom the king greatly honoured, putting his faith in them; they, according to his wish, translated, interpreted and recited the canonical books and the Tantra, together with their explanations and commentaries.

79. (The works on) medicine, astrology and all useful sciences (p’an byed) were occasionally translated, and the garland of books which complete the Ascetic’s teaching were increased; those (books) were reverenced, invoked and flowers were thrown upon them for consecration. Honour to this increase of happy events and good omens (chap. LXXXV).

80. Because Nam mk’a’ snyin po had not wanted to greet the king, the ministers began to persecute him; honour to him who humbled the wicked ministers, showing the force of his magic powers and evoking great magical formulas (chap. LXXXV).

81. The king, remembering the Lotsāva’s benefits, founded the feast of the sacred books and built monasteries both for expounding the doctrine and for practising asceticism; he revered them, and imposed religious customs on his subjects. Honour to him who spread the sacred teaching (chap. LXXXV).

82. In bSams yas he placed the gods’ images, he graved inscriptions, he caused to be written translations of the sacred books, which are the receptacle of the (Buddha’s) word. Honour to the great scholars who, after having received honours, returned each to his place satisfied (chapp. LXXXVI, LXXXVII, LXXXVIII).

83. Then the great scholar (Sāntiraksita) remained to continue his meditation in the Byan c'u glön, and the great master at mC’ims p'u in bSams yas. Honour to him who repeatedly bade men meditate on the deep Law and blessed Pad ma gsal who had suddenly died (chap. LXXXIX).

84. After having spoken about the impermanence of all things and revealed the
future (chap. LXXIX), (Padmasambhava) related what had happened and the princesses' preceding lives (chap. XC). Honour to him who briefly explained in what manner the deep secret books (gter ma) should be hidden, and (told which are) the characters of those persons (worthy of understanding) the Law set down in the secret books (chap. XCI).

85. Honour to him who filled the king with joy by revealing how (these secret books) would (later) appear in various manners and, at the same time, the signs of the times (in which they were destined to come to light), beginning with Sañs rgyas up to Pad ma 'glin (chap. XCII).

86. Then he arranged the exhortations and instructions for the men (designed) to find the secret books (chap. XCIII). Honour to him who prophesied the most important places of asceticism (chap. XCV) and the skill, the virtues of body, word and spirit, the cities and the characters of the discoverers of secret books (chap. XCIV) and revealed (the causes) of the sacred teaching's prosperity and decay (chap. XCVI).

87. When the king passed away, during 14 days he kept his death a secret and ruled the kingdom: honour to the divine sons Mu 'ne and Mu tig btsan po, who were successively proclaimed kings (chap. XCVII).

88. His favours towards the divine law and the profane law being thus unmeasurable, he announced his intention of going into the land of the Srin: then, to dispel the grief of the divine son (of the king), he preached the summary of the sacred scriptures, the stiin tig, the way to come (into the world) and to remain (byon bzhugs) and the liberation. Honour to him who was dowered with great skill in the art of controlling his breathing (dbugs abyin) (chap. XCVII).

89. Although the divine son repeatedly tried to retain him, he did not consent, as the time had come for him to convert the Srin po. Honour to him who expounded the (sacred) instructions, both summarily and in detail and vouchsafed an indestructible blessing (chap. XCVIII).

90. Special honour to him who in the upper terrace of the K'ra 'brug in gYo ru convoked a religious council in which he preached the extreme ocean of precepts for the king, his subjects and the 21 lotsāva who were present (chap. XCIX).

91. Then, through the power of a miracle, Mandāravā herself appeared and celebrated the master's glory and his characteristics, pertaining good. Honour to him who told the virtues of his body and his esoteric and exoteric testament (chapp. C-CI).

92. Through love for the king, the divine son of lofty perfections was proclaimed king by him, and he predicted his future. Honour to him who satisfied all desires and revealed the advantages instilled in those who will attain liberation within seven births (chap. CII).

93. Honour to him who communicated the secret explanations to the queen Nañ byun in the temple of bTsan t'an; then in Šel brag he was questioned by mT's'o rgyal bkra šis and by K'ye'u ʻadrén, and communicated all the instructions in detail (chap. CIII).

94. In that place the king collected Klu and the Planets, but he humbled their glory, provoked them, overcame them, wrested the vital force from them: honour to him who conferred upon them the task of protecting the Law in the future and amply spread abroad the upright practice of a holy life.

95. After having made detailed recommendations to the divine son, he said he would go at once into the Srin's country; then he was honoured with rich offerings and began his journey. Honour to him who arrived as far as Zur mk'ar ts'al (chap. CV).

96. There the king and the ministers, who had come, together with the subjects, to accompany him, begged him to preach the Law to the assembled crowd. Honour to him who, beginning from the pain of the six forms of existence, incited them to follow
the safe Law and explained to them the inner sense of the deep path (chap. CVI).

97. Having gone to Lha Idan he placed there Jo Sä ka’s(83) statue. Honour to him who, attended by a crowd of king, ministers, priests, physicians, astrologers, scholars and disciples, went on to dPal mo dpal t’añ (chap. CVII).

98. When they had come together, he explained the precepts for the meditation on the great Compassionate, and gave particular instructions, in harmony with the mind of each (listener); he also preached amply on general teachings, to be learned then and in the future. Honour to him who (thus) satisfied the minds of all (his listeners) (chap. CVII).

99. Being again requested (to stay) by the sorrowful (king), he did not consent, and on the Gun t’an pass, having met a crowd of mK’a’ agro and ascending with them towards the sky, he sang an adamantine song. Honour to him who consented to give (the Tibetans) (his) indissoluble cooperation (in their destinies) (chap. CVII).

100. The four groups of heroes (dpad bo) looked at the mount he was riding. Honour to him who went to conquer the Srin in the rNa yab continent, to the South-West, through Simhala, as swiftly as the lightning on the path of the iridescent clouds(84) (chap. CVII).

101. There, at the end of his journey, great lord of magical wisdom, spontaneously formed, he assumed the body of the rakṣa [sa] T’od p’reti rtsal. Honour to him who accomplishes the good of others, all-pervading like space, until the circle of births and deaths is exhausted (chap. CVII).

102. In this country of Tibet, in the three times, everywhere protected, Byāns can’s incarnation(85) reached the bottom of the summary of the teachings of that ocean of (the saint’s) biographies (the Padma bka’ t’añ yig) with veneration, respect and songs of sorrow. Honour to (this book) which extraordinarily increases karmic merit.,

The translation of this hymn has not been a vain labour, because we shall have occasion to see that the present tanka, and also the others which represent Padmasambhava’s life, are based on the hymn and follow it very faithfully; the episodes depicted in the tanka correspond to those mentioned in the litanies we have translated and follow their lines.

In the present case also the incidents in the master’s life can easily be identified, because they are accompanied by brief inscriptions which explain them; but the spelling is so inaccurate that the interpretation becomes difficult, sometimes all but impossible.

In the centre Padmasambhava’s solemn figure stands out, represented according to the traditional iconography: on either side, in different apparel, his two wives Mandarava and Ye šes mts’o rgyal. The story begins above, from the summit of the axis of the tanka: Ts’e dpag med assisted by the usual two Bodhisattvas, a kneeling monk. Next, turning to the left: king In da abo ti (Indrabhuti) in a palace, in the attitude of listening to people who are presenting a request: his subjects, knowing his liberality, turn to him for help and assistance. Only a part of the inscription is visible: rgyal po t’or cog can la na mo: “Honour to king T’or cog can,” On the right is represented Padmasambhava’s miraculous birth from a lotus in the centre of the sea: Sin drgyam t’sor (for t’drgya mts’or) Pad ma don (for sdon) la p’ru’ins (for k’ru’ins) pa ra’i byun no mts’ar can la na mo: “Honour to him who was miraculously born from a lotus stalk in the middle of the sea,” Then the child, on a chariot, is taken to town: In da abo ti’gan (for sphan) gra’ins: “Indrabodhi leads him,” People who have run up to see him, greet him reverently, while from the city spectators lean out. Next comes Padmasambhava dressed as an ascetic, in a cemetery, in the act of overcoming a demon, who is finally vanquished and kneels in front of him; around them, corpses and flowers: to the right the khatvanga and a
burning fire; the picture represents meditation in the cemetery of bSil ba ts'al.

bSil ba ts'al du ga sOd [dka' t'sul] mdsad rgyal srid sPaṅs nas der an ter ra ki [ni] na 'od zer grags.

"In the cemetery of bSil ba ts'al in Ga sOd (stanza 17, Gau sOd) he performs ascetic practices: abandoning his kingdom, there... He is called Nī ma 'od zer.

From this it seems we must infer that the painter has followed a reduction of Padmasambhava's biography, different from the one contained in the PTY, according to which the name of Nī ma 'od zer was assumed by the saint much later, in the cemetery sKu la rgsogs, chap. XXIX.

Next the images of Vajrapāṇi and of a mK'a' agro ma are seen:

Ts'ogs ... dur p'rod (for k'rod) [spyod pa] mdsad rdo rje p'ag moī ḡ[al] (gzig) mān pāi va dsra rgyaṅ bRaṅ (for rgya ḡram) du k'ol ts'al [rdo rje dra] g po du grags.

"Practising asceticism in the cemetery of Ts'ogs pa, he had a vision of rDo rje p'ag moī... the rdo rje rgya ḡram; he was called rDo rje drag po.

Although in the inscription we can clearly read Ts'ogs, it is evident that we must correct this, according to what is written in the biography contained in RC: tSūb (agyur) ts'al, which is the name of a cemetery, where he had the vision of Vajravārāhi.

Next, opposite a stūpa which stands in the centre of a great city, Padmasambhava confers with a monk; thus is represented the meeting, which took place in rDo rje gdan, with Sā kya bBes ginen (Śākyamitra) (RC, p. 8 b, PTY, chap. XXVI). The inscription is almost illegible. rgya ḡar rdo rje gdan du ap'ags paī... "In rDo rje gdan the venerable... In the last picture, which represents the miracle-working saint in conversation with a master seated in a cave, is depicted his meeting with Prabhadhāstīn and the time Padmasambhava spent in this scholar's school, to learn some tantric texts.

Brag dmār bya k'yuṅ ts'āl du lob pon (for slob dpon) sra (for prā) ba na ti (sic) nas sēṃ ge sgra grags.

"In the garden of K'yuṅ ts'āl in Brag dmār (he studies under) the master Prabhāstīn and (names) himself Sēṃ ge sgra grags..."

Next a layman, in front of three deities, holding in his left hand a cup, which might be a skull-cup, and in his right hand a magical tambourine (damaru).

The inscription says: rig māds(in) (for aṣīn) gru[b] t'ob maī poi ca (tsar?) [by]on yo kai c'os la rje [m]ts'an yān blo ldan (m)cog sred du grags.

"In the (presence) of many ascetics and possessors of mystical wisdom... he receives the name of Blo ldan (m)cog sred..." (PTY, chap. XXX).

This alludes to the strife between the Bon po and the shepherd, and to the latter's fate, as it is told by PTY, chap. XXX.

Then Padmasambhava in conversation with some monks.

... (s)mād du byuṅ p'ri (m)ts'an pad ma sam bha[va] grags.

"Wonderful... was celebrated as Padmasambhava..."

Follows the image Yab yum of Ts'e dpag med:

Brag p'ub ma ra ti ru ts'e [d]pag med žal gzig e'i med 'u mnos (for diños) grub t'ob.

"In the Ma ra ti cave he had the revelation of Ts'e dpag med and obtained the mystical realization of the water of immortality..." The episode is told in the PTY and in RC, p. 11 a. The latter book relates that, while Padmasambhava was in the cave, the Rigs gsum having showed him the mandala of Ts'e dpag med, he attained the condition of a Ts'e yi rig aṣīn (possessor of life's mystical wisdom) and three months later had the revelation of Ts'e dpag med.

Immediately underneath, Padmasambhava embraced by a woman, is surrounded by flames springing up all around them. The inscription says: Za bo rul byon me p'un... su sregs pa [me] p'un ts'o (for mts'o) ru gyur nas bzu (for rdzu) p'ur t'an (for btsan). "Having arrived in Zahor, and being burnt in the fire, he worked a miracle by turning the fire into a
The story is told both by the RC and by the PTY (chap. XLI). These books say that once, during copulation with Mandāravā, his enemies excited the mob against him and induced the king to condemn Padmasambhava and Mandāravā to be burnt alive. After many days the fire became extinguished, the flames were changed into a lake, in the middle of which the master and his mate were embracing upon a lotus flower.

Let us turn backwards and slightly upwards: under the lotus sustaining Padmasambhava, we see four seated figures, of gradually decreasing size; their apparel leaves no doubt that the first two are men and the others women: in front of them two tables with crockery and offerings. This scene has nothing to do with the story and represents the donors, who had the tanka painted. Immediately next to them, the story goes on: some women are approaching a monk, who is represented in the act of speaking.

Man da ra ba la gtañ (?) bai c'os gsun ba “(Padmasambhava) explains to Mandāravā the law of liberality,” (PTY, chap. XL). Therefore this scene must precede the other one, where Padmasambhava is condemned to be burnt alive.

The two following scenes are connected: Padmasambhava is represented on a chariot with Mandāravā; further on, in the interior of a palace, two persons kneeling in front of the master. The inscription says:

In ta abo ti byan p'yu (for c'ub) lam la kod (for bkod) [m]s'tan yan pad ma rgyal po gsal. “After having placed (his father) Indrabodhi on the path of enlightenment, he assumes also the name of Padma rgyal po,” (RC, pp. 12 b, 13 a, and PTC, chap. XLIX).

Under the figures of monks and laymen bringing offerings, which probably belong to the scene of the donors, we see a terrific figure, with his right hand uplifted, in the act of exorcising. Although the inscription is illegible, there seems to be no doubt that here is recalled the form of Señ ge sgra sgrags assumed by Padmasambhava when he brought the story and represents the donors, who are approaching a monk, who is represented in the act of speaking.

Having arrived in Tibet, after preaching to the king and his retinue the Law of the various vehicles, having made Tibet the country of the Law, he is celebrated as Padma sgrags. Then still further up, in a temple, Padmasambhava surrounded by monks, sgra gyur... “...translates...
This picture, then, commemorates the translation of the sacred texts which he undertook (PTY, chapp. LXXXIV-LXXXV).

Padmasambhava is next represented in the act of flying; the inscription is erased. The picture refers to the story alluded to in stanza 58. He is then seen in a cave, performing a liturgical ceremony in the presence of men and women; a person larger than the others is evidently the king:

bsam yas c’i’in (= mCh’ims) p’ur rgyal pa rje abas’is rnam la grub c’en ka (for bk’a) rgyur kyi c’o (for c’os) bsun (for gsun) pa. “Standing in the cave of mC’ims p’u, in bSam yas, he told the king and his subjects the Law of the great ascetic,...” this commemorates the preaching of the Law by the master, when princess Padma gsal died (PTY, chap. LXXXIX).

The figure in the act of exorcising, holding up a vajra with his right hand, is therefore the picture of a particular manifestation of Padmasambhava, known under the name of rDo rje gro lod. Follows a series of caves in which the master is seen in various attitudes. As a general gloss explains: gnas brug rnam [g]ter c’en tbas (for tbas), “he hides the great gter ma in the rocks,...” the places are then mentioned where the miracle-worker, before leaving Tibet, stored underground the sacred books he had revealed. Here are the places named: ti se gans [mtso’o c’en bzi la c’ag (p’yag?) tjes “his marks in the four lakes of Ti se gaans, Kailaṣa, Lar gsum... agus mo soins... kyid kyi bro ma (z) Mon sean [ge] rdoṣoṅ “Sen ge rdsoṅ in the Mon country,” Yar (k)uins šel brag p’yug la “cave of Šel brag in Yar kluṅ...”

Not only the caves where the sacred books were hidden are mentioned, but also the places consecrated by some personal memory of the saint, like the marks of his hands and feet; the list, by the way, is not complete and partly differs from those contained in the texts.

Next the master on horseback, about to depart, turning back to take leave of the king and of a procession of other people. The inscription is almost illegible: t’aṅ la t’og tu (?)

rje abas’is la ts’e ... bzog pa. “Where the desert begins... to the King and to his subjects life...” Finally, Padmasambhava in a temple, surrounded by two deities with many heads.

The episodes then follow one another in the same order of another series of tanka on the same subject, which we shall study later; but perhaps they do not follow the text of the PTY so closely; indeed the painter seems to have preferred to follow the biography contained in the RCT, which is briefer, rather than the ampler and more elaborate PTY. The present tanka was certainly part of a series; this we gather from the lack of any reference to the master’s last vicissitudes in Tibet and to the incidents of his return to India or of his journey into the land of witches. Furthermore, on the lower margin of the tanka runs an inscription, preceeded by the letter ka, which has a numeral value and applies to the first element of a series. The inscription is almost illegible:

U rgyan [pa bod] du byon pai t’aṅ... yar rla zam bu [b]tan ma cu gnis sog sbyis (for kyis) gyug (= bu yug) daṅ rgyal [daṅ?] t’og p’ab sog sna (for sna) ts’ogs... na... bco pon (for slob dpon) kyis (b)tel nas... gter nas p’ehs so.

“When U rgyan pa came to Tibet the twelve bTan ma, by a snowstorm, lightning and other prodigies of various kinds (tried to obstruct) and the Master vanquished them... arrived to...”

On the lotus leaf upon which Padmasambhava is seated: Sin dur rgya mts’o rol pai mts’o giṅ du.

klu rgyal log po gnas pai k’aṅ teṅs (for steṅs) su Pad ma abar ma bdoṅ (for sdoṅ) poi rtse la p’ruṅ (for k’ruṅs)

ran abyoṅ no [mt]s’ar ... gso lb a deb

“In the island of the joyful lake in the ocean of carmine, above the palace where dwells the supreme king of the nāgas Padma abar ma is born on the top of a (lotus) stalk;

Prayer to him who wonderfully appeared by himself...”
II - OTHER SCHOOLS

TANKA n. 34 (Plates 64, 65).

It represents a Pañ c’én bla ma, probably Blo bzaṅ ye šes dpal bzaṅ po.

On each side are seated two monks bare-headed, resembling Indian monks: they represent his two principal disciples. All around, in every part of the tanka, figures of masters and gods emerge amidst clouds and flowers.

On the top of the painting and on its central axis, Ts’e dpag med between the two Bodhisattvas who are his acolytes: next, two tantric deities: gSaṅ ba ḏuṣ pa and bDe mo’og.

Below, on each side of the throne, sGrol ma and gDugs dkar mo. Then in the centre a blue m Gon po p’yag drug; on the left the same yi dam, white, in the form called m Gon dkar yid bzin nor bu.

The proportions of the tanka, which are rather square, and the pains the painter has taken to fill up space, either with images or with floral patterns, recall archaic types, but the draughtsmanship is more mature and the colours are shaded more delicately: red melts softly into pink, green pales into light tints, blue never reaches too high a pitch. I am at a loss to place the school this tanka comes from: it probably was made in Tashilunpo (where it was bought), before the Chinese conquest opened up this monastery to livelier influences of the Celestial Empire’s art: in the archaism of its forms and intentions we see an echo of native art, as it had been born and had gained force since the XVth century, not yet renewed by foreign influences, which the XVIIIth century brought into Tibet together with the changes in its political scene.

TANKA n. 35 (Plate 66).

It represents a lama who cannot be identified because there is no inscription; above, between two adoring goddesses (mC’od pai lha mo) three ascetics, whose disciple the lama is evidently considered. The fact that under his image we see Padmasambhava between his two wives, leaves no doubt that the master to whom the picture is dedicated belonged to the rNin ma pa or bKa’ brgyud pa school. Then two adoring deities and two ascetics meditating in a mountain cave.

TANKA n. 36 (Plate 67).

The tanka represents a goddess, entirely similar to the usual representation of sGrol ma: her right hand is in varadā mudrā, in the left she holds a lotus, but her left hand also lightly holds a vase; around her, twenty similar images of the same goddess. Above, in a palace, Byams pa in bhakṛṣaśana and below two Buddhas. The vase is the symbol of Vasudharā, the goddess of riches, but when it is Vasudharā’s symbol, it is held in the left hand and ears of corn issue from the vase. The fact that 21 images of the same goddess are represented, reminds us of the cycle of the 21 Tārā (see Indo-Tibetica, II, part II, p. 158 ff.); one could therefore think her to be dNos grub t’ams cad sbyuṅ ma. Above the head we see the image of a Buddha, i. e. Amoghasiddhi, whose emanation Tārā may be.

But a more accurate determination is possible: Dipākara Atiśa, whom Tibetan tradition considers one of the foremost propagators of sGrol ma’s cult in the Country of Snows, wrote a hymn dedicated to this
goddess and widely commented upon by Tibetan scholars (see, for instance, *Jo bo lugs kyi sgron ma gnzer gzig sgrub t'abs rjes gnain dan bsas pa*, in *sGrub t'abs kun btus*, vol. ca., p. 882 ff.). In this hymn, containing brief descriptions of the goddess, she is always imagined in the same form, with her right hand in the attitude of presenting a gift and her left holding a lotus flower; however in her 21 different manifestations, which have different colours, the goddess carries on the palm of her right hand the *bum pa*, the vase, as in our tanka. Hence there is no doubt that the tanka represents Tārā, in her 21 forms, exactly as they are described in Atiśa's above-mentioned hymn.

In course of time Tārā became one of the most popular deities of Tibet, particularly after dogmatics had assimilated Tārā's two principal forms, the white and the green one, to the two wives of Šrōṇī btsan sgam po, himself the incarnation of *sPyan ras gzigs*. But Tārā's cult was widely diffused only in the period of the second propagation of the faith. Moreover, we have every reason of supposing this goddess to be of a comparatively late origin: for instance, in epics Tārā is Balin's and Bṛhaspatī's wife, but has no divine character; she does not appear in Buddhist canonical literature; Hsūn Tsang mentions Ta la Pu sa, without alluding to the divinity's sex. The first mention we find of Tārā is in the *Ta jib ching* 大日經 *Mahāvairocanaśūtra*, translated into Chinese by Subhakarasimha (who arrived in China in 724 and died in 735) and commented upon by I Ching, a pupil of Subhakarasimha and Vajrabodhi, who died in 727; in that text Ātyātārā is said to be an emanation of Avalokiteśvara's (Taishō, XVIII, n. 868, p. 7 a). Her compassionate nature is already alluded to in the commentary on chap. 5 (Taishō, vol. XXXIX, n. 1796, p. 632 a-b) where her name is related to: tārā "pupil,". The same conception is confirmed in the *Ta fang kuang man sbu shib li ching* 大方廣曼殊室利經, Taishō, vol. XX, 1101, p. 430. The *Maṇḍusrimulakalpa*, vol. I, p. 65 calles her *āryāvalokiteśvarakaruna*, outright, and is probably right, because the Mahāyāna offers numberless instances of the process of deification undergone by acts and states of mind of the Buddha and the Buddhas. Avalokiteśvara is the Buddha's compassionate look, diffused over all the points of space to save suffering creatures; *a* it is the divine look, inspecting the world from the Tuṣita heaven, to find the most appropriate place for the accomplishment of his mission of redemption from sin and pain; it is the look turning down to explore the Hells and pouring out the solace of its pity every time the eyes are turned; thus the anonymous poet of the Kāraṇḍavyūha exalts it. Tārā is the active power of this pity, the force of compassion saving (tārāyati) suffering creatures.

Naturally this initial process does not stop; as soon as Avalokita's active pity was deified, a new process began. She is the Buddha's mother, the Great Mother, gnosis: she was therefore assimilated, in essence, to the Prajñāpāramitā. Then, in Vajrayāna Tārā breaks up, is refracted in manifold derived forms; the adoring goddesses of her cycle are considered as many forms of Tārā; we shall thus no longer have a Puspa, a Dhūpā etc., but a Puṣpatārā, a Dhūpatārā, and so forth. On the other hand, the identification with the Great Mother just alluded to made it easy to take a further step: Tārā's identification with the adamantine essence, the Vajra - Dharmatā - absolute of the Vajrayāna: she then became Vajrātārā. Thus her iconography was retouched, to translate into new symbolical forms the aspects conceived by ritual and liturgical compilations. Next the goddess became a centre of attraction for endless mystic intuitions of various date and origin; these, the Indian people's play of imagination connected through analogies often escaping a logical explanation, but not less real. As the triumphant diaspora of Buddhism progressed, forms alien to India became confused and incorporated with the new
goddess gradually causing her primitive character to be forgotten. Such was for instance, the case with the Tārā introduced from Mahācāna; the serene strength of the compassionate goddess was lent to a gloomy deity of vegetation, worshipped by a tribe on the Indian frontier.

Some have assigned to Tārā an original relation with water, almost as if she were a goddess of navigation (Hirananda Shastri, The Origin and Cult of Tārā, MASI, n. 20); this cannot be proved; it is a secondary aspect, water being only one of the perils the goddess saves her devotees from; her relation with water is a consequence of her fundamental character as Avalokiteśvara's compassionate power, which delivers believers from fears of all sorts. We have here not the process one would expect, but its opposite: not an aboriginal goddess of some sort, raised to the rank of Avalokiteśvara's mate or emanation, but the embodiment of a divine virtue, which having taken a certain form, attracts and concentrates in itself manifold other religious intuitions.

This assimilation of Tārā to aboriginal deities took place in a second period, when Buddhist missionaries began to preach in lands Śākyamuni's word had not yet reached. There is no doubt that this was the case with Ekajāta; there is no reason for disbeliefing the Sādhanamālā which states that Tārā's cult was taken by Nāgarjuna from the Bhoṭa, provided this Nāgarjuna be taken as the tantric writer, not the great philosopher; that story coincides with the Brahmanic tradition concerning Tārā's origin from Mahācāna and with the statement in the Svatantra-tantra, that Nilasaravasti lives in lake Cholana, West of Mount Sumeru (op. cit., p. 15).

In this case we are confronted with a terrific deity, later assimilated with Ugratārā, one of the goddesses of the Himalayan regions from which the Indians took for instance, the Lāmā and many other intuitions and liturgies as proved, for instance, by the Yama-latantra and other tantric texts.

Thus Tārā has been reflected in manifold refractions; casual analogies discovered by popular imagination or by the elucubrations of scholars have proclaimed them to be various epiphanies of the same divine force; thus were born her eight forms, her 21 hypostases and the litanies of her 108 names, which are not only epithets and invocations, but lists of the goddess' local aspects.

These convergences of aboriginal cults into Tārā's complex type, although they modified the goddess's primitive character and brought her near to the Magna Mater's endless forms, necessarily took her outside the Buddhist community and introduced her into shivaitic circles. This happened in one of the periods most favourable to the fusion of different religious intuitions: the epoch which saw gnostic schools in full flower and the meeting between Buddhist and Shivaite esoterism, accomplished in the Siddhas' sect.

At that time Tārā migrated into the Shivaite schools: the Rudrayāmataltantra mentions her epiphany in the Mahācāna country while Śākta and Śaiva make her the equal of the devī and of the power of God.

Many tales were circulated in India concerning Tārā, celebrating her glories for the devotee's edification; nothing has reached us of this hagiographical literature, which was mostly oral, but Tāranātha and other Tibetan authors have transmitted what their Indian masters had told them: thus, to quote an instance, we are informed concerning the general contents of the Indian tradition by the small treatise, already quoted, of the Grub t’abs kun b’us and by one of Tāranātha's works, dedicated to Tārā (sGrol ma rgyud kyi byon ’kun gsal bai byed pai lo rgyus gser gyi p’ren ba). The Indian tradition, as usual, referred Tārā's spiritual origin to remote eras: she is a bodhisattva.

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and became one by virtue of a vow, made in ancient cosmic aeons, in the times of the Buddha tNa sgra, Dundubhivara in whose presence Ye sles zla, a king’s daughter, conceived for the first time the thought of enlightenment. Next, in another cosmic age, in the Buddha Don yod agrub’s (Amoghasiddhi’s) presence, she is said to have vowed to deliver infinite creatures from pain; a third time, emanating from sPyan ras gzig’s heart, she repeated the same vow. Thus the legend explains, at least, the multiplicity of Buddhas whose emanation the goddess is considered from time to time.

Differently from other gods, Tārā has no authoritative text, whose development and fortunes may be followed. It is true that the legend mentions an extremely vast series of Tantra concerning sGrol ma, revealed to ajig rten dba’i p’yuṅ in Potala, in the Bhadrakalpa’s times, but in the presence of these fables, we can quote only one text really dedicated to the goddess and to her cult, the De bzhin giegs pa t’ams cad kyi yum sgral ma las sna ts’ogs ahyun ba; then come some extracts, like the sGrol ma la p’yuṅ ats’al ni šu rtsa gzig gi bstod pa p’an yon dan ba’as pa (Tōhoku, Cat., n. 438, bKa’ agyur, na) translated later into Chinese (ibid., Taishō, n. 110) by Ngan tsang of the Yūan, and a hymn like the rJe btsun ma a’pa’gs ma sgral ma mts’an bgya rtsa bhyad pa, contained in the same collection (vol. p’a, cfr. Taishō, nn. 1105, 1106, translators Fa t’ien, T’i’en hsi tsai) and a a’pa’gs ma sgral ma a’jigs ma bgyad las skyob pai mdo (vol. na, p. 473 - the perils are: lion, elephant, fire, snake, robbers, water, epidemics, fiends).

The De bzhin giegs t’ams cad kyi yum sgral ma las sna ts’ogs ahyun ba rgyud (vol. p’a) is a small tantra in 35 le u, revealed to dGa’ ldan; in it Tārā is (as may be deduced from the title itself) the mother of all the Buddhas, she is therefore identified with the Prajñā.

All these works cannot be considered as very old; nor can it be the Aryatārāmālātantra which had been the object of a diligent study of M. Lalou. This text is in fact in its largest part a copy or an adaptation of the Manjusrīmālākalpa (a third of which has been inserted in it) or of another text from which both derived.

A Tibetan tradition asserts this mālakalpa to be recent; in the colophon it is attributed to Atiṣa and is translation to Rin c’en grub (Buston). It is missing in some edition of the bKa’ agyur. Its connection with Atiṣa is interesting; this pandit was a fervent devotee of the goddess and he was responsible, as we saw, for the introduction of the most popular sādhanas of the goddess in Tibet.

As many forms of Tārā are listed in it as there are mystical families of the Tathāgata.

All the literature concerning Tārā is thus reduced to hymns and sādhanas whose authors are well known and who all belong to the esoteric schools of late Buddhism, but only one text dedicated to her can be quoted which is considered buddhavacana, revelation of the Buddha.

The image of the goddess has thus been formed very slowly in the religious consciousness of India: she first appeared, shily and occasionally, in the Vairocanaśūtra; and little by little she achieved such an individuality as to vie with sPyan ras gzig. It is clear that her popularity and fortune are a consequence of her character as a merciful and benevolent comforter and helper of every soul in torment. In fact Tārā, in the literature of the Sādhanas and in India’s hagiographic traditions, whose echo has reached Tārānātha’s treatise, is invoked above all as the goddess who saves (tārayati) from the perils threatening mankind. But in this case too a contamination has taken place between two different motives: these perils have been understood in a different manner according to the goddess’s double nature, such as the Tantric scriptures were imagining it: on one hand she is p’a rol tu p’yin pa’i no bo “the Prajñā’s essential nature” (Grub t’abs kun btsus, ga, p. 289 b), on the other hand she is
Sanskṛtyas t'ams cas ag'rin las, "representing the Buddha's active power,", As the Prajñā essence, it is her task to deliver from those perils which keep men away from the right understanding of the Law; hence her value is rather theological than esoteric: these then are the eight kinds of perils from which Tārā protects in the Tsaparang temple; I have illustrated them in Indo-Tibetica, III, part II, p. 161. In fact such conditions of doubt represent as many obstacles, which preclude an understanding of the Law and are hence a cause of perdition, from which the goddess may guard us. They represent negative qualities like the eight perils (入難) listed in the Vimalakirtinirdesa: birth among invalids, among lemmuns, animals, Dirghāyus gods, Uttarakuru, as a deaf or blind man, as a master of heretical schools, before or after the Buddha's appearance.

But by the side of this aspect of hers, there is another one, more living and more easily understandable by the people, which is always anxious for divine comfort in its daily toil: the aspect of a goddess taking an active part in the lives of her devotees and saving them when they invoke her with sincere faith, from all pitfalls and perils.

She then becomes the goddess protecting men from "the eight, or the sixteen perils,". The list of these perils is given as follows by Tāranātha, who relates every time, always referring the event to India, how the goddess, having been readily invoked to help, has promptly appeared, delivering her devotee from imminent danger and disaster, and how temples were built in her honour: enemies, lions, elephant, fire, snake, robbers, prison, piśāca, sea, epidemic, the king's guards and messengers, conviction, hail and storm, loss of property.

This list is a late one, the outcome of an elaboration which has passed through several moments. The intermediate moment is represented by the list of the eight perils which inspired many of the hymns to Tārā preserved in the bsTan agyur; the first moment is in the list of the seven perils from which Avalokiteśvara, according to the XXIVth chapter of the Saddabarmapuṇḍarīka, saves those who invoke him or utter his name: fire, rivers, ocean, rākṣasa, sword, demons, prison, thieves.

In the gāthā immediately following the prose section, these perils become 12 (in the Mahābhārata, II, p. 258, we already find agni, vyāla, roga, rākṣa-bhaya). Naturally Tibet accepting this tradition with a convert's readiness, has added to it something of its own. The categories rākṣasa and demons have become enlarged, to receive a large number of deities of the native religion, always imagined as harmful and evil: gDon, bGegs, Log par adren pa, T'eu rai, bTsan, Klu, Sa bdag (see sGrol dkar yid bzin g'or loi grub t'abs bum c'o ga rjes gnān gsal byed dañ bsas pa skor t'rans in Grub t'abs kun btus, vol. ga, p. 7).

Passing then to liturgic literature proper, we find ourselves, beginning from Ravigupta, on much more solid ground. Indian tradition attributed sGrol ma's initiatic revelation to Guhyāṣṭīla and to Hayaghoṣa, from whom it was transmitted to Nāgarjuna; hence the sampradāya develops according to the line: Āryadeva, Rāhula, Jayasena, Dharmapāla-bhadra the Kashmiri, Nāgamitra, Ravigupta, who himself a Kashmiri, is said to be a contemporary of Candragomin, Sarvajñamitra, Dhanamitra, Tathāgatamitra, Simhaladvīpin, Dharmamitra, Śilarakṣita. The Tibetan school initiated into her mysteries begins with Atśa (Kloṅ rdol, ts'a, p. 35).

TANKA n. 37 (Plate 68).

It represents tNam par snañ mdsad-Vairocana: white, on the throne, in vitarkamudrā. I have discussed this god at length in Indo-Tibetica (particularly in the vol. IV, part I, p. 106). Around, a multiplication of Buddhas.

The tanka was found in the Kaze monastery, Spiti; it evidently comes from some good artistic centre in Central Tibet.
It represents a monk touching the ground with his right hand, in the posture called bhūmisparśamudrā: on his left palm he carries the bum pa, a vase for holy water, the attribute of Ts'ee dpag med. This is meant to signify the personage’s quintessential identity with Ts’ee dpag med, the god of infinite life. All around, in a great many pictures, the most important events of his life.

The tanka is illustrated by an inscription running on the outer edges and thence on two parallel bands which cut across the picture horizontally: these two bands are blue and the letters are written in gold. Most of the inscription has been erased, particularly on the right side. The tanka is also a fine specimen of those pictorial legends which were illustrated orally by itinerant monks: it is painted according to the pattern of tankas nn. 9-10 which are undoubtedly older. In this case the painter has got rid of Nepalese models and has translated pictures imported from India into a typically Tibetan interpretation. Therefore this painting stands halfway between a servile imitation of Nepalese models and those brighter and more spacious compositions introduced into Tibet in the XVIIIth century by contact with China. The different pictures are often explained by brief inscriptions: generally the name of the place where the scene develops, or, more often, letters of the alphabet referring to the corresponding paragraphs of the glosses, bearing the same letters. But this is not always the case: for instance the dream-scene in the upper left-hand picture, “explanation of dreams”, is connected with the gloss written on the outer left-hand edge, which is not marked by any letter. At any rate these glosses served as a summary guide to the reciter, who pointing out the pictures to his hearers, used then to explain them at length, according to some preexisting literary tradition, concerning the lives of these saints.

But who is the personage represented? This question we must answer, if we are to interpret and understand the single scenes. The inscription does not contain any precise clue to the lama’s name; he is vaguely designed as t’ams cad mk‘yen, the all-knowing. Nevertheless some indications put us on the right path: we read that this lama was ordained by bSod nams grags pa and by Legs pa don grub. Furthermore in the upper right-hand quarter, in the interior of a house, some personages are seen: under one of them is written: yab rnam rgyal grags pa, and underneath, lying on a bed, there is a figure whose inscription reads: yun dpal adson bu k‘rid. Now the first are the masters who ordained bSod nams rgyas mt‘o, third Dalai Lama, and the latter are his parents. There is, as we have seen in our brief excursus on historical literature, a biography of bSod nams rgya mt‘o, written by Blo bzaṅ rgya mt‘o. It develops the same theme of bSod nams rgya mt‘o’s preceding incarnations and of the adventurous journeys in the Rākṣasa’s country which he then made. The correspondence therefore leaves no room for suspicion and is confirmed by the correspondence of other episodes. This does not mean that the painters have used precisely Blo bzaṅ rgya mt‘o’s work: from the colophon of this book we know that there were other biographies of the great abbot of ṬBras spūns, by whose merit the Mongols were converted to Buddhism. Still other biographies were certainly written in later epochs. Moreover the tanka is not concerned with the exterior events of bSod nams rgya mt‘o’s life, but rather with his visions and miracles, the ecstasies during which the eyes of his contemplating soul enjoyed the revelation of heavenly visions. Hence, the rnam t‘ar which the painters followed represents his esoteric life and his spiritual ascent, like tanka n. 10 dedicated to Tson k‘a pa’s mystic life, gsan rnam t‘ar.

Having given, as a preface, these summary explanations, there is nothing left for us to do, for a proper understanding of the tanka, except to transcribe and translate the inscriptions.
On the upper margin:

1. suva bā

   t'ams cäd ml'ēn yam gregg ŋīn grub /
   bla ma ml'ēg gi sprul pa sku //
   ak'runa rag mdsad pa reya mts'o las //
   reya mnam t'ar bstan b'ad mdo tsam bri // 1
   shon ts'e ston (CA) pa u reyan du /
   mta' yas rigs mL'ēg sprul pa skus //
   rgyal bu bstan pa a'蟾 ŋēs // 87
   būn bstan b'rēs pa k'od p'yag ts'al // 2
   de b'zin rgyal gi gnas c'en bta /
   t'ub bstan bar ŋīn rgyas mdsad nas //
   slar ya'n a'byon pa žal b'ēs te /
   dga' ldam lbaa gnas su gregs [nas] //
   rgyal ts'ab ajan pa dhos da'n mjal /
   ap'ags mL'ēg mng mka'a drier med pa // 3
   ajan dpal snēn poi bka' b'ēs du /
   dag pa mka' spyod gnas su gregs //
   de nas bde ba can du byon /
   sna'n ba mta' yas ak'or bcas (mj'al) // 4

2nd line:

   kun bza'n spyod pai dkyil ak'or gyis /
   ŋīn k'ams reya mts'o k'ya'bang mdsad nas //
   rīa ya'n gungi gi yul ml'ēr bauy /
   (CA) srun poi rgyal pos bsi ba byas // 5
   ajan mǐen dar lam gos lam bta /
   gos c'en lam nas byon pai ts'e //
   k'lags ts'o srun po ngs b'ēs pa /
   k'o niid 'og nas 'ag la b'ūn / 6
   bar c'ad būd la rgyal ba k'yod /
   ston pa sahs rgyas dhas da'n (CA) mjal //
   rje da'n jo bskor bskor du as /
   dbu ma gnīs ŋīn bsom ŋēs gdam // 7
   pad ma 'od kyi ŋīn k'ams der /
   c'os skyon srun ma bskor bai dbus //
   rje da'n jo būn g'zugs pai /
   slo (sic) dpon c'en po pad mai bkas (JA) // 8
   mt'u ldam srunis ma gnīs btsad nas /
   slar ya'n bod (yul) dbus su son //
   sprul skus agro don mdsad cig cges /
   t'ugs dam rgyud bskul k'yod la bstod // 9

3rd line:

   de nas rdus p'rum yid mgyogs kyis /
   skad cig niid la bōd du byon //

abra spu'ins (RA) dga' ldam p'o bran du /
   sku gauls m'od sar ŋāg gsum g'zugs // 10
   bod yul na ri rab rtse na /
   lha rnam rjes su bzu'ins (TA) slad gregs //
   der yam skye ba sprul pai skus /
   mi rnam myur du skyon bu dgoins // 11
   de dag skabs su lha rnam kyis /
   sprul sku myur du byon no ŋēs //
   lūn bstan dbugs abyu'ān sgra dbya'ins ni /
   sīna'n par sprog pas sa gēi ga'n // 12
   k'ya'd par du yan yar lu'n su /
   žal b'ē'ī pa yis lu'n c'en bsta /
   spon ras gze'ys kyis rta nag tu /
   dgos por dpal ldam lhaa mos so // 13

Left hand border:

rnal (for mnaa) lam gi byod pa yin te / de ya'n rub
gcig k'ān pa mun nag can dkur k'un c'un yu jod
gcig gcig na'n du p'ēbs nas sus kyān mi t'ar zer
pai bu gug pa bye nas de nas yur byon pas dga' ldam
du p'ēbs / t'je btsun ajam dbya'ins da'n mjal /
ten gsum ma'hp bug pa na mar byin brabbs gnān
de nas gzyis rtsa na, a'dsam bu b'ūn ko ba tsam
du a'dug gsum slar rdo skas rin pa cīg la babs byon
nas yur gzyis pas stei gi k'ān bza'n de na drun
c'en a'dug pa la gya'ub yugs mdsad pas ap'ur nas
byun ste // mc'od k'ān cīg tu byon pas dbu
mdsad b'ēs m'od dbya'ins ... gyur ŋīn a'dug /
de nas ŋi 'od ak'īl pa p'ēbs byūn ste smon lam
c'en ma a'di la lta ba cīg yin pa a'dug gsum //

Ibid.:

ya'n mts'an ldam ... t'od la geol ba bta'ān pai rub nral
(for mnaa) lam du mi cīg t'og ka' c'en po la snot ...
cee ba bkal nas me bton bā la la ci byed dris pas
sens ca t'ams cād kyi ja t'ug bkol ba yin zer /
de nas k'ān pa cīg gi na'n du byon te t'og bug pa
cīg a'dug pa la p'yag yi tag mdsad pas stei de nas
su yin zer pa la de na su yod na yońs e cŏg
q'gūs pas a'di na rdo t'je p'ag mo g'zugs te de lta
abyon ma ru'n no zer pa cīg byūn gsum ba sogs
no mts'ar cē ba brjod kyis mi la'n no.

Upper right-hand inner stripe:

(PA) ŋi zla skar mas mdses ran ŋi'd la'o' sdom lan cīg
ak'runa dgu'n lo gsum pa las ... c'os sder ...
Right-hand outer border:
...c'e tu b'ugs pai ts'e /
  rje da'n p'yo'gs b'zii sans rgyas ge'i gs//
  re ma ti da'n ... abral med /
  g'zis k'ar mi dban c'en po yi's//
  mc'od ci'n da'n pas dhol gdu'n b'ze'i s//
  c'o' der bu c'o' ac'ad po la//
  kva je c'o' (for c'o') rje bsod drags pa/
  na yi rnam t'ar ac'ad dam z'es//
  gsums ts'e kun gyzs abrom rjer n'es/
  slar ya'n k'a'n gsar go'n du p'ebs//
  ak'ar med ap'ags pai spyod pa m'das'ad/
  s'gon ... gsum (for bsam) mi k'i'ab//
  t'am c'd ag'i'yon (for mk'yen) pai rnam sprul du/
  kun la grags sh'i'yon s'grub pa//

Ibid.:
... tu gnas pas rgyas par m'das'ad slar ya'n dpal ldan
  a brag spuns s'pebs te dgu'n lo rgyad pa la mk'a'n
  po bsod nams drags pa da'n slob dpal legs pa
  don sgrub las dge ts'ul nid du rab byon m'das'ad (Tsa)

Lower outer edge:
k'i'ii loi dbyar ston zla dugs tu/
  dgon rser sku mts'am m'das'ad pa ts'e//
  ts'e dpag med mgon rta mgrün sogs/
  t'ugs dam z'al ge'gi dongs grub brînes//
  p'ag loi dbyar ston rgyal dbu'n sugs/
  rtag tu dam pai c'o' c'ar p'ab//
  (DSA) dgu'n dus rted t'ai c'o' gra c'er/
  lha mc'od c'en mto t'sogs pon (for dpal) m'das'ad//
  kun kyi(s) da'n pas s'brkod nas/
  btsug (for gtsug) lag k'a'n c'en k'ra a'brug mjal//
  agro rnamns ... ig la ngod (for agod) b'zin du/
  ã'gã' ldan p'o' bra'n ã'ndu p'ebs (VA) //
  byi pai lo la a'bras spuns kyi/
  gdan sa c'en por mìn'a' gsol te//
  mi ajigs sen' gi' k'ri' steins na/
  t'eg c'en c'o' kyi ak'or lo bskor //
  mk'yen pai s'tobs bsu kun mìn'a' yan'i/
  t'un mo'n gdoor byai dban m'das'ad nas//
  mk'a'n slo'n rnamns la mìn'a' bai c'o'//
  mt'a' dag gsum bai ts'ul yan bstan//

2nd line:
t'sogs g'nis rgya mts'o yo'ins rdsogs kyan/
  rtag tu mc'od sbyin m'das'ad pa legs//
  rgyal du p'ebs des s'gon ma

la nub cig rnam (for mna') lam du żal b'zi pas
  c'o' ap'ru'l bstan ts'ul ni rje żal nas ... s'di'n na
  a dqü sar gsun s'rab pa byun pa p'yi a'n na s'nar
  mets da'n k'ro'd cig adug zer bltar (sic!) p'yi ts'a na
  da'n k'ro'd c'en pos bsokr pai
  mts'o na'n c'o' a'yyyy a'mar po ci adug pa nai
  nas a tsa ra c'en po ci byun b'da nai k'rid de
  a tsa ra c'u'n ba cig gis a rag d'a' ba da' b'da
  mets pa na dra'm te n'a la ts'o' ap'ru'l c'en po c'esto
  snyu yod de ajigs mi dgos zer nas žal b'zi yo'ins
  rdsogs bstan na bskul dgos pa yo'n no gsun b'a cig
  rmi gsun / ya'n nub cig me tog t'an na ka's g's
g'o da mer a'bar da cig gi'bugs nas mi nai po
ci byun ... du byon zer p'yin pas de na'ni mi
  ro c'en po k'a' nas k'ra m'sag pai ste'n na me
  ajigs pa ru'n ba ci adug rmi ste / c'o' rgyal kyi
  ts'o ap'ru'l du adug gsun ya'n nub ci dpal l'dan
  lha mo'i ts'o' ap'ru'l žal nas 'od zer spro's ste byed
  pa ci byun ts'ul gsums par gsun sa.

Lower Inscription:
1st line:
7. de nas dgu'n lo bçu ... klân ... k'o's (sic for tso) ap'ru'l
   bla ... p'o' bra'n ... s'mon lam c'en m'o nas yon du
   byon skal b'zân ... abum p'rag graws med dge
   adün ts'o'g s'pai dbus sans rgyas kun gyi ap'rin
   las ... gais c'en ... bsod nams ... bsgrub pai ...  
   bstan nas ...  

2nd line:
łbu'n g'u's grub par ... ky'i rlûn ... ma'k'an ... 'od da'n
   lha rdas'as ... c'ar gis gân ... roq dan (sic) ldan
   m'das'ad ... zla ts'es ces p'ra' ya'n mk'yen brtsei
   ã'kyîl g'k'o na gân b'pîn la ... mân ... ts'o' da
   b'zês p'yaq a'di ...  

3rd line:
k'yd ... rje bsun ... skur drags ... b'dag gyl c'en ...  
  rab ts'o'g b'dag ... p'e pa la mi ajig ... byin ...  
  gùn t'ai zhîn [mc'od] rten c'e ba da'n gos skui  
  (ZA) rab gnas ... bsod b'zîn bstan ... c'o' p'ru'l.  

Left border, below:
(VA) stag lo la ... rgyal du p'ebs rten b'ze'i nas s'byin  
  sregs m'das'ad (RA) dbyar dus ts'ad mdo byes gñon  
  rje mt'a' dag bstan pa da'n po ni srid ži dpal abyor  
  t'am c'da'n l'dan cig p'ebs sh'i' gnûgs pa yi's
...to you who, in ancient times, received from the yos lo bsam las aðas pa p’ul/
yos lo sron lam grol rjes su ston pai gos sku c’en po bjeñs /
t’on (for mt’on) pai don ldan žes byar grogs /
ryal gyi shags k’a’n gžal yas nas (šA) /
bsan pai mña’ bdag spyan braïns (for draïns) te //
dkyil ak’or kun gyi žal p’ye nas /
dbañ gi c’u bo ma lus ... //
ts’e dpag med mgon lha dgu ni /
t’og mar dbañ bskur žal yañ gzigz //
rje dag dbañ rim ño mts’ar žes /
c’os skyoñ (z) sruïs mas legs so p’ul //
yos loi nañ der žal gzigz dan /
ral (for mnal) lam ya mts’an ... //

On the upper margin:
"Svahä (Here) is resumed the brief biography, shown to be explained (bslan bšad), of the incarnation of the supreme master, celebrated as the "all-knowing". It is taken from the work called "Ocean of his works and his successive lives". Homage to you who, in ancient times, received from the mT’a’ yas rïgs mc’og, in U rgyan, this prophecy: "O son of the Victors, you will be one of those who preserve the teachings... Thus he founded a great kingdom.

"Then, after having spread the teachings and caused them to prosper (in that place), he accepted to return once more and went to the dGa’ ldan: there he met Byams pa in person, who takes the Buddha’s place. He then (under the name) of aP’ags mc’og nam mk’a’ dri med, according to aJam dpal sñiñ po’s order, went (to the country) Dag pa mk’a’ spydod; next he went in the bDe ba can and saw sNañ ba m’Ta’ yas surrounded by his retinue (1–4).

"After the worlds, vast as the ocean, had been pervaded by the mandala of his completely favourable activity, he went to the frontiers of the country of rNa yab where a king of the Srin po came to meet him and laid a light and flexible road made of silken stuff, and a path of silken material. The Srin po who guessed how to harm him and who had four heads, himself fell headlong, lower and lower. You who have vanquished the demons who stood in your way, you visited the master, the Buddha in person; he, having on each side rJe (Tson k’a pa) and Jo bo (Atiṣa) told you to preach on the Mādhya-mika and to meditate upon it. In the world called Pad ma ‘od sat the great master Pad ma, amidst the C’os skyoñ and the Sruï ma, between rJe (Tson k’a pa) and Jo bo (Atiṣa). He said: "After having done homage to the two powerful sruï ma, go to the central country of Tibet and, through an incarnation, accomplish the good of created beings... Homage to you who were thus incited by the protecting deities (5–9).

"Then through a magic force, swift as magical thought, he went in an instant to Tibet, in aBras spuïs, in the palace of dGa’ ldan; for three days he lived in front of the place where the relics are placed. Roaming through Tibet, on the tops of the Ri rab (in aP’yoñ rgyas) all the gods came to show him their favour. There he resolved to protect men speedily by his incarnations; then the gods prophesied that his incarnation would take place at once.

"And the sound of this inspired voice pervaded all the world, echoing. Particularly žal bû pa made a great prophecy in Yar kluïs, sPyan ras gzigz in rTa nag and dPa’ ldan lha mo in Dvags po (10–15)."
“Unfolding of his dreams.

One night he entered into a dark house, where there was a small window, and having opened a cleft through which it is said that no one could pass, he passed and went upwards to the dGa’ ldan, and met tJe btsun aJam dbyańs; sacred things of three kinds (deposited there) conferred great graces on that hole, below. Looking down from up there, he said that the aDsam bu glin was as large as a boat; having descended by a stone staircase, he looked upwards and saw a high dignitary, leaning out to beckon to him, fall headlong; he arrived in a chapel where the dbu mdsad ... the tea to be drunk during the ceremony and songs. Then the light of the sun descended with a rotating movement, and it was like (the feast of) the great "smon lam," So he said. Then, in a night when he prayed to mTs’an t’od, he saw in a dream a man carrying a great ... into the fire, and then, having asked him what he was doing, he answered that he was boiling a tea-soup for all creatures; then he went into a house and (saw) that above there was a hole; he began to clap his hands, and from above someone said “who is there?”, and he answered: “And who is up there? Have I not come?”, (The other answered) “rDo tJe p’ag mo is here, it is not right that you should come thus ...” These and other marvellous things he said. Then he woke up ...

“Imy this beautified by the sun, the moon and the stars, on the trunk of the heavenly tree (jon sdoñ = jon siñ, see biogr., p. 16) once he was born. Since he was three years old ... in the temple ....”

“When he went to ... c’e, he saw the master and the Buddhas of the four points of space, not severed from Remati; in gZi k’a the prince honoured him with faith and had a silver mc’od rten made to keep relics. When in the temple, a (monk) was explaining the bKa’ gzams pa’s secondary texts (bu c’os), the Kva je C’os tJe bSod nams grags pa ... asked whether he could explain the biography; then certainty as regards aBrom (ston) and Tsöñ k’a pa’s doctrine was born in all of them. Then he went to K’a’ gnar goñ and practiced the ascetics’ (sk’rul med) noble discipline. With his incarnation, which knows all the infinite things to be known, he became famous among all.”

“Iby:

“Staying in..., once more, enlarging he went to aBras spuns; at the age of eight he took monastic vows from bSod nams grags pa and the ac’arya Legs pa don grub...”

“In the year of the dog, in the sixth month summer-autumn, while he was shut up in the dGon rts’s, meditating, he had a vision of Ts’e dpag med, rTa mgrin etc. and of his protecting deities. In the year of the boar and in the summer and autumn months, he resided in rGyal, always causing the rain of the Law to fall. In the winter month, in the great monastery of rTsed t’añ, he directed the ceremonies on the occasion of Tsöñ k’a pa’s birthday, and having disposed everyone in the faith, he visited the temple of K’ra abrug ...” the creatures according to the purpose. He then went to the palace of dGa’ ldan; in the year of the mouse he was installed in the seat of dGa’ ldan; on the throne of the dauntless lion revolved the wheel of the Great Vehicle.

“Possessing the scholar’s twelve powers, he ruled over all creatures capable of being converted in the common manner and he showed how the endless parts of the Law are listened to at the masters’ school. Although he had filled the ocean of the two accumulations, he continually made offerings (to the gods). Before arriving in rGyal, one night..."
he saw in a dream Žal bži pa doing many miraculous things: the rje said: "in... sdiis there is a master of the sacred scriptures, and away from here there is an extraordinary cemetery," so he said. And so he went and found there was a lake surrounded by a large cemetery, and in it there was a red triangle, in the middle of which a great acārya was standing, who led him inside; a small acārya brought alcohol and the big one some tea in a pot and said: "I can show great prodigies. There is nothing to fear." And he saw in a dream one who said: "It is necessary that I be instigated by Žal bži pa's great teachings." One night, in Mē t'og t'ai (he saw in a dream) a black man issuing from a hole in an iron castle without doors, blazing with fire, who said to him "come hither." Inside was a man's corpse dripping blood from the mouth, and upon him a terrible fire. He said that this was one of the C'os rgyal's prodigies. He further said that another night dPal ldan lha mo performed a great prodigy, shedding light from her face.

Lower inscription:

"Then at the age of ten, on the anniversary of the miracle of (the Buddha's) multiplication... in the palace... went to the great feast of the vow... 10,000 images of the Bha-drukalpa... in the midst of innumerable monks... the work of all the Buddhas... the mountain... merits... accomplished... having shown..."

Second line:

"Miraculous... of the wind... light of the sky... divine objects... filled by rain; he did it with... in the day of the month in the circle of the scholars... works... measure..."

Third line:

"you... rJe btsun so named... in great battles... lord of the circle; not fear;... in Guń t’ań... having consecrated the (mc'od) rten... and the image on cloth..."

Left border (first and second line):
Translation impossible.
Translation impossible.

"In the year of the tiger he went to rGyal, had sacred objects made, consecrated them and offered sacrifices..."

"In summer..."

"As regards the first teaching..."

"He came with glory of all things, either belonging to this world or to the peace of the spirit, and in the pleasant garden Pad ma dga' the sun's light was like... the great stars were set there, and he offered hundreds of offerings.

"Then he went to aBras spūns, the donor was the Nań so... who gave incalculable gifts. In the year of the hare he had the cloth-tanka made, to be shown during the sMon lam feast, called "the one which gives fruit simply by being seen... From the pavilion of the Tantric temple in rGyal he caused the lord of the teaching to come, and then opened all the Tantras... all the waters of baptism. He had a vision of the nine gods of Ts'e dpag and first of all of the baptism, and was applauded by the C'os skyöö and by the Srūn ma. In this same year of the hare he had a vision and marvellous dreams. At the age of 15,... in the year of the dragon, prodigies... adamantine earth... said... incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs and was invested with the authority of lord of the teachings... unchangeable of the rdo rje..."

Let us see briefly how these episodes are represented on the tanka: Above the first stripe bearing an inscription, proceeding from left to right: dGa' ldn, Manjuśrī, with a sword in his right hand, seated inside a palace; a man leans out and falls on another man, who is looking at him from below; in the interior of a building some monks are gathered; mnal (for mdnal) lam gyi bkod "the dream's unfolding..."; the scene refers to the part of the inscription translated above.

Above some figures in a small shrine among the clouds; "mk'a spyod", "journey through the air...", refers to the country
where he was incarnated. To the left, lower down, along the edge, a garuda, žal gzigs kyi ye sès k’yun “Ye sès k’yun seen in an apparition.” Underneath a monk seated in front of a manḍala, to his right: žal gzigs kyi lha dgu,91 “the vision of the nine gods of the manḍala of Tse dpag med.” To the right of the same scene a monk seated on a throne, “saṅs rgyas gnih pa snaṅ mdsad rdo rje,” “sNaṅ mdsad rdo rje equal to a second Buddha.” Above a Buddha in the midst of disciples and masters: gos sku “the tanka on stuff,” alludes to the tanka on stuff which bSod nams rgya mts’o caused to be made; near these words the letter: la refers the reader to the corresponding paragraph of the inscriptions. To the right, below, monks working on a building. A seated monk among the lama perhaps represents the consecration. Above a Buddha amidst his disciples, in a palace: “o rgyan yul,” “Orgyan’s country,” alludes to his preceeding incarnations, like the scene which immediately follows on the right: rgyal rtras mt’a’ yas dri med, “the Bodhisattva mT’a’ yas dri med.” Above, in the centre, a pavilion with Byams pa: “dga’ ldan,” the letter k’a refers to the corresponding paragraph of the inscriptions. Underneath, a monk kneeling in front of an apparition: “yar luṅ,” refers to a vision which had appeared in Yar klun; lower down, a little to the left, a monk in a temple among his disciples, “dga’ ldan p’o braṅ,” “the palace of dGa’ ldan,” refers to the paragraph na of the inscription. To the right of Byams pa’s image, a bodhisattva kneeling in a pavilion: dga’ ldanṣam dpal śniṅ pa, Tsonī k’a pa’s incarnation. More to the right, above: bDe ba can “the Sukhāvati.” In the right hand corner a monk between two disciples and the Buddha; the letter c’a refers to the corresponding paragraph of the inscriptions. Lower down, one under the other, two small pictures follow, which show the interior of two houses; above: yab rnam rgyal grags pa: below, under the figure of a person lying down, yum dpal rgyal ḍsom bu k’rid, “The mother dpal ḍSom bu k’rid.”

Underneath: bla ma sprung bo, “the master sPrel bo.” On the left side, between the two inscriptions, two temples; in the smaller one the eleven-headed sPyan ras gzigs, in the larger one an image of Śakyamuni, to which many monks are doing honour: lha sa. Underneath a procession of monks carrying “Byams pa’s,” image on a chariot. Still lower down another temple, with monks in front of an image: guṅ t’aṅ; the letter: Ja refers to the inscription.

Underneath, on the left, a lama among four disciples, letter: a; on the right a lama, in a temple, lifts his eyes towards some visions; dGon rtse (ts’a).

Right side, between the two inscriptions: above, a view of aBras spuris and his seminaries: aBras spuris śnags k’an - lha k’aṅ goṅ; ādu k’āñ c’en po.

Underneath, inside a shrine monks making offerings: dga’ ldan p’o braṅ; the letter: ba refers to the inscription.

Three lamas in front of an image: tje legs don pa, bSod nams grags pa bla gnih, the Dalai Lama’s two masters. The third represents bSod nams rgya mts’o in the moment of adoration. The pageant which follows under his installment, Ser la “the same in Se ra.” Below a temple, with images and monks: gsam yas, i.e. bSam yas. In the space under the second inscription, from left to right, a large temple with a lama seated on a throne and around him lamas presenting offerings; the letter dsa refers to the corresponding inscription.

Below, in a triangular frame, a seated lama, surrounded by images of deities; this refers to the vision described in inscription above. Further up, in a temple, two adoring monks on each side of an image of the Buddha of K’ra abrug;92 then two monks on horseback; underneath the same in a temple, among many lamas; the letter: ra refers to the inscription. The scenes which follow represent episodes which have occurred in dGa’
ldan: dga’ ldan rtse rje sku rin po c‘e, “the precious image of the rje Tson k’a pa in dGa’ ldan rtse,”; rnam sras p’o bral: rNam t’os sras’ palace; dga’ ldan p’o bral: dGa’ ldan’s palace.

Towards the lower right-hand corner, in a temple, an image of the Buddha standing: rdSiṅ c’i (viz. rdDiṅ ji in ‘Ol k’a’). Above, laymen kneeling opposite some monks: ‘Ol k’a. This refers to the honours rendered to bSod nams rgya mts’o by ‘Ol k’a princes. On the carpet on which the lotus that the Dalai Lama is sitting on rests, are represented the donors: one of them carries on his hand a wheel, the symbol of kingship: the tanka was found in Luk, it therefore represents princes of Western Tibet.

We may surmise that it was painted when the spiritual ties between Western Tibet and the Yellow Church were still strong and the royal family had not ceased to hold its sway over the country; this in fact seems to be the conclusion to be drawn from the presence of a personage with royal insignia. We can’t help thinking of Jig rten dban p’yuṅ pad ma dkar lde who in the year 1555 went to pay a visit to bSod nams rgya mts’o. So there are good reason for supposing that the tanka was made by order of that prince or of his sons K’ri nam mk’a’ dban p’yuṅ who was another supporter of the Yellow Church.

Anyhow the tanka is to be assigned to the end of the XVIth century.

TANKA n. 39 (Plates 73, 74).

In this tanka the central figure is an angry-looking deity, represented in the likeness of a siddha: with his right hand he brandishes a club, his left hand holds, on a level with his breast, a skull-cap full of blood. He can easily be identified thanks to the inscription written under the image:

ajigs run stag c’ibs btsṅ k’a rnal ābyor ts’ul.
“Manner in which Tson k’a pa, riding a terrible tiger, practised yoga ..

This means that Tson k’a pa is identified with the terrific manifestation (k’ro bo) of that mystical plane whose earthly manifestation or projection he is. Besides the terrific manifestation, other liturgies are known, which also meditate upon Tson k’a pa in the form of an ascetic: so, for instance, in the Bla mai rnal ābyor zab k’yad can c’os kyi rgyal po tson k’a pa c’en pos mk’as grub ’ams cad mk’yen po la gcig bhrgyud kyi ts’ul du gnaṅ ba Tson k’a pa is meditated upon as an ascetic of a golden-red colour, like copper, upon a throne drawn by eight lions; he carries besides the usual attributes, the sword and the book, a skull-cap, as in the present painting; he is imagined with an ascetic topknot, after the yogin’s fashion, while the masters of the various kinds of Tantra emanate from him.

Above and below, on the central axis of the tanka, we see two small images of the same master, according to traditional iconography: one floating on clouds and the other upon a throne borne by some deities. In the two upper corners again Tson k’a pa on an elephant to the left, and Tson k’a pa under the form of Jam dpal dbyaṅs, on a lion, to the right; in the two lower corners his two foremost disciples.

These aspects of Tson k’a pa allude to a celebrated vision, or rather to a series of visions which his favorite disciple mK’as grub rje had after his death. One day the latter offered a religious ceremony in his master’s honour, and then fell into ecstasy. Then six successive visions of Tson k’a pa appeared to him, namely Tson k’a pa in the form of sambhogakāya, seated on an elephant, seated on a throne, carried by a cloud and finally in the terrific aspect which here towers in the centre of the tanka.

It is clear then that the painter alludes to this particular vision, which on the other hand seems to have been treated fairly often in Tibet: in reality at least two instances of this kind of painting are known; one already published by S. Ch. Das, the first to make known the legend illustrating it (Buddhist Text
Society, Journal and text, 1893, Part II, App. II, p. 4) and another one by Grünwedel (Weg nach Sambala, p. 90).

Around the picture is represented the large family of the Siddhas, grub t'ob, Indian and Tibetan, those masters of yoga we have mentioned above (see tanka n. 8) of whose esoteric tradition Tson k'a pa had been the heir and the interpreter.

Most of the Siddhas represented on this tanka can be identified, because every figure is accompanied by an inscription which gives his name. It appears that the painter was inspired by the biography n. II(24) of the Siddhas, to which we referred above and which, as we saw, was very popular among the Yellows. The tanka is therefore a pictorial reproduction of that booklet. Beginning from the first line on top, the inscriptions full of mistakes succeed one another as follows:

1st line:

"Gla pa la ci'bs btsun k'a pa. — "Tson k'a pa riding an elephant..."
"Na lo za shin [d cousins] grub brn es lu ba pa. — "Lu ha pa (Luhipā) who feeds on fishes and obtains his realization (Edel., p. 21)."
"Pad mar rdsus k'ru'ns or gyan pa zabs. — "Uddi-yanapāda miraculously born from a lotus..."
"Nags [k'yi] lha mos būd rtsi p'ul klu grub..." zabs. — "Nāgārjunapā gets ambrosia from a forest goddess..."

[dka' t'ub mdasad] byams pa zal gzigs t'ogs med pa. — "Asanga made penances and had the vision of Byams pa..."
"Byo (sic for jo bo) rje ati sāi pa mar me mdasad. — "The c'o's rje Atiśa Dīpaṇkarā..."
"Ham mk'an dur gnas su... ma ri pa. — [Ku, as in the text for: Ca] "ma ri pā the shoemaker, in the cemetery..."
"Sen ge c'ibs btsun k'a pa. — "Tson k'a pa riding a lion..."

Line 28:

"C'u c'en gyen zlog ni gzun bir va pa. — "Bir vā pā (Virūpā) causes a great river to flow uphill and stops the sun..." (Edel., pp. 28-29).

"Dom bhe hi ru stag gzon gday btsin btagl. — "Dombhehiru, (Dombhiheruka) mounted on a tiger, crosses the (Ganges) spreading a carpet..."
"Bram ze rig la (m)gar (for gar) mk'an sa ra ba. — "Saraha the dancer, born of brahmanic parentage..."
"Pad ma vajra... gzugs shīn [tag za ba]... zab. — "Padmavajra eats fruits..."
"Dge tsul rje mo k'ur g'legs ts'em bu... — "The novice Ts' em bu pa who walks carrying a nun..." (Zauberer, p. 204).
"Dge bshen ts'ams spyan. — "[Nilapa] the devout layman as a Brahmacārī..."
"Sta (for ha) stens mdasad pra (p'ra?) nag po spyan zabs... — "Kṣṇācārya casting the exorcist's look..."
"Dge sloi lus can sans rgyas ye shes zabs. — "The incorporated (?) monk Buddhajñanapāda..."
"Gdol rig yam bcas ku ru pi pa zabs... — "Kukkuriā, by caste a caṇḍāla, with his šakti..."
"Mts'o skyes rdo rje. — "Padmavajra..."
"Adru (sic) su ku pa mk'a' g'legs. — "Bhu su ku walking on air..."
"Ral gri k'yer nas mk'a' g'legs na le ntra. — "Nalendrapā who walks on air, carrying a sword..."
"Srīn poi k'a gnon pad ma ka ra. — "Padmākara overcoming the Srīn po..."
"Sān pai rigs sen 'zon sin hi pa. — "Sin hi pa, (Simhapā) the butcher riding on a lion..."
"Na pai rigs dge sloi mi na pa. — "The monk Minapa, of a race of fishermen..."
"Kā (?) mk'as mk'a' g'legs rha sa ra zabs. — "Rahsarapa... walking on air..."

4th line:

"Shīn pa p'yang rgya da(n) (b)cas t'og ts'i pa. — "The peasant Tog tse pa with his mudrā..."
"Na ro pa 'zes rin gi [bu mo] bsten. — "Naropa uses his daughter (as his šakti)..."
"Bu smad dān bcas rdo rje dril bu pa. — "Vajrasaṃbhāra with a woman..."
"Royal rigs leam bcas in dra bho di zabs. — "Indrabodhi of royal lineage with his mate..."
"Royal rigs mk'a' lbas. — "Akalāsadeva of royal lineage..."
t'e ts'om sel sprin ṣug(s) can. – “Sprin ṣugs can solving doubts,” (v. SP, p. 142).

5th line:

t'a ru rigs las srid brag kal ru pa. – “Karupā born in the borderland, who crosses [the ocean] of existence,”

bra my rigs rnam t'og brag a na ri ta. – “Anara Rita of brahmanic descent of those of a low caste,”

bum t'ogs cos dri ma bkru sen[ge]. – “Sen ge holding a vase washed the stains,”

6th line:

rgyal rigs dmar spyon ḡbras a dru (do) kan ta pa. – “Kantapā, of royal descent, who live like those of a low caste, grinding corn,”

t'sod (for rtsod) rgyl sgor skyabs can tra go mi ḡabs. – “Candra-gomin protected by sGrol ma, overcomes in debate (the heretics),”

dge sloṅ spros med aṣag spyil bu pa. – “The monk sPyl bu pa, ... a quietist,”

zla ba bzaṅ po bram rigs rnal ḡbyor lus. – “Candrabhada, of brahmanic descent, in an ascetic’s body,”

sgor dkar byin rlabs rnal ḡbyor kun ḡda. – “The yogin Ananda(vajra) who has sGrol ma’s blessing,”

klu grub ḡjons t'ugs la c'ud mka'as zla ba ḡrags. – “The learned Candrakirti who learns the meaning of Nāgarjuna’s works,”

7th line:

bra my rigs mjal dge bsen p'a c'as pa. – “The devout layman ṗ'b a c'as pa, a brahman, who meets the king,”

... spyon mdsad. – “... practices,”

til bduṁ (for bduṁ) sain rgyas žal mjal te lo pa. – “Telopā who grinds seeds and sees the Buddha, ”

siṅ t'un t'eg c'en sa kya bês ghen žabs. – “Śākyamitra the wood picker, the mahāyānist,”

na pai rigs la gcer bu ts'am ḡba li. – “Candāla the naked, of fisher parentage,”

8th line:

smad ats'oṅ ḡna brgyar mka' ats'ogs ḡba ri ḡa ka. – “Darikā walks on air with 500 harlots,” (Edel., p. 22).

ba laṅ skyoṅ pa na ga bo ḡbe žabs. – “Nāgarbodhipā the herdsman,”

gar mka' ḡan lam... sa ba ri žabs ... – “Śabari with his mate, the dancer,”

mka' ats'ogs ḡbe sloṅ ḡba po pa. – “Bhadra, the monk walks on air,”

bra mrig dge sloṅ bhe po le ne žabs. – “The monk Bhe pa la na: of brahmanic extraction,”

t'ug[s] dam žal gregs ma [mka'] ats'ogs gur ḡbyaṁs mka' ri k'ro ma. – “Ri k'ro ma who sings songs and has had the vision of his protecting deity walking on air,”

[mai] tri pa rgyud ḡdus sgra mka' an žabs. – “Sgra mka' an belonging to the school of Maitripā,”

mtr' agro t'ob ts'ogs brkob kon ta la. – “Kontala going in the borderland digs,”

rta [mgar] gregs ḡdug adul [nam mka'] ats'ogs tsa[p]a ri. – “Tsa[p]a ri who gets the vision of rTa mgar and subdues a poisonous snake,”

9th line:

t'ugs dam žal gregs sa ra ba žabs. – “Saraha sees his protecting deity,”

gtam gi t'sod pa las ḡyul Je ta ri. – “Jetāri victorious in logic,”

smad ats'oṅ ḡna brgyar mka' ḡagro spyon ḡda ni bhi pa... – “Bhi pa with 500 har lots goes in the air,”

rgyan ḡug gsal dur [k'ro] la mar me ḡba. – “Mar me ḡba ... in the cemeteries prays to the six ornaments,”

dur k'ro dza c'en gsal ba si ya li. – “Siyali eats human flesh in the cemetery,”

agrol gregs luṅ bstan t'ob pa ṃi ma ḡbas. – “Ra-vigupta has a vision of sGrol (ma) and obtains from her a prediction,”

[ni ma zer] la gregs nاغ gih dbaṅ p'yug ḡyul. – “Nāg gi dbaṅ p'yug, Vāgīśvara,” going on the rays of the sun,”

ats'o byed rigs dge sloṅ si ba la. – “The monk Sīmhala of a family of physicians,”

10th line:

gdol rigs mar mka' an yum ḡdan bhir ba pa. – “Bhirbāpā, of the candāla caste, makes butter with his śakti,”

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Last line near the donor:

bram rigs yum ldan lo gi ta žabs. — “Lohitapā of a brahmanic caste, with his mate,”

mts’an mc’og mk’a’ gēgs dharmaiktī žabs. — “Dharmaiktī, of great renown, goes through the air,”

dkar spyan ... gzigs lha ... — “white wolf... sees,”

gzigs lta gi bye po mk’an gru rje. — “mK’an grub rje had the vision...” This refers to the story alluded to above.

... par du byed po gom c’un ... (rgya) mts’o ... pai gzigs ... a lha. — “He who did... was the sGom c’un ... rgya mts’o ... saw...”

ziṅ bkod [bris] par mk’an rdo [rje]. — “The painter was rDo rje...”

skod rgyal sral bal po t’ug(s) rje ’c’en po. — “sKol rgyal sral, the Nepalese, the great compassionate,”

TANKA n. 40.

A choir of Grub t’ob (see tankas nn. 8 and 39) which surrounds rDo rje ač’ān, the symbol of supreme truth and essence, assisted by two mK’a’ aṅgro ma. Beginning from the farthest lower corner on the left and moving upwards we see:

1. Kal pa pa bzaṅ po
2. Si ka li
3. Pag ka pa
4. illegible
5. Nag po spyod
6. Mar me mdsad
7. Aryadeva
8. Nag po rdo rje
9. Bhi rva pa
10. Lo ki pa
11. Indra bho ti
12. Sa ra ha
13. Klu sgrub
14. rDo rje dril bu pa
15. ɜBu su ku pa
16. Ku ka ri pa
17. mTS’o skyes rdo rje
18. Sains rgyas ye šes
19. Kan to pa
20. no inscription
21. no inscription
22. T’og[s] med
23. illegible
24. illegible
25. Zla ba gra(gs)
26. —
27. illegible
28. illegible
29. Blo bzaṅ po
TANKA n. 41 (Plate 75).

This tanka represents a four-armed deity; his two principal hands are in the mudrā called hūm māsa; the right hand brandishes the vajra and the left grasps a noose. He is trampling on a lifeless corpse, and emerges from a flaming halo; he has a terrific aspect; his head is crowned with skulls; a large snake is wound round his neck and shoulders as a scarf. This image corresponds to Grünwedel's BM, fig. n. 136, and is there called Nilāmbara. But P'yang rdo rje gos can, Nilāmbara Vajrapāni is regularly represented with two hands, according to a celebrated sādhana of Atiṣa's. The aspect here reproduced is that of P'yang na rdo rje ābyuṅ po ādul byed, Bhūtādāmara, also called gDul dka' ābyuṅ po ādul māsa pai mt'u stobs ap'ruļ byuṅ gsaṅ bai bdag; “he is of a blue colour, with one face and four hands; his two principal hands are in the mudrā called hūm māsa, in his other right hand he brandishes the rdo rje of lightning, to strike his enemies and the demons; his left hand threatens enemies and demons, in the threatening mudrā, and holds a noose. He is gnashing his three round and roughly hewn teeth...”

His ornaments are eight snakes, Nor rgyas etc.; round his waist a tiger-skin belt. With legs wide apart, he tramples on gZan mi t'ub and other ābyuṅ po (see dPal p'yang na rdo rje ābyuṅ po ādul byed grub t'abs, in sGrub t'abs kun btsus, vol. ga; cf. Indo-Tibetica, IV, part II, p. 138, p. 1). (Cfr. on this god: B. Bhattacharya, The cult of Bhūtādāmara, Proc. and Transact. VIth All India Or. Conference, 1933, pp. 349-370).

On the god's head is seen Mi bskyod pa's figure. Round him develops the cycle of his maṇḍala: we see two aergency skyes lha, on their traditional mounts, and the eight nāgas.

On the first line above, tNam par snaṅ māsa.

TANKA n. 42 (Plate 76).

It represents the cycle of the Arhats, accompanied by the kings of the four points of the compass. We shall speak at greater length about this cycle when illustrating tankas nn. 126-131 and we refer our readers to that part of this work.

In both tankas are represented 18 Arhats, namely the 16 traditional Arhat and besides Dharma-tala and the Hva ṣāṇ, according to the Chinese iconography and manner.

TANKA n. 43 (Plate 77).

Not identified; above Byams pa in dGa' ldan heaven, between two masters: to the left Milaraspa in the act of reciting his songs, to the right sGrol ma; underneath, in the centre, mGon po between two other terrific deities.

TANKA n. 44 (Plate 78).

The tanka represents Tārā, in her manifestation well known by the name of Šyāmā Tārā, in Tibetan sGrol iļjan, green Tārā. The two hands are one in the attitude of presenting a gift, and the other in the attitude of protection. In her left hand a lotus; on one side the image of Ral gcig ma, of a blue colour, with the skull-cap and the knife with handle in the form of a rdo rje; on the other side Mārici, of a yellow colour.

The goddess is seated on a lotus, resting in its turn on a throne; throne and image are placed in the interior of a heavenly palace. Above, to signify the goddess's spiritual descent and the mystical plane to which she belongs, there is a small figure of Amitābha: this form of Tārā is his emanation Along the outer edges of the tanka, various manifestations of the same goddess or images of kindred deities. Six figures below, and two more on a level with her shoulders, signify the Tārā's eight forms, invoked by devotees to ward off the eight deadly perils: fire, water, thieves, etc. (see tanka n. 36). The goddess, always in the same mudrā, touches with her right hand the head of a man who has run to her for aid; behind her, symbols of teh
perils: the elephant, the tiger, the demon etc. Above, on the left, Kurukullā, red, six-armed, between two attendants which are Tārā's secondary forms (see BHATTACHARYA, Ic., p. 58), on the right other feminine deities, eight-armed, attended by two acolytes, perhaps Yoṅs su smin par byed ma; Indo-Tibetica, II, part II, p. 158. Below Vasudharā, six-armed.

On the left another female figure, twelve armed and three-headed, representing therefore sToṅ ka zla, one of Tārā's 21 forms (see Indo-Tibetica, II, part II, p. 158); to the right, under the small images of Tārā who protects from perils, Brahmā with his acolytes on a swan and Me lha on a ram; to the right a two-armed goddess with acolytes, and C'u lha on a makara.
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TANKA n. 45 (Plate 79).

It undoubtedly comes before tankas nn. 55-62-64 and the following: they all illustrate the life of the same personage, Tson k’a pa. But I advise the reader to go over it again, after having read what we say about the great Tashi-lunpo series and its derivations, and this for two reasons. First of all because, when we illustrate that series and the woodcuts which inspire it, we shall have to go into the details of Tson k’a pa’s biography, without which painting n. 45 also could not be understood; then because the precedence, in order of time, of tanka n. 45, will thus stand out more clearly. The pictures are more unpretentious, they represent only a few personages: Tson k’a pa, his masters and disciples; landscape and atmosphere are almost completely lacking, whether they be mountain scenery, a monk’s cell or chapels in temples. Sometimes the painter does draw the interior of temples, for instance when he recalls the foundation of the Monlam in Lhasa, or when he outlines the reconstruction of the destroyed or damaged chapel in Dsiin ji; but they are slight and extremely simple touches; the artist has not yet felt the influences which come from China in the XVIIIth century. There is no attempt at constructing scenes: the narrative is thus broken up in a series of figures which divide into separate groups.

The story begins in the upper left-hand corner, with the sKu album, i.e. the sKu album’s temple in Amdo, where Tson k’a pa was born; then the pictures follow, which are explained by inscriptions as follows:

tsan (sic, for gtsan) dbus su byon. — “He goes to gTsan and to dBus,”

c’os lu’n du bla dam pa ajal (for mjad). — “In C’os lu’n he meets the holy master,”

byams c’os gsan. — “he hears the Law of Byams pa,”

gsahn p’ur grva skor. — “The seminary of the gSa’n p’u”

rtsen ro’n du grva skor mdsad. — “in rTse ro’n he teaches in the seminary”

rtsen c’en du re ada’ (for mda’) pa mdo ma’n po san (for gsan). — “in rTse c’en he hears from Re mda’ pa many süttras”

a dkar brag... san (for gsan). — “in A dkar brag he listens...”

yar klu’ns ts’ul k’rims par brsön par rdsogs. — “in Yar klu’ns he receives the full vows from Ts’ul k’rims”

Za lur... — “in Zva lu...”

gdon du dbyun mar ajam dbyani’s san (for gsan). — “in gDon he hears the precepts on ajam dbyani’s, under dbyun ma pa”

rdsin aji’ zig sos. — “in rDsi’in aji he repairs ruined temples”

rtsa rir ts’o (for ts’ogs) k’or. — “the ts’ogs gk’or (ganacakra) in Tsa ri”

To the right:

sku ts’e rjes ma dge’ ldan ru k’ru’ins. — “his last incarnation in dGa’ ldan,”

dge’ ldan brtab nas der c’os ma’n du gsuni’s bdud kyi gyu’l las rgyal nas nma na’n las adas ts’ul bstan. — “after having founded dGa’ ldan and having much preached there, having vanquished the demons, it seemed as if he were entering nirvana”

tson k’a pa dge’ adun grub ’on sde ste’n k’ar... — “Tson k’a pa and dGe’ adun grub in ‘On sde ste’n”

bu ston rin po c’e la rtsa rgyud gsan. — “From Buston he hears the fundamental Tantras”
Ra re'n (for rva gre'n) dgon du lam rim c'en mo sogs ma'n du gsum. — "In the monastery of Rva gre'n he explained the Lam rim and other laws,. . .
... t'ai du re a'da'. — "In . . . t'ai Re mda' . . .
ra k'a brag legs bshad sogs rtsom (for brtsom). — "In Ra k'a brag he composes the Legs bshad . . .
zangs por lam rim zus. — "in Zangs po he questions concerning the Lam rim,. . .

Round the central figure are gathered the principal masters and disciples:
mK'as a'grub, Shes rab sen ge, aJam dbya's c'os rje, dGe ădun grub, aJam dpal rgya mts'o, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, rGyal ts'ab.

TANKA n. 46 (Plates 80, J).

It represents a seated lama, wearing rich draperies and the cap typical of the Yellow sect; in his right hand he holds a lotus and in his left the wheel symbolizing rule. It is the wheel from which the cakravartins took their name, the kings who extended their rule over all the earth. This means that the present lama was not a simple monk, but had political authority; we must therefore think of a Dalai Lama, because Dalai Lamas, besides being invested with supreme ecclesiastical dignity, are also the temporal rulers of Tibet.

A closer approximation is possible, because above the figure we see an image of Padmasambhava, attended by his two wives Mandaravā and mTs'o rgyal. It is well known that the Yellow sect's relations with the sects of the ancient rNi'n ma pa have not been good, although Padmasambhava is considered throughout Tibet as the greatest apostle of Buddhism in the Country of Snows. But it is one thing to worship Padmasambhava as one of the greatest teachers, and quite another to admit direct spiritual connections with a master who was the fountain-head of a school that the Yellow sect tried to overshadow and to smother by every means.

The Dalai Lama’s policy has always undoubtedly been hostile to the "Ancients,,,. and although it gave an official stamp to Padmasambhava’s biographies, it did not neglect to touch up and manipulate them. Only one Dalai Lama was favourable to the rNi'n ma pa and particularly devoted to Padmasambhava: the fifth Dalai Lama, a member of the princely family of āP'yōn rgyas, bound by long tradition to the bKa' brgyud pa school. Among his works, mystical treatises abound, inspired by the rNi'n ma pa, and biographies of lamas belonging to this sect: an able attempt to bring the Reds and the Yellows together. There is no doubt that the tanka represents precisely the fifth Dalai Lama, Nam dga'n Blo bza'n rgya mts'o, known in Tibet simply as rgyal ba lha pa "the fifth victorious,,,. Under him, a Đākini performs a mystical dance, while all around ambassadors and envoys of different countries, Indians, Chinese, Mongols, each in his typical apparel and with well defined features, bring gifts and offerings to symbolize the fifth Dalai Lama’s great fame, which had overstepped the boundaries of Tibet, spreading over distant lands.

The Chinese personages represented in the pageant probably recall the embassies sent by T'ai Tsung; the Mongol at his side, presenting gems to him, must be recognized as Gu śri Khan, the Mongol chief who put an end to the dynasty of the rulers of gTsān, as we have said in the introductive portion of this book. The tanka published by Hackin in Asiatic Mythology, p. 176 bears a great likeness to ours.

To the right, on the extreme edge, the seven gems, a symbol of kingship, and below two dGra lha.

TANKAS nn. 47, 48 (Plates 81, 82).

These two paintings interpret, in a rather different manner, the same subject. They are certainly inspired by the dogmatics of the "Yellow school,, which little by little, through theological subtleties, by painstaking and strained recourse to the scriptures, set
out to prove its founder's divinity. Tson k'a pa was considered the incarnation of a Bodhisattva who, in past ages, took the vow of attaining supreme enlightenment, and for the good of suffering beings was repeatedly embodied, constantly perfecting and refining his nature and his virtues. Thus Tson k'a pa's followers, as soon as his school had firmly taken root, maintained that he was a Bodhisattva, on the same spiritual plane (t'ugs rgyud gиг pa) as Māṇjuśrī, and in fact he is actually represented with this Bodhisattva's symbols: the book of gnosis on his right and the sword which cleaves ignorance on his left.

Once this assimilation had taken place, it was natural that some legends told by the scriptures concerning Māṇjuśrī should be attributed to Tson k'a pa. As one of his greatest disciples, mK'as grub, wrote, followed by other biographers, the reformer, after having vowed to become a Buddha since Sākya-muni's times, when he was the monk Padmai nan ts'ul, was admitted, as the Bodhisattva dJam dpal sînh po, into the Tusita heaven (in Tib. dGa’ ldan) over which Maitreya reigns; then, by Vajrapāni's advice, he was asked by Byams pa (Maitreya) to carry out his task in the Country of Snows.

In both tankas the figure standing out in the greatest relief is precisely Tson k'a pa: attended by his disciples, he descends from heaven carried by a cloud which cuts through space and unfolds in ampler and ampler curves as it gets nearer the earth; this cloud starts, leaving a long wake behind it, from the celestial spheres, in whose midst Maitreya occupies the scene, seated on his throne, according to the iconographical tradition, in the Western fashion: from the god's heart a cloud emanates, carrying Tson k'a pa and his two favourite disciples, to symbolize the spiritual and mystical relation between the god and his representative upon earth.

Thus dogmatics, which had laboured and toiled to increase Tson ka pa’s prestige and to prove by documents his divine nature, found its expression in art.

Round this central theme, to fill up empty spaces, the painters draw figures of deities: in tanka n. 48, below, dPal ldan lha mo, the six-armed mGon po, Yi dam of the Yellow sect and gSin rje, god of death, emerge from the storm-tossed cosmic waters with the rush of primeval forces, in the midst of flames.

In tanka n. 47, above, suspended in the air as if to witness the saint's epiphany, sGrol ma and Ša kya t'ub pa; then, on one side, lower down, rDo rje ajigs byed, Māṇjuśrī's (and implicitly Tson k'a pa's) terrific manifestation, and still lower down the figure of the lama who had the tanka painted, kneeling in front of a table loaded with offerings. Last of all comes gSin rje, the god of death, standing upright on his mount, a buffalo.

The upper scene of tanka n. 48 shows an unusual landscape, recalling certain peaceful countrysides of Moghul painting, rather than mountain scenery in the Chinese manner, with its clear-cut, geometrical cliffs; it does not represent only events unfolding in the sky, but is like a fanciful marriage of earth and heaven: the persons and the scenes to Maitreya's right and left take us back to a rustic serenity without the display of marvellous trees and palaces, of enchanted lakes, which crowd the scene of other heavens in a sort of baroque exuberance.

**TANKA n. 49 (Plate K).**

This tanka represents, with a delicate design and a skillful harmony of colours, the same subject as tankas nn. 47, 48.

In the upper part the heaven from which Tson k'a pa descends between his two disciples; around, a halo of twelve deities, the eight Buddhas of medicine and the four lokapālas.

Below, the sruñ k'o or “the protectors,” with gSin rje, mGon po p’yag drug, Beg tse and a bTsan.
TANKA n. 50 (Plates 83, 84).

It represents, in a newer and more complex form, the dGe lugs ts'ags žiṅ, the dGe lugs pa's assembly or choir. The revelation, handled down by degrees by rDo rje ṛc'aṅ (he stands in the centre, at the top of the painting) lives again in the lama represented in the centre of the tanka; this lama wears the usual draperies and carries the bowl for alms; his right hand is in the attitude of the explanation of the Law, but framed in an almond, in the middle of his breast, we see the image of that same rDo rje ṛc'aṅ who, from the extreme apex of the tanka, may be said to represent the ideal theme inspiring the whole scene. Truth is one, it is the inner light of each of us, insofar as we partake of the Buddha’s essence, even if we are not aware of it; when we find it again, like a gem hidden in its matrix, it floods us with purest light, mirrored again and again in endless reflections.

In the saint’s person that truth shines forth in all its splendour, and all round unfolds the rose of the chosen ones: they have shared the truth with him on equal terms, they have prepared its new revelation. These spiritual choirs, upon which eternal light is reflected, are represented in various manners, the most frequent representation being the one we have often found in these paintings; the saints form a rose converging towards the person placed in the centre of the tanka; whether a god or a master, this figure is a symbol of the light, and, like a sun, diffuses and reflects its rays. Elsewhere, for instance, in the specimen published opposite the front page of GNB, prevails the representation of Sumeru, the cosmic mountain rising towards the highest sphere of spiritual ascent.

In the present tanka the symbolism is different and uses the tree-motif, which we have already mentioned.93) The personage to whom the tanka is dedicated is of course Tson k’a pa Blo bzaṅ grags pa, in the form known as Blo bzaṅ rdo rje ṛc’aṅ, under which the supreme truth accessible to the initiate was revealed through the symbol of rDo rje ṛc’aṅ; in fact in liturgy the mantra used to invoke the master is: om guru vajradharasamatsi-kirti siddhi hūṃ hūṃ (OBERMULLER, Journal of Greater India Society, July, 1935, p. 128).

Below, on the right, we see the seven gems symbolizing kingship; round the trunk of the tree two adoring goddesses, the keepers of the four points of the compass; Brahmā and Indra are immediately above Śākyamuni who is surrounded by the sixteen Arhats; the Buddhas placed round the central image are represented, some meditating in ascetic attire, others wearing the sambhojakāya’s regal raiment; to the left of the spectator, terrific deities.

In the specimen here reproduced there is no inscription, but it may be read on the corresponding Tashilunpo woodcut; indeed this tanka too is drawn from a model engraved in Tashilunpo and much imitated throughout Tibet. According to the inscriptions, these terrific deities symbolize, beginning from the top, the bregud, the spiritual traditions of the initiatic schools expressed by the various tantra. These traditions are divided, as we have said, into four groups, Cāryā, Kriyā, Yoga and Anuttara; each group describes experiences higher than those symbolized in the preceding one. This means that all of these four tantric currents converge in the master who is here represented, and that those very Buddhas to whom the revelations are attributed, or the deities in whose experiences they meet, have blessed him with their inspirations.

Above, over Blo bzaṅ rdo rje ṛc’aṅ’s head and under rDo rje ṛc’aṅ’s image, is the figure of rDo rje ṛc’aṅ with his sakti; all around Indian and Tibetan masters. The small inscriptions of the Tashilunpo woodcut are difficult to read. To the left, first and second line, nothing is visible; 3rd line: Blo bzaṅ don grub; 3rd line, from right to left: Blo bzaṅ ajam dbyaṅs; 7th line: rDo rje rgyal mts’ān.

To the right above, from left to right; 1st line: ....; 2nd line: mK’as grub rje, C’os.
The construction of this tanka is very interesting. To begin with, we had better leave aside the images on the right and left upper corners; they represent some incarnations of the Pan c'en lama of Tashilunpo, which we shall meet with later and other supreme masters of Buddhist esoterism. They have an episodical value and have been placed there to fill up empty space, because the convent where the tanka was drawn is the see where those masters succeeded one another. But the whole painting tends towards the tree and the choirs which develop around it. The Hindu gods and the keepers of the four points of space are outside the heaven which forms the centre of the painting, its true theme; they are outside spiritual life, on the samsaric plane, there is no room for them in the tree of life. The latter opens with the image of the Buddha Śākyamuni among the Arhats, because this revelation of truth, in a form accessible to human beings and proportioned to their limitations, has opened up and pointed out to us the way leading from the samsaric to the nirvanic plane. Out of the central rosette, i. e. above, is rDo rje ac'ān, Vajradhara, represented in a double aspect, with his ṭakti as the Tantras of the superior class imagine him, and alone, on the apex of the tanka, as a symbol of the supreme plane, dharmaṇḍa. The rosette represents paradise proper, the spiritual plane where Tson k’a pa teaches the most secret truths of the adamantine Vehicle to the chosen few ascending to those spheres. They are, as we have seen, purely ideal spheres, which cannot be localized in any part of the universe, outside time and space, in the same manner as the preacher himself is no longer Tson k’a pa but the Dharmakāya in person, who according to the spiritual maturity of the initiate as if evoked by them, reveals the eternal truth, namely his own self, the identity of Essence and of Word. Tson k’a pa carries the vase for alms and stands in dharmaṇḍa, khyānamuda, because he shall appear thus one day, on becoming the Buddha Sen gei 'na ro “of a green colour, with his right hand in the posture of the explanation of the Law and on his left hand the pīndapātra full of ambrosia”, (Vai dūr ya ser po, p. 7, reproducing the theories which dGe lugs pa theology, beginning with ẖAm dpal rgya mts’o, had elaborated in order to place Tson k’a pa on the same level as the most celebrated figures of Mahāyāna).

Below an inscription may be read, whose spelling is very bad:

Na mo gu ru blo bzañ rdo rje p’yañ gnyis rnañ abyor rīm gañ gyis bris ku skon c’ogs brgyal mts’an la bžen pai dge ba agro kun ma lus pai blo bzañ rdo rje p’yañ gi sa t’ob tōg.

The correct version, as in the Tashilunpo woodcut, is:

blo bzañ rdo rje ac’ān gi rnañ abyor rīm gañ gi bris sku dkon m’c’og rgyal mts’an lugs bżenis pai dge bas agro ba ma lus pa blo bzañ rdo rje ac’ān gi sa t’ob par tōg.

“Honour to the master.

(Here is) the yogic succession of Blo bzañ rdo rje ac’ān whose painting is according to the system of dKon m’c’og rgyal mts’an; through the merit accruing from this consecration, may all creatures obtain Blo bzañ rdo rje ac’ān’s spiritual plane... This is an important inscription, because it contains the name of the painter who drew it for the first time, i. e. he drew the composition that was engraved in the Tashilunpo monastery and became a model for all the succeeding copies which were derived from it.

I cannot say who this dKon c’og rgyal mts’an may have been.

TANKA n. 51 (Plate 85).

It is another interpretation of the dGe t’s’ogs Ḟiṅ, the dGe lugs pa’s spiritual congregation: in the centre Śākyamuni, on the axis,
above, rDo rje ac'an, below Tson k'a pa. All around unfolds the wheel of the protecting gods, in the extreme edges. They are represented in their terrific aspect.

Beginning from the lower left-hand corner – Žaṅ loṅ (i. e. Žaṅ blon) rDo rje sdud (for: bdud) mam ādul; on the lower edge, to the right P'ūn ts'ogs rgyal mts'an, who is the donor in front of an altar with gifts; next the seven gems. In the centre, going upwards towards the Buddha's image, one above and over the other, Yul mk'or (for: ak'or) bsrñ, rDo rje aṅgis byed, Rin c'en nṣa bai bla ma, Zla med rje (Tson k'a pa), between Paṅ c'en Blo bzaṅ ye šes and rGyal dbaṅ skal rgya mts'o (the seventh Dalai Lama). On the left the following names can be read: Saṅs rgyas ye šes, Nam mk'a sen ge, Ži ba mts'o (for: āts'o), Seṅ ge bzaṅ po, a second Seṅ ge bzaṅ po, rJe dge legs rgya mts'o, Nor bu bzaṅ po, C'os dpal bzaṅ, Ye šes rgya mts'o, Sri ... t'ai mts'an.

On the right: bSod r Nam (for: nams) rgya mts'o, sPyil bu pa, Saṅs rgyas dbaṅ, Dam c'os rgyal mts'an, DGe aduṅ rgya mts'o, Byams pa c'os ldan, rGyal dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o.99

Then in the upper part, beginning from the Buddha's seat on the left and proceeding upwards, the following names or fragments of names can be read: DGe ... t'og(s) med: āDul bai śde, Žes rabs śen ge, ... rgon, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, Jo bo c'en po, gSer gšiṅ pa, Sa skyā rJe.

To the right, always from below upwards: Ts'ul krim s abar, DGe aduṅ ... mK'as grub, mTs'o rna ba, sKar ma rin c'en, āGro mgon, Dri med luṅ pa.

Above, in the two corners, the Arhats, the seven Buddhas, some siddhas, Tilopā, Nāropā.

Among the protecting deities we see, to the left: Mi gyo ba, Ma gcig slab sgrol ma, DPal gsan bai adus, Dus kyi ak'or lo, gSaṅ bdag p'yag dor, C'os rgyal gsan ... C'os rgyal.

To the right: P'ag mo, bDe mc'og, rNam t'os bu, sGra (for: Dgra) nag, Gur mgon p'yag bži pa, Žal bži pa, Beg rtse.

TANKA n. 52 (Plate 86).

This tanka contains and resumes a celebrated cycle, represented in some sNar t'āṅ woodcuts and in paintings derived from them, as we shall see in the illustration of tankas n. 53 and n. 54. The reader can see what I have there said concerning them; here it is sufficient to recall that the subject of this painting is the Tashilama’s incarnations, as may be asumed from the glosses accompanying nearly all the figures of the masters here represented.

On the left, beginning from the top and going downwards:
1. rab abyor, Subhūti.
2. mgos lo (= āGos lo) the lotsāva of āGos.
3. dbyon ton (gYuṅ ston).
4. so nam ts'ogs blaṅ (bSod nams p'yogs gšaṅ).

On the right:
1. rīgs ldan, (Kulika Maṇjuśrīkirti).
2. no name, but almost certainly Sa skyā Paṅḍita.
3. Mk'as bru (mK'as grub).
4. rGyal ba don grub.

In the centre, above, nameless figures; below, on the left, Legs ldan (Bhavaviveka), on the right Abhaikara (Abhayākara).

It is, then, clear that as the images surrounding the central figure end with rGyal ba don grub, the personage can be no other than Blo bzaṅ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an; hence the painting was done after his death, perhaps at the times of Blo bzaṅ ye šes dpal bzaṅ po. This would date the tanka between the end of the XVII th and the beginning of the XVIII th century. Below, DPal ldan lha mo, between Kubera and mGon po.

TANKAS nn. 53, 54 (Plates L, 87).

Both are by the same hand and can be classed among the most sumptuous specimens of Tibetan art, renewed by its contact with
the style of the Chinese XVIIIth century. They must be assigned to the schools of painting developed after K’ang-hsi had definitely included Tibet in his dominions. The style so clearly Chinese might suggest K’ams schools and painters who had lived under the direct influence of Chinese artists; however, after Chinese hegemony had firmly taken roots in Tibet, the Chinese manner ruled supreme and gave fresh vigour to drooping Tibetan tradition, not only in K’ams, but also in the great monasteries of the Yellow sect. This happened particularly in Tashilunpo or in Lhasa, where political needs made exchanges between Chinese and Tibetan culture more frequent and fruitful. And in fact, on a series of tankas cut in wooden blocks at sNar t'aṅ, has been found the original which inspired the paintings we are studying and the Bacot collection, preserved in the Musée Guimet and reproduced in Asiatic Mythology, figs. 39-40 and table on p. 174 (eфр. R. Linossier, Les peintures tibétaines de la collection Loo, Études d’orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de R. Linossier, pp. 76-77).

On the schemes of the sNar t’aṅ woodcuts the painters of both collections have, wisely and faithfully, based the structure of their works. They confined themselves to blending and balancing colours with indisputable mastery: it is difficult to imagine a greater liveliness and freshness of shades.

The comparison with the wood-blocks of sNar t’aṅ, then, enables us not only to identify the place where these tankas were painted and their inspiration, but also to understand their meaning.

They belong to one and the same cycle, in which are represented the Tashilunpo lamas’ successive incarnations; only those of Tashilunpo, not those of Lhasa, as stated in Asiatic Mythology, p. 171. These incarnations refer to the ancient births of those lamas, both in India and in Tibet: beginning from Subhūti, the disciple to whom the Prajñā-pāramitā was revealed, up to the Tashilamas. The pictorial cycle reproduced in figs. 1-13 contains two more personages, besides those alluded to in Asiatic Mythology. The tanka published by Stael Holstein (Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping, 1932) is a reproduction in synthesis of the same cycle.

As almost always is the case, this artistic representation is derived from a literary source: I am not acquainted with the sKhū p’ren rin pa har byon pa mentioned by Waddell, p. 236, but I know the biographies of some of these incarnations, contained in the works of rJe btsun Blo bzān c’os kyi rgyal mts’an, paṅ c’en of Tashilunpo (complete works, vol. Ka). They are metrical avadāna and are concerned only with:

1. Rab abyor (Subhūti), 2. Rigs ldan grags pa (Kulika), 3. Abhayākara, 4. Sa skya paṇḍita, 5. gYün ston.

A literary source, probably the one quoted by Waddell, has served as a base for an article by S. Ch. Das, where the main events in each of these incarnations are summarized.

But between the literary cycle thus summed up by Das and the pictorial cycle, there is a certain difference, the Tashilunpo series agreeing with the list of Kloṇ rdöl bla ma.

### Indian Incarnations

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<thead>
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<th>Tashilunpo series</th>
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<td>1. Subhūti</td>
<td>Rab abyor c’e</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Maṇjuśrī-kirti</td>
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<td>3. Legs ldan Jad</td>
<td>Legs ldan</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Abhayakaragupta</td>
<td>Abhayakarai žabs</td>
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In the Tashilunpo blocks each tanka is had a vision of gSañ bdag and in Southern India put an end to heretics and met the master Klu grub zabs ,, (fig. 92).

Tibetan incarnations:

Indian incarnations:

1. Svasti

"Having taken vows with the Lord of Ascetics who had been his master, he attained the condition of Arhat. He, Rab abyor c'e carried out the command of the four great kings of the points of the compass, and through his miracles converted the nagas of the ocean,, (fig. 90).

2. c'os kyi rgyal po lha yi dbañ yi ldan gyis dpal ldan dus kyi ak'or loi dkyil ak'or du dbañ skur rdo rje ñugs kyi bka' grub rdu rig du ldan kun gyi t'og ma ajam dpal grags

"aJam dpal grags lofty among all the Kulikas, carried out the command of the adamantine forces, and was initiated into the mandala of the Kalacakra by Lhai dbañ ldan, the king who ruled according to the Law ,, (fig. 91).

3. slob dpon klu grub žabs la legs gtud nas lho p'yogs yul du mu stegs t'ar bcad de gSañ bdag mnoñ sum žal gzigs bya rog mts'an bran ak'ol slob dpon c'en po legs ldan žabs

"The great master Legs ldan žabs bound to his allegiance the god who is called Bya rog, had a vision of gSañ bdag and in Southern India put an end to heretics and met the master Klu grub žabs ,, (fig. 92).

4. rin c'en abyuni gnas...

"Abhayakara of rDor rje gdan, made aware by Mahākāla, had a vision of the mandala ... owing to Rin c'en abyuni gnas ,, (fig. 93).

"The translator of the aGos clan of rTa nag diffused the teaching, relying on the protector of the Law Gri gug mgon po: he determined the manner of realizing and explaining the gSañs ba kun adus, being the first of Atiśa's disciples in gTsah ,, (fig. 94).

6. rje btsun c'en po grags pa rgyal mts'an dāñ yi dam btsan paï ak'or loi t'ugs rjes las mu t'egs t'ar bcad drap po gdoñ bži las p'rin las grags mdsad sa skya pañ dì ta

"Sa skya paññita accompanied by his virtues of action, which were derived to him from Drag po gdoñ bži (the four-faced) put an end to
the heretics with the help of his protecting deity brTan pai ak'or lo and of the (master), the venerable Grags pa rgyal mts'an,, (fig. 95).

7. zur dbaṅ [byams pa] sen ge žabs btud cin ajam dpal гиin rje гsд kyi тнн гdзн kyis mgon po legs ldan ak'or bcas bran du ak'ol dregs pa zil gnow гyн ston rdo rje dpal

"gYun ston rdo rje dpal overthrew the Dregs and meditating upon aJam dpal гsн rje гsд, bound to his allegiance mGon po legs ldan with his retinue and bowed at the feet of Byams pa сеın ge Zur dbaṅ po ,, (fig. 96).

8. rje btsun c'os kyi rgyal po tsdn k'a pa rdo rje ajiṅs byed dbaṅ daṅ gdams [pa] gnaṅ p'yag drug mgon po bṣen sgrub bdun la dban žugs bsal mdsad mk'a grub dge dpal

"The learned and ascetic dGe legs dpal restored the sevenfold worship of mGon po the six-armed, he who had received baptism and instruction on rDo rje ajiṅs byed from rDo rje btsun Tsor k'a pa, king of the Law ,, (fig. 97).

9. mk'a agros lūn bstan bsod namsrin c'en las ēur smṇṅg rtags bṣas (for bżes) ajam pai rdo rje bsgrub dpal ldan lha mlos mśnił sum žal gżigs nas bka' brsn mdsad pai bsod nams p'yogs glaṅ žabs

"bsod nams p'yogs glaṅ protected the teaching: after having had an effective vision of dPāl ldan lha mo, he had the realization of ajam pai rdo rje, receiving from bsod nams rin c'en the monk's raiment; there was a prophecy of the mK'a' agro ma concerning him ,, (fig. 98).

10. . . . kyī rdo rje žabs rdal legs bsten nas k'or lo c'en po'i dbaṅ daṅ gdams (sgrub?) . . . . kyī gśin rje byin brlabs mśnił sum bran ak'ol sgrub pai dbaṅ p'yug c'e

"The Great lord of mystic realizations (dGe ḗduṅ grub) who truly bound to his allegiance... the blessing of gŚin rje and realized aK'or lo c'en po's baptism and instructions, leaning on the dust of... rdo rje's feet ,, (fig. 99).

11. mk'a grub c'en po sāṅs rgyas ye Žes žabs legs bsten be ru ka yis byin brlas žīn rnam t'o sras kyis ap'rin las tsul bžin du bsgrub mdsad blo bzaṅ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an žabs

"Blo bzaṅ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an accomplished his realization according to the agency of rNam t'o sras, received Heruka's graces and leant on the great scholar and ascetic sāṅs rgyas ye Žes žabs ,, (fig. 100).

12. mk'an c'en rdo rje aṣdīn pai bka' drin las rdo rje ajiṅs byed dbaṅ daṅ gdams pa t'o'ob adod k'ams dbaṅ mo c'os kyi brsn m bsten blo bzaṅ ye Žes adul byai bsod nams žīn// de ltar skyes rabs ni ma graṅs ldan pai snān brian par du slob ak'or p'yī t'o'gs kyis dad pas bsgrub pai dge t'o'gs gangai rgyun kun kyiān rjes su aṣdīn pai rgyug gyur tig// maṅ gā lam

"Blo bzaṅ ye Žes by the favour of the great abbot rDo rje aṣdīn obtained rDo rje ajiṅs byed's baptism and instructions. He leant on the help of aDod k'ams dbaṅ mo, keeper of the teaching, and was a field of merit for persons ripe for conversion. His lay disciples have caused to be printed the reflections of those suns which are the incarnations (of the lamas of Tashilunpo): may the current of the river of the merits realized by their faith be the cause that all may be favoured ,, (ffigs. 101-102).

13. pad dkar ac'ān dbaṅs rigcis kyi cod pan daṅ rdo rje ajiṅs byed bṣag pai lha bsten cin adod k'ams dbaṅ mo nram bʒiī las sgrub pai rje btsun blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye Žes žabs maṅ gā lam

"The venerable Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye Žes žabs realized the four kinds of magical works by virtue of aDod k'ams dbaṅ mo; he leant on the help of his protecting deity rDo rje ajiṅs byed and was a diadem of the initiated in the baptism of those holding the white lotus ,, (ffigs. 103-104).

14. blo bzaṅ aṃaṃ dpal rgya mts'o rigcis bṣag can dpal ldan rdo rje ajiṅs byed mśnił sum gżigs lha pe ka tsāṅs pa p'yin dkar bran du ak'ol bstan pa ni ma p'yogs lá sāṅs rgyal žabs/ maṅ gā lam
“bsTan pai ni ma’ yogs las nam rgyal who had the realization of rdDo rje gShigs byed and belonged to the lineage of Blo bzani’ jam dpal rgya mtso, made obedient to his will lha Pe ka[t], Ts’ans pa and P’yin dkar, (fig. 105).

This list lends itself to certain remarks which may allow us to establish with certainty the date when the woodcuts were engraved. The inscriptions on the bottom of each tanka follow one another, as in a gyol adebs or invocation; they begin with the formula of good omen svasti and they close, according to established rules, with the other sanskrit word maṅgalam, which must be written or uttered at the end of every invocation; now the first maṅgalam is to be found at the end of the inscription which accompanies woodcut n. 12, dedicated to Blo bzani’ ye sès. This woodcut is known in two different editions, in one of which Blo bzani’ ye sès is represented in the apparel proper to the Tashilama, and in the other in a master’s apparel. The inscription, identical in both woodcuts, clearly alludes to the engraving of the series; it is therefore certain that the woodcuts 1-12 included cannot be earlier than the year 1737, in which Blo bzani’ ye sès died; the series was then continued also for his successors; thus were engraved also the woodcuts representing Blo bzani’ dpal Idan ye sès, who died in 1780, and rje btsun bstan pai ni ma’, who died in 1854. These three dates 1737, 1780 and 1854 are the post quem limit for the engraving of the various woodcuts; of course in this case the inscription closes with the word maṅgalam, because the end of the series is considered shifted towards the new ending. Tankas n. 53 and n. 54 as we see when we compare them with the Tashilunpo blocks, represent respectively Abhayakaragupta and Sa skya pandita Kun dga’ rgyal mtso’an.

The scheme of the tankas is the same as that of the Tashilunpo drawings although the painter has broken away from it in some slight detail: in these case he has not copied, rather he has taken his inspiration from his models with a certain freedom. In Abhayakaragupta’s tanka some personages are missing, and in their place we only find one monk. In the drawing Abhayakaragupta has a large serpent wound round his waist, in front of him a person is kneeling in the act of demanding grace: underneath, prisoners being taken out of their dungeons and scenes of executions; thus is represented the miracle performed by Abhayakaragupta to induce a Canda king to renounce the human sacrifices he had undertaken, by causing a serpent to appear, who overcame him and vanquished him. We see then that the painter, although he executed his pictures on the Tashilunpo models, was not limited by their schemes. Certainly he was confronted by a subject bound to a fixed tradition: the personage had to be represented in a particular manner, with features prescribed by long usage and with such symbols and postures as might distinguish him, beyond all doubt, from the other Indian or Tibetan masters which appear in the lamaist pantheon; around him it was necessary to arrange those figures which the inscriptions, drawing their inspiration from a written tradition, specify as his acolytes and comrades. But the painter arranged these figures as he wished, and then pleased himself when he came to the landscape, done in a delicate scale of colours, deftly modulated and brightened by effects of depth and relief. On the lower corner we see Mahakala emerging from the night of chaos, surrounded by a halo of fire which, as if shaken by a furious wind, breaks up into a thousand tongues of flame. Above a dakini and an ascetic, whose dark skin shows him to be an Indian: he is certainly Rin c’en abyun gnas, (Ratnakara) Abhayakara’s master, one of the greatest and most active figures of late Buddhism.

Tanka n. 54 on the contrary representing the Sa skya pandita, follows very closely the Tashilunpo model, which it faithfully reproduces: the lama is in the act of performing
an exorcism; evidently the figure of a dark-skinned Indian yogin, in the lower right-hand corner, alludes to the conversion of the Shivaite ascetic Harinanda, which the Sa skya pāṇḍita accomplished in SKyid sron near the Nepalese frontier. 108) Above, a lama’s figure perhaps represents Grags pa rgyal mts’an, and to the left aJam dbyaṅs ṅk’or lo brtan pa, Sthiracakra (Maṇjuśrī), whose incarnation the Sa skya pa are generally believed to be. Below Drag po, with four faces and four hands, dancing his terrific dance.

TANKAS nn. 55 (Giuganino collection) 56-60 (Plates 88-94, M).

These tankas represent Tson k’a pa’s life, thus they too are pictorial biographies, the representation of a rnam t’ar according to the scheme of certain traditional invocations. Tson k’a pa’s life, apart from the biographies written by his disciples, already mentioned elsewhere, is known to us even through some summaries like: rJe btsun tson k’a pai rnam t’ar c’en moi zur adebs rnam t’ar legs bṣad kun adus, which precedes his biography in the edition of his complete works (vol. Ka) and through many litanies (gsol adebs).

Our tankas, like those dedicated to Sākyaṣrī or Padmasambhava, described above, are therefore illustrated gsol adebs, designed both to commemorate the master’s life and to represent in a visive form the invocations addressed to him. Hence they are divided into small pictures which unfold like a crown round the central figure, beginning as a rule from below, on the left; every scene is accompanied by an inscription alluding to the episode represented.

Before examining each tanka in detail and identifying the scenes represented, it is necessary to point out that they are bound one to the other and form a series. As we have seen in similar cases, these pictorial biographies are inspired by some well known model. Is it possible to identify the model of the present series or to establish where it comes from? For tankas nn. 63-64 our certainty is absolute: in this case the painter has done nothing but copy his model and colour the drawing with great skill and a most delicate touch. I allude to the Tashilunpo woodcuts, consisting of a series of 15 tanka, one in the centre and seven on each side (figs. 106-120); the tankas contain 203 episodes altogether.

We are thus able to ascertain where the model, from which many painters have drawn their inspiration, came from, and also to determine its age. In fact we know the donor of the Tashilunpo series; as in the case of the Avadānakalpātār or of the 16 Arhats’ cycle, Tson k’a pa’s legend also was engraved to order for the same patron, C’os rgyal bSod nams stobs rgyas who, as we saw, died in 1747.

As Tson k’a pa’s cycle is one of the subjects from which Tibetan painters very often drew their inspiration as the Yellow school prospered and spread, it will be useful to glance at the Tashilunpo woodcuts and to make a list of the scenes they represent. Thus we shall have a summary of the main moments of the master’s life, according to the Yellow school’s orthodox tradition. This tradition was codified in a work today held in great consideration: K’yab dbag rje btsun bla ma dam pa t’ub dbaṅ rdo rje gc’aṅ daṅ no bo dbyer ma mc’is pa ajam mgon c’os kyi rgyal po tson k’a pa c’en poi rnam par t’ar pa t’ub bstan mdes pai rgyan geig no mts’ar nor bui ap’reṅ ba, of which we have already spoken.

The correspondence between the inscriptions of the Tashilunpo series and the words of this book, when the same episodes are described, is nearly always literal, but this does not mean that the book is the source followed by the artist who drew the tankas, because, as we have said in the chapter on literature, Tibetan writers have generally copied one another; thus from their correspondence we cannot conclude that the author of the Tashilunpo woodcuts had the biography in mind.

This is proved by a passage of the above mentioned biography, alluding precisely to the
Tashilunpo series, which must therefore be earlier than the book; indeed this passage is even more interesting because it contains the name of the artist who drew the woodcuts. In this passage of the biography, Tson k'a pa's meeting with the mk'an c'en C'os skyabs is discussed, and as the sources disagreed on the circumstances of this visit, the author of the biography clears up the difficulty as follows: "Concerning the meeting with the mk'an c'en C'os skyabs bzañ po, the great biography (by mk'as grub rje) is not explicit, but other parallel biographies speak clearly about it. According to the chronological order followed in the pictorial biography painted on canvas by aJam dbyaðs bzhad pa, Tson k'a pa, after he had met the great ascetic, met him once more and then went to Lo ro. After having drawn the scene in which (the master) sees the bsTan rim, by the scholar P'rin las and explains this work, in the first tanka on the left the painter shows how the master, in the mk'as c'en C'os skyabs' school, listened to explanations of the scriptures of the Vinaya, of the Abhidharma, of the Madhyamika of the Lam rim, of Sa ra pa's instructions on the Bodhicaryāvatāra, on the Blo sbyoñ's treatises, etc., on other sūtras and Tantric works, (op. cit., p. 132 b).

From this quotation we learn that the Tashilunpo woodcuts are the same alluded to in the biography and that their author was aJam dbyañs bzhad pa. It is true that there is a small difference between the inscriptions on the tankas and the words explaining the same episode in the original to which the biography refers; but the differences do not go beyond that approximation which is one of the main characteristics of Tibetan writers.

After these premises, having established the age and the author of the Tashilunpo woodcuts, it is advisable, as I said before, to make a list of the episodes and the scenes to which our paintings can be referred and whose relations with this series it will be easy to ascertain.

Central tanka. In the centre the master, on the left and on the right his principal disciples:

On the left:
- aJam dkar po
- rGyal ts'ab rje
- rje dGe 'adun grub
- aJam dbyañs rje
- aDul 'adsin pa;

On the right:
- rTogs ldan aJam dpal rgya mts'o
- mK'as grub rje
- aDul skyon
- aJam dbyañs rje
- Ts'a la.

In the four corners, four scenes concerned with Tson k'a pa's preceding lives.

1. sion aqig rten k'ams qdir nañ bai (z) 'od du gyur dus rgyal ba dban poi tog gi rje qdi luñ bstan pa.
2. sion bram ze padmañ nañ ts'ul du gyur dus rdo rje gdan du t'ub pa la sêl p'ren p'ul te.
3. mts'o ma qdros pai qgram du ston pas c'os guñs dus klas ts'ogs du'n p'ul ba.

Right:
4. ston pa gañs te ser bžugs dus dban p'yug lba klu rnam bya c'os guñs pa.

Left:
5. bya rgod p'un pa ston pas rje luñ bstan ciñ ts'ogs du'n (z) skur ba.
6. a. ston pas ts'ogs du'n skur ba gañs can c'u mts'ams su sbas pa.

1st tanka: Right (Biogr. from p. 54 up to P. 72):
6. mdo smad brson k'ar yan klu abum ñgél mnl lam du ajam dpal rgya ban glegs bam can dañ lañ lo can nas p'yag na rdo rjes rdo rje dbar ba sku la t'im rnis yun sîn mo a c'os la me t'og t'añ du sêl gyi k'yeu dañ nub kyi mk'a a' agros k'rus byas pa rnis. 7. jo bo rin po c'eg dan drañs pa dañ ñi zla skar gsum šar pa rnis.
8. c'os rje don rin c'en mnl lam du aqigs byed žal gziq sîn rje qdi luñ bstan pa.
9. yun gyi mnl lam du skye bo rnam bya(i)s rol (mo) m'od rdsas k'yer nas spyan ras gziq bsu žes nam mk'a' gser sku ri bo tsam pa ak'or bcas bžugs pa lus la t'im pa rnis pa.
10. yum gyi t'ugs k'ai šel sgo bye žin mk'a' agros k'rus grol ba rmsis rje t'o reis lams par le k'rab las tshan dan sdom po ak'run s pa.
11. c'o rje don rin ajam dlyaigs ril bu gnañ ba.
12. dguñ lo gsum par rol pai rdo rjes druñ du ñe brsñen sdom pa bžes ciñ luñ bstan pa.
13. c'o rje don rin pai druñ du ñe ts'ul gyi sdom pa bžes pa.
14. c'o rje don rin pai druñ du dbañ skur žus pa.
15. mnam lam du p'yag dor dañ jo bo rje dañ njal.
16. . . bšñen msdas (biogr., p. 96 a).
17. abri guñ pai p'rin las pa dañ agsogs dbus gtsañ la p'ëbs pa.
18. c'ab mdor žag bžugs skabs gnas bcu drug dañ mgon po žal gežigs pa.

2nd, Right (Biogr. from p. 72 to p. 75):
19. dguñ lo bcu bdun par abri k'und (sic) du spyan mña' rin po c'e la t'eg c'en sens bskyed dañ p'yag c'en lna ldan gsan ciñ rdo rje p'reñ k'yan gsan pa.
20. ts'al pai bla rje dkon mc'og skyabs kyï druñ du . . . dpyad la sbyan s pa.
21. sñë tañ du gnas dag skor par c'o gsan pa.
22. bde ba can du bla ma yon . . . gnis la p'ar p'ëin gsan pa.
23. klog pai slob dpon gniñ kyï druñ du mñoñ rtoqs bryagn soqs sbyan s pa.
24. ajam rin la byams c'o sün gsan pa.
25. gsañ p'ur grva skor msdas pa.
26. bde ba can du grva skor msdas pa.
27. Za lu lo c'en rin rnam la bde mc'og mi tri bcu gsum gsan pa.
28. snar t'añ du ma ti pañ c'en la c'o gsan pa.
29. sa skyar grva skor msdas pa.
30. bzañ ldan du grva skor msdas pa.
31. (aqa') roñ du grva skor msdas pa.
32. nam riñ du grva skor msdas pa.
33. jo nañ du p'yogs legs par dus ak'or sbyor drug rje k'rid soq gsan pa.
34. spyi ibas sar lam rim soqs gsan pa.
35. er grva skor msdas pa.
36. snar t'añ du lo c'en don bzañ la mñoñ par msdas gsan pa.
37. gnañ riñ du sgrva skor msdas pa.
38. ŋa dbon kun dga' dpal la p'ar p'ëin gsan pa.

3rd, Right (Biogr. from p. 75 to p. 87):
39. rtse c'en du re mda' par mñoñ msdod k'rid du c'o gsan pa.
40. ŋañ stod bsam gлин du rje re mda' pas ajig rtse gsel gsan pa.
41. po ta lar lo c'en byañ rtser c'o agrel gsan pa.
42. skyor luñ du mk'an c'en blo gsal la rgya c'er bger gsan pa.
43. ts'ogs su rab moi t'iñ aðsin la bžugs.
44. sku stod la sñun gzi drag po byun bstod (fox stod) luñ p'ur bšñen sgrub mk'as žig ni gnam du byon man ŋaž nmus su bžes k'yan ma p'an pa.
45. ŋur snyig p'uñ la la pëbs pa.
46. gnañ riñ du mñoñ pa kun btsñ kyi c'os æk'or korn ba.
47. sa skyar re mda' par kun bta soqs gsan pa.
48. bla mai rdo rje rin c'en druñ du rtoqs gnis gsan pa.
49. sa skyo bla brañ sañ pai ñe bës las man ŋaž blans te . . . ba adon msdas pas sñun duuñs pa.
50. ŋam riñs su re mda' pa rum grel gsan pa.
51. sku mts'ams gnañ nam agrel la gežigs rtoqs k'jad par can k'rnis pa.
52. mal gro lba luñ du bla ma bsod grags las sňaqs kyi t'abs sbyoñs gian ba.
53. bde ba can du po t'iñ por gežigs.
54. snar t'añ du c'o gsan ciñ grva skor msdas.
55. po doñ du bla ma rje bstom pa c'o gsan pa.
56. lo tsa va rnam bzañ la sñun dhags soqs gsañ ciñ dlyaigs can bsgrub pa.
57. sa skyar mdo . . .
58. sos guñ t'añ la bžugs pa.
59. druñ du dlyaigs can gežigs rje . . . (sa 2) pan c'en.

4th, Right (from p. 87 to p. 100):
60. rtse t'añ du grva skor msdas nas sňan pai grags pas k'yab pa.
61. jar kluñs ts'ogs pai mk'än po bka' bži ts'il k'rim s pai druñ du bsñen par rðogs.
62. gdañ sa t'el du spyan mñoñ grags byan dañ njal legs bšad kyis skyes p'uł p'ag grui bka' abim soqs gsañ ciñ lo c'en nam bzañ la sgrai riq pa gsan pa.
63. lba k'añ ke 'ur dpon po la c'o mañ du gsañs pa.
64. ts'al du bka' dañ bstan bsos (gyur) ro cog gežigs legs bšad gser ap'reñ (rts)ms pa.
65. lba sar t'ugs rje c'en po druñ du ñe bsñen ces dañ . . . rtoqs gnañ pa.
66. bde ba can du sde snod ma'n du gsün's pa.
67. dbus stod bya yul du p'ar ts'ad [dbu] gsun sogs c'os ma'n du gsün's pa.
68. slar ts'al du legs bsad gsar p'ren gi ap'ro mdsad pa.
69. bde ba can du legs bsad ser ap'ren rdsogs par mdsad pa.
70. skyor lu'n du ts'al pa mka's mc'og ye regal la dus ak'or agrel c'en bsad pa ri mo sogs mka's pa sbyan's c'os kyi'as gsün's.
71. dbyar c'os gsul rgya mts'i o'i ts'ogs la sde snod kyi bsad pa gsün pa.
72. stod lu'n mts'o snad du dus ak'or lo sbyan's sii sde snod kyi'as gsün pa.
73. bde can du sde snod adsin pa ma'n po la gsün c'e c'u ma'n poi bsad pa gsün pa.
74. goin dkar du yun dus ak'or lo sbyan's sii sde snod ma'n du gsün pa.
75. rigs lha (lha) k'a'n du sde snod adsin pa bdun cu lhag tsam la p'ar ts'ad sogs c'os ma'n du gsün pa.
76. yan klun smon mka'ar du dban dan rjes gna'n sde snod kyi c'os ma'n du gna'n ba.
77. mon mka'ar bkra sii gdo'n du sde snod adsin pa rnas la po ti bdun bsad pa mdsad pa.
78. [yar klun dkar brag] bde mc'og gi [bsi'en sgrub] sku mts'am.s.
79. po ta lar rje re mda' par da'n lhan du agro ba ma'n por legs bsad gsn'un ba.

5th, Right (from p. 100 to p. 117):
80. skyor lu'n brag tu dus ak'or sogs ma'n du gsn'un ba.
81. rtai lor snubs c'os lu'n du mka'en po grags sles la bka' ci rigs gsa'n pa.
82. bla ma dbu ma par dbya'ins can rjes gna'n skabs ajam dbya'ins gsum la gzis skor.
83. stag ts'an ras'In k'ar lo c'en skyabs mc'og grags rgyan don bza'n ajam dbya'ins rnas kyi's p'ar rtngs rnam par grol (2) sogs gna'n ba.
84. dbu aha' dge'r du re mda' par gsa'n adus kyi's bsad pa gsa'n pa.
85. c'os lu'n bla ma dbu ma pas lo tsas mdsad ajam dbya'ins la c'os gsa'n pa.
86. hna mka'ris rtsa k'a'n yo ga pa mgon bza'n la rdo rje dbya'ins gar t'ig dbya'ins gsum gsa'n rmi lam k'yu'd par can rnis pa.
87. hna stod du hu la agrel c'en bceu bdun gsa'n pai c'od dpal la dus ak'or gsa'n pa.
88. hna stod bde c'en du rin po c'es c'os dpal rje ap'ren bai dba'n lu'n bsad pa t'ig dbya'ins sogs gsa'n pa.
89. zva lur k'yu'n lha pas pa'ug ka'i shags ap'ren rnis pa.
90. zva lur k'yu'n lha pas po yo gai dkyil ak'or bceu gni's sogs rgyad sde bzi'i dba'n rka' mt'd dag gsa'n pa.
91. pa gna'n p'a'ug pa rir rin po c'es c'os dpal la yo gai skor gsa'n pa.
92. bla ma dbu ma da'n lhan du dba' ba gdo'n du bzhugs pa.
93. grol ... lhan du bzhugs pa ... slar yain (?)
94. gzims k'a'n so sor sku mts'am gna'n ba.
95. dba' ba gdo'n du bla ma yi dam la gsal ba byer med du (byed pas) rje btsun da'n yi dam c'os regal p'yi na'n gsa'n gsum sogs gzis sii t's'e skyon bka' srod du kyur pa (?)
96. lha sai t'og sten gi lhan rgya ap'ugs kyi 'og tu mc'od pa mdsad par rje btsun gyis lu'n (bsstan pa).
97. lha sai smo (or gso') ... sten du bla ma dbu ma pas gsa'n adus kyi dban rdogs par gna'n ba.
98. skyor mo lu'n du c'os ma'n du gsa'n pa.

6th, Right (from p. 117 to p. 123):
99. dpon slob dgu nas bya bral p'eb pa.
100. dpon slob t'ams cad kyi's bdi's sa'yan la agrus pa mdsad pas sa'na' rgyas sa la byams mgon sman blo sogs kyi(s) 'dzal gzis pa.
101. yan 'ol k'ar bdi's sa'yan da'n pal po c'ei na'n gi rgyal nas kyi spyod par slob s tse ajam dbya'ins sans rgyas so la sogs kyi skor ba gzis.
102. rdsi'n jii byams mgon ayal (for njal) mc'od pa smon lam mdsad pa.
103. du'ags po sman lu'n p'ur bzhugs dus ajam dbya'ins la sa'na' rgyas bya'ins sams kyi(s) skor ba dpag tu med pa 'dzal gzis.
104. yan du'ags po sman lu'n p'ur a'igs byed 'zdal p'yang yo'ns rdsogs da'n ajam dbya'ins la pan grub du ma dan grub c'en bregad cus bskor ba gzi's pa.
105. ajam dbya'ins la sa'na' rgyas bya'ins sans kyi's skor bai ajam dbya'ins kyi t'ugs k'ar ral grii yu ba da'n rje t'ugs k'ar ral grii rtse mo jug pas bsdud rtsi'i rgyun babs pai 'od zer ak'or rnas gyi agro ba da'n ma agro ba ma'n po gzi's pa.
106. du'ags po sman lu'n du t'so ap'ul mc'od la smon lam lha's c'en mdsad par p'yo'gs kyi's sa'na' rgyas nam mka'd gai' ba 'dzal gzis pa.
7th, Right (from p. 123 to p. 132):

107. 'ol k'a rdiin jir rje btsun gyis guññ ltar zig gos gyis guññ bar rnam s la ap rin las btsol ba.
108. rdiin jir zig gos rab gnas sogs rgyas par mdсад dus sáns rgyas so lha gzigs pa.
109. rdiin jir byams stod bde smon sogs rtsoms pa.
110. lhoo brag bra' o dgon par m'кан c'en p'yang rdor dañ ajal so sor ajam dbyaños p'yang (biži pa) snañ byañ ba.
111. bla mañ rnal abyar gsañ skabs p'yang rdor rje la t'im ciñ m'kan c'en la gsañ bdag gis luñ bstan pa.
112. byams pa la bslab btus žus guññs la ltar rjer žus pa.
113. m'kan c'en la lam rim sogs sñan rgyud kyis dbañ rjes gnañ gsañ ciñ lba dga' gis žal gzigs byin gyis rabs pa.
114. ajam dbyaños žal gzigs ciñ stod pa ts'ans cod pan dañ c'os gos sogs rdiin jii byams par skur te gnañ du byon.
115. gñañ lor p'rin las pai bstan rim spyan draños par bsu ba mdsad pa.
116. ... bstan rim ts'ar gicg guññs pa.

Donor:
C'os rgyal bsod nams stobs rgyas zuññ vañ la na mo

1st, Left (from p. 139 to p. 142):

117. gñañ gura skor du m'kan c'en c'os skyabs la dul mnion dbu ma sogs kyi luñ dañ bka' gdam kyi gdam kyi (pa) ... rdsogs par gsan pa.
118. gñañ gsal rje yar âdren du ajam dbyaños dañ rnam sras žal gzigs pa.
119. rtsa ri ma c'en la p'eb pa.
120. rtsa rir bde m'c'og gos ... gug ts'ogs ak'or mdsad pa.
121. mo lâi rtsar byams mgon žal gzigs ciñ luñ bstan pa.
122. gñañ sen g re sdso du dus ak'or sbyor drug sogs la sbyaños sñin dus ak'or gyi žal gzigs luñ bstan pa.
123. gñañ du dbyaños can ma dañ ajam dbyaños žal gzigs nas luñ bstan pa.
124. gser gyi âbum par m'c'od abul sogs ajam dbyaños kyi žal gzigs luñ bstan pa.
125. gñañ sgañ c'un skya ser rnam s la c'os guñ pa.
126. ts'a t'sa âbum t'en mañ po btab.

2nd, Left (from p. 142 to p. 156):

127. gñañ stod râ groñ du rgyal ts'ab dar ma rin c'en dañ ajal ... adus pai c'os ak'or gnañ luñ râ c'en mor adugs pai mdsad.
128. dvags po lha sãins d'ap'ags pa yab sras bhai žal gzigs siñ du nañ nas sáins rgyas skyâñas gyis dbu mañ rgya dpe dbu la žeg pa.
129. sìñon 'ol dgañ m'k'ar p'ug du bzung c'os mañ du gsañ pa.
130. ei ti 'ur c'os guññs pa.
131. 'ol dgañ brañ gdoñ du dgon bzung pa.
132. rdiin jir rjes m'c'od pa abul dus rgyal rigs bna nam m'ka' k'ams gân gzigs pa.
133. rgyal ts'ab rje la sogs [la] c'os mañ du gsañ ba.
134. nam k'a nas dbu mañ c'ur ltañs par ñañ po sañ sin dgon luñ bstan pa.
135. ñañ po mañ m'dor ñe adun duñ skye bai ts'ogs la c'os guññ pa.
136. po ta lar sde snod gsañ pa bvyga p'rag du ma la lam rim adul ba sogs c'os mañ du gsañ pa.
137. ñañ' ba gdoñ du sâng byañ sems kyi slab bya gsañs pa.
138. ñañ' ba gdoñ du rje btsun re m'da' pa dañ mjâl ba.
139. rje btsun yab sras gnis kas c'os mañ du gsañ pa.

3rd, Left (from p. 156 to p. 169):

140. rña gsañ la p'eb pa.
141. rña gereña du yab sras gnis bzung ste c'os mañ du gsañ pa.
142. abri k'unñ la p'eb pa.
143. abri k'unñ du spyan mña' rin po c'er p'yang c'en c'os drug sogs ñe adun rnam c'os gsañ pa.
144. gnam rtser steñ gi'gtsug lag k'añ du c'os rje rnam pa gsañ kyi bstan pa dag t'er mdsad bslab pa bstan bcos mdsad pa.
145. gëi buñ bdun dañ rnam abyd las gsañs pai luñ pa rnam bâgs sdom sogs rgyas par gsañ pa.
146. rña gereña du p'eb m'c'od pa p'ul smon lam btab pas tson pa nas m'kan c'en por žal gzigs jo bsa dbu la p'yang bzung luñ bstan lam rim c'en mo btsoms t'an lha sogs dbus p'ygos gëi blag rnam s adud pa.
147. rña gsañ du d'o dno gsañ par mañ por lam rim guññ ts'e ap'ul kyi m'c'od pa dañ smon lam mdsad pa.
148. lha sar dgon gser du ts'ad ma rnam agar gyi gšuñ ñon ... gšuñ.
166. 'on bde c'en ste'u du shyar b'jug sde snod a'dsin pa
du ma la lam rim sogs gsun pa.
150. 'od de gu'n rgyal lha zol byams glii du lam rim da'n
(b)sk'ey r'dogs ma'n du gsun's dpon slob b'rams
sku pts'ams dam par b'cad rje btsun gyis zal
gzigs lu'i bstan pa.
151. dam pa ma'n pas gso la b'tad par rten rgyud sde'i
(b'zii lam) lys ydns r'dogs ston pai bstan bcos
rts'ams, gsa'n snags lam rim sogs kya'n gsun's.

4th, Left (from p. 169 to p. 216):
152. bya'n c'ub lu'n du dbun b'zugs sde snod a'dsin pa ma'n
por lam rim sogs gsun pa.
153. ser c'o's sdi'n su ye 'shes ngan po zal gzigs abral med
du gu'ur mk'a's grub rje da'n ajar ba.
154. ser c'o's sdi'n kyi'is nam mk'a s'to'n ni'i zu'i a'grel
ra'k ii yi ge gzigs pa.
155. ser c'o's sdi'n su rgya nag t'ai mi'n rgyal poi abul
sk'yal byu'n ba.
156. se rar (...) sles sog's mdo snags kyi c'o'ma' du
gsun pa.
157. skyid smad grum bu lu'n du lam rim da'n snags kyi
'c o'ma'n du gsun pa.
158. bha sar zig gsos s'mon lam mc'o'd abul bsam mi k'yab
mdsad pa zal gzigs sogs ts'a'd las adas ci'n dga'
ldan adebs pai rtag pa 'zun pa.
159. ri bo dga' ldan 'zabs kyi'is ... pai bskor.
160. ser c'o's sdi'n su sde snod a'dsin pa ma'n por risa s'e
da'n ts'ul k'rim's le'u lam rim sogs ma'n du gsun pa.
161. za'nis ri pi'n c'i'n du spya'n ma'n' bsod bza'n la lam
rim sogs c'o'ma'n du gsun pa.

5th, Left (from p. 216 to p. 229):
162. 'ol dga' bsam glii du c'o's gsun's zhi'ub abul da'n las no
mts'ar can byu'n ba.
163. gla'n lor a'jans dbya'ns dkyl'i ak'or sogs zaj ge'gis
lu'i bstan rnis pa.
164. t'ams cad mk'yi'en bu ston gyi gsan' a'dus gtegs bam
gna'n ba rnis pa.
165. mar pai b'sre ap'ro te'ugs nes byu'n ba.
166. c'o's drug (?) sprul gsum gyis b'sre ba skor dgu
la nes pa b'renes pa.
167. gn'i'd da'n rni lam b'sre bai bskor la nes pa ma'n po
b'renes pa.
168. rta lo dga' ldan du lam rim sgon gsal sogs c'o'ma'
gsun pa.

169. yos lor byams b'zugs (nas) s'gmon dus s'as'g sogs
zal ma'n du gzigs pa.
170. s'an s'rgas t'ams c'ad da'n mc'o'g gi (?) dnos sgrub
ster bai lha gsum ... gla'ln gniis ... zal gzigs pa.
171. abrug lo sklu mts'am's dus s'as'g s'rgas nam mk'a'
'yab pa rab gzigs da'n a va d'ai ti yan gzigs.
172. slob ma bdun b'cas b'zlab s'gmon la abad par gnad
byed kyi's dam bca' p'iul ba.
173. bza'n po b'zugs sta'n' kyi b'zugs par ston par rje
la t'i'm ci'n b'udu adal bei ti'n a'dsin la b'zugs pa.
174. ri bo dga' ldan gyi dgon pa a'deb pa mdas'pa.

6th, Left (from p. 230 to p. 328):
175. 'on bkras 'kis do k'ar dge a'dun grub pa da'n ajar bai
skor.
176. dga' ldan du bde mc'o'g gi bsk'ey r'dogs sogs ma'n
mdsa'd ci'n a'jam dbya'ns kyi lu'i bstan pa.
177. 'rts'gs ldan pa'i gnal (for mna'l) lam du mc'o'd rten
la mk'a' a'grgos ... k'rus gos la.
178. dga' ldan yans can gyi lha k'a'n da'n rten b'zans
mds'ad dus bde mc'o'g gi lha ts'o'g gzal gzigs.
179. btsug lag k'a'n de rab gnas skabs ajigs byed nam
mk'a' gai ba lder s'ku la t'i'm pa gi'ggs pa.
180. dga' ldan du c'o' kyi ak'or lo rgyun c'ad med par
skor ba.
181. ajigs pai rnam b'sad btsams shi' gsun'pa.
182. sde snod a'dsin pa mt'a' yas la bde mc'o'g rta rgyud
la sogs pa c'o'ma'n du gsun ti'ka mdas'pa.
183. c'o's brsuns la gtar abul da'n dbya'ns rniis sogs gnun ba.
184. sde snod a'dsin pa mt'a' yas gsun dus ak'or ajigs
byed sogs gsun pa.
185. dga' ldan nas lha sa p'ebs pa.
186. bha sai jo bo mc'o'd pa da'n s'mon lam mt'a' yas
mds'ad pa.
187. stod lu'i c'ab ts'an la p'ebs ser sku ma'n po c'o's
da'n byin rlabz gnun ba.
188. c'u mig lu'i gi c'o's g'ruvaya gsa'n adus lha ts'o'g t'i'm pa
gi'ggs snan byu'n zhun lu'i bstan pa.

7th, Left (from p. 328 to p. 370):
189. a'bras spu'nis su p'ebs skabs gda lli snar ajig' gzugs pa.
190. a'bras spu'nis snags k'a'n du rabs gnas mdas'ad.
191. a'bras spu'nis su c'o's gsun's skabs c'o's g'ruvaya ajig'
gzugs pa.
192. bha sar jo bo rin po c'e'i du'rii du lu'i bstan pa yun
rin gnas pai rten abrel s'mon lam mdas'ad pa.
1. In ancient times, in this world, when the Buddha was residing on the banks of lake Ma dros pa (Anavatapta) the Buddha was preaching the Law, the serpents gave him the shell to be blown during religious gatherings.

2. In ancient times, when he appeared as the Brahman Pad ma naissance in rDo rje and of rDo rje, he received the Buddha a rock-crystal necklace.

3. When, on the banks of lake Ma dros pa (Anavatapta) the Buddha was preaching the Law, the serpents gave him the shell to be blown during religious gatherings.

4. When the Buddha was residing on the Kailasa, He preached the Law to Śiva, to the gods and to the nāgas.

5. On mount Bya rgyud p'uṅ po, the Buddha foretold his future destinies and gave him the shell to be blown during religious gatherings.

5 a. The shell given by the Buddha, to be blown for collecting the monks, is hidden among the mountains.

6. In Tson k'a, in the lower mDo, his father Klu abum dge saw in a dream a Jam dpal as an Indian bandhe with a book; from the ICan lo can heaven (it seemed to him that) P'yag na rdo rje flung a rdo rje and that it disappeared into his body. His mother Śīn mo a c'os saw in a dream a (white as) rock-crystal child in the Me t'og t'ān, and some dakini, come from the West, who were bathing him.

7. His father dreamt that the Jo bo rin po c'e (of Lhasa) had been led to him by monks and that the sun, the moon and a star had risen in the same moment.

8. The c'os rje Don (grub) rin (c'en) in a dream had a vision of a Jigs byed and made a prophecy (concerning the saint who was to be born).

9. His mother saw in a dream some personages carrying musical instruments and liturgical objects; they said they were going to meet sPyan ras gzigs, and a golden image, as large as a mountain, which was in the sky, together with his retinue, disappeared into her body.

10. His mother dreamt that the door of her heart had opened and that the child had been washed by a mK'a' agro ma: so that the Saint should be born in the morning from (his mother's) navel, a sandal stalk issued (from it).

11. The c'os rje Don (grub) rin (c'en) gives him the pills (blessed by) aJams dbyangs.

12. At the age of three, from Rol pai rdo rje, he receives the rules of ordination and the prophecies.

13. Having gone to the c'os rje Don (grub) rin c'en, he received from him the rules of monastic life.

14. Led to the c'os rje Don (grub) rin c'en, he asks for baptism.

15. In a dream he had a vision of P'yag na rdo rje and of Atśa.

16. He worshipped in order (to obtain the gift of eloquence).

17. Accompanied by an officer of śBrig guñ, he went to gTsañ.
18. While living for one day in C'ab mdo, he had the vision of the 16 Arhats and of the mCon po.

19. At the age of 17, in aBri guñ, under the precious sPyan sına, he listened to the method of framing the thought of enlighten- ment according to the Great Vehicle and the great mudrā with its five divisions; he also heard the rDo rje ap’reñ (Vajrāvali).

20. Under the noble lama dKon mc’og skyabs of Ts’al, he applied himself to the study of the examination of symptoms (according to the biography: he studied under this master medicine viz. the Yan lag bgyad and P’yag len).

21. In sNe t’añ he heard the Law at gNas dag skor pa’s school.

22. In bDe ba can he listened to the Prajñāpāramitā under Yon (tan) rgya (mts’o).

23. Under the two masters of reading (Yon tan rgya mts’o and Sār c’os pa) he applied himself to the study of the mNon rtogs rgyan.

24. Under aJam rin he heard all the ‘laws’ of Byams pa.

25. He goes to the seminary in gSañ p’u.

26. He goes to the seminary in bDe ba can.

27. In ža lu, at the school of the great lotsāva Rin c’en namm rgyal, he listened to bDe mc’og’s cycle, according to Maitripā system and comprising 13 gods.

28. In sNar t’añ he listened to the Law at the school of the Pañdition Mati.

29. He studies in the Sa skya seminary.

30. He studies in the bZañ ldon seminary.

31. He studies in the dGa’ ron seminary.

32. He studies in the Nam riñs seminary.

33. In Jo nañ, at P’yogs legs pa’s school (but the master’s name was P’yogs las namm rgyal) he learns the traditional commentaries on the sixfold yoga of the Dus kyi ak’or lo etc.

34. In sPyi lhas he listened to the Lam rim.

35. He studies in the seminary in E.

36. In sNar t’añ he listened to the mNon par mdsod (Abhidharmakosa) at the school of the great lotsāva Don (grub) bzañ po.

37. He studies in the seminary in gNas riññ.

38. At the Na dbon Kun dga’ dpal’s school (in rTse c’en) he listened to the Prajñāpāramitā.

39. In rTse c’en, at Re mda’ pa’s school, he listened to the traditional interpretation of the mNon mdsod.

40. In bSam glin in Nañ stod, at Re mda’ pa’s school, he listened to the Madhyamakāvatāra, text and commentary.

41. In Potala he listened to the Law and to its commentary under the great lotsāva Byañ c’ub rTse mo.

42. In sKyor mo luñ, at the great abbot Blo gsal’s school, he listened to the rGya c’er (vinaya) together with its commentary.

43. During the holy office he fell into deep meditation.

44. Having contracted a serious illness in his chest (sku stod = the upper part of the body) he went to (O rgyan pa), a learned master who meditated in the cave of sTod luñ; although he received instruction from him, he did not improve.

45. He goes to the Nur smrig p’u pass.

46. In gNas riññ he preaches on the Abhidharma samuccaya.

47. In Sa skya he listens to the Abhidharma samuccaya from Re mda’, etc.

48. Under the master rDo rje rin c’en he listens to (the explanation) of the brTag gnis.

49. From a scholar who was in the bLa brañ šar pa of Sa skya he obtained the explanation of the Tantric formulas, and reciting (the mantra) on the syllabe “ha”, he was healed.

50. At Re mda’ pa’s school in Nam riñs he learns the Pramāṇavārttika.

51. During a period of meditation, while he was looking at the Pramāṇavārttika an extraordinary knowledge of its intuitive sense was born in him.

52. In Lha luñ, in the environs of Mal gro, he applies himself to the study of Tantric formulas, at the school of the master bSod (nams) grags pa.102

53. In bDe ba can he sees many books.
54. In sNar t’añ he listens to the Law and studies in the monastery.
55. In Bo doñ, under the noble’s lama, he listened to the Law (at C’os dbaños school).
56. At the school of the lotsāva Nam mk’a’ bzañ po, he learns rhetoric and obtains the realization of Sarasvatī.
57. In Sa skya he [explains] the Sūtras.
58. He resides in Sos (ka) guñ t’añ.
59. Near... he had the vision of Sarasvatī the noble... pandita.
60. Having explained the Law to the monks in rTse t’an, his fame spread abroad.
61. In Yar kluns he [explains] the Sūtras.
62. He resides in Sos (ka) gun t’an.
63. In Sa skya he [explains] the Sūtras.
64. In rTse t’an, his fame spread abroad.
65. In Yar kluns he obtains the complete vows from the Ts’ul k’rims (rin c’en) who presided the ceremony (Ses rab mgon po took part in it as moral preceptor, las dpon, and bSod nams rdo rje as esoteric teacher, gsan ston).
66. In bDe ba can he explains many sacred books.
67. In Bya yul, in the upper dBus, he explains many aspects of the Law, the Prajñāpāramitā, logic and the Mādhyamika.
68. Once more in Ts’al, he continued the Legs bṣad gser apr’ei.
69. In bDe ba can he completed the Legs bṣad gser apr’ei.
70. In sKyor mo luñ, at the school of the great scholar of Ts’al, Ye šes rgyal mts’an, he became versed in the Kālacakra, in its commentary, in the drawing (of the mañḍala), and he preached the Law.
71. During the summer retreat, in the gathering of monks convoked by Blo gsal tgya mts’o, he explains the sacred books.
72. In mTs’o smad of sTod luñ he applied himself to the study of the Kālacakra and preached the Law.
73. In bDe ba can he explained many major and minor texts to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.
74. In dGoñ dkar he applied himself again to the study of the Kālacakra and explained many sacred scriptures.
75. In the temple dedicated to the five mystical families he explains the Prajñāpāramitā, logic, etc. to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.
76. In sMon mk’ar in Yar kluns he imparts baptism and instructions (to the monks) and preaches on many sacred scriptures.
77. In bKra’ his gnome, in the environs of sMon mk’ar he explains 17 volumes to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.
78. Then in Yar brag in Yar kluns he retires to meditate on bDe mc’og.
79. Having gone to Potala together with Re mda’ pa, he utters many beautiful maxims.
80. In sKyor mo luñ he preaches many sermons on the Kālacakra and other texts.
81. In the year of the horse (when he was 34, 1390) he listens in sNubs c’os luñ to all sorts of texts of the sacred scriptures, at the abbot Grags pa šes rab’s school.
82. Under the master dBu ma pa, while receiving instruction on Sarasvatī, he sees three figures of āJam dbyanis (corresponding to his three bodies).
83. In sTag ts’añ rdson k’ar the great lotsāva Skya bs mce’og (dpal bzañ po), Grags pa rgyal mts’an, Don (grub) bzañ po and āJam dbyanis instruct him on the Prajñāpāramitā, the rTag gnis and the Pramanā-vārttika.
84. In aBau aBar gNer he hears from Re mda' pa the commentary on the gSa'n 98. In sKyor mo lu'n he explains a large adus (lacking in the biography).
85. In C'os lu'n he hears the Law from part of the Law.
99. The master and his disciples, nine in aJam dbya'n, dBu ma pa acting as interpreter.
86. In the temple of mK'ris rtsa k'a'n (on all, having ... went to Bya bral.
the frontier between) Na'n (stod and Na'n 100. The master and his disciples (in 'Ol smad) at the school of the master of Yoga ka) having put great zeal in the ceremony mGon bza'n, he learnt to dance, the man-
er of purification through confession, (Tson k'a in the ceremony of drawing the mandalas and the songs of lathe and he dreamt many dreams.
(dbya'n) connected with the mandalas of the 107. When he in 'Ol ka, having accom-
VeJrakhatu and he dreamt many dreams. plished the purification through confession, studied the bodhisattva’s practice according 87. In Na'n stod he listens to the Kalacakra at to the Avatamsaka (p'al po 'ce) he had a the school of C'os dpal, who had heard the great vision of aJa'm dbya'n surrounded by the commentary in 17 chapters from Bustom.108 vision of the 35 Buddhas of the con-
88. In dBu c'en in Na'n stod the Rin po fession of sins, of Maitreya-natha, of Bhasajya c'e C'os dpal explained the rDo rje qo'ph and guru, etc.
and he heard from him the way of drawing 101. When he in 'Ol ka, having accom-
manipals, the songs etc. plished the purification through confession, 89. In Za lu he dreamt of a necklace of studied the bodhisattva’s practice according mantras in the heart of K'yun lha.109 to the Avatamsaka (p'al po 'ce) he had a 90. In Za lu, at K'yun lha’ school, he vision of aJams dbya'n surrounded by the heard (the method) of initiation and many 35 Buddhas invoked during the confession sorts on the four kinds of Tantras and on of sins.
the 12 sorts of manalas.
102. In rDsin ji he visits Maitreyanatha’s 91. In P'ag pa ri, in the environs of Pa image and performs the sacred ceremonies and gnam (biogr.: Pa nam) he heard at the Rin guter the vow.
po c'e C'os dpal’s school (teachings) concern-
in Dvags po, he had a vision of Ma'nju-
ing the Yogas.
89. In Za lu he dreamt of a necklace of sthi, surrounded by numberless Buddhas and mantras in the heart of K'yun lha.109
dilhas and Bodhisattvas.
92. Together with the master dBu ma 104. And again in the cave of sMan lu'n pa, he has a vision of aJigs byed 90. In Za lu, at K'yun lha’ school, he with all his arms and faces, and of aJams heard (the method) of initiation and many dbya'n surrounded by many pandits and siddhas and by the 80 sorts on the four kinds of Tantras and on the 12 sorts of manalas.
dilhas and Bodhisattvas.
105. He had a vision of aJa'm dbya'n sur-
91. In P'ag pa ri, in the environs of Pa rounded by Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and gnam (biogr.: Pa nam) he heard at the Rin saw that the hilt of a sword was in the heart po c'e C'os dpal’s school (teachings) concern-
ing the Yogas.
in Dvags po, he had a vision of aJigs byed 92. Together with the master dBu ma pa, he lives in dGa’ ba gdon.
with all his arms and faces, and of aJams 93. ... abides together again ...
dbya'n surrounded by many pandits and siddhas and by the 80 great Siddhas.
94. In their cells they meditate separately.
95. In dGa’ ba gdon he invokes his mas-
in Dvags po, he had a vision of aJigs byed ter as his protecting deity and meditates on with all his arms and faces, and of aJams the heart as not different from his own self: then dbya'n surrounded by many pandits and siddhas and by the 80 great Siddhas.
he had the vision of rJe btsun (Ma'nju'sri) and 106. While he was performing the cere-
of the protecting deity, the C'os rgyal in his mony of the feast of the great miracle in sMan exoteric, esoteric and secret form and ... Ts'e lu'n in Dvags po, he took a great vow, and skyo'n and bKa' sdod (gSin rje c'e rgyal). then he had the vision of the Buddhas in 96. Making an offering under the South-
in Dvags po, he had a vision of aJigs byed ern dome of the upper storey in the temple in was stuck in his heart and a flow of ambrosia Lhasa, he obtained the prophecy from rJe btsun. falling from it, whose great light now re-
97. Over the gate ... of Lhasa the master reached and now did not reach the mouth dBu ma pa conferred on him the complete of the beings present in the assembly.110)
baptism of the gSa'n adus.

100. While he was performing the ceremo-

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108. When he performs, in rDsis ji, the ceremony of consecration and other rites he has the vision of 35 Buddhas invoked during the confession of sins.

109. In rDsis ji he composes the hymn to Byams pa and the treatise on the manner of framing the vow in order to be reborn in the bDe ba can.

110. (At 39, in the year 1395) he goes to Lho brag in the Monastery of Bra'o to meet the great abbot P'ya'g na rdo rje, and then he had the vision of Byams pa and of four-handed mGon po.

111. While he was hearing (from his master) the method of meditating on the identity between himself and the master, it seemed to him that he was reabsorbed into P'ya'g rdo rje and the Lord of secrets (gSaṅ bdag) made a prophecy for the great scholar (P'ya'g rdo pa).

112. When (his master) told him to ask Byams pa for summary instructions, Tson k'a pa, according to this advice, questioned (the god).

113. He heard from that great scholar the method of meditation (Lam rim) and the instructions on the baptism of the Tantras, to be orally transmitted, and then he received the grace of seeing the god who was pleased.

114. Having had a vision of aJam dbyaṅs, he offered to Byams pa’s image, in rDsis ji, the hymn beginning with the words “Brahma’s diadem .”, and apparel for the liturgical ceremonies etc., then he went to gNL.

115. In gNL and in Lo ro he made the commentary upon the bsTan rim (biogr., p. 132) of the dGe btses P’rin las pa.

116. For the first time he explained the bsTan rim.

117. In gNL, in the seminary, he hears the instructions on the theory and practice of the Vinaya, the Abhidharma, the Madhyamika at the school of the great abbot C’os skyabs.111

118. While residing in the (monastery of) Yar ądren in gSal rje in gNL he had a vision of aJam dbyaṅs and of rNam t’os stas.

119. He goes to rMa c’en in Tsar ti.

120. In Tsar ti he performs the gānaka after (the method of) bDe mc’og (tantra).

121. By the Mo la he had the vision and the prophecy of Byams mgon.

122. In Sen ge rdsoṅ in gNL, applying himself to meditation on the Dus kyi ąk’or lo and on the sixfold yoga, he had the vision and the prophecy of the Dus kyi ąk’or lo.

123. After having had the vision of dByaṅs can ma and of aJam dbyaṅs, he received their prophecy.

124. Having made offering to gSer (bye) gyi abum, he had the vision and the prophecy of aJam dbyaṅs.

125. In sGaṅ c’un in gNL he preaches to monks and laymen.

126. (In the same place) he makes several tens of thousands of t’sa t’sa.

127. In Ra groṅ in upper gNL he met rGyal ts’ab Dar ma rin c’en and in gNL luṅ ra c’en mo he held a great gathering of monks.

128. In Lha sdins in Dvags po he had a vision of the holy master and of his four disciples (Nāgarjuna, Āryadeva, Boddha-gupta, Candrakirti, Bhaviveka); among them Boddhagupta placed on his head the Indian manuscript of the Madhyamika.

129. First, residing in the castle of ‘Ol dga’ he preached on many points of the Law.

130. He preached in Eti’ur (biogr.: Ete’ur).

131. He passes the winter in Brag gdoṅ in ‘Ol dga’.

132. When Tson k’a pa presented an offering in rDsis ji, he saw the sky full of Buddhas of the five mystical families.

133. He preaches to rGyal ts’ab and to many others.

134. When his cap fell from the bridge into the water, he prophesied the foundation (in that place) of the monastery of Saṅ sīn in Naṅ.

135. In mDā’ mdo of Naṅ po he preached to a gathering of monks and laymen.

136. In Potala he preached to many hundreds of monks, versed in the scriptures, upon various parts of the Law, the Lam rim, the Vinaya, etc.
137. In dGa’ ba gdoṅ he preaches on the rules for achieving the thought of enlightenment, and on the mantra.

138. In dGa’ ba gdoṅ he met Re mda’ pa.

139. Tsön k’a pa preaches on the work of Atiśa and of his disciple Abrom Ston.

140. He goes to Ra sgrei.

141. The master and his disciple Dar ma rin c’en dwell in Rva sgrei and preach on many aspects of the Law.

142. He goes to Abri guṇ.

143. In Abri guṇ he preaches to the precious spyan sīa’ on the Mahāmudrā and on Nāropa’s six laws, and to the monks on the Law (in general).

144. In gNam rtse, in the upper temple, he composed the book of purification of the Law according to the precepts of the three lords of the Law skYabs mc’og dpal bzaṅ etc. and also wrote the treatise on practical instructions.

145. He preached amply on the confession of sins, as it is told in the book of the 17 foundations and in the explicative books (prakarāṇa).

146. Having entered Rva sgrei, made his offering and uttered his vow, the master had a vision of the Great Abbot Jo bo (Atiśa), who put his hands on his head; he began to write the method of studying the teachings, and was then venerated by T’aṅ lha and by all the Sa bdag of dBus (at the age of 46, year water-horse 1402).

147. While in Rva sgrei he explained the Lam rim to many monks versed in the sacred scriptures, he made a great offering and uttered a vow.

148. (At the age of 48, year wood-monkey 1404) in Lhasa, in dGon gsar he explained the meaning of the Pramāṇavarttika.

149. In bDe ba c’en steṅ, in ‘On, he spent the summer retreat, and explained the Lam rim etc. to many monks versed in the sacred scriptures.

150. In Byams pa gluṅ (of ‘Ol k’a) near ‘O de guṇ rgyal lha žol,112) he explained the Lam rim and the double method: the evocative one and the perfect one; the master and his disciples, having then retired to meditate (during the winter), had rJe bsuns’ vision and prophecy.

151. By virtue of the prayers of some excellent persons (like mC’og dpal bzaṅ po and others) he composed the rGyud sde bṣii lam kyi lus yiṅs rdogs ston pai bstan bcos, and explained the method of the secret formulas.

152. Being in Byaṅ c’ub luṅ in winter, he preached about the Lam rim etc., to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

153. In C’os sdiṅ in Se ra he had a vision of Ye sūs mgon po and became identified with him; then he met mK’a’ as grub rje.

154. On the sky above C’os sdiṅs in Se ra he had a vision of the letter: a, the foundation of every explanation of the twenty kinds of void.

155. In C’os sdiṅs in Se ra arrived those who brought gifts offered by the Emperor T’ai miṅ of China.113)

156. In Se ra he preaches on many sūtras and Tantras.

157. In Grum bu luṅ in skYid smad he preached on the Lam rim and on the Tantras.

158. In Lhasa (in the year earth-mouse 1408) he repaired sacred buildings in ruins, made offerings and founded the feast of the sMon lam; he had incalculable visions of works beyond human thoughts, and asked for omens which encouraged him to found dGa’ ldan.

159. The lord of dGa’ ldan regarding...

160. In C’os sdiṅs of Se ra he explained the fundamental texts of the Madhyamika (rTsa đś), the moral rules, the Lam rim etc. to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

161. In Zaṅs ri p’u c’e’iṅ he explains to the spyan miṅa’ bSod nams the Lam rim, etc.

162. In bSam gluṅ of ‘Ol dga’ he explains the law for the offerings and has some marvellous visions.

163. In the year of the ox (1409) he had the vision of aJam dyins’ mandala and received its prophecy in a dream.

164. He saw in a dream the omniscient Bu-ston giving him the book of the gSaṅ ba adus pa.
By reflecting, he acquired certainty concerning Marpa's treatises on the bsre and the transfer of the conscious principle.

166. He obtained certainty on 9 subjects concerning the bsre, derived from the three miraculous manifestations of the six laws.

167. He obtained great certainty concerning sleep, dreams and the bsre.

168. In the year of the horse (but in the biogr., p. 220 rightly: tiger 1410) he explained in dGa' ldan the Lam rim and the sGron gsal (Candrakīrti's commentary on the Gūhyasamājā).

169. In the year of the hare (1411), while meditating in front of Byams pa's image, he had many visions of the Buddha etc.

170. While he zealously gave himself up to meditation together with seven disciples, the demons who had hindered him, promised (to protect him).

171. While he was seated in the bhadra-sana posture, the Buddha penetrated into him, and he remained absorbed in that meditation which subdues demons.

172. He found the monastery of Ri bo dga' ldan.

173. In bKra šis do k'aa of 'On he met dGe 4dun grub.

174. In dGa' ldan he wrote the treatises on the evocative and perfect method, which are connected with bDe mo'og's cycle, and other treatises, and he received the prophecy from dJams dbyan.

175. The blama rTogs ldan pa sees in a dream some mk'aa agro washing a mc'od rten.

176. While he was having chapels and sacred images made in Yans pa can of dGa' ldan, he had a vision of bDe mo'og and of the deities of his heaven.

177. When he consecrated the temple, he had a vision of images of rDo rje ajigs byed, so plentiful that they filled up space and were penetrating into the earthenware images (placed in the temple itself).

178. He preaches to numberless monks proficient in the sacred scriptures, on bDe mo'og's fundamental Tantras and on other parts of the Law and he writes the commentaries.

179. He dedicates offerings and songs to the C'os bsruins.

180. To numberless monks, versed in the sacred scriptures, he explains the Dus kyi ak'or lo, aJig byed's cycle etc.

181. In dGa' ldan he preaches uninteruptedly.

182. In Lhasa he dedicates endless offerings and makes vows.

183. Having gone to C'ab ts'an in sTod luñ, he gives many gilded images, preaches and bestows his blessing.

184. In the C'u mig monastery he had a vision of the gods of gSan 4dus' cycle, which disappeared into him and he received their prophecy.

185. While he was going to aBras spuins a thunderbolt stuck on the edge of his palanquin (ado li = mdo li, hindu dülü).

186. He consecrates the Tantric temple of aBras spuins.

187. While he is preaching in aBras spuins, a thunderbolt enters into the monastery.

188. In front of the Jo ho of Lhasa's image he uttered the vow, that conditions favourable to a long duration of the Law might prevail.

189. In C'os sdiñ he made his confession and preached.

190. He assisted the prefect of Brag dkar for the construction of the Tantric temple.

191. He performed the consecration of gSan snags mk'ar and amply contributed to it. Then he goes to Brag dkar.
197. Having gone to Grub bži, a great voice was heard from the sky.
198. While he was leaving aBras spuṅs, the earth trembled and thunderbolts fell.
199. In Yañs pa can of dGa’ ldan he amply contributed to the feast of the sMon lam and in his sermon he conferred spiritual powers (on his hearers).
200. Having gone to the centre of the assembly-hall, he repeatedly uttered the blessings of the Sukhāvatī.
201. Having gone into his room, he showed how men fall ill; then he left to rGyal ts’ab his cap and his vest, he assembled an esoteric gathering and recited the adamantine invocations.
202. Being in samādhimudrā, he seemed to enter in the nirvanic state of the absolute of the pure light, and he displayed miracles: thunderbolts fell along with a rain of flowers, and he entered the pure land.
203. Heroes and dakini invite him.

Without a number:

He appears in the bDe ba can as a bodhisattva.

He is born in the bDe ba can, as aJam dpal sñiṅ po.

The two scenes refer to the identification with aJam dpal admitted by Tson k’a pa’s school.

A comparison of tankas nn. 35-36 with tankas nn. 57, 58, 59 and 61 shows that the latter, although they follow the same biographical patterns and adopt a similar artistic expression do not reproduce the Tashilunpo woodcuts with the same fidelity. This version is more concise, reduced to a smaller number of tankas; therefore in each tanka a greater number of episodes is condensed. Thus, for instance, in tanka n. 58 is represented Tson k’a pa’s incarnation in Sākyamuni’s time, when, born as a Brahman’s son, he offered the Buddha a rock-crystal necklace; this scene was represented, together with other past lives of the master in the central tanka of the Tashilunpo series. For the other episodes, the tankas follows the latter, omitting some incidents or putting several of them together.

On the left mK’as grub rje, on the right rGyal ts’ab.

On the right-hand corner we see Tson k’a pa’s house in mDo smad, where the reformer was born, from the Da ra k’a c’e Klu abum dge and from Śiṅ mo a c’os or Śiṅ bsā’ a c’os; his father and mother conversing; we read: mdo smad tson k’ar. In “In Tson k’a in mDo smad,”

Immediately underneath, in the centre of a temple, the Buddha’s figure and opposite an altar of Tibetan style: on each side two donors in the apparel with which Tibetans represent Brahmans; rje aṭi... bram ze k’yeu k’ruṅs nas ston pa la s’el ap’reṅ p’ul, “born as a Brahman’s son, he offers the Buddha a crystal necklace;” this represents the incarnation of Tson k’a pa mentioned above. In the small picture which follows, his parents offer the master a scarf, to represent the meeting with Kar ma pa Rol p’ai rdo rje, which happened when Tson k’a pa was three years old; on the occasion of this meeting he received the name of dGa’ sñiṅ po. The inscription says: Kar ma pa rol par dge bs’en kyi sdom; above, his first meeting with the great lama Don grub rin c’en, who taught him to read and introduced him to the study of some tantric cycles, at the age of three.

We then pass to his seventh year, when he was consecrated as a monk by Don grub rin c’en and gZon nu byan c’ub and was called Blo bsāṅ grags dpal.

Tson k’a pa on horseback, accompanied by other horsemen, goes to dBus and gTsāi at the age of sixteen. The first place where they stopped on their way to Central Tibet was the monastery of aBris guṅ, where at the age of 17 (c’u glaṅ, 1373) he met the lama who was then at the head of the sect, the spyan sna rin po c’e C’os rgyal, from whom he learnt some texts (Tashilunpo, n. 14); then, continuing his journey, he went to a famous physician, dKon mc’og skyabs of Ts’al, at whose school he studied the various systems of medicine (Tashilunpo, n. 20). This period
of his life is recalled in the picture immediately above the figure of mK.' as grub rje.

Immediately above, we see Tson k'a pa in the act of doing homage in front of two masters whom he had met in bDe ba can (Tashilunpo, 2nd tanka to the right, inscript. 22). Follows the long interview with a Jam skya, better known as Nam mk'a' dpal, a disciple of mDo sde dpal (biog. of mK.' as grub rje, p. 73 b); next, as the inscription says, Tson k'a pa, in the C'os rdsin hermitage, meets the dPal ldan bla ma bSod nams rgyal mts'an, considered an incarnation of a Jam dpal dbya'iis. (Biog. of mK.' as grub rje, p. 73 b). Tanka n. 59 corresponds, speaking, to the 2nd lhunpo tanka. The pictures begin to unfold immediately under the central image and particularly recall Tson k'a pa's visits, while still young, to the most celebrated monasteries of Tibet: Sa skya, Ža lu, and sNar t'a'n (Tashilunpo, nn. 27, 28), Jo na'n (in the left-hand corner, recognizable by its famous sKu 'abum, the gigantic mc'od rten mentioned elsewhere), Ro'n, sPyi bo lhas (Tashilunpo, n. 34), gNas ri'in, nn. 36, 37, rTse c'en where the meeting with Kun dga' dpal happened (Tashilunpo, n. 38).

Above, almost in the centre of the painting, an ascetic probably recalls Re mda' pa's vision of Nāgārjuna and Asanga, who revealed the secret doctrines of gnosis to him; follows the explanation of the Madhyamakāvatāra, made to him by the same master in bSam gli'n of Na'n stod: under Nāgārjuna's figure, the meeting with Blo gsal, which happened in sKyor mo lu'n (Tashilunpo, n. 42).

With these last two scenes we have entered into the subjects which the Tashilunpo series represents in the three right-hand tankas. Then, to the left of the lotus on which the central figure is seated, the visit to the old lama in the Šar pa palace in Sa skya (Tashilunpo, n. 49), next to Nam ri'n.

I have spoken about the main episodes, leaving out the small intermediate scenes; the correspondence with Tashilunpo, as may be seen, is perfect, but here the action is swifter, many events have been suppressed.

The inscriptions, though they relate the same incident, do not entirely correspond to the Tashilunpo gloss; misspelt words are frequent and prove that the painters did not copy a model, but wrote from memory.

Tanka n. 57 represents episodes partly corresponding to those of the 2nd left-hand Tashilunpo tankas.

Se ra c'os sdi'n su bZugs gsu'i... ma'n du mdsad rgya nag t'ai mi'n abul skyal da'n rgya yul du sphyan qadren pai...

"While he resided in C'os sdi'n he preached much and ambassadors of the T'ai mi'n Emperor from China came to invite him to China", (= Tashilunpo, n. 155).

dvags po lha sdi'n su p'eps der klu grub yab sras...

"In Lha sdi'n of Dvag po (he had a vision) of Klu grub and of his disciples", (=Tashilunpo, n. 128).

To the right of the central image:
Po ta lar p'eps "he goes to Potala..."
Lha p'eps sde snod gdsin ma'n po la c'os gsu'i pa.
"He goes to Lhasa and preaches the Law to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures,

Underneath: bla ma rje btsun lha rigs nas p'eps (for p'eps) pa a'ja (for mjal) ba gdsad (for mdsad).
rgyal sras gi'n da'n lotsava skyabs mc'ogs (sic) dpal 'ba'na po da'n gsum rnam rtse du p'eps.
"He meets the prince of divine descent..."

"The two sons of the Buddha with the lotsāva sKyabs mc'og dpal 'ba'na, go to rNam rtse", (Tashilunpo, n. 83).
sde c'en ste'n du dba'na grags pa rgyal mts'an pa...
Above sDe c'en he [meets] dba'na grags pa rgyal mts'an (Tashilunpo, n. 81).
Also in this case, then, the tanka concentrates and resumes. But the analogy with the Tashilunpo models is self-evident.

TANKAS nn. 61, 62 (Plates 95-98).

These also belong to a representation of Tson k'a pa's life, analogous to those already illustrated, but of a different composition.
To begin with, the great reformer does not occupy the centre of the tanka, but is displaced towards one of the sides; further, he is not represented, as is regularly the case, with solemn draperies and cap, but in the simplest monastic apparel, and bare-headed. Although the two tankas represent the main events in Tson k’a pa’s life, the painter, on this occasion too, condenses and summarizes.

The pattern he follows, however, is the same which inspired the author of the Tashilunpo woodcuts, as can be readily seen by comparing the inscriptions explaining the different episodes, in the Tashilunpo specimens, to which I refer the reader in the brief description I am giving here.

In tanka n. 61 the central figure, whose heart is stabbed by a sword issuing from a Jam dpal’s heart, alludes to inscription n. 105.

The other principal pictures are:

On the upper right-hand corner, near Tson k’a pa offering a scarf (gtags) to Byams mgon of ‘Ol ka: steṅ abrel (sic for rten abrel) k’yad par bsam (for can) rjinn jir jo bo la dag spyod kyi btag (for gtags) ts’aṅ mai skyel ẖul gyi stod pa’o, inscriptions nn. 107-108 of Tashilunpo.

Below: rjinn jir mt’un skyen (for rkyen) Ḿgyur ḿus... “in rDsinn ji when there was favourable moment... lho brag p’eds “goes to Lho brag...”, below, on the left:

Seṅ ge rdsun du dus ak’or dpa’ geg Ḿal gzigs ciṅ Ḥa (sic) bzaṅ stā (sic for Ḿa) huṅ stan (for bstan) no, inscription n. 122.

Higher up on the left:

gser bye bum pa la m’od pa p’ul ẖi’n der ẖul dai c’os maṅ du guṅs te, inscription n. 124.

Under the central figure:

mṇal stod rab groṅ dbyar Ḿugs mdṣad rgyal ts’ab t’ams cad nk’yen daṅ Ḿal bar p’eds, inscription n. 127.

The conditions of tanka n. 62, where almost all the inscriptions are erased or can only be read with difficulty, prevent the same comparison between the scenes represented and the glosses of the Tashilunpo woodcuts.

TANKA n. 63 (Plate 99).

It comes from the Ki monastery, in Spiti (see FRANCKE, Antiquities, I, pp. 44, 47; TUCCI-GHERSI, The Secrets of Tibet, p. 38). This monastery is the usual seat of a lama, considered an incarnation of Rin ch’en bzaṅ po, the great translator who gave Buddhism a new impulse in Western Tibet and who enjoyed the king of Guge’s favour. I have considered him and his works elsewhere at some length, and therefore shall not take up his life once more now. But short of any inscription, this identification remains doubtful, neither do I find any scene which might somehow recall similar episodes related in his biography; however in some pictures we notice the presence of Indian ascetics.

TANKAS nn. 64-94 (Plates 100-130).

This series of 31 tankas is the representation in painting of 108 stories contained in one of the most famous books of Tibetan Buddhism, the Byan Ḿub sems dpa’ rtags pa brjod pa dpaṅ bsaṅ gyi ak’ri Ḿiṅ, or more briefly dPaṅ bsaṅ ak’ri Ḿiṅ. This is the title of the Tibetan translation of Kṣemendra’s Avadana-kalpaṇā. 116

This work was written by one of the most famous Kashmiri polygraphists of the XIth century, and completed by the author’s son, Somendra, who wrote the last chapter in order to reach the sacred number 108. We shall not dwell on it unduly, as the histories of Indian literature have already dealt with the subject. 117

Neither need we go into details here as to Kṣemendra’s sources; it is enough to point out that, in the majority of his poems, he follows very closely the Divyāvadāna, the Aṣṭokavādanamālā and other similar collections of edifying tales, mostly from the vinaya of the various schools. The aim of these tales - _avadanamālā_ - is to illustrate, through the adventures of Buddha, of his disciples.
and of other characters, in their last life or in preceding lives, the unescapable nature of the law of karma, as well as to justify the injunction of some disciplinary precepts. The story sometimes concerns one of Buddha’s former lives, one of those endless incarnations through which he passed, in his hard task of self-discipline, enduring pain and undergoing purification, now as a man, now as a beast and now as a god, with the object of one day attaining supreme enlightenment. In these cases the story cannot be distinguishable from a Jātaka; in any case, the ideal link between different episodes is always the figure of the Master, who draws moral conclusions from the tale, whether his hero be himself or another.

Kṣemendra is not an original writer, he does not bring any personal contribution to the poem; indeed the colophon of the book mentions sources used by the author and drawn from India, Kashmir, Nepal, Khotan and China (see Cordier, Cat., p. 420); in several cases he simply transcribes his models with slight changes. This he does for the tales taken from the Aśokāvadāna-māla (for instance, I may quote the Padmakāvadāna, as Zinkgraf has shown: Von Divyāvadāna zur Avadāna-Kalpalata, Heidelberg, 1940, p. 110) and might be shown for other episodes, for instance the one about Dharmaruci (Avadānakaśipata, vol. II, p. 781 and Divyāvadāna, p. 234).

Living in a period when the light of Buddhism was flickering out in Kashmir, Kṣemendra, instigated by some of his Buddhist friends like Nakka and assisted by the acārya Vīryabhadra, passed from the metrical summaries of the greatest Indian poems to Buddhist hagiography, thus expressing in his new work that religious syncretism into which the most varied currents of thought flowed and often intermingled, until Buddhism finally vanished therein. But the present poem, finished in 1052, is not a work of faith; it is rather a touchstone of the author’s abilities as a versifier. He has summarized, in a great variety of metres, but with no intimate feeling, the pious tales used by the great collections of the “Discipline,” to prove and convalidate the injunction of rules and precepts. Sometimes he sums up his originals in such a hurried manner that the clearness of his work is impaired; in other cases the same episode is repeated more than once; for instance the Avadāna I and CVII: it reappears with slight variants in CI; the XXXI is a repetition of the story of Kṣantu-vadin (XXXIX) (cf. LXXXVI and XCVII); the XLVI is the same as the one about Pāparakara, XXXII; cf. also III and XXIV; XXXV and XLVII.

The present collection lacks a logical link; that is to say that the tales are not used to illustrate, one after the other, the six or ten perfections (pāramitā) observed by the Bodhisattva, as a gradual preparation to that moral purity which will make him worthy of supreme enlightenment; nevertheless the author specially dwells upon the perfections of liberality and patience.

The stories generally follow each other in a haphazard manner; the attempt is but rarely noticed to group together cycles centered round the same person or the same event. This is the case for a schematic biography of Buddha or of Devadatta and Yaśodharā; but outside these few instances the author follows no plan.

Nearly always his poems glorify the spirit of self-sacrifice, in a general sense; but the glorification is so exaggerated and out of all human proportion, that it lacks any educational value. It causes surprise, or wonder, but no emotion; it may fire our imagination, but does not reach the heart. For this reason the book, eloquent and baroque as it is, leaves the reader cold and does not thrill with any religious emotion.

The incongruities of the poem, however, cannot rob it of all merit; even though his muse is generally jaded, poetry does sometimes well
up in soft verses, vibrating with a warm feeling for nature; they are but flutters which suddenly appear and vanish, but they are sufficient to make up for the carelessness and indifference to poetry of many other pages.

In any case the Avadānakalpalatā has had a great importance in Tibet. Translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan by the lotsāva of Šoṅ 119) at the heyday of Sa skya pa's power, and precisely in 8P'ags pa's times, it had a great influence upon Tibetan literature; it represented an unsurpassed model of the poem (mabhākavya) for all lengthy poetical works, thus pointing out the way to many Tibetan imitators, who were educating their taste and moulding their works on the rules of the Indian rhetorical treatises and their schemes.

The book was therefore revised and corrected more than once upon the Sanskrit text; it was printed for the first time by C'o's skyon bzañ po of 2a lu, 120) inserted into the bsTan agyur, mDo, vol. 93, then newly edited by order of Blo bzañ rgya mts'o, fifth Dalai Lama in Lhasa, both on the base of the preceding editions and after an accurate collation with the most authoritative copies existing in Tibet. This collation was made by the lotsāva of aDar, Nag dbaṅ P'un t's'ogs lhun grub, the translator of Pañiniyākarana. 121)

But the dPaṅ bsam ak'ri śīn is no less important for its influence on pictorial art; its narrative, being rather schematic and divided into easily recognizable episodes, was well suited to a pictorial representation.

Once more the Tibetans did nothing but follow the example of India, where the Jātaka or the Avadāna had inspired the corresponding pictorial versions of the same tales, precisely because, as a documentation of the unfailing karmic law, they were fitter than other texts to be easily understood and visibly represented. These avadānamālā or Jāta-kamālā (such was the name these collections had in the Mathurā canon and kept in the latest versions) soon became a favorite theme with preachers (dbar-mab bānaka); so they passed, at a very early date, from a literary form to the pictorial representation on the walls of convents, according to a custom which the Vinaya of the Mulasarvāstivādins states to go back to the times of the Buddha himself, 122) in fact on the authority of this text, we know that on the cloister walls the "garland of birth-stories," (Jātakamālā) had to be represented. As many of the paintings of Ajanta are inspired by such collections and according to some scholars directly by the Vinaya tales, so the pictorial representations of the Buddha's former life go back, in Tibet, fundamentally to Kṣemendra's poem: the Avadānakalpalatā is represented in the most ancient mural paintings of Tibet, opened up to a new light of culture in the times of the Sa skya and of the P'ag mo gru pa; it inspires great compositions in rGya, sNar t'aṅ and Jo nang. The Kashmiri poet's book is therefore the text that schools of painting illustrate with greatest accuracy.

The series of the tankas which follows is the point of arrival of a tradition which had worked for centuries on the same theme, translating into its lively scenes the brahman writer's canvas.

Our series is derived from woodcuts on 31 wooden blocks, made by the printing-press of sNar t'aṅ (see f. i. fig. 121); the model became so authoritative that the various representations of dPaṅ bsam ak'ri śīn, diffused in Tibet, are nearly always inspired by this theme and reproduce it with unvarying fidelity.

Painters added nothing to it, they copied the drawing and only put in the colours; their ability, as usual, is displayed in arranging, combining and matching colours, but the composition and the architecture are based on the scheme of the sNar t'aṅ woodcuts.

The scenes, once the order of succession of the tankas has been determined, are not difficult to identify, because each episode is accompanied by a brief label which contains the number of the pallava (yel dədəb), that is of the chapter of the Avadānakalpalatā in which the story occurs. On the woodcuts each
episode is explained by a brief inscription which makes identification its easy; these inscriptions are lacking on our paintings. The series is composed of 31 tankas, the first of which is in the centre, and the others unfold around it, fifteen on each side.

It would be impossible to understand the description of each of the tankas, in which the 108 chapters of the Avadānakalpalatā are successively represented, if I did not refer every time to the text of the great poem which is pictorially represented in those scenes; therefore, before beginning to identify the different episodes, it is well to give a brief summary of them. By so doing, we conform to the purpose of these narrative tankas, which, as pictorial tales, are used in the first place to put before the listener’s eyes the tales that itinerant lamas tell in fairs and assemblies. Such tales are inspired not with poetical ornamentals, sums up, in its essential elements, the subject of the poem. This prose summary is called (C’os rgyal dge bai dbaṅ pos byas pai) Byaṅ c’ub sens dpai rtags pa brjod pa māsad brya dpag bsam aṅkriti šīn blun rmoṅs byis pa rai ŋid go bde ba.

The present series then also belongs to the types of pictorial rnam t’ar we have already spoken about.

We may now ask when it was drawn. The personalities by whose munificence it was engraved in the convent of sNar t’ān are not unknown; one of them at least, Gyurmed ye šes rtse brtan, is known. He was the son of P’o lha bSod nams stobs rgyas who died in 1747; we have mentioned him in connection with Tsön k’a pa’s life which he caused to be cut in wood in the same convent and we shall meet him again when dealing with the 16 Arhats cycle.

For this reason it is well to place the date of the original drawing of the tankas within the last decade of the first half of the XVIIIth century.

The different stories all unfold around a central figure of a Buddha which is different on each tanka; the difference appears not so much in the dress and symbols, as in the attitude of the hands (mudrā).

CENTRAL TANKA n. 64 (Plate 100).

(gtso t’ān) The Buddha is seated on a lotus flower encircled by a rich halo, with a great nāga and kimara. Lower down the figures of two standing monks; they represent Śāriputra on the left and Maudgalyāyana on the right. On the right side of the former, Brahmā (Ts’ans pa) accompanied by his followers and, on the right side, Indra, also with his followers; lower down, to the left, king Bimbisāra (gZugs can sjin po) and on the right Prasenajit (gSal rgyal); underneath, beginning from the left, king Udayana (Utrayana), king Śuddhodana (Zas gtson), Māyā (Yum sgyu ap’rul ma) and finally Anāthapindada (mGon med nas sbyin). The triad up above, flanked by deities floating in the sky, consists of Śāntarakṣita (mGon c’en Zi ba ḥtso’; on the tanka erroneously ḥtso’), the famous Indian paṇḍita who came to Tibet in the times of K’i sron lde btsan and, according to tradition, advised the king to invite Padmasambhava. On his left rje bla ma Tsön k’a pa, on the right aGro mgom c’os rgyal, that is to say aP’ags pa, the Sa skya abbot, Qu’bilai’s chaplain. Below Zi ba ḥtso’; Kun mk’yen līṇa ba c’en po, that is to say Blo bzaṅ rgya mts’o, the fifth Dalai Lama. Two more triads follow on each side; on the left Zo lo [rDo rje] rgyal mts’an, the lottsāva of Šoṅ (so it should be corrected) the translator of the Ava- dānakalpalatā, underneath C’os rgyal dGe bai dpal, and on the right slob dpun Blo gros bzaṅ po (Sumati); on the right: Za lu lo c’en C’os skyoṅ bzaṅ po, the great translator and gram- marian of Za lu, on the left slob dpun Ni ma dpal 123 and on the right Zla bai bzaṅ po, that is to say the C’os rgyal Sukandra king of Šambhala, the place where the revelation of the Kālacakra is supposed to have taken place.124
THE STORY OF PRABHĀSA

Prabhāsa (Rab gsal), a wise and powerful king, ruled in Prabhāvatī (Od ldan). The overseer of the royal chase having showed him a wonderful elephant, captured in the woods, Prabhāsa ordered it to be tamed, and this having been done, wished to mount it on a hunting-party. But the elephant, carried away by lust, rushed into the forest and no longer obeyed the goad and his driver’s voice. The king angrily complained to the tamer, who answered: “When a man has fallen a prey to the passion of love, he forgets precepts, discipline and kindness (41). We tamers are experienced in training animals to bodily labour, but not even ascetics can yet train man’s mind to be disciplined,” (43).

Meanwhile, the trainer advised the king to cling to the branch of a tree and to let the elephant go, “because the sinner, when he falls, will surely drag others along with him in his ruin,” (45). The king and the tamer were thus saved, but after seven days the elephant, his fury now over, came back to his chains of his own free will. This caused the king to meditate; he wished to know whether anyone has ever succeeded in mastering his own mind to such a point, that he can turn a deaf ear to the allurements of his senses. As soon as the tamer answered that this is exactly what the Buddhas teach, Prabhāsa, simply on hearing the Buddha’s name, remembered his former life, acquired a divine intuition, untrammeled by the laws of time and space, became a bodhisattva and set forth on the long path which would lead him to the supreme enlightenment. He was to be in fact Śākyamuni. (25)

In the tanka we see at the bottom the tamer, who is presenting the white elephant to the king, seated in his palace; then, the same in the act of taming the elephant and of leading it once more to the king. The king and the tamer on the furious elephant, and then both of them hanging from the branches of a tree and followed by a few persons on horseback. The elephants in the forest. The rest of the story follows on the right side: the king and the tamer return to the royal palace on horseback; the tamer, kneeling before the king, explains that it is easy to tame the body, but much more difficult to master the mind, while persons in the act of receiving gifts represent the generosity of the King, who has vowed to achieve enlightenment and therefore begins to practice the first perfection, which is charity.

THE STORY OF ŚRĪSENA

King Śrīseña (dPal gyi sde), famous for his generosity, reigned in Arisṭa; nothing was asked of him that he was not happy to grant, wherefore his ministers greatly feared that his matchless virtue might in the end bring him enemies and misfortunes, because “when we see that another is full of the virtues we lack, who does not become a slave to envy?” (17). But the king would take no advice “Of what use is life to people destitute of virtue and lacking pity, who can listen with unmoved mind to the tale of other people’s sufferings? (28). Only for this reason the body, which is nevertheless an evil, may be dear to good men; because, somehow, it can sometimes be of use to somebody” (29).

One day the queen Jayaprabhā (tGyal bai ‘od) whom the king loved exceedingly, walking in the woods, was seen by an ascetic, who fell in love with her and, well knowing that the king would not deny him, got one of his disciples to ask her for himself of king Śrīseña. Mastering his extreme grief, but keeping faith with his resolve never to deny anything that might be asked of him, the king consented. The disciple took the queen to his master, who, his passionate desire being quenched, became conscious of his sin and
prepared to return the queen to Srīsena. In the meantime Indra, King of the gods, who always wants to make sure of the sincerity of men who display marvellous virtues, assumed the likeness of a brahmin whose belly had been mauled by a tiger. His six sons, in tears, brought him before the king. Fighting for breath, he said that only Srīsena might restore him to life, by substituting his own abdomen for the brahmin’s gashed and wounded belly. The king gladly consented, because “fortunate is the man who gives up his body for another’s benefit; this body of ours, which every moment is subject to decay, cannot avoid death, even if well protected.” (89).

His ministers, overcome with grief, protested in vain: the lung ordered two of his men to cut off the lower half of his body. And the men, seizing a saw, began to cut the body in two, while the king made no complaint. Having thus had a proof of the lung’s firmness, Indra, assuming his real form, healed his wounds, and the brahmin returned his wife to the king.126)

On the tanka this tale is represented immediately next to the other one, in the upper part, and it is explained by a brief title, which points out that the subject is the second avadāna. In the first scene the young brahmin goes to the king and asks him for the queen in his master’s name; higher up the king leads his wife to obey. The figure on high represents the prince on his throne, taking leave of his wife and entrusting her to the brahmin, while the ministers listen, aloof and grieved. The brahmin departs with the queen. The scene then shifts to the second episode. Indra assumes the appearance of a brahmin whose belly has been mauled by a tiger, and is taken by his sons into the king’s presence; having laid down the stretcher, one of them asks the king’s help, while the others attend to their father. Two servants cut off the lower half of the king’s body. Proceeding to the right, the applauding gods, in the midst of clouds, admire the bodhisattva’s force of character. Turning backwards, the painting shows a conversation between the brahmin and his disciple. On the same plane, but on the left of the central figure, the queen’s return.

The small figure of the Buddha, always on the left, represents, according to the title, the revelation, on the Buddha’s part, of the story.

TANKA n. 66 – II right (Plate 102).

AVADĀNA n. 3

STORY OF MANICŪDA

In the city of Sāketa a son was born to king Hemacūda (gSer gyi gtsug p’ud) and to his queen Kāntimāti (mDses ldan), both devout followers of Buddha’s word. They named him Manicūda (gTseg na nor bu), because he had at the centre of his head a gem by whose light all things were changed into gold. He grew up so generous that no one ever appeared before him without his wish being granted. On advice of the brahman Bhavabhūti (Srīd abyor) he married Padmāvati (Pad ma ldan), who bore him a son called Padmacūda (Pad ma gtsug). While bloodless sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods on the birth of his son were being celebrated, Indra to prove the King’s virtues, appeared to him in an ogre’s form and asked him to appease his hunger; but as an ogre he could only eat flesh and blood.

Manicūda was confronted with a terrible dilemma: if he offered the ogre an animal, he would break his vow never to kill a living being; if he refused, he would break his other vow of charity, which he had pledged himself to keep at the cost of his life. Not finding another way out, he offered himself as food to the ogre. Having proved the king’s firmness, Indra resumed his own form and praised his unshakeable virtue. But this was not the end of the king’s virtuous deeds. Knowing that Manicūda had presented a brahman with a rare elephant, the greatest defence of
his power, king Dusprasaha (Śīn tu bzod dka') planned to attack him and deprive him of his kingdom. Moreover a disciple of Mārici, called Vāhiha, asked of him his wife and son, that they might take care of his old master, and the king unhesitatingly consented, while Dusprasaha attacked the city to become possessed of the elephant. Manicūḍa grieved for his friend’s treachery: “affection for good people ends in affection, for the mediocre in disaffection, for evil people in cruel enmities, which ravish life,” (97). Rather than accept war and its painful sacrifice of human life, he went into exile, encouraged to do so by four Pratyekabuddhas, who had appeared in the sky.

“Alas, the mind of those who crave for power is indifferent to another’s sufferings and, inclined to do evil, runs only after its own pleasure! How could a drop of pity be found in the cruel hearts of those who, clad in the armour of success, obtain in warfare a glory ending in blood?” (102).

When Manicūḍa had gone into the forest, his ministers went in search of his son Padmaṇīva, who was placed on the throne and succeeded in vanquishing Dusprasaha. The latter, to expiate his evil actions, underwent endless misfortunes: epidemics and famines afflicted his kingdom. At a loss for remedies, he was reminded of the miraculous gem which flashed on Manicūḍa’s head; Dusprasaha, certain that he would not be refused, sent his ministers to ask him for it. In the meantime Manicūḍa’s messengers arrived and asked Manicūḍa for his miracle-working gem. He unhesitatingly drew his sword and cut it off from the middle of his brain, while all around him wept and implored. While Manicūḍa was lying there at death’s door, the ascetic Mārici asked him the reason of his prodigious strength of character and of his boundless love for all created beings: is it because he hopes for a reward in some future life?

“I, o ascetic, the king answered, have no desire of obtaining some reward for myself: I ardently desire one thing only, to be able to help in this life the creatures sunk in the awful sea of existence, so that they may reach the shore,” (181). “If what I say is true, may my body become scatheless as it was before,” His wound was miraculously healed, and the king was brought back by his ministers to his radiant city."

As we see, the tale is more or less a duplicate of Viśvantara’s story. Half of the second tanka is concerned with this tale, which begins in the lower portion, at the centre. In a palace surrounded by a wall stands the throne; on the right the brahman Bhavabhūti offers Padmāvatī in marriage to the youthful king; in the middle the king, happy with his bride, while in front of him his ministers are pouring out alms to beggars; on the left, within the same enclosure, a brahman is asking the king for his wife and his son;
and applaud. To return to his pleasure, met some ascetics; they offered him consecrated water which conferred the power of begetting offspring. Having vanquished the Jambudvipa, he succeeded to conquer the remaining continents, into which the earth is divided according to Buddhist cosmography; nevertheless he kept a humane and merciful heart. One day, for instance, having gone into a forest, he noticed with wonder that all the birds there had their wings cut off. Being told by his ministers that this was caused by the curse of some ascetics, whose meditations had been disturbed by the fluttering of their wings, he would not allow such wrathful hermits to dwell in his kingdom, and exiled them. After having conquered all the earth, he proceeded to conquer the skies and his army advanced through space.

The dung of his horses and elephants fell precisely on the ascetics he had exiled. One of them flung a curse which for a moment stopped the army on its way to the conquest of the skies. But Mándhātar appeared and the spell was broken. In this wise the heavens and the gods were brought under his rule, and he reigned over the world seated on Indra’s very throne. After many years Mándhātar grew tired of sharing the rule of the world with Indra, and wished to reign alone.

“Lack of exercise kills wisdom, pride fortune, hatred kindness, covetousness glory,” (110). Thus, by his wicked and ambitious wish, he was hurled down from the sky. What caused his good fortune and what caused his downfall? His lot had been so fortunate because in the times of the Buddha Vipaśyin, in olden times, he had given this saint a handful of beans; great is the power of gifts presented to the Buddhas, but carelessness also bears unwelcome fruits; while making his gift he had absent-mindedly dropped some of the beans on the ground; therefore, the fruits of his good act being exhausted, he fell from the sky and his luck vanished.134

This legend is represented very clearly on the tanka; beginning on the left, immediately after the story of Manicūḍa, we see first of all a Brahman who offers water to the king in the forest; then, following the line of the trees, we see in the king’s palace Mándhātar’s

Immediately next we see the queen and her son ministering to the ascetic Mārīci, huddled up in a cave. To the right the scene of the sacrifice: Indra, in the shape of an ogre, comes out of the sacrificial fire asking for blood and victims; the king offers himself up, while the queen faints; further up Indra is kneeling before the king, who has come back to life.

Turning again to the right, we see Maṇipicūḍa receiving the news that the King of Hastinapura is ready to attack him; four Pratyekabuddhas appear and, having extolled the ascetic way of life to him, vanish in the sky. At the bottom, always on this same side, a minister brings the king’s son home, full of beans; great is the power of gifts presented to the Buddhas, but carelessness also bears unwelcome fruits; while making his gift he had absent-mindedly dropped some of the beans on the ground; therefore, the fruits of his good act being exhausted, he fell from the sky and his luck vanished.134

His ministers and subjects invite the King to return to his kingdom.

Avadāna π. 4

STORY OF MĀNDHĀTAR

King Uposadha (gSo sbyon ap'ags) wandering one day in the forest for his own pleasure, met some ascetics; they offered him consecrated water which conferred the power of begetting offspring. After some time a child, divinely beautiful, issues from the king’s cranium; he is named Mándhātar (Na las nu). A more fortunate person was never seen on earth. The seven gems which form the prestige and ornament of the Cakravartin (the emperors ruling over all the world) never left him. Having vanquished the Jambudvipa, he proceeded to conquer the remaining continents,

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birth: first he is inside his father’s body, later he is represented seated near the king; a little lower down follows the episode of the birds who had lost their wings through a curse and roam in the forest; on the right, nearly above the head of the central figure, are painted the seven gems, symbols of kingship, which miraculously appear on Māndhātār’s forehead. Higher up, the conquest of the earth and of the sky; the latter is represented by lofty Mount Sumeru, divided into successive tiers; troops of gods, guided by the four rGyal c’en, kings of the four points of the compass, vainly oppose the King’s victorious advance. On the top of Mount Sumeru, Māndhātār sits near the King of the gods. On the right of Sumeru, a brief reference to the gift offered to the Buddha Vipaśyin, which had brought Māndhātār such glory. The scene of the fall from the sky is missing.

**Avadāna n. 5**

**STORY OF CANDRAPRABHA**

In the town of Bhadrāsilā (bZan po’i brag) north of Kailāsa, with the assistance of two brave ministers, reigned Candraprabha (Zla ‘od), who placed liberality above all virtues. Envyng his glory, Rudrākṣa (Drag po’i mig) conceived the idea of asking him for his head as a gift: if the king refused he would break his vow; should he give it, he would be done away with forever. The city’s protecting goddess vainly tried to overcome the impending doom; the king ordered Rudrākṣa to be brought into his presence, and since “only for this the lives of the well-born are honoured, that no beggar who comes before them is disappointed of his hopes,, (43), he unhesitatingly consented to the other’s request, because “only what has been given in alms is lasting,, (56). He then went into the forest uttering the wish that through the good resulting from his sacrifice all created beings might overcome the cycle of their births and deaths, and then cut off his own head to offer it to Rudrākṣa. 129

The main incidents of this story are represented in the tanka, on the upper quarter of the right side. We see the gate of Bhadrāsilā, from which people come out, who have received of the king’s bounty the gifts they desired; hence, according to the order of the narrative, we pass directly to the small picture in the centre, where King Candraprabha is seen ruling his kingdom; underneath, people distributing gifts to a brahmin and other beggars; from a thicket the figure of an ascetic appears; it is evidently Rudrākṣa, on his way to the king’s palace to ask for his head. Exactly underneath a minister offers the brahman a golden image of the King’s head, as an inducement to withdraw his request. We go back to the upper part: the King, granting Rudrākṣa’s request, takes off the golden diadem from his head and goes towards the garden, where he ties his head to a branch and lops it off with his sword. Rudrākṣa then departs with the king’s head wrapped up in a cloth; higher up, in heavenly glory, Candraprabha is born again as dBar byed lha.

**Avadāna n. 6**

**STORY OF THE JOURNEY TO VADARADVIPA**

Once the Buddha, having left Magadha with a caravan, met some highwaymen, who let him pass, with the object of robbing the caravan about to arrive. Understanding their intention the Buddha, mysteriously causing a treasure to appear, gave them riches corresponding to the value of the caravan, since they told him that, were they to abandon their calling, they would be unable to subsist. This was repeated six times. At last the Buddha, being invited by them to share their meal, accepted and enlightened their minds to such an extent that they were converted. This offered the Buddha an opportunity of telling them the story of their past lives. In the times of King Brahmadatta
(Tsaṅs byin), a rich merchant lived in Benares, called Priyasena (dGa' bai sde). After his death, his son Supriya (Sin tu dGa') made up his mind to collect riches so great that poverty would disappear from the face of the earth; however he perceived that his purpose was quite hopeless, because "fortune is one and those who ask are many, neither is it possible to obtain enough riches to satisfy all who ask." (45). Having set off for the Country of Gems, to gather great treasures, he met some robbers who were preparing to attack his caravan; he ransomed it six times, without obtaining, much to his regret, that they should give up their robberies. "Many times I have declared that I would fill up this world with my riches, and now I cannot even satisfy these unfortunate savages (54); cursed be my birth, badly born that I am, lacking as I do the required energy; I know not what to answer and I have broken my pledge." (55). As he thus lay grieving, a goddess appeared to him in a dream and comforted him: "Nothing exists in this world, not even that which seems difficult to achieve in the fancies of our dreams, which may not be obtained, through perseverance, by strong and resolute men." (59). The goddess advised him to go to Vadaradvipa, an island lying beyond seven seas, seven mountain ranges and seven continents. She described the way to it and taught him to avoid the dangers, ogres, and demons which he would meet on his travels. If he is strong and pure, above all pure, he will get to Vadaradvipa, where he will find treasures enough to fulfill his vow. He followed the advice of the goddess and, loaded with riches, came back in the end to Benares, where he was elected king in the place of Brahmadatta, who had died in the meantime.

The robbers who had invited the Buddha to share their meal were the very same robbers who had stopped and robbed him six times running, on his way to the Country of Gems.(10)

The story is represented on the tanka in a rather fragmentary manner, but two scenes, the one giving occasion to the Buddha’s tale, and the one concerning events of former times, are clearly distinguishable. On the level of the lotus flower on which the Buddha’s figure rests, we see, on the onlooker’s right, the Buddha preaching; next to this the Buddha followed by monks, distributing gifts to persons with bare busts; evidently the scene alludes, in its main features, to the caravan of merchants travelling in the Buddha’s company, which he ransomed six times. On the left, the same robbers doing homage to Śākyamuni and being converted. Under these two scenes, on the sides, the narrative of their past life unfolds. The small picture in the centre, in the lowest part of the tanka, represents, in the interior of a house, the merchant Priyasena with his son Supriya, to whom the story refers. Immediately to the right there is an allusion to the young merchant’s generosity. Passing on to the central space, where the sea is represented, we see Supriya asleep and further upwards, in the midst of a cloud, the goddess who, out of pity, shows him the way to Vadaradvipa and the means of reaching it. Next the adventurous sea voyage is briefly depicted: a victorious encounter with demons and dragons, the mountain on which Supriya, climbing with the aid of a ladder, comes to four cities, where the Kinnari offer him the desired riches. Going backwards, we see Supriya returning to his country on the miraculous winged horse Bālāha. The story closes with the small picture on the right, on top of the scene, where the returning merchant is seen generously distributing his treasures.

AVADĀNA n. 7

THE STORY OF MUKTĀLĀTĀ

The Buddha, having come to Kapilavastu, preached the redeeming truth to his own people; Mahānāman (Min č’en) was present, and when he got home he praised the Buddha’s virtues to his wife; she complained that the holy Śākya should be so unfair to women.
only men being admitted to hear his word. Her husband rebuked her, because “equal, everywhere, are the sun’s rays; equal the rain from the clouds; equal the look of the Buddha who pities all creatures,” (10), and he took his wife to hear another of Śākyamuni’s sermons. She was led into the saint’s presence; Ananda reproached her for having come richly dressed, loaded with jewels; she sent her jewels home and began to listen to the Buddha. While he was speaking, she could not keep her thoughts steady; she saw with envy a shining necklace hanging from the neck of another prince’s wife, and, unwilling to cut a poor figure, she ordered her handmaid called Rohita to bring her jewels back. The handmaid, missing half of the Buddha’s sermon, went away against her will, but the Buddha, who sees everything, caused her to be killed on the way by a mad cow, so that she died in a state of grace. The handmaid was reborn as Muktālata (Mu tig ak’ri šin), the king of Simhala’s daughter, dowered with every virtue and beauty. When she had grown up, merchants from Śrāvasti arrived in Simhala; she heard them talking about the Buddha, and sent a letter to the Śākyan prince. The merchants went home and, having given the Buddha the letter, received in exchange, for Muktālata, a portrait of himself, mysteriously created by his magic will. Having looked at the image, Muktālata obtained the omniscience of a holy person and sent the Buddha, as a gift, a great treasure of gems. The Buddha told the merchants who had come to Śrāvasti, Muktālata’s former life: she had been a handmaid to Mahānāman’s wife and had been reborn as a King’s daughter in Simhala because in a past existence she had honoured a stūpa containing holy relics; but as, through pride, she had neglected, during another birth, to accomplish the religious rites, her preceding life had been that of a slave. “Whatever act, good or bad, man sows on the earth of his life, he shall taste of its corresponding fruits when it is ripe,” (85). This story is represented in the left quarter of the tanka. At the bottom, on both sides of the label containing the progressive number of the tale, the Śākya prince is telling his wife about the Buddha’s sermon; skipping two scenes, we see Śākyamuni in an enclosure representing his convent (saṅghārāma); he is preaching to monks and women. Exactly underneath this scene, Rohitā is being killed by the mad cow; we then pass to the central picture on the highest part of the tanka, which represents Muktālata’s birth as the daughter of the king of Simhala; on her left three small pictures: a boat on the high seas carries the Śrāvasti merchants; next, on the extreme corner, Muktālata who, having sent for the merchants, questions them concerning the Buddha; lower down she is giving the merchants a letter and gifts for the Buddha. The caravan is represented by the picture of a horse and of men carrying loads on their backs. Still lower down, the Buddha having his portrait painted to send it to Muktālata.

**Avadāna 11. 8**

**STORY OF ŚRIGUPTA**

Śrigupta (dPal skas) lived in Rājagṛha; instigated by a Jaina master, who hated the Buddha, he plotted to kill the Śākya saint, and invited him to his house, pretending he wished to do him honour.

“Vile people, haters of virtue, cannot bear that others should praise the virtuous; what makes good people happy is a cause of wrath to the wicked,” (20). The Buddha would not hear the advice of his monks, who insisted that he should not accept Śrigupta’s invitation. “When a man’s mind is sprinkled with that ambrosia, spiritual peace, when he is refreshed by the absence of anger, what harm can fire and poison do to him who hates any tie of the senses?,” (24). Thus, as the Buddha entered Śrigupta’s house, the fire that should have blazed to kill him is extinguished. Śrigupta, tortured by remorse, begged forgiveness, and
the Buddha, smiling in divine compassion, revealed his past lives to him. Once upon a time, king Brahmādatta lived in Benares; walking in the forest with the queen, he heard through a thick group of trees the mournful voice of a peacock. The queen wished to see the bird, and he commanded his men to capture it at any cost and to present it to her. But all efforts were vain and as the men feared to come into the lung’s presence empty-handed, the peacock, out of pity for them, gave himself up to the king of his own free will. Taken into the royal palace with great rejoicings, he was admired and honoured by all. One day the king went off on a military expedition, and the queen gave herself up to unlawful pleasure. Then, fearing that the peacock, who was endowed with speech, might reveal her guilt to the king, she decided to kill him and gave him poison. But the bird, who was a bodhisattva, did not die and became even more lovely and bright-colored, so that the queen, at the end of her resources, took her own life.

Passion is poison, a troubled mind is poison, hatred is the supreme poison, but the Buddha, the law, the church and truth, these are sublime ambrosia,, (73). The wicked queen was Srīgupta. His past life being thus evoked before him, Srīgupta repented and was converted: “The sight of good men becomes a cause of great merits, of bliss and of joy,, (77).”

On the tanka the scene occupies the upper right-hand quarter and unfolds starting from the bottom, almost on a level with the lotus on which the central figure is seated. We see Srīgupta visiting the Jaina ascetic, who advices him to take the Buddha’s life; skipping the scene which should immediately follow, a monk speaking to the Buddha with clasped hands represents the attempt of some disciples, who had discovered Srīgupta’s plot, to turn the Buddha from his intention of accepting the invitation. Going back to the picture which is immediately underneath, we see the Buddha who, by his miraculous powers, has turned the fire into a lotus flower; around him his disciples are praying, full of wonder. Above, Srīgupta, repentant, asks the Buddha to forgive him. The peacock coming back to life, immediately on the left, recalls the story of Srīgupta’s past life.

TANKA n. 68 – IV right (Plate 104).

AVADĀNA n. 9

THE STORY OF JYOTIŠKA

In the city of Rājagṛha lived the merchant Subhadra (Rub bzān), who preferred the Jainas to the Buddhists. The Buddha once happened to enter his house, and predicted that his wife Satyavāti (dDe ldan ma) would soon give birth to a son of great virtues, who, grown in years, would take holy vows and become a Buddhist monk. This was related to the Jaina masters, who, although they knew that the Buddha had spoken the truth, persuaded Subhadra, in order to harm the rival community, that his son would be the cause of his ruin. For this reason Subhadra, full of fears, tried by all means to bring about his wife’s miscarriage; as all attempts seemed vain, he led her to a graveyard and there beat her to death. But from the funeral pyre a child came forth; being born out of the flames he was called Jyotiška (Me skeyes). According to the Jainas’ advice, Subhadra refused to take the child into his home; king Bimbisāra had him reared, and only later, being threatened by the child’s uncle on the mother’s side, who was aware of his evil deeds, Subhadra decided to take his son home. On Subhadra’s death, Jyotiška inherited his great wealth. Bimbisāra was informed of this because the wind brought him by chance some precious stuffs, hoarded in Jyotiška’s house; they were so rare that the King had never even imagined such tissues could exist. Ajātaśatru murdered Bimbisāra, and hearing about Jyotiška’s rich treasures, wanted to possess them. Jyotiška gave him half his treasures, but as the king insisted, he gave him
seven times over all his wealth, which miraculously reappeared seven times. Jyotisha regretted the happy reign of Bimbisara, comparing his virtues with Ajatasatru’s cruelty: “Truly the wicked man is, against his will, a friend to the good men who have gone before, because the latter’s glory shines forth in contrast to the life of the former.” (67). Reflecting in such way on the wickedness of men and on the vanity of all things, he wished to embrace the ascetic life. “Pain is a cause of trouble to fools, but it opens the intelligent man’s eyes.” (79). Having divided his riches among the poor, he went to the Buddha and was admitted into the order. The Buddha then told the monks Jyotisha’s past life; in the times of the Buddha Vipasyin he was called Anaanga (Ma bsdams). The Buddha having come to his city, he grieved extremely because his poverty forbade him to receive and honour him with regal celebrations; but Indra, pitying him, put at his disposal through a miracle boundless wealth, by means of which he was able to honour the Buddha as his devotion prompted him to do.14)

On the tanka the story begins at the bottom, on the right: we see the Buddha, accompanied by his disciples, predicting Jyotisha’s birth to Subhadra; in the small pictures immediately above, Subhadra’s conversation with the Jaina masters, and lower down Satya vati beaten by her husband; on the opposite side (on the left) Jyotisha’s birth out of fire, while his mother is lying in the graveyard all around, the Jaina masters, overwhelmed with wonder; they are also to be seen in the preceding scene, on the right above, where Subhadra is seen carrying his wife’s swathed corpse on his back; guided by the Jainas he goes towards the graveyard. Under the picture of a sea-monster, belonging to another story, we notice two figures walking towards the left: they represent Subhadra taking Jyotisha home, after the latter had been brought up by king Bimbisara. The scene which follows immediately to the left represents Jyotiska adoring the Buddha and the community, for the benefit of his mother’s soul; this episode is to be found in the prose version, but is lacking in Ksemendra’s original; on the opposite side is painted the interior of a palace, with many figures; inside the enclosure we see first Jyotiska with his wife (?), next Bimbisara speaking to Jyotiska; carried by the wind, Jyotiska’s precious stuff has rolled itself up round one of the columns of the palace, to the onlookers’ great wonder. Follows the gift of Jyotiska’s riches to Ajatasatru, and, in the distance, Jyotiska, kneeling in front of the Buddha, is admitted into the community. To the right, in smaller proportions, a brief sketch of Jyotiska’s past incarnation, when with Indra’s favour he had offered endless riches to the Buddha Vipasyin.

AVADANA n. 10

REBIRTH

The sanskrit text of the tenth tale is missing in S. Ch. Das and Vidyabhushana’s edition: it is not a story, but a real sermon, preached by the Buddha in the environs of Campaka. Its subject is the unfolding of life: how the conscious principle migrates from one existence to the next, going through the grim experiences of pain, disease and death, until the truth which ends the samsara for ever is known and meditated upon. This avadana then is a concise handbook of asceticism, which breaks up, in a certain sense, the continuity of the tales, as it does not belong to some particular life of the Bodhisattva, but is a general treatise on renunciation. It is difficult to represent it in pictures. To the right of the great image of the Buddha, in the centre of the tanka, we see Sakyamuni; some monks are seated in front of him, in adoring attitudes: thus is represented Ananda’s request to the Buddha at Campaka for an explanation of how rebirth comes about. Around this picture, man’s childhood and maturity.
This avadāna tells one of the best-known tales of Buddhist hagiographic literature, the story of Nanda (mdses dga’ bo), sung by Asvaghosa in a long poem. When the Buddha came back to Kapilavastu and began to beg in his own city, in the midst of a great crowd of people, his nephew Nanda, ardently enamoured of his young and lovely wife, followed him on the invitation of Buddha himself; indeed he used to hold the pot in which the alms were collected. Nanda followed the Buddha with his body, but his mind was always fixed on his wife and he longed to get home. Having arrived before the others in the hermitage, he wished to take leave of the Buddha, who on the contrary detained him with praises of an ascetic’s serenity.

"The ornament of age is virtue: of virtue judgement: of judgement serenity: of serenity victory over passion". In the end he advised Nanda to become a monk. Nanda, in order not to disappoint the Buddha, rather than through heartfelt conviction, put on a monk’s robe, but instead of meditating on renunciation, his thoughts were always with his beloved. "We know not through what path passion enters into the mind; like the colour of a piece of glass, even if you wash it, it does not go", His one desire was to go back to her and in the meantime he broke two promises: the promise he had made her, to come back soon to her arms and the one he had made the Buddha, to lead an ascetic’s life. Instead of meditating, he painted his wife's portrait, seriously shocking the monks and being much reproved by the Buddha. But Nanda, heedless of all reproaches, more than once set out for his home, and was always detained in time by the Buddha, who took every opportunity to show him the advantages of renunciation and salvation. The Buddha carried him up, flying through the air, to the mountain Gandhamādana, showed him an old, blind she-ape, and told him that "neither what is good nor what is evil exist: it is only passion which discovers an object to be pleasing. Each one, in this world, is pleasing to those who love him." Then he asked Nanda if by chance he did not prefer the she-ape to his wife. The young monk was astonished and could not understand what the Buddha meant by such a question, but the Buddha next took him to Paradise, where the Apsaras were disporting themselves. Seeing them so divinely beautiful, Nanda forgot his wife and had no thought but for them; Buddha assured him that the Apsaras would be his when, having observed chastity in this life and kept his vows, he would be reborn into that Paradise. Nanda, then, descends once more upon earth with the Buddha and hoping to obtain those celestial joys, he follows an exceedingly strict way of life, but one day he sees a burning land, inhabited by demons, and from them he learns that their lot will be his own, because he has not had the strength to keep his ascetic vows with heartfelt firmness. Panic-stricken, he repents and obtains enlightenment.

"As we meditate on the unsubstantiality of all things, the activities of the mind no longer benighted (by sin) are set at rest", Nanda, obtaining supreme salvation, gathered the fruits of his past virtues: in a former existence he had adorned a stūpa, built to honour the Buddha. The story is represented in the upper left-hand corner, briefly sketched in its most important moments; the scenes do not follow one another in the order of the text. The first small picture represents two persons, one confronting the other, as if in conversation: evidently Nanda and his wife. Immediately above, the Buddha preaching in Nanda’s house; lower down, on the right, the Buddha leading Nanda away, while someone tries to retain him and he turns back to look on his wife for the last time. Above, the Buddha preaching and Nanda who, regretting his wife, tries to leave the community, but is stopped by
Śākyamuni at the door. The Buddha takes Nanda to view the torments of Hell, reserved to those who do not keep their vows: the sinners are seen crowded into a chest and surrounded with flames; a demon is poking the fire. As a contrast, higher up beyond the clouds, a brief sketch of Nanda’s former life and of the construction of the stūpa which was the first cause of his rebirth into a prosperous existence.

**Avadāna p. 12**

**STORY OF VIRŪDHAKA**

This story is mixed up with several other tales, about characters often brought together by events. One of the slaves of a prince of the Śākyas was an extremely beautiful and virtuous maiden called Mālikā (āP’ren can ma). While the Buddha was passing through the city, she piously gave him alms, hoping that this small bounty might deliver her from slavery. As an astrologer had foretold to her, king Prasenajit, brought to her dwelling by his runaway horse during a hunting-party, fell in love with her and, having obtained her from the prince of the Śākyas, took her to his palace and married her. Mālikā became very intimate with the king’s first wife Varsākārā (āByar gyi ’ram pa), who was, like her, divinely beautiful: her mere touch produced a sensation of superhuman delight. The Buddha explained that the virtues and good fortune of both women were derived from karma accumulated during their preceding lives. When they were respectively Kāntā (mDses ma) and Sīrīṣikā (Si ri ∫a ka) they had covered their brother with gifts on his return to his native city after becoming Pratyekabuddha.

To go back to the tale, Mālikā bore Prasenajit a son called Virūdhaka (āP’ags skyes); he was brought up with the son of the court priest Duhkhamātrika (Ma 1a gnod). One day the two young men entered the city of the Śākyas, and Virūdhaka was insulted and called son of a slave. To revenge himself, encouraged by his young friend, he attempted to seize the kingdom, trusting to the intrigues of the minister Cārāyana (Ris spyon), ably induced to side with him and taking advantage of the absence of Prasenajit, who had gone to hear the Buddha preach, a long distance away. Virūdhaka, consecrated as king by the faithless ministers, seized the throne. Prasenajit was informed of these events by the two queens, who had fled to bring him the news, and he took refuge with Ajātaśatru, broken and forlorn. “Who can taste uninterrupted joy, or obtain a long life? Whose luck has not been seen to perish suddenly, at the moment of his greatest fortune?” (63).

Ajātaśatru, unable to help him, went to the Buddha, to find out the causes of Prasenajit’s disaster. “Pleasures are like the waves of the sea — said the Buddha — they tremble like the eyes of a gazelle. Good fortune in an instant disappears, like lightning which flickers in the midst of a cloud; youth, in this lotus-flower of the body, is like the short-lived colour of the rising sun; the drop of life soon dries up in the desert of existence.” (76). Prasenajit, in a former existence, had been an ascetic called Suṣarman (Rab bde). One day, before going to his bath, he gave his sister some roots, to be kept for his meal, but she gave them away to a Pratyekabuddha, who had come to the hermitage in the meantime. Suṣarman was left fasting and cursed his guest; for this reason, born again as Prasenajit, he was paying for his wrath. Meanwhile Virūdhaka planned to destroy the Śākyas; a first time the Buddha restrained him, but encouraged by Duhkhamātrika he attacked the city. The Śākyas, whom the Buddha’s preaching had rendered mild, had vowed they would not resist; all except Sampāka (Sam pa ka) who made havoc with Virūdhaka’s troops; later he also was converted by the Buddha’s words; he left the fight, settled in Vākuḍā and built a stūpa there. Virūdhaka then entered the city and destroyed it, taking away a large number of male and female slaves. The Śākyas, the Buddha explained, were in a former life
fishermen who caught and tortured two fishes; in another life they had been robbers who murdered the chiefs of two families; for this reason they were now undergoing disaster, while the two fishes and the two heads of families were no others than Virūḍhaka and Duḥkhaḥ mātrika. In the meantime Virūḍhaka cut off the hands of the Śākyas’ female slaves, who spoke to him about the unescapable law of karma; Buddha healed them and they ascended to heaven. It was meanwhile foretold that Duḥkhamātrika, within seven day, would be burnt in hell-fire; vainly, for seven days, he sought refuge in the water; on the seventh day, struck by a ray from the sky, he was burnt and hurled into Hell."

On the tanka the scenes of the hero’s past existences and the episodes of the lives told in the avadīna, are placed fronting one another. Beginning from above, on the right, we see the meeting of Prasenajit and Mālikā, their return to the capital on a white elephant. Underneath, on the right, the alms Mālikā offered the Buddha, which caused her elevation. On the left, Prasenajit’s former devotion, which caused his fortune as a king. The two pictures almost on top of the great figure of the Buddha, represent Virūḍhaka’s birth and coronation. The scene which follows above, on the left, is difficult to interpret, because the accompanying inscription, in the woodcut, can hardly be deciphered. From what little can be read, it seems to represent the Buddha trying to turn Virūḍhaka from his plan of destroying the Śākyas. The picture that follows, immediately below, represents the Buddha’s prophecy concerning the fatal destruction of the city of the Śākyas, and their decision not to resist attack. The Buddha is then seen looking on while the city burns; the fire is schematically represented immediately to the left. In the middle, Prasenajit on a chariot, seeking refuge with Ajātaśatru, immediately after being deprived of his reign by his own son. As can be seen, the pictures go backwards, without following the succession of events.

Next Virūḍhaka’s army is represented on its way to destroy the city of the Śākyas. The story closes with a picture of Sāmpāka receiving the Buddha’s sacred relics in order to build a stūpa over them, and the scene of the young Śākya women, whose hands had been cut off by Virūḍhaka and who, through the Buddha’s grace, are born again into heaven.

TANKA n. 69 – V right (Plate 105).

AVADĀNA n. 13

STORY OF HĀRĪTI

Under Bimbisāra’s reign, endless and violent calamities suddenly broke out in his kingdom, particularly a great mortality among infants. His subjects, harassed and sorrowful, begged the king to find out the cause of such misfortunes and to procure a remedy. Bimbisāra finally discovered that the ogress Hāriti (aPṛrog ma) was devouring the children; the only redress he could think of was to invoke the Buddha’s aid. The Buddha went to Hāriti and in her absence carried off her favorite son Priyāṃkara (dGa’ byed). On her return Hāriti missed Priyāṃkara, and sought for him everywhere, with tears and sorrow. All in vain; she then went in despair to the Buddha, who asked her why she was grieving thus for the loss of a child, since she had so many. “Because...” Hāriti answered, there is nothing dearer than children; what pain can be greater than their loss? (40). Only those who have children know the grievous sufferings caused by that poison, a parent’s love. To cherish one’s children is an inborn instinct,” (41). The Buddha, then, asked her why, knowing this, she had stolen the children of others, and promised to return Priyāṃkara to her when she has sworn to take the threefold Buddhist refuge. She did so, and the Buddha evoked her former life before her. A young woman, being pregnant, met some youths in the market-place; listening to their blandishments, she took her pleasure with them, and miscarried. But
having met a Pratyekabuddha, she devoutly offered him a wreath made of 500 mango leaves; she was therefore reborn as an ogress, because she had brought about her own miscarriage through thoughtlessness and lewdness; she had 500 children from the 500 leaves of the wreath presented to the Buddha, and having done him homage, was enabled to meet the Buddha and to enter into his Law.\(^8\)

The story is represented on the right side of the tanka, next to the label which bears the number of the corresponding chapter in Kṣemendra’s poem. First we see the people of Rājagṛha going to ask the king’s aid against the calamities which trouble the country; next the Buddha, whose help Bimbisāra is soliciting against Hārīti; the latter, in the queen’s presence, seems about to pounce furiously upon her prey. On the margin the ogress among her children. Above, her vain search for Priyamkara by land and by sea, even into the Paradises which mount in terraces on the slopes of Sumeru; next the Buddha who returns the child to its mother, once he is sure of Hārīti’s repentance and conversion. At the bottom, Hārīti’s past history, her meeting with the merry party of young men and her sin.

\textbf{Avadāna n. 14}

\textbf{STORY OF THE MIRACLE}

The heretics of Rājagṛha could not bear to see the Buddha in great favour with the king and the people; intending to shame him, they asked king Bimbisāra’s permission to engage the Sākya saint in a contest of miracles. Bimbisāra refused and they went to Prasenajit, who revealed everything to the Buddha. The latter was reluctant, because “That person, deserving of blame, who covers the virtues of other men with his own virtues, slays the Law itself.” \((23)\). “The man who, although he be virtuous, is not serene to others, is like one who carries a lamp in his hand, but walks in darkness, obscured by the shadow cast by the lamp.” \((25)\). Finally the Buddha consented, not to prove his power of working miracles, but in order to convert unbelievers. The contest was fixed at the end of seven days.

In the meantime, as the king’s brother crossed the palace courtyards, a wreath of flowers belonging to the queen was dropped upon him; slanderers falsely accused him to Prasenajit, who ordered his hands and feet to be cut off. While the prince was in this painful condition, his friends and relatives vainly begged the Jaina masters to help and comfort him. But Ananda, arriving by chance, restored his limbs to him in a moment, through the power of satyavacana, that is of truth. When the day of the contest arrived, the Buddha projected out of his divine body sheaves of light, which pervaded the three worlds and caused wonderful lotus-flowers to shoot from the earth; seated upon them he preached to the crowd.

“Abandon evil, water the seeds of good, renounce enmity, enjoy the pleasures of lowliness, drink the ambrosia of knowledge: all these are antidotes to the poison of death. This body of ours is not, in the long run, a abode of all infirmities; the vital spirits walk only for a moment in the house of the body. Be zealous in pursuing the eternal (truth) which is the very essence of the law.” \((54)\).

While the Buddha was speaking, Vajrapāṇi raised up a great wind, which swept the heretics away and flung them down into the earth’s centre. But the Buddha pitied them and by the power of his word restored them to safety and converted them.\(^9\)

On the tanka this story is represented immediately after the other. The first scene, under the great central figure, represents king Prasenajit asking the Buddha to vanquish the heretics by his miracles. Then, immediately underneath, the story of the prince accused by slanderers and punished by the king; his vain appeal for help to the heretical masters; his maimed limbs are restored by Ananda. Next, further up, the miracle of the Buddha

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multiplied in thousands of luminous rays: gods
men and all creatures worship him. Under-
neath, the heretics are swept away by the tem-
pest. The scene immediately following, to
the right, ought logically to be the first one,
representing as it does the Buddha’s refusal of
the heretics’ request, before they turn to
Prasenajit. Above, the Buddha preaching
in the midst of his disciples.

This episode of the Buddha’s legend is very
important in the Tibetan tradition, because it
is commemorated every year, as one of the
greatest festivals in the religious calendar.

**Avadāna n. 15**

**STORY OF THE DESCENT FROM HEAVEN**

It is called the descent from heaven, but the
name has not much to do with the story - or
rather stories - concerned, and it is justified
only because they were told by the Buddha on
that famous occasion. Kṣemendra’s story goes
that Śākyamuni, after having preached the Law
in heaven, descended upon earth in Śaṅkāśya
(Sān kā šya), where a jubilant crowd received
him. A nun was there, anxious to approach
him and to do him homage, but finding it
impossible to approach the Buddha because of
the crowd, she decided to use a stratagem.

“Virtue has no prestige, people love
power,” (11). “Through an inborn habit,
without reasoning, people allow themselves
to be drawn by riches, unsteady like a leaf
of grass or a piece of cloth, tasteless and
unsubstantial,” (12).

The nun therefore disguised herself as a king
and could thus approach the Buddha, who
rebuked her because she had wanted to prove
her ability to work miracles; later she was re-
cognized by Udayin as his mate in a past life.
The Buddha then told her her past birth: once
upon a times a rich merchant’s wife lived in
Benares; her name was Dhanavati (Nor Idan
ma) and she was about to bear a child. For
this reason she tried to dissuade her husband
from an adventurous journey, but all in vain:
greed for gain urged him towards new adven-
tures. “Even the ocean is but as a pot to be
held in the hands, to those who are seized with
a strong desire for gain,” (34). The pair set
off together, but they were shipwrecked; with
great difficulty they reached the island of Ka-
śeru (Ka se ru), inhabited by gigantic birds.
Their god Sumukha (bŽin bzin), after the
merchant’s death, received Dhanavati with
kindness; she bore a son, and later, out of
fondness for Sumukha, gave herself to him.
A son, Padmamukha (Pad ma bžin), was born;
as soon as he reached manhood, Sumukha left
him his kingdom. Dhanavati begged Pad-
mamukha to take her son by her first husband
to Benares and to place him on the throne; the
enterprise was successful and Padmamukha,
after having made his step-brother a king,
returned to Kaśeru. In Benares a pregnant
she-elephant was brought to the new king, and
fortune-tellers assured him that she could not
be delivered unless a pure woman touched her.
All the women of the country and many
others were vainly put to the proof; at last a
young shepherdess was found, at whose touch
the elephant brought forth her young. The
king then married her daughter called So-
śumbā (So šum ba). Later Padmamukha
came to see his step-brother, and the king
gave his wife into his keeping; he had to
guard her in Kaśeru in the daytime and bring
her to him at night.

In the meantime a young Brahman of
Benares had met a Kinnāri in the forest and
fallen in love with her; they lived together and
a son was born whom they named Śighrāga
(mGyur agro). Grown to manhood, he ad-
vised his father to return to Benares: “No man
can leave his country, as he cannot leave his
own body,” (88). Father and son, in the
Kinnāri’s absence, fled taking with them a lyre,
which Śighrāga could play on wonderfully;
a friend of his mother had taught him music,
warning him never to touch the first string of
his instrument. The young man met some
merchants on a sea voyage and began to play; he forgot the prohibition and touched the forbidden string; thereupon the sea swelled up, and their ship was swallowed by the waves. The youth landed in Kaśeru and fell in love with Sośumbā. She could not resist his wooing and touched by his entreaties, took him with her to Benares, charging him not to open his eyes while flying through the air with Pādmamukha. He disobeyed and became blind. She left him, sad and forlorn, in the king’s garden, meaning to take him back with her in the evening. The king, by chance, went down into the garden, and the blind man, smelling the scent from the king’s robes, took him for Sūmbii and began to lament his fate, thus revealing his secret love. The king, disappointed because “a pure woman, like a wreath of flowers grown in the air, is absolutely not to be found,” (129), banished his unfaithful wife and her lover. On the way they were captured by robbers, who murdered the man and raped Sośumbā. Finally the king forgave his wife and took her back. Udayin was at that time Śighraga and the nun was Sośumbā.  

The pictures on the tanka are somewhat different from Kṣemendra’s version, which is in fact rather unequal and full of long-drawn-out details. At the top, on the left, the Buddha is seen sitting in the Tūṣita, preaching the law; he then descends upon earth at Maudgalyāyana’s invitation, in the midst of a crowd of worshippers; the nun appears in the garb of a Cakravartin king, attended by an elephant and other symbols of his regal state. The next scene, on the left, is the story, told by the Buddha to the assembled monks, concerning the past lives of Udayin and the nun Utpalavarnā, while on the right, near the great figure, an episode lacking in Kṣemendra is outlined: the monks beg Maudgalyāyana to ascend to heaven and to bring the Buddha back upon earth. In the picture below, the main points of the story of the Benares merchant and his wife are outlined.

**Avadāṇa n. 16**  
**THE THROWING OF THE STONE**

The Buddha had announced that he would go to the city of Kuśinagara, on a visit to the Mallas, who had invited him. The latter were preparing to receive him worthily, smoothing and cleaning the road on which he would pass, but they could not by any means remove a huge stone which barred the way at a certain point. As soon as he got to it, the Buddha flung the stone up to an extraordinary height, then catching it on the palm of his hand, he blew upon it, turning it to dust; then remoulded it as it was before and shifted it to another place. The Buddha took this opportunity to remind his hearers of the Buddha’s incomparable power.

On the tanka we see above, on the right, the Mallas’ vain efforts to move the stone, and in the following scene the Buddha throwing it up into the air and turning it to dust; next the crowd gathered round him to listen to his word.

**Avadāṇa n. 17**  
**MAITREYA’S PROPHECY**

One day the Buddha, as he was crossing the Ganges on a bridge the snakes had made for him by stretching out their crests, showed his disciples a sacrificial pole of precious stones, which could be perceived at the bottom of the river, and told them its story. A god, descending upon earth at the term of his heavenly life, was born as king Mahāpranāda (Māṇ poṣ bkur ba) and asked Indra for a sign which should remind him and his subjects of the splendours of the divine law. Indra gave him the sacrificial pole, but the people admired it so much that they used to neglect their work and the finances of the kingdom greatly suffered thereby. Mahāpranāda, for this reason, flung it into the bottom of the
Ganges. One day a king named Śāṅkha (Dun) will be born, who will give the pole to Maitreya, the son of his Purohita; Maitreya will break it in pieces and give them to the poor and he will subsequently become a Buddha, while the king will take vows. Śāṅkha will thus gather the fruits of a vow made in one of his past lives when, in the times of the Buddha Ratnasikha (Rin 'cEN gtsug), putting an end to a long enmity with a rival king called Vāsava (Nor lhai bu) he had begun to practise the Buddhist law. **141**

The story is represented to the right of the great figure. The order of the scene is the following: first the Buddha about to cross, with the aid of the snakes, a river in the middle of which a stūpa is seen. Immediately above, the Buddha, in the midst of his disciples, is telling them the story and the prophecy. Still lower down, the same stūpa, honoured by a large crowd, and above, to the right of the Buddha, king Mahāprāṇāda, who is throwing the monument into the river. All allusions to Mālā's prophecy are lacking. The story of Śāṅkha's past life, in the times of the Buddha Ratnasikha, is briefly described in the picture under the great figure of the Buddha. We, then, see king Śāṅkha adoring Maitreya, and lower down the division of the precious stūpa among the King's subjects, while the people go home loaded with riches.

**Avadāna n. 18**

**THE STORY OF ĀDARŚAMUKHA**

While the Buddha was staying at Śtāvastī, in the Jetavana, Kāśyapa ('Od srun), having gone into a nearby forest, met a leprous woman, who would also have wished to offer the saint her alms, but was ashamed to do so because of her disease. Kāśyapa, guessing her thoughts, handed her the bowl; in that same instant she died and was born into the Tuṣita heaven. Indra, to reward Kāśyapa, filled the bowl with ambrosia, but Kāśyapa, poured it out again, lest a heavenly reward should contaminate his sincere pity for sufferers. In the meantime Prasenajit offered a banquet to the Buddha and to the community; he had been born a king because in one of his previous lives, as a poor man, he had offered a Pratyekabuddha the only scrap of food he possessed. He asked the Buddha whether it would be possible for him to achieve supreme enlightenment by this act of generosity. "Supreme enlightenment - the Buddha answered - is softer than the stalks of a lotus flower, heavier than the planets, deeper than the sea; it is not to be easily conquered." (26). "Even I did not obtain it through the many gifts I had made in my past lives; they say that it comes of a conscience purified by serenity of mind," (27). Out of the many past lives in which he had performed great and wonderful acts of renunciation, without achieving supreme enlightenment, the Buddha recalled his life as Ādārśamukha (Me lön bzin), fifth son of Nanda (dGa' bo), who was called by his father's will to succeed him on his throne; Ādārśamukha was an able wrangler, and successfully provided for his subjects' needs during a famine which lasted twelve years. **142**

The picture directly underneath the great figure of the Buddha represents Śākyamuni seated in the Jetavana, in the midst of his disciples. Higher up on the left we see the Buddha, to whom Prasenajit sends presents and offerings; to the king who is thus doing him homage, he announces that gifts and bounty do not suffice to attain supreme enlightenment; such has been his case as Ādārśamukha. In the left corner of the tanka are recorded the great gifts made by Prasenajit to the people, with the hope of attaining bodhi; then, right under the large picture of the Buddha in the Jetavana, is represented an episode of Prasenajit's former life, when he gave a cake to a Pratyekabuddha; next, up to the enclosure of the same scene, on the left, the leprous woman offering alms to Kāśyapa.
When the Buddha was in Kalandakani-vāpa, the sermon he preached to the assembled monks touched Śāriputra’s soul so deeply, that he immediately achieved arhatship. Full of wonder, the monks asked the Buddha what merits Śāriputra had acquired in his preceding existence. The Buddha told them this story: once upon a time there was a woman, Sūrpirka (Sūr pi ka), wife of the Brahman Agnimitra (Me yi grogs po). A brother of her husband’s, who had become Pratyeka-buddha, happened to come to the house; she received him with great honour and took the vow to obtain supreme enlightenment in the future. Therefore Sūrpirka had become Śāriputra in her present existence. The monks however still had a doubt: if his merit was so great, why had he been born into a family of actors, who in India are despised and belong to the lowest caste?

Another time - the Buddha answered - Śāriputra was the prince Mahāmati (Blo gros c’en po) who wanted at all costs to take vows and be admitted into the order, but his father’s wishes and his obligations as a king stood in his way. One day, having seen a poor man who could not become a monk because he lacked the means of procuring a tunic and a bowl, he furnished him with what was needed, taking the vow that he would be reborn as a man of low caste.

The story begins in the upper, outer right-hand corner; we see the Buddha preaching among his disciples, while Śāriputra at that very moment attains gnosis; immediately underneath is represented Sūrpirka’s story; next the meeting with the old man and the promise to furnish him with what he needed to enter the order; further up, the picture of Mahāmati who has become a king; next the gift of a tunic and a robe to the old man; higher up the old man has become a Pratyekabuddha and displays various miracles to the prince; immediately to the left Śāriputra is initiated for the first time, in the Buddha Kāśyapa’s days.

In the village of Vāsava (Nor las byun ba) lived a bountiful lord called Bālasena (Töbs kyi sde); his wife, under the Šravanā constellation, gave birth to a son who, being born with miraculous earrings, was called Šronakoṭikarna (Gro bzin bye ba ma ba). Grown in years, urged by a greed for gain, he undertook an adventurous expedition into distant lands, but on the way he lost his caravan and found himself alone, tortured by hunger and thirst. Thus wandering through sun-parched deserts, he came to an iron city, whose gates were guarded by terrible watchers; having asked in vain for water, he entered the city and discovered that he had fallen among lemures, like him tormented by thirst and hunger, who were there atoning for their past sins.

Šronakoṭikarna was frightened and fled; at last he found refuge in a cool and shady forest; when night set in, he saw a heavenly chariot and upon it four women, divinely fair, and a kingly youth, who fed and comforted him. But at dawn the chariot disappeared, the young man fell to the ground in a swoon and was torn asunder by ravenous dogs. Night returned, and with it the same vision appeared once more. Šronakoṭikarna asked the reason of this and was told that the young man had been in the habit of eating meat; the monk Kātyāyana vainly tried to change his ways, at last he could only persuade the young man to avoid forbidden food at night. For this reason, the youth was happy during the night, but dogs devoured him in the daytime. Šronakoṭikarna resumed his journey and saw another heavenly chariot bearing a man and a bevy
of celestial women; when night arrived, the youth fell down in a swoon and a centipede gnawed his brain. At dawn the man came to life and the heavenly chariot returned. He had been a Brahman who loved his neighbour's wife; as he could not master his passion, in obedience to Kātyāyana, he decided to keep chaste by day; for this reason he was happy in the daytime and tortured by night. Koṭi-karna again set out on his journey, and met a fair lady seated on a heavenly chariot resting on four lemures. He pitied them and asked the reason of their torment; he was told that the woman had once offered generous alms to Kṛtyrana, reverently and devoutly. Her husband, her son, her daughter-in-law and her handmaid had been sorely vexed; now, changed into lemures, they were paying for their sin.

Finally Koṭikarna returned to his country and found his parents who, believing him to be dead, had become blind through much weeping. He then meditated on the impermanence of all things, was admitted into the community and in a short time became an arhat. Having gone to the Buddha, who was in the Venūvana, he heard from him the story of his own past adventures. In Kāsyapa's times, king Krkin built a precious stūpa in that Buddha's honour. He died before it was finished, and his son, out of niggardliness, had the work suspended. But a merchant came, who gave the gold needed to finish the stūpa. This merchant was Sronakoṭikarna; owing to his act of devotion, he was reborn bearing miraculous earrings, but he had to endure the hardship of a long travel, because, when about to start on one of his journeys, he had spoken unkindly to his mother.144)

This avadāna occupies the lowest part of the tanka, beginning on the right; the three pictures on the right margin, one under the other, represent Koṭikarna's three principal meetings: with a goddess on a heavenly chariot supported by four lemures, with the sinner who by night enjoyed the society of celestial maidens and in the daytime was devoured by dogs, with another man happy in the daytime and tormented by night. The stūpa just visible on high, to the left of the first scene, is a reminder of the meritorious acts performed by Koṭikarna in his past life. Next Koṭikarna's arrival in the city of the lemures, his fatigue, the boat on which he travelled; in the centre, lower down, the return to his native city, the attainment of sanctity in the midst of an adoring crowd, the visit to the Buddha.

**AVADĀNA n. 21**

**STORY OF ĀMRAPĀLĪ**

A king lived in Mithila, named Jalasattva (C'ū yi sens dpa'); he prospered through the wise advice of his minister Khaṇḍa (Dum bu). The other ministers, envying their colleague's wisdom and favour, slandered him in every manner. Khaṇḍa became aware of this and, taking the advice of his sons, he fled. "Affection, once broken by slander, cannot be welded together again, as a gem is no longer an ornament when it has become a piece of stone."

Time passed, and his son Simha became the father of two daughters, Cailā (Tsai là) and Upacailā (Nē bai tsai là); according to the fortune-tellers, Cailā's son was destined to murder his own father. Khaṇḍa died and his son Simha was made minister in his place, while the second son Gopa, vexed that such an honour had not been bestowed upon him, took refuge with Bimbisāra in Rājagha. Bimbisāra's wife died, and the king wished to marry Upacailā. Gopa tried by every mean to carry off the maiden, but as she was well guarded, he brought the king Cailā in her place, without concealing from him that fortune-tellers had made an evil prophecy concerning her firstborn. In the meantime the head of a certain community found a maiden in the forest; he named her Āmrapālī (Ām ra skyoh ma) and when she was grown wished to find her a husband, but the community objected, maintaining that she must be kept for the
members of the community and not given in marriage to a stranger. Amrāpāli succeeded, by a strategem, in eluding the desires of the community and, as she had become famous for her great beauty, princes of many lands sent her their portraits and asked for her hand. She chose Bimbisāra and had intercourse with him; having borne a child, when he was grown up, she sent him to his father with the ring which the king had left with her when they parted. The story does not proceed as far as Bimbisāra’s end, because it was known to all that he had been slain by his son Ajātasatru; it evokes Amrāpāli’s former life, when as Mālati (āP’ren ba can) she had honoured a Pratyekabuddha, expressing the wish to be born again as a king’s wife.145)

Meanwhile Anāthapiṇḍada received the letter sent by the Brahman before his death; he took the dowry with him, set off for Rāja-gha and got to his future brother-in-law’s house where a great banquet in the Buddha’s honour was being prepared. The Buddha arrived, in the midst of a crowd of disciples, and Anāthapiṇḍada had thus the opportunity of hearing one of his sermons. Touched by his words, he invited him to Śrāvasti, where he built a monastery in the Jetavana. This incensed the heretics, who led by Raktākṣa (Mig āmar) tried to prevent the construction of the vihāra. Raktākṣa, by his magic arts, caused a pond to appear on the spot, and Śāriputra dried it up, using an elephant, created by his power. Raktākṣa then brought forth from his person a seven-headed serpent, and Śāriputra caused it to be subdued by Garuḍa: the other evoked a ghost, but the saint turned it against its maker, whereupon all the heretics were converted. Anāthapiṇḍada could thus finish his monastery, which he richly adorned. Anāthapiṇḍada, the Buddha explained, had also acquired great merit in his former lives, when he had given many gifts to the Buddhas Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Krakuchchanda and Kāśyapa.146)

On the tanka the episode is represented in the upper right-hand corner, where the construction of the vihāra in the Jetavana is clearly visible. Underneath, the contest between Śāriputra and Raktākṣa, the Garuḍa seizing the seven-headed serpent, the pond dried up by the elephant. Above, the ghost.

TANKA n. 72 – VIII right (Plate 108).

Avadāna n. 23

STORY OF THE ŚĀKYAS

Śuddhodana wished at any cost to see his son, who having renounced his kingdom and his home, had become the Buddha. He sent many devoted friends to beg him to return to Kapilavastu, but not one of them had come
back; they had all taken vows and forgotten their promise.

"Each desires his own good, and has therefore become cold to the interests of others.\(6\). Finally, much to the king’s joy, Udayin came back announcing the Buddha’s approaching arrival. The Buddha miraculously came through the skies; father and son met again, and hoping against hope to bring him back to earthly ties, Suddhodana asked him how he had been able to exchange his untroubled wealth for the hardships of an ascetic’s life. Let him now return to the care of his kingdom and the love of his family. These words were naturally vain. "If life were not unstable as a wave, if it were not troubled by old age and disease, who would not continually desire pleasure, dripping the ambrosia of contentment?\(34\). But life is made of partings, impermanence and pain. “Wealth is attended by the regret of being separated from one’s property, the beauty of women is over in a moment, there is no satisfaction in enjoyments. How can there be any enjoyment, capable of satisfying us, in those things wherein misfortune always lies in ambush? \(42\)."

All the Śākyas, hearing the Buddha’s words, were converted, to the exclusion of Devadatta, who declared that the Buddha’s majesty, which overpowered them all, was only some magic power; Maudgalyāyana, then, displayed miraculous prodigies and the Buddha ascended to heaven, to preach the Law to the gods, while Suddhodana vainly tried to reach his son and listen to his word. He then renounced his kingly dignity, offering it to his kinsmen, but no one wanted to accept the cares of a kingdom; princes give it up, one in the other’s favour: all together, from Bhadraka, (bZan ldan) the youngest of all, to Devadatta, they took vows. But, almost as though forecasting the sad fate of Devadatta, whose heart was not pure, a vulture tore off a ruby he had in his diadem.

To enter the order, it is necessary to get one’s hair shaved; the novice Bhadraka had to kneel before Upālin the barber, who was already an important member of the community. The young Śākya’s pride, not yet subdued, shrunk before such a humiliation. However, after a moment’s uncertainty, he bowed before the monk, who had once been his servant and barber. Thereupon the earth trembled: pride, one of man’s inborn qualities, the most difficult to uproot, was vanquished. The monks wished to know why the earth should have trembled, and the Buddha explained the reason and reminded them that in his former life Bhadraka had already humbled himself before Upālin.

Once upon a time there was a poor youth who had fallen in love with a harlot, Bhadra by name. She, at a loss how to get rid of him, used to send him off into the forest to pick flowers. One day king Brahmadatta found him there; hearing him sing and prizing his wisdom, he took the youth with him as a confidant and friend, and went so far as to offer him half his kingdom. After a moment’s hesitation the youth, as though enlightened, refused his offer. “Power is like a poisonous berry: it causes men to quake, to fall into a stupour, prostrates them, envelops them in darkness; as soon as he has tasted it, man dies of it.\(94\)."

Having perceived the vanity of all things, Bhadraka became a Pratyekabuddha, and the king, on meeting him again, bowed before him. The King was then Bhadra.\(147\)

The tanka represents this episode on the right of the central figure; immediately above the label containing the name and number of the avadāna, king Suddhodana is seen sending messengers to beg the Buddha to come back. One of these messengers is near the palace door, about to set off. Passing immediately to the great scene on the left of the Buddha, we see Udayin asking Śākyamuni to heed his father’s prayer. Turning back to the right, Udayin’s arrival; he is admitted into the king’s presence and announces Śākyamuni’s approaching arrival. Hence we must pass
to the upper margin, where the Buddha's miraculous arrival by air is represented: to the admiration of all present, the Buddha seated on a throne, surrounded by his disciples, preaches the Law to the Śākyas, who can be easily recognized by their turbans and their mundane dress; they take vows and have their hair cut off by Upālin. The scene which follows, immediately to the right, shows the Buddha preaching to the heavenly assembly, while his father vainly tries to enter Paradise, kept back by the guards at its four gates.

Under the label which announces this story, we see Devadatta and the vulture tearing off the ruby from his diadem.

**Avadāna n. 24**

**STORY OF VIŚVĀNṬARA**

This is the tale of Viśvāntara, one of the most celebrated of all Buddhist legends, still a subject for sacred art in different Eastern lands. The Avadāna is so well known that Kṣemendra only gives a brief summary of it, without taking advantage of its dramatic plot, which had inspired pages of the highest poetry to Āryaśūra.

Viśvāntara (T'ams cod sgrol) was the son of Śaṃjaya (Kun tu rgyal ba) and gave himself up entirely to practising the virtue of charity; no one had ever turned to him without having his prayers and requests immediately granted. He began by giving away a war-chariot which was one of the props of his kingdom, causing the king and the ministers great anxiety. When he gave to a Brahman, sent by an enemy king, the elephant which was the defence of the State, the king saw no remedy, but to send his son into exile. The prince departed with his wife and two children; on the road he gave away his chariot and all his property, because "the spirit of great-hearted men is the same, in good and bad fortune,", (29), then he gave away his children and in the end even his wife - but this time it was Indra himself who, taking the form of a Brahman, had asked him for his wife to prove his firmness in keeping a vow. In the end Indra appears in all his divine splendour and returns his wife to him. The prince also found his children, who had been sold to Viśvāmitra and obtained his kingdom.\(^{48}\)

The story is represented in the lower part of the tanka; it begins with the bottom picture, to the onlooker’s right, which represents the preaching Buddha; this gave occasion to the avadāna, when the Buddha told the assembled monks the story of his former life as Viśvāntara. In the centre the royal palace, where prince Viśvāntara is seated to receive the needy; on the right a smaller scene is added: he appears with his wife seated on the throne to receive the homage of his people, having returned to his reign after undergoing an exceedingly hard ordeal. On the first plane, below, the beggars depart, happy and loaded with gifts. On the left, the elephant given away to the enemy King; next, under the Buddha’s central figure, Viśvāntara exiled by the king. Having given away his horse, Viśvāntara with his wife, bearing his children on his back, meets Indra who has taken the form of a Brahman and asks him for his children. Viśvāntara consents, to the great grief of his wife, who swoons. He then gets back his two children and returns to his kingdom.

**TANKA n. 73 – IX right (Plate 109).**

**Avadāna n. 25**

**THE ABHINĪŚKRAMĀNA**

This is a summary of the Buddha’s life; although schematic, as is always the case with Kṣemendra, it contains fragments and episodes which are not to be found in other most celebrated biographies.

But it is not necessary to dwell on the Buddha’s life, which is known to all.

In this tanka the life of the Buddha is represented in a summary manner; the scenes are more than usually huddled together in the
lower part; beginning from the left we see his birth in the park of Lumbini, the seven steps taken by the child and marked by lotus flowers, miraculously springing from the ground at every footstep; Yasodharā’s return to the city of Kapilavastu with her son; the royal palace in Kapilavastu, three stories high, in which the main events of Ākāśamuni’s life took place; the prophecies concerning his future, his studies, his life in the women’s apartments, his exit from the city, and at the bottom, the young prince’s exercises, Devadatta’s rivalry, the shooting of the arrow which pierced seven palm trees; the fall of the elephant, flung to a great distance to clear the way for the Buddha; the first meditation on work in the fields; the four walks outside the city and the four meetings which caused his decision to abandon the world; the Buddha taking a penitent’s robe; asceticism; the Buddha’s deep concentration, so profound that the shepherds take him for a statue; his meeting with his first five disciples; the shepherd maidens who offer him food on the banks of the Nairanjana; the gods’ offering of a bowl with which to beg for food.

**Avadāna n. 26**

**THE VICTORY OVER MĀRA**

This may be considered the continuation of the preceding avadāna, as it tells the life of the Buddha, up to the victory over Māra and the attainment of enlightenment.149

Such is the scene depicted on the right of the central Buddha; we see Māra’s violent attack, and above it the saint’s collected calm, after he has vanquished the king of evil and overcome his temptations.

**Avadāna n. 27**

**THE GENEALOGY OF THE ŚĀKYAS**

Rather than an avadāna, this is a brief genealogy of the Śākya family; it begins with the formation of the earth, the descent of the Ābhāsvara gods, the election of the first king Mahāsammatā (Kun gyis bkur bo), until, through his descendants, we reach Virūḍhaka who, out of affection for his youngest son, sent his eldest sons into exile. They took refuge with the ascetic Kapila and later founded Kapilavastu. Thus, through endless generations, the line reached Sudhodana and his brothers Suklodana, Dronodana and Amrōdana.

This genealogy is represented on the upper part of the central section, on the left of the same tanka: immediately above the head of the central figure, the Buddha, surrounded by his disciples in the Nyāgrodhārāma, telling the story of the Śākyas’ origin. Above, on the left, Mahāsammatā; further up, always on the left, Virūḍhaka who exiled his sons; the latter set out to sack Kapilavastu.

**AVADĀNA n. 28**

**STORY OF ŚRÖNAKOTIVIMŚA**

A very rich merchant called Potala (Grn'adsin) lived in Campā; he had a son named Śrōnakoṭivimśa (Gro bzin bya'i lugs). When the boy grew up, he met Maudgalyāyana, and having heard him speak about the Buddha, a deep faith in the Śākyas’ saint sprung up in his heart. He sent the Buddha a present of food so exquisite, that king Bimbisāra, having tasted it, wondered at its excellence and wished to know who the fortunate mortal was that could send such a present. Being told, he desired to visit him, but Potala feared the king’s unexpected favour.

“Excessive good fortune becomes hateful even to servants; what then of kings, who have only pride in their souls?” (24).

“Amongst people made of hatred, my son, men live by hiding their virtues; the lotus flower, whose virtues are hidden, is beloved even of the sun” (26).

Potala therefore advised his son to go himself to Bimbisāra; Śrōnakoṭivimśa set off to meet the king and offered him precious gifts; then he went with him to the Buddha, and on the way he obliged his numberless servants to

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lay down their rich clothes on the ground. The Buddha instructed him in the law and he took vows. In a short time he advanced a great way on the road to sanctity. The monks asked the Buddha what merits Śrṇṅakoṭivimśa had accumulated in his past life; they were told that in the times of the Buddha Vipaśyin, he was the poor Brahman Indrasoma (dBaṅ poi zla), who offered the former a little food, collected with great labour.130

Always in this same tanka the story occupies the uppermost quarter on the right. It continues with memories of the saint’s past life; Indrasoma does homage to the Buddha Vipaśyin; lower down we see the birth of Śrṇṅakoyivimsa; he sends food to the Buddha; he visits Śākyamuni with his retinue and bids them change their clothes.

TANKA n. 74 – X right (Plate 110).

AVAḌĀṆA n. 29
STORY OF DHANAPĀLA

This is another episode of the Buddha’s life. While the saint was in the Kalandakanivāpa, near Rājagṛha, Devadatta advised king Ajātaśatru, whose friend and confidant he was, to serve his own interests by having the Buddha murdered.

“What is the use of friendship when it does not help to destroy enemies, to obtain glory and to increase esteem?”, (80). The deed was to be accomplished by the elephant Dhanapāla (Nor skyoṅ); next day the elephant-tamer incited the furious animal against the Buddha who, knowing everything in his omniscience, had approached near Rājagṛha to beg. The monks all except Ananda, fled in terror but the Buddha, by his love, subdued the animal, who knelt at his feet and immediately died, to be born again amidst the Caturmahāraja-kāyika gods. In his new incarnation he descended from Paradise to worship the Buddha and to listen to his preaching. When the monks asked what Dhanapāla’s former life had been, Śākyamuni answered that in the times of the Buddha Kāśyapa he had already taken vows, but without observing the rules of discipline; for this offence he was born again as an elephant, and because he had nevertheless entered the holy community, he obtained the reward of listening to his sermon. That Ananda alone should stand by the Buddha in the hour of peril, had happened before, when both had been born as swans. King Brahmadatta wished to capture one of them, who was the Buddha; the other swan, Ananda, let himself be caught likewise, so as not to leave his mate.

Another time, when the Buddha was King of Tuṭti,131 he was vanquished in battle, and everyone abandoned him except his elephant, who was Ānanda. On still another occasion, being born as a lion and having fallen into a well, all left him except a jackal. Finally, being a gazelle, fallen into the hunter’s nets, another gazelle offered herself to the men, to be killed in the other’s place; the man’s heart was touched and he let them both go.132 The story which occupies the lowest part of the tanka, begins at the extreme left corner, where the Buddha is represented in the Kalandaka park, telling his monks Dhanapāla’s story: it continues in the right-hand corner, where Devadatta is represented inducing Ajātaśatru to murder the Buddha by inciting the furious elephant against him; between these two pictures is the rest of the story: Dhanapāla’s attack, the flight of the monks, the conversion.

AVAḌĀṆA n. 30
STORY OF KĀŚISUNDARA

As he expounded the law to Kaundinya, the Buddha told him his past life. Brahmādatta had two sons, Kāśisundara (Kā li mčes pa) and Kālabhū (Dus kyi sa). The first found nothing to attract him in the world, perceived the vanity of all things and asked permission of his father to take vows. The father tried to turn him from his purpose by all means. “(Even the life) of kings is asceticism without
a forest, since they must always act according to good advice, follow good men's counsel and continually control their senses,, (23). Man is never satisfied with his lot. "The passionate man aspires to continence; the chase one remembers love's delights; when a man is gorged, he revels in the harshest vows; when he is hungry he wishes to eat; those who are alone seek company, if the crowd annoys them, they desire the forest; when men have renounced a thing they run after it, and when they have obtained it, they despise it,, (32). But the father's advice and entreaties are vain; Kāsiṣudara retired into a hermitage and cultivating the virtue of patience, was known to all as the saint Kṣāntivādin.

In the meantime Brahmadatta died and Kalabhū became king; his soul was harsh and cast out kindness. Once, in the springtime, he went into the forest to disport himself with his women; as he slept, tired out with love-making, his comrades discovered Kṣāntivādin in the forest and were so struck with his beauty, emaciated as he has in the forest and were so struck with his ascetic life, that they stopped short to admire him. Kalabhū woke up and finding the women rapt in adoration of Kṣāntivādin, was incensed with jealousy and anger; he insulted the ascetic and cut off first his hands and then his feet, while the victim did not protest nor complain. But through the revenge of the gods, a drouth destroyed all the wealth of the king's land; he repented and ran to beg forgiveness of the saint; the latter called upon the gods to make whole. Kṣāntivādin was then the Buddha and Kalabhū the monk Kaundinya.155)

The narrative on the tanka begins under the central figure, where the Buddha is seen telling the monks, who have gathered around him, the story of Kaundinya's past. The developments that follow are clear: king Brahmadatta tries to turn Kāsiṣudara from his purpose of embracing an ascetic's life; Kāsiṣudara, who has become Kṣāntivādin, in the midst of his disciples. Above, Kṣāntivādin surrounded by the king's women, kneeling in worship; in the middle his martyrdom.

AVADĀNA n. 31

STORY OF SUVARNAPĀRŚVA

This story is told by the Buddha concerning Devadatta. In the times of Mahendrasena (dBaṅ po 'sde 'chen), king of Benares, a golden-haired gazelle lived in the forest; her name was Suvarnapārśva (gSer gyi logs) and her beloved comrade was a raven. One day, walking in the forest, she heard moans and calls for help, and seeing a man who had fallen into a pond, she saved him, turning a deaf ear to the raven's preceding advice:

"The wicked, in time of misfortune, are like flowers; when they have obtained their wish like lightning. They do not heed past benefits, and are only the friends of their own good., (15).

The gazelle recommended the man she had saved to keep her secret and not to reveal her hiding-place to anyone. In the meantime queen Candraprabhā (Zla 'od) dreamt that a golden-haired gazelle was preaching the holy law and confided her dream to Mahendrasena, who ordered the ablest huntsmen to search the whole forest for the prodigious animal. They went, and came back without having found her; the king insisted and promised a great prize to anyone who should bring him the animal he desired. So the man Suvarnapārśva had saved, lured by gain, became the huntsmen's guide; he discovered her and showed her to them, as the gazelle was coming forward of her own accord, to save her comrades from the arrows. The ungrateful man's hands fell off, as if he had been struck by lightning; the king took the wonderful animal to the queen and the gazelle preached the law to her. The gazelle was the Buddha, and the ungrateful man was Devadatta.154)

The legend is represented immediately above the preceding avadāna, it begins with the figure of Mahendrasena distributing gifts in order
that the gazelle may be brought to him; hence we must pass to the picture on the top of the tanka: in its lower portion the gazelles are seen grazing, and the man being saved by Suvarnapārśva; then the hunt, the capture and finally Suvarnapārśva in the royal palace, preaching the holy law to the king and queen. In the extreme right-hand corner the Buddha telling the monks this former incarnation of Devadatta.

Avadāna n. 32

STORY OF KALYĀNAKĀRIN

King Purandara (aByer aśīg) had two sons, one called Kalyānakārin (dGe byed) and the other Akalyānakārin (Mi dge byed), the former adorned with every virtue and the latter wicked. Kalyānakārin was so charitable that the treasures of the kingdom were soon exhausted. When king Punyasena (bSod nams sde) offered him his daughter Manoromā in marriage, he asked his father’s permission, before celebrating his nuptials, to go on a long journey to Ratnadvīpa, in order to restore the finances of the State, which he had ruined with his bounties. His brother went with him. Having got to Ratnadvīpa and loaded their ship with great treasure, they were about to reach their country, when shipwreck cast them on an unknown land. While Kalyānakārin was asleep, his brother put out his eyes, stole the gems he kept tied to his person and returned to his native city. Kalyānakārin was taken home by a shepherd, and passed his time playing the vina; the shepherd’s wife fell madly in love with him, she confessed her passion, but being rejected and blamed for her wickedness, she accused him to her husband of an attempt to seduce her. Turned out by the shepherd, Kalyānakārin came back incognito to Punyasena’s kingdom, where he learnt that his father was dead, and the kingdom in the hands of Akalyānakārin. Manoromā, who had been informed of Kalyānakārin’s blindness, asked her father to let her choose her husband and refusing the offers of other young princes, she chose the blind man. The latter was reluctant, but she protested that not all women are as bad as he thinks: if it is true that she loves him with purest love, let one of his eyes be healed. By the force of truth, his right eye regained its sight. And he said in his turn: “If it is true that I feel no hatred for my brother for the wrong he has done me, let my other eye be restored.” And the miracle came to pass.33

Kalyānakārin was the Buddha and the wicked brother was Devadatta. The beginning of the story is found in the small picture representing the Buddha in the act of speaking to some monks, above the head of the central figure, a little to the right; then king Purandara in his palace and Kalyānakārin’s generosity. Passing over the central episode, we see lower down the prince’s voyage, his brother putting out his eyes, Kalyānakārin’s life among the shepherds; Kalyānakārin playing the vina and, coming back to the scenes in the middle, Kalyānakārin’s eyesight restored and his meeting with Manoromā.

Avadāna n. 33

STORY OF VIṢĀKHA

Aśoka had four sons and sent them into exile. Wandering in the forest at the end of their resources, they decided to kill their wives: only one of them, Viṣākha (K’iyad par lo ma), fled with his wife, and when she fell down in a swoon, worn out with fatigue, he gave her his blood to drink to restore her and then fed her with his own flesh, cutting it off with his word. One day, while resting on the bank of a river, they saw a man carried along by the current; his hands and feet had been cut off and he was about to be drowned. Viṣākha saved him and confided him to his wife’s care and she, as their familiarity grew, fell in love with the man. “Women, who enjoy sexual intercourse to their hearts’ content, are not touched by affection, they are not bound by virtue, they are not attracted by nobility.” (21). Lying with her lover and considering her husband an obstacle to her passion, the woman sought to get
rid of him. Feigning a headache, she begged him to get her a medicine from the bottom of a deep gorge and let him down with a rope she held; when he was hanging in mid-air, she let go and he fell into the abyss. His good karma saved Viśākha, who got back to Puṣkarāvati and was put on the throne in the dead king's place. He ruled wisely, while his wife continued to live with the cripple and, bearing him on her back, roamed from place to place, admired by all as a model wife. Thus wandering, she came to Puṣkarīvati, where the court priest informed the king of a saint. Viśākha was skeptical; "That woman should be capable of attachment, is a vain word; that she is without self-interest, only one whose mind is numb can say; to meet a woman devoted to her husband is like finding a flower grown in the void: woman is bad beyond all doubt." Nevertheless, to please the priest, he went to see her; they recognized each other and the woman fled, ejected by the population.

In that life Viśākha was the Buddha and his wife Devadatta.

The legend is illustrated beginning from the lower left-hand corner. King Aśoka is seen in the royal palace, sending his sons into exile with their wives; then, proceeding upwards, their decision to abandon Viśākha; his wife throwing him into a gorge; a merchant who recognizes him; higher up Viśākha seated on his throne, speaking with his ministers, while his wife wanders about the city carrying her husband on her back; next, near the central figure, the Buddha telling the monks about Devadatta's past incarnation.

TANKA n. 75 – XI right (Plate 111).

A V A DĀ N A n. 34

STORY OF NANDOPANANDA

While the Buddha was in the Jetavana, some monks who lived at the foot of Mount Sumeru arrived; they were pale and wan owing to the bad influence of two Nāgas, Nanda and Upānanda, whose poisonous breath scorched even the stones. The Buddha sent Maudgalyāyana to pacify the two Nāgas; the monk, by his magic power, took the shape of a serpent and enveloped Nanda and Upānanda in his coils so tightly, that they turned themselves into men and fled in a fright. Maudgalyāyana then resumed his normal shape and advised them to go to the Buddha and be converted. They obeyed and became faithful worshippers of the Śākya saint.

Questioned by his monks, the Buddha told them the nāgas' past history: in the times of king Kṛśīha they had been two ministers; though they did not rule justly, they had given a monastery to Kāśyapa, the Buddha of those times. By reason of this gift, they were enabled, in their new life, to hear the words of redemption from Śākyamuni's lips.

The legend represented in the tanka faithfully follows the text: the Buddha receives the ascetics from Sumeru; on high Sumeru enveloped in the coils of Maudgalyāyana, who has become a gigantic serpent; the two nāgas fleeing in human shape; next the story of the nāgas when they were king Kṛśīha's ministers.

A V A DĀ N A n. 35

STORY OF SUDATTA

While the two Nāgas mentioned in the preceding story were with the Buddha, king Prasenajit arrived; he was vexed that they should not have done him homage and decided to punish them, but having perceived his purpose, they caused a shower of swords to fall upon the earth; Maudgalyāyana succeeded in warding it off. Prasenajit begged forgiveness of the offended Nāgas and invited the Buddha to dinner. In the night a fire broke out, and the Buddha immediately extinguished it. Hence the king forbade fires to be lit at night, threatening severe punishment. Some time before, Prasenajit had caused Sudatta's son to be put to death for a fault of which he was guiltless;
Sudatta, deeply devoted to the Buddha, bore this wrong with the utmost resignation, and distributed his treasures to the poor; thus impoverished, he was called no longer Sudatta, but Svalpaprada (he who gives little).

One night he lit a lamp to read the sacred scriptures and having thus disobeyed the king’s orders, was arrested and cast into prison, but the gods visited him in his cell, and the city took fire, so that Prasenajit was forced to set him free. Sudatta went to do homage to the Buddha and met the king, to whom he did not pay his respects, because: “In the presence of him whom all the world must worship, no one else may be adored,” (24). The king could not tolerate this insult to his majesty and ordered Svalpaprada to be exiled, but he had to call him back at once, because the gods, to punish him, had afflicted him with a most severe toothache.¹⁸

The legend develops on the right side of the tanka, beginning on top with a representation of the preaching Buddha; king Prasenajit and the two Nāgas, seated on clouds, are listening; the shower of swords transformed by Maudgalyāyana into a rain of flowers. On the right of the central image’s head, the Buddha receiving gifts from Prasenajit, who is next represented in the act of forbidding lamps to be lit; after his son’s execution Sudatta is reading the sacred scriptures by the light of a lamp; his liberality; he is sent into exile and goes to the Buddha.

AVADĀNA n. 36

STORY OF GHOŚILA

Under Udayana’s (aCar byed) reign a rich merchant named Sudhana lived in Kausāmbi, who had accumulated great wealth. One day the king asked him whether what was said concerning his huge riches were true and he wisely answered that all was due to the king’s merits:

“The rich become poor, the poor go to their death, if the king becomes like a tiger, pitiless, bent upon seizing his prey,” (9).

Satisfied with the merchant’s answer, the king made him his minister and confidant; then, to put him to the proof, he commanded him to perform unlawful acts—but Sudhana, rather than execute such orders, preferred to be imprisoned. When he was freed, he distributed his riches to the needy. At that time some ascetics, who had come from the South, lost their way in the forest; they suffered great thirst and, in the utmost despair, implored help; a deity appeared in the sky and miraculously gave them water to drink. That god, in his past life, had been a citizen of Śrāvasti, who pointed out to the beggars Anāthapindada’s house, where help and comfort were to be found. For this reason he had been reborn as a god. Continuing their journey, the ascetics felt extremely hungry and having invoked help, they were assisted by another god, who miraculously appeared. He had been a Brahman in his past life; after feeding the community, he had taken the vow to fast; though unable to keep it to the end, he had been reborn as a god through the merit thus acquired. The ascetics went to Sudhana, next to Anāthapiṇḍada and at last to the Buddha; they heard his sermon and took the path to sanctity.

Sudhana built in Kausāmbi a monastery, known by the name of Cundavihāra; a maidservant of the temple, called Radhā (mGu byed), gave the Buddha a dress, hoping to be delivered from servitude in a future existence. On the monks’ request, the Buddha told them Sudhana’s past life: once upon a time, he said, a very rich and charitable person lived in Benares, called Sundhina (gZugs byed); Padmākara was his agent and friend, Dharmadūta (C’os kyi p’o ṇa) his counsellor and helper in assisting the Pratyekabuddhas and the community; when they forgot to perform their duties at the proper time, a dog they kept admonished them by his bark. Sundhana was the Buddha, Padmākara was Anāthapiṇḍada and Dharmadūta was king Udayana; the dog was Sudhana, also called Ghośila (gDa’Ins can).¹⁹)
The pictures are rather badly arranged: in the largest scene, at the bottom, the king is seen choosing Sudhana to be his minister; on the left the same Sudhana refusing to perform reprehensible actions; on the right his liberality; further to the left, the ascetics receiving water from a forest deity and, above, the same receiving food from another divinity. The Buddha seated in the temple, in the midst of a crowd who offers him gifts. Under the large image, Sudhana founding the Cundavīhāra; then to the right the ascetics with Anāthapiṇḍada; next the same, guided by him, going to hear the Buddha’s sermon.

TANKA n. 76 – XII right (Plate 112).

AVADĀNA n. 37

STORY OF PŪRNA

In the city of Śurvāra (Slob ma lta bu) lived a rich merchant, who had three sons. Being seriously ill and at death’s door, he was abandoned by his wife and children; only a handmaid called Mallikā took care of him. He was miraculously cured and the maid bore him a son, whom he called Pūrna. While his three brothers were at sea, amassing riches, Pūrna, grown in years, remained with his father and, by his abilities, made more money than the former by their voyages.

"Through the coming to maturity of a good karma, the riches of those who seek for riches are multiplied;

They fall from the hands of one, and another picks up what has fallen." (14).

Feeling his end approaching, the father recommended his sons to stand by one another after his death: "Fortune abandons a house divided, as water leaks from a vase." (18).

But as soon as he was dead, his sons hastened to divide his property and disinherited Pūrna, because he was a slave’s son. Pūrna quickly restored his fortunes and crossed the seas seven times. On the seventh, as he was returning home, he heard some merchants singing Buddhist hymns and at once desired to see the Buddha; he went to his friend Anāthapiṇḍada in Srāvasti, saw Śākyamuni, took vows and became famous for his sanctity. He was sent to the savage Sronpārānta and converted them by his humility and resignation. In the meantime his brother Bhavilā (byor len), who had lost all his property and had gone to sea once more, happened to enter a forest of precious sandal-wood and with his comrades began to cut down the trees. The yakṣa who protected the forest caused a great storm to break out, which endangered their lives. Feeling lost, they all invoked the saint Pūrna, on Bhavilā’s advice and the saint, miraculously appearing in the air, saved them from danger. The pacified yakṣa allowed them to carry off the sandal-wood; Bhavilā, once home, used it, on Pūrna’s advice, to build the Candanamālā palace, which he offered to the Buddha. The Buddha arrived miraculously by air, moving to great devotion some women who had seen him: they built in his honour the stūpa called Paurānācāitya; Śākyamuni accepted the gift of the palace and consecrated it. Having gone back to the Jetavana, he told the monks Pūrna’s past life: Pūrna had been the provost of a monastery, and had insulted the people whose duty it was to clean it; after passing many lives in various hells, he had been born again as a slave’s son. But the good he had done and his past virtues having matured, he had attained salvation in his present existence."(16)

The legend occupies the bottom of the tanka; the scenes encroach one upon the other, without following the story as told in the text; the stūpa Paurānācāitya is seen on the left of the central image; above the stūpa, to the right, the Buddha’s miraculous arrival by air; under the lower image on this side, towards the left, the conversation of some ascetics. Descending along the left margin, a temple in the city of Śurvāra being offered to the Buddha, and the sandal-wood brought by Bhavilā; to the right, in the centre of the tanka, Bhavilā in the Jetavana is performing the ceremonies
of expiation; exactly above, the Buddha in the act of preaching to Kṛṣṇa and Gautama; further above, some horses and a boat in the sea represent Pūrṇa’s journeys; still to the left, Bhavila’s voyages, the storm and Pūrṇa’s miraculous apparition. Going back to the left, his father’s illness and the handmaid ministering to him; proceeding to the right, Pūrṇa’s birth and in the furthest left-hand corner the division of his property, Pūrṇa’s and Anāthapindāda’s visit to the Buddha; in the right-hand corner the Buddha’s arrival in the Jetavana and the converted Bhavila doing him homage. The past story must be looked for, strange to say. in the little scene in the extreme right-hand corner on top.

**Avadāna n. 38**

**STORY OF UDAKA**

The Buddha was grieved to see that the Sākyas, although they had taken vows, liked to wear monkish tunics that were too rich; he therefore withdrew for three months and did not allow anyone to approach him, but he received Upasena, who dressed according to the rules, much to the monks’ wonder: in this manner they realized their fault. Then they all went to the Buddha, who told them their past history: once in Benares lived king Brahmadatta, whose wife Brahmavati bore him a son called Udaka (C’u skyes); at the same time the sons of 500 ministers were born. Udaka, grown in years, feeling no attraction for the things of this world, wished to become a monk and fearing that his father would not give his consent, he pretended to be dumb and lame. Physicians advised that he should be made to experience some violent emotion, which might cure him, and feigned to lead him to the scaffold, hoping that fear would restore his speech. Many times, having uttered sentences full of a secret meaning, Udaka had fallen back into silence. Finally his father promised to grant him anything he asked for, if he would only speak. Udaka then asked to be allowed to take vows; the king, having tried to dissuade him to no purpose, consented and Udaka started for his hermitage, accompanied by the 500 ministers’ sons, who took vows with him. But Udaka, grieving because they dressed too richly, retired into solitude and allowed nobody to approach him, except a gazelle and an ascetic who had sworn to imitate the gazelles’ way of life. Then his comrades understood their error. Udaka was then the Buddha, and the 500 ministers’ sons were the Sākyas. The legend is represented in the upper part of the tanka, above the Buddha’s image. The palace in the centre, with figures inside it, represents Udaka’s obstinate silence; the preaching Buddha to the right is telling the Sākyas, in the Jetavana, the sin they had committed in their past life; to the left of the same palace, below, Udaka, followed by the ministers’ sons, is going towards the hermitage; above, he has taken vows in the midst of his disciples; he has retired into solitude and allows only gazelles to approach him.

**Avadāna n. 39**

**STORY OF KŚANTI**

After the Buddha had converted the yakṣa Udumba, Indra went to do him homage. The Buddha smiled, remembering what had happened to him in that same place, during his past life. Once upon a time there was an ascetic named Kśanti, who practised the virtue of patience. The king of the country was then Kali (rTsod Idan), of an angry and cruel disposition; one day, walking in the forest with his women to disport himself, he came to Kśanti’s hermitage. The women were struck with admiration of the saint’s serene beauty, but the king, in a fit of violent jealousy, had the saint’s hands and feet cut off. The saint showed no anger and gave no moan. Other ascetics, Kśanti’s comrades, arrived; moved to indignation, they were about to curse the king.
but the saint checked them and recommended them to be patient and resigned. "If it is true, he said, that when Kali caused me to be maimed in this manner I did not feel any resentment against him, may the limbs he has cut off be restored, and immediately so happened. The Buddha was then Kṣāntī and Kali was no other than Devadatta."

The avadāna is represented to the left of the central image; the first scene, near its head, represents the smiling Buddha; near him the Yakṣa and Indra, the latter asking him why he smiles. Underneath, the king in his palace with the queen; above, the women surrounding the ascetic and his martyrdom.

**AVADĀNA n. 40**

**THE STORY OF KAPILA**

While the Buddha was in Vaiśāli, fishermen drew from the river Valgumati (Yid 'on ldan pa) a great fish, so large that they could not land it. The Buddha came up and spoke to the fish, asking him if he remembered his past life. The fish said he did and listened to the Buddha's sermon.

The people wished to know about the fish's past life and the Buddha told them. In the times of the Buddha Kāśyapa, Krkin, a just and charitable king, ruled in Benares. One day the Brahman Vādismīha (sMra bai sen ge) asked the king to find him a rival, with whom to engage in a philosophical debate, in order to show his ability as a wrangler.

"The intelligence of good men is ashamed to boast of its own virtues. Nevertheless, those desiring a noble debate are talkative."

And he called another great master, begging him to accept Vādismīha's challenge. The latter was vanquished. The other went back to his country, but at the point of death he told his son Kapila, even wiser than himself, to avoid any debate with the Buddhists, and to do only good deeds.

"Man causes life to flow by all manner of industry and doctrine; he hoards treasures, which give him pleasure for a moment; a disciple of error, he takes delight in cattle and sons; but at the moment of parting from his body, everything becomes alien to him and he to those things."

Kapila vanquished all those who wrangled with him, but obeying his father's advice, he avoided the Buddhist monks. His mother, however, urged him to challenge the Buddhist masters and to demolish the structure of their dogmas with his logical arguments. He went to the Buddha Kāśyapa, but on the way he met a monk who answered his criticism with one simple verse, which he was unable to refute. Thus disappointed, he returned to his mother, who, incensed with passion, obliged him to persist. He took vows and mounting the preacher's chair, taught the doctrine in a wilfully false manner; the monks were astonished and fled from him. He then repented, but to atone for his sin he was born again as a fish and his mother was flung into Hell.

After the Buddha had revealed this story, the fish died and was born again among the gods; thus he did homage to Śākyamuni in heavenly glory.

This story is represented to the right of the central image; beginning from the bottom, the scenes of the fishermen and the Buddha's sermon; above the debate in king Krkin's times, the conversation between Kapila and his mother; Kapila's admittance into the order; almost on the extreme right-hand corner, the monks' wonder and indignation.

TANKA n. 77 – XIII right (Plate 113).

**AVADĀNA n. 41**

**STORY OF UDRĀYĀNA**

The king of Rauruka (sGra gregs) was a great friend of Bimbisāra; his name was Udra-yana. The two kings often exchanged letters and gifts as tokens of friendship. Once Udra-yana sent Bimbisāra a superb armour and the latter did not know what return to make for
the present; he took counsel of his faithful ministers Hiruka and Bhiruka, and decided to send him a portrait of the Buddha. Udrāyana, informed in time by his friend’s letter, went to meet the image and ordered great celebrations, while the gods rained flowers from heaven. The king was converted, and Bimbisāra sent him Kātyāyana and the nun Sālā.

After Kātyāyana’s sermon two merchants, Tiśya and Puṣya, were converted and entered nirvana; on their tombs two stūpas were built, worshipped through the centuries. Sālā preached the law to the queen, who hearing from an astrologer that she would die in seven days, took vows and on the appointed day expired. She was reborn in heaven, descended upon earth to do homage to the Buddha and then appeared to her husband in a dream. King Udrāyana, acting upon her advice, abdicated in favour of his son Śikhandin (gTsug p’ud can), went to Bimbisāra in order to be introduced to the Buddha and took vows.

His son Śikhandin, little by little, forgot his father’s advice; he discharged Hiruka and Bhiruka and took for his ministers Daṇḍa (aByug pa) and Mudgara (T’o ba) who, encouraging his sinful life, brought the kingdom to its ruin.

Udrāyana met a merchant who told him about his son’s misrule; the king decided to return to his country to preach the law, but the wicked ministers heard from the merchants that he was on his way; they were troubled and poisoned his son’s mind against him with groundless misgivings.

“Those who have taken vows prematurely become more than ever attached to the things they had abandoned too early.” (86).

The king is coming dressed as a monk to regain his kingdom; let him be slain.

Udrāyana took leave of the Buddha and set out for Rauruka, but his son’s men murdered him on the way; Śikhandin, seeing his father’s blood-stained garments, repented, called back his former ministers Hiruka and Bhiruka and deprived Daṇḍa and Mudgara of office. Nevertheless they succeeded in persuading the queen that reasons of state had inspired their conduct, and to regain the king’s confidence they put two cats into the stūpas built over Puṣya’s and Tiśya’s remains and having accustomed them to live there, they showed the cats to Śikhandin, telling him that the sanctity Buddhism preaches about is a vain boast: the two monks had not passed into nirvana, they had been born again as cats. Śikhandin let himself be convinced and when Kātyāyana and Sālā, sent by the Buddha, got to Rauruka, he forbade them to enter the city. Once the king went out for a walk; he saw Kātyāyana in the distance, and acting on the advice of the two wicked accomplices, he had him buried under a heap of sand. The two good ministers, having seen the scene, were troubled and grieved that the good monk should thus be insulted; Kātyāyana foretold the impending ruin of the city and advised them to flee for safety with their treasures.

The ministers followed the monk’s advice; Hiruka entrusted his son Śyāmāka (sNo bsans) to Kātyāyana and Bhiruka put his daughter Śyāmāvati (sNo bsans can ma) into Sālā’s hands. Now a great wind began to blow; on the second day there was a rain of flowers, on the third a rain of garments, on the fourth of silver, on the fifth of gold, on the sixth of gems, on the seventh of sand, which covered and destroyed everything. Rauruka’s protecting deity shifted her abode to Khara-vatī, where she built a stūpa in Kātyāyana’s honour. The latter, having departed by air, carried Hiruka’s son to Lambaka (aP’yan ba), where he was crowned king. Continuing his travels, the ascetic got to Bhok-kānaka, where he preached the holy law to his mother; she asked her son for a stick and she built a stūpa upon it. He then came into the Buddha’s presence and was told Udrāyana’s past history. He had once been a hunter and having set his toils to catch game, he found that the animals were no longer
he exhausted his treasures in helping the needy. One day, while going to visit the Buddha, he met on the way some rogues, who knowing that he had vowed not to refuse anything to those who sought his aid and seeing him loaded with jewels, asked him for them. He was at a loss what to do; if he gave them the jewels, he would have nothing to offer the Buddha; if he refused, he would break his charitable vow. While he was thus doubtful and uncertain, the earth opened up and the serpent Śeṣa appeared, who gave the beggars what they wanted. Later they repented and went with Paṇḍita to the Buddha, who preached the law and urged Paṇḍita to provide sustenance for one thousand three hundred and fifty monks and to distribute his riches to the needy. Paṇḍita gladly consented and having gone home, gave away his treasures, which became coals in the hands of those who had accumulated a bad karma in their past lives. Paṇḍita then comforted the sinners and advised them to go to the Buddha. They went and when they had done homage to the community for a day, the coals turned into jewels. Endless treasures appeared again in Paṇḍita’s house; according to the law, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father’s permission to take vows and, joining the monks, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father's permission to take vows and, joining Śāriputra, soon progressed on the road to sanctuary. One day the Buddha had gone out to beg, and Paṇḍita had remained alone in the hermitage. He began to meditate and Indra, perceiving that he was about to reach supreme enlightenment, ordered the kings of the four points of the compass to watch over him, lest anybody should disturb him. The Buddha himself, fearing that Śāriputra, entering the hermitage, might trouble Paṇḍita, miraculously appeared to his disciple and kept him engaged until Paṇḍita attained the fruits of his meditation. The Buddha then told Paṇḍita’s past life. In the times of the Buddha

**Avadāna n. 42**

**STORY OF PAÑDITA**

In Śrāvastī lived Paṇḍita, the son of Dhīra, an immensely rich man; he was devout and charitable. A terrible famine broke out and...
There was a poor man named Durgata (d Bul po), so poor that he had never been able to offer a gift to any monk; when last Indra made him a present of some exquisite food, he was unable to find a monk he could offer it to and, at the height of despair, wanted to take his own life. But at that very moment Kāśyapa appeared before him and accepted his alms, while Durgata took the vow to obtain great treasures, in order to give all those who were in need what they desired. This actually came to pass, and during seven days he continued to honour Kāśyapa. Durgata was precisely Pāṇḍita.165)

The avadāna is represented on the lower margin of the tanka, beginning from the right, immediately after the scenes belonging to the preceding story; in the enclosure of a monastery the Buddha charges Pāṇḍita to give alms regularly to one thousand three hundred and fifty monks; on the right Pāṇḍita is taking vows. Underneath Śāriputra comes forth from the hermitage, leaving Pāṇḍita alone, and the latter, under Indra’s protection, becomes an arhat. In the last small picture in the right-hand corner, Pāṇḍita is going to Śāriputra. The riches he has distributed, which had become coals, are again changed into gems when the recipients of his charity turn their thoughts to the Buddha. The gift of a sixth part of his treasures to the King. Then the work of the fields, meditating upon which he attains supreme enlightenment. At the bottom his birth and in the corner his past life.

**AVADĀNA n. 43**

**STORY OF KANAKAVERNA**

One day, in Śrāvasti, the Buddha thus spoke to the monks: In ancient times there was in Kanaka (gSer) a king called Kanaka-varna (gSer mdo’), wise and charitable. A great drought broke out, and the people were dying of hunger. He then assembled his ministers and took counsel with them, how he might relieve the people’s misfortune.

“A king who does not help his people when a great danger has come upon them, wears his crown like a play-actor.” (11)

He then opened up his store-houses to the poor, so that what was left to him sufficed but for one repast; a Pratyekabuddha arrived, and he stinted himself of the last morsel of food and offered it to him. The skies then rained garments, gems and victuals. King Kanaka-varna was the Buddha.165)

On the tanka the story begins in the centre of the upper part, above the head of the central figure; the Buddha in the Jetavana tells the Kanakāvakāna to the assembled monks; to the left the famine, the distribution of the royal treasures; the offering of food to the Pratyekabuddha, the rain of gems.

**AVADĀNA n. 44**

**STORY OF HIRANYAPANI**

While the Buddha was in the Jetavana, Devasena (Lha yi’de) lived in Śrāvasti; he had a son called Hiranyapāni (gSer gyi lag), from whose hands twenty thousand silver coins miraculously fell every day; he distributed them to the needy. He was weary of life, because:

“‘The life of men is ephemeral, youth still more so; these our riches the most impermanent of all, like a gleam of lightning’.” (12)

He went to the Buddha, took vows, and in a short time attained perfect sanctity.

The Buddha told the admiring monks Hiranyapāni’s past life: in the times of king Kṛśin, when the Buddha Kāśyapa entered nirvana, a stūpa was built above his remains by the king’s order; then a craftsman placed on the pinnacle of the stūpa two pieces of silver; he was Hiranyapāni.167)

Immediately to the right of the scene in the Jetavana, Hiranyapāni is represented in the act of being ordained as a monk by the Buddha; towards the right-hand corner his birth and the miracle of his hands; underneath his deserving deeds in the Buddha Kāśyapa’s times.

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TANKA n. 78 – XIV right (Plate 114).

AVADĀNA n. 45
AJĀTAŠATRU KILLS HIS FATHER

When the Buddha was in the Grdhra-kūṭa, Ajātaśatru, instigated by Devadatta, had his own father arrested, cast him into a dungeon with the purpose of letting him die of starvation and had his feet cut off. Bimbisāra invoked the Buddha, who appeared to him twice, recommending him to be patient and long-suffering. No help could avail: he was gathering the fruits of his past conduct:

“This is the road of evil deeds. The fruits of what you have done, good or bad, are not exhausted if first they have not been atoned for,” (18).

Bimbisāra died peacefully and was born again among the gods, but Ajātaśatru, prey to heart-rending remorse, ran to the Buddha to learn if it would ever be possible for him to escape the inexorable consequences of his crime.

The Buddha advised him to give himself up to good works, and told him Bimbisāra’s past life: once upon a time there were four young men, who were seen by a Pratyeka-buddha while secretly drinking and enjoying themselves. Furious at having been discovered, they wanted to kill him, each in a different manner; one of them, called Kandara, said that the best way to get rid of him would be to flay him: he was Bimbisāra, who had now paid for his wicked intention.168)

The legend is represented to the right of the lotus flower on which the central figure is seated; it begins at the top, with Bimbisāra seated in the interior of his palace, receiving the news of Ajātaśatru’s birth and the festivities which followed. Ajātaśatru in conversation with Devadatta. Bimbisāra in prison; the Buddha appears to the captive king; the Buddha, from the Grdhra-kūṭa, flies through the air to the king who has invoked him; the Buddha’s sermon; Ajātaśatru, repentant, seeks refuge with the Buddha and asks his aid; at the bottom, exactly in the centre of the tanka, Bimbisāra’s past life and his sin.

AVADĀNA n. 46
STORY OF KRTAJÑA

Devadatta had decided to murder the Buddha at any cost, because:

“Until the sun has set, no other light shines,” (4).

He steeped his nails in poison and approached the saint humbly, as if to do him homage, intending to scratch him and to inject the poison into him. But before he could succeed in his intent, the earth opened and swallowed him up; he was hurled into Hell. The Buddha then told his past history. King Ratisoma (Yid bzaṅ) had two sons, Kṛtajña (Bya śes) and Akṛtajña (Bya ma śes); the former charitable and virtuous, the latter of a wicked disposition. When they reached marriageable age, king Matighoṣa (Blo gros dbyan) wished to give his daughter to Kṛtajña, who in order to regain the riches he had given to the poor and needy, went to sea, followed by his brother. On the way back the boat was shipwrecked, but the two brothers were saved; while Kṛtajña was sleeping, overcome by fatigue, Akṛtajña put out his eyes and got possession of the treasures he had with him. Kṛtajña, after long wanderings, reached king Matighoṣa’s court by chance and, his blindness notwithstanding, was chosen as a husband by his daughter. He reproached her for her unfortunate choice, but she assured him that her love was eternal: if it was true that she loved him sincerely, let his right eye be restored. And the eye was miraculously made whole. Then Kṛtajña assured her that when his brother had blinded him, he had not experienced any resentment. And through the power of truth, his other eye was healed as well.

He went back to his father, was received with great celebrations and made a partner to the throne; Akṛtajña, feigning to beg his
forgiveness, attempted to murder him in the same way as Devadatta had done with the Buddha. But he was hurled into Hell. Akṛtajña was Devadatta. 169)

With this story we pass to the left of the central figure, almost on a level with the Buddha's shoulders; Devadatta is seen approaching the saint, but before he can carry out his plan, he sinks into Hell. Passing now to the upper right-hand corner, we see King Ratisoma with his wife and sons; underneath Matighosa giving his daughter in marriage to Kṛtañjñ; the upper space is occupied by the two brothers' voyage; next, near the central figure, the meeting of Matighosa's daughter with the blind prince; his eyes miraculously healed; in the centre Kṛtañjñ on his throne.

**AVADĀNA p. 47**

**STORY OF THE BUNCH OF RICE**

While the Buddha was preaching the law, four Nāgaraias came to hear his words with great devotion; king Prasenajit arrived and all greeted him except the nāgas. The king was incensed and wanted to be revenged; in vain the Buddha advised him to subdue his pride:

"On the troubled mirror of a mind covered with the dust of hatred, the image of the teachings of the law cannot adhere." (15).

The king's guards chased the two nāgas, who in their flight through the paths of heaven, brought down hail and whirlwinds on Prasenajit's kingdom. To put an end to the people's wretchedness, the Buddha sent Maudgalyāyana, who changed the hail into a rain of victuals. Prasenajit returned to thank the Buddha, and the monks asked what good karma the king had accumulated in his past life. The Buddha told them this story: one upon a time a cultivator of sugar-cane offered some sweet viands to an ailing Pratyekabuddha, who was thus restored to health: that farmer was Prasenajit.

Prasenajit came back to the Buddha and asked him if, through all the merits he had acquired by honouring him and the community, he might hope to attain salvation. The Buddha smiled: he too had done much good, nevertheless he had not been able to escape rebirth for long ages. Once there was a charitable and high-souled man, Dhanika (Nor can), who in times of great famine had fed five hundred Pratyekabuddhas and then another two thousand; he was rewarded with great riches, not with salvation. Dhanika was then the Buddha.

The legend is represented immediately to the right of the last small picture of the preceding story: the Buddha's sermon to the king of the Nāgas; the rain brought down by the Nāga king; Maudgalyāyana's miracle; then, always proceeding towards the bottom, the king offering food to the Buddha and asking him if his liberality is sufficient to attain salvation; finally, near the beginning of Ajātaśatru's avadāna, the king is seen thanking Maudgalyāyana and doing him homage.

**AVADĀNA p. 48**

**STORY OF SIDDHĀRTHA**

Once upon a time - the Buddha told his monks in Śrāvasti - there was a prince named Siddhārtha (Don grub), pious and high-souled. Walking one day in the forest, he met a poor beggar, and was so troubled by the sight that he took a vow to put an end to poverty on the face of the earth and decided to ask Sāgara (rGya nrts'o) the King of the Nāgas, for the gem cintāmani, which miraculously brings forth all the riches man can desire. He accordingly set out on a long and perilous journey, overcoming all obstacles by his firmness and piety: he travelled through the land of venomous serpents, through the land of the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas and finally reached Sāgara's home. Sāgara welcomed him cordially and was glad to give him the gem cintāmani, on condition that he should bring it back after having accomplished his vow. Siddhārtha again embarked to return to his country; during the voyage a jealous
god obtained the gem from him under a pretext and dropped it into the sea. In vain Siddhārtha begged and prayed him to return it. He then decided, at the height of despair, to dry up the sea with a vase that Viśvakarman had offered him. But the gods being on his side, he got back the gem, returned to his kingdom and accomplished his vow.\textsuperscript{170}

The story begins on the left of the tanka, under the story of Kṛtajña, with the scene of the Buddha surrounded by monks: he is telling them about Siddhārtha’s adventurous journey. Along the margin, descending towards the bottom, the incidents of the journey, the gem lost and found. Under the central image we see once again the distribution of riches, and under the Buddha, the meeting with Sāgara, king of the Nāgas.

**TANKA n. 79 – XV right (Plate 115).**

**AVADĀNA n. 49**

**STORY OF HASTAKA**

In Śrāsvāti a son was born to Suprabuddha (Legs par rab sad), named Hastaka (Glaṅ po can); at the same time a marvellous elephant with golden tusks came into the world. Hastaka once met king Prasenajit’s daughter and the two young people fell in love. His father felt much anxiety on account of this dangerous passion, because: “Wise men who wish to be esteemed do not undertake things impossible to be carried out, they do not desire what is obtained with difficulty, they do not say what should not be said,” (28).

Hastaka in the meantime asked the elephant for his golden tusks and took them to the king, who was delighted with the gift and would have liked to reward him at any price: Hastaka accepted neither riches nor honours, but finally, obliged by the king’s insistence to declare what he desired, asked for the hand of the princess. Prasenajit took counsel with his ministers: he did not want to break his word, but neither did he wish to give the youth his daughter. The Ministers suggested that he give this answer: the princess would be his, when he had brought the elephant whose golden tusks he had presented to the king. They believed that, to get the tusks, he must have killed the elephant. But to their great wonder, the young man appeared with the elephant, whose tusks had already grown again. The king could not help giving him his daughter; then he went to the Buddha to learn the merits that his son-in-law had surely accumulated in his past life. Sākyamuni told him that in ancient times the Buddha Vipaśyin, while he was begging in king Bandhum’s (gNen ldan)\textsuperscript{171} capital, had met in the street two boys playing with a wooden elephant; having nothing else to offer the Buddha, they gave it to him, taking the vow that they would always be united in their future life. This came to pass and the elephant too was brought to life and received a blessing through the miraculous touch of the Buddha’s feet.

The scene is represented in the lowest picture to the left of the tanka. Under the central image the Buddha is telling the monks Hastaka’s story; immediately to the right king Prasenajit is going to the Buddha with Hastaka; above, Hastaka’s past life and that of the elephant; below, the young man’s education and his exercises; going back to the centre of the tanka, the offering of the elephant’s tusks; the king’s refusal and then his acceptance of Hastaka’s suit.

**AVADĀNA n. 50**

**THE TEN SINS**

(DAŚAKARMAPLUTI) \textsuperscript{172}

Once some women, prompted by the heretics’ wicked advice, tried to tempt the Buddha and for this sin they were damned to Hell. Then, near Lake Anavatapta, Sākyamuni spoke to the assembled monks about the karma he had accumulated in his past lives, whose last consequences he was bearing in his present life. He then sent
Maudgalyāyana to call Śāriputra, who was at that moment on Mount Čḍhakūṭa, busy sewing his monk’s tunic; the two monks vied with each other in displaying their magic powers; Śāriputra won the contest, and the Buddha told the story of his past. Once upon a time there were two ascetics, who quarrelled for some trifling reason, and became so furious that one of them called Saṅkha (Dui) kicked the other, Likhita (Bris pa); the latter then laid this curse upon his comrade: his head, at sunrise, would be blown to pieces. Saṅkha then stopped the sun’s course. Finally Likhita repented and made a clay image of Saṅkha’s head; when the sun rose, the clay head crumbled into fragments and the curse came to an end. Saṅkha was then Maudgalyāyana and Likhita was Śāriputra.\footnote{173}

But, owing to the ripening of his karma, the Buddha too, in his last life upon earth, had undergone various misfortunes. 1) His thumb was crushed by a stone, 2) his foot was pierced by a khadira thorn, 3) having gone begging, he had obtained nothing, 4) he had been slandered by women, 5) he had been insulted by some young Brahmins, 6) he had eaten rotten wheat (kodava), 7) during seven seasons he endured penances, 8) he was taken ill, 9) his head ached when the Śākya clan was destroyed, 10) his body suffered fatigue.

“The ties of his karma are to a man like servants ready for a journey, who follow him when he is in motion, and stop in front of him when he stops.” (31).

1st Story. – Once a rich man called Kharvaṭa (K’ar ba ta) had in his house a step-brother called Mugdha (Mug dba). A woman friend of his named Kalika (Nag mo) repeatedly urged him to kill Mugdha and get the whole family heritage for himself. At first Kharvaṭa refused, thinking that:

“it is not reasonable that people attached to riches should harbour sinful thoughts with the object of (getting) those treasures; all property, even when well guarded, is lost in a moment.” (44).

At last, pressed by his friend, he gave in and finally committed the crime. This man was an ancient incarnation of the Buddha; after having atoned for his sin in Hell, in his last incarnation he had wounded his thumb on that account.

2nd Story. – Arthaḍatā (Don byin) was coming back from Ratnadvipa loaded with riches; one of his comrades, who had lost everything, through envy tried to bore a hole in the ship in order to sink it. Arthaḍatā, unable to turn him from his purpose, finally slew him. Arthaḍatā was the Buddha; for this act he had committed his foot was wounded by a thorn.

3rd Story. – When the Pratyekabuddha Upārīṣṭa (Uparima, in the prose text: Upa rin) came to Kaśi to beg, Capalaka (qRo ldan) upset his bowl; Capalaka was the Buddha; for this reason the Buddha’s bowl had not been filled.

4th Story. – Vasiṣṭha (Ba si gtha) and Bharadvāja (Bha ra du da) were brothers; the former being honoured by all as a saint, his brother, envying his fame, borrowed his clothes and gave them to a harlot, in order that she might accuse Vasiṣṭha of having made her a present of them in exchange for her favours. Bharadvāja was then the Buddha, and through the ripening of that karma, he had been insulted in his present life.

5th Story. – In Benares a certain Mrṇālā (Pad mai rtša, in prose P. rtša lag) loved the courtesan Bhadrā (bZaṅ mo) and to reward her services he gave her clothes and jewels. Another suitor appeared and Bhadrā, after long hesitation, listened to the advice of her handmaid Makariṅkā (C’u srin mo) and gave herself to the newcomer. Makariṅkā disclosed everything to Mrṇālā who, blinded by jealousy, killed the courtesan. Then, fearing punishment, he fled into the forest and placed the gory dagger near a Pratyekabuddha, but no sooner had the latter been arrested and brought before the judge, that he confessed his sin; owing to a remainder of
this evil deed, which he had long atoned for in Hell, the Buddha had now been slandered by heretical women.

6th Story. — While the Buddha Vipaśyin was received with great festivities in Bandhumati (gNen ldan) the Brahman Mātha (Mātha ra) tried to dissuade the people from honouring him. Mātha was then the Buddha who, for his sin, had to eat rotten wheat in this life.

7th Story. — In another life Śākyamuni had been Uttara (Ut ta ra), who insulted the Buddha of those times; for that sin he now had to do penance for six years before attaining enlightenment.

8th Story. — Once a rich lord named Dhanavān (Nor ldan) had a son Śrimān (dPal ldan) who was always sickly; the physician Tiktamukha (K'a bai bzin) healed him by an appropriate cure, but received no reward from the boy’s miserly father; as the case was often repeated, the physician finally poisoned his patient, who died. The physician was the Buddha who, through a remnant of that crime, was subject to illness in this life.

9th Story. — When the Buddha was a fisherman’s son, he was delighted to see that two fishes had been caught in the net; for this sin he was punished in this life by a headache.

10th Story. — In one of his past lives, the Buddha had been a Malla prince who killed his rival and cut him in two; because of a remnant of this crime, he was affected with a disorder of the wind humour.

The legends are represented beginning on the left of the central figure; first Sārīputra’s miracle, then, underneath, the Buddha seated on a flower emerging from the Anavatapta; next the old contention between Śāṅkha and Likhita, then the story of Tiktamukha, the story of the fisherman’s son, of Muddha and Kālikā; to the right the Malla prince’s story, the story of the courtesan Bhadrā, of the bowl turned upside down; underneath, the story of Vasiṣṭha and Bharadvāja, the story of Māthara, of Uttara; I cannot find Arthadatta’s story.

Avadāna n. 51

STORY OF RUKMAVATĪ

The Buddha, having converted some fishermen, went to his hermitage, and when he got there he smiled. Indra asked him the cause of his smile and the Buddha told him about one of his preceding incarnations, which had come to pass in that place. In the city of Utpalavatī (Utpa la ldan) lived a maiden named Rukmavatī (gSer ldan ma). One day she met a woman so poor that, unable to resist the pangs of hunger, she was about to kill her own child and eat it. Rukmavatī then cut off one of her breasts to save both their lives. Indra, at the sight of such a prodigy, appeared to her and asked if her act had been prompted by the expectation of some reward; she answered: “If I have accomplished this sacrifice with a pure heart, may I be turned into a man,” and through the power of truth, this actually came to pass: Rukmavatī became Rukmāvan. When the king of Utpalavatī died, Rukmāvan was elected in his place, and having died in his turn, was born again as Sattvavara (gSiṅ stobs m’og). He was such a compassionate man that one day he lay down on the ground, so that the birds might eat of him to their hearts’ content. In a short time only his bones were left. He was then born again as Satyavrata (bDen pai brtul rtags). Once he met a tiger who, frantic with hunger, was about to eat its whelp; Satyavrata spontaneously offered himself to the tiger. Such were the Buddha’s incarnations. 174)

In the tanka the order of the stories 51 and 52 is inverted; Rukmavatī’s avadāna is n. 52, and the following avadāna, about Adinapunya, is n. 51.

Rukmavatī’s story occupies the upper right-hand corner of the tanka; above, the Buddha in the midst of his disciples, about to tell the story; immediately to the right Satvavara’s sacrifice; the following scene belongs to Adinapunya’s story. Underneath
Rukmavati: who has become Rukmavân, is placed on the thrones. The gift of her breast is represented above, on the central axis of the tanka. Follows Rukmavân’s liberality, and, in two scenes, Satyavrata’s story.

**AVADÂNA n. 52**

**STORY OF ADINAPUNYA**

Another time the Buddha smiled, and answering Indra’s question, he spoke as follows: In the city of Madhûdaka (Mâdhû da ka) lived king Adinapunya (bSod nams mi dman), bountiful and compassionate towards all creatures. When Brahmadatta declared war upon him, his ministers, knowing his objection to violence in any form, began to wage war on his behalf without letting him know. The king found it out; he then abandoned his kingdom and embraced the life of an ascetic. In the meantime, in Kosâla, king Hiranyavarman (dByig gi go c’a) had imprisoned all Kapila’s (Ser skya) sons and relatives and seized their property. Kapila sought for money to ransom them with: “there is no misfortune in the world which cannot be overcome by money,” (26). Riches, whose ways are devious, are as wayward as harlots; they flee when we desire them, unsought they come of their own accord (27).

Thus reasoning, the Brahman reflected that only Adinapunya could give him what he wanted; he was unaware of the king’s fate and going in search of him, met him in the street in the garb of an ascetic. He told him his purpose and the king, though poor and abandoned, tried to find a way of helping Kapila. He ordered him to cut off his head and offer it to Brahmadatta and as the Brahman refused, he had himself taken to the enemy in chains, in order to receive the promised reward. But Brahmadatta, touched by so rare a virtue, presented Kapila with great treasures and restored his kingdom to Adinapunya. The latter was then the Buddha.

Above the central figure king Adinapunya in his palace; to the left the incidents of the war against Brahmadatta and on the left corner the Brahman Kapila leading king Adinapunya a prisoner; next the meeting of the two kings. Kapila’s story, as we have seen, is briefly inserted in the centre of Rukmavati’s avadâna.

**TANKÂ n. 80–XVI left, 1 (Plate 116).**

**AVADÂNA n. 53**

**STORY OF SUBHÂŚITAGAVEŚIN**

Once more the Buddha smiled and Saka asked him the reason; he then told the story of king Subhâśitagaveśin (Leks b’lad ats’es ba) who spared no labour or money to collect maxims glorifying virtue. He was told that in a forest lived a cruel hunter, who knew many a beautiful saying full of great wisdom; he went to see him and promised him a precious necklace if he would tell them to him. But the hunter thought that the king’s guards could easily force him to return the gift, so he consented to tell the king his verses provided the latter, as soon as he had heard them, agreed to leap from the top of a mountain. The king accepted and heard the stanza he wished to know, which goes: “(Let man) never touch the sins and vices which bring bitter repentance in their wake, if he desire happiness; but let him frequent the palace of good deeds, whose floor is morality, whose lotus flowers are merits. And this mind of ours, which is always eager for the enjoyment of impermanent objects, let him empty it of all desires and cause it to be contented with the unrestrained (spiritual) satisfaction it covets,” (49). Having heard this stanza, the king leaped from the cliff as he had promised, but was saved by a yaksha. The hunter went to sell the necklace and was arrested, but the king, who revered him as his master, had him immediately set free.

The avadâna it begins below, to the right of the central figure: the Buddha telling his
story, the king in Benares the king’s liberality, the beautiful maxims are disclosed to him; he greets the hunter, brought before him as a prisoner. Then, proceeding towards the left and upwards, the king’s meeting with the hunter and the king leaping from the cliff.

**Avadāna p. 54**

 STORY OF SATTVAUŚADHA

As soon as the Buddha had converted Puṣpila (Me tog can ma), he smiled; he then explained the cause of his smile to Śakra. A prince named Satṭvausadha (Sems can sman) once lived in Mahendravati (dBan c'en ldan mo); he had the gift of healing all the sick who came to him. When he died, his remains kept this miraculous virtue and crowds of people continually visited them, in search of healing. A time will come when king Aśoka will build a stūpa over those relics. 176

The story is represented to the left of the central figure; above, the Buddha telling the story; then Satṭvausadha in his palace; his miraculous cures, and below the stūpa built by Aśoka over his mortal remains.

**Avadāna p. 55**

SARVANDADA’S STORY

Following another of his smiles, the Buddha told Indra that a high-souled king called Sarvandada (Kun stér) had once lived in Sarvāvati (T'ams cad ldan). One day, while he was on the terrace of his palace, a dove with broken wings alighted on his hands. While he was wondering how he could help the bird, Indra, to put the sincerity of his feelings to the proof, took the form of a hunter, and coming into the king’s presence, asked him to give the dove back to him: he had to live on game, and the king could not let him starve in order to save the bird. “Good men, who are impartial towards all creatures, do not feel compassion for some of them only,” (19). In vain the king admonished him that it was not right to kill living beings: “The sustenance that some obtain by depriving others of life is avoided by good men, because it brings in its wake the penalties which follow sin,” (24).

But the hunter insisted, and the king, bent on saving the dove, gave him as much of his own flesh as the bird weighted, nor did he draw back from his bond when, through Indra’s cunning, the bird’s weight increased out of all measure: finally only the king’s bones were left. Then Indra resumed his normal form and asked the king whether his spirit had ever been troubled in the throes of such pain. The king answered that he had accomplished his sacrifice with a glad heart and by virtue of the usual satyavacana his body was miraculously made whole. 177

The story is represented above the central figure and on its right: king Sarvandada, then the Buddha telling his story, then the scene of the king sacrificing his flesh.

**TANKA n. 81 – XVII left, 2 (Plate 117).**

**Avadāna p. 56**

NĀGA GOPĀLA CONVERTED

The Buddha had come to the city of Hūgumardana (Hin gu mar da na) where the citizens entreated him to protect them against a terrible serpent called Gopālaka (Ba gleñ skyon), which was destroying the flocks and the crops.

The Buddha went to the shore of the lake where the serpent was hidden, sat there in meditation and by a prodigy of his miraculous power, turned the storm which the serpent had caused into a rain of flowers. Then Gopālaka was converted and the master, in Vajrapāni’s presence, related the events which had happened in that place in the times of former Buddhas and expounded the law to a hunter, who built on the spot a stūpa called Mṛgadhīpa. 178

The legend is represented on the lower left-hand cornet of the tanka; the Buddha is
seen seated; people, kneeling, offer him gifts and beg him to vanquish the terrible nāga; to the right, a little higher up, the rain of flowers falling on the Buddha, who is telling the past history of the place; to the left the stūpa built by the hunter.

Avadāna n. 57
THE STORY OF THE STŪPA

This is not a tale like those we have so far summarized; it is a list of the various stūpas built at the Buddha's suggestion and to commemorate his miracles in various parts of India.

The avadāna is represented in the lower right-hand half of the tanka; above, the five stūpas, the three stūpas of the preceding Buddha, the one built by Śākyamuni and the fifth made by the gods; then below, to the right, Bālokṣa's stūpa, and finally the Pātalā stūpa.79

Avadāna n. 58
THE STORY OF PUNYABALA

Once, in Puṣkalavatī (Pad mo ldan pa) the Buddha smiled and being questioned by Indra, related one of his ancient incarnations, which he had remembered at that moment. king Puṇyabala (bSod nams stobs) lived in his capital of Puṇyavatī (bSod nams ldan); he was extremely charitable and compassionate. One day, having gone to town for pleasure, he saw a sick man and immediately touched by his sufferings, ordered hospitals to be built all over the kingdom and gave the attendants accurate directions concerning their duties, reminding them nevertheless that the best remedy for those who suffer is the Buddha and his preaching:

"The Buddha is a faultless serene physician and the teaching of the Law is the highest medicine.

"This elixir of serenity is a solace for those who are exhausted by the long fever of the samsāra", (16).

To put his virtue and firmness to test, Indra appeared to him as a blind man and asked him for his right eye.

We find this story on the left side of the tanka: beginning from above, the Buddha is seen in Puṣkalavatī; then, underneath, king Puṇyabala in his palace, the meeting with the sick; below, Indra asking for his eye.

Avadāna n. 59
THE STORY OF KUNĀLA

This is one of the most celebrated and touching Buddhist legends; Kṣemendra has treated it in a very personal manner, evidently wishing to ennoble the figure of Asoka, clearing him from the stain which ancient tradition had not been able to obliterate.

Kuṇāla (Ku na la) was Asoka's (Myā nan med) son by Padmāvati (Pad ma ldan); he had been given that name because his wonderfully beautiful eyes resembled those of the Himalayan swan. Grown in years, he had married princess Kañčanamālīka (gSer gyi ap' reṅ ldan ma). One day an old ascetic warned him of his impending doom.

As his destiny matured, Kuṇāla, at the spring festival, met his step-mother Tiṣyara (sKar yyal bsrun ma), who fell so violently in love with him that, forgetting all reserve, she fell on his neck and confessed her shameful passion. In vain he tried to make her realize the madness of her love:

"Pride, thoughtlessness, coveting the riches of others, lust followed by sin, these are for men, at the moment of their fall, the doors opened to disaster", (39).

"What is the use of riches to those who are not bountiful, what is the use of wisdom to those swayed by wrath, what is the use of beauty to those who lack the virtues of good men, to what purpose a high birth, when one offends against morals?", (40).

But all his words and his advice were vain. Finally Tiṣyarakṣa, scorned and humbled, decided to revenge herself.
In the meantime Aśoka sent the prince to Taksāśilā, whose king had rebelled, and immediately afterwards he sickened of a disease that no physician could cure. At last Tiṣya-rakṣā found the right remedy and Aśoka, on his recovery, promised to grant her every wish. Tiṣya-rakṣā asked that she might rule in his stead for seven days, and, the king having consented, she sent the governor of Taksāśilā a letter bearing Aśoka’s seal, in which she commanded that Kunāla’s eyes should be put out. The governor hesitated to execute so cruel an order, but Kunāla encouraged him to carry it out immediately; then, attended by his wife, he wandered from one country to another as a beggar. He thus reached Pāṭaliputra, where nobody recognized him except his favorite elephant; he passed the night in a stable, singing a song about the impermanence of human fortunes. This sad melody awakened the king and reminded him of his son, whom he believed to be in Taksāśilā. He ordered the beggar to be brought before him; as soon as he saw him, he knew his son, notwithstanding his horrible scars and his grief was such that he swooned. Having heard from his son what had happened, he wanted to punish Tiṣya-rakṣā at once, but Kunāla through the serenity of his soul, untroubled by any feeling of hatred for his step-mother, recovered his eyesight, and his father made him a partner to the throne.

Thus Kunāla atoned for two sins he had committed in his past life, when, as a hunter, he used to feed on the flesh of animals, and when, as Mugdha (Mug ḍa) he had put out the eyes of a statue of the Buddha, and then, immediately repentant, had put them back in their place, piously honouring the image.180

The legend is represented above, on the right side; it begins with the top scenes, almost immediately above the central figure: inside a palace, Aśoka, the queen and the prince; to the left, probably Kunāla with Kaṇcanāmalikā, then, still to the left, Kunāla’s meeting with the ascetic who foresees his fate; passing to the right of the first scene, a stūpa above refers to Kunāla’s past life; then, in the corner, Aśoka’s illness and Aśoka, after his recovery, granting Tiṣya-rakṣā’s request. Underneath, Tiṣya-rakṣā killing a person to find the cause of the king’s illness; to the right, Aśoka’s recovery. Below, in the small scene next to central figure, the sending of Tiṣya-rakṣā’s letter; then, Kunāla’s departure at the head of his army and the Taksāśilā prince doing him homage. Below, to the left, Kunāla made a partner to his father’s throne; to the right Aśoka listening to his son’s song; the latter is represented with a vīna, attended by his wife; underneath Tiṣya-rakṣā, during her regency, has the letter written ordering Kunāla’s martyrdom; to the right Kunāla playing the vīna.

As may be seen, here also the scenes are huddled together irrespective of the succession of events.

TANKA n. 82 – XVIII left, 3 (Plate 118).

AVADĀNA n. 60

THE STORY OF NĀGAKUMĀRA

On the seashore lived a serpent called Dhana (Nor) with his family; they were all suffering agonies, because of the hot sands upon which their past karma obliged them to live. His son Sudhana (Nor bzāṅ) asked his father the cause of such a punishment, and why the other nāgas did not share it.

When he was told that the nāgas lived happily because they believed in the Buddha, Sudhana, having picked some heavenly flowers, went to Sākyamuni in the Jetavana, heard his preaching, was converted and built convents for the monks. The Buddha announced that at the end of many lives Sudhana would attain perfect enlightenment.

The story is on the lower right-hand corner; exactly in the corner the nāgas’ abode and Nāgakumāra’s interview with his father; above on the left, the other nāgas worshipping
the Buddha; above, to the right, Nāgakumarā, having gone to Śākyamuni, listens to his preaching, and further to the left the offerings for the construction of temples; underneath, almost in the centre, the Buddha preaching to the nāgas.

**Avadāna n. 61**

**THE STORY OF THE PEASANT**

There was once in Śrāvasti a poor Brahman named Svastika (Kra śis) who eked out a life of want by tilling a small field. One day the Buddha came to see him, and he lamented his poverty, which forbade him to present the master of men with liberal offerings:

“No pain is comparable to the pain of poverty, because it destroys even the merit born of liberality.” (5).

“The poor man passes (from a state of poverty) to new poverty, having been unable to practise the virtue of giving; then, urged by the desire for acquiring riches, he becomes wicked; the poor man is like a corpse that draws breath.” (10).

The Brahman nevertheless was able to offer the Buddha what scraps of food he could collect in his poverty and he uttered the wish that, through the sincerity of his intentions, he might improve his wretched fate. The Buddha accepted his gift, and when Svastika returned to his little field, he saw with wonder that his ears of rice had been transformed into gold. King Prasenajit, having recognized this miracle as a sign of the Buddha’s grace, refused to exact the portion that the law assigned to him. Svastika meanwhile advanced on the path of sanctity, because, as the Buddha said to his disciples, he had already accumulated merits in past ages, at the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa. (18)

The scene follows immediately to the left of the preceding, below: first of all Svastika tilling his field, then he and his wife in the act of inviting the Buddha and offering him the food they had collected. In the furthest corner king Prasenajit renouncing his share; above, a little to the right, Svastika takes vows and obtains enlightenment. Above this, Svastika in an adoring attitude, opposite to the Buddha. Then, above and to the right, almost under the central figure, an allusion to Svastika’s preceding life, when Kāśyapa foretold his future destiny.

**Avadāna n. 62**

**THE STORY OF YĀSODA**

While the Buddha was in Benares, Suprabuddha (Legs par rab sad) an extremely rich man of the same city, grieved deeply because he had no children. His relatives advised him to address his prayers to a nyo-grodha tree, where a spirit lived who might grant him the longed-for grace. Suprabuddha was not convinced, because he only believed in the effects of karma:

“Each of us becomes a sharer in what he has himself accumulated; only the fool in his ignorance thinks that this is done by that.” (16).

Nevertheless, in obedience to his relatives, he went into the wood, armed with an axe, resolved to worship the tree or to cut it down at the root, according to whether his wishes were granted or denied. The divinity which lived in the tree and had become fond of his abode, knowing that it was not in his power to grant Suprabuddha’s wish, feared the immediate destruction of the tree and sought the Buddha’s protection:

“Because to leave a (beloved) place is for a person like leaving his own body.” (33).

The Buddha, from whose divine omniscience nothing remained hidden, comforted him, announcing that a divinity about to come down from heaven, due to the exhaustion of his past merits, would be born as a human being from Suprabuddha’s wife.

The yakṣa went back to his tree and announced to Suprabuddha that he would
soon beget a child, foretelling at the same time that his son would one day renounce the world. In course of time a son was born and called Yaśoda (Grags byin); grown in years, his only wish was to take vows.

Sheltered by his father in every manner, the young man nevertheless found his way to Śākyamuni, who preached to his monks Yaśoda's approaching glory. Yaśoda, distressed at the sight of a woman's corpse, which induced him to meditate on human impermanence and saddened by the sight of his harem, where the sleeping women lay sprawling and relaxed, came out of his palace wearing miraculous slippers, which carried him away, unseen. The Buddha was waiting for him on the other side of the river, and Yaśoda ran to listen to his word. His father searched for him in vain; he found the slippers, but they gave no clue to his son's whereabouts. At the height of despair, he went to the Buddha, but blinded by anguish, he did not see his son, who was listening with him to the saint's sermon. Little by little the gloom of his mind was dispelled, light broke into his soul and he honoured the Buddha. Together with Yaśoda, Gavampati (Ba gla'i bdag) and another four of his comrades were converted and attained arhatship in his company. Thus was matured the karma accumulated in a past life, when Suprabha (Od bzai) having seen the Buddha Sikhin, tired out, taking a little rest, showed in the Buddha's hospitality; Yaśoda and his five comrades obtaining arhatship; the crossing of the river. Above the central image are represented the merits acquired by Suprabuddha in his preceding lives, when he sheltered the Buddha Sikhin from the sun and when he did homage to the stūpa built by king Kṛśin. The story closes with a picture of king Kṛśin on his throne.

**AヴァDΑNΑ n. 63**

**STORY OF MAHĀKAŚYAPA**

Nyangrodhakalpa (Nya gro dbai rtog) lived in Magadha; his wife gave birth to a son under a pippala tree (ficus religiosa). The child was encircled by a luminous band, like gold, and had been called Pippalāyana (Phal skyes). Crowned in years and completely absorbed by his spiritual life, he refused to marry. As his father continued to press him, he made a golden statue, of marvellous beauty, and promised that he would marry if a woman resembling the image were found. A friend of his father's called Caturaka (Od raka) began to wander about, and finally, in Vaiśāli, he met a maiden called Bhadrā (bZai mo), the daughter of Kapila (Ser skya) who was even fairer than the statue. Kapila promised to give her in marriage to Pippalāyana as soon as the latter should have as his wife a daughter given in marriage without a dowry and a son who has taken to evil ways, are like pins stuck into a man's mind.
an ascetic life, made his intentions known to her and advised her not to reject a marriage which would make their parents happy and enable the pair to fulfill their vocation. So they were married and lived together in the utmost purity. One night, while Pippalāyana lay awake near his sleeping wife, he saw a scorpion about to sting her and shook her violently to ward off the danger. But thinking that her husband, forgetting his pledge, had been suddenly tempted by lust, Bhadrā bitterly reproached him:

"Mountains may renounce the boundaries of their steadfastness, sages never."

The misunderstanding having been cleared up, they continued their way of life, until Nyagrodhakalpa died and Pippalāyana succeeded him in the management of the family estate. Once the handmaids who, according to Bhadrā's orders, were grinding seeds, perceived with horror that many insects had been drowned in the oil, a fearful infringement of the precept of the respect of life (ahimsā). They made Bhadrā responsible for the sin, for she had given them the work to do. Bhadrā freed herself from all earthly passions and together with Pippalāyana took vows and went to the Buddha Kaśyapa; in a short time Pippalāyana became an arhat and Bhadrā a saint. This happened, as Kaśyapa explained, through the ripening of karma accumulated during preceding lives, when Pippalāyana, in time of famine, furnished food to the Buddha Śikṣin; another time he had set a parasol upon a stūpa built by king Krān.\textsuperscript{86}

The avadāna is represented on the right side of the tanka; above, Pippalāyana's preceding life is briefly outlined: born as a poor man, he had ornamented a stūpa built by Krān, notwithstanding his scanty means. In the upper corner, Bhadrā's handmaids grinding seeds to make oil; on the left Bhadrā's arrival in her bridegroom's city; a maiden resembling the golden image is discovered in Vaiśālī; then, to the right, the marriage celebrations; below, various scenes of the couple's pure married life, including the incident of the scorpion about to sting Bhadrā; still lower down, Pippalāyana's refusal to marry until a maiden is found resembling the golden image he had made; Caturaka's departure with the statue, the meeting with the Buddha Kaśyapa.

TANKA n. 83 - XIX left, 4 (Plate 119).

AVADĀNA n. 64

THE STORY OF SUDHANA AND THE KINNARA

When the Buddha went back to his city after having attained enlightenment and vanquished the gloom of error for ever, Yaśodharā, seeing him pass, serene and collected in his monk's robes, overwhelmed by her great love for him who was no longer hers, flung herself down from a terrace; but Śakyamuni miraculously caught her in his arms and saved her. He then told the story of one of her past lives. Long ago, in Hastinapura (Ha sti na yi groṇ), lived the wise king Dhana (Nor), who ruled with the assistance of his virtuous son Sudhana (Nor bzan). Dhana's enemy, king Mahendrasena (dBan c'en sde) was cruel and faithless; hence all manner of calamities afflicted his kingdom and his subjects fled into Dhana's territory, because:

"When a king considers his subjects as his own children, they live in his country as though in their father's house."

Mahendrasena grew more and more bitter against his virtuous rival, and sought to harm him by every means. He found out that in Dhana's country lived the nāga Citra (Tsi tra), whose power guaranteed the king's prosperity, and he decided to do away with the nāga, because:

"The wicked, incapable of accumulating virtue themselves, contrive to harm others."

With promises of abundant lucre, the king sent Vidyādhara (Rig ṣaṣin) to look
for the nāga; by means of magical formulas, he imprisoned it in a forest; Citra, having become aware of his danger before falling completely a prey to the magician’s arts, invoked the help of a hunter friend called Padmaka (Paˈd maˈka). The spell had already begun to work and the nāga felt himself irresistibly overpowered by Vidyādhara’s magic, when Padmaka set him free by killing the enchanter. Citra then took his friend into his dwelling and showed him a miraculous noose, capable of binding all created beings; Padmaka, refusing any other gift, desired to have only that noose; on his deathbed he left it to his son Utpala.

The latter, as he was wandering in the forest one day, heard a marvellous song: it was the voice of Manoharā, a Kinnarī, Druma (Dromaˈ) king of the Kinnara’s own daughter. As only the unerring noose his father had left him was capable of drawing Manoharā into the world of mortals, Utpala used his prodigious weapon and bound the divine maiden. She requested him to let her go him with touching persistence and gave him a gem; Utpala assured her of his kind intentions and put her in the hands of prince Sudhana, who had come into the forest on a hunting-party. After they had been married two ascetics arrived in king Dhana’s court, Kapila (Kapˈila) and Puskara (Puˈskəˈra); both seeking for the king’s favour, they finally quarrelled, and Kapila, who did not succeed, decided to take revenge on the prince, who had begun to protect his rival.

When Sudhana was sent to wage war against a rebel prince named Megha (Prɪˈm), Kapila took this opportunity to vent his wrath upon the patron of his rival. The misfortunes impending over Manoharā and all the royal family were announced to the king by an evil dream; for an explanation of its secret warnings, he went precisely to Kapila, and with the pretext of warding off an approaching disaster, the ascetic advised him to sacrifice his daughter-in-law:

“"To our own life we sacrifice our country and our children, for in this world of the living nothing is dearer than life.” (180).

Thus incited, the king was about to commit the abominable deed, but his queen returned to Manoharā the gem her son had left her, and through the gem’s virtue Manoharā mysteriously disappeared into the air. After having purified herself with a bath, to efface all traces of her contact with the human world, the Kinnari went to the ascetic Valkalayana (Valˈkaˈlaˈyaˈna), confessed her love for Sudhana to him, and begged him to let the prince know that she was waiting for him; the way was long and terribly hard and dangerous, but she left him a ring and directions whereby to overcome the perils of his journey.

Sudhana came back and his mother told him the sad news; a prey to deepest sorrow, he wandered in the forest, telling the trees and the wild animals his woes; he thus arrived to Valkalayana’s hermitage and the ascetic comforted him and told him Manoharā’s words. Sudhana set off on his long journey; he crossed the Himalaya, vanquished the demons who tried to stop him, overcame deadly perils and finally reached the Kinnara’s country; there he received tidings of his beloved from a handmaid of Manoharā, who had come to get water, and dropped into her jar the ring his bride had left him. Manoharā then led Sudhana to her father, who submitted him to difficult ordeals, to gauge his virtues and make sure that he was really worthy of his daughter. Sudhana was successful and had his reward: Manoharā was restored to him for ever, and he took her back to his city. Sudhana had been one of the Buddha’s most ancient incarnations.187)

The story begins on the left, almost at the height of the lotus on which the figure is seated and it develops through several detached scenes, which do not follow one another in a logical order. The first group of soldiers on horseback refers to the
expedition against king Megha, out of which Manoharā's sad adventure began; the other group above recalls king Mahendrasena's expedition, while the small picture to the right represents the same king calling upon the ascetic to capture the nāga, to which king Dhana's country owes its prosperity. The scene immediately above shows the prince and Manoharā together in the palace, after their happy home-coming; still further above, Sudhana's and the Kinnari's arrival on a coach drawn by horses, and the wedding celebrations. Above, towards the top, Manoharā bathing to purify herself before returning to her country; she is taking leave of Sudhana's mother and receiving the marvellous gem from her; on the left corner the incident which gave the Buddha an occasion for telling the story: Yaśodhara throws herself from the top of a house and the Buddha tells his monks his preceding karmic relations with her. Next Manoharā flying through the air alone; further to the right, Manoharā and Sudhana descend by heavenly paths to Hastinapura. The three small scenes which follow underneath show the ascetic Valkalāyana giving Manoharā's ring to Sudhana; to the right the same ascetic's meeting with Manoharā, and next his conversation with the hunter Utpala, to whom he his showing how to capture the Kinnari with the miraculous noose. Underneath the capture of the nāga, the nāga set free and the gift of the noose to the hunter. Then, exactly above the central figure, the hunter giving the Kinnari to Sudhana; proceeding towards the top, the hunter leading away the bound Kinnari; along the upper border of the tanka, still proceeding towards the right, the king of the Kinnara, with a horse's head, between Sudhana and Manoharā; Manoharā's interview with her father; Sudhana admitted into the presence of the king of the Kinnaras. Underneath, proceeding from left to right, the Kinnari going to draw water, the meeting with Manoharā, husband and wife again united.

Avadānā n. 65

THE STORY OF EKAŚRNGA

In the city of the Śākyas, the Buddha related the events of another existence, when he had been bound to Yaśodhara by deep affection. In Kāśi lived king Kāśya (Kāṣya), who had a daughter called Nalini (Pad ma ldan) but no sons; fearing that his line might become extinct, he took counsel of his ministers, to find a worthy husband for his daughter:

“People cannot keep their daughters like the wick of a lamp burning in their hand; girls of good family are only a cause of anxiety, and should be handed over to others, like property given in trust.” (13).

Reasoning thus, he thought of Kāśyapa's son, born out of the ascetic's seed: it had dropped to the ground in the forest and a gazelle had chanced to drink it. The young man, named Ekaśrnga (Rva geig pa) was as pure as a maiden. The king sent Nalini into Kapila forest, and the two young people met, to the great joy of Ekaśrnga, accustomed to the solitude of his hermitage, who was delighted to find a new comrade. He had no knowledge of the other sex and took the princess for a pleasant boy friend. Nalini invited him to come with her, but seeing a chariot drawn by horses, he was frightened and hesitated. The princess came back and induced him to get into a boat upon which an impromptu garden had been arranged; she took him to her father, who received him with great joy, and united him to his daughter in marriage.

The pair then went back to the hermitage, where Ekaśrnga's mother, who had assumed a human form by Kāśyapa's will, explained to her innocent son the meaning of marriage and sent him back to the king with his bride. The king, who was an old man, gave his kingdom into his son-in-law's keeping and took vows.

Yaśodhara was Nalini and Ekaśrnga the Buddha. ⁸⁸)
The story unfolds on the right side of the central figure; the scene begins at the height of the lotus flower on which the Buddha is seated; Sākyamuni, returned to his native city, is seen telling the monks about his former karmic connection with Yaśodhara; then, immediately to the right, higher up, king Kāśya taking vows; to the left, the celebrations on Ekaśrnga7s arrival in the city of Kāsi; above, preparations for the reception of Nalini and the young ascetic; further up, Ekaśrnga coming to the islands arranged in the form of a hermitage; further on, Nalini offering the ascetic some fruit; Ekaśrnga asking his father to come to the city of Kāsi; his interview with his mother; then, to the left, his reluctance to mount the coach; next, to the left, his conception and his birth.

AVADĀNA n. 66

STORY OF KAVIKUMĀRA

When the Buddha’s foot was wounded by a stone which Devadatta had dropped upon him, his monks marvelled that even he should be subjected, like an ordinary mortal, to the law of karma. Then the Buddha told them that, in past epochs, king Satyaśrtra (bDen par dpag) ruled in Kāmpilya (Ga pi lya); he had no children by queen Laksanā (mTšon 'nid can), so, on her advice, he married a second wife called Sudharmā (C'os bza'n). Later on, however, Laksanā gave birth to Alo-lamantra (Ma ṣud pa), who on his father’s death was elected King. Sudharmā also bore a son: according to the astrologers, he was destined to kill the King. Sudharmā also bore a son: according to the astrologers, he was destined to kill the King. Kavikumāra was no other than Sākyamuni; he had been condemned to Hell for his brother’s murder, and even in his present life was still bearing the consequences of his guilt. Goviśāna to kill the boy at any cost, because:

“When an effort is not made at the right moment, only repentance will ensue,” (28).

The boy’s mother, informed of the king’s designs, gave her son a miraculous gem and advised him to flee immediately. Kavikumāra took refuge with a nāga, who hid him, but Goviśāna discovered the boy’s hiding-place through a spy and threatened the nāga, who thereupon abandoned his guest. The fugitive was found later in the house of a washerman, next in a potter’s house; finally, as he was fleeing with the king’s guards at his heels, he fell into a gorge; the gem his mother had given him stuck to the boughs on the brim of the precipice.

Goviśāna, convinced of his death, took the gem and went back to the king, believing that he had carried out his mission. But Kavikumāra was safe. Wandering through a frightful forest, he came upon a man’s corpse cut in two, and learnt that he had been murdered by a caṇḍala, a most cruel brute which lived in that forest; its name was Sudisa (Su da sa) and the dog Śankhamukha (Duṅ gi k’a) never left it: no one could escape the pair. They arrived and Kavikumāra went up a tree for safety; he would certainly have been murdered, if the ascetic Māthara (Ma tha na) had not rushed to the spot through the air and killed Sudāsa and his dog. Māthara took the boy to his hermitage and taught him most powerful spells. Kavikumāra brooded continually on his revenge; finally he returned to Kāmpilya and, disguised as a dancing-girl, he danced so gracefully in front of the royal palace, that the king fell in love with him. That night the king invited Kavikumāra to the women’s apartments; while he was about to lie down, his step-brother disclosed his real identity, lulled him and seized his kingdom. Kavikumāra was no other than Sākyamuni; he had been condemned to Hell for his brother’s murder, and even in his present life was still bearing the consequences of his guilt.
In this instance also the story is represented by in irregular jumble of scenes, which do not follow the plot of the legend, represented in the lower part of the tanka. Beginning from the right edge, various scenes are pictured in the interior of the same palace: the king with his two wives; the recognition of the prince who had been left with the Kaivarta; the astrologer’s prediction: to the left, Lakṣaṇa’s son placed on the throne; the minister showing the king Kavikumāra’s gem as a proof of the latter’s death; underneath, on the left corner, the minister goes to a Kaivarta tribe to kill the prince; his mother gives him the gem; always to the right, Kavikumāra being traced to the nāga’s dwelling and to the Kaivartas; above, Kavikumāra disguised as a dancer enters the royal palace and kills the king. To the left, he becomes king. Underneath, he is followed to the top. In the lower corner, the minister goes to a Kaivarta tribe to kill the prince; his mother gives him the gem; always to the right, Kavikumāra being traced to the nāga’s dwelling and to the Kaivartas; above, Kavikumāra disguised as a dancer enters the royal palace and kills the king. To the left, he becomes king. Underneath, he is followed to the washerman’s and to the potter’s house; above, the man murdered by Sudāsa and his dog, the meeting with Sudāsa, the flight up a tree; persecuted, Kavikumāra leaps from a mountain top. In the lower left-hand corner, the Buddha telling this story to his disciples.

TANKA n. 84 – XX left, 5 (Plate 120).

AVADĀNA n. 67

STORY OF SAUGHARAKŚITA

In Śrāvastī lived a devout layman named Buddhakūṭī (Sāṁ rgyas srasn) whom Śāriputra had taught the law. Remembering a vow he had made, he ordered his son Saugharakśita (dGe ’a’dun brsnu) to put himself at his master’s service. Saugharakśita obeyed; later he followed some merchants into distant lands; a violent storm broke out and a voice was heard from above, ordering Saugharakśita to be cast into the sea. Although the merchants objected, he willingly sacrificed himself, but was miraculously saved by the nāgas, to whom he preached the law. In their gratitude, they placed him once more on the ship, much to his comrades’ wonder. During the voyage, they landed on a coast, and when they again set sail, they left Saugharakśita behind by mistake, while he was asleep on the beach. He roamed through the wilderness and finally came to a monastery; it was meal-time and the monks sat quiet and collected partaking of their frugal pittance. As soon as they had finished, the bowls were turned into clubs, and they began to fight and were all killed, dashing out one another’s brains. When meal-time came round again, they had all resumed their usual appearance. Saugharakśita learnt that the karma they had accumulated in their preceding life had matured in this manner, because formerly they used to pass their time in never ceasing quarrels. He left the place and came to another monastery, which was suddenly seen to catch fire and burnt to ashes with all its inmates; thus they atoned for their ancient sins: consumed with hatred, they had burned their rivals’ convent.

Continuing to wander, Saugharakśita came to a hermitage where 500 ascetics lived; they knew him for a Buddhist and decided not to speak to him and not to offer him hospitality; fortunately one of them, moved to pity, gave him a hut to spend the night in, on condition that he should observe the most complete silence. As soon as night came on, the tutelary deity of the convent appeared to him and begged him to preach the law to those ascetics. He then began:

“Ascetic vows do not avail to purify the body, neither do solitary forests avail to purify a mind accustomed to human desires, even though men wear the ascetic’s topknot and are clothed in sheepskins” (4).

The ascetics were eager to gain a better knowledge of the Buddha’s doctrine, and Saugharakśita explained to them the lengthy process through which the dialectics of karma develop. While he was thus expounding the doctrine, he realized arhatship; then, leading with him the 500 ascetics,
already converted, he went to the Buddha, who, by his persuasive word, guided them all to salvation.

The monks asked what merits Saṅgharaksita had accumulated in his past lives, and the Buddha told them that a vow made in Kāśyapa’s time had now matured.\(^{101}\)

The story begins near the lower right-hand margin. Śāriputra’s arrival; Buddha, Saṅgharaksita orders his son to serve the saint. Above, under the Buddha’s figure, on the right corner of the lotus, Saṅgharaksita’s past life in Kāśyapa’s time; underneath, he throws himself into the sea; he preaches to the nīgas; underneath he is asleep and the merchants return to their country. Then, always below, but proceeding towards the left, in two different scenes, the monks at meals, the massacre and the fire; above, on the left margin, the meeting with the ascetics; the ascetics carried through the air by his magic power, and the Buddha’s sermon.

**Avadāna p. 68**

**THE STORY OF PADMAVATI**

During the six years the Buddha spent in deep meditation, awaiting supreme enlightenment, Yaśodharā gave birth to his son Rahula. Suddhodana, doubting his daughter-in-law’s chastity, ordered the child to be killed and his command would have been executed if the Buddha, from whom nothing was hidden, had not saved her; the infant was placed on a stone, which was thrown into the river; it did not sink, but floated on the water.

The monks asked the Buddha why Yaśodharā should have been so unjustly accused by Suddhodana, and he told them the story of both their past lives.

Once, in the city of Kāmpilya (Kam pi la) lived king Brahmadatta who, having gone hunting, met in the heart of the forest Padmāvatī (Pad ma can), the ascetic Śāntilya’s (Śān dīlya) daughter; her beauty was marvellous and, through the miraculous maturing of her karma, at every step she took a lotus flower sprang up. The king fell in love with her and invited her to his palace and Padmāvatī, returning his love, asked her father’s permission. Śāntilya consented, but advised the bridegroom to spare the maiden any motive of ill-feeling. The couple lived happily, but the other women of the palace were incensed with jealousy; when Padmāvatī was about to be confined they bound her, took her twins and threw them into the river. Then they smeared her mouth with blood and told the king that, showing her true nature as a witch, she had devoured her own children. Brahmadatta believed their story and ordered Padmāvatī to be killed, but in the meantime the tutelary deity of Śāntilya’s hermitage appeared and disclosed the truth. The women confessed their guilt and some fishermen brought back the twins, who were floating in a basket on the river.

The queen was thus restored to safety, but the king’s injustice had so humbled and distressed her, that his repentance did not touch her.

"Truly, o king, I have no spite against the women who wronged me, because enmity is appeased by patience and grows through hatred. Our enemy, by himself, cannot vanquish us, nor our friends aid us: all the pain we mortals suffer is created by acts done in our past lives.\(^{87}\)

Padmāvatī therefore went back to her father, and seeing the hermitage deserted and her father dead, she took the garb of an ascetic and sought refuge in Benares, where king Kṛkin vainly urged her to marry him.

But Brahmadatta discovered her retreat, he came before her in the guise of an ascetic, was recognized and forgiven and brought Padmāvatī back to his palace.

Thus a karma matured which had accumulated in their past lives, when Padmāvatī, after giving presents to a Pratyekabuddha,
had wanted them back again: through her offering, lotus flowers bloomed at every step she took, but because she had asked to get back her presents, she had to suffer humiliation.  

The story is represented on the left of the tanka: to the left of the lotus on which the Buddha is seated, Brahmadatta and Padmāvati make peace; to the left, Padmāvati’s children cast into the river; above, the palace women deceiving the queen; Padmāvati set free while the executioner is about to slay her; then to the right, near the Buddha’s halo, Brahmadatta’s return with Padmāvati; immediately above, the scene of their meeting; to the left, near the outer margin, the maiden asks her father’s permission to go off with the king; Padmāvati slandered and despairing; above, in the corner, the Buddha in meditation saves Yaśodhara’s child; in the middle the Buddha surrounded by monks, telling Padmāvati’s story. Above this last scene, an allusion to her past life.

Avadāna n. 69
DHARMARĀJIKĀPRATISṬHĀ

This story is rather fragmentary: during the consecration of the many stūpas he had built over the Buddha’s relics, collected even from among the nāgas, Aśoka offered the community gifts and food. After the ceremony, attended by arhats who had come through the air, an old monk arrived, and having been told that after the banquet the king would ask him to preach the law, he was much troubled: he was ignorant and had never attempted to preach. The queen suggested a stanza to him, and when the king heard it, he was delighted and made him a present of a monk’s tunic. The monk himself, meditating on that stanza, became an arhat.

On another occasion the same monk went back to Aśoka wearing a dress which gave out a divine fragrance: he had spent the rainy season in heaven under a parijāta tree. The king, hearing this, was once more deeply edified.  

Above the head of the central image, the monks entertained and fed by Aśoka; further up, the building of the stūpas, while arhats hasten to the spot through the air, bearing bands, in an adoring attitude; to the right, the monk is asked to preach and the king gives him a rich tunic. Next, a boat on the sea, which represents the search for relics among the nāgas.

TANKA n. 85 – XXI left, 6 (Plate 121).

Avadāna n. 70
THE STORY OF MĀDHYANTIKA

The monk Mādhyantika (Nī guṇa) went, by Ananda’s order, to Kashmir, where he learnt that the country belonged to the nāgas. He then decided to subdue them; the nāgas were frightened and hurled down stones and hail, which were turned into a rain of flowers. Conquered by Mādhyantika’s sanctity, the nāgas agreed to give him a space of earth sufficient for him to sit upon in meditation, but the monk became miraculously dilated, and on the space his person had occupied was able to build cities and villages, where he settled 500 monks.

This tale also is barely outlined, almost unfinished. The prose version, if not more extensive, is at least more coherent.

On the tanka we see Mādhyantika taking possession of his territory; the founding of the Paryānaka temple in the midst of a circle of arhats; the nāgas, after having hurled a shower of hail and stones, seeing that the storm is changed into flowers, give the ascetic a place where to sit in meditation; then, in the last picture, below, to the right, the spread of the Law in Kashmir.

Avadāna n. 71
THE STORY OF ŚĀNAVĀSIN

On the way to Mathurā, where he was going to profess the Buddha’s holy teaching and to perfect his knowledge thereof, the
monk Śānavāsin (Śa naí gos) met two Mallas who were quarrelling and quoting his name as that of a monk whose opinion carried great authority. He was recognized and questioned concerning his merits and he told them that in one of his past lives he had attended a sick Pratyekabuddha and had presented him with a very beautiful dress, which the former had refused, because luxuries are not meant for ascetics. When that Pratyekabuddha entered nirvana, he had made a vow, which was now maturing in his present life. Śānavāsin proceeded to Mathurā where, after having tamed two nāgas which were causing great damage by raising up storms, he founded, with the help of two merchants named Naṭa and Bhaṭa, a monastery which became famous under the name of Naṭabhatavihāra.¹⁹³

The legend is represented in the lower picture on the right. The central scene shows Śānavāsin’s meeting with the Mallas and the narrative of his past life. In the picture to the right and in the lower picture, the founding of Naṭabhat’s monastery and the preaching of the Law; above, victory over the nāgas and Śānavāsin’s past life.

Avadāna n. 72

THE STORY OF UPAĜUPTA

Upagupta (ñer sbas) lived in Mathurā (bCom brlag dag); since his birth his father had placed him at Śānavāsin’s service.

Being inclined, from his earliest childhood, to detachment from the world, when he had grown in years he was able to resist the courtesan Vāsavadattā’s (Nor lhas byin) blandishments. She often invited him, but he always refused to meet her, saying that the time had not yet come for him to visit her. Now it came to pass that while Vāsavadattā was entertaining in her palace a young man madly infatuated with her, a rich merchant tried to win her favours with the offer of many gifts. The courtesan, thinking that “a lover, when he has had his wish, is no longer bountiful” (13), at a loss how to get rid of the young man, murdered him and accepted the merchant’s love. The dead man’s relatives discovered his corpse; Vāsavadattā was condemned, taken to the scaffold and executed. Then Upagupta went to her and at the end of her life she felt her former love revive:

“Love, once it has entered the hearts of men, by whatever path, either through habit or by the predisposition of karma, never, under any circumstance, abandons them” (25).

Upagupta showed her how vain it is to cling to the fleeting pleasures of the body, and touched her so deeply that Vāsavadattā repented, died with a purified soul and was born again in heaven. Śānavāsin then received Upagupta in his hermitage, where in a short time he became an arhat. One day, while he was preaching, Māra, to distract the monks’ attention, caused a rain of precious objects to fall, then turned himself into a charming dancing-girl. Upagupta, by a spell, bound corpses and carrions round Māra’s body, which he could not get rid of. He begged the monk to have mercy on him and Upagupta promised to undo the spell, on condition that Māra, through his magic power, should show him the Buddha’s image. Māra consented and assumed the form of Śākyamuni’s earthly body, deeply touching Upagupta, who fell on his knees adoring, because:

“In artificial images we honour the Buddha’s body: not that saints bow before pieces of wood and metal,, (68).¹⁹⁰

The story unfolds underneath the central image; on the left of the two pictures under the lotus on which the Buddha is seated, the first, on the left, represents Upagupta’s birth; to the right, the king orders Vāsavadattā to be executed; underneath, to the left, her execution, while Upagupta explains the Law to her; to the right, Vāsavadattā’s handmaid is inviting Upagupta; underneath, the young lover is poisoned and buried; to the left Māra as a dancer tries to perturb the monks; further
to the left Māra granting Upagupta's prayer, appears as Śākyamuni. Above, on the left margin, Upagupta becomes an arhat.

Avadāna n. 73

The Messenger Sent to the Nāgas

The fame of Aśoka's virtues and liberality spread throughout the world to such an extent, that anyone needing help turned to him, certain of receiving gifts and solace. Thus it happened that some merchants who had undergone great losses came to him for aid. Nothing could be done for them as the nāgas, after spoiling them of their treasures, had hidden them at the bottom of the sea. The monk Indra (dbang po) suggested that a written request be sent to the nāgas, but they refused to grant the king's wish. A divinity then appeared in the air and advised Aśoka to approach the Buddha; the king earnestly prayed to him, and immediately 600 arhats appeared in the sky. The monk Indra had two golden statues made, one representing Aśoka and the other the king of the nāgas; the latter grew, while the former became smaller and smaller, but when Aśoka began to do good deeds, his statue grew larger and the nāga king's diminished. The nāgas came of their own accord to return the merchants their treasures. Aśoka sent for Upagupta, that he might preach the Law.

Avadāna n. 74

The Gift of the Earth

Aśoka had covered the whole world with his gifts, he had given food and hospitality to innumerable monks. But as in this world: "Only good deeds, not bodies, endure."

(6) even the king approached the moment which closes every mortal life. Perceiving that his last hour had come, he decided to give his whole fortune to the monks. His nephew Sampadin (P'un tsogs can) however opposed his will and contrived intrigues with the ministers of finance; thus the king had nothing left to dispose of, except the mango which his physicians had prescribed for him.

Later, on the advice of his counsellor Rādhāgupta (mGu byed sbas) he left the community as a heritage the whole earth, which his nephew was obliged to ransome for a huge sum of money. 198

The avadāna is represented along the edge of the tanka, to the right. To the left the sick king is giving the mango to those who solicit gifts. To the right the king, his gift of the earth; underneath the ransome.

Avadāna n. 75

The Causal Law

This chapter does not contain a story, it sums up the connexion of the twelve causes (Pratītyasamutpāda) which, according to Buddhist dogmatics, regulate the process of karma.

This process is represented by several small symbolic pictures in the right corner: death by a corpse; the sensorial spheres (āyatana) by a door in a house; attachment (upādāna) by a man picking fruit (near the centre); the thirst for life (trṣṇa) by two persons drinking (further to the right), old age (lower down) by a man leaning on a staff, the conscious principle (vijñāna) by a tree on which a monkey is leaping; underneath, nescience (avidyā) by a blind man; contact (sparśa) on the right margin, by a man and a woman kissing; the forces of karma (samīkāra) by a woman preparing a soup (below); the individual (nāmarūpa), to the right, in the very first plane, by a kneeling figure which is extracting an arrow from its body; then to the left, almost hidden by a tree, two figures embracing,
which represent sexual union. Under the central image, the Buddha preaching in the Jetavana.

TANKA n. 86 – XXII left, 7 (Plate 122).

AVADĀNA n. 76
THE STORY OF VIDURA

One day, while the Buddha was in Śrāvastī, he saw near the river Ajiravati (K'yams ldan) a misshapen creature, whose body (according to the prose version) resembled that of a bull, covered with verminous sores. Through his miraculous omniscience, the Buddha discovered the incidents of its past life and the monster immediately acknowledged its sins. The Buddha, to satisfy his monks, told them that long ago king Vidura (Vi du ra) had lived in Ujjayin (aPags rgyal dag); one day he had gone into the palace garden to disport himself with his women; as they were roaming happily through the woods, the maidens met a Pratyekabuddha and, enchanted by his serenity, they gathered round him and listened to his preaching of the Law. The king, blinded by anger, killed the saint; for this sin he had been born again as a yakṣa; he had dwelt, for countless ages, in the deepest Hell, and at last he had been born as a misshapen creature, that the Buddha’s virtues might set him free from the weight of karma.

Under the lotus of the central figure, to the left, the Buddha is seen in Śrāvastī, surrounded by his monks; lower down the meeting with Vidura; above, Vidura’s women in adoring attitudes before the Pratyekabuddha; the Pratyekabuddha murdered.

AVADĀNA n. 77
KAINEYAKA’S STORY

While the Buddha was meditating in a cave, the protectors of the four points of the compass, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Vitūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa and Kubera, came to do him homage. Śākyamuni spoke edifying words to them; they were comforted and returned to their abodes. The Buddha then told the monks their preceding lives, when two of them, who had been born as nāgas, and the other two, born as garuḍas, had been converted by the Buddha Kāśyapa. The ascetic Kaineyaka, while he was listening to the Buddha’s words, became an arhat and Śaila likewise; thus was matured the merit they had both acquired in their preceding lives, in the times of Kāśyapa.

The story begins almost at the height of the Buddha’s head, on the left, and is concluded with a few scenes: the Buddha preaching to the kings of the four points of the compass, who are seated with other persons behind the monks; their preceding lives as nāgas and garuḍas, can be seen on the left.

AVADĀNA n. 78
STORY OF ŚAKRA’S FALL FROM HEAVEN

As the fruits of his past merits approached exhaustion, Indra saw on his own person the signs that announced his impending downfall from Heaven. His mate Śaci advised him to go to the Buddha; he came down upon the earth in Benares, where Śakyamuni was meditating. Indra, then, told the gandharva Pañcaśikha to awaken the Buddha with his music and to announce his visit. As soon as he was admitted into the presence of the Śākya saint, the king of the gods felt his mind clearing at the sight and the signs portending his approaching downfall disappeared. Having taken refuge with the Law, he married Pañcaśikha to Tumburu’s daughter and returned to Paradise.

This happened because in one of his preceding lives Indra had built a stūpa in the Buddha’s honour.

The story unfolds in the centre and in the left-hand corner, above: beginning on this side we see Indra in his heavenly abode; next, proceeding towards the left, his descent from
heaven, the meeting with the monks, and, going back to the right, the Buddha awakened by Pañcaśikha. Then the stūpa built in Indra’s preceding life. Almost above the Buddha’s head, Tumburu’s daughter being married to Pañcaśikha.

**AVADĀNA n. 79**

**MAHENDRASENA’S STORY**

A Brahman named Jivaśarman (gTs'o bde) lived in Śrāvastī; being already advanced in years, he became madly infatuated with the youthful Taralikā (gYo ldan) and married her.

But “women are devoted to those who betray them, and estranged from those who love them,” (5), and Taralikā sought by all means to send her old husband away.

“The man who, detesting all enterprise, cleaves obstinately to idleness, why on earth does he marry, since married life brings with it a multitude of expenses?” (13).

“In families where an enterprising husband is engaged in business away from home, while his wife attends to household tasks, all sorts of good will be found,” (15).

Thus urged by his wife, old Jivaśarman went to sea in search of riches, but on his way back, when he had almost reached home, highwaymen deprived him of all his treasures, leaving him poorer than before. Utterly discouraged, he was about to take his own life, but the Buddha, whom nothing escapes, restrained him and restored his lost treasures. His wife, however, was not satisfied, and little by little he perceived that all attachment to earthly fortune is quite vain.

“What pain greater than poverty can be endured in the world? But acquiring riches is a pain still greater. The enjoyment of riches, smeared with a few drops of pleasure, causes at every step hundreds of pangs,” (29).

The Brahman then took refuge with the Buddha, and in a short time became an arhat. Thus the merit he had acquired in a former life was matured.

Once upon a time there was a king, Mahendrasena, who hated all violence, to the extent of preferring exile to war. His ministers, disapproving of his renouncement, abandoned him, but this did not gain them the new king’s confidence when they offered him their services. While Mahendrasena lived in the forest, a Brahman acquainted with his liberality came to solicit his help. Mahendrasena grieved that his present poverty should prevent him from showing his former generosity to the needy, but as he could not bear anyone to leave empty-handed, he told the Brahman to lead him as a captive to the enemy king, in order to receive the price that had been put on his head. The Brahman did so, but the rival king, touched by Mahendrasena’s generosity, set him free and loaded the Brahman with gifts. Mahendrasena was the Buddha, and Jivaśarman the Brahman.202)

The avadāna is painted on the right side of the tanka; in the upper part is represented the Brahman’s former life: Mahendrasena’s adventures, his interview with the Brahman in the forest, he is taken to the new king in chains and is set free. Underneath the Buddha, telling the assembled monks Jivaśarman’s story; still lower down, the latter is robbed by highwaymen bearing swords; then his return to the city: underneath his married life with Taralikā and her petulant demands.

**TANKA n. 87 – XXIII left, 8 (Plate 123).**

**AVADĀNA n. 80**

**SUBHADRA’S STORY**

Sarvārthasiddha, the future Buddha, having been born, Purandara (aByin gij) went to the Gandharva Supriya (Rab dga') and invited him to join him in doing homage to the divine child. But Supriya, absorbed in music, paid no heed to his words. Later on the ascetic Subhadrā, who was meditating near Kuśa, on the banks of a pond, saw the udumbara tree covered with buds, and as that
tree blossoms only when a Buddha is about to attain supreme enlightenment, he interpreted it as a sign of his own approaching omniscience.

In the meantime Indra returned to Supriya to announce that the Buddha’s light was spreading all over the universe and that he ought to tarry no longer. But Supriya did not leave his music and the udumbara tree bloomed to show that the times were ripe for the preaching of the Law.

Subhadra gloried in this thought, but the magic power of the monk Cunda overpowered him and he was left dismayed.

Meanwhile the Buddha was approaching nirvana; he had converted innumerable creatures: only Subhadra and Supriya were left; out of pity for them, he went himself to the Paradise of the Gandharvas and challenging Supriya to a musical contest, he vanquished him; Supriya was converted and the light of truth touched his heart.

Subhadra saw the udumbara tree lose its flowers; the spirit dwelling in the tree bereft him of his delusion that the prodigy had anything to do with his own destiny. He then thought that in a short time the Buddha would no longer inhabit the earth, and that he would be unable to listen to his word; he hastened to go to him, but arrived when the Buddha, already wasted by sickness, was resting, and Ananda kept him away with all sorts of excuses. By the Buddha’s intercession, Subhadra was at last admitted into his presence; he listened to the saint’s words, the truth was at last revealed to him in all its splendour, and he became an arhat and was lost in nirvana.

The monks asked through what merits Subhadra had thus suddenly escaped from the circle of deaths and births, and the Buddha answered that in the Buddha Kâsyapa’s times, when a monk named Asoka had entered nirvana, a god who was present had taken the vow to partake of the truth in his future life: through the power of that vow, Subhadra had on that day attained nirvana. Another time he had been king Brahmadatta, while the Buddha was the horse that saved him from peril at the price of his life; on another occasion Subhadra had been born as a gazelle which, being pursued by hunters, was saved through the sacrifice of the chief of its herd, an incarnation of the future Buddha.

As to Supriya, in the times of the Buddha Kâsyapa he was Sudhi (Blo bzâi) who had taken the vow to be born again as a great musician. Another time, in the city of Ajitoddaya (mC’od ’os),201 lived king Vijayanta (rNam par rgyal), just and generous. Indra, to put his virtue to the proof, appeared to him in the guise of a cruel person and asked him to sacrifice his own flesh; moved by his loving spirit, he consented without hesitation; hence Indra, acknowledging the purity of his soul, restored his limbs to him unscathed. Vijayanta was an ancient incarnation of the future Buddha.202

The story unfolds to the right of the central image; in a heavenly palace, Supriya intent on music; immediately to the right, the Buddha telling the monks Subhadra’s adventures; underneath, Supriya’s former life, when in Kâsyapa’s times he took the vow to be born again as a great musician. Still further below, in two sections, Subhadra trying to be admitted into the Buddha’s presence, prevented by Ananda, who closes the convent door in his face; above, he is led to the Buddha. Still further below, Subhadra taking vows. In the lower corner, to the right, he watches the udumbara tree in bloom; still underneath, the story of the gazelle pursued by hunters. Under the central figure of the Buddha, Subhadra near the stupâ where Gautama’s remains are burning; underneath, the vow made in Kâsyapa’s times.

Avadâna n. 81

STORY OF HETÜTTAMA

In Srâvasti the Buddha preached a sermon on the merits accruing from gifts made to teachers, or to the community or to the Buddha (dakṣiṇā).
"What men acquire for their own enjoyment is fruitless; on the contrary what is given to the arhat bears fruit., (3)

Some Pāṭaliputra merchants had sailed to carry precious sandal-wood to India from distant countries; on their way back they were overtaken by a furious storm and about to be shipwrecked; one of them, named Punyasena (bSod nams sde) remembered the monk Dharmabodhi (C'os kyi byan 'cub), a devotee of the Buddha Hetūtamma (rGyu yi mo'og); he, then, began to pray most earnestly, invoking that Buddha's help. The storm miraculously subsided and they got back to their country. At that time the Buddha Hetūtamma fell ill; Punyasena, being moved by love, his entreaties and wiles having proved vain, he killed his mother and ran to his tryst. He confessed his crime to the woman, who fled from him in horror, climbed on the veranda and began to cry out that there was a thief in the house, hoping he would be caught.

Bhavavarman fled; he accused thieves of his mother's murder and, finding no peace, went roaming through various countries, until he got to the Jetavana, took vows and became a preacher. But the Buddha arrived; he discovered his crime and foretold a bitter fate to him. After his death he was flung into the most horrible of Hells, but later, through the vows he had taken, ascended to one of the heavens.

The scenes unfold downwards, as usual, without absolute accuracy: the first at the bottom, almost in the centre, represents the Buddha preaching in the Jetavana and bearers of offerings who flock to hear him; then, proceeding upwards, to the left, navigation; then the storm, next the offering of sandal-wood and other treasures to the community; still above, to the left, Punyasena refusing to sell the sandal-wood to the king and, to the left of the central image, the gift of sandal to the Buddha.

Avadāna n. 82

STORY OF THE SINNER WHO FELL INTO THE HELLS

Bhavavarman (Srid pai go c'a) was born, in Śravasti, of Śrutavarman (T'os pai go c'a) and Jayasenā (rGyal bai sde). Crowned in years, after his father's death, he went one day for a walk in the city with a friend. A young woman saw him, became infatuated with him and by gestures invited him to visit her that night. His comrade, fearing he might be seduced, told his mother everything, and she lay down to sleep on the threshold, to prevent her son from going out. Blinded by love, his entreaties and wiles having proved vain, he killed his mother and ran to his tryst. He confessed his crime to the woman, who fled from him in horror, climbed on the veranda and began to cry out that there was a thief in the house, hoping he would be caught.

Bhavavarman fled; he accused thieves of his mother's murder and, finding no peace, went roaming through various countries, until he got to the Jetavana, took vows and became a preacher. But the Buddha arrived; he discovered his crime and foretold a bitter fate to him. After his death he was flung into the most horrible of Hells, but later, through the vows he had taken, ascended to one of the heavens.

Avadāna n. 83

STORY OF RĀHULA

Invited by his father, the Buddha went to Kapilavastu; his son Rāhula recognized him among all the monks and asked him for sweetmeats. The monks asked why Rāhula
had remained six years in his mother’s womb, and the Buddha told them that in ancient
times king Puṣpadēva (Me tog lha) had two
sons, Sūrya and Candra; being grown up
and both desirous of embracing an ascetic
life, for a long time they tried to foist the
kingdom one upon the other, until Candra,
gently pressed by his brother, consented to
become king. Sūrya retired into the forest;
one day, being very thirsty, he drank some
water from a hermit’s jar without asking his
leave. He immediately repented of this
breach of the rules of discipline and believing
himself guilty of a serious offence, he asked his
brother to lay a fitting penance upon him, for
“Sin is purified by the king’s punishment,
as if by fire.” (23).

Candra comforted him and assured him
that his misdeed was slight; nevertheless,
yielding to his insistence, he begged him to
retire into the park and to wait until he was
free from the affairs of State and could join
him there to suggest some atonement. Ab-
sorbed in the duties of his rank, Candra
forgot all about his brother for six days;
then he suddenly remembered him, begged
his forgiveness, purified him and let him go
most remorsefully. Sūrya was the Buddha
and Candra was Rāhula, who had remained
six years in his mother’s womb owing to his
past forgetfulness.

Yaśodhārā endured great sufferings
during her pregnancy because in a former life,
having gone to market with her mother,
she took the lesser burden for herself, leaving
the heavier one for her mother to carry.207

Above, over the central image, to the
right, the Buddha preaching to the monks;
in their midst the child Rāhula; in the right-
hand corner Yaśodhārā’s selfishness with her
tired mother; below Sūrya thirsting in the
forest and drinking from the ascetic’s jar;
lower down, the two brothers’ interview;
next, various small scenes representing Sū-
rya’s meeting with Candra and Candra’s
forgetfulness.

TANKA n. 88 – XXIV left, 9 (Plate 124).

AVADĀNA n. 84

STORY OF MADHURASVARA

In Śrāvastī Sudhīra (Śīr tu brtan) had a
son called Madhurasvara (sBrān rtshis ldogaṅs) who, through merits acquired in his past
lives, caused heavenly riches to rain down at
his beck; hence in his native city there was
no poverty. Grown in years, he gave hospita-
tility to Ananda, with whom he went to the
Jetavana to meet the Buddha and invite him
to his house. On this occasion he distributed
deep treasures to the population, but the
coins became coals in the homes of the
wicked; when they wondered at the transfor-
mation, he advised them to make the Buddha
a present of the treasures they had received.
They followed his advice, and when they
got home they found that the coals had
again become gold. Madhurasvara entered
the order; while he was dwelling in a lonely
convent, some robbers, devotees of Durgā,
arrived and asked for a monk to sacrifice to
the goddess. Madhurasvara offered himself
of his own accord as a ransom for the others’
lives, was taken to the place of sacrifice and
became an arhat; when the robbers undressed
him, his garments were multiplied, and the
goddess appeared in heaven, causing gems
to rain down. The robbers were converted
and, touched by his words, became arhats.

Madhurasvara went with them to the Buddha
in the Jetavana to hear him preach; at that
same moment his father Sudhīra also arrived; he
offered Sākyamuni a golden lotus flower,
and the Buddha foretold that in a future exist-
ence he would become a Buddha.208

The story is represented in the lower part
of the tanka; near the right margin, in the
upper scene, we see Madhurasvara going to
invite the Buddha; underneath, the gifts given
on that occasion; in the centre, below, Ananda
as Madhurasvara’s guest, and above Sudhīra
offering the Buddha a golden lotus, as in the
last part of the miracle. In the left-hand corner,
Madhurasvara in the hermitage, and to the right the robbers asking to carry him off; above, to the left, the robbers dragging him to the place of sacrifice and their conversion; more to the right, the Buddha’s sermon.

Avadāna n. 85

STORY OF HITAI SIN

Once the monks asked the Buddha why he loved the sick above other men. He answered that this had also been the case in the past, for instance when he was king Śibi. One day a sick man came to him, whom no medicine could cure; physicians said the only thing would be to give him the blood of a person who had proved himself patient since his birth. Having examined his conscience and found himself free from the sin of wrath, Śibi offered his own blood. The sick man recovered, but left the king seriously ill. To restore his health, the physicians prescribed a medicine that it took twelve years to prepare, but when at last it was ready, he gave it to an infirm Pratyekabuddha; this time, however, by the saint’s grace, both were miraculously healed. Śibi was the Buddha. The monks then asked him for what reason this had happened, and the Buddha told them that once in Benares, lived king Brahmadatta, who had two sons, Nanda and Upananda; the former loved glory, the latter desired to rule. Upananda, who longed to occupy the throne, belonging by right to his brother, confessed his disappointment to the youngest of the court chaplains, saying that he wished to abandon the world for ascetic renunciation. But the chaplain gave Nanda a poison which deprived him of the use of his limbs; hence Upananda became king in his stead. After a short time, however, he repented and by a new drug restored his brother’s health and gave his kingdom back to him; he honoured a Pratyekabuddha and then died together with the chaplain; later he was born as prince Śibi and the chaplain as a Pratyekabuddha, but because they had caused Nanda’s disease in their former lives, they were both afflicted with the same infirmity.

This avadāna is represented on the left of the central image; beginning from below, the principal scenes show Śibi’s palace and sick people flocking to it; inside the prince is distributing medicines; above, the drug which will save the king is being prepared, further up, on the left margin, the drug is offered to the Pratyekabuddha; to the right, Upananda’s intrigue with the chaplain; still further above, their repentance and Nanda’s return to the throne. Almost on the extreme left corner above, Brahmadatta with both his sons; to the right, the drugs prepared for Nanda.

Avadāna n. 86

STORY OF KAPIŅJALA

In king Brahmadatta’s times, when all men were extremely just, a hare, a kapiṇjala, an elephant and a monkey lived in the forest in great friendship. They thought it would be wiser to obey a chief, chose the kapiṇjala as the oldest of the four and lived in great harmony and mutual respect. Brahmadatta, seeing justice and order prevail in his land, though it was all owing to the merit of his own virtues and piety, but the Buddha bereft him of this bold opinion, by revealing the virtues of the four animals to him. The kapiṇjala became in course of time Śākyamuni, the hare Śāriputra, the monkey Maudgalyāyana and the elephant Ananda.

Above the head of the central image is represented the preaching Buddha, on high; to the left, the four animals mentioned in the story.

Avadāna n. 87

STORY OF PADMAKA

In Śrāvasti a son was born to Mānasa (Yid ces), called Padmaka (Pad mo can). Grown in years and finding no pleasure in the world, he sought refuge in the order and
took vows. Having gone to beg in Mathurā, he happened to enter a courtesan's house; she fell madly in love with him and tempted him with wily words. Padmaka was not allured and fled, leaving his alms. But the harlot begged a witch to use her magic arts to touch the young ascetic's heart: the witch caused a fire to burn in front of him and commanded him to give way to love, or to leap into the flames. Padmaka, without a moment's hesitation, was about to plunge into the fire, but the witch repented and drew him back in time, so that Padmaka easily converted both women and went with them to the Buddha, to hear his peace-giving word.

The Buddha, solicited by his monks, told them stories of his past lives: in the Buddha Kaśyapa's times there was a merchant called Mitra (bSes g yön) who took vows with his two wives. The latter once used hard words to the other nuns and for that sin were reborn one as a witch and the other as a courtesan. Mitra was Śākyamuni. As to Padmaka, in another life he had been Puspasena (Me tog śde), who used to give flowers to anyone he met; once he offered them to a Pratyekabuddha and was therefore born again with the same kind disposition.²¹²

The story unfolds on the right side, and begins immediately above the story of Madhu-rasvāra: first the legend of Puspasena is outlined, then proceeding upwards, Padmaka in his parents' house; he takes vows, meets the courtesan, the ordeal by fire, the two women's conversion and, on the upper right-hand corner, the Buddha's sermon; to the left, above, Mitra's story in the times of the Buddha Kaśyapa.

TANKA n. 89 – XXV left, 10 (Plate 125).

AVADĀNA n. 88

STORY OF CITRA

In Bimbisāra's court an officer named Citra (Nag pa) was in charge of the elephants. Still young in years, he took vows and adopted an ascetic's life. Having come back to his native city to beg, he went to his former home and was joyfully received by his wife. Wishing to recall him to his early ties of affection, she tried first of all to see if his mind were completely detached from all worldly objects: while bringing him his food, she dropped a plate; he was immediately roused and asked her what the noise was. She thus perceived that his spirit was not entirely at peace.

"When a man is troubled merely by the noise of a dish, what cannot be done with him, distracted as he is by his senses?... (16).

The woman then began to complain that she was forlorn and almost a slave to her servants; one of them, instructed by her beforehand, made a show of striking her. Citra sprang up and ran for a sword to kill the insolent fellow; restrained in time, he gave up asceticism and came back to family life and to his former office at court. The monks informed the Buddha of Citra's backsliding; the saint spoke to him and so touched his heart that he became an arhat.

Then the Buddha told him his past history. Because in a former life he had devoutly worshipped a Pratyekabuddha, he had become an arhat, but in another life he had been Hariśikha (aP'rog rtse), one of the two sons of Hariṇḍrāyaṇa (aP'rog byes), king Brahmadatta's chaplain. When the king left on a military expedition, he had ordered his daughter to take care of Hariśikha, an ascetic who was the country's glory. The two young people nevertheless fell in love. The king came back and honoured Hariśikha greatly, but in the midst of the ceremony he saw him betray his passion by a sudden gesture. Incensed with wrath, he was pacified by his daughter's prompt interference; Hariśikha's brother came flying through the air, reminded him of his previous vow and restored him to the path of sanctity. Hariśikha was then Citra and his brother was Śākyamuni."²¹²

The story unfolds on the lower part of the tanka from the right; Citra is seen in the
palace occupied with his office; to the left his family life, and further to the left, the sermon and conversion; underneath, in two scenes, his homecoming, his meeting with his wife, the servant’s feigned blows, Citra’s married life resumed; to the left the monks inform the Buddha; Citra is taken to the Buddha and hears him preach; Citra becomes an arhat. Above, briefly outlined, Hariśikha’s story, his brother’s arrival through the air and Citra’s homage to the Pratyekabuddha.

AVADĀNA n. 89

STORY OF DHARMARUCI

Once, while the Buddha was in the Jeta-vana, some merchants sailed for distant seas, in search of new riches. On their way back they suddenly saw an enormous monster appear in the sea; the boat was about to be swallowed into the gulf of his huge throat. The merchants invoked the Buddha, whose name pacified the monster; they reached their country safely, offered the Buddha their treasures and became arhats. As to the monster, he vowed to abstain from taking the life of any living being; in a short time he died of hunger and was born again in Śrāvasti as a Brahman’s son. Grown in years, he took vows, and assumed the name of Dharmaruci (Gośred). But he was always tormented by an insatiable hunger; once he was invited and ate up all the food prepared for the whole community, so that the host, fearing that he was an ogre in a monk’s form, ran to tell the Buddha. The latter reassured him, took Dharmaruci with him and brought him through the air to the shores of the ocean, where the bones of the monster he had been in his previous incarnation lay like a huge white mountain. Dharmaruci became an arhat and in the presence of the assembled monks the Buddha recalled his preceding life, under so enigmatic a form that the monks understood nothing and only Dharmaruci knew what he meant. Then the Buddha told other preceding incarnations of Dharmaruci’s. In the times of the Buddha Kṣemānkarā, lived a merchant called Dharmaśīla, who built a stūpa in the Buddha’s honour. The Jainas opposed its construction, therefore the king put an officer at Dharmaśīla’s disposal, to protect the workmen and keep off the heretics. The merchant took the vow to become a Buddha, and the officer to be one of his hearers. Dharmaruci was the officer and Dharmaśīla was the Buddha.

In another cosmic era, Dipa (Mar me) king of Dipavati (Mar me can) greatly honoured the Buddha Dippānkarā, and sent messengers to Vāsava (Nor Ibi bu) King of Benares, inviting him to come and to homage to the saint. After a great sacrifice had been offered, the tutelary deity announced to Vāsava that two ascetics, Sumati (Blo gros bzān) and Mati (Blo gos) were about to arrive, and ordered him to load Sumati with gifts. When the two saints came, Vāsava obeyed the divinity’s order and would have given Sumati his daughter. Sumati refused, but the maiden had fallen in love with him. Being rejected, she went to Dipavati, to offer flowers to the gods. As to Sumati, he gave his master the money he had received from the king and made ten dreams; an ascetic advised him to have them explained by the Buddha and so Sumati also went to Dipavati. The city was decorated with flowers in expectation of the Buddha’s arrival, but the maiden could not find a single flower to buy. Through Sumati’s merits, some lotus flowers had grown in a garden; she bought them secretly, inducing the gardener to disregard the orders of the king, who was keeping all the flowers for the celebrations in the Buddha’s honour. The maiden took the flowers, put them in a vase and went with the others to meet the Śākya saint. On the way, she came upon Sumati, who perceiving by his mystic powers that she was hiding flowers in her vase, asked her for a lotus to offer the Buddha. The maiden reminded him of their previous
meeting and gave him the flower, on condition that he promise to become her husband in a future existence. Sumati consented and they went together to honour the Buddha. When they came into his presence, they both dropped flowers upon him, and Sumati bent down, undid his hair, which was tied up after the fashion of ascetics and spread it out for the Buddha to step on. Sumati's top-knot, mysteriously cut off, was lifted up to heaven, and the Buddha prophesied that Sumati would become Sakyamuni. Those present built a stūpa on the spot. Mati became envious of the honour conferred upon Sumati, but the maiden, who had taken vows with him, pacified him. Sumati was reborn as Sakyamuni, while Mati, by reason of his envy went to Hell. He was Dharmaruci.

Still another time, Asvadatta (rTas byin), son of a rich merchant named Candanadatta (Tsan dan byin) lived in the times of the Buddha Krakucchanda. His father, sailing for distant seas, had left him to his mother's care; the latter, still very young and burning with sensual passion, asked her old nurse how she might gratify her appetites. The nurse advised her to seduce her own son: such a passion would never be disclosed outside the home. The woman consented and, through the nurse's intrigues, secretly met her son every night; he was told that a girl lay with him, who would not disclose her identity. Finally the mother revealed herself and Asvadatta, little by little, was convinced by her arguments and her passion; so they lived together, and when his father came back, they poisoned him. Then they collected their riches and fled to another country, where they lived as husband and wife; one day a monk recognized them and Asvadatta, fearing that his secret and his crime would be disclosed, killed the monk. Next the mother found another lover and Asvadatta murdered her also. Expelled from the city, he wandered about, a prey to remorse, vainly attempting to be admitted into the order: for this reason, blinded by anger, he set fire to a convent, causing the death of a great many monks. Finally a Bodhisattva taught him the formula of prayer "love for the Buddha", and he found peace. At the end of his life, he went to Hell and was born later as the sea-monster. He was Dharmaruci.}

The story is represented on the left and above. It begins under the image of the Buddha, with a picture of Sakyamuni preaching; Dharmaruci's presence is suggested by the great quantity of collected food; above Dharmaruci's birth, his conversion, the meal prepared for the community and eaten by him alone; still further up, the merchants saved from the monster go to the Buddha and become arhats. Above, navigation and the sea-monster's appearance; the Buddha showing Dharmaruci the bones of his preceding incarnation. Still further up, to the right, the monks preparing to depart; above, to the left, the building of the stūpa and the officer charged with its protection. In the centre, above, Asvadatta's story briefly represented by the image of the Buddha, telling it to the monks, and the inscription (in sNar t'ai wood-cut): čos sred kyis sson sgyud guñs pa "narrative of Dharmaruci's ancient adventures," Underneath, a little to the right, Sumati and Mati at Vāsava's court.

**AVADĀNA n. 90**

**STORY OF DHANIKĀ**

While the Buddha was meditating in Vaiśāli near the Lake of the Monkey, the citizens made a pact: the whole city would invite and honour him; if anyone invited him on his own initiative, he would be expelled from Vaiśāli. A rich merchant called Dhanika (Nor can), who knew nothing about the compact, invited the Buddha to his house; Sakyamuni accepted, and when the citizens came to bring him their invitation, he declined, being already engaged with Dhanika. The Buddha was sumptuously entertained by
Dhanika and his family and the citizens themselves, becoming convinced of his good faith, forgiven him; Dhanika then went to the Buddha, heard his word and was saved.

Answering the monks’ questions, Śākyamuni told them that in ancient times there was a gardener; during a great famine, coming back with his family from the king’s palace, where he used to go every day to take flowers, he saw a Pratyekabuddha under a tree. The gardener and his family were so poor that they had only one dress, which they put on by turns when they went to the king: they only possession, they offered to the Pratyekabuddha. The gardener was Dhanika.14)

The avadāna is represented on the right; it begins at the height of the central figure’s shoulders: the monks gathered round Śākyamuni; preparations for the banquet in Vaśśalī; above, Dhanika’s invitation; the Buddha in Dhanika’s house; in several pictures, still further up, the story of the gardener who honoured the Buddha.

AVADĀNA n. 91

STORY OF ŚIBI

In Benares the Buddha listened with pleasure to the edifying conversation of those monks who, purified by his preaching, had become arhats. He told them how in a preceding existence, when he was prince of Śibi, he had been equally devoted to good deeds; astonished by his virtues, Indra wished to put him to the proof and, appearing before him in the form of an ogre, he recited the first part of a verse in praise of virtue. The prince begged him to tell him the second part too, but Indra refused, rejecting the presents he was offered in exchange for the stanza: an ogre only needs fresh blood. Śibi then offered him his own body and on this condition the ogre told him the second part of the verse. While his body was being torn asunder according to the compact, he expressed the desire that all created beings might profit by his sacrifice; hence, through the magic force of truth and the sincerity of his sacrifice, he got back his body unscarred.215)

Below, to the right, under the central figure, the Buddha in Benares telling Śibi’s story to the assembled monks; underneath, the prince intent on distributing gifts; on the palace terrace the meeting with the ogre.

TANKA n. 90 – XXVI left, 11 (Plate 126).

AVADĀNA n. 92

STORY OF MAITRAKANYAKA

In a sermon delivered in Benares, the Buddha recommended his hearers to love their parents and recalled the sufferings he had been obliged to endure because, in another life, he had been disrespectful to his mother. He was then Maitrakanyaka (mDlsa’ poi bu mo), the son of a merchant who, having gone to sea, had never come back to his country. His mother, fearing the same evil destiny might deprive her of her son, forbade Maitrakanyaka to follow his father’s example. Maitrakanyaka provided for his mother by doing business in a small way until, grown in years, he decided to sail at any coast and, as his mother objected, he was vexed with her insistence and rudely shook her off. He went to sea, suffered shipwreck and was thrown by the storm on an island; in his wanderings he got to the city of Ramanaka (rTse dga’) where he met some fairies (Apsaras) and enjoyed their love for a long time. They admonished him not to leave the city and not to go southward, but Maitrakanyaka, yielding to curiosity, left Ramanaka and successively visiting the cities of Sadāmatta (rTag tu myos), Nandana (dGa’ byed), Brahottara (Ts’dns pai mc’og) he came at last to a fortress walled about with iron. As soon as he stood in front of its gate, the gate was miraculously opened; he entered and saw a man undergoing dreadful tortures: over his head a sharp-edged wheel revolved, and streams of blood issued from the horrible
gash. Maitrakanyaka was informed that the victim was atoning for wrongs done to his mother during his life, and that his punishment would last until another sinner came to take his place. Maitrakanyaka was frightened and wanted to flee, but a voice from the sky ordered that the culprit should be set free and the newcomer put in his place. The torment was to last 60,000 years; Maitrakanyaka, knowing that other sinners would replace him, was moved to pity for them and took the vow that the horrible wheel should batter his own head only. Then the wheel miraculously stopped and he was born again among the gods. Maitrakanyaka was the Buddha.

**Avadāna n. 93**

**STORY OF SUMĀGADHĀ**

Anāthapiṇḍada asked the Buddha if he should give in marriage to Vṛṣabhadatta (K'yu m'iog byin) his daughter Sumāgadhā (Ma ga dha bza'i m'o), a zealous votary of the Buddha's. The latter gave his approval and Sumāgadhā started for Pundravardhana, to join her bridegroom. One day her mother-in-law told her to get ready to receive some Jaina monks who were about to arrive. They came and Sumāgadā, seeing them naked and fat, was much annoyed. Her mother-in-law asked her who it was that she used to honour in her home, and Sumāgadhā was loud in the Buddha's praise, and described him with such enthusiasm that the mother-in-law desired to see him. Sumāgadhā then, inflamed with faith, turned towards Srāvasti and prayed earnestly to the Buddha; she dedicated to him a necklace of flowers, which, flying through the air, fell at his feet. The Buddha then told Ananda that the monks must get ready for the following day, as he had decided to go with them to Pundravardhana by air. On this occasion Pūrṇa became an arhat. Sumāgadhā meanwhile, on the veranda of her house, was anxiously expecting the arrival of the Buddha and of his disciples; when they began to appear one by one, she pointed them out to her parents-in-law; at last the Buddha appeared with great splendour; honoured by Sumāgadhā, he told them through what merits, acquired in her preceding lives, the young woman had now obtained such a favour. In Benares lived the princess Kañcanamālā (gSer ap'rh'en can), a zealous devotee of the Buddha Kaśyapa, who had been born wearing a marvellous necklace. Her father had dreams which he believed to be evil and his wicked counsellors, hating the princess, urged him to sacrifice the person most dear to him. But Kañcanamālā induced her father to go to Kaśyapa, who revealed the true meaning of his dreams: they foretold the future triumph of the Law. In another life Sumāgadhā had done homage to a stūpa, and through this merit she had been born wearing a precious necklace.

The avadāna is represented on the right side of the tanka. Almost on a level with the seat on which the central image is resting, Sumāgadhā in her father-in-law's house; preparations for the arrival of the Jainas; the Jainas worshipped; above, in the centre, the arhats arriving by air while Sumāgadhā, on the terrace, points out to her parents-in-law the various masters; inside the palace, the Buddha preaching; under the lotus of the central figure, briefly outlined in a few small pictures, the stūpa worshipped and Kañcanamālā's story.

**Avadāna n. 94**

**STORY OF YAŚOMITRA**

Yaśomitra (Grags pa'i b'is g'en), the son of a merchant in Srāvasti, took vows and soon became an arhat; purest water always
flowed from his teeth, so that he never suffered thirst. The monks asked the Buddha the reason of this prodigy and Śākyamuni told Sundaraka’s (mDses pa) story: he had taken vows and become an arhat in Kāśyapa’s times and, owing to his past sins, he was always tormented by an unquenchable thirst. But as soon as he offered water to the Buddha, the curse was extinguished and, owing to this gift he was born again as Yaśomitra.

The avadāna is represented on the lower right-hand side; above, near the scene of the preceding avadāna, Sundaraka taking vows with Kāśyapa; the offering of water to that same Buddha; Yaśomitra’s home life; below, in the corner, Yaśomitra with his parents; to the left, he meets the Buddha and is admitted into the order.

**Avadāna n. 95**

**THE STORY OF THE TIGER**

A merchant named Arthadatta (Don byin) lived in Rājagṛha; on his death he left two sons who were brought up by their mother; at a loss how to provide for them, she taught the boys to steal. Having grown in years and in guilt, one day they were sentenced to death with their mother, but at the foot of the scaffold they were pardoned through the Buddha’s intercession and became monks. Questioned by his monks, Śākyamuni told them that the two thieves had also been saved by him in former lives: their mother was then a tiger who, pressed by hunger, was about to devour her cubs; a Bodhisattva then offered himself to the tiger, if she would spare their lives. That Bodhisattva was the Buddha.²¹⁸)

The story is represented on the lower left side. Beginning from above, the mother induced to steal; in the left corner the theft of some oxen; above, the scene of the execution; freed by the Buddha, the two thieves take vows. Higher up, on the left, the tiger’s story.

**Avadāna n. 96**

**STORY OF THE ELEPHANT**

One day, while King Udayana’s women were disporting themselves in the garden, five hundred ascetics suddenly arrived by surprise and saw them. The king, furious that the privacy of his harem should have been intruded upon, condemned them to be cut to pieces, but the Buddha arrived and saved them. This had also happened in past times, he said, when king Brahmadaata had sent 500 wicked councillors into exile. They wandered in the wilderness, about to die of thirst, but were saved by an elephant who brought them water with his trunk. The elephant was Śākyamuni.²¹⁹)

The avadāna is represented in the lower left-hand corner of the tanka: under the lotus of the central figure, king Udayana’s women go to meet the ascetics; further up, to the right, the king’s anger and the Buddha’s intervention; below, the Buddha preaching to the ascetics, who take vows; in the corner the king and his women; above, the older story: the elephant carrying water, the elephant’s death and the stūpa built over his remains.

**Avadāna n. 97**

**STORY OF THE TORTOISE**

When the Buddha was in Rājagṛha, Devaṭādatta despatched some armed ascetics to murder him, but the Buddha protected himself by means of a magic spell and the ascetics, won by such a miracle, were converted and became arhats. In a former life, the Buddha said, they had been merchants in Benares, and when about to be drowned, they had been saved by the Buddha, who was then a huge tortoise. But when they landed on the beach, the merchants tried to kill the tortoise...
and eat it. The tortoise, withdrawing into its shell, was safe for a long time, but at last it felt pity for the starving men, and freely offered itself to them. Later the merchants took vows with the Buddha Kāśyapa.210)

On the right side of the central figure, Devadatta’s interview with the ascetics; ascetics and demons assaulting the Buddha; their conversion; underneath the older story: the merchants sailing; their voyage; they are saved by the tortoise; the tortoise withdrawing into its shell; death of the tortoise.

**AVADĀNA n. 98**

**STORY OF THE ASCETIC**

During a famine the Mallas came to the Buddha, heard his word, took vows and became arhats. Seeing them thus honoured, the citizens were vexed, but the king heard about their miracles and the power they had of passing through the air from one continent to the other and held them in great reverence. The Buddha told how, in past eras, he had been an ascetic who had converted the Mallas; through this conversion they had become arhats, but because in former lives they had spoken insulting words, they had been born into a contemptible caste.

In the upper part, beginning from the right, the Mallas’ conversion; above, they are flying from one continent to another; near the scene of the preaching, their conversion at the hands of an ascetic; to the left, the king’s interview with the citizens, next the offering to a monk who represents the Mallas as arhats.

**AVADĀNA n. 99**

**STORY OF PADMĀKA**

Once in Śrāvastī the Buddha healed some sick monks and told them how, in a past life, he had been king Padmāka (Pad ma can). A great plague broke out and a high mortality among the population ensued. Physicians said that the fish rohita was the only cure for this disease, but as the fish could not be caught in any river, Padmāka, taking the vow to be born again as a rohita, jumped from the palace tower. Immediately reborn as a rohita, he was able to save his subjects.

Above, to the left, the Buddha preaching to the monks who had been healed, below Padmāka’s palace; he takes counsel of his ministers and monks; the plague; Padmāka born again as a rohita.

**TANKA n. 92—XXVIII left, 13 (Plate 128).**

**AVADĀNA n. 100**

**STORY OF PŪNYAPRABHĀSA**

When the Buddha was living in the Jeta-vana, king Prasenajit asked him when he had for the first time conceived the thought of enlightenment: Sākyamuni answered that in remote eras he had been king Prabhāsa (Rab gsal); one day the officer in charge of the elephants told him that one of his best elephants had come back, after running off into the woods in the rutting season. Pūnyaprabhāsa then asked if any passion is known to exist, which does not burn with a sensual fever, and the officer answered that such a passion is the one which leads to enlightenment. From that moment king Pūnyaprabhāsa took the vow to become a Buddha.211)

On the right side, below: the elephant’s return; above, the Buddha telling Prabhāsa’s story; above this, the scene of the furious elephant.

**AVADĀNA n. 101**

**STORY OF ŚYĀMĀKA**

When Suddhodana died, the Buddha returned to Kapilavastu, his native city, and built a stūpa over his father’s remains, honouring his memory. The monks asked whether it was just that the Buddha, detached from the world, should still be touched by affection, and Sākyamuni answered that parents must
be honoured by all, even by the Buddha. In another life, he said, he had been Śyāmāka (sNō bsan can); his parents, having become blind, had retired into the woods, and Śyāmāka, refusing office at court, followed them and cared for them. As he was living with them in the hermitage, he went one day to draw water from the river, but he was mortally wounded by an arrow: king Brahmādatta, seeing a figure move behind the branches, had taken it for a gazelle and shot at it. Śyāmāka, serenely dying, did not curse the king, but recommended him to take the water to his thirsty parents at once. The king, in anguish, begged the old couple's forgiveness and took them where Śyāmāka's corpse lay. They invoked his pity, and Indra, as a proof of Śyāmāka's sincerity resuscitated him. Śyāmāka was the Buddha. 222

Under the central image, the Buddha near his father's great stūpa, to which other people are offering gifts. Brahmādatta in his palace; higher up, on the left margin, Śyāmāka is killed; the king's sorrow; Indra appears in the midst of a cloud; Śyāmāka resuscitated; higher up, Brahmādatta announces his death to his parents.

Avadāna n. 102

STORY OF THE LION

After the Buddha had converted Indra and Bimbisāra, he told the monks an ancient tale: once upon a time there were three merchants, who crossed the seas, eager for gain; on their way back, a huge dragon barred their path; they invoked the gods, and a lion, hearing their moans, ran to their help and, pouncing upon the dragon, killed it but was himself burnt up by its fiery breath. The merchants, having thus been saved, built a stūpa over his remains. That lion was Śākyamuni. 221

The scene unfolds above, to the left: the Buddha preaching to Indra and Bimbisāra; above, the fight between the lion and the dragon; the building of the stūpa.

Avadāna n. 103

STORY OF PRIYAPINDA

For the monks' edification, the Buddha one day told of a good deed he had done in one of his past lives, when he had been born as the son of king Vajracanda (rDob rje gsum po) and of Rohini (sNar ma) daughter of king Meru (Lhun po), whom Vajracanda had vanquished in battle. He grew up so wise and generous that he deserved the name of Priyapinda (dGa' bai goñ bu), and everyone loved him. Having become king, a wicked minister named Durmati (Bloinan) wrote to Meru, stirring up memories of his former defeat and urging him to get even with his enemy; Priyapinda, rather than involve his kingdom in a war, went to Meru with the object of pacifying him and Meru, having seen a miraculous necklace, which by divine favour hung on Priyapinda's neck, actually repented and made peace. Thus an ancient karma had matured, when a Brahman named Mūlika (rTsa ba can) had offered medicine to a Pratyekabuddha and sheltered him under his parasol. Priyapinda was Śākyamuni and Durmati was Devadatta.

Still to the right, near the preceding scene, an elephant and a horse, with seated personages, allude to the rape of Meru's daughter. Then Priyapinda in his palace, distributing treasures to Meru's soldiers, the Pratyekabuddha's episode; exactly above the central figure, the Buddha telling the story.

Tanka n. 93 – XXIX left, 14 (Plate 129).

Avadāna n. 104

STORY OF THE HARE

Hamsa (Nyān pa) became an arhat after many hardships, as he had never succeeded in detaching his thoughts from life; the Buddha, answering his monks who wished to know the cause of such an attachment to worldly objects, told them his disciple's ancient karma.
Once an ascetic named Suvarata (brTul žugs bzhin) lived in the woods; a talking hare followed him everywhere. A great drought broke out and life in the woods became difficult. Then Suvarata thought he would return to his village, but the hare advised him not to do so, saying she had rather jump into the fire than follow him on worldly paths. Suvarata repented and remained in his hermitage; a miraculous rain fell on the forest and quenched its thirst. Suvarata was Hamsa and the hare was the Buddha.  

In the centre, below, the ascetic in a hut; near him the hare; the hare leaps into the fire and the ascetic tries to catch her.

**Avadāna n. 105**

**STORY OF RAIVATAKA**

Raivataka (Rai va ta ka) was a Kashmiri monk who lived in a hermitage; one day, while he was dyeing his clothes in a cauldron, a Brahman named Pišuna (Pr'a ma ca'n), seeking for his lost calves, came to him armed with a spade. As a consequence of wicked deeds done in a preceding existence by Raivataka, the dyed garments had assumed the appearance of meat and blood, so that Pišuna was sure he had found the thief, while Raivataka, certain of being the victim of evil arts, let the Brahman lead him unresisting to the king, who cast him in prison and forgot him there for twelve years. In the meantime Pišuna had found his calves, but said nothing to the king. One day the latter was awakened by a voice from heaven, he remembered Raivataka, acknowledged his innocence and set him free, regretting he had punished him so unjustly.

"Punishment falls on the just, when the king is at fault. (30).

This had happened because in a preceding life Raivataka had been a cattle-thief; the herdsmen ran after him, but to put them off his tracks he had thrown shreds of meat at the feet of a Pratyekabuddha, so that the herdsmen, supposing him to be guilty, had put him in prison and kept him there twelve days. (35)"

The avadāna is represented on the left side, below; the meeting of the Brahman with Raivataka; the monk dyeing his clothes; miraculous transformation of the clothes; the monk beaten; above, the monk is led into the King's presence; again below, the king apologizing for his error; monks flying through the air; above, the story of the slandered Pratyekabuddha.

**Avadāna n. 106**

**STORY OF KANAKAVARMAN**

In the town of Kanakavati (gSer ca'n) king Kanaka (gSer) had a son and a daughter Kanakavarman (gSer gyi go ca'a) and Kanakaprabhā (gSer 'od). A minister's son fell in love with Kanakaprabhā and became her lover; the king was furious and condemned them both to death, but Kanakavarman, moved to pity, saved them both and his father sent him into exile. After long wanderings, one day he found his sister among the ruins of the city where she had taken refuge: demons had forced the population to flee. Kanakavarman vanquished the demons and destroyed them, all but one who made his submission. He got the citizens to come back, was elected king and ruled wisely, with his brother-in-law as minister. His father, being informed of his son's heroic courage and mercy, called him back and proclaimed him his heir. Kanakavarman was the Buddha.

Above the preceding story, to the left: below, the Buddha telling his monks his birth as Kanakavarman; above, to the right, the king and queen; to the left, the king orders Kanakavarman to have the minister's son killed; passing to the right, above the Buddha's head, the culprits, taken to the place of execution, are saved by Kanakavarman; the abandoned city; the yaksas slain; returning to the left, on the upper margin, the sister and brother-in-law restored to the...
throne; beneath, the seven gems, symbolizing kingship; Kanakavarman conversing with his minister in the royal palace.

**Avadāna n. 107**

**STORY OF SUDDHODANA**

A rich merchant, called Suddhodana, lived in Benares; he was a close friend of the king. One day, having gone to the royal palace, he heard a very fine maxim sung by the king's daughter and insisted that she tell him another; the princess consented, on condition that he give her his treasures: to the king's great wonder, he accepted the pact. Suddhodana was then the Buddha.

To the left of the image, Suddhodana collects his treasures; lower down, the Buddha tells the story to the monks; below, in two more scenes, Suddhodana's house, to which beggars flock; to the left, in various pictures, his friendship with the king and the gift of a necklace in exchange for a maxim.

**TANKA n. 94 – XXX left, 15 (Plate 130).**

**Avadāna n. 108**

**STORY OF JIMÚTAVĀHANA**

Jimūtavāhana (sPrin gyi bzhon) was the wise son of Jimūtaketu (sPrin gyi tog) king of the Vidyādhāras; his father, on becoming an ascetic, gave into his son's keeping, among other things, the heavenly tree which confers upon men all the good things they may desire. But Jimūtavāhana could not live away from his father and followed him into the forest; the divine tree then returned to paradise. One day, by a spring of water, Jimūtavāhana saw a divinely beautiful maiden and it was revealed to him that she was the king of the Siddha's daughter. The two young people fell in love; while they were talking an old man arrived, looking for the maiden, whom her father wished to give in marriage. Jimūtavāhana, left alone with his love thoughts was comforted by a friend, who announced that his marriage would soon take place. The wedding day approached, and in the Siddhas' city great festivities were celebrated, pending the arrival of the Vidyādhāras' prince; he arrived on a celestial chariot and the nuptials immediately took place with great pomp. Six days later, in the forest, Jimūtavāhana heard the piteous moan of a serpent, lamenting his son's approaching sacrifice: he was to be offered as a victim to a Garūda, according to an ancient custom. Jimūtavāhana then decided to ransom the nāga by the sacrifice of his own life and having obtained by a pretext the red bands the victim was to wear, he went to the top of the mountain. The Garūda, flying in broad circles, pounced from the sky, tore Jimūtavāhana to pieces with his claws and snatched the gem from his head. Jimūtaketu, who had remained in the forest with his wife and daughter-in-law, was deeply grieved by his son's delay, being aware that on that same day the Garūda would descend; his trouble was much greater when the gem which had decked his son's head fell at his feet. He ran anxiously to the mountain, and got there just in time to hear the story of his son's sacrifice from the dying Jimūtavāhana himself and from the serpent he had saved. The Garūda repented and swore to renounce forever the victims he had claimed up to that moment; meanwhile Jimūtavāhana gave up his last breath and his wife prepared to die on his pyre, praying to be joined to her husband in their future life. But at that moment Pārvati appeared and restored Jimūtavāhana to life; the latter asked that the serpents killed by the Garūda in the past should also be revived. Jimūtavāhana was Śākyamuni.

The scene is represented in the last tanka of the cycle; the scenes follow one another without an exact order. So, for instance, under the central image Jimūtavāhana is seen going to the mountain on his coach; the scene of the meeting with his bride is on the right, on one side of the central image's head; here
is also represented the goddess Gauri being propitiated; then Jimūtavāhana and his bride. Going back to the left, near the first scene, we see the heavenly tree, from which all sorts of treasures are falling; underneath, the distribution of the treasures and the deity of the heavenly tree; Jimūtaketu with his wife and son; still further above, to the left, the wedding celebrations, and to the right, in the palace, Jimūtavāhana with his bride and attendants; to the left of the tanka, in two huts, Jimūtavāhana’s parents are preparing what is required for the wedding; underneath, processions of servants approaching the scene which represents the wedding, carrying gifts. In the square to the right, above, the bride ready to ascend the pyre; lamentations upon the corpse; Jimūtavāhana revived, and in various scenes, the Garuḍa pouncing on the serpent, Jimūtavāhana’s interview with the serpent, the Garuḍa killing Jimūtavāhana. Underneath, after the scenes of the adoration of Gauri, the Buddha telling the story to the monks.

Below, to the right, the donors of the pictures; above all the other figures towers that of Jambhala, the god of wealth, near whom are seated, in an adoring attitude, the two principal donors, a lama and a layman, followed by relatives and servants. The offerings are arranged in front of the god; according to the inscriptions, which can be read with great difficulty, the two princes are respectively called aGyur med ye šes ts’e brtan and aGyur med rnam rgyal rdo rje whom we already had the occasion to mention.

ON THE LEFT OF THE CENTRAL FIGURE, NEAR ITS HEAD:

1. stag mo krems nas spru k'u (for p’ru gu) rnam za
   bar brtams byain sms pa (for dpal) des snyin
   rje k’ro ... te stag moi’adun (for mchod) du bor
   te lus byin.
2. p’o brai la rgyal b’zugs pa.
3. rgyal k’ri... pa ci adod kyi... pa bter (for ster).
4. rgya byin gdan ts’ig (for bden ts’ig) rjod (for
   brjod) te spyan bhar (for snar) ltar sos pa.
5. nor bu ts’ogs sbyin pa gter (for ster) pa.
6. rgya byin kyi[s] bram ze rgar mo sprul te, spyan
   loñ pa la sbyin...
7. gnod byin b’zis ri dags la sprul te šin rta graiñ
   (for dranñ) pa.
8. dei gñen pa rgyal p’ran žig t’os nas bram ze žig
   rgn po de nañ (for b’ian ?).
9. glañ... bram ze ter... (for ster).
10. rgyal po de sbyin pa mi rig pa yab kyi[s] gtañ
    te yul.
11. šin rta kyeñ bram ze la sbyin.
12. ris nas lugs (r)... stegs byin pai b’eñ... ts’ul sras
    dañ bca’s te rna (for snar) ts’ogs kyi.
13. ri bo bañ grai nogs slet du rgya byin gyis šin k’añ
    sprul te b’zugs pa bram ze žig gi[s] sras gnis
    glos pa sras lañ gnis sngis (sic) ciis te k’rid.
14. bram zei... rab tu byin ba č’un ma.
15. btsun mo no... slet nas... k’or te sras gnis mìn pa
    mya nän gyi rgyal ba rgyal ba nas... drag pos
    logs su rgyud.
16. bram zei gyon gyi btsun mo bzuñ te gyas pas...
    p’yag...
17. sms dpal č’un nas nags... adod dañ... p’yir.
18. ts’oñ dpon bka’ t’ub b’sad pai (for pas ?) c’un ma
    mya nän gyi non pa.
19. ts’oñ dpon bka’ t’ub la nags su c’os...
20. ...... rgyal poi drun du p’obs c’un maï ma p’yin nas
    bu mo k’ym.
21. ka (for bka’) t’ub la gžugs.
22. bstan la ... la gžugs mi sred la c’os bsruñis ts’ul.
23. bram ze yab yum sras.

1. A hungry tiger about to eat her cubs: the bodhisattva, out of compassion, approaching the tiger offers her his own body.
2. The king in his palace stands.
3. On the royal throne, what they desire he gives.
4. Gya byin, as he had sworn on the truth, restores the eye to him as a reward.
5. Riches he gives.
6. Gya byin transforms himself into an old Brahman, and Vişantara gives a blind man his eyes. 
7. Four gNod sbyin, transformed into gazelles, draw his chariot.
8. A petty rival king, having heard this (sends) an old Brahman.
9. The elephant to the Brahman (he gives).
10. Because the king believes that it is not right to give it, his father sends him into exile.
11. Also the chariot to the Brahman he gives.
12. Together with his son ... many ...
13. When he got to the forest of mount Baṅgra, Gya byin caused a wooden hut to appear; a Brahman who was in it asked for his two sons, and having bound them, led them away.
14. Of the brahman ... the wife as a novice.
15. His wife ... arrived; because her sons were not there, she fainted away because of her sorrow; from hers swoon (being recovered) ... aside.
16. The Brahman with his left hand his wife takes, and with the right ... the hand ...
17. The bodhisattva’s wife in the forest, because of the desire ...
18. When the merchant speaks of his penances his wife by grief is overcome.
19. The merchant for penances in the forest ... the Law.
20. ... having gone to the king, his wife’s mother arrived ... the daughter in the house.
22. Living in ... he observed the Law, free from desire.
23. A couple of Brahmans, a son.
(Underneath Maitreya’s figure, in the centre, above). “Ma p’am pa’ miraculously born, does homage.”

TANKA n. 96 (Plate 132).

It represents a dGe lugs t’sogs žin, that is the world of the dGe lugs pa congregation. In the centre towers Śākyamuni in bhūmi-sparsamudrā; above, in the centre Ts’e dpag med from whom revelation proceeds through Atiśa, represented under him, between two disciples. Next, Tson k’a pa and his two pupils. Below, in the centre, a Jigs byed between two forms of the mCon po, the yi dam of the Yellow Sect; on each margin, rNam t’os sras and dPal ldan lha mo: around, choirs of saints and masters unfold, whose identification cannot be ventured upon, as there are no inscriptions. Clearly the painter has wished to represent the sampradayas, the various spiritual currents which, proceeding either from some revelations of the Buddha himself (as in the upper right-hand corner) or from those of other masters, are all finally gathered together and find a common outlet in the dGe lugs pa school.

This picture then is an abbreviated modulation of an artistic type whose other, more complex forms, are known to us: for instance the tables in the frontispiece of GNB or the more widespread type well represented by nn. 50-51 of the present collection.
TIBETAN "SETTECENTO",
VARIOUS SCHOOLS

TANKA n. 97 (Plate N).

This is an extremely delicate miniature, representing an ascetic: his white apparel shows him to be a ras pa, a grub t’ob of the bKa’ brgyud pa school, one of those who have become experienced in the exercise called gtum mo (yoga practices producing voluntary hyperpyresis) and wear white robes. This ascetic is seated on an antelope’s skin, according to the Indian yogins’ custom. One might think of Mi la ras pa, but such an identification is ruled out, because the latter is regularly represented with his right hand on a level with his ear, in the attitude of one singing.

TANKA n. 98 (Plate 133).

This painting, though unaccompanied by any inscription, is not difficult to interpret: the person seated on the throne, wearing rich draperies, carries on his right hand lotus flowers and on his left a cakra, the wheel symbolizing royal rank; he has a diadem on his head. He can only be Sron btsan sgam po, the founder of Tibet’s historical dynasty. Tradition considers him an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara; he is a fresh manifestation, in the Country of Snows of the “Great merciful,” who, in the dawn of history, became its spiritual patron by getting himself incarnated into an ape with the intention of leading one day to salvation the beings who might be born of his union with the cruel witch, who before his epiphany ruled over Tibet. For this reason, in the upper right-hand corner of the tanka, sPyan ras gzigs’ eleven-headed figure appears: precisely to represent by a symbol this relation between the two manifestations, embodiments of the same divine essence. In front of sPyan ras gzigs there is the figure of an Arhat; in the background, in front of the king, a large landscape of Lhasa, or rather of its temples, unfolds; this is an allusion to the first construction of Lhasa’s shrines, ordered by the king immediately after his conversion. He was converted, it is well known, by his two wives, the Chinese and the Nepalese; hagiography considers them two incarnations of sGro’ ma, the green and the white Tārā; they are seen on each side of the throne. Below, between two figures of deities, the picture of a divinity which I am unable to determine.

Although the pictorial representation is reduced to its essential elements, there seems to be no doubt that, in the present case also, the artist has taken literary tradition for his starting-point; of course his literary source can only have been the Ma ni bka’ 'bum, attributed precisely to Sroṅ btsan sgam po; not only does it relate the king’s legend, but it states his quintessential identity with Tibet’s protecting god: sPyan ras gzigs.

TANKA n. 99 (Plates 134, 0).

rDo rje qe’aṅ towers in the centre of the tanka - he is of a dark blue colour. He is the symbol of the supreme Being from whom all emanates: in his hands he clasps the rdo rje and the bell, well known symbols of Tantric gnosis. Above, on each side, two coupled figures, many-armed and many-headed, Kyai rdo rje and bDe mc’og. The most remarkable part of the tanka is the lower one, where the donors are represented, all in the typical costumes of Eastern Tibet and precisely of Mi ṅag; they form an extremely lively picture, in which accurate design is joined to bright colours.
TANKA n. 100 (Plate P).

This tanka is very difficult to interpret: in the centre Lhai rgyal po, the king of the gods, is seated on a richly wrought throne, draped in kingly robes, a diadem on his head. Around him personages and episodes arranged in the following order beginning above, on the left: rgyal po bde mc'og - king bDe mc'og; bDe mc'og is the usual translation of Šamvara, a well-defined Tantric cycle, which has nothing to do with this figure.

In the halo: sgrol ma ral gi gnañ pa, “sGrol ma presenting a sword.\textsuperscript{,*}; in the centre a figure in monastic apparel - Señ ges (sic) sgron - above: dge sIoi bde ster, “the monk bDe ster.”

Below a hunter chasing an antelope, in the act of shooting an arrow: rgyal po spyod med “king sPyod med,” and above the inscription: t'og babs spyod med sdig las bzloq pa. “A falling thunderbolt restrains (king) sPyod med from committing a sin.”

Below the king of Tibet: Mu k'ri bzañ po. Still below: sPrul pai dge sIoi - in the lower right-hand corner: rAn luS gcan sPyun byin pa “he gives his own body to wolves and beasts of prey.”

The figure of the monk immediately following represents dGe ādun āp’el. In the centre of the tanka, the figure of an ogre, with eyes all over his body: .......... steñ sgoñ btul ba - ... steñ sgoñ’s submission.

The figure in the left-hand corner represents: p’o riñ ra dsa grags, “the famous king of P’o riñ,” and near him, in the interior of a house: p’rul pai dge sIoi: “the miraculous monk.”

Above, the images of two young men: kun tu bzañ po dain sPyun rás gziñs kyi sprul pai k’yeu gnis, “two boys, incarnation of Kun tu bzañ po’s and sPyun rás gziñs.”

Above, a lion, a tiger and a snake. klu s’o āp’rul stag señ lto agro byun pa: “the klu’s miracle, a tiger, a lion and a serpent appearing.” Still above, among the leafy branches, a parrot ... ne s’o ... sma “the parrot speaks.”

The meaning of this tanka can partly be made clear by comparing it with a chapter in the works of Klon rdol bla ma, the Miñ gi grañs which we have quoted several times in the course of this book. It gives a list of the Dalai Lama’s past incarnations, beginning from sPyan rás gziñs.\textsuperscript{210)

We have already seen, in the section on literary history, that the first attempt at reconstructing the spiritual pre-history of the Yellow Sect’s supreme dignitaries is to be found in a work by Blon bzañ rgya mts’o: Klon rdol bla ma’s booklet is the point of arrival; there is evidently an intermediate version from which Klon rdol bla ma has drawn his list, but this is not known to me; in it the legendary biographies of these incarnations were probably related at length. In the tanka we find records of: Lo sgyu ma sprul pa śes pa lha yi rgyal po (N. 33) in the centre; rGyal po bde mc’og (N. 22); P’o riñ ra dsa (= N. 26); dGe ādun āp’el (N. 24); Señ ge sgra (= N. 21).

TANKA n. 101 (Plate 135).

It represents the celestial image of sGrol ma, seated on the symbolical lotus rising from the waters; on each side, according to the rule, ‘Od zet can ma and Ral gcig ma, the former pacified and the latter with an angry mien. The divine pagoda lifts up its gilded roofs and is multiplied in galleries and pavilions of a Chinese design. In the interior of the palace mC’od pai lha mos play and sing in the godesses’ honour. Below, in the centre, the seven gems of the Cakravatit: to the left a man relaxed as if in illness and great suffering, leans back against a wall; a lion furiously rushing, an elephant, the same man in an adoring attitude; to the right a dragon in the midst of a turmoil of clouds. Thus are represented the eight perils from which the goddess saves those who invoke her earnestly and devoutly, according to the directions of famous litanies (see tanka n. 36).

Above, to the right, rDo rje ājigs byed, to the left gSañ ba ādus pa and bDe mc’og.
TANKA n. 102 (Plate 136).

Its subject is again sGrol ma, Tārā, the goddess of salvation. She is seated on a lotus, wearing rich draperies. As her colour is green, the picture clearly represents Khadri-ravani Tārā, whom the Tibetans call sGrol lja as well, that is “green Tārā.” Under the image is written in Tibetan and in Mongol:

Nama ariya ta ra ye / ap'ags spyan ras gzigs dba'n p'yug t'ugs rje gter la p'yag t'sal lo / om rje btsun ap'ags ma sgro ma la p'yag t'sal lo.

"Honour to Arya-tārā; honour to sPyan ras gzigs dba'n p'yug, treasure of mercy.
Honour to the noble Tārā, ...

On each side of the goddess stand two figures; according to the inscriptions, also in Tibetan and in Mongol, which accompany them, they are 'Od zer can, (Mārīci) 313) on the right and Ral gcig ma (Ekaįaţa) near whom are seen eight mC'od pai lha mos, holding fly-whisks and carrying gifts. Below, in the centre, aP'ags pa spyan ras gzigs; to the right Lha gcig Sroň btsan sgam po and on the left ajig rten dba'n p'yug. Above, in the centre, aJam mgon Tson ka pa c'en po, T'ams cad mk'yen pa mk'as grub rgya ts'o and Pan c'en bS tan pai n'i ma, who died in 1854.

This date then is the terminus post quem of the tanka, which nevertheless follows the noblest artistic traditions of Tibetan painting. Although the tanka has been bought in Nepal, it is clear that it comes from some locality in Mongolia or in Tibet on the frontier of Mongolia.

TANKA n. 103 (Plate 137).

In a heavenly vimāna sits a female deity, wearing a crown of skulls; round her waist a band from which hang human heads freshly severed. She has eight arms, which bear the khatvānga, the skull-cap, damaru, and the gri gu, the trident and the noose, all symbols of the terrific deities, but the two principal hands have the same posture as those of sGrol dkar, and she is seated in the same way as this goddess. For this reason there seems to be no doubt that this figure must be recognized as one of the many manifestations of sGrol ma, the goddess of salvation. I have not been able to ascertain which.

TANKA n. 104 (Plate 138).

A master tNi'n ma pa, surrounded by lesser figures of personages, almost all belonging to the same school.

Above, in the centre, aJam dpal; on his left Zabs druň 313 and Padmasambhava, to the right other masters; only the last one's inscription is legible: Sā kya c'en.

Below, tDo rje bdud ajom, K'ri sroň ide btsan, then to the right, one under the other, three more figures: the first one's inscription is illegible, the other two read: Gu ru C'os kyi dba'n p'yug and Gu ru C'os dba'n: to the right; C'os rgyal ral pa (can); bDe legs and Ni ma 'od. In the last row only the inscription belonging to the first figure on the left is legible: bKra šis stobs rgyas. 313)

The central figure remains unidentified.

TANKA n. 105 (Plate 139).

In the centre of a circle of masters, a female deity of a dark blue colour is seated violently shakes a tambourine in her right hand, while in the left she holds a skull-cap.

On her left shoulder rests the khatvānga. The symbols, there is no doubt about it, show that the deity is a mK'a'gro ma; it is difficult to say which. Above, as a symbol of the spiritual plane whose emanation she is, tDo rje ać'aň.

TANKA n. 106 (Plate 140).

It represents a lama on a throne in vitarkamudrā; above him an Indian master; on the edge the view of a great monastery at the foot of a mountain. The cap leaves no doubt that he belongs to the aBrug pa school; nothing more definite can be said.
TANKA n. 107 (Plate 141).

Padmasambhava according to traditional iconography. Above, two masters. Below mGon po p'yang gnis pa and mK'a agro ma sen ge gdo'n ma.234)

TANKAS nn. 108-112 (Plates 142-146).

These are dedicated to Padmasambhava (cfr. n. 33). Tanka n. 108, according to what we read from the remains of an inscription traced on the back, is the first of a series of twelve, only six of whom have come into my possession. The inscription tells us that the 12 tanka were painted by order of Kun dga' nam rgyal, a merchant of mK'ar,235) with the object of reproducing the Buddhas of the past present and future surrounded by the arhats and Padmasambhava's eight aspects, on the base of the PTY; the monk who, at the moment of consecration, wrote the inscription on the back was called Pad mai mIN can:

\[ \text{mK'ar ts'on dpon kun dga' rnam rgyal gyi('s) dus gsum sans rgyas la gnas bcos bskor ba dañ slob dpon c'en po mts'an brgyad la t'an yig ltar rnam t'ar rgyas pas skor bai bris t'an bce gnis žens pai skabs rgyab byan bu ríg pa adsin pa pad mai mIN can gyi('s) bris pa.236} \]

Although the tanka are twelve, they are particularly dedicated to the Master's eight fundamental aspects, of which, in the six tankas of this collection, only the following four appear: Pad ma dbañ p'yuq, Nī ma 'od zer, Pa dma sam bha va, Šā kya sen ge; the fifth, represents Padmasambhava according to his traditional iconography. What the Master's remaining four aspects and names are, can be read in a famous hymn, extremely popular with the rNi'in ma pa schools, contained in the PTY (p. 88): Pad mai rgyal po, rDo rje gro lod who is in tanka n. 112 under the central figure, Šen ge sgra sgrogs, Blo ldan me'og sred.

The narrative begins from the top of tanka n. 108, with the five divine emanations of Amitābha's spirit. In the ancient age, when king bZan me'og reigned on earth, Amitābha, although he remained in the bDe ba can heaven, projected on a lotus, miraculously born by his will in the centre of the milky ocean (\( o ma can gyi mts'or \)) five of his emanations, which were the origin of the five mystical families called by the rNi'in pa school: t'od apreñ rigs lha "the five mystical families crowned with skulls."

They also symbolize the five gnoses we have already mentioned. The scenes on the tanka follow the order of the chapters of the PTY summarized in the hymn I have translated; to explain the tanka we have only to read the inscriptions, which declare each episode. Leaving aside the central figure, which represents Padmasambhava according to traditional iconography and on each side of whom are kneeling his two wives, Lha lcam and mTs'o rgyal, let us pass to the lesser pictures. In the centre of the tanka, above, Ts'e dpag med sits enthroned in the bDe ba can heaven, easily identified by the figure of a lama, reborn in his presence upon a lotus (see tanka n. 33); the god is accompanied on each side by the two usual Bodhisattvas.

The inscription needs no commentary: dān(po) (bde ba) can nas sahs rgyas ts'e dpag med t'ugs kyi sprul.

"Above all, T'se dpag med's spiritual emanation (projected) from the bDe ba can."

To the left the five mystical families' miraculous birth: five Buddhas seated on lotuses sprung from the milky sea:

\[ \text{t'od apreñ rigs lha 'o ma can kyi mts'or dlam pa, 'the birth of the five mystical families, crowned with skulls, from the milky ocean} \] (chapp. I-II, stanza 5 of the hymn).

Still further to the left, on the extreme margin of the tanka, king bZan po me'og in his palace.

Underneath, the king with his retinue in front of five divine children who are taken to the royal palace on a chariot drawn by lions: t'od apreñ rigs lha grol du spyan adeñ ba "the five mystical families crowned with skulls are taken into the city."
Here ends the second chapter of the PTY.

Turning back, above, to the right, under Am itābha’s figure, are represented Padmasambhava’s manifold manifestations in various worlds and among different kinds of creatures, told in the third chapter of the PTY (stanza 6) as follows:

Master of the Gods, Lhai gu ru gSer t’ub adsin;
Master of Men, Mii gu ru Śā kya sen ge;
Master of the Asura, Lha min gu ru rNam par rgyal;
Master of the Preta, Yi dags gu ru rNam snañ byan;
Master of Infernal beings, dMyal bai gu ru rNam par gnon;
Master of Animals, Byol soñ gu ru Señ rab brtan.

Coming back to the right of the central figure, a scene follows in which a god is seen speaking with four personages seated in front of him: the inscription is almost illegible: (man) par snañ byed... "Vairocana...; it very probably alludes to the birth of the five Buddhas, see chap. IV of the PTY.

The figure of a monk is seen immediately underneath; the inscription: t’ub dka’ gżon nu dān t’ar nag skyes rgyud shows that this figure introduces a new narrative, the one concerning T’ub dka’ and T’ar nag, told in the 5th and 6th chapters of the PTY (stanza 7).

Once upon a time there was an ascetic, T’ub dka’ gżon nu, famous for his wisdom and virtue. Kau kun dkris and his servant Brahmadeva addressed themselves to him to receive instruction in the Law. Having taken vows, one was named T’ar nag and the other Dan p’a’g. The latter fully understood the hidden meaning of the doctrines and was able to follow the rules; the other, led astray by his self-conceit, broke the precepts and sunk to the extreme depths of evil. He expelled T’ub dka’ gżon nu and became tainted with all kinds of sin; at the end of his earthly life he was hurled into Hell and successively migrated through an endless series of lives.

At last he was incarnated as Rudra, who at the head of his invincible army of demons, forced his rule on the world. But by the Buddha’s will, T’ub dka’ gżon nu and Dan p’a’g, having assumed the form of a horse and of a boar, obliged the evil one to sue for grace and to make his submission.

The story, outlined on the right of the central figure, continues on the left with the following scenes.

Ru tra skyes ts’ul, “Rudra’s birth...”; Rudra issuing from his mother’s body, while three persons, three ogres, are looking on. (PTY, chap. VI).

rTa p’a’g giis kyi(s) ru tra bults’ul: “Rudra’s submission at the hands of the horse and the boar...”, that is, as we have seen above, of two monks who had been incarnated in those forms. Then Rudra is seen crushed by the mountains in whose caves he had sought refuge; he is dominated by a terrific deity whose head shows a horse’s muzzle: this is rTa mgrin, alias the monk T’ub dka’ gżon nu. The inscriptions runs: “Ru tra sgral ba, the crushing of Rudra...”

To the left the demon’s blue figure, which seems to come out of the ground: ma ro dur k’rod ñams par skyes ba, “He is born destroying the cemetery and his mother’s corpse...”, because the people, terrified by evil omens, had buried him with his mother, and he fed on her corpse until, having grown up by eating her flesh, he issued from the tomb to accomplish the havoc he had planned.

Immediately underneath “butul ma...,” “the conversion...”; an ogre is seen going with open arms towards a demon, on whose head is a boar’s muzzle: this is Dan p’a’g’s incarnation.

Turning again to the right we see Padmasambhava’s upbringing in his last incarnation; the episodes related in chap. VII-XVIII are omitted. The child is seen respectfully kneeling in front of a master seated in a small shrine: snañ la sbyan ba, “he learns medicine...” (PTY, chap. XXIV).

Sgra dan yi ge la sbyan ba, “he learns grammar and writing...” (PTY, chap. XXV).
**sdsā** (= rdsā) la shyan ba, "he learns the potter's art", (PTY, chap. XXV).

**rτςis la shyan ba**, "he learns astrology", (PTY, chap. XXIV).

A little farther to the left, on the axis of the tanka:

**dur k'rrod bsil ba tś'al**, "the cemetery bsil ba tś'al".

bsil ba tś'al is the name of a cemetery near Bodhgaya, founded by Nandikeśvara; the latter is seen on the extreme edge of the tanka, riding on a lion. In this cemetery Padmasambhava performed terrible acts of asceticism: he fed on corpses, he converted the others, and corresponds to chap. XXX; in the cemetery the white Buddha kneels in front of him: Kūn dga' la(s) rab tu byam ba, "he is consecrated by Ananda.

They are always marked by a stūpa, a tree, a serpent, a lake, a mountain, each of which naturally has, according to the case, different names and aspects.

1. Dur k'rrod bde ba can brdal (PTY, chap. XXX) in Kashmir.

2. Ska la rdogs pai dur k'rrod (PTY, chap. XXIX) in Baidhā, Videha.

3. Dga' bai t'sul gyi dur k'rrod (PTY, chap. XXXVIII).

4. Lo ka brtsegs pai dur k'rrod, in Khotan (PTY, chap. XXXIII).

5. GSa'n c'en rol pa (?)(PTY, chap. XXXIV) in Sā la.

Passing to the right:


7. La (nika) brtsegs pai dur k'rrod near Za hor (PTY, chap. XXXIII, p. 141).

8. Lhun grub brtsegs pai dur k'rrod, in Nepal (PTY, chap. XXXI, p. 139).

In the lower corner, to the left of the spectator, is a monk shaving a person who kneels in front of him: Kūn dga' la(s) rab tu byam ba, "he is consecrated by Ananda."

Here is recalled the story, summarized confusedly by PTY, chap. XXVII ff., according to which Padmasambhava, in the Buddha Śākyamuni's times, was no other than the Bodhisattva Sumitra, who received his initiation from Ananda. A little above we see Padmasambhava kneeling in front of a master seated in a cave: this is, as we read in the inscription, his meeting with Prabhāstītī, which happened in Brag dmar bya skyibs tś'al (XXVII), although the name of this place is not found in the text. A little further
to the right, surrounded by purple clouds, a blue deity in front of whom Padmasambhava is kneeling:

\[ \text{sprin adus pai dur k'rod du bde ba bza'i skyo'n,} \]
\[ "\text{(apparition of) bDe ba bza'i skyo'n in the cemetery of sprin adus pa ...} \]

On that occasion a god thus named, who was a manifestation of Vajrapani, revealed to the miracle-worker the Tantra of the most secret class, that is, of the Anuttarayoga.

In the last pictures to the right, figures of masters and deities, inside temples or houses: the first scene is not difficult to interpret: \[ \text{rtse p'rul rin c'en ga'n du dga' rab rdo rje da'n ajal ba} \]
\[ "\text{The meeting with Lalitavajra in rTse p'rul rin c'en ga'n ...} \]
This meeting is described in the PTY, chap. XXXII, from p. 142.

The other scene immediately following leaves me in doubt.

In the tanka n. 110 the central figure represents Padmasambhava(va), no longer in his usual attitude as a miracle-worker, but according to the type of the Indian acarya, the skull-cap in his left hand; his right hand in the mudra of protection. Immediately underneath, seated on an extremely rich throne, another of his hypostheses, namely Padma rgyal po.

The first scene above, to the left of the spectator represents an ascetic seated in a cave; he clasps a knife in his right hand; in front of him a demon appears among the flames, holding in his hand a skull-cap full of blood; higher up, a monk in an adoring attitude; the inscription explains: \[ \text{tan pai gro'n k'yer sdi g c'en "the city of executioners, called sDiG c'en ...} \]
\[ "\text{in the mss. of the PTY, sdi g can; the picture therefore refers to the PTY, chap. XXXVI, in which is related how Padmasambhava, in the city of executioners, converted its inhabitants by adapting himself to their ways and pretending to lead, like them, a life of sin.} \]

Proceeding to the right, Padmasambhava in a cave, speaking to four persons who are kneeling in front of him. As we read in the inscription: \[ \text{ya' ri go'n gi brag p'ug, the} \]

Scene refers to the story related in the PTY, chap. XLV: how in one of his past lives he had spent twelve years in that cave in meditation, waited upon and venerated by king Nu sa ru pa. The wild beasts around him were about to die of hunger and as their karma had not matured and Hell would have swallowed them, he began to think out a way of saving them, and perceived that Nu sa ru pa's daughter, a reincarnation of king gTsug lag adsin, could accomplish the miracle; he sent for her, told her about the destiny which was in store for those wild beasts and induced her to sacrifice herself by predicting to her a new birth in Tibet as king Stro btsan sgam po. This episode related in the same chapter of the PTY, is represented in the following scene:

\[ \text{man de bza'i mos lus sbyin par pa: "Mande bza'i mo gives up her own body ...} \]

In the scene immediately to the left we see the master in front of an altar on which a mandala appears; near the altar a kneeling person: \[ \text{brag p'ug ma ra ti kar ts'e dnos grub sined pa,} \]
\[ "\text{In the cave of Maratika, in the rocky caverns, he obtained Ts'e's mystical realizations ...} \]
This alludes to the revelation he once had of Amitayuh and of his mystical wisdom (PTY, chap. XLIV).

The scene painted on the right of the central image takes us back to other evocations: we see there a figure, in an adoring attitude, in front of the master: \[ \text{ko sa tsan dan gliin du dnos grub sined pa; "he attains mystical realizations in the cave of Kośacandanadvīpa ...} \]
Kośacandana is in Nepal: in this place Vajrapani appeared to Padmasambhava (PTY, chap. LIV).

The picture which follows below is larger: inside a temple two kneeling figures on each side of the Buddha's image. The inscription reads:

\[ \text{rdo rje gdan du bde mc'og dus siiin gi rgyal po klui k'ya b'ug b'ul ba, "king Klui k'ya b'ug mc'og's submission at the hands of bDe mc'og dus siiin in Bodhgaya ...} \]

The episode is related in the PTY, chap. LII, which says that, as Padmasambhava
did not wish to overcome himself the cruel king Klui k'abajug, who reigned in Bodhgaya, protecting heretics and persecuting Buddhism, he made use of De mc'og dus snih po, who had miraculously arrived, of a Brahman's daughter and of a fish. That god easily prevailed over the king, while the city of Bodhgaya was destroyed by a fire, which is represented in the lower left-hand corner of the tanka.

To the left of the central figure is represented, summarily, K'ri sri'n Ide btsan's invitation to the master to come to Tibet. In the first picture Padmasambhava, seated in the temple, receives four personages, who kneel before him: they are the four messengers sent by the Tibetan king with the proposal that he should come to the Country of Snows. The inscription reads:

rgya gar rdo rje gdan du bod kyi ban c'en bzi Ḗu brten p'ul ba "In Bodhgaya in India four Tibetan messengers bring him the invitation... Padmasambhava is then seen after his arrival in Nepal, taking leave of the messengers whom he sends on before him: "bal yul p'ehs nas ban c'en rmais s'ho'n la (bta'n) ba...", as it is told in the PTY, chap. LIX.

Next his arrival in Guñ t'a'n of Mañ yul is represented, and his meeting with another three messengers, namely dPal rtsegs, rDo rje bdud ajoms and Klui rgyal mts'an. The scene represented in the right corner should precede the latter, because it refers to an event which happened in Nepal near lake Ni ma k'ud, when the miraculous saint was joined by another seven messengers the king of Tibet had sent him (PTY, chap. LIX, p. 243).

Bal yul Ńi ma k'ud du rgyal poi šog mi bdun dañ ajal ba, "In Nepal, near Ni ma k'ud he meets another seven of the king's men, who repeat the invitation to him..." Padmasambhava's coming to Tibet represents, according to Tibetan tradition, which is far from truthful, Buddhism's final triumph in the Country of Snows. Its miracle-working powers destroyed, expelled or converted the fiendish forces which had prevailed there unopposed. Padmasambhava, on his arrival in Tibet, immediately waged war without quarter against the Bonpo religion. His fight against the Bon po is certain, that he succeeded in overcoming them and spreading Buddhism throughout the country is quite another thing: it would be nearer the truth to say that finally the two religions came to an unspoken understanding: Bon was coloured with a tinge of Buddhism and Buddhism did not scorn to receive into its pantheon and its liturgy Bonpo rites and deities.

Whatever Padmasambhava's action may have been, it is certain that it never succeeded in supplanting the ancient faith, which a century and a half after his departure was so strong, that it prevailed again, also in the political field. But in K'ri sri'n Ide btsan's time there was strife and it was bitter; its memory survives in Padmasambhava's legend which, evidently exaggerating, assigns to the wizard an absolute and final victory over the genii, ghosts and fiends who ruled Tibet and Tibetan consciences before the advent of Buddhism.

Tanka n. 111 recalls the most important events in this religious triumph: the deity occupying the centre is always Padmasambhava, in the aspect called Ni ma 'od zer: solar light. He is not represented in a terrific manner, but in the likeness of a Grub t'ob (sid dba). The figure immediately underneath represents, as the inscription says, Sen ge sgra sgrog, an exorcistic form of Padmasambhava. Tradition is not in complete agreement on this aspect of his: some sources, like the PTY say that he assumed that name after the penances he had sustained in the Lhun grub rtsegs cemetery in Nepal; others, like the biography of the RC (p. 13 and following) state that he received the name in Benares when, with the Dakini's help, he succeeded in overcoming the heretics who meant to silence the Buddhist masters with their logical arguments and to convert them by force to their faith.
Beginning above, on the left, the scenes are in the following order:

1. Màn yul guñ t'ān la mk'ar p'ēbs pa, "arrival in La mk'ar in Guñ t'ān in the country of Màn yul."

Guñ t'ān is the name of highlands in the province of Màn yul, on the frontier between Tibet and Nepal. La mk'ar, the castle on the pass, is a place-name, (see PTY, chap. LXI, RC, p. 21 a).

2. Zañ žuñ dgra bya: according to the RC this should be dgra bla, a local deity called Mu tsa med, who wanted to crush Padmasambhava between two mountains as he was passing through their gorges with K'ri sron btsan's messengers; he stopped the rocks with his staff, and the divinity was converted and took the name of Yum c'en rdo rje gyu bun ma.

In the painting we see the divinity kneeling, while Padmasambhava towers above her, in the act of performing the exorcism with a rdo rje (RC, p. 21 a, PTY, chap. LX).

3. Gañs dkar sa med. Padmasambhava is represented in the act of overcoming by the power of his spells a deity plunged into a lake on whom he has flung the vajra.

The deity, elsewhere, (PTY, chap. LX, RC, p. 21 a-b) is called: (gañs dkar) gNam sman dkar mo (21b) and it is told that while the master was crossing gNam t'ān in the North, she had planned to strike him with a thunderbolt, but Padmasambhava, knowing her purpose, escaped the ambush and, retaliating, forced her to seek refuge in lake dPal mo dpal mts'o, which, in obedience to the wizard, began to boil, and the divinity's flesh was separated from her bones; next Padmasambhava deprived her of an eye, she then declared herself repentant and was converted, assuming the name of Sa med gañs dkar rdo rje sphan gcig ma.

The story then continues again on the left of the central image: Padmasambhava is represented in the act of exorcising twelve female figures, who turn to him, six on each side, imploringly, with clasped hands.

The inscription reads: brTan bcu giñs btul "he converts the twelve btul "he converts the twelve brTan ma, malignant deities of ancient Tibetan mythology who were transferred to Buddhism and assumed the character of protectors of the Law and guardians of oaths. The PTY, chap. LX and the RC, p. 21 b relate that while the Master was passing beyond the O yug district, they had plotted to crush him under the huge rocks where they lived, but Padmasambhava caused the mountains to collapse, so that the brTan ma, vanquished and crushed turned in repentance to the miracle-worker and became the bKa' stun of Buddhism. The small picture which follows a little lower down bears the inscription yan lha giñs bu; this is the name of a god who assumed the shape of a terrible and vicious white yak and was conquered by Padmasambhava (PTY, chap. LX; RC, p. 22 b) with a leash and a magic chain. We now pass to the left side of the image; a large serpent uncoils threateningly while lower down a kneeling person offers Padmasambhava a dish full of gifts. The inscription says: t'ān lha btul ha, "submission of T'ān lha", told by the PTY, chap. LX, immediately after the tale we have just summarized (cfr. RC, p. 22 a).

In the latter work the demon is called gNan c'en t'ān lha, and is considered an incarnation of the yakṣa Zur p'ud lha, Pañciika. Underneath we see an ogre in the act of rushing against the Master, who brandishing his vajra resolutely moves towards him; next, a small kneeling figure represents the same demon, who humbly asks forgiveness and is converted. The episode here represented then follows the one just related (PTY, chap. LX; RC, p. 22 a); the inscription entitles it: tin t'in lo sman btul ba "Tin t'in lo sman's submission, tin t'in lo sman, together with stTag sman zañ gdon ma and Byañ p'ug ma, were three deities of the frozen Northern winds; they had planned to freeze the master to death, but Padmasambhava, by a fire he had miraculously caused to blaze up, melted the snowy
mountains on which those fiends lived and forced them to submit (PTY, chap. LX).

The scenes which follow immediately below do not seem to be arranged according to a fixed order and are all related, more or less at length, in the literary sources: in the lower corner on the spectator's right we find the bTs'an's submission, which happened in K'äl brag (RC, p. 22 b), the submission of Ma sān sī gya' spān sī skyes lying on the ground at the feet of the master, who is touching him with a staff; the submission of the P'o rgyud and of the Mo rgyud; T'e'u bran's submission.

It is therefore clear that this tanka is dedicated to the conversions of Tibetan demons, accomplished by Padmasambhava when he came from Nepal to Tibet. The representation is strictly founded on chap. 60 of the PTY. In the centre of tanka n. 112 towers the image of Sā kya sēn ge, another of Padmasambhava's manifestations. Below rDo rje gro lod, riding a lion. All around are represented the main events of the master's residence in Tibet.

On the top of tanka 112, Padmasambhava touching a rock with his staff and water miraculously issuing from it. This recalls the prodigy that happened in gZon: the spring retained the name of "divine water, ... The inscription is clear: gZon lha c'u "divine water in gZon," Still on the right a great temple, with three figures seated in the centre: in the middle Padmasambhava, on his right another master, Šantaraksita; on the left K'ri sron Ibe btsan. The inscription is largely erased: [bsam yas mi] agyur lhun (grub) gtsug lag k'aň rab gnas mdsad, "the consecration... chapel of Mi gyur lhun grub in bSam yas,..." Underneath is seen Padmasambhava in the act of seizing the vajra and the magic dagger (p'ur bu) while four figures are kneeling round him asking for grace: bas po ri lha gdre la bka' hgo mdsad pa, "The order given to gods and ghosts in Has po ri,..." The scene then represents the miracle-worker's injunction to all the gods of Tibet, to protect and defend the new law he had introduced, and particularly the temple of bSam yas (chap. LXII, p. 257).

Then we see a number of stūpas in a line, whose meaning is clear when we read the inscription: sdig pags mchod brten (sic), "the stūpa built in expiation of sin," Of course this alludes to the stūpa erected by king K'ti sron Ibe btsan when he repented of his hesitation in doing homage to the master he had invited to Tibet and bent his knees only when the saint conquered him by the majesty of his power (chap. LXII of the PTY). We must now pass to the other side of Sā kya sēn ge's figure to find an episode preceding the one we have recalled, which indeed was its cause: on a level with Sā kya sēn ge's right shoulder Padmasambhava is seen, accompanied by his retinue: in front of him richly dressed personages bow and offer gifts, as the inscription says: lo hi ta agram du rgyal po daň ajal ba - "meeting with the king on the banks of the Lohita," that is, the Brahmaputra, where, according to the legend, Padmasambhava and K'ti sron Ibe btsan are said to have met for the first time (PTY, chap. LXI). In the picture immediately above we see a convent and near the edge of the painting two lamas are sunk in meditation, seated in two caves; the inscription is illegible.

Above, in a temple, the images of three Buddhas; the inscription is largely erased; one can only read: lha ldan ra sa k'ing, "Lhasa, Ra sa and K'ra brug monasteries," which is enough to understand the painter's allusion to the consecration of some leading monasteries, symbolizing the consecration of a hundred chapels, opened at the same time to the Buddhist cult by Padmasambhava, as it is told in the PTY, chap. XCIX.

In most of the remaining small pictures, Padmasambhava is represented meditating in rocky caves, among snowy peaks and near blue water-courses flowing precipitously. Thus the painter has wished to represent the most celebrated localities where Padmasambhava deposited the sacred books that had been
revealed to him, which according to tradition were discovered later in miraculous circumstances by his distant disciples. These are the *ger ma*, the “hidden books” which form the greater part of the *rNin ma pa*’s orthodox literature as stated in another part of this book.

To the left of the figures, one near the other, in succession:

- mK'ar c'u PTY, p. 373 (381);
- Ya’am rdson (in the inscription: *rdson*, perhaps Ya’n p’ug ri’n mo, PTY, p. 373);
- Söl brag PTY, p. 373 (385);
- Sams bu (sam po) PTY, p. 373;
- rDo rje gro bo lün; Gau bzaṅ.

To the right we see:

- Mon k’a sen ge rdson (sdson) PTY, pp. 373, 382, 398;
- gYa’ ma lün PTY, p. 392;
- Yer pa zla ba p’ug PTY, (p. 375).

To the right, below, figures of the *Yon gyi bdag* po, that is the person who ordered the tanka and paid for its execution: a sheaf of light descends upon him from the heart of Padmasambhava, who is seated between his divine consorts, in a superb palace, a symbol of his heaven Zans mdog ri.

TANKA n. 113 (Plate 147).

This was bought together with preceding series and is by the same hand, but it does not belong to the series; it represents bDe skyon ye sès skyon mdsad dbyin*s kyi yum, “mother of the absolute”, the gnosis which, according to a classical definition, by Dīnāga, is at the same time truth ontologically conceived and the revelation of truth. In this picture she is symbolized with four arms, which hold in the right the khatavāṇga and the skull-cap, in the left the sword and the curved knife called *gri gug*. She is surrounded by four mK’a’ agro ma. All together they compose the cycle of the dByin’s kyi yum līṇa.239) The entire cycle represents the five mystical families.

Above are represented three lamas who can be recognized by their typical cap as masters of the *rNin ma pa* school. As any inscription is lacking, it would be difficult to identify them.

Below P’yag na rdo rje (ācārya).

TANKA n. 114 (Plate 148).

This tanka is dedicated to Kurukullā.

Kurukullā is another of India’s many tribal deities. The fact that some *sādhana* call her Oddiyāṇā-udbhava, “risen in Ud- diyāna”, that another is attributed to In-drabhūti, that among the goddesses of her maṇḍala Vajragāṇḍhārī is found, induces us to think that she may have originated in the North-Western regions of India. Having entered the Vajrayāna pantheon late, she was assimilated to Tārā, and hence some call her the red Tārā. She is particularly invoked in magic operations, to touch the heart of beloved or fear-inspiring persons.

Like Tārā, she also passed into Hinduism; so her name is found among the thousand epithets of the devi, see Lalitāsahasranāma, Nir- nayasāgara ed. fifth Sataka, v. 144. As may be desumed from the Lalitastavarama, quoted by Bhāskara Rāya, ibid., she was inserted into the symbolism of the ākṣa schools.

The goddess stands dancing on a lotus which blooms in the middle of a mountain landscape, i. e. the Kurukullā mountain. She has four hands like Tārādbhava and Uḍḍiṣṭāna-Kurukullā; in the left she holds the bow and a red lotus flower; the right hand clasps an arrow and pulls the bowstring. She is of a red colour.

Above, a figure of Amitābha, whose incarnation the goddess is considered; on each side the white Tārā and mGon po, six-armed.

Below Uḍḍiṣṭāna-Kurukullā, identifiable by her diadem of skulls, dancing on two corpses, Mahēśvara’s and Śiva’s; on each side the figures of Sarasvatī and Maṇjuśrī.
Putting aside Amitabha’s and Kurukullä’s images, in the upper and lower part of the tanka we have a group of 5 deities, who remind us of Kurukullä’s mandala, made of five gods, very common in Tantric iconography. But while this mandala is easily identifiable and consists of Kurukullä amidst 5 dikini grasping a skull and a knife, I do not find in the liturgical literature to which I have access any record of the group represented on this tanka.

TANKA n. 115 (Plates 149, 150).

It is dedicated to rTa mgrin yab yum, which is its central deity, but it is clear, from the scene represented around it, that in this case rTa mgrin is considered a manifestation of Padmasambhava, whom the rNiin ma pa school places on the same level with the supreme essence of all things. This relation is by no means arbitrary; indeed according to some liturgies rTa mc’og, that is rTa mgrin, is the sambhoga-kāya of the triad; dharma-kāya-Kun tu bzan po, Samantabhadra, unalterable light, synthesis of all Buddhas; sam-bhogakāya = rTa mc’og; nirmānakāya = Padmasambhava; see, for instance, Bla mai rnal abyor sogs bla mai rnal abyor gyi rim pa, by Blo bzain bstan pai dban p’jug ajam dpal rgya mts’o, vol. Ka, p. 24 b.

The scenes which the painter has represented all around illustrate in a summary manner some moments and aspects of the miracle-worker’s life, according to the classical narrative of the PTY (see also tanka n. 33).

1. – Upper left-hand corner:
    Or gyan sman gyi lha dañ dbyer med pa.
    “Or gyan (pa) identical with the gods of medicine,”

2. – Upper right-hand corner:
    Or rgyan mka’ agro nor lhai ts’ogs dañ bcas.
    “Or gyan (pa) together with the mK’a’ agro ma and the gods of riches,”

3. – To the left of the central figure:
    Or gyan dp’o bo [br]gyad dañ bcas.
    “Or gyan (pa) together with the eight dp’o bo,”

4. – On the right:
    Or gyan yi dam lha dañ dbyer med.
    “Or gyan (pa) identical with the protecting deities,”

5. – Under n. 4:
    Dad can agro bai don du gter adon.
    “In the devout creatures’ interest he extracts the hidden books,”

6. – On the left, below:
    Or gyan dp’o bo giñh dañ srün mar bcas.
    “Or gyan (pa) together with the dp’o bo Gin and the sTan srün ma,”

7. – To the right, under n. 5:
    Or gyan bži (sic for gzi) bdag gñan poi ɾk’or dañ bcas.
    “Or gyan (pa) together with the gzi bdag and the gñan po,”

This means that the painter has wished to represent Padmasambhava’s manifold manifestations, his appearing under this or that aspect and his identity with the greatest deities of the lamaist pantheon.

TANKAS nn. 116, 117 (Plates 151, 152).

These two paintings are dedicated to a well-defined cycle, namely to the deities governing the destinies of all created beings, during the intermediate existence called Bar do. As it is amply told in the Bar do t’os grol (accessible to scholars in Evans Wet’s translation, and in one of my own, more complete, which is now being printed) when men die, their destinies vary. Those who, with a pure consciousness, recognize in the light shining before them at the moment of their agony the splendour of cosmic consciousness, plunge into that light, become consubstantiated with the body of the absolute, and are never born again. When a man is not ripe for such a destiny, after his death the
concealed principle, detached from the body, sees various lights appear, some attractive, others fearful, all symbolizing various forms of existence. By recognizing them for what they are, as projections of his karma, man can still set himself free. If this is not the case, deities, first beatific, then terrific, appear to him; if they are justly taken for what they are, creations of a faulty human consciousness, they dissolve, leading the dead man’s conscious principle towards a good destiny. This drama unfolds in 49 days, at the end of which, if the deceased has not been sustained by the reading of the Bar do t’os grol, or by the memory of its teachings, he is born again into undesirable forms of existence and is once again incarnated in the samsaric cycle.

The theory of the intermediate existence is not a creation of Tibet; it goes back to the most ancient Buddhism, although some schools denied its possibility (Lokottaravādin, Mahāsaṅghika and Theravādin), it is certain that it is derived from beliefs found by Buddhism on Indian soil. Vasubandhu mentions it in the Abhidharmakośa quoting the discordant opinions of the various masters on the duration of this antarābhava, which some state to be seven days, others 49, as in the Tibetan treatise. But on reading the Bar do t’os grol we see that, although some passages taken from the Abhidharma are occasionally inserted into it, on the whole it breathes an atmosphere different from that of the ancient schools: the atmosphere of the Vajrayāna. The essence, beyond phemonic illusion, is the ‘Od gsal, the universally luminous consciousness; its fulfillment in the deceiving world of forms is expressed through the symbols of the pantheon of the adamantine vehicle. Through the Vajrayāna India’s folklore and her mythical world flow into it, with their monstrous and misshapen gods and goddesses, and some native beliefs, more or less tinted with Buddhism, also find access to it. The book’s eschatological meaning soon ensured its fortune; the Tibetans, ever anxious to know the mysteries of death, had faith in its description of the world beyond the grave and in the soteriological doctrines expounded in the book. The Bon po too were captivated by it and had their own Bar do t’os grol. We cannot say when the book was written. It is a gter ma, its chapters, called Zab ’os zi k’ro ’dgo’i pa ran grol, were buried by Padmasambhava. Like all the gter ma, it is known in different versions, which differ both in the particular readings of some passages and in the order of the chapters. The book was later brought to light by Kar ma gliṅ pa. In fact we read at the end of the 2nd chapter of the Bar do t’os grol: “The chief spiritual son of the ascetic Ni’zla saṅs ggyas, namely the ascetic Kar ma gliṅ pa, drew out this book, hidden in a place called Lha brai’gar byed pa qdra ba, situated on mount sGam po brdar, on the bank of the river Ser Idan; it was then given to the disciple C’os rje gliṅ pa and the secret instructions (which explain its meaning) were transmitted up to my master Śūryacandra. From him I, Gāyādharma dharma samudra, (viz.: Dharma-samudra) with devotion asked for it.”

Kar ma gliṅ pa, i.e. he of Kar ma gliṅ, is the name of a famous discoverer of sacred texts. We do not know when he lived, and we cannot say that much information concerning his life has reached us. It is true that there is a collection of biographies on the greatest gTer ston, but the allusions to Kar ma gliṅ pa are extremely scarce; we desume from them that he was considered an incarnation of Klui rgyal mts’an, one of the most ancient and celebrated translators of the sacred texts of Buddhism from Sanskrit into Tibetan. Kar ma gliṅ pa should then be a native of sTod k’yer grub in Dvags po. At the age of fifteen, according to predictions, he discovered in the above-mentioned place (sGam po gdar instead of brdar) the book “on spontaneous liberation, based on the understanding of the pacified and terrific deities...
Any chronological reference is lacking. But as, after him, T'ān ston rgyal po is mentioned, it is natural to think that Kar ma glin pa had preceded that famous ascetic, to whom tradition assigns the construction of the most famous bridges over the twelve rivers of Tibet. And as T'ān ston rgyal po flourished as we saw, in the XIVth and XVth centuries (he was born in 1385), we must conclude that Kar ma glin pa lived in the XIVth century.

The deities appearing in this state of Bar-do are distinguished in two groups, Zh and K'to, that is beatific and terrific; our two tanka are dedicated respectively to each of these cycles.

Similar representations are already known: I refer for instance to those published by Evans-Wents in his Tibetan Book of the Dead, pp. 118 and 136; they too come from Gyantse, where those of the present collection were also bought. The first tanka represents the deities appearing from the second to the sixth day; under tDo rje sms dpas', towering in the centre of the tanka, is seen tNam par snan mdsad, embracing his šakti; around him, placed in the four corners, in the circle of as many mandala, to the West sNaṅ ba mt'a' yas; to the East tDo rje sms dpas', to the North Don yod grub pa and to the South Rin c'en abyun irdan. Each of these Buddhas of the supreme pentad clasps their own šakti and is attended by four acolytes:

sNaṅ ba mt'a' yas by a'jam dpal, sPyan rasg zigs, Gi sti (= gitā), A lō (kā) (= appari-
tions of the 4th day, Evans-Wents, p. 112 and following); tDo rje sms dpas' (= Akṣobhya) by Sa śnīn (Kṣītigarbha) and Byams pa (Maitreya) and the two goddesses La se ma (Lasya) and Pu spa ma (Puṣpa) (second day, ibid., p. 108 and following); Don yod grub pa by P'yang na rdo rje Vajrapāni and sGrib rnam sel [Sravana] nivaraṇa-viskambhin and Naivedyā and Gandhā. Rin c'en abyun irdan by Nam mk'a' śnīn (Akaśagarbha) and Kun bzaṅ (Samantabhadra), and Dhupā and Mālā (fifth day, ibid., p. 110). This whole choir descends from the hypostasis of the Dharmakāya, plane of the absolute, represented by the symbol of Kun tu bzaṅ po embracing his šakti, at the top of the tanka; the figure of tDo rje ac'a'n, represented under him, is the link between them.

Above and below, three on each side, six figures of standing Buddhas, symbolizing the six kinds of existence which open up before the deceased's conscious principle, when he is unable to free himself from them. They are: the Buddha of the world of devas, dBaṅ po rgya byin; the Buddha of the Asura, T'ag bzaṅ ris; the Buddha of men, Śākyaseṅ ge; the Buddha of the animal world, Sen ge rabs brtan; the Buddha of Preta, K'a' abar; the Buddha of Hell, C'o rgyal. In the tanka each name, written under the figures, is accompanied by brief iconogra-
phical indications, for instance. Śa kya seṅ ge, pu sti t'in "Sen ge with the book, blue., (t'in for mt'in), (dBaṅ po) brya byin pi waṅ dkar "with the lute, white., etc. T'ag bzaṅ ris go ts'on (for go c'a; ts'on c'a), "T'ag bzaṅ ris with a cuissas and arms.. On the four corners of the corresponding picture, or on the four doors of the mandala, four terrific deities, coupled; they are, beginning from the upper left-hand corner and proceeding towards the right, bDud rtsi dkhyil ba (but in the tanka ahyi grams) with Dril bzin (= aṣa
sin) ma, "she who hold a bell.,, tTa mgrin with lCags grogs "she who bears a chain., gŚin rje gshed with Žag pa ma, "she who holds the lash.,, tNam ma rgyal with lCags kyu, "she who carries a hook.,, below, in the centre, Ekajātā; to the left aDo d'kams [d'baṅ p'yug ma];.... Dam can rdo rje legs, to the right: Rāhu and Śan dmar gnod bṣyin. On each side of Kun tu bzaṅ po, Śrīśimha and dGa' rab rdo rje. Thus is completed the mandala of the 42 deities who are precisely those described in the Bar do t'os grol (Evans-Wents, p. 121).

The painting n. 117 represents the mandala of the terrific deities and of the Rigs ādsin,
amply discussed in the same book (ibid., p. 127 and following).

In the centre towers C'e mc'og Heruka's terrific figure, round whom are arranged, on the four points of the compass, his four hypostases, corresponding to the mystic families: Padmaheruka, Ratnaheruka, Buddhaheruka and underneath Vajraheruka.

This is a well known cycle, which the Bar do t'os grol treats at great length (pp. 137, 140, cf. Indo-Tibetica, III, part I, p. 137).

All around unfolds a terrific pageant of deities, monstrous in appearance: first of all the eight Keurima (or Caurima) which appear as the conscious principle of the dead in the bardo state, on the thirteenth day after death; they are an expression of the karmic force produced by intellect, and therefore imagined as issuing from the brain. They are thus disposed according to the points of the compass:

East: Keurima; South: Tseurima; West: Pramoha; North: Petali; South-East: Pukkasi; South-West: Ghasmari; North-West: Tsandhali; North-East: Smasani.

Arranged around the latter we find the eight Pra men ma, each in a determined point of space and with an animal's head: East, lion's head; South, tiger's head; West, fox's head; North, wolf's head; South-East, vulture's head; South-West, cemetery-bird's head; North-West, raven's head; North-East, owl's head (ibid., p. 143).^{422}

On the four corners of the mandala resulting from this assembly of deities are the four keepers of the gates: East, tiger's head; South, boar's head; West, lion's head; North, serpent's head. In the four corners are disposed, in circles of seven, the 28 deities of the extreme mandala, described in detail in the same work, pp. 144-145. In the upper right-hand corner, the wind-goddess with a wolf's head; the ibex-headed goddess, the dragon-headed, boar-headed, raven-headed and elephant-headed goddesses, and the water-goddesses, with serpents' heads - the latter correspond to the North.

In the lower right-hand corner: the yak-headed goddess, Brahmani serpent-headed, leopard-headed and brown bear-headed goddesses; Indranī white bear-headed; ape-headed to the East, in the lower left-hand corner, two goat-headed goddesses to the South; lion-headed to the West; serpent-headed to the North.

Above, the mandala is completed by a triad of masters: Padmasambhava in the centre between his greatest disciple Vairocana and the no less celebrated discoverer of secret texts Or gyan gliṅ pa. Underneath Ye s es mts'o rgyal, the miracle-worker's wife.

Below, another triad: dPal mgon ma ni between Ts'e rin ma and Lha mo ma mo kun la btul. We will treat at length of the offerings to the terrific deities, skulls etc. when we come to tanka n. 177.

We have thus seen how the two tankas briefly described above sum up and illustrate pictorially one of the most celebrated books of Lamaism, the one from which dying men take comfort, evoking, as they read it, the awareness necessary to escape the danger of a new existence or to become free from unfortunate rebirths. The tankas are like a warning: as the eyes of the living rest upon them, memory absorbs and preserves a picture which, remembered in the hour of trial, casts out error and leads to salvation.


They are two modulations of the same theme. The central deity represents, in both cases, sPyan ras gzigs in the shape known by the name of Sadakṣara-Lokesvara: Lokesvara of the six mystical syllables - om mani pad me hum.^{423} In this hypostasis of his, he is always attended, as in our picture, by two acolytes, Manidhara on his right and Sadakṣara Mahāvidyā, symbol of the mystical six-syllable formula, on his left. These acolytes' iconography is identical with that of the central deity.
This is, among sPyan ras gzigs' shapes, the one most widespread in Tibet, placed, as we know, under his protection. The great king Stōn btsan sgam po, during whose reign Tibet first heard of Buddhism, is his incarnation: now the Dalai Lamas impersonate him on earth. The palace where the Dalai Lamas reside in Lhasa is actually called Potala after the place where that god presides over the choirs of the blessed. There is a certain analogy of representation between the two pictures, hence it is clear that they reproduce an identical myth. From the way the figures are arranged and from the fact that sPyan ras gzigs is painted inside a large pavilion, one is led to infer that both tankas represent Avalokiteśvara's heaven. The celestial abode of this god is called precisely Potala and is imagined similar to the Sukhāvatī and Adbhātī heavens. But while the position of Amitābha's and Aksobhya's heavens is vague, Potala or Potalaka is imagined in Buddhist literature to be on the South or on the South-West of India. So that the difference between those two heavens and Potala consists chiefly in the fact that the former have no geographical reality, i.e. that they are the projection into an undetermined point of space of the expectation of eternal bliss, which mortals in all climes have always hoped for as a reward for their daily toil.

Potala, on the other hand, is less remote: Sudhanakumāra in the Gaṇḍavyūha (ed. Suzuki and Idzumi, p. 209) was able to reach it. Hsüan Tsang also mentions it as a mountain near mount Malaya. To the North-East of Potalaka should be Seng ka lo, Siṃhala, Ceylon. The Chinese pilgrim describes it as a rocky mountain, extremely difficult to reach; on the top of the mountain there is a lake, from which a river issues and flows into the sea. Near the lake is Avalokiteśvara's palace.

To conclude, although a myth has grown up round Potalaka also, believers may still hope that Potalaka can be reached (once they have overcome the difficulties precluding its access to such as are not pure) without waiting for death: men of flesh and blood thought they might walk upon that hallowed ground.

Indeed Tāranātha received this tradition from the master Buddhagupta, who had gone to look for Potalaka overseas, very probably in some island between India and the African coast. He says that various Indian Siddhas had penetrated its mysteries: Śāntivarman, by divine assistance, reached the top of the mountain, but found that Avalokiteśvara's palace had been abandoned; another saw the god's stone image, a third heard celestial music issuing from the mysterious spot. Hence Potalaka should not be linked up with the Sukhāvatī and the Adbhātī, but rather (even if it has never possessed the same certain geographical reality) with localities transformed by religious tradition into sacred territories and mysterious abodes of divine beings, when it had become increasingly difficult or dangerous to get there. I refer for instance to Sambhala, where the Kalacakra was revealed and which, vaguely assigned to the environs of Turkestan, also had the same destiny.

The voyage to Potala became gradually mixed up with the perilous landings of many Ratnadīvasas, told and retold in an endless variety of folk-tales and hagiographical narratives. One of these itineraries, preserved in a Tibetan translation, is the Po ta la kai grol bar lam yig, Potalakāgamanamārgapattikā, bsTan agyur, LXXII, p. 51, the same referred to by Tāranātha (SCHIEFNER, p. 142). It is attributed to Potalakabhaṭṭarakā, that is to Avalokiteśvara himself. It is a long list of places through which one has to pass in order to reach the god's palace, in his island paradise. To put it briefly, the road is through Słoṇ pai yul (Kaṇādā?), aBras kyi p'ūn, (Dhānyakataka) Malaya, Udumbera forest, the river Rıgs ldan ma (Kulikā), Dri med ldan (Vimala), lake Ts'ān, fields
of thorns, bilva forest, lake bDag po med, (Nairatmya), Jambu forest, the Srin mos’ lake, mountains, bands of apes, bands of boars, tigers, lions, huge forests, city of Kla klo (Mleccha), pleasure-gardens, ponds, Ketaka gardens, quicksilver lakes where girls of sixteen are found; then the way is beyond lake gSer ldan, in the realms aDod pai rgyal mo, Lha ma yin, Sei ge sgra, Nag po c’en po. Viśṇu, dBiṅg p’jug c’en po, the liṅga, and at last a great cliff is reached, upon which stands the Potala. The treatise furnishes every time brief directions as to the mantras one must recite to avoid dangers, as to the acts which must be performed or left undone, the fruit to select in going through endless forests and the fruit that should not be eaten, the manner of resisting temptations and overcoming perils.

The description of Buddhagupta is more detailed and is here appended since, after it was made known by Taranātha, it became popular in Tibet. “Thence he joined some merchants going to some small islands to the East and after one month of navigation he reached an island in which there was Potala, the King of the mountains. According to some this is the small Potala. Anyhow it is evidently the Potala on earth, accessible to men. There he visited a rock-crystal cave, the place sacred to Sudhanakumāra, then the place sacred to Bhrkuti; the cave of the Asura of the golden door, the place sacred to Tārā and the places sacred to Brahma; Viśṇu; Mahendra, each one with a self-created temple in the mountain. Moreover he visited the place where it was possible to have the vision (of the god). He also made the pradakṣīṇa of the mountain. There was a celestial wood famous as the abode of Māṇijrṣi and the water falling down from that place was really running there... It is therefore evident that our tankas are based upon a literary tradition which in the form of popular tales was largely diffused all over Tibet so that everybody looking at such-like tankas could easily understand their meaning.

In our picture we find the sea and the boat (tanka n. 119, extreme lower right-hand edge) and the image of Tārā mentioned by Taranātha; the ape he speaks about in his itinerary, the cliff on which stood the Potala, the stone image, Bhrkuti: we also find two goddesses stretching a scarf on which persons worthy of coming into the god’s presence pass. In Taranātha’s description of Śāntivarman’s journey, there is a serpent instead of a scarf. But in both cases, as in the Zaṅs mdo rgi legend (see tanka n. 370) the scarf and the serpent are variants of a theme well known to eschatological literature: the bridge which, like the Cinvat of Iranian visions, unfailing distinguished sinners from the chosen few flinging the former into an abyss and leading the latter to salvation. Pilgrims follow one another in their journey facing Nag po, in the city of the Kla klo, who are represented in armour, and in the rākṣasī’s palaces. In both tankas, within the enclosure where the god sits enthroned, are represented the gods Indra and Brahmā, Maheśvara, Viśṇu, Garuḍa, as in the Lam yig and in Buddhagupta’s account and choirs of Ap-saras and Gandharvas.

In both pictures, in the centre and below, sGrol ma, the feminine hypostasis of that same spirit of mercy symbolized by sPyan ras gzigs.

In tanka n. 119, above, Padmasambhava between his two wives and Ts’e dpag med between mGon po and sGrol ma.

TANKA n. 120 (Plate 155).

This is one of the most recent in the collection, but also one of the most interesting, not so much for its artistic merits as for the subject represented. It is a Bonpo tanka, on which are pictured some of the most important deities of this religion prior to Buddhism. Although purchased in Western Tibet, the
tanka was certainly painted in Eastern Tibet, in K’ams. It was given to me by Nam mk’a’ ajigs med rdo rje (concerning whom see Tucci-Ghersi, Secrets of Tibet, p. 149, and Tucci, Santi e briganti, p. 53) one of the most cultivated men I met in Tibet. In his first youth he had been educated in the Bonpo school, which is now nothing but an impure survival of Tibet’s native religion largely mixed with Buddhism. Later he was converted to Buddhism entering into the rNin ma pa sect of the rDsogs c’en, the most esoteric of the rNin ma pa schools, whose doctrines and liturgy have many analogies with those of Bonpo. The two schools, having lived long one near the other, have exchanged their books and dogmatics, their rites and ceremonies. Nam mk’a’ ajigs med rdo rje, having become rNin ma pa, did not forget his former faith.

The tanka, painted according to the patterns and methods of Lamaistic tankas, is dedicated to a widespread Bonpo cycle, the one of Ts’e dbaṅ rig adsin, who in these schools corresponds to Ts’e dpag med, Amitāyuh of the Mantrayāna and symbolizes the god of infinite life.245) Iconographically, he resembles a bodhisattva: he carries in his right hand a disc on which is written the letter “a,,” and in his left the Bonpo svastika, whose limbs turn to the left. All around his retinue is represented, namely, beginning from the first figure above on the left and proceeding towards the right:

1. Rin c’en ts’e dbaṅ
gSaṅ ba a dus pa
Bon sku Kun tu bzaṅ po
Dran pa nam mk’a’
2. Pad ma ts’e dbaṅ
Ts’e dbaṅ rgya gar ma
Ts’e dbaṅ bod yul ma
3. Ral k’ri ts’e dbaṅ
mK’a’ agro t’ugs rjes kun sgrol
4. gYoṅ druṅ rigs kyi ts’e dbaṅ
5. aK’or lo rigs kyi ts’e dbaṅ
Bon skyoṅ Rin c’en rgya mts’o
Bon skyoṅ A bse rgyal ba.

It is enough to glance at this list of names, besides the iconography of the deities, to perceive that we are in the presence of a pattern borrowed from Buddhism: here, as in Buddhism, there is a pentad, with its corresponding mystical families (1-5) symbolized by five corresponding deities: the family of gems, of the lotus, the sword, the svastika, the wheel.

The deities’ very names bring us back to the latest Bon, to its contamination with, or rather its copy of, Buddhist theology and dogmatics: nothing is left recalling primitive Bon, which had an entirely different religious background and whose gods had nothing to do with these.
TANKAS nn. 121-136 (Plates 156-170, Q).

These tankas belong to a well known series: they represent the cycle of the sixteen arhats, to whom the Buddha Śākyamuni entrusted the task of protecting the Law, of being present wherever a good deed was done and of rewarding virtue in various manners. Later, the gloom of sin, little by little, would envelop the world; men would continually have recourse to arms and slay one another; the average human life would decrease to ten years and the Law would be forgotten. After a long era, by the revival and the triumph of virtue, man’s span of life would be extended up to a century. The arhats would then again appear on earth, while men’s lives would become longer and longer, reaching 70,000 years. Next Śākyamuni’s doctrine would be obliterated for ever from the face of the earth, in expectation of the new Buddha Maitreya’s coming. With the disappearance of the Law, the arhats’ task would be over, and they would all enter nirvāṇa together and for ever.

This is related in one of the most famous books about the arhats’ cycle, the “Relation concerning the Duration of the Law, revealed by the Great Arhat Nandimitra”.

The Indian tradition then was acquainted with a cycle of sixteen arhats, which probably developed, as Lévi and Chavannes have shown from an original nucleus of four. Sixteen has been, ever since Vedic times, the perfect number, the square of four; there are four quarters, which the arhats protect, together with the four Kings watching over the four points of the compass, the dikpāla, rgyal č’en sde bži who constantly accompany the arhats in every Tibetan painting. The series of the arhats symbolizes the diffusion of the Law in a spatial sense; their quaternary division is related to the division of the world into the four orients of mythical pan-Indian cosmology. But as the arhats will be precluded from nirvāṇa until Maitreya appears, their cycle also assumes a temporal meaning: namely, it represents the continuity of the Law in the period between the two Buddhas: the Buddha of the present era and that of the future era, in other words the spatial and temporal revolution of the Law.

In China the Indian tradition was altered by degrees: beside the list of 16 arhats we also have a list of 18 arhats, spreading in China about the IXth century: that is, two arhats were added to the sixteen of the Indian legend. The two new arhats are called by K’ien lung “the one who vanquishes the dragon”, and “the one who tames the tiger”. Tiger and dragon are animals well known to Chinese folklore: the former presides over the West and the latter over the East; the animals of the other two points of the compass being a bird and the tortoise, according to popular astrology. They again point at a spatial temporal revolution, as that of the sun.

Be it as it may, the dragon and the tiger, these two demons of Chinese astrology, were admitted into the Buddhist pantheon, in the company of two new personages, whose names waver between Pindola Bharadvāja (a duplicate of the other Bharadvāja), Nandimitra or Kāśyapa and were imagined as being subdued by them.

Between the Indian tradition of 16 arhats and the Chinese tradition of 18, Tibet was unable to make a final choice, and followed now one model now another; the 16 arhats (gnas brtan bcu drug) have had, and still have today, a remarkable share in the lamaist cult; some sects, like the bKa’ gdams pa,
have included them, since Ji tsam and Po to pa’s times (XIIth century) among the principal ēos skyon (bKa’ gdam pa, p. 16 a). A vast hagiographical and liturgical literature has therefore developed around them.

But Tibet is not unacquainted with the list of 18 arhats. I am not aware of any text which definitely mentions them, but their pictorial representations are well known, for instance the one reproduced by Oldenburg (Sbornik izobraženii 300 burchanov, Bibliotheca Buddhica, Vо, nn. 209, 210) or the wood-cuts of sNar t’ān where to the series of 16 arhats are added Hva šān and Dharma-tā la.

These two names show, that the Tibetan list of the 18 arhats does not correspond to the Chinese list, the two supplementary arhats of Chinese Ho shang, which in its turn introduced currents of Indian thought into China, carried into Tibet from India, through a Central Asian medium, the Sanskrit title: upādhyāya; this naturally recalls to our memory that Hva šān who, in the times of King K’ri sron lde btsan, while Padma-sambhava’s schools introduced currents of Indian thought from India, carried into Tibet echoes of Chinese Buddhism.

But, while Tibetan literary tradition follows the Indian one or draws its inspiration from it, the artistic representation of this cycle is under Chinese influence. And in reality this influence has been so strong, that it is almost invariably to be found in the pictorial or plastic representations of the arhats; only a few exceptions being known to this rule.

Tibetans themselves unanimously state that the most common pictorial type of the arhats, is derived from China, but not all are agreed as to when or by whom it was introduced. A well informed historian, gZon nu dpal, the author of the Deb t’er shon po, vol. 1а, p. 7, says, for instance, that the cult and the representation of the arhats were brought into Tibet (gnas brtan bu drug spyan adren pa po) by princess Kon c’o, one of Sroṅ btsan sgam po’s two wives.

Too many things and events have been laid at the door of this lady, who was considered an incarnation of sGrol ma, so that the legend cannot be accepted with entire confidence, and we must be all the more cautious in accepting it, since another tradition, also based on good sources, attributes the introduction of that same cycle into Tibet to a much later epoch.

The briefest account is to be found in the history of the bKa’ gdam pa (p. 16). Through the agency of aJi tsam t’on pa, the bKa’gdam pa accepted the 16 arhats as their ēos skyon and this came about in the following manner:

A King of China, who was an incarnation of aJam dbyaṅs, had sent as his messenger the minister dBaṅ Hva šān; the latter was invited to participate in the prescribed summer retreat; when it came to an end and each went his own way, the model of the 16 images, which he had caused to be painted on linen, was taken to Klu mes aBrom e’uṅ, who had just then gone to China, and brought to Yet pa, whence it became diffused.

Another source, which I found in a manuscript of the monastery of Hemis relates the same event in greater detail. “The ten masters (mi bu) who contributed to the revival of Buddhism after gLaṅ dar ma’s great persecution, brought into Tibet proper from mDo smad, some painted tankas (bris t’ān) of the arhats, and placed them in four temples. Next Klu mes aBrom, having gone to China, took copies of the whole cycle from the temple where the arhats’ images were kept, including Dhar ma ta la and the Hva šān, getting a tanka made of each one...” Klu mes is said to have alluded to this fact in a
metrical treatise, preserved in the monastery of sNut t'ani. These paintings are stated to have been made by Klu mes, who took as models the images existing in a temple in China, where the 16 arhats had appeared in person in the times of a T'ang emperor; they left him their effigy, since they could not accept his invitation to remain there for ever themselves, for their duties required them to go elsewhere. It is not explained whether these images were statues or paintings, but the fifth Dalai Lama, in the treatise we shall presently mention, uses, in the case of the Chinese images, the word sku "body," while he calls the paintings by Klu mes abris sku "painted bodies," "paintings."

Klu mes placed these paintings in the temple of Yer pa, and there they became the inspirers of the new cult, when Atisâ's disciples introduced from India a systematic liturgy meant for this cycle.

From the above accounts, then, we gather that Tibet already knew about the arhats, their cult and their iconographic representations, through China, before Atisâ's times. Tibetan tradition insists on the diffusion of that cult in China under the T'ang, relating various fables about the reasons of its favour, and then follows its development in bordering countries, for instance among the Mi nag, one of whose kings is said to have been delivered from a disease by the arhats grace; these same Mi nags, when attacked by the Hor, were saved through the intervention of one of the arhats, who showed the besieged where water could be found underground, after the Hor had changed the course of the river which brought water to the city. Moreover, in both the documents referred to above, the first who introduced the iconographic type of the arhats in Tibet from China is said to have been Klu mes, before Atisâ ever came to Tibet.

If this Klu mes is the brother of Klu mes ts'ul k'ri ms s'es rab we know his approximate date, his elder brother being included among the ten masters, five from dBus and five from gTsan, who, after gLa'n dar ma was killed (842) had revived the faith. Klu mes ts'ul k'ri ms was a disciple of dGo'ins pa rab gsal; the latter came from dGo'ins ka, near the rMa c'u, in the Southern part of Amdo, and was ordained as a monk by Rabgals of gTsan, who had fled from Tibet during gLa'n dar ma's great persecution. Klu mes must therefore be placed in the first part of the Xth century; indeed, according to some Tibetan calculations, (which, if not absolutely accurate, cannot be very far wrong), in the year "water-bird," 853, or "earth-tiger," 858 he settled in bSam yas, where he became an active preacher (See BUSTON, OBERMILLER, pp. 20T ff.; PS, p. 178; DT, Ka, p. 28, K'a, pp. 5, 6).

Although information about Klu mes abounds, I have nowhere found references to his or his brother's journey to China, which was the occasional cause of the introduction of the 16 arhats into Tibet.

But this is not the only motive which induces us to suspect the Tibetan tradition, which, when Lamaism penetrated into China, was accepted by learned Chinese circles, to whom Klu mes's name was then made known.246 Indeed no information is to be found in China concerning either Dharma-tala or the Hva san as supplementary figures of the 16 arhats cycle; on the other hand the Hva san's presence takes us back to a religious and cultural environment which is purely Tibetan. Furthermore, as we can gather from other tales inserted in the above-quoted book by Nag dban sNan grags dpal bza'n, the stories about Dharma-tala and Hva san are assigned to two different periods: the Hva san, in fact, is supposed to be a monk who lived under the Ming dynasty; fleeing from punishment decreed by the Emperor, he arrived after a long journey to the sea; at that moment, out of pity for the Hva san and in order that the Emperor's merits should not be impaired, the arhats came out of the sea and entered the palace. As to Hva san's iconographic type, it is inspired by the "Maitreya of the big belly," of popular Chinese Buddhism.
Dharma-ta la, on the other hand, is supposed to have been a pious layman (dge bsnyen) in charge of the temple where, in the times of the Emperor T’an dsui dsun (T’ang Jui Tsung) (710-713) the arhats images were placed. The arhats revealed themselves to him; once, while he was sweeping the temple, a tiger issued from his right knee. This legend is evidently an explanation of the tiger’s presence in Dharma-ta la’s image (see sNar t’am woodcut, fig. 122).

Be it as it may, clearly two different traditions were current in Tibet: while one of them attributed to Klu mes the introduction of the whole iconographic cycle of the 18 arhats, with Dharma-ta la and Hva san, the other attributed the two latter arhats to two different periods; at first only Dharma-ta la was known, later Hva san also appeared. Anyhow these traditions, however confused, show that the cycle of the 16 arhats, with the addition of Dharma-ta la and Hva san, is an interpretation independent of the Chinese cycle of the 18 arhats. Therefore the Tibetan cycle of the arhats, as it appears in the sNar t’am woodcuts and in Pander’s Pantheon, has a long story behind it, which it is still very difficult to reconstruct.

That the Hva san’s presence should take us back to a Tibetan religious and cultural environment and that neither Hva san nor Dharma-ta la should be found in the Chinese lists, does not mean that these new personages have been introduced by the Tibetans ex novo. Although in Chinese literary and artistic sources there is no allusion as far as my knowledge goes to a cycle of 18 arhats in which Dharma-ta la and a Hva san appear as two supplementary figures, it is certain that Dharma-ta la is found in the representations of the arhats which have come to light in Central Asia; I allude to the pictures published in A. Stein’s, *The Thousand Buddhas*, Tav. XXXIII and in Pelliot’s, *Les Grottes de Touen Houang*, vol. IV, tav. 3. In these instances the arhats is represented in a Central Asian costume, bearing a parcel of books on his back, with a tiger and a vase for holy water. This figure was identified by its analogy with the reproduction of the same personage in the late pantheon published by Pander, but the likeness is much greater to some images of the same arhats which we have already met with in our tanka. I allude particularly to the tanka n. 11 (cf. n. 22), where Dharma-tala is represented in a manner almost identical with the Central Asian painting (compare especially the way he holds his books), so that we are led to think that in this case the Tibetan pictorial tradition draws its inspiration directly from those models of Central Asian style, or has been deeply influenced by them.

More than one example proves that in Tibet, side by side with the classical list of 16 arhats and with the other list where they are 18, there was a third list of 17 arhats: this is their number in the tankas n. 11 and n. 18. Indeed this is confirmed by a late but extremely authoritative quotation. I allude to a book by the fifth Dalai Lama.

Blo bzan rgya mts’o has written a book about the arhats, upon which, to this day, the prestige of its great author is reflected. This treatise, which is particularly concerned with the liturgy prescribed for the arhats’ cult, and sets forth the advantages accruing to those who worship them, contains valuable information both about the penetration of the arhats’ cult and of its literary sources in Tibet, and about the pictorial representations of the cycle. In this treatise, entitled gnas brtan c’en po bu drug gi me’od pa rgyal brtan gasad med nor bu, the cycle of the gnas brtan is composed of the 16 original arhats, with the addition of Dharma-ta la and of the four rgyal c’en; as in the text of Nag dban sNan grags dpal bzan po, Dharma-ta la is placed in the times of the T’ang Dynasty.

Nor is the fifth Dalai Lama the only literary source which assures us of the existence of a Tibetan cycle of the 17 arhats, that is comprising the usual 16 personages with the addition of Dharma-ta la. I can quote a text earlier than Blo bzan rgya mts’o, the
These 16 Arhats are imagined on the petals of the lotus drawn in the mandala, in the middle of which the Buddha is placed: “on the four doors of the mandala are found the four Lokapāla and the dGe bsnen Dharma-ta la, who holds in his hand the fly-whisk and a vase; he wears his hair tied in a topknot and on his back he bears the burden of many books; in front of him, in the air, appears the Buddha sNāñ ba mt’a’ yas; he wears an ample silk dress. His left knee is uncovered; from the right one a tiger is miraculously issuing; he is together with many dGe bsnen.”

This Dharma-ta la therefore has nothing in common with the Dharma-ta la of the Udānavarga.

This identification, which was proposed by Lévi and Chavannes, in the above quoted paper, is ruled out for two reasons: first of all, while the Dharmatrāta of the Udānavarga is called bsun pa, bhadanta, Dharma-ta la is constantly called dge bsnen, upāsaka, which, as it is well known, is an appellative given to lay devotees. Moreover Dharmatrāta’s name is in Tibetan c’os skyob, “Law/protection,” (see for instance TARANĀTHA, p. 297), while the name of our Dharma-ta la is rendered by Blo bzañ rgya mts’o with c’os ap’el (ap’el corresponds to the root urddḥ): “Law/growth.”

Moreover, as Waley has shown (Cat., p. XLIII), there are in Buddhism many personages called Dharmatrāta or such-like names transcribed with the Ch. Ta mo ta lo.

1) the first Dharmatrāta Fa chiu 法敎 is the compiler of the Udānavarga, generally called the Bodhisattva (LA VALLE POUSIN, ABBIĐHARMAKOSA, Introd., p. XLVII);

2) one of the masters of the Vibhaṣa, often called simply Bhadanta, although for others he was a Sarvāstivādin;

3) the author of the Sāmyuktaabhidharmabhrdaya-sūtra (TAISHŌ, XXVIII, p. 869);

4) a master of the Satyasiddhisāstra;

5) the author of a Dhyāna book (TAISHŌ, XV, p. 300);

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<th>with both hands</th>
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<td>2. Culla Panthaka</td>
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<td>3. Pindola Bharadvajā</td>
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<td>5. Nāgasena</td>
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T’ub dbaṅ gnas brtan bceu drug qk'or dān bcaś p'ai p'yag mt'od rjes gnaṅ dān bcaś, included in the great collection of Šādhana Grubt'ab rgya mts'o, sDe dge edition, vol. Ca. This brief treatise was written by the spyan sna C’os grags rgyal mts’an, and was corrected and revised by Sa skya pa snags ac’aṅ Nag gi dbaṅ po Kun dga’ rin c’en, whom we have mentioned elsewhere. This small book is thus specified in the colophon: bsTan pai gtsos bo t’ub pa c’en po qk’or gnas brtan bceu drug dge bsnen dbar ma la daṅ bcaś pai rjes gnaṅ bya ts’ul gsal bar bkod pa “clear explanation on the manner of imparting liturgical instructions on the Great Asśetic, surrounded by the 16 arhats and by the dge bsnen Dharma-ta la.” It contains the iconographic indication of each personage and particularly dwells on Dharma-ta la’s description.

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Dharma-to-lo, according to a Ch’ang (dhyāna) text, the Li tai fa pao chi 歴代法寶記 discovered in Tun huang, is identified with Bodhidharma, and indeed the latter is there indifferently called Bodhidharma-to-lo 善提達摩多羅 or only Dharma-to-lo 達摩多羅 (TAISHO, LI, p. 180 a-b).

Is it possible that we have before us a list elaborated in dhyāna circles and enriched by one of their most famous patriarchs? It would be premature to come to a conclusion, but from the above text it appears that dhyāna, which had spread in Central Asia, knew Bodhidharma under the name of Dharma-ta lo; on the other hand dhyāna penetrated into Tibet in very early times, beginning with the epoch of the royal dynasty.²⁵) It is not in the least unlikely that, through the same channel, a representation of the 17 arhats inspired by the types alreadyascertained for Central Asia, should have reached the Country of Snows.

Anyhow, if Dharma-ta la’s iconicographic type did not penetrate into the Chinese representation of the arhats’ cycle (the personage having remained unknown to China), it was certainly adopted by Chinese portrait-painting, for instance in a celebrated picture of the Sung dynasty, which represents the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan tsang in the same dress and attitude as Dharma-ta la, carrying books.²⁵³) As to the Hva šaṅ, he is quite unknown to Blo bzaṅ rgya mts’o’s treatise; this silence may be explained either by supposing him to have been included in a list which Blo bzaṅ rgya mts’o did not consider authoritative, and therefore did not use, or by assuming that he was added on after Blo bzaṅ rgya mts’o’s time. The latter hypothesis might be confirmed by the fact that some of the literary traditions we have quoted concerning the Hva šaṅ, attempt to make of him a late personage, of the Ming period, and there is no doubt that his modern representation (as it appears, for instance, in the tanka of sNar t’ān) is inspired, as already stated, by the type of the big-bellied Maitreya of popular Chinese iconography.

This late appearance of the Hva šaṅ in the Tibetan lists seems to be confirmed by the fact that he is missing in the tankas n. 11 and n. 18, which thus agree with Blo bzaṅ rgya mts’o’s silence; hence we might be led to think that he has been introduced during the infiltration of Chinese ideas and models in the course of the XVIIIth century, when relations with China became more frequent, and Tibet finally passed under Chinese rule. However, against this hypothesis stands the well-established fact that some Guge tankas, which are evidently ancient, know the cycle of the 18 arhats, for instance the tankas n. 13, 15 and 21. But the eighteenth arhats has nothing in common with the pot-bellied Hva šaṅ of the sNar t’ān series: in the tanka n. 21, for instance, this personage has a dark complexion and is represented after the manner of the Indian Siddha; although his belly is suggested in the tanka n. 13, he has not the appearance of a caricature, like the Hva šaṅ of late XVIIIth century representations, but conforms to the model of the Indian ascetics. Moreover there is another detail: in the beautiful tanka n. 20, each arhats is given his name which, save for slight orthographical variations, corresponds to the traditional name. In the case of the 18th arhats, the name undergoes an odd deformation: instead of Hva šaṅ (a word which, although of Chinese origin, is commonly used in Tibet and frequently found in sacred scriptures) we find: A bor ša. Who may be hidden under this name I cannot say, whether the Hva šaṅ or a personage who has nothing in common with this; this anyhow takes us back to a Tibetan environment, and cannot presume to be on a level with his great comrades’ ancient glory and memory.²⁵⁴)

Thus, when we sum up the literary data and the conclusions which may be drawn from our iconographical documents, the certainty is reached that the Tibetans knew a cycle of 16 arhats, a cycle of 17 in which Dharma-ta la was added to the list already known, and a cycle of 18 in which to Dharma-ta la is
added a second personage, called in an ancient tanka A hor sa and in later ones Hva sañ, whose images are characterized by the figures of one or more children.

Buston in the XIVth century seems, anyhow, to know as authoritative a cycle of 16 arhats only.

As to the iconography and to the styles, while the type of Dharma-ta la seems to take us back to Central Asian inspiration, some representations follow Indian types very closely.

Among the tankas we have published, there is one in which the cycle of the arhats displays traits which have nothing in common with its Chinese interpretation. I refer to the tanka N. 18 where, in the frame surrounding the central image on the right, on the left and below, the cycle of the 17 arhats is represented. They all except Dharma-ta la have the appearance of monks, and each is distinguished by his mudrā; some of the symbols which used to characterize them in the pictures inspired by the Chinese manner, for instance the fly-whisk, are missing.

A third type, by far the most common, is the one which represents the cycle in the Chinese manner. Such a plurality of styles in representations of the arhats is recognized by our literary sources: the book quoted above mentions three manners of representing this famous cycle: the first is the Indian manner (ap'ags yul gyi lugs), introduced by one of the three pandits who accompanied Atiśa: he is supposed to have revealed it to Nog Byaṅ c'uṅ ābyuṅ gnas, who, following his instructions, painted the series of the arhats on a tanka. The second is Chinese (gya nag lugs) and the third Tibetan (bod lugs). "Wishing to represent the arhats' images according to the Indian system, one must draw them as monks, with the triple religious garment and with an outer dress of a blue, red and yellow colour; the symbols are those described in their birth-stories (avadāna): staff, bowl for collecting alms, water-jar, a jar for offerings (gtor bum). They sit on a jewelled throne of mats and blankets, they are surrounded by monks, Indians and people of various countries, who bring them offerings of precious objects. Around them are broadly drawn fields, cities, huts, rivers, meadow and woods, as they are found in India."

"Wishing to represent them after the Chinese manner, the models are taken from the T'ang period: their clothes are of a sombre hue, like those of the Chinese scholars; they wear ample silken robes. Their main symbols are those of their birth-stories, the others may vary: for instance a staff made of a banana-stalk or of osier, a vase for perfume, porcelain cups, etc. They sit on jewelled thrones, surrounded by cliffs, animals, dragons, people of noble race, dressed in silk, Chinese scholars, men of various races carrying fans and different objects as offerings; around them are seen pleasure-grounds, fields with palaces ornamented with lattice-work and caves surrounded with grass and trees."

"Wishing to represent them in the Tibetan manner, the arhats with their attendants appear as monks, with the symbols as described in their birth-stories; they are clad in silk, wearing the ascetics' three garments, they are seated on a throne; around them are seen jewelled rocks, on which gifts given in homage have been placed; in the background fields, terraces and snow-topped mountains unfold..."

Naturally these classifications have a literary origin and they are so schematic and definite that they cannot be believed to reproduce faithfully the crossing and overlapping of different artistic currents; neither do they contain a vestige of those Central Asian influences to which we have traced the model of Dharma-ta la; nor can we know the origin of the pictorial series which Klu mes placed in Yer pa. The term China is very vague, and it is far from unlikely that Klu mes and his collaborators, having lived for a certain time in the provinces to the extreme East of Tibet, in times of great political upheavals in Central Asia, where the cult of the arhats was widely diffused, may have become acquainted
with Central Asian rather than with Chinese representations. As regards the connection between Tibet and Li yul (Khotan) besides the facts stated in Thomas, Lit. Texts and in Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, it is very important to remember that the masters of Klu mes, if our Klu mes is the younger brother of Klu mes ts'ul k'irims tes rab, seem to have had some relation with Central Asia which they reached in their flight from Tibet through upper mNa' ris and the country of the Garlok and in their attempt to take refuge among the Hor (see above, p. 83). Then they settled in Amdo, on the borders of Tibet and Khansu. On the other hand, we know that Rab gsal of gTs'an, the teacher of Klu mes, presented Gar ma Yon tan gyu ni drun with an image of Byams pa made in Li yul, by the king Dharmika Zla bzin together with a wooden statue of Jo bo in sandal wood of one cubit and another image of Jo bo of one span. These images were then placed in the temple of 'Ol dga' (Vai di yu dkar po, p. 155).

But this does not exclude that some monasteries in Tibet may have become acquainted with the pictorial cycle of the arhats issued from the school of Kuan Hsiu (832-912), which inspired a long artistic tradition, alongside of that later tradition which draws its origin from Li Lung mien (ca. 1040-1106) of the Sung period. The succeeding representations of this cycle are but modulations of these two manners. The arhats personality was emphasized by the first manner and the result was grotesque, almost a caricature, but extremely expressive: huge head, misshapen skulls, a frightful thinness. The second manner was more austere and dignified.

The tradition concerning the Indian manner is equally subject to caution, because while, according to the fifth Dalai Lama, the bKa' gdamas masters took for their model the representations of Yer pa, according to the text of Hemis, the series of the arhats inspired by the iconography and the liturgy which one of Atiśa's disciples had introduced, was probably painted by rNog Bya'n c'ub abyin gnas. Be as it may, the Chinese influence, either direct or from Central Asian models, prevails over all the others, but this derivation must be understood very broadly: the inspiration came from China, the models always remained Chinese, the representation was always conceived in the Chinese manner, but this influence, however tenacious, could not but yield to the traditions of Tibetan painters and to their talent. Generally we are confronted not with the imitation of an original, which the artists copy over and over again, but rather with an initial impulse, derived from China or Central-Asia, which remained active through the centuries, though gradually much of its efficiency was lost.

The initial influence, in course of time, was toned down by the Indian manner, especially by the Nepalese manner, which ruled over Tibetan art throughout its development, as we have seen more than once. And if the Chinese influence is clear in the reproductions we are about to speak of, which go back to the XVIIIth century, this depends not so much from Klu mes' ancient tradition, as rather from that recrudescence of the Chinese style which is a distinctive character of the XVIIth century in Tibet, and which was particularly conspicuous in the K'am region.

For these reasons the distinction between the three styles mentioned in the above-quoted text is rather theoretic: practically it is next to impossible to make a distinction. Nevertheless in the present cycle, more perhaps than in any other, (except in the cycle of Vaiśravana and, in general, of the Kings of the four points of the compass) the Chinese stamp prevails.

The tankas reproducing the sixteen arhats are very common in monasteries and can be reduced to three fundamental types: 1) the entire cycle in a single tanka (E. i. G. Roerich, TP, pl. I); 2) the cycle divided between four tankas, with a certain number of figures, not more than four, in each, two supplementary tanka for the four dīkpalas, and Hva sa'n and Dharma-ta la and the central tanka, like the
series published by Roerich (Revue des Arts Asiatiques, 1930), which comes from K’ams; 3) the series of the sNar t’ân woodcuts, in seven tankas. The latter has acquired in a short time such a notoriety, as to prevail over any other composition on the same subject. The worshippers who throng to the convent get copies of this image printed on paper or linen, so that local painters, scattered throughout the Tibetan provinces, draw their inspiration from them or use them as models. 255)

We can establish when it was that these woodcuts were engraved in the great monastery, because at the bottom of the first tanka is reproduced the image of a dignitary who devised the work and became its patron. This prince was the C’os rgyal bSod nams stobs rgyas of P’o lha, well known to us as the successor of the regent bSod nams rgyal po, murdered in 1727; the Chinese government had made him the political head of Tibet, with the title of viceroys. He had already been the patron of an edition of the Buddhist scriptures in that same convent of sNar t’ân; from the colophon of the bsTan agyur we know that the woodcuts were executed in that monastery in the year ču k’yi, that is in 1742. In front of the king we see, with their typical fur hats, two Tibetans from K’ams, or more exactly from Mi ñag, who are being offered a banquet, while servants bring gifts and bags before the king. These Tibetans are surely the sbyin bdag, the actual donors, who, complying with the c’os rgyal’s proposal, furnished the means whereby to carry out his pious purpose. They are aGyur med rdo rje rnam rgyal and Ye šes ts’e ldan brtan, namely the same persons who had the Avadánhakalpalata series cut in wood. They are the two sons of P’o lha nas, and aGyur med rdo rje rnam rgyal succeeded his father when the latter died in the year 1747.

By the side of these fundamental types, which vary greatly according to the greater or lesser liberties which local painters take when they draw their inspiration from the most celebrated models, there exists another representation 256) of this cycle, in which each arhat has a tanka all to himself, exactly as in the series we reproduce here. This series I bought from an officer of Central Tibet, in the environs of Gyantse, but it is clear that it comes from K’ams, that is from the Eastern province of Tibet.

The style of K’ams, as we have seen in the introduction, has deeply felt, also on account of geographical propinquity and continual trade relations, the influence of Chinese art: in the tankas we are studying, the Chinese stamp (even aside from those Chinese elements which, through the century-old tradition, had become characteristic of this cycle) is so very evident in the plan of the paintings, in their backgrounds and details, that it would be superfluous to dwell upon it. In the landscape, in the clouds which roam about in the sky, in the waterfalls, we find an echo of the Chinese manner, adapted, of course, to the Tibetan artist’s abilities and limitations. I cannot tell when this series may have been drawn, but I do not think we would be mistaken in considering it a contemporary of the other series engraved at sNar t’ân in the middle of the XVIIIth century.

From an iconographic point of view, the tankas are not in any way remarkable, as they faithfully follow traditional schemes.

The tankas of this series are not numbered, so that their succession cannot be ascertained. As they form a sequence, we are led to wonder according to what order the Tibetans used to arrange such a set of tankas and, in general, according to what standards they used to arrange, and consequently to represent, the series of the arhats. And as representations of sacred subjects are regularly modelled on the corresponding liturgical literature, to answer these questions is tantamount to establishing the liturgical sources, connected with the arhats cycle, from which Tibetan painters drew their inspiration. 257) We know several lists of the arhats, from those contained in the Indian sources, like the Maitreyāvyakarana and the Nandimitravādāna, to the
Tibetan sources. Let us then make a summary of these different lists, so as to see clearly the different literary classifications of this cycle. This will necessarily lead us to notice also the analogies and inconsistencies between different lists where the arhats geographical localization is concerned.

C - Nandimitravadana - Tibetan translation, bsTan agyur, vol. 90, n. 272

1. Pindola Bharadvaja, bha ra dha dsa bsod snyoms len
2. Kanakavatasa, gser be'u
3. Bharadvaja, bha ra dha dsa
4. Abheda, mi pi'ed
5. Bakula, bza'i po
6. Kalika, nag po
7. Vatsaputra, bad sai bu
8. Jnana-sugata, gtsug gi lam

D - Nandimitravadana - Chinese translation

1. Pindola bharadvaja
2. Kanakavatasa
3. Chia no chia po li to she, Kanaka bharadvaja (Levi
4. Su p'in t'o (Levi

The geographical distribution of the world among the different arhats has varied with the schools and the times. According to the Nandimitravadana they are distributed by localities as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A - Chinese</th>
<th>B - Tibetan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pindola Bharadvaja</td>
<td>Aparagodaniya</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Kanakavatasa</td>
<td>Kasmira</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Kanakabharadvaja</td>
<td>Purvavidheha</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Su p'in t'o</td>
<td>Uttarakuru</td>
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<td>5. Nakula</td>
<td>Jambudvipa</td>
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<td>6. Bhadra</td>
<td>Tamradvipa</td>
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<td>7. Kalika</td>
<td>Samghata</td>
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<td>8. Vajraputra</td>
<td>Po la na</td>
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<td>1. Pindola Bharadvaja</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aparagodaniya</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2. Kanakavatasa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. Bharadvaja</td>
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<td>4. Abheda</td>
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<td>5. Bakula</td>
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<td>6. Bhadra</td>
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<td>7. Kalika (nag po)</td>
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<td>8. Vajraputra (bad sai bu)</td>
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<td>A – Chinese</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Svapaka</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Panthaka</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Rāhula</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Nāgasena</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Yin kie t’o (Iṅgāda)</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Vanavāsin</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Ajita</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Cūḍapanthaka</td>
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### C – Khotanese

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<th>A – Khotanese</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Pindola bharadvāja</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Kanakavatsa</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Kanakabharadvāja</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Abhijit</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Bakkula</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Kāntha (Kāḍa)</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Bhadra</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Vajraputra</td>
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### D – K’ro lotsāva

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<th>D – K’ro lotsāva</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1.</td>
<td>Āṅgaja</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Ajita</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Vanavāsin</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Kālikā</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Vajrīputra</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Bhadra</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Kanakavatsa</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Kanakabharadvāja</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Bakula</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Rāhula</td>
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### E – According to the Pan c’en Blo bzaṅ ye šes dpal bzaṅ po

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<th>E – According to the Pan c’en Blo bzaṅ ye šes dpal bzaṅ po</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Pindola Bharadvāja</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Kanakavatsa</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Vanavāsin</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Kālikā</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Vajrīputra</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Bhadra</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Kanakavatsa</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Nāgasena</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Ajita</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Rāhula</td>
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566
Nag dban sNan grags dpal bzañ po’s text attempts to classify and distribute the 16 arhats according to the scheme of the mandala. Eleven are assigned to the aDsam bu gliṅ and the other five to other localities. Those of the aDsam bu gliṅ are thus distributed: five in the Madhyadeśa, the middle country, that is, the country which tradition connects with the Buddha’s preaching; five in the border countries (mta’), one not definitely placed: it is difficult to establish whether he was in Madhyadeśa or in barbarous countries.

We have then the following schema:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Madhyadeśa</th>
<th>on the frontiers</th>
<th>difficult to place: Bhi hu la</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grdhakūṭa in Magadha</td>
<td>Kailāśa</td>
<td>Bhi hu la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between Yamunā and Gaṅgā</td>
<td>Śambhala</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vipulapārśva</td>
<td>Kāśmira</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Priyaṅgu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tāmradvipa</td>
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</tbody>
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In other continents:

- East: Videha
- West: Aparagodaniya
- North: Uttarakuru
- South-East: Simhala
- Zenith: Trayastrimśa

We have, then, before us two different lists; one of them goes back to Nandimitra’s prophecy, the other, handed down by Tibetan sources, to the tradition introduced in Tibet by Atiśa.

What conclusion may we draw from these lists? First of all that though the catalogue of the arhats was subject to small variations, their localization in the various places progressed with the diffusion of Buddhism. We see, for instance, in the Khotanese redaction the Kailāśa appear; in the catalogue of the Pañ c’e’n the Himalaya and then Śambhala, the mythic place of the Kālacakra are added to it. The various localities where the arhats were supposed to dwell changed according to the times and the places where the books concerned with the arhats circulated, with a freedom which does not affect the arhats themselves. The Tibetan author who arranges the arhats according to the diagram of the mandala does not introduce anything new but clearly follows an ancient tradition. This is evident if we compare his arrangement with the catalogues of Nandimitra; here also a mandala is at the basis of the list; the Trayastrimśa, being gods, are on the top; they are the ideal centre round which the mandala evolves; the Nemindhara on the other hand is the outer circle of the world, so is also the Yugandhara though there is a difference as

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<tr>
<th>D – K’ro lotsāva</th>
<th>E – According to the Pañ c’e Blo bzañ ye śes dpal bzañ po</th>
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<tr>
<td>15. Gopaka</td>
<td>15. Gopaka</td>
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regards the sources, some of them considering the Nemindhara the inner and others the outermost of the seven rings of mountains encircling the world. Anyhow either of them is the limit of earth and an external circle of the maṇḍala. Then there is an inner circle in which four continents are placed: Pūrvavideha, Jambudvīpa, Aparagodaniya, Uttarakuru, then another circle referring to Jambudvīpa proper: Tāmradvīpa, Simhala, Gandhamādana, Kāśmīra; two localities Grdhrakūṭa and Vipula near Rājagṛha are the very core of the maṇḍala since they represent the places where the Law was revealed, one of them, the Grdhrakūṭa being changed into a kind of mythical paradise where the Buddha preaches the Mahāyāna from time immemorial.

The other remaining countries or continents are difficult to locate, being mythic continents encircling the Jambudvīpa.

The list according to Atiśa and to the lotsāva mC’ims ston, thanks to the authority derived from its authors and to the influence of their hymns upon the liturgy connected with this cycle, was substituted for the one contained in the Indian books (with some exceptions, as in the case of that of the Pan c’en) and was generally included in the litanies and prayers;²⁶¹ Pander’s list (from which WADDELL’S and GRÜNWEDEL’S are derived) can be traced back to it:

- Angaṇa
- Ajita
- Vanavāsin
- Kālika
- Vajriputra
- Abheda
- Anāgāja
- Kanakavatsa
- Ajīta
- Kanakabharadvāja
- Vānavasin
- Bahula
- Nāgasena
- Gopaka
- Bhadra

The divergence, however, is only apparent: it is enough to read the second list beginning from n. 8, that is from Anāgāja, and thence from Bakula to Abheda, to realize that it is the same; there seems therefore to be no doubt (keeping in mind the exceptions pointed out by the fifth Dalai Lama) that we too should arrange these paintings in the same order, conforming to the general custom of liturgy and iconography.

The lists given above confirm what we have already said, that Dharmāta l’a’s and the Hva ṣaṇ’s names are alien to normal tradition and represent a late addition. They were certainly not used in the times of mC’ims, who was a great abbot of the sNar t’ān monastery, always considered one of the most noteworthy centres of the arhats cult, where Klūmes is believed to have placed copies of the Chinese paintings. This said, we may pass, without more ado, to the illustration of each single tanka.

The iconography of the arhats too was characterized very early: each of them has his own particular mudrā and his own symbol, which allows us to identify him at once and with certainty. On the other hand it is more difficult to establish with what event the personages who accompany the arhats in the series herein reproduced, are connected: the presence of some of them may be explained by the legends of hagiographic tradition concerning the arhats; others perhaps allude to the continents or localities where they exercised their spiritual protection; still others must remain doubtful until some text is found, dealing with this cycle more extensively than the treatises to which we now have access.
Plate n. 156. - Arūgaja (Yan lag a'byün, Yan lag skyes, Mes skyes, 164) Zur k'yi sès) carries a fly-whisk, resting on his right shoulder, and a vase for perfume in both hands. He is in the act of handing it to a monk who approaches him as if to present him with a censer. This happened, in accordance with the tradition, in the Gandhamādāna. According to the Tibetan text quoted above, a fly-whisk should be in the left hand. Below, a monk and a warrior.

Plate n. 157. - Ajita (Mi 'p'am); in front of him two figures offering gifts; below, an Indian ascetic and a divinity in the act of doing homage to him. Ajita has his outer garment (äs goš) pulled over his head and his hands, although covered, in the meditative attitude.

Plate n. 158. - Vanavāsin (Nags na gnas) is represented in the posture called lalitākṣepa; in his left hand he holds a fly-whisk, which is also an attribute of Anāgaja. Near him a god; below, disciples and a tiger, to recall the woods in which he lived, near Mount Saptaparna (Lo ma bdun).

Plate n. 159. - Kalika 265) (Dus dlan, Dur k'todd pa, Nag po pa) holds in his hands two large earrings (ma skor) which, according to the legend, were given him by the gods of the Kāmadhātu when, having ascended to their heaven, he preached the Law to them. Near him a monk, and below divinities in the act of offering gifts as a souvenir of that sermon.

Plate n. 160. - Vajrīputra (rDo rje moi bu, Bad sai bu) is represented seated on a wooden throne in the European fashion; he holds in his left hand, a fly-whisk (rīṇa yab, càmara) which according to the tradition was offered him by the gods. A monk is offering him a vase of perfume, while a person covered with leaves is in the act of presenting him humbly with some fruits; to the left, another monk brings gifts on a dish; below, a dancing Turkoman. The person covered with leaves is a gandharva (drī za), in whose territory Vajrīputra went to beg; the converted gandharvas offered him medicines and perfumes.

Plate n. 161. - Bhadra (bZaṅ po) is represented with his right hand in the attitude of the explanation of the Law, while the left is in the attitude of meditation, precisely as the Tibetan text says.

To his left a garuda is seen descending from the sky and astonishing the monks, one of whom tries to hide a person under his cloak.

Plate Q. - Kanakavatva (gSer bou) is seated on a throne and holds in his hands a string on which gems are strung. This string was given him, according to the legend, by the nāgas, when he went down into their country to convert them to the Buddhist faith.

Plate n. 162. - Kanakabharadvāja (Bha ra dva dsa gser can) is represented with his hands resting one upon the other, in samādhisūtra. Plate n. 163. - Bakula may be recognized by the ichneumon which he holds under his left hand; below, figures of yakṣa; the ichneumon (called nakula in Sanscrit) was the origin of the arhats name which is precisely Nakula in Nandimitra's relation, and then became Bakula and also Bakkula. 266) Leñadakh and Zanskar claim the glory of having given hospitality to his incarnation, in the monastery of Ri rdson.

Plate n. 164. - Rāhula (sGra gcen gasin) seated on a decorated seat of Chinese style; he holds in his hands a diadem, in remembrance of his visit to the Trayasvārīmnā's heaven to preach the Law and of the gift of their own diadems, which those gods made him. By his side is seen the image of a deva.

Plate n. 165. - Cullapanthaka (Lamu ag' trun bstan or: Cūḍapanthaka, gTsug gi lam) is represented seated, with his hands in the meditative posture; by his side, gods in an adoring attitude. On either side, two deva and two monks.

Plate n. 166. - Pindola 267) Bharadvāja (Bha ra dva dsa bsdod sīmons len); his characteristic symbols are the book and the bowl for alms (Lbum bzed) which should represent, according to the Tibetan tradition, his miraculous power of granting the wishes of those who pray to him.
Plate n. 167. – Panthaka (Lam bstan) is represented seated on a throne, cross-legged, holding a book in both hands.

Plate n. 168. – Nāgasena (Khui sde) is represented with the vase for libations (gtor bum) and the staff (mk'ar bsil). The former, according to the legend, was presented to him by the four kings of the points of the compass and is used to wash off the sins of created beings; the latter is used to heal sickness. Around him divinities and praying monks.

Plate n. 169. – Copaka (sBed byed, Ba lan skyeh) or, according to the Tibetan text quoted above, Copati: he carries on his right hand the book which is considered his symbol. Below two lions between a monk and a barbarian clutching a monkey with his right hand.

Plate n. 170. – Abheda (Mi p'ye) is represented holding in his hands a stūpa of that particular type called in Tibetan byaṅ c'ub m'tod rt'en: the Buddha gave it to him when he went into the Northern countries to convert the yaksas, in order that its magic power might appease the calamities stirred up by the yaksas. A converted yaksā is represented on the right of the arhats.

TANKA n. 137 (Plate 171).

A single figure, seated on a rock, stands out from the empty background, soft and slender. He holds with both hands a book in its envelope, after the Chinese fashion. The whole atmosphere of the painting is Chinese, as perhaps no other tanka in the collection: its light colours, the gay flower-patterns, the scope given by empty spaces, in which Indian artists are fond of heaping multiplied and overlapping figures. Two peacocks are strolling below, free and untrammelled. Above, lying on a mass of clouds, a meditating Buddha: his solitude transforms him into a light and airy vision. I cannot tell who the personage may be: probably a bodhisattva, but he wears his hair long like an ascetic. A beatified ascetic or a god? We have every reason for thinking that the artist has followed a Chinese model, which he had before him or which was present to his mind's eyes.

TANKA n. 138 (Plate 172).

sGrol ma: on the upper part aJam dpal dbyaṅs between two lamas aBrug pa. Below, the Sruṅ ḣk'or, a cycle of protecting deities: Ts'e rīn ma and two terrific deities riding in a circle of flames, Mohabhairavavajra on horseback (CLARK, p. 54, n. 566).

TANKA n. 139 (Plate R).

This picture also can be considered an excellent specimen of K'ams art: its vastity of space, the animals' graceful and natural liveliness, the landscape and the very type of the monks represented, all takes us back to pictorial traditions akin to the Chinese school. In the centre of the tanka a female deity holds in her arms a musical instrument, the vina; she is therefore no other than dByaṅs can ma, Sarasvati, the goddess of eloquence. In Indian mythology she is Brahma's bride, and in the Buddhist pantheon she has kept the same characters: she is the goddess of eloquence, learning, literary talent, therefore all masters are anxious to obtain her favour, that she may through her grace sharpen and stimulate their wit and ennoble their style. This explains why many sādhanas dedicated to her are to be found in the SM, and why Tibetan exorcists and masters should have been much concerned with her liturgy.
Vaiśravana belongs to a very complex group of deities whose origins are various; they go under the name of Yakṣa and are earth-gods and gods of the woods; harmfully inclined, they were finally received into the Buddhist pantheon. Buddhism abounds in hagiographical legends relating their submission at the hands of Śākyamuni and of his disciples and their passing to the new faith.

Every village had its protecting yakṣa or yakṣas; they were believed to live in trees or in certain stones placed at the feet of trees and were worshipped with regular offerings of flowers, libations and sacrifices. As soon as a deity takes a preeminent place over others of the same cycle, it assumes their names, virtues and qualities; its original character is thus enriched with new elements, becomes more and more complex, is transfigured. The same process took place with Vaiśravana.

We do not presume, starting from this tanka, to write a monograph on such a complex subject as Vaiśravana’s figure; nevertheless it is necessary to establish what his essential characteristics are. Vaiśravana is regularly considered the patronymic of Kubera, who in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa already appears as the king of the Yakṣa and of wealth - Kubera Vaiśravano rājā. The complexity of his figure appears from the very fact of his double paternity: now he is Pulastya’s son, now the son of Viśravas: tradition solves the contradiction by a mythological device: the Mahābhārata (Rāmaṇapākyāna, III, p. 274) relates that Vaiśravana was the son of Pulastya by a cow; one day he deserted his father to serve Brahmā, but the father created by himself another son, Viśravas, who became Vaiśravana’s rival; the latter, to appease his father, made him a present of three beautiful Rākṣasi. Always according to the Rāmopākyāna, he reigned in Lankā, whence he was expelled by Rāvaṇa, the son of one of those Rākṣasi he had given his father. On the other hand Brahmā, to reward his devotion, made him lord of the Yakṣas, gave him power over treasures and conferred upon him the office of lokapāla, protector of one of the four points of the compass.

Thus, already in Brahmanic tradition, some uncertainty appears concerning Vaiśravana, Viśravas and Kubera. Vaiśravana is not in all our sources the son of Viśravas: his abode is Lankā, later occupied by the ten-headed Rākṣasa, on the other hand Kubera’s reign is in the North, in Sumeru or Kailāsa (Kailāsanilaya, as the Mahābhārata says). His wives were Rddhi and Bhadrā. According to the Buddhist tradition, he lives in the Himālaya, in Visāṇa, citadel of Alakamandā; indeed, according to the Dīghanikāya, III, p. 201, he owes his name not to his father Viśrava but to the name of his abode: “Kuverass... Visāṇa nāma rāja-dhāni tasnā Kuvero Mahārāja Vessavano ti pavuccati Vesava...” His wife’s name is Bhunijati. The name of the city where he resides varies: as Kubera’s abode, it is called Alakā, (which is given as his residence even in the Mahābhārata) Alakamandā, Alakavati; as Vaiśravana’s abode, Aṭānātā (thus already in the text and commentary of the Dīghanikāya, XXXII).

It is thus clear that different elements come together to form the Yakṣa’s figure: Kubera-Vaiśravana; but it is difficult to ascertain whether we should consider this a case of assimilation between parallel deities, or rather of a double form of the same deity. The problem is difficult because of the continual overlapping and blending of mythological
types which is a constant phenomenon in the development of Indian religion: local and tribal deities, when they are similar, melt one into the other, through the channel of certain predominating characters common to all; their original names survive as particular denominations which throw light on this or that aspect. However, in the present case, beside the process of convergence, we also notice, indeed we shall see it prevail, an opposite process of dissimilation.

Kubera-Vaiśravana, who appear identified in the most ancient tradition (whether this identity be original or secondary), later become independent figures; for instance, already in the Lalita-Vistara, Kubera is different from Vaiśravana: "Śivaskandhanārāyaṇakubera-candrasūryavaivāvāvānā", p. 120. So also in the Malāmāyāri, ed. Leivi, s. v., with the literary anticipation of a fact which we see documented by iconography. Later, at the height of Mahāyāna, we find by the side of Vaiśravana the form Vaiśrāmaṇa.

The Böhtlingk-Roth Lexicon considers the form Vaiśrāmaṇa an error for Vaiśravana: but the real existence of the two forms is proved by Tibetan traditions, which have for Kuvera: lus ṇan "bad body", for Viśrāvaṇa: rman t'o sras, which is the most common form, and ṇal bso "the reposing," for Vaiśrāmaṇa. Chinese transcriptions prove it still more: P'i sha men 昴沙門, Jap. Bishamon.

The Kubera, Vaiśravana, Vaiśrāmaṇa type's initial complexity increased when, following its diffusion in Central Asia, Buddhism came in contact with local cults and, according to its custom, absorbed them, identifying certain gods and genii, extremely popular in the conquered regions, with those figures of its own pantheon with which they seemed to have some mythological or iconographic analogy. It is not improbable that some such contamination may have happened in the case of the deity from which the kings of Khotan believed themselves to be descended. According to the Lii yul bustan pa and to the Li yul c'os kyi lo rgyus (see Thomas, Literary Texts, pp. 98-99, 307-308 and Some notes on Central-Asian Kharōṣṭhi documents, BSOAS, XI-3, p. 520), they descended from Bāṣa-rāmaṇa; the same descent from Vaiśrāmaṇa, considered the protector of the country, is related by Hsüan Tsang who tells us that he enjoyed a special cult in Khotan, together with Śri-devi. Anyhow, this god has two predominating characters: on one side he is the god of wealth, the Indian Pluto; speaking of a rich man, he is said to vie with Kubera, his house rivals Vaiśrāvaṇa's in splendour. He is Dhanada, the dispenser of riches: Kubera guards treasures and helps his devotees to find them; he is therefore Nidhipati; by virtue of this character, he assimilates kindred deities, of different origin, for instance Jambhala, Jambhara who is also a Yakṣa.

On the other hand he is king of the Yakṣas, chief of their armies; together with Virūpākṣa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, he is one of the kings of the points of the compass, a Lokapāla, one of the four Caturaṃhārāja.

The latter were taken over very early by Buddhism as defenders of the faith: hence their protective character. They protect the Law against harmful forces; therefore their active character finally became predominant. In ancient Buddhism they had merely been faithful followers and guardians of the Buddha; later they became active custodians of religion. Thus already in the Mahāvastu Vaiśravaṇa appears between Śiva and Skandha, the god of war, in the list of devas. Mhv. III, p. 68; Ch. I, p. 399. senāpatirūpena vaiśravaṇa-rūpena cakravarti-rūpena.

In the Siwarnaprābhāsa the Caturmahārāja reveal and accomplish the rakṣā or defences of the faithful: the same task is attributed to them in the Mahāsodasmuropananda.

This explains how, little by little, a war-like character was added to their primitive one. This double aspect favours the splitting up of as ingle god into two gods, which is

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revealed by Sino-Tibetan iconography, where Kubera-Vaiśravana-Jambhala as Pluto is distinguished from Vaiśravana as Lokapāla.269)

The first is represented, like almost all Yakṣas, fat and half naked, through successive iconographic modulations, which go from the Kubera of Mathurā and Lahore to the Kubera-Jambhala figure of Buddhist art in the Middle Ages: his symbols are, as in the Lahore statute, the lance, which appears once more in Japanese iconography, and the money-bag, in the ritual of the Mabasāhasrapramardani (commentary by Karmavajra, bsTan agyur, ju. XVII, p. 17, sword and arrow), or, generally, the mongoose pouring out riches from its mouth or the lemon (jambhara) or the gem. In a sādhana of Vaiśravana with four arms (bsTan agyur, LXXXVI, 47, p. 163) his symbols are club (Kubera’s weapon in the Epic) sword, varada and mongoose.

In Hindu iconography, if he has two arms, is in varada and abhaya-mudrā, or he carries a club in his left hand; if he has four arms, with the first two he embraces his ūkṣi and with the others he clasps a club and an arrow (RAO, Hindu iconography, II, p. 537).

The Lokapāla’s type has quite a different evolution: from the simplicity of the image in Gandharic art, where the four lokapāla are represented according to the devas’ pattern (and there is nothing to distinguish them, except the scenes in which they appear) up to the Central Asian, Chinese and then Tibetan tradition.

Here a new iconographic type appears, which is not represented in India: this type preserves the treasure-pouring mongoose of Kubera-Jambhala and therefore is connected by this symbol with the original character of the god of riches, but in his other hand he brandishes the flag (dbuṣa); he rides on a lion, while in the ancient tradition Kubera is: Naravāhana, “sits on naras, or is carried by horses or birds; he is usually dressed as a warrior, wearing a cuirass of Iranian pattern (STEIN, Serindia, p. 874). This warlike character, predominating in Vaiśravana’s type, as a Lokapāla, is not to be explained only as the emphasizing of an aspect already belonging to Vaiśravana in ancient Buddhist tradition, according to which he is a chief of the yakṣas and a defender of the faith; it is the consequence of new orientations, and perhaps of contacts with other mythical types, which ended by transforming Vaiśravana into a god of war. In some Tantric texts like the Mahāmāyūri or the Mahāśāhasrapramardani, Vaiśravana is always the protector of the faith, the possessor of the rakṣas, the lord of the Vidyādhara, but he has not yet assumed that character of god of war which transpires, for instance, in some works included in the Chinese canon, T. 1247, Pei fang p’i sba men t’ien wang sui chün bu fa ii kwei 北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法儀軌; T. 1248, Pei fang p’i sba men t’ien wang sui chün bu fa chen yen 北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法真言; T. 1249, P’i sba men ii kwei 毘沙門儀軌 (2126). In these texts the god, represented in a terrific aspect, with a lance and stūpa, is greeted as “he who follows the armies to protect the Law...” Being invoked by Amoghavajra when, in 742, Tibetans, Arabs and Sogdians attacked Ngan hsi, he caused the troops of his own son Nađā to appear before the Emperor Huien-tsung, who had gone into the temple with the Indian monk; at the same time (as it was later reported from the attacked city) a fearful army suddenly appearing amid a great earthquake put the enemy’s troops to flight and delivered the city. Equally, in Balkh, he was supposed to have saved a great monastery from a Turkish attack.

These texts, in which the god’s warlike aspect and attire are emphasized, are not based on an Indian tradition: Vaiśravana, in India, is eclipsed by Kubera and Jambhala: in the Śādhanamālā he appears in fact as an acolyte of the latter god and has no independent life (in SM, p. 566, in the maṇḍala of Jambhala’s eight gods, he is to be found
in the South, on p. 562 on the West). In the bsTan agyur only two sādhana are dedicated to him: rGyud LXXII, p. 29 and LXXXVI, p. 47, and one Kalpa LXXII, p. 30. On the other hand he has a preeminent place with respect to the other three lopakañlas in the literature of the Pañcarakṣa, according to which he is represented with four arms, an arrow, a sword, mongoose and vase (Karmavajra’s commentary, bsTan agyur, LVII, p. 17).

From what precedes, I should be inclined to assign a non-Indian origin to this new type of Vaiśravaṇa in a warrior’s attire. It was probably formed in Central Asia, through a contact with other mythic cycles. This hypothesis is confirmed by the god’s apparel, by his hat which Stein, Serindia, p. 874 and Matsumoto (Tonkō-ga no kenkyū, p. 463 ff.) justly connected with the Sassanid kings’ crown Mats. compares the figure of Khusrav II, in the famous dish of the Bibliotheque Nationale Survey Persian Art, vol. IV, pl. 214, and we can also add ibid., p. 218, and above all the Naqsh-i-Rustam reliefs, representing Shapur’s triumph, ibid., p. 155 a whose crown has a great analogy with that of our tanka n. 140.

For his armour, with figures of lions on the shoulders, see Stein, ibid., Le Coq, Billets et atlas, p. 65, fig. 91.

In Tibet this warlike character, which Central Asian and Chinese traditions were introducing, must have favoured the fortunes of the god and of his myth, for his quality of protector of the North, so represented in a warrior’s costume, would fatally approach him to Cesar, who is also a god of war and in the division of the world is assigned, among the four Kings, precisely to the North. This is confirmed by a tradition sufficiently ancient, contained in the Pad ma bka’ t’an (PKT, chap. II, Thomas, Literary Texts, p. 266). According to this text, Cesar king of the Hor is the king ruling the North, while to the East is the king of China, to the West the king of Ta zig (Persia) and to the South the king of India.

It is thus quite probable, that, in some Central Asian environment, two different orders of ideas again should have melted one into the other, meeting upon the type of Vaiśravaṇa: on one side the Lokapala, keeper of one of the four points of space, and on the other the “king of horses”, one of the four kings among which the rule over the Jambudvīpa is divided. The “king of horses”, was in the North, and in some Buddhist traditions he is already identified with the Turks, Ge sar’s Hor, as in the Tibetan echo of the same legend mentioned above. We are led to the same consideration by the presence of the eight avapati, rta bdag, “lords of the horses”, who accompany Vaiśravaṇa in Tibetan iconography.

The Buddhist gnosis, changing the character of the Yakṣas and Guhyakas of whom Vaiśravaṇa Kubera was the overlord into faithful attendants of the Law transformed, then, this god into a Vidyādhara, the emperor of the Vidyādhara; and this made him akin to Vajrapāṇi equally assumed to the rank of Guhyādhipati.

It was necessary to premit all this in order to understand the singularity of Vaiśravaṇa’s Tibetan type as it appears on two of our tankas; it points as its models to the Central Asian and Chinese Lopakālas and has no relation with the Indian iconographical tradition of Kubera-Jambhala (see, for instance, GNB, plate XLIII d). Indeed, according to the tradition concerning the aP’yon rgyas family’s origin, and its relations with the Bhata Hor, (see p. 643), the Tibetans attributed the prototype of rNam t’os sras, Vaiśravaṇa’s image to an artist from lJñ, on Tibet’s extreme Eastern frontiers, when, during the war between Tibet and China, Vaiśravaṇa, surrounded by eight horsemen, his brothers, led the Tibetan troops to victory. Chroniclers of aP’yon rgyas’ family thus repeat a story which does not differ much from the one told by Taishō n. 2126 though located in a different place.
Vaisravana’s iconographic representation preserves in Tibet its Central Asian character through the centuries. While the other deities are nearly always represented according to the patterns of the sādhana, fundamentally inspired by Indian models, the Tibetan Vaisravana has nothing to do with India: armour, accoutrement, cuirass, apparel of the god and of his acolytes, point beyond discussion to a Central Asian origin.

There are naturally some differences between one tanka and another: this variety consists in a greater or lesser adherence to models more decidedly Chinese, as in tanka n. 141, or rather to Central Asian interpretations in which Iranian reminiscences are not rarely perceived. Moreover, tanka 141 n. is richer in personages representing the complex cycle connected with Vaisravana.

Tanka n. 140, Pl. S offers no difficulty of interpretation. In the centre rNam t’os sras, wearing an armour; he is seated on a lion, which instead of being white, according to the most common iconography, is of a blue colour. In his right hand he holds the flag (dhvaja) and in his left the mongoose, from whose mouth jewels and precious stones issue rather like a cascade. The acolytes surrounding him are easily identified. Eight are on horseback: therefore they are the eight rTa bdag, whose list I will give later.

The two figures in Chinese costume on the god’s right represent a man and a woman: the man carries a sceptre and the woman a bowl, as if to make an offering to the god. This attitude of both personages makes it impossible to consider them rNam t’os sras’ parents: they are rather the king and queen of the nāgas, who come to do him homage after having been conquered. The painting much resembles the one in the Thousand Buddhas, Pl. XXVI (Waley, Cat., p. 41) which bears an inscription saying that it represents Vaisravana “crossing the ocean”, in relation with the nāgas’ and the nāginis’ submission, accomplished by the Mahāsāhasrapramardani-vidyā (see Mahāsāhasrapramardani, p. 14).

Each of the other three smaller figures represents perhaps one of Kubera’s sons, who, according to the Mahāsāhasrapramardani, p. 10, are: Śānijaya, Janaka, Mahāgraha, Kalaśodara.

The second tanka is more complex; it represents, under the form of a mandala, the whole of Vaisravana’s heaven, i. e. the celestial city where he resides, Alakavati, lCaṅ lo can. The city is built according to a fixed pattern, which is found in all iconographic representations of Vaisravana’s mandala: in the centre stands a palace with three roofs one over the other, of Chinese style (gya p’ibs): the god is seated inside it. On the four sides of the palace we see four smaller dwellings with only one roof, four more stand at the intermediate points: all around run three corridors (ak’or sa) in which various deities are placed.

According to the system of the Lotsāva of Zaṅs dkar, which seems to have enjoyed great diffusion and authority in Tibetan schools and which the painter of this tanka has generally followed, in the eight images regularly arranged on the four sides and in the four corners we must recognize the eight rTa bdag “the horsemen”. As to the identification of the other personages of rNam t’os sras’ cycle, we can rely on a vast Tibetan liturgical literature, where the first place is occupied by a treatise of Buston: rGyal po c’en po rnam t’os sras kyi bstod pa rgyal po t’ugs rab tu mīnes byed.

 Naturally this pamphlet summarizes the Indian tradition, which has its centre above all in the literature of the Pañcarakṣā: the Mahāmāyuri, and particularly the Mahāsāhasrapramardani, which completes and develops the elements already contained in the Ātapiśyasutta of the Dīghanikāya and in the Ātānātaśūtra, being enriched by new elements.

In this literature is contained a description of Alakavati, considered as a heaven where the pious go (Mahāsāh., p. 7), and lists are made of the groups of deities considered as Vaisravana’s acolytes. To these treatises must
be added the *Mabāsabōtrapramordanisūtraṭikā* by Karmavajra, bStTan agyur, LXVII.

The rTa bdag are:

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<th>to the East:</th>
<th>to the right</th>
<th>to the left</th>
<th>colour</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jambhala</td>
<td>symbol</td>
<td>yellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>to the South:</td>
<td>gem</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaṃ ba bzaṅ po</td>
<td>vase</td>
<td>yellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>to the West:</td>
<td>gem</td>
<td>white</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nor bu bzaṅ po</td>
<td>sword</td>
<td>blue</td>
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<td>to the North:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kubera</td>
<td>scimitar</td>
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<td>Yaṃ dag &amp;s</td>
<td>pagoda of gems</td>
<td>yellow</td>
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<td>to the S. W.:</td>
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<td>pale yellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>aBrog gnas</td>
<td>sword and shield</td>
<td>white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the N. W.:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lNa rtsen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the N. W.:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aJam po a k'yl pa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The names correspond respectively to: Jambhala, Pūrṇabhadra, Maṇibhadra, Kubera, Sañjaya, (on him see *Suvānaprabhāsasūtra* chap. 12, Sañjñeya) Ātavaka, Paṇcika, Mṛdu-kunḍalin.

Thus we see that the list only in part corresponds to that of Vaiśravana’s eight brothers and hence of the Yakṣas, which is given by other sources, for instance by Taishō, 1796, 1 and is quoted on this base by the Hōbōgirin (Maṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Paṇcika, Śataṅgiri, Haimavata, Viśakha, Ātavaka, Paṇcāla).

In the third corridor are placed the eight nāgas, accompanied by their various retinues.

The second corridor is divided into two orders (rim pa). In the first are represented the following 28 governors (sde dpon) of the Yakṣas (their list is also in KARMAVAJRA’S treatise, p. 14):

To the East:
Rin po Gaṅ po
Mig bzaṅs Ser skya

To the South:
Sen ge Duṅ can (or Dus can, Karmavajra)
Ne bai sen ge dGa’ bo

To the West:
Sen ge Bla ma
Sen gei ral pa can Ser skya

To the North:
adsin pa brTson skyon
adsin dga’ (adsin pa dag, Karmavajra)

To the South-East: Ts’ig(s) lñ a ser po
To the South-West: Ri mīlam
To the North-West: Ser c’en
To the North-East: lNa skyon (lNa spyod Karmavajra)

and further on the zenith: Sa pa: Śin tu sa pa; Nag po; Ne nag po. Then, in the intermediate space: Ñi, Zla, Me, rLuṅ.

Iconographically, they are all alike; they clasp a sword in their right hand and hold a shield in their left.

In the third order are found the 32 sTobs c’en (mahābala), called by the *Mabāmyūri* the Dharmabhūtrā, Vaiśravana’s brothers according to the Law, listed according to the *Ātānātikasūtra*, ed. Hoffman, pp. 72 and 100, and Karmavajra, p. 14 ff. (cfr. *Mabāmyūri*, ed. OLDENBURG, *Zapiski*, 1897-98, pp. 236-237):

To the East:
dBaṅ po Indra
Zla ba Soma
C’u lha Varuna
šKye dgui bdag po Prajāpati
brDol pa rgyal mts’an (in the *Ātānātikasūtra* and in Bustom: Bha-radvāja)
dBaṅ Idan
Tsan da na
aDod pa rgo

dBaṅ Idan
Tsan da na
aDod pa rgo

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To the South:

mGrin nan (Kunikantha, in Mahābāsāhasapr.: Manikantha)
mGul ņes Nikantha
Bha ti (Bādi) (Ātānatikāśūtra: sTobs ldan = Balin)
Nor bu spyod pa Manicāra
sGra rab Pranāda
Ñe rtser lna Upapāṇcaka
Ri мнam Sātāgiri

To the West:
gSer can Haimavata
Gāṇ po Pūrṇaka
Seṅ ldeṅ Khadira
gYon can Kovida
Ba laṅ skyon (Bu- ston: ba glaṅ) Gopāla
aBrōg gnas Ātāvaka
Mūr gyāl po Narārāja
rGyal bai k’yu mc’og Jinarśabha

To the North:

Ts’īgs lna ser po Pañcālaganda
bŽin bzaṅ Sumukha (in Ātānā- tikāśūtra: Yid dga’,
Riṅ po SNa ts’ogs sde
sNa ts’ogs sde
Dīrgha
Citrāsen (Karmavajra:
Dra ba Triphalin
Grags mduṅ rin po Nags ts’ogs sde
Mātali
(lha las akyuṅ bai) Citravanasena)
Mai ldan

They are all equally dressed as warriors,
hold a lance in their right hand and the
sword in the left; they are attended by their
retinue. In the outer corridor are the ten
P’yogs skyon, the eight planets (gZa’), the
28 constellations, gods, nāga, Dri za, Yakṣa.

Then a list of protectors of the big places follows, which is similar to that contained in the Mahābāsāhasapr. (p. 15).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>places</th>
<th>deities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pūṣpa</td>
<td>gSer gyi yan lag (but in the Mahābāsāhasapr. Suvarnavarṇa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Magadha</td>
<td>aJigs byed (Rabheyaka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gSo bai mt’a’ (Bharukaccha)</td>
<td>Mi t’od can (Kiṣapāl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ko sā la (Koṣala)</td>
<td>Rab tu dkar (Prapunḍaka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bzaṅ poi yul (Bhadra, Madra)</td>
<td>K’a spu can (Śucıloma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Gyad kyi yul (Malla)</td>
<td>Grags pa ḡdsin (Yaśódhara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. lNa ḡdsin pa (Paṅcāla)</td>
<td>sKrag byed pa (Vibhiṣaṇa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. rTa skye ba (Aśvaja)</td>
<td>Mig dmar (Loḥitakṣa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Srun byed pa (Avanti)</td>
<td>Ser skya (Pūṅgala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sems dp’a’ (t)</td>
<td>Mig ser po (Kapilakṣa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Beu las (Vatsa)</td>
<td>Bum pai lto (Kumbhodara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. dGa’ bai yul (Sūrata)</td>
<td>Riṅ por skyes (Dīrghila)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ba laṅ ḡdsin (Gandhāra)</td>
<td>Rab tu ajoms (Pramardana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Duṅ yul (Kambu)</td>
<td>Ňi mai ḡñen (Śūryamitra)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Then many other yakṣa are displayed in the maṇḍala of Vaiśravaṇa, as protectors of minor places, according to a catalogue very similar to that of the Mahāmāyūri.

This, then, is another scheme of India’s geographical division among various deities, less ample than the one of the Mahāmāyūri but equivalent to it and reduced to its essentials.

Vaiśravaṇa as king of the Yakṣas accepts as his acolytes numberless local gods that, as naivāsika, were supposed to rule over a certain space upon earth. The plan of their catalogues is always the same: the four principal points of the compass, four intermediate points, nadir and zenith viz., the spatial expansion of the world with special regards to the earth inhabited by men.

Through these geographical catalogues, extremely common in Vajrayāna (besides this one, from the Pañcarakṣa, we can quote another, of the 24 divisions of the Vajrakāya, projected upon the earth according to bDe mchod’s cycle), Buddhism definitely included in its pantheon stubborn survivals of India’s native and primitive religions, which the masses, though converted to new and loftier doctrines, could never forget. Vaiśravaṇa’s cycle, from this point of view, is one of the most interesting, because in it this process of assimilation, accomplished by Buddhism in India and then outside India, is revealed in its clearest and fullest form, by transferring into Vajrayāna that manifold world of the Yakṣas, with which India’s religious experiences begin their history.

This character of Vaiśravaṇa by which he absorbed non-Buddhist gods explains his popularity in Tibet; his acolytes showed great analogies with the aboriginal deities; the naivāsika gods introduced in his cycle had the same nature as the Sa Ṇdag and the gNan. In this way the Pañcarakṣa and its allied texts gave the Tibetan masters an opportunity to give a Buddhist garb to aboriginal gods so rooted in the souls of the people that it was impossible definitely to dispose of them.
TANKA n. 142.

An undefined deity: male or female? It has six arms and seems to be represented as an ascetic, with long hair and earrings. Above, on each side, rDo rje će’ān yab yum and the Buddha; on each side and below, the donors.

TANKA n. 143 (Plate T).

It is one of the most beautiful ser t’ān in the collection. On the golden background the lines traced in black develop, clear-cut and flexible; the uniformity of the gold is interrupted by short red flames, blazing up and playing all round the deities of the srūn k’or and by the flowers. On the throne very slight touches of blue.

The painting represents an aBrug pa master, perhaps the actual founder of the sect. Above, in the centre, Sākyamuni, on the left Ts’e dpag med, on the right, another master of the same school. Below, Beg tse and a bTsan.

TANKAS nn. 144-147 (Plates 178-180, U).

They are all by the same author and also numbered so as to form a cycle.

Tanka n. 144 represents Heruka; this god’s manifestations are multiplied in small figures surrounding the central image; they only differ in this, that the latter is represented with 16 arms and eight heads, while the former represent him with only two arms and one head. Among the figures of the lower plane, mixed with other patterns, the seven gems.

Below the inscription:

Om svasti
di skrun (sic) dge ba gan žig t’ob pa des dpal ldan bla ma rnam s kyi žabs brten ciñ bdag dañ ni k’a’ miñams sems can ma lus pa he ru ka gi go p’an t’ob p’yir bsño

“May the merit born of this (work) be devolved to the spiritual welfare of beings infinite as space, in such a manner that they, adoring the foot of the glorious masters, may obtain Heruka’s spiritual condition.”

As the other tankas have no inscriptions, it is clear that this one is the centre of the cycles; the others develop round the deity as its acolytes and emanations. For Heruka see what I wrote in Indo-Tibetica, II, part II, p. 6; cfr. J. PRZYLUSKI, Heruka-Śāmbhava in Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies, I, 1937.

Tanka n. 145 (Plate U) represents the white Tārā; she has already been mentioned in Indo-Tibetica and in the present book; there is no need of dwelling on her.

Tanka n. 146 represents aJigs byed; on his buffalo’s head, the head of aJam dpal, whose terrific emanation he is; this god’s image is also represented in the centre of his breast, to signify the essential identity of the two divinities.

Tanka n. 147 represents rNam par rgyal ma, with six arms, according to traditional iconography (see, for instance, Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 201).

She is better known by the name of gTsug gتور gtor mam par rgyal ma, Uṣṇiṣavijaya, and as such, various sādhana of the SM are dedicated to her. She has two, or eight arms, and in Tibet there is a liturgy, dedicated to her, which goes back to Maitripā. In our times, with the Yellow school, wide circulation is being given to a handbook of the Pan cen bSthun pai ni ma, called bCom ldan adas rnam par rgyal mai ggrab dkyil gc’i med bdud risi bum byaṅ.

TANKA n. 148 (Plate 181).

It represents rDo rje gzung nu, i. e. rDo rje p’ur ba. We shall come back to this picture when illustrating tanka n. 167.
TANKA n. 149 (Plate 182).

This tanka, representing multiplications of the god pictured in the centre, is dedicated to rNam par snān mdsad, that is to Vairocana, in the aspect proper to the Durgatipariśodhana’s heaven (Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 119 ff.).

As I have discussed this god at length in Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 106 ff. I am now dispensed from saying anything further about him.

TANKAS nn. 150, 151 (Plates 183, 184).

These two tanka belong to the same series: on the red background the figures are drawn in gold. In tanka n. 150 the lesser ones develop round the central figure, representing rDo rje sīn pos rab tu ajom pa, surrounded by a choir of other personages; beginning from the first one above on the left, they are:

N. 150. Tsan dan dpal, Candanaśrī C’u lhai lha, Varunadeva ‘Od dpal, Prabhāśrī Tsānśi pai ‘od zer, Brahmajyotīr mTs’an dpal sīn tu yoṅs grags, Suprakāśīnāśrī Mi ak’rugs pa, Akṣobhya rNam par gnon pas gṣregs pa, Vikṛāntagāmiśrī Sīn tu mam par gnon pa, Suvikrāntaśrī Nor dpal, Dhanaśrī Sred med kyi bu, Nārāyaṇa

N. 151. In the centre: Sa kya t’ub pa dPa’ boi sde, Virasena Rin c’en ‘od ap’ro, Ratnārca dPal dgyes, Śrīnandita (CLARK, LP, p. 246, n. 87: Vikramanandita; dpa’ for dpal)

Rin c’en zla ‘od, Ratnacandraprabha Rin c’en zla ba, Ratnacandra Ts’aṅs pas byin, Brahmadatta Ts’aṅ pa (= Ts’aṅs pa), Brahma Dri ma med pa, Vimala dPal sbyin, Śrīdatta (CLARK, LP: Śura- datta; dpa’ for dpal)

Thus we see represented here those Buddhas we have very often found before as a secondary subsidiary cycle; they belong to the group of the Itūn bṣags, the Buddhas invoked during the confession of sins. We have already spoken about them above.

TANKA n. 152 (Plate 185).

This painting, of an extremely accurate design, is not precisely a gser t’ar, because the gold is deftly blended with silver; this gives the picture a fascinating sheen and subtlety. The figures, drawn with an exquisitely accurate touch, emerge, willow-slender, out of the diaphanous background, like a landscape just awakened, breaking loose from the night-mist, kissed by the sun’s first rays. In the centre Mi skyod pa, Akṣobhya, stands out, his right hand in bhijmisparbhadāra, his left, the palm outstretched, supports the vertical rdo rje. The god, encircled with light by a double halo, is seated in the centre of a pavilion of Chinese style; under him unfolds a pageant of praying monks, nine on each side; the number eighteen would suggest the 18 arhat, and in this case we should infer that the painter, neglecting all the particular symbols which belong to each of the 18 keepers of the Law, has wished to represent them all together, as a uniform group.

Then eight bodhisattvas represent Byān c’ub sems dpa’ brgyad’s well known cycle. They are (see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, pp. 101 and 149, cf. sTon pa ne bai sras brgyad ak’or daṅ bca’ dkyil ak’or geṅ tu mc’od cin bsags sbyon bya bai c’o ga rgyal sras dgyes pai lam ajug in sGrub t’abs kun b’lus):

1. aJam dpal gṣon nur gyur pa
2. sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ p’ygug
3. rDo rje adsin pa
4. Byams pa mgon po
5. Sai sīnīn po
6. sGrib pa t’ams cad mam par sel ba
7. Nam mk’ai sīnīn po
8. Kun tu bzaṅ po
In *Indo-Tibetica* (ibid.) their meaning is explained.

In the two lower edges, two small temples with figures; in the interior, four on each side, eight figures of praying deities; there is no doubt that they represent the eight mC’od pai lha mo. On the right and on the left of the central figure, inside two pagodas, two images of the same god. The tanka represents, reduced to its essential lines, Aksobhya’s heaven, of which we have seen a much more remarkable specimen, from the iconographical point of view. Above, over Aksobhya’s head: rDo rje sems dpa’ yab yum. Then, on each side and above, on the upper frame, eight images of Aksobhya resting on clouds which unfold their soft coils in the sky, perhaps to represent the multiplication of the god’s images, which are offered to the contemplating devotee’s meditation, when he is born again in the heaven presided over by Aksobhya.

**TANKA n. 153** (Plates 186, V).

Amitābha in the center; above, Amitāyuh. Gods, Bodhisattvas, monks and heavenly places are represented round the central figure. Probably the tanka is connected with the revelation of some book which I am not in a position to determine.
TANKAS OF THE Mgon k'aus

TANKA n. 154 (Celesia di Vigliasco collection) (Plate 187).

This tanka represents the C'os rgyal p'yi sgrub, i.e. the king of Death in his exoteric form. He is also commonly known as gSin rje c'os kyi rgyal po. He has the face of a buffalo and two hands; in the right he brandishes the t'od dbyug, the club surmounted by a skull; the left, in the threatening mudrā, grasps a noose: he has three eyes, blazing like the fire that will consume the universe at the end of the cosmic aeons. On his left is represented Cāmuṇḍī, black, with red and yellow hair: she wears an elephant skin on her shoulders and grasps a trident and a skull-cap. They both ride buffalo. In the centre of the tanka, above, is represented āJam dpal, on whose right stands Tson k'a pa; next other masters. Round the god, who lifts his club, a crowd of terrific monsters, described in liturgical literature as: gSin rje c'os kyi rgyal po, black, with a hook; Dus kyi žags pa ma, black, with a noose; gSin rje dam sri ma nag mo, with a club; gSin rje sreg ma, black, with a tooth; Dus mts'an ma, gSod ma, Nag mo, Nam gru, Ša ga li, gSin rje p'ebs ma, gSin rje mts'an mo, black.

Some ride a three-legged mule, some an ass, another rides the wind, or a black bird; some carry a mirror on which are reflected the deceased's works and sins, some a bag containing diseases, or they carry a dagger, or a bdud kyi k'ram śin, the club with which demons are executed. Male figures also belong to the interminable retinue of the God of Death, supreme judge of those who have passed into the next world. These male figures belong to the troop of dam can who "take their joy of flesh, wallow in blood, are lacking in pity," (gSin rje c'os kyi rgyal po p'yi sgrub la brten p'ai gtor c'en drug cu pai rnam g'zag lag len dga' don gyi rim pa of Blo bzān dpal ldan bstan p'ai ni ma, Pañ c'en of Tashilunpo, complete works, vol. Ta, p. 5).

The god then is surrounded, in our tanka, by other demons of his numerous retinue: according to the most widespread liturgies, the C'os rgyal rules over an innumerable troop of creatures, among whom the following are the most eminent, and dwell around the central god, in eight iron castles: they are the eight great Yama: Yayāti, carrying a club; P'ya bsan, carrying a cakra; T'ig ma, carrying a pole on which criminals are impaled; gSod at sgyur sngin; Dal pa mts'ar dgu can, carrying a spear, dressed as a king, or as a minister or a general; gSin rje mig dmar, carrying a pole on which criminals are impaled; Tel pa, with a wheel; Gla'n mgo can, with a noose.

Hence it is clear that this cycle is a composite one, in the sense that it does not draw its inspiration from Indian sādhana, but has been elaborated in Tibet, by joining Indian intuitions to native religious traditions. Thus side by side with Yayāti, the first ancestor according to some Indian myths, we find
p'nya bsas,' who is a Bon po god; (a p'nya sans 'ol la ar' en is mentioned in the Bon rgyal rabs). rMig, "the hoof,,,, seems to have the same origin, and RaI pa mts'ar dgu can, "the god bearing nine wonderful manes,,,,, too. The title RaI pa can is common in the pre-Buddhist mythology of Tibet: we should remember, for instance, the lion having a turquoise mane, who mounts watch over glaciers, in the Ladakh wedding-songs.

With the eight iron castles, in which the eight Yama rule, the Indian influence is again evident; they are modelled on the eight hells of the most ancient Buddhist traditions.

In a second external circle, in 12 iron castles, the 12 great Ma mo' described above.

In 15 more iron castles, fifteen P'yogs skyon.

Then the eight Lha c'en, the eight Klu, the four Jig rten skyon, the 28 Nak!atra, the 9 aJigs byed c'en po, the 75 bTsan.

TANKA n. 155 (Plate 188).

This tanka represents the C'os rgyal p'yi sgrub, like tanka n. 154, whose explanation may be consulted. Above, aJam dpal, on the right Mi gyo ba; on the left figures of a lama; below on the left, a bTsan on horseback, belonging to the god's retinue.

TANKA n. 156.

It represents the God of Death aC'i bdag nag po gsin rje, who emerges from the seventh circle under the earth, in the South. He, unlike the p'yi sgrub form we have already met, has no sakti; his symbols too are different: he does ride a buffalo and has a buffalo's head and two hands, but in his left hand he carries the noose he uses to seize and tie the cGegs, and in his left he brandishes a club (dbyug pa) (see dPal rdo rje aJigs byed rnal abyon don ahes drug cu rtsa bzhis gto c'og gi dga' don k'ams gum zil gnon, by TĀRANĀTHA, complete works, vol. t'a, p. 16).

Round the figure flitter p'o ña and p'o ña mo, male and female messengers of the god of death.

TANKAS nn. 157-160 (Plates 189-193).

These tankas represent various modulations of the same theme and contain the same type, rendered according to different iconographical patterns: rDo rje aJigs byed, Vajrabhairava, Mañjuśrī's terrific manifestation expelling and suppressing the forces adverse to law and goodness. He triumphs even over death, because when passions are extinguished and the darkness of error is dispelled, continual rebirths come to an end and nirvana is achieved. In Indo-Tibetica (III, part II, p. 76 ff.) I have already dealt with this god and his meaning according to the esoteric schools of Tantrism; I shall refer the reader to those pages.

The liturgical literature concerning him, which is extremely vast, is divided into two groups: in one of them Vajrabhairava is represented alone, according to the type of the ekavira, the "lonely hero,,,,; the other type shows him with his sakti (i. e. yab yum). Tankas nn. 159, 160 (Plates 192, 193), belong to the latter current, nn. 157, 158 (Plates 189, 191) to the former. I will add that tankas nn. 159, 160, come from dGe lugs pa schools and probably from Tashi-lunpo; indeed one of them, n. 160 is copied from a woodcut engraved in the Tashilunpo monastery.

Tanka n. 157 does not represent the most common cycle of his acolytes, the one described in detail by the Lotsāva of Rva, preferred by Lamaist liturgy up to this day. Round the flaming halo which encircles him on every side and frames the god's black bulk with red, are painted the eight cemeteries symbolizing the eightfold conscious activity which keeps us bound to life and hence to death: indeed, they are the kingdom of death, which gnosis, impersoned by rDo rje aJigs
byed, annihilates and destroys. Next, framed by a sinuous design of twining climbers and tendrils, we see the figures of lamas: the masters who have been initiated into this god's mysteries and have handed on his secret experiences. In the centre, above, two small figures of rDo rje ac'a'n, one white and the other black, on the very axis of the tanka, to represent the essential relation binding the various divine emanations together; below, under the throne, donors and bearers of offerings, kneeling round a lama and minor deities: Jambhala the dispenser of wealth, Bya rgo gdo'n can, the four-armed mGon po, dPal ldan lha mo, gSfin rje and various figures of Tārā, the goddess of compassion - Uṣṇīṣavijayā.

In tanka n. 159 (Plate 192) we see, above, Tson k'a pa between two disciples: on the left of the spectator rDo rje sems dpa', on the right ajam dpal. Below, on the left, slob dpon bsTan p'el, and on the right rje btsun Blo bza'n ye sës dpal bza'n po, Pan cen of Tashilunpo. On each side of the god sGrol ma and Ts'e dpag med. Below, Tra kṣad nag po, mGon po p'yang bzi, C'os rgyal, rNam t'os stas.

In tanka n. 160 (Plate 193) in the centre, above, a lama who, as he carries a wheel on the palm of his hand, can only be a Dalai Lama, and precisely the fifth Blo bza'n rgya mts'o (see tanka n. 46). On the spectator's right, dPal ḥk'or lo sdom pa, on the left gSaṅ ba ḥadu pa; on the god's four sides: to the right, Yid bzin nor bu dkar po, mGon po p'yang bzi pa, on the left mGon po p'yang drug pa and Gur mgon. Below the C'os rgyal between another aspect of mGon po p'yang bzi pa and dPal ldan lha mo. Below rNam t'os sras, Beg tse between two deities on horseback; the one on the right is lNa yi dge bṣien c'en po (fig. in lNa yi dam c'os bṣunis rnam las bṛten pai bka' bgo byed ts'ul daṅ lha s rin sde rgyad klu sogs la c'ab sogs bka' bgo'i rim pa p'yangs geig tu bsdebs; see also tanka n. 120).

Below, in the centre, Mahākāla, two-armed; his right hand brandishes the gri gug in the left a skull-cap; on his left dPal ldan lha mo and on his right one of his messengers.

TANKA n. 161 (Plate 194).

It represents rNam par ajoms, as K'to rgyal, i.e. rDo rje sems dpa's angry form, with his typical symbols, the vajra and the bell. Around, images of lamas and terrific deities; below, in the first row, various aspects of Lo ma gyon ma, (Parṇaśavāra), in the second row, sGrol ma, rNam par rgyal ma, dPal ldan lha mo, rDo rje sems dpa', aŋgis tten dba'n p'yang, mGon po with six arms.

TANKAS nn. 162, 163 (Plates 195, 196).

These are two representations belonging to different schools and different epochs, but to the same cycle. Both represent the six-armed mGon po po p'yag drug or Ye sës kyi mgon po p'yag drug; one of them, Tanka n. 162, comes from Western Tibet, belongs to the Guge school and may be placed between the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries; the second was bought in Gyantse, but from Tashilunpo monks; it cannot be earlier than the XVIIIth century. The mGon po p'yag drug is one of the yi dam, protecting deities, most widespread in Tibet; although his popularity is greater with the Sa skya school and the dGe lungs pa, he is not ignored by the other sects. His omnipotence, whose help is invoked against the powers of evil, is acknowledged by all, and everyone bows in awe before him. In fact the mGon po p'yag drug is a symbol of the warlike (k'ro bo), power of Mi bskyod pa which reduces to dust demons (bdu4) and forces adverse to the Law (p. t).

The origin of this cult must be sought in India: as we read in the Grub t'abs kun bhus (vol. Ta: dPal ye sës kyi mgon po p'yag drug pai sgrub t'abs rjes gnāṇ daṅ bcas pai skor rnam) it is derived from a vision of this god, seen by
Savari-pa in the cemetery of bSil pai ts'al in Southern India; he then wrote on his vision a sadhana, called precisely Adisthanamabakala-sadbana (bsTan 'agurg XXVI, p. 79 and LXXII, p. 95, cf. SM, II, p. 590). The method of meditating which leads to the god's epiphany in the evocative process based upon him, was transmitted by Savari-pa to Maitri-pa, who then revealed it to Abhiyuktapada, and the latter to Advayavajra, this to K'yu'n po rnal abyor: with this master its penetration and diffusion in Tibet begins.

This god, commonly known also by the name of Myur mdsad in the liturgical literature which concerns him, is hardly ever alone: rather he is the centre, the essential deity, gso bo, of a cycle of other deities which surround him: he cannot be considered separately from these acolytes, to whom he is joined in the unity of the mandala. In fact the present two pictures are also mandala, one more the other less complete, of the tantric cycle dedicated to Ye'ses mgon po p'yang drug.

When we remember Ye'ses mgon po's popularity in Tibet, it will not be surprising to find that the liturgical literature concerning him is very rich: I shall select some of the most significant and widespread sadhanas, which will enable us to understand in all its details the symbolism of these two paintings and thence to determine the sects which inspired them. I will quote, to begin with, two works by Taranatha: dpal ye 'ses kyi mgon po p'yang drug pai sgrub t'abs gtor c'o ga da'n ba's pa (complete works, vol. ma) and: dpal ye 'ses kyi mgon po p'yang drug pai sgrub t'abs gtor mai c'o ga da'n ba's pa ap'rin las gter mdsad. Next the: Myur mdsad ye 'ses kyi mgon po p'yang drug pa la mo'd bstod t'ugs dam bskan pai rim pa, by the Pan c'e lama Blo bza'n dpal ldan bstan pai ni ma. The difference between the construction of the mandala in either text is of the slightest, as both are derived from the sadhana already quoted by Savari-pa.

The mystic, in the evocative process, or the painter who starts from it in painting his tanka, begin from the pedestal on which the god is standing; this pedestal symbolizes a cemetery, the Mi bzad dur k'rod, from which a lotus springs, issuing from the syllable pam; on the lotus, from the syllable ram, the sun will rise; from the sun a white elephant, will be born viz. Ts'ogs bdag po, Ganapati (Ganeśa). Above Ganapati, the black bulk of Myur mdsad ye 'ses kyi mgon po p'yang drug's body, corpulent and monstrous, like those storm-clouds which, at the end of aeons, will cover the world to dissolve it in the cosmic waters. He is represented with a face, three eyes and six hands. His hair is standing on end; on the top of his head he carries Mi bskyod pa's image, his hands on the right clasped the rdo rje gri gug, i.e. the crooked knife whose hilt has the form of a rdo rje, a crown of skulls, a damaru; his hands on the left side hold a skull-cap filled with the flesh and blood of the demons he has annihilated, a trident and a noose. He wears a dhoti (sam 'tabs) made out of a tiger's skin, bound round his waist by a green girdle (she rags); his ornaments are the eight serpents, one of which binds his hair; he wears a garland made of skulls, yellow earrings (san 'ga), armlets (dpun rgyan) proper to terrific deities, white necklace (mgul rgyan), yellow bracelets (lag gdub), green scarf (do 'sal), white rings on his toes (rka'n gdub); on his arms and legs bells hanging from chains. Round his waist he wears a band from which are suspended 50 human heads, freshly struck off; he wears the rus rgyan, i.e. the apron made of human bones. Around him, as his acolytes, are placed:

To the left: dpal ldan lha mo adod k'am dba'n p'yang ma, two-armed; in her right hand she clasps, shaking it in the air, the bdud kyi k'ram sin, in her left the bag containing diseases: (in the second treatise she has four arms; on the right sword and gri gug, on the left a flag and a skull-cap). She rides a wild ass (see tankas nn. 170-173).

Opposite: the Yakṣa Kṣe tra pa La, (271) black: in his right hand he clasps and shakes the gri
gug, terrifying gods and Asuras, in the left he holds a skull full of blood, lifted on a level with his heart. He rides a black bear.

To the right: dBaṅ p’jug dsi na mi tra, (Jinamitra) dark red, he has the aspect of an angry yakṣa: from his mouth issue smoke and fire, in his right hand he holds the damaru and a flame starts from the palm of his left hand in tarjanimudrā.

Behind: gSin rje Ṭak ki rā dsa, black; in his right hand he clasps a noose made with guts, in the act of flinging it towards his enemies; his left hand is in the threatening mudrā (tarjanimudrā).

To the left: bDud mgon Tra kṣad, black; in his right hand he pierces the hearts of his enemies, in his left hand he clasps a noose made with guts, in the act of flinging it towards his enemies; his right hand in the threatening mudrā (tarjanimudrā).

To the right: dBaṅ p’jug Jinamitra and on the right, on a black bear, the yakṣa Kṣetrapāla, on the left dBaṅ p’jug Jinamitra and on the right, on a black horse, bDud mgon Tra kṣad; on each side of Kṣetrapāla a blama and rNam t’os sras; the yakṣas at the god’s feet are evidently his messengers. To the right and to the left, the 10 P’yogs skyon unfold according to the iconography described by Taranātha.

Around, the ten keepers of the ten regions:

East. - rGya byin, yellow, on an elephant, with rdo rje.
South-East. - Me lha on a goat with a rosary.
South. - gSin rje, blue, on a buffalo, with a club (dbyug t’o).
South-West. - Srin po, dark, on a ghost, with a sword.
West. - C’u lha, white, on a makara, with a serpent-noose.
North-West. - rLuṅ lha, green, on a stag, with a banner.
North-East. - Byuṅ po, white, on an elephant, with a trident, embracing Gau ri ma.
Above. - Ts’āṅs pa, yellow, on a swan, with a vase.
Below. - Sa bdag, black, on a boat, with a flaming gem.

The comparison between the present liturgical pattern and the two tanka clearly proves the close dependence of the latter from the ritualistic pattern.

It is therefore clear that the tankas are inspired by traditional liturgy—the most ancient with a wealth of details, the other more concisely.

In tanka n. 162 (Plate 195), the god’s frightful figure towers darkly in the centre, enveloped by a smoky halo: on his left the four-armed dPal ldan lha mo, on his right gSin rje Ṭakkirāja - below, in the centre, on a black bear, the yakṣa Kṣetrapāla, on the left dBaṅ p’jug Jinamitra and on the right, on a black horse, bDud mgon Tra kṣad; on each side of Kṣetrapāla a blama and rNam t’os sras; the yakṣas at the god’s feet are evidently his messengers. To the right and to the left, the 10 P’yogs skyon unfold according to the iconography described by Taranātha. Above, on each side, four coupled figures probably represent four mK’a agro ma, according to a cycle represented, for instance, in the Tsaparang frescoes (Indo-Tibetica, III, part II, Plate LVII). On the flaming halo arranged round his head, small figures representing Mi k’ rugs pa, on the top, a white rDo rje sens dpa’, P’yag rdor with skull and rdo rje, mK’a agro ma with one head and two arms (small drum - can te’u - and skull). Above, in the centre, the symbol of supreme reality. On each side of rDo rje ac’aṅ the bla ma rgyud, i. e. the series of the masters through which the initiatic transmission took place. According to Taranātha, the masters invoked in the liturgical ceremonies are: Šavari, Maitri, Rāhula, K’yūn po rnal ḅbyor, Ratnavirya, Dharmasimha, Dharmavajra, Viryasimha, Šan ston c’os rje, etc. This means that here is repeated, briefly summarized, the bla ma bygyud mentioned in the colophon of bsTan agyur LXXXII, p. 95: Šavari, Maitripā, Abhiyuktapāda, Advayavajra, K’yūn po rnal ḅbyor, Rin c’en brtson grus (Ratnavirya), C’os kyi sen ge (Dharmasimha), C’os kyi šes rab, brTson grus sen ge (Viryasimha), Ts’uk k’ims abum, rGyal mts’an abum, Byams pai dpal, dPal bzaṅ po, Grub c’en, C’os abyuṅ rin c’en, Kun dga’ dpal bzaṅ po.

On the second tanka (Plate 196) are represented only dPal ldan lha mo on the right, but with two arms, according to Taranātha’s first treatise, on the left Kṣetrapāla, in
the centre. Tra kṣād, above on the left, dBaṅ p’yuṅ Dsī na mitta, on the right Tākkīrāja. Around, cemetery scenes, which not only are explained by the relation of identity between this manifestation of sPyan ras gzigs and Mahākāla, but are also meant to remind the spectator of that cemetery bSil pa ts’al where he revealed himself to the great ascetic Śaṇara-pā.

Above on this tanka Tson k’a pa’s figure between his two principal disciples, shows to which sect this picture must be assigned.

From an artistic point of view, tanka n. 162 is very important because in it we notice two different styles displayed side by side; the painting, as we have said, comes from Guge; the representation of the central deity, of the masters, of the Tantric deities below and on the upper edges, is similar to other paintings of this same school and does not differ from the Tsaparang frescoes, but the 10 P’yogs skyon, the protectors of the 10 points of space, are represented according to artistic patterns which have little to do with India.

In Tsaparang, the capital of Western Tibet, a great art centre, I have discovered other representations of this same cycle: they all follow Indian models, although sometimes the imitations attempted by Tibetan craftsmen have become somewhat stiff. But in the present painting, there is no trace of India. As in Vaiśrāvana’s cycle, the model followed by the painter can only be Central Asian. Why, in representing this cycle of 10 P’yogs skyon, has he introduced this motive, which disagrees artistically with the general tone of the tanka? The only reason we can give is that the painter, or the school to which he belonged, had at their disposal a model derived from Central Asian originals. Of course it is a question of stylistic difference, of a different manner, which appears above all in the armour, in the type of apparel, in the features of the face, certainly not in the symbols, which remain those fixed by iconographic tradition.

TANKAS nn. 164-166 (Plates 197, 198, X).

These tankas represent two aspects of rTa mgrin, Hayagriva. This god, common to the Hindu and to the mahāyāna pantheon, has travelled all over Asia, with Buddhism. A Dutch orientalist, Van Gulik, has written a fine monograph about him; anyone wanting further information concerning this divinity’s vicissitudes and fortunes, should read it.77) The second aspect represented in these two tankas however is not described in the sadhanas published by Van Gulik, but it corresponds to formulas for meditation, followed in Tibet to this day. I allude, for instance, to the rTa mgrin yan gsaṅ k’ros pai sgrub t’abs dan yan gsaṅ gi smon agrel of the Paṅ c’en lama Blo baṅ dpal ldan bstan pai nī ma, complete works, vol. 1a.

In this liturgical treatise is described K’ro boi rgyal po rta mgrin’s image (p. 11), of a red colour, with three faces and six arms; the central face is red, the left one green, the right one red: over the three faces issue three horse’s heads, of a dark green colour. The hands on the right hold respectively a rdo rje, a trident and a sword; the first hand on the left is in the threatening mudrā, the other two brandish an arrow and a noose made of human guts. He has eight feet, which trample on eight snakes. He wears the usual ornaments of terrific deities. As we see, the Paṅ c’en lama’s sādhanā corresponds to the figure represented in the tanka n. 160 (Plate 197), with a small difference: in the second hand on the right the trident is replaced by a khatvāṅga; in the second hand on the left an arrow replaces the trident.

Above, standing, two bodhisattvas: P’yag rdor and P’yag na pad ma.77)

Tanka n. 165 (Plate 198) represents the same god in yab yum form. This aspect too has three faces and six arms; the face on the right is white, the central one red and the left one green. His hands on the right grasp a lotus, a hook, a club (be con). In his hands, on the
left a skull-cap full of blood (banā damar), a noose made of guts and a sword. Apparel and ornaments are those of the wrathful deities).

On his shoulders, rDo rje k'yunī's wings. He embraces the Yum c'en Pad ma gar dban, of a dark blue colour, with one face and two hands: her right hand grasps a heart dripping blood, her left a skull-cap (dūn c'en) full of blood.)

Above the god sGrol ma, surrounded by monks in various attitudes. Below mGon po, four-armed, the C'os rgyal, dPal ldan lha mo, then two mK'a' agro ma on a wolf (?), rNam t'o sras and ICam sriṇ.

Tanka n. 166 (Plate X), reproduces the same type represented in tanka n. 164. Only the acolytes in the lower portion are different. In the centre ICam sriṇ (see tanka n. 175), with b'Tsan rgod on his left and Rig pai lha mo on his right (ibid.). Above dPal ldan lha mo and a particular aspect of mGon po.

TANKA n. 167 (Plate 199).

This tanka represents the same god which we have seen in tanka n. 148, rDo rje p'ur bu, the deification of the pur bu, the magic nail, kila, with which the exorcist nails to a given surface the hostile forces, after having vanquished them and rendered them harmless by virtue of the mantra. rDo rje p'ur bu is thus another instance of the deification of liturgical instruments or of ritual formulas. Mantrayāna Buddhism offers some extremely remarkable examples of this. The tNiṅ ma pa, particularly devoted to exorcistic rites, contributed to the great diffusion of rDo rje p'ur bu's Tantric cult, next the Sa skya pa followed. The dGe lugs pa could not remain indifferent to a deity which the other schools had included among the most powerful and awe-inspiring C'os skyon and mGon po: therefore they too became interested in his liturgies: in fact tanka n. 114 comes from the Yellow School, while the other is assigned by Padmasambhava's image to the tNiṅ ma pa sect. This form of rDo rje p'ur bu is also known by the name of mTat byed rdo rje gzhon nu, or simply rDo rje gzhon nu (Vajrakumāra), as to whose liturgy it is well to read, for instance, the dPal rdO rje gzhon nu dkyil gd'or gi c'o ga bjud gzhon rol pa, by Tāranātha (complete works, vol. ja).

As to the god's essence, the Vajrāyāna states this god to be an aspect of Heruka K't'o boi rgyal po. He is represented with three heads, six hands and four feet, the face on the right white, the left one red, the central one dark blue and bearing three eyes. He has six hands: the first pair on the left clasp the nine-branched rdo rje and the five-branched rdo rje, the first hand on the left is in the threatening mudrā, the second brandishes a trident. In the last pair of hands he grasps the p'ur bu - embracing his sakti or yun. With his legs wide apart, he tramples upon two rudra, male and female.

He wears a tiger-skin on the lower part of his body and an elephant skin above. On his back he has diamond wings; his sakti - called aK'or lo rgyas adefs ma - is dark blue, with one face and two hands: in the right he holds a bell marked with a rdo rje and in the left a skull-cap full of blood, which she offers to her mate. Around them unfolds the cycle the cycle of the 10 Krodha, summarized in the table on following page.

It is clear then that tanka n. 167 condenses the cycle of this god, reducing the k't'o bo of the retinue to five; however, Tra kṣad, on a black horse and other deities, are added in the lower part of the tanka.

This iconographic pattern varies somewhat as to the symbols of the hands; thus, for instance, in the liturgy dedicated to this god: rDo rje p'ur pai sgrab skor, and rDo rje p'ur pai mnāon par rigs of Grags pa rgyal mts'an, one of the first Sa skya pa abbots (works, vol. ja), the god carries in his last pair of hands a bell and a p'ur bu; in tanka n. 114, instead of the bell, he grasps a wheel, ak'or lo.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point of space</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Faces</th>
<th>Symbols of the two central hands, the others all holding the same instruments: the first two rdo rje and skull, the last two the gter bu</th>
<th>takhi</th>
<th>Tramples upon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>above</td>
<td>K’ro bo hüm mdsad</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>garland, bow and arrows</td>
<td>Lha mo rdo rje sgra sbyin</td>
<td>Ts’aṅs pa and Ts’aṅs ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>rNam rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>rdo rje and ak’or lo</td>
<td>rDo rje sseg mo</td>
<td>Rudra and Indraṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East</td>
<td>⁣Byug sion po</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>club</td>
<td>rDo rje ider mo</td>
<td>Agni and his ṣakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>gSīn rje gshed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>club and ax</td>
<td>rDo rje dur k’rod ma</td>
<td>Yama and ṣakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-West</td>
<td>Mi gyo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>sword and lance</td>
<td>rDo rje gtron</td>
<td>Śrīna and Śrīma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>rTa mgrin dmar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>lotus and dragon</td>
<td>rDo rje gtron mo</td>
<td>Varuṇa and ṣakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West</td>
<td>gZan gYis mi t’ub</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>hand, fly-whisk</td>
<td>rDo rje mda’</td>
<td>Wind god and goddess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>bDud rtsi k’yil</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>double rdo rje and club</td>
<td>rDo rje tluṅ sbyin</td>
<td>Yakṣa and Yakṣini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-East</td>
<td>K’ams gsum rnam rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>rdo rje and trident</td>
<td>rDo rje gsoḍ byed</td>
<td>bDān ldan and ṣakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below</td>
<td>stobs c’en</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>hammer, stake to stab criminals (gtaṅ ṣiṅ)</td>
<td>rDo rje skul byed</td>
<td>Sa bdag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In tanka n. 148 Padmasambhava’s figure has at his side P’yag na rdo rje, another form of rDor rje g’ɔn nu. Below dPal ldan lha mo, an undefined deity, rNam t’os sras and Jambhala.

TANKA n. 168 (Plate 200).

This tanka too takes us back to religious intuitions preceding Buddhism: surrounded by a flaming halo, which blazes and flares up, as if urged by a furious conflagration, a monstrous creature, on horseback and wearing a warrior’s complete armour, seems to be flung against invisible enemies. This demon, as his apparel and his iconographic type clearly show, is a bTsan, i. e. one of the Bon gods, accepted by the tolerant catholicity of Buddhism.

Very probably this creature is bTsan rgod, concerning whom see appendix two.

We shall meet him in tanka n. 175, as Beg tse’s comrade; this is an independent iconographic interpretation, which in its turn does not even coincide with that of the most ancient Bon po tradition; see bTsan rgod bskan mdoṣ drag rtsa ba gter sphyin. In his right hand he holds a lance, the left, in the threatening mudrā, carries a noose. Above, in the centre, Tson k’a pa and his principal disciples. Under the terrible pageant accompanying the fiend, dPal ldan lha mo, gSīn rje, rNam t’os sras. Below, mT’in žal bzaṅ mo, Ma gceg dpal lha mo and other bTsan.

TANKA n. 169 (Celesia di Vigliasco collection, Plate 201).

A monstrous creature, with four heads and four arms, whirling in its cosmic dance, looms gigantic in the centre of this tanka. A bruised human body writhes in the pitiless grip of its huge mouth. The weight of the monster’s awful bulks crushes a demon,
twisting in the throes of atrocious pain. The god wears a wreath of skulls, his ornaments are snakes, curling and twining in threatening coils. Thus Tibetan iconography represents Mahâkâla, Nag po c’ên po, and precisely the form known by the name of Nag po c’ên po žin skyon stobs ap’rog dbaṅ po. He is usually represented with four heads; the central one is blue and chews a human body, the one of the left, white, is smiling grimly; the red head on the left has a most fierce expression and a fourth dark head is on top. The first right hand brandishes a gri gug with a rdo rje-shaped handle and cuts with it a skull, supported by the corresponding left hand; it is used as a cup, in which the demons’ blood will be poured.

In the other hand on the right side the god holds a sword (according to other iconographical treatises, a small lance). In the last hand on the left, a lance ending in a trident. Under his left armpit a skull, supported by the corresponding left hand; it is used as a cup, in which the goddess’ blood will be poured.

Below, in a vortex of fire, four witches whirl; they are naked, with breasts withered and flabby and they brandish the gri gug in their right hands and grasp a skull-cap in the left. They are the four Las byed rnal abyor ma, i. e.: Yum c’ên gyuṅ mo, black, who in the mandala is on the gods’ right hand; Las mdsad gum mo, green, on the left; Srin mo c’en mo, dark red, in front; Žin ga gliṅ ma dark yellow, behind.

In the centre, below, Mahâkâla, in a Brahman’s aspect (Bram ze gzugs can dpa’ bo) playing the rkaṅ gliṅ, a flute made out of a human thigh-bone, while his right hand frantically shakes the magic tambourine (damaru) (see Žin skyon bzi ldan dbaṅ p’yug gi gtor c’en po sgrub ap’en gyi lag len c’o ga las bzi lhung grub by Taranâtha, complete works, vol. ma).

On the top of the tanka rDo rje c’a’an with sakti: between images of saints and one Buddha.

TANKAS nn. 170-173 (Plates Y, 202-204).

They are all related to the same mystical cycle, i. e. to dPal ldan lha mo: what has been said concerning this goddess in Indo-Tibetica (III, part II, p. 99 ff.) dispenses me from repetition. Here I need only recall that her name corresponds to that of Śrī-devi, one of the many appellatives of the Magna Mater, the cosmic force which, at one and the same time, nourishes life and kills, in a perpetually alternating rhythm. This goddess has a prevailingly terrific aspect: Buddhism, when it received her in its pantheon, transfigured her mystical meaning and interpreted her as a beatific power, vanquishing and suppressing opposite forces. Implicitly, according to the new psychology instituted by Buddhism, such forces are those psychical activities which keep us in bondage to life and consequently to death.

Dogmatically dPal ldan lha mo is considered by Tibetan mythographers as the terrific and combative aspect of dByans can ma, whom the Hindus consider Brahmi’s daughter, while, according to the Buddhist tradition, she is the voice of a Jig rten dbaṅ p’yug. She is accordingly identified with the spirit (t’ugs) of that pacified deity, but often assumes a terrific aspect in order to fight evil powers. Her story is related in the mK’a’a’ agro ma mo lce abar bai rgyud (Tönhoku, Cat., p. 842; see above p. 218 f.).

Her cult was introduced into Tibet by the pandita U rgyan gSrin ba sves rab, also known under another name as Lva va pa dmar pa; he communicated her liturgy to lCe snyags c’a’n abyuṅ gnas baṅ po, who transmitted it to gNubs rgyal ba ye sves. From that time the goddess was included among the C’os
lha of the gNubs school, and was considered an acolyte of P’ur ba. Later she was taken as Srūṇ ma by Prajñāguru, another exorcist of the Žan school, and was placed under the yi dam dGra nag, then the Sa skya pa placed her under the yi dam gSed dmar.

From the Sa skya school she passed to the dGe lugs pa thanks to dGe ṭadun grub, who made her the principal deity of the cycle of the bsTan srūṇ of Ri bo dGa’ ldan. Her cult and her liturgy were then finally settled by this school which gave her greater and greater prominence, thanks both to dGe ṭadun rgya mts’o and to fifth Dalai Lama; both of them in their works treated amply of her rites and cult.

From that time the diffusion of this goddess increased; she was received as a Srūṇ ma wherever the Yellow Sect spread, not only in Tibet but also in Mongolia, both in temples and in noblemen’s chapels (see dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal mo gdams skor mka’ agro žal luṅ las las bʒi spyi bgril gṣaṅ grub daṅ bcos pa ap’rin las bklaṅs c’og tu bkod pa žar byun a p’yi dpal lha drag rgyal ma gyu sgron ma de mo rnam kyi gsal m’co’i daṅ bcos pa rin c’en nor but do žal, etc., by Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan c’os kyi grags pa bstan pai dbaṅ p’yug).

The goddess is manifested under manifold hypostases: Dus mts’an ma, the Kālī of Hinduism, Remati i.e. Revati, Dus bži lha mo, aDod k’ams dbaṅ p’yug ma, Dud sol ma, Rab brtan ma, the Earth. When dPal ldan lha mo entered Tibet, her mystical reality developed a new complication; she became assimilated to the native deities which in some manner recalled her character and her fundamental aspects: the endless number of gNan, Sa bdag and bsTan srūṇ offered, from this point of view, an inexhaustible source of mystical figures, having all the qualities needed to melt into the type of the dPal ldan lha mo. Consequently the goddess’s Tibetan aspect is very important, on account of the survival of primitive Bon religious intuitions which appear under a Buddhist disguise. She, in fact, is called gNan rgyal mo, and as I have proved in a just-quoted chapter of Indo-Tibetica, she is identified with the most ancient native deities of Tibet. The latter, in the form of 12 bsTan srūṇ, form a circle around her.

This composite character of dPal ldan lha mo, as a centre of attraction for other native deities of a kindred nature, explains why the goddess’s mandala is so complex. If, for instance, we peruse one of the most important works concerning her liturgy in the Yellow Sect, like the dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal mo gdams skor it clearly appears that many of dPal ldan lha mo’s acolytes have scanty relations with India: many gods of the mandala dedicated to her in Tibetan liturgy do not reproduce Indian sādhana faithfully, but have been elaborated in Tibetan surroundings, attracting therein the most notable native deities which triumphant Buddhism was unable to eradicate.

dPal ldan dmag zor is described as follows: “the body is of a dark blue colour; she has one face and two hands; in her right hand she bandishes a club, surmounted by a rdo rje, over the brains of those who have broken their promise; in the left, on a level with her heart, she holds a skull-cap full of blood and of substances used in exorcism (t’un). Her wide mouth, gnashing its sharp teeth, gnaws a corpse; her joyous yelps resemble roaring thunder. She has three red, round eyes, gleaming like lightning. Her yellowish hair stands on end, eyelashes and beard blaze like the fire which flames up at the end of cosmic aeons. As earrings, she wears in her left ear a lion and in her left a snake; a diadem made out of five skulls, a scarf of 15 freshly-severed heads, dripping blood. On her blood-sprinkled body she has many marks made with ashes gathered in cemeteries and greasy finger-prints. On the top of her head the moon and on her navel the solar disc, a scarf (lhab lbub) made of pieces of black silk; instead of an antelope-hide, humans skins. The upper part of her body is covered with drapery made of a fresh tiger-skin, held together by two snakes; a
k'ram šīn is stuck in her belt. She has a scarf made of dice (svo rdo) white and black; on her head a peacock-feather umbrella.

Her maṇḍala, according to the above-quoted treatise, is conceived as follows:

I.  gtso bo Zi bai lha mo

Behind the goddess, in the centre of the maṇḍala (gtso bo) Zi bai lha mo, a white mirror in her right hand, on a mule; on the right, on a yellow mule, rGyas pa kyi lha mo, yellow, with one face and two hands; in her right hand she holds a vase of ambrosia, in her left a gem.

On the left, on a red mule, dBañ kyi lha mo, red; one face, two hands, in the right a hook, in the left a noose.

In front, Drag poi lha mo on a black mule, one face two hands; in the right a hook, in the left the staff (dbyug) with noose.

II.  gtsal ma mo bṣi

Remati gsaṅ sgrub (esoteric), one face, two hands, on a corpse; in her right hand a sword, in the left a human head freshly severed.

Srog bSud ma, black on a black horse; right hand: a human heart, left: a hook.

T'og ap'en ma drag ma, red, trampling the sun and moon, holds in both hands a bag full of lightning and hail.

Nad gtoñ ma, black with a scorpion’s head; right hand open, in the left a bag of diseases; riding a camel. All four with pendant breasts and snake necklaces (ga šal).

III.  dBu sbs mi bṣi

K’yab ajug c’en po, ten-headed; the three on the right white, the three on the left red, the three in the centre dark like the rest of the body, the one above is a raven’s head, in the first two hands bow and arrow, in the other two, a banner with the image of a makara (makaradhvaja) and noose.

bTsan rgod, red, wearing cuirass and helmet; in the right hand a lance, in the left a noose; riding the red horse peculiar to the bTsan.

bSud mgon, black, with a lion’s head; right hand bearing a lance with a military banner (ru mts’on), left hand throws at his enemies pieces of the victims sacrificed (dmor dgar).

rGyal po li byin ha ra, pink, a rdo rje in the right hand, a skull-cap in the left.

C’u srin gdon can, dark blue; a noose in the right hand; in the left she holds the end of the rein (tur sna = t’ur mt’ad).

IV.  Dbyud pa bṣi

bSud mo Remati, dark blue, a sword in the right hand, a skull-cap full of blood in the left, riding an ass with a white blaze on his forehead (gva pa).

Nad kyi bdag mo, dark blue; dice (svo rdo) in the right hand, in the left a red silk band (byaṅ dmar); riding a mule.

sKye mt’in ma, black; grasps a human heart in her right hand; her left hand in threatening mudrā; riding a stag.

K’ri sman sa le ma, white, holding in her hands a makara’s skin; rides a black bird.

V.  Dus bṣi lha mo

dByid kyi rgyal mo, dark blue: in the right hand a razor, in the left a skull-cap; riding a mule.

dByar kyi rgyal mo, dark red; in her right hand a hook, in the left a skull-cap; riding a stag.

sTon gyi rgyal mo yellow; in the right hand a weapon (zor) and in the left a skull-cap.

gDun gyi rgyal mo, dark blue; in the right hand khatvāga and skull-cap, riding a camel.

VI.  Dbyud pa bṣi

1.  bKra’i sbs ts’e riṅ ma; with rdo rje and vase, riding a lion.

2.  mT’in gi žal bSud ma, blue; with banner (ba dan) and mirror, riding a rkyan (cfr. tanka n. 31).
3. Mi gyo blo bzañ ma, yellow; with goose, riding a tiger.
4. Cod pan mgriñ bzañ, red; with gem and bag, riding a stag.
5. Ta dkar agro bzañ; green, his attributes are the duruñ grass and a snake-noose; riding on a dragon.

VII. Cycle of the 12 bsTan srun

rDo rje kun grags ma, blue, wearing a cloak (t'ul pa) made of a thousand snakes and a yak-skin belt; riding the blue dragon (of thunder) (gyu abrug).

rDo rje gya' ma, blue; dressed in yak-skins, with a belt of k'yuñ wings, holds the p'ur bu and rides a three-legged mule.

rDo rje kun bzañ ma, white, with rdo rje; riding a lion.

rDo rje bgegs kyi kito, blue; wearing an elephant-skin and a belt of k'yuñ wings, with p'ur bu, on a yellow stag.

rDo rje spyan geig ma, white, carrying a cup full of blood; standing on a white stag (duñ ʂa).

rDo rje dpal gyi yum, yellow, with an arrow, riding a k'yuñ.

rDo rje klu mo, white; with a staff (dbyug), riding a boar.

rDo rje drag mo, green; has a belt of k'yuñ wings and brandishes the p'ur bu. Rides a nine-horned white yak.

rDo rje dpal mo, black; with vase full of blood, riding on a Koñ horse (koñ rta).

rDo rje spyan geig ma, red, with p'ur bu of leather (bse); riding a black mule with a yellow muzzle.

rDo rje gya' mo, dark red; carries a p'ur bu made of khadira (señ iden), rides a wild sheep (ma bə yu mo = gna' ba).

rDo rje dril bu gzugs legs ma, blue, with tambourine and flute (gliñ bu); riding a turquoise-coloured lion (gyui señ ge).

Naturally the manḍala summarized above is only one pattern out of many possible manḍalas of the goddess; her hypostases being many, the manḍala changes as her aspects and her names vary, and her acolytes’ number and character are multiplied accordingly. So, for instance, the dPal ye ses kyi lha mo dud sol mai gsañ bsgrub ap'rin las kyi aðod ajo by Pad ma dkar po (complete works, vol. ta) is centred round that aspect of the goddess known by the name of Dud sol ma, which is represented with four arms, a sword, skull-cap, arrow, trident, riding a rkyan; around her: Nag mo, naked, carrying a human heart and a skull, on a red ass. Next four Rigs bzi lha mo, white, yellow, pink and green. In their right hands the gri gug, and in the left a skull-cap. Then: Señ ge gdoñ can, sTag gi gdoñ can, sPyañ ki gdoñ can, P'ag gi gdoñ can, Bya tgod gyi gdoñ can, sKyøi ka gdoñ can, Dur bya gdoñ can, Bya rəg gi gdoñ can, Kañkali gdoñ can riding a tiger, another Kañkali gdoñ can riding a stag, a third riding a monkey, a fourth on a black mule.

These manḍalas, which I have chosen out of many one might quote, thus allow us to identify the deity represented on the tankas as dPal Idan lha ma, Remati who always holds a club (be con). The absence of a sword should mean that the artist did not intend to represent that aspect of hers which is called Remati aDod k'ams dbañ p'yug ma, symbolized by a sword; conversely the attribution would be confirmed by her earrings, which in this case must be a lion and a snake, as is clearly seen in tankas n. 171 and n. 173.

In tanka n. 173 the lower group represents Ts'e riñ ma, with her four sisters.

In tanka n. 172 the figure near the central deity is Nag mo: the other figures, emerging in flaming halos from the black terrors of the abyss and riding furiously on their misshapen mounts, are the four Rigs bzi lha mo. In the upper part of tanka n. 173, a serene image of dByañs can ma, playing the viñã.

On the contrary Dud sol ma, another name for aDod k'ams dbañ p'yug ma is certainly recognizable in tanka n. 170 (Plate Y) one of the most beautiful in this collection for the
suggestive power of its images, which stand out with a hellish glimmer on the gloomy background of cosmic night. Here the goddess is represented according to Pad ma dkar po’s model, quoted above.

Before closing, it will be well, as the subject is akin to these tankas, to mention tanka n. 41 also. It represents precisely gZal mt’iṅ bzan po, whom we have just met as one of the goddesses included in the Ts’e rin ma’s cycle, which surround dPal ldan mo. But in this tanka, as in the one reproduced in Mythology, p. 182, she has been promoted to the dignity of an independent goddess: she is the gTs’o bo of the group of divine and fiendish beings which unfolds round her; indeed among her retinue we find in this case precisely dPal ldan lha mo, two-armed and four-armed, represented on the lower edge of the tanka. Immediately below comes the group of the Ts’e rin me’ed lha. On the sides bsTan rgod and bsTan sruṅ. Above, Padmasambhava, between two rNin ma pa masters. In the lower left-hand corner the seven gems. The donors are behind the mounts’ legs.

TANKA n. 174 (Barluzzi collection, Plate 205).

The tanka represents Seṅ ge gdoṅ ma, Simhavaktrā, an aspect of Ye šes mk’a’ agro ma. Her cult was introduced into Tibet by the Lotsāva of Ba ri, to whom it was revealed by rDo rje gdan pa; see, for instance, dPal sa skya pa iṣer c’os mk’a’ agro seṅ ge gdoṅ ma iṣes gnas las ts’ogs mson t’ogs śin tu zab pai gdams pa iṣ la sGrub t’abs kun btus, na). Then the goddess appeared to him and revealed the secrets of her liturgy. The goddess may be represented either alone or in a threefold group: Ye šes mk’a’ agro ma, with a lion’s head, in the centre; another with a tiger’s head on her right, a third one with a bear’s head on the left. See Seṅ ge gdoṅ sgon mo iṣer ak’or gsum naṅ sgrub t’abs rjes gnas las ts’ogs dān bcas rdo rje sprin c’ar iṣ sGrub t’abs kun btus, na. But her iconography, some of her rarest esoteric forms excepted, is the same. In her right hand she brands a gri gug whose hilt has the form of a rdo rje; in her left she holds, on a level with her breast, a skull full of blood; under her right armpit she has a khatvāṅga.

The goddess’s image is repeated in the two small figures on the right and on the left: in the centre, below, rNam t’os sras, on the left P’yag rdor, on the right rDo rje sams dpa’. On the sides, five on each side, the ten P’yogs skyoṅ. Above, rDo rje ąc’aṅ in the centre; on the right rDo rje sams dpa’ and other Buddhas, Rin c’en aḥyuṅ ldan on the left, rNam par snaṅ mdsad and Byams pa.

TANKA n. 175 (Plates 206-208).

This tanka represents a fiendish creature; he wears a scaly cuirass and furiously brands a sword, which blazes like burning fire. He is a bTsan, i.e. a survival of those native deities which Buddhism, unable to suppress them, absorbed.

This demon, usually called lCam sriṅ “brother and sister, like all the indigenous terrific deities, was received into the lamaist pantheon as a custodian of temples and sacred things and above all as a watchful defender of the faith. He ruthlessly punishes those who break their vows or offend against the sanctity of the Law and he belongs to rDo rje aḥjig byed’s retinue, indeed he is the chief of the bsTan sruṅ. His task is to “destroy and exterminate all those who offend against the Victorious’s teachings, according to the orders he has received from the Buddha...” Thus says a liturgy dedicated to him, bsTan bsruṅ kun gyi rje bo c’os skyoṅ dregs pa lcam sriṅ gi iṣor bsgrub pa iṣ iḥar bya bat t’ul yid bžin dbaṅ gi rgyal po, by the Pan c’en blama.
Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pai ñi ma (complete works, vol. ta). He is represented in this tanka as iconography directs: his colour is red, because his abode is a mountain of copper; he has two arms; the right one brandishes the copper sword, ready to slay whoever breaks his vow, the left is bent and carries to his mouth the heart of his enemies; he tightly clasps under his arm a bow and arrow. He has a diadem of skulls and three eyes; his body is covered with a copper cuirass (beg tse), hence another name he is known by: Beg tse.

His waist is girdled with a string of heads; on his left stands his sister, Rig pai lha mo, her face is red and her body blue: with her right hands she brandishes a copper sword and in her left she holds the p'ur bu, with which she nails dregs to the ground; she is riding on a lioness which tramples a human body.

On lCam srin’s right is the red Stog bdag, with one face and two hands; his right hand shakes a lance, in the left he holds the bTsan’s noose (see tanka n. 120). Below and around him, his eight acolytes, in frenzied agitation, brandish copper swords in their right hands; in the mandala they should occupy a well-defined place; to the East Mi of a red or variegated colour; to the South a red Ri rtsi mi; to the West a red Kro dhi mi; to the North Stog bdag Ko s dfi; to the South-East red Om kri mi; on the South-West red Ro kri mi; on the North-West red Ham s d f i mi; to the North-East Stog bdag t' al ba. They form a group called of the eight “gri t’ogs”,, “those who hold daggers,”.

A Mongol legend, related by Grünwedel, says that when bSod nams rgya mts’o went to Mongolia to convert Altan Khan, Beg tse caused a troop of demons to appear before him, under the form of various animals, with the aim of frightening him and turning him from his purpose. Then the Tibetan monk assumed the appearance of Avatoki-tešvara, having four hands and the hoofs of his horse left everywhere imprints of the six-lettered mantra: on ma ni pad me hüm. Beg tse acknowledged that he was unable to compete with the new religion and its apostle and he became converted.

It may be seen that here the story of the bTsans’ submission, effected by Padmasambhava, as told in the rNiñ ma pa scriptures, is repeated. This would allow us to suppose that Beg tse was originally one of the Mongol gods, later transformed, due to his popularity, into Sa bdag or bTsan; it is a process of which we will quote in the appendix other interesting instances, all descended from the hagiographic literature of the dGe lugs pa, as a consequence of the penetration of Buddhism among the Mongols, which they had brought about.

The late origin of this god seems to be confirmed by the fact that no trace of him is found in the most ancient liturgical handbooks; indeed it seems that - the Yellow Sect excepted - Beg tse is not very popular. Evidently the triumph of the Yellows may have spread his cult, but he always remained a yi dam of the dGe lugs pa, who have given him a well-defined iconographic type, together with his sister; the two beings cannot be separated. They are called by the collective name of lCam srin, brother and sister, on the model of lCam dral; in the same way Miñ srin, brother and sister, belonging to the cycle of the Gur mgon. Although introduced into Tibet in much older times, this god shows the same connections with local cults, so typical of these cycles of terrific deities.

The god’s very name (it is not a goddess, as S. CH. Das says, s. v.) also seems to be of foreign origin. Beg tse means “hidden shirt of mail,”, and must hence be compared with the Mongol bágdar, cotte de mailles cachées (KOWALEWSKI, p. 1125), Jagatai: biktir, Persian: bagtar. The comparison had been already made by Laufer, Loan words, n. 199 (Sino-Iranica, p. 575) but it is difficult to explain the divergence of the second syllable, particularly if the loan took place in late
times. Probably the word *beg tse* in the sense of “hidden shirt of mail,” is an older loan, and it is not certain that the god, although he was a god of war, owed his name to his cuirass. In Mongol demonology there is a fiend Bug, *Möstaert, Textes oraux Ordos, s.v.*

Above, two deities: *Mañjuśrī* and rDo rje aṅjigs byed. Under *Mañjuśrī*: sGrol ma on the left the C’os rgyal.

**TANKA n. 176 (Plate 209).**

This is an astronomical tanka: in the centre, a little towards the bottom, a monstrous figure of sGra gcen aṅsin, or better of K’yab aṅjug sgra gcen aṅsin, Rāhu’s personification, or perhaps K’yab aṅjug c’en po, Mahāviṣṇu. He has nine faces, and above them all a raven’s head.

Above Tson k’a pa, and under him a figure of the Buddha, with serpents on his head, to be identified with Kluí dbañ.

Under sGra gcen aṅsin k’yuν, the Ga-ruda which, having entered Tibet together with Buddhism, was assimilated to the k’yuν, a mythological animal of Bon po tradition, symbolizing the sun.

In the two upper edges, two figures of K’tro bo; below mGon po, with six arms, accompanied by his śakti and Sei ge sgra, one of aJam dpal’s manifestations; on the two lower edges gSin rje, god of death, and a mK’a’ agro ma.

On each side of the god, astronomical symbols: the eight par k’a which Tibetan astrology has borrowed from the Chinese, and the Me ba dgu (concerning which see Waddell, p. 457).

**TANKA n. 177 (Plate 210).**

On the black background are drawn, in flexible gilded lines, figures of animals and, less frequently, of persons: in the centre, on a Chinese cup, a symbolical offering, gtor ma, containing seven gems (see above, p. 302). Lower down the gtor ma proper to terrific deities: it is represented by a skull resting upon three smaller skulls, full of red blood and grey fat: above, a heart and two eyes torn from the body of a slain enemy: on each side two more skull-caps with blood still warm and smoking; below, the altar with more offerings and ritual objects. Hanging from above, like a canopy, the skin of a flayed man. The environment is one proper to terrific deities. The figures represented probably point to the deity to whom the tanka is consecrated: in it we find, besides a man, a camel, an ass, a rkyan (?), an elephant, a yak, a lion, a wolf, a dog, a goat, a fox; many of these animals, in fact, are placed in rDo rje aṅjigs byed’s mandala: camel, dog, sheep, wolf (fox), owl, raven, lion, hawk, eagle, hen. See f. i. bCom ldan adas gsin rje gṣed po dkyil ak’or rab aḥrams kyi sgrub t’abs ap rin las kyi ni ma aḥbum gyi gzi brjäd of Tāranātha, complete works, vol. t’a, p. 47.

These animals refer to gSin rje gṣed’s various messengers, p’o ṇa, which have animals’ faces or ride on animals, later taken as their symbols: man, buffalo, garuda, ass, camel, black dog, sheep, wolf or fox (*le sphyi*), the mounts of the eight gṣin rje; vulture, owl, hawk, raven, parrot, grouse, falcon, eagle, the mounts of the eight p’o ṇa mo (see dpal rdo rje aṅjigs byed kyi rnas aḥyar daṁ aḥul ba drag cu rtsa bzung gtor c’og gi dga’ don k’ams gsum zil snon, by the same author, p. 10).

On the other hand a black bird to the right, a black dog to the left, a black fox (*legs sphyi = le sphyi*) on the back, a black man in front, a black eagle on the top are the acolytes of rDo rje nag po (Tāranātha, gTor c’o ga rgyun, vol. Na).

But a more detailed description of these offerings, proper to the terrific deities, is found in another work by the same author: mGon po žal bzung pai sgos bskaus pa (complete works, vol. ma.). “In the skull the arghya is made of human blood, instead of flowers the five senses, fat instead of incense, man’s
liquid fat is used to (feed the) lamps, perfume is human bile, flesh is the offering of food, flutes made of human thigh-bones and skulls are used to make music, guts instead of bands, hanging draperies (ap’yan ap’rul) are heart and lungs, hair taken from corpses are used as fly-whisks, human skins (zin c’en) as canopies (ap’an gdugs), then a black yak, a black sheep, a black dog,...

But the greatest correspondence with the images of the tanka is found in the lists of the dPal mgon tra kṣad kyi ap’rin las bskaṅ gso sogs ner mk’o aṅa’ żig by Taranātha, vol. ma: black horse, camel, wild yak (gbron), black sheep, black dog, tiger, leopard (gzig), lion, brown bear (dom), mule, wolf, hawk, k’yuṅ, dragon, buffalo, snake, raven-little flags of black stuff, dagger, sword.

Concerning these symbols, as used in exorcistic rites, see also Pad ma t’aṅ yig, transl. Toussaint, p. 310.

On the tanka are also drawn the seven gems; the general, the minister, the woman, the horse, the elephant, the wheel, the gem; but also the house and then the other symbols of good omen.
MANDALA

TANKA n. 178 (Plates 211-213).

It might apparently be taken for a mandala, but if carefully examined the mandala scheme is discovered to be purely external and the meaning of the picture quite different: we see a multiplication of houses and temples and on the interior side small figures of deities inside palaces: in front of the central image two mandala. Above in the centre rDo rje ač'aṅ - underneath, a standing yab yum figure, viz. that determined aspect of Dus kyi aṅ'or lo which is known as Zuṅ ajug dus aṅ'or lo.\(^{289}\) On the left: in a palace, rDor rje ač'aṅ, on his left gŚin rje gśed, and on the right other yab yum figures.

Next, on the left, eight figures of kings; two more on the right, under the palace just described. These images are accompanied by inscriptions.

On the left, 1st row above:

*C'os rgyal bla ma zla ba bzaṅ po, C'os rgyal lha yi dbaṅ p'yug, C'os rgyal gzi brjed mt'a' yas.*

2nd row:

*C'os rgyal zla ba sbyin, C'os rgyal lha yi dbaṅ p'yug, C'os rgyal sna ts'ogs gzugs, ... Lha yi dbaṅ ldan, Rigs ldan ajam dpal dbyaṅs.*

On the right:

*Rigs ldan drag po aṅ'or lo ... las rnam rgyal.*

Underneath, a representation of a battle, in which a warrior on horseback stands out: Drag po aṅ'or lo, who is piercing with his lance an enemy fallen on the ground: the inscription declares him to be Byas pai bla.

Near Drag po aṅ'or lo, above, a warrior on a black horse, in the act of shooting an arrow against enemies on the opposite side; his name is: *Hanumanda.*

We are now in a position to identify the subject of this picture. It is the Kālacakra's story and the victory of King Drag po aṅ'or lo over the Kla Klo, i. e. the Moslems.

The smaller circle in which temples and lesser figures are seen, represents therefore Ka-la-pa: the Kulika's (rigs ldan) royal palace, built in the country of Šambhala, which tradition places vaguely in the North: an old itinerary, inserted in the bsTan āgyur mDo, CXXX, 2, *Ka la pai ajug pa,* shows the way to this place, to be sought in some part, not yet clearly defined, of Central Asia.\(^{289}\) Šambhala, round like an eight-petalled lotus flower, has become, in the tradition, a heaven consecrated to the Kālacakra's glories. Like the country of the Dākini, U rgyan (Uddiyāna), Šambhala is a place the devout try to reach, in order to be redeemed from sin; it was later transfigured into a distant heaven. The houses filling the second tier represent the 96 minor kingdoms surrounding Ka-la-pa. The mandala seen on the middle of the tanka represents the mandala of the Dus kyi aṅ'or lo, which Zla ba bzaṅ po caused to be built.

As to the personages represented, there is no doubt that they are some of the C'os rgyal and other Rigs ldan, Kulika; among the first is Rigs ldan aJam dpal grags (Maṇjuṣrī-kirti). All this will become clearer when we shall have translated the tradition concerning the Kālacakra and its origins, as it is summarized by Buston in the *Dus aṅ'or c'os abyin rgyud sdei zab don sgo aḥyed rin c'en gyes pai lde mig,* complete works, vol. 14, p. 28 8.

"As to the diffusion of the Kālacakra in India and next in Tibet, (it is necessary to know that) the fundamental Tantra was revealed by the Buddha to Zla ba bzaṅ po: the latter, then, made a summary of it; he composed an explicative commentary in 60,000 granthā
and wrote it in a book, revealing its meaning to the people of Śambhala etc.; he dedicated a mandala of the Kalacakra, made with various precious stones (evidently the painting refers to this), and, after having displayed many miracles, he entered nirvāna. After him came: Lha dbaṅ gzi brjod can - Zla bas byin pa, Lhai dbaṅ p’jug, sNa ts’ogs gzugs, Lhai dbaṅ ldan, each of whom, for 100 years, taught the Law. Then +Jam dbyaṅs grags pa, for a hundred years preached the fundamental Tantra. After him the explanation of the fundamental Tantra and of its commentary (continued) to be explained and listened to. ... Next, after Grags pa had preached on the fundamental Tantra for a hundred years, Nī mai śī ṛṭa and others were awakened, and the ṛṣi asked for baptism and for a summary of the Tantra, already summarized before. Then, at the full moon of the month of Saga (Vaiśākha), April) he initiated the ṛṣi with the mandala dedicated by Zla ba bzaṅ and wrote in three thousand verses a summary of the fundamental Tantra, called bsDus pai rgyud me tog p’reṅ ādsin gyi ts’igs bhead ...; next, in the day of the full moon of Saga (Vaiśākha), April-May) the ṛṣi obtained the perfect realization of the mahāmudrā. Then Grags pa, after having explained the Tantra to Pad dkar, enjoined him to write the commentary and then he too entered nirvāna. Then Pad dkar made the commentary in 12,000 verses and explained the Law: after him came bZaṅ po, rNam rgyal, bSes gien bzaṅ po, P’yag dmar, K’ yab ājug sbas pa, Nī ma grags, Śīn tu bzaṅ, eight in all, who preached the Law, each for a hundred years. In this time certainly the law of the Kla klo was installed in Ma k’a. So said Grags pa’s son, predicting that after eight generations the Kla klo’s law would be established, that is, eight hundred years after Grags pa had entered nirvāna. “Certainly, means: beyond all doubt the Kla klo’s law will be established in Ma k’a ... Then rGya mts’o rnam rgyal and rGyal dka’ too, for a hundred years each, taught the Law. One hundred and eighty-two years after the Kla klo’s (power) had begun, rGyal dka’ began to calculate the cycle of the Kalacakra.

“Then Nī ma sna ts’ogs gzugs, Zla bai ‘od, mT’as yas, Sa skyon, dPal skyon sen ge, rNama gnob, sTobs po c’c, Ma agag pa, Mi yi sen ge, dbaṅ p’yug c’en po, mT’a’ yas, rNama rgyal, Drag po ak’or lo can who broke the power of the Kla klo ...”

Tibetan tradition assigns to Drag po ak’or lo can, with the aid of the gods, victory over the Kla klo and the restoration of the Buddhist Law; therefore in this school he corresponds to the puranic figure of Kalkin, to whom indeed Kloth rdol bla ma compares him (see Dan po sains rgyas dpal dus kyi ak’or loi lo rgyus dañ min mnam groñs, complete works, vol. ca, p. 14) “(King Drag po ak’or lo can) with an innumerable army of soldiers set out, and to the South of the Sitā river he fought a great battle, in the country of Rum pa C’a rgyal of the Kla klo, and the Kla klo’s master, Byis pai blo gros, was vanquished. The commander-in-chief (of Drag po ak’or lo can) overcame the master (of the Kla klo) Zla bai bu, and the heroes of his army, famous archers, the Kla klo troops; his sa skyon (overcame the sa skyon of the former), and his elephants their elephants, and his horses their horses, and the 12 great gods the Kla klo’s impious protecting deities, and the latter were destroyed,” Thus wrote Kloth rdol bla ma, copying from Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye ṛṣes, see Weg, pp. 58, 79.

TANKA n. 179 (Plate 214).

Four mandalas of Kyai rdo rje. In the centre of the tanka the figures of two lamas, fronting each other; as can be read in the inscription underneath, they are Abhayā (karagupta) and dPe med (Anupama). Below, Kun mk’yen pa, on each side: Byaṅ c’ub rgyal mts’an and bSod nams (rdo rje);
above a mK'a'  agro ma. In the first row above, various figures of masters: Klu grub, Aryadeva, Lohapā, Saraha, mTs'o skyes rdo rje, Dombiheruka, Birvapā, Byis pa pa, Dtri bu pa, Nalendrapā, Kukuripā, Ye śes žabs, Nag po spyod pa. Below, between the two upper mandalas, Kyai rdo rje.

The mañḍalas are all dedicated to the same god Hevajra, in different aspects and attitudes, but each consists of nine figures, including the central deities, i.e. besides Hevajra, the 8 lha bzan byas, one of the oldest merits of all those who may be converted by virtue of the master’s thought be exhaused. By the great Kun rdo rje, Dombiheruka, Nag po, who as we have seen founded the monastery in 1429. This is therefore one of the oldest tankas in the collection.

TANKA n. 180 (Plate Z).

The three mañḍalas present no special difficulties, except the third; the first above represents Ts’e dpag med’s novenerian cycle, with Ts’e dpag med in the centre, surrounded by eight acolytes. The second below on the left, is the mandala of rDo rje sms dpas, surrounded by four rGyal c’en sde bzi.

The last mañḍala represents rDo rje sms dpas between the eight Lha c’en, the gods of Hinduism. On each side, three divinities, one riding on a bird, perhaps Ts’ais pa, the other on a black horse and the third with a lion’s head, perhaps Sen ge gdoṅ ma.

Outside the real mañḍalas, the images are disposed haphazard, without a logical order between them. In the first row rNam par snaṅ mdsads; rNam par snaṅ mdsad, yellow; Sākyamuni; rDo rje sms dpas; a king, probably K’ri sron ‘lde btsan; two Indian ēcārya.

In the second row: P’yag na rdo rje, sMan bla, rDo rje sms dpas, Ts’e dpag med; above: the Buddha.

In the third row: rTa mgrin, four manifestations of sGrol ma, P’yag na rdo rje.

The cycle of rNam r’os sras and of the eight rTa bdag, Mi gyo ba (Acala), white; P’yag na rdo rje, rDor rje sms dpas; more to the right Mi bskyod pa, blue.

The inscription in dbu med, under the tanka, reads:

"The master’s thought... the great Kun dga’ bzaṅ po and of his disciples and of his... may be exhausted. All... enlightenment, the merits of all those who may be converted by the Buddhas... without effort.,,

This enables us to fix the date of the painting: it must be a little later than Kun dga’ bzaṅ po, who as we have seen founded the Nor monastery in 1429. This is therefore one of the oldest tankas in the collection.

Through the merit derived from having had these twelve mandalas made, may C’os rje lha... (Rin) c’en ts’ul k’rim (sic) ‘od zer gyi t’ug (sic) kyi dgon (sic) do du yon su rāsog (sic) par gyur cig degi (sic) tus (sic) rje daṅ byin rlab la rten (i.e. rten nas);

bdag rgyan (i.e. rgyal mts’an) ‘or (i.e. ‘od zer) gi p’a mai gtsa byas sms csig sgrig(b) dag nas sms rgyas t’ob par gyur cig.

Through the blessing of his mercy may I, rGyal mts’an ‘od zer, together with my father and my mother and all creatures, purify the stains of sin and obtain the condition of a Buddha.,,

There were, then, twelve mandalas, but in this tanka they are only three; if we count as a mandala also rNam par t’os sras and the eight rta bdag’s cycle, they are four at the most; therefore there was a series of three or four tankas, which rGyal mts’an ‘od zer had caused to be painted for the spiritual welfare of his parents and according to the wish of the C’os rje Ts’ul k’rim ‘od zer.

Who this lama was it is impossible to say, probably some abbot of the Nor monastery, from which the tanka came.
TANKA n. 181 (Plate 215).

This is a mandala dedicated to one of the principal deities of Tantric esotericism, Kyai rdo rje, Kye rdo rje, Hevajra, particularly venerated as the yi dam, or protector of the sect, by the Sa skya pa.

He is another of Heruka's and Akṣobhya's hypostases, like Samvara: his experiences go back to a famous Tantra of the Vajrayāna, which was also introduced into China.

The god being identified, the mandala would be easy to read if we knew what liturgy has inspired the painter. Ritual treatises dedicated to this god abound, naturally, in the Sa skya pa, Nor pa and Jo nain pa sects, from the Kyai rdo rje nPhom par rgyos by bSod nams rtse mo (Sa skya pa works, vol. ca) to the dGyes pai rdo rjei lag len gsal bar byed pa dpal he ru ka dgyes pa by Tāranātha (complete works, vol. Ta).

In these books the construction of the mandala is identical: after the me ri or halo of fire, which turns to the right and surrounds the mandala, we have in the first circle the representation of the eight cemeteries, according to the traditional patterns. I have studied them elsewhere. Each of them is marked by its P'yogs skyon, klu, mountain, mc'od rten, tree, clouds, ascetics, fire, water, which symbolize them. Then comes the square city of the mandala, inside which are arranged eight deities in a first circle, six in a second circle and another two, one to the North and the other to the South, sixteen in all; they are alike inasmuch as they brandish the gri gug in their right hand and hold on the palm of the left a skull-cap, while the khatvāṅga leans on their left shoulder.

Hence they are mK'a' agro ma; this means that the model followed by the painter departs from the liturgy laid down in the treatises we have quoted above, according to which the mandala is composed of 9 deities, i.e. a central deity and eight lha mo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point of space</th>
<th>name</th>
<th>colour</th>
<th>hands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>Gauri on Tsah pa</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>gri gug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Gauri on Lhai dban po</td>
<td>bsod</td>
<td>damaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Ro la's ma on K'yab ajug</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>tortoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Ghasmart on dban p'jug c'en po</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. W.</td>
<td>Pukkasi on gSin rje</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. W.</td>
<td>Ri k'rod ma on Nor bdag</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. E.</td>
<td>gDol ma mon ma (Caṇḍāfi) on Šrin po</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>wheel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. E.</td>
<td>gYūn mo on T'ag za'n ris</td>
<td>various colours</td>
<td>rdo rje</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the centre towers Kyai rdo rje's figure, according to traditional iconography, with 8 heads and 16 arms; in the 8 right arms he carries as many skull-caps, on which are respectively a white elephant, a green horse, an ass with a white blaze on its forehead, a yellow ox, a grey camel, a red man, a blue stag, a black cat. On his left hands: the earth-goddess, yellow; the water-god, white; the fire-god, red; gSin rje, blue; Nor sbyin, yellow, etc. He embraces bDag med ma, black, who grasps in her right hand the gri gu and holds a skull-cap in her left.

The gods surrounding the mandala have no direct connection with it; the liturgies we have mentioned know no deities participating in these rites, beside the five supreme Buddhas in their esoteric form, with eight faces and 16 hands (see dPal kye rdo rje dkyil ak'or du slob ma sīn po byed pai c'o ga dba'n gi c'u bo c'en po. Sa skya pa, complete works, vol. ca, p. 39).

That horror of a void, which artists used to Indian schools of painting cannot overcome, has induced the author of this tanka to fill up every empty place with the images of an extremely vast pantheon, taken from
the most different liturgies, not only of this cycle but of the kindred cycles belonging to Heruka, Guhyamāja and Samvara.

TANKA n. 182 (Plate 216).

This tanka too refers to a cycle well known to us, both because we have studied it thoroughly in Indo-Tibetica, II, part III, and because we have already met with it in the present collection: I allude to rDo rje ajigs byed's cycle. But which liturgical system does the mandala here represented reproduce? This mandala in fact has nothing to do with the commonest cycle of 13 deities; the rDo rje ajigs byed lha bceu gsum dkyil ak'or, which we have seen in Tsaparang.

Here the cycle is different: in the mandala are represented 8 deities which seem to be mK'a' agro ma, besides the central deity which is without his s'akti, like the dPa' bo gcig, ekavira in the tanka we have already studied. But besides these figures, we see on the four quarters a head, two feet, two hands and a design of floral patterns. What is the meaning of all this? The explanation is found if we turn to the dPal rdo rje ajigs byed. From this liturgical text we learn that the deities arranged around the mandala are the following:

to the East: a skull; to the South: the hands; to the West: the guts; to the North: two feet; to the S. E.: a skull-cap; to the S.-W.: a skull; to the N.-W.: a rag picked up in a cemetery; to the N.-E.: an impaled man (skyes bu gsal šin gis p'yug ba).

Hence in the first inner edge (called lha snami), to the East: gri gug, spear, club (gsum šin), knife (c'u gri), vajra, hook; to the South: axe, arrow, stick, kbatvānga; to the West: five-pointed vajra, tambourine, shield, bow, bell, flag; to the North: threatening mudrā, trident, elephant's skin, hammer lance...

In the intermediate points the eight ro lahs, black, their tongues projecting from their mouths. In the inner corners, eight vases full of ambrosia. In the outer circle, as usual, the eight cemeteries.

Out of the mandala's surface the seven gems, various aspects of gšin rje, Nag po c'en po and the donors. Above, some masters: (Jña)nakumāra, Gaganagarbha, A-nanta (?), Padmavajra, Lali(ta)vajra, Vajra... Anatadhvaja.

TANKA n. 183 (Plate 217).

This tanka is dedicated to the same god, but based on a different liturgy.990)

TANKA n. 184 (Plate 218).

This tanka represents the mandala of P'yang na rdo rje ak'or lo c'en po, a divinity we have already met with (concerning which see Grub t'abs kun btsus, ga, p. 129).

The god brandishes a five-pointed rdo rje in his right hand; the left is in the threatening mudrā to kill fiends, with the other two he embraces the sakti mDañs ldam ma, clapping his hands; the last two hold the king of snakes tightly.

A description of this mandala, as it is represented on the tanka, is found in a treatise by Taranātha: dPal p'yag na rdo rje ak'or lo c'en poi dkyil c'o ga rdig gsal snañ ba, by dKon mc'og lhun grub, founded on a tradition going back to P'ags pa of Sa skya, to Rvä lotsāva and to Kun dga' bzan po of Nor, i. e. to a sampra-daya of a prevailing Sa skya pa character.

According to this liturgy, in the centre of the mandala should be placed rDo rje ajigs byed, as the intellective body (ye šes sku) of all the Buddhas; around him must be drawn the 32 symbols (p'yag mts'an):

to the East: a head; to the South: the hands; to the West: the guts; to the North: two feet; to the S. E.: a skull-cap; to the S.-W.: a skull; to the N.-W.: a rag picked up in a cemetery; to the N.-E.: an impaled man (skyes bu gsal šin gis p'yug ba).

Hence in the first inner edge (called lha snami), to the East: gri gug, spear, club (gsum šin), knife (c'u gri), vajra, hook; to the South: axe, arrow, stick, kbatvānga; to the West: five-pointed vajra, tambourine, shield, bow, bell, flag; to the North: threatening mudrā, trident, elephant's skin, hammer lance...
to the South: K'ro boi brgod mt'a' yas, yellow, four-handed; in his first right hand rdo rje, in his first left hand a vase containing gems. With the other two he embraces mDa'ns Idan ma, yellow, with rdo rje and skull-cap;
to the West: rNam pai sgra sgrog, red, with rdo rje and snake-noose; a lotus in his first two arms. With the other two arms he embraces rDo rje and skull-cap;
to the North: bDud rtsi ak'yl ba, green, rdo rje and club marked with a viivavajra; with the other two he embraces rLun 'byin ma with wheel and skull-cap.
On the four doors of the mandala:
to the East: rDo rje lcags kyu and lCags kyu ma, white, two-handed: the symbol is the hook;
to the South: rDo rje zags pa and Zags pa ma, yellow; the symbol is the noose;
to the West: rDo rje lcags sgrog and lCags sgrog ma, red, two-armed; the symbol is the chain;
to the North: rDo rje dril bu and Dril bu ma, green, two-armed; the symbol is the bell.
Around, the cemeteries; above Grub t'ob and masters; on the four corners rDo rje sems dpa', rNam par rnam ajoms, 'Od dpag med, Klui dban po. And further: below two rTa mgrin, red and blue, Indra and Śiva. Above, two P'yag na rdo rje. Below the donors; more to the right rNam t'os sras, Gur mgon, dPal Idan lha mo, Bram ze gzugs nag po c'en po, two Jambhala; to the right two K'ro bo, Ts'ogs bdag; two sGrol ma.

TANKA n. 185 (Plate 219).

As the inscription says, this tanka represents a Vajradhātumandala, symbol of the adamantine plane, the sphere of the absolute. But we know several Vajradhātumandalas: they are especially taken from the literature of the Tattvasahāgraha, of the Vairocanābhisambodhi and of other Tantric texts, almost all centering round the symbol of Vairocana. Concerning this mandala and that literature, I refer the reader to what I have written in Indo-Tibetica.291

But the Vajradhātumandala is found in other Tantric cycles as well: the presence, in this tanka, of Kyai rdo rje, Hevajra's figure might suggest, for instance, that the painter has wished to represent here the Vajradhātumandala according to the Samputatantra, a text akin to the Kyai rdo rje regud: but the structure of this mandala, of which we have an ample description, for instance, in the gSun abum by Kun dga' bzani po of Nor (complete works, vol. k'a), has no relation with the pattern of this tanka.

Above, in the centre: rDo rje gc'a'n with his šakti, Dus kyi ak'or lo and Kyai rdo rje; below: Mi gyo ba in the centre, with his šakti, rDo rje mk'a' agro ma and Kurukullā.

TANKA n. 186 (Plate 220).

It represents the mandala of bDe mc'og, Śamvara, concerning whom I have written at length in Indo-Tibetica, II, part III. The cycle here reproduced is different from the one studied in all its details in Indo-Tibetica. The latter was based on Lűi pā's liturgy, this one centres rather on Nag po pā's ritual.

Above, grub t'ob and masters, below figures offering gifts to a lama: black Jambhala, Bya rog gdon mgon po, mK'a' agro ma etc.

TANKAS nn. 187, 188 (Plates 221-224).

These tankas too belong to Padmasambhava's cycle and their principal subject is the heaven over which he presides, gza'i mdo gsprul gyis no bo cittai dbiyis t'ogs kyi don, as we find written in tanka n. 187. This heaven, which tradition has imagined and the paintings represent on a mountain in the middle of the sea, is called Za'iš mdo dpal ri, the copper-coloured mountain: according to the
rNin ma pa traditions it is in the country of rNa yab lan kai gln, to the N.-W. of rDo tje gdan, Bodhgaya. Roerich 293 has already spoken of this fabulous place, publishing a painting very much later and less elaborate than the one given here. Describing his tanka, Roerich has also translated a chapter of a famous book which speaks of this heaven. The book is entitled gSol adebs leu bdun ma, and we have often mentioned it. On page 22 there is a description of Padmasambhava’s heaven which it will be well to repeat although it has been already translated by Roerich, because it helps the interpretation of the tanka.

1. The happy-omened mountain (Srigiri),293 copper-coloured, has the form of a heart (citta); its base rests on the naga king’s country; its miraculous (Ibun cags = Ibun grub) slopes are flung into the sphere of the däkinä - the top reaches Brahma’s land.

2. On the sparkling top of the happy-omened mountain, the Western side is of the colour of crystal (white), the Southern side of the colour of beryl (blue), the Western side of the colour of ruby (räga = padmaräga), the Northern side of the colour of emerald (indranila). This heavenly palace is translucent, with no outside and no inside (no interior and no exterior).

3. The four sides, the intermediate sides, the upper and lower parts of this heavenly palace, are made of precious stones. The verandas and the quadrangular projecting parts (glo bur) are each of the colour of the four mystical families and of the four magical works.

4. Its walls, its ramparts (adod snam), its tiles, its staircases, its bannisters, its balconies, are made of five kinds of gems. The arches over its four doors, the emblem of the wheel of the Law, all the friezes, are beautifully ornamented with great gems of various kinds.

5. Outside and inside it is thick with heavenly trees, fountains of ambrosia and rainbows of the five colours. The scent of blooming lotus flowers pervades the atmosphere; by simply recalling such a place to memory, great peace is obtained.

6. On the octagonal lunar seat made of gems, within that great palace, Pad ma abyun gns is found; his body is an accumulation (of the essence of all the) Sugata.

7. Although the colour of his body, his symbols, his ornaments are not unchangeable, but vary according to the intentions (of those who meditate upon him) and (of the four) magical actions, reciprocally meant to pacify, to cause to prosper, to submit and to offend, his splendour is greater than the light of a thousand suns.

Its supreme majesty is that of the king of the mountain (Sumeru).

8. The manifestations of the (Guru’s) spirit penetrate the world; he gazes, turning his pupils all around, like the sun or the moon. The deeds of his mercy are swifter than lightning in the sky. His intentions are deep as the vastity of space.

9. Through compassion towards the world, he accomplished the good of the universe. His smiling face has a fair appearance; the sound of his voice is stronger than the roaring of a thousand thunderclaps; the sound of the deep Law, contained in secret formulas, echoes.

10. On the four sides and on the eight intermediate points of the great mystical body (sprul sku), on thrones pressing down upon demons lying face downwards (log pa) sit the Tathägatas belonging to the five mystical families and the terrific deities which conquer demons; these deities represent the activity of the physical plane, a corporeal and active symbol.

11. On thrones resting on lotus flowers placed in the four points of space and having five petals each, are the Git 294 of the four mystical families and four troops of mK’a’gro ma; they are all furnished with ornaments taken from cemeteries and stand in graceful postures, playing on musical instruments.
12. On the four sides of the great palace, the central verandas and the projecting corners are full of Rig adsin and of mK’a’agroma, and (crowded) with gods and goddesses like clouds; they present offerings of all kinds exoteric, esoteric and secret.

13. On the bridge of the precious palace, goddesses bearing offerings, filling the world with their offerings, are crowded thick as clouds of the six kinds of desirable things, and by Kun tu bzān po’s offering they honour Sugata.

14. At the four doors on the four sides of the great palace, four kings of the four quarters mount guard (bka’ gņen) at the door.

The eight troops of Lha min, acting as servants and messengers, overthrow fiends and heretics as if they were dust.

The authority enjoyed by the Lew bdun ma explains how this description of Padmasambhava’s heaven recurs in almost all the sMon lam, i.e. in the formulation of the vow to act according to the Law, so that the devotee may be rewarded by rebirth in the heaven where the great miracle-worker sits. Thus, for instance, the Zaṅs mdog dpal ri’i smon lam rig adsin gsaṅ lam, which passes for a gTer ma, adds nothing to the description in the book translated above.

We know besides that this heaven, imagined as a great mountain, is surrounded on the right by the Rig adsin, the masters of esoterisms, and on the left by the doctors (Paṅ c’en) and ascetics, while all around are arranged the gTer ston, discoverers of those sacred books which Padmasambhava was believed to have hidden in caves in the mountains, in order that they should be taken out when men’s minds were mature enough to understand their secret meaning.

Thus this image of Padmasambhava’s heaven, placed on earth, in a vaguely South-Western direction, is a Tibetan creation, in which are mixed together traditions on the famous Indian Śrīparvata (dPal ri’i), the Mahāyāna’s sacred citadel, and the Western heaven; fancies are blended with it, concerning paradises and far-away worlds, difficult of access, where the Law is handed down, spotless, undefiled by impure contacts and choirs of blissful beings sit in contemplation, precisely as it was in the Sukhāvatī or in Śambhalla, the supreme heaven of the Kalacakra system.

The tanka is inspired by this idea, but it is evidently based on a literary tradition describing the road to this heaven and the manner of reaching it. There is no other explanation, for instance, of the bridge on which the devotees pass and of the fiends guarding it. The existence of a literature which dealt with travels to the Zaṅs ri, in the same way as others offered information on the way to reach Potala, Avalokiteśvara’s abode, is proved by some allusions to it, which I have found in the biography of the third Dalai Lama bSod nams rgya mts’o. This book, describing this lama’s ancient incarnations, mentions a journey the master made to the rNa yab country, Cămara, as we have seen from the allusions to it in tanka n. 33.

“When I went to rNa yab, the Srīn mo’s land, in a frontier country, a one-headed Srīn po appeared and asked me where I was going. ‘I am going to the Srīn’s country: where is the road leading to the Zaṅs mdog dpal ri?’ ‘From here on he answered - a large frontier land is there whose access is difficult on every side’. Then a two-headed Srīn po appeared; he had four huge teeth in each mouth. He told me that the road leading to the Srīn po’s country was there and a sort of road appeared, made of silken stuff stretched out and he went towards that road, but was unable to pass, neither could I pass. Then a Srīn po came, eleven-headed, whose tallest head was that of a horse. He scattered flowers all around, and said: “He who protects against the sufferings of the samsāra has arrived here as if by virtue of meditation, through which one may go everywhere. In the middle of this
country of the Srin po, by this road, go before the spiritual preceptor... Then a road appeared, made of silken stuff. Walking on it I had covered half of it, when a four-headed Srin po appeared, who pulled me by one foot. But then out of that country two Srin ma appeared, who threatened to strike him, and then he fell. Thus I arrived happily...

(Complete works, na, p. 8).295)

On the other hand the Pad ma t'an yig... chap. 97 says that the Zañs mdog dpal ri lies between Lánkāpūrī to the East, dGa' ba can to the South, Ko ka t'an dmar glin to the West, Byān lag to the North.

All around the scenes represent fanciful itineraries to the Zañs mdog ri heaven, the places to be crossed, the dangers which must be overcome, the gods met on the way; we find there the cemeteries of rNiṅ ma pa tradition, but also allusions to Padmasambhava's life and to his masters.

The inscriptions, not always legible, begin on the right, above and unfold as follows round the image of the heavenly palace where Padmasambhava is seated:

1. rgyal du sprul.
2. 'c'ur ... nub stod ša mk'ar can gyi glin na gro'n k'yer abum c'a dgu sa bdag klu dur k'rod gian ... pad ma rtseg.
3. dur k'rod bde c'en bral da.
4. na'n gol.
5. šar byan rlun nag k'rig glin semi sans kyi k'rag.
6. rin po c'e'i ... byun ma'n po.
7. rgyal po lag na rts'o rdsus sprul nas drag snags kyi c'os ston pa.
8. nor ... da'n abras la ... 9. dur k'rod pad ma rtseg.
10. klui rgyal poi gnas.
11. rgyal po gtsug na me abar ba sprul nas c'os ston pa.
12. mu le ap'ru gyi ... 13. dur k'rod ajig rten rtseg sigs adsin ša nti gar bha.
14. Near the bridge: sris po agro bai bla srog ... 15. dban gi lba ma mc'ed dgu.
16. slob dpon c'en por ... mc'og rgyal sogs lbo nub mai.
17. deb ra dsar sprul nas ksu ap'ru.

18. šar lbo dra tii nags glin sris gro'n abum c'a 'ner gieg.
19. rigs adsin hūm kara ... t'an yan lag.
20. smra bai sen ge sprul nas ajam dpal skui ston pa.
21. šar smad na ban ... glin na glin p'ran bye ba gsum.
22. šar lbo bai bai glin na abri gyag ri lag la.
23. rigs (for rig) adsin vi mac la mi tra.
24. dur k'rod lbum grub rtseg.
25. sris po grul abum rigs lag pa brcya ston gis mts'on adebs śīn ri dags la ... ston pa.
26. lbo zaìn t'al ka' ri gro'n k'yer ... bua drug dur k'rod ku la rdogs rgyal po ... ap'reñ du sprul nas dur k'rod gsum c'en rol pa rigs adsin dha na sam skri ta.
27. rgyal po ra ksa t'od p'reñ du sprul nas k'yan ajug rtog pa.
28. lbo nub ra ksa ... mi rta k'yi gsum za ba.

1. He appears as a king.
2. In the water ... to the West, in the upper part, in the island of Șa mk'ar can there are 90.000 cities, Șa bdag, Klu, nNaN of the cemeteries. (The cemetery) Pad ma rtseg.
3. The cemetery bDe c'en bral (see tankas nn. 33 and 109).
4. In the interior [s]Grol (ma?).
5. To the North-West (in the island rLu'ṅ nag k'rig (black wind) the blood of created beings.
6. ... precious ... are born many ...
7. Miraculously appearing as king Lag na, he teaches the law of the violent exorcisms.
8. ... riches and fruits ...
9. The cemetery Pad ma rtseg (in Uddī-yāna, see tankas nn. 33 and 109).
10. The king of the klu's abode.
11. Miraculously appearing as king Tsug na me abar, he teaches the Law.
12. Appearing miraculously in Mu le.296 13. The cemetery ajig rten rtseg (see tankas nn. 33 and 109), the possessor of mystical wisdom Šantigarbha.
14. The Srin po... the life of created beings...
15. The 9 sisters goddesses of the magic power.
16. The great master ... the lofty, king etc. to the South-West.
17. He is miraculously born, appearing as a Devarāja.
18. On the South-East in the island Dṣa tiṇnags there are 21,000 cities of Srin.
19. The possessor of mystical wisdom Hūm kara ... a part of T’ān.
20. Miraculously appearing as Ṣmra bai seṅ ge he shows aJam dpal’s body.
21. To the East, in the lower part, in the island ... millions of lesser islands.
22. To the South-East in the intermediate continent, to the sheep in Mount Ḍri gyag...
23. The depositary of mystical wisdom Vimalamitra.
24. The Lhun grub brtsegs cemetery (in Nepal, see tankas nn. 33 and 109).
25. The Srin po of the lineage of the Grul ṣhum (Kumbhāṇḍa) called “the 10,000 handed”, flings weapons and shows to the gazelles ...
26. To the South in Zaṅs t’al ka ri sixty... city the cemetery sKu la rdsogs ... (see tankas nn. 33 and 109) miraculously appeared as king [T’od] ṣp’reṅ ... the ḡSon c’en rol pa cemetery (see tankas nn. 33 and 109) ... the depository of mystical wisdom Dhanasamskṛta.
27. Having miraculously appeared as king Ra kṣa t’od ṣp’reṅ, he reflects on Ḍ’ yab ḣjug.
28. To the South-West the rakṣa ... eats a man, a horse, a dog.
TANKAS nn. 189-193 (Plates 225-229).

They all belong to one cycle; they are printed on linen and the colour is then applied, light, prevalently grey, pale pink and yellow. The tankas were purchased in Gyantse, but the blocks must have been engraved in a place where the Chinese influx was deeply felt: in the drawing of the figures, the seats, the apparel of certain personages, for instance the one visible in tanka n. 192, below, in the accuracy of design, Chinese influence transpires quite clearly.

But if the style of the blocks from which these pictures are derived leaves no doubt whatever, the interpretation of the subject they represent is uncertain; this is always the case when masters, not gods, are represented and when inscriptions are lacking.

There seems to be no doubt that a cycle of masters is here represented, but the school to which they may have belonged is quite uncertain: the personages represented in tankas n. 189 and n. 191 are perhaps two Pan c'en lama of Tashilunpo; the one in tanka n. 192 is very probably aBrom ston, to judge from his layman’s apparel; the one in tanka n. 190 represents a king, very probably K’ri ston lde btsan - the deity appearing above his head is perhaps aJam dpal’s, whose incarnation that king is considered. To the gods’ and masters’ figures are added those of some acolytes, who evidently have here a symbolical value: in picture n. 190 a bird resembling a raven, and a hare above, almost certainly symbolize the sun and the moon: the raven is an animal who lives in the sun, according to an old Chinese belief and the hare lives in the moon in folklore common to China and India. But in the picture n. 192 we see in their place a horse and a parrot; the latter often used to symbolize the lotsāva, i.e. the translator. The meaning of some small scenes escapes me altogether, for instance the scenes in tanka n. 192, below, which probably represent episodes in the life of some saint. The images drawn at the bottom of tanka n. 189 represent 6 arhats: focere others on the top although they are here represented in a manner which differs in some cases from the traditional iconography.

TANKA n. 194 (Plate 230).

This is printed and then painted; it represents Padmasambhava according to the usual iconography. He wears the sīnas pa or exorcist’s hat; with his right hand he clasps the vajra, on a level with his heart; on the palm of his left hand he holds a skull-cap. On his left shoulder rests the khatvānga, a sceptre on which three heads are stuck: one just cut off, the other putrefied and the third a bare skull. The master is wearing a monk’s robe (c’os sgos) and silk cloak (zab ber) like those of kings. Below, in the centre, mGon po p’ya drug; on the right dPal ldan lha mo dmag zor ma; in the left a deity attired as a knight, wearing a cuirass; he pierces with his sword a nude personage lying on the ground, perhaps dGra lha.

Of the three figures above, the central one represents Ts’e dpag med, Padmasambhava’s essential body; on his left Ts’e rin ma and on his right sTag ts’a n ras pa, the famous bKa’ brgyud pa ascetic, who enjoyed the favour of the kings of Ladakh and particularly of Señ ge nram rgyal; through their patronage he founded the monastery of Hemis in Ladakh. He was a celebrated yogin and visited even the Swat valley, in his time entirely in Moslem hands, to look for traces of Buddhism and come into physical contact with that land, blessed with the dākini’s presence. He wears across his breast the bandages for meditation (in Tibetan: gom t’ag, yogapatta).
TANKA n. 195 (Plate 231).

This is a *gos sku*, i.e. a tanka made out of a piece of many-coloured material, cut up and sewn again into a sort of patchwork, composing a given figure. The work is so accurate that from the photograph one would think this tanka too was painted.

It represents a standing Buddha as he is pictured when descending from heaven, where he had gone to visit his mother; such, at least, is the Indian iconographic tradition, but in Tibet the personage thus represented is usually Dipankara, a Buddha of past cosmic ages. On each side of him, also standing on lotus flowers, Padmapani and Vajrapani.
1. More common is the cycle of the 16 Bodhisattva (see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, pp. 235, 243, 250).
2. See above, chap. on Vajrayāna.
3. Vimala is Vimalakirti, but two Indian palm have borne this name (see above, n. 159 on Part First), hence it is difficult to say which of them is here represented. Rîn čhen mc’og is a well known lobsa; see Mlle Lalou’s indexes.
5. The not folklore quotes, for instance, in the monastery’s patron the C’cos rgyal of Gugs, the King of rDzin kha (rDzin K’dul of Zaat dkar 1) in mNa’ ris (p. 16, 10); this rGyal po is mentioned by name on p. 37 lsd’um idc rmeṅ, he is said to be a decadent of the kings of Tibet. The king of Guge was called (p. 38, 18) K’ri nam ma’k’ha d ϱan po.
7. Sñāyana’s biography is also contained in the DT, b. 4, p. 1 ff. and substantially agrees with the one translated here; the DT, however, places his birth in the year mr leg, 1127, instead of the year rTis gnam, i.e. he must have come to Tibet at the age of 78 which seems rather improbable. The date of his arrival in Tibet is confirmed by a tradition which is said to go back to him directly. He went back to Kashmir in the year 1214. He must be at the age of 98 in 1225, bi ky. that is, the date of our biography must be reduced by seven years, allowing only twelve years for his sojourn in India after his return, instead of 29.
8. According to the DT, the first place where the K’i’s c’pa pan was received with supreme honours by the Tibetans was P’ag ri; his itinerary continued through Gyan gto, Gur mo, T’xi’ adu, Cu’ miṅ, K’o p’u.
9. Concerning Vībhositendra see DT, lVI, p. 20. Suggatiṣā is met with as a translator in Mlle Lalou’s indexes.
10. Instead of Dzalodha we read in the litania: Dzalodha = Yaksadora on the Vitasta See STEIN, Kalhana’s Chronicle of Kashmir, II, pp. 403, 420. K’ri stan, in the eulogy K’ri’ bstan, perhaps to be related to K’ri te, concerning whom see THOMAS, JrAS, 1931, p. 360, 1934, p. 28, and to K’ri’ te near Guge found in some Tibetan sources (see n. 16 to part first). This expression again appears in Husian Tsang’s l’i li’ te, namely the Kri, an invading population, poorly educated and adverse to Buddhism; they conquered and sometimes governed the country. See RONNOW, Khatra, Le Monde oriental, vol. XXX, 1916, p. 132 ff.
11. On which see above.
12. Concerning Sñānkaragupta see Mlle Lalou’s indexes, Dha- vatsara, or Dhanakara, as in the litania, perhaps stands for Dharakara.
13. In DT, lVI, p. 1, 6 “Ve dus ...,” in Eastern India.
14. Kṣyana is now Samada, see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 92.
15. His biography is in Dom pai c’han, etc., p. 145 and in DT, lVI, p. 315. Perhaps Pravaraṇa = Sānagar. See STEIN, Kalhana’s Chronicle of Kashmir, I, p. 84.
16. Viz. in Bhingvihāra in the Bring (Bhing)a-pargana, STEIZ, lVI, p. 408.
17. Sa mi = Avantiśvinn? In stead of Sarta, s and p being easily exchanged in Tibetan manuscripts, we may also think of an original pura, a corruption of Pattana (= Sankarpata).
18. Viz. he had the revelation of Maitreyaṇaṇa, who explained his doctrines to him directly.
20. Ajita, Maitreyaṇaṇa.
21. Ži abyn is Sñātarkarupa, Bhlo gos sbas is Maitripadopa.
22. Sum bhā ku ts is Smbatštisita. “Smbata’s peak,” unknown to me; K’o gter can, Bhkstis is a terrible hypostasis of Tārā. See B. BHATTACHARY, Buddhist Leperography, p. 59 ff.
23. On these names see above, n. 11.
24. Vikramala has been located at Pārāghiāra, JRASB, 1909, pp. 1-13.
25. Cfr. V. A. SMITH, Early history of India, pp. 390, 396; S. K. DAR, The Educational system of the Ancient Hindus, Calcutta, 1910, p. 372. It was founded according to Tārānātha by Dharmapāla (end of VIIIth cent.).
26. Odantapuri, Orantapuri, perhaps Udantapura in Bihar, founded by Gopala (about 765).
29. The tanscrit names of the four goddesses seem to be Stambhini, Upastambhini, Svavānamālā, Parśnārī; but except the last one, I do not remember to have found them anywhere. As to Ya-goddala, which seems to be the original of the Tibetan name, it is another famous Vīhāra in Bengal, founded by Rāmapala (c. 1084-1126); it was the seat of Vībhusitendra, Dnāsilā, Mokolkargupta, Dharmikara, etc. N. N. DAS GUPTA in Indian Culture, vol. I, n. 2.
30. For mis’uns.
31. Khro’ s tshig ldan is mentioned by Sum pa m’kān po, p. 287. In the inscriptions the part not in italics corresponds literally to the text of the biography.
32. On the three līs, see, for instance, La VALLÉE POUSSIN, Abhidharmakosa, chap. VI, p. 225.
33. This is the meaning of the scene published by Mlle Lalou, Trois aspects de la peinture Bouddhique, Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales, t. III, 1935, p. 235.
34. The spelling of this temple in Ol’ k’a always wavers between rDzin rjil, 1082 rjil yin.
35. Jñānottara, concerning whom see above, p. 311. In the present case it is the jñānottata of a Sam dbyan.
36. See above, p. 598.
37. Viz. identity between lnyarst ’a and bshad grub, the intuitive moment called yoganidra.
38. Viz. the chief interpreters of Mahāyāna and particularly of the Prajñāparamita: Asrīnag, Vasubandhu, Bhdantān Vimuktiśena, Akyāvimuktiśena, whose continuator is Senge’ sgron (po), i.e. Xabhadra, named in the list which immediately follows.
39. The list on the right contains the sampadeśa of the kh’o dge’ pa’ sVen bstan, Atiśa’s master, Atiśa, Abhomston pa (concerning whom see above), dPal’ ldan dge’gan pa (m’óng byen, 1016; c’k’yi, 1082), sNe (or sNeu) Zur pa (c’r’i tsha, 1042, died 77 in the year of the dog, c’k’yi, 1118) (kh’o dge’ pa’ c’lung byen, p. 8 a).
40. Biography in kh’o dge’ pa’ c’lung byen, p. 98. The king of Guge contemporary of Nag dge’ gnas pa’ was C’cos rgyal Blo bden rab dten who with his wife Don grub ma built some temples of Tsaparang. He was the father of S’a kya’ od and S’a kya’ seng chen and the grandfather of a Jig rten dge’ gnas p’yi yod pad ma’ kdr Ile, a contemporary of Dge’ aden rta’ mta’ mdo. Vai dar pa’ se’er po, p. 219. On this see n. 91 on Part one.
41. While on the stair on which the gods are descending, we see lotus flowers in the place of tungs, because the lotus is the normal support of supernatural beings (see p. 118), men not yet sanctified, though drawing near to bliss, ascend on a common ladder. On the ladder and the Buddha’s descent cfr. COOMARASWAMI, Svayambhunatras-Jenais coenti in Zalmoxis, 1919, p. 27, n. 8.
42. It should be remembered that in India the yearning to obtain a long life, indeed life eternal, is one of the prevailing morals of vedic religion: māntrav acanam, Karmavasam, III, 2, aparat kriyate mantram, Bhūdāra, op. IV, 4, 16, while upanandika speculation already understands the ātman, the Bring, as light: amamājasya, Kārīkābha, 1, 1, anta jīvita jīvateyog, Māṇḍūkya, III, 1, 5, in the same way as Buddhism will define the citta as prakṛitābharasa; cfr. “Wenn ich zum Haus des Lebens emporsteige und zur lichten Wohnung hinweg...” Thus the Mandean hymns, RUTENBERG, Die Vergessehden der christlichen Texte, p. 70.
43. OBREMILLON, The subtle science of the great vehicle to salvation, p. 254.
44. It must be kept in mind that according to the Vinaya of the Mālāsaravasāvādāna, the Buddha had three wives: Yādodiṣṭi, Gopā and Mēgaji. See PERI, BEEEO, 1918.
45. In Tibetan the spelling of this name wavers between Rādriṣṭa and Uḍyāna, evidently a confusion with Uḍyāna, in CAVALIERI, Cup Cent. India, p. 137, Udāsena. 611
73. Viz. one initiated into the Tantric schools, leading to salvation in one, seven or sixteen lives, according to the esophyte's pledge.
74. Concerning Za hor, see Appendix two.
75. In DTY Baidhā, perhaps Vidarbha, Berar; Vidhā suggested tentatively by Toussaint (p. 490) seems to be out of place. Atās pa is Aryadeva, the pupil of Nāgārjuna.
76. Abris Idan is most probably Abris spumā Dhanayataka, on which see Part I, p. 212 and n. 274.
77. Li is Khotan. Ma ru is perhaps the same as Ma ru tse. According to S. Lêvi, Maru is Chibral, but Tibetan tradition places it in the environs of Kulu; see Tucci, Travels of Tibetan pilgrims in the Swat Valley, pp. 4144, n. 6.
78. La jā is perhaps a mistake for Gā ra, Dkar la, Lahlul; Bu-ra is Gilgit; Sambhala is the place where the Kālikaraka was revealed, see p. 212; Ta zü (stTag bsgr) is Persia, (ed. Chinese & St Arabic, Muslims in Iran); To gār is Tokharistan; Ruk ma for Rûm, the Western world.
79. Kta abrus, monastery in Yar lung.
80. The seventh and, on which see Part IV, n. 174.
81. On these practices see David Nīlā, Mystique et Magie du Tibet.
82. On Nam mkha‘ ston po, Aṣāgārātha see note 252.
83. Viz. the Buddha's statue, taken to Tibet in Sūtra bstan sgam po's time.
85. A’s bDum sTag po is Camera see 603 and note 295.
86. Viz. Ye sse ston’s rgyal, the incarnation of Sūrārāti.
87. On the bags containing offerings were written the names of the contents; now we can only read ba ha, Mongol tea.
88. The origin of the name Avakolikavara and the meaning of the word have been often discussed by scholars. The various opinions have been reviewed by Staell-Holstein, Avakolika et apokałīktaka, HJAS, 1936, p. 350 ff., who is inclined to derive the name avakolika from loka to save, to free (vedic: lokadva, lokante; lokaya, lokana; lokaṃ, beneficent).
89. He supports his view with a passage of the Siddhārthaṃḍapadāra, pp. 418-419 (SBE, pp. 406-407) in which it is said that the god is called Avakolika because those who hear his name will be released from any trouble and with the sentence: tarāya mām (in the text: mān) avakolika of a ārya and with some passages of the Dīpyakāraṇa (p. 439). I am not fully convinced by this explanation and am rather inclined to believe that the meaning of savitā was secondary, in the sense that it was attached to the deity after the later had acquired some consistency, and had become an independent entity. The origin of Avakolika is according to me, to be found in a petrification of the four mahāvākīkāni which the Bodhisattva vākolīkayā before descending from the Tuṣita heaven upon earth; Lalitavistara, ed. LEHMANN, p. 12, Mahāvīra, I, p. 197; five vākolīka in Nikāyavatīka, pp. 40, 60, etc. The same idea underlies the passage of the Kāmarṣadāya quoted by BURNOUT, Introduction (2nd ed.), p. 201, in which it is said that Avakolikavara is so called because ‘‘il regarde avec compassion les êtres souffrant des maux de l'existence...’’ The four vākolīka (avakolika looks from above) later became the compassionate looks of the deity upon suffering mankind and chiefly upon the inferior beings. I therefore think that the god is the deification of an action of the Buddha, of one of the moments of his career.
80. Verse defective: a syllable missing.
81. See above n. 78.
82. Namely, moral and intellectual (punyajñāna-anānājñāna).
83. C’er sgyen is the technical word for triangle, tibhas, symbol of the womb of all things; it is represented by the letters i and the vowels of the mantra.
84. On Tvé dpag med’s mandala, comprising nine gods, see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part II, p. 161, n. 3.
85. Viz. the name of the famous temple.
86. See notes 5 and 42.
87. See above, Part II, p. 237.
88. The six ornaments, are the great masters of the Mādhyamika Nāgārjuna, Rūhūla, Aryadeva, Candrakirti, Bhavaviveka, Buddha-pallāita.
89. Viz. Vajiravajrapuja.
90. Wrong spelling?
91. See above, Part II, p. 302.
92. Viz. Indian and Tibetan masters are represented together (Sēn ge bzung po – Haribhadra), Zh ba t’o (Sāntaratā), alama
large reduction of the Ta' gic; these have been made by commission for Kun dga' rnam rgyal a merchant of mK'ar. On this occasion the inscription on the back was made by the Rig adzin, Padma min can (or: having the name of Pad ma)... 249. The cycle of the eight cemeteries is sufficiently known; see the Snangsmo'i, edited by Foucher, in the JA, 1914. The list contains in the Vijayagopipattanip, by Sutasravajra (Sanskrit text) and the Astasamahna from the Tibetan text we have published in Indo-Tibetica, III, part II, p. 173 (pp. 180-181). correct "cemeteries", instead of "Hells..."). The list of the Nin mas, as may be seen, is different from the traditional one of Indian Tantric literature, but the cemeteries are equally arranged so as to form the symbolic lotus. Each of these cemeteries is a protestant, a tree, a mountain, a cloud, a rupa and a naga, proper to it. As may be seen, there is a plan underlying this conception and that is parallel, in its essential elements, with that of the pure earth. The clohis describing the latter contain the Buddha ruling over them, the miraculous trees made of gems, the precious mountains, the stupas or simones, the gods surrounding the Buddha as he meditates or preaches. In fact these cemeteries, which are eight as many as the mental states representing the samrti being to be overcome, five sensation, sensorial, one intellectual, mudraimana, abhayajmanas; Laksavatara-sutra, III, 114-136, Vijayagopipattanipati ed. La Vallee Pousin, vol. I, passim, are the contrary of the pure earth, but by virtue of the bivalent of thought, mentioned above, they at the same time may undergo a revolution, paraboles, in which, by a sudden change, they become the exact contrary of what they were: in the same way tainted thought (kirta) regains its nature as luminous thought prakshavacarita.

248. On these deities see Appendix two.

249. The five dakinis correspond to the five gnomes or to the five kulas tugs. In the Samsara cycle they are ten, known as the Ro K'ras. The Ablabharmahayana of Vatsyayana tradition is edited by L. de la Vallee Pousin, vol. III, pp. 365-366. See what we have said above, p. 360 ff.

249. See above, p. 377 ff.

250. Keurim, etc. These eight goddesses appear in the cycle of the Na rag don sprugs, Indo-Tibetica, III, part I, p. 123 and p. 191 ff. Their names, in Tibetan translations, are extremely corrupt; as I have shown in the above-quoted work, they are: Gauri mDrod ldan Cauri (ma) C'om k'un Pramohi Rab 'rmons Vaidi Ro 'lian ma Pukkha sBes mo Glasmari Dred mo Sma'lini Dur krod ma Candali gTum mo

The Sanskrit name of the first goddess is certain (see JA, 1914, vol. CCXXXV, p. 229); the Tibetan translation migd ldan, "the who owns a sky", is difficult to explain. Evans_Wenti's Keurim, etc., the who wears a bracelt, is out of question. Pi'men ma is the global name given to this class of goddesses. On this cycle, cf. Indo-Tibetica, III, part I, p. 126.

251. om mun padme hum, viz. the siddhakṣara mantra, the mantra in six letters, sacred to Avalokiteśvara. The formula's most probable meaning, touting out the nectarins which theologians believe may be seen in it (for instance Mani bIsh 'dum), is Om, Manpadadh, hum. Cfr. THOMAS J. W. JRAS, 1906, 464 ff.

252. On this scarf, used as a bridge, see Appendix two. As to Budhagupta's description see Tucci, Sea and Land travels of a Buddhist Śālka, LHC, 1931, p. 683.


254. Translated by S. LÉVI, E. CHAVANNES, Les tres riches arts de la Lut,., JA, 1926. The text is also included among the avadanas of the br'Tan sgrub mo, CX, p. 19. In M.lle Lalou's catalogue, it is missing in the list of works, but may be found under the name of its author, Nandimitra.


256. 4'ggs'i par gser gtum rgyal bka' stebs kyang 'cun po rnam kyis rgyas bzhad po 'di 'gran bu ste ma, written by Nang dbang sNgan grags dbal 'gran po.

257. LÉVI-CHAVANNES, article quoted above, p. 144. Chinese 甘 (Ku-la-me) corresponds to Klu met.

258. On literary precedents and parallels see MATSUMOTO EICHI, Tanburgo no kōnyū, Tokyo, 1917.

259. The work was written in the year meuling, 1776.

260. The inclusion of Dharma-drashi and of the Hva rin in the list of the arhats takes us back to the penetration of Ch'an or dharmayana into Tibet, which took place in 9'th iron leda bronz's times.

261. Antagonism between the Hva rin Mahayanā and Kamalalā, recorded in Tibetan tradition (for instance rGyal rDro) and which was so strong as to induce Kamalalā to write a refutation of his opponent, i.e. the Bhavavādā (see OBERMILLER, Journal of the Greater India Society, 1915, vol. II, p. 11) may have hindered the introduction of this personage in the arhats' cycle, or at least it may have favoured his exclusion from the same cycle, on the part of some sects. But that he belonged to the Ch'an, bstan gsm, school, is proved by a rather important passage in the rdzod 'cend dbod, ca, Blo po bstan rts'an, p. 19 ff, in which he is recognized as the last descendant of the sompyedpas of a school going back to Bodhi-dharmottara, Bodhi-dharmottara, Dharma-dharmottara. There is no doubt at all that this Dharmottara is the original of the name Drmahatala, the seventeenth arhat, it is equally certain that he was identified by Nin ma pa tradition with Bodhidharma, of the Ch'an school (who came to China from Persia about 479 d. Cfr. HU SHIH, P'o't'si ma k'ao, Kshvayagmi, 1933, in the third volume of his Literary Essays). Concerning him it is said, in p. 19, that having crossed the Eastern ocean, he arrived in Li kun, in China, where he met the Chinese prince (rGya rtsi) Sa 'yam and an abbot. Having recognized that they did not understand the true Law, he went to a castle depending from that country (mr'ag lei) called C'u; but the local monks K'i's ii, Liu rdo, and others, were jealous of him, and attempted to poison him six times. Seeing that he was unable to become the apostle of the Law, he apparently entered nirvāṇa, but appeared again in the upper regions (stdg pa'i snyon mig). A merchant called Bun (evidently 31 i'i Sung Yūn) of the Chinese sources) met him and saw that he held a single shoe in his hand. Having gone back to China, the merchant wished to verify what he had been told and, the tomb where Bodhidharma was buried being opened, he found but one shoe there.

It may be seen that this Tibetan tradition corresponds to the Chinese legend recorded, for instance, by Tao yüan 潭元 in his 漢徵東日乘錬 Ching it ch'uan teng la (T'ai-shih, 1276, p. 219). This Bodhidharma is considered the first of the seven apparitions in China (ibid., p. 219) rgya mgud brtan' the last (r'i ma) being the Hva rin mahayanā. This explains the title it bears in a Tun buang manuscript: rdzod 'cend don po bo the dkar ma la rdzod pa (LAOLUM, Inventaire des manuscrits tibétain de Touen buang, n. 116, p. 40), which must be understood not as the name of a book brTan buang, as M.Ile Lalou proposes, but as "first of the lineage of the seven masters...

In the same rdzod 'cend dbod we find other Ch'an works quoted, for instance the rdzod 'cend ma po, probably the same as the rdzod 'cend ma po e'n po (rGya ma po). Tun buang. (LAOLUM, ibid., n. 815, p. 178). Moreover, another Ch'an master is quoted in that chapter of the rdzod 'cend dbod, ending with a summary of the Ch'an doctrines; I allude to the mK'ar po a džhan hter, in which it is difficult to recognize A rhan hter of Tun buang's texts (LAOLUM, ibid., n. 116, p. 40, and Documents Tibetens on the Explication du Dhyana Chinois, JA, 1939, p. 506, Aantan hyper).

All this proves that the authors of the rdzod 'cend dbod knew the translations, and in part also the texts (A rhan hter's sayings are quoted) of the Ch'an schools, which had penetrated into Tibet from Central Asia and from Tibet since the times of the kings. This also proves, once again, that very often the compilers of these texts have used authentic materials and, on the other hand, that in some schools, particularly among the rNin ma pa, remarkable survivals should not be lacking of the Ch'an school, whose chief representative in Tibet was Nam mk'a's shin po of gNub la clan (etc nub).
Tantras on the right:
1) Ajita, Kalika, Vanavasī;
2) Kanakavatā, Vajrputra, Kanakabharadvāja, Bhadrā;
3) Hva īn.

Tantras on the left:
1) Rāhula, Cūdapaṃkhaka, Pindola Bharadvāja;
2) Panthaka, Nāgastena, Abheda, Gopāka;
3) Dharmāsī la.

The figures of Hva īn and Dharmāsī la are each accompanied by those of two dhāpa.

256. Of course many other combinations are possible; see for instance Gomārti, The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism, esp. frontispice p. 104.

257. But Blo bstan rgya mtso, in the book already quoted, says that the list may begin with any arhat whatsoever, according to the wish of those who pray, viz. that each particular beginning from a name on the list corresponds to a particular purpose of prayer. This is probably meant to justify the different order of the arhat in the literature or liturgical lists.

258. Although the Chinese and Tibetan text of the Nondiminśvalāna is the same, it is clear that the two originals on which the Chinese and Tibetan translators based their versions had their own peculiarities as to the spelling of the names; but it is not unlikely that the Chinese translation became altered in its turn, as to the characters used to transcribe the Sanskrit names. In the Chinese list I have left, in doubtful cases, the Chinese transcription. In the Tibetan list the transcription is given only in the first, or when there are differences or numeral footnotes.

For the term Tanka see the note above p. 374, Lehmann, Nordost Asiens Lebenswelt des Buddhismus, p. 252; Nivērṣṭace, p. 164. 159. Most commonly Yon leg bṣo; instead of Anagāja it presupposes Ingirajā; cfr. Māheśvarapati, zur tram gya go ba.

260. See preceding note.

261. Perhaps for Vipula, a double of Vipulapāra, like Pūrva-videha and Videha.

262. Vipūlakṛṣṇa, I, p. 197. Dīṣyā, p. 21) is also called because it is included between Li kae ra ti gn ep (Pudgrabharadvāja, Mahāstham Ghad IHQ, 1941, pp. 57-66) to the East, a āra ba cu khun (Szetkanika of Vipūlakṛṣṇa, I, p. 197, Dīṣyā, Saravati) to the South. Ke ba bu Ke ba ba (Siniāna and Utpahinā, in Kosalā, Lēvi, Catalogue des Yaks, 11, p. 59, Mālalakāśika, Dictionary, i. v. Thūna) to the West, Uṣāra to the North.


264. This form supposes a Sanskrit original Agniya.

265. Not Kākī (Roerich, TPT, p. 92). The Tibetans derived the name from agi or kāl black.

266. From (tika), vdkla cinnamon; In Tibet, as we have seen, its name is translated tin leon con.


268. On Sarasvati and the Chinese sources see the article Benżéten in Hēkōgin.

269. Foucheur's beautiful pages, in Art G. B., II, p. 102, should be read again in this connection. The data of Chinese sources concerning Vaiśāvānā are collected in Hēkōgin, art. Bihōmon. Recently Mlle Laloù has published in Attributs Asian, vol. IX, p. 97, a very interesting article on Vaiśāvānā's Central-Asian iconography. Nevertheless I do not think that the crescent-shaped motif represents two elephant-teeth as a symbol of riches; the representation of this symbols is to be found, that I know of, only in Tibetan art and is not confirmed by ancient instances. Moreover, elephant-teeth are a sign of riches only because they are associated with a precise series of precious objects.

The motif, I believe, cannot be dissociated from the small flat wings on the epaulettes of cuirasses, a characteristic symbol of Vaiśāvānā, not from the moon-motif, an emblem of royalty. For the flames on the Buddha's shoulders see Foucheur, Art G. B. II, p. 403.

270. It is interesting to notice how an original canonical literature Vaiśāvānā like the Lokālapāna, is assigned the usual drapery, while his cuirass, in never mentioned, for instance Sasr temporālia (ed. Izumi), p. 57, ortha katho Vaiśāvānā mahājā, etc. uttakāyantarhī, agkānānām vimārśini prāvyrttya... Also notice that in the same text Vaiśāvānā is, in one place, quoted apart from the four mahājā; p. 148, v. 31: Sītī sa Vaiṇārāma eva toba Cetaṃkābalaṅkā. That Vaiśāvānā's warlike character (as a Lokālapāna distinct from Kubera, in whom the cheet element and hence the quality of a god of riches persist) should have developed, as I have said, from the rēkaś or protecting vigilance attributed to the Lokālapāna and particularly to Vaiśāvānā, is clearly proved by careful perusal of the Sasr temporālia, which alludes to their functions as protecting custodians, p. 58, as "victors in battle," taking the part of those who believe in the Sasr temporālia (p. 65); their office is to oppose their obstacle (vīgha) against enemies of the Law, p. 65; where the Sasr temporālia is preserved and worshipped, they will come with their victorious armies (ūttīka). It is clear that this canonical tradition contains a justification of the Central Asian legend to which we have alluded. In Tibet the legend of Tnams rts pas, evidently in connection with the story of Pe dka' (see Appendix two), was represented in some dances. Biogr. of the fifth Dalai Lama, ca. p. 258. In Bhāhūr Kubera sits on a dwarf, naraṇām in the traditional attire of the Yaksas. On Vaiśāvānā in Ceylon see P. Wixs, Exzerzismus und Heilkräfte auf Ceylon, pp. 30-32 and passim.

271. This in the translation of T's yugel p' r yig'o. I do not think the translation "Ministre des affaires extérieures," given by Lhossiders, Mélange Linossier, is acceptable.

272. The p'you are real classes of Bon priests. See Appendix two.


274. Jimatuka, which appears very often in Tantric liturgies, is a mythical figure whose origin and meaning are not clear. Cfr. Jinaśabha of the Vaiśāvānā cycle.

275. Takkārajā is another naivāinsī god, of whom we have met many instances; he is the nāivāinsī of Takkā, corresponding to the region near Siidkot, Stein, Kālāhā's Chronicles of Khānlā, p. 150 and notes; cfr. D. C. Sinha, Texts of the Purāṇa list of people, IHQ, XXI, p. 278. The Takkārajā of some sources is placed together with the Bāhika, another population of Panjab. See Przyluski, Un peuple du Panjāb, Les Udumbara, J.A., 1926.

276. Tras kād, another mythological type whose origin and meaning are unknown; certainly a form of Mahākāla; in Tibet he is also called Drag tad; fierce power...


278. The Nepalese inscription ending with the usual sanskrit formulas was written in the year 916 - 1815.

279. Most probably the Tantric counterpart of the Śivasē ṣkandhakumāra.

280. He resides in a bTsan m'khar, whose doors are guarded by an iron wolf and a copper fox. His body is red, his red eye is fixed on enemies; on his ears hangs a red skin of the rocks. He wears a leather helmet and carries a leather shield; in his right hand he grasps a red spear with flaming flags; in his left hand a freshly severed head; his mount is a horse of the bTsan. The god represented in fig. III of Tibetan Temple Paintings by J. C. Van Meurs, 1924, similar to that described by Lhossiders, Mélange Linossier, p. 4, seems to me to be a bTsan, perhaps Beg tser, whose symbol he has (lance and bow), rather than Sron bstan igam po. The eight knights show a combination with the stla bsig of Vaiśāvānā's cycle - by careful perusal of the Sasr temporālia.

281. Even Vaiśāvānā was called Mahākāla, because he was "blackened by offerings" (I Ching transl. by Takakusu, p. 19). But evidently it is here a case of an epithet given to a god who has no relation with Mahākāla the god of death.

282. Unknown.

283. On this word k'ram tin, R. Stein has written in JRAS, IV, p. 320. K'ram tin is the attribute of the e' s'nyid; according to the Bar do e' s'nyid when the dead man is led before him, the king of the
next world examines the k'ram 侵犯 and sees at once how many sins the deceased has committed in his lifetime. Hence it would seem to be a "record", according to Wadding, Lamaism, k'ram 侵犯 is "a tree picture,..."

S. Ch. Das, *v. K. K'ram has also a "club-like implement carved with Ini, representing the attributes of a god and containing mystic figures in them,..." Cfr. Stem, *ibid.

But K'ram 侵犯 is also a "board on which the body of a culprit is stretched to flog him on the back, *ibid.

The k'ram is reproduced in tanka no. 172 as an attribute of Dpal Idan Iha 西藏. There is no doubt that it is a sort of club; as much may be deuced from the picture of Sa dbag se bshad, reproduced in the *Vai du rya bkra po (Lhasa edition, p. 460). But this club is called k'ram 侵犯 precisely because signs are traced on it; these signs may be magical, but they may also have a metempsychical value, almost a writing to count and enumerate, and to preserve records. Indeed besides the k'ram 侵犯, a k'ram 侵犯 is also known, a moose with k'ram, and in this case k'ram can only be a knot. See Appendix two, p. 718. In both cases, then, we have symbols of terrific deities, charged with some punishment; the sins to be punished are marked on them by notches or knots.

Bye nang: this may also come from byan bu, a tablet with a red inscription.

285. 1Do je' gdan pa is generally the epithet of Ranakara, but is also said of other masters; see Mlé Lalou's index.

286. Mythol. des Buddhismus, p. 81.

287. Concerning Min srin see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 128 ff.

288. Viz. Kila chen as symbol of the supreme unity realized by yoga.

289. Besides the text here quoted and included in the ffTan agyur and the Sambhala Lan yi edited by Grünwedel, I know another itinerary to this country which, although it originally had a geographical reality, has become, as we have said, a mythical country. This itinerary, known to me through a manuscript copy, is entitled Sambhala lan yi without the author's name. This itinerary starts from the mC'od rten dkar po, on the Chinese frontier, Pai ta to the SW of Liang Chou continues eastward in Chinese territory: hence it imagines Sambhala to be in the North-West, in the direction of Northern Asia.

290. The central image of 1Do je' asigs byed is surrounded by 53 small figures of gSton ye'.

291. Vol. IV, part I, p. 110 ff. The year in the inscription is almost effaced.

292. TPT, p. 76.

293. Sriqi, Sriparva, one of the chief centres of late Buddhism. It corresponds to Nagpur-kunda, in the Guntur district, where the famous rsiya stands. *See Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, n. 54, pp. 5, 6: *Epigraphia Indica, vol. XX, p. 2 ff.; Ramula Sandhurya, Varia, Researches Buddhica, JA, 1914, pp. 208, 212.

294. The Gin are the friends of Bon mythology, which Lamaism however has accepted like all the rest. Grünwedel supposed them to be the same as the Jin of the arabs, but there is no foundation for such a view.

295. Reigning in this Zanti mdo gti, Padmasambhava, by his own efforts or through his emanations, protects the beings of Jambudvipa from the harmful influences of the mK'a' agros and the Srin pos; he remains there until the end of samsara. So says the t Nin ma pa apology, which we have quoted more than once; it contains a description of this heaven, which helps us to understand the symbolism of the tanka. This Zanti mdo gti is in t Nin yab, Çama, one of the lesser continents which according to Buddhist cosmogony are on either side of Jambudvipa; the other one is called Avaracarama (see Abhidharmaikos, transl. by L. Vallée Poussin, vol. III, p. 147; McGovern, *Manual of Buddhist Philosopshy, p. 55); When Vasubandhu was writing his book, this continent was not unaccountably reserved to the räkṣas, and some schools maintain ed it was inhabited by men (*ibid.), but t Nin ma pa tradition, indeed Tibetan tradition generally, has turned it into those demons' own home; a geographical geography had developed around it and I am unable to determine in what proportion it is derived from Indian traditions, and what part has been elaborated by Tibetan masters. According to these theories, its centre is occupied by the Sa Krag za byed gin, whose central portion is a sea out of which a mountain rises; the Srin pos's palace is on the top of the mountain. It is surrounded by seven walls, legs ri; in the last three internal wings are three torana (ria bych); round this palace, on its four sides, are four assembly-halls, t'sogs k'ar; on its Eastern side the Cos t'sogs k'ar, in which the guru explains the stüras; the South the Louts sping t'sogs k'ar where, under Ye dpog med's aspect, he reveals the tantras; to the West the Pad ma dbian gi t'sogs k'ar, where under t Na mgimi's aspect he teaches the most secret Tantras *yad gan* and the baptisms; to the North, in the sByor spgr gnas las t'sogs k'ar palace, he explains, under guru Drag po's aspect, the acts which bind to existence and those which set free. The palace proper, standing in the centre, has five stories; in the lower one, a gigantic figure of the guru is seated, together with Ye les mno'g ri, under a terrific aspect; on the other two stories, he is surrounded by Rig adzin, Ye les mka' agros ma and Cos' skyon; in the intermediate one, the eight-named gurus, *mten ngringgwa*, viz. his eight aspects mentioned above, and in the upper story, T'od pa rtsul's five families. To the East of this palace, on the tDo'i can, flows a river; to the South there is a sandal-wood forest; to the West a garden, Nam su dga' bai skye'o mtsi ta'; to the North the mountain whose cliffs are gems and a mC'od rten. Then to the East of the upper part of the tNa yab gin there is another small continent called Dsa ti nang gin, with 2,100,000 cities of Srin po; an emanation of the Guru, called De va rza dua, reigns there. In the lower part, always towards the East, is the Bun Tsi' pa gin, with 300,000 cities of Srin po, where another emanation called tMia bai sten ge reigns; to the South the Zanti gta' ke ti tseg ge; with 700,000 cities, and Gyal po t'o'd pai ap'ri; to the West the Sa mka' can gin with 600,000 cities, and another emanation of the Guru, viz. Kyun c'en abar ba; still to the West, lower part, the K'rag mts'o' k'el ma (boiling blood lake) with 200,000 cities and tGum po ma dpal as its incarnation; to the North the Ner bu gin, with 1,030,000 cities, and to its right, with 1,600,000 cities, and Gyal po t'o'd pai ap'ri; to the North-West the K'ng ri a'k'rug po gi gin with Rik pa' t'o'd ap'ri; to the North-West the L'om nag a'k'rug gin, with Srin ge sgra sgrug; to the North-East M'en nag a'k'rug with tGung na me abar (*op. cit., p. 92 ff.)*.

296. Mu le, viz. mu le l'dam, a lake on the North-West of bSe. See Indo-Tibetica, III, part II, p. 102 ff.

297. In this image it is surprising to see the central figure wearing monastic draperies, but also the diadem on its head, like the Sambho gākṣāya or the Bodhisattvas. This expresses the personage's double nature, or the epiphany of a Buddha who from the plane of sambhogakaya passes on to the active moment of the preaching of the Law, or even a Bodhisattva assuming the aspect of a Buddha. This is proved, for instance, by the Sthūrānava-Sūtra in the case of Avalokiteśvara (transl. Kenn, *SBE, p. 405)*.

Besides Avalokiteśvara we may also think of Mañjuśrī, represented in China too as a Buddha (see Mūs, Bardubur, *p. 306)*.

The monastic robe, in this case, represents the aspect of revealer of the Law, assumed to convert living beings who are ripe for conversion, while the diadem reminds us of the Bodhisattva's nature.

The two Bodhisattvas on both sides are the same ones standing on Mañjuśrī's sides in the famous a'lam ma li group, adored in Kajarnath. See note n. 72 to Part four. As the tanka has been found in Nepal, it is not unlikely that it may represent precisely that same tanka, a divine court, in fine.
PART FOUR

SOURCES AND DOCUMENTS
UN RESCRIT MONGOL EN ECRITURE "PHAGS-PA"
PAR PAUL PELLIO T *)

Le rescrit mongol en écriture "phags-pa" retrouvé au Tibet par le professeur Tucci est facile à dater. On lit en effet à la ligne 3 que le document émane de "Hayšan, prince de gwač-niṅg". Il s'agit certainement du personnage que les textes chinois appellent ʽHai-chan, qui, né le 4 août 1281, accéda au trône impérial le 21 juin 1307 et mourut le 27 janvier 1311; son titre impérial mongol est Kūluk-qa'an, et on le désigne souvent sous son titre chinois posthume de 明宗 Wou-tsong. Avant son avènement, Hai-chan commandait en Mongolie, et c'est lui qui, en 1301, était à la tête des troupes impériales dans la campagne qui aboutit enfin à la rétraite et la mort de Qaidu (cf. GROUSSET, L'Empire mongol, p. 332); ceci explique que Hai-chan ait pu décider de questions intéressant le Tibet. C'est le 9 novembre 1304 que Hai-chan fut nommé prince de 懐宗 Houai-ning (au Ngaŋ-houei), le "gwač-niṅg", du texte "phags-pa" (cf. Yuan ch. 23, 7 a; 108, 16); son quartier général était à la colonie agricole et artisanale de 西藏 Tch'eng-hai, dans le Nord-Ouest de la Mongolie. Forcément antérieur à l'avènement impérial de Hai-chan, le rescrit se place donc entre le début de 1305 et le milieu de 1307. Comme il est daté du 30e jour du dernier mois d'automne de l'année du serpent, laquelle correspond à 1305, sa date exacte est le 18 octobre 1305. Le lieu de la promulgation, Jiramutu, n'est pas encore identifié.

Ce texte me paraît apporter la solution d'une question au sujet de laquelle on a accumulé les erreurs, à savoir la vraie forme du nom même de Hai-chan.

Les commissaires, qui, sous K'ien-long, ont "réformé", les transcriptions originales du Yuan ch. ont substitué à Hai-chan une transcription Ṣā Ḥai-chang qui représente le mongol qaisun, "pareseux" (K'īwâng Yıe che yu kian, 1, 2 b); c'est indéfendable. Il ne vaut pas de s'arrêter non plus à la restitution "Kaisun", adoptée dans GILES, Biogr. Dict., n. 933, et qui est évidemment basée sur le mongol qajısun > qaisun, "casseroles"; iciar, ne peut répondre à -chan (= fan) de Hai-chan.

La seule forme donnée pour le nom de Kūluk-qa'an dans le dictionnaire mongol de Kowalewski (II, p. 708) est Qayisang, identique au mongol qayi- san "parapet", "rempart". On a de même Hayisang, donc Hayisang (Qayisang), dans une source tibétaine tardive (HUTH, Gesch. des Buddhismus, I, p. 24; II, p. 35). Cette forme à -ng final, au lieu du -n de Hai-chan, semble appuyée dès l'époque mongole par Rašīdu’d-Dīn, chez qui on trouve Hayitang dans l'édition de Blochet (Hist. des Mongols, II, p. 607). Bien que cette forme soit obtenue par une correction (les ms. ont Ṣā qaisun et Haišan), il s'agit bien de Hai-chan. Le texte de Rašīd est, dans ce passage, plein d'erreurs et de confusions. Mais, M. A. Topchibachi, qui prépare une étude sur les généalogies du précieux Muizzu’l-Ansāb de 1426, me fait obligeamment savoir que, dans les tableaux, le ms. de Londres de cet ouvrage (p. 56 a) donne Haišan, celui de Paris (p. 55 a) donne Haišan; en outre la notice accompagnant le nom, et qui connaît le nom de "Kūluk-qa'an", les quatre ans de règne et la mort le 15 ramadan 710 (5 février 1311; l'erreur n'est que de neuf jours), écrit Haišan; mais il n'est pas douteux qu'on doive lire partout Haišan.

Mais il est vraisemblable que, dans ce cas comme dans bien d'autres, le Muizzu’l-Ansāb suit une tradition qui remonte à Rašīdu’d-Dīn ou à son entourage, et cette tradition n'était pas générale même en Perse. En effet, Wūšāf, qui a tout un paragraphe sur l'avènement de Hai-chan (cf. d’OHSSON, Hist. des Mongols, II, p. 525), écrit toujours Ṣā Ḥai-šān, ou Haišang, "identique au Qaysang", qui a été preparé par L. HAMBO (sp. 91). Un texte parallèle et non moins ancien, publié naguère par L. LIGETI (T'oung pao, 1930, p. 131), écrit Qayisana; vu le caractère quiescent de -ng final mongol, Qayisa est finalement acceptable si on part de Qayisang, mais non Qayisang. Mais, même en partant de Qayisang, il reste que le Hai-chan du chinois ferait supposer *Qayisan, non Qayisana. Schmidt a dit (loc. cit., p. 399) et Howarth a répété (I, p. 290) que Qayisang était la forme mongole correcte, altérée en Hai-chan par les Chinois. Je crois qu'il faut renverser la proposition.

Qayisan, ou Qayisana, n'offre pas de sens en mongol; supposons au contraire que ce prince, comme tant d'autres, et à commencer par son grand-père 西親 Tchen-kin, ait reçu à sa naissance un nom purement chinois, à savoir Hai-chan, mot-à-mot "Mer et Montagne"; ce nom s'expliquera comme un

*) This document should have been published together with the others, translated in Sources and Documents. But as an homage to the memory of that great Master, whose untimely end has been an irreparable loss to sinological studies, I have thought it fitting to publish it as a chapter by itself. Once more I express my gratitude for this collaboration, which came to light after his death, and I thank Dr. L. Hambis, who has kindly corrected the proofs of his great Master's article.
souhait que l'enfant ait un bonheur ou une longévité comparables à l'Océan oriental ou au mont T'ai-chan; c'est ainsi, par exemple, que deux mongols cités dans le Yuan che s'appellent 多賤 Hai-cheou, "Longévité océanique," (cf. San che long-míng lou, 20, 4a-b). En écriture mongole ordinaire, un nom chinois Hai-chan sera forcément représenté par Qayi-San; si on a Qayi-San dans le Jirikkini-tolta et Qayisa dans le colophon publié par M. Ligeti, nous pouvons attribuer à l'omission fréquente, dans les mss. mongols, des deux points additionnels qui distinguent le け du き; l'écriture arabe offre souvent pour les mêmes lettres une amphibologie analogique. Mais ce nom Qayi-San, d'origine chinoise, n'offrait pas de sens en mongol, et c'est pourquoi il s'est altéré, "mongolisé", dans le Hai-Sang de Rāsidu-'d-Din et du Mu'izzu-l-Ansāb et dans le Qayi-Sang (Hayi-Sang) de la tradition mongole moderne.

Le rescrit découvert par M. Tucci (fig. 123) livre ici tout les doutes. C'est un document original émanant de Hai-chan lui-même, et écrit dans une écriture où け et き ne peuvent se confondre; or, il a incontestablement Hayi-San. Mais il y a plus, et une particularité de l'orthographe 'phags-pa montre qu'il s'agit bien d'un nom chinois. Si le mot était primitivement mongol, la forme 'phags-pa correspondant à *Qayi-San serait *Khayi-San. Ici, au contraire, nous avons Hayi-San, avec simple け initial. Tout comme dans les transcriptions en écriture arabe, ce け initial n'apparaît en 'phags-pa au début des mots mongols que lorsqu'il s'agit du け du moyen mongol, non noté par l'écriture ouigour-mongole et aujourd'hui mutilé; autrement dit, si Hayi-San représentait un nom primitivement mongol, nous devrions le trouver, en écriture mongole ordinaire, sous la forme *Ayisang et non Qayi-San = *Qayi-San. Au contraire, け était employé en 'phags-pa pour rendre le け initial de toute une classe de mots chinois, et c'est précisément sous les formes bay et ｉα que les deux mots chinois hai et chan du nom Haichan apparaissent dans les textes chinois transcrits phonétiquement en syllabaire 'phags-pa (cf. DRAGUNOV, The 'phags-pa Script and ancient Mandarin, dans Izv. Ak. Nauk SSSR, 1930, 784, 786). La conclusion s'impose. Ce n'est pas, comme l'a cru Schmidt, Haichan qui est alteré de Qayi-San, mais c'est Qayi-San qui est incorrect pour *Qayi-San, transcription mongole normale du nom chinois Hai-chan.

L'écriture et l'orthographe sont en général conformes à celles des autres documents mongols en 'phags-pa; mais, comme il arrive souvent, il y a quelques négligences ou inadvertances en mongol même; en outre, les transcriptions tibétaines sont parfois aberrantes. Dans la transcription du texte, j'ai adopté, provisoirement au moins, une partie du système de M. Dragunov, en particulier pour 'ν, qui répond à w initial du chinois wang par exemple. Le け (ou け) marque une voyelle non écrite, qui ne fait pas syllabe; en réalité, kha'iin est peut-être presque *khān. J'ai gardé une même notation k
pour les deux séries, palatalisées et non palatalisées. 
Mais l'écriture 'phags-pa a en réalité deux signes dif-
ferents, et peut-être le signe de la série non palatalisée 
devrait-il être transcrit q ou γ.

Je n’ai pas entrepris de discuter ici tous les détails 
philologiques du texte. Quant au commentaire 
historique, je le laisse au professeur Tucci; qu’il suf-
sisse d’indiquer ici que le recit a été donné en faveur 
du célèbre monastère tibétain de Za-Lu, dans la 
Région de Tashilumpo.

1. Mönkha deri-yin khu-chun-dur
2. kha’anu su-dur
3. Hay-san uyay-ning ‘uan ‘ugā manu
4. balakhd-un darukhas-d’ay noday-da
5. chāi ‘ud-un noday-da a chāi
6. rīg han-pathē yēn-hui
7. yabukhun ‘elēnhā d’a ‘ulkhahei
8. biēhig
9. Jingis-khan-u ba ‘Ogaida-khan-u ba
10. Sāčān-khan-u ba yalhikhd-dur doyid ‘erkha’ud 
sānshinu
11. aliba alba khubēhīri a ulu ‘ujiān
12. deri-yi jālbariti hiru-ar ‘ogun athuhkhiyai
13. kha’gāsādā a j’u u’e. ‘ed’ a bār bo’ āsū
14. kha’anu yalhikhd-un yos’unalib alba alba khubēhīri
15. ‘ulu ‘ujiān
16. Sakyamuni mūr buši ‘ulu bolkhan
17. deri-yi jālbariti hiru-ar ‘ogun athuhkhiyai
18. kha’an rChān khajar-a akhun sku-žān Dor-zej
19. ‘U jiān-bēhug
20. Kahras-za rGyāl-mchān akhu Shahu sūmā-dur 
khanithān gacu
21. nis ‘yuan-si-yin bodus’i-dur jula šiia’kh’u thucon
22. darun athuhkhiyai khā’ān bariju yabu’ayi
23. biēhig ‘ogbae. ‘edan-s sūmās-dur gaiyd-dur
24. anu ‘elēhun bu ba’uthuhkhiyai u’a’a si’u usu bu
25. barhuhkhiyai kāzis-ga-dur anu morid usus bu
26. boudathuhkhiyai chān thamkha bu abhuhkhiyai
27. khajar usun
28. baq tārmād haran adu’usun ya’ud khājī anu
29. khād bār bōju bōjū thah jużu bu abhuhkhiyai
30. yosu ‘ugā’ue kuchēhu bu khurgāthugae
31. eda basa
32. biēhig-čhān ala kha’ādju yosu ‘ugā’un ‘uēlās
33. bu ‘eladathugae ‘uēlās’du’asū
34. ‘ulu’u ayukhun mud
35. biēhig manu mokhoyi jil namur-un ‘ahčus zara-yin
36. khu-chin-ā Jiramu-
37. thudd bukhuc-ādur
38. biēhībēg.

1. Dans la force du Ciel éternel,
2. dans la Fortune du ga’an,
3. Hay-san, prince de Houai-ning; notre parole.
4. Aux gouverneurs et commandants des villes,
5. aux commandants de l’armée, aux
6. hommes de l’armée, aux envoyés qui
9-12. Dans les édits de Jingis-khan, de Ogodi-khan et de Sāčān-ga’an, 11 il a été dit: “Que les bonzes, 
tous les religieux chrétiens et les prêtres taoïstes ne paient 
aucune taxe, et que, priant le Ciel, ils attirent [sur 
notre] les bénédictions... Les choses étant ainsi,
13. 17. [j’ai dit]: “Que, conformément aux édits du 
Ga’an, ils ne paient aucune taxe, et que, ne faisant 
rien en dehors de la voie de Sākyamuni, ils prient 
le Ciel et attirent [sur nous] les bénédictions...”
18-21. et [j’ai dit]: “Que les religieux... dépendant 
du monastère de Za-Lu 12 qui se trouve au pays de 
gCa’n 13 et qui est [celui du] sku-žān 14 rDor-zej 
dbān-phyu-g 15 (et de) 16 Grags-pa rGyal-mchān 17 
pressent l’huile pour allumer des lampes au bodhi-
sattva 18 Avalokiteśvara 19; et ce disant, j’ai donné 
[cette] lettre pour qu’ils la prennent et l’emportent.”
22-23. Que dans leurs temples et leurs chapelles, les 
envoyés ne descendent pas, qu’ils n’y prennent 
ni bêtes de somme ni rations.
24-25. Que, dans leurs domaines, 20 on n’engraisse 
que les chevaux ou les yak 21 et qu’on ne livre 
redevances in nature, 22 ni taxes commerciales.
26-27. [En ce qui concerne] leur terre, leur eau, 23 
leurs jardins, 24 leurs moulines, leurs gens, leurs 
bêtes, quels qu’ils soient, 25 que nul ne les prenne 
el des raviants et les enlevant,
28. ni n’emploie la force contrairement à la règle.
29. Que ceux-ci [= les moines] d’autre part,
30-32. sous prétexte qu’ils ont un rescrit, 33 ne 
commettent pas d’actions contraires à la règle; 
s’ils en commettent, sont-ils bien sans crainte? 34
35-36. Notre rescrit. Écrit le trente du dernier mois 
d’automne du serpent, quand nous 
résidions à Jiramutu. 36

Un cachet en écriture ‘phags-pa sigillaire est 
apposé trois fois sur le document. Je le lis: uyay-ning 
‘uān yin, “ sceau (fil yin) du prince de Houaining...”

NOTES

1. Cf. nes premières remarques dans Asia Minor, IV [1927], p. 379, 
2. Elle remonte au moins à Klapproth; cf. aussi Axel-Rémond, 
Recherches sur les langues tartares, p. 35.
3. Le ‘γ‘ (ou γ‘) du mongol est tantôt l’aboutissement d’un 
groupe à l’initiale explosive ou spirante (le plus souvent ‘γ‘ ou γ‘), 
tantot une simple notation graphique de ‘γ‘ (ou γ‘), si bien qu’on 
pourrait transcrire aussi ‘γ‘ ou γ‘. Dans Popov, Mong-γγ-
γceti, p. 159, il est question d’un “prince de Tang-nin de la 
dynastie précédente des Yuen, appelé Khatan-Deri... mais cette forme 
est due à une mauvaise lecture et à un contresens. Le texte (Mong-γγ-
γceti, 1, 1 b) parle en réalité de  " Composition Ta-bi (’Dakos) fils du 
feu prince de Tang-nin, chef de la dynastie des Yuen...”
4. Manque de renseignements sur cette prince H’ai-γ, qui devait vivre au
milieu du XIVe siècle. Son nom peut se rétablir en "Qiai, et il y aurait alors eu vraiment un nom *Qiai ou *Qiaia, qui pourrait influencer la forme adoptée pour celui de Hai-chan dans le Jirikun-toba et dans le colophon reproduit par M. Lévi; toutefois, il est également possible que Hai-za rende un nom mongol *Qais[gi], inexpliqué d'ailleurs lui aussi.

4. Le -d- du nomod est mal formé, mais aucune autre lecture n'est possible. On remarquera la vocalisation nomod, à côté du nomod de la l. 4. Il semble y avoir là une notation accidentelle de la prononciation populaire, bien atténuée plus tard; c'est de la même manière que la transcription du nom de clan de Genghis-Khan au début du Yonon te ramène à "Kety ( "Qiyar), au lieu de Qiai - Kiyaï, pluriel régulier de Qiai - Qiyar. On a de même ici à la l. 13 nukiyoi au lieu de nukhey = moji, "sentent..."

5. Peut-être faudrait-il lire d'ukhkhâh ( "dulkhah), en admettant que la première voyelle non exprimée est un i; on a d'ailleurs à l'autre 567 de l'Histoire secrète, mais d'ukhkhâh, plus conforme à la forme mongole usuelle, est plus probable.

6. Je lis khukhâh et non khukhâh-i (avant le suffixe -i de l'accusatif), parce qu'on a la forme à m. final qokhoï dans Hsunqyati piack 2, 13; M. Lévi, Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée (Collection Orientale, t. 12; Wilkins, 1917, p. 31) a encore gardé khukhâ ( "qokhâ). Le mot a partit en turc et en persan sous la forme qokhoï; cf. PAVET de Courteille, Dict. turco-oriental, p. 416, 419 (où qokhoï est une mauvaise leçon), et Vallieres, 1, 710. Le mot qokhoï a d'ailleurs adopté dans PAVET de Courteille, p. 416, et dans Bluchet, Histoires mongoles, II, p. 82, qokhoï dans Lévi, 1, 192. C'est une erreur qu'il est possible de tromper par la tendance initiale qui suppose aussi bien le Çinquis ou Çingis des transcriptions ouïgoure-mongoles que les transcriptions en écriture arabe et presque toutes les transcriptions chinoises.

7. C'est-à-dire Qubilai.

8. Cette traduction est hypothétique. Le document a nettement qisūm. Je l'ai interprété comme le pluriel en un de "quim, forme mongole du tibétain ger-bu, mais qisūm n'est pas attesté.

9. Il s'agit du monastère de Ža-su ou Žal-su, dont il est longement question dans Tucci, Indo-Tibética, IV, en particulier, I, pp. 70, 71. La transcription est faite sur une prononciation à initiale assourdie.

10. Le nom de qayn est écrit incorrectement rChan (ch - aspiré) dans le document phgeba.


13. Les mots "celui du... et "de", placés entre crochets, ont été ajoutés comme un pis-aller, mais je ne vois pas comment construire le texte.


15. En écriture phgeba, on a bedü-im, forme populaire altérée qui remonte à une forme ouigoure bédæn - bédæsta.

16. La forme mongole usuelle du nom est Chorgiin (Hongqjin), mais le document donne ijanSu-yan. Cette dernière forme est plus voisine de l'original chinois Xi-jin. Koush-chen; toutefois koush est normalement transcrit gen en phgeba (cf. Dragunov, The lberg-pa script, p. 787). L'initiale -y- semble indiquer que le transcrivant a voulu rendre une forme chinoise, mais a méconnaît l'original chinois véritable, et a été trompé par la forme ouigoure-mongole à -q- initial, lequel vaut aussi bien pour une initiale k- ou une initiale k- du chinois.

21. Khiim du phgeba représente le tib. t'ai-kha, "domaine..."

22. Unails ne peut être que le pluriel de *mon, qui n'est pas mongol.

23. On s'attend à un nom d'animal, et, au Tibet, on doit songer au yack. Je pense que *mon est une forme mongolisee du tib. nor ( "mya), "bête du yak mâle et de la vache domestique", le vrai nom mongol de cet hybride, dont je ne connais pas d'exemple aux XIIe-XIVe siècles, est gongnying. bâns-c ( "rune khan DY); cf. tel., al. euq-, id.).

24. Chak (ch - n') du phgeba est pour tayag, atteint en ouïgour et en mongol au Moyen Age, et qui est emprunté au chinois 角 kow, "grenier... Dans les textes bilingues de l'époque mongol, il a comme équivalent chinois 地 角, lit. "impôt du sol", et cela paraît s'expliquer par le fait que les redoublages en nature étaient conservés dans les greniers publics. En turc et en mongol classique, 角 (chong) a survécu au sens de "magasin", mais en mongol et en kal-mouk il a aussi le sens de "trésor, public", ou il peut peut-être voir une contamination de 角, 角 (chong)... Cf. aussi Lévi, p. 34.

25. Tanyâ du phgeba est pour tanyâ, atteint en ouïgour et en mongol classique. 角, "veau", dont le sens primitif paraît avoir été "marque au feu rouge sur les chevaux... Dans les textes bilingues de l'époque mongol, tanyâ répond à 胴 角, "taxe commerciale... et c'est à ce sens dérivé que se rattache l'emploi du mot dans le tâne tanyâ, "douane..." Cf. aussi LEWICKI, p. 34.

26. Kłjar usum, = yą warmer usum, "terre et eau... fait une expression analogique au tib. yersum, "terre eau... et désigne le "vol... en général.

27. Dzun (-ker) est le mot persan pour "jardin, fréquent dans les textes mongols du Moyen Age, mais qui n'a pas survécu en mongol classique.

28. Yed désigne dans d'autres édits on y ed - (y- ed), et les plurals yed- ed, où le -ed semble bien être la désinitive de l'accentatif (cf. Lévi, p. 36); il est singulier que le passage de -e à -je devant -i se soit produit quand -i est une désinitive casuelle, mais, je connais au moins un autre exemple d'un dit en phgeba qui donne yed- êd. Le tâne est voisin dans d'autres édits pour "tâne," "race... à la figure... "seulement..." Pour la construction cf. Histoire secrète, § 278, espèces dés. kél éd "kél... tout se passe qu'ils ont été mis à la tête de..." Le sens n'est pas douteux; cf. par exemple Lévi, p. 19.

29. Formule classique des fins d'édits, pour indiquer que ceux qui contreviendraient à leurs prescriptions doivent Chandler le pire. Cf. aussi Lévi, p. 36.

30. Je n'ai pas encore retrouvé le nom ailleurs. C'est un adjectif en tu de jir, mot qui semble inconnu tel quel du mongol classique. Mais il est question dans l'Histoire secrète, § 75, de jirun, rendu en chinois par "petit poisson... C'est à l'évidence le plural de jirun et le nom de jirun comme l'a proposé HAENISCH, Welterbuch zu Mongol un neue Textebn, 90). Jirunut signifie donc [Lit. u] y a il y a des petits poissons..., jirun s'apparente à mongol classique jireni, "petit poisson", jireni, "sauter au caramel", par Kowari Leviski; le nom mongol du "caramel", est tišönin, kal'm, türk. (San-i-pi ken-bin, 12, 108), probablement à jirun que Kowalewski donne dans jirum jireni, "petit poisson," et en tout cas à jirun. Jirunut, "jireni", "alvin"; pour lequel RAMSTEDT, Kalm., Welterbuch, 132, indique une forme primitive de mongol classique jireni que ne semble appuyée aucune autorité. Sin jirum de jirum jireni est correct comme il semble (cf. jirum, "petit poisson," dans Yen yee che i-ke, 4, 2), on peut songer à une alternance ji, jirum, identique à celle qui se rencontre dans le nom même de "poisson", jireni en mongol classique, mais jei yng en kalmouk (RAMSTEDT, p. 403), bëzâu su chez les Oros, ḏıbėγu en mongol (cf. A. de Smet and A. Möstaezt, Dictionaire mongol-français [Peiping, 1931], p. 78). Dans jirunut, jirun est un suffixe, tout comme -yu dans jirum, et la parenté de jirum et de jireni (gueminent rendu jireni) est peut-être appuyée par le mandchou nimade, "poisson... Nous aurions dans jirum un cas où -yu intervocalique, bien qu'il ne soit pas ici une simple notation graphique de l'hinitu 'y', représentante une labiale primitive. Cette labiale peut d'ailleurs n'être pas primitivement intervocalique, car jireni et jiremi, tout comme jirum, suggèreth qu'ils fussent jirum : "jirum", "jireni et que nimade fust : "nimade. Pour la correspondance mongol jir, mandchou nie, cf. peut-être aussi jirum, jirum, "six... ma. ngongun, id., bien que les mongoliants ne rapprochent généralement que deux mots.
THE SA SKYA PA

(53 b) Of the three heavenly brothers ICe rIn gYu rIn and gYu bse, the youngest became the lord of men, 8 from gYu bse byi 9 four brothers were born. Enmity arose between them and the great eighteen dDon clans; but gYu rIn (who had remained) in heaven helped them, hence they vanquished those clans and brought them into subjection. gYu rIn married rMu's daughter, whose name was dMu sa, and his sons were the seven Ma sas, 6 the six eldest, together with their father, went into the country of the gods. The youngest son (among these seven brothers was called) T'o's tsa dba' bo stag 7 and married mTr'o mo rgyal, of a Mon family, from whom was born gYa' spAt. 8 The latter slew the ogre sKya ren k'tag med, then he ravished gYa' grum bsl ma 9 and married her; he had from her a son who, having been born while he was fighting the ogre, was named aK'On; this is the meaning of the name of the aK'On clan...

(54 a) He who had been born during the struggle married two wives, ICe 10 and sMan, of the b'Tsan family, 11 from whom he had a son dPal po c'e. 12 The latter was sent by his father to investigate which country possessed happy omens (in order to appropriate it) and having seen that the territory of Ya tsan in Se t'at of gNam, in La std 13 was furnished with signs of good omen, 14 he took possession of it. Taken into the presence of the mNab bdag K'ti stron lde btsan, 15 he married Lhas k'trim bu, of the lotsava of rLans 16 and had the following sons: K'en mdzes, Lha legs, Ts' e la dban p'yug, aK'On klui dban po and Ts'e adzin; of these Klui dban po took ecclesiastical vows with the precious abbot, the Bodhisattva, 17 and on his heart lay the ambrosia of the great master's (Padmasambhava's) grace. rDo rje rin c'en, the son of the youngest of these brothers, was spiritually matured by the great master in the mysteries of the mandala of the adamantine Vehicle.

This great lord of mystical realization had six sons, up to the fifth the lineage was greatly propagated. 18 The youngest of the two sons of the sixth, Ses ryan tan, who had gone to Grom pa, 19 was born in Byan hence the aK'On family spread in the higher and lower part of this region. The eldest Yon tan abyu (gnas) 20 had three sons, the second of them was Ts'u k'rlims rgyal po; he had three sons, the eldest of whom was rDo rje gsug tor ses rab; the letter begot seven sons; the youngest of them was dGe m'ton, who settled in Zab; from him was born Bal po, 21 who went to meditate on the rock of Ts'a mo ron, 22 where he had a vision of rDo rje p'ur pa, his ancestors' protecting deity. His son Sa' kya blo gros founded aJag g'isons in gYa' lun; the latter had two sons, the eldest was Ses rab ts'u k'rlims of Rog, of the aK'On family, who also in the beginning a vision of the deities protecting his lineage and (54 b) belonged to the school of the holders of the vajra, 23 who have obtained the mystical realizations of the highest planes of meditation.

The youngest son was aK'On dKon cog rgyal po, 24 who placed on the top of his head the lotus of the feet of various lofty masters, like sBro mi, the great lama, the lotsava of the new school of the mantra, 25 the lotsava of Ka ri, 26 the lotsava of Pu ran, 27 and the gNam k'a's brothers, and he tasted the ambrosia of their words. He founded a monastery in Gro bo lun pa (whose ruins) are therefore called to this day "ruins of the Sa skya monastery," In those times, looking from the top of the mountain, he saw that on the slopes of the dDon po ri 27 there was white and fatty earth, and recognizing that the place possessed all the signs of good omen, he bought the area from its owners with the price of a precious necklace and with other (money) and founded the monastery of the glorious Sa skya. 28 aK'On dKon cog rgyal po married Ma gcig Za'n mo, from whom was born the great Sa skya Kun dga' sfin po, supreme in knowledge, in reflection and in meditation of the various aspects of the Law set out in the sutras and in the esoteric doctrines. As the well-omened vase of his heart was filled by a continual flow of the ambrosia of the three secret planes 29 of aJam dbya'ns A ra pa tsa na, all intelligent men considered him with certainty an incarnation of the noble lord aJam dpal dbya'ns and the Sa skya pa were celebrated as the family of the aK'On (incarnation) of aJam dbya'ns. Above all he became the master of the adamantine Vehicle, the great esoteric doctrine...

(55 a) To this lofty father three sons were born; the eldest aK'On Kun dga' sbar, having gone to India, died there of a fever. The second, Mi t'ub zla bs's'n, 30 was aK'On bSod nam rtses mo, who after having listened in, meditated on the vehicle which contemplates the fruit of the Law, handed down by his ancestors and next, in gSa'n p'u, with the monk of C'a, 31 on the vehicle contemplating the cause. The third son aK'On aGrags pa rgyal mts'an ruled the realm of the law of those who possess the vajra; this great lord of mystical experience, trusting to the boat of wisdom, of reflection and of the meditation of the Law, went into the precious reign of mystical union with supreme reality; the nature of his virtues was beyond what can be spoken in words; when the Kashmiri pandita 32 predicted an eclipse of the sun and the moon, rje grags, by inducing a break in the equilibrium of nervous centres and of breathing 33 (= having recourse to yoga) obtained that the eclipse should not take place...

The fourth son aK'On dPal c'en po had two sons, the eldest of whom was aK'On dPal ldan don grub, who in his twenty-fifth incarnation was reborn in the world of men. That drop of camphor which
is the grace of a Jam dpal dbyan having refreshed his heart, he put away from himself the pain of that fever (which afflicts) those who are ignorant (of the Law); in various manners he stimulated his karmic propensities so that from an early age he was able to speak Sanskrit and to write lantsa and ortula characters.

He took vows as a novice at the school of Je aGrags pa and assumed the name of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an ... (55 b) He became learned in technical sciences, in medicine, grammar, logic, spiritual disciplines, i.e. in the major five arts and then in poetry, lexicography, prosody, dramatic art and astrology, in brief in all the arts.

Being celebrated as the Sa skya pandita, his fame became an ornament of the vajrasana of the central region.44 And if the habit (of study) of the five sciences grew up in this country of Tibet, it was through his merit...

He received the rules of perfect investiture with the great Kashmiri pandita Sakyasribhadra, and adding the abbot's title to his name of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, he put: dpal bzan po after this (name).45 Although some heretics like aP'rog byed dga' bo (Harinanda) were like elephants, whose vast physical force was represented by knowledge of grammar and logic, he nevertheless felled them with the sound of his invincible confusion. But, as aP'rog byed dga' bo, having recourse to magic powers, flew through the air, he invoked the help of the acarya aDar p'yar,46 hence the former (being vanquished) promised to enter into (the practice of) his teachings. Although he had asked to be ordained as a monk, he would not abandon the signs of the heretics: the Tibetans, out of surprise, flocked to him when he died. His diadem of his mouth and when he died the diadem of his forehead, which the king gave him the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet,47 on the second he gave him the three partitions of Tibet and on the third he offered him the Tathāgata's relics,48 which had belonged to Ajatashatru and the great mi yur of China.49

As the king was about to order all ecclesiastics of Tibet that, outside the Sa skya sects, no one should be allowed to practice another system, aGro mgon a'pags pa asked that each should practice his own particular system, and the king, according to what the bla ma had asked, published an edict in which he said that they should (continue to) behave according to their system, but that they should pray for him.

With the material sent to dBus and gTsan the d'On c'en Sa skya bzan po had a Swarnaprabhaśatruta (copied); then he had a great statue of the Buddha made, to be worshipped in the interior of the temple (nān rten) and as a sacred external receptacle the gSer abum.49 A short time later the bLa ma too arrived in Sa skya and built the stupa gSer abum bka' sīs, with many doors, (57 a) and the golden wheels of the parasol in the sk'ya abum bdun, which was outside the monastery and a golden pinnacle for the gSer abum of the Sa skya pandita; he also caused to be written in golden letters a collection of the Buddha's words in more than two hundred volumes. Then, as ambassadors sent to him by the Emperor repeatedly arrived to take him (to China), (he started) and having come, during his journey, to the temple of Gye re, he proposed to visit it. Taking occasion from the circumstance that one pupil (called) Mi la had said: "A (thing) well made like this (temple) will come into existence one day", the d'On c'en Sā kya bzan po taking as a base the measure of the Gye re temple (Lha k'an c'en mo),50 calling upon thirteen districts to contribute to it. When the protector of the world (aGro mgon) arrived in the king's palace, the king conferred upon him the right of assuming new titles,
like “divine son (Devaputra) of India below the sky and upon the earth, inventor of the alphabet, incarnated Buddha, maintainer of the kingdom’s prosperity, source of rhetoric, Pandita aP’ags pa, master of the Emperor (Ti sri).” And every time he offered him great gifts: two thousand great measures (bre) of silver and 5940 bolts of silk for clothes.

When Kar ma ba si61 performed various miracles, gliding upon water, soaring in the air, reducing stones to dust, the king said: “This our imperial master aP’ags pa is an apparition, in human form, of the Buddha sNan ba ma’ ya; however as to miraculous powers and possession of mystical intuitions, this bearded one is superior.” Then the queen C’a’u62 went to the lama and told him how things were and asked him to work miracles too, because if the ba si be elected court chaplain, damage might ensue to the Sa skya race. Then he, standing amidst the king and his ministers, cut off with a sword (57 b) his head, hands and feet and through the favour of the five mystical families he offered all eyes63 an agreeable show consisting in marvellous apparitions as an evidence of his sacred teachings. He then went back to his abode in the fortress of Bya rog and killed the dPon c’en. This happened: “In the fortress of Bya rog the drum of Bya rog’s son, namely Kun dga’ bstan po, died in 5706 and his successor, the dPon c’en, having died, the dPon c’en64 was the time in which what had been foretold would happen: “In the fortress of Bya rog the drum of military law will be struck and cowards will swell up in the river of the golden sands.”65 The preceding year the lama aP’ags pa had died in the Lha k’an bla bran; some say that one of his assistants, fearing that the lama would find out that he had called the Hor army, secretly killed him. In these times, owing to the Sar pa ruled over the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet. The lama bDag nid c’en po’s son, namely bSod nams bzan po, died in mDo K’ams.60 In dBus and gTsang he married seven wives;60 the son of Kun dga’ aP’ags pa rin po c’e’s son, Kun dga’ bstan po, was taken to the palace by an act of authority, caused his son Dharmapālakṣita to administer the see. Being falsely slandered to the Emperor, as if he had not been a member of the Sa skya family, the bDag nid c’en po bzan po dpal,60 on the King’s order, was obliged to go to a small island, rather than twenty days’ distance in the ocean. Meanwhile, Dharmapālakṣita and his son,60 having died, the dpon c’en60 and other authoritative counsellors repeatedly sent several messengers to the Emperor, asking that the bDag nid c’en po might be allowed to come back; but to no purpose. Then the venerable Kun dga’ grags of Gya a sian happened to come (to China); he was a disciple of the mystical instructions concerning the mGon po, hailing back to the two lords of the Law, uncle and nephew.60 And as a hailstorm had fallen on the royal palace, (58 b) and a raven had been seen, the size of a small mountain, with an iron beak and claws, which shrieked beating its wings, the venerable Kun grags told the Emperor the reasons why the bla ma bDag nid c’en po, being a noble65 Sa skya, should be indemnified for the insult he had received.

Thus the bDag nid c’en po was taken to the palace and was then once more placed on the throne of the great see with all sorts of honours. In the meantime, as the prince of the Sa skya pa was in difficulty, the Sar pa ruled over the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet. The younger brother of the protector of the world P’yag na60 went to China as an attendant on the lord of the Law; he was invested with the dignity of dPon for Tibet and adopted the Hor’s customs. From Jo gZrom of Sab, Zans ts’a’s other wife, were born the acārya Rin c’en rgyal mts’an66 and his sister sDo le;66 the elder of them learnt many tantras, scriptures and mantras; when the aP’ags pa rin po c’e came to the Hor,67 he ruled his see in his place. Then he ordered a (religious) service, which consisted in having the monks read the words of the Victorious (throughout Tibet) from Nepal to mDo K’ams.

(58 a) Then he brought to the great see the three supreme venerable brothers of sJam ma li, on the frontiers between India and Nepal,67 next he founded the monastery of Lhun grub sdiins in gSer glin. From the acārya Zans ts’a’s other wife, namely Lha gcig msdes ma of Guṇ t’añ, were born the acārya bSod nams abum and Ni ma abum;68 from the latter’s handmaid šJe ton ma tDo rje ldan was born the acārya Ye s涉及 abyun gnas, who became the chalpina king Humkāra69 of the country of añjān. From the acārya Zans ts’a’s other wife, namely ICam Hor mo, was born the acārya Rin c’en abyun gnas,69 who died young. From Ma gcig mK’a’s agro, wife of the agro mgon P’yag na was born Dharmapālakṣita.67 The acārya Ye s涉及 abyun gnas’ son was the bDag nid c’en po, bZan po dpal, born in Bo don er. After the aP’ags pa rin po c’e’s death, P’yag na, by an act of authority, caused his son Dharmapālakṣita to administer the see. Being falsely slandered to the Emperor, as if he had not been a member of the Sa skya family, the bDag nid c’en po bZan po dpal,60 on the King’s order, was obliged to go to a small island, rather than twenty days’ distance in the ocean. Meanwhile, Dharmapālakṣita and his son,60 having died, the dpon c’en60 and other authoritative counsellors repeatedly sent several messengers to the Emperor, asking that the bDag nid c’en po might be allowed to come back; but to no purpose. Then the venerable Kun dga’ grags of Gya a sian happened to come (to China); he was a disciple of the mystical instructions concerning the mGon po, hailing back to the two lords of the Law, uncle and nephew.60 And as a hailstorm60 had fallen on the royal palace, (58 b) and a raven had been seen, the size of a small mountain, with an iron beak and claws, which shrieked beating its wings, the venerable Kun grags told the Emperor the reasons why the bla ma bDag nid c’en po, being a noble65 Sa skya, should be indemnified for the insult he had received.

Thus the bDag nid c’en po was taken to the palace and was then once more placed on the throne of the great see with all sorts of honours. In the meantime, as the prince of the Sa skya pa was in difficulty, the Sar pa ruled over the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet. The lama bDag rid c’en po’s son, namely bSod nams bzan po, died in mDo K’ams.60 In dBus and gTsang he married seven wives;60 the son of Kun dga’ zin Kun dga’ bIa gros, having gone into the Hor’s country, was the Ti sri of king Bu yan, of king Gi gan and of king Ye sun t’e mur.69 Of Ma gcig Yon bDag’s sons, the eldest died as a child.

Kun dga’ legs abyun went to the Hor’s country as the master (Ti sri) of Ye sun T’e mur, and Kun dga’ rgyal mts’an as master of Ratnārāja60 and T’o gan T’i mur. From Ma gcig Nam mk’a’ rgyal mo he had three sons, namely Nam mk’a’’s bIes grIen, Nam mk’a’’s legs and Nam mk’a’’s rgyal mts’an; of them Nam mk’a’’s legs sat on the throne of the great see. Of the three sons born from Ma gcig gZon nu abum, i.e. Kun dga’ rni ma, Don yod mts’an and the glorious holy lama bSod nams rgyal mts’an, this latter lama, Lord of the Law, attained the extreme limit of all the sciences and having obtained (mystical) power from the great Sa skya who had realized the adamantine plane, he became almost the diadem of all those who possess the teachings; he became particularly eminent.
because he had been the dDe srid P'ag mo gru pa's spiritual guardian.

(39a) Ma gcig Ni ma rin c'en bore three sons: Ni ma dpal, Kun dga' legs rgyal* and Kun dga' rgyal mts'an. Kun spans kham mo bLo gros rgyal mts'an, and K'an gsar dpon mo bLo gros Nams dbang p'yun grags rgyal mts'an. The Ti sri Kun dga' legs rgyal mts'an allotted and gave to each of his younger brothers one of the four palaces. The venerable Nam mk'a' legs had as his son Ta dben* Kun dga' rin abyun. The latter had two wives; the eldest bore Gu sri bLo gro rgyal mts'an and the younger bore the ácåyå Grags pa rgyal mts'an and Kun dga' bLo gros rgyal mts'an. The former had the great lama bSod nams rgyal mts'an, the second bore C'os kyi rgyal mts'an. The latter's sons were the omniscient Sa skya pa the translator, (60 e), the dBan c'en Nag gi dban p'yun, ajam dpal grags and Nam mk'a' don grub. The latter's sons were Kun dga' bsam grub and the great exorcist (mangs pa) Kun dga' rin c'en; the former's son was the BDay c'en Kun dga' bde legs, who begot bSod nams lhun grub, Kun dga' lhun grub, aJig rten dban p'yun. The latter's sons were bSod nams bLo gros, Byams pa bSod nams lhun grub and Nag dban bSod nams lhun grub. Kun dga' rin c'en married three wives; the first bore two daughters, the second bore Nag dban bSod nams dban po* and three daughters, the third bore Grags pa bLo gros, who had six children, male and female; the first two sons died young, the youngest were Kun dga' dban rgyal, mT'u stobs dban p'yun, Nag dban Kun dga' bSod nams. This precious gem of the Sa skya pa race descended from aK'yon, its teachings concerning the interpretation of the sutras and tantras still lives. As to the fortune of the temporal power, beginning from the aGro mgon, the king of the Law, aPags pa, up to the aGro mgon bSod nams,* the dPon c'en including in the list those elected twice and up to the twentieth (of the series) appointed by imperial order were invested with power over the three districts (c'ol ke) into which the great Tibet was then divided, i.e. dBus and gTsan province of the Law, upper mDo, province of men, lower mDo, province of horses. As regards the authority to punish evil and to reward good in the thirteen mythariaches constituting Tibet, namely, to specify them, six mythariaches in gTsan:* Lho and Byan of La stod, Gur mo, C'u mig, SaNs, Za lu; six mythariaches in dBus: rGya ma, aBri gun, Ts'al pa, T'an po c'e, P'ag gru, gYa' bzan and one mythariache of Yar Abram on the frontier between dBus and gTsan, (60 b) after the dPon c'en Sa kya bzan po, whom we have already mentioned, and Kun dga' bzan po, the office was assumed by ZaN buSUN and Ban dkar; after them Byan c'ub rin c'en was invested with authority; although he had the seal (dan k'a) conferring the office of so win s'i and the rock-crystal seal he was killed by one of his underlings in sDón mo t'an in the environs of SaNs.

Then, in Kun gton and gZon dban's times there was inspection* and severe application of the law. After them the commander-in-chief Byan tdot, later Añ len,* who built the external wall of Sa skya, the wall of the Pon po r* and the K'an gsar glin,* then, as disagreement between the Sa skya and the aBri gun pa had begun, Añ len, with the thirteen mythariaches' troops, marched against aBri gun and burned the convent, causing the famous destruction of aBri gun; then he wrote Añ len's name on a rock on the frontier of the lands to which he had led his army such as Dvags po. So great was this dPon c'en's force. After him, gZon dban was once more 628
invested with power but died on the way. Then Legs pa dpal, Sen ge dpal, ’Od zer sen ge, who had the seal which invested him with the office of svon jin bden, then Kun rin, Don yod dpal, Yon btsun, again ’Od zer sen ge, rGyal ba bzan po, dBar p’yu dpal, bSod nams dpal, again rGyal ba bzan po, dBar btsun.

In the times of these two, the Sa skya pa having disagreed with the P’ag mo gru pa as it befalls in natural manifestations of the order of things that (for instance) while the childhood of springtime pros pers, protected by the spring months as by a nurse, the whole rigour of winter is dissolved through its own force thus, through the will of Brahma, forefather of the universe, (61a) the sde srid P’ag mo gru took possession of the fourfold fortune. After him, although some d’On c’en are quoted, like Nam mk’a bstan pa etc., nevertheless their power over the three districts was not equal to that of the first d’On c’ens.480

**TS’AL PA**

(61b) King Mon gor 480 separately chose as his chaplains the (lama) aBri gun pa; king Se c’en chose the Ts’al pa, Hu la gu 481 chose P’ag mo gru, i.e. the Tibetans were divided and ruled over by the various kings, who allotted to the various chaplains (a part of) the land, following the example of territories which were under the authority of the P’ag mo gru, Hu la gu’s vassals. These lands beginning from Mon lug mgo sten, upper and lower gNa, Gru suf, Lo to white and black, Byar po, lesser E in greater E, T’an po c’e, aP’yon gnyas, aP’yos, Mon mKar, mKar’i lhag do po, Sregs lhe, ’On sna, Nam zal Ina, down to Sar sgo gdon of bSam yas, and to the East of Lho brag mC’od sde bzi, the two groups of Ti betans and aBrog pa of Ba si and beginning from Ko ton mdo in mNa’i ris up to La rtsa in sPu rig.481

The aBri gun pa and the Ts’al pa also had similar authority; hence, as gYa’i bzan, although it was counted among the thirteen myriarchies, was in fact as if it belonged to the P’ag mo gru pa, and the region of sNa dkar rtsa was under the authority of the aBri gun pa, all the other myriarchies, as regards political and religious authority, could not vie with the P’ag mo gru pa, the Ts’al pa and the aBri gun. For this reason these three became the most powerful of all the myriarchies.

To come back to the Ts’al pa, by virtue of the white umbrella spread over all the earth 482 and of the immaculate 483 works of the aGro mgon (protector of the world) of Zan, this family became a myriarchs’ family. Dar ma gZon nu, his assistant (i.e. gnas) celebrated as an incarnation of India, king of the gods, was the spiritual son of the world’s precious protector and offered excellent services on the occasion of the construction of the monastery of Gun t’an. When the protector of the world died, (62a) he was appointed lord of the country and of the monastery; then he had the lower outer veranda and the mGon k’an built; inside he had a reliquary made called the bKra’is ’od aBar, and he accomplished the remotion of the great sKyid abum. His nephew aByun gnas brtson agrus received the office of dpon and accomplished several far from humble deeds in the field of lay and religious life.484 His true-born nephew, Ye s’es aByun gnas, brought under his rule the territory of the lower sKyid, which comprised several inhabited centres and which is known by the name of Srid ma bzi bu rgyad. Concerning his successor, the d’On Sans gnyas don grub, this is said to be his origin: mGar485 Ts’e nam tsa’ a brug from heaven descended among men; then, after him came in succession the lama of mGar, that great wise man, and mGar sTon mes k’ri c’ags, the latter’s son mGar sTon btsun yul became the Minister of the holy king Sron btsun sgam po; with his activity in lay and religious fields he served the king and acquired great merits towards his Tibetan subjects. His son was b Tsan po Yan tan rgyal bzu, next came in succession Lha geig sHan idem bu, K’ri zans dam bu, K’ri gnet k’ri leghs; the latter’s sons were sTon mes k’ri snat, K’ri ston stag gzu, the great master C’as pa sgo drug; the latter’s sons were ‘Im bu and aP’ags gziig; then, in succession, mGar Tog dar rgyal, rGyal le, mGar rgyal ba aByun gnas; between the latter and the Zan rin po c’e the relations were as between chaplain and patron; according to the prophecy that he would beget a perfect son, he beget the d’On Sans gnyas dnos grub, who was invested with the office of d’On and laid the foundations of the teachings of the dGe adun ts’al pa;486 his son, the d’On c’en Rin rgyal, assumed the office of d’On and went to the Chinese court; Se c’en gave him a diploma (62b) investing him 487 with authority over the lay communities, with the task of reconstructing the temples which had been destroyed in lower and upper sSkyid sob, in sTod Iun, Gra dol, aP’yos po, rGyal sman and in the three countries of E, Dvags po and gNa. Having gone to Gun t’an he built the small private Eastern palace and the large “seminary of the veranda”. He had three sons. The eldest Nima s’es rab, as a follower of the aGro mgon aP’ags pa, went to Chinese Court and also received a diploma. The second son, the d’On dGa’ bde mgon po, was celebrated as an incarnation of Bya rgyud gdon can 488 and on behalf of the monastery or of the community of Ts’al pa, he went seven times to the Chinese Court. He was subject to the constant watching of a servant of a great dignitary Zam k’a lha pa and to many accusations brought against him. Once when he had put under his garnment a dress adorned with the figure of a dragon with five claws given to him on the occasion of a secret interview with the king he was taken over to the tribunal by Zam k’a. He then took off his upper garnment and Zam k’a seeing the dragon with five claws, on the royal dress, was afraid. Afterwards, when a heavy disgrace befell Zam k’a, dGa’ bde drank to his full satisfaction and sang the following song:

*Between us both there is a great difference. I am from dGe adun ts’al dGa’ bde dpal.*
I have the fortune of a happy mind
I have the fortune of peace
Now the Ts'al pa has the fortune of being happy.

Then, together with many skilful Chinese artists, he made endless extraordinary receptacles for sacred things and objects of worship, like the printing-press, the dome in Chinese style, the golden "pot" of the mc'od rten and after having founded the C'os ak'er glin he placed there a school for the explanation of logic, and in the dBu glin a school for the study of the Tantras; and because of these good works of his of vast proportions, the Chinese Emperor was extremely pleased. His younger brother Rin c'en dban'p'yug took monastic vows. Of dGa' bde's sons, the eldest was Rin c'en sen ge (63 a), the youngest sMon lam tdo rje, who built the road encircling Lhasa, the dome in Chinese style of the Brag lha klu sbug and the golden pinnacle in the chapel of the upper floor of the temple of the Jo bo and the temple of the "Great merciful,, the ganfig of the aBum mo c'e, and he founded the temples called of the bKa' agyur, and the 'Od gsal ap'rul in the dBu glin. Many were his lofty and spotless works (in the field of the Law) and his fivefold authority towards political power seemed to reach the edges of heaven. His eldest son was the dPon Kun dga' tdo rje, who became extremely learned in the religious disciplines and in the sciences which his father and grandfather had been versed in; on his return from China he accomplished works far from humble in the field of religion and of lay life, as the construction of several receptacles for physical, verbal and spiritual relics having founded the C'os ak'or of the temple of the Jo bo and the temple of the Si tu rin po c'e: "The lama of those times was the precious sPyan snas and sGom pa was Sa ka rin c'en; but you, who are Bla dpon, you did not obtain any (imperial) seal, you were not even appointed the Emperor's Ti sri".

In the times of the first spread of the doctrine, an exorcist from sKyur ra married stNa nam bza' (64 a) who belonged to the darkini's race and became a master of many kinds of superhuman magic. Now she is called aBri gun A p'yr. They had a son called Nam mk'a' dban p'yug, from whom the family was descended up to A mes dban p'yug. The latter's fourth son, rDo rje by name, married rje btsun ma, who bore the aBri gun rin po c'e; having heard, from the aGro mgon rin po c'e, how the vase of the vast and deep Law is filled, he was celebrated under the name of Rin c'en dpal. After the aGro mgon's death, although he administered the see after the lama of Za'n sum t'og (the aGro mgon's successor), as his activity did not correspond to his wishes, he went northward and a disciple come to offer him the monastery in which the enlightened sGom rin of Mi rang; he caused it to prosper and obtained supreme eminence in that diadem of Tibetan mystical schools called aBri gun t'el. The uncle of the precious defender of the faith was dKon cog rin cen, the latter's son was called A mes grags rgyal; he had three sons, the eldest was the dPon rin po c'e; the second rDo rje sen ge, called of the dBon brgbud, i. e. of the nephews' lineage, the youngest, "the youngest brother's gem,, rDo rje grags pa. This was celebrated as an incarnation of Tili pa.(65) In his times, the sGom pa received his diploma naming him a myriarch; being also invested with power by an imperial edict, up to Byar and Dags, the fortunes of his riches and of his power were extremely great. They say that, having these things in mind, the sGom pa of aBri gun addressed these haughty words to the Si tu rin po c'e: "Now the Sa skya pa are the ones who rule, but formerly we, the aBri gun pa, were the rulers,"
In the times of the third and of the fourth Sgom pa, as they were warring with the Sa skya pa, after the son of the second of the three above-mentioned brothers, Rin c'en sen ge of T'og k'a, *64b* and after the s'Pyan sna m'Tsams bcad, *65a* they dwelt in the see of gNubs; and when the destruction (of the convent) took place and the assembly-hall *65a* was devoured by fire, about 10,000 monks flew to heaven out of the windows. The hierarch (Zal no) then fled to Kon po and his prestige was to a certain extent impaired. After him rDo rje rin cen, rDo rje rgyal po and the precious Ner gnis pa *65b* Don grub rgyal po succeeded another; during the latter's rule the s'Pyan sna's dignity and the doctrines of the esoteric school prospered greatly. As to civil authority, the s'Gom pa of aBri gun were the counterpart of the Sa skya pa dPon c'en; their succession was as follows: the s'Gom pa rDo rje sen ge, Sâ kya rin cen, Byan sê, Byan c'ub, s'Pan ras, C'os sen ge, Rin cen sen ge, s'Gom pa dBon po, s'Gom pa Sâ kya dar, Rin cen grags, Ye sê dpal. When the latter died, the Si tu rin po c'e came to aBri gun for an interview and met the Rin po c'e in bKra 'sis lhos.

The Si tu rin po c'e conferred the office of first Sgom pa upon Rin c'en rdo rje and by investing Kun rin with the dignity of second (s'Gom pa) *66a* he gave him a proof of his good (feelings). Then, after Rin rdo rje's death, although Kun rin had not received the decree of his appointment from the Court, he had him fully invested by the svon ui s'i office of dBus and of gTsani; in brief, although the two sees (of aBri gun and P'ag grub) were joined one to the other and although the Si tu had done a great deal for the Sgom pa, nevertheless as the acârya Kun rin was passing some evil intrigues against the sDe srid P'ag mo grub, the aBri gun's temporal power declined. Then Sa kya bsan po assumed the office of sGom pa. Then, although apparently power passed into the hands of the rDson ji bSod rin *66d* and of the sku zan Tsul rgyal etc. the holy king Rin c'en dpal bsan (65a) received an imperial diploma *66b* conferring civil and religious authority upon him and became bla dpal. The youngest of his sons, the precious bCo lha, *66b* both through religious merit and temporal authority, reached extremely high offices. He had three sons; the eldest went to P'ag mo, the second was the Lord of the Law Kun dga' rin c'en, who remained in the see. In these times internal revolts broke out against the hierarch (Zal no) and although between the two systems that of the aBri gun pa of sNa T'og and of the dGa' Idan pa, there were close relations, the dGe lugs pa monasteries which were subject to these aBri gun pa and depended from them changed their caps; *67a* troops were employed also in the other convents and revolts broke out; after this, the aBri gun bka' b'rgyud's doctrine not having gained many advantages, he died. The youngest son (whom the holy king had from sPu lun bza') was the dPon Rin c'en p'un ts'ogs, who had a clear remembrance of his former births in India and in Tibet as a doctor and as an ascetie; he was raised to the abbatial throne and according to the prophecy which said "one who will bear the name of Ra tna shall rule the world", during his times the power of the aBri gun pa reached its fullest development. *68a* After him the dPon Rin po c'e of P'ag mo came to this see. The na'i s'o *68b* of T'og k'a took command of an army of Kon po; as he had conquered aBri gun and gTsan and caused a revolt of his subjects against the Gon ma the sDe srid *68c* very grievous times followed. After him came the son of the Zur pa, the lord, holy king P'un ts'ogs rgyal po, who was celebrated as an incarnation of king gTsug lag adsin; *69a* after his son, the lord bKra' shis p'un ts'ogs, Yan lag gi spuI sku, the lord dKun me'og rin c'en, the lord dKon me'og p'un ts'ogs; of these four the Lord of the Law Rin po c'e dKon me'og p'un ts'ogs now rules the see, continuing the political and religious power *65b* (of the family). Thus none of the miyriarchies mentioned above could vie in riches and power with the aBri gun pa and with the Ts'al pa; nevertheless the lord of sNa dkar rtsé received the imperial decree and the seal of miyriarch of the aBrog pa; An len, dpun c'en Sa skya, he who destroyed the monastery of the aBri gun pa, the incarnation of the Gur mgon and who was known to have the signs of a hero, was a hierarch (Zal no) of this family. *66d*

The sde pa b'Tsan adsin, instead of building as his karmic premises required, a me'od tten of nirvåna, out of the eight me'od tten of the Tathågata, made of precious substances, prepared, a series of sacred offerings and performed various meritorious works of this kind; then (the temple of) b'Tsan rdson of sTag lun in Yar abrog having been built in his times, he acquired great fame, both for his religious merits and for his political power; above all he greatly honoured the Sa skya pa and the doctrine of Bo don pa, Lord of the Law. Then, because he was munificent towards all systems and did not commit sinful actions, he obtained a lasting name and prestige; this race of princes, through the ample doorway of knowledge and by actions well advised in the choice of means, holds power up to our days, uninteruptedly, up to the present sa skya, Kun dga' dban c'en p'un ts'ogs and his brother.

**BYAN**

As regards the bdag po of Byan, in the seventh generation after Si t'u, king of the Mi ñag, who had obtained the investiture through a heavenly decree of him who sat on the throne (of the emperors of) China, *66d* whose power is derived from a glory of perfect merits, lived rGyal rgod of the Mi ñag, from whose descendants Mi ñag sen ge was later derived. His son rDo rje dpal met rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mts'an. *66d*

*66a* This was the beginning of the successive relations between (his family and) the glorious Sa skya pa family. His son was dKon c'og, who had three sons; of these sBuN sde was particularly devoted to the Lord of the Law Sa skya pañcitia; he had
six sons, among them Grags pa dar; the latter, according to the decree of Se c’en, emperor of China, received the office of Si tu and the precious seal and also founded the monastery of Byan Nam rôn. The son of the dpon c’en Grags pa dar, celebrated under another name as Yon btsun, was rDo tje mgon po, who like his father and his grandfather, had the office of dpon c’en of the Sa skya and greatly honoured the four kinds of assemblies. He had six sons, among whom Nam mk’a’ rin c’en, went to China and received from the Emperor the gem of the third (degree) ornamented with a tiger’s head, the title of gui guu and the rock-crystal seal; he also received the name of Ta dben gu tri and the rock-crystal seal. He performed many good deeds both in the religious and in the lay field and in particular he greatly honoured monasteries, beginning with those of Sa skya and Nam rôn. Of his two sons, Rin c’en rgyal mts’an and Nam mk’a’ rin c’en, the eldest received from his father the dignity of C’en po and was celebrated as an incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs. His son by his first wife, Gui gun C’os’ grags dpal bzân, obtained the office of Si tu C’an gu; his son by his second wife was Zla ba rgyal mts’an; he also had a daughter who married bSod nams, the master of the aKon. His younger brother was called ajam dbYans tje btsun and remembered his birth in the Sa skya pandita’s times, as one of his followers; having an intelligence which amply penetrated all that it is possible to know, he was invested with the office of kwa dhi gu fri; then, according to his father’s and his elder brother’s command, he was ordained as a monk; he had three children, male and female.

The eldest son of the Gui gun C’os’ grags pa, namely the bDag c’en rNam rgyal grags bzân, received the office of Si tu and the youngest dKon cog legs pa the office of srii ii dre boi; he enjoyed great political authority. He particularly tasted all that it is possible to know, he was invested with the office of Si tu and the precious seal and female.

(68 b) According to what is told in the Po ti bse ru, concerning human generations:

- From the essence of the five elements a large egg issued; from the shell of the external part of the egg the divine white rock was created;
- from the liquid inside the egg a lake, white as a shell fluid and winding (emanated);
- in the front side, in the middle parts of the egg, the six kinds of creatures issued;
- from the yolk of the egg (another) eighteen (eggs) were born;
- these eighteen eggs, of a middling size, were conglomerated into an egg (white) as a shell, from that egg (white as a shell) was born a graceful child, with the five organs of the senses and limbs each one well formed, like one (obtained) in answer to a prayer; therefore he was called Ye smon rgyal po. From his wife C’u lcag rgyal mo, a miraculous son dBan ldan was born to him. He married Dun bza’ dnu l from whom sKye geig was born.

Of his three sons, belonging to the human lineage, the youngest sTag ts’al ‘Al ol married a Tyams bza’ k’yad k’yud, from whom were descended the four brothers mGur lha. The six Yab lha were the sons of the youngest; the youngest of them, O de guu rgyal had the nine Lha c’en brothers from his wife Lha mo; and from his other wife gNan mo the nine gNan ts’a brothers; from his third wife rMu mo the nine rMu ts’a brothers; from his fourth wife Klu bza’ the eight Klu ts’a brothers; altogether he thus had thirty-five sons. The youngest of them sNe k’rom lag k’ga married Lha leam, who bore La k’a rgyal po; the latter’s wife Lun k’a hri mo bore three sons; the eldest of them was mT’in gi, whose wife Lha leam dkar mo bore Bod ajons; the latter married rMu bza’ mT’in bgril of Bran, who bore rGya k’tir zan; his sons were three Kings, great and small; thus there were eight families; the youngest son’s wife, mT’in mo (69 a) bore three sons, one of whom was K’ri rje gNan t’an; his son was dPal hla; the latter’s son was A mi mu ji k’ti do; of the latter’s wives, gNan bza’ Sa mig bore him three sons, rMu bza’ one son and Srin bza’ two sons, six in all, from which the eighteen great kindred clans were derived: “The aBras are of three kinds: black, white and particoloured.

(The story of) the origin of human races in Tibet is (told) in extremely different manners, (nevertheless), concerning the nine aBras dkar brothers of the high region, it can be said (that they were): Bal po, Bal mo, Bal stid, Ma ston, Bal ston, Con ston, Mar ba, Zan c’un, Pu ra’s, namely nine...

As we read (in this quotation) there are many kinds. bTsan bza’ dGe ldan ma, wife of bSe k’yun aBras, bore aBras the particoloured; wife of her Sun
and he won. In those times Dun gyi, the bride's body with baptismal water of white as silver as turquoise wings; he put on a cuirass of shell.

If China's armies a rock/crystal began to march and all came; the Chinese fled and he won. In those times Dun gyi indso mo (the white as a shell) who had been led away from heaven by smAn btsun, fled; but she was retained by Man ldom; when he saw that smAn btsun had come seeking for the indso mo, he tied her with the magic seal which did not allow her to move, let her go into a stone that was like a tent, closed the door and began to spy from a corner. (He saw that smAn btsun) was offering milk, which the indso mo had milked, as a sacrifice to the three gems and to the protecting divinities of Man ldom.

Then she threw all the rest (of the offering) into the water, framing a vow that an extraordinary race might be born out of it. smAn ldom was pleased; a moment later a voice was heard in the sky, saying:

"The divine race shall prosper; in the beginning of next year a divine son shall be born..."

Man ldom, going near smAn btsun, went to sleep and in the morning a white man and a white horse miraculously appeared; so what his seven brothers had said happened. To answer the question, how the child was born, they say:

"the human progeny of divine descent is divided into three branches; the first is the lamas' progeny and guides created beings; the other will become lord of Tibet and rule over all the lands of Tibet, another will be the family of heroes..."

Then, when the seventh month was accomplished, he said to the goddess, as an experiment "This is not my son... when the child was about to be born, smAn btsun went to the place where she had slept (with her husband) and dreamt of a golden mc'od ren, ornamented with precious substances; within it there were numberless steps, on which were gathered above, below, in the middle, lamas, gods and goddesses, one after the other; when she awoke and the child was born, she carried it on the divine mountain and put it in a chest made with slabs of stone, framing this vow "if he is Man ldom's son, may human progeny be stronger than the gods; if he is not, may he be eaten by birds and wild beasts..."

Owing to the impurity derived from her contact with a man, she could no longer soar to heaven; she therefore returned to her former place and told Man ldom the whole story; then father and mother together went to the top of the divine mountain, and there they saw (70 b) a child having a turquoise-coloured topknot, from the nape of whose neck a white steam arose; a turquoise-coloured dragon stood before him pouring out water; a lioness was giving him suck, a vulture covered him with his wings, wild animals and gazelles surrounded him, the rainbow protected him like a tent. His father was very glad and said three times "he steams, he steams... (rlabs); this was the origin of this clan's name rLabs. Sometimes
we find (the spelling) Ga gla, but it is certain that this is a mistaken tradition of the copyists.

The latter's wife was lDon bza' K'r'i sgron, who bore him dPa' bo; his wife was ICog ro bza' Lha gnam, who bore him sTon t'o; the latter's son was C'e c'e and his son was rGod ldi'n, so named because (a bird) like a vulture rose and circled above him when he was born. His son was sTon dge; his son was sTon k'ri; his son was P'ag ts'an; his son was lNa'n ra; his son was gTsug gien rdon k'on; his son was bTs'an pa a dba' sön; his son was sNa'n gian k'on slob; his son was Ma'n po c'e sgrö ka'a; his son was sTag po c'e dar dpal; the latter, on the bank of the Ma p'am, eight miracles. They named him: he was humble up to the palace of the Emperor of China. who was seen and heard of by all people noble and poor, and became extremely eminent in the world, as far as men's power is concerned; as regards the supreme divine Law, Byan c'ub adre ak'ol, whom we have mentioned, and his three sons performed endless miracles.

(71 b) rLan's k'ams pa Go c'as was celebrated as the middle one of the seven sad mi who took vows; rLan's dPal sen ge was the great acarya's spiritual son and obtained the mystical realization; Ye sès rdo rje conquered Ni ma lton and Ye sès s'en ge disciplined the robbers in dPal t'a'n. dPal gyi abyn gnas exorcized the Lha and the aDre; Dar ma sen ge went to the cemetery bSil but'al and dPal gyi rdo rje made the sun to wear the monastic tunic.

These are some of the measureless miracles they accomplished (by virtue of the force derived from the mystical power they had obtained ...

That Yon c'en, gYal ba skyabs had three wives: aBro ldog bza', De gu ma and aBro bza' Ye sès mts'o; the sons of the first were the precious spyan shi, the dpon Sabs rgyas bskyabs and the dpon Ses rab rgyal; the son of the second was the dpon mGon po rgyal mts'an; of the third gYal ba rin po c'e and the lcu gis pa gTer rgyab pa Rin c'en rdo rje. (72 a) Of all these the precious spyan shi applied himself to the study and meditation of the holy words of the Victorious, (and) as the ocean and particularly the law of the bKa's brgyu and that which his father and grandfather had taught him, mastering the doctrines concerning mystical realizations. Then having pacified by his miracles Dor rta nag, who by the king of the East's command had accumulated terrific deeds, killing all who saw him and frightening those who heard of him, he acquired much merit with the Tibetans. After him came gYal ba rin c'en, who took monastic vows, assuming the name of Grags pa brton agrus; having then gone to dBus, through the grace of the spyan shi he obtained the enlightenment of the identity of all things. Having acquired the highest virtues of scholars and ascetics, he wound round his tunic a thunderbolt fallen from the sky. Great was the fame of his magical power, (which gained him the name of) Bodhisattva, the Conqueror of lightning. When he went back to his see, the kings of Sin gha glin, Ti ra hu ti, Ya rts'e, gave him numberless objects of all kinds, such as to vie with the gifts (offered by) rNam t'o sas. This was the time when this see of T'el bzan became famous in Tibet because it possessed sacred articles made out of all kinds of gems, to begin from the one known as Sog po rBad agyel.

Although, before the spyan shi, the members of this family had no diplomas at the Chinese court, in his times they depended from Hu la gu; but although sGom brson of lDan ma was spyi dpon and possessed the imperial diploma investing him with his authority, as he did not behave honestly, gYal ba rin po c'e called the dpon rDo rje dpal dpon of rKan bzi and conferred the office of myriarch upon him; then went three times to the Emperor and founded twelve feuds; P'o bran sgan, (72 b) Ts'on adus brag k'a, sNeu gdon, SNa mo, Ha la sgan, gLin smad in T'a'n po c'e, the feud of P'yos, bKra'is gdon in Mon mk'ar, rGyal t'a'n, Gri k'u in ICags rts'e, mCo'd rten glin, C'ad dkar and his power grew greatly. They say that even the dPon used to wear an ascetic's
cap on his head and a threefold monastic tunic; as he appreciated venerable persons and acted according to the principles of religious and civil life, he was esteemed greatly by all; thanks to the great strength he displayed in curbing his dependants, his all his subjects, in the d'Pon's presence, could not be arrogant.

What b'Sod names grags pa says, namely that "in the times of the precious tsun gni pa, (the family) obtained a diploma and on the fourth day of the month the d'Pon tDo tje rin c'en was appointed myriarch, etc., is an error, presumably written without consulting the original scriptures...

The precious tsun gni pa Rin c'en tDo tje was an incarnation of the precious dGro mgon (185) and had endless virtues, both regarding religious instructions and mystical illumination. Having come to see him, praying to d'Gra nag, the lesser lobsa of Pu rGan's (186) protecting deity, he pacified a revolt of the Southern populations, he obtained omniscience from which nothing is precluded and he accomplished other marvellous deeds leading to salvation.

In his times the myriarch d'Pon tje died and he conferred the myriarch's office on the latter's younger brother, g'Zon nu rgyal mts'an, who used to wear a hat made of bamboo and a Mongol dress and Mongol shoes on his feet; half the night he used to sing mundane songs and dance, half the day he was jointly bla ma and dpon and he redeemed his boar (p'ag) will turn the earth up down and the Hor will eat the earth of K'ams and one hundred and eight fortresses will then be built...

(73 a) He was born in the year water-tiger. (193) When he was three years old he became proficient in reading and writing. At six, having heard the esoteric instructions concerning the C'o's skyon Bya tog gdon c'en, he understood them thoroughly. At seven he took vows as a devout layman with the sgyen sha C'o's bzi pa, (190) and received the name of Byan c'u bYul mts'an; and at nine he took monastic vows with the great abbot T'sul dart and the dCyul pa, having dedicated himself to the cult of dDe mco'g and of the mGon po, he obtained extraordinary signs of the realization he had attained. At fourteen, (195) in the seventeenth day of the month C'aitra (March/April) he prepared to go to Sa skya. In the first fortnight of the fourth month he departed from sNeu gdon, ... and subsequently arrived in Sa skya. The dpon c'en 'Od zer sen ge was impressed (196) and said to the bDag c'en rin po c'e "if this nobleman of the P'ag gru family becomes a disciple, so much the better; if he does not become one, I propose that he should receive a charge (197) among the officers depending from the bZi t'og ..." Following these words he appointed him keeper of the seal (dam gnier). (198) But as the bDag c'en po had a violent temper and was in the habit of suddenly using bad language to his dam gnier and house-stewards, he asked for leave and stayed there privately, without holding any office. In the year of the snake, (199) while (the bDag c'en) was going to C'u mug for the spring religious ceremonies, among the persons of his retinue, among which were some holy friends (kalyanmitra) like the master of logic aJam dpal and the master of Tantric formulas Kun dbaṅ, with other assistants and the d'Pon c'en dbaṅ p'yuṅ dpal, the d'Pon po of San ye, the d'Pon po of bDe lün pa, the d'Pon po of sTag lün, he called the Si tu dpon po of P'ag gru, and thus the latter became greatly respected among all the other dpon po ... (199)

(75 a) Then, in the first month of the year of the horse, (201) he went to Rin c'en sgaṅ, to the dpon c'en Rin
c' e sen ge; but having sickened with small-pox, he remained three or four months in Grag pa and in a Jad. Then, about to start for Dbus, he went to the bDag c'en rin po c' e to offer him the gifts of leave-taking, and then the learned and venerable Lama and the Si tu shook hands and assured the Lama that he would be the mype gier (guardian) 204 of the Si tu, and the Si tu that he would remain the Lama's servant.

(75 b) Then, when he returned to Dbus, the Emperor of China conferred upon him the myriarch's office, together with the third gem, the one with the tiger's head. In the eighth month of the year of the dog 209 rGyal mts'an skyabs was myriarch, but his authority was scanty as regards both religious and civil affairs; because, to take sGrol ma skyid away from him, he had killed rGyal dpal, who had thrice gone to visit the Emperor at the Chinese 200 court with the object of being entrusted with a mission, and had then spread abroad various slanders concerning the Si tu; hence when the great Lama Kun blo 206 came to Sa skya from the Chinese court for the perfect ordination and the Si tu Rin c'en grags was granted the seal of a glorious ju ben hun dpon with penal jurisdiction, the Si tu went to meet him and had rGyal mts'an skyabs called to judgement and removed from his post. In the ninth month of the year of the dog, in the ninth day, the order was notified; 207 in the fourteenth day he took possession of sNeu gdon. 207 Although gZon nu 'od had been named by him administrator, he did not prove accurate (literally: "as he did not turn out after the fashion of a sieve,") in distinguishing friends from enemies, so he did not confer upon others 208 the exaction of tributes.

Then, in the year of the snake, 200 he appointed as administrator Hor gZon nu bzan po of gP'yons rgyas, a nephew of Ts'ul dar, the abbot from whom he had taken vows.

(76 a) Then he attended to land-reclaiming the feuds, in different regions; he planted trees, built a great bridge on the river's lower course; he enlarged the palace of sNeu gdon rtsi, so that it seemed as if it had transplanted the Vaijayanta 201 upon earth. Then, a short time later, much strife broke out with the chief of gYa' bzhan. This gYa' bzhan, as regards religion, belonged to the same spiritual descent as the P'ag gru pas, having had the same masters; but as to his temporal relations (with the Si tu) notwithstanding the fact that he had been obliged to submit to P'ag gru, who (in his turn) was under Hul a hu, he was carried away by the force of his karma, so that the example of him who 202 took a road opposite to the one followed by intelligent people, became a master of heretics, and followed the crazy systems of penances enforced by dBan p'ying, became applicable to gYa' bzhan. In fact several times he attacked P'ag gru with his soldiers; as the Ts'ul pa who was in rGyab p'ugs and the Dpon c'en were crafty and hostile, this time gYa' bzhan prevailed. Nevertheless, as the root of discord was not yet cut off, there was fighting in Par t'an between gYa' and P'ag and P'ag gru was defeated. About thirteen notables were killed, beginning from gZon 'od, and nearly all the others fled, with the exception of about fifteen men headed by gZon nu bzan po, together with the Si tu. Then the dpon c'en dBan p'ying dpal called gYa' bzhan and P'ag mo gru pa to be tried before him. But although P'ag gru was in the right, nevertheless gYa' bzhan was victorious, owing to the Dpon Kun tdon's double dealings. After a short time he was called by the Dpon c'en dBan brtson to attend a festival in Dog lum pa, and in a deceitful manner they tried to induce to give up his seal with the tiger's head 209 and was kept in prison in Gun t'an for nineteen days. (76 b) Nevertheless, as they say:

"the intelligent man, even when deceived, does not lose his head and seeks out what he can do; the ant, although eyeless, is swifter than other (insects) provided with eyes."

As he was wise and brave, the Dpon was not able to do him any wrong; so he escaped scot-free. Then when the Si tu Dar ma rgyal mts'an 208 came to make an inspection 210 upon the thirteen C'ol k'as and to pacify the country outside mNa'tris, he was unable to bring him to judgement either in aDam or in the market of Gur mo; nevertheless when he came back to Yar klins and, after his tour in mNa'tris, saw his documents, as the diplomas of investiture 210 of king Se c'en, the Si tu Dar rgyal was astonished.

Although the disagreement between gYa' (bzhan) and P'ag (mo gru) had been settled, nevertheless Ts'ul album 'od of gYa' bzhan levied soldiers from E and gNa and passed through rDog po; they engaged in battle and P'ag gru was the victor; twenty persons were killed, beginning with dGra dags; gYa' bzhan in aBras mo attacked the Dpon gZon nu bzan po together with his followers, but the Si tu with his men delivered him and gYa' bzhan's soldiers withdrew in flight. He then levied tributes from the convents and the feuds of gYa' bzhan. Then, in Sa skya, the Lama Kun span pa and the Dpon c'en rGyal bzhan started ill-advised intrigues to kill the Si tu and to take tribute of sNeu gdon; but when, on account of the intimate relations between the Sa skya and the P'ag mo and above all in consideration that the Si tu had been one of the officials in the retinue of the bDag rids c'en po bZan po dpal, it was calculated that all this might turn into an evidence against the Dpon c'en, the Dpon c'en came to Dbus and (77 a) successively arrived in Yar klins. The day following (his arrival) having been fixed as the one in which gYa' (bzhan) and P'ag gru should have been called to judgement, the Si tu gave the following directions to his ministers, beginning from gZon nu bzan po: "To-morrow I and gYa' bzhan will have to appear in judgement in the myriarch's presence; it is not unlikely that if the Dpon c'en catches me, I will be flayed, nevertheless I recommend that sNeu gdon be not handed over..." Next day, although the Si tu was taken by the Dpon c'en, as the letter had been burned, 210 the former could not take possession of get any reply. Then the Dpon c'en besieged 218

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sNeu gdon, but all the dignitaries (of sNeu gdon) said that the **se srid** was worth more than their own self (**cül cro**), and they did not hand over (the city). Then the dPon c'en ordered that the Si tu should receive 135 blows,**18** he put on his head a hat with a tail, like those prisoners wear, and had him led by the soldiers of Ts'ol as far as sKyi nag, where he covered him with insults and otherwise violently persecuted him... In C'os rdon in Nung he remained a month and a half and in Ko spel one month. Then, while in Bo don judgement was being held,**19** the dPon c'en dBañ brston, with the diploma (investing him with office) arrived in mT'ons smon;**20** hence, while the dPon c'en rGyal could do nothing**21** against the Si tu, the latter returned to dBus and induced the ministers who were in sNeu gdon, beginning from gZon nu bzain po, to desist from their purpose of becoming ascetics,**22** until this contention should be settled. The dPon c'en dBañ brston in the meantime had gathered the soldiers of the myriarchy and had arrived in Dog lun pa,**(77 b)** but then the news came that the Si tu too had collected the contributions and the soldiers of his strongholds, and that in front of Byan la, Lha bsun of K'trom po, with a hundred men of his retinue and the dPon c'en's soldiers together with Lha bsun of T'ug, had been reduced to the height of a hand (— had been killed). Next day gZon nu bzain po, having been appointed general, guiding the army**23** of the P'ag gru myriarchy, arrived near Lhun in full daylight... The dPon c'en attacked the myriarchy's army which had arranged its wings in battle order; the battle began under Mon mk'ar and all the soldiers of the myriarchies of dBus and gTsan commanded by the Si skya pa were routed...

Beforehand, when the dPon c'en rGyal bzain had arrested the Si tu, Hor gZon nu bzain sternuously**24** resisted in the great palace; with his methods of attack, which put down revolt and overcome the intrigues of the thirteen myriarchies' armies, contrived by dBañ brston of Na lam, he was like the root of the P'ag mo gru pa's prestige....

**(78 a)** Then the Si tu, having taken command of the army, took most of the land, fortresses and feud of the South, like Gra p'yi, a?p'yon rgyas, etc. and got rid, here and there, of all the causes of strife already existing, or that might develop. Then the holy Lama**25** ordered the dPon c'en to gather the troops, and then, though there were various attempts to reach an agreement, the dPon c'en, letting others influence him, would not come to an agreement. The Si tu retaliated by taking Gon dkar. Then, when the dPon c'en's army took the field, as many men were killed or imprisoned or drowned and much (unrest) of this kind followed, the Si tu became victorious. He took from rTa nying the Lho abrug, included in gTsan, outside Ka rag; then he met the dBun pa,**26** as the latter had told him to go to the Chinese court or to send two men, as he preferred, conforming to this advice he sent dBun p'yug and Sos rab rdo rje, who came back without injury. Thus he obtained his diploma**27** and the silver seal required for the conferment of a myriarch's office. Then, as Kun rdo rje sgom pa of aBri gun did not recognize the benefits he had received in various circumstances, much ill-feeling and many struggles followed between P'ag mo gru and aBri gun. Above all it came to pass that aBri gun pa, Nam grags pa and gYa' bzañ, having plotted together, attacked P'ag gru.

**(78 b)** He placed choice troops**28** of the Upper sTod, commanded by gZon nu bzain po, to defend aBras mo; the Si tu in person, having levied a great army in Byan k'ar, defeated the aBri gun pa, hence gYa' bzañ too fled. While the P'ag mo gru soldiers were reaching gSañ mda', as the Ts'ol pa and Nam grags**29** had built a fortress on the K'ton pa ri and at g'Ku rts ras brag, (the Si tu), learning that aBum grags (xyl: p'rag) 'od of gYa' bzañ with the gNal soldiers had reached Lhun po rts, turned back. A battle was engaged and aBum grags 'od was besieged in Lhun po rts, with some nine hundred of his men. Then the gNal soldiers who had arrived were killed and their arms and equipment taken. Then aBum grags 'od and all his dependants promised to submit and P'ag gru sent a rdon dpon into all the feud of gNal, like Sel mk'ar, etc. and established settlements there. On that occasion the Lord of the Law, the holy Lama, acted as a go-between,**30** and a meeting was arranged between the Si tu and the dPon c'en rGyal bzañ, in Gon dkar. In the very moment in which the dPon c'en was apologizing to the Si tu, Nam grags attacked mT'ons smon in Sains. The P'ag gru pa troops having departed to help the dPon c'en, under the c'en po's**31** command, there was fighting in Lho k'ar of Sab c'u and the Nañ pa's**32** army was defeated. Then, although the P'ag gru soldiers had decided to go to Sa skya, as the dPon c'en was induced by others to change his mind, the army went back. The dPon c'en having then gone to Sa skya, he was imprisoned by the lama Ti šri's two sons; then the Si tu sent (79 a) a great army to gTsan and by various means, peaceful and violent, he had the dPon c'en delivered from prison and nearly all the land of gTsan fell into his power. On his way back he ordered that the feud of Rin spuns should be founded. Precisely at this time the various Sa skya hierarchs had been divided into four palaces; owing to the various internal discords which had cropped up, (Sa skya) political prestige**33** ended by passing under the P'ag's domination; thus was fulfilled the prophecy which says "the earth (sa, i.e. allusion to Sa skya) will be internally mutilated and a boar will lay it waste. From Yar kluñns will appear a P'ag rdo rje's incarnation",**34**

Then the Emperor of China accorded to P'ag gru credentials**35** as a Da ra k'a c'e and the title and seal of a Si tu. Next, as aBri gun had gathered a large army against P'ag gru, the Si tu levied troops in Goñ dkar and arrived in Brag dkar; about that time an internal revolt had broken out in Sa skya and the lama Kun spans had been killed. The Si tu set off for gTsan to ascertain (the causes of) discord and
called for the dPon c’en rGyal bzan;\(^{200}\) while the latter was coming to Lha rtse to confer with him, it is said that the dPon c’en dBaN brtson and the abbot Nam mk’a’ ye shes gave him poison; others say that he drank a large quantity of alcohol; anyhow the dPon c’en died.

(79 b) Then the Si tu took the letters \(^{201}\) on which the dignitaries,\(^{186}\) beginning from the Sa skyā, (founded their authority), and having come to Sa skyā definitely to establish (law and order)\(^ {200}\) in case there were dissents between (the powers those dignitaries had assumed) and those (specified in the) letters of investiture, he established the punishment (they would incur).

About a hundred soldiers,\(^{200}\) were settled in the great temple with Rin c’en ‘od at their head. According to the history of Sa skyā, in this time marvellous signs appeared, due to the magical practices which the rd gon c’un pa was performing against the Si tu with the excellence of his dharani and magical formulas. Then, after the Si tu had returned in dBus, he of Lha rtse and he of Byan\(^ {201}\) waged war; so to punish them, on the base of what had been established in the letters of investiture,\(^ {200}\) he sent his army, commanded by the c’en po,\(^ {200}\) When they got to Snī ts’ar, having heard that the dPon c’en dBaN brtson had besieged the great temple of Sa skyā, the troops went from Snī ts’ar to Sa skyā\(^ {200}\) and many were killed in battle; the dPon c’en was captured and about four hundred persons were punished according to the law. Then the Ti šri Kun dga’ rgyal mts’an,\(^ {200}\) the acarya bSod nams blo gros,\(^ {200}\) the myiarch of Ts’a1 pa and others submitted to the Emperor false charges, saying that the Si tu had destroyed Sa skyā with army and was persecuting the other myiarchs. For this reason, with the object of effacing any suspicion from the Emperor’s mind, he sent the most honourable Sêṣ rab bkra śis\(^ {200}\) to His Majesty the Emperor with many gifts, beginning with a white lion’s skin whose four paws were intact; so he obtained the imperial diploma, transmissible from generation to generation, and the imperial decree...

(80 a) He founded thirteen fortresses at the points where the highways met, in the centre of the regions of dBus and gTs’an, as in Gön dkar, Tag dkar, sNeu, sTag rtsé in ’Ol k’a, bSgam agrub rtsé, Lhun grub rtsé, Rin spu’is etc.\(^ {208}\) In his palace in sNeu gdon rtsé he had three orders of royal doors, inner and outer. Beyond the inner doors the use of women and c’an were forbidden; the Si tu lived according to monastic rules, taking no food at dawn and at sunset and he was like the gem \(cintāmani\) on the diadem placed in the head of all the laymen and monks. Beforehand, although the glorious family of the Sa skyā pa had taken possession not only of the kingdom of Tibet, but also of the kingdom of great Tibet,\(^ {200}\) the princes of this family were drawn hither and thither by their desires, and the dPon c’en too, without any rule, were greatly infuriated; even Chinese customs were corrupted,\(^ {200}\) as result of the cruelty of the Mongols. For this reason and because severity and condescension, perspective between noble and vile things and, above all, the justice of Mongol laws, characterized by the fact that, if a man is slain, a life is sacrificed for his life, were all tainted by sin, the Tai Si tu wished to take as a fundamental law the judiciary system of the ancient, so-called Kings of Tibet, founded on the fourteen moral rules.\(^ {201}\) So he arranged the laws under fifteen headings ...

(81 a) Then, regarding the school of the bKa’ brgyud pa of the Dvags po sect,\(^ {200}\) with the purpose of renewing the school explaining the sūtra, whose tradition had been lost, he founded the great monastery of rTse t’aṅ...\(^ {200}\)

(81 b) On his death he was succeeded by aJam dbyaṅs Gu šri c’en po,\(^ {200}\) regarding whom it should be known that bSod nams bzan po had two wives, Ni tu ma and Man šam; the first bore this one (we are speaking about) and the bdag po, Sā kya rin pa; the second bore the dPon Rin c’en rdo rje. aJam dbyaṅs learnt to read and write from the lama Klun gtags pa and received the rules of laymen from the C’os bzi Grags pa rgyal mts’an; then being ordained a monk by the acarya gZon brtson, he took the name of Sā kya rgyal mts’an. As in his see he explained the \(brTag giis\) and in rTse t’aṅ the four sections of the scriptures,\(^ {200}\) he obtained fame as a wise man... With the Lord of the Law the saintly lama he took complete vows; for thirteen years he protected the predicions of the Law in Lhasa and the community of rTse t’aṅ.

After a short time, having again ascended his throne in the palace of sNeu gdon, the Emperor of the Mongols gave him the diplome of Si tri and Tai si tu C’au gu and the office and seal of Kva adin gu šri and the diploma of investiture over three c’ol k’a of Tibet with all the people, so that he became the loftiest chief in the Tibetan realm of king sPu rgyal.\(^ {207}\) When he got an army ready against some persons bribed by Kun dga’ bkra śis, who had rebelled in gTsan, owing to the power of the C’os skyon Bya tog gdon can,\(^ {200}\) his soldiers went as far as gTsan po without meeting with any obstacle. (82 a) Having turned back, he held a reliogions meeting, doing great honour for ten days to many ten thousands of monks gathered together, with the glorious saintly Lama at their head, and he obtained great prosperity for his subjects.

As to Rin c’en rdo rje, he had married Zin bkra śis skyid and Do brag ma Rin c’en ats’o; the first borte him rGyal sras Grags pa rin c’en and the Lord of the Law C’os bzi pa.\(^ {200}\) When the latter was a child, the great abbot Sen ge rgyal mts’an was invited (to meet him), who prophesied his future, saying he had seen a light issuing from the heart of the palace of the sMan rgyal and disappearing into his body. Having asked rGyal sras Grags rin for instructions concerning the \(brTag giis\), he applied himself to studying them thoroughly. He took vows as a devout layman with the rgyan sna Grags sês rabs\(^ {200}\) and assumed the name of Grags pa byan c’ub. Although aJam dbyaṅs gu šri ordered him to marry and to continue his line, he refused and took complete vows with the Lord of the Law, the glorious lama.\(^ {263}\) Then dwelling in his see and assuming its supreme
dignity, through the vast and deep law he caused to mature (in goodness) many beings, capable of being converted due to their adequate karmic preparation. Having ascended the throne of sNeu gdon after the great Gu šri, he was proclaimed Bla dpon mo; he took vows with the great abbot gZon dban... and complete vows with the great lotsāva Byan c'ub rts'e mo; later he ascended the throne of the palace.

The Sa skyon Sā kya rin c'en married Zin rin c'en adsom... who bore him the lord of men Grags pa rgyal mts'an, the honourable Byan c'ub tdo rje, the sphyun snya dPal ldan bzan po, the sphyun snya bSod nams rgyal mts'an,' the honourable Sān's rgyas rgyal mts'an. Among all of them, the lord of men Grags pa rgyal mts'an... ordained as a monk by the abbot gZon dban po, heard completely the secret explanations of the Law with the sphyun snya Grags pa byan c'ub, and then obtained the name of Grags pa rgyal mts'an dban bzan po...

(83 b) His father, the sa skyon Sā kya rin c'en, had obtained a decree of appointment from T'o gan T'i mur and therefore assumed power (lit. came to the dignity), mature and complete karmic preparation. His son was Kyen c'un... and the latter's son was Yung lo ta min, in whose times Grags pa rgyal mts'an received the golden seal, and also the rock crystal seal and the diploma conferring command upon him... To the notables residing in the great rdson he gave the rock crystal seal and the hereditary diplomas so that everyone noble and humble called him the saintly king, the Goṅ ma. His son k'a pa of Nan stod Rab bstan kun bzan pa g'ags pa of rGyal mk'a rts'e, who had the office of gzims dpon of these last two Goṅ ma, although his power had been increased by the grace of this regent, somewhat forgetful of benefits received, offended the Goṅ ma; twice he levied troops in Nan stod, while the Sar k'a pa of Nan stod was said to be an enemy of those of Yar klun; nevertheless, remembering (the past), (the Goṅ ma) did not take tribute from rGyal mk'a rts'e.

These events excepted, there was peace in dBu and gTsān; as he did not wish to commit sinful deeds, like the use of armies, (84 b) while this saintly king's sun of justice rose, those night-lotuses whose leaves are the hatreds of wicked men, amply spread out, through his strength, were closed.

Upon Nam mka' a rgyal mts'an of Rin spuns, a Minister able in managing the affairs of a heroic, wise and intrepid king, he conferred the offices of rdo sn dpon of Rin spuns and dpon c'en of the great temple of Sa skyā, and to Hor dPal abyon bzan po of aPlace rygas he gave the office of rdo sn dpon of bSams agrub rts'e and of commander in-chief; then Nam mka' a bzan po of sNeu and Rin c'en dpal of Brag rdkar made a name for themselves. The circle of his retinue was extremely numerous and consisted in men (versed) in civil and religious affairs, well-born, having virtue and power. He established the order of ornaments and dresses corresponding to the office they occupied and above all he distributed the special ornaments, after having founded the festival of the first day of the new year, called "time of precious ornaments... and ordered, to give lustre to men's ears, the use of earrings wrought with gems, to be worn always..."

As to what is contained in the history of the Lord of the Law bSod nams grags pa, namely the insertion of Ses rab bkra sīs of Brag rdkar among the Ministers of this saintly king, it must be noticed that Ses rab bkra sīs when he went, in the Goṅ ma T'ai si tu's times, to the Chinese court to ask for the imperial edict, he had reached the gate of his forty-seven years, and that between the Si tu rin po c'e and this Goṅ ma some generations intervene; therefore to speak in this connection of Ses rab bkra sīs has no sense. (85 a) Thus also, Nam mka' a rgyal po of Rin spuns being the son of Nam mka' a rgyal mts'an, by quoting him before Nam mka' a rgyal mts'an, he (behaves) like a blind man walking alone; this is one of the many subjects (to be found in his writings) differing from what all the others say...

His younger brother Sān s rgyas rgyal mts'an married a Rin spuns princess, who bore him two sons: Grags pa abyon gnas and Kun dga' legs. As to Grags pa abyon gnas... after the great and saintly king's death, being very young and the Ministers not being of the same mind as to whether the father or the son should succeed him on the throne of the palace, the sphyun snya bSod nams rgyal mts'an, whose advice had been asked for, (85 b) ordered that the son should be named and it was done accordingly. But after the sphyun snya's death, as the father wished to occupy the throne himself with the pretext that his son's accession was unjust, a revolt broke out in Yar klun; the father, the C'e sa (of T'el monastery) together with his disciples, resolved to go to Yar rgyab...

Then the Emperor of China, a Jam dbyāns Goṅ ma Kyen t'ai sa gave him a diploma investing him with power and he was then proclaimed dBar grags pa abyu gnas. Although the two sees of T'el and rTses t'an were not neglected, he preached his most important sermons within the palace... He had the C'e sa (of T'el) come from Yar rgyab to rTses t'an, he pacified the internal strife which had troubled the chiefs, hence their minds (again) were in harmony.
To watch over the Northern frontiers, he built the stronghold of 'U yug gliṅ dkar. Nor bu bzang po of Rin spuns and Hong dKon cogs rin c'en of aP'yon rgyas, disciples of the saintly king, in the times of this Gon ma, were Ministers of Justice.

His younger brother Kun dga' legs pa, having studied the sacred scriptures thoroughly (86a) went to the see of T'se t'an and married a Rin spuns princess, who bore him Rin c'en rdo rje dban gyi rgyal po; the Emperor of China C'en han gave him the diploma of dBan ... Then, as the Gon ma, the fourth pillar, and the latter's brother, listened to all what people said to them serious disagreement broke out between he and his wife. The sde pas of Yar, of Gon, of Bya and of bSam sided with the princess, those of sNeu, 'Ol and dGa' gave him the Gon ma and so extremely troubled times followed. Nevertheless, as he of aP'yon rgyas rDo rje t'e brtan had sided with neither party, he brought about a reconciliation. And since this had increased internal peace, there was obedience to the sde srid. After his wife's death, mTs'o skyes rdo rje of Rin spuns took mK'ar t'og. All this is related according as it is written in the Dèb t'er shon po.

Then the bDag po Kun dga' legs pa and the C'e sa Sans rgyas rgyal mts'an held counsel; in the tenth day of the eleventh month of the year wood-dog, the precious Lord of the Law Nag dban po, who was sixteen years old, was invited to occupy the abbatial throne ... In the interval the see of T'el had remained empty; some say that the spon shi Nag gi dban, who dwelt there again, had for his father the C'os lha Rin po c'e Grags pa abyon gnas and other deny this, because the precious C'os lha kept his monastic vows all his life ... Also spon shi Nag gi dban succeeded (literally: came) as spon shi of the great see (T'el). Meanwhile, owing to the appointment of the Gon ma, much internal discord had developed; then, in the course of time, when peace was restored (between them), Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuns led the gTs'an armies against dBus and took some feuds, which were the dependencies of the feud of sNeu. The spon shi was invited to return to the royal palace on the Ministers' advice: dPal abyor rgyal po of sNeu, Rin c'en rgyal po of Yan rgyab, bKra' šis dar rgyas of Byar, having at their head mTs'o skyes pa of Rin spuns and Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuns and Hor Ts'e dban rnam rgyal of aP'yon rgyas, together with his brother Hor Rin c'en. A short time later, the žal no and the Gon ma having died, no one remained to continue the divine rLads family, except the spon shi ... Therefore the Ministers, (87a) insistently begged the spon shi Gon ma and offered to him in marriage the daughter of rDson k'a pa and obtained that the good ancestral rules should shine like the moon in the fortnight of its increase.

A son was born, famous under the name of Nag dban bkra šis; after a short time, the spon shi being about to die, as his son was still a child, he was greatly grieved, owing to the strong attachment he felt for him. Then the spon shi C'os kyi grags accepted to assume the burden of the office of spon shi of T'el, until the heir should be grown up to occupy the office of sDe srid, with authority to issue orders and confer offices, together with the Ministers, counsellors and superiors of T'el and rTse t'an. Meanwhile, according to the wishes of some and without taking counsel with the other ministers, mTs'o skyes rdo rje of Rin spuns had contrived to be appointed as a regent; but as other sDe dpun did not want him, a revolt broke out. Nevertheless, as aP'yon rgyas, inclined to the maintenance of the office of sDe srid was extremely resolute, the disturbances did not assume vast proportions. Then the Emperor of China gave the spon shi the diploma of dBan; but after the spon shi's death the ambassadors left all their gifts with the treasurer and went back. Then the ministers, headed by him of Rin spuns and him of aP'yon rgyas, having held a counsel, placed on the palace throne Nag dban bkra šis grags, of the precious lineage ... (87b) In his times it came to pass, as it had been said in the prophecy: "A man bearing the great name of Grags abyon will take sNe gdon, and by nine men like poisonous serpents the P'ag will be deceived like a hare ..." Nag dban rNam rgyal of Rin spuns, leading his army against E and gNal, offended the Gon ma. Then the fourth Žva dmar said to him: "This regent of P'ag mo gru loves the whole realm in general, the governors of provinces in particular, but in a special manner he loves you of Rin spuns, therefore we must be cautious ... But his wish was not considered ... At that time the Emperor of China gave him the title and diploma of dBan and then on the mirror of all the three worlds shone the dance of the name of žabs drun, Gon ma c'en po, dPal nag gi dban p'yug bKra' šis grags pa rgal mts'an, victor over all the points of space, kwa din gyi tri ho van. A short time later he of Rin spuns, with his sinful mind, practicing austerities but following the works of celestials', counsellors and superiors of Rin spuns and Hor Ts'e dban mts'an, victor over all the points of space, kwa din gyi tri ho van. A short time later he of Rin spuns, with his sinful mind, practicing austerities but following the works of Mars, (89a) instigated a rebellion: however as when the Asura, envying the power of the Gods, took up arms against them, and through the power of the celestials' merits only the name of those fiends was lost, thus also the sDe srid's prestige prevailed. Nevertheless, Žva dmar C'os grags pa having interfered, he of Rin spuns, who had been in prison three years, was freed, but he caused another revolt to break out. While he was marching towards rGyal mK'ar rtsi, a great army of the Gon ma led by him of aP'yon rgyas and by Rin c'en rgyal mCOg advanced on Nan stod, The general of dGa' ldan, bSod nams rgyal po, leading the troops of sKyid and of aP'yan, marched on Sins, and in an instant the accumulated fruits of that cause which could not be eliminated ripened, namely the revolt of the subjects of the feud of Rin spuns. That vain and ambitious man was left like him who wanted to beat his head against the mountain; he was reduced to such straits that he no longer knew what to do; anyhow he asked that the lands of rGyal rtsi and bNams, which he had...
lost, should be given back to him, and apologizing to the Court he begged the office of dPoSn dpon be conferred upon him, making many promises that in the future he would renounce any unlawful plan. Nevertheless, due to the times, as the merits of created beings were scanty and the power of the fruits of fiendish acts (derived from) minds perverted by evil were difficult to repress, he of Rin spuns, the chief with his Ministers, caused a new great revolt to break out, but the sDe srid's prestige suffered no harm...

(88 b) In his times, although there were internal rebellions, instigated by him of Rin spuns, by the dPon and by the ministers, in his court a numerous and very important retinue of ministers and officials is recorded, like Nag dban rNam rgyal of Rin spuns, who had the rank of Minister of the external seal,600 and his son Don grub rts e brtan rdo rje, and Hor Rin c'en rgyal mo og of aP'yon rgyas, together with his brother and his son Hor bSod nams mgon po, with his two brothers and the latter's son Hor bSod nams dar rgyas and aJam dpal te rin rgyal po of Drag dkar and Rin c'en bkr a sIs of Yar rgyab and bSod nams rgyal po of dGa' ldan and Nor bu bkr a sIs of Bya. This GoN ma married a daughter of him of Rin spuns and had two sons, the GoN ma aGro bai mgon po and the sPyan sna Grags abyu pa. The GoN ma aGro bai mgon po, having gone to GoN dkar, married the princess601 of aP'yon rts e, who (89 a) bore him the Zabs drun Nag dban grags pa, who, on the GoN ma's death, made in the palace GoN ri dkar a reliquary studded with gems, to contain his relics. The sPyan sna Grags abyu pa then went in the Thel residence. Since he was not well, he particularly insisted on a prayer for being in excellent condition. He was specially efficient in the evocation of the cycle of gSod, Ma mgon and Bya gdon can. When the sDe pa of 'Ol k'a was preparing intrigues in order to provoke a revolt in the chief depending on the monastery of Thel, saying that there was a good omen in the fact that the omniscient bSod nams rgya mts'o resided in 'Ol k'a, he went to rGyal; a short time after the sDe pa fell and died; the people of Thel say that when he fell a raven appeared in the sky and took him off his hand, which, they say, can even now be seen in the mgon of Thel. When the Zabs drun Nag dban grags pa dwelt in GoN dkar, as in the palace of sNeu gdon, rts e there was a brother of his from a different mother, a slanderous rumor602 spread abroad that dPon sa aP'yon rts e ma had not properly provided for the appointment (of a successor). Those of Rin spuns and he of dGa' ldan began to equip an army against (sNeu gdon) rts e at the service of Zabs drun Nag dban grags; then although there was no sign603 that Hor bSod nams dar rgyas and the other ministers were inclined to resort to arms, nevertheless the GoN ma c'en po remained there until he of bKra' sIs rts e was elected NaN blon; then, as the GoN ma did not wish the palace of sNeu gdon rts e to be besieged, he came to 'On rgyal bzan and invited the Zabs drun nag grags to occupy the throne.

(89 b) Nevertheless Padma dkar po,604 the incarnation of aBrug pa, says that he explained the motives605 of his conduct to all the sDe dpon; anyhow, the GoN ma, without delay, went back to the palace. When the Zabs drun Nag dban grags was in GoN dkar and preparations were made for the siege an ordinance of the GoN ma reached him in which it was said "GoN dkar is the junction between dBu and gTsan and if it is not in our hands great damage will come to Tibet; therefore the fort should not resist..." This ordinance came into the hands of the besieged and all were happy and peace was made. This Zabs drun Nag dban grags pa performed innumerable good works, both in the civil and in the religious field. He was particularly a devotee both of the dBu ge lugs pa and of the aBrug pa and heard (from them) many holy teachings. As his thoughts had been purified, because he was bound to the omniscient bSod nams rgya mts'o by the links which pass between a chaplain and a giver of oblations, similar to those uniting the moon to the sun, the Chinese Emperor's court was constantly sending offerings to GoN dkar.

The great GoN ma's sons, the Zur pa etc., dwelt on the throne of the palace of sNeu gdon, but owing to the activity of nine brothers,606 fiendish men of dBu and gTsan, the demons of revolt repeatedly broke out. During the rebellion, in the years of the mouse and of the ox,607 there was a great change. The Zabs drun Nag dban had two sons: bKa' bgyud rNam par rgyal and rNam rgyal grags pa...

The eldest son's son was the invincible bSod nams dban p'jug grags pa rnam rgyal dpal, now living in the palace of sNeu gdon.608

RIN SPUNS

Now, among those who guided the great chariot of the GoN ma sDe srid's government, let us begin from him of Rin spuns.609 (The lineage) begins with dPal ldan legs 'od of sGser, descended from a son of Ma smis, in the times of the king of Tibet Sa K'ri btsan po, whose name was K'ar k'ye 'u. Of the three branches descended from him, up to the twenty-fifth generation, namely P'yi sger, NaN sger and Grub t'o b'kyi sger. (90 b) RaI pa aq'is of NaN, brought with him from the country of Gru gu610 in seven boats merchandise of turquoises. By virtue of a magic formula, having conquered a demon who bore on his gory body five heads and from which a thunderbold voice issued, he acquired fame as a most powerful person and behaved like Pad ma pa ni, turned into a lord of men. He became naN blon of Sron bdrtan sgam po; after him Zla ba rgyal mts'an, who possessed a great talent, became C'o's blon of the mNa' bdag K'ri ston lde btsan: these offices were held (by him and his descendants) up to the end of the twentieth generation. sGser Sa kya album's son, named Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, was a contemporary of the GoN ma sDe srid dBa' grags pa rgyal mts'an, who appointed him.
and his brother, from whom he received the diplomas in texts in his father; he was appointed rdson dpon of the Rin spuns feud and myriarch of the great Sa skya temple. His son was Nam mk’al’ rgyal po...

Having led several military expeditions against the regions of La stod and Lho, he was always victorious. A short time after the spyan sja, the Goñ ma also died; until the precious heir had grown to such an age that he was qualified to become his successor, as someone changed his mind, he led the army into the K’yi dod, but his troops, due to adverse circumstances, were twice beaten back from the great see of dGa’ ldan rNam par rgyal glin, inasmuch as that prince of scholars and ascetics, the all-knowing sMon lam dpal ba, had recourse to the rite of the great offering to the six-armed mCon po. Then, after (92 a) the news of the all-knowing sMon lam dpal ba’s death came, he took up arms once more, and as the prince Nam mk’al’ rgyal po of dGa’ ldan and other vassals had caused still more violent trouble, he took tribute from the feud of sNeu. Nevertheless, having supported the opinion of the other Ministers, who thought that the great Goñ ma should be put on the sNeu gdon throne, he dressed himself in meekness, on the advice of Zva dmar C’os kyi grags pa, with whom his relations were those of patron to master. He furnished the materials needed to found the temple of Ya’s pa can, with the nearby monastery. According to the advice of the honourable Lord C’os grags rgya mts’o, he founded a convent near Lha ldan, but due to hindrances caused by the force of his karma’s fruits, (this monastery) lacking the power to resist, did not last long.

The son of mTs’o skyes rdo rje Nag dban nam rgyal, met the spyan sja, the Goñ ma, who conferred upon him the office of rdsan dpon; but as he led his troops against E and gNa, hurting the feelings of the great Goñ ma by his haughtiness, since he did not preserve the pure principles of equitable hierarchy between a lord and his subjects, the rdsan and feuds of sNeu, etc. slipped out of his hands and his power was substantially reduced. Nevertheless Sên ge rtsa ba in the region of gTsang and La stod and Lho and other localities remained subject to him...

He had three sons (92 b) the eldest of whom died young; the second, Don grub tsê brtan rdo rje took possession, which had not been taken in his fathers’ and grandfather’s time, of the rdsan of Lhun grub rtsa in sNa, with all its dependencies; according to the words of the honourable lord, Mi bskyod rdo rje, he founded the gSun rab glin monastery and in the bla ma bKra sî dpal bZan’s school he learnt the mystical instruction of the (Vajra) yanasi khara. The youngest son Nag dban ajigs grags... composed several treatises, representing the best that has been written on rhetoric, to begin with the one entitled “Dañ dzin dgos rgyan ajigs med sêng ye’gya kyi na ro...” He was excellent as regards both religious and temporal affairs; but this was the time when the prophecy was to be realized that “the boars will be counfounded by the hare...” Zin bskyod rebelled and his son Pad ma dkar po was killed. “This was the time when in the Rin c’en spuns there will be strife...” Towards the end of his life, his power to a large extent slipped from his hands. The issue of his son Zla ba bZan po lasts to this day.
AP'YON RGYAS

As for Hor gZon nu bzaṅ po, the Goṅ ma’s minister, they say that he belongs to the royal family of Za hor. In the city of Sin t’abs can, king Sin rta bcu pa had as his son the saint Mva’ joyful, who by virtue of his truthfulness built one million mc’od ren. His son was King Dsa; (93 a) through the power of his vow, a rain of books (revealed by) rDo rje sms. dpa’, fell on his palace; but the Za ma tog was carried off by the wind and fell on Yom bu gla sgan’s palace, and was called “the secret demon”, of King Lha t'o’ ri sthan žal. His son was Indrabodhi, king of Zahor who, although he had obtained two books by P’yang na rdo rje’s grace, was unable to understand their symbolic meaning; but having invited the ascetic Ku ku rā dsa pa, he was made spiritually mature (for their understanding). He had a daughter: Go ma de vi and a son Sa kra who realized the condition of the vidyādraka. The latter’s son was king gTsug lag adsin, who was inspired by the deep Law and instructions of the great master. He had three children: Dharmarāja, the great abbot Ži ba t’s'o and princess Man da ra va... the first of whom ruled over his father’s kingdom and had three sons: Dhar ma pā la, Sā kya de va and Ma hā de va. When in Tibet the great acārya enjoined the “five-crested nāga”, to be the keeper of the bsam yas temple, built by king K’ri ston lde btsan, (that nāga) said: “This is not fitting for me, but in the kingdom of Za hor there is a descendant of the Nāga in the dMu family; he is called king Hu, in a single day he can walk as far as a vulture in eighteen days, in pursuit of any (stolen) property, were it as small as a needle. This is the one who must be appointed (keeper of bsam yas).” He (the acārya) then evoked rNam stas of the blue lion and the eight knights and caused them to disappear into the flags on which their figures were painted; then he made his camp in Gyer ma t’an in Kams.

(93 b) The great acārya then called Pe dkar by the force of his meditation. He came for the first time to Tibet, but as there were exceedingly great calamities, the abbot, the master and the saintly king again despatched messengers to Za hor; they brought back king Dhar ma pā la and a statue of Sākyamuni, made of turquoise, miraculously wrought, and a leather with the image of a face and a rock-crystal lion as a mount; then, Pe dkar having mounted a wooden bird decorated with many gems, all the fiends came into Tibet; but as the acārya placed the vajra on the top of his head, they promised to protect the Law. Even today, when the god takes possession of the king, the imprint of the vajra appears on his head. Here two stories seem to coincide: the one of rNam stas sprin gshes ma and the story of Pe dkar’s tribulations (ar gla). Dhar ma pā la became the master of king K’ri ston lde’u btsan and obtained in the dpal c'u bo ri the intuitions of the deep experiences of the supreme vehicle. He married P'o yon bzaṅ’ of the race of the mKa’ agro ma and had two sons: dpal gyi rdo rje and Rin c'en rdo rje. The youngest went to India and became proficient in learning, reflection and meditation; in the city of Si tā, without abandoning his body, he passed away flying into the sky. dpal gyi rdo rje married a wife of the Pa ts'ab race and had three sons: rDo rje grags, Rin c'en grags and C’os kyi grags. The youngest was ordained as a monk; the son of the eldest... was Zla ba grags pa; the latter’s son Rigs pa sen ge; the latter’s sons: Sā kya blo gros, Yon tan blo gros, and Grags pa ye sões, who went to Yar klu, which is the centre of the land of gYon ru. The eldest resided in gYs’u stid smon mK’ar, near K’ra’ abrug in gYon ru. (94 a) The second son was the master of gNam lde’o drun and founded mK’ar t’og; the youngest dwelt in a temple in the region, ruled by his (wife) Lha sman Jo mo; some say that it was the temple of Byes. Yon tan blo gros had two sons: rDo rje sgas ba and rDo rje rin c’en; in their time their clients, descended from the great clans of rGya, Sar ga bya, rNog K’u and dBus dgar, increased; the son of the eldest was Ye sões rdo rje, who married K’u mo skyid of Nam mK’ar ri, in gYo ru and having had but one daughter of her, he gave mK’ar t’og and gCag gnas to rGya; hence the palace took the name of rGya mK’ar t’og. Rin c’en rdo rje was called by king dpal ak’or btsan, who said to him that P’u luhn had not been conquered even by exorcists as famous as the seven of gTsan... nor by Nam lam rgya mts’o, and offered him a golden staff, two cubits long. A ceremony in the master’s honour having been performed, the gods and demons of P’u luhn were conquered and he founded there the monastery of tSlegs K’a mo; he married mC’i mo and had two sons: rDo rje grags and rDo rje abar. The father and both sons went to Hor pa sar and founded a palace called sgan K’a’s spel; according to the Indian custom he allotted K’an p’yi ma to his eldest son; hence this son was known by the name of K’an pa p’yi ma; to rDo rje abar he allotted Klu sdmis; hence this son was known as lCan Idur; the two brothers, after having learnt geomancy from Kun dga’ ba of gYu stid, went away (each to his own see). The name conferred on their father after he had taken complete vows was rDo rje sgyal po. rDo rje abar’s son was Hor Da dar, who was a great lord of the power of secret yoga. The king of the Mongols Se c’en, having heard him spoken about, sent ambassadors to him and invited him to court; nevertheless he (94 b) by skilful means converted him but did not go (to him). Of his two sons, namely Hor bKra’ sūb abum dar and the great scholar Ts’ul dar ba, the latter learned the rules of pratimokṣa from the spyan sīa, the precious bcu gnis pa of the lineage of the glorious rLabs; he heard from him many deep doctrines of the precious bKa’ bryugd pa school, he became a lama and was called the diadem of the spyan sīa Grags pa s’es rab and of the Tai si tu Byan c’ub sgyal mts’an. Hor bKra’ sī abum had two sons: gZon nu bzaṅ po and bKra’ sībs grub, who met the Goṅ ma Si tu;
the eldest especially occupied many offices, from tea-pourer to councillor. When the Si tu was taken prisoner by the dGu dSon c'en rGyal bzhan pa, although he was under the menace of the besieging (enemy) he strenuously resisted in sNeu gdon rtse; then, when the dPr'en c'en dBan brtsun led the army gathered from the thirteen myriarchies against Yar kluts, but was overthrown like a butterfly plunging into the cosmic fire, by humiliating the dPr'en c'en of Sa skya, who had been mad from presuming on his own power, he was almost the root from which the prestige of the dSe srid P'ag mo gru pa took shape. On that occasion the Si tu said that gZon nu was the heart and all the others were as the limbs. Moreover if the country from Sa skya in the extreme limits of gTsan, up to lower AJan, together with Lho mon were conquered, this was through gZon nu bzhan po's merit.

The sons of his younger brother bKra bsam grub were: gZon nu rgyal mt's'an, Kun dga' dpal bzhan, Nam mk'a rin c'en, dBan p'yu'grin c'en, who met the precious rgyan snya and the Gon ma, the Si tu, and according to the aims (95 a) of the Gon ma, acted as ministers of the kingdom. Kun dga' dpal bzhan had four sons: dPal abyor bzhan po, bSod nams dpal Idan, bSod nams bstan dkar pa, and dPal abyor bzhan po met the C'os bZi gser ma and received the office of rdson dpon of bSam agrub rtse in lower Na; later he was made a general... He had relations with the all-knowing dGe adun grub, being joined to him by the links of patron to master, and he had faith in the teachings of that second Buddha who was Tson k'a pa.... His three younger brothers met the protector of the earth Grags pa rgyal mt's'an; particularly Nan so dKon me'o'g rin c'en was the mo'i bIon who caused endless civil and religious affairs to prosper... and he founded b'Tsan rdson of sTag rtse, which is pleasant as a heavenly city descended upon earth. In that time, his progeny being in danger, he invited the Lord of the Law Legs pa rgyal mt's'an of Za lu from the great see of rNam par rgyal bai glin in dGa' ldan. Having accomplished the ceremony of the multiplication of the race according to gSd edmar's propitiatory method, Hor dRo rje ts'e brtan was born....

(96) The two married Tse dban dPal gnyal mo, the sister of bKra shis rab brtan, prince of dGa' ldan, who bore three sons: bSod nams stobs kyi rgyal po, Tse dban bsod nams bstan adzin and Kar ma Na nag d dan Grags pa, the eldest of whom submitted the rdson of T'ob rgyal lha rtse, together with its dependencies, and trusting to the advice of Ses rab 'od zer ti si, the discoverer of hidden books, an incarnation of the acaryas Vairocana's spirit, who belonged to the mystical tradition of mTs'o skyes rdo rje, the all-knowing of the third times, he founded on mount dPal gyi ri the Teg me'o'g sgrub pai adus sde; he had the Prajnaparamita in three hundred stanzas, the Sel brag gi 'tan yig and the Sensi nid nol gro, printed and did much honour to the all-knowing, the incarnate, Nag dban Nor bu a bBrug pa.... Having invited the Lord of the Law Nam mk'a rgyal mt's'an Sar pa of the great see of Ri bo dga' ldan, who knew the five sciences so that nothing remained obscure to him, he restored pure conduct in the monastery of Ri bo bde c'en, in which the monks could no longer be distinguished from those sects whose members are in the habit of marrying. The second showed a marvellous devotion generally towards religion and specially towards the king of the Law Tson k'a pa: the third was an open eye of learning in the science of astrology.

(97) These brothers took to wife Don grub, daughter of prince Byams pa rab brtan, of the divine lineage of 'Od gsal and they had two sons: Nag gi dban po bSod nams grags pa 'aig rten dga' bai rgyan and Lhai dban p'yu'grin, besides a daughter.
(97 b) As regards the most honourable Grags pa bzhan po, the Tai si tu's minister, he was descended from the lineage of Tsin adzin bzhan po of Nan, prince of astitics, a disciple of the Abbot and of the Master in the saintly king K'ti sron Idu bztan's times. In the Eastern part of bTsan t'an Nan grags pa bzhan po was born; he took service with the Gon ma Tai si tu who appointed him rdson dpon of the rdson of stTag rtsi in 'Ol ka; his sons were bTsan t'an sGom grags and sGom se, who took to wife bKra shis skyid mo,'90 the daughter of mGo nag of Yar klu'n, from whom they had three sons, the most honourable Ses rab bkra shis, Kun grags pa and Kun dban pa; the second of them was the prefect of the rdson of stTag rtsi in 'Ol ka; the youngest studied in rdGen t'an, Ses rab bkra shis took service with the Gon ma. As the lama of Sa skya, Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, the Ts'al pa and he of gYa' bzhan and others accused him (the Gon ma) falsely to the king of the Mongols, Ses rab bkra shis,90 to prove the purity of his intentions, taking no thought for his own life, went to T'o gan T'i mur's court, and having been able in justifying the former's conduct, obtained the imperial diploma, useful for the present and in the future; judging that it would have the feud of Brag dkar,. He had two sons: the honourable Rin cen dpal and another who became a monk; the eldest was invested by the saintly king, the Gon ma, with the office of rdson dpon and was one of the main patrons of the gallant bTson k'a pa, and at various times gave offerings for the construction of Ri bo dga' ldan. He married Sa'nis rgyas ma, of the family of dP'yon rgyas; she bore him Rin cen lhun po, Lhun grub pa, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, dNos grub, Kun dga' adsom pa. The eldest was invested by the Gon ma with the office of rdson dpon, and was one of the main munificent donors of Ri bo dga' ldan. The second received the office of grol dpon of the Gon ma. The third was ordained as a monk, and became proficient in the sacred scriptures; he lived in his see, the Teg c'en glin in Se ra. The fourth received the office of grol dpon with the C'e sa Sa'nis rgyas rgyal mts'an and the fifth was invested by the Gon ma Kun dga' legs pa with the office of rdson dpon. All these brothers took to wife Lha mo c'o skyon, daughter of the feudal vassal of Rin spu'n, from whom they had two sons: the Na'n so dKon me'og pa and Sti c'od rgyal po. The eldest was ordained as a monk; the youngest was invested by the C'o'is gnis rin po c'e with the office of rdson dpon and he learned the holy law with Kun dga' bde legs of gNas rni'n and with the Lord of the Law sMon lam dpal.'90 The latter married Bu k'trid, the daughter of the prince of rGya ma, who bore six children: the Na'n so aJam dpal t'se rin; bDud adul rgyal po, Ma zhi pa, bSod nams rgyal po and two daughters; aJam dpal married Ts'e rin dpal ajom of the Yar rgyab family, from whom he had a son, (98 b). T'se btran rdo rje, who was invested with the office of rdson dpon and held the government (of his land).

sNel

As regards the feud of sNel pa, the C'en po Rin cen bzhan took service with the Gon ma Si tu, and when war was waged against Sa skya, as the soldiers of the P'ag gru myriarchy said: the C'en po'90 must be honoured, the Si tu appointed him vice-dpon. At that time he had great successes,90 like the capture of the dPon c'en etc. and brought into dBus the extraordinary riches of all kinds (given by the Emperor) when the Sa skya lamas and the Hor kings were bound by the relations between chaplain and patron; he, for the space of thirteen days, tried in court the rebels,90 headed by the dpon c'en and about five hundred persons, placed on the criminal lists,90 groaned and trembled because of the violent manner of applying the law.

In sGam po gron he held the office of commander of the feud's stronghold and founded sGyet gru in Bya sa; he had three wives, bDe skyid, the daughter of the Yon bdag Blo bde, K'ams mo and dPon mo dpal ldan abum. The first bore rGyal ba rin c'en and the honourable Nam mk'a' bzhan po; the second dPon tag pa; the third dPal ldan c'o skyon and bSod nams bzhan po. dPal ldan c'o skyon was for some time rdson dpon of bSam agrub rtsi in Nan smad; the most venerable dPon Grags pa met the Gon ma: the rgyan sna Grags pa bya'n c'ub90 and rGyal mts'an bzhan po of rDson p'y'i, taking counsel with their generals and ministers, conferred upon him the office of rdson dpon of sNeu rdson. When the army led by the abbott of Pa sde and by the devout layman of rTse t'an, the saintly king's younger brother who had rebelled against Gon dkar, reached mTs'o sna gdon, the dPon Grags pa, having assumed command, defeated them in battle and threw upon the road of death nearly sixty men, beginning from the abbott of Pa sde.

(99 a) He then led the army against sTo'n pa aJam dpal and in gNa' gn'an he founded the feud of sMon mk'a';90 the most honourable Nam mk'a' bzhan po, by the Gon ma's order, was made rdson dpon of sNeu and had rTso k'a pa and his disciples as his principal masters... He married ICam Rin c'en stgo'l ma, who bore Nam mk'a' dpal abyor, invested by the Gon ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an with the office of rdson dpon...

(99 b) The dPon Grags pa married a princess of Ts'al and his son was the most honourable Grags pa dpal bzhan, who took service with the Gon ma Grags abyur, and was successively the administrator of the garrison90 of stTag sna, judge and grol dpon; he married sKal bzhan ma of rGyal mk'a' rtsi; nevertheless on account of some difficulties he was ordained as a monk; then having turned into Hor a the Emperor of China gave him the office of du dhen n,90
and conferred upon him the office of dpon of aT'en ts'ad in Byan sgra t'a; having inflected a severe defeat on him of Rin spuns in mDco ri, he obtained great fame as a hero. His son was the most honourable dPal abyor rgyal po, who received from dBan Grags abyin gnas and his brother the office of rdo rje... As his power increased greatly, it is said that he issued passports for the territory beginning below rDo t'am of aBri gun, as far as the region above rDo bug pa can in k'A' rag up to k'A' abrug in Yar kluns. His sons were Nag dban dSod nams rgyal po, Nag dbas bSod nam lhun po and Nag dban bSod nams rnam rgyal; the first of them died young. In the times of the other two, owing to Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuns' army, their power vanished.

RGYAL MK'AR RTSE

As regards the clan of rGyal mk'ar rtse, it was descended from dBa gtod Idan brtan, in upper K'ams. He wore a coat made out of a hundred tiger-skins, he took away the red bear's claws and he was the son-in-law of Ge sar, king of K'rom.

(100 a) The son of the rYon bdag aBum rje was the aca'rya Nam mk'a' byan c'ub, who obtained the mystical realizations according to the adamantine Vehicle of the esoteric doctrines; his son was the aca'rya Nam mk'a' lhun grub; the latter's son the aca'rya Nam mk'a' bzan po, who had three sons: br'Tson agrus rdo rje, Grags pa btson agrus and gZon nu ap'ags pa; the eldest was consecrated as a monk in sNa' t'an; the youngest was Ti sri Grags 'od pa's secretary. The son of the second, rGyal mts'an, was very proficient in writing and drawing. He copied (lit. composed) some sections of the sacred scriptures. Between him and the Lord of the Law Kar ma pa relations were friendly... He married Lha gieig Lha sman, who bore three sons: dPal Idan bzan po, dPal Idan tin cen, Ma zats dat po. On the road to sNon mo lun rnis in Lhan yul, a district West of aDul c'un river in Nan stod, they met ap'ags pa rgyal, of the lCags pa clan, and they asked him to give them a name. He baptized the two elder ones, respectively by the names of ap'ags pa dpal bzan po and ap'ags pa rin c'en; ap'ags pa dpal bzan occupied a post with the glorious Sa skya pa, consisting in composing, writing and reckoning. From Sa skya he received the insignia and the diploma of rgyan po to subdue Sar dun and Lho dun and of valiant archer; then he assumed the office of assistant to the bZi t'og. Having sent the ba li da r k'a c'en to the Emperor in the East, the latter gave him a diploma, conferring upon him the territories from aBri mts'am's up to Gans dkar po; while he was going to the Gom ma Si tu, the aca'rya rNam rgyal, Sgs rab bzan, Ba sIs dKon me'o, who encamped in Rin spuns, (100 b) led him to Grga Tson a dus; but he managed to escape and returned; then the Hor Emperor gave him the diploma of a Nan c'en. He founded the rdson of rTse c'en and P'ag ri rnam rgyal and laid the foundations of the rGyal rts'e and sNa bo rdo rje palaces in the same day. He also founded the fortress of Kyuns, and others besides. He also built the rTse c'en temple. Although the dBa c'en ap'ags dpal had many sons, among others, he had, from his wife Ma gieig dPal mo, the Na'n c'en Kun dga' ap'ags pa, who had several sons and daughters, like the d'Pon mo mgon po etc. Among these was the bDag c'en Rab brtan kun bzan ap'ags pa, who went to the Go'n ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an in the palace of sNeu gdon. The Go'n ma having said to the bDag c'en Rab brtan to take the one of the sacred objects of the three kinds, to be found in sNeu gdon and in dGa' Idan, which he liked best, he asked for the small image of the Lord of ascetics, seated in vajrasana, which became famous under the name of "great spirit", and is to be found to this day in the Li ma k'A' in rGyal rts'e. Having gone back to gTsang, in Grga po rgya rtsa, he put to flight the army of Nam mk'a' rgyal po of Rin spuns, thus acquiring much prestige. Being linked with mk'a's grub rje by the relations uniting a donor to a master, he founded the great monastery of dPal ak'o' c'os bde c'en with the monks' residence.

'OL K'AR

As regards the sde pa of 'Ol k'A', the most honourable bKra' sIs rgyal mts'an received from the sde srid Go'n ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an the office of rdo rje rdo; he then became the main donor for the construction of the temple of Ni ma glin, undertaken by the Lord of the Law bZan skyon. During the first part of his life he ruled according to the Law and had the sacred scriptures of the teachings of the Tathagata copied, which had already been translated in Tibet, causing them to be written with a precious liquid; then with the son of the noble lineage, who had grown in years, and with the Lord of the Law, the rGyal ts'ab, he learnt the base of all the doctrines, which is the pratimoksha, and was called by all the virtuous 'Ol k'A'. After him came Nor bzan pa and rGya mts'o, two brothers who governed when the Go'n ma c'en po conferred upon the sde pa rGya mts'o the office of a general; it is said that he possessed a valiant capacity for putting down revolts. Then Don yod rnam rgyal rdo rje...

(101 b) Then, when his son P'un ts'o's rab brtan died, the lineage of these princes did not last long and became identified with that of the princes whose progeny was descended from 'Od gsal lha.
YAR RGYAB

As regards the family of Yar rgyab, it is well known that there was a minister of the saintly king Soni bsTan gsam po, who was called T’on mi sam bho ta,440 who was an incarnation of ajam dbyan. As, before him, the use of letters was unknown in Tibet, he was like a great chariot who arranged the fifty letters of India in the thirty letters of the Tibetan alphabet; that family was derived from him. Some say that “khot” is not correct, and prefer sambhoda; but sambhoda is to be found in the Za ma tog, a book on grammatical, written by C’os skyon bsan441 po of Za lu, the lotsava and corrector who has no rival in the knowledge of the divine language, rightly used in this land of snows. (In that book) it is said “the supreme master of Tibet, the most famous Sambhota... The son of this great minister was Mahasatva, and his son was Ye nag; his son was Ni ma klong gsal, his son was Bet nag can, his son was Mon mo, his son was gTao bo la sras; these occupied about one hundred years. The son of the last one was bSod nams rgyal po, his son was rGyal po dga’, his son rTa mgri gnal rgyal mtshan; his son rDor rje bkra shis. The latter, in glorious Sa skya, met the Ti shi Kun blo442 and was sent by him (102 a) to the Hor Emperor who conferred upon him the weighty office of du shes pa. His son was the dpOn bZi adson, who was invested by the GoN ma Grags pa rgyal mtshan with the office of rdo rson dpok of the feud of Gon dkar. His son was rGyal ba shes rab, his son was the dpok c’en Gral lha, to whom, in the first part of his life, the GoN ma Grags pa abyin gnas conferred the office of dpok c’en of Yar rgyab and of rdo rson dpok of Gon dkar; nevertheless, being an incarnation of extraordinary quality, in the second part of his life was ordained as a monk and founded the great monastery of the esoteric doctrines in Gon dkar, known as Gon dkar rdo rje gdan. His post of dpok was taken by his son and the family’s power was much increased, up to the sde pa rNam rgyal and his brother.

BYA BA443

As regards the myriarch of Bya ba (it is related) that on one side of the territory of Ma yul, in the lower part of Yar klunis, many brothers having been born from the descendant of the king of birds gSog bsan and from aDab bsan, they were called Bya...444

In that place the youngest of the two brothers, Bya C’os kyi ka ba and T’od pa gyui smin ma can had two sons: the abbot Yon tan mc’og and Bya Sa ka. The eldest of the two was ordained as a monk with abrin sde; from E he took Klogs; from Byar, Sar ma’da; from Dvags po, Grom ma’da; from gNal, Srin mo mig. Bya Sa ka’s sons were: rDo rje legs and rDo rje dban p’ug, who having gone in the gNal region, founded there the castle of rGya mts’o gro. The youngest brother’s son was the lama Bya Nag c’en po Rin c’en ‘od, who having met the Kashmiri pandita, asked him (to be initiated into) the twelve mandalas of the Tantras of the caryayana class and then (102 b) frequenting many lamas like rGyal ba T’og rduags pa,445 skYo ‘od abyin, aJad rTa mig pa, etc., he profited as to learning, reflection and meditation.

As he was extremely experienced in meditation on the C’os skyon and on his own protecting deity, which was sPu gri446 with his two acolytes, the temple of Ya’an rtsa also shared his fame. When he founded this temple, the miracle of the three gigantic animals took place: a tiger, an ape and a wasel.447 The tiger’s and the wasel’s stuffed carcasses are said to be among the “rgyan gzigs,”448 in the mGoN k’ah of Ya’an rtsa. If it had been possible to kill the ape, the cause of those evils which tormented dBus and gTsa in general, and the Southern region in particular, would have been pacified. But by virtue of the karma of created beings, that ape fled and later became very powerful. He had four sons in the religious sense;449 in lower Byar, Ts’al sgo m C’os la dga’; in Lo ro, Rab dga’ ba c’en po; in Dvags po, Rab ts’o ras pa and in gTsins, ‘U yug pa c’en po; he had four monasteries: C’os grva groh mk’ah in gNal, Se po in E, Nags mo ‘od in Dvags po, rGya mts’o blag gan in Bya. His son according to the flesh was Bya Yo sras; the latter’s son was mNa’‘s dbag, his sons were dGe lon pa, Bya Rin c’en and C’os rgyal dpal bsan. The former’s sons were Rin c’en dpal, dBan p’ug rin c’en, Rin c’en bza’ po and Dvags po sa pa, who founded several feuds in Dvags po, gNal and Lo ro. Bya Rin c’en, having levied troops450 in E, gNal, Byan, Dvags po, Lo ro and beaten back the Hor’s army, was invested by all with the office of dpok.451 His son Kun dga’ rin c’en met the dpok c’en of Sa skya Kun dga’ bsan po. Bya C’os rgyal dpal bsan po went to the Protector of the World, aP’ags pa and having chosen as his master the Sar pa, Kun bsod, he perfected himself in the study of three Tantras, together with their esoteric formulas...
he obtained (from him) the diploma investing him Yan dgon. His second brother was the (the chief) of dPal sNel skyes rdo rje. The latter's sons were Con ma c'en in the service of Bon gron in

As regards the general of dCa' rdson dpon of dNeu gdon in Lo sNams. The eldest was very dear to Yar rNam sras; the eldest was very dear to<br>the youngest, beginning with Klan ka and P'yi dpon of sNeu gdon, offered him rich gifts to celebrate his investiture. He was the most famous of the princes of Bya who received pa rgyal mts'an. He is the same concerning whom, as king who was an incarnation of dban gyi rTse Bya and meditation and became abbot of Zans mo c'e; celebrated as extremely learned in the sacred scriptures. He was invested by the Con ma with the title of"rDo tje glin pa's Prophecies: "gNal luñ pa will be conquered by a king, and an incarnation of sPyan ras gtags will descend there as king...

Four of the brothers, 6Jam dbya'ins c'os gtags, who was an incarnation of 6Brug pa, in the first part of his life acted as governor of the State, with his parents' consent. His sons were bSde'adsin nor bu and mTs'o skyes rdo tje. The latter's sons were Go'n ma c'en po Mi p'am Ts'e dban and the general sTag rdo tje whose sons were Kar ma Ts'e dban gtags pa and Gains dkar mam rgyal.

DGA' LDAN

As regards the general of dGa' ldan, bSod nams rGyal po, he was descended from Mi c'uñ Don rgyal, residing in Yar p'yo's glin, in sKyid sdo, who was in the service of 'Tre hos dGa' bde bzan po, the one who was myriarch of Ts'al pa and a descendant of mGar clan, king Sod'bsan sgam po's minister. Later, as the times changed, he became officer for sNeu pa, a feud depending from the rdson dpon of P'ag mo gru pa; and having been invested with the office of mi dpon of Na'n bran dGa' ldan, he took the name of dGa' ldan pa.

(104 s) He had three sons, bSod nams rgyal po, dBan dar and tNam ras; the eldest was very dear to dPal abyor rgyal po of sNe and therefore having become known by the name of dByi neg bsod rgyal, he obtained (from him) the diploma investing him with the territories beyond sNa gdon in Lo s grel, beginning with Klan ka and P'ud rjes, belonging to (the chief) of Byan P'yi c'os Lun and to the Na'n so of Yan dgon. His second brother was the bDag po of Bon gtron in tNams. When the younger was in the rdson of aBron ri ston, owing to the fact that the catapults were out of order, surrendered the fortress when the Rin spuns armies besieged it.

Then he resided in Ts'al where he had built a castle. The son of dByi neg bSod rgyal and of his brothers was the Na'n so Nam mk'a' rgyal po, who in the meantime took Lun po rtsa of C'u söl. Nevertheless, when internal disturbances troubled sNel pa and the Rin spuns troops reached sNe t'an, C'u söl held out.

Nam mk'a' rgyal po's sons were: Ts'e brtan rgyal po and bSod nams; the eldest was ordained as a monk. As to his younger brother, since he was not in good terms with the lord of sNe and his brother, when Don yod rdo tje of Rin spuns brought his troops to sKyid sdo, he joined the troops siding with Rin spuns so that sNe and Po ta fell into the hands of Rin spuns; as a reward he was given diploma investing him with the lands beyond sNin k'uñ, as far as C'u so k'a of sNe mda'.

After a short time, when the troops of the sDe srid Go'n ma c'en po reached gZun po ra, Rin cen bKra sis of Yar rgyab having come to an agreement, he of dGa' and he of Sag offered the Go'n ma their services; the latter then gave him of Sag the office of ru dpon of sKyod mo lun and of gYas ru in sKyid sdo; to him of dGa' ldan he gave the office of rdson dpon of the territories North and South of the river, included in bDe c'en, and to him of Yar rgyab the office of rdson dpon of sNe gdon. Having passed into the Go'n ma's service, (104 b) he was elected minister of Justice in the sKyid sdo lun territory, having at its head that vafráśana of Tibet which is the temple of aPrul snar; the decree of his appointment was made valid by applying the rock-crystal seal.

The latter's son was Ra nu lha bsrun; while the Go'n ma was in C'u söl, the Rin spuns troops, which were about to attack the palace, were put to flight, particularly thanks to him; therefore the prince gave him the title of general bSod nams rgyal po.

When the descendence of Byi ri rtag rtsa came to an end, the dGa' ldan pa and altogether six children, male and female were born; two of them died young. Ts'e dban rgyal mo became the wife of Hor bSod pa or Apyon rgyas and Dun dkar became the wife of the sde srid; the fourth was the Na'n so Don grub rgyal po, who was invested by the Go'n ma with the office of rdson dpon. After a short time, when internal strife arose in the sde srid's family, he marched with the dGa' ldan troops against rdson dmar in sKyor mo lun and conquered many a rdson in s'Tod lun and in Apan yul. Having become the mainstay of the army, which blamed (the adverse party's conduct, beginning with) the sovereign and up to the abbott of C'u söl, he came to C'u söl and paid homage to the Zabs druñ of Go'n dkar Nag dban gtags pa, who had gone to sit on the throne of his palace. The sixth was the sde pa bKra sìs rib brtan; when Yar rgyab lost favour with the prince, he sent the sKyid sdo troops against Lho k'a, passed into the sDe srid's service and thus became rdson dpon of the feud of Brag dkar. When in the castle sGrub m'ød glin of tNams rgyal sgan, in Lower sKyid, the Southern armies i. e. those of sNe gdon, Yar rgyab etc. met this
sDe pa, bKra śis, being elected chief, fell upon them and (105 a) succeeded in beating back, after having annihilated them, the troops of rGyals bzan in Lho brag, Dvags po and Kon po; through the fame of heroism displayed against his enemies, he humbled the king of the ogres Dasaṅwita of Lankā. Then he made, in the dNul gedun rin po ce of dGa’ ldan the ornaments on the doors and the golden pinnacle in the temple of sPru’l snan; he also founded the school for the explanation of the sacred scriptures according to the system of Rig pa dban p’gyug C’os kyi grags pa in Rin cen sgar. Through the moonlight these good works, the lotus garden of his good karma greatly prospered; he put himself into the hands of Lhai bsun pa bSod nams dpal bzan po, lofty through the many virtues of his family, and the prince of the learned, the Sar pa Nam mk’a’ rgyal mts’an and other such like Ti śri and he honoured them greatly. His son was the sDe pa gYul rgyal nor bu, who was most excellent in religious and civil affairs; his sons were bSod nams tmam rgyal, Yid bzin nor bu and the Lord of the Law; the two eldest ones, from their wife who was the sister of the Gon ma of rTse (t’ain) had three sons: mGon po rab brtan, rDo tje tmam rgyal and the Lord of the Law mTs’o skyes rdo tje...

LHA RGYA RI

(105 b) As regards the prince of Lha rgya ri, he was lord upon the earth, without awaiting decrees and diplomas from the sovereign. His lineage is derived from the six gTsan ts’a brothers, ‘Od skyid abar’s sons; the latter was descended from ‘Ol Ido, one of the three sons of K’ri bKra śis bregs, offspring of the mNa’ bdag dPal aṅ’or btsan, son of the immaculate gNam Ido ‘od srūni.467 Under the residence of T’el, in the times of the glorious P’ag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po, lived an officer468 named C’ad po Ts’a bgon pa. Later the Nan so of mDa’ smad, at C’u ts’an k’a’ žabs, in Upper E, on a pass where grass grew abundantly, founded a feud called rGya ri; here, in progress of time, there was a succession of princes from Lha c’os kyi bṣes ĝiṅ, until Lha dgra las tmam rgyal settled in rGya ri rdson; he was in the relation of a patent to dGe ṣdun rgya mts’o and established the custom of the great offering at the beginning of the year in rGya ri lcog mk’a’. Lha dgra las, having arrived in E c’en ri sgo, (106 a) saw in that place many signs of good omen; the men of the region offered him each a measure of barley; he became the lord of the land and bKra śis c’os rdsun of rI sgo was the centre of his palace. After Lha ajig rten dban p’gyug ascended the throne, the two brothers Lha byams pa rab brtan and Lha yul aṅ’or dban p’gyug were born; in their time, according to the incarnate of bDe c’en glin’s words:

“Within E a lake of blood will boil thrice, and a king will be born, who will be called Byams pa and the teachings of this king will spread...

the family’s power grew. Particularly Lha yul aṅ’or conquered, with all its dependencies, bTsan rdson, and sTag rtsa of ‘Ol k’a which was like the city of Lān-kā, descended upon earth from the celestial regions. Then, of Lha bSod nams rab brtan and of the other two brothers, bSod nams rab brtan ascended the throne. In the neighbourhood of C’ad dkar rdson the latter founded a monastery and managed religious and temporal affairs equally. Then, Lha dga’ ldan dpal aṅ’or having ascended the throne, the latter was extremely respectful of Buddhist teachings in general, and particularly of the doctrine of the king of the Law, the great Tson k’a pa. Having vanquished in Rog pa rtsa, in such a manner that only their name remained, certain indomitable people only intent on putting into practice the advice which might lead to their ruin, he put on the heroic helmet of the victorious, with a courage which feared no taunt from cutting off the gory heads, hands and (limbs of his enemies). After him the throne was occupied by the saintly king Blo bzan mt’u stobs; moved by great compassion, he caused revolt to subside. Nevertheless there were some rebellions, abutting into wars, because covetousness had reached the necks of some persons, descended from apes,469 overcome by the violent waves of their own wicked deeds; (106 b) but bSod nams rab brtan, who had assumed the function of a dispenser of justice, and others too, in different manners, now peaceful and now violent, suppressed them. This great lord showed extreme moral energy in all good deeds, and he profited particularly in the deep practice of esoteric doctrines. After him Lha Nag dban p’gyug dGa’ ldan rab tu brtan pa mI agyur tmam par rgyal ba ascended the throne; the splendour of his perfect power prospered without hindrance...

CONCLUSION

This Tibet, country of snows,470 and the great Tibet, all of it, by the order of aJam dbYams Goṅ ma Se c’en gan, the great king invested from heaven,471 was offered to the glorious Sa skya pa, and they (the Mongol Emperors and the Sa skya pa) like the sun and the moon in the sky, jointly, were known the former as patrons and the latter as chaplains; then as advent, dated 6) as regards the prince of Lha rgya ri, he was lord upon the earth, without awaiting decrees and diplomas from the sovereign. His lineage is derived from the six gTsan ts’a brothers, ‘Od skyid abar’s sons; the latter was descended from ‘Ol Ido, one of the three sons of K’ri bKra śis bregs, offspring of the mNa’ bdag dPal aṅ’or btsan, son of the immaculate gNam Ido ‘od srūni.467 Under the residence of T’el, in the times of the glorious P’ag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po, lived an officer468 named C’ad po Ts’a bgon pa. Later the Nan so of mDa’ smad, at C’u ts’an k’a’ žabs, in Upper E, on a pass where grass grew abundantly, founded a feud called rGya ri; here, in progress of time, there was a succession of princes from Lha c’os kyi bṣes ĝiṅ, until Lha dgra las tmam rgyal settled in rGya ri rdson; he was in the relation of a patent to dGe ṣdun rgya mts’o and established the custom of the great offering at the beginning of the year in rGya ri lcog mk’a’. Lha dgra las, having arrived in E c’en ri sgo, (106 a) saw in that place many signs of good omen; the men of the region offered him each a measure of barley; he became the lord of the land and bKra śis c’os rdsun of rI sgo was the centre of his palace. After Lha ajig rten dban p’gyug ascended the throne, the two brothers Lha byams pa rab brtan and Lha yul aṅ’or dban p’gyug were born; in their time, according to the incarnate of bDe c’en glin’s words:...
p'yug (brought to light) by the discoverer of secret texts of 3P'run mgo Ses rab 'od zer...450

(107b) When Zin (ggsug)403 Rin spungs's Minister, was tsdon dpon of bSam agrub rtses, having become allied to those of sNar t'an, of Nor k'yun, of brCya ts'o, etc. and other dPon of the North and South, he revolted against the sDe pa of Rhot;450 hence anarchy was multiplied and spread.

But the supreme glory of power which had gradually brought dBubs and gTs'an into subjection to the king of Upper gTs'an (vanished) like the orb of the sun, devoured by Sinhiki's mgo bSam;450
gtun;450

He who accomplished the complete conquest of all, princes and subjects, was the saintly King, depositary of the teachings, bsTan aden c'os kyi rgyal po,479 he who was universal monarch in the time of discord... He..... was, as it had been prophesied, Guhyapati P'yag rdo rje, dancing in the world of human existence. Due to the noble compassion proper to the Bodhisattvas and through the power of a vow previously made, to accomplish the good of created beings, he, according to his purpose, was born in the guise of a king of men, and diffused throughout the ten points of space the sunlight of his benefits, and safely scattered far away the darkness of those delusions followed to their own ruin by the created beings belonging to the lowest species.

To the North of the Hor Sog's territory, among numberless great provinces, there is one, that of the Orod, divided into four clans; here Ha nai, chief of the Ho şod, had five sons from his wife A hai ha t'un; the third of them was the king we are speaking of,479 who was born in the year water-horse 459 and was (108a) called T'o rol pai hur. At the age of thirteen he attacked at the head of his troops several hund"dred of the Sog po,479 and became famous because in one single moment he caused the entire army of the enemy to taste the spectacle of the next world; he was a second competitor of the ten-headed king of the ogres, king of Lankā, descended into the world of men....479

At the age of twenty-five, in the year fire-horse,479 his mother having died, he distributed to all created beings, nobles and humble men, all sorts of desirable things....

At that time (108b) owing to the conflict which was being prepared, with great waves of war, between K'ar k'a and Orod, he was overcome by a supreme compassion, (mirygalamlha-kārām)460 as regards those who placed their efforts in works which (due to the violent action of sin caused by taking the lives of others) become transformed into the thickly wooded valley of interminable evil existences. But when no possibility of an agreement was left between K'ar k'a and Orod, he, donning the heroic armour of courage which unhesitatingly puts itself in another's place,482 marched against the territory of K'ar k'a and it happened as when out of great difficulties one gets to the shore of happiness. The C'os rje of sTon ak'ot460 and the king and Ministers of K'ar k'a were glad and they gave him the title of Dai gu sri.479 Then he returned to his country....479

In the time of the disturbances which happened when the unity which formerly had ruled among the six tribes of the Sog po, was broken by the king of C'a dkar,459 some fugitives arrived in the city of K'ar k'a. As the chiefs were contending with one another, the K'ar k'a C'og t'u was expelled from the city and came to mTs'o k'a.460 and it came to pass, as in the tale, that a rain of gems fell in the country of sinners.460

Meanwhile the latter's power increased, but as his mind was now possessed by the black479 fiend, he plotted offences against the holy Law in general, and particularly against the teachings of the victorious Tsun k'a pa; (109a) this king, who had only the holy Law in his heart, marched with a complete army from his country and in the first month of the year of the fire and of the ox479 he arrived in mTs'o k'a. As when the powerful Ramaṇa479 sent the king of Lankā into the next world, thus only the name of the C'og t'u and of his forty-thousand soldiers survived. He brought the earth under his rule up to the Eastern sea, and happily protected the princes and subjects who had submitted to him, according to the rules of religious and political life.

The sun479 progressively came into the territory of dBu and produced a festival which greatly favoured the development of the merits (of the created beings dwelling there).

In the temple of sP'run snan,479 vajraśana of Tibet, as the name and deeds of this great king were exalted, as he rested from the fatigue of placing his feet479 on the diadems of all the kings (he had subdued).

On his way back, having come into the rNam par rgyal glin of dGa' ldan, although it was the twenty-seventh night of the month, nevertheless in the twilight the darkness became so clear that pebbles could be seen; thus good omens were had concerning the clear and delicate manner in which the teachings and matters of State would be treated.479 At that time there were good omens that Tibet and Great Tibet would pass under his rule. During the winter of the year of the ox479 he came back to mTs'o k'a. In the meantime Be ri Don yod, in the Middle K'ams, caused great damage to the followers of the All-knowing of the race of Ikvyu-k'u,479 letting only the Bon's teachings prosper; for this reason, in the fifth month, according to the Mongol calendar, of the year earth-hare,480 he led his armies against Be ri and conquered almost all his kingdom.

(109b) In the eleventh month of the year iron-dragon,480 the dpon of Be ri and the others fled to a prince of the frontier; nevertheless, by virtue of the sharp hook of their actions,482 in the same manner as the iron filings are drawn to the magnet, they were (caught and) put in prison.483 All those who had been the major cause of the calamities were expelled from the country, but the Sa skya, the dGe lugs pa, the Kar ma pa, the sTag lun pa and other chief blamars, who had been imprisoned, were set free and sent back to their places. All creatures, beginning from the king of aJan, offered tributes and began to venerate him.

As regards his decision to get armies ready against dBu and gTs'an...480 he prepared for war several...
hundreds of myriads of soldiers and conquered the land up to the extreme limits of the kingdom of gSin rje, which is in the South. On the twenty-fifth day of the second month of the year water-horse, also the king and ministers of Tibet bent their haughty heads and inclined to the practice of constant devotion and deference. During the day of the full moon in the month Caitrā (166) (110 a) he became king of the three C'ol k'a of Tibet and the white umbrella of his justice overshadowed (lit. turned round) as far as the top of the world.

Notwithstanding his great devotion, respectful and deferent towards the various religious systems, provided they were not sectarian, as the Kar ma pa and the (De) stid did not know how to behave, he proceeded with the force of his armies as far as the Eastern Koon po territory. The discoverer of secret books aJa' ts'on pa, admits in his book that he was an incarnation of the great acārya. King Ra k'o' sin of India and the king of Yam bu in Nepal and all the kings of the frontiers like the king of mNa' ris and others, each according to the custom of his country, sent him gifts...

FROM THE DAM PAI C'OS KYI ABYUN TS'UL

(166 a) The saintly King aP'ags pa was a lama of the king of the Mongols Se c'en Go be lai; the latter offered him the three C'al k'a of Tibet; 25 dpon c'en having been successively appointed, the lamas managed religious matters and governed the world according to the Law. The dpon c'en managed civil matters. When aP'ags pa was twenty years old, Tibet was offered to him, and he ruled over it for forty-six years. From the year iron-dragon (1280), during seventy-two years, up to the year earth-ox (1349) the Sa skya pa held the see and governed thirteen K'ri skor in the following way: the acārya Dharma-pāla for seven years, the Sar pa aJam dbyangs gZi t'og pa for eighteen years, the lama bDag ncid c'en p'o for nineteen years, then a three-years' interval, the great mK'as btsun for nineteen years, the saintly lama p'o for three years. Then, in the year fire-boar (1346), Ta dben Blo gros rgyal mts'an came into the see. After three years, in the year earth-ox (1349) the Tai Si tu Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an took possession of dBus and gTs'an. Then six years after the year wood-horse (1354) the Si tu Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an took possession of most of the land of gTs'an. From the year earth-ox (1349) for eighty-seven years, up to the year wood-hare (1353) most of the more important regions of dBus and gTs'an were ruled by the P'ag mo gru pa. Byan, rGyal mK'ar rts'e and other countries were particularly governed by their own dpon. In the year wood-hare (1353) Nor bzan of Rin spu-ts took bSam agrub rts'e; beginning from that time the greatest part of the government of gTs'an was held by those of Rin spu-ts. The sde pa Don yod rdo rje of SGar took the government of dBus. A hundred and five years after the year wood-hare, in the year wood-ox (1565) bSam agrub rts'e was taken by the gTs'an pa Žin gstag Ts'e btan rdo rje, the father, and by his son, who took possession of the greatest part of the government of gTs'an. Forty-five years after the year wood-dragon (1604), Kar ma pa bsTan srin marched with his army against aP'an yul; then for six years, up to the year iron-dog, (1610) Kar ma pa P'un ts'o'g nam rgyal held the government of Yar rgyab. From the year water-mouse (1612) he took possession of Byan and rGyal mK'ar rts'e and of other places of gTs'an. From the year earth-horse (1618), having taken possession of all of dBus and having repeatedly beaten back the other troops from his frontiers, he conquered all of Tibet. His son was Kar ma btsan skyon dbah po. Then the King of the Sog po of the North, the king of the four clans of the Orod, known under another name as btsan ţadsin C'os ky'i rgyal po, took possession of the whole of Tibet. He offered the chaplain's office to rGyal dba' tams cad mK'yen pa Žag dban Blo bzu'g rgya mts'o, the incarnation of the noble lord P'ag na pad ma, who took possession of the palace of dGe ldan from the year water-horse, (1642) and governed the world according to the Law.

FROM DPAG BSAM LJON BZAŅ

(p. 158) (Beginning from) the year earth-boar (1179), that is 337 years after the year water-dog (842), when the government of the kings of Tibet ended, the Sa skya and the Ts'pal pa separately established relations of vassalage with Se c'en, the aTri gu'n pa with Mun K'e, and the P'ag gru pa with Hu lu hu, and those Hor (princes) became their particular patrons. Among them, through the grace of the Sa skya pa, and of aP'ags pa uncle and nephew, the Sa skya pa, keepers of the doctrine which teaches the way and the fruit spread; trusting to the grace of the Žan rin po c'e, the lama keeper of the doctrine of Tantric realizations, the Ts'pal pa Dār ma grags became myriarch by virtue of the works of the protector of
As regards the manner in which the Sa skya pa received the dPon's office from the Emperor, (it is said that) in the year iron-mouse (1240) in the times of king Gun tan, when a nephew of C'in gis, the dPon Don rta nag and rGyal ba Grags btsin, beginning from P'ag guru rdo rje rgyal, who had become dPon c'en, the foundations of the P'ag guru pa's power were laid.503

In the time of the dPon Rgyal bzan of San and of dBar bstan, the armies of the 13 myriarchies were led against Yar klu and fought against the myriarchies of P'ag guru ma. P'ag guru won and the Sa skya pa's power over the three Col k'a vanished. Concerning the Lamas of Ts'al pa, byTson grags of Zan built the temple of Gun t'an and the four lower steps of the aP'ags pa c'en;504 at the point of death he appointed Dar ma grags505 chief of the territory (sde) and of the temple, and thus he performed an extremely profitable act. After him the dPon Byun gnas btsin agrus, who was his nephew, and the latter's nephew Ye abyun, were successively invested with the office of dPon. Later the son of mGar rGyal ba abyun gnas, called Sais tgas dnis grub, took the office of dPon and planted the good roots of the Ts'al pa. His son was the dPon Rin rgyal, and the latter's eldest son was Ni ma shes rab, who obtained the diploma from Se c'en.506 In the time when the office of dPon was held by the second son, dGa' bde, the domes in Chinese style etc. were built by Ts'al, and the schools for the explanation of the sacred scriptures and the school for esoteric doctrines were founded. In the times of the son SmOn lam rdo rje, the middle veranda of circumambulation was built in Lhasa, and the golden pinnacle was made for the upper chapel of the temples destined to Jo bo and to the great merciful. His son was the Dru c'en Kun dga' rdo rje, who founded the Ri bo dge ap'el; then he conferred the office of myriarch on his younger brother Grags (pa) shes (rab), and took monastic vows, assuming the name of Si tu dge slo.507 His son was dGe legs bzan po; the latter's son was Tres Hor dPal abyor bzan po.508 Although (the Ts'al lasted) up to the times of the latter's son dGa' bde bzan po, in the times of SmOn lam pa most of their subjects had already escaped from their hands and Kun rdo rjoin rGyal bzan dpon of the Sa skya pa. Then, having quarrelled with P'ag guru, he was greatly harmed; this entire family held the office of dPon for about 140 years.

The aP'ags pa laid their foundations since the SKyabs pa aJig rten mgon po took possession of aP'ags pa m'til,541 but for four generations of lamas they did not receive the office of dPon. Then the son of dKon rin, the SKyabs pa's uncle, namely A mes grags rgyal, had a son named rDo rje grags (an incarnation of Til li pà); the latter received from king Mun k'e a myriarch's diploma; the sGom pa, who held the office of dPon one after the other were: rDo rje shes ge, Sa kya rin c'en, Byan c'ub,510 SmOn ras, C'i os shes, Rin (c'en) shes (ge), sGom pa dpon po, Sa kya dar, Rin (c'en) grags, Ye (shes) dpal, Rin (c'en) rdo (rje), Kun (dga') rin (c'en), rDion511 ji pa bsd
(nams) rin (c'en), tSku ba'ti (k'tims) rgyal (mts'an).
After him the saintly King dPal bzan 439 took office, assuming the title of bla dpön; his son, the bCso lha rin po 'ce, later took his place. In the times of his son, the Lord of the Law Kun dga' rin pa, the deep connections heretofore existing between bBri gun and dGe Iadan were broken, and various revolts took place, like the one due to the fact that they did not wish to change the colour of the dGe Iadan's protector's cap. After him the dPhon Rin c'en p'un t'sogs jointly assumed the office of Bla dpön, and later bBri gun was taken by the P'ag gru. Nevertheless in those times bBri gun was in peace.

sNa skar rts'e took his investiture from the king of the Hor and became zur dpön; A′en len, who had relations with the Sa skyas, was prince of that locality; then the sde pa 598 bTa'n adzin founded bTsam rtsan and greatly honoured Bo don.

Furthermore Nar sen 599 of Byan in gTs'an, of the lineage of rGod of Mi nag and his son rDo rje dpal had relations with the Sa skyas; the latter's son was dKon me'og; his son was aBam sde; his son was the prince of Byan, the dPhon Grags dar who received from Se c'en the investiture and the seal. In his times the monastery of Nam ri 439 in Bya was founded. His son was rDo rje mgon po, who was dPhon c'en of Sa skyas; his son Nam mk'a' brtan pa received the title of Gyi gun, with seal, and that of Ta dben gu sti, from the Hor Emperor. His son was Rin c'en rgyal mts'an.440

The latter's son was C'o grags dpal bzan, who received the office of Si tu c'en gun; the latter's son was rNam rgyal grags bzan, a scholar and writer of many works. He received the office of Tai si tu,441 and his younger brother dKon me'og legs pa the office of sti zii Tri sa hos 442 etc. and he also became zur dpön.

As to the P'ag gru, at first they dwelt in T'el, which was the abode chosen by rDo rje rgyal po,443 and later in the seat of the dPhon,444 which was the dwelling of various sde srid. The sons of the Yon c'en rGyal ba skyas, namely the spyan shi Sånis rgyas skyas and the rGyal ba rin po c'e' rollback rgyal 445 successfully prospered. When T'og rdugs 446 assumed the dPhon's office, as sGom brtson of IDan ma, who had been invested with that office by the Hor, did not rule according to good conduct, he elected as myirarch rDo rje dpal, the dPhon of rKan bzi, and founded twelve feuds, and his power spread greatly. After the latter, his younger brother gZon (nu) rgyal mts'an and Byan (c'ub) gZon (nu) of Yar åbrog and gZon nu yon tan (were myirarchs).

Then his younger brother 449 Grags rin pa assumed the title of bla dpön and ransomed the religious communities 449 and the feuds which had passed to the Sa skyas. After him the office was conferred on the son of his younger brother Rin (c'en) skyas, whose name was rGyal bzan 439 then to rGyal mts'an skyas, then to the Tai Si tu Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an. Then, though he had been defeated several times by him of gYa' 441 bzan in battle and in court, later, waging war against the Sa skyas dpBan brtson, through the good services of his Minister 450 Hor gZon

bzan, P'ag gru was victorious; then fighting against the troops of the dPhon of bBri gun, of the Ts'al pa Nam grags, of gYa' bzan and of gNa, P'ag gru was once again victorious and conquered dBus of Tibet. The Si tu, having gone to gTsan beginning from the year wood-horse of the sixth cycle (1354) conquered the greatest part of gTsan; by giving the investiture to him of Rin spungs, the Si tu founded thirteen fortresses, and while residing 450 in tNeu gdon rts'e he established the penal law in fifteen articles, and his power was greatly increased. After him aJam dbyang gun sri Sa ka rgyal mts'an and C'o bzü Grags byan (c'ub), Ts'on ka pa's master, and bSod grags and then Sa ka rin (c'en) and the saintly king bDran grags rgyal mts'an, father and son together, with the help of T'e mur of the Hor and of Yün lo of China, ruled over the monastery and the religious community. But at that time, the Sar k'a of Nam stod Rab brtan of rGyal rts'e, although he was the gZims dpöns of (P'ag gru), revolted and became lord of rGyal mk'ar rts'e. After him came the C'o sHa grags aByun, his son rDo rje nag gi dban pa bKra' shis grags pa. To their times belong the Minister Nam (mk'a') rgyal mts'an of Rin spungs, Hor gZon (nu) bzan and dPhon Grags of the feud of tSnél, and Nam abyor of rGyal mk'ar rts'e, and the bSa de of Ol k'a bKra' (sis) rgyal mts'an and bZi aDson 450 of Yar rgyab, the myirarch of Bya bKra' (sis) bZan and bSod (nams) rgyal (mts'an) general of dGá' Idun and others. At that time Lha rgya ri pa etc., having obtained the diploma from P'ag gru and others, became lords of several small territories. In their times Nor bzan pa, mTS'o skyes rdo rje, Don yod rdo rje, Nag dban rim rgyal etc. of Rin spungs, successively quarrelled with the P'ag mo gru pa, and revolts took place in dBus and gTs'an. Thus when the Sa skyas pa government was over after five years of strife, beginning with the year wood-horse (1354), in which P'ag gru assumed power, and for 82 years up to the year wood-hare (1415), the (P'ag gru) increased their prestige in dBus and gTs'an. At that time, in the year water-ox (1433) the council of Yar klunás took place.

In brief, in the year earth-boar of the fourth cycle (1259), the Sa (skyas pa), the bBri (gun pa), the P'ag gru pa, the Ts'al pa, each became the vassal of different Hor kings. In the following year 450 (1240), (the invasion of) Hor rDo rta took place; after the destruction of Ra sgrins and rGyal Iha k'a'n in the year wood-dragon (1244) the Sa skyas pindsay went to the Hor; in the year following his death, which took place in the year iron-boar (1251), the army which the king Go tan of the Hor had sent into Tibet in the same year iron-boar (1251) overthrew the mGon po gdon of Mon mk'ar and killed many men; then rGyal C'o Jo aBar was murdered; in the year wood-hare (1255) Kar ma pa ksa 450 came to the Hor and became king Mu'n ke's lama, and in the year wood-mouse (1264) he returned to Tibet. In the year fire-hare (1267) of the fourth cycle the Hor armies killed the chief of aDan ma ri; in the year iron-ox (1277) that of Zans c'en; in the year iron-snake (1281) following the year of the aP'ags pa's death, they killed
the dpôn sa skya pa Kun dga' bzan po and destroyed Bya tog rdson. Then, after five years, in the year wood-bird (1285) the aBri gun pa army burnt the monastery of Bya yul and the gTs'an ston was killed; then again the aBri gun pa led a Hor army against Sa skya. Nevertheless Ti'mur, Se c'en's son, with the armies of Lho k'a and of gTs'an (led) by An len, who was dpôn sa skya, took aBri gun pa; then the armies of the myriarchies were pushed as far as sGar pa in Western Dwags and in the year iron-tiger (1290) the temple of aBri gun was set on fire; when aBri gun was destroyed, about 10,000 men were killed. Byar, Dwags, Kon, e, gNa', Lho, Brag, Ya and Mon were conquered by the force of arms and dBus and gTs'an became like the owl and the raven.491 The Tai si tu Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an of P'ag gru, from the year earth-ox (1349) of the sixth cycle, conquered the greatest part of dBus and then in the year wood-horse (1354) also gTs'an. After more than 80 years had gone by, the Minister of Rin spuns in gTs'an revolted; beginning from the year wood-hare (1435) of the seventh cycle, one of the sons of Nor bzan of Rin spuns, called Kun bzan took the feud of Rin spuns and the other Don grub rdo rje took bSam agrub rts'e, and both took possession of gTs'an. In the year earth-tiger of the eighth cycle (1458) a conflict took place between Southern and Northern dBugs, and those of sNeu gdon took possession of the P'ag mo gru see. Then Kun bzan's son Don yod rdo rje of sGar, sDe pa of Rin spuns, was solicited by Zva dmar, Kar ma C'os grags rgya mts'o, and beginning from the year earth-ox (1481) he led about 10,000 soldiers against dBus; having driven out the dGa' Idan's patron, who was in charge of the fort of sNeu, although he had conquered dBus, nevertheless he was twice beaten back by K'ti sMon lam pa, by means of great liturgical offerings.492

Then, to the East of Lha sa, with the purpose of oppressing Se (ra) and aBras (spuns), the Kar ma pa493 founded two monastery, the black and the red,499 and desired to destroy by his strength those two convents; with this aim he took command of the Kar ma pa and aBrug pa army; some small monasteries of dGe lugs changed (sect) and he took possession of some feuds, assigned for the upkeep of religious services in the Se ra and aBras spuns monasteries, so that relations between the Kar ma and the dGe lugs were like those passing between the bat and sunlight. Beginning from the year earth-horse (1498) up to the year earth-tiger (1498) of the ninth cycle, although the monks of the Se ra and aBras spuns monasteries could not take part in the festivities of the yearly vow 554 in Lhasa, nevertheless from the year fire-dog (1526) the sNeu gdon pa, lord of dBus, had a certain power.

Then in the year fire-bird (1537), while the Lord dGe adun rgya mts'o was in sGyal me tog t'an, he of aBri gun took command of the Ko'ın army, with the purpose of destroying him of dGe' ldan. While they undertook the destruction rDshin p'yi 555 in 'Ol k'a rdson, Don yod, na'm to of Gro mda', pitted his troops against them; so they were not able to destroy it; nevertheless the aBri gun pa took 18 temples and convents of the dGe' ldan, like Klun šod, 'Od sna, etc., and the latter changed their caps, dress and system. In the year water-ox (1553) the Nang po of dGa' ldan led the army against sKyor lunn; in lesser Tibet, in dBus and gTs'an, beginning from Glan dar ma, the rules of religious and civil life little by little decayed, and a furious spirit spread violently in every direction...

Then, in the year wood-ox (1565) Ts'e brtan rdo rje of Rin spuns in gTs'an ton and his son Pad ma dkar po, took bSam agrub rts'e, and having become lords of upper gTs'an, were known as the kings of upper gTs'an. Then, in the year iron-horse, of the tenth cycle (1570) aBri gun pa and sTag (lunn) fought one another. In the year water-ape (1572), in sKyid šod, a revolt broke out against P'ag gru, and although a reconciliation was attempted by bSod nams rgya mts'o,496 once more, in the year wood-boar (1573) the armies of him of Rin spuns came to sKyid šod and, having caused some damage, turned back; then in the year iron-snake (1581) there was an internal revolt in aBri gun pa. When the Lord Yon tan rgya mts'o came from the country of the Sog po in Tibet, having misunderstood the meaning of an episode in verse which Zva dmar nag dban c'os grags had presented to him in homage, the Rab abyas pa of gZu 557 kar dGe legs lhun grub, with others, answered the episode with insults; for this motive the ancient (clash of) cymbals between the Kar (ma pa) and the dGe legs pa was revived. Kar ma Zhi (rgags), who had formerly been Minister to the king of gTs'an, then dpôn of the feud of bSam agrub rts'e, allying himself with some lesser dpôn of Lho and Byan, caused a revolt of Na ba ron pa, and became lord of the greatest part of gTs'an; in the year wood-snake (1605), P'ag mo gru pa and Zo dkar nag 558 levied troops and dispersed the sDe pa of sKyid šod's 559 camp and killed many officials. Then the disease of the preceding insult was revived and the Zva dmar, in the city of Lhasa, wrote (or in the following) new insults 560 on the (statue's) votive scarf,497 and offered the scarf to the Jo bo of Lhasa.

"In the cities of Brag ti and Žag (or in the city of Brag ti 562 from three vapours?) there are inside black (animals) with pointed horns (yak); with the noble lions of the plane of the absolute the (animals) having sharp horns (now) blunt contend in every manner. That this may not happen, only you, o Lord, can know",498

Then in the times of bSod nams nam rgyal, sde pa of sKyid šod, the Sog po, as an answer, carried off 563 the horses and mules of the sGar pa.

In the year iron-dog (1610) Kar ma pa P'un t'o'sgs nam rgyal 564 and his son Kar ma bston skyor dban po led the gTs'an army against dBus, but being frightened by the Sog po army, they turned back.499 After having taken 565 Yar rgyab, in the year water-mouse (1612), they conquered all of gTs'an, with Byan and sGyal mk'ar rts'e, and were known as kings of gTs'an. Having once more come with an army to
In the year earth-horse (1618) the fruit of evil deeds ripened. That king (of gTsan) and his son, their mind infatuated by Mara, through their devotion to the Kar ma pa, unable to tolerate that sun of the good law which is the school of the Yellow caps, loftly everywhere as it represents the essence of the Buddhist teaching, has no rival and is not contaminated by the least stain of sin, wished to destroy them; in the seventh month according to the Hor calendar they sacked Se ra and aBras spu and the community was obliged to take refuge in Stag lhu. But although many thousands of men were killed in the mountains between Lhasa and aBras spu and the community was, by virtue of the power of prayer and of a vow to gSin tsho, lord of the Law, their desire was not realized.  

Then, not long after, in the year iron-bird (1621) (the troops of the king of gTsan) were defeated in brGyad t'an sgar in gTsan by the Mongol troops. Then, when the latter were besieged in the I Cags po ri, the precious Pan c'en and others saved the lives of nearly one thousand soldiers. The monasteries and religious communities of gSan shags etc. and of other places belonging to the dGe lugs pa which had been taken from them, unable as they were to resist fear when confronted with the ascetic's power and the military force of the Mongols, his patrons, were given back and obliged to do reverence and homage to them once more. And courage, which had formerly been repressed, as if shut up into an empty box, was now restored. Nevertheless, as the root of sin had grown in his wicked mind, the king of gTsan meditated evil designs, and the peace (once) prevailing between the six great Sog po clans having been troubled by Legs ldan king of C'a kar, various internal struggles broke out. Then many fugitives repaired to the Hal ha; as a consequence of mutual disagreement between the chiefs, C'og tu was expelled from Hal ha; he came to the banks of Lake K'rig and wished to destroy them; when the latter were besieged in the Sa gra and C'os rgyal, he recognized that the time had come when it was necessary to protect the teaching in this country (of the Tibetans), and therefore with a great army, in the year fire-ox (1637) in the first month according to the Mongol calendar, he came to mtS'o k'ar and with scarcely one thousand soldiers, in U lan ho so, in one day he annihilated about forty thousand soldiers of Hal ha C'og tu and killed their general. Then, having come to Tibet, on the way back to dGa' ldan, in the evening twilight, as all space was lit up by a white light, this was considered as a good omen for the bsTan adsin.  

In that winter he returned to mtS'o k'ar, and having pacified the kingdom, in the year of the hare (1639) he almost entirely conquered Be ri in the k'ams territory, and on the 25 day of the eleventh month of the following year he took that same (king of) Be ri and imprisoned him; and the lamas of the Sa skya school, Dge lugs pa, dKar brgyud pa, aBrug pa, sTag lhu pa, who had been imprisoned, were set free by him; he then brought into subjection all the princes, up to the land of the king who rules over the country of jain. Then, throught Tibet and dBus, with a great army, he came to gTsan and in the year water-horse (1642) in the eighth day of the first month he took thirteen fortresses, like dSam agrub rtses, and on the twenty-fifth day, when the moon was in the constellation of dBo, he took as a prisoner the king of gTsan himself, and although at first he did not intend to kill him, having heard that he had founded a Kar ma pa monastery on the slopes of the hill of bKra shil hun po, and that, having built at the back a high tower on the wall enclosing it, he had named it bKra Iis zil gyon; he became angry and had him put into a leather sack (and thrown into the river). Then began the foundation of the thirteen famous theological schools, and then, beginning from the day of the full moon of Caitra, at the beginning of the year according to the Kalacakra system, he became the supreme lord of the three C'ol k'a of Tibet. As the Kar ma pa religious communities on the frontiers of Tibet were hostile towards the dGe lugs of K'on po, he took possession of them with an army, and was invested on the throne with the office of a king governing according to the Law; hence the princes of India, Nepal and
AND, LIKE A VULTURE WITH A FLOCK OF SMALL BIRDS, 
He used violence against the bla ma of the sTag ggzigs and became their king, taking possession of every desirable thing.


FROM THE GENEALOGIES OF ZA LU

(5 6) The lords of the great monastery, the glorious gSer k'a'n of za lu, are descended from the noble family of I CE. FROM I CE, LIKE Thunder ON THE THIRTEEN STEPS OF THE SKY, AND FROM HIS MOTHER LIKE MUDDY EARTH, A SON WAS BORN CALLED LHA GEN RTSE; THE RACE WHICH WAS DESCENDED FROM HIM WAS NAMED I CE. THE SON OF LHA GEN RTSE AND HIS WIFE, (SHE WAS A KLU MO OF THE KLU CLAN), WAS THE MIRACULOUS KING I CE NI ZER.

(6 6) He had seven sons; the six eldest ones, together with their father, protected the top of the sky; the youngest descended from a rock-crystal ladder and with a great retnue he went into the country of the sTag ggzigs and became their king, taking possession of every desirable thing.

(6 6) He was named C'EBAI P'RET KING OF THE S'TAG GGZIGS. HE HAD THREE SONS, BAR LO, NA'N LO, DAR LO. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE KING DGA' IDAN HUN T'AI JI, WHO DID NOT PATRONIZE ANY SPECIAL SYSTEM, THESE EVENTS HAVING COME TO HIS KNOWLEDGE AND DUE TO SOME INCIDENTS WHICH MOVED HIM TO FAITH, LED AN ARMY INTO TIBET AND IN THE YEAR FIRE-DRAGON (1717) HE DEFEATED LHA BZAN AND THE PACIFIED LAW SHONE FORTH.

THEN FROM THE BLUE LAKE THE CHINESE GENERALS AND SOLDIERS LED FROM THE sKU ALBUM INTO TIBET IN THE YEAR IRON-MOUSE (1720) gGYAL DBAN SKAL BZAN RGYA MTS'O, AND CHINA AGAIN CONQUERED TIBET. ZA'N K'AN C'EN PO WAS ELECTED SDE SRI D, AND FOR SEVEN YEARS DBUS AND gTSAN AGAIN ENJOYED HAPPINESS. THEN THE TIBETAN MINISTER LO NPA, OF A FIENDISH RACE, AND OTHERS, REBELLING AND KILLED THE SDE SRI. IN THE YEAR FIRE-GOAT (1727) PO' IHA T'AI JI OF gTSAN, HAVING GATHERED SOLDIERS OF gTSAN AND MNA' RIS, DEFEATED THE SIX KRI SKOR OF DBUS AND OF KON PO IN SEPARATE BATTLES AND TOOK POSSESSION OF THOSE MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MURDER OF ZA'N K'AN PA; CHINESE SOLDIERS HAVING JOINED THEM, THEY WERE KILLED. HENCE, BEGINNING FROM THE YEAR EARTH-APES (1728) PO' IHA ASSUMED THE OFFICE OF SDE SRI. MEANWHILE THE LOFTY LAMA SKAL BZAN RGYA MTS'O WHO HAD BEEN LED TO THE MONASTERY OF K'AMS KA T'OOG, AFTER EIGHT YEARS, ON AN ORDER OF THE CHINESE EMPEROR YON TIN, IN THE YEAR WOOD-HARE (1735) WAS LED BACK TO TIBET BY YE'ESH BSTAN PAI, SGRON ME, THE PRECIOUS INCARNATE OF I CAN SKY AND BY NAG DBAN C'OIS KIYI GRAGS PA OF K'AMS. TIBET WAS AGAIN AT PEACE, PO' IHA GOVERNED TIBET FOR TWENTY-ONE YEARS, AND ENDLESS SMIEN LAM FESTIVALS WERE CELEBRATED, WHICH WERE HELD IN THE TSON K'A PA TIMES. IN DGA' IDAN AND IN sKU ALBUM OF TSON K'A PA, THE gSER RTSE AND THE gSER RTSE AND THE gSER RGYAG WERE MADE, AND THE gSER RGYAG TOOK THE GREAT ASSEMBLY-HALL OF THE SAM BLOI RTGUD K'AN, WHICH DUE TO THEIR ANTIQUITY HAD FALLEN INTO RUIN. IN THE YEAR EARTH-DRAGON OF THE THIRTEEN CYCLE (1748) PO' IHA DSUN VAN DIED AND HIS SON TA' LAI BA DUR RULED DBUS AND gTSAN WITH GREAT SINCERITY.
The latter married two daughters of the king of Żaṅ žun; gYu sa lug rdsi ma and Ne mar lug rdsi ma;\(^{390}\) he conquered mK'ar c'uṅ lun and dNul dkar rts'e;\(^{390}\) he obtained the turquoise letters and became king of Żaṅ žun. He came riding into Tibet: Bran bu, Li and Hor,\(^{391}\) sent him...\(^{390}\) hundred boats and two pieces of steel.\(^{390}\)

He successively arrived in Yar klun (8 a) and founded there the palace called: mNa' t'ān yan rgyas mc'ed pa, which measured 66 don on each side; a veranda ran round it, below.

This 1Ce king was called 1Ce baṅ c'en; he became Naṅ blon of king Ston sstan sgam po. He had five sons: the eldest was Nag la c'an gyu k'ti; the second sMon te ri nu mda',\(^{390}\) the third Grags pa, the fourth, as he owned the salt lakes and the salt mines, was called Ts'a ba; now (these mines) are in La stod.

(8 b) The youngest was the Lotsāva of 1Ce K'yi abrug; he was Naṅ blon of the kings K'ri ston lde btsan and Sad na legs. He was the lotsāva who translated the Prajñāpāramitā\(^{392}\) and composed treatises like the sGrags gnas brgyad etc. They had five sons each and were called the five lotsva.\(^{390}\) He was a lotsiva who translated many books of the Law.

(9 b) 1Ce sMon te ri nu pa married K'un bzaṅ naṅ sten, who bore him two sons: 1Ce s'To re na\(^{390}\) ta nu and 1Ce bZan stO re nu te. The former led an army to China and conquered the kingdom of China. And he obtained the king's esteem and many gifts.\(^{390}\) bZan\(^{390}\) stO re nu conquered the four Southern regions. Both were Naṅ blon of king (Sad) Na legs\(^{390}\) and obtained many official documents and credentials. bZan s'To re nu married Dus ma of the mNa' nam clan, who bore him (to a) 1Ce K'ri bzaṅ lha sbyin, to whom the king gave C'u spubs su lun pa, rKyes rigs in Naṅ ro, Ha 'u gans bzan\(^{396}\) upo to the junction between Yung pa and Yü ba gdon pa, and he obtained credentials. The king ordered him to found 108 temples; when these 108 temples had been built, he drew up a reckoning of those he had built, he constructed the temple of rTsis gNas rin;\(^{397}\) Bin dmar\(^{398}\) of rTsis gnis rin, who wears shield and cuirass was the C'os skyon of the 1Ce.

(10 b) 1Ce K'ri bzaṅ lha sbyin was Naṅ blon of king K'ri tal pa can. He married Śes za mo, who bore him six sons; the eldest was the great Żaṅ ston (11 a)\(^{390}\) aP'ān te re; then 1Ce K'ri snaṅ, 1Ce rGyal k'ti bzuṅ, 1Ce Mān t'san stobs bzaṅ, 1Ce K'ri skyes, Mān po rje k'ti. They occupied various offices, which served to increase their power: they were counsellors\(^{399}\) of the king of Żaṅ žun and ministers of mDo sMad in K'ams.

Żaṅ ston c'en po's son was 1Ce tGug pa dpal, his son was 1Ce bZan k'ti bzaṅ; his son was 1Ce C'tag bzer btsan k'ti; the latter had two sons, 1Ce stag gi rgyal mts'an and sKyes ts'u ačo k'ti. 1Ce stag gi rgyal mts'an had four sons: the eldest had no issue, the second was gYu t'o gṣa gser bzaṅ, the third dpal sgra, the fourth rDo rje k'ti btsan po. 1Ce s'Tag gi rgyal mts'an and lCe sKyes ts'u ačo k'ti had three sons,\(^{391}\) namely Bya k'ti rdo rje dban\(^{391}\) (12 a) sGan ra tGug tor rin c'en and lCe gYu abum; gYu abum had two sons, the eldest was lCe bTsun šes rab abyun gnas, the youngest Ses rab ye šes. In this time, rebellions\(^{391}\) of their subjects against the 1Ce family having occurred, the 1Ce were nearly all killed. 1Ce bTsun took refuge, to embrace a religious life,\(^{391}\) with the Lo ston, rDo rje dban p'yug; having been ordained by him as a monk, he became his disciple.\(^{391}\)

In the year five-bird,\(^{391}\) initial year of the second diffusion of the Law, he was the principal assistant in the foundation of the temple of rGyan gon,\(^{391}\) in the environs of rGyan gon, (12 b) and he received his complete ordination about the age of thirty. In the year of the hare\(^{391}\) he proposed to found Zva lu.

(13 b) Then 1Ce bTsun was the author of the Zva lu temple, of the chapels on the South and North of the Western dBu rts'e, of the other two chapels, the one above in the Eastern dBu rts'e,\(^{391}\) dedicated to the Yum c'en mo,\(^{391}\) the one below, which is now the mGon k'an, but in those times, there being no mGon k'an, was an open circumambulation.\(^{391}\)

He also made, with precious substances, an image of sSyan ras gzigs.

(14 a) The 1Ce bTsun went to Bodhgaya in India, and from the great acārya of Bodhgaya, Abhayākaragupta, he learnt the rules of discipline and many other doctrines and brought into Tibet an image of sSyan ras gzigs Ka sar pa ni.

(15 b) Then Ye šes dban po, who had been mK'an po when 1Ce btsun šes rab abyun gnas had taken vows, founded (16 a) the monastery of mK'an lün in Šan and then Klan ra in Ge re, and Ro śnām of Šan in Eastern gYas ru. Then T'sul apags of Žan, a disciple (mK'an bu) of 1Ce bTsun, took possession of Bya kyus. His other disciple T'ar rin c'en had (in his turn) four disciples: aP'ags grags the master of gZugs took sGri 1Ce mts'ams and rGya mk'ar stag luñ. His brother was gZugs c'e. 1Ce dkar po took possession of An yig. P'yug ston of Dsa kā ris spa gor and he founded Šab lha mK'ar in Šab rts'e. All these were called those of Kon.

(16 b) 1Ce bTsun's principal disciple, Ye šes gyun druñ, took possession of the temple of rTsis, the other disciple Yon tan abyun grags founded sKur bu, from which were propagated sDul c'uṅ\(^{391}\) and the other monasteries to the East of Žva lu. From sPag ts'al pa, a disciple of) 1Ce bTsun, were propagated those of Ŷag. In those times the lord of Žva lu had four motives of greatness: because his authority extended
to the four pillars, because his patrons were rulers, because his monastic rules were derived from India, because his family was the Içe family.

(17 a) Beginning from K'ro gzer gdon k'ri (the family) was divided into two branches, the black and the white one. One of them was that of Içe bTsun, lama of Srui c'u'n. As to the branch descended from Içe g'Yu abum, a rebellion of his subjects having occurred, they came to La ta in K'ym mk'ar; hence La ta and rGyan k'yi'm belonged to the Içe. In course of time, a child who wept, crying a' a', passed on to temporal power and handed over the abbatial see to K'yun po. Crags pa sen ge. He listen to him and waged war, and he carried all the sacred objects of K'yun, he went to Lhasa.

In those times, as there was great turmoil due to quarrels between C'u (mig) and Zva (lu), those of C'u mig stole and carried off the Jo bo's (image) greater benefits would have accrued to the mongol law, the four pillars of Zva lu and its eight beams, which were nine with the lion having a mane, to the North, and the 70 rafters, each detaining its own power, became famous.

The four pillars were: dG'a b'a gdo'n, pillar of the holy Law, sKu ri bya skyus k'a rag, pillar of the clan, gYus skyu ma pillar of riches, Ni gser pillar of strength. The eight beams: to the East Gru za and Byar t's'an, to the South 'Ar lug and bRi mt's'ams, to the West sDog and Za skan po, to the North mNam rdis abans (22 b) and Cog to span. Na. As to the lion having a mane of bRi GyA p'ug to the North, it is the valley of Gos snor, home of 'U yug.

The son of Içe abum me was A mes dGe adun bzan po; the sons of Içe A mes abum dar were: A mes abum bstan and his brother. A mes abum btsan married mNam mo grol c'an, who bore A mes c'en po SAs rgyas ye sê and Sâ kya blo gros.

(23 a) After A mes c'en po SAs rgyas ye sê, under rTag dmar tham, there were lands reserved (as pastures) for the horses and fields for collecting the dung of animals destined to nomads and residents in the villages. As an agreement was not reached upon one (of the sections) destined to the collection of dung, a conflict broke out between those od C'u (mig) and those of Zva lu; as they had fought more than once and it had to be decided who was about to win or lose, this (image of) rTa mgtin which is in the bTsan k'ar, neighed thrice and those of C'u mig were defeated. Then, the boundaries having been defined, strife (between them) came to an end but 'A zva rebelled and carried off a large part of the Zva lu pa's power.

At that time the king 'A zva was famous. A mes c'en po SAs rgyas ye sê (escaping from the domination of) him of C'u mig, the (lord of) Zva lu took possession of C'u mig, and the revolt of his subjects was put down. After having beaten back the army of the 'A zva, against which he had marched, he established the Hör law; without any longer fighting the rebels, he distributed them in the myriarchies and chilicarchies.

(24 a) A mes c'en po SAs rgyas married Ts'a ts'a btsun, who bore him the sku žan rNa sgra, the sku žan mGo po dpal and the sku žan Kun dga' abum and three daughters mK'a' agro abum. Jo bo stag abum, Jo bo sê abum, six children altogether. Ma geig mK'a' agro abum (25 a) became the wife of P'ag rdor of the glorious Sa skya pa, and as her price the latter presented to A mes c'en po sixty horses, and the A mes c'en po gave him of C'u mig thirty horses. The latter also gave to the A mes c'en po the rGya skor of Sab dge Idin.

All this was given as a dowry for the ma geig mK'a' agro abum. From ma geig mK'a' agro abum Dhar ma pa la rak sîta was born;

(25 b) by order of the king, Dharmā pa [la] was invited to China. He desired to continue his lineage, but as the land did not suit him, no son was born to him. By order of the king, Jo bo sTag gi abum of Zva lu was invited (to China) in order to become Dharmapala (rakṣita's) wife; she married him and bore Ratanpalarakṣita, who died young.

25 b) The bDag ŭd c'en po, elected lama by the Emperor of China, had brought from the country
of sMan rtre many riches; when he came to Tibet (the Emperor) ordered him to propagate his lineage and to take seven wives, and invested him with power by a diploma. If that lineage was propagated up to our days and if those royal lamas (of the Sa skya clan) are lords of the earth, this is the Zva lu women's merit.

(26 a) Later Ma gcig mK'a' agro abum was called Ma gcig c'en mo. (26 a) Byan sms, Byan sms c'en mo; A mes was called A mes c'en po, the sku zan, or the sku zan c'en po; this means that they both obtained the epithet of c'en po, due to their connection with the 4Gro mgon P'yag na. To A mes c'en po, in the last period of his life, king Se c'en gave the chilarchy of sMon agro. As the sku zan was the root of all the family, he gave Bri mts'ams to the sku zan rNa sgra, and to the sku zan mgon po dpal (26 b) the decree and the diploma conferring upon him lordship over the Zva lu myriarchies, with their religious communities. After the sku zan rNa sgra, the sku zan mgon po dpal, who built the Northern wing of the temple (called) of "the three doors" 469 was dpOn of Zva lu. Inside the "Three Doors", in the chapel dedicated to his father A mes c'en po Saris tgyas ye shes, he built a statue of the great ascetic (the Buddha), with its throne and halo.

(27 a) As regards the genealogies of the abbots, K'yun po sgra sen ge conferred the see to the abbot mNvon pa po (sNon pa pa).468 By him the abbatial see was conferred upon Zva lu bMon pa pa; then Va c'es byan pa (became abbot). At the time of A mes c'en po Saris tgyas ye shes, he built a statue of the great ascetic (the Buddha), with its throne and halo.

(27 b) The son of the sku zan sNa sgra was the sku zan dpal of the Zva lu. He married the daughter of the Ts'al pa dpal of the Zva lu. He married the daughter of the Ts'al pa dpal and invested him with power by a diploma. If that lineage was propagated up to our days and if those royal lamas (of the Sa skya clan) are lords of the earth, this is the Zva lu women's merit.

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he also promised to give the monks the clothes they needed, and established feuds for the great religious ceremonies, to be performed in the first four months of the four seasons.

(14 a) In the year iron-ape\(^659\) the lord of the Law Bu ston rin po che, who was then 31 years old, came to Zva lu.

(15 a) In that year that same lord of the Law (Bu ston) built a temple with dwellings for the monks, centering it round a hermitage which was in Ri pu'g of Zva lu, blessed because a mchod ten stood there, in which some ts's ts'a were placed, with the image of the protecting deity of Jo bo rje Lha gcig (Atishā) who had resided there.

(15 b) Then, the sku 'Jan Kun dga' don grub having furnished the necessary means, the Lord of the Law (Bu ston) traced the outlines, together with the explicative inscriptions, of the paintings on four sides of the temple of Zva lu; i.e. to the West the global mandala of rDo tse dbyins, to the South the global mandala of dPal mc'og rigs, to the North the global mandala of the Kun rig, to the East the mandala of the mystical families, globally expressed, of ajam dPal,\(^660\) lord of the verbal plane of the absolute, and dedicated in the temple of the bSton agyur all the sūtra already translated in Tibet.\(^661\) He translated those which had not yet been translated, completed\(^662\) those which were not complete and also put there his own works.

(18 a) After the Lord of men, incarnation of rNam t'som ras, the sku 'Jan Grags pa rgyal mts'an, his son, the sku 'Jan Kun dga' don grub, became dPon of Zva lu. (The Emperor) gave him the diploma of t'en ji du dgen la and made him judge of the three 'col k'a of Tibet: he took the diploma with the tiger-headed seal, investing him with the Zva lu myriarchy. The Emperor successively gave him all the dignities and offices his father had had; indeed he became more powerful than his father. He had paintings made on the (18 b) pavilion, above, on the four corners (of the upper story), the temple of Ts'se dpag med, the temple of the bSton agyur; the walls\(^663\) of the temple of the sixteen Arhats, together with the temple Na'po bDe ldan.\(^664\) His sons were dKon mc'og rgyal mts'an and the great 'acarya dNos grub rgyal mts'an (39 a) who died young; his daugthers: Jo mo pad ma, Jo bo dar ra, Jo bo rdo ra etc. Then, before going to the foreign country, the sku 'Jan Kun dga' don grub left his authority to the son of dPon mo dkar abum, namely to the sku 'Jan Ye sles kun dga', to whom he confided the regency of Zva lu; recommending him to rule in a pure manner, he gave him the diploma of his office together with the imperial letters; he also gave him the authenticated\(^665\) imperial edicts, by which his father had been invested with the offices of T'en ji du dgen la and of m't'un gon.\(^666\)

(40 a) Among the sisters\(^667\) of the sku 'Jan Ye sles kun dga', Jo bo K'ye a'dren\(^668\) dPal married ajam dbYan's Don yod dpal bza'n po and bore the Lama Kun dga' rgyal mts'an; dPon ma dPal ldan married the si tu Kun dga' rdo rje,\(^669\) dPon mo dGon\(^670\) married t'Gyal bza'n po (40 b) Yin si ti; dPon mo dPal ldan abum married the Sar pa\(^671\) and had children from him; dPon mo rdo ra (daughter of Kun dga' don grub) married dPon 'Od zer sen ge\(^672\) and also had a son who obtained the myriarchy of Lho. Jo bo pad ma married Si tu a'P'ags pa dpal; dPon mo..., [dar te]\(^673\) married nag dban Grags pa rgyal mts'an,\(^674\) Ye sles kun da's sons were the sku 'Jan Legs pa don grub, and rNam rgyal dpal bza'n po.

(41 a) After him the sku 'Jan Legs pa don grub became dPon of Zva lu. The Emperor of China gave him the diploma investing him with an office equivalent to that of Go c'to ji du dgen la\(^675\) and with the myriarchy of Zva lu. He ruled well. Also the second (son) du dgen la rNam rgyal dpal bza'n po took the office of (dun) dgen la and governed. rNam rgyal dpal bza'n po had no son, but a daughter bDag mo bsTan adsin rgyal mo, whom he gave in marriage to the Si tu of rTse c'en\(^676\) (41 b) and a son was born: the bDag po, P'o rgo d'yu rgyal. The sku 'Jan Legs pa don grub had five children, between those he had from the first and second wife. Of those he had before, the eldest was the monk, abbot of rTso dDag, the second was the sku 'Jan rGyal la ba and the youngest the monk who resided in m'T'on sman of Zva lu. From the sku 'Jan rGyal la ba to the sku 'Jan rNam rgyal dpal bza'n there were one or two dPon of Zva lu. The sku 'Jan rDro tje rgyal bza'n and (42 a) rDro rje rgyal mts'an [text corrupt]; these two brothers had three sons: the sku 'Jan dPal abyor ba, the Lord of the Law C'os rgyal ba and the sku 'Jan Rig pa pa. These also had no male issue. By the king of rGyal mk'ar rse, the lineage of the sku 'Jan rTse rnis pa was interrupted. As to Legs pa don grub's second issue, born from sNe mo t'on pa's daughter, the eldest was the sku 'Jan Don rgyal, the second was the sku 'Jan incarnation of Rigs ldan, the precious Lord of the Law bKra' shi (42 b) rgyal mts'an dpal bza'n po. The youngest was the Nag dban po. The sku 'Jan rGyal ba had three sons; the eldest was the sku 'Jan Sans rgyas pa, the second the Lord of the Law Rin c'en ajam dbya'n, the youngest the sku 'Jan rGyal c'en pa. Sans rgyas's sons were the sku 'Jan Rin c'en bza'n po pa, the Lord of the Law Dus ak'or ba, Sans rgyas dpal abyor ba, the sku 'Jan Legs pa pa, the Lord of the Law Kun dga' s'nin po pa and the sku 'Jan ri Nam rga' la ma. The son of the sku 'Jan Rin c'en bza'n po (43 a) was the sku 'Jan Rin c'en pa.

The sons of rDro rje dpal p'yu's\(^677\) were the sku 'Jan l'Sob dpon Rin c'en and Nam mk'a' mc'og grub dpal bza'n po. The latter, before becoming a monk, had had relations\(^678\) with the daughter of m'Ts'al pDpon ka ra, who bore him a daughter and two sons, slob dpon Blo gsal pa and the 'acarya P'yog las rnam par rgyal ba. He gave his daughter in marriage to aBrag ram, and she bore him the gNe c'en A mo gha pa. (43 b) This sku 'Jan Lord of the Law, when he was still young was firm in the thought of the Law, and although his father's elder brother,\(^679\) the sku 'Jan Ye sles kun dga', invited him to help him to rule, he refused. On that occasion he asked the Lord of
the Law Bu ston rin po c'ê to bestow upon him the vows of devoted layman, and from him he heard the dPal dus kyi a'k'o r lo and other instructions. (44 b) He met the glorious Lama dam pa and many other noble beings. (45 b) As to the sku žan Blo gsal pa, at the age of seven he took monastic vows with the all-knowing Bu ston, and up to 15 years of age he was comprised among the four (masters) of Žu lu.

(45 a) The sku žan P'yogs las nram par rgyal ba married d'Don mo Lha lcarn from aBrion rts'e, and she bore him the sku žan dPal abyor, who married d'Don Sañs rgyas a'gson, the daughter of the Sa skya pa m'gon po, and they had five sons; the sku žan precious Lord of the Law and supreme scholar m'C'o'g grub d'Pal bzan po, (46 b) the Lord of the Law P'un t'sogs pa, the sku žan rGyal ba nram rnas, the sku žan Legs pa b'kra 'shis. (46 a) The sku žan rGyal ba nram rnas married the mK'a k'a pa's daughter, who bore him the sku žan, the precious Lord of the Law bSod nams m'C'o'g grub dpal bzan po.

This clan of the lCé had lCé Blo ldan sgon pa and lCé mDo sde sen ge and other keepers of ascetic methods and many lotsāvas like the lotsāva of dGzal ba dpal, the lotsāva lCé b'kra 'shis rtsag, the lotsāva lCé Klu mes, etc.

(47 b) If now one wishes to know which were the Bha dpon of Žu lu, we can answer that three were known as such: (48 a) lCé bTsun S'es ab yan gnas, his younger brother S'es ye sles, and P'o po g'yu t'ogsgra gser bzam. g'yu t'og sgra, having left the religious rules, became d'Don (48 b) and left the see K'yun po grags sen ge. The latter entrusted it to the abbot m'Non pa. (49 a) In the latter's times lived lCé abum. In the times of lCé abum and of abum dar, g'gon nu b'rton pa of Žu lu was abbot; (49 b) in the second part of abum dar's life and at the time of abum b'ran, Va c'os byan pa; (49 b) at the time of A mes c'en po Sañs rgyas, Bu ston sen ge 'od. At the time of Sa skya Blo gros and of the sku žan rNa sgra, the abbot aDul a'gson. (50 a) At the time of the sku žan m'gon po dpal, and for three years of the sku žan rDo ye dban 'yug, the abbot Grag g'gon pa. In the second part of the life of the sku žan Grags pa rgyal mts'an, Kun dba' don grub and in the first of Ye sles kun dba the all-knowing Bston. In the second part of Ye sles kun dga's life and in the first part of Legs pa don grub's life (49 a) (Buston's) spiritual disciple, rNam rgyal. (50 b) In the second part of the sku žan Legs pa don grub's life and in the first of rNam rgyal dpal bzan, A jam dbyans grags pa rgyal mts'an. (51 b) In the second part of the sku žan rNam rgyal dpal b'ran's life and in the first of the rGyal la ba, mK'a'g grub Sañs rgyas rin c'en pa. (52 a) In the second part of the sku žan rGyal la ba's life the precious aK'rul z'i gTs'ul k'ri'ms rgyal mts'an. Nevertheless all the abbot's began to be dated when the all-knowing Bu ston took possession of the see; as to these dates and to the dates of his death, Bu ston the all-knowing was born in the year of the tiger and arrived in the see at the age of 31, in the year iron-ape and for 37 years he ruled the see. When this all-knowing was 67 years old, his spiritual son, the Lord of the Law, who was born in the year of the horse and was 39 years of age, in the year of the ape (50 a) in the fourth day of the first winter month came to the see and ruled it for 33 years. The all-knowing (Buston) at the age of 75, in the year wood-dragon in the month of the constellation C'u stod, in the twenty-first day passed away.

(50 b) The Lord of the Law, his spiritual son, at the age of 71, in the year of the dragon in the tenth month according to the Mongol calendar, the second day, at sunset, passed away.

(51 a) The Lord of the Law Grags pa rgyal mts'an, who was born in the year of the serpent in this same year came to the see and ruled it for 16 years. In the interval the see was entrusted to the mK'a'g as grub Sañs rgyas dpal rin pa.

(51 b) The latter ruled the see for eight years, then he went to La stod. He died in his year, the year of the dragon (52 a); then again the see was ruled by the Lord of the Law, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, for 36 years, which summed up with the former years are 52 years (1457).

After him the see was entrusted to the great lama, the aK'raul z'i g, the venerable Lord, the mK'a'g'yen rts'e mNa' b'dag, A jam dbyans grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bo, who at the age of 84, in the year of the dragon, in the tenth month of the Mongol calendar, in the month of sMig drug, in the fifteenth day, passed away.

(52 b) A K'erul z'i g Ts'ul k'ri'ms rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po, who was born (litt.: had as the year of his birth) the year of the hare in the fourth day of the winter, in the month of the constellation C'u; then

(52 a) A K'erul z'i g Ts'ul k'ri'ms rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po, who was born in the year of the horse in the age of 33, in the year of the dog in the month rGyal, on the tenth day, came to the see and ruled it for 27 years; (52 a) at the age of 75, in the year of the snake, in the tenth month according to the Mongol calendar, on the twenty-seventh day, he passed away.

(53 b) The all-knowing mC'o'g grub bzan po, born in the year of the horse, in the age of 53, in the year of the dog, in the month rGyal, on the tenth day, came to the see and ruled it for seventeen years. At the age of 69, in the year of the tiger, on the first day of the month of T'a skar, at sun-down, he passed away.

(54 a) A jam dbyans b'ses b'btan bzan po rgyal mts'an, born in the year of the horse, in the age of 69, in the year of the hare, in the month rGyal, on the fifteenth day came to the see and ruled it for eleven years, and at the age of eighty, in the year of the ox in the month C'u stod, on the tenth day, he passed away.

The peerless Lord of the Law Rin c'en rigs a'gson, rGyal po, born in the year of the snake, in the age of 59, in the year of the tiger, in the month Sa ga, on the eighteenth day, came to the see and ruled it for twelve years.

dK'on mC'o'g ts'ul k'ri'ms, born in the year of the ox in the year fire-hare in the eleventh month according to the Mongol calendar, came to the see and ruled it for eight years. The Lord of the Law
bSod nams rgyal mts'an pa, born in the year of the ox, 720 at the age of 11, in the year water-sheep, 721 in the month Ch'u stod, on the seventeenth day came to the see and ruled it for eleven years. 722 After him Lhai btsun po blo bzan bstan pa, born in the year fire-hare 723 (155 s) at the age of 67, in the year fire-bird, 724 in the month sNron, 725 on the seventeenth day ascended the see.

All these things 726 according as they are in the guide of the most holy T'ugs rje c'en po 727 taking as a base the list of its abbots, the old people's narratives, Don grub rgyal mgon's philological works, written according to the method of the all-knowing master 728 of Kaliyuga, and above all extracting information from the biographies whose consultation is useful, like those of the two most ancient sku Žan and of the Lord of the Law, the sku Žan Rin c'en mk'yen rab mo'eg grub dpal bzan po, 729 and that vajra of corrupted times, who were dGe ap'el of sNe mo, etc., he who is called Mangala-amogha-siddhi, i.e. (in Tibetan) bKra šis don grub, rightly disposed (all these things) in writings (which preserve those memories), in an indestructible manner; this he did for the good of all future beings and for the advantage of the great progeny of the sku Žan, the lamas lords of that Bodhgaya of Tibet which is the glorious gSer k'an of Žva lū. May good increase.

FROM THE CHRONICLES OF GYANTSE

(1 a) The you bdag dBum sāg was descended from Gla rgyud sdo thun bstan 730 of upper mDo k'ams; he wore an armour made of a hundred tiger skins; he seized brown bears by the paws and the was the son-in-law of king Ge sar of K'tom. Trusting to the Sa skyā pa's glorious teachings he settled in the GTsan region and got to sNār riham, and followed the sect of the ancient school of esoteric formulas. His son was the ācārya Nam mK'a' byan c'ub, the latter's son was the master Nam mK'a' lhun grub; the latter's son was the acarya Nam mK'a' bzung po. He had three sons: the eldest was the dPon brTson agrus ro rje; the second the ācārya Grags brtsnon, the youngest gZon nu ṣ pa'ags. The eldest was one of the four masters (magicians) (of his time), like Nam mK'a' grags of the mC'iims clan of sNār t'ān. The youngest was the secretary of the Ti sīī Grags 'od of the Bla brtan k'ān gsar, 731 The second went into the upper country, depending on the great (Sa skyā) residence etc. While he was in the great feud 732 of sTag t'o, he had from sBes ab ma a son who was named dPon rGyal mts'an bzung po. As he was of good birth and fine appearance and proficient in writing, the Žva lu pa 733 elected him ri don of Eastern Ra dsa. He married Lha mo dpal 734 and had three sons; in the year po ni, 735 according to the Indian calendar, Dpal Idan bzung po saw the light. 736

The latter was lofty through the glory of his merits, he had an unbreakable faith in the teachings of the Victorious, was excellent among all the scholars of the world, the diadem of all those who overthrow the opposers of religion and he had several heavenly virtues; with his wisdom he enlightened the darkness of the world, pervading it with a great glow. In the year iron-rice (1320) his younger brother Dpal ldan rin c'en pa was born; the roots of faith were extremely firm in him and the branches of his munificence spread over the ten points of space; (2 a) he possessed the splendour of the king of the Yaḳṣa. 737 In the year fire-tiger (1321) the honourable sTag dar po was born. 738

The eldest, when he was thirteen or fourteen, went to sTe po in IDan yul, 739 to learn the scriptures according to the IDan system. As the place pleased him, 740 he built a dwelling there and had the vision of IDan ma dban rgyal, his family's protecting deity. 741 At the age of sixteen, in the year water-bird (1332), he went to Sa skyā, the great see. By virtue of the karmic connection derived from a vow he had made in a preceding life, and thanks to his deeds, which had determined relations of lord and protégé between the Sa skyā pa and himself, he met the master K'an gsar and became his officer. 742 Soon he asked him to be appointed 743 in the bZi t'o. In that same year he went back (to his lands). Then at the age of seventeen, in the year wood-dog (1334), he went back to the (Sa skyā pa's) residence; he was employed by the K'an gsar pa as an official in the bZi t'o's palace. Being very capable in writing, he became first secretary. Then he invited from Rol skam to IDan yul the great master of DPa'ag rgyal ba, 744 who consecrated his dwelling. His mother with her two elder sons asked to take the eight vows of lay devotees; he added to his first name the name of his master, being called from that time A'pa'ags pa dpal bzung po; the younger brother assumed the name of A'pa'ags pa rin c'en; their mother, in the same way, that of Ma cēg Lha mo sman. At this time A'pa'ags pa rin c'en had a vision of Ts'o'gs kyi bdag po (Gaṇapatī) gNod sbyin dbar po. At the age of eighteen, in the year of the boar (1335), he went back once again to the residence (Sa skyā). In the Lha k'ān bla bran he met the master C'o's kyi rgyal mts'an pa.

Having become his intimate 745 and having attended to the most important affairs, he urged that dGe bies dGe adun rgyal mts'an of Rong po might accept him in his retinue in the expedition against the Lho dun, 746 which he was preparing. At the age of twenty-three, in the year iron-dragon (1340), he went as a lay companion 747 in the retinue of dGe bies, and in Lho dun the enemies 748 were destroyed. In the seventh month of the year water-horse (1342)
he went back to the see to present propitiatory offerings for the deceased 770 dGe bies. Then, while the bdag c'en Don yod rgyal mts'an was residing in the gzi t'og, he gave propitiatory gifts to all, beginning with those honourable (lords). When he asked to occupy the place of the dGe bies, the bdag c'en said to him: "Although you are worthy of being a snam c'en, it is necessary that you go to conquer the Lho dun ... (4) and therefore he gave him the badges,770 diplomas and letters 770 appointing him to replace the dGe bies. At the age of twenty-five, in the year water-horse (1342), he went to bzN yul. Among the four offices 770 corresponding to the (four) sections in which Sa skyas was divided, the dGe bies dGe adun rgyal mts'an had that of Sar k'a; as he was appointed in his place he was exalted as the glorious Sar k'a pa.770 Having conquered the Dun ten,770 as the clergy and laymen were pacified, the Sa skyas hierarchical too had a high opinion of him;770 in the year water-sheep (1343), when he was twenty-six, he founded the monastery of Sol bla tsam, where the excellent scholar, the mk'An c'en Rin c'en bsdod nam bz'an po resided. Next he provided for a summer retreat for C'o'Is lun ts'ogs pa.770

At the age of thirty, in the year fire-boar (1347) (the Sa skyas pa lama) of bzN t'og gave him the investiture with the annexed letters-patent as administrator of Western Lho brag. At the age of thirty-one, in the year of the mouse (1348) (4 b) he obtained from the chief of dBus and from the Sar k'a pa that they should have sincere intentions 770 towards each other. At thirty-three, in the year iron-tiger (1350), he married the dpon mo Pad ma, daughter of the sK'u san of Za lu Kun dga' don grub, descended from the Hot; she was sixteen, having been born in the year wood-boar (1335), and the sK'u san gave him as his daughter's dowry the feud of lCan ra, with its temple and sacred objects. And he named his younger brother ap'ags pa rin c'en adminis- trator.770 Then he provided for the C'o'Is lun ts'ogs pa, which was the monastery chosen as the chief see by the great scholar Rin c'en gzon nu. In the year of the mouse (1360) he founded the temple of Lha rgyal dkar po in P'ag ri. In some writings we find that in the year of the dragon he founded Llung grub rdson in Gam pa.770 As the various traditions differ, the question is difficult to solve for those whose intelligence is scanty, but the wise, by comparing the indications of time and examining the dates (identify) those two (incomplete) references with the years iron-mouse and water-dragon (1352). If the eldest (of the two brothers) ap'ags pa, at the age of thirty-four and fifty-two really built (those two temples) it is better that the discernment of intelligent people should later investigate. (5 a) In the year water-dragon (1352) when he was thirty-five, he put his trust, as if they had been his chaplains, in the so-called four sections of the Law, i.e. in the glorious lama of C'o'Is lun ts'ogs, in that of Ts'ogs c'en, in that of dGe adun sguin and in that of Byed rdi ts'ogs, who preserved unaltered the tradition of the Kashmiri pandita's teaching. He presented them, as a sign of homage, with many offerings. In that year he destroyed the Lho dun in Rin c'en sga'n and in the environs of P'ag ri.

In the following year the Sar dun770 led by Don grub dar, having vanquished the Guri minister of Grum pa and having asked to make an act of submission, it is said that he let them remain in his retinue. In the year wood-goat (1354) his younger brother ap'ags pa rin c'en pa went to Lho brag and conquered the Lho dun and hence deserved well of dBus. In the year wood-goat (1355) he asked the lama of the Lha k'An bla bran to appoint him administrator of mDo'is byun,770 and he did so. When the eldest brother was forty, in the year fire-bird (1357), called according to the Indian system geer ap'yan,770 the lord of men Kun dga' ap'ags pa was born to him of Ma gceg pad ma, then twenty-three years of age, in lCan ra.

(5 b) dDe yain sbyai's consecration was made in lCan ra, in an ample manner, by masters at whose head was the all-knowing Buston rin po c'ee; he asked for initiation and offered a mandala in which had been employed nine stas of gold in all. In the year earth-dog (1358), to obtain permission to found a temple on the mountain of Sam bu rts dgu, he sent (to the Chinese court) the dp'a' si Mig pa Kun dga' dpal ba,770 father and son, from lCan ra, both retinue of Kar ma pa Ran sbyun rdo rje, who was then going to the Chinese Emperor,770 and with him C'o'Is od.770 In the year earth-boar (1359) Ma gceg Pad ma pa who had reached her twenty-fifth year, giving birth to a son, her karmic causes having matured, passed from this life. Hence he dedicated a statue of rJe bsun sgrol ma, made of silver according to the Indian style, its proportions having as their unity of measure the (dead woman's) thumb, decorated with all sorts of gems. When the elder brother reached the age of forty-three, that is in the year iron-mouse (1360) the T'ai dben (6 a) Blo gros rgyal mts'an conferred an office upon him and appointed him Na'i c'en of the bzN t'og palace; hence he was called the Na'i c'en ap'ags pa dpal bzan po. He took upon himself the offices of greater trust 770 in the bzN t'og, in Lha c'en and in Lha rtses and great spiritual and material peace accrued to all men. In the year iron-elephant (1361), when the Na'i c'en was forty-four, he married the daughter of the dpon c'en dBus p'yu' dpal, named dpal ldan bSod nams stbum, celebrated under her other name of dpon mo c'en mo, from whom in the year of the hare (1363) was born the honourable Grags pa.770 In the first month of the year wood-dragon (1364) the T'ai dben Blo gros rgyal mts'an passed from this life and dBag po Kun dga' rin c'en of the bzN t'og charged him to bring presents to sNge gud 770 saying that the bsvis tu Byan (c'ub) rgyal (mt's'an) and the Na'i c'en ap'ags pa were on good terms due to preceding relations; hence in the fourth month he set off. But the acarya of gZis k'ab rNam rgyal and C'en po Ses rab bzan and the dp'a' si of Zad, dKon mc'og 770 plotted evil plans, and they told him that the bsvis tu Byan rgyal 770 was ill.770 The Na'i c'en ap'ags pa together with his followers was surrounded in Rin spu'i, then led to aGrva p'i'yi ts'oi

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Although some people devoid of any religious or civil decorum (tried to do him harm), through the grace of the Sa skya clan, beginning from the C'os rje, the glorious bla ma bSod nam sergyal mts'an, through the mercy bestowed upon him by the three precious gems, through the merits of (his wife) the princess 770 and the regard he had shown for the acarya of C'os lун ts'ogs and for the lama of Sa dbu' yan, due also to the unerring truth of the connection between cause and effect, and to the cuirass of moral energy of his elder brother aP'ags pa rin c'en and of his other relatives residing in their fiefs and to the attachment 770 of his soldiers 771 for their chief (like the devoted layman of Yar klun, etc.) and to the performance of his duty, in which he had shown a perseverance beyond all imagination, through the combination of all these causes and good omens, on the fifteenth day of the ninth month, without receiving any damage, like a lotus flower issuing from the mud untouched by any sin, as if drawn by a silken rope, 771 he arrived through Ron po, rDsa rgyab, Po ma and rGya' ri, etc.

In that same year, in the ascending fortnight, the dPa' si C'os 'od 771 arrived in sNa rims, bearing from the Mongol emperor T'o t'ai mur, together with gifts, the diploma of Na' n c'en and the permission to build the temple on the Sam bu rtse dgu mountain. When the Na' n c'en reached the age of forty-eight, in that year, according to the Indian calendar, sNa ts'o dbyg 771 that is in the year wood-snake (1365), he in accordance with good astrological conjunctions founded rTse c'en, mK'ar k'a, Lhun grub rtse in Pa sman, and particularly he laid the foundations of the great palace called rGyal mk'r 780 rtse, which in ancient times was (the royal palace) of the mNa' bdag c'en po. 781

(8 a) In this same year, from his marriage with the dPon mo c'en mo, was born he who is celebrated by the name of: great ascetic Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzn po, at the same time the son of the Na' n c'en aP'ags pa and of his brother. In the year fire-horse (1366) the Na' n c'en aP'ags pa dpal, who had reached his forty-first year, laid the foundations of the temple of rTse c'en and repaired the enclosure and the turrets. 783

When the Na' n c'en aP'ags pa was fifty, in the year fire-goat (1367) he met in brGya ron the daughter of the chilar of sMen mo ag dge shen pa and of bSam grub adsom, whose name was Bya' n sems bzn po dpal, and as she was an uncommon being, as a sign that a bodhisattva would be born as her son, in that year the dpa' si d Gon c'en arrived from the (imperial) Court, bearing from the Mongol king T'o gan t'i mur the title of gyur la ta ho t'ai su'i tu 784 greater than that of su'i tu, a crystal seal and the third gem with a golden tiger's head, the round golden patent, 784 gifts of foodstuffs and flasks, 783 the royal diploma investing him with the office of t'u gos, 783 from sKu til t'og upwards and from Gans ba bzn po downwards, and on this side of aBri mts'ams 787 Gans dkar po as his apanage, 780 soap 780 for the queen and sbel ka 780 for the prince and zam dkon 791 for the minister, and the diploma of du dhenSa of mNa' ris 791 for the younger brother aP'ags pa rin c'en.

When the C'os rje, the glorious, lofty blama bSod nam seryal mts'an dpal 791 went to dBus, he begu him to perform the consecration of lC'an ra, and having invited those of the monastery of gNas rithi, the announcemen t of the diploma he had received was given. In that same year Hot bSod nam dpal was born. 792 (9 a) In the year earth-monkey (1368) Kun dga' dpal da ra k'a c'en 792 arrived; he had been invited by the Emperor, who had given him the diploma of "strengtheners", 790 of the teaching, buttons 790 and cloak for his clothes, together with good presents of foodstuffs. In that same year he completed the temple of rTse c'en, the veranda with thirty-six pillars and the chapel with eight pillars. This bDag c'en t'ai bsvi tu died in his fifty-third year, in the year iron-dog (1370) on the fifth day of the first month, in his private room K'ra mo in rTse c'en.

After him his younger brother, aP'ags pa rin c'en du dhenSa, with the purpose of accomplishing his elder brother's pure wishes as regards religion, offered many gifts to the monks of the monasteries of the upper and lower part of the gTsan region, beginning with those of the great see (Sa skya).

(9 b) In the fifth month he founded the palace and the assembly-hall in the rTse c'en temple. In his fifty-second year, in the year iron-boat (1371) in the eighth month, he invited to the great monastery of rTse c'en the incomparable na dpon Kun dga' dpal, 790 master and disciples, about six hundred persons in all; he begged him to become its abbot and he founded the school for the explanation of the Law, collecting there almost all the spiritual preceptors (kalyanamitra) of dBus, gTsan and K'ams. 790 aP'ags pa du dhenSa, at the age of fifty-three, in the year earth-mouse (1372) together with the dPon Kun dga' aP'ags pa, went on a visit 791 to the master's great residence, the glorious Sa skya, where he did perfect honour to all the family, beginning with Kun dga' rin c'en of the bZi t'og and the four classes of dignitaries of the various palaces. 791

(10 a) The dPa' si C'os 'od returned once more to the Chinese court; the king of the Mongols had (meanwhile) conferred upon him (viz. aP'ags pa) the office of bsvi tu, with the seal belonging to it. 791 He notified the diploma appointing him aP'ags pa rin c'en; hence his name was changed into that of aP'ags rin c'en du dhenSa t'ai bsvi tu. Having given to the honourable Kun dga' aP'ags pa (his nephew) the office of Na' n c'en and the diploma of t'u gos, he went back. In the year wood-hare (1375) in brGya ron, Bya' n sems bzn po dpal 791 bore aP'ags pa rin c'en's son; he had no rivals as a warrior and was the right honourable bSang rgyal aP'ags pa.

(10 b) The bsvi tu aP'ags pa rin c'en, in the year fire-dragon (1376) at the age of fifty-seven, in the seventh month, passed away.

(11 a) The bDag c'en (Kun dga' aP'ags pa) at the age of twenty-three, in the year earth-sheep (1379) founded.
After him, in the year water-dragon (1412) in the first month, in a well-omened astrological conjunction of planets and stars, the saintly lord of men, liberal towards the Buddhhas' holy teaching, whose name was Kun tu bzān, ascended his father's throne. 

At the age of twenty-five, in this same year called rNam rgyal 8²⁶ according to the Indian calendar, he founded the feud of lCan ra whose revenue were assigned to temples;⁸⁴ on this occasion he invited from Byan his former lama, the Lord of the highest scholars, the Lord of the Law, the c'os rje dGe legs dpal, considered an incarnation of the ancient master, the great scholar and ascetic. Lhai dban po ⁸³⁹ he was the chief of four hundred scholars, who had a thorough knowledge of the revelation and the sciences. Therefore he begged him to preside the religious ceremonies.⁸⁶⁰

Above all in this year (water-snake, 1413) in the fifth month, eighth day, five Ta bzān, departed from the great royal palace,⁸⁶¹ with a retinue of about five hundred persons, having at their head the Ha ho ta bzān ⁸³⁶ and the gSun ta bzān sent by the king of China, king Ye wan, to invite the Lord of the Law the pandita Sirājīpurāṇa;⁸⁶² they were also directed to proclaim the (imperial) orders to many dignitaries of dBus, and gTsan, that is to give presents to the Lord of the Law, the pandita Sirājīpurāṇa;⁸⁶² to the Lord of the Law T'eg ⁸³⁶ and to the Kar ma pa ⁸³⁶ to erect (in the monastery of) mTS'ur pu ⁸³⁶ the golden pinnacle, to confer upon the bDag po of the bZi ti ⁸³⁶ the title of Ta śī, to the bDag po dBān pa the diploma of dBus,⁸³⁶ to his younger brother that of gu śī, to the great abbot of sNāt tān and to the great abbot of gNas rīn the brief appointing them gu śī, to bSod nams dpal and to Grags pa dpal of Lho the diploma of bsu'i tu, and what was necessary to whitewash the mc'od rten aP'ags pa śin k'un ⁸³⁶ and the diploma authorizing him of dBus to reside in the great temple.⁸³⁶

At this time, in the twelfth month, they arrived. 

The saintly king with his brother, to receive the imperial edict, went into the palace,⁸³⁶ and he had the Ta bzān escorted from Tson adus. On the fifteenth day the diploma was notified to him and he assumed the name of gYun lo ho tu bsu'i tu ⁸³⁶ Rab brtan kun bzān aP'ags pa. They gave him many gifts, beginning from the seal, made of a great silver bres,⁸³⁶ the use of red stamps ⁸³⁶ began in this year.

The younger brother Rab abyor bzān po had the seal investing him with the office of niścāten. After having distributed other gifts also, the Ta bzān went to invite the lord of the Law, the pandita residing in Byan.⁸³¹ Although in some documents it is said that the edict quoted above was proclaimed in the year of the horse (1414), in the second month, these (data) of ours seem exact.

At the age of twenty-six, in the year wood-horse (1414) the saintly king built on the great river Nān c'u an extraordinary bridge, having in the centre six arcades ⁸³¹ and mc'od rten of the type called of the Bodhisattva, through whose middle the road passed. 

To meet the pandita famous under the name of Sākyaśrī Sāriputra mahāsvāmin,⁸³³ who was coming, invited by the Ta bzān, the saintly king
Went to 3Dol c'ün; the monks residing in the various monasteries of lower Naṣ went to meet and honour that master with great ceremonies and processions. He then invited him into the temple of Can ra where, as above, he was greatly honoured by the monks of upper (Naṣ) beginning with those of gNas rIn.

(20 a) In that year the saintly king of the Great Vehicle came from China and the notable uncle and nephew from the upper and lower palace, came to the palace (of Gyantse). He invited the C'os rje to rGyans gon and honoured him with the greatest homage and veneration, and the latter, extremely satisfied, returned to the great see (of Sa skya).

(24 a) In the year earth-boat (1419) when the saintly king was thirty-one, in the month C'aTRA, on the day of the great feast established by the fundamental tantra of the Kalacakra, he consecrated a tanka on woven stuff, made of twenty-three bolts of light golden silk material.

Having been begged by the notable Naṣ c'en Rab 'byor bzan po to consecrate the most important objects of cult, the bDag po dBan Nam mk'a' legs came to sTag rtse and on that occasion spoke thus to the saintly king: "I want you to become the chief of my second see Lha rtse rdzon. Therefore in the third month of the year wood-dragon (1424) he departed and in the great see (of Sa skya) having informed the Lord of the Law of the Great Vehicle of the matter, he took possession of Lha rtse; the great temple (Lha k'an c'en po) was also entrusted to him.

(26 a) In the year wood-snake (1425) when the saintly king was thirty-seven years old, he consecrated in the centre of this great monastery the Lama's vast palace, filled with sacred emblems of the verbal spiritual and physical plane; on the upper floor of the convent he built his private cell, called gSer po mk'a' spyod; outside the temple a wall encircling it, which measured two hundred gShu on each side, ornamented with sixteen turrets, round which ran the circumambulation with great gates on the North and South, and a couple of gates both on the East and West, namely six gates in all.

(27 a) At the age of thirty-nine, in the year fire-sheep (1427) on the tenth day of the purUaśaḍa (July), the constellation ṣhayal and the planet pur bu being in a perfect and extraordinary conjunction, in a well-omened day he consecrated the bKra šis sgo ma.

(28 a) When the saintly king was forty-two, in the year sheep-dog (1430) in the eleventh month, the honourable slob dpon Kun dga' ṣhayal mts'an pa having abandoned the heap of his particular desires, died.

(30 a) In the year of the mouse (1432) in the summer the saintly king consecrated an image of this protecting deity, made of woven material, representing a great figure of the Buddha, which as soon as created beings see it, frees them from the pain of evil destinies. Its back was also made of woven material.

(30 b) In the year earth-horse (1438) in the fourth month, on the day of the full moon (in conjunction with the constellation sa ga) being the thirteenth day of the month, as the great feast came round which commemorates Śākyamuni's attainment of supreme enlightenment, the ceremony of consecration, in its three moments: preparation, essential liturgy and conclusive liturgy, was performed by the sku žan, the c'os rje Nam mk'a' me'og grub dpal bzan po's chief disciple that by the C'os rje P'yogs las rnam ṣgyal and by the great lama Tsan ta pa etc.

In Rin c'en rtse she who was known by the name of Byan sems bzan na pa, in the year wood-hare (1435), in the eleventh month passed from life.

(33 a) The Great Lord of the earth, the saintly king Rab brtan kun bzan ap'ags pa at the age of fifty-one, in the year earth-sheep (1439), i.e. according to the Indian calendar, in the year called Don grub, as the crops had been damaged by the weather, renewed the blocks of the dbharani included in the four great Tantras, which had been collected by that second omniscient, Bu ston, in whose essential nature all virtues are united, the greatest among all scholars, corrected them and put them together in the form of books; then of the dbharanis, which were not included therein, but were to be found in the original Tantras, he made a new collection, called of the hundred-thousand dbharani, and that the gem of the teaching might endure and prosper for a long time, he had them cut in kalpadruma wood.

(34 a) This king, extremely generous towards the sacred teaching, at the age of fifty-two, in the year iron-ape (1440) built chapels in the centre of the great monastery of dPal sk'or sde; he built the mc'od rtse, he erected turrets and encircling walls, he consecrated religious objects, dedicated to the three planes: physical, verbal and spiritual; he further built dwellings for the monks who explain the Law and who give themselves to ascetic practices, nevertheless he did not oppress his subjects. To let them breathe or to comfort them, he published an exemption from any new tax for three years, as follows: "Be it well. By the king's order (this) is the word of the toi svi tu Rab brtan kun bzan ap'ags pa to lay officers, to administrators of the interior, to married people, to young and old, to officials, to ecclesiastical communities, to nobles to the lay community, to the lower classes it is proclaimed. Since last year the supply of labour for the construction of the monastery has continued without interruption. Those who have worked on it, as regards good deeds, have obtained an exceedingly great merit. (35 a) Although the compulsory supply of work (as a service) to the State, the requirements of the Government and its defence are very important, nevertheless it is also true that you have been afflicted for a long time with various sorts of work, and I am grateful to you for it. Then you have suffered greatly from the tax-collectors. Therefore, beginning from New Year's day, there will be a three years' exemption. As the happiness derived from the propagation of the Buddha's teaching depends upon those who have it in their keeping, the works of spiritual preceptors (kalyāṇamitr), the energy displayed in hearing, reflecting, explaining, realizing the doctrine, the fact that zeal
for the study (of that same doctrine) is considered fundamental, all these have a great value.

"This is so by virtue of the safe rules which define the acts that must be performed and those that must be shunned by a person consecrated into the order; such a person must not follow a way of life like that of common people, who only think about eating and drinking. Those who honour the various convents and the holy hermitages, both the summer and the winter ones, and the three Gems in general and those who respect the ten rules or do homage to the monks and those who to temples of their own land, (35 b) to the me'od men and to the walls on which the prayer, "oii mani padme hum," is written etc., make presents of clothes, give offerings to whitewash them, lamps and little flags and perform the religious services prescribed by the calendar, let them be diligent. Let hunting be always forbidden in the mountains and valleys; on the three feasts of the first and second fortnight of each month and in the first, third, fourth and eighth month according to the Mongol calendar, from the first to the fifteenth day, as the great festivals of the Buddha then take place, be it forbidden to kill animals. Let no fresh meat be introduced into the kitchen, nor shall the aBrog pa, on those dates, come to do business in meat. Let poachers catch no antelopes in mountains and valleys and let hunters not kill any living creature; let no one fish.

"To families, lay and religious communities, taxpayers, foreigners, tribes, excepting these new taxes for war and defence, to be paid in the autumn, called "the flesh tax," and those recorded in the book of government taxes, and the minor tithe fixed according to the calendar, all other sorts of taxes are condensed. (16 d) "The yearly contribution called "contribution on tea and condiments" which is a new imposition of my (reign), this year let it be reduced by one third, next year by one half and from the year of the dog (1442) let it be completely abolished and let it not be exacted by the chief treasurer. Not more than a small bag of butter of the first quality, due to the palace, or more than a measure of one bag of butter for each train of wool shall be exacted. Let there no longer be anyone who takes wool after having taken butter; the books of the government taxes and also the lists of the escorts to be supplied from time to time by laymen, let them be passed on to the administrator (gier pa). As there were some who arbitrarily seized the village people and the servants attached to the horses of the great stables, let the gier pa now set aside two men. They should not be taken at random; exactions of oil for the night, bridles, halters, leather saddles should be ordered by the first or second gier pa, but cannot be exacted directly from private people.

"Officials who travel on their own account let them not force people (to serve them) on a long journey; let not victuals, supplies of meat, enforced labour on stages or stages over (what is necessary) be taken.

"Let the collection of taxes not be delegated to (one's own) gier pa. Let herds of yak belonging to private persons, either Tibetans or aBrog pa, which have already been subjected to enforced labour, not be employed; if anyone does so, denounce him and lead him to the palace.

"Let the various officials and mi don and centurions control what has been given by the lay community to the two gier pa, one of the first and one of the second rank.

"Let officials not accept bribes; when collecting taxes let them not collect new taxes at their own pleasure, nor let collectors be delegated different (from those officially charged with the collection of taxes).

"Among all the gier pa, those of the first and second rank (excepted those appointed to look after government taxes, and taxes on meat), the various gier pa of the idou and the feudals, the gier pa of remote countries and all the nobles, are not authorized to make use of the (government) seal. If they do so, let officials and lay communities pay no attention (to their orders).

"All the loads coming from P'ag ri, Gam pa, Lha rtses, Rin c'en rtses etc., let them be distributed on the various stages, as it is written on the letters accompanying them, stamped by the gier pa. All these loads (37) must not be deposited untidily to the right and left of the open space near the royal palace. Let the man who walks behind the loads see that nothing is wrong. Let the gier pa not send loads at their own pleasure, or to do favours. Those who have (on their land) sources of warm water, let them not plant (hedges of) thorny bushes, let them not take tips.

"Those who go to (gather) green forage and wheat, and all the horsemen who come and go, according to the number of horses stated in the letter issued from this (palace), let them not exact more esquires than those thus prescribed, as more than one esquire every two horses is not allowed. Do not let them take corn and flour, let them lead the horses on the highroad and not through pathways. Let those who accompany the horses not take (pay over what is owed to them) for the (established) stages according to what has been written on the letter. Let them not take either supplies in kind or the pay of those who go on foot. All the horses on the up-hill road, going upwards, let them stop for one day in Son na and on the way back, under Glan jun; let them not stop in other places at their pleasure. In K'yal k'yl mo do not send for people to look after horses or to attend to sheep. Beyond that place, let no more than three servants for horses and one for mules be obliged to serve; let nobles and helots not become collectors of taxes one for the other; let the government tax not be exacted from the houses and fields to which there is an heir, when the master is dead.

"Roving dogs, highwaymen, armed quartels, be not a motive for offence. If there be a man who seriously breaks the rules of good conduct, let him be taken and led to the Na'sh so, and let him be punished according to the Mongol law.
laymen and monks, up to this year, not take more than four or five measures. Know how to ask for loans of more than three years’ standing and how to take them. Do not be envious of those who are above you. Those who have been invested with government offices and have been entrusted with golden letters, let them not be bribed with money; let the \textit{mi dpon} not exact from lay communities yaks and asses for transport. Let the offerings of tea for governors, on their arrival and departure, and the use of free compliments requested by the various officials, like stuff and condiments, be reduced.

(18 a) “On the death of an official, let his heirs not succeed to the post he occupied; let tolls not be paid to anyone according to old custom, under the pretext that they were formerly paid, and let no contributions of foodstuffs be paid which are not prescribed by the law (litt.: arbitrary).

Those who have gone elsewhere in order not to pay tribute, let them be called back, and let their houses and fields be given back to them; if the house is ruined, he who remains to live in it must repair it. The fields and fields be given back to him. The fields are protected; it is forbidden to make them in the pastures of upper and lower Nanh, the territories belonging to the religious community of ‘U brag and the abrchos pa of Ge gser; he made the census of the crops of the feud of Ge dmar; furthermore he assigned from Go gsum in P’ag ri a hundred and fifty small bags of molasses, and from Rin c’en rtsi and from K’a spe all that was needed for three days; all this was recorded in his registers.

(43 a) To cleanse the stains that might have remained on the spirit of his father the Nan c’en Kun dga’ ap’ags pa and of his mother, and in brief with the object that all created beings might complete the double accumulation of merit, he vowed safety protection and safety (to all) for the time (of his life) and forever in the future (taking the following measures).

For subjects, it is generally and severely forbidden to hunt in mountains and valleys; it is particularly forbidden to fish in any manner; the fishes of the Sel mgo source are protected; it is forbidden to build dykes on lake dKar la.

Particularly let the prohibitions existing for K’a stod in atri mts’ams and the prohibition to hunt in the valleys (of the same place) (be restored), let the dykes of mTs’o mo dri mts’un be repaired. Furthermore, let all monks be held in veneration; let fishes be ransomed from fishers. The single ordinances hereby issued to forbid hunting on the mountains are particularly valid for the present and must be considered valid forever in the future. Let the spiritual advisers, the lamas of the different monasteries, the various responsible d’Pon, married people, the old and the young, merchants, centurions etc. have faith and be zealous to observe these orders.

(45 a) This king, as famous as the sun and the moon, both in China and in Tibet, Ts’si bsvi tu Rab brtan kun bzan ap’ags pa, in the year water-dog, 1442, beginning from the first day of the second month according to the Mongol calendar, showed in what manner one falls ill.

(45 b) On the twelfth day of the fourth month, at noon, when there was a conjunction with me bzi (46) he showed in what manner perfect nirvāna is entered.

(47 a) The great lord of men, the celebrated Nan c’en Kun dga’ ap’ags pa, at the age of thirty-three, in the year of the water and the ape (1392) married from K’a ngsar’s family in Za lu the venerable G’Yal mts’an rdor ba, and in the year wood-boar (1395) on the first day of the first month, was born the great protector of the earth, who grew by virtue of infinite well-oomened auspices, and was the lord of marvellous and noble riches; being
possessed of the virtues of heroism, skill and wisdom, he freed his regency from the fear of enemies.

Without transgressing, even for a moment, the orders of his saintly father, who with his elder brother, protected the earth according to the law, at the age of twenty-four, in the year earth-dog (1418) he married Byan sems c'en mo Nı ma k'ye dren, who possessed all the prefections proper to one born into a noble family. In the first part of the year fire-sheep (1427) in a perfect conjunction represented by the well-omened meeting of planets and stars, in Nor bu k'yun rts, which was like a second royal palace, the great lord of men possessing lastingly glory (Rab tu brtan pa dpal idan) was born. 410 (48) His father (Bkra sisi dpags pa), at the age of forty, in the year wood-tiger (1434) in the third month, with a great army, went North of gTsan po and passed into the gorge of Bya bzang, guided by gBrug dbus. In the fourth month he took the rdzog of Gno bsdud la, then having crossed the river he arrived in sNa dkar. Then through gNam, Ka pa, bTa'igas pa etc. he returned. In the seventh month he led the army in dBus, to help the lord of Gon mk'ar, and defeated the lord of cTse ca'n. The army of the myriarch of the prince of sNe gdon arrived close to Lhun grub rts, in the environs of Dol, and placed two large cannons in sPe dkar. At the moment when that place was to be conquered he, possessing the virtues of heroism and firmness, attacked the camp and set fire to the myriarch's cannons. The camp, since morning, was about to flee; 411 beaten on every side, the men were completely destroyed. After this most of the sNiel officers 412 were sent back. He with his followers went back through Gon mk'ar and on the 25th of the eleventh month he returned to cGyal mk'ar rts. Those who resided in his feud, from sPa'tan rin to the palace, went to meet him with many processions, and blessed him, carrying (outside the temple) the great image worked on woven material. Briefly, the great army of him of dBus had formerly come to gTsan to meet him, then it went back, so that if there was anyone who obscured the P'ag gru armies with the majesty of his fourfold army, it was precisely this prince.

(49 a) Also when he was forty-two, in the year fire-dragon (1436) in the second month he founded the temple of K'an gtar in sPye 413 and in the year earth-horse (1438) when he was forty-two, in the autumn, he took gGun mk'ar.

(50) At the age of fifty, in the year wood-mouse (1444) and at fifty-one, in the year wood-ox (1445), he again made a survey 414 of the lands belonging to the officers, the families, the nobles, the monasteries, of the territory under his sway, the upper and lower part (of Nan). To the feud lands belonging to convents he added other lands, to complete those already assigned by the saintly king. Furthermore he separately laid down the partition of those feud lands from which requisitions for the war 415 should be drawn. At the age of fifty-three, in the year fire-hare (1447) he placed his son, who was twenty-one, on the throne and invested him with power.

(51 a) The son of this great lord of men was celebrated all over the earth under the name of Bkra sisi rab brtan bzang po and was like another saintly king (i.e. like Kun bzang ap'ags pa).

(52) When this great protector of the earth was twenty-six, in the year water-ape (1452) in the eleventh month according to the Mongol calendar, on the top of the chapel where the great bodhisattva is, he consecrated a large flag called bkra sisi dpal abar.

(53 a) When this representative of the saintly king was forty-four, in the year water-dragon (1457), the wife of this protector of the world 416 touched the immaculate fruit (of the feet) of many supreme blamas, learned, venerable and able, headed by the great ascetic Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzang po 417. On the top of the chapel of the saintly king, the Eastern chapel, in this great monastery (of Gyantse), he offered a gajitra made of precious substances, in the Indian style, ornamented with three iron chains; according to the saintly king's wish he had painted, with delicate colours, the heavens 418 adorning this chapel.

(62 a) ... He who, uniting in his person every sort of well-omened quality (bka' btsi), and persevering in them (rab brtan), had the name of dPal gbyor bzang po 419 like the miraculous gem which realizes every desire, possesses the capacity of granting the wishes of the beings subject to him. He is the one who firmly plants his feet on the glory of my merits and the merits of all his subjects.

(64) So I have collected together all that could be gathered concerning the narrative of the deeds of the saintly king: incalculable deeds, accomplished (for the glory) of the Victorious teaching and brought to an end according to his precepts. Although it is not easy to relate them, nevertheless, to tell at least a part of them a distinction must be made between (a) the introduction on his manner of practising the precepts of the Law, and (b) the subject proper, i.e. his biography (so that) the mind may understand it. The latter consists in setting down a summary, after having gathered in their appropriate place the subjects to be treated. Lastly (c) the conclusion, consisting in that final ornament of the vow, that the merit thus acquired may benefit other created beings. Having obtained reflections, so wonderful that they go beyond the thought, of some waves of the saintly king's deeds, like the biography entitled "rNam par 't ar pa rin po c'e' r'iten ba shes gnyu 'dus par byed pa'i myul rgyan", setting out the eighteen perfect main narratives, the eighteen secondary perfect narratives of the enterprises of the prince who governed by force, the great Tai bsvi tu Rab brtan kun bzang ap'ags pa, now the Sa kya monk, a'jigs mdz legs pa, he of great doctrine, known by the title of 'Yogs tams cad dam par rgyal ba, has set forth in a new form his deeds and words.

Furthermore, he took as his foundation authoritative documents 420 of all times, relating the king's great virtues, and also the works of the reverend, right honourable Nam mk'a'mgon and of others who obtained reflections of intelligence and in the second place (the memory) of various aspects of perfect works,
as his were, aiming at a double purpose, religious and moral, particularly the guide of the great temple and the guide of the mC'od rten dedicated to his protecting deities, the sKu album which liberates those who simply see it.

As to the things which might not be contained in those sources, or might be there with an admixture of error, after having well considered and examined documents deserving of belief, he arranged them in such a manner that they might be accepted.

As to the way of relating the series of deeds, everything that has appeared to his mind or that he has reflected upon, is free from exaggeration or disparagement, and has been put into a proper order with the purpose of serving, some day, to obtain supreme enlightenment. This book Dad p'ai lo t'og rgyar byed dnos grub kyi 'car a'hes, was begun in the year earth-boar (1479) in Nor bu k'yun rts'e, which is a second royal palace, and its composition was ended in the year iron-ox (1481) in which no calamities of any kind, like maladies or conflicts, took place; in the eighth month according to the Mongol calendar, when fruit trees ripen and prosper, on the fifteenth day of the full moon, in the month of bhadra. The copyists were sDo rje ts'e brtan and dBod nams bkra 'si. May it be well.

ZA LU DOCUMENTS

I

By the King's order,
the words of Ye sles rin c'en Ti shri, to the officers and elders of village communities formerly subject to mGon po dpal, a command:
As mGon po dpal has been appointed over you, the Emperor having conferred upon him the golden letter and the diploma, you all must obey mGon po dpal.
Without fleeing elsewhere and without subjecting yourselves to others, but remaining in your countries, you must execute at the fitting time the various injunctions prescribed by the law.
As mGon po dpal too, due to the fact that he has been invested by me not do anything against custom and, without thinking whether they be far or near, he must protect the people. Thus having commanded, this official document has been issued.
The letter has been written in the palace of Shan to in the year of the sheep, on the eighteenth day, in the second part of the fourth month.

II

By the King's order,
the words of Grags pa 'od zer Ti shri, to the chilarchy centuries and decurionates of the lay communities subject to Western Za lu, namely to the lay communities included in the territories of Ra sa, Ma nag, lCegs lJun pa, sMon agro gGre ts'al, Ra sog, Bye lin, lCan ra, Yan, sGrol, a command:
The Emperor of China has given to mGon po dpal both the golden letter and the diploma (a'ji slo) so that he was invested with power over you. He has also been invested by me with the same office; hence you must execute, at the fitting time, the various injunctions of the royal law, according to mGon po dpal's words.
As mGon po dpal too, due to the fact that he has been invested by me, must protect the lay communities, without thinking whether they be far or near, without asking the advice of svon bu st officials, beginning with Ag len and Ya vas o k'oI and without doing anything contrary to custom.
Written in the royal palace of Shan to, in the year of the sheet, on the eighteenth day, in the second part of the fourth month.

III

By the King's order,
the words of Rin c'en rgyal mts'an Ti shri, to the officials of the son bu st class of gTsan and dBus, to the generals, soldiers, to district guards, to judges, to tax-collectors, to those who go and come, to the myriarchs, to dignitaries, to those who fatten zoos and horses, to the gho lun pa, to the religious and to the lay communities a command:
According to the previous diplomas do not abuse your authority nor cheat the religious and lay communities included in the territory of rGya mts'o ghIs subject to rDor rje dba'n p'yug, the families, chiefs (sde pa), wings officials (rDp on), wing men, let no taxes be collected nor any foodstuffs and forced labour be exacted which did not formerly exist; let no zoos and horses be fattened at anyone's will. Exercising violence against religious and lay communities, do not seize what you want. All that has been taken before, let it be restored. Let not false charges be brought by force. According to the Emperor's command let there be no quarrels concerning old taxes, old affairs and old cases. Thus having been commanded this official document was issued.
If any one will act otherwise than it is written in this letter, he will be led to justice; and he (rDo rje dba'n p'yug) also, because he has the letter, let him not act against the law. In the year of the dragon on the twenty-third day of the fifth month, in Shan to this letter has been written.
By the King's order,
the words of Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po Ti šri:

- to generals, soldiers, judges, to those having golden letters, to district officers, to district guards, to dignitaries, interpreters, tax collectors and those who go on horseback, to all the lay communities, a command:
- From the religious communities subject (to the territory) of Western Ža lu, who officiate to heaven and persist in (practices) according to custom, by the Emperor's order, let no taxes for military purposes, foodstuffs, compulsory labour be levied, and let the taxes (paid by) other religious communities not be collected.
- Let no contributions in nature or commercial taxes be collected. Let temples and houses not be requisitioned as hostels. Let zoos and horses not be fattened.
- Let pack-horses not be taken for compulsory service. Let there be no mass requisition (by exaction of sheep and flocks) of cattle, and let no loans be exacted violently. Let no agricultural implements and asses be carried off.
- From the feuds, which were under its authority before, let nothing whatever be carried off, neither water, nor earth, nor grass, etc. Let not duties be exacted, let false charges not be brought and let power not be used to excess; let them be at peace.
- Thus having commanded, this official document was issued. If, having seen the letters, anyone should act otherwise, I will tell the Emperor and he will be led to justice. He also, let him not act against the law because he has the letters. This letter was written in the great monastery of the Tai tu royal palace, in the year of the sheep, on the nineteenth day of the seventh month.

By the King's order,
the words of Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po Ti šri:

- to the officials of svon vi svi rank, to generals, soldiers, administrators of the n'i ra, to judges, holders of golden letters, chiefs of districts, laymen and monks who collect taxes and go and come, to myriarchs, to dignitaries, a command:
- From the religious communities dwelling on this land and from the lay communities, the wing officials and the wing men, existing in the territory formerly subject to Ža lu, namely Mon gro rje mc'od, Gya pa, Ru mts'am, rGya t'i'o gnis, sGrol, Yan, Mon K'an Ti'i sde, sNo seri, Kun dga' ra ba, Tse'sa btsad po, S'e mts'ur, gTsa'i, mTs'ur p'u, sDo' dgon pa, according to the order (contained) in the imperial diplomas, let no taxes be collected, nor any foodstuff and forced labour, which did not formerly exist. Let nothing be stolen by force, let no duties be exacted, let anger not (be given way to) to the point of bringing false charges, let no violence be done, let herds of cattle not be requisitioned, let zoos and horses not be fattened. Let mills (where roasted barley is ground) not be compelled to work by force.
- According to the Emperor's command, let there be no quarrels concerning old taxes, old affairs and old cases. Let religious and lay communities belonging to this (territory of Ža lu) not be carried off by force, into subjection and slavery. Do not take possession (by force) of what you need. All that has been taken before, let it be restored so that the territorial division in centuries and chilarchies may not be infringed; do not misabuse your authority or cause grievances, let (all) be in peace. Thus having been commanded, this official document was issued. After having seen this letter, will you not fear to do anything against it? Let him also not do anything against the law.
- This letter has been written in the great monastery Me t'og ra ba, in the Tai tu royal palace, in the year of the bird, on the twelfth day of the fourth month.

By the King's order,
the words of Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po Ti šri:

- to officials of svon vi svi rank, to generals, soldiers, to those having golden letters, to district officials, to district guards, to dignitaries, interpreters, tax collectors and those who go on horseback, to all the lay communities, a command:
- From the religious communities subject (to the territory) of Western Ža lu, who officiate to heaven and persist in (practices) according to custom, by the Emperor's order, let no taxes for military purposes, foodstuffs, compulsory labour be levied, and let the taxes (paid by) other religious communities not be collected.
- Let no contributions in nature or commercial taxes be collected. Let temples and houses not be requisitioned as hostels. Let zoos and horses not be fattened.
- Let pack-horses not be taken for compulsory service. Let there be no mass requisition (by exaction of sheep and flocks) of cattle, and let no loans be exacted violently. Let no agricultural implements and asses be carried off.
- From the feuds, which were under its authority before, let nothing whatever be carried off, neither water, nor earth, nor grass, etc. Let not duties be exacted, let false charges not be brought and let power not be used to excess; let them be at peace.
- Thus having commanded, this official document was issued. If, having seen the letters, anyone should act otherwise, I will tell the Emperor and he will be led to justice. He also, let him not act against the law because he has the letters. This letter was written in the great monastery of the Tai tu royal palace, in the year of the sheep, on the nineteenth day of the seventh month.
he has been invested with power over you; accordingly he has also been invested with the same office by me too, hence you must execute, at the fitting time, the various injunctions of the law, according to dDo rje dban p'yug words.

Furthermore let rDo rje dban p'yug, due to the fact that he has (thus) been appointed by me not act against the law, but let him well and justly protect the religious and lay communities.

Thus having commanded, this official document was issued.

Shall you not fear, if you act in an opposite manner?

In the year of the ox, on the 10th day of the 30th month. In the royal palace of Tai tu this letter was written.\footnote{99}

VIII

By the King's order, the words of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an dpal bza'n po Ti sri\footnote{97} to the officials of Swo n vi si of gTsān and dBus to the administrators of the nan so, to the assistants of the various palaces,\footnote{98} to the Ca' tao so officials,\footnote{99} to the Da ra k'a c'e,\footnote{100} to the judges,\footnote{101} holders of golden letters, monks and laymen who go and come, myriarchs, to the abbots of Tar pa gli'in and to his disciples,\footnote{102} to the chiltarchs, to all those in office, a command:

The religious communities included in the rGya ts'o gnis territory, formerly, according to an edict (a ga sun) and a written order (received) in Za lu, performed ceremonies in the Emperor's honour and services in favour of monasteries and temples. This turned to their benefit. Now too, according to the past manner, it is established that none of you shall steal (what belongs to monasteries), nor exact duties nor bring false charges, nor quarrel, but all shall pray to a good purpose. Will you not fear to act against the present command?

This letter was written in the great Me t'o gs'i monastery, in the Tai tu royal palace, in the year of the mouse, on the sixteenth day of the fourth month.\footnote{103}

IX

To the power [of long-lived] Heaven.

To the merits (of the King)... by order of...\footnote{104}

To the good preceptor Bu ston Rin c'en grub.

I (being) here, have gradually heard that for a long time, with great energy, you have applied yourself to the study (dgyan) of the three baskets of books containing the Buddha's revelation, to revealed knowledge, to the instructions concerning the science of the four kinds of Tantras;\footnote{105} hence great benefit has accrued to religious teaching in those parts (where you are, i.e. Tibet); hence, although I sent for you, (that you should come) to this country, you were not pleased (to accept my invitation). Now things being thus, having settled there, do as you like,\footnote{106} explain (the Law), debate, write books, meditate and in the same manner as before be zealous as regards teaching. And I too, what else do I think of, except the Buddha's teachings?

To the Sa skya counsellors who are there, to the officials charged with different offices, give instructions (inspired) by good thoughts; I from here will help you.

In the year of the sheep, on the eleventh day of the first month, when he resided in Tai tu, it was written.\footnote{107}

X

To the power of Heaven; to the merit of the king; the words of C'os dpal cin svi'u tsi'n dban;\footnote{108} to the officials of the Swo n vi si class residing in dBus, gTsān and mNa' ris skor gsum, to the generals, soldiers, officials of the Ca' o tao si class, the Da ra k'a c'e, to tax collectors, to monks and laymen who go and come, the assistants of the various palaces, myriarchs, religious communities, to the officials of the class... of the great dignitaries, to the lay communities, to the wing officers, to the wing men, a command:

The Emperor has given to the sku ēn Kun dga' don grub\footnote{109} the order and the diploma investing him with the power of Swo n vi si. Accordingly he has also been invested by me with the same power. Therefore you must execute at the fitting time the various injunctions of the law, great, intermediate or small, beginning with those regarding the military stages and the duty to furnish contributions in nature (to patrinated officials)... None of you should interfere with feuds, religious and lay communities, men of the wings and temples possessed from previous times by the Za lu pa, thus having commanded, this official document has been issued. The sku ēn du dben sā to must be zealous in protecting the religious and lay communities, without thinking whether they are near or far. This letter is written by me in the year of the bird, on the eleventh day of the seventh month while residing in [Nan] ro.\footnote{10}10

XI (Tibetan text)

Order of him who is King through the power of his veneration for Heaven: I believe that the Buddha's road, accomplishing the good of others with charity and compassion and setting in the first place spiritual purity and serenity, helps the government above and converts beings benighted by ignorance below; (hence) he who is capable of spreading this teaching (of the Buddha's), is certainly praised by the Emperor. You, rDo rje rin c'en\footnote{112} have been faithful (lett.: have remained in) heretofore to the Buddha's teaching, and you have firmly respected, according to fitness, disciplinary precepts, inserting into the way of good the living beings having converted them by appropriate means; you therefore deserve praise.

I now invest you with the office of P'yun gra yi kyu go tsi; in the future also do you practise the instructions of the holy Law and spread its teaching; be always zealous in virtuous works, perform such deeds and make manifest this favour (of mine), which is a proof of my affection for you. Be respectful.
XI (Chinese text)

Having received from Heaven the mission of continuing the imperial destiny, the Emperor says: I believe that the Buddha's road makes charity and compassion its instruments, and peace and nirvana its main doctrine; above it secretly helps the Imperial law, and below it eradicates the error of the masses. Hence the Imperial court has always praised and honoured him who follows that religion. You, Tse-chi-chilling-chan, have always been obedient to the Buddhist teaching, you have scrupulously followed its disciplines and you have directed people towards what is good; hence you truly have sufficient merit to receive praise. Now I appoint you "Fuxian-chiao-kuo-shih", and you must spread abroad the marvellous doctrine and greatly uplift the wind of the Buddhist religion; you must also always devotedly observe the pure principles, and shed lustre on this appointment (conferred upon you) which is (a proof of) my favour towards you. Be welcome!

On the fourth day of the twelfth moon of the fourth year T'ien-shun. 

BUSTON'S REQUEST TO THE MASTER BYAN C'UB RGYAL MTS'AN

Your letter with presents was delivered to me by (your) official gZon nu bzañ po. And I have its meaning well in mind. From a general point of view it must be (said first of all) that this sku žan comes of a good lineage. In the times of the king of bSam yar K'ri ston Ile btsan, when wicked Ministers opposed the practice of religion, Jñānasiddhi of IC'e, who had entered into the King's favour, was sent to invite the master Bodhisattva and the master Pad ma abyun gnas, and he (Jñānasiddhi) belonged to this family. As he was the king of Tibet's chief collaborator, he was invested with lordship over the territory of Nañ ro. In the intermediate period (between the old and new diffusion of the faith) although there were various ups and downs of fortune and decline, (this clan) did nothing wrong. Then, at the time of the second diffusion of faith, this district was founded and the temple was built; it was the womb of the bla ma's favour. Great sees like those of sNar t'ân were branches which spread only out of the teaching of this clan which ruled over this monastery with the succession of its bla mas. In a second period, when the Mongols became patrons of the Sa skya pa doctrines, (its members) collaborated as dpon pos of Sa skya pa and as dpon pos of king Se c'en. Thus the precious family had an abundant series of sku žans. Now you, o peerless c'os ge, you who have no rivals on the face of the earth, you well know that this is the sku žan's (progeny). Now you also know that he is a prince possessing, by imperial command, the second-class gem with a tiger's head; he is of good lineage and has an office. If we commit errors, it is no use glorying that we come of a good family. Nevertheless he of such a family, in the past, committed no acts (against) good behaviour. Lately, when the Sa skya pa and the aBri gun pa vied for supremacy, although the Za lu pa of the Sar pa branch had sided with the aBri gun pa, this (sku žan) followed the Sa skya pa's fortunes and although, through various events, difficulties ensued, he kept faith with the Sa skya pa; then, when the (Sa skya pa) bla ma and the dpon c'en disagreed, although the C'u mig myraid-chy, the Byan myraid-chy and the Za lu pa of the Sar pa branch sided with the dpon c'en Kun bzañ, he (the sku žan), with all his influence, used his triple energy in the bla ma's favour. At that time the Mogol king and the chief were in (good) harmony, and as a recognition of his deeds (the King) gave (the prince) sMon agto; later the hostile excitement of the Eastern and Western regions grew greatly, but he (the sku žan) was partial towards none. Last year, great excitement having arisen due to the wars waged by the dpon 'Od zer sen ge against the bZi t'og, the sku žan Grags rgyal fled to aDam and was not mixed up in any bad enterprise. Then, when the Tai situ D'ar ma rgyal mts'an arrived, in his letter he said that all the members of the families should be sent into exile, except those addicted to religious life (mk'as btsun). And even when the chiefs were deprived of power, the sku žan Kun dga' don grub was not mixed up with any bad counsel. Since last year, times have not been quiet; there has been no possibility of access to justice. As his dependants were not straight, there was no one who had less authority than he, (hence) he became the lowliest of the low. Being so unassuming, even if they insulted him, meditating on the virtue of patience he adapted himself to his humble condition. For this reason the religious and lay communities (under him) were taken from him by those whose hands were longest, and he was left with scanty influence. Nevertheless it is clear from official documents that he had no part at all in the plots of K'an gsar and the others, and even those who sided with him of K'an gsar did not intend to commit any special iniquity towards him. Sometimes back Ma geig pa etc. fled, but before this, motives for adverse anticipations having arisen, the officers (though in secret, quite willingly) rendered him services; they knew. In brief, as regards this sku žan, not the least trace of guilt can be found; nevertheless, although he was guiltless, persons actuated by a revengeful spirit caught him, and it was impossible to set him free without his suffering reprisals.
But even if he had been flayed, the sku žan would in no wise have moved even the tip of a hair. Whether he of Rin c'en sgan kept his promise or not, you know. Last year, when bTson of K'ams came to loot, [you] said "collect your servants, when he had gathered a group of ragged peasants, after the Bla ma was caught, and it was said that it was necessary to go for troops to mK'ar rin, then there was no shepherd who did not say that the servants ought to be gathered, to meet there bTson. The sku žan said he would go to speak, and he went; after this, being driven out of control by the nan pa Rin rgyal and by the dpon po Ne' tso, he came to (your) door. Besides the damage resulting to himself, no one else was harmed. This (fact) and the necessity of the troops going to Yar kluins were both provoked by a man out of his power. But when a powerful person enjoins something, those less powerful cannot but go. An aide de camp appointed by the Tai Situ came to meet him in Ts'o' chos; he did not refuse to come into his presence and offered him explanations. It was as when there is no choice between drinking poison or swallowing dust. But in all those works of theirs the sku žan did not interfere. I beg you, o peerless, precious lord of the Law, to carefully see that a thorough absolution be met from the officers of the palace; the sku žan is like a son of yours, o precious lord of the Law; I ask you, o lord, that, thus considering the state of affairs, you reflect on the circumstances; you heard from me the facts as they are, but you, incomparable lord of the Law, will decide. As the things of the Law are now declining, according to the saying "where I go, it is not fit for you to go", I beg you to consider whether it is not therefore a case for stopping. (I offer) a white kerchief, as a gift accompanying the letter; presented on the eleventh day of the year of the horse. May it be well-omened.

INScriptions

SNAR T'AN

1

On the wall paintings

This poem of 108 half-verses (pâda), a good hymn in honour of the master of the world, treasure of every sort of jewels, together with a poem of 75 half-verses, hymn in honour of perfect law of the king of medicine and of all the gods, with the Victorious at their head, who are in the chapels placed on every side of the upper and lower stories of this (mc'od rten); they constitute the guide of the great and wonderful mc'od rten; it was composed by the supreme translator 4Jam dbyâns who carries the burden represented by intelligence. There was the all-knowing of the mC'ims Blo gros bzan po, the scholar with whom none can vie in the three spheres of existence. He, gathering into himself the three planes, physical, verbal and spiritual, of the Buddhas of the three times, accomplished the good of all beings, the gods included, and became most excellent for his meritorious deeds. The essence of his corporal relics was completed by the imposition of miraculous formulas. His younger brother mC'ims sNar grags bzan po dpal, blessed by his indestructible faith towards that supreme master of the mC'ims, who had passed into the sphere of the Buddhas, out of moral energy, devotion and virtuous practice, decided to build this mc'od rten bKra šis sgo man, with the object of fulfilling his brother's wishes, so that peace and happiness might accrue to the whole universe, and this temple might reach perfect completeness, like the waxing moon. This guide, called "necklace of wonders", was written in the great temple of sNar t'ân, glorious residence of many scholars and ascetics, who have abandoned any sense of jealousy, by the translator 4Jam dbyâns, poet of the Country of Snows, in such a way as to be easily understood by everyone. The one who wrote was K'o bo zer dpon. May it be well with all beings.

II

Śā kya mu ni be honoured. Honour to the mC'ims pa, the glorious lord, precious treasure from which all draw life; his marvellous deeds are like the heavenly tree, not lacking all sorts of desirable fruits; as a large tree (attracts) wreaths of bees, so he carries upon himself the weight of numberless virtues. He is a great boat which bears men to safety from unstable existence, unscathed as it is from the violent waves of mortal infections. This mass of azure, a glorious spectacle for the eyes, is not the (Buddha's) beautiful body, it is a golden mountain on which a wreath of clouds of ascetic isolation plays. This deep (voice), pleasant to listen to, fraught with 60 sounds, is not a word, it is a lotus used as an ornament for the ears of the heavenly maidens of the four regions of space. This (spirit) impartial towards all, deep as the ocean and bright as the sky, is not a spirit, but like a cloud laden with rain gathered from that ocean of ambrosia which are perfect deeds. You are not Suddhodana's son, pervading the ten points of space with the grace of his love, but you are a garden of lotuses sucked by the bees of your deeds since immemorial time.

The glorious mC'ims, the master of the world, shaking the waves of the ocean of meritorious deeds, arose like the disk of the sun lighting up the points of space by the light of his virtue; like the heavenly tree

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dropping a rain of gems, he accomplished for a long time the good of created beings. After having satisfied on this earth the wishes of living beings in a new manner, he went to heaven. His younger brother, who possesses the virtues of devotion, having caused the ocean of ambrosia of the merits to overflow with the twofold river of the two accumulations he had well realized preceding lives, as if desiring to vie with the glories of the god protecting riches, pervading the three worlds in their innermost parts with the rays of that sun which are his pleasant words and having (thus become) the ornament of the ears of others, he increased in a new manner the desire for liberality proper to his family. As if desiring to ravish the glory of the heavenly tree, resembling a firm mountain, unshakable even by a violent wind like (the one which) at the end of ages (destroys the world and is aroused) by evil actions causing men to turn back (from the way of salvation), or like an ocean of glory, quite still due to the violent force of an unshakable faith in the three (Gems) or finally like a flash of lightning, (exploding) in the white clouds of moral energy tending to the attainment of all sorts of virtues, this is the master of the mc'od rten grasp dpal bzan po; he, blessed by the practice of marvellous virtues, in his great temple of sNar t'an resembling the city of the gods on the top of Mount Sumeru, amusing himself with the spectacle of those songs and dances which are the fair expounding of the Law, protected like Indra the crowd of persons thus gathered, for days and nights without interruption; causing the rain of the four kinds of gifts (to fall upon them according to the Law. With the object of fulfilling the wish of his elder brother, (Blo gros bzan po), he founded this mc'od rten, which is the receptacle of the Victorious's three planes; the physical, the verbal and the spiritual planes. This mc'od rten is splendid like the sacred golden tree, of a smiling effulgence, issued out of the waters of the ocean formed by the twofold plane of the accumulations of the merits attained by men of good family. The eyes, on seeing it, are as if invited to a banquet in which ambrosia is served; an emana-
tion of the power of sMan pai rgyal po and of sNgs brgyad ston gdens can bdag po, embellished through the marvellous unfolding (of the paintings contained in this monument), it causes the new ears of corn of good deed to grow, through the rain of the good words of the Law dropped out of the white cloud which is this house, possessing a threefold virtue. The precious golden book of the mother of the Buddhas ... like the sun in the cloudless ether; its marvellous splendour spreads over the ten points of space. The power of the Victorious, vouchsafed of the Law ... this cannot be realized.

Like one who has manifested himself with the purpose of accomplishing that great good which are the merits of created beings, he founded for his faith this palace of the Victorious, the (mc'od rten) bKra his sgo man. When one has seen this virtuous and blessed work, which not even a Cakravartin can rival, all other good works become indifferent and look like the stars in the sky when the sun shines. An ocean of precious umbrellas, of fluttering flags, of drums whose handle is wrought with gems, of scented incense, of flowers moved by the wind, of garlands, of lamps ravishing the sun's light, of the sound of cymbals proclaiming the perfect Law, ... of adoring clouds emanating from Kun tu bzan po, continually do it homage, together with the Buddha's sons. The consecration was performed together with the six well-omened ingredients; embellished by the glory of joyous spectacles, it reached perfection as regards the gifts and festivities aiming at delighting the crowd of artists (who had been invited to build it. As long as that garden of lotus flowers which is the earth, surrounded by the ocean, is beautified by the stalk of Mount (Sumeru), for all this time may its fame, being, as it were, the ornament of the points of space, firmly set its foot on this monastery, glory of the Buddha's teaching. This eulogy was made by the learned poet, the translator aJam dbyans, who according to his wish has milked the word: he causes the hairs of scholars to stand on end with joy, as the moon, while it rises, causes the sea to ripple. He is like an enjoyment of delight exciting men's minds in spring-time, full of desires and resounding with the pleasant voices of wine-flushed maidens in the depths of a forest of scented sandal. May this art of the venerated master bKra' sbris bzan po be seen by the eyes of all, gods and men; the copyist was Blo ldan bkar sris. The good acquired through this work, may it become a boat on which created beings may be ferried over the ocean of discord; and may it be a ladder on which they may ascend to the noble palace of liberation. May it be well with all beings.

III

May it be well with all. We bow before that ambrosia which is the shining name of mC'ims, the glorious master of the world. With the glory of his knowledge of the sphere of the knowable he scorps the deep power of the ocean. His nature, unsathed by any taint, is like a lake in autumn. His experience of the three sciences (lik'as) is incomparable in the three spheres of existence. With the rays of his compassion, aiming at no rewards, he pervades those worlds which are the minds of created beings, the gods included.

May this global glory of the prince of ascetics (the Buddha) bestow upon us his grace; his body, bright like a mass of pure gold, disports itself in a garden, as a show for the eyes of gazelles; with his pleasant voice emitted from the lotus of his neck as fair as the sky, he has the power of conquering in a new guise the arrogant; the streams of rain emitted from that garland of clouds which is his compassion gathered from the ocean of ambrosia of his fair deeds, bow over the regions of space. He is surrounded by twice eight golden cliffs; this chapel of the Arhats which is the palace of the prince of ascetics, was
found by the great master sNan grags bzan po. The painter was d'On btsun of dBus. These few words are by the translator aJam dbyangs.

IV

Hommage to Jina Maitreya.
When the time had been ripened by the efficiency of the good deeds of created beings and gods, he descended on earth to fulfill the hopes of the desirous; he adorned himself with the lofty fruits of hundreds of meritorious deeds; the thick shadow of his compassion gave breath to created beings, tormented by desire, stimulated by the springtime of moral infections. As the heavenly tree of the gods of the mNon btsen, may he, Blo gros bzan po grags pat dpal produce our good. This graceful body of yours, which is like the golden tree of illumination, pleasant to the soul, placed in the midst of precious mountains, ravishing its colour from lapislazuli, is pervaded by the scent of yellow sandal (boricandani). The diadem of your knotted and scented tresses is like a tree varied by the scented flowers of moral perfections, beginning with liberality, and is adorned with the flowers amply blossomed out and scented tresses is like a tree varied by the scented flowers of moral perfections, beginning with liberality, and is adorned with the flowers amply blossomed out.

The painter was Ses rab dpal. These few words are by the famous translator of this place.

Honour to Śakyamuni. Hail to the master of the mC'ims. He (the Buddha) is like a tree, spreading the tremulous shadow of his compassion, with the purpose of freeing the threefold existence from the affliction of pain; he is a heavenly tree, pouring out the candid scent of moral perfections, beginning with liberality, and is adorned with the flowers amply blossomed out of virtue; its branches, spreading over all the points of space, are bent by the weight of those excellent fruits, the knowledge of how to accomplish the good of others. He offers a shelter to herds of hundreds of persons endowed with a brilliant intellect. May the lord of ascetics protect us; on the slopes of a cliff which is a heap of precious stones thick with graceful heavenly trees, blue and green, resounding with the piping voices of honing birds, his body surrounded by antelopes, he stands near a cascade whose waters resound with an agreeable murmur, while gods, ascetics and holy spirits praise him with extremely graceful hymns; he the... This chapel of the Lord of the Victorious, adorned with the eye of wisdom (expert) in the sacred doctrines and in the theoretical knowledge. The painter was Ses rab dpal. These few words are by the famous translator of this place.

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V

The same as the above text.

These four heavens, on the right of the lord of ascetics, with the acolytes who are gathered there, pervade space with crowns of sparkling golden mountains; they are variously embellished by the rays of that sun and that moon which are the six ornaments. They were made by brTson mC'og bdag, in the interior of the me'od rten having many doors.

May it be well.

VI

Honour to Samantabhadra.
Homage to all-knowing of mC'ims, who is like a tree varied by the scented flowers of good behaviour, bent under the weight of its fruits of every desired virtue, and spreading the lovable shadow of compassion, which is extended to all alike. May incorruptible merit be derived to all from this Kun tu bzan po here represented together with his four acolytes; his body is seated in a playful posture on a crouching elephant, decorated with pears; a tinkling necklace of gems is arranged round his waist, he has a bright smiling aspect, with the purpose of ingratiating wise beings. This temple is adorned with thousands of Buddhas... It was founded by the master of the mC'ims sNan grags bzan po; by the merit derived from this work, may created beings obtain Buddhahood.

ZA LU

Inscription over the door.
The sku zan Grags pa rgyal mts'an, the father with his son, with the purpose of spreading the teaching of the Buddha, ordered many roofs of Chinese style to be made, enamelled and of a blue colour. This door of khadira wood was made by Nam mk'a bzan po; these iron bars of the door which please the eyes and have the colour of silver have been made by the skillful Blo brtan bzan po of sNar c'an.

K'RO P'U

On the club of the lotsāva

Om svasti. The craftsman of this (club) was aBe aGar rdo rje. The master of Sans has respectfully offered 53 sran of iron. The master Ts'ul sen ge has offered 250 sran of copper and bronze, 5 sran of gold and 3 sran of silver. The craftsman was satisfied with the gifts and the offerings made to him as a recognition of his work. This (club) was offered to the lotsāva by the master Ts'ul sen ge. May
those who have faith and delight in the precious (master) reach perfect completeness in the (twofold) accumulation of merits.\[67\]

NOR

On a silver lamp

In this chapel of the bKa’ agyur of the glorious Evam c’os Idan, this silver lamp placed in front of the silver mc’od rten containing the relics, called Yid bzin nor bu and spreading light over all the heavens,\[87\] was offered in the year sa srol by the Šar pa Ses rab a’byun gnas to fulfill the wish of the Šar pa Kun dga’ dpal bzam.

GNAS GSAR

On the wall paintings

In the A’dsam bu giṅ, unfolding under the high blue sky, in the south, there are 360 different varieties of languages; among them there is the Indian language, from which translations were made into Tibetan. By the grace of the bTsan po\[88\] and the Bodhisattva, happiness was displayed in the kingdom of Tibet. In Tibet are included 4 wings. In the fields of Myan ro, the good lotus of Ru lag,\[89\] the things that men who come and go may see are many; therefore eyes wish...

This Don yod grub with his retinue, ... the blissful ... was painted by the Nan bzan of aBre,\[90\] the least of painters.\[91\] The brother Man rtsan rgyal bregs, fifth descendant of aBron t’og, had it made.\[92\] Created beings, with the gods, may obtain supreme enlightenment.

The three noble Gems ... the gods of the mandala of the rdz ma’ byins ... the gods who are in the mandala ... three ... dpal ma’ hā [kāla] ... black mCon po with his sākti the great lay devotee rDo’ je legs ... to the custody of the C’os skyon ... blazing power all the thieves dispersed surrounded ... eating ... letters ...

NOR BUI K’YUN RTSE

On the wall paintings

In this vast park of perfect sciences,\[93\] is he not a wonder, Ni ma’ dhan p’yug, defender of the teaching, who, having sent that messenger which is virtue, has surpassed the extreme shore of the ocean of darkness, which consists in the practice of evil? Likewise the concomitant cause\[94\] was the vast liberality of the spyi nari of Sam Idin. The dPon gNas mc’og who resumes in himself the qualities expressed by his name.

The material cause\[95\] was the dPon grub’s ability.

SPOS K’AN

On the handle of a couchshell

This in hiṅ a’dsa leı,\[96\] embellished with all gems (and adapted) to the shell,\[97\] is the work of a divine smith,\[98\] the master rGyal mts’an.
1. But in the Sa skya Chronicles, pp. 3, 6 and in dKon rgyud bla ma's glan rdo kyi la rgyal rtags dbyus of Ye lot c's sp'el to Lha mme (Works, vol. 10, p. 4) they are spelled gYi rin, gYu rin and U ser. They are believed to be descendants upon earth of mNal rji srod. In the Sa skya Chronicles (which quote dKon me'og lhan grub's history) the spelling is followed. These three brothers are generally called gNam lha, celestial gods: on gNam and Se see Appendix two.

2. These Sa skya genealogies and legends are also repeated in the biography of the sNags sa'nag nag gi dban Kun dgs's rin 'cen (see Srid pa gsum bzhad pa skyi pa c'en po rtags 'a.cn nag gi dban kun dgs's rin 'cen gi snyen men pa c'un po on nams rgya mts'a). With such genealogical claims, the Sa skya pa had the pretension of overruling the derivation from the four or six rnis; precisely for this reason they were called Lha rigs, divine progeny (see Bk. of Kun dga' rin c'en, p. 7).

3. In the Chronicles and in the above-quoted biography (p. 1): nee sa kyi sja misa khrug pa sbyos: "Those who are known as the four Se bhi li brothers were born as his sons" (in the biography quoted, on p. 7. Si byi li are the first dwellers on earth). But in the Chronicles: DDon; DDon is the name of one of the six primogenital tribes (see Appendix two).

4. On this name see Appendix two. gYi rin's wife's personal name cannot be dislocated from that of her clan.

5. In such a case the Sa skya Chronicles, which the fifth Dalai Lama follows almost verbatim, have: ma bcom, but they call the seventh son Ma rtags spyi tsi (in the chronicles of dKon me'og lhan grub, ibid., p. 1, 4, ma bcom). The reading ma tsan is preferable; in fact ma tsan was the name of a group of nine demons; see Appendix two and cfr. Ma tsan in the Bon po traditions; ma tsan ta yi shad dbu in the beginning of the Kla bum pho, p. 1. 2'Zon in (the archaic spelling: bezin) is a recent and learned form, adopted for the sake of homophony.

6. At this point the fifth Dalai Lama follows another source. According to the dKon me'og lhan grub and the Sa skya pa Chronicles, Tog tu'pa' bo stag is supposed to be the son of Ma sams spyi tsi and Tog leam hur mo (the daughter of Tog lha 'od can, the god of lightning). Tog tu'pa' bo married a naga's daughter: Kla leam bram, from whom Kla tu'pa stag po 'od can was born; the latter in his turn married mTsu yongs, of a Mon family.

7. A', according to the dictionary, means grandson, but it is necessary to specify "grandson on the mother's side", thus the mother caused her son to belong to her clan. There is no lack of instances in the course of history: the son of Kri lde grung brtan was called ajan tu'a Lha dbarn from the name of his mother, ajan Kri' btun (see Thomas, Tibetan documents, 11, RIAS, 1918, p. 83). Sometimes the name of the grandfather on the mother's side appears also in the feminine name, see for instance Ma gis gDa nu'c'a dba, the wife of P'ag na rdo rje (cfr. note 70).

8. This usage, as Muller has noticed, is followed in the names of the most ancient kings of Tibet (see Muller, Tibet in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung, in Zeitschrift für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft, vol. 100, p. 197). gYi sna means "veddic", the demon he fights is: sKya reis Krag med. sKya reis is the name of the lake out of which the Yang tse klang is born (S. Ch. Das, Dist., s. v.), and also means: dawn, but in the present case the name must be divided up into its component parts: snya, pale; livid; reer, stiff; laosz; Krag med, bloodless. The sna po is hence a fend causing death, a disease which consumes and kills. His wife is called in the Chronicles gYi's abrum Sl li ma: abrum is the small-pox, gYi's abrum is: small-pox like rust (on the face), i.e. the name of another contagious disease. The struggle between gYi's spars and the other is perhaps a medical myth: the struggle between a disease and its medicine.

On the use of veddics against leprosy in India, see Aṣṭāṅgaśāstra, Chithiśāhini, XVIII, p. 67; XX, p. 16.

9. In the Chronicles and in the biography of Kun dgs's rin c'en (p. 98) Si li ma, which is the ego's wife herself. Between the two forms, Si li ma and Si ma or battles upon earth is ma bcom preferable, which we find in Tibetan mythology as the name of a class of princes who ruled over Tibet (see Appendix two).

10. Ice is also the name of a family, the one of 2a bu; concerning 2Man see Appendix two.

11. But the Chronicles assign to dKon only one wife, lGam bu sgron of dTsan family (bza'). bza' (on this term see Thomas and Indo-Tibetica, and Bar du c'os god, vol. 5, p. 8; he be dam grol [for bza'] ti so ma mten ma) originally means "a family's female descendant", as it was in these cases; then, in more recent times, "wife", cfr., c'ze'i husband and wife (cfr. also Stein, Fiches de divination, HJAS, IV, p. 313, n. 1). Concerning the dTsan see Appendix two.

12. His real name, according to the Sa skya Chronicles, p. 56: La srol gsum ste'c'en; in the same Chronicles, instead of pa 'tshur ye 'c'en. In the Life of Kun dga' rin c'en: ye 'c'en (p. 8, 9).

14. The eight well-known signs, according to a quotation from the Sa skya Chronicles (p. 56): are the well-known signs of the earth, when the soil, large or small, is good both for building houses on and for fields (to till); the well-known signs of water, when lakes or ponds (m'te ma) are good both as drinking-water and as water to irrigate fields; the well-known signs of trees, when forests resisting winter and reddened by winter give timber good for building houses and as firewood (ba'i);

15. The Chronicles say he became nam lha, Minister of the Interior, of that same king.

16. On this family, which is that of the P'ag mo gru, see what follows. But the Chronicles (p. 56) read: glan kams pa lotiva. In the Chronicles the wife's name is not given; she is only "a girl", N'a cbsa ma (glas bza'). From the text it appears that lGam ma (Chronicles) has also the meaning of bo-moe (fifth Dalai Lama). Instead of four children, the same Chronicles only mention two: dKon latsva Klui dban po and aK' rdo rje rin po ce; the latter, according to the fifth Dalai Lama, is his grandson. But the chronicles of dKon me'og lhan grub agree with the fifth Dalai Lama. Although dPal po c'en's wife's name is changed, the name of her clan is the same, glas bring a homophone of roltsa (see these same Chronicles, p. 54, 5). Instead of K'iten medes, the chronicles of dKon me'og lhan grub read: K'ri medes, which corresponds better with the names used in this period. Klui dban po = Nigendragastra, was dPal btses's collaborator; he is also called Klui dban po bro bun ga, Nigendragastra (see Colophon to MDO CXXV., 7; Corrier, III, p. 493; PTY, transl. Tousignant, p. 50; Button, transl. Obermiller, p. 150, where it may be seen that Nigendragastra is short for Nigendragastra). In fact he is recorded by tradition as one of the seven roltsa, i.e. the first seven Tibetans regularly ordained as monks. The Bodhiṣūtra is ži ba tso. Concerning the seven roltsa see further n. 174.

18. According to the Chronicles: p. 68, the descendants of the first spread in Ma yul of mNal' daf; those of the second in Gun t'an, those of the third in Sadr, of the fourth in gNal lo ro, of the fifth in Man lab. Ma yul must be for Mar yul, approximately corresponding to present-day Ladakh, rather than Man yul, where Gun t'an is situated.

24. The new school of the mantra is the one introduced at the time of the second diffusion of the Law, i.e. beginning from Atåa and Rin c'en bzan po (see above p. 88 f); the name of the Lotsāva of 'Bro mi
is Sa kya ye le. Information concerning him and his journeys to India is found in DT, 66, p. 2. He was a disciple of Sántāpi.

25. The Chronicles have the lotvsā of rMal.

26. Puran or stra brains in Western Tibet, between Gonur and Man yul; the lotvsā of stra brains is perhaps stra name blos gtos.

27. During the convocation and the city of Sa skya.

dOn po ti is perhaps a recent spelling for Bon po ti.

28. In the year water ox (1073).

29. 1. e. spirit, word and body.

30. ‘tub zla ba, Aji tukonder: on his works see for instance the indexes of Mille Lelou to Conduit’s Cat., and DT, 66, p. 2.

31. The Chronicles explain (p. 26 e): Ne τογ in gSa h‘u, the monk of Ch ‘C ≈ kyi ten ge (see above n. 164 to Part one). gSa h‘u was the seat of legs pai tes rab, better known as rNgo lotvsā or rNgo ston, born in the year 8159 (not 8158, as in S. Ch. Dar’ tables); the monastery was founded 1073 and became one of the chief centres for the study of the Prajñā and of the bKa’ gnam pa doctrines; see DT, 66, p. 1 ff. Later it was divided into gSan h‘u glin smad and gSan h‘u glin nyo. The latter comprised several schools: Ni ma ’cn, rNam rgyal gser k’un, etc. Glin smad on the other hand comprised: Ra ba smad, Ngan ton, Pryen ba zi ba, aPran yul gian tani gnos tso. The two schools were under two dbay druns, four drun c’en and ten blo mzs; see Khon rdol’s btSan shin skyis bu, etc., vol. 26, p. 4.

32. Sakyaist his quarter with rje grags is told, with ample details, in the Chronicles 32, 3, 33; he has been dealt with above.

33. 1. e. the science of the rtsi rlung or nervous centre, and of the prāna or vital breath, which operates within ourselves; in other words, yoga and, more exactly, the Ḥatyāyoga.

34. 1. e. in Central Tibet, but as Sa skya is in GtHan, here dbus must be understood generally as Tibet. There is no lack of evidence that dbus and GtHan are considered as a single region; hence GtHan is called a part of dbus; so, for instance, we read in the guide of Sa skya (p. 2 a) that Aksa was invited by dbus ston in the GtHan region, in dbus “Dbus gSa gTsan gi p’yes su spyon dran nas ni.”

35. There is extant a small biography of his, of no historical interest, entitled: dbal glud sa sNga pa dDan te sNga po nam tser, by the Argo mgon Sa skya pandita Kun dba rgyal mtshan (vol. na of Sa skya masters, complete works, ed. DEREGO).

36. “slob dpon zla dba’i rgyud rjes sAt sMon ... in Huth (p. 77 of the text): ‘dPal glun grub ’od sNga ’grib misled as rDoom men kyi dbypas men po nan brgod etc.’ Huth takes sNga ‘rje as the ascetic’s name, and propros, as a Sanskrit equivalent of grub ’od sNga ‘rje: Siddhākuta. But one might object that ketu is rendered as dar, not odar, and that the reading sNgar is found both in the Chronicles and in Ajigs med rig pai rdo rje. I think that this spelling is a mistake for dar, and in reality this ascetic’s name, as we read in the DT was (na, p. 8), Dar p’yar sA bzu. Khon rdo bla ma, in his chronicle on the btSan ston, p. 16, quotes a grub sNga Ad, ya ru pa, as the author of special treatises on lCams tza ma. TANAKATHA, Te nge gi gnas kli, pp. 5, 6, mi dba dPal glun grub ’od sNga ’rje rin c’em po. Dar p’yar is the flag on which the slob dpon caused the image of lCams to be painted and then put it in his place (compare n. 140).

sNgar in sMon is the same as na ndes rjes sAt sMon.

37. On the occasion of the convention of Ap’yong byed and other prominent Hindu masters, probably Shivas, the Sa skya Pan c’en wrote a brief poem included in his works (vol. na of the Sa skya p’s works, pp. 220). In the middle of the marketplace, in a land near Abyātī’s place in the city of ksNyid ktron in Man yul, Ap’yong byed dba’ba with other masters of the Tathāgatas, six in all, were defeated and made converts to Buddhism.

38. Padmasambhava: literally Padmasavya. On the btSan ma or bTian sNgar ma see Appendix two.

39. This story is told in the Chronicles (p. 43) and in the History of Buddhism in Mongolia by Ajigs med rig pai lod pIe (HUTS, pp. 696/7 of the text and pp. 123-124 of the translation). I find no mention of it in the Guide to Sa skya. Sa skya Pandita, as we have seen, is known also as one of the incantations of the Pan c’en of Tsheltrimpo and therefore his biography is included in the story of this lama’s incantations.

40. The meeting with Gadan (Ködün) is related extensively by Ajigs med rig pai rdo rje: the dates too correspond. According to the Sa skya Chronicles (p. 53 e) Gadan had gone to Mongolia for the investiture (rgyal ser sron pa) of Go yug gan (Gyumk ‘i nian), perhaps for the quincentennial of 1246 in which Gyukk was elected Gquhan. He returned in the year me lgy (1247), while the Sa skya pandita had arrived in lrin c’u (i.e. Liang-chou, see n. 40) in the eighth month of the year me resh (1249).

41. The Sa skya Chronicles, p. 46, give the text of the letter which Gadan is supposed to have sent to Sa skya pandita when the latter was 61, i.e. in the year of the dragon, in shagby (1244). He set out in the following year, at 63. On p. 57 the Chronicles reproduce the proclamation which Sa skya pandita, on his return from his visit to the Empress, addressed to the lay and religious nobles of Tibet, notifying his submission to the Mongol monarch. This letter has been translated above, on p. 107.

42. According to the Sa skya Chronicles, Gadan was the son of T’a lo no yon (Tulun), Gengis Khan’s son. This piece of information contradicts the all but universal statements of Tibetan sources, which say that Gadan was Gyuuk’s brother and hence Oggz’s son. Thus the fifth Dalai Lama, Sanyang Säcan and Azigs med rig pai rdo rje. The Bon po histories however say that he was Gyuuk’s son (see Pelliott, Les Moules et la Papauté, “Revue de l’Orient Chrétien”, 1913-1914, p. 195; cf. HAMMES, Le Chapitre VII du Yoan Shé, 1945, p. 71).

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The slight differences are due to the fact that in the writers' time a new name prevailed over the old one, or to changes of political horizon. So, for instance, Byan abrog. In the fifth Dalai Lama's writings, is replaced by Sani, the country North of the gTsang po. Bya yul takes the place of rGya ma and Lho abrog. of rTag lha. Gur mo or Gur mo’t an adus is a place in the immediate environs of Za lwa; it is therefore difficult to understand how three miriarchies like Za lwa, C’u mig and Gur mo could be included in such a narrow territory. 

The list of the territorial divisions of Tibet is also contained in the Yaman shib (chap. 87, p. 14), but the transcription of the miriarchies' names does not always permit a reconstruction of the Tibetan original. In the Office of Hisun we shib (洪思使) and Tu yuan shuai (都元帥), in the three zones dBus, gTsan and mNa’i ris skor guan, Na li su ku lu sun (納里速古魯), there are the following posts:

Huían wei shib (洪恩使):
- T’ung chih (同知);
- Fu shih (副使);
- Ching li (經理);
- Chén lu (鎮撫);
- Pu ta sū kuān (補陝司官).

To the said office also belong the following officers and officials:
- 2 Yuan shuai (院帥) in Na li su ku erh (納裡速古魯);
- 2 Tu yuan shuai (都元帥) in command of Mongol troops in dBus and gTsan;
- 1 Chao tuo shih (朝佐使) in command of soldiers in Tan li (撫巡):
  - Chuan yün (轉運) in the dBus, gTsan and other zones;
  - Wan hu (万户) governing the country population of Sha sū (沙署);
- 1 Wan hu governing the country population of Ch’a li pa (察里八);  
- 1 Wan hu governing the country population of dBus and gTsan;
- 1 Civil officer governing the country population of Su erh ma chia wa, (速兒麻加兀);  
- 1 Civil officer governing the country population of Sa la (撒拉);

In all these names only the equivalence of the following terms to me certain, although the transcription cannot be considered regular:

In the Office of Wan hu of Ya li pu (雅里蒲) three times, it is certain that there are 1 Ta lu hua chih, daryu’aci, 1 Wan hu and 1 Tan li t’o ho sun (商理都轉使).

We do not know whether, before the Mongol epoch, a census of Tibet existed, but to judge from passages of the bKa’ t’au sde lha, which THOMAS made known (cf. Appendix two), it appears clearly that a tradition exists concerning censuses taken since the times of the kings, when the country was divided into military chailirates and into districts, enumerating the population of each. It is not unlikely that census returns were inscribed on stone slabs, like those on which was recorded the peace between China and Tibet; these ought to be the stiis ro a riin, alluded to in the bKa’ t’au sde lha (sect. K’a, part I, chap. 17).
A geographical description of Tibet, containing some statistical data on the population and its groupings, is quoted by Klon rdol bla ma (*'s, p. 40) and is attributed to Abhūt's son (Xhili century). I do not see why this attribution should not be accepted, as far as its nucleus is concerned.

The territory called, generally speaking, "Country of Snows", is distinguished as to its parts into eight regions; dbus Gtson Kams, which are three, plus the four regions of Dovigs, Koni, Lop no and Nan, to which is added, as a fifth, the country of the Adbrog in Byanz t'an on the frontier. Mna rits is also divided into three parts, and Gtson in Gyas tu and in Gyon tu (and moreover Gtson) comprises Zr, Brbi ta' and Lho man tred. Ru mitsam, U yug, Sain, 203 minor valleys and passes; dbus is divided into dbu ru and Gyor ru; dbu ru in its turn comprises Lho and Byant Lho includes Pan yul and Tso Lden Lhan; Byant includes Zo and Mal grol. In these regions there are 203 valleys, between larger and lesser ones; in Tso Lhmad 3400, in Kams 210. Altogether in Tibet there are 1500 large valleys, 12,000 ravines, 140,000 mountains, 3,500,000 minor mountains, 117 great highlands (c'hiang), 1,700,000 lesser highlands, 4 main rivers, 3,000,000 minor rivers, 4,800,000 sources, 90,000 cliffs (brag ri), 190,000 minor roads;... 2,150,000 houses (on this term see n. 486) 2,400,000 felt tents, 55 monasteries.

"In Tibet there are 30 million (bye brtan) men, 40 million women (za ma bud med - bka' ma bud med), 40,000 monks (i'se la sypal), 400 taints (yar sge sgo 'c po), (... yar sge sgo lam, in the Bar do for gser, is the way leading to union with the absolute). In a Bon pos treatise "Od gsal sro kyi me, les people who go who kyi tshad and those who go to mar bzan t'al. Za ma bud med ought to be a married or marriagable woman."

And in the first place the famous shell gser grazz which is one of the most important relics preserved in Sa skyas; according to the tradition accepted by the Chronicles (p. 66), the shell was given, together with other sacred relics, by Dharmapala to Khenpo Devajra of China, the king being his friend, as a reward for the troops the Chinese king had sent to aid the Indian king, overwhelmed by a hostile army besieging Nalanda. Is it possible that this tale preserves some memory of Wang Hüen t'e's expedition?

I cannot say what the "great mi yur, of China, "rgyal mi yur c'en ma", may be; it appears in the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles, in zugs med rig pai rdo rje and in the Chronicles (p. 66).

On these places see the Sa skyas guide, which on p. 49 mentions the gser album of zphags pa: it is g'i rje, i.e. in the central part of the holy place, or a sacred building outside a temple, as might be the case with a mc'o'ed; it opposite the so gnam rten, a name given to the articles of cult proper, stored in the temple. In the present case the gser album c'en po is a strang lag kun founded by zphags pa, with golden dome and khenri.

Thus also the gser album dba's six gdo man is a mc'o'ed rten, which owes its name to the golden "wheel", "mntse:\"mounting it.

On "umbrellas", the technical name of a part of the mc'o'ed rten, see Indo-Tibetica, 1.

Sa' kya bsdan po (Chronicles, p. 74), to the West of the dBus rtsi rfin ma, founded the gser c'en ma.

58. To the South-West of Lhasa, along the Brahmaputra; S. Cw. Dus, s. v., and precisely in skyd kyi (see Klon rdol, vol. 3, p. 11). The same g'tso c'en ma stands on the plain, on the left of the river; walked round and girt with towers, it looks like a fortress; as it is represented Sa skyas's most important centre, its runts, when the sect declined, tried to take possession of it or to garrison it with their own men (see above, p. 22). I am not sure I have read correctly the sentence bsdan du zugs pai gnyen bya dbu.

60. Cfr. for this title his biography in the Yian shi.

This Kas ma ba' kii is called rgya, and this word cannot stand for rgya nag, China, because this lama's Tibetan origin is not doubtful; neither can it be a place-name, because the adjectival form rgya pa would be necessary; hence it stands for rgya bs, "the bearded one."
The fifth Dalai Lama nearly always uses the form he, but a zugs med rig pai rdo rje; bu kii (see Laufer, Lean words in Tibetian, n. 137). Concerning this episode see sra's yig and rig pai rdo rje, p. 95 (transl. p. 148). For Kar ma ba' kii's biography, ibid., p. 86 (transl. p. 116). The Kar ma pa who had their main seat in Tso Lden rpo of Tso Lden lhan, also called Kar ma kii c'en, split up into two schools, called according to the colour of their caps, Zva dmar, red caps and Zva nag, black caps. The list of the patriarchs of each sect is preserved by Klon rdol bla ma, bu Tan shing gi stogs bu rgya khod du byam pai min gi bstan, 28, p. 29 b."

Zva nag:

Zva dmar:
1. Ti lo pa; 2. Kun tig; 3. Tu'til k'jim dpal ban; 4. dGe don Nam m's od'; 5. bKa' ras ig sras pa; 6. T'ogs ldan grags pa sna' pa; 7. C. @os m's kid' s'pyod dpal ban; 8. C. dpal ye sny; 9. C. gra's grags ye sny; 10. C. kyi don grubs; 11. dKon mcog 'cos kyi rtsi ma; 12. Mi p'am C. rgyan tay ma's. We shall find some of these lamas mentioned in the course of the following pages. One Ha li ma, Kar ma pa is mentioned also in the Ming shih, chap. 331, p. 24, with much honour. "There was (then) a monk Ha li ma (哈立末), the people of that country, as he possessed the art of enlightenment, considered him supreme master. When Ch'eng tu was "Prince of Yen",... he was informed of his name. In the first year of yung li, 1403, the emperor ordered the eunuch chief of ceremonies (司經少監) Hou Hsien-kui (郝敬) and the monk Chih kuang (智光) to take letters and gifts to him and to go and invite him. That monk (Ha li ma) first sent some envoys of his to offer the tribute and then himself came to court, following the imperial envoy. In the fourth year, 1405, in winter, while he was about to arrive, the Emperor ordered the Fu ma to ur (府馬御史, the Emperors's town-and-laws) Ma Hsiao (麻孝) to go and meet him. When he arrived, the Emperor received him in the palace Feng teng (丰德殿) and on the following day he offered him a banquet in the palace Huai kai (懷熙) and presented him with a hundred (ounces) of gold, one thousand of silver, twenty-thousand notes of paper money, forty-five silk dresses, religious articles, pillows, saddles, incense, fruit, tea, rice and various other objects. His retainers also received presents.

"In the following year, in the spring, he presented the staves (to be carried in the processions), two ivory staves, a pair of staves with silver handles, a pair of bone staves, two lamps decorated with fish bones, two silk lamps, two boxes of scent, two fly-whisks, six warming-pans, an umbrella, a chair inlaid with silver, a silver stool, a silver table, a silver basin, a silver vase, a round green fan, a round red fan, a pillow, a mosquito-net, pads for horses, 48 standards, two saddled horses, four unsaddled horses."

The Emperor, wishing a holy office to be celebrated for his deceased father's and mother's souls, ordered him to institute the ceremonies of fast and purification in the Ling ku temple (靈谷寺).

On the seventh day the Emperor himself went to offer incense in that temple. Then clouds of good omen, sweet dew, a green bird, white elephants, were seen by everyone for a whole day. The Emperor was extremely pleased; when the officials had presented poems and good wishes, the Emperor again presented (that monk) with a hundred ounces of gold and one thousand ounces of silver and two thousand notes of paper money and twenty silver dolls and nine dresses.

"His disciples, the Kuan ting yuan t'ung shan hui ta kuo shih (川川通濟大師) Ta shih pa lo ko lo sii (師巴日摩師) and others, received great gifts. Then the Emperor appointed li ma: "Wang kuang chi hui hian shan p'yi ying xu kuo yen chiao ju lai tsa fo wu hanyi tsen tia tsa tsa tsa."

(Far well is the tenfold victory, the tenfold 1000 yellow carnows) entrusted him with the Buddhist teaching throughout the whole world, gave him the seal with its decrees, and also gold, silver, paper money, embroidered silk, monastic dresses ornamented with gold and gem; gold and silver objects, saddles, and ordered that his disciple Po lan fu wa Sang erh chia lang eben. Sans rgyas rin c'en (來自薩仁瓦加切街) should be named "Kuan ting yuan hui ching hui ta kuo shih, (川川通濟光大師) Kao jia hui chian po (高嘉慧禪) should be named "Kuan ting tung wu hung ching ta kuo shih, (川川通濟光大師) Kuan hok lo lo chen t'ang pa li t'ang po (川川通濟光大師) should be named Kuan ting hung hung ching chih ta kuo shih (川川弘智法大師)."

"To all of them the Emperor gave seals with their decrees, silver, money and silk. He then ordered that Li ma should go to the Wu t'ai shan (武台山) to perform a great function and the ceremonies for the souls of the deceased Emperor and Empress, then distribute an abundance of gifts."
In the fourth month of the sixth year 1408 (Ha li ma) took leave and went back. (The Emperor) again gave him gold, silk, images of the Buddha and ordered the eunuchs to accompany him. From this moment up to the end of the Chêng T'ung (1410-1430) period (1420) all tribute was sent to the court, but the taxes ordered by the Emperor were not paid.

In the eighth year of the Hung chih (1422-1430) period 1425, prince Ko li ma pa (4th cousin) again sent tribute and taxes to the court, according to the terms of the previous years. In the last year of the Chêng T'ung period (1430) they again came to offer tribute and taxes, and in the tenth year.

61. This Ko li ma pa (later Ko li ma pa) can be no other than the fifteenth, according to Meng诚意, the eleventh, Kan ma 4th son De bzin gling, spoken of in Kgya med rig pa rdo rje (transl. 1917), Saryan Sâcân (SCHMIDT, p. 298) WEL TAN T'U SH'HEN, p. 120; SCHULMEISTER, p. 101, HORNT and S. CHAS. Das (in Sum pa m'kan po's tables). They give 1383 as the date of his birth, but the year of his death is 1838. In 1403 he was then nineteen, but his fame had reached China, as an invitation of Rol pai rdo rje. Saryan Sâcân is mistaken when he states that Yang ling immediately after ascending the throne, invested Rol pai rdo rje to China; he makes a confusion between him and his successor. Rol pai rdo rje had then already been dead for several years having passed away in the year c'u'p'gis, 1383.

Rol pai rdo rje on the other hand had been invited by the Yuan Togqen tshig med rig pa rdo rje, p. 179 (transl. De bzin gling died in the year 1427, 1428, 1471, 1472, and DT, p. 46 fl.

62. In the eighth year 1428.

63. Tsa'na zhuk. I find no trace of him among the De bzin gling's disciples, upon whom the role of Gu lrin was transferred according to the position of the name in the list of disciples in the Ordination Book recently acquired from Drepung Lobsang Kunsang.

64. The first name is divided into two parts: K'a bo wa perhaps a title; ch'un po is purely Chinese and means prince of meditation.

65. The inscription is divided into two parts: K'a bo wa perhaps a title; ch'un po is purely Chinese and means prince of meditation.

66. The name is divided into two parts: K'a bo wa perhaps a title; ch'un po is purely Chinese and means prince of meditation.

67. The translation is divided into two parts: K'a bo wa perhaps a title; ch'un po is purely Chinese and means prince of meditation.

68. The inscription is divided into two parts: K'a bo wa perhaps a title; ch'un po is purely Chinese and means prince of meditation.

69. According to the Chronicles (p. 105) Sâns tsâ's second wife, who bore him in 1428 the title of Drepung, the girl of the Dalai Lama's Chronicles is not correct, it should be Rgyal mo. The Sa skya Chronicles, according to the inscription, are dependent on 4Kon mo'rang bzhin grub, but they are not ignorant of the tradition accepted by the fifth Dalai Lama, which they attribute to the 4Dun rab ral of Teg chos.
72. aja ma li or jo bo aja ma li is an effigy of Avalokitesvara (in S. C. Das, Dict., v. jo bo ja ma li) on the frontier between Tibet and Nepal, in Kojarnath.

Concerning aja ma li me'd gum, the three aja ma li brothers information may be gathered, though these two sources do not always agree, both in the guide to Kojarnath, Lham boar agro bai me'd dgon jo bo dgon thu me'd gum sson byan gi gsum dan hryed pai rin 'c'en u vei du rya sson po pi vum, and in the 'jams bu gnyor rgyam bkad (ms., p. 10, Wasseilly, Geographie Tibet, p. 9). The first text relates various traditions on the origin of the silver statues worshipped in the temple; according to a tradition, after K'hor re, t. e. Ye 'od, had been in the presence of the statue of the Buddha, seven bka' 'dams appeared to him, and each of them poured out before him a load of silver. He had six statues of aja dmap made with it; the artists he employed were a Nepalese sculptor called Avasadharma and a Kashmiri artist Van ku la.

The statue represented a jam dmap ye 'slet sems dpa' was and placed on a block of alabaster.

According to another tradition seven Mongol merchants once went to king gNam mgon sde, also a devotee of Jambhala, and deposited with him seven chests, saying that if three years should pass before they came back to claim them, he might use their contents. Three years having gone by and the merchants not having come back, the king and his wife jo abum ma rgyal mo opened the chests and found there coins (tams k'as) of silver, on which the character aDsum aDsim (i.e. Jambhala) were written. When they had a statue of P'yan na pad ma made, and another of P'yan na rdo rje, to be placed respectively on the right and on the left of a jam dmap's image, dedicated in the times of aK'or re.

According to the aDsim glin gnyor rgya bkad, the artists who made the statues came from aDsim lan, that is, from the district of Jumla in North-Western Nepal near the Tibetan border. (Boiet's Jour. Stor., p. 237. But see note.)

The two sources we have quoted do not mention the fact that the statues were transported to Sa skya; anyhow, only copies were carried there, as the two statues remained in the temple of Kojarnath, where they are still worshipped. See Tucci, Sants i Brignoli, pp. 384: 385.

Kojarnath is for Purang what m'To glin was for Guge; the region's greatest sanctuary, founded by Ye 'sle's do'od and by his son Byam c'u'ub'od; it was periodically embellished by successive princes, who ruled over the district, more as vice-regents for the kings of Guge than as actual sovereigns. The same guide mentions the visit of bKa' rtsis lde, the C'sen rgyal of Guge, to Kojarnath (p. 12), while it considers his younger brother, gNam mgon lde, as the head of the region. It is quite probable that the cedr branch of the kings of Guge or their younger brothers were called upon to rule over that district.

The biography of the founder of Nor Kun dga' bstan po also mentions the monastery of aK'or c'age as being under the rule of the C'sen rgyal of Guge (p. 36).

The Guide we have quoted records the following succession:

(bSa le = bBar lde)

K'i bKa' rtsis dugs grub
Nglon (- bKa' rtsis lde)

mDkhan mgon lde marries jo abum rgyal mo

K'i bKa' rtsis lde rgyal po

while the guide, p. 12:

K'i bKa' rtsis stobs bstan lde
calls K'i bKa' rtsis sde

K'i bKa' rtsis sbeo nams sde

73. That is, two women; the first, according to the Chronicles, founded the jo mo glin monastery and continued to lead a religious life; the second married bKa' rtsis rtses pa dpa, leed of Guin t'an (p. 105 §).

74. sji bla ma, in the Chronicles (105 §): bla'i me'd gum. The date of his death is uncertain; some sources place it in the year c'ya bya (1237) as the age of 36, others, like the Chronicles, in 37, in the year kyi kyi, 1274 (pp. 105 §, 106 §).

75. In the Chronicles (b)¼); Hu dkar c'ye. On sjan see Thomas, Tibetskar dokumenter, J.R.A.S., 1928, p. 85.

76. In this text Rin c'en abyug gsas is called slob dpon; but in the Sa skya Chronicles slob dpon ma, that is, he should be a woman (p. 105 §).

77. According to the Chronicles, p. 106 §, P'yan na (rdo rje) had three wives: Mum mngal, Godan's daughter (Godan is here called king c'er po: the same as Ji big t'e mar, ibid: c'er po has therefore here the meaning of 'royal prince'); ma geig IDan t'e's c'ab and mK'a' ago abum the daughter of nGa sgru, sku zen of 'Za lu and nang blo of the king of the Hor. The later was DharmaPalaraksa's mother. She had a son Rannabhadra, who died young and with whom this branch became extinguished. bZan po dpa's mother was Jo mo abum (Chronicles, p. 107 §).

78. The first internal crisis of the Sa skya thus belongs to this period; although the Chronicles and the fifth Dalai Lama speak with the usual euphemisms, to cover any stain that might dim the good name of a clan of divine origin, it is clear that in the times of P'yan na rdo rje there were serious struggles between the various brothers born of Zimn t'e, each aspiring to succession. From the narrative we may also infer that P'yan na rdo rje wished to secure supreme power for his own line, transmitting it to his son DharmaPalaraksa, who, dying young, left it in the hands of his son Rannabhadra. The early age at which these princes died is surprising; one at twenty and the other at five, to that we suspect these precocious deaths not to have been natural. In the meantime the son of Ye 'sle abuyug gsas, the bDag skid c'en po bZan po dpa, following certain charges, unspecified by the Chronicles and by the fifth Dalai Lama, but casting doubts on his legitimacy, was called to the Mongol court to account for his activities, and then exiled. From the Chronicles it appears that the city where bZan po dpa was confined was accessible by sea or by river. He was confined in a large castle (mK'a' mig c'en po) called Za c'u, at a point of navigation (c'e gsum) from the bay (rgya nubs's lag) of the country of mDak rtsis, hence in Han c'u, which was seven days' journey from that place.

Thus in the Sa skya Chronicles (p. 106 §); the same account appears in Kun dga' rin c'en's biography, identical save for some orthographical variants, p. 31: le mHan rtsis yul yis gnyor rgya mi leg c'yu shams (in the Chronicles, c'e gsum as in the previous note above, p. 11): c'en po ni ru lha byed byed khyed bu na zo cu zer pai mK'a' mig c'en po c'er bka' ye dza bA gsum lam (Chronicles: a'j la) bka' rgyad pa na lam cu (Chronicles: bA c'er) zer pai mK'a' mig c'en po c'er bka'.
to offer the tribute. They arrived at court in the twelfth month of the fifth year. The Emperor was glad and sent (that monk) as a gift a red dress for meditation, of embroidered silk, with cap and shoes, money and other things.

In the following year (1173), in the second month (the Ti shih) came to court personally to introduce (to the Emperor) those who had formerly been invested with official dignities; they were about 60 persons in all. The Emperor confirmed him in office and, as he already possessed the office (of a Ti shih), he appointed him "precious Ti shih Buddha of perfect knowledge . . . " Chih sheng fo pao kuo shih., 順盛佛國師 and again gave him the jade seal and clothes of coloured silk (彩服) twenty sets of each kind.

"When the jade carver had finished the seal, the Emperor examined the jade, and as it was not handsome, he ordered it to be cut away. Thus he honoured him."

"Then the (Ti shih), having asked permission, returned to his country. (The Emperor) ordered the prefecture of Ho chou 河州 to send an official to escort him, commanding all the barbarians who had not yet submitted to make an act of obedience."

"In the winter (1173) the descendant of the Ti shih of the Yuan, So nan chien chia t'ang pu 作南堅藏卜 and Yuan kuo [kung] 尤國公 Kung ko lieh st chien t'sang pu t'ang pu 公可禮盛藏卜俊 sent envoys to ask for the jade seal; the court officials said that it had already been conferred and could not be conferred anew, but they were presented with figured silks."

"In the seventh year (1174) in the summer, the Fo pao kuo shih sent his envoys to offer tributes. In the autumn the descendant of the Ti shih Pu sii pu of Yuan, Kung ko chien t'ang pu t'ang pu 公可斆藏卜俊 sent envoys to ask for the jade seal; the court officials said that it had already been conferred and could not be conferred anew, but they were presented with figured silks."

"In the eleventh year (1181) he again sent an offer of tribute and presented at court sixteen persons who had formerly been invested with various dignities, like Huisan wei shih 宣使 and Chiao tao shih 招使; the Emperor consented (to confirm them)."

In the fourteenth year (1184) that monk sent a new tribute. At that time Nan chia p'tang pu died.

e) Nam mk'a' dpal bzang po is a very common name in Tibetan, but it is not easy to identify the person here named. But in Sum pa mk'has po's chronological table, p. 59, we find Nam mk'a' dpal, who died in 1178 (S. Ch. Dile's date, as we know, are unreliable), his death would not be distant from that of the personage mentioned in the Ming shih. According to the Dile the date of his death is uncertain, some give 1178, others sa bya, 1179; he was the spiritual guide of bkra shis dpal rgyud of STag lun (khyed, No. p. 104).

f) dpal lсан bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po 1112-1175.

g) in the Chinese text a 公 kung has fallen between his name and the title.

h) Kun dp'a rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (Zla ba rgyal mtshan) born in 1144; according to the Chronicles he was unable to return to China, due to disturbances on the Chinese-Tibetan frontier.

c) This name corresponds to Dharmapala, but for chronological reasons he can be neither Dharmapalarkita, who was already dead, nor Dharmapala of Za ba.

90. Kun dp'a' blo gros, possibly to avoid the strife which had occurred in the times of F'yang na and his father, made a division of the Sa skyu property, allotting to each of his brothers a palace as his seat, so that the clan was actually split up into four groups, each of which took the name of the palace it resided in, forming in course of time a family into itself.

According to the Chronicles (p. 1119) at the age of 26 he gave his brother mk'as' brun Nam mk'a' legs dpal rgyal mtshan the rock crystal (¡el gyi dam kyi) and the bszi'i glog palace. To the Ti si Kun dp'a legs
abysus gast he gave the golden seal and the palace of the Lha k'an, to ajam dbyar don yrdag rgyal mtshan a rock crystal seal and the palace of Rin'cen dgon, to dbar Kun dga' legs pa and his sister, a golden seal and the palace of Dus me'dor.

91. On this word see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part 1, of the Sa skya abbis' genealogies, n. 8, which however should read "this Hor dynasty is called in Chinese Tai den..." In D LODGE's dictionary the word Ta den is recorded in the double form "tā den", "tā rin", as the equivalent of the Chinese "大内", "大殿". But Ta den and Ta rin correspond to different terms; the equivalence between Ta den and Ta rin is established beyond all doubt by the evidence of the DT and by the fact that 大院 ta yün dots in reality appears in the titles given by the Mongols to the great lamas, for instance to lDag pa ("Yongen") (cat. no. 266). Ta rin, in the Gyantse chronicles, ta kien, in the other hand, to 大人 ta jen "His Excellency" (cf. LAFERRE, Loan words, n. 296).

92. The 轶 "palace four stories high", is one of Sa skya's most imposing structures; it is in the centre of the sacred city, between the river Gum cu and the mountain. Of course this is not the ancient palace, but the one reconstructed by Kun dga' rin c'en. The guide describes it at length, giving a list of the most interesting things it contains.

93. I. e. bSod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. He was appointed Teg c'en and was a contemporary of Tson ka pa (Life of Tson ka pa, p. 87).

Some of these hierarchies beginning with Kun dga' bkra srid are also mentioned in the Ming shih (chap. xxxi, pp. 5, 6); it transcribes the name of Kun dga' bkra srid fastidiously as Kun dga' lez pho.

According to the Sa skya pa chronicle, he went to China in the year of the dragon 1412 and was appointed by the Emperor as Teg c'en or tseg, corresponding to the Chinese title ta ch'eng fa wang. He died in 1425.

"The king of the Law of the great vehicle was the monk of Dbus and gTsan Kun'cen stü pa 鲁布思。His disciples also called him supreme master. In the Yong le period, the Emperor Cheng tu invi-

94. Wang po corresponds to the Tibetan dbalan po, but for chronolog-ical reasons we cannot think of dbalan po Nam mk'a'i legs rgyal mtshan of the Dus meod's lha k'an of Sa skya, whom the Ming, according to the Chronicles, invested with the title of kyoan wang, chiao wang "Lord of the teaching...", and that of dbalan, as we read in the Chronicles of Gyantsze: probably these titles being transferable from father to son the person here alluded to is his son Nam mk'a'i legs rgyal mtshan an dpal bzang po. Cf. n. 84.

95. Now Lin tan 蓮生 in Kan suh.

96. He who proclaims himself the heir of the title of Ta ch'eng fa wang should be the successor of Kun dga' bkra srid, just mentioned, but I cannot find any name which might correspond to this; is san kia pa a faulty transcription of Sa skya pa?"
The son of Dhar ma dkon 'con and the grandson of the dGe bris Rin 'chen btsun sgrol, s'tags pa's counsellor. His uncle was the Bangi dan Blo gros rin 'chen, who, having gone to China, had obtained from Oljaitu an investiture over the land opposite Lha rgyud, from rTse to rGu gnyis mo (p. 22). Dhar ma dkon 'con was invested with the office of myrtaech of the land of the death of Rin chen ngag dbon, the son of the K'i dpon dkon 'con rgyal 'man, son of the Drub dden la K'un dga' rdo rje, his brother. rGyal ba dban po followed K'un dga' blo gros (1299-1327) to China and on his return he married Streg sngon dpo mo, assuming jurisdiction (K's bui) over M'don smon Lha 'kan (in Sams, vP'an gron. From his marriage he had four sons: dpon po dkon 'con 'od kyi, who was K'un dga' dpon 'khor; dkon 'khor, who was K'un dga' blo gros, and his son K'un dga' nam bi. The k'i dpon dkon 'con of the rgyal 'man, son of the Drub dden la K'un dga' rdo rje, his brother. rGyal ba dban po followed K'un dga' blo gros (1299-1327) to China and on his return he married Streg sngon dpo mo, assuming jurisdiction (K's bui) over M'don smon Lha 'kan (in Sams, vP'an gron. From his marriage he had four sons: dpon po dkon 'con 'od kyi, who was K'un dga' dpon 'khor; dkon 'khor, who was K'un dga' blo gros, and his son K'un dga' nam bi.

In his time strife broke out between the Sa skya pa and the prince of 'sNams gdon (see the Biography of Nzhon Ston K'i ta's an blo gros mc'og go 'byang chu, p. 19). A biography of his is known to me: Mi'po snyan kyi la ba'i rniem pa'i cho ri mo n mittar gsal ba'i me lugs dang po don kyi, which nags las an rag dbon K'un dga' nam bi summarized from an anonymous biography written by dKon m'og go 'byang chu. This summary, composed in a fire year, has only 19 pages and contains only a curriculum of the master's studies; it was to be vain to look for historical information in it.

95. Whose biography exists. See p. 156.
96. In his time strife broke out between the Sa skya pa and the prince of 'sNams gdon (see the Biography of Nzhon Ston K'i ta's an blo gros mc'og go 'byang chu, p. 19). A biography of his is known to me: Mi'po snyan kyi la ba'i rniem pa'i cho ri mo n mittar gsal ba'i me lugs dang po don kyi, which nags las an rag dbon K'un dga' nam bi summarized from an anonymous biography written by dKon m'og go 'byang chu. This summary, composed in a fire year, has only 19 pages and contains only a curriculum of the master's studies; it was to be vain to look for historical information in it.

99. The term 'bod kyi is a transcription of the Chinese 身形, an office overseeing connections with the Buddhist religion (see p. 32).
100. The biography of the dpon 'c'en rGyal ba dban po is contained in the rNams tser of Blo gros rgyal 'man's grags pa rgyal 'man's dbal dban po, p. 22. It is worth while to give a summary of it, for the information it contains and becomes it is certainly based on an authoritative source, like the rGyud bkod kyi yig ti'ue.
it refers to the extreme Western provinces, Guge being of course excluded as it may have preserved its independence also at this time. The mention of i'lu tug, the present district of Karigl, allows us to suppose that, at least in theory, the Mongol kings claimed their rights as far as Ladhāk. La ma (or La mā) in i'lu tug is unknown to us, unless it is to be identified with Lān dkar tsu.

In this period the Ladakh Chronicles place lha cten dnos grub, as the country's king; they say concerning him: "'K'yel par du c'te kyi gi'i rtog ston rgyun gis smon pa'i drun du gser dpon zams kyi tu ra mi gis la sogs par bka' shul, which Francke translates (p. 99) "but more important than this, he laid down before the prince of the faith, the lord of the three worlds, gold, silver, copper, coral, pearls, etc., all (present numbering) one hundred, ... and Marx observes "the Lord of the three worlds is either Buddha or Avalokiteśvara,". This interpretation is not so true: dren du means a person's material presence; C'os rje corresponds to dharmaekavim in and refers to monks famous for great sanctity or learning; to sgrug rje means to be, as we have seen, a very frequent epithet of the most greater and dignitaries. Hence it is probable that the Ladakh Chronicles here allude to a Lama, and this seems even more natural when we recall that immediately before the passage under discussion, it is said that this king sent monks for the ordination of dbu and gTsan. Who this Lama may have been, whether a Sa skya or belonging to another sect, it is difficult to say: agra mgon, sgrug rje mgon pa was an epithet of a phag pa; but sgrug rje mgon pa was also the epithet given to a 'Bri gsum rin po che (1143-1217). But this last identification is opposed by chronological difficulties, if that king is really to be placed in the XIIIth century. Some of the names here quoted are well known: gNal to the south of Lho brag (Was-silev, Gergoche, p. 37) E (bshad, p. 36), T'an po c'e (Yarlung T'an po c'e; ibid., p. 34), a'phron tibas (ibid., p. 34), On sna (On bshad, p. 35).

112. dbod gyi 'gsum = vonl'hāra, cte dan.

113. e. g. good. On a'gro mgon of Zan see dt, 41, pp. 116-118 e.

114. le hypotrochon = bsen bzar bcos ci ston.

115. The mGar family, with which the T'vāl pa connected their origin, is one of the most famous in Tibet. It is enough to recall the figure of mGar ston bstan yul zun, Ston bstan sgam po's Minister, mentioned in these Chronicles, concerning whom, besides histories of Tibet in general, see Baccot, Le mariage chinois du roi Tivedon Ston bstan sgam po, Mélanges Chinois, Boudouarets, Brussels 1913. The spelling of this name varies between mGar, dGar and aGar (in DT, Ka, p. 244, aGar ston bstan). mGar may be the name of a locality, or it may be the same as mgar, blacksmith. In primitive civilizations those who wrought iron were believed to possess magic power and hence were particularly feared; in ancient Turkish tribes there was a constant relation between kingship and the blacksmith's art. mGar ston bstan is called rgyas pa c'en, the possessor of wisdom. Rgyas pa is the Sanskrit vijnāṇa, which means not only wisdom but the magical formula.

Tibetans have a religious reverence and awe for the underground world; it is the reign of the Klu and the Sa dbag, jealous and easily angered keepers of their dwellings and of the riches they protect and defend. The foundation rites mentioned in the Klū doon, the expec-

121. T'vāl's dNal tser. One T'vāl pa K'i spon is often mentioned as dNal tser of many statues in the Guide of the Stūpa pa gsum lag kha. See Waddell, Description of Iuasia, JRAS, 1891, p. 269, 272, 274, 277, and Grünwedel, Die Tempel von Lhasa, Heidelberg, 1919. The 'On dga' bde bstan po of Waddell and Grünwedel is T'vāl po (or, as written on one cursive T'vāl's 'On dga' bde bstan po, mentioned later. Cf. SP, p. 328.

122. As usual a double merit is distinguished: the one towards the Law and one towards political power. Royal authority, according to the Indian treatises, is based on seven elements, i.e. cta swāmin, amatya, javapāda, ḍhāra, lha tsha, mdo, dharma; when we take away dharma, already mentioned, and his own person, which is the swāmin, five elements are left.

123. T'vāl pa. In PS, transl. p. 62: T'se hor; in the Life of Tson Ka's pa, p. 190: T'se hor dpal byor bstan po and T'se hor pa mnyam byams bdag byas. dpal byor bstan po was one of Tson K'a's pa's patrons. T'se po is a place or tribe name in Eastern Tibet (Was-silev, Geography Tibet, p. 47). See T'se po mgon po DT, 4, p. 6; cf. ca, p. 18.


125. The spelling of this place varies between 'aṅk 'kron and 'aṅb gun; that of the SP, 'aṅb gun, is an error.

126. T'se na name is one of the most ancient tribes of Tibet, concerning which see Thomas, Literary texts, pp. 271, 279. It is found also in K'ams, see above, p. 253.

127. Concerning 'Bri gsum pa and his life see the Pad ma dkar po's 'Gr zhugs sros, p. 169 ff. and DT, 86, p. 35 n.

128. 'Bri gsum rin po che was born, according to the DT, in Gthod (but in Pad ma dkar po: t'sod) in IDan stod. His mother, according to the same text, was called 'btsan pa ral rgyal ma bta'ams ma. Having met the a'gro bai mgon po P'ag mo gru pa, he was ordained as a monk by Žan sum 'togs pa, GT lun pa and dKis 'od guid of gNal, receiving the name of Rim c'ean dpal. He was then called a sgrug rje mgon po and he founded the monastery of 'aṅb gun in gZod stod, in 1179. In the beginning, after the death of the ālā of Žan, who had ruled P'ag gun from 1170 (legs stag) to 1177 (sme lugs) he passed to the abbotial seat of that convent, as a'gro mgon a'phag mo gru pa's second successor, and remained there up to 1179 (sme lugs), in which year he founded a'ṅb gun. Rather a foundation, we should speak of enlargement, because a monastery already existed in that place, founded by gGom rin po chad, a disciple of a'ṅb gun; he was an ascetic rather than a lama, and could not even read (see DT, 86, p. 84 f.).

129. In Pad ma dkar po (p. 169) his clan is called gTyun ru (instead of gTsyu ru). He also met the Kashmiri Pandita Mārcta.

130. Allotments to him may be found in the kgs gsum chos byun. p. 11.

131. This a'gro mgon is not the Sa skya one, but the a'gro mgon rin po che, i.e. a'phag mo gsum (see DT, 86, p. 66 f.; Pad ma dkar po, p. 163 f.: brief mentions in the kgs gsum chos byun, p. 11 f.). P'ag mo gsum pa has been born in a'ṅb gun rje tson, in the southern part of dKo Kams. He belonged to the d'Bes Ve na spam 'ton clan; his father was d'Bes Ve na A khar, and his mother's Ro skya gsum pa. He was born in the year legs stag (1110). His baptismal name, which he received at the age of nine from Lhun ne yun 'cu tu btsan k'irims and Lhun ne 'od zer rgyal mtsan, was dDogs rje rgyal po. At the age of 19 he went in the dBus region settling in t'sgya dmar in t'Sod lung, where at 23 he received the complete initiation and finished his religious and theological education. Then he went to gTsan and met the monk of Drag dkar po, Ngag mug ne, Bu sgam po in Bur and the Sa skya abbot Sa c'ten Kun dga's ston po, Kumbzadubdi, Latsawa of bYi'man, Bum sems zla ba rgyal mtsan, Manyug sgam po. In 1151 he met t'sge sgam po pa, Mī la ras pa's disciple. In 1158 he transferred himself to P'ag mo gsum and dwelt there in a small cell, which later became the famous monastery of that name. Among his first frequenters, sTog hun t'an pa is mentioned. There he stopped until 1170 (legs stag), the year of his death. Thus he is connected both with the Sa skya tradition, Sa cten having been one of his principal masters, and with the bKa' bsdug pa tradition, represented by t'sge sGcam po pa's school. But he also had close relations with the bKa' gsum pa school; thus it was natural for the times he lived in, when the sects, as I have amply shown, were still undifferentiated.

131. Concerning whom see note 127.

132. I. e. dbon rim po c'es descendance.

133. Nāropa's master. See above, p. 252.
132. sGom pa, as we saw, is the title of civil and military governors of the Abhi gun; their office was equivalent to that of the dpon c'chen Sa skya pa, but originally, as may be deduced from note 123, their office consisted in administering convents, like the pAg mo. And religious heads of this sect regularly keep the title of Yttsu stc, like the pAg mo group.

133. I. e. Grags pa bsod nams.

134. This alludes to the destruction of Abhi gun, which took place in 1290. (See below, p. 634 and DT, 88, p. 108 f. The expression glin leg is interpreted by S. Ch. Das as: revolution, internal discord, but this meaning is ruled out, for instance, by the use of the expression respecting Rva gsum, which was destroyed by the Mongol invasion, without any internal revolt. The meaning "destruction," is clear in the following sentence of Padma dkar po's (72 a): Ag glu gyi rgyal stongbs nas obd K'lin glin leg khee. "As len having called Chinese soldiers, destroyed Abhi gun."

For a similar legend one may compare the story of Karunamitra who, when his house was burnt by the approaching troops of Vangala, embraced the lotus feet of Buddha and ascended to Heaven. Epigraphs India, XI, p. 290.

135. I. e. he who respects the 22 bka' gsum p'epepe, namely the twenty teachings (c'bs) of nong lozixava and the two teachings of K'u, that is K'ut'en (see bka' gsum c'os shuyaw, p. 17). These teachings are known as the Bu c'os, to distinguish them from the Tsb c'os, Atu'a's teachings, which are 28 (see ch'I bstan rin legs las pad gsum rin cta gsum gsum lha gsum k'jna sma bka' lha bva ma)

136. There is then a distinction between the sGom c'chen and the sGom c'chen who was probably the former's vice-regent or successor.

137. I. e. bsod nams (nams) rin (c'chen).

138. Lun bka' is regularly said of imperial edicts or diplomas (cfr. p. 79 f). Instances are frequent in the Sa skya chronicles, where the titles conferred by the Mongol Emperors on abbots are called um bka'.

139. I. e. they abandoned the red cap and adopted the yellow one.

140. gsum du gsum. On the events which follow, see SP, transl. p. 652 a.

141. On this tale of Nan see Indo-Tibetic IV, part I, p. 84 and above p. 35. In the Ming shih, chap. 351, relations are recorded with the monks pi li hung wa; this place can only be Abhi gun, but I have not found all the names of the dignitaries recorded in the Ming shih in the Tibetan sources.

"Shan chiao wang Gos Wang was the monk of Pi li hung wa 必力工王".

In the beginning of Cheng tu (beginning from 1401) the monk Chih kuan, bearing the imperial diplomas, entered among the barbarians.

The kuo shih Tuan chen chien shih 諸竹袈裟發 sent envoy to offer the tribute. In the first Yung le year (1405) they came to court, and the Emperor was pleased and offered banquet and gifts; then they went back. In the fourth year they again brought tribute. The Emperor increased his gifts and also gave the kuo shih, great pandita, and Li shih 設師, master of monastic rules, So nan t'ang pu 錫南軸卜 dresses and silks. In the eleventh year he further gave him the title of Kun t'ang t'ieh' u hui ch'ingh tu kuo shih. ch'ingh tu kuo shih. liu ts'ai liu ts'ai liu ts'ai liu ts'ai

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160. I. i. Luon 'kha's hill mo's three sons, Bod ajont the son of the eldest of them, rGya hill 'bhun and his three sons.

161. Notice how the number 13 recurs; it is typical of Bon po classifications. See Appendix two.

162. These verses are fragments of ancient songs glorifying the noble and warlike families; Ge'sar's epic is the only document which, to far, has reached us in its entirety. Notice that the Sa skya pa's story is repeated also for the P'ag mo gru pa: the clan is derived from a forefather of heavenly origin, descended upon earth, while his other brothers remain in heaven.

To pray the gods (in the present case, under the influence of ideas imported from India, Brahmā), the family's forefather goes on the mountain to offer a propitiatory sacrifice. The mountain is sacred to the gNan, indeed it is inhabited by them (gNan po can). The sacrifice is performed in the first month of the year and it is concluded by the theophany, in a rainbow-coloured light.

The song closes with the prophecy of Byan c'ub rGya mten-'tshan's birth, which may be either a later addition inserted into the song when he had firmly established his dominions, or it points to the date in which these songs were written down in a literary form.

165. An allusion to one of the many wars with China, fought at the time of the first kings, from Ston bisam spam po up to Ra' pa can. In Ge'sar's epic cycle the war against China is also mentioned. Concerning these armies of animals and monstrous creatures, defeating China, see also Appendix two, § 10.

166. On Ge'sar's cuirass made of shells see David Neel, Le Vé tibétain de Guider, p. 114.

167. The mdo mo is born from a yak and a cow. The allusion to the division of the P'ag mo gru into three branches: the lamas on the abbatial see, the Gon ma and the gdon gyud stis pa, those who continued the lineage. See above p. 28.

168. Notice, concerning rLais, that rLais is also the name of a region.

169. Manasarovar.

170. The family took its name from him: Lha gzig gsum gyud. The adi'el ak'el means he enslaves fiends, adi', and uses them as slaves, submits them to his will. The legend concerning this ancestor of the P'ag mo gru is connected with Ge'sar's cycle, which is precisely an epic on the hero's struggle with fiends. On the adi'el see Appendix two.

171. I do not find this prophecy either in the KT, or in the P'TY.

172. tvams pa gos II has mentioned, without being designated as one of the seven sad mi. A little later also Gla ma dpal gis sen ge, who according to the fifth Dalai Lama was his son, is mentioned. Concerning cemeteries see Indo-Tibética, III, part II, p. 173 and above, p. 542. A description of the bha'i ma t'al it is to be found in the P'TY, chap. XXII (transl. by Tousignant, p. 110).

173. The Lhas are evidently the gods of the Bon po pantheon, and the esDre, as we saw, a class of fiends. See Appendix two. All these brothers then preserve Bon c'ub adre sko's character, that is, they are imagined by tradition as exercising and wizards.

174. This Ge c'a slais k'am pa is not in the list of the seven sad mi which the rGyal ra's has handed down to us (concerning them see Lauffer, The Empire period, p. 9, n. 24; Dir Remp. II, p. 174a), but in Bu'som's list (see Obermiller, p. 190). Ka ta na of gLais is precisely the central one, between the first and the last three.

Let us compare the lists of the 7 sad mi:

KT (es, p. 16):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gsar snam of rBa</th>
<th>dPal dbiyans of rBa</th>
<th>Lha gsum rGya mc'og</th>
<th>dPal gyi tso rje of Lha luin</th>
<th>Rin c'en mc'og of rMa</th>
<th>K'ti bier of rBa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vairocana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bu STON (II list, complete works, p. 127, Obermiller, p. 190):

Ma'gri of rBa

Ratnaśrīkāta of rBa

Kamikuta of Bstan (Obermiller's reading: Kumudika, is better)

Nāgendra of A'kon

Vairocana of stPa nor

Debdra of tTsan (missing in Obermiller who substitutes for it Rin c'en mc'og of rMa)

Katan of Lha

Bu STON (II list, complete works, p. 127, Obermiller, p. 190): [Bya k'i gzig] stana gsal

rGyal ba mc'og dbiyans of Nan lam (but Obermiller has the erroneous reading: Ran la)

rCya mc'og

K'ti bier of rBa

Vairocana

Legt'grub of tTsan

Klui dban po brun 'ba

rGyal taks (p. 126b):

Raina the son of rBa sa'i<br>Śīkṣaprabha the son of A'ko of mC'iims

Vairocana

rGyal ba mc'og dbiyans of Nan lam

Klui dban po brun 'ba of A'kon (who, according to a gloss, is not considered by some texts as one of the seven)

bTsan legt grub

KT (es, p. 67a):

Vairocana

Nam mk'a's tain po

rGyal ba mc'og dbiyans

Ye 'rts dban 'po

K'ti bier

San 'tsi ral na

rGyal ba byan c'ub

From this comparison between the different lists it appears that the tradition on the first seven persons who are said to have received monastic ordination in Tibet, is far from sure and credible. It was established in later times, when some of the families who had increased their influence wished to be linked with the first glories of Buddhism, now triumphant, and to boast a priority of devotion as compared with other clans.

In the Le pa yas yig (p. 62) K'am po ga' c'ma is mentioned, without being designated as one of the seven sad mi. A little later also Gla ma dpal gis sen ge, who according to the fifth Dalai Lama was his son, is mentioned.

Concerning cemeteries see Indo-Tibética, III, part II, p. 173 and above, p. 542. A description of the bha'i ma t'al it is to be found in the P'TY, chap. XXII (transl. by Tousignant, p. 110).

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176. I. c. munificent donors: Yon bdag c'en po; but in the tradition this epithet is not separated from his personal name. The s'yan tsa's biography is also to be found in Pad ma dkar po (p. 170b).

After having taken vows at 11, he assumed the name of Gags pa abyu gnas, under which he is known in the DT (p. 174a and ff.). In this work is related a contest of magic between him and a Bρuza lam, which is very important because it proves the presence of wizards in Gilgit (on this equivalence Bru = Gilgit), see Lauffer, Dir Breita-Sprech, p. 3 (reprint) and the survival of Bon po practices in the heart of Tibet up to late times. See Appendix two.

177. Pad ma dkar po (p. 170b) and DT (p. 175) explain the origin of this epithet sgyon 'tan by saying that sgyon 'tang, "footman," of the C'o's tje of rBi gun, sitting always in front of him (sgyon 'tan) he was called sgyon 'tan. Nevertheless the religious head of the P'ag mo gru continued to bear this title.

The C'o's tje of rBi gun entrusted him with the monastery of P'ag mo gru, which he ruled up to his master's death, when he was invited to occupy the abbatial seat in rBi gun itself. During this period rDo rta nag'i invasion, which we have already mentioned more than once, took place; the DT (p. 76) and Pad ma dkar po (p. 171) tell it almost in the same words: "During the seventh year (of his residence in rBi gnas), namely in the year iron-rhino 1240, the news came that the Hor soldiers had reached A'Dam, and all the monks of rBi gun gave were preparing to flee; but, he said there was nothing to fear, remained to inspire them with courage. In the beginning the Hor general was Mi Ll byi, who, as soon as he saw him, had faith in him and, the same feelings that bind a son to his father being born in him (towards the lama), he promised to present him with gifts, and without harming men or beasts he went back. Then, after 18 days, rDo rta, who had become a general (of the Hor) arrived. Having taken the s'gong pa Sa' kya rin t'un, he was leading
him away, when stones began to rain from the sky. He then asked what it was, and the t'yan sna said: "As you have taken the t'god pa of the holy son, the holy son (dan bu) is displeased. And the holy son being displeased, the sky is displeased..." He asked him what was to be done, and he answered: "The holy son does not till the fields, but by placing in this one's hands the offerings made by others, he protects the community. Hence tDo ra, so full of sins, became extraordinarily stern. And the soldiers, more soft-mannered than peddlers, went back without doing any harm. (Ku ca ned par lag)..."

The holy son... dam bu, is used instead of "I..." The reference to the sky shows that the lama adapted himself to and took advantage of the religious beliefs of the invaders.

Whom the DT mistakenly calls the son of Yon c'en Sans gya skyabs, instead of rGyal ba skyabs; their mother was the same.

"tsen is a honorific synonym of 'c'en, as we learn from Pad ma dkar po, who tells the same tale. According to the DT (â, p. 78 a), having heard of his fame, Hu La sent him rich gifts three times; Pad ma dkar po said: "He was appointed chaplain by Hu la, a chief (ba's bo) of Ji go pa (Genghis Khan), who, believed to be an incarnation of heaven, heard the voice of thunder (i.e. converted with thunder) and did other terrific things. Fearing last he should seize the kingdom of China, he had been banished in the Sog po territory, and due to his great merits had taken possession of s'Tod Hor, also conquering K'a c'e."

In Pad ma dkar po: Bod ya tra in DT: Ya te. Ya te is in Porang; see Francis, Chronicles of Lhalu, p. 169 (from Sum pa ma't po's).

"T'el ba'an or dGdan sa mt'll, according to SP and Cooma de Keiris's table, was founded in 1158.

r'Kun k'i may be a place-name (but r'Kun k'i dpon is in the sense of a Brog p'a; cf. r'Kun k'i mor ldan, synonymous with aBrog pa in mNin byid kyi bstan mez at pa snyan, fol. 120)."

"gzi is he: that this is the meaning of such a word a result from the context of the Chronicles and of the other documents published in the present book. This name is given to lands ceded to monasteries, that their revenue may be used to perform the prescribed ceremonies, and in this case they are called c'er gzi ka, mo'd gzi ka; or ceded to private persons who enjoyed their income. The gzi ka was often exempted from tribute. The spelling is uncertain; in the life of Kun dga' rin c'en we always find gzi dge. The present-day meaning is "country house," c. pl. gzi, family property.

"drag zin is a term that frequently recurs in the texts we have studied: drag pa is nobleman, drag rie nobility; zin vile, humble; hence drag zin must be understood as a collective name: nobles and plebeians. In the fifth Dalai Lama's biography (p. 66 b) we find: drag rie dan dmuu pa, nobles and plebeians; idd., p. 74 a: zin do gtus pa! drag rie, the nobles with the hierarchic at their head; in the Life of SBSod nam mo'ig ldan, by the same author (p. 165 b); drag zin abra, the nobles, the plebeians and the middle classes. However, in the Gyantse chronicles, it is opposed to ni dmisan, i.e. to the populace, and in the same text we also read drag btsan, which are synonymous. See above p. 39.

I. 1. T'ag mo gru pa.

The same fact is alluded to in the DT, â, p. 78 b.

"c'en nag - c'en dan nag ma."

Cfr. DT, â, p. 79 a. We have already spoken about Ti gri g'od zed in note 78.

For the intricate vicissitudes of the P'ag mo gru myriarchy see Appendix one.

Log rogg is the imprint of the hands; honorific form: p'ag stages legitimization of a document or consecration of a sacred object, e. g. a painting, by pressing it on the inked hand or fingers. In this case perhaps it only means a seal.

See above p. 69.

Viz. Byan c'uB gyal mtsan.

Prophecy contained in chap. 92 of the PTY (see Tousignant's translation, p. 179).

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232. The Nān pa rNams rgyal brags pa of Abhūtī gun. Nān pa corresponds to Nān in.
233. bstan 'jus; bstan 'jus ma de dpag 'bsug pa'i 'ag tu sā ha.
234. See P'TY, chap. XXII (transl. by TOUSSAINT, p. 135).
235. gyi yid. Da zha ka 's e it occurs also in the dictionary of Zā lu VIII (see LAUTER, Lao words, n. 158). Prof. Ernst Boess, whom I have consulted concerning this word, adds to the bibliography: FISCHER, Translation of the Turkic Drama Rubār, by ABULMATIQ HAMED, Leipzig, 1944, p. 8, and BJÖRNEMANN, Brüche zug Geschichte der Staatstheorie in islamischen Ägypten, Hamburg, 1928, p. 166.
236. It is clear from this speech that the Sa skyas' downfall was due to internal discord. Not only the various branches of the family were jealous and suspicious of one another, but the dpon c'en began to betray them. We have seen that the dpon c'en rGyal ba bzan po had passed on the Si tu's side; the other dpon c'en brTson aguo, who succeeded him, probably fearing his intrigues or his betrayal, took his life in Lha rte.
237. kva te'i see above, n. 206.
238. c'glen = c'glen rjabs. juy bdams.
239. Notice the use of skor, about, with numerals (bya ba skor ~ about a hundred, etc.) very frequent in this text.
240. Lha rte on the bTsan po, at small distance from Sa skyas. Concerning Byan see above.
241. In which it was forbidden to take up arms without the Si tu's order.
242. The C'en po of tNel already mentioned.
243. Garrisoned, as we can see, by the Si tu's troops.
244. Brother of the Bla ma Dpan bsod nams rgyal m'tan (1110-1158).
245. Son of Kun dga' legs pa abi byon gnas (1332-1362).
246. Prince of Brag dkar (see pp. 94, 128). It is not correct, as S.C. CH. DAS says, that the Si tu himself went to China.
247. The rdzons founded in dBus and gTsan during the C'en rgya, dynast of sNge dbod gdon, by them or their ministers, are mentioned in the following list by klong rdol bla ma (v, p. 14 k):
248. rTse (An nge dbod rdzons)
249. p'byor sgas p'yan byar sTag rtsi rdzons (O'l dga' sTag rtsi rdzons)
250. dBus stod Byi ri stag rtsi rdzons
251. Brag dkar gsan sngags bde c'en rdzons
252. dPal yul lhun grub rdzons
253. sKyid sde smad Yar rgyab gon dkar rdzons
254. sBis ka sna rdzons
255. C'u lugs rdzons
256. Yar abrg dPal sde rdzons
257. Ron ri spu rdzons
258. Nān stod rGyal m'ka stag rtsi rdzons
259. Nān stod Pa thams lhun grub rdzons
260. At the same time old rdzons were reconstructed, namely:
261. bSams agrub rtsi rdzons of the sde pa of gTsan
262. gTsan stod Lha rtsi rdzons (sKyid sde gDon m'ka rdzons)
263. dBa stod po ti in Lhasa

Nge dbod rdzons, the capital of Pāg mo gru (S.C. CH. DAS, Journey ed. Rockhill, p. 230), must not be identified with gKha's sNge dbod, near rTse' tan, on the Southern bank of the Brahmaputra (dBla bya grub rgyas blad, p. 41, of my miss, not in WASSILIEFF: p'gyon rgyas rdson don yan bstan sku sna rdzons). Nge dbod rdzons is near rTse' tan to the east of the sKyid c'u (sKyid ge brsno, Geography Tibet, p. 22) to the South of sTod lung (S.C. CH. DAS, Rockhill, ed., p. 145, Toiling). This feud belonged for several generations to a collateral branch of kings of Nge dbod, i.e. the Pāg mo gru pa, until their last descendants, the brother DruN nag dban bsod nams rgyal po and Nag dban bSams nams lhun grub were deprived of their territory by Don yod sde rdzons. Bu 'kid dpal rdzon, the wife of their grandfather DruN gtags dpal bzan and Dpon mo Saits rgyas, the wife of DruN Maks dpal, took up their abode in the monastery of dPal abrog lhun po, behind the Potala, and contributed to the printing of the complete works of rGya tshab dar ma rin c'en (see KLONG'rDOL, "p. 15 s.
264. As we read in the dBla bya grub rgyas blad stod bmad kun gsal gdos le byi byin grol no mo han, known through WASSILIEFF's transcription of Minchue Kutuktu (p. 12 of my copy), some divided Tibet into two parts: Bod c'un and Bod c'en po, great and small Tibet, the first being dBus and gTsan and the second mDo K'ams. But this division is not accepted by the author, not being based upon any plausible reason.
265. As LAUTER justly remarks, the Bod c'en po of the Lhasa inscription has no geographical value; it is modelled on the Chinese Ta t'ang.
266. bHar bsun.
267. or sixteen; according klong rdol in the kLong rtsi snyin bfol bzhin tS'i'gyi min bzhin gral, p. 7 a, which summarizes the rGya ral pp. 68-69 (s. CH. DAS, IRAS B. 1881, p. 219).
1) you shall not kill, you shall not steal, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not bear false witness
2) faith in the three gims, and practice of the holy Law
3) you shall not be ungrateful to your parents
4) you shall honour virtue, nobility, old age
5) a kind heart towards mankind
6) be helpful to your fellow-citizens
7) be unassuming, and straightforward in your speech
8) follow noble men and think upon future life
9) be moderate in eating and in accumulating riches
10) do not use rude language to your friends
11) pay your debts in due time
12) do not counterfeit weight and measure
13) be of an even temper with all and bear no envy
14) do not lend an ear to the words of wicked friends
15) speak kind words
16) be welcoming and generous

252. These laws are enounced in a schematic and symbolical form.
They have been preserved, and will be studied by me in a work to be published shortly on ancient Tibetan law.
253. Dvags po sde, i.e. sGam po pa, Maitreya's disciple.
254. In the year 1315. Instead of rTse' tan, the fifth Dalai Lama himself often used the form rTsete dan, rTsete dan gi dgon c'en. (Life of the Zor pa tams cad mk'yen, complete works, Vol. 7a, pp. 10-17).
255. From now on the visceritudes of the Pāg mo gru pa are followed in the Ming shih, Chap. 211, p. 9 b ff., to which we must refer for all the events concerning this family.
256. stShan hwa wang lha gnyen was a monk of dBus and gTsan. At the beginning of the fifty year Huang wu (1372) (the commander of the qarmin of Ho chu (河州) said that in the country of P'a mu chu pa (怕木竹巴) in dBus and gTsan there was a monk who was called Chang yang sha chia chien tsang (常陽沙伽賚, in which the Manchu transcription of Kublai Khan's name is used). In the year 251, according to the Ming shih, Chapt. 211, p. 9 b ff., to which we must refer for all the events concerning this family.
257. In the year 1372, the Emperor conferred upon him his eighth year, and brought tributes of images of the Buddha, Buddhist books and religious necklaces. Meanwhile the Emperor had already offered Fo gao kuo shih to act in such a manner as to bring the barbarous peoples into submission, and then the monks of P'a mu chu pa, who gave themselves the name of Nien pu shi (尼磐尸) sent envoys to bring their document of surrender and tributes of local articles. The Emperor gave them great gifts. Nien pu shi in that country means first monk. In the first month of the eighth year (1375) the Emperor ordered the rgya c'en of P'a mu chu pa to be established, and entrusted this task to the chief of the barbarians. When Chang yang sha chia died (the Emperor) conferred on his successor, So nan chai su pa i chien tsang p'u 鎮川扎巴<input> or 甘扎巴 of the title of "Kuan tzing kuo shih". In the 215th year (1375) he notified the Emperor that he was ill and suggested as his successor his cousin Cha ta su pa i chien tsang p'u.1 The three chieftains of the Barbarian tribes were defeated.
258. Since that time, every three years he sent to offer tributes. When Ch'eng tso succeeded to the throne (1403) he sent the monk Chih kuan 智光 to bring gifts. In the first year Yung-lè (1403) that monk sent his envoys who came to offer tributes. In the fourth year (1406) the Emperor conferred upon him the title of Kuan tzing kuo shih, and he was given the jade seal with the dragon-headed button, too
In the year 1409, the minister of rites appointed two Tibetan monks, ranking as first and second envoy, to go and confer the investiture upon them. When they arrived, the new prince also had died. His son then claimed the title and the title of Shan Chiao Wang. He prepared an envoy and was given half of the tribute and silk. The minister of rites then asked the emperor to confirm the investiture. The emperor ordered that this should hold good in order that they should be condemned to death. The minister changed the death penalty into an enforced residence (for the first envoy). The others (beginning from the envoys of the second rank downwards) were pardoned. In the third year Cheng te (1508) as the envoys appointed to bring the tribute were above the prescribed number, the emperor ordered that this should hold good also for the tributes of the succeeding years.

In the year 1424, the minister of rites was asked to send two envoys and an official of rites (形役) to convey the emperor's encomiums to the prince of Tibet (即往), who was then married to the daughter of the emperor. The minister of rites conspired to obtain two envoys as envoys to his country. When the envoys arrived, the minister of rites took them to look into the matter thoroughly and to send in a report. In the 43rd year the Shun hua wang and other 36 Tibetan tribes, between great and small, proposed that they should be invited to pay the tribute. The minister of rites, as the name of the country and of the tribes was not stated, ordered the prefect of that territory to look into the matter thoroughly and to send in a report. In the 43rd year the Shun hua wang and other 36 Tibetan tribes, between great and small, proposed that they should be invited to pay the tribute. The minister of rites, as the name of the country and of the tribes was not stated, ordered the prefect of that territory to look into the matter thoroughly and to send in a report. In the 43rd year the Shun hua wang and other 36 Tibetan tribes, between great and small, proposed that they should be invited to pay the tribute.
the words of the Cabinet Minister Shen Yi kuo (sic) — it, he changed his title into that of Pa nu chu pa kun tao ting kuo shih shan hua wang of dBus and gTan 烏斯藏木梅巴珠源國師潤化才. From that time on his successors offered tributes without interruption. The objects they offered were painted Buddhas, bronze Buddhas, bronze stupas, cornal, haircutter horns, Tibetan velvet, tassels for hats made of hair. The princes offered toehlike tributes.

a) As we have seen above, Lin hsia in Kan tshu.

b) P'ag mo gru pa.

c) Aja dbyan is kya rgyal mt'san.

d) Byan 'cub rgyal mt'san, who has nothing in common with the P'ag mo gru prince of the same name, To kan is D'o k'ams.

2) Kun wru thig is unknown to me.

3) Bsdod nam bzhan must be the father of Ajan dbyan gu srid; hence he is the chief of the clan; he was gsum rgyal gsal tshin "continuator of the lineage", but had neither civil nor religious authority.

4) Rin po c'e.

5) Bsdod nam grags pa rgyal mt'san, but the Chinese transcription supports grags pa with the sign of a pronounced genitive and bzhan po at the end [dPal] bzhan po.

6) Grags pa rgyal mt'san; notice the different transcription of grags pa; he is Sa kya tzin c'en's eldest son.

7) In Sut ch'un.

8) I. e. the Kuo shih of Abri gun pa.

9) Abri or Btri. See above.

10) Bsa'i sras.

11) Grags pa abysan gna's rgyal mt'san dpal bzhan po who is not his son but the son of a younger brother.

12) Sinds rgyas rgyal mt'san dpal bzhan po.

According to the Tibetan sources, the latter was the successor, on the rTse 'can throne of his son Kun dga' legs, who left that abbatial seat to ascend the sNamas gdon rite throne in the year 1448, without occupying the abbatial seat; he was men so of rTse 'can up to the year of his death, me gian, 1457. The Ming shih seems to bring proofs of this chief's restlessness; he tried to obtain supreme power, wretting it from his own sons. He seems not to have recognized Kun dga' legs' pretensions and to have put himself forward as the successor of Grags pa abysan gnas, asking for China's recognition. He obtained it, for on his death Kun dga' legs' succession is spoken of. This proves, anyhow, that in this lapse of time internal discord troubled the P'ag mo gru pa family. The Chinese and Tibetan sources differ on the date of Sinds rgyas rgyal mt'san's death: the Ming shih places it in 1469 and the Deb t'er in 1457 with a difference of a duodenary cycle.

13) Kun dga' legs abysan gns rin c'en rgyal mt'san dpal bzhan po.

14) Today the capital of Koks-nor.

15) Western Sut ch'un, near Ta chien lu; see Ming shih, chap. 111, p. 19.

16) I. e. The Sa skya pa abbott. See above.

17) According to the chronological tables, the latter should be Nag gi dban r'ygig, but there is no correspondence with the Chinese transcription.

18) Nag dban bkra' iis gra's pa rgyal mt'san.

19) This name seems to correspond to bKra' iis dban po, but I found no trace of it in the Tibetan sources.

20) Ming shih, chap. 218.

21) The rTag gnas points out the Hevajra tantra; from the sentence bha' pot bts'i' the four sections of the scriptural suttas, the meaning of the word pot is clear; it has nothing to do with po ti, rtsobs, but is derived from the Chinese pa tiis section (see Ladpr, Lean words, p. 410, n. 2).

The four sections are perhaps Sutra, Vinaya, Abhidharma and Tantra.

22) On whom see Petech, Chronicles of Ladeh, p. 20 ff. and Appendix two.

23) lag par gsk'u bs; Kun dga' bkra' iis, a Sa skya pa lama (1349-1423).

24) One of the terrific forms of P'yang na rdo rje (see Indo-Tibetica, III).

25) His biography is also in the DT, sa, p. 80. He is also known as Co btsi pa gnor ma.

26) The T'ai is tui's younger brother.

27) DPal ldan bla ma dam pa, a title under which bSod nam rgyal mt'san is known, the Sa skya lama we have spoken of and who enjoyed great prestige for his learning and sanctity.

28) According to the DT (sa, p. 80 b) and other sources, Tsion ka pa also learned from him Ngorpa's six laws, on which he is known to have written a commentary.

29) See also the DT, Bsl.

30) But according to the bKa' gnam gtsi shubs (p. 94 b), he had from another wife, sDdom dpam rnor, another son, Rin po c'e Dsun grub rgyal po, who was abbott of Te'l and received from the Emperor the title of G'i gtii.

31) Before bSod nam rgyal mt'san, the DT (sa, p. 81 b) places bSod nam bzhan po, also mentioned by bKa' gnam gtsi shubs (p. 94 b), see also (Tsion ka pa's life, which says he was the master's contemporaries) correcting the date of his death, which is not exact: not in shubs (1404) but me shubs (1416). On bSod nam rgyal mt'san see Bsl, pp. 92 and 93, which also contain allusions to Byan 'cub rdzo rje.

32) The story of the Yuan's fall is told more or less in the same manner also by a fragment of the new dynasty's found in Br. Thus also in Sayang Sakan (p. 511 ff).
The text appears to be a translation or an excerpt from a historical or biographical Chinese work, discussing the life and rule of the fifth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, also known as the 14th Dalai Lama. The text references various historical events, transitions, and figures related to the Tibetan and Chinese empires, and the reign of the Dalai Lama.}

The text contains references to historical events such as the succession of kings, the role of the Dalai Lama in religious and temporal matters, and interactions with Chinese emperors and other significant figures in Tibetan history. The text also mentions the Dalai Lama's genealogy, his role as a spiritual leader, and his impact on Tibet and China.

Some specific points highlighted in the text include:

- The role of the Dalai Lama in the Tibetan government and the monastic hierarchy.
- The influence of the Dalai Lama on Chinese politics and history.
- The relationship between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese emperors.

The text is rich with historical details and provides insights into the complex interactions between Tibet and China during the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama.

This text is a valuable resource for understanding the historical context and significance of the Dalai Lama's role in Tibetan and Chinese history.
391. Follows a list of the works and paintings he caused to be executed in the monasteries of stPal pa Iha kha' in Lha ldan, of Co tong, of bKra shis rgyal, of brag nag and dbyung gling.

392. For rgya gar. Byes is a seat in a country not one's own; see means: alternated hence I think that see byes should be understood precisely as a garrison, troops temporarily sent in one place, awaiting to be utilized.

393. bu gser; Editorial comment is accompanied to the Indian system.

394. mo rut. On see above, n. 256.

395. bu dsten bya mtshan lnga po. See above, n. 256.

396. see aho, Senge namdrel, be in a discouraging, depressed condition.

397. sogs pa. See above, n. 256.

398. sogs pa. See above, n. 256.

399. In the Gyantse Chronicles: IDan yul, which terms erroneous.

400. In the Gyantse Chronicles: dpal.

401. See Ino-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 79.

402. rgyal po, in the sense of enjoin, coat of arms.

403. 1. S. Ch. Dns, JlRAs, p. 248. 2. Couch 1911, p. 106, but is the Chinese fring 3. Se in, to real, sral.

404. SEtion, dsal dbang. 2. See above, n. 181.

405. sogs. See above, n. 256.

406. Ino-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 79.

407. Ino-Tibetica, IV, part 1, p. 65 ff.

408. Ibu gsum tshigs. See above, n. 256.

409. The discipline of Ton k'a pa, see above, n. 120. But according to the calendar, the month of this year, the relation was broken off.

410. The narrative of the construction of the bKra shis gsal man and of the dedication of the large tsa khang on wooden material. The fifth Dalai Lama, on this occasion, does not speak of his rebellion against Grags pa rgyal mtshan, on which however see above, n. 27.

411. Ino-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 79.

412. Named Grags pa abysn gnyos; Gyal tshab it Tson k'a pa's disciple on whom see above, n. 159.

413. See above, n. 188.

414. Ino-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 79.

415. The prince P'un sum gnyos is not known to me. gyag gser, perhaps the administrator of the frontier territories, of the land behind the lines; rgya tshug dkon mchog - auxiliary troops.

416. See S. Ch. Dns, op. cit., p. 331. The spelling of this place varies between the forms of the Odga 'Ol og' and 'Ol dag' (e.g. in the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography). For the name, compare 'Ol ma, an altar celebrated in the mythological geography of Bon. Has this name any relation with the Turkish Olga, territory, province? The uncertainty of the spellings of 'Ol ka, 'Ol k'a, 'Ol dag', would seem to confirm the foreign origin of the word.


418. Ino-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 79.

419. See above, n. 188.

420. Ino-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 79.

421. Ino-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 79.

422. See S. Ch. Dns, op. cit., p. 249.

423. Ino-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 50. But the quotations do not necessarily correspond.

424. See above, n. 188.

425. The one struck by lightning; see above, n. 314.

426. Dpul gnis, deity of the cycle of the Mgon po.

427. Dpul gnis, see above, n. 314.
The relations between master and disciple are stated as relations of spiritual sonship: c's ras opposed to rige ras.

tse idol. This seems to be the meaning, not the more usual "having collected the taws..."

It must refer to one of the invasions of tse 1279, 77 or 81 (see p. 10).

Son of Kun dga' legs he was not Gon ma, that is, he had no royal power but he remained at the head of tse'i tshis authority, however, cannot have been negligible, if he could elect myriarchs, but he lived in a period in which the Phag mo gru family was undergoing a deep crisis.

bshes kyi. In, i.e., as we have seen, opposed the tshis Si tu.

tsug, which may be a catapult or a gun; but in this case the usual form is rta' tsug (Bells: me' sgrags).

This proves that podrang was practised in this family too.

Then taken by Don yon rdo rje of Rin spuns (see above, p. 112 and p. 354. n. 6). Above, instead of Cu fol, it is written Cu fol.


cbod pa'i bzhin be, in, S. CH. Das, s. v.

cbod pa'n "tuk ned.

In an early period, then, dGa' ldam sided with Rin spuns; when this happened it is difficult to say, as any chronological reference is lacking.


gsn gis = gsn nu, on these events see pp. 44 and 642.

An allusion to the struggle between the Gon ma c'en po Nag dban bka'i tsi'gras pa and the Zabs drun gog dban grags pa.

Kun ma'. Notice the fifth Dalai Lama's periphrases in relating the conduct of the prince of dGa' ldam who sided with the Zabs drun Nag grags against the Gon ma c'en po (see above, p. 103). The dGa' ldam po had become the masters of the dGa' legs po, and he tries most artfully to exclude their conduct and to place their exploits in a favourable light.

On this see Inesa-Tibetica, II. It must be remembered that gNan lde' rdo 'gun was gLan dar ma's son.

Mi dpun. An allusion to the war caused by the princes of GTsang the "spirit race", are the Tibetans.

K'i ba'i 'bul ma yun s'am bsa lit drung bas. Bod it here considered distinct from the Bod c'en.

The usual formulae, gnos bshis, gnos gyes bshes pa (Jig rgya'i rgya po rje, p. 18; transl. p. 54).

Zin kuns gtsan du a gnyis ba'i'i 'bul pa, The Zabs drun gon ma is Nag dban bka'i rgya'gs pa.

See above, p. 111.

Hence the kings of GTsang do not belong to the family of the princes of Rin spuns: the same fact is repeated which we have always noticed in the course of this period of Tibetan history: ministers become independent of their masters, next they try to take their place.

It is surprising that the fifth Dalai Lama passes over the troubled period of struggles which caused the fall of the GTsang kingdom, indeed given almost no information concerning it. He does not even mention the names of the kings who succeeded one another on the throne of bSsam sgrub rje and who not only brought about the P'ags mo gru pa's decay, but also threatened and plotted against the Yellow Sect, as it spread and gained power. Without the brief information given by Sum pa mkhan po or gleaned from other works, whether Tibetan, European or Chinese, next to nothing would be known about this bold dynasty. The fifth Dalai Lama confines himself to the quotation of some prophecies, one of which say "in the GTsang region a king will arise, bearing the name of Pad ma..." an allusion to Pad ma dkar po's son, T'she brtan rdo rje.

Three princes assumed power when, with Nag dban nag'gyi med grags pa, the Rin spuns' authority came in reality to an end, terminated by them with a revolt (see above, p. 45). According to what is written in the MC (p. 286) their family belonged to the clan of gNags and boasted descent from the same lineage which had given birth to Jñānakumāra, a contemporary of Padmasambhava. Through various events, a branch of this clan had come to Rin spuns and belonged to the local nobility, as may be desumered from the office the Rin spuns had entrusted them with. Sources are very scanty concerning these military chieftains who tried to renew Tibet's former political authority. They were only three, and their attempt came to a tragic end with the third one. What Khon drol bla ma says when briefly summing up this family's ups and downs, is worth translating (complete works, vol. iv, p. 158): "King Gu Si came to Tibet invited by the Phag mo of the GTsang...

Nonetheless it is certain that it was precisely Khon ma P'un tshogs who brought the family to great power; in bSsam nam dkar po's biography

97
The MCDRIP, PAIRDO COURANT, Dayan Dkar is Go fasc. i., may be contradicted by Sum pa Rdo rje, who says that when La Ges ldan (alias Lingdan) had changed his name to Dayan Dkar, together with his father Bud rdo rje, to maintain peace.

The same mistake is made by A'dgis med rig rdo rje, who says that when Legs Idan (alias Lingdan), having changed his attitude towards the dGe lugs pa, prepared to march against Tibet, he had already contracted an alliance with the dGe srid rdo rje, even if we admit that this is not a slip of Sum pa ma'Jan po, we may suppose that the boy accompanied his father on this warlike exploit.

A similar mistake is made by A'dgis med rig rdo rje, who says that when the king's name according to Cabrals was Dr bu Camba, i.e. sDe pa dTsan pa.

A similar mistake is made by A'dgis med rig rdo rje, who follows our Chronicle very closely, p. 63 (transl. p. 65) and p. 156 (transl. p. 248). For general references on this king, see: COURANT, L'Aire centrale au XVII et XVIII e siecles, Paris, 1912 (Anales de l'Université de Lyon, N. S., II, face. 36), p. 18 ff.; HOWORTH, History of the Mongols, I, p. 177-182; GROUCHO, L'Empire des steppes, p. 602 ff.

Khim, 418, 1182, not 1181 as in Huth.

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625. 'A żwa is well known as the name of a people out of place here: from page 23, it appears that the A żwa where bordering Za lu: so A żwa probably refers to Gnast gar whose chief was said to be of A żwa descent.

626. On C'u mig, see above.

627. In the text: Za = Za lu.

628. A hermitage near Za lu, in a mountain gorge; the spelling varies between Ri spur and Ri 'pung (In ZNT passim). So down below in the text C'yan ri is for C'yan rgon and Za ri for the mountain of Za lu, viz. Ri 'pung.

629. This rather obscure passage will become clearer when we recall what has been said above on the census of Tibet ordered by the Mon- gols and the rules followed on that occasion. We have seen that a group of six persons, called pillars, was taken as the census unit. From this passage it seems that the same term was also applied to the nobility's property, when a census was taken of it: the family's whole property was represented as a house, and each single piece of property, or castle, or field, or the various branches, according to their importance, took the name of pillars, beams or rafters.

630. C'u mig na la w ton 'tsi kyi 'og nas (i). The Sa skya Chronicles do not mention this marriage; it took place when P'ya gtor, at the age of 23, returned home. ‘He of C'u mig,’ it is perhaps the same P'ya gtor, to whom the feud of C'u mig had been assigned.

631. I. e. the country under a centralist's command.

632. Sabgyi ldan is a monastery and a fortress in the valley of She- karsung, on the right of the road P'un tseg glin K'ro pu Tshalhungpo.

633. nor skal.

634. Qubla i.

635. I. e. to have offspring.

636. G'o gsum, a symbol of the three vimakramuktas, on which see Malatayapatto, p. 1341 ff.; Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 100.

637. The two forms alternate.

638. On him see above.

639. Two T'al pa brothers: sMon lam is perhaps sMon lam rdo rje mentioned in the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles, p. 33. The other is unknown to me.

640. I. e. six instead of seven as they are enumerated: dPon ma dpal ldan is minting, on which see fol. 40 b.

641. Ojajida.

642. 'on c'e; in the MC (p. 256): 'on rite.

643. C'u bya ma. This story is reproduced, almost literally, in the MC, p. 256.

644. Instead of the more regular form: go tri = kuo shi. See Go re.

645. Several of these places are mentioned in the letters I have discovered in ZA lu: sMon go = sMon gye, Ra seng = Ra sgyag, Ra c'i perhaps = Rmutsen, C'go mts'o = C'gya mts'o gis (S. C. Das, Journal, ed. Rockhill, p. 72).

646. T'o n'i du dlen la: it recurs in other passages (Za lu, pp. 22, 23). Du dlen la I have already explained: the long ji corresponds to the T'si lung chib. The T'si lung chib was one of the officers depending from the Hsien su shib and from the tu yam shul's office (see Yams shul, chap. 86, p. 10 and above, p. 33).

647. I. e. C'a, Fa man hu, myariach.

648. blo kur mig in the sense of arch, frame in relief, also called me'd ten. See Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 150.

649. gnyu c'u bya gsum: these frames in the shape of a lion's mouth still exist in Za lu.

650. Sh gsum; see do le, In leh.

651. rega s'gyur: see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 66.

652. bza' bbum: the expression is not registered in dictionaries.

653. t'u bsum.

654. ten.

655. 1320.

656. On which see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, pp. 70, 71. These inscriptions are collected in a booklet by Buston, on which see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 71, n. 1.


658. 'on k'i (kens) brab = m'ts'an ba rnam k'a shes nas mdzad pa.

659. s'gya llo.

660. Nang po bDe bsdin, or the chapel of bDe bsdin which is in the interior.

665. leg brtags.

666. m'dun gnyen; see note 785.

667. mi'd ed zla.

668. Above the archaic form k'yet with da drag.

669. On Si t'u Kun dga' rdo rje see Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 650.

670. Above mGon.

671. I. e. a high Sa skya dignitary.

672. On 'Od zed sen ge, one of the Sa skyas p'Dpon c'en, see Indo- Tibetan, IV, part I, p. 90 e and above, p. 629.

673. So complete according to the list on fol. 392.

674. 'The name is too common to allow of an identification; perhaps he is the son of the p'Dpon c'en C'gal ba bzan po (see note 106 to the fifth Dalai Lama).

675. Go t'i ji is obscure.

676. That is, of the kings of Gyantse's family.

677. Son of the sKu tan mGon po dpal.

678. t'o bs'i bs'i pa, i. e. like upaya; namely, here, in the sense of mudra.

679. He was really his cousin.

680. I. e. four and not five are enumerated in reality.

681. On mMon pa po see ZNT, p. 189.

682. Ibid., p. 179.

683. I. e. Grags pa bros gnos, ibid., pp. 189 and 191. In his time Shakydranath came to Tibet. With him ends the series of the mK'an po than ma, i.e. of the ancient abbots, preceding Bstan

684. Lotsava Rin t'i sen rnam rgyal dpal bzan po, whose life is in ZNT, pp. 22 and 180.

685. His life ibid., p. 51.

686. Ibid., p. 51 b.

687. legs-cig, 1390.

688. legs-sgrub, 1320.

689. In ZNT, 1318.

690. In ZNT, 1356.

691. In ZNT, 1364.

692. C'u stong, parmi tsha.

693. In ZNT, 1388.


695. In ZNT, 1389.

696. ZNT, p. 197. An incantation of Mi la rabs pa, the author of songs, but illiterate. He ascended the abbasial seat in 1404, In sgrub.

697. In ZNT, 1394, 1422, c'u sgrub.

698. His life in ZNT, pp. 70 e and 191.

699. In sgrub, 1448.

700. Karthaka.

701. In ZNT, 1399 (ZNT, p. 191).

702. In ZNT, 1400.

703. In ZNT, 1482.

704. Aluvil.

705. In ZNT, 1414 (see ZNT, p. 192).

706. In ZNT, 1451.

707. In ZNT, 1466.

708. In ZNT, 1445.

709. In ZNT, 1445. On him and on this date see ZNT, p. 192.

710. In ZNT, 1507.

711. In ZNT, 1510.

712. In ZNT, 1507.

713. In ZNT, 1514. Between him and bSod nam rgyal m'gyur ZNT placed Lotsava Dharmaipa, the famous grammarian, born in the year legs bya of the seventh cycle, 1441, who died in the year bs'i bya, 1528, at the age of eighty-eight.

714. In ZNT, 1493.

715. This is perhaps a mistake; it should read (as in ZNT, p. 192): at the age of 30, in the year sgrub, 1524.

716. I. e. up to the year me bya, 1537.
731. If the date of his assumption to the abbatial seat, 1357, is correct and if he was then sixty-seven, the date of his birth must be 1390, and not 1387, as actually listed in ZNT. The mistake is due to the fact that copies left out 1390 in the sentence above.

729. me hya, 1357.

728. Jyestha.

727. The other mk'pa-kuan pos are ignored, up to the Rin c'en mk'yenrab mc'e'og grub dpal bzin po passed, mentioned immediately after.

726. That meshes with the image, mentioned above, is worshipped.

725. Burton.

724. Abbot whom see ZNT, p. 201. He ascended the abbatial throne of Lhasa, as the 23rd abbot, after dO rje 'ze'ra Rin c'en bsdams mcs'o grub (lhhú), who died in 1671.

This is the terminus a quo of the present chronicle.

723. In the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles: dGra rgyud ldan brtan: rGod gdon brtan means "the rGod-faced brtan."

On the b'Stan see Appendix two.

721. On Gra'g pa 'od zer see note 78 to the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles.

720. 871. gZa'i - gzhi ba.

721. The Zhul pa ought to be of the bDag rdü c'en po's sons, by his wife gZon nu abum.

722. In the fifth Dalai Lama: Lha gcig Lha sman. There is no contradiction: Lha sman or Lha sman is the name she assumed after her meeting with dPyi dpal phags rgyal ba.

723. Dus kyi po' na - khyankye.

724. The name of dpal ldan bzin po be assumed later.

725. Vaidrana, king of riches.

726. In the fifth Dalai Lama: Mza zins dar po.

727. According to the fifth Dalai Lama, Lhan yul, near dNal c'u, and the dNal stod = Drolbu, on which see Indo-Tibetan, IV, part I, p. 83.

728. Tugs sen bai - tugs s in gya ba.

729. 'Rigs la gso bai lhos i.e. one of the five gso bai lha, on which see S. CH. DAS, t.s.c., and WADDILE, Lamaism, p. 374. The most important of them is the dGra lha.

730. Note ali pai for ali; sgs mi: employer, officer, holder of public office.

731. Grog dege, i.e. that he should have official appointment with proper credentials and that he should be assigned to the Sa skyas pa royal palace in that capacity.

732. Mentioned above. On this meeting and the change of name see Indo-Tibetan, IV, part I, p. 83.

733. it - ite ba - ite gons: he who stands by, the disciple; ite ba is also a kinman, but not in the present case. However the princes of Gyantse did become the Sa skyas pa's kinmen through the marriages both contracted with the house of Zhul la.

734. Such is the fifth Dalai Lama's spelling. In the ms. we find the forms: Lho dun, Lho du, Lho dur. From p. 8 we may assume that these were Lho brah tribes; the Sar dun should be other tribes of the same region and precisely of its Eastern portion.

735. khyu gtags.

736. rGyug pa is not in the dictionaries, but the context seems to imply the meaning "enemies, rebels..."

737. g spyi means both to go away and to die, hence the expression is ambiguous in the sense of "to die", sh is generally premised. But shel is not necessarily an offering for a dead person: see, immediately after, the same form used for living persons.

738. bdon c'a; clothes in the sense of uniform, a sign of the rank received. The fifth Dalai Lama uses the same expression.

739. bsu bu, bsu tie. On bsu bu see note 206 to the fifth Dalai Lama; bsu tie is its synonym.

740. On offices among the Sa skyas see Indo-Tibetan, IV, part I, p. 83 and above, p. 55.

741. A title which has remained to the family of the chiefs of Gyantse, often simply called gis k'a po.

742. en - en - lho don.

743. Sgyes stiis kun te' cu bar byan.

744. The monastery of C's on kun ts'dogs pa was founded in 1255.

See Gsos ma de Khor's list.

745. bkral dpal bzin po. The dBus pa is Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an, who had begun his movement against the Sa skyas pa dominion.

746. Kun dga' dpal ba was from lCan 12, but he belonged to the house of Mgi; hence his mane Mig pa.

747. s'i c'en. On Karma baktsi see a med rig rdo rje, p. 100 (p. 109 of the translation) and above, p. 61.

748. C's spyi 'od zer. Not the creator of the mongol script (the last note at an point regarding this personage is by ROBINS, JRAS, 1945, p. 53) but an abbot of a dPa'ur ph'u, DT, me, p. 52, k.

749. Tugs k'u mtul btams pa.

750. dGra pa is therefore his son by his second wife.

751. I. e. to the p'ag mo gru pa, whose capital was precisely sNtud gdon. This means that the family, without betraying the Sa skyas pa, tried to gain the favour of this new power, which had arisen in the dBu's territory.

752. The three personages mentioned here: Nam mk'a'egyel mts'an, S'es rab bzin po and dKon mc'e'og, are not known to me from other sources. However on p. 7, i we find that in the tenth month of 1304, when a dBu army, led by dDo rje rin c'en, besieged lCan 12, the dPags (bo kli) dKon mc'e'og was struck by an arrow on his forehead and died. So there was a war between Gyantse and the P'ag mo gru pa.

753. Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an. The other form used for living persons.

754. Tha kongs boolt: it is to be excluded that her boolt meant "to forget." Below (p. 50, n. 932) boolt is used in the sense of "to take to one's bed... i.e. for soul of birth to fall ill. boolt means the physical person, and is used in polite conversation, to ask people about their health. That boolt has this meaning is shown by the following passage in Tsön Ka'pa's biography, p. 222: dpal na byan par rtsis kongs boolt na'ul byan po. His enemies, telling him that Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an was ill, prevent him from meeting the latter. One of his rivals, as we have seen, having been killed by the P'ag mo gru, it is not unlikely that the Sa skyas pa officers disregarded; some, like the prince of Gyantse, being disposed to come into an agreement with the P'ag mo gru, others being hostile the latter tried to prevent a meeting between phags pa and Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an, and afterwards slandered him to the Sa skyas grandees.

All this covertly hints at zgt'sags pa's attempt to pass over to the new power.

755. Ibden mub du bstan.

756. On dpun sa see above n. 107; she was a Zhul pa princess, then in good relations with the Sa skyas pa.

757. On dpun zen: attachment to their chief.

758. bya 117.


760. On above, n. 766.

761. Vivavasu.

762. 'Otar pa mktis is evidently a mistake.

763. Phnl bu dbag c'en po is usually Ral pa can. Gyantse was considered by tradition dPal ak'or brtan's residence. See MC, p. 74 e.

764. legs - 'kun t'og av 'kun c'un.

765. This title: Tai buvi tu gyun la ta bao (above: gYun la ta bao) corresponds to the Chinese Yung lu ta ri and is a military title of the first rank (Ming shih, chap. 72, p. 135); on Saiu and T'ai su is which is a title, often honorific, see RATCHENHEIT, Een cade van Tse, p. 186, n. 3 and above, p. 34.

766. Byan byan sger mun. Byan byan ku, byan mu, means inscription written on wood or metal, but gier mu may also mean "imperial... See LAUTER, Leem words, p. 445, n. 4. On byan, byan ku, in military use in the documents of Turkistan, see THOMAS, JRAS, 1931, p. 391.

767. P'is lacking in the dictionaries: it corresponds to abin and je abin, from the Chinese ping ch'ing, "spec., flesh... See LAUTER, Leem words, n. 216.

768. On T'u gun (in the MC: Tags skros), see also Zha li, p. 659: m'tun gon. It is not T'u kuan. t'si of Yuen shih, chap. 29, p. 17, but Tuo kung 趙公, head of the office for the affairs of the Buddhist monks in a district. It was an office of the ninth rank. See MB, chap. 25, p. 17.
884. 7o an dzen: the measure of a bow gzi, dushman, which corresponds to a cubit k'nu, hest, and every cubit to 24 fingers, see mg, angui. See La Vallee Poussin, Abhidharmakosa, III, pp. 86, 87.

885. The constellations rgyal is Phrogz: phur bu is Bhraspati.


887. Kun dgra bzo gnos rgyal mtson, i.e. Kun dga' blo gnos rgyal mtson, as we have seen above (p. 664) of A'pa's dpal bzan po, born in 1365.

888. Sa ge = vnočka, fourth month.

889. P'yojt las rnam rgyal of Bo don. See Chronicles of Bzo bzan rgya mtos, p. 612, n. 54. He was one of the masters of Tsalon t'a pa, who met him in Jo nan. See Tsalon t'a pa's biography, p. 74.

890. i.e. Byan tems bzan po dpal. Rab'brtan's mother.

891. K'a dga' bzo gnos rgyal mtson, i.e. Kun dga' blo gnos rgyal mtson, son, as we have seen above (p. 664) of A'pa's dpal bzan po, born in 1365.

892. S on gru, stábbhallóin.

893. sgrüeg lag tson kram dpal k'un po = sgrüeg lag k'on.

894. K'el tse goi mi shod po da gzen. Da gzen (in S. Ch. Das' dictionary, da bhan): "A Mongol word signifying a man who is exempt from the duty of furnishing labour etc. to those who travel under official authority..." See also Largen, Lamb words, n. 138. The Tibetan text is given in appendix.

895. i.e. the Mongol Empress recognized as the supreme sovereign, with whom combined and approval orders were issued. See for general initial forms the Zal lu letter.

896. drg bstan: but the most common formula is drg zan. See n. 184 to the fifth Dalai Lama on bsa' pa see above, n. 805. It is clear from the context that mi zhe denotes the courtmen (cfr. ni ser), husbandmen, between them and the monks the officials then being the drg zan.

897. mlab las.

898. t'ser from t'sa, to look after something, to appreciate; kye bs.

899. sgo 'dal: "those who sleep on the threshold", tax collectors.

900. sna mar is not in the dictionaries; refers to those buildings called in English mani-walls. "Clothes", are the pieces of stuff hung there on sticks.

901. sgru dkor grol bs.

902. sdon mar, lamp.

903. The first, the fifteenth and the eighth day of the month zla ka bsnyin po lag - in all the sacred occasions recurring. Cfr. Waddell, Lamaism, p. 501.

904. dam k'ye.

905. rnam pa po, for the simple rnam pa.

906. 'gs grol, tax payers.

907. sgrug sbyos. See n. 805: 'oh sbyos.

908. r'Tsa zug chos snyon: zung le gung. zung is the tenth part of a slaughtered sheep: I should take rnas as the total revenue, what is subject to taxation; chos, dual tax. On rtsi 'gyur 'tshis clic. 'gyur 'tshis record, register, n. 937.

909. sga sder = mar, butter to be used with tea, but is also said of condiments.

910. rnas kyi la dus etc.: notice the use of nas, in this and other similar sentences, after the name of a place or a palace: O'la' nas sde pa, Life of Bshad nam rgya mtos, by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 24 k. "r'Ndu gnos rgyal nas, Life of the Zor pa Tsams cad mkley, by the same author, p. 224; see above; that la dus means tribute, annual tribute, seems to be clear in the context: but dus may be a mistake for sdro, taxes.

911. sTom mdoed.

912. r'Tro rje clic. spro spro; spro rjes is the name of the leather bag in which butter is generally kept in Tibet.

913. sdon mar.

914. r'Tsul gsum: i.e. the palace which humbled (the enemies) splendorous, this is the epitaph of a part of the royal palace. But the translation is doubtful.

915. sgrug. I believe that after sna the numeral must have been omitted; so many sgrug of butter for so many sna of wool. sgrug is a measure used for butter. See S. Ch. Das, p. 934.

916. Tsu bu - byan bs. byan bs.

917. Jig gsum: bsnyin in the sense of escort, convoy is not in the dictionaries.

918. I.e. the stable servants, addicted to postal services, hence under government supervision.
921. *Ra k'a blo lu ba.* It is well known that in Tibet it is a meritorious act to ransom prisoners with money or presents the lives of animals otherwise destined to be killed. See Waddell, Lamair, pp. 265, 248.

922. Rgya might also be India, but gives its relations with Yuan, China, and probably Tibet here.

923. *k'ri lrin* (for *idul* or *dir*; to fall ill; see above, n. 772). These expressions: "he showed the manner of taking to one's bed," "he showed the manner of falling ill," of dying, ..., are typical of the Mahāyāna and are particularly used for Bodhisattvas the latter, although they have transcended the various contingencies of phenomenal existence, nevertheless apparently admit to them, to teach and move others to adopt, the feeling which arises on experiencing that all things are transitory.

924. Hasta.

925. Gloss: "Byan sems bsanz mo dpal's younger sister.

926. Thus the name of this younger brother of Rab brtan kun bsanz pa's is alluded to: his name was then bKra šis sp'ags (p. 173 f).

927. I. e. (bKra šis) Rab brtan dpal a'byor bsanz po.

928. *Zer nas* "ur la k'ad par gyur," see k'liug "ur hyed pa, DESCOX, p. 896: s. v. 'ur. This is the story related by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 648.

929. *gyel bzin*; it is not in dictionaries; *gyel* for *gyl*.

930. *sSheu dmar* in Samada, see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 104.

931. *P'yi gyul.* See above n. 804.

932. *dag lag.*

933. Protector of the world (*ja skyon* ) is the epithet given both to him and to his father: *yun*, as we already saw, means not so much mother, as wife (cf. *yob yun*); in any case here the allusion is to Byan sems c'en mo Ni ma k'ye dren, bKra šis rab brtan's mother.

Ni ma k'ye dren is often mentioned in the inscriptions of the upper chapel of the k'hu album, in Gyantse. So we know now the epoch in which she lived (1st half of the XVIIth century); hence the frescoes of those chapels must be assigned to this period. From this information we also deduce that the k'hu album begun by Rab brtan kun bsanz pa's was not completed during his lifetime; work was continued on it for some scores of years after his death. On Ni ma k'ye dren see particularly Indo-Tibetica, IV, parts II, pp. 246, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272.

934. This is the Son sa kyak lama m'tu stobs kyi dban p'yang Kun dga'* blo geos rgyal mtn'an, the son of m'Tu stobs kyi dban p'yang bKod nams rgyal mtn'an, who lived from 1490 to 1495. His frequent relations with bKra šis rab brtan of *gChag mk'ar rite are mentioned in the Son sa kyak pa Chronicles, p. 145.

935. I. e. the paintings on this expression *jin, Ti klan* see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, and above, p. 305.

936. So his entire name is given: bKra šis rab brtan dpal a'byor bsanz po.

937. *gyin tec* — *gyin rin*; this word is given in S. Ch. Das, s. v., only as an equivalent for "musical instrument," *kuns* — *kuns khrun*.

938. These documents were handed over to me for a few hours by the abbot and Za lu: I made a copy of them and took a photo: the Mongolian doc. has been published above by Pelliot. Ye ldes rin c'en is included in the list of the Tüti of the *Yum sbyin* (see above, p. 15) which places his tenure of office between 1286 and 1295.

939. rGan po, elder.

940. *sByu khris* = servant taken by force. This means that to escape mCon po dpal's government they made an act of vassalage to other persons.

941. mCon po dpal is mentioned also in letter n. II together with Agt Len. He was the father of DGe tse dban p'yang; this year of the tiger must be 1290, logt sgan. So to is Shang tu.

942. On Grags pa 'od zer see p. 15 and note 78 on the Chronicle of Blo brtan bya ma tmyo.

943. Ra rag and Bya lugs are two localities near gnas gyar, on the Gyantse-Shigatse road. On these localities cf. letters VI and above n. 649.

944. In the sense not of space, but of kindship or friendship.

945. *Ya vas* to k'ol is unknown to me; he is not a Tibetan; probably a Nesterian.

946. Grags pa 'od zer, as we saw, is a contemporary of the bDag thon c'en po, whom he helped to return to Sa skya, and of Agt Les; the year of the sheep must be 1285 (see above).

947. On this Ti shi see above, p. 15, n. 6.

948. Ghi lung pa most probably as rgen pa, the head of a village: *glo* is for *gsa, ngyo.*

949. *Ru dpon.* Evidently here *ru* does not refer to the three *Ru* and to the Ru lag into which dBus and gTshan had been divided; perhaps it means the commander of a wing of the army. The difference between Ru dpon and Ru pa is that the former is the chief and the latter any officer, in a general sense; however it is not excluded that they may refer to a territorial division of *Za* lu and its district, according to the models of traditional Tibetan partitions.

950. *Dral po snad gsal.*

951. Bril.

952. The year of the dragon is 1304, *Shi brjung.*

953. *This Sans tgyas dpal seems to be the eight Ti shi of my list, p. 15.* According to the *Yum sbyin* he held the office for one year only, 1314, but the year of the sheep is 1307 or 1319. If the identity of this abbot with the Ti shi of the *Yum sbyin* is admitted we must conclude that this source is inaccurate in this case too. Perhaps instead of first year *Ye* we should read: sixth year, 1319.

954. Interpreters appear in the list of officials. See above p. 31.

955. gTshan mchod, heavenly sacrifice, sacrifice to heaven. I do not think it should be understood literally, as the Buddhist community sacrificed to the Mongols' heaven. Then, either gnam is understood as gnam bka* (he who is exalted by heaven's command), the Emperor, or this sentence refers to Mongol communities, settled in *Za* lu territory and holding shamanic beliefs.

956. *dMa dkar.*

957. *Ti'en dam ke.* On these expression see above, Pelliot's article, n. 23.

958. *st'er.* It has this meaning today too: inn, hotel.

959. *Idal po.* Cfr: *Sud sbyin, dal brtan,* to oblige people to buy by compulsion.

960. I. e. in Western *Za* lu.

961. See — rGs.

962. Born in 1299, died in 1327, but see the note on the list of the Ti shi.

963. *Crim agul.* See the corresponding expression in the Mongol letter and the note 7 by Pelliot. *Sud = idal len.*

964. *Sa ma ch'en,* *sa ma = sa.* A diploma, i. e. to those who have a diploma.

965. He is the XII Sa skya pa dpal c'en, on whom see also note 672.

966. I. e. according to the two methods: *dags and krimz,* religious and civil law.

967. *diin c'eo le mon ma gtsun; gtsun = mtsan, st'en.*

968. On the prohibition of hunting and fishing see also *rGyal rtsi's document; to listen "yaks and horses," in order to save them from requisitions and transports.

969. *rTser hyed la gugs po; red gea hyed pa,* to investigate.

970. This letter, written in Peking, is earlier than the Ti ti's return to Tibet, which took place in 1322. The year of the dragon can only be the year fire-dragon, 1316. The Ti ti's early age can be no objection, the authority of these Sa skya chieftains, as we have seen, being purely nominal.

971. *sud bgeg pa gsal cu: gsal cu = mk'a m'tu,* to open a lawsuit.

972. *Bril for brel.*

973. *rKyag, protection-hidden, insidious; for ejig khris see note 940.*

974. See letter V where we read: *diin c'eo le mon ma gtsun.*

975. From: *sTser.*

976. I. e. in the year *Rgya bya,* 1321.

977. For the same reasons stated above, this letter must be written in the year wood-ox, 1323. On DGe rje dban p'yang of *Za* lu see Ind-Tibetica, IV, part I, tables on p. 90 and genealogical tables down below.

978. 1310-1318, but he is not in the list of the Ti Ti. See above p. 253, n. 53.

979. I. e. from the four chief palaces of the Sa skya pa family.

980. I. e. *Idal sbyin,* see above p. 33 and Chronicles of Blo brtan tgya mtsho 6, note 52a.

981. *Da ru ka c'en in dargacha.*

982. *Klims gcod = *Krimz dpon.*

983. Great monastery on the South-West of *Za* lu.

984. Year 1316 or 1348, if the person, as it seems, is the one I have stated.

985. The beginning of this letter is illegible.


987. Blo gshu.

988. It is difficult to establish the date of this letter, 1319, earth-sheep, is excluded, because at that time Bullon was too young to understand
have reached such fame, and we must confine ourselves to 1331, iron-sheep, or rather to 1345, water-sheep, or 1355, wood-sheep. I would incline to this last date, because in the biography of Buston and of his successive incarnations, referred to above n. 586, there is an allusion to an invitation to go to China, which he received from T'o gan 'c'mur after 1351: "above all the king of China T'o gan 'c'mur sent ambassadors to him to invite him to go to China; however, considering the time had not yet come to convert the people of that country, he did not go... Mention of the same fact is in the biography by Rin c'en nam rgyal, p. 21. Another prince who invited him was Purunamalla of India (1043). This biography is inserted in the complete works of Buston, vol. 7. p. 988. This is C'o dpal, mong. Cosbal prince of Chen his Wu ching. 輯西武 峪transcribed in our document as Cin svi 'u thun. See HAMBS, pp. 120, 122, n. 8 and p. 159 and PELLiot, id., n. 143. On Kun dga' don grub see genealogical tables.

990. 1321 or 1331? If the reading Nam to is exact the prince was in Tibet at that time.

991. I find no trace of him in the list of kuo shib mentioned in the Ming shib, nor in the Tibetan documents.

992. I. e. 1450. The mien bos is transcribed in Tibetan T'en sun. 993. I. e. to the T'ai si tu P'ag mo gru pa. The letter is contained in Buston's works, vol. La, p. 98.

994. On whom see above.

995. On this term see Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 71. Though 801 inzin in shi bhum, a name for minister since the royal times, may be based on Ch. ching yi (LAWER, Loan words, p. 105), the meaning of uncle on the mother's side is supported by the fact that even in royal times ministers were often chosen from the mother's clan. This is the case with sku 8zin for instance, in a passage of the biography of Kun dga' bstan po, the founder of Nor, p. 3, stating that Klu rgyal mtshan of C'og to was sku 8zin of the rgyal po of c'en po. (The Sa skya - Za lu intermarriages are known). Cfr. BUSTON, hi T'an agyu gzi shes c'ig yig kzin nor bu dkan gi yig po yin 'prem. p. 8. 8'po ldam tsa skya pi ghan rgyal dri ma med pa po nam sglu yig shes 8zin pa. Later it was changed into a mere title.

sku 8zin is not a title belonging exclusively to Za lu princes, see above p. 41. We know, for instance, sku 8zin rin po c'e Kun bslag rtsi pa, C'o'i kyi dbang 'byung. Kun bslag rtsi is the name of the Tse T'an palace. (Tse T'an gi kun bslag rtsi brag pa. Biog. the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 49 b; ibid., p. 66 b).

996. 8'gyal po'i blo 'cub tu byas ma rtog. 997. 8'gyal don. 998. 8'den in the sense of territorial division. 999. Kyun Grags pa sen gi is the master alluded to above, p. 568.

1000. 8'gyal don byas.

1001. See above.

1002. Sited with, k'u bya bda 'sbyos.

1003. This refers to the events mentioned i.e. by the fifth Dalai Lama.

1004. Sgr gi c'en yod par sbyos.

1005. Mentioned in the Za lu letters, VI and VII.

1006. Vis. the war between rTsan (Sa skya) and Bshis (Pam po gru).

1007. 8phog 'bri.

1008. On this person see Blo bstan rgya mtsho'i Chronicles, p. 656.

1009. Lag tib.

1010. K'an seb la sgs gnyis las yel 'byed don gru med: don gru i.e. words, body, spirit.

K'an gtsar was a branch of the Sa skya pa; as we see in Blo bstan rgya mtsho'i Chronicles, they killed a dpal c'en.

1011. Ba ron de dus na; ka ron fox k'a skia.

1012. Unknown.

1013. Blo 'cub byas nas.
GENEALOGICAL TABLES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kun dga’ sbar, † in India</th>
<th>Slob dpon (Rin po c‘e) 1) bSod nams rTse btsun rje bshun Grag pa rgyal mts’an, b. c’u kyi, 1142; † c’u stag, 1182</th>
<th>dPal c’en’od po, b. legs ira, 1150; † c’u pag, 1201</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kun srid (Buson); (fifth Dalai Lama: Kun [dga’] sgyid)</td>
<td>P’yang na (rdo rje), b. sa p’ag, 1239; 6 years old goes to China; † me yar, 1267</td>
<td>C’os rje Sa skya Pan’c’en Kun dga’ rgyal mts’an (Klön rBo ol, II, p. 128), b. c’u stag, 1182; in the year dga’ rgyal, 1244, meets Gdon; † legs p’ag, 1251. While he was in China the government was in the hands of Sar pa Ses rab abyun gnas, ‘U yug rai rig pa sen gc, Sa kya btsun po (Chronicles, p. 48 a ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma ga mgon a’L sprung pa, b. tin lug, 1335; when his father was 52 years old, legs spre, 1260, title from Qhbla (St c’e); tin glan, 1265, back to Tibet; sa shul, 1268, in China; me kyi, 1276, to Sa skya; me glan, 1277, 34th a council; † legs shul, 1280</td>
<td>Dharmapalarakṣita, b. sa a’l drung, 1268; † me p’ag, 1287</td>
<td>Zans ti’a bSod nams mts’an, b. tin drug, 1188; † sa pag, 1239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma gei da po (from Ma’n mk’a’ sog spe, p. 1113)</td>
<td>Lha gei med pa of Gun gu btsun po; 2 son dies young</td>
<td>(Chronicles, p. 112a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kun dga’ blo gros rgyal mts’an dpal btsun po, born sa p’ag, 1299; † me yar, 1327; when 11 years old (sa btsun, 1309) goes to China; at 24 (c’u kyi, 1322) back to Tibet. Is Tiiti</td>
<td>Nam mk’a’ rgyal mo 3) from Gsam mts’oi na spe ma (p. 114b)</td>
<td>Ti’iri Kun dga’ legs rgyal mts’an dpal btsun po, b. c’u kyi, 1321; enters China; elected chaplain; † at 20 (p. 1154) 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nöl gu (or Mu dga’; conceal reading) sister (lun) of the king</td>
<td>Kun dga’ nag</td>
<td>Ti’iri Kun dga’ legs rgyal mts’an dpal btsun po, b. c’u kyi, 1321; enters China; elected chaplain; † at 20 (p. 1154) 6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**TABLE I - SA SKYA PA**

dKon me’og rgyal po (DT, nā, fol. 4) b. in the year tin kyi, 1034; founds the monastery of Sa skya in the year c’u glan, 1073; † c’u tsa, 1102

| Sa c’en, Kun dga’ srid po, b. cu spre, 1092; † cu stag, 1158 |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Kun dga’ sbar, † in India | Slob dpon (Rin po c‘e) 1) bSod nams rTse btsun rje bshun Grag pa rgyal mts’an, b. c’u kyi, 1142; † c’u stag, 1182 | dPal c’en’od po, b. legs ira, 1150; † c’u pag, 1201 |

---

1) Dharmapalarakṣita.
2) Dharma Palarakṣita.
3) dKon mTS’ON (later called c’u Mos); mK’a’ btsun’c’en po Nam mk’a’ legs pa rgyal mts’an dpal btsun po, b. in Lha rje, when his father was 44 (tin shul, 1305); from Kun sa la yo t’ug (Hamres, p. 136) gets the rock-crystal seal and the title of Kuan tin gu tri; he marries dGe adun abum daughter of a K’an gar po.

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6) Ti’iri Kun dga’ legs rgyal mts’an dpal btsun po, b. c’u kyi, 1321; enters China; elected chaplain; † at 20 (p. 1154) 6)
TABLE II - TS'AL PA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dar ma gJon nu</th>
<th>mGar Ts'e nam ts'a shrog</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first dpon: abyun gnas</td>
<td>mGar mKyen c'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bton agnus (his nephew)</td>
<td>mGar sTon mes k'ri c'ags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second dpon: Ye lrs</td>
<td>mGar sTon (minister of sTon bstan sgam po)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abyun gnas (his nephew)</td>
<td>bTsan po Yon tan rgyal bza'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lha geig sNan ldem bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K'ri zains dum bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K'ri gnen k'ri leags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sTon mes K'ri stam</td>
<td>K'ri ston stag gza'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C'os pa sgo drug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tMu bza'</td>
<td>aPs'ags geigs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mGar T'og ban rgyal</td>
<td>tGyal le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mGar rGyal ba abyun gnas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third dpon: Sams rgyas</td>
<td>Rin rgyal (contemp. of Qabulai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don grub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin rgyal</td>
<td>(contemp. of aP'ags pa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ni ma le s lab</th>
<th>dGa' bde mgon po</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(contemp. of aP'ags pa)</td>
<td>Rin c'en dba'ni p'yu'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin c'en sen ge</td>
<td>tMon lam tdo tje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kun dga' tdo tje</td>
<td>[dGe ba blo gros]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(contemp. of byan c'ub rgyal mTsan)</td>
<td>Grags pa les lab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si tu dGe</td>
<td>legs bza'ni po</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tre pos dPal abyon bza'ni</th>
<th>Legs pa rgyal mTsan</th>
<th>Legs ldan bza'ni po</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

TABLE III - ABRI GUN PA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sKyu ra stags se'an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(DT, 86, p. 85 a, rhyog rgyal skyu ra)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nam mk'a' dba'ni p'yu'g</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A mes dba'ni p'yu'g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>an elder brother, uncle of the Abri gun rin po c'e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) dAbri gun rin po c'e Rin c'en dpal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(DT, 86, pp. 85 a - 87 a, a pupil of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dKon mc'og rin c'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. c'u p'ugs, 1143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t me gIen, 1217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) dDo tje te'ul k'kins (DT, 86, p. 90 b, b. rin, 1174; 44 years old on the see of Abri gun; t at 48, legs skul, 1221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C) dPon rin po c'e, b. me legs, 1187; from c'u rin, 1222, to rin rgyal, 1234, on the see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'og k'ra pa Rin c'en sen ge, b. me p'ug, 1227; on the see from sa yoi, 1279, to rin bya, 1285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D) from rin rin, 1234, to rin yoi, 1255, spyan stsa Grags pa abyon gnas on the see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dBon rgyod (Do tje sei ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) dDo tje rags po, b. legs legs, 1211; when 43 in the year rin yoi, 1235,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the see; t at yoi, 1279</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dPon rin po c'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kun dga' rin c'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin c'en pu'n tu'o'gs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'un tu'o'gs rgyal po the son of the Zur pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bKra' tis pu'n tu'o'gs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Letters indicate order of succession. - 2. rin k'yi of the text seems to be a mistake. - 3. The numbers show the order of succession.
Table IV - BYAN

Si 'u of Mi ñag
(seven generations)
gYal 1God

Mi ñag Sn ge
dDo jte dpal
(contemp. of rje bstan Grags pa)

dKon mc'og

sBum sde
(contemp. of Sa skya pa'i tsha)

sGrags pa dar [Yon btsun]
(contemp. of Qubilai)

dDo jte ngon po

Nam mk'a' bstan po gu i'i

C'os grags dpal brtan
(contemp. of bSod nams bkra 'iis of Sa skya, b. 1352, † 1417)

Nam mk'a' grags brtan,
a disciple of Sariputra
who arrived in Tibet
in the year 1413

Nam mk'a' te' dban
tdo jte (contemp. of
Kun dga' rin c'en of
Sa skya, 1517-1584)

Nam mk'a' bSod nams Kun dga'
rin c'en rgyal mts'an legs pa

Nam mk'a' Kun dga' bKsa lugs dBan po'i
rgyal mts'an rin c'en stobs rgyas sde

Table V - RIN SPUN

dPal Idan legs 'od of tGer

three branches

Fyi tGer

Na'i tGer

Grub t'ob tGer

[25 generations]

Ral pa adin

Zla ba rgyal mts'an
(contemp. of K'i trom lde brtan)
[20 generations]

tGer盏 kya sbum

Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an
(contemp. of tDe srid Grags pa rgyal mts'an)

Nam mk'a' rgyal po

Nor bu brtan po

Upasika

Kun brtan pa

rdo brtan

Don grub rdo rje
t(eidon dpore of bSa
dgrel rtsa, after Hor

rPal byor brtan po
do dp'yon rgyas)

mT'o skyes rdo rje

Sa kya rgyal mts'an

Nam mk'a' tse' dban
tdo jte (contemp. of
Nag gi
dbun p'yug of F'ag
mo gru, about 1481)

Nam dban mRig mbran

Don grub te' dban
(in 1565 takes possession
of bSa'grub rtsa)

Nag dban ajigs grags
born in 1482 (Rnw
ngs, p. 68); † in 1565

Zla ba 'od
**Table VI - P'AG MO GRU PA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Bzo blog ba'</th>
<th>2nd wife</th>
<th>De gu ma</th>
<th>3rd wife</th>
<th>2Bro bza' Ye les mts'o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Grags pa alyun**
- In the year 1113.

**Sans Ses rab**
- In the year 1153.

**mGon po egl yms'an**
- In the year 1111.

**Grags pa rin c'en**
- In the year 1115.

**Grags pa rin c'en**
- In the year 1115.

**bCu gis egl yga la Rin c'en**
- In the year 1115.

**Ye les mts'o**
- In the year 1115.

**1st wife**
- **bZo blog ba'**
  - in the year 1113.

**2nd wife**
- **De gu ma**
  - In the year 1153.

**3rd wife**
- **2Bro bza' Ye les mts'o**
  - In the year 1115.

---

**Note:**
1) With the letters **a** - **m** the adun egl ymag adun pa are marked; according to Khun rdo rje, **b**. p. 154. **b**. [1] bSod nams bma rin po chen byang bcas (K'os k'yi, b. 1507).

---

**Branch of DeGon ri**
- **bK'a byang grags pa egl yga'**
  - In the year 1144, 6th year of Lha brsun, b. 1004, 11th year of Lha brsun.

---

**bSod nams bma rin c'en**
- In the year 1115.

---

**bSod nams egl ymag**
- In the year 1115.

---

**bK'a byang**
- In the year 1144, 6th year of Lha brsun, b. 1004, 11th year of Lha brsun.
TABLE VII - AP'YON RGYAS

(nan blon of the c'os tgyal of sNeu gdon)
descended from Indrobodhi of Zhalor

gTsug lag gsdin

Dharmarāja Z'i ba ts'o Mandāravā

Dharmapāla Śākyadeva Mahādeva
(comes in to Tibet during the reign of K'ri sron lde btsan)

dPal gyi rdo rje Rin c'en rdo rje

rDo rje grags Rin c'en grags C'os kyi grags
Zla ba grags pa
Rig pa sen ge

Ša kya blo gros Yon tan blo gros Grags pa ye sels

rDo rje gsal ba rDo rje rin c'en (contemp. of dPal
Ye sels rdo rje ak'or btsan)

rDo rje grags rDo rje sbar
Hor Da dar (contemp. of Se c'en)

Hor bKra'is abum dar Ts'ul dar ba

Hor gZon nu bzan po bKra'is bzas grub
(contemp. of T'ai si tu Byas c'ub tgyal mts'an)
(bKra'is bzas grub
(contemp. of T'ai si tu Byas c'ub tgyal mts'an)

bKra'is bzas grub
(contemp. of T'ai si tu Byas c'ub tgyal mts'an)

gZon nu tgyal mts'an Kun dga' dpal bzhin Nam mk'a' rin c'en

(bKra'is bzas grub
(contemp. of T'ai si tu Byas c'ub tgyal mts'an)

(bKra'is bzas grub
(contemp. of T'ai si tu Byas c'ub tgyal mts'an)

dPal abyor bza'n po bSod nams dpal ldan Sangs rgyas skyabs dKon c'og rin c'en

(met dGe adun grub)

(dPal abyor bza'n po bSod nams dpal ldan Sangs rgyas skyabs dKon c'og rin c'en

(minister of sJan dbyans Gu btsi)

Hor rDo rje t'e btsan

T's'e dba'n nam tgyal Rin c'en tgyal m'og

bSod nams mgon po T's'e dba'n bKra'is sis Rin c'en t'e btsan

Hor bSod nams dar tgyas Don grub rdo rje

bSod nams stobs kyi T's'e dba'n bSod

T's'e dba'n bSod

nams stobs kyi

T's'e dba'n bSod

nams stobs kyi

(T's'e dba'n bSod nams stobs kyi (see p. 110)

Hor bSod nams dar tgyas Don grub rdo rje

bSod nams stobs kyi T's'e dba'n bSod

nams stobs kyi

(T's'e dba'n bSod nams stobs kyi (see p. 110)

bSod nams stobs kyi T's'e dba'n bSod

nams stobs kyi

(T's'e dba'n bSod nams stobs kyi (see p. 110)

Nag si dba'n bSod Lhai dba'n p'yuṅ
nams grags pa ajig
rten dga' bai sgyan
TABLE VIII – BRAG Dkar

Nañ Grags pa bzain po
(contemp. of T'ai si tu
Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bTsan 'an rGom grags</th>
<th>rGom ltes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ses rab bkra' itis</td>
<td>Kun grags pa Kun dba'i po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(contemp. of Toqön Tımür)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin c'en dpal</td>
<td>A son who became a monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(contemp. of Tron k'a pa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin c'en lhun po</td>
<td>Lhun po grub pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grags pa rgyal mts'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(contemp. of Gon ma Kun dga' legs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nañ so dKon m'og pa</td>
<td>Sri c'od rgyal po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nañ so aJam</td>
<td>bDud adnl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bDud adnl</td>
<td>Ma žig pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd wife</td>
<td>bSod nams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dPal ldan abum</td>
<td>2 daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rgyal po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rgyal po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T'se brian rdo rje</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE IX – Snel

Rin c'en bzain
(contemp. of T'ai Si tu Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an)

1st wife
bDe skyid

2nd wife
K'ams mo

3rd wife
dPal ldan abum

| rGyal ba rin c'en | Nam mk'a' bzain po |
|                   | Nam mk'a' dpal abyor |
| dPal žig pa also called: | drun c'en Grags pa |
| (contemp. of spyan ma Grags pa byan c'ub) |
| Grags pa dpal bzain po |
| (contemp. of Gon ma Grags pa byun gnas) |
| dPal abyor rgyal po |

| Nag dba'i bSod nams rgyal po |
| Nag dba'i bSod nams lhun po |
| Nag dba'i bSod nams nams rgyal |
| (contemp. of Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuns) |
**TABLE X – GYANTSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nam mk’a’ bzan po</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brTson agrus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GGrags pa brton agrus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gZon na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gGrags pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rGyal ms’an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bzan po</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nañ c’en aP’ags pa dpal, b. 1318, † 1376, marriages:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nañ c’en aP’ags pa rin c’en, Ma Zans dar, b. 1326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byan sems bzan mo dpal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dBañ rgyal ap’ags pa, b. 1375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dPon mo Pad mo of Ža lu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kun dga’ ap’ags pa, b. 1337, † 1412, marriages:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grags pa, b. 1363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kun dga’ blo gros rgyal ms’an, b. 1365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Byan sems bzan mo dpal from Ža lu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rGyal ms’an dar ba of Ža lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bKra iïs ap’ags pa, b. 1391, marries Byan sems c’en mo Na ma k’ye dren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bKra iïs rgyal mbri tan dpal bzan, b. 1427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don grub ap’ags pa Nam mk’a’ bzan grub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P’un ti’ogs (contemp. of Kun dga’ rin c’en of Sa skya)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. See *Indo-Tibetian*, IV, part I, p. 79. 2. See note 414 on Part IV.

**TABLE XI – YAR RGYAB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T’oon mi sam bho ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahaatava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye nag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na ma kloj gual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be nag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tso bo lha uas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bSod nams rgyal po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rGyal po dga’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rTa mgrin rgyal ms’an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo rje bkra si’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(contemp. of Ti’i rin Kun dga’ blo gros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bZi adsom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(contemp. of Gon ma P’ag mo gru pa GGrags pa rgyal ms’an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rGyal ba iïs rgyal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gral lna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(contemp. of GGrags pa shyun gros)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE XII – ’OL K’A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bKra iïs rgyal ms’an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(contemp. of Gon ma Grags pa rgyal ms’an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nor bzan po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rGya mel’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don yod rnam rgyal rdo rje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P’un ti’ogs rgyal rdun bton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mogy bdo rje rnam rgyal dpal of ’Ol k’a stag riu, contemp. of bSod nams rgyal ms’o (life of the same by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE XIII – BYA BA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rin c'en dpal</th>
<th>dBai p'yug</th>
<th>rin c'en</th>
<th>Rin c'en bzna</th>
<th>Drag po pa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

![Diagram](diagram.png)

**TABLE XIV – DGA' LDAN**

| mi c'un Don byug | (contemp. of Tse'has)
| dbai dpal | (dbak byug)
| bSod masks | dBan adar | rNam ras |

![Diagram](diagram.png)

**TABLE XV – LHA RGYA RI**

| they descend from King |
| dbal ak'or byug |
| C'ad po Tr'a ba con | | Lha c'es kyi bris glen |
| Lha dgra las nam byug |

![Diagram](diagram.png)
B) THE Sgom C'en of Abri Gun

C) Abbots on the See of rtse Ta'n

D) Abbots of Dga' ldan

E) Abbots of Abras Spuns
F) ABBOTS OF SE RA

(Vaṅgīṣya Ser po, p. 112)

1. Byams c'hen c'os rje Śā kya ye iṣe.
2. Śā kya ts'ul k'irims.
3. C'os rje rgyal mts'an bzaṅ po, b. 'ṣu p'yis, t laγi me.
4. bKrta śis rgya mts'o.
5. Rin c'en blo gros sen gr.
6. C'os rje adul adln pa.
7. Lha p'u c'os rje.
8. dPal sbyor lhun grub, b. me lug, t Ṭhā k'yi.
9. Mān t'os dPal ldan blo gros, b. l'ag laṅ, 1421, on the see, t Ṭhā byi. 1444.
10. sJa'm dbyas don yod dpal ldan, b. Ṭhā glos, 1445, t Ṭhā spr, 1524.
11. dGe adun rgya mts'o.
12. C'os kyi rgyal mts'an.
13. bSod nams grags pa (dGe' ldan).
15. bSod nams rgya mts'o.
16. sTon sa k'o r'c'os rje.
17. Yon tan rgya mts'o.
18. dBen sa pan c'en Blo bzaṅ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an.
20. Tsan dbyan sgya mts'o.

G) DALAI LAMAS

1. dGe adun grub pa, 1391-1474.
2. dGe adun rgya mts'o, 1475-1542.
3. bSod nams rgya mts'o, 1543-1588.
4. Yon tan rgya mts'o, 1589-1616.
5. Nag dban blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o, 1617-1682.
6. Ts'ans dbyan sgya mts'o, 1683-1706.
7. sKal bzaṅ rgya mts'o, 1708-1737.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX ONE

BYAÑ C’UB RGYAL MTS’AN’S PREDECESSORS

The P’ag mo gru pa myriarchy was one of the largest in Tibet and moreover it ruled over those places which had been the cradle of Tibetan history. According to the census contained in the rGya bod yig ti’sän, the P’ag mo gru myriarchy comprised 2438 families; according to S. CH. DAS (A short history of the House ‘Phagdu, JRASB, 1905, p. 202) it included also Taglung and the land North of the environs of Tengri nor. I am not in a condition to verify the accuracy of S. CH. Das, but it is certain that sTag lung appears as an independent k’ri skor, although the small number of families it contained (500 in all) may have induced the Chinese administration to incorporate it with P’ag mo gru. S. CH. Das’s information is perhaps taken from the rGya bod yig ti’sän, or at least from some source which followed that text very closely; as this information is quite confused, it must be put in order in the light of the sources I have collected.

First of all those relations, as between colleagues, which for a long time closely bound the dBi gun dge gsum to those of P’ag mo gru, clearly appear: both were the heads of great monasteries hailing back to the early period, for political superiority. While the abbots to those of P’ag mo gru, clearly appear: both were the heads of great monasteries hailing back to the same mystical currents; united by the same ritual descent, they left political power respectively in the light of the sources I have collected.

The religious supremacy of the dBi gun dge gsum over that of the P’ag mo gru also stood in an early period, for political superiority. While the P’ag mo gru abbots followed one another, begin, this information is quite confused, it must be put in order in the light of the sources I have collected.

First of all those relations, as between colleagues, which for a long time closely bound the dBi gun dge gsum to those of P’ag mo gru, clearly appear: both were the heads of great monasteries hailing back to the same mystical currents; united by the same ritual descent, they left political power respectively in the hands of the dGom pa and of the myriarchs.

The religious supremacy of the dBi gun dge gsum over that of the P’ag mo gru also stood, in an early period, for political superiority. While the P’ag mo gru abbots followed one another, beginning with Grags pa sbyi gnas, according to the succession mentioned by the fifth Dalai Lama, political power was entrusted to various myriarchs who, like the dPon c’en Sa skya pa and the dGom pa of the dBi gun dge gsum, were elected anew every time, chosen among the local aristocracy or the families realed to it, under influences it is not easy to identify now.

The first myriarch whose memory has come down to us is the one elected, with the consent of Tibetan lay and religious communities, by the dGom pa Sa skya rin c’en (S. CH. Das: Gompa Shagrin); he is dGom pa brTson, that is dGom pa brTson agrus (S. CH. Das: Gom pa; hence it is clear that the first P’ag mo gru myriarchs had the same title as those of dBi gun dge gsum.

dGom pa brTson agrus, with the Mongols’ favour, would have built the myriarchal house (k’ri k’an) of Ts’o’ng adus drag k’a (S. CH. Das: Ts’hong-du-täkgkar); but his administration having proved unsatisfactory, rGyal ba rin c’en had him discharged and elected in his place rDo rje dpal, a native of rKhan bži in K’ams. According to Das, rDo rje dpal was sent to China by the abbot before being appointed a myriarch; indeed he is said to have taken advantage of his journey to China to obtain the Mongol court’s favour and receive his diplomas of investiture. According to S. CH. Das, in the year wood tiger he returned from his Chinese mission, we do not know which (according to the fifth Dalai Lama tDo rje dpal went to China three times). Perhaps this was the mission during which he received his official investiture. What is the date corresponding to that year? S. CH. Das says that the year wood tiger corresponds to 1192, but this is a double error: in the first place the year wood tiger falls in 1194, not 1192, and moreover the event is later than tDo rje dpal’s invasion in 1240 which took place when Grags pa sbyi gnas, the uncle of rGyal ba rin po c’, was sitting on the abbatial throne of P’ag mo gru. Therefore the year wood tiger can only be 1254, while Grags pa sbyi gnas was still ruling the P’ag mo gru monastery. rDo rje dpal built the myriarchal palaces of Yar k'runs and established twelve feuds.

As S. CH. Das’s transcription is often arbitrary, I think it useful to compare his list of those feud with the fifth Dalai Lama’s list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fifth Dalai Lama</th>
<th>S. CH. Das</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P’o bran sgan</td>
<td>Zangri (Zains ri) Phodang-gang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ts’o’ng adus brag k’a</td>
<td>Tshong-dui-tag-kha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sNeu gdoñ</td>
<td>Ne dong-tse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sNa mo</td>
<td>Namo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha la sgan</td>
<td>Halayang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gLiñ smad in T’an po c’e</td>
<td>Thango-chin-ling-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P’yos (gzi ka)</td>
<td>Choi Stolka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bKra šis gdoñ in sMon mk’at</td>
<td>Monkhar, Tashidong (considered as two places)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rGyal t’an</td>
<td>Gyathang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lCags rtse gri gu</td>
<td>Chag-tse-tugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mCod rten glin</td>
<td>Khortog-chag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C’ad dkar</td>
<td>Kardo?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When rDorje dpal died, the bCu gnis pa Rin c’en rdo rje appointed to the office of myriarch the former’s brother, gZon nu rgyal mts’an, who governed against the P’ag mo gru’s interests and was deposed; in his place the office was conferred, pending the imperial approval, to Rin c’en rgyal mts’an, the abbot of gSon sde in Lho brag; this is Khampo Ringyal, according to S. CH. Das, who places him, however, after dGom brtson; I do not know whether this transposition is in the source used by Das or must be attributed to an error on his part, as seems more probable; after two myriarchs had turned out badly, it is logical to think that the chief
of P'ag mo gru tried to confer that office on a new person who, to judge from his title of mk'an po was already at the head of a monastery. After a few years the latter was succeeded by Byan (c'ub) gzdon nu (of the Kya-yi dag-cu, family according to Das). During his administration friction between the aBri gun pa and the Sa skya pa became sharper, and it was in his times that aBri gun was destroyed by the dPon c'en Sa skya pa, Ag len. What the P'ag mo gru pa's attitude may have been in this circumstance is not known. According to S. Ch. Das's source, it would appear that Byan c'ub gzdon nu did not side with the Sa skya, but he probably did not keep up this attitude long, if Ag len condemned him to be burnt alive. The sentence, however, was not carried out.

Byan c'ub gzdon nu was succeeded by gzdon nu yon tan (Shon-nu Yontan according to S. Ch. Das), a nephew of gzdon nu rgyal mts'an. He did not turn out to be any better than his predecessors, and after holding office six years he was deposed, as a consequence of complaints made to the abbot's brother by a Mongol prince, a pilgrim in Tibet. S. Ch. Das transcribes this prince's name as Thumer Buqa, commander of the Mongol army which Ag len had called to his aid to defeat aBri gun, as we have seen above (see above p. 16). And perhaps the pilgrimage alluded to by Das is nothing but this military expedition.

gzdon nu yon tan's deposition implied a new beginning: the myriarch was replaced by a regency council. The situation was evidently very difficult, not only because of the myriarchs' misrule, but also because the abbots had already cast their eyes on the myriarchies. But as the aBri gun pa were, for the time being, weakened, and old ties with that monastery had become slacker, the ambitions of both sects being in contrast, the Sa skya pa did not wish to give up control over this part of Tibet. Hence in this regency council we see: a Sa skya pa abbot, Rin c'en bkra šis (S. Ch. Das: Rin chen Tashi), bTsion agrus dpal (T Tson dui Pal according to S. Ch. Das) a kinsman of the abbot of P'ag mo gru, Jo bo Grags pa rin c'en (S. Ch. Das: Jo bo Tagpa Rin) and a second cousin of gzdon nu yon tan, whom S. Ch. Das calls Tagpa Pho zer; the latter is perhaps Grags pa 'od zer or Ti ši Grags pa 'od zer, who was in China at the Mongol court and whom we have seen interfering that the Sa skya pa prince bDag 'id c'en po bZan po dpal might be sent home from exile. From this point S. Ch. Das becomes inextricably confused:

"In the meantime, with the sanction of the Emperor of China, Taifsri Tagpa-hod pa became governor. By bringing Gyavo, the brother of Chyan na Rin-poche over to his side, he also assumed spiritual power... On the death of Gyavo, the elder brother of Chyan na Rin-poche, named Gyal Shonpal, proceeded to Peking and with the sanction of Lhaje Phagmodu (Phag-du hierarch) assumed the office of t'hi po. Shortly after he was deposed by the Sakyas authorities, who placed his younger brother in charge of the government. From him the office descended to Gyal-tshan Kyab, the son of Shon-nu Gyal-tshan. When Disti Kun tob-pa proceeded to China, Gyal-tshan Kyab was discharged from the governorship. Ritsi Wang Gyal po then became T'hipon and received the title of Tai S itu. He was succeeded by Sonam Gyal tshan, the grandson of Gyal-tshan Kyab, who performed the duties of T'hipon. He was very popular with his subjects. He was so very resolute that no one could oppose his views or outdo him in anything. He brought all Tibet under his sway. S itu Chyan tshan from his early age, became skillful in war, literature and religion...."

This summary of S. Ch. Das's contains not a few inaccurate statements. To begin with, I doubt that he has interpreted his sources correctly, when he states that the Taifsri Grags pa 'od zer (which he transcribes once Tagpa Phozer and once Taifs Tagpa-hod-pa) became governor, and next assumed also spiritual power. Evidently here he means to recall the same event alluded to by the fifth Dalai Lama, namely the union of temporal and religious power in the hands of Grags pa rin c'en, who became bla dpal and was invested with political authority through the intercession of prince Tämür and of Grags pa 'od zer.

Grags pa rin c'en is thus the same person whom he calls Gya bo, at whose death power passed not into the hands of Gyal shonpal, as S. Ch. Das states, but into those of rGyal mts'an dpal bsan po, who was precisely the elder brother of the C'os bži pa Grags pa rgyal mts'an, and went to China on a mission to the imperial Court (as the fifth Dalai Lama records on p. 635). Nevertheless he was no luckier than his predecessors, and giving way to Sa skya pa intrigues, he retired from his function. The myriarch's office was then assumed by rGyal mts'an skyabs (Gyal-tshan Kyab, according to S. Ch. Das), a son of gzdon nu rgyal mts'an. But he occupied office for a short time, being unable to hold out against the open ambitions of young Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an. The latter in the meantime had succeeded in getting himself appointed myriarch by the Emperor of China, obtaining an official investiture from Kun blo, i. e. Kun dgs' blo gros, a Sa skya pa lama, the son of bDag 'id c'en po bZan po dpal, who was coming back to Tibet to receive his ordination, but also as a bearer of imperial orders. He is the Disti Kun t'hi pa mentioned by S. Ch. Das; his Ritsi Wang Gyalpo, who received the title of Tai s itu, can be no other than Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an.

To sum up this long discussion, it is now clear that the P'ag mo gru's political history was, in the beginning, greatly troubled by strife between the heads of the monastery and the political authorities, who, as it had already been the case in Sa skya with the dPon c'en and in aBri gun with the sGom pa, sought not only to become independent, but to overrule ecclesiastical authority.
APPENDIX TWO

ON THE GENEALOGIES OF THE TIBETAN NOBILITY

I. THE COSMIC EGG

In another part of this work we have shown that the aristocracy of Tibet seems to have possessed family records, not very different, in their scheme, from the varnashāstra of India. In those records pedigrees were handed over to posterity and the principal events of the families magnified. Some of the most important historical works of Tibet are but chronicles of the leading families fighting for supremacy when, Tibet being under the rule of the Yuan empire, each one of them tried to have some appointment from the Mongol emperors and then, after the collapse of that dynasty, to get the upper hand over their rivals. The importance of these documents for the history of Tibet has been discussed in Part one. In this appendix I want to investigate the mythic contents of the family records of the P'ag mo gru pa which boasted of being Lha rigs, viz. divine descent; these records are summarized in the Chronicles of Blo bzang rgya mt'so, translated above.

This section of the work of the fifth Dalai Lama was chiefly based upon the Rus nidsod po ti se ru or better the rLabs kyi po ti bse ru p'ag mo gru pa sde srid byun ts'al, of which I could not find any trace in Tibet.

It is not my purpose to solve all the questions which are laid before us by the investigation of the family records of Tibetan aristocracy, but rather to point out their importance as sources of information about prebuddhistic Tibet. In fact though these Chronicles are late and compiled in Buddhist times, they preserve many a tradition which has nothing in common with Buddhism and rather betrays Bonpo ideas. In other words in these records we can get glimpses of an ancient world which little by little gave way to the new religion and left small traces in classical literature.

First of all it appears that they have handed down to us fragments of ancient and forlorn cosmogonies, as evidenced, for instance, by those passages dealing with the creation of the world from the cosmic egg. The cosmic egg appears frequently in the prebuddhistic legends of Tibet and the old cosmogonic myths which have been inserted in later Bon scriptures, for instance in the largest redaction of "the 100,000 klu", This is a huge compilation which has nothing to do with the text published by Schiefner or Lauffer. Its title runs thus: gTs'an ma klu abum and it is divided into three sections: Klu abum dkar po, Klu abum nag po, Klu abum k'a bo. The compilation is late and shows a great influence of Mahayana dogmatics; in fact it contains long lists of the bon, viz. dharman of the qualities of the gyu n du rnam sdb pa (corresponding to byan c'abs sdb pa of Buddhism), of the virtues of the gShen rab analogous to those of the Buddha; all these things are literally taken from the manuals of Buddhism. But at the same time the text has handed down to us a great many ancient legends which go back to prebuddhistic traditions, as the following summary of the most important passages concerned with the origin of the world will easily show.

(117 b) From the uncreated being a white light originated and from the essence of that very light a perfect egg came out; outside it was luminous, it was all good; it had no parts, no hands and no feet, but it was possessed of the power of motion; it had no wings but could fly, it had neither head, nor mouth, nor eyes, still a voice came out of it. After five months this miraculous egg broke and a man came out. This man gave himself a name. He called himself in Zañ žუн language: Mig can bu ts'a rdzus apr'ul can; in Sum pa language: bskos mk'an, in Tibetan: Srid pa' mk'yen, in Bon language Klu. His abode was in a continent in the middle of a great ocean. He sat on a golden throne. The klu came to pay homage to him and he ordered the universe, regulated the course of time, invited gods to the protection of created beings and overcame demons. Once he jumped into the sea and he was caught in a net by a fisherman; thence great calamities befell men. gShen rab suggests the appropriate expiation. It is clear that Mig can born from the cosmic egg is a demiurge: it is he who disposes everything in order: therefore he is called bskos mk'an "he who arranges and appoints charges... He is the same as the bskos of the Bonpo text published by Lauffer, it is from him that civilization begins.

(126 a) In the beginning there was naught; from the void sToñ pa' gyi drun sems dpa' abiding in the gyu n du rnam originated; from him a light of all colours permeating the universe emanated. Then a wind called yos (sic, for gyos) kyi du ba tsm, and in succession one above the other, the wind rdzul ts'a gra' rnam, the circle of fire: from fire and wind water and wind, then the sea; from this a kind of tent of foam; from this a tortoise was derived; it was all of gold; it begot six eggs: one white, of rock crystal, one yellow of gold, one blue of turquoise, one red of copper, one dark of bronze, one black of iron. From each egg a special family of klu derived: from the golden one: rgyal rigs = royal family; from that of turquoise: dman rigs = low caste; from that of iron: bram ze rigs = brahmanic caste; from that of bronze: gsa'i rigs = untouchable caste; from that of copper: byol soñ = animals; there is no word about the rock-crystal egg.
(132b) From the void a blue light was derived; from this the three worlds were covered: a rainbow came out of it and from it a vapour: from this vapour a subtle splendour emanated; then a wonderful egg; from the vapour of this egg vapour and heat; from its skin seven golden mountains; from the cream (gphri) space, from its heat fire, from the watery element in it water and the ocean; from the interior of this egg a klu was born:

(133a) lha bral mtshon gi rgya mts'o bdag med turn ed into the void; from this, through gradual mutations, the wheel of vacuum emanated; successively the wheels of wind, fire and heat were derived; and then wind again; the nine continents situated in the ocean were formed from the cold; from the vapour of the ocean a kind of foam emanated, from this an egg was born; this broke and a being came out of it with numberless limbs and nine heads. This was called in Zan žun language: Bye ba sa ya, in Sum pa language: las dbyai "the master of action", in Tibetan Srid pai klu mo mgo dgyi, "the Klu mo of the world with nine heads", in the middle of her nine heads there was a head of crystal upon which a hood grew; from this a light emanated which permeated space; from the left eye the sun was born; from the right eye the moon, from the nose the wind and the four seasons; from his eyelids the rays of the sun and of the moon; from the teeth the eight planets and the constellations, from the viscous matter of the eyes ambrosia.

These passages of the Klu abumi which I have chosen contain therefore different modulations of the same myth concerning the origin of world. Four ways of the cosmic creation are here alluded to:

1. white light - egg - primeval man who arranges the Universe;
2. void - egg - primeval being - light - elements - tortoise - eggs as the origin of different classes of klu;
3. void - blue light - egg - the Universe;
4. a primeval being - elements (water) - egg - a monster from whose limbs the world is created.

So, in all cases the egg represents an intermediate stage, and, except n. 3, it is the cause of a particular creation, either of men, or of Klu or of special parts of the world.

In some cases, as in n. 4, the real cause of the Universe is the primeval being from whose limbs the world and its parts are derived.

The same story is also preserved in other sections of the same work (κ'α, p. 341 b).

There we read of a Klu mo born from the vacuum: she was called Klu rgyal mo srid pa gstan la p'ab pa "the queen of the klu who arrayed existence," from the top of her head sky (gnam) emanated, from the light of her right eye the moon, from the light of the left eye the sun, from the upper teeth four planets. When the Klu mo opened her eyes it was day, when she shut them it was night, from the other 12 lower and upper teeth the lunar mansions (skar ma) arose. From her voice thunder came out, from her tongue lightning, from her breath clouds, from her tears rain, from the fat of her tongue hailstorm; from the holes of her nose wind, from her blood the five oceans, from her veins rivers, from her flesh earth, from her bones mountains and so on.

Though the redaction contained in the Klu abumi does not mention any sacrifice of the Klu as the cause of the universe, as in the case of the Indian purusa or the Chinese Panku, Western Tibetan legends are more explicit on this point. These narrate how a hero named Don gsum mtha' snon mo killed a monster with nine heads, just like the klu already referred to; with his body he built the castle of Glin and all the Glin country, with his head, bones, ribs and arms the castle; with the lungs the golden mountain, that is the Sumeru, with his stomach the valley of Go ma, with the intestines Tṣaṇ ma; with the eyes the spring Tṣ'an ya and so on. They are therefore confronted with cosmogonic legends, probably connected with ancient vegetation rites in which the victim offered to the gods was cut into pieces.

In the same way, the Manasarovar and the lakes bordering it are derived, according to the ancient Bonpo mythology, from four eggs: the lake Gur rgyal lha mo from an egg white as a conch-shell, the lake Ma p'am gyu mts'o (Manasarovar), from an egg blue as turquoise; the La nag b dal mo (Rākṣastal) from a golden egg, the lake Güns c'u ddu lha mo from a white egg.

Other Bonpo legends, contained in the Đra ba nag po tshug brag drag po gnam lcags t'og abebs (p. 2), relate how there was in the beginning 'Od gsal lha from whom all creation derived: Lha, Gar, bsTen; dMu, bDud, gTs'ams; P'ya, Sroed, sKos; dDte, Srin, Byur; Mi, sMra, sGen. From gNam gsas dbyibs, gYui byel 'u lug rdsi mo was born, who came down from heaven upon earth; from the syllables ba and hu uttered by that god the essence of the five elements was emanated, from these the rainbow gzs'a (= gza' tson) and the existence, srid; from the very essence of this, an egg which begot Srid pa a'byun ba srid pai rgyal po; from his spirit four emissions of seed flowed out, from which four syllables derived; these were again absorbed in those four emissions of seed and were therefore condensed into four eggs: from the first, dMu srid pai rgyal po was born, from the second sTag adud ge ta, from the third Rin po c'ei kyed srid rgyal po, from the fourth b'Tsan gyi rgyal po Hur pa good t'keyen.

A similar tradition as regards the cosmic eggs is preserved in the nuptial songs of Western Tibet which mention the world tree." It has three points (rtse mo) and six branches; on each branch there is a bird with a corresponding egg: 1) a k'yuñ and a golden egg; the k'yuñ is called bya c'en, the great bird; 2) the king of the birds, rgyod po, the vulture, and a turquoise egg; 3) the vulture go po with white head (ldad gkar [ldad = glad]), and an egg of the colour of the conch-shell; 4) an eagle (glag) with a white neck and a silver egg; 5) a divine bird, the white grouse, and a coral egg; 6) a white falcon (k'ra skya) and an iron egg. This tree evidently signifies the axis mundi and the birds upon it are the guardians of the six points of the compass, viz. the four cardinal points and the centre which is double: the one ideally placed on the top and the other at the bottom, the conjunction of the two points by a line being the world axis. The correspondence of the four cardinal points with four of these eggs.
is also proved by the fact that the colours of the eggs agree with the colours of the four quarters. In fact in another song, where the doors of heaven are mentioned, the colour of each of them is thus given:

East: king of the birds, vulture bya rgyal rgyag po, conch-shell, white;
South: gold, golden sgal, frog, yellow;
West: turquoise, rma bya, peacock, blue;
North: iron, po'rog nag po, black raven, black.

These few quotations from old Tibetan traditions show that these legends on the origin of the world are far from being simple; this complexity seems to indicate that they have not been preserved in their primitive shape, but that they underwent a long process of elaboration by which elements of various origin and age were blended together. In fact, little by little, to the myth of a cosmic egg other speculations were added; they postulated, for instance, the existence of a primeval vacuum which seems to betray Buddhist or generally Indian influences; other legends contain a hint at the primeval light in which we are perhaps justified in seeing a reminiscence of Manichaean theories; the hypothesis will not appear so far-fetched when we recall a set of stories of Iranian origin to which we shall refer in the course of this study. In other places the tortoise is considered as a kind of intermediate stage between the primeval being or the vacuum and the universe; in a few myths, as we saw, the worlds are said to have derived from the limbs of a primeval being. 89

It is worthy of notice that these cosmic legends introduce as a rule the expiation revealed by gSen rab mi bo and meant to appease the wrath of the klu offended, at the very beginning of civilization, by some mythic being, who taught men to build houses, to construct bridges, to cross rivers and seas, thus violating the abode of the klu and of the sa bdag. It is also interesting to see how in these legends the ocean (rgya mits'o) plays a prominent part: we are never confronted with rivers but rather with big seas in which continents are situated.

The general outlook of these legends does not betray any Buddhist origin, though occasionally some names of klu or klu mo (k'a, p. 56, e.g., ri ma = gau ri ma = Keurina) may even appear as a corruption of Indian names; they rather point to some other source, to be traced out most probably in the direction of Indochina in the proximity of big seas. These mythologies migrated therefore into Tibet as the cosmologic lore of some tribes; but were later combined with stories of different derivation.

2. THE SIX OR FOUR ORIGINAL TRIBES OF TIBET

The same variety of legends we find as regards the origin of the Tibetan people and of its tribes. A well defined set of legends speaks of a certain number of tribes from which the inhabitants of Tibet came successively into being. The different clans are said in fact to have descended from the four or six tribes which, at the dawn of human life, populated the country or rather from their respective primeval ancestors. It is out of place to refer here to the orthodox tradition according to which the forefathers of the Tibetan people were a monkey and an ogress. The legend is related with many a detail in the Ma ni bka' ru, chap. 34 90 and in the rGyal rabs, chap. 7. But it can also be found in the Pad ma bka' 'tun sa lha (blon po bka' 'tun, p. 4), where this account of the origin of the Tibetan people is said to be the orthodox one (c'as lugs) as opposed to the heterodox, viz. Bon po (bon lugs), according to which Tibetans are stated to have been derived from the Klu.

This statement of the ancient and authoritative text rNin ma pa therefore clearly shows that as regards the origin of the Tibetan race two traditions prevailed in Tibet: one was peculiar to the Buddhist schools, the other to the Bon po communities. This is true for older times, because in later times, when a great intercouse between the two religions took place, the Bonpos did not esitate to accept many a story from the rival sect, as documented for instance by the rGyal rabs bon gyi abyin gnas.

But the fact that the descent of the Tibetans from the monkey is generally accepted by Lamaist tradition, and that the monkey plays a great role in Indian mythology and folklore, cannot be considered as a proof that this legend was introduced into Tibet from India along with Buddhism, as Köppen was inclined to believe. First of all, as shown by Laufer, it is no reason to bring forward in this particular case the non-existence of monkeys in Tibet as an argument in favour of the Indian origin of this myth, because in Tibet and chiefly in South and South-East Tibet monkeys are well known; we may add that some tribes between Tibet and China, for instance the Chiang, ethnically related to the Kiang, boasted to be descended from a monkey; 91 so did the Chiao yao of South West of the Chiang who equally considered the monkey as their ancestor.) A gser byi spreu "golden monkey", is included also among the gNan, aboriginal gods of Tibet that will later be discussed.

There is therefore no ground for supposing that the Tibetans borrowed from India this story of their ancestry, though Buddhism, speaking of previous incarnations of Sakyamuni as a monkey or of a monkey as a devotee of the Teacher and the acquaintance that, through Buddhism, Tibetans acquired of the Râmâê legends 92 may have given a wider popularity to this mythic ancestor of some tribes.

Anyhow, though orthodox tradition generally admits of this descent of the Tibetan folk from rPyan ras gyzigs incarnated as a monkey, still there is a great diversity as regards the names of the tribes said to have derived from him and their number as well; in some cases we hear of four fundamental tribes, in others of six. 93 Sum pa mk'an po has written a résumé of all these traditions and since many of the texts which he quotes appear to be lost or, at least, are
at present of difficult access, it is necessary to start from the list given by him. According to one theory the six sons of the primeval monkey and implicitly the forefathers of the Tibetan clans were: Se, rMu (dMu) lDon, sTö, Gra, Bru or according to the Bod mni k'ri t'o cem po'10 dGr a bBru, lDon, aCa' (in the text: lag), Nu bo, dPa' mda' (in the text: dPal mna').

On the other side, the bK'a' cens ka k'ol ma commonly attributed to Srön btsan sgam po, states that the ancestors of the Tibetans were only four: Se, rMu, lDon; sTö. Their father gave each a territory to rule over, where they and their sons settled; each clan was thereafter divided into twelve branches.

A close investigation of the names of these six or four tribes shows that they are most probably related to the names of gods or demons; this implies that these tribes claimed to have a special deity as their particular ancestor, whose cult was reserved to the members of the tribe itself and who was consequently worshipped as the presiding god of the group. dMu is the name of a tribe and of a class of gods as well. The dMu are malignants; they are placed between the bDud and the bTsan; in the gzer myig (Asia Major, III, p. 333; I, p. 338) it is said that dMu and bDud from heaven and all the bTsan are inclined to harass and frighten men. On earth, the clan rMu and dMu rules over Sam po lha rtsi 'in Ol mo lun rtsis and their king is dMu rgyal lyan gyi t'em pa skas. So also in the Bon po manual quoted above, (p. 2): dMu, bDud, mTs'ams (where mTs'ams is one of the thirteen classes of gods).

The Po ti bse ru includes the dMu, (sMu) among the gNan and the Klu; so also the Bar do t'o go'l bon po called lTun blegs dri med mcog byan b'iugs pai dMu p'yo'gs (p. 158 k).

A special teacher is allotted to them by the Bon po tradition: Ljib du'n p'yu', while K'a ste agren yug was the one reserved for the bDud, dByar sde grim bu for the Klu and T'an t'an k'rol pa for the gNan (sNan srid mdud p'yo'gs kyi gzun dan agrel pa ap'ru' gyi sgon me, p. 66 a).

The dMu are said to dwell in the K'ro c'u dMu lug mk'ar 19 which is located in the dMu yul bra'n leags apar; their king is dMu bdud kam po sa zan (flesh eater). In a Bonpo hymn, in which the humour of the terrible deities is invoked, he is said to be the son of Mi bdud aNyan po and of dMu lcem mGrin snon ma the daughter of Mu rje bsam po. Iconographically he is represented with a dragon's head and a human body; from his mouth he vomits hailstones. T'an na dMu mo t'an is one of the eight messengers (po na mo) of gSen rab; she rules over the armies of the dMu; the other goddesses of this group are: T'an na lha mo t'an, T'an na dog mo t'an, T'an na bdud mo t'an, T'an na dMu mo t'an, T'an na klu mo t'an, T'an na gNan mo t'an, T'an na srin mo t'an, T'an na p'ya mo t'an, T'an na bged mo t'an, (dPal gias rim pa sK'u guN t'ugs kyi sgrub gzun, p. 50 ff.). According to the Ri rab brtseg mdas they are divided into two groups: rMu rje and dMu btsan and are equally considered as bTsan.

As demons the dMu are included in the eight classes of the lha srim sde brgyad (see down below). Perhaps some diseases like dropsy were considered to be caused by the dMu and in fact dropsy is called dMu c'u "the water of the dMu"... Even drought is caused by them (rgyal mdos dkar drug mdos kyi bea' t'abs ltem bkhyed, RC, p7, p. 4). These traditions show therefore that the dMu were a class of beings who may be noxious to men. They did not reside in the subterranean world, but in some heaven; they in fact belong to the stea'-class of beings, viz. to those who stay in high spheres (Asia Major, III, p. 33); in their place there was a lake of molten metal; this was the abode were the deceased went after death with the help of a ladder or a rope.

Upon earth there was a class of priests who boasted of having the power to lead the deceased there because they held the ladder or the rope; these were the dMu, who perhaps claimed a descent from dMu rgya lan t'em skas, one of the ancestors of gSen rab.

Se, bSe is, in the same way, the name of a tribe as well as of a class of demons: Se ap'an nag po is in fact the name of Mal gro gzi can, one of the most famous klus of Tibetan demonology; he is also called Srog dkar rgyal po (bK'a' tan sde lha, ca. p. 39). He is represented with the head of a dragon, the trunk of a man and the lower part of the body interlaced like a snake. Under him are placed: T'son dpon nag po, white, with five heads of snakes, the leader of the right wing, K'ams kyi bya t'ul, yellow with two dragon heads, the leader of the left wing; the other attendants were Gın, sPa gro skyer, the god of the waters, K'a rgyal žwa 'od, with a bull's head and so on, from which it appears that the army of these demons led by Mal gro gzi can is conceived on the pattern of the Turco-mongol army divided into two wings.

The Vai da rya dkar po, the most astrological work by the Se De srid San sgsags rgya mts'o contains a long list of Sa bdag and demons connected with the various months, days and the periods of the year. Some of these sa bdag belong to the class of the "Se", as the following examples will show.

(p. 444) Se ba bla mk'yen rtsi mk'an; (p. 445) rgyal poi nor sru'n (viz. custodian of the treasure of the king of the year T'e se) se byi; sKu sru'n mi gud se šar; Se ba ran, the horse of the king; (p. 446) Se bu rta k'rid; Dust'ad sin se bya; (p. 462) T'ab lha se šar; (p. 466) Se bdud; and so on.

Some of them, according to the theriomorphism prevalent in Bonpo iconography, are represented like monsters with animal heads. This name "Se", can hardly be separated from the names of other gods which are to be met with in old mythology or in the Bonpo tradition; such are for instance the names of Ti se-Kailasa (where ti is probably Kanawri: ti water) and of Gyu bse the ancestor from whom the gK'on, viz. the Sa skya pa claimed to have descended. If the information of S. Chi. D.A.S, that se bya is the name of a sorcerer connected with the cult of the Sa bdag, were true we should find here the same relation as in the case of the dMu, between a God, a tribe and certain
priests; but probably the statement of S. Ch. Das is wrong, being based on a false interpretation of the passage of the Vai du rya dkar po already referred to.

The existence of bSve as a class of wizards snags pa nag po, real black exorcists (the distinction between white and black Bon po is well known and reminds us of the white and black shamans, concerning whom see B. Harva, Religionsen Vorstellungen der altischen Völker, p. 482) is proved by our sources, for instance by the gSns bSve drags pa gdul byed las ts'i'ags dam rtSi gsum mdo, which mentions a bSve zhwa, a hat of the bSve. Probably the name of these Se, bSe, bSve, should be linked with the Hsi hia word: sZii 亜 which, according to the Chinese sources, corresponds to bSve, wizard, shaman.19 (Lauffer, The Sibeia language, TP, 1916, p. 68, n. 138)

According to the biography of mK'as grub rje, Se was also the name of a clan of 1CaN ta in Li, viz. Khotan. This is perhaps due to the fact that in Li yul, called in the Bonpo books bTsan gi gnas mc'og 亜 supreme place of the bTsan 亜, the castle bSve 'od abar abode of Yan ni ver, a king of the bTsan was located (Dan can rgya mtsis in k'd la ran bzin gi mire gsal, p. 3). In the chronicles of Ladakh the Se are put together with the Ha 亜 which, according to the Chinese sources, corresponds to bSve, wizard, shaman.

As to lDoN I know a mountain of this name and a demon who is supposed to dwell there (S. Ch. Das s. v.). In the chronicles of Ladakh they are a class of ministers. The name of another tribe, that is dGra, reminds us of one of the most popular Gods of Tibet, dGra lha (sometimes wrongly spell dGra bla): according to some texts (Apology rNi'n ma pa, p. 34) he is the btsan of Za'n zu'n.

We come to the same conclusion examining the legends concerning the origin of the four leading clans said to be descended from these six or four tribes. These four clans are:

Ye sa'n dkar po, Ye smon nag po, sPyan k'rig ye tes; Mon rdsu nag po or according to the chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama (p. 10): Ye sa'n dkar po gnam aju t'a'g can; Ye smon nag mo k'ro cu'i p'a' ba adra ba; sPyan k'rig ye tes lai sgron me; Mon rdsu nag po k'yi rna ljan can. There are reasons for assuming that this divisions into four clans, which recalls that of the Bon po gods into four ru 亜wings亜, had a sacrail character.19

We may surmise that these four tribes correspond to four different classes of priests, each class being specialised in a particular method of liturgy connected with certain categories of gods and therefore each exercising a special function. This suggestion is confirmed by two passages of the gzer myis; in the first four classes of Bonpo are enumerated: sna mc'og pai bon, gyan ldon hai bon, dmu t'a'g dogs pai bon, za'l sro' pai bon; in the second passage, when narrating the events of the marriage of the parents of gSen tab, it is said that the gods chanted sMon lam, the klu did the za'l b'ro, the dMu plan ed the dmu t'a'g, the p'ya made the p'ya gyan.20

From these two passages it is clear that there existed four classes of Bon priests each related to a certain class of gods and implicitly specialized in the appropriate ritual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gods</th>
<th>actions of the Gods</th>
<th>Bon and their function</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dMu</td>
<td>dMu t'a'g adogs</td>
<td>dMu t'a'g adogs pai bon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klu</td>
<td>rZal bMro</td>
<td>rZal sro pai bon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'ya</td>
<td>P'ya gyan</td>
<td>gYan ldon pai bon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lha</td>
<td>sMon lam</td>
<td>sNa mc'og pai bon</td>
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This fourfold classification of Bonpo priesthood is confirmed by a passage of the Gyal rabs in which we read (p. 54 of my manuscript):

"sPu de gu'n gyal t'ook possession of the kingdom and his minister was Ru la skies. During the rule of this king and his minister, the Bon of the gYun drun was originated. The teacher gSen rab mi bo was born in 'Ol mOi lun riis in the country of the sTag gzig. The law of the Bon consisting of the eight K'ams was derived from the country Za'n zu'n and spread all over the country.

There are nine kinds of Bon; four are concerned with people interested in the cause of realization, and five with those aiming at the results of the doctrine.23 These last five are represented by the followers of the supreme vehicle of the gYun drun. They desire to obtain a body in a happy heaven.

"The four kinds of persons practising that part of the doctrine which is the cause of realization are:

a) snan gSen who wear tufts of wool on their forehead.

b) ap'ruul gSen, who wear coloured threads of wool.

c) gra Sen (for p'ya, p'ya gSen), who cast lots with threads of different colours (gyi t'a'g can).

d) dur gSen, who have weapons.

The first class summon good luck, pray to Lha and sMan causing prosperity and glory; they increase the wealth of men. The second class throw mdos and yas, erect temples (sri'd) and sacred symbols (rten) and expel calamities, present and future.23

The third class teach the path of what is good and what is bad and dismiss all sorts of doubts as regards being and not being, and destroy all sinful ideas.

The fourth class expel all sorts of hindrances of the living and establish the cemetery for the gSen, subdue the infant-devils (sri), observe the stars in the sky, smash the adre upon earth.

"All of them used to beat the drum (rsla yun): as regards power it was of the sgrun and ide'a."

The classification of the Gyal rabs finds a parallel in a passage of the kKa' t'ai yig, in which, after giving the list of the nine Bon po vehicles (t'eg), the character of each is separately stated.
To confine ourselves to the four classes we are interested in, the data contained in the two books may be summed up as follows.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>bKa’ t’han sde lha</th>
<th>rGyal rabs</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>name</strong></td>
<td><strong>function</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>p’ya gien</td>
<td>lha, on which see what follows, and snyed, the examination of signs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sna’ gien</td>
<td>gyes, song (33)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ap’rul gien</td>
<td>beings possessed by a god shas gnas rnam (see S. CH. DAS, rnam shis, p. 389a) (33)</td>
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<tr>
<td>srid gien</td>
<td>cemeteries and funeral rites</td>
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Barring some changes of names, although the function remains identical, as in the case of srid gien and dkar gien, and a different order of the names within the list, the correspondence between the two lists is remarkable; but it is surprising that p’ya and gyan should be attributed to sNa’i gien by the rGyal rabs, when we should expect to find these functions assigned to the P’ya gien; thus the bKa’ t’han sde lha seems more accurate when it describes the character of the ap’rul gien, the beings possessed by a god, for such seems to be the meaning of shas gnas rnam, the mysterious presence of a god, causing the person it is possessed of to become restless and to breathe heavily. In other words the ap’rul gien is the real shaman, while the others have specified liturgical, sacred and exorcistic functions.

There is no doubt that a certain analogy exists between the classifications of the gZer myig and that of the rGyal rabs, although the two texts refer to different epochs.

This appears when we compare the two lists, but in an inverted sense; it will then be noticed that the first class of the rGyal rabs dealing with the Lha corresponds to the sna mdog pai bon of the gZer myig. In the same way the functions of the second class correspond to those of the gYan ldon pai bon.

But the analogy with the other two classes is not clear, for instance in the rGyal rabs there is no trace of the dMu’ t’ag adogs pai Bon; its place is occupied by the ju t’ig, attributed to the p’ya gien, and ju t’ig, as Jäschke says, is “a way of drawing lots by threads of different colours.” In short the dMu’ t’ag, with which we shall deal in greater detail further on, is replaced by the ju t’ag, ju t’ig (ju t’ig perhaps as a contamination with t’ig, the rope used to draw the mandala or to compose the llo, mdos). This rope was used in divination, and to judge from a passage of the bKa’ srin ha sa ga rtha sbag t’obs sni tu bshgrub pa nma’i bshuy pa rak don rten absd nakh na rdams bzhag pa gnam bris ha (RC, p’i, p. 7 b) it was a sign of illomen when the cord broke; hence the gods were invoked lest this happen and lest evil signs should be announced (gnyi t’ag t’ag zlag). It therefore appears that in course of time the rope which united heaven and earth and led the deceased into the kingdom of dMu, with the help of the dMu’ clan’s liturgies, was replaced by a divinatory cord.

It is difficult to say what this dMu’ t’ag originally was, but it is highly probable that its survival is to be found in the strips of cloth called Ha pi zhi used by the Nakhis and so well described by ROCK. They represent a “bridge for the soul to reach the realm of the gods,” (ROCK, Studies in the Nakhis literature, BEFO, vol. XXXVII, p. 41). The Bon pos have now a Baro t’os grol containing the rituals and the prayers intended to guide the soul to an after-life of happiness. But this book, which is called Zhi’u bar do t’os grol after the pattern of the famous ‘Tibetan book of the dead,” does not contain any allusion to the dMu’ t’ag and strictly follows the rNin ma ma pa text, of which it evidently is a late imitation.

To sum up this lengthy discussion, the classification of the rGyal rabs, based on a fourfold division of the Bon priests, refers nevertheless to a stage of this religion more recent than the one alluded to in the gZer myig. It takes us back to a late epoch, when many of the ancient beliefs began to be forgotten and overcome by new ones (the Grub t’abs legs bshad sel gyi me ldn, ed. S. CH. DAS, JRAIS, 1881, p. 190, only knows three classes of aKyar Bon). As to the sgrub and ldo, they are apart (rGyal pai bka’ t’han, p. 198, see GR, p. 150, l. 17, sgrub bde [in the text, erroneously, ldeu] bon gsum and iki.d, l. 10, sgrub ldeu bon gten po ce byin); their office was political rather than religious (c’ab srid, says the rGyal rabs concerning them).

Naturally, the Bon po priestly class must have been divided into groups even more numerous. This is proved by a description of the Bon po sacrifice, made in honour of K’ri sron lde bstan and described in the Jo ma gling gsum, p. 62 ff. During these ceremonies deer and many other animals were sacrificed, and a group of nine Bon mk’as took part in the sacrifice; they stood in the middle of the place chosen for the sacrifice, having on their right and their left nine mi mdu’ c’en, men possessing great strength. In front of them stood the mchod gyes, executors of the sacrifice, grasping the gtri ri, knife. Next the K’ru bon, with golden ladles (gser skyes) brought water to wash the victims with (skus). The Zu bon questioned and answered, i.e. probably sang, alternatively, songs explaining the purpose of the sacrifice and invoking the gods. At this point the gShen bon came forward, seized the animals by the horns and cut their throats. Next the bSgr bon cut the victims to pieces, the bSe bon arranged their flesh for distribution; the Grais bon counted the pieces of flesh, filled up copper vessels with laddefuls of blood, and placed them on the skins of the
slaughtered animals, while the flesh was placed on other skins. Then, as if possessed, they all cried out loudly.

Although the book from which this description of a Bon po sacrifice is taken is rather a late one, (see p. 258, n. 202), there seems to be no doubt that it preserves an ancient tradition, and anyhow it shows us the complexity of Bon po rites and the multiplicity of its priests.

The names of its four classes are as we saw, at the same time the names of mythical ancestors from which they pretended to be derived. (The case of Ye smon nag po is evident). They moreover contain a hint at the symbols by which their members were characterized as an indication of the deities supposed to be in relation with them and implicitly of their functions. This is undoubtedly clear in the case of Ye sans dkar po gnam gyi aju t’ag can “possessing the heavenly rope.” They are evidently the same as the dMu t’ag adogs pa. The sMon nag mo K’ro c’ui p’a bon ada ba “similar to a lump of melted bronze,” evidently claimed their descent from Ye smon rgyal po, who even in the genealogy of the P’ag mo gru pa is considered as the first king. As to K’ro c’ui p’a bon, its being a weapon or a symbol is clearly shown by a legend to which exorcists even now refer in some ceremonies intended to control certain demons supposed to harass men. These ceremonies consist in catching the offender, viz. his will or power, and imprisoning it in the horn of a yak, placed upon a Lha t’o. The exorcist evokes the fight which in the beginning of human civilization took place between Ye smon rgyal po and bDud rnam tje btsan po.

“bDud rnam tje btsan po resisted as an enemy against Srid pa Ye smon rgyal po (who ruled) in the beginning of human civilization. He rode a black fiendish horse with long cheeks. He headed a host of many jackals who followed him. He fought with the men of Asam glin. This king Srid pa ye smon had as his teacher the Slob dpon dGu t’um and caught hold of the Lha rdo of bDud tje btsan po. He struck at him with the rdo tje K’ro c’ui p’a bon (a lump of melted bronze of in the shape a rdo tje) and hit his feet, arms and head. Then he bound him with an iron chain and put him inside the left horn of a yak and he placed the horn of the yak with the devil inside upside down, in a place where three roads meet. From this passage it is clear that the K’ro c’ui p’a bon is a mythic weapon, or a symbol probably corresponding to the rdo tje of the Buddhist ritual.

In the gSen rab sna’i par rgyal ba yid k’rin nor bu rin po c’e, p. 34, it is called K’ro c’ui gya’ rdo “the giant stone of melted bronze,”; it was the weapon of one of the four deities presiding over time. It was a weapon made with the melted bronze of the K’ro c’u lake which, as we saw, was supposed to be in the celestial country where the dMu dwell. As to Spyan k’tig ye tes lha sgron me, “the divine lamp,” and to “Mon rdsu nag po k’yi tna lajen can,” “having the dog with green ears,” (or “the dog with green ears,” as an opposition of Mon rdsu nag po) nothing definite can be said, except that the wolf and the dog play an important part in the old legends of Tibet. In the lists of Tibetan demons in fact frequent mention is made of the heavenly dog which is most probably a guardian of some heavens, as the heavenly wolf T’ien lang, guarding the entrance to the Palace of Shang ti in early Chinese cosmology.

3. ATTEMPTS AT CLASSIFYING EARLY GODS

Little by little the four priestly clans above referred to lost their authority and came under the sway of other rulers. The chronological succession of the events as recorded in later literature is the result, so to say, of an official redaction, a combination of myths and traditions not only of various origin, but also peculiar to different tribes. This redaction was made when a certain unity of the Tibetan people was reached; the most prominent ancestor records of the leading clans contributed to this redaction with their ancient lore. The traditional accounts preserved in the genealogies of the nobility were then arranged in a new synthesis, in which the different strata were amalgamated so as to form an organic whole which claimed to be an authoritative story of the growth of Tibetan civilization. The Ts’al pa deb dmor, for instance, states that upon the descendants of the four ancestors born from the primeval monkey, gradually ruled the nine brothers Ma sans, the 25 and 12 kingly, rgyal p’ran (kotagarja) the 40 ill ma. The nine brothers Ma sans are: gNod sbyin, bDud, Srin po, Klu, bTsan, Lha, dMu, dsDe, aGo po. 35

This is one of the many attempts of Tibetan learned circles at classifying the extremely rich pantheon of their people. Demons and gods were numberless, but since they generally possessed certain characters in common with others, they could easily be divided into classes and groups in which the entities of lesser individuality slowly disappeared. One of the lists which enjoyed a large popularity in later Buddhist theology was that which consisted of eight classes of gods. I mean the list of the eight Lha srin sde bgyad; it officially introduced into Buddhism a host of popular demons which the new religion did not succeed in cancelling from the experience of the people. The Lha srin sde bgyad are so enounced by Kloñ rdol bla ma complete works, ya, p. 12).

white lha sde
red btsan
black bstd
variegated gza’
bronw dmu

srin poi sde cannibals
rgyal poi sde custodians of the treasure of the temples
ma moi sde cause of diseases

This is the official Buddhist list, but the one contained in the Deb dmor seems more ancient; it is certainly of Bonpo origin, as even the number of its
components shows. Let us examine in detail these 9 classes of gods, which, we may presume, represent the most prominent classes of prebuddhist divine entities.

1. GNOD SBVIN. These, as known, usually correspond in Lamaism to the Indian Yaksas who certainly belong to the oldest religious lore of India. But all gnod sbvin are not necessarily Indian; in their class on the contrary many aboriginal demons are included, who appeared to the Tibetans as having the same character as the Yaksas. They were equally harmful (hence their name), the cause of epidemics and diseases. They wanted bloody sacrifices. Like the Yaksas they were turned into faithful guardians of the temples.

2. The BDUD, as stated above, are demons, though like the dMu originally located in the upper spheres: they can be obnoxious to men as regards places (gnas), body (lha) and action (las).

Their king resides in the black castle of the bdud, bdud mk'ar nag po. It has nine stories or pinnacles. He is surrounded by the bdud of water, C'u bdud, those in the shape of birds, Bya bdud, of fishes, Na bdud, herds, Tsa bdud and of stones, TDo bdud. In his retinue there are the four Ge ta, the seventy Rol mo, the guardians of the doors, sGo stnus, the officers, Las mk'an. This king is called Mi byams pa k'tag mgo "the merciless with bloody face,"; he has four sons and four daughters, Lus gcig mgo pa (for: rnas pa = to stretch out the hand, to catch), Lag ri'n (Lag ri'n is also a gNan who fought against gSen rab; see SNAN rgyud a dkar sems kyi me lho by Blo gros rgyal mts'an, pp. 5, 6, and ROCK, op. cit., p. 49). T'an gyag btsan po, dGra bdud t'an po sler, T'in ri'l ma t'og ap'an ma, bdud za gser mgo ma, K'a lecm gdup pai dug me'u ma. The vehicle of a special aspect of this king is the abrug k'yun, the k'yun of thunder. His weapon is nad kyi k'ram zags (the leash with knots causing diseases) and a bla zor like a thunderbolt. Mounted on a white lion he went to the castle of the dMu (k'ro cu' dmu lug mk'ar) and he married dMu lecm mGrin snon (blue neck), the daughter of the ruler of the dMu; from this marriage dMu bdud k'i pa sla zan was born, having a man's body and a dragon's head, out of whose mouth hail issues. It is evident that these demons are not chthonian forces, but rather hypostases of various aspects of the stormy sky, as their abode in the sky suggests. This king of the bdud made an egg called k'ro cu' dbal to emanate from a whirl wind and a gigantic iron bird was born: the skyun ka, with copper beak and copper claws, the enemy of the offenders of the Bon; he becomes the mount of the king of the bdud, of his four sons sitting on his right wing, of his four daughters sitting on the left wing, and so on. He was exorcised by gSen rab and was directed by this master to fly against the castle of the enemies of the Bon and to devour their men and their riches.

This skyun ku is evidently an aspect of the K'yun and represents the storm as a fiendish force which, aptly employed by the magician, turns into a defender of the community. This shows that the bird K'yun is not only a solar symbol but also a symbol of the stormy cloud (Dra ha nag po bsgub drags po gnas legs tse bhe). In fact according to other texts the egg from which this bird comes out was created in the darkness of a cloud agitated by a storm: rin' spurin ak'tug pa'i mun rum na; see Gra ba (for Dra ha) bdud kyi bya nag dbon rgyal gyis bkams mdo, p. 21.

3. The SERN PO are ogres. They correspond to the Indian Raksasa, though this equivalence is quite secondary and the result of the acquaintance by the Bonpos of Buddhist and generally Indian ideas.

4. The KLU will be dealt with later on.

5. BTSAN (and T'e) were some of the most powerful aboriginal deities of Tibet; though many of them disappeared after the spread of Buddhism, occasionally they survive, being included either in the class of the gNod sbvin or in that of the bsTan sun "protectors of the Law,", whose chief duty, after their conversion to Buddhism, is to punish the offenders of the Buddhist Law. As a rule, they are located in the bar snan viz. in the intermediate space: bar snan mi agyur dkyil ak'o nas btsan rgi'is (Jami gling, p. 25). Their sphere coincides therefore with that of the gNan; the only difference being that the bTsAn are the most prominent of the gNan, their rulers; this is confirmed by a statement of the legend of Ge san: gian dbod btsan gyi ide t'sogs (ibid., p. 28). They are innumerable; it is impossible to give a list of them; each place may be the abode of a bTsAn: some attempts have been made at classifying them according to the place where they reside. So the bTsAn gyi mdo p'ran bkla og tu bshes, RC, p'i, p. 3, shows them divided into the following groups: gnam (sky) bTsAn aP'rlu bu; gnis (glaciers) bTsAn Rum bu; nags (woods) bTsAn rNam pa; Sul ri gya'ih 'ravine slates,' (no name); klu bTsAn dbang po; gnas aBar te Ag se se btsan; brag (rocks) bTsAn aBar rje, Ts'a ram ram, bTsAn tin pa, Ye btsan rnam pa.

It is evident that the bTsAn can hardly be distinguished from the gNan. Anyhow, Klon rdol bla ma, in a treatise upon the bsTan sun ma (bsTan sun dbyar iu vs'ti'i min gNan, p. 14) gives the name of few bTsAn who prevailed over the others. One of them is: gTsAn gi U yug gre mon reputed by some Tibetan scholars to be the same as gNan bTsAn rdom legs or Ko lon gtsan btsan. Then, gNod sbvin tsi'u, red; k'yi d og sron btsan; Sum ri gis btsan; Ka'na nag gi klu btsan; rTsA la t'og rgyu gin btsan; He na bod kyi rje btsan; sKu la zal gyi btsan. These are the so-called y bTsAn rgod abar ba. But according to other lists, the most important bTsAn were dKar po spyun sgrub; gZa' t'e, green; Bya ba gun rin; gNam t'e, white, Yam sud, red; T'e se, black; Le gu lag ri'n. The characters of these last bTsAn are different from those of the previous ones. Some of these seven deities betray an astrological aspect; such is the case for instance of T'e se, known, as we shall see, as the god of the year, gZa' t'e, the t'e of the planets, gNam t'e, t'e of the sky, but of course we cannot yet say that their number had any connection with the seven planets.
Be it as it may, we meet here a new class of gods, though later included among the bTsan, who are also alluded to in a passage of the bKa' t'ain sde lha, upon which we shall come in another section of this paper, with the only difference that in the text riin ma pa they are not seven, but nine.

We are here evidently confronted with another group of gods which, with a few exceptions, (for example t'e se), seem to have lost ground in the course of time, or to have been identified with the more popular gNam and bTsan so that it almost disappeared. But generally, as shown by many passages of the legend of Gesar, the T'e were located in the three regions of the universe: sky, intermediate space and underworld. When Sa't'am the king of IJlan is urged by his ancestral gods to wage war against Ge sar, gNam t'ei white, Sa t'ei black, and Bar t'ei many-coloured appear to him in a dream. The first, as his name suggests, dwells in the sky, the second upon earth, the third in the intermediate space, (IJlan glin, p. 2); while the first and the third dwell in a palace among the clouds, shining in the case of the gNam t'ei and black in the case of Bar t'ei, Sa t'ei came forth from the great ocean. Again (p. 14) we read: yar mk'yen gnam t'e dkar po mk'yen: mar mk'yen sa t'ei nag po mk'yen; bar mk'yen bar t'e k'a bo mk'yen. It is clear from such passages that these T'e are in these cases the supreme deities of the three spheres into which the universe is divided; this makes them the counterpart of the bTsan.

But under these supreme T'e, there were smaller deities: the T'eu ran, which, in fact, the bKa' t'ain sde lha mentions in the passage quoted above. The T'eu ran resided in the lower spheres of heaven, in the atmosphere (gNam lha dkar po man c'd nas rgyal po t'eu ran yan c'd kyi'snan srid lha bar' adre: 'the lha and adre of the atmosphere from the gNam lha dkar po down to the gGyal po t'eu ran (may be satisfied with this sacrifice) (Ri rab brtsegs mdos, p. 15, published in RC, vol. p').

Their character is not defined, but they seem to have been above all inclined to do harm, like the gNam and the gZa' (planets): their action can particularly be exercised against life, causing premature death: t'eu ran t'ei la rku ba zlog, this prayer is found in some texts (rGyal mdos dkar po drug mdos kyi b'ca t'ams madon bskyed, p. 14, RC, p'). The PTY clearly states (TOUSAINT, transl. p. 402) that they harm children.

The connection of the T'eu ran referred to by the bKa' t'ain sde lha with the atmosphere is also evidenced by the astrological character of their names and chiefly from their being the sons of spu yul mo gNan rgyal: Gun rgyal is the god of heaven, gNam. gNam is distinct from the m'To riis, the paradise or rather paradises in which the various gods dwell; nor should gNam be taken as a synonym of Nam mk'a', the space where the stars and planets are located. gNam like the Tangri of the Turks and of the Mongols is the God of heaven, x as it is called in the T'ang shu, ch. 196: Heaven here, as with the Turks, indicates the deity as well as the highest celestial sphere, above all other planes and heavens and their very center (gun). This celestial
god is also simply called gNam gyi gun rgyal (Klu abum, p. 101); probably his wife was A p'yi (the grandmother) gnam gyi gun rgyal who by the fifth Dalai Lama (life of bSod nams rgya mts'o, p. 181) is identified with dPal ldan lha mo: her weapon is thunder; she therefore symbolizes the stormy sky.

Along with these gods the Bon po knew of another goddess, of the sky: Nam mk'a' gyu mdog snan srid mdsod: she is called sna srid mdsod because she is the origin of the worlds: sna srid, aig rten t'am cad kyi abyan gnas (see sNa rgyal mdsod p'u gyu kyi gZun dan agrel pa ap'rul gyi sgron me, p. 8). Her ornaments are sun, moon and stars; she is the cause of lightning, hailstorms, thunder and clouds.

The atmosphere is like a tent pitched upon the universe: 'the wheel of the sky is a tent with eight ribs,, (IJlan glin, p. 7 and passim). The pole of this tent is mount Te se, Ti se, the equivalent of Sumeru. On the top there is a hole through which the summit of this mountain-pole passes. This is the centre of the higher plane of the atmosphere. It is a window (dkar k'un) and a center, gun.

This seems to imply that above heaven there is the infinite luminous space from which, through that very hole, sun moon and stars receive the light; this is probably the spu yul.

Down below in the shape of a lotus there is the earth: while the sky in the vertical division of space corresponds to sten, below earth is the underworld ('og). The first realm is white, the last is black. The intermediate space, bar, is of many colours, k'ra bo, since it partakes of either nature. Each realm is divided into different planes: 13 planes for the sky and 9 for the underworld (grod byed dam sri t'am cad ni rim dug sa yi'og tu soh "all harmful Dam sri went below the 9 storeys of the earth", gSun bdag dregs pa adud byed las t'sog dam sri gcod mds, p. 18, RC, p'). This intermediate space encircles the pole of the cosmic tent, viz. the gyu'n drun mountain with nine superimposed planes: ri gyu'n drun dug yrtreg (gSen rab rnam par rgyal bo yin bzin nor bu rin po c'e, p. 2). This mountain is guarded by four custodians, similar to the four Lokapalas of the Buddhist cosmology presiding over a corresponding point of the compass: their names change according to the different strata of the legend: in some texts (gSen rab etc.) these guardians ruling over the four directions (p'yog la mk'o pa) are a tiger, a yak, a dragon, a k'yun (but in some texts the latter is a fish with golden eyes (FRANCKE, Hochzeitsleider, p. 35). Then, under the influence of Chinese astrology these four guardians became definitely: a tiger, a dragon, a bird, a tortoise.

There was a tendency among certain classes of Bon to emphasize the importance of gNam, which
once so prevailed that these Bon were called gNam Bon (SP, p. 150, Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 118) as opposed to other sects; but it is difficult to say if we have to see here a chronological evolution of the religion itself, as the account of some Buddhist historians would make us to believe (SP, p. 150), or if we are confronted with contemporary and coexisting forms.

6. Lha. After the introduction of Buddhism the Lha have been assimilated with the Devas of Indian mythology: but this assimilation is of no help in unveiling the essential character of the gods which the Tibetans, before Buddhism, called by this name. Generally they seem to have been especially celestial beings, and more benevolent than other classes of demons: they are white as opposed to the black bdud (Kloin rdol, op. cit., p. 12); but this statement cannot be taken as having an absolute value: the two deities presiding over man's destiny and located upon the two shoulders, the right and the left, are, in fact called Lha.

Many other spirits, which have nothing to do with the sky, are equally called Lha, but it cannot be excluded that this denomination was partly due to the influence of Buddhism and of Indian terminology, viz. that it came about through an analogy with the mythical types Buddhism had made known, both through the devas of Indian sources and through the tien 天 of Chinese translations and of popular experiences connected with them. A treatise (Nos grub rgya mts'o c'u c'a lag bsan brian adad dgu rgya mts'o RC, p. 18) gives a list, for instance, of the following Lha: Prag lha, gods presiding over men's shoulders, their vehicle is a k'yun; Ma lha, mother's gods wearing an ornament set with gems; T'ab lha, god dominating over other classes of gods as to give the sky, are equally called Lha, but it cannot be excluded that this denomination was partly due to the influence of Buddhism and of Indian sources and through the mythical types Buddhism had made known, viz. that it came about through an analogy with the terms c'a lag bsan. The expression Lha c'os is met, there is no doubt, in the sense of Bon, but Lha c'os also indicates t'ub, It is clear that the first is lightning itself; the second, said to be his daughter, is thunder which accompanies lightning. In other cases, as in the Sa skya genealogy, Lha are deities of an indefinite character who descend from heaven upon earth as ancestors of certain clans.

In general we may state that celestial phaenomena had a great part in Bonpo mythology: besides the gods referred to above and the divine mother alluded to in the previous paragraph, we know that goddesses of clouds were worshipped: f. i. s'rin gyi lha mo, Na to can (the roaring), Grags pa can (the noisy), C'ar pa can (the rainy), the four Nam nam (the goddess of day-break), the five Lhan lhan, the eight tC'e ts'ar, fourteen s'rin p'un (heaps of clouds), Clog gi sgron bkyag (lightning), sBrug gi lee rde' (thunder), T'o'gi md'a' a'p'en (thunderbolt), Ser bai sn k'rid (hailstorm). (bSuns mi'od gnam sa sman bgyag bdad rt'sii sprin, p. 4.)

It is impossible at present to draw a distinction, if any ever existed, between Lha and gNam c'e. The Lha were certainly many, divided into many classes as many as the spheres of heaven, Bon po texts speaking, as a rule, of 13 celestial regions and therefore of as many groups of gods. Connected with Lha are the sMan. It is difficult to say what really was their nature: sman means either medicine or woman. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sMan were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed. This seems to be the view of R. Stein: but generally sMan may be a honorific form indicative of the feminine gender and applied to ladies. Studying the evolution of the Tibetan onomasticon we find different ways of addressing goddesses or the wives of the nobility: leam, jo mo, ma ggcig ma, abum, bsun mo. sMan had the same meaning. It is true that often, as in a passage of the rGyal rabs (p. 54) we read: lha da'i sman: "Gods and sMan", as if they were two separate classes of beings: but nothing prevents us from understanding "Lha" and their wives viz. Lha mo.

So in the legend of Ge sar Ne ne is called Lha sman rgyal mo, while in the gSen rab rnam par rgyal ba yid bzin nor bu rin po c'e reference is often made to the Klu sman and to eight sMan mo; these are the eight kLu mo and are therefore also called klu leam, pp. 194-195. The equivalence of sMan and ICam is proved by another passage of the same text in which mention is made of the goddess of lightning T'og sman, also called T'og leam (ibid.).

So sMan is the female of any class of gods or demons: there are Lha sman in which the heavenly character is predominant; they are goddesses of light; the most important of them is gNam sman dkar mo whose four emanations are: Lha dkar po, Lha stas rgyal, 'Od kyi lha mo mdains Idan ma, 'Od kyi lha mo rab tu ts'im byed ma (sNam stis mdad gnyi phyi' gyi gzen dan agrel pa etc., p. 11). But, as I said, there are also eight Klu mo called the eight leam mo, who are the younger sisters of the klu: they are also called mts'o sman (ibid., p. 12; on mTs'o sman in the Gesar saga see STEIN, Trente trois fiches, p. 312). Sa sman
are also known: they are the same as the Sa bstan ma, i.e., sa bstan ma, goddesses of earth (gNan sa sman bsgryad, p. 16b). But there was a separate class of sMan mo, perhaps identical with the Ma mo (gNan mo, sman mo, dan klu sman. Klu bshum, p. 43).

In Lamaism they lost this character, as it happened with all Bon po deities, and were included in the group of the bTan trun. (Klohn rdol, op. cit., p. 5. bstan ma bua gnis ni: bsdun mo bZi, good thyin mo bZi, sman mo bZi dan ben gni) or in that of the mk'A agro mo "gso mo yun drug man c'ad nas gi'i rten dman mo (− sman mo) yan c'ad kyi mk'a' agro tams cad ma las kyi'i bshon..." All mK'a agro ma, from gTs mo yun drug down to the dman mo of the world, be satisfied with this sacrifice. (Ri rab brtseg mdos, RC, p'i, p. 15). The fierce aspect which is then attributed to them is but the result of their originally being Bon po goddesses: we saw in fact that the harmful character is inherent in all sorts of primeval Bon po deities.

7. DMU; see above.

8. ADRÉ. These are spirits of malignant character. Five classes of them at least are known: a) Za âdrel (on which see WaddeIl, Laminism., p. 494, n. 4 and R. Stein, Trente-trois fiches de divination Tibétaine, HJAS, p. 134); b) God âdrel, demons causing loss; c) gSe'd âdrel, executioners; d) C'u âdrel, who according to the printed edition of the story of Gesat, p. 13, are nine: c'u 'adrel spun dgu; e) gSon âdrel said to cause material loss, to rob men of their wealth, (Ner mk'o'i geter p'ran man nag be bum RC, p'i, p. 1). All these demons are considered the cause of mortal diseases: they are in a certain sense the messengers of death: some of their names, as Za, asr, gSe'd, C'u, gSon, are considered to be the cause of all sorts of troubles: if it was discovered that food (za) or water (ciu) were the origin of a particular disease harassing a person, it was thought that that food or that water had become harmful on account of the presence in them of a âdrel; the latter was also named after the thing to which it imparted that obnoxious character. Everything harmful is a âdrel, is a partaker of a âdrel. So in the gSa'i bsdag dregs pa adul byed las ts'ogs dam srii gyud mo (RC, vol. 1) it is written: "Dam stri abyun po and gSon âdrel began to run over Tibet: during the day they ran over the cemeteries, during the night they obstructed the vital air of all sorts of beings. Their shape was like that of a sorcerer. Their voice was like the voice of the animals of prey..." 63

9. AGON ÂDREL are equally harmful, though it is difficult to specify in what way they differed from the âdrel.

This list is an attempt at a summary classification of the divine world; under its nine items entire classes and cycles of divine beings were recorded. The expression "divine beings," is not exact; we are in fact confronted with vague forces and entities, of whose power and agency men are greatly afraid: some of them are well disposed, others prevalently malignant. But the danger is always impending that even a peaceful deity, on account of some involuntary distraction of the believer, turns harmful, because, as a passage of the Gesi saga says (Jan gln, p. 17, quoted also by R. Stein, Trente-trois fiches, p. 310 n.); lLa yan bsdun ran yin pas "gods are also demons...

Another classification of deities quite independent of Buddhist ideas divides gods and demons into three fundamental classes. gNan, Sa bsdag, Klu. This division is based upon the three regions of the world upon which they rule: viz. sman, bar, 'og: the space above, the intermediate space and the underworld, already referred to.

I. gNan Generally it is said that the gNan reside in the space above: the Sa bsdag in the bar sman, the Klu under the earth. But this demarcation is far from being so rigid.

As a matter of fact the gNan have no fixed place: they are to be found everywhere, the 'dwell in the supreme spheres, in the intermediate space and upon earth. We read in the Klu bshum, p. 18, "the foremost of the gNan of the supreme sphere is sPar ba du'n mgo gyi t'or tsug; but it is not said that he does not stay in places other than heaven; sTen gnan white, gNan of the sun, gNan of the moon," gNan of the stars, gNan of the planets, gNan of the rainbow, gNan of the clouds, gNan of mud, gNan of the wind, and many others endless as space; on earth they stay in the intermediate space; they are endless as the sky, they dwell in the mountains, snowy mountains, in the rocks and slates, in trees, woods, in the soil, in waters... Moreover in the text published by Lauffer the difference between gNan, Sa bsdag and Klu is chiefly based upon the difference of the elements, or objects in which they dwell. The tripartite division of the Klu bshum is here forgotten: we find there Klu living in springs, Sa bsdag in four kinds of earth and gNan in stones and trees (Lauffer, p. 33). In the nuptial songs of Ladakh (n. XX) published by Francke, there are four classes of gNan: gNan of sun and moon in the blue zenith, gNan of wind in high rocks, the hurting (ms. ldab or bka'ba') gNan, in the ocean, the roasting gNan of running water. The Klu bshum contains a list (p. 75 b) of gNan which betrays its composite character and points therefore to a later date of compilation. It has certainly been arranged when Bon po had already been influenced by Buddhist ideas, as shown by such names as Rnamknyu, Kertutana, rTse Nha (Panca'shi). Other gNan are fictitious like those corresponding to the four elements. Their chief is sPar ba du'n mgo gyi t'or t'sug.

Ra tna ke tu (gNan rgyal po).
K'ra bo ru skyogs (gNan rgyal po).
'U sdo'n drgas po (gNan rgyal po).
Dun lus mgo man (gNan rgyal po).
Gon shon (gNan tje).
A âdrel de (gNan rgyal po).
âBrug rgyal sman gcig (gNan rgyal po).
Min po (three, five, fifteen brothers) (gNan rgyal po).
SrIn mo (three, five, fifteen sisters) (gNan rgyal mo).
K'yun nag ral c'en (gNan rgyal po).
Bya nag k'as spod (gNan rgyal po).
DBar brgyad (gNan rgyal po).
gZu bţi (gNan rgyal po).

rTse lna (gNan rgyal po).

rTse gu (nis, for dgu) (gNan rgyal po).

Mar rün lham pa.

rDo shön rin pa.

Gtags can dat rgyal.

T'og t'og ser spyan.

Na k'ri abyams sletb.

K'a sbyan rgyal.

Ya ts'a t'og abeb.

Ke tu ra tna.

sTon dal c'en.

K'ri rje stog ghod.

rLun gšan north (green).

C'u gšan west (red).

Me gšan south (blue).

Sin gšan east (white).

N'i gšan

Zla gšan east.

sz'ga' gšan.

sTon gšum kun k'ya'b.

gNam gšan white.

Bar gšan many-colored

C'u gšan mor ba

Sa gšan yellow.

Brag gšan zág pa

gYa' gšan.

Sa gšan ston c'en

Nags gšan.

According to some texts (bSain me'od gnam sa sa'n bregyod bsdud 'rtsi sprin, RC, pi, p. 3), there are four kinds of big gNam and 3000 of minor gNam.

Their principal classes are: gNam gNan (of the sky) gYu abrug; Gans g. (of the snowy mountains) Dun sen (the lion white as a conch-shell); M'tso g. (of the lakes); lKon mo (the frog); Brag g. (of the rocks), gSer spreu (the golden monkey); Sin g. (of wood), gZi brijid (the rebsplendent); Lam g. (of the roads), gSer sbrul (the golden snake); 12 kinds of aBrog gšan, gNan tje Gon sbon; Sar g. (of East) Byi ba stag rse; Lho g. (of South) gYu rse; Nub g. (of West) lCags rse; Byan g. (of North) gSer mgo; gNam rGan de pa; Ma sa'n g.

The general character of the gNam is harmlessness. They are the cause of diseases: many of them are therefore called nad kyi rgyal po, nad kyi rgyal mo "kings or queens of diseases," (bDun mo k'rag ral can gyi mdo), RC, pi, p. 2). Their name is connected with rês pa, "offence, evil," non pa (n + ya tags = n; for examples see LOERBET, Morphology of the Tibetan language, p. 123). But gNam is homophone with gën "friend and helper," this fact permits the name gNan to be pronounced with no danger of evoking the spirit it designs.

II. SA BDAG. It is difficult to draw a distinction between the gNan and the Sa bdag, because while the place upon which the Sa bdag rule is the earth, the gNan, as we know, can dwell everywhere. The immateriality of the abode of the gNan suggested the idea that they can change their dwelling, or that they can easily shift from one place to another; on the contrary the Sa bdag are bound to that particular piece of soil over which they preside. Moreover while in the gNan the harmful and malignant aspect predominates, the Sa bdag are rather indifferent, in the sense that they can equally be good or bad. They become dangerous only when offended or when a mistake has been committed in the performance of the liturgy intended to propitiate them. They have therefore the same character as the Klu. There is no place upon earth which is not presided over by them: they are the masters of the soil: man is therefore their subject: every human work is accomplished in their domain.

They rule over the mysterious connection which binds men to a special part of the soil, be it the village, the house or a part of the house. When one changes one's dwelling-place the propitiation of the new Sa bdag is the most important act to be performed: no work in the fields can be undertaken, no building begun without the consent of the Sa bdag of the place. It is therefore evident that these Sa bdag are numberless. Still, certain books like the Klu abnum (p. 76 d), contain an attempt at enumerating the most important of them.

Four kings of the Sa bdag.
Four ministers (blon) of the kings of the Sa bdag.

rGod mjog the officer (sa bdag gi sma).

Lag c'en.

rTs'an rtsan (sa bdag gi rgyal po) (LAUFER, Sühngedichte, p. 32).

Lha mo bstan ma (called rgyal po, but she is the goddess of earth).

rTs'an kun p'ye bo.

gSer gyi rus sbal.

Lo lha T'e se.

mDeu t'u'n ma (sa bdag btsun mo).

gTs'an kun (sa bdag blon po) (LAUFER, ibid., rTs'an kur).

Hal k'yi nag po.

gNam k'ti bstan.

sTon k'ti gtsug.

sTon gšum kun k'ya'b.

Lus dhos po med par lag pa p'yogs bžir rkyon pa.

sTon c'en k'ya'b pa.

sTag, tawney (Sa bdag of the East).

gYu abrug, blue (Sa bdag of South).

aPran, black (Sa bdag of West).

Bya, red (Sa bdag of North).

If we have to judge from this list it seems that some of these Sa bdag were something more than the gZi bdag supposed to rule over a limited area, a rock, a ford, a mountain pass, the land were a village or a house are built. Though, now-a-days, the word Sa bdag is generally taken in the sense of gZi bdag, lord of a particular spot, the list of the Klu abnum gives the Sa bdag a higher rank; in fact it includes among them some gods of Indian or Chinese origin, thus betraying its later age of compilation. In fact we meet here the cosmic tortoise gser gyi rus sbal, the T'e se, god of year, and rTs'an kun of which we shall speak later on: sTon gšum k'ya'b seems to be imagined after the Tibetans became acquainted with Indian.
cosmology (trisahasra - lokadhātu); even Ts'áns pa = Brahmā is included among the Sa bdag (LAUFER, Šilungedichte, p. 32). In later times, after the victory of Buddhism, these great Sa bdag fell into oblivion or were given the rank of b'Tsan or gNan: only the Sa bdag = gāz bdag remained.

III. The Klu do not present a great difficulty: their element is water: therefore they abide in springs, wells, rivers, oceans, but generally their home is the underworld. Like the Sa bdag they are generally indifferently or rather some classes of them are good and others bad. One should know how to avoid their wrath and how to propitiate them. Since Buddhism gave a large part to nāga worship, through Buddhism a great many Indian ideas about nāgas crept into the Bon cult of the Klu. It is therefore not always easy to distinguish what is purely Tibetan and what is due to Buddhist influence.

Lamaism could not in fact dispense with the cult of these entities; they were so deeply rooted that any attempt at opposing them would prove ineffective; it would have been even unconceivable, since Buddhism could not disregard those powers in which people believed, to whose agency calamities befalling men and cattle were attributed and the control of whose will it was a duty of Lamaism to ensure; it therefore happened that, though belonging to religious ideas in which Lamaism had no sympathy and which on the contrary it fought, they became the object of a complicated liturgy.

The consequence was that these cycles of Sa bdag, gNan and Klu were never closed in Lamaism. The cycle of Sa bdag and Klu is, in fact, always open to new recruits. It was enriched by continuous acquisitions according as Lamaism came in contact with other peoples, became aware of their religious experiences and tried to adapt them to its conceptions: in this way, pre-Buddhist cults were given a garb of orthodoxy which allowed the maintenance of deities and demons who in fact had nothing in common with Buddhism or were even repugnant to it. We may consider here two interesting instances of this kind: first the introduction into the Sa bdag cycle of astronomical gods taken from China, secondly the acceptance of Mongolian deities when the Yellow Church spread in Mongolia after the conversion of Altan Khan by b'Sod nams rgya mtso. When Chinese astrology entered Tibet, some Chinese astronomical gods crept into the cycle of the Sa bdag and on the other hand many of the Sa bdag were given a place in the new astronomical scheme. This fact is clearly pointed out by the fifth Dalai Lama (see above p. 136) who states that Chinese astrology, introduced at the times of the Tibetan Kingdom, was chiefly concerned with the cult of Sa bdag. The pictorial representation of the cycle evolution of time was in fact imagined in the figure of a tortoise, the golden tortoise (gser gyi rabs skad), upon which the twelve animals and the 12 series of the five elements are located, as the symbol of the rotation of the sexagenary periods: along with the 12 animals and the elements, a series of Sa bdag figures in this scheme, which is accepted by the learned treatises on astrology (i.e. the Vai dur ya dkar po) and by their popular interpretations as well. The scheme in which the prominent elements are the tortoise and the king of the year, t'e se, can be summarized in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>BEU ABYIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NW</td>
<td>yellow tortoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhran p'ai mi bo</td>
<td>gSer na bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Cosmic tortoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han p'an</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>tawny tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grub snen</td>
<td>p'i lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>p'ar ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gTsan kun</td>
<td>blue dragon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This scheme is taken from a booklet even nowadays much used by the popular rTsis pa or astronomers called also dbon po (but see also Vai dur ya dkar po, p. 442, and bSangs mcod gnyam sa sna' bsgyad bsdud rtsis sprin, RC, pi, p. 3). This book which is contained in the mDo man (M. LA LOU, Catalogue du fonds Tibétains, N. 149) bears the following title: rgya nag skad du a'r ya pa ra yin rgyad rta. Bod skad du apags pa gnam sa sna' bsgyad ces bya ba t'eg pa c'en pai ndo. It is apocryphal; the title was already discussed by LAUFER, Tibetan loan words, p. 428 ff. and by BANG, GABAIN and RACHMATTI, Türkische Turfanfertexen, Berlin, SBAW, 1934, who came to the conclusion that aya is evidently sanscrit aya, para is a mistake for Chinese pa Â eight and yin for Chinese yang. As to the contents, this booklet has nothing in common with the other text translated by HUTH and then from the Turkish by BANG and his collaborators. It contains (side by side with a purely Tibetan, more probably, pre-Buddhist, list of gods) clear influences of China: in some cases this influence is quite evident; e. i. the list of the eight Pa kua. In other cases the Chinese origin of some astrological deities is less evident but equally certain. Let us begin with the four animals located in the four directions of the compass: tiger, dragon, bird, tortoise: these correspond to the green dragon, spring; red bird, summer; white tiger, autumn; black tortoise, winter (in the Turkish text: black snake) of Chinese folklore. The influence of Chinese astrology is clear: the k'yun or the yak of the aboriginal and older group of four celestial animals have disappeared. The position of the animals differs between the two texts: in the Turkish document we have: East-dragon, West-tiger,
South-bird, North-snake, but in our text the cycle begins with the tiger East and continues with the dragon South, as in the list of the Sa bdag (given above) etc. The names of the principal Sa bdag of the cycle seem to point to the same Chinese influence. We have a central deity, T'e se, which we have already met; but on eight points of the compass other beings are placed.

The astronomical character of T'e se is clearly shown by the designation of "god of the year", lo lha t'e se which appears not only in such a late book as the Vai dūr ya dkar po but also in the Bon po book Klu abumi dkar po (p. 76 etc.). He cannot be dissociated from the 360 Gi k'od who represent the rotation of the 360 days of the lunar year round the axis of the world. That we must speak of 360 Gi k'od and not of one Gi k'od as Doctor Hoffman seems to believe, is proved not only by the verbal statement of a learned lama, Nam mk'a' a'jig med rdo rje, a Bon po priest lately converted to the rDogs e'en sect, whom I met twice in Tibet, but also by the fact that our sources often speak of a cycle of 360 gods: f. 1. P'yag len ltar gans snags spyi spis egro lzin ris k'a bskan, p. 5: Ge k'od sun mi byigs drug bu'i bskan, "be the 360 Ge k'od purified,". Then Klo'n rdo bla ma in his treatise on the bSrn sun (p. 14) refers to "the 360 mc'ed ak'or, the 360 brothers,". These 360 brothers can only be the 360 lunar days whose chief, Dam can rdo legs, was subdued by Padmasambhava PTY, chap. 90 (p. 245 of the transl. by Toussaint); (so also Francke, Lower Ladakhi Version of the Gesar Saga, Calcutta, 1905-1941, p. 489).

The fact that T'e se is the god of the year and that astrological gods are subordinate to him, points to his being himself an astronomical deity, and the center of a cycle. We cannot help thinking of Jupiter presiding over a cycle of 60 years in India, as identified with Jupiter. Subsequently T'e se, the god upon which later astrological ideas, hailing from China, were grafted, with the result that he was identified with Jupiter. Subsequently T'e se, the god of the year, was identified with T'e se, Ti se, Sumeru the cosmic mountain, since this also is the pole round which the rotation of the stars takes place (cfr. PTY transl. Toussaint, p. 247). As regards the other names of the Sa bdag represented on the wheel of Time, we are on a surer ground. Tsani kun is Chinese 聲 is Chiang chun, the general, a name for 太 fixed Venus. Han pan is Chinese 黃 is "the yellow banner", in which Bang proposes to see Saturn; according to the Chinese, the yellow colour in fact corresponds to Saturn. Beu abyin is Pei ch'en 北辰 is the North star. Of the same origin is another god Gap 戈 referred to in the same book. Gap is Chinese chia 戈 or 大 is, according to SCHLEGEL, Ouranographie, p. 532, the "6 étoiles dans Cephée et la girafe", as to the second point, viz. the gradual increase of the cycle of the Sa bdag, in course of time, when Lamaism spread among provinces other than Central Tibet, some of the booklets employed by the exorcists and dealing with the worship of Sa bdag and gNam clearly point to the easternmost parts of Tibet as the places of their written compilation; from that country therefore these cults were introduced into official Lamaism.

I refer, out of the many examples which I could quote, to the Dam sri gyag ru du'gra ejom, of which mention has been made above. It teaches how to subdue malignant spirits and to imprison them in a yak-horn to be then placed upon those cairns frequently seen on the mountain passes. In this book the geographical area is evidently limited to K'am: in fact in the East it locates rGya (nag), China, in the South IJan, in the West Tibetan, in the north Hor. K'am is therefore the country where the liturgy connected with Sa bdag as expounded in that treatise was elaborated. To the same country we have to look for the original place of many local gods there referred to, even if a Lamaistic turn has been given to them by the half Buddhist, half Bon po compilers of this booklet.

Moreover, from a passage of PTY we presume that the T'e ru rai, often mentioned in the course of this work, were deities of Eastern Tibet, K'am, where Padmasambhava, in his apostolic tour, forced them to embrace Buddhism (PTY, chap. LX, Toussaint's translation, p. 406).

When bSod nams rgya mts'o advised Altan Khan to give up many of the traditional shamanic beliefs of the Mongols, he realized that an uncompromising repudiation of the ancient gods of the Mongols would have greatly hampered the diffusion of Buddhism: he therefore opened the doors to Lamaism to the most important shamanic gods and allowed them to enrich the class of the gNam and Sa bdag.

A good example of this process is afforded by a liturgie book written by the third Pan c'en lama of Tashilunpo Blo bzang dpal Idan ye ts, which boldly includes shamanic gods in the scheme of Lamaistic orthodoxy: Yul lha gzei bdag-ak'ins says I mc'ed gol bsdus t'u'ul gyi skor ba. Though this work seems to be a general treatise upon the gzei bdag dealing with some of the most famous Tibetan entities of this class, such as T'an lha, it is clear that its chief purpose is to ratify the acceptance of the shamanic deities in the lamaist Pantheon. Even worship is influenced by shamanism: kumis for instance, peculiar to the Mongol libations, is reserved for these gods: it is called: ria m'og 'o mai cah or ria cah: bloody sacrifices (za dam), an evident survival of early cults, are tolerated (p. 26).

It is also interesting that among the offerings are included the spyan zigs which, as we know, are the stuffed skins of animals suspended in the mGon k'ah of the Tibetan temples and which remind us of a similar practice of the Turco-Mongol tribes.

These gZi bdag include the largest variety of local gods: Hal hai yul gyi yul lha kun, p. 8; and even
4. RITES INTENDED TO SAVE FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE SA BDAG

The obnoxious character of these Sa bdag and gNan implies a series of practices and prayers intended to appease them: there is no act in life, no work in the fields, no building of a house, no fording of a river which potentially may not result in an offence, even involuntary, to the Sa bdag and gNan.

These beliefs are a survival of the prelogical conception of primitive Tibetans which attributed disease, death and the various accidents of life to the agency of mysterious forces, connected with special classes of demons.

Since they are everywhere, potentially there always exists for men the impending danger of incurring their wrath. Civilisation, as related in the stories of the Klü abum, is nothing but a continual offence to the Sa bdag and gNan: and therefore it implies the knowledge of appropriate rites intended to appease them.

In former times, we read for instance in that work (p. 39 a), when Srid rgyal bu tren ge po took possession of earth and was invested by Ye mk'yen with power over the country, there were reasons of enmity and struggle.

"When stones in which gNan had their abode were quarried in order to make pillars and build castles, there was strife with the gTod, lords of stones: when trees in which gNan had their abode were cut down with the hatchet, there was strife with the gNan, lords of the trees. When the sickle cut the branches of the fruit-trees in which the gNan had their abode and those branches were placed upon the roofs of the huts, there was strife with the gZed, the lords of the fruit-trees. When in order to build castles the hoe dug up the earth where gNan had their abode, there was strife with the spirits of the soil and of the earth (ts'en)."

"When the hair of the black wild yaks, the Sa bdag, was cut in order to make tents, there was strife against the Sa bdag, who are the four guardians of the door. When upon earth the pure surface was delimitated wherein to erect sacred buildings (me bsa') or when the earth was bled (in order to make fountains or irrigation works), there was enmity (with those spirits). When those pure surfaces wherein to erect sacred buildings were delimitated, viz. when me'o'drt'en, temples (lit.: castles for the gSa), tombs (mmaan pa) were built, there was enmity with the Klu, the gNan and the Sa bdag. When the earth is bled, viz. a pond is dug up in order to draw water, enmity is caused; when water is collected in a ditch and it is led into the canals for irrigation, enmity is caused with the same spirits."

Even to-day the exorcists ask the Sa bdag to forgive the offences committed by men against them in their daily works; the sins whose remittance is invoked are almost the same as those spoken of in the passage of the Klü abum translated above (cfr. Sa bdag klü abum).

The wrath of these spirits must then be placated by having recourse to appropriate prayers, regular offerings, exorcisms, immolation of victims, dedication of scape-goats and so on. These ideas gave birth to a vast literature, largely apocryphal and very often said to have come from China. I refer here to a few of these treatises still very popular in Tibet: they are generally employed by the ngs, rtis pa, dbon po, exorcists or astrologers.

1. U rgyan pad mas mdsad pah mo brgyad kyi ts'es graigs rtags pa.
2. Pags pa ajam dpal gyi gsun pai lto nag mts'an mai dgra zor.
3. Ma mai mds.

To these texts the small treatise published by LAUER, Sühngedichte der Bon po should be added, since it belongs to the same kind of liturgical literature.

From these booklets it appears that the two chief ways of diverting the danger caused by these gNan and Sa bdag and generally by all obnoxious forces are the mds and the lto: though the pronunciation of the two words is almost similar, they refer to two different things. Sometimes, instead of lto, the form go is used (for instance S. CH. DAS. JRASB, 1881, p. 194, l. 11). Another similar rite is the one called rgyal (the same related by S. CH. DAS, p. 190, l. 3, ya stag) which we have already seen to be the special occupation of some particular Bon priests. The mds are sufficiently known: a description of them can be found in WADDELL, Lamaism, p. 464, (Cfr. also STEIN, Trente-trois fêtes de divination, p. 318; a picture of them is seen in FRANCK, Thibetische Hochzeitslieder, fig. 14; RIBBACH, Droga Namgyal, p. 161).

As regards the lto, a word which is not found in our dictionaries, the fact that some texts, as for instance the Lha mo brgyad kyi ts'as graigs, refer to mds and lto separately, shows that they are quite different, as can be seen from the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days in which the goddess is</th>
<th>Name of the goddess</th>
<th>Way to avert the danger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the goddess is</td>
<td>mds</td>
<td>lto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 9, 17, 25</td>
<td>'Od zer ma</td>
<td>bsan mds, lha gol, rnam ajam, rgyal mds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 10, 18, 26</td>
<td>bTs'an ma</td>
<td>rgyal mds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 11, 19, 27</td>
<td>dKar bsd ma</td>
<td>rgyal mds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The lto therefore does not consist in a mere gtor ma, but in a ceremony which in some cases turns into a short dramatic performance where a dialogue takes place between the exorcist, lto mk'han, and the nar mi; this implies that an assistant of the exorcist impersonates the nar mi and replies for him. This ceremony is described in some manuals, as for instance in the Ban bon nag .pa la sogs pa p'a rol kyi bod stod byad k'a p'ar k'a bzod pa'i lto (ms. sto) attributed to Pad ma abyun gnas. \textsuperscript{30}

But in former times a lto as practised by the Bon pos could also consist in the transfer of the impending calamity from one man to another man as his substitute. The demons wanted their victim, and the ability of the exorcist consisted in substituting the man in danger with some other person who might be one of his relatives or anybody else. An instance of this kind is recorded in the DT and is attributed to a Bon po priest hailing from Bru za, viz. from Gilgit. DT, nā, p. 75 a:

There was in bSam yas—thus the story runs—a prince called Ži ba 'od, whose son fell ill: an exorcist from Bru za was then called who employing his mother as a lto caused him to escape the impending danger. Six years later the boy was sick again then the exorcist said that the only way to save him was to employ as a lto a famous monk the sphyin sna Grags pa abyun gnas. When he came, the lto was carefully prepared by the Bon po, but it proved unsuccessful and the exorcist as well as the prince of bSam yas died.

5. GREAT VARIETY OF GODS AND DEMONS

To sum up this investigation of the various attempts of the Tibetans at enclosing in some frames the fluctuating world of their religious intuitions, it appears that these classifications do not cover at all the great variety of spirits, ghosts, demons, gods in which Tibetans believed. The character of these beings was in many cases so vague that it was very difficult to establish a demarcation between them.

They were equally supposed to possess some mysterious powers on account of which they were able to interfere with the life of men and to influence the course of nature. They were generally malignant, inclined to do harm; the most important element connected with their cult was therefore an expiation or a ransom.

Even the place where they were supposed to dwell is not enough to establish a clear distinction between the various classes of gods: for lack of individuality these divine groups tended to blend together. This explains how, little by little, many categories of spirits came under the general designation of Sa bdag or gNan. But there is evidence enough to surmise that originally there was a far greater variety of spirits, gods, demons, than these lists of eight, nine or three groups could make us imagine.
concerning medicine, astrology, Buddhism and Bon. This does not mean that all Bon po texts were handled in that way; many certainly go back to the ancient times, though it is very likely that they were revised so as to satisfy the new spiritual situation. Many Bon po books, just like the gTer mas of tRin pa ma pa, are said to have been buried in the times of K'ti rdon lde btsan, when this king definitely accepted Buddhism. On that occasion some great Bon po teachers as gSen Dlun pa nam mk'a were exiled to the frontier, but the Bon po specialised in expelling impending calamities (sugs rten gsprul rgyen zlog) buried the books of the nine vehicles. The story goes that after seven royal generations they were discovered by three aca'ras near bSam yas and then sold to Bru za gSen Wes rab 'od, aDar Sa kya mu ne and 'O mati bya'n c'ub who thought that those books were Buddhist. Two of these masters then recognized them as Bon po and threw them away; but aDar elaborated them and handed them over to his descendant gZa' skyur. In this way the aDar bon school originated, which branched off in four sections named after their founders: K't'a ts'an abrug bla, sNe byed ne gu, Tsan and Na ro bon c'un the contemporary of Milaraspa (Apology, p. 57).61

These things are here told to show once more the complexity of the Bon po problem and to bring in a few new data which may give some hints to future research.

6. EARLY GODS AND MOUNTAINS

The bTsan deserve special mention among the primitive gods of Tibet. We saw that they are said to be lords of the gNan; somehow or other they prevailed over the infinite number of gNan. Their prominence in the world of spirits brought as a consequence their prominence in the consideration of men. They appear in fact as tribal gods. They were deities located in a particular place, generally a mountain, in some cases a whole country, over which they were considered to preside. The bTsan was the all powerful spirit under whose sway other demons and entities were supposed to be. He therefore was the patron of the ethnic groups living in that very country; he was a ruler, the spiritual ruler over a district and its inhabitants. This means that there is a connection between bTsan (gNan dbag, as we saw) and bTsan po (or bTsd po), the title given to the first rulers of Tibet; the bTsan po (p'o), king, was the reflection upon earth of the divine bTsan, his representative in the human world, the mediator between him and his subjects. That explains why in the titles of the kings of Tibet the elements bTsan and Ideu, a name peculiar to a class of Bon po (see p. 715.), are always met with.

The story of the favours bestowed by K'ti rdon lde btsan upon Buddhism and the building of bSam yas have therefore a wider implication. The king, i.e. the intermediary between the country and the bTsan, the controller of the forces ruling all-powerful, though
unseen, upon Tibet, having accepted Buddhism, the country remained helpless against those demons; this is one of the chief reasons of the hostility which Buddhism found in its beginnings. This is also the reason why there was strife between the old and the new religion; the aboriginal deities overran Tibet with all sorts of diseases and epidemics. It was therefore necessary first of all to placate the national demons and this is hinted at by the rNam pa ma legend which tells us the real digui jaya, the triumph of Padmasambhava over the local demons. This meant that the country had changed its patrons; Buddha took the place of the bTsAna, but the ruler equally remained the intermediary between his people and the new religious world. That is why bSam yas was built; it was built as a cosmos, with its four great continents, glin b-zi, and its minor continents, glin p-ran, it was surrounded by a legs ri, the cakrasāla, as in that projection of the universe which is the mandala. It was a new world substituted for the old one; it was a rebuilding of the universe which did not exclude, but contained as subordinates, the ancient gods. It centered around the king who was newly invested by a baptism with water miraculously procured by Padmasambhava.

The localization of the bTsAna is clearly shown by the names of some of them and by certain survivals which Buddhism could not completely cancel. We saw that some of the most famous bTsAna are connected with certain parts of Tibet.

The twelve bTsAna stun ma referred to above and who inherited the characters of the bTsAna were equally supposed to be the patrons of twelve partitions of Tibet. They were local deities so deeply rooted in the religious experience of the Tibetans that they survived the decline of Bon. In spite of the variety in names and iconographic aspect, they have a common character of a mountain.

The seven K’ri of the orthodox tradition of bGyal rasbs are the seven celestial kings of the Bon po (gnam skos lha), while the six Legs are said to be the six kings ruling on earth, (sa la dban po). These kings are connected with special localities of Tibet as shown by the following correspondence:

gnam skos gña k’ri’i bsad po descended upon Lha ri ; ri rgyan t’og in Kôn po
   " t’in " " " " ri Po
   " " " " ri mi po
   " " " " ri bya po
   " " " " ri bya la ri of Lhasa
   " " " " ri de’i k’ri’i bsad po descended upon Sam po la in Yar kluns
   " gri gumi " " " po
   " " " " po

These seven kings are therefore divided into three groups, each one of which descended upon a particular region or, to be more exact, a mountain. Some of these mountains are known to us from other legends: Sam po la is the same where gNa t’o’i ri descended (or gSen rab according to the rGyal rasbs was born); so is Lha ri sacred to the bTsAna stun ma. These are the same localization as above, p. 731)

Furthermore the same as ‘O de spu rgyal, the god who descended from heaven upon earth is said in the same texts to be the gzi bdag of Nan po ‘ol pa. Another text identifies him with Yar lha sam po, the mountain near Yar kluns (dNes grub rgya mts’o c’a lag bsha bhan adol dbu ‘gya mts’o, RC, pl. p. 6). This means that there is a very strict relation between this god considered as the forefather of the Tibetan kings and the mountain where his terrestrial epiphany took place. He never lost his original character of a gzi bdag.

It is interesting to note in this connection that though the mountains in the region of Gyantsé (Ind-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 53) are now considered to be holy places of Buddhism, their original character of sacred places of the Bon po is proved not only by their number (they are thirteen), but also by some of their names and by the tradition according to which Padmasambhava was the author of this change; it means therefore that even in this part of Tibet, local records have been inspired by the theme, so common in the legend of Padmasambhava, of the subjugation by this exorcist of the Bon po deities, mostly demons, ruling over mountains.
These stories are preserved in the PTY, to whose translation by Toussaint we may refer (p. 244 ff.). Their fundamental traits should here be recollected and compared with other redactions of the same legend. Near the Don la in Man yul the goddess Dgra Iha Mu tsed of Zan tun tries to kill Padmasambhava; changing therefore her body into two mountains she tries to squeeze the Indian magician between their rocks, but the exorcisms of the guru subdue her and she is converted to Buddhism and assumes the name of Gans kyi yun c'en rdo rje gyu bun ma. In gNam t'an in Byan the goddess gNam sman dkar mo hits Padmasambhava with lightning, then she flies in the dPal mo dpal mts'o (RIBBACH, dpal mo dan dpal); but this lake is dried up by Padmasambhava, the ogress looses an eye and her flesh is eaten up by a magic fire. She is converted to Buddhism and assumes the name of Sa med dkar rdo rje spyan gcig ma.

Near 'U yug the brTan mas try to press him under the mountains, but these remain motionless on account of the exorcisms of Padmasambhava. The rocks of 'U yug are rolled down upon him, but he sends them up again to their original place; then all slates (gya' ri), the rocky mountains, the snowy mountains, all places where the brTan ma dwell are destroyed; at the end the 12 brTan ma, the 12 sKyön ma, the 12 Gya' ma were subdued and became the bKa' sru'n ma.

In 'U yug bye ma rdson, rDo rje legs with his 360 brothers came to meet him; in lCe pu Sam po lun and in Yar Iha Sam po that demon turned into a white yak, huge as a mountain, emitting flames and lightning from his mouth; then he changed his body into that of a boy with a white ribbon and was subdued. The image of gNaN c'en t'an Iha described by STEIN, art. cit., p. 305, is on a mountain.

These deities are therefore generally connected with mountains, being either the mountain itself or the spirit dwelling in it. This shows the sacred character with which mountains had in the prebuddhistic religion of Tibet; in their inaccessible rocks, in the shining solitude of their snowy peaks unapproachable entities were supposed to reside. The mountain was therefore a place where sacrifices were rendered to the god, who in many cases was the ancestor or the patron of a clan dwelling in the district. The ancestor of P'ag mo gru pa, as we saw, ascended the mountain sacred to a gNaN po and offered a sacrifice to the god abiding there. The sacrifice is concluded with the theophany of the spirit in a rainbow of light; this sacrifice was celebrated in the first month of the year. Though it is attributed to a mystic ancestor, it is evident that the legend was inspired by a usual practice of the clan, shifting to the distant past a normal feast of the religious calendar of the P'ag mo gru pa.

Though the archaeological exploration of Tibet is still in its very infancy, from the few facts noticed by travellers it appears that on the mountain passes there exist occasionally megalithic monuments of evident sacral character. Some interesting examples have been recorded by G. ROERICH. I also noticed traces of them in the Kanzam la on the border of Spiti and on the top of a mountain towering over the road from Doptra to Sakytsa. Megalithic monuments, usually called rdo stis, are occasionally found in other places: one of them was photographed by me in Doptra (rDo k'ra in south western gTs'an) another one is the center of a great festival yearly celebrated at Po in Bashahr state bordering Tibet. In this case the ritual known to us through the songs which are chanted during the festival (dGra Iha glu) shows that the surface enclosed within a circle of stones with the monolith in the center is the symbol of cosmos and that the ceremony is intended to assure a regular course of the season.

"On the top of the eastern mountain, the king mountain,
there are sun, moon and stars.
May the sun not be covered by a storm,
may the moon not be caught by the eclipse,
may the stars not vanish!"

There is hardly any doubt that the Iha t'o's usually seen on the mountain passes and to which flags are appended by travellers are connected with this primitive cult of the local deity now turned into a Buddhist Sa bdag. The prayer still recited after having placed a stone upon the Iha t'o, when the pass is crossed, refers to a Lha: Iha so so Iha rgyal lo.

After so many centuries of Buddhist rule things have not changed very much: the only difference is that the mountains are now said to be ruled over or to be the abode of a Buddhist god or of a Sa bdag converted into a faithful bsTan stun. The Gurla Mandhata in Western Tibet is considered to be the paradise of gSañ ba adus pa (Guhyasamaja); the Kailasa, on the other hand, is the heavenly palace of bDe mc'og (Śaṃvara); the Jomolhari is presided over by a goddess called Jo mo, a form of dPal Idan Iha mo.

So when Buddhism triumphed, these primitive deities did not disappear: some remained as the ancestors of the nobility, as for instance in the case of the family of Yar kluns or of the P'ag mo gru pa. Others turned into Buddhist gods and by an ideal conversion were given the charge of protecting the temples or of presiding over the sanctuary of vows. The example of Padmasambhava was followed by other saints of Tibet whose prominent work consisted in the conversion of the aboriginal deities. Their biography relates in detail how they subdued these aboriginal gods, thus showing that the struggle between the old and the new religion lasted for a long time and that the aboriginal cults had a great vitality. This struggle was often very hard and the contending parties, the Bon and the Buddhists, vied with each other in magic and thaumaturgy. The fight between Padmasambhava and Pe kar was the model upon which other legends were exemplified and, as it happened in this case, the story gave birth to poetical narrations, which are real attempts at epic
literature. I may quote the conversion of Brân k’a by Aṭīṣa, of sKar c’un rgyal po by the bKā’ brgyud pa master Skyer sgrab pa from sSāṇ, of Ka rgyal by Rin c’en bzan po, of T’aṅ lha by sAb kyi ba ra pa nag po of Ko’ brag pa.

7. THE ORIGIN OF MANKIND
AND SOME IRANIAN INFLUENCES

Let us now come back to the origin of mankind and to the stories of the early peopling of Tibet according to the Tibetan tradition.

While the Buddhist official texts speak of the descent of the Tibetan people from the primeval monkey, other legends trace out the origin of celestial and human beings from Ye smon rgyal po (whom we met) born in his turn from the cosmic egg. In this way they linked together very complicated genealogies which have been summarized by the fifth Dalai Lama in a passage of his chronicles and by SP in the following way:

dBtan ldan;
Skye gEig;
the three brothers of the human generation (mi rabs me’ed gsum);
the four brothers: mGur lha;
the six classes of Yab lha; from the four wives of ‘O de guń rgyal, the youngest of these gods, the following gods derived:

35 brothers

from Lha from gNan from mU from Klu
mo: 8 lha mo: 9 gNan mo: 9 mU bza’: 8 Klu
c’en (incuding their father 9)

from the youngest of these 35 brothers, sNe k’rom lag k’a, La k’a rgyal po was born. He married Lun k’a’ tri mo; mT’in gi was born: he married Lha leam dkar mo; Bod ajois was born (in SP po erroneously Por ajo); he married mU bza’ mT’in bgril; she bore: rGya k’ri lo ẓan (SP la zan); the three royal brothers and their descendants and K’ri rje giian t’aṅ. The latter’s son was A mi mu ji k’ri do: he married

gNan bza’ ša mig rMu bza’ Stin bza’
three sons one son two sons

in all six sons are born to him; they are called Bod miu gdon drug, the six ancestors from whom eighteen clans derived.

In this catalogue there is no mention of the six tribes as being descended from the monkey; the monkey is here ignored. We are confronted with a different cycle definitely Bon po. The six tribes in this list are given as the result of a long evolution in which, without apparent logic, we see human beings alternate with gods or demons; the Mi rabs me’ed gsum for instance come first and are followed by the mGur lha. In this genealogy which is a theogony as well, are also included well known legends like that recording the origin of the kings of Yar klunś, as narrated in the orthodox chronicles. According to these chronicles the ancestor of the princes who were to become the rulers of Tibet, is ‘O de guń rgyal; but he forms with his sons a group of nine entities (srid pa c’ag po lha dge):

Yar klunś yar lha šam po Še u mk’a’ ri
Byaṅ gi giian c’en t’aṅ lha Skyi ʒod žog lha p’yug po
rGa stod jo bo agyog c’en gNod sbyin gaṅ ba bzan po
Šar gyi rma c’en spom ra —
Jo bo gyul rgyal —

(bsTan sruṅ ma dam can rgya mts’or miṅ grans, p. 14 b).

So ‘O de guń rgyal, who already appears in the Lhasa edicts as the ancestor of the Tibetan kings, is in fact a god, the prominent god of a whole cycle, from whom the Yar klunś princes as well as the P’ag mo gru pa claimed their descent.

Moreover we notice the same fact above stated: these nine gods are connected with particular places: the sacred mountain Yar klunś šam po the birthplace of the dynasty, Byaṅ the northern planes, sDom ra in K’am, Seu mk’a’ ri also in the eastern part of Tibet, Skyid şod near Lhasa; gNod sbyin gaṅ bzan was also located in a mountain between dBUs and gTsān (Indo-Tibetica, IV, part I, p. 48).

These 9 Lha c’en cannot be separated from the 4 mGur lha with which they form a group of 13 deities; the four mGur lha being: Jo bo mc’im lha, Jo bo nes sum, Jo bo gya’ šam and Jo bo lha bcas. Besides these gods the twelve sDe dpon sbs kyi srog are named, that is the chiefs of the various armies of demons and gods.40 There is no trace of the later attempt at dividing gods into three different categories: kings, queens and ministers, as it certainly happened after the establishment of the dynasty. At that time, perhaps under Chinese influence, the divine world was imagined after the pattern of the human. This was the case of the T’se and his court; the same happened with the gods connected with bSam yas: five gods: Pe dkar, Mon bu pa ta, dGra lha skyes geig, (see preceding genealogy), brGya sbyin rgyal po, gNod sbyin śin bya can; five yin mo: bDud mo ro lans, mDag byed, Pad ma skyes, Šan ti ro zan, gSet gyi spu gtri ma, bDud bza’ smin dkar; five ministers (bloṅ po); Bya’ k’ri mig geig, rDo rje grags ldan, Srog dbag bka’ yi bya ra ba, Bya’ rgod T’aṅ nag, Pu tra nag po (bSaid, p. 13).41

Other stories concerning the origin of mankind certainly show foreign influences other than Indian. We read for instance in that work (p. 106): “In the beginning, existence did not exist; there was nothing which could be perceived as existing and there was no appearance of which one could say that it was or that it was not. From that principle a man was miraculously
born: he called himself, the master of the existence (Srid pa'i bdag po) Ye smon rgyal po. He became the master of all things; neither the revolution of sun and moon nor the rotation of seasons were yet known; there were no houses, no huts, no bad influence caused by demons infested the earth; diseases were unknown, there were no colours, day and night were not yet distinguished. Suddenly two lights were born, one was white and the other black: they were not greater than a grain of sesame. From these two lights two men came out: a black man from the black light and a white man from the white light. The black man was armed with a spear and he was the master of non-being, of non-eternity, of killing and of destruction; his name was Myal ba nag po "the black pain." He caused thenoxious influences to abide in the constellations, he created the demons, he was the cause that the rain does not fall in its proper time, he made lightning and thunder and with them all sorts of calamities caused by fire, wind, water, and the 84,000 kinds of diseases; he inspired hatred which moves man against man. Then the sickle cut the herbs, the hatchet cut the trees down, gods knew unbelief and the mischief done by the aDre, the Srin, the aByur the gDon. He caused sudden death and harvest was destroyed by winds; horses, yaks, cattle were killed by the epidemics which he created.

"The white man was born from the white light; he called himself sNan srid sens can yod par dga' bai bdag po (in Zan žun language: 'Od zer ldan; in the Sun pa language: sNan srid gsol abyor; in that of Tibet the country of sPu rgyal: Yod par dga' bai srid pai bdag po). He mitigated the heat of the sun, gave the moon the brightness of its stellations, his being,

The importance of this legend is clear. It has nothing to do with India; the parallelism with Iranian ideas concerning the creation of the god of evil and of the good god is so evident that we need not dwell upon it. The principle of evil is anterior to the good one, as in the mazdic tradition; both spirits are also derived from a being anterior to them, as in the zervanic conceptions.

8. THE FIRST KING OF TIBET

Let us now pass to the origin of kingship in Tibet: in this case the relation with India is more evident. Of course many a tradition spoke of a first king as being the first man, like Ye smon rgyal po, Ye smon rgyal po, sPu rgyal of whom mention has been made.

But with the diffusion of Buddhism another legend spread among the Tibetans and connected the origin of kingship and civilization in Tibet with India. Since this story gave higher prestige to the Tibetans, it enjoyed great popularity and little by little superseded more ancient and aboriginal myths. It is therefore not surprising to find it even in the orthodox literature of the Bon. That the legend was of Indian origin is proved by the fact that it is contained in an Indian book, the commentary upon the Devatālayastotra by Prajñāvarman (bi Tod, ka, p. 52). Bustin took the same story from that text. The legend goes back to the war between the Kauravas and the Pândavas fought in Kuruksetra. The king Rûpâti fled from the battle with a part of his army and disguised as a woman took shelter in Tibet. In Bustin and in other historical works this legend is opposed to the Tibetan tradition (Bod kyi gtan rgyud) of the descent of the Tibetans from the monkey. This story of Rûpâti with all probability is a learned attempt at connecting Tibet with India after the contacts with Indian civilization had increased; it was certainly patronized by the Indian pandits. The lamas who concocted the genealogies of the early kings of Tibet inserted in the old lists, composed under Bon po influences, the mention of an Indian ancestor in order to substitute for the native 'O de gun rgyal an Indian prince. But in spite of their efforts, 'O de gun rgyal was not completely cancelled from historical records.

As to the person of this Indian ancestor different theories were held by the Tibetan historians. Some of them stated that he was the fifth son of Prase-najit; others the fifth son of the younger son of Bimbisāra; others the son of Udayana king of Vatsala.

In the chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama (p. 10 b) he is said to be the son of dMag brgya (Satānīka SP, p. 149: dMag rgya pa bc'ar byed, Udayana). Since the boy was ugly, his father afraid lest the prophecy of the astrologers turn true, put him in a basket which he threw into the river; but the boy was saved by some shepherds. When he was grown up, he crossed the Himalaya and came to the country of Yar kun. The Bon pos seing this newcomer thought that he was descended from heaven and saluted him as their king. He was gNa k'ri bytsan po, the ancestor of the kings of Tibet.

This legend survives in the Bon po tradition which tells that Pândû and his wife Karṣnâ having no sons offered a sacrifice to heaven according to the advice of an ascetic. A son was then born to them of very ugly aspect: he had the mark of the swastika on his ears, the eyes of a bird, hands like those of the goose. His father was ashamed of him and shut him in a box and threw it into the Ganges. But he was rescued by the inhabitants of Vaśāli. Once, when he was grown up, hearing that Dulsâsā, who meanwhile had ascended the throne after the death of his father, was approaching with a great army, he fled into Tibet, where, in accordance with an ancient prophecy, he was elected king.59 This legend belongs evidently to a later period of the Bon religion, when, after many contacts with Indian culture, it had been influenced by Indian lore, in the same way as the ritual was greatly affected by

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the Buddhist and Hindu puja. The Bon po legend of the Indian origin of the king gNa k'ri btsan po, which betrays a knowledge of the Mahabharata cycle, is parallel to the Buddhist tradition; the only difference being that the ancestor of the royal family is no longer a descendant from a family in a certain way connected with Buddhism, or much spoken of in Buddhist legends, but a hero of the Indian epics anterior to Sakyamuni. But either redaction of the legend, the Buddhist as well as the Bonpo, is an entrenchment upon the aboriginal story; in it gNa k'ri btsan po has no connection whatever with India, but descends from heaven, quite in keeping with the usual scheme of the genealogies of other families equally boasting a divine ancestor. In the bKa' t'an sde lugs very important references are contained to the first king of Tibet. These references having recourse to the well known Buddhist theory of the double meaning, the literal and the esoteric, clearly betray the two different elements of the story, the aboriginal kernel and the subsequent, Buddhist loans; according to this book there is in fact a triple account concerning gNa k'ri btsan po, the one Buddhist or esoteric (born from a king) the other commonly accepted or esoteric (sgrags), and corresponding to the Bon po theories (Bon lugs; born from a Lha) and a third extremely secret (born from the T'eu brain). According to the last tradition gNa k'ri btsan po descended from heaven and is therefore called gNam lha babs "he who came down from the heavenly gods." He resided in the fifth celestial plane gNam sa rim pa lha. From the fifth celestial plane gNa k'ri btsan po descended upon earth invited by the Tibetan kinglets (rgyal p'ran) who were harassed by the four kings of the four parts of the world: China, India, sTa gzig and Ge sar. This is therefore a aethoprasy provoked by the prayers of the oppressed; but upon this story the theme is added in the redemption of the world overcome by darkness and sin, frequently met also in Bon po hagiography and chiefly in the legend of gSen rab who came upon earth to spread the teaching of the svastika and to expell sin.

KT, c. p. 7: "sPu yul mo btsun Guń rgyal gave birth to the 9 T'eu brain. The youngest was U p'er from the latter he was born. It is difficult to tell the heavy task he undertook. gNa k'ri btsan po was the son of K'ri rgyal and of Dri dMu tri btsan. He was born in a day of full moon (nā) and was therefore also called Na k'ri btsan po. At that time Tibet was ruled over by some kinglets and could not resist to the great kings of the four points. Two clever men among the three Zan, the four ministers (blon), the six clans of male subjects (yab dbans) went to search for a lord. But rJe skar ma yol sde said: "There is a divine son called gNa k'ri btsan po who dwells in the fifth storey of heaven." He is the chief of the dMu and therefore invite him to come."

"gNa k'ri btsan po said that (in Tibet) there were six causes of fear: fear of theft, fear of hatred, fear of enemies, fear of yaks, fear of poison, fear of curses. But rTsibs lha skar ma yol sde said: "Against theft there are reprisals, against hatred love, against enemies expedients, against yaks weapons, against poisons medical herbs, against curses means by which one can be freed." Then (gNa k'ri btsan po) came upon earth with the ten things of the dMu."

The same story is narrated in another chapter (rGyal po bka' t'an, p. 18) of the same work: "In Tibet, the mountainous country of the nine peaks, before sPur rgyal, there were six kinds of princes: first of all the country was possessed by the black ogre gNod sbyin nag po; the country was then called the country of the demon (BDud) k'a rag mgo dgu; it was characterized by the gNan po and bTsan. Then it was possessed by demons, BDud, and by witches Srin mo, and was called the country of the gods and of the witches; it was characterized by the cannibal demons, Ša za, the red gDon. Then it was possessed by the Klu and bTsan and was called Bod, the country of the nine parts (glin); it was characterized by a white child who walks upon the water (dkar ba c'a la sspyod pa). Then it was possessed by the nine brothers Ma sain and was called Bod K'ams gya' drug; it was characterized by the origin of arrows, spears and weapons. Then it was possessed by the six Za ram skyes and was called the country of the 18 chilletteries; it was characterized by the art of riding horses and by wearing earrings. Then it was possessed by the 12 kinglets and was called the eight Svā ka. It was characterized by the art of greeting and uttering honorific expressions. Then it was possessed by sPur rgyal rgyal po and was called the country of the four wings (nu bti). That bTsan po of Tibet 'O de spur rgyal came down from the heavenly sphere as a master of men. From the land of Ts'ans pa derived the nine T'en celestial gods, viz. the T'en of heaven, the T'en of clouds, the T'en of rain, the nine T'en; it was characterized by the four brothers, the sons of Val val. One of these princes was the father of the six BDal. From them the seven sons, seven excellent brothers, were born; one of them, Bar lha offended his brother, the seventh, and his wife; therefore he was sent into exile by those two in the country of SKor Bon Zan po. This is the genealogy of the Srid lha up to the time when gNa k'ri, the son of dMu bzas (gza') IDa me btsun and gSos pa was born."

"This prince gNa k'ri btsan po came into Tibet in order to benefit the black-haired people and all sorts of beings. While he was in Dog he procreated the sons of the royal lineage: the seven gods on heaven, the six Legs upon earth, the seven Sīl ma and the five bTsan po... To sum up gNa k'ri btsan po is called in these legends dMu yi dban po, the lord of the dMu. He resided in the fifth heaven from whence he descended upon earth accepting the invitation of SKar ma yol sde and taking with him the ten things of the dMu. As regards the first king of Tibet there are therefore many traditions; some of them are aboriginal, others betray an Indian origin and are naturally later than the spread of Buddhism. No universal agreement as regards the first ruler was reached in national records;
this chiefly depends on the fact that the leading tribes or families had each their own ancestor whom they could not forget and therefore, when political unity was reached, different persons were considered as being identical, as various aspects of the same entity; others did not find a place to be inserted in. The primeval king in the Lhasa inscription (cfr. DT, 2a, p. 105 a-b) is 'O Ile spur rgyal; this is the same as 'O de spur rgyal who according the rGyal po bha' t'ain, p. 18, descended from heaven upon earth and became the lord of men. Evidently he is the same as 'O de gun rgyal mentioned above. The chronicles of Ladakhi place as first ancestor sPu rgyal who is evidently the same person. On the other hand the fifth Dalai Lama as well as the Sa kya rnam kyi rgyal rabs begin their list with Na k'ri btsan po and the fifth Dalai lama states that 'Od Ile is the same (don gcig) as Na k'ri btsan po. On the other hand sPu gun rgyal is by the same author identified with Bya k'ri which is implicitly the opinion of the author of the Sa kya rnam kyi rgyal rabs rigs since he knows a single iden (for the usual stien), while Ladakhi chronicles and Buston distinguish between them. This sPu rgyal can hardly be separated from sPu yul mo btsun gun rgyal whom we already met and is probably related, so far as his entity is concerned, with gNam gyi gun rgyal the heavenly space. As regards this name I think that sPu is the same as p'u viz. the upper part i. e. of the sphere of existence.

It therefore corresponds to guñ, this being the middle, but the middle, as we saw, of the cosmic tent, viz. the top of existence.

9. THE HEAVENLY ROPE AND THE ROYAL TOMBS

This descent from heaven upon earth whence gNa k'ri btsan po was called gNam lha bab is accomplished by means of the rope rMu t'ag or the ladder rMu skas. This was the normal communication between earth and heaven and the means by which the deceased of the nobility, kings and notables ascended to heaven. That is why the old kings of Tibet were called a'ten ba (see S. CH. DAS s. v.) though the name a'ten ba appears as that of a special class of gods.

It is therefore evident that there is a certain similarity between these Tibetan ideas and those of the early Chinese who also thought that there was a bridge between sky and earth (see MASPERSO, Legendes mythologiques, JA, 1924, p. 94) and those of the black Tai tai (ibid., p. 95): it is worthy of notice that also in Gilgit, viz. in a country where Bon flourished for a long time, the story of a golden chain linking heaven and earth has been handed down up to modern times, in spite of the conversion of the country to Islam.

As the link between earth and heaven in the ancient Chinese cosmology was cut by Chung li, so also in Tibet the rope or ladder joining the two worlds was once cut in some way and then the two worlds were definitely separated. As to the reason why it was cut, there were different legends; according to the k'La t'ain ide lha (k'a, rGyal po bka' t'ah, p. 19) the king sTon ri ston btsan married two wives rMu bza' and Klu bza' and therefore there was a struggle between the king and his subjects; then the rope between heaven and earth was cut and tombs were built. This story seems to imply a struggle between two religious currents.

But according to the rGyal rabs gyal bai me lOn (p. 52) the story runs quite differently. King Gri gum btsan po (in Sa kya rnam kyi rgyal rabs: K'ri gum) it says was possessed by a gDon: he then proposted to his minister Lo'n nam (fifth Dalai Lama, p. 11 b Lo nam), custodian of horses, to fight with him. The latter obeyed and the day was fixed for the duel. The king sent to his minister his faithful dog in order to know what were his intentions, and the minister, in order to deceive his master, said that if the king wanted to kill him, Lo'n nam, he should have tied a black turban on his head, placed a mirror on his forehead, hung the corpse of a fox on his right shoulder and that of a mouse on the left, whiited his sword, placed a bag full of dust on a red bull. Next morning, which was the day of the fight, the king did so: the bag broke and the eyes of the king were blinded by dust. On account of the impurity caused by the two corpses placed on his shoulders, the two gods presiding over him, the deGra lha and the Po lha, disappeared and thus blindly whirling his sword the king cut the dMu t'ag, while the minister aimed with an arrow at the mirror upon his forehead. Gri gum btsan was killed and the heavenly rope was cut.

This story certainly has a meaning; most probably it has preserved the record of a solar myth and of a popular feast akin to those of ancient China in which an image or rather a man was hit with arrows in order to bring down the sun, possibly at the end of winter. The symbolic value of the mirror placed on the forehead and of the black bandage is so evident that it need not be emphasized.

But according to other stories the rope was cut as a result of the jealousy of a husband; so we read in the genealogy of the family of gYa t'ag, the famous physician of king K'ri ston lde btsan. This genealogy shows a blending of ancient Bon po traditions with legends of Indian origin, which, following the example of the kings of Yar kluns, the nobility introduced in their family records. But Indian influences were not able to cancel out completely the primitive strata of the legend.

In a country so runs the story called Pad ma sñiñ po, corresponding to the lotus in the middle of the nine lotuses forming the surface of India, a devaputra called Dam t'ag descended upon earth. He was seen by the wife of a shepherd who, admiring his beauty, fell in love with him and had from him two children: rDo rje t'ag aBes and Ses rab gyi ral gri. Once, when they were grown up, she left her sons to look after the cattle and went to pay a visit to her lover in heaven by means of the rMu t'ag. She spent seven days there and on coming down she brought
to her sons two golden vases. This she often did, but once her husband got jealous and cut the rope. The lineage of that god spread over India and later on, in order to fulfil its mission, it came into Tibet.

The blending of aboriginal legends with the new Indian element is not very clever; not only one perceives that the ṛMu t'ag has nothing to do with India, but the names of the god and of one of his sons point to the old Tibetan deity of lightning: t'ag.

This rope was a kind of umbilical cord, perhaps the rainbow, as SP himself admits, stating that one ascended to heaven by becoming aśa luśu, that is assuming a body like the rainbow.

Anyhow, as already stated, the cutting of the rope implies not only a revolution in religious ideas, most probably a sect being superseded in prestige by another, but also a change in the disposal of the dead in the aristocracy. The story of the cutting of the ṛMu t'ag coincides in fact with the first erection of royal tombs.

Formerly before Gri gum btsan po, the kings pulling the ṛMu t'ag dwindled away in the sky like a rainbow and their tombs were stated to be in the sky; they assumed a celestial body leaving no corpse upon earth. But after Gri gum btsan funeral customs changed and tombs were built (ṛGyal rats, p. 52).

A description of these royal tombs is contained in some ancient documents, abstracts of which are preserved in later works, such as the ṛGyal rats and the gTam gyi t'sogs t'eg pai rgya mts'o (p. 124 foll.). This text relates: “According to the Yig t'on rpañ pa, when Sroṅ btsan sgam po died:

- In the middle of the tomb they made a round hole;
- they placed the body of the C'os rgyal on mud to which silk and paper were joined;
- Then, carrying the corpse on a carriage, they deposited the body inside the tomb with accompaniment of music;
- the hole inside was then filled with riches of every kind

and on the four sides walls were erected,” 63

The same facts are narrated with greater particulars by the dKar c'ag (of bSam yas) attributed to the minister mGar; it is there said that the tombs of the seven K'ri were in the sky, where they dwindled away like a rainbow, leaving no corpse. The tombs of the two s'Ten were in the abysses and in pitchers; of the six Legs near slabs of slate; of the eight IDe in the rivers.

The last eight kings erected the tombs in the country itself. Sometimes, as in the case of the tomb of aBron gnam sde, record is found of three living servants being placed inside the tomb itself: that tomb was therefore called gSon bcdad Idem po (the tumultus where living beings had been killed).

These tombs are said to be made according to the ṛMu lugs, the system of the ṛMu, which proves again our surmise that the ṛMu were a class of priests or a clan claiming to be connected with the gods of the dead; they were therefore in charge of funeral ritual.

If it were necessary we could also quote a passage of the PTY (Toussaint transl., pp. 311-312) from which it appears that the Bon as stated above (p. 715) were specialised in building tombs.

So also the fifth Dalai Lama: “all the seven ṛNam gyi k'ri dwindled away in the sky with the help of Mu t'ag and therefore there were no tombs... When Gri gum cut the ṛMu t'ag the corpse was put in a copper box (gau) with iron nails; then they threw it in the water, but the river Kon swelled up (t'ag tu byan ba) and the c'u srin Bye ma lag rin took it and offered it to the Jo mo; then he took (the corpse) out of that box and built a tomb in Dar t'an in P'yan yul. This was the beginning of the construction of the tombs. At the time of the two s'Tei, tombs (gTam gyi t'sogs t'eg pai rgya mts'o, p. 125) were built in slates and clay; at the times of the six Legs' in places between slates and meadows; at the times of the eight IDe in the valleys along the rivers (cfr. Chronicles, pp. 11, 12).

But the account of the ṛGyal rats does not mean that tombs were reserved to kings only. The existence of a class of Bon priests whose work was required, as we saw, for building tombs seems to point to a large use of funeral monuments of the same type as those illustrated by Roerich; but this does not exclude the contemporary existence in Tibet of the exposal of the corpse to animals, as now generally practised, by other classes.

10. FAMILIES OF HOR DESCENT

Some families claimed descent from countries other than Tibet. One of the most conspicuous examples is that of the princes of ṛP'yon rgyas in whose family Blo btsan rgya mts'o was to be born. Their genealogy is contained both in the Chronicles by the same Blo btsan rgya mts'o and in his biography. The first has been translated above. I shall translate here that contained in the last work since it is an ampler redaction and therefore easier to be understood, the difficulties of the text consisting in allusions to facts not sufficiently known.

(Complete works of the Fifth Dalai Lama, vol. ca, p. 12 b): “In the old records of the family is written that Dharmapāla himself came into Tibet from China and that the hermitage where Pe kar resided is located in the country of Za hor. On the other hand the statement contained in the rNi'n mui rted by the bla ma Sog bzlog, viz. that: the lineage of Za hor of the princes of s'Tag rse is not from Za hor of India, implies that there is another Za hor in China. But both stories are a foolish talk with no foundation at all (because Za hor is not in China but in India, while Dharmapāla of Pe kar did not come into Tibet from India).

“If one admits that the hermitage of Pe kar was in India, one would contradict the story of the image of ṛNam t'o' stas in the country of IJast; in the records there is no mention of the story of another Za hor in China different from Za hor of India. Bhagwan in Eastern India and China are strictly connected and there are many travellers such as merchants etc. who cross the ocean with boats. Therefore even Dharmapāla

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having gone in China settled in the hermitage of Bha ra hor. Then, after some generations, during which his descendants increased, one Dharmapala was contemporary with K'ti'son Ile btsan, king of Tibet, the same who invited the Abbot (S'anitaraksita) and the ácārya (Padmasambhava). This king built in bsam yas the temple Mi agyur lhung grub, on the pattern of that of Ontapturi. Since a guardian for this temple was necessary the great ácārya asked the king of the Klu, Zut p'ud Iha for advice. The latter said: 'We sleep in winter and during that time we remain unconscious; but there is a king called Hu who descends from a Klu, in the family dMu. He can pursue anything as small as a needle, covering in a day the space for which a vulture employs 18 days. Such is the guardian you should appoint'. Shortly after the prince Mu rug btsan po killed the son of Žan rgya ts'a Iha snan. Then since the great minister ggos r'gyan tried the case he went to guard the northern boundaries. Then the great ácārya evoked rNam t'o's sras with his eight horsemen and actually showed them to the king and the ministers and gave him orders. Then a barbarian (litt. a man living in the boundary) called mgon brtson painted that god on a flag as he had appeared, and into that flag rNam sras really sank with his acolytes. The prince then with the army went to gYat mo t'an; Žan Iha bsan = bsam klu dpal counted his army which had appeared in rGya zam: there were 100,000 soldiers with hawk heads in the East, 100,000 soldiers of Grul bum tkan rts'e (with the point of their feet like that of the Grul bum = kumbhânda) with feet of horses and asses, 120,000 soldiers with human body and the tail of a mouse, 130,000 with human body and the ears of an ass. With such a numberless army he plundered China, Hor and Gru gu. The king Pe kar was afraid and fled away changing his body into that of a vulture. But a gnod sbyin hit him with an arrow on his wing; so he fell down and was caught by rNam t'o's sras and led to bsam yas. At that time the prince saw numberless ugly beings, viz. the messengers created by magic by rNam t'o's sras and taking them as a model he drew them: this was the image of rNam t'o's sras of Ijan...

"Since Pe kar caused by magic madness and epidemics, the great ácārya compelled him to fly away... Be it as it may, the Abbot, the ácārya and the king agreed in sending a messenger in order to invite Dharmapala of the royal lineage of Za hor, so that he might come from his hermitage of Hor. Pe kar was very affectionate to him: he therefore took a self-made image of the ascetic made of turquoise, a mask called se abag ("the leather mask", 160) and a lion of rock crystal and said: 'You are invited as a guardian of bsam yas; I as a god will go with you, a man'. So he went to bsam yas riding a wooden bird." 160

All this story does not only show the prettension of the gPo'Iyon rgyas family to be of Hor descent but also, as rightly suggested by prof. Thomas, Literary text, p. 296 it points to a foreign origin of the cult of Pe dkar, dPe kar, dPe ha. The story concerning his flight from bsam yas, of his changing himself into a bird and of his having been shot down by a yaka belonging to the retinue of rNam t'o's sras was contained in the legend of rNam t'o's sras as it circulated in the Ijan country.

This story is very interesting: it is a point of contact, as rightly pointed out by the Tibetan writers, between the VaiSravana cycle and that of Pe dkar. We are here confronted with a theme not rarely met in Central-Asian paintings. I refer f. i. to the famous VaiSravana crossing the ocean of Tun huang (Thousand Buddhas, plate XXVI) in which we see an archer of the retinue of VaiSravana preparing to shoot a bat-like demon in the air (Strindia, p. 875). The theme is a also a frequent motif in the Turfan frescoes (GRUNWEDEL, Albudh. Kulturstätten, p. 589 and index). This bird is here taken as a Garuda. It is difficult to say if the legend is but an interpretation of a painting more or less akin to that published in Strindia; the thing is highly probable since the Tibetan story, as we saw, definitely speaks of a tanka of VaiSravana painted at the time of the expedition of Mu rug btsan po, which was then brought in Tibet and preserved in the temple of C'os lün t'o'gs. But this does not prevent us from supposing that a blending between the VaiSravana cycle and a local deity of unknown origin and character had effectively taken place in Central Asia where VaiSravana was assumed to the rank of a patron god. This would again point to a Central-Asian origin of Pe dkar.

We are therefore again confronted with cultural elements originated in the North-Eastern marches of Tibet.

In later times a real epic cycle was formed, of the same type as the one concerning Gesar, which had a literary formulation of its own; in fact the Tibetan tradition knows a dPe dkar ar gtag lo rgyus, the story of dPe dkar's tribulations. It is a gter ma, discovered by Grva bsgon c'os kyi rdo rje (rNin ma pa Apology, p. 70). It is an epic cycle, which finds its counterpart in a local tale Ijan yul mai lo rgyus, connected with rNam t'o's sson; both of them have their centre in two cycles of parallel legends, equally celebrating rNam t'o's sras's victory over dPe dkar and relating the origin of a celebrated representation of rNam t'o's sras, who succeeds in overcoming his rival and antagonist. 160

The story told of the fight between a tribal god Pe dkar and rNam t'o's sras, from which this god came out victorious. Pe dkar appears there as a foreign tribal god later imported into Tibet and compelled by Padmasambhava to accept Buddhism. But he was always considered a bGegs (srog bdag rgyal po man c'd nas, dpe dkar rgyal po ran cad kyi, bregz rigs ston p'lag byogd tsams cad; gSan bdag dbags pa ddi byed las t'o'gs dam srii glud mdos, RC, pl'). He remains connected with the North: byan p'jogs p'rin las rgyal po; his wife is bDud gza' smin dkar "the white pupil of the demon planet", (cfr. Pe dkar c'os kyi rgyal po bshin go dregs paa sde dmor mnes byed zla ba gya sar săn nimams dgra dpun sgom byed dan dga' gden yon tan rgyal paa sprul pad dan bka' sdo dzer bzhin mo bshin rgyal kyi grol nici od, n. 960).

I cannot say whether the connection of Pe dkar with this goddess goes back to the early times of the legend
and if therefore it represents a primary character of the
myth; in that case one should feel inclined to consider
dPe dkar as a planetary god and then, following the
suggestion of Thomas that Pe dkar is probably
derived from a Chinese ʻpai, meaning white, as
Tib.: dkar, "dPe, the white," to suppose that it may
correspond to ʻPa ii ã "the white emperor," viz.
the planet Venus which from ancient times was
considered as a symbol of warriors.

But it is also probable that under the name Pe
har, dPe dkar, Pe kar, may be hidden the Turkish
Big or its derivates. However, according to other
traditions, independent from the one recorded by
the fifth Dalai Lama, which has become orthodoxo
(Indexes of the bka' agyur, SP, p. 172, etc.) Pe kar,
dPe har, is the son of gNam gyi dkar po and Sug
Iam rgyal mo; he was also called brGya sbyin dkar
po, and settled among the Hor, garrisoning the
temple of Bha ʻa hor and assuming different names:
gNam la dkar po, the white god of heaven, Stog
bdag dkar po, the white lord of life. From his
father's name and from his own name, the god's
heavenly character is clear.

The princes of ʻaPyon rgyas claimed, then, a
descent from Za hor of India through a provisional
settling in Bha ʻa hor. Za hor in India has been
differently located. The Tibetans held different opini
ions regarding this place: European scholars on
the other hand are inclined to identify Za hor with
Mandi (see LAUFFER, The Bruţa Sprache, p. 29, n. 8,
where the old bibliography is given) JASCHKE s. v.
and FRANCKE, Chronicles of Ladakh, p. 65 were of
the same idea. On the contrary B. BHATTACHA-
RYA, Introduction to Śāhbanumāla, p. XXXVII, identifies
Za hor with Sabhar in East Bengal. The Tibetans
seem to hold two different views. The dGe lugs pa
consider Za hor as the birth-place of Atiśa and on
the basis of a very authoritative source, contemporary
with that teacher, place Za hor in Eastern Bengal, in
the Vikramapur district.

Tson ka pa in his Lam rim c'en mo (Tshuhumpo
ed., p. 3, vol. pa of his works) quotes from a hymn in
honour of Atiśa, written by the great lotsāva Nag
t's'o. This was the Tibetan sent to India to invite the
famous pandit to come to Tibet. He therefore was
very well acquainted with the biography of Atiśa. In
this hymn is written: "In Eastern India in a famous
place called Za hor there is a great town called Za
hor; in this place there is a royal palace called gSer
gyi rgyal mts'an (Swarnabadjuja)". The same infor
mation is contained in the biography of Atiśa:
Ja bo rje lha bgeg dpal ldan rnam t'er bha mai yon tan c'os
kya bphyun gnas so gsags bka' bgeams rin po c'e'i glegs ban, p. 1
(see also the bKa' gdamgs gear rin gi c'os bphyun yid kyi
mdses rgyan by the C'os rje bSod nams sgrags pa, p. 3 à).
Even the fifth Dalai Lama places Za hor five months
to the East of Bodhgayā in a country called Bhagnala.

So the opinion of the dGe lugs pa is well founded
since it can be traced to the times of Atiśa himself.
On the other hand the rNiṅ ma pa and, depending
on them, the bKa' brgyud pa placed Za hor near
Uddiyāna on the basis of what is written in chap. 37
of the PTY, "Near the North-Eastern boundaries of
Uddiyāna, in the center of the capital of Za hor."

But from this passage no definite conclusion can
be drawn. Uddiyāna (= Swāt) being in the legend
of Padmasambhava a great kingdom, it is imagined
to extend to the extreme ends of India. In chapter
XI, that same text locates Za hor to the South-east of
Bodhgayā while Kāmarūpā (Assam) is placed to the
North-East; in this case Za hor would roughly corre
spond to Orissa. But this division of India has
no great geographical value: India is for this text a
mandala whose center is Bodhgayā; it is a kind of
miraculous lotus, four leaves corresponding to the
four cardinal points (Uddiyāna = West, Bengāl = East,
Kashmir = North, Baidēha = South) and four other leaves to the intermediate points.

So there is hardly any doubt that the dGe lugs
pa placing Za hor in Bengal are right. The Tibetan
distance does therefore fully support the identification
Za hor = Sabhar of B. Bhattacharya. As to Bha ʻa
Hor I agree with Thomas that Bhāta Hor = Bhadra
Hor, a sanskritization of the name of some nomadic
tribe located near lake Baikal (p. 299).

Anyhow it appears that the fifth Dalai Lama
tries his best to connect his family indirectly with
India establishing a link between Za hor = Sabhar
and Bha ʻa Hor through an early migration of a royal
prince from India. But the pretended connection
with Bha ʻa Hor was not less ambitious: this people
in fact settled according to the Mongol tradition near
the Burqan Qaldun, the mountain sacred to the
family of Gengis Khan. So the princes of ʻaPyon rgyas
boasted of descent from two places, one of which
was in the holy country of Buddhism and the other
the birth-place of an ancestor whom all Mongols,
then bestowing their favours upon the Dalai Lama,
made revered. There are also some indications which
seem to show that this legend was given a shape by
learned circles which had some knowledge of Chinese
sources. The name of the Klū whom Ts'ur p'u'd
Ina advises to appoint as guardian of bSam yas is
Hu: this word is evidently Chinese: ʻa to protect, viz.
pala. Though all this legend may be fanciful and
concocted in order to increase the reputation of the
family, it is quite possible that the ʻaPyon rgyas
had not lost the memory of an ancient nomadic origin
to be sought outside the border of Tibet proper.

The example of this family was followed by many
others which elaborated their genealogies in such a
way as to claim a descent either from India, the
country of the Holy Law, or from those parts of the
world which might prove the relationship of that nobility
with the leading powers of the time. To quote a
few instances: the Zur pa, a family in which many
great religious personalities were born, boasted to
be descended from bDe byed gziin nu (Ṣāṅka-
rakūmāra) who, on the occasion of the war between
the Gods and the Asura came down from a corner
(zur) of the heavenly palace, won the battle against
the Asura and then became the ancestor of a family
which settled in India and then from India migrated into Tibet.

The Za lu pa, as we saw, left in the background their pretended origin from a Bon po god, possibly thunder, and emphasized their connection with two sons of that god who ruled over Persia and China. So it appears that little by little the primitive records of the aristocracy which connected the human lineage of the leading families with Bon ideas, were modified according to the new religious and political situation. In this way many old myths and legends referring to particular families and places were definitely forgotten.

II. THE MIGRATION OF TIBETAN ARISTOCRACY SOUTHWARDS AND WESTWARDS

Another important conclusion can be drawn from the study of the genealogical legends of the leading families of Tibet, at least of those which survived after the collapse of the royal dynasty and came to the foreground during the period of the second introduction of Buddhism, being the builders of the medieval history of Tibet; these families as I anticipated above (p. 6) generally hailed from North-Eastern Tibet. In the records of these families we therefore find the memory of a wave of migration of nomadic aristocracy coming from the East or the North and little by little spreading southwards and westwards, subduing the aboriginal population and imposing upon it their language. This fact is clearly evidenced in Ladakh where the Dardic and the Mon element and their language, were ruled out by the Tibetan invaders and settlers. The same thing happened in Spiti and in high Bashahr where Kanawri dialects slowly disappeared or in Guge where the Zan zun language, used as a literary language by the Bon po, was equally cancelled by Tibetan.

This nomadic population was divided into clans called rus "bones." It is the same as the division into yson which we find among the Mongols.

The names of some of the most prominent clans have been preserved. They are contained in a list of the bK'a' l'tan side lha, ca., p. 7; this text, referring to the five kinds of ministers, records the following clans:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gNags</th>
<th>gNags k'yi bu bdud kyi tʃe</th>
<th>bal gsum sgra ya mdas</th>
<th>t'an pa ya t'an tʃe</th>
<th>gNags rgyal lto ri gal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K'yuŋ</td>
<td>yu yar zun t'se</td>
<td>yun sti rin po</td>
<td>mi rin sos dkar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mGar</td>
<td>mgar ston (corr.; ston) btsan yul gzuŋ</td>
<td>k'ri abrin btsan gro</td>
<td>btsan sna sdom bu</td>
<td>k'ri t'og tʃe a nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mC'ims</td>
<td>mar bzer can pa po</td>
<td>btsan bzer legs gzig</td>
<td>rgyal gzig tʃud t'on</td>
<td>rdo rje spre c'un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sNa nam</td>
<td>rgya t'sa lha snaŋ</td>
<td>mañ sña bse btsan</td>
<td>mañ k'om pa skyabs</td>
<td>btsan pa 'u riṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aGos</td>
<td>k'ri bžan yab lhag</td>
<td>yaṅ gong bla ma lha gro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C'og ro</td>
<td>skyes bzaṅ rgyal ma 'og</td>
<td>legs sgra lha I'don</td>
<td>c'og ro p'o goṅ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myāṅ</td>
<td>myāṅ smon to re rtse gu</td>
<td>myāṅ me'og rab gzu ʻo'</td>
<td>myāṅ mañ po żan snañ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'u</td>
<td>abrin to re a nu</td>
<td>t'u mi rgyal mts'ān snañ</td>
<td>t'u mi lku mañ dreb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ts'e spoṅ</td>
<td>na gad se</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second catalogue has been preserved in another passage translated by Thomas, Literary Texts, p. 277 ff. in which the territorial and military division of Tibet at the times of K'ri sron lde btsan is contained.

BANNERS (RU)

GTSAṅ

Supplementary banner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY</th>
<th>CHILIARCHY</th>
<th>COMMANDER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>upper</td>
<td>aBro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td>aBro</td>
<td>1 Maṅ gar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 K'ri dgon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 Grom pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 Lha rtse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY</th>
<th>CHILIARCHY</th>
<th>COMMANDER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lower</td>
<td>aDre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td>aDre</td>
<td>5 Naṅ ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aGos</td>
<td>6 K'ri t'ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 Gad bktam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under-chiliarchy of sGro.
Right wing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY</th>
<th>CHILIARCHY</th>
<th>COMMANDER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>upper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 K'yun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>po</td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Sa'ns</td>
<td>Yon high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Ts'ab</td>
<td>Lañ mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 P'død kar</td>
<td>5 Dran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 gNen</td>
<td>K'yun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 Yel</td>
<td>8 Zom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 Gos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under-chiliarchy Rin se bya of Sa'ns.

Central wing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY</th>
<th>CHILIARCHY</th>
<th>COMMANDER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>upper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Cog</td>
<td>Yor nx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Dbu</td>
<td>Yor ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 bCom pa</td>
<td>sNam nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Upper</td>
<td>Zom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 Dor</td>
<td>6 STe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 sKyid</td>
<td>Skos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 Lower s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kyid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under-chiliarchy Bran k'a: Yel 2abs.

Left wing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY</th>
<th>CHILIARCHY</th>
<th>COMMANDER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>upper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 gNags</td>
<td>Yor kni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Ts' e</td>
<td>P'yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 sNam nam</td>
<td>Myan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Myan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 Sñi im s</td>
<td>Myan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 Sñi im s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 Lho</td>
<td>8 Dags po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Yor</td>
<td>2 gYol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Yor</td>
<td>4 gYol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 Yor</td>
<td>6 gYol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 Yor</td>
<td>8 gYol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 Yor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under-chiliarchy Spran ston Ri bo.

From the last catalogue it appears that Tibet was once divided into four ru: in these there were 17 families ruling over the 34 (at the end of the chapter erroneously 44) ston se vix. chiliarchies.

This fact is very important because it shows that at the times of the royal dynasty, there was in Tibet a military administration akin to that of the Turks and the Mongols. The territory was a military entity which was bound to supply, in case of war, a certain number of warriors under the responsibility of the clan settled in it.

The army was divided, just as with the Turks and the Mongols, into sections of 10,000, 1,000, 100, 10.

This army, so to say, was facing south. In fact I would suggest that in the above-quoted catalogue "ru" does not mean, as translated by Prof. Thomas "brigade", but "wing," dBus and gTsan were divided into 4 wings, one in the centre, one to the right and one to the left, to which a supplementary wing (ru lag) was added. References to these ru are often met with in Tibetan literature. I quote here some of these references taken from old sources, even if some of them are found in modern compilations:

1. ts'ian sel lha 65, ca, chapter ka, p. 8 ff.;
2. k'a, chapter 17 k'a, chapter 47, p. 65 b
3. gTsan [gys ru gyas ru (f. i. sTag nag, Sa'nis)
4. gTsan [gys ru gyas ru lag (f. i. sTag mtsu'ams, Na'nod)
5. dBus [gys ru gyas ru (f. i. Mal gro, sTod lün)
6. gTsan [gys ru gyas ru lag (f. i. Dags po, gNal, Lo ro)
7. dBus [gys ru gyas ru
8. Klon rdol bla ma (4, p. 4 b)
9. gTsan [gys ru gYon ru (Na'n c'u)
10. gTsan [gys ru gYon ru lag (Sab agyed)
11. dBus [gys ru gYas ru (Na'nod and Lho k'a)


From these lists it appears that gYon ru was in eastern dBus and gYas ru in gTsan; for ru lag of gTsan in some catalogues is substituted gYon ru in imitation of dBus. But this is certainly due to a mistake of later sources because gTsan and dBus form a unity and it would be impossible to speak of a central wing (dBus) without taking the territory of the two provinces as a whole. Moreover the explanation of Klon rdol bla ma on the second list leaves no doubt on this subject: it is therefore evident that, as I said, we are here confronted with a southward direction of the 4 wings, as we find among the Turks or the Mongol tribes.

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NOTES

1. See above p. 689, n. 156.
2. S. CH. DAS, Dictionary, p. 31. I possess two editions of this book: one from Derge (DDe dgon); the other bears no indication of the press. The real state of the work, as it appears from the colophons added to some sections was: Bon rin po che 'byung rgyal dben pa dgegs ma klu chos dbang po (neg po, kha ba) gyen drung ts'i pa cem po'i mdo. The references in this paper are to the Derge edition.
3. The equivalence Bon = Dharma is shown by the following examples which I choose out of the many: hran lugs rad stob pa hid etc., p. 39, dbur bon rin po ce par bon etc.
4. Sühngchöde rin po che. It is from him that civilisation begins.
5. FRANCIS, A lower Ladakhi version of the Kṣaṇa ragas. Preliminary n. 5.
6. A Dam giin gis te sri bka’ brgyud yis pa eg’og lgyas od, p. 6.

Gur gyal lha mo is the small Kurgyal-tso lagoon under the Pundgo-pa in the plain to the north of the Manasarovar.

Gun c‘u dnu lha mo is the Gunchu-tso, a salt-water lake without outlet to the east of the Manasarovar. Kawaguchi spells this name Kunggru-tso and the guides of Sven Hedin (Southern Tibet, II, n. 284) Kunyukutso. The Gunchu-tso had been identified by Akisono (Himalaya Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Allahabad, 1882, II, p. 285) with the Arunoda lake of Indian cosmology. According to the Shui tao ti kang (Outlines of Hydrography, chap. 22; compiled in 1705; translated in Sven Hedin, Southern Tibet, I, p. 121) the Gunchu-tso has an underwater island in the Tagte-rang po, and hence into the Manasarovar. But according to Sven Hedin (Southern Tibet, II, p. 50) it is impossible that in 1705 the Gunchu-tso could have belonged to the Satrej basin. On the lake issued from an egg, see J. F. ROECKER, The bird and origin of Dzo-mhus Shibs, Attribut Assis, VII, p. 15.

7. FRANCIS, Thibetische Heerzeitschriften, Darmstadt, 1921, n. VII and XV. The Tibetan text of these songs is being edited by me and Dostor Pechel along with other popular songs collected in Ladakh, Spiti and Western Tibet.

8. Such a myth was not unknown to the Manichaeans; see REITZENSTEIN, Weitumgebungsvorstellungen, Kykhur, Åströms, Upsala, 1924, p. 197. HARVA, Die religiösen Vorstellungen der alten Vediers, pp. 110 ff.
9. WENZEL, The legend of the origin of the Tibetan race in Festgiuss Redh, pp. 70-72.

On this subject see LAUTER, Über ein Tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon po, T‘oung Pao, 1901, p. 27, n. 11.

10. EBERHARD, Kolur und Siedlung der Randwander Chinesen, p. 79.

13. In fact the rGyul po hwa‘da rna says: "each elan has its own account of it."

14. I follow the spelling adopted by the fifth Dalai Lama in the biography of bSkod nams mo’og ldan rgyal mtha’; there was a great variety of spellings of these names in the sources, as it is proved by the quotations from the Yig ‘ma t’o sbyan shi Lhasa geziu contained in the biography of bSkod nams mo’og ldan rgyal dge’, ldan, shu gsum: dga’ dan kyi, ma bco dpal mdo’i gis ste drug tu gsum. To resume, the various spellings of the names of these tribes are as follows: se; mo, mtu, dmuk; idon; sron; gva; gnu; bu; abru; dpal rna; mdo; ba.

These same stories are contained in a long inscription written by Blo bstan rgya mtha’ for bka’ brgyud. This author says that according to the Ka’khot ma there are four claimants: according to the ‘Khrigs kyi chen po tin according to the Tshul po dbyad stobs ma sims, 25 and 12 rGyal g’ran, 40 Sil ma.

15. But kya’r is also the water which instills hatred in the soul of the gods when fighting against the Aṣura. See m’k’g la’g gsum me lkar bka’ brgyud, vol. 3, p. 310.

16. According to J. F. ROECKER the Suu is the “ancient ancestor of a family whose spirit has joined the realm of the gods, and who has himself become a demigod,” among the Mo so (att. cit., p. 45, n. 2).

17. Aisa bshin, vol. I, p. 397, dpal gsal, gav lha’o, lha of or, bman ‘or. Francke translated: “elan,” but if there is no mistake in the text (mi instead of mo) the meaning of mo is wing.

18. Ibid., pp. 207 and 270 text (pp. 321-323 transl.).

19. Francke translates: consecration; more probably sgal rna, sgal bka’ means an offering of warm food.


21. A reference is here contained to the nine vehicles of the Bonpo. See HOFFMANN, Zur Literature der Bonpo (repris), p. 171, n. 4, 9, Kṣaṇa te hsa, co, p. 45. But the doctrine of a division of the Bon into a part considered as the cause and a part considered as the effect is evidently based upon the classification of Buddhist Tantras into brou Tantras and phal-sTanras (abusive class).

22. “A man able to chant... is a man able to "perform a ceremony to suppress demons, according to the Mo so (J. F. ROECKER, cit. p. 18).

23. But gnas rna pa is a god of terrific nature; his voice are thunder and hailstorm, zhi kha dang po kun dkar tshogs nang gsal cem mo yid byin nor bu ger ralod, p. 23.

24. Dam tri rgyu ru lwa’g ams attributed to Padmasambhava.

25. Quoted in the biography of bSkod nams mo’og ldan written by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 6. sep den rin mo las mchog ba par bskos spungs dgyal grum n’i tu rtsa la’i bka’ gsum ma bka’ brgyud rim byin dkon byas. Cfr. Chronicle of the same author, p. 76 k6.

In Sum pa’k’han po, p. 148, it is written: de las eg’el bka’ ma sesa spungs dgyal sgrun n’i tre la’i bka’ gsum ma bka’ brgyud rim byin dkon byas; “it is said that their subjects were ruled over by the nine brothers ma ma’i, the 25 and the 12 kingslets and the 40 ilma,... The paraphrase of S. CH. DAS of this passage is untenable.

26. The dDe are the dDa of the Mo so. See the article already quoted of J. F. ROECKER, p. 33, n. 1.

27. According to Western Tibetan traditions, the gNan of sun and that of moon were imagined in form of birds: Bya kyi’i dkon rna’i ma, Bya ma’i kyi’i run, for the sun; Bya ma’i dkar mo for the moon. But in some parts of Tibet they believed, as in China, in the existence of more than one sun. In the Ladakhi nuptial songs 9 suns are recorded. Cfr. FRANCIS, Thibetische Heerzeitschriften, p. 35.

28. Viz. without a body, stretching the arms in the four directions.

29. In the book itself the title is interpreted in the following way: gsum means that on the four sides of the Susam situated in the middle of the ocean the light of the ocean coming up reaches the sky; m’l means that in the middle of the ocean there is an island; from the middle of this big ocean on the four sides four islands burst out and appear: tShis means the being dwelling between gsum and m’l and those born, moving, living.

bso means the eight classes of Lha ma shin ruling over them.

30. On the Gyi or Ge k’od I know one book included in the sacred lore of the Bon po: it bears the title, the Lha gyel k’od eda. According to this book Ge k’od is said to protect the believer from the Dri za in the East, from the gNod byin in the North, from the Khlo in the South, from the bDud in the space above, from the Sa bsdag, Khlo and gNan underneath. This Ge k’od is the stormy weather, the storm; his weapon is in fact hail, snow storms etc. In the said liturgical text he is called: Zab sdom smin gyi lha’ “the god of lower Zan Zun,... But it is clear from many passages that the Ge k’od are also cyclic: at p. 17 we read of the Gyi k’od reta bka’ lha, “the primary god dGe k’od...” of Agk’od lha’ t’sig, “the cycle of dGe k’od.” On the number 106 cfr. also ROCKER, op. cit., p. 39 ff.

31. Gap is not equivalent in this case with the first letter of the cycle of the ten stems in this meaning we meet in the astrological works the expression dge’ lha’ “fire.” The Tibetan form shows that this word was borrowed by the Tibetans in early times when the final labial of sh was still pronounced, thus confirming the statement of the fifth Dalai Lama on the introduction of Ngtiis, Chinese astrology, at the times of the Tibetan kings.

32. I take this opportunity to give a short resume of the most important passages of this book they are, as a rule, interesting in so far as they show the blending of religious ideas of various origins: side by side with astrological gods introduced from China, there are occasional
references to Indian deities, for instance Vīśvarāmaṇa, bṛgī ṛṣī (Indra), Kānaka etc., though, as a whole, these are in the background; the prominent part is played by the purely aboriginal pantheon gNan, Sa dbag etc. The fact that a king of blacksmiths viz. mGsr yug pa is invoked deserves special mention.

We find in this book the invocation of the 8 spar gts (8 pa kun) and of the twelve animals of the cycle of the year combined with the five elements.

The sa dbag T'se se rgyal po, T'se k'yim btson ma, Hān (in the xyl. hān ni han) p'an (='Han p'an), the son dten so, the minister gTsan kun, the great lama Se ltar, the custodian Se lo 'swepthing the earth, ... Se'u spreading the carpet, Bya ra taking care of the horses and rich Tshul kyi, keeper of the time, dKar lam, sBam t'e, the blue dragon on whose body there are yellow and black lines, the white tiger Jhan bu skyas can; the heavenly executioner, Gap pa god of thunder, Byam with his head, the god of the moon and that of wind, Bla idog, the king of earth (Sa rgyal); then Sa sman Sa yi tsan ma, Nan lha, gTan rgon the sa dbag; Sa zor, Byam lam with a sBam man, the great gDan rGyug pa ma with nine heads, the five gods of earth (cf. Sar 'igtsug) of Tibet, Rchamatsa, og, etc., pp. 50-52, 6-7, n. 7, in the book published by Lhokra, Subhokadupa, p. 32, in dbag gyi rgyal po ni la sa lha lo gnas, the king of the Sa dbag, abiding in the earth of five kinds.

"On account of this great lie (on this word see later) of heaven and earth may everybody be happy; you, Sa dbag, be satisfied; the great gNam of the rocks may not try us, the great Sa (dbag) may not tear us asunder; the great Sa (dbag) of water may not overflow us; erosive stars may not roll upon us; the hot winds may not meet us; violent hailstorms fall not upon earth; Do not send (you spirits) diseases to men, diseases to cattle, epidemics; do not send hail and famine. May the red k'Yan shake not his wings (and cause wind); may the blue dragon close not his mouth (and cause drought); may the yellow monkey dance not (and cause earthquake). May the white fish not shake his tail. The turquoise mouse may not bark as a dog; may not the many-colored boar be agitated; may not the black snake shake his tongue. May the brownish yak sharpen not his horns. May the young bullock through the hatchet perish not."

The list of astronomical Sa dbag beginning with T'se se is the same as that contained in the Vai du rgyas bẖar, p. 444 (I. hata edition) which is but a catalogue of the household and the retinue of T'se se lo rgyal po. The differences are chiefly in spelling; rten so in one text instead of te so of V. K., se la sa ap'yar instead of the faulty se la sa ac'ar of V. K. and in V. K. is called daughter of T'se se, sBam t'e the bridegroom.

13. The dbas may be of various kinds (p'a, ruts, sgyis, rtags are the four fundamental classes; gTung lag smad sred spgyis bshad ni mdas c'o ge, p. 1) and have different names according to the deities under whose protection they are placed or the kind of demons which they are supposed to expel or the purpose for which they are meant. The RC contains some dozens of treaties dealing with this subject. As a rule the mdas in placed upon four square kon rim, bases or of straw and ground in decreasing order; then on the upper basement a mast is placed which is crossed by a transverse bar; threads of various colours are then interlaced between the arms of the cross so formed.

This is the žel yar k'as, the palace, where the gods invoked are supposed to reside. In a second moment images of various Sa dbag and of the deities presiding over the cycle of the 12 years are made out of the zamp by means of the zin dpar, a piece of wood upon which these images are engraved so as to form a mould; these images are then placed in the lower basement facing the exorcist.

From the symbolic point of view it is interesting to notice that this mdas is supposed to represent the world: and the mast or mdas lrin is the ri rbug, Sumeru, the mountain (called also ri rbug rgya mdaḥ consisting in knots disposed in form of a cross), supporting the sky. The four bastions are said to be the four continents. "On the top of the mast there is the canopy of the mdaḥ which represents the sky of the celestial tent with eight ribs ... It is surmounted by sun and moon, Cīl's kā spī mdaḥ kyi zin dri gā ra ge a svas mdaḥ, RC,p. 2. In other cases it is called

ri rbug ham po, the pot, the Sumetra (mKā'yā l加班 kā kā sred po spgyi mdaḥ c'en mo, RC,p. 1). The pot is the Sumetra in which the gods are supposed to descend (gTung nyi gSod). It is therefore a cosmos which is here built and upon which the exorcist makes the gods or demons to dwell so that he might control them. (In fact if they do not comply with his orders their heart will split in pieces). The construction of the mdaḥ cannot therefore be separated from that of the mdaḥ, the stage: the schema of the mdaḥ and of the stage being determined by the same symbolism. This is a fact which may contribute to the study of the evolution of the stage so well investigated by P. Mus in his work on Babadur. The mdaḥ go certainly back to prebudishuic times: gTung lag smad spgyis bshad ni mdaḥ c'o ge the invention of some of them is attributed to P. gYan eon Ben po t'De dkar of Zan lhon. The book contains some parts which are purely Bon po and belong to the gTung section of the Bon scriptures.

34. These goddesses have nothing in common with those of the Kāmarṣṭha. On the Rāja-vaṇṭha and the eight ma mo, mchen, see Filliozat, Le Kāmarṣṭha de Rāja, Paris, 1937.

35. sde lugs, sde skyi = S. C. Dās sde lugs. "A symbol resembling a finger which is placed in the torment." Cf. VAN MANEN, Miseri Tibetana, p. 159, in the text instead of gTag dets, image, as in the following cases there is gTag (the tenth part of a slaughtered animal).

36. can bu, "the dough of barley-flour squeezed or pressed within the hand coming out between the fingers given to the ghosts," S. C. Dās s. v.

37. This ceremony is very interesting from many points of view: first of all it shows the vitality of prebudishuic beliefs and practices and secondly it sheds a new light upon the relation which Tibetan magic established between men and the much dreaded world of their primitive mythologic lore. It is therefore worth while to summarize the various moments of the ceremony itself in order to get a glimpse of the ritual by which the Sa dbag and their bad influences are warded off.

1. Preparation of the nor mi. This nor mi can be of three sizes: great, one cubit (k'u), intermediate, a span (mî), small a knap. It is made with grains of five sorts: its head should be red, the upper part of the body black, the lower part yellow; its head 25 small images of a man made of dough are placed and other 25 in each hand and on the back; the 12 animals of the cycle of the year should be placed around him: a hundred of mTibsky (see above), Kor bu, c'jen (see above), offerings of food; on the right hand 10 white dots (sem kna) should be put then on the head 1 yellow dots, on the right hand 10 white, on the left hand 2 black, to blue on the back. The same as a regards the tser bu.

2. Invocation to a lham dponsal to him that he may favour with his blessings the ceremony of the lbo and impart power to the exorcist lso mnek. Then many gods are invoked. Lha c'en, T'sair pa (Brahma) on the Sumetra (ri rbug c'en po), gYan ras gtags (Avathecitara) on Poutala, P'nyag na rdo rje on Ican la kon, Kon se rgyal po on the Ri bo me lha (Pakulchig, the son of the King of China, the men of Ch'ung Hap, Tibet), spyan (sprang), abiding in red cliffs, in the depth of the ocean, on the snowy peaks, in temples, houses, courts-cards, caves, springs - the golden turquoise, the 12 animals of the cycle, the 12 gods of the earthy years, the 12 gods of the iron years, the 12 gods of the wood years, the 12 gods of the fire years, old mNk ('grel, 'chi, hsen, heaven) the father, old gTshun (k'hor k'hor, earth) the mother; the eight spar k'as A 34. They are called after their Chinese name: k'Yan (k'hor chen), kam (k'hor k'hor, gin (k'hor gTshun), zin (k'hor chen), zon (hun), li (hun), Kon (k'hor k'hor), dva (dva tu), the nine sa la (on which see WARDELL, Lamanit, p. 457); the seven stars of the East, the seven of the South, the seven of West, the seven of North; the 18 mansions; the eight great planets, T'se k'Yam bston ma, the black dog of the sky, the black dog Hal sa dbag, the eight Lha c'en, the eight Klu, the four gTshug c'en; the great thag dbag (dpe dkar), t'o rje lugs, the Lha ston side bge'gad. 92. The exorcist addresses the glud kyi mi c'en, lgin kā kā mi: he asks them to accept the 25 small figures of men placed upon the image as tansons for the life of the noble man (ni ya rbug) in whose favour the ceremony takes places, the 20 dots as substitutes for his clothes, the 20 gyon bu as tansons for involuntary causes of misfortune.

4. Invocation to the effect that there be no mistake either on the part of the lso mhek in presenting nor on the part of nor mi in accepting the offerings.

5. The nor mi replies to the exorcist. He calls himself a nor gyi lho c'en, "the great nor mi," he states that he has come to take a tanson from the man for whose benefit the ceremony has been undertaken.
The excerpted text discusses the relationships between various arcane practices and their historical or mythological contexts, focusing on the interconnections between different traditions and practices. It mentions the importance of maintaining correct procedures and the significance of proper training and lineage. The text also touches on the role of different deities and spirits in these practices, as well as the importance of maintaining purity and ethical conduct. The narrative weaves through historical anecdotes, divine interventions, and the transmission of esoteric knowledge from master to student. The text is rich in detail, emphasizing the need for rigorous and disciplined study to master these ancient and complex traditions.
This place is, in spite of the contrary opinion of Klaproth (Klaproth, *Lamatische Hinsicht und Kirche*, p. 50) is in Yam kluo as one may deduce from the *Legenden* itself the Chronicles of *Blo-Bstan* 1992. So the Chinese converts considered that the Lha ri gyan to where he arrived, he looked down and saw that the court of Yam kluo appeared so pleasant that if the qualities of Heaven were descended upon earth and that the Yam kluo sam po ri was so beautiful as the mount Sumeru embraced by the full moon, the lord of the celestial. He therefore went on the top of the Lha ri rol pa and then descended by the heavenly ladder.


The Bon po priests who came from the Mut-hag and Mu kā declared that he was a god. The right translation is "the Bon po priests thinking that he was descended by the dMa t’ag or the dMa skas said that he was a god.

Mu t’ag. dMa skas are equivalent, cf. the passage of Bu ston quoted above.


60. This passage is also quoted in the *Rgyal rabs*, p. 122.


62. Zad gtsug dpa’i dgyung dán gDa’i dgyung brad. This obscure sentence refers to the able way by which a Gos gTsan na so rGya avoided a dangerous resentment among the subjects as a consequence of the murder committed by the prince, at the same time giving satisfaction to the ministers and saving the life of the prince. He put the same questions twice viz. if a prince guilty of the murder of a subject was punishable and by whom; each time the question was formulated in three different ways so that the king, the ministers and the subjects in turn trembled (dPa’i) and rejoiced (gDa’i). Mu tu bstan po had killed the son of the minister because the latter had forbidden him from entering the room where the king was having a council with his father (Apology rBi’u ma pa, p. 54).

63. On that occasion, according to the Apology Lha bstan klu dPyl went to subdue K’yi lhan viz. the Kitan of China. The history of the submission of the frontier by Mu rGya bstan po was written by dTan ma sNu man (Sku k’a dSa’i cah mi rGya bstan po bskal po lo rgyal. *Ibid.*, p. 54).

64. The leather mask of gNod skyen bCits damar. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

This same story is contained in the introduction to the *Ntar rGya edition of the bKa’i phyug*, the link between the two texts being the legend of Pe dkar, which appears in either cases. This introduction has been translated by F. W. Thomas (*Tibetan literary texts*, p. 300); this discredits me from giving it again. In a few cases I would suggest a different rendering: "basis and superstition", *sNar des brics; rites in the temple itself and bring the images and other religious objects placed in it."

A council of teachers, disciples and the religious was held, *k’ya’i slob c’is.* This sentence is abbreviated for *mKha’ po, slob dPay, c’is rgyal.* The *sNor* it is in the *dBya bdag* the eight acolytes of nNam gas stas mounted on horseback. "Soldiers of various services," one Brics is "of monstrous aspect."

Instead of "The torque-nose himself arrived," read: "the image (of the Buddha) made of turquoise miraculously created;" *rGya byam* is the usual term for things created by the agency of the gods.

The ice tadpole, *shis* is not "ice," but crystal. p. 302.

65. This being the first time that the name "Dba’i, race and ‘Outer Bnag regiment,’ came to be known, according to a received tradition Dba’i sNar-phrug came to be pronounced as the race name; rather, "this family originally belonged to the clan dBa’i; these being distinguished for having received by royal order the investiture (on this technical expression see above p. 688, n. 117) upon the external Bnag, that clan was called dBa’i sTsam rGyug..."

66. It is noteworthy that the title of the book dealing with Pe dkar, *Pe dkar or rat should contain a word: or ged, or la dkar po* (Jeschke, quoting Schiefert) "to be reduced to extremities, to extreme misery..." which is most likely Turkish. This word seems to me to be connected with the Turkish *atla* (verderben), *Arta* (vernichten), *Gabin*, *Grenmatt*, s. v.

Anyway, it is clear that Pe dkar too is fundamentally a fiend who took the form of a bird, evidently the same one appearing in the Central Asian pictures quoted above. In the *(A)Nma pa* Apology we have often quoted and in the Dalai Lama’s account, translated above, he is transformed into a vulture *Bya rGyud,* and as such he fights against *(A)Nma tsis’ stags’ army and is laid low by the latter. One of his symbols is the *Rin bya,* "the wooden bird...", which was preserved in bNam yas. In fact he is often called *Rin bya ma,* "he who holds a wooden bird." (Pema skyen gon skyen rGya bRigs kyi ma rGya, *Ibid.*, p. 97)
ZA LU DOCUMENTS

I (fig. 124)

II (fig. 125)

III (fig. 126)

747
I. For: agrul.

V (fig. 128)

VI (fig. 129)
VII (fig. 130)

VIII (fig. 131)

IX (fig. 132)

752
(421° 30‘) IX

(421° 30‘) X
NARTHANG

I

II

756
I. โหลดเร็วอย่างยิ่งที่จะช่วยให้เร็วขึ้น

...............

เห็นได้ชัดเจนที่จะช่วยให้เร็วขึ้น

...............

เห็นได้ชัดเจนที่จะช่วยให้เร็วขึ้น

1. Verse defective; one syllable missing.
III

1. For: sdud.
སོགས་རྩི་ཤིན་ཐོབ་ལ་མངོན་ཚིགས་མདོར།

ཐོབ་པོ་ཤིན་ཐོབ་ལ་མངོན་ཚིགས་མདོར།

ཙེ་ལུ

761
NOR BUI K'YUN RTSE

SPOS K'AN

763
अम बधायन दो यो र्गल मै तान, ३८६
अम बधायन दो यो र्गल मै तान दे मप भान पो, २६४
अम बधायन गो या युन, ३५४
अम बधायन घास पो र्गल मै तान, ३८६
अम बधायन ग्रास पो र्गल मै तान दे मप भान पो, ३६४
अम बधायन घु दिति, ३५४, ३६४
अम बधायन घु श्रीषो, ३५४
अम बधायन घु श्रीषो ता का र्गल मै तान, ३५४
अम बधायन कु न दपा ब्रोड नाम्स ग्रास पो र्गल मै तान, ३८६
अम बधायन नम म्का 'र्गल मै तान, ३८६
अम बधायन 'डे जर अर, १७३, १७६
अम बधायन दे बुन, ३६२
अम बधायन री री री टा या र्गल मै तान, ३८६
अम बधायन दे या युन मै तान, २६४
अम बधायन 'दो दे मप भान पो, ३६४
अम बधायन 'दो दे मप भान पो, ३६४
अम बधायन दे मप भान पो, ३६४
अम बधायन दे मप भान पो, ३६४
अम बधायन दे मप भान पो, ३६४
अम बधायन दे मप भान पो, ३६४
अम बधायन दे मप भान पो, ३६४
NUMBER SPECIMEN

613
The tathāgata Ratnasambhava
Nepal 12th-13th cent.